Stéphane Polis (F.R.S.-FNRS / ULg)
2016.02.10 - Jerusalem

Historical Linguistics

Bridging the gap between Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

Outline of the talk

- How does Philology meet Typology?

- Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics: Contemporary encounters

- Historical linguistics as a bridge between descriptive work and typology
  - Philology as necessary condition
  - Dialog between philology and typology
    - Earlier Egyptian Allative future and the typology of Allative Futures
    - Basic vocabulary and the assumed constant rate of morpheme decay
  - Historical linguistics accounting for rare typological situations

+ How does Philology meet Typology?

- Philology
  - Term attested in English since the late 17th cent.; from French *philologie*, via Latin from Greek φιλολογία
    - Etymologically, it refers to the 'love' (φίλος) for the λόγος 'word, speech, discourse, etc.'
    - As a scholarly field, it originated from intellectual centers of the 4th century BCE (Alexandria, Pergamum, etc.)
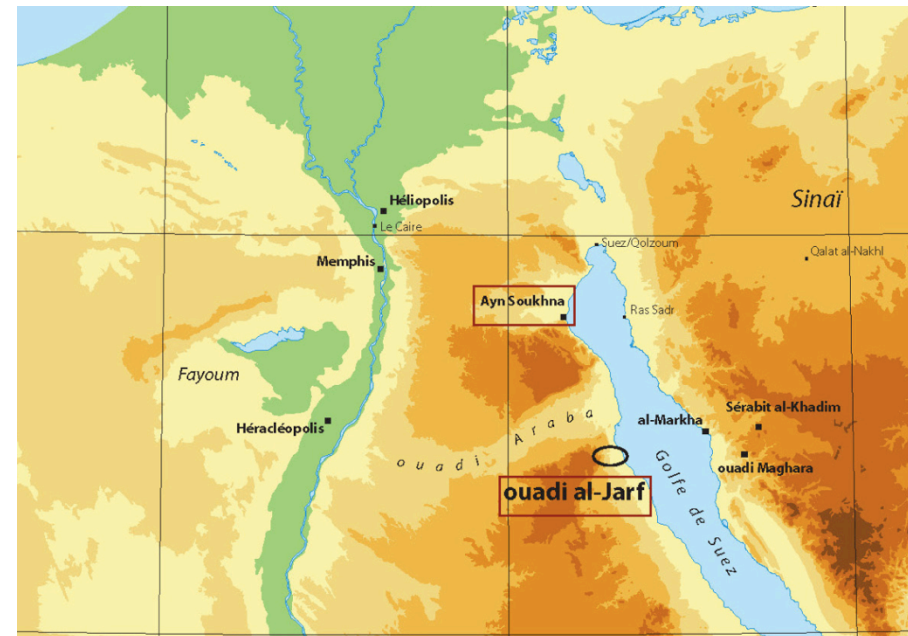
+ How does Philology meet Typology?

	Philology[1] (textual)
Collection	
Analysis	
Interpretation	

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Wadi al-Jarf: Papyri of the 4th dynasty (Tallet 2014)

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Turin Papyrus Map & IFAO ostracon

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Peust (2012a & 2012b) & Winand (2014)

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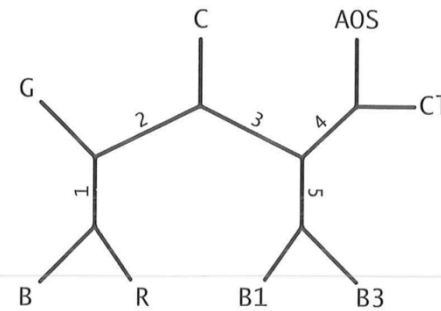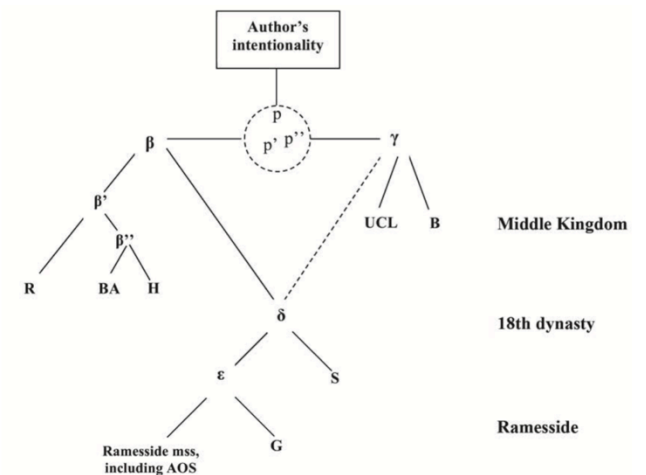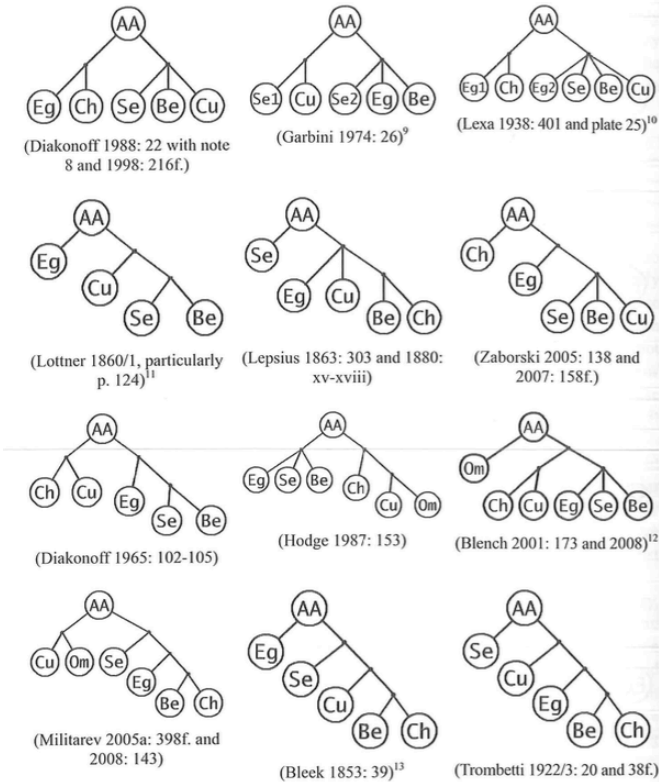|	Philology[1] (textual)
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Figure 3: The relationships of 8 manuscripts of Sinuhe shown in an unrooted tree
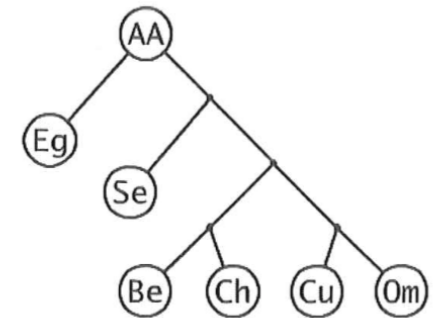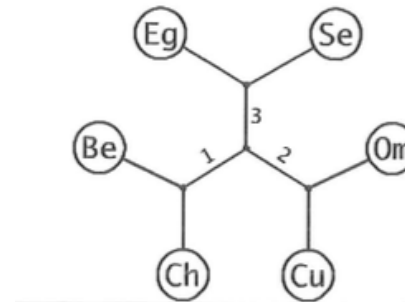

Figure 7. The Stemma of Sinuhe (Revised Version)

Peust (2012a & 2012b) & Winand (2014)

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(Diakonoff 1988: 22 with note 8 and 1998: 216f.)

(Garbini 1974: 26)[9]

(Lexa 1938: 401 and plate 25)[10]

(Lottner 1860/1, particularly p. 124)[11]

(Lepsius 1863: 303 and 1880: xv-xviii)

(Zaborski 2005: 138 and 2007: 158f.)

(Diakonoff 1965: 102-105)

(Hodge 1987: 153)

(Blench 2001: 173 and 2008)[12]

(Militarev 2005a: 398f. and 2008: 143)

(Bleek 1853: 39)[13]

(Trombetti 1922/3: 20 and 38f.)

Peust (2012a & 2012b) & Winand (2014)

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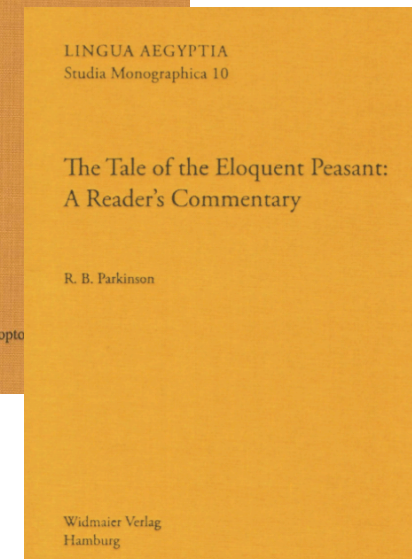|	Philology[1] (textual)
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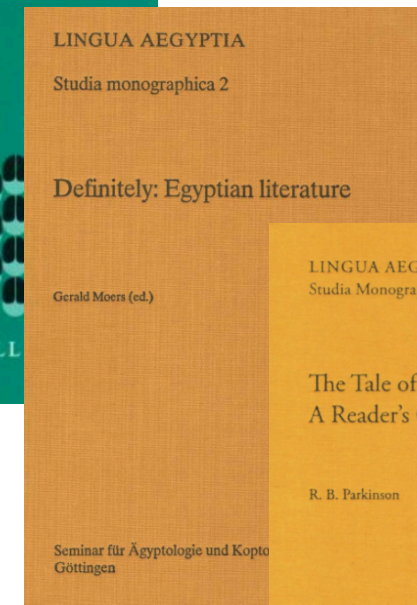# + How does Philology meet Typology?

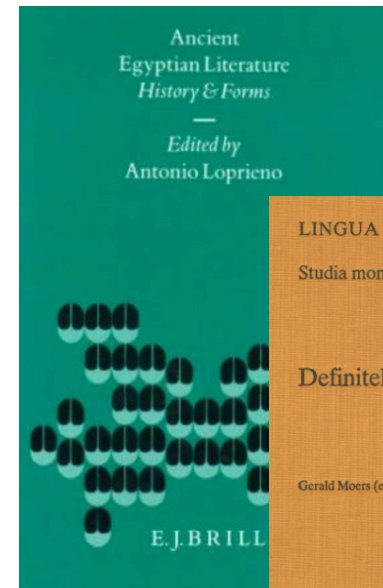|	Philology[1] (textual)
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Ancient Egyptian Literature
History & Forms
—
Edited by
Antonio Loprieno

E.J.BRILL

LINGUA AEGYPTIA
Studia monographica 2

Definitely: Egyptian literature

Gerald Moers (ed.)

Seminar für Ägyptologie und Kopto
Göttingen

LINGUA AEGYPTIA
Studia Monographica 10

The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant:
A Reader's Commentary

R. B. Parkinson

Widmaier Verlag
Hamburg

Loprieno (1996); Moers (1999); Parkinson (2012)

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  - The meaning was narrowed to the study of the historical development of languages in 19th century usage of the term
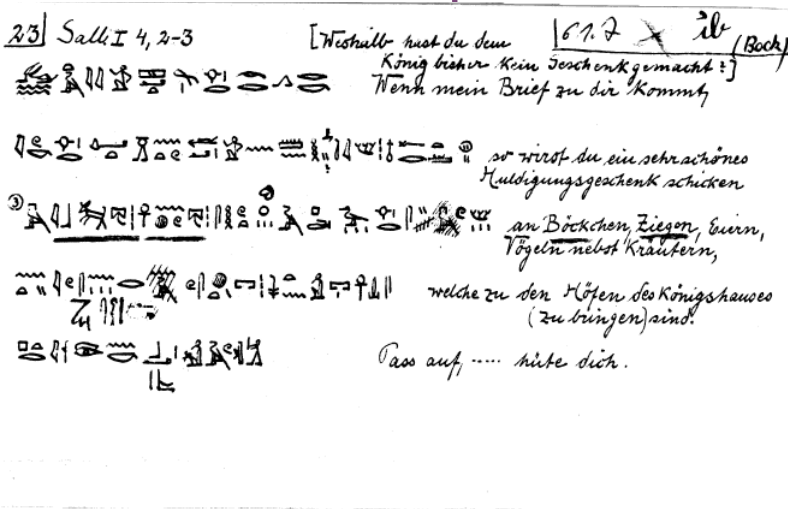
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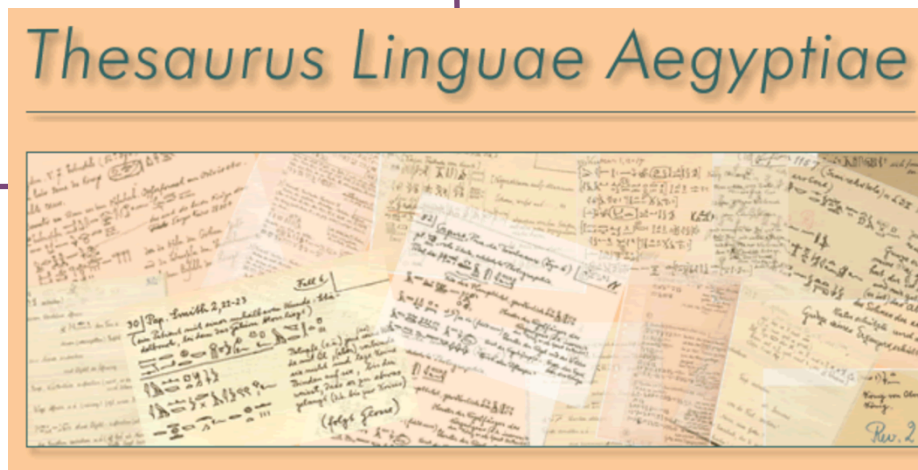# + How does Philology meet Typology?

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Digitized 'Zettelarchiv'

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Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae

Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html)

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Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae

jb.(Pl.) "Böckchen; Ziegenbock" Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, pSallier I = pBM EA 10185, Rto. 3,11-4,5: Lieferanweisung von Produkten (line [4,3]) [Cotext] [Text] [Umgebung] LP/AAEW/SAW [NK]

wnn tA[bybj] =[bjbj] Sa,t Hr spr r =k jw =k Hr Di.t jni.tw wa-n mn~H{t}~tj nfr.t [bzpb]-2 [4,3] m jb.(Pl.) anx.w.(Pl.) s(w)H,wt.(Pl.) Apd.(Pl.) Hr sjm,w n,tj jw =sn r nA wsx,t.(Pl.) pr-nsw anx-(w)DA-s(nb)

Wenn mein Schreiben zu dir gelangt, dann lass ein Huldigungsgeschenk bringen, bestehend aus Böckchen, Ziegen, Eiern, Vögeln und Futterkraut, die zu den Hallen des Palastes - LHG - (kommen) werden.'

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Ramses Online un corpus annoté du néo-égyptien

À propos · Corpus · Recherches · Aide · Version bêta · Enregistrement · login

Recherche simple dans les textes

Lemmes · Graphies · Traductions

Translittération ou traduction

Filtrer sur ○ Translittération ○ Traduction ● Les deux

3		(PTCL)	**mais, vraiment**
3.t		(SUBST)	**moment**
3ꜥꜥ		(VB)	**enduire, crépir**
3ꜥꜥ		(VB)	**faire du tort**
3ꜥꜥ		(SUBST)	**nom d'un arbre**
3ꜥꜥ		(SUBST)	**étranger, interprète**
3ꜥꜥ.t		(SUBST)	**récipient**

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(http://ramses.ulg.ac.be)

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jw	k	ḥr	rdj.t	jn.tw	wꜤ	//	n	mnḫt	nfr
GRAM	PR.PERS	GRAM	VB INF	VB SBJV.PASS	ART	CLASSIF	CONNECT	SUBST	ADJ
jw (séq.)	tu	ḥr (séq.)	donner	apporter	un	DET HOMME	de	don	parfait, bon

	P. Sallier 1		LEM	jb.w	Ꜥnḫ.w	swḥ.wt	3pd.w	ḥr	smw
sp-sn		m		jb.w					
SUBST	4,3	CONNECT	80,8	SUBST	SUBST	SUBST	SUBST	CONNECT	SUBST
deux fois		dans		chevreau	bouc	oeuf	oiseau	sur, au sujet de	plante

nty	jw	sn	r	n3	wsḫ.wt	pr-nswt	Ꜥ.w.s	LEM
CONNECT	GRAM	PR.PERS	CONNECT	ART	SUBST	SUBST	SUBST	
qui	jw (F3)	ils (pr. suf.)	vers, pour	les	hall, pièce	palais royal	V,S,F	80,9

tu feras en sorte d'amener un très beau présent consistant en chevreaux, boucs, oeufs, oiseaux et plantes sm qui seront pour les pièces du palais royal, VSF
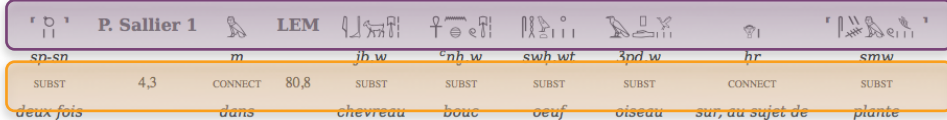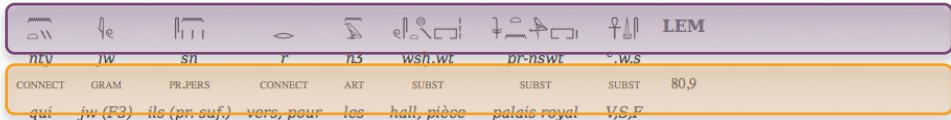
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P. Sallier 1	LEM	sp-sn	m	jb.w	ꜥnḫ.w	swḥ.wt	ꜣpd.w	ḥr	smw
		SUBST 4,3	CONNECT 80,8	SUBST	SUBST	SUBST	SUBST	CONNECT	SUBST
		deux fois	dans	chevreau	bouc	oeuf	oiseau	sur, au sujet de	plante

nty	jw	sn	r	nꜣ	wsḫ.wt	pr-nswt	ꜥ.w.s	LEM
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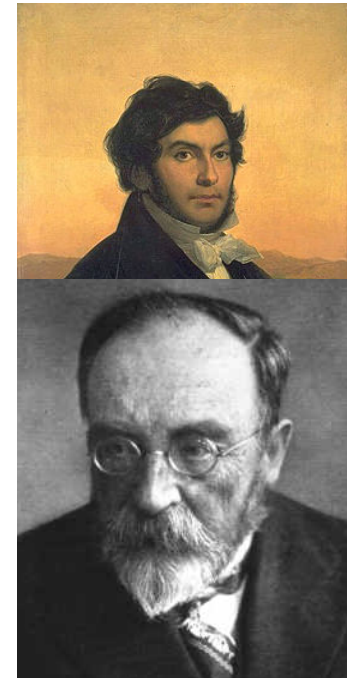|	Philology[1] (textual)	Philology[2] (grammatical)
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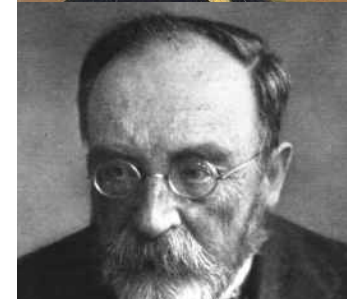|	Philology[1] (textual)	Philology[2] (grammatical)
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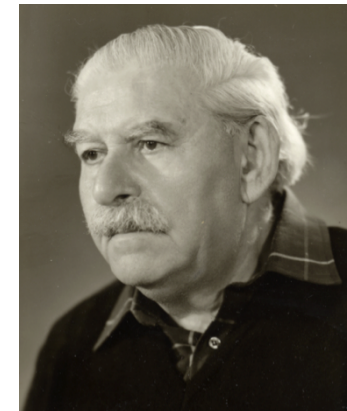|	Philology[1] (textual)	Philology[2] (grammatical)
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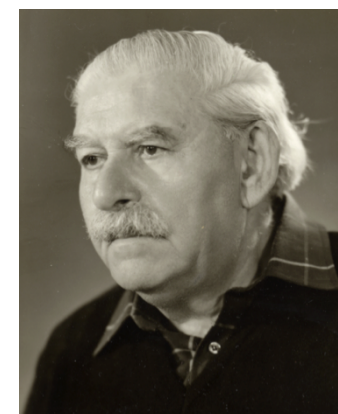|	Philology[1] (textual)	Philology[2] (grammatical)
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H. J. POLOTSKY

SYNTAXE AMHARIQUE ET SYNTAXE TURQUE

Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (1959), Roma, 1960

How does Philology meet Typology?

The Amharic focalizing constructions inspired to Polotsky the idea of the function of the 'emphatic forms' in 1936

Philology[2]

(grammatical)

Collection of examples in historical corpora

Grammatical description

H. J. POLOTSKY

SYNTAXE AMHARIQUE ET SYNTAXE TURQUE

Pour caractériser en un mot la structure syntaxique de l'amharique et de certaines langues couchitiques, F. Praetorius s'est volontiers servi d'expressions comme « touranisme (de la syntaxe) » ou « (syntaxe) touranisée ». Des expressions équivalentes, dérivées de « scythique », de « altaïque » ou de « turc », ont été employées par rapport à d'autres langues possédant les mêmes caractères syntaxiques, notamment les langues dravidiennes. Il devrait aller sans dire que pareil emploi du terme « touranisme » et de ses équivalents n'implique nullement la théorie d'une communauté ethnique ni d'un contact historique entre les peuples parlant ces langues. Pourtant l'imprudence d'une telle conclusion n'a pas été toujours aussi évidente qu'elle nous paraît aujourd'hui. Je ne citerai que deux exemples. Du « touranisme » des langues dravidiennes P. de Lagarde a tiré, par un raisonnement qu'il serait inutile de reproduire ici, les conclusions défavorables à la nation hongroise [1]. Pour expliquer historiquement le « touranisme » des langues couchitiques, F. Hommel a cru devoir mettre en jeu les anciens Élamites : les langues couchitiques seraient, selon lui, des langues à substrat élamite, à grammaire (c'est-à-dire morphologie) sémitique, et à vocabulaire « africain » [2].
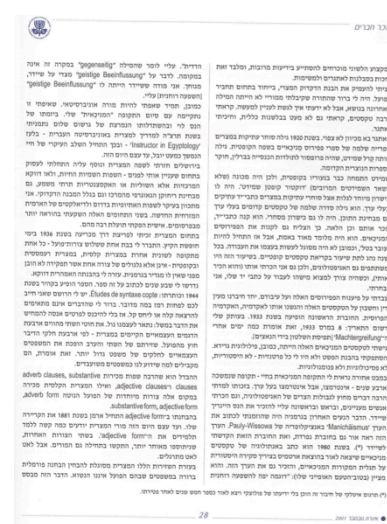
Or, il est évident que, en fait de syntaxe, l'amharique et le turc offrent des analogies frappantes. Comme c'est la syntaxe qui constitue la plus grande difficulté de l'une et de l'autre langues, la connaissance de l'une facilite l'apprentissage de l'autre. J'en ai fait l'expérience moi-même. Une connaissance très élémentaire et superficielle du vieil ouïgour m'a rendu moins ardu l'accès à l'amharique moderne. Il m'a donc paru intéressant, pour satisfaire une curiosité

(1) Deutsche Schriften (Göttingen 1891), 26-7.
(2) Beiträge zur Assyriologie, 2 (1894), 354 n. *** ; cf. Praetorius, ibid., 334.
(3) Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes (Paris 1946), p. 1.

Igeret 21 (2001), p. 27-29 = Interview of 1983
(quoted by Shisha-Halevy [2009], p. 142, n. 12)

Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (1959), Roma, 1960

How does Philology meet Typology?

	Philology[1] (textual)	Philology[2] (grammatical)
Collection	Heuristic (< εὑρίσκτική [τέχνη]) = finding the manuscripts	Collection of examples in historical copora
Analysis	'Ecdotique' (> ἑκδοτική [τέχνη]) = textual criticism	Grammatical description
Interpretation	Hemeneutics (< ἑρμηνευτική [τέχνη]) = interpretation of the texts	Historical comparative philology

Diachrony & genetic
relatedness as *explanans*

+ How does Philology meet Typology?

	Philology[1] (textual)	Philology[2] (grammatical)	Linguistics
Collection	Heuristic (< εὑρίσκτική [τέχνη]) = finding the manuscripts	Collection of examples in historical copora	
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	Philology[1] (textual)	Philology[2] (grammatical)	Linguistics
Collection	Heuristic (< εὑρίσκτική [τέχνη]) = finding the manuscripts	Collection of examples in historical copora	Documentary linguistics
Analysis	'Ecdotique' (> έκδοτική [τέχνη]) = textual criticism	Grammatical description	Descriptive linguistics
Interpretation	Hemeneutics (< έρμηνευτική [τέχνη]) = interpretation of the texts	Historical comparative philology	**Documentary and descriptive linguistics*** NIKOLAUS P. HIMMELMANN

Abstract

Much of the work that is labeled "descriptive" within linguistics comprises two activities, the collection of primary data and a (low-level) analysis of these data. These are indeed two separate activities as shown by the fact that the methods employed in each activity differ substantially. To date, the field concerned with the first activity — called "documentary linguistics"

N. Himmelmann, 'Documentary and descriptive linguistics,' *Linguistics* 36 (1998), p. 161-195

How does Philology meet Typology?

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How does Philology meet Typology?

What's possible? ⟶ Universal theory of grammar

What's where and why? ⟶ Understanding linguistic diversity

Linguistics

Documentary linguistics

Descriptive linguistics

Typology

B. Bickel, 'Typology in the 21th century: Major current developments,' *Linguistic Typology* 11 (2007), p. 239-251

How does Philology meet Typology?

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How does Philology meet Typology?

What's possible? → Universal theory of grammar

What's where and why? → Understanding linguistic diversity

Distribution of features as historically grown (Greenberg 1665; 1978 & Givón 1979)

Distribution of features explained by genetic, cultural [linguistic relativity], geographical patterns

Linguistics

Documentary linguistics

Descriptive linguistics

Typology

B. Bickel, 'Typology in the 21th century: Major current developments,' *Linguistic Typology* 11 (2007), p. 239-251

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Historical linguistics

Historical Linguistics and Typology: Assessing a Partnership, Austin (Texas), Sept. 12-13 (2015)

+ Outline of the talk

- How does Philology meet Typology

- Philology and typology in Egyptian linguistics

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

- Richter (2015) 'Early encounters: Egyptian Coptic studies and comparative linguistics in the century from Schlegel to Finck'

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

- Richter (2015) 'Early encounters: Egyptian Coptic studies and comparative linguistics in the century from Schlegel to Finck'

- Typology as a term and as a discipline (Graffi 2010)
  - von der Gabelentz (1901 [1891]: 481) coined the term 'Typologie'
  - Hjelmslev (1966: 128-129 = *Le langage*) 'Une typologie linguistique exhaustive est la tâche la plus grande et la plus importante qui s'offre à la linguistique [...] En fin de compte, sa tâche est de répondre à la question : quelles structures linguistiques sont possibles, et pourquoi telles structures sont-elles possibles quand d'autres ne le sont pas ? Ce faisant, elle doit, plus qu'aucune autre espèce de linguistique, s'approcher de ce qu'on pourrait appeler la nature du langage [...] *C'est seulement par la typologie que la linguistique s'élève à des points de vue tout à fait généraux et devient une science.*'

-

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

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  - Greenberg (1960 [1954]; 1963; etc.)

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  - Polotsky doing typology (1960)

H. J. POLOTSKY

SYNTAXE AMHARIQUE ET SYNTAXE TURQUE

Pour caractériser en un mot la structure syntaxique de l'amharique et de certaines langues couchitiques, F. Praetorius s'est volontiers servi d'expressions comme « touranisme (de la syntaxe) » ou « (syntaxe) touranisée ». Des expressions équivalentes, dérivées de « scythique », de « altaïque » ou de « turc », ont été employées par rapport à d'autres langues possédant les mêmes caractères syntaxiques, notamment les langues dravidiennes. Il devrait aller sans dire que pareil emploi du terme « touranisme » et de ses équivalents n'implique nullement la théorie d'une communauté ethnique ni d'un contact historique entre les peuples parlant ces langues. Pourtant l'imprudence d'une telle conclusion n'a pas été toujours aussi évidente qu'elle nous paraît aujourd'hui. Je ne citerai que deux exemples. Du « touranisme » des langues dravidiennes P. de Lagarde a tiré, par un raisonnement qu'il serait inutile de reproduire ici, des conclusions défavorables à la nation hongroise [1]. Pour expliquer historiquement le « touranisme » des langues couchitiques, F. Hommel a cru devoir mettre en jeu les anciens Élamites: les langues couchitiques seraient, selon lui, des langues à substrat élamite, à grammaire (c'est-à-dire morphologie) sémitique, et à vocabulaire « africain » [2].

Je ne rappelle ces aberrations que pour en souligner le contraste avec la saine manière de voir de Praetorius, pour qui la notion de « touranisme » avait un sens purement et exclusivement typologique: le turc est tout simplement, en Europe, le représentant le mieux connu du type en question. C'est, d'ailleurs, dans le même sens que J. Bloch a fait état de la structure du turc par rapport à celle des langues dravidiennes [3].

Or, il est évident que, en fait de syntaxe, l'amharique et le turc offrent des analogies frappantes. Comme c'est la syntaxe qui constitue la plus grande difficulté de ces deux langues, la connaissance de l'une facilite l'apprentissage de l'autre. J'en ai fait l'expérience moi-même. Une connaissance très élémentaire et superficielle du vieil ouïgour m'a été utile lorsque j'ai appris l'amharique, et d'autre part l'amharique m'a rendu moins ardu l'accès au turc moderne. Il m'a donc paru intéressant, pour satisfaire une curiosité

(1) *Deutsche Schriften* (Göttingen 1891), 26–7.
(2) *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 2 (1894), 354 n. * * *; cf. PRAETORIUS, *ibid.*, 334.
(3) *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes* (Paris 1946), p. 1.

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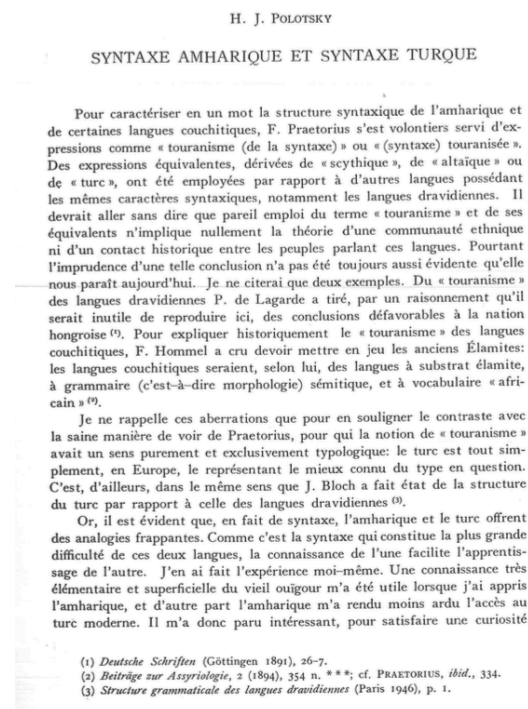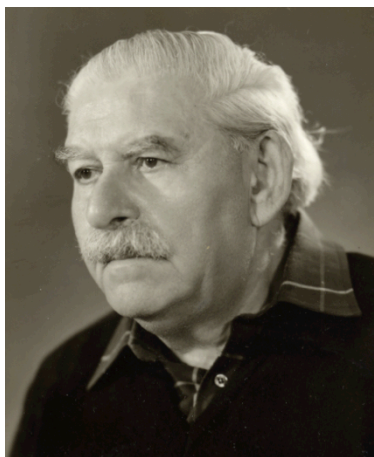# Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

- Richter (2015) 'Early encounters: Egyptian Coptic studies and comparative linguistics in the century from Schlegel to Finck'

- Typology as a term and as a discipline (Graffi 2010)

- Typology and Egyptian linguistics

  - Polotsky doing typology (1960)
  - Shisha-Halevy's (1981) Egyptian internal typology
    - Comparaison of features ('descriptive similarities of grammatical entities') in order to establish 'an unspecicifiable degree of affinity'
    - Goal is to establish a Sah.-Boh. disparity and a Boh.-LEg affinity.

Studies presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky, ed. D.W. Young, p. 314-338.

BOHAIRIC—LATE EGYPTIAN DIAGLOSSES:

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TYPOLOGY OF EGYPTIAN

By ARIEL SHISHA-HALEVY

0. More than fifty years have elapsed since Sethe's invaluable treatise (Sethe 1925) laid the foundations of the modern conception of Egyptian diachrony (his monumental *Verbum* [1899] had been more of a diachronic inventory or grammar). Therein he collected and appraised many correspondences and oppositions between "Coptic" and "Demotic" (the latter really meaning "pre-Coptic Egyptian"),[1] which are as valid and significant today as they were then, when our knowledge of both Coptic and pre-Coptic grammar was still very imperfect. Twenty years later when B. H. Stricker presented his own view of the development of Egyptian (Stricker 1945), adding to and considerably rearranging the inventory of typological comparabilia, "Coptic" was still being compared with preceding phases as a homogeneous entity, or at least in macroscopic view (the same is true for Hintze 1947). However, as there is really no justification, either syn- or diachronic, descriptive or comparative, for tackling Coptic *en bloc* as a monolithic phenomenon, previous to examining its components, let us here engage in a brief typological-comparative study, confronting the *Bohairic* dialect of Coptic with the pre-Coptic, pre-Demotic phase known as Late Egyptian (LE). May it be accepted as a modest tribute to our master, who more than anybody else has managed to harmonize the synchronic, diachronic and typological quests into the mysteries of Egyptian.

Before proceeding to the comparison itself, we might be called upon to clarify as well as justify our aims and methods, choosing the *comparanda* and the compared stages of the language.

0.1.1 In the following pages, we shall be attempting no more than to set up a contrastive checklist of grammatical *details*, not all by any means "characteristics" in the sense of "typological princi-

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  - Shisha-Halevy's (1981) Egyptian internal typology
  - Loprieno (1988 & 1991): typological order of constituents in Middle Egyptian & typological caracterization of Middle Egyptian

ON THE TYPOLOGICAL ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS IN EGYPTIAN

Antonio Loprieno
University of California, Los Angeles

'On the typological order of constutuents in Egyptian', in *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 1 (1988), p. 26-57.
'Towards a Typology of Middle Egyptian', in: *Proceedings of the 5th International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, ed. H.G. Mukarovsky, p. 107-119.

Philology and Typology
in Egyptian linguistics

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  - Loprieno's (1991) typological caracterization of Middle Egyptian
  - 2000: 'The typological turn'
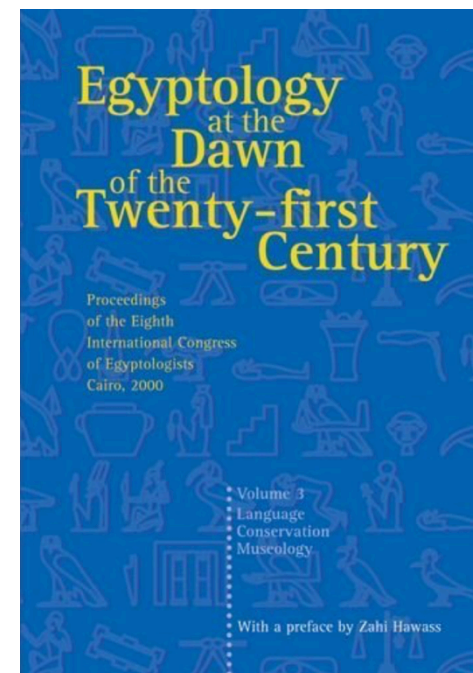
'Egyptian Linguistics in the Year 2000,' in: Z. Hawass et al., Cairo, 2003, 73-90

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

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"the studies on Egyptian language have recently moved away from the concerns of the 'Crossroad generation,' if I may use this term [which was mostly dealing with H.J. Polotsky's heritage], toward a more *dialectic approach*; dialectic both in the sense of the potential impact of language research on Egyptology as a whole and in the sense of a more intense dialogue with the discipline of general linguistics."

Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century

Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000

Volume 3 Language Conservation Museology

With a preface by Zahi Hawass

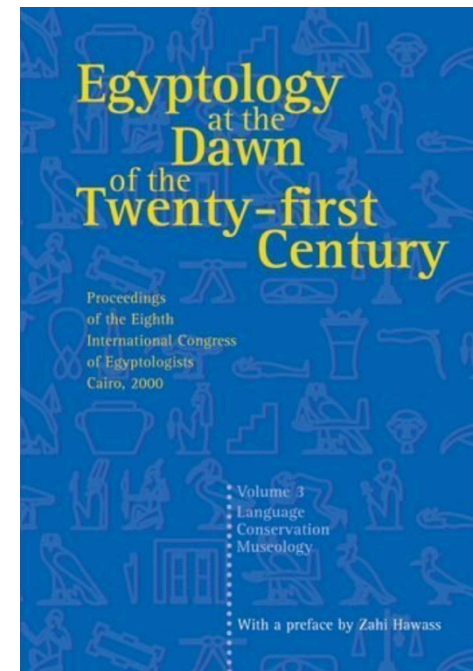'Egyptian Linguistics in the Year 2000,' in: Z. Hawass et al., Cairo, 2003, 73-90

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

- Richter (2015) 'Early encounters: Egyptian Coptic studies and comparative linguistics in the century from Schlegel to Finck'

- Typology as a term and as a discipline (Graffi 2010)

- Typology and Egyptian linguistics

"there has been a rather dramatic shift in the general interest of Egyptian linguists from issues of *syntax* to issues of *typology*. (…) This shift (…) implies that features of the Egyptian language that were previously considered within the frame of Egyptian itself are now read in light of general trends in the history of human language (…)."

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Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000

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Language
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Museology

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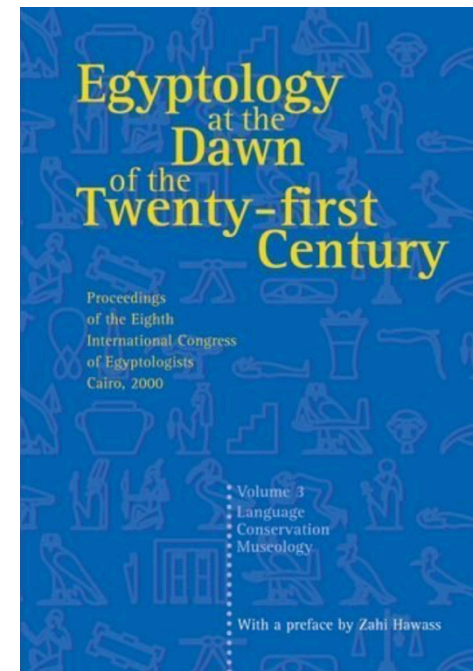'Egyptian Linguistics in the Year 2000,' in: Z. Hawass et al., Cairo, 2003, 73-90

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

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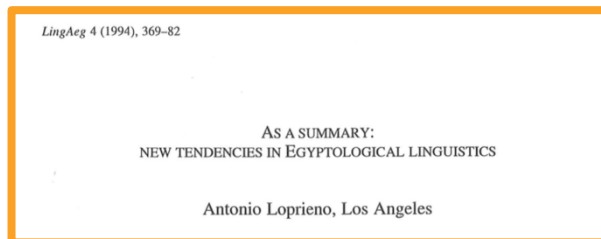
- Typology and Egyptian linguistics

LingAeg 4 (1994), 369–82

AS A SUMMARY:
NEW TENDENCIES IN EGYPTOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS

Antonio Loprieno, Los Angeles

During our conference, we could observe the entire range of topics debated in contemporary studies on Egyptian: in accordance with similar tendencies in general linguistics, Egyptian phonology, morphology, syntax, typology, pragmatics, semantics, and even semiotics often appear intertwined. In this respect, one can notice a marked evolution since the first *Crossroads*: while syntax, under the pressure of the emerging post-Polotskyan debate, was the main area of interest both in Helsingør 1986 and in Los Angeles 1990, Yale 1994 has shown the appropriation by Egyptologists of broader aspects of grammatical research. The debate on the Standard theory has been replaced by, or better expanded into, a discussion on the role and the limits of Egyptian as a case study for general linguistic investigation. Before going into the details of the topics, let me mention the two linguistic

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REINTGES, Christoph Hanns, Passive Voice in Older Egyptian. A Morpho-Syntactic Study. Proefschrift Leiden, HIL. Holland Institute of Generative Linguistics, 1997 = HIL Dissertations, 28. (16 x 24 cm; XIII, 477 p., fig., tables).

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

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LingAeg 1 (1991), 201-226

Focus, mood, and negative forms:
Middle Egyptian syntactic paradigms and diachrony

Antonio Loprieno, Los Angeles

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LingAeg 1 (1991), 201-226

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Ancient Egyptian
A linguistic introduction

A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge: CUP, 1995.

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Sprachtypol. Univ. Forsch. (STUF), Berlin **53** (2000) 1, 97–108

FRANK KAMMERZELL (Göttingen)

Egyptian possessive constructions: a diachronic typological perspective
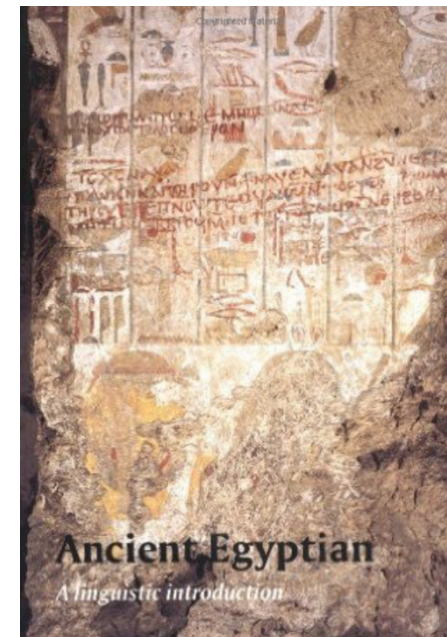
Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

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- Typology and Egyptian linguistics

Extension of Vendler's (1967) and Mourelatos' (1980) taxonomy of events

Temps et aspect en égyptien
UNE APPROCHE SÉMANTIQUE

PAR

JEAN WINAND

BRILL PROBLEME DER ÄGYPTOLOGIE

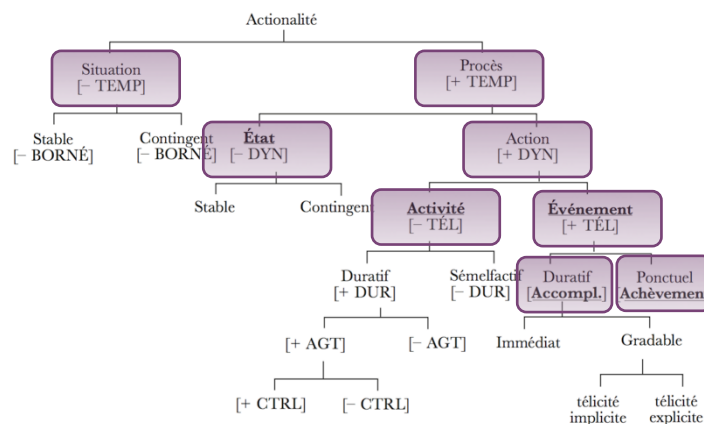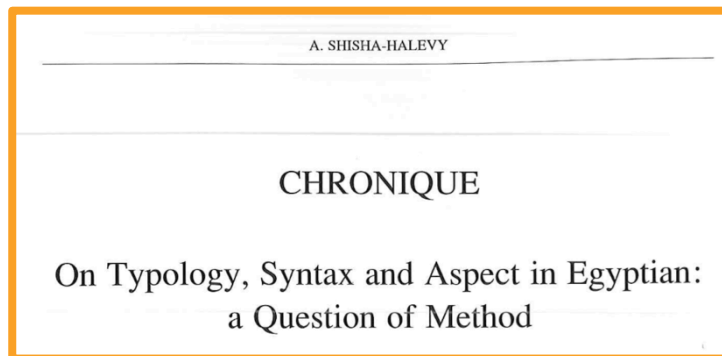J. Winand, *Temps et aspect en égyptien. Une approche sémantique*, Leiden, 2006.

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

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A. SHISHA-HALEVY

CHRONIQUE

On Typology, Syntax and Aspect in Egyptian: a Question of Method

Typology

Typology seems to be the predominant consideration and informing force in this work, and the implicit major objection to the "syntactical category" approach to Egyptian grammar. I believe the typological perspective cannot ever replace detailed, internal corpus-based "bottom up" description of (sub)systems: linguistic typology must ensue from the details up to the overall schemes and not, *a priori*, the other way round: for Egyptian, this is as yet *Zukunftsmusik*.

The dangers and limitations of panoramic, bird's (or satellite's)-eye-view "blueprint" typology, which often trivializes linguistic structure, underplays or loses sight of features of consequence and is biased by ingrained ethnocentrism; and even more of isolated, unsystemic "feature typology", ought to have been pointed out (one example for this is the matter-of-fact comparison of the narrative sequential narrative *sḏm.n.f* with the Biblical Hebrew *wăyyiqtol* — all they have in common is that they are narrative concatenation forms, which is trivial). Inter-language comparison, even of specific features, must be systemic and systematic.

A cumulative "check-list characterology", like Trubetzkoy's characterization of Indo-European, or Ernst Levy's *Bau der europäischen Sprachen*, is a different matter: for it obliges us to set up a hierarchy of importance or "typicality", a difficult task which demands in-depth familiarity with the language concerned.). H.J. Polotsky's only explicitly typological treatise, "Syntaxe amharique et syntaxe turque" (1965) is of this type.

Finally, *heuristic or diagnostic typology* — isolating and identifying features within subsystems, across languages — was an important factor of H.J. Polotsky's work on Egyptian: this should be borne in mind when judging the "typological plausibility" of his system. ([12])

J. Winand, *Temps et aspect en égyptien. Une approche sémantique*, Leiden, 2006.

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

Balthasar Bickel, Frank Sei... 1/02/16
[Lingtyp] comparative concepts 26 ⌄
I have just now had a chance to read
up on this very interesting discussio...

Balthasar Bickel	1/02/16
Frank Seidel	28/01/16
Martin Haspelmath	28/01/16
William Croft	27/01/16
Matthew Dryer	27/01/16
Frank Seidel	27/01/16
Everett, Daniel	27/01/16
Dlpayne@uoregon.edu	27/01/16
David Gil	26/01/16
Everett, Daniel	25/01/16
Matthew Dryer	25/01/16
William Croft	25/01/16
Zygmunt Frajzyngier 📎	24/01/16
Siva Kalyan	24/01/16
David Gil	24/01/16
Stef Spronck	24/01/16
David Gil	24/01/16
William Croft	24/01/16
Everett, Daniel	23/01/16
Östen Dahl	23/01/16
David Gil	23/01/16
Martin Haspelmath	23/01/16
Östen Dahl	22/01/16
Matthew Dryer	22/01/16
Everett, Daniel	22/01/16

Sebastian Nordhoff, Ever... 27/01/16
[Lingtyp] What do glossing lab... 21 ⌄
in grammatical descriptions, the
examples are typically embedd...

Sebastian Nordhoff	27/01/16
Everett, Daniel	27/01/16
Volker Gast	27/01/16
Hedvig Skirgård	27/01/16
Martin Haspelmath	27/01/16
Sebastian Nordhoff	27/01/16
Johanna NICHOLS	27/01/16
Hedvig Skirgård	27/01/16
Hedvig Skirgård	27/01/16
Sergey Say	27/01/16
Stef Spronck	27/01/16
William Croft	27/01/16
Hedvig Skirgård	27/01/16
Östen Dahl	27/01/16
William Croft	26/01/16
Sebastian Nordhoff	26/01/16
David Beck	26/01/16
Hedvig Skirgård	25/01/16
Everett, Daniel	25/01/16
Hedvig Skirgård	25/01/16
Östen Dahl	25/01/16

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Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics
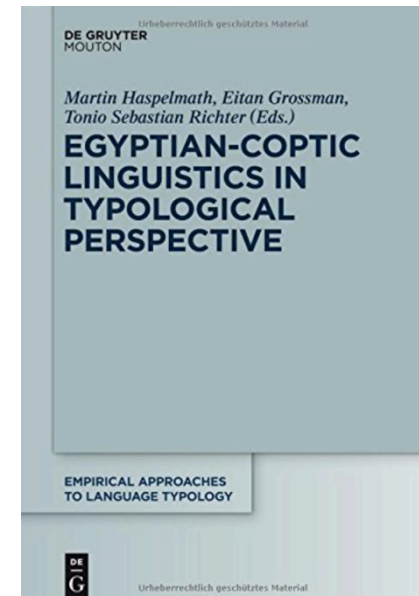
- Haspelmath, Grossman & Richter (2015)

Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

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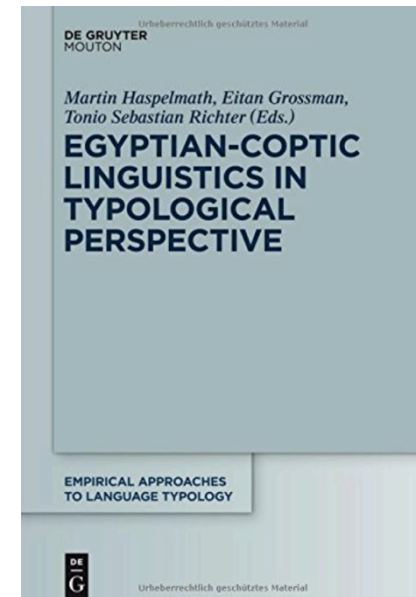
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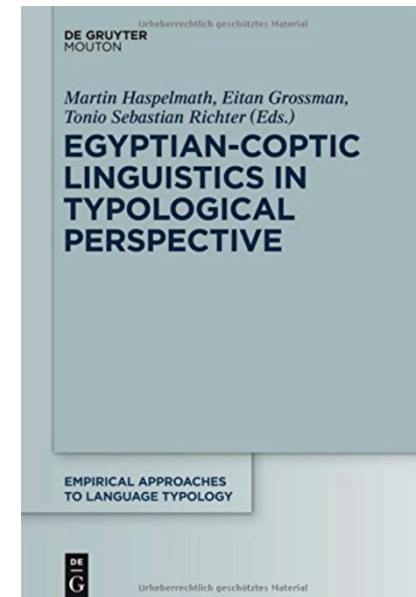
  - Typology informs Description

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  - Typology informs Description

Mark Collier

Conditionals in Late Egyptian*

Abstract: Late Egyptian has three basic forms of conditional constructions, which can be identified by the three separate introductory markers used (*ir*, *inn*, and *hn*), as well as by other grammatical features of the P-clause. In terms of P-clauses, attested *ir*-conditionals cover forward-looking conditions, present counterfactuals, closed past conditions; attested *inn*-conditionals cover subjectively uncertain past and present conditions, and pre-emptive predictions of the future; attested *hn*-conditionals cover past counterfactuals. Certain aspects of the form and meaning of these conditionals are exemplified and discussed (with a focus on P-clauses) in terms which aim to link relevant Egyptological work to linguistic work on conditionals.

The principal aim of this paper is to join up a particular thread of Egyptological work on conditionals in Late Egyptian with relevant linguistic work on conditionals, and to present the material in a manner accessible to, and hopefully useful to, linguists. To narrow this topic down, this paper concentrates on Late Egyptian conditionals found in documentary texts, with a particular focus on conditionals from the two rich corpora of the later Tomb Robbery Papyri (TRP)[1] and the Late Ramesside Letters (LRL),[2] both roughly contemporary, dating from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty at the end of the New Kingdom (ca. 1080–1070 BCE).[3]

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Martin Haspelmath, Eitan Grossman,
Tonio Sebastian Richter (Eds.)

EGYPTIAN-COPTIC LINGUISTICS IN TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

EMPIRICAL APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY

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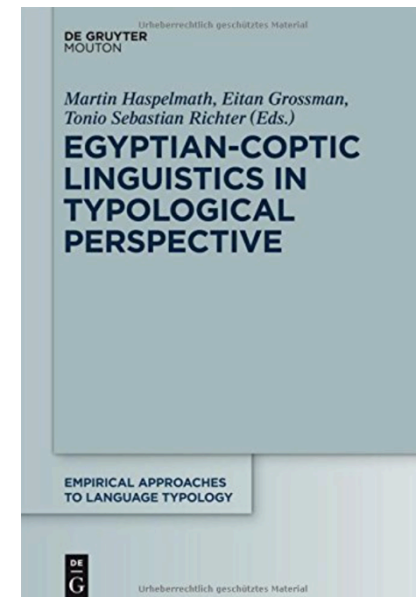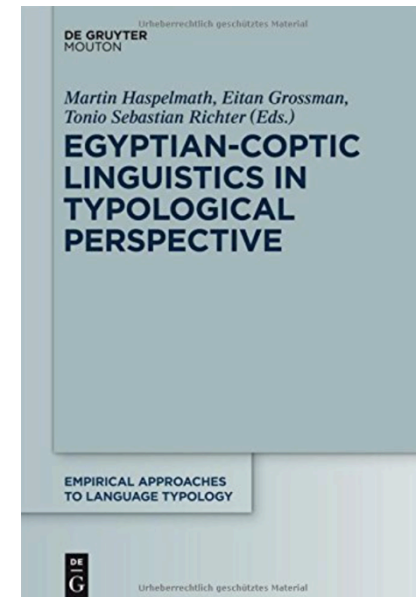# Philology and Typology in Egyptian linguistics

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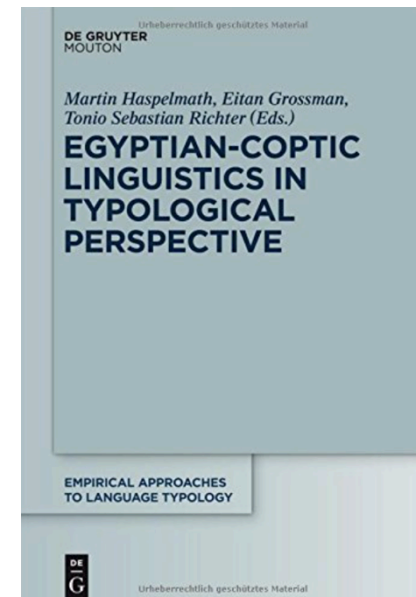
  - Typology ~~informs~~/questions Description

Orin D. Gensler
A typological look at Egyptian *d > ʕ

Abstract: The "Neuere Komparatistik" in Egyptology has enthusiastically adopted Rössler's tour-de-force internal reconstruction of Egyptian consonantism, including (inter alia) the Egyptian development *d > ʕ. This paper examines this change critically under a typological lens. The change, a huge phonetic jump to a highly marked consonant, is radical and unprecedented in the world; crosslinguistically, pharyngeals sometimes develop from uvulars or from emphatic laterals, but not from a plain alveolar. Egyptologists have ignored or glossed over the issue. The paper presents the problem, lays out attested crosslinguistic paths of pharyngogenesis, examines other possible paths of pharyngogenesis, and criticizes the methodology of the Neuere Komparatistik. The issue is crucial to comparative Afroasiatic, as it redefines what is to count as a "cognate set".

Martin Haspelmath, Eitan Grossman, Tonio Sebastian Richter (Eds.)

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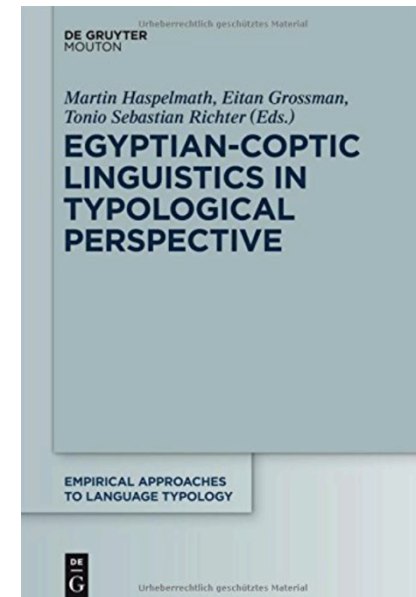   - Typology ~~informs/questions~~/emends Description

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  - Typology ~~informs/questions~~/emends Description

Tom Güldemann

How typology can inform philology: quotative *j(n)* in Earlier Egyptian*

Abstract: Egyptian displays a quite versatile element *j(n)*. In its frequent use as a quotative marker in reported discourse, it has simply been treated as a verb 'say'. However, according to a cross-linguistic study by Güldemann (2008) quotative indexes are frequently not expressions based on speech verbs and structures like, e.g., *(s)he said* are often not the starting point of further grammaticalization; a number of other quotative structures turn out to be subject to change more frequently. These findings also throw new light on the history of quotative *j(n)* in Earlier Egyptian. One can make a good case for the hypothesis that quotative indexes based on *j(n)* originate in a non-verbal identificational clause 'it is ...' which only later assumed more predicate-like properties. This hypothesis also provides a better unified account for the non-quotative functions of *jn*. This paper thus demonstrates that diachronic typology can fruitfully inform historical philology.

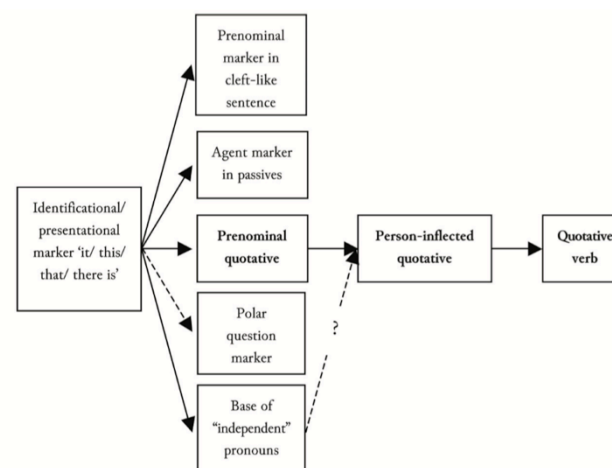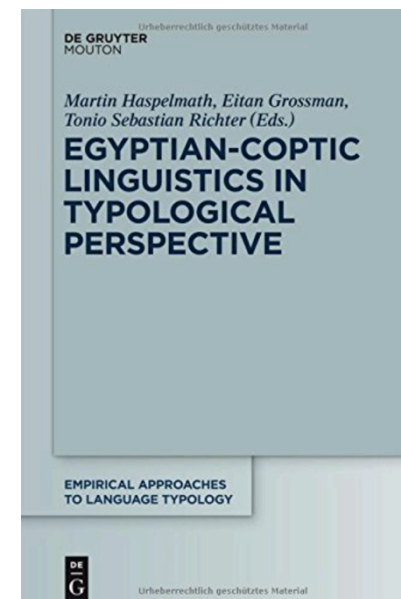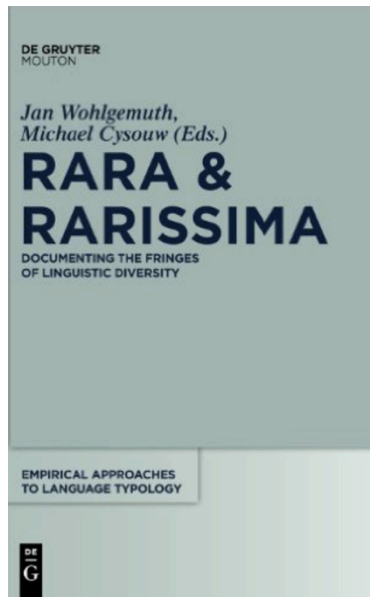Figure 1: Semantic map of grammaticalization history of Egyptian *j(n)*

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DOCUMENTING THE FRINGES
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Chris H. Reintges
The Old and Early Middle Egyptian Stative*

Morphosyntax • Semantics • Typology

Abstract: Ancient Egyptian represents the typologically unusual case of a language in which the dynamic–stative contrast among verbs correlates with two distinct finite verb paradigms. Building on earlier work (Reintges 2005a, 2006, 2011a), this chapter presents a refined analysis of the Stative paradigm in the early diachronic stages of the language. As an inflectional paradigm of person–number–gender forms, its most basic function is to encode subject-verb agreement within a local syntactic domain. At the same time, the Stative serves as an aspectual category, designating states that result from prior events or states irrespective of their origin. In addition to its aspectual semantics, the Stative constitutes a grammatical voice category in its own right, which indicates the affectedness of the subject referent.

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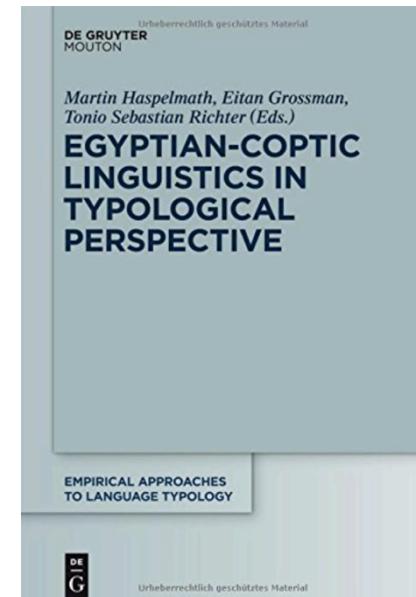- Haspelmath, Grossman & Richter (2015)
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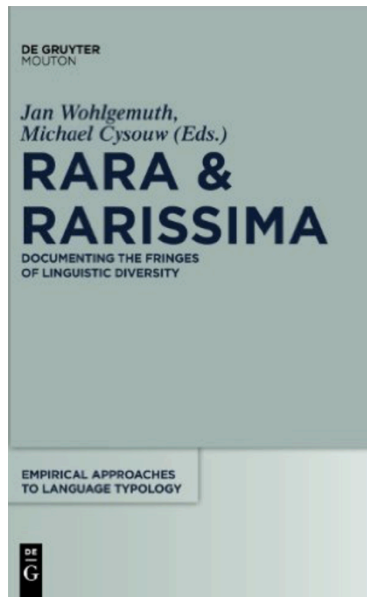
Andréas Stauder

A rare change: the degrammaticalization of an inflectional passive marker into an impersonal subject pronoun in Earlier Egyptian*

Abstract: The paper describes a rare change whereby an inflectional passive marker is extended to new uses as an impersonal subject pronoun. The change is analyzed as an instance of degrammaticalization, more specifically of deinflectionalization. The possibility for change is modeled in terms of formal equivocation and semantic conditions favouring alternative construals of the passive construction, without prior reanalysis of the latter. The change is further related to the spread of SV patterns, which had their origins in non-verbal constructions. Degrammaticalization is thus argued to have been rendered possible by a broad conjunction of independent conditions, none of which individually exceptional. The mechanisms of change are themselves ordinary ones, consisting in occasional reanalysis, pragmatic enrichment, and context generalization. A further case of deinflectionalization in second millennium BCE Egyptian is discussed in an Appendix.

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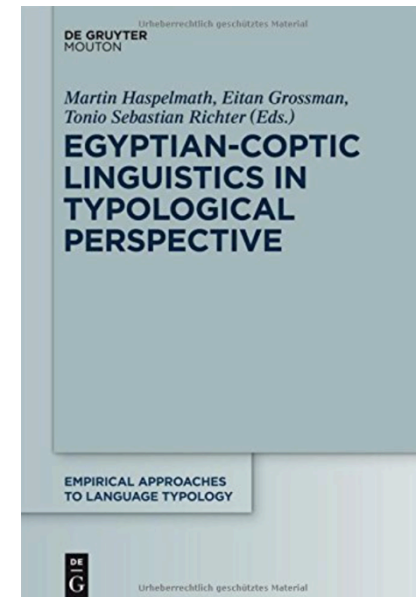
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  - Typology informs/questions/emends Description
  - Description informs Typology
  - Towards an actual dialog: Typology informs Description, which in turn informs Typology

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**EGYPTIAN-COPTIC
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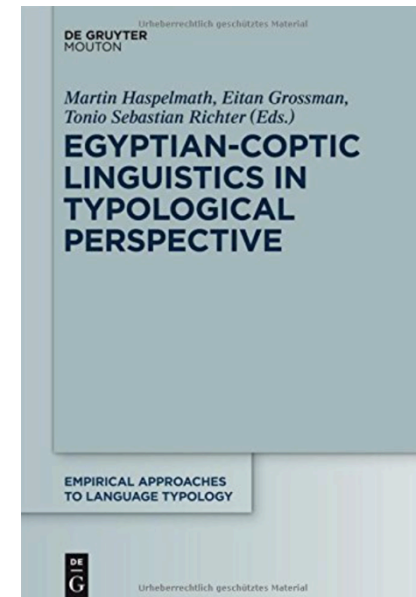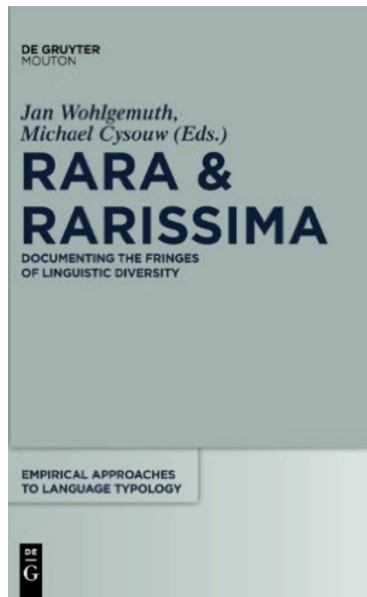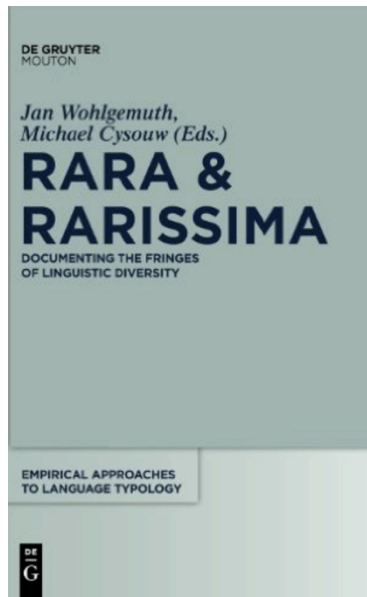 - Description informs Typology
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Eitan Grossman

No case before the verb, obligatory case after the verb in Coptic*

Abstract: This paper presents a hitherto unnoticed fact about the coding of grammatical relations in Coptic: while postverbal core arguments must be overtly case-marked (or "flagged"), preverbal core arguments are never case-marked. This feature extends the "no case before the verb in northeastern Africa" generalization (König 2008; 2009) to the northeastern Mediterranean. Moreover, the analysis presented here reveals Coptic to be another case of an uncommon system of core argument marking, namely, "marked S/A vs. marked P".
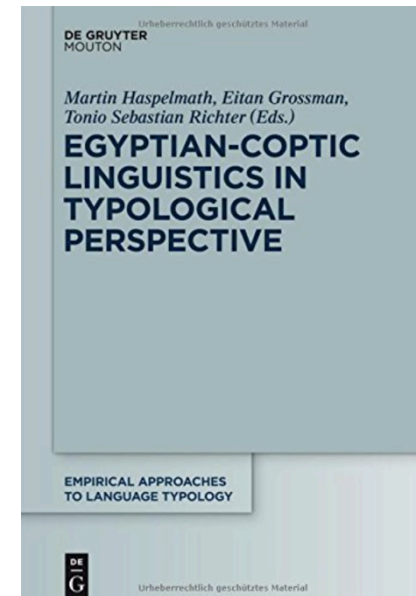
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Martin Haspelmath, Eitan Grossman,
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EGYPTIAN-COPTIC LINGUISTICS IN TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

EMPIRICAL APPROACHES
TO LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY

+ Outline of the talk

- How does Philology meet Typology?

- Philology and typology in Egyptian linguistics

- Historical linguistics as a bridge between descriptive work and typology

+ Outline of the talk

- How does Philology meet Typology?

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- Historical linguistics as a bridge between descriptive work and typology
  - Philology as a condition

+ Outline of the talk

- How does Philology meet Typology?

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- Historical linguistics as a bridge between descriptive work and typology
  - Philology as a condition
    - Philology[1] - textual

+ Philology as a condition

	Philology[1] (textual)
Collection	Heuristic (< εὑρίσκτική [τέχνη]) = finding the manuscripts
Analysis	'Ecdotique' (> ἐκδοτική [τέχνη]) = textual criticism
Interpretation	Hemeneutics (< ἑρμηνευτική [τέχνη]) = interpretation of the texts

+ Philology as a condition

	Philology[1] (textual)	
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On Forms and Functions, 87-136

Contexts and Inferences

The grammaticalization of the Later Egyptian Allative Future[*]

Eitan Grossman, Guillaume Lescuyer[*] & Stéphane Polis[*],

Jerusalem (Hebrew University) & Liège (*F.R.S.-FNRS & ULg)

Late Egyptian	sw	m	nꜥy	r	sḏm
	3SGM	PROG	travel/go:INF	ALL	listen:INF
Coptic	f	-	na	-	sôtm
	3SGM	-	FUT	-	listen:INF
			"He is going to listen"		

+ Philology as a condition
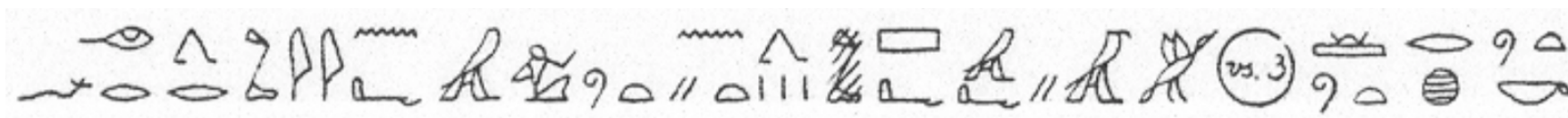
twk	rḫ.tw		pꜣy	mšꜥ		nty	twi	m	nꜥy		r	ir≈f
twk	rḫ-tw		pꜣy	mšꜥ		nty	twỉ	m	nꜥy		r	ỉr-f
2SGM	know-STAT		DEM.MSG	expedition		REL	1SG	in	go:INF		ALL	do:INF-3SGM

"You know the kind of expedition which I am going to make!"

(P. BN 197 V, v° 2-3 = *LRL* 35,15)

1. [MOTION WITH PURPOSE]

2. [IMMINENT FUTURE]

Philology as a condition
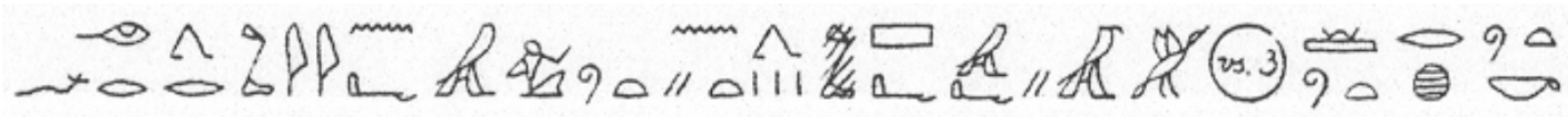
twk	rḫ.tw	pȝy	mšꜥ	nty	twi	m	nꜥy	r	ir≠f
twk	rḫ-tw	pȝy	mšꜥ	nty	twỉ	m	nꜥy	r	ỉr-f
2SGM	know-STAT	DEM.MSG	expedition	REL	1SG	in	go:INF	ALL	do:INF-3SGM

"You know the kind of expedition which I am going to make!"

(P. BN 197 V, v° 2-3 = *LRL* 35,15)

1. [~~MOTION WITH PURPOSE~~]

2. [IMMINENT FUTURE]   Wente (1967: 16 & 53, n. d)

+ Outline of the talk

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- Philology and typology in Egyptian linguistics

- Historical linguistics as a bridge between descriptive work and typology
  - Philology as a condition
    - Philology[1] - textual
    - Philology[2] - grammatical

+ Philology as a condition

	Philology[1] (textual)	Philology[1] (grammatical)
Collection	Heuristic (< εὑρίσκτική [τέχνη]) = finding the manuscripts	Collection of examples in historical copora
Analysis	'Ecdotique' (> ἐκδοτική [τέχνη]) = textual criticism	Grammatical description
Interpretation	Hemeneutics (< ἑρμηνευτική [τέχνη]) = interpretation of the texts	Historical comparative philology

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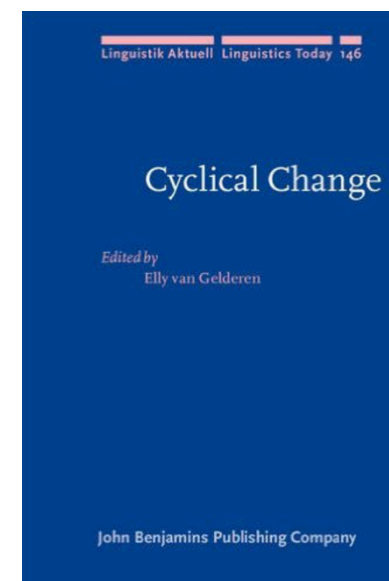
Philology as a condition

CHAPTER 3

The Jespersen Cycles*

Johan van der Auwera
University of Antwerp

This chapter analyzes the kind of renewal of clausal negators referred to with the term of 'Jespersen Cycle'. It describes how a negator may collocate with a strengthener, which may later become an additional exponent of negation and possibly the only one. Through an analysis of a century's worth of scholarship, not only giving pride of place to Jesperen (1917) but also Gardiner (1904) and Meillet (1912), the paper sets out to describe parameters such as the role of emphasis, the identity or difference of the old and the new negator, and the question whether or not the stage of the two exponents simplifies into a single exponence stage or takes us to a three negator stage. In so doing, the paper also advocates taking Jespersen cycle research beyond the confines of Europe and the Mediterranean.

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+ Philology as a condition

	NEGATION 1	NEGATION 2	NEGATION 3
STAGE 1 Earlier Egyptian	$n(n)$	-	-
STAGE 2 Late Egyptian	bn	$bn\ (...)\ iwn\mathit{3}^{EMPH}$	-
STAGE 3 Demotic	(bn)	$bn\ (...)\ n\mathit{3}^{NEUTRAL}$	-
STAGE 4 Coptic	–	N (...) ʌN	ʌN

See Gardiner (1904); Groll (1970); Winand (1997); etc.

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	NEGATION 1	NEGATION 2	NEGATION 3
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STAGE 3 Demotic	(bn)	bn (...) $n3^{NEUTRAL}$	-
STAGE 4 Coptic	–	N (...) ⲁN	ⲁN

See Gardiner (1904); Groll (1970); Winand (1997); etc.

(f) (N̄–) . . . ⲁN. All other kinds of nexus are negatived by the enclitic negator ⲁN or by N̄– . . . ⲁN. Optionally, negative N̄– is prefixed to the first essential element of its sentence pattern (after any extrapositions); negative N̄– only occurs in tandem with ⲁN. Negatived by (N̄–) . . . ⲁN are: the nominal sentence

Layton (2000: 193)

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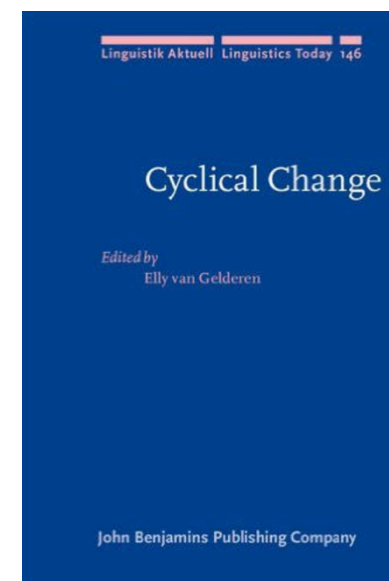*Edited by*
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STAGE 4 Coptic	–	N (...) ⲁN	ⲁN

See Gardiner (1904); Groll (1970); Winand (1997); etc.

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(f) (N̄–) . . . ⲁN. All other kinds of nexus are negatived by the enclitic negator ⲁN
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Layton (2000: 193)

Philology as a condition

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STAGE 2 Late Egyptian	bn	bn (…) $iwn\mathcal{3}^{EMPH}$	-
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STAGE 4 Coptic	_	N (…) ʌN	ʌN

See Gardiner (1904); Groll (1970); Winand (1997); etc.

Ariel Shisha-Halevy
À : Stéphane polis
workshop

26 janvier 2016 18:41

Uni - Recherches

Cher Stéphane:

Bon voyage, and much enjoyment. Just a note, since you present a historical paper: ex. of Coptic n- pre negation without -an post negation are accumulating - the last found today, in Shenoute!

All the best

Ariel

Shisha-Halevy (2016 [p.c.])

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Philology as a condition

	NEGATION 1	NEGATION 2	NEGATION 3
STAGE 1 Earlier Egyptian	*n(n)*	-	-
STAGE 2 Late Egyptian	*bn*	*bn (…) iwn3*^{EMPH}	-
STAGE 3 Demotic	*(bn)*	*bn (…) n3*^{NEUTRAL}	-
STAGE 4 Coptic	(N)	N (…) ᴀN	ᴀN

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Philology as a condition

French

a. Il ne peut venir ce soir.
b. Il ne peut pas venir ce soir.
c. Il peut pas venir ce soir.
   he NEG can NEG come this evening
   'He can't come tonight.'

	NEGATION 1	NEGATION 2	NEGATION 3
STAGE 1 Earlier Egyptian	n(n)	-	-
STAGE 2 Late Egyptian	bn	bn (…) iwn3$^{\text{EMPH}}$	-
STAGE 3 Demotic	(bn)	bn (…) n3$^{\text{NEUTRAL}}$	-
STAGE 4 Coptic	(N)	N (…) AN	AN

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+ Philology as a condition

French

a. Il ne peut   venir ce soir.
b. Il ne peut pas venir ce soir.
c. Il   peut pas venir ce soir.
   he NEG can NEG come this evening
   'He can't come tonight.'

Martin Haspelmath
The three adnominal possessive constructions in Egyptian-Coptic: Three degrees of grammaticalization*

Abstract: This article gives an overview of the development of the three main adnominal possessive constructions of Egyptian-Coptic: the Direct Possessive Construction (which has no overt possessive marker), the Short Possessive Construction (which uses the genitive marker ən- in Coptic), and the Long Possessive Construction (with the genitive marker ənte- in Coptic). These can be seen as representing three layers of grammaticalization, which have parallels in many other languages. The Direct Construction is the oldest one, which we observe being gradually replaced by the Short Construction, which in turn is supplemented by the newest construction, the Long Possessive Construction. We see that the two older constructions become restricted to the most frequent contexts over time, i.e. to contexts of inalienable possession and definite noun phrases, while the newly grammaticalized forms first arise in the less usual contexts. This is typical of grammaticalization changes in general, but few other languages allow the changes to be observed over such a long period.

Linguistik Aktuell Linguistics Today 146

Cyclical Change

Edited by
Elly van Gelderen

John Benjamins Publishing Company

	NEGATION 1	NEGATION 2	NEGATION 3
STAGE 1 Earlier Egyptian	n(n)	-	-
STAGE 2 Late Egyptian	bn	bn (…) iwn3^{EMPH}	-
STAGE 3 Demotic	(bn)	bn (…) n3^{NEUTRAL}	-
STAGE 4 Coptic	(N)	N (…) ΛN	ΛN

+ Philology as a condition
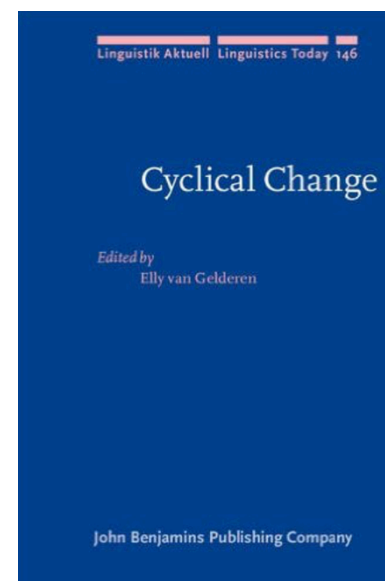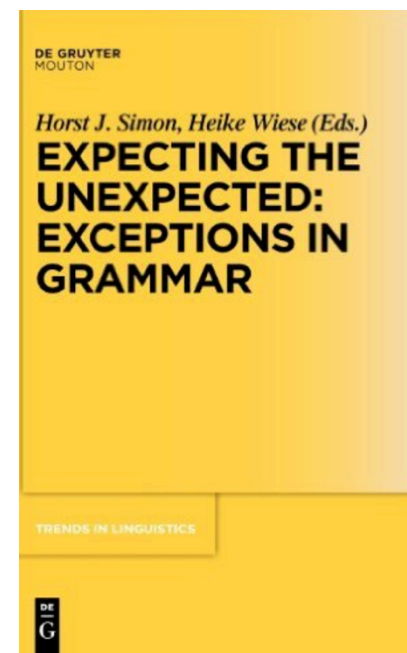
French

a. Il   ne   peut   venir ce   soir.
b. Il   ne   peut pas   venir ce   soir.
c. Il   peut pas   venir ce   soir.
   he NEG can NEG come this evening
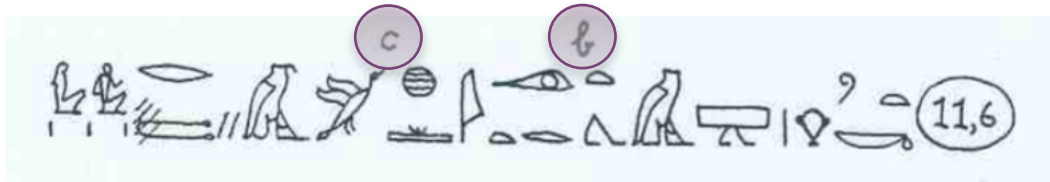   'He can't come tonight.'

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DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Horst J. Simon, Heike Wiese (Eds.)
EXPECTING THE UNEXPECTED: EXCEPTIONS IN GRAMMAR

TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS

DE G

	NEGATION 1	NEGATION 2	NEGATION 3
STAGE 1 Earlier Egyptian	$n(n)$	-	-
STAGE 2 Late Egyptian	bn	$bn\ (\dots)\ iwn3^{EMPH}$	-
STAGE 3 Demotic	(bn)	$bn\ (\dots)\ n3^{NEUTRAL}$	-
STAGE 4 Coptic	(N)	N (…) ʌN	ʌN

+ Philology as a condition

+ Philology as a condition

P. Anastasi 5						
		twk	ḥr	šmj.t	r	jrj.t	jḫ
11,6		PR.PERS	GRAM	VB INF	CONNECT	VB INF	PR
		tu	ḥr (P1)	s'en aller	vers, pour	faire	quoi

(Et) que t'en vas-tu faire ?

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Philology as a condition

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11,6	PR.PERS	GRAM	VB	CONNECT	VB	PR
			INF		INF	
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(Et) que t'en vas-tu faire ?

However, the construction [verb of motion] + [infinitive] is well-attested...
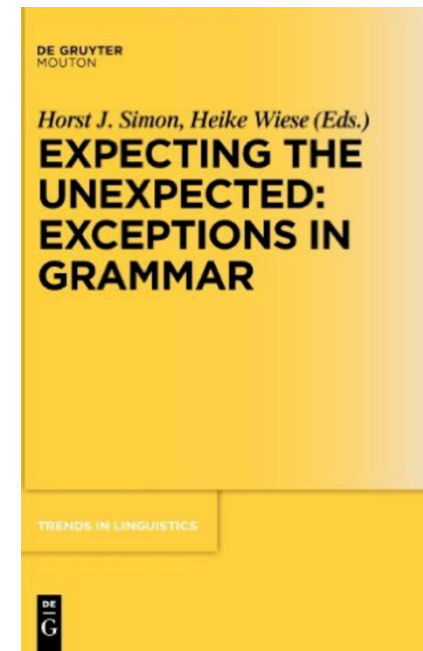
Philology as a condition

p3	grḥ,	(i)n	?twtw?	m šm	isḳ	[... t]w≠i	ḥnꜥ≠s
p3	grḥ	in	twtw	m šm	isḳ	[...] tw-i	ḥnꜥ-s
VOC	night	Q	one	in go:INF	delay:INF	[...] PRS-1SG	with-3SGF

"O night, is one going to delay [the moment wh]en I will be with her?"[50]

(O. Nash 12, 1-2 = Mathieu 1996: pl. 26)

iw	m-ir	šm	nn	t3y	md.t
iw	m_ir	šm	nn	t3y	md-t
SBRD	VET	go:INF	neglect:INF	DEM.FSG	matter-F

"And do not proceed to neglect this matter."

(P. Aberdeen 162[a+k] + 163[h+aq] + 166[k+cp], r° 4 = Lefèvre 2008: pl. 68A)

imy≠k	šm	ꜥḳ	r	ḳnb.t
imy-k	šm	ꜥḳ	r	ḳnb-t
VET-2SGM	go:INF	enter:INF	ALL	tribunal-F

"May you not go and enter the tribunal!"

(P. Boulaq 4, 16,17 = Quack 1994: 289)[48]
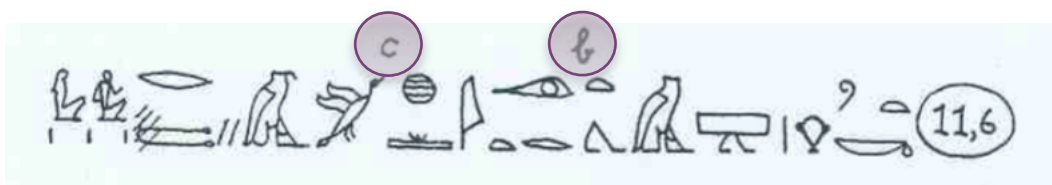
DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

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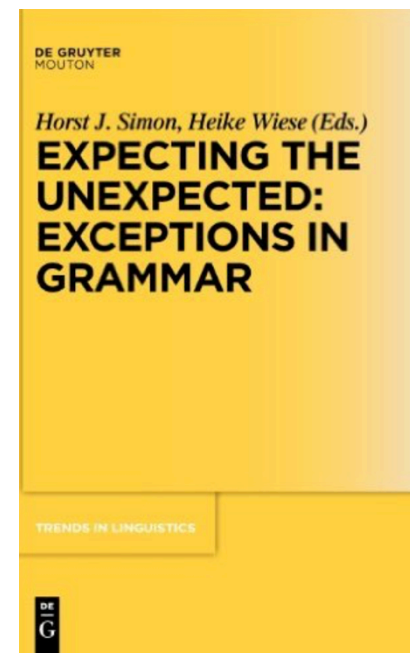**EXPECTING THE UNEXPECTED: EXCEPTIONS IN GRAMMAR**

TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS

However, the construction [verb of motion] + [infinitive] is well-attested...

+ Outline of the talk

- How does Philology meet Typology?

- Philology and typology in Egyptian linguistics

- Historical linguistics as a bridge between descriptive work and typology
  - Philology as a condition
    - Philology[1] - textual
    - Philology[2] - grammatical
  - Dialog between philology and typology

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  - Dialog between philology and typology
    - Earlier Egyptian Allative future and the typology of Allative Futures

Dialog between philology and typology

- Grossman & Polis (2014)

iw	*f*	*r*	*sḏm*
AUX	3 SG.M	ALL	hear\INF
'he will hear'			

On the pragmatics of subjectification: The grammaticalization of verbless allative futures (with a case study in Ancient Egyptian)

Eitan Grossman[a]* and Stéphane Polis[b]^

[a]Department of Linguistics, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; [b]F.R.S.-FNRS/Département des Sciences de l'Antiquité, University of Liège

In this paper, we argue that an expanded conception of the distinction between speaker-oriented and subject-oriented inferences is crucial for understanding the motivations and mechanisms of semantic change in grammaticalization and subjectification, on the one hand, and for clarifying the links between semantic change and reductive formal changes, on the other. Speaker-oriented inferences have significant consequences, leading to the relaxation of selectional restrictions on a construction. In turn, the relaxation of selectional restrictions can create conditions in which the type and token frequency of a construction can rise considerably. Furthermore, changes in the selectional restrictions on a construction can themselves catalyze semantic change by coercing listeners into new form–function pairings. This framework is applied to allative futures, a typological comparative concept developed in order to compare structurally diverse future tenses. Following the typological discussion, a diachronic case study of the emergence and grammaticalization of a verbless allative future in Ancient Egyptian is presented. Such verbless allative futures provide evidence against assumptions that purpose constructions as such are not grammaticalized as future tense constructions (Schmidtke-Bode 2009). Rather, they corroborate earlier hypotheses that it is the allative component of source constructions that crucially leads to intention meanings, and from intention to prediction (see, e.g., Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins 1994).

Keywords: grammaticalization; future tenses; pragmatic and semantic change; subjectification

+ Dialog between philology and typology

■ Grossman & Polis (2014)

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'he will hear'			

The relationship between the action and its subject does not stem from the speaker/writer's intention or expectation. Rather, the subject is bound to the fulfillment of the action through an ineluctable necessity. Even in the first person, something more than mere intention or expectation of the speaker/writer – who is then identical to the subject – is involved. (P. Vernus, *Future at Issue*, Yale, 1990)

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E. Grossman & St. Polis, 'On the pragmatics of subjectification: The grammaticalization of verbless allative futures (with a case study in Ancient Egyptian), in: *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 46/1 (2014), p. 25-63.

Dialog between philology and typology

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                                                (P. Vernus, *Future at Issue*, Yale, 1990)

(30) *Urk.* I, 129, 8 (Sethe 1933, 129)
iw   ḥm=f   r   ir.t   s3r.w=k
AUX   majesty=3SG.M ALL do\INF   aspirations=2SG.M
ʿ3̌.w   iḳr.w
many   excellent
'(If you continue day and night being concerned with doing what your lord loves, praises and commands,) His Majesty will fulfill your many worthy aspirations.'

Translator/philologist concern…

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    a veñ   a plǭvɛr
    it come.PRS to rain.INF
    'There is rain on the way / it will rain.'

(6) Mauritian Creole (Mauritius; Véonique 2009, 42)
    mo va   manzé
    I   FUT eat
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Dialog between philology and typology

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PREDESTINATION
POSSESSION — Agent-oriented modalities
OBLIGATION
DESIRE → WILLINGNESS
ATTEMPT — INTENTION → FUTURE (PREDICTION)
ABILITY → ROOT POSSIBILITY
MOVEMENT VERBS
TEMPORAL ADVERBS

(4) Romansch (Rhaeto-Romance, Switzerland/Oberengadin; Dahl 2000a: 321)
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a. *bisuak   datanglah ka rumah den*
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'Tomorrow, come to my house.'

b. *aden ka jadi   marapulai*
1SG to   become bridegroom
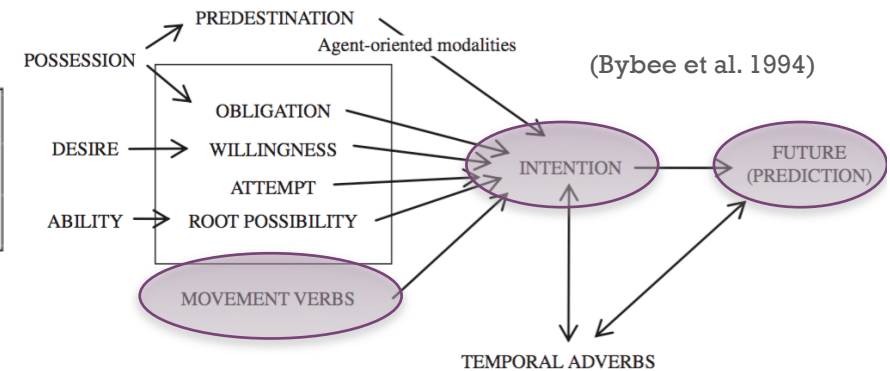'I'm going to be a bridegroom.'[24]

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Dialog between philology and typology

TYPES OF ALLATIVE CONSTRUCTION

		venitive		andative				copula			Ø	
		Swedish	Romansh	Mauritian Creole French	English	Neo-Aramaic	Tzotzil	Tigré	Kolyma Yukaghir	Mongolian	Minangkabau	Ancient Egyptian
Tense/aspect of the AUX	IMP[1]	√	√	√	√	–	√	√	√	(√)		
	other	–	–	–	–	√	–	–	–	–		
Explicit non-verbal allative marker[2]	yes	(√)	√	–	√	–	√	√	√	√	√	√
	no	√	–	√	–	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
Verb lexeme: person marked	yes	–	–	–	–	√	√	√	–	–	–	–
	no	√	√	√	√	–	–	–	√	?	√	√

(4) Romansch (Rhaeto-Romance, Switzerland/Oberengadin; Dahl 2000a: 321)
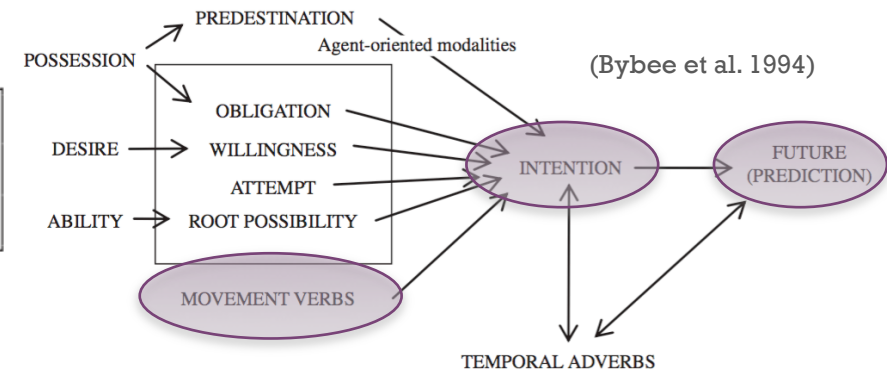*a veñ   a plǭvɛr*
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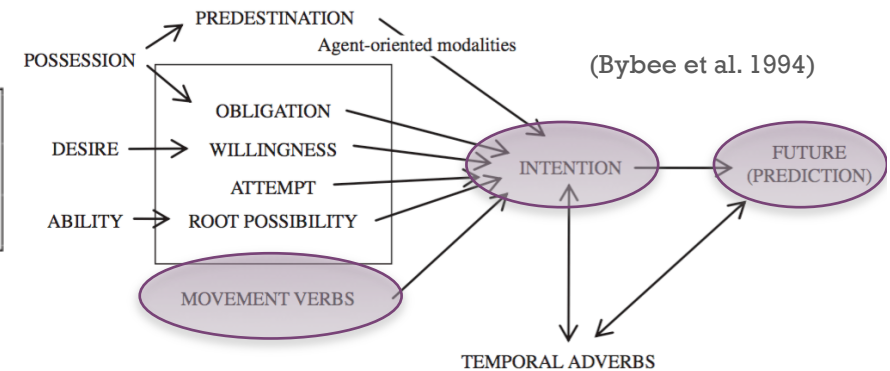*mo va   manzé*
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ter alxax   (bajna)
he to.walk (is)
'He will walk.'

(Bybee et al. 1994)

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a. *bisuak   datanglah ka rumah den*
tomorrow come:IMP to house 1SG
'Tomorrow, come to my house.'

b. *aden ka jadi   marapulai*
1SG to become bridegroom
'I'm going to be a bridegroom.'[24]

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	other	–	–	–	–	√	–	–	–	–		
Explicit non-verbal allative marker[2]	yes	(√)	√	–	√	–	√	√	√	√	√	√
	no	√	–	√	–	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
Verb lexeme: person marked	yes	–	–	–	–	√	√	√	–	–	–	–
	no	√	√	√	√	–	–	–	√	?	√	√

(Bybee et al. 1994)

PREDESTINATION

Agent-oriented modalities

POSSESSION

DESIRE → WILLINGNESS

ABILITY → ROOT POSSIBILITY

OBLIGATION

ATTEMPT

INTENTION → FUTURE (PREDICTION)

MOVEMENT VERBS

TEMPORAL ADVERBS

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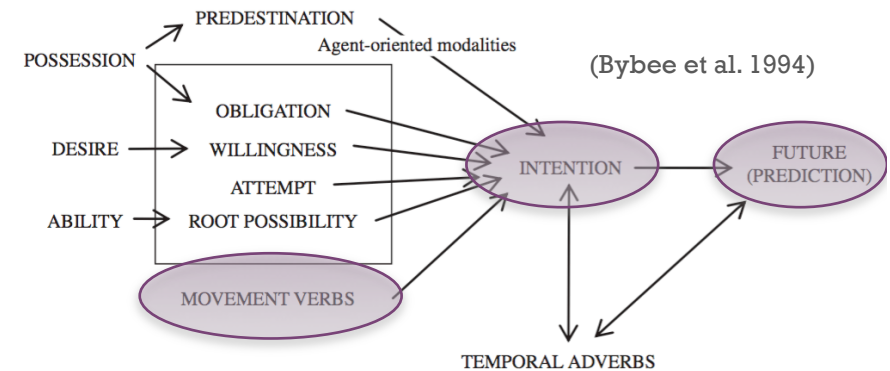 *mo va   manzé*
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	no	√	–	√	–	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
Verb lexeme: person marked	yes	–	–	–	–	√	√	√	–	–	–	–
	no	√	√	√	√	–	–	–	√	?	√	√

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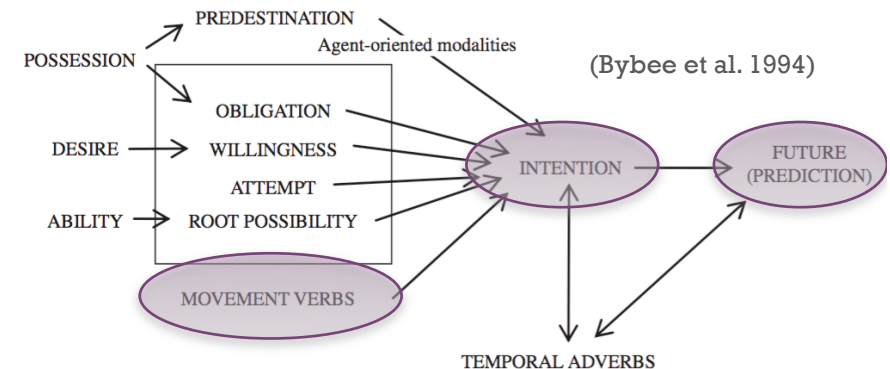mo va   manzé
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	no	√	–	√	–	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
Verb lexeme: person marked	yes	–	–	–	–	√	√	√	–	–	–	–
	no	√	√	√	√	–	–	–	√	?	√	√

(Bybee et al. 1994)

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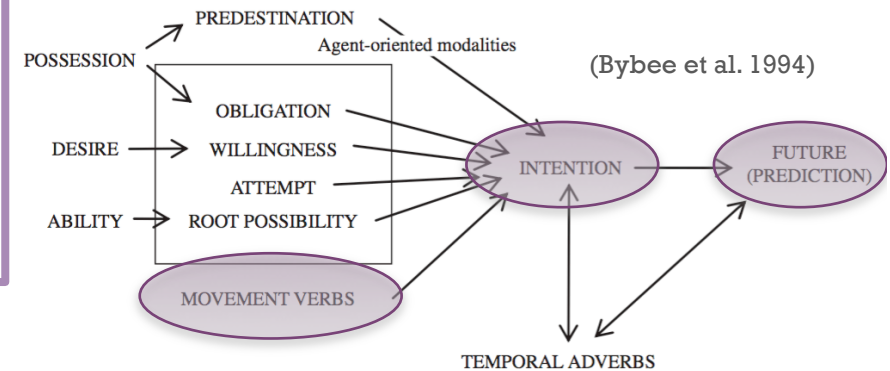*mo va   manzé*
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   'I'm going to be a bridegroom.'[24]

(30) *Urk.* I, 129, 8 (Sethe 1933, 129)
iw   ḥm=f   r   ir.t   s3r.w=k
AUX   majesty=3SG.M   ALL do\INF aspirations=2SG.M
ʕ3.w iḳr.w
many excellent
'(If you continue day and night being concerned with doing what your lord loves, praises and commands,) His Majesty will fulfill your many worthy aspirations.'

E. Grossman & St. Polis, 'On the pragmatics of subjectification: The grammaticalization of verbless allative futures (with a case study in Ancient Egyptian), in: *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 46/1 (2014), p. 25-63.

+ Outline of the talk

- How does Philology meet Typology?

- Philology and typology in Egyptian linguistics

- Historical linguistics as a bridge between descriptive work and typology
  - Philology as a condition
    - Philology[1] - textual
    - Philology[2] - grammatical
  - Dialog between philology and typology
    - Earlier Egyptian Allative future and the typology of Allative Futures
    - Basic vocabulary and the assumed constant rate of morpheme decay (Lees 1953: 115)

Constant rate of morpheme decay?

- Grossman & Polis (2015-2016): *The Egyptianness of the Coptic basic vocabulary*
  - Coptic, as it comes down to us in written texts, is massively influenced by Greek in the domain of lexicon
  - On this basis, linguists, philologists, and historians often make assumptions about the nature and extent of bilingualism.
  - It is however difficult to draw conclusions from texts written mostly by bilingual scribes, highly influenced by a translation language
  - We tackle this question from another angle, by determining the extent to which Greek influenced Coptic in terms of its *basic vocabulary*

+ Constant rate of morpheme decay?

The Leipzig-Jakarta List

- Point of departure: a recent weighted-list of basic vocabulary

Table 8:   The Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary

Rank	Word meaning	Unborrowed score	Age score	Simplicity score	Representa-tion score	Composite score
1	fire	0.965	0.939	0.995	1.000	0.901
2	nose	0.973	0.906	0.980	1.000	0.864
3	to go	0.963	0.887	0.974	1.000	0.832
4	water	0.909	0.926	0.987	1.000	0.831
5	mouth	0.920	0.904	0.982	1.000	0.817
6	tongue	0.934	0.908	0.954	1.000	0.808
7	blood	0.904	0.890	1.000	1.000	0.805
7	bone	0.918	0.904	0.971	1.000	0.805
9	2SG pronoun	0.958	0.893	0.933	1.000	0.798
9	root	0.944	0.869	0.973	1.000	0.798
11	to come	0.968	0.876	0.940	1.000	0.796
12	breast	0.947	0.856	0.967	1.000	0.783
13	rain	0.916	0.898	0.950	1.000	0.782
14	1SG pronoun	0.970	0.875	0.936	0.976	0.776
15	name	0.915	0.886	0.955	1.000	0.774
15	louse	0.950	0.861	0.946	1.000	0.774
17	wing	0.884	0.904	0.968	1.000	0.773
18	flesh/meat	0.877	0.892	0.986	1.000	0.771
19	arm/hand	0.881	0.903	0.966	1.000	0.768
20	fly	0.948	0.858	0.942	1.000	0.766
20	night	0.931	0.880	0.934	1.000	0.766
22	ear	0.896	0.888	0.961	1.000	0.764
23	neck	0.895	0.881	0.964	1.000	0.760
23	far	0.944	0.850	0.948	1.000	0.760
25	to do/make	0.947	0.877	0.914	1.000	0.759
26	house	0.893	0.876	0.969	1.000	0.758
27	stone/rock	0.895	0.882	0.958	1.000	0.756
28	bitter	0.975	0.872	0.889	1.000	0.755
28	to say	0.972	0.837	0.928	1.000	0.755
28	tooth	0.882	0.877	0.975	1.000	0.755
31	hair	0.944	0.871	0.917	1.000	0.754

It comprises the notions normally associated with the concept of basic vocabulary

- *stability* = age score
- *simplicity* = analyzability score
- *universality* = representation score
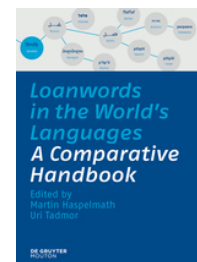
Loanwords in the World's Languages
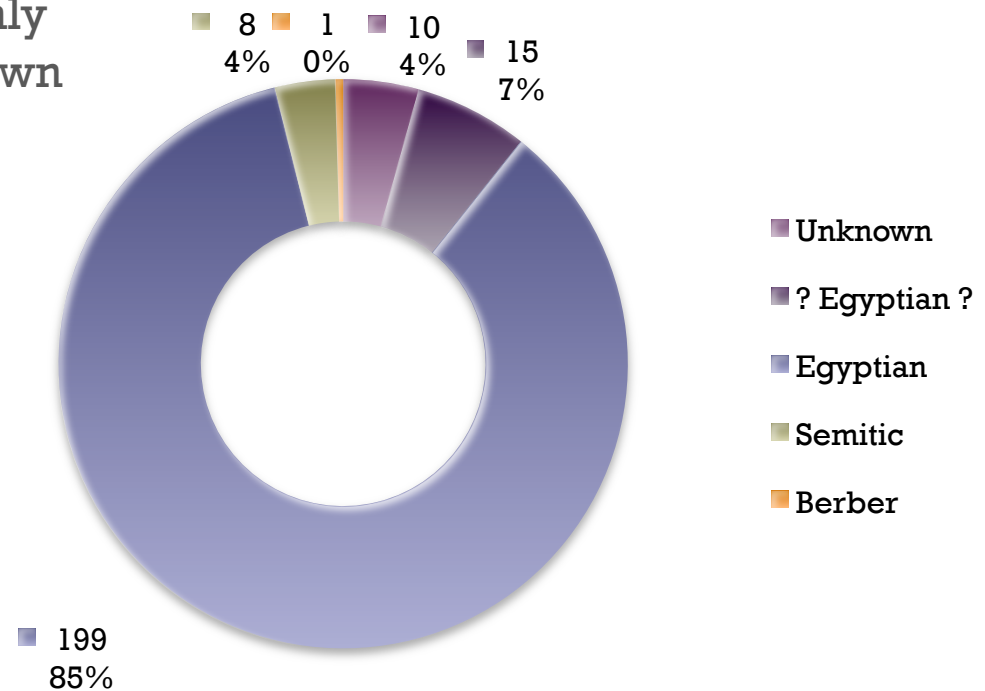A Comparative Handbook

+ Constant rate of morpheme decay?

Lexemes lexicalizing these 100 meanings

- ■ General results
  - ■ 233 Egyptian-Coptic lexemes lexicalize these 100 meanings (2,33 lexemes per meaning)
  - ■ Among these 233 lexemes, the vast majority has cognates in pre-Coptic Egyptian, with only 10 lexemes having an unknown etymology

■ Unknown
■ ? Egyptian ?
■ Egyptian
■ Semitic
■ Berber

Constant rate of morpheme decay?

Lexemes lexicalizing these 100 meanings

- General results
    - Based on a questionnaire submitted to Coptologist colleagues and on the lemma list of the *Database of Greek Loanwords in Coptic* (DGLC) project, headed by T. Sebastian Richter (c. 5000 loan word types), Greek-Coptic lexemes have been extracted for the 100 meanings.

Constant rate of morpheme decay?
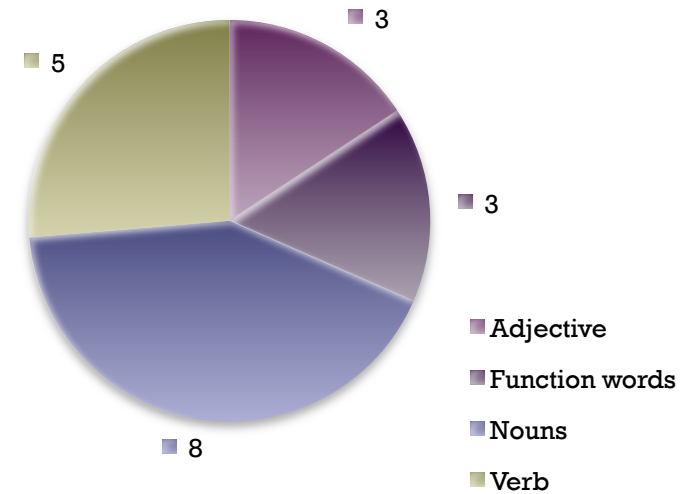
Lexemes lexicalizing these 100 meanings

- General results: 19 lexemes for 15 meaning (only 4 lexemes frequent)

LJL-Meaning	Greek-Coptic Lexeme	Meaning	Frequency score
good	ἀγαθός	good	4
not	οὐ(χ)	no, not	4
not	οὐδέ	nor, and not, not even	4
not	οὐχί	no, not	4
name	ὄνομα	name	2
flesh/meat	σάρξ	flesh	2
to go	(προσ)έρχομαι	to come or go to	1
salt	ἀλάτιον	salt	1
to take	λαμβάνω	to take	1
small	μικρός	small, little	1
to know	νοέω	to grasp, to understand, to know	1
wood	ξύλον	wood, timber	1
bird	ὄρνεον	bird, chicken	1
bird	ὀρνίθιον	small bird, small chicken	1
old	παλαιός	old, aged, ancient	1
to do/make	πράττω, πράττομαι	to do	1
to run	τρέχω	to run	1
wood	ὕλη	forest, woodland, wood	1
sand	ψάμαθος	sand (of the sea-shore)	1

Pie chart legend:
- 3 — Adjective
- 3 — Function words
- 8 — Nouns
- 5 — Verb

Constant rate of morpheme decay?

Lexemes lexicalizing these 100 meanings

| Ranking	Language	Score	Ranking	Language	Score
1	Saramaccan	35.17	22	Swahili	3.54
2	Gurindji	33.09	23	Zinacantán Tzotzil	3.2
3	Selice Romani	23.98	24	Mandarin Chinese	3
4	Thai	22.58	25	Q'eqchi'	2.75
5	Tarifiyt Berber	19.65	26	Yaqui	2.6
6	Kildin Saami	18.97	27	Mapudungun	2.54
7	Malagasy	18.69	28	Kanuri	2.4
8	Ceq Wong	17.04	29	Oroqen	2.37
9	White Hmong	15.62	30	Lower Sorbian	2.02
10	Indonesian	12.95	31	Iraqw	1.86
11	English	11.94	32	Kali'na	1.69
12	Japanese	10.76	33	Dutch	0.88
13	Archi	10.67	34	Old High German	0.24
14	Romanian	10.45	35	Iraqw	0.23
15	Takia	10.43	36	Kali'na	1.69
16	Vietnamese	.09	37	Dutch	0.88
17	Seychelles Creole	7.04	38	Old High German	0.24
18	Sakha	6.8	39	Iraqw	0.23
19	Imbabura Quechua	5.23	40	Hup	0
20	Hausa	4.87	41	Bezhta	0
21	Gawwada	4.61			

Depending on whether one consider all the Greek lexemes or only the frequent ones, Coptic has a score of 7.53 or 2.38 (which places it in the middle zone of basic vocabulary borrower anyway)

Constant rate of morpheme decay?

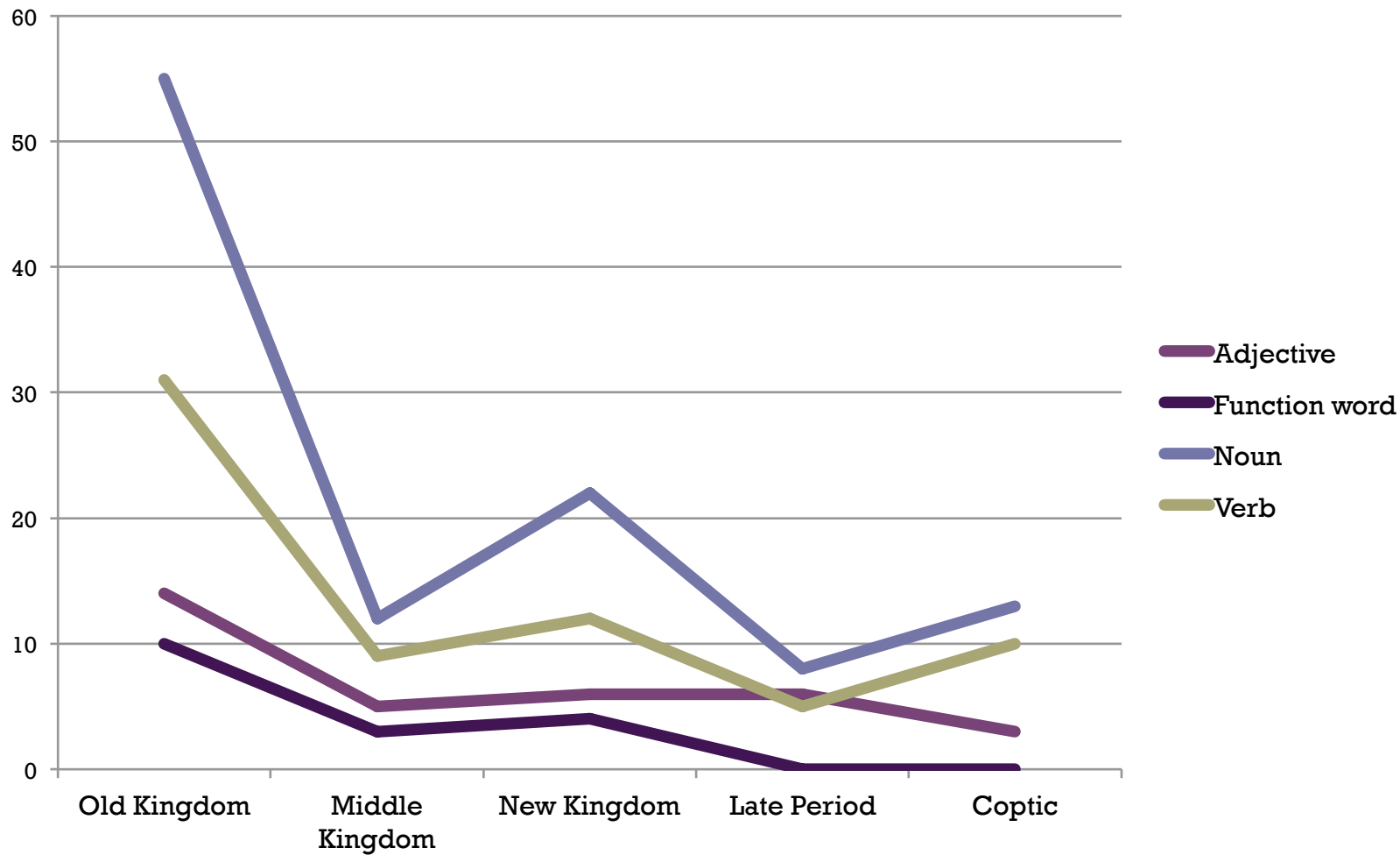## Age of attestation (first attestation in Ancient Egyptian)

Number of first attestations

Date of first attestation
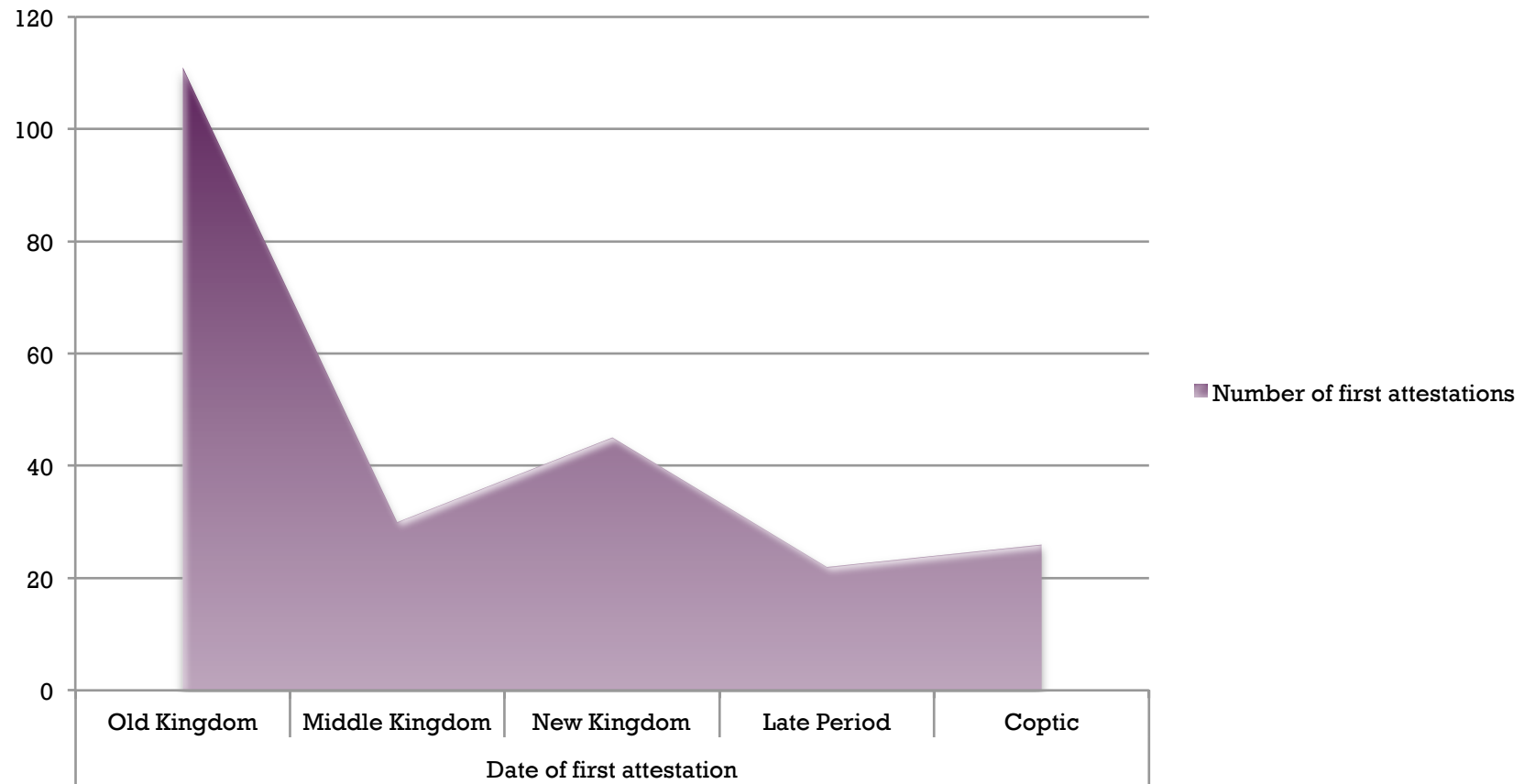
Constant rate of morpheme decay?

Age of attestation (first attestation in Ancient Egyptian)

+ Constant rate of morpheme decay?

Age of attestation (first attestation in Ancient Egyptian)

- It seems to contradict Lees (1953)

THE BASIS OF GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY

ROBERT B. LEES

University of Chicago

[It is shown that a linguistic dating system can be set up on the basis of several explicit assumptions about morpheme decay. Thirteen sets of data, presented in partial justification of these assumptions, serve as a basis for calculating a universal constant to express the average rate of retention $\bar{k}$ of the basic-root-morphemes: $k = 0.8048 \pm 0.0176$ per millennium, with a confidence limit of 90%. Finally an expression is derived for the sampling-error to be expected in the calculated time-depths of related dialects.]

R.B. Lees, ' The basis of glottochronology,' *Language* 29.2 (1953), p. 113-127

+ Constant rate of morpheme decay?

Age of attestation (first attestation in Ancient Egyptian)

- It seems to contradict Lees (1953)

As a BASIC WORKING HYPOTHESIS we shall assume that THIS RATE R IS ALSO CONSTANT IN TIME. This assumption will have to be verified by the data to be collected for calculating the value of the rate-constant (§3.2).

R.B. Lees, ' The basis of glottochronology,' *Language* 29.2 (1953), p. 113-127

Constant rate of morpheme decay?

Age of attestation (first attestation in Ancient Egyptian)
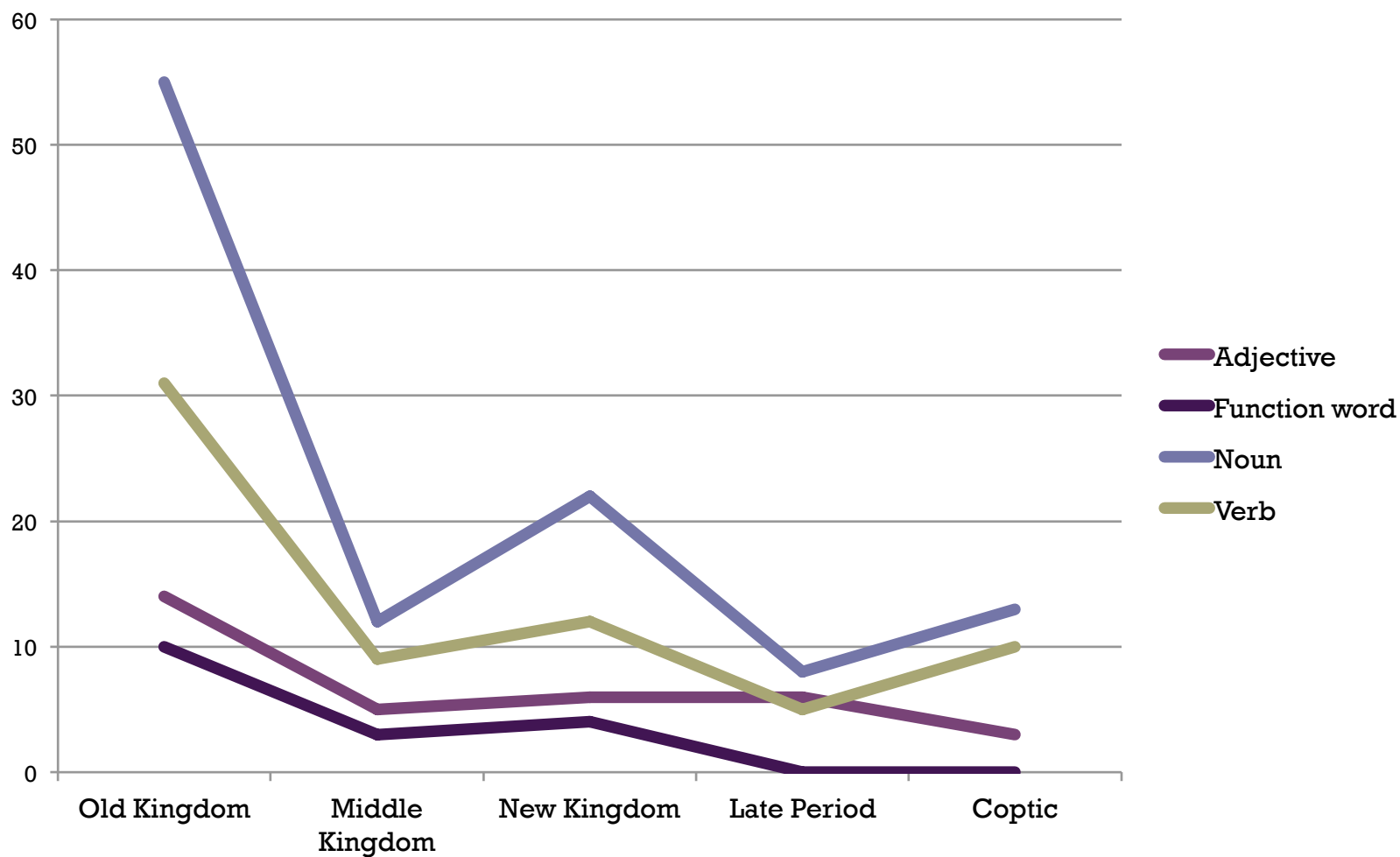
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As a BASIC WORKING HYPOTHESIS we shall assume that THIS RATE R IS ALSO CONSTANT IN TIME. This assumption will have to be verified by the data to be collected for calculating the value of the rate-constant (§3.2).

3.2. Temporally constant k. In §1.1 we stated our first working hypothesis, that the rate-constant R (or λ, or k) is constant in time for any language. In order to check this assumption it would be necessary to measure the rate-constant for a given language at various periods in its history. Since we are reluctant to accept any data for time-depths of less than 500 years, it is very difficult to find a language for which word lists could be prepared at 500-year intervals over several thousand years.

Perhaps the only language for which this could be done is Assyro-Babylonian, which covers about 5000 years of written records. But it is difficult to obtain word lists by the chosen method from existing Assyriological materials, and the author has not yet been able to assemble the necessary data.[14]

+ Constant rate of morpheme decay?

Age of attestation (first attestation in Ancient Egyptian)

+ Outline of the talk

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    - Basic vocabulary and the assumed constant rate of morpheme decay
  - Historical linguistics accounting for rare linguistic situations

Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

- It has been repeatedly observed that there is a worldwide preference for suffixes as opposed to prefixes (e.g. Sapir 1921; Greenberg 1957; Himmelmann 2014)

- Dryer (2013)

THE WORLD ATLAS OF LANGUAGE STRUCTURES ONLINE

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Chapter Prefixing vs. Suffixing in Inflectional Morphology

Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

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- Dryer (2013)

	PARAMETERS
1	case affixes on nouns
2	pronominal subject affixes on verbs
3	tense-aspect affixes on verbs
4	plural affixes on nouns
5	pronominal possessive affixes on nouns
6	definite or indefinite affixes on nouns
7	pronominal object affixes on verbs
8	negative affixes on verb
9	interrogative affixes on verbs
10	adverbial subordinator affixes on verbs

Table 2: Types of inflexional affixes (Dryer 2013)

+ Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

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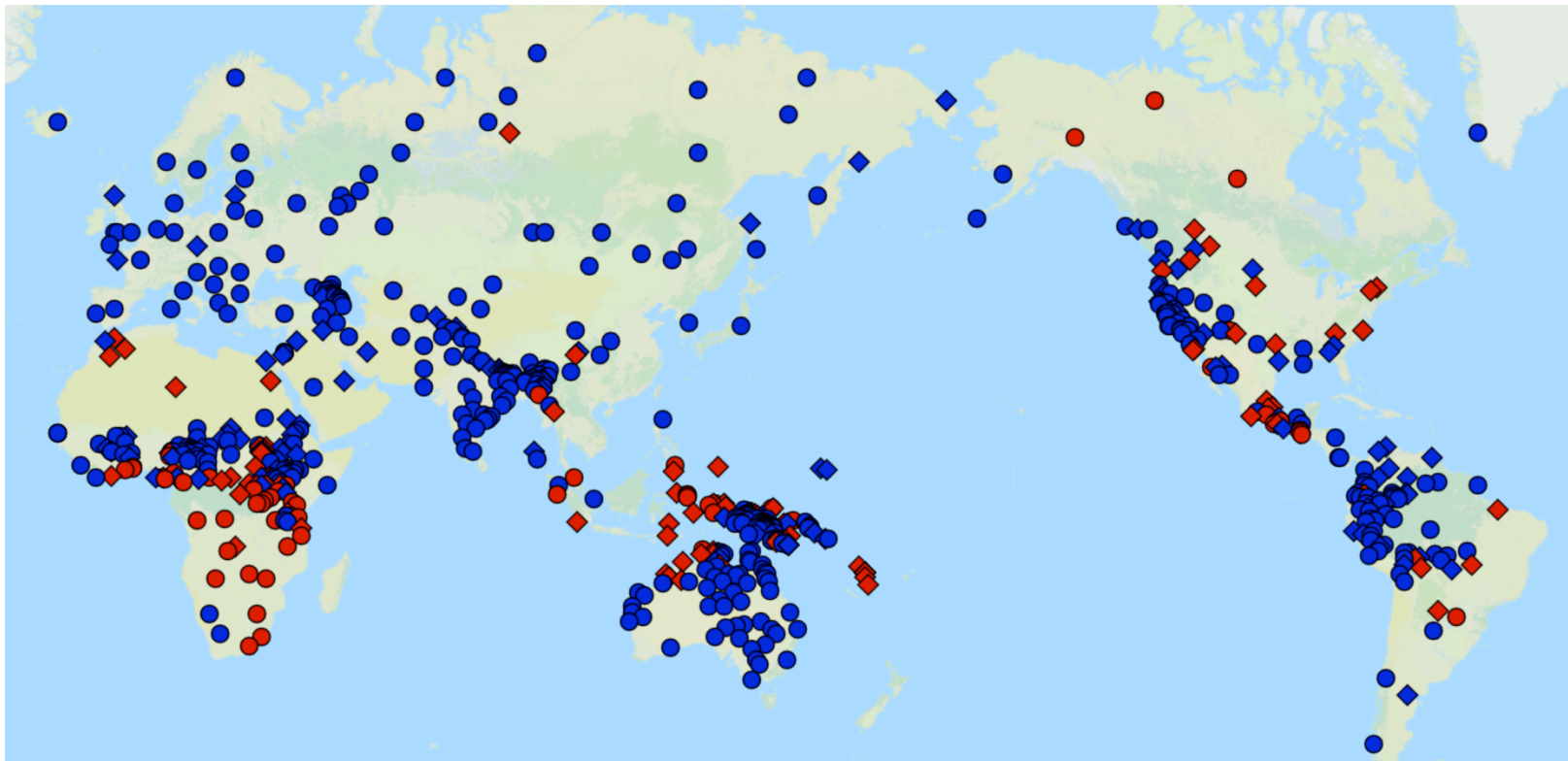
Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

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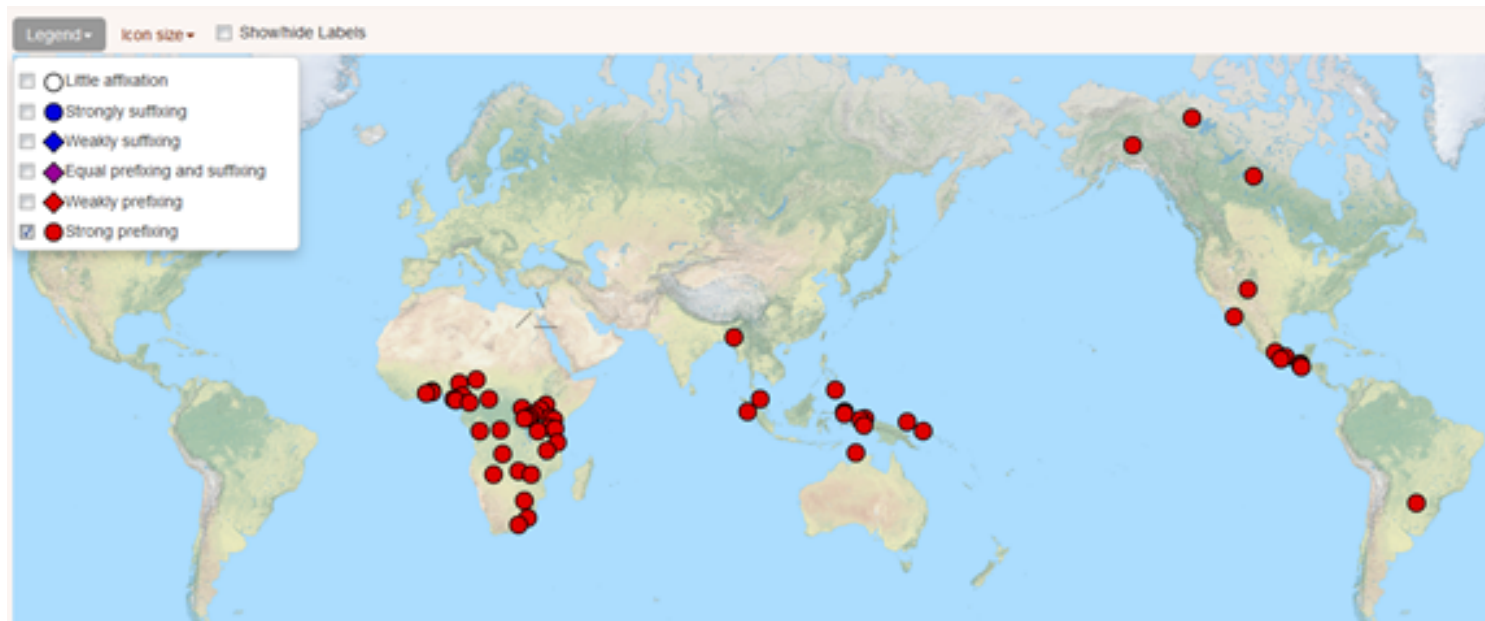
- Dryer (2013)

Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

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- According to Dryer's scoring system, Coptic is a predominantly prefixing language (prefixing index above 80%)

Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

	PARAMETER	PREFIXING OR SUFFIXING	SUFFIXING SCORE	PREFIXING SCORE
1	case affixes on nouns	exclusively prefixing	0	2
2	pronominal subject affixes on verbs	exclusively prefixing	0	2
3	tense-aspect affixes on verbs	exclusively prefixing	0	2
4	plural affixes on nouns	predominantly prefixing	0	1
5	pronominal possessive affixes on nouns	predominantly prefixing	0	1
6	definite or indefinite affixes on nouns	exclusively prefixing	0	1
7	pronominal object affixes on verbs	exclusively suffixing	1	0
8	negative affixes on verb	exclusively prefixing	0	1
9	interrogative affixes on verbs	exclusively prefixing	0	1
10	adverbial subordinator affixes on verbs	exclusively prefixing	0	1
	TOTAL		1	12
	AFFIXING INDEX		100%	
	Suffixing vs. prefixing strategies		7.7%	92.3%

Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

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6	definite or indefinite affixes on nouns	exclusively prefixing	0	1
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  - Among the 5,99% languages with this dispreferred structure

Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

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  - Among the 5,99% languages with this dispreferred structure
  - Highest prefixing score in Dryer 969-languages sample!

Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

- It has been repeatedly observed that there is a worldwide preference for suffixes as opposed to prefixes (e.g. Sapir 1921; Greenberg 1957; Himmelmann 2014)

- According to Dryer's scoring system, Coptic is a predominantly prefixing language (prefixing index above 80%)

- In Grossman & Polis (forthcoming), we argue that Ancient Egyptian shows a long-term diachronic macro-change from mixed suffixing-prefixing to an overwhelming preference for prefixing.

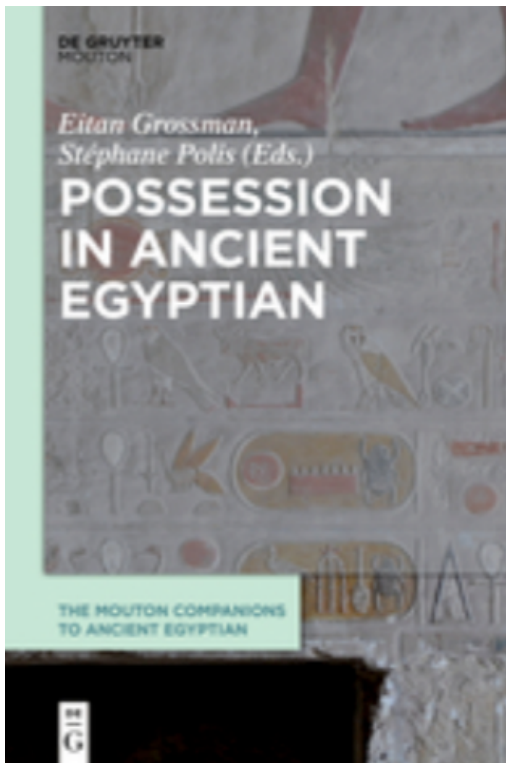# Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

		EARLIER EGYPTIAN		LATER EGYPTIAN		COPTIC	
		Suff.	Pref.	Suff.	Pref.	Suff.	Pref.
1	case affixes on nouns	0	0	0	.5	0	2
2	pronominal subject affixes on verbs	1	1	0.5	1.5	0	2
3	tense-aspect affixes on verbs	1	1	0.5	1.5	0	2
4	plural affixes on nouns	1	0	.25	.75	0	1
5	pronominal possessive affixes on nouns	1	0	.25	.75	.25	.75
6	definite or indefinite affixes on nouns	0	.25	0	1	0	1
7	pronominal object affixes on verbs	.25	0	.5	0	1	0
8	negative affixes on verb	0	1	0	1	0	1
9	interrogative affixes on verbs	0	0	0	0	0	1
10	adverbial subordinator affixes on verbs	1	0	0	.75	0	1
Total		5.25	3.25	2.0	7.75	1.25	11.75
Affixing index		65.4%		75%		100%	
Suffixing vs. prefixing		40.4%	25%	15.4%	59.6%	9.6%	90.4%

Moderate suffixing preference ⟶ High prefixing preference

Dispreferred structure through change: Diachrony of affix ordering

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- In Grossman & Polis (forthcoming), we argue that Ancient Egyptian shows a long-term diachronic macro-change from mixed suffixing-prefixing to an overwhelming preference for prefixing.

- Each of the micro-changes are better understood in terms of changes at the level of individual constructions rather than in terms of a broad Sapirian 'drift.'

+ Conclusions

POSSESSION IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN

Eitan Grossman, Stéphane Polis (Eds.)

DE GRUYTER MOUTON

THE MOUTON COMPANIONS TO ANCIENT EGYPTIAN

NON-VERBAL PREDICATION IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN

Antonio Loprieno, Matthias Müller, Sami Uljas

DE GRUYTER MOUTON

THE MOUTON COMPANIONS TO ANCIENT EGYPTIAN

+ Conclusions

Egyptian classifiers at the interface of lexical semantics and pragmatics

Eliese-Sophia Lincke & Frank Kammerzell, Berlin

Abstract

This paper is concerned with the semantics of Egyptian classifiers, their relation to the lexicon, rules of their assignment, as well as the structure of categories marked by a classifier, and classifier variation in Egyptian.
We will discuss lexical origin and iconicity as sources for classifier meaning as well as retroactive effects of the category on the meaning of its classifier. We will explore reasons for heterogeneous category structures with the help of a prototype model. It will be demonstrated that classifier categories do not exactly correspond to lexical categories as marked by hyperonyms or to covert taxonomic categories. Furthermore, certain types of classifier variation will be analysed: One type of classifier is assigned according to lexical semantic qualities of its host (lexical classifier). The other type refers to its host's referent in discourse (referent classifier) and is sensitive to pragmatic factors. The steps put forward in our paper for the analysis of classifier semantics and classifier-host relations account for a number of variation phenomena that hitherto have caused some Egyptologists to reject a classifier approach to the Egyptian material.

+ Conclusions

Egyptian classifiers at the interface
of lexical semantics and pragmatics

Eliese-Sophia L

Abstract

This paper is concerne
their assignment, as w
Egyptian.
We will discuss lexic
effects of the categor
category structures wi
do not exactly corres
categories. Furthermo
assigned according to
its host's referent in d
forward in our paper f
number of variation p
approach to the Egypti

What are "Determinatives" good for?*

Orly Goldwasser & Colette Grinevald (Craig), Jerusalem – Lyon

Abstract

This article attempts to answer the question: why did the Egyptian script keep a cumbersome and, in principle, unnecessary system of multi-determinatives for more than 3000 years? Almost every word in the script is followed by a few additional "mute" hieroglyphs (hieroglyphs that are not to be pronounced) that provided additional information about the word. As the Egyptian script is first and foremost a communication system, the question to be raised is: what are the "gains" brought by the use of these determinatives into this system that contributed to their retention and extensive usage for thousands of years on the "communication market." We contend that the conservative answers given in Egyptology are insufficient. The answers to these questions can be found through redefining "determinatives" as "classifiers" that operate as a "classifier system" analogous to such systems in oral languages. Moreover, being of a different medium — *script* and not speech — the Egyptian multi-classifier word offers the reader a rich array of additional data, unavailable even to other classifier languages.