

NOTES ON CONSTRUCTIONS WITH ʔ_n (ʔ_{em})¹

John B. Callender
Department of Near Eastern Languages
University of California, Los Angeles

In the Festschrift in honor of V. V. Struve, M. Korostovtseff [1967] recently published a study dedicated to various constructions employing the particle ʔ_n in Egyptian. His explanation of the particle ʔ_n , to be discussed below, was termed "ergative" and may be profitably contrasted with the traditional explanation, elaborated by Gunn [1924], that such constructions are essentially "emphatic" in nature. Neither the ergative hypothesis nor the emphatic hypothesis are mutually exclusive, but neither of these hypotheses seems fully satisfying as a guide to the usage of ʔ_n and the relation of ʔ_n constructions to other constructions seems never to have been discussed. Those with ʔ_r (ʔ_o) 'as to' which seem to have similar meaning, come most quickly to mind in this regard. I would, therefore, like to investigate these two hypotheses in turn (sections I and II), and finally discuss the theoretical implications of the questions raised by the behavior of interrogatives in these constructions (section III).

I. The Ergative Hypothesis

The general thesis proposed by Korostovtseff [1967] is to the effect that the particle ʔ_n serves to mark the logical subject of the sentence in certain constructions, including most notably, passive constructions and the participial statement of the form:

- (1) ʔ_n rmt sdm-y
 ʔ_n man hear-WH
"The man is the one who hears"

Since the particle ʔ_n marks logical subjects in both active and passive sentences, Korostovtseff suggests that the term "ergative" be used to describe these subjects. It is valuable that the generalization has

¹I would like to express my thanks to Russ Schuh, Robert Hetzron and Talmy Givón for their helpful comments, at various stages of the development of this paper.

been captured, to the effect that the element marked by ?n is always the logical subject, but the term ergative case is open to certain objections.

The objection to the use of such a term concerns the term "ergative" rather than the notion of "analytic cases" which Korostovtseff is at pains to defend. There can be no objection based on principle to speaking of analytic cases if this is found useful in grammatical description. The proper perspective, however, involved in considering the term "ergative" is provided by Fillmore [1968]. In that work Fillmore describes languages as being accusative, ergative, active and transitive on the basis of the distribution of pronouns sets that these languages exhibit. Of the two types relevant to the present discussion, accusative languages have one set of pronouns for the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs and another set for the objects of transitive verbs. Ergative languages, on the other hand, have one set of pronouns for the subjects of transitive verbs and another set for both the objects of transitive verbs and the subjects of intransitive verbs. In more familiar terms, ergative languages used "direct object" pronouns for the subjects of intransitive verbs. By these criteria Egyptian and most European languages are accusative languages, with accusative and nominative oppositions in their case system, whether this case system is observable only in pronouns or in other situations as well.

There are situations, however, where "object" pronouns are used as subjects in Egyptian. In the case of adverbial predicates, for instance, the "dependent pronouns", otherwise used as objects, as in (2) can also serve as the subjects of adjectival constructions (3) and of the related constructions in which the predicate seems to be an invariable participle (4)²:

- (2) ?w $\text{m3.n.}^{\text{?}}$ sw
 is see-PAST-I him
 "I saw him"

²Sander-Hansen [1963: par. 330-331] gives this construction greater prominence than do other grammarians, and terms it the sdm sw form.

(3) nfr sw
 happy him
 "He is happy"

(4) h'w sw
 one-who-rejoices him
 "He is joyful"

The same object pronouns illustrated in (2) to (4) also occur after certain particles, including negative ones:

(5) nn sw m pr
 not him in house
 "He is not in the house"

(6) ʔsk sw m pr
 lo him in house
 "Lo, he is in the house"

These may be contrasted with the ordinary:

(7) ʔw.f m pr
 is-he in house
 "He is in the house"

As it may be seen from the variety of uses shown above, the use of these object pronouns, termed traditionally and not inaccurately 'dependent pronouns', cannot be adequately described on the basis of transitive and intransitive predicates, and so do not warrant the term 'ergative'.

There is likewise no ergative distinction maintained in those pseudo-cleft constructions with the particle ʔn which are traditionally called "participial statements". In these both transitive and intransitive verbs may occur.

(8) CT 193B
 ʔn-k grt wpi-y wʒwt.k
 ʔn-I moreover open-Who your roads
 "I, moreover, am the one who opens your roads"

(9) Eb. 131 (30, 6-7)

ʔn whdw prr-y m bkn

ʔn fluid go out-WH from bkn

"The malignant fluid is that which goes out from the bkn"

(10) Rhind 28

ʔn 5 prī-y d3t m 10

ʔn 5 go out-WH remainder as 10

"Five is what leaves, with ten as a remainder"

It would seem, therefore, that Korovtseff's introduction of the term "ergative" runs counter to the normal definition of this term which is based on the distinction between transitive and intransitive predicates, and some other term should be sought to express the distinction Korostovtseff has in mind. More importantly, it is difficult to see how this way of viewing the problem can help to distinguish the above pseudo-cleft construction from various other constructions which seem to be approximately synonymous, a problem to which Korostovtseff did not address himself.

II. The "Emphatic" Hypothesis

The standard view of such participial pseudo-cleft constructions has been that they serve to "emphasize" the subject.³ This is the view that was proposed by Erman [1894] and followed and expanded by Gunn [1924] and Gardiner [1927]. These participial pseudo-cleft constructions correspond to English and French cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions as in (11):

- (11) (a) John is the one who did it.
 (b) It is John who did it.
 (c) C'est Jean qui l'a fait.

³Schenkel [1963:123] proposes that the ʔn of the participial pseudo-cleft construction be considered etymologically the same as the interrogative particle ʔn. In support of such a historical development he cites the use of the English pro-verb do in both interrogative and "emphatic" sentences. The analogy is misleading, as the emphasis involved in the English "He does want to go!" stresses that the verbal action is indeed being performed, and has no observable relation to emphasis operating on noun phrases.

It was felt that a sort of "emphasis" existed in such constructions, but a closer characterization of "emphasis" in grammatical terms was lacking. What the relation is of emphasis to other grammatical relations, such as those of subject, predicate, and predicate nominals, is absent in current Egyptological research.

A useful point of departure for attacking the problem of a closer characterization of emphatic structures is the comparison of other structures which seem approximately synonymous. The fact that topicalized constructions such as (12) have also been considered "emphatic" as well gives this problem a certain urgency.

(12) (a) Sin. B233

mw m ʔtrw, swr.tw.f mrʔ.k

water in river, drink-ONE-it wish-CIRCUMSTANTIAL-you

"...the water in the river is drunk only when you wish"

(b) Urk. V, 95

ʔr hm-y nb r3 pn, n 'k.n.f ...

as-for not know-Wh any utterance this, not enter he

"As for anyone who does not know this utterance, he shall not enter"

Although in the topicalizations illustrated in (12) the underlined topicalized element may stand in any sentence relation, such is not the case with the elements following ʔn in the participial pseudo-cleft constructions. In these it is always the subject which is emphasized.

As far as emphasized subjects are concerned, Gardiner [1928] provides a criterion for using ʔn constructions in preference to other possible means of emphasis. Gardiner's treatment of sentences with nominal predicates (including the participial pseudo-cleft constructions with ʔn) is unique in that it has recourse to a para-grammatical apparatus involving logical categories. In order to properly construct an Egyptian sentence with nominal predicate corresponding to (13):

(13) James is a sergeant.

it is necessary to bear in mind not only what the grammatical subject and predicate should be, but also what the logical subject and predicate

should be, as the interaction of these categories determines word order and copula agreement. Since the logical and grammatical relations do not necessarily coincide, one determines the logical predicate by matching the interrogative pronoun of the question form of the sentence with the noun member which corresponds to it in the answer. Thus in (13) "a sergeant" is the logical predicate since it corresponds to "what" in (14):

(14) What is James?

The dialectic involved in determining these logical relations must be borne in mind, when examining Gardiner's statement [1928: par. 227.2] concerning the nature of emphasis in pseudo-cleft constructions:

As the second of these examples shows, the effect of *in* thus placed before a grammatical subject in anticipatory emphasis (§148.1) may be to give it the value of the logical predicate. Only when this occurs can we render in English 'it is X who will'.

For no other "emphatic" construction does Gardiner say that it converts emphasized members into logical predicates.⁴

Therefore, if the difference between participial pseudo-cleft constructions and other emphasizing constructions, most notably the topicalizations of (12), lies on the logical plane, one must determine whether such relations of logic can be traced in purely grammatical terms. In this regard, there are various areas of Egyptian syntax where logical categories and relations are marked formally [Callender 1970:App. 1]. Although, from the perspective of the development of grammatical analysis, the term subject began as a term in logic, it is also commonly marked in a formal way, especially in languages with case systems. In the light of this, can Gardiner's apparatus of question and answer be converted into grammatical terms, and if so can the hypothesis be verified or disproved on the basis of grammatical rather than logical evidence?

⁴Gardiner [1950:par. 227.2] does not consider that *in* obligatorily gives the meaning of a logical predicate to the word following. One suspects that Gardiner's caveat is influenced by his translation of the first example.

The grammatical equivalent of Gardiner's relation between logical questions and answers is the relationship between the form questions take in Egyptian and the form their answers take. In the case of the participial pseudo-cleft constructions we do have a formal correspondence between the form of the question and the form of the answer. If the question is in the form of a pseudo-cleft construction the answer must be also.⁵

(15) Illahun VIII, 24-28

ʔn-m dd-y sw.....ʔn 20 dd-y sw

ʔn-What say-Wh it.....ʔn 20 say-Wh it

"What is that which expresses it? Twenty is that which expresses it"

Examples in the future are found more commonly. Although no overt Wh-form is present, the characteristic ʔn leaves no doubt as to the construction.

(16) Westcar IX, 6-7

ʔn-m ʔr.f ʔnʔ.f n.ʔ sy

ʔn-Who now bring-he to-me it?

"Who is the one who will bring it to me?"

..ʔn smsw....ʔnʔ.f n.k sy

ʔn eldest....bring-he to-you it

"The eldest....is the one who will bring it to you"

(17) Ebers 58, 11-12

ʔn-m ʔr.f ʔnʔ.f sw gmʔ.f sw

ʔn-who now bring-he it find-he it

"Who will bring it and find it?"

ʔn-k ʔnʔ.ʔ sw ʔn-k gmʔ.ʔ sw

ʔn-I bring-I it. ʔn-I find-I it.

"I am the one who will bring it. I am the one who will find it."

⁵Not all questions receive apposite answers, as for example the circumstantial account given by the shipwrecked sailor to the serpent's question, "ʔn m ʔnʔ-y tw?" "Who brought you?" in Shipwrecked Sailor 80.

(18) Harhotep 374-5

ʔn-m ʔr.f ʔnʔ.f n.ʔ

ʔn-Who now bring-he to-me

"Who is the one who will bring it to me?"

ʔn Hnmtt ʔnʔ.s n.ʔ

ʔn Khenmetet bring-she to-me

"Khenmetet is the one who will bring to me"

ʔn M'ndt wʔh.s n.ʔ

ʔn Maanedjet put-she for-me

"Maanedjet is the one who will place (it) for me"

In the light of the above correspondences, Gardiner's hypothesis about the logical relationship of question and answer is not only transformed into grammatical terms, but verified. A reordering of our understanding of the participial statement seems also to be in order if the correspondence of interrogatives and answers in participial statements is to be given its proper grammatical value.⁶

The value of giving such correspondences a central role in our explanation of participial pseudo-cleft constructions is for two reasons. Firstly, as I have suggested, in this correspondence we have a formal realization of a logical correspondence expressed in grammatical terms. This is in harmony with the definition of grammar as the relation of meaning to form. Secondly, by this formal relation of question and answer it is possible to delineate the participial pseudo-cleft construction from those other constructions conveying emphasis.

In Egyptian grammar the interrogatives *m* and *ʔst* are nouns. There is, therefore, no reason, in present theory, why they should not occur in extraposition (anticipatory emphasis), with or without the introductory particle *ʔr*, in sentences containing conjugated verbs. However, in actual fact, no sentences such as (19) occur:

⁶Cf. Postal [1971:1] "In the most general sense, I take grammar to cover the whole domain of how semantic interpretations are associated with phonetic representations."

- (19) *(ḥr) m, sdm.n.f nn
 (as to) who, hear-PAST-he this
 "Who heard this?"

It seems, moreover, that simple m cannot serve as the subject of even ordinary verbal sentences without topicalization. Gunn [1926] has shown that even those non-topicalized sentences thought to contain interrogatives, do not do so. In (20) Gunn interprets m not as an interrogative, but as the identically written interjection.

- (20) Rhind 22
 skm m s3wy r3-10 m l
 complete { what } 2/3 1/10 as 1
 { pray }
 (Gardiner) "What makes 7/10 up to 1?"
 (Gunn) "Make 7/10 up, now, to 1!"

Although we have no direct evidence from Middle Egyptian, evidence from Coptic indicates that in this later stage of the language interrogatives can indeed occur in extraposition, but only in rhetorical questions and not in questions for specification [Callender 1970:par. 110]:

- (21) Luke 14:28
 nim gar emmōtn e-f-weš ket u-pērgos
 who for of-you while-he-wants build a-tower
 "For who among you desiring to build a tower"
 mē n-f-na-hmo3s an en-šorp n-f-fi p-ōp
 PARTICLE not-he-FUT-sit not at-first and-he-carry the-count
 "will not first sit down and calculate"
 n-ḥf-tapanē de wenta-f e-dok-f evol
 of-his-treasure that has-he to-complete-it out
 "his wealth (to see) if he has (enough) to finish it?"

- (22) Luke 15:8
 e nim n-shime e-wnt-s mēte n-giskite
 rather who ATT-woman when-have-she ten ATT-shekels
 "Rather what woman having ten shekels,"

ne-s-serm wī evol nhēt-ū
 and-she-lose one out from-them
 "and losing one of them"
 me n-e-s-na-dere p-hēvs an
 rather not-FUT-she-FUT-light the-lamp not
 "will not light the lamp"
 ne-s-sehr p-ei ne-s-šine hn u-ōrd
 and-she-sweep the-house and-she-search in a-thoroughness
 "and sweep the house and search thoroughly"
 šante-s-he ero-s
 until-she-find about-it
 "until she finds it?"

Thus in questions for specification at least, one may clearly distinguish participial pseudo-cleft sentences from topicalization, which provides some justification for considering the correspondence of interrogatives to their answers as central in any explanation of these pseudo-cleft constructions.

Even where no overt question is attested, pseudo-cleft constructions seem to answer the implied question of the hearer. This can be seen in the spells of the Coffin Texts, where divinities are introduced to the deceased and their functions are described in answer to the implicit question "who are they?".

(23) CT I, 38b-40d

"This Osiris has gone forth to you, great and mighty, like Re went forth, great and mighty, on the eastern side of heaven. The gods who spoke on Horus's behalf when they overthrew Seth for him,"

ntsn mdw.sn hr-tp ny Wsīr NN pn
 In-they speak-they on-behalf of Osiris NN this

"they are the ones who will speak on behalf of this Osiris NN"

The implicit question is "Who will speak for this person (Osiris NN) to verify his right to be in heaven?"

(24) CT I, 192

"There is no goddess who will demand anything from you on the day qualities are evaluated before the Great One, Lord of the West. You will eat bread from the offering table of Re together with the nobles of the portal,"

ʔnk grt wpi-y w3wt.k

ʔn-I moreover open-WH roads-your

"for I am the one who opened your roads (after you overthrew your enemies and drove off his gang)"

The implicit question seems to be "Who will run interference for me so that I can get all these benefits?"

Similarly, in medical texts, after a process or disease has been described, the question of cause or agent arises.

(25) Ebers 102, 4-5

ʔr 3k-ʔb mht-ʔb ʔn t3w ny
as for destroy-heart, fill-heart, breath of

"As for 'destruction of the heart' and 'heart worry' a breath of"

hry-hbt ʔrr-y st
lector-priest do-WH it

"a lector priest is what produces it"

This etiology follows a discussion of a 'clouded heart', where no definition is given. Presumably 3k-ʔb and mht-ʔb were sufficiently well known to the reader that all that was needed was an answer to the question of the disease's cause.

(26) Ebers 102, 6-9

"As far as the phrase 'an agglomeration has fallen on his heart' is concerned, it means a mass of heat has fallen on his heart. It means weakness and frequent swallowings from 'dnd',"

ʔn mh h3ty.f m snf ʔrr-y st
in fill heart-his with blood do-WH it

"the fact that his heart is full of blood is what produces it (resulting from drinking water and eating the sbyt-fish, and the hands get hot)"

(27) Ebers 103, 16-18

"All of them (the vessels of the body) come to the heart. They divide at his nose and are gathered at his buttocks"

(27a) ḥpr mrt phwy m-'.sn

happen-MANNER illness rectum because of-them

"the reason the illness of the rectum happens is because of them"

(27b) ḥn wsšwt sšm-y ḥwt

ḥn excretions guide-WH movement

"The excretions are what control movement"

(27c) ḥn mtw ny rdwy š3'-y mwt

ḥn vessels of legs begin-WH die

"The vessels of the legs are what die first"

In (27b) and (27c) we have the now familiar participial pseudo-cleft construction in parallelism with another construction containing a manner nominalization. This construction with a manner nominalization, termed the "emphatic sdm.f" in traditional terms, can be identified with complete certainty only for certain verb classes because of the defective nature of Egyptian writing, and in these cases the middle consonant of the verbal radical is doubled. In the case of (27a) the manner nominalization serves as the subject of the underlined predicate m-'.sn 'because of them'.⁷ Because of the parallelism one suspects that the type of "emphasis" may be the same. Any doubts based on defective writing are cleared up by (28) where the doubled middle radical of prr leaves no uncertainty.

⁷It is generally considered that this manner nominalization (emphatic sdm.f) serves to emphasize the adverbial predicate. The misleading nature of this view lies in that it ignores the fact that "emphatic" sdm.f can stand in other relationships than that of subject to an adverbial predicate in Middle Egyptian. One has, for instance, and emphatic sdm.f as the subject of an adjectival verb in Westcar 9:22, as the object of a preposition in Sin. B 225, and as a direct object in Louvre C, 14:9-10 and in Urk. IV, 9:16.

(28) Ebers 100, 18, 101-102

"As for any sort of 'bitterness',"

3k.s m ʔrt ʔ3bt prr.s m hp3

enter-MANNER-it from eye left leave-MANNER-it from navel

"where it enters is the left eye and where it leaves from is the navel,"

ʔn h3ty dd-y 'k.sn m mtw.f

ʔn heart cause-WH enter-SUBJUNCTIVE-they in vessels-his

"the heart is what causes it to enter his vessels"

If these pseudo-cleft constructions with "manner" nominalizations are indeed parallel with participial pseudo-cleft constructions, then they would be in complementary distribution, with the former clefting objects of prepositions and the latter noun subjects.

That the two constructions are in complementary distribution can be shown by the following examples where the clefting operates on interrogatives which are objects of prepositions, which excludes them being a form of topicalization. In (29) and (30) one sees the negative form of the manner nominalization with the characteristic negation *tm* and in (31) one can see the positive form.

(29) Westcar 6ff.

tm.t hnʔw hr-m

not-you row because of-what

"Why is it that you are not rowing?"

(30) Westcar 11, 21-2

tm.tw ms ʔnʔw hnw hr-m

not-one now bring vessels because of-what

"Why, pray tell, have grain vessels not been brought?"

(31) Sinuhe B 43

wnn r.f t3 pn mʔ-m m-hmt.f

be-MANNER then land this like-what without-him

"What will this land be like without him?"

From this one must conclude that in spite of the great formal

differences that exist between participial pseudo-clefting and manner nominalization pseudo-clefting, they are in complementary distribution. It also follows that one must distinguish two kinds of "emphasis" in Egyptian, that of pseudo-clefting which operates on interrogatives and that of topicalization which excludes interrogatives.

III. Theoretical Considerations

The important question of why interrogatives should be linked with cleft constructions remains to be explained. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to explain this in more than a tentative way, and even this tentative explanation involves working with a conceptualization well known in Linguistics but little known in Orientalism, namely that of performative verbs.

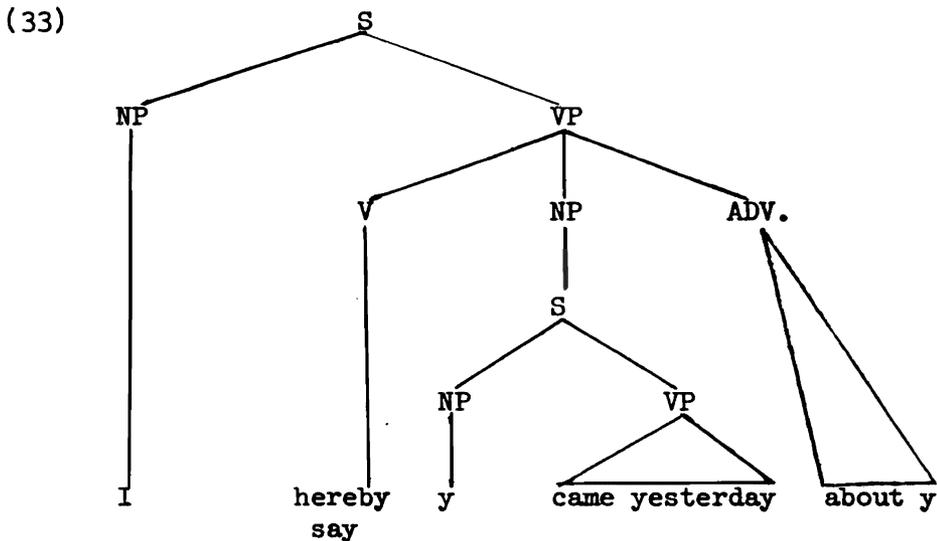
The discovery of performative verbs is due to the English philosopher J. L. Austin [1965] who noticed that certain verbs showed peculiar behavior when they were used in situations in which, by merely uttering them, an action was performed. They were **commonly** found in ceremonial contexts, and invariably had first person subjects, and only when so used could they have the adverb "hereby" attached, such as in (32):

(32) I hereby christen this ship The Nadezhda.

The implications that began to emerge from the work of linguists attempting to incorporate this observation into linguistic theory have led to a tentative solution of an extremely basic problem in linguistic theory. This problem involves the contradiction between the need for a unitary notion of sentence (which is dictated by the general scientific drive for maximum relevant generalization), and the existence of a variety of different sentence types, such as declaratory, interrogatory, and exclamatory sentences. This contradiction between a unitary sentence theory and the variety of sentence types was discovered to be soluble if every sentence in the language was considered to be the object (complement) of a performative verb in a higher sentence which could be optionally deleted, such as "I hereby say . . ." or "I hereby ask . . .". Although problems remain with this conceptualization, it is proving useful in present linguistic work, and is indispensable to the following

discussion.

Hetzron [1969] has argued that extraposed elements are the objects of the preposition "about" in a higher sentence (on the performative level). Although Hetzron has provided no justification for this statement, it is evident that it could be justified as an explanation for the use of "about, concerning, as for" and their synonyms in other languages (e.g. Egyptian *ʔr* 'as to'; Coptic *etve*) used to introduce items in extraposition. The structure for such sentences would, then, be approximately the following one:



(33a) As far as Y is concerned, he came yesterday.

(33b) As for Y, he came yesterday.

(33c) About Y, he came yesterday.

(33d) *ʔr* Y, *ʔw.f ʔwʔw m-sf*.

(33e) Y, *fnōw nsaf*.

(33f) *etve* Y, *fnōw nsaf*.

It will be remarked that in both the English and Egyptian constructions, the topicalized noun phrase must be recapitulated by a pronoun in the main clause of the sentence. This indicates that the extraposed noun phrase must be either definite, i.e., referring to a specific entity in the world, or generic, i.e., referring to a class or its representative member, but it means that the extraposed noun cannot be a

specific indefinite, as the following sentences show:

- (34a) definite: As for the man, I see him.
 (34b) indefinite generic: As for men, I see them.
 (34c) indefinite non-specific: As for a dog, I see one.
 (34d) indefinite specific: *As for a dog, I see him.

These categories may be illustrated by the following paraphrases:

- (35a) definite:
 As for the (one who is a) man, I see him every day.
 (35b) indefinite generic:
 As for the (ones who are) men, I see them every day.
 (35c) indefinite non-specific:
 As for a (one who is a) man, I see one every day.
 (35d) indefinite specific:
 *As for (John Doe, who is) a man, I see him every day.

Given that the above paraphrases are approximate representations of the underlying structures of the sentences in (34) we notice that all the admissible constructions contain the one and a following restrictive relative clause whereas the ungrammatical (35d) contains a proper noun (technically it should be a numbered variable) and a following non-restrictive relative. Since indefinite specifics can occur elsewhere as in (36a) and its paraphrase (36b),

- (36a) I met a man yesterday. I have known him for a long time.
 (36b) I met (John Doe, who is) a man yesterday. I have known him for a long time.

the reason for the ungrammaticality of (34d) must lie in some incompatibility of as for constructions with either proper nouns, as such, or with proper nouns when and only when they are modified by non-restrictive relatives. One can see in (37) that proper nouns as such are not incompatible with as for constructions:

- (37) As for John Doe, I have known him for a long time.

It would seem, therefore, that the explanation for the ungrammaticality

of (34d) must be sought in reference to distinctions between non-restrictive and restrictive relative clauses.

Restrictive relative clauses, as their name implies, specify or define the identity of their head noun by relating the head noun to that information which the speaker presupposes that the hearer knows. This is not the case with non-restrictive relative clauses.

Since non-restrictive relatives seem to have underlying co-ordinate constructions, which also stand in a paraphrase relation with them as in (38):

(38a) John, whom I'm sure you know, came yesterday.

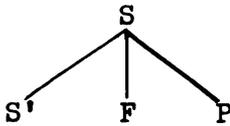
(38b) John, and I'm sure you know him, came yesterday.

the information provided by them is clearly secondary and parenthetical, and thereby non-presupposed. One may deduce, then, that the ungrammaticality of (35d) is related to the feature of presupposition. To be more specific, it seems that as for requires that the following noun phrase arise from the predicate of a restrictive relative clause, i.e. that it be a constituent of presupposed information. Any noun phrase arising from any other source will be excluded. This will provide an explanation for the exclusion of interrogatives, as we will see subsequently.

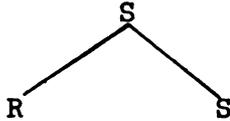
In contrast to this relatively simple derivation of extraposed constructions, cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions are still very badly understood. A number of analyses are discussed in the UCLA Integrated English Syntax, but all of the analyses are open to serious objections, although it seems clear that cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions should have a unitary derivation. Both Chomsky [Forthcoming] and Hetzron [1969:6] provide that there be a node for focus (Chomsky) or for restriction (Hetzron) which will serve to assign emphasis to sentence members and will form a constituent of transformations that will eventually yield cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences, among others. One therefore obtains the following representation:

(39) Chomsky: S → S' F P

(40)



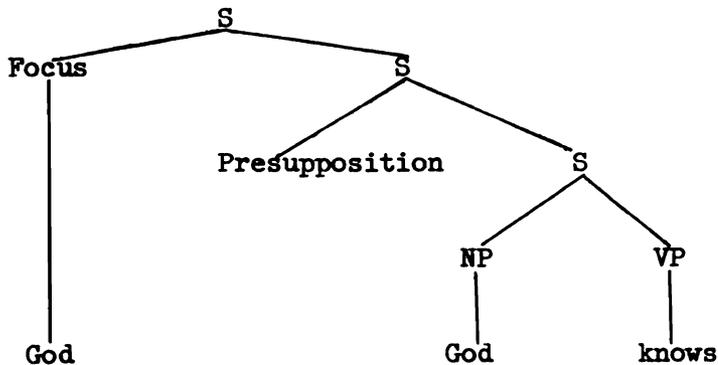
(41) Hetzron: (relevant part only)



Except for Chomsky's additional node P (presupposition), the analyses are parallel. One must presume, therefore, that in the course of derivation a feature "focus" (or "restriction") would be assigned to individual sentence constituents and this feature would then make the construction eligible for various focus transformations, including clefting and pseudo-clefting. The subject of such a focus "predicate" would be a sentence dominating a "presupposition" predicate and a sentential subject. For (42) therefore, one would have a tree (43):

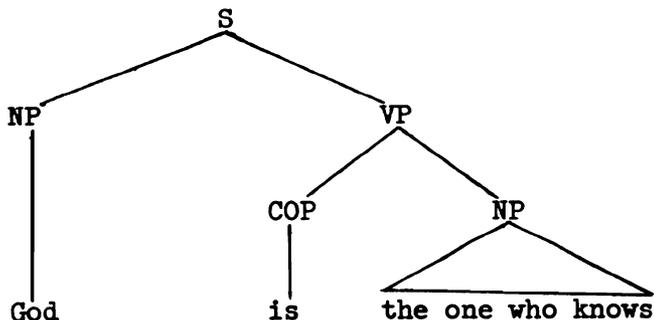
(42) God is the one who knows.

(43)



This, in turn, yields (44):

(44)



I would suggest that the justification for (43) is two-fold. On the one hand, a cleft sentence such as (45)

(45) It is God who knows.

seems to be able to be paraphrased, but only very approximately, by (46)

(46) 'God knows' is true as far as God is concerned.

which reproduces the focus/sentence predicational relationship of (43).

On the other hand it is possible to question the nexus of focus and subject, as in (47):

(47) Is it God who knows?

Such a question asks whether it is true concerning God that he is the one who knows. A question seems also to underlie the protases of normal, non-contrary to fact conditionals such as (48):

(48) If it is God who knows, then all is lost.

(49) Is it God who knows? Then all is lost.

If the relation of the node "focus" to its S sister node in (43) can be questioned, it is difficult to see how it could be anything but a predicate. It seems intuitively correct that Bach's observation [Bach 1968] that it is hard to imagine negation applying to anything but predicates is equally true of interrogation.

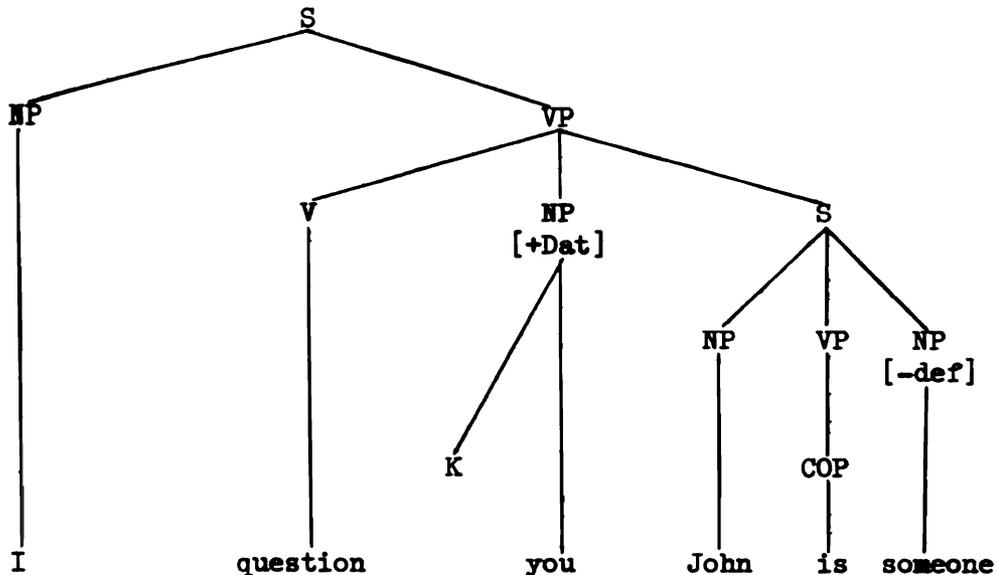
The role of restrictive relatives in pseudo-cleft sentences points up that restrictive relatives always convey presupposed information, since information not presupposed by the hearer would hardly be a firm basis for restricting the identity of a noun phrase.

The most important question, however, to be asked in this regard is why interrogatives should be found in these cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions and yet be excluded from topicalization. If one accepts the analysis of interrogatives provided by Kuroda [1968] and adopted, with slight modification by Stockwell [1969] and, in addition, if one provides a higher performative sentence, one gets the following

representation of (50)⁸:

(50) Who is John?

(51)



The UCLA Integrated English Syntax, therefore, provides that interrogative pronouns be derived from noun phrases marked [-definite]. Since we are searching for feature markings that explain the absence of such interrogatives from as for constructions, we must ask whether [-definite] constructions are excluded from as for constructions. The answer, it will be remembered, is negative, since (53) is completely grammatical:

(53) As for a man, I see one every day.

Interrogative pronouns, however, originate from underlying predicates, which by the nature of interrogatives as requests for information must have the feature [-presupposition]. Interrogatives are excluded, it seems, from all environments filled by entities whose identity is presupposed. Such is the case in subject position, with

⁸Ross [1970] presents evidence that positing a higher performative sentence can explain a number of syntactic irregularities otherwise unable to be accounted for. It is generally assumed that interrogative sentences should be handled in a similar way, but concrete arguments in support of this have yet to appear.

declarative intonation:

(53) *Who saw John.

The absence of interrogatives in the predicates of restrictive relative clauses is predictable but not informative since interrogatives are also excluded from non-restrictive relatives, as in the following:

(54a) *I know John Doe, who ate what.

(54b) *I know the man who ate what.

One may conclude, therefore, that the absence of interrogatives from as for constructions is because of incompatible features of presupposition, with interrogatives being marked [-presupposition] and as for expressions being obligatorily [+presupposition]. Since the subjects of sentences are normally presupposed as identified and the predicate is non-presupposed information, it is not surprising that interrogatives normally originate in predicate structures. The temptation to identify non-presupposition with predication, as has been done in traditional grammar, must be avoided, as interrogatives can be seen only to originate in predicates, and are not necessarily coextensive with the predicates in which they arise.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- CT De Buck, Adriaan. 1938. The Egyptian Coffin Texts. I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Eb./Ebers Grapow, H. 1958. Die Medizinischen Texte in Hieroglyphischer Umschreibung Autographiert. Berlin: Akademie.
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