

Uninflected Relative Verb Forms as Converbs and Verbal Rhemes

The two schemes of the Emphatic Construction as a detached adjectival
phrase construction and as a truncated Balanced Sentence *

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Abstract

First, it is argued that, in the Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction, the use of the Uninflected Relative Forms (traditionally “Nominal Verb Forms”) as initial circumstantial clauses is similar to the use of adverbial participles and adverbial relative clauses in other languages. Accordingly, the construction is identified as a detached adjectival verb form construction (here “Detached Relative Form Construction”, DRF-Cx), in which the Uninflected Relative Verb Form serves as a “converb”, i.e., a less inflected, adjectival verb form that is used adverbially. In a second line of thought, it is hypothesized that the Emphatic Construction proper (“First Scheme”) was born from a Verbal Balanced Sentence Construction with two identical Uninflected Relative Forms plus an additional adverbial phrase, in which the second ‘twin’ Uninflected Relative Forms was omitted due to its semantic redundancy. In contrast to earlier accounts, this scenario explains simultaneously a) the construction’s semantic layout, i.e., the sequence ground—focused foreground and the effectively absolute tense interpretation of the Uninflected Relative Form; b) its morphosyntactic layout, i.e., Uninflected Relative Form—adverbial phrase); and c) its paradigmatic fingerprint which is similar to that of Nominal Sentences. Altogether, this analysis takes notably 1) the Adverbial Sentence Construction, 2) the Detached Relative Form Construction (“Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction”), and 3) the Emphatic Construction proper, alias “Circumstance Focusing Construction” (CF-Cx) as three different, unrelated constructions, — the latter, i.e. the CF-Cx, however, being related to the Verbal Balanced Sentence, i.e., a Nominal Sentence.

Keywords: Emphatic Construction, Balanced Sentence, Detached Participle Construction, Absolute Participle Construction, Adverbial Participle Construction, Relative clause, Converb, Pragmatic focus, Adverbial Sentence, Great Hymn to the Aten 12.

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§1 Assumptions

Currently, Egyptological linguistics is still divided about the question of how many morphologically distinct verbal forms exist in Hieroglyphic Egyptian. For the following argument, this matter is crucial. Furthermore, it is still debated which tenses and aspects characterize Earlier Egyptian verbal forms and constructions. It is therefore necessary to make explicit the linguistic assumptions underlying the following arguments.

First, I assume that there are basically *two* different types of the so-called Suffix Conjugation verb forms: a) verbal (“Verbal Forms”) and b) adjectival (“Relative Forms”).¹ Depending on the paradigmatic slot and function, the adjectival forms come with two inflectional behaviors: b1) forms that are inflected by gender and number (Relative Forms proper) and b2) forms that lack gender and number inflection. The latter are commonly called the “Nominal Verb Forms”. Based on morphological similarities with the Relative Verb Forms, they are today again identified as “relatifs abstraits”/“abstrakt-relativische Verbformen” (Polotsky 1944: 56; cf. Schenkel 1990: 148/9, 164–7; ⁴2005, ⁵2012) or “Non-attributive Relative Forms” (Allen 2000; ²2010). For reasons that will become clear in §4, I would like to highlight the fact that, as compared to Relative Forms, these forms lack gender and number inflection (Polotsky 1964: 276, fn. 3). Therefore, I choose to label these verb forms as “Uninflected Relative Forms” (URFs). Furthermore, it is important to remember that, differently to the Egyptian Resultative (*alias* Stative), all the so-called Suffix Conjugation forms do *not* entail person inflection.² The label “uninflected” in “Uninflected Relative Forms” only relates to the loss of its adjectival gender/number inflection.

Second, I assume that verbal forms and verbal constructions are basically marked for *relative tense* (i.e., simultaneous, anterior, posterior tense, or tense neutral) as well as for *phasal aspect* (i.e. ingressive, progressive, completive, or perfective, or neutral; see Werning 2008, *id.* 2011.I: ch. IV.B). In main clauses, the temporal anchor for the relative tense that is inherent to the verbal forms or verbal constructions is the contextual temporal ground; in subordinate adverbial clauses, the temporal anchor is the respective superordinate main clause (Werning 2011.I: 211/2 [§145]).

1 For an, as far as I know, unique approach that generally does not categorize Verbal Forms and Relative Forms as separate forms, see Allen (2014). Cf. also a forthcoming article of Andréas Stauder in the proceedings of a *Workshop on Earlier Egyptian Grammar, Brown University, March 27–29, 2013* to be published in the series Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Ancient Western Asia.

2 The so-called “suffix pronouns” are attached to these verbal forms if and only if the subject is pronominal. Differently to, for example, Latin personal pronoun suffixes, the Egyptian personal “suffix pronoun” is ‘missing’ if the subject is a full noun or if the subject is completely omitted. These Egyptian personal pronouns are in complementary distribution with full nouns as subjects. Traditionally speaking, they fill the paradigmatic slot of the subject nominal phrase (compare examples (10) and (16) below). Therefore, the “suffix pronouns” are not to be classified as an *inflection* in the usual meaning of it. It is not even clear whether the “*suffix* pronouns” are to be classified as suffixes or as clitics if attached to Suffix Conjugation forms. They can be attached to verbs, nouns, prepositions, and sentence particles. Furthermore, they don’t seem to affect their hosts if the host is a Suffix Conjugation form (but cf. Werning 2011.I: §110 with fn. 252). Anyhow, the glosses below classify them as clitics.

Crucial for the line of argument presented below is the identification of the *sdm.n* forms in the Emphatic Construction(s) *not* as the ‘normal’ verbal Anterior *sdm.n*, but as the Anterior Uninflected Relative Form *sdm.n*, traditionally the “Nominal *sdm.n(=f)*”, just like the *mrr* forms in the Emphatic Construction(s) are evidently *not* identical with the ‘normal’ verbal Imperfective *mr*, but are to be identified as an Imperfective Uninflected Relative Form *mrr*, traditionally the “Nominal *sdm(=f)*”, related to the Imperfective/Distributive Relative Form *mrr.w*. That not only the *sdm*, but also the *sdm.n* in the Emphatic Construction(s) is distinct from the respective verbal verb form has mainly been argued for based on two independent phenomena. One phenomenon is the syntactic and pragmatic distribution of *sdm.n* forms, as intensively analyzed within the research program concerned with validating the so-called Standard Theory associated with the work of Hans J. Polotsky (Polotsky 1965: §§22ff). Taken as especially important in this framework are the distributions of the *sdm.n* of verbs of motion and of the passive *sdm.n-tw* form, as well as the co-occurrence of sentence initiality and a pragmatic stress outside the core verbal phrase. The other phenomenon, recognized by Wolfgang Schenkel (2009; 2006: 61–6; ⁵2012: 192/3), is the distribution of spellings of *sdm.n* forms of verbs *secundae geminatae* (e.g. *ḥmn* vs. *ḥmmn*) and verbs *ultimae n* (e.g. *fgnn* vs. *fgnn/fgn*).³ Anyhow, independent of whether the reader acknowledges the Anterior Uninflected Relative Form in these constructions, effects only those parts of the argumentation below that build upon clearly discernable relative vs. absolute tense relation. In each case, the analysis itself can be applied at least to the case of the Emphatic Construction(s) with the Imperfective Uninflected Relative Form *mrr*.

The assumptions about the core system of Earlier Egyptian verbal forms, upon which the present argument is built, are summarized in table 1.

3 For a detailed review of Schenkel’s analysis, see now Stauder (2014). He comes to the conclusion “that none [of the written forms of the *sdm.n(=f)*] supports the hypothesis [of two morphologically distinct forms of the *sdm.n(=f)*] (*just as none contradicts it*)” (Stauder 2014: 83; emphasis D.W.). The question is, therefore, still open to debate. Stauder’s argument, however, builds upon and is dependent on the assumption that the certain spellings of a/the *sdmn* of verbs *II.gem. without* ‘geminata’, notably *mḥn*, *ḥmn*, and *tḥn* (instead of **mḥḥn*, **ḥmmn*, and **tḥḥn*), can be explained ‘away’ by phonetic assimilation **/CvL’vLnv/ > */CvL’vnnv/* (with “L” standing for a liquid) and/or a change **/CvL’vLnv/ > */CvL’v(ḡ)nv/*, to the end that the second liquid is not written (p. 89/90, 95). Wondering whether one would then not expect similar phenomena to occur more often in other written inflected forms, I am hesitant to embrace this alternative hypothesis at the moment. The reader may also want to form an opinion on Stauder’s explanations for the ‘unexpected’ attested spellings *ngn*, and *nḥn* (instead of *nggn* and **nḥḥn*) that Schenkel refers to, which will appear in a future issue of *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

Hypotheses on Morphology

	<i>Verb forms</i>	<i>Uninflected Relative Forms</i>	Gender/number-inflected <i>Relative Forms</i> (M.SG/M.PL., F)	Gender/number-inflected <i>Passive participles</i> (M.SG/M.PL., F)	
<i>Imperfective</i> *CVCVC	RVmVm — — ?VrV — —	RVmVm(V) — — ?VrVr(V) — —	RVmVmVw (...Vyi) ⁴ RmVmVwū RmVmVt ?VrVrVw (...Vyi) ?VrVrVwū ?VrVrVt	RVmVmVw RmVmVwū RmVmVt ?VrVrVw ?VrVrVwū ?VrVrVt	<i>Distributive Relative Form/ Passive Participle</i> *CVCVCV-w *CVCVCV-wū *CVCVCV-t
<i>Anterior</i> *CVCCVnV (probably **CaCCána) ⁵	RVmmVnV — fVgnVnV — ?VrVnV —	ramínna — fagínna — ?arína —	ramínna rammVtna fagínna fagnVtna ?arína ?arítna	— — — — — —	<i>Anterior Relative Form</i> *CaCíCna *CaCCVtna ⁶

4 If the Suffix Pronoun of the 1SG, $\neq i$ */i/ or a mono-consonantal Suffix Pronoun, probably with a *bindevokal* */i/, i.e. */iC/, is attached, the ending *w* is optionally written as *y* as a result of phonetic assimilation (see Werning, forthcoming b: part III; meanwhile see *id.* 2011.I: 142/3 = §59 for the regular phonetic assimilation */^hwī/ > */^hyī/ in this and in another morpho-syntactic environments).

5 In Werning (2008), I have argued that the ‘normal verbal’ Anterior *sdm.n* is of the cross-linguistically attested ‘have-perfect’ type and has evolved from the Resultative, traditionally called the “Pseudo-participle” or “Stative”, *sdm* 3SG.M, i.e. probably */CaCCa/, plus *n* ‘for’ (≈ ‘have’), probably */na/. Based on this argument, the vocalization of this Anterior is probably */CaCCána/ < */CaCCá na/ (for the vocalization of the Resultative see Allen ²2010: 207 [*/CaCCa/*CaCaC] and the literature mentioned in Werning 2011.I: 159/160 with fn. 190; *id.* forthcoming b: part I, tab. 1, en. d). Independently, Elsa Oréal (2007) has also argued for the Resultative as a basis of the Anterior *sdm.n*. She, however, assumes a grammaticalization path including the agent-marking particle *in* ‘by’, instead of the preposition *n* ‘to’ as in my account. This, however, is less likely, in my opinion, since the ‘have-perfect’ grammaticalization path is (better) attested and since *in* ‘by’, as opposed to *n* ‘for/have’, is not normally used with Suffix Pronouns. Andréas Stauder’s (2014: 83, fn. 4) objections against my hypothesis that it is the Resultative form 3SG.M */CaCCa/ upon which the verbal Anterior *sdm.n* is build operates with a logical mistake. Initially, the Resultative */CaCCá/ and */na/ were still separate words. Contrary to what Stauder claims, we would *not* naturally expect the stem */CaCvC-/ of the Resultative “before a consonant-initial ending” here, since */na/ was not yet an ending, only becoming one through the process of univerbation.

6 Cf. Schenkel (⁵2012: 192/3), Stauder (2014: 88).

Spellings

	<i>Verb forms</i>	<i>Uninflected Relative Forms</i>	<i>Relative Forms</i>	<i>Passive participles</i>	
Spelling of both twin consonants (“gemination”)	<i>ʒmm</i> — —	<i>ʒmm</i> — —	<i>ʒmm-w</i> (-y=) ⁴ — <i>ʒmm-t</i>	<i>ʒmm-w</i> <i>ʒmm-w</i> <i>ʒmm-t</i>	
Spelling of strong consonants	<i>ʒr</i> — —	<i>ʒr~r</i> — —	<i>ʒr~r-w</i> (-y=) <i>ʒr~r-w</i> <i>ʒr~r-t</i>	<i>ʒr~r-w</i> <i>ʒr~r-w</i> <i>ʒr~r-t</i>	<i>Partial reduplication</i>
Spelling of only one twin cons.	<i>ʒm:n</i> —	<i>ʒmm:n</i> —	<i>ʒmm:n</i> <i>ʒm:t:n</i>	— —	Spelling of all strong consonants (optional exceptions with verbs <i>ult.-n</i>)
Spelling of all strong consonants	<i>ʒgn:n</i> — <i>ʒr:n</i> —	<i>ʒgn:n/ʒg:n/ʒgn</i> — <i>ʒr:n</i> —	<i>ʒgn:n/ʒg:n/ʒgn</i> <i>ʒgn:t:n</i> <i>ʒr:n</i> <i>ʒr:t:n</i>	— — — —	

Semantics⁷

	<i>Verb forms</i> State of Affairs	<i>Uninflected Relative Forms</i> State of Affairs	<i>Relative Forms</i> Quality/(Entity)	<i>Passive participles</i> Quality/(Entity)
<i>Imperfective</i> a) Simultaneous tense , neutral phasal aspect; b1) Tenseless , perfective[<i>sic</i>] phasal aspect; b2) Habitual , perfective[<i>sic</i>] phasal aspect.			<i>Distributive</i> or <i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Distributive</i> Distributive verbal number
<i>Anterior</i> Anterior tense , perfective phasal aspect				

Table 1: Reconstructed morphology, spelling, and semantics of imperfective and anterior verbal and adjectival verb forms.⁸

§2 Grammatical framework

The grammatical framework that I would like to use here is a Construction Grammar framework. There are, at present, some different varieties of Construction Grammar that share many but not all assumptions (see Fischer & Stefanowitsch 2006). The present approach is mostly inspired by the specific versions of Adele Goldberg (1995) and William Croft (2001), i.e. Cognitive Construction Grammar and Radical Construction Grammar.

A cornerstone of these frameworks is the notion of “construction” (Cx), which is defined as a *form plus meaning* pair. This accounts for the fact that the meaning of a phrase cannot always fully be explained by its isolated parts alone.⁹ The construction itself may contribute its own semantic information. Construction Grammar also

7 See Werning (2008; 2011.I: ch. IV.C).

8 Note that there is also a Neutral Passive Participle (*ʒry/ʒry:w/ʒry:t*). Additionally, many scholars also propose a Neutral/“Perfective” Relative Form (“Clère’s Relative Form”) and a Neutral/“Perfective” Nominal Form (alias Neutral Uninflected Relative Form). For a summary of different opinions on these forms, see Werning (2011.I: 96 with fn. 39).

9 See Goldberg 1995: ch. 2; for an Egyptian example, see e.g. the Middle Egyptian singular/collective *nn* ‘this’ vs. plural *nn (ni)* NP ‘these NP’.

enables us to account for productive morphosyntactic patterns that we cannot easily integrate into the ‘normal’ patterns of a language.¹⁰

As far as meaning is concerned, Construction Grammar takes to be what is traditionally appointed to the different modules “semantics” and “pragmatics” as a common continuous realm of “meaning” (hereafter usually “semantics”). As far as the formal side is concerned, Construction Grammar takes to be what is traditionally appointed to the different modules “syntax”, (grammatical) “morphology”, (supra-segmental) “phonology”, “lexicon” (of content words), and “phraseology” to be a common continuous realm of “form”.

That Construction Grammar takes form plus meaning as an intimate couple has certain consequences. For example, since the theory takes not only different forms with identical meanings as two constructions, but may also take identical forms with different meanings as two constructions, we may firstly conclude that the First Scheme and the Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction — as differentiated by Pascal Vernus (1981) — are indeed two different constructions.

§3 The First and Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction

Pascal Vernus (1981) pointed to the fact that there are two different “schemes” among those constructions that used to be analyzed as Emphatic Constructions. Admittedly, both schemes often look the same morphosyntactically. Moreover, in both cases, the first part seems to express backgrounded information (see Schenkel 1990: 160–3; Niccacci 2006: 415/6), and the second part seems to express foregrounded information. Taking a closer look, however, we find that both cases are slightly different as far as their morphosyntactic (*form*) and semantic (*meaning*) layouts are concerned.

Both schemes have a “Nominal Verb Form” (Uninflected Relative Form) in initial position. In the First Scheme, however, the second part of the construction consists of an adverbial phrase or adverbial clause, while, in the Second Scheme, the second part consists of either an autonomous main sentence or a “Non-initial Main Sentence” (Vernus: “forme non subordonnée”). Unfortunately, since adverbial clauses, Non-initial Main Sentences, and Initial Main Sentences often look alike, we cannot always tell them apart solely based on their morphology. But there are some instances in which we can.

The semantic layout, however, is more clearly different. In the First Scheme, the initial Nominal Verb Form expresses a basic State of Affairs (SoA) and the adverbial phrase expresses a contextually marked circumstance under which the SoA happens: kernel SoA—circumstance. In the Second Scheme, on the other hand, the initial Nominal Verb Form expresses a circumstance under which the basic, contextually unmarked SoA that follows it occurs: circumstance—kernel SoA.

This difference becomes most obvious in cases with one or two anterior verb forms. In the First Scheme, an Anterior nominal verb form *ʒmm.n* ‘having grasped’ expresses an anterior State of Affairs that is relative to the global temporal reference point, i.e., a past SoA (*absolute tense*). In the Second Scheme, on the other hand, it

10 For example, English *the bigger the better*, see Fillmore, Kay & O’Connor 1988; for an Egyptian example, see e.g. the Middle Egyptian Cleft Sentence Cx, cf. Schenkel (1990: 168).

expresses an anterior SoA, relative to the following main clause (*relative tense*).¹¹ The opposite holds for a ‘verbal’ Anterior *3m.n* ‘have grasped’ in the second part of the constructions. In the First Scheme, it expresses a semantically marked adverbial clause, i.e., an anterior SoA relative to the preceding main clause (*relative tense*). In the Second Scheme, on the other hand, it expresses a main sentence, i.e. an anterior SoA that is relative to the global temporal reference point, i.e. a past SoA (*absolute tense*). In a sequence of a Nominal *sdm.n* A plus a ‘verbal’ *sdm.n* B, event B happened before A if it was read as a First Scheme, but A happened before B if it was read as a Second Scheme (so, as well, Vernus 1981: 79; Allen ²2010: 386). Compare the temporal and conceptual relations, marked by arrows, in the following examples; these examples have been contrived by the author for the sake of clarifying the argument.

(1) (First Scheme of) the Emphatic Construction

T_0 : Global temporal reference point.

(Ground)		Foreground (Adverbial phrase)
* pr:ø:n=sn	m= prw	hr mč̣:t
come_from:REL.ANT[NINFL]=3PL	in= ^{fn} ₁₂ house(M)	with manuscript:F

‘With a manuscript, they came (*absolute tense*) out of the house.’

(Ground)		Foreground (Adverbial clause)
* pr:ø:n=sn	m= prw	č̣t:n=f st
come_from:REL.ANT[NINFL]=3PL	in= house(M)	say:ANT=3SG.M 3SG.C

‘They came (*absolute tense*) out of the house *only after he had said (relative tense) this.*’

Temporal sequence: He said it (B) → They came out (A).

(2) Second Scheme (of the Emphatic Construction)

Background (Converb)	(Ground, main sentence)
* pr:ø:n=sn	m= prw iw č̣t:n=f st
come_from:REL.ANT[NINFL]=3PL	in= house(M) GRND say:ANT=3SG.M 3SG.C

or

(Ground, Non-initial Main Sentence)	
* pr:ø:n=sn	m= prw ø č̣t:n=f st
come_from:REL.ANT[NINFL]=3PL	in= house(M) say:ANT=3SG.M 3SG.C

‘*After* they had come (*relative tense*) out of the house, he said (*absolute tense*) this.’

Temporal sequence: They came out (A) → He said it (B).

11 Werning (2011.I: §145). On the underlying framework of tense and aspect, see Werning (2008; 2011.I: ch. IV.C).

12 For a discussion of the possibility that the preposition does not necessarily mean ‘out’ but probably just ‘in’ in this context, see Werning (2012: 327–331).

This hypothesis predicts that whenever a Nominal Verb Form (= Uninflected Relative Form) is followed by a clearly marked autonomous main clause, the latter is the main clause that expresses the main event, and the Nominal Verb Form expresses backgrounded information in a *relative* temporal relation to the main clause. Also, whenever a Nominal Verb Form is followed by a simple non-verbal adverbial phrase (which cannot form a Non-initial Main Sentence), the Nominal Verb Form expresses a State of Affairs in a relative temporal relation to the general temporal reference point, i.e., it expresses effectively an absolute tense.

§4 The “Second Scheme” as a detached, uninflected adjectival verb form construction

A construction grammar approach to the ‘Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction’ might look as follows. Notice that not only the parts that the construction consists of, but also the construction itself contributes semantic information. For example, the construction defines the temporal anchor for the relative tense of the Uninflected Relative Form.

Egy_Detached_Relative_Form_Cx (DRF-Cx)

(trad.: Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction)

Form:

Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form_Clause_Cx	Egy_Main_Sentence_Cx
<p>Form, examples: Anterior Uninfl. Relative Form: <i>šmm.n ntr ʕpp</i>; Imperfective Uninfl. Relative Form: <i>prz z.t m prw</i>.</p> <p>Meaning: – Predication of a State of Affairs; – Rheme.</p>	<p>Form, examples: – Egy_Initial_Main_Sent_Cx: Imperfective Sentence: <i>iw=f pri=f m prw</i>; Anterior Sentence: <i>iw šm.n=f ʕpp</i>; – Egy_Unmarked_Main_Sent_Cx: Adverbial Sentence: <i>iw=f m prw</i>; Resultative Sentence: <i>iw=s pri.ti m prw</i>; Subjunctive: <i>šm=f ʕpp</i>; Posterior: <i>pri.w=f m prw</i>; – Egy_Non-Initial_Main_Sent_Cx Imperfective: <i>pri=f m prw</i>; Anterior: <i>šm.n=f ʕpp</i>.</p> <p>Meaning: – Predication of a State of Affairs; – Rheme; – The temporal reference point for the SoA described by a verbal form is the global reference point/‘Speech Time’ (T₀).</p>

Meaning:

- The State of Affairs described by the Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form_Clause_Cx is background/theme to the SoA/ground described by the Egy_Main_Sentence_Cx.
- The temporal reference point for the SoA described by the Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form_Clause_Cx is the Topic Time of the SoA described by the Egy_Main_Sentence_Cx (T_R; relative tense).

As far as the form is concerned, the Second Scheme consists of an Uninflected¹³ Relative Form clause followed by a main sentence. The main sentence can be of the

13 I.e. a Relative Verb Form that has lost its number/gender inflection. On the issue of the general missing of person inflection in “Suffix Conjugation” forms, see §1 with fn. 2 above.

type Initial Main Sentence or of the type Non-initial Main Sentence (Schenkel ⁵2012: 311/2; cf. also the discussion in Werning 2011.I: 210 [§144]). As far as the meaning of the Second Scheme is concerned, we find that a) the event described by the Uninflected Relative Form provides backgrounded information to the information expressed in the main sentence (see Schenkel ⁵2012: ch. 8.3.4.0, Allen ²2010: §25.11), and that b) the temporal reference point for the Relative Form is the event in the main sentence (*relative tense*). Both meaning components tell us that the Uninflected Relative Form is subordinate to the main clause. The semantic layout of the construction does not actually entail ‘emphasis’ on the main sentence, but rather a backgrounding of the State of affairs expressed in the initial Uninflected Relative Form. Therefore, I suggest to call this, rather than “Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction”, the “*Detached Relative Form Construction*” (DRF-Cx).

Examples for this construction can be found in, for example, Vernus (1981), Junge (1989: 89/90, Exx. 65b, 66), Schenkel (⁴2005/⁵2012: ch. 8.3.4.1.1–2; ‘Rang V-Erweiterung’), Allen (2000/²2010: §25.11 ‘initial subordinate clauses’). Instead of repeating some of these, I would like to contribute the following examples, which exemplify the language of an early *Égyptien de tradition*¹⁴:

(Ex. 1) Book of Caverns

<i>ḏḏ=ḏn</i>	<i>dp=ḏn</i> ,	<i>iw=i</i>	<i>ššs=i</i>
ḏ~ḏ:ḏ=ḏn	tp=ḏn	iw=ī	ššs=ī
give~REL.IPFV.NINFL=2PL	head(M)[SG]=2PL	GRND=1SG	hurry:IPFV=1SG

‘**When you show** your heads, I hurry off.’
 (‘You **showing** your heads, I hurry off.’)

Book of Caverns, RVI; 13th century BCE; *Égyptien de tradition*; Hieroglyphic Piankoff (1946: pl. 12), cf. Werning (2011.II: 48 [Hb. 18.48f])

(Ex. 2) Book of Caverns

<i>s.qdd</i>	<i>R^c(w)</i>	<i>im(l.w).t(i)=sn</i>	<i>iw=f</i>	<i>mdwi=f</i>	<i>n=sn</i>
s:qt~t:ḏ	<i>r^c</i>	<i>imwti=sn</i>	<i>iw=f</i>	<i>mdw=f</i>	<i>n=sn</i>
travel~REL.IPFV.NINFL	<i>Re</i> (M)	between-3PL	GRND=3SG.M	speak:IPFV=3SG.M	for-3PL

‘**When Ra goes by** between them, he speaks to them.’
 (°‘Ra **going by** between them, he speaks to them.’)

Book of Caverns, RVI; 12th century BCE; *Égyptien de tradition*; Hieroglyphic Piankoff (1946: 68), cf. Werning (2011.II: 252 [Hb. 65.2f])

14 I.e. an attempted imitation of an Earlier Egyptian language.

(Ex. 3) Great Hymn to the Sun

wbn.n=k,	nh=sn
wbn:ø:n=k	nh=sn
rise:REL.ANT[NINFL]=2SG.M	live:SBJV=3PL ^{fn.15}

htp=k,	m(w)t=sn
htp:ø=k	mwt=sn
rest:REL.IPFV.NINFL=2SG.M	die:SBJV=3PL

‘After you **have risen**, they will come to life.

When you go down, they will die.’

(°You **having risen**, they will come to life.

You **going down**, they will die.’)

Great Hymn to the Sun, 12; Middle of 14th century BCE; *Égyptien de tradition*; Hieroglyphic Sandman (1938: 95,17/8)

Note: a reading as Emphatic Construction proper would mean: ‘You rose (*absolute tense, ground*), so that they may come to life (*circumstance, foreground*). You will go down, so that/while they die’. This interpretation is not likely in context.

For another possible example from the Great Hymn to the Sun, see fn. 16.

15 Alternatively, *nh* could be identified as Imperfective *nh* live:IPFV ‘(Whenever you have risen,) they can come to life’. This would be a case of a Non-initial Imperfective Main Sentence (**hw(=sn) nh=sn* → *ø nh=sn*). See fn. 16 below.

16 Great Hymn to the Sun 11/12 (Sandman 1938: 95,14/5)

gmh tw ir.t-nb(t) r-cq(β)=sn hw=k m itn n(i) hrw hr-dp |¹² {n}<β>

‘Every “eye” sees you face to face, when you are over {not} <the land> as the sun of the day.’

šm̄.n=k,	n(i) wn.n	ir.t	nb(t)
šm:ø:n=k	n= wn:n	ir:t	=nb
go_off:REL.ANT[NINFL]=2SG.M	NEG= be_present:PFV.ANT	eye:F.SG	=each

‘(But) **after you have left**, no ‘eye’ can exist.’

qm̄=β hr=s{t}<n> r tm=k m3̄(w) h{[/// /// ///] w^c ir.t.n=k

‘You create their ‘face’ so that you do not see (alone?) [?/// ... ///?] that you have made.’

Note that the meaning ‘left’ of *šm̄.n* (without expressed goal) is rather unusual (remark of Pascal Vernus, p.c.; see Winand 2006: 128f, 204, 231, but also 276 with ex. 428). For the metonymic use of body parts, here: ‘every eye’ for ‘every seeing being’ and ‘their face’ for ‘their look/vision’, see Werning (forthcoming a: §3, type 4b). For the translation of *wnn* with ‘to be present’, see Winand (2006: 110). For *n(i) wn.n*, see Schenkel (2012: 193) with reference to Éric Doret. For the semantic analysis of NEG plus Anterior *sdm.n*, see Werning (2008: §6.2). Alternatively, *n(i) wnn* could be identified as negated New Kingdom Subjunctive/Posterior *n(i) wnn(w) n=wnn:w* NEG be_present:POST ‘(no eye) will exist’. For the Posterior form as part of a common Subjunctive/Posterior paradigm and its possible negation with *n(i)* in New Kingdom Middle Egyptian, see Werning (2011.I: 165/6 with footnotes; 2013: §14).

An alternative emendation ... *hr-dp<=sn> n(i) šm̄.n=k n(i) wn.n=k ir.t nb(t)* ... ‘... over <them>. You do not go; no eye can exist. ...’ is less satisfying. I would have expected something like ‘If you do not go, no eye can exist’ (*ir tm=k šm̄(w) n(i) wn.n=k ir.t nb(t)* or *tm=k šm̄(w) n(i) wn.n=k ir.t nb(t)*).

We still find this construction in Late Egyptian and in Demotic (see Popko 2013; Grossman 2007a; Johnson 1976: 159, 1986: §99), in which the ‘Nominal Verb Form’ (*i:sdm* > *i:ir sdm*) is again clearly related to the Relative Verb Form (*i:sdm* > *i:ir sdm*; see Cassonnet 2000: 152, Johnson 1976: 66–68, 118/9).

Cross-linguistic comparison reveals that this type of construction is not completely unusual. Actually, quite a lot of languages exhibit comparable constructions with somewhat less inflected ‘adjectival’ circumstantials. Such less inflected, adjectival verb forms that are used as adverbial clauses are labeled “converbs” in typological literature (Haspelmath & König 1995, especially Haspelmath 1995; Nedjalkov 1998; Tikkanen 2001). Indeed, this term has already been applied to comparative phenomena in Coptic (see Grossman 2007b, with further references in fn. 13).¹⁷

In German, ‘uninflected participles’ (“*unflektierte Partizipien*”), i.e. participles having lost gender/number/case inflection (while keeping tense inflection), may serve as initial or parenthetical circumstantial clauses.¹⁸ Compare the following sentences:

(Ex. 4a/b) Modern High German

<i>Zum</i>	<i>See</i>	<i>spazierend,</i>
zu-m	See	spazier-end-ø
to-[the:]DAT.M	lake(M)[SG.DAT]	walk-PTCP.PRS-NINFL

<i>zündete</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>sich</i>	<i>eine</i>	<i>Pfeife</i>	<i>an.</i>
zünd-ete	er	sich	ein-e	Pfeife	an
ignite-PST:3SG	he.NOM	REFL:3SG	a-ACC.F	pipe(F)[SG]	on

‘**While** (he was) **walking** to the lake, he lit himself a pipe.’

(°**Walking** to the lake, he lit himself a pipe.)

<i>Zum</i>	<i>See</i>	<i>spaziert,</i>	<i>zündete er sich eine Pfeife an.</i>
zu-m	See	spazier-t-ø	
to-[the:]DAT.M	lake(M)[SG.DAT]	walk-PTCP.PRF.PASS-NINFL	– like above –

‘**After** (he) had **walked** to the lake, he lit himself a pipe.’

(°**Having walked** to the lake, he lit himself a pipe.)

Contrived by D.W. (L1)

In English, participles may serve as circumstantial clauses as well (Thompson 1983; König & Auwera 1990; Kortmann 1995; Givón 2001: ch. 18.2.2), e.g.

(Ex. 5a/b/c) Modern English

<i>Walking</i>	<i>to the lake, he</i>	<i>lit</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>pipe.</i>
walk-ing	to the lake he	lit	his	pipe
walk-PTCP.PROG	to DEF lake	3SG.M.SBJ	light:PST	POSS.3SG.M

‘**While** (he was) **walking** to the lake, he lit his pipe.’

Contrived by D.W. (L2)

17 I need to thank Eitan Grossman, for pointing this out to me in his editorial reply. Unfortunately, I didn’t have the time anymore to track this discussion in detail.

18 Cf. e.g. *Duden. Grammatik* (³1973: 1331–4); cf. also König & Auwera (1990: 345; Remark to the argument there: The criterion in German is not so much the relative position, but — more importantly — the agreement. Indeed, the sentence *Aufbauend auf klaren Forderungen mit entsprechendem Nachdruck, hätte eine Unterstützung bereits [...] müssen* is fine, as well.).

His girlfriend being away, he had to go to the party alone.
 his girl=friend **be-ing** away he had to go to the party alone
 POSS.3SG.M girl=friend be-PTCP.PROG away 3SG.M.SBJ have:PST to go to DEF party alone
 ‘**Since** his girlfriend (was) **away**, he had to go to the party alone.’

Contrived by D.W. (L2) & C. Di Biase-Dyson (L1)

Having finished dinner, he left.
hav-ing **finish-ed** dinner he left
 have-PTCP.PROG finish-PTCP.PRF.PASS dinner 3SG.M.SBJ leave:PST
 ‘**After** (he) had **finished** dinner, he left.’

Givón (2001: 341 [ex. 42a])

This use has been called the “Detached Participle Clause” by Sandra Thompson (1983). This designation is the model for the label “*Detached* Relative Form Construction”, which I suggest as a replacement term for the “Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction” in Ancient Egyptian.

In Ancient Greek, Latin and some other languages, participles in an oblique case may serve as circumstantial clauses (“Absolute Participle Construction”; Maiocco 2005). In contrast to the cases cited above, there is clause *internal* gender and number agreement of the participle with its subject, which likewise occurs in the respective oblique case. The requirement of having a specific oblique case, however, is generally also taken as a kind of ‘being less inflected’ in studies on converbs.

(Ex. 6) Koine Greek

ἡμέρας ἄρτι διαγελώσης
 hēmēras árti **dia:gelōsēs**
 day:F.SG.GEN just smile_at:PTCP.PRS.F.SG.GEN

καὶ ἡλίου τὰς ἀκρωρείας καταυγάζοντος
 kai hēliou tás akrōreías **kat:augázontos**
 and sun:M.SG.GEN DEF.F.PL.ACC hill:F.PL.ACC shine_on:PTCP.PRS.M.SG.GEN

ἄνδρες τὴν ὑποκειμένην θάλατταν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑπῆρχοντο
 ándres tēn hupo:keiménēn thálattan ophthalmōîs hypérkhonto
 man:M.PL.NOM DEF.F.SG.ACC lie_under:PTCP. sea:F.SG.ACC eye:M.PL.DAT observe:
 PRS.MED.F.SG.ACC PST.IPFV.MED.3PL

‘[...] **as** the day (was) just **smiling** and the sun (was) **shining on** the hills,
 some men were searching the underlying sea with their eyes.’ (cf. Maiocco 2005: 168)
 (‘*the day just **smiling** and the sun **shining on** the hills, ...’)

Heliodorus, Aethiopica, 1,1
 Maiocco (2005: 168 [ex. 3])

(Ex. 7) Classical Latin

EO OPERE PERFECTO
 eō oper-e **per:fec:t-o**
 this.N.SG.ABL work(N):SG.ABL complete:PTCP.PRF.PASS-N.SG.ABL

PRAESIDIA DISPONIT CASTELLA COMMVNIT
 prae:sidi-a dis:pōn-i-t castell-a com:mūn-i-t
 protection(N)-PL.ACC distribute-PRF-3SG fort(N)-PL.ACC fortify-PRF-3SG

‘After this work **had been completed**,
 (°This work **having been completed**,)
 he distributed guarding troops and strengthened the fortifications.’

Schönberger (1990: 15)

Gaius Iulius Caesar, De bello gallico, I, 8,2; 1st century BCE

Most interesting for the case of the Detached Relative Form Cx in Egyptian is the “Unheaded Relative Clause” construction in Hup (Nadahup, North-Western Amazon; Epps 2008). Hup is dependent marking and the preferred constituent order is Complement–Head, namely S–O–V and Rel–N (but also N–Adj). It has a Suffix–Vp that marks relative clauses. When the relative clause is used as a relative clause proper, it is followed by its head. The head is either a gender/number inflection morpheme, a “light noun”, or a full noun. But the relative clause can also be used without any head. In these instances, the Relative Form usually functions as a circumstantial clause (Epps 2009), e.g.

(Ex. 8) Hup (Nadahup, North-Western Amazon)

nukán = mah tɪnɪh kəwəg dəg = pɔg yʔənʔ-hí-ɪh
 here=REPORT 3SG.POSS eye water=EMPH squeeze_out-descend-DECL

tɪh-ən **hitæʔnó-ʔp = ø**
 3SG-OBJ laugh-REL[=HEAD] ^{fn.19}

‘Here, it is said, her tears ran down, **as** (she) **laughed** at her.’
 (°..., (she) **laughing** at her.)

Epps (2009: 297/8)

The corresponding relative clause proper would be something like *tɪh-ən hitæʔnó-ʔp = ʔáy *3SG-OBJ laugh-REL=FEMALE ‘(a/the) woman who laughed at her’; cf.

(Ex. 9) Hup

bʔy-ɔp = ʔáy
 teach-REL=FEMALE

‘[a/the] woman who teaches’

Epps (2009: 293)

We see that a cross-linguistic comparison of constructions of similar form plus similar function reveals that several languages use somehow less inflected, detached participles

19 Epps (2009) uses the gloss DEP[ENDENT] instead of REL[ATIVE]. But she argues that the morpheme is a nominal relative morpheme (see Epps 2009: 291).

or un-headed relative clauses to give temporally relative, circumstantial background information. Also the Uninflected Relative Form is a form that exhibits less inflection as opposed to the respective Relative Verb Form (see §1 with fn. 2 above). Note that not only Egyptian, but also the other languages (except German) can express a subject in this constructions.

	Participle without subject	Relative clause without(/with) subject	Participle with subject	Relative Verb Form with subject
Mod. High German	yes (NINFL)	no	no	—
Mod. English	yes [NINFL]	no	yes [NINFL]	—
Latin, Ancient Greek	[yes (OBL)] ²⁰	no	yes (OBL)	—
Hup ²¹	—	yes [NINFL/unheaded]	—	—
Egyptian	no	no	no	yes (NINFL) ²²

Table 2: Adjectival verb forms and clauses as converbs in different languages

I therefore propose that the Egyptian initial Uninflected Relative Forms in the “Second Scheme” are just another case of this pattern. As an analogy of the English construction, the Egyptian Uninflected Relative Form that serves as an initial circumstantial clause plus an autonomous main sentence or Non-initial Main Sentence may therefore be labeled the “*Detached Relative Form Construction*” (DRF-Cx).

§5 The “First Scheme” as “Emphatic Construction” proper

Functionally, the ‘First Scheme of the Emphatic Construction’ is indeed a focusing construction in Pre-Coptic Egyptian (see Schenkel ⁴2005: 95). For various reasons, one might nevertheless want to stick to the traditional label “Emphatic Construction”. As a more intuitive label, however, I suggest “*Circumstantial Focusing Construction*”.

A construction grammar approach to the ‘First Scheme of the Emphatic Construction’ (Vernus 1981; cf. Schenkel 1990: ch. 4.3.2) may look as follows. Notice that the construction itself contributes semantic information.

20 See Maiocco (2005: ch. 3.4.1).

21 My thanks go to Patience Epps, who was so nice as to supply me with the relevant information on Hup first hand.

22 See fn. 13 above.

Egy_Circumstantial_Focusing_Construction

(trad.: First Scheme of the Emphatic Construction)

Form:

Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form_Clause_Cx	Egy_Circumstantial_Cx
<p>Form, examples: Anterior Uninfl. Relative Form: <i>ʒmm.n ntr ʒpp</i>; Imperfective Uninfl. Relative Form: <i>prr z.t m prw</i>.</p> <p>Meaning: – Predication of a State of Affairs; – Rheme.</p>	<p>Form, examples: – Egy_Adverb_Cx: <i>ʒ</i>; – Egy_Prepositional_Phrase_Cx: <i>m prw</i>; – Egy_Marked_Circumstantial_Clause_Cx: <i>tī wī iri=i ...</i>; – Egy_Unmarked_Circumstantial_Clause_Cx: <i>iri=f ...</i> (Imperfective); <i>ʒm.n=f ʒpp ...</i> (Anterior);</p> <p>Meaning: – Predication of a circumstance; – The temporal reference point for the State of Affairs described by a verbal form is the SoA described in a superordinate predication.</p>

Meaning:

- The Circumstance described by the Egy_Circumstantial_Cx is the focus of the construction.
- The temporal reference point for the State of Affairs described by the Egy_Circumstantial_Cx is the Topic Time of the SoA described by Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form_Clause_Cx (T_R).
- Temporal reference point for the SoA described by the Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form_Clause_Cx is the global reference point/‘Speech Time’ (T₀).

As far as the formal side is concerned, the Emphatic Construction consists of an Uninflected²³ Relative Form, followed by some circumstantial information. The Circumstantial can have many different forms, beginning with simple adverbs and ending with complex sentences headed by subordinating particles. As far as the meaning is concerned, we find that a) the circumstance described by the Circumstantial is the focus of the whole construction, b) the temporal reference point for the circumstantial is the event of the Relative Form, and c) — differently to the case of the Second Scheme — in the First Scheme, the temporal reference point for the relative is the *global reference point*.

Examples for the Emphatic Construction proper can be found in every recent Egyptian grammar.²⁴ To parallel the examples for the Detached Relative Form Construction quoted in §4, I would like to mention two clear examples for Emphatic Constructions which exemplify the language of an early *Égyptien de tradition*²⁵:

(Ex. 10) Book of Caverns

<i>s:qdd</i>	<i>ntr</i>	<i>pn</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>hr qrr.t</i>
s:qḏ-ḏ:ḏ	<i>nṯr</i>	<i>pn</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>hr qrr:t</i>
travel~REL.IPFV.NINFL	god(M)[SG]	DEF.DET:M.SG ^{fn.26}	great[M.SG]	at cave:F[SG]

23 See fn. 13 above.

24 See, e.g., Allen (²2010: §25.7–10); Schenkel (⁵2012: 331–333); Malaise & Winand (1999: §1073).

25 See fn. 14 above.

			
<i>hr</i>	<i>ᶜ(w).(wī)</i>	<i>tn</i>	<i>št{y}.t</i>
hr	ᶜw-w:ī	tn	šb:t
SUPR arm_plus_hand(M)-DU DEF.DET:F.SG ^{fn.26}			mysterious:F[SG]

‘On the hands of The Mysterious One, The Great God travels through the cave.’

Book of Caverns, Osireion; 13th century BCE; *Égyptien de tradition*; Hieroglyphic Piankoff (1946: pl. 58/9), cf. Werning (2011.II: 234 [Hb. 60.5])

(Ex. 11) Book of Caverns

	
<i>mḥ.n=f</i>	<i>qrr.t</i>
mḥ:ø:n=f	qrr:t
fill:REL.ANT[NINFL]=3SG.M	cave:F[SG]

					
<i>m</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>n(.i)</i>	<i>sg.t</i>	<i>dp(.i)</i>	<i>r'=f</i>
m=	ns	n:ī	sç:t	tp-ī	r=f
with= flame(M)[SG] of[M.SG] fire:F[SG]			ahead-ADJZ[M.SG] ^{fn.27} mouth(M)[SG]=3SG.M		

‘With a flame of fire from out of his mouth, he has filled the cave.’ (isolated caption)

Book of Caverns, Tomb of Ramses VI; 12th century BCE; *Égyptien de tradition*; Hieroglyphic Piankoff (1946: 42), cf. Werning (2011.II: 160 [Hb. 43.15])

In the first example, it is the way in which the sun god passes through a cave, which is in focus; in the second example — an isolated comment beside the picture of a huge guarding snake — it is the fact that *there is fire* in the depicted cave that is most important.

§6 The Emphatic Construction proper as a truncated Balanced Sentence Construction

Earlier comparisons of what is traditionally called the First and the Second Scheme of the Emphatic Construction seemed to show that the constructions had a comparable semantic layout: background—foreground or theme—rheme. A closer analysis of the relations, however, revealed that this is not the case (§§3–5 above). Firstly, the layout of background—ground—foreground is indeed slightly different: ground—foreground vs. background—ground. Secondly and more importantly, the information hierarchy and the temporal layout is completely opposite: State of Affairs—circumstance vs. circumstance—State of Affairs and absolute tense—relative tense vs. relative tense—absolute tense. A Construction Grammar approach is not prepared to simply ignore that. It makes clear that both are actually very different constructions: an Emphatic Construction proper (§5) and a Detached Relative Form Construction (§4).

26 For the use of the determiners *pn/tn* as translation equivalent for the Late Egyptian articles *p³/t³* after and *before* nouns in *Égyptien de tradition*, see Werning (2011.I: 186–191; 2013: §27). I propose that the New Kingdom author translated a Late Egyptian **t³ št{y}.t* into an *Égyptien de tradition tn št{y}.t*, as well as **p³ ntr* ^ç into *ntr pn* ^ç.

27 For this and other unexpected uses of *dp* ‘upon; ahead’, see Werning (2014: §6.5). For the reading *dp/tp* instead of *tp*, see Werning (2004).

After having identified the Second Scheme as a type that has close parallels cross-linguistically, i.e. a converb construction (§4), I was wondering how to account for the typologically exceptional case of the Emphatic Construction proper ('First Scheme') and also whether there is any additional motivation for the absolute tense interpretation of the Uninflected Relative Form in this construction. At this point, it is interesting to remember that there is yet another construction in Egyptian that has an initial Uninflected Relative Form with *absolute* temporal reference: the Verbal Balanced Sentence construction.²⁸

A construction grammar approach to the Verbal Balanced Sentence Cx might look as follows. Notice that the construction itself contributes semantic information. It also imposes restrictions on the pairing of actual morphological tenses of the two Uninflected Relative Forms.

Egy_Verbal_Balanced_Sentence_Construction	
Form:	
Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form-Clause_Cx Form, examples: Anterior Uninfl. Relative Form: <i>3mm.n ntr ʕ3pp</i> ; Imperfective Uninfl. Relative Form: <i>prw z.t m prw</i> . Meaning: – Predication of a State of Affairs; – Rheme.	Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form-Clause_Cx — <i>idem</i> —
Meaning:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The State of Affairs described by the two <i>Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form-Clause_Cx</i>s are temporarily parallel or conceptually equal. – The temporal reference point for the States of Affairs described by the two <i>Egy_Uninfl_Relative_Form-Clause_Cx</i>s is the global reference time/'Speech Time' (T_0). 	
Effective restriction on the form (as a result of the meaning of the construction):	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Both forms must be forms of the same tense. 	

As far as the formal side is concerned, the Verbal Balanced Sentence consists of two Uninflected Relative Form clauses. Effectively, the two Relative Forms have to be of the same grammatical tense. This is, however, a side-effect of the meaning of the construction. Namely, as far as the meaning is concerned, we find that the two events in the Relative Forms are parallel temporarily or conceptually. This feature is a semantic trait that the construction 'inherits' from the similar Nominal Balanced Sentence Cx, a bipartite nominal sentence, to which the Verbal Balanced Sentence Cx is closely related. Another part of the meaning of the construction is that the temporal reference point for both Relative Forms is the global reference point (T_0). There is no superordinate information to which the Relative Forms could refer. This effectively absolute temporal interpretation is what the Relative Forms have in common with the Relative Form in the Emphatic Construction proper (§5).

In the following example of a Verbal Balanced Sentence from Deir el Bahari, two Uninflected Relative Forms make up such a pair of closely interrelated States of Affairs:

28 See, e.g., Allen (2010: §25.12), Schenkel (2012: §8.3.4.3), Malaise & Winand (1999: §977).

(Ex. 12) Deir el-Bahari²⁹



hdd=k

ḥt~t:ø=k

go_downstream~REL.IPFV.NINFL=2SG.M



ḏd=tw

ḏ~ḏ:ø=tw

give~REL.IPFV.NINFL=IMPRS for=2SG.M homage(M)[SG]



n=k

n=k



z'-b'

z'_b'

‘Whenever you go downstream, homage is given to you.’

Deir el-Bahari; 15th century BCE; *Égyptien de tradition*; Hieroglyphic Naville (1901: pl. 114)

Compare the following Nominal Balanced Sentence:

(Ex. 13) Coffin Text³⁰



šm.(w)t=i

šm:t=ī

motion:F:PL=1SG



šm.(w)t-

šm:t

motion:F:PL:STC Anubis(M)



Inp(w)

inpw

‘My motions are the motions of Anubis.’

Coffin Texts, spell 107, on coffin CG 28118; approx. 2000 BCE; Hieroglyphic CT II 120h, S1C

The latter sentence exemplifies an interesting semantic side-effect in such Nominal Balanced Sentences, in which, characteristically, both kernel nouns are the same: any element of the Balanced Sentence that is present in only one of the two parts receives special attention; it is foregrounded.³¹ This foregrounding is not an integral part of the construction. Rather, the ‘focal’ foregrounding naturally derives from the assumption of the reader that it is not the doubled kernel noun that is interesting in the second part, but it is the difference that is interesting. The English label ‘Balanced’ Sentence is, therefore, somewhat misleading.³² Semantically, the two parts of these sentences are actually not completely balanced.

The same holds true for Verbal Balanced Sentences, but only for those Verbal Balanced Sentences in which both Relative Forms are actually the same, that is, when both Relative Forms are instances of the very same verbal lexeme. In such cases, any element of the Verbal Balanced Sentence that is present in only one of the two parts

29 Example mentioned in Allen (2010: 387).

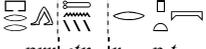
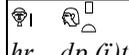
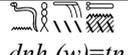
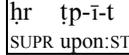
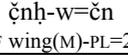
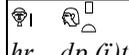
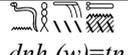
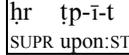
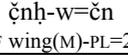
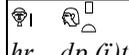
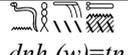
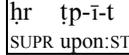
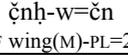
30 Example mentioned in Schenkel (2012: 151).

31 Cf. Depuydt’s (1988: 404, fn. 3) remark on semantic aspects of the Balanced Sentence.

32 Remark of Wolfgang Schenkel (p.c.).

again receives special attention; it is foregrounded. Like in the Nominal Balanced Sentence, this foregrounding is not an integral part of the construction. Rather, the ‘focal’ foregrounding naturally derives from the assumption of the reader that it is not the doubled verb form that is interesting in the second part, but it is the difference that is interesting; cf. the following four examples:

(Ex. 14) Coffin Text, spell 175³³

 <i>pr-r:ø</i> = <i>čn</i> r = p:t go_out-REL.IPFV.NINFL = 2PL to= sky:F[SG] as= vulture:F:PL	 <i>m nr.(w)t</i> <i>m</i> = nr:t						
 <i>pr-r:ø</i> = <i>i</i> ø go_out-REL.IPFV.NINFL = 1SG	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>hr dp.(i)t</i> </td> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>dnḥ.(w)=tn</i> </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>hr tp-i-t</i> </td> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>čnḥ-w=čn</i> </td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center; font-size: small;"> SUPR upon:STC-ADJZ-F wing(M)-PL=2PL </td> </tr> </table>	 <i>hr dp.(i)t</i>	 <i>dnḥ.(w)=tn</i>	 <i>hr tp-i-t</i>	 <i>čnḥ-w=čn</i>	SUPR upon:STC-ADJZ-F wing(M)-PL=2PL	
 <i>hr dp.(i)t</i>	 <i>dnḥ.(w)=tn</i>						
 <i>hr tp-i-t</i>	 <i>čnḥ-w=čn</i>						
SUPR upon:STC-ADJZ-F wing(M)-PL=2PL							

‘When you depart to the sky as vultures,
I *too* depart (to the sky), being on the top of your wings.’

Or – but semantically less convincing –:

‘When you depart to the sky as vultures,
I depart (to the sky) *on the top of your wings*.’

Coffin Text, spell 175; late 3rd/early 2nd millennium BCE(?); Cursive Hieroglyphic
CT III, 61f–g, B1C

(Ex. 15) The Story of Wenamun³⁴

 <i>i.ir=tw</i> do:REL [NINFL]=IMPRS	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>grg</i> in= </td> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>{n}<m> dmy.t</i> m= dmy:t in= harbor_city:F =each </td> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>nb</i> =nb </td> </tr> </table>	 <i>grg</i> in=	 <i>{n}<m> dmy.t</i> m= dmy:t in= harbor_city:F =each	 <i>nb</i> =nb
 <i>grg</i> in=	 <i>{n}<m> dmy.t</i> m= dmy:t in= harbor_city:F =each	 <i>nb</i> =nb		
 <i>i.ir=tw</i> do:REL [NINFL]=IMPRS	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>m^{3c}(t)</i> in= </td> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>{n}<m> p³ t³</i> m= p³=t³ in= the:M.SG=land(M) of= </td> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;">  <i>n T-r-s³</i> n= <i>irs³</i> of= <i>Alasiya</i> </td> </tr> </table>	 <i>m^{3c}(t)</i> in=	 <i>{n}<m> p³ t³</i> m= p ³ =t ³ in= the:M.SG=land(M) of=	 <i>n T-r-s³</i> n= <i>irs³</i> of= <i>Alasiya</i>
 <i>m^{3c}(t)</i> in=	 <i>{n}<m> p³ t³</i> m= p ³ =t ³ in= the:M.SG=land(M) of=	 <i>n T-r-s³</i> n= <i>irs³</i> of= <i>Alasiya</i>		

‘Whereas wrong is done in every town,
right is done *in the land of Alasiya*.’

(cf. Lichtheim 1976: 229)

The Story of Wenamun (pMoscow 120, 2,78f); 11th/10th century BCE; Late Egyptian; Hieratic
Gardiner (1932: 75)

The semantic side effect becomes even more obvious in the following two examples. The first example concerns a problem of an anonymous donation.

33 This and similar examples are mentioned in many Earlier Egyptian grammars, e.g., Schenkel (2005: 301), Malaise & Winand (1999: §619), Allen (2010: 387), Borghouts (2010.I: §63d).

34 This example is also mentioned in Cassonnet (2000: 179), Grossman (2007a: 52), Popko (2013: 174 [ex. 19]). Remark: Grossman’s ex. 2 starts, in my opinion, with an Emphatic Construction with an object that was ‘adverbialized’ by the means of *m* [here “*n*”], cf. Silverman (1980), rather than with a Detached Relative Form Construction (§4).

ntī ḥ ^c	hr	[t]hn.t	n 30	{n}<m>	p ³ t ³	Kšī	
nt:ī ḥ ^c	hr	dhn:t	n= m ^c b	m=	p ³ =t ³	kšī	
REL	stand_up:RES	SUPR	mountain_ridge:F	of=	30(M)	in=	the:M.SG=land(M) Kush

‘And whenever they raise their hands against him,
they raise their hands against ‘the man of million cubits’, who stands on ‘the mountain
ridge of the 30’ in the land of Kush.’

Magical Papyrus (pBrooklyn 47.218.156, x+5,4f); 5/4th century BCE; Late Egyptian; Hieratic
Sauneron (1970: pl. VA)

In both these cases, the extra information in the second part of the Balanced Sentence is *naturally in focus*. This is the important observation that is required to explain the semantic layout of the Emphatic Construction proper.

I hypothesize that the Emphatic Construction proper (Circumstantial Focusing Cx) historically developed out of such a Verbal Balanced Sentence Construction with identical Uninflected Relative Forms and with an extra Circumstantial on the second relative. Compare the following reconstructions of Balanced Sentences that are semantic near-equivalents to the examples 10 and 11 above.

Verbal Balanced Sentence Construction

* *s.qdd nṯr pn ʕ3 hr qrr.t*

s.qdd=f (hr=s) hr ḥ(w).(wī) tn štt{3}y.t

‘(Whenever) The Great God travels through the cave,
he travels (through it) *on the hands of The Mysterious One.*’

Emphatic Construction

s.qdd nṯr pn ʕ3 hr qrr.t

∅ *hr ḥ(w).(wī) tn štt{3}y.t*

‘The Great God travels through the cave *on the hands of The Mysterious One.*’
‘*On the hands of The Mysterious One*, The Great God travels through the cave.’

Verbal Balanced Sentence Construction

* *mḥ.n=f qrr.t*

mḥ.n=f s(i) m ns n(i) sḏ.t dp(i) r²=f

‘(When) he filled the cave,
he filled it with *a flame of fire* from out of his mouth.’

Emphatic Construction

mḥ.n=f qrr.t

∅ *m ns n(i) sḏ.t dp(i) r²=f*

‘He filled the cave with *a flame of fire* from out of his mouth.’
‘With *a flame of fire* from out of his mouth, he has filled the cave.’

As demonstrated, this Circumstantial naturally receives attention in such Balanced Sentences. Inspired by a similar idea of Wolfgang Schenkel,³⁸ I imagine that, in a

38 Schenkel (4th2005: 94/5, 313 [5th2012: 91, 332/3]) argued that the Emphatic Construction proper is a case of what I called Detached Relative Form Cx above (Schenkel: main sentence with “Rang V-Erweiterung”).

further step, the second Relative Form was eventually omitted since was an exact copy of the first and its information was therefore semantically redundant (“omission under relevance”³⁹). The construction with elision finally stabilized as a new construction. What came out of it was exactly the semantic layout of the Emphatic Construction: the absolute tense interpretation of the Uninflected Relative Form and the foregrounding of the Circumstantial. The Emphatic Construction thus semantically and structurally resembles a special type of Verbal Balanced Sentence with elision of the second, redundant Uninflected Relative Form.

This hypothesis also easily accounts for another set of phenomena concerning the Emphatic Construction. James P. Allen (1979) has pointed to the interesting fact that the Emphatic Construction behaves more like a Nominal Sentence Construction in certain respects than like any other sentence construction. Indeed, the Emphatic Construction has a paradigmatic fingerprint that is maximally similar to the one of Nominal Sentences.⁴⁰ Both constructions do not appear in collocation with the

Detached Relative Form Construction

* *s.qdd nṯr pn ʿṣ ḥr qrr.t*

(*iw*≠*f*) *s.qdī*≠*f* (*hr*≠*s*) ḥr ʿ(w).(wī) tn št{3}y.t

‘**When** The Great God travels[REL.IPFV.NINFL] through the cave, he travels[IPFV] (through it) *on the hands of The Mysterious One.*’

→ Elision of (*iw*≠*f*) *s.qdī*≠*f* (*hr*≠*s*)

‘**When** The Great God travels[REL.IPFV.NINFL] through the cave, (**then**) *on the hands of The Mysterious One.*’

→ Emphatic Construction

‘The Great God travels through the cave *on the hands of The Mysterious One.*’

This analysis, however, does not account for the semantic, especially temporal, relations in Emphatic Constructions with Anterior Uninflected Relative Forms. Compare the following reconstruction:

Detached Relative Form Construction

* *mḥ.ḡ.n*≠*f* *qrr.t*

(*iw*) *mḥ.n*≠*f* *s(i)* m ns n(*i*) *sḍ.t* *dp(i)* r’≠*f*

‘**After** he **had** (already) filled[REL.ANT.NINFL] the cave, he filled[ANT] it with a flame of fire from out of his mouth.’

→ Elision of (*iw*) *mḥ.n*≠*f* *s(i)*

‘**After**[?!?] he **had** (already) **filled**[REL.ANT.NINFL] (*relative tense/background*) the cave, (then)[?!?] with a flame of fire from out of his mouth.’

As opposed to the Emphatic Construction meaning/reading

‘**He filled** (*absolute tense/ground*) the cave with a *flame of fire* from out of his mouth’.

39 For the term, see Collier (1991).

40 See Allen (1979) and the overview given in Allen (2000/2010: ch. 26). Based on this observation, Allen (1979) has suggested that the Emphatic Construction is a Nominal Sentence of the type NP-*pw* with an elision of the demonstrative *pw*. Or, to say it using Loprieno’s (1995: 109–112) terminology: a ‘thetic statement’ with an elision of the demonstrative *pw*.

**[Nominal Verb Form = Uninfl. Relative Form] [AdvP] =*pw* →

*[Nominal Verb Form = Uninfl. Relative Form] =*pw* [AdvP] →

[Nominal Verb Form = Uninfl. Relative Form] ∅ [AdvP]

Differently to Schenkel’s approach (see fn. 38 above), this scenario would explain the temporal layout of the Emphatic Construction. But, as Junge (1979) has pointed out in a reply, it does not account for the stress on the Circumstantial:

sentence particle *iw*.⁴¹ Both constructions are usually negated by means of the discontinuous negation *nī ... īs*.⁴² In both constructions, the particle *īs* eventually appears in noun clause conversions and adverbial clause conversions.⁴³ Since many scholars take it that the (Verbal) Balanced Sentence Construction is a special instance of a bipartite Nominal Sentence with identical kernel nouns,⁴⁴ the hypothesis that the Emphatic Construction has derived from a Verbal Balanced Sentence Construction nicely accounts for the paradigmatic similarity of the Emphatic Construction and not only the Verbal Balanced Sentence but Nominal Sentence Constructions in general.

The hypothesis brought forward here that the Emphatic Construction was born out of the repeated use of a Verbal Balanced Sentence plus extra Circumstantial and with elision of the second Nominal Verb Form (Uninflected Relative Form) combines the strongest parts of both Allen's (1979) and Schenkel's (⁴2005: 94/5) ideas concerning the Emphatic Construction, plus a remark of Leo Depuydt (1988: 404, fn. 3) on the semantic layout of Balanced Sentence constructions. It explains the temporal layout, which is similar that in Verbal Balanced Sentences, but is the opposite of that in the Detached Relative Form Construction (§4). It explains the rhematic stress on the Circumstantial, which naturally evolves in corresponding Verbal Balanced Sentences with extra Circumstantial. And it also explains the paradigmatic behavior, which is similar to that of Nominal Sentences.

Thetic statement

(**s.qdd ntr pn ʕ3 hr qrr.t hr ʕ(w).(wī) tn št{3}y.t pw* →)

* *s.qdd pw ntr pn ʕ3 hr qrr.t hr ʕ(w).(wī) tn št{3}y.t*

'It is/means that The Great God travels through the cave on the hands of The Mysterious One.'

→ Elision of *pw*

'(It is that) The Great God travels through the cave on the hands of The Mysterious One.'

As opposed to the Emphatic Construction meaning/reading:

'The Great God travels through the cave *on the hands of The Mysterious One*.'

- 41 This they have in common with the Cleft Sentence Construction, the Posterior, and the Subjunctive. The Adverbial Sentence, the Resultative Construction, the Anterior, and the Imperfective behave differently. For references to the debate on the meaning of *jw*, see Werning (2011.I: §149, especially fn. 337).
- 42 This they have in common with the Cleft Sentence Construction. All other sentence constructions behave differently, notably also the Adverbial Sentence. For references to the debate on the collocation *nī ... īs*, see Werning (2011.I: 232, fn. 382).
- 43 Most other sentence constructions behave differently, notably the Adverbial Sentence and 'initial' verbal forms. For the dual nature of *īs*, demonstrative (Nominal Sentences) or sentence particle (clausal relations), see Oréal (2011: ch. 3). For more references to the debate on the meaning of *īs*, see Werning (2011.I: §168, especially fn. 382).
- 44 Cf. Schenkel (1990: 153/4) and Niccacci (2006: 411) with reference to Polotsky (1964: 281/2), and e.g. Malaise & Winand (1999: §460), Jansen-Winkel (1996: e.g. §573); cf. also Allen (²2010: 387). Other scholars also use the term Balanced Sentence/*Wechselsatz* for both sentence constructions: those with directly juxtaposed noun phrases with identical core noun and those with directly juxtaposed Nominal Verb Forms (e.g. Loprieno 1995: 132/196). This approach accounts for the fact that both constructions semantically parallel or even equate objects or events, as well as for the fact that the Verbal Balanced Sentence consists of 'nominal' forms, indeed nominalized adjectival forms.

§7 Summary

The “First Scheme of the Emphatic Construction” conveys focus on an attached adverbial part. It is really a focusing construction, which we can keep on labelling *Emphatic Construction* or which we might label, more self-explaining, the *Circumstantial Focusing Construction*. The time reference for the Uninflected Relative Verb Form that is part of it (traditionally, “Nominal Verb Form”) is the *global* temporal reference point, the Speech Time, i.e. the form conveys *absolute tense* (§5).

For the emergence of the Circumstantial Focusing Construction, I hypothesized a language-internal analysis which combines certain ideas of James P. Allen, Wolfgang Schenkel, and Leo Depuydt (§6). The paradigmatic fingerprint of the Emphatic Construction is most similar to that of Nominal Sentences. The temporal relations and the semantic layout match those in a respective Verbal Balanced Sentence, a subtype of Nominal Sentence, with two identical predicates and with extra adverbial information added to the second predicate. I, therefore, consider it possible that the Circumstantial Focusing Construction was historically born through the repeated use of a Verbal Balanced Sentence with two identical predicates plus extra adverbial information in which the second predicate, the semantic twin of the first predicate, was elided (“omission under relevance”). This construction with omission stabilized and gave rise to the Circumstantial Focusing Construction:

Verbal Balanced Sentence

[Uninflected Relative Form clause] [Uninflected Relative Form' +AdvP]
 > [Uninflected Relative Form clause] [∅ AdvP]

Circumstantial Focusing Construction (CF-Cx), *alias* Emphatic Construction

> [Uninflected Relative Form clause] [AdvP].

In a separate line of arguments, I argued that what has been called the “*Second Scheme* of the Emphatic Construction” is a completely different construction with a different semantic, especially a different temporal layout, as well as a different morphosyntactic fingerprint. The construction consists of an initial Uninflected Relative Verb Form plus an autonomous main sentence or Non-initial Main Sentence. The initial Uninflected Relative Verb Form, i.e. an adjectival verb form that is deprived of its gender/number inflection (§1), functionally serves as an initial adverbial clause and conveys backgrounded information. I.e. it is appropriate to categorize it, linguistically, as a *converb*.

Detached Relative Form Construction (DRF-Cx)

[Uninflected Relative Form clause (*converb*)] [autonomous main sentence]
 or [Uninflected Relative Form clause (*converb*)] [Non-initial Main Sentence]

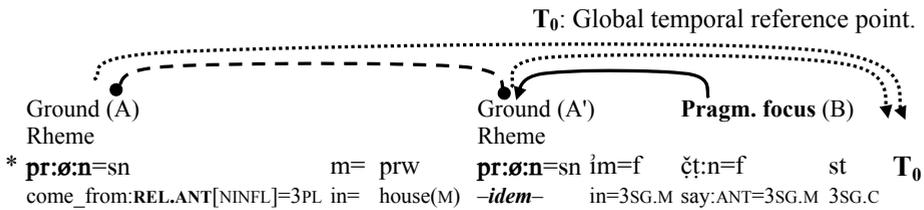
The use of Uninflected Relative Forms as converbs has close functional as well as morphological parallels in other languages (e.g. Hup; German, English; Latin, Ancient Greek; Classical Arabic⁴⁵). The Egyptian ‘*Uninflected*’ Relative Form, which while keeping its tense/aspect features lost its gender/number inflection (§1), parallels

45 Tikkanen (2001: ex 25).

various ‘less inflected’ participles or relative clauses in other languages (§4). Like the less inflected participles, the Uninflected Relative Forms convey backgrounded information. The time reference of the less inflected participles/Relative Forms is the Topic Time of the main clause, i.e., they convey *relative time reference*.⁴⁶ In parallel to Sandra Thompson’s (1983) label “Detached Participle Clause” for the comparable construction in English, I suggest calling the construction the “*Detached Relative Form Construction*”.

Consequently, in contrast to earlier accounts, I argue that the Detached Relative Form Construction (traditionally, “Second scheme of the Emphatic Construction”), on the one hand, and the Circumstantial Focusing Construction (traditionally, “First Scheme of the Emphatic Construction”) and its possible parent, the Verbal Balanced Sentence, on the other hand, are semantically different and not (closely) related.⁴⁷ While the Uninflected Relative Form conveys *backgrounded* information and *relative* tense in the Detached Relative Form Construction, it conveys *unmarked/ground* information and *absolute* tense in the Circumstantial Focusing Construction (*alias* Emphatic Construction), being an anchor for the following focused circumstantial information. The following diagrams visualize the semantic and temporal relations in the three constructions discussed in this context.

(1) **Verbal Balanced Sentence Construction (§6)**



‘When they came out of the house, they came out of it (*only*) **after** he had said this.’

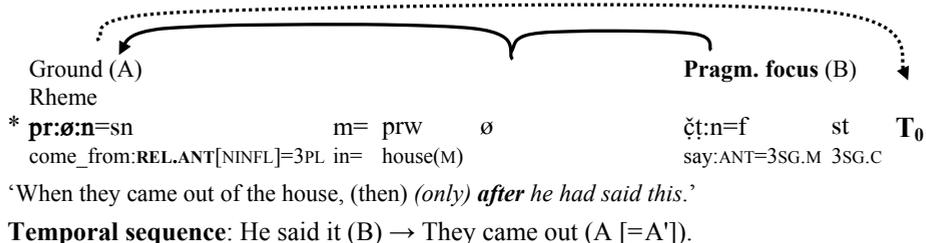
Temporal sequence: He said it (B) → They came out (A=A’).

46 Cf. König & Auwera (1990: 341f), Tikkanen (2001: 1119), Nedjalkov (1998: §§5.2, 5.3.4).

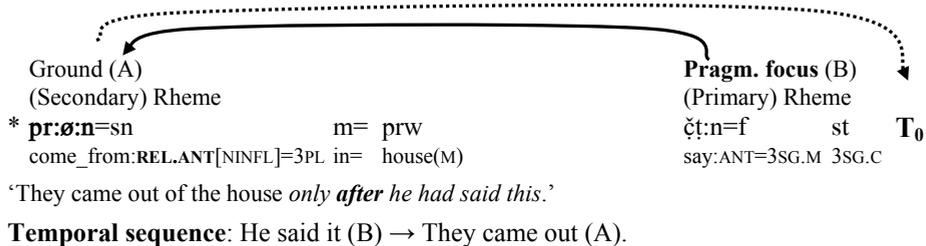
47 Close relations between the DRF-Cx and the Emphatic Cx and/or the Verbal Balanced Sentence had been proposed by e.g. Vernus (1981: 77 [VBS → Emph.-Cx ~ DRF-Cx; “la phrase corrélatif authentique tend à se dégrader, **par substitution** dans le second membre d’une forme verbale non substantive à la forme verbale substantive”]; bold face by D.W.); Junge (1989: ch. 6.2.3 [Emph.-Cx — DRF-Cx — VBS]); Schenkel (1990: 177–179, ⁵2012: 316, and fn. 25 above [DRF-Cx → Emph.-Cx]); Borghouts (2010.I: 252 [DRF-Cx — VBS]).

By way of some additional closing remarks, I would like to point out that the explanation of the Circumstantial Focusing Construction (*alias* Emphatic Construction proper) as a truncated Verbal Balanced Sentence strongly suggests *not* relating it to the Adverbial Sentence as Polotsky’s Theory did (see, e.g., Schenkel 1990: ch. 4.3.2). A Construction Grammar perspective rather suggests taking the Circumstantial Focusing Cx, as well as the Detached Relative Form Cx, as two different, distinctive constructions (see §2 above). Given the different paradigmatic fingerprints of the Circumstantial Focusing Cx and the Adverbial Sentence, it is not even likely that native speakers of Ancient Egyptian would have seen both constructions as (intimately) related — even not from a synchronous, ‘folk-etymological’ perspective.

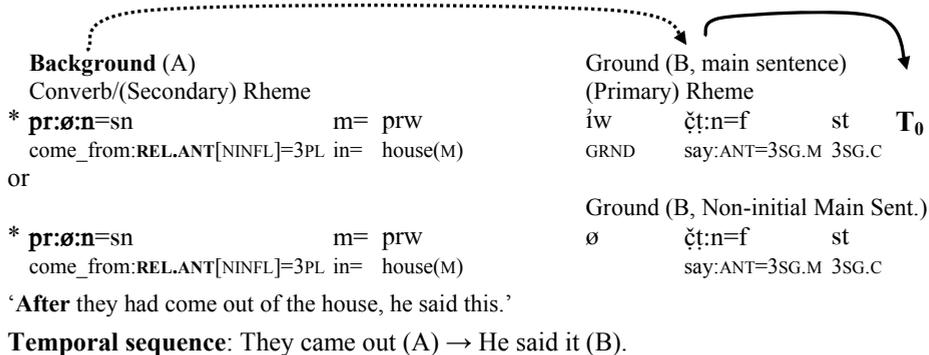
Verbal Balanced Sentence Construction with “omission under relevance” (§6)



Giving rise to:

(2) **Emphatic Construction** (proper) = **Circumstantial Focusing Construction** (§5)

Differently:

(3) **Detached Relative Form Construction** (§4)

Glossing abbreviations

1	1st person	DU	dual	PL	plural
2	2nd person	EMPH	emphasis	POSS	possessive
3	3rd person	F	feminine	POST	posterior
ABL	ablative	GRND	grounding particle	PRF	perfect
ACC	accusative	IMPRS	impersonal	PROG	progressive
ADJZ	adjectivizer	IPFV	imperfective	PRS	present
ANT	anterior	M	masculine	PST	past
ART	article	N	neuter	PTCP	participle
C	communis	NEG	negation	REFL	reflexive
DAT	dative	NINFL	no(n)-inflection (here: no gender/number)	REL	relative
DECL	declarative			SBJV	subjunctive
DEF	definite (also short for DEF.ART)	NOM	nominative	SG	singular
DEM	demonstrative	OBJ	object	STC	<i>status constructus</i>
DET	determiner	OBL	oblique	SUPR	superior
DETR	Distributive	PASS	passive		
		PFV	perfective (aspect)		

See Di Biase-Dyson, Kammerzell & Werning (2009); Werning (2013ff.).

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