

Some uses of the resumptive pronoun in Late Egyptian relative clauses^{*}

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In Egyptian I, it is well known that the antecedent of a relative form is so to say absorbed in it if it functions as its direct object (*md.t sdm.t.n.f* « an affair he has heard »). However, if it has another function, it materializes in the relative clause as a resumptive pronoun (*rmṯ mdw.n.i ḥnḥ.f* « a man with whom I have spoken »).¹ This is also the rule in Late Egyptian² :

- 1 : *mtw.w rh ir p3 dd.tw n.w nb*
« and they can do all that is said to them » (RAD 15, 2)
- 2 : *sdm.i md.t nb.t i.h3b.k n.i hr.w*
« I have heard all matters you wrote me about » (LRL 57,7)
- 3 : *wpw t3 s.t 2 i.w3h.f dr.t hr.w*
« except the two tombs he laid his hand upon » (P. Abbott 5,6)

A particular case is offered by verbs that have another verb (finite or non-finite) as their complement clause, or more correctly as their argument clause³. This is the case with declarative verbs, jussive verbs, and also with the verb *rdi* in the so-called causative construction (*rdi sdm.f / sdm.tw.f*). In Late Egyptian, if the main verb is in the relative form, a resumptive pronoun appears in the relative clause, even if it functions as the direct object of the depending verb:

- 4 : *n3 hr.w n msw-nj-swt i.shn p3y.i nb r ir.w*
« the tombs of the princes my lord commanded to be made » (O. OIC 16991, v° 1-2)

In Late Egyptian texts, this complex construction is well attested with the verb *dd* ‘say’.⁴ I first consider the examples where *dd* has a declarative force, before turning to the cases of *dd*

^{*} This study has largely benefited from the database *Ramses*, under development in Liège (see J. Winand, S. Polis et S. Rosmorduc, *Ramses. An Annotated Corpus of Late Egyptian*, in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Proceedings of the Xth IAE Congress*, Louvain, Peeters, forthcoming). Examples with indirect speech can also be found in C. Peust (*Indirekte Rede im Neuägyptischen*, Wiesbaden, 1996, *GOF* IV,33). I warmly thank Eitan Grossman (Jerusalem), Stéphane Polis (Liège) and Andréas Stauder (Basel – Chicago) for their insightful comments on the draft of this paper. I also thank the two anonymous referees for their comments and suggestions.

¹ GEG, § 383.

² Č-G, *LEG*, ch. 51.

³ Following a suggestion of E. Grossman (p.c.), although the term, as noted by a referee, is rather inappropriate for examples with the imperative (cf. below ex. 14-16).

⁴ Although the clause under the scope of *dd* is not strictly speaking a dependent clause, it has some embedding qualities as shown by the very fact that a resumptive pronoun is needed when the matrix verb is in a relative form, and by some (albeit limited) constraints for adapting the deictic elements in indirect speech.

as an injunctive verb. With the declarative *dd*, the resumptive pronoun can be in any position inside the clause introduced by *dd*. In the following examples, the resumptive pronoun can be

- the direct object of the complement clause:

- 5 : *hr bw rh.i ph n n3 md.wt ʕy i.dd p3 h3ty-ʕ n niw.t dd st n.i n3 sš.w*
 « but I do not know the final word of these serious matters which the prince of Thebes said that the scribes said (them) to him (lit. me) » (P. Abbott 6,17-18)
- 6 : *[n3 h3.w] i.dd.k t3y sn hy s3 hy-nfr*
 « [the chisels] that you said that Hy son of Hy-nefer stole (them) » (O. Nash 2, v° 1-2)
- 7 : *hn.w n wdḥ i.dd n3 it3.w n p3 hr in.n st m t3 s.t i.th3.w*
 « vessels of offering that the thieves of the tomb said that they (litt. we) brought (them) from the place they violated » (P. BM 10068, 6,20)
- 8 : *hr m-di t3 md.t n n3 ʕ.w i.dd.k di.i st n PN*
 « and as regards this matter of the donkeys which you said you (litt. I) gave (them) to PN » (LRL 9,9-10)
- 9 : *n3 s.wt i.dd p3 h3ty-ʕ n niw.t ph st n3 ḥmwty.w*
 « the tombs that the prince of Thebes said that the coppersmiths have reached (them) » (P. Abbott, 7,11-12)

- the subject of a Present I (here with the past converter *wn*):

- 10 : *n3 hn.w n ḥd i.dd.w wn.w w3ḥ m p3 ʕrk*
 « the vessels of silver that they said (they) were lying in the basket » (P. BM 10052, 14,3)

- used after a preposition:⁵

- 11 : *p3 hr i.dd.k in.i n3 3ḥ.t im.f*
 « the tomb you said you (litt. I) brought the things therefrom » (P. Abbott, 5,2)
- 12 : *t3 md.t n n3 hn.w w3ḏ rhb 2 i.dd.k twi di.t grḥ.w im.w*
 « the matters of the vessels of malachite and the two recipients you said that you (litt. I) are having them finished » (LRL 9,8-9)⁶

- embedded in the possessive article and used after a substantive:

- 13 : *p3 ib 2 n tḥn i.dd.i n.k di.i swn.t n p3y.sn nb m p3 nty nb iw.fr wh3.fr swn.t.w*
 « the two hearts of faience that I said you I will pay their owner with whatever he shall ask for their price » (KRI III, 533,11-13)

When *dd* has an injunctive force, Late Egyptian does not use an infinitive – this is in sharp contrast with Egyptian I – but an autonomous pattern, like the imperative. This is exceedingly common in letters; here are some examples:

- 14 : *hr m-di t3 md.t n t3 kd.t 2 n nbw i.dd[i n.k] imy st r p3 pi*
 « and as regards this matter of the two kite of gold which I told you : put them into the socle (?) » (LRL 6,5-6)

⁵ In the following example (*ir t3 s.t i.dd.k in(.w) n3 tb.w n ḥd im Ø, k.t s.t* « as for the tomb you said the vases of silver were brought therefrom, it is another one » [P. BM 10052, 5,21]), the absence of the resumptive pronoun after the preposition *m* is common enough in any type of relative clauses.

⁶ For the word *rhb*, a kind of vessel, see J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton, 1994, n° 281.

- 15 : *ir p3 ʕ i.dd.i n.k i.ir sw*
 « do the shaft I told you : do it » (LRL 20,2)
- 16 : *wn.in p3y.f sn šri hr ir.t šhr.w nb i.dd n.f p3y.f sn ʕ3 i.[ir] st*
 « and his younger brother did all the tasks his older brother told him : do them »
 (LES 11,6)

Examples with an infinitive, however scarce, do nevertheless occur:

- 17 : *bn šri iwn3 n3y.n md.wt i.dd.k 3b šd im.sn*
 « they are not small at all, our words, that you said one has to stop reading them »
 (Ani, 22,19)

The rules governing the use of the resumptive pronoun do not change if the main verb is in a relative clause introduced by *nty*, instead of being conjugated in a relative form:

- 18 : *mtw.k smi n t3ty [hr] p3 hq ʕš3 nty šmsw i3y hr dd imy twf*
 « and you shall report to the vizier about this excessive amount of silver that the retainer Iay keeps saying : give it » (LEM 6,4-5)

It is clear that in the examples involving the verb *dd* the completive always seems to be treated as a direct discourse, although there are sometimes traces of a formal grammatical integration as shown in ex. 7 where the pronoun *-w* in the prepositional phrase *im.w* has been adapted.⁷ This surely explains why the pronominal object is regularly found. Curiously enough the number of verbs conjugated in a relative form (or used in a relative clause introduced by *nty*) and followed by a completive is rather limited. The rule seems to be that the resumptive pronoun is consistently present :

- 19 : *bt3 nb bin nb i.gm h3ty.f r ir.w*
 « all crimes and all evil deeds that his heart found have to be done » (P. Rollin, 3-4)⁸
- 20 : *twi hr b3k m n3 hr.w n msw-nswt i.shn p3y.i nb r ir.w*
 « I am working in the tombs of the royal children that my lord ordered to do » (O. OIC 16991, r° 11-v° 2)
- 21 : *iry.(i) zp 2 p3 nty nb iw.i rh ir.f n.w*
 « I will do, I will do what I will be able to do for them » (LRL 14,16)

Now it is worth considering the particular case of the causative construction (*rđi sdm.f / sdm.tw.f*), when the verb *rđi* is itself conjugated in a relative form.⁹ Here is a list of examples I have been able to collect. The resumptive pronoun is omitted where it might have been expected:

- as the subject of a subjunctive passive:

- 22 : *p3 ʕnw n hq i.di wr ʕ3 n ht3 PN in.tw Ø r pr-ʕ3 m-dr.t wpwty.f PN*

⁷ On this, see C. Peust, *Indirekte Rede in Neuägyptischen*, Wiesbaden, 1996 (= GOF IV, 33).

⁸ Cf. P. An. V, 27-5-6 : *ink p3 gm.tn r sʕhʕ.f m B š.t*.

⁹ There is already a short note in Černý-Groll (LEG, 51.6.8) with the conclusion that *i.di.f stp.f* must be classified as a single unit. Earlier works on relativization in Late Egyptian include J.F. Borghouts, 'Some Remarks on Relativization in Late Egyptian', in *GM* 31, 1979, 9-18 (esp. p. 15 and n. 24) ; M. Collier, 'The Relative Clause and the Verb in Middle Egyptian', in *JEA* 77, 1991, 23-42 (esp. n. 32).

« the silver tablet the great prince of Khatti PN caused to be brought to Pharaoh by his messenger NP » (KRI II, 229,10)¹⁰

- 23 : *idr ḳnw n i3w.t rdi.n.f in.tw Ø n nswt-bity*
 « numerous herds of cattle that he caused to be brought to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt » (KRI II, 283,5)
- 24 : *it3.tw t3 šc.t i.di.i in.tw Ø n NP*
 « one has taken the letter that I caused to be brought to NP » (KRI II, 911,9)
- 25 : *t3y hr.t i.di.i in.tw Ø n.tn*
 « these supplies that I caused to be brought to you » (KRI VI, 521,2-3)
- 26 : *iw.k (hr) šsp n-ḥ3.t n t3y ḳ3y i.di.i in.tw Ø n.k*
 « you shall receive in charge this boat I caused to be brought to you » (LRL 9,16-10,1)
- 27 : *p3 17 n niw i.di s3w kr in.tw Ø <r> rsy*
 « the 17 spears that the guardian Kar caused to be brought to the South » (LRL 16,14-15)
- 28 : *ir šc.t nb i.di p3y.k sn in.tw Ø n.i rn.k r.w*
 « as for all letters that your brother caused to be brought to me, your name is on them » (LRL 52,7-8)
- 29 : *n3 it swt i.di.k in.tw Ø*
 « the grain belonging to him which you caused to be brought » (LRL 58,8-9)
- 30 : *... n3 i.di p3 šri [n] PN in.tw Ø n.i*
 « those which the son of PN caused to be brought to me » (P. BM EA 75019+10302, 11)
- 31 : *iw.f hr di.t in.tw p3 200 n thbs.t i.di.f iry.tw Ø*
 « and he let be brought the 200 baskets that he had caused to be made » (LES 83,11-12)
- as the object of a transitive verb:

32 : *ih n3 mšc.w swg i.di.w iry.k Ø*
 « what are the foolish enterprises that they made you do ? » (LES 69,4-5)

33 : *ir t3 md3.t n p3 ḥd i.di.k sfh.i Ø*
 « as for the letter of the credit which you caused me to liquidate » (KRI III, 252,7-8)
 - as the subject of an intransitive verb:

34 : *iw bwpw n3 sr.w w3h n.f nfr [nb] <m> p3 kr i.di.i ḥn Ø n.f 3tp <m> ḥm3.t*
 « although the officials did not leave any good for him in the boat which I had sent to him loaded with salt » (LRL 59,10-11)

The last case seems to be exceptional. Actually, if the antecedent's function in the relative clause is that of the subject of an intransitive verb, the resumptive pronoun appears. In the next first two examples, the verb *ḥn* 'go', which was present in the previous example, is used once again, but this time with a resumptive pronoun. Thus, if not a scribal error, the absence

¹⁰ On the use(s) of Ø in the Egyptologists' transcriptions, I refer to a forthcoming article to be published in the proceedings of *Crossroads IV* (Basel, 20-22 March 2009).

of the resumptive pronoun in ex. 34 should probably be explained by the relatively later date of the document.¹¹

- 35 : *iw.k hr ir š^c.t n p3y sš twt i.di.k hn.f r p3 t3 n wh3.t*
 « (when the order of Pharaoh reaches you) you shall make a letter for this scribe of yours whom you let go to this land of the oasis » (*LEM* 46,16-47,1)
- 36 : *ih hr.k t3 md.t n n3 s.wt i.ph.k irm n3 rmt i.di iw.f-n-imn (...) hn.w*
 « what do you have to say about this affair of the places that you reached with the men which Iuefenimen (...) caused to go » (P. BM 10052,7,10-11)
- 37 : *p3 ih i.di.k wnm.f*
 « the ox you fed » (*KRI* I, 369,4)
- 38 : [] *šri ink i.di.k h^c.f dy*
 « [] son of mine which you caused to stay here » (P. BM EA 75020, 12)

In Late Egyptian, the absence of the resumptive pronoun in the kind of situation as described above, though widespread, is not systematic. There are some rare examples where the resumptive pronoun shows up:

- 39 : *mi-ḳd n3y rmt i.di p3y.i nb ^c,w,s in.tw.w*
 « as those men which my lord, lph, caused to be brought » (*RAD* 14,10)
- 40 : *ir n3 rm.w i.di.k in.tw.w n.w*
 « as for those fishes that you caused to be brought to them » (O. DeM 554, v° 5)
- 41 : *p3 di.k inf sw r [hry]*
 « this that you caused him to bring up » (O. DeM 554, v° 7)

One will immediately note that the three examples mentioned here date from the first half of the XIXth dynasty.¹² In Egyptian I, the presence of a resumptive pronoun also seems to be the rule in the causative pattern:

- 42 : *md.t [n.t sš pn] rdi.t.n nb ^c,w,s in.t(w).f n b3k-jm*
 « the affair of this letter that the Lord, lph, caused to be brought to the humble servant » (P. UC 32115, C, 6-7)
- 43 : *iw m3.n hm.(i) sš pn nfr nfr rdi.n.k in.t(j).f m stp-s3 m hrw pn nfr*
 « My Majesty has read this very beautiful letter that you caused to be brought to the palace on this beautiful day » (*Urk.* I, 179,13)

But exceptions do already occur in Middle Egyptian as shown in this passage of the Ikhnofret stela:¹³

- 44 : ... *r smnh bs.f št3 m ḏ^cm di.n.f in.t Ø hm.i m-hnt t3-sty*
 « in order to embellish his secret image with fine gold that he caused my Majesty to bring from Ta-sety » (St. Berlin 1204, 3-4)

¹¹ One can also tentatively analyse *hn* as an infinitive. In this case, it should be added to the list given below.

¹² For the date of O. DeM 554, see J. Winand ('La grammaire au secours de la datation des textes', in *RdÉ* 46, 1995, 187-202).

¹³ Cf. *GEG*, § 385. Note also the following example in which the matrix verb is not a relative form : *imj h3b.f n.i hr hm.wt.f nh[m].t, ih di.i di.t(w) Ø n.f* « Let him write to me about his craftsmen that has been taken away, so that I will make (them) to be given back to him » (P. Reisner II, pl. 10, G2 [cited by Vernus, *Future at Issue*, New Haven, 1988, p. 108]).

The inescapable conclusion is that the disappearance of the resumptive pronoun, limited to the causative pattern *rdi sdm.f/sdm.tw.f*, is a distinctive feature of Late Egyptian. It probably should be connected with the lexicalisation process the causative construction has been undergoing since the NK. However, this process has not yet come to an end by that time, as shown by the possibility of having the subject of *rdi* inserted between *rdi* and its complement verb.

One will also note that if *rdi* is used in a relative clause introduced by *nty*, the resumptive pronoun seems to be always present. But this needs further confirmation, as there are only a few examples of this construction:¹⁴

45 : *r rdi.t rh.k p3 nty nb iw.k r di.t grg.tw.f*
« to let you know all that you shall cause to be prepared » (LEM 49,16-50,1)

46 : *m-mitt p3 nty nb iw.k di.t in.tw.f [n.i]*
« like all that you caused to be brought to me » (KRI VI, 448,11)

The lexicalisation process of the causative construction is perhaps less straightforward than what is usually accepted; in the Late Egyptian material, *rdi* is sometimes followed by an infinitive instead of a subjunctive. Although the pattern with the infinitive is not as widespread as the one with the subjunctive, it is not exceptional in Late Egyptian. As this construction has not received the attention it deserves¹⁵, here are the examples I have been able to collect so far:

47 : *hn^c ntk hn n n3-n mniw r rdi.t di.sn grg irtt m hnw n m3w.t r-h3.t.i m p3y.i iy.t*
« and you shall have the herdsmen make fresh milk ready in jugs at my disposal when I come » (P. Berlin 10463, v° 1,4)

48 : *y3 m di sfh.i m ky*
« actually, do not let me be replaced by another » (Stela of Paenniout, 13)¹⁶

49 : *r-dd : di.i grg p3 50 hn [] p3 h3b.k nb hr.f*
« I have the fifty [] made ready [] all that you wrote about (KRI III, 501,7)

50 : *ptr di.i grg n.sn rmt r is.t*
« look, I will make for them the men equipped for a crew » (KRI III, 502,9)

51 : *mtw.k m m p3 nty nb iw.i r di.t iry se n.k*
« and you shall understand everything I will have done for you » (KRI IV, 81,8)

52 : *iw.s hr in w^c ms hr dby.t, iw.i hr di.t b3k.f, iw.i hr slt.f, iw.i hr di.t.f n.s*
« and she brought a basket of *dby.t*-plants, and I let it be transformed, I wove it, and I gave it back to her » (KRI IV, 417,8-10)

53 : *imy grg p3y h3 n ht*
« make ready those thousand woodsticks » (KRI VI, 67,8-9)

54 : *wnn t3y.i (?) s^c.t [spr r p3 nty] twk im, iw.k di.t grh p3 hti sri hn^c t3 m3s.t*

¹⁴ One could also add this pseudo-personal name of one of the convicted felons in the Harem conspiracy : PN *nty bwpw p3-r^c di.t iry.f 3-n-^c.t* « PN whom Pre did not allow him to be chamberlain » (P. Rollin, 2).

¹⁵ See Winand, *Temps et aspect en ancien égyptien. Une approche sémantique*, Brill, Boston-Leyde, 2006 (= *Probleme der Ägyptologie*, 25), p. 77.

¹⁶ See J.C. Darnell, 'A Stela of the Reign of Tutankhamun', in SAK 31, 2003, p. 82.

« as soon as my letter reaches the place where you are, you shall have the small bed finished and the *maset* as well » (KRI VI, 671,10)

- 55 : *imy di.tw hdb p3 iw nty m-s3.k °*
« let be killed the dog which is behind you » (LES 6,13)
- 56 : *nn iw.i r di.t hdb p3 iw i.ir.i shpr.f iw.f m šri °*
« I will not let be killed the dog I have been feeding when it was a cub » (LES 6,14)
- 57 : *imy grg n.n htr r sk3*
« let some seed to cultivate be ready for us » (LES 11,2)
- 58 : *imy š^cd p3 š^c*
« cause the pine to be cut off » (LES 22,4)¹⁷
- 59 : *iw.f hr di.t h3^c n.f dfdf 2 n snf r-gs p3 nšw 2 n hm.f^{c,w,s}*
« he managed to let fall two drops of blood beside the two doorposts of his Majesty, lph » (LES 26,11)
- 60 : *i.ir.k di.t d3y.s hr ih*
« why did you make her cross ? » (LES 47,2)¹⁸
- 61 : *ir iry.i hh n bt3, bw ir.{i} w^c nfr di.t shm.w*
« even if I have committed a million wrongs, can't one good make them forgotten ? » (LRL 1,11-2,1)
- 62 : *mtw.k di.t iry.s w^c.t š^c.t, mtw.k di.t in se n.i*
« and you shall cause her to make a letter, and you shall make it to be brought to me » (LRL 11,6)
- 63 : *mtw.t in phwy <n> n3y.w md.t m šsr, mtw.t di.t hdb<.w>, mtw.t di.t h3^c.w <r> p3 mw m grh*
« and you shall put an end to their charge in an excellent way, and you shall have them killed, and you shall have them thrown into water at night » (LRL 54,12-13)¹⁹
- 64 : *imy snk p3 ih i.ir.t(i) iy <r> t3y.t.f n p3y.f nb*
« have the calf fed until I return to take it to its owner » (LRL 56,6)²⁰
- 65 : *iw.i di.t šsp n3 it*
« and I caused the grain to be received » (LRL 57,14)

¹⁷ Further on, in LES 27,16-28,1, one can read in a very similar phrase : *imy š^cd.tw p3y šwb 2* « let be cut these two perseas », which might shed some doubts on the first example. The case is still more complicated as the spelling *-tw* at the end of the verb could be a means to convey the phonological shift from voiced to voiceless (cf. Coptic ⲡⲱⲩⲧ).

¹⁸ The interpretation of this example is ambiguous : one can analyze *d3y.s* either as an active subjunctive, in which case the example falls out of our corpus, or as an infinitive with a direct object. The verb *d3i* allows both argumental structures : one can cross a river, or one can make somebody cross (a river). In the preceding lines referring to this episode, *d3i* is always used transitively (LES 43,10 ; 43,13 ; 43,15 ; 44,1 ; 44,2 ; 44,5).

¹⁹ This letter's formulation contrasts with what is found in P. Berlin 10488, where the sender did not use a causative construction: *mtw.k hdb<.w>, mtw.k h3^c.w <r> p3 mw m grh* (LRL 54,2).

²⁰ The last part of the sentence could also be read *t3y.tw.f*, taking the verb as a passive subjunctive depending of the opening *imy*, but this seems to be less convincing.

- 66 : *iw.i di.t iry n.s md.t nb nfr nty hpr m-di rmt ...*
 « I will cause to be made for her any good deed that happens to people » (P. CGC 58032, 49)²¹
- 67 : *iw bn iw.i di.t fk3.s*
 « I will not allow it to be taken away » (P CGC 58033, 59)
- 68 : *ntf i.ir di.t mdw n3 ss.w*
 « it is he who makes the writings to be spoken aloud » (P. BM 10252, 101,10)
- 69 : *ih di.k hr.k r di.t grg p3 rks n htr nty iw.f r h3rw*
 « can you apply yourself to make ready the team's steed which is destined for Khor ? » (LEM 116,11-12)
- 70 : *iw.k hr di.t grg p3 inw m h.t.f nb*
 (when my letter reaches you,) you shall make ready the tribute in its every aspect » (LEM 119,1)
- 71 : *r rdi.t rh p3y.f rn*
 « to let its name to be known » (LEM 134,16)

The 25 examples²² are evenly distributed across the NK and the beginning of the XXIst Dyn., with a slight advantage for the second part of this period. As this reflects the general distribution of the Late Egyptian data, no conclusion can be drawn. As it is clear from our examples, the pattern *rdi sdm.tw.f* has been challenged (but never replaced in terms of a substitutional process) by a pattern where the verb form after *rdi* is treated as an active : thus, *iw.i di.t šsp n3 it* (ex. 65) contrasts with *imy šsp.tw šb.t.s* « cause its payment to be received » (P Louvre E 3230, v° 4-5). This form is most probably an infinitive, as shown by the examples with a suffixal direct object (ex. 46, 50, 58, 59, 61, 65).²³ These examples seem to exclude the possibility of analyzing *rdi sdm* NP as cases of *rdi sdm.(w)* NP, with an unwritten 3rd pl. suffix pr. (cf. the variant cited in note 21).²⁴

There remains a problem, a diachronic one. It has been recognized very early in Egyptology that the second part of the Coptic causative pattern is what remains of the subjunctive *sdm.f*. Compare, for instance, Coptic inf. **ⲙⲓⲥⲉ** « give birth » (Eg. *msi*) with **ⲧⲙⲉⲥ(ⲉ)ⲓⲟ**-. This important discovery led Egyptologists to have a fresh look at the morphological pattern of one of the most widely used suffixal conjugation forms.²⁵ How can we reconcile this uninterrupted chain of *rdi* + subjunctive (active and passive), from the earliest records of Egyptian language down to Coptic, with the Late Egyptian evidence?

²¹ But note, later on in the same text (l. 63), the use of the generic, neutral 3rd pl. pr. in the same syntactic environment : *iw bn iw.i di.t di.s iry.w n.f md.t nb*.

²² One should perhaps add to the list : *imy ʕrk n.i n ntr* (LES 27,14), and *twn di.t sm iw.n thth* (LRL 47,16). But, to my mind, these examples need further investigation and a deeper understanding of their valency structures.

²³ The ex. 48 and 58 are no counter-examples, for the object pronoun is most probably to be analyzed as the neutral dependent pronoun *st* > *se*.

²⁴ When the verb is intransitive, other strategies can be applied as in LRL 9,8-9 : (the two vessels) *i.dd.k twi di.t grh.w im.w* « about which you said you (lit. I) have them to be finished », using a 3rd pl. as a non-referential subject of the active subjunctive *grh*.

²⁵ Cf. A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 82, 224.

Two possible solutions come to mind : either the new construction is deemed to replace the former one in the long run, or the newer construction stands in parallel (maybe in competition) with the older one. The Coptic data strongly suggest that the first option should be safely discarded.

In Late Egyptian, there were thus two nearly analogous causative formations. The new pattern, which always constituted the minority of examples²⁶, was probably influenced by the very general trends in Egyptian of eliminating the morphological passive in favor of other, active, solutions. One can also suspect that the two constructions did not exactly cover the same semantic field. In French, for instance, one makes a difference between « faire en sorte que quelque chose soit fait » and « faire faire quelque chose ». The latter construction, using an infinitive, is more object oriented, leaving the potential agent much in the dark ; in other words, one could say that the agent is denied any cognitive salience.

I cannot exclude the possibility that this new formation was typical of the Southern variant of Late Egyptian, as the bulk of our evidence come from Upper Egypt. This reminds me of two other cases where some observable differences inside Late Egyptian can be correlated with southern Coptic dialects.²⁷ In the present case, the formation (r)di + infinitive does not seem to have left traces in Coptic. The passive counterpart of the τ- Coptic causative is either a pattern with a suffix -HOYT (best preserved in Bohairic) / -α(ϵ)IT that has been tentatively derived from the passive formation (r)di sdm.tw NP²⁸, but not without some serious problems²⁹, or with a suffix -HY. This last one probably derives from the active pattern (r)di sdm.w, with the subject 3rd pl. suffix pronoun.

As some examples undoubtedly come from the Memphite era (the three exx. from the *LEM* and the literary exx. from the *Two Brothers*), it becomes more difficult to explain the facts along strict dialectal lines, even if the examples of Lower Egypt do not come from texts representative of the vernacular Late Egyptian. Now the problem probably deserves a closer look, for it seems more complicated than it was first acknowledged. Take for instance the case of the verb grg 'establish'. This verb is attested seven times in the pattern (r)di.t + infinitive. But what is more intriguing is that the pattern (r)di.t grg.tw NP seems extremely rare ; actually I was unable to find an attestation of it except for three occurrences in the *LEM* (P. An. IV,13,10, P. Koller 5,6 ; 5,8). The formation (r)di.t šsp.tw NP is not better attested either : only one example, coming from the time of Thoutmosis III (P. Louvre E 3230, v° 4). And the same can be said of collocations that could *a priori* be assumed to be common : (r)di.t b3k.tw NP is not attested outside the *LEM* corpus and (r)di.t hdb.tw NP is only attested in the *Two Brothers* tale. Of course collocations like (r)di.t ini.tw, (r)di.t iri.tw or (r)di.t di.tw (resp. didi.tw) are trivial enough in the whole LEg corpus, even in the material coming from

²⁶ According to the data found in *Ramses*, the proportion is 1:8.

²⁷ In the Future III with nominal subject, Late Egyptian sometimes displays a iw NP r sdm pattern (cf. Akm. α-NP-α-ϣWTI) instead of the more common iri NP (r) sdm (cf. Sah. ϵϣϥ-NP-ϵ-ϣWTI, see J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, I, Liège, 1992, § 771-784). Another case is the possibility of having the past converter wn after the relative nty (see J. Winand, 'Encore *Ounamon* 2,27-28', in *LingAeg* 15, 2007, p. 302-303).

²⁸ See A.I. Elanskaya, 'The T-causativa in Coptic', in D.W. Young (ed.), *Studies presented to H.J. Polotsky*, East Gloucester (Ma.), 1981, p. 80-129.

²⁹ See A. Stauder, *La détransitivité, voix et aspect. Le passif dans la diachronie égyptienne*, PhD, Basel, 2007, p. 562-564, where Elanskaya's proposition is challenged. Stauder strongly suggests to come back to Till's opinion (*KG*, § 226) who analyzes the -τ suffix as an analogical formation.

the South³⁰. But it strikes me that *rdi* + infinitive is much better represented in Upper Egypt, and that correlatively *rdi* + pass. subj. of otherwise common verbs (*b3k*, *šsp*, *hdb*, *grg*) are virtually absent in Upper Egypt.

Be that as it may³¹, it would not be the first case that an innovative pattern did not leave any offspring in later stages of Egyptian, at least in standard idioms. Take for instance the construction *twi ḥḥ.kwi hr sdm* for expressing the progressive in LEg in contrast with the neutral *twi hr sdm* pattern (Praesens I).³² Although it came very close to being grammaticalized given the great number of examples, it never fully crystallized as a grammatical pattern of its own. The same can be said of what I called elsewhere the analogical formation of the Future III (*i.e.* with an adverbial predicate or a PsP instead of an infinitive).³³ One can also consider how erratic was the behaviour of *wn* before indefinite nouns until it grammaticalized in Praesens I and related patterns.³⁴

³⁰ Actually these three verbs (*ini*, *iri* and *rdi*) are responsible for more than 90 percentage points of the attestations of the causative pattern *(r)di.t sdm.tw*. Furthermore, they mostly appear in formulaic expressions like *(r)di.t in.tw n.k šḥ.t*, *imy didi.tw n.k*, etc. This strongly suggests that the causative pattern *(r)di.t sdm.tw* was probably recessive already in LEg. This is much in agreement with Stauder's remark on the difficulty to link the *-r* suffix in the Coptic causative to the passive subjunctive *sdm.tw* (see preceding note).

³¹ To be complete, one should here mention the still much rarer pattern *rdi* + NP + PsP (cf. C. Peust, in *GM* 211, 2006, p. 67-70 ; to the exx. cited, add perhaps the following : *r-dd ib.i <r> di.t b3.k šh3 n.k m-mn.t* « I'd like to have your *ba* remembered for you everyday » [*LRL* 68,9]).

³² See J. Winand, *Temps et aspect* (cited n. 15), p. 311-313 and 337-338. The difference was of course kept in the negative (*bn sw hr sdm* vs. *bw ir.f sdm*).

³³ See J. Winand, 'Les constructions analogiques du futur III', in *RdE*, 47 (1996), 189-215. As E. Grossman pointed out to me, there are some instances of a PsP in the Future III in Bohairic (see A. Shisha-Halevy, *Topics in Coptic Syntax: Structural Studies in the Bohairic Dialect*, Peeters, 2007, p. 452).

³⁴ See J. Winand, 'L'expression du sujet nominal au Présent I en néo-égyptien', in *CdÉ*, 64 (1989), 159-171.