

## Volume I

### Preliminaries

#### 1. Introduction

#### 2. Egyptian and its speakers

This chapter will contain a short overview about language distribution, estimated speakers' population, etc. and will enable readers (especially linguists, but also Egyptologists) to obtain a socio-cultural background for the description of the language.

### Graphemics

#### 3. The Graphic System of Egyptian

This chapter will contain an outline of the general development of the Egyptian script; special attention will be paid to the way in which the Egyptian script encoded phonetic and semantic information. It will also deal with the question of the exact place of word boundaries (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2003), i.e. the differentiation between phonetic, morphological and even phrasal words. A direct genitive as in *hm-ntr* "priest" is phonetically one word [hamnacɑr], consisting of two morpho-syntactic words (*hm* "servant" and *ntr* "god"). This chapter will also lay the foundation for the reconstruction of the phonological system. A major effort will be made in order to show that graphemic units do not always correspond to phonemes, since the 26 basic (monoconsonantal) graphemes were used for the notation of approximately 30 phonemes.

A further focus of attention will be the tension between the phonological function of the graphemes and their inherent iconic potential, a tension that was met with in very different ways depending on the underlying system (hieroglyphs vs. Demotic), on the textual genre (monumental/representational vs. cursive/pragmatic), or on the degree of graphic conventionalization (regular script vs. so-called cryptography).

### Phonology

#### 4. Segmental phonological units

This chapter is meant to give an overview of the evolution of the vocalic and consonantal phonemes. The discrete phonemes as they emerge from different time periods will be classified according to features and charted for synchronic reference points. This procedure will then lead to the description of phonological evolutions. Allophonic variations, in which graphic idiosyncrasies played an important role, will be dealt with in a special section.

#### 5. Phonotactics and phonological alternations

The chapter will explain features such as the evolution of syllable structures, combinatory restrictions on co-occurrence of consonantal phonemes, vowel syncope, vowel harmonies, etc., as well as their changes over time as far as they are discernable. Special attention will be paid to the restrictions of combinatory possibilities for consonantal phonemes. Thus far, this procedure

has been successfully adopted by Peust (1999a: 297-299 for Middle Egyptian only). This author only examined the distribution of phonemes in the whole word, i.e. whether two phonemes appear in the same root. For cluster analysis, however, it seems more useful to examine phonemes in direct contact taking into account syllabic structures, in order to see whether neighboring graphemes correspond to neighboring phonemes: for example in the word *wbh*, the graphemes <w> and <b> appear next to one another, but not the phonemes, as the syllabic structure is assumed to be /va.βax/. Attested as well as unattested clusters will enable us to draw conclusions on the development of the phonological system. This will also touch the problem of complex syllable onsets or coda positions. It is generally assumed that Egyptian did not license complex onset or coda structures (for word final exception see Schenkel 1990: 63). Coptic, however, shows lexemes such as κρωμ „fire, flame“ or ψραπ „scream“, which have to be analyzed as /krom/ (according to Peust 1999b, traditionally /kro:m/) and /ʃkʰap/ (Vergote 1973: 45). Beside morphophonemic alternations of the definite article (use of variants πε-/τε-/νε- instead of π-/τ-/ν- if the noun starts with two consonants, e.g. π-ρωμε vs. πε-κρωμ), ancient word lists with syllabic divisions (Hasitzka 1990: #243) might point to the existence of complex onsets. Egyptian words attested in Greek texts from Egypt as well as new reconstructions of Egyptian lexemes for period of the New Kingdom (Zeidler 1995) point to the existence of such structures at least for the second half of the second millennium BCE. Furthermore, it might be expected that underlying licensed combinations we might posit a sonorant hierarchy that allowed only climbing sonority in onset and falling sonority in coda position.

The second part of this section of the book will describe phonological alternations that are partially conditioned by the phonological environment, such as assimilatory processes (e.g. the Coptic progressive partial assimilation of ν > μ/\_π). Some alternations must be described as morphophonemic because they are restricted to closed classes of lexical items or morphological environments such as the appearance of a morphological subset of the definite article.

## 6. Stress

The Egyptian stress pattern will be described in two parts: First, the stress patterns of roots will be explained according to verbal and non-verbal roots, since many languages display different systems for the two stets. Then the characteristics of suffixes will be dealt with: the syllabic structure of Coptic shows that at least pronominal suffixes alter the position of the words accent the suffix is attached to. The project will establish whether the older stages of Egyptian also possessed suffixes that modified stress patterns.

## Volume II

### Morphology

Each chapter of morphology will have to provide evidence for establishing the existence of the specific categories in Egyptian.

#### 7. Nominal morphology

This chapter will describe the nominal inflection such as gender, number and case marking. As for the latter, we assume that there was a prehistorical stage of Egyptian in which case marking did exist, although morphological case endings do not explicitly appear in the attested written stages. Extensive paradigms will elucidate the textual description of noun features. Inflected nominal categories will be the object of separate treatments. As Egyptian makes extensive use of prepositional phrases in cases where typologically different languages use case markings, cross referencing will be necessary. Nominal derivation will be dealt with in the concluding part of this chapter, which will also describe the language's patterns of creating nouns through *m*-prefixing or through compounding.

#### 8. Adjectival morphology

Although adjective can be posited as a distinct category of earlier Egyptian, further stages in the development of the language exhibit a neutralization of the opposition between noun and adjective. It is nevertheless typologically interesting to observe that Egyptian adjectives can be used as attributes or as predicates. Some Semitic languages such as Hebrew share this feature, whereas other languages of the same family display suppletive paradigms with inflected adjective verbs for the predicative use. This chapter will describe features of congruence (person, number, gender, and case marking, absence of special definite marking, coordination, etc.). Egyptian does not know a comparative or relative inflection; the corresponding syntactic phenomena will be treated in a dedicated chapter (25). A special section will also deal with adjectival derivation.

#### 9. Numerals and determiners

The description of the numerals will follow the usual typological oppositions: cardinals, ordinals, fractions, inclusive numbers (such as “both” or “the three of us”), multiplicative (such as “once”, “twice” etc.) and distributive numbers (such as “one each”), as well as approximate numeral expressions (like “millions”).

In the section on determiners, universal quantifiers (“all”, “every”, “no-one”, “none”) as well as expressions for “other” will be dealt with. Although these words might be morphologically included into the treatment of adjectives, idiosyncratic features seem to justify a taxonomic differentiation.

#### 10. Inflectional verbal patterns

A differentiation between inflectional and functional verbal patterns might appear odd at a first glance, but it appears diachronically necessary because of the restructuring of Egyptian from

synthetic to analytic, then to polysynthetic patterns. Thus, we want to avoid a taxonomic indifference between morphology-based (such as *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*) and function-based categories (such as for example “Future III”), which is often encountered in descriptions of the Egyptian language. Chapter 10, therefore, will contain the description of discrete morphological categories. Emphasis will be laid on morphological *processes* rather than on simple morphological *forms*.

### **11. Functional verbal patterns**

This chapter will incorporate an overview of abstract functional categories and the way in which the language fills them with its morphological inventory. Special attention will be devoted to deictic categories such as tense, aspect, and *Aktionsart* (cf. in particular Malaise & Winand 1999: 343-376, Winand 1998, 2001)

A sub-chapter will be devoted to the interesting patterns of auxiliary verbs. The lexical spectrum they originate from is rather broad (cf. Kuteva 2001) but has never been subject to a diachronic description (for synchronic description see Kruchten 1982 and Junge 1999: 87-90 as well as Vernus’ remarks [2003: 238-240.]

### **12. Pronouns**

The general outline of chapter 13 will include detailed descriptions of personal, reflexive, reciprocal, possessive, interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronouns. The description of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns can be kept rather short as Egyptian does not possess morphologically distinct forms, but rather uses constructions such as *ds*=pronoun for “my-/thy-/etc.-self.” Typologically interesting is the existence of morphologically differentiated positive (*ntj/ntt*) and negative relative pronouns (*jwtj/jwt.t*) in earlier Egyptian, later substituted by a single, positive pronouns system. Diachronically, the relative pronoun is reduced to a relative particle.

### **13. Adverbs**

The treatment of adverbs will be subdivided according to semantic groups such as place and direction, temporal reference, change and duration, manner, and degree. The remaining few adverbs will be treated in a final section. The description will focus on the morphology of the adverbs and their functional scope, such as comparison (as in “He is running faster than ...”) or the expression of degrees of quality with adverbs.

### **14. Prepositions, conjunctions, and particles**

The concluding chapter of morphology will deal with prepositions, conjunctions and the residual particle category. The preposition part will be subdivided into the description of simple (e.g. *m* “in”) and complex prepositions (like *m-hnw* “inside of”). The treatment of particles will contain dedicated sections on focus and discursive particles. The remaining particles shall be treated in one chapter. A final subchapter will give an overview on interjections.

## Volume III

### Syntax

#### **15. Noun phrase and adjective phrase**

This chapter will be devoted to the properties of the noun phrase including the use of quantifiers, appositions and word order, the position of the genitive noun phrase, of demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals. In a final section, the special properties of adjective phrases will be discussed.

#### **16. Verbal valence**

Verbal valence has been so far never been focused upon in grammars of Egyptian. It has been also only recently introduced into linguistic discourse in Egyptology (Hafemann 2002, but see Junge 1973, Winand 1994, 1999). The chapter will give a description of valence patterns and their diachronic evolution.

#### **17. Syntax of sentences with verbal predication**

Though the frame of description is based on the sentence, we intend to avoid the classical scheme limited to the sentences boundaries by introducing discourse functional approach (see Schlobinski 1992; 2003). Sentences will always be considered within their surrounding co-text. This mode of representation will enable us to examine pragmatic motivations for the selection of a certain sentence patterns and also address the needs of the more philologically inclined Egyptological readership.

#### **18. Syntax of sentences with non-verbal predication**

In this chapter, we will contrast verbal syntax with the “remaining” sentence patterns with nominal, adverbial, and adjectival predication as well as existential sentences, which – at least in later Egyptian – cannot be treated as verbal clauses. This chapter will include a systematic overview of all sentence patterns and their respective functional domains.

#### **19. Coordination**

In conventional Egyptian grammars, coordination patterns are generally treated in a rather cursory manner. The chapter is outlined to deal with conjunction and disjunction as well as clause coordination (see Haspelmath 2004). The latter will deal also with the question of co-referential omission in coordination a feature, which to the best of our knowledge has so far never been studied in any Egyptian grammar (for a few arbitrary examples from Late Egyptian and Coptic see Müller 2003: 353-357). Adversative coordination has been only randomly treated. Egyptian belongs to the WITH-languages (Haspelmath 2004), since it extends the functional scope of a preposition “with” to coordination.

#### **20. Relative clauses**

This chapter will examine the structural properties of relative clauses subdivided into non-finite (participial) and finite relative clauses. When studying the mechanisms of converting a sentence into a relative clause, however, both must be examined together as they form a suppletive paradigm for sentences with verbal predication. Resumption and deletion as well as headless

relative clauses will be described in separate chapters. A typological feature of Egyptian is the use of morphosyntactically differentiated relative construction: If the noun phrase the relative clause specifies is undetermined, the so-called virtual relative clause is used.

### **21. Complement clauses**

The subdivision of this chapter will follow the various attested strategies to complement a sentence, e.g., zero-strategies (used for instance in direct speech and after certain verbs of cognition), infinitive-constructions, or the *r-dd/ꜛe*-strategy, each described in its functional scope. Thus, we will depart from the traditional framework that has prevailed during the last decades in the Egyptological “Standard theory”, which was strongly based on morphology, and shall adopt a more formal syntactic approach (Uljas 2000; 2003).

### **22. Adverbial clauses**

This chapter will deal with circumstantial, temporal, causal, final, conditional, and concessive, clauses. What is generally labeled “adverbial clause” in Egyptological literature, i.e. clauses with non-verbal predication, are treated in Chapter 18.

### **23. Co-reference**

The topic of this chapter will be the following syntactic patterns: pronominal anaphora, co-referential omission, and reflexivization. These issues have never been described in a satisfactory manner in Egyptian linguistics.

### **24. Questions**

The chapter on questions will be subdivided into *polar* questions (questions with yes-no answers), *parametric* questions (constituent questions, question-word questions), and *indirect* questions. Minor subchapters will deal with so-called *echo* questions, (“Who took the book?” “The Book? He did!”), question particles, questions-like exclamations and *non-indicative* questions, (“Who is going to help them?”). Here, the use of a co-text oriented description will prove particularly appropriate.

### **25. Comparison**

The final chapter of the syntax volume will be devoted to comparison patterns, subdivided into comparison of inequality and of equality as well as the excessive degree (“too much”).

## **Volume IV**

### **Semantics and Pragmatics**

With this fourth volume we intend to open a new field in Egyptological linguistics by including semantics and pragmatics into our description. So far, neither of them has played any role in grammatical description of Egyptian; some reviewers of Loprieno (1995) expressed the wish to include in future treatments at least the semantic sphere (e.g., Schenkel 1997).

## 26. Structured semantic fields

The first part of semantics will contain structured semantics fields as kinship terminology, ceremonial relationships, color terminology, body parts, cooking, and shape terminology, as well as terms for time and meteorology. We shall follow the questionnaires by Comrie and Smith (1977) but shall present the material in narrative form rather than reproducing the questionnaires' listing style. Additionally, we shall pay special attention to the system of spatial deixis (see Levinson 2003).

## 27. Basic vocabulary in diachronic comparison

According to the same guidelines we intend to present an overview of the development of the basic vocabulary of Egyptian, especially in terms of the incorporation of foreign words from various neighboring languages as well as borrowings induced by cultural contact.

## 28. Pragmatics

The pragmatic part will be divided into two ways of approaching: A structural one examining the structures for focusing, topicalization, rhematization etc. (Loprieno 1995: 192-199) vs. a formal one examining patterns of politeness, etc.

## Appendix

The appendix will give text samples illustrating textual varieties (such as letters, biographies, etc.) with references to the grammar and a list of all textual passages cited in the grammar.

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