Reported Discourse

A meeting ground for different linguistic domains

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CHAPTER 13

Reported speech in Egyptian

Forms, types and history*

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1. Introduction

Egyptian is considered to be genetically related to Berber, Chadic, Cushitic, Omotic, and Semitic languages and thus classified as an independent branch of the Afroasiatic group.[1] It comprises several varieties that span diachronically from pre-Old Egyptian (c.3000 BCE) to Coptic which ceased to be used as a medium of everyday communication in rural areas of southern Egypt not before the middle of our millennium.

On typological grounds, the Egyptian language history is divided into two major stages: Earlier Egyptian includes Old Egyptian (c.27th–21st centuries BCE) and Middle Egyptian (c.23rd cent. BCE to 4th cent. CE), while Late Egyptian (c.15th–7th cent. BCE), Demotic (c.8th cent. BCE to 5th cent. CE) and Coptic (c.3rd–16th cent. CE) are labeled as Later Egyptian.

The overwhelming majority of Egyptian texts are recorded either in hieroglyphic, hieratic or demotic script — the last two being cursive forms of the autochthonous Egyptian writing system — or are written by means of the Coptic alphabet, which consists of the letters of a Greek uncial alphabet and a few additional signs derived from demotic prototypes.

The usual manner of transcribing Egyptian language elements is conventionalized to a high degree and must not be interpreted as a direct indicator of historical sound values. As the keys for deciphering the Egyptian writing system in modern times had been — besides the knowledge of Coptic — primarily bilingual texts from the Hellenistic period and cuneiform transcriptions of Egyptian words and proper names originating from the late second millennium BCE, the traditional Egyptological transcription alphabet, which is used indiscriminately in dealing with hieroglyphic sources of all periods, at best represents the phonological inventory of Later Egyptian. Information about the sound shape of Earlier Egyptian is given in Figure 1.

(Groups of) signs corresponding to single cons.		Conventional Egyptological transcription	Corresponding sounds		
Older	Later		Old Egyptian	Middle Egyptian	Late Egyptian
		ꜣ	r	ʀ, ʔ	j, Ø
		j	j, ʔ, i̯	j	j, Ø
		ꜥ	d	d, ʕ, j	ʕ, d, j, Ø
		w	w	w	w, Ø
		b	b	b	b, ß
		p	p	p	pʰ
		f	f, ɸ (<*ʃ)	f	f
		m	m	m	m
		n	n, ŋ, ŋʷ	n	n
		r	l, ʎ	l, ʎ, Ø	r, l, ʎ, Ø
		h	h (<*ʃ)	h	h
		ḥ	ħ	ħ	ħ
		ḫ	ɣ, ɣʲ	ɣ, ɣʲ	ɣ, ɣʲ
		ẖ	x	x	x
		z	t͡s, s (<*t)	s	s
		s	ʃ	s	s
		š	ç (<*x)	ʃ	ʃ
		q	k’	k’	k, kʷ
		k	k	k	kʰ
		g	g, gʲ	g, gʲ	g, gʲ
		g	gʷ, g	gʷ, g	g
		t	t	t, ʔ, Ø	tʰ, Ø
		ṯ	c (<*k)	c, t, ʔ, Ø	cʰ, tʰ, Ø
		d	t’	t’	t, d
		ḏ	c’ (<*k’)	c’, t’	c, t

Figure 1. Elementary hieroglyphic graphemes and corresponding phonemes

2. Reported speech and its subtypes

A comprehensive discussion of different approaches to defining reported speech (e.g., *Plank* 1986, *Roncador* 1988), particularly with respect to the specific conditions of Later Egyptian, can be found in *Peust* (1996: 15–37). In this section we will present only a concise outline of what was dealt with then in greater length.

A speaker can insert a text or a segment of a text which he purports to derive from another speaker's utterance into his/her speech. His/her actual speech shall be called *embedding context*, quoted speech *embedded context* — even though it is

not necessarily embedded syntactically — or, to use a more familiar term, *reported speech*. Reported speech can be further subcategorized into several subtypes, the most prevailing of which are *direct speech* and *indirect speech*. Among the various attempts to define the difference between direct speech and indirect speech, most include the idea that indirect speech is somehow more integrated into the embedding context than direct speech. In 19th-century grammar books, the contrast between direct and indirect speech was frequently understood in terms of syntactic dependence, i.e. direct speech was considered to be reported speech in the form of an independent clause, whereas indirect speech was identified with subordinate clauses.

While this possibly makes sense in the case of Latin and certain other languages, it has now become apparent that syntactic constituency is not a very useful concept for defining direct and indirect speech in a universal frame; it is certainly not so for Egyptian, where reported speech is invariably expressed in the form of a syntactically independent clause. Let us now turn our attention to another well-known definition of indirect speech. Direct speech can be understood as a mode of reporting in which an original utterance is reproduced without changes, whereas indirect speech allows for several adaptations to be made under the influence of the embedding context, most typically of deictic elements. A definition of this kind was proposed by Otto Jespersen long ago:

> When one wishes to report what someone else says or has said (thinks or has thought) — or what one has said or thought oneself on some previous occasion — two ways are open to one. Either one gives, or purports to give, the exact words of the speaker (or writer): *direct speech*. Or else one adapts the words according to the circumstances in which they are now quoted: *indirect speech* (oratio obliqua).   (Jespersen 1924:290)

When mentioning the possibility of *purporting* to give the exact words of the speaker, Jespersen already had in mind a problem which is one of the more serious challenges to his own definition: reported speech is frequently not exactly a report of something that was spoken previously, but the utterance "that someone else says or has said" can be of an entirely fictional nature. Deborah Tannen put this fact into the following words:

> The term 'reported speech' is a misnomer. Examinations of the lines of dialogue represented in storytelling or conversation, and consideration of the powers of human memory, indicate that most of those lines were probably not actually spoken. What is commonly referred to as reported speech or direct quotation in conversation is constructed dialogue, just as surely as is the dialogue created by fiction writers and playwrights. (*Tannen* 1986:311)

So we cannot define the contrast between direct and indirect speech by means of whether or not changes were made in reported speech with respect to an original

utterance. We rather have to consider whether or not a reported speech is expressed in a way it *could have* been spoken in the purported speech situation as defined in the embedding context. Both, the embedding context and the embedded context constitute two distinct speech situations, each having their own speaker and addressee and their own deictic point of origin. Each speech situation also has its own *universe of discourse* which continually changes in the course of the communication. The universe of discourse determines, e.g., which noun phrases are to be considered definite and which to be indefinite, which noun phrases are currently so salient that they may be pronominalized and which are not, etc.

If we turn to the problem of which speech situation a given reported speech is based on, there will be several parameters to be scrutinized. It is clear from the beginning that not all parameters necessarily point in the same direction. Let us take a basic example from German and assume that a person A said to B in the past:

(1)   Er begann mit ihr zu streiten und sagte: "Morgen werde ich fahren!"
      (He began quarreling with her and said: "I am leaving tomorrow.")

This being transformed into "free indirect style" (a subtype of indirect speech frequently found in modern literature), something like the following may result:

(2)   Er begann mit ihr zu streiten. Morgen würde er fahren!
      (He began quarreling with her. He would leave tomorrow.)

We can see that in this mode of reported speech both personal deixis and verbal tense are influenced by the embedding context. The future tense which is appropriate in the speech situation of the (purported or real) "original" context coalesces with the past tense appropriate to the speech situation of the actual narrator into a conditional tense (the same holds true in English). On the other hand, the time adverbial *morgen* ('tomorrow') is expressed with respect to the speech situation of the "original" utterance, disregarding the fact that from the narrator's perspective the event took place in the past.

In (3) the same utterance is transformed into what would be "ordinary" indirect speech:

(3)   Er begann mit ihr zu streiten und sagte, daß er am nächsten Tag fahren
      werde. (He began quarreling with her and said that he would — literally: will — leave the next day.)

In this case, the time adverbial must not be chosen from the point of view of the "original" speech situation. It is rather changed in a way that it becomes interpretable from the speech situation of the actual speaker. On the other hand, in German literary language the verb — while shifted in mood — may remain in the future tense and is not indispensably affected by the fact that it has now been put into a

past context and refers to an event that took place in the past. We can generally state for German that, in "ordinary" indirect speech, time adverbials are adapted to the speech situation of the embedding context whereas verbal tense is not (or at least need not be), and in free indirect discourse verbal tense is adapted to the speech situation of the embedding context whereas time adverbials are not changed. The chart in Figure 2 summarizes which linguistic elements are adapted to the embedding speech situation (+) and which are not (−) in a particular type of reported speech.

	Adaptation of grammatical person	Adaptation of verbal tense	Adaptation of time adverbials	Modally marked
Direct speech	−	−	−	−
Indirect speech proper	+	(−)	+	+
Free indirect discourse	+	+	−	−

Figure 2.

Figure 2 also shows that not all modes of reported speech can be arranged on a single linear scale stretching from "prototypical direct speech" to "prototypical indirect speech", as some scholars have assumed (e.g., *Plank* 1986), but that the subtypes of reported speech possibly must be arranged into a more complex system, even within an individual language. Keeping this in mind, we propose to define direct and indirect speech as two distinct categories one of which (indirect speech) shows (any) adaptations of deictic and pragmatic elements to the embedding context, whereas the other (direct speech) does not. It is necessary to emphasize that not any alterations which occur in the process of quotation are sufficient for labelling it as indirect speech. If, for instance, the reporting speaker is unable or unwilling to imitate idiosyncratic articulatory properties of the quoted speaker, s/he does not necessarily produce indirect speech. Only those systematic alterations are relevant that are due to the specific conditions of the given embedding context. So we define:

> Direct speech is a mode of reporting in which all deictic and pragmatic elements are based on the speech situation which is purportedly that of the "original" speech situation as defined in the embedding context.
> Indirect speech is a mode of reporting which shows adaptations from this pragmatic setting to the speech situation of the embedding context in at least one item, provided that these deviations are explainable as specific interferences of the new context into which the reported speech is embedded (for details and further discussion, cf. *Peust* 1996: 15–37).

It is obvious that — depending on the specific grammatical categories of an individual language which are affected by adaptations to the speech situation of

the embedding context — more than one subtype of indirect speech may coexist in that language. This is actual the case in Egyptian, as will be shown in the next paragraphs.

3.   The very beginnings of speech recording

The most ancient example of reported speech is not found in a text *strictu sensu* but in a document combining pictorial representations with short annotations. Figure 3 shows the obverse of a sandal tag belonging to the burial inventory of King T'en, a ruler of the First Dynasty (*c.*2900 BCE) and also known as Den, Dewen, Niudi, Udimu or Usaphais. The monarch Horus T'en (4a) is depicted striking a person that represents the defeated enemies. The scene is accompanied by the standard of the god ᴥ Wp-wꜣ.wt 'Opener of the ways' and labeled 'The first time of defeating the East' (4b) — the usual way of naming a year in the Early Dynastic Period. The group of three hieroglyphs in the space between the victorious king and the smitten foe displays an utterance of the king and reads 'May they be finished!' (4c). The three hieroglyphic signs to the left of the ruler (4d) do not belong to the pictorial scene but seem to indicate the name of the official who was in charge of producing, delivering or controlling the goods that are specified on the other side of the tag.

The document shown in Figure 3 is not only the first case of a recorded speech report in Ancient Egypt — and probably in human history as well — but also marks the onset of a long tradition in Egypt of associating written texts rendering the contents of a speech with depictions representing the respective speaker. Its typological similarity to modern comic strips is astonishing.

(4)   a.   𓀀   𓎻𓏤
      Ḥr(w) Dn
      Horus T'en

     b.   𓊖   𓏤
      zp   tp(j)
      occasion first

      𓋴𓂋   𓊹
      sqr   ꜣb(-t)
      defeat:INF East-(F)

     c.   𓏴𓏤   d.   𓈎𓍢
      tm-sn   Kꜣ.j.jn
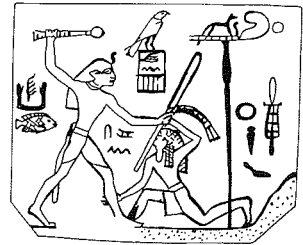   be.finished:SUBJ-3P   Karijanu

Figure 3. From Spencer 1980: pl. 53, no. 460F

A more elaborate form of this practice is shown on the fragments of a temple inscription from Heliopolis (Third Dynasty, *c.*2620–2600 BCE) in Figure 4. One

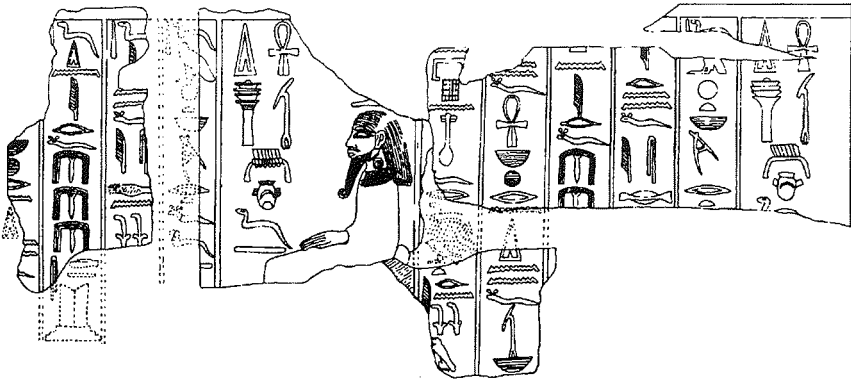part of the speech of the anthropomorphic deity is rendered in front of his image within the same compartment (5).

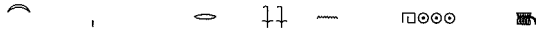**Figure 4.** From Kahl, Kloth and Zimmermann 1995: 116–18, no. Ne/He/4

(5)   𓊽   𓋹 𓆓   𓌀
    ḏ(-j)   *ꜥnḫ ḏd*   *wꜣs*
    give:SUBJ-1s life permanence dominion
    𓄫   𓆓
    ꜣw(-t)-jb   *ḏ-t*
    length-(F)-heart eternity-F
    'I will bestow life, stability, dominion, and exultation for ever.'

Another utterance was recorded in five now partially destroyed columns to the left, which can be reconstructed by comparing them with the almost identical sections in the right half of the monument which belonged to another deity. Each column started with 𓌃 ⟨*md-ḏ*⟩. This sequence is usually transcribed as *ḏd-mdw(j).(w)* 'saying words' and was apparently interpreted as such also by the speakers of Egyptian during later periods, so that it was written 𓌃𓏤𓏪 ⟨*ḏ-d md-1-1-*PLURAL⟩ *ḏd-mdw(j).(w)* sporadically. As, however, the younger form 𓌃 or 𓌂 ⟨*ḏ-md*⟩ slightly differs from Old Egyptian 𓌃 ⟨*md-ḏ*⟩, we prefer to analyze the latter merely as *mdw(j)*, this being the original form of the lexeme *mdw(j)* 'word, spell, utterance'. In Figure 4, 𓌃 is repeated at the beginning of every column in spite of the fact that sentence boundaries do not necessarily coincide with the end of a column. For that reason, instead of corresponding with an element of the spoken language, *mdw(j)* had the function of a quotation mark. This method of labeling reported speech in monumental inscriptions by means of 𓌂 was utilized with

scarcely any alteration until the end of glyphographic data processing in the 4th century CE, but it should be noted that there are also many texts that did without repeating 🔲 in every column.

A final example of the intertwining of recorded speech and pictorial scenes which might be described as corresponding with the embedding context is presented in Figure 5. What we see is two sculptors at work, the one on the left side putting the finishing touches to a wooden statue, the other polishing a seated figure of stone. The text is a short dialogue consisting of two utterances, each of which starts as a horizontal line facing the head of the respective craftsman, running to the right and closing in a column behind their pieces of work. The wood-carver complains about the hardship of his labour (6a), and this somewhat insensitive lament is put in the right light by his comrade. The stone-mason's response (6b) not only contains an example of direct speech, but also verifies the fact that reported speech is not necessarily a quotation of an utterance that was actually spoken before (cf. Section 2).

(6) a.

    ȝbd   *wˁ(-w)*   *r-*   *nn*   *n(j)-*   *h(rw)-(w)*   *ḏr-*

    month   one-NUM   until-   DEM   DETER-   day-P   since-

    dw(-j)   *ˁ(-j)*   *m-*   *twt*   *pn*   *nt(j)*   *m-*   *ˁ(-j)*

    put:INF-1s   hand-1s   in-   figure   DEM   REL.PRO   in-   hand-1s

    'It is one month in these days since I began working with this statue which is in my charge.'
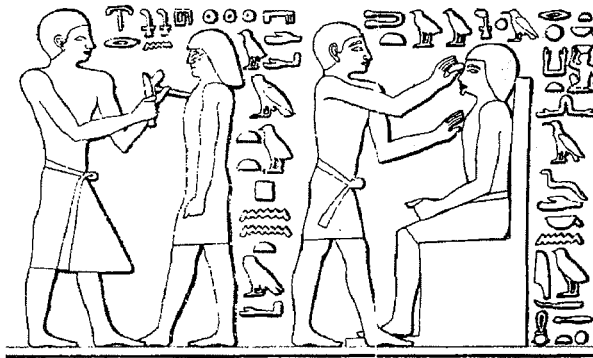
Figure 5. From Hassan 1936: 194, fig. 219 [segment]

b. =⸗𓏤 𓆓𓇋𓂝𓏤   𓂋𓐍𓂝   𓎡𓏏𓀁   ⸗   𓆓

    ṯwt wḫȝ   *rḫ-t-k*   *k̮-t(-j) n- ȝ-*

    2M.s stupid:PAP know:REL-F-2M.s work-1s NEG- indeed-

    𓆓𓂝   —   𓇋𓅱   ⸗   𓊖   𓏏𓏤

    ḏd-k   *n(-j) jw ḫt(-j)*   *mj- ȝ-t*

    say:PRS-2M.s for-1s TOP wood-1s like- stone-F

    'You are stupid. What do you know! It's my work, and you are not
    going to tell me "My wood is like stone."'

The discourse under (6) is a typical member of a class of more informal utterances
that are attested from the second half of the third millennium (the so-called *Reden
und Rufe*, cf. Erman 1919) and constitute the earliest cases of a linguistic norm
close to everyday language ("written as if spoken").

4. Embedding reported speech in Old Egyptian (direct speech and indirect speech, type 1)

Let us now turn to examples of reported speech within the framework of written
communication. With very few exceptions, the examples discussed in this section
are taken from the Pyramid Texts (abbreviation: Pyr., principal editions: Sethe
1908–1922 and Jéquier 1933, translation: Faulkner 1969), a corpus of funerary
texts carved on the inner walls of subterranean chambers in the monumental
tombs of six kings and three queens who lived in the period from the late Fifth to
the Eighth Dynasty (*c.*2300–2100 BCE).
Within our corpus, there are various syntactic possibilities of implanting reported
speech in the embedding context. The embedding context usually contains some
kind of quotation index which may precede and/or follow the reported speech or
may be inserted into it.

    The most frequently employed type of reported speech in Egyptian is built by
a form of the verb 𓆓 *ḏd-* 'say' (which acts as a quotation index) and the utterance
following without any overt mark of embedding and without any adaptation of
person, tense or deictic adverbs. Although this sort of reported speech is extant in
the Pyramid Texts (cf. 7), it does not yet — or: does not within the linguistic
norm of religious texts — represent the standard type as in later periods, when a
larger variety of text sorts is attested, all of which show a clear preference for the
quotation index 𓆓 *ḏd-*.

(7)
j.ḏd-sn   *n-*   *Wsjr*   *śm-n-k*   *jw-n-k*
say:PRS-3P for- Osiris go-PRET-2M.S come-PRET-2M.S

rs-n-k   *sḏr-n-k*   *mn-tj*
wake.up-PRET-2M.S sleep-PRET-2M.S remain:STAT-2M.S

m-   *ʿnḫ*   *ʿḥʿ*   *mꜣ-k*   *nn*   *ʿḥʿ*
in- life stand.up:IMP see:SUBJ-2M.S DEM stand.up:IMP

sḏm-k   *nn*   *j.jr-n*   *n-k*   *ꜣ-k*
hear:SUBJ-2M.S DEM do:REL-PRET for-2M.S son-2M.S

j.jr-n   *n-k*   *Or(w)*
do:REL-PRET for-2M.S Horus

'. . . and they say to Osiris: "You went and came back, you woke up and
fell asleep, while you endured in life. Stand up so that you see this,
stand up so that you hear this, what your son has done for you, what
Horus has done for you."' (Pyr. 1005d–1007bᴺ)

In Old Egyptian, examples of reported speech with adaptations from the pragmatic
setting to the reported utterance are not abundant, and the few cases of indirect
speech often seem to require the usage of an overt signal of embedding. This can be
the complementizer 🔻 *wnt* 'that' (cf. 8), which is a grammaticalization of 🔻 *wn.t*,
the feminine form of a neutral — or "perfective" (as opposed to distributive or
"imperfective") — active participle of the verbal root 🔻 *wnn-* 'exist'.

(8)
j.ḏd-tn   *n-*   *jt(j)-tn*   *wnt*   *rḏ-n*   *n-tn*
say:FUT-2P for- father-2P COMP give-PRET for-2P

Wnjs   *pꜣw-(w)t-tn*   *s-ḥtp-n*   *tn*
Wanjash offering.bread-F.P-2P CAUS-satisfy-PRET 2P

Wnjs   *m-*   *twt-tn*
Wanjash with- 2P:POSS-2P

'You shall say to your father that Wanjash has presented to you your
offering breads, so that Wanjash has satisfied you with your very be-
longings.' (Pyr. 448a–bᵂ)

An earlier version of this utterance, which was reformulated only after it had
already been carved on the wall, is still visible beneath the modified text (cf. 8' for

the relevant section). The fact that in (8′) the prepositional phrase *n-ṯn* 'to you' does not appear clitically between verb and nominal subject — as is the rule in the case of a pronominal "indirect object" of that kind — indisputably verifies that even the reading intended to be out of sight had not been the original composition, but the transformation of an unattested phrase with the first person suffix pronoun serving as the subject (cf. 8″).[2] In this sentence, three personal pronouns would have been changed as compared to the purported primary speech situation. So an "original" direct speech to be uttered by the group of addressees as 'he has presented to us our offering breads' became 'that I have presented to you your offering breads.'

(8′) ...⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ... (Pyr. 448a^W′)
... *wnt*   *rḏ-n-*   *Wnjs*   *n-ṯn* ...
... COMP give-PRET- Wanjash for-2P ...

(8″) ...⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ... (reconstructed
... *wnt*   *rḏ-n(-j)*   *n-ṯn* ... prototype of 8′)
... COMP give-PRET-1S for-2P ...

An authentic example of indirect speech with the adaptation of a personal pronoun to the speech situation of the embedding context is given in (9). For further cases of this type see Edel (1955/64: §§ 1015, 1022, and 1026).

(9) ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗
sk   *ṯw*   *ḏd-k*   *ḥr-*   *ḥm(-j)*   *wnt*
PTCL 2M.S say:PRS-2M.S to- majesty-1S COMP
⸗ ⸗
jr-n-k   *sw*
do-PRET-2M.S 3M.S
'Now you say to My Majesty that you made him.' (Urk. I 63,2)

Likewise, the feminine form of the relative pronoun ⸗ *nt(j)* 'that' was used grammaticalized as complementizer ⸗ *ntt* (cf. 10).

(10) ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗
ḏd   *n-k*   *n-*   *Rꜥ(w)*   *ntt*   *N-t*   *jw-s*
say:IMP for-2M.S to- Re COMP Neith-F come:FUT-3F.S
'Tell Re that Neith will come.' (Pyr. *2243 = Jéquier 1933: pl. VII, col. 40–41)

If there was any difference in meaning between ⸗ *wn.t* and ⸗ *ntt* it is not apparent. All we can state is that ⸗ *wn.t* was first attested and became more or less superseded by ⸗ *ntt* in Middle Egyptian.

As a different sort of complementizer, the enclitic element ⸗ *-js* is utilized in (11) to indicate that the sentence *j.n-k Pjpj -pn ꜣ- Gb(b) -js* 'You have come,

o Pijaapij, as the son of Geb.' is embedded as an object of the quotation index �t—
ḏd-sn 'that they can say'. It seems that — in contrast to wnt and ntt — 𓈎𓏏 -js does
not mark its complement clause as factive or putative, but rather as questionable.
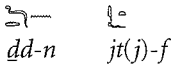
(11)   ꜣ   𓇋-·---   𓈖𓏭   𓈖𓀜-·   𓍿𓏤𓂝𓏤
       z   jn-(w)-k   sjn   sjn-(w)-k   nqrqr
       hasten:PRS porter-P-2M.S run:PRS runner-P-2M.S hurry:PRS

       𓏏𓏪·   𓂧𓏭𓈖—   —   𓇳   𓏭𓂡
       ḥw(w)t-w-k ḏd-sn   n-   R'(w)   j-n-k
       messenger-P-2P say:SUBJ-2P for- Re   come-PRET-2M.S

       𓈎   (𓏲𓇋)   ◌   𓊪𓈖   𓅡𓏤   𓈎
       js   Pjpj   pn   zꜣ-   Gb(b)   js
       COMP Pijaapij DEM son- Geb   as
       'Your bearers bustle, your runners rush, and your messengers hurry so
       that they can tell Re whether you have come, o Pijaapij, as the son of
       Geb.' (Pyr. 1539c–1540b^P)

Cases of indirect speech without introductory complementizer are extremely rare
in Old Egyptian. We know of no more than five instances, all of which represent
only two utterances attested in slightly different versions. In (12) the suffix
pronoun of the final prepositional phrase is the third person — in contrast to the
alleged first person of the respective direct speech. Example (13) attests to the
adaptation of two pronouns to the embedding context, an "original" utterance
'I will kill him' was reported in indirect speech as 'that he would kill you.'

(12)   𓏭 𓂋�𓄿𓈖   —𓏲 𓂧𓈖—   𓂮   𓄿𓈖   —𓏏
       jn smꜣ-n-f   tw ḏd-n   jb-f   m(w)t-k   n-f
       PQ kill-PRET-3M.S 2M.S say-PRET heart-3M.S die:SUBJ-2M.S for-3M.S
       'Has he killed you or has his heart said that you shall die for him?' (Pyr.
       481a^W)

(13)   𓂻𓈖   𓇋𓂋   𓂧𓈖𓂻   𓂋𓄿𓈖   —𓏲
       j-n-f   jr-k   ḏd-n-f   smꜣ-f   tw
       come-PRET-3M.S to-2M.S say-PRET-3M.S kill:SUBJ-3M.S 2M.S
       'He came against you and said that he would kill you.' (Pyr. 944a^N)

As one should expect in the case of a language which exhibits VO structure, the
quotation index 𓂧 ḏd- regularly precedes the reported speech. Nevertheless, there
are rare cases of this matrix verb following the reported utterance (cf. 14).

(14)   𓄤𓂋   𓂧𓈖—   𓅓𓄿𓏏𓂋   𓇋𓅱𓂝
       nfr(-j)   ḏd-n   m'w-t-f   jw'(-j)
       be.beautiful:PAP-1S say-PRET mother-F-3M.S heir-1S

ḏd-n   *jt(j)-f*

say-PRET father-3M.S

'"My beautiful one!" said his mother, "My heir!" said his father.' (Pyr. 820b^P)

Other quotation indexes do not precede but either follow a direct speech or are inserted into the quotation. The matrix verb most frequently used in the Pyramid Texts is defective 𓇋 *j-* 'say', a root that solely appears in preterite 𓇋—, 𓇋𓇋𓇋—, 𓏏𓏏 or 𓅓 *j.n-* 'said', in stative 𓇋 *j-* (plus personal ending), and perhaps also as a verbal noun 𓇋𓅓, 𓇋𓇋𓅓 or 𓇋𓇋𓇋 *j(y)* 'utterance' (cf. Allen 1984:§§ 206–210). As a rule, 𓇋 *j-* with a pronominal subject in the singular appears in the stative only (cf. 15c–d), while plural (cf. 16) and noun subjects (cf. 15a–b) seemingly require the usage of preterite tense (see Allen 1984:§ 209). This complementary distribution of verbal TAM-features according to the number of the subject (in clauses with pronominal subject) is to some extent astonishing but not entirely without counterparts in other constructions of Earlier Egyptian (cf. Jansen-Winkeln 1997 on "verbal plurality").

(15) a.   *m'w-t(-j)*   *jy-n*   *Pjpj*   *Nfr.k̠3.R^c(w)*
          mother-F-1s say-PRET Pijaapij Nafirkarliiduw

     b.   *jm*   *n(-j)*   *mnḏ-t*   *snq(-j)*   *sw*   *jy-n*
          give:IMP for-1s breast-2F.s suck:SUBJ-1s 3M.S say-PRET
          Pjpj   *Nfr.k̠3.R^c(w)*
          Pijaapij Nafirkarliiduw

     c.   *3(-j)*   *j-t*   *jr*   *Pjpj*   *Nfr.k̠3.R^c(w)*
          son-1s say.STAT-2F.s to Pijaapij Nafirkarliiduw

     d.   *m*   *n-k*   *mnḏ(-j)*   *snq*   *sw*   *j-t*
          take:IMP for-2M.s breast-1s suck:IMP 3M.S say:STAT–2F.S
          '"My mother" said Pijaapij Nafirkarliiduw, "give me your breast that I may suck it" said Pijaapij Nafirkarliiduw. "My son" said she to Pijaapij Nafirkarliiduw, "take my breast and suck it," said she.' (Pyr. 911b-912a^N)

(16)   𓅓   𓐠𓃀   𓂝𓏤   𓈖𓆑

    m   *twt*   *n-f*   *j-n*

who resemble:PAP for-3M.S say-PRET

  𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤   𓀭𓂝   𓂝𓏏

  psḏ-(tj)   *wr-t*   *ꜥꜣ-t*

Two.Enneads.of.gods-F.D be.great:PAP-F be.great:PAP-F

'"Who is like him?" said the Two Great and Powerful Enneads.' (Pyr. 1689c^M)

Sporadically, an inflected form of 𓀀 *j-* 'say' is inserted into direct speech, which is preceded by � *ḏd-*. Whether this fairly tautological aggregation of quotation signals reflects actual usage of spoken Old Egyptian or should rather be considered a specific device of certain religious texts, cannot be decided. Be that as it may, example (17) as well as similar cases of double quotation index (e.g. Pyr. 1696a-d^M) display a diction that is repetitive to some extent not only in respect of embedding marks.

(17) 𓃾𓏥 𓇳   𓈖𓅱   𓂋   𓆓𓈖𓂝   𓇳   𓈖𓃾

  wjj *Rꜥ(w)* *nw* *rf* *ḏd-n-k*   *Rꜥ(w)* *ḥwj*

INTJ Re   DEM PTCL say:REL-PRET-2M.S Re   PTCL

  𓅭   𓇋𓏏   𓏏𓍯 𓇳   𓃀𓅡𓏤

  ꜣ(-j) *j-t*   *ṯw* *Rꜥ(w)* *bꜣ-j*

son-1S say:STAT-2M.S 2M.S Re   be.besouled:STAT-3M.S

  𓌢𓂝𓅡𓏤   𓃾𓅡𓏤𓏤

  sḫm-j   *wꜣš-j*

be.mighty:STAT–3M.S be.strong:STAT–3M.S

'O Re, this is just what you have said, Re: "Be it that my son . . ." — so you said, you, Re — ". . . is besouled, is mighty and is strong!"' (Pyr. 886a–b^P)

In addition, there are two other elements customarily described by Egyptologists as defective verbs. Their syntactic usage is quite similar to that of 𓀀 *j-* described above. Combinations of 𓁷 (variants 𓁷𓏤, 𓁷𓏤𓂝) *ḥr(w)* 'say' or 𓂓𓅓 *kꜣ* 'say' and a subject noun or pronoun follow the reported speech. Unlike 𓀀 *j-*, they do not occur in preterite and stative, but in utterances of present and/or future tense (cf. 18).

(18) 𓀀𓂧𓂋𓏤   𓅓𓅡𓂝   𓀀𓂋𓏏𓂓

  j.dr-f   *ḏw-t*   *jr-t-k*

remove:SUBJ-3M.S evil:PAP-F against-ADJR:F–2M.S

  𓊹𓏤𓀀𓀀   𓊪𓅱   𓁷   𓏏𓅓

  Pjpj   *pw*   *ḥr*   *(J)tm(w)*

Pijaapij DEM say:PRS Atum

'"He shall remove the evil which is against you, o Pijaapij", says Atum.' (Pyr. 840c^P)
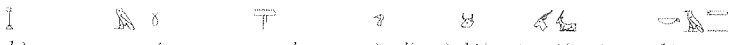
It is worth noting that three morphemes which are formally identical with the quotation indexes *jn*, *ḥr*, and *ḳ* are used in Earlier Egyptian as inflectional suffixes of particular verbal forms. Usually these are analyzed as different tense markers of the so-called contingent tenses *sḏm.jn-f* (i.e. STEM-*jn*-SBJ) *sḏm.ḥr-f* (STEM-*ḥr*-SBJ), and *sḏm.ḳ-f* (STEM-*ḳ*-SBJ). As, however, each of these affixes can be linked to various tense stems — a fact that till now has never been taken into consideration — the explanation suggested by Depuydt (1989) cannot be considered entirely satisfactory. They should rather be characterized as manifestations of distinct moods, and possibly *sḏm.jn-f* is to be identified as *consecutive*, *sḏm.ḥr-f* as *obligative*, and *sḏm.ḳ-f* as *potential* mood. Whether or not the assumed modality marker might be connected functionally and/or etymologically with the quotation indexes, is debatable (see *Chetveruchin* 1988 for a discussion of the existing opinions and a new — in some of its far reaching conclusions not utterly convincing — hypothesis on the origin of *jn*-). Yet, it seems not beyond feasibility to interpret the few instances of reported speech embedded by means of *ḳ*-, which are attested from the third millennium, as utterances of a potential mood (cf. 19 and 20).

(19)
ḥ N-t pw nḏ-sn rn(-j)
INTJ Neith-F DEM.M ask:PRS-3P name-1S

m.ꜥ-k   jm-k   ḏd   n-sn
from-2M.S not.do:SUBJ-2M.S say:NEG.CPL for-3P

rn(-j) jn- m j.jr n-k ḳ-sn
name-1S FOC- who act:PAP for-2M.S say:POT-3P

jn- s-t-j j.jr n(-j) ḳ-k
FOC- place-F-1S act:PAP for-1S say:POT-2M.S
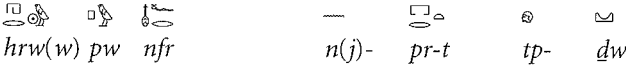
'Ho, Neith! Should they inquire as to my name from you, you shall not tell them my name. "Who is the one who acts for you?", they may ask. "It is my substitute who acts for me", you can say.' (Pyr. *1942a-c^Ntb = Jéquier 1933: pl. XXX, col. 771–2)
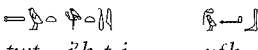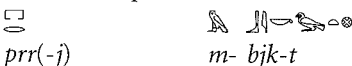
(20)
jr- nfr.n wnn m.ḫt-tn ḏd-ḳ-tn m-
COMP- NEG exist:PRS after:PREP.ADJ-2P say-POT-2P in-

r'-tn wdn m- ꜥ-tn ḥ m- snṯr
mouth–2P offer:CONV in- arm–2P thousand in- incense

ḫꜣ   m- ꜣs   mnḫ-t   ꜣpd(-w) kꜣ(-w) mꜣ(-w)   kꜣ-tn
thousand in- alabaster garment-F bird-P ox-P antelope-P say:POT-2P
'If you have nothing, you may speak with your mouth and consecrate
with your hand. "A thousand portions of incense, a thousand pieces of
alabaster, garments, birds, oxen, and antelopes", so you can say.'
(Drioton 1943: 503)

Finally, utterances sometimes were embedded as direct speech by means of adding
the expression *m-rʾ-X / m-rʾ-n(j)-X* 'is in the mouth of a person' (cf. 21), and
dialogues without quotation index occurred, too (cf. 22).

(21)   ꜥbꜣ   Stš   mꜣꜥ-w   Wsir   m- rʾ-   nṯr-(w) jr-
        offer:PPP Seth justify-PPP Osiris in- mouth- god-P to-
        hrw(w) pw   nfr   n(j)-   pr-t   tp- ḏw
        day   DEM be.beautiful:PAP DETER- go.up-INF upon- hill
        '"Seth is sacrificed, Osiris is justified!" is in the mouth of the gods on
        this auspicious day of going up to the top of the hill.' (Pyr. 1556ᴾ)

(22) a.   ṯwt   ꜣb-t-j   wꜥb
                  2M.S west-F-ADJR be.pure:PAP
                  '"You are a pure westerner?"'

      b.   prr(-j)   m- bjk-t
                  come.forth:PRS-1s in- Falcon.City-F
                  '"I come forth from the Falcon City."' (Pyr. 471aᴺ)

Summarizing the situation in Old Egyptian, we can state that there are various
types of embedding reported speech (see Figure 6), particularly in the Pyramid
Texts. Statistically, this corpus shows a certain preference for the usage of the
quotation index *j-* inserted after or within the reported text, while the matrix verb
ḏd 'say' does not occur as often as one might expect, considering that this was by
far the most frequent quotation index of Egyptian as a whole. To what extent the
different means of embedding reported speech expressed distinct semantic and/or
stylistic functions is difficult to determine. We can only assume that some of them
were typical phenomena of religious language.

     Indirect speech was used but sporadically in Old Egyptian texts. It always
followed a form of the matrix verb *ḏd* 'say' and was usually syntactically embed-
ded by means of a complementizer. Instances without overt complementizer are
uncommon. The complementizers of indirect speech (*wnt, ntt, -js*) are identical

Type of quotation index		Comple-mentizer	Direct speech (ex.)	Indirect speech (ex.)
ḏd- S	Speech	wnt	–	+ (8.8′.8″.9)
ḏd- S	Speech	ntt	–	10
ḏd- S	Speech	–js	–	11
ḏd- S	Speech	–	+ 6.7	(+) (12.13)
	Speech ḏd- S	–	+ 14	–
	Speech j- S	–	+ 15.16	–
ḏd- S	Speech j- S	–	+ 17	–
	Speech ḥr- S	–	+ 18	–
	Speech k3- S	–	+ 19.20	–
	Speech m- r' (nj-) S	–	+ 21	–
without quotation index		–	(+) (4.5.22)	–

Figure 6. Types of reported speech embedding in Old Egyptian (S = speaker)

with those of object clauses dependent on non-communicative verbs (e.g. gmj-
'discover', rḫ- 'know') and were never used to govern direct speech. Notwith-
standing the scarcity of indirect speech in texts of the third millennium, there are
some hints substantiating the fact that indirect speech with the adaptation of more
than one grammatical person to the embedding context existed in Old Egyptian
(*indirect speech type 1*, as in the exx. 8″ and 13). We are not aware of any example
of indirect speech with restricted adaptation of only one personal role in Old
Egyptian, which one could have expected facing a radically different situation in
Late Egyptian (cf. Section 5).

5. Adaptation of one grammatical personal role (indirect speech, type 2) in Late Egyptian reported speech

Certain instances of reported speech in Egyptian exhibit indicators that allow for
identifying them specifically as indirect speech. About half a dozen examples of
indirect speech in Old Egyptian, which are obvious as such by their adaptations of
personal deixis have been cited above (cf. 8–9, 11–13). Clearly identifiable cases of
indirect speech can be found much more frequently in texts of the Late Egyptian
period. Hence, the mechanics of indirect speech in Late Egyptian will be discussed
in the following two sections (for more details, see *Peust* 1996: 41–86).

Looking for specimens of reported speech in texts of the late second millen-
nium, we find that grammatical person is frequently chosen with respect to the
embedding context. Example (23) is an excerpt from a letter which was written at

some date during the 11th century BCE by a certain Pentahures to the scribe
Butehamun.

(23)

     dj   *py-k-*   *jt*   *jn-t*   *n-j*

     cause:PST DEM-2M.S- father send:SUBJ-PASS for-1S

     t-   *šꜥ-t*   *r-ḏd*   *jm-*   *ꜣy-w*

     ART.F- letter-F in.order.to-say cause:IMP- bring:SUBJ-3P

     st   *n-k*

     F.S for-2M.S

     'Your father sent me the letter telling me to have it delivered to you
     (=Butehamun).' (Černý 1939:52,5–6 = pBibl. Nat. 196/III, vs. 2–3)

There are three individuals and two distinct speech situations involved. In what
we will call henceforward *primary speech situation* — i.e. the speech situation of
the assumed communication of Butehamun's father with Pentahures —
Butehamun's father would be the speaker (grammatically first person) and
Pentahures the recipient (second person). Butehamun could only be referred to in
the third person. This situation can be symbolized as follows:

(23′)

	Primary speech situation
Butehamun's father	1
Pentahures	2
Butehamun	3

In what we will call secondary speech situation — namely the speech situation of
the actual communication (the embedding context) —, Pentahures is addressing
Butehamun, so that Pentahures is referred to as a first person and Butehamun as
a second person:

(23″)

	Secondary speech situation
Butehamun's father	3
Pentahures	1
Butehamun	2
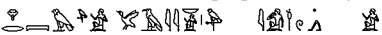
If we now consider which grammatical persons are chosen in the actual reported
speech, we find that Butehamun is referred to as a second person, while the two

other individuals are not mentioned explicitly at all within the reported speech (23‴). Butehamun is referred to from the vantage point of the secondary speech situation; thus, according to our definition, we have an example of indirect speech.

(23‴)		Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported sp.
	Butehamun's father	1	3	–
	Pentahures	2	1	–
	Butehamun	3	2	2

Let us now consider an instance of reported speech in which more than one of the grammatical personal roles involved are referred to explicitly. (24) is taken from a literary composition, the narrative of Wenamun that is more or less contemporary with (23). Wenamun is telling the King of Byblos why Pharaoh Herihor sent him abroad:

(24) __ 𓇋𓏤𓈖𓊪𓏲𓏏 𓇋𓏏𓈖𓇳 𓏏𓏏𓊪𓅱 𓆓𓂧 __
      (j)n- Jmn-Rᶜ   nsw- nṯr-(w) ḏd   n-
      FOC- Amun-Re   king- god-P say:PAP for-

      𓉔𓂋𓏲𓏏𓆄𓏥 𓊪𓇋𓈖𓃀 𓍃𓂧𓅱 𓂭
      Ḥr(j).Ḥr   py-j-nb   j.wḏ   (w)j
      Herihor   DEM-1s-lord send:IMP 1s
      'It was Amunrasonther who told my lord Herihor to send me.'
      (Gardiner 1932:69,9–10 = Wenamun 2,25–26)

The primary communication took place between the god Amunrasonther ('Amun-Re, king of the gods') and Herihor, whereas in this part of the narrative Wenamun is speaking to the King of Byblos. Within the reported speech, Wenamun is referred to as first person. Herihor is the subject of an imperative and thus acts as second person.

(24′)		Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported speech
	Amunrasonther	1	3	–
	Herihor	2	3	2
	Wenamun	3	1	1
	King of Byblos	3	2	–

The phrase j.wḏ -(w)j, literally 'send me', is as such neither acceptable from the vantage point of the primary nor of the secondary speech situation on their own.

Instead, we find that in reported speech one grammatical person is chosen with respect to each of the two speech situations, thus resulting in a "mixture" of both pragmatic settings.

This type of reported speech is very common in written Egyptian of the Ramesside Period (19th–20th Dynasties, *c.*1300–1070 BCE), and we can actually formulate the following rule based on the evidence of the material collected by *Peust* (1996: 87–124):

> In Late Egyptian reported speech, one of the grammatical personal roles within the utterance may be chosen with respect to the deictic setting of the embedding context, but never more than one.

An adaptation of all grammatical personal roles to the embedding context, as well-known from English and many other languages (and extant in Old Egyptian), is not attested at all for indirect speech in Late Egyptian. This chronolect exhibits exclusively what we will refer to as *indirect speech, type 2.* Therefore, it is possible that, within a single reported speech, pronouns of (formally) identical grammatical person have different referents — even in the case of the first and second person. The utterance under (25) is an example from a juridical text. A certain Nakhtmutef has behaved improperly towards the daughter of Talmonth. Now, Talmonth demands in court that Nakhtmutef swear not to repeat his action:[4]
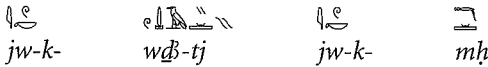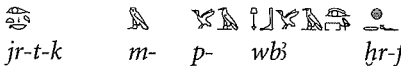
(25)   *jm   jr-y   Nḫt.mw.t.f   ʿnḫ   n-   nb*
AUX.IMP make-SUBJ Nakhtmutef oath for- lord

r-ḏd   bn   jw.j.r-   ntˤ   m-   ty-j-   šr(t)
COMP NEG FUT:1s- divorce:INF from- DEM.F-1s- daughter

'Nahktmutef should take an oath by the Lord (i.e. Pharaoh) that *he₁*
will not divorce *my* daughter.' (Gardiner and Černý 1957: pl. LXIV, 2
rto. 3–4)

(25')		Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported speech
	Nakhtmutef	1	3	1
	Court members	2	2	–
	Talmonth	3	1	1

In this example, the pronoun of the first person singular occurs twice and refers to different individuals in each case.

All the examples cited in this section up to now would also allow for an alternative explanation. Instead of assuming a specific Egyptian type of indirect

speech with only a single grammatical person being adapted to the embedding context (*indirect speech, type 2*), it could be claimed that the quotation is only partially coined as indirect speech, while another part of it is formed as ordinary direct speech. The following example clarifies that such an explanation would be inconclusive. Amenhotpe writes a letter to Thutmose, assuring him that he regularly prays for the sake of Thutmose to the deified late king Amenophis I and describing the response of that god:

(26)   𓇋𓂝𓍯   𓈖𓏏𓎛𓅱𓅱   𓇋𓂝𓍯   𓂋𓈖𓏏
      jw:j-   *ȝw-k*   *jw:j-*   *jn-t-k*
      FUT:1S- protect:INF-2M.S FUT:1S- bring-INF-2M.S

      𓇋𓎡   𓅱𓍑𓃀𓏏𓏭   𓇋𓎡   𓎔
      jw-k-   *wḏȝ-tj*   *jw-k-*   *mḥ*
      COMP-2M.S- be.save:STAT-2S COMP-2M.S- fill:INF

      𓁹𓏏𓎡   𓅓   𓊪𓅱𓎝𓎛𓉐   𓂋𓆑
      jr-t-k   *m-*   *p-* *wbȝ*   *ḥr-f*
      eye-F-2M.S with- ART- courtyard say:PRS-3M.S
      'He₁ would protect you, he₁ would bring you back safe, and you would be able to see the court (of the temple) again, he always says.' (Černý 1939:28,5–6 = pBM 10417, vso. 4–5)

(26')

	Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported speech
Deified Amenophis	1	3	1
Thutmose	3	2	2
Amenhotpe	–	1	–

Here, it is significant that within one and the same reported speech, Thutmose is referred to several times by means of a second person pronoun, with the first person pronoun referring to the deified king intervening. It would be very peculiar to assume that this reported speech is composed of no less than four distinct fragments of direct and indirect speech alternating with each other — and, in addition, changing from one type to the other within a single phonological word (*jw-j- jn.t-k* > Coptic ⲉⲓⲉⲛⲧⲕ, see *Peust* (1996:55), for more evidence of this kind).

So as not to make things too easy, however, we must state that there is indeed a "composite type" of reported speech in Late Egyptian. Sometimes in a reported speech, all grammatical persons are initially expressed with respect to the primary speech situation (i.e. as direct speech), but at some point within the quotation one of the grammatical persons is shifted resulting in the type of indirect speech with adaptation of a single personal role as outlined above. Example (27) is taken from

the Tale of the Two Brothers, the only extant copy of which was written *c*.1200 BCE. The wife of one of the two protagonists attempts to seduce her brother-in-law Bata.

(27)

jw-s-	*ḏd*	*n-f*	*mj*	*jr-y-n*
COMP-3F.S-	say:INF	for-3M.S	come:IMP	make-SUBJ-1P

n-n	*wnw-t*	*sḏr-w*
for-1P	hour-F	sleep:STAT-3P

'. . . and she said to him: "Come and let us spend some time *making*$_{3P}$ love."' (Gardiner 1932:12,10–11 = Two Brothers 3,7)

While the narrator let the woman's speech begin in the first person plural as she would have expressed the utterance herself, he shifted to the third person ending of the final verb form (literally: 'while *they* sleep'). In translating this utterance into English we must not render the personal pronouns mechanically but have to decide either for direct speech as above or for an alternative version in indirect speech which would run: '. . . and she said to him that *he*$_2$ should come so that *they*$_1$ would spend some time making love.'

(27′)

	Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported speech
Woman	1	3	–
Bata	2	3	2
Woman and Bata	1 (pl.)	3 (pl.)	1 (pl.) > 3 (pl.)
Narrator	3	1	–
Readers	3	1	–

The subsequent passage (28) is even more complex. It is required to assume the existence of a third speech situation since the reported speech in question is doubly embedded. The example is extracted from the narration of Merire in the Netherworld which is attested on a manuscript of Late Period origin and narrated in the third person. The young priest Merire is about to sacrifice his life on behalf of the Pharaoh and desires that after his early death, the king should protect the departed's family. Merire's urgent request (secondary speech situation) is expressed in direct speech but contains another utterance ascribed to the Pharaoh (primary speech situation). This speech within the speech exhibits a delayed adaptation of the personal role to the basic level of the narrative (tertiary speech situation).

(28) 𓊃𓅓 ▨ 𓂋𓏤𓏛𓏥 𓂝𓂋𓈎 𓈖 𓅓𓃀𓄂

    ḏd   *n-f*   *Mr.Rᶜ*   *ᶜrq*   *n-j*   *m.bȝḥ*

  said:PST for-3M.S Merire swear:IMP for-1S before

  𓊪𓏏𓎛 𓆓 𓂧 𓂜𓏭 𓂓 ▨

  Ptḥ   *ḏd*   *bn-*   *jw.j-*   *dj-t-*   *jw*

  Ptah COMP NEG- FUT:1S- cause-INF- go:SUBJ

  𓎢𓏌𓏤𓄤𓏏 𓏏𓏭𓎡 � 𓈖 𓊪𓏭𓎡

  Ḥnw.t.Nfr.t *ty-k-*   *ḥm-t* *r.bl* *n-* *py-k-*

  Henutnofret DEM.F–2M.S- wife–F out of- DEM-2M.S-

  𓉐 (...) 𓂜𓏭 𓂜𓏭 𓂋𓈖 𓂋𓄿𓏭

  prw   *bn-* *jw:j-*   *nw*   *r-s* *ḥᶜ-j*

  house   NEG- FUT:1S- look:INF to-3F.S REFL-1S

  𓅓𓏏𓆑 𓃀𓏏𓊔 𓊪 𓋹𓈖𓐍 𓁹𓂋

  mt-f-   *lwḥ*   *p-*   *ᶜnḫ*   *j:jr*

  DEP-3M.S- break:INF ART- oath do:PPP

  𓂋𓂧𓃀𓄿 ▨▨ 𓊪𓏭𓋴 𓂝𓈖𓅱

  r.ḏbȝ-   *py-s-*   *ᶜnw*

  because.of- DEM-3F.S- beauty

'Merire asked him to swear to *him*₁ before Ptah that *he*₁ would not drive *his*₂ wife Henutnofret out of *his*₂ house [. . .], that *he*₁ would not ogle at her *himself*₁ [. . .] and break the agreed oath because of her beauty.' (Posener 1985:51 = pVandier 2,6 and 2,8–9 [with omissions], *c*.500 BCE)

(28′)

	Prim. sp. sit.	Sec. sp. sit.	Tert. sp. sit.	Reported speech
Pharaoh	1	2	3	1 > 3
Merire	2	1	3	2
Merire's wife	3	3	3	3
Narrator	–	–	1	–

Again, it is impractical to render the personal pronouns quite mechanically. We are free to choose between a variety of possible translations into English, but in any case have to shift at least one personal pronoun (cf. 28″ and 28‴).

(28″) Merire asked him: "Swear to me before Ptah that *you*₁ will not drive *my*₂ wife Henutnofret out of *my*₂ house [. . .], that *you*₁ will not ogle at her *yourself*₁ [. . .] and that *you*₃ (will not) break the agreed oath because of her beauty."

(28‴)   Merire asked him: "Swear to me before Ptah, saying: 'I will not drive
your wife Henutnofret out of your house [. . .], I will not ogle at her
myself [. . .] and I₁ (will not) break the agreed oath because of her
beauty.'"

Indirect speech of type 2 as discussed in this section is still to be found in Coptic.
The following literary text recounts how the sick daughter of the Byzantine
Emperor was sent to a monastery in Egypt to be healed. After she returned home
healthy, her father inquired how she had been cured. She told him that the monk
in whose cell she lived used to kiss her and to sleep with her in one bed. The
Emperor arranges a meeting with the monk and speaks to him:

(29)   ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲍⲟⲟ-ⲥ   ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁ-ⲓ ⲛϭⲓ ⲧⲁ-ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ
a-s-'jɔː-s   gar na-j nkʲi ta-'ʃɛːrə
PST-3F.S-say:INF-3F.S PTCL for-1s PTCL POSS:1s-daughter

ⲍⲉ ⲟⲁⲟ ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲡ   ϣⲁ-ⲕ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ
jə   'hah n-'sɔp   ʃa-k-as'padӡə
COMP many of-occasion HAB-2M.S-kiss:INF

ⲛ-ⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ   ⲁⲩⲱ ⲍⲉ ϣⲁ-ⲕ-ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ
n-ta-tap'rə   awo jə   ʃa-k-ən'kɔtk
PREP-POSS:1s-mouth CNJ COMP HAB-2M.S-sleep:INF

ⲟⲓⲍⲛ ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲟⲓ   ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲱⲧ   ⲛⲙⲙⲁ-ⲓ ⲛ-ⲧⲉ-ⲩϣⲏ   ⲧⲏⲣ-ⲥ
hijn- u-'pɔj   n-'wot   nmma-j n-tə-w'ʃɨ   'tɨr-s
on- IDEF-bed ATTR-single with-1s in-ART.F-night all-3F.S
'My daughter has told me that you frequently kissed her on the mouth
and that you used to sleep with her₁ in a single bed all night.' (Drescher
1947: 11, lines 16–18)

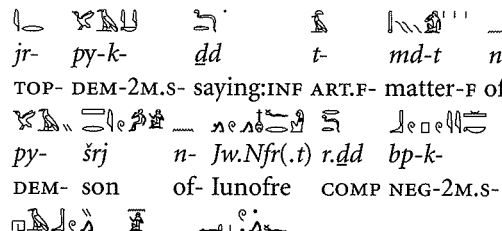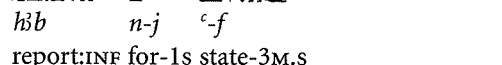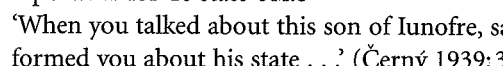The communicative roles of (29) are represented in the following chart:

(29′)		Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported speech
	Emperor's daughter	1	3	1
	Emperor	2	1	—
	Monk	3	2	2

6. Interference on the universe of discourse (indirect speech, type 3) in Late Egyptian reported speech

Having focused on the adaptation of personal roles in Late Egyptian indirect speech, we will now turn our attention to another type of reported speech. Here, all pronominal elements are selected with respect to the primary speech situation, in the manner of direct speech. Nevertheless, there is some influence of the embedding context on the quotation with respect to the usage of articles and the possibilities of pronominalization. This is a second type of indirect speech in Egyptian, which has to be distinguished from type 2, discussed in Section 5.

Let us first consider the following citation from a letter written by Butehamun, whom we have already encountered above (cf. example 23), to his father Thutmose:

(30) 〔hieroglyphs〕
       jr-   py-k-   ḏd   t-   md-t   n-
       TOP- DEM-2M.S- saying:INF ART.F- matter-F of-
       〔hieroglyphs〕
       py-   šrj   n- Jw.Nfr(.t)   r.ḏd   bp-k-
       DEM- son   of- Iunofre   COMP   NEG-2M.S-
       〔hieroglyphs〕
       ḥ3b   n-j   ꜥ-f
       report:INF   for-1s   state-3M.S
       'When you talked about this son of Iunofre, saying that I had not in-
       formed you about his state . . .' (Černý 1939:32,14–15 = pTurin 1971,
       vs. 6–7)

The quotation bp-k- ḥ3b -n-j ꜥ-f— literally 'you did not inform me about his state' — is composed like a direct speech in that none of the grammatical personal roles has been adapted to the embedding context. On the other hand, an utterance 'you did not inform me about his state' is not likely to be expected as a direct speech — at least not as isolated as it occurs in example (30), when the referent of the third person pronoun is not included in the quotation. We might surmise that the "original" wording of Thutmose would have contained the full name of the person referred to instead of a mere pronoun. The use of the pronoun has only become possible in the reported speech because the referent has already been identified in the preceding embedding context. Luckily, Thutmose's original letter to which Butehamun is referring in the passage cited above has also been preserved and is thus known to us. In this memorandum addressed to Butehamun (Papyrus British Museum 10326), the situation was stated by his father as follows:

(31) [hieroglyphs]   [hieroglyphs]   [hieroglyphs]
      ḥr   mdj-   p-   tm-   ḥȝb   j.jr-k-
      CNJ with- ART- abstain:INF- report:INF do:REL-2.M.S-

      [hieroglyphs]   [hieroglyphs]   ___ [hieroglyphs]
      n-j   p-   jr-y-k   n- p-   śrj   n- Jw.nfr.t
      for-1S ART- do-PPP–2M.S for- ART- son of- Iunofre

      'And as to the fact that you did not inform me about what you did with
      the son of Iunofre . . .' (Černý 1939:19,6–7 = pBM 10326, vs. 4)

The reader will recognize that in Butehamun's quoting this text (cf. 30), the
passage has been basically reworded, including a pronominalization of the noun
phrase 'the son of Iunofre' which has become possible only due to the preceding
embedding context. A reported speech of this type may also be viewed as being
pragmatically adapted to the embedding context and thus fits the definition of
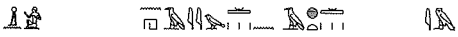indirect rather than that of direct speech.

    In example (32), the female official Henuttawi informs her male colleague
Nesamenope that, collecting taxes from a fisherman, she received less than the 80
sacks of barley which Nesamenope had ordered her to obtain.

(32) [hieroglyphs]   [hieroglyphs]   [hieroglyphs]
      jw-j-   ḏd   n-f   jḥ   p-   ḫȝr 72½
      COMP-1F.S- say:INF for-3M.S what ART- sack 72½

      [hieroglyphs]   ___ [hieroglyphs] [hieroglyphs]   [hieroglyphs]
      ḫȝr   n- jt   j-n-j   n-f   ḥr.jw ḫȝr 80
      sack of- barley say-PRET-1F.S for-3M.S CNJ   sack 80

      [hieroglyphs]   [hieroglyphs] [hieroglyphs]   [hieroglyphs]
      ḥr-s   m-   ty-f-   šʿ-t
      say:PRS-3F.S namely- DEM.F-3M.S- letter-F

      'And I asked him (i.e. the fisherman): "How come the 72½ sacks of
      barley?" that's what I said to him, "whereas *his* letter says 80 sacks?"'
      (Černý 1939:58,4–5 = pGeneva D191, 14–15)
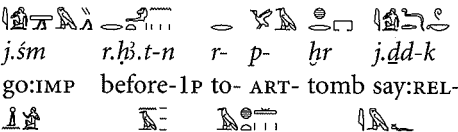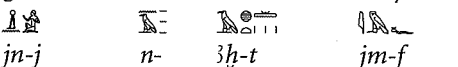
The address of Henuttawi to the fisherman exhibits the grammatical personal roles
of the primary context and thus, at first glance, seems to be direct speech. When
speaking to the fisherman however, Henuttawi could not simply have referred to
'his letter' but would have had to mention Nesamenope by name or title to make
her message understandable. What happened in (32) is that Henuttawi
pronominalized the noun phrase referring to Nesamenope because Nesamenope
was one of the comunication partners of the embedding context. On the other
hand, Henuttawi referred to Nesamenope by means of a third person pronoun, as
it was required from the vantage point of the primary speech situation. We may
state that personal pronouns are selected as appropriate for direct speech, while the

possibilities of pronominalization depend on the speech situation of the embedding context. This is actually an example of indirect speech labeled here *type 3*.

Closely related is another phenomenon. The usage of the definite article sometimes gives evidence for the embedding context influencing a reported speech although no adaptation in the domain of personal deixis takes place. The two final examples of this section are taken from administrative protocols written down during investigations into the robberies of royal sepulchres (*c.*1110 BCE). To begin with (33), Peikhal admitted that he had broken into the tomb of a queen and confessed:

(33)   𓃭𓏤   𓈖𓏤𓏥𓈖   𓄿𓈈𓏏   𓇋𓅓
       jn-j   *nhy-n-*   *ȝḫ-t*   *jm*
       fetch:PST-1S IDEF.P-of- property-F.P   there
       'I took some property from there.' (Peet 1930: pl. 2 = pAbbot 4,16–17)

Subsequently, Peikhal was taken close to the place in question and asked by the investigator:

(34)   𓂽𓏥   𓂋𓄂𓏏𓈖   𓂋   𓊪   𓉔𓂋   𓆓𓂧𓂧𓎡
       j.śm   *r.ḫȝ.t-n*   *r-* *p-* *ḥr*   *j.ḏd-k*
       go:IMP   before-1P   to- ART- tomb say:REL-2M.S
       𓃭𓏤   𓈖   𓄿𓈈𓏏   𓇋𓅓𓆑
       jn-j   *n-*   *ȝḫ-t*   *jm-f*
       fetch:PST-1S ART.P- property-F.P in–3M.S
       'Go ahead of us to the tomb about which you said "I stole *the* property from it."' (Peet 1930: pl. 3 = pAbbot 5,2)

In (33) the thief referred to the stolen properties by means of an indefinite article since he was mentioning them for the first time. Later his confession is quoted virtually unchanged, except for the fact that the indefinite article is replaced by a definite one (cf. 34), as the properties have now become known to all communication partners. The wording of the reported speech may thus indeed be said to have been influenced by the speech situation of the actual embedding context.

We can generalize that indirect speech in Late Egyptian does not necessarily imply the adaptation of one personal role (*indirect speech, type 2*), but may also be obvious from more subtle grammatical criteria which indicate that knowledge of the embedding context is accessible within the quotation (*indirect speech, type 3*).

7.   A few remarks on diachrony

Due to the lack of studies on reported speech in different chronolects over more than four millennia of Egyptian language history[5] (and in particular because of the

fact that the classical literary norm of Middle Egyptian is still awaiting a thorough investigation), it is not possible now to reconstruct the diachronic development in detail. So we shall only present a few isolated observations which nevertheless may shed light on some remarkable processes of linguistic change.

The grammaticalization of a verb of utterance like Egyptian *ḏd* 'say' into a quotative marker is a semantic shift not uncommon in human languages (*Roncador* 1988:110–113, Heine et al. 1993:190–191), and such a development took place in Egyptian, too. Two of the examples cited above show the use of the expression *r-ḏd* — originally: 'in order to say' — or its younger successor *ḏd* serving as a quotative mark which follows another lexical item referring to a communicative action (cf. *ꜥnḫ r-ḏd* 'an oath that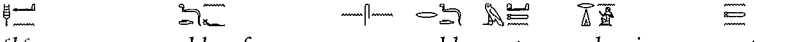' in 25, *ꜥrq ḏd* 'swear that' in 28). We may conjecture that the process of grammaticalization of *ḏd* began because communicative verbs presupposing information about the semantic content of the reported utterance (e.g. 'ask', 'swear', 'foretell', 'deny', 'assure', 'praise') apparently were not capable to govern quotations in Old Egyptian. Thus, under such circumstances the speaker could refer to the respective utterance only by means of descriptive expressions (e.g. 'what you said', 'oath'). If it seemed necessary to quote the wording, an additional quotation index *r-ḏd* or *m-ḏd* — originally: 'in saying' — was used. Not later than when *r-ḏd*/ *m-ḏd* was employed after the verb *ḏd* 'say' also, had the former lost its lexical meaning and become a grammatical morpheme. Whether (35), taken from a text of the late third millennium, already exhibits such a pleonastic use of *m-ḏd* is questionable, as transitive *ḏd* 'say' and *ḏd ḥr-* 'call' (with obligatory prepositional complement) might be analyzed as two different verbs. A less ambiguous example of *r-ḏd*, attested in a tomb inscription of the Twelfth Dynasty (*c.*1991–1785 BCE), is quoted in (36).

(35) *j-w*   *ḏd(-j)*   *ḥr-k*   *ḥḥ*   —   *n(j)-* *zp* *m-*
TOP-1s say:PRS-1s near-2M.s million DETER- case in-

ḏd   *mrr-w-*   *nbw-f*
say:INF love-IPP- lord-3M.s

'I have been calling you ceaselessly a favourite of his lord.' (Edel 1955/ 64:§713 = Urk. I 180,2–3)

(36) *ꜥḥꜥ-n*   *ḏd-n-f*   *n-sn* *r.ḏd* *m-ṯn* *rd-n-j*   *n-ṯn*
stand:DEP-PRET say-PRET-3M.s for-3P COMP PTCL-2P give-PRET-1s for-2P

'And then he said to them: "I have given to you (. . .)"' (Gardiner 1957: §224 = Siut I 275)

The process of grammaticalization going on further, *(r-)ḏd* could be used as com-

plementizer to mark clauses governed by non-communicative verbs by the middle of the second millennium (cf. Gardiner 1957: § 224, Junge 1996: 84–5) and occurred in the function of a purpose and result clause marker no later than the Demotic period and perhaps already in Late Egyptian (cf. 37 and see Junge 1996: 151).

(37)   *[hieroglyphs]*

jw-s-   ḥr- ḏd   n-f   j.jr-j-   jy   n-k
COMP-3F.S- on- say:INF for-3M.S AUX-1F.S- come:INF for-2M.S

[hieroglyphs]

r-ḏd   ḏȝ-y-k   r-   p-   jw-ḥrj-jb
COMP ferry.over–SUBJ–2M.S to- ART- Island-in-the.Midst

'And she said to him: "I have come to you that you ferry over to the Island-in-the-Midst."' (Gardiner 1932: 43,9–10 = Horus and Seth 5,8–9, c.1140 BCE)

The complementizer (r-)ḏd developed into Coptic ⲝⲉ /je/, which had an even wider range of usage (cf. Steindorff 1951: §§ 144, 207, 438, 440).

The final issue to be touched on is whether or not the constraints of adapting no more than one grammatical person from within the reported utterance to the embedding context in Late Egyptian indirect speech were valid already in earlier chronolects. Even though a detailed inquiry about the mechanics of indirect speech in Middle Egyptian is still a desideratum, it is by no means impossible to present a few preparatory assumptions.
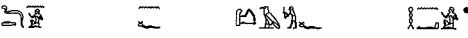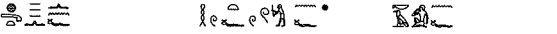
On the one hand, we could see above in Section 4 that there were cases of indirect speech with total shift of personal roles in Old Egyptian. Instances akin to these are not attested in Late Egyptian. On the other hand, we do not know of any old example of indirect speech of type 2 (adapting no more than one of several grammatical persons to the embedding context), as is the rule in Late Egyptian. *Kammerzell* (1997) has discussed one Middle Egyptian instance of indirect speech with pronoun shift according to the principles as described by *Peust* (1996) and in Section 5 above. However, that very example was taken from a classical literary text the extant copy of which was written down no earlier than the late 15th century BCE. So it cannot be excluded that the wording of the respective quotation had already been influenced by Late Egyptian. That remodeling of Middle Egyptian literary compositions not infrequently happened during the New Kingdom (c.1550–1070) is indisputable. A pertinent example is cited under (38) and (39). In the first instance we see a section from the narrative of Sinuhe as it was passed on in a manuscript written shortly after the original composition of the literary work in the Twelfth Dynasty (c.1800 BCE). The setting is as follows: Sinuhe, the protagonist and narrator of the story, reports that he has been challenged to a duel by an anonymous 'hero from (the country) Retjenu' and contemplates about the warrior's objectives:

(38)   𓂧𓈖   𓉐𓄿𓂡   𓏤𓂝   𓐍𓏏𓂝𓈖
   ḏd-n-f   *ʿḥꜣ-f*   *ḥnʿ-j*   *ḥmt-n-f*
   say-PRET-3M.S   fight:SUBJ-3M.S   with-1S   intend-PRET-3M.S

   𓎛𓏏𓂡   𓍯   𓂓𓈖𓂡   𓏏𓄿𓏤   𓅓𓈖𓅓𓈖𓏏𓏭
   ḥwt(f)-f   *w*   *kꜣ-n-f*   *ḥꜣq*   *mnmn-t-j*
   kill:SUBJ-3M.S   1S   plan-PRET-3M.S   pillage:INF   cattle-F-1S

   'He said that he would fight with me, intended to kill me and planned
   to pillage my cattle.' (Koch 1990: 46,6 and 46,10 = Sinuhe B 111–112,
   c.1800 BCE)

The clause *ʿḥꜣ-f ḥnʿ-j* 'that he would fight with me' is embedded as an indirect
speech of the same type that we came across in Old Egyptian examples (*type 1*, cf.
12 and 13). Both personal pronouns are adapted to the respective communicative
roles of the embedding context and differ from the "original" utterance of
Sinuhe's enemy which must have run either 'I will fight with you' or 'I will fight
with him' (cf. 38′).

(38′)

	Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported speech
Sinuhe (= narrator)	2 or 3	1	1
Hero from Retjenu	1	3	3

About half a millennium later, the passage had been considerably altered. First,
the reported speech dependent on the initial verb 'say' is ascribed to Sinuhe, and
further on several verb forms and pronouns are changed. It is only in this version
that *kꜣj* 'plan' is treated as a communicative verb governing a reported speech *ḥꜣq-f
mnmn.t-f*, which is another example of indirect speech, type 2 (literally: 'that he
would pillage his cattle').

(39)   𓂧𓏤   𓈖   𓉐𓄿𓆑𓂡   𓂝𓅱
   ḏd-n-j   *n-f*   *ʿḥꜣ-f*   *ḥnʿ-j*
   say-PRET-1S   for-3M.S   fight:SUBJ-3M.S   with-1S

   𓐍𓏏𓂡   𓎛𓏏𓆑𓂡   𓂓𓈖𓂡
   ḥmt-n-f   *ḥwtf*   *n-f*   *kꜣ-n-f*
   intend-PRET-3M.S   kill:INF   for-3M.S   plan-PRET-3M.S

   𓏏𓄿𓏲   𓅓𓈖𓅓𓈖𓏏𓆑
   ḥꜣq-f   *mnmn-t-f*
   pillage:SUBJ-3M.S   cattle-F-3M.S

   'I told him that he should fight with me. He intended killing for *me₃*, as
   he planned that he would pillage *my₃* cattle.' (Koch 1990: 46,8 and 46,12
   = Sinuhe AOS 44, *c*.1200 BCE)

The change from *ḏd.n-f* 'he said' into *ḏd.n-j -n-f* 'I said to him' (or any other significant modification of the wording) was inevitable within the frame of rules of a chronolect that allowed adapting no more than one personal role to the embedding context. The situation is shown in the tables below: assuming that in the Ramesside Period only one pronoun could refer to the secondary speech situation, while the other had to be identified with a communicative role of the primary speech situation, the initial clause of (38) at that time would have meant nothing else but either 'The hero of Retjenu said that he (himself) would fight with *himself*₁.' (cf. 39') or 'The hero of Retjenu said that Sinuhe would fight with *himself*₁.' (cf. 39").

(39')

	Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported speech
Sinuhe (= narrator)	2 or 3	1	—
Hero from Retjenu	1	3	1 and 3

(39")

	Primary sp. sit.	Second. sp. sit.	Reported speech
Sinuhe (= narrator)	3	1	3 and 1
Hero from Retjenu	1	3	—

As, however, neither of the alternatives makes sense, the scribe of the Ashmolean Ostracon living six hundred years after the original composition (or already one of his predecessors) evidently decided to modify the text. Why the reported speech was left untouched — as opposed to the subsequent clauses — and the embedding context was modified, we do not know.

Be that as it may, examples (38) and (39) give ample reason for inferring that the rules of Late Egyptian indirect speech of type 2 came into being but after the period of Classical Middle Egyptian — even though the evidence stands quite isolated for the time being. That the specific appearance of indirect speech in Late Egyptian should reflect a primitive state of language development or even mirror cognitive deficiencies of the respective speakers — as has repeatedly been suggested in Egyptological studies (see *Peust* 1996: 41–8 for a review of older opinions) — can at any rate be dismissed.

8.   Conclusions

We defined indirect speech as a mode of reporting which shows deviations from the pragmatic setting to be reconstructed for the primary speech situation in at least one point, provided that these deviations are explainable by specific interferences of the secondary context into which the reported speech is embedded. Egyptian quotations can be formulated in direct speech as well as in indirect speech. There are several subtypes of indirect speech depending on which grammatical category is adapted to the embedding context. If personal deictic elements are adapted, this could affect all personal roles in Earlier Egyptian (*indirect speech, type 1*). In Late Egyptian, however, only one personal role can be affected, whereas the others have to be expressed as would be appropriate for direct speech (*type 2*). Furthermore, the adaptation of one personal role need not be applied from the very beginning of the citation but may start in a later part of it. In addition to these, there is another type of indirect speech which shows no shifting of personal pronouns at all but rather an influence of the universe of discourse connected with the speech situation of the embedding context (*type 3*). This can manifest itself in the use of a definite article or in a pronominalization indicating that particular items of knowledge present in the situation of the embedding context are accessible within the reported speech. There is no shifting of verbal tense in any type of Egyptian indirect speech.

Notes

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1. There is, however, some evidence (e.g. two different lexical strata discernible already in the earliest period) that the formation process of the Egyptian language took place during a situation of intense language contact in a not to distant past from the historical period, and that two distinct linguistic communities contributed to the emergence of what we know as the Egyptian language.

2. It is a well-known fact that particular utterances of the Pyramid Texts had originally been composed as if they were spoken by the dead king. At some time during the process of copying them on the walls, many first person pronouns were substituted by pronouns of the third person or by the name of the pyramid owner. The reader should not be bewildered by the fact that the pronominal suffix of the first person did not leave any trace in the hieroglyphic form of (8″). Its phonological shape can be reconstructed as a long vowel /iː/, which according to the rules of the Egyptian writing system was frequently not represented in texts of the third millennium.

3. Since a development 'as, like' > COMP is a common path of semantic change, there is good reason to assume that both -*js* are etymologically related.

4. Personal pronouns that had to be shifted in the translation are given in italics. The index informs about which grammatical person appears instead in the Egyptian text.

5. To date, only one exhaustive, corpus-based study has been conducted (*Peust* 1996). Its thematic frame is the period of Late Egyptian (14th–7th centuries BCE).

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