

# How typology can inform philology: quotative *jn* in Earlier Egyptian<sup>1</sup>

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Egyptian displays a quite versatile element *j(n)*. Several attempts have been made to elucidate its history by relating its different functions to each other. One of these functions is that of a default predicative marker of reported discourse, so that it has simply been treated in this context as a speech verb ‘say’. The quotative function of *j(n)* is the starting point for a new approach to this element to be presented in this paper. The ideas arise from a cross-linguistic study of quotative indexes (Güldemann 2008) in which I have challenged a number of widely-held assumptions on the history of these expressions. Notably, quotative indexes frequently are not predicative expressions based on speech verbs (like, e.g., *Peter said*). Consequently further grammaticalization in this domain often does not start out from such an assumed default construction. There exist a number of other typical patterns in quotative indexes which have a different structure and which turn out to be subject to change more frequently than predicative ‘say’-structures. These findings also throw new light on the history of quotative *j(n)* in Earlier Egyptian. One can make a good case for the hypothesis that quotative indexes based on *j(n)* originate in a non-verbal identificational construction ‘it is ...’ which only later assumed more predicate-like properties. This hypothesis also provides a better unified account for most of its non-quotative functions. This paper thus demonstrates that diachronic typology can fruitfully inform historical philology.

## 1 Egyptian *j(n)* as a grammatically versatile element

### 1.1 Quotative *j(n)* through Egyptian history

Since early on Egyptian scholars identify an element *j(n)* which serves as a kind of default marker in reported discourse constructions. Faulkner (1935) in his detailed historical treatment of *j(n)* views it like most other scholars as a speech verb ‘say’. He argues that it is attested in several conjugational forms: securely in the “infinitive”, “old perfective~stative”, “*sdm-n-f* form”, and “*sdm-f* form”; and possibly also in the “relative” and “imperative”. While this range of verbal categories might suggest that it is indeed a canonical verb lexeme, it is functionally restricted to reported discourse constructions and is not used as a normal verb ‘say’ outside this context. Example (1) shows a typical occurrence of *j(n)* (glossed here as “quotative (marker)”) in a quotative index that follows the quote.

- (1)    *m*    *twt*                    *n-f*                    *jn*                    *psd-(tj)*    *wr-t*                    <sup>c</sup>*3-t*  
       {who resemble:PAP for-3M.S}    Q:PST    PN-F.D    be.great:PAP-F    be.great:PAP-F  
       “Who is like him?” said the Two Great and Powerful Enneads. (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 302)

Another remarkable fact of *j(n)* is that it can actually not be used in all conjugation forms but is part of a stem paradigm formed by it and two other suppletive counterparts, *hr* and *k3*, which are equally translated simply as ‘say’ but assigned to other TAM values; they are illustrated in (2) and (3).

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks go to Orin Gensler, Birgit Jordan, and Andréas Stauder for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this paper.

- (2)  $\{j.dr-f \quad \underline{dw-t} \quad jr-t-k \quad Pjppj \quad pw\}$   
 {remove:SUBJ-3M.S evil:PAP-F against-ADJR:F-2M.S PN DEM}  
*hr* (J)tm(w)  
 Q:PRS PN  
 “He shall remove the evil which is against you, o Pijaapij”, says Atum. (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 302)
- (3)  $\{jn-m \quad j.jr \quad n-k\} \quad k3-sn$   
 {TF-who act:PAP for-2M.S} Q:FUT/POT-3P  
 “Who is the one who acts for you?”, they may ask.  
 $\{jn-s-t-j \quad j.jr \quad n(-j)\} \quad k3-k$   
 {TF-place-F-1S act:PAP for-1S} Q:FUT/POT-2M.S  
 “It is my substitute who acts for me?”, you can say. (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 303)

The functional restriction of *j(n)* to reported discourse and its limited conjugational paradigm involving stem suppletion suggest that it is not a speech verb like English ‘say’, French ‘dire’, etc. but rather a defective verb specialized to a particular context, a so-called “quotative verb (QV)” in terms of Güldemann (2008) - a characterization which also applies to *hr* and *k3*. The complete paradigm of quotative verb forms in Earlier Egyptian, together with their commonly associated TAM features, is given in Table 1:

Form	TAM value	Syntactic distribution
<i>k3-</i>	Future	before “suffixal” pronoun ???and noun
<i>hr(-)</i>	Present	before noun and “suffixal” pronoun
<i>jn(-)</i>	Preterite	before noun and plural “suffixal” pronoun
<i>j-</i>	Stative	before singular “suffixal” pronoun

**Table 1: The quotative verb paradigm in Earlier Egyptian**

Several authors (e.g., Faulkner 1935: 187-8, Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 303) have observed that the same suppletive verb paradigm has served as input for auxiliary periphrases which function as clause operators, including the marking of interclausal contingency (see especially Depuydt 1989); whereby, according to Faulkner (1935: 187), the auxiliations of *jn* and *hr* may have been modeled on *k3*. The major functions identified are summarized in Table 2. Güldemann (2005: 134-5) argues that this process is a variation on a typologically more common theme whereby semantically generic items grammaticalize in parallel (as two separate processes) into quotative markers and auxiliaries; that is, the quotative function is not necessarily a precondition for the auxiliations process.

Form	Function in simple clause	Function in clause linkage
stem- <i>k3</i>	Potential	Future ~ irrealis in conditional apodosis
stem- <i>hr</i>	Obligation	Aorist ~ realis in conditional apodosis
stem- <i>jn</i>	Narrative	Consecutive

**Table 2: The quotative verb paradigm as the source of auxiliary periphrases**

The stem *j(n)* (like *hr* and *k3*), as the nucleus of the quotative index, is intimately associated with the expression of the “speaker”-referent of the quote. Four major patterns of its occurrence can be identified, the first of which was shown in (1) above.

[*jn* Speaker.noun]  
 [*jn*-Speaker.pronoun.suffix] (but only 3rd plural/dual)  
 [*jn*-Speaker.pronoun.suffix Speaker.noun]  
 [*jn*-Speaker.pronoun.suffix *jn* Speaker.noun]

Apart from the fact that quotative indexes containing *j(n)* can be accompanied by a prepositional phrase referring to the addressee of the quote, their overall morphosyntax follows two major patterns. The simpler structure has quotative *j(n)* either after the quote, as illustrated in (1) above, or inserted within the quote in a kind of clause-second position.

**(I) {{QUOTE} *j(n)*-SPEAKER {{QUOTE}} (*j(n)*-SPEAKER)}**

As shown in the above schema (I) and illustrated in (4), multiple occurrences of *j(n)* are possible in one and the same reported discourse-construction, yielding a range of quotative index-types which are postposed, intraposed, or combine intraposition with postposition.

- (4) {*m*'*w*-*t*(-*j*)}      *jyn*      *Pjppj Nfr.k3.R<sup>c</sup>(w)*  
 {mother-F-1S}      Q:PST      PN  
 “My mother!” said Pijaapij Nafirkkarliiduw,  
 {*jm*      *n*(-*j*)      *mnd*-*t*      *snq*(-*j*)      *sw*}      *jyn*      *Pjppj Nfr.k3.R<sup>c</sup>(w)*  
 {give:IMP for-1S      breast-2F.S      suck:SUBJ-1S      3M.S}      Q:PST      PN  
 “give me your breast that I may suck it” said Pijaapij Nafirkkarliiduw.  
 {*z3*(-*j*)}      *j-t*      *jr*      *Pjppj Nfr.k3.R<sup>c</sup>(w)*  
 {son-1S}      Q:STAT-2F.S      to      PN  
 “My son” said she to Pijaapij Nafirkkarliiduw,  
 {*m*      *n-k*      *mnd*(-*j*)      *snq*      *sw*}      *j-t*  
 {take:IMP for-2M.S      breast-1S      suck:IMP      3M.S}      Q:STAT-2F.S  
 “take my breast and suck it,” said she.  
 (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 301)

Regarding the second pattern of quotative indexes with *j(n)* Kammerzell and Peust (2002: 302) write as follows:

Sporadically, an inflected form of *j*- ‘say’ [= *j(n)*] is inserted into direct speech, which is preceded by [the speech verb ‘say’] *dd*-. 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, ... cases of double quotation index ... display a diction that is repetitive to some extent not only in respect of embedding marks.

In other words, the above simple pattern is combined in a bipartite structure with a second phrase that contains the speech verb *dd* ‘say’ and occurs before the quote, as schematized in (II) and illustrated in (5).

**(II) [*dd*-SPEAKER {QUOTE} *j(n)*-SPEAKER {{QUOTE}}]**

Accordingly, the quotative index regularly involves a circumpositional structure or alternatively a combination of preposed and intraposed material.

- (5) *wjj*      *R<sup>c</sup>(w)*      *nw*      *rf*      *dd-n-k*      *R<sup>c</sup>(w)*      {*hwj z3(j)*}  
 EXCL PN      DEM      ANA      say:REL-PST-2M.S      PN      {be it that my son}  
 O Re, this is just what you, Re, have said: “Be it that my son”,  
*j-t-tw*      *R<sup>c</sup>(w)*      {*b3j shmj w3šj*}  
 Q:STAT-2M.S-you.M.S      PN      {is besouled, is mighty, is strong}  
 so you, Re, say, “is besouled, is mighty, and is strong!” (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 302)

The typological study by Güldemann (2008) demonstrates that this bipartite structure is cross-linguistically very common and need not be considered to be an idiosyncrasy of particular text types of Earlier Egyptian.

The use of *j(n)* in the first stages of Later Egyptian displays a quite different profile. This is summarized by Faulkner (1935: 184) as follows:

Late Egyptian uses *in* ‘say’ in a manner somewhat different from the older stages of the language, inasmuch as a pronominal dative of the person addressed is usually, though not invariably, appended, and *hr dd* ‘speaking’ is often added as well. Further, while in the older language *in* generally has the nominal subject expressed in one way or another ..., and the pronominal subject without further addition ... is relatively rare, the reverse holds good of Late Egyptian, the indication of the nominal subject (always with *m* or *n* ‘namely’ ...) being in the minority. It should also be observed that in Late-Egyptian texts *in* is invariably written ... with [the] determinative [for ‘speak’]. Yet another point of difference between Old and Middle Egyptian on the one hand, and Late Egyptian on the other, is that in the former only the suffixes 3rd plural or dual are found with [*in*], whereas in Late Egyptian [*in* with determinative] is found with suffixes of all persons, singular and plural, with the exception of the 2nd fem[inine]. sing[ular].

The major observation to be drawn from this quote is that the incidence of personal endings on *j(n)* which refer to the speaker has increased, while the pattern of bare *jn* followed by a nominal reference to the speaker has lost in salience. In other words, the frequency of *j(n)*-forms which are most verb-like is higher in younger than in older chronoclects of Egyptian.

Another difference of quotative indexes in Later Egyptian has been noted by Kammerzell and Peust (2002: 304-5), namely that the speech verb *dd* ‘say’ has also become more frequent, either within the bipartite quotative-index pattern (II) with *j(n)* or in new patterns which lack *j(n)* altogether. The major structures of quotative indexes in Later Egyptian are schematized below implying that pattern (I) with bare *jn* has decreased in frequency:

- (II) [*dd*-SPEAKER {QUOTE} *j(n)*-SPEAKER ({QUOTE})]
- (III) [*dd*-SPEAKER {QUOTE}]
- (IV) [*dd*-SPEAKER COMPLEMENTIZER {QUOTE}]
- (V) [{QUOTE} *dd*-SPEAKER] (rare)

## 1.2 A case for identificational *jn* in Egyptian

After outlining the basic facts of *j(n)* as a marker of quotations, I will turn to a particle with a largely similar form *jn* which is attested early on in a variety of other grammatical functions. The common denominator of all these functions is that this *jn* has scope over a constituent following it. Like Loprieno (1988: 77-98) and Reintges (1997: 159-84, 196-211; 1998) I will propose here a unified account of all the different uses of this *jn*. The major difference between my analysis and theirs is that I consider the primary function of *jn* to be that of an identificational or presentational particle, functionally identical with but syntactically different from English ‘it/this/that/there is’. This proposal avoids some unnecessarily complex syntactic accounts which are associated with viewing *jn* in all contexts as a focus marker.

The first of three groups of *jn*-uses involves a nuclear constituent of the structure [*jn* Noun] which is regularly part of a more complex structure. One such structure can be characterized as a bisected cleft-like sentence (Gardiner 1957: §227,2+3; Callender 1971; Reintges 1997: 168-72, 1998). Here, *jn* serves as a predicative preceding a noun which is syntactically exposed at the beginning of the sentence and followed by the clause containing the proposition, as schematized in (I).

- (I) [[*jn* Noun] (Background).clause]

This construction serves to mark contrastive term focus and is also used regularly with initial content-question words; both contexts are illustrated in the quotes of example (3) above. There are also cases of this construction where a functional analysis in terms of term focus is not satisfactory. These cases cannot be dealt with here; suffice it to say that a similar polyfunctionality of cleft-like sentences has been reported from other languages, whereby the non-focus uses are analyzed as entity-centralthetic statements (cf. Sasse 1987, Güldemann forthcoming). Whatever the ultimate solution here, the use of *jn* in all these cleft-like structures can be derived transparently from an original function as an identificational or presentational predicative marker, quite parallel to Diessel's (1999: 148-9) scenario for the emergence of focus markers from demonstrative identifiers. This hypothesis thus deviates from Reintges' (1997: 165-8, 1998) proposal who argues that *jn* was originally a true verbal copula 'be' with a phonologically null expletive pronoun.

The assumption that *jn* originates in an identificational or presentational marker is corroborated indirectly by the second major sentence pattern involving a constituent [*jn* Noun]. Here a particle *jn* precedes the agent nominal in passive sentences so that *jn* has also been characterized as an agentive preposition (Gardiner 1957: §39; §227,4; §168).<sup>2</sup> The sentence structure is schematized in (II) and illustrated in (6).

**(II) [Passive.clause *jn* Agent.noun]**

- (6) *dd-tw r pn in s*  
 say-PASS utterance DEM AGENT man  
 this utterance is (to be) said by a man (Gardiner 1957: 42)

That this agentive *jn* is very likely to be derived through a grammaticalization process from the identificational *jn* treated previously can be argued on typological grounds: there are precedents in other languages where this analysis is synchronically still transparent. Several cases can be cited from Bantu languages, one such language being Tswana.<sup>3</sup> Example (7) demonstrates the pattern of identificational clauses.

- (7) *ké-anna ké-kgôsi*  
 ID-1S ID-chief  
 It is I. It is a chief. (Cole 1955: 313, 315)

That the same structure is involved in agent noun-phrases is clearly stated by Cole (1955: 368) in the following quote and demonstrated in (8):

Agentive adverbs, indicating the agent of an action, are formed from substantives by prefixing *ké-*, which conveys the significance of the English "by". Agentive adverbs are used exclusively after passive verbs, and are identical in formation with the simple impersonal copulative of identificative type.

- (8) a. *thólô yônê e-bolailwê ké-anna*  
 kudu.9 9:PRO 9-kill:PST.PASS AGENT~ID:1S  
 The kudu, as for it, was killed by me.  
 b. *ke-rom-ilwê ké-kgôsi*  
 1S-send-PST:PASS AGENT~ID-chief  
 I have been sent by the chief. (Cole 1955: 368)

<sup>2</sup> There is a less frequent alternative with *hr* 'on' (Gardiner 1957: §39, §167, §239)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Abels and Muriungi (2006: 5) and Lanham (1955: 141, footnote 1) for parallel cases in Tharaka and Tonga-Inhambane, respectively.

The case of agent marking in Egyptian passives can be analyzed in a parallel fashion: identificational *jn* has come to be used in a kind of secondary predicate which marks the syntactically peripheral but pragmatically prominent participant of passive clauses. It is of secondary importance whether the agentive use of *jn* was actually grammaticalized to the extent that speakers of Egyptian no longer perceived it to be related to its identificational predecessor.

Starting out from his analysis of *jn* as a focus marker Reintges (1997: 159-84, 196-211, 1998) has argued for a similar derivation of agentive *jn*: “agentive passives are biclausal configurations which are composed of an agentless passive and a truncated cleft-sentence” (1997: 172), whereby *jn* would foreground the identity of the agent referent. Again, the present analysis of *jn* as an identificational marker turns out to be simpler. It can account for both exposing a nominal in a cleft and simply predicating a non-topical nominal in a passive. At the same time, in the second context it does not imply any kind of “truncation” from a complex focus cleft structure, which is also not the case in the parallel Tswana examples.

In a third and final context of prenominal *jn*, the constituent [*jn* Noun] is found to be inserted in different types of clauses, identifying a certain participant. The structural schema is given in (III) and exemplified in (9) and (10).

**(III) [... *jn* Noun] ...]**

(9) *in iw (i) pw ... swt rdi n-i s(y)*  
 ID heir 1S DEM he has given it to me  
 it is this (my) heir ... he has given it to me (Gardiner 1957: 176)

(10) *smn-s wi in 3st hr 3kr*  
 she establishes me ID Isis on earth  
 she establishes me, does (lit. by) [rather: that/it is] Isis, on Earth (Gardiner 1957: 176)

While Gardiner (1957: §227,5) views this context as an “extension of the prepositional [i.e. agentive] use of *in*”, I argue that one is confronted here with its most basic identificational function, which sometimes is even seen in the relevant translation, as in (9).

After arguing for the underlying structural unity of [*jn* Noun]-constructions, I turn to the second morphosyntactic pattern of *jn* which can be characterized as [*jn*-Pronoun]. That is, *jn* can be identified as a kind of initial “stabilizer” in complex “independent” pronouns. Table 3 shows that this series is based on pronominal suffixes (cf. Gardiner 1957: §64, §125; Loprieno 1995: 63-6).

Category	“Dependent”	“Suffixal”	“Independent”
1S	wj	-j	<b>jn-k</b>
2F.S	tn	-t	<b>(j)n-t-t</b>
2M.S	tw	-k	<b>(j)n-t-k</b>
3F.S	sy	-s	<b>(j)n-t-s</b>
3M.S	sw	-f	<b>(j)n-t-f</b>
1P	n	-n	<b>jn-n</b>
2P	tn	-tn	<b>(j)n-t-tn</b>
3P	sn, (st)	-sn, (-w)	<b>(j)n-t-sn</b>

**Table 3: Pronouns in Earlier Egyptian (after Gardiner 1957: §43, 34, 64; Loprieno 1995: 63-6)**

That the independent pronouns are structurally parallel to the pattern [*jn* Noun] is suggested not only by their formal similarity but above all by the fact that this series replaces paradigmatically the constituent [*jn* Noun] in all but the passive context outlined above. In other words, *jn* in independent pronouns can be equally viewed as originating in a marker meaning ‘it/that/there is’, the difference being that this phrasal constituent, when involving pronouns, developed further to a merely nominal constituent.

The third basic structural context of the particle *jn* is [*jn* Clause]. This is especially salient in polar questions (Gardiner 1957: §227,1; §492-4) but is also attested in emphatic declaratives (cf. Reintges 1997: 163-4, 1998). While the relation of this *jn* to identificational *jn* may appear less obvious, even here a link can be made as soon as one considers that both polar questions and emphatic declaratives focus on the truth value of an utterance, as also pointed out by Reintges (ibid.). While I cannot cite a case where an identificational marker has been recruited to mark this function specifically in questions, it is attested in its affirmative declarative counterpart; for example, Güldemann (1996) shows in several Bantu languages that clause-initial identificational and presentational markers can have scope over an entire clause, which can be paraphrased as ‘It is (the case) that ...’, and in this use have come to encode predication focus involving in particular truth value-focus. It is thus not far-fetched to hypothesize that a similar process has happened with identificational *jn* in Egyptian – the major difference being that it seems to have become more salient in the interrogative counterpart of the type ‘Is it (the case) that ...?’.

### 1.3 The history of *jn* in previous accounts

The Egyptological linguistic tradition has proposed three main historical hypotheses on the origin of quotative indexes with *j(n)*. Erman and Grapow (1926-31) simply consider the stem *j(n)* to be a normal speech verb ‘say’, implying that the quotative indexes are phrases of the pattern [X say]. Gardiner (1927: §436) views the *jn*-forms as reduced from a full verb form of the type *dd-jn-f* based on *dd* ‘say’, resulting from the omission of the main verb. While the two previous hypotheses cannot account satisfactorily for the stem alternation between *jn* and *j*, Faulkner (1935), following Sethe, argues that the original form was a speech verb *j* ‘say’ and the *jn*-stem represents the *sdm-n-f* form of this verb. While the three analyses differ in detail, they all have in common that *j ~ jn* has a verbal source.

With respect to the deeper history of *j(n)* and in particular the relation between the quotative and identificational functions, at least three hypotheses can be identified. Faulkner (1935) tries to account for the polyfunctionality of *jn* exclusively from within Earlier Egyptian: *j* ‘say’, as the ultimate source, first developed to *jn* ‘say’, which in turn yielded the other more grammaticalized functions of *jn* as a conjugation auxiliary, a term focus marker, an agent preposition, and a pronoun base. Suffice it to say that this scenario has no clear cross-linguistic precedents, nor are the individual steps towards the different grammatical functions motivated plausibly in functional and morphosyntactic terms.

Petráček’s (1983) quite different scenario fares somewhat better in this respect, even though it entertains data from all over Afroasiatic which are necessarily less certain in terms of historical-comparative principles. According to his hypothesis, the starting point was an old perception verb *\*N* ‘see’. In a first step, ‘see’ developed via a kind of presentational marker parallel to French ‘voici/voilà’ to a copula *\*N* ‘be’. This copula, in turn is assumed to be the predecessor of *\*N* as a focus marker, agent marker, and pronoun base. The two scenarios differ greatly; however, there is again a common denominator between the two in that the grammatical elements are derived from lexical items, either from ‘say’ or from ‘see’.

“A new - in some of its far reaching conclusions not utterly convincing - hypothesis on the origin of *jn*-” (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 303), which also assumes a deeper historical perspective, namely Pre-Proto-Afroasiatic, has been proposed by Chetveruchin (1988).

Against the Egyptological and, for that matter, general linguistic canon, he argues for the reversed directionality from a grammatical element to a quotative/speech verb:

At so archaic a stage [Pre-Proto-Afroasiatic] it is hardly to expect a successive formal division of semantemes in parts of speech, quite the contrary, a marked degree of functional interchangeability may be well supposed. This accepted, it would be reasonable to admit some root-morphemes meaning “to see” and “to say” being worked out of something like deictic bases in the course of nomination process: “lo/here/this/now” (an object being at a certain distance from the speakers, or some event, process, action, just attracting attention of the speakers) > “to point out at” > “to nominate/to inform” > “to speak of” > “to say”; “to point (out) at” > “to look at” > “to see” (Chetveruchin 1988: 82)

To sum up, we would like to show that the deictic material should be in no case neglected while reconstructing the lexico-grammatical development of the [Egyptian] language. (Chetveruchin 1988: 84)

I will come back to the history of Egyptian  $j(n)$  in general and Chetveruchin’s hypothesis in particular after the following section, where I discuss cross-linguistic data of relevance for the general history of quotative indexes.

## 2 Quotative sources from a typological perspective

The traditional ideas regarding the history of Egyptian  $j(n)$ , namely that a) the main predicative element in a quotative index is derived from a speech verb and that b) grammatical function words develop from lexical items, are certainly plausible in principle and have securely attested precedents in other languages. Nevertheless, I will now argue that in this particular case they do not yield the best historical account of how the different functions of  $j(n)$  are related to each other.

This approach is based in particular on the results of a crosslinguistic study of 39 African languages (Güldemann 2008) in which a corpus of more than 3200 tokens of quotative indexes with direct quotes were analyzed in synchronic and diachronic terms, supplemented by extensive data on quotative indexes in other African and non-African languages. The results which are most relevant for a historical evaluation of Egyptian  $j(n)$  will be presented in the following.

### 2.1 Basic morphosyntactic types of quotative indexes

A first general outcome of the cross-linguistic investigation of quotative indexes is a morphosyntactic typology of these structures.

- (I) Monoclausal quotative index
- (II) Monoclausal bipartite quotative index
- (III) Biclausal bipartite quotative index
- (IV) Non-clausal quotative index

#### Figure 1: Basic morphosyntactic types of quotative indexes

This typology refers to the structure of normal verbal clauses in languages and the way a particular quotative index pattern is similar to or differs from it. The structure least marked in this respect is called “monoclausal quotative index”. The usual subtype would be based on a speech verb, focusing on the event representation, as in (11). However, monoclausal quotative indexes also commonly recruit non-speech verbs, as in (12). These include so-called quotative verbs, which are functionally restricted to this grammatical expression and lack a transparent lexical meaning outside reported discourse.

(11) *He said to me, {Come back tomorrow!}*

English



- (12) *a wá-ku-mushi ka-wéma wónse {tukalipile ...}* Lamba  
 2-LOC-village THET-2:start 2:all {let us pay ...}  
 All the people of the village started off (saying), ‘Let us pay ... (Madan 1908: 62)

The second basic type, a monoclausal bipartite quotative index, is characterized by the fact that a simple clausal structure is elaborated by a grammaticalized particle which regularly indicates the presence of a quote, as does *ká* (derived from a deictic) in (13) and *ti* (from ‘like’) in (14); such an element is commonly called a quotative marker or complementizer.

- (13) {lâ!} *ká xèn mìná-ná-tà* Mwaghavul  
 {go!} Q 3P say-3S-?  
 They told him to go [lit.: they said like this, “Go!”] (Frajzyngier 1996a: 130)
- (14) *o-s ge {/nās ge sada isa ge hapu kaikhoesa}* Khoekhoe  
 then-3F.S.SBJ DECL {that is the woman who ate our mother  
*o tita ge saita} ti go mî*  
 and I am your elder sister} Q PST say  
 Und sie sagte: “Das ist die Frau, die unsere Mutter gefressen hat, und ich bin eure  
 ältere Schwester.” [then she said like, ‘That is the woman who ate our mother, and I  
 am your elder sister’] (Schmidt 1994: 140)

The third type, a biclausal bipartite quotative index, also consists of a basic clause and an additional conventionalized constituent orienting towards the quote, which, however, is clause-like; hence the term biclausal. This structure is illustrated in (15) with a secondary predicate based on the quotative verb *ní* and (16) with a converb form of ‘say’.

- (15) *Adé takú ó ní {èmi ò lo}* Yoruba  
 PN refuse 3S QV {I won’t go}  
 Ade refused and (he) said, “I won’t go” (Bamgboṣe 1986: 90)
- (16) *gadadi {zun k’wale amuq’da} laha-na haraj-na* Lezgian  
 boy:ERG {I will stay at home} say-PFV.CONV scream-PST  
 The boy screamed [lit.: screamed saying]: “I will stay at home!” (Haspelmath 1993:  
 355)

Finally, a quotative index quite frequently displays a structure which appears reduced with respect to normal verbal clauses of a language; this is called a non-clausal quotative index. One subtype is quote-oriented and often contains a quotative marker or complementizer without any verb, as in (17) based on *ká*, which has already been shown to also occur in the bipartite structure in (13).

- (17) {lâ!} *ká mbítsà ndá tsí* Mwaghavul  
 {go!} Q PN COM 3S (cf. (14))  
 Mbitsa told him to go [lit.: Mbitsa with him like this, “Go!”] (Frajzyngier 1996a: 132)

Another subtype of non-clausal quotative index can be said to focus first of all on the representation of the speaker (or less frequently the addressee); this is shown in (18) for a recurrent quotative index of Old Egyptian.

- (18) {<sup>c</sup>b3 Stš m3<sup>c</sup>w Wsir!} *m-r'-ntr-(w)* O. Egyptian

{Seth is sacrificed, Osiris is justified!} in-mouth-god-P  
 “Seth is sacrificed, Osiris is justified!” is in the mouth of the gods (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 304)

## 2.2 Different origins of nuclear elements of quotative indexes

After outlining a formal classification of quotative indexes, I turn to a second major result of my typological study which refers to the range of elements which, apart from lexically opaque quotative markers, are recruited in this expression type. The most important conclusion here is that speech verbs are far less salient as the nucleus of quotative indexes than is commonly assumed. The full range of element types encountered recurrently in quotative indexes is as in Figure 2, followed by representative examples for elements other than speech verbs:

(I)	Generic speech verbs	cf. <i>say</i> in (11)
(II)	Generic verbs of equation, inchoativity, and action	cf. <i>'asot</i> ‘do’ in (19)
(III)	Markers of similarity and manner	cf. <i>like</i> in (20)
(IV)	Quote-referring pronominals	cf. <i>nine</i> ‘this’ in (21)
(V)	SP-referring pronominals	cf. <i>bon</i> ‘they’ in (22)
(VI)	Markers of focus and presentation	cf. <i>ba</i> ‘just’ in (23)

**Figure 2: Element types used recurrently in quotative indexes**

(19)	<i>az ha-mahabul-a ha-zot osá l-i</i> {...}	Coll. Hebrew
	so DEF-fool-F.S DEF-DEM.F.S do:F.S.PRS DAT-1S	
	So that idiot (f) goes: “... [lit.: does to me] (Zuckermann 2006: 475)	
(20)	<i>And he was like</i> , { <i>Oh, I can DO it!</i> }	Coll. English
(21)	<i>Mel nine</i> {òw aŋa}	Adioukrou
	PN this {come here}	
	Mel said, ‘Come here.’ (Hill 1995: 93)	
(22)	<i>bon</i> {...}	Tikar
	2Q.PRO	
	they (said), “... (Stanley 1982: 33)	
(23)	<i>Anki å Malin ba</i> {öh jävla hippie}	Coll. Swedish
	PN and PN just {oh bloody hippie}	
	Anki and Malin said ‘Oh bloody hippie’. (Eriksson 1995: 19)	

## 2.3 Speaker-oriented quotative indexes and their possible historical development

Among the major structural possibilities of quotative indexes outlined in 2.1 and 2.2 one subtype is of particular relevance for an evaluation of Egyptian *j(n)*, namely a non-clausal quotative index which uses a foregrounding element that focuses on the reference of the speaker. Prototypically these are short clauses of the type ‘it/there is X’, which combine an identificational or presentational marker with a speaker nominal. That this is a cross-linguistically recurrent pattern is shown below by means of three examples from geographically and genealogically diverse languages.

(24)	<i>ai os gajos</i> {...}	Coll. Portuguese
	there these guys	

then these guys were/said like, “...

- (25) {*alu atu!*}      *ko Sione*    Tongan  
       {go away!}      ID PN  
       ‘Go away!’ said John. [lit.: it is John] (J. Broschart p.c.)

An even more remarkable case is represented by Tonga-Inhambane (not to be confused with ‘Tongan’), because there are robust indications that an identificational structure ‘it is’ has come to be reanalyzed as a verbal constituent in taking on formal signs of a canonical verb lexeme. Lanham (1955: 139-40) characterizes the default nucleus of quotative indexes *kh-* in this language as follows:

Another defective verb stem of considerable interest is that signifying “say” or “think”. The forms in which this monosyllabic stem appears are highly irregular and there is some doubt as to the true form of the stem ... This stem, which consists of *kh-* plus an unidentified vowel, always fuses with a succeeding absolute pronoun or demonstrative pronoun functioning as such, and forms a single unit with it, and this unit appears as the stem in any predicate. The original vowel of the stem is difficult to determine because it disappears in this process of fusion, but it is probable that it was the regular suffix *-a*. ... The stems *kheni*, *khuwe*, *khawo*, *khigyo*, *khuwo*, *khijo*, etc., do not permit of any suffixal inflexion, but are found in various tense and mood forms with prefixal inflexional elements. [cf. (27)] ... These forms, consisting of verb stem plus absolute pronoun, are units of high frequency in ordinary speech and are quite often found without any concords or prefixes whatsoever. [cf. (28-30) below] ...

As example (27) shows, *kh-* can display normal verb prefixes so that it is classified as a predicative verb but lacks normal verb suffixes, because it ends in a pronoun agreeing with the speaker~subject - this somewhat tautologically, because the speaker is already encoded before the stem.

- (26) *si-rengo si-ngu-kh-iso*                          {...}  
       8-animal    8-PRS-QV-8PRO  
       the animals say, “... (Lanham 1955: 139)

While the possible presence of verbal prefixes is crucial for *kh-*’s classification as a verb, it can also be used without this morphology, as in (28), where it is glossed accordingly just as a quotative marker; note that the suffixed pronoun reference cannot be dropped.

- (27) *kh-iso*            {*khumani ahipalago*}  
       Q-8PRO          {who is it that defeats us?}  
       They [animals] said, “Who is it that defeats us ...” (Lanham 1955: 140)

The overall profile of the *kh-*predicative in Tonga-Inhambane is quite comparable to quotative *j(n)* in Egyptian in the sense that it is restricted to reported discourse and displays morphological irregularities compared to normal verbs. For both elements the best analysis is that of a formally defective quotative verb. Recall also that, like Egyptian *jn*, the *kh-*forms are used to mark agents in passive.

There is yet another parallel between the two elements in quotative indexes: both can be combined with a canonical complement-taking verb of speech, cognition, perception etc., thus yielding a bipartite quotative index and assuming also the function of a complementizer (Lanham 1955: 224-5). Thus compare (5) above from Egyptian with (29) from Tonga-Inhambane; the major, but in this context secondary, difference between these examples is that in the former the two elements of the bipartite structure are interrupted by (parts of) the quote while in the latter they form one unitary constituent.

- (28) *nyamayi adi-wujisa kh-uye {...}*  
 woman.1 1:PST-ask Q-1PRO  
 The woman asked saying, "... (Lanham 1955: 140)

The observation most crucial for the historical evaluation of Egyptian *j(n)* is the etymological origin of quotative *kh-* in Tonga-Inhambane. There is robust evidence that this element ultimately derives from an identificational particle *kha* preceding a nominal; only in the context of quotative indexes did it acquire secondarily verbal prefix morphology. Compare first the formal identity of the prefixless quotative complex *kh-PRONOUN* with the paradigm of identificational pronouns in Table 4, whereby both forms can be regularly derived from an original form *kha* which was cliticized to an independent pronoun.<sup>4</sup>

Person-inflected quotative	Identificational form of (demonstrative) pronoun
(-) <i>kheni</i> 'I say, "...'	<i>kheni</i> 'it is I' (< <i>kha-ini</i> )
(-) <i>khuwe</i> 'you say, "...'	<i>khuwe</i> 'it is you' (< <i>kha-uwe</i> )
(-) <i>khawo</i> 'they say, "...'	<i>khawo</i> 'it is they' (< <i>kha-awo</i> )

**Table 4: Quotative and identificational pronoun paradigms in Tonga-Inhambane (Lanham 1955: 139, 188)**

The assumption that the person-inflected quotative was originally [*kha* PRONOUN] is corroborated by the existence of alternative quotative indexes where *kha* is used as an uninflected particle before bare nouns as in (30).

- (29) {*nyinguhongola*} *kha* *Rasi*  
 {I am going} Q PN  
 "I am going" says Rasi (Lanham 1955: 140)

This means that quotative indexes with *khV* plausibly originate in an identificational structure [*kha* Nominal] 'it is ...'; this has cognates in other Bantu languages. Accordingly, the forms [Verb.prefixes-*kh-PRO*] would, pace Lanham (1955), have emerged secondarily by means of analogical attachment of verb prefixes to the non-verbal pronoun-inflected paradigm. While this kind of "verbification" is a surely remarkable process, it is attested independently in the language with ideophones which are originally equally uninflected (Lanham 1955: 218-20). The full process of morphological change which *kha* underwent in the quotative context can be sketched as follows:

**[*kha* Free.nominal] > [*kha*-Pronoun] > [Verb.prefixes-*kha*-Pronoun]**

A largely parallel historical scenario is also proposed by Güldemann (2008: 368-9) for the emergence of the modern quotative verb *cée* in Hausa. Finally, there are examples in other languages for the acquisition of morphosyntactic and semantic features of a verb within the grammatical structure of a quotative index, which are dealt with by Güldemann (2008: 381-95).

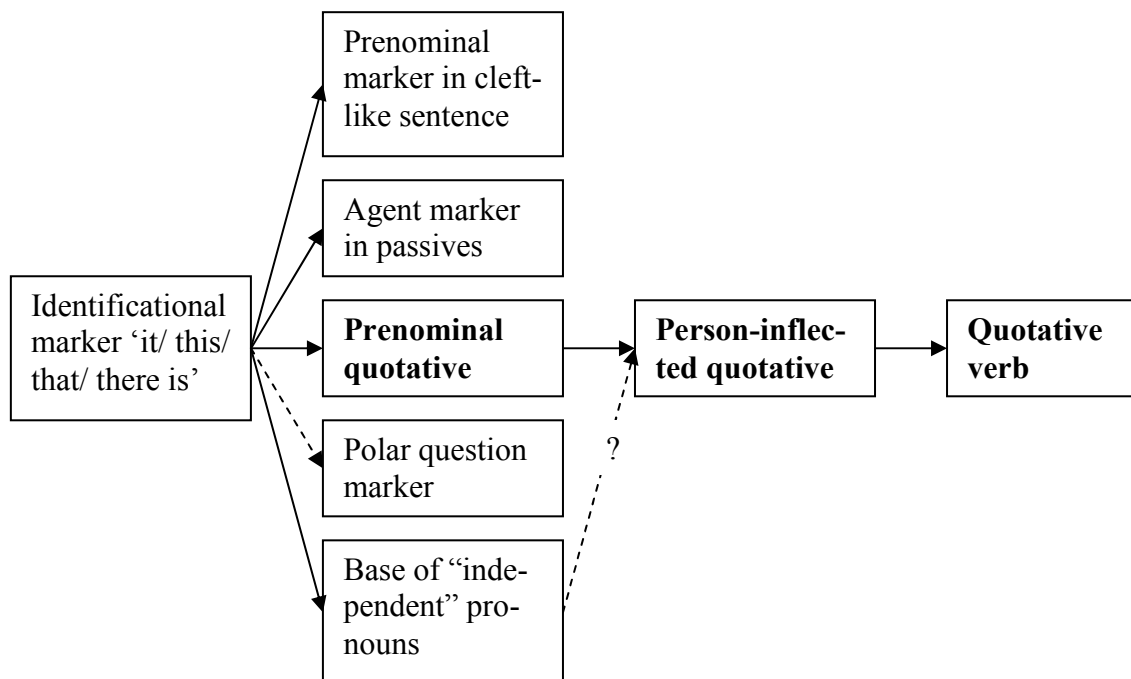
<sup>4</sup> Note that the identificational proclitic *kh-* before bare nouns no longer surfaces as *kha* but *khu* or *khi* (Lanham 1955: 187-8). This phenomenon can be explained as the result of secondary changes of vowel assimilation and subsequent analogical leveling within the paradigm, possibly compounded by competition from a phonetically similar proclitic *kha* of negative identification.

### 3 A different historical look at Egyptian *j(n)*

#### 3.1 A new scenario for quotative *jn*

Having assembled data to the effect that an identificational predicative can be recruited as the default basis of a quotative index and can in this context change in the course of time from a non-verbal element towards a more verb-like predicate, the relation between the two major domains of use of Egyptian *j(n)* can be reconsidered. While most previous scholars, if at all entertaining a relation between the two, have assumed that the quotative function has precedence and is the source of the use as an identificational~focus marker, I argue that the scenario should be reversed, parallel to the development that can be sketched, for example, for quotative (-)kh- in Tonga-Inhambane. While this hypothesis agrees with Chetveruchin's basic directionality (cf. §1.3 above), it is based on a wider typological perspective and synchronic and historical precedents in other languages, thus avoiding rather vague and speculative ideas of early lexical structure in Pre-Proto-Afroasiatic.

Concretely, *jn* is assumed to have started out as an identificational~presentational marker 'it/this/there is' and underwent parallel grammaticalization in a number of different constructions yielding ultimately quite distinct functions. The difficulty in relating them to each other was first of all due to the fact that this polyfunctionality was already fully established in Earlier Egyptian, so that the possibility of developing the present hypothesis had to await the availability of more transparent non-Egyptian data. The proposed semantic map for the history of Egyptian *j(n)* is given in Figure 3.



**Figure 3: Semantic map of grammaticalization history of Egyptian *j(n)***

The proposed unified origin of *jn* explains in a straightforward way the phonological and morphosyntactic parallels between its quotative and other structures with bare nouns, which has been observed by previous scholars:

It is not an occasional coincidence at all, that it is impossible here to draw a clear-cut boundary between the Egyptian verb "to say" and the nota agentivi *jn*. Just the opposite, it is between these forms that the closest affinity does manifest itself, as nowhere else. (Chetveruchin 1988: 79)

In functional terms, too, all three contexts where *jn* occurs (originally) before a noun - clefts, passives, and, as reconstructed here, quotative indexes - show a common denominator even after their considerable divergence after grammaticalization. That is, they all share that the referent in the scope of *jn* is prototypically non-topical and somehow salient in pragmatic terms, and has an agent-like semantic role. According to A. Stauder (p.c.), this even holds for *jn*-clefts, because semantic roles other than from the agent-role complex, when under contrastive focus, usually require a different type of cleft without *jn*.

Recall that under my analysis of the quotative indexes with *jn* in (1) and (4) above as ‘there/it is X’ this original nuclear structure lacks a representation of the speech event itself but focuses exclusively on the reference of the speaker. This observation also ties in nicely with cross-linguistic findings in the sense that this Egyptian construction would turn out to be just another exemplary case for a more general phenomenon regarding quotative indexes in direct reported discourse constructions; that is, the presentation of the speaker is by far their most frequent, hence central, element.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the statistical hierarchy of semanto-syntactic components of quotative indexes in a corpus of more than 3200 tokens from 39 diverse African languages (see Güldemann 2008: 142-6) turned out to be as follows:

Speaker (92%) > Quote orientation (71%) > Event (50%) > Addressee (31%)

Note the highly regular speaker representation against the low 50%-appearance of a verb expressing speech or cognition.

It was only in later stages of Egyptian that the occurrence of such event-referring verbs increased in frequency and a bipartite structure with quotative *jn* and the verb *dd* ‘say’, as illustrated in (5) above, was used regularly. Kammerzell and Peust (2002: 304) write:

Summarizing the situation in Old Egyptian, we can state that there are various types of embedding reported speech ..., particularly in the Pyramid Texts. Statistically, this corpus shows a certain preference for the usage of the quotation index *j-* [a.k.a. *j(n)*] inserted after or within the reported text, while the matrix verb *dd* ‘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 [that is, in later periods].

A second, diachronically younger type of bipartite quotative index is described by Faulkner (1937: 185). This now uses the more verb-like *j(n)* as the main predicate and adds *dd* ‘say’ in a prepositional phrase.

A curious aspect of the Late-Egyptian usages of *in* ‘say’, ‘said’ is the tendency to append a tautologous (*hr*) *dd*, the full expression reading literally ‘so said he, speaking’. ... It is possible that a feeling may have arisen that it was desirable to reinforce *in* ‘said’ by the better-known and less ambiguous *dd*, so that (*hr*) *dd* came to be appended to *in-f*, etc., even when the context did not require it.

- (30) {...} *jn-f*                      ???*h(hr)*      *dd n-f*  
           Q:PST-3M.S on speak to-3M.S  
           ...”, so said he to him (after Faulkner 1937: 185)

It must be stressed again that the increasing co-occurrence of *jn* and *dd* is in no way “tautological” and “repetitive” (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 302) or even “???” (Grapow ???). It rather reflects a typologically recurrent elaboration of a non-clausal quotative index towards a clausal bipartite quotative index, which combines overt event representation (by *dd*)

<sup>5</sup> This finding is even corroborated by the earliest attested form of reported discourse ever recorded and still attested in a human language, namely Old Egyptian itself (Kammerzell and Peust 2002: 294-7): here, the quotative index is nothing but the naming and pictorial representation of the speaker. As the authors note, this also has a nice parallel in a more modern but iconically similar medium, namely comic strips, where reported discourse is given in a “speech balloon” which is associated with the head of the speaker.

with non-tautological quote orientation (by *jn*). The emergence of the two constructions described in the above quotes can be schematized as follows:

[{QUOTE} ‘it is SPEAKER’] > [dd-SPEAKER {QUOTE} ‘Q SPEAKER’]  
 [{QUOTE} ‘it is SPEAKER’] > [{QUOTE} ‘QV-SPEAKER’ ‘(on) dd(ing)’]

Note, however, that Jordan (2009, chapter 3.2) argues that even in Later Egyptian texts the quotative indexes involving *j(n)* still focused on the authorship of the original quoted text, that is, on the specific speaker referent. Under the present analysis, this phenomenon can be explained naturally as a case of “persistence” in grammaticalization and language change in general (Hopper 1991: 28-30).

The assumed partial verbification of *jn* implied by the present hypothesis is a more drastic, and from a general theoretical perspective, quite remarkable change. The first question to be asked here is why this would have happened in the first place. For one thing, *jn* is the default quotative marker and can be viewed as the predicator element of the short expression [*jn* Noun<sub>x</sub>] ‘It is X’, which refers, even if only indirectly, to a speech event. It is thus possible that this phrase was increasingly perceived and translated as ‘X said’, in line with the normal VS word order of Egyptian. In fact, *j(n)* followed by a noun is identical on the surface with a simple verbal clause [Verb Noun<sub>x</sub>] ‘X VERBs/ed’, and could thus be associated secondarily with canonical *sdm-(n)-f* forms. So it is conceivable that there was a certain pressure to streamline quotative indexes based on *jn* with normal verbal clauses that represent a state of affairs. This would have concerned in particular the expression of predication operators referring to tense, aspect, etc. and of the pronominal subject.<sup>6</sup>

Regarding tense-aspect features, it should be recalled from §1.1 that there is only a distinction between “preterite” *jn* and “stative” *j*. According to W. Schenkel (p.c.), *jn* in fact does not always have past reference so that the distinction between the two stems cannot easily be explained just in terms of time reference. I propose instead that *jn*, as an identificational particle, was initially neutral to tense-aspect but that its etymological final *n* was reanalyzed later. The target of analogy was the “preterite” tense-aspect marker *n* of a canonical *sdm-n-f* form, which explains the predominant but not exclusive past reference, and/or the *n* as a sign of plural subject reference. Under this hypothesis, the simpler “stative” form *j* without final *n* would be a back formation arising by analogical leveling. Recall in this respect that bare “stative” *j* appeared in a later diachronic stage of Egyptian, and then only in the singular sub-paradigm.

???With respect to the partial regularization of pronominal subject marking on quotative *jn*, the “independent” pronouns based on identificational *jn* (cf. §1.2) might have served to a certain extent as a model for the emerging fuller paradigm of the quotative verb. In Table 5 the two relevant paradigms can be compared (differences marked in bold). It can be seen that the plural forms are quite similar, while the singular quotative forms, which differ considerably from their identificational pronoun counterparts, suggest a later emergence by analogy to a normal verbal clause in the “stative” form.

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<sup>6</sup> It is not clear whether the regular use of the determinative for ‘speak’ with quotative *j(n)*, which only occurs in Late Egyptian (see the quote by Faulkner in §1.1 above), is a sign of its secondary status as a verb.

Category	Identificational <sup>+</sup> pronominals	Quotative <sup>#</sup> (Earlier Egyptian)	Quotative (Later Egyptian)	
1S	<i>jn-k</i>	<i>j-j</i>	? <i>j-kj</i>	
2F.S	* <i>jn-t-t̄</i>	<i>j-t̄</i>	? <i>j-t(j)</i>	
2M.S	* <i>jn-t-k</i>	<i>j-k</i>	? <i>j-t(j)</i>	<i>jn-k</i>
3F.S	* <i>jn-t-s</i>	<i>j-s</i>	? <i>j-t(j)</i>	<i>jn-s</i>
3M.S	* <i>jn-t-f</i>	<i>j-f</i>	? <i>j-j</i>	<i>jn-f</i>
1P	<i>jn-n</i>	<i>jn-n</i>		
2P	* <i>jn-t-tn</i>	<i>jn-tn</i>		
3P	* <i>jn-t-sn</i>	<i>jn-sn</i>	? <i>jn-sn</i>	<i>jn-w</i>
Noun	<i>jn Noun</i>	<i>jn Noun</i>		

Notes: <sup>+</sup> The pronominal forms are identical with the “independent” pronouns.

<sup>#</sup> The singular forms are only attested in later periods.

### Table 5: The formal relation between the identificational and the quotative paradigms

That the assumed process of verbification of quotative *jn* actually never achieved the development of a fully regular speech verb is evident at its character as an irregular verbal lexeme within the quotative paradigm described in §1.1 above. According to A. Stauder (p.c.), *jn* even behaves partly differently when compared to its suppletive counterparts that seem to have a different part-of-speech origin: it does not involve the predicate patterns *jn* Noun *sdm-f* and *jn.tw* which are attested from early Middle Egyptian onwards for both *hr* and *k3*. Overall, the present hypothesis actually accounts in a natural way for the very fact that *j(n)* is as defective as a verb as it is.

### 3.2 Akkadian *enma/umma* - a close parallel in the neighborhood

For the record, it should be mentioned in this context that the hypothesized development of the non-verbal identificational *jn* in Egyptian towards a fully-grown quotative marker can also be embedded nicely within its narrow historical and geographical context. It turns out that a very similar phenomenon can be observed in the contemporaneous language Akkadian with which Egyptian until its Demotic stage was in contact. That is, Akkadian also attests a historical development from a non-clausal quotative index based on a particle *enma/umma* towards a monoclausal bipartite quotative index in which this particle follows a speech predicate whereby the origin of the particle is according to Güldemann (2008: 55-6, 364-5) identical with that proposed for Egyptian *jn*.

The oldest stage of Early Old Babylonian is illustrated first. Here the particle *enma*, which later gave way to the slightly different *umma*, precedes the nominal referring to the speaker in nominative case in a non-clausal quotative index which precedes the direct quote:

(I) [*enma/umma* SPEAKER (*ana* ‘to’ ADDRESSEE) {QUOTE}]

(31) *umma anāku-ma* {...}

Q 1S-EMPH

I said “... (Deutscher 2000: 72)

In Later Old Babylonian this phrase came to be elaborated regularly by an initial speech predicate yielding a bipartite quotative index, as shown in the schema and example below.

(II) [SPEECH.VERB *umma* SPEAKER {QUOTE}]

(32) *pīqat nappāhū iqabbû-kum umma šunu-ma* {...}



perhaps smiths they.say-to.you Q 3P-EMPH  
 perhaps the smiths might say to you "... (Deutscher 2000: 77)

In the much later stage of Neo-Babylonian, the bipartite construction had become grammaticalized to such an extent that the pattern also expanded into indirect reported discourse and the speaker nominal was no longer obligatory, also because the referent was already expressed in the speech verb. Compare in this respect schema (III) and example (34).  
**(III) [SPEECH.VERB *umma* {QUOTE}]**

(33) *ašāl-šu umma* {...}  
 I.asked-him Q  
 I asked him "... (Deutscher 2000: 83)

In addition to the generally parallel development from a non-clausal towards a mono-clausal bipartite quotative index in Egyptian and Akkadian, an even more significant similarity, I argue, exists regarding the ultimate source of the particle, which served as the nucleus of the non-clausal quotative index. Different hypotheses on the origin of *enma* have been proposed in the literature and have recently been discussed by Deutscher (2000: 68-70):<sup>7</sup> Soden (1965-81, vol.1: 218) views *enma* as being composed of two morphemes; initial *en* and final emphatic *ma*; The crucial first item is said to be related to such presentational focus particles as Ugaritic *hn* and Hebrew *hinnē*. Baumgartner (1974) tries to make an etymological connection of Akkadian *enma* to Hebrew *n'um* 'speech'. Finally, Deutscher himself (2000: 70) argues for an origin of *enma* in an utterance verb.

Deutscher disfavors Soden's hypothesis although he must acknowledge that the constituent [*enma* + Speaker nominal] in Early Old Babylonian cannot easily be viewed as, or as derived from, a genitival structure 'speech of X', as per Baumgartner, or a predicative clause 'X say', as per himself. The major reason for his proposal seems to be his assumption that "the usual source for quotative particles is verbs of speech." Recall, however, that Güldemann (2008) cannot support this view.

Instead, a good case can be made within Semitic linguistics that Akkadian *en* is a cognate of Arabic *'inna* ~ *'anna*, Hebrew *hinnēh*, Ugaritic *hn*, and related forms in South Arabian and Ethiosemitic,<sup>8</sup> which are all involved in both presentational~focus constructions and quotative indexes~complementizers (Deutscher 2000: 70, FN-25; Soden 1995: 221) and this ties in nicely with the typical origin of quotative markers. That is, Soden's etymology that *enma* derives from *\*en-ma* [Presentational particle + Focus enclitic] has much in its favor: it can explain the morphosyntax of the oldest quotative-index form in Akkadian, it is supported by comparative evidence from Semitic, and it conforms well to crosslinguistic precedents.

Recall that Petráček (1983) even entertains a cross-Afroasiatic comparison regarding all the elements referred to above in proposing to reconstruct a presentational marker \*N

<sup>7</sup> Saxena (1995: 360) has erroneously taken *umma*'s translation equivalent 'so, like this' (< German 'folgendermaßen') as its actual meaning. Since this is apparently an error by a non-Assyriologist, this hypothesis need not be discussed further (cf. Deutscher 2000: 68-70).

<sup>8</sup> The fact that the forms here occur with object pronouns has provoked the assumption that the pronominal element must originally have been a verb. This is, however, not conclusive because non-subject pronouns may also be triggered by other grammatical contexts not involving verbs. According to Gensler (p.c.), it is also noteworthy that several common particles, including the presentational ones at issue, take accusative case in Semitic, Egyptian, and Berber, which might be related to the existing hypothesis that early Afroasiatic had a marked-nominative case system.

‘there/this is’. If this were to be substantiated by future research, Akkadian *en* and Egyptian *jn* could even be related etymologically.<sup>9</sup>

That the quotative indexes [*enma* Speaker.nominal] in Akkadian and [*jn* Speaker.nominal] in Egyptian are semantically and structurally virtually identical might also have a very concrete historical aspect to it in the sense that direct language contact might have played a role in this parallelism. This is even more suggestive as soon as one compares their historical developments in the quotative indexes of Egyptian and Akkadian according to the different chronolects. Table 6 demonstrates first the close similarity of the different sequential stages of quotative development.

Stage	Egyptian	Akkadian
1	[QUOTE [ <i>jn</i> SPEAKER] (QUOTE)]	[[ <i>enma/umma</i> SPEAKER] QUOTE]
2	[SPEECH.VERB QUOTE [ <i>jn</i> SPEAKER] (QUOTE)]	[SPEECH.VERB [ <i>umma</i> SPEAKER] QUOTE]
3	[SPEECH.VERB (COMPLEMENTIZER) QUOTE]	[SPEECH.VERB <i>umma</i> QUOTE]

**Table 6: Frequency shift in Earlier Egyptian and Akkadian from non-clausal quotative indexes to monoclausal (bipartite) quotative indexes (simplified)**

Stage 1 represents the initial non-clausal pattern in which the bare speaker nominal is focused on by means of an identificational/presentational marker. Stage 2 is the mono-clausal bipartite pattern in which the original structure is elaborated by means of a canonical predicate referring to a speech event. The major difference between the two languages is that the earlier presentational marker develops to a person-inflected verb-like element in Egyptian but remains an invariable particle in Akkadian. Moreover, in the final stage 3 the earlier nucleus of the non-clausal pattern is retained in Akkadian as the grammaticalized complementizer-like element *umma*, while the *jn*-forms in Egyptian no longer figure as function words.

Stage	Egyptian	Akkadian
1	Earlier Old 2700-2100 BCE	Old Akkadian 2500-2000 BCE
2	Middle 2300 BCE-400 CE	Old Babylonian 2000-1500 BCE
3	Later Late 1500-700 BCE	Middle Babylonian 1500-1000 BCE
	Demotic 800 BCE-500 CE	Neo-Babylonian 1000-500 BCE
	Coptic 300-1600 CE	-

**Table 7: Approximate temporal correlation between periods of Egyptian and Akkadian**

Table 7 shows the approximate contemporaneity of the major periods of Egyptian and Akkadian. The use of bipartite structures employing speech verbs took firm hold in both languages around the same time, namely by 1500 BCE, so that the shift away from predominantly non-clausal quotative indexes based on speaker-oriented presentationals lies between this date and the earliest attestations of the languages.

<sup>9</sup> It goes beyond the topic of this paper to explore whether elements occurring in quotative indexes of other Afroasiatic languages are related to the cognate set entertained here. However, given that non-speech verbs frequently occur in quotative indexes and that quotative and generic speech verbs can be at the END point of language change involving the domain of reported discourse constructions, it is noteworthy that a potentially related form in Tamajeq (Güldemann 2008: 605) and other Berber languages (C. Naumann p.c.) is both a generic speech verb and the default verb in quotative indexes, and that a form *an* in Bedauye (Güldemann 2008: 306, 486) is both a generic copulative verb ‘be’ and a quotative verb.

### 3.3 Summary

It should be stressed that the above discussion is based on a non-Egyptological perspective and needs confirmation regarding its viability in the light of more in-depth philological data. If, however, my hypotheses are not contradicted by empirical data from within Egyptian, the analytical procedure followed here has important results to offer for both specialists and general linguists.

On the one hand, the present treatment of Egyptian *jn* offers an alternative explanation of its bewildering polyfunctionality which is more in line with cross-linguistically established phenomena of diachronic typology. In other words, typology can and should inform philology in order to achieve viable historical accounts of the development of a given language - this even though the rich data sources available in a language like Egyptian might sometimes suggest that these data themselves should be sufficient for providing adequate solutions.

On the other hand, Egyptian turns out to present another potential case for a heretofore neglected historical change in which a grammatical construction influences the semantic and morphosyntactic profile of a linguistic sign. Insofar as identificational/presentational *jn* seems to have gained in characteristics that are typical for verbs within the context of a quotative index, one can identify a development whereby features of a grammatical construction have influenced the properties of a lexical item. In potentially providing another case of a rare type of language change which can be traced over a long time period, including subtle intermediate stages which are so often lacking in languages without deep historical records, philology in turn feeds back into typology.

### Abbreviations

ADJR adjectivizer, ANA anaphor, COM comitative, CONV converb, D dual, DAT dative, DECL declarative, DEF definite, DEM demonstrative, EMPH emphatic, ERG ergative, EXCL exclamation, F feminine, FUT future, ID identification, IMP imperative, LOC locative, M masculine, P plural, PAP past active participle, PASS passive, PFV perfective, PN personal name, POT potential, PRO pronoun, PRS present, PST past, Q quotative, QV quotative verb, REL relative, S singular, SBJ subject, STAT stative, SUBJ subjunctive, TAM tense-aspect-modality, TF term focus, THET theticity  
Arabic numbers = nominal agreement class or, when immediately followed by S and P, person category

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