Demonstrative pronouns and articles in Egyptian and Coptic: emergence and development

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the demonstratives in Old Egyptian. It proves that the proper description of the Old Kingdom deictic system delivers key insights into the emergence of the new proclitic forms *p3, t3, n3*, which later grammaticalize to definite articles.

In order to define the features of the Old Kingdom demonstratives, I provide an in-depth introduction into the current methods of analysis of deixis and specificity. I further summarize the Egyptological research, dedicated to the demonstratives in Old Egyptian. Although the temporal frames of this study are confined to Old Kingdom, I deal extensively with the category of determination in Middle Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic. I extend the reviews with the commentaries, and introduce the original topics, such as determiner compatibilities and syntactic specificity effects. In preparation for the analysis of demonstratives in the Old Kingdom I provide the diachronic, diaphasic, and diastratic features of the core textual records.

The analysis section embraces the typological and diatopic traits of Old Kingdom demonstratives, supplemented by the overview of the grammaticalization patterns of Afro-Asiatic deictic roots. I demonstrate the presence of two competing deictic systems in the Old Kingdom Egypt: one based on the joint attentional focus of the interlocutors, operating with *pn* as attention shifter and *pw* as attention tracker; and an alternative one, relying on the distance contrast, utilizing *pf* for a distal referent and *pn* for a proximal referent. The attentional system is visibly in decline in the literary discourse, the process possibly triggered by the arrival of the emphatic *pf*. It persists, however, in the colloquial stratum, as manifested by the emergence of the recognitional *p3, t3, n3*. The morphological features suggest that these are the allomorphs of the attention trackers *pw, tw, nw*, as proven by the change *w → 3* in deictic and non-deictic lexemes containing the final *w*. I put forward the hypothesis that strong variants of *p3, t3, n3*, initially not distinguished from weak forms in writing, should have appeared after the proclitic forms were able to obtain stress. Syntactic features uncover the mechanism behind the *pronominal conversion* – the shift of enclitic demonstratives to the pre-nominal position. I challenge the established opinion that this front-movement was emphatic and conditioned by the "pusuit for expressivity". The explanation, in my opinion, lies rather in a larger prosodic context, extending beyond the core phrase *noun + demonstrative*. My data show that demonstratives could be drawn to the front, abiding to the Wackernagel law, which demanded clitics to follow the first stressed unit in a sentence, e.g. verbs in the imperative. The prosodic features of the construction *N + pw/tw + relative phrase*, on the other hand, had an opposite effect: in it the enclitic *pw/tw* was detached from the noun to join a following prosodic unit of the relative phrase. This is the source construction for the strong *p3/t3*, as it allows demonstrative to obtain accentuation under the conditions of the "rule of three syllables".

Further, I consider the question why the bespoken grammatical phenomena were only sporadically attested in the literary sources of the Old Kingdom. I establish the comparative concepts to attribute the deictic features to the regions of Egypt, broadly defined as North and South. The deictic system of joint attention with *pn/pw*, the non-emphatic leftward movement of enclitic *pw*, and the "rule of three syllables" could be assigned to the northern dialects. The spatial deictic system with *pn* and *pf*, the fixed post-nominal position of the demonstratives, and the early adoption of the "rule of two syllables" characterized the southern linguistic type. The demonstrative *pf* was a relative newcomer in the North, while *p3*, being the pragmatic and morphological development of *pw*, gradually extended its outreach to the South. This pattern suggests that the Northern dialects shaped – at least in terms of deictica – the concept of a "literary norm" in Early Old Egyptian. The Old and Middle Egyptian standards were the product of the *southern linguistic turn*, occurring during the Fifth

Dynasty. Lastly, my analysis places Egyptian in a wider Afro-Asiatic linguistic context, tracing the Afro-Asiatic deictic roots as source morphemes for Egyptian demonstratives, personal and relative pronouns, non-verbal copulas and focus particles.

In conclusion, I juxtapose the results of my study with some of the established tenets of article grammaticalization. I propose to reconsider the role of distance-related features and the acquisition of semantic definiteness for article development. Instead, I suggest that the system of joint attention provides a more fitting cognitive explanation for the genesis of the define article.

It is impossible, under these circumstances,
to say that 'the material already collected is still insufficient'.
What matters is not the amount of material,
but the methods of investigation.
V. Propp "Morphology of the folktale"

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(April 2020)

I. Tables

II.   Figures

III. Abbreviations

A) Quoted sources

Abbreviation	Title	Publication
Akhethotep	Tomb inscriptions of Akhethotep	Ziegler (2007)
Ankhmahor	Tomb inscriptions of Ankhmahor	Kanawati and Hassan (1997)
Ankhtifi	Tomb inscriptions of Ankntifi	Vandier (1950)
Balat T 3686 and 4965	Clay tablets from Balat No 3686 and No 4965	Pantalacci (1998)
Berlin bowl	The Berlin bowl (Berlin P 22573)	Gardiner and Sethe (1928: 5–7)
BM 10059	Papyrus BM 10059 (London medical papyrus)	Wreszinski (1912)
BM 10549	Letter BM 10549	James (1962: 89–92)
BM 10561	Embalmer's agreement BM 10561	Shore and Smith (1960)
BM 10567	Letter BM 10567	James (1962: 94–97)
Cairo "small stela"	Letter to the dead on a stela in Cairo museum (unattributed)	Wente (1975)
Cairo 91061	Letter Cairo 91061 (J. d'E. 58045)	James (1962: 92–94)
Cairo JdE 30770	Stela Cairo J. d'E. 30770	Helck (1983: 73–74)
Cairo JdE 49623	Letter Cairo J. d'E. 49623	Gardiner (1927)
Cairo JdE 52001 A, B, C	Letters Cairo J. d'E. 52001 A, B, C	Posener-Kriéger (1980)
Cairo linen	The Cairo text on linen (J. d'E. 25975)	Gardiner and Sethe (1928: 1–3)
CD	Coptic dictionary	Crum (1939)
Chasheshonqi	The instructions of ꜥOnchsheshonqy (Chasheshonqi)	Glanville (1955)
Chicago OM 13945	Letter Huskell Oriental Museum in Chicago no. 13945	Gardiner (1930)
Coptos decree B	Coptos decree of Pepi II	Sethe (1933: 280–83)
Coptos decree C	Coptos decree of Pepi II	Sethe (1933: 284–88)
CT I	The Egyptian Coffin Texts I	de Buck (1935)
CT II	The Egyptian Coffin Texts II	de Buck (1938)
CT III	The Egyptian Coffin Texts III	de Buck (1947)
CT IV	The Egyptian Coffin Texts IV	de Buck (1951)
CT V	The Egyptian Coffin Texts V	de Buck (1954)
CT VI	The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI	de Buck (1956)
CT VII	The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII	de Buck (1961)
Eloquent peasant	The tale of the eloquent peasant (Papyri Berlin 10499, 3023, 3025)	Vogelsang and Gardiner (1908) Parkinson (2012)
Harkhuf	Tomb inscriptions of Harkhuf	Sethe (1933: 120–31)
Hatnub Gr.	Rock inscriptions in Hatnub	Anthes (1928)
Hekanakhte	The Hekanakhte papers	James (1962), Allen (2002)
Hesi	Tomb inscriptions of Hesi	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (1999)
HLC	The Demotic legal code of Hermopolis West	Mattha (1975)

Abbreviation	Title	Publication
Horus and Seth	The contendings of Horus and Seth	Gardiner (1932: 37–60)
Hu bowl	Bowl UCL (University College of London) 16244	Gardiner and Sethe (1928: 5)
Ibi	Tomb inscriptions of Ibi	Kanawati (2007)
Idu-Seneni	Tomb inscriptions of Idu-Seneni	Säve-Söderbergh (1994)
Iineferet	Tomb inscriptions of Iineferet	Schürmann (1983)
Ins	Papyrus Insinger	Lexa (1926)
Iymery	Tomb inscriptions of Iymery	Weeks (1994)
Kaiemankh J	Tomb inscriptions of Kaiemankh	Junker (1940)
Kaiemankh K	Tomb inscriptions of Kaiemankh	Kanawati (2001)
Louvre bowl	Louvre E 6134	Piankoff and Clère (1934)
Manofer	Tomb inscriptions of Manofer	Zorn and Bisping-Isermann (2011)
Maxims of Ptahhotep	Maxims of Ptahhotep	Žába (1956)
Mechenti	False door of Kedi in the tomb of Mechenti	Schenkel and Gomaà (2004 (Beilage 10; left panel, bottom))
Mehu	Tomb inscriptions of Mehu	Altenmüller (1998)
Merefnebef	Tomb inscriptions of Merefnebef	Myśliwiec (2004)
Mereruka I	Tomb inscriptions of Mereruka	Kanawati et al. (2010)
Mereruka II	Tomb inscriptions of Mereruka	Kanawati et al. (2011)
Meryteti	Tomb inscriptions of Meryteti	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2004)
MMA 28.9.4	Writing board Metropolital Museum of Art in New York 28.9.4	James (1962: 98–101)
MMA 35.9.21	Papyrus Imouthes Metropolital Museum of Arts in New York 35.9.21	Goyon (1999)
Naga ed Deir MFA 04.2059	Letter Naga ed Deir MFA 04.2059	Simpson (1999)
Naga ed Deir N 3500	Letter to the dead Naga ed Deir N 3500 (MFA Eg 9764/ C 25974)	Simpson (1970)
Naga ed Deir N 3737	Letter Naga ed Deir N 3737 (MFA 38.2121)	Simpson (1966)
Neferiritenef	Tomb inscriptions of Neferiritenef	Van de Walle (1973)
Nefermenu	Stela of Nefermenu	Borchardt (1937: 219 [1516])
Nianchpepi	Sarcophagus of Nianchpepi	Hassan and Iskander (1975: 22 (Fig. 11))
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Tomb inscriptions of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Moussa and Altenmüller (1977)
pAbbot	Papyrus Abbot	Peet (1930a (Plates I-IV))
pAbusir	Abusir papyri (pBerlin 11301, BM 10735, pBerlin 10474)	Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival (1968)
pAnastasi I	Papyrus Anastasi I	Fischer-Elfert (1992)
Pani	Stelae of Pani	Firth and Gunn (1926: 200 [nos 38, 39]; 204 [no 2]; 210 [no 17])
pBerlin 3038	Papyrus Berlin 3038	Wreszinski (1909)
pBerlin 8139	Papyrus Berlin 8139	Zauzich (1977)
pBerlin 8869	Papyrus Berlin 8869 ("Crimes of Sabni")	Smither (1942)
pBerlin 9010	Papyrus Berlin 9010 (Elephantine papyri)	Sethe (1926a)

Abbreviation	Title	Publication
pBooklyn 47.218.18	Papyrus Booklyn 47.218.18	Posener-Kriéger (1976: 65/2:454 (4))
pBoulaq 8	Papyrus Boulaq 8 (Cairo 58043)	Baer (1966)
pBrooklyn 35.1446	Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446	Hayes (1955)
pEbers	Papyrus Ebers (Leipzig medical papyrus)	Popko (2021)
Pepiankh (Heny the black)	Tomb inscriptions of Pepiankh (Heny the black, A2)	Blackman (1953)
pFitzhugh D2	Papyrus Fitzhugh (Demotic memorandum)	Reymond (1972)
pGebelein	Gebelein papyri	Posener-Kriéger (2004)
pHarris 500	Papyrus Harris 500 (BM 10060)	Mathieu (1996 (Pl. 8-14))
pLahun G	Lahun Papyri	Griffith (1898)
pLahun L	Lahun Papyri	Luft (1992)
pMond 2	Papyrus Robert Mond	Peet (1930b [Pl. XXVII-XXIX])
pReisner I	Papyrus Reisner I (MFA 38.2062)	Simpson (1963)
pReisner II	Papyrus Reisner II (MFA 38.2064)	Simpson (1965)
pReisner III	Papyrus Reisner III (MFA 38.2119)	Simpson (1965)
pSmith	Papyrus Edwin Smith	Breasted (1930), Sanchez and Meltzer (2012), Dils (2021)
PT An	Pyramid Texts of Ankhesenpepi II	Allen (2013a)
PT Jp	Pyramid Texts of Iput	Allen (2013a)
PT M	Pyramid Texts of Merenre	Allen (2013a)
PT N	Pyramid Texts of Pepi II	Allen (2013a)
PT Nt	Pyramid Texts of Neith	Allen (2013a)
PT P	Pyramid Texts of Pepi I	Allen (2013a)
PT T	Pyramid Texts of Teti	Allen (2013a)
PT W	Pyramid Texts of Unis	Allen (2013a)
PT Wd	Pyramid Texts of Wedjebtni	Allen (2013a)
Ptahhotep I	Tomb inscriptions of Ptahhotep I	Paget, Pirie and Griffith (1898)
Ptahhotep II	Tomb inscriptions of Ptahhotep II	Murray (1905)
Ptahshepses	Tomb inscriptions of Ptahshepses	Verner (1977)
pTurin 54002	Papyrus Turin N. 54002	Roccati (1968)
pTurin 54003	Papyrus Turin N. 54003	Roccati (1970)
pWestcar	Papyrus Westcar	Blackman and Davies (1988)
Qau bowl	Qau bowl (Letter to the dead)	Gardiner and Sethe (1928)
Rashepses	Tomb inscriptions of Rashepses	Sethe (1933: 180–81)
RMP	Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (=pBM10057 and pBM10058)	Peet (1923)
Rosetta	Demotic text of the Rosetta stone (The Memphis decree)	Spiegelberg (1922) Quirke and Andrews (1989)
Sabni	Tomb inscriptions of Sabni	Sethe (1933: 135–40)
Sekhemka	Tomb inscriptions of Sekhemka	Simpson (1980)
Semna	Dispatches from the fortess in Semna	Smither (1945)
Senedjemib-Inti	Tomb inscriptions of Senedjemib-Inti (G2370)	Sethe (1933: 59–67) Brovarski(2001: 23–110)
Setikai	Tomb inscriptions of Setikai	Junker (1944: 192–229)
Setne	The story of Setne Khamwas	Erichsen (1937: 1–40)

Abbreviation	Title	Publication
Shedu	Tomb inscriptions of Iteti/Shedu	Kanawati and MacFarlane (1993)
Shenute III	Sinuthii Archimandritae vita et opera omnia III	Leipoldt (1908)
Shipwrecked sailor	The tale of shipwrecked sailor (= papyrus Leningrad 1115)	Blackman (1932: 41–48)
Sinuhe	The story of Sinuhe	Backman (1932: 1–41), Koch (1990)
Ti I	Tomb inscriptions of Ti	Épron and Daumas (1939)
Ti II	Tomb inscriptions of Ti	Wild (1953)
Ti III	Tomb inscriptions of Ti	Wild (1966)
Tjauti	Tomb inscriptions of Tjauti	Säve-Söderbergh (1994)
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae	http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/
Urk. I	Urkunden des Alten Reichs I	Sethe (1933)
Waatetkhethor	Tomb inscriptions of Waatetkhethor	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2008)
Wb	Woerterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache	Erman and Grapow (1997)
Wenamun	The misfortunes of Wenamun	Gardiner (1932: 61–76)
Weni	Tomb inscriptions of Weni	Sethe (1933: 98–110)
Wepemnefret	Tomb inscriptions of Wepemnefret	Hassan (1936)

B) Other

A	Akhmimic dialect of Coptic		NUM	numeral
AdP	adpositional phrase		OA	Old Assyrian
ADV	adverb		OAk	Old Akkadian
B	Bohairic dialect of Coptic		OB	Old Babylonian
c.	genus commune		OBJ	object (syntactic category)
CAUS	causative verb		OE	Old Egyptian
CC	comparative concept		PART	particle
COP	copula pronoun		per.	person (grammatical category)
DEM	demonstrative pronoun		pl.	plural
DSG	*Dreisilbengesetz* (the rule of three syllables)		POS	possessive pronoun
			PRED	predicate
du.	dual		PRO	pronoun
EMPH	emphatic particle		PRTC	participle
EPEX	epexegesis		REL	relative pronoun
f.	feminine		REL CL	relative clause
FOC	focus marker		S	Sahidic dialect of Coptic
GEN	genitive		sg.	singular
gen.	gender (grammatical category)		SUBJ	subject (syntactic category)
m.	masculine		TOP	topicalized noun phrase
NOM	nominal verbal form		ZSG	*Zweisilbengesetz* (the rule of two syllables)
NP	noun phrase			

1. Introduction

1.1. Revisiting the history of Egyptian demonstratives

The appearance of the deictic forms *pꜣ, tꜣ, nꜣ* is a pivotal turning point in the history of the Egyptian language. Prefixed deictica introduce the migration of other pronominal clitics to the position preceding nouns and verbs, and thus mark the transition from the Earlier "synthetic" to the Later Egyptian "analytic" phrasal structures (Gardiner 1957: 3–4 (§3); Loprieno 1995: 5–7; Allen 2013b: 64)[1]. The importance of the new demonstrative *ꜣ*-series as indicators of this linguistic shift was recognized and discussed in a number of studies (Fecht 1960; Kroeber 1970; Loprieno 1980). Recently, Zöller-Engelhardt (2016) focused on the grammaticalization of the demonstrative *pꜣ* towards the definite article, drawing on the available typological evidence (Himmelmann 1997). This has led to equivocal results: while the evolution of the *ꜣ*-series has been examined in considerable detail, little is still known about the pragmatic, semantic, morphological, or syntactic *origins* of the pre-posed *pꜣ, tꜣ, nꜣ*.

The lengthy periods, characterizing the transition of the local vernacular forms to the trans-regional status and their eventual establishment as the written standard (cf. Coseriu (1980: 108–9), Ernst (2012: 13)) suggest that the appearance of the *ꜣ*-series in the colloquial written discourse of the Twelfth Dynasty (e.g. Hekanakhte papers), let alone its standardization as the literary norm in the Eighteenth Dynasty, cannot be taken as a starting point for the study. Rather, the crucial linguistic events regarding spatial deixis were unfolding in the vernacular of the Old Kingdom, as evidenced by the first examples of *pꜣ* and *nꜣ* in the tomb inscriptions of the Fifth and Sixth dynasties. This investigation is therefore primarily aimed at giving a detailed description of the demonstratives during the Old Kingdom. It is driven by the assumption that the correct understanding of the deictic systems in Early and Old Egyptian will reveal the mechanisms triggering the genesis of the *ꜣ*-series, which later grammaticalize to definite articles. The new deictic forms *pꜣ*, *tꜣ*, *nꜣ* are - using Lakoff's (1980) metaphoric approach to language development – like Ariadne's ball of threads, which can guide us through the labyrinth of the Egyptian linguistic history.

Due to the fragmentary transmission of the extant sources and the lack of the pragmatic contexts, I do not make a rigorous selection based on their diachronic, diaphasic, and diastratic features (Coseriu 1980). Nevertheless I attempt to include as many records as possible corresponding to the pragmatic type defined by Goldwasser (1990) as "written as if spoken". *Reden und Rufen* - brief inscriptions accompanying scenes of daily life in the Old Kingdom tombs – play an important part in my analysis. In these comic-like depictions of the events, deictica often serve as anchors connecting the sequential episodes by pointing at the same referent (cf. Werning (2018)). Another issue pertains to the encoding conventions of the spoken demonstrative forms in Early and Old Egyptian. I give special attention to the cases of seeming discrepancy between the phoneme and the grapheme,

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[1] The terms *Earlier* and *Later Egyptian* embrace respectively the first (Old and Middle Egyptian) and the second (Late Egyptian, Demotic, Coptic) parts of the historical lifespan of Egyptian-Coptic (Loprieno 1995; Grossman and Richter 2015). *Earlier Egyptian* is differentiated from *Early Egyptian* (German *Frühägyptisch* (Kahl 2002)), used to designate the most ancient phase of Old Egyptian (also called *Early Old Egyptian* (Allen 2013b: 3), *Archaic Old Egyptian* or *pre-Old Egyptian* (Kammerzell 2005)). Early Egyptian is different from the standard Old Egyptian in a number of gramatical features, discussed below.

such as defective writing (Kahl 1992), (erroneous) substitution (Schweitzer 2005: 15, 53–55), and the debate on the phonetic value of the character ⟿ (Rössler 1971). Inasmuch as those variations may be arbitrary, they can also reflect the real phonological processes, i.e. be intentional.

Despite the focus on the language used at the time of the Egyptian Fifth and Sixth dynasties, I do not lose sight of the later periods of Egyptian language history. Demotic and Coptic deliver critical evidence against which the conjectures concerning the Early and Old Egyptian are tested. The definite article is a key element in their deictic paradigms; therefore I explicate its intricate grammaticalization path. In Egyptian, the definite article shares the anaphoric function with the demonstratives: it can refer to a previously mentioned item or fact. In Demotic, however, the article can also be used with inherently definite nouns (*pꜣ šr pꜣ rꜥ ptlwmys* "*son of Re*, Ptolemy" (Rosetta, line 2)) or even in a syntactically generic environment (*jjr jy n pꜣ tꜣ pꜣ my jr-ꜣ ḥ wbꜣ km.t* "who came *by land* and *sea* to attack Egypt" (Rosetta, line 12)), where nouns do not require a definite specification at all. This puzzling and contradictory use of the definite article has let none other than Allan H. Gardiner call it an "insignificant grammatical tool" and a "mere useless ballast, a habit or mannerism accepted by an entire speaking community" (Gardiner 1963: 47). On the opposite end of the debate spectrum on article purposefulness was Snell, who regarded the definite article to be no less than a prerequisite for the ability of abstraction and philosophical thought emerging in Ancient Greece:

> Es ist (...) nicht abzusehen, wie in Griechenland Naturwissenschaft und Philosophie hätten entstehen können, wäre nicht im Griechischen der bestimmte Artikel vorhanden gewesen (...) Wie hätte man das Allgemeine als ein Bestimmtes setzen, wie hätte man etwas Adjektivisches oder Verbales begrifflich fixieren können, wenn der bestimmte Artikel nicht die Möglichkeit geboten hätte, solche „Abstraktionen", wie wir sagen, zu bilden? (Snell 1955: 300)

Formulated under the influence of the linguistic determinism, this line of thought is actually the misconception of the Wilhelm von Humboldt's idea of a language as a worldview, *Welt(an)sicht* (von Humboldt 1960) and Franz Boas' *cultural relativism* (Boas 1910, 1920), the belief that language is molded by culture. According to Boas (1938) the grammatical patterns of the language *do* determine what aspects of the experience must be expressed, e.g. a completive vs. a non-completive verbs in Russian or definite vs. indefinite nouns in English. But if some grammatical category is absent, its meaning can be rendered with other means, e.g. lexical ones. The non-restrictive view on linguistic relativity has been concisely formulated by Roman Jakobson (1959: 236): "Languages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey". Revitalized lately by the advances made in anthropology and cognitive psychology, linguistic relativity now looks for the connections between the perception and the linguistic conceptualization of time, space, motion, etc. (G. Lakoff 1987; Gumperz and Levinson 1996; Lucy 1997). The deictic category of *joint attentional focus*, which plays an important role in this study, can be viewed as yet another manifestation of linguistic relativity. It is cognitively different from the standard spatial framework, operating with proximal, medial, distal, etc. referents, and reflects the distinct ways the Egyptians perceived the surrounding reality and spoke about it. The study comprises three major blocks:

- *Theoretical outline* gives an overview of the current linguistic approaches to demonstratives. My aim is not to adopt a definitive theoretical framework (e.g.

functional-typological or generative), but rather to introduce the available linguistic instruments for the analysis of deixis, specificity, and definiteness in Egyptian-Coptic.

- *Literature review* summarizes Egyptological research, dedicated to the demonstratives in Old Egyptian and the expression of specificity in Egyptian-Coptic. The reviews are extended with the commentaries, introducing several original topics.

- *Analysis results* present the Egyptian deictic systems at the time of Old Kingdom from the pragmatic, morphological, and syntactic perspectives. They draw conclusions about the extent to which the regional language varieties could have shaped the concept of a "literary norm" in Old Egyptian. Additionally, the grammaticalization channels of the Afro-Asiatic roots are presented, placing Egyptian demonstratives in the extended context of the Afro-Asiatic language phylum.

I thereby hope that this investigation will contribute to the return of Egyptian-Coptic into the focus of comparative linguistics, the need for which was highlighted recently (Richter 2015).

1.2. Synoptic outline of the chapters

The inquiry opens with the "Theoretical outline", giving the overview of the current state of research on deictica. The structure of the chapter is inspired by Diessel's (1999) classical work "Demonstratives: form, function and grammaticalization" and is divided into two parts: "Typological features of demonstratives" and "Grammaticalization of demonstratives". The chapter "Typological features" introduces the concept of the place deixis. It highlights the understanding of physical space in dynamic terms - as *a common ground of interaction* mutually created and manipulated by the discourse participants. Drawing on this approach the sections "Pragmatic" and "Semantic features" enhance the standard distance-based accounts with such characteristic traits of demonstratives as *joint attention features*. Emerging in the last decade as a result of research in the cognitive psychology, the term *joint attentional focus* refers to the role demonstratives play in establishing and manipulating the common attention of the interlocutive partners on the discourse item. Joint attention regulates the use of the demonstratives in a number of 3-term and in 2-term deictic systems and provides the semantic basis for the grammaticalization of the definite article. The chapter "Syntactic features" expounds on the syntactic roles the demonstratives acquire in the clause, such as pronominal, adnominal, adverbial, and predicative use. It observes that prefixed adnominal deictica can be renewed by suffixed ones and vice versa. "Morphological features" delineate demonstratives as mono- and multi-morphemic entities, which, apart from the deictic roots can contain inflectional, nominalizing, and adverbial affixes. The latter, in turn, can be the product of a grammaticalization of 3rd person pronouns, defective nouns, and adverbs.

The theoretical outline continues accordingly with the common grammaticalization channels of the demonstratives, highlighting those relevant to Egyptian-Coptic: 3rd person pronouns, relative pronouns, determinatives, nexus (copula) pronouns, and definite articles. It addresses the definite article from two distinct but complementary viewpoints. On the one hand, it examines the definite article in the context of the grammatical categories of *definiteness* and *specificity*, which can also be expressed by word order, verbal aspect, noun case, and, suprasegmentally, intonation. On the other

hand, it perceives the definite article as a product of the grammaticalization cline, starting with the demonstrative pronouns and leading to nominal markers. The essential question for the article grammaticalization is the source construction, which has been functionally defined as anaphoric (Greenberg 1978) or recognitional (Himmelmann 1997).

The chapter "Literature review" starts with the discussion of the grammatical literature on the demonstrative pronouns of the Old Kingdom, a crucial period which witnesses the appearance of the *ꜣ*-series. It elaborates on the grammars of Edel (1964) and Westendorf (1962), touches upon the studies of the Old Egyptian lexicon by Kahl (1994, 2002) and Kammerzell (1992, 2005), and presents the findings of the most recent inquiries by Schweitzer (2005), Jenni (2009), and Allen (2017a). The largest part of the chapter is devoted to reviewing the determination in Egyptian and Coptic: the reassessment of Layton (2000) and Shisha-Halevy (2007a) showcases the means with which the universal grammatical categories of definiteness/specificity are expressed in Egyptian and Coptic; the reviews of Kroeber (1970), Johnson (1987) and Zöller-Engelhardt (2016) integrate the features of article grammaticalization in Egyptian. Each section includes a commentary, extending the grammatical review by novel topics such as determiner compatibilities and syntactic specificity effects in Demotic and Coptic as well as a complete survey of determiners in Coptic dialects Sahidic, Bohairic, and Fayyumic.

The chapter "Analysis of demonstratives in Old Egyptian" is the core of the current study. It organizes the gained grammatical insights in five closely interrelated blocks:

- "Pragmatic and semantic features" describe two competing deictic systems present in Old Egyptian: the one based on the joint attentional focus and operating with *pn* (attention shifter)/*pw* (attention tracker) and the alternative one, relying on the distance contrast and utilizing *pf* (distal referent)/*pn* (proximal referent). Using bigger chunks of text, I observe how endophoric and exophoric discourse items are drawn into the shared cognitive attention focus with *pn* and kept therein with *pw*. The emphatic demonstrative *pf*, as a newcomer, contributes to the disintegration of the attention-based mechanism and establishes the deictic category of the (relative) distance to the deictic center. The pragmatic and semantic features of the attentional framework are preserved in the colloquial context of the Old Kingdom, and the introduction of the new demonstrative series *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ* manifests the continuity of the system.

- "Morphological features" discuss the change $w \rightarrow ꜣ$ observed in deictic and non-deictic lexemes containing the final *w*: the particle *ḥw* (*ḥꜣ*); the adverb *mj-nw* (*mj-nꜣ*); the negative particle *w* (*ꜣ*). The appearance of the *defective* writing of the clitic *p(w)*, the presence of the *extended* forms with the non-clitic *ḥ-wꜣ, n-wꜣ, mj-n-wꜣ*, and the absence of the strong forms **p-wꜣ/*t-wꜣ* are examined in order to determine whether the original Old Kingdom *pꜣ/tꜣ* are variant spellings of the recognitional clitics *pw/tw*. I put forward the hypothesis that weak and strong *pꜣ/tꜣ* were initially not distinguished in writing and have resulted from different syntactic constructions. The chapter systematically compares Coptic spellings with Old Egyptian demonstrative forms.

- "Syntactic features" scrutinize the syntactic environment in which Old Kingdom demonstratives are used, delineating their adnominal, pronominal, adverbial, and predicative functions. The chapter aims at uncovering the syntactic conditions, which have contributed to the front-movement of demonstratives. It examines the suprasegmental context of the core noun phrase *N + demonstrative*, coming into contact with preceding and following prosodic units. Suprasegmental features imply that in the construction *N + pw + relative phrase pw* could be detached from the preceding noun to build a separate prosodic unit with the following relative phrase. The left-dislocation of *pw*, on the other hand, can hardly be explained by "the pursuit for expressivity" (Hintze 1947: 99). The syntactic analysis shows that only *pn/pf* were pre-posed for emphatic purposes, while this was never the case with *pw*. The front-movement of *p(w)* was rather conditioned by the effects of Wackernagel's (1892) prosodic law. In simple non-extended noun phrases (*N pw*) the clitic shifted to the front to follow the first stressed unit of the clause, e.g. the imperative form of the verb. It is thus a collaborative effort of prosody and syntax, which resulted in the appearance of the pre-posed *p(w)/pꜣ*.

- Proceeding to the chapter "Diatopic features" I investigate why the bespoken grammatical processes, unfolding during the Fifth and Sixth dynasties, remained hidden from the normative literary discourse. The chapter capitalizes on Coseriu's (1980) observation that the historical process of any given language is shaped by the interaction of the dialects with the "standard" or "exemplary" language. This notion is not alien to Egyptology, as the review of Edgerton (1951) , Edel (1964), Fecht (1960), Gundacker (2017), Allen (2004), and Winand (2015), given in the chapter, suggests. To find out how the deictica reflect diatopic differences, I use the typological technique and establish the *comparative concepts* (Haspelmath 2010). These are instrumental in detecting the regional patterns in the use of demonstratives.

- Subsequently, the chapter "Grammaticalization of Afro-Asiatic deictic roots" observes the development of Afro-Asiatic lexemes leading to Old Egyptian personal and relative pronouns, emphatic particles, demonstratives, and adverbs. The chapter exposes the polymorphemic nature of Egyptian deictica, elaborating common Afro-Asiatic deictic roots based on labials */p/, /f/, /w/*; nasals */n/, /m/*; the dental stop */d/*, pharyngeal fricative */ʕ/* and the glottal stop */ʔ/* (Egyptian 𓄿 (*ꜣ*)).

The closing chapter "Concluding remarks" summarizes the pragmatic, morphological, syntactic, and diatopic insights of the investigation. It additionally hypothesizes on how the gained knowledge affects the interpretation of demonstratives and article grammaticalization during the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.

1.3. Methodological observations on the diatopic analysis

The core material analyzed in this study are the texts belonging to the period of the Fifth and Sixth dynasties. As the grammatical features contained in the extant records are used to draw the distinction between the notions of "dialect" and "literary standard", some methodical observations

have to be made at this point. Historical languages, according to Coseriu (1980: 111), are characterized by three types of internal variations ("innere Verschiedenheiten"):

- *Diatopic variations* reflect territorial linguistic differences ("Unterschiede im Raume"). Linguistic systems representing the same diatopic features build *syntopic* units called *dialects*.

- *Diastratic variations* indicate differences in language use between the socio-cultural layers ("Unterschiede zwischen den sozial-kulturellen Schichten"). Homogeneous *synstratic* units are called *language levels ("Sprachniveaus")*.

- *Diaphasic variations* express different communication modes in the given speech situation ("Unterschiede zwischen den Modalitäten des Sprechens"). A general term for homogeneous *synphasic* units is a *language register ("Sprachregister")*.

Coseriu points out that the relationship between the dialect, language level, and language register is unidirectional. The dialect can function as a language level and eventually become a language register, but not the other way around (Coseriu 1980: 112). For example, the regional norm of the historical language can persist on a popular level, while other socio-cultural layers of the society have adopted a different common language; in a diaphasic perspective the popular level can function as a colloquial register[2]. This means that stylistic (i.e. diaphasic) differences present in a given historical text can refer to the dialectal (i.e. diatopic) features of its constituent parts and can therefore be used to track these varieties:

Table 1 Unidirectional relationship between dialect, language level and language register (Coseriu 1980)

diatopic varieties	diastratic varieties	diaphasic varieties
syntopic units dialects e.g. southern vs. northern	*synstratic units* language level e.g. lower vs. upper class	*synphasic units* language register/style e.g. colloquial vs. literary

The understanding of the connection between the stylistic and social features and a text's territoriality is essential for the current investigation (cf. Mœhlum (2009: 19)). Consequently, the key Old Kingdom sources used in the dialectal analysis are provided with a diaphasic, diatopic, and diachronic description at the end of this chapter. The most intricate in this respect is the diatopic assignment, which can rely on both textual and non-textual evidence. Non-textual markers include the provenance and the production site of the text medium, as well as its decorative features. Textual markers embrace the place names, proper names (writer, addressee, owner, etc.), or divine names that occur in the document and are associated with certain regions. The grammatical and lexical properties of the text can additionally point at the regional features of a given source. The

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[2] Cf. Middle Low German whose Lübeck variety was a literary standard during the heyday of the Hanseatic league (12th – 15th century), but was gradually reduced to the spoken colloquial level of Plattdeutsch in Northern Germany (Ernst 2012: 128).

sophisticated interplay of diastratic, diaphasic, and diatopic parameters used for detecting the provenance of Egyptian texts can be illustrated with a number of the examples from Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt.

- *Textual vs. non-textual features*

The letter of Pepi II to Harkhuf is preserved in the tomb of the latter in Qubbet el-Hawa, but its deictic system displays affinities to the Memphite region (see chapter *4.2. Diatopic features*). The administrative Reisner papyri, found in Naga ed-Deir in Upper Egypt, use standard Middle Egyptian except for three orders of the vizier contained in pReisner II, which exhibit Late Egyptian demonstratives. The orders were sent from the newly established residence in Itj-Tawy (el-Lisht) (W. K. Simpson 1965: 23). These texts possibly reflect the linguistic properties of the geographical area where they were produced, even though the documents themselves were found elsewhere.

Two letters of Hekanakhte provide another piece of evidence at this point. Hekanakhte papyri were discovered in the tomb of Meseh, which is a part of the mortuary complex of the Vizier Ipi (Mentuhotep II or III) in West Thebes. Hekanakhte was the ka-servant of a high official, possibly of the vizier himself (Allen 2002: 105–7). The deictic system of the Hekanakhte letters and accounts, however, does not match the contemporary colloquial sources from Upper Egypt, such as the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, the Semna dispatches, pBrooklyn 35.1446, or pReisner I and III. The use of *p3 hrw* instead of *hrw pn* for "this day" and bi-membral nominal clauses *N n3* instead of *N pw* point to the northern location of Hekanakhte's household, to whom the letters were addressed (Kupreyev 2013). This is supported by the personal and divine names as well as place-names used in these texts (Allen 2002: 101; 121–25; Brose 2014: 13). The language of the Hekanakhte papers thus corresponds to neither the place of their discovery nor their production site but renders the dialect of his home base in the region of Heracleopolis – Fayum – Memphis.

- *Diastratic and diaphasic features*

Following the unidirectional relation between the dialect, language level, and language register, the use of colloquial forms is also governed by the social status of the communication partners. The adoption of vernacular forms is sanctioned either between the discourse participants of the same social status, or in a top-down communication from upper to lower stratum (Richter 2014). It is never attested in an upward-directed discourse. This is exemplified by two letters dated to the reign of Pepi I found in Saqqara - pBoulaq 8 and the "Cairo-Linen" (Papyrus Cairo CG 25975). In the "Cairo-Linen" a widow appeals to her deceased husband, using the colloquial demonstratives *tw/nw*. The writer of pBoulaq 8, a legal document on papyrus, uses exclusively the deictica *pn/tn*, refers to himself as *b3k jm* "servant there" and to the addressee as *mrrj nb.j* "Mereri, my lord". The contrast between the informal character of the Old Kingdom Letters to the Dead and administrative documents is visible Cairo JdE 49623, the "letter of protest", in which the commandant of Tura is addressing the vizier. This letter again has *b3k jm* and utilizes only *pn* for an anaphoric reference.

The Hekanakhte letters 1 and 2, probably written by Hekanakhte himself (Allen 2002: 82–84), use the demonstrative *nꜣ* in nominal clauses[3]. Letter 3, dictated by Hekanakhte but penned by someone else (Allen 2002: 82), is addressed to the "Delta-overseer Herunefer". It is generally more formal and makes use of *pw* in the noun clause construction[4]. The absence of pre-nominal deictic forms in Semna dispatch No. 4 is related by Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 119) to the upward-directed discourse of the lower-rank officer to his superordinate. The letter from the boy-king Pepi II in the tomb Harkhuf, displaying the anaphoric reference chain $N \rightarrow N\ pn \rightarrow N\ pw$ (discussed in chapter *Anaphoric use: reference sequence N Ø → N pn → N pw*), can be seen as an example of the sanctioned downward-directed communication. Similarly, the pre-posed demonstratives in the earlier proclamation of Amarna boundary stelae are used only in the direct speech of the king: Echnaton's top-down message includes colloquial devices while the rest of the text does not[5].

Historical sources are seldom homogeneous, one document often represents a conglomerate, a mix of diaphasic and diastratic features (Junge 1984; Jansen-Winkeln 1995). Letters to the Dead usually use vernacular, but the inscription on the Louvre Bowl from the First Intermediate Period is quite orthodox, consisting of formulaic phrases. A similar pattern is observed with administrative documents: some of them were written according to the established standard, while others are more colloquial. Two different registers can even be used by the members of the same family - this is the case with the two Middle Kingdom testaments of the brothers Ankhren and Wah. The first testament was made by Ankhren to Wah in the 44th year of Amenemhat III and is formal, using proper Middle Egyptian[6]. The second testament written by Wah to his wife is dated to the 2nd year of Amenemhat IV and has predominantly Late Egyptian demonstrative and possessive constructions[7].

1.4. Diachronic, diaphasic and diatopic features of key textual sources

The following table presents the diachronic, diaphasic, and diatopic features of the key textual sources used in the current study. The original attribution of a text to a certain geographical area is based on the provenance of the document. The subsequent linguistic analysis may, however, affect the original assignment.

Table 2 Diachronic, diaphasic and diatopic features of key textual sources

Source[8]	Features		
	Diachronic	**Diaphasic**	**Diatopic**

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[3] Hekanakhte, Letter I, recto, line 14; Hekanakhte, Letter I, verso, line 9, Hekanakhte, Letter II, recto, lines 41-42.

[4] Hekanakhte, Letter III, recto, line 4. Another *pw* occurs in the account Hekanakhte, Account V, recto, lines 9-10 in the expression *dmḏ pw n* [*šꜣrw*] *1100* "The total of [bundles] is 1100".

[5] With a single exception: in the proclamation text, *jtn* is consistently written with the definite article (*pꜣ jtn*). Richter (2014: 113 (footnote 7)) draws an interesting parallel to modern Egypt: after the revolution of 1952 the language of the presidential speeches was changed from the standard *Fuṣḥá* Arabic to the colloquial *Amiya* Arabic.

[6] pLahun G, Pl. XII, I.1: lines 1-5.

[7] pLahun G, Pl. XII, II.1: lines 6-14.

[8] See section "Abbreviations" for the abbreviation of the quoted sources.

Table 2 Diachronic, diaphasic and diatopic features of key textual sources

Source[8]	Features		
	Diachronic	**Diaphasic**	**Diatopic**
	Dynasty V		
Wepemneferet	Neferefre	*Reden und Rufe*	Giza
Ptahshepses	Nyuserre-Ini	*Reden und Rufe*	Abusir
Ti	Nyuserre-Ini	*Reden und Rufe*	Saqqara
pAbusir	Djedkare-Isesi	Administrative documents	Abusir
Senedjemib-Inti	Djedkare-Isesi	Letters from the king	Giza
Kaiemankh J, K	Djedkare-Isesi	*Reden und Rufe*	Giza
Iineferet	Dynasty V	*Reden und Rufe*	Giza
Rashepses	Djedkare-Isesi	Letter from the king	Saqqara
Akhethotep	Djedkare-Isesi	*Reden und Rufe*	Saqqara
Ptahhotep I and II	Djedkare-Isesi	*Reden und Rufe*	Saqqara
PT W	Unis	Pyramid Texts of Unis	Saqqara
Nikaiankh	Early Dynasty V	Arrangement for the funerary cult	Tehna (Minya)
Nefermenu	Dynasty V	Inscription on a false door	Saqqara
	Dynasty VI		
Mereruka	Teti I	*Reden und Rufe*	Saqqara
Waatetkhethor	Teti I	*Reden und Rufe*	Saqqara
Meryteti	Teti I	*Reden und Rufe*	Saqqara
Hesi	Teti I	*Reden und Rufe*	Saqqara
Pani	Teti I	Inscriptions on stelae	Saqqara
Mehu	Teti I/Pepi I	*Reden und Rufe*	Saqqara
pBoulaq 8	Pepi I	Administrative document ("deed of	Saqqara

Table 2 Diachronic, diaphasic and diatopic features of key textual sources

Source[8]	Features		
	Diachronic	**Diaphasic**	**Diatopic**
		endowment")	
PT P	Pepi I	Pyramid Texts of Pepi I	Saqqara
Nianchpepi	Pepi I	Text on a sarcophagus	Saqqara
Cairo linen	Dynasty VI	Letter to the dead	Saqqara
Cairo JdE 52001 A, B, C	Merenre	Administrative letters	Saqqara
Weni	Merenre	Autobiographic inscription	Abydos
Cairo JdE 49623	End of Dynasty VI	Administrative letter of protest	Saqqara
pBerlin 9010 (Elephantine papyri)	Pepi II	Administrative legal letter	Qubbet el-Hawa
pBerlin 8869 (Elephantine papyri)	Dynasty VI	Administrative letter of complaint	Qubbet el-Hawa
pTurin 54002 (Elephantine papyri)	Pepi II	Administrative legal letter	Qubbet el-Hawa
Harkhuf	Pepi II	Autobiographic inscription and a letter from the king	Qubbet el-Hawa
Sabni	Pepi II	Autobiographic inscription	Qubbet el-Hawa
Idu-Seneni	Pepi II	*Reden und Rufe*	el-Qasr es-Saiyad
Tjauti	Pepi II	*Reden und Rufe*	el-Qasr es-Saiyad
Balat T 3686 and 4965	Pepi II	Administrative documents on clay tablets	Balat (Dakhle Oasis)
Qau bowl	Dynasty VI	Letter to the dead	Qau el Kebir
Coptos decree B	Pepi II	Royal decree	Coptos
Coptos decrees C	Pepi II	Royal decree	Coptos
pGebelein	Old Kingdom	Administrative documents	Gebelein

Table 2 Diachronic, diaphasic and diatopic features of key textual sources

Source[8]	Features		
	Diachronic	Diaphasic	Diatopic
pBrooklyn 47.218.18	Pepi II	Letter (introductory formula)	?
Djersenedj	Pepi II	Inscription on an offering tablet	Saqqara
	FIP		
Hu bowl	FIP	Letter to the dead	Hu
Louvre bowl	FIP	Letter to the dead	Abydos (?)
Naga ed Deir 3737	late OK or FIP	Letter to the dead	Naga ed-Deir
Naga ed Deir N 3500	late OK or FIP	Letter to the dead	Naga ed-Deir
Naga ed Deir MFA 04.2059	FIP	Letter + Letter to the dead	Naga ed-Deir
Berlin bowl	Dynasty XI	Letter to the dead	Thinis (?)
Chicago OM 13945	FIP	Letter to the dead	Qau el Kebir (?)
"Small stela" in Cairo museum	FIP (?)	Letter to the dead	Naga-ed-Deir (?)[9]
Ankhtifi	Dynasty IX	Autobiographic inscription	Mo'alla/Hierakonpolis
Hatnub Gr.	Dynasty XI	Expedition reports and autobiographic inscriptions	Hatnub / Hermopolis Magna

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[9] Parkinson (1991: 191) and Simpson (1999: 387)

2. Theoretical outline

2.1. Typological features of demonstratives

Demonstratives belong to the indexical or referential expressions, which can only be understood in context; in other words their interpretation depends on the properties of the extralinguistic background of the utterance in which they occur (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 259). These are also called *deictic* expressions, from Ancient Greek *δεῖξίς* "display", "exhibition", "reference" (Lyons 1968: 275–81; Clark 1978; Levinson 1983: 54–55; Fillmore 1997). Depending on the theoretical approach, deixis is assigned to either semantics or pragmatics (Bussmann and Lauffer 2008: 117). Levinson (1983: 61–63) singles out five types of deictic expressions:

Person deixis: encode the role of participants in the speech event (e.g. personal pronouns "you", "she").

Place deixis: encode spatial locations relative to the location of the participants in the speech event (e.g. demonstratives "this", "that"; adverbs "here", "there").

Time deixis: encode temporal points and spans relative to the time at which the utterance was spoken or a written message inscribed (e.g. adverbs of time "now", "then").

Discourse deixis: encode reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance is located (e.g. demonstrative in the expression: "'He was right'. *That* is what she said").

Social deixis: encode social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles (e.g. first person singular pronouns in Thai, which render such notions of social relationship as "male commoner addressing royalty of any but the highest ranks", "Buddhist priest speaking to non-intimate layman or lower-ranking priest" etc. (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 271)).

The deictic field is organized around three components: 1) actor/speaker, 2) addressee/listener and 3) referent. It also involves a concept of deictic center (origo), which is the reference point in relation to which a deictic expression is to be interpreted (Bühler 1965: 102–20). Most typically deictic center is conceptualized as the speaker's location; social role etc. at the time of the utterance, but deictic expressions can be transposed or relativized to some other origo, for example the protagonist at the relevant time and place in a narrative (Levinson 2006: 111)[10]. Recent accounts in cognitive

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[10] Diessel (2014: 123) notes that demonstratives are normally excluded from the analysis of the *frames of reference* as they, unlike relational expressions such as "left" and "right", do not provide directional information, i.e. they lack "angular specification". Based on the type of origin/anchor, Diessel (2014: 118) distinguishes three types of frames:
- *viewer-centered* (or egocentric), determined by the speaker's (or some other person's) bodily coordinates at the time of the utterance (e.g. "The ball is to the left of the tree");
- *object-centered* , with the anchor embedded in a ground object with an inherent orientation (e.g. "The car stopped in front of the bus");

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psychology show, however, that reference from the point of view of both production and comprehension is not an *individual* (i.e. speaker- or listener-centric), but rather a *collective* phenomenon of joint action (Weinrich 1988; Eilan 2005). It is a

> collaborative enterprise that requires that speaker and addressee work together (...) in reaching mutual agreement on how to conceptualize and name a particular entity (...). Such agreement is established through interaction, and the addressee is at least as important as the speaker in reaching agreement and establishing reference (Peeters and Özyürek 2016: 1).

This approach assumes that, along with indicating locations and directions, demonstratives have another essential function: coordinating the joint focus of attention of communication partners. In the following chapters the pragmatic, semantic, syntactic, and morphological features of demonstratives will be explored in detail.

2.1.1. Pragmatic features

Exophoric (situational) use

Pragmatic features apply to the contexts in which demonstratives are used. When demonstratives refer to concrete entities (persons, objects or locations) in the physical space-time circumstances of the speech event, they may be called *exophoric* or *situational* (Himmelmann 2001: 833), e.g. "*this cake* in front of you is really delicious" (referring to a cake present in the utterance situation)[11]. The context of the utterance, though, is not a fixed constant given in advance, but is "interactively established by the participants in a communication act" (Himmelmann 1996: 223). Jungbluth (2003: 22–23) provides examples of the Spanish deictics used by the tourist guides facing the audience, but instructed to talk as if they were standing alongside their audience, e.g. "You can see *here in front of you* the famous cathedral of Burgos". Diessel (1999: 94) distinguishes the following distinct features of the exophoric / situational demonstratives:

- the speaker or some other person is the deictic center;
- there is usually a deictic contrast;
- deixis may be accompanied by the pointing gesture.

The distance-grounded definition of the exophoric use has recently been refined by a more discourse-oriented approach, suggesting that the status of the addressee's attention in relation to

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- *environment-centered*, in which fixed coordinates on the ground usually based on geographical landmarks or cardinal directions provide the origin/anchor (e.g. "The town is in the south of Germany").

Diessel argues that demonstratives also establish a coordinate system, i.e. frame of reference, because they can contain directional morphemes and are accompanied by non-verbal means of spatial reference such as pointing gestures, eye gaze and body posture. The interpretation of demonstratives, according to him, requires the same conceptual constituents as the systems of spatial expressions (figure, ground, origin, viewer and angular specification) and, accordingly, demonstratives should be included into the cross-linguistic analysis of frames of reference.

[11] Cf. the definition of exophoric reference given by Strauss (2002: 136–37): "Exophora, by virtue of its prefix (*exo-* 'outside', 'without'), simply means the reference to an item which is not named nor referred to within the actual text, the actual language either preceding that item or following it. In other words, what the reference designates can only be grasped through something that is taking place within the context of the situation itself. Conversely, endophora is the act of reference to some item from within the text itself".

the referent is fundamental for deictic encoding (Özyürek 1998; Küntay and Özyürek 2002; Strauss 2002; N. J. Enfield 2003; Diessel 2006). Demonstratives function not only to indicate the relative distance to the deictic center, but, foremost, to establish and manipulate the shared focus of attention of communication partners. Distance itself is viewed not just in terms of physical properties of space, but as a psychological phenomenon, established and controlled by the speaker and the addressee. The "psychological proximity" can be increased or decreased by varying contextual factors such as visibility, familiarity, ownership, inclusion into the shared space during face-to-face communication, physical, and social boundaries (Peeters and Özyürek 2016: 3).

A subtype of exophoric use is the so-called *deixis am phantasma*, in which the narrated event is imagined to be happening in front of the speaker and the audience:

> And he's… you see a scene where he's… coming on his bicycle *this* way (Himmelmann 1996: 222).

Situational use has been traditionally considered primary from which other types , such as the endophoric, derive (Diessel 1999: 110; Levinson 2006: 108). Enfield (2003: 86) and Himmelmann (1996: 223, 242), however, argue that situational use is only one of the domains of application of a semantically general, or "primitive", deictic notion: referent is always a conceptual entity, irrespective of whether it is instantiated in the situational context or in the linguistic discourse.

Endophoric use

Demonstratives which point at the linguistic elements in the ongoing discourse are called *endophoric* or *intra-textual* (Levinson 2006: 101). This type of use includes anaphoric and discourse-deictic demonstratives.

Anaphoric (tracking) use

Anaphoric demonstratives make a reference to the prior discourse participants (Diessel 1999: 6). Compared to other tracking devices such as 3rd person pronouns and definite noun phrases the anaphoric use of demonstratives is relatively infrequent (Himmelmann 1996: 226) and indicates a referent that is somewhat unexpected and not currently in the focus of attention (Diessel 1999: 96). In German, Dutch, and Russian the continuing topics are tracked by 3rd person pronouns or definite noun phrases, while anaphorical demonstratives are coreferential with non-topical antecedents, i.e. they establish a new topic. In German, depending on whether an anaphoric demonstrative or a third person pronoun is used, the reference is applied either to the non-topical antecedent or to the existing topic:

> a) Der Anwalt sprach mit einem Klienten. Da *dieser* nicht viel Zeit hatte, vereinbarten sie ein weiteres Gespräch nächste Woche. (*ein Klient ← dieser*).
>
> b) Der Anwalt sprach mit einem Klienten. Da *er* nicht viel Zeit hatte, vereinbarten sie ein weiteres Gespräch nächste Woche. (*der Anwalt ← er*)
>
> The lawyer talked to a client. Since this one/he didn't have much time, they agreed to have another meeting next week (Diessel 1999: 96).

The use of anaphoric demonstratives is thus motivated by the "ambiguity resolution" between topical (co-referential) and non-topical (non-co-referential) referents (Himmelmann 1996: 228).

Discourse-deictic use

Discourse-deictic demonstratives refer to propositions and connect two discourse units - thus the term "impure text deixis" used by Lyons (1977: 668). The difference between the anaphoric and discourse deictic reference is apparent in Levinson's (2006: 108) examples:

> The cowboy entered. *This man* was not someone to mess with.   → anaphoric
> 'You are wrong'. *That's* exactly what she said.   → discourse-deictic
> *It* sounded like this: whoosh.   → discourse-deictic

The distinctive feature of the discourse deixis is that it is usually a single mention, i.e. the referent is established once and not referred to again. For Himmelmann (1996: 225) discourse deictic use is more common with pronominal than with adnominal demonstratives.

Recognitional use

Recognitional use applies to both exophoric and endophoric pragmatic contexts. Recognitional demonstratives "draw on specific, "personalized" knowledge that is assumed to be shared by the communicating parties due to the common interactional history or to supposedly shared experiences" (Himmelmann 1996: 233). The intended referent is thus identified not through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse, but through the interlocutors' common experience. As the referents are usually of peripheral importance (or low topicality) the recognitional use often integrates additional descriptive information such as relative clauses and other modifiers, which make the referents more accessible:

> Do you remember *that holiday we spent in the rain in Devon*? (Levinson 2006: 108)

An insightful description of the use of recognitional demonstrative *panya* in the Australian language Yangkunytjatjara is given by Goddard:

> *Panya* ANAPH (roughly "you know the one") calls the listener's attention to the fact that he or she is already familiar with a referent. It is not usually used about things which are fully topical – i.e. already being talked about, but rather to re-introduce something into the conversation (...) Actually, *panya* ANAPH does not presuppose an explicit mention in previous discourse, but simply that the addressee be able to call to mind the intended referent (...) (Goddard 1983: 54).

Himmelmann admits a considerable difficulty in distinguishing recognitional and anaphoric (tracking) demonstratives in conversational and narrative discourse, as both can refer to the previously mentioned items. He suggests establishing the typological grid operating with the parameters "disambiguation" / "reminder" and "low topicality" / "high topicality" to differentiate between these types of use (Himmelmann 1996: 238–42)**:**

Table 3 Anaphoric and recognitional demonstratives

Anaphoric (tracking)	Recognitional
Disambiguate: establish, pick up a discourse participant among several similar, equally accessible	*Remind*: it is not a referent per se, but more the whole episode in question which is evoked in memory.

Table 3 Anaphoric and recognitional demonstratives

Anaphoric (tracking)	Recognitional
referents.	
Topicalized referents: reference firmly establishes a new protagonist in the universe of discourse.	*Peripheral referents (low topicality)*: referents themselves might be peripheral, there is no new information regarding them.

In English the distal demonstrative *that* is typical for recognitional use. Lyons (1977: 647) claims that *that* in English is generally unmarked ("neutral"), but Himmelmann (1996: 243) argues that the definition of markedness/unmarkedness depends on the type of pragmatic context: the distal demonstrative is unmarked for recognitional use, while the proximal demonstrative is an unmarked choice for tracking use.

Emotive use

Another pragmatic use type, appearing in endophoric and exophoric contexts, is characterized by the emotional connotation. It is often labelled "empathetic":

> He went and hit *that* bastard (Levinson 2006: 108).

Considering the fact that connotation expressed does not necessarily include empathy, the current study implements a rather neutral term *emotive* use (cf. Egedi (2017)). Such emotional employment of demonstratives may be analyzed as a special subtype of the recognitional use (cf. Himmelmann (1996: 247, note 32)).

2.1.2. Semantic features

Spatial features

Encoding distance from the deictic center to the referent is traditionally viewed as the basic semantic feature of demonstratives (Lyons 1977: 95; Clark 1978; Lyons 1982: 121; Fillmore 1982: 48–53; Anderson and Keenan 1985: 278; Dryer 2014: 234–35). Spatial features depend on two main parameters – the conceptualization of the deictic center and the relative distance from the deictic center to the referent, which can be combined with other dimensional features. The table below, based on Anderson and Keenan (1985: 289–95) and Diessel (1999: 51)), summarizes possible options:

Table 4 Spatial features of demonstratives

Deictic center	Distance	Other parameters	
Speaker	Proximal	Visibility:	visible / invisible
Hearer	Medial	Elevation:	up / down
Speaker and hearer together	Distal	Movement:	upward / downward; towards / away

Table 4 Spatial features of demonstratives

Deictic center	Distance	Other parameters	
	etc.		from speaker, across the visual field of speaker
		Geography: etc.	uphill / downhill, upriver / downriver

Depending on how the deictic center and the relative distance are conceptualized, deictic systems can include two, three, four or more terms. *Two-term* languages are usually speaker-oriented and encode the proximity and the distance. *Three- or more term* deictic systems can be speaker- or addressee-anchored and even include the shared perceptual space of both the speaker and hearer as the deictic center (Levinson 2006: 109). Diessel (1999: 40) provides examples from Ewondo, which has four adverbial demonstratives:

vá	near speaker
válā	near hearer
válí	away from speaker and hearer
álí	far away from the speaker and the hearer

Spanish distinguishes proximal *este*, medial *ese* and distal *aquel* (but see the critical review by Jungbluth (2003) below).The fine-grained Malagasy deictics include a series of seven locative adverbs differentiated along the distance from the speaker (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 292):

ety	*eto*	*(eo)*	*etsy*	*eny*	*eroa*	*ery*
Close to speaker	→ → →		Increasingly far from the speaker			

In contrast to distance-oriented deictic paradigm, *person-oriented* languages indicate objects as being in some sense close to or identifiable by the addressee; such as in Japanese, where the demonstrative adjectives *kono* ("near speaker") and *ano* ("far from both speaker and addressee") are complemented by *sono*, referring to objects near to or easily identifiable by the addressee (Anderson and Keenan (1985: 284); see, however, the alternative view of Kuno (1973) in the following chapter).

Other spatial categories encoded by the demonstratives are visibility (the referent is either visible or out of sight), elevation, and geography (the referent is situated higher / lower, uphill / downhill) or movement (the referent is static or moving toward / away from the deictic center). In the Australian language Dyirbal, for example, the deictic stems signal distance and visibility (Himmelmann 1997: 22):

yala- / ginya-	proximal visible
bala-	distant visible
ŋala-	invisible

Enfield (2003: 83) suggests that the spatial terms *proximal* and *distal* are probably the interpretation of the originally primitive deictic notions, signaling the contrast between a more general (weak) and

more specific (strong) meaning. Depending on the system this opposition can be applied to distance ("near" vs. "far"), location ("here" vs. "there"), accessibility ("accessible vs. "not accessible"), etc. The spatial notions provide a conceptual basis for metaphorical extensions into other semantic domains, such as time ("at this hour", "that year") (G. Lakoff 1980; Anderson and Keenan 1985).

Joint attention features

The distance-centered approach to demonstratives has been challenged recently by a number of studies in developmental and cognitive psychology showing that deictic expressions possess another fundamental feature – to establish and coordinate the *joint focus of attention* of the communication partners (Tomasello 1999, 2008; Eilan 2005; Küntay and Özyürek 2002; Diessel 2006, 2014; Levinson 2006). *Joint* or *shared attentional focus* presupposes that

> (...) each subject [speaker and addressee] is aware, in some sense, of the object as an object that is present to both subjects. There is, in this respect, a 'meeting of minds' between both subjects, such that the fact that both are attending to the same object is open or mutually manifest (Eilan 2005: 5).

Meeting of minds can only succeed if both participants perceive each other as agents capable of *intentional action* and consider the other person's perspective and mental state (Diessel 2014: 125). Clark (1978) and Eilan (2005) assert that the ability to participate in activities requiring joint attention emerges only gradually during a child's development and consists of the following steps:

4-5 months old: children are engaged in dyadic interaction child <–> parent / caregiver; spontaneous gesture of pointing emerges at the age of 3 months.

6-9 months old: children alternate gaze between object and adults and make first attempts of gaze following towards the visible objects.

10-12 months old: sophisticated forms of gaze and point following occur, together with initial attempts of showing and giving objects to adults.

Between the ages of 9 and 18 months children, undergo a cognitive revolution:

> [they] progress from understanding 'other persons in terms of their [i.e. children's] intentions' to understanding 'that others may have intentions that may differ from their own', and eventually to understanding 'that others have intentions that may not match with the current state of affairs (accidents and unfulfilled intentions)' (Eilan 2005: 16–17).

Although the actual pointing gesture emerges as early as 3 months after birth, it is only after about 12 months that a child starts to use it intentionally to create a joint focus of attention (Eilan 2005: 15). Two types of child's pointing activities can be distinguished: *imperative pointing*, interpreted as a request for an object and *declarative pointing*, focusing the addressee's attention on a particular object (Bates, Camaioni, and Volterra 1976). The latter, declarative, pointing is in fact "the primordial form of uniquely human communication" (Tomasello 2008: 3), which is not observed with other species, such as great apes (Levinson 2006: 98; Tomasello 2006). Bates et al. (1976), Eilan (2005) and Bruner (1995) suggest that declarative pointing provides a bridge to verbal communication, as the first words emerge during the thirteenth month. The most common linguistic devices of establishing joint attention are demonstrative pronouns, accompanied by eye gaze and pointing gesture. Deictics

are among the earliest words acquired by children: a deictic word based on "there" or "that" (regularly in the form *[e], [?a], [da]*) appears in the first ten words of English-speaking children (Clark 1978: 95). Küntay and Ösyürek (2006: 305) posit that demonstratives in their early use do not encode distance distinctions but function prominently as 'attention getters' and that distance distinctions are learned later. Also Clark (1978: 98–99) notes that the contrast young children make between "this" and "that" is initially unrelated to proximal/non-proximal meaning. According to Clark (1978: 116) the deictic contrasts take seven or eight years to work out for a fairly limited set of contexts and the deictic system in its entirety can take even longer to master[12]. The joint attention features have been instrumental in re-interpreting the number of three-term and two-term deictic systems, previously viewed solely through the lens of the distance- or person-oriented paradigms.

Three-term deictic systems

A common explanation of Turkish demonstratives stated that *bu* refers to objects that are close to the speaker, *şu* to objects at mid-distance or close to the addressee and *o* to objects far from the speaker and addressee (e.g. Lewis (1991)). Küntay and Ösyürek proved, however, that in the dyadic face-to-face interaction the functional distinction between *şu* and *bu/o* is based on the joint attention focus:

> *Şu* is used in utterances where there is no previous joint attention between the interlocutors regardless of the distance of the object. For example, a speaker can refer to a wound on his arm as well as to a faraway referent with *şu* as long as the addressee's visual attention is not on the object. On the other hand, *bu* and *o* are used in cases where joint attention had already been achieved, with *bu* used for proximal objects and *o* for distal objects with respect to the speaker (Küntay and Özyürek 2002: 338).

Göksel and Kerslake note that the endophoric parameters such as a previous mention and topicalization can interact with the visual focus in Turkish:

> (...) a major difference between *şu* and the others, is that, while *bu* and *o* usually refer to objects mentioned before, the referent of *şu* is almost always something to which the speaker is drawing attention for the first time (...) *O* is used when a concrete item referred to is not within the visual field of the speaker or the addressee(s), but has been previously mentioned. Both *o* and *bu* can be used when an object, which is in the context, is topicalized (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 278–79).

The previous mention and topicalization in narrative discourse are thus the linguistic pendants to the visual attentional focus in Turkish. The interaction of the perceptual (visual) and cognitive attention with the deictic properties of *şu*, *bu*, and *o* in Turkish can thus be summarized as follows:

Table 5 Joint attention and spatial features of Turkish demonstratives

Joint attention	Location of the referent

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[12] Clark mentions a particular feature of article acquisition by children: "The younger the children, the more they over-estimate what their listeners know: they over-use the definite article in places where adults use the indefinite one to present new information(...) The contrastive uses of the definite for given and the indefinite for new information does not seem to be mastered until the age of eight or so" (Clark 1978: 90–91 (footnote 2)).

Table 5 Joint attention and spatial features of Turkish demonstratives

Joint attention	Location of the referent	
Joint *visual* attention on the referent is:	Proximal to the speaker	Distal to the speaker
already present → not yet present →	*bu* *şu*	*o* *şu*
Joint *cognitive* attention on the referent is:	In the visual field of the speaker / addressee	Not in the visual field of the speaker / addressee
already present (referent mentioned before and topicalized) →	*bu*	*o*
not yet present (referent not yet mentioned) →	*şu*	*şu*

A similar discourse-related explanation has been suggested for the distribution of the Japanese demonstratives series *ko-/so-/a-*. The deictic system in Japanese is regularly defined as person-oriented: *ko-* signifies referents close to the speaker, *so-* marks referent's proximity to the addressee and *a-* points at referents distant from both the speaker and addressee (Ebi 2008: 63–64). These deictic roots are extended with the suffix *-no* for adnominal use (*ko-no N, so-no N, a-no N*), the suffix *-re* for pronominal use as verbal objects (*ko-re, so-re, o-re*), and with the suffix *-ko* for adverbial use (*ko-ko, so-ko, a-soko*) (Ebi 2008: 62). Yet Kuno observed that *ko-/so-/a-* explicate the mutual knowledge of the discourse participants about the referent:

> The *a*-series is used for referring to something (at a distance either in time or space) that the speaker knows, [sic!] both he and the hearer know personally or have shared experiences in. The *so*-series is used for referring to something that is not known personally to either the speaker or the hearer or has not been a shared experience between them. The *ko*-series is used semi-anaphorically as if the object being talked about were visible and were at the speaker's side (...) Once the understanding is established between the two that both know the object well, the *a*-series takes precedence and the use of the *ko*-series results in unacceptability (Kuno 1973: 290).

Hence the primary opposition in Japanese involves not the distance, but the shared (*o-* series) vs. non-shared (*ko-* and *so-* series) knowledge about the referent. The difference in the use of *so-* and *ko-* is more subtle and apparently renders the location of non-activated referents as close to the speaker (*ko-*) or close to the addressee (*so-*). Kuno (1973: 290) provides the following dialogue between A and B to illustrate this:

A:
*Boku no tomodati ni **Yamada** to yuu hito ga iru n da ga, **ko-no** otoko wa nakanaka no rironka de, (...)*
I have a friend by the name **Yamada**. **This** man is a theoretician of some caliber, and (...)

B:
*Aa, **so-no** (ano, *kono) hito nara, boku mo yoku sitte imasu yo. **A-no** (*sono, *kono) hito wa zuibun*

giron-zuki desu ne.
Ah, I know **that** man well. **That** man likes to argue, doesn't he?

For Kuno, the first demonstrative (*ko-no*) refers to Yamada as if he were present at the time and place of the conversation. The second demonstrative (*so-no*) is also used non-anaphorically, locating the referent at A's side. Once the understanding is established that both A and B know the referent well, B can no longer use the *so*-series and A can no longer use the *ko*-series: *Yamada* can only be tracked with the *a*-series (Kuno 1973: 290). Ebi (2008: 63) observes that *ko*-series can be accompanied by the topic particle *wa*, which is not common with *so*-series. This suggests that the difference between *ko-* and *so-* can also be a matter of topicality.

Kuno's parameter of the discourse participants' shared knowledge about the referent is interpreted by Levinson (2006: 110) and Jungbluth (2003: 29–30) in terms of the opposition between the shared and non-shared *cognitive* attentional focus. *A*-series demonstratives track the referents with the established joint focus of cognitive attention (i.e. belonging to the shared experience of the speaker and addressee), but also signal distance from both speaker and addressee. *Ko-* and *so-* series are used with the purpose of drawing the referent into the cognitive attention focus, *ko-* associated with the proximity to the speaker and topicalization, *so-* signaling proximity to the addressee. Applying these notions, we can summarize the pragmatic use types of the Japanese demonstratives as follows:

Table 6 Joint attention and spatial features of Japanese demonstratives

Joint attention	Location of the referent
Joint *cognitive* attention on the referent is:	
already present →	*a*- (distal from both speaker and addressee)
not yet present →	*ko*- (proximal to speaker) *so*- (proximal to addressee)

Another three-term deictic system – Spanish – is conventionally described as either distance-oriented with proximal *este*, medial *ese*, and distal *aquel* (with speaker as *origo*), or as person-oriented, where *este* is associated with the 1st person (speaker)*, ese* with the 2nd person (hearer), and *aquel* with the 3rd person (referent) (Hottenroth 1982; Anderson and Keenan 1985). Jungbluth (2003) finds both approaches inadequate and suggests what she calls a "dyad-oriented interpretation". In accordance with Jungbluth's conceptual framework, two people talking to each other form a minimal pair of conversation – a *conversational dyad*. All objects inside of this shared conversational space are treated in Spanish as proximal: speakers point at them using *este*, even if they belong to or are located closer to the hearer (Jungbluth 2003: 19–20). *Aquel* is used for objects outside the conversational dyad, located, for example, behind the hearer or the speaker, regardless of how distant they are (Jungbluth 2003: 22–24). *Ese* designates referents located at median distance from the speaker and hearer in the situation of side-by-side conversation or referents located in front of the hearer during face-to-back conversation (Jungbluth 2003: 24–26). Jungbluth's concept of a conversational dyad thus intersects with the accessibility for the speaker: physically accessible items

within the shared conversational space are addressed with *este* and not (immediately) accessible with *ese*; items located outside of the shared conversational space are pointed at with *aquel.*

Table 7 Conversational dyad and spatial features of Spanish demonstratives

Conversational dyad	Location of the referent	
	Physically accessible for the speaker	Physically not accessible for the speaker
Referent located within the conversational dyad →	*este*	*ese*
Referent located outside of the conversational dyad →	*aquel*	*aquel*

Laury, examining the use of the demonstratives in the conversational discourse of another three-term deictic system – Finnish – notes that it cannot be explained in terms of concrete physical proximity or distality. Rather,

> (...) they are used by speakers in a dynamic fashion to express their orientation and stance toward referents. Demonstratives function to draw the attention of the addressee to a referent and to express who the speaker considers the referent to be accessible to (Laury 1996: 307).

Finnish has three demonstrative pronouns: *tämä*, customarily associated with proximal reference, *tuo* utilized with referents distal from both the speaker and addressee, and *se*, employed as anaphoric demonstrative referring to previously mentioned discourse items (Atkinson 1969: 9). Laury introduces the concept of the speech participants' "current sphere", defined by social and cognitive accessibility of the referents in question, which is not to be confused with the concrete perceptual accessibility. The lack of cognitive accessibility explains why objects adjacent to the speaker's body may be addressed in Finnish with distal *tuo* (Laury 1996: 308). The use of demonstratives is thus regulated by the dynamic, socially defined spheres of interaction:

> *Tämä* presents a referent or referents which the speaker includes within his or her current sphere, while *tuo* points to referents which the speaker considers to be outside of his or her current sphere. *Se* is used for referents which the speaker considers to be within the addressee's current sphere (Laury 1996: 307).

Laury observes that *se* in modern Finnish is undergoing the process of grammaticalization as definite article. The origins of this development lie in the function of *se*, which marks referents as cognitively accessible to the addressee and thus easily identifiable (Laury 1996: 314).

Table 8 Speech participants' current sphere of Finnish demonstratives

Current sphere	Speaker-wise	Addressee-wise

Table 8 Speech participants' current sphere of Finnish demonstratives

Current sphere	Speaker-wise	Addressee-wise
Referent is socially and cognitively *accessible* →	*tämä*	*se*
Referent is socially and cognitively *not accessible* →	*tuo*	

Two-term deictic systems

The role of distance as a foundational deictic concept has been also revised in languages operating with two terms. Enfield examined demonstratives in Lao (Southwestern Thai, Laos) and found out that "the referents of 'proximal' nii^4 are often quite far away, indeed as far or farther than many referents of 'distal' nan^4. Similarly, things marked by distal nan^4 may be physically very close to the speaker (N. J. Enfield 2003: 88)".

To explain this phenomenon Enfield suggests treating the deictic sphere and its boundaries not just as a fixed physical setting, but as a meaningful interactional space, continually defined, monitored and interpreted by interlocutors. Communicative partners create a mutual attentional engagement area, designated by Enfield as *here-space*, which governs the distribution of demonstratives in Lao as follows:

> (...)(a) of the two Lao demonstrative determiners, nii^4 is semantically general and nan^4 is semantically more specific; (b) the added semantic content of nan^4 specifies that the referent is something 'not here'; (c) neither nii^4 nor nan^4 encode semantic distinctions of 'distance'; (d) the choice of demonstrative determiner is made with reference to the perimeter of the speaker's here-space as conceived in the interlocutors' common ground. These conceived perimeters are emergent from factors of the interaction, including active engagement areas, physical features of the interactional space, assumptions about addressees' access to relevant information for inference (N. J. Enfield 2003: 91).

The dynamic engagement area of two speakers, *here-space*, enables the use of proximal nii^4 with distal referents and distal nan^4 with proximal referents (N. J. Enfield 2003: 103–4; 111–13). A remarkable feature of distal nan^4 is to signal politeness: when a third person intervenes in the dialogue, they may point at the object, designated by the two interlocutors with proximal nii^4, with distal nan^4 (N. J. Enfield 2003: 101–2).

Table 9 Here-space (common ground) of Lao demonstratives

Here-space	
Referent is located within the interlocutors' *here-space* →	nii^4
Referent is located outside the interlocutors' *here-space* →	nan^4

Piwek, Beun, and Cremers (2008) analyzed a well-known two-term deictic system – Dutch – and argued that the choice of demonstratives in it is governed by the cognitive and visual accessibility of the referent. Understanding accessibility as the ease of effort with which particular mental contents

come to mind, Piwek et al. linked low accessibility objects with intense indicating (directing of attention) and high accessibility objects with neutral indicating. Interestingly, the proximal *dit* is associated in Dutch with intense / strong indicating of low accessibility referents and the distal *dat* with neutral indicating of high accessibility referents (Piwek, Beun, and Cremers 2008: 694).

Table 10 Degree of intensity and referent's accessibility of Dutch demonstratives

Degree of intensity	Accessibility of the referent	
intense / strong indication →	*low* →	*dit* (proximal)
neutral indication →	*high* →	*dat* (distal)

Strauss (2002) reached similar conclusions for English, operating with the concept of attention focus, which she understands as the degree of attention the hearer must pay to the referent. She found out that the physical distance cannot explain the use of proximal and distal forms in English: in spontaneous talk, speakers do not seem to use the two forms with the type of systematicity suggested by the proximal and non-proximal distinction (Strauss 2002: 134). She showed that proximal demonstrative *this* is associated with the higher focus/intensity, while *that* is frequently non-phoric and competes with the definite article *the* for the medium/low focus rank of the referential continuum (Strauss 2002: 147). This conforms to the earlier findings defining *this*-marked utterances in English as topical (R. Lakoff 1974) and *that*-phrases as generally unmarked (neutral) (Lyons 1977: 647). Combining the degree of attention focus with other parameters such as information status (shared/not shared) and referent's importance to the speaker, Strauss arranges English demonstratives on what she calls *the intensity scale* as follows:

Table 11 Intensity scale of English demonstratives

Attention focus	Information status	Referent	
high →	not shared (new) →	important to the speaker →	*this* (proximal)
medium →			*that* (distal) / *the*
low →	shared (old) →	unimportant to the speaker →	*it* (pers. pronoun)

Broadly explained, the findings of this chapter indicate a presence of a shared interaction space, mutually established and manipulated by interlocutive partners. Depending on the research perspective it has been labelled as *conversational dyad*, *current sphere*, *here-space*, *common ground* etc. This engagement area is dynamically defined by the joint focus of attention, two types of which can be singled out:

- Joint focus of *perceptual* (i.e. visual) attention, achieved with non-linguistic means such as pointing or eye gaze.

- Joint focus of *conceptual* (i.e. cognitive) attention, achieved with the linguistic means such as demonstrative pronouns.

The shared communicative sphere interacts with the physical space setting, such as referent's distance to the deictic center (speaker, addressee, or both) and the location of the referent in the absolute system of coordinates (south, north, uphill, downhill etc.). There is, however, no direct link between proximity of the referent and its accessibility, as examples from Lao, Dutch and English show. Three-term deictic systems, such as Turkish and Japanese represent a blend of discourse-related (joint attention) and spatial (distance) features:

Figure 1 Joint attention and spatial features of Turkish and Japanese demonstratives

Turkish

joint attention
şu

joint attention

proximal to the speaker/
mentioned before and topicalized
bu

distal to the speaker/
not mentioned or not topicalized
o

Japanese

joint attention

joint attention
distal from both speaker and addressee
a-

proximal to the speaker
ko-

proximal to the addressee
so-
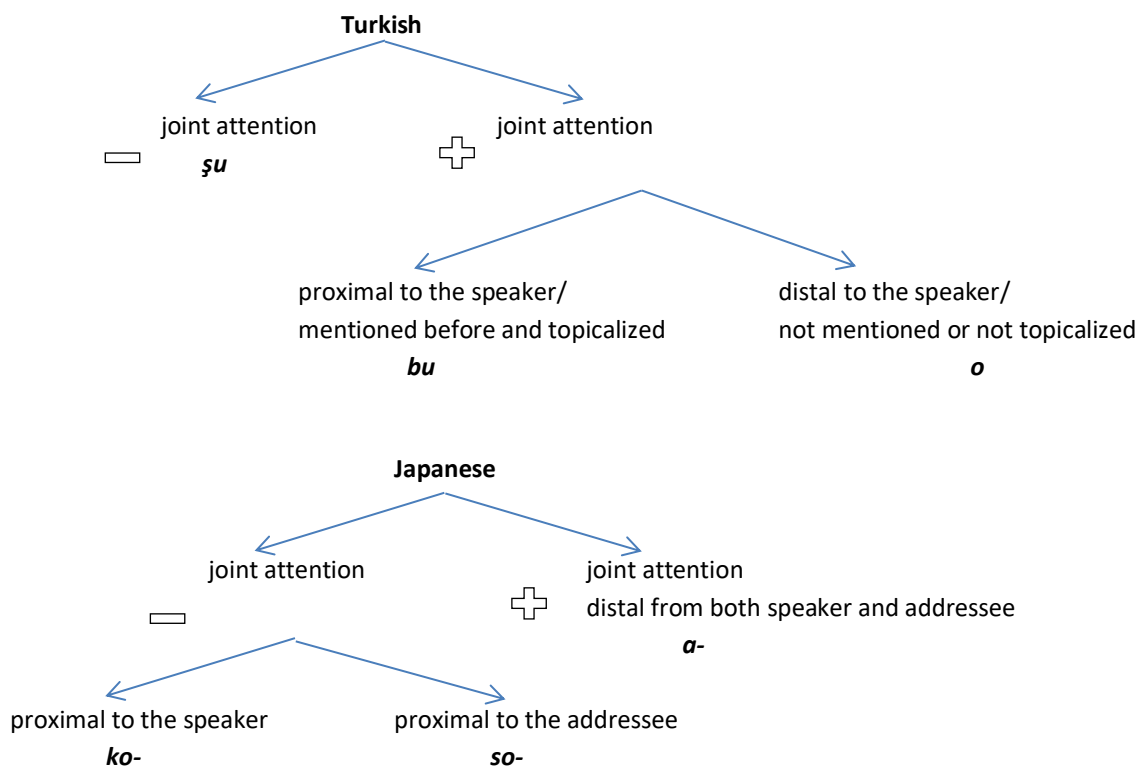
Of particular importance is the finding by Laury, establishing the overt link between the joint attention features and the emergence of the definite article. In Finnish demonstrative *se*, pointing at referents cognitively accessible for the addressee (i.e. in the shared attentional focus), is grammaticalizing towards the definite article. The roles of the joint attention features in the organization of the deictic systems are recapitulated in the table below:

Table 12 Joint attention features and demonstratives: an overview

Language	Demonstrative is signaling ...	Terms	
Turkish (Küntay and Özyürek 2002)	... referent's *presence* in the joint focus of attention →	***bu/o*** "present"	***şu*** "not present"
Japanese	... referent's *presence* in the	***a-***	***ko-/so-***

Table 12 Joint attention features and demonstratives: an overview

Language	Demonstrative is signaling ...	Terms	
(Kuno 1973) (Ebi 2008)	joint focus of attention →	"present"	"not present"
Spanish (Jungbluth 2003)	... referent's *location* within the *conversational dyad* →	*este/ese* "inside"	*aquel* "outside"
Finnish (Laury 1996)	... referent's *accessibility* to the addressee →	*se* "accessible"	*tämä/tuo* "not accessible"
Lao (N. J. Enfield 2003)	... referent's *inclusion* into the interlocutors' *here-space* →	*nii*[4] "included"	*nan*[4] "not included"
English (Strauss 2002)	... *degree of attention* the hearer should pay to the referent →	*that* "medium/low"	*this* "high"
Dutch (Piwek, Beun, and Cremers 2008)	... referent's *accessibility grade* to the speaker and addressee →	*dat* "high"(neutral indicating)	*dit* "low" (intense indicating)

Qualitative features

Spatial and joint attention features of demonstratives are often combined with qualitative features, characterizing the referent. Diessel (1999: 47) splits these into six categories:

- animacy
- humanness
- sex
- number
- ontology
- boundedness

While the semantics of animacy, humanness, sex, and number is clear, the categories of ontology and boundedness require further explanation. Ontological features indicate whether the referent of the demonstrative is a location or an object/person. This semantic distinction corresponds to the syntactic differentiation of adverbial and pronominal demonstratives (see chapter 2.1.3 SYNTACTIC FEATURES on page 27). Boundedness is a category attested in Yupik language (Eskimo-Aleut family), which includes the opposition between "unbounded" ("extended"), "bounded ("restricted") and "obscured" terms (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 295). Extended demonstratives indicate large expanses of land and water or objects that are lengthy or moving, i.e. their extent is not comprehensible immediately. Restricted demonstratives point out at objects that are immediately comprehensible to the eye, i.e. they are visible, stationary (or moving within a confined area) and fairly small in extent. Obscured demonstratives indicate objects that are farther away and not clearly in sight.

2.1.3 Syntactic features

There are four *syntactic* contexts in which demonstratives can occur (Fillmore 1982: 47–48; Anderson and Keenan 1985: 279; Diessel 1999: 57–58; 78–88):

- *Adnominal demonstratives* co-occur with a noun in a noun phrase (e.g. Give me *this* pencil).
- *Pronominal demonstratives* are used as independent pronouns in argument position of verbs and adpositions (e.g. Give me *this*).
- *Adverbial demonstratives* function as verb modifiers (e.g. Place it *here*).
- *Sentential demonstratives h*ave a *presentative* function and can stand alone as a sentence. (e.g. Latin *ecce*, French *voilà*, Serbian *evo*).

Adnominal demonstratives cliticize to a noun, preceding or following it. A revealing account of the diachronic development of adnominal demonstratives, given by Greenberg (1978), states that prefixed demonstratives can be renewed by suffixed forms and vice-versa. Examining the overt noun markers which grammaticalized from the adnominal demonstratives in the group of Niger-Congo languages, Greenberg noticed that these elements display a clear relationship in phonetic form and function. Syntactically, however, they can be prefixed, suffixed, or even prefixed and suffixed simultaneously:

> In some of the major subgroups, these are generally prefixed to the noun (as in the well-known instance of BANTU), but in other branches they are normally suffixed. The WEST-ATLANTIC, KWA and BENUE-KONGO are basically prefixing, while the VOLTAIC and ADAMAWA-EASTERN branches are suffixing (...). Alongside of this, however, there are a few languages in each major brunch, except, of course MANDE which have prefixes and suffixes simultaneously (...). GURMA is often cited in the literature as a typical example of a language with prefixes and suffixes (...), there can be no reasonable doubt that the preposed article is recent and the suffix old (Greenberg 1978: 54–55).

While in Gurma the earlier enclitic deictic forms were renewed by proclitic ones, the development in the opposite direction is also possible. The West-Atlantic subgroup of Niger-Congo are basically prefixing, but Dyola additionally developed a suffixed article, which duplicates the prefix, e.g. ***fu**-nak* "day", ***fu**-nak-**əf*** "the day" (Greenberg 1978: 56).

Table 13 Overt class markers in Niger-Congo languages originating from the demonstrative clitics

Prefixed	Suffixed
Bantu	Voltaic (Gur)
Kwa and Benue-Congo	Adamawa-Eastern (Adamawa–Ubangi)

Prefixed and suffixed
Mande, Gurma, Dyola

Pronominal demonstratives function as independent pronouns and are usually morphologically more complex than adnominal; yet the latter are used more frequently (Himmelmann 1996: 214–18). The

pragmatic and syntactic subtype of the pronominal demonstratives is constituted by so-called *identificational* use. It occurs in copular and nonverbal clauses and serves to identify a referent in speech situation (e.g. German „*Das* ist meine Schwester"). Himmelmann (2001: 832) labels these forms as *predicative*, but Diessel (1999: 58) argues that the the function of such demonstratives is not restricted to predication and prefers the pragmatic term *identificational*. Pronominal and identificational demonstratives can be distinguished formally: the former can inflect for the number and case, while the latter usually do not (e.g. German „*Diese* Jacke da" vs. "*Das* ist meine Jacke"). Identificational demonstratives should also be differentiated from expletives (which are not genuinely deictic, e.g. English "*It* is Friday") and sentential presentatives (which are more independent, i.e. not embedded into the specific grammatical construction, e.g. French "*Voilà*") (Diessel 1999: 78–88).

The adverbial function of demonstratives, in which they serve as verb modifiers, is considered by Himmelmann (1996: 245–46 (note 12)) to be *primary*, from which adnominal and pronominal uses historically derive. The syntactic behavior of the demonstratives does not automatically result in their attribution to a specific grammatical category. In fact, demonstratives used in four syntactic contexts enlisted above can be assigned to different categories only if they are also distinguished phonologically or morphologically. This is the case in Japanese, which marks adnominal forms with the morpheme *-no (ko-no N, so-no N, a-no N* "this/that N"), pronominal with *-re (ko-re, so-re, o-re* "this/that") and adverbial locative with *-ko (ko-ko, so-ko, a-soko* "here/there") (Ebi 2008: 62). In a number of languages the locational deictics in their adverbial and pronominal roles are not formally differentiated, and thus do not belong to different categories. This applies to the Egyptian demonstratives *nn* and *n3*, which can be used adverbially (Edel 1964: 385 (§754)), but are not treated as adverbs because of the unchanged form. The categorial distinction of demonstratives thus arises from the combination of syntactic distribution with formal (phonological and inflectional) features (Diessel 1999: 158):

Table 14 Syntactic functions and categories of demonstratives

Syntactic function			Category
pronominal demonstrative			demonstrative pronoun
adnominal demonstrative	+ formal (phonological and inflectional) distinctions	→	demonstrative determiner
adverbial demonstrative			demonstrative adverb
identificational demonstrative			demonstrative identifier

2.1.4. Morphological features

Morphological features describe the constitutive parts of the demonstrative stems. Historically these are often *polymorphemic* entities, even if from the synchronic perspective they look *monomorphemic*. Apart from the demonstrative root proper, demonstrative stems may include the following elements:

- 3rd person pronouns, grammaticalizing into inflectional affixes such as case, number and gender markers.
- Defective nouns, developing into classifiers (noun class markers) and nominalizing affixes.
- Adverbs, evolving into adverbial affixes such as markers of distance, location and direction.

In the following the deictic roots extended with non-deictic and deictic morphemes will be presented.

Deictic roots extended with non-deictic morphemes

Demonstratives can incorporate inflectional affixes showing concord in gender, number and/or case. These endings may originally derive from the 3rd person pronouns. Polymorphemic demonstrative pronouns and adverbs can also contain elements originating from defective nouns, which grammaticalized into the nominalizing affixes and classifiers/noun class markers[13]. This is, for example, the case with pronominal demonstratives in Ik which are built by combining the adnominal demonstrative with nominalizing affix *ɗa* "the one" (Himmelmann 1996: 215):

Table 15 Demonstratives in Ik[14]

	Adnominal form	Pronominal form
Proximal	*na*	**ɗa**-*na*
Distal	*ke*	*ke*-**ɗa**

The tables below present a sample of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, in which deictic roots are combined with non-deictic extensions (based on Diessel (1999: 28–32) and Himmelmann (1996: 214–15))

Table 16 Demonstrative pronouns incorporating non-deictic morphemes

Language	Morpheme 1		Morpheme 2		Morpheme 3
Hua[15]					
ma-bo'-mamu' "this (one)" →	*ma* demonstrative root	+	*bo'* nominalizing suffix	+	*mamu'* (non-locative) case marker
Lezgian[16]					

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[13] Classifiers are distinct from class-gender markers in their "incomplete grammaticalization, in remaining of a lexical nature and in having a discursive use within specific syntactic configurations" (Grinevald 2000: 61).

[14] Ik (Icetot) is the Kuliak language belonging to the Nilo-Saharan family and spoken in northeastern Uganda.

[15] Hua is a dialect of the Yagaria language (Trans–New Guinea family) spoken in Papua New Guinea.

Table 16 Demonstrative pronouns incorporating non-deictic morphemes

Language	Morpheme 1		Morpheme 2		Morpheme 3
i-da „this one" →	*i* demonstrative root (prox.)	+	*da* nominalizing suffix		
Mandarin Chinese					
nà-ge "that (one)" →	*nà* demonstrative root	+	*ge* classifier		
zhè-ge "this (one)"[17] →	*zhè-* demonstrative root		*ge* classifier		
Yagua[18]					
jiy-nù "this (one)" →	*jiy* demonstrative root	+	*nù* classifier		
Margi[19]					
nàjà-ʼyàr-tà "those" →	*nàjà* 3rd person pronoun	+	*ʼyàr* plural marker	+	*tà* demonstrative root
Ao[20]					
pá-ya/pá-ci "this"/"that" →	*pá* 3rd person pronoun	+	*ya/ci* demonstrative root (prox. / dist.)		

Table 17 Demonstrative adverbs incorporating non-deictic morphemes

Language	Morpheme 1		Morpheme 2
Korean			
yeki "here" (near speaker) →	*i* demonstrative root (proximal)	+	*eki* defective noun ("place")

---

[16] Lezgian is a member of the Northeast Caucasian family; it is spoken in southern Dagestan (Russia) and northern Azerbaijan.

[17] The sematic difference between *nà-ge* in spoken Chinese is also a matter of specificity connotation, *nà-ge* expressing indefiniteness and *zhè-ge* definiteness: *nàge rén* "any/a person, someone", *zhège rén* "this person". I thank Christian Langer for this observation.

[18] Yagua belongs to the Peba-Yaguan language family and is spoken in western Amazon (Peru).

[19] Margi/Central Chadic is a Chadic language belonging to the Afro-Asiatic family and spoken in Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad.

[20] Ao is a Sino-Tibetan language spoken in northeast India.

Table 17 Demonstrative adverbs incorporating non-deictic morphemes

Language	Morpheme 1		Morpheme 2
keki "there" (near hearer) →	*ku* demonstrative root (distal)	+	*eki* defective noun ("place")
ceki "there" (away from speaker and hearer) →	*ce* demonstrative root (distal)	+	*eki* defective noun ("place")

Deictic roots extended with deictic morphemes

Polymorphemic deictic stems often include original adverbs which develop into the markers of distance and location. For example, in Ambulas demonstratives *kén* (proximal) and *wan* (distal) are complemented by the adverbial suffix *ba* and directional suffix *ét* to build adverbs. Similarly, in Kiowa demonstrative adverbs comprise the demonstrative root and the directional/locative morpheme (Diessel 1999: 17, 31).

Table 18 Demonstrative adverbs incorporating deictic morphemes

Language	Morpheme 1		Morpheme 2
Kiowa			
ę́:-dé "here" →	*ę́:* demonstrative root (prox.)	+	*dé* directional marker ("toward speaker")
ó-y "other there" →	*ó* demonstrative root (dist.)	+	*y* locative suffix ("widely-bounded location")
Ambulas			
kéba "here" →	*kén* demonstrative root (prox.)	+	*ba* adverbial suffix
kénét "towards here" →	*kén* demonstrative root (prox.)	+	*ét* directional suffix
waba "there" →	*wan* demonstrative root (dist.)	+	*ba* adverbial suffix
wanét "towards there" →	*wan* demonstrative root (dist.)	+	*ét* directional suffix

In Alamblak the distance-neutral demonstrative root *ind* is combined with the deictic suffixes *-ar* and *-ur* to produce respectively proximal and distal forms (Diessel 1999, 37):

Table 19 Demonstratives in Alamblak

	neutral	proximal	distal
singular masculine	*ind-r*	*ind-ar-r*	*ind-ur-r*
singular feminine	*ind-t*	*ind-ar-t*	*ind-ur-t*
dual	*ind-f*	*ind-ar-f*	*ind-ur-f*
plural	*ind-m*	*ind-ar-m*	*ind-ur-m*

Adnominal and pronominal demonstratives in French use adverbial clitics *-ci* (proximal) and *-là* (distal) to indicate the relative distance of the referent to the deictic center. Three cases of *-ci/-là*, strengthening the distance-neutral demonstratives *ce(t)/cette/ça* can be singled out (Batchelor and Chebli-Saadi 2011: 609–17):

1. *-Ci/-là* are used adnominally with the demonstrative determiners *ce(t)/cette:*

   Ce *livre-**ci** est rouge.*   This book is red.

   Cet *arbre-**là**, au fond du jardin, a*   That tree, at the end of the yard, is
   plus de deux cents ans.   more than two hundred years old.

   When the noun phrase is not accompanied by the extension suffixes, *ce* renders a neutral non-contrastive deictic meaning:

   Cet *enfant a sept ans; à **cet** âge-**là**,*   This child is seven. At this/that age he
   il devrait savoir lire.   ought to be able to read.

2. *-Ci* and *-là* are adopted with the deictically neutral pronoun *ça* suffixes only when the contrast between "this" and "that" is specifically intended:

   *Tu manges **ça**.*   You are eating this.
   *Je veux **ceci**.*   I want this.
   *Je connais **celà**.*   I know about that.

3. *-Ci* and *-là* are also employed in pronominal demonstratives built with *ce* and personal pronouns *lui* (m. sg.)/*eux* (m. pl.); *elle* (f. sg.)/*elles* (f. pl.):

   celui-ci / celui-là   this one/that one (m. sg.)
   ceux-ci / ceux-là   these ones/those ones (m. pl.)

celle-ci / celle-là	this one/that one (f. sg.)	
celles-ci / celles-là	these ones/those ones (f. pl.)	

The bound morphemes *-ci* and *-là* can be omitted:

- When followed by a relative pronoun or dependent clause:

  Celui *qui est dans ma poche.*   The one that is in my pocket.
  Ceux *que je connais.*   The ones that/whom I know.

- When followed by the prepositional phrase:

  C'est **celle** *du chien.*   It is the one of the dog.

Table 20 Deictic -ci/-là extensions in French: an overview

	Adnominal use (m. sg.)	Pronominal use (m. sg.)	
	ce(t) N	*ça*	*celui*
-ci (proximal)	*ce(t) N-**ci***	*ce-**ci***	*celui-**ci***
-là (distal)	*ce(t) N-**là***	*ce-**là***	*celui-**là***

In Coptic, the distal demonstrative pronouns ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲁⲩ, ⲧⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲁⲩ, ⲛ̅ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲁⲩ include the demonstrative base ⲡ-, ⲧ-, ⲛ̅ⲉ- extended with the compound ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲁⲩ, containing originally the Egyptian relative pronoun *nty* and adverb *jm.w* "that one who is there" (Westendorf 1977: 41).

The reason for the repeated process of extension of adverbial, pronominal, and adnominal demonstratives Greenberg sees in the weakening of their pragmatic force:

> (...) specific demonstratives, as they become bleached of deixis by anaphoric uses, are constantly being replaced by new demonstratives usually formed from the older ones by the addition of new deictic elements, by reduplication, etc. These in turn lose their deictic force to be replaced by others (Greenberg 1978: 77).

Given that the primitive deictic notions are manifested differently in deictic systems, the loss of pragmatic features must not be necessarily related to the spatial features. The semantic bleaching and subsequent strengthening may as well apply to marking of the *joint attentional focus*. An important question is whether languages can endure *without* the explicit contrast of a minimum two demonstrative terms. Anderson and Keenan (1985: 280), Himmelmann (1997: 49–62) and Levinson (2006: 110–11) argue that such strengthening is not essential, as shown by the presence of *one-term, or distance-neutral,* deictic systems such as Czech (*ten*), and German *(dies).*

2.2. Grammaticalization of demonstratives

The term *grammaticalization* has been used a number of times in the preceding chapters in the context of categorial changes the demonstratives and other parts of speech undergo during their lifetime. Hopper and Traugott define grammaticalization as the process,

> whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions (Hopper and Traugott 2003: XV).

The first part of this process – the development of a grammatical item from a lexical one - has also been referred to as *grammaticization*, while *grammaticalization* stresses the historical perspective of grammatical forms (Hopper and Traugott 2003: XVI; Himmelmann 2001). Haspelmath (1999: 1044) gives a rather operational characterization of grammaticalization, observing that it "shifts a linguistic expression further toward the functional pole of the linguistic continuum"[21]. This process is characterized by a number of features, which apply to four aspects of language structure and language use - pragmatics, semantics, morphosyntax, and phonetics, summarized here after Heine (2011), Rubin (2005: 3–5) and Hopper and Traugott (2003):

- *Extension* is the emergence of new grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts. It is driven by *reanalysis* and *analogy*. Reanalysis is the linear reorganization of the syntagm, which involves the reinterpretation of the relationship between its constituents. This is, for example, the case when the collocation of two nouns is reanalyzed as "preposition + noun" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 51). Analogy, on the other hand, is the paradigmatic extension of the grammatical pattern to other constructions. In case of the French noun *pas* ("step") its use as a grammaticalized negative marker was extended by analogy from motion to non-motion verbs:

  Je ne vais (pas) → *Je ne vais pas* → *J'sais pas*
  I don't go (a step)   I don't go   I don't know

  Whereas reanalysis is not overtly expressed, analogy is immediately observable (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 68).

- *Desemanticization* (or *semantic bleaching*) is the loss of the lexical meaning or the pragmatic function by the grammaticalized form. The bespoken French noun *pas* ("step") lost its meaning and grammaticalized into a negative marker. The English demonstrative *that* got rid of the referential function turning into the relative pronoun.

- *Decategorization* is the reduction of morphosyntactic properties. The grammaticalized element loses the ability to inflect for number, gender, person, etc. and appears as a single uninflected form. This is illustrated by the complementizer *dass* in German, which is related to the demonstrative series *der, die, das*, but is not inflected. Grammaticalized forms may indeed *coexist* with the source lexemes, which preserve the features of the original grammatical category.

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[21] Cambell and Janda (2000) provide a comprehensive list of definitions of the term *grammaticalization*.

- *Erosion (*or *phonetic reduction)* is the irregular loss in phonetic substance, accompanying grammaticalization process. Indefinite article *a(n)* in English is the phonetically reduced form of the numeral *one*. The phrase *going to* is reduced to *gonna* in colloquial English when expressing an imminent future action. When used in its original meaning, it keeps its full form: *I am going to the store/*I'm gonna to the store.*

- *Grammaticalization path* or *the cline of grammaticality* is a certain course, along which the grammaticalization usually proceeds. Inflectional affixes, for example, frequently develop along the cline *content item* (e.g. part of the body) → *grammatical word* (e.g. preposition) → *clitic* → *inflectional affix* (e.g. case marker) (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 7). The grammaticalization of noun gender markers habitually involves the stages *demonstrative* → *definite article* → *specific (non-generic) article* → *noun marker* (Greenberg 1978). These clines of grammaticality correspond to the diachronic stages in which the grammaticalization parameters outlined above apply: *extension* triggers *desemanticization*, followed by *decategorization* and *erosion* (Heine 2011).

It is remarkable that the grammaticalization theory cannot be applied to the origins of the demonstratives proper. Although demonstratives are grammatical elements, there is no evidence that they universally derive from lexical items (Himmelmann 1997: 20). In a few such cases, demonstratives are related to lexical elements used to strengthen the deictic roots, which later disappeared. For example, Vulgar Latin *ecce* "behold" extended demonstratives *ille* or *iste* to build Vulgar Latin *ecce ille*, from which Old French *cest cel* → French *ce*, Italian *quello/questo*, and Spanish *aquel/aquella/aquelo* developed (Harris 1978: 70–77; Himmelmann 1997: 23). Demonstratives do not only serve a language-internal function, as other grammatical elements, but their basic use is actually language-external (exophoric) – to orient the speaker in the speech situation. According to Peeters and Özyürek (2016: 1) "demonstratives are among the most frequently used words in language, among the first words infants produce (…), and possibly primordial in phylogeny (…)". The fact that demonstrative roots cannot be traced back to other linguistic items, coupled with their communicative role, brings Diessel (1999: 150–53) to the conclusion that demonstratives together with content words constitute the *basic vocabulary* of human language.

While the origin of demonstratives from the lexical items cannot be proven, the adverbial use of demonstratives is probably primary to other syntactic functions (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 279; Himmelmann 1996: 246). Adverbs as "pure" deictic expressions are semantically more "simple" than demonstratives, which combine deictic features with qualitative ones, characterizing the referent (cf. Clark (1978: 88)).

The subsequent chapters elaborate on five selected grammaticalization channels of demonstrative pronouns, which are relevant for the present study:

- Third person pronouns
- Relative pronouns and determinatives
- Nexus (copula) pronouns
- Focus markers

- Definite articles

2.2.1. Third person pronouns

Third person pronouns, along with definite articles, often derive from demonstratives. The pervasiveness of this grammaticalization process makes it sometimes difficult to distinguish between these three grammatical elements (Himmelmann 1996: 210). In Germanic and Romance languages demonstrative pronouns are the source of both the definite articles and the third-person pronouns (Lyons 1977: 646). According to Givón (1984: 353–60) the verbal agreement marker of the third person singular in Modern French is a part of the grammaticalization cline starting with the demonstrative *Ille* in Vulgar Latin: *demonstrative pronoun → third person pronoun → clitic pronoun → verb agreement marker*. Among the 225 languages examined by Bhat (2013), 125 "show either identity or derivational relationship between third person pronouns and demonstrative pronouns". The fact that it is the third person (and not the first or second person) pronouns, which evolve from demonstratives, can be explained by their semantic features. The semantic paradigm of the personal pronouns is characterized by the speaker (S) and addressee (A) inclusion: the first person includes the speaker (+S); the second person includes the addressee but not the speaker (+A, −S); and the third person, just like pronominal demonstratives, excludes both the speaker and the addressee (−S, −A) (Levinson 2006: 112). Daniel (2013) notes that "third-person pronouns are often deictic rather than personal and only very rarely (in about one tenth of the cases) show a morphological pluralization pattern identical to that of the first and second-person pronouns". In the process of grammaticalization demonstratives lose their essential communicative features − to indicate distal contrast and to mark the attention focus shift − but continue to be used as devices tracking the previously established discourse participants. The pragmatic difference between anaphoric demonstratives and third person pronouns is the following: the former differentiate between two discourse participants or indicate a topic shift, while the latter commonly continue the current discourse topic (Diessel 2006: 478):

Table 21 Functional overlap between the 3rd person pronouns and demonstratives

	Personal pronouns			Demonstratives
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	
Speaker inclusion	+	-	-	-
Addressee inclusion	-	+	-	-
Deictic-anaphoric function	+	+	+	+
Distal contrast	-	-	-	+
Joint attention focus shift	-	-	-	+

Himmelmann (2001: 838–39) remarks that in most languages spoken in central Australia (e. g. Mparntwe, Arrernte, Yangkunytjatjara) the third-person pronouns are regularly utilized as tracking

devices, which means that they are used more frequently and in more kinds of contexts than in other languages. In Sahidic Coptic the demonstrative forms ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ, adopted in a bound form as definite articles, come to substitute the third person independent pronouns ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ, ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲥ, ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ in bi-membral delocutive nominal clauses (Layton 2000: 199; Till 1966: 97). A close genealogical relation between the third person pronouns and definite articles is manifested by *associative-anaphoric* use, common for both grammatical elements, but not possible with demonstratives (Himmelmann 1996: 212):

> Vor meinem Büro stand ein Ehepaar. **Er/Der** Mann/*Dieser war groß, breitschultrig.
> In front of my office stood a couple. **He/The** man/*This was tall, broad-shouldered.

2.2.2. Relative pronouns and determinatives

Relative pronouns (also called relative markers or relativizers) introduce clauses that function as attribute modifiers of noun phrases. There are two grammaticalization channels through which the relative markers arise (Heine and Kuteva 2007: 224–29):

- the *demonstrative* channel, where the source construction is the anaphoric pronominal demonstratives, which continues the noun of the preceding sentence (e.g. English *that*);

- the *interrogative* channel, where the development starts with a question word (e.g. English *who, which*).

The demonstrative channel bears the following features (Diessel 2006: 478; Heine and Kuteva 2007: 226):

- The anaphoric pronoun experiences *desemanticization* (the loss of referential function) and *decategorization* (the ability to inflect for case, gender, and number). Turning into a marker of the relative clause, a demonstrative also tends to undergo phonetic erosion, conditioned by the loss of ability to obtain stress.

- A sentence in which a demonstrative occurs is reanalyzed as subordinate; this may include the development of a more rigid word order. The two clauses (main and subordinate) tend to be united under one intonation contour.

The German relative pronouns *der, die, das* derive from anaphoric pronouns, but their new grammatical role in the dependent clause is marked by the position of the finite word at the end of the sentence (Diessel 1999: 121):

Demonstrative	→	*Relative pronoun*
Er hat einen neuen Vorschlag gemacht; **der hat** mir besser gefallen.	→	Er hat einen neuen Vorschlag gemacht, **der** mir besser gefallen **hat**.
He made a new suggestion; I liked this one better.		He made a new suggestion, which I liked better

Lockwood (1968: 242–44) conjectures that relative pronouns in German originate from the pronominal demonstratives with the ambiguous syntactic role, which includes both the actor of the main clause and the actor of the relative clause. In the following example from *Old High German* the subject of the main clause is also the subject of the subordinate clause:

Thô	*liefun*	*sâr*	***thie***	*nan*	*minnôtun*	*meist*
then	ran	at.once	DEM	him	loved	most

Da liefen (sie) sofort, **die** ihn am meisten liebten.
Then ran at once **they** who loved him most.
(Lockwood (1968: 243) = Diessel (1999: 122))

In *Early New High German* the pronoun is repeated twice, which marks its grammaticalization as the relative pronoun:

Wer	*ist*	***die,***	***die***	*aufgehet*	*aus*	*der*	*Wüste*	*wie*	*ein*	*gerader*	*Rauch?*
who	is	DEM	REL	rises	from	the	desert	like	a	straight	smoke

Who is the one who rises from the desert like smoke?
(Lockwood (1968: 244) = Diessel (1999: 122))

An alternative grammaticalization channel has been proposed by Lehmann (1984: 378–79). He uncovers the source construction in the *adnominal* demonstrative linking an attribute to a head noun, as displayed in the *Old High German:*

kuningin	***thia***	*richun*
queen	DEM	mighty

The mighty queen.
(Lehmann (1984: 378) = Diessel (1999: 122))

The relative construction is then extended to include participial statements:

ich	*bim*	*Gabriel*	***thie***	*azstantu*	*fora*	*gote*
I	am	Gabriel	DEM	standing	in.front.of	god

I am Gabriel standing in front of God
(Lehmann (1984: 379) = Diessel (1999: 123))

The grammaticalization is completed when the relative clauses start to contain finite verbs, e.g. "der Vorschlag, *der* mir besser *gefallen hat*". In some languages (e.g. Ik (Icetot) in northeastern Uganda) the relative clause marker can occur at a distance from its head noun (Heine and Kuteva 2007: 227).

Whereas relative pronouns evolve from demonstratives used anaphorically, the origins of the *determinatives* lie in the recognitional use of demonstratives. Recognitional deictics are often followed by relative clauses, which help to activate "private" knowledge shared by the speaker and the addressee. When the noun is removed from such a construction, demonstratives may lose their

pragmatic function of appealing to the shared knowledge, and start to serve a purely syntactic role as nominal heads of the relative sentences:

> *Those* who backed a similar plan last year hailed the message.
> Similar payroll tax boosts would be imposed on *those* under the railroad retirement system.
> (Himmelmann 1996: 77–78)

Himmelmann (1997: 78) characterizes such determinatives as semantically empty anchorage points for the relative clauses.

2.2.3. Nexus (copula) pronouns

There are two major approaches to the development of non-verbal copulas (Diessel 1999: 143–48). Li and Thompson (1980) suggest that copulas originate from the *anaphoric demonstrative* or *personal pronouns* which resume the topicalized noun phrase:

Table 22 Grammaticalization of non-verbal copulas

Non-verbal clause	[NP SUBJ	NP] PRED
↓	↓	↓
Topicalization	[NP$_i$ TOP	[PRO$_i$ SUBJ	NP]] PRED
↓	↓	↓
Copular clause	[NP$_i$ SUBJ	COP$_i$	NP] PRED

Taking a sample sentence "Die Gazelle ist ein Säugetier"("The gazelle is a mammal"), where subject and predicate have a different gender in German, this grammaticalization path can be illustarted as follows:

Table 23 Example of the grammaticalization path of a non-verbal copula

Step 0: Non-verbal clause.	[NP SUBJ		NP] PRED
	Die Gazelle The gazelle	(ist) (is)	ein Säugetier a mammal
Step 1: The topicalization of the subject; agreement in gender between the topicalized noun phrase and anaphoric pronoun/demonstrative.	[NP$_i$ TOP	[PRO$_i$ / DEM$_i$ SUBJ		NP]] PRED
	Die Gazelle (f.) The gazelle	**diese** (f.) **this**	(ist) (is)	ein Säugetier (n.) a mammal

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Table 23 Example of the grammaticalization path of a non-verbal copula

Step 2: The disappearance of the gender agreement between topicalized noun phrase and demonstrative.	[NP TOP	[PRO/ DEM SUBJ		NP]] PRED
	Die Gazelle (f.) The gazelle	**das** (n.) **this**	(ist) (is)	ein Säugetier (n.) a mammal
Step 3: The appearance of a copula clause: topicalized noun phrase turns into subject and demonstrative becomes a non-verbal copula. Nominal subject can eventually be replaced by a deictic pronoun.	[NP/DEM SUBJ	PRO/ DEM COP		NP] PRED
	Die Gazelle (f.) The gazelle	(das) (this)	← **ist** ← **is**	ein Säugetier (n.) a mammal
	Das This	(das) (this)	← **ist** ← **is**	ein Säugetier a mammal

The source construction thus either does not contain copula (as in Russian «Газель – млекопитающее») or it is renewed. The second approach, put forward by Diessel (1999: 145–47), assumes that the source elements for copula grammaticalization is not the anaphoric pronominal demonstrative, resuming the topicalized noun, but the *identificational (predicative)* demonstrative referring to the following noun. The difference between the two options is revealed in the agreement strategies: anaphoric demonstratives follow in number and gender the topicalized antecedents while identificational demonstratives concur with the predicate nominals: [NP$_i$ DEM$_i$ NP] vs. [NP DEM$_i$ NP$_i$]→[NP COP$_i$ NP$_i$]. According to Diessel (1999: 146) the latter is the case in Modern Hebrew, where the copula pronouns, having developed from the demonstratives *ze* (m. sg.), *zot* (f. sing.), and *éle* (pl.), align in gender with the predicate noun:

ha-báyi	*shelHa*	*zot$_i$*	*dugma$_i$*	*tova*
the-house	your	COP/DEM	example	good
(m. sg.)		(f. sg.)	(f. sg.)	

    Your house is a good example.

2.2.4. Focus markers

Focus markers and interjections are often historically related to demonstratives and have a similar morphological form (Luo 1997; Wilkins 1992). Diessel (1999: 148) specifies, citing Givón (1979: 246–48) and Heine and Reh (1984: 147–82), that in many African languages focus markers have developed from copulas in *cleft sentences*. The source pattern in that case consists of a copula clause with zero subject providing focal information and a relative clause providing presupposed information. In the target pattern, the copula clause is reanalyzed as a focal noun phrase of the former relative clause. This process can be illustrated as follows:

Table 24 Grammaticalization of focus markers from copula pronouns

Step 1: Copula clause is extended by	[NP/DEM	PRO/DEM	NP]	[REL CL]

Table 24 Grammaticalization of focus markers from copula pronouns

the relative clause	SUBJ	COP	PRED	
	Die Gazelle The gazelle	ist is	ein Säugetier a mammal	das Hörner hat which has horns
Step 2: Subject in the copula clause is omitted, the rest is reanalyzed as focal noun phrase of the relative clause	Ø Ø	 FOC	[NP SUBJ	REL CL] PRED
	(Es ist) (It is)		ein Säugetier a mammal	das Hörner hat which has horns

Applying the inference that copulas may also evolve from identificational demonstratives, Diessel (1999: 148–49) suggests yet an alternative grammaticalization channel. Focus markers could develop directly from the non-verbal clause containing the identificational demonstrative and Ø copula, extended by the relative clause. The focal part in that case includes a non-verbal clause, where the identificational demonstrative is reanalyzed as a focus marker:

Table 25 Grammaticalization of focus markers from identificational demonstratives

	[DEM	Ø	NP]	[REL CL]
Step 1: Non-verbl clause with identificational demonstrative is extended by the relative clause	SUBJ		PRED	
	Das This	(ist) (is)	ein Säugetier a mammal	das Hörner hat which has horns
Step 2: The identificational demonstrative is reanalyzed as a focus marker	[FOC	Ø	NP SUBJ	REL CL] PRED
	(Das) (This)	(ist) (is)	ein Säugetier a mammal	das Hörner hat which has horns

2.2.5. Definite articles

The grammatical phenomenon of the definite article has been approached from two theoretically distinct but complementary perspectives (Himmelmann 2001). The first one views definite articles as one of the means of expressing the universal grammatical category of definiteness. Within this framework, a set of grammatical categories ("definiteness", "specificity", "non-specificity", etc.) can be manifested by varying grammatical tools, while the absence of formal category markers does not mean the absence of the category itself. As the prominent Coptologist Shisha-Halevy puts it:

> (...) determination roles do not develop with the articles, let alone are created by them: these roles exist in the system, are integral to the system, and are — I almost write "merely" — assumed by the articles as part of a language's progress to the "one segment-one function" isolation of significants, analytical resolution and assignment of grammatical functions (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 248).

Krámský (1972) has provided a comprehensive overview of the means with which the universal grammatical category of definiteness can be expressed; among them the definite article, noun and adjective declensions, verbal conjugation, word stress, and intonation patterns. Leiss (2000) has argued that the disappearance of the opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs led to the development of the definite article in Germanic languages. Kasatkina (2008) has maintained that the change in the intonation patterns is another language-internal factor which can contribute to the appearance of the definite article. She explained the emergence of the "proto-article" -to in Northern Russian dialects, freely combinable with any part of speech, by the "flattening" of the intonation pattern. Similarly, the appearance of the definite article in Germanic languages was accompanied by prosodic changes: an originally free dynamic word stress became fixed on the first syllable (Ernst 2012: 65).

The second approach to the grammatical phenomenon of the definite article establishes functional use types of demonstratives and. One finding of the functional perspective was that definite articles belong to the intermediary stage on the grammaticalization cline of demonstrative pronouns, ending up with noun class markers. While the deictic origins of the definite article in most languages are indisputable, the understanding of the source construction has changed in the last decades. The pioneering work of Greenberg (1978) has set the *anaphoric* demonstrative as the functional predecessor of the definite article. It was critically reviewed by Laury (1996) and Himmelmann (1997), who highlighted the *recognitional* use as foundational for the definite article emergence[22]. In the following, a number of theories will be discussed dealing with definite articles from different but converging viewpoints.

Word order, noun case and sentence stress

The interplay of word order, verbal semantics, noun case system, and sentence stress is dealt with in Gladrow's (1979) comparative study of the category of determination ("die Kategorie der Determination") in German and Russian. In Russian, the contrast between definite and indefinite meanings is expressed with the subjects of the intransitive verbs with the help of the word order and accentuation. Definite subjects precede the verb and are not accentuated; indefinite subjects follow the verb and carry the sentence stress. The subjects of intransitive verbs expressing state ("Zustand") or quality ("Beschaffenheit") are always definite and thus precede the noun (Gladrow 1979: 93; 108–9; 123–30):

Definite subject (preceding the verb of motion)		Indefinite subject (following the verb of motion)
Poezd prishél	vs.	*Prishel pójezd*
Der Zug kam		Ein Zug kam = Es kam ein Zug
The train arrived		A train arrived

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[22] Some rare cases where the source of the definite article is a personal or possessive pronoun are mentioned by Himmelmann (2001: 838–39). In Sardinian, for example, the definite article derived from the Latin identity pronoun *ipse* "self".

(preceding the verb of state)		(*following the verb of state)[23]
Malchik *spit*	*vs.*	***Spit** malchik*
Der Junge schläft		*Ein junge schläft
The boy sleeps		*A boy sleeps

With transitive verbs the expression of definiteness is operational on object actants through case marking and word order. Direct objects in genitive case are indefinite partitive while accusative direct objects can be both definite and indefinite. In the latter case the definiteness is often supported by the front-placement (Gladrow 1979: 126–30):

Definite object		**Indefinite (partitive) object**
(accusative case)		(genitive case)
*Prinesi **vodu** / **Vodu** prinesi*	*vs.*	*Prinesi **vody***
Hole das Wasser		Hole (etwas) Wasser
Bring the water		Bring (some) water

For Gladrow it is indefiniteness which is the marked member of the determination paradigm in German. Indefinite expressions in German are rhematic, while definite phrases deliver no new information and are thus redundant (Gladrow 1979: 233). Mentioning the verbal aspect (perfective/imperfective) as a possible parameter for determination effects in Russian, Gladrow (1979: 170–75), however, does not consistently investigate this feature in his analysis. In a similar study Birkenmaier (1979: 34:112–19) has shown that the perfective aspect in Russian renders the specificity of object actants, while the imperfective aspect is associated non-specificity. Gladrow's examples indeed confirm these assumptions: in the sentences he provides definite accusative objects are always accompanied by the perfective verbs (Gladrow 1979: 153–65).

Article and verbal aspect

A novel theory on the origins of the definite article was proposed by Leiss (2000). According to Leiss, the emergence of the article in the languages of the Germanic group is related to the disappearance of the verbal aspect (perfective/imperfective) in Proto-Germanic (Leiss 2000: 11). She views the article and aspect as two phenotypes of the universal grammatical category – definiteness – which can have either nominal or verbal manifestation (Leiss 2000: 14). This category is like a grammatical chameleon adapting itself to the current environment, and can appear as *nominal aspect* or as *verbal definiteness* (Leiss 2000: 112). The common denominator of verbal perfectivity and nominal definiteness is the concept of *mereologization* of the world through language (from *Greek μέρος* "part"), in which events and items are taken out of the abstract continuum and labeled as singular entities (Leiss 2000: 89; 225). The dichotomy of the perfective vs. imperfective verbs echoes the categorial distinction between the notions of *genus* (abstract) and *individual* (concrete) (Krámský 1972: 30).

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[23] This word order is allowed in contrastive expressions only: *Spit malchik, a ne devochka* (It is a boy, who is sleeping, not a girl).

Leiss investigates the rise of the definite article in languages of the Germanic group, such as Gothic (East Germanic), Old High German (West Germanic), and Old Icelandic/Old Norse (North Germanic)). She relates this process with the disappearance of the aspectual opposition in the verbal pairs, where the perfective member marks determined object actants and the imperfective - non-determined object actants (Leiss 2000: 11). In signaling the determination type aspect operates together with other grammatical tools, such as the word order and case system.

According to Leiss, in Old Icelandic/Old Norse (1050–1500 CE) the definiteness of rhematic objects is encoded with the perfective aspect and is occasionally supported by an object's placement in front of the noun: $SV_{perf}O_{def}$ / $SO_{def}V_{perf}$. Over time a perfective verb loses its aspectual features and the definiteness of the rhematic objects has to be strengthened by either the verb's relocation to the front ($SV_{perf}O_{def} \rightarrow VSO_{def}$) or with the definite article *inn*, which is attached to the direct object ($SV_{perf}O_{def} \rightarrow$ SV *inn* O) (Leiss 2000: 73–84).

In Gothic sources from around the 5th century CE the demonstrative pronouns *sa* and *so* are used as perfective markers with imperfective verbs in cases where the members of aspectual pairs are no longer perceived as semantically similar (Leiss 2000: 154). E.g. *beran* "carry" vs. *gaberan* "give birth, deliver" have preserved the aspectual opposition but have semantically drifted far apart. Therefore, the imperfective verb *beran* obtains its perfective equivalent in the form *V$_{impf}$ + article: beran sa*. Similarly, in Old High German (750–1050 CE) the article is used when the aspectual verbal pairs are broken: it appears when the perfective verb has lost its imperfective partner (Leiss 2000: 187).

The article occurs initially in the rhematic environment, but is gradually extended to the thematic discourse constituents, which are pragmatically definite. This process is described by Leiss (2000: 226) as the transition from *hypo-determination* to *hyper-determination*. The use of articles with unique items and generic terms marks the "death" of nominal definiteness and triggers the re-emergence of verbal aspect (Leiss 2000: 274). The table below juxtaposes the features of the *aspect languages* ("Aspektsprachen") and *article languages* ("Artikelsprachen"), as verbal determination is dismantled and substituted by the definite article:

Table 26 Transition from *aspect* languages to *article* languages

	Aspect languages		Article languages
	$\rightarrow$	$\rightarrow$	$\rightarrow$
		hypo-determined	*hyper-determined*
Language structure		synthetic	analytic
Word order	free		rigid; renders syntactic roles (subject/object), because case endings have disappeared; verb is usually in the 2nd position

Table 26 Transition from *aspect* languages to *article* languages

	Aspect languages		Article languages
	→	→	→
Case	encodes syntactic roles such as agens (subject) and patiens (object)		disappears
Aspectual opposition	is intact	is gradually dismantled; "re-perfectivization" methods are implemented (perfect/imperfect verb + article); article is used in rhematic domains and has only one function (definiteness)	disappears; article is used both in rhematic and thematic environment; article has two functions: - definiteness - anaphora

According to Leiss (2000: 259) the prototypical function of articles is to support definiteness, while the anaphoric use is secondary. This means that the definite article cannot be treated as the product of the weakening of the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, resulting from frequent usage (Leiss 2000: 250). Articles first appear in a rhematic environment – *thema* is usually definite per se and needs no additional marking. The difference between definite and anaphoric articles lies in the type of information they highlight: definite articles put the rhematic, new information in the foreground, while anaphoric articles refer to the old backgrounded information (Leiss 2000: 261).

Anaphoric demonstrative (Greenberg)

Greenberg (1978) places the appearance of the definite article in the context of the development of gender classifier systems. The noun gender system is based on agreement, determining the choice of concurrent elements, such as articles, demonstratives, adjectives, unbound anaphoric pronouns, and pronouns incorporated in a verb complex (Greenberg 1978: 49). The definite article, for Greenberg, is an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization process, starting with demonstrative pronouns and concluding with noun markers. Provided that the demonstrative initially expresses gender, the result of such a development will be the gender classifier system with overt class-marking on the noun (Greenberg 1978: 77). From the morphosyntactic perspective, prefixed noun markers can be renewed not only by prefixes but also by suffixes, suffixes are also renewed by both suffixes and prefixes, as attested in various languages of the Niger-Kongo group (Greenberg 1978: 54–58). The consecutive stages of article grammaticalization, presented below, are:

Stage 0: Demonstrative pronoun

Stage 1: Definite article

Stage 2: Non-generic article (specific)

Stage 3: Noun marker

Stage 1: Definite article

The article develops from the anaphoric demonstrative, i.e. from "a purely deictic element, which has come to identify an element as previously mentioned in discourse" (Greenberg 1978: 61). This might be an additional function of the source deictic morpheme pointing at a *location*, or, alternatively, the anaphoric reference might be expressed by a separate form carrying this function only. The loss of the ability to express distance is thus traditionally associated with the grammaticalization of the definite article: a deictic expression which is unmarked for distance, is, following Anderson and Keenan (1985: 280), little different from a definite article or the third person pronoun. The concluding step of stage 1 is signaled by the obligatoriness of the article use:

> The point, at which a discourse deictic becomes a definite article is where it becomes compulsory and has spread to the point at which it means "identified" in general, thus including typically things known from context, general knowledge, or as with "the sun" in non-scientific discourse, identified because it is the only member of its class (Greenberg 1978: 61–62).

Stage 2: Non-generic (specific) article

At stage 2, the scope of application of the article extends from definite determination to non-definite specific uses – the latter expressed in English with an indefinite article: "I am looking for *a* book" implying "I am looking for a *certain* book, which I know exists"[24]. The crucial difference between the specific and definite article lies in the speaker's assumption that the referent is not necessarily identifiable for the hearer. In Gangam (the Gurma subgroup of the Niger-Kongo languages) the pre-posed article combines the meaning of the definite article plus the specific meaning of the indefinite article, involving the assumption of existence. Other members of the Gurma subgroup have either no article at all (Moba), a definite article (Gurma), or class prefixes and suffixes (Akasele and Tobote-Basari) (Greenberg 1978: 54–55). Specific articles are also very common in Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2001: 834). The functional divide at stage 2 runs therefore not between notions *definite* vs. *indefinite*, but between *specific* vs. *non-specific (generic)*, expressed with the formal opposition of the articulated (specific) vs. non-articulated, i.e. zero (non-specific) form. Dryer (2014: 234) notes that the obligatory binary contrast between definite and indefinite articles, as found in English, is actually relatively uncommon in the languages outside of Europe and the Middle East.

The zero article at this stage is marking two categories, which on the scale of determination are "at the exactly opposite ends" (Greenberg 1978: 64)[25]:

- Automatically definite referents, including inherently determined proper names and vocatives, but also nouns determined by demonstratives and personal possessive pronouns.

- Generic referents in the syntactic environments such as negation, predication, adverbial and locative constructions, verb objects, and dependent genitives in compounds.

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[24] This type of use, introducing a new participant into the discourse, is called *specific-indefinite* by Himmelmann (2001: 834).

[25] Explaining a seeming discrepancy in the use of zero-marking, Shisha-Halevi (2007a: 229) remarks that "unique (is) like a snake biting its tail <...> paradoxically also a one-member generic".

Objects of verbs in negative sentences and subjects in negative existential sentences are, as a rule, non-articulated. Same applies to predicates in non-equational nominal clauses (e.g. "The man is (an) iron worker" vs. equational "He is *the* chief"); locative and temporal constructions formed by prepositions, such as "by hand", "on foot", "at home", "at night"; generic verb objects ("take care") and a genitive expression with generic regens. The number of environments, where the articulated form is contrasted to non-articulated, is decreasing towards the end of stage 2.

Stage 3: Noun marker

During stage 3 one of the forms – articulated or non-articulated – takes the upper hand. For example, the articulated form can spread to all contexts and be used both with auto-definite nouns and in pragmatically generic environment. This marks the end of the definite article as an indicator of definiteness/specificity and enunciates the birth of a nominal marker, consistently applied to all common nouns. Given that the source demonstratives were classifying the final result will be the set of noun gender markers. In case the system was not classifying at the onset or has lost this feature along the way, the outcome will be a marker as a mere sign of nominality. Greenberg (1978: 61) attributes the role of the initiator of the article grammaticalization process to the anaphoric demonstrative. Yet, observing the appearance of new nominal prefixes in the Gurma languages, he notes that those match synchronically not the demonstratives, but the verb subject and object pronouns (Greenberg 1978: 75). Similarly, in modern-day French the article matches the object pronoun, as they both historically derive from the demonstrative *ille*, which had anaphoric function in Latin. This brings together the grammaticalization channels of the definite article and the third person pronoun:

> In many languages the third person pronoun is identical with a demonstrative, and often an article is identical with one or the other. It is not excluded that the article should arise from what is ultimately a demonstrative, but come more directly from a third person pronoun (Greenberg 1978: 75).

Recognitional demonstrative (Himmelmann)

Approaching the phenomenon of article grammaticalization, Himmelmann (2001: 832) starts with establishing explicit and operational criteria to determine whether a given grammatical element is no longer a demonstrative but a definite article. There are four types of pragmatic contexts, in which both demonstratives and definite articles can occur:

- Situational use
- Tracking (anaphoric) use
- Discourse-deictic use
- Recognitional use

Definite articles are additionally observed in two other pragmatic environments, which are restricted for demonstrative pronouns:

- *Larger situation use* is "the first mention of the entities, which are considered to be unique, and hence generally identifiable, in a given speech community" (Himmelmann 2001: 833).

The intended referent is thus identified via general knowledge: the definite articles are grammatical with unique referents such as *sun* and *queen*, while demonstratives are restricted in this case: "Yesterday, *the/*this/*that* queen announced ..." or *"The/*this/*that* sun was about to approach its zenith".

- *Associative-anaphoric use* is "the first mention of an entity that is not unique per se but with respect to a previously mentioned referent" (Himmelmann 2001: 833). The definiteness of the referent is achieved through association: "The man drove past our house in a car. *The exhaust fumes* were terrible/*These exhaust fumes* were terrible."

For Himmelmann, the starting point of the article development is not the anaphoric but the *recognitional* use of the adnominal demonstratives. Recognitional demonstratives point at referents identified via the specific knowledge arising from the common interactional experience of the discourse participants (Himmelmann 1996: 230). Himmelmann provides an illustration for the recognitional demonstrative in Nunggubuyu, quoting the following passage from Heath (1980: 161):

Often I would head into the Aboriginal part of the village (...) obviously in search of my regular informant. If he was not at home, someone else there would say to me before I could open my mouth:

ni=ya-nggi   *bu-gu-ni*   *nu:ba-gi-yung*
3.SG.M=go-PAST2   ANAPH-LOC.ADV-ALL   M.SG:ANAPH-SG-ABS
***That one** went there.*

Both the Anaph pronoun and the Anaph allative adverb were based on the speaker's assumption that I had considerable familiarity with my informant. The speaker assumed that I was looking for him, and that an Anaph pronoun would be sufficient to refer to him. It was also assumed that I knew where the informant was likely to be when he was not at home.

In most contexts the recognitional use is a first mention, *reminding* the addressee of the intended referent. However, later references to a given discourse item may also function as a recognitional, making them formally undistinguishable from anaphoric (tracking) demonstratives. Himmelmann contemplates the following operative criteria to differentiate the two functions: tracking-anaphoric demonstratives denote topicalized participants, while recognitional demonstratives refer to non-topical, peripheral discourse items. Often it is not the referent per se which is brought to mind, but the whole episode in question (Himmelmann 1996: 239). In terms of joint attention features the line between tracking (anaphoric) and recognitional use can be drawn as follows: anaphoric demonstratives draw referents into the shared focus of attention, while recognitional demonstratives mark the referents as *already present* in the common interactional space.

The definite article emerges from a recognitional demonstrative when the latter extends its semantic outreach from the *private knowledge*, accessible only to the discourse participants, to the sphere of the *general knowledge*, shared by all speakers of a given community. This marks the transition from pragmatic (deictic) to semantic (non-deictic) definiteness. Definite articles eventually become obligatory in grammatically definable contexts, which include superlatives (*the greatest singer)*, nouns taking complement clauses (*the fact that they lost the game)* and nouns used in core argument positions (Himmelmann 2001: 832).

The grammaticalization of the definite article affects not only pragmatic, but also syntactic features of the source construction. Demonstratives lose their free status and become syntactically dependent on the noun (Himmelmann 1997: 144–57). They are stripped of the positional variability and start to be used as fixed clitics, prefixed or suffixed to the noun (Himmelmann 1997: 24). As hierarchically subordinate, these clitics may eventually turn into affixes, e. g. Danish hus-*et* "the house", Rumanian *lup-ul* "the wolf" (masc.). They may subsequently lose stress and be further reduced in form, e.g. the bi-syllabic clitics become mono-syllabic (Himmelmann 1997: 4).

In most of the languages spoken in central Australia (e. g. Mparntwe, Arrernte, Yangkunytjatjara), the third person pronouns are regularly used for the anaphoric reference This fact makes Himmelmann contemplate an alternative grammaticalization channel of the definite article via the third person pronouns (1997: 838). The fact that personal pronouns in those languages appear in more types of contexts and are more frequent can be viewed as the beginning of the grammaticalization of the definite article (Himmelmann 1997: 839). Considering that the adnominal use of the personal pronouns is usually severely constrained and thus infrequent, the source syntax for such a grammaticalization path must be the appositional phrases of the type "he, (namely) N".

The grid of typological features

The following table presents the summary of typological features, which can be used to distinguish demonstrative pronouns from definite articles and numeral "one" from indefinite articles. The overview is tentative as many parameters are clearly language-specific, e.g. definite articles can co-occur with other determiners in Italian, but not in English. The crucial difference between the definite and indefinite article, mentioned on a number of occasions above, runs along the notion of the referent's *identifiability*. Definite article is associated with referent's identifiability for *the addressee*, indefinite article is associated with referent's identifiability for *the speaker* (but not for the addressee) (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 32). With respect to English this distinction is formulated by Clark (1978: 90 (footnote 2)) as follows:

> *The* tags things as given, judged by the speaker to be identifiable by the listener; *a* tags things as new, judged by the speaker as not already known to the listener.

The pragmatic features are arranged in the table according to the *reference hierarchy*, postulated by Dryer (2014: 235–37). According to Dryer, the types of reference build the scale with ever decreasing specificity grade:

Figure 2 Reference hierarchy according to Dryer (2014)

→ Anaphoric (deictic, pragmatic) definites
→ Nonanaphoric (non-deictic, semantic) definites
→ Pragmatically and semantically specific indefinites
→ Pragmatically nonspecific (but semantically specific) indefinites
→ Semantically nonspecific indefinites
→ True predicate nominals
→ Generics

The distinction between pragmatic (deictic) and semantic (non-deictic) *definites* has been explained above. The *semantic specificity* for Dryer (2014: 236) is associated with an "entailment of existence", while *pragmatic specificity* correlates with subsequent reference. Thus "I am looking for a book" is semantically specific (I assume that the book exists), while "I am looking for a unicorn" is semantically non-specific (unicorns don't exist). In a similar vein the pragmatically specific reading of "I am looking for a book" presupposes that the book is introduced and will be subsequently mentioned again, while pragmatically non-specific interpretation does not assume any further reference to the book. Indefinite article for Dryer is a marker of pragmatic specificity:

> When something is introduced for the first time and continues to be mentioned in the subsequent discourse, it is more likely to occur with the indefinite article on its first mention, while if something is mentioned only once in a discourse, it is more likely not to occur with the indefinite article (Dryer 2013b).

True predicate nominals function as predicates but should be distinguished from *equational clauses*: the former are represented in English by indefinite noun phrases (*He is a teacher*), the latter contain definite noun phrases in predicate position (*He is the teacher*). True predicate nominals are thus commonly coded the same way as semantically nonspecific indefinites (Dryer 2014: 236). Generics are coded like either semantically nonspecific indefinites or nonanaphoric (i.e. semantic) definites, e.g. "*A dodo* likes peanuts", "*The earth* is round" (Dryer 2014: 236).

Table 27 Grid of typological features: demonstratives, articles, and numeral "one":

	Numeral *one*	Indefinite article		Definite article	Demonstrative pronoun
Prosodic and phonological features					
Stress	+[26]	-		-[27]	+
Full vowel length	+[28]	-[29]		-[30]	+
Semantic features					

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[26] In ambiguous clauses of German like "Ich habe *einen* Hund gekauft" ("I bought a/one dog"), a stressed variant stands for numeral, unstressed – for an indefinite article (Dryer 2013b). For Himmelmann (2001: 838) this, however, is "a rather weak criterion since in most languages numerals do not have to be stressed."

[27] The article and demonstrative forms of German *der* are distinguished prosodically – the former variant is unstressed, the latter – stressed (Greenberg 1978: 62).

[28] Dryer (2013b) states that in Dutch numeral *een* is pronounced with a full vowel *[en]*, while the indefinite article is pronounced with a reduced vowel *[ən]*.

[29] In Sahidic Coptic the spelling of an indefinite article and a numeral ογ- "one" is conditioned by the preceding vowel: {ι, ο, ω}-ογ) vs. {ⲁ, ⲉ, ⲏ}-ү (Layton 2000: 18, 60). The pronominal form ογⲁ "(some)one", however, retains the full form: ⲁⲛⲛⲁγ ⲉⲟγⲁ ⲉϥⲛⲉⲝⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ "We saw someone casting out demons" (Layton 2000: 43).

[30] See, for e.g., the survey of Coptic determiner forms in **Table 43** and **Table 48**.

Table 27 Grid of typological features: demonstratives, articles, and numeral "one":

	Numeral *one*	Indefinite article	Definite article	Demonstrative pronoun
Spatial features (distance to the deictic center)	-	-	-	+
Joint attention features				
attention shift	-	-	-	+
attention tracking	-	-	+[31]	+
Qualitative features				
gender	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
number	-[32]	+/-	+/-	+/-
Syntactic features				
Pronominal use	+	-	-	+
Adnominal use				
fixed position	+/-	+[33]	+[34]	+/-[35]
Adverbial use	-	-	-	+
Predicative use	+	-	-	+
Co-occurrence with other determiners	+	+/-[36]	+/- [37]	+/- [38]

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[31] In Finnish demonstrative *se*, marking referents as cognitively accessible to the addressee and thus easily identifiable, is grammaticalizing towards the definite article (Laury 1996: 314).

[32] For Dryer (2013b) "the clearest instances of the numeral for "one" being used as an indefinite article are in languages in which it can occur as a marker of indefiniteness in plural noun phrases, where the singularity inherent in the original meaning of 'one' is clearly absent." E.g., Spanish *un libro* "a book" vs. plural *unos libros* "some/a few books".

[33] In Turkish, the position of the indefinite article is fixed behind the prenominal adjective (*büyük **bir** tarla* "a large field"). If it precedes the adjective, it serves the function of the numeral *one* (***bir** büyük tarla* "one large field")(Dryer 2013b).

[34] The position of the demonstratives used adnominally may be fixed or they may occur on either side of the noun. The position of definite articles is always fixed (Himmelmann 2001: 832).

[35] Position also differentiates the variants of the same deictic element in Swahili: as demonstrative it follows the noun, as definite article it precedes it (Dryer 2013a).

[36] Indefinite article can be combined with possessive pronouns and demonstratives when a reference is specific (e.g. Tagalog *ang anák ko* "my child (spec child 1.sg.poss)"). In Sinhala the indefinite article freely co-occurs with numerals: *pota-k* "a book (book.sg-indef)", *pot eka-k* "one book (book. pl one-indef)", *pot tuna-k* "three books (book.pl three-indef)"(Himmelmann 2001: 837–38). But "true" indefinite articles (i.e. with non-specific reference) generally do not co-occur with any other determiners (Himmelmann 2001: 840).

[37] In Italian the definite article is compatible with possessive pronouns (*il mio amico* "my friend"), in Gulf Arabic definite article is used with demonstratives: *haadha l-garaar* "this decision (prox def-decision)" (Himmelmann 2001: 840). The cases of so-called "over-determination" in North Germanic languages also belong here: e.g. in

Table 27 Grid of typological features: demonstratives, articles, and numeral "one":

	Numeral *one*	Indefinite article	Definite article	Demonstrative pronoun
Pragmatic features				
Anaphoric (deictic, pragmatic) definites				
Situational use	-	-	+	+
Discourse-deictic use	-	-	+	+
Tracking (anaphoric) use	-	-	+	+
Recognitional use	-	-	+	+
Nonanaphoric (non-deictic, semantic) definites				
Larger situation use	-	-	+	-
Associative-anaphoric use	-	-	+	-
Pragmatically and semantically specific indefinites	-	+	-	**+/-**[39]
Non-specific indefinites / true predicate nominals	-	+	-	-
Generics	-	+	+	-

Swedish two different forms of the article occur within one nominal expression: ***den** gamle mann-**en*** "the old man-the" (Plank 2002).

[38] In Old English, the demonstrative *þæt* could co-occur with the possessive pronoun and could either follow or precede the possessor. In Modern English, which developed the definite article, such a compatibility of specifiers is impossible: **this my house* (Diessel 1999: 69).

[39] In English the demonstrative pronoun "this" can also be used to introduce a new discourse participant: "I went to this movie last night, it was great" (Dryer 2014: 237). In this case it has indefinite specific meaning.

3. Literature review

3.1. Demonstratives in Old Egyptian

This chapter explores how the features of Old Egyptian demonstratives are described in the grammatical literature. After the initial research on the morphological structure and etymology of the Old Kingdom demonstratives done by Grapow (1908), Sethe (1910), Faulkner (1929: 60–65) and, in the context of Middle Egyptian, by Erman (1928: 61–66) and Gardiner (1957: 85–87), the major milestone was set by the appearance of Edel's "Altägyptische Grammatik" in 1955/1964. In the 1990s Kammerzell (1991, 1992) and Kahl (1994, 1995b) launched a new, ongoing, reasearch phase, marked by the appearance of studies on the grammar of the Fourth Dynasty (Schweitzer 2005) and Pyramid Texts of Unis (Allen 2017a).

3.1.1. Edel (1955/1964)

The most extensive description of the Old Kingdom deictica thus far was made by Edel (1964: 83–90). He views Old Egyptian demonstratives as morphologically complex entities, built from *common* and *differentiating* elements ("gemeinsame und differenzierende Elemente"), and further extended with the suffix *-j* for dual plus the secondary ending *-t* for the feminine gender (attested with the plural of *pw* only):

Table 28 Morphological structure of Old Egyptian demonstratives (Edel 1955/1964)

	Common elements		*Differentiating* elements				Dual ending		Secondary feminine ending
m.	*p-* (sg.) / *jp-* (pl.)						*-j*		*-t*
f.	*t-* (sg.) / *jpt-* (pl.)	+	*-n*	*-w*	*-f*	+		+	
n.	*n-*						-		-

These morphemes establish three sets of demonstratives[40]:

Table 29 Series of Old Egyptian demonstratives

Number	Gender	*n*-series	*w*-series	*f*-series
Singular	masculine	*pn*	*pw, pj, pjj, p*	*pf*
	feminine	*tn*	*tw, tj,*	*tf,*

---

[40] The table represents the transliterated hieroglyphic forms enlisted by Edel (1964: 83 (§182)). The grammatical category "dual" is never overtly marked in OK hieroglyphic writing (dual hieroglyphic forms are identical to plural), therefore the dual suffix \\ (*j*) is put in brackets. Apart from the direct attachment of the suffix *-j* to the plural form *jpn+j/jptn+j*, Edel (1964: 84 (§184)) contemplates an alternative morphological scenario for dual. The source roots **jpj-/*jptj-* could have been extended with plural *n* to create the original dual forms **jpj-n/*jptj-n*. The latter were then reanalyzed as *jpnj/jptnj*. The phrase *jptj b3k.tj* "these two female servants" in a letter to the dead on a bowl dated to the First Intermediate Period (Chicago OM 13945, line 5) suggests, according to Edel, the existence of the root **jptj*.

Table 29 Series of Old Egyptian demonstratives

Number	Gender	*n*-series	*w*-series	*f*-series
		jtjn, jtn	*jtw*	**jtf*
Plural	masculine	*jpn, pn*	*jpw, pw*	*jpf, pf*
	feminine	*jptn, ptn* **jptnt*	*jptw* *jptwt*	*jptf* **jptft*
Dual	masculine	*jpn(j)*	*jpw(j), pw(j)*	*jpf(j)*
	feminine	*jptn(j), ptn(j)* **jptnt(j), ptnt(j)*	*jptw(j)* *jptwt(j)*	*jptf(j)* **jptft(j)*
Singular / Plural	neutral	*nn*	*nw*	*nf*

Demonstratives usually follow the noun, but forms in singular can be occasionally placed in front of the noun to add a particular emphasis (*pf rw ... pn rw* "that lion ... this lion" (PT 284 W (Pyr. 425 d)), while the prefixation of the plural forms is more common: *jptj b3k.tj* "these two female servants" (Chicago OM 13945, line 5). Edel arranges Old Kingdom demonstratives in four groups (feminine forms subsumed under the masculine ones).

Group 1: *pn/pf*

- *Pn* and *pf* can be used pronominally ("substantivisch gebraucht"), but instances of this syntactic role are found in the Pyramid Texts only: *ms(i.w) n.k pf jwr(.w) n.k pn* "That one has been born to you; this one has been conceived to you" (PT 215 W (Pyr. 142 c)).

- Spatial contrast, expressed with *pf* and *pn*, has something emotional about it, allowing positive and negative connotation: *d3d3.t tf šps.t n.t ntr ꜥ3* "*that* noble council of the great god" (Urk. I 202: 9). A contrast in distance can also be expressed with *pn ... pn* alone (PT 305 W (Pyr. 472 d)); the passage in PT 215 W (Pyr. 142 c), quoted above, is actually the corrections of the original contrastive expression *pn ... pn*.

- Discourse items introduced with *pf* can be further tracked with *pn* as familiar ("als etwas bekanntes"): *ḥm(.w)-k3 jpf* "that ka-priest" (Urk. I 162: 13) → *ḥm(.w)-k3 jpn* "this ka-priest" (Urk. I 162: 17); *jtj.(j) jpf* "that father (of mine)" (Urk. I 136: 11) → *jtj.(j) jpn* "this father (of mine)" (Urk. I 137: 12).

Group 2: *pw/pj*

- The older demonstrative *pw* combines the meaning of *pn* and *pf* and conceals two forms (i.e. proximal **pw*-this and distal **pw*-that) with different vocalizations (Edel 1964: 85 (§188)). It can be used as "this" (*mnd.t pw* "*this* breast of yours" (PT 269 W (Pyr. 381 b)) and "that" (*gs*

pw jꜣb.tj n p.t (PT 472 P (Pyr. 928 a)) "*that* eastern side of the sky"; a similar phrase in Teti has *pf*: *gs pf jꜣb.tj n p.t* (PT 264 T (Pyr. 344 a–b)) (Edel 1964: 86 (§190))). The expression *jz(.j, .f) pw* "this tomb (of mine, of his)", found in the tomb inscriptions of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, is gradually replaced by *jz pn* to eventually disappear during the Sixth Dynasty.

- In the colloquial language *pw* continues to be used as a proper deictic and as a vocative (e.g. in the tomb of Ti). Vocative use is not typical for *pn*: it is never found in this pragmatic role in *Reden und Rufen,* while the passages containing the vocative *pn* in the Pyramid Texts all have parallel attestations with *pw*: *ṯz ṯw NN pn* (PT 365 T, M, N (Pyr. 622 a)) vs. *ṯz ṯw NN pw* (PT 365 P (Pyr. 622 a)) "raise yourself, oh NN"; *ṯz.sn ṯw NN pn* (PT 468 P (Pyr. 902 c)) vs. *ṯz ṯw NN pw* (PT 468 N (Pyr. 902 c)) "they will raise you, oh NN" vs. "raise yourself, oh NN".

- The pronominal use of *pw* is restricted to the sentences with nominal predicate.

- The variant *pj* is extremely seldom in the profane sources but relatively frequent in the Pyramid Texts of Unis. Syntactically, *pj* is either the subject/copula of the nominal clause or the adnominal pronoun following the vocative expression. It is not attested in the properly demonstrative function.

Group 3: *pꜣ*

- *Pꜣ* appears in *Reden und Rufen* and personal names of the Old Kingdom, which hints at a colloquial origin of this form: *jr r jb(.j) pꜣ mry* "Act according to (my) wish, beloved one!" (Kaiemankh J, Abb. 9). The oldest attestation of *pꜣ* is the Fifth Dynasty name *pꜣ-n.j* "This one is for me" (Ranke 1935: 129 (16)). Also in the Old Kingdom, the names *jw-pꜣ-n.j* "This one is for me" and *m.n-pꜣ* "This belongs to us" occur. The oldest evidence of the feminine form *tꜣ* is in the text of a letter to the dead dated to the First Intermediate Period (Chicago OM 13945, line 3).

- During the New Kingdom *pꜣ* comes to substitute *pn* and *pf* the same way the latter took over *pw* during the Middle Kingdom; ꜣ-series demonstratives stay in use till Coptic: *peꜣ, *teꜣ → ⲡⲉⲓ, ⲧⲉⲓ (A) / ⲡⲁⲓ, ⲧⲁⲓ (S).

- For *pꜣ,* the pre-nominal position is obligatory from the beginning. Like the Old Egyptian demonstrative *nw*, *pꜣ* can take possessive suffixes, but it cannot build plural forms, in which respect it resembles the Middle Egyptian *pn* and *pf*.

Group 4: *nw, nn, nf*

- The demonstratives *nw, nn* and *nf* share the root *n-*, which is extended with the *differentiating elements -w, -n, -f*. Deictics of the *n*-series stand out due to their syntactic and

semantic features – they have neutral meaning and are regularly used as pronouns[41]. In the adnominal function they are attached to the following singular or plural nouns with the genitive element *n*, which can also be occasionally omitted: *nn n zḫꜣ.w* "this inscription" (Urk. I 119: 17) vs. *nn jr.t ḥr.w* "this eye of Horus" (PT 689 N (Pyr. 2090 a)).

- Pronominal *nn*, *nf*, *nw* can be extended with the relative phrases (*m-ḫt nn wḏ.n ḥm.(j) jrt* "despite what (my) majesty has ordered to do" (Urk. I 283: 13), but only *nw* can carry the possessive suffix: *nw.j* "this (tomb) of mine" (Urk. I 72: 4; Urk. I 225: 16; Urk. I 226: 5).

- Edel (1964: 88 (§197)) observes no pragmatic difference between *nn* and *nw*: in the frequent expressions *jw nn n kꜣ n NN* "this is for the Ka of NN" and *jn NN jr.j n.f nw* "NN has made this (tomb) for him" both *nn* and *nw* point at the referent in close proximity. Similarly, in the butchering scenes in the tomb inscriptions both *nḏr n.j nn* "hold this for me" (Ptahhotep I, Pl. XXXVI, 2ⁿᵈ register from bottom) and *nḏr nw* "hold this" (Manofer, Abb. 86, lower register, scene 73; Manofer, Abb. 87, lower register, scene 87) refer to the presented thigh of the sacrificial animal.

- Demonstratives based on the root *n-* can also be used adverbially. *Nn* and *nꜣ* are attested in this role: *nfr.t jwi.s nn ḫr NN* "the beautiful one (=Hathor) comes here to (the king) NN" (Urk. I 169: 8), *šni.tj.t ḏs.t nn srḳ.t* "you yourself will be encircled here, scorpion" (PT 230 W (Pyr. 234 a)), *ḥr prr nꜣ ḏs(.j)* "because I moved from here on my own" (Hatnub Gr. 22: 15). *Nw*, on the other hand, can function as adverb only as part of the compound expression *mj-nw* (later *mj-nꜣ*) "here".

- The form *nꜣ* appears first in *Reden and Rufen*: *mk wj zḫz.(j) ḥr nꜣ n.tj m ꜥ.(j)* "Behold, I hurry with this which is in my hand" (Tjauti, Pl. 26, top register)[42].

The features of Old Egyptian demonstratives, provided by Edel, can be summarized as follows:

Table 30 Features of Old Egyptian demonstratives (Edel 1955/1964)

	pn	*pf*	*pw*	*pj*	*pꜣ*	*nn*	*nf*	*nw*	*nꜣ*
Syntactic features									
Adnominal use: preceding the noun	+	+				+	+	+	+
Adnominal use: following the noun	+	+	+	+					

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[41] Participles and relative forms agreeing with these demonstratives are in the singular masculine form, but the resumptive pronoun referring back to them is feminine (Gardiner 1957: 86 (§ 111)), e.g. *jr **nw jdd.w** msḏr.wj ḥr.**s*** "As for that through which the ears become dulled" (Gardiner 1957: 417 (§ 511,3)).

[42] Edel (1964: 89 (§201)) provides another example of *nꜣ* from the tomb of Mereruka's wife Waatetkhethor: *jw nfr nꜣ* "this is beautiful" (Waatetkhethor, Pl. 60, 3rd register from top). This is, however, the spelling of the expression *jw mj-nꜣ* "here!" utilizing the character ⍨ (a milk-jug in a net, Gardiner W19) and not ⍩ ("heart and windpipe", Gardiner F35). The phrase occurs again in the second register from the top: *jw mj-(n)ꜣ-j.*

Table 30 Features of Old Egyptian demonstratives (Edel 1955/1964)

	pn	*pf*	*pw*	*pj*	*p3*	*nn*	*nf*	*nw*	*n3*
Pronominal use: nominal clause			+	+					
Pronominal use: non-nominal clause	+	+			+	+	+	+	+
Pronominal use: with possessive suffix								+	
Adverbial use							+		+	+
Semantic features									
Proximal		+		+			+		+	
Distal	+	+	+				+		
Pragmatic features									
Anaphoric use (introducing the referent)		+	+						
Anaphoric use (tracking the referent)	+		+						
Emotive use (in vocative expressions)			+	+	+				

The subsequent accounts of Old Egyptian demonstratives lack the breadth of Edel's approach but refine his description in some essential points.

3.1.2. Westendorf (1962)

Westendorf (1962) covered the grammatical peculiarities of the Ancient Egyptian medical texts within the extended time frame of the Old, Middle and New kingdoms. He adopted the functional approach to demonstratives use, describing how the following reference types are rendered in diachronic perspective:

1. A reference to a previously mentioned item ("Bezug auf vorher Erwähntes" (Westendorf 1962: 60)), which can be an individual word or an entire clause. Demonstratives occurring with this type of reference are *pf/pn/p3/nf/nn* and *pf3/nf3,* whereas in later texts *pf* is often substituted with *pn* and *pn* with *p3*. The difference between *pf* and *pn* in an endophoric context is not pragmatic but merely diachronic – *pf* represents earlier and *pn* later use and both should be translated as "that (one)"[43].

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[43] "Somit stellt sich das Verhältnis von *pf* zu *pn* als rückbeziehende Pronominal nicht als 'pointiert' und 'unscharf' (...) dar, sondern – bei gleicher Funktion der Rückbeziehung auf einzelne Wörter oder ganze Komplexe – lediglich als das von älterer und jüngerer Gebrauchsweise; man sollte daher sowohl *pf* wie *pn* in diesen Fällen durch 'jener' übersetzen" (Westendorf 1962: 64).

2. A reference to a situation of the moment ("Bezug auf die Situation des Augenblicks" (Westendorf 1962: 67)), made with *pn*, *pf*, and *nn*. The vocative use is also placed under this type. While *pn* is used both as a deictic and a vocative, *pw/pwj* and *pȝ* are only attested as vocatives:

j pḫr.t tn	oh you remedy (pBerlin 3038, No 189: 5)
nsr.t twj	oh heat (pSmith Pl. 19: 1)
j pȝ 8 nṯr.w jpw	oh you eight gods (BM 10059, No 25c)

3. A referent follows the demonstrative ("Bezugspunkt folgt auf das Demonstrativ" (Westendorf 1962: 69)). Syntactically, these are constructions where demonstratives are extended with relative forms, participles, nisbe adjectives, relative pronoun *n.tj*, and nouns attached as genitives, which serve as a reference point for the demonstrative. This use is especially common with the *-w* series, but the demonstratives *pf*, *pn*, and *pȝ* are also attested in this syntactic environment:

m ꜥ.t twj nhm.n ȝs.t jm.s
In that chamber in which Isis rejoiced (BM 10059, No 38: 2)

nȝ pw wnn tp mȝꜥ.wj n z
These are those (vessels) which are on the temples of a man (pEbers, 99:16 (No 854e))

Westendorf argues against Edel's suggestion that *pw* and *pȝ* conceal two forms each - proximal and distal - with different vocalizations. Referring to Otto (1951) he states that *pw* and *pȝ* were originally neutral demonstratives with no indication of distance (Westendorf 1962: 73–74). The opposition of *-n* and *-f* series, denoting different distance to the referenced items, is eventually substituted by the contrast of *-ȝ* and *-n* series, where the former is a weaker (proximal) and the latter is a stronger (distal) member of the paradigm:

jr ḫsf.(w) r.s nn sp.w ḳb.w sȝw.jn.k nȝ phr.t r hȝȝ mw nb nty m sḥr pf
When **this coolant** is put on it, you should wait with **that medicine** until all fluid, which is in that *sḥr* - swelling, is gone (pSmith Pl. 16:5-7)

wšꜥ.ḫr z nȝ n wꜥḥ sꜥm(.w) m jrṯ.t tn
One should eat **these *wꜥḥ*-fruit**; should be washed down with **that milk** (pEbers, 53: 21 (No 314))

Pn itself disappears in Late Egyptian, but dichotomy is reestablished with *p(ȝ)j* "this" and *pȝw* "that", rendered in Coptic as ⲡⲁⲓ/ⲡⲏ[44]. Contemplating the relation between *pw* and *pn*, Westendorf does not exclude the option that those might represent two variants of the same form: both are frequently exchanged in the Old Kingdom and are eventually reduced in spoken language to "*p* + vowel" ("*p* +

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[44] "Sofern es sich um Oppositionen handelt, haben die Fälle der medizinischen Texte eine Verschiebung gezeigt: aus *pf-pn* ist *pn-pȝ* geworden, entsprechend der einfachen Verschiebung *pf → pn* und *pn → pȝ*. Erst in dem Augenblick, da im Neuägyptischen das Demonstrativum *pn* aus der Sprache verschwindet (...), entsteht die Notwendigkeit, einen neuen Oppositionspartner für *pȝ* zu suchen. Ob sich nun *pȝ* in *p(ȝ)j* 'dieses' (...) und *pȝw* 'jenes' (...) aufgespalten hat und als ⲡⲁⲓ bzw. ⲡⲏ bis ins Koptische sich erhalten hat, oder ob in *pȝw* nur die neuägyptische Schreibung eines älteren Demonstrativs steckt, bleibt für das Funktionieren der Opposition gleich" (Westendorf 1962: 74).

Vokalauslaut"), as confirmed by the varying spelling of the word *r-pw* "or" as *r-p*, *r-pwy* and *r-pn* (Westendorf 1962: 76).

The types of reference proposed by Westendorf broadly match the pragmatic use types of demonstrative pronouns outlined in chapter *2.1.1. PRAGMATIC FEATURES*. Although recognitional demonstratives are not singled out by Westendorf as a separate category, their prominent syntactic feature – the presence of relative extension - is explicitly mentioned:

Table 31 Types of demonstrative reference (Westendorf 1962)

Reference to the previously mentioned item	= Endophoric use
• to a noun	= anaphoric (tracking use)
• to a clause	= discourse-deictic use
Reference to the situation of the moment	= Exophoric (situational) use
• vocative use	= emotive use
Referent follows the demonstrative (relative extension)	= Syntactic feature of the recognitional use

3.1.3. Schenkel (1989), Kammerzell (1992)

In his analysis of the morphological structure of Egyptian demonstratives, Schenkel (1989: 108–11) abandons Edel's generic distinction of *common* and *differentiating* elements and assigns semantic labels to the constituent morphemes, which respectively express gender, deixis and number:

Table 32 Morphological structure of Old Egyptian demonstratives (Schenkel 1989)

Gender			Deixis				Number	
Masculine	Feminine	Genus commune	Known ("bekannt")	Proximal („nah")	Distal („fern")	(?)	Plural	Dual
p	*t*	*n*	*w*	*n*	*f*	*ꜣ, y*	*n*	*j*

Schenkel unfortunately does not further elaborate on the enlightening semantic definition of the suffix *-w* as marking *known* referents. Also Vernus (1990b: 33) comes to the conclusion that *pw* is fundamentally not marked for distance ("*pw* est fondamentalement non marqué"), comparing the use of demonstratives in CT Spells 38, 39, and 40. In like manner Kammerzell (1992: 164) focuses his attention on the morphological build-up of demonstratives and adverbs. He organizes the constitutive morphemes into the following groups:

- *Basic elements* ("Basiselemente") *p-*, *n-* and *ꜥ-*, whereas *ꜥ-* represents the phoneme */d/* related to Geʿez deictic morpheme *z* in *zĕ, zĕntū* "this".

- *Gender markers* ("Genuskennzeichen") *-t-* for feminine and *-Ø (zero)* for masculine.

- *Deictic morphemes* ("deiktische Morpheme")-*n*, -*f*, -*w* (-*Ø*), -*j* and -*ꜣ*.

- *Secondary elements* ("sekundäre Elemente") such as the facultative gender marker -*t* and the derivative morphemes -*tj* (masc.)/-*t.t* (fem.) occurring with the pronouns ꜥ*ntj*, ꜥ*ftj*, ꜥ*ft.t*. These are related to the demonstrative adverbs ꜥ*n*, ꜥ*f*, attested in the texts of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom.

- *An optional prefix j-* with plural forms. Its presence suggests that the root consonants were reduplicated in plural:

	singular	plural
pn (masc.)	*pVn*	*(j)VppVn*
tn (fem.)	*(j)VttVn* (← **(j)VptVn*)	*(j)VppVtVn*

In contrast to Schenkel, Kammerzell does not treat *p-* as a gender marker, but as a "basic element", extended by the bound morpheme -*t-* for feminine and *Ø* for masculine. Kammerzell gives up the grammatical category of dual as it is not marked in writing. The morphological structure of demonstrative pronouns according to Kammerzell can be summarized thusly:

Table 33 Morphological structure of Old Egyptian demonstratives (Kammerzell 1992)

Plural marker	Basic element	Gender marker		Deictic morpheme					Secondary extension
j-	*p-*	-*Ø*	-*t*						-*t*
-	-*n-*	-	-	-*n*	-*f*	-*w* (*Ø*)	-*j*	-*ꜣ*	-
-	-ꜥ-	-	-						-*tj*/-*t.t*

Loprieno (1995) overlooks Schenkel's and Kammerzell's insights and again treats morphemes -*w* in terms of relative distance and -*p*- as gender-related:

> Morphemes consist of a pronominal base (generally *p* for the masculine, *t* for the feminine, *jp* and *jpt* for the plural patterns), followed by a deictic indicator: *n* for closeness (*rmṯ pn* "this man"), *f* for distance (*ḥm.t tf* "that woman"), *w* (originally *j*) also for closeness (*nṯr.w jpw* "those gods"), *ꜣ* for vocative reference (*pꜣ mrjj* "O beloved one") (Loprieno 1995: 68).

3.1.4. Kahl (2002), Schweitzer (2005), Pätznick (2005)

Dealing with the origins of the Egyptian lexicon, Kahl (2002: 149) dates the first occurrences of *pw* to the First and Second dynasties. Following Kaplony (1963a: 419), he interprets the phrases in which *pw* is attested as personal names constructed as two-membral nominal clauses:

Table 34 First attestations of the demonstrative *pw* (Kahl 2002)

Attestation	Text medium	Provenance	Dating	Reference
ḥr-pw He is Horus	Seal of an official ("Beamtensiegel vom Zelt")	Saqqara	Aha-Sechemib / Peribsen / Chasemui	(Kahl 2002: 149) (Kaplony 1963c: Abb. 146) (Kaplony 1963b: 1112)
mnw-pw He is Min	Seal of a hunters' collective ("Kollektivsiegel von drei Jägern *mnw-pw, mnw-ḫwj.f, ttj*")	Abydos	Aha-Sechemib / Peribsen / Chasemui	(Kahl 2002: 149) (Kaplony 1963c: Abb. 387) (Kaplony 1963b: 1145))

Scheele-Schweitzer (2014) lists four Old Kingdom names composed according to the *A pw* pattern:

Table 35 Personal names built as nominal *A pw* clauses (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014)

Attestation	Text medium	Provenance	Dating	Rereference
jw(j)-pw He is the one coming	Monolithic stela of Khufu-ankh	Giza	Khufu (Dynasty IV)	(Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 221 [166])
z3-pw He is a son	Reliefs in the mortuary temple of Sahure	Abusir	Sahure (Dynasty V)	(Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 620 [2901])
k3.t-pw It is your ka	Rock inscription	Wadi Hilâl	Dynasty VI	(Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 711 [3528])
tp -pw It is a head	The tomb of Mery-aa	El-Hagarsa	Dynasties VI-VIII	(Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 724 [3627])

A pw clauses constitute 15% and *A pw B* clauses account for the 85 % of the names containing *pw* in Old Kingdom sources (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 60). The demonstratives *pn* and *nn* are first attested in an inscription on the temple block found in Heliopolis and in the rock inscriptions in Wadi Maghâra, both dated to the reign of Netjeri-chet-Djoser (Third Dynasty):

> *j[ri].n.(n/j) n.f jsw n nn* [...]
> (I/we) have [made] to him payment for *this* [...]
> (Kahl 1995b: 116, 117 (Ne/He/4: c))[45]

> [...] *n pr pn nfr* [...]
> [...] to *this* beautiful house [...]
> (Kahl 1995b: 116, 117 (Ne/He/4: g))

> [...]*t.f n.f m ḏw pn* [...]
> He [...] him from *this* mountain [...]
> (Kahl 1995b: 120, 121 (Ne/Ma/1: h))

---

[45] Similar in Kahl (1995b: 116, 117 (Ne/He/4: g))

The demonstrative *pf* first appears in an inscription found in the fortress in Elephantine. The fragments of a clay stopper, dated by Pätznick (2005: 1339:199–201) to the beginning of the Third Dynasty, carry the imprint of the cylinder seal with the text:

> *jpf mjtr jpn nfr*
> Worker *jpn nfr jpf* (?)
> (Pätznick 2005: 1339:379 (Kat. 212))[46]

In the East City of Elephantine– the economic center of the island from the beginning of the Third through the late Fifth dynasties – the first feminine demonstrative of the *n*-series occurs on the clay stopper in the phrase:

> [...] *mjtr* [...]*n nfr jptn wḏꜣ(.t) bd.t* [...]
> (Pätznick 2005: 1339:424 (Kat. 303))

Pätznick again interprets *jptn* here as a personal name, although the feminine form suggests that the demonstrative might be appositionally adjoined to the co-referential noun compound *wḏꜣ(.t) bd.t*:

> [...] *mjtr* [*jp*]*n nfr jptn wḏꜣ(.t) bd.t* [...]
> [...] worker *j*[*pn*] *nfr*: *this* rest of emmer [...][47]

Schweitzer, analyzing the language of the Fourth Dynasty, lists three pronominal demonstratives that occur in the corpus of texts from this period: *pw/pj*, *nw*, and *nn* (Schweitzer 2005: 132–33). The demonstrative *pw/pj* written as *p* occurs in a personal name and functions as a copula of the three-membral noun clause:

> *kꜣ.j p(w/j) nswt*
> My ka is the king.
> (James 1961: Pl. 3 (4))

The pronominal *nw* in the Fourth Dynasty sources always has "tomb" as a referent, e.g.:

> *jr nw jn zꜣ.f sms.w jr.j-jḫt-nswt kꜣ(.j)-wꜥb jri* [*n.f*]
> Concerning *this* (tomb): it is his elder son, the acquaintance of the king *kꜣ(.j)-wꜥb* who made (it) [for him].
> (James 1961: Pl. 10 (line 4))

Nn is used once in a bread-baking scene and once in an offering formula. In both cases it refers to a *dbḥ.t*-offering (Schweitzer 2005: 133):

> *wni ṯn jw nn tꜣ*
> Hurry up, *this* is hot!
> (W. K. Simpson and Dunham 1974: Pl. XII; Fig. 11 (4th register from top))

> *wꜣḥ.t(j) n.f nn n mn.w-ḫꜥi.f rꜥw nb*
> May *this* be established for him daily, namely for (the prince) *mn.w-ḫꜥi.f*
> (Smith 1933: pl. 23 (col. 8))

---

[46] A similar expression [...] *jp(f) mjtr* [...] in Pätznick (2005: 1339:380 (Kat. 214)).
[47] The demonstrative *jptn* can possibly be reconstructed on another seal impression (Pätznick 2005: 1339:424 (Kat. 302)).

Adnominal demonstratives do not appear in Schweitzer's records.

3.1.5. Jenni (2009), Sperveslage (2009)

An important step towards understanding the pragmatic roles of the Old Egyptian deictica has been taken by Jenni (2009). She introduces the concept of the *presentative mode* (Imai 2003), which, as the name suggests, is applied to demonstratives presenting a referent to the addressee. Such is, for Jenni, the Turkish demonstrative *şu*, which draws the addressee's attention to the item with no regard to its distance from the deictic center; the spatial distinction is done by the proximal *bu* and distal *o* (Jenni 2009: 121). Demonstratives in Old Egyptian, according to Jenni, accomplish the following communicative tasks:

- Denote distance, i.e. differentiate between proximal and distal referents.
- Signal the presentative mode, i.e. present the referent to the addressee.
- Obtain a vocative function when the referent is identical to the addressee.
- Resume (track) the referent, i.e. fulfill an anaphoric function.
- Express additional connotation of disgust, admiration etc.

Jenni (2009: 135) defines *pw* as a distance-neutral demonstrative, signaling the non-presentative mode, that is also used as a vocative:

jz.f pw	*this* tomb of his (Urk. I 16: 4-7)
h3 NN pw	oh *you* NN! (PT 422 P, N (Pyr. 752 a))

Pw can also accompany distal referents in case no implicit contrast to a proximal item is meant. Alternatively, those referents can be interpreted as entities not belonging to the real word or used in abstract sense:

bw pw mss.w nṯr.w jm	*that* place where the gods are born (PT 265, P (Pyr. 353 b))
wr pw	*that* great one (PT 273 W (Pyr. 398 b))

Pn signals the presentative mode with proximal and anaphoric referents. Jenni (2009: 128) underlines that the presentative *N pn* can be preceded by a topicalizing *jr* (e.g. *jr jz pn* "regarding this tomb" (Urk. I 260: 11-13)), while no instance of **jr N pw* is known[48]. *Pf* is a distal demonstrative employed when the implicit or explicit contrast with the proximal item is intended. Such contrast can be metaphorically transferred to the temporal dimension and applied to endophoric context as well:

nf   *that* (former decrees)
wḏ.w pn   *this* (current) decree)
(Urk. I 282: 15-283: 3))

ms(i.w) n.k pf jwr(.w) n.k pn
That one [Horus, mentioned first] has been born to you; *this one* [Seth, mentioned second] has been conceived to you.
(PT 215 W (Pyr. 142 c)

---

[48] This conjecture is inexact: *nw* can be introduced by *jr*: *jr nw jn z3.f sms.w jr.j-ḫt-nswt k3(.j)-wˁb jri* [*n.f*] "Concerning this (tomb): it is his elder son, the acquaintance of the king kA(.j)-wab who made (it) [for him]." (James 1961: Pl. 10 (line 4))

Pf is also common for the emotive purposes - to express admiration or disgust:

> […] *m hrw pf n sšn k3 r jḫ.t nb*(.*t*)
> on *that* day of most tempestuous weather
> (Urk. I 183: 1)

Sperveslage's (2009) investigation of adnominal demonstratives in Old Kingdom texts confirmed the absence of the explicit dual forms. He observed that in the construction *noun (in dual) + demonstrative* deictica always display the plural form (36 cases in total), while dual marking occurs only in the later – Middle and New Kingdom – rendering of the by then archaic Old Kingdom texts (Sperveslage 2009: 91). This allowed Sperveslage to re-interpret the unusual feminine forms *jptwt* and *ptnt*, showing twice the feminine marker *t*. Considering the absence of the overt category of dual with demonstratives Sperveslage thinks that *jptwt/jptnt* are the graphic variants of the proper feminine forms *jptw/jptn*, showing the preservation of the infix *-t-* in the spoken language. *Jptwt* is attested three times:

> *mw.tj.f jptwt*
> *those* two mothers of his
> (PT 508 Pᵇ (Pyr. 1118 b))

> *dr.tj jptwt tp.tj ḏnḥ ḏḥw.tj*
> (oh) *those* two kites atop of Thoth's wing
> (PT 531 M, N (Pyr. 1254 a))

> *wˁb.j m fdt.j jptwt nms.wt*
> the one cleaned with *those* four jars of mine
> (PT 510 P, M (Pyr. 1140 a)

Ptnt occurs once in a decree of a successor of Pepy II from Saqqara:

> *mw.wt nswt ptnt*
> *these* mothers of the king
> (Urk. I 307: 16)

The appearance of the facultative *-t* can be compared to the double feminine gender marking on a number of words in Pyramid texts, proving the maintenance of the final *-t* in the status pronominalis, e.g. *ˁ.wt{t}.f* "his limbs" (PT 219 W Pyr. 179 c) (Sperveslage 2009: 92).

3.1.6. Allen (2017)

Allen's grammar of the Pyramid Texts of Unis includes the most recent survey of Old Kingdom deictics. The following important details of his analysis can be pointed out (Allen 2017a: 37–41):

1. The variants of the roots *pn/tn* are the most frequent demonstratives in Unis (234 examples), followed by *pw/tw* (74 examples) and *pj* (60 examples). The roots *pf/tf* are very rare with only 6 attestations (four *pf*, one *tf* and one plural *jpf*). The "generic" demonstratives *nn* and *nw* occur 30 and nine times respectively.

2. There is no formal distinction between dual and plural forms in Unis. The plural pronominal *jpw* can carry a possessive suffix:

n 4 jpw.k h3.w h3.w.k
to *those* four of yours who descend and are behind you
(PT 311 W (Pyr. 497 b-c))

3. In four out of nine attestations *nw* is extended with relative phrases, e.g.

   nw pr m r.k
   that which comes from your mouth
   (PT 241 W (Pyr. 246 b))

   In fact, the relative extension of *w*-series demonstratives is so common that it provides the basis for the definition of their use. Allen (2017a: 39) describes (*j*)*pn*/(*j*)*pn* in semantic terms (relative distance), while (*j*)*pw* is characterized by him from a syntactic (presence of an attribute) and pragmatic (vocative) perspectives.

4. *Pn, pf* and *pw* can be employed pronominally, but only *pw* serves as the subject to a preceding nominal predicate. Interestingly, the syntactic function of *pn* and *pf* in the phrases *pf rw … pn rw* Allen interprets either as direct genitive ("that of a lion ... this of a lion") or as demonstrative plus juxtaposed noun ("this, (namely) lion ... that, (namely) lion"). Other pronominal use types of *pn/pf* include the role of a subject of a verbal predicate (see PT 215 W (Pyr. 142 c) on page 63) or *rectum* of direct genitive:

   n jj pn n nkn pn
   There is no hurt of this one, there is no injury of this one.
   (PT 215 W (Pyr. 143 b))

5. Allen treats *pj* as a more common variant of *pw* in nominal clauses (60 occurrences of *pj* vs. 27 of *pw*). As there is no clear evidence why one is preferred over the other, Allen suggests that *pw* and *pj* represent a single morpheme *[p-], whose spelling depends on scribal practice. The form *p* is regarded as an occasional orthographic variant of *pw* or *pj*.

6. Agreeing with Kammerzell on the fact that the plural masculine form conceals the reduplicated consonant *p*, Allen nevertheless concludes that masculine and feminine plurals were constructed with the prefix *[ᶜp], not *j*-[49]. This scenario excludes the existence of a feminine base *-(p)t- in singular, as the plural prefix *[ᶜp] is attached to the feminine demonstrative roots *[t·n], *[t ̄] and *[t·f] . The morphological composition of the Old Egyptian plural demonstratives thus comprises the following elements:

Table 36 Morphological structure of Old Egyptian demonstratives (Allen 2017)

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[49] The adoption of *jp* as a plural prefix goes to as far back as Sethe (1910), who stated that singular and plural forms „ursprünglich nichts miteinander zu tun hatten" (Sethe 1910: 61). Yet the explanation he provides for this assumption – the prefix *jp*- must be etymologically related to the verb *jp* "to count" – is typologically implausible: demonstratives universally do not derive from lexical items.

Number	Gender			Deixis				
jp-	+	$\dfrac{\textit{-p-}(\text{m.})}{\textit{-t-}(\text{f.})}$	+	*n*	$\dfrac{jpn^{*}[\textit{ʾppʾn}]\,(\text{pl.})}{jptn\,^{*}[\textit{ʾptʾn}](\text{pl.})}$	*w/j/ø*	$\dfrac{jpw\,^{*}[\textit{ʾpp-}\,](\text{pl.})}{jptw^{*}[\textit{ʾpt-}\,](\text{pl.})}$	*f*	$\dfrac{jpf\,^{*}[\textit{ʾppʾf}\,]\,(\text{pl.})}{jptf\,^{*}[\textit{ʾptʾf}\,]\,(\text{pl.})}$

3.2. Articles and determination in Egyptian-Coptic

The demonstrative form *pꜣ* appears during the Old Kingdom and eventually grammaticalizes to the definite article. The grammatical literature on definite article in Egyptian-Coptic basically follows two strains of thought: Shisha-Halevy (2007a) and Layton (2000) investigate the means with which the universal grammatical category of definiteness/specificity can be expressed in Egyptian and Coptic; while Kroeber (1970), Johnson (1987) and Zöller-Engelhardt (2016) focus on the properties of article grammaticalization in Egyptian. Both approaches shed light on the problem of source constructions of definite and indefinite articles in Egyptian. Each chapter includes the section "Commentary", which evaluates the theoretical assumptions and extends the relevant findings.

3.2.1. Determination-signaling environment in Old and Middle Egyptian (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

The previous chapter has shown that the determination grades in Egyptian-Coptic can be deduced from the nominal markers of specificity, such as demonstratives and articles. In the following I will address the specificity effects generated by different types of syntactic constructions in Egyptian-Coptic.

Within the framework of Shisha-Halevy (2007a), definite, indefinite, and zero articles are the markers of the underlying set of universal grammatical categories, such as definiteness, specificity, non-specificity, etc. The absence of the formal markers does not mean that the category itself is absent – it is just realized via different environmental slots. The *deep structure* of the language therefore remains unaffected even if the formal means of the expression of the given universal category are changing (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 224 (footnote 2)). Two prominent methodological features of Shisha-Halevy's approach must be mentioned. First is the belief in the prevalence of the environmental (syntactic) over intrinsic (semantic and pragmatic) parameters in the specificity analysis:

> Like any paradigmatic dependence, all determination gradings (including Proper Names), are only valid in specific slots (...). Even where specificity stems from cotextual or contextual anchoring, "anchoredness" (*prius dicta* or *prius nota*), or from a resulting identifiability (as conceived of in Prince *Given-New Information* and Lambrecht *Information Structure* (...)), even then it is the environment that induces specificity, and we are not really dealing with "effects" or a primary "definiteness" (...) (after all, it is the environment that actualizes the noun lexeme, even before we come to determination) (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 226).

Second is the assumption of the nuclearity of the article slot within the noun phrase; with nucleus being

> (...) the grammatically prime segment of the syntagm, the one representing and integrating the whole syntagm in the grammatical structure of the text or subtextual pattern. Indeed, it is the article that occupies a constituential slot in the larger pattern (...) The absence of an article in OE and ME does not imply the absence of an actualizing (suffixed) slot which is nuclear in the noun syntagm (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 228).

Observing the variety of determination types, Shisha-Halevy notes that the old dichotomy definite vs. indefinite and even specific vs. non-specific is not a sufficient description. He defines determination as "a signalling complex, a categorical syndrome, a scatter or orchestrated ensemble

of features, of characterizations of a noun (yet not only a noun). It is a cluster or a conglomerate category, not a simple one" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 226). Relying on the explicit Bohairic system of determination, Shisha-Halevy singles out the following specificity types for the classical stages of Egyptian language:

- highly specific, especially proper names and uniques, also nouns specified by demonstratives;
- specific — by paradigmatic combination;
- specific — by syntagmatic combination;
- generic — as a notion name, as extensional presentation of class, as abstract;
- non-specific;
- quantified / indefinite;
- specificity-indifferent (irrelevant)

(Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 225)

The following table pursues to systematize the cases of environmental determination in Old and Middle Egyptian, scattered throughout Shisha-Halevy's article. To each syntactic construction (slot) the types of specificity effects (or signals) generated by its constitutive elements are assigned. For example in the noun syntagm containing a noun and an adnexal expansion (noun + circumstantial verb forms) the nucleus (noun), according to Shisha-Halevy, can be both specific and non-specific, while expansion is de-specifying.[50]

Table 37 Environmental determination in Old and Middle Egyptian (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

Syntactic constructions ("slots")	Signals / Effects	
Nouns in coordination (§3.1)	categorial intentional generic[51] diffuse/extensional generic	
Prepositional phrase (§3.2)	specific/non-specific[52]	
Nuclear noun syntagm (§3.3)		
Relative expansion	**Nucleus**	**Expansion**
attributive (§3.3.1)		
noun + *n.tj*[53]	highly specific (also	specifying

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[50] Examples are provided in footnotes as transliterated by Shisha-Halevy (2007a). For the indication of the source, see the original article. Paragraph numbers in brackets (e.g. §3.1) refer to the relevant chapters in Shisha-Halevy (2007a).

[51] With prepositions *ḥnꜥ*, *ḥr* or Ø, e.g. *jw dꜣbw jm ḥnꜥ jꜣrr.t* "there are figs and grapes there" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 232)

[52] "Here the combination of formal (preposition) and functional (prepositional meaning) specifics is often associated with noun specificity or non-specificity: *m njw.t* "in town", *m sꜣꜣ* "by chance"" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 233).

[53] "The relative (*n.tj*) expands high-specificity nuclei or, for nouns otherwise marked for specificity, is a co-marking element, or is itself a specifying factor of cataphoric definiteness" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 234).

Table 37 Environmental determination in Old and Middle Egyptian (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

Syntactic constructions ("slots")	Signals / Effects	
	categorial generic)[54]	
noun + *pw* + *n.tj*	non-specific[55]	?
Ø + *n.tj*[56]	categorial generic	
appositive (§3.3.2 - §3.3.3) [57]		
adjectival (§3.3.2) noun + relative form noun + participle *nominal* (§3.3.3) demonstr./ Ø + relative form demonstr./ Ø + participle	specific/non-specific	specificity-irrelevant
adnexal (§3.3.4)[58]		
circumstantial (adverbial) verb forms and non-existence: *sdm.f* *sdm.n.f* stative *jw*-less adv.-rheme nexus *nn-wn*	specific/non-specific	de-specifying[59]
Adverbial expansion (§3.3.5)	**Nucleus**	**Expansion**
immediate adnominal-adverbial expansion	non-specific[60]	de-specifying

---

[54] E.g. *rmṯ Kmt n.tj.w jm ḥnˁ.f* "the Egyptians that (were) there with him", *sšm pn n.tj-wj ḥr.f* "this condition I'm in" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 234). Shisha-Halevy insists, that the apparent exceptions from the rule are not indefinite but categorial generic, e.g. *ȝḫ n.tj ḫp r ḥr.t-nṯr* "the illuminated person who had gone to the necropolis", *z n.tj n fgn.n.f* "the person who cannot/does not defecate, is constipated", *ḫnr n.tj m ḫnrt* "the prisoner, who is in prison" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 235).

[55] E.g. *z.t pw n.tt ḥr mn.s ḳsn ms.s* "It is ("the matter is") that a woman is in pain – it is difficult for her to give birth" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 235).

[56] "When the only nucleus is the one built into *n.tj* — that is, without any antecedent — the relative clause itself is generic; a formal nucleus specifies the relative clause" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 235), e.g. *n.tj sdm.f n.k* "anyone who obeys you", *nswt n.tj.w jm* "king of those who are yonder" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 235).

[57] "Relative forms, being nexal adjectives (Polotsky Transpositions) are appositively adjoined to the nucleus; they do not specify their antecedent or nucleus, nor do they despecify it" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 235), e.g. *z n ˁḳ hȝbw wr n wr* "a serving man, whom one great person sends to another" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 236).

[58] "Adnexal (circumstantial, Stative, parataxis) expansion is compatible with any determinator grading" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 234), e.g. *sdr di.f mw ḥwȝ* "an ear secreting a foul liquid" (*N + sdm.f*); *ḥm.t-wˁb (...) jwr.tj* "a priest's wife that is pregnant" (*N + stative*), *s.t wˁb.t nn-wnt jz jm n rmṯ nb* "a pure place, where there is nobody's tomb" (*N + nn-wn*) (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 237). "Self-specified nuclei are compatible with the converbs (just as the Coptic circumstantial is with specifics, from demonstratives to definite noun syntagms)" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 237), e.g. *psd.t jˁb.tj* "the whole Ennead".

[59] "Adnominal circumstantial forms actively signal lower specificity — despecify — by virtue of their rhematic (predicative) information value" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 234).

[60] E.g. *jȝtt m jr.t.f* "a wound in his eye" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 238).

Table 37 Environmental determination in Old and Middle Egyptian (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

Syntactic constructions ("slots")	Signals / Effects	
N jm	specific[61]	specifying
augens[62]	specific	specifying
Adjectival expansion (§3.3.6)	**Nucleus**	**Expansion**
adjectives / quantifiers[63]	specific/non-specific	de-specifying
totalizing *nb*	specific	specifying
preposition-derived nisbe-expansion (§6)	specific	specifying[64]
Nominal expansion	**Nucleus**	**Expansion**
mediated ("indirect genitive") (§3.3.7 (II))		
inalienable possession[65]	specific	specific and specifying
non-possessive[66]	specific/non-specific	non-specifying
unmediated ("direct genitive") (§3.3.7 (I))		
Bahuvrihi-type		generic[67]
with grammaticalized nominal prefix		(determination-irrelevant)[68]

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[61] E.g. *bꜣk jm* "yonder servant" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 238).

[62] "An augens (structurally of adverbial status) directly expands independently specific nouns: *tꜣ r-ḏr.f* 'the entire land'" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 238).

[63] "Like the verbal participial and relative-form expansion, adjectives do not specify, though they actualize a noun by virtue of linking concording gender-number slots (...) The typically satellital quantifiers too do not specify; on the contrary, they despecify their nucleus, unless it is otherwise marked" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 238). E.g. *nn sẖꜣ.j n.k sꜣ.t kt.t jn.t n.j m sšꜣ* "I won't mention to you a/the small daughter brought to me by fate", *ḥfꜣ.w 75* "75 serpents" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 238).

[64] E.g. *mtw.t nṯr jm.j.t.s* "the seed of god that is in it", *gs jmn.tj n p.t* "the western side of the sky" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 249).

[65] "Inalienable possessive specification by specific second term" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 240). E.g. *ḏnḥ n sn.f stẖ* "his brother Seth's wings", *nb n jw pn* "the lord of this Island", *gs jmn.tj n p.t* "the western side of the sky" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 240).

[66] "Non-possessive, non-specifying (with either term specific or non-specific), but characterizing and appurtenative phrases, in a wide range of nuances (cf. "attributive" ⲛ- in Coptic) (...) A second important type is the attributive second term, qualifying the first (cf. Coptic ⲛ- + zero article)" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 240). E.g. *jb.j n mw.t.j* "my heart, of my mother's (i.e. "my very own heart")", *nḥꜣ.w n mfkꜣ.t* "jewelry of turquoise", *nw.t n nḥḥ* "cities of eternity" ("eternal cities", i.e. cemeteries) (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 240).

[67] E.g. *nfr-ḥr* "beautiful of face" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 239).

[68] Grammaticalized nominal prefixes include *bw-, st-, rꜣ-, nb-* (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 239).

Table 37 Environmental determination in Old and Middle Egyptian (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

Syntactic constructions ("slots")	Signals / Effects	
"inalienable constituency association" specific/non-specific	specific[69]	
Satellital appositive noun syntagm (§3.4)	**Nucleus**	**Expansion**
Noun in apposition		
to a personal or thematic pronoun	specific	highly specific[70]
Badal-apposition	generic	non-specific quantified[71]
Information structure (§4.1)		
Topical noun (§4.1.1)		
jr-marked topics (§4.1.1a)	specific (also generic)[72]	
topics marked solely by position (§4.1.1b)	specific (also generic)[73]	
noun syntagm extraposed to a suffix conjugation form: *N sḏm.f/sḏm.n.f* (§4.1.1c)	specific (also generic)[74]	
a special topicalization subtype (§4.1.1d)[75]	specific	
Agent and object actants specificity (§4.2)	**Agent-actant**	**Object-actant**
Thematic agent-actant (§4.2a)[76]	specific/ identifiable	

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[69] „The i.i.c. [*in initio compositi*] segment is specified by a specific i.f.c. [*in fine compositi*], typically Proper Names. These syntagms are often, but certainly not always, terminological, phraseological or idiomatic" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 239). E.g. *ḫr.t-jb nb.f* "his lord's desire", *ḥm.t wꜥb* "a/the priest's wife" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 239).

[70] "Equispecificity is characteristic of the flanks of apposition constructions" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 241). E.g. *jnk jt.k šps.j nb nṯr.w* "I am your noble father, the lord of the gods" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 241).

[71] E.g. *ḥnḳ.t ds 2* "beer, two jugs" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 241).

[72] „*Jr*-marked topics, with Nominal Sentence patterns and other constructions, are as a rule specific <...>. Generic clauses share this slot" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 242). E.g. *jr ḫwd ḥr.f nn ms.w.f nn jwꜥ.w.f* "whoever is enriched by it, has no children and no heirs"; *jr sf wsjr pw* "as for yesterday, it is Osiris" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 242).

[73] E.g. *ꜥnt.w n.j-jm sw* "myrrh, it is mine", *ḫbz.wt.f wr sy r mḥ 2* "his beard, it was longer than two ells" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 242).

[74] E.g. *wgꜣ ꜣs.n.f wj* "exhaustion, it has caught up with me", *ḥḳꜣ pf nḏnḏ.f ḥnꜥ.j* "that prince, he consulted with me" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 242).

[75] "A topicalized noun syntagm or an anaphoric pronoun or a Proper Name is pronominally resumed by an inalienably possessed component of the said noun, representing it in thematic status" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 242), e.g. *jw jt.k jmn-rꜥw jb.f ḥtp* "your father Amun-Re's heart is content" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 242).

[76] "Agent actants (...) are often thematic, the theme being typically specific or at least identifiable" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 243).

Table 37 Environmental determination in Old and Middle Egyptian (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

Syntactic constructions ("slots")	Signals / Effects	
Negative environment (§4.2a)[77]	generic	generic
Generic tense-forms (§4.2c)[78]	generic	generic
jri-construction ("act, serve as") (§4.3.1)[79]		specif.-irrelevant
Noun syntagms in nexus (§4.3)	**Initial term**	**Final term**
"Theme — pw — rheme" pattern (§4.1.2 / §4.3a)	specific[80]	spec.-irrelevant[81]
"Rheme — pw — theme" pattern (§4.3b)	spec.-irrelevant	specific (epexegesis)[82]
Endophoric nominal sentence "rheme — pw (theme)" (§4.3c)	specific[83]	
Binominals (§4.3d)	specific[84]	specific
Presentative cleft-sentence-like construction (§4.3e)	non-specific[85]	
M/r of predication (§4.3.1)[86]	rhematic noun: specificity-irrelevant	
Focal noun in cleft sentence (*jn N* + participial statement) (§4.3.2)	highly specific[87]	
	non-specific (yet identifiable)[88]	

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[77] "In negative environment, actants of both types are often, perhaps typically generic (...) and exclude the indefinite and the quantified" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 243). E.g. *n jri.j jzf.t* "I have not done wrong" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 243).

[78] "Generic tense-forms: *n/nn sḏm.n.f, jw.f sḏm.f* (...) occur typically with actor (and object) actants that, if not delocutive-pronominal and anaphoric, are generic" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 244). E.g. *jw di.tw n.f šns ds.y pr-sn* "bread, beer-jugs and cakes are given to him", *n šsp.n jb mȝˤ.t* "the heart does not accept truth" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 244).

[79] E.g. *jw gr jnk jri-tp mḏḥ.w* "while it was me, who acted as head of sandstone-hewers" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245)).

[80] E.g. *pẖr.t pw nt ḥˤ.w.s mrḥ.t* "the remedy for her body is oil" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 243).

[81] "Rhematic nouns are — in specific Nominal Sentence patterns — not merely non-specific, but specificity-irrelevant, with their quality of rhematicity overruling that of specificity (It is also possible to view these nouns as generic)" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245). These include infinitives, e.g. *nḥ.t.j pw jrt n.f st* "It is my desire to do this for him" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245).

[82] E.g. *bw.t ttj pw ḥḳr/jb.t* "Hunger/thirst are Teti's abomination" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 244).

[83] E.g. *ˤn.t tw pw nt Wsjr* "It's that nail of Osiris" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245).

[84] E.g. *rn.f nfr N* "His good name is N" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245).

[85] E.g. *z pw wn* "There was once a man" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245).

[86] "Incidental or contingent (non-essential, non-inherent) circumstance-dependent noun predication" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245). E.g. *mk tw m mnj.w* "behold, you are a herdsman" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245).

[87] E.g. *jn ḏr.t ttj wtz sw* "It is Ttj's hand that shall support him" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 245).

[88] "(These are) cases of seeming exception, on their own non-specific, yet identifiable, with an in-set identity, in internal syntagmatic definition. Zero generics is excluded of this focal slot" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 246). E.g.

Table 37 Environmental determination in Old and Middle Egyptian (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

Syntactic constructions ("slots")	Signals / Effects
Existential constructions (§5.1)	**Existant**
Existence form with *wnn*	non-specific/ quantified indefinite[89]
Non-existence forms with *nn, nn-wn/n-wn*	non-specific[90]
Inflecting presentative construction: (§5.2)	**Presented noun**
mk/mṯ/mṯn	determination-indifferent[91]
Possessive constructions (§5.3)	**Possessum**
Suffixed-pronominal-possessor construction	specificity-indifferent[92]
Predicative possession	specific (also naming generic)[93]
Existential predicative possession[94]	existant = possessum: non-specific
Nominalized negative possessive *jw.tj*	non-specific[95]

Stating the ubiquity of syntactic determination types, Shisha-Halevy (2007a: 225–26; 235–36) admits that there exists interaction and tension between environmental and intrinsic or inherent (pragmatic, paradigmatic) determination. The latter manifests itself with proper names, appellatives (address status) and in the cases of of closed-set paradigmatic specificity. Egyptian proper names are highly specific, but even they are "not absolute, but relative entities (...). They are not (as is implicitly or explicitly assumed and indeed a usually mentioned definitive property) self-actualizing, but environmentally signaled (...)"(Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 231), e.g. *ḥr.w bjk ꜥꜣ* "Horus, the Great Falcon", *jnp.w tpj-ḏw.f* "Anubis, who is upon his Mountain", *nḫt ms.w n nfrj* "'Strong', born to 'Handsome'", *jm.j-r rḫ nswt k3-m-snw* "Supervisor, King's Confidant *K3-m-snw*". The specificity type of address is defined as *sui generis, proper-name* like, which explains its compatibility with demonstratives: *j wr*

(*...*)*jn 2 ḏiḏi nšw.t, jn 2 ḏiḏi snf* "(there are four vessels in his nostrils) two give mucus, two give blood" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 246).

[89] E.g. *jw wn nḏs* "Now there is a commoner" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 246).

[90] "Affirmative existence and non-existence differ sharply in existant specificity: non-existence generally combines with lower specificity" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 247). E.g. *nn m3ꜥ.tiw* "there are no righteous" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 246).

[91] E.g. *mk nṯr rḏi.n.f. ꜥnḫ.k* "Look, God /a god has kept you alive" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 247).

[92] See the quote on page 86 (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 247).

[93] *ntk nbw n.k-jm.j ḥḏ* "Yours is gold, to you belongs silver"; *n.f-jm k3.w* "to him belong the bulls" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 248).

[94] "It is also a striking demonstration of the non-specificity of the suffix-possessed noun, here in the role slot of existant or non-existant. Non-existence is incompatible with quantifiedness, but is compatible with possessedness" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 249). E.g. *jst wn ḥm.t.f* "Now he had a wife" (lit. "Now there was his wife", *wsḫ.t nn ḥmw.s* "a boat with no rudder" (lit. "a boat, there is no its rudder") (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 249).

[95] E.g. *jw.tj z3.f , jw.tj mḫn.t.f* "Who has no son, who has no ferry-boat" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 237)

pw "Oh you Great One", *j jtj.j pf jm.j ḥr.t-nṯr* "O my father who is in the Necropolis" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 228–29). The cases of paradigmatic specificity are not canonical or a priori, but ad-hoc, and include real generic notion names as well as abstracts (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 230). The reason to label generic notion names as paradigmatically specific seems to lay in their occurrence in specific syntactic slots in Bohairic, where generics can be accompanied by the definite article, just like unique terms. And indeed, Shisha-Halevy treats generics and unique terms as belonging to one category: "unique [is] like a snake biting its tail (...) paradoxically also a one-member generic" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 229). Specific unique terms are e.g. *ḥḏ.t* "the white crown", *wrr.t* "the crown of Upper Egypt", *t3.wj* "the Two Lands" ("Egypt"), *rˁw* "the sun", *nṯr* "God", while generic category names are *ḏb3 wr, ḏb3 šrr* "the big finger, the little finger", *p.t t3 mw* "sky, earth and water", *rmṯ.w nṯr.w 3ḫ.w* "people, gods, spirits", *3ḫ.t rmṯ ḫ.t nb.t* "field, people, everything", *jzf.t* "injustice" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 230–31).

Commentary

The environment-driven approach creates a number of challenges in Shisha-Halevy's line of argumentation. He applies the terms *specific*, *non-specific*, and *generic* simultaneously to the description of the syntactic environment (*slots*) and to the pragmatic features of the nominal phrase, occupying a given slot. For example, the sentence "the topic is either specific, or generic (again specific, as genus or notion name) – never indefinite or quantified" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 242) can only be understood if the reader keeps in mind that the topics are pragmatically specific or generic, but generic notion names can use the syntactic markers of specificity (such as definite articles in Bohairic); topics are never pragmatically indefinite. Another problem is the *fuzzy* definition of generic determination, which

> in general is rather complicated, with the possible distinction of *zero* (extensive, diffuse) generic, naming (genus name) generic, instantial ("indefinite") generic and closed-set contrastive generic. It is remarkable that high specificity slots are almost always shared by genericity — not surprising, given the affinity of the generic and the Proper Name (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 230).

In this quote *zero generic* applies to the morpho-syntactic properties of the slot (no determiners are used in Bohairic), whereas *genus name generic* is a functional definition, referring to the pragmatic use of the nouns in the given context. *Indefinite* generic again refers to the slot and *contrastive generic* to the function. It would be more consistent to separate syntax from function and say that generics in article languages can occupy not only syntactic *zero* but also *definite* or *indefinite* slots: according to Dryer (2014: 235) "generics are coded like either semantically nonspecific indefinites or nonanaphoric definites (...)".

Another difficulty for the adequate comprehension of the text are the labels *specifying* and *de-(or non-)specifying*, characterizing the way the extensions of the complex noun phrases affect their nuclei. Specifying/de-specifying extensions do not necessarily result in the corresponding specificity grade of the nucleus. For example, a subtype of the mediated nominal expansion (i.e. indirect genitive) is said to be non-possessive, non-specifying, with either term (nucleus or expansion) specific or non-specific (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 240). This suggests another caveat in the environment-driven approach to determination: even though syntax does generate definiteness effects, these can be overwritten by the pragmatic and semantic specificity of the constituent elements. Whenever

there is tension between the environmental and pragmatic specificity, it is the latter which gains the upper hand.

Shisha-Halevy's method is a valuable extension of a functional perspective. Compared to a functional-typological approach, focusing primarily on the grammaticalization features of deictic elements, a definiteness-based analysis has a broader look on determination. It views the specificity grades as the product of the collaboration between the syntactic environments, the semantic features of the nouns, the pragmatic properties of the discourse context and the explicit markers of specificity such as demonstratives and articles.

Syntactic environment types, affecting specificity, include prepositional, verbal, noun phrases, as well as clausal patterns. In Middle Egyptian, object actants are, for example, often generic; relative expansions with $n.tj$ – specifying; relative forms and participles – specificity-irrelevant; suffixed-pronominal-possessor construction – specificity-indifferent; initial terms in nominal "theme - pw - rheme" clauses – specific; and focal nouns in cleft sentences ($jn\ N$ + participial statement) are highly specific.

The semantic properties of the nouns, interacting with the environment, can be grouped as follows:

- common vs. proper nouns[96]
- numeral vs. mass nouns[97]
- concrete vs. abstract nouns[98]

According to Allan (1980) and Chierchia (1998) nouns, however, do not have a lexical specification for mass vs. count, concrete vs. abstract, common vs. proper status, but are specified as such only when used in a given context. The difference between numeral and mass nouns is indeed induced by the pragmatic context, e.g.

Count noun		Mass noun
(a) paper	↔	paper
(a) chicken	↔	chicken (meat)
(an) apple	↔	apple, e.g. *there is apple in this sauce*
(a) water, e.g. *two waters please*	↔	water

The borders between common and proper nouns are fluid, as common nouns referring to unique items ("the sun", "the king") possess the features of both categories. The collaborative effort of the syntactic environment, the intrinsic (semantic and pragmatic) features of the constitutive elements,

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[96] Common nouns "denote objects or states of affairs or individual representatives thereof, e.g. animal(s) or human(s) as opposed to proper nouns, which serve to identify particular individual objects" (Bussmann, Kazzazi, and Trauth 1996: 83).

[97] Numeral nouns "can be directly combined with a number (e.g. apple) as opposed to mass nouns, which cannot (e.g. gold). In some cases, nouns can belong to both classes (e.g. fish)" (Bussmann, Kazzazi, and Trauth 1996: 106). Mass nouns can be further subdivided into nouns referring to elements ("rock", "wood", "water") and collectives ("cattle", "rice", "brush").

[98] Abstract nouns "form a semantically defined class of nouns that denote concepts ("psyche"), characteristics ("laziness"), relationship ("kinship"), institutions ("marriage"), etc., but not persons, objects, substances or the like", expressed by concrete nouns (Bussmann, Kazzazi, and Trauth 1996: 2)

aided by explicit markers (demonstratives, articles etc.) to express the determination types can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 3 Determination types as a collaborative effort of syntax, semantics and pragmatics

| Function (determination type) | Syntactic environment | Semantic / pragmatic features | Explicit markers (demonstratives, articles) |
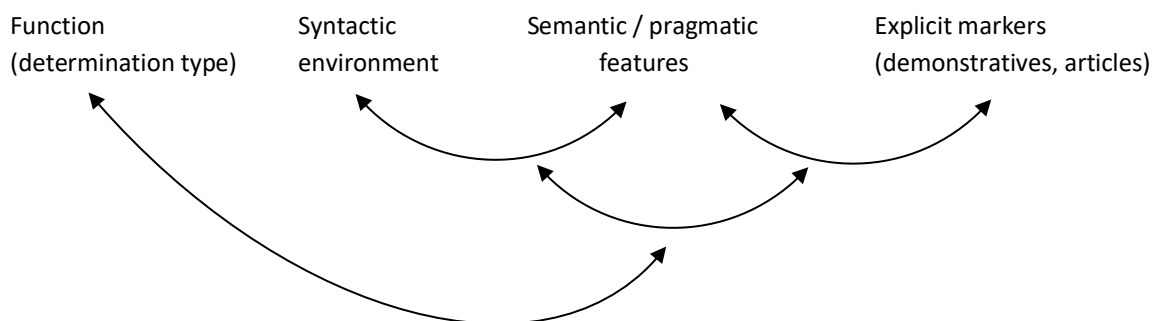
3.2.2. Deictic-determinative origins of the definite article (Kroeber 1970)

Kroeber (1970) derives his theoretical scheme from Hodler's (1954) work of the emergence of the definite article in Old High German. Kroeber singles out two functional uses of demonstrative pronouns, which present two potential grammaticalization channels:

- *Deictic-anaphoric use* ("deiktisch-anaphorischer Character" (Kroeber 1970: 2)), denoting backward reference, which is further subdivided into *direct-anaphoric*, *indirect-anaphoric* and *deictic-emphatic* uses (Kroeber 1970: 15–17). Direct-anaphoric demonstratives point at a previously mentioned item, while with indirect-anaphoric reference the entity has not been previously mentioned but is known to the discourse participants from the context. The deictic-emphatic can be understood as a situational use, referring to an object physically present in the very moment of communication ("etwas direkt Vorschwebendes") (Kroeber 1970: 16).

- *Deictic-determinative use* ("deiktisch-determinativer Character"(Kroeber 1970: 3)), denoting a forward reference. This type, according to Kroeber, applies to the syntactic construction *demonstrative + noun/Ø + relative extension*, in which the demonstrative points at the juxtaposed noun or Ø, followed by the relative phrase. In Egyptian the deictic-determinative *p3* partakes in the following construction types (Kroeber 1970: 17–18):

  > *p3 + N/Ø + participle (active or passive)*
  > *p3 + N/Ø + relative form*
  > *p3 + N/Ø + virtual relative clause*
  > *p3 + N/Ø + n.tj + adverbial expansion*
  > *p3 + N/Ø + proper name*

Deictic anaphoric pronouns help the hearer to identify the intended referent and are initially not used with nouns denoting cognitively accessible entities. Kroeber (1970: 7–9) arranges such nouns into two semantic categories:

1) *Absolute-real* terms ("absolut-reale Substantiva"), identifiable regardless of the context. These are unique entities ("Himmel", "Erde", "Sonne", "Mond") and proper names[99].

2) *Relative-real* terms ("relativ-reale Substantiva") are identifiable through the context of the speech situation. Such context-dependent nouns build a hierarchy according to the *intensity of identifying association* ("Intensität der identifizierenden Assoziation"):

   - 1st degree, high intensity terms – nouns denoting parts of the imaginable whole (e.g. parts of the body)[100], notions of time and space ("Abend", "Morgen", "Anfang", "Ende").
   - 2nd degree terms – nouns indicating the natural surroundings and ownership ("Heimat", "Haus", "Hof", "Volk", "Stadt", "Kirche", "Schule", "Luft", "Regen", "Wind")[101].
   - 3rd degree terms – nouns expressing the social relations in a given culture (e.g. kinship terms "Vater", "Mutter"), names of professions and social groups ("Lehrer", "König", "Fürst", "Priester")[102].
   - 4th degree, low intensity terms: nouns that denote items individualized within a certain cultural context ("Evangelium", "Hohepriester")[103].

The grammaticalization of the deictic-anaphoric article starts with the introduction of the deictic-anaphoric pronoun into the semantic domain of the 4th degree, low intensity terms. Climbing up the ladder of the intensity of association, the anaphoric pronoun slowly takes over all other semantic categories. It finally starts to be used with the *absolute-real* nouns designating unique terms, which actually do not need any determiner to be correctly identified by the discourse participants.

The emergence of the deictic-determinative article, on the other hand, is conditioned by the syntactic and prosodic factors (Kroeber 1970: 10–11). The source construction is the accentuated demonstrative followed by the appositionally attached noun and the relative phrase. Its frequent use leads to a decreased emphasis of the deictic-determinative demonstrative: the accentuation moves to the noun and the demonstrative turns into a non-stressed proclitic.

It is from the deictic-determinative use that the definite article in Egyptian develops first (Kroeber 1970: 19,29). In making this assumption Kroeber refers to James, who notes that the seven passages in the Hekanakhte papers, where relative phrases are preceded by *p3*, "exhaust all the cases (...) in

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[99] The examples are provided in the language of the original (German) to underline the cultural relativity of such terms.

[100] "Nomina, die einen Teil des vorstellbaren Ganzen bezeichnen" (Kroeber 1970: 7).

[101] "Die relativ-realen Begriffe des 2. Grades sind solche, die natürliche Umgebung und die Besitzverhältnisse bezeichnen" (Kroeber 1970: 8).

[102] "Die relativ-realen Begriffe des 3. Grades sind solche, die gesellschaftliche Beziehungen einer gegebenen Kultur spiegeln" (Kroeber 1970: 8).

[103] "Die relativ-realen Begriffe 4. Grades sind schließlich diejenigen, die innerhalb eines mehr oder weniger bekannten Kulturkreises individualisiert erscheinen" (Kroeber 1970: 8).

which a simple noun is followed by a relative clause or phrase, with three exceptions only" (James 1962: 108). This suggests that by the end of the Eleventh Dynasty the use of the deictic-determinative *p3* became obligatory in the grammatical construction *noun + relative extension*. According to Kroeber (1970: 13, 21, 29), the fact that the Hekanakhte papers originate from West Thebes, supports the origins of *p3/t3/n3* in the colloquial language of Upper Egypt (cf. Fecht (1960: 202–6)). During the Twelfth Dynasty the geographic area of the deictic-determinative article expands to the North, as evidenced by the letters from Lahun, and the article enters the administrative language (the letters of the Vizier in pReisner II). At the same time, the use of *p3* is still considered to be too colloquial if not vulgar (stela of Mentuwoser) (Kroeber 1970: 19–22).

While the deictic-determinative "early article" ("Frühartikel") was largely grammaticalized by the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, the development of the deictic-anaphoric article was trailing it. In the Hekanakhte papers, the deictic-anaphoric demonstrative is not used with *relative-real* terms, which indicates that the transition from the pragmatic (deictic) to semantic definiteness had not yet begun. It is only by the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty that an important step occurs, as the deictic-anaphoric demonstrative expands into the domain of relative-real terms. In pWestcar, for example, the protagonists of the tales and other discourse items, easily identifiable through context, are used with the deictic-anaphoric article. However, the *higher intensity* terms, such as *ḥm* "majesty" and *nb* "lord" still reject the definite article (Kroeber 1970: 23–24). The final step in the development occurs during the Eighteenth Dynasty. The letters of Ahmose-Penjaty as well as tomb builders' ostraca from Deir el-Bahari attest to the *high-intensity relative-real terms* as well as *absolute-real* terms, such as *z3-nswt* "king's son", used with the definite article (Kroeber 1970: 25–28). The concurrence of the deictic-anaphoric article with the unstressed deictic-determinative article marks the end of the grammaticalization process, which must have taken between 500 and 800 years. The period after that is marked by the introduction of the indefinite article arising from the cardinal number *wˁ* "one" (Kroeber 1970: 29-30).

Commentary

The drawbacks of Kroeber's theoretical framework come to light when we arrange the two types of deictic uses – deictic-anaphoric and deictic-determinative – in a grid of pragmatic, syntactic, and semantic features:

Table 38 Deictic-anaphoric and deictic-determinative demonstratives: features grid

	Pragmatic features			**Syntactic features**	**Semantic features**	
	Anaphoric reference			**Cataphoric reference**		
	Direct-anaphoric	**Indirect-anaphoric**	**Deictic-emphatic**		**Dem. + noun/Ø + rel. ext.**	**Absolute-real terms**	**Relative-real terms**
Deictic-	X	X	X	-	?	X	X

Table 38 Deictic-anaphoric and deictic-determinative demonstratives: features grid

anaphoric use							
Deictic-determinative use	-	-	-	?	X	?	?

The table above makes the following points clear:

- The deictic-determinative use is not the pragmatic reference type, but the description of the syntactic construction (*demonstrative + noun/Ø + relative extension*). This construction can actually be used both for cataphoric (forward-pointing) and for an anaphoric (backward-pointing) reference[104]. In the Hekanakhte papers such deictic-determinative phrases in fact function as anaphors. In the following example the deictic-determinative *pȝ ꜥḳ.w* "the rations", extended with the relative clause *hȝb.n.j n.ṯn ḥr.f* "about which I have written to you", traces the previously mentioned *zẖȝ.w n ꜥḳ.w n pr.w* "account of the rations of the household":

  zẖȝ.w n ꜥḳ.w n pr.w
  Account of the rations of the household.
  (Hekanakhte, Letter II, recto, line 7)
  → *šȝꜥ.tw gr.t m rdt **pȝ ꜥḳ.w** hȝb.n.j n.ṯn ḥr.f m wp(.w) n ẖnt(.j)-ẖ.ty-pr.tj n wp.w n mȝw.t*
  One should begin by giving **the rations,** about which I have written to you, on the first day of Khentihetiperty, for a new first day.
  (Hekanakhte, Letter II, recto, lines 31-32)

- The semantic properties of the nouns that appear with deictic-determinative demonstratives are not mentioned, as if the criterion of the *intensity of association* applies only to anaphoric deixis. This is implausible because a relative clause is merely a tool of deixis intensification, cooperating in the given pragmatic context with noun semantics and demonstrative pronouns.

- It is not clear why such prosodic features as the loss of accentuation and subsequent proclitization occur only with deictic-determinative demonstratives. They apply to the grammaticalization stages of the anaphoric demonstrative as well (see Greenberg (1978)).

Aside from some theoretical caveats, Kroeber's delineation of *deictic-determinative* use as source construction for article grammaticalization in Egyptian-Coptic is of high importance. Relative clauses are the secondary markers of recognitional use of the demonstrative pronouns, which signal the familiarity of the referent to the addressee. Such acquaintanceship can arise from the shared experience of the interlocutors, as noticed by Loprieno (1980). Building on Kroeber, Loprieno (1980: 3–6; 24–25) laid out the following deictic reference types of *pȝ*:

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[104] The prototypical examples of the cataphoric reference are "Listen to *this [which I am going to tell you]*: John will move to Hawaii"(Diessel 1999: 102) and "In front of *him*, Pilate saw a beaten man" (Levinson 2006: 119).

- *Direct anaphora* ("anaphora diretta") is the reference to a previously mentioned discourse item (= Kroeber's *direct-anaphoric use*).

- *Mediated anaphora* ("anaphora mediata") is the reference to a common experience that the writer shares with the recipient of the message ("esperienza dell'interlocutore") (≈ Kroeber's *indirect-anaphoric use*, but with focus on shared experience).

- *Immediate anaphora* ("anaphora immediata") applies to the construction "*pꜣ* + substantive/infinitive + extension" ("determinazione"), where *pꜣ* refers to the information, expressed by the extension (= Kroeber's "deictic-determinative use"). Despite the fact that the (relative) extension follows the demonstrative, the information it conveys is logically and cognitively anterior and constitutes the logical premise ("premessa logica") for the deictic use of the demonstrative.

In contrast to Kroeber, Loprieno (1980: 11) sees the beginning of the definite article in the *mediated anaphora*, which loses its *individualizing force* ("l'affievolimento della forza individualizzatrice"), extends to other sematic categories and starts to signal determination in general. There is a clear concordance with Himmelmann in Loprieno's views, but, as in the case of Kroeber, he does not explain why the syntactically defined *anaphora immediata* cannot pragmatically function as a reference to a common experience, i.e. as *anaphora mediata*. Kroeber's and Loprieno's observations in Egyptian syntactically and pragmatically confirm Himmelmann's (1997) hypothesis of the *recognitional* origins of the definite article.

3.2.3. Recognitional origins of the definite article (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016)

In a recent monography, Zöller-Engelhardt (2016) analyzed the grammaticalization of the definite article in Egyptian plus the related syntactic phenomena, such as the transition from the direct to the indirect genitive in nominal possessor constructions, and the relocation of the suffix from a noun to a determiner with pronominal possessor constructions. Addressing the Old Kingdom demonstratives, Zöller-Engelhardt mentions the role of *pw* as pointing at distance-neutral or known referents and *pn/pf* as respectively referring to proximal and distal items. She adopts the functional framework of Himmelmann (1997) and arranges the demonstrative terms of Old Egyptian according to four pragmatic uses:

- situational
- discourse-deictic
- anaphoric
- recognitional

Pn and *pw*, according to Zöller-Engelhardt, can both be used for anaphoric references as illustrated by the sequence *dng* "dwarf" → *dng pn* "this dwarf" → *dng pw* "this dwarf" in Pepi II's letter to Harkhuf (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 103–4). *Pn* (*tn*) can also have recognitional function, denoting referents known to the speaker and the addressee through their shared experience, e.g. *mdꜣ.t.k tn* "this letter of yours", *bꜣk.t tn sn.nwt* "this second female servant" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 103–4).

The third use of the demonstratives of *n*-series is situational, referring to the item immediately present in the situation of discourse: *t3 pn r-dr.f* "this whole land" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 105).

Analyzing the contexts of the early examples of *3*-series demonstratives, Zöller-Engelhardt defines them as situational and distance-neutral:

> *mk wj zḫz.(j) ḫr n3 n.tj m ꜥ.j*
> See, (I) hurry up carrying this, which is in my hand.
> (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 106) = Tjauti, Pl. 26, top register)

> *jrr.k n3 r tm wnm*
> It is what you should do to the one who does not eat.
> (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 106) = Idu-Seneni, Pl. 10, 3rd register from top)

Additionally, the vocative use is also common for *p3*:

> *p3 mry*
> O beloved one!
> (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 106) = Kaiemankh K, Pl. 32, 3rd register from bottom)

> *jm n.j p3 n.tj ḫr ndrt mn.t*
> Give (it) to me, you, holding the haunch!
> (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 106) = Tjauti, Pl. 26, bottom register)[105]

The table below summarizes the use types of the Old Kingdom demonstratives as outlined by Zöller-Engelhardt:

Table 39 Pragmatic uses of Old Kingdom demonstratives (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016)

	w-series	*3*-series	*n*-series
Recognitional			X
Discourse-deictic			
Anaphoric	X		X
Situational		X	X
Vocative		X	

Zöller-Engelhardt attributes to *p3* a stronger deictic-pragmatic force, conditioned by its position preceding the noun[106]. Whether the new form derives from the adnominal demonstratives used in

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[105] For *jm* as the reading of the imperative 𓏭 see Edel (1964: 294–95 (§607))

[106] "Es zeigt sich, daß aus den Reihen altägyptischer demonstrativer Elemente die *p3*-Reihe durch ihre vorangestellte syntaktische Position heraussticht, die sie möglicherweise als Träger stärkerer deiktisch-pragmatischer Information kennzeichnet" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 107).

the topicalized (pre-nominal) position (*pn N, pf N*) could not be concluded in the investigation[107]. The reasons why the *ꜣ*-series is rarely attested during the Old Kingdom are the following:

- There are very few sources from this period which display the *strong pragmatic use*[108].
- The textually attested discourse situations apparently do not require this type of pragmatic-deictic-reference[109].

The beginning of the Middle Kingdom marks the expansion of the new demonstrative *pꜣ* from the situational to further pragmatic contexts – recognitional, anaphoric, and discourse-deictic:

> *jtt.sn ḳdb.f m **pꜣ mn** sḫt*(.*w*) *ꜥꜣ*
> They shall take its rent from **the *mn*-cloth** woven there (where you are).
> (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 110) = Hekanakhte, Letter I, recto, line 4)
> → Recognitional use

The activation of the discourse item *mn-cloth*, known to discourse participants, is additionally supported by a relative phrase. Other examples with *pꜣ* in Hekanakhte refer to the items, easily recognizable by the addressee: *pꜣ rdt jwt n.j zꜣ-ḥw.t-ḥr.w* "that sending of Sithathor to me" (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 111) = Hekanakhte, Letter I, verso, line 1); *pꜣ jt-mḥ.j ḫꜣr 10* "those 10 khar of Lower Egyptian barley" (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 111) = Hekanakhte, Letter I, verso, line 2); *nꜣ n kꜣ* "those bulls" (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 113) = Hekanakhte II, recto, col. 35); *nꜣ n jt-mḥ.j bd.t n.t(j) ꜥꜣ* "the barley and emmer which are there (where you are)" (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 113–14) = Hekanakhte III, recto, line 4).

> *gr nfr ꜣ ḫr.k r **pꜣ mn** ḏd.n.j* (…)
> You will have no more concern with **the *mn*-cloth** about which I have said: (…)
> (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 110–11) = Hekanakhte, Letter I, recto, lines 5-6)[110]
> → Anaphoric use

Here *pꜣ* is used anaphorically to point at a previously mentioned referent *mn*-cloth (Hekanakhte I, recto, col. 4). The same function is indicated with *pꜣ jt-mḥ.j mꜣ(w)* "that new barley" (anchored in *jt-mḥ.j mꜣ(w) nfr* "good new barley") (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 112–13) = Hekanakhte, Letter I, verso, lines 2-4); *mtn ḥbs.wt.j nꜣ* "Behold, this is my concubine" (anchored in *ḥbs.wt* "concubine") (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 115) = Hekanakhte II, recto, lines 41-42); *nꜣ n pr-hꜣꜣ* "this of Perhaa" (anchored in *šnꜥ.t* "the value") (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 114–15) = Hekanakhte, Letter I, verso, line 17).

> *jr gr.t wnn šdi.n.sn šnꜥ.t m-ḏbꜣ.(w)-n **nꜣ n bd.t** n.tj m pr-hꜣꜣ ḏd.sn st jm*
> Now if they have collected the value in exchange for **the emmer**, which is in Perhaa, they shall use it there also.

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[107] "Ob die pränominale Reihe der Demonstrativa durch topikalisierende Voranstellung postnominaler (und somit 'älterer') Demonstrativa hervorgegangen ist, läßt sich anhand der vorliegenden Untersuchung nicht bestimmen" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 128).

[108] "(...) weil aus dieser Zeit kaum Textformen belegt sind, die den 'stark' pragmatischen Gebrauch aufweisen" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 102).

[109] "(...) die textlich belegte Diskurs-Situation offenbar zumeist auch keine derart pragmatisch-deiktische Referenz erfordert" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 105).

[110] The translation of this example follows James (1962: 13).

(Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 114–15) = Hekanakhte, Letter I, recto, lines 4-5)
→ Discourse-deictic use and recognitional use

The transition from pragmatically definite to semantically definite contexts, such as abstract-situational and associative-anaphoric ones, marks the evolution of the *pꜣ*-demonstrative to the *pꜣ*-article. This step occurs during the Twelfth Dynasty and is signaled by the use of *pꜣ* with the referents belonging to the domain of general knowledge, such as *pꜣ rs.j mḥ.tj* "the south and the north" (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 116–17) = BM 10567, Pl. 28a, line 11), *pꜣ ꜥḏ* "the (desert)-edge" (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 118) = Semna, Pl. III a, line 12). Noting that *ꜣ*-deictics are absent in Semna Dispatch 4, Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 119) explains it with the social parameters of the given written discourse: the communication is directed from a lower status (officer) to the higher status participant (commander), requiring from the former the use of the more formal language. The semantic evolution of *pꜣ* might explain the appearance of the form *pꜣy* towards the end of the Middle Kingdom: the grammaticalization of the pre-nominal demonstrative into an article necessitated the creation of the new deictic element with a stronger pragmatic force[111].

The Thirteenth Dynasty marks the appearance of the definite article *pꜣ* in the royal documents. The royal texts of the Second Intermediate Period may use both pre-nominal and post-nominal deictica with the same referent within the same passage (e.g. *pꜣ r-pr* vs. *r-pr pn* "this temple" (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 123) = Cairo JdE 30770, lines 4-5; 6-7). During the Eighteenth Dynasty the definite article starts to be applied to unique referents such as the names of deities (*pꜣ jtn* "the Aton" (Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 124) = pMond 2, Pl. XXIX, lines 23-24) as well as in the associative-anaphoric context. The Nineteenth Dynasty witnesses the presence of the definite article in fixed expressions ("formelhafte Einleitungen und Flosken" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 126). It loses its status of a *free morpheme* during the New Kingdom, and, as a noun prefix, is reduced to the first radical in Demotic and Coptic[112]. Referring to Kupreyev (2014), Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 128) notes that in Demotic and Coptic the article can also be used in generic contexts.

In addition to the grammaticalization path of the definite article, the author deals with the syntactic changes in the pronominal possessive construction, following the appearance of the proclitic demonstrative. The first occurrence of the pronominal possessor cliticized to the determiner she dates to the early Middle Kingdom (Eleventh Dynasty):

*mk gr.t **pꜣ.k pr** mk sw rḏ.(w) n pꜣ wꜥb nḫ.t ꜥꜣ.wt jḫ.wt nb.t*
Moreover, see, **this house of yours**, see, has been given to the *wꜥb*-priest Nakht, (with) all its doors and things.
(Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 160) = Cairo 91061, Pl. 26a, recto, line 8)

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[111] "Die Grammatikalisierung der pränominalen Demonstrativriehe zum Artikel führt zur Herausbildung eines neuen demonstrativen Elements mit stärkeren pragmatischer Kraft, wodurch die Ableitung der neuen Demonstrativreihe *pꜣy* ermöglicht wird" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 212).
[112] "Aus dem freien Morpheme des Artikels wird wohl bereits im Neuägyptischen, sicher jedoch in den späten Sprachstufen des Demotischen und Koptischen ein gebundenes, welches dem Nomen präfigiert wird" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 128).

The reasons for this move lie in the changes in accentuation within the nominal phrase, which possibly affected the weakening of the final syllable of the noun[113]. Despite the expanding use of the prefixed possessor construction during the Middle Kingdom, a number of nouns retain the suffixed possessor pronouns. Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 160–61) divides these into the following semantic categories:

- The inalienably possessed nouns, such as parts of the body as well as nouns *rn* "name" and *ds* "self".
- Nouns denoting relational concepts of space ("relationale räumliche Konzepte"); locations ("Ortsangaben"), e.g. *w* "region"; abstract mental conditions ("abstrakte (mentale) Zustände"), e.g. *snb* "health"); ownership, income, and work ("Bezeichnungen für Eigentum, Einkünfte und Arbeitsleistungen").
- Nouns denoting family relationships and titles retain suffixed possessors if they are determined by the proper names. Kingship terms, such as *ḥm* "majesty", *nswt* "king", *nb* "lord", show a possessive suffix in formulaic expressions.

Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 162–63) points out the absence of the *transitional* expressions containing a pre-nominal determinative and a post-nominal possessive suffix. A single piece of evidence of this syntactic type belongs to the Twelfth Dynasty (papyrus Reisner II); two other are attested fairly late – in the Nineteenth Dynasty. As the full demonstrative form *p3y* first appears only toward the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, Zöller-Engelhardt assumes that the possessive suffix was originally attached to the form *p3*. The move of the possessor suffix is thus abrupt: once *p3* appears in the noun phrase, the possessive is immediately cliticized to it. This is not typical for grammaticalization processes (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 164).

In summary, Zöller-Engelhardt sees the origins of the definite article in the pre-nominal demonstrative *p3* of the Old Kingdom, occurring in the *strong deictic-pragmatic* contexts of the spoken discourse. During the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom this demonstrative expands from the situational and vocative uses to the recognitional, anaphoric, and discourse-deictic contexts, and enters written discourse. The relocation of the determiner triggers the immediate migration of the possessive suffix, as signaled by the absence of the transitional forms. Later in the Middle Kingdom, *p3* spreads from the pragmatic-definite to the semantic-definite contexts, which functionally mark it as a definite article. The proclitic *p3* becomes obligatory with semantically definite nouns during the Ramesside period. The functional, *discourse-pragmatic strengthening* of the nominal phrase is seen by Zöller-Engelhardt as the possible cause of the article development[114].

Commentary

Zöller-Engelhardt's study illustrates the difficulty of implementing of an established functional framework on Egyptian material. Rather than assessing the presented article grammaticalization scenario, I will address a number of theoretical drawbacks of the given study, not mentioned by the

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[113] "Die Ursache der Suffixmigration läßt sich in einer Akzentverlagerung sowie einer (möglicherweise hierdurch) bedingte Schwächung des Auslauts und weiteren Faktoren vermuten" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 212).
[114] "Ursache bzw. Auslöser dieser Entwicklung sind nicht eindeutig zu bestimmen. (...) Eine funktionale, diskursbedingte Ursache wie die diskurs-pragmatische Verstärkung des nominalen Ausdrucks (im Gegensatz zu den häufig anaphorischen postnominalen Determinierern) ist wahrscheinlicher" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 212).

reviewers (Müller 2018; Vernus 2018), which ultimately affect the accuracy of the reached conclusions.

1.   The semantic opposition definite vs. indefinite

Referring to Himmelmann (2001: 831), Zöller-Engelhardt remarks that a semantic opposition between definite and indefinite expressions is fundamental and universal, but its grammatical realization can take different forms[115]. In the provided reference, however, Himmelmann clearly presents the structuralist view of Kramsky, which is "based on the simple bilateral opposition 'definite' vs. 'indefinite', (...) *assumed* [our italics] to be universal" (Himmelmann 2001: 831). Himmelmann himself has a very different research perspective, following in the footsteps of the grammaticalization pioneer Greenberg, who defines *definiteness* as not universal, but as one of the possible article functions; others being specificity, non-specificity, genericity, etc. Cross-linguistically the opposition definite vs. indefinite is rather rare; more common is the dichotomy of specific and non-specific terms (Dryer 2014: 234). Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 93) further notes that the universal category of semantic definiteness can be expressed in Middle and Old Egyptian with such means as:

- demonstratives;
- nominal possessive expressions (direct and indirect genitive; pronominal possession);
- nominal expressions with relative attributes (relative converter *n.tj*, relative forms, participles);
- nominal category of dual;
- nominal expressions with numerals (cardinal numbers), quantifiers *nb* "every", *ky* "a/the other one", superlatives;
- proper names.

In fact, nominal possessive expressions as well as expressions with numerals are not definite. Egedi (2010: 8) has explained that suffixed possession in Egyptian is non-definite:

> A noun with a pronominal possessor can appear in syntactic environments that are typically designed for indefinite descriptions such as existential sentences (...): *jst wn ḥm.t.f* "And he has a wife" (= "now, there is his wife") (Eloquent peasant [R2)][116]

Zöller-Engelhardt discards this example, arguing that the suffixed-possessor definiteness is overruled here by the indefiniteness of the predicative possession construction (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 94 (footnote 455))[117]. The indefinite function of the suffixed possessor, however, is not limited to predicative environment. For Shisha-Halevy the *noun + possessive pronoun* formation in Egyptian is specificity-indifferent as such:

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[115] "Die semantische Opposition zwischen definiten und indefiniten Ausdrücken ist grundlegend und universal, ihre grammatische Realisierung kann jedoch unterschiedliche Formen annehmen" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 74–75).

[116] See also Haspelmath (2015: 271–72).

[117] Definiteness of the suffixed possession is recalled again later: "Wie zuvor festgestellt wurde, ist ein mit Possessivsuffix versehener nominaler Ausdruck bereits inhärent definit und spezifisch" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 167).

> The suffixed-pronominal-possessor construction in Old and Middle Egyptian is not per se specifying, as are for instance the possessive articles of French or English or German: the possessive suffix of the earlier Egyptian is not a determinator, but rather an actualizer-concretizer and locator. This is also made evident by its compatibility with demonstratives and *nb* "all" (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 272).

It is the non-definiteness of the suffix-possessed noun, which sanctions its use in constructions expressing existence/non-existence and not vice-versa (e.g. *wsḫ.t nn ḥmw.s* "a boat with no rudder" (Shisha-Halevy 2007: 249)). This is supported by a number of examples, quoted by Zöller-Engelhardt, in which the pronominal possessor is combined with recognitional and anaphoric demonstratives: *mḏ3.t.k tn* "this letter of yours" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 103); *mšꜥ.j* "my army" → *p3y.j mšꜥ* "this my army" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 167).

The treatment of another type of expressions presumed to be definite – noun phrases containing numbers – is inconsistent. On one occasion Zöller-Engelhardt states that numbers specify a reference quantity, but definiteness is assigned by other features[118]. Conversely, further on in text Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 97) returns to the original statement that the syntactic construction *noun + numeral* is definite. In actual fact, such expressions are specificity-irrelevant in Egyptian:

> The typically satellital quantifiers too do not specify; on the contrary, they despecify their nucleus, unless it is otherwise marked (Shisha-Halevy 2007a: 238).

The account of the syntactic contexts in which the definite article is regularly used in the languages of the world, is the misconception of the source text[119]. The quote of the original makes clear that these are the contexts, in which the use of the definite article is *irregular*:

> For the two best known types of NP articles, the definite and the specific article, the following contexts have been identified as particularly *prone to cross-linguistic variation* [our italics](...): a) use with proper names and vocatives; b) use in adpositional phrases (...); c) use with other determining elements such as demonstratives and possessors (see § 5) (Himmelmann 2001: 835).

2.   The functional use types of the demonstratives in Egyptian

Assigning the pragmatic uses to the demonstratives in Egyptian is a challenging task. This is evident, for example, from the different views on the functions of *p3* in Hekanakhte papers by James and Allen (see *Table 126 Deictic reference types of p3 (James 1962 vs. Allen 2002)* on page 269). The identification of the recognitional, anaphoric, situational, abstract-situational, and associative-anaphoric use types relies on the interpretation of the pragmatic context and the syntactic environment of a given attestation, as well as noun semantics. The assumptions about the shared experience of the interlocutors (recognitional use), the referent's presence in the space-time of communication (situational use) or referent's assignment to the domain of the common cultural knowledge (abstract-situational use) are not easily falsifiable. Taking into account the fragmentary

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[118] "Die Angabe der Numeralia spezifiziert die Bezugsgröße, Definitheit wird aber auch hier erst durch weitere Merkmale zugewiesen" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 96).

[119] "Kontexte für den Gebrauch des definiten Artikels können sprachübergreifend sein:
- Verwendung in adpositionalen Phrasen
- Gebrauch mit Eigennamen und Vokativen
- Gebrauch mit anderen determinierenden Elementen" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 80).

transmission of textual records the same applies to anaphoric use, suggesting the presence of the previous mention of the referent.

Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 103–4) labels *pn* and *pw* in the text passage involving the sequence *dng* "dwarf"→ *dng pn* "this dwarf" → *dng pw* "this dwarf" as direct textual anaphoric pronouns. This raises the question of why two different demonstratives are used for the same purpose. The author's assertion that the initial function of demonstrative *pꜣ* is situational, which only later embraces recognitional use (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 116) is typologically unattested (Himmelmann 1997). Existence of such functional diachrony in Egyptian is not confirmed by Kroeber and Loprieno, who view *deictic-determinative* features, or *mediated anaphor*, as primary to the demonstratives of the *ꜣ*-family. The phrase *pꜣ rs.j mḥ.tj* "the south and the north" (BM 10567, line 11) is presented by the author as the first case of an abstract-situational use (i.e. definite article (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 116–17)). This requires the functional definition of *pw* used consistently during Old Kingdom with a similar abstract-situational referent *šmꜥ.w* "Upper Egypt" (e.g. Coptos decrees B and C (Urk I, 282:15–283:3) (Urk I, 286:7–287:1)). The appearance *pꜣ* with unique referents (*pꜣ jtn* "the Aton") during the Eighteenth Dynasty fits the article grammaticalization cline suggested by Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 124), but leaves out Sekhet, the goddess of the marchlands, referred to as *sḫ.t tꜣ ḥnw.t ḥtp nfr* "Sekhet, *the* lady of good offerings" in the Ninth-Dynasty inscription of Ankhtifi in Moꜥalla (Ankhtifi, Inscr. 16: 15). Discourse-deictic demonstratives, on the other hand, are relatively easy to identify due to their semantic constraints: they refer to propositions and not to discourse objects. It is therefore hard to perceive why the phrase *nꜣ n bdt nty m pr-hꜣꜣ* "the emmer, which is in Per-haa" (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 114–15) is an example of a discourse-deictic use. Analyzing the Lahun-papyri, Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 120) introduces another function of deictica, which is to track the discourse participants. Tracking use is, however, an alternative label for anaphoric demonstratives (Himmelmann 2001: 833).

3.   *The source construction of pꜣ*

The grammaticalization cline of the definite article in Egyptian is hard to establish without the thorough investigation of the morphological, syntactic and pragmatic environment of the deictic morpheme *pꜣ*. The earliest instances of *pꜣ* are said by Zöller-Engelhardt to be situational and vocative and possess a *stronger deictic-pragmatic force*, conditioned by their pre-nominal position. Making this inference, Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 102–5) immediately states that it is impossible to prove, because the text forms with strong pragmatic use are rare in the Old Kingdom and the attested discourse situations do not require a strong pragmatic-deictic reference. Yet, as we will see in chapter **Fehler! Verweisquelle konnte nicht gefunden werden.**, the *ꜣ*-series demonstratives appear in the same type of texts and in the same pragmatic contexts where *pn* and *pw* occur. The assumption that the specific discourse situations favor the expansion of the strongly pragmatic demonstratives (*pꜣ, tꜣ, nꜣ*), while the text-anaphoric use of the post-nominal demonstratives (*pn, pw*) shows no development (Zöller-Engelhardt 2016: 219–20), is, to use Shisha-Halevi's (2007a: 229) metaphor, "a snake biting its own tale": neither has the author shown why *pꜣ*-series are more discourse-prominent than *pw/pn/pf*, nor was the investigation of presumably *weak* text-anaphoric demonstratives *pn/pw* conducted.

The discourse-pragmatic enforcement is viewed by Zöller-Engelhardt not only as a reason for the front-placement of the demonstrative, but also as a trigger for the grammaticalization process of the article. Yet the article grammaticalization theory does not correlate the discourse prominence with article development. Contrarily, recognitional demonstratives as source elements for the article evolution refer to non-topical, peripheral participants and present no new information (see TABLE 3 ANAPHORIC AND RECOGNITIONAL DEMONSTRATIVES on page 15).

3.2.4. Specific and non-specific reference in Demotic (Johnson 1987)

Johnson (1987) explored the advanced stage of article grammaticalization in Demotic, relying on a text corpus comprising three sources: *The instructions of ʾOnchsheshonqy (Chasheshonqi)*, *Papyrus Insinger*, and *The Demotic legal code of Hermopolis West*[120]. Johnson starts with dividing the specific reference into two sub-categories, which she calls *non-limited* and *limited*; the former is defined as follows:

> When there is a specific individual, object, or item, but the identity of the specific individual, object, or item is not pointed out to the reader, we may say that the reference is *specific but not limited* (Johnson 1987: 42).

In Chasheschonqi, this use is frequently marked by an indefinite article, while the Hermopolis legal code has ∅ instead:

> *jw.f gm **wꜥ tgs** [jw.]f sgr*
> He found **a boat** which was sailing.
> (Johnson 1987 (E1a) = Chasheshonqi 1/x + 20)[121]

> *pꜣ nt jw bw-jr.f ꜥrḳ r-r.f bw-jr.w tj n.f **∅-tnj.t***
> The one concerning whom he does not swear is not given **a share**.
> (Johnson 1987 (E1b) = HLC 9/8)

The Demotic indefinite article *wꜥ* originates from the number "one" and is still used in this sense:

> *ꜣmy.t rmṯ **wꜥ.t** ꜥy.t n-jm.f tꜣy*
> A man's character is one of his limbs.
> (Johnson 1987 (E2a)= Chasheshonqi 11/x + 14)

Specific limited reference occurs, when the writer of a Demotic text pointed out the identity of the specific individual, object or item to the reader (Johnson 1987: 43). This use is signaled by the definite article, which is added to the noun, unless another determiner is present. The specific limited effect may be anchored in the previous mention (anaphoric reference) or in the shared

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[120] "The Demotic legal code of Hermopolis West" is a collection of hypothetical legal cases from the 3rd century BCE, found at Hermopolis Magna in Upper Egypt (Mattha 1975). "The instructions of ʾOnchsheshonqy (Chasheshonqi)" is a wisdom text with a narrative frame from 2nd – 1st century BCE, the provenance of which is unknown; it was possibly acquired in Akhmim in Upper Egypt (Glanville 1955). "Papyrus Insinger" is a wisdom text from the 2nd century CE, also acquired in Akhmim (Lexa 1926). For the spelling "Chasheshonqi, which renders the pronunciation of ꜥnḫ as "cha" in the subjunctive *ꜥnḫ-ššnḳy* "May Sheshonqy live!", see Hoffmann and Quack (2007: 274).

[121] Examples in this chapter use Johnson's (1987) transliteration, translation, and enumeration (e.g. E1a).

knowledge of the writer and reader about the identity of the referent. The anaphoric reference can be strengthened by the prepositional phrase (*n*) *rn.f* ("the aforementioned", lit. "its name"):

> *jp.w jtn **ṯ-šbt** rmṯ na-ḫ-pr jw.st Pr-ꜥꜣ r-r.f* (...)
> *ḏ.f n **pꜣ ṯ-šbt** r-wn-nꜣw jp r-r.f* (...)
> A deputy, a **staff-bearer**, and a man of the bodyguard belonging to Pharaoh were assigned to him (...)
> He said to **the staff-bearer**, who was assigned to him (...)
> (Johnson 1987 (E4a) = Chasheshonqi 4/x + 6-x + 10)
> → Anaphoric use

> *my tj.f n.y **nꜣ ḥḏ.w** r-tj.y n.f tj.y n.f **pꜣ sẖ** r-jr.f n.y*
> Let him give me (back) **the money** which I gave him so that I may give (back) to him **the document** which he made for me.
> (Johnson 1987 (E4c) = HLC 5/18)
> → Non-anaphoric use

The definite article in Demotic can have another, *vocative*, function:

> *j **nꜣ rmṯ.w** nt jw.w gm nꜣ blḏꜥ.w (n) nꜣ ḥn.w sḏm n-jm.y*
> **O (you) men** who will find the potsherds, listen to me!
> (Johnson 1987 (E5a) = Chasheshonqi 4/x + 20-x + 21)

The use of the definite article in Demotic can be restricted by auto-definite (i.e. semantically definite) nouns, indicating time and material, denoting parts of the body, or a unique object like "the moon":

> *ḫꜣꜥ pꜣy.k ꜥš-sḥn n **Ø-ꜥ** pꜣ nṯr*
> Leave your business in **the hand** of God!
> (Johnson 1987 (E6a)) = Chasheshonqi 11/x + 23)

> *hmy jjr **Ø-jꜥḥ** šp pꜣ rꜥ*
> Would that **the moon** succeed the sun!
> (Johnson 1987 (E6c) = Chasheshonqi 10/x + 24)

Non-specific reference is similarly split by Johnson into limited and non-limited types. Non-specific limited reference "is [made] to a non-specific member of a class or category (distributive)", while non-specific non-limited "reference is made to the class or category as a whole [collective]" (Johnson 1987: 46). Johnson remarks that there is no direct correlation between a particular article and non-specific use. Non-specific, non-limited reference applies to nouns used generically, as well as abstract and mass nouns. Generic function in Demotic is usually marked by a zero article or a definite article, but never by an indefinite article:

> *ḫr ḫpr tꜣ wp.t n pꜣ sšl n **pꜣ rmṯ-rḫ** r-ḏbꜣ krf*
> The work of the devil happens to **the wise man** though cunning
> (Johnson 1987 (E10b) = Ins 12/7)

> *ḫr tj rmṯ nb ḫpr nk **Ø-rmṯ rḫ** pꜣ nt rḫ ꜥrd.f*
> All men acquire property; **a wise man** is the one who knows how to conserve it
> (Johnson 1987 (E9b) = Ins 22/6)

The non-specific limited reference is exemplified by the Demotic determiner *nb* meaning "any". To distinguish it from the specific reading (e.g. *rmṯ nb* "every man"), Demotic uses a set of secondary markers: *n pꜣ tꜣ* ("at all") and *r ḏr.* ("entirely"). These usually fortify the specific (*r ḏr.*) or non-specific (*n pꜣ tꜣ*) reference, but can even be used without *nb* in written discourse. Note that all examples containing *N nb* (*n*) *pꜣ tꜣ*, provided by Johnson, are either interrogative or negative clauses:

> *tj.w n.f **nt nb** nt mtw pꜣ wr swnw **ḏr.w***
> (Each and) everything which belongs to the Chief Physician was given to him.
> (Johnson 1987 (E17b) = Chasheshonqi 1/x + 13-x + 14)

> *jn ḏ.k st jjr-ḥr **rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ***
> Did you say it before **any man at all**?
> (Johnson 1987 (E18) = Chasheshonqi 3/x + 15)

> *nꜣ sꜣwṯ.w nꜣ mr-mšꜥ.w nꜣ rmṯ.w ꜥy.w pr Pr-ꜥꜣ mtr.w r-r.s **ḏr.w***
> **All** the guards, generals, and great men of the palace are agreed to it.
> (Johnson 1987 (E19a) = Chasheshonqi 3/x + 14-15)

> *jw.f jw r bnr n ꜣJwnw jw bn-pw.f tj gm **rmṯ n pꜣ tꜣ** nꜣy.f mš[ꜥ.w]*
> He came out from Heliopolis without having let any man at all find out his movement,
> (Johnson 1987 (E19b) = Chasheshonqi 1/x + 19-x + 20)

The Demotic reference types and their respective markers, presented by Johnson, can be summarized as follows:

Table 40 Demotic reference types (Johnson 1984)

	Limited	Non-limited
Specific	[definite]: *pꜣ N, N nb r ḏr.*	[indefinite]: *wꜥ N/Ø N*
Non-specific	[distributive]: *N nb n pꜣ tꜣ*	[collective]: *Ø N/pꜣ N*

Commentary

The determination types in Demotic are more fine-grained than the four-term system of specific/non-specific and limited/non-limited reference proposed by Johnson. They can probably be best described with the help of *reference hierarchy*, outlined by Dryer (2014: 235–37) (see FIGURE 2 REFERENCE HIERARCHY ACCORDING TO DRYER on page 49). In the table below the examples enlisted by Johnson are arranged according to Dryer's reference ranks with the respective specificity markers (definite, indefinite and zero article).

Table 41 Specificity hierarchy in Demotic

Reference type	Article		
	Definite	Indefinite	Zero (Ø)

Table 41 Specificity hierarchy in Demotic

Reference type	Article		
	Definite	**Indefinite**	**Zero (Ø)**
Anaphoric (deictic, pragmatic) definites	E4a[122], E5b[123]		
Non-anaphoric (non-deictic, semantic) definites	E4b[124], E4c[125] E6a[126]		E6a[127], E6b[128], E6c[129] E17b[130]
Pragmatically specific indefinites		E1a[131], E2b[132]	E4a[133]
Pragmatically non-specific (but semantically specific) indefinites			E3a[134] E18[135]
Semantically non-specific indefinites[136]			E1b[137], E9h[138], E11a[139] E19b[140]
True predicate nominals			E2a[141]

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[122] See example on page 89: *ṯ-šbt* "a staff-bearer" → *pꜣ ṯ-šbt* "the staff-bearer" (Johnson 1987 (E4a)).

[123] *jn-nꜣ pꜣ rmṯ nt jw.w smy r-r.f ḏ pꜣ sẖ r-jr.y s [n.f bn-pw.f tj n.y] nꜣ ḥḏ.w nt sẖ ḥr **pꜣ sẖ rn.f*** "If the man against whom they petition says "The document which I made [for him, he did not give me] the money which is written upon **the said document**""(Johnson 1987 (E5b) = HLC 5/11-12).

[124] *tj Pr-ꜥꜣ w[y.w] r rmt nb r-wn-nꜣw (n) **nꜣ štḳ.w** Na-ꜥꜣm-pꜣ-nḥs* "Pharao [had re]leased every man who was (in) **the prison(s)** at Naʾampanehsy" (Johnson 1987 (E4b) = HLC 9/28-29).

[125] See example on page 89: *nꜣ ḥḏ.w* "the money", *pꜣ sẖ* "the document" (Johnson 1987 (E4c)).

[126] See example on page 89: *pꜣ nṯr* "God" (Johnson 1987 (E6a)).

[127] See example on page 89: *ꜥ* "the hand" (Johnson 1987 (E6a)).

[128] *ḫpr **twꜣ** r [tꜣy.f rs]ty* "**The morning** of [the next] day came" (Johnson 1987 (E6b) = ꜥOnch 3/x + 7-x + 8)

[129] See example on page 89: *jꜥḥ* "the moon" (Johnson 1987 (E6c)).

[130] See example on page 90: *nt nb ḏr.w* "everything" (Johnson 1987 (E17b)).

[131] See example on page 88: *wꜥ tgs* "a boat" (Johnson 1987 (E1a)).

[132] *ꜥnḫ-ššnḳy sꜣ Ṯ-nfr **wꜥ wꜥb** n Pꜣ-Rꜥ jw.f ty n Mn-nfr jrm.y* "ꜥChasheschonqi, the son of Tjaynefer, **a priest** of Pre who is here in Memphis with me" (Johnson 1987 (E2b) = ꜥOnch 3/x + 16).

[133] See example on page 89: *ṯ-šbt* "a staff-bearer" → *pꜣ ṯ-šbt* "the staff-bearer" (Johnson 1987 (E4a)).

[134] *jn-nꜣ **rmṯ** tj pꜣy.f ꜥ.wy r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏ n **ky rmṯ*** "If **a man** sells his house to **another man**" (Johnson 1987 (E3a) = HLC 9/2).

[135] See example on page 90: *rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ* "any man at all" (Johnson 1987 (E18)).

[136] As semantic specificity is associated with an entailment of existence, negative expressions are treated here as semantically non-specific. Thus, the phrase *rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ* "any man at all" in the positive (interrogative) statement is semantically specific (E18), while the same phrase in the negative statement (E19b, see example on page 90) is semantically non-specific.

[137] See example on page 88: *tnj.t* "(who is not given) a share" (Johnson 1987 (E1b)).

[138] *m-jr jr **mt.t** jw bn-pw.k šn n-jm.s [n] tꜣ ḥꜣ.t* "Don't do anything about which you haven't inquired beforehand" (Johnson 1987 (E9h)) = ꜥOnch 8/4)

[139] *m-jr mtr **lḫ** bw-jr.f msṯ.k* "Don't instruct **a fool** lest he hate you!" (Johnson 1987 (E11a) = ꜥOnch 7/4)

[140] See example on page 90: *rmṯ n pꜣ tꜣ* "(without letting know) any man at all" (Johnson 1987 (E19b)).

[141] See example on page 88: *ꜣmy.t rmṯ* "a man's character" (Johnson 1987 (E2a)).

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Table 41 Specificity hierarchy in Demotic

Reference type	Article		
	Definite	Indefinite	Zero (∅)
Generics	E10b[142]		E9b[143] E14b[144]

This overview makes clear that in Demotic the non-specific indefinites and true predicate nominals are not marked, they carry zero article as a determiner[145]. In English, this is the domain of an indefinite article as apparent in the examples "*A* dodo likes peanuts" (pragmatically non-specific), "I have not seen a single soul in there" (semantically non-specific) and "He is *a* teacher" (true predicate nominal). Generic reference on the other hand, can employ not only zero but also the definite article.

Another important topic – the specifier compatibilities in Demotic – is rather briefly dealt with by Johnson (1987: 45–46). To fill this gap the table below draws some conclusions about the specifier co-occurrence constrains in Demotic. Each case is illustrated with Johnson's examples and extended with a number of citations from the Demotic part of the Rosetta decree.

Table 42 Specifier compatibilities in Demotic

- Indefinite specifiers such as *wꜥ* and *ky* can be combined with other indefinite or non-specific ((*n*) *pꜣ tꜣ*) modifiers:

ky +	*wꜥ*	*ḫr ḫꜣꜥ pꜣ sꜣb nꜣy.f syf.w n pꜣ mw.t mtw **ky wꜥ** t̠.t̠.w* The impious man leaves his gains at death and another one takes them. (Johnson 1987 (E8e) = Ins 4/9)
	N (nb n) pꜣ tꜣ	*mn mtw.y gꜣ **nḫt̠.t (n) pꜣ tꜣ** pꜣ bnr pꜣ mr-ꜣḥ* I have no other protection at all except the land overseer. (Johnson 1987 (E26b) = pFitzhugh D2, 16)

- Definite specifiers (*pꜣ*, *tꜣ*, *nꜣ*) can be combined with indefinite (*wꜥ, ky, mn*) and non-specific (*n pꜣ tꜣ*) modifiers as well as with numbers:

pꜣ +	*wꜥ/ky*	*pꜣ wꜥ n-jm.w ... pꜣ ky* The one of them ... the other. (Johnson 1987 (E8d) =Chasheshonqi 1/x + 1)
	N + nb + (n) pꜣ tꜣ	*(...) pꜣ rmt̠ nb pꜣ tꜣ nt jw.f jy r-r.k* (...) any man at all who will come against you.

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[142] See example on page 89: *tꜣ wp.t n pꜣ sšl* "the work of the devil", *pꜣ rmt̠-rḫ* "the wise man" (Johnson 1987 (E10b).

[143] *ḥr tj rmt̠ nb ḫpr nk **rmt̠** rḫ pꜣ nt rḫ ꜥrd.f* "All men acquire property; **a wise man** is the one who knows how to conserve it." (Johnson 1987 (E9b) = ꜥOnch 13/x + 9)

[144] *jw.k d̠ **šy nfr** r pḥw n jw.t* "You should say **"good fate"** (only) at the end of old age" (Johnson 1987 (E14b) = ꜥOnch 11/x + 22).

[145] Compare Simpson (1996: 39): "The first way [to use zero as a determiner] is to refer to non-identifiable and non-specific, but nonetheless individual, members of a (lexical) category".

Table 42 Specifier compatibilities in Demotic

		(Johnson 1987 (E24a) = pBerlin 8139, 9)
ky + N + (*nb*) *n pꜣ*		*šm n pꜣ ge rmṯ n pꜣ tꜣ n-jm.w* Go to any other man at all therein. (Johnson 1987 (E26c) = BM 10561, line 16)
N/Ø + *mn*		*pꜣ mn sꜣ pꜣ mn* So-and-so, the son of so-and-so (Johnson 1987 (E8b) = HLC 2/24) *nꜣ ḥḏ.w mn (…)* The X amount of money (…) (Johnson 1987 (E7b) = HLC 5/9)
N/Ø + *number*		*(…) tꜣ rnpt. 3.t (…)* (…) the three years (…) (Johnson 1987 (E7a) = HLC 4/17) *(…) pꜣ ¼ n pꜣ šm (…)* (…) the ¼ of rent (…) ((Johnson 1987 (E8a) = HLC 2/8)

- Definite specifiers cannot be combined with other definite specifiers, such as *ꜥšꜣy* "many" or *nb r ḏr.* "entirely". Whenever a definite article co-occurs with a definite specifier, it actually functions as a nominalizing element:

Ø +	N + *ꜥšꜣy*	*jr n.k Pr-ꜥꜣ md.t nfr.t ꜥšꜣy* Pharaoh did for you numerous good things (Johnson 1987 (E3b) = Chasheshonqi 2/x + 10-x + 11) *ḥḏ ꜥšꜣy pr.w ꜥšꜣy* Plentiful silver and plentiful grain: (Rosetta, line 6)[146]
Ø +	N + *nb*	*ḥꜣt.f ḥr pꜣy.w ꜥš-sḥn tꜣ nb* His heart being concerned with their affairs at all times. (Rosetta, line 18)[147]
pꜣ +	N + *nb*	*(…) pꜣ ḥsf nb ẖn.f (…)* (…) the one in whom is all the blame (…) (Johnson 1987 (E7c) = Ins 6/22)
nꜣ +	*ky.w* + N + (*nb r*) *ḏr.w*	*nꜣ ky.w rmṯ ḏr.w* And all other people (lit. "the others of all people") (Rosetta, line 7)

3.2.5. Determination in Coptic

Sahidic (Layton 2000)

Layton's (2000: 35–53) survey of determination in Sahidic Coptic is category-driven and views article as the nucleus of the noun phrase[148]. The following summary is thus divided into three parts:

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[146] Compare: *nꜣ ḥtp-nṯr.w n nꜣ nṯr.w jrm nꜣ ḥḏ nꜣ pr.w* "The divine revenues of the gods and **the silver** and **the grain**" (Rosetta, line 8).

[147] Compare: *jrm pꜣ stꜣ nty mn nꜣ.w jr.w r ḥn pꜣ tꜣ rn.f* "And the remainder that was fixed for them to pay up to **the time** in question" (Rosetta, line 17).

- Grammatical category of determination
- Clitic, non-clitic and zero (Ø) determiner forms
- Determiner compatibilities in Sahidic

Grammatical category of determination

For Layton (2000: 38) determination is a complex grammatical category, which is minimally expressed with the contrast of definite, indefinite, and zero articles. The use of articles is governed by a number of pragmatic factors.

- *The extent of presupposed knowledge*

A definite article is used if a referent is known or anticipated by both speaker and listener; an indefinite article is used when the referent is known to the speaker but not to the listener and is introduced as a topic of discourse:

ⲡⲢⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ
The name of the Lord.
(Layton 2000: 38)

ⲛⲉⲩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲢⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲅ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲛϥ̄Ⲣ̄ⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲅⲏⲧϥ̄ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
In *a certain* city there was *a judge* who did not fear God.
(Layton 2000: 38)

- *Absence or presence of referential linkage (cross-reference)*

A definite article is used when the referent is either mentioned in the preceding text or heralded as coming in what follows (cataphoric linkage):

ⲁⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ... ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲇⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲅ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
A cloud came... And a voice came out of *the cloud*.
(Layton 2000: 38)

- *Degree of typicalness*

A definite article signals the most typical or essential instance of a class, while indefinite denotes ordinary instance/instances of a class:

ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲅⲁⲢ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃⲡⲏϭⲉ
like lightning [in its essence]
vs.
ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲡⲏϭⲉ

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[148] Layton uses the term "determinator(s)", which in this summary for the sake of clarity is substituted with "determiner(s)". Provided examples refer to Layton and follow his translation.

like a stroke of lightning
(Layton 2000: 39)

The unique items ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ "the god", ⲡⲕⲁϩ "earth", and ⲧⲡⲉ "heaven" fall under this category. Adverbs of manner built with indefinite article (ϩⲛ- + ⲟⲩ + noun, e.g. ϩⲛ-ⲟⲩⲙⲉ "truly") are interpreted by Layton (2000: 39) as ordinary instances of a class. The same applies to the adjectival predicates in the nominal sentences formulated with an indefinite article ⲟⲩ-, ϩⲉⲛ-:

ⲁⲛⲅ̄ ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲟⲛⲉⲣⲟⲥ   I am wicked

ⲟⲩ-ⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲧⲉ   She is strong
(Layton 2007: 34)

The attributive nature of the "ⲟⲩ + noun" constructions can possibly explain the disagreement in gender with the pronominal circumstantial converters modifying such phrases. Jernstedt (1949) noticed, that in a number of clauses in Shenute the resumptive pronouns are not gender-congruent with the indefinite nouns they continue, e.g.:

ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲧⲉ

ⲉⲥⲟ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

She is an elder,
she is a patriarch,
who is a father for everyone looking for god.
(Jernstedt (1949: 55) = Shenute III, 60, line 19)

Here the feminine pronoun of the circumstantial converter (ⲉⲥⲟ) does not agree with the indefinite masculine referent ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ it tracks. This phenomenon possibly occurs because ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ is used as genderless attribute, similar to ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ in the first line. The pronoun ⲥ of the circumstantial converter is therefore anchored in the whole clause, describing a feminine entity with "elderly" and "patriarchal" characteristics.

- *Presence of direct address (i.e. vocative use)*

A definite article is required with direct address expressions containing common nouns:

ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ
Our father who is in heaven!
(Layton 2000: 39)

- *Particularity and generality*

A definite article signals the general name of the class, an indefinite denotes one particular instance of a class.

ογмє a truth, the truth (about one matter)	vs.	тмє truth
ογмοογ some water, water	vs.	пмοογ water (the substance)
ογκακє darkness (on one occasion) (Layton 2000: 38)	vs.	псοφοс r̅м̅пєчr̅нт the person who is wise in heart

Generality can also be rendered by zero article, which occurs in the following pragmatic and syntactic contexts (Layton 2000: 40, 109) (Till 1966: 63–65):

- In verbal constructions expressing *predication of general characteristic* ϣωпє ñ- Ø, o ñ- Ø, p̄-
  Ø, e.g. ааκ ñ- Ø-pm̅мαο "make yourself rich" (Layton 2000: 40). Till calls this syntactic context *ñ- of identity* and extends the phases composed of ϣωпє and єιpє with тααγ м̅м̅n̅тnα "give them as charity", αιxι m̅мοс nαι ñсr̅ιмє "I have taken her to me as a wife", nιм пєnтαчκαθιстα m̅моκ ñαpχωn αγω ñpєч† r̅ап єxωn "Who has appointed you as a ruler and judge over us?" (Till 1966: 63).

- In *comparisons* involving r̅ωс, e.g. r̅ωс- Ø-ϣвнp "like a friend" (Layton 2000: 40), ñсєт̅с̅тє пєтñpαn євολ r̅ωс пοnнpοс "and they repelled your names as evil" (Till 1966: 64).

- In *enumerations* e.g. єιтє κογι єιтє nοб єιтє r̅нгємωn єιтє αογx "small or big, ruler or duke" (Till 1966: 63), *distributive expressions*, e.g. xιм- Ø-пολιс є- Ø-пολιс "from town to town" (Layton 2000: 40) and *nouns in coordination* involving preposition r̅ι- , e.g. єчxнκ євολ ñxαpιс r̅ιбοм "Full of grace and power" (Layton 2000: 109).

- In *generalizations and gnomic context*, e.g. єϣαpєпpωмє ñαгαθος тαγє- Ø-αгαθοn євολ "A good person brings forth good things"(Layton 2000: 40). Till (1966: 64) notes that the names of daytimes remain undetermined, e.g. pογr̅є αє ñтєpєчϣωпє "when it was evening".

- *In negative expressions*, especially of non-existence and deprivation: αxn- Ø-r̅οтє "fearlessly"; m̅пñϣιnє ñса- Ø-єοογ ñтñ- Ø-pωмє "We did not seek glory from any person" (Layton 2000: 40)[149].

Clitic, non-clitic and zero (Ø) determiner forms

The formal distinction of determination elements in Coptic runs along the degree of their boundedness to the noun. Non-clitic forms, called *determinator pronouns* by Layton, "are actualized entity terms by their very nature. As pronouns they present an object of thought by speaking of it in

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[149] Further syntactic contexts of zero article are discussed in detail below in "Commentary" section.

grammatical categories (as would the corresponding article), but without denoting, naming or describing it by any lexical (non-grammatical) content" (Layton 2000: 38). The clitic forms (including enclitic -ⲛⲓⲙ), tagged as *articles*, "must be expanded by a common noun, preposition of relationship, specifier, or relative clause, thus forming an "article phrase"" (Layton 2000: 37). Article forms constitute the nucleus of the phrase as they express the grammatical categories and actualize the common noun lexemes in the article phrase. The third form – Ø (*zero* or *suppression of the article*) – is the grammatical reversal of the previous two: it actualizes the common noun as an entity term, but "conveys no information about determination, number and gender" (Layton 2000: 40).

The following table lists the clitic (article) and non-clitic (pronouns) determiner forms according to the grammatical categories they express.

Table 43 Determiner pronouns and articles in Sahidic Coptic (Layton 2000: 35–36, 43–53)

Grammatical categories		Determiners	
	Gender & number	Clitic (articles)	Non-clitic (pronouns)
Determination Indefinite	sg. pl.	ⲟⲩ- / ⲩ- ϩⲉⲛ- / ϩⲛ̄-	ⲟⲩⲁ (m.), ⲟⲩⲉⲓ (f.) ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ / ϩⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ
		a, some	some-one/-thing
Definite	sg. m. sg. f. pl.	ⲡ- / ⲡⲉ-[150] ⲧ- / ⲧⲉ- ⲛ̄- / ⲛ- / ⲛⲉ-	-
		the	
Non-definite		Ø	ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
			untranslatable[151]
Determination + Distance Proximal	sg. m. sg. f. pl.	ⲡⲉⲓ- / ⲡⲉⲉⲓ- ⲧⲉⲓ- / ⲧⲉⲉⲓ- ⲛⲉⲓ- / ⲛⲉⲉⲓ-	ⲡⲁⲓ / ⲡⲁⲉⲓ ⲧⲁⲓ / ⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ / ⲛⲁⲉⲓ
		this	this one
Distal	sg. m. sg. f.	ⲡ-...ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧ-...ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ	ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ

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[150] The long form is used before a non-syllabic consonant cluster or a cluster containing ⲓ/ⲟⲩ and a few nouns denoting time expressions: ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ "the day", ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ "the time", ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ "the year", ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ "the hour", and ⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ "the night" (Layton 2000: 44–45).

[151] "Untranslatable and empty any semantic content", e.g. ϭⲉ ⲉ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛ "find, i.e. perform the act of finding" (Layton 2000: 50).

Table 43 Determiner pronouns and articles in Sahidic Coptic (Layton 2000: 35–36, 43–53)

Grammatical categories		Gender & number	Determiners	
			Clitic (articles)	Non-clitic (pronouns)
		pl.	ⲛ̄-...ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲩ	ⲛ̄ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲁⲩ
			that	that one
Determination + Affection[152]	Affective (distance-neutral)	sg. m. sg. f. pl.	ⲡⲓ- / ⲡⲉⲓ- ϯ- / ⲧⲉⲓ- ⲛⲓ- / ⲛⲉⲓ-	ⲡⲏ ⲧⲏ ⲛⲏ
			the / that	this one / that one
Determination + Relation	Related, belonging to ...	sg. m. sg. f. pl.	ⲡ= ⲧ= ⲛ=	ⲡⲱ=[153] ⲧⲱ= ⲛⲟⲩ=
			my, your etc.	mine, yours etc.
		sg. m. sg. f. pl.	-	ⲡⲁ-[154] ⲧⲁ- ⲛⲁ-
				the one related to ...
Determination + Nexus	"is"	sg. m. sg. f. pl.	-	ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ
				he, she, it is .../ they are ...
Determination + Totality	"each, every"		... ⲛⲓⲙ	ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ
			any, every, all	anyone, everyone, all

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[152] The deictic form ⲡⲓ- is labelled as an affective demonstrative by Layton (2000: 48) and as ⲡⲓ-*determination* by Egedi (2017: 88). Egedi refers to Polotsky (1968) in distinguishing the following contexts of the use of ⲡⲓ- in Sahidic:

- "It appears as a fixed component in temporal and spatial expressions, in which its function can clearly be derived from an earlier demonstrative meaning.
- It appears in the comparative expressions of the form ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄-ⲛ̄ⲓ 'like', but always in plural form.
- It appears as an anaphoric identity marker in the reinforced expression ⲡⲓ-...ⲛ̄-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'the same ...'
- Finally, ⲡⲓ-series may have an affective/emotive use in attributive constructions, when something is described as admirable or horrible" (Egedi 2017: 89).

[153] ⲡⲱ=, ⲧⲱ=, ⲛⲟⲩ= listed by Layton (2000: 36) as a pronominal counterparts of possessive ⲡ=, ⲧ=, ⲛ=.

[154] ⲡⲁ-, ⲧⲁ-, ⲛⲁ- listed by Layton (2000: 36) as pronominal forms.

Table 43 Determiner pronouns and articles in Sahidic Coptic (Layton 2000: 35–36, 43–53)

Grammatical categories		Gender & number	Clitic (articles)	Non-clitic (pronouns)
			Determiners	
		Gender & number	Clitic (articles)	Non-clitic (pronouns)
Determination + Distinctness	"other, different"	sg. m. sg. f. pl.	ⳓⲉ- / ⳓⲉ- ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉ-	ⳓⲉ/ⲕⲉ/ⲕⲉⲧ/ⲕⲉⲉⲧ ⳓⲉ/ⲕⲉ/ⲕⲉⲧⲉ/ⲕⲏⲧⲉ/ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲩ- ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⸯⲉ
			another	another one
		sg. m. sg. f. pl.	ⲡⲕⲉ- ⲧⲕⲉ- ⲛ̄ⲕⲉ-	ⲡⲕⲉ / ⲡⲕⲉⲧ ⲧⲕⲉⲧ / ⲧⲕⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲟⸯⲉ
			the other	the other one

Determiner compatibilities in Sahidic

Layton (2000: 37, 51–53) also touches upon the topic of determiner compatibilities in Coptic. The tables below present the summary of his findings extended with the selected examples from Shenute III and Till (1966). In contrast to Demotic (see *Table 42 Specifier compatibilities in Demotic on page 92*), which does not tolerate definite and indefinite determiners followed by another definite determiner, Coptic allows such compounds as ⲟⲩ-**ⲡ**-ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ/ⲡ-**ⲡ**-ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ/ϩⲉⲛ-**ⲡ**-ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ "a/the good thing/things", or ⲡ-**ⲡ**-ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ "the holy one", where the definite article, devoid of its deictic force, serves merely as a nominalizing element of the relative phrase.

Table 44 Determiner compatibilities in Sahidic Coptic

- Indefinite determiners can be combined with other indefinite or non-specific determiners. Whenever an indefinite determiner builds a compound with the definite one, the latter functions as a nominalizer.

ϩⲉⲛ- +	ⲟⲩ		→	ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲱϥⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ What sort of thing are they at all before God? (Shenute III, 68, lines 11-12)
	ⲕⲉ-		→	ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁⲧⲁⲥⲁⲣⳅ Some other relatives of theirs (Layton 2000: 51)
	ⲕ(ⲉ)- +	ⲟⲟⸯⲉ	→	ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⸯⲉ Other ones (Shenute III, 67, line 17)
	ⲗⲁⲁⲩ		→	ⲕⲁ ϩⲉⲛⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ Leave something behind

Table 44 Determiner compatibilities in Sahidic Coptic

			(Till 1966: 104)
ογ- +	ⲗⲁⲁⲩ	→	ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲁⲩ I am nothing (Till 1966: 105)
	... ⲛⲓⲙ	→	ⲟⲩϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ Each male of him (Layton 2000: 51)[155]
	ⲡ-	→	ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ Something good (Till 1966: 237)
	ⲡⲉⲓ-	→	ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ/ϩⲉⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ One/some of this type (Layton 2000: 51)[156]
	ⲁϣ	→	ⲟⲩⲁϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ Of which kind is this one? (Till 1966: 103)
ⲗⲁⲁⲩ +	... ⲛⲓⲙ	→	ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ Any/some man (Till 1966: 104)
ⲕⲉ- +	ⲟⲩⲁ	→	ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗ̄ϭⲉ Another blanket (Till 1966: 107)

- Definite determiners can partake in combinations with indefinite and non-specific determiners. Whenever a definite determiner builds a compound with the definite one, the latter functions as a nominalizer

ⲡ- +	ⲟⲩⲁ	→	ⲡⲟⲩⲁ Each one of them (Layton 2000: 52)
	ⲕⲉ- + ⲟⲩⲁ	→	ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ The other one (Layton 2000: 52)
ⲡⲓ- +	ⲟⲩⲉⲓ	→	ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ The one [the sheep that was previously mentioned]

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[155] Similar to Demotic *nb* Coptic ⲛⲓⲙ can have two meanings – distributive non-specific "any" and totalizing specific "every". Indefinite determiners can only be combined with non-specific ... ⲛⲓⲙ.

[156] A seeming exception form the rule "no definite determiner after the indefinite one", this compound possibly originates from indirect genitives ⲟⲩ (ⲛ̄) ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ / ϩⲉⲛ (ⲛ̄) ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ.

Table 44 Determiner compatibilities in Sahidic Coptic

			(Layton 2000: 52)
ⲕⲉ- +	ⲟⲩⲁ	→	ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ That other one (Layton 2000: 52)
ⲕⲉ-		→	ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ Yet this one (Layton 2000: 51)
ⲡⲉⲓ- + ⲕⲉ- +	ⲟⲩⲁ	→	ⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲓ ⲏ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ Do this or that (Layton 2000: 52)
ⲛⲉⲩ- + ⲕⲉ-		→	ⲛⲉⲩⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ Their flesh (Layton 2000: 52)
ⲛⲉⲓ- + ⲕ(ⲉ)- +	ⲟⲟⲩⲉ	→	ⲛⲉⲓⲕ(ⲉ)ⲟⲟⲩⲉ These others (Layton 2000: 51)
ⲧⲉⲕ- + ⲕⲉ- +	ⲟⲩⲉⲓ	→	ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ Your other one also (Layton 2000: 52)

Bohairic and Fayyumic (Egedi 2017)

The system of determiners in Coptic can be extended with the survey of other dialects, such as Bohairic and Fayyumic. For Shisha-Halevy (2007a: 229) Sahidic three-term article system (with definite ⲡ-/ⲡⲉ-, indefinite ⲟⲩ- and *zero*) is a *flattened* and *simplified* version of the conservative Bohairic one, which includes four terms with the following features: [157]

Table 45 Articles in Bohairic (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

Article form	Article function
ⲡⲓ-, ϯ-, ⲛⲓ-	deictic and phoric
ⲡ-, ϯ-, ⲛⲉⲛ- (ⲛ)	express "pure actualization", not deictic or phoric, nor even definite; a naming

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[157] The conservatism of Bohairic comes up in the form of the conjunctive base ⲛⲧ(ⲉ) (e.g. 3rd p. pl. ⲛⲧⲟⲩ-), which preserved the original Late Egyptian form *mtw.* (e.g. 3rd p. pl. *mtw.w*), contrasted to the standard Sahidic ⲛ (e.g. 3rd p. pl. ⲛⲥⲉ-), going back to the Demotic introduction of the reduced *n.* (3rd p. pl. *n.st*) (Richter 2014: 121). The non-standard variants of southern Coptic dialects, however, attest 3rd p. pl. ⲛⲧⲟⲩ- as well (Richter 2016).

Table 45 Articles in Bohairic (Shisha-Halevy 2007)

	determiner
ⲟⲩ-, ϩⲁⲛ-	particular-indefinite; instantial generic
Ø *(zero)*	diffuse extensional generic

Egedi (2017) confirms the phoric/deictic nature of the ⲡⲓ- form, which is contrasted to the non-phoric ⲡ-. Egedi argues that the two articles signal two types of definiteness in Bohairic and Fayyumic:

1. ⲡ-/ⲫ- is the *weak* article used with semantically (inherently) definite nouns;
2. ⲡⲓ- is the *strong* article associated with pragmatically (anaphorically) definite nouns.

While the Bohairic ⲡⲓ- functions as a phoric article and the Sahidic ⲡⲓ- is rather a proclitic demonstrative (see footnote 152 on page 98), the pragmatically deictic nature of the morpheme ⲡⲓ- is common to Sahidic and Bohairic/Fayyumic. The examples from John 6: 16-21, provided by Egedi (2017: 94), show the following distribution of article roles in Bohairic:

- The indefinite article introduces the participants into the discourse;
- The *weak* definite article accompanies known referents easily identifiable in the given context.
- The *strong* article is a deictic device, used for the anaphoric (backward ←) and cataphoric (forward →) reference to the discourse participants:

Table 46 Weak and strong definite articles in Bohairic (Egedi 2017: 94)

Indefinite	Definite (weak) article		Definite (strong) article
	ⲫⲓⲟⲙ "the sea" [once]	←	ⲡⲓⲟⲙ "this/the sea" [three times]
ⲟⲩϫⲟⲓ „a ship"	ⲡϫⲟⲓ "the ship" [once]	←	ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ "this/the ship" [two times]
	ⲧⲭⲉⲙⲧⲥ "the darkness" [once]		ⲡⲓⲙⲁ "this/the land (to which they were to go)"
	ⲡⲭⲣⲟ "the shore" [once]		

Noun phrases with the strong article are frequently expanded in Bohairic by the relative clauses – the use Shisha-Halevy and Egedi designate as *cataphoric*[158]:

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[158] "Cataphoric – heralding reference (...) Introducing a noun as to be subsequently specified, and in fact heralding its expansion" (Shisha-Halevy 2007b: 390).

ⲁⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲉⲡⲭⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁϩⲱⲗ ⲉⲣⲟϥ

The ship landed at the shore on the land to which they were to go.

(Egedi 2017: 94)

The deictic function of ⲡⲓ- is not restricted to the textual (endophoric) context. In fact, ⲡⲓ- is often used for an exophoric reference in the dialogic-situational, exophoric discourse (Shisha-Halevy 2007b: 390–91). The forms and functions of definite article forms in another Coptic dialect – Fayyumic – generally align with those of Bohairic, with the following exceptions:

- Fayyumic employs the weak form in the construction *article + noun + relative converter*.
- Similarly to Sahidic, Fayyumic uses the full form of the weak article (ⲡⲉ-, ⲧⲉ-) before the consonant cluster:

Table 47 Definite article in Fayyumic (Egedi 2017: 96)

Functions	Forms		
	sg. m.	sg. f.	plural
Possessed			ⲛⲉⲛ-
Inherently/situationally unique	ⲡ-/ⲡⲉ-	ⲧ-/ⲧⲉ-	-
Generic			ⲛⲓ-
Direct anaphor	ⲡⲓ-	ϯ-	
Article + relative converter	ⲡ-ⲉⲧ-	ⲧ-ⲉⲧ-	ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-
Article + noun + relative converter	ⲡ-...ⲉⲧ-	*no data*	*no data*

The chart below summarizes the definite determinative forms of three Coptic dialects – Sahidic, Bohairic, and Fayyumic – assigning them to the relevant grammatical categories.

Table 48 Definite determiners in Sahidic, Bohairic and Fayyumic (Egedi 2017; Shisha-Halevy 2007; Till 1961)

Grammatical category	Dialect	SG. M	SG. F	PL
Definite article (S) / Weak definite article (B, F)	Sahidic	ⲡ-/ⲡⲉ-	ⲧ-/ⲧⲉ-	ⲛ̄-/ⲛ-/ⲛⲉ-
	Bohairic	ⲡ-/ⲫ-	ⲧ-/ⲑ-	ⲛⲉⲛ-[159]

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[159] In nominal possessor constructions mediated with ⲛ, only the "weak" article can be used (ⲛⲉⲛϣⲉⲣⲓ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ "the sons of Abraham"), while in the "N ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ- N" construction the possessed noun can be determined by both

Table 48 Definite determiners in Sahidic, Bohairic and Fayyumic (Egedi 2017; Shisha-Halevy 2007; Till 1961)

Grammatical category	Dialect	SG. M	SG. F	PL
	Fayyumic	ⲡ-/ⲡⲉ-	ⲧ-/ⲧⲉ-	ⲛⲉⲛ-
ⲡⲓ-determination (S) / Strong definite article (B, F)	Sahidic	ⲡⲓ-	ϯ-	ⲛⲓ-
	Bohairic	ⲡⲓ-	ϯ-	ⲛⲓ-
	Fayyumic	ⲡⲓ-	ϯ-	ⲛⲓ-
Demonstrative article	Sahidic	ⲡⲉⲓ-	ⲧⲉⲓ-	ⲛⲉⲓ-
	Bohairic	ⲡⲁⲓ-	ⲧⲁⲓ-	ⲛⲁⲓ-
	Fayyumic	ⲡⲉⲓ-	ⲧⲉⲓ-	ⲛⲉⲓ-
Possessive article (3rd p. m.)	Sahidic	ⲡⲉϥ-	ⲧⲉϥ-	ⲛⲉϥ-
	Bohairic	ⲡⲉϥ-	ⲧⲉϥ-	ⲛⲉϥ-
	Fayyumic	ⲡⲉϥ-	ⲧⲉϥ-	ⲛⲉϥ-
Demonstrative pronoun (proximal)	Sahidic	ⲡⲁⲓ	ⲧⲁⲓ	ⲛⲁⲓ
	Bohairic	ⲫⲁⲓ	ⲑⲁⲓ	ⲛⲁⲓ
	Fayyumic	ⲡⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓ	ⲧⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓ	ⲛⲉ(ⲉ)ⲓ
Demonstrative pronoun (affective)	Sahidic	ⲡⲏ	ⲧⲏ	ⲛⲏ
	Bohairic	ⲫⲏ	ⲑⲏ	ⲛⲏ
	Fayyumic	ⲡⲏ	ⲧⲏ	ⲛⲏ
Possessive pronoun	Sahidic	ⲡⲱ=	ⲧⲱ=	ⲛⲟⲩ=
	Bohairic	ⲫⲱ=	ⲑⲱ=	ⲛⲟⲩ=
	Fayyumic	ⲡⲱ=	ⲧⲱ=	ⲛⲱ=

"weak" ⲛⲉⲛ- and "strong" ⲛⲓ- forms. With non-possessed nouns only the "strong" article occurs (Egedi 2017: 90).

Commentary

Dealing with determination in Coptic, Layton (2000) and Egedi (2017) deliver a survey of the determiner forms (articles, pronouns and *zero*), while environmental specificity effects are touched upon rather sketchy. This commentary will expound on the interactions of the syntactic environment and the specificity grades, observed in a number of constructions in Demotic and Coptic. These are foremost the following patterns:

- subject and object actants of durative tenses;
- relative and circumstantial sentence converters;
- light verbs and construct participles;
- preposition phrases;
- mediated and unmediated genitive;
- negative expressions.

Subject and object in durative tenses

The syntactic particularities of Demotic *durative tenses* confirm the assumption that specificity effects are triggered by a context extending beyond the nominal phrase. Durative tense is the term used in Demotic for the clauses referring to the actual, immediately present action (therefore an alternative label *present tense*) in contrast to e.g. the customary action expressed by the aorist $ḥr$ $sḏm.f$ (Johnson 2000: 37–39; Quack 2013: 83–85). The predicate in present tense can be an adverb, prepositional phrase, qualitative, or infinitive form of the verb, the latter originating from the Middle Egyptian *pseudo-verbal construction ḥr + infinitive* (Gardiner 1957: 243). In Demotic the preposition $ḥr$ is eliminated, as are the personal endings of the qualitative, and the pronominal subject is expressed through the proclitic pronouns. The syntax of durative clauses in Demotic and Coptic is directly influenced by the specificity grade of the subject actant:

> When the subject was a definite noun, this noun stood at the beginning of the sentence with nothing preceding it. (...) However, (...) when the subject of such a clause was an indefinite noun, the verb wn "to be" preceded the noun. When the subject of such a clause was pronominal, the proclitic pronouns were used (Johnson 2000: 37).

This means that the subjects of durative sentences in Demotic and Coptic are always definite[160]. To incorporate a non-definite subject, the sentence should be remolded into an existential expression "there is ... / there is not ..." with the help of the auxiliary verbs wn (mn)/ⲟⲩⲛ̄ (ⲙⲛ̄):

> ⲡⲭⲟⲓⲥ ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ "The Lord loves the righteous" (Layton 2000: 243)
>
> vs.
>
> ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟ̄ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲱⲧ ⲉⲭⲱⲥ "Another one is building upon it" (Layton 2000: 248)

Another peculiarity of durative tenses is their treatment of the direct object. The rule, formulated for Coptic by Jernstedt (1927) and adopted for Demotic by Parker (1961), says that durative tenses use different syntactic constructions to mark the specificity types of direct objects[161]:

---

[160] See Till (1966: 147): "Ein Adverbialsatz mit undeterminiertem Subjekt wird nicht geduldet".

- Non-specific referents (usually zero article phrases) are directly attached to the prenominal ("construct", "status nominalis") state of the verb.

- Specific referents must be mediated by *n./n-jm.*(Demotic) or n̄-/ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ= (Coptic) after the verb in the absolute state. Nouns accompanied by the definite/indefinite articles, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, quantifier *nb* are overtly specific. Personal pronouns, possessed nouns, and proper names are covertly (semantically) specific.

Selected examples illustrate how the Jernstedt's rule works in Demotic and Coptic:

- Verb (absolute form) + *n/*n̄- + *implicitly* specific direct object:

ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲓⲥ̄ ⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲑⲁ
Jesus loved Martha.
(Till 1966: 127)

- Verb (absolute form) **+** *n/*n̄- + *explicitly* specific direct object:

jw bn tw.j jr n pꜣy.j ḳj n sf jn
And I do not have my former looks.
(Setne I, 3, 3)

ⲉϣϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ **ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ** ϩ̄ⲛⲃⲉⲉⲗⲍⲉⲃⲟⲗ
If I cast out demons by Beelzebul.
(Layton 2000: 132)

- Verb (construct form) + Ø + non-specific direct object

pꜣy.f jṱ jw.f jr **Ø** *ṱl r-r.f*
His father was energetic on his behalf.
(Johnson 1987: 38 (E68))

ⲉϥ-ⲛⲉϫ-**Ø-ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ** ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̄ⲛⲃⲉⲉⲗⲍⲉⲃⲟⲗ
He casts out demons by Beelzebul.
(Layton 2000: 132)

The syntactic properties of durative clauses in Demotic and Coptic thus reflect the following specificity oppositions:

- Definite vs. non-definite subject actants
- Specific vs. non-specific object actants

---

[161] "Der Gebrauch des Absolutus ist im Präsensstamm obligatorisch, a) wenn das Objekt, sei's *äußerlich, sei's an sich determiniert ist* [our italics] und b) wenn das Objekt mit unbestimmten Artikel ist"(Jernstedt 1927). An exception from this rule is the verb ⲟⲩⲉϣ-, ⲟⲩⲁϣ= 'want, desire, love', which always has a suffixed direct object; the verb ⲡ̄ⲣⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄- 'remember' [make-the-thought-of] can have mediated and non-mediated objects in durative tense (Layton 2000: 132–33).

Relative and circumstantial sentence converters

Demotic and Coptic sentences can be introduced by four types of so-called *converters* (Johnson 2000: 61; Layton 2007: 119):

Table 49 Sentence converters in Demotic and Coptic

Converter type	Demotic	Coptic (Sahidic)
Circumstantial	*jw*	ⲉⲣⲉ-, ⲉ=; ⲉ-
Relative	*n.tj*	ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-, ⲉⲧ=; ⲉⲛⲧ- / ⲚⲦ-, ⲉⲧ-, ⲉⲧⲉ-, ⲉ-
Imperfect (preterit)	*wn-nȝw*	ⲛⲉⲣⲉ-, ⲛⲉ=; ⲛⲉ-
Focalizing	*j.jr*	ⲉⲣⲉ-, ⲉ=; ⲉ-, ⲚⲦ-, ⲉⲧⲉ-

The use of the relative converters is governed by the specificity grade of the antecedent. In Demotic, relative converters continue semantically determined (Quack 2013: 88) nouns; in case the antecedent is not determined, the circumstantial converter is used (Johnson 2000: 64). In Coptic, relative clauses follow *definite antecedents*, circumstantial – non-definites (Layton 2000: 327). Definite antecedents are, according to Layton, definite article phrases, definite determinator pronouns (ⲡⲁⲓ) and proper nouns, while *noun + ⲛⲓⲙ* can be modified by relative or circumstantial converter. The circumstantial converter may also occur after:

- An appositive attributive:
  ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲏⲃ ... ⲛⲁⲓ **ⲉⲣⲉ**ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲡⲏⲟⲩⲉ ϭⲟⲗⲚ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
  Their priests... whose heads are uncovered.
  (Layton 2000: 345)

- ⲡⲁⲓ forming the articulated attributive clause:
  ⲡⲁⲓ **ⲉ**ⲁⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲇ ⲁⲁϥ
  That which David did.
  (Layton 2000: 345)

- Any kind of antecedent expressing time or manner "in which":
  Ⲛⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ **ⲉ**ⲛϩⲚⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄
  For while (in the days *when*) we were in the flesh.
  (Layton 2000: 345)

- An unexpressed antecedent:
  ⲚⲛⲉⲧⲚⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ Ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ **ⲉ**ϥⲟⲩⲱⲧ
  You shall not eat from them *anything which is raw*.
  (Layton 2000: 345)

The following examples demonstrate the collaboration of the sentence converters and the auxiliary *wn* (*mn*)/ογ̄ (м̄ν̄)/Ø in expressing the specificity grades of antecedent nouns and subject actants in Demotic and Coptic:

Table 50 Indefinite antecedent/Ø + indefinite/definite subject

- *wꜥ.wy jw wn rmṯ rḫ n-jm.f* A house in which there is a wise man (Johnson 2000: 63 (E138)).

Indefinite antecedent →	Circumstantial conv.	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
wꜥ.wy	*jw*	*wn*	*rmṯ rḫ n-jm.f*

- ⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲛ ϩⲁϩⲧⲏϥ While another brother was with him (Till 1966: 168).

Ø	Circumstantial conv.	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
	ⲉ	ⲟⲩⲛ̄	ⲕⲉ ⲥⲟⲛ ϩⲁϩⲧⲏϥ

- ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲝ ϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ A man who had a withered hand (Layton 2000: 327).

Indefinite antecedent →	Circumstantial conv.	Auxiliary	← Definite subject
ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲉⲣⲉ	Ø	ⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲝ ϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ

Table 51 Definite antecedent/Ø + indefinite/definite subject

- *pꜣ n.t-jw wn nk.t (n-)ḏr.t.f* The one who has property in his hand (Johnson 1987: 67 (E157)).

Definite antecedent →	Relative converter	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
pꜣ	*n.t-jw*	*wn*	*nk.t (n-)ḏr.t.f*

- ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ The place in which there is no fear (Till 1966: 229).

Definite antecedent →	Relative converter	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
ⲡⲙⲁ	ⲉⲧⲉ	ⲙ̄ⲛ̄	ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ

- ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲝ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ The man who had the withered hand (Layton 2000: 327).

Table 51 Definite antecedent/Ø + indefinite/definite subject

Definite antecedent →	Relative converter	Auxiliary	← Definite subject
ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ	ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ	Ø	ⲧⲉϥϭⲓϫ ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ

- *nꜣ mt.w(t) r-wn-nꜣw ꜥnḫ-ššnky sꜣ ṯ-nfr sẖ n-jm.w* The words, which Chasheschonqi, the son of Tjay-nefer, was writing. (Johnson 2000: 77 (E178))

Definite antecedent →	Imperfect converter	Auxiliary	← Definite subject
nꜣ mt.w(t)	**r**-*wn-nꜣw*[162]	Ø	*ꜥnḫ-ššnky sꜣ Ṯ-nfr sẖ n-jm.w*

- *wn-nꜣw wn wꜥ rmṯ na ḫ.t-pr ḥr-tbn wꜥ mꜣꜥ* A man of the household (or, "bodyguard") was atop a place (Johnson 2000: 20 (E35))

Ø	Imperfect converter	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
	wn-nꜣw	*wn*	*wꜥ rmṯ na ḫ.t-pr ḥr-tbn wꜥ mꜣꜥ*

- ⲛⲉ ⲩⲛ̄ ϩⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ Some (people), however, said it (Till 1966: 167).

Ø	Imperfect converter	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
	ⲛⲉ	ⲩⲛ̄	ϩⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ

- ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲥ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ The mother of Jesus was there (Till 1966: 160).

Ø	Imperfect converter	Auxiliary	← Definite subject
	ⲛⲉⲣⲉ	Ø	ⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲥ̄ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

In Demotic, auxiliary verbs *wn* (*mn*) display a particular behavior after the focalizing converter – they are not used even if the subject is indefinite (Quack 2013: 96–98; Johnson 2000: 73–75):

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[162] The definite antecedent requires relative form of the Imperfect

Table 52 Focalizing converter + definite/indefinite subject

- *jjr ꜥš-sḥn nfr nb ꜥ.wj pꜣ nṯr* Every good matter is in the hand of God (Quack 2013: 97).

Ø	Focalizing converter	Auxiliary	← Definite subject
	jjr	Ø	*ꜥš-sḥn nfr nb ꜥ.wj pꜣ nṯr*

- *j.jr pr wn r pꜣ n.t jw wn nk.t (n-)dr.t.f* A house is open for him, who has property in his hand (Quack 2013: 97).

Ø	Focalizing converter	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
	j.jr	Ø	*pr wn r pꜣ n.t jw wn nk.t (n-)dr.t.f*

- *j.jr ky hrw ḫpr jw.w (r) jp.w jrm.n (n) wꜥ sp* As soon as another day comes, one will recon them together with us (Quack 2013: 98).

Ø	Focalizing converter	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
	j.jr	Ø	*ky hrw ḫpr jw.w (r) jp.w jrm.n (n) wꜥ sp*

- ⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ A man chooses (Layton 2007: 154).

Ø	Focalizing converter	Auxiliary	← Indefinite subject
	ⲉ	ⲟⲩⲛ̄	ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄

- ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄ The man chooses (Layton 2007: 154)

Ø	Focalizing converter	Auxiliary	← Definite subject
	ⲉⲣⲉ	Ø	ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̄

Light verbs and construct participles

In Demotic, compound verbs usually require a generic, *zero*-determiner noun after the light verbs *jr*, *ḫꜣꜥ, šp, tj, t,* etc. This is a common lexicalization pattern, e.g. *jr ḥty* "to become necessary", *jr mlḫ* "to attack", *jr ḥb* "to celebrate"; *tj krm* "to crown"; *t krm* "to be crowned" (R. Simpson 1996: 39); *ꜥš sgp* "to shout", *ꜥn smj* "to report" (Spiegelberg 1925: 32). In the Memphis decree denominal compounds show varying degrees of lexicalization:

*jr.f **jr-sẖy** n3 sbw*[163]
He prevailed over the enemies.
(Rosetta, line 15)

*r **jr-3ḫ** wb3 Km.t*
to attack Egypt
(Rosetta, line 12)

*m.tw.w **jr** ḥb ḫˁ*
They are to celebrate festival and procession.
(Rosetta, line 29)

but:

*m.tw.w **jr** n3 ḥb.w n3 ḫˁ.w*
And to celebrate the festivals and processions.
(Rosetta, line 31)

Also in Coptic compound verbs zero article renders genericity of the noun:

p̄- Ø-ϩⲟⲧⲉ	fear, be afraid" (do-Ø-fear),
p̄- Ø-ϩⲙ̄ϩⲁⲗ	serve, function as servant" (do-Ø-servant),
ϫⲓ- Ø-ⲥⲃⲱ	learn (get- Ø-teaching)

(Layton 2000: 40)

Zero article is also used in compound nouns and adjectives built in Coptic with the help of the *conjunct participle + noun* (Till 1966: 57; Layton 2000: 95–96). These constructions involve verbs such as ⲙⲉ "love", e.g. ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ "god-loving"; ϫⲓⲥⲉ "raise", e.g. ϫⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ "arrogant"; ϫⲓ "take" e.g. ϫⲁⲓⲃⲉⲕⲉ "wage-taker"; ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ "pasture, feed" e.g. ⲙⲁⲛϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ "camel herder".

Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases are another type of syntactic environment, which can induce zero article. Simpson (1996: 39) distinguishes the following prepositional *zero*-patterns in Demotic:

- after *n* denoting equivalence:
  n rn by name, *n ḥb* as a festival, and (*n*) *tym* as protection;

- after *n* denoting manner:
  n (ḫp) suddenly, *n gy bjn* wretchedly;

- after *n* denoting extent of time:
  n sw sbḳ in a short time;

---

[163]*jr-sẖy* lit. "to make hitting" from Middle Egyptian *zẖj* "to hit, to smite" (Wb III, 466: 13 – 467: 13); Coptic: ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ "to have power, authority" (Crum 1939: 59b).

- after *n* in other senses (rarely):
  n wyt (writing) on a stela, *n ḥḏ* (high price) in silver, *n wš* missing, absent

- after *ḥr* in a temporal distributive sense:
  ḥr rnp.t each year.

A number of pragmatically generic contexts, involving the use of zero article in Coptic, are prepositional phrases dealt with in chapter *Grammatical category of determination* on page 96 above. In addition to ⲛ̄- *of identity* (ⲛ̄- + ∅ noun), *comparisons* (ϩⲱⲥ- + ∅ noun), *distributive expressions* (ϫⲓⲛ- + ∅ noun, ⲉ- + ∅ noun), *nouns in coordination* (ϩⲓ- + ∅ noun) and *deprivation* (ⲁϫⲛ- + ∅ noun), the following expressions can be mentioned (Till 1966: 64):

ϣⲁ + ∅ ⲉⲛⲉϩ	until eternity
ϫⲓⲛⲛ̄ + ∅ ϣⲟⲣⲡ	from the beginning
ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ + ∅ ⲟⲓⲕ	to look for bread
ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ + ∅ ϩⲁⲓ	to be married
ⲕⲁ + ∅ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲉϫⲛ̄ + ∅ ⲱⲛⲉ	to put stone on stone
ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ + ∅ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ	to die (lit. to come out of the body)

The analysis of the Memphis decree allows us to establish yet another parameter affecting the article use in prepositional phrases: their syntactic complexity. Nouns following simple prepositions are accompanied in Rosetta text by zero article:

ḥr rnp.t	each year (Rosetta, lines 9, 29, 31)
ḥr pr-wnm	on the right (side) (Rosetta, line 27)
n sntgsy	as syntaxis (Rosetta, line 8)
n nṯr šr nṯr nṯr.t	as a god, a son of god and goddess (Rosetta, line 6)[164]

Nouns following the compound prepositions, deriving from the *simple preposition + part of the body*, usually take definite article:

n ḏr.t	*nȝ sbȝ.w*	by the enemies (Rosetta, line 13)
r ḏȝḏȝ	*tȝ gȝ*	on the shrine (Rosetta, line 26)
(r) ꜥ.wy	*nȝ rmṯ.w*	upon the people (Rosetta, line 8)
r rȝ	*nȝ yꜥr.w n rn.w*	at the mouth of the canals in question (Rosetta, line 14)
r ḥ	*pȝ hp*	according to the law (Rosetta, line 19)

Nouns following the compound prepositions, composed of *simple preposition + non-body part noun*, are prone to variation in the article use:

r hn	*ḫȝt.-sp 9.t*	up to year 9 (Rosetta, line 17)
n tȝ šb.t	*nȝ ꜥr.y.w*	instead of the uraei (Rosetta, line 26)
(n) pȝ bnr nȝ sḫn.w		outside the crowns (Rosetta, line 26)
r-ḏbȝ	*nȝ sb.w*	on account of the enemies (Rosetta, line 13)

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[164] However, *j.jr jy n pȝ ꜥt pȝ my* "Who came by land and see" (Rosetta, line 12)

vs.

r-ḏbꜣ   krf   through cunning (Johnson 1987 (E10b) = Ins 12/7)

Mediated (indirect) and unmediated (direct) genitive

As a common feature of the Demotic noun phrases, involving mediated (indirect) and unmediated (direct) genitives, the second term is often not determined. In the Memphis decree 25 cases of zero-article second terms contrast with only 9 cases where the second member is accompanied by the definite article. The following patterns can be distinguished:

Table 53 Mediated (-*n*) and unmediated (*ø*) genitive construction in the Memphis decree

Second term undetermined (*ø N*)

Construction type			No. of cases	Selected examples
def. N +	*ø +*	*ø N*	14	*nꜣ sẖ.w mdꜣ.t-nṯr* The scribes of the sacred books (Rosetta, line 4)[165]
def. N +	*n +*	*ø N*	6	*nꜣ ky.w rn n wꜥb* The other priestly titles (Rosetta, line 30)
ø N +	*ø +*	*ø N*	4	*n wyt jny ḏry* On a stela of hard stone (Rosetta, line 32)
ø N +	*n +*	*ø N*	1	*n gy n ḏlꜥ md nb* On any legal document (Rosetta, line 30)

Second term determined (*def. N*)

def. N	*ø*	*def. N*	3	*nꜣ md-pḥ.t.w nꜣ rpy.w* The honors of the temples (Rosetta, line 20)
def. N	*n*	*def. N*	4	*pꜣ ḥb n pꜣ šp tꜣ jꜣw.t (n) ḥry* The festival of the assumption of the supreme office (Rosetta, line 26)
ø N	*ø*	*def. N*	2	*swn nꜣ šs-nsw* Value of royal linen (Rosetta, line 17)
ø N	*n*	*def. N*	0	-
ind. N	*ø*	*def. N*	1	*wꜥ twtw pꜣ nṯr tꜣ nw.t* A statue of the city god (Rosetta, line 23)
ind. N	*n*	*def. N*	0	-

In Demotic and Coptic noun phrases the determination grade of the rectum sets the difference between nominal attribution and possession: in attributive constructions the second term, introduced by ⲛ̄-, cannot have any determiner. Thus zero-determination activates the attributive

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[165] The pattern *def. N +ø + øN* is especially common after *pꜣ sp* "the remainder, the rest": *pꜣ sp nkt ḏr.w* "the rest of all property" (Rosetta, line 9)

reading of an adnominal modification, but does not affect the degree of definiteness of the whole phrase, which can have definite, indefinite, demonstrative, or even possessive affixes (Egedi 2009: 68):

Attribution	ϩⲉⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄-Ø-ϭⲓⲝ	hand-works
	ⲡⲁϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄-Ø-ϭⲓⲝ	my hand-work
Possession	ⲡ-ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄-ⲛⲉⲕ-ϭⲓⲝ	the work of your hands

If the modifier in an attributive construction is one of the Egyptian-Coptic or Greco-Coptic *genderless common nouns* (Layton 2000: 90–92), the construction can also be inverted, so that the modifier precedes its target of modification:

ⲡ-ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄-ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ   the wicked race

ⲡ-ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ - ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ   the wicked race

(Layton 2007: 33)

Another peculiarity applies to the nominal possessive constructions in Sahidic. If the regens in such a compound has a definite article and is not followed by an adjective or another modifier, the rectum has to be attached with the morpheme ⲛ̄-. In all other cases the rectum uses ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-, historically originating from the preposition *m-dj/mtw* "with" (Egedi 2010: 2–4)

ⲛ̄- pattern	ⲡ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
	God's son
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ- pattern	ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
	a finger of God
	ⲡⲉⲓ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲡ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
	this son of the man
	ⲡ-ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
	the sole son of God

This rule, however, does not apply to dialects other than Sahidic[166]. Egedi (2010) has shown that ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ- is a historically newer morpheme in Sahidic and can also be found with a simple determination of the possessed noun (e.g. ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ "the parts of the body" (Egedi 2010: 3)), while ⲛ̄ is not attested with other than simple definite nouns.

Negative expressions

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[166] Cf. Till (1961: 16): "Die Anfügung des Rectum mit ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ- ist im BFA2 häufig".

Quack (2013: 20) notes that the article in Demotic is often missing in negative expressions, e.g. in clauses denoting non-existence:

> *mn-mtw.y šrj m-s3 šrj 2*
> I have no children, except two.
> (Setne I, 3, 1)

Direct objects obtaining zero in negative expressions fall under the pragmatic category of non-specific indefinites, which, as noted in the *Commentary* to the chapter *3.2.4. Specific and non-specific reference in Demotic (Johnson* 1987) , usually have no explicit marking in Demotic:

> *m-jr jr **mt.t** jw bn-pw.k šn n-jm.s [n] t3 ḥ3.t*
> Don't do anything about which you have not inquired beforehand.
> (Johnson 1987 (E9h) = Chasheshonqi 8/4)

Definite referents in an argument position can preserve definite marking also in negative clauses:

> *r bn-rḫ **n3 pr-ˁ3.w** ḥ3.t.w jr.s m-ḳd.s*
> The like of which no former pharaoh had been able to do.
> (Rosetta, 14)

In Coptic Layton (2000: 40) and Till (1966: 63) specify the following negative expressions as zero-inducing:

- The prepositional expression ⲁϫⲛ- + Ø noun denoting deprivation, e.g. ⲁϫⲛ- Ø-ϩⲟⲧⲉ "fearlessly", ⲁϫⲛ- Ø-ⲧⲱⲱⲙⲉ "without wallet".
- Subjects of non-existential clauses, e.g. ϩⲉⲛⲡⲏⲅⲉ … ⲉ-ⲙⲛ̄- Ø-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ-ⲟⲩ "waterless springs" (lit. "springs, there is no water in them").
- Objects of negative verbs, e.g. ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ϯ Ø-ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ "you have given me no water".
- With the subjects of negative verbs the use of Ø is irregular: ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ-Ø-ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲟⲩ "A prophet should not die" vs. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ-**ⲟⲩ-**ⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲱϣϥ̄ "Not a single bone should be broken".

4. Analysis results of demonstratives in Old Egyptian

The linguistic insights of the *Theoretical outline* and the *Literature review* of Egyptian-Coptic determination lay out the theoretical basis for the re-analysis of the deictic systems in Old Egyptian. The ensuing chapters present the results of the investigation of the demonstratives attested in the Old Kingdom texts. Chapter *4.1. Typological features* follows the schematic established in the theoretical part and approaches the deictica from the four interrelated perspectives: pragmatic, semantic, morphological and syntactic. Chapter *4.2. Diatopic features* studies the impact of regional deictic types on the establishment of the common linguistic standard in the Old Kingdom. Chapter *4.3.* places the Egyptian demonstratives in the wider context of Afro-Asiatic languages. It traces the selected grammaticalization channels of Afro-Asiatic deictic morphemes, developing to Egyptian personal and demonstrative pronouns, emphatic particles and adverbs.

4.1. Typological features

4.1.1. Pragmatic and semantic features

The analysis of Old Egyptian deictica suggests the existence of two competing paradigms: one based on differentiating the referents according to the inclusion into the joint attentional focus of discourse participants and the other distinguishing the referents according to their distance relative to the deictic center. Although the joint attention system is visibly in decline in the literary discourse of the Fifth and Sixth dynasties, its productive patterns utilizing *pw/pn* are well attested in the colloquial text sources. This chapter traces the expansion of the relative distance system, operating with *pn/pf*, as it ousts attentional deictica. The emergence of the new demonstrative *ꜣ*-series during the Fifth Dynasty is yet another manifestation of the dynamic grammatical process, which, however, takes place unnoticed on the margins of the established linguistic standard.

Joint attention system

Exophoric use

Situational use of *pn/tn/nn*

A clear functional division between *pn* and *pw* is apparent in the exophoric (extra-textual) context. The juxtaposition of the picture and text in the scenes of daily life in the tomb inscriptions deliver some of the best examples of the situational use of *pn*. In the depicted scenes, *n*-deictica draw the items, present in the physical space-time context of the speech event, *into* the joint focus of attention, while *w*-deictica track the items *within* the established attentional sphere.

In the butchering scene in the tomb of Ptahhotep I (north wall of the chapel, lower part), one of the butchers cutting off a haunch exclaims:

> *mj ḥm-nṯr wˁb r ḫpš pn*
> Come, priest, purify *this haunch*!
> (Ptahhotep I, Pl. XXXVI, 2nd register from bottom)[167]

While his partner joins him:

> *jm*[168] *ḫpr nn*
> Let *it* happen!
> (Ptahhotep I, Pl. XXXVI, 2nd register from bottom)

In the lower register, the butcher shows the heart of the cow to his comrade with the words:

> *m.k ḥ3.tj pn*
> Behold, *this heart*!
> (Ptahhotep I, Pl. XXXVI, bottom register)

Another slaughterer carrying a bowl addresses his companions:

> *jm n.(j) znf pn*
> Give me *this blood*!
> (Ptahhotep I, Pl. XXXVI, bottom register)

Generating the joint attentional focus is the major function of *pn* in the Pyramid Texts. The spells of Pyramid Texts are invocations, originally contextualized in two different realities: in the rites performed during the burial with the disposition of offerings and in the perpetual funerary cult for the deceased king (Bickel 2017: 124)[169]. *Pn* in these spells draws attention to the objects present (or imagined to be present) in the speech situation. Mathieu (2016: 410–27) subdivides the items, the physical appearance of which is signaled by the deictic *pn*, into the following semantic categories[170]:

1) "La présence du défunt": present can be not only the mummified corpse of the deceased (*ḥ3.t, sˁḥ*) but also his manifestations as "god" (*nṯr*), "spirit" (*3ḫ*), "ba-soul" (*b3*); concepts intimately associated with the deceased such as his "purification" (*wˁb*), "years (of life)" (*rnp.wt*), "hunger" (*ḥḳr*), "thirst" (*jb.t*), etc.

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[167] The translations of the provided examples follow the source publication mentioned in the "Abbreviation" chapter unless explicitly stated otherwise.

[168] Imperative of *rḏi* "to give" spelled out with ⌂ (Edel 1964: 294 (§607)).

[169] This performative difference is mirrored in the categorial division of Pyramid Texts into sacerdotal and personal texts: "The offering ritual obviously belongs to the sphere of priestly performance and is at the core of the category termed 'sacerdotal texts' by Harold Hays, whereas apotropaic utterances with their more individual scope of efficaciousness form part of his category of 'personal texts' (...) The particularly intense re-workings of 'personal texts' point to their possible use-life anterior and exterior to the sphere of the royal tomb (...)" (Bickel 2017: 125–26). On the oral-compositional form of Pyramid Texts see Reintges (2011), Allen (2017b), and Morales (2015, 2016).

[170] "L'emploi du déictique de proximité *pn/tn/nn* suppose la *présence matérielle* du signifié dans un contexte spatial immédiat (...) Les syntagmes recourant à ce type de déictiques font ainsi référence á une réalité concrète, *présente ou représentée concrètement* dans l'environnement proche" (Mathieu 2016: 409).

2) "La présence des offrandes": *pn* refers to offerings such as "water" (*mw*), "libation" (*ḳbḥ*), "bread" (*t*), "beer" (*ḥnḳ.t*), "a round loaf (of bread)" (*p3ḏ*), "selected (atonements)" (*stp.wt*) and "provisions" (*w3g.w*).

3) "La présence du texte": textual discourse units can be referred to anaphorically or cataphorically.

4) "La présence des structures architecturales": *pn* indicates edifices such as "domain" (*pr*), "establishments" (*grg.wt*), "pyramid" (*mḥr*), "temple" (*ḥw.t-nṯr*), but also metaphoric extensions of funerary space such as "earth" (*t3*), "sky" (*p.t*), "path" (*wꜥ.t*), "channel" (*mr*), etc.

5) "La présence du dieu (Osiris) dans le serdab": *pn* denotes the hypostases of Osiris in the serdab including "the great one" (*wr*), "the powerful one" (*sḫm*), "the enduring one" (*nḥḥ*), but also "these statues" (*nn n twt.w*), referring to the statues of the deceased in the serdab.

6) "La présence d'autres divinités et de l'adversaire": *pn* invokes other divinities and adversaries of the deceased such as a dairy cow (*mhj.t, mnꜥ.t*), "this one who has bitten Unis" (*z pn pzḥ wnjs*), "a snake" (*ḥf3.w*), etc.

7) "La présence d'éléments du mobilier funéraire": *pn* points out at the funerary utensils such as "knife" (*ds*), "yoke" (*m3wḏ*), but also canopic jars, referred to metaphorically as *jb pn* "this mind".

A striking feature of the exophoric use within the attentional system is the absence of a differentiation between proximal and distal referents – both are addressed with *pn*. In that case, the front-positioning of the demonstrative is possible:

> *ṯ3z m3ḳ.t jn rꜥw ḫft wsjr*
> *ṯ3z m3ḳ.t jn ḥr.w ḫft jtj.f wsjr*
> *m šm.f n 3ḫ.f*
> *wꜥ.sn **pn** gs wꜥ.sn m **pn** gs*
> *jw wnjs jm.jwt.sn*
> A ladder has been tied together by Re in front of Osiris.
> A ladder has been tied together by Horus in front of his father Osiris,
> When he went to his akh.
> One of them on **this side** and one of them on **that side,**
> While Unis is between them.
> (PT 305 W (Pyr. 472 a-d))

The repeated use of exophoric *pn/tn* is especially common with nouns indicating modes of written and oral communication, such as *zḥ3.w* "writing", *mḏ3.t* "letter", *r* "spell", *jj* "spell, statement"[171]. The letter of Pepi II to Harkhuf, which displays a clear functional division between *pn* and *pw* in the endophoric context (discussed below), has the exophoric entity *mḏ3.t* "letter" always used with *tn*:

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[171] *jj* "statement" in PT 609 M (Pyr. 1708 a-f) is followed twice by *jj pn* (Mathieu 2016: 410).

mḏ3.t.k tn "this letter of yours" (Urk. I 128: 5; Urk. I 128: 10; Urk. I 128: 14). The shared knowledge about the referent "letter" as well as its immediate presence in the speech situation suggests the use of a recognitional demonstrative, but instead the focus shifter *pn* is used. This phenomenon offers the following explanations:

- *Pn* serves a recognitional function (see Zöller-Engelhardt (2016: 102–3)).
- *Pn* functions as an attention shifter, whereby attention is repeatedly drawn to the referent.
- *Pn* substitutes the recognitional *pw,* as the attentional paradigm is gradually taken over by the distance-oriented one in the official discourse.

The diachronic process observed with the noun *jz* ("tomb") seems to advocate for the third option: during the Fifth Dynasty the expression *jz pw* ("this tomb") is replaced with *jz pn* and almost entirely disappears in Sixth-Dynasty inscriptions Edel (Edel 1964: 86). This pattern, however, is not detectable with *zẖ3.w, mḏ3.t*. In the earliest records these are accompanied by *pn, tn*, e.g. in the Fifth-Dynasty tombs of Rashepses in Saqqara and Senedjem-ib in Giza: *jw m3.n ḥm(.j) zẖ3.w pn nfr nfr* "My majesty has seen *this* most lovely *letter*" (Urk. I 179: 13); *jw m3.n ḥm(.j) mḏ3.t.k tn* "My majesty has seen *this letter* of yours" (Urk. I 60: 16); *mry ḥm(.j) m33 zẖ3.w.k pn r (j)ẖ.t nb.(t)* "Seeing *this letter* of yours is what my majesty loves more than anything" (Urk. I 179: 17). The most adequate is therefore the second interpretation: *pn* is a focus shifter whose function in these phrases can be compared to the temporal use in *hrw pn* "this day, today" as contrasted with *hrw pw* "the day (of accession etc.)". This conceptual difference will be discussed in the next chapter.

Recognitional use of *pw/tw/nw*

The function of *pw* in exophoric contexts is pragmatically different from *pn*: it accompanies discourse entities which are already present in the shared attentional sphere of the speaker and the addressee. The dialogues in the tomb of Ti provide ample examples of this use.

In a fishing scene on the south wall of the portico, one fisherman says to his companion, who holds a fish trap in his hands:

> *grg sḳ.t tw r mnḫ*
> Lay *the fish trap* thoroughly!
> (Ti I, Pl. IX, 2nd register from bottom)

In a scene of the cattle crossing the ford, displayed on the north wall of the chapel (right (east) part), a drover addresses another man, carrying a calf on his back:

> *j mḥsḥs pw j3ꜥ bḫz pw mnꜥ.t*
> Oh you *mḥsḥs*, hinder (the view of) *the calf* of the dairy cow.
> (Ti II, Pl. CXIV)[172]

In both cases *pw/tw* point at the activated referents which are immediately accessible to the addressee. The assumption of the recipient's familiarity with the object pointed at also governs the

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[172] The TLA offers the following translation: „He Trennhirt, entziehe dieses Kalb (der Sicht)!" ("You herdsman, remove this calf (from sight of the cow)!"
(http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetWcnRefs?f=0&l=0&of=0&ll=855671&db=0&lr=0&mo=1&wt=y&bc=Start, accessed on 15.01.2020). Erman's (1919: 254) reading is "Lass dies Kalb nach der Mutterkuh blöken" ("Let this calf bleat for the mother-cow").

use of *pw* with the noun *jz* ("tomb"). In the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Hetepherakhet in Saqqara, the inscription on the right side of the entrance proclaims:

> *jr rmṯ nb ꜥk̲.tj.sn jr jz pw m ꜥb.sn jr.tj.sn ḫt ḏw jr nw*
> *wnn wḏꜥ ḥnꜥ.sn ḥr.s jn nṯr ꜥꜣ*
> As for any people who shall enter *the tomb* unclean and do something evil to *it*,
> There will be judgement against them thereupon by the great god.
> (Urk. I 50: 16-51: 1)

The first mention of the tomb in this fully preserved inscription already has *pw* (Urk. I 50: 1)[173]. The recognizability of the referent arises not only from the immediate interaction, but also from the common social experience of the discourse participants. The north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Ti depicts a milk pilferage scene: an old man is binding the hind legs of a cow while the child is busy milking the animal. The man exclaims:

> *sšr wni ṯw ḏr jy.t (j)r.f ḥk̲ꜣ pw*
> Milk (it), hurry up, before *the chief* comes!
> (Ti II, Pl. CXII)

The Pyramid Texts provide numerous examples where *pw/tw/nw* mark entities anchored in the shared social and cultural context:

> *n-kw ppy nṯr pw ḏd.n zꜣ.tj jtm.w*
> *ṯn kw jn sn m rn.k n ntr*
> You, Pepi, belong, (to) *the god* of whom Atum's two little children[174] said:
> 'You are distinguished', they said, 'in your name of a god.'
> (PT 215 P (Pyr. 147 a-b))

The use of *pw* in such expressions as *wr pw* "the great one" (PT 273 W (Pyr. 398 b))[175], *hrw pw n rḫs sms.w* "the day of butchering the seniors" (PT 273 W (Pyr. 399 b))[176], *zꜣ pw n j.ḫm.t* "the son of her, who does not know him" (PT 320 W (Pyr. 515 c)), *bw pw mss.w ntr.w jm* "the place where the gods are born" (PT 265 P (Pyr. 353 b)), *mdw pw ḏd.n gbb* "the speech that Geb has said" (PT 477 P (Pyr. 957 b)), *jr.t tw n.t rꜥw* "the eye of the sun" (PT 402 T (Pyr. 698 d)) suggests that the writer assumes the audience's familiarity with the designated items[177]. The pragmatic difference between the

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[173] Recognitional *pw / nw* referring to the tomb appear also in the Fourth dynasty tomb of Khafre's son Nebemakhet at Giza (Urk. I 16: 4-6); false door of Nefer at Giza dated to Dynasties 5-6 (Urk. I 225: 16); the Fourth dynasty tomb of Abdu from Giza (Abú-Bakr 1953: 73 (Fig. 47:1)); and a wall fragment of the tomb from the time of Khufu (Urk. I 154: 15). With the disappearance of the deictic system based on the joint attentional focus, the expression *jz pw* is gradually substituted with *jz pn*.

[174] For *zꜣ.tj* as "two little children" referring to Shu and Tefnut, see Schenkel (1985).

[175] The same phrase occurs in Coffin Texts: *j wr pw, j ꜥꜣ pw zny p.t tn wr.t* "O, the great one, o, the mighty one, who opens this great sky!" (CT III 201 m (B1L)).

[176] Similarly: *hrw pw n sḏm.t md.w* "the day of hearing the case" (PT 485 P (Pyr. 1027 c)), *hrw pw mjn.n.f jm* "the day he landed" (PT 505 P (Pyr. 1090 f)).

[177] Mathieu points out at the semantic difference between the referents of *pn* and *pw* used in the parallel syntagms: *pn* indicates the deceased, while *pw* – the manifestation of the creator-god: "ainsi s'expliquent les formulations suivantes, qui désignent toutes le défunt, et s'opposent généralement à des syntagmes parallèles, usant du déictique *pw*, qui se réfère quant à lui au dieu créateur" (Mathieu 2016: 410–11), e.g. *ꜣḫ pn* "this spirit of the deceased" vs. *ꜣḫ pw* "the creator in his manifestation as Osiris"; *wꜥ pn* vs. *wꜥ pw* "this unique one" vs. "the unique one"; *wr pn* vs. *wr pw* "this great one" vs. "the great one". As substantiated in this chapter, the

recognitional *ḥrw pw n rḫs sms.w* "the day of butchering the seniors" (PT 273 W (Pyr. 399 b)) and situational *ḥrw pn* "this day" is evidenced by the butchering scene displayed on the east wall of the room C3 in the tomb of Meryteti, Mereruka's son. The inscription running above the depiction of butchers at work, says:

> *jw ḫ3.t mj ḥb nfr m ḥrw pn sḥp stp.t* [...]
> The offering table is like a beautiful feast on *this day (today)*, bring the choice things: [...]
> (Meryteti, Pl. 52 (b), bottom register, left)[178]

This pragmatic contrast is preserved in some of the Coffin Text spells, rendered in the Middle Kingdom. In the following CT passage *ḥrw pn* refers to the actual day of the discourse ("this day", i.e. "today"), while *ḥrw pw* denotes the day of the mythical event ("the day of ..."):

> *m3ꜥ-ḫrw wsjr N pn ḫr.tn m ḥrw pn*
> *mj m3ꜥ-ḫrw ḥr.w r ḫft.jw.f (m) ḥrw.f pw nfr (n) ḫꜥ.w*
> This Osiris N is justified before you on *this day* (today),
> just as Horus was justified against his enemies (on) *the beautiful day* (of) his accession.
> (CT I 22 b-d (B6C))[179]

The presence or absence of an addressee's attention on the object explains the distinction between the demonstrative pronouns *nw/nn* used with the verb *ndr* "seize". In the aforementioned butchering scene in the tomb of Ptahhotep I one worker draws the attention of his comrade to the haunch he is cutting off:

> *ḥw-3 ndr n.(j) nn*
> O, seize *this* [haunch] for (me)!
> (Ptahhotep I, Pl. XXXVI, 2nd register from bottom)

By contrast, in an artisans' scene in the chapel of Ibi, one of the dwarfs bending a necklace with an instrument, exclaims:

> *ndr nw mnḫ n.tj m ꜥ.k*
> Seize properly *that* which is in your hand!
> (Wepemnefret: Fig. 219, bottom register, left part)

The recognitional function of *nw* is instrumental for the correct interpretation of the syntactic structure of the expressions containing *tn.w-(n.w)-r* "an (oral) reminder" frequently attested in the

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distinction between *pn* and *pw* renders not the inherent semantics of the referents, but signals their cognitive accessibility to the addressee.

[178] Compare the same meaning of *nn* in a craftsmen's scene, displayed on the eastern wall of the chapel of Ibi (located in the tomb of his father Wepemnefret in Giza). One of the sculptors carving the statue addresses his neighbor:

> *3bd wꜥ r nn n ḥr.w dr wd(.j) ꜥ(.j) m twt pn n.t(j) m -ꜥ(.j)*
> (It is) a month to *these days* since (I) have put (my) hand to *this statue* which is in (my) hand.
> (Wepemnefret: Fig. 219, 3rd register from bottom)

[179] *Hrw pn* "this day/today" in Late Egyptian is superseded by *p3 hrw* (with article *p3* in its demonstrative function), but remains in formulaic expressions, which come to designate a previously mentioned date (Junge 2008: 58).

epistolary communication of the Old Kingdom (Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 14)[180]. My analysis suggests that these phrases are constructed as either nominal clauses or direct/indirect genitives. In both cases the last member includes demonstrative *nw + juxtaposed verbal clause*, where *nw* introduces information supposed *to be known* to the recipient:

Table 54 *Ṯn.w-r* in a nominal clause

A	*pw*	B
ṯn.w-r	*pw*	*nw jy.n wp.t n bḥztj r mskꜣ* (Cairo linen, line 2)[181]
ṯn.w-(n.w)-r	*pw*	*nw šd.t jmꜣḫ.w m pr.s* (Quibell 1908: 37 (XVI: 12))[182]
ṯn.w-r	*pw*	*nw ḏd.n.j n.k r.(j)* (Chicago OM 13945, line 1)[183]
ṯn.w-n.w-r	*pw*	*nw gm.n.j ꜥḳꜣ.w wḏꜥ.t* (Lacau 1910: 117 (LXXII: 19))[184]

Table 55 *Ṯn.w-r* in a genitive construction

N	Genitive	N
	indirect	
ṯn.w-r	*n.w*	*nw ḏd.t n zꜣ.t jm* (Qau bowl, outside, line 2)[185]
ṯn.w-r	*n.w*	Ø *šꜣ.k r jtḥ* (Qau bowl, inside, line 2)[186]
	direct	
ṯn.w-n.w-r	-	*nw gm.n.j N pn* (Firth and Gunn 1926: 250)[187]

A subtype of the nominal clause pattern appears when *nw* is topicalized, i.e. placed at the front as a protasis:

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[180] In Hekanakhte papers Allen (2002: 18) translates *ṯn.w-n.w-r* as "memorandum", sharing Gunn's (1930: 148) opinion that in all cases not oral but written communications are involved (cf. also James (1962: 114)). The phrase occurs in Hekanakhte, Letter IV, lines 2-3 and in Cairo 91061, Pl. 26a, recto, lines 10-11.

[181] "It is an (oral) reminder of *this* (fact) that the messenger of Behezti came because of leather."

[182] "It is an (oral) reminder of *this* (fact) of taking the deceased from her house." Version A has *ṯn.w-r*; version B has *ṯn.w-n.w-r*.

[183] "It is an (oral) reminder of *this* what I have said to you in reference to myself."

[184] "It is an (oral) reminder of *this* (fact that) I made the right judgement."

[185] "An (oral) reminder of *this* what you said to your son there [= to me]". Compare: *sḫꜣ nw ḏd.n.k n jrtj zꜣ yj* "Remember *this* which you have said to Irti's son Yi" (Cairo linen, line 12).

[186] "An (oral) reminder of your journey to the prison"

[187] "An (oral) reminder of the fact that I found this N." Gardiner and Sethe (1928: 14) treat *n.w* here as an indirect genitive, which was moved to the front and split the compound *ṯn.w-r*.

Table 56 _Ṯn.w-r_ in a nominal clause with topicalized _nw_

B (protasis)	A	_pw_	Ø
_nw_	_ṯn.w-r_	_pw_	_gm.n.j_ (pTurin 54003, recto, column 3)[188]

The function of _nw_ as encoding the fact known to the addressee is not restricted to the epistolary communication. It comes across in the PT spells as well:

> _šd n.ṯ sw jr p.t mj nw šd.n.ṯ wsjr jr p.t_
> Take him to the sky like _when_ (lit. _like this [fact, that]_) you took Osiris to the sky.
> (PT 563 M (Pyr. 1419 c))

Significantly, the recognitional _pw/tw_ persist as living forms into the First Intermediate Period, where the abridged variant of the plural demonstrative _jptw_ (f.) crops up in a letter to the dead:

> _mk gr.t jptj bꜣk.tj rd.yt nḫm sny_
> _nfr-ṯn-tt jṯꜣj zhꜣ st_
> Behold, as for _those_ serving-maids who have caused Seny to be afflicted,
> (namely) Nefertjentet and Itjai, confound (?) them.
> (Chicago OM 13945, line 5)

Emotive use of _pw_

There is another pragmatic role, which _pw_ can obtain in an exophoric context. The north wall of Ti's chapel, depicting the cattle crossing a ford, reveals it in a chat of the herdsmen:

> _nr pw ꜥnḫ ḥr.k r šy pw n.tj ḫr mw_
> _You herdsman_, pay attention to the crocodile, who is in the water!
> (Ti II, Pl. CXXIV, bottom register)[189]

This function can be called _empathetic_ or _emotive_. The emotional connotation is evident in a finishing scene, again on the the north wall of Ti's chapel, where a fisherman laying down the keep-net says angrily to his comrade:

> _(j)n ṯwt sbꜣ wj jṯꜣ pw_
> _rḫ.k(wj) nn jr.k_
> Are you the one teaching me, _you thief?_
> I know it better than you!
> (Ti II, Pl. CXI, bottom register, left)

Emotive _pw_ is common in the Pyramid Texts:

> _fꜣ ḥr.k wsjr fꜣ ḥr.k hꜣ wnjs pw zj ꜣḫ.f_
> _fꜣ ḥr.k wnjs pw wꜣš spd_

---

[188] "This (fact), it is a reminder that I have found (...)."
[189] Compare also _j mḥsḥs pw_ "Oh _you mḥsḥs_" in the example on page 119

Lift your face, *Osiris*; lift your face, *o Unis*, who has gone to become his akh.
Lift your face, o Unis, esteemed and sharp.
(PT 93 W (Pyr. 62 a-b))

The emotive *pw* is characteristic of dyadic interaction where listener is also a referent; while recognitional *pw* appears in triadic (speaker – listener *plus* a referent) interaction. A number of PT spells confirm the fact that an emotive use is not original for *pn* (Edel (1964: 86 (§191)), Gardiner (1957: 87 (§112))). In these spells the earlier emotive *pw* was exchanged with *pn*:

ṯs ṯw ttj pw vs. *ṯs ṯw ppj pn*
Raise yourself, *o Teti*! vs. Raise yourself, *o Pepi (Neferkare)*!
(PT 365 T, P, M, N (Pyr. 622 a))

Such substitution, also occurring in the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Pepiankh in Meir, is explained by the fact that *pw* gradually becomes extinct in the literary discourse:

nfr.w(j) ṯw wr.t mḥꜥ pn
How great you are, *o flax*!
(Pepiankh (Heny the black), Pl. XXII, 3rd register from bottom)

Emotive *pn* occurs in Middle Egyptian religious and magical texts (Silverman 1980b: 42 (footnote 231); Lefebvre 1955: 63 (§101)).

Endophoric use

Anaphoric use: reference sequence N Ø→ N pn → N pw

In one of the most well-known biographical inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, the governor of Upper Egypt Harkhuf reports on his expeditions to Nubia. Harkhuf writes that he had dispatched a courtier to the residence to let the king Merenre know about his endeavors (Lichtheim 1973: 25). The courtier returns with a letter from the boy-king Pepi II Neferkare. In this letter, which is also included in the biographical inscription in Harkhuf's tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa (Assuan), the young pharaoh expresses his desire to see the dwarf (*dng*), whom Harkhuf has brought from the expedition:

ḏd.n.k [r] mḏꜣ.t.k tn
*wn.t jni.n.k **dng** jbꜣ.w nṯr m tꜣ-ꜣḫ.tjw (...)*
*jn n.k **dng pn** m ꜥ.k (...)*
*mri ḥm(.j) mꜣꜣ **dng pw** r jn.w bjꜣ.w pwn.t*
*jr spr-tꜣ.k r ẖnw sk **dng pw** m ꜥ.k ꜥnḫ(.w) wḏꜣ(.w) snb(.w) (...)*
*ḫft s.t-jb n.t ḥm(.j) r mꜣꜣ **dng pw***
You have said in this letter of yours,
that you have brought *a dwarf* of god's dances from the land of the horizon-dwellers (...)
Bring with you *this dwarf* who is in your charge (...)
My majesty desires to see *the dwarf* more than the tribute of Sinai and Punt.
If you arrive to the residence and *the dwarf* is alive, prosperous and healthy (...)
All because of the joy in the heart of my majesty to see *the dwarf*.
(Urk. I 128: 14-131: 3)

In this passage the word *dng* "dwarf" is first introduced unmarked (*dng Ø*), the next mention is with the adnominal demonstrative *pn* (*dgn pn*); all following attestations are accompanied by the

adnominal *pw*. Both *pn* and *pw* are anaphoric pronouns – they point at a previously mentioned referent - but there is the substantial difference in the way they do it. *Pn* draws *dng* into a common focus of attention of the writer and the addressee. Once *dng* as a discourse participant is established, it continues to be tracked, albeit with *pw* only.

Another example of a pragmatic difference between *pw* and *pn* in the endophoric context is provided by the Coptos decree B. This decree, inscribed on a limestone slab found during the excavations of the temple of Min in Coptos (Hayes 1946), grants tax immunity to the temple, confirming its exemption from the corvée work for the king Pepi II. Below the passages from the two versions of the decree – B and C – are counterpoised:

	Coptos decree B	Coptos decree C
1.	*jr nf ḏd.w ḫr ḥm(.j)* *wn.t ḫtm(.w) wḏ.w n.w nswt r **šmˁ.w***	*jr nf ḏd.w ḫr ḥm(.j)* *wn.t ḫtm(.w) wḏ.w r **šmˁ.w pw***
2.	*r jr.t hȝ(.w) n kȝ.t n.t nswt* *m fȝ.w šd.t kȝ.t nb.(t)* *wḏ.(y)t jr.t(w) m **šmˁ.w pn***	(...) *wḏ.(y)t jr.t(w) m **šmˁ.w pw***
3.	*sk ḏd.(w) r wḏ.w (j.)pf* *nfr jr.t ḥ.wt nb.(t) m nw.t n.(w)t ḥ.wt n.tt m **šmˁ.w pw***	(...) *nfr jr.t ḫ.wt nb(.t) jm-m nw.t n.(w)t ḥ.wt n.tt **šmˁ.w pw***
4.	*n rḏi.n ḥm(.j) jri rmṯ nb n.w bȝ.wj gbtw fȝ.w šd.t hȝ.w nb n kȝ.t nb(.t) jrr.t m **šmˁ.w pw***	(...) *wḏ.yt jrr.t m **šmˁ.w pw***
1.	Concerning that which was told by my majesty, (namely) that royal decrees concerning *Upper Egypt* had been sealed,	Concerning that which was told by my majesty, (namely) that decrees concerning *this Upper Egypt* had been sealed,
2.	in order that corvée for the king have to be done, such as transporting, digging and all sorts of work, commanded to be done in *this Upper Egypt,*	(...) commanded to be done in *this Upper Egypt*,
3.	whereby it is said in those decrees (that) no exemption shall be done in any town of exemption in *this Upper Egypt* –	(...) (that) no exemption shall be done in any town of exemption in *this Upper Egypt* -
4.	my majesty does not allow anybody of the Nome-of-the-two-bas of Coptos to do either transporting, digging or any corvée work, which is (habitually) done in *this Upper Egypt*.	(...) what was decreed to be done in *Upper Egypt*.
	(Urk. I 282: 15-283: 3)	(Urk. I 286: 7-287: 1)

The use of the demonstratives with the non-topical discourse item "Upper Egypt" (*šmˁ.w*) in Coptos B follows the pattern of the letter of Harkhuf: the first mention is unmarked, the second one signals

attention shift with *pn*, and all following attestations track the attention with *pw*: *šm.ʿw* Ø → *šmʿ.w pn* → *šmʿ.w pw*. Significant in this respect is the change in the use of the demonstrative pronouns in version C of the Coptos decree, issued 11 years after the original B (Hayes 1946: 8). Although the text of the passage is virtually identical, the endophoric reference chain is broken. *Šmʿ.w* "Upper Egypt" is always accompanied by *pw*, denoting a familiar exophoric entity, supposed to be known to the addressee.

The reference sequence *N pn* → *N pw* allows establishing the order of daily life scenes depicted in the Memphite tombs. In the tomb of Ti, for example, the north part of the chapel's east wall has ten registers devoted to the agricultural activities of the harvest season. The bottom register displays the final stages of harvesting – winnowing and raking the grain in the piles. In the beginning of the scene on the far left a woman, winnowing the corn, says:

> *f3 ʿ.t m **pn** jt*
> *jw.f ḏḥ3*
> Lift this barley!
> It is *ḏḥ3*.
> (Ti III, Pl. CLV, bottom register, left)[190]

On the right there are two almost identical episodes, in which men and a woman are brushing the grain rests together, while the corresponding captions read:

> *On the left:*
> *j3ḫ **jt***
> *jr.(.j) r ḥz.t.t*
> Sweeping *barley* together.
> I am doing it according to your wish!

> *On the right:*
> *j3ḫ s3(r) n **jt pw***
> *jr.(.j) r ḥz.t.t*
> Sweeping together and sieving of *the barley*.
> I am doing it according to your wish!
> (Ti III, Pl. CLV, bottom register, left)[191]

In chamber A 13 in the tomb of Mereruka, the central piece of the east wall shows several registers with agricultural occupations. The second register from the bottom is devoted to harvesting in the fields. One of the laborers, cutting the barley with a sickle, exclaims:

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[190] S. Gunnert (TLA) translates "Your hand carries this barley. It is threshed out (?)" ("Dein Arm trägt diese Gerste, sie ist ausgedroschen?":
http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetTextDetails?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=13220&db=0, accessed on 22.01.2020). Osirisnet reads "Lift the barley to clean it" (https://www.osirisnet.net/mastabas/ty/e_ty_05.htm, accessed on 22.01.2020).

[191] In the TLA, the sequence of scenes runs in the opposite direction – from right to left: "Grab des Tjy → Opferkammer → Ostwand → nördlicher Teil → 1. Register v.u. → 1. Szene v.r. (Fegen) [sweeping] → 2. Szene v.r. (Aufhäufeln) [piling up] → 3. Szene v.r. (Worfeln) [winnowing]:
http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/OTTree?u=guest&f=0&l=0&oc=13213&db=0, accessed on 22.01.2020). The order suggested here corresponds to the logical description of the scenes by Osirisnet (from left to right): first winnowing (*ḫ3ḫ3*) the barley, then raking together the grain piles (*jʿb ʿḥʿ.w*), sweeping (*j3ḫ*) and sieving (*s3r*) the rest.

*jw **jt pn** nfr wr.t n.tj-ḥnꜥ.(j)*
This barley is very good, comrade!
(Mereruka II, Pl. 83-84)

Behind him strides a supervisor (*zꜣb*), playing the flute, and another worker, who responds:

*jw **nw** nfr wr.t*
It is (indeed) very good![192]
(Mereruka II, Pl. 83)

The endophoric sequence *N pn → N pw* is attested in the oldest narratives of Egyptian written culture – the Pyramid Texts. In the passage below, *pn* is twice used exophorically, drawing the common attention to the deceased king Pepi I Meryre. It is followed by the expression *mr.y-rꜥw pw wꜥ jm.tn*, which is usually interpreted as a nominal *A pw B* clause with copula *pw*:

*n ḫsf.f **mr.y-rꜥw pn***
*n jr.w ꜥḥꜥ.w m **ppy pn***
***mr.y-rꜥw pw** wꜥ jm.tn nṯr.w*
This Meryre will not be barred;
Roadblocks will not be made against *this Pepi.*
This Meryre is one of you, gods.
(PT 569 P (Pyr. 1441 b-c))[193]

However, in a variant of this spell from the PT of Pepi II Merenre, *mr.y-rꜥw pw* is substituted with the 3rd person pronoun *swt*: *swt wꜥ jm.tn nṯr.w* "He is one of you, gods" (PT 569 M (Pyr. 1441 c)). This supports not the predicative but the adnominal reading of *pw*: both the recognitional demonstratives and the 3rd person pronouns track the established referents. The sentence *mr.y-rꜥw pw wꜥ jm.tn nṯr.w* is thus another example of a bi-membral nominal *A-B* clause, common to the Pyramid Texts (Edel 1964: 12, 481), where *pw* is an adnominal demonstrative tracking the referent Pepi/Meryre: "*This* Meryre is one of you, gods". The chapter *Predicative use,* dealing with the syntactic features of the attentional demonstratives, will demonstrate that a number of PT passages allow not the predicative, but the adnominal (*N pw*) and the determinative (*Ø pw + relative phrase*) reading of *pw*.

Discourse-deictic use

Pn in the endophoric, inter-textual context can also connect two discourse units, i.e. refer to propositions:

*rḫ sw rr(j) **r pn** n rꜥw*
*jri.f sn **ḥkꜣ.w jpn** n.w ḥr.w-ꜣḫ.tj*
wnn.f rr(j) m rḫ jn rꜥw
wnn.f m smr n ḥr.w-ꜣḫ.tj
The one who really knows it - *this spell* of Re
and who applies them - *these magic spells* of Harakhte.

---

[192] *Nw* can obviously refer to the flute-playing as well.
[193] Translation follows J. Allen and Der Manuelian (2005: 23:177).

He will really be familiar to Re,
He will be an acquaintance of Harakhte!
(PT 456 P (Pyr. 855 a-d))

In this passage the discourse-deictic expressions *r pn* "this spell" and *ḥkꜣw jpn* "these magic spells" point at three preceding recitations introduced in PT 456 P (Pyr. 852 a-854 e). Such a reference can also be cataphoric, announcing the upcoming discourse units. According to Mathieu (2016: 414), the phrase *mdw pn* "this speech" is used as cataphora in PT 460 P (Pyr. 868 c-869 b), PT 524 P (Pyr. 1238 b-c), PT 570 P (Pyr. 1461 a-b), while *nn* "this" serves a cataphora in PT 604 P (Pyr. 1680 d), PT 683 (Pyr. 2047 a-b).

Conclusions

This chapter argued for the existence in the Old Kingdom of the deictic system operating with the joint focus of attention of discourse participants. The major pragmatic feature of this system is the differentiation of referents according to the inclusion into the common attentional sphere of the communication partners, while the distance parameter is irrelevant.

The exophoric (extra-textual) context governs the distribution of *pw*, *tw*, *nw* and *pn*, *tn*, *nn* as follows:

- *Pn*, *tn*, *nn* focus attention on entities present (or imagined to be present) in the physical space-time of the speech event (*situational use*). They are a linguistic equivalent to finger pointing or eye gaze. *Pn* can refer to objects which in terms of a distance-based deictic paradigm are perceived to be contrastively proximal ("this") and distal ("that"), in which case the front-positioning of both terms is possible.

- *Pw*, *tw*, *nw* refer to the items which are already in the common attention focus of interlocutive partners. *Pw* signals to the addressee their familiarity with the referent. The discourse item's recognizability can be based on the immediate situational experience or on the shared cultural background. The recognitional *pw*, *tw*, *nw* can often be translated with the definite article.

- Another type of non-deictic and non-anaphoric use of *pw* is *emotive*. It is often employed in a dyadic (referent = addressee) interaction and can thus be translated with the 2nd person pronoun "you".

The endophoric (intra-textual) context regulates the use the demonstratives as follows:

- *N Ø* introduces a new discourse item (both topical and non-topical).

- *N pn* "activates" this discourse item, bringing it into the common focus of attention.

- *N pw* tracks the referent, which is in the current attention focus. In this sense, *pw* is functionally close to the definite article.

The investigation has shown that the deictic system based on a joint attention focus is present in the oldest Egyptian written sources – the Pyramid Texts, but also appears in the colloquial register of the

Fifth and Sixth dynasties, such as the scenes of daily life in the tomb inscriptions. It can even be traced in the official written communication, such as letters and decrees composed in the residence.

Relative distance system

The analysis of the pragmatic context of *f*-series demonstratives is essential for understanding the emergence of distance deictica in Egyptian. Kahl's data suggest that *pf, tf, nf* are relative newcomers: first occurrence of *pw* in Saqqara-Abydos region are dated to the First Dynasty, while *pf* is conspicuously absent in Earlier Egyptian (Kahl 2002: 149). According to Pätznick, *pf* is first attested considerably later – in the Third or Fourth Dynasty – and, interestingly, in a different region – at Elephantine (Pätznick 2005: 1339:199–201). In the following chapter I will analyze the emergence and gradual expansion of *pf* in exophoric and endophoric contexts as it substitutes both *pw* and *pn*. *Pf* disturbs the attentional balance between *pw* and *pn*, and establishes a new deictic paradigm. (maybe too early – precedes the conclusion)?

Exophoric use

Pyramid texts of Unis

Pf appears in the Pyramid Texts of Unis a total five times. One occurrence of *tf* is uncertain:

1. PT 215 W (Pyr. 142 c):   *pf*
2. PT 284 W (Pyr. 425 d):   *pf*
3. PT 269 W (Pyr. 380 b):   *jpf*
4. PT 269 W (Pyr. 382 a):   *pf*
5. PT 270 W (Pyr. 387 c):   *pf*
6. PT 278 W (Pyr. 419 b) (?):   *tf*

These require a closer inspection.

> (1)
> *ms(i.w) n.k **pf** jwr(.w) n.k **pn***
> *msi.k ḥr.w m rn.f*
> *nwrw n.f tꜣ sdꜣw n.f p.t*
> *That one* has been born to you; *this one* has been conceived to you.
> For you have given birth to Horus in his identity/name,
> At which the earth shakes and the sky trembles.
> (PT 215 W (Pyr. 142 c-143 a))

In the first line of the passage, the pronominal demonstratives *pn* and *pf* make the contrastive reference to Horus and Seth (Allen and Der Manuelian 2005: 23:32). Sethe notes that *pf* here is the correction of the original *pn*: "Statt *pf* stand ursprünglich *pn* da, das korrigiert worden ist" (Sethe 1935a: 27)[194]. Allen classifies this as a case of "rewording" (Allen 2017a: 16). Indeed, in the lines that follow, for the same contrastive purpose *pn* alone is used:

> *n jj **pn** n nkn **pn** tꜣz-pḫr*
> *n nkn.k n jj.k*

---

[194] Sethe interprets *msi.k ḥrw* as passive and inserts [*jwr.k stš m rn.f*] before *sdꜣw n.f p.t* in Pyr. 143 a:
  "Born were you, Horus, as the one whose name is 'at whom the earth shakes'
  [Conceived were you, Seth, as the one whose name is] 'at whom the sky trembles'"
  (Sethe 1935a: 16).

That one has no hurt, *this one* has no injury – and vice versa.
(Therefore) you have no injury, you have no hurt.
(PT 215 W (143 b))

Pf supplants *pn* in cases where within the attentional system the deictic contrast was expressed with *pn* alone (compare PT 305 W (Pyr. 472 a-d) mentioned in chapter *Situational use of pn/tn/nn*). *Pf* also inherits the syntactic role of *pn* as adnominal or pronominal demonstrative[195].

(2)
pf *rw m-ẖnw* **pn** *rw*
That lion is inside of *this lion*.
(PT 284 W (Pyr. 425 d))

The pragmatic features (deictic contrast) and the syntactic properties (front-positioning of the demonstrative) suggest the emendation of the original *pn N - pn N* also in this spell, whose topic is defined by Sethe (1935b: 191) as a "retaliation and mutual consumption in nature" ("Wiedervergeltung und gegenseitiges Auffressen in der Natur"). From the functional perspective, the demonstrative *pf* here aligns with *pn* and signals an attentional focus shift. It is therefore important to observe that in the next cases *pf* appears in the contexts, which have been described as a domain of the *recognitional* demonstrative *pw*:

(3-4)

(Pyr. 380 a-b)	*nḏrw n.f jtj wnjs jtm.w ꜥ n wnjs*
	sjp.f wnjs n **nṯr.w jpf** *sbḳ.jw sꜣꜣ.jw j.ḥm.w-sk*
(Pyr. 381 a-d)	*mw.t wnjs jpy jm n wnjs pn* **mnḏ.t pw**
	ḏꜣi n.f sw wnjs pn tp r.f
	snḳ wnjs **jrt.t.t jptw** *ḥḏj.t sšp.t bnj.t*
(Pyr. 382 a-b)	*tꜣ* **pf** *j.šm wnjs jm.f*
	n jbi wnjs jm.f n ḥḳr wnjs jm.f ḏ.t
(Pyr. 380 a-b)	Unis' father Atum will take the arm of Unis
	And allot Unis to *those* wise and experienced *gods*, the Imperishable Stars.
(Pyr. 381 a-d)	Unis' mother Ipi, give this Unis *that breast of yours*,
	That this Unis may transport it to his mouth
	That Unis may suck *that* white, dazzling, sweet *milk of yours*.
(Pyr. 382 a-b)	*Yonder land* in which Unis goes,
	Unis will not thirst in it, Unis will not hunger in it, forever.
	(PT 269 W (Pyr. 380 a-b-382 a-b))

In the passage above *pf* and *pw* do not stand in explicit contrast to *pn*; they accompany unique entities, easily recognizable in the given cultural context. The following Coffin Text spells confirm that a recognitional *pw* can, indeed, be replaced with *pf* and its variant *pfꜣ* (Vernus 1990b: 33):

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[195] Examples of pre-posed *pn* and *pf* are not restricted to Unis:
  m pn gs rs.j (...) *m pf gs mḥ.tj* (...)
  On *this* southern side (...) on *that* northern side (...)
  (PT 555 P, M, N (Pyr. 1376 c-1377 c))
The syntactically regular post-posed contrastive *pf/pn* are attested in Pyr. 684 b:
  z pf j.šm z pn j.jw
  That is the one who went, *this* is the one who came.
  (PT 390 T (Pyr. 684 b))

> *jri.tn nw r.j jrw.tn r **wr.w (j)pw** rḫ.w tn* (B2Bo)
> *jri.tn nw r.s jrw.tn r **wr.w jpf** rḫ.w tn* (B4C)
> So that you may do for me/her what you do to *those powerful* ones who know you.
> (CT VI 152 j - 153 a)

> *sy pw **nṯr pw** rḫ wj* (M2C)
> *sy pw **pf₃ nṯr** rḫ tw* (T1Be)
> Who is *that God* who knows me/you?
> (CT V 111 f)

Vernus (1990b: 36–37) notes, that the phrase *hrw pf* ("that day") frequently replaces *hrw pw* ("the day of ..."), while this substitution never happens with the deictic *hrw pn* ("this day"):

> *hrw pw n smₐ.t tₐ.wy* (T1Cᵇ)
> *hrw pf n smₐ.t tₐ.wy* (B3C)
> That day of unification of two lands.
> (CT IV 318 a)

This suggests that *nṯr.w jpf* "those gods" (Pyr. 380 a-b) and *tₐ pf* "yonder land" (Pyr. 382 a-b) in §§ 3-4 above should be the emendations of the original **nṯr.w jpw* "the gods" and **tₐ pw* "the land". This hypothesis is supported by the correction of *jtj.f* "his father" to *jtj wnjs* "Unis' father" in Pyr. 380 (a-b). In contrast, Pyr. 381 (a-d) containing *mw.t wnjs* "Unis' mother" and *mnḏ.t pw* "that breast of yours" was not corrected (Sethe 1935b: 109, 111). Sethe observes that Pyr. 380 and 382 are only vaguely logically connected to Pyr. 381 and claims that different sources were used for the composition of the spell[196].

The fifth occurrence of *pf* is again a recognitional and not a spatial demonstrative:

> (5)
> *jy.n wnjs ḫr.k*
> *dₐi.k sw m **mḫn.t tw** dₐₐ.t.k nṯr.w jm.s*
> *jy.n wnjs n **gs.f** mj jw.t nṯr n **gs.f** (...)*
> *sw.t dₐi.f wnjs jr **gs pf***
>
> *(Addressing the ferryman of the underworld)*
> Unis has come to you,
> That you may transport him in *the ferryboat* in which you transport the gods.
> Unis has come to *his side* like a god's coming to *his side*.
> (... So, should you not transport Unis, he will jump up and put himself on a wing of Thoth)
> And he is the one who will transport Unis to *that side*.
> (PT 270 W (Pyr. 384 a-387 c))

Although the contrastive spatial use of *pn gs/pf gs* is indeed well-known (e.g. *m pn gs rs.j (...) m pf gs mḥ.tj (...)*) "on this southern side (...) on that northern side (...)" (PT 555 P, M, N (Pyr. 1376 c-1377 c)),

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[196]"[..] es könnte sich darin aber zugleich auch eine Verschiedenheit der Quellen verraten, die ja zwischen 381 und 380 b offenbar besteht und auch gegenüber von 382 b wohl denkbar ist; denn diese Sätze stehen doch nur sehr indirekt in Bezug zu 381 und die 1. Person passt für sie minder gut" (Sethe 1935b: 112)

in the example above the referent of *gs pf* is the same as the aforementioned *gs.f* "his (yonder) side". It is the abode of the deceased where Unis should be carried over to. The recognitional function of *pf* is indicated by its syntactic position - it follows the noun, while the contrastive *pf* precedes the noun. *Gs pf* in fact regularly replaces *gs pw* and *gs Ø* in the phrase "the eastern side of the sky":

gs Ø jꜣb.tj n p.t	(PT 265 P (Pyr. 353 a))
*gs **pw** jꜣb.tj n p.t*	(PT 472 P (Pyr. 928 a))
*gs **pf** jꜣb.tj n p.t*	(PT 264 T (Pyr. 344 a))

Allen (2017a: 40) provides another example of the demonstrative of the *-f* series in Unis:

(6)
ꜥḥꜥ bꜣbj ḫsf m ḫnt.j ḥm
hn tf hn tn mry.tj mry.tj
fḫ.tj wfj jm mk.tj wnjs

Baboon has stood up against the foremost of Letopolis,
Whom the spit protects. This (spit) protects all (my) beloved.
You are released, *wfj*-snake: let Unis be protected.
(PT 278 W (Pyr. 419 a-c))

Allen translates the phrase *hn tf hn tn* in Pyr. 419 b as "that one ululates, this one ululates". I follow Sethe (1935b: 180, 182) in interpreting *tf* here as noun "spit", proven by the presence of the determinative D26 ⌒. The numbers of the demonstratives of *f*-series are increasing in the Pyramid Texts after Unis. The table below presents the known attestations and includes the accompanying nouns and their translations[197]:

Table 57 Demonstratives of *f*-series in the Pyramid Texts

	Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith
pf	5	12 [+1]	28 [+6]	8 [+1]	20 [+8]	4 [+1]
tf	[1]	1	3 [+2]	1 [+1]	5	-
nf	-	-	-	-	-	-
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
PT 71B (1a)	-	-	[*ꜥḥꜥ pf*][198]	-	[*ꜥḥꜥ pf*]	*ꜥḥꜥ pf*
PT 71B (6a)	-	-	[*pd pf*][199]	-	[*pd pf*]	*pd pf*

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[197] The table is based on the TLA data, retrieved on 30.01.2020, and compared with Allen (2013a). Hyphen ("-") stands for the spells not attested in the given pyramid, the values in squared brackets (e.g. [*ꜥḥꜥ pf*]) show the restored lacunae.
[198] "That one who stood up".
[199] "That *pd*".

Table 57 Demonstratives of *f*-series in the Pyramid Texts

	Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith
PT 71B (7a)			[*pf*][200]	-	[*pf*]	*pf*
PT 215 (Pyr. 142 c)	*pf*	[*pf*]	[*pf*]	-	*pf*	[*pf*]
PT 269 (Pyr. 380 b)	*nṯrw jpf*[201]	-	[*nṯrw jp*]*f*	*nṯrw jpf*	.	-
PT 269 (Pyr. 382 a)	*t3 pf*[202]	-	*t3 pf*	*t3 pf*	-	-
PT 270 (Pyr. 387 c)	*gs pf*[203]	-	*gs pf*	*gs pf*	*gs pf*	-
PT 277 (Pyr. 418 a)	(*ḥr.w*)[204]	(*ḥr.w*)	-	-	-	*ḫft pf*[205]
PT 278 (Pyr. 419 b)	(*tf*)[206]	-	-	-	-	-
PT 284 (Pyr. 425 d)	*pf rw*[207]	-	*pf rw*	-	-	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 594b)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-	*pf gs*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 594d)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-	*pf gs*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 594e)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-	*pf gs*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 594f)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-	*pf gs*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 595b)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-	*pf gs*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 596b)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-	*pf gs*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 598a)	-	*ꜥḥ pf*[208]	*ꜥḥ pf*	-	*ꜥḥ pf*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 599b)	-	*mẖn.t tf*[209]	*mẖn.t tf*	-	*mẖn.t tf*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 599d)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-	*pf gs*	-
PT 359 (Pyr. 600b)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-	*pf gs*	-

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[200] "That one".
[201] „Those gods".
[202] "That land".
[203] "That side".
[204] „Horus (has fallen because of his eye)".
[205] „That enemy (has fallen because of his eye)".
[206] "That one" according to Allen (2017a: 40), but Sethe (1935b: 182) reads "spit".
[207] „That lion".
[208] „That palace".
[209] "That ferry-boat".

Table 57 Demonstratives of *f*-series in the Pyramid Texts

	Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith
PT 363 (Pyr. 607c)	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	[*pf gs*]	*pf gs*	-
PT 390 (Pyr. 684d)	-	*z pf*[210]	-	-	-	-
PT 441 (Pyr. 817b)	-	-	*w3.t (t)f*[211]	*w3.t tf*	*w3.t tf*	
PT 470 (Pyr. 916b)	-	-	*nh.t tf*[212]	*nh.t* [*tf*]	*nh.t tf*	
PT 472 (Pyr. 925c)	-	*gs pf*	*gs pf*	*gs pf*	*gs pf*	-
PT 478 (Pyr. 972b-c)	-	-	-	*gs.f*	*gs pf*	-
PT 508 (Pyr. 1108a-b)	-	-	*mw.t.f {j}tf*[213]	-	*mw.t.f tf*	-
PT 509 (Pyr. 1124a)	-	-	*ḫnd.w jpf*[214]	-	-	-
PT 509 (Pyr. 1125a)	-	-	*s.t.f*	-	*s.t tf*[215]	
PT 513 (Pyr. 1174a)	-	-	*wr p*[*f*][216]	-	*wr pf*	-
PT 531 (Pyr. 1254c)	-	-	*pf gs*	*gs pf*	*gs pf*	-
PT 555 (Pyr. 1377c)	-	-	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	*pf gs*	-
PT 556 (Pyr. 1382d-e)	-	-	*gs pf*	-	[*g*]*s* [*pf*]	-
PT 556 (Pyr. 1383a)	-	-	[*gs pf*]	-	*gs pf*	-
PT 556 (Pyr. 1383a)	-	-	*bw pf*[217]	-	[*bw pf*]	-
PT 556 (Pyr. 1383e-f)	-	-	*gs pf*	-	[*gs pf*]	-
PT 556 (Pyr. 1383e-f)	-	-	[*bw pf*]	-	*bw pf*	-

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[210] „That one" (lit. „that man").

[211] *W3.t tf* „that road" is spelled as *w3.t.f* "his road" in Pepi I. This does not match the semantics of the sentence: "The earth has been hacked for you and a presented offering laid down for you before you, and you will go on *his road/that road on which the gods go" (Allen and Der Manuelian 2005: 23:107 [37]). Similarly in PT 509 (Pyr. 1125 a), which has *s.t.f* "his seat" (Pepi I) and *s.t tf* (Pepi II).

[212] „That sycamore".

[213] „That mother of him".

[214] „That throne".

[215] „That place".

[216] „That great one".

[217] „That place".

Table 57 Demonstratives of *f*-series in the Pyramid Texts

	Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith
PT 556 (Pyr. 1384a)	-	-	*gs pf*	-	[*gs pf*]	-
PT 568 (Pyr. 1433b)	-	-	*gs pf*	-	[*gs pf*]	-
PT 568 (Pyr. 1433c)	-	-	*gs pf*	-	*gs pf*	-
PT 570B (Pyr. 1462c)	-	-	*sẖt pf*[218]	*sẖt pf*	-	-
PT 1025 (P/A/S 13)	-	-	[*wj*]ꜣ *pf*[219]	-	-	-
PT 1064 (P/V/E 43)	-	-	*gs pf*	-	-	-

The following observations can be made:

- The spells where *f*-series are attested in Unis, continue to be used in Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II and Neith. The spells containing *pf/tf* in Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II and Neith, on the other hand, are not present in the Unis version.

- The passages which initially included *NØ* can be re-interpreted with *N pf /tf*, e.g.

  ḫr ḫr n jr.t.f (W, T)
  ḫr ḫft(.j) pf n jr.t.f (Nt)
  Horus / that enemy has fallen because of his eye.
  (PT 277 (Pyr. 418 a))

  *ny.n sw sn.f stẖ ḥr gs.f m **gs.f** n gḥs.tj* (M)
  *ny.n sw sn.f stẖ ḥr gs.f m **gs pf** n gḥs.tj* (N)
  His brother Seth has cast him on his side in *his/that side* of Gazelle-land
  (PT 478 (Pyr. 972 b-c))

  *ꜥḥꜥ.f jr jm **s.t.f** šw.t* (P)
  *ꜥḥꜥ jr.f NN m **s.t tf** šw.t* (N)
  He/NN will stand up in *his / that empty place*
  (PT 509 P (Pyr. 1125 a))

- Pre-posed emphatic *pf* can in later version be moved to the standard position of an enclitic:

  *dy sw m **pf gs*** (P)
  *dy sw m **gs pf*** (M, N)
  Put him on *that side*

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[218] „That circumcised one".
[219] „That (processional) [ba]rk".

(PT 531 (Pyr. 1254 c))

Albeit the use of *f*-series is indeed increasing after Unas, *pf/tf/nf* can hardly be used as markers of the younger age of the spells. Those may as well represent the *newer editions* of the ancient texts, as exemplified by PT 215 W (Pyr. 142 c- 143 a) above. Kahl (1995a) came to the similar conclusions in his analysis of PT 302-312. He found out that the spell versions in the pyramids of Merenre (M), Pepi II (N) and Neith (Nt) derive from one source *(Vorlage δ)*, while the spells in Unis and Teti originate from another *Vorlage β*. The texts in Unis were subsequently emended and these changes mirror the version attested in the Twelfth-Dynasty tomb of Sesostrisankh in Lisht (*Vorlage γ*). It is important that *Vorlage δ* of Merenre, Pepi II and Neith, according to a number of linguistic features, corresponds to the original (non-emended) *Vorlage β* of Unis ("Deviationslisten" γ, ε, ζ, η (Kahl 1995a: 207–9)). In one case *Vorlage δ* even shows the older text still written in the 1st person, while in Unis it was corrected to the 3rd person: *jn.t(.j) n.k sy mẖn.t* vs. *jn.t wnjs n.k sy mẖn.t* "Which ferry should *I/Unis* bring to you?" (PT 310 W, P, M, N (Pyr. 494 a)).

Tomb inscriptions and royal decrees

The restrained use of the distal deictics *pf/tf/nf* in the Pyramid Texts is mirrored by their scarcity in the Old Kingdom *Reden und Rufen*. Motte (2018: 1261) observed five occurrences in total - all appearing in the tombs of Memphite region in the scenes of boat navigation. In contrast to Pyramid Texts these are post-posed, i.e. with demonstratives following the head noun:

1. Ti II, Pl. CXI, bottom register   *z pf*   "that man"
2. Mehu, Taf. 20 a, upper register   *dp.t tf* "that boat"
3. Merefnebef, Pl. 17 a, bottom register   [*nr*] *pf* "that herdsman"
4. Merefnebef, Pl. 17 b, bottom register   *nr pf*   "that herdsman"
5. Merefnebef, Pl. 17 b, bottom register   *pḥ pf*   "that swamp" (?)

The inscriptions in the tomb of Ti display a variety of deictic forms and functions. The abundance of *w*- and *n*-series demonstratives is contrasted by the fact that *pf*, *tf*, *nf* occur only once:

Table 58 Demonstratives in the tomb of Ti[220]

	pw	*pn*	*j-ptn*	*nn*	*nw*	*tw*	*pf*
Number of attestations	27	7	1	5	1	2	1
Share of the attestations	61.36 %	15.91 %	2.27 %	11.36 %	2.27 %	4.54 %	2.27 %

On the north wall of Ti's chapel (4th register from the bottom, east (right) side, the rightmost scene) two boats are displayed, while fishermen lean over lowering a keep-net to the bottom of the shallow

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[220] The TLA data, retrieved on 30.01.2020. TLA erroneously shows one example of the demonstrative *t3*, which is *tw* in the original:

    grg sḳ.t tw r mnḫ

    Lay the fish trap thoroughly!

    (Ti I: Pl. IX)

water. Oarsmen at the stern are struggling to keep the boats steady in the current. The fisherman in the right-hand boat addresses the oarsmen next to him:

> *ḫn wr.t n.tj-ḥnꜥ.(j)*
> *jm smn.sn mnḫ*
> Row strong, (my) friend!
> Make them [i.e. boats] stay together properly!
> (Ti II, Pl. CXI, lower register, right)

The oarsman of the left boat exclaims, referring to his counterpart in the adjacent craft:

> *ḫn.(j) jw.(j) ḫn.n.(j) wr.t ḥr z pf*
> I row, having rowed strongly like *that man*![221]
> (Ti II, Pl. CXI, lower register, middle)

The context of this scene suggests both a distal and a recognitional reading of *pf*. In the tomb of Mehu in the navigation episode depicted on the south wall of the corridor, the pilot calls attention of the crew to the oncoming boat:

> *j ḥn ṯw n.tj-ḥnꜥ.(j) n dp.t tf nt.tm ḫs[f.t]*
> Hey, back off, (my) comrade, from *that boat* that goes up the current.
> (Mehu, Taf. 20 a, upper register)

Pf occurs three times in the tomb of Merefnebef in the entrance passageway. The boats, carrying the statues of the deceased, are close to landing, with the porter overladen with offerings expecting them on the shore. The captions read:

> *jn r tꜣ [nr] pf n.tj jn.n.f nḏ.t-ḥr ffj*
> Bring down *that [herdsman]*, who brought a present for Fefi.
> (Merefnebef, Pl. 17 a, bottom register)

> *jn nr pf n.tj ḫr nḏ.t-ḥr*
> Bring *that herdsman*, who carries a present.
> (Merefnebef, Pl. 17 a, bottom register)

> *jr tꜣ-wr n pḥ pf*
> Towards the larboard side because of *that swamp* (?)
> (Merefnebef, Pl. 17 b, bottom register)

The distal contrast – transposed to the temporal dimension - governs the use of *pf/nf* in Coptos decree B. *Pn* in this text points at the current decree (*wḏ nswt pn* "this royal decree" (Urk. I 282: 10)), while the earlier proclamations are referred to with *pf* (*wḏ.w (j.)pf* "those decrees" (Urk. I 282: 18)) and *nf* (*nf ḏd.w ḥr ḥm(.j)* "that which was told by (my) majesty" (Urk. I 282: 15)). The interaction of the contrastive demonstratives is of pragmatic importance: the current document, granting the tax immunity to the temple of Min, overwrites the former regulation, stating that "no exemption shall be done in any town of exemption in this Upper Egypt" (Urk. I 283: 1). The writer of the Coptos decree C, composed 11 years later, not only misunderstood the endophoric reference chain *šmꜥ.w* → *šmꜥ.w pn* → *šmꜥ.w pw*, substituting it with an exophoric recognitional *šmꜥ.w pw* (discussed above),

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[221] Erman (1919: 261) reads: „„Rudere!" -„(und) ich rudere (doch) sehr" – sagt jener Mann da."

but also amended *wḏ.w* (*j.*) *pf* ("those decrees") with *wḏ pn* ("this decree" (Urk. I 286: 16)). The original meaning of *wḏ.w* (*j.*)*pf* was apparently not clear to him anymore.

The introduction of the new demonstrative *f-* series unbalances the system of attentional deictica. We have seen that in the exophoric context, *pf* can stand both for a situational *pn* (attention shift) and for a recognitional *pw* (attention tracking). The emphatic strengthening of the deictic expressions produces confusion: in the pair *pw-pn*, *pn* is the stronger member, while in the *pn-pf* paradigm *pn* is the weaker term. Several phenomena prove that in the literary discourse *pn* loses its ability to mark the attentional focus shift and is used as a *neutral* proximal demonstrative. Such is the case with the frequent expressions "I made *this tomb*" and "Whoever enters *this tomb*" (Kloth 2002: 122–25), where *jz pw* initially renders the writer's assumption about the reader's familiarity with the edifice (see example from the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Hetepherakhet in Saqqara on page 120). The use of a recognitional *pw* in these expressions is rapidly declining and the Sixths dynasty tombs of Ankhmahor in Saqqara and Ibi in Deir el-Gebrawi use neutral proximal *pn* in the same context:

> *jr rmṯ nb ꜥḳ.tj.sn r jz pn m ꜥb.sn* (...)
> With regard to any persons who shall enter *this tomb* in an impure state (...)
> (Urk. I 142: 16) (Urk. I 202: 3)[222]

The process of the expansion of "neutral" *pn* is evident in the mastaba of Ti. *Pn* is attested seven times in this tomb - four of which in the expression *jz pn* "this tomb", occurring in the well-known "address to the visitors" inscribed in the entrance passageway to the pillared hall (Wild 1959: 104–5 (lines 2, 7, 11 and 13)). The demonstrative *pw*, omnipresent in the decoration of Ti's chapel, does not occur at all in this initiatory text. The same development is observed with a feminine form *tw*, which is taken over by *tn*. The wall fragment of the tomb from the time of Khufu (Fourth Dynasty) witnesses *nw.t tw n.t nb.j* "the city of my lord", while the identical expression on the right jamb of the entrance of the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Abdu in Giza utilizes *tn*:

> *jri.n.*(*j*) *jz pw m **nw.t tw** n.t nb.j* (..)
> (I) made this tomb in *this city* of my lord (...)
> (Urk. I 154: 15)

> *jri.n.*(*j*) *jz pw m **nw.t tn** n.t nb.j* (..)
> (I) made this tomb in *this city* of my lord (...)
> (Abú-Bakr 1953: 73 (Fig. 47:1))

The examples show the erosion of the attentional concepts, as this deictic category becomes pragmatically irrelevant in the standard literary discourse of the Sixth dynasty. Pushed out by *pn*, *pw* is confined to the predicative role. A diachronic analysis of a phrase *ḥꜣm pj ḥb pj* "What a fishing, what a catch!", done by Motte (2017), shows that *pj* in it is gradually taken over by *pw*, the process starting in the Fifth Dynasty[223]:

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[222] Also the bespoken Harkhuf in Qubbet el-Hawa (Sixth Dynasty) uses *jz pn*in the restored expression *jr rmṯ nb ꜥḳ.tj.fj r jz* [*pn m ꜥb.f* (...)] (Urk. I 122: 14).

[223] The complete expression is *jwi.s jni.n.s nn ḥb nfr*(.*w*) *ḥꜣm pj ḥb pj* "It comes bringing this nice catch. What a fishing! What a catch!". Motte (2017) treats the first part as two clauses ("It comes bringing these. The catch is nice."). Yet as the demonstrative pronoun *nn* (*n*) can introduce both singular and plural noun phrases, and

Table 59 Substitution of *pj* by *pw*

Tomb	Location, King (Dyn.)	Expression	
Neferiretinef	Saqqara, Neferkare (V)	*jni.s jni.n.s nn ḥb nfr* It *brings bringing* this nice catch[224]	*ḥ3m pj ḥb pj* *What* a fishing! What a catch!
Niankhkhnum /Khnumhotep	Saqqara, Niuserre (V)	*jwi.s jni.n.s ḥb nfr* It comes bringing a nice catch.	*ḥ3m pw n.t(j)-ḥnꜤ* *What* a finishing, comrade!
Ti	Saqqara, Niuserre (V)	*jwi.s jni.n.s ḥb nfr* It comes bringing a nice catch.	-
Irenkaptah	Saqqara (mid. V)	-	*ḥ3m pj ḥb* [*pj*] *What* a fishing! *What* a catch!
Ptahhotep Iinankh	Saqqara (late V)	*ḥb nfr pw* *It is* a nice catch!	[*ḥ3*]*m* [*pw*] *What* a fishing!
Sekhemka	Giza (late V – early VI)	*jwi.s jni.n.s ḥb nfr* It comes bringing a nice catch.	*ḥ3m p(w) ḥb pw* *What* a fishing! *What* a catch!
Kagemni	Saqqara, Teti (VI)	*jwi.s jni.n.s ḥb nfr* It comes bringing a nice catch.	*ḥb pw* *What* a catch!
Pepiankh the Old	Meir, Pepi II (VI)	*ḥb nfr pw* *It is* a nice catch!	-
Pepiankh the Middle	Meir, Pepi II (VI)	*jw.s jn.n.s nn ḥb nfr* It comes bringing this nice catch	-

Endophoric use

The use of *pf* with contrasted referents is not limited to exophoric contexts. Such a contrast can be applied to the referents anchored in the text. The biographic inscription of Harkhuf, containing the letter from Pepi II with the endophoric sequence *dng Ø → dng pn→ dng pw,* uses demonstrative *pf* to distinguish the ruler of Yam from other Nubian rulers. The fact that *ḥk3 j3m pf* "that ruler of Yam"

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genitive *n* can occasionally be omitted (e.g. *nn jr.t ḥrw* "this eye of Horus" (PT 689 N (Pyr. 2090 a))), *nn ḥb nfr(.w)* may as well belong together: "this nice catch".

[224] The original phrase *jni.s jni.n.s nn* occurring in the tomb of Neferiretinef is not a missspelling of the later *jwi.s jni.n.s nn* but an intriguing case of the *sḏm.f sḏm.n.f* "it brings bringing" or, alternatively, "it brings having brought", echoing the use of the complement infinitive: *nḥ.n.t sw nḥw.t* "you have spit him out spitting" (PT 669 N (Pyr. 1965 a)). Another possible example of *sḏm.f sḏm.n.f* is *jn jn.n tw stḫ n Ꜥḥꜥ.k* "Seth has chopped you up chopping and you will not stand up (again)" (PT 385 T (Pyr. 678 c)). Wörterbuch, however, treats this passage as the only attestation of the verb *jnjn* "cut up" in the Old Kingdom, reappearing only in Ptolemaic texts (Wb I 94: 10). See also the phrase *ẖn.(j) jw.(j) ẖn.n.(j)* "I row, having rowed strongly" in the tomb of Ti (page 138).

does not render the physical distance of *jȝm*, but reflects the author's attitude, is confirmed by the phrase *ḫȝs.t tn* ("this foreign country"), which is used in reference to both *jȝm* (Urk. I 124: 11-12) and *jrṯt* (Urk I 125: 6, 9):

1st mention	2nd mention
gmi.n.(j) ḥḳȝ jȝm šm rf r tȝ ṯmḥ (...) (I) found that *the ruler of Yam* had gone off to the Tjemeh-land (...) (Urk. I 125: 15)	*jḫr sḥtp.n.(j) ḥḳȝ jȝm pf* (...) Now when (I) satisfied *that ruler of Yam* (...) (Urk. I 126: 11)
jḫr mȝȝ ḥḳȝ jrṯt sṯw wȝwȝ.t (...) Now when the ruler of Irtjet, Setju and Wawat saw that (...) (Urk. I 127: 4)	*wn.jn [ḥḳȝ] pn ḥr zb.t* (...) Thereupon this [ruler] escorted (me) (...) (Urk. I 127: 7)

As mentioned above, the appearance of the emphatic *pf* affected the role of *pn* – it became a weaker member of the deictic paradigm. It is not surprising then that it is *pf* which now introduces the discourse items and *pn* which tracks them (cf. Edel (1964: 85 (§186)). This *alternative* endophoric reference chain is attested in the tomb of Nikaiankh from the South Egyptian Tehna (Minya) at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty already:

1st mention	Following mentions
ḥm.w-nṯr jr.w.n.(j) (j)pw m ms.w.(j) n ḏ.t *r wˁb n ḥw.t-ḥr.w*	*ḥm.(w)-kȝ jpf jr.w.n.(j) ḫr-ˁ.f* (...) *n rḏ.n.(j) sḫm.f m ḥm.(w)-kȝ jpn r kȝ.t nb.t ḥȝw pr.t-ḫrw*
These are *the priests*, whom I have set up from among my children for the funerary estate, so that they might serve as priests for Hathor (Urk. I 25: 2-3).	*Those ka-priests*, whom I placed under his command (...) I do not allow that he commands *these ka-priests* with respect to any work apart from invocation-offerings (Urk. I 162: 13-17)[225].

Exactly the same sequence is attested in another tomb in the South – that of Sabni from Qubbet el-Hawa. In his autobiographic inscription, Sabni recounts on transporting the body of his father Mekhu, who died in Nubia, to Elephantine. In this part of the story Sabni's father is first brought into the narrative with [*jtj.j*] "[my father]" (Urk. I 136: 3), then reader's attention is focused on the referent with *jtj.(j) pf* "that father (of mine)" (Urk. I 136: 10-11), who is then tracked with expressions containing *pn*: *jtj.(j) pn* "this father of mine" (Urk. I 137: 12; Urk. I 139: 1; Urk. I 139: 5), *smr-wˁ.tj pn* "this sole companion" (Urk. I 136: 16) and *mḫw pn* "this Mekhu" (Urk. I 138: 1).

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[225] As observed by Edel, *ḥm(.w)-kȝ jpf* refer to the list of the ka-priests, constituted by the children of Nikaianch, mentioned in the first (upper) tomb: "Auf eine Liste von Totenpriestern verweist auch das bezeichnende *jpf* in *ḥm-kȝ(.w)jpf* 'jene Totenpriester' in den Totenkultbestimmungen des Grabes II, das im Grunde ja nur verständlich ist, wenn die Totenpriester schon irgendwo im Grab vorkamen" (Edel 1981: 57). The arrangement of the inscription in the tomb shown by Lefebvre and Nouve (1919: 33) and mentioned by Sethe (Urk I 162, note E) favors Edel's interpretation rather than Strudwick's (2005: 195). The latter translates *ḥm(.w)-kȝ jpf* in singular "that ka-priest", which suggests the existence of another ka-priest, who would be in charge of the group. Yet the text is unambiguous: the cult management is in the hand of the elder son of Niankhkai.

The tracking function of the endophoric *pn* is prominent in another well-known Sixth-Dynasty tomb from the South – of the governor of Upper Egypt, Weni. I have observed above how differently the Coptos decrees B and C treated the referent *šmꜥ.w* "Upper Egypt": Coptos B used the endophoric reference chain *šmꜥ.w Ø → šmꜥ.w pn→ šmꜥ.w pw*, while Coptos C utilized *šmꜥ.w pw* only. The autobiographic inscription of Weni in his tomb in Abydos disregards these fine pragmatic parameters:

Autobiography of Weni

1.	*jr.k(wj) n.f jm.j-r **šmꜥ.w** r ḥr.t* *r nfr wdd jm.f m sn-nw.[f]*	I governed *Upper Egypt* for him in peace, so that no one therein attacked his fellow.
2.	*jri.(j) k3.t nb(.t)* *jp(.j) ḫ.t nb(.t) jpy.t n ẖnw m **šmꜥ.w pn** m zp 2*	I did every task. I counted everything that is countable for the residence in *this Upper Egypt* two times,
3.	*wnw.t nb(.t) jpy.t n ẖnw m **šmꜥ.w pn** m zp 2*	And every service that is countable for the residence in *this Upper Egypt* two times.
4.	*jri.(j) sr.t jr.t ḳd m **šmꜥ.w pn***	I did a perfect job in *this Upper Egypt*.
5.	*n sp p3.t(w) jr.t mjt.t m **šmꜥ.w pn** dr-b3ḥ*	Never before had the like been done in *this Upper Egypt*. (Urk. I 106: 4-10).

Pn activates *šmꜥw* and also tracks it, or, rather, the difference between an attentional focus shift and an attentional focus tracking is absent[226]. This applies to other discourse items in Weni's text, for example *mšꜥ* "army":

1st mention	Following mentions
jri.n ḥm.f mšꜥ n db3.w ꜥ3.w m šmꜥ.w mj-ḳd.f His majesty made *an army* of many tens of thousands from all of Upper Egypt. (Urk. I 101: 10)	*h3b w(j) ḥm.f ḥr-h3.t mšꜥ pn* His majesty sent me at the head of *this army*. (Urk. I 102: 1) Continued with *mšꜥ pn* in: Urk I 103:7-8; Urk I 103:9-10; Urk I 103:11-12; Urk I 103:13-14; Urk I 103:15-16; Urk I 103:17-104:1; Urk I 104:2-3; Urk I 105:1.

An important fact of the Egyptian language diachrony is that the endophoric patterns *N ø → N pf → N pn* and *N ø → N pn → N pn* become standard in literary Middle Egyptian, while the attentional counterpart *N ø→ N pn → N pw* falls into oblivion:

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[226] Eugene Cruz-Uribe (1986) interprets *šmꜥ.w pn* in Weni as a reference to a specific geographical entity ("the middle nomes of Upper Egypt"). He omits the first lines of the quoted passage (Urk I 106: 4-6), though, and begins with Urk I 106: 7, thus depriving *šmꜥ.w pn* of its endophoric antecedent. In this reading he follows Goedicke (1967: 14:106), who treats *N pn* as referring to nearer items and *N pw* as pointing at more distant ones. This clearly misses the pragmatics rendered by *N pn / N pw*.

1st mention	Following mentions
jw dp.t r jy.t m ẖnw sḳd.w jm.s rḫ n.k Then *a ship* will come from home with sailors in it, whom you know. (Shipwrecked sailor, lines 120-121)	*ʿḥʿ.n dp.t tf jy.t mj sr.n.f ḫnt* Then *that ship* came as he had foretold. (Shipwrecked sailor, lines 154-155) *ʿḥʿ.n ꜣtp.n.j st r dp.t tn* I loaded them on *this ship*. (Shipwrecked sailor, line 166) Continued with *dp.t tn* in: Shipwrecked sailor, lines 170 – 171.
z pw wn ḫw-n-jnpw rn.f *sḫ.tj pw n sḫ.t-ḥmꜣt* There was a man named Khun-Inep, *a peasant* of the Salt-field. (Eloquent peasant, line R 1.1)	*ḏd.jn sḫ.tj pn n ḥm.t.f tn* (...) And *this peasant* said to this wife of his (...) (Eloquent peasant, lines R 1.2, R 1.5) *hꜣt pw jri.n sḫ.tj pn r km.t* (...) *This peasant* went down to Egypt. (Eloquent peasant, line R 1.7) Continued with *sḫ.tj pn* in: Eloquent peasant, lines B 1.33, B 1.36 B 1.44, B 1.58 etc.)

Conclusions

The data presented in this chapter allow drawing the following conclusions:

"Erscheint dies aufgrund der zeitlichen Verteilung der Belege zunächst naheliegend, so bleibt jedoch zu bedenken, dass die erhaltenen schriftlichen Bezeugungen der 1.-3. Dynastie in der überwiegenden Mehr-zahl der Fälle aus sehr kurzen Vermerken bestehen (Namen, Titel, Pro-duktbezeichnungen), es somit gar nicht zu erwarten ist, in diesen kurzen Inschriften Verweise auf relative Distanz (pf) zu finden."

- An emphatic *pf* in an exophoric context comes to substitute both the attentional focus shifter *pn* and attentional focus tracker *pw*.

- *Pf* takes the place of *pn* in pragmatic discourse segments where the contrast between two referents is implied. In the attentional system such a contrast is expressed with *pn* alone, in which case it is pre-posed to the noun: *pn rw - pn rw → *pf rw - pn rw* "this lion" –"that lion" (PT 284 W (Pyr. 425 d)). *Pf* inherits the syntactic position of its predecessor.

- *Pf* can also occur in the pragmatic environment originally reserved for the recognitional demonstrative *pw.* Although the referents in this case are already in the cognitive attentional focus, the emphatic *pf* renders an emphatic connotation, e.g. *nṯrw jpf* "*those* gods (known to you)" (PT 269 W (Pyr. 380 a-b)). This emphasis is re-interpreted as distance and can be

metaphorically transferred to the temporal dimension to contrast the recent and earlier events (*wḏ.w* (*j.*)*pf* "those decrees" vs. *wḏ nswt pn* "this royal decree" (Urk. I 282: 15 - 283: 3)).

- The introduction of *pf* affects the role of *pn* in exophoric contexts: it is not a stronger member of the paradigm anymore. The joint focus of attention as the deictic category becomes grammatically unmarked, as both *pn* and *pf* can be used with activated and non-activated referents.

- In the endophoric context, the emphatic value of *pf* can be used to contrast the text-internal discourse items, e.g. *ḥḳ3 pf* underlines the importance of "that ruler (of Yam)" relative to *ḥḳ3 pn* "this ruler (of Irtjet)" (Urk. I 127: 4 -7). The distance parameter is irrelevant in this case.

- The emphatic force of *pf* disrupts the attentional endophoric reference chain $N \rightarrow Npn \rightarrow Npw$. It is substituted by $N \rightarrow Npf \rightarrow Npn$ and $N \rightarrow Npn \rightarrow Npn$, both of which are used in literary Middle Egyptian.

Thus, the appearance of the emphatic *pf* triggered the disintegration of the attentional system and the establishment of *pf /pn* as spatial demonstratives in the literary discourse. The following chapter will substantiate, however, that the ancient deictic category of joint attention continued to be productive in the vernacular. The marker of this process is the emergence of a new set of demonstrative pronouns *p3/t3/n3*.

Joint attention system: a (hidden) continuity

In this chapter I will examine the pragmatic and semantic contexts, in which the demonstratives *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ* appear.

Exophoric use

Emotive use

The earliest appearance of *pꜣ* is recorded in the tomb of Kaiemankh in Giza. Kanawati (2001: 16/1:15–18) provided an extensive analysis of the architectural and artistic features of this tomb, which allowed him to date it to the late Fifth Dynasty, most likely to the reign of Djedkare-Isesi[227].

The southern part of the corridor's west wall displays Kaiemankh and his wife sitting on an armchair facing entertainment scenes. The third register from the bottom is devoted to music and presents a sequence of scenes. On the left two men are playing a flute and an oboe and another one is singing. In the second group one man is playing a harp and the other is singing. The third group also displays one harp player and one singer, with the words of the song written above the scene. Kanawati (2001: 16/1:34) offers the following reading of the lines:

> *snsn jr r jb.(k) pꜣ mry*
> *zjm.k jš.t jr nn*
> Mingle, do as (you) desire, *o beloved one*!
> Dispense (?) of property, do this!
> (Kaiemankh K, Pl. 32, 3rd register from bottom)

Junker (1940: 39–40) splits *zjm.k* into *zj* "hurry" and *jm.k* (negative verb with pronominal subject (Edel 1964: 577 (§1106)) and suggests reading the unclear group of characters following *jm.k* as *jm* instead of *jš.t*:

> *snsn jr r jb pꜣ mry*
> *zj jm.k jm jr (r) nn*
> Keep up! Make [me] a favor, *o beloved one*!
> Hurry up! Don't hesitate (?)! Do this!
> (Kaiemankh J, Abb. 9)[228]

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[227] According to Kanawati, Kaiemankh shares many common features with the tombs of Nimaatre and Yinefret, the former dated to Isesi/Unas and the latter to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty (Kanawati 2001: 16/1:16). The tomb of Yinefret contains the personal name *pꜣj* "this one", discussed below. Kanawati (2001: 16/1:15) notes the unusual decoration of the burial chamber of Kaiemankh, which involves the scenes of daily life. Yet by the end of the Fifth Dynasty these motives disappear from the decoration program of the burial chambers (e.g. tomb of Kaikherptah), at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (Teti) the figure of the tomb owner is removed (e.g. tomb of Ankhmahor), and "for the rest of the Old Kingdom, burial chambers contained only scenes of items of food and drink, but no living creatures, humans or animals" (Kanawati 2001: 16/1:18). The correlation of the appearance of *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ* in the scenes of daily life with the evolution of the decoration program of the burial chambers is discussed below in the *Conclusions* section of chapter *4.2. Diatopic features*.
[228] Due to its rhymed structure the text can indeed be interpreted as a verse:

s-n	s-n	jr-r-jb	pꜣ mry
z-jm	k-jm	jr-(r)-nn	

P3 here has an emotive function, characteristic for *pw*. Another appearance of an emotive *p3* is in the tomb of Tjauti in the cemetery of the nomarchs of the seventh Upper Egyptian nome located in Hamra Dom/el-Qasr es-Saiyad (T 73). The tomb is dated to the reign of Pepi II of the Sixth Dynasty.

The east wall of the tomb's section B (the northern part of the main room) shows butchers at work. One of the butchers exclaims:

> *jm n(.j) p3 n.tj ḥr nḏr.t mn.t*
> *jm pri ḏrw.w pn*
> Give [it] to (me), *you, holding the haunch*!
> Detach [lit. let go out] this flank!
> (Tjauti, Pl. 26, bottom register)[229]

P3 here is pragmatically an emotive demonstrative, but from the syntactic perspective it is a determinative introducing the relative clause. In both passages *p3* interacts with the activating demonstratives of the *n*-series, reproducing the joint attention paradigm *pw* (*p3*) vs. *pn*: *p3 mry* "o beloved" vs. *jr nn* "do this" (Kaiemankh) and *p3 n.tj ḥr nḏr.t mn.t* "you, holding the haunch" vs. *ḏrw.w pn* "this flank" (Tjauti).

Recognitional use

Such is the function of *n3* in the sequence of butchering scenes, depicted in the bespoken tomb of Tjauti. In the upper register of the above-mentioned wall one of the workers addresses his comrade:

> *nḏr jkr n.tj-ḥnꜥ*
> *mk wj ḥr.s*
> *mj ḫpr nw m-ꜥ.k*
> Hold well, comrade!
> See, I am at it!
> Let *it* appear in your hand!
> (Tjauti, Pl. 27, top register, right)[230]

In another scene the butcher, who is carrying the cow's foreleg and heart, says:

> *mk wj zḫz.(j) ẖr n3 n.tj m ꜥ.(j)*
> See, (I) hurry with *that which is in (my) hand*.
> (Tjauti, Pl. 26, top register, right)[231]

The dialogues continue on the left:

> *jm pr ḫpš pw sjn*
> *mk ẖr.j-ḥ3b.t ꜥḳ(.w)*
> Let *the foreleg* be detached! Hurry up!

„Do this!" spelled as 𓂋𓈖 𓏭𓏭 can be read both as *jr-nn* as *jrr-nn* (Edel (1964: 292 (§602), 1964: 204 (§455))). Compare the use of *mry* without the article in the tomb of Iineferet: *bt jw mry tn[j]* "O shepherd, where is the beloved one?"(Iineferet, Abb. 11 b, upper register) and (Schürmann 1983: 37).

[229] The imperative of *rḏi* "to give" written irregularly with the character 𓏠 (X 8) (Edel 1964: 294–95 (§607-608)). For the description of the scene see Montet (1935: 91).

[230] Montet (1935: 95).

[231] Montet (1935: 99).

See, the lector-priest enters!
(Tjauti, Pl. 26, top register, left)[232]

In this sequence of scenes, the epitheta *ḫpš pw, nꜣ n.tj m ꜥ.j*, and *nw* all point to the same familiar referent – the foreleg (*ḫpš*)[233]. In the tomb of Idu-Seneni, the son of Tjauti, located in the same cemetery, we meet yet another occurrence of a recognitional *nꜣ*. The south part of the west wall of the Idu-Seneni's chamber depicts the feeding of cattle. A shepherd is sitting in front of a recumbent ox whose forelegs are tied. He puts the food into the mouth of the animal with the instruction[234]:

[*jr.k*] *nꜣ r tm wnm*
[You should do] *it* to the one who does not eat.
(Idu-Seneni, Pl. 10, 3rd register from bottom, middle)[235]

Recognitional *nꜣ* is attested in the tomb of Shedu in Deshasha (25 km south-west from Beni-Suef), dated to the Sixth dynasty reign of Teti. The scene depicts the seated tomb owner entertained by a flautist and a harpist; the inscription says:

(*j*)*m nꜣ bw.nfr.(w) n kꜣ.k*
Take these beautiful things for your ka![236]
(Shedu, Pl. 50 (b))

Motte (2018: 1264) mentions the recognitional *pꜣ* in the sailing scene in the tomb of Mereruka (Room A 13, west wall, north section):

pꜣ [*nbw ḥr jr.*]*t nfr.t nfr.t*
nfr.t jw.t.s ḫr ḥw.t-ḥr nb.t nh.t
[Gold has made] the beauty of the beautiful thing.
The beautiful thing, it comes to Hathor, the mistress of the sycamore!
(Mereruka II, pl. 68)

The same passage is recorded in the tomb of Mehu in Saqqara (Mehu, Taf. 19 a, upper register). I agree with Altenmüller (1998: 114) that *pꜣ* here is not a definite article, but a modal verb. Altenmüller provides a parallel from the New Kingdom song sung by the boat crew during the Opet festival: *pꜣ.n ḥw.t-ḥr jr.t nfr.t nfr.wt n NN* "Hathor *has made* the beauty of the beautiful thing for the king NN" (Altenmüller 1998: 114)[237]. The modal *pꜣ* occurs in Old Egyptian in the negative expressions

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[232] Montet (1935: 99).

[233] Säve-Söderbergh (1994: 48–50) reads the episodes in this register from left to write. I adopt the right-to-left sequence suggested by Montet (1935: 95–98), starting thematically with the throwing and tying of the ox, followed by the detachment of the parts and presenting of the blood and the heart to the lector-priest. In each of the four scenes in this register (one is badly damaged) three butchers are engaged, as if the process involving the same actors were unfolding at different stages.

[234] The fact that the shepherd is indeed feeding the ox (the picture is rather unclear) is confirmed by the caption of the scene on the right: *wnm r.k jwꜣ* "Eat, you ox!" (Idu-Seneni, Pl. 10, 3rd register from bottom, right)

[235] Montet (1935: 117).

[236] Translation according to Motte (2018: 1264) with 𓏏 used as imperative "take!" (Edel 1964: 296–97 (§611)). Kanawati (1993: 5:53) reads "Behold, this entertainment (?) is for your ka".

[237] „Pꜣ ist nicht (...) das Demonstrativpronomen *pꜣ*, weil das Appelativum *nbw* („Gold" = Hathor) nicht mit einem solchen Demonstrativum verbunden werden kann. Eine Variante des NR dagegen legt nahe, dass es sich um das Modalverbum *pꜣ* handelt, das ausnahmsweise nicht mit reinem Infinitiv, sondern mit *ḥr* + Infinitiv

(e.g. *n zp p3.f sḏm* "he had never heard it" (Edel 1964: 457 (§903)), and is preserved in Coptic as the negation of the past tense ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ-: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ "he did not hear"[238].

The feminine demonstrative *t3* does not surface until the First Intermediate Period[239]. In a letter to the dead written on a bowl a man is addressing his deceased father:

> *mk gr.t jn.t(w) t3 mnṯ3.t*
> *jr.tj mw.t.k wdꜥ md.w ḥr.s*
> Behold, there is brought (to you) *this vessel*
> in respect of which your mother is to make litigation.
> (Chicago OM 13945, line 3)[240]

Ankhtifi, the nomarch of the third nome of Upper Egypt, Hierakonpolis, who instrumentalized the confrontation between the Ninth Dynasty Herakleopolitan rulers and Eleventh Dynasty Theban kings to strengthen his authority in the southern Egypt, utilizes the feminine demonstrative *t3*[241]. The scene of harpoon-fishing in his tomb in Moꜥalla has the following inscription:

> *nḏr tp nḏr*
> *sḫr sḥ.t t3 ḥn.wt ḥtp nfr*
> *n k3 n ꜥnḫ.tj.fj jḳr m3ꜥ-ḫrw*
> Harpoon the head (?). Harpoon!
> (As) Sekhet, *the lady* of good offerings, strikes
> for the ka of Ankhtifi, the excellent, justified.
> (Ankhtifi, Inscr. 16: 15)[242]

An important indicator of the recognitional function of *p3/t3/n3* is their use in the Fifth- and Sixth-Dynasty personal names. Gundacker (2010: 64) observes that although personal names are syntactically and morphologically conservative, their phonological development is progressive. The names of the lower stratum of the society reflect the dialectal features, not traceable in the names of the upper class. For Shisha-Halevy (2007a: 231) Egyptian proper names are not absolute but

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konstruiert wird" (Altenmüller 1998: 114). The hieroglyphic spelling of the word in Mereruka and Mehu is 𓉢𓏏𓐎.

[238] Another rather ambiguous use of *p3* is in the Hatnub Graffito 22 from the late Eleventh – early Twelfth Dynasty: *p3 dd.w r fnd rꜥw n tk3.w m-ꜥ rmṯ nb.{t}* "That which is given to the nose on the day of the torch-(bearing) by all people" (Hatnub Gr. 22: 4). Anthe's (1928: 49) translation: „Der an der Nase geführt wird am Tage der Fackel in der Hand aller Leute".

[239] The Sixths Dynasty records of *t3*, provided by the TLA, are the reduced variants of the demonstrative *t(w)*: e.g. *t(w) n.t šnw.t […]* "that of the granary [...]" (pAbusir: Pl. 63 (A)). The phenomenon of *w*-reduction, which paved the way to the appearance of *3*-series, is analyzed in detail below in chapter *4.1.2 Morphological features.*

[240] The demonstrative *t3* is written in an unusual manner with the character 𓉢 ("potters kiln", U 30). *Jr.tj mw.t.k* is a prospective relative *sḏm.tj.fj* with a nominal subject (Edel 1964: 341–44 (§§679-683); Gardiner 1930: 21–22 (commentary 3)).

[241] Ankhtifi could be the contemporary of Neferkare VII - the third pharaoh of the Ninth (Herakleopolitan) Dynasty, whose name, graphically transposed as *k3-nfr-rꜥw* appears in Ankhtifi's tomb (Stephan Seidlmayer 2006: 165).

[242] Translation according to Vandier (1950: 262). Apart from *t3*, Ankhtifi uses *p3* twice: *sb3.j šmꜥ.w ꜥḥ3 p3 t3 r ḫtm jb.f* "I have taught Upper Egypt (how) to fight and *this land* (how) to be brave [lit. "close its heart"] (Ankhtifi, Inscr. 9: III, 9) and *jn p3 (jt)-šmꜥ.w ḫnt pḥ.n.f wꜥꜥ.t* "It is this Upper Egyptian corn, which went upstream and it has reached Wawat" (Ankhtifi, Inscr. 10: IV, 13-14) (translation according to Schenkel (1965: 54)).

relative entities, which are "environmentally signaled", i.e. the border between them and appellatives is rather vague. The table below lists personal names containing *ꜣ*-deictica attested in the Old Kingdom.

Table 60 Personal names containing *ꜣ*-deictica

Lower Egypt: Memphite region		
PN	**Translation**	**Bibliography**
pꜣ-n.(j)	This one (belongs) to me	Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 353 [1074]), Ranke (1935: 129 [16]), Ranke (1952: 281 [14])[243]
jw-pꜣ-n.(j)	This one (belongs) to me	Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 220 [154]), Ranke (1935: 16 [30]), Ranke (1952: 261 [19])
n.n-pꜣ	To us (belongs) this one	Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 413 [1508]), Ranke (1952: 299 [29])
pꜣ-j	This one	Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 353 [1075]), Ranke (1952: 285 [25])
pꜣ-w	This one	Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 353 [1076]), Ranke (1935: 129 [8])[244]
Upper Egypt: Sharuna (Oxyrhynchos)		
pꜣ-w	This one	Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 353 [1076])
Upper Egypt: Gebelein		
nꜣ-ꜣ	This one	Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 448 [1735])

Arranging the available data in the chronological order delivers a number of insights. During the Fifth Dynasty, the name *pꜣ-n.(j)* "This one (belongs) to me" appears on a small stela (CG 1516) in the form of a false door of a person named *nfr-mn.w* "Min is good" (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 468 [1892]) and his mistress *ḥr.(j)-ḥr-ꜥnḫ* "(My) face is upon life (?)" (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 551 [2485]). *Pꜣ-n.(j)* is mentioned as the son of the latter. Borchardt (1937: 219 [1516]) gives the provenance of this stela from tomb F3 in Saqqara. The ka-servant, the overseer of the workmen (*ḥm-kꜣ jm.j-r ꜥpr.w*) named *pꜣ-n.(j)* appears in the tomb of Ptahshepses in Abusir, dated to the reign of the Nyuserre-Ini (Verner 1977: 72 (Inscription No. 81)). The reliefs from the tomb of Iineferet, located near the pyramid of Menkaure in Giza, and dated to the mid-Fifth Dynasty (Schürmann 1983: 14), display the ka-servant *n.n-pꜣ* and his assistant *pꜣ-j* (Iineferet, Abb. 3)[245]

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[243] On the personal names of this syntactic type (e.g. *zj-n.j* "a man is for me"), see Gundacker (2010: 75–77).
[244] Ranke attributes this PN to the Middle Kingdom. Middle-Kingdom personal names, containing *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ*, are listed by Fecht (1960: 202 (footnote 569)).
[245] For the description of the scene see Schürmann (1983: 17).

The Sixth Dynasty records the name *p3-n.(j)* four times. In Saqqara in the area of the Teti pyramid cemeteries two fragments of the stela render *p3-n.(j)*, while other fragments of the same stela bear the titles of this person: *špss nswt smr pr* (the noble of the king, friend of the palace) and *jm.j-r ḫnt.j-š pr-ꜥ3* (the overseer of the land-tenants/attendants of the great house) (Firth and Gunn 1926: 200 [nos 38, 39]; 204 [no 2]; 210 [no 17])[246]. Another stela fragment found in the same area also has the name *p3-n.(j)*, probably referring to a different individual (Firth and Gunn 1926: 215 [no 13]).

A *ḥm-k3* priest named *p3-n.(j)* participates in the procession in front of the statue of Mereruka in his tomb in Saqqara (Mereruka I, Pl. 94, 4th register from bottom)[247]. The same (?) person is mentioned in another offering scene (Mereruka I, Pl. 66 b, bottom register, right). Particular about this case is the fact that the tomb of Mereruka's wife Waatetkhethor, located within the same funerary complex, contains twice the adverb "here" spelled as *mj-n3* (traditional spelling is *mj-nw*) (Waatetkhethor, Pl. 60, 3rd and 4th registers from bottom).

The form *p3-w* "that one" is attested on an offering tablet found in the tomb of Djersenedj (*dr-snḏ*) in the necropolis of Pepi II in Saqqara (Jéquier 1929 (Fig. 130; right corner)). Its bottom is inscribed with the words *ḥtpj* and *p3-w*. Jéquier (1929: 115) treats these as designations of the offerings, but Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 353 (footnote 2)) advocates for their reading as personal names. Her conclusions are supported by another occurrence of *p3-w*, albeit outside of the Memphite region. In the tomb Q 10 in Sharuna the list of people, displayed in the chapel of Kedi (*ḳdj*) - the wife of the tomb's owner Metjenti (*mtn.tj*) - includes the name *p3-w* (Schenkel and Gomaà 2004 (Beilage 10; left panel, bottom)). The nickname *n3-3* "That one" occurs twice in the Gebelein papyri: once without a title (Posener-Kriéger 2004 (Tav. 15 C)) and once as a name of a farmer (*w3ḏ*) (Posener-Kriéger 2004 (Tav. 34: column 86)).

Endophoric use

A prominent example of the conservation of the attentional deictica in the endophoric context is delivered by the Spells 38-40 of the Coffin Texts[248]. These are attested on three coffins originating from the Middle Egyptian necropolis in Deir el-Bersha (Vernus 1990b; Grieshammer 1970: 20:116):

Table 61 Concordance of the CT Spells 38-40 and Deir el-Bersha coffins

Coffin	Spell
B4L (outer coffin of Sen)	CT Spell 38 (beginning)
B16C (outer coffin of Neferi)	CT Spells 38 and 39 (complete), 40 (first part)
B20C (fragment of a coffin)	CT Spell 38 (complete), 39 (almost complete)

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[246] For the title *jm.j-r ḫnt.j-š pr-ꜥ3* "the overseer of the land-tenants/attendants of the great house" see Jones (2000: 691 [no 2530], 2000: 692 [no 2532]).

[247] A clear image of the scene is available in Duell (1938 (Pl. 85)). *P3-n.(j)* (spelled ▢✗) is the third from the left in the bottom register.

[248] Mathieu (2004), Morales (2013) and Zago (2018a: 208 no. 17) discuss the continuity of funerary literature during the Old and Middle Kingdom, viewing Pyramid Texts and Coffin Text as one constantly developing corpus.

The coffins belong to the subordinates of the nomarch of the Hare nome Djehutihotep and can thus be dated to the reigns of Sesostris II and Sesostris III (Willems 1988: XXV:71; 75–77). Although the spells are attributed to the Middle Kingdom, they draw a picture of the antiquated deictic conditions of the Old Kingdom. The theme of all three spells is the premature death of the son and his takeover of the father's place in the afterworld. Both events are caused by the father's intervention and both are rejected by the son, who repeatedly states: "I will not die a quick death" (CT I 164 i, 170 i) and "I am the one who will be old" (CT I 174 g, 176 p) (Grieshammer 1970: 20:122, 125, 130). The son addresses the *creatures* and his *father*, and this is where the two different deictic systems come into play[249]. The son-father interaction takes place within the attentional system: the realm of the living, to which the son still belongs, is referred to with *pn* (e.g. *t3 pn n ʿnḫ.w* "this land of the living"), while the afterworld, were his father dwells, is designated with *pw* (e.g. *t3 pw ḏsr* "the sacred land"). When talking to the creatures, the son uses a contrastive spatial system, referencing the "land of the living" with proximal *pn* and the afterworld with distal *pf*[250]. The two systems do not intersect – the recognitional *pw* is not used in the son-creatures discourse and the distal *pf* does not occur in the son-father interaction[251]. The table below summarizes the findings:

Table 62 Interplay of deictic systems in CT spells 38-40 (B4L, B16C, B20C)

Spatial system (Son → Creatures)

Proximal *pn*	Distal *pf*	Distal *pf*

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[249] The names of the creatures derive from nautical terminology for the left-hand (*t3-wr* "port") and right-hand (*jm.j-wr.t* "starboard") sides of the ship and are used in the topographical sense: *j t3-wr.w ʿ3.w, j jm.jw-wr.t ʿ3.w* "O the great ones from the East, o the great ones from the West" (Grieshammer 1970: 20:117 (note 1)). Faulkner (1962: 37 (note "b")) understands the creatures as the judges of the dead, but makes no comments on etymology.

[250] I rely on Grieshammer (1970: 20:116–113) in determining the addressee of each passage:

Spell 38	*Interaction*
Part 1 (CT I 157 f – 160 e)	Son –> Creatures
Part 2 (CT I 160 f – 162 b)	Son –> Father
Part 3 (CT I 162 c – 165 a)	Son –> Father
Part 4 (CT I 165 b – e)	Son –> Father
Spell 39	*Interaction*
Part 1 (CT I 166 a – h)	Son –> Creatures
Part 2 (CT I 167 a – 169 h)	Son –> Creatures
Part 3 (CT I 169 i – 171 i)	Son –> Creatures
Part 4 (CT I 171 j – 172 e)	Son –> Creatures
Spell 40	*Interaction*
Part 1 (CT I 173 a – g)	Son –> Creatures
Part 2 (CT I 173 h – 174 h)	Son –> Creatures
Part 3 (CT I 174 i – 175 h)	Son –> Father
Part 4 (CT I 175 i – 176 c)	Son –> Father
Part 5 (CT I 176 d – p)	Son –> Father

[251] *Pf* appears once in the communication between the son and the father, but as an *emotive* demonstrative: *jtj.j pf* "O, father of mine!" (CT I 174 i).

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the land of the living	*the sacred land*	*father*
t3 pn (n ꜥnḫ.w n.tj wj jm.f) this land (of the living where I am) (CT I 158 d - 159 a) (CT I 165 d) (CT I 165 e) (CT I 167 c-d) (CT I 171 a) (CT I 171 d) (CT I 173 b) (CT I 174 a) (CT I 174 c-d) *t3 pn ḏsr n ꜥnḫ.w* this sacred land of the living (CT I 172 d)	*t3 pf ḏsr n.tj.f jm.f* that sacred land where he is[252] (CT I 159 c) (CT I 169 g) (CT I 172 c)	*jtj.j pf* that father of mine (CT I 158 a) (CT I 167 b) (CT I 168 d) (CT I 171 j) *pf h3.n.j n.f* that one to whom I have descended (CT I 158 a) (CT I 168 d) *pf jm.j jmn.t* that one who is in the West (CT I 158 a)

Attentional system (Son → Father)

Situational *pn*	Recognitional *pw*	Emotive *pf*
the land of the living	*the sacred land*	*father*
t3 pn (n ꜥnḫ.w) this land (of the living) (CT I 163 b) (CT I 164 d) (CT I 175 e) (CT I 176 f)	*t3 pw ḏsr n.t.k jm.f* the sacred land where you are (CT I 160 h) (CT I 161 k) (CT I 162 d) (CT I 162 h) (CT I 163 l) (CT I 164 c) (CT I 175 i) (CT I 176 d) *s.t.k tw m t3 pw ḏsr n.tj.k jm.f* this seat of yours in the sacred land where you are (CT I 175 a)	*jtj.j pf jm.j ḥr.t-nṯr* O, father of mine, who is in the necropolis! (CT I 174 i)[253]

Vernus correctly identifies *pw* here as not marked for distance, referring to Otto (1951: 52)[254]. It does not suffice, though, to call *pw* a *neutral* demonstrative, as it has a clear pragmatic function: it accompanies the discourse entities which the son assumes are familiar to his father. Other CT Spells are not as consistent in differentiating the functions of *pw*, *pn* and *pf*. In the following passage of Spell 160 the activated entity ("the mountain of Bakhu") is introduced with *pw* and tracked with *pn*:

jw.(j) rḫ.kwj ḏw pw n b3ḫw n.tj p.t tn rhn.s ḥr.f (...)
wnn sbk nb b3ḫw ḥr j3b.t ḏw pn

---

[252] Also without *pf*: *t3 Ø ḏsr n.tj.f jm.f* (the) sacred land where he is (CT I 169 g).

[253] *Pf* is absent in a similar address: *j jt.j jm.y jmn.tj* "O, my father, who is in the West" (CT I 162 c).

[254] "*Pw* est fondamentalement non marqué" (Vernus 1990b: 33).

(I) know *the mountain of Bakhu*, upon which this sky rests (...)
Sobek, Lord of Bakhu, is in the East of *this mountain*.
(CT II 375 c - 377 a (S2P, S2C, B4La, B1L))

Variants of this Spell also use the sequences *ḏw pw → ḏw pf* (B2Bo; B4Bo; B9C, B3Ca), *ḏw pf → ḏw pn* (B2P, B17C, B1C); *ḏw pf → ḏw pf* (B4Lb).

Conclusions

The family of the new demonstrative pronouns *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ*, which start to occur in the colloquial sources during Fifth and Sixth dynasties, is a prominent marker of the endurance of the attentional deictic categories. The following conclusions can be drawn:

- Pragmatic features, such as an emotive and recognitional use, as well as the absence of a distal contrast, signal the affiliation of the new deictica *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ* with the system operating with the joint attentional focus. In the provided examples, *pꜣ* pairs with *pn* – where *pꜣ* is the weaker (attention-tracking) and *pn* is the stronger (attention shift) member. Considering the functional proximity of proper names and appellatives the pragmatic function of the demonstratives *pꜣ/nꜣ* in personal names suggests their recognitional and emotive interpretation.

- The new demonstratives can function as independent pronouns. They obtain the roles of the subject in the adverbial clause and the determinatives, introducing the relative phrase. This syntactic behavior is characteristic for the demonstratives of the joint attention system.

- The appearance of *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ* in the tomb inscriptions in Giza during the Fifth Dynasty, their infrequency in the Memphite region during the Sixth Dynasty and converse re-emergence in the provincial tombs is a conspicuous phenomenon, which is analyzed in the chapter *4.2. Diatopic features*. The localization of personal names containing *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ* shows a clear tilt towards the Memphite region. From the diastratic perspective, four out of ten holders of proper names are ka-servants (*ḥm-kꜣ*), not related to the owners of the tombs/stelae, where they appear. One is a farmer (*wꜣḏ*) and only one person (*pꜣ-n.(j)*) is of a relatively high ranking. His epithets include *jm.j-r ḏḏ.t p.t ḳmꜣ.t tꜣ* "overseer of what heaven gives and earth puts forth" and *jm.j-r šn tꜣ nb* "overseer of all vegetation", which mean he supervised agricultural activities. The dialogues, containing deictic pronouns of the *-ꜣ* family, occur in the butchering scenes, in the episodes of cattle feeding and once in a harper's song.

- Although the joint attention system is still productive, its latest manifestations are completely removed from the standard literary discourse. It is preserved in the fossilized form in the funerary literature, such as Coffin texts spells 38-40.

4.1.2. Morphological features

The overview of the pragmatic and semantic features indicated that *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ* in the given period fulfil the same function as *pw/tw/nw*. This requires the explanation of the *morphological* relation between the deictic suffixes -*w* and -*ꜣ*. Fecht (1960: 126–27 (esp. footnote 378), 1960: 203–4) derived Coptic demonstratives from three Egyptian deictic roots, which he identified on pragmatic and phonological grounds[255]:

- The first root *pw*, used with a neutral or emotive function ("neutrale Bedeutung", "Vokativ"), laid the foundation for the Coptic article ⲡ- (S). The possessive pronoun ⲡⲱ≠ϥ, showing the vocalization of the source root as **păw*, later evolving to **păꜣ,* as well as the copula *pw,* also belong to this group.

- The second root is *pn*, whose specific meaning ("spezielle Bedeutung") is contrasted with the neutral *pw*. It provided the source morphemes for the Coptic demonstrative ⲡⲁⲓ (S). The vocalization of this form must have progressed from **pén* to **péꜣ.*

- The third root is the extension of the second one with the emphatic particle *ꜣ*. Such an extension caused the lengthening of the final vowel and produced the Coptic emphatic demonstrative ⲡⲏ (S). Functionally, this form is similar to the Egyptian *pf*, which, indeed, possesses the lengthy variant *pf-ꜣ.*

The emergence of the final *ꜣ* is related by to the phonological process in which the final consonant of the accentuated ultimate syllable of Egyptian words is preserved as aleph, e.g. *p.t (*pét)* → ⲡⲉ *(péꜣ)* "sky" (Fecht 1960: 198–99). The same reduction should have occurred with *pw (*păw)* and *pn (*pén)*, which turned to **păꜣ* and **péꜣ* respectively. Fecht (1960: 90–91) provides the following evidence to support his thesis:

- The sporadic substitution of the nexus pronoun *pw* with *pn* in Late Egyptian shows that both had a similar vocalization at that time (e.g. *šm.t pn jri.n* for *šm.t pw jri.n N* "going it is which N made", also Sethe (1899: 130 (§225)))[256].

- The spelling *pn-n* in the letters of the New Kingdom indicates that scribes thought it necessary to strengthen *pn* (e.g. *jni.tw n.k zẖꜣ.w pn-n* "one brings to you this writing", also Erman (1933: 50 (§114))).

- The Late Egyptian negations *bw* and *bn* are occasionally confused (also Erman (1933: 393 (§775))).

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[255] To my knowledge the idea that Coptic demonstratives go back to three Egyptian deictic roots was first expressed by Sethe (1912: 103).

[256] Compare Erman (1933: 23 (§47)): "Auslautendes *n* scheint zuweilen verlorengegangen zu sein; denn schlechte Schreiber setzen zuweilen für *pw* 'es ist' auch *pn* z.B. Sall. III 1,8 als lauteten beide gleich."

- The Middle Egyptian pronouns *sw*, *sj*, *sn*, *st* are often mixed up in Late Egyptian (also Erman (1933: 41 (§90))).

- The Middle Egyptian noun *mṯn* "path" is reduced to *mṯ* in the early New Kingdom (also Scharff (1936: 22)).

- The Middle Egyptian suffix pronouns *ṯn* (2nd p. pl.) and *sn* (3rd p. pl.) are subsequently abridged to *ṯ* and *s* (also Blackman (1930: 64 [5])).

Establishing the link between the Middle Egyptian *pn (*pě́n)* and the Coptic ⲡⲁⲓ (S) via **pě̌ꜣ* helps Fecht to explain the Coptic affective ⲡⲏ. It was created through the extension of the existing base with the emphatic particle *ꜣ*: **pě́ꜣˇꜣ*.

Table 63 Three deictic roots and their Coptic descendants (Fecht 1960)

Root	Pragmatic features	Phonetic features	LE	Coptic
pw	"neutral meaning"	**pă̆w → *pă̆ꜣ → *pă̆*	*pꜣ*	ⲡ-/ ⲡⲉ- (S)
	vocative		*pꜣ*	
	possessive (*pw.f*)	**pǎ́w →*pǎ́ꜣˇf*	*pꜣy.f*	ⲡⲱ≠ϥ (S)
	predicative (copula) *pw*	**pă̆w →*pǎ̆ꜣ → *pă̆j*	*pꜣy*	ⲡⲉ
pn	"special meaning"	**pě́n →*pě̌ꜣ*	*pꜣy*	ⲡⲁⲓ (S)
pf(ꜣ)/pn(ꜣ)	"special meaning"	**pě́ꜣˇꜣ (*pǐ́ꜣˇꜣ / *pǔ́ꜣˇꜣ)*	*pꜣy*	ⲡⲏ (S)

Conspicuous in this line of argumentation is that all cases of *pw*/*pn* conflation are dated to the Middle and New Kingdoms. Yet the emotive and recognitional *pꜣ* appears in the Fifth Dynasty already. This chapter will focus thus on exposing the genesis of the suffix *-ꜣ* in the Old Kingdom deictic and non-deictic lexemes containing the final morpheme *-w*. The evolution of other constitutive elements of Egyptian demonstratives and adverbs will be analyzed in chapter *4.3.*.

Emergence of the deictic suffix *-ꜣ*

Four *orthographical* phenomena come to light when we observe the instances of the *w* → *ꜣ* change with deictic and non-deictic lexemes:

- *Defective writing*: the elimination of the final consonant *w* in writing (*w* → Ø).
- *ꜣ-extension of w*: the final consonant *w* is followed by the formant *-ꜣ* (*w* → *w-ꜣ*).
- *w* → *ꜣ change*: the final consonant *w* is absent and *ꜣ* occurs as the ultimate morpheme (*w* → Ø-*ꜣ*).
- *ꜣ-/j-/w-extension of ꜣ*: the final consonant *ꜣ* is complemented by the morphemes *-ꜣ/ -j / -w* (*w* → *ꜣ-ꜣ, ꜣ-j, ꜣ-w*).

The topic of "defective writing" ("Defektivschreibung", "scriptiones defectivae") in Old Egyptian has been dealt with extensively by Kahl (1992, 1992: 79–99), Schweitzer (2005: 88–95), and Sperveslage (2010). According to Kahl (1994: 79) and Schweitzer (2005: 88), defective writing is a graphical phenomenon, in which a consonantal phoneme is represented by Ø ("zero") in the written form. To prove that the spelling in question is defective, the word should also be attested in the full form with all consonants spelled out. Depending on whether a root consonant or a grammatical morpheme is being reduced, one can differentiate between a "proper defective writing" (e.g. initial *j* in *jm.j-r*) and a "grammatically-morphemic defective writing" (e.g. fem. sg. ending *-t*; prefixes *m-* or *s-*; suffix 1st p. sg. *j*). Defective writing should also be distinguished from other phenomena such as:

- Partial complementation ("unvollständige Komplementierung"), occurring when written form contains logograms or semographic repeaters.
- Abbreviations (e.g. 𓊵 for *snb* "to be healthy", 𓀁 for *ḏd* "to say").
- Orthographical mistakes, which are sporadic and irregular, while defective forms are intentional and reliably attested a number of times.
- Omission of consonants due to the writing technique (i.e. calligraphy) or the physical arrangement of the inscription (i.e. lack of space).

Kahl (1994: 85) and Schweitzer (2005: 92) delivered quantitative analyses of the consonants written defectively in the texts up to the Fourth Dynasty, arranging the number of known cases according to the position of the defective consonant in the word (initial, medial, final). The exact numbers for the Pyramid Texts are not available, but the confirmed cases are marked with "+" in the table below:

Table 64 Consonants written defectively in the texts of Dynasties 0-4

Consonant	Initial position			Medial position			Final position		
	Dyn. 0-3	Dyn. 4	PT	Dyn. 0-3	Dyn. 4	PT	Dyn. 0-3	Dyn. 4	PT
ꜣ	1	1	+	5	3	+	28	6	+
j	15	9	+	2	1	+	19	1	+
w	-	1	-	2	3	+	27	5	+

Table 64 Consonants written defectively in the texts of Dynasties 0-4

Consonant	Initial position			Medial position			Final position		
	Dyn. 0-3	Dyn. 4	PT	Dyn. 0-3	Dyn. 4	PT	Dyn. 0-3	Dyn. 4	PT
m	-	-	-	1	1	+	-	-	+
n	4	1	+	4	1	+	1	3	+
r	-	-	-	2	-	+	9	2	+

According to Kahl (1994: 91–93) Ø in the written form usually corresponds either to the first consonant of an open syllable or to the last consonant of the closed syllable, which are part of the word root; if a closed syllable does not belong to the word root, Ø can equally replace the first and the last consonant. Yet Schweitzer (2005: 93–94) notes that this rule does not apply to *m₃₃* "to see", which is always written with double *₃*, and to the preposition *r*, consistently spelled as *jr* in *status pronominalis*. Schweitzer (2005: 94) argues that defective writing is not only related to the inventory of consonants and syllable structure, but may be explained by form differentiation. Weak consonants are omitted only if defective and non-defective variants refer to one form; if two spellings render two different forms, no defective writing is tolerated. In the following, I will show that the defective writing of lexemes containing the final *w* can be explained by the changes in the phonetic value of this consonant. Words under examination are:

- the particle *ḥw*
- the adverb *mj-nw*
- the emphatic particle *w*
- the demonstratives *pw, tw, nw*

Additionally, the deictic roots are investigated, which do not contain the final root consonant *w* but are extended by the morpheme *-₃*. These are important to clarify whether the phonological change *w → ₃* could, in fact, cover two distinct but complementary processes: the change of *w* to *₃* and the extension of the root with the emphatic particle *₃*. The words in question are:

- the demonstratives *tf₃, nf₃*
- the adverb *ʿ₃₃*

Words with the final root consonant w

The particle *ḥw*

The Old Egyptian particle *ḥw* introduces a wish or request (Edel 1964: 434 (§866-867); Gardiner 1957: 180 (§238)). Meltzer (1984) sees the origins of *ḥw* in the adjective-verb used predicatively with the meaning "desirable is ...". He supports this thesis with the morphological analysis of *ḥw* as *ḥ₃* expanded with emphatic particle *wy* (*ḥ₃ + wy → ḥw*). Oréal (2011: 50) discards this etymology, correctly claiming that the available evidence confirms the development in the opposite direction –

from *ḥw* to *ḥꜣ*[257]. The particle *ḥw* is attested in the Fifth- and Sixth-Dynasty sources in six different forms, shown below with their hieroglyphic spelling[258]:

Table 65 Spelling variants of particle *ḥw*

1.	*ḥw*	𓎛𓏤𓅯
2.	*ḥ(w)*	𓎛(𓅯)
3.	*ḥwꜣ*	𓎛𓏤𓅯𓄿
4.	*ḥwj*	𓎛𓅯𓏭
5.	*ḥwḥꜣ/ḥꜣḥ/ḥḥꜣ*	𓎛𓅯𓉔𓄿/𓎛𓄿𓉔/𓎛𓉔𓄿
6.	*ḥꜣ*	𓎛𓄿

In the following I examine these variants in order to establish the path of a morphological change.

1-2: The forms *ḥw* 𓎛𓅯 and *ḥ(w)* (𓅯)

The form *ḥw* is frequent in the Pyramid Texts, starting from Unis:

Table 66 Spelling *ḥw* in the Pyramid Texts

PT 199 (Pyr. 115 b)

Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Ankhesenpepi II	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith	Iput	Wedjebtni
ḥw 𓎛𓅯		*ḥw* 𓎛𓅯			*ḥw* 𓎛𓅯	*ḥw* 𓎛𓅯		

PT 691(A) (Pyr. 2120 b, Pyr. 2123 b)

Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Ankhesenpepi II	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith	Iput	Wedjebtni
					ḥw 𓎛𓅯	*ḥw* 𓎛𓅯		

PT 534 (Pyr. 1278)

Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Ankhesenpepi II	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith	Iput	Wedjebtni
		ḥw						

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[257] The pattern "adjectival predicate + *wy*" is indeed very common. Yet *w* never merges with the preceding adjective-verb. On the contrary, it eventually drifts away from it, building a separate prosodic unit with the following pronoun, as demonstrated by the Late Egyptian form *wsy* (*wy* + *sy* → *wsy*) (Lesco 1982: 127).
[258] The absence of the particle * *ḥn* excludes an alternative lexicalization path (i.e. * *ḥn* → *ḥꜣ*).

Table 66 Spelling *ḥw* in the Pyramid Texts

	𓎛𓏲

PT 667(B) (Pyr. 1958 b-c)

Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Ankhesenpepi II	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith	Iput	Wedjebtni
		ḥw 𓎛𓏲						

At least four occurrences of *ḥw* could be identified in the non-royal funerary context, all located in Saqqara. These are:

- The inscription on the false door in the tomb of Nyankh-sekhmet (Sahure, Fifth Dynasty)[259].
- A scene on the south wall of room A1 in the tomb of Mereruka, showing the deceased in a reed boat, fowling with a boomerang, and accompanied by his wife Waatetkhethor[260].
- A beer-brewing scene on the north wall of room I in the tomb of Ankhmahor (Teti, Sixth Dynasty)[261].
- The defective form *ḥ(w)* occurs in the tomb of Wepemnefret in Giza (Fifth Dynasty) in a scene of jewelry production[262].

3-4: The forms *ḥwȝ* 𓎛𓏲𓄿 and *ḥwj* 𓎛𓏲𓇋

The variant *ḥwȝ* is first attested in the Pyramid Texts of Unis and is rendered consistently as *ḥwȝ* in the later editions of the same spell (with the exception of Neith which has *ḥw*). Allen (2017a: 159) treats *ḥwȝ* as an emendation of the original *ḥw*. The form *ḥwj* appears only once in PT 467 (Pyr. 886 a-b) in Pepi I, while the versions of the same spell in Merenre and Pepi II have *ḥw*:

Table 67 Spellings *ḥwȝ* and *ḥwj* in the Pyramid Texts

PT 245 (Pyr. 251 b)

Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Ankhesenpepi II	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith	Iput	Wedjebtni
ḥwȝ 𓎛𓏲𓄿	[*ḥ*]*wȝ* 𓎛𓏲𓄿				*ḥwȝ* 𓎛𓏲𓄿	*ḥw* 𓎛𓏲		

---

[259] *ḥw wḏ kȝ.k pw rˁw mr.y rḏt n rw.t n.t jnr* "Wish that this Ka of yours, beloved of Re, would order that a stone false door be made" (Urk. I 38: 8).

[260] Waatetkhethor says: *j mr.j ḥw rḏi.k n.(j) tfȝ* "Oh beloved, *would* that you give that to (me)!" (Mereruka I, Pl. 69, right scene).

[261] A craftsman addresses his comrade: *ḥw rf jri.k r mȝˁ.t rtḥ ˁḏ pw* "Would, then, you do rightly that the *rtḥ*-bread is in good condition" (Ankhmahor, Pl. 38, bottom register).

[262] A man, sitting in front of the cylindrical box, exclaims: *ḥ(w) wn.k n nb.f mȝ.n.(j) nw.* "*Oh, would* you belong to his (its) lord, now after I have seen it" (Wepemnefret , Fig. 219, bottom register, middle scene). Hassan (1936: 198) translated this sentence as "You will be pleasant to its possessor. I have that (ornament) seen". If we treat *wn.k(wj)* as stative an alternative translation is possible: "Wish I were its possessor, now, after I have seen it".

Table 67 Spellings *ḥwꜣ* and *ḥwj* in the Pyramid Texts

PT 467 (Pyr. 886 a-b)

Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Ankhesenpepi II	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith	Iput	Wedjebtni
		ḥwj			*ḥw*	*ḥw*		

The form *ḥwꜣ* is recorded in the colloquial sources of the Fifth Dynasty in Saqqara:

- In the tomb of Ptahhotep I in a butchering scene[263].
- In the biographical inscription in the tomb of Kaiemtjennet (the son of pharaoh Isesi)[264].

It is the variant *ḥwꜣ*, which is frequently rendered in the Coffin Texts (Oréal 2011: 51–52), e.g. CT III 334 d (S1C), CT II 351 b (S2P), CT I 198 e (B16C).

5: The forms *ḥwhꜣ*, *ḥꜣh* and *ḥhꜣ*

Ḥw can be strengthened with another particle/interjection – *hꜣ* (Edel 1964: 434 (§867)). The compound forms are limited to the Pyramid Texts only.

Table 68 Spellings *ḥwhꜣ*, *ḥꜣh* and *ḥhꜣ* in the Pyramid Texts

PT 357 (Pyr. 591 c)

Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Ankhesenpepi II	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith	Iput	Wedjebtni
	ḥhꜣ	(a) *ḥwhꜣ* (b) *ḥꜣh*			*ḥhꜣ*	*ḥhꜣ*		[ḥ]hꜣ

PT 196 (Pyr. 112)

Unis	Teti	Pepi I	Ankhesenpepi II	Merenre	Pepi II	Neith	Iput	Wedjebtni
					ḥhꜣ	[ḥ]hꜣ		

6: The form *hꜣ*

The variant *hꜣ* is alien to the Pyramid Texts but occurs in the colloquial sources of the Fifth Dynasty. In the tomb of Ptahhotep II, who shares the funerary complex with Ptahhotep I, mentioned on multiple instances above, *hꜣ* appears in a granary scene with donkeys on a threshing floor. A worker occupied with a donkey says to his comrade:

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[263] See example (Ptahhotep I, Pl. XXXVI, 2nd register from bottom) on page 121.
[264] *ḥw-ꜣ tr rḫ(.j) ṯnw.t n.t* [...] "*Wish* I would know the number of [...]" (Urk. I 184: 16).

jꜣ ḥꜣ mꜣ.k jr.t.k
Oh, you should see what you do!
(Ptahhotep II, Pl. XI, 3rd register from bottom, middle scene)

In the tomb of Sekhemankhptah a similar scene involving donkeys has *ḥꜣ* […], with the rest of the text missing (Badawy 1976 (Fig. 22)). In the tomb of Senedjemib-Inti in Giza, *ḥ[ꜣ]* is restored by Browarski (2001 (Text figure I: Section A2: 8)) in a copy of a letter, which the deceased received from pharaoh Djedkare-Isesi:

ḥ[ꜣ] j[wt.k] ḫr.(j)
Wish [you could co]me to (me)
(Urk. I 61: 12)[265]

Towards the beginning of the First Intermediate Period, *ḥꜣ* can be found in a letter to the dead from Qau el-Kebir:

ḥꜣ wpi.t w(j) ḥnꜥ sbk-ḥtp
O, would you judge me together with Sobekhotep!
(Qau bowl, outside, line 4)

The table below summarizes the distribution of the forms of the particle *ḥw* in the Old Kingdom sources:

Table 69 Spelling variants of the particle *ḥw* in the Old Kingdom sources

Forms		Pyramid Texts	Tomb inscriptions, incl. *Reden und Rufe*	Letters to the dead
ḥw		11	3	-
ḥ(w)		-	1	-
ḥw-ꜣ		3	3	-
ḥw-j		1	-	-
ḥwh				
hꜣh		8	-	-
ḥhꜣ				
ḥꜣ		-	2 (3)	1

11 out of a total 15 occurrences of the variant *ḥw* come from the Pyramid Texts. *Ḥꜣ* is absent in the Pyramid Texts but appears in the contemporaneous colloquial texts. This evidence indicates that *ḥw* is the source root, while *ḥꜣ* is its later form. Oréal (2011: 53, 55) derives *ḥꜣ* from *ḥw-ꜣ*. In fact, the occurrence of both *ḥwꜣ* and *ḥꜣ* in the same funerary complex (Ptahhotep I and Ptahhotep II)

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[265] Browarksi (2001: 94 (comment n)) notes that "Sethe has but the traces suggest ".

confirms this suggestion. *Ḥwḥꜣ* 𓈍𓏤𓆓, *hꜣh* 𓆓𓏤 and *ḥḥꜣ* 𓈍𓏤𓆓 are viewed by Oréal (2011: 53) as spelling variants of *ḥw*, signaling its gradual evolution towards *ḥꜣ*. Edel (1964: 434 (§867)) sees them as the compound particle *ḥw-ḥꜣ* 𓈍 𓏤𓆓, comprising *ḥw* plus the interjection *hꜣ*. Usually it is *w* 𓆓 which is reduced in this compound, producing the form *ḥḥꜣ* 𓆓𓏤𓆓. A similar elimination of *w* takes place with the predicative demonstrative *pw-nn* and the interrogative *pw-tr* in the Pyramid Texts. The former is reduced to *p-nn* and the latter materializes as the Middle Egyptian interrogative pronoun *ptj* "who". The forms *ḥwꜣ* 𓈍𓆓 and *ḥwj* 𓈍𓏲 can be treated as either *ḥw* + extension *ꜣ* or as a vocalized writing ("Plene-Schreibung") of *ḥw*, displaying the actual evolution *w → ꜣ*.

In the Middle Egyptian Hekanakhte letters, *hꜣ* appears alongside the new demonstrative *nꜣ*:

> *hꜣ rwḏ.tn m jḫ.t nb.t mj-nꜣ*
> May you prosper in all things accordingly.
> (Hekanakhte, Letter II, recto, lines 39-40)

It is noteworthy that *hꜣ*, in contrast to the demonstratives of the *-ꜣ* series, finds its way into the literary Middle Egyptian (Oréal 2011: 54–55). In Late Egyptian, *hꜣ* (written 𓇋𓆓𓀁) appears only in elevated literary language; in colloquial texts it is superseded by the compound *ḥꜣ.n-r*, usually followed by *n.* + suffix[266]:

> *ḫꜣ.n-r n.j pꜣy.s ḫtm šrj*
> I wish I were the small ring of hers.
> (Erman 1933: 345 (§690))

Ḫꜣ/ḫꜣ.n-r eventually merge with Late Egyptian particle *hꜣ* and its variant *hꜣ-nꜣ*, as shown by the Coptic interjection ϩⲁ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ (S), ϩⲁⲓⲉ (A) "yea, verily" (Crum 1939: 636 b; Černý 1976: 270; Vycichl 1984: 290b). The Coptic compound ϩⲁⲙⲟⲓ (S)/ⲁⲙⲟⲓ (B) "would, o that" (Crum 1939: 675 a-b) / Demotic *ḥmj* (Erichsen 1954: 275) derive from the Late Egyptian *hꜣmj*, composed of *hꜣ/hꜣnꜣ* + the particle *mj* (Westendorf 1977: 372; Černý 1976: 282; Vycichl 1984: 300b). The latter is likely the imperative form of either *mj* "come!" or *jm* "give (let)!":

> *hꜣnꜣ mj sḫꜣ.j n.k*
> Let me remind you.
> (Erman 1933: 345 (§689))

The adverb *mj-nw*
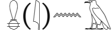
The path of the morphological evolution of the compound adverb *mj-nw* "here" (Edel 1964: 386 (§754.2)) resembles the pattern of the particle *ḥw*. In the Old Kingdom, the following forms are attested[267]:

Table 70 Spelling variants of the adverb *mj-nw*

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[266] The expression *hꜣ.n-r n.k* is translated by Erman (1933: 345 (§690)) as "would that X occur to me!" ("O, dass doch mir geschähe/zu teil wurde").

[267] The form *mj-nn* (WB II, 37: 11), which would present an alternative lexicalization paradigm (i.e. **mj-nn → mj-nꜣ*), does not appear until the 22nd Dynasty, where it is used in ritual texts and conveys the meaning "of the same title" (e.g. MMA 35.9.21, Col. 17: 7; 18:10; 31:5; 32:10).

Table 70 Spelling variants of the adverb *mj-nw*

1	*mj-nw*	𓀁𓇌𓎿𓈖
2	*mj-n(w)*	𓀁𓇌𓈖
3	*mj-nwꜣ*	𓀁𓎿𓈖𓅢
4	*mj-nꜣ*	𓀁(𓇌)𓈖𓅢
5	*mj-(n)ꜣj*	𓀁𓅢𓇌

1-2: The forms 𓀁𓇌𓎿𓈖 *mj-nw* **and** 𓀁𓇌𓈖 *mj-n(w)*

The source form *mj-nw* appears in the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Wepemnefret in Giza. A scene displaying a worker pouring beer and oil into jars includes the caption:

> *mj-nw ḥr-ḳd*
> *mḫḏ.t ḥ(n)ḳ.t*
> Everything *here*!
> *Mḫḏ.t*-oil and beer![268]
> (Wepemnefret , Fig. 219, 3ʳᵈ register from bottom, right)

Two registers below it, in a bespoken jewelry-making scene, exhibiting the defective spelling of particle *ḥ(w)*, one of the metal-workers addresses his comrade:

> *ptḥ mri tw mj mrr.j*
> *ꜥrk.f mj-n(w)*
> Ptah loves you as I do!
> It is ready *now*!
> (Wepemnefret , Fig. 219, bottom register, middle)

The temporal adverb "now", spelled as 𓀁𓇌𓈖 *mj-n(w)*, is the semantic extension of the spatial deictic *mj-nw*. The spatial meaning of 𓀁𓇌𓈖 *mj-n(w)* is found in PT 317 W (Pyr. 507 a), where the sun-disc determinative ☉ (N5), usually accompanying the adverb of time, is missing. Allen and Der Manuelian (2005: 23:60 [222]) translate *mj-n(w)* accordingly as "here":

> *jy.n wnjs mj-n(w) m-ḫnt mḥ.t ꜣgbj*
> Unis has come *here* in advance of the flood's immersion.
> (PT 317 W (Pyr. 507 a))

The same spelling is present in the biographical inscription of Harkhuf in Qubbet el-Hawa, also rendered as "here" by Lichtheim (1973: 24):

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[268] Hassan (1936: 13) translates "Make this thoroughly. I am pouring beer".

jy.n.(j) mj-n(w) m nw.t.(j)
I have come *here* from (my) city
(Urk. I 121: 11)[269]

3: The form *mj-nw3* 𓀁𓏲𓏤𓆭

The form *mj-nw3* occurs in the colloquial discourse of the Fifth Dynasty. In the burial chamber of the tomb of Kaiemankh, a sailing scene in the upper register of the north wall has the the inscription:

rs r ḥr
mr jmn.t
mj-nw3 tp nfr pw
Watch the steering rope!
The canal of the west!
This here, it is a good beginning!
(Kaiemankh J, Taf. III, right)[270]

In the tomb of Akhethotep in Saqqara, dated to the reign of Djedkare-Isesi, a similar sailing scene on the east wall of the chapel A shows the spelling *mj-nw3*:

mj-nw3 tp nfr pw
sš33 nfr.(w)
Here, it is a good beginning!
The voyage is good!
(Akhethotep, Fig. 37, bottom register, left)[271]

A sailing episode, displayed on the southern wall of the entrance in another Fifth-Dynasty tomb, that of Iymery (Giza, West Field (G 6020)), dated to the reign of Nyuserre-Ini (Weeks 1994: 5)), also includes *mj-nw3* "here" (Iymery, Fig. 25, left).

4-5: The forms *mj-n3* 𓀁𓈖𓆭 **and *mj-(n)3j*** 𓀁𓆭𓏭

Proceeding to Sixth Dynasty, we encounter yet another variant of the adverb *mj-nw* in Saqqara, in the tomb of Mereruka's wife, Waatetkhethor. Two scenes, depicting the dancers on the north wall of room B3, contain the phrases:

jw mj-n3   (Waatetkhethor, Pl. 60, 3rd register from bottom)
jw mj-(n)3j   (Waatetkhethor, Pl. 60, 4th register from bottom)

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[269] In Late Egyptian interrogative phrases inquiring about time use the pattern of locative expressions (Kupreyev 2013): *wr n jtr.w m šm.t r š3ʿ ḳdt* "How many miles is the march to Gaza?" (pAnastasi I, 27: 8) vs. *wr r p3 h(r)w m ḏr jwi.k n p3 n.tj jmn jm* "How many (days) to this day is it since you came from the place where Amun is?" (Wenamun, I: x+15-x+16). Both sentences follow the model *wr (n jtr/hrw) r (p3 hrw/ḳdt)* "how many (in X) until (Y)".

[270] Kanawati's (2001: 16/1:42) translation: "Watch the steering rope; the canal of the west; thus all goes well". Junker (1940: 57) reads: "Achte auf das Lenktau! – Der Kanal des Westens! – So wahrlich ist es gut" with further remarks on the translation of the phrase *mj-nw-3 tp nfr pw* on pp. 58-59. *Tp-nfr pw* "this is a good beginning" occurs in the tomb of Senedjemib-Inti, room II, east wall (Brovarski 2001: fig. 39 middle register, left scene).

[271] Ziegler's (1993: 125) (2007: 99) translation: "Ainsi tout va bien et le voyage sera bon".

Kanawati (2008: 26:26) follows Roth (1992: 141) and reads them as "It is today", while Grunert translates "(I am) like these (ones)"[272]. The aforementioned relation of the temporal and locative expressions allows also spatial interpretation of *jw mj-nꜣ* as "here".

During the transition from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Dynasty, we meet the spelling *mj-nꜣ* in the graffiti, dated to year 20 of the nomarch of the 15th Upper Egyptian ("Hare") nome Djehutihotep:

> *jy nb mj-nꜣ n jni.f šꜣ.y* [...]
> Everyone who came *here*, he did not bring what was appointed [to him]
> (Hatnub Gr. 32: 6)

At the onset of the Middle Kingdom *mj-nꜣ* coexists with the demonstratives of the *ꜣ*-series in the letters of Hekanakhte:

> *jy.n.j mj-nꜣ m ẖnt.yt*
> As I came *here* going upstream
> (Hekanakhte, Letter I, recto, lines 9-10)

The Late Egyptian *mj-nꜣ* (Erman 1933: §595; Neveu 1996: 28) obtains two forms in Bohairic Coptic, distinguishing proximal and distal notions with ⲙⲛⲁⲓ (B) "here" and ⲙⲛⲏ (B) "there" (Westendorf 1977: 94–95).

The emphatic particle *w*

In the Pyramid Texts the spelling of this particle often displays an additional morpheme *ꜣ*:

> *nfr wꜣ mꜣw*
> *ḥtp wꜣ ptr*
> How beautiful is the sight!
> How pleasing is the vision!
> (PT 306 W (Pyr. 476 a))

In Middle Egyptian, the spelling *wj* is common (Gardiner 1957: 47 (§49)), which, according to Edel (1964: 418–19 (§834)), renders the real consonant inventory of this particle. For Edel, the Middle Egyptian *wj* is not the product of an *w + ꜣ* extension, but the "Plene-Schreibung" of *w*. In contrast to *ḥw* and *mj-nw* the emphatic *w* does not change to *ꜣ*. This is apparent in the Hekanakhte letters, which use the demonstratives *pꜣ* and *nꜣ*, the adverb *mj-nꜣ* and the negation *nfr-ꜣ* alongside the unchanged *nfr w st* "How good it is!" (Hekanakhte, Letter I, verso, lines 4 and 17). In Late Egyptian, *wj* is combined with the 3rd person dependent pronoun *sy/sw/st* to produce the lexeme *wsy* (Wb I, 359: 3; TLA Lemma 49490), written with the adverbial determinative ⸗ (N 21). *Nfr wsy* is a Late Egyptian equivalent of the Middle Egyptian *nfr wj*:

> *nfr wsy tꜣy.j wnw.t* {*j*}
> How beautiful is my hour!
> (pHarris 500, recto, 7: 5)

The demonstratives *pw, tw, nw*

The demonstratives *pw*, *tw*, *nw* also occur in abridged and full spelling variants. The truncated *p(w)* can be non-defective, i.e. resulting from the destruction or the physical arrangement of the text on the wall. The lack of space seems to explain the missing *w* in the fishing scene in the tomb of Sekhemka in Giza (the east wall of the chamber):

> *ḥꜣm p(w) ḥꜣb pw*
> *jwi.s jn.n.(s) ḥꜣb nfr*
> What a fishing, What a catch!
> It [the fish-net] comes bringing a good catch!
> (Sekhemka, Fig. 4, 4th register from top, left)[273]

The layout of the inscription possibly conditioned the truncated spelling *p(w)* in a market scene in the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Niankhkhnum und Khnumhotep in Saqqara: in it the character 𓅭 *w* can be assigned to both *nṯr.w* (*nṯr.w*-cloth) and *pw*:

> *ḏd.(j) nn r mꜣꜥ*
> *nṯr.w p(w) nwr ḥmw.t*
> I say this truly:
> The *nṯr.w*-cloth of thorough handwork!
> (Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, Abb. 10, 4th register from top, right)

Similarly, in PT 273-74 W (Pyr. 399 c) and PT 301 W (Pyr. 447 b) the writing *p(w)* is caused, according to Allen (2017a: 40), by the lack of space. The form *p[w]*, elicited by the destruction, is observed with predicative *pw* in pBerlin 11301:

> *sꜣr p[w] n s[ḥḏ ḥm-nṯr jpj]*
> Th[is] is a wish of the chi[ef priest Ipi]
> (pAbusir, Pl. 80 A, line 6)

In the following, I will analyze the abridged and full forms of the roots *p-*, *t-* and *n-*, which, in my opinion, are not conditioned by the physical environment.

The demonstrative *pw*

The forms based on the root *p-* are[274]:

Table 71 Spelling variants of the demonstrative *pw*

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[273] Grunert restores *p(ꜣ)* instead of *p(w)* (*ḥꜣm p(ꜣ) ḥꜣb pw*) and translates "This fishing is a catch" ("dieses Fischen ist ein Fang": http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&db=0&tc=8346&ws=144&mv=3, accessed on 15.01.2015). Yet *pw* is confirmed by the parallel attestations, listed in *Table 59 Substitution of pj by pw* on page 140.

[274] Included in this table are the forms *pꜣj* and *pꜣw*. These are interpreted as short variants of the personal names such as *pꜣ-n.(j)/ jw-pꜣ-n.(j)* "This one (belongs) to me" and *n.n-pꜣ* "To us (belongs) this one" (see Table 60), incorporating recognitional demonstratives *pw/pꜣ* (see pages 119 and 146). The pragmatic foundation for the categorial shift demonstrative -> personal name can also be provided by the appellative use of the *w-* and *ꜣ-*series (see page 16). In that case the endings *w, j, ꜣ* demonstrate the phonological development of the demonstrative root proper in the new (non-clitic) prosodic environment. There is, however, a possibility that *pꜣj*, *pꜣw* und *nꜣꜣ* (see Table 73) are hypocoristic „terms of endearment" (German "Kosenamen"), where the demonstrative roots are extended with the diminutive suffixes *w, j, ꜣ* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 72–84).

Table 71 Spelling variants of the demonstrative *pw*

Standard	Defective		Extended
	regular	strengthened	
pw ▯🦅	*p(w)* ▯(🦅)	*p(w)-nn* ▯(🦅) 〰〰	̲275
p3 𓅽, ▯𓃟	*p(3)* ▯(𓃟)	*p(3)-nn* ▯(𓃟) 〰〰	*p3j, p3w* ▯𓃟𓏭, 𓅽𓃟🦅, 𓅽𓃟🦅
pj ▯𓏭	-	-	*pjj* ▯𓏭𓏭

The defective writing *p(w)* is attested in a cattle scene in the tomb of Waatetkhethor, the wife of Mereruka (room B1, west wall, left). A herdsman is addressing his comrade, who is taking care of the calving cow:

> *sfḫ wr.t nr p(w) jw ḳsn.(w) r.s*
> Take delivery effectively, *o herdsman*, it is painful for her.
> (Waatetkhethor, Pl. 56, 3rd register from bottom)

The empty space behind ▯ *p* and the same expression in the tomb of Ti with *pw* spelled out confirm the phonological motivation behind the abridged variant of the emotive demonstrative[276]. In a sailing scene in the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Kaiemankh, the caption reads:

> *ḫ.t.k ḥr mw t3j p(w)*
> Your body toward the water, *o man*!
> (Kaiemankh J, Taf. V)[277]

Again, the availability of space below ▯ *p* and the appearance of exactly the same phrase in the tomb of Akhethotep in Saqqara show that the omission of 🦅 *w* was intentional[278]. Another occurrence of a defective *p(w)* in a navigation episode in the tomb of Ti can be treated not as adnominal but predicative:

> *jr t3-wr mw m3ꜥ p(w)*
> Towards the larboard side: *it is* the right water!
> (Ti I, Pl. XLIX, bottom register, middle)

The predicative *pw* is regularly reduced when it is strengthened by the demonstrative *nn*, creating a compound form *p(w)-nn*:

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[275] Extended variants *pw-j* ▯🦅𓏭, *pw-y* ▯🦅𓏭𓏭 are attested in Middle Kingdom only (see below in this chapter).

[276] *sfḫ jd.t wr.t nr pw* "Take delivery from the cow effectively, *o herdsman*!" (Ti II, Pl. CXXIV, top register, right).

[277] Translation according to Kanawati (2001: 16/1:42–43).

[278] *ḫ.t.k ḥr mw t3j pw* "Your body toward the water, *o man*!" (Akhethotep, Fig. 37, bottom register, left) (Ziegler 1993: 144).

> *jtm s3.k pw p(w)-nn wsjr*
> *d.n.k sdb.f ˁnḫ.f*
> O Atum, *this one* is that son of yours, Osiris,
> whom you have caused to revive and to be alive!
> (PT 219 W (Pyr. 167a))

Another form of the root *p-* is the predicative *pj*, used extensively in the Pyramid Texts (Edel 1964: 87; 489 (§193; §959); Allen 2017a: 37–41; Gundacker 2010: 74 (footnote 166)). Its variant *pj-j*, to my knowledge, is attested once outside of the Pyramid Text corpus in the tomb of Neferiritenef (Saqqara, Fifth Dynasty):

> *jnk pjj*
> *It* is me
> (Neferiritenef, Pl. XXX and pages 59, 63)

The extended forms of *pw*, comparable to *ḫ-w3/ḫ-wj*, *mj-n-w3*, *w3*, do not occur during the Old Kingdom. They appear in the Middle Kingdom as *pwj*, *pwy* and are resticted to religious and literary discourse, such as the Coffin Texts (Gardiner 1957: 86 (§112); Lefebvre 1955: 61 (§95)). They also show up in pWestcar, where *pwy* is attested three times in the phrase *m rn.k pwy* "in this your name ..." (pWestcar, 10,9; 10,16-17; 10,24). The complete absence of *pwj/ pwy* in the colloquial context of the Middle Kingdom proves that these were not the living deictic forms, but the rendering of by then archaic Old Egyptian adnominal demonstrative *pw*[279].

The latest manifestation of the recognitional and emotive *pw* is *p3*, which is written as 🐦 in the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Kaiemankh in Giza (see the passage on page 145), and as ▢🐦 in the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Tjauti in Hamra Dom/el-Qasr es-Saiyad (see the passage on page 146). A defective writing of the recognitional *p3* appears in the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Hesi in Saqqara. A beer manufacturing scene depicts a woman smearing the inner side of the jar, possibly with the purpose of sealing its inner surface; another woman is sitting in front of a pile of *bd3.w*-moulds (baking forms). The caption of the scene reads:

> *jwi bd3.w*
> *jt p(w/3) nw*
> The *bd3.w*-molds are coming.
> Take *this nw*-pot!
> (Hesi, Pl. 61, bottom register)[280]

The same expression is rendered in the beer-making scene in the tomb of Mehu in Saqqara. The worker smearing the inner side of the jar says to his comrade, who pours the beer:

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[279] *Pw-j/pw-y* should be differentiated from the copula *pw* conflated with the dependent pronoun of the 1st person *wj* (Gundacker 2010: 45–46 (footnote 23)):
    jnk pw sj stt pw <w>j t3s-pḫr
    It is me and I am it (and vice-versa).
    (CT VII 157 c)

[280] Kanawati (1999: 13:40) transliterates only the first part of the hieroglyphic inscription: *jw bd3.w* (...)"The *bd3*-moulds ..." I adopt the transliteration and translation of Grunert (2001: 51): *jw bd3.w jt p(3) nw.w* "Die *bd3*-Formen kommen. Nimm diese(n der) Töpfe" with one emendation - Kanawati's drawing shows the *nw*-pot in singular.

jr r.k
jt̲ p(ꜣ) nw.w
sk.w(j) mri(.j) sš̌r
You do (it)!
Take *this (one of)* *nw*-pots!
I want to seal (other pots)!
(Mehu, Taf. 16 a)[281]

An extended spelling of *pꜣ* is known, albeit only as the personal name "This one":

pꜣj	▢𝍦𝍡	Tomb of Iineferet, Giza, Fifth Dynasty
		(Schürmann 1983: 17 (Pl. 3))
pꜣw	▢𝍦𝍡𝍦	Tomb Q 10, Sharuna, Sixth Dynasty
		(Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 353 [1076])
pꜣw	𝍦𝍡𝍦	Tomb of Djersenedj, Saqqara, Sixth Dynasty
		(Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 353 [1076] (footnote 2))
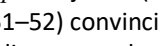
The demonstrative *t̲w*

The forms based on the root *t̲-* are the following:

Table 72 Spelling variants of the demonstrative *t̲w*

Standard	Defective		Extended
	regular	strengthened	
t̲w, jt̲j-w ⌒𝍦, ⦀𝍡	*t̲(w) n.t N* ⌒ (𝍦)	-	-
t̲ꜣ ⌻	-	-	-
t̲j ⦀	-	-	-

The adnominal demonstrative *t̲w* is quite common in "Reden und Rufen". One example in the tomb of Ti is particular as *t̲w* co-occurs with what is apparently the first attestation of the Late Egyptian interrogative pronoun *jḫ* "who?". In the harvesting scene on the northern part of the chapel's east wall, two men are trying to keep a donkey steady so that flax sheaves can be loaded on its back. One

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[281] Altenmüller (1998: 108) transliterates *jr.k t̲pnww sk.wj mr(.j) sš̌r* and translates "Du (der Biergießer) magst *t̲pnw* machen. Ich (der Bierkrugverschmierer) komme gleich nach". He notes that the meaning of the word *t̲pnw* is unknown and reads it as "Ausrufen (im Zusammenhang mit einer Abrechnung)", "shout out (the reckoning)" relating it to *t̲pnpn* "rejoice" (TLA lemma 175250), attested in PT 653B Nt (Pyr. 1840) (Altenmüller 1998: 109). Grunert (2001: 51–52) convincingly shows that the sequence of the characters ▭ ▢ ∘∘∘ 𝍦 should be read as *jt̲ p(ꜣ) nw.w* ("nimm diesen von den Töpfen"). He thereby refers to the writing of the verb *jt̲* "to take" in an Old Kingdom title ▭ 𝍦▭ as *jt̲ -ꜣw* "carrier/taker of the offering" (Kaplony 1972: 41). Note that the noun *nw*-pot this time is clearly in plural.

man is beating the donkey with a stick and another one is pulling the donkey by the leg and ear. The inscription says:

> *wn (j)ḫ ꜥr.t tw*
> *dmj r.s*
> What is (with) *this ꜥr.t-*donkey?
> Hold it!
> (Ti III, Pl. CLIV, 2nd register from bottom, left)[282]

The regular form *tw* is used in the Coptos decrees with the noun *spꜣ.t* "nome" (*spꜣ.t tw* "this nome" ((Urk. I 289: 6) (Urk. I 298: 9)). In the Abusir papyri, we encounter *tw* as a pronominal demonstrative written defectively and accompanied by the attributive expansion (indirect genitive):

> *t(w) n.t šnw.t* [...]
> That of the granary [...]
> (pAbusir, Pl. 63 A , XXX)

The same form surfaces on the north wall of the rock chamber in the tomb of Niankhkhnum und Khnumhotep in the corn measuring scenes:

> *t(w) n.t šnw.t jt ḫꜣ*
> *t(w) n.t šnw.t bd.t ḫꜣ*
> That of the corn granary: 1000 (units).
> That of the emmer granary: 1000 (units).
> (Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, Abb. 24, 2nd register from bottom)[283]

Grunert perceives *t(w)* in this phrase as an abridged variant of *tꜣ*[284]. The first proven occurrence of *tꜣ* is dated to the First Intermediate Period. In a letter to the dead, the demonstrative *tꜣ* is spelled in an unusual way with the sign ⌂ ("potters kiln", Gardiner U 30): *tꜣ mnṯꜣ.t* "this vessel" (Chicago OM 13945, Line 3; see the passage on page 148).

A feminine pendant to the predicative *pj – tj –* is recorded in the Pyramid Texts:

> *jy ḫꜣ.t jy ḏr.t*
> *ꜣs.t tj ḥnꜥ nb.t-ḥw.t*

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[282] Erman considers *ꜥr.t* to be a swearword for a donkey and interpretes *jḫ* as an interrogative pronoun: "Ich sehe nicht, was das *jḫ*, *ḫ* anders sein kann als das Fragewort *jḫ*, das dann hier in der Volkssprache viel früher aufträte als in der Sprache der Literatur" (Erman 1919: 251). Grunert sets the word boundaries differently: *wnḫ ꜥr.t tw* "load this trailing net" (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetTextDetails?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=13233&db=0, accessed on 15.01.2020), interpreting *wnḫ* as "to clothe; to be clothed; to loosen (hair, cord)" (TLA lemma 46920). Apart from the inept semantics, this word is only attested in religious contexts in the Old Kingdom. Translating *ꜥr.t* as "trailing net" (TLA lemma 39460) is also problematic – according to TLA this is its only occurrence, even though the scenes of transport of sheaves on donkeys are common in Old Kingdom tomb decorations (Harpur 1987: 204–20, 1987: 262–63 (Appendix, nos. 55-66), 1987: 369 (Table 8)). Erman's variant is therefore more plausible.

[283] Similar in the 1st register from top: *t(w) n.t jt šn.t t(w) n.t bd.t ḫꜣ* "That of corn: 100 (units); that of emmer: 1000 (units)". Moussa and Altenmüller (1977: 127) read *t(w) n.t it* as *tn.t* "count", related to *ṯnwt* "count; quantity" (TLA lemma 175850).

[284] http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=11485&db=0&ws=64&mv=2, accessed on 15.01.2020).

The screecher has come, the kite has come:
It is Isis and Nephthys.
(PT 535 Pᶜ, N (Pyr. 1280b))

The Pyramid Texts also evidence the particular variants of this demonstrative: *jtj-w* 𓏭𓏌𓅱 and *jtj-n* 𓏭𓈖:

jm jwi ḥr.w/ stḫ m jw.t.f jtj-w ḏw.t
Let Horus/Seth not come in *this* bad coming of his.
(PT 534 P (Pyr. 1268 a)) (PT 534 P (Pyr. 1269 a))

jr.t.f jtj-n bn.t
sḫt n.k s jp n.k s
ḥḥꜣ nḫḫ ḥr.k
This sweet eye of his,
return it to you, allot it to you!
O, may it endure with you!
(PT 357 T, Pᵇ, M, N, Nt (Pyr. 591 c))

Taking into account the grammaticalization paradigm of non-verbal copulas, predicative *pj, tj* could be analyzed as the descendants of the demonstratives *pj, tj*, and *jtj-w/jtj-n* respectively as extensions of these earlier demonstrative roots with deictic suffixes *-w /-n*. However, version Pᵃ of PT 357 (Pyr. 591 c) renders *jt-n* 𓏭𓈖 instead of *jtj-n* 𓏭 and the preceding passage of PT 534 P (Pyr. 1267 a) has 𓇏𓅱 instead of *jtj-w* 𓏭𓏌𓅱. As the masculine variants **jpj-w/*jpj-n* are also not known, I am inclined to view *jtj-w/jtj-n* as the spelling variants of regular *tw* and *tn* (cf. Edel (1964: 19 (§41))[285].

The demonstrative *nw*

The forms based on the root *n-* are the following:

Table 73 Spelling variants of the demonstrative *nw*

Standard	Defective		Extended
	regular	strengthened	
nw 𓈖𓏌𓅱	-	-	*nwꜣ, nwy, nwj* 𓈖𓅆, 𓈖𓏌𓅱𓏭, 𓏥𓏌
nꜣ 𓈖𓅆	-	-	*nꜣꜣ* 𓈖𓅆𓅆

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[285] The feminine singular form *jtn* appears elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts:
wsjr NN ḏbꜣ.n.(j) kw m jr.t ḥr.w
rnn-wt.t jtn nrt.n n.s nṯr.w
Osiris NN, I have arrayed you with Horus's eye,
This Renenutet of whom the gods have been fearful.
(PT 622 N (Pyr. 1755 a-b))

The adnominal *jpn* occurs in the Demotic parts of the Ptolemaic sacerdotal decrees in the phrase *m hrw jpn* "on this day" (Spiegelberg 1925: 17 (§12); R. Simpson 1996: 29–30).

The pronominal *nw* is the only demonstrative of the *w*-family which never loses its final consonant. We encounter the full form of *nw*, for example, in a scene of force-feeding the birds on the south wall of the portico in the tomb of Ti:

> *jm ḫpr nw n t*
> Make *this bread*!
> [lit. Let that of bread appear!]
> (Ti I, Pl. VII, 1st register from top, right)[286]

Nw can be written out with the final *ꜣ*, for example in the inscription in the Sixth-Dynasty (Pepi II) tomb of Ibi in Deir el-Gebrawi. Its chapel (the northernmost part of the west wall) displays [*ḫrp*] *zḥ jrr ḥzz.t* "a [director] of the dining hall, who does what is favored" (Kanawati 2007: 25:38). Behind him a man stirs a pot with meat in it, saying:

> *jw nwꜣ ḫpr(.w)*
> *This* is ready!
> (Ibi, Pl. 50, right part, middle register)[287]

The variant *nwy* is present on the false door of Nefer at Giza (Fifth to Sixth dynasties):

> *jr jr.tj.fj jḫ.t ḏw r nwy*
> *wnn wdꜥ.(w) ḥnꜥ.f jn nṯr*
> With regard to him who shall do anything evil to *this (tomb)*,
> he shall be judged by god.
> (Junker 1944: 148 (Abb. 60) = Urk. I 225: 16-17)

According to Edel (1964: 89 (§200)) *nwy* here may as well represent the possessive pronoun *nw.j* "this one of mine". The spelling of *nw* in similar expressions varies between *nwy* in Urk. I 72: 4; Urk. I 225: 16; Urk. I 226: 5 and *nw* in Urk. I 225: 18. The form *nw-j* appears in Pyr. 128 a, which Allen and Der Manuelian (2005: 23:30 [143]) interpret as dual:

> *bw.t wnjs nwj*
> *n wnm.n.f bw.t nw-j*
> *Those (two)* are the abomination of Unis,
> He does not eat the abomination of *those (two)*.
> (PT 210 W (Pyr. 128 a))

Teti's rendering of this spell has, however, *nw*, while Allen on another occasion observes that "Unis's texts indicate no distinction between plural and dual [demonstrative] forms" (Allen 2017a: 37). That *nw-j* is not a dual is confirmed by the plural form *jpw* in *mtrḥ.wj jpw* "these two *mtrḥ*" in the same

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[286] Compare similar phrases in the butchering scenes in the tombs of Tjauti and Ptahhotep: *jm ḫpr nw m-ꜥ.k* "Let it appear in your hand!" (Tjauti, Pl. 27, upper register, middle); *jm ḫpr nn* "Let it happen!" (Ptahhotep I: Pl. XXXVI).

[287] The hieroglyphic spelling of *nw-ꜣ* is ⌒𓆷, without the usual *nw*-pot. Fischer (1976: 11) notes that "despite the very contracted writing, it does not seem likely that *nw-ꜣ* has been reduced to *nꜣ*; although the latter also makes an occasional appearance in the colloquial statements attached to Old Kingdom scenes of daily life (...), it is evidently patterned on the demonstrative *pꜣ* and *tꜣ*".

spell (PT 210 W (Pyr. 128 b)). This evidence advocates for *nw-j* as a variant writing of *nw* rather than a special dual form or a possessive pronoun 1 p. singular.

In a sequence of the butchering scenes in the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Tjauti in Hamra Dom/el-Qasr es-Saiyad, discussed on page 168, the recognitional form *n3* ＿＿ appears alongside *nw*. The phrases *n3 n.tj m ꜥ.(j)* "*that* which is in (my) hand" (Tjauti, Pl. 26, top register, right) and *mj ḫpr nw m-ꜥ.k* "let *it* appear in your hand!" (Tjauti Pl. 27, upper register, right) mention the referent known to the dialogue participants – the foreleg (*ḫpš*).

The lengthened variant of *n3* occurs twice in the Gebelein papyri as the nickname *n33* "That one" (pGebelein, Tav. 15 C: line 5) (pGebelein, Tav. 34: line 86). The name of the head of the village (*ḥḳ3*) in the same papyri is *nw nṯr* "This of god" (pGebelein, Tav. 30: line 1) (Posener-Kriéger 2004: 49)[288]. Another name in pGebelein of the same deictic base is *nj-33* "That one" (pGebelein, Tav. 39: line 80) (pGebelein, Tav. 40: line 23)(Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 448 [1737]).

The discussed patterns of the reduction and the extension of the Old Kingdom demonstrative pronouns *pw/p3/pj, tw/t3/pj, nw/n3* are summarized below[289]:

Table 74 Patterns of reduction and extension of the deictic suffixes *-w, -3, -j*

Base	*-w*				*-3*				*-j*
	Standard	Extended	Defective		Standard	Extended	Defective		
			regular	streng.			regular	streng.	
p-	*pw* ▢🦅	-	*p(w)* ▢(🦅)	*p(w)-nn* ▢(🦅) ⌇⌇	*p3* 🦅, ▢🦅	*p3j* ▢🦅 *p3w* ▢🦅🦅	*p(3)* ▢(🦅)	*p(3)-nn* ▢(🦅) ⌇⌇	*pj* ▢🦅 *pjj* ▢🦅🦅
t-	*tw, jtjw* ⌒🦅, ⫙🦅	-	*t(w)* ⌒(🦅)	-	*t3* ⌒	-	-	-	*tj* ⫙

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[288] Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 425 [1580]) reads the *nw*-pot (○) in this name as the compound *n(.j)-wj*: *n(.j)-wj-nṯr* "I belong to god".

[289] The phenomenon of *w→3* transition is possibly attested not only with functional words. The lexeme *ḥt3* "*ḥt3*-bread" (Wb III, 204: 8-9)(TLA lemma 112070) occurs at least twice with the spelling *ḥtw*:

- In the offering list on the coffin of prince Min-Khaf (Giza, Fourth Dynasty (Khafra)): *ḫ3 šb.w ḫ3 ḥtw rꜥ.w nb* "A thousand of provisions, a thousand of *ḥtw*-bread, every day" (Smith 1933: pl. 23 (col. 5)). Smith (1933: 152) transcribes *ḥt3.w*, indicating plural, albeit elsewhere in this text *ḫ3* "thousand" is followed by nouns in singular (including a singular masculine collective *šb.w* "provisions" (Wb IV, 437:6-9)), which corresponds to the common pattern in Old Egyptian (Edel 1964: 172 (§398)). Schweitzer (2005: 15 (§22)) treats this case as a scribal error ("Verschreibung").
- In the offering list in the tomb of Mereruka's son Meri-Teti (chamber 3, south wall): *ḥtw* 2 "two (loaves) of *ḥtw*-bread" (Meryteti, Pl. 49, offering list, middle register, right).

During the Old Kingdom this noun is regularly written defectively as *ḥt*. The earliest spelling *ḥt* known to TLA is the Fourth Dynasty tomb inscription of Khafkhufu (Giza) (W. K. Simpson 1978 (Fig. 32, offering list, 2nd register from top)).

Table 74 Patterns of reduction and extension of the deictic suffixes -*w*, -*ꜣ*, -*j*

Base	-*w*			-*ꜣ*			-*j*
	Standard	Extended	Defective	Standard	Extended	Defective	
			regular streng.			regular streng.	
n-	*nw*	*nwꜣ*	- -	*nꜣ*	*nꜣꜣ*	- -	-
		nwy					
		nwj					

Words with the final root consonant other than *w*

The demonstratives *nf-ꜣ* and *tf-ꜣ*

There are a number of deitic lexemes, whose final root consonant is other than *w*, but which likewise occur with the enclitic *ꜣ*. *ꜣ* extends the demonstratives of the *f*-series *nf* (*nf-ꜣ*) and *tf* (*tf-ꜣ*), while the lack of *pf-ꜣ during the Old Kingdom is a matter, most probably, of the fragmentariness of the written records. An ambiguous phrase on the Sixth-Dynasty sarcophagus of Niankhpepi from Saqqara renders *nf-ꜣ*:

> *jnk nf-ꜣ ḥr ꜣḫ ḥr.j-jb.s*
> I am *that one*: the face of the *ꜣḫ*-spirit in its middle.
> (Hassan and Iskander 1975: 22 (Fig. 11))[290]

In the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Mereruka, the south wall of the room A1 depicts the deceased in a reed boat, fowling with a boomerang and accompanied by his wife Waatetkhethor. The latter addresses her husband:

> *j mr.j ḥw rḏi.k n.(j) tf-ꜣ [ꜣpd.t nfr.t]*
> Oh beloved, would that you give me *that* [beautiful foul]!
> (Mereruka I, Pl. 69, right scene)[291]

The demonstratives *pf-ꜣ*, *tf-ꜣ*, and *nf-ꜣ* are common in the colloquial and literary sources of the Middle Kingdom. In contrast to the strictly adnominal *pn* and *tn*, *pf-ꜣ* and *tf-ꜣ* can be used pronominally:

> *zꜣ pf-ꜣ pw*
> It is a son of *that one.*
> (Maxims of Ptahhotep: 621 (18, 14))

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[290] The translation follows Gunnert:
 http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&db=0&tc=11832&ws=16&mv=3, accessed on 15.01.2020). Fischer (1979: 180 [pp. 21-22]) notes that "the transcription of the hieroglyphic coffin-text is faulty at several points, as may be seen from the plates, but the plates are not clear enough to produce a definitive copy. It seems to begin: '[Retre]at, be far from me, assessors! I am the one who shines afar in the midst of the vultures'".
[291] Restoration [*ꜣpd.t nfr.t*] according to Fischer (1978: 45–46).

The Middle Egyptian form *pf-j* is not attested in the Old Kingdom. Gardiner (1957: 85 (§110)) treats it as a variant of *pf*, albeit in Late Egyptian *pf-j*, *tf-j* are functional pendants of stronger *pfꜣ*, *tfꜣ* (Erman 1933: 51 (§116)).

The adverb ꜥꜣ-ꜣ

In the discussion of certain expressions used in the Hekanakhte papers, James (1962: 109–10 [3]) contemplates that the adverb ꜥꜣ might actually represent two different words: **ꜥaꜣ* "here" and **ꜥēꜣ* "there". He draws parallels to the Late Egyptian adverb *dj*, which conceals two words appearing as ⲧⲁⲓ "here" and ⲧⲏ "there" in Bohairic Coptic (cf. Sethe (1912: 100)). The spelling ꜥꜣ-*y*, indeed, comes up in a letter to the dead, dated to the Sixth Dynasty:

> *mri.(j) jni.k n.k wn ꜥꜣ-y r-gs.k*
> *r mꜣꜣ(.j) zꜣ.k ḥr zꜣ jzzy*
> I had rather you took to yourself him who is *here* before you
> than that I should see your son with Isesi's son.
> (Cairo linen, line 8)[292]

The form ꜥꜣ-*y* is, according to Edel (1964: 384 (§753)), a variant of ꜥꜣ presenting the sound change ("Lautübergang") ꜣ → *j*. A nonexistent Coptic equivalent of it would be *ⲁⲓ "here", whose vowels are rendered by the Bohairic proximal adverbs ⲙⲛⲁⲓ "here" and ⲧⲁⲓ "here", as well as the proximal demonstrative ⲫⲁⲓ "this". The Bohairic distal forms ⲙⲛⲏ "there", ⲧⲏ "there", ⲫⲏ "that one" suggest the presence of the distal variant of ꜥꜣ (*ⲏ "there"). Edel finds such a form in a letter from el-Lahun in the Middle Kingdom:

> *dd.k gr.t zpr.j ꜥꜣ-ꜣ*
> *jw pꜣ pr smꜥr.(w)*
> You shall cause me to arrive *there*,
> once the house is put in order.
> (Grdseloff 1949: 60 column 3))

The juxtaposed clitic *-ꜣ*, following Edel (1964: 384 (§753)), lengthened the vowel of the ultimate syllable and produced the emphatic distal demonstrative ꜥꜣ-ꜣ. The table below summarizes the bespoken views on the grammaticalization of the Bohairic proximal and distal forms:

Table 75 ꜣ-extension of proximal forms

	Middle Egyptian		Late Egyptian	Bohairic Coptic	Translation
	James	Edel			
proximal deixis	ꜥꜣ (*ꜥaꜣ)	ꜥꜣ-y (*ꜥeǎꜣ)	-	*ⲁⲓ	here (ADV)

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[292] Translation follows Gunn (1930: 150). The extended form ꜥꜣ-*y* occurs twice in this letter (lines 8 and 10); in other Old Kingdom colloquial sources, the regular form ꜥꜣ is used, e.g. Naga ed Deir N 3500, lines 2, 3, 4; Berlin bowl, line 1.

Table 75 ꜣ-extension of proximal forms

	Middle Egyptian		Late Egyptian	Bohairic Coptic	Translation
	James	Edel			
	-	-	*dꜣ, dj* *mj-nꜣ* *pꜣ*	ⲧⲁⲓ ⲙⲛⲁⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ	here (ADV) here (ADV) this (DEM)
distal deixis	ꜥꜣ (**ꜥēꜣ*)	ꜥꜣ-ꜣ (**ꜥ́ēꜣ ̆ꜣ*)	?	*ⲏ	there (ADV)
	-	-	**dꜣ-ꜣ,* **mj-nꜣ-ꜣ,* **pꜣ-ꜣ*	ⲧⲏ ⲙⲛⲏ ⲫⲏ	there (ADV) there (ADV) that one (DEM)

Erman (1933: 52–53 (§§120-121)) hypothesizes yet another grammaticalization channel for Coptic affective demonstrative pronouns ⲡⲏ (S)/ⲫⲏ (B) "that one". He sees their source morpheme in a peculiar variant of the root *pꜣ – pꜣ-w* 𓂚𓄿𓀜 – which appears in the New Kingdom. Erman remarks that this demonstrative is attested in the masculine form only and has a neutral meaning. It is never used adnominally:

> *nfr r jḳr ḫj pꜣ-w j.jr.w.k nb pꜣ gm tꜣ psḏ.t m jr.t*
> Very good is all *that* you have done and *what* the Ennead has found to do.
> (Horus und Seth 15, 4)[293]
> → *pronominal use (determinative, extended by the relative clause)*

> *pꜣ-w btꜣ.y n pꜣ n.tj mj-ḳd.j sḏm mtj m.ty.f ḥꜣpw st*
> It is a sin for one in my position to hear a thing and to conceal it.
> (pAbbot, 6, lines 16-17 (Plates III-IV)
> → *predicative use*

The geographic distribution of the source texts with *pꜣ-w*, most of which are dated to the Twentieth Dynasty, shows that this form could be a local Theban phenomenon.

Conclusions

The table below presents the overview of the deictic and non-deictic forms, analyzed in this chapter:

Table 76 Overview of the analyzed forms

	Standard	Defective	Extended

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[293] Note that in this phrase only the first *pꜣ* is lengthened with *-w*, the second remains unchanged (*pꜣ-w j.jr.w.k* vs. *pꜣ gm tꜣ psḏ.t*).

	Ø + w	Ø + 3	Ø + j	Ø	w + 3/j	f + 3	3 + 3/j/y/w
Non-clitic	ḥw	ḥ3	-	ḥ(w)	ḥ-w3, ḥ-wj	-	-
	mj-nw	mj-n3	-	mj-n(w)	mj-n-w3	-	mj-(n)-3j
	nw	n3	-	-	n-w3 , n-wy, n-wj	-	n-33
	nf	-	-	-	-	n-f3	-
	tf	-	-	-	-	t-f3	-
	ꜥ3	-	-	-	-	-	ꜥ-3y
?	-	-	pj	p(j)	-	-	p-jj
	-	-	tj	-	-	-	-
Clitic	w	3*	-	-	w3	-	-
	pw	p3	-	p(w), p(w)-nn	-	-	p-3j, p-3w
	tw, jtjw	t3	-	t(w) n.t N	-	-	-

The table shows that the extended variants are common with non-clitic lexemes. The prosodically dependent adnominal *pw* and *tw* do not possess extended forms during the Old Kingdom[294]. The presence of such lengthened variants can be conditioned by accentuation and positional variability: non-clitics can be stressed and unstressed, while clitics normally do not carry stress; non-clitics are flexible, while clitics have a fixed position in the noun phrase. For example, the spelling of the non-clitic numeral *fdw* "four" in the Pyramid Texts of Unis seems to depend on its position[295]. According to Allen (2017a: 234), *fdw* occurs five times as *fd* and two times as *fdw* in Unis. Taking a closer look, we see that two full spellings appear when *fdw* initiates a sentence (PT 260 W (Pyr. 316 b), PT 303 W (Pyr. 464 b)), while all occurrences of a shortened *fd* are non-initial (PT 263 W (Pyr. 339 b), PT 298 W (Pyr. 443 b), PT 303 W (Pyr. 467 b), PT 304 W (Pyr. 470 a), PT 308 W (Pyr. 488 a)). Similarly, the initial *mj-nw3* in Kaiemankh is contrasted to a non-initial abridged *mj-n(w)* in PT 317 W (Pyr. 507 a) and Harkhuf (Urk I, 121: 11), as well as a non-initial *mj-n3* in Hatnub graffiti.

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[294] An exception from this pattern is the enclitic emphatic particle *w*, rendered in the Pyramid Texts in the extended variant *w3*. This spelling may signal the beginning of the process, which was completed in the New Kingdom: *w* followed by further prosodic elements, could obtain stress and de-cliticize (cf. Fecht (1960: 129): "Die Partikel *wj* war enklitisch, d.h. stets unbetont, wenn nicht ein weiteres Enklitikon folgte (...) Im Neuen Reich ist aber die Konstruktion Adjektiv + *wj* + Personalpronomen, in der die Partikel betont war, sehr häufig (...) Die Annahme liegt nahe, dass hier das in tonloser Stellung aus *-wăj* entstandene *-wă sekundar betont wurde"). The extended forms *p-3j*, *p-3w* emerged after *pw*, *tw* obtained the front-positioning in the noun phrase, see the explanation below in this chapter.

[295] I thank Marwan Kilani for the fruitful discussion on how the accentuation might affect the spelling of the variants of *pw*.

The following theses can thus be put forward:

- The extended variants ḥ-wꜣ, ḥ-wj, mj-n-wꜣ, n-wꜣ, n-wy, n-fꜣ, t-fꜣ represent non-clitic accentuated forms.
- The "defective" Ø variants ḥ(w), mj-n(w) represent non-accentuated forms.
- The "standard" spelling ḥw, mj-nw, nw as well as ḥꜣ, mj-nꜣ, nꜣ can stand for both.

Accordingly p(w), t(w) are the allomorphs of the non-accentuated clitic pw, tw, while pꜣ, tꜣ, nꜣ can stand for both stressed and non-stressed variants. These conjectures allow us to establish the following relation of Old Egyptian and Bohairic Coptic deictic forms[296]:

Table 77 Old Egyptian recognitional deictica and Bohairic determinatives

		Old Egyptian spelling			Bohairic spelling
		standard	not stressed	stressed	
clitic	recognitional demonstrative/ define article	pw tw	p(w)/pꜣ t(w)/tꜣ	pꜣ tꜣ	ⲡ-/ⲫ- ⲧ-/ⲑ-
	possessive article	-	p(w)-n t(w)-n[297]	-	ⲫⲁ- ⲑⲁ-
non-clitic	demonstrative	nw	nꜣ	nwꜣ, nwy, nꜣ	ⲛⲉ ⲛ-
	copula	pw tw	p(w) t(w)	pw/pj tw/tj	ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉ
	possessive pronoun	nw.f	-	nw.f	ⲛⲟⲩϥ

The Sahidic deictica ⲡⲁⲓ (ⲡⲉⲓ-), ⲧⲁⲓ (ⲧⲉⲓ-), ⲛⲁⲓ (ⲛⲉⲓ-), according to Fecht, derive from the demonstrative pn, which means that their Bohairic equivalents ϥⲁⲓ (ⲡⲁⲓ-), ⲑⲁⲓ (ⲧⲁⲓ-), ⲛⲁⲓ (ⲛⲁⲓ-) could also have developed from the strong members of the attentional paradigm pn, tn, nn. Yet the phonetic structure of Bohairic demonstratives ϥⲁⲓ/ⲡⲏ, ⲑⲁⲓ/ⲧⲏ, ⲛⲁⲓ/ⲛⲏ mirrors the adverbs ⲙⲛⲁⲓ "here"/ⲙⲛⲏ "there" and ⲧⲁⲓ "here"/ⲧⲏ "there", which do not have the n-suffixed predecessors (*mj-

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[296] The northern origins of the attentional system operating with pw/pꜣ, tw/tꜣ, nw/nꜣ is explicated in chapter *4.2. Diatopic features*.

[297] Late Egyptian p(ꜣ)-n, t(ꜣ)-n (Černý and Groll 1984: 45 (§3.6); Erman 1933: 55–56 (§127)).

nn and **dn*). These emerge from the Old Egyptian *mj-nw/mj-nꜣ* and **dw/dꜣ* (=*dj*)[298]. Moreover, the Old Kingdom *pn*, *tn*, *nn* display no traces of morphological development towards *pꜣy*, *tꜣy*, *nꜣy*.

I suggest that the foundation for Bohairic ⲫⲁⲓ (ⲡⲁⲓ-), ⲑⲁⲓ (ⲧⲁⲓ-), ⲛⲁⲓ (ⲛⲁⲓ-) was laid by the *accentuated*, *non-clitic* variants of recognitional *pw*, *tw*, *nw*. The presence of such forms as *mj-n-wꜣ*, *mj-(n)-ꜣj*, *n-ꜣꜣ*, *t-fꜣ* and *n-fꜣ* in the Sixth-Dynasty inscriptions, and the absence of the corresponding **pw-ꜣ*, **tw-ꜣ*, shows that clitic *pw*, *tw* were not able to obtain stress. This became possible only *after* *pw* and *tw* were moved to the front of the noun phrase, as the occasional spelling of personal nicknames *p-ꜣj* and *p-ꜣw* reveals[299]. The weak and the strong *pꜣ*, *tꜣ* were initially not differentiated in writing. The strong forms, based on pre-posed *pꜣ*, *tꜣ*, *nꜣ*, should have eventually pushed *pn*, *tn*, *nn* out of the attentional paradigm and laid the foundation for Bohairic demonstratives ⲫⲁⲓ (ⲡⲁⲓ-), ⲑⲁⲓ (ⲧⲁⲓ-), ⲛⲁⲓ (ⲛⲁⲓ-). This explains the similarity between the Bohairic demonstrative and adverbial phonemic patterns, recapitulated in the below table. The Bohairic proclitic "strong articles" ⲡⲓ-, ϯ-, ⲛⲓ, used with pragmatically (anaphorically) definite nouns, also belong to this group:

Table 78 Emergence of strong deictic forms

	OE	LE	Coptic
demonstrative	*p-ꜣj*	*p-ꜣy*	ⲫⲁⲓ/ⲡⲁⲓ- (B)
strong article	-		ⲡⲓ-
demonstrative	**t-ꜣj*	*t-ꜣy*	ⲑⲁⲓ/ⲧⲁⲓ- (B)
strong article	-		ϯ-
demonstrative	*n-ꜣꜣ*	*n-ꜣy*	ⲛⲁⲓ/ⲛⲁⲓ- (B)
strong article	-		ⲛⲓ
adverb (prox.)	*d-ꜣ*	*d-ꜣ*[300]	ⲧⲁⲓ (B)
adverb (prox.)	*mj-(n)-ꜣj*	*mj-n-ꜣ*	ⲙⲛⲁⲓ (B)

The suggested pattern does not exclude the evolution of the deictica *pn, tn, nn* (belonging to the the *alternative* - distal – system) towards the Sahidic forms ⲡⲁⲓ (ⲡⲉⲓ-), ⲧⲁⲓ (ⲧⲉⲓ-), ⲛⲁⲓ (ⲛⲉⲓ-). However, this development must have taken place considerably later, after the Old Kingdom. Both rows – the *pw-*

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[298] The *dw → dꜣ* change is discussed in chapter *The deictic root *d-w* below.

[299] The syntactic and prosodic conditions, triggering the forward-movement of clitics, are discussed in the next chapter.

[300] "Ägyptisch nur *dꜣ* (sicherlich so, nicht *di*) "hier", "dort", koptisch ⲧⲁⲓ/ⲧⲏ (Vycichl 1933: 172–73)". The presence of the deictic root **dw* is suggested in chapter *4.3.*.

derived and *pn*-derived – must have eventually merged, creating a seeming synergy of Coptic Sahidic and Bohairic patterns.

The grammaticalization of the strong emphatic demonstratives ⲡⲏ (B, S), ⲧⲏ (B, S), ⲛⲏ (B, S), as well as the distal adverb forms ⲧⲏ (B), ⲙⲛⲏ (B), can be assigned to the Late period: the standard Late Egyptian does not operate with the spatial contrast "proximal"/"distal". In fact, the Theban innovation *p-3w* occurs around the Twentieth Dynasty. It can be related to the extension of the root with the emphatic particle *-3(-w)*, which eventually lengthened the final vowel (Fecht 1960: 127 (§379)). This *p-3w* is viewed by Erman (1933: 53 (§121)) as candidate for the predecessor of Coptic ⲡⲏ. The *3*-extension could have been applied to other deictic roots as well:

Table 79 Birth of the affective forms

	LE	Coptic
	p-3w	ⲡⲏ (B, S)
demonstratives (affective)	**t-3w*	ⲧⲏ (B, S)
	*n-3w	ⲛⲏ (B, S)
adverbs	**t-3w*	ⲧⲏ (B)
	*mj-n-3(w)	ⲙⲛⲏ (B)

The morphological analysis has revealed the mutual dependence between the formal realization of the deictic roots and their syntactic behavior. In order to clarify the chain of events, leading to the establishment of the *proclitic* and *non-clitic* deictic forms, the following chapter will analyze the syntactic features of Old Kingdom demonstratives.

4.1.3. Syntactic features

So far, I have approached the paradigmatic relationship of *pw*, *tw*, *nw* and *p3*, *t3*, *n3* from pragmatic, semantic, and morphological angles. However, one accompanying phenomenon has not been touched so far – the relocation of the demonstrative pronoun to the front of the noun phrase. This process has been labelled "conversion" ("Konversion") by Hintze (1947, 1950), who views it as an interaction of suprasegmental features, such as stress and intonation, with syntax. For Hintze, the demonstrative is moved to the front because the existing *regressive* (descending) accentuation type emphasizes the first element of the phrase. The steps can be summarized as follows:

Step 1: *Regressive* accentuation (Determined (*D*) + determiner (*d*); *D* is accentuated).

Step 2: Occasional placement of the determiner in the front for emphasis (Hintze's examples from the Pyramid Texts: *pn rw/pf rw* "this lion/that lion" (PT 284 W (Pyr. 425 d)); *pn gs/pf gs* "this side/that side" (PT 305 W (Pyr. 472 a-d)). The determiner obtains the first position and is thus accentuated.

Step 3: The sporadic front-placement becomes a norm and its emphatic effect is diminished. *P3* is introduced at this point.

Step 4: The noun as the semantic head of the phrase ("Bedeutungsträger") takes over the accentuation again: the shift from the regressive (Determined + determiner; *Dd*) to *progressive* (determiner + Determined; *dD*) type is completed. Eventually, other determining elements, such as the possessive suffix, follow the demonstrative[301].

According to Hintze (1947: 99), the reasons for the pronominal conversion lie in the "pursuit of expressivity" ("Streben nach Expressivität"). Schenkel's objection to this theory underlined the fact that front-placement is restricted to Pyramid Texts: if pre-nominal use would be becoming habitual, more such patterns should have occurred towards the end of Old Kingdom (Schenkel 1966: 127). In fact, the opposite tendency gained the upper hand – *pn* turned into a fixed adnominal enclitic in Middle Egyptian. The driving force behind the conversion in Schenkel's (1966: 129) opinion was the communicative need for maximum convenience/ease of use ("Streben nach Bequemlichkeit").

The accentuation patterns of the Egyptian language were also explored by Fecht (1964), who distinguished the sentence stress ("Satzakzent") and the word stress ("Wortakzent"). The sentence stress is carried by the phonetic word (or *colon*, German *Kolon* (Fecht 1964: 16–17)), which may contain several syntactic words, but is treated as a single prosodic unit. The borders between colons are not constant and depend on the pragmatic goals of the utterance. For example, the German sentence "Ich-warte-dort" ("I-wait-there") usually constitutes a single prosodic word. Yet to underline the fact that it is the speaker who is waiting and not someone else, it may be pronounced as if containing two colons ("ich | warte-dort"). Fecht (1964: 30–37) established a number of rules describing the syntactic conditions under which phrases build prosodic units in Egyptian. The rules are valid from the Middle Kingdom on, while the prosody of the Old Kingdom deviates at some

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[301] In a later article, Hintze (1950: 44) states that the terms „determined" ("Bestimmte") and „determiner" ("Bestimmendes") are misleading and uses "central" and "lateral elements of the syntagm" instead.

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points as colons might be syntactically smaller[302]. The following table presents a selection of rules relevant for the current study:

Table 80 Prosodic rules in Middle Kingdom Egyptian (Fecht 1964)

Rule no.	1st colon (prosodic unit)			Prosodic border	2nd colon (prosodic unit)
C 1	noun	+	adjective/participle	|	
C 2	noun	+	adjective/participle	|	adjective/participle[303]
C 4	noun	+		|	compound attribute (nisbe + noun; adj./partic. + noun)[304]
E 1	noun	+	direct genitive	|	
E 2	noun	+		|	indirect genitive
G 4	noun	+	demonstrative (noun clause)	|	
K 1	noun	+	demonstrative (noun phrase)	|	

Fecht (1964: 34) admits the difficulty in drawing the prosodic borders in complex nominal phrases, such as *jmn ḫpr m ḥ3.t* "Amun who appeared in the beginning" *(noun + participle + preposition + noun)*. For such two options are available: 1) *jmn-ḫpr | m-ḥ3.t* or 2) *jmn | ḫpr-m-ḥ3.t*. The ambiguity also persists in 3-membral phrases where the first term – *a noun, an adjective or a participle* – is followed by *preposition + noun*. These can be seen as one or two prosodic words, e.g. *rm.w ḥr jtr.w* "the fish in the river": 1) *rmjw-ḥr-jtrw* or 2) *rmjw | ḥr-jtrw*. Fecht's considerations are relevant for defining the prosodic conditions, which could have triggered the emergence of the proclitic *p3*.

In this chapter, the syntactic features of the demonstratives are analyzed in order to establish the syntactic settings which enable or prevent their front-movement. The four types of syntactic environments are addressed (cf. Allen (2017a: 37–41; 83–93):

- Adnominal use: the demonstrative follows or precedes the noun[305].
- Pronominal use: the demonstrative is the subject or object of a verbal predicate; the subject of an adverbial predicate; the direct genitive; or the determinative introducing the juxtaposed relative phrase.

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[302] "Die Regeln sind für die Zeitspanne vom Mittleren Reich bis zu den jüngsten hieroglyphischen Texten gültig. Die Metrik des Alten Reichs weicht in einigen Punkten ab (einige Kolen sind noch kleiner, der Satzakzent war also noch etwas schwächer)" (Fecht 1964: 31).
[303] E.g. *jḫ.t-nb.t-nfr.t wˁb.t* constitutes two colons.
[304] E.g. *PN m3ˁ-ḫrw* constitutes two colons.
[305] "Attributive use" according to Allen (2017a: 39).

- Predicative use: the demonstrative is the subject, predicate, or copula of a nominal clause.
- Adverbial use: the demonstrative functions as an adverbial modifier.

Adnominal use

Two features characterize the Old Kingom adnominal demonstratives:

- their position in the noun phrase, in which the demonstrative precedes or follows the noun;
- their spelling, with demonstratives written in the full or a defective form.

Pw and *pn* are normally used adnominally following a noun. They are enclitics which belong to the prosodic unit of the head noun (Fecht 1960: 126 (§240, §242)). This also applies to the emotive, or vocative, *pw*, which in colloquial contexts is often written defectively, e.g. *t3j p(w)* "o, man" (Kaiemankh J, Taf. V, see p. 167). The prosodic features of the newcomer *pf* are more intricate. The presence of the non-clitic *pf3* makes Fecht think that neither *pf* was clitic[306]. For emphatic purposes *pn* and *pf* can be placed in front of the noun, e.g. *pf rw / pn rw* "that lion/this lion" (PT 284 W (Pyr. 425 d), see page 131), *pf gs* "that (yonder) side" (PT 531 P (Pyr. 1254 a-c), see page 136). The pre-posed *pn* is not limited to the Pyramid Texts. In a scene displaying the final stage of harvesting and winnowing the barley in the tomb of Ti, *pn* precedes the noun *jt* "barley" while *pw* follows it: *f3 ꜥ.t m pn jt* "Lift *this barley*!" vs. *j3ḫ s3(r) n jt pw* "Sieving of *the barley*" (Ti III, Pl. CLV, bottom register, left; see page 126).

The prenominal position, on the other hand, is not typical for *pw*. In fact, *pw* in its full (non-defective) form *never* precedes the noun. "Reden und Rufe" provide two rare examples of the reduced recognitional *p(w)* used prenominally: *p(w/3) nw* "this *nw*-pot" (Hesi, Pl. 61, bottom register) and *p(w/3) nw.w* "this one of *nw*-pots" (Mehu, Taf. 16 a), see page 168. In a letter to the dead dated to the First Intermediate Period, another example of the pre-nominal *pw* appears, as a reduced variant of the feminine plural form *jptw*: *jptj b3k.tj* "those serving-maids" (Chicago OM 13945, line 5, see page 123).

Unusual is a single occurrence of *pj* – normally a predicative demonstrative (see below) – in an adnominal role. In a butchering scene in a tomb of Setikai in Giza (Fifth Dynasty), the caption next to the butcher reads:

> *wni ṯn (m) k(3)* ***pj***
> You shall hurry up (with) *this* bull!
> (Setikai, Abb 87, bottom register)

Pronominal use

The demonstrative root *n-*

A pronominal use is regular for the genus commune demonstratives *nw/nn*. Following Allen (2017a: 38), we can isolate the following syntactic roles that the pronominal *nw/nn* can obtain:

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[306] "Vielleicht ist *pf* nie enklitisch gewesen" (Fecht 1960: 127 (§243)).

Table 81 Syntactic roles of *nn/nw*

As the subject of a nominal predicate	*ꜥn.t tw nn n.t jtm.w* *This is* the fingernail of Atum. (PT 229 W (Pyr. 229 a))
As a nominal predicate	*wnjs pj nw n zšzš wbn n tꜣ wꜥb(.w)* Unis is *the lotus [lit. "this of lotus"]* which rises clean into the world. (PT 249 W (Pyr. 264 b))
As the subject of a verbal predicate	*ny nw pr m r.k r.k ḏs.k* *This which* comes from your mouth is rebuffed towards you yourself. (PT 241 W (Pyr. 246 b))
As the object of a verbal predicate	*ḏd.(j) nn r.k* I have said *this* against you. (PT 227 W (Pyr. 227 b)) *j ḫ(w) wn.k n nb.f mꜣ.n.(j) nw* Oh, would you belong to his (its) lord, now after I have seen *it*. (Wepemnefret , Fig. 219, bottom register, middle scene) *sḫꜣ nw ḏd.n.k n jrtj zꜣ ᵕyj* Remember *this*, which you have said to Irti's son Yi. (Cairo linen, line 12)
As a part of an adverbial predicate (nominal part in a prepositional phrase)	*jw wnjs m nn* Unis is *like that*. (PT 273-74 W (Pyr. 414 a))
As an adverbial in a verbal clause	*j.sk.f j(w)f (...) m nw ḥr.j rmn.wj rᵕw* He will purge the flesh (...) *with that which* is on the Sun's shoulders. (PT 268 W (Pyr. 372 d-e))

It is remarkable that in four out of a total nine occurrences of *nw* in the Pyramid Texts of Unis *nw* is used as a determinative followed by the relative phrase ("It adds deixis to a following phrase" (Allen 2017a: 38)). A similar syntactic behavior is typical for *nꜣ*, which in one of the earliest attestations, is also extended by the relative phrase: *nꜣ n.tj m ꜥ.(j)* "that which is in (my) hand" (Tjauti, Pl. 26, top register, right, see page 146). *Nꜣ* also occurs as the object of a verbal predicate: [*jr.k*] *nꜣ* "[You should do] it" (Idu-Seneni, Pl. 10, 3rd register from bottom, middle; see page 147). The demonstrative *nw* can carry possessive suffixes directly attached to it: e.g. *nw.k n mtr.w* "this witness of yours" (PT 806: 6 Nt)[307].

The demonstrative roots p- and t-

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[307] Schweitzer (2005: 129) provides examples of personal names written 𓂝 *nnk* and 𓈖 *nnkj*, which he interpretes as nisbe plus indepenedent pronoun of the 1st person: *n.j jnk*. Those can as well represent the demonstratve *nn* with a personal suffix: *nn.k*. A frequent spelling *nwy* in the expression *jr jr.tj.fj jḫ.t ḏw r nwy* "with regard to him who shall do anything evil to this [tomb]" (Urk. I 225: 16-17) is hardly a possessive pronoun *nw.j* "this [tomb] of mine", but a lengthened form of *nw* as explained in the previous chapter.

Pn and *pf* can be used pronominally obtaining the role of the subject in sentences with a verbal predicate, e.g. *ms(i.w) n.k pf jwr(.w) n.k pn* "That one has been born to you, this one has been conceived to you" (PT 215 W (Pyr. 142 c)). The syntactic function of *pn* in PT 215 W (Pyr. 143 b) is interpreted by Allen (2017a: 40) as a direct genitive, attached to the nominal possessum: *n jj pn n nkn pn* "There is no hurt of this one, there is no injury of this one" [308]. The Naga ed Deir papyrus MFA 04.2059 has a rare case of pronominal *pn* followed by the relative form:

> *jr n.f nn jr n.j pn h3b.n.k [ḥr.s]*
> Do this for him and do for me this, [about which] you wrote.
> (Naga ed Deir MFA 04.2059, verso, line 1)

Pf can possibly obtain the same syntactic role:

> *[...] pf jwt.jt ʿš3* "[...]
> [...] that which is often missing [...]
> (pAbusir, Pl. 28 H)

The role of determinatives, functioning as anchor points for the following attributive extensions, is, however, more typical for *pw, tw*, e.g. *t(w) n.t šnw.t [...]* "that of the granary [...]" (pAbusir, Pl. 63 (A), XXX; see page 170). The determinative function of the *w*-series is very common, in contrast to the *n*- and *f*-series, whose definition Allen prefers to give not in syntactic, but in functional and semantic terms:

> The distinction between the three plural demonstratives is fairly clear: *jpn* is used for simple deixis, *jpf* connotes a degree of distance between the speaker and the referent, and *jpw/jptw* is used either *vocatively* or as *deictic to a following attribute [my emphasis]* (...) As with the plurals, *pw/tw* is used most often *for deixis to a following attributive [my emphasis]*; *pn/tn* are also attested in the same environment, though far less often (Allen 2017a: 39).

The syntactic distribution of *p3* follows the pattern of *pw, tw*. The first occurrences of *p3* are accompanied by the relative phrase: *p3 mry* "the beloved one" (Kaiemankh J, Abb. 9), *p3 n.tj ḥr nḏr.t mn.t* "the one holding the haunch" (Tjauti, Pl. 26, bottom register). The pronominal *p3* is encountered in personal names, where it serves as subjects of the adverbial predicate: *jw-p3-n.(j)* "This one (belongs) to me" (Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 220 [154])) and *n.n-p3* "To us (belongs) this one" (Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 413 [1508])). A standalone pronominal *p3* can have an extended spelling: *p3-j* (Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 353 [1075])) and *p3-w* (Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 353 [1076])) "This one".

Adverbial use

N-demonstratives can obtain the syntactic properties of adverbs. This function is attested for *nn* (Edel 1964: 385–86 (§754)):

> *nfr.t jwi.s nn ḥr s3ḥ.w-rʿw*
> A beautiful one, she is coming *here* to Sahure.
> (Urk. I 169: 8)

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[308] A statement of non-existence expressed with "*n* + nominal element (nouns and noun phrases, participle and *sḏm.tj.fj* forms)" (Allen 2017a: 96).

> *šn.t(w).t ḏs.t nn srḳ.t*
> You yourself will be encircled *here*, scorpion.
> (PT 230 W (Pyr. 234 a))

Nw is only used adverbially in combination with *mj*, e.g. *mj-nwȝ tp nfr pw* "Here, it is a good beginning!" (Akhethotep Fig. 37, bottom register, left; see p. 164). The adverbial use of *nȝ* is not introduced until the late Eleventh - early Twelfth Dynasty:

> *ḥr prr.j nȝ ḏs.j*
> As I have left from here on my own.
> (Hatnub Gr. 22: 15)

The adverbial function of the deictic roots *p-/t-* is not attested.

Predicative use

In the Pyramid Texts of Unis, Allen (2017a: 83–93) distinguishes two types of sentences with nominal predicates that involve demonstrative pronouns: *A pw* and *A pw B*. In *A pw* clauses the element *A*, expressed normally with the noun phrase, is the predicate, and *pw*, rendered by the demonstratives *pw/pj/p* and *nn/nw*, is the subject, e.g.:

Table 82 *A pw* clauses in the Pyramid Texts of Unis (Allen 2017)

A	pw		
Predicate	*Subject*		
kȝ.k	*nn*		That is your bull (PT 282 W (Pyr. 423 c)).
ˁn.t tw	*nn*	*n.t jtm.w*	This is the fingernail of Atum (PT 229 W (Pyr. 229 a)).
tȝz 2	*nw*	*n.w ȝbw*	These are the two spells of Elephantine (PT 230 W (Pyr. 234 b)).
bw.t wnjs	*nwj*		Those are the abomination of Unis (PT 210 W (Pyr. 128 a)).
rˁw	*pj*	*ḥnˁ ḏḥw.tj*	It is Re and Thoth (PT 210 W (Pyr. 128 c)).
šw	*p*	*ḥnˁ tfn.t*	It is Shu and Tefnut (PT 301 W (Pyr. 447 b)).

According to Allen, the *A pw B* construction does not contain the inherent predicate: the relationship between the thematic and rhematic information in it is dynamic. There, element *A* stands for the noun phrase, a participle, or a relative form, while *B* is represented by the noun phrase, nisba or another attributive phrase, verbal noun, demonstrative, participle and *sḏm.f*-form. The copula *pw* can be expressed with *pj*, but the use of the latter is governed by the editorial practice – it occurs in the phrases, where the original first person pronoun was edited to *wnjs* (i.e. *jnk pj B → wnjs pj B*); *wnjs pw B* is attested three times only, in PT 254 W (Pyr. 293 b), PT 309 W (Pyr. 490 a), PT 310 W (Pyr. 493 a) (Allen 2017a: 86). In PT 247 and PT 258, *pj* and *pw* co-occur, which leads Allen to the conclusion that "*pj* represents the editor's redaction while *pw* can be seen as a rendition of the

original text, unaltered" (Allen 2017a: 86). There is no accordance in gender/number between *pw* and *A/B* in Unis, e.g.:

Table *83 A pw B* clauses in the Pyramid Texts of Unis (Allen 2017)

A	*pw*	B	*Translation*
ḫnm.tjt.f	*pj*	*jꜣ.tjt*	His nursemaid is the Milk-Goddess (PT 211 W (Pyr. 131 d))
mdw ḥr.s	*pw*	*gbb*	The one who argues for it is Geb (PT 306 W (Pyr. 480 a))
j.kt.k	*pj*	*ḫꜣz.t tn*	This clamberer is the one you should attack (PT 282 W (Pyr. 423 a-b))[309]

The pragmatic features of the demonstratives of the joint attention system allow us to refine the *A pw (B)* model drawn by Allen. The division of labor between *pn/nn* as attention shifters and *pw/nw* as attention trackers means that the major distinction runs not between bi- an tri-partite in nominal clauses, but between two types of expressions: *A pw/pj* "It is A" and *A nn* "This is A". Different from the pragmatic point of view, they affect the role of the third element, *B*. In the first type of construction, *A pw/pj*, *B* continues the demonstrative *pw/pj*: "*B, it is A*", or, simply "*A is B*". In the second type of noun clause, *A nn*, *B* explains *A*: "*This is A, namely B*". *A nn B* clauses thus exclude the equational reading *"*A is B*".

A pw/pj (+ B) clauses

The relationship between *B* and *pw/pj* in the construction of the type *A pw/pj* can be exemplified as follows:

Table 84 *A pw* clause, with *B* continuing *pw/pj*

B	A	pw/pj		B
	ꜥḥꜥ.w *ḏr.f*	*pj* *pj*	*n wnjs*	*nḥḥ* *ḏ.t*

The lifetime of Unis is continuity, his limit is eternity (PT 273-74 W (Pyr. 412 a)).

B	A	pw/pj		B
	bw.t.f	*pw*		*tꜣ n ꜥḳ wnjs m gbb*

His abomination is the ground; Unis does not enter into Geb (PT 258-59 W (Pyr. 308 b)).

B	A	pw/pj		B
rꜥw-ꜣj	*j.kt.k*	*pj*		

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[309] Note a different segmentation of this spell by Sethe (1935b: 188):

    j ḫꜣz.t tn rꜥw-ꜣj   jkt.k pj
    ḫꜣz.t tn   rꜥw-ꜣj   n.j nnb ḥkn.w

The vulture's mouth is your attack (PT 282 W (Pyr. 423 a)).

Unis's *A pj B* clauses are rendered in the later Pyramid Texts with either *A pw B* or with cleft-sentences *jn A Ø B*. The element *A* in *A pj* clauses can carry additional determiners such as possessive pronouns, an adnominal *pw* and a direct or indirect genitive. However, in Unis it is *never* accompanied by the demonstrative *pn*, even though the later rendering of the original *A pj* construction may contain *A pn*, compare:

Table 85 *A pw* clause, with *B* continuing *pw/pj*: later rendering (1)

B	A	pw/pj		B
	wnjs	*pj*		*ꜥpr jꜥb ꜣḫ.w.f*
	ttj	*pw*		*ꜥpr jꜥb ꜣḫ.w.f*

Unis/Teti is an equipped one, who united his Akh-powers (PT 273-74 W, T (Pyr. 398 a))[310].

	wnjs	*pj*		*wḏꜥ mdw.f (…) (m) hrw pw n rḫs sms.w*
	jn ttj	-		*wḏꜥ mdw.f (…) (m) hrw pw n rḫs sms.w*

Unis/Teti is the one, whose case (…) was decided (on) the day of butchering the seniors (PT 273-74 W, T (Pyr. 399 a-b)).

	wnjs	*pj*		*wnm ḥkꜣ.w.sn jꜥm ꜣḫ.w.sn*
	jn ttj	-		*wnm ḥkꜣ.w.sn jꜥm ꜣḫ.w.sn*

Unis/Teti is the one who eats their magic and swallows their akhs (PT 273 W, T (Pyr. 403 c)).

	wnjs	*pj*		*wy r jb zꜣ šw*
	ppj pn	*pw*		*wy r jb zꜣ šw*

Unis/this Pepi is woe to the son of Shu's heart (PT 261 W, P (Pyr. 324 a)).

The pattern *A pn pw B*, ungrammatical for Unis, is sanctioned in the later Pyramid Texts:

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[310] Rephrasing *wnjs pj → ttj pw* also in PT 273 W, T (Pyr. 394 c).

Table 86 *A pw* **clause, with** *B* **continuing** *pw/pj*: **later rendering (2)**

B	A	pw/pj		B
	wsjr	*pw*		*wnjs m zz.w*
	ttj pn	*pw*		*wsjr m zz.w*

Osiris is Unis/this Teti in a dust cloud (PT 258 W, T (Pyr. 308 a)).

	A	pw/pj		B
	jr.t tn	*tw*	*n.t ḥr ḏj.t.n.f n wsjr*	

This is this eye of Horus that he gave to Osiris (PT 598 M, N, Nt (Pyr. 1643 a)).

A nn (+ B) clauses

In the second type of nominal clauses in Unis – *A nn* – the juxtaposed element *B* explains not the demonstrative, but the noun *A*. *A* can be modified by possessive pronouns and adnominal *pw*:

Table 87 *A nn* **clause, with** *B* **extending** *A*

A	nn	GEN	B
kꜣ.k	*nn*		*wꜣš jrr.w nn jr.f*

This is your bull, the esteemed one against whom this is done (PT 282 W (Pyr. 423 c)).

A	nn	GEN	B
ꜥn.t tw	*nn*	*n.t jtm.w*	*ḥr.jt ṯꜣz bḳs.w nḥb.w-kꜣ.w*

This is the fingernail of Atum, that is on the vertebra of Ka-Allocater's spine (PT 229 W (Pyr. 229 a-b))[311].

A	nn	GEN	B
jr.t tw	*nn*	[*nt ḥr.w*	*rwḏ.t*]

This is the eye [of Horus that is firm] (PT 244 W (Pyr. 249 a)).

jtm.w	A	nn	GEN	B
jtm.w	*zꜣ.k pw*	*p(w)-nn*		*wsjr ḏj.n.k sḏb.f ꜥnḫ.f*

O Atum, this one is the son of yours, Osiris, whom you have caused to revive and to be alive

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[311] Translation follows Allen (2017a: 84). Compare Sethe (1935a: 188) "Dies hier ist der Nagel des Atum, der auf dem Rückenmarkswirbel der *Nḥbw-kꜣw*-Schlange war" and Faulkner (1969: 54) "This here is the fingernail of Atum which is (pressed) on the spine of *nḥbw-kꜣw*". The same construction (*A pw nn*) in PT 683 N (Pyr. 2047 c), PT 238 W (Pyr. 242 c), PT 244 W (Pyr. 249 a), PT 592 M (Pyr. 1616 a), PT 683 N (Pyr. 2047 c). Though Sethe (1935a: 189) perceives *tw nn* as a compound (*A tw-nn*), the examples below show that *tw* should have been reduced if that was the case.

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Table 87 *A nn* **clause, with** *B* **extending** *A*

(PT 219 W (Pyr. 167 a))[312].

A pw (+ B) phrases

The clauses of the type *A pw p(w)-nn* and *A pw nn* reveal that *pw* functions there as an adnominal demonstrative. In fact a number of *A pw B* clauses, where *B* is a relative phrase, could be read as *nominal phrases* containing an adnominal *pw*. This is suggested, for example, by the pragmatic setting of Pyr. 160c. The passage, interpreted as nominal clause by Allen (2017a: 40, 84) and Edel (1964: 490 (§960)), can also be understood as a juxtaposed nominal phrase:

> *sjꜥ n.k sw*
> *šn n.k sw m ẖnw ꜥ.wj.k*
> *zꜣ.k pw n ḏ.t.k n ḏ.t*
> Elevate him to you!
> Encircle him within your arms –
> *This bodily son of yours*, forever!
> (PT 217 W (Pyr. 160 b-c))

Similarly, in Pyr. 1324c an adnominal *pw* accompanies the topicalized subject *mr.y-rꜥw*, which is extended with the attributive construction:

> *n jn ppj pn ḏd nn jr.tn nṯr.w*
> *jn ḥkꜣ ḏd nn jr.tn nṯr.w*
> *mr.y-rꜥw pw jr(.y) jꜣ.t ẖr.t ḥkꜣ*
> *pry.f rf šwy.f rf jr p.t*
> This Pepi is not the one who says this against you gods:
> Magic is the one that says this against you gods.
> *This Meryre, belonging to the mound that has magic,*
> He emerges and ascends to the sky.
> (PT 539 P (Pyr. 1324 a-d))

Mr.y-rꜥw pw "this Meryre" in that case continues the previously introduced *ppj pn*, establishing the endophoric attentional sequence *N pn → N pw* (discussed in chapter *Anaphoric use: reference sequence N Ø→ N pn → N pw*). Although predicative *pw* in the following example is preferred by Allen (2017a: 317 [220.9-10]) and Sethe (1935a: 100), it bears, in my opinion, a syntactic bias of the standard Old and Middle Egyptian. Interpreting *ḥr.w pw* as "this Horus" is also plausible:

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[312] The translation here agrees with Sethe (1935a: 72), Faulkner (1969:46), and Allen (2005:34) who understand *p(w)-nn* "this one here"/"das hier" as new information, and *zꜣ.k pw wsjr* "that son of yours, Osiris"/"jener dein Sohn, Osiris" as given information (see Sethe's (1935a: 82) extensive commentary). Jenni's (2009: 124)) translation suggests that the new information is "Osiris" ("This your son here is Osiris"). The same phrase (with variant *zꜣ.t*) in: PT 219 W (Pyr. 168 a), PT 219 W (Pyr. 169 a), PT 219 W (Pyr. 170 a), PT 219 W (Pyr. 171 a), PT 219 W (Pyr. 179 a). Similar expressions: *sn.t pw p(w)-nn wsjr* "This one is the brother of yours, Osiris" in PT 219 W (Pyr. 172 a), PT 219 W (Pyr. 173 a), PT 219 W (Pyr. 174 a), PT 219 W (Pyr. 175 a) and *jtj.k pw p(w)-nn wsjr* "This one is the father of yours, Osiris" in PT 219 W (Pyr. 176 a).

> *jwi.n.f ḫr.t wr.t-ḥk3.w*
> *ḥr.w pw šn m z3 jr.t.f wr.t-ḥk.3w*
> He has come to you, Great of Magic -
> This Horus, encircled by the aegis of his eye, Great of Magic.
> (PT 220 W (Pyr. 195 d-e))

Emancipated from the Old and Middle Egyptian constraints, the extensive search could possibly deliver more examples from where the Early Old Egyptian *N pw/ N tw*, followed by the relative extension, constitute not noun clauses, but noun phrases.

Conclusions

The following syntactic features of the earlier Egyptian demonstratives were observed in this chapter:

- *Pn/pf/pw* are usually used adnominally following the noun, but only *pn/pf* can be brought forward for emphatic purposes, for example in contrastive expressions. A pre-nominal *pw* is attested in the reduced form *p(w/3) N*, but the contexts are neither emphatic nor contrastive.

- *Pn/pf* can be used pronominally (e.g. as the subject of a verbal predicate). A pronominal *pw*, on the other hand, only occurs if extended by further elements, such as the deictic *nn* (*p(w)-nn*) or an indirect genitive (*t(w) n.t N*).

- The construction *A pw + relative clause*, frequently found in the Pyramid Texts and regularly interpreted as a nominal clause, can, indeed disguise an adnominal (*N-pw*) or a determinative (*pw+relative phrase*) function of the demonstrative.

- The first examples of *p3/t3* in a colloquial context are accompanied by the relative phrases. A standalone *p3* occurs in personal names only - as the subject of an adverbial predicate.

As the front-placement for emphatic purposes is restricted to *pn/pf*, the appearance of the proclitic *p3* cannot be explained by the pursuit of expressivity. In my opinion it is rather conditioned by the prosodic properties of the bi- and tripartite nominal phrases (*N + pw* and *N + pw + relative*) and their interaction with the preceding syntactic elements. The typological data indicates that there is a conspicuous difference in definiteness marking of the simple noun phrases and noun phrases extended with attributes. For example, in Scandinavian languages – Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish – the definiteness of the noun phrase can be expressed in at least three different ways (Dahl 2003, 2015):

- the definite article put in front of the phrase (*P-article*);
- the ending of the adjective;
- the definite article suffixed on the noun (*S-article*).

Dahl (2003: 147) describes this varying realization as follows: in simple NPs, definiteness is shown with an affix on the head noun (S-article), while the P-article is only used when the head noun is preceded by an attribute. In Danish, the P-article and the S-article are in perfect complementary

distribution, while Swedish normally requires the use of both articles if an attribute is present. The latter phenomenon has been referred to as "double determination", "over-determination" or "double articulation" (Plank 2002). The table below summarizes the article use with and without attributes in Scandinavian languages:

Table 88 Article use in simple and complex noun phrases in Scandinavian

	Definite NP ↓	P-article	Adjective	Noun	S-article	
		den, det, de			*-en, -et*	
Swedish	noun	Ø		*hus-*	*-et*	*hus-et* "the house"
	noun + adjective	*det*	*stor-a*	*hus-*	*-et*	*det stor-a hus-et* "the big house"
Danish	noun	Ø		*hus-*	*-et*	*hus-et* "the house"
	noun + adjective	*det*	*stor-e*	*hus*	Ø	*det stor-e hus* "the big house"
Norwegian	noun	Ø		*hus-*	*-et*	*hus-et* "the house"
	noun + adjective	*det*	*stor-e*	*hus-*	*-et*	*det stor-e hus-et* "the big house"

Languages as distant as Latvian and Amharic show a parallel syntactic behavior in marking definiteness when an adjective is involved (Dahl 2003: 150–51):

Table 89 Definiteness marking in Latvian and Amharic

	Definite NP ↓	P-article	Adjective	Noun	S-article	
Amharic	noun			*bet*	*-u*	bet-u "the house"
	noun + adjective		*təlləq-u*	*bet*	Ø	*təlləq-u bet* "the big house"
Latvian	noun			*māja*	Ø	*māja* "a/the house"
	noun + adjective		*liel-ā*	*māja*		*liel-ā māja* "the big house"

Dahl notes a possible correlation between the emergence of definiteness marking and the presence of attributes in NPs:

> The existence of articles that mark adjectives only, as in Latvian or Old Slavonic, indicates that the initial stages of the grammaticalization of definite articles may be restricted to noun phrases containing modifiers. As a possible explanation of such a development, consider the fact that an adjective or relative clause (used restrictively) commonly singles out a subset within the set denoted by the head noun, contrasting it to its complement set. (Dahl 2003: 151–52)

This conclusion is supported by the Earlier Egyptian data showing the frequent co-occurrence of the *w*-series demonstrative and relative phrases. Although the presence of an attributive extension in the NP clearly influences the position of determiners, the prosodic mechanisms of this process are not very well known[313]. In the following case studies, I stipulate different behavior of *pw* in the noun phrases depending on whether the noun was modified by a relative extension or not.

Case study 1: *N + pw + relative extension*

The prosodic effects of the relative extension on the *N pw* phrase can be examined through the stress patterns of complex phonetic words in Egyptian. In nominal compounds, where the first member was multi-syllabic, the addition of an enclitic element caused the relocation of stress. For example, the cuneiform spelling of the name Ramesses as *riamašeša* renders the vocalization **riˁamasḗsa* (*rˁ-ms.y-sw* "it is Re, who gave birth to him": *proper noun rˁ + active perfective participle ms.y + enclitic pronoun sw*). Fecht (1960: 118) contemplates that the addition of the enclitic *-sw* (*-s ˘ w*) has affected the position of stress, which moved from the first syllable to the penultimate syllable of the compound: **másej → *masḗjs ˘ w → *-masḗsa*. The clitic pronoun affected the form of the head noun as well, which obtained *status praeenkliticus* (Fecht 1960: 122). The Coptic rendering of the Middle Egyptian *rnp.t tn* "this year" as ⲣⲙⲡⲟⲧⲛ delivers similar evidence: the accent shifts from the first syllable in *răⁱnpa(t)* (Copt. ⲣⲁⲙⲡⲉ, ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ) to the penultimate syllable of the compound: *ranpắ't ˘ n* (Fecht 1960: 119).

Enclitic elements could themselves obtain stress if followed by further enclitics[314]. The Middle Egyptian interrogative pronouns *ptr*, *pty*, *pt*, and *zty*, *sty* "who? what?" derive from the enclitic demonstrative *pw* / personal pronoun *sy* combined with the particle *trj* (Fecht 1960: 116; Gundacker 2010: 57 (footnote 68))[315]. The Late Egyptian adverb *wsy* "how", "very" developed from the enclitic

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[313] The definiteness markers in Scandinavian languages (*P-articles* and *S-articles*) are of deictic origin, but their emergence should be distinguished from Egyptian. In Egyptian, it is the same root (*pw/pꜣ*) which is pre-posed and post-posed, while in Scandinavian languages prefixed and suffixed articles represent two competing grammaticalization processes. The S-article is historically older, while the P-article is a relative newcomer and has left some regions virtually untouched (Dahl 2003: 178).

[314] Cf. Fecht (1960: 115) "Es hat in der ägyptischen Sprache aber auch Wörter gegeben, die stets enklitisch gebracht werden und einen Akzent nur dann tragen konnten, wenn ihnen ein weiteres enklitisches Wort nachfolgte".

[315] The grammaticalization paths of *zty/sty* confirm Gundacker's (2010: 92–93) hypothesis about the existence of the "alternative copula" *sw/sy*. These pronouns are attested in the Old Kingdom personal names in the Memphite region, constructed as nominal *A B* clauses; their syntactic role is identical to *pw*. The functional proximity of the demonstratives and the 3rd p. pronouns was highlighted in chapter *2.2.1. Third person*

wj combined with the 3rd person dependent pronoun *sw*. The spelling *wsy* suggests that *wj* with a juxtaposed *sw* was stressed: *wy-sw (*-wắsa)* (Fecht 1960: 129)[316]. The result was its detachment from the adjective-verb; the Middle Egyptian expression *nfr-wj* "how beautiful" is substituted with *nfr wj-sw* in Late Egyptian.

With *pw* and *wj* the suffixing of further clitics resulted in the loss of the second consonant of the first member of the compound - *w* and *j* respectively: *p(w)-tr, w(ꜣ/j)-sy.* A similar process is observed when *pw/tw* are expanded with the adverbial *nn* (*p(w)-nn* "that one") or an indirect genitive *n.(t)*: *t(w)-n.t šnw.t* ("this of the granary")[317]. The consonant *w* is frequently reduced in causatives and in the combination of the particle *jw* + suffix in the Pyramid Texts, while it is preserved in Middle Egyptian in the same environment. This feature is perceived to be dialectal by Allen (2017a: 23, 227):

Table 90 *W*-reduction with causatives and the particle *jw*

wꜥb "to clean"	
PT	**ME**
"to cleanse" (CAUS)	"to cleanse" (CAUS)
sꜥb [súwꜥab] → [súꜥab]	*swꜥb [suwáꜥab]*
jw + **suffix**	
PT	**ME**
j.f [ʔuf]	*jw.f*

This evidence suggests that the presence of the relative extension in the phrase *N pw* in Early Old Egyptian could have contributed to the establishment of the prosodic border between noun and demonstrative. This is documented with the plural *jpw*, which in PT 327 T (Pyr. 536 a-b), is separated from the noun by the particle *ꜣ*:

> *sdꜣ.n n.sn psḏ.tj*[318]
> *jn.y(j) ꜣ jpw mr.(jw) ttj*
> The two Enneads have shaken (with fear):

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pronouns. Sy also participated in the build-up of the interrogative pronoun *jšst* "who, what": **jḫ + sy + t → *jḫ + st → jšst* (Gundacker 2010: 61–62).

[316] Cf. Erman (1933: 342 (§ 684)) "Es wird dann Sitte, das durch *wy* zu betonende Wort durch ein Pronomen vorwegzunehmen". *Wy* itself derives from the focus particle *w* extended with the particle *ꜣ*.

[317] The reduction of *w* is observed with personal names containing *pw* (*kꜣ(.j)-p<w>-nswt* "the king is my ka" (Gundacker 2010: 67) and *sw*: *kꜣ zj s(w) nb.f* "Man's ka is his Lord" (Gundacker 2010: 64), *zj-s<w>-nj-ḏ.t.f* "He is a man of his estate" (Gundacker 2010: 68). The last two examples are dated to the Fifth Dynasty and were located in Giza and Saqqara (Gundacker 2010: 88).

[318] *n.sn* as "dativus ethicus" according to Sethe (1937: 6).

(my) messengers, the ones whom Teti desires[319].
(PT 327 T (Pyr. 536 a-b))

N	*з*	*jpw*	+ *relative phrase*
N	|	*jpw*	+ *relative phrase*

In tri-partite nominal phrases (N + *pw* + relative extension) the recognitional *pw* could be detached from the prosodic unit of the head noun. The prosodic independence of the plural *jpw* is confirmed by its ability to take the possessive suffix:

> *n jfd.w jpw.k hз.w ḥз.jw.k*
> To those four of yours who descend and are behind you.
> (PT 311 W (Pyr. 497 b-c))[320]

The same process can be reconstructed for *pw* and *tw* in singular. For example, in the following sentence *tw* could introduce the prosodic unit of the following relative phrase, i.e. function as a determinative:

> *jw wnjs r s.t.f | tw ẖnt s.wt | ḥз.j nṯr*
> Unis is off to his seat, *the foremost* of seats, (as) one who is behind the god.
> (PT 251 W (Pyr. 270 a))[321]

In the next step of this development the relative phrase was substituted with a noun and the switch from the enclitic *pw* to the proclitic *pw/pз* was complete:

N	*pw*			
N	|	*pw*	+	*relative phrase*
Ø	|	*pw/pз*	+	*noun*

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[319] Translated here as a nominal phrase vs. nominal clause in Allen and Der Manuelian (2005: 23:69 [12]). The expression "my messengers" refers to the Ennead.

[320] The possessive in this phrase can be attached to the numeral "four" (*jfd.w* (m.)/*jfd.t* (f.)) instead, which then functions as the head noun, extended appositionally by the demonstrative, noun, and relative phrase; the noun can be topicalized and moved to the front, e.g.:

-1	0	1	2	3	4	
TOP	NUM	POSS	DEM	NOUN	REL CL	
	jfd.w		*jpw*	*nṯr.w*		"these four gods" (PT 576 P (Pyr. 1510 a))
	jfd.w		*jpw*		*wnn.w*	"these four, who exist" (PT 684 P (Pyr. 2057))
	jfd.w		*Ø*		*зḫj.w*	"four spirits" (PT 452 N (Pyr. 842 b))
	jfd.t		*Ø*		*dз.wt*	"four hands" (PT 208 M, N (Pyr. 124 g))
	jfd.w	*.k*	*jpw*	*ḥr.w*		"these four faces of yours" (PT 519 P, M, N (Pyr. 1207 b))
	jfd.t	*.s*	*jptw*	*nms.wt*		"these four jars of yours" (PT 515 P, M, N (Pyr. 1180 c))
	jfd.t	*.k*	*Ø*	*nms.wt*		"your four jars" (PT 536 P (Pyr. 1293 b))
šm.wt	*jfd.t*	*.k*	*jpw*	*Ø*	*tp.jwt-ʿ.wj ḥз.jt ḥr*	"four walkways of yours, these ones in front of the mastaba of Horus" (PT 553 P (Pyr. 1355 a-b))

[321] Allen and Der Manuelian (2005: 23:42 [162]) omit the demonstrative pronoun *tw* in the translation: "For Unis is off to his seat, foremost of seats, (as) one who is behind the god".

Case study 2: *N + pw*

A different scenario can be envisaged for simple, non-extended noun phrases *N pw*. There is a clear preference in Old Egyptian to put the lighter syntactic items close to the elements carrying the sentence stress. This is evident, for example, in the behavior of direct and indirect objects (Schweitzer 2005: 192; Edel 1964: 437–39 (§870-872)):

- The usual position of an object is after the subject: VERB-SUBJ-OBJ. In case the object (direct or indirect) is pronominal and the subject nominal, the object moves to the front: V-OBJ$_p$ - SUBJ$_n$:

  *ḥzi **wj** ḥm.f ḥ.rs wr (r) jḫ.t nb.t*
  His majesty praised *me* extraordinarily because of it.
  (Urk I 194: 11)

  *ꜥnḫ **n.ṯn** nswt*
  As long as the king lives *for you*.
  (Urk I 224: 13)

- An indirect object usually follows a direct object: VERB-SUBJ-OBJ$_d$-OBJ$_i$. If an indirect object is pronominal and a direct object is a noun, the former is moved to the front: VERB-SUBJ-OBJ$_i$-OBJ$_d$:

  *nḥm.(w) **(m)-ꜥ.f** ꜣḥ.t rmṯ.w jḫ.t nb.t*
  The field(s), the men and everything should be taken away from him.
  (Urk. I 13: 6)[322]

This tendency applies not only to the first, but also to the following stressed units. In the next examples the prepositional phrase *jr.j* splits a direct genitive *ḥkꜣ nb jḳr*, while *jm* separates the members of an indirect genitive construction *ḏbꜥ pw jm nj wsjr*:

  1st unit | 2nd unit
  n sp štꜣ   *ḥkꜣ nb **jr.j** jḳr*
  Never was any effective magic hidden from me.
  (Urk. I 202:2)

  1st unit | 2nd unit
  jr wt ḏbꜥ   *pw **jm** nj wsjr*
  To bind this finger of Osiris with it.
  (PT 519 P M N (Pyr. 1202 d)[323]

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[322] Note that subject in that case is also pronominal.
[323] Compare also the tendency of the copula pronoun *pw* in Early Old Egyptian to split the multi-nominal compounds (Edel 1964: 136 (§322)): *sr pw sr nb* "he is a noble of every noble" (PT 509 P (Pyr. 1127 b)); *dlg pw jbꜣ.w nṯr* "he is a dwarf of the god's dance" (PT 517 P (Pyr. 1189 a)).

Such *front-raising* of lighter syntactic items is typical not only for Old Egyptian. It has been observed in the archaic Indo-European languages by Wackernagel (1892). According to Wackernagel the phrasal clitics in Ancient Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, and Gothic should appear in the second position after the first stressed word (prosodic word) of a clause[324]. In the following passage from Herodotus 1.17.2 the 3rd p. accusative singular pronominal enclitic *min* "him" is hosted by the first word of the clause *eíreto* "asked":

> *eíretó=min ho Astuágēs*
> Astyages asked him.
> (Goldstein 2013)

Depending on whether the clitic in question belongs to the class of sentence-connective clitics, sentential clitics, and word-level clitics the second position can be calculated differently (Goldstein 2013). The front-movement of the Old Egyptian *pw* in simple noun phrases (*N pw*) can be explained in line with the prosodic effects of the Wackernagel's law. In the following example, the demonstrative is relocated to the position immediately following the first stressed constituent (imperative *jṯ* "take!"):

1st unit		2nd unit
VERB + DEM	|	NP
jṯ p(w/ꜣ)	|	*nw*
Take this	|	*nw*-pot!
(Hesi, Pl. 61, bottom register)		

The position of a *nꜣ* in the sentence, albeit regular, also follows this pattern:

1st unit		2nd unit
VERB + DEM	|	
[*jr.k*] *nꜣ*	|	*r tm wnmw*
You should do it	|	to the one who does not eat.
(Idu-Seneni, Pl. 10, 3rd register from bottom, middle)		

A stronger attentional demonstrative *pn* can also be moved to the front, to follow the imperative:

1st unit		2nd unit
VERB + DEM	|	
fꜣ ꜥ.ṯ m pn	|	*jt*
Lift *this*	|	*barley*!
(Ti III, Pl. CLV, bottom register, left)		

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[324] The formulation of the law by Kaisse (1982: 4): "All languages with S' [suffixed] clitics place those clitics in second position, after the first stressed constituent (or word) of the clause, regardless of the category of that constituent (or word)."

The appearance of clitic *ꜣ* after the noun can be viewed through the lens of the same prosodic phenomenon:

1st unit		**2nd unit**
NOUN + PART		DEM + REL CL
jn.y(j) ꜣ		*jpw mr.(jw)ttj*
(My) messengers		the ones whom Teti desires.
(PT 327 T (Pyr. 536 a-b))		

The latter case shows that the relative phrase could possibly counterbalance the prosodic weight of the first stressed unit, which attempts to draw *pw* to the front:

1st unit		**2nd unit**
VERB + PRO		DEM + REL CL
jm n.(j)		*pꜣ n.tj ḥr nḏr.t mn.t*
Give [it] to (me)		you, holding the haunch!
(Tjauti, Pl. 26, bottom register)		

1st unit	**2nd unit**
VERN + NOUN	DEM + REL CL
jr r jb	*pꜣ mr.y*
Do as (you) desire,	o, beloved one!
(Kaiemankh J, Abb. 9)	

Summarizing, the pre-nominal position of the demonstratives is conditioned by two opposing forces, which remarkably lead to similar results:

- Wackernagel's prosodic law, requiring clitics to follow the first stressed unit of the clause, affects a simple, non-extended noun phrase *N pw*. This shift is non-emphatic and is typical for *pw*, although *pn* is also observed in this surrounding. The reason why *pn/pf* are normally not prone to such non-emphatic relocation is probably explained by their suprasegmental features. *Pn* as a stronger member of the deictic system can be equated to Ancient Greek post-positives, which can be accentuated, as opposed to *pw*-like enclitics, which cannot[325]. The front-movement of *pw* must have produced the the source morpheme for the weak recognitional *pꜣ, tꜣ, nꜣ*, the predecessors of the definite articles in Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic.

- The relative phrases, common with the *-w* series, could apparently prevent the *clitic climbing*. The semantic and the prosodic weight of the following extension could have drawn *pw/tw* away from the head noun. The establishment of the prosodic border between the noun and *pw/tw* in tripartite nominal phrases ultimately led to the same effect as

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[325] Cf. Goldstein (2013): "Enclitics bear no graphic accent (...) Postpositives behave like enclitics (in that they cannot occur clause-initially), but they do bear a graphic accent: to this class belong discourse particles like mén, dé and gár, as well as the modal particle án (...) For [these clitics] first position apparently does not correlate with the first prosodic word of a domain."

Wackernagel's law – the appearance of the proclitic *p3/t3*. In the conditions of the "rule of three syllables" (DSG), still governing northern Egypt during the Old Kingdom, the pre-posed *pw/p3*, *tw/t3* could be both accentuated and devoid of stress. The stressed forms should have laid the foundation for the grammaticalization of the strong deictica, the predecessors of demonstrative pronouns in Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic.

4.2. Diatopic features

The previous chapters have shed light on the typological features of Old Kingdom demonstratives with a special focus on the emergence of the *ꜣ*-series. The chapter *4.1.1. Pragmatic and semantic features* elaborated on the pragmatic affiliation of *pꜣ* with the deictic system of joint attention. The chapter *4.1.2. Morphological features* discussed the derivation of *ꜣ*-deictica from the demonstratives of the *w*-series. The chapter *4.1.3. Syntactic features* explained the origin of proclitic *pꜣ* as an outcome of the interaction of the noun phrase $N\ pw$ with the preceding and following prosodic units. These deliberations lead up to the ensuing question: if the grammaticalization process of *pꜣ*, *tꜣ*, *nꜣ* was unfolding already during the Fifth and Sixth dynasties, why did it not enter the standard written discourse of the Old and Middle Kingdoms?

In an attempt to answer this question I will take a look at the extent to which the history of the language is shaped by its dialects. Analyzing this contentious relationship, Coseriu (1980) delineates the borders between the terms "language" and "dialect". He argues that the question whether a certain linguistic system is a language or a dialect is defined not through their objective nature - both are equally complex and complete linguistic structures - but through their *historical status*. The interaction between language and dialect is ultimately a historical process[326]. A dialect should thus be counterpoised not to the general term *language*, which can refer to any linguistic system including the dialect itself, but to the *historical language* - a framework of spoken traditions, recognized as an *autonomous* by its speakers and by speakers of other languages[327]. Coseriu distinguishes three types of dialects:

- *Primary* dialects, which existed before the constitution of the common language ("Gemeinsprache", "language commune") and served as its fundament. In Spanish, primary dialects are Castilian, Asturleonese, and Navarro-Aragonese, but only Castilian became the basis for common Spanish.

- *Secondary* dialects, created through the regional differentiation of a common language. For example, Andalusian and American Spanish go back to Castilian as a common language; the modern Greek dialects are not the dialects of Old Greek but of Koine Greek.

- *Tertiary* dialects, which represent the local variation of the "standard" or "exemplary" norm ("Standardsprache", "das Exemplarische") of the common language. In the case of Spanish, it is not the Andalusian as a form of Castilian, but the Andalusian form of standard Spanish.

The relationship of historical language and dialect is dynamic: not only the former can be reduced to a popular vernacular level ("volkstümliches Niveau"), but also the latter may become autonomous and form new historical languages. For example, modern colloquial Plattdeutsch is the descendant of

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[326] "(...) die Frage, ob ein bestimmtes Sprachsystem eine Sprache oder in Dialekt sie, betrifft nicht die objektive Beschaffenheit dieses Sprachsystems: Es ist eine Frage in Bezug auf seinen historischen Status, d.h. in Bezug auf das Verhältnis dieses Sprachsystems zu einer *historischen Sprache*... Schließlich geht es beim Verhältnis Sprache-Dialekt um einen historischen Vorgang" (Coseriu 1980: 108).

[327] „Und zwar ist eine historische Sprache ein Gefüge von historischen Traditionen des Sprechens, das eben als autonome „Sprache" von seinen eigenen Sprechern und von den Sprechern anderer Sprachen anerkannt wird" (Coseriu 1980: 109).

the Middle Low German, the standard literary language at the heyday of Hanseatic League in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. Ernst (2012: 128) observes that Middle Low German surpassed its Middle High German counterpart in terms of the number and variety of attested records. Currently the situation is directly the opposite one – Plattdeutsch is reduced to the vernacular level. For Ernst the role of dialects in the emergence of New High German is quite obvious:

> Sprachgeschichte und Dialektologie gehören zusammen wie die 'zwei Seiten eines Blatts Papier', denn die deutsche Sprachgeschichte ist zu ihrem weitaus größten Teil die Geschichte von Dialekten (Ernst 2012: 14).

In Egyptian-Coptic, the existence of dialects has been a matter of a heated debate. On the one hand, the presence of regional *spoken varieties* in pre-Coptic Egyptian is largely accepted. A well-known passage from pAnastasi I testifies the communicative difficulties between the locals of the northernmost (Delta) and southernmost (Elephantine) regions of Egypt:

> *nȝy.k sḏd.w (...)*
> *jw.w tḫtḫ m sḏm*
> *bn ꜥꜣ.w wḥꜥ.f st*
> *st mj md.wt n z jdḥ.w ḥnꜥ zj n ȝbw*
> Your words (...)
> They are so confused when heard,
> That there is no interpreter who can explain them.
> They are like a conversation between a man of the Delta and a man of Elephantine.
> (pAnastasi I, 28: 5-6)

On the other hand, it has been argued that the absence of the substantial variations in the fields of grammar other than phonology means that all Coptic dialects go back to a single Late Egyptian norm (Osing 1975). The origins of this syntopic norm have been associated with Southern Egypt and the provenance of Old Egyptian, since Sethe (1923) – with northern Egypt[328]. The attribution of Old and Middle Egyptian to the common Lower Egyptian source and of Late Egyptian to the Upper Egyptian birthplace, relying rather on the logic of Egyptian political history, is still a "basic truth" in Egyptology:

> (...) While the writing system probably originated in the south of the country, the origins of the linguistic type represented by earlier Egyptian are to be seen in Lower Egypt, around the city of Memphis, which was the capital of the country during the Old Kingdom, those of Later Egyptian in Upper Egypt, in the region of Thebes, the cultural, religious and political center of the New Kingdom (Loprieno 1995: 8).

In the following, I summarize the approaches to the historical dialects in Egyptian-Coptic. At the end of each section, the impact of the regional norms on the establishment of the literary standard is schematically presented. I thereby adopt the the general geographic conventions of a *Southern variety* and a *Northern variety* (cf. Allen (2013b: 4), Winand (2015: 245)), where the Delta and the

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[328] „Diese Übereinstimmung der koptischen Dialekte erklärt sich daraus, daß sie offenbar sämtlich auf das "Neuägyptische" im engeren Sinn, die Schrift- und Gemeinsprache des Neuen Reiches zurückgehen, welche sich anscheinend im Anschluß an die von Theben ausgehende nationale Erhebung der Ägypter gegen die Fremdherrschaft der im Delta sitzenden Hyksos (im 16. Jh. v. Chr.), vermutlich aus der Volkssprache des damaligen Vorortes Theben, der Hauptstadt des Neuen Reiches, im Gegensatz zu der alten Schriftsprache des Alten Reiches von Memphis, dem Altägyptischen, herausgebildet hat" (Sethe 1923: 161).

Memphite region constitute the North and the rest of the country the South. Further on I define the deictic comparison criteria, called *comparative concepts*, and apply them to the Old Kingdom textual sources. In the conclusion I make estimation as to which degree the literary deictic standard is a product of the regional linguistic types of the Old Kingdom Egypt.

4.2.1. Historical dialects in Ancient Egyptian

Edgerton (1951)

Until the 1950s, the development of the Egyptian language was viewed as a linear sequence. The linguistic breaks, interrupting these stages, were explained as gaps between colloquial and literary language. In times of cultural and political change the literary norm would catch up with the colloquial (Sethe 1924; Stricker 1945). It was Edgerton (1951) who first noticed caveats in the pattern of linear development. In a short article, he summarized the linguistic features, which were present in Old and Late Egyptian, but absent in the intermediary phase of Middle Egyptian:

- The use of *yod prostheticum* ("*j-augment*") with certain verb forms, such as imperatives and participles of bi-consonantal verbs, e.g. *j-ḏd* "say", *j-šmi* "go".
- The nominal clause pattern consisting of two nouns without copula, e.g. *bw.t NN ḥs* "NN's abomination is excrement".
- Correspondence in gender and number between the (pro-) nominal predicate and demonstrative subject, e.g. *ꜣs.t tw ḥnꜥ nb.t-ḥw.t* "It is Isis together with Nephthys".

Edgerton concluded that what we call literary standard is largely formed by a linguistic regional variety dominant at a given period of Egyptian history:

> The breaks which we observe in the history of the language may be due not only to the passage of time, but also perhaps in part to the seizure of power, wealth, and prestige by successive groups who came, by and large, from different areas. Standard Old Egyptian was perhaps based on the local speech of the region of the pyramids. The more archaic features of the Pyramid Texts may come largely from the Delta or from Heliopolis. Standard Middle Egyptian perhaps belongs to a more southerly locality (Heracleopolis? Thebes?). Late Egyptian again may have come from the Delta or near it (Edgerton 1951: 11–12).

Table 91 Historical dialects and literary standard (Edgerton 1951)

Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
	(Early) Old Egyptian ←	Delta, Heliopolis
	(Standard) Old Egyptian ←	"Region of the pyramids"
Heracleopolis (?), Thebes (?) ⟹	Middle Egyptian	
	Late Egyptian ←	Delta region

Edel (1955/1964)

Edel (1964: 5–8, 11–12) in his grammar mentioned two groups of grammatical variations present in Old Egyptian. The first group of features embraces the alterations in the corpus of Old Kingdom texts, *excluding* the Pyramid Texts:

- The disappearance of the adnominal demonstrative *pw* and its substitution by *pn*.
- The appearance of the new demonstratives *p3, t3, n3*.
- The substitution of *sḏm.f* as the form for a historical narrative ("historische Erzählung") by *sḏm.n.f*.
- The introduction of a nominalized subordinate clause with *nt.t* instead of *wn.t*.
- The appearance of the predicative *ḥr sḏm* ("pseudo-verbal predicate").
- The replacement of the particle *sṯ* by the younger variant *sk*.
- The replacement of the particle *jgrt* by the younger variant *jgr*.
- The disappearance of the negation *ny*.

The second group of features distinguishes the archaic language ("vergangene Sprachphase") of the Pyramid Texts from the rest of the Old Kingdom texts and includes grammatical elements that re-appear in Late Egyptian one millennium later:

- The marking of the imperfective active participles of the 3^{ae} inf. verbs with an "j-augment" (*j.mr.y*) instead of the reduplication of the strong consonant (*mrr.y*).
- The presence of the non-copular nominal clauses, where subject and predicate are nouns.
- The occasional agreement of demonstrative subject *pw*, *tw*, *jpw* in gender and number with a preceding nominal predicate.
- The inability of the demonstrative subject in nominal clauses to split the complex nominal predicate (*mw m3ꜥ pw* "this is the right fairway"), which is common in Middle Egyptian (*bw pw wr* "this is a big thing").
- The relation of the Pyramid-Texts negation *jm* to the Late Egyptian *bw*: the latter must have been pronounced *m*, as shown by its equivalent in Coptic (*bw rḫ.k* → ⲙⲉⲕϣⲁⲕ "you don't know").

Some of those features were already in the Edgerton's list, but Edel (1964: 11–12) specified that these are actually typical not for the standard Old Egyptian but for the older language ("älteste Sprache") of the Pyramid Texts. The divergences between Old Egyptian and Middle Egyptian, albeit numerous, are not fundamental ("keine Unterschiede prinzipieller Art"), which made Edel think that Middle Egyptian was a logical development of Old Egyptian:

> Es ist vielmehr so, daß die (...) sprachlichen Veränderungen innerhalb der durch datierbare Texte verfolgbaren Geschichte der AR-Sprache bereits ganz deutlich eine Tendenz zur Entwicklung aufs Mä [Mittelägyptische] hin erkennen lassen (z.B. *jgr* → *jgrt*; *wnt* → *ntjt*; Abstoßung der Negation *ny* u.a.m.), sodaß das Mä als eine jüngere Entwicklungsstufe des Aä erscheint, aus dem es ohne wesentliche strukturellen Bruch in steter Anpassung an die gesprochene Sprache hervorgegangen sein dürfte (Edel 1964: 11).

Although the Thinite-driven unification of Egypt came from the South, Memphis was the capital during the Old Kingdom and most inscriptions come from the necropoles north and south of the city. The dialect of the Memphite region, according to Edel, must have played an important role in the establishment of (standard) Old Egyptian. The Upper-Egyptian dialect, on the other hand, has preserved some elements of the Early Old Egyptian of the Pyramid Texts, which link it to Late Egyptian.

Table 92 Historical dialects and literary standard (Edel 1955/1964)

Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
"Umgangssprache Oberägyptens" ➡️	(Early) Old Egyptian (PT)	
	(Late) Old Egyptian ⬅️	"Vorwiegend unterägyptisch beeinflußte Schriftsprache"
	Middle Egyptian ⬅️	
➡️	Late Egyptian	

Edel's pattern is disturbed by one linguistic fact – the similarities between Old and Late Egyptian are not restricted solely to the archaic features of the Pyramid Texts. The most prominent marker of the connection between Old and Late Egyptian are the deictic forms *p3, t3, n3*. These occur in the contemporary colloquial Old Egyptian context, but are absent in standard Middle Egyptian.

Fecht (1960)

Fecht (1960), in his fundamental investigation of the prosodic properties of Egyptian language, confirmed Edel's northern localization of standard Old Egyptian. According to Fecht, the position of the originally free accent in archaic Egyptian first switched to the "law of three syllables" ("Dreisilbengesetz", DSG) and eventually started abiding by the "law of two syllables" ("Zweisilbengesetz", ZSG). Observing the build-up of nominal compounds and the syntactic behavior of enclitics, Fecht (1960: 189–98) described this development as follows:

1st stage: Free accent, open syllables ("Freier Akzent, offene Silben").

2nd stage: Free accent, reduction of vowels at word's end ("Freier Akzent, Abfall der Auslautvokale"). Word's final position was now occupied by consonants, while all other syllables are still open.

3rd stage: Restriction of accent's positional variability – it was placed now no further than on the third to last syllable ("Dreisilbengesetz", DSG). The *old compounds* ("ältere Komposita") – the nominal compounds where the second member is two-syllabic and not stressed – abide by the DSG.

4th stage: Reduction of the vowel in the open syllable following the accentuated one ("Synkopierung der Nachtonsilben = Zweisilbengesetz", DSG). Although the accent

position formally remains unchanged, prosodically, as a result of syncope, it is now the second to last syllable, which is stressed. The *new compounds* ("jüngere Komposita"), where the second member is monosyllabic and not stressed, follow the ZSG.

According to Fecht, the switch from DSG to ZSG must have been completed in Upper Egypt by the beginning of the Old Kingdom already. In Lower Egypt, however, the presence of such place-names as *mn-nfr* "remaining of beauty" (the pyramid of Pepi I, later giving name to the capital Memphis), in which the accent is placed on the third to last syllable (**mínnaf˜r)*, proves the preservation of DSG (Fecht 1960: 159, 1960: 197). In fact, not a single geographical name from Upper Egypt is an *old compound*, while in Lower Egypt at least four geographic entities (*ꜣḫ-bj.t* "Chemmis", *km-wr* "Athribis", *mn-nfr* "Memphis", *tp.j-jḥ.w* "Atfih") and a proper name (*mr-wr* Mnevis-bull) still follow the DSG (Fecht 1960: 158–61)[329]. It is this suprasegmental phonological process, which Fecht (1960: 201–6) holds accountable for the emergence of proclitic deictic forms. His ideas on the course of events leading to the genesis of *pꜣ* can be summarized as follows:

- A "dynamic accent development" in Upper Egypt was responsible for the weakening of the enclitic demonstratives: *pĕn* became *pĕꜣ/pĕ* and *păw* turned to *păꜣ/pă* (Fecht 1960: 203–4):

Free accent, deprecation of final syllables

3-syllabic	*hrw pn/pw* "this day"	***harew ˇw-pĕn/-păw*	→	***harew ˇw-pĕꜣ/-păꜣ*
2-syllabic	*nṯr pn/pw* "this god"	** *nāṯar-pĕn/-păw*	→	** *nāṯar-pĕꜣ/-păꜣ*

- The transition from DSG to ZSG triggered the movement of the demonstratives to the front of the noun phrase, which might have been completed in Upper Egypt in the Predynastic already (Fecht 1960: 201). Fecht adopts the reason of the conversion from Hintze and explains it with the emphatic, accentuated role of the first element of the noun phrase (Fecht 1960: 203). In contrast to Hintze, Fecht thinks that the front-placement of *pn* could not lead to the appearance of the pre-posed *pꜣ*, because proclitic *pn* was never habitual. The move to the front must have happened to the *existing enclitic pꜣ* itself and has been completed very early (Fecht 1960: 204):

Fixed accent

		DSG	→	ZSG
3-syllablic	*hrw pn/pw* "this day"	** *haréw ˇw-pĕꜣ/-păꜣ*	→	** *pĕꜣ-haréw ˇw*
2-syllabic	*nṯr pn/pw* "this god"	** *nā́ṯar-pĕꜣ/-păꜣ*	→	** *pĕꜣ-nā́ṯar*
1-syllabic	*gs pn* "this side"	** *gā́s-pĕꜣ/-păꜣ*	→	** *pĕ́ꜣ-gas* ** *peꜣ-gā́s*

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[329] See the extension and the correction of the list by Gundacker (2017) below on page 206.

- ZSG is also responsible for the further weakening of the demonstratives put in front. With ZSG demonstrative could only be stressed with monosyllabic words. If a demonstrative preceded a multisyllabic noun, it remained *un-accentuated* and could be further reduced (Fecht 1960: 203).

The transition from DSG to ZSG thus occurs in Upper Egypt and triggers the appearance of analytical forms, such as the demonstratives *p3*, *t3*. DSG is preserved in the Lower Egypt, which Fecht views as the birthplace of the literary standard of Old and Middle Kingdoms:

> Der alte oberägyptische Dialekt hatte bereits zu Beginn der geschichtlichen Zeit die „älteren Komposita" dem ägyptisch-koptischen Akzentgesetz angepaßt (...) Der unterägyptische Dialekt jedoch konnte zu dieser Zeit noch derartige Komposita neu bilden, was natürlich voraussetzt, daß die "älteren Komposita" hier dem ägyptisch-koptischen Silbengesetz noch nicht angepaßt waren. Dieser unterägyptische Dialekt bildete die Grundlage für die gemeinägyptische Hochsprache des AR [Alten Reiches], die in der Sprache des MR [Mittleren Reiches] fortgesetzt wurde (...) (Fecht 1960: 161).

Table 93 Historical dialects and literary standard (Fecht 1960)

Southern variety	*Literary standard*		*Northern variety*
DSG -> ZSG	?		DSG
ZSG	Old Egyptian	⬅	DSG
ZSG	Middle Egyptian	⬅	DSG -> ZSG
ZSG	➡ Late Egyptian		ZSG

Focusing on *p3*, *t3*, *n3*, Fecht by-passes the essential facts of Edel's analysis: the allocation of the grammatical features that link the Pyramid Texts and Late Egyptian. His dialectal hypothesis can be viewed as the reaffirmation of Sethe's and Edel's historical models, with the unclear status of Earlier Egyptian.

Gundacker (2010, 2017), Ilin-Tomich (2018)

The evidence from Coptic, where dialectal features have a predominantly phonological character, had a further dampening effect on the search for morphological, syntactical, and lexical varieties of Egyptian[330]. Only recently, the attempts to approach the dialectal differences in Old Egyptian from an angle other than phonology were revived. Gundacker (2010) investigated a special type of nominal

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[330] See, for example, Osing (1975: 1074): "Ein konkretes Bild von den mundartlichen Sprachformen ist nur durch Rückschlüsse aus den sieben bisher bekannten Hauptdialekten (SBAA2FMH) des Koptischen zu gewinnen, die auf lautlichem Gebiet (kurze Tonvokale, wortauslautende Nachtonvokale, einige Konsonanten; *Lautsystem) wesentliche Unterschiede zeigen, in Wortbestand, *Wortakzent, Morphologie und Syntax jedoch fast völlig übereinstimmen" and Loprieno (1982: 79): „Das gilt durchaus für das Koptische: phonologisch, morphologisch und syntaktisch handelt es sich um eine Sprache, deren zahlreiche „dialecticules" in keiner Hinsicht als autonome Sprachsysteme betrachtet werden dürfen".

clauses, which include dependent personal pronouns either as a second or as a third member. These are:

- Bi- and tripartite personal names, e.g. *k3 zj s(w) nb.f* "Man's ka is his Lord", *zj s(w)-nj-d.t.f* "He is a man of his endowment", *zj sj* "He is a man", *s3.t.(.j) sj* "She is (my) daughter" (Gundacker 2010: 88, 91).
- Tripartite interrogative clauses *A pw + dependent pronoun* (e.g. *jšst pw (w)j r.j jr.j m[j]* "Who am I? What should I do?" (Gundacker 2010: 63)).

These patterns, which are attested in Old Egyptian but disappear in Middle Egyptian, are localized in the region of Upper Egypt and East Delta by Gundacker (2010: 90). Recently, Gundacker (2017) also conducted a detailed analysis of the geographical distribution of *old compounds*, built according to the rule of three syllables (DSG). 13 toponyms and six theonyms are arranged by him on a north-south axis as follows:

- Five are located in the Delta region:

ḥw.t-ḥr.j-jbw	Athribis (the capital of the 10th Lower Egyptian nome);
dnjj-wrr	The Great Dammed up One (the sacred lake of Athribis);
km-wrr	The Great Black One (the sacred bull venerated in Athribis);
j3ḫj-bj.t	Chemmis (a town in the 6th Lower Egyptian nome);
r3-nfr	Beautiful (river) Mouth (a town in the 16th Lower Egyptian nome).

- One is situated on the Isthmus of Suez:

  kmj-wrr Bitter Lake.

- Six old compounds are concentrated in the Memphite-Heliopolitan area and the region immediately south of it:

mn-nfr	Memphis (the pyramid town of Pepi I in the 1st Lower Egyptian nome, which gave name to the capital of Egypt);
r3-3wj	Tura (the limestone quarries in the 1st Lower Egyptian nome);
ḥw.t-jtf3-wrr	Temple of the Great Saw (a sanctuary of Osiris near Heliopolis in the 13th Lower Egyptian nome):
šnᶜ-ẖnw	Acanthon (a settlement in the 21st Upper Egyptian nome);
tp.j-jḥ.w	Atfih (the capital of the 22nd Upper Egyptian nome);
mrjj-wrr	Mnevis (the sacred bull of Heliopolis).

- Three old compounds belong to the 16th Upper Egyptian nome:

m3-ḥd	(The nome of the) White Antelope (the 16th Upper Egyptian nome);
ḥw.t-3ww.t-jb	The Temple of Joy (temples located in 16th, 3rd and 5th Upper Egyptian nomes);
s3-t3	Son of the Earth (the sacred snake of the 16th Upper Egyptian Nome).

- Four are located in the area Thinis-Abydos-Thebes:

t3-wrr	The Great Land (the name of the 8th Upper Egyptian nome);
jnj-ẖrj.t	Onuris (a local god of hunting and warfare of Thinis in the 8th Upper Egyptian nome);
wn-nfr	Whose Perfection Exists (Forever) (a local deity of the 8th Upper Egyptian nome);

b₃-p.t   Sacred Ram of Heaven (the supreme god of Thebes in the 4th Upper Egyptian nome).

Relying on this evidence, Gundacker reaches conclusions that align to a great extent with those of Edel and Fecht:

▪ During the Predynastic and Early dynastic periods, old compounds were a productive pattern both in the northern (Athribis in the central Delta, Memphite-Heliopolitan region) and southern (Thinis-Abydos) parts of Egypt, which were still subject to DSG.

▪ The Early Old Egyptian, just like the founders of the unified Egyptian state, must have its origins in the Abydos area – the sepulchral site of the First-Dynasty kings.

▪ Between the late First Dynasty and the Sixth Dynasty, the dialect of Thinis-Abydos lost its ability to create *old compounds*, i.e. it switched to ZSG. The Memphite court language ("memphitische Hofsprache"), which after the First Dynasty must have experienced the influence of the local Lower Egyptian dialects (Gundacker 2010: 100 (footnote 271)), continued to show the capacity to build *old compounds*. Gundacker explained it, however, not with the preservation of DSG in the North, but with the "conservative idiom": according to him, the probability that the local vernacular of the Memphite region has kept the DSG is "rather implausible" (Gundacker 2017: 140). Nevertheless, he admits that the interpretation of the presence of old compounds in the Delta region is rather challenging.

▪ Accepting the overwhelming similarities between Old and Middle Egyptian and the structural differences with Late Egyptian, Gundacker deviates from Fecht and Edel in one point, calling Middle Egyptian a Southern (Thebes, Heracleopolis) variety of Old Egyptian. Late Egyptian, in line with Fecht, has evident Upper Egyptian (precisely – Theban) origins (Gundacker 2010: 100 (271)).

The southern (Theban) provenance of Late Egyptian was newly asserted by Ilin-Tomich (2018), who investigated the distribution of the Middle Kingdom personal names containing Late Egyptian features, such as the negation *bw* and the possessive prefix *p(₃)-n-*, *t(₃)-n.t-* "the one of/belonging to ...". Ilin-Tomich states that seven out of ten personal names of the type *b(w)-rḫ.s/f* "she/he is unknown" and *b(w)-rḫ.t(w.j)* "(I am) unknown" can be attributed to Thebes. 16 out of 23 personal names constructed as *p(₃)-n-, t(₃)-n.t-* originate from the southern part of Upper Egypt. This, according to the author, confirms the view of Edel, Fecht, and Gundacker that Late Egyptian features originally gained traction in the southern part of Upper Egypt (Ilin-Tomich 2018: 140)[331].

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[331] See also Davis' (1973: 202) observation about the southern origin of the negative particles *bw/bn* in Late Egyptian: "Early evidence of the *b*-negative from Asyut and Abydos suggests that the dialect upon which standard Late Egyptian was based was a southern dialect." While *b(w)-rḫ* as a proper name might in fact be a regional Theban phenomenon, the negation *bw*, as mentioned by Ilin-Tomich, occurs as early as in the First Intermediate Period north of Thebes in Naga ed-Deir, Akhmim, and Asyut (Ilin-Tomich 2018: 138). The statement that the possessive prefixes *p(₃)-n-* and *t(₃)-n-* before the Eighteenth Dynasty are known almost exclusively ("fast ausschließlich" (Ilin-Tomich 2018: 139)) in personal names, is imprecise: *p(w₃)-n-* and *t(w₃)-n-* represent a common grammatical pattern in the Abusir Papyri and in the tomb inscriptions of the Memphite region during the Fifth and Sixth dynasties.

Table 94 Historical dialects and literary standard (Gundacker 2010,2018; Ilin-Tomich 2018)

Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
Thinis-Abydos (DSG) →	(Early) Old Egyptian (First Dynasty)	(DSG)
(ZSG)	(Standard) Old Egyptian (after the First Dynasty) ←	Memphis (ZSG (vernacular)) (DSG (conservative idiom))
Heracleopolis, Thebes (ZSG) →	Middle Egyptian	(ZSG)
Thebes (ZSG) →	Late Egyptian	(ZSG)

Allen (2004)

Allen (2004) examined the grammatical peculiarities of the transmission of the Pyramid Texts in the Middle Kingdom. Taking a close look at how the verbal forms containing *yod prostheticum* ("j-augment") are rendered in Middle Egyptian sources, Allen noticed a decreasing distribution of this prefix along a North → South line. While Delta sources preserve the morpheme in about two thirds of the cases (65%), the Memphite region uses it less often (47%). In the texts from Middle Egypt, the morpheme is omitted in 64% of records while Upper Egyptian texts retain it in only 20% of the cases. The preservation of the *yod prostheticum* in the Delta and the Memphite region is a clear argument in favor of Edgerton's theory for Allen: the Pyramid Texts and Late Egyptian represented the Northern linguistic type.

Another grammatical marker of text transmission – the negative particle nn, characteristic of Middle Egyptian – confirms this pattern. It most often replaces the Old Egyptian n in Upper and Middle Egypt, but rarely in the texts from the Memphite and Delta regions. Allen therefore connects the origins of Middle Egyptian with the South and Thebes in particular – as Middle Egyptian became the standard written language during the hegemony of kings of Theban origin. According to Allen, the phonological confusion of the consonants b and m in some words seems to be a peculiarity of the northern dialects, which is in line with Edel's observation on the common origins of Old Egyptian jm/Late Egyptian bw. In a recent overview of the historical development of the Egyptian language, Allen repeats the conclusions from this earlier study:

> Dialectal distinctions are generally invisible in pre-Coptic writing. Morphological and grammatical features, however, indicate that Old and Late Egyptian are historical phases of a single dialect, or closely related ones, probably from the north, while Middle Egyptian represents a separate dialect, most likely southern in origin. In the history of the language, therefore, Middle Egyptian somewhat interrupts and obscures the presumably direct evolution of Old Egyptian into Late Egyptian (Allen 2013b: 5–6).

Table 95 Historical dialects and literary standard (Allen 2004)

Southern variety	*Literary standard*	*Northern variety*
	Old Egyptian ⟵	Delta, Memphite region
Thebes ⟶	Middle Egyptian	
	Late Egyptian ⟵	Delta, Memphite region

Winand (2017)

Winand lately tried to define the recurrent patterns, which characterize the relation of dialects and the historical succession of Old, Middle, Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic. Focusing on Late Egyptian Winand distinguishes the following models:

▪ *Classic strategy* applies to dialectal features, which persist over a long period. For example, the increasing use of the dependent pronoun *sw* as a direct object after the infinitive (instead of suffix *-f*) in the southern sources from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty into the Third Intermediate Period corresponds to the use of ⲥⲉ in southern Coptic dialects: Bohairic, in contrast, always has ⲟⲩ. Similarly, the standard pattern of Future III with nominal subject *jrj NP* (*r*) *sḏm*, first occurring during the reign of Amenhotep III in Saqqara, entered most Coptic dialects as ⲉⲣⲉ-*NP*-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄. The non-standard *jw NP* (*r*) *sḏm* occurs in the southern sources and is rendered in Akhmimic with ⲁ-NP-ⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ (Winand 2015: 246–49; 253).

▪ *By-pass hypothesis* states that certain linguistic features disappear from the literary standard but are re-introduced again later. The grammatical phenomena common to the Pyramid Texts and Late Egyptian fall under this category. Winand adds to these the lexicological evidence. A number of common Old Egyptian words, which in Middle Egyptian are present only in religious texts, re-appear in Late Egyptian in a modern syllabic writing: *ṯrp* "goose", *bȝk.t* "mother cow", *skȝ* "ass's foal", *ws* "to saw". The Old Egyptian independent personal pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd person sg. m. *ṯwt/swt* re-emerge as Late Egyptian independent and possessive pronouns *tw/tjwy, sw/swt*, in contrast to Middle Egyptian forms *ntk/ntf* (Winand 2015: 249–52).

▪ *Sudden death paradox* refers to linguistic features, which abruptly fall out of use. For example, the Late Egyptian sequential *jw.f ḥr sḏm* disappears from the narrative discourse in Demotic; the innovative negative pattern *nn sw r ḫpr* "he will never come into existence", attested in the inscriptions in the tomb of Ankhtifi during the First Intermediate Period, and the "exploratory future" *tw.j r sḏm*, present in the text on Kamose stela, never enter the standard Late Egyptian tense system. The substitution of the Middle Egyptian *jw NP* (*r*) *sḏm*

by Late Egyptian *jrj NP* (*r*) *sḏm*, with the older form surviving only as a substratum in the South, can also be assigned to this group (Winand 2015: 252–55)[332].

- *Unexpected resurrection paradox* describes linguistic features, which are seemingly in decline but gain momentum again. For example, the decreasing use of the preposition *ḥnꜥ* and the rise of the preposition *jrm* in Late Egyptian suggested that the former would soon become extinct. Yet, instead of going out of use, *ḥnꜥ* experiences a "second wind" in Demotic (Winand 2015: 255)[333].

Accepting the influence of political events on the course of language history, Winand nevertheless argues against the correlation between the origins of the ruling dynasty and the localization of the current language standard:

> (...) It would be naïve to think that a new ruling house will automatically promote its dialect to a national status. For multiple and various reasons that have to do with legitimation process, cultural prestige, or the importance of the bureaucratic tradition, different choices could be made (Winand 2015: 264).

Although the unification of the country in the Old and New kingdoms came from the South, Old Egyptian and Late Egyptian belong to the northern dialects for Winand. The features of Middle Egyptian rather point to a regional variety located around the Theban area (Winand 2015: 258–64).

Table 96 Historical dialects and literary standard (Winand 2017)

Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
	Old Egyptian ⬅	Memphite region (?)
Thebes ➡	Middle Egyptian	
	Late Egyptian ⬅	Memphite region

4.2.2 Establishing the comparative clusters

To define the impact of regional linguistic types on the formation of a standard Old Egyptian, Egyptological research have used a number of criteria drawn from the different fields of grammar, such as:

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[332] Compare also the „sudden death" of the Middle Egyptian preposition *m-ꜥ* "in the hand of", which disappears after the Middle Kingdom, being substituted by the the Late Egyptian *m-dj-* (Coptic to ⲛⲧⲉ-/ⲛⲧⲁ⸗) (see page 253).

[333] The Late Egyptian preposition *jrm*, on the other hand, can be classified as a case of the *by-pass hypothesis*. It originates from the noun 𓈙𓏏𓏤 *jm* "side", attested in the Pyramid Texts (PT 469 P N (Pyr. 909 a-b)), (PT 508 P, N (Pyr. 1114 c)) (Sethe 1929). The same word occurs once in the plural form *jm.w* in the tomb of Mereruka. The grammaticalization process of *r-jm* ("at the side of") to the actual preposition happened in the shadow of the dominance of *ḥnꜥ* in Old and Middle Egyptian. The compound comes to light in Late Egyptian as the preposition *jrm(w)*, grammaticalizing into the Coptic ⲙⲛ̄-/ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲁ⸗ (S), ⲛⲉⲙ-/ⲛⲉⲙⲉ⸗ (B), ⲙⲛ̄-/ⲛⲉⲙⲁ⸗ (A).

- Prosodic features, e.g. the influence of DSG and ZSG on the structure of compound nouns (Fecht, Gundacker).
- Phonological features, e.g. the relation of the Earlier Egyptian negation *jm* and the Late Egyptian negation *bw* (Edel, Allen).
- Morphological features, e.g. the presence of the *j*-augment with certain verbal forms in the Pyramid Texts and Late Egyptian; the substitution of the Old Egyptian negation *n* with Middle Egyptian *nn* (Edgerton, Edel, Allen).
- Syntactic features, e.g. the intrusion of predicate *pw* into the attributive construction in Middle Egyptian (Old Egyptian *A nfr pw* vs. Middle Egyptian *A pw nfr*); the reappearance of Early Old Egyptian noun clauses without copula *(A B)* in Late Egyptian; the agreement in gender and number between the members of nominal *A pw* clauses: (*A tw/t3y, nw/n3y*) (Edgerton, Edel).
- Lexical features, e.g. the reemergence of Old Egyptian words, absent in colloquial Middle Egyptian, in Late Egyptian; the reintroduction of Old Egyptian personal pronouns as Late Egyptian possessive pronouns (Winand, Sethe).

The challenge of using the grammatical categories for the comparative analysis lies in the fact that those can be expressed differently in different languages and dialects. For example, definiteness in Slavic languages depends on word order and verbal aspect, while Germanic languages utilize explicit noun markers for this purpose, yet both families derive from the common Indo-European source. To avoid the dependence on the language-particular descriptive categories Haspelmath (2010) suggests establishing the *comparative concepts*. These abstract notions allow the *cross-categorial* comparison and ideally should contain

> (...) universally applicable concepts of three kinds: universal conceptual-semantic concepts, general formal concepts (such as 'precede', 'overt'), and other (more primitive) comparative concepts (Haspelmath 2010: 673).

Comparative concepts can be labelled the same way as descriptive categories, but their relationship is not taxonomic and can be described in terms of matching as "many-to-many". Adopting this typological approach I, however, think that the formulation of comparative concepts still requires grammatical input from the languages under investigation. This concurs with the opinion of Lander and Arkadiev, who argue that

> (...) (i) comparative concepts should have a firm basis in language-particular categories, and (ii) descriptive categories should be seen as meaningfully corresponding to comparative concepts of typology, with the two ultimately being definable by properties and features of the same nature (Lander and Arkadiev 2016: 413).

In accordance with this strain of thought, I establish the comparative concepts (CC), using the typological features of the demonstratives outlined in the chapter *2. Theoretical outline*:

- CC 1 (pragmatics): *phoric (endophoric and exophoric) reference;*
- CC 2 (syntax): *adnominal and pronominal use.*

In the following the realization of these comparative concepts in Egyptian sources belonging to the different regional types is analyzed in order to establish a link between the deictic features of the dialects and the literary standard.

CC 1: Phoric reference

Pointing at textual (endophoric) or situational (exophoric) discourse items, this pragmatic comparative concept counterpoises two deictic systems: one distinguishing referents according to their inclusion into the joint attention focus of the interlocution partners and another one, based on the relative distance of the referents to the deictic center:

Table 97 Comparative concept 1: endophoric reference

	Introduction		Attention shift		Attention tracking
Joint attention system	$N / \varnothing$	$\rightarrow$	$N\,pn$	$\rightarrow$	$N\,pw$
Relative distance system	Introduction $N / \varnothing$	$\rightarrow$	Referent tracking $N\,pn$ **Contrast**: $N\,pf$	$\rightarrow$	Referent tracking $N\,pn$ **Contrast**: $N\,pn$

Table 98 Comparative concept 1: exophoric reference

	Situational use		Recognitional use
Joint attention system	$N\,pn$	vs.	$N\,pw$ **Emotive use** $N\,pw$
Relative distance system	Distal reference $N\,pf$ **Contrast**: $N\,pf$	vs.	Proximal reference $N\,pn$ **Emotive use** $N\,\varnothing$, $N\,pn$

Different effectuation of this comparative concept in Old Kingdom textual sources allows distinguishing the following regional paradigms.

Memphite region: two-term deictic system of joint attention

Deictic system of joint attention occurs in "Reden und Rufen" in the tombs of the Memphite region as well as in Pyramid Texts. In this system pn marks referents drawn into the common attentional focus, while pw accompanies referents already activated either through previous mention

(endophoric use) or through shared experience (exophoric recognitional use). Another type of exophoric pw is emotive.

Table 99 Two-term deictic system of joint attention in the Memphite region

	PATTERNS		
	Endophoric reference		
	Introduction $\rightarrow$	**Attention shift** $\rightarrow$	**Attention tracking**
	$N\,/\,\varnothing$	$N\;pn$	$N\;pw$
Joint attention system	**Exophoric reference**		
			Recognitional use
		Situational use	$N\;pw$
		vs.	**Emotive use**
		$N\;pn$	$N\;pw$
	↓	↓	↓

Source (Location, Dyn.)	EXAMPLES		
Ti (Saqqara, V)	*pn jt* this barley	$\rightarrow$	*jt pw* the barley[334]
Mereruka (Saqqara, VI)	*jt pn* this barley	$\rightarrow$	*nw* it[335]
Pyr. 1441 b-c (P) (Saqqara, VI)	*mr.y-rꜥw pn* this Meryre	$\rightarrow$	*mr.y-rꜥw pw* this Meryre[336]
Ti (Saqqara, V)			*nr pw* you, herdsman *jtꜣ pw* you, thief[337]
Ptahhotep I (Saqqara, V) and Wepemnefret	*nḏr nn* seize this[338]	vs.	*nḏr nw* seize this[339]

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[334] See example on page 126.
[335] See example on page 127.
[336] See example on page 127.
[337] See examples on page 123.
[338] See example on page 121.
[339] See example on page 121.

Table 99 Two-term deictic system of joint attention in the Memphite region

(Giza, V)				
Ti (Saqqara, V) and Cairo linen (Saqqara. VI)	*rḫ.kwj nn* I know this[340]	vs.	*sḫꜣ nw* remember this[341]	
Meryteti (Saqqara, VI) and Pyr. 398 a (W) (Saqqara, V)	*hrw pn* this day (today)[342]	vs.	*hrw pw* this day ("the day of …")[343]	

Memphite region: three-term (mixed) deictic system

The sources in the Memphite region also display the presence of the non-attention sequence $N\ ø\ \to$ $N\ pn\to N\ pn$, combined with a recognitional *nw*. The rare occurrences of a contrastive (not yet distal) *pf* are also attested.

Table 100 Three-term (mixed) deictic system in Memphite region

PATTERNS					
Exophoric reference					
Joint attention system		**Situational use**	vs.	**Recognitional use**	
				$N\ pw$	
				Emotive use	
		$N\ pn$		$N\ pw$	
Relative distance system	**Endophoric reference**				
	Introduction	**Referent tracking**		**Referent tracking**	
	$N\ /\ Ø$	$N\ pn$	$\to$	$N\ pn$	
		Contrast: $N\ pf$		**Contrast**: $N\ pn$	
	Exophoric reference				

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[340] See example on page 123.
[341] See example on page 184.
[342] See example on page 121.
[343] See example on page 120.

Table 100 Three-term (mixed) deictic system in Memphite region

	PATTERNS		
	Distal referent		**Proximal referent**
	N pf	vs.	*N pn*
	Contrast: *N pf*		**Emotive use**
			N ø, N pn
	↓	↓	↓
Source (Location, Dyn.)	EXAMPLES		
Senedjemib-Inti (Giza, V)	*ḳrsw* coffin[344] →	*ḳr[sw] pn* this coffin[345] →	*ḳrsw pn* this coffin[346]
			nw this[347]
Cairo JdE 49623 (Saqqara, VI)	*t3z.t* batalion[348] →	*t3z.t tn* this battalion[349] →	*t3z.t tn* this battalion[350]
Pyr. 142 c (W) (Saqqara, V)		*pf* that one vs.	*pn* this one[351]
Ti (Saqqara, V)		*z pf* that man[352]	

Elephantine and Abydos: two-term deictic system of relative distance

A deictic system, which differentiates the referents according to the relative distance to the deictic center, is common in the biographical inscriptions from Elephantine and Abydos, as well as in the administrative documents such as the Elephantine papyri. Within this system, *pf* accompanies the distal referent and *pn* – the proximal referent, although *pf* originally denotes emphasis rather than

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[344] [*ḥr dbḥ(.j) m.ꜥ ḥm n nb(.j) jn.t jnr-ḥḏ*] *ḳrs.w [n jtj.j pn m r-3w]* "[I begged the majesty of my lord to be brought] the coffin [of sandstone for this father of mine from Tura]" (Urk. I 65: 12-14).

[345] [*jy.n*] *ḳr[sw] pn ḥn[ꜥ ꜥ3.f]* "This coffin [came] together with [its lid]" (Urk. I 66: 5).

[346] *r rḏ.t [rḫ ḥm.f] ḳrsw pn (...)* "To let [his majesty know] that this coffin (...)" (Urk. I 66: 13).

[347] [*jri.n.j nw n jtj.j*] [I did this for my father]. Reconstruction by Brovarski (2001: 101 (lines 3-4; text figure 3a)).

[348] *t3z.t n.t ꜥpr.w r-3w* "Battalion of the gangs of Tura" (Cairo JdE 49623: line 3).

[349] *t3z.t tn n ḥbs.t.s* "This battalion, it was not clothed" (Cairo JdE 49623: line 6).

[350] *t3z.t tn ḥbs.t.s* "This battalion, when it is clothed" (Cairo JdE 49623: line 7).

[351] See example on page 130.

[352] See example on page 138.

distance. Endophoric discourse item can be first referred to with *pf* and then tracked with *pn*, but most of the time only *pn* is used. The only representative of the *w*-family in this system is *pw*, which is used as a copula. Emotive meaning is expressed without a demonstrative pronoun (*N ø*).

Table 101 Two-term deictic system of relative distance in Elephantine and Abydos

	PATTERNS				
	Endophoric reference				
	Introduction		**Referent tracking**		**Referent tracking**
		→	*N pn*	→	*N pn*
Relative distance system	*N / Ø*		**Contrast**: *N pf*		**Contrast**: *N pn*
	Exophoric reference				
			Distal referent		**Proximal referent**
			N pf	vs.	*N pn*
			Contrast: *N pf*		**Emotive use**
					N ø

	↓		↓		↓

Source (Location, Dyn.)	**EXAMPLES**				
Nikaiankh (Tehna, V)	*ḥm.w-nṯr* priests	→	*ḥm-k3(.w) jpf* those ka-priests	→	*ḥm-k3(.w) jpn* these ka-priests[353]
Sabni (Qubbet el-Hawa, VI)	[*jtj.j*] [my father]	→	*jtj.(j) pf* that father of mine	→	*jtj.j pn* this father of mine[354]
Weni (Abydos, VI)	*mšꜥ* an army	→	*mšꜥ pn* this army	→	*mšꜥ pn* this army[355]
	šmꜥ.w Upper Egypt	→	*šmꜥ.w pn* this Upper Egypt	→	*šmꜥ.w pn* this Upper Egypt[356]
Harkhuf	*ḥḳ3 j3m*	→	*ḥḳ3 J3m pf*		

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[353] See examples on page 141.
[354] See examples on page 141.
[355] See examples on page 142.
[356] See examples on page 142.

Table 101 Two-term deictic system of relative distance in Elephantine and Abydos

(Qubbet el-Hawa, VI)	the ruler of Yam		that ruler of Yam[357]	
	ḥḳꜣ jrṯt sṯw wꜣwꜣ.t the ruler of Irtjet, Setju and Wawat	→	[*ḥḳꜣ*] *pn* this [ruler][358]	
pBerlin 9010 (Elephantine, VI)	*jr.w 3* three witnesses[359]	→	*jr.w 3 pn* these three witnesses[360]	
		sbk-ḥtp pn this Sobekhotep[361]	→	*sbk-ḥtp pn* this Sobekhotep[362]
				nṯr o god[363]

Elephantine and Coptos: three-term (mixed) deictic systems

The inscriptions in the tomb of Harkhuf present an intriguing phenomenon. While the biographical inscription itself operates squarely within the distance system, using *pn/pf* only, the letter from the boy-king Pepi II combines the deictic elements of both the attention and distance types. A similar mix is observed in Coptos decree B, where the attention sequence is intertwined with an exophoric distal reference. In the later version of the decree (Coptos C), the endophoric attention sequence is abandoned: the referent *šmꜥw* "Upper Egypt" is used with *pw* only (exophoric recognitional use).

Table 102 Three-term (mixed) deictic system in Elephantine and Coptos

	PATTERNS				
	Endophoric reference				
Joint attention system	**Introduction**	→	**Attention shift**	→	**Attention tracking**
	N / Ø		*N pn*		*N pw*

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[357] See examples on page 141.

[358] See examples on page 141.

[359] *jr jni sbk-ḥtp pn jr.w 3 jḳr.w* "If this Sobekhotep can bring three reliable witnesses" (pBerlin 9010, line 4)

[360] *jni.n.f jr.w 3 pn* "After having brought these three witnesses" (pBerlin 9010, line 6). Sethe (1926a: 77) corrects *pn* to *jpn.*

[361] pBerlin 9010, line 1.

[362] pBerlin 9010, lines 4, 5, 6, 7.

[363] *bꜣk.k r.f nṯr* "(Let) your might be against him, o god!" (pBerlin 9010, line 5).

Table 102 Three-term (mixed) deictic system in Elephantine and Coptos

	PATTERNS			
Relative distance system	**Endophoric reference**			
	Introduction	**Referent tracking**		**Referent tracking**
	$N / \varnothing$ →	$N\,pn$	→	$N\,pn$
		Contrast: $N\,pf$		**Contrast**: $N\,pf$
	Exophoric reference			
		Distal referent		**Proximal referent**
		$N\,pf$	vs.	$N\,pn$
		Contrast: $N\,pf$		**Emotive use**
				$N\,\varnothing,\ N\,pn$

	↓	↓	↓

Source (Location, Dyn.)	EXAMPLES		
Harkhuf (Qubbet el-Hawa, VI)	*dng* a dwarf →	*dng pn* this dwarf →	*dng pw* the dwarf[364]
		nf jr.y that what was done[365]	
Coptos decree B (Coptos, VI)	*šmˁ.w* Upper Egypt →	*šmˁ.w pn* this Upper Egypt →	*šmˁ.w pw* the Upper Egypt[366]
		nf ḏd.w that which was told *wḏ.w (j.)pf* those (earlier) decrees[367] vs.	*wḏ pn* this (current) decree[368]

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[364] See examples on page 124.

[365] *jn jw mj nf jr.y n smr-wˁ.tj ḥr-ḫwi.f* "Does anything equal *that* what was done for the sole companion Harkhuf?" (Urk I 129: 11)

[366] See examples on page 125.

[367] *nf ḏd.w ḫr ḥm(.j)* "That which was told by my majesty" (Urk I 282: 15); *sk ḏd.(w) r wḏ.w (j.)pf* "Whereby it is said in those decrees" (Urk I 282:18). For the complete passage see page 125.

[368] *jw wḏ.n nswt-bj.tj nfr-k3-rˁw ˁnḫ ḏ.t r nḥḥ sḫp.t ˁ m wḏ pn* "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkare, may he live forever and for eternity, has commanded that the document be put into the form of this decree decree" (Urk I 282:10)

CC 2: Adnominal and pronominal use

This comparative concept investigates the regional use of proclitic and pronominal demonstratives, be it the emphatic front-positioning of *pn*, *pf* (*pn N*, *pf N*), or the non-emphatic proclitization of *pw*, *pn* (*verb + pw/pn + N, pw/pꜣ + relative phrase*). The compound demonstratives *tfꜣ*, *nfꜣ*, are additionally included, along with the adverb *mj-nwꜣ/mj-nꜣ*. The table below lists the extant attestations chronologically and counterpoises the sources from the Memphite region to those generically labelled "To the south of Memphis".

Table 103 Proclitic, pronominal demonstratives and adverb *mj-nwꜣ/mj-nꜣ*

Memphite region			To the south of Memphis		
Attestation	Source	Location	Location	Source	Attestation
Fifth Dynasty					
pꜣ mr.y the beloved[369]	Kaiemankh	Giza	-	-	-
mj-nw-ꜣ here[370]			-	-	-
mj-nw-ꜣ here[371]	Akhethotep	Saqqara	-	-	-
pꜣ-n.(j) PN[372]	Ptahshepses	Abusir	-	-	-
pꜣ-n.(j) PN[373]	Nefermenu	Saqqara	-	-	-
n.n-pꜣ PN[374]	Iineferet	Giza	-	-	-
pꜣ-j PN[375]			-	-	-
pf rw that lion	PT W	Saqqara			
pn rw this lion[376]					
pn jt this barley[377]	Ti	Saqqara			
Sixth Dynasty					
Attestation	Source	Location	Location	Source	Attestation

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[369] See example on page 145.
[370] See example on page 164.
[371] See example on page 164.
[372] See example on page 149.
[373] See example on page 149.
[374] See example on page 149.
[375] See example on page 149.
[376] See example on page 131.
[377] See example on page 126.

Table 103 Proclitic, pronominal demonstratives and adverb *mj-nw3/mj-n3*

Memphite region			To the south of Memphis		
Attestation	**Source**	**Location**	**Location**	**Source**	**Attestation**
tf-3 that one[378]	Mereruka/ Waatetkhethor	Saqqara	al-Kasr el-Sayed	Tjauti	*p3 n.tj* the one who[379]
mj-n3 here/now[380]					*n3 n.tj* this which[381]
p3-n.(j) PN[382]				Idu Seneni	*n3* that[383]
p(w/3) nw this pot[384]	Hesi	Saqqara			
p(w/3) nw.w this (one of) pots[385]	Mehu	Saqqara	Naga-ed-Deir	Naga ed Deir MFA 04.2059	*pn h3b.n.k* this which you wrote[386]
nf-3 that one[387]	Nianchpepi	Saqqara	Gebelein	pGebelein	*n3-3* PN[388]
p3-n.(j) PN[389]	Pani	Saqqara			
p3-w PN[390]	Djersenedj	Saqqara	Sharuna	Mechenti	*p3-w* PN[391]

First Intermediate Period – early Twelfth Dynasty (Amenemhat I)

Attestation	**Source**	**Location**	**Location**	**Source**	**Attestation**
-	-	-	Hatnub	Hatnub Gr. 22	*p3 dd.w* that which is given[392]
			Hatnub	Hatnub Gr. 22	*n3*

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[378] See example on page 174.
[379] See example on page 146.
[380] See example on page 164.
[381] See example on page 146.
[382] See example on page 149.
[383] See example on page 147.
[384] See example on page 168.
[385] See example on page 168.
[386] See example on page 185.
[387] See example on page 174.
[388] See example on page 150.
[389] See example on page 149.
[390] See example on page 149.
[391] See example on page 149.
[392] See example in footnote 238 on page 148.

Table 103 Proclitic, pronominal demonstratives and adverb *mj-nw3/mj-n3*

Memphite region			To the south of Memphis		
Attestation	**Source**	**Location**	**Location**	**Source**	**Attestation**
					here[393]
jptj b3k.t those maids[394]	Chicago OM 13945	?	Hatnub	Hatnub Gr. 32	*mj-n3* here[395]
t3 mnt3.t this vessel[396]	Chicago OM 13945	?[397]	Mo'alla	Ankhtifi	*t3 ḥn.wt ḥtp nfr* the lady of good offerings[398]
			Mo'alla	Ankhtifi	*p3 t3* this land[399]
			Mo'alla	Ankhtifi	*p3 jt-šm'.w* this Upper Egyptian corn[400]

Conclusions

Before evaluating the evidence delivered by the comparative concepts, let us briefly summarize the the region-related features of demonstrative pronouns. The first records of deictica of the *w*-series date back to the First and Second dynasties in Saqqara and Abydos (Kahl 2002: 149). The emphatic *f*-series appears considerably later – at Elephantine in the Third or Fourth dynasties (Pätznick 2005: 1339:380 (Kat. 214)). The presence of the *n*-series demonstratives is regionally balanced: (*j*)*pn/*(*j*)*ptn* show up during in Third-Dynasty Heliopolis (Kahl 1995b: 116, 117 (Ne/He/4: g), 1995b: 120, 121 (Ne/Ma/1: h)) and Elephantine (Pätznick 2005: 1339:424 (Kat. 303)).

- *Pf, tf, nf* are rare in the Memphite region – in *Reden und Rufen* their use is limited to five occurrences during the Fifth and Sixth dynasties. The variety of the demonstratives of the *w*- and *n*-series in the inscriptions of Ti is contrasted by a single mention of *pf*. The Pyramid Texts of Unis attest the *f*-series five times, at least two of which are the corrections of the original emphatic *pn*. The use of *pf* is steadily increasing in Pyramid Texts after Unis.

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[393] See example on page 186.
[394] See example on page 123.
[395] See example on page 165.
[396] See example on page 174.
[397] The regional attribution of Oriental Museum Chicago Letter 13945, attesting *t3*, is unclear. Gardiner (1930: 19) notices that "the hand closely resembles that of the Qau bowl". However, the appearance of *t3*, the presence of the pre-nominal attentional demonstrative *jptj* and the use of the archaic negation pattern *sḏm.f w* signal the Memphite provenance (see below).
[398] See example on page 148.
[399] See example in footnote 242 on page **Fehler! Textmarke nicht definiert.**.
[400] See example in footnote 242 on page **Fehler! Textmarke nicht definiert.**.

The evaluation of comparative concepts is considerably complicated by the scarcity of Fifth-Dynasty textual sources from the regions south of the Memphis necropoles. The conclusions drawn here are therefore tentative and need further validation. The assessment of *CC 1* suggests that the deictic system based on the joint attention focus can be associated with the vernacular of the Memphite area and thus assigned to the northern regions. The system based on the relative distance to the deictic center can be attributed to southern Egypt, including the Theban area. The distal pair $pf - pn$ is a relative newcomer to the North, it is still quite rare in the Fifth Dynasty. The presence of the attentional sequence $N \rightarrow N\ pn \rightarrow N\ pw$ as well as $p\jmath$ in the tomb inscriptions in the South, on the other hand, can possibly be explained by the use of the Memphite patterns, explicated below.

CC 2 shows the presence of the proper names containing the pronominal deictica *pꜣ*, *nꜣ* in Giza-Saqqara-Abusir: *pꜣ-n.(j)*, *n.n-pꜣ*, *pꜣ-j* (Fifth Dynasty) and *pꜣ-n.(j)*, *pꜣ-w* (Sixth Dynasty). Southern sources deliver the nicknames *pꜣ-w* in Sharuna in Middle Egypt, and *nꜣ-ꜣ*, occurring twice in Gebelein. While the appearance of *-ꜣ* deictica in proper names of the Memphite region remains steady during the Fifth and Sixth dynasties, other types of lexemes show a different diatopic paradigm: after the initial occurrence in Fifth-Dynasty Giza, *pꜣ* disappears from the inscriptions in this region. In turn, *pꜣ* and *nꜣ* surface in the provincial cemetery of al-Kasr el-Sayed in the 7th Upper Egyptian nome during the Sixth Dynasty. The decoration program of the tombs of Idu Seneni and Tjauti in al-Kasr el-Sayed provides some hints that could explain the presence of *pꜣ* and *nꜣ*. Säve-Söderbergh (1994: 35) notes that the style of Idu's tomb "differs form that typical for Upper Egyptian provincial tombs at many other places. It is more refined and elegant, and the drawing of the lines is similar to that found e.g. in the Teti cemetery (Mereruka, Kagemni, Khentika etc.) at Saqqara". The decoration of the burial chambers of Tjauti also parallel the motifs found in the necropolis of Saqqara in the tombs north of the Teti pyramid (Mereruka, Gemnikai and Khentika), while such decorated subterranean chambers hardly occur in other provincial cemeteries (Säve-Söderbergh 1994: 54).

Kanawati's (2001: 16/1:15–21, 2005) detailed studies of the burial chambers, sarcophagi, and coffins of the Old Kingdom indirectly confirm the hypothesis that the tombs in al-Kasr el-Sayed follow the earlier Memphite design patterns. Implementing such decorum criteria as the presence/absence of the scenes of daily life, offering lists, and the representation of human figures, Kanawati observed that after the initial originality of themes during the late Fifth Dynasty the decorative elements of burial chambers were subsequently reduced in the Memphite area, but appeared in the provincial tombs of the Sixth Dynasty. This process unfolded as follows:

1. Until the late Fifth Dynasty (Djedkare-Isesi), the walls of burial chambers were devoid of any decoration.

2. The reign of Djedkare-Isesi was a period of innovation in the Giza area: the burial chambers of Kaiemankh and Rawer III include scenes of daily life; while Kaiemankh, Rawer III, and Kakherptah/Fetekti also contain representations of human figures, the burial chambers of Senedjemib-Inti and Seshemnefer IV have inscribed offerings lists only.

3. In the tombs of Niankhba, Ihy, and Hetep dated to the reign of Unis representations of living creatures – humans or animals – are present only in hieroglyphs and absent otherwise (Kanawati 2005: 59).

4. In the inscriptions from the reign of Teti the human figures are suppressed; in addition, the seated god determinative of Osiris and the recumbent jackal/dog determinative of Anubis are eliminated. In the tomb of Ankhmahor, the determinative 𓀨 (A9) is missing in the title "Overseer of all works". The decoration includes food- and drink-related items, some valuable possessions of the tomb owners plus offering lists (Kagemni, Ankhmahor, Mereruka, Khentika, Mehu).

5. During the reign of Pepi I, the Memphite tombs (Inumin, Mereri, Tjetju, Idu II, Niankhpepy/Sebekhotep/Hepi, Niankhpepy/Ptahhotep) have the usual representations of sustenance. However, a new strategy was introduced for the depiction of human figures in the hieroglyphs of the offering lists – they are not eliminated but truncated, reduced to the arms and head (Kanawati 2005: 62). This trend continued in tombs of Pepi II's reign (Nihebsed-Neferkare, Khaabau-Khenemu, Teti, Idi, Nesti, Seni, Penu, Senti, Shy, Mehi, Shemai, Sebeku, Wadjet).

6. At the same time, in the provincial rock tomb of Henenet at El-Sheikh Said, the owner is depicted seated in front of the offering table; also, human determinatives are neither eliminated nor truncated in the offering list. Kanawati dated this tomb to Teti I and compared it to Ankhmahor, who has an empty chair in a similar scene. He explained the presence of human figures in Henenet with the fact that "provincial art frequently lags behind the capital" (Kanawati 2001: 16/1:21). In the later analysis, Kanawati (2005: 66) was inclined to give the tomb an earlier date – the reign of Djedkare-Isesi – when the representation of humans was still allowed in the Memphite area. The Sixth-Dynasty wooden coffins from Akhmim also include Anubis and Osiris determinatives and human figures fully drawn in the offering lists[401].

The tombs of Tjauti and Idu-Seneni in al-Kasr el-Sayed were built during the reign of Pepi II, but the decoration of their burial chambers fits the pattern of the late Fifth Dynasty: human figures in the inscriptions are neither eliminated nor truncated. The demonstrative *p3* also first appeared during the reign of Djedkare-Isesi in the tomb of Kaiemankh in Giza, but later disappeared from the inscriptions in the Memphite area. I am inclined to conclude that *p3* and *n3* in al-Kasr el-Sayed, along with the decorated tomb chambers, present copies of the older Fifth-Dynasty Memphite templates. The late Fifth Dynasty was a period of innovation which facilitated the decoration program of burial chambers and the use of colloquial linguistic forms in the inscriptions. Originality is, indeed, a frequent criterion for an earlier date (Cherpion 1984: 48).

CC1 shows the presence of the attentional sequence, assigned to the North, in the Southern sources as well, in a letter from Pepi II in the biography of Harkhuf (Aswan) and the Coptos decrees B, C (Coptos). The explanation of this evidence can be twofold:

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[401] The burial chamber in the tomb of Pepyankh-Heryib of Meir, dated to Pepi II, is decorated according to the contemporary Memphite decorum rules. It has the depictions of food stacks, but the human determinatives are truncated in the offering formulae list. Similarly, the inscriptions in the burial chamber of the vizier Iuew of Abydos (first half of the Sixth Dynasty) present Anubis and Osiris without determinatives (Kanawati 2005: 66–67).

- The attentional deictic system was also present in the South.
- The texts contain the elements of the Sixth-Dynasty northern dialect.

I have a preference towards the second option. The text of the letter in the tomb of Harkhuf represents the direct speech of the boy-king Pepi II, or, rather, the language register which a Memphite scribe chose to render that speech. It contrasts the rest of the autobiography operating solely with the distance-based *pn/pf*. The latter pattern fits other biographic inscriptions from Elephantine and Abydos, such as Sabni and Weni, which use the *n-* and *f-*series only. The text of the Coptos decree B, although official from the diaphasic perspective, was also composed in Memphis. The impact of the Memphite dialect on the literary production extended well into the First Intermediate Period. The texts in the tomb of the nomarch of the 3rd *Upper* Egyptian nome Ankhtifi in Moꜥalla testify the borrowings from the Memphite linguistic type, such as the *ꜣ*-series demonstratives and the negative particle *w*. The *ꜣ*-series appear in an inscription of the official Sobekemhat in the Hatnub queries, which belonged to the 15th ("Hare") Upper Egyptian nome with the capital in Hermopolis Magna. The Hatnub Graffiti 22 and 32 attest *nꜣ* and *mj-nꜣ* "here", and the passive participle *ḏḏ.w* "that which is given" preceded by *pꜣ*. Graffito 22 is dated to year 7 of Hare nome's nomarch Neheri I, while Graffito 32 belongs to year 20 of Neheri's I son Djehutihotep. Anthes (1928) attributed both to the reign of Mentuhotep II (Nebhepetre) of the Eleventh Dynasty – the opinion shared by Blumenthal (1976) and Browarsky (1981). Schenkel in his dissertation associated the events, described in the graffiti, with the political unrest after the murder of Amenemhet I in year 30 of his reign, while Willems (1983) suggested the intermediate date, corresponding to the beginning of the reign of Amenemhet I. The latter dating is accepted now as a *communis opinio* (Gestermann 2008). The early *Neuägyptizismen* from Moꜥalla and Hatnub, undoubtedly of local production, contrast other southern colloquial sources from the First Intermediate Period, such as the Hu-bowl (Diospolis parva, 7th Upper Egyptian nome), the Berlin bowl (Thinis, 8th Upper Egyptian nome), and the Louvre bowl (Abydos, 8th Upper Egyptian nome). These do not attest the *ꜣ*-series and follow classical Middle Egyptian deictic patterns.

This evidence stands in clear contrast to the picture of Egyptian historical dialects drawn by Fecht. Following Fecht, the proclitic forms emerge in Upper Egypt as the result of its transition from DSG to ZSG, while the literary Old Egyptian originates from Lower Egypt, still adhering to DSG. The results of my analysis and the typological data suggest that the emergence of proclitic forms can be rather explained as a compensatory mechanism *against* the implementation of ZSG in Lower Egypt:

I) A non-emphatic relocation of the enclitic demonstrative towards the first stressed unit was a means to maintain the stress position in the phonetic word. Adhering to Wackernagel's prosodic law, the switch *verb N-pw → verb-pw N* extended the first phonetic word with one more syllable and allowed the stress position to remain unchanged in segmental terms:

syllables →	4	3	2	1
before pw-switch		σ´	σ	σ
after pw-switch	σ	σ´	σ	←*pw*

II) A non-emphatic detachment of the clitic *pw* from the preceding phonetic word had a similar effect. In the tripartite nominal phrase *N + pw + relative extension* the weight of the relative

phrase could have attracted *pw*, extending its prosodic unit. In that case two scenarios are possible: 1) the clitic remained unstressed and was reduced or 2) the clitic obtained stress:

syllables →		4	3	2	1	0	or	2	1		2	1
before pw-switch			σ´	σ	σ							
after pw-switch (1)	*pw→*		σ´	σ	σ							
after pw-switch (2)			**p´w→**	σ	σ	σ		**p´w→**	σ	+	**σ´**	σ

The second option suggests that if the clitic obtained stress, the final syllable of the unit had to be reduced or it had to be reanalyzed into smaller segmental units. This process is attested in Germanic languages, where the appearance of the proclitic article is related to the fixation of the stress on the first syllable (Ernst 2012: 65). Bound stress position in Germanic not only weakened the enclitics, but also triggered the emergence of the proclitic forms. The acquisition of stress by the pre-posed *pw/pꜣ* could have had a further effect: they could start attracting smaller elements. This would initiate the second round of "pronominal conversion" – the emergence of the form *pꜣy* (possibly via *ꜣ*-extension) and the possessive pronoun *pꜣy.f*. This development could have been spurred by the final adoption of ZSG in Lower Egypt: the stress now could be firmly placed on the proclitic demonstrative. Thus DSG → ZSG transition in the North, in my opinion, did not trigger the move of clitics to the front, because the pre-posed demonstrative was already there. It merely fortified an accomplished fact and contributed to the emergence of strong *pꜣ*, *tꜣ*, *nꜣ* forms.

In the South, on the other hand, the prosodic environment were quite different. The detailed study of nominal compounds by Gundacker confirmed Fecht's observation: by the beginning of the Old Kingdom Upper Egypt was already governed by ZSG. I therefore posit that the establishment of ZSG in the South explains not the birth of *pꜣ* but the behavior of the demonstratives *pn* and *pf*. In standard Old and Middle Egyptian these are strictly enclitic, invariably attached to the noun. ZSG must have strengthened these bi-syllabic enclitic entities rather than weakening them: there are no signs of the phonetic reduction of these pronouns. *Pw* entered this system as a non-verbal copula, retaining its full form.

Summing up, I think that the deictic norm of Early Old Egyptian was formed under the impact of the Northern linguistic system with the attention-focused demonstratives *pn/pw*. The deictic pattern operating with the distance-related demonstratives *pn/pf*, residing in the South from the First through the Fourth dynasties, adhered to the ZSG and laid the foundation for the Old and Middle Egyptian standard. Starting from the Fifth Dynasty, we observe two contradictory processes in the North: the appearance of proclitic forms in the colloquial stratum and a gradual adoption of the southern *pn/pf* in the official discourse. This spawned the existence of the mixed type involving three terms – the recognitional *pw/pꜣ*, proximal *pn*, and distal *pf*. The joint attention system, which by the time of the Sixth Dynasty already included the grammaticalized demonstrative *pꜣ*, experienced a brief comeback during the First Intermediate Period, but after the defeat of the Herakleopolitan kings its use was reduced to a vernacular stratum.

Table 104 Historical dialects and literary standard

Table 104 Historical dialects and literary standard

Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
relative distance (*pn/pf*)	Early Old Egyptian (Dynasty 1-4) ←	joint attention (*pw/pn*)
relative distance (*pn/pf*) →	Old Egyptian (Dynasty 5) ←	joint attention (*pw (pꜣ)/pn*)
relative distance (*pn/pf*) →	Old Egyptian (Dynasty 6)	joint attention (*pꜣ/pn*)
relative distance (*pn/pf*) →	Middle Egyptian	joint attention (*pꜣ/pꜣy*)

4.3. Grammaticalization of deictic roots in Egyptian-Coptic

In this chapter I will place the Egyptian demonstratives in the context of other Afro-Asiatic languages. I will examine the grammaticalization patterns of Afro-Asiatic deictica in order to uncover the common deictic roots as constitutive parts of Old Egyptian demonstratives, personal pronouns, emphatic particles, and compound adverbs.

Egyptian represents one of the five branches of the Afro-Asiatic language family, constituted by Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, and Chadic, with Omotic (West Cushitic) sometimes classified as a separate, sixth, branch (Loprieno 1995: 1–5; Takács 1999: 9). The languages of Afro-Asiatic group are characterized by a number of general linguistic features, such as the nominal feminine suffix *-at*; the nominal prefix *m-*; the adjectival "nisba" suffix *-ī*; the opposition between the prefix (dynamic) and suffix (stative) conjugation in the verbal system; the conjugation pattern 1st person singular *'a-* /plural *na-*; the 2nd person singular *ta-*; and the 3rd person singular masculine *ya-*/feminine *ta-* (Loprieno 1995: 1; Edel 1964: 1–2; Allen 2013b: 1). According to Loprieno (1995: 5), Ancient Egyptian shows the closest relations to Beja (Cushitic), Semitic, and Berber and is more distant to the rest of Cushitic and Chadic languages. Takács (1999: 35–36) argues that the very high number of exclusively Egypto-Chadic isoglosses prove that Egyptian and Chadic may represent a special unity within the Afro-Asiatic family.

4.3.1. Personal pronouns

The grammaticalization scenario of the 3rd person pronouns from demonstratives has been described in chapter *4.2. Diatopic features*. The following section provides the morphological analysis of Old Egyptian and Old Akkadian personal pronouns, and aims to expose the deictic roots these pronouns contain[402]. The survey is based on Edel (1964), Kammerzell (1991), von Soden and Mayer (1995), Lipiński (1997) and Jansen-Winkeln (2002),

Old Egyptian personal pronouns are deictic expressions which possess the semantic features of person (1st, 2nd, 3rd), gender (feminine, masculine, and genus commune), and number (singular, plural, and dual). According to Lipiński (1997: 80:297), Egyptian is one of only two languages in the Afro-Asiatic group (along with South Ethiopic) that exhibit the full set of pronominal forms –

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[402] Old Akkadian is an East Semitic language attested roughly from 2500 to 1950 BCE. It developed into Babylonian and Assyrian, historically divided into the following periods (von Soden and Mayer 1995: 2; Lipiński 1997: 80:54):

Old Babylonian (ca. 1950-1530 BCE)	vs.	Old Assyrian (ca. 1950-1750 BCE)
Middle Babylonian (ca. 1530-1000 BCE)	vs.	Middle Assyrian (ca. 1500-1000 BCE)
Neo-Babylonian (ca. 1000-600 BCE)	vs.	Neo-Assyrian (ca. 1000-600 BCE)

The pronominal forms in Old Akkadian display the following syntactic behavior (von Soden and Mayer 1995: 49):

	Non-clitic	Clitic	
	Pronominal	*Suffixed*	*Prefixed*
Personal pronouns	X	X	
Determinative pronouns	X	X	
Verb conjugation (stative)			X

independent, dependent, and suffixed. These are distinguished according to their syntactic behavior, morphology, and prosodic features:

- *Independent pronouns* are autonomous prosodic elements with full stress. They are split into two morphological types: earlier ones, used during the Old Kingdom and later ones, most forms of which appear in the Middle Kingdom.

- *Dependent pronouns* likely form one prosodic unity with the preceding word, unless separated from it by a particle.

- *Suffixed pronouns* are unstressed morphs, constituting a single prosodic unit with the preceding word.

- *Personal endings* of stative conjugation are historically personal pronouns that grammaticalized into verb-agreement markers.

Suffixed pronouns and personal endings are mono-morphemic; enclitic and independent pronouns are poly-morphemic. Etymological features and typological comparison with Old Akkadian, Old Assyrian, and Old Babylonian allow distinguishing two groups of Old Egyptian pronouns (Kammerzell 1991: 182–85).

Group 1

Group 1 consists of suffix pronouns, dependent (enclitic) pronouns, and older independent pronouns, listed in the below tables[403].

Suffix pronouns

Table 105 Old Egyptian suffix pronouns vs. Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian personal (enclitic) pronouns

Per.	Gen.	Singular		Plural		Dual
		OE	OB/OA	OE	OB/OA	OE
1	c.	*Ø / j*	*-ī /-ja*	*n / n-PL*	*-ni*	*n-j*
2	m. f.	*k* *t̠ / (t̠-n)*	*-ka* *-ki*	*t̠-n / t̠-n-PL / (t̠)*	*-kunu* *-kina*	*t̠-n / t̠-n-DU*
3	m. f.	*f* *s*	*-šu/-š* *-ša/-šī/-š*	*s-n / s-n-PL / (s)*	*-šunu* *-šina*	*s-n/ s-n-j / s-n-DU*

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[403] The tables in this chapter use the following notation system:
- Parenthesis denote rarely attested forms, e.g. *t̠ / (t̠-n)*.
- Capital letters, following pronominal forms, stand for determinatives, which have no phonetic representation, e.g. *t̠-n/t̠-n-PL*.
- "-" designates not attested forms.
- Forms occurring from Middle Egyptian on are given in squared brackets "[]".

The following observations can be made about the suffix pronouns of Group 1:

- Old Egyptian and Old Babylonian/Old Assyrian suffix pronouns possess formal similarity.

- Old Egyptian suffix pronouns of the 2nd per. *k* (sg. m.) and *t̲* (sg. f.) originate from the common root *k*, which is preserved as Old Babylonian/Old Assyrian suffix pronouns *-ka* (2 per. m. sg.)/*-ki* (2 per. sg. f.). Kammerzell (1991: 190) suggested that the transition *k → t̲* was conditioned by the vowels following the root *k*. The Akkadian pattern shows that these were *a/u* (central/back) for masculine and *a/i* (central/front) for feminine. Assuming the actual phonetic realization of Egyptian 2nd per. suffix was */ka/*, */ku/* for masculine, and */ki/* for feminine, Kammerzell argued that */ki/* was palatalized and eventually turned into *ti (*/ki/ →/ kJi/ →/ci/)*[404].

- The 3rd person suffix pronouns (masc. *-f* and fem. *-s*), according to Kammerzell (1991: 191), also derive from a common root. The proto-Old Egyptian phonological form of the masculine is assumed to be */ś́u/* vs. the feminine */ś́i /*, showing the same kind of opposition of back/central (*u/a*) and front (*i*) vowels. The elision of the probably unstressed vowel led to the "labio-velarization" of the consonant and the subsequent vowel loss: */ś́u/ → */ś́ʷu/ → */ś́ʷ/ →/f/*. If, on the other hand, the vowel following the sibilant *ś́* was preserved, the phonetic form of the consonant remained unchanged[405].

  Klotz (2011) explained the etymological background of suffix *-f* differently, referring to the sound changes in a number of Arabic dialects. In Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, for example, the Modern Standard Arabic suffix pronoun *-hu* (deriving historically from the same Proto-Semitic root */šu/)* loses the aspirant *h* and is reduced to *-u* after the consonants. Analogous phenomena are observed in Iraqi *(-hu →-a)*, Levantine *(-hu → -o)*, Moroccan *(-hu → -ō)*, and Geʿez, where */h/* is only preserved when succeeding the terminal vowel (*hagar-ú* "his city" vs. *sahāfi-hú* "his scribe"). In Biblical Hebrew, the Northwest Semitic **-ahu* is reduced to **-ō* or labialized to *-aw*. Klotz (2011: 248) adopted this pattern to Egyptian, noting that the labialized **-w* could eventually dissimilate to *-f*: */šu/ → */hu/ → */u → /w/ → /f/*.[406]

  Brose (2014) questioned Klotz' line of argumentation, providing the following points:

- Although the alternation *-w/-f* is randomly attested in Coptic dialects, there are no traces of it in Earlier Egyptian.

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[404] Lipiński (1997: 80:299) shared this view. The transition *k → t̲* occurred in Egyptian not only with feminine forms, but also with all masculine forms containing the original */ka/*: *t̲-n* (suffix 2nd p. m. pl.), *t̲-w* (enclitic 2nd p. m. sg.), *t̲-n* (enclitic 2nd p. m. pl.), *t̲-w-t* (independent 2nd p. m. sg.).

[405] Kammerzell discarded a possible relation between the suffix *f* and the Semitic deictic root *p*, put forward by Vycichl (1953: 386), Otto (1951: 62), and Westendorf (1962: 24 (Anm. 2)): "Der zuweilen vorgeschlagene Zusammenhang zwischen *p-* und dem suffigierten Pronomen der dritten Person Singular *=f* verliert sich im Dunkel der Sprachvorgeschichte" (Kammerzell 1992: 165–66).

[406] Kammerzell (1991: 190) admitted a possibility a similar development scenario, initiating with **-hū*: **-hū →*-hʷū → *-vu → -f*.

- The transition /u/ → /w/ is not a universal pattern, but occurs in a certain phonological environment only, e.g. after diphthongs *aj/ij* or after long vowels *ī/ē.*

- The development */šu/ → */hu/ is a universal paradigm in Semitic languages (with one exception: Meḥri), which affects all pronouns. Conversely, in Egyptian it involves only the 3rd person of the suffix pronouns, while dependent and independent pronouns preserve the original root */ s-/.* Brose (2014: 274) concluded that the proto-Egyptian suffix-pronoun */hu/ never existed[407].

Vycichl (1953) reviewed Egyptian personal suffix pronouns in the extended context of Afro-Asiatic languages, providing parallels with Hausa (Chadic), Shilha (North Berber), Bishari (Beja/Cushitic), Classical Arabic, and Assyrian-Babylonian (Semitic). The table below presents the pronominal forms outlined by Vycichl:

Table 106 Egyptian suffix pronouns in the Afro-Asiatic context (Vycichl 1953)

		Suffix pronouns: singular					Hausa	Schilh	Bishari	Arabic	Ass-Bab.
		Egyptian									
		Early	OK	MK	NK	Coptic					
1.	**c.**	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-i*	*-i*	Ø	*-ni**	*(-i)*	*-Ø*	*-ī, nī**	*-ī, nī**
2.	**m.**	*-ka*	*-ka*	*-k*	*-k*	-ⲕ	*-ka*	*-k*	*-k(a)*	*-ka*	*-ka*
	f.	*-ki*	*-či*	*-t*	*-č*	*(-ⲉ)*	*-ki*	*-këm**	*-k(i)*	*-ki*	*-ki*
3.	**m.**	**-fi*	**-fi*	*-f*	*-f*	-ϥ	*-ši**	*-s*	*-s*	*-hu*	*-šu*
	f.	*-sa*	*-sa*	*-s*	*-s*	-ⲥ	*-ta*	*-s*	*-s*	*-hā*	*-ša*

		Suffix pronouns: plural					Hausa	Schilh	Bishari	Arabic	Ass-Bab.
		Egyptian									
		Early	OK	MK	NK	Coptic					
1.	**c.**	*-na*	*-na*	*-n*	*-n*	-ⲛ	*-mu*	*-naġ*	*-n*	*-nā*	*-nu*
2.	**m.**	*-kunu*	*-čunu*	*-tun, (tu)*	*-tun, (tu)*	-ⲧⲛ̄	*-ku*	*-kun**	*-kna*	*-kum*	*-kunu*
	f.	*-kunu*	*-čunu*	*-tun, (tu)*	*-tun, (tu)*	-ⲧⲛ̄	*-ku*	*-kunt**	*-kna*	*-kunna*	*-kina*

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[407] A detailed overview of the literature on the **šu → f* development is given by Takács (2001: 550).

Table 106 Egyptian suffix pronouns in the Afro-Asiatic context (Vycichl 1953)

3.	**m.**	*-sunu*	*-sunu*	*-sun, (su)*	*-sun, (su), -u*	-ϲⲟⲩ, -ⲟⲩ	*-su*	*-sen*	*-sna*	*-hum*	*-šunu*
	f.	*-sunu*	*-sunu*	*-sun, (su)*	*-sun, (su), -u*	-ϲⲟⲩ, -ⲟⲩ	*-su*	*-sent*	*-sna*	*-hunna*	*-šina*

Vycichl argued against the etymology */hu/ → /f/ saying that */hu/ is attested comparatively late, in the 9th century BCE. The preservation of *s* in the Egyptian enclitic form *sw (*suwa)/s-j (*sija)* is a further objection to the presumed phonetic evolution of *su → hu → fu*, any parallel of which is missing (Vycichl 1953: 386). Vycichl concluded that the 3rd person singular masculine pronoun, vocalized as **-fi*, must be related to the masculine deictic element *p* occurring in the Egyptian demonstratives *pw*, *pf*, and *pn* and related to the Hebrew *pō* "here", the Meḥri *bu and bum*, Soqotri *bo*[408].

Recently, Breyer (2018) reasoned that the appearance of the 3rd person suffix morpheme *-f* is a result of a substitution caused by the language contact. According to Breyer, the reduction of vowels in the final open syllables eliminated the gender distinction with the proto-Old Egyptian 3rd person pronouns (see similarly Jansen-Winkeln (2002: 10)). This necessitated the use of another morpheme (*-f*), which could be related to both the distal Egyptian deixis marker **-f* and the gender marker **p-*. Taking into account that it is the masculine pronoun which is substituted, Breyer eventually related the Egyptian suffix *-f* with the Berber and Beja (Cushitic) formants *w-/-b*, marking the masculine gender in demonstrative pronouns and articles. He noted that a comparable process has taken place in English, where the 3rd person plural pronouns of Anglo-Saxon origin were supplanted by Old Norse forms[409]:

Table 107 Third person plural pronouns in English

Case	Old forms (Anglo-Saxon)		New forms (Old Norse)
Nominative/Accusative	*hi/hie*	←	*they, them*
Genitive	*hira/heora*	←	*their, of them*
Dative	*heom*	←	*to them, for them*

Dependent and independent pronouns

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[408] For the same opinion see Otto (1951) and Takács (2001: 551–53).

[409] Compare also the substitution of the 3rd p. p. suffix pronoun *sn* with *w* in Late Egyptian (Erman 1933: 35–37 (§§77-81)).

Table 108 Old Egyptian dependent pronouns vs. Old Akkadian determinative pronouns vs. Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian personal (non-clitic) pronouns[410]

Per.	Gen.	Singular				Plural			Dual
		OE	OAk	OB	OA	OE	OAk	OB/OA	OE
1	c.	*w / j-w / j-w-PER* *w-j / w-j-j*	-	-	-	*(n)*[411]	-	-	-
2	m. f.	*k-w/ k // t̠-w / t̠ // t-w* *t̠-m // t̠-n*	-	-	-	*t̠-n*	-	-	*t̠-n*
3	m. f.	*s-w / s* *s-j / s*	*šū* *šāt*	*šū* *šī*	*šūt* *šīt*	*s-n*	*šūt*	*šunu* *šina*	*s-n / s-n-DU*

Table 109 Old Egyptian earlier independent pronouns vs. Old Akkadian determinative pronouns vs. Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian personal (non-clitic) pronouns

Per.	Gen.	Singular				Plural			Dual
		OE	OAk	OB	OA	OE	OAk	OB/OA	OE
1	c.		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	m. f.	*t̠-w-t* *t̠-m-t*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	m. f.	*s-w-t* *s-t-t*	*šū* *šāt*	*šū* *šī*	*šūt* *šīt*	-	*šūt*	*šunu* *šina*	-

Dependent and independent pronouns of Group 1 possess the following features:

- Dependent pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd person consist of two morphemes: suffix pronouns plus an additional element *-w*, *-m/-n*, or *-j*. Independent pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd person contain enclitic pronouns plus the suffix *t*. In that way, the morphologically simple entities are constitutive parts of the complex ones [412].

- Enclitic pronouns build plural and dual with suffix *-n* in all three personae, but do not include the morphemes *-w*, *-m/n*, and *-j*. Thus the plural forms of dependent pronouns are identical to suffixes.

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[410] In Old Akkadian, anaphoric determinative pronouns *šū / šāt* take over the role of 3rd person independent pronouns (von Soden and Mayer 1995: 50).

[411] The form first occurs in Middle Egyptian.

[412] Exceptions from this pattern are the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person. sg. m. (does not contain suffix *-f*) and the independent pronoun of 3rd person sg. f. which is constructed as *s-t-t*, instead of the expected **s-j-t*.

- Despite the obvious similarity of the Old Egyptian 3rd person independent pronouns (*s-w-t* (sg. m.)/*s-t-t* (sg. f.)) and the Old Assyrian independent pronouns (*š-ū-t* (sg. m.)/*š-ī-t* (sg. f.), it is more accurate to compare Old Egyptian and Old Akkadian forms. This is because Old Assyrian *šūt/šīt* are derived from the earlier Old Akkadian determinative *šū* (sg. m.)/*šāt* (sg. f.)/*šūt* (pl. c.). Von Soden and Mayer think that the extension of the root with *-t* in both genders took place in Old Assyrian[413]. This would mean that the *t*-extension occurred independently in Egyptian (*s-w-t* /*s-t-t*) and Assyrian (*š-ū-t*/*š-ī-t*). The homographic forms of the Old Akkadian plural determinative (*š-ū-t*) and the Old Assyrian singular masculine independent pronoun (*š-ū-t* ← **ś-ū-t)* should be strictly distinguished (von Soden and Mayer 1995: 60)

Table 110 Old Akkadian determinative pronouns vs. Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian personal pronouns

	OAk determinative pronouns		OB and OA personal pronouns				
	Non-clitic		Non-clitic			Enclitic	
	sg.	pl.	sg.		pl.	sg.	pl.
	OAk		OB	OA	OB/OA	OB/OA	
3rd p. masc.	*šū*	*šūt*	*šū*	*šūt*	*šūnu*	*-šū/-š*	*šūnu*
3rd p. fem.	*šāt*		*šī*	*šīt*	*šina*	*-ša/-šī/-š*	*šina*

Kammerzell (1991: 189) postulates the following composition pattern ("abstrakte Bildungsmuster") for the pronouns of Group 1:

Table 111 Composition pattern of Group 1 pronouns (Kammerzell 1991)

Pronoun type	Grammatical categories
Suffix pronouns	person + gender + number
Enclitic pronouns	person + gender + number + position$_1$
Independent pronouns	person + gender + number + position$_2$

Interpreting the semantics of the morphemes *-w/-j*, which are the building blocks of the dependent and independent pronouns, Kammerzell (1991: 195) notes that those probably correspond to the lengthening of the vowel in Semitic languages signaling the deixis ("Positionskennzeichen"), e.g.

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[413] „aAK [Altakkadisch = Old Akkadian] finden sich noch Reste einer G.[enitiv]/A.[kkusativ]-Bildung ohne *-t-* (3. Ps. *śūa*), während ass. [Assyrisch = Old Assyrian] dieses *-t-* in der 3. Ps. Sg. sogar in den Nom. eingedrungen ist (*šūt* statt bab. *šū*)" (von Soden and Mayer 1995: 50).

Akkadian (Old Babylonian) *šū* (m.)/*šī* (f.), Ugaritic *hw/hi*, Hebrew *hū'/hī'*). The *-n/-m*-extension in the second person feminine enclitic and independent pronouns does not possess deictic meaning as it appears in Berber and Chadic pronouns as a feminine gender marker.

Group 2

The second group includes personal endings of stative conjugation and later independent pronouns[414].

Table 112 Old Egyptian stative endings vs. Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian stative endings

Per.	Gen.	Singular		Plural		Dual	
		OE	**OB/OA**	**OE**	**OB/OA**	**OE**	**OB/OA**
1	**c.**	*k-j / k-w*	*āku*	*w(j)-n*	*ānu*	-	-
2	**m.**	*t-j*	*āta*	*t(j)w-nj*	*ātunu*	*t(j)w-njj*	-
	f.	*t-j*	*āti*	*t(j)w-nj*	*ātina*	*t(j)w-njj*	
3	**m.**	*j / w*	Ø	*w-j*	*ū*	*w-jj*	-
	f.	*t-j*	*at*	*t-j*	*ā*	*t-jj*	

Table 113 Old Egyptian later independent pronouns vs. Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian personal (non-clitic) pronouns

Per.	Gen.	Singular			Plural		Dual
		OE/ME	**OB**	**OA**	**OE/ME**	**OB/OA**	
1	**c.**	*jn-k / jn-k/ jn-k-PER*	*an-āku*		[*jn-n-PL*]	*n-īnu*	-
2	**m.**	*n-t-k*[415]	*at-tā ← *an-tā*		[*n-t-t-n-PL*]	*at-tu-nu< *an-tu-nu*	-
	f.	*n-t-t̲*[416]	*at- tī ← *an-tī*			*at-ti-na< *an-ti-na*	
3	**m.**	*n-t-f*[417]	*šū*	*šūt*	*jn-t-s-n / jn-t-tj-s-n / n-t-s-n / n-tj-s-n*[418]	*šunu*	*n-t-s-n*
	f.	[*n-t-s*]	*šī*	*šīt*		*šina*	

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[414] The Old Egyptian stative conjugation endings are rendered according to Edel (1964: 271 (§572)). Kammerzell (1991: 185; 192) ignores the morphemes *-j/-w*-accompanying stative endings, representing them as Ø.

[415] For Edel (1964: 79 (§79)) this form is not attested in Old Egyptian, but Kammerzell (1991: 184 (footnote 21)) identifies it in PT 238 W (Pyr. 242 b) and PT 292 W, T, P (Pyr. 433 a).

[416] Attested for Kammerzell (1991: 184 (footnote 22)) from Middle Egyptian on, contra Sethe (1962: 192), who identifies this form in PT 535 P (Pyr. 1281 a).

[417] Attested in PT 681 N (Pyr. 2041).

[418] The Pyramid Texts show the plural forms with the initial *j-*: 3 per. pl. *jntsn* (PT 407 N (Pyr. 711 b)) and *jntjsn* (PT 599 N (1651 b)).

Pronouns of Group 2 display the following features:

- Old Egyptian and Akkadian stative conjugation endings show formal affinity. In Egyptian, an explicit gender opposition present in the 3rd person (masc. *Ø/w/j* vs. fem. *t-j*), is neutralized in the 2nd person (*t-j* for fem. and masc.). Kammerzell (1991: 191) suggests that gender was rendered according to the Semitic pattern with the vowels */u/* or */a/* for masculine vs. */a/* or */i/* for feminine.

- Conspicuous is the different construction of plural forms with stative endings: the 1st and 2nd persons use the suffix *n,* while the 3rd person utilizes the half-consonant *-j*.

- The element *-t-*, which comes up in Egyptian independent pronouns (2nd person *n-t-k/n-t-t̠*, 3rd person *n-t-f/n-t-s*), may represent a remnant of the feminine personal ending, also present in Akkadian (*at-tī* ← **an-tī*), which turned into a "genus commune" marker (Kammerzell 1991: 177, 193, 195).

- The disappearance of the initial (*j*) with the pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd persons (*jn-k* vs. *n-t-k/n-t-f*) is conditioned by the syllabic structure: if *n* is followed by a vowel, then *jn-/jan/* → Coptic ⲁⲛ is used; if it precedes a consonant, then *jn* is reduced to */n/* → Coptic ⲛ̄ (Kammerzell 1991: 195).

- In Old Babylonian/Old Assyrian, the role of the 3rd person of the independent personal pronoun is adopted by determinative anaphoric pronouns (von Soden and Mayer 1995: 49–50). A comparable phenomenon is observed in Middle Egyptian, where *pw* substitutes the independent pronouns *ntf/nts* in nominal clauses: *rꜥw pw* "He is Re" as an answer to the question: *ptr rf sw* "Who is he?" (Gardiner 1957: 103 (§128)).

The composition pattern of the personal pronouns of Group 2 is viewed by Kammerzell (1991: 189) as follows:

Table 114 Composition pattern of Group 2 pronouns (Kammerzell 1991)

Pronoun type	Grammatical categories
Stative conjugation endings	person
Independent pronouns	*position₃* + ending + person + gender + number

Conclusions

I agree with Vycichl (1953) and Breyer (2018) on the fact that the 3rd person singular masculine (*-f*) and feminine (*-s*) suffix forms are etymologically *not* related. Vycichl saw the origins of the Egyptian pronominal suffix *-f* in the demonstrative element *-p*, present in the deictica *p-w/p-n/p-f*. This option is supported by the variation of the consonants *p* and *f* within some Egyptian roots, e.g. *psj* vs. *fsj* "to cook" or *ꜥpj* "to fly" vs. *ꜥff* "a fly" (Vycichl 1953: 386; Kammerzell 1992: 171). The 3rd person masc.

enclitic form *sw (*suwa)*, the independent pronoun *swt (*suwat)* and the plural form *sn (*-sunu)* indeed evidence the existence of the masculine suffix pronoun **/śu/* in Ancient Egyptian. It, however, has never been subject to the **/śu/ → */hu/* transition, but was substituted by the pronoun of deictic origin **-fī*. In the theoretical chapter I referred to Bhat (2013), who showed that in more than half of the examined 225 languages third person pronouns and demonstratives are related. The third person pronouns are often deictic rather than personal (Daniel 2013). In Akkadian the anaphoric demonstratives *šū / šāt* pushed the 3ʳᵈ person forms out of the pronominal paradigm. In Middle Egyptian, the 3ʳᵈ person pronouns are replaced by the demonstrative *pw* in nominal clauses – the very phenomenon also taking place in Demotic and Coptic bi-membral delocutive patterns where *mtwf*/ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ, *mtws*/ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲥ, *mtww*/ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ are taken over by *pꜣy*/ⲡⲉ, *tꜣy*/ⲧⲉ, *nꜣy*/ⲛⲉ (*šm pꜣy* "It is summer" (Johnson 2000: 15). The hypothesis of the substitution of **/śu/* with the deictic**/-fī/* thus rests on a typological ground.

The data suggests that the 3ʳᵈ person enclitic and independent pronouns of Group 1 were possibly built through the extension of the Afro-Asiatic root **š (**šu/*ša/*ši)* with the deictic morphemes **-w(a)/*-j(a)*: **/šu-wa/ → šū* and **/ši-ja/ → šā*. The presence of this deictic suffix is stipulated by the long final vowels in Old Akkadian determinative pronouns and Old Babylonian/Old Assyrian personal (anaphoric) pronouns. In Egyptian, the deictic extension could have produced the full form of the enclitic pronoun **su-wa/*si-ja* (Vycichl 1953: 386). The change from affricate *š* to fricative *ś* that took place in Egyptian did not occur in Akkadian. This reconstruction presupposes that the deictic extension (**/šu-wa/, */ši-ja/*) took place on the common Egyptian-Semitic ground:

Table 115 Hypothetic *w*-extension of the 3ʳᵈ person pronouns

Gen.	Root		+	Deixis	→	Pronoun			
	OAk/OB/OA	OE				OAk	OB	OA	OE
m.	**-šu / *-š*	**s*	**+**	**w(a)*	→	*š-ū*	*š-ū*	*š-ū-t*	*s-w / *su-wa /*
f.	**-ša / *-šī /*-š*	**s*		**j(a)*		*š-ā-t*	*š-ī*	*š-ī-t*	*s-j /*si-ja/*

Whether formant **j* in *s-j* is a variant of **w* or a separate deictic element cannot be ascertained at this point. This extension pattern might have been applied by analogy to the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person dependent pronouns: Kammerzell (1991: 195) assigns the morpheme *-w*, present in *w-j* (1ˢᵗ p.) and *k-w/ṯ-w* (2ⁿᵈ p.) to the same deictic category as the 3ʳᵈ person masculine singular *s-w*. The morphemes *-m/-n* in the 2ⁿᵈ person dependent *ṯ-m*, *ṯ-n* are most probably feminine gender markers, but as those usually develop form the demonstrative pronouns (Greenberg 1978), *-m/-n* might also have demonstrative origins. The final formant *-t* in the older independent pronouns *ṯ-w-t/ṯ-m-t* and *s-w-t/s-t-t*, may be related to morpheme *-t-*, present in the demonstrative root *n.t-* (see below). The following table summarizes the morphological construction of the Old Egyptian pronouns of Group 1:

Table 116 Morphological composition of the Old Egyptian personal pronouns of Group 1

					Older independent pronouns *t-w-t; t-m-t / s-w-t; s-t-t*			
				Dependent pronouns *w/wj;kw/tw; tm/tn / sw; sj*				
		Suffix pronouns *j, k, t, f, s*						
Semantic categories	**→**		*person*	*deixis*		*deixis*	*gender/ deixis*	*deixis*
1 p. sg.	c.	Ø / j	?			+ -w		-
2 p. sg	m.	k	*/ka/ */ku/		→ ṭ	+ -w		+ -t
	f.	ṭ	*/ki/				+ -m/-n	+ -t
3 p. sg.	m.	-	*/śu/		→ s	+ -w		+ -t
	f.	s	*/śi/			+ -w → -j		+ -t
	m.	f		*/-fi/	-	-	-	-

Personal pronouns of Group 2 also contain deictic elements. Gardiner (1900), analyzing the compound nature of the relative pronoun *n.tj*, saw its origin in a "defining feminine substantive *n.t*", which has two variants:

n.t-	+	adjective suffix *j*	→	*n.t-j*
n.t-	+	possessive suffix (*-k / -f*, etc.)	→	*n.t-k, n-t-f*

The base *n.t*, according to Gardiner, should itself be related to:

- The preposition *n* "for" [dative].
- The indirect genitive morpheme *n.j* , deriving from the dative *n*.

With relatively little typological evidence yet available at that time, Gardiner came to the remarkable conclusion that the relative pronoun *n.tj* and the pronominal *ntf* originate by means of the "defining substantive" *n.t* from the demonstrative root **jn*, which is also found at the base of deictica *pn, tn, ptn, n3, nn* (Gardiner 1900: 41–42). Fecht (1960: 18–19) extended the group of grammatical elements, which evolve from the proto-demonstrative **jn* (vocalized by him as as**janí*) with the following:

- The focalizing particle *jn* used in cleft-sentences. The Pyramid Text spells PT 554 P (Pyr. 1370 a) and PT 672 N (Pyr. 1988 a) include the archaic variants of such clauses where the third element is not a participle or a relative form, but a noun: *jn + nominal subject + noun* (Gardiner 1957: 176 (§227)). This means that by the time of the compilation of Pyramid Texts the demonstrative **jn* had already lost its deictic features[419].

- The particle *jn* introducing the agent after the infinitive and passive in Middle Egyptian (Gardiner 1957: 175–76 (§227:4)).

- The question particle *jn* (Gardiner 1957: 175–76 (§227: 1); 403–44 (§493-494)). Fecht's hypothesis can now be supported by cross-linguistic studies on the relationship between demonstratives and interrogatives (Diessel 2003; Idiatov 2015). The deictic nature of *jn* uncovers the originally nominal syntax of the Middle Egyptian interrogative construction *jn n.tt* (...) "Is it the case that ....?" (Gardiner 1957: 404 (§494)).

With the deictic origin of the morpheme **jn* substantiated, the question about the essence of the infix element *-t-* comes to the fore. The form *n.t* reliably appears in the Sixth Dynasty rock tombs of El-Hawawish (Akhmim) (Schweitzer 2005: 126)[420]. In the Rhind mathematical papyrus the phrase *n.t pw* can be found in alternation with *mj.t.t pw* "That is the same" (RMP, Pl. F, Nos. 4, 6). *N.t pw* there has a character of a nominal clause and is translated by Peet (1923: 52,53) as "this is it". Gunn (1930: 129) thinks that *n.t* must be a substantivized form of the nisba *n.j*, with the meaning of "a being" (German "Wesen"). Gardiner (1957: 404 (§494)) notes that in one passage of Sinuhe (Sinuhe, B, line 115) *jn n.t pw* actually substitutes the interrogative *jn n.t.t*[421]. The formation path of the independent pronouns *n-t-f*, *n-t-s* etc. is therefore envisaged by Gardiner and Gunn as encompassing the following steps:

- Step 1   The proto-demonstrative **(j)n* is grammaticalized via the preposition *n* [dative] and its nisba *n.j* to an indirect genitive morpheme *n.j*.
- Step 2   *N.j* is lexicalized with the help of the formant *-t* to the noun *n(j).t* "being".
- Step 3   *N(j).t* is extended with the possessive suffixes to build the independent pronouns (*n-t-f/n-t-s*, etc.).

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[419] Reintges (1998) observed that all cases of the unbound *jn* have a common – focalizing – function. For him, however, *jn* possesses an inherent verbal character, proven by the structural analogy and co-occurrence restriction of *jn* and the initial auxiliary *jw* "to come" (Reintges 1998: 197, 201). Although a verbal use of *jn* is indeed attested (for e.g. as a constituent part of *sḏm.jn.f*), this form probably derives from *j* "to say" (*j.n.f* "he said") (Gardiner 1957: 348 (§437)). The grammaticalization scenario of the Egyptian focus particle *jn* from the proto-demonstrative **jn* via non-verbal copula **jn* aligns with the typological data, outlined in chapter *2.2. Grammaticalization of demonstratives*.

[420] Sander-Hansen (1956: 6:14 (§50)) identified *n.t* in PT 214 W (Pyr. 137 d): *j.fḫ.k pr.k n s3.k n.t tt.k* "Leave your house to your son, this one whom you conceived", where *tt* is a relative form of *wtt* (Wb I, 381.10-382.9). This is viewed critically by Allen (1984: 242 (§370 B)), who interpreted the same phrase is as indirect genitive + relative form: *s3.k n ttt.k.* "your son of your begetting".

[421] Two other occurrences of *n.t pw* are Sinuhe, B, line 127 and pEbers, 99: 5 (No 854a).

In my opinion, this lexicalization channel is unnecessarily complex: the genitive *n.j* and the deictic root *n.t* represent two separate grammaticalization clines deriving directly from the proto-demonstrative **(j)n*. Vycichl (1954: 370) writes that not a single language related to Egyptian has genitive elements arising from a preposition with a nisba. In most cases, these genitive markers are originally demonstratives. Vycichl (1954: 371) states that the syntax of nominal constructions involving the Egyptian genitive morphemes *n.j*, *n.t*, and *n.w* directly corresponds to the Arabic genitive phrases using *ḏū* (sg. m.), *ḏāt* (sg. f.), *ḏāwū* (pl. m.), and *ḏāwāt* (pl. f.); and these are of a deictic origin. In Coptic the Egyptian nisba-suffix *ī* is represented by *ē*, while the genitive morpheme *n.j*, supposedly of a nisba-origin, is rendered not by *ē* but by *ī*:

$$ḥȝ.t\text{-}j\text{-}f \ \ (ḥȝtēj^ef) \ \text{"his heart"} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ϩⲧⲏϥ} \quad (ḥtēf)$$
$$ī \quad\quad\quad\quad \rightarrow \quad\quad\quad ē$$

$$bjȝ \ n.j \ p.t \ \text{"iron"} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ (S.) / ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ (B)}$$
$$ī \quad\quad\quad\quad \rightarrow \quad\quad\quad ī$$

I agree with Vycichl (1954: 369–71) that the link between **(j)n* and indirect genitive *n.j* via the preposition *n* is redundant – the genitive element developed directly from the demonstrative pronoun. *N.t* in my opinion is a product of a separate grammaticalization process. The hypothesis, pertaining to the nature of element *-t*, can be summarized as follows:

- *T* is a feminine gender marker which subsequently came to indicate *genus commune* and eventually evolved into a nominalizing morpheme (Gardiner 1900; Gunn 1930). This is the same *t* which appears as the final morpheme in the older personal pronouns *ṯ-w-t*, *ṯ-m-t*, *sw-w-t*, and *s-t-t*.

- *T* is not a grammatical morpheme, but "a purely prosodic element, viz. an *epenthetic consonant* which provides a syllable onset for the word-final suffix pronoun" (Reintges 1998: 195 (footnote 1)). Jansen-Winkeln (2002: 16) critically notes that epenthetic elements in Egyptian connect consonants, but never vowels: ME *md.t* → Demotic *mt* → Coptic ⲙⲛⲧ-.

- *T* is a remnant of *tw* "being", this grammatical element also occurring in the Egyptian passive *sḏm.tw.f* (Westendorf 1953: 79–83; Schweitzer 2005: 128–29). *N.t* is thus composed of *jn* + *tw*. Schweitzer (2005: 128) detects the presence of *tw* in a number of Old Kingdom personal names and in preposition *jm.j-tj*, occurring in the Fourth dynasty title *ḥm-nṯr-ḥr.wj-jm.j-tj-ḫȝs.t* "Priest of two Horuses who are in between the foreign lands".

- *T* is a fossilized personal suffix (Kammerzell 1991: 193, 195). The roots of the Egyptian independent personal pronouns of Group 2 *jnk-*, *jnt-* and the Akkadian 2nd person pronouns m.**an-tā* (→ *at-tā*), f. **an-tī* (→ *at-tī*) show the remnants of the personal suffixes that are related to Old Egyptian and Old Akkadian stative conjugation endings. The Akkadian 3rd person independent pronouns, constructed according to this scheme, disappeared, substituted by the anaphoric series:

Table 117 Composition of the root *jnk-/jnṯ-* (Egyptian) and *anāk-/ant-* (Akkadian)

		Deictic root	Suffix / Stative morph			Common root	
						Akkadian	Egyptian
1	**c.**	*an-*	+	*āku*	→	*an-āku*	*jnk-*
2	**m.**	*an-*	+	*āta*	→	**an-tā*	*jnt-*
	f.	*an-*	+	*āti*	→	**an-tī*	*jnt-*
3	**m.**	*an-*	+	**atu*[422]	→	**an-tu*	*jnt-*
	f.	*an-*	+	**ata*	→	**an-ta*	*jnt-*

Satzinger is skeptical about the equation of the Egyptian *jn-t-* and the Akkadian **an-tā* as this would mean that stems, already carrying person morphemes (*-āku, -āta, -āti,* etc.) are once again extended in Egyptian by personal endings *jn-k-Ø* (1st p. sg.), *n-t-k/n-t-ṯ* (2nd p. sg.), and *n-t-f/n-t-s* (3rd p. sg.):

> Suggestions to relate this latter [the root *n-t-*] to the 2nd person independent pronouns of Semitic (...) cannot account for the suffix pronouns being attached to them and should be deferred as long as an Egyptian derivation is feasible (Satzinger 1991: 122).

Also for Jansen-Winkeln the etymology of *-t-* in Egyptian *n.t-* as a person marker is rather questionable:

> Man hatte es also insgesamt mit einer Bildung zu tun, die praktisch aus den Personalpronomina besteht, wie sie (für die 1. und 2. Person) im Akkadischen bezeugt sind, mit einem zusätzlich folgenden Suffixpronomen. Eine solche Analyse wirft mehr Fragen auf, als sie beantwortet (Jansen-Winkeln 2002: 14)

I suggest viewing Old Egyptian independent pronouns as containing three layers:

- The first layer was akin to the Akkadian 1 p. sg. *an-āku*; 2 p. sg. **an-tā* (m.), **an-tī* (f.); 3 p. sg. **an-tu* (m.), **an-ta* (f.). The 2nd and 3rd person expressed the semantic categories of person and gender not with the consonant *t* itself, but with the vowel of the source roots: **an-tā/*an-tī* (2nd person), **an-tu/*an-ta* (3rd person). It has been mentioned above, that the loss of a final vowel and the disappearance of a gender distinction with 3rd person suffix pronouns was possibly the reason for the substitution of the masculine **/śu/* with the pronoun of the deictic origin **-fi*. The same pattern can by applied for the 2nd and 3rd person independent pronouns of the first layer: the loss of the final vowel could have caused the elimination of person and gender distinction.

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[422] The personal suffix **atu* is a hypothesis, relying on the fact that the consonant *-t*, present in the OB/OA stative ending of the 3 p. f. sg. *at,* is reduced to *ā* in plural. The masculine endings of the 3rd person in OB/OA show Ø in singular and *ū* in plural.

- The 2nd and 3rd person pronouns of the base *ant/jnt- were thus substituted with the pronominal forms of the second layer *ṯ-w-t* (2nd p. sg. m.)/*ṯ-m-t* (2nd person sg. f.) and *s-w-t* (3rd p. sg. m.)/*s-t-t* (3rd p. sg. f.).

- *N.t* belongs to a separate grammaticalization cline, which shares the deictic root *jn* with the first-layer pronouns. *N.t* is a compound, while *t* is a further deictic morpheme. The suggested relationship between the independent pronouns and the Late Egyptian conjunctive conjugation base *m.tw-* (Bohairic Coptic ⲛⲧ(ⲉ)-) (Richter 2015: 116–21), actually confirms Schweitzer's hypothesis on the original form of infix *-t-* as *tw*. The extension *jn + *tw* produced a new demonstrative *n.t*, occurring sporadically in the Egyptian sources from Old Kingdom on. The same root is actively used in the Semitic languages for the construction of demonstratives (Rundgren 1955). It provided the base the new pronominal series *n.t-k* (2nd p. sg. m.)/ *n.t-ṯ* (2nd p. sg. f.) and *n.t-f* (3rd p. sg. m.)/*n.t-s* (3rd p. sg. f.), which came to replace the pronouns of the second layer[423]. This makes *jnk* a sole survivor of the original paradigm, shared with Akkadian.

The table below summarizes the morphological composition of the Old Egyptian pronouns of Group 2:

Table 118 Morphological composition of the Old Egyptian personal pronouns of Group 2					
		Later independent pronouns *jn-k-; n-t-k / n-t-ṯ; n-t-f / n-t-s*			
		Akkadian independent pronouns *an-āku ; at-tā / at-tī*			
			Stative endings		**Suffix pronouns**
Semantic categories	→	*deixis*	*person*	*deixis*	*person*

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[423] Schweizer (2005: 126–27) argues that the root, which provided the basis for *nt-k*, *nt-f* must have been bi-syllabic, thus excluding the option *jnt + t* + suffix. According to Schweitzer only bi-consonantal words can have the stressed syllable positioned right before the suffix in status pronominalis:

bi-consonantal		*tri-consonantal*	
KVK	*KvKVK$_s$*	*KVKvK*	*KVKKvK$_s$*
ḥr	*ḥr.f*	*ḏr.t*	*ḏr.t.f*
ϩⲟ	ϩⲣⲁϥ	ⲧⲱⲣⲉ	ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ
KVK (?)	*KKVK$_s$*		
n.t	*n.t.f*		
-	ⲛⲧⲟϥ		

Table 118 Morphological composition of the Old Egyptian personal pronouns of Group 2							
			OB / OA	**OE**	**OE**		**OE**
1 p. sg.		*an* +	-āku	-k	→		+ -Ø / -j
2 p. sg.	m.	*an* +	-āta	-t	≠	*-tw	+-k
	f.	*an* +	-āti	-t	≠	*-tw	+ -t
3 p. sg.	m.	*an* +	*-atu	-w	≠	*-tw	+ -f
	f.	*an* +	*-ata	-t	≠	*-tw	+- s

Summing up, the investigation of personal pronouns in Egyptian identified the following morphemes of the deictic origin:

- The 3rd person singular masculine suffix *f* (**/-fi/*).
- The proclitic morpheme *jn-* participating in the construction of the later independent pronouns (*jn-k-*; *n-t-k*; etc.).
- The enclitic morpheme *-w (*-wa)* participating in the build-up of the 3rd person enclitic (*s-w*) and earlier independent pronouns (*s-w-t*).
- The morpheme *-t*, which is a constitutive part of the demonstrative *n.t* and of the later independent pronouns *n-t-k, n-t-k*. The same element possibly occurs with earlier independent pronouns *t-w-t*, *t-m-t* (2nd person) and *s-w-t, s-t-t*. (3rd person)

4.3.2. Emphatic particle *w(-ꜣ)*

Copula pronouns in cleft sentences often serve as a source construction for focus markers: the copular clause with an omitted subject is reanalyzed as a focal noun phrase of the relative clause (see chapter *2.2.4. Focus markers*). A valid candidate for this grammaticalization path in Egyptian is the emphatic particle *w(j)*, which accompanies adjective-verbs. In Old Egyptian it is usually written as *w*; in Middle Egyptian it obtains the form *wy* and is translated as "how [beautiful, mighty etc.]!" Gardiner says that *wy* is "merely a masculine dual ending with special signification; in this case *nfr.wy* would mean 'twice beautiful'" (Gardiner 1957: 47 (§49)). Kammerzell assumes that *w* may originate from the enclitic pronoun of the 1st p. sg. *wy* (Kammerzell 1991: 181 (footnote 11)). This chapter argues that the emphatic particle *w(j)* derives from the demonstrative pronoun in the cleft sentence.

The emphatic particle *w* in Old Egyptian is only attested following adjectival predicates and participles, from which it cannot be separated by other enclitics (Edel 1964: 418–19 (§834)). In fact, this particle is the only reliable criterion to distinguish the *sḏm.f*-form of the adjective-verb from the adjectival predicate if they contain nominal subject: with adjectival predicate *wj* is inserted (Edel 1964: 210–12 (§466))[424]:

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[424] With a pronominal subject the *sḏm.f*-form employs suffixes and an adjectival predicate – enclitic pronouns.

	sḏm.f	**Adjectival predicate**
Nominal subject:	*nfr pr*	*nfr **wj** pr*
Pronominal subject:	*nfr.f*	*nfr (wj) sw*

Edel observes the identical behavior of the adjectives and participles used predicatively: both concur with the subject in gender and number when following it, but obtain the masculine singular form when preceding it (Edel 1964: 156–57 (§§361-363), 1964: 479 (§944))[425]. The choice of pronominal forms in such clauses is also similar:

- (A) Independent pronouns are used if the pronoun precedes the predicate:

  Pronoun + adjectival predicate:
  ***twt** ꜥšꜣ ḫrw*
  You are talkative.
  (Edel 1964: 478 (§943))

  Pronoun + perfect participle:
  *zꜣ zꜣ.t.s **swt** jr.j n.s nw*
  Her grandson, he is the one, who did this to her.
  (Edel 1964: 479 (§945))

- (B) Enclitic pronouns are used when the adjectival predicate is in the front. In that case, the emphatic particle *w(j)* is often present:

  Adjectival predicate + pronoun/noun
  *nfr **w** ṯw*
  How beautiful you are!
  (Edel 1964: 479 (§944))

  *nfr **w** kꜣ.j*
  How beautiful is my ka!
  (Edel 1964: 483 (§949))

  Perfect participle + pronoun[426]
  *jn tr rḫ **w** ṯw jr.t mrr.t ḥss.t nb.k*
  You are the one who knows (how) to do what your lord loves and praises.
  (Edel 1964: 480 (§946))

  *ḥtp **w** sj*
  How content she is!
  (Edel 1964: 480 (§946))

Adjectival predicates in these constructions are participial forms (Edel 1964: 140–41 (§332); Gardiner 1957: 108 (§135)). In (A) we encounter bi-partite nominal clauses, where the first term is a pronoun

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[425] Gundacker (2010: 62 (footnote 94)) notes that active participles of transitive verbs are excluded from this construction (with the exception of *rḫ* "to know").

[426] Perfect participles only: "Vorangestellte prädikative Partizipien finden sich nur in Form perfektischer Partizipien" (Edel 1964: 310 (§633)).

and the second is a substantivized verbal form: a relative form or a participle, the latter including participles of adjective verbs and the future participle *sḏm.ty.fy* (Edel 1964: 468–79 (§§943-944)). The pattern (A) mirrors the syntax of the ancient nominal clause "noun/independent pronoun + dependent pronoun", extensively described by Gundacker (2010), Uljas (2006), and Schenkel (2008). The presence of the particle *w(j)* in (B) is instrumental for uncovering the source of this construction: it is a bi-membral nominal clause with the topicalized rheme:

1)			2)		
Theme	**Rheme**	**->**	**Topicalization**	**Rheme**	**Theme**
SUBJ	PRED		TOP	PRED	SUBJ
PRO	PRTC		PRTC	DEM	PRO
twt	*nfr*	**->**	*nfr*	***w***	*tw*
You (are)	a beautiful one		A beautiful one,	this/it (is)	you

The topicalization of the rhematic information requires the insertion of the deictic morpheme *w* to continue the topic. The grammaticalization of the demonstrative *w* to the emphatic particle then proceeds along the following cline:

Step 1: the topicalized rheme is reanalyzed as a predicate and *w* becomes an enclitic emphatic marker that can also be omitted:

PRED		SUBJ
PRTC	EMPH	PRO
nfr	*w / Ø*	*tw*
Beautiful	how	you (are)!

In the Pyramid Texts the particle *w* is sometimes spelled out as *w-ꜣ*

PRED		SUBJ
PRTC	EMPH	NP
nfr	*w-ꜣ*	*mꜣw*
ḥtp	*w-ꜣ*	*ptr*
Beautiful	how	the sight!
Pleasing	how	the vision!

(PT 306 W (Pyr. 476 a))

The bi-membral nominal clauses of the type "participle + dependent pronoun" should thus be treated as *A Ø B* with an omitted pronominal predicate: *sꜣb DEM *sj/sw → sꜣb Ø sj/ sw* "The one colorful, it is her/him" → "The one colorful (it) is he/she". A subtype of this clause contains the topicalized element extended with the prepositional phrase: *sꜣb n.j/n.f/n.s* "The one colorful for me/him/her (it is he/she)" (Gundacker 2016: 102–3).

This pattern should be differentiated from the type *sꜣb.t sj/sꜣbw sw*, where the adjectival predicate has the additional morphemes *-t* (feminine)/*-w* (masculine). Gundacker (2016: 102) suggests to view those as a kind of *sui generis* (class name) nouns with feminine (*sꜣb.t*) and

masculine (*sꜣb.w*) instantiations. These, in my opinion, belong to the non-topicalized pattern (A): noun/independent pronoun + dependent pronoun/participle.

Step 2: starting from the Sixth Dynasty, the pronominal subject can be expanded with epexegesis – the type of construction that becomes common in Middle Egyptian:

PRED		SUBJ	EPEX
PRTC	EMPH	PRO	NP

nfr	*w*	*sw*	*t̠ꜣw pn*
Beautiful	how	it is,	this wind!

(Edel 1964: 479 (§944))

rd.	*wy*	*sw*	*jb.j*
Strong	how	it is,	my heart!

(Gardiner 1957: 109 (§139))

The pronominal pronominal subject can be omitted and epexegesis is reanalyzed as the new subject:

PRED		Ø	SUBJ
PRTC	EMPH	Ø	NP
nfr	*wy*	Ø	*pr pn*
Beautiful	how	(it is)	this house!

(Gardiner 1957: 47 (§48))

This pattern could integrate prepositional phrases:

PRED			SUBJ
PRTC	EMPH	AdP	PP
twt	*wy*	*n.s*	*st*
Like	how	to her (is)	it!

How like to her it is!
(Gardiner 1957: 109 (§137))

PRED		Ø	SUBJ
PRTC	EMPH	AdP	Ø
bjn	*wy*	*n.j*	Ø
Ill	how	to me (is)	(it)

How ill it is to me!
(Gardiner 1957: 110 (§141))

The grammaticalization channel of the emphatic particle *w(-ꜣ)* delivers yet another confirmation of the presence of the deictic root *w in Earlier Egyptian. The existence of this root was hypothesized in the morphological build-up of the 3rd person enclitic (*s-w*) and earlier independent pronouns (*s-w-t*).

4.3.3. Negative particle *w*

The negative particle *w* occurs after a prospective *sḏm.f* in a number of spells in the Pyramid Texts (Sethe 1926b; Gilula 1970; Kammerzell 1993). In Pyr. 815 b *w* is accompanied by the negative determinative ⌒ (D35)[427]:

> *ḫtm.k* **w** *ꜥꜣ.wj p.t*
> *ḫsf.k* **w** *ḫsf.w.s*
> *ḏr šd.t.k kꜣ NN jr p.t*
> Then you should not close the sky's door,
> you should not bar its barriers,
> before you have taken the ka of NN to the sky.
> (PT 440 P (Pyr. 815 b-c))

A detailed look at another spell (PT 569 Pᵃ, Pᵇ, M, N (Pyr. 1435 a-b)) reveals that by the time of Pepi I the written form *w* was actually obsolete. In Pepi (b), Merenre, and Pepi II it is replaced with *ꜣ*, which possibly displays the actual vocalization of this particle at that time:

PT 569 (Pyr. 1435 a-b)

Pepi I (a)	Merenre / Pepi II
ḫsf **w** *ms.t n-ḏr.f m ꜣḫ.t*	*ḫsf* **w** *ms.t n-ḏr.f m ꜣḫ.t*
ḫsf.k **w** *NN pn jwi.f r bw n.tj.k jm*	*ḫsf.k* **ꜣ** *jwi NN jr bw n.tj.k jm*

As Limitless's (*n-ḏr.f*) birth *should not* be barred in the Akhet, you *should not* bar (this) NN when he comes to the place where you are[428].

Apart from the Pyramid Texts, the negative particle *w* is attested in versions B and C of Pepi II's Coptos Decree.

> *ꜥnḫ nswt-bj.tj nfr-kꜣ-rꜥ w ꜥnḫ ḏ.t r nḥḥ*
> *jṯ.k* **w** *sn r kꜣ.t nb(.t) wp(.w)-r jr.t wnw.t.sn n mnw gbtw*
> As the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkare lives, may he live forever and for eternity,
> you *should not* take them away for any work with the exception of performing their priestly duties for

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[427] The determinative D35 is absent in the versions of Merenre and Pepi II of the same spell.

[428] The sequence *ḫsf w - ḫsf.k w* (*ḫsf w - ḫsf.k ꜣ*) is repeated ten times in Pyr. 1435 c – 1440 b. Edel (1964: 573 (§1101)) translated it with active voice, inserting the 1ˢᵗ person pronoun: *ḫsf(.j) w - ḫsf.k w* "as long as I don't bar ..., so you should not bar..." ("so wahr ich nicht verwehre..., sollst (auch) du nicht verwehren..."). The 1ˢᵗ person pronouns in this spell are, however, regularly substituted with the 3ʳᵈ person (e.g. *j.rḫ.k(wj)* "I know" (Pyr. 1434 a (Pa, Pb)) → *j.rḫ NN* "NN knows" (Pyr. 1434 a (M)); *jnk* (Pyr. 1440 c (Pa)) "I" → *NN pw* "This NN" (Pyr. 1440 c (Pb, M, N)), which is not the case with *ḫsf(.j) w*. The absence of such a substitution makes Sethe (1962: 360)) and Faulkner (1969: 222) render the phrase as an affirmative passive (*ḫsf.w* "verhindert werden soll", "should be prevented"), while Allen and Der Manuelian (2005: 23:176 [508]) see here a negative passive *ḫsf.(w) w*: "should not be barred". Sethe (1962: 367) noted that the form *ḫsf w* must have puzzled the ancient editor already; he considered the possibility of the 1ˢᵗ person original, but remarked that the sequence of events should have been reverse in that case: *ḫsf.k w - ḫsf.j w* "if you don't bar me, so I will not bar you" ("wie du mir, so ich dir"). Faulkner (1969: 223 (note 3)) perceived *ḫsf.k ꜣ* as the earlier form and *ḫsf.k w* as a later one, which, taking into account the evidence presented in this chapter, is implausible.

Min of Koptos.
(Urk. I 283: 9-11)

It appears in non-royal context as well, for example in the inscription on a block stored in the tomb of Nebukauheru in Saqqara:

ḏ.tn w jr.t jḫ.t nb(.w) ḏw r jz.(j) pn
You *should not* let anything evil be done against this tomb (of mine).
(Edel 1964: 572 (§1100))[429]

This supposedly archaic negation co-occurs with *p3/t3* within the same autobiographic text in the Ninth (Herakleopolitan) Dynasty tomb of Ankhtifi in Moᶜalla:

šzp w ḥmn zft̠.t.f (..)
šzp w ḥmn jš.t.f nb(.t) (...)
jwᶜ w sw jwᶜ.f
Hemen should not accept his offerings (...),
Hemen should not accept any of his belongings (...),
his heir should not inherit (after) him.
(Ankhtifi, Inscr. 8: III, 5-7)[430]

In Middle Egyptian, both the negative particle *w* and its allomorph *3* disappear. Apart from two Coffin Text spells (CT VI 23 j-m and CT VII 115 i-k), there are only two attestations from this period: one is Cairo Stela 20539 (Gardiner 1957: 267 (§352A)) and another "The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant", where the negative interpretation of *3* has been a matter of debate:

rḏ.jn sḫ.tj pn ᶜnḫ ḥr
wnm.j 3 m t.k
zwr.j 3 [m ḥnḳ.t].k r nḥḥ
Then this peasant took an oath:
'Never will I eat from your bread
and neither will I ever drink [from your beer!]'
(Eloquent peasant B 2, 124-126)[431]

The appearance of *w* and the negative phrase *nfr n* in the parallel passages in the Sixth-Dynasty tomb of Nekhebu in Giza is essential for understanding the nature of this particle (Edel 1964: 572 (§1100)):

w	*nfr n*
j. ᶜnḫ.w tp.jw t3 sw3.tj.sn ḥr jz pn (...)	*j. ᶜnḫ.w tp.jw t3 sw3.tj.sn ḥr jz pn* (...)

[429] Two other non-royal attestations from the Old Kingdom are also with a prospective *sḏm.f*:
   1) the tomb of Nekhebu (Giza, Sixth Dynasty) (see the example below)
   2) the tomb of Ankhi (Saqqara, Sixth Dynasty): *sw3.k w ḥr.(j)* "you should not pass by (me)"
   (Edel 1964: 572 (§1100)).
[430] For *p3* see examples in footnote 242 on page **Fehler! Textmarke nicht definiert.**.
[431] Silverman (1980a: 201) suggests the translation "It is *only* your bread I shall eat and *only* your (beer) that I shall drink forever". TLA provides a good overview of further translation variants at http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S02?wc=159082&db=0 (accessed on 25.01.2020). For a view on *w/3* as having a mere emphatic force see Vernus (1990a: 119–20) and Meltzer (1983: 109–10). Oréal (2011: 59) argues that the meaning of *w/3* depends on the context, but can be best rendered with English restrictive / limitative "just".

w	*nfr n*
O you who live on earth and shall pass by this tomb (...)	O you who live on earth and shall pass by this tomb (...)
jr wn mry (n.)tn ḥzi tn nsw (...) *ꜥk.tn **w** r jz pn zb.*[*tjwnj*] [...]*.tn ḥr ꜥbw.tn*	*jn jw mry n.tn ḥzi tn nsw* (...) ***nfr n** sšn.tn ḫ.t nb(.t) m jz pn* *jnk ꜣḫ* [*jkr*] *ꜥpr*
If you wish that the king might favor you (...) *You should not enter* this tomb tainted [...] on account of your impurity.	If you wish that the king might favor you (...) *You should not destroy* anything in this tomb, for I am an [excellent] and prepared spirit.
(Urk. I 218, 8-11)	(Urk. I 218, 15-219,2)[432]

In this example, *nfr n* precedes the prospective *sḏm.f*, i.e. the same verbal form, which is common with the negative particle *w* (Kammerzell 1993: 23; Gilula 1970: 203). *Nfr n* has a broader syntactic scope though. It is attested with nominal verbal forms, such as the infinitive and emphatic (geminating) *sḏm.f* (Edel (1964: 590 (§1133))) (the latter labeled as an imperfective *sḏm.f* by Brose (2014: 230 (§ 192))), and can also be introduced in the protasis of the conditional clause by *jr*:

> *jr **nfr n** wnn m-ꜥ.tn* (...)
> If there is nothing in your hands (...)
> (Gardiner 1957: 266 (§351))

Another negative compound – *nfr ꜣ* – appears in Hekanakhte papers in the following syntactic environment (James 1962: 105):

1. *jr* + *nfr ꜣ* + prospective *sḏm.f* (protasis):

   > *jr **nfr ꜣ** ḥsb.k n.j jt-mḥ.j wꜥ.t m jt-mḥ.j mꜣ(.w)* (...)
   > But if you *do not reckon* for me a single (hekat) of Lower Egyptian barley from new barley (...)
   > (Hekanakhte I, verso, line 4)

2. *nfr ꜣ* + prospective *sḏm.f* (apodosis):

   > *jr ḳn.sn dwꜣ.t(w) n.k nṯr **nfr ꜣ** ḏd.j wg n.tn*
   > If they are diligent, god will be praised for you and *I shall not have to make* things unpleasant for you.
   > (Hekanakhte, Letter II, recto, line 31)

3. *nfr ꜣ* + preposition:

   > ***nfr ꜣ** ḫr.k r pꜣ mn ḏd.n.j* (...)
   > You *will have no more* (concern) then with the *mn*-cloth about which I said (...)
   > (Hekanakhte, Letter I, recto, lines 5-6)

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[432] Translation after Strudwick (2005: 268).

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The syntax of the constructions involving *nfr n* and *nfr ꜣ* can be obtained through the Middle Egyptian negation *nfr pw*. Brose (2009: 3) defined *nfr pw* as a bi-membral nominal clause *A pw*, containing the noun *nfr* "zero", followed by *pw* extended by a noun, participle, infinitive or a "nominal" *sḏm.f*. Yet *nfr* is not a noun, but an adjectival predicate, i.e. a participle form of the verb *nfr* (Gardiner 1957: 266 (§351)). Accordingly, *nfr pw*, *nfr n*, and *nfr ꜣ* should be treated as cleft sentences with *nfr* as a topicalized adjectival predicate (participle) followed by the deictica *pw/nꜣ* plus a nominal verb form. The complementary use of *w* and *ꜣ* in *sḏm.f w/sḏm.f ꜣ* suggests the existence of the ancient counterpart **nfr w* of Hekanakhte's *nfr ꜣ*:

TOP	PRED	SUBJ
PRTC	DEM	NOM
nfr	*pw/n/ꜣ/*w*	*jrr.f*
The one missing	is this (fact),	that he does (…)

The relation between the patterns *nfr pw/n/ꜣ/*w* and *sḏm.f w/ꜣ* is not obvious. In the former, the negative meaning is rendered by the adjectival participle *nfr* while *pw*, *n*, *ꜣ/*w* are deictic morphemes. In the latter, particles *w/ꜣ* seem to be the lone carriers of negative semantics. *Sḏm.f w/ꜣ* is more ancient: according to Edel (1964: 588 (§1130)) the negative *nfr* is absent in the Pyramid Texts. The co-occurrence of *sḏm.f w* and *nfr n* in the parallel passages in the tomb of Nekhebu, suggests that the relationship between the two patterns can be established on the syntactic grounds: *sḏm.f w/ꜣ* is possibly also constructed as a noun clause with a prospective *sḏm.f* as the first member followed by the deictic *w/ꜣ* plus the extension. The emergence of a cleft-like *nfr pw/n/ꜣ *w* implies the renewal of the weakened paradigm:

Table 119 Relationship between *sḏm.f w/ꜣ* and *nfr ꜣ/n/pw* patterns

Earlier pattern	*šḏm.f*	*w/ꜣ*	+ extension
Semantics		Negative particle	
Syntax		Noun clause	

<div align="center">↓</div>

Later pattern	*nfr*	*pw/n/ꜣ*w*	+ extension
Semantics	Negative participle	Deitic	
Syntax		Noun clause	

The process of a semantic bleaching and subsequent strengthening is in fact regular for a negative expression and known as "Jespersen's cycle":

> The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative

proper and may then in the course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. (Jespersen 1917: 4)

A classic example is French, where the noun *pas* ("step"), strengthening the negative marker *ne*, itself becomes a negative particle:

*Je **ne** vais (pas)*	→	*Je **ne** sais pas*	→	*J'sais **pas***	
I do not go (a step)		I don't know		I don't know [colloquial]	

In our case *sḏm.f w/ꜣ* could be a remnant of an ancient construction, where the original negative marker disappeared having passed down its meaning to the deictica *w/ꜣ*. Ergo, the particles *w*, *ꜣ*, *n* participating in the negative constructions *sḏm.f w*, *sḏm.f ꜣ* and *nfr ꜣ*, *nfr n*, *nfr *w* represent yet other manifestations of the originally deictic morphemes.

4.3.4. Adverbs ꜥꜣ and *dj*

In the following chapter, I will examine the Egyptian adverbs *dj* (*dꜣ*) and ꜥꜣ. Their genealogy is inseparably connected with the interpretation of the phonetic value of the character ⸺ (D36). Its alternative reading as either /ʕ/ or /d/ raises the issue of the kinship of the Afro-Asiatic deictic roots as versatile as the Berber /ɣ/, Hausa /g/, Hebrew /z/, Aramaic /d/, and Arabic /ð/ (/ḥ/).

Otto Rössler and the value of character ⸺ (Gardiner D36)

It was Joseph Greenberg who studied the patterning of root morphemes in Semitic and formulated the compatibility constrains for the languages of this group. According to Greenberg (1950), the *non-identical* consonants produced at the same point of articulation cannot be combined with each other within the simple (non-expanded) root in Semitic languages. The term "non-identical" describes the consonant variants *voiceless – voiced – emphatic* sharing the point of articulation. For example, in Akkadian the root can contain only one of the consonant triads of the same articulation base: *g/k/q*; *d/t/ṭ*; *b/p*; *z/s/ṣ* (von Soden and Mayer 1995: 65). Unaffected by the incompatibility rules are the nasals /m/ and /n/, the liquids /r/ and /l/, the fricatives (spirants) /š/ and /h/, and three "half-consonants" /ʾ/, /w/, /y/ (consonantal manifestations of the vowels *a, u, i*) (Rössler 1971: 265; Voigt 1999: 356).

In 1971 in an article evocatively entitled "Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache", Rössler applied the Semitic consonant constrains to Egyptian. Assuming Egyptian to be "plainly Semitic" ("schlechthin Semitic" (Rössler 1971: 319)), Rössler noticed some exceptions from the compatibility constrains. In Egyptian, ⸺ is combined with the pharyngeal /ħ/ (*ḥ*), but is incompatible with the dentals *t, d* (*ṭ*) and the sibilants *s, z*. Rössler concluded that the character ⸺ does not stand for the Proto-Semitic pharyngeal "ayin" /ʕ/ (ꜥ), but derives from and retains the features of the Proto-Semitic voiced non-emphatic dental /d/[433]. The character ⸺ (D46), in turn, does not represent phoneme /d/ , but denotes an emphatic member of the dental triad - /ṭ/ (Rössler 1971: 275–77)[434].

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[433] "Daß ägyptisches 'ayn gerade mit Dentalen und Zischlauten inkompatibel ist, ist ein absoluter Beweis dafür, dass es genetisch zu ihnen gehört. Es ist, kurz gesagt, das Verfallsprodukt aller im Ägyptischen bisher vermissten stimmhaften Vertreter der Dental- und Zischlautreihen" (Rössler 1971: 276). Furthermore: „Niemand wird bezweifeln wollen, dass ägyptisches „'ayn" die längste Zeit seines Lebens doch ein Laryngal war. Nur eben genetisch hat es gewöhnlich nichts mit dem zu tun, was wir aus dem Orientalisch-Semitischen

Rössler's ideas relate to the competing conventions for the transliteration of Egyptian hieroglyphs at the end of the 19th century. He observed that *ṱ*, used by Lepsius, was a more adequate designation of the phonetic value of the hieroglyph ⌐ than Erman's later *d* (Rössler 1971: 272). The fact that even Erman treated *d* as a convention rather than a correct representation of the phoneme was subsequently neglected (Voigt 1999: 348; Schenkel 1988: 28–34).

In the table below, based on Rössler (1971: 277), Kammerzell (1998: 26), Schenkel (1993: 138), and Voigt (1999: 358)), the Egyptian consonants are presented as series of triads *voiceless – voiced – emphatic*, sharing the point, but not the manner of articulation The first column of each member of the triad displays a corresponding hieroglyph, the second its traditional Egyptological transcription, and the third the proposed phonetic values[435].

Table 120 Triads of consonants sharing the point of articulation in Egyptian

		Voiceless			Voiced			Emphatic	
1	▯	*p*	/p/	⌡	*b*	/b/	⌐	*f*	/p'//p²/
2	⌒	*t*	/t/	⌐	ʿ	/d/ → /ʕ/	⌐	*d*	/ṱ/ /t²/ /tˤ/
3	⌐	*k*	/k/	⏚	*g*	/g/	◿	*ḳ*	/q/ /k²/ /kˤ/
4	⊶	*ḫ*	/x/	⊜	*ḥ*	/ɣ//ʁ/[436]	⦵	*ḥ*	/ḥ/ /x²/ /ħ/

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als „'ayn" kennen" (Rössler 1971: 278) and "Die Erkenntnis, daß nicht die ‚Hand'-Hieroglyphe *ṱ*, sondern die ‚Arm'-Hieroglyphe ʿ die Dalet-Entsprechung ist, ist für das Verständnis der gesamten Systementsprechung fundamental" (Rössler 1971: 285).

[434] See also Zeidler (1992: 204) and Satzinger(1999a: 373).

[435] A remark should be made about the phonetic value of characters ʕ and ʔ, used in the table with the emphatic consonants. /ʕ/ is a *pharyngeal fricative*, rendered by the letter ع "ayin" in Classical Arabic and ʿ in the Egyptian transliteration, traditionally associated with the hieroglyph ⌐. /ʔ/ is a *glottal stop*, rendered by hams ء over "aleph" أ in Classical Arabic to differentiate the vowel /a/ from the glottal stop /ʔa/. In Egyptian, the glottal stop is rendered with the hieroglyph 𓄿, transliterated as *ꜣ*, and the phonetic value represented sometimes as /'/. In Arabic, the pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ is used with emphatic consonants; emphatic sounds themselves are considered to be the result of "pharyngealization" e.g. ت /t/ vs. ط /tˤ/, س /s/ vs. ص /sˤ/ (Laufer and Baer 1988: 66). Kammerzell uses a *glottal stop* /ʔ/ for the phonetic notation of the emphatic consonants in Egyptian, although he seems to be aware of the pharyngealization as a second articulation of the emphasis, e.g. /t/- /d/ - /t²/ (Kammerzell 1998: 25). His notation method can probably be explained by the fact that Rössler derives "ayin" ʿ from the voiced consonants (e.g. /d/ → /ʕ/) and uses it whenever a voiced member is lost in one of the Semitic triads (Rössler 1971: 269, 277). Thus, as the slot of voiced consonants is occupied by the *pharyngeal fricative* /ʕ/ and Rössler himself is not clear about the nature of the emphasis (he uses "dot" for emphatic members of triads, e.g. *t - d - ṱ*), his school decided for a glottal stop /ʔ/ (i.e. /'/) for the notation of the emphasis. As said, in phonology a glottal stop /'/ is reserved for ejective consonants: /p'/ represents a voiceless bilabial *ejective* stop while /pˤ/ is a bilabial *pharyngealized* stop (Maddieson 2013). Unwilling to take sides in the debate whether it is the former or latter notation which should be used with emphatic phonemes, in the table I refer to the standard IPA transcription of an emphatic consonant with /xˤ/. /x²/ follows Kammerzell (1998) and /x'/ is Takács' (1999: 335) rendering of Rössler.

[436] Rössler uses notation *g̱*.

5	�	*ṯ*	/c//č/	⌙	(*j*)	(*i*)	⌝	*ḏ*	/c²//ǯ/
6	⌴	*š*	/ç/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	⌴	*z*	/s/, /ts/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

In support of Rössler's argument Kammerzell (1998: 29) provided a number of Egyptian-Semitic cognates, where Egyptian ⌴ corresponds to Semitic /d/. The Egyptian language itself also has a number of so-called *doublets* – words with the same meaning and identical root consonants except for the use of ⌴ and ⌴. Below are the *evident cognates*, singled out by Zeidler (1992: 208), Kammerzell (1998: 34–35) and Satzinger (1999b: 148):

Table 121 Egyptian-Semitic and Egyptian-Egyptian cognates

Old Egyptian				Akkadian			
⌴	*ꜥ*	*/du/	arm, side, part	≈	*idu*		arm, part
⌴◯◯🦅⌐⌐	*ꜥrrw.t*	*/dl-/	gate	≈	*daltu*		door, gate
Old Egyptian				**Arabic**			
⌴🦩⌙	*ꜥbꜣ*	*/dbr-/	lead, steer	≈	*dbr*		lead
Old Egyptian				**Late Egyptian / Coptic**			
⌴ ⌴🦅	*ꜥꜣj*	here	≈	⌴ ‖⌯	*dj* ⲧⲁⲓ	/dir/ → /dij/	here
⌴⌙	*ꜥb*	horn	≈	⌴⌙	*db* ϩⲱⲡ (B) ⲧⲁⲡ (S)	/dib/	horn
🦅⌴	*m-ꜥ*	in the hand of	≈	🦅⌴	*md-* ⲛⲧⲉ-	/mdu-/	in the hand of[437]

Kammerzell explained the discrepancy in the phonetic value of the character ⌴ in Egyptian as follows. Originally it represented the sound /d/, which has undergone the phonetic change towards /ꜥ/ via the intermediary stages /ð/ and /ʕ/. Some words, however, were excluded from this development and retained the original phoneme /d/. At a certain point, to represent the fossilized

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[437] The Coptic ⲛⲧⲉ- develops from the Late Egyptian *m-dj-* (Edel 1967: 74–75). The standard Middle Egyptian preposition *m-ꜥ* "in the hand of" disappears after the Middle Kingdom and is not related to ⲛⲧⲉ-/ⲛⲧⲁ⸗. The Coptic prepositions ⲛⲧⲛ̄-/ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ⸗ contain the status nominalis/pronominalis of the Coptic ⲧⲱⲣⲉ ← *ḏr.t*.

phonemes in these words, the emphatic character ⟷ /t²/ was used, as the one sharing the distinctive features with the original /d/ (Kammerzell 1998: 34–35; Satzinger 1999b: 170–71). The Late Egyptian *dj* "here", *db* "horn", and *md-* "in the hand of" are thus exceptions from the pattern of evolution of /d/ towards /ʕ/.

Zeidler (1992: 209) came up with another explanation. The Afro-Asiatic voiced dental stop /d/ has taken separate transformation paths in different dialects:

Table 122 Dialectal patterns of Afro-Asiatic /d/

			Old Kingdom		New Kingdom
/d/ (voiced dental stop)	→	Lower-Egyptian dialects	/ʕ/	→	/ʕ/ pharyngeal fricative (non-emphatic, voiced)
	→	Upper-Egyptian dialects	?	→	/t̠/ dental stop (emphatic, voiceless)

Schenkel (1993) followed Zeidler in assuming that the transition of /d/ to /ʕ/ might have happened in Northern dialects only, while in the south */d/ could have developed into /t̠/. As the character ⟷ (D36) during Old Kingdom is associated with /ʕ/, this scheme basically suggests the use of the Lower Egyptian standard in Old and Middle Egyptian and the switch to the Upper Egyptian language variety in Late Egyptian[438]. This allocation corresponds to Fecht's hypothesis of the southern origins of Late Egyptian, discussed above in chapter *4.2.1. Historical dialects in Ancient Egyptian*.

For Satzinger, the strength of Rössler's approach lied in the fact that it "is not based on etymologies but rather on his crucial observation of the incompatibilities (co-occurrence restrictions) of root consonants" (Satzinger 1999b: 142). Precisely this focus on theory, unsubstantiated by evidence, was highlighted by the critics of the theory and even Rösslerites agreed that the available linguistic clues are not sufficient (Zeidler 1992: 207; Satzinger 1999a: 374)[439]. The study of the lexeme "donkey" in Afro-Asiatic languages, conducted by several researchers independently from each other, showed that the Egyptian ⟷ is related to the Semitic ʕ "ayin" (Zeidler 1992: 207). Osing (1997: 225–29) consequently dismantled Rössler's Egyptian-Semitic cognates. He also argued that Rössler's conjecture about Egyptian 𓄿 never designating Semitic aleph does not hold against etymological

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[438] "Hält man sich dennoch einmal an die einfachst mögliche geographische Distribution der Dialekt-Varianten, so müßten Memphis (und Heliopolis?), die mutmaßliche Heimatregion der Schriftsprache des Alten Reiches, und Theben, die mutmaßliche Heimatregion der neuägyptischen Schriftsprache, in einer nördlichen ʕ-Region bzw. in einer südlichen *t̠*-Region liegen" (Schenkel 1993: 148).

[439] See also a critical opinion of Voigt on the method of creating *doublets*, which can "prove almost anything" (1999: 362–64). The question in how far the Semitic consonant compatibility system can be applied to Egyptian is raised by Ward (1985) and Voigt (1999: 354). An attempt by Petráček to explain Egyptian deviations from the Semitic rules was viewed critically by Zeidler (1992: 203–6). Petráček used the fact that nominal roots in Semitic do not consequently follow the incompatibility rules to interpret Egyptian verbs as "verboids" of nominal origin.

evidence (Osing 1997: 223–25)[440]. The theoretical foundations of Rössler's approach have been recently questioned by Gensler, who considered the possibility of the co-occurrence of two pharyngeals in the same root as a result of the suprasegmental prosody[441]. The traditional view on the phonetic value of Egyptian ⌐ is represented, foremost, by Vycichl, who investigated the regular correspondence between the Egyptian /ʕ/, Berber /*ɣ/[442], and Hausa /g/ in the roots of the demonstrative pronouns (Vycichl 1933, 1934):

Table 123 Egyptian, Berber and Chadic deictic roots (Vycichl 1933, 1934)

	Egyptian					North Berber (Shilh)		Chadic (Hausa)
	older compounds		*younger compounds*					
Proximal	*p-n* this	*ʕ-n*[443] here	*p-ꜣ* this	*ʕ-ꜣ* here	*d-ꜣ/j*[444] here	*ɣi-d* here	*ɣu̯a-d* this one	
Distal	*p-f* that	*ʕ-f*[445] there	*p-ꜣ*[446] that	*ʕ-ꜣ* there	*d-ꜣ/j* there	*ɣi-n* there	*ɣu̯a-n* that one	*g-a* there
	DEM	ADV	DEM	ADV	ADV	ADV	DEM	ADV

Vycichl's analysis exposes Egyptian demonstratives and adverbs as historically polymorphemic

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[440] According to Rössler (1971: 270) ⌐ represents any weakened (often liquid) consonant and is *never* a glottal stop. He provided an extensive list of Egyptian-Semitic equations to support this assumption (Rössler 1971: 305, 311, 316–19).

[441] "There is no a priori reason to prefer (or dis-prefer) an "esthetic" reconstruction of pre-Egyptian where the incompatibility constraint applies neatly and symmetrically at every point of articulation; the constraint could perfectly well have failed to hold at the pharyngeal position. (...) Pharyngeal or pharyngealized articulation could readily spread out from a single segment to become a suprasegmental prosody, whose domain was all or part of a root (cf. the "emphasis harmony" found as prosody in some Arabic dialects). If so, this would actively foster the co-occurrence of two pharyngeals in the same root, sometimes as an archaic retention, sometimes as an assimilatory innovation – just the reverse of Rösslerian incompatibility" (Gensler 2015: 196–97).

[442] The phoneme /ɣ/ is a voiced non-sibilant fricative according to the manner of articulation and dorsal-velar according to the place of articulation.

[443] Wb I, 187: 11, attested in a letter from New Kingdom.

[444] "Ägyptisch nur *dꜣ* (sicherlich so, nicht *di*) 'hier', 'dort', Koptisch ⲧⲁⲓ/ⲧⲏ" (Vycichl 1933: 172–73).

[445] Wb I, 182: 3, attested in a ritual text from the Ptolemaic period. However, the nisba forms of *ʕn* and *ʕf* are known from the Pyramid Texts:

jr.t.n.f ḥm pw
wpi.f ppjj pn jr sn.f ʕn.tj
dmḏ.f sw ḥnʕ sn.j ʕf.tj
This is truly what he has done:
He has separated this Pepi from his brother *Anti* ("who is here")
He has united him with my brother *Afti* ("who is there").
(PT 484 P (Pyr. 1023 a-b))

[446] "Das Koptische zeigt, daß diese Demonstrativa vokalisch differenziert waren: ⲡⲁⲓ 'dieser' / ⲡⲏ 'jener' <...>; somit wäre als altägyptisch (sic!) *i* als Charactervokal für die Nähe und *u* für die Ferne anzusetzen" (Vycichl 1933: 172).

entities, which include demonstrative roots extended by the suffixes, called by him *distance markers* ("Distanzexponenten"). Egyptian distance morphemes *-f* and *-ꜣ* are absent in Berber; *-n* appears in both families but has a proximal meaning in Egyptian and a distal in Berber. Takács (1999: 353–54) followed the trail of Vycichl and placed Egyptian ⸗ in the Afro-Asiatic context as follows:

Table 124 Egyptian ⸗ in the Afro-Asiatic context (Takács 1999)

	→	Proto-Egyptian /*ʕ/ ("ayin")	→	ME ʕ-ꜣ "here", ʕ-f "there", ʕ-n "here"
Afro-Asiatic /*ɣ/ (voiced velar fricative)	→	North Berber (Shilh) /*ɣ/	→	ɣi-d "here", ɣi-n "there", ɣ- "in"
	→	West Chadic (Hausa) /*ɣ/	→	ga "there", gu "place"

According to Takács (1999: 353–54), the Late Egyptian adverb *d-ꜣ* and the Middle Egyptian *ʕ-ꜣ* are not related. Instead *d-ꜣ* is cognate with:

- The proximal exponent *-d* in Shilha (North Berber), e.g. *ɣi-d* "here" and *ɣu̯a-d* "this one", where the proximal suffix *-d* is contrasted with the distal *-n*.
- The preposition **d* "in" in Tuareg (South Berber).
- Locative suffixes:
  - *-d* in Bedawye (North Cushitic);
  - *-d* in Bilin (Central Cushitic/Agaw);
  - *-z* in Dembea and Quara;
  - *-d* in Saho (Lowland East Cushitic);
  - *-ddi* in Burji (Highland East Cushitic).

The Egyptian *d-ꜣ* can also be related to West Semitic demonstratives: the Hebrew *ze*, Geʿez *zə-*, Biblical Aramaic *dā* (f. sg.), and the Arabic *(hā-)ðā* (Rubin 2005: 49; Osing 1997: 229 (footnote 38)). Quack (2002: 179) argued against Takács' match of the Egyptian *d-(ꜣ/j)* and the Berber *-d*, saying that the Berber *-d* is an extension and a marker of a distal contrast, while in Egyptian *-d* is the deictic root itself. He also called "illogical" Takács' relation of Berber *ɣi-d* and Egyptian *ʕ-ꜣ/d-ꜣ* (i.e. *ɣi* → *ʕ-* and *-d* → *d-*). While caution is certainly required when comparing the modern-day Semitic, Berber, Cushitic, and Chadic forms with the Egyptian dating back to 3rd and 2nd millennium BCE, Quack's arguments are unsubstantiated: distal markers can certainly be compared with the deictic roots proper. Demonstratives as compound entities tend to lose the pragmatic feature of distance-marking and turn into distance-neutral ones, which require further strengthening (see chapter *Deictic roots extended with deictic morphemes* on page 31).

Summing up the opposing theories on the etymology and sound value of the Egyptian ⸗, I am inclined to accept that the Afro-Asiatic dental triad /d/ (voiced) - /ṭ/ (emphatic) - /t/ (voiceless) could indeed be distantly related to the Berber /ɣ/ and the Egyptian /ʕ/. Although a direct transition from the voiced dental stop /d/ to the pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/, as argued by Rössler, is "unlikely a priori and apparently empirically unattested" (Gensler 2015: 194), an alternative typological scenario suggests that the dental stop could first become fricative and then move backwards in the point of

articulation. In that case the Semitic alveolar deictic roots /z/, /ẓ/, /ṣ/ as well as Berber and Chadic velar deictic /ɣ/ represent the intermediate stages of this process:

Figure 4 Hypothetical development /d/ → /ʕ/ (Gensler 2015: 198)

/d/	/ḍ/	/ṭ/
dental stop ↓→		
	/ð/	/z/ /ẓ/ /ṣ/
	dental fricative ↓→	alveolar
	/ɣ/	
	velar fricative ↓	
		/ʁ/
		uvular fricative ↓
		/ʕ/
		pharyngeal fricative

This sequence of events would explain not only the kinship of the dental stops /d/, /ḍ/, /ṭ/ and the velar/pharyngeal fricatives /ɣ/ and /ʕ/ but also the emergence of the Semitic sibilant fricative /z/, /ẓ/, /ṣ/ via the non-sibilant /ð/.

The deictic root *d-w

In the preceding chapters I hypothesized the existence of the Afro-Asiatic deictic root *w, which was involved in the construction of the Egyptian demonstrative and personal pronouns, and laid foundation for the emphatic particle *wy* and the negative morpheme *w*. In the latter case, the presence of the allomorph *ꜣ* suggests the phonological change, also attested with the particle *ḥw* (→ *ḥꜣ*), the adverb *mj-nw* (→ *mj-nꜣ*) and the demonstrative *pw* (→ *pꜣ*). The emergence of the adverb *dꜣ* in Late Egyptian and the observed cases of *w* → *ꜣ* transition imply the presence of the archaic deictic root *d-w. In the following I will analyze the Egyptian noun *dꜣ.t* "netherworld, Duat" (Wb V, 415: 3), rendered in Old Coptic as ⲧⲏ, ⲧⲏⲓ (Crum 1939: 392 a; Westendorf 1977: 218; Vycichl 1984: 208; Černý 1976: 178), as a candidate for the lexicalization cline *d-w → *dꜣ.t*[447].

In the Pyramid Texts, the word Duat is rendered in the following spelling variants (Beaux 1994):

Table 125 Spelling variants of "duat" in the Pyramid Texts

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[447] ⲧⲏ, ⲧⲏⲓ should be distinguished from Coptic (ⲉ)ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ, ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩ, ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉⲓ "dawn, morning" (Crum 1939: 727; Westendorf 1977: 401; Vycichl 1984: 317a; Černý 1976: 302), which are the descendants the Middle Egyptian word *dwꜣ.w* "morning" (Wb V, 422: 1), complemented by ⲉ(ⲓ)- (← ⲉⲏ) "beginning" (Spiegelberg 1914: 124).

Main forms	Determinative		No. of attestations	Total No. of attestations[448]
d3 ⌒𓅀	⊛	N 15	1	1
d3.t ⌒𓅀⌒	⊛	N 15	31	35
	✶	N 14	1	
	⎓	N 31	1	
	⌒	N 37	1	
	⊛ ⌒	N15, N1	1	
dw3.t ⌒ 𓀎⌒	⊛	N 15	3	17
	✶	N 14	12	
	⎓	N 31	1	
	✶ ⊙ ▤	N 14, N 5, N 19	1	
Variants (incl. compounds)				
ḥr-d3.tj Horus of the Duat	⊛	N 15	4	4
š-d3.tj lake of the Duat	⊛	N 15	2	3
	⌒	N 37	1	
d3.tj.w those of the Duat	⊛	N 15	2	2
š.w-d3.tj.w lakes of the Duat	⊛	N 15	1	1
š.w-dw3w.t lakes of the Duat	✶	N 14	1	1

For Fecht, the presence of the star determinatives (✶ (N 14), ⊛ (N 15)) in this word is a proof of the original meaning "morning" or "to rise early" (Fecht 1960: 121 no. 365). The interpretation of Duat as "morning" is supported by a passage in the Cannibal Spell (PT 273-274 W, T (Pyr. 403 c-404 c)), where the determinative ⊙▤ is used not only with jš.t.f dw3.t ("his morning meal" (Pyr. 404 a)), but also with mšr.w.t.f ("his evening meal" (Pyr. 404 b)), and jš.t.f ḫ3w "his night meal" (Pyr. 404 c)) (Beaux 1994: 2; Zago 2018b: 212 (78)). In the tomb of Ti, the inscription next to the two priests carrying forelegs (second corridor, east wall, right before the entrance to the chapel) mentions ḫ.t

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[448] Numbers are given according to Beaux (1994). Zago (2018b: 212) remarks that the determinative ⊛ (N 15) appears with Duat 55 times, ✶ (N 14) 16 times and ⎓ (N 31) 3 times. The combinations ⊛ ⌒ (N15) (N1), ✶ ⌒ (N14) (N1), ✶ (N14) (N37) and ✶ ⊙▤ (N14)(N5) (N19) occur once each. Two instances of ⊗ (O49) (PT 215 Wd (Pyr. 148 a, 151 a)) are the misspelling of the original ⊛ (N 15).

dwȝ/ḥ.t ḫȝw jn ḥm-kȝ jm.j ȝbd "the morning/evening offering by the funeral priest of the month" (Ti I, Pl. L, bottom register, right)[449]. Yet the semantics of Duat contains other connotations as well. Sethe (1935a: 49–51) analyzed the Pyramid Text passages featuring the form *d(w)ȝ.t* and listed the following possible locations of Duat:

- certainly in the sky ("sicher am Himmel");

- in the east of the sky ("im Osten des Himmels");

- *dȝ.t* as netherworld ("Die *dȝ.t* als Unterwelt");

- quite indeterminate ("Ganz unbestimmt").

Beaux (1994: 6) singled out three possible semantic fields of the Duat:

- the dawn at the eastern horizon ("l'aube à l'horizon oriental");

- the daily sky ("le ciel diurne");

- the subterranean space between two horizons ("l'espace souterrain entre les deux horizons")

Allen argued that the Duat is a cosmic region closely associated with stars, but also "primarily, if not exclusively, as lying in the region beneath the earth - a location reflected in the precise term 'lower Duat' that appears in the Coffin Texts. Its exit, and probably also its entrance, are situated beneath the rim of what the Pyramid Texts envision as the sky" (Allen 1989: 23–24). Recently Zago (2018b) defined two major aspects of the Duat: a celestial-cosmic, supported by the use of "ascensional" verbs such as *pr* "to go forth", *jꜥ(r), jȝḳ, jȝd* "to climb, ascend", *jtt pȝj* "to fly up", and a chthonic-terrestrial, standing in opposition to the sky. She saw the substitution of the determinatives ⊗ (N 15)/✶(N 14) with ▭ (O1) in the Coffin Texts as a deliberate semantic process representing the changing views of Duat as a more specific, circumscribed area within the cosmos as well as a habitat for the deceased (Zago 2018b: 216).

In my opinion, the multiple semantic layers of Duat disguise the original, primitive notion "that yonder place". "Netherworld", "morning", "dawn", "sky" etc. are the metaphoric extensions of a rather abstract meaning "that which is beyond", originating from the deictic root **d-w* "that/there". The use of the determinatives ⊗ /✶ with Duat, suggesting its stellar semantics, is misleading. Zago (2018a: 209) argued that the character ✶ (N14) serves in the Pyramid Texts solely as an ideogram for the phonetically spelled *dwȝ.t* (similarly to ✶ in *wnw.t* "hour"); only later it obtained the features of a phonetic determinative (or "repeater"/"echo classifier", in terms of Goldwasser & Grinevald (2012: 20)); and in the Coffin Texts it started to function as a phonogram proper. The earliest attestations of N14 show a different picture though. A jar found at the step pyramid of Djoser, but dated to the reign of the Second-Dynasty king Weneg, carries the inscription ✶ ⌇ ⩱ ⩲ *dwȝ tȝ.wj* (the name of the boat), where N14 is used phonetically (Lacau and Lauer 1959 (Pl. 20, No 107)). Also on a Second-Dynasty stela of the lady Duat, discovered in Helwan, the determinative N14 precedes the phonetic

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[449] For *t dwȝ* "morning bread" see PT 339 T, M, N (Pyr. 553 b).

spelling: ✶⹁𓐎𓂋 *dw3.t* (Saad 1957: 12–13 (No 5))[450] . This disavows the original stellar semantics of *dw3.t* and suggests that N14 was a phonetic determinative from the beginning. Moreover, in Pyr. 1434 *dw(3).t* is used with the determinative 𓈈 (N31), which usually accompanies place deictics such as the demonstrative *pf3* "that one" and the adverb *ʿ3* "here":

> *j.rḫ.k(wj) rn.k n ḫm.(j) rn.k*
> *n-ḏr.f rn.k wrr.tj rn n jtj.k*
> *mw.t.k ḥtp(.t) mss.t kw dw3.t dw.t*
> I know your name: I am not ignorant of your name.
> "Limitless" (*n-ḏr.f*) is your name; "He of the Crown" (*wrr.tj*) is the name of your father.
> Your mother is "Peaceful" (*ḥtp(.t)*), who gives birth to you *within known and unknown realms.*
> (PT 569 Pᵃ (Pyr. 1434 a-c))

Allen and Der Manuelian (2005: 23:176) translate *dw3.t dw.t* as "morning by morning". For Sethe *dw3.t* and *dw.t* in this spell are stative forms originating from different roots (Sethe 1962: 365)). He prefers to view *dw3.t* as a compound *d-w3.t*, comprised of the the prefix *d* and the stative of the verb *w3.w* "to be far". The latter also occurs in PT 600 M, N (Pyr. 1658 b) in the compounds *d-ḏ3* and *d-m3ʿ*. These, following Allen and Der Manuelian (2005: 305 no. 50), involve the combination of the words *wdi* "to put" and *ḏ3* "to ferry" and *m3ʿ* "to guide". I agree with Sethe that *dw3* is a compound, but suggest to view both parts as the deictic morphemes **dú* and *w ˇ3*. The latter element might indeed be related to the verb *w3.w* "to be far". The spelling *dw3.t* would thus originate from the common root **dú*, extended with the deictic morpheme *w3* and a nominalizing marker *t*: **dú + w ˇ3 + ˇt* (Fecht 1960: 121 (no. 365), 185; Osing 1976: 266)[451]. For Fecht the presence of the spelling *ḏ3.t* shows that the *w* of the original form *dw3.t* must have gotten lost in the Old Kingdom already. The Old Coptic ⲧⲏ(ⲓ) is thus the rendering of the monophthongized form **dú́-3 ˇt* (see also Gardiner (1957: 487 (N14)) :

$$*dú + w \, ˇ3 + ˇt \quad \rightarrow \quad *dú́-w3 ˇt \quad \rightarrow \quad *dú́-3 ˇt \rightarrow \quad ⲧⲏ(ⲓ)$$

Old Coptic ⲧⲏ(ⲓ) obtains thus the same phonetic form as the Bohairic equivalent of the Late Egyptian locative adverb *ḏ3/dj* ,ⲧⲏ "there/that one". Both ⲧⲏ(ⲓ) and ⲧⲏ derive from the common deictic root **dw (*dú-w3)*.

4.3.5. Demonstratives and adverbs

The following Afro-Asiatic deictic roots can be singled out as constitutive elements of Egyptian demonstratives and adverbs: the labials */p/, /f/ /w/*, the nasals */n/, /m/*, the dental */d/*, the pharyngeal fricative */ʿ/* and the glottal stop */3/*. The phonetic values of the Egyptian characters representing labials and nasals are not disputed (Rössler 1971: 274)[452]. Contradictory, however, is the value of the Egyptian 𓂧, which is associated with the Proto-Semitic */d/* by Rössler, while the traditional approach

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[450] For the attestations of N14 as *sb3/dw3* see Kahl (1994: 595–96 (N14)).

[451] Consequently *dw3.t* and *dw.t* represent a stronger and a weaker variant, which can be rendered with spatial "there" and "here". In the attentional system these notions possibly mean "within known and unknown realms", used in the translation.

[452] Note, however, Rössler's opinion, that the Egyptian 𓂽 */f/* stands for the emphatic member (/*p'*/) of the plosive labial triad: */p/-/b/-/p'/*.

assigns it to the Afro-Asiatic/Semitic /ˤ/ or /ɣ/. Concerning 𓅜, both schools agree that it can stand for the liquids /r/ and /l/ in Old Egyptian. Rössler (1971: 270, 279, 318–19) argued, though, that 𓅜 was never a glottal stop /ʔ/ (/ʾ/).

Labials /p/, /f/, /w/

The Angas (West Chadic) adverbs *pana* "yonder, there" (distant) and *pwana* "there" include the prefixed element *p-* which in other Chadic languages can change to *f/v*: *fá-n* "here" (Tera (Central Chadic)), *àfìnì* "here" (Pidlimdi (Central Chadic)), *fá* "this" (Kupto (West Chadic)), *uvuŋ* "here" (Margi (Central Chadic)), *vin-dà/ubwən-dà* "there" (Margi West (Central Chadic)), and *vənà* "here" - *vinà* "there" Gava (Chadic) (Takács 1999: 111, 2001: 551). The Semitic deictic element *p-* (Hebrew *po(h)/pō/poʾ* "here"; Ugaritic *p* "here" (Takács 2001: 551)), displays the same behavior – it can change to *f*, e.g. in Arabic *kay-fa* "as, like this" (Vycichl 1984: 279; Garbini 1971). In Modern South Arabic *p-* is preserved as **bw*: *bū-meh* "here" (Harusi), *bo/bu* "here" (Jibbali) (Takács 2001: 551). Bedawye (North Cushitic), Somali (East Cushitic) and North Omotic have *b* as a demonstrative element, which can be used as a 3rd person pronoun (Takács 2001: 552). West Chadic languages also attest the morpheme *b*: *bíí/bí* "that one" (Angas), *bài* "here" (Guruntum) (Takács 2001: 552). In Cushitic-Omotic, *-pa* is also a locative case ending (Takács 2001: 551). In Beja (Cushitic) the morpheme *-b* is an accusative suffix of masculine nouns (Takács 2001: 375)[453].

Takács rejects the relation of the Egyptian deictic prefix *p-* and Semitic cognates with *p-* on the ground of different semantics of these morphemes: in Egyptian *p-* is a gender marker while in Semitic it serves a deictic function (Takács 2001: 376, 550-551 (NB2), 553). This is not a convincing argument, though, because the gender distinction *p-* (m.) vs. *t-* (f.) in Egyptian could also result from the reduction of the initial *p* of the feminine root **(p)t-*, which is still preserved in plural and dual forms. *P-* could therefore be a deictic morpheme, which was first extended with the gender marker *t*, then lost its initial consonant, producing the gender opposition *p-/t-*:

	singular	*plural*	*dual*
m.	*p-w*	*j-p-w*	*j-p-w-j*
f.	*(p)t-w*	*j-pt-w*	*j-pt-w-j*

The gender distinction of *-p* and *-t* in that case were a secondary feature of Egyptian demonstratives, which occurred after the reduction of the original feminine root **pt → t*. The fact that *p-* is a gender marker is thus not a valid argument against its possible relation with the root **p* and the suffix **-f*. Takács (2001: 433) also dismisses the link between the Egyptian interrogative pronoun *pw* "who? what?" (Gardiner 1957: 406–7) and the Semitic interrogative element *-p-*, because the latter does not function as independent pronoun, but participates in the construction of the compounds like the Hebrew *ʾēpō* "where?" "how?". However, the compound nature of Semitic interrogatives does not contradict the kinship of *pw* and the Semitic interrogative morpheme *-p-*. Most Egyptian interrogative pronouns are compounds; e.g. the Middle Egyptian *ḥr-m* "why?" (lit. "upon what?"), *r–*

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[453] Also Fecht (1960: 156) contemplates the relation of the Afro-Asiatic deitic masculine gender marker *-b* and the nominalizing suffix *-w* in Egyptian: "Demnächst ist es durchaus möglich, daß ein maskuliner Genusexponent **-b*, der ja stets im Auslaut stehen müsste, in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit zunächst im unbetonten Auslaut zu *-w* geschwächt wurde."

m "why?" (lit. "for what?"), *mj-m* "how?" (lit. "like what?"), or *m-m* "with what?" (Gardiner 1957: 406); similarly the Late Egyptian *m-jḫ, ḥr-jḫ, r-jḫ,* etc. (Kupreyev 2013). Even non-selective interrogatives "what?", "who?" can be based on deictic roots strengthened by particles: *pw + tr →* Middle Egyptian *ptr; jn + m →* Late Egyptian *jn-m*. Such compounds can derive from the noun clauses constructed as "interrogative pronoun + personal pronoun" *jš + st* "what is it?" → Old Egyptian *jšst,* where *jš* is the predecessor of the Late Egyptian *jḫ* (Idiatov 2015: 295).

The deictic morpheme *-w* participated in the formation of the Egyptian demonstrative base *p-w* and, possibly, of the archaic demonstrative **d-w.* Its grammaticalization path includes the emphatic particle *wy* in cleft sentences with an adjectival predicate and the negative particle *w*. The Egyptian 3ʳᵈ person dependent pronouns *sw* (sg. m.)/*sj* (sg. f.) and the Old Akkadian determinative pronouns *šū* (m. sg.) and *šā* (f. sg.) can be hypothetically reconstructed as compounds, constituted by the Afro-Asiatic roots **šu/*ši* extended with the deictic suffixes *-w(a)/-j(a)*: **/šu-wa/ → šū* and **/ši-ja/ → šā*. As there are no traces of a standalone *w*-deictic in Afro-Asiatic languages the question appears whether it is related to the group of the Afro-Asiatic deictic bilabials **p/b*, which do have the manifestations *w/f*. Considering the presence of the labial deictic roots */p/, /b/, /f/, /w/* in all branches of the Afro-Asiatic family, their different grammaticalization channels and varying phonetic realizations, it is impossible to establish a single source morpheme.

Nasals /n/, /m/

Egyptian and Akkadian independent personal pronouns share the common deictic root **jn- (*an-)* extended with personal suffixes. In Akkadian, the 3ʳᵈ person of this pronoun family was substituted with an anaphoric demonstrative of another base - *šū*. The focus particle *jn*, occurring in cleft sentences in Egyptian, grammaticalized from the same deictic root. Uljas (2005) has put forward a plausible idea that the Late Egyptian independent pronouns *m-ntf/m-nts* (3ʳᵈ p. m./f.) contained the focus particle *jn* attached to *ntf/nts*. In that case, the deictic root **jn* would partake twice in the construction of the independent pronouns – first in the role of the demonstrative proper and then as a grammaticalized focus particle. Remarkably, only the 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ person were affected by the secondary extension: *m-ntk/m-ntt* (2ⁿᵈ person), *m-ntf/m-nts* (3ʳᵈ person) vs. 1ˢᵗ person *jnk* (Černý and Groll 1984: 11).

The deictic suffix *-n* appears in North Berber (Shilh), where it is used as a distal marker with the adverb *ɣi-n* "there" and the demonstrative *ɣụa-n* "that one", related to Egyptian *ꜥ-n* "here" according to Vycichl (1933). In Chadic languages the distal suffix *-n* is combined with the base *p-*, to form compounds resembling the Old and Middle Egyptian *p-n* "this": *pana* "yonder, there (distant)" = *pwáná* "there" (Angas (West Chadic)). The same pattern is observed in Miship (Chip), Goemai /Ankwe, Tangale, Gera, Zungur, and Mangas (Takács 1999: 111). Feminine singular forms of the Old Egyptian 2ⁿᵈ person dependent and independent pronouns include the enclitic morphemes *-n/-m*, contrasting the masculine forms which have *-w*: *ṯ-m/ṯ-n/ṯ-m-t* (f.) vs. *ṯ-w/t-w/ṯ-w-t* (m.). Whether these suffixes are of deictic origin is unclear. The morpheme *-n* is attested with the 2ⁿᵈ person feminine pronoun in Berber and Chad languages (Kammerzell 1991: 196).

Three further grammaticalization channels of the deictic root **n* in Egyptian can be put forward:

- The locative preposition "in": Middle Egyptian *m→* Late Egyptian / Demotic *n →* Coptic ⲛ.

- The adverb "there": Middle Egyptian *jm* → Late Egyptian *m-jm* → Demotic *n-jm.w* → Coptic ммоү.

- The interrogative pronoun "who?", "what?": Middle Egyptian *m* → Late Egyptian *jn-m* → Coptic ним.

Similar grammaticalization scenarios have unfolded in other Afro-Asiatic languages. The morpheme *m* with a locative function is present in Geʿez and Gafat (South Semitic), Mandaean (North-West Semitic), Kemant (Central Cushitic/Agaw), Benesho (North Omotic), Fyer (West Chadic), Kupto (West Chadic), Glavda (Central Chadic), Dghwede (Central Chadic), Mokilko (East Chadic), and Mubi (East Chadic) (Takács 2008: 4). The deictic origin of the adverb *jm* "there" is confirmed by the Middle Egyptian respectful circumlocution for the 1st person singular: *b3k.k jm* "thy servant there", which properly means "this servant of yours". The interrogative root "*m*" is frequent in various Afro-Asiatic languages (Takács 2008: 9–12).

Dental stop /d/ vs. the pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/

The capacity of the deictic morphemes deriving from the same Afro-Asiatic source to occupy different positions within the word (enclitic, proclitic) or to occur as a non-clitic was discussed on multiple occasions above. The same element can also participate twice in the extension of the root. Considering the various manifestations of the dental deictic /d/, it is a candidate for a similar behavior. According to Rössler, the dental voiced stop /d/ is a source morpheme for the pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ "ayin" in Egyptian. Vycichl and Takács see the origins of the latter in the Afro-Asiatic non-sibilant voiced fricative /*ɣ/. Gensler notes that it is hard to find two maximally different sounds in the inventory of Egyptian than /d/ and /ʕ/ and presents the extended development path of the dental deictic as /d/→/ð/→/ɣ/→/ʁ/→/ʕ/. This evolution chain produces a broad range of deictic morphemes, building blocks for the demonstratives and adverbs. The Late Egyptian prefix *d-* in the demonstrative *d-3/j* is then related to the Tuareg (South Berber) preposition *d* "in"; the locative suffix *-d* in Bedawye (North Cushitic), Bilin (Central Cushitic/Agaw) and Saho (Lowland East Cushitic); the locative suffix *-z* in Dembea and Quara; the locative suffix *-ddi* in the Highland East Cushitic language Burji; and the proximal suffix *-d* in the North Berber (Shilh) adverbs *ɣi-d* "here" and *ɣu̯a-d* "this one" (Takács 1999: 354). The prefixes *ɣi-* and *ɣu̯a-* of the latter would correspond to the prefixed ʕ "ayin" in the Middle Egyptian adverb ʕ-3 (Vycichl 1933).

In West and South Semitic languages, the root *ḏ-* is used with demonstratives and determinative-relative pronouns, e.g. the Classical Arabic demonstrative *ḏā* (Lipiński 1997: 80:320–23). The same element *d-* may be the source of the formant *t*, which is a feminine gender marker very common among all languages of the Afro-Asiatic group (Berber, Proto-Cushitic, Central Chadic (Takács 1999: 228)). It is noteworthy that the phoneme /dʒ/ was represented in the Egyptian transcription by both *ḏ* and *ṯ*. Hoch (1994: 43–44) related the Late Egyptian interrogative *jṯ* "which one?", "who?" with the Semitic demonstrative root *ḏ-*, reconstructing the Semitic interrogative as *ē-ḏē ← **ay-ḏē*. The etymological evidence does not approve of this relation, as the Egyptian ⸗ (Edel's /tʃ/, Rössler's /č/, and Kammerzell's /c/ /k/) is uniformly derived from the Afro-Asiatic */k/.

Glottal stop /ʔ/

The Egyptian half-consonant 𓄿 (*ꜣ*) does not exist as an autonomous deictic morpheme in Afro-Asiatic contexts. It is most probably the product of a reduction of other consonants (Voigt 1999: 349–50). Rössler is unspecific about the nature of 𓄿, calling it a "neutral epiphenomenon" of either the laryngeal fricative /ʕ/ or the liquids /r/ and /l/. Hodge (1990), Schenkel (1993), Kammerzell (1994), Loprieno (1994a, 1994b), Satzinger (1994), and Reintges (1994) agree on the fact that 𓄿 in Egyptian is not a glottal stop /ʔ/. Allen notices that *ꜣ* in the Pyramid Texts of Unis appears as the alternant of *r* (*ḏrt → ḏꜣt*) and comes to the conclusion that "a phonetic value of *ꜣ* [is] similar to those represented by *r* and *n*, most likely a kind of *[l/ɫ]*" (Allen 2017a: 20).

Takács (1999: 273–75) calls 𓄿 /ꜣ/ "the most controversial Old Egyptian phoneme" and sticks to the established opinion that 𓄿 represents *both* liquids and a glottal stop (see also Vergote (1945), Vycichl (1990), Diakonoff (1984), and Osing (1980)). He states that 𓄿 initially stood for /r/ and /l/ but was eventually weakened to a glottal stop /ʔ/. As /r/ and /l/ are not attested as demonstratives in the Afro-Asiatic languages, the emergence of the *deictic root* 𓄿 *-ꜣ* in Egyptian cannot be related to them. The pragmatic, syntactic and morphological features of Old Kingdom demonstratives point at *-w(a)* as a source morpheme for 𓄿 *-ꜣ*.

5. Concluding remarks

The goal of this study was to provide a multidimensional analysis of the demonstratives of the Old Kingdom. It was driven by the assumption that only such an integrative approach could shed light on the emergence of *p3*, *t3*, *n3* in Egyptian. In the following I recapitulate the gained insights on the pragmatic, morphological, syntactic, and diatopic features of Old Kingdom demonstratives. I juxtapose them with the basic tenets of article evolution, such as the loss of distance-related features, the acquisition of semantic definiteness, the obligatoriness of use, the positional invariability, the reduction of the phonetic form, etc.

5.1 Pragmatic features

Pragmatic features showed the clash in Old Kingdom Egypt of two deictic systems – one operating with the joint focus of attention and utilizing *pn* as attention focus shifter and *pw* as attention focus tracker; and a competing one, denoting the relative distance to the referenced item with *pn* as a proximal and *pf* as a distal marker. I have reasoned that *pf* is a relative newcomer in the texts of the late Fifth Dynasty, whose arrival had a profound impact: first, the establishment of the mixed 3-term paradigm including *pw*, *pn* and *pf*; and afterwards - the installation of a new literary standard, involving the distance-based *pn*, *pf* only.

Pragmatic features revealed that the new *3*-series belong to the attentional system of Egyptian demonstratives: *p3* is the pragmatic descendant of *pw*, referring to the activated, known discourse member. In that matter, the loss of distance-related features as a characteristic feature of article grammaticalization (Greenberg 1978) cannot be applied to Egyptian: the deictic paradigm yielding *p3*, *t3*, *n3* is not distance-oriented. Zöller-Engelhardt's (2016) assumption that *p3* has a strong deictic-pragmatic force could not be empirically confirmed: the first attestations are functionally recognitional and emotive.

Another criterion for the detection of articles used by Himmelmann (1997) and Zöller-Engelhardt (2016) is the distinction between a recognitional use based on the interlocutor's common experience and a larger situation use rooted in the shared cultural knowledge. I have shown with a number of examples that the demonstrative *pw* can be used in both contexts. It accompanies entities identifiable due to the common personal practice of the speaker and the addressee: *ḥḳ3 pw* "this/the chief", *jz pw* "this/the tomb", *nw.t tw* "this/the city". It also co-occurs with nouns denoting concepts that belong to the shared cultural domain: *nṯr pw* (*ḏd.n z3.tj tm.w*) "this/the god (of whom two Atum's daughters said)", *jr.t tw n.t rˁ* "this/the eye of the sun", *wr pw* "the great one". Rather than inquiring when *p3* becomes a definite article, we should first explain why *pw* is *not* a definite article. In this case, a heuristic criterion such as *obligatoriness of use* provides an answer: *pw* was not compulsory with semantically definite nouns. However, texts such as Coptos decree C prove that *pw* was already developing in this direction. In this decree, *šmˁw* "Upper Egypt" is always accompanied by *pw*: *šmˁ.w pw* "this/*the* Upper Egypt".

For Greenberg and Himmelmann the obligatoriness emerges through the frequency of anaphoric reference. I think that the system of joint attentional focus can better explain the pragmatic

mechanism fostering this process. Obligatoriness arises from the demonstratives' communicative purpose – to keep the addressee's cognitive attention on the discourse item. The compulsory use first applies to non-unique nouns, but later spreads to semantically definite items, which are *a priori* in the cognitive attentional focus:

Figure 5 Deictic system of joint attentional focus and the emergence of the obligatoriness of use
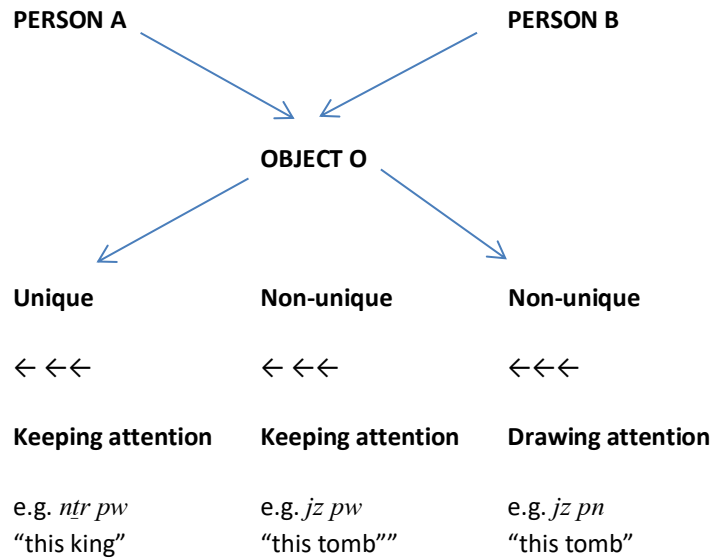
In the endophoric context this pattern has been observed in Pepi II's letter to Harkhuf, where the item belonging to the shared experience *dng* "dwarf" was repeatedly used with *pw*. In the exophoric context the inscription in the Fifth-Dynasty tomb of Hetepherakhet in Saqqara operated with *pw/nw* referring to *jz* "tomb". The concept of the shared cultural domain *šmꜥ.w* "Upper Egypt" was tracked consistently with *pw* in Coptos C. One can assume that such a superfluous use of *pw/tw* was even more abundant in the colloquial context. The Ninth-Dynasty inscription of Ankhtifi in Moꜥalla attests *t3* with a *larger situation* term, i.e. Sekhet, the goddess of the marchlands: *sḫ.t t3 ḥnw.t ḥtp nfr* "Sekhet, the lady of good offerings". The bespoken features display the semantic evolution of *pw* and *p3* as a single string of events and suggest that a *larger situation use* – another criterion for article detection after Himmelmann – is rooted in the pragmatics of a joint attention system. Supplanted in the official discourse by the proximal *pn* and the distal *pf*, the system was continually evolving in the vernacular background.

5.2 Morphological features

The emergence of the deictic suffix *3* stood in the focus of chapter *4.1.2.* , while the compound nature of Egyptian demonstratives was investigated in detail in chapter *4.3.* . The analysis of a number of lexemes containing the final consonant *-w* delivered evidence, which supported the morphological interconnection between *pw* and *p3*. It displayed the presence of the extended endings (*-w3/-wj* or *-33/-3j/-3w*) with non-clitic lexemes only (e.g. *ḫ-w3*, *n-w3*, *mj-n-w3*), which I related to their ability to carry stress. The prosodically dependent adnominal *pw* and *tw* do not occur in the lengthened forms **p-w3*, **t-w3*. I concluded that the initial *p(w)/p3* must have been the variants of

the non-accentuated clitic *pw*. The spelling of a personal name *p-ꜣj* indicated, however, that the strong non-clitic *pꜣ* could have emerged in the Old Kingdom already, even though it is not attested in the narrative discourse until the end of the First Intermediate Period.

I associated the appearance of a weak and a strong variant of *pꜣ* with two different syntactic scenarios: the non-emphatic front-shift of the enclitic *pw*, abiding by Wackernagel's law, and the detachment of the same clitic from the prosodic unit of the noun, caused by the relative extension. The weak form provided a basis for Bohairic clitic (definite articles ⲡ-/ⲫ-, ⲧ-/ⲑ-; possessive articles ⲫⲁ-, ⲑⲁ-) and non-clitic (copula ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ; possessive pronouns ⲫⲱϥ, ⲑⲱϥ) determiners. The strong form laid the foundation for the Bohairic demonstratives (clitic ⲡⲁⲓ-, ⲧⲁⲓ-; non-clitic ⲫⲁⲓ, ⲑⲁⲓ), which explains their phonetic similarity with the adverbs ⲧⲁⲓ, ⲙⲛⲁⲓ, deriving from **dw/dꜣ* and *mj-nw/mj-nꜣ* respectively. I related the emergence of the emphatic demonstratives ⲡⲏ, ⲧⲏ, ⲛⲏ and the distal adverbs ⲧⲏ, ⲙⲛⲏ to the form *pꜣw*, occurring in the Twentieth Dynasty Thebes: the pattern of the *-w/-ꜣ*-extension could have affected not only *pꜣ*, but other deictic lexemes as well.

The morphological dissection of Old Egyptian personal pronouns uncovered their typological relationship with Afro-Asiatic deictic roots:

- The 3rd person sg. m. suffix *f* must be a morpheme of deictic origin **/-fi/*, which substituted an earlier pronoun **/śu/*.

- The proclitic morpheme *jn-*, participating in the construction of the later independent pronouns (*jn-k-; n-t-k;* etc.), also derives from an ancient demonstrative.

- The morpheme *-t-*, appearing as a final or an intermediate element in earlier independent pronouns *ṯ-w-t, ṯ-m-t* (2 p.), *s-w-t, s-t-t* (3 p.) and later independent pronouns *n-t-k, n-t-ṯ* (2 p.), *n-t-f, n-t-s* (3 p.) could also have a deictic provenance. The inquiry identified three historical layers in the Old Egyptian pronominal paradigm: *jnk* (1 p. sg.) represents the most ancient layer, whose 2 p. and 3 p. were substituted with *ṯ-w-t* (m.)/ *ṯ-m-t* (f.) and *s-w-t* (m.) /*s-t-t* (f.) respectively. The latter had to give way to a new series, based on the demonstrative *n.t* + personal suffix. This makes *jnk* and *ntf* distant relatives, sharing merely the root *jn-*.

I hypothesized the existence of the deictic morpheme **w* with versatile manifestations in Egyptian:

- It appears as a constitutive element of the demonstrative *p-w*, the enclitic *ṯ-w* (2 p.), *s-w* (3 p.) and independent *ṯ-w-t* (2 p.) and *s-w-t* (3 p.) pronouns.

- It is a demonstrative continuing the topicalized participial form in a cleft sentence and grammaticalizing to the emphatic particle *wj*.

- It evolves to the negative particle *w/ꜣ* in *sḏm.f w, sḏm.f ꜣ*. The deictic nature of *w/ꜣ* raises the question of the etymology of negative expressions *n sḏm.f* and *nn sḏm.f*.

- It is a component of the adverb *dw*, which provided a root for *d(w)ꜣ.t* "Duat" and developed to Late Egyptian *dꜣ*, Coptic ⲧⲏ.

5.3 Syntactic features

The inquiry highlighted the particular syntactic properties of the Old Kingdom demonstratives:

- Only *pn/pf* could be pre-posed for emphatic purposes, mostly in contrastive expressions, whereby they never lose their morphological form. A pre-nominal *pw* is attested in the reduced variant *p(w/ꜣ) N*, but the contexts are neither emphatic nor contrastive.

- The demonstratives of *w*-series are commonly followed by the relative clauses, which support their recognitional function. The number these constructions can even be higher if the PT spells belonging to the syntactic type *N + pw + relative clause* are interpreted not as nominal *clauses*, but as nominal *phrases*. The first examples of *pꜣ/tꜣ* in colloquial context are also accompanied by the relative phrases; this syntactic environment is not typical for the demonstratives of *n*-series.

Based on this evidence I concluded that the appearance of the proclitic *pꜣ* cannot be explained by the pursuit of expressivity. It was rather triggered by the prosodic interaction of the noun phrase *N pw/tw* with the preceding and following phonetic words. In Early Old Egyptian, the lighter elements were regularly placed closer to the carrier of the sentence stress, as evident in the behavior of pronominal direct and indirect objects. Such clitic-climbing, known as Wackernagel's law, can be applied to *pw* as well: in the simple noun phrase the enclitic *pw* was drawn to the position following the first prosodic unit of the clause (e.g. an imperative form of a verb). If a noun phrase contained relative phrase, the latter could block this shift. Furthermore, the semantic and prosodic weight of the relative extension could draw *pw* towards its own unit, establishing a prosodic border between *pw* and a noun. Thus, the front-positioning of *p(w)/pꜣ* was not related to an emphatic accentuation, typical for *pn* and *pf*, but was caused by the supra-segmental features.

I suggested that the two syntactic source constructions have paved the way for two forms of *pꜣ*. While the non-emphatic front-shift could only produce a weak form, the relative extension in the conditions of the DSG, still ruling in Lower Egypt during the Old Kingdom, could place *pw/pꜣ* in both an accentuated and a non-accentuated position.

With respect to the emergence of the strong *pꜣ* it is instructive to see how it suits the use of demonstratives in the colloquial register at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. The Hekanakhte papers, dated to the period between the Eleventh-Dynasty reign of Mentuhotep III and the early Twelfth Dynasty (Sesostris I) (James 1962: 2–6; Allen 2002: 130), provide important evidence at this point. The letters 1 and 2, possibly written by Hekanakhte himself (Allen 2002: 82–84), use the demonstratives of the *ꜣ*-series only (with a single exception: *pn* appears in a fossilized expression of an oath *ꜥnḫ n.j sj pn ḏd.j r jp* "as *this man* lives for me – I speak of Ip" (Hekanakhte, Letter II, recto, lines 40-41)). Both James (1962: 107–8) and Allen (2002: 88–91) agree that the *ꜣ*-series in Hekanakhte include the strong demonstratives. While James differentiates between weak (proto-article) and strong (demonstrative) variants, for Allen (2002: 88) "the *pꜣ/tꜣ/nꜣ* series still has the full

force of other Middle Egyptian demonstratives; in none of their uses is the 'weakened' sense of the later definite article either clear or necessary". Adopting Loprieno's (1980) definition of reference types, Allen notes that the four uses of the *ꜣ*-series are paralleled in Middle Egyptian by the examples with *pn*, *tn*, *nn*. Thus Allen identifies the "strong" form of *pꜣ* relying on the pragmatic features of *pn*. The deficiency of this method lies in the fact that the pragmatic domains, which in the Old Kingdom were covered by *pw*, in the Middle Kingdom actually switched to *pn*. Allen's Nos 2, 3, 4 in the table below belong to the realm of *pw* in the Fifth-and Sixth-Dynasty Old Kingdom:

Table 126 Deictic reference types of *pꜣ* (James 1962 vs. Allen 2002)

James (1962: 107–8)		Allen (2002: 88–91)	
pꜣ is used:	*Force*	*pꜣ is used:*	*Force*
1) With full "primary" demonstrative force	strong	1) As anaphora ("direct anaphora")	strong
2) After *jn jr* plus the infinitive	weak	2) As reference to the common experience between writer and interlocutor ("mediated anaphora")	strong
3) Before titles followed by personal names	weak		
4) Before a noun followed by a relative clause	weak	3) As deixis to a following relative clause ("immediate anaphora")	strong
		4) As vocative	strong

In Early Old Egyptian, the contrast between the "strong" situational *pn* and the "weak" recognitional *pw* has been exposed with the noun *hrw*: the expressions *hrw pn* means "this (calendar) day" or "today", and *hrw pw* renders the meaning "the day of (...)". In Middle Kingdom Semna dispatches "this day", referring to the date mentioned in the text, is still articulated with *hrw pn* (e.g. Semna, Pl. II a, line 13; Semna, Pl. III a, line 10), while Hekanakhte expresses it with *pꜣ hrw*:

> *m.ṯn pḥ.n.j pꜣ hrw jm.ṯn ḥr s.ꜥnḫ.ṯn*
> See, I have reached *this day (i.e. today)* among you, nourishing you.
> (Hekanakhte, Letter II, recto, line 5)

The presence of the strong deictica *pꜣ*, *tꜣ* in Middle Kingdom is supported by their occurrence in the temporal expressions in the Lahun papyri: *tꜣ ꜣt* "this moment" (pLahun G, Pl. XI, VII. 1: line 19; pLahun G, Pl. XXXIV, XII. 1, line 39), *tꜣ rnp.t* "this year" (pLahun L: 15 = pBerlin 10030 A), *pꜣ mšr.w* "this evening" (pLahun L: 9 = pBerlin 10023 B). But the same form is also used in *m pꜣ hrw pr.y* "on the indicated day" (pLahun L: 5 = pBerlin 10066) with a clear recognitional "weak" function. While *pn* is absent in the Hekanakhte letters 1 and 2, the division of labor between *pꜣ* and *pn* in the Lahun papyri recalls the Old/Middle Egyptian distinction between *pf* and *pn*. In a testament of Meri, dated to year 39 of Amenemhet III (Twelfth Dynasty), *tꜣ jm.j.t-pr* points at an older conveyance of property,

which Meri made to his wife (=*wḏ.w (j.)pf* "those decrees" in Coptos B), while *jm.j.t-pr tn* refers to the current document addressed to his son (=*wḏ pn* "this decree" in Coptos B).

> *jr tȝ **jm.j.t-pr** jr.t.n.j n tȝy.f mw.t ẖr ḥˁ.t sȝ r.s*
> As to *that testament*, which I made to his mother before, it is annulled.
> (pLahun G, Pl. XI, VII. 1: line 20)

> *jm.j rn.f mtr.w jr.y **jm.j.t-pr tn** r-gs.sn*
> The list of witnesses, in whose presence *this testament* was made.
> (pLahun G, Pl. XI, VII. 1: line 24)

Contemporaneous southern sources, such as the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus and Semna dispatches, introduce and track an endophoric referent with the sequence *NØ → pȝ N → N pn*, reminiscent of the Middle Egyptian *NØ → N pf → N pn*, e.g.

> Question:
> *šˁ hȝ.n sšr r.f m ẖkȝt NN*
> *pty rẖt.f*
> *A container*, into which corn has gone to the amount of NN *ẖkȝt*
> What are its dimensions?
>
> 1ˢᵗ answer:
> *n.j-sw 10 r 10 r 3 1/3 **pȝ šˁ***
> It is 10 by 10 by 3 1/3, *that container*.
>
> 2ⁿᵈ answer:
> *ḫpr ḥr **šˁ pn** m mḥ 10 r 10 r 3 1/3 mjt.t pw*
> *This container* proves to be of 10 cubits by 10 by 3 1/3. That is the same.
> (RMP, Pl. N, No. 46)

The Middle Kingdom thus exhibits the use of deictica, which is *reverse* to the Old Kingdom: *pn* took over the pragmatic domains of *pw*, while *pȝ* developed to a pragmatically *strong* demonstrative, reminiscent of an old *pn*. Considering the fact, that Middle Kingdom was traditionally viewed as a departing point for the study of *pȝ*, it was logical for the researchers to connect the emergence of *pȝ* with the need for emphasis. My investigation has shown, however, that the deictic conditions in Middle Kingdom should be viewed as a product of a long-term development: the original *pȝ* appeared as a functional equivalent to the attention tracker *pw*.

5.4 Diatopic features

The survey of the diatopic features tackled the topic of the regional deictic varieties and their impact on the establishment of a literary standard. For this analysis I introduced two comparative concepts, using such typological features as exophoric/endophoric reference and proclitic/pronominal use. The evaluation of these comparative concepts showed a difference in the regional distribution of the deictic patterns. The system of joint attention, operating with focus shifter *pn* and focus tracker *pw*, could be localized in the North. The spatial paradigm engaging *pn* for a proximal reference and *pf* for a distal reference indicated a southern provenance. The non-emphatic front-movement of clitic demonstratives and the detachment of enclitics caused by the relative extension could be assigned

to the Northern dialects. I connected this syntactic feature with the compensatory mechanism *against* the implementation of "the rule of two syllables" in Lower Egypt, which triggered the emergence of *p3*, first attested in Fifth-Dynasty Giza. I touched upon a conspicuous phenomenon: while the use of proper names with *p3*, *n3* remained constant in the Memphite region during the Fifth and Sixth dynasties, the new deictica disappeared from the tomb inscriptions in the capital, but emerged in the Sixth-Dynasty provincial cemeteries. I explained this by the use of the Memphite decorative patterns and substantiated this conjecture with the changing decoration program of burial chambers in the provincial tombs. Sixth-Dynasty northern Egypt used a mixed deictic type involving three terms – the recognitional *pw* (with its colloquial variant *p3*), the proximal *pn*, and the distal *pf*. This is evidenced not only by the northern sources, but also by the texts found in the South with a clear Memphite provenance.

The introduction of the "rule of two syllables" in the South, in my opinion, explains not the birth of *p3* but the behavior of the demonstratives *pn* and *pf*. In standard Old and Middle Egyptian these are strictly enclitic, invariably attached to the noun. ZSG must have strengthened these bi-syllabic enclitic entities rather than weakening them: there are no signs of the phonetic reduction of these pronouns. The standard Old and Middle Egyptian, characterized by the deictic system of relative distance, dichotomy of the proximal *pn* and distal *pf*, and fixed post-nominal position of the demonstratives, should thus be attributed a southern provenance. The active use of *p3* in Hatnub graffiti, undoubtedly of local production, suggests that Hermopolis Manga marked the southern border of the northern linguistic type.

I assumed that the Old Kingdom Egypt observed two contradictory processes: the gradual adoption of the southern *pn/pf* in the official and literary discourse, and the concurrent spread of *3*-series in the vernacular stratum. The latter fact is confirmed by the early Middle Kingdom documents, such as the letters BM 10549, Cairo 91061, BM 10567, and a writing-board MMA 28.9.4; these were published by James with the Hekanakhte papyri, but do not have a clear provinence. The language of BM 10549 is identical to Hekanakhte, including not only the absence of the epistolary convention *b3k jm*, but also the use of the new deictica *p3*, *t3*, *n3* and the interrogative pronoun *jḫ* in the introductory formula *jw.k mj jḫ zp 2* "How are you? How are you?" (BM 10549, Pl. 24a, line 1). Cairo 91061 is particular due to the early use of possessive *p3.k pr* "your house" (Cairo 91061, Pl. 26a, recto, line 8), albeit immediately followed in the text by the standard Middle Egyptian *ᶜ3w.f* "its doors" and *jḫ.wt.f nb.t* "all its things" (Cairo 91061, Pl. 26a, lines 8-9). In BM 10567 the noun *zḫ3.w* "letter" occurs with both *pn* and *p3*: *zḫ3.w pn* is used in the formulaic expression (BM 10567, Pl. 28a, line 8) and *p3 zḫ3.w* in the message itself written as palimpset (BM 10567, Pl. 28a, line 10). The writing-board MMA 28.9.4 is special by virtue of the co-occurrence of the *3*-series (*t3 g3y.t* "the tackle", *t3 kb(n)y.t* "the sea-going ship" (MMA 28.9.4, Pl. 30a, line B11) with the noun clause containing demonstrative *nt*: *jw nt pw g3y.t b3k jm* "This is indeed the tackle of this servant (i.e. "me")". The latter construction is found in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (RMP Pl. F, No. 4, 6). These documents affirm the presence of the strong variant of *p3* and the territoral expansion of new language forms.

I suggested that the appearance of a new possessive pronoun (*p3.f*) can be related to the final adoption of the ZSG in the North. This allowed *p3* to attract other clitics, such as possessive suffixes, starting the second round of *pronominal conversion*. The use of possessive pronouns in Middle Kingdom colloquial texts is indeed quite particular. While Hekanakhte has only standard Middle

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Egyptian possessives, the Lahun papyri show variations even in the documents belonging to the same family. So the testament made by the superintendent of works Ankhren to his brother Wah in the 44th year of Amenemhet III is entirely Middle Egyptian (pLahun G, Pl. XII, I.1: lines 1-5). When Wah conveys his property to his wife in the 2nd year of Amenemhet IV, he utilizes predominantly Late Egyptian possessive forms, although their use can fluctuate even with the same referents (*pꜣy.j sn / sn.j ꜥnḫ-rn* "my brother Ankhren" (pLahun G, Pl. XII, II.1: lines 11 and 13)). The scribe's insecurity about the "proper" spelling is documented in another text from the Lahun archive, with possessives placed in front and at the end of the noun: *ꜥḥꜥ.n ḏd.n pꜣy.j jtj.j jw.j hr.kwj* "Then said this father of mine: 'I am satisfied'" (pLahun G, Pl. XIII, II.1: line 26). The Twelfth-Dynasty Theban sources, such as the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, the Semna dispatches, Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, and pReisner I and III attest no Late Egyptian possessives (one document constitutes an exception: it is a gift of property made by a man to his wife and children, dated to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Sobekhotep III))(pBrooklyn 35.1446 Pl. XIV, lines 1,3, 26, 28). Integrating this Middle Egyptian evidence allows me to summarize the historic interrelation of regional and literary deictic standards in Early Old Egyptian standard Old Egyptian and Middle Egyptian as follows:

Table 127 Historical dialects and literary deictic standard

Features	Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
pragmatic	relative distance		joint attention
morphological	*pn, pf, pw* (copula)	Early Old Egyptian (Dynasty 1-4)	*pw, pn, pj* (copula)
syntactic	enclitic and non-clitic *pn, pf* non-clitic *pw*		proclitic and enclitic *pw, pn* non-clitic *pj*
prosodic	Free stress → ZSG		Free stress → DSG

Features	Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
pragmatic	relative distance		joint attention
morphological	*pn, pf, pw* (copula)	Old Egyptian (Dynasty 5)	*pw/pꜣ, pn, pj* (copula)
syntactic	enclitic *pn, pf* non-clitic *pw*		proclitic and enclitic *pw/pꜣ, pn* non-clitic *pj*
prosodic	ZSG		DSG

Features	Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
pragmatic	relative distance		joint attention
morphological	*pn, pf, pw* (copula)	Old Egyptian (Dynasty 6)	*pꜣ, pn, pꜣ* (copula)
syntactic	enclitic *pn, pf* non-clitic *pw*		proclitic *pꜣ*, enclitic *pn*; non-clitic *pꜣj*

Table 127 Historical dialects and literary deictic standard

Features	Southern variety	Literary standard	Northern variety
prosodic	ZSG		DSG
pragmatic	relative distance		joint attention
morphological	*pn, pf, pꝫ, pw* (copula)		*pꝫ, pꝫj/pꝫy, pꝫ* (copula)
syntactic	enclitic *pn, pf* proclitic (non-clitic?) *pꝫ* non-clitic *pw*	Middle Egyptian (FIP) →	proclitic *pꝫ* non-clitic *pꝫj/pꝫy*
prosodic	ZSG		ZSG

5.5 Research perspectives

This study has broad research implications. Primarily, it shows that any grammatical investigation of Egyptian-Coptic should be done with due consideration of the diatopic features. The regional attribution of the grammatical phenomena ought to be as important for the linguistic inquiry, as is the definition of artefacts' provenance for archaeological and anthropological work. Secondly, it displayed the link between the deictic system of joint attentional focus and the grammaticalization of the definite article in Egyptian. This inference requires a thorough examination in Late Latin, earlier (Homeric) Greek, and Germanic languages, all of which developed definite articles.

The given study opens a number of avenues for future research in Egyptology, pertaining to both the linguistic and the socio-cultural domains. The description of the grammatical structure of Early Old Egyptian and its relation to the standard Old, Middle, and Late Egyptian can be extended to other topics, such as:

- The grammatical origins of the *j*-augment and the comparison of its use in Early Old and Late Egyptian; the appearance of the verbal *jri*-periphrasis in the same Old Kingdom texts, which operate with attentional deictica and display the negative particle *w* (Coptos decrees) is hardly a coincidence.
- The use of non-copular noun clauses where both members are nouns in Early Old Egyptian and in Late Egyptian (and later in Demotic and Akhmimic dialect of Coptic).
- The suprasegmental features and word-order correlations in Old, and Middle Egyptian, e.g. the behavior of the demonstrative subject in nominal clauses with the compound nominal predicate (Old Egyptian *bw mꝫꜥ pw* "this is a good thing" vs. Middle Egyptian *bw pw wr* "this is a big thing"); the interruption of a direct genitive by *nb*, observed in Hekanakhte papers and aligning with the phenomenon of clitic climbing.

- The relation of the PT negation *jm* and Late Egyptian *bw*; the functional equivalence of the negations *nfr 3* and *nfr n* and possible deictic provenance of the negative markers *n*, *nn*.
- The appearance of the 3rd person plural pronoun *w* in Late Egyptian; the formal affinity of the Early Egyptian independent pronouns *t̲wt/swt* and the Late Egyptian independent and possessive pronouns *tw/tjwy, sw/swt/swy*.
- The regional distribution of the Early Old Egyptian lexemes and the correlation with their use in Old, Middle, and Late Egyptian.
- The diachronic and diatopic development of interrogative pronouns, such as the Old Egyptian *jš-st* and its Late Egyptian equivalent *jḫ*. The latter appears conceivably as early as in the tomb of Ti and is extensively employed by Hekanakhte.
- The prepositions and their grammaticalization clines. The PT noun *jm* "side", developing in the shade of Middle Egyptian *ḥnꜥ* to the Late Egyptian preposition *jrm(w)*, can serve as a basis for a more ambitious investigation.
- Last but not least, the application of this study's results and its theoretical method calls for the reassessment of the Middle Kingdom deictica.

The second domain where this inquiry can have implications is the social and cultural history of Old Kingdom. I can distinguish two possible research avenues worth to pursue in this context: the state formation and the events unfolding during the Fifth Dynasty.

- My data shows the adoption of the northern deictic norm after the Thinite-driven unification of Egypt. It challenges the standard narrative of a gradual "Naqadisation" of the Egyptian culture, which served as a foundation for the political and intellectual unity under the king Narmer. It exposes that the establishment of the centralized state under the rule of southern kings did not lead to the immediate homogenization according to the southern linguistic type. The creation of the Egyptian state was a multi-linear process with a considerable – if not decisive – northern cultural input, as evidenced, for example, by the move of the capital to Memphis (while the royal necropolis stayed in Abydos). I suggest filling the gaps, caused by the over-representation of the mortuary data from the southern Egypt, by looking into differences in the archeological context between the large centers in the Nile Delta (Mendes, Bubastis, Sais, Kom el-Hisn, Buto, Tell Ibrahim Awad, Tell el-Farkha, Tell el-Murra, Tell el-Neshed, Tarkhan, Helwan) and the Early Dynastic Naqada, Umm El Qa'ab/Abydos, Hierakonpolis etc. Comparing the archaeological and linguistic evidence could create a more coherent picture of northern cultural traits in the unified Egyptian state.

- My analysis identified a conspicuous linguistic turn occurring during the Fifth Dynasty: while the *3*-and *f*-series appear practically simultaneously, it is the latter, southern, deictic pattern which is adopted in the official discourse. The northern *p3*, *t3*, *n3* stay in the vernacular, destined for the linguistic oblivion for the centuries to come. Future research could further develop these initial findings by looking at the indicators of the southern turn in the political and cultural events during the Fifth Dynasty. Manetho's claim that Fifth Dynasty ruled from Elephantine, currently discarded as implausible, could be reconsidered in view of the linguistic information. The hereditary break accompanying the foundation of the Fifth Dynasty, artistically depicted by the Westcar papyrus, may refer not only to political, but also

to social and cultural events. The move from the Fourth Dynasty relatives-based officialdom towards the non-blood-related officials in the Fifth Dynasty could be one factor spurring the regional cultural influx. One of the southern traits could be the emergence of the cult of Osiris with its center in Abydos, which initially surfaces in the Fifth-Dynasty funerary offering formulas of private mastabas and only later in the royal context of the Pyramid Texts. These and other social, political, cultural and linguistic facts could be fruitfully explored in the context of the implied southern turn taken by the Fifth Dynasty.

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