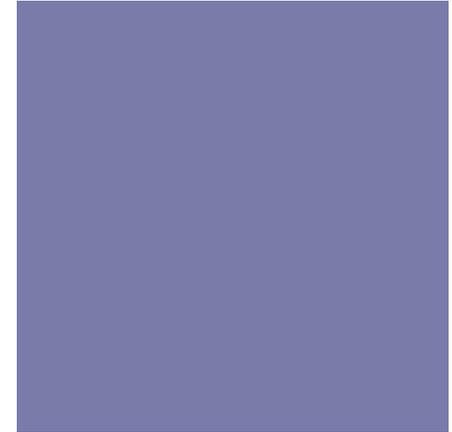
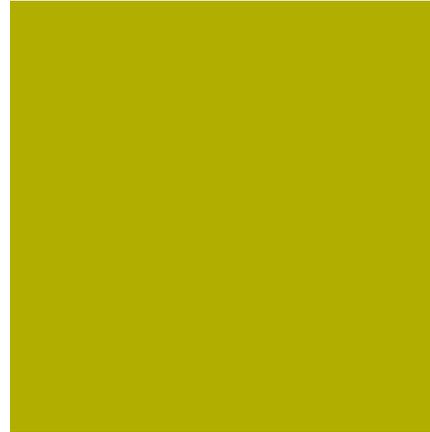




Eitan Grossman (HUJi)
Stéphane Polis (F.R.S.-FNRS – ULg)

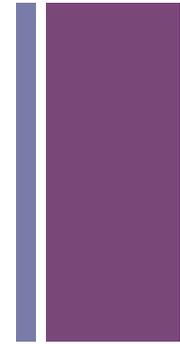


The genesis of a negative agentive nominalizer

The journey of *jwtj* between Old Egyptian and
Coptic

+ Outline of the talk

- Agentive nominalization constructions
 - Definition
 - Properties
- Negative agentive nominalizers
 - Where do they come from?
 - A brief word on typology
- The genesis and diachrony of a negative agent nominalizer
 - The patterns introduced by *jwtj* – formal and functional evolution
 - The lost of resumption – about contexts and frequency
 - The functions of *jwtj*-headed clauses and phrases





+ Agentive nominalization
constructions

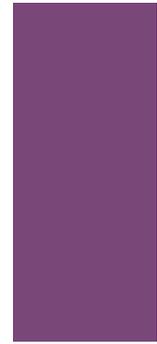
Definition and properties



Agentive nominalization constructions

Towards a definition

- An **agentive nominalization construction** is defined here as
 1. a morphosyntactic construction
 2. that includes an action-denoting root
 3. refers to the agent of the action
 4. and behaves syntactically like a noun

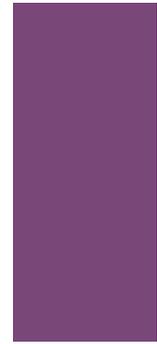




Agentive nominalization constructions

Towards a definition

- An **agentive nominalization construction** is defined here as
 1. a morphosyntactic construction
 2. that includes an action-denoting root
 3. refers to the agent of the action
 4. and behaves syntactically like a noun
- Agentive nominalizations can denote semantic roles other than agent (English *kill-er*, but also *dream-er*).
- Others may be limited to a particular specialized type of agent, (Malay *tukang* ‘skilled craftsman,’ which in Papuan Malay was generalized (*tukang tipu* (NMLZ lie) ‘liar’)).

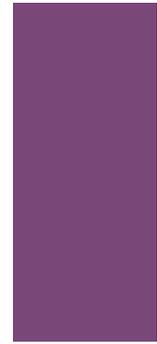




Agentive nominalization constructions

Towards a definition

- An **agentive nominalization construction** is defined here as
 1. a morphosyntactic construction
 2. that includes an action-denoting root
 3. refers to the agent of the action
 4. and behaves syntactically like a noun
- However, for comparative purposes, a language-specific construction is considered to be an agentive nominalization if it meets the above definition
- It also has to be grammaticalized, i.e., the function is **coded** rather than a matter of **inference**

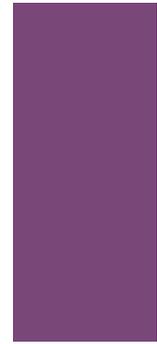




Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- ANCs are frequent in the world's languages (Bauer 2002, Comrie & Thompson 2007, Baker & Vinokurova 2009, Luschützky & Rainer 2011) but not universal.
- For example, in Bauer's sample, 24 out of 42 languages have ANCs (but notice that 18 don't!)



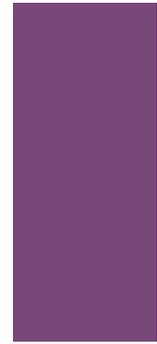


Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- ANCs are cross-linguistically common because they
 1. Mostly develop from a very frequent type of change, grammaticalization (**TYPE**).
 2. Develop through numerous converging pathways of grammaticalization (**PATH**).
 3. Often do not require complex or multi-stage pathways of development (**STAGE**).
 4. Have cross-linguistically frequent source constructions (**SOURCE**).
 5. Tend to be stable, once grammaticalized (**STABILITY**).
 6. Tend to be borrowed (**BORROWABILITY**)

(Grossman 2016)



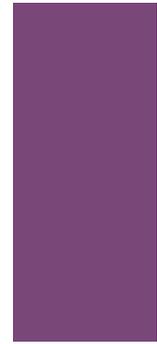


Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)





Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity

(1) Giziga (Central Chadic)

húf ‘farm’ *mù-húf* ‘farmer’

mí-yí-dò-y

NMLZ-give.birth-1SG.POSS-PL

‘my parents’ (‘my birthers’)



Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity

(2) Coptic (Afroasiatic, Layton 2004)

pa-ref-šop-t

ero-f

my-NMLZ-take-1SG.P

DAT-3SGM

‘My helper (he who takes me unto him)’



Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity

(3) Coptic (Afroasiatic, Layton 2004)

at-nau

NMLZ.NEG-see

‘blind’ (‘one who does not see’)

at-nau

ero-f

NMLZ.NEG-see

DAT-3SG.M

‘invisible’ (‘one who (they) do not see him’)



Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity
- Adverbial modification

(4) Ainu (isolate, Japan, Shibatani 1990)

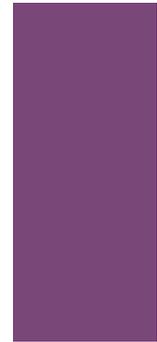
tunas

ek-pe

fast

come-NMLZ

‘A fast comer, one who comes fast’





Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity
- Adverbial modification
- Negation: **(5) Matses (Panoan, W. Amazonia)**

Table 4.24. Negative participant nominalizers.

Suffix	Referent	Tense/Aspect	Free translation
Negative participant nominalizers			
- <u>esa</u>	S/A	Habitual	‘one who does not V’
- <u>temaid</u>	O/Inst	Habitual	‘one that can’t be V-ed/is not for V-ing’
- <u>acmaid</u>	O/Inst	Perfect	‘one that has never been V-ed.’
- <u>nēdacmaid</u>	O/Inst	Distant Past Perfect	‘one that has never been V-ed (despite having wanted to for a long time.’



Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity
- Adverbial modification
- Negation: **(5) Matses**

(145) isan pe-esa shaë ne-e-c
palm.species eat-Neg.S/A.Nzr giant.anteater be-Npast-Indic
‘Giant anteaters are ones that do not eat isan palm fruits.’

A-IV 027 shaë 14

(146) abuc cani-esa mio ne-e-c
high grow-Neg.S/.A.Nzr palm.species be-Npast-Indic
‘The mio palm is one that does not grow tall.’

A-I 016 mio 03



Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity
- Adverbial modification
- Negation

(6) Coptic

ref-sôtm

‘hearer’

at-sôtm

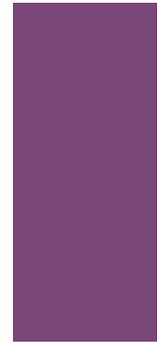
‘unhearing one, disobedient one’

ref-sooun

‘knower’

at-sooun

‘one who does not know’





Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity
- Adverbial modification
- Negation

Coptic *at-* has two distinct functions (Shisha-Halevy 1990):

- *at*¹ – noun-to-noun (adjective?) privative derivational prefix, possibly paradigmatic with *rmn-*

<i>rmn-noute</i>	‘godly’
<i>at-noute</i>	‘godless’



Agentive nominalization constructions

A typological approach to ANC

- A proposed universal of agentive nominalization constructions

“agentive nominalizations do not have any verbal features,”
explicitly excluding negation, valency, and adverbial modification
(Baker & Vinokurova 2009)

- Valency/transitivity
- Adverbial modification
- Negation

Coptic *at-* has two distinct functions (Shisha-Halevy 1990):

- *at*¹ – noun-to-noun (adjective?) privative derivational prefix, possibly paradigmatic with *rmn-*
- *at*² – deverbal negative agentive nominalizer (“who does not VERB”), paradigmatic with *ref-*

<i>ref-nahte</i>	‘believer’
<i>at-nahte</i>	‘unbeliever’



+ Negative agentive
nominalizers

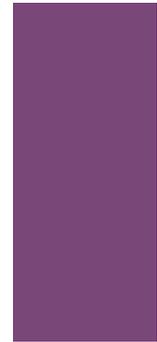
A typological point of view



Negative agentive nominalizers

A typological point of view

- They are not non-existent; they are, however, rare
- The only known source for negative agentive nominalizers is negative relativizers and similar constructions
- This type of source construction seems to be very rare, cross-linguistically





Negative agentive nominalizers

A typological point of view

Aguaruna (Jivaroan, Overall 2007)

a. yuwátʃu

yu-a-tʃau

eat-HIAF-NEG:REL

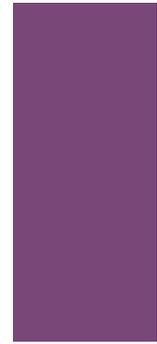
‘one who has not eaten’

b. yútʃau

yu-tʃau

eat-NEG:REL

‘one who does not eat’

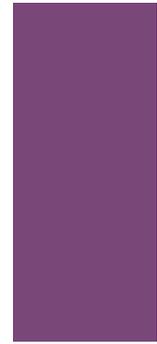




Negative agentive nominalizers

A typological point of view

- They are not non-existent; they are, however, rare
- The only known source for negative agentive nominalizers is negative relativizers and similar constructions
- This type of source construction seems to be very rare, cross-linguistically
 - Cross-linguistically rare construction types are not ruled out by Universal Grammar-style constraints on learnability
 - They are the result of the convergence of diachronic factors





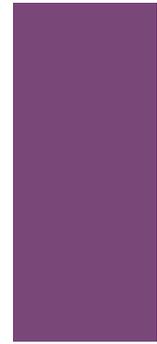
Negative agentive nominalizers

A typological point of view

- They are not non-existent; they are, however, rare
- The only known source for negative agentive nominalizers is negative relativizers and similar constructions
- This type of source construction seems to be very rare, cross-linguistically
 - Cross-linguistically rare construction types are not ruled out by Universal Grammar-style constraints on learnability
 - They are the result of the convergence of diachronic factors
 - The inherent semantics of such constructions makes them less likely to be talked about, and hence to be grammaticalized

'(...) nouns describe natural classes, and 'eaters' is a natural class, because all 'eaters' have a property in common, that of eating. By contrast, 'non-eaters' is not a natural class, because they have no positive property in common, only lack of a property'

(Overall 2007: 417)

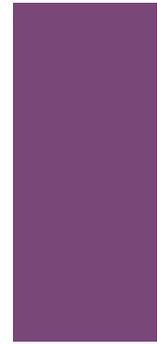




Negative agentive nominalizers

A typological point of view

The Ancient Egyptian case is important for understanding ANCs, because its lengthy attestation allows us to study its actual pathway of diachronic development



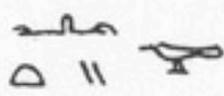


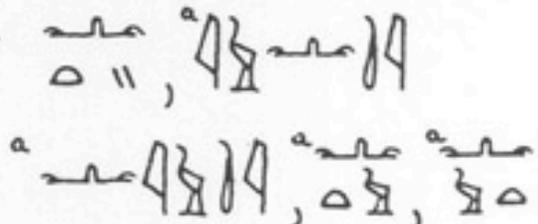
The genesis and diachrony of a negative agent nominalizer

How did *jwtj* become *at-*?

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

- *jwtj*: a negative relative adjective

iw.tj  (vom vorstehenden *iw.t* gebildet).
 "welcher nicht.... ist,
 "welcher nicht..." I.
 Kopt. *AT-*.

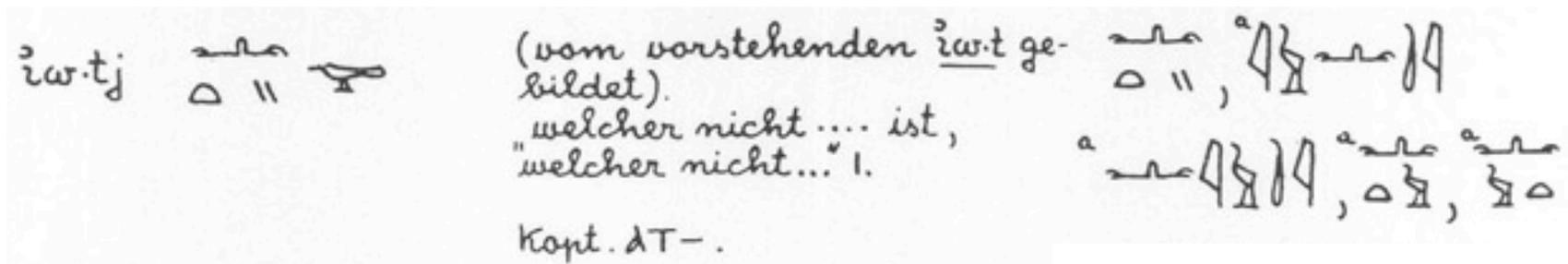


$\overline{\text{Z}}$ () ($\dot{\text{m}}$) *wly-* AT- ($\bar{\text{N}}\text{AT}$) "ohne"

(Wb. I, 46,1-47-3; CD 18b; ČED 13; KHWb 13 & 489; DELC 17b)

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

- *jwtj*: a negative relative adjective



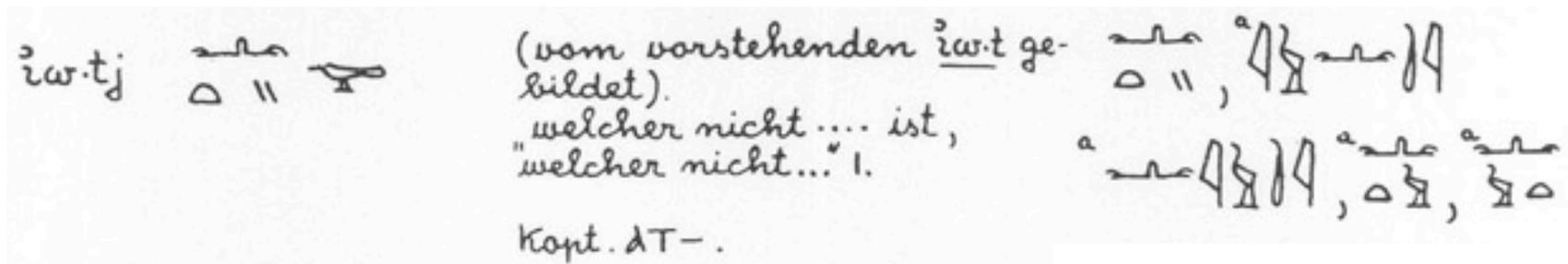
 () () *iw.tj*- "dAT- (NAT) „ohne“"

- “doubtless a *nisbe* adjective from the feminine of an obsolete equivalent **iw* surviving only in the O.E. negative particle ‘that not

For its etymology, see e.g. Edel (1955-1964: §345, 1054); Satzinger (1968: 63-64, §102-103); Gilula (1970: 213); Gilula (1971: 17); Allen (2014: 355) “[*jwtj*] is actually just a *nisbe* of the word *jwt* that marks negated noun clauses in Old and early Middle Egyptian.”

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

- *jwtj*: a negative relative adjective



𓂏 (𓂏) (𓂏) *wtj-* ΔT- (NΔT) „ohne“

- “doubtless a *nisbe* adjective from the feminine of an obsolete equivalent **iw* surviving only in the O.E. negative particle ‘that not
- For the reading *jwtj* (and the like), see already Erman (1893: 82-83), Sethe (1912) and Gardiner (1948). On the distinction between *jwtj* and *nj* (with negative-circumstantial value), see Gunn (1948). In favour of the (old scholarly) reading *jnjwtj* (and the like), see Hamza (1929) and Weill (1950).

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

- Formal and functional evolution of the patterns introduced by *jwtj* - between OEg and Coptic
- The loss of resumption
- The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses



The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

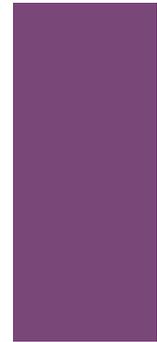
Formal and functional evolution between OEg and Coptic



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

- For Gardiner (1957³: 152, §203), “[t]he negative relative adjective is used like *nty*, only more rarely, and with a few additional employments. The corresponding main clauses may be seen by substituting $\overset{\sim}{\text{nn}}$ (or \tilde{n}) for *iwty*.”
- Satzinger (1968: §94) regards essentially *jwtj* as a “Relativform für das negative Prädikat *nn*”
- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn*. *iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute. (...) Nearly all the patterns which are found with *n* are also found with its nominalized form *iwty*.”
- For Loprieno (1995: 70) “These morphemes [*jwtj*, *jwt*, *jwtj.w*] represent a semantic fusion of relative element (*ntj*) plus negative operator (*nj* for verbal sentences, *nn* for nominal and adverbial sentences)”





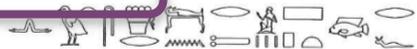
The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

Resumption findet regelmäßig statt, unabhängig davon, welcher Satzteil zum Nukleus wird, auch im Falle des Objekts und sogar des Subjekts.

Beispiele:

- *iw.ti* ← *n* (auch: *n-sp*):



iw.t(i) ščr.n r(m)č(.w) špt(.w) (i)ršf

»einer, dessentwegen kein Mensch verärgert die Nacht verbrachte«
(BM 159,11 – negativer Generalis)



iw.t(i)-sp iršf šnn.t rmč(.w) nb(.w)

»der niemals tat, was irgendwelche Menschen verstimmt«
(Urk. I 47,5)



iw.t(i) wn.t gnn.tšf

»einer, dessen Schwäche es nicht gibt« (Urk. I 192,14)

- *iw.ti* ← *nn*:



iw.t(i) sšf

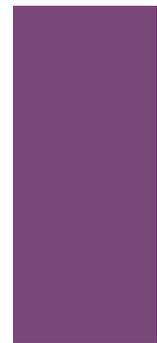
»der keinen Sohn hat« (Urk. I 201,3)



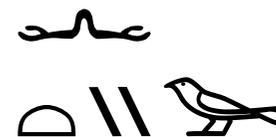
iw.ti nšf šw

»der ihn (einen, scil. bekannten, Vater) nicht hat« (Adm. 4,1)

Schenkel (2005; 2012)



+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*
The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



REL.NEG

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEg

MEg

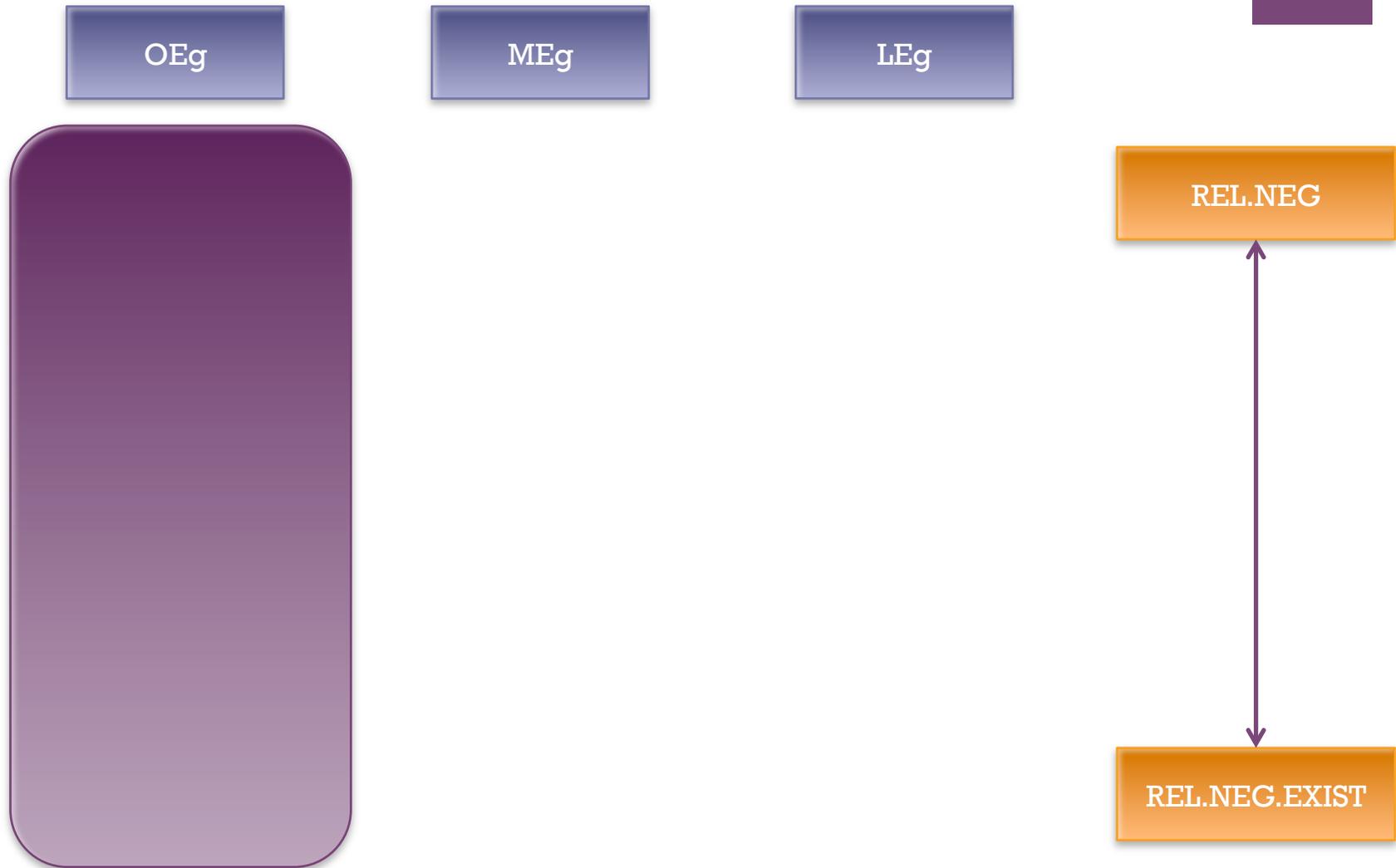
LEg

REL.NEG

REL.NEG.EXIST

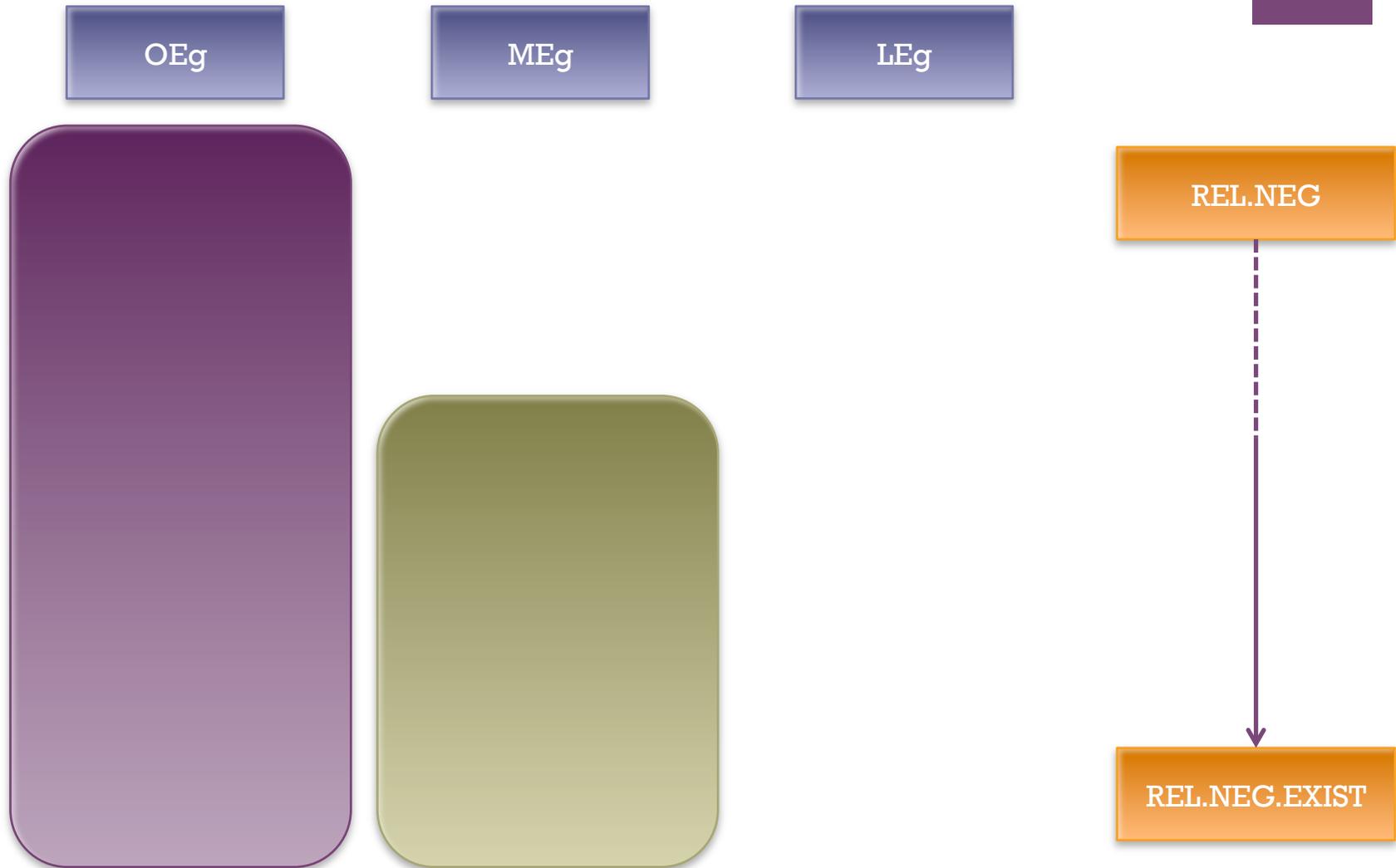
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



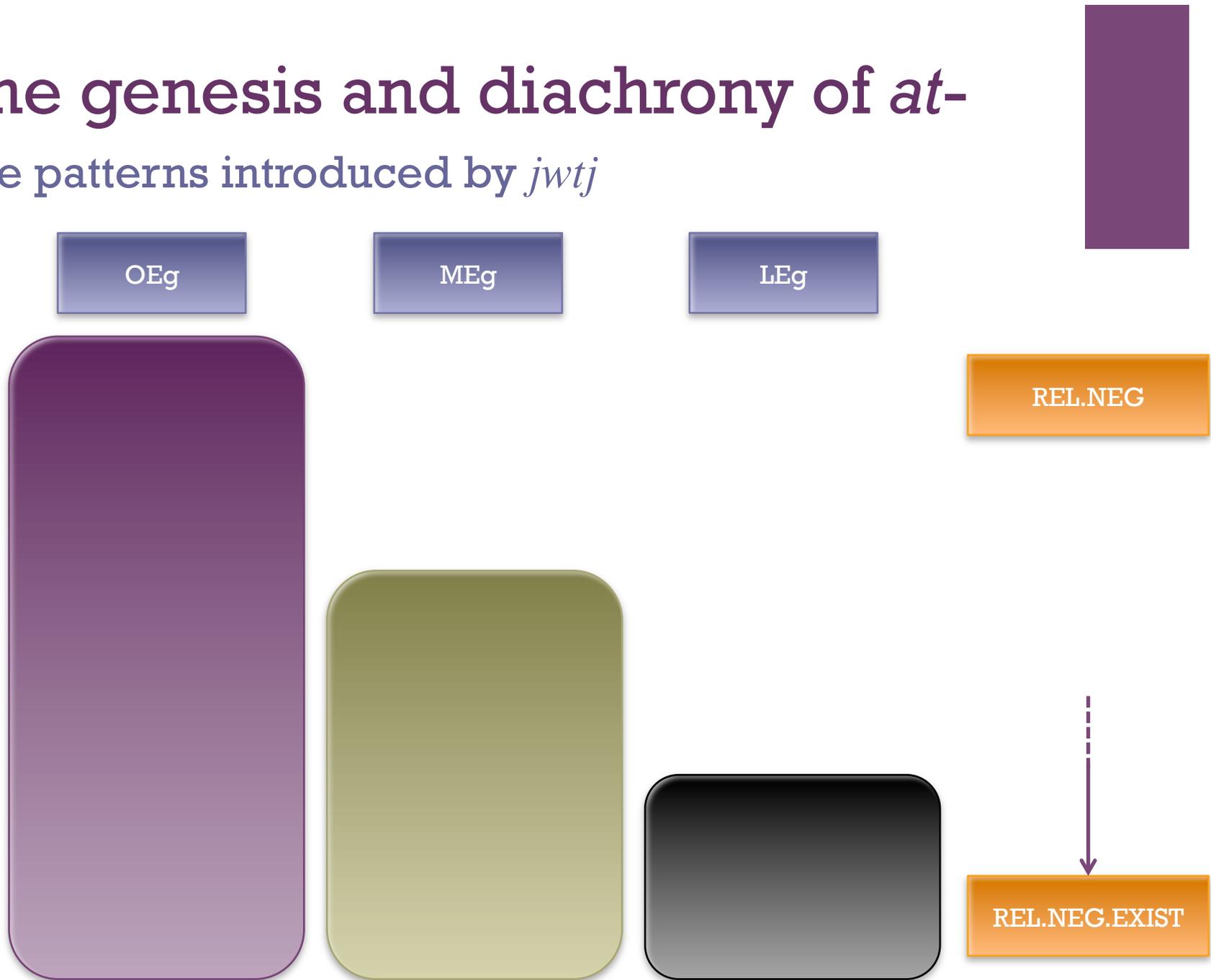
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



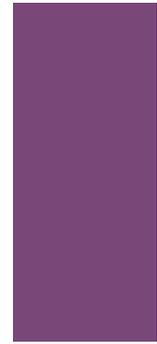
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

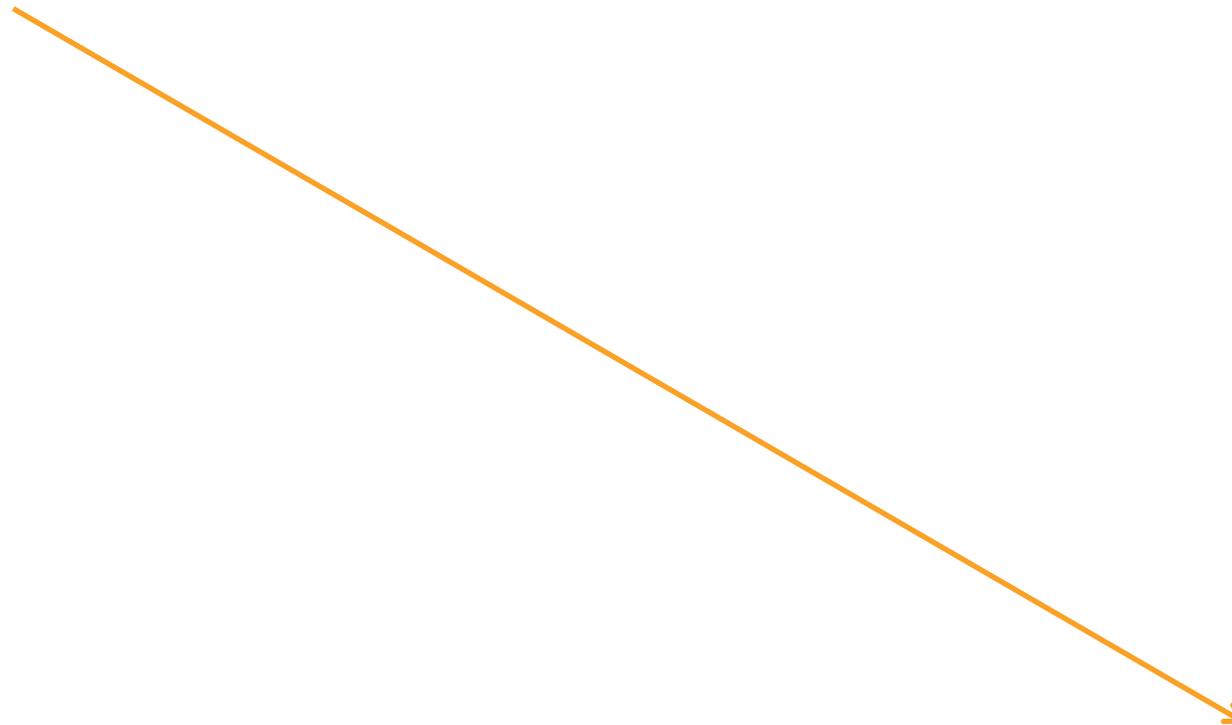
OEg

MEg

LEg



REL.NEG



REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb
forms

jwtj zp sdm=f

REL.NEG

jnk (...) jwtj zp irj=f šnn.t rmt nb (Urk. I, 47,5)

“I am (...) one who never did what people would suffer from”

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb
forms

jwtj zp sdm=f

jwtj sdm(.w)=f

REL.NEG

jnk (...) jwtj zp irj=f šnn.t rmt nb (Urk. I, 47,5)

“I am (...) one who never did what people would suffer from”

jwtj.t jn, 4 (P. Cairo 58063, tab. 54c, 2,3 [Abusir])

“what has not been delivered: 4 (units)”

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f

jwtj sdm(.w)=f

jwtj sdm=f

REL.NEG

jnk (...) jwtj zp irj=f šnn.t rmt nb (Urk. I, 47,5)

“I am (...) one who never did what people would suffer from”

jwtj.t jn, 4 (P. Cairo 58063, tab. 54c, 2,3 [Abusir])

“what has not been delivered: 4 (units)”

jwt(j) ndr jr.w t3 ^c=f (Pyr. 1022a-b)

“(This King NN is a hill of earth in the midst of the sea), whose arm those of the earth cannot grasp”

Allen (1984: 223-224, §341) “The negative relative *jwtj* occurs with the *sdm.f* in one passage in the Pyramid Texts. The tense is present (gnomic)”

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f

jwtj sdm(.w)=f

jwtj sdm=f

jwtj sdm.n=f

REL.NEG

jnk (...) jwtj zp irj=f šnn.t rmt nb (Urk. I, 47,5)
 “I am (...) one who never did what people would suffer from”

jwtj.t jn, 4 (P. Cairo 58063, tab. 54c, 2,3 [Abusir])
 “what has not been delivered: 4 (units)”

jwt(j) ndr jr.w t3^c=f (Pyr. 1022a-b)
 “(This King NN is a hill of earth in the midst of the sea), whose arm those of the earth cannot grasp”

twt sb3 pw w^ctj (...) jwtj rd.n=f dt=f n hrw d3tj (Pyr. 877c-d [P])
 “you are this unique star (...) that does not give its body to Horus of the Netherworld”

Allen (1984: 298, §442) “The relative negation *jwtj sdm.n=f* appears in the Pyramid Texts with transitive and intransitive verbs. All examples have generic sense”.

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f

jwtj sdm(.w)=f

jwtj sdm=f

jwtj sdm.n=f

REL.NEG

jr it=f sn <r> k3.t nb.t jwt(.t) pr.t-hrw n(=j) js pw (Urk. I, 162,16)

“If he takes them away for any work which is not at all an offering for me, (then ...)”

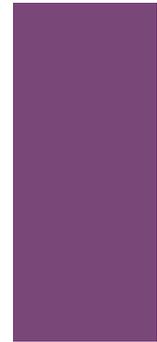
Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f

jwtj sdm(.w)=f

jwtj sdm=f

jwtj sdm.n=f

REL.NEG

jr it=f sn <r> k3.t nb.t jwt(.t) pr.t-hrw n(=j) js pw (Urk. I, 162,16)

“If he takes them away for any work which is not at all an offering for me, (then ...)”

jwtj wnt gnn.t=f (Urk. I, 192,14)

“(...) which has no weakness”

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

jwtj wn.t NP=f

Negative
existential

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



OEg

MEg

LEg

REL.NEG

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f

jwtj sdm(.w)=f

jwtj sdm=f

jwtj sdm.n=f

jr it=f sn <r> k3.t nb.t jwt(.t) pr.t-hrw n(=j) js pw (Urk. I, 162,16)
 “If he takes them away for any work which is not at all an offering for me, (then ...)”

jwtj wnt gnn.t=f (Urk. I, 192,14)
 “(...) which has no weakness”

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

jw rdj.n(=j) t n hkr, hbs n h3y, sm3.n(=j) t3 m jwt(j) mhn.t=f (Urk. I, 122,6-8)
 “I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked, I ferried across the boatless”

jwtj wn.t NP=f

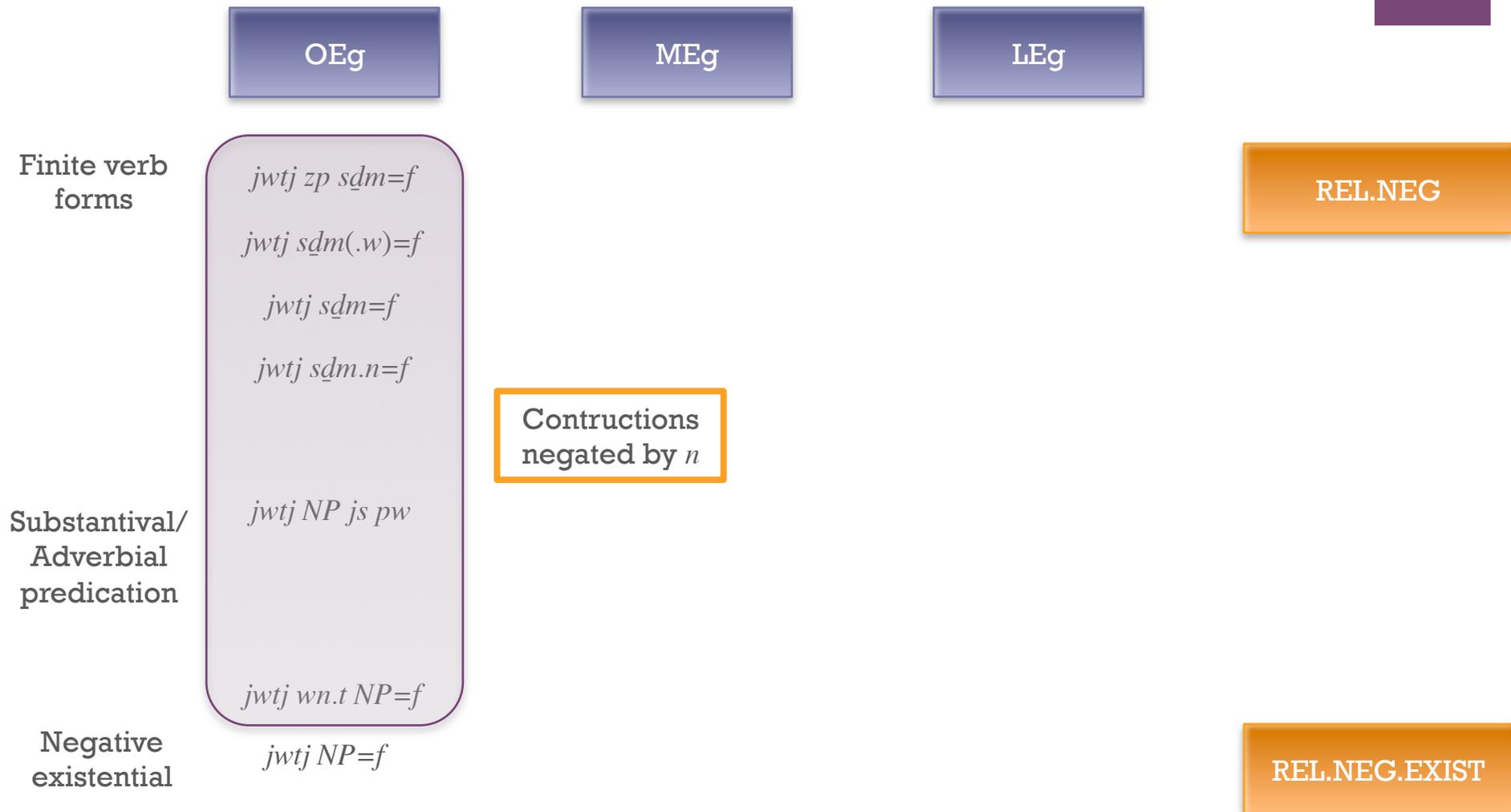
Negative
existential

jwtj NP=f

REL.NEG.EXIST

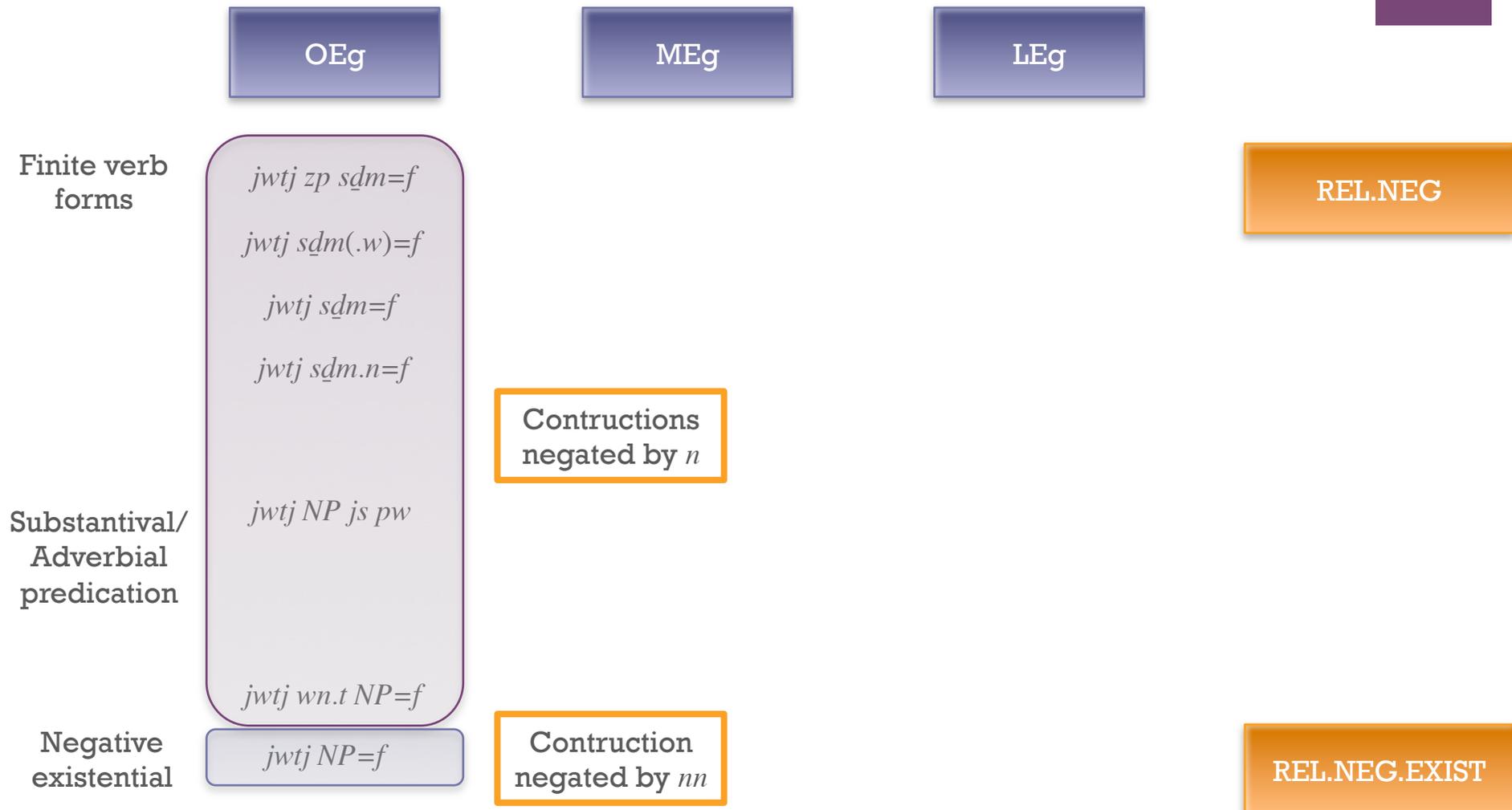
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



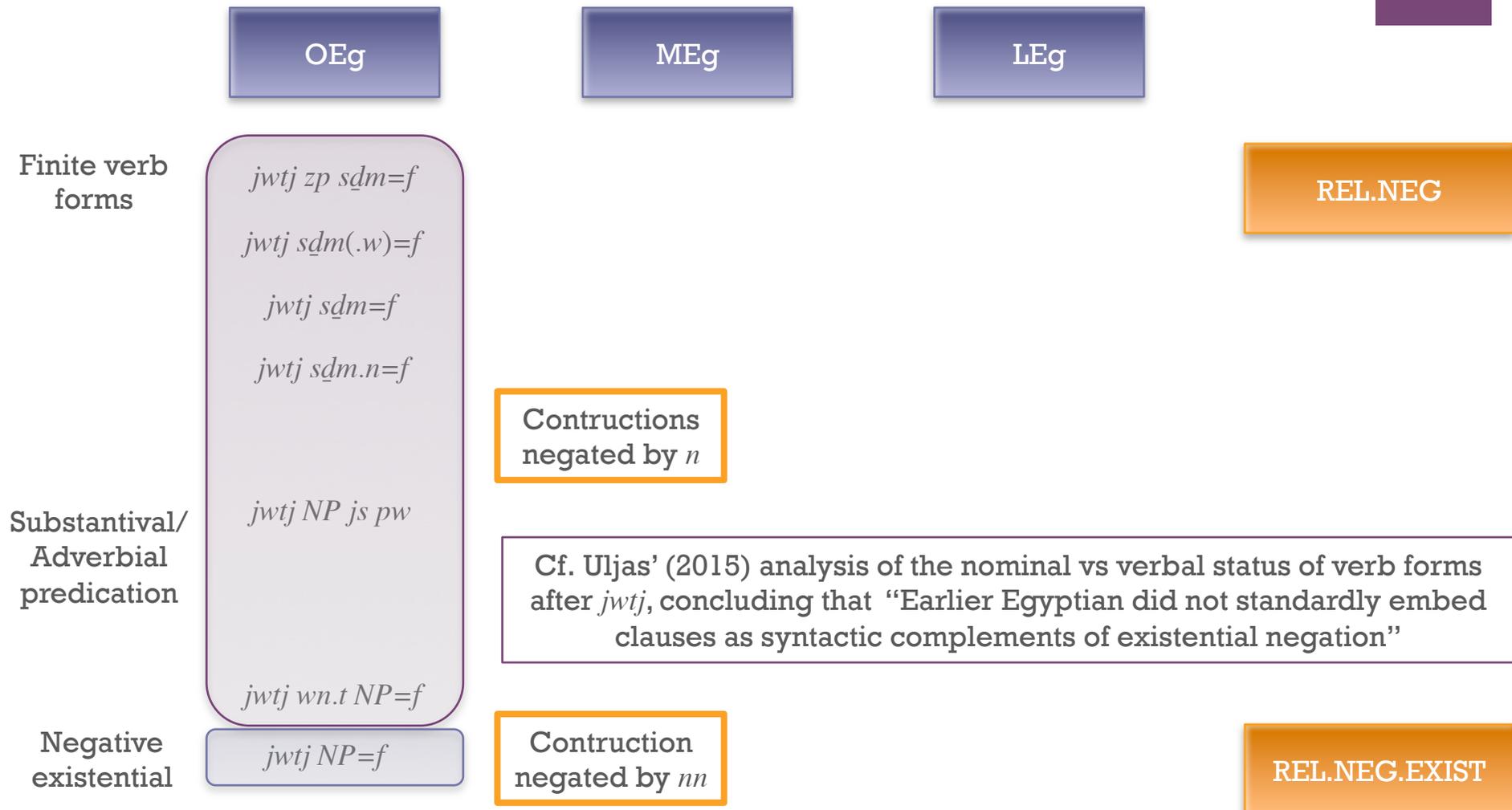
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



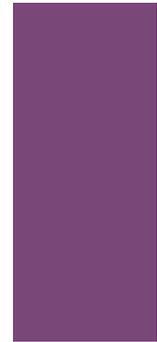
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f

jwtj sdm(.w)=f

jwtj sdm=f

jwtj sdm.n=f

REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

jwtj wn.t NP=f

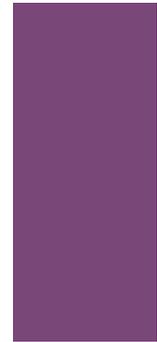
Negative
existential

jwtj NP=f

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



OEG

MEG

LEG

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → *jwtj p³=f sdm*

jwtj sdm(.w)=f

jwtj sdm=f

jwtj sdm.n=f

nrw (...) iwt(j) p³=sn m³³ mrt.t jr(y).t (CT I, 84-85 B1P)
 “the terror (...) which they never saw anything similar to it”

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

jwtj wn.t NP=f

Negative
existential

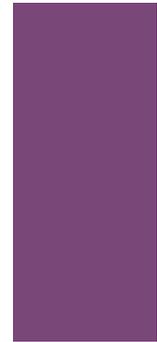
jwtj NP=f

REL.NEG

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



OEG

MEG

LEG

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p³=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*

REL.NEG

jwtj sdm.n=f

nrw (...) iwt(j) p³=sn m³³ mrt.t jr(y).t (CT I, 84-85 B1P)
 “the terror (...) which they never saw anything similar to it”

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

wr iwt(j) rh rn=f in ntr.w (CT VI, 301o-p)
 “The great one whose name is not known of the gods”
 Rem. Between the infinitive and the passive *sdm(.w)=f*, see Gardiner (1957³: 232, §307) in favour of the former, based on Coptic *at-sont-f* ‘uncreated’

jwtj wn.t NP=f

Negative existential

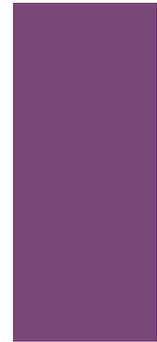
jwtj NP=f

jwt(j) rh ntr.w rn=f (CT I, 340d)
 “one whose name the gods do not know”

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



OEG

MEG

LEG

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p³=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*
jwtj sdm.n=f → *jwtj sdm.n=f*

REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

jwt.t mwt.n=s, jwt.t sk.n=s, jwt.t htm.n=s, jwt.t tm.n=s (CT VII, 171u)
 "(...) who does not die; who is not destroyed, who does not perish, and who does not come to an end"

jwt(j) sdr.n rmt špt(.w) r=f (St. BM EA 159, 11-12 [11th dyn.])
 "one on account of whom one does not go to sleep angry"

jwtj wn.t NP=f

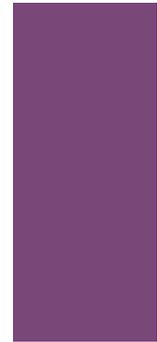
Negative
existential

jwtj NP=f

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p3=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*
jwtj sdm.n=f → *jwtj sdm.n=f*

REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

twt sb3 pw (...) jwt(j) sk.n=f, iwtj htm.n=f (CT I, 30d-31b [T9C])
 “you are this star (...), which does not perish, which does not disappear”

twt sb3 pw (...) iwt(j) sk=f, iwtj htm=f (CT I, 30d-31b [B4B0])
 “your are this star (...), which shall not perish, which shall not disappear”
 Rem. Compare with Ptolemaic *jwtj sk=f* “who is everlasting” (e.g. Edfou VI, 133,8)

jwtj wn.t NP=f

Negative
existential

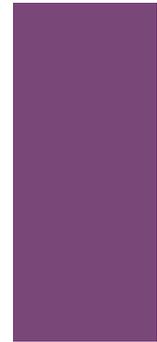
jwtj NP=f

For the negation *n sdm.n=f* and its relationship with modal meanings, see Vernus (1990)

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

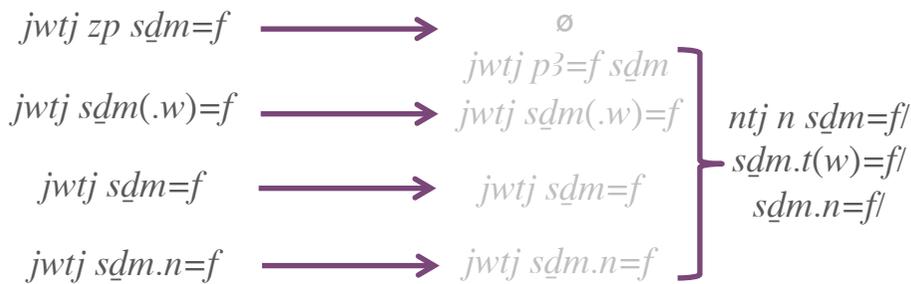


OEG

MEG

LEG

Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

Negative
existential

jwtj wn.t NP=f

jwtj NP=f

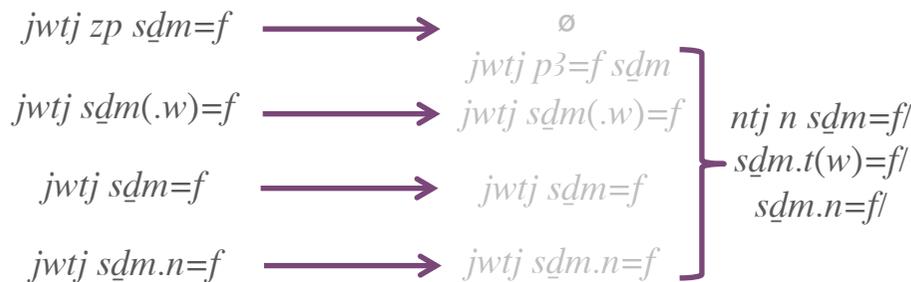
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

rdj=j rh=k tw iw=k m ss, hpr.t(j) m ntj nj m3.t(w)=f (Shipwrecked Sailor 72-73)
 “(I shall cause that you see yourself in ashes,) having turned into someone who cannot be seen”

wnm in z ntj n fgn.n=f (P. Ebers 12,15)
 “to be eaten by the man who cannot defecate”

Negative
existential

jwtj wn.t NP=f

jwtj NP=f

Loprieno (1995: 218) “Historically, verbal and adverbial clauses controlled by *jwtj* tend to be superseded by analytic equivalents with *ntj*+negative form”.
 Malaise & Winand (1999: 148) “Dès le moyen égyptien, *iw tj* est concurrencé par *ntj* suivi d’une négation de sorte que ce pronom déterminatif négatif ne survivra plus en néo-égyptien que dans des expressions stéréotypées (cf. copte -ⲁⲧ).”

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

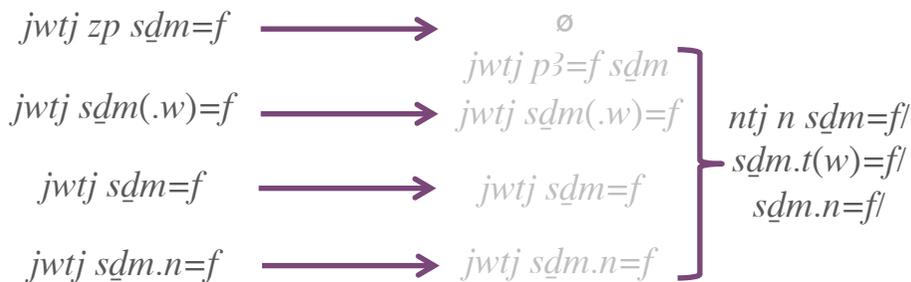
The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEG

MEG

LEG

Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

Substantial/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

“Üblich, da der negative Relativekonverter *jwtj* nicht mehr vorhanden ist; dennoch nur selten vorkommend” (Brose 2014: 392),
jr ntj nn gm.tw=f (P. Berlin 10024A, r^o 5)
“as for the one that shall not be discovered”

jwtj wn.t NP=f

Negative
existential

jwtj NP=f

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

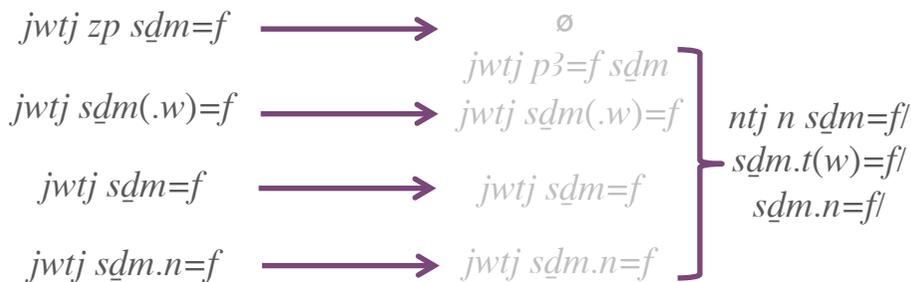
The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw

About *iwt* and its diachronic successor *ntt n* for introducing asserted negative complement clauses, see Gilula (1971: 17); Doret (1986: 34, n. 263); Uljas (2007: 206-210).

Negative
existential

jwtj wn.t NP=f
jwtj NP=f

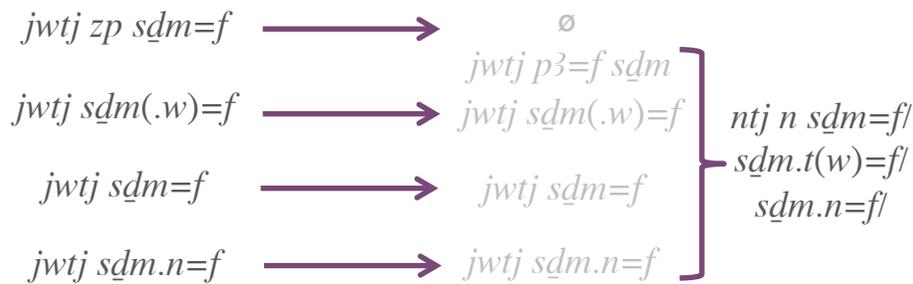
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



jwtj wn.t NP=f

iw \emptyset m jwt.t hnt Wsjr (CT II, 302/303c)
 “Indeed it’s what is not in front of Osiris”

Negative
existential

jwtj NP=f

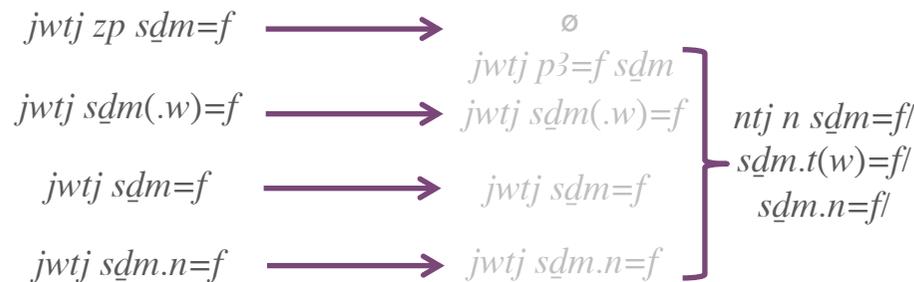
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms

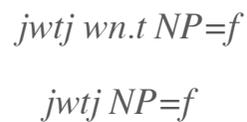


REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



Negative
existential



iw \emptyset m jwt.t hnt Wsjr (CT II, 302/303c)
 “Indeed it’s what is not in front of Osiris”

nn ntt nn st m-hnw=f (Shipwrecked Sailor 51-52)
 “there was nothing which was not in it (i.e. the island)”

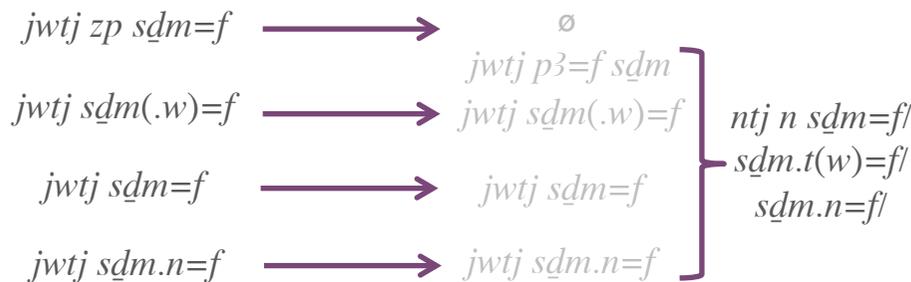
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



ntk (...) šndj.t n.t jwt(j.)w mw.t=f
 (Peas. B1,95)
 “you are (...) a kilt of the motherless (lit., the one without his mother)”
 Rem. Explicitly substantivized by .w/y

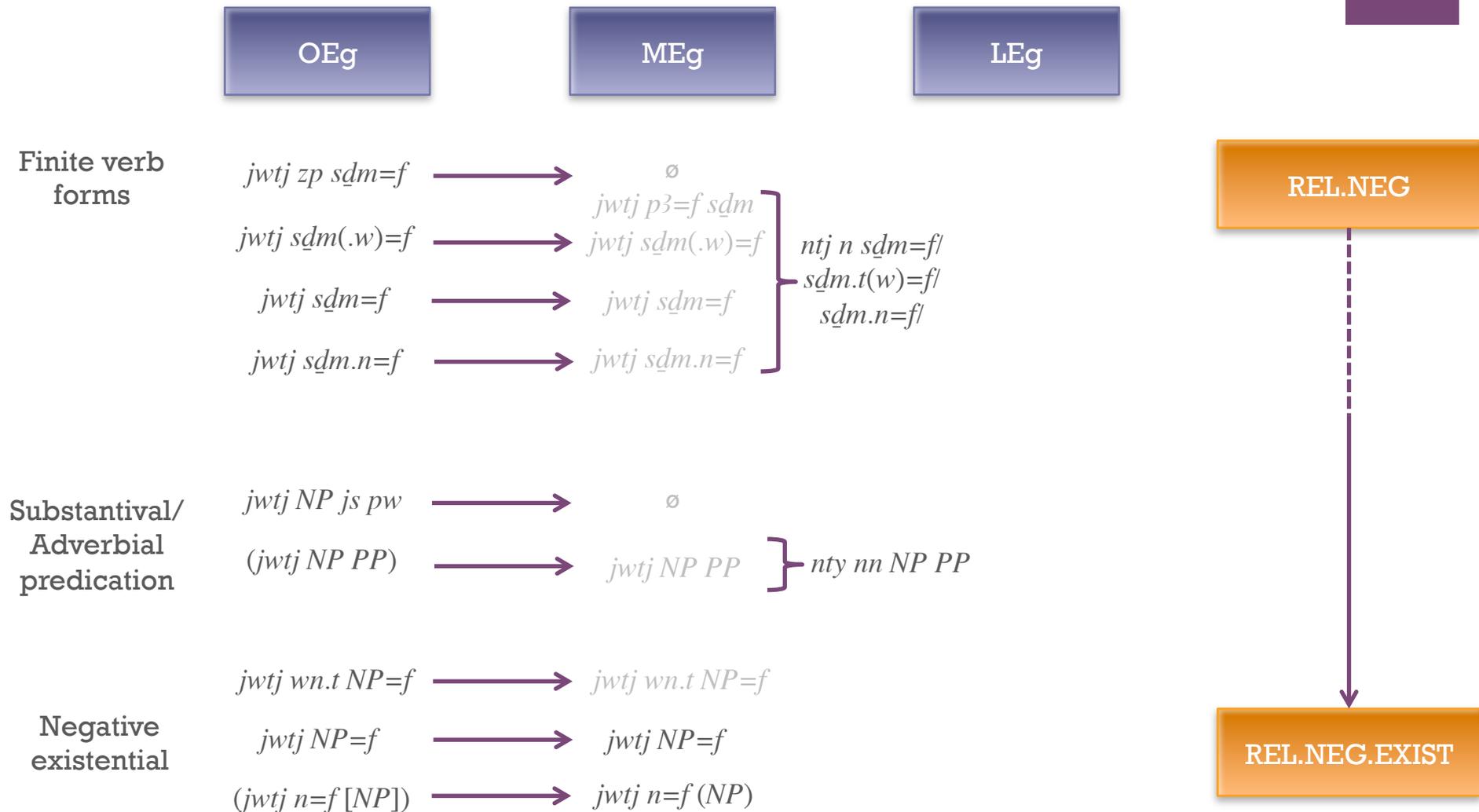
Negative existential



REL.NEG.EXIST

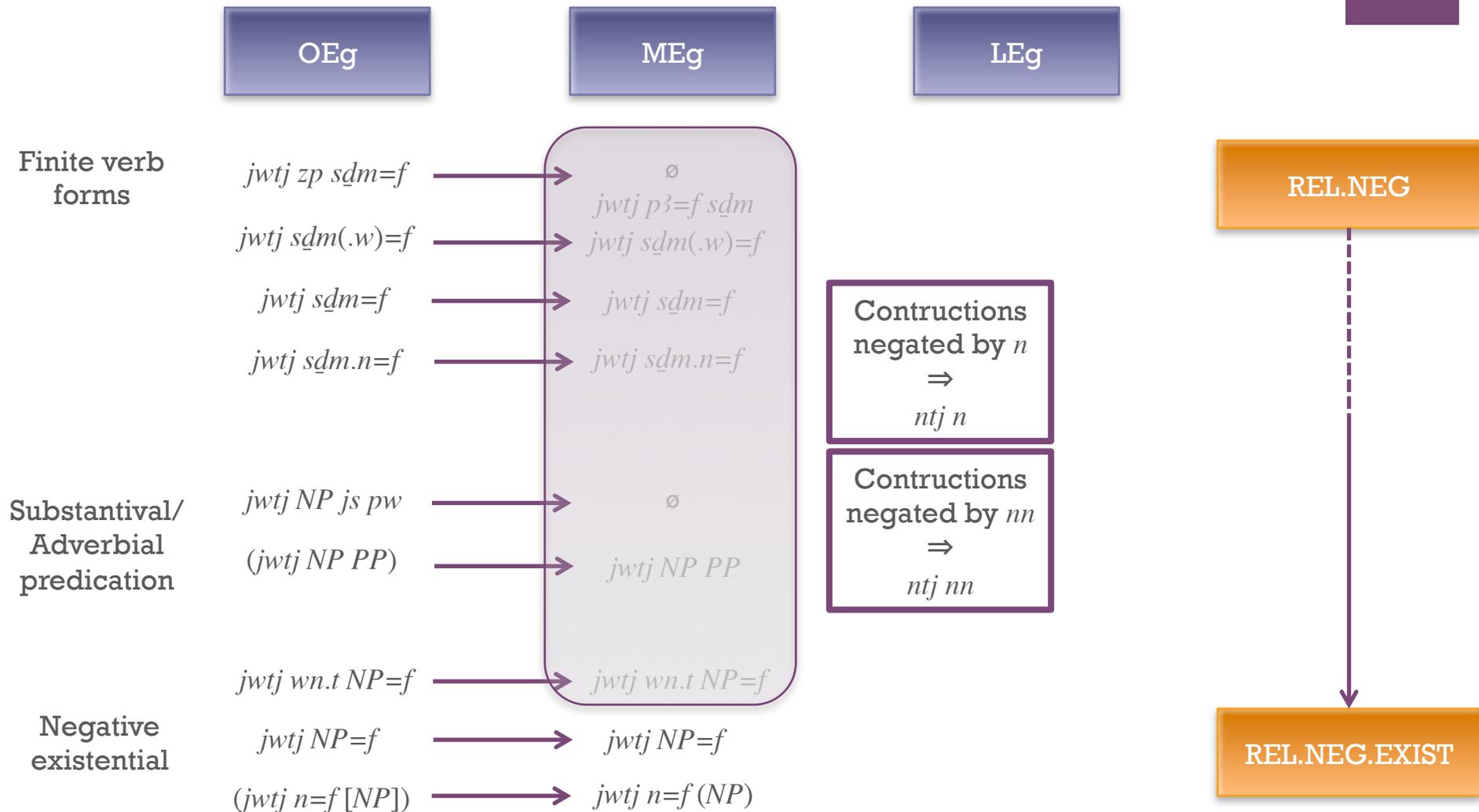
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



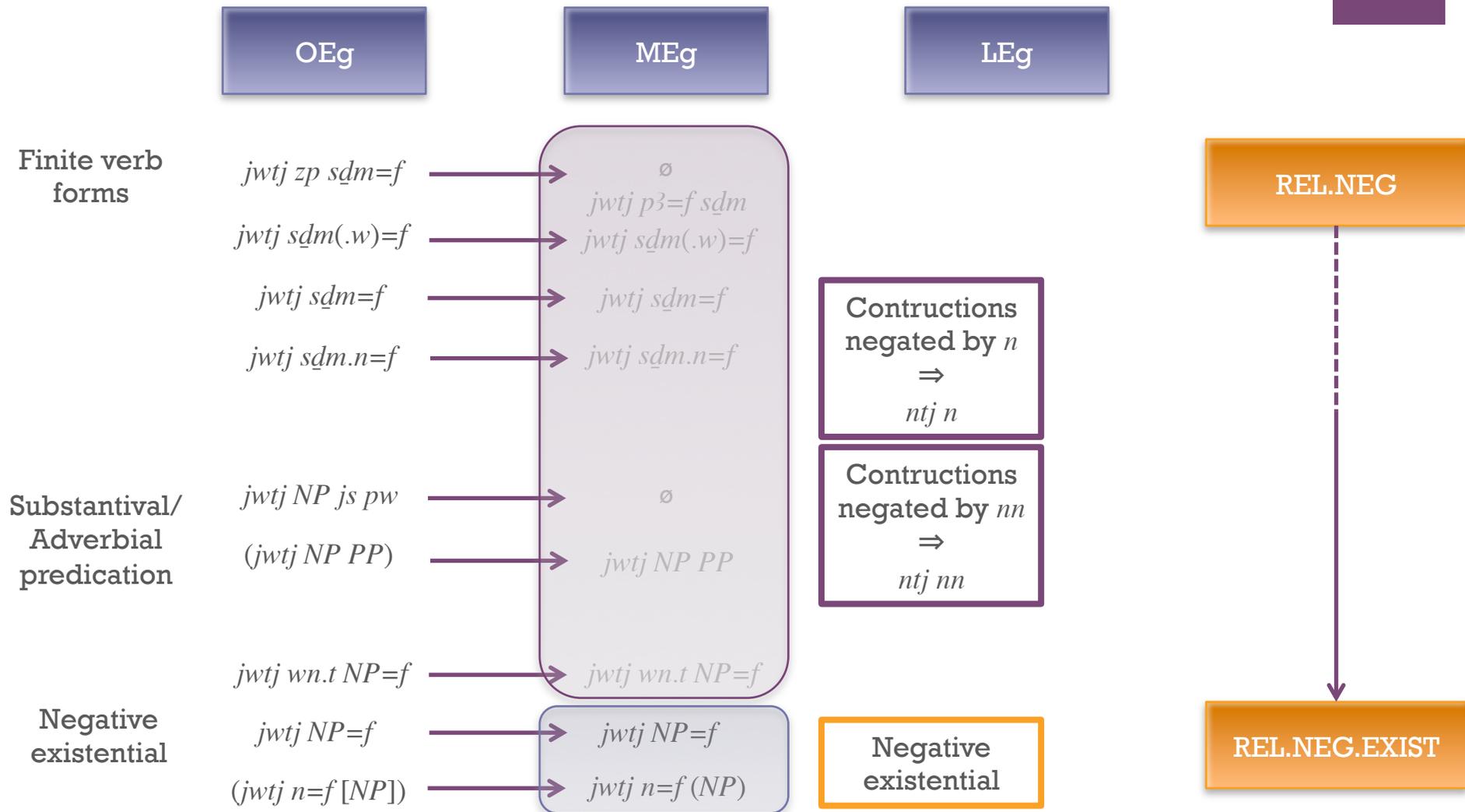
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



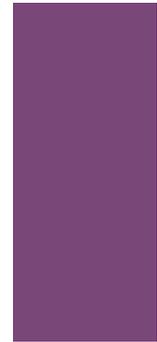
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



OEG

MEG

LEG

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p³=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*
jwtj sdm.n=f → *jwtj sdm.n=f*

Two significant consequences

REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw → \emptyset
(jwtj NP PP) → *jwtj NP PP*

jwtj wn.t NP=f → *jwtj wn.t NP=f*

Negative
existential

jwtj NP=f → *jwtj NP=f*
(jwtj n=f [NP]) → *jwtj n=f (NP)*

Negative
existential

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEG

MEG

LEG

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p³=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*
jwtj sdm.n=f → *jwtj sdm.n=f*

Two significant consequences

REL.NEG

1) Occurrences of the *mrr=f* after *jwtj*

iw tj b(3)gg=f hr mn.w n nb ntr.w (Urk. IV, 410,6)
 “One who is not neglectful in (building) the monuments of the Lord of the gods.”

iw tj thh=f rdy.t m hr=f (Urk. IV, 97,8)
 “One who does not infringe the charge laid upon him”

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

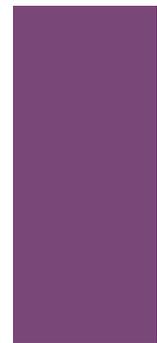
jwtj NP js pw → \emptyset
(jwtj NP PP) → *jwtj NP PP*

jwtj wn.t NP=f → *jwtj wn.t NP=f*
jwtj NP=f → *jwtj NP=f*
(jwtj n=f [NP]) → *jwtj n=f (NP)*

Negative existential

Negative existential

REL.NEG.EXIST



+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEG

MEG

LEG

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p³=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*
jwtj sdm.n=f → *jwtj sdm.n=f*

Two significant consequences

REL.NEG

1) Occurrences of the *mrr=f* after *jwtj*

2) It opens up the way to a reinterpretation of the *sdm=f/sdm(.w)=f* forms as a subjunctive (= **ntj nn sdm=f*) or as an infinitive (or alternatively to the introduction of the infinitive), thanks to the semantics of the constructions introduced by *jwtj* (for *nn sdm=f*, see Gunn 2012: 166; Vernus 1990)

Substantival/ Adverbial predication

jwtj NP js pw → \emptyset
(jwtj NP PP) → *jwtj NP PP*

Negative existential

jwtj wn.t NP=f → *jwtj wn.t NP=f*
jwtj NP=f → *jwtj NP=f*
(jwtj n=f [NP]) → *jwtj n=f (NP)*

Negative existential

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEg

MEg

LEg

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p³=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*
jwtj sdm.n=f → *jwtj sdm.n=f*

REL.NEG

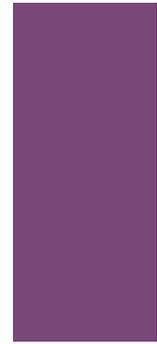
Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw → \emptyset
(jwtj NP PP) → *jwtj NP PP*

Negative
existential

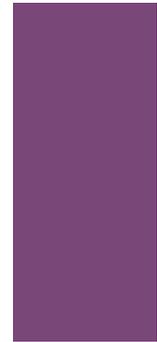
jwtj wn.t NP=f → *jwtj wn.t NP=f*
jwtj NP=f → *jwtj NP=f*
(jwtj n=f [NP]) → *jwtj n=f (NP)*

REL.NEG.EXIST

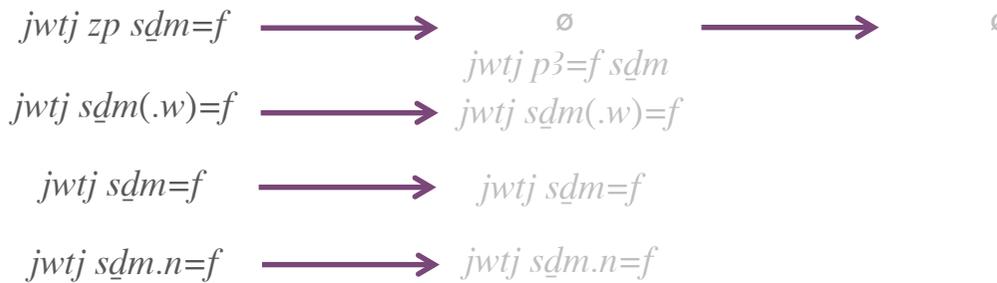


+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms

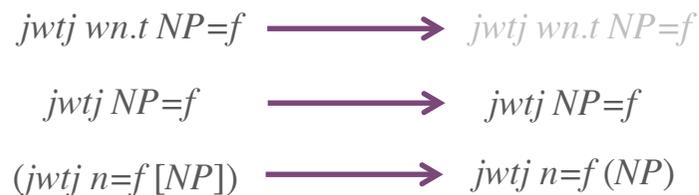


REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



Negative
existential



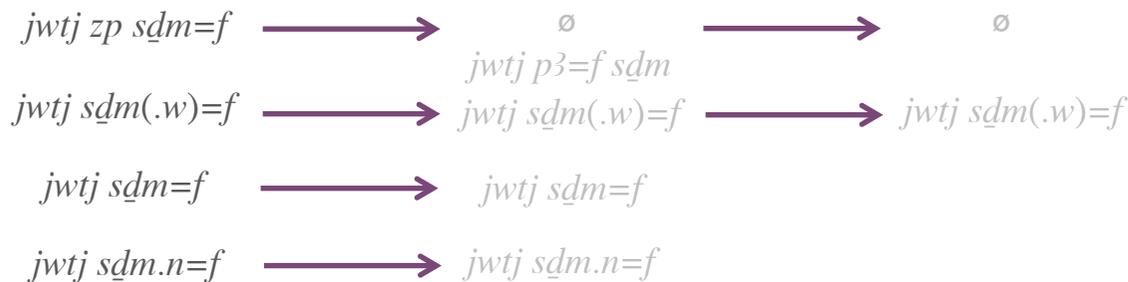
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

A single example

sdg sw, jwtj jn drw.w=f (P. Leiden I 344, v^o II,8 [Hymn to Amun])
 “the one hiding himself, whose limit have not been reached”

Substantival/ Adverbial predication



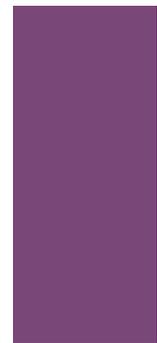
Negative existential



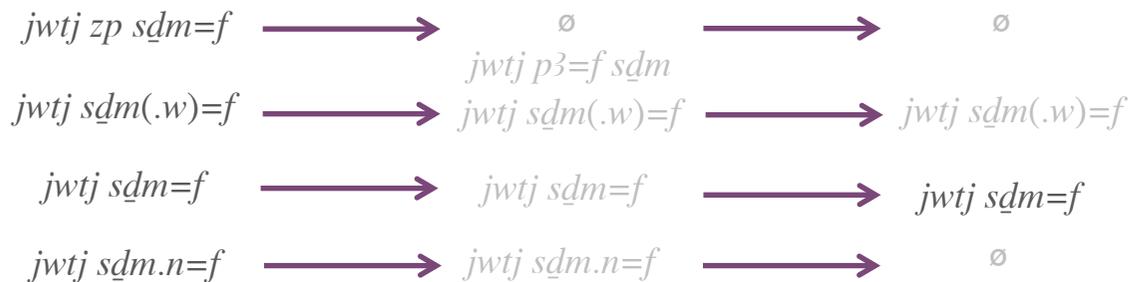
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

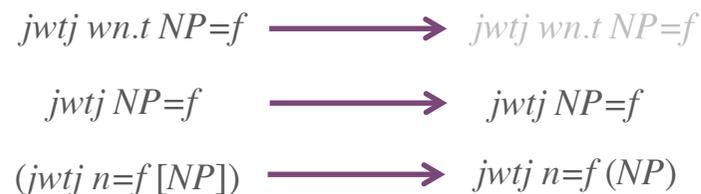


Less than 10 examples

jwtj šsp=f sk3.w (O. Cairo CG 25207, II, l. 14)
“(god...), who does not accept gifts”

jwtj hfs=f m mr.t.n=f (O. DeM 1100, v^o 5)
“who one cannot repel from what he wishes”

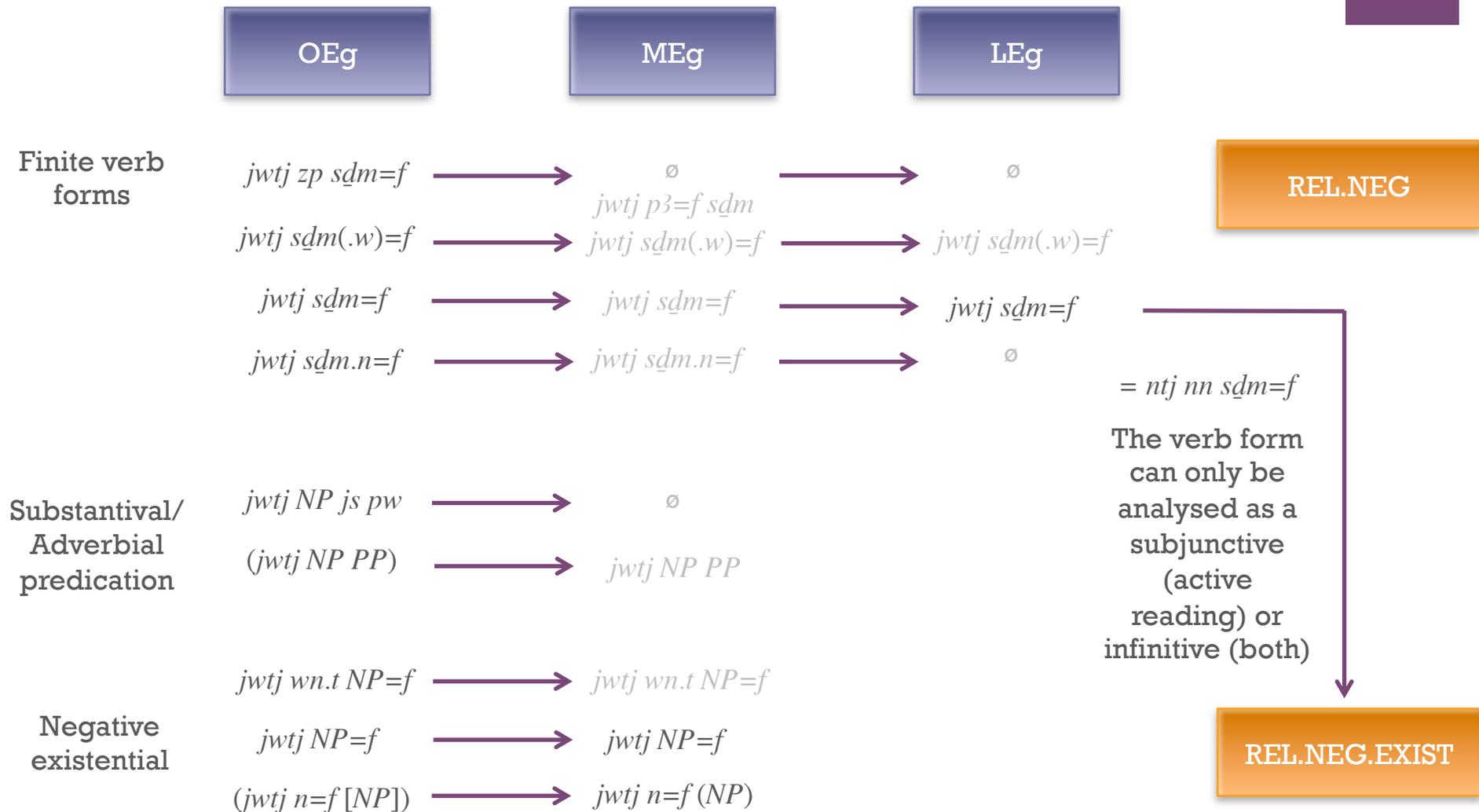
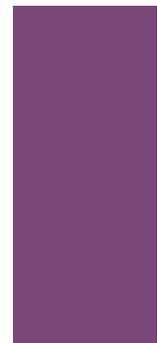
Negative
existential



REL.NEG.EXIST

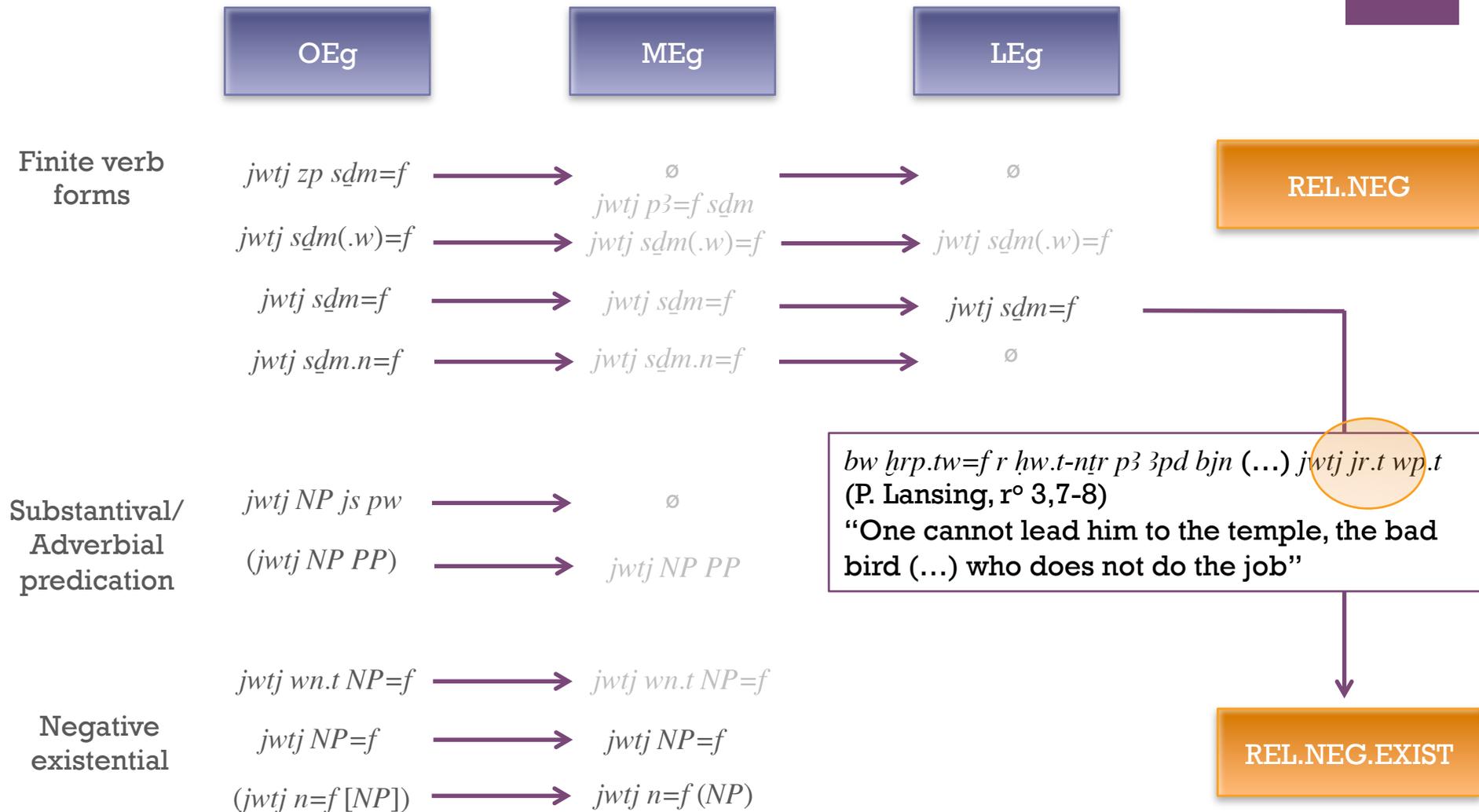
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



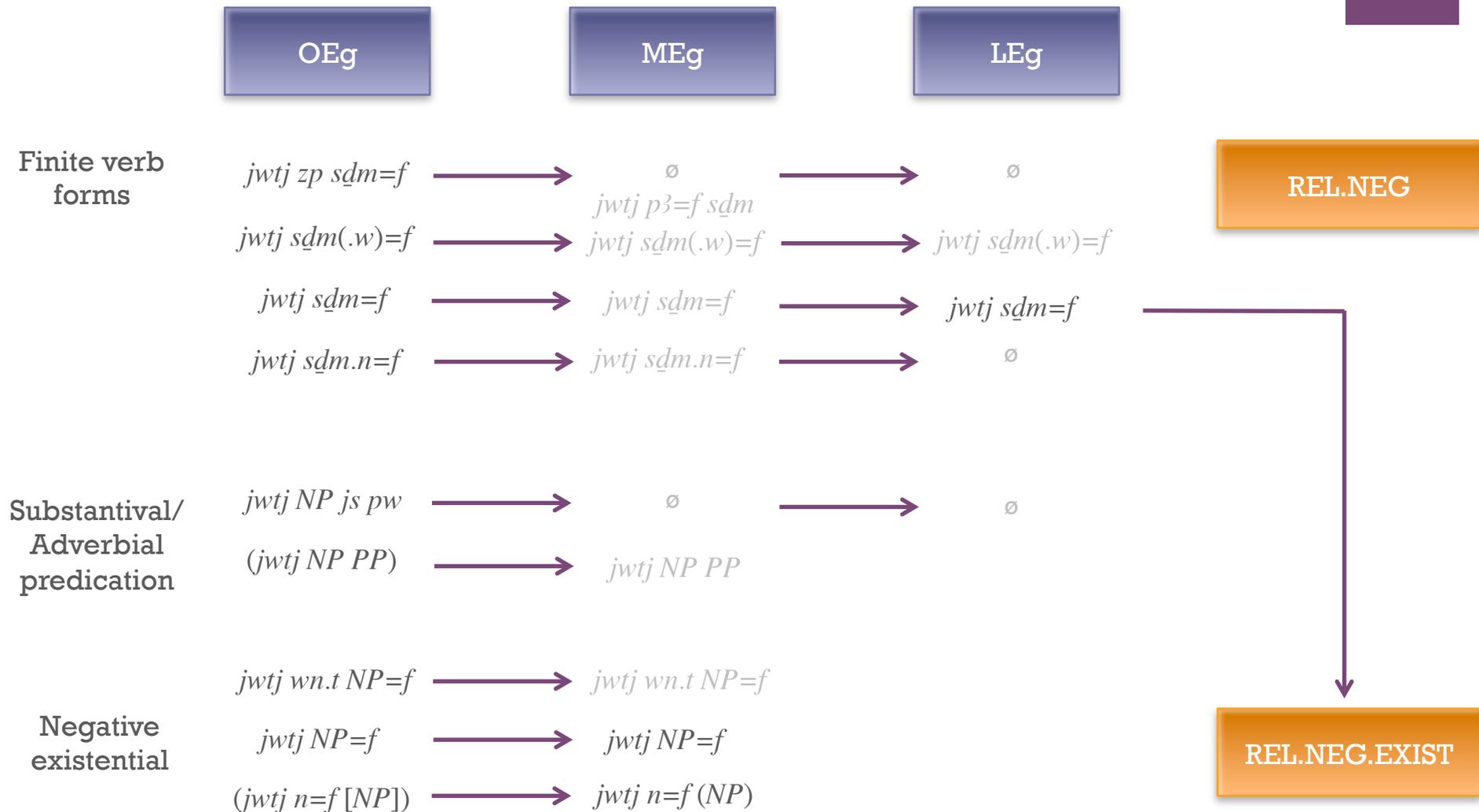
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



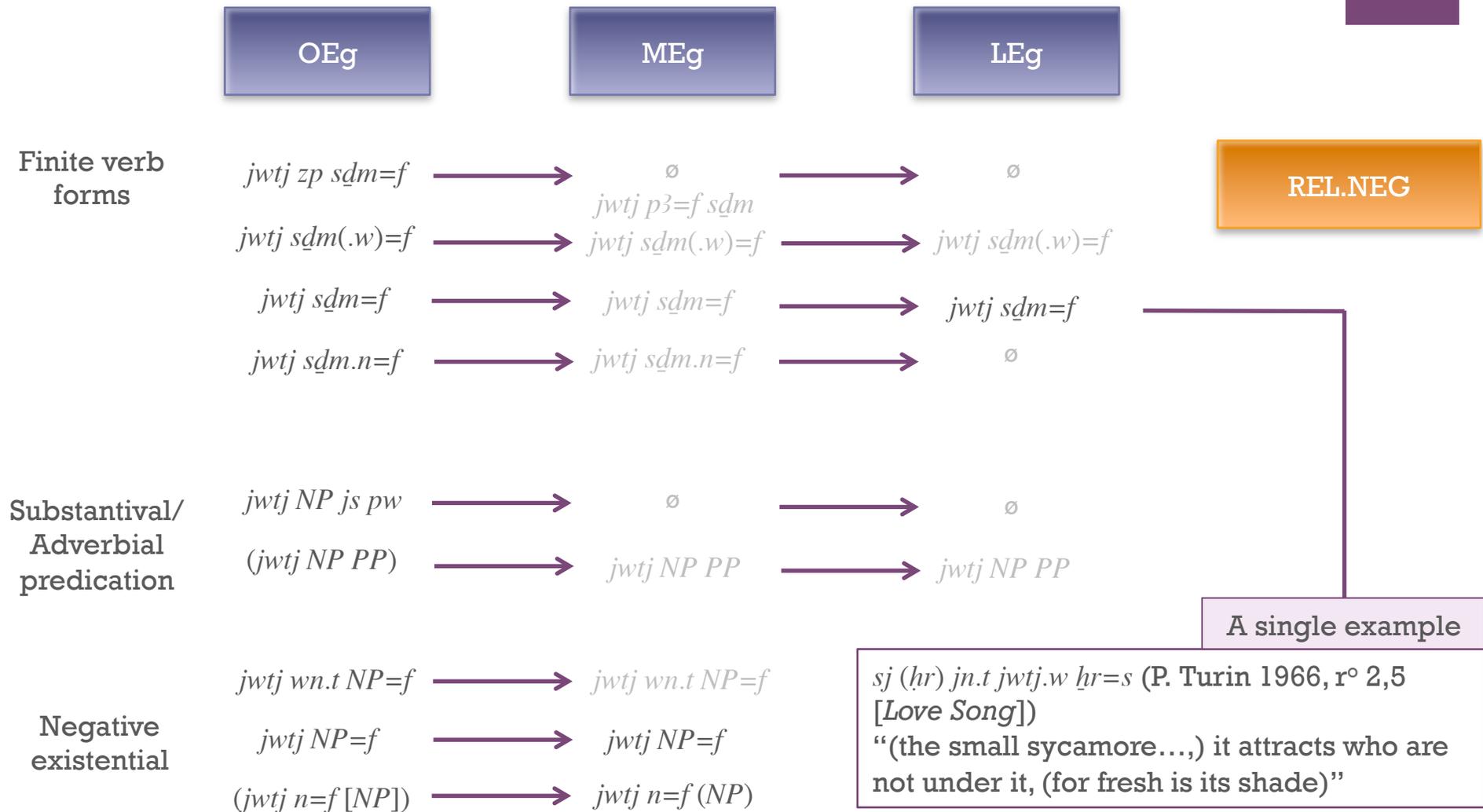
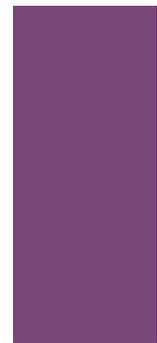
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



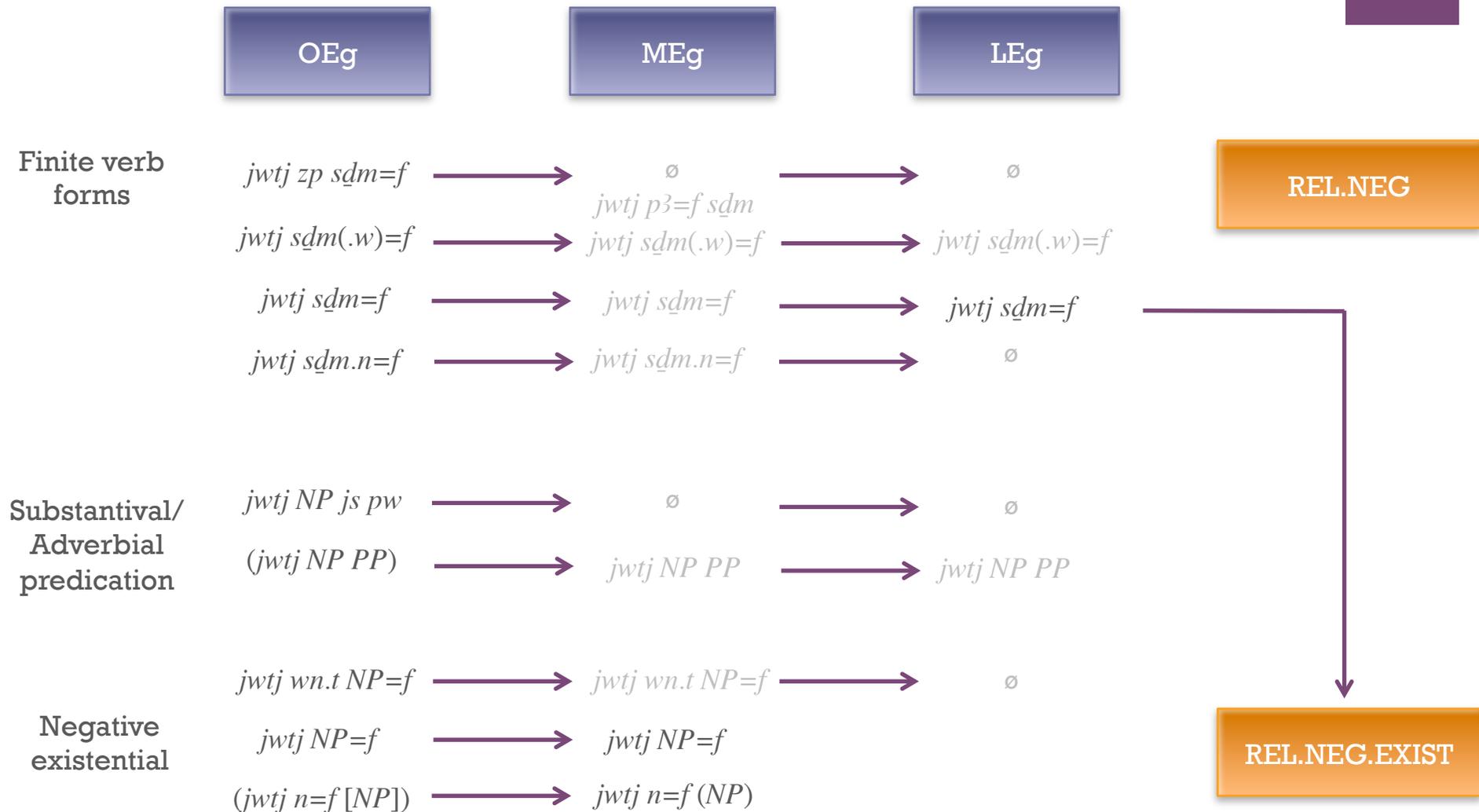
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

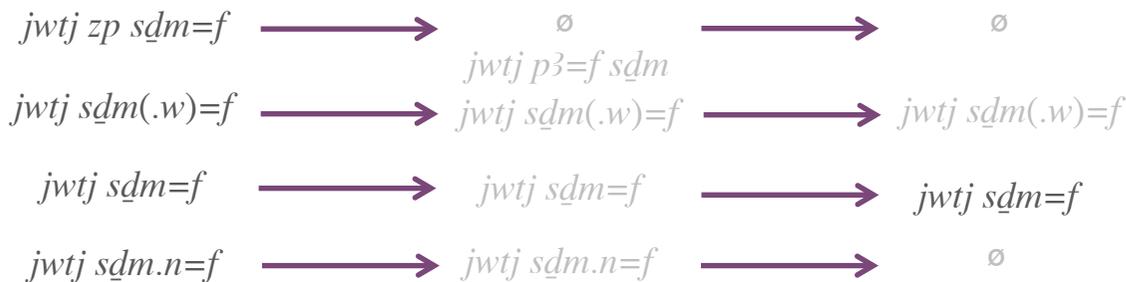


+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



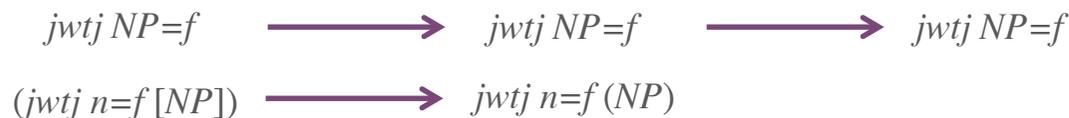
Finite verb forms



Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



Negative
existential



REL.NEG

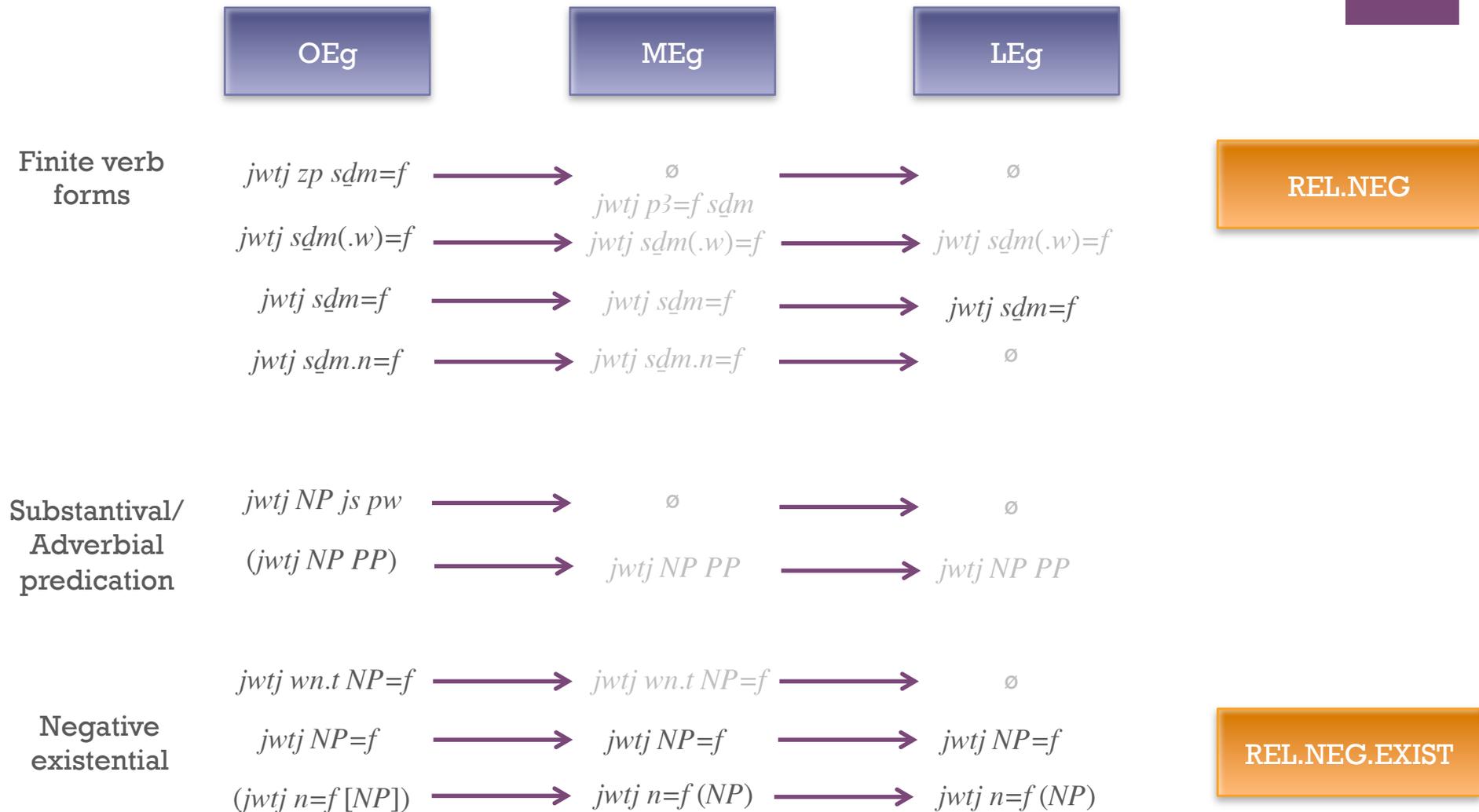
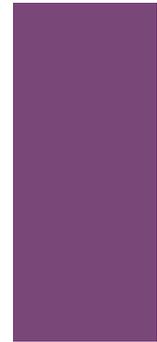
*m jr z jwtj h3tj=f jw bn
n=f sb3y(.t)*
(P. Bologna 1094, 3,6)
“Do not act as a foolish
man who has no
education”

jnk w^cw, jwtj hnw=f
(O. Gardiner 304, r^o 12)
“I’m a lonely person,
without family”

REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

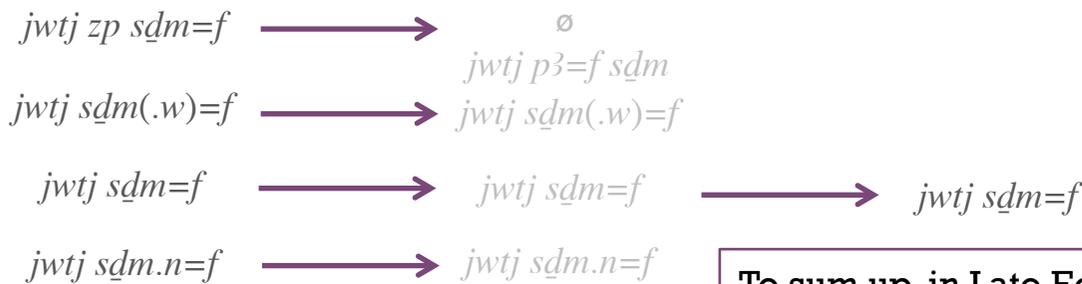


+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

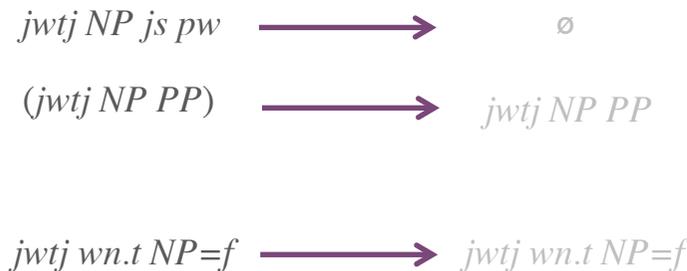


Finite verb forms



REL.NEG

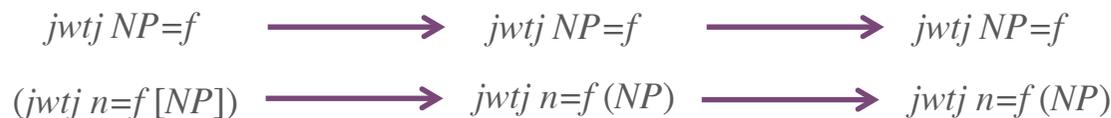
Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



To sum up, in Late Egyptian:

- *jwtj* is functionally limited to REL.NEG.EXIST uses
- It is used with verbal roots with active or passive reading (e.g. 'he who does not accept' vs 'he who is not accepted')
- It is used with nouns with privative meaning (e.g. who is without heart < he whose heart does not exist).

Negative existential



REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEG

MEG

Ég. de Trad.



REL.NEG

REL.NEG.EXIST

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p³=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*
jwtj sdm.n=f → *jwtj sdm.n=f*

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw → \emptyset
(jwtj NP PP) → *jwtj NP PP*

Negative
existential

jwtj wn.t NP=f → *jwtj wn.t NP=f*
jwtj NP=f → *jwtj NP=f*
(jwtj n=f [NP]) → *jwtj n=f (NP)*

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*

OEG

MEG

Ég. de Trad.

Finite verb forms

jwtj zp sdm=f → \emptyset
jwtj p³=f sdm
jwtj sdm(.w)=f → *jwtj sdm(.w)=f*
jwtj sdm=f → *jwtj sdm=f*
jwtj sdm.n=f → *jwtj sdm.n=f*

REL.NEG

- Werning (2011, I: 234-sq., §170-sq.)
- Jansen-Winkel (1996: 471-sq., §734-sq.)
- Kurth (2008: 976-sq., §263-sq.) according to whom **ntj n* is not attested in Ptolemaic

Substantial/
Adverbial
predication

jwtj NP js pw → \emptyset
(jwtj NP PP) → *jwtj NP PP*

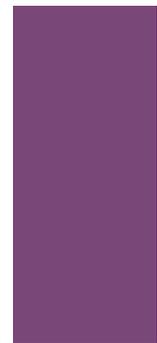
Negative
existential

jwtj wn.t NP=f → *jwtj wn.t NP=f*
jwtj NP=f → *jwtj NP=f*
(jwtj n=f [NP]) → *jwtj n=f (NP)*

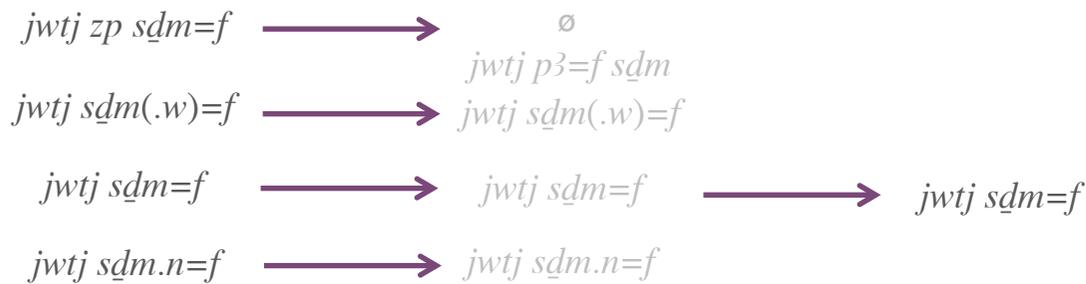
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms

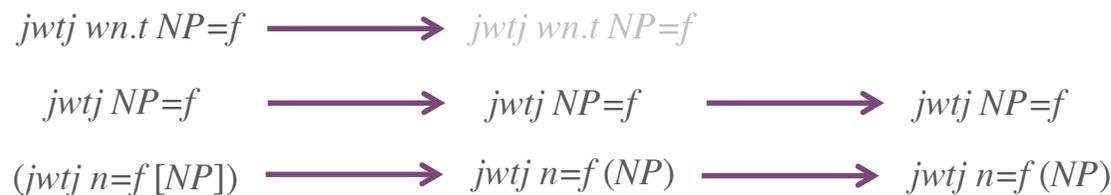


REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



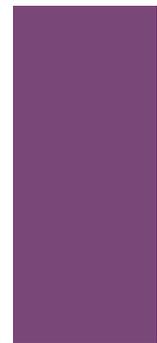
Negative
existential



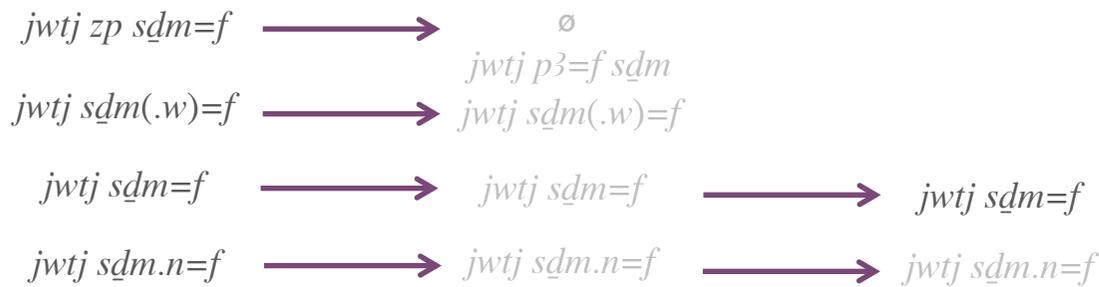
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms



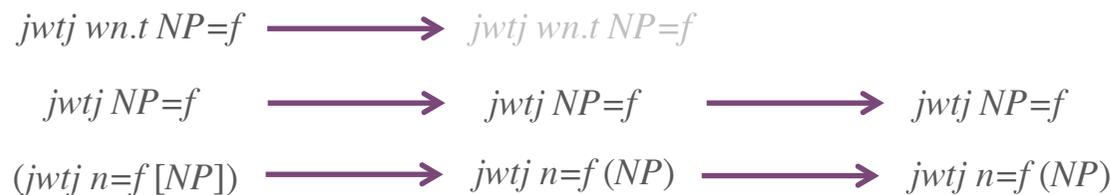
REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



d3j p.t iwtj wrd.n=f (Stela Louvre C 256, l. 13-14)
 “who crosses the sky without being tired”
 See *jwtj wrd=f hft t3j=f wsr* (Urk. IV, 1279,17) “one who is not tired when he seizes the oar”

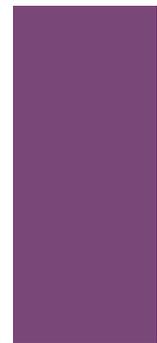
Negative
existential



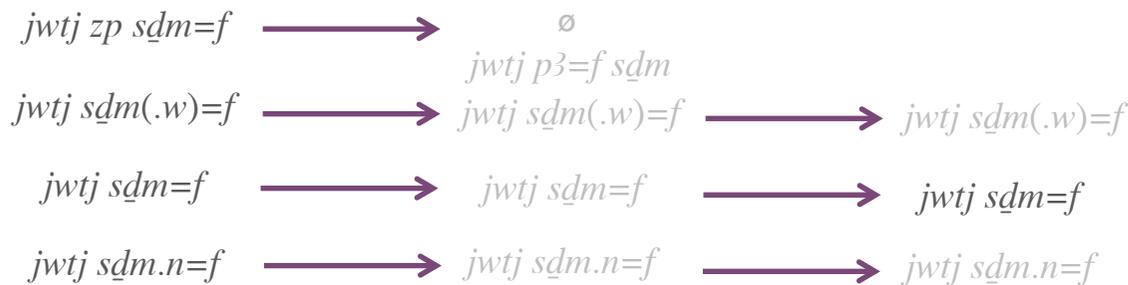
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms

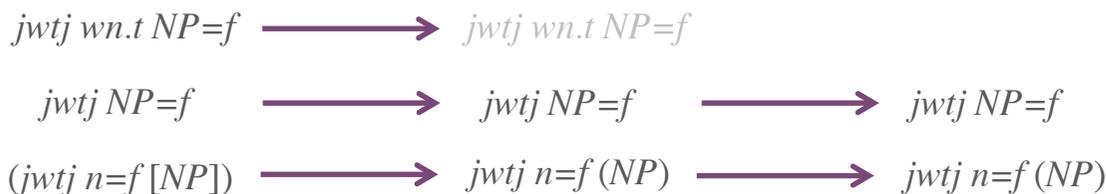


REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



jwtj gm wn=f (Cairo CG 42254 = JE 37374, v^o 2)
“who is not found guilty”

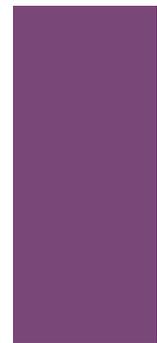


Negative
existential

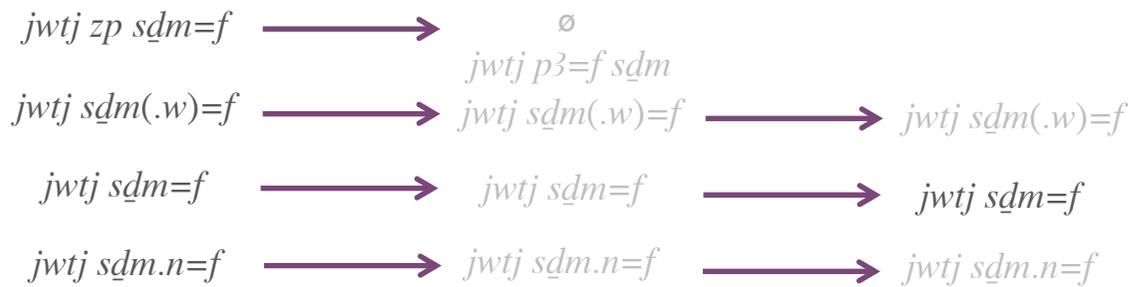
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms



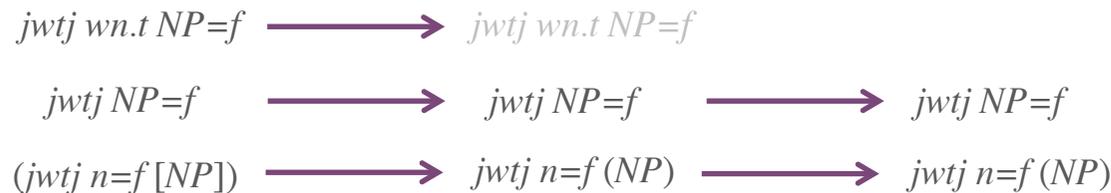
REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



n hpr shm jwtj shm=f m-hnt=f (Dendera VI, 112,14)
 “there is no sanctuary in which his (i.e. Horus’) image is not”

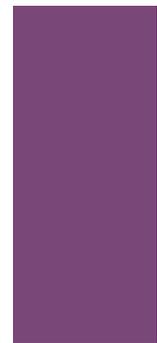
Negative existential



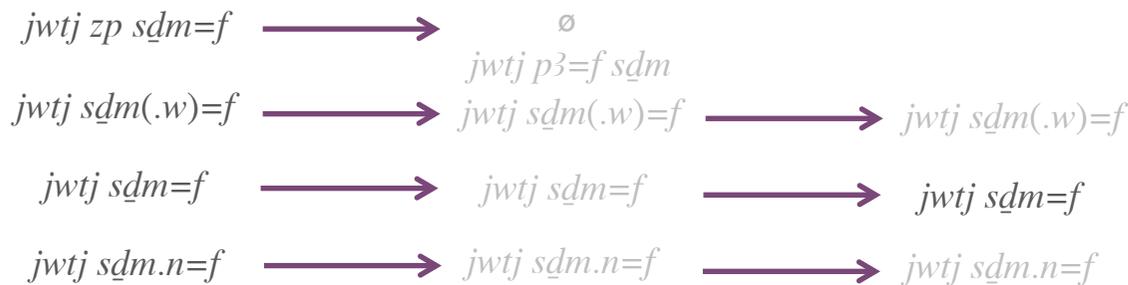
REL.NEG.EXIST

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The patterns introduced by *jwtj*



Finite verb forms

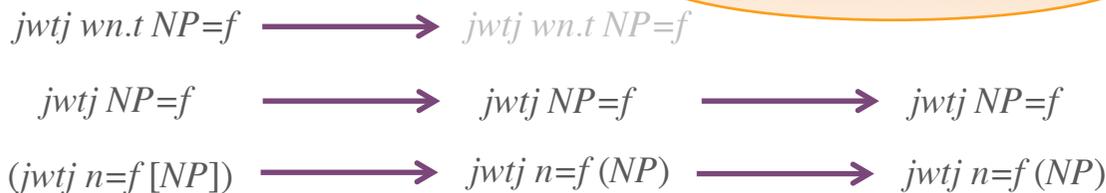


REL.NEG

Substantival/
Adverbial
predication



nswt nhh jwtj whm.tj=fj (Dendera V, 85,2)
“(Harsomtus the child is) the king of eternity,
whom no-one will repeat”



Negative
existential

REL.NEG.EXIST



The lost of resumption

About contexts and frequency

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

Resumption findet regelmäßig statt, unabhängig davon, welcher Satzteil zum Nukleus wird, auch im Falle des Objekts und sogar des Subjekts.

Schenkel (2005; 2012)



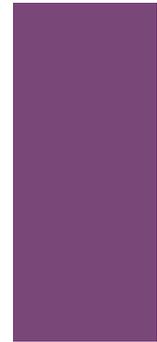
The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- A first example already in OEg

jn.n(=j) jn.w m h3s.t tn r 3.t wr.t, jwtj zp in.t(w) mrt.t jn t3 pn dr-b3h (Urk. I, 125,6-7)

“I have brought back tributes from this country in great quantity, without anything similar having ever been brought back to this land in the past.”





The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- A first example already in OEg

jn.n(=j) jn.w m h3s.t tn r 3.t wr.t, jwtj zp in.t(w) mrt.t jn t3 pn dr-b3h (Urk. I, 125,6-7)

“I have brought back tributes from this country in great quantity, without anything similar having ever been brought back to this land in the past.”

- Two examples from Mo^calla

jnk pw t3j jwtj wn kj (Mo^calla, I, β, 3)

“I was a male without equal”

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- A first example already in OEg

jn.n(=j) jn.w m h3s.t tn r ʕ3.t wr.t, jwtj zp in.t(w) mrt.t jn t3 pn dr-b3h (Urk. I, 125,6-7)

“I have brought back tributes from this country in great quantity, without anything similar having ever been brought back to this land in the past.”

- Two examples from Mo^calla

jnk pw t3j jwtj wn kj (Mo^calla, I, β, 3)

“I was a male without equal”

RELATIONAL NOUNS
see the notes by Werning
(2013: 247-248)



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- A first example already in OEg

jn.n(=j) jn.w m ḥ3s.t tn r ʕ3.t wr.t, jwtj zp in.t(w) mrt.t jr t3 pn dr-b3ḥ (Urk. I, 125,6-7)

“I have brought back tributes from this country in great quantity, without anything similar having ever been brought back to this land in the past.”

- Two examples from Mo^calla

jnk pw t3j jwtj wn kj (Mo^calla, I, β, 3)

“I was a male without equal”

jw dj.n(=j) ḥm.t n jwt ḥm.t (Mo^calla, IV, 6-7)

“I gave a wife to the single man (lit. ‘wifeless’)

- In MEg

jwtj šwjw (Peas. B1, 154)

“the rich (lit. ‘with no lack’)”

RELATIONAL NOUNS
see the notes by Werning
(2013: 247-248)

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- A first example already in OEg

jn.n(=j) jn.w m ḥ3s.t tn r ʕ3.t wr.t, jwtj zp in.t(w) mrt.t jr t3 pn dr-b3ḥ (Urk. I, 125,6-7)
“I have brought back tributes from this country in great quantity, without anything similar having ever been brought back to this land in the past.”

- Two examples from Mo^calla

jnk pw t3j jwtj wn kj (Mo^calla, I, β, 3)
“I was a male without equal”

jw dj.n(=j) ḥm.t n jwt ḥm.t (Mo^calla, IV, 6-7)
“I gave a wife to the single man (lit. ‘wifeless’)”

- In MEg

jwtj šwjw (Peas. B1, 154)
“the rich (lit. ‘with no lack’)”

RELATIONAL NOUNS
see the notes by Werning
(2013: 247-248)



GENERIC REFERENTS



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- A first example already in OEg

jn.n(=j) jn.w m h3s.t tn r 3.t wr.t, jwtj zp in.t(w) mrt.t jr t3 pn dr-b3h (Urk. I, 125,6-7)
 “I have brought back tributes from this country in great quantity, without anything similar having ever been brought back to this land in the past.”

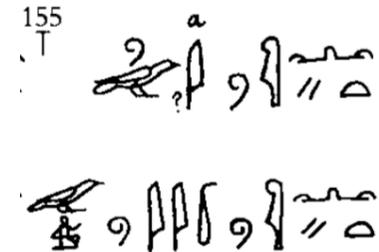
- Two examples from Mo^calla

jnk pw t3j jwtj wn kj (Mo^calla, I, β, 3)
 “I was a male without equal”

jw dj.n(=j) hm.t n jwt hm.t (Mo^calla, IV, 6-7)
 “I gave a wife to the single man (lit. ‘wifeless’)”

- In MEg

jwtj šwjw (Peas. B1, 154)
 “the rich (lit. ‘with no lack’)”

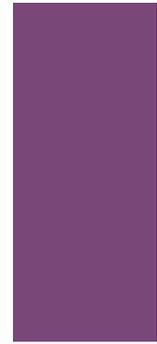


GENERIC REFERENTS

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- In LEg, c. 25% of the occurrences of the construction *jwtj* NP(=*f*) lack resumptive pronouns (mostly 20nd Dyn. and after, but already attested during the Amarna period)



+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- In the Late Period hieratic wisdom text of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 (26th dyn.), no resumptive pronoun is used, whether for *jwtj*+Noun or *jwtj*+Verb

(j)mj p3y=k nkt n p3 ntr jwtj d3r (l. 2,20)
“give your property to the god without need”

t3 hm.t jwtj ms(.t) (l. 5,15)
“the wife who does not give birth”



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption

- In the Late Period hieratic wisdom text of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 (26th dyn.), no resumptive pronoun is used, whether for *jwtj*+Noun or *jwtj*+Verb

(j)mj p3y=k nkt n p3 ntr jwtj d3r (l. 2,20)
“give your property to the god without need”

t3 hm.t jwtj ms(.t) (l. 5,15)
“the wife who does not give birth”

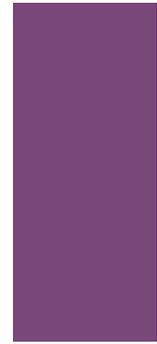
- In Demotic, the only construction with the resumptive pronoun is *jwtj-r'* =*f* (cf. Coptic $\lambda\tau\rho\omega\varsigma$; CD 288a & *KHWb* 160)

n p3 smt jwtj r3=f, jw wn mtw=f h3tj=f, jw bn-jw=f rh wšb r n3.w-nfr
(P. Vienna 3877 [Harper], III,12 [Roman]; CDD I, 75)
“(he is) like a mute, but having his mind, however being unable to give a correct answer”

+

The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption



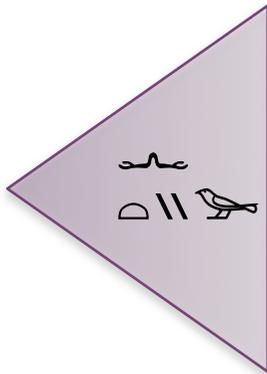
OEg

MEg

LEg

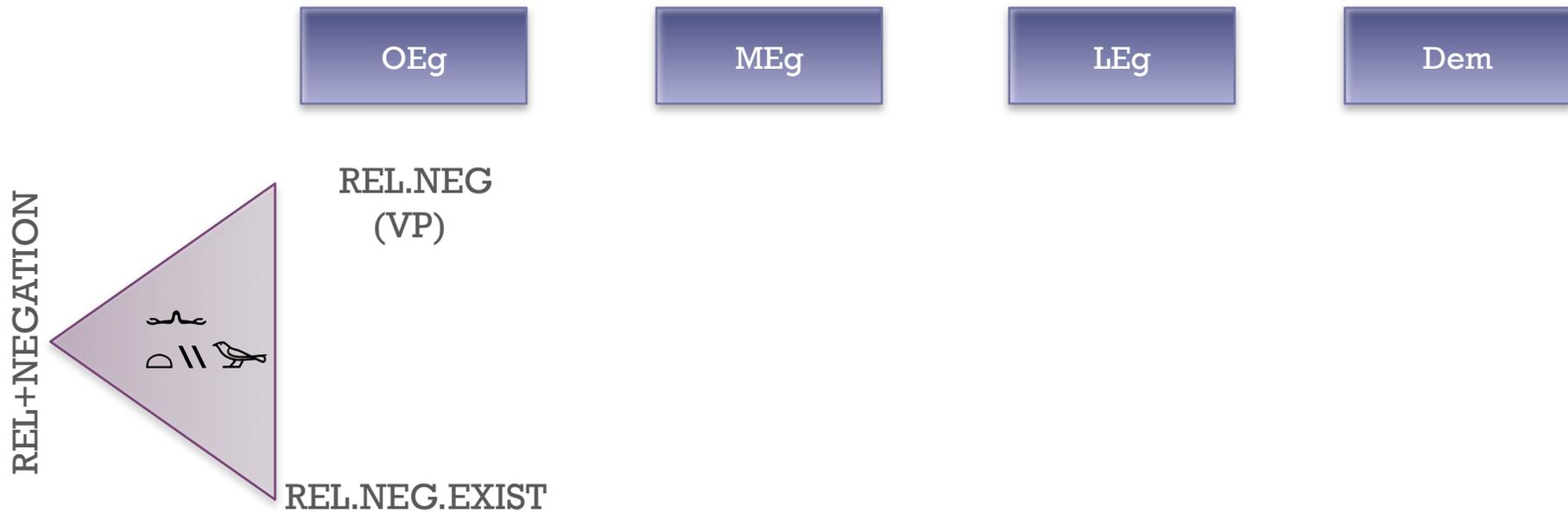
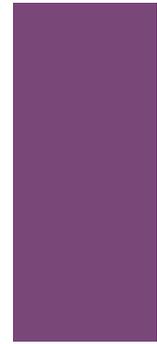
Dem

REL+NEGATION



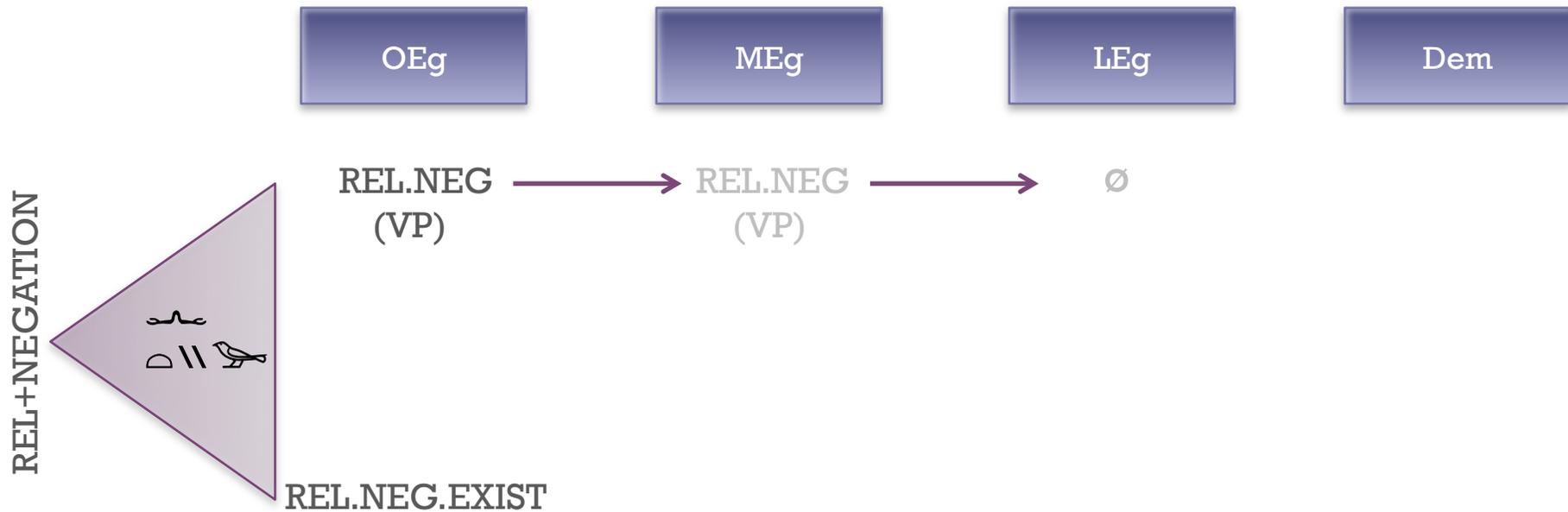
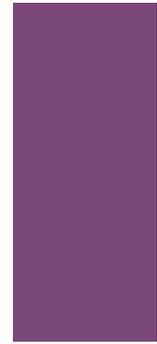
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption



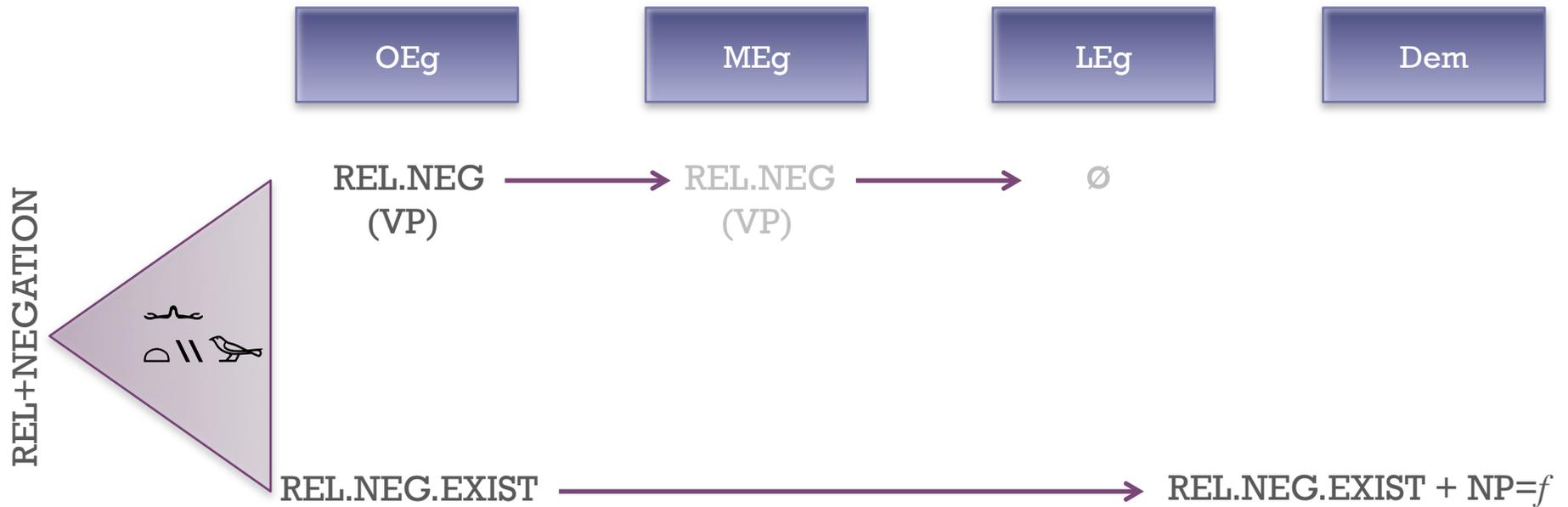
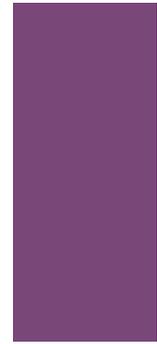
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption



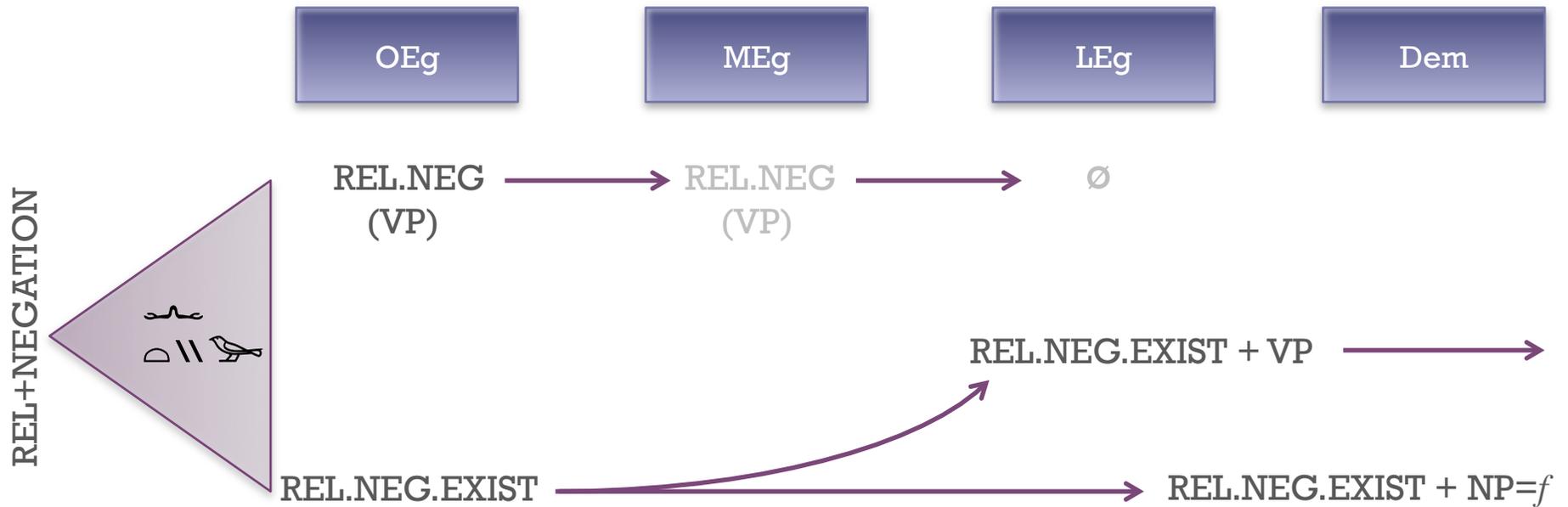
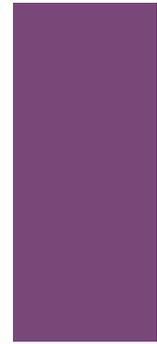
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption



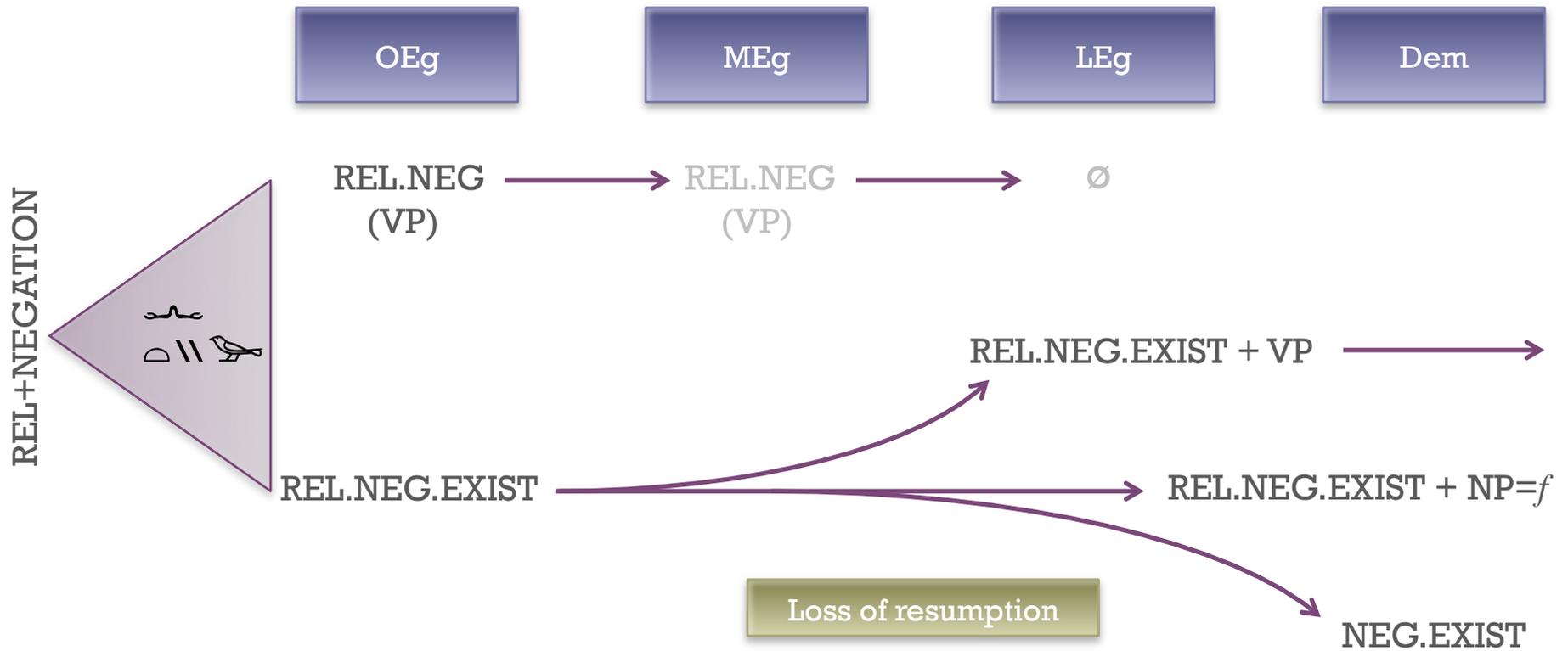
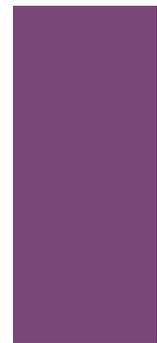
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption



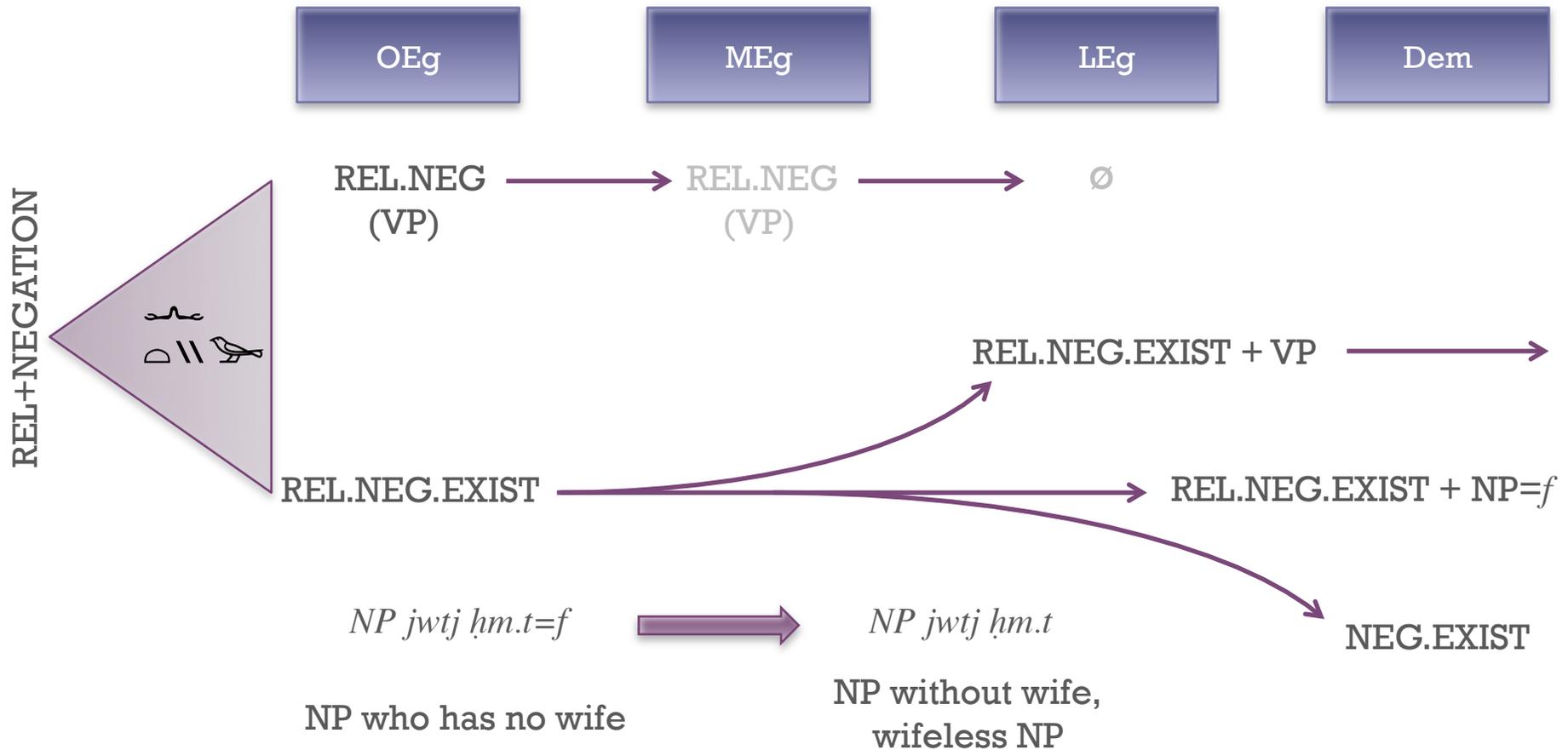
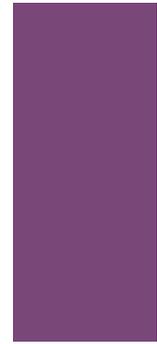
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption



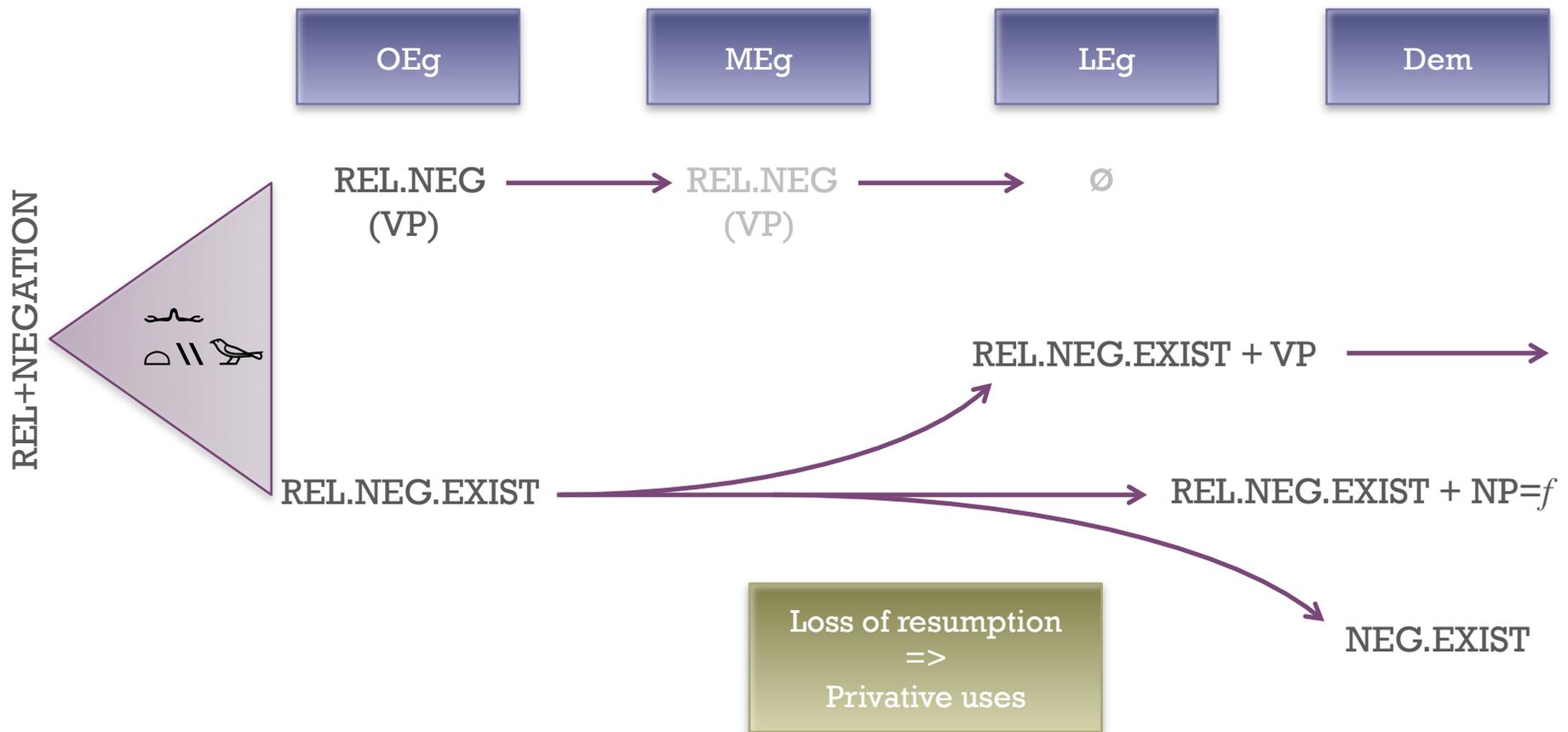
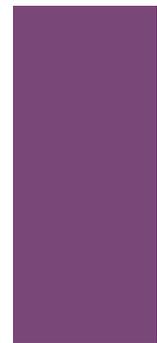
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption



+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The loss of resumption





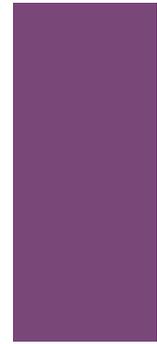
The functions of *jwtj*-headed
phrases and clauses



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn*. *iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute





The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn*. *iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute

mk sw m jwtj jb=f (P. Chester Beatty 1, v^o C2,2)
“Look, he is like a fool”

jst bw sh³.n=k p³ jwtj dr.t=f (O. Florence 2619, r^o 2)
“don’t you remember the butterfinger?
(one does not know his name; he is loaded like a donkey ...)”

Substantival function



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn*. *iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute

mk sw m jwtj jb=f (P. Chester Beatty 1, v^o C2,2)
“Look, he is like a fool”

jst bw sh3.n=k p3 jwtj dr.t=f (O. Florence 2619, r^o 2)
“don’t you remember the butterfinger?
(one does not know his name; he is loaded like a donkey ...)”

ksn w3.t jwtj mw=s (KRI I, 66,2 [*Kanais*])
“the water-less road is tiresome”

Substantival function

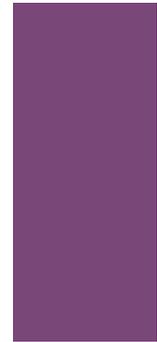
Attributive function



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn*. *iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute
- Werning (2013: 244-248) traces the semantically circumstantial use of *jwtj* in the *Netherworld Books* back to FIP and OK texts





The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn*. *iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute
- Werning (2013: 244-248) traces the semantically circumstantial use of *jwtj* in the *Netherworld Books* back to FIP and OK texts

jn.n(=j) jn.w m h3s.t tn r 3.t wr.t, jwtj zp in.t(w) mrt.t jr t3 pn dr-b3h
 (*Urk.* I, 125,6-7)

“I have brought back tributes from this country in great quantity, without anything similar having ever been brought back to this land in the past.”

(...) *jwt(j) hkr.n=tn hr=s, jwt(j) hw3.n=tn hr=s* (*Pyr.* 1513c [P])

“(food...) thanks to which you do not starve, nor go bad.”
 Consecutive reading in Werning (2013: 248) “so that ...”

No resumption

ADJUNCTAL FUNCTION

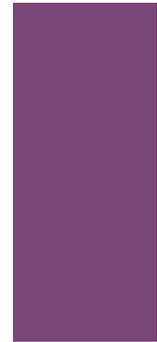
Distant antecedent



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn. iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute
- Werning (2013: 244-248) traces the semantically circumstantial use of *jwtj* in the *Netherworld Books* back to FIP and OK texts
- Hypothesis: Attributive *jwtj* > Adjunctal *jwtj*, loss of NP internal coherence as with
 - Absence of resumption





The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn. iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute
- Werning (2013: 244-248) traces the semantically circumstantial use of *jwtj* in the *Netherworld Books* back to FIP and OK texts
- Hypothesis: Attributive *jwtj* > Adjunctal *jwtj*, loss of NP internal coherence as with
 - Absence of resumption
 - Co-reference and/or relative tense

d3j p.t iwty wrd.n=f (Stela Louvre C 256, l. 13-14)
“he who crosses the sky without being tired”



The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

- Gilula (1970: 213) states that “*iwty* (...) is the nominalization (the subordinated, substantivized form) of the negative word *n* and possibly also *nn*. *iwty* enables the negative construction to function as a substantive or an attribute
- Werning (2013: 244-248) traces the semantically circumstantial use of *jwtj* in the *Netherworld Books* back to FIP and OK texts
- Hypothesis: Attributive *jwtj* > Adjunctal *jwtj*, loss of NP internal coherence as with
 - Absence of resumption
 - Co-reference and/or relative tense

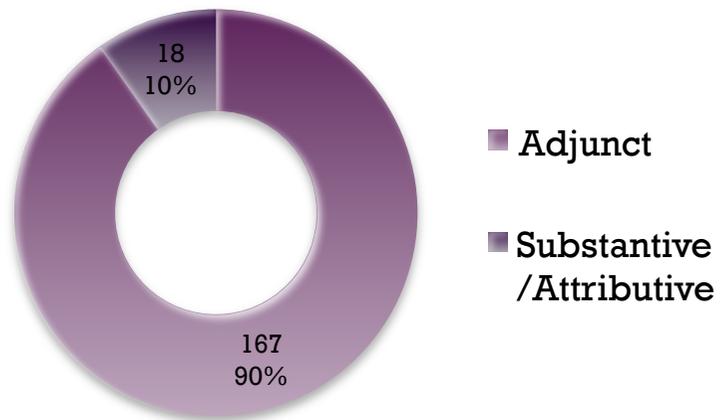
mwt=f di.t irj=w dnn jwtj ḥḥ (P. Brooklyn, 47.218.135, l. 6,13)
“and he will have them tormented non-stop”

+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

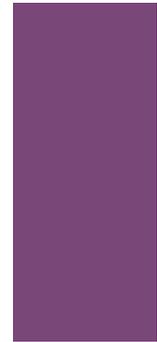
■ The situation in Demotic

Token frequency



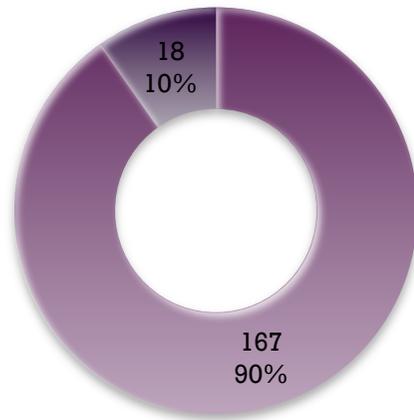
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

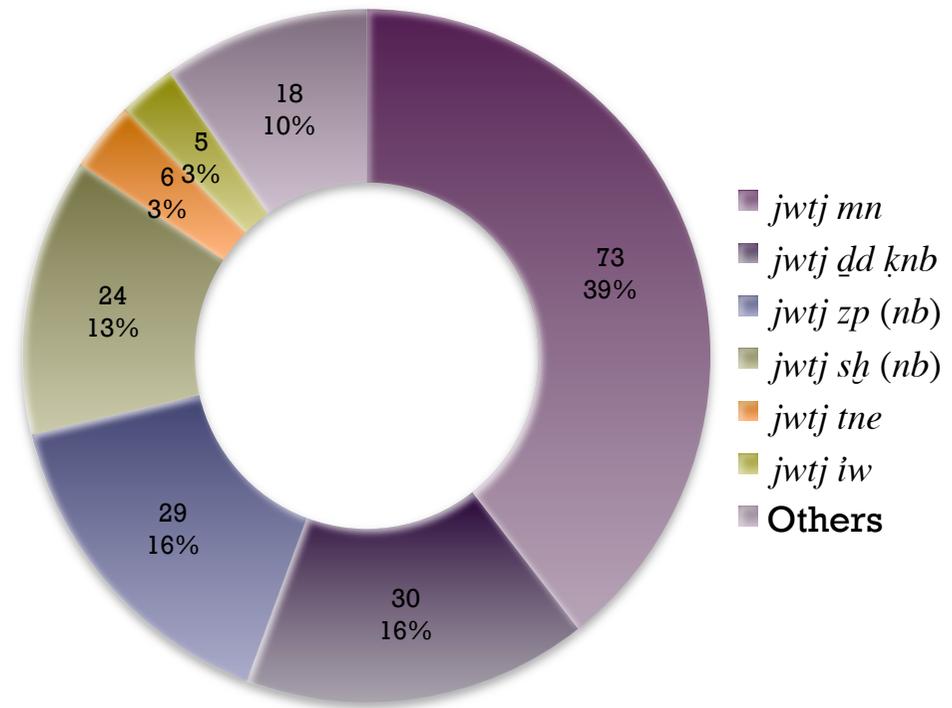


■ The situation in Demotic

Token frequency



- Adjunct
- Substantive /Attributive

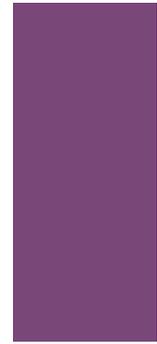


- *jwtj mn*
- *jwtj dd knb*
- *jwtj zp (nb)*
- *jwtj sh (nb)*
- *jwtj tne*
- *jwtj iw*
- Others

Without delay; without going to court; completely; without objection; without tax; without receipt

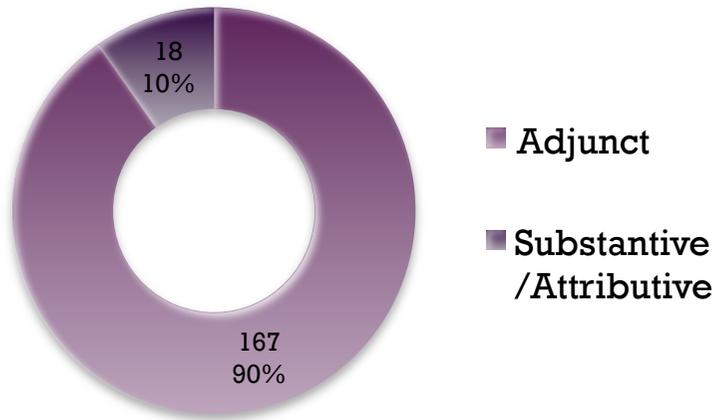
+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

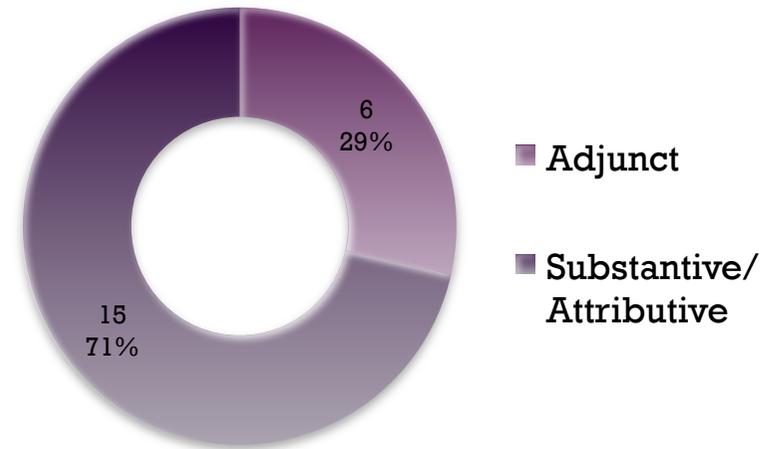


■ The situation in Demotic

Token frequency



Type frequency

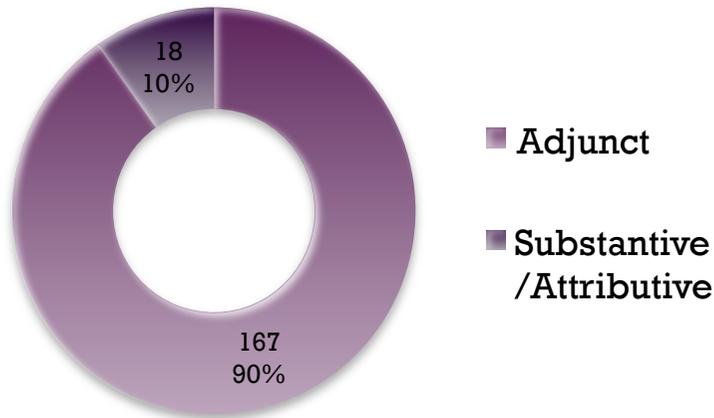


+ The genesis and diachrony of *at-*

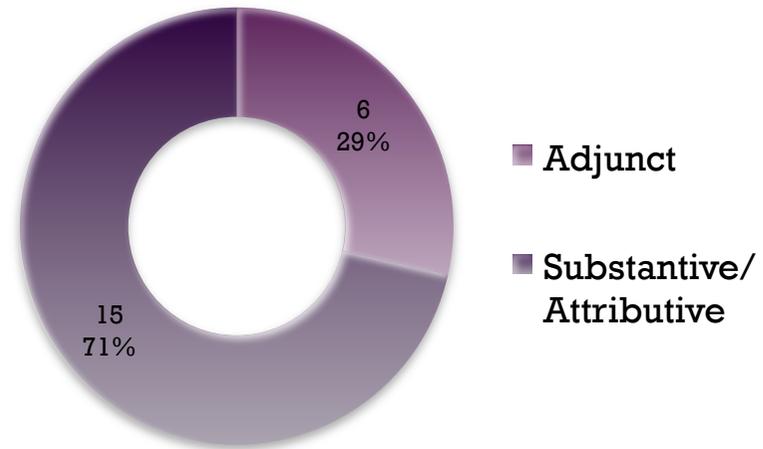
The functions of *jwtj*-headed phrases and clauses

■ The situation in Demotic

Token frequency



Type frequency



[*m*]tw=*n jr md.t nb n p3 t3 jwtj šn.tj=f* (Petub. 10/7-8)

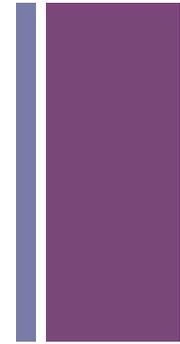
“(It did not happen) [th]at we did anything on earth without asking him”



Conclusions

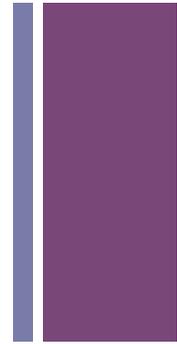
+ Conclusions

- In this talk, we have traced the history of *jwtj* from Earlier Egyptian to Later Egyptian
- We have shown that the development of a negative relativizer into a negative agentive nominalizer is both complex and gradual, involving:
 - The loss of compatibility with a wide range of verbal and non-verbal clause types, resulting with only the negative existential function remaining stable (pivot period MEg)
 - The loss of resumption (pivot period LEg)
 - Which leads to the development of adjunctal functions out of attributive contexts (pivot period Demotic)



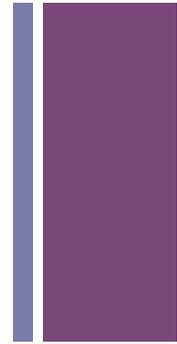
+ Conclusions

- In this talk, we have traced the history of *jwtj* from Earlier Egyptian to Later Egyptian
- We have shown that the development of a negative relativizer into a negative agentive nominalizer is both complex and gradual
- The occurrence of the infinitive in this construction does not seem to be a direct continuation of earlier *jwtj* + VP constructions, but rather seems to have been facilitated by the construction's restriction to the negative existential function



+ Conclusions

- More broadly, the case of Ancient Egyptian *jwtj* is valuable for the general understanding of the diachronic typology of agentive nominalization constructions





Thank you for your
attention!

Eitan Grossman

eitan.grossman@mail.huji.ac.il

Stéphane Polis

s.polis@ulg.ac.be

