Survived Middle Uses of Relative form in Late Egyptian

Asmaa Quota

Egyptology, Faculty of Archaeology, Damietta University, Damietta, Egypt

Researcher at Egyptology, Faculty of Archaeology, Fayoum University

asmahssien665@gmail.com

الملخص:

يوجد استخدامات لصيغة الصلة في العصر الوسيط استمرت في نصوص العصر اللغوي المتأخر سواء كانت بالصيغة التي عليها في العصر الوسيط أو بصيغة العصر المتأخر. وذلك يتمثل في صيغ الصلة بصورتها في العصر الوسيط باستخدامات معينة في نصوص العصر اللغوي المتأخر، علاوة على ذلك يوجد استخدامات إسمية استمرت في العصر اللغوي المتأخر مثل مفعول لحرف الجر وصيغ فعلية مختلفة، ومبتدأ، وخبر، والعنصر الثاني من الإضافة. تعد هذه الدراسة جزء من رسالة مقدمة من أجل درجة الماجستير "صيغ الصلة في العصر اللغوي المتأخر".

Abstract:

There are Middle uses of relative form survived in Late Egyptian texts whether in its Middle form or in Late form. That's represented in Middle relative forms with particular uses in Late Egyptian texts moreover, there are nominal uses which continued in Late Egyptian such as object to preposition and various verbal forms, subject, predicate and second part of genitive. It is apart from thesis of Master degree ''The Relative Forms in late Egyptian''.

Introtuction:

This study[1] is divided into two sections: one of them is Middle forms in Late Egyptian. The Late Literary texts have a mixture of different phases, literary forms and colloquial language forms.[2]

---

[1] Research extracted from a thesis "The Relative Forms in Late Egyptian" for Master's Degree in Ancient Egyptian Language, presented to the Department of Egyptology, Faculty of Archaeology- Fayoum University under supervision of Prof. Dr. Ayman Abd El- Fatah Waziry "Main supervisor"; Ass. Prof. Mohamed Ali Nassar "Associate supervisor".

[2] Goldwasser, O., *On the Choice of Registers- Studies on the Grammar of Papyrus Anastasi I*, The Hebrew university, Jerusalem (1990), p. 2.

Winklen cleared that Classical Egyptian remained on use alongside Late Egyptian until its end,[1] Masakatsu has the same opinion that there is phenomenon of diglossia, classical Egyptian used in monumental inscription, stories, religious texts which represent more variety than non-literary texts, we can find that some elements close to Middle Egyptian or some elements are close to 20th Dynasty. Goldwasser, literary 19th Dynasty texts allow the use of OE and ME forms, some transitory forms and new low dialect forms, whereas letters were written by colloquial language.[2] Allen mentioned that "Morphological and grammatical features, however, indicate that Old and Late Egyptian are historical phases of a single dialect, or closely related ones, probably from the north, while Middle Egyptian represents a separate dialect, most likely southern in origin.[3] The other is survived nominal uses in Late Egyptian, this section is to study "Are there Middle nominal uses of relative form that continued in Late Egyptian?" and "What are these Middle nominal uses of relative form that continued in Late Egyptian?"

I.   Middle Relarive Forms in Late Egyptian

Between the end of the 17th Dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep I, the suffix conjunction "*n*" disappeared from *sḏm.n=f* except with the verbs *ir, ḏd, rdi*. Verbs continued in Middle RF "*iri, rdi, ḏd*" which survived into Ramesside period and even long after that, they were often used during the third intermediate period especially royal documents and monuments.

At the End of the 17th Dynasty:

In Kamos Inscription, there are five examples of fully written of relative form *sḏm.n=f* form: four with the verb *iri* and one with the verb *h3b*, they have a middle feminine neutral ending (*t*)[4] as following examples:[5]

(K 21)

ir.t.n=kmt   *What Egypt has done*

r=i   *against me.*

(K 21-2)

mi-ḳi.n ir.t. n=f nb(t)   *Like all what he has done*

 r=k   *against you.*

(K26-7)

h3b. (t) n=f   *This what he wrote*

š3ˤ r- kši r wḥ3 nḫ=f   *as far as Kush to find his ally.*

---

[1] Winklen, J., "Diglossie und Zweisprachigkeit im alten Ägypten", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85 (1995), pp. 85-115.

[2]Goldwasser, O., "'Low' and 'High' dialects in Ramesside Egyptian." in: Stefan Grunert and Ingelore Hofmann (eds.) *Textcorpus und Wörterbuch. Aspekte zur aegyptischen Lexicographie*, (Probleme of Ägyptologie 14), Brill: Leiden (1999), p. 313.

[3] Allen. J., *The Ancient Egyptian Language: An Historical Study,* New York (2013), p.4.

[4] Kurchten, J., "Form Middle to Late Egyptian", *LingAeg* 6 (1999), p. 13.

[5] Hibachi, L., "Preliminary Report on Kamose Stela and Other Inscribed Blocks Found Reused in the Foundations of Two Statues at Karnak", *ASAE* 53, No. 1 (1955), p. 202; pl. I.

(K 28)

n ir.t,n=i   *What I have done*

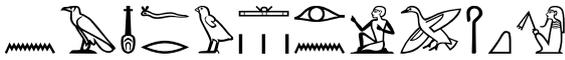*r p3 w n Ỉwtt*   *to the district Ỉwtt.*

(K37)

ir.t.n nbt ḥm.t   *All what my majesty has done.*

There is Linguistic evolution in Amarna time, but earlier relative forms continued in the texts with re-emergence of prosthetic yod but in their old writing as the third example.

(Tomb of Meryra II= Text of Akhenaten 2,15)

n3 nfrw   *the benefits*

ir.n=i p3 ḥḳ3   *which the ruler made for me.*[1]

(Boundary Stela, XV= Text of Akhenaten 105,5)

s.t f nt sp tpy   *His great throne*

ir.n=f n=f ḥtp   *with which he is well pleased.*[2]

When the verb "*mri*" occurred with relative form, it would be in Middle form, there is no Late RF verb "*mri*". There is no example with "*i.mr=f*", There are only examples of the verb "*mr*" in Middle perfective "*mry*" or perfect "*mr.n=f*". It is appeared as epithets of individuals in autobiographical inscriptions, monumental texts, inscription building, kings'names and their titles; it even appears in non-literary texts as the following examples:

(Anast. IV, 4,2=LEM 38,10)[3]

sš-nswt m3ꜥt   *The scribe of the king Maat*

mry=f   *whom he desired.*

---

[1] Davis, G., *The Rock tomb of El-Amarna* V, London (1908), p. 4.
[2] Davis, G., *The Rock tomb of El-Amarna*, p. 29.
[3] For more examples see: P. Leiden I 367, 1= KRI II, 911,13; Stela I, II main text, 3= KRI 1, 396, 7; P. Anast, III, 4,11= LEM 25,6; P. Anast. IV, 5,6= LEM 40,2; P. Lansing 14,2= LEM 113,15.

(Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II V, 2= KRI II 199,7)

ir.t št3w   *Making boundaries*

 mr.n=f m Rtnw   *that he has desired in Retenu.*[1]

(Beit El=Wali, Rock Temple C, 2= KRI II 716, 16)

ḥr st mr.n=k   *Upon a site which you desired.*

Verbs continued in Middle RF "*iri, rdi, ḏd, km3*" which survived into Ramesside period and even long after that, they were often used during the third intermediate period.

(P. Turin 2026, vs.1= LRL 73, 7)

p3 iry=k   *What you have done*

n=f   *for him.*[2]

(Abydos decree of Sethos I at Nauri, 199= KRI I 58, 14)

ḥꜥw   *Rejoicing over*

 ḥr ir.n=f nb   *all that he has done.*[3]

(Qurneh, Temple of Sethos I iv,2= KRI I, 220,11)

ḳ3t nḥḥ   *The work of eternity*

ir.n s3 Rꜥ Sty- mry-n-Ptḥ   *which son of Re Sethos I Merenptah made*

n=f   *for him*

(Ramses III, Festival of Opet, Karnak, scene b I 29= KRI V, 188,2)
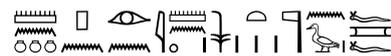
mnw pn   *These monuments*

ir.n Ỉmn nswt nṯrw   *which Amun, the god of Kings made*

n s3=f mr=f   *to his son and his beloved. (Lit: whom he likes).*

---

[1] Kitchen, K., *Ramesside inscriptions: Translated and Annotated Translation* II, Oxford (1996), p. 62.
[2] Wente, E., *Late Ramesside Letters*, Chicago (1967), p. 84.
[3] Kitchen, K., *Ramesside inscriptions: Translated and Annotated Translation.* I, Oxford (1993), p. 50.

(Ramses III, Festival of Opet, Karnak, scene c II, 5= KRI V, 189, 12)

mnw nb   *All monuments*

ir.n=k m t3 pn   *which you made in this Land.*

The last two examples mostly documented in royal monuments and found in building inscription.

(Arment Stela, E II, x+3=KRI II, 713,9)

k3t= tn   *your work*

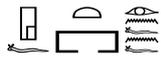*ir.n nbw iwnt*   *which the nobles of Heliopolis did.*

(Ramesses III, Funerary Temple E Wall, E= KRI V,303, 3)

ḥw.t=f   *His temple*

ir.n=f n=f   *which he made for him.*

(O. Leipzig 12,1= KRI III 540,12)[1]

ḏd.t.n sš ḥwy   *What the scribe Huy said*

n Nfr-rnpt   *to Neferronpet.*[2]

This form survived from Middle Egyptian, perhaps the "*t*" is the Middle masc. fem. ending which used also for neutral, this use as heading also survived in Late Egyptian.[3] This expression is frequently written in ostraca in Deir El- Madina to clarify the sender and the addressee.

(Second Hittite Marriage Cp. 10-11= KRI II 283, 5-6)

idr ḳnw n i3wt…   *Numerous herds of cattle….*

.....rdi. n=f ini.tw   *.... that he caused to be brought*

n nswbity   *to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt.*

---

[1] For similar examples see: O. Cairo CGC 25237,8= KRI III 529, 15; O. Berlin 11247, rt.1= KRI III 533, 1; O. Černý 19, rt.1= KRI III 533,10; O. DM 118, rt.1= KRI III 535, 2; O. DM 328, rt. 1= KRI III 535, 9; O. DM 581,1= KRI III 536,2; O. DM 317, 1=KRI III 537, 16; O. DM 119,1= KRI III 538, 9; O. DM 560,1=KRI III 539,9; O. DM 116, rt.1= KRI III 540, 2; O. Leipzig 12, rt.1= KRI III 540, 12; O. Gardiner 114, rt.1= KRI III 541,6; O. DM 120,1=KRI III 543,2; O. DM 304,1= KRI III 543, 11; O. DN 676, 1= KRI III 545, 13; O. DM 132, 1= KRI III 558,9; O. DM 60,1= KRI III 563, 8.
[2] Kitchen, K., *Ramesside inscriptions: Translated and Annotated Translation.* III, Oxford (2000), p. 376.
[3] Allen, J., *Middle Egyptian: An introduction to the language and culture of Hieroglyphs*, 2nd edition, New York (2010), p. 377.

(P. Leyden 348, vs. 7,2= LEM 134, 7)

𓂋𓏤𓄿𓏌𓏏𓅱𓎟𓏏

wp.wt nb.t   *All tasks*

rdi.n p3y.i nb ḥr=i   *which my lord entrusted me.*[1]

(P. Sall I 4,6= LEM 80, 16)

𓂋𓏤𓄿𓎟𓏏

wp.t nb.(t)   *All tasks*

rdy.t. n p3y.i nb ḥr=i   *which my lord entrusted me.*[2]

rdy.t: it is a relative form with survived ending "*y*

(P. Neskh. 3)

𓂋𓋴𓊢𓈖𓐍

r s⁽ḥ   *To revive*

km3.n=f   *what he created.*[3]

But the Kadesh Battle inscriptions have many ME construction, ME relative forms are not limited to these verbs, but there are examples with the verb "*wḏ, h3b, gm, ḏd*",

(Battle of Kadesh &18= KRI II 106, 3)

𓂋𓏌𓌃𓂧𓏏𓏤

n3 md.wt   *The matters*

ḏd=tn   *which you said*

n ḥm=f   *to his majesty.*

(Kadesh Battle &95=KRI II 35, 2)

𓃀𓅱𓏏𓂋𓏏

bw tht=i sḥr   *I have not disobeyed a matter*

wḏ.n=k   *which you have commanded.*[4]

(Battle of Kadesh & 129= KRI II 46,11)

𓅯𓄿𓂋𓏏

p3 ir=i nb   *All that I did.*

(Poem of Kadesh & 286= KRI II 82,5)

---

[1] Winand, J., *Études de néo-égyptien 1. La morphologie Verbale*, Liége (1992), p. 393.
[2] Winand, J., *néo-égyptien,* (1992), p. 393.
[3] Korostovtsev, M., *Grammaire du Néo- Egyptien*, Mosco (1973), p. 290.
[4] Hartman, T., *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II: An Analysis of verbal Patterns of Ramesside Royal Inscriptions*, Ph.D dissertation, Department of Mediterranean Studies, Faculty of Graduate school of Arts and Sciences, Brandeis University (1967), p. 59.

ntsn	It is they
n3 gmy=i	whom I found
r šzp ḏrt=i	to support me.[1]

(Poem of Kadesh & 326= KRI II 96,10)

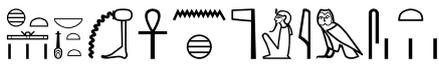| nn md. wt | The words |
| h3b (. w). n=i p3 ḫsy n ḫt | which the Vile chief of Hatti had sent to me.[2] |

Relative form was used in late literary texts which corresponded to as what was used in Middle Egyptian, but they no longer have gender and number ending, it was characterized by the same feature of Late Egyptian RF as the following table:

LE	**ME**
(Stela BM 792= KRI VI 525, 14):	(Brunner, *Chrestomathies*, pl. 11, 2–3):[3]
ḫ.t nb.t nfr.t wᶜb.t	ḫ.t nb.t nfr.t wᶜb.t
Everything good and pure	*Everything good and pure*
ᶜnḫ nṯr im st	ᶜnḫ.t nṯr im st
on which a god live.	*on which a god live.*

It has been appeared that the late RF have no ending although antecedent is feminine, but the ending of middle RF agrees with gender and number of the noun it modifies.

The *sḏm pw ir.n=f* Construction

Bipartite nominal sentence (A pw B) is one of the narrative constructions in which A is the infinitive of verb of motion and the B is the perfect RF (which/that he did), this construction is not used with all verbs, it is used almost with verbs of motion. Such sentences always represent a main clause, they do not follow '*iw, mk*", their position is always in tales and historical inscriptions. Selden translate it as "What he did was to go", Then he went", "So he went" or "He went",[4] and Samuel translate it "*to go was that which you did*"[5] but I always tend to translate literal. This form was presented in OE texts, for example, we can mention that the Westcar papyrus in which 22 example are mentioned for the narration of the events as the following example:[6]

---

[1] Hartman, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, p. 60.

[2] Hartman, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, p. 60.

[3] Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p. 359.

[4] Selden, D., *An Introduction to the Language and Literature of the Middle Kingdom*, California (2013), p. 253.

[5] Samuel, M., *An Egyptian Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary*, New York (1961), p. 66.

[6] For more example see: Westcar 2,2; Westcar 2,11; Westcar 3,4; Westcar 3,11; Westcar 4,2; Westcar 4,6; Westcar 4,17; Westcar 6,22; Westcar 7,14; Westcar 8,2; Westcar 8,6; Westcar 8,9; Westcar 9,18; Westcar 9,27; Westcar 10,6; Westcar 10, 26; Westcar 11,3-4; Westcar 12,2; Westcar 12,8; Westcar 12, 17-18.

(Westcar 1,17)

ꜥḥꜥ pw　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*It is the standing*

ir.n nsw s3 Rꜥ Ḫꜥw=f- Rꜥ　　　　　　*that the King's son, Khaufra*

r md(w).t　　　　　　　　　　　　　*to speak*

ḏd=f　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*that he said.*[1]

ꜥḥꜥ pw ir.n nsw s3 Rꜥ Ḫꜥwf- Rꜥ: the predicate A is the infinitive *ꜥḥꜥ* " the standing", and the subject B is the perfect Masc. relative form of the verb *iri* preceded the subject of the RF.

This bipartite *pw* clause is a noun-clause as subject of pseudoverbal whose predicate is adverbial predicate (*r* expressing purpose+ infinitive *md(w).t*).

ḏd=f: Perfective relative form occurred as object of infinitive *md(w).t*, the object of this form is the complement which follow RF (*di sḏm ḥm=k*…….)

(Westcar 4,4)

md.t tn　　　　　　　　　　　　　*This affair*

ir.n p3 nḏs　　　　　　　　　　　*that the commoner did*

m pr=f　　　　　　　　　　　　　*in his house.*[2]

In Late Egyptian, this construction appeared in the tales, and historical inscription as the following examples:

(Kadesh Battle &28=KRI II 12,2) [3]

nꜥt pw　　　　　　　　　　　　　*It was a travelling*

ir.n ḥm=f m ḫd　　　　　　　　*which his majesty did northward.*[4]

(Lit: *Travelling was which his majesty did northward*)

(Doomed Prince 8,9=LES 8,12)

spr pw　　　　　　　　　　　　　*Arrival was*

ir.n=f　　　　　　　　　　　　　*that he did*

r p3 mw　　　　　　　　　　　　*to the lack.*

(Two Brothers 9,2= LES 18, 16)

---

[1] Bagnato, D., *The Papyrus Westcar: A Transliteration, Translation and Language Analysis*, Atelier: Wien (2006), p. 29.

[2] Bagnato, *The Papyrus Westcar*, p. 28.

[3] For more examples see: Doomed Prince 4,3= LES 1, 5; Battle of Kadesh, &83= KRI II, 31,1; Wall Stela of Merenptah, 32=KRI IV, 6,1; Libyan War Inscription, 31= KRI IV 5,16; Libyan War Inscription, 64= KRI IV, 9,13.

[4] Hartman, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, p. 59.

pr pw	*Coming out was*
ir.n=f	*that he did*
m pꜣy.f bẖn	*from his mansion.*

(Two Brothers 10,5=LES 20,4)

pr pw	*Coming out was*
ir n tꜣ ꜥḏd šri	*which the young girl did.*

(Doomed Prince 8,1=LES 7,14)

pr pw	*Coming out was*
ir.n wꜥ n ḥfꜣw	*what thereupon made*
m tꜣy.f tpḥt	*from its hole.*

The nominal subject of RF (agent) can be with indefinite article "*wꜥ*" in latter, Gardiner explained that there are verbs which occur with this construction exceptionally as "*ꜥḥꜥ*" stand, "*ḥmsi*" sit down, "*gr*" to keep silent, "*msi*" give birth, RF has masculine gender whether the infinitive is of masc. or of fem. in Middle Egyptian texts,[1] but infinitives and RFs are always masculine in LE. (Astarte, 15, y=LES 81, 5)

ḥms pw	*The sitting is*
ir.n stẖ	*what Seth did.*

François mentioned that this form is the origin of the following construction.[2]

Infinitive +*ir.n*/*i.iri*+Agent +Direct Object + Perpositional Phrase

The infinitive has the value of a perfective when it is periphrased using the perfect relative form of the verb *iri, i.iri.f* or *i.iri N* (that sometimes is still found in its middle form: *ir.n.f* or *ir.n N*).

Gohy discussed this point in his thesis "*Perspective linguistique sur les genres en néo-égyptien*", and focused his explanation on "Wenamun tale" because it is a literary text in the form of administrative report. At the beginning of the tale, the agent is introduced by RF, and when it is happened, RF is always classic RF of the verb *iri*, and not the Late form. The expressed agent of infinitive is the subject of the relative form, is identified as perfective by the speaker. This construction is widely used in the initiation of the Legal administrative documents genres the most use of "date+ *hrw pn*+ infinitive+ *ir.n NP*", this applies above all to documents from Ramesside period (2012: 51-52), it is the method to insert the one who did this action, This construction consists of five sections as following:

[1] Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar, Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. Oxford (1957), p. 312.
[2] Neveu, *Language of Ramesses*, p. 42, n.91.

(O. Cairo 25553, 1= BIFAO 46, 115-6)

hrw pn spr   *This day of arrival*
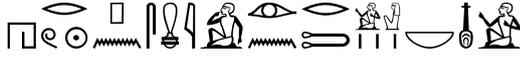
ir.n Ỉmn- m- ini   *that Amenmone did.*

(O. Cairo J. 72465 rt.2= Allam. 32)

hrw pn smi   *This day of charging*

ir.n rmṯ nb nfr   *which the man of the staff nb-nfr made.*

(O. Cairo 25530, 1-3= KRI V, 542, 10-11)

ḥrw pn n sn   *This day of crossing*

ir.n tȝ ist tȝ inb (t)   *that the crew did (of) the wall*

ḥr pȝy.w diw   *because of their rations.*[1]

(Deir El- Madinah A23, 1-2= KRI III, 529,8)[2]

rnpt 26 ȝbd 3 ȝḫt hrw pn n ii   *Year 66 3rd Akhet, 4, this day of going*

ir.n sš Ỉnpw m ḥb   *that the scribe Ienpw did.*

When perfect infinitive is written in perfect tense, it is periphrased by Middle RF or Late RF, infinitive should be defined by definite article, but infinitive is defined by whether direct or indirect genitive in these examples. Legal documents very often were introduced by this construction.

Middle Relative Forms in 21st 22nd Dynasty Texts:

Moreover, Middle RF are used in the Biographies texts in the Third Intermediate era. Middle RF is used more than Late RF in these texts. There is one example of perfect RF which express future tense as following example:

(JE 37512=Winklen. J. A20 a.3)

ḥz.tn Ỉmn   *Amun rewarded you*

ḥr ir.n.tn   *on which you do.*[3]

---
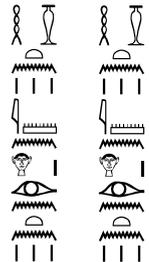
[1] Neveu, *Language of Ramesses*, p. 42.

[2] For more examples see: P. Anast. III, vs. 6,4= LEM 31,10; P Anast. VI= LEM 74,9; P. Turin 152-3= JEA 5, 190; P. Anas. VII, 1= JEA 5, 191; O. Nash rt. 1= KRI IV 315, 8; O. CGC 25,794, 1= KRI VI 361,12; O. CGC 25,794, 2= KRI VI 361,14; O.CGC 25,515 vs. 2 =KRI IV 382,7; O.CGC 25,515 vs. 4= KRI IV 382, 9; O. CGC 25, 517=KRI 387, 13; O. Cairo CGC 25,792= KRI IV 414,16; O. Cairo CGC 25,792= KRI IV 415, 2; O. Berlin 12654 vs.6= Allam, vol 1, 15; O. Florenz 2620 rt. 1 = Allam, vol 1, 35; O. Florenz 2625 rt. 1 = Allam, vol 1, 35; O. Genf. 12552 rt. 1=Allam. 55; O. Turin 6922 rt.2= Allam. 69; P. Berlin 10469 rt. 1-2= Allam. 81.

[3] Winklen, J., *Ägyptische Biographien der 22nd und 23rd Dynastie* I, Wiesbaden (1958), p.217.

Winklen translated this sentence in present tense, although RF comes in perfect form "*sḏm.n=f*" form, it seems that he translated for the like context of the translation. If we translate literal, the translation of this sentence will be "*Amun rewarded you on which you did*", and RF is as object of preposition.

(Gebel Es-Silsilah N. 100 =JEA 38, Pl. XII, 33):
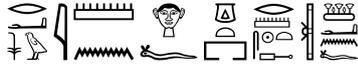
rdi sw Ỉmn ḥr nsw.t=f r smn   Amun set him upon his throne to advance

š3.n=f   what he had commenced.[1]

Relative forms are usually occurred as object of verbal construction or preposition, but in the latter is as object of infinitive.

(Gebel Es-Silsilah N. 100 =JEA 38, Pl. XI, 7):

ir. nn ḥm-nṯr tp n Ỉmn R^c nswt nṯrw

Made by the first Prophet of Amun-Re.[2]

(CG 559= Winklen. J. A1, b.3)

ir.nn sḥm.t n.(i) Ỉmn-R^c Born of the sitrum[3] player of Amun Re.

The perfect RF "*sḏm. (w). n=f*" of the verb "*iri*" with two suffix conjunction "*n*" is very common about this period, the geminating of the "*n*" is to be taken is evidence of weaking this consonant in Late Egyptian. The duplicating of this consonant would be a stress to confirm its existence.[4] Existence of "*ir. nn*" is a heading to give new information, it can be used in genealogies before the name of the mother or her title, this function continued until the Ptolemaic period.

II.   Survived Nominal Uses in Late Egyptian

When relative form is used as noun (complex noun), it is defined by definite article, or demonstrative pronoun, moreover it can be followed by adjective as *nb*. The gender of complex nouns is masculine rather than feminine in Late Egyptian.[5]Relative from is capable to interchange either with defined nouns or bare nouns.[6]In nominal function, the nominal form occurred as predicate of a clause that typically corresponds to a noun: the object of a verb or preposition, the subject of another predicate, or both elements of a balanced sentence.[7]

AS Object

It is the common usage of relative form as noun. It can be occurred as object of different verbal forms.

---

[1] Camions, R., Gebel Es-Silsilah, N. 100, *JEA* 38 (1952), p. 49.

[2] Camions, *JEA* 38, p. 49.

[3] Erman, A., and Grapow, H., *WörterBuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* IV, Berlin (1971), p. 251, 15.

[4] Camions, *JEA* 38, p. 51.

[5] Junge, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*, translated David Warburton, 2nd English edition, Oxford (2005), p. 65.

[6] Groll, S., *The Negative Verbal System in Late Egyptian*, London (1970), p. 213.

[7] Allen, *Ancient Egyptian,* p. 173.

To Imperative

(P. BM 10403, 3, 18=KRI VI 832, 9)

i.ḏd my n=i   Tell me (describe)

p3 (i.) ptr=k nb   everything you saw

m=di=f   in his possession.[1]

p3 (i.) ptr=k nb: defined RF by definite article and adjective "*nb*" occurred as object of imperative.

(Wenamun 2,79= LES 75,6)

i.ḏd n t3y hnwt   Tell my lady

wn=i (ḥr) sḏm   that I was hearing (used to hear)

š3 niwt   as far away as Thebes.

wn=i (ḥr) sḏm: bare perfective RF as object of the imperative.

(P. Anast. V 10, 3-4= LEM 61, 1)

ptr   Mark (lit: Look)

n3 i.iri p3 ḥḳ3   the things the ruler does.[2]

n3 i.iri p3 ḥḳ3: defined relative form by definite article.

(P. Berlin 10487, 8-9= LRL 36, 14-15)

m dit ḥ3t=k   Do not worry (about)

p3y (.i) iri=f   this which he has done.[3]

p3y (.i) iri=f : defined relative form by masc. demonstrative pronoun as object of imperative in negation.

(Ani, B 15,10)
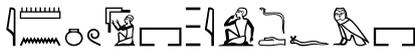
imn   Hide

i.ḏd=f   what he said

m pr. (f)   in his house.[4]

[1] Černý, J., and Groll, S., *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 4th edition, Rome (1993), p. 347.

[2] Camion, R., *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, London (1954), p. 235.

[3] Wente. E., *Late Ramesside Letters*, Chicago (1967), p. 53.

[4] Quack, J. F., *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein Neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld,* Freiburg (1994), p. 86.

(Ani, B 15,11)

𓂻𓅓𓂝𓏤𓏴𓉐𓁀𓏏𓂋𓏤𓁀𓏥

sḏm	*Listen*
i.ḏd.t=i	*what I say.*[1]

To *sḏm=f* Form:[2]

Relative form can be used as object to *sḏm=f* form whatever the tense.

(Ani, B 18,8)

𓇋𓂝𓂋𓂝𓂋𓁁𓏤 𓏤𓏤𓏤 𓇳𓆑

iw mꜣ=k	*You saw*
ir.n=f	*what he did.*[3]

ir.n=f : middle perfect relative form occurred as object to 1st perfect tense.

(Wenamun 2,48: LES 71, 16-72)

𓇋𓂝𓏲𓃀𓅱𓊪𓏲𓂝𓏤𓁀𓇳𓂋𓏥𓅃𓄿𓅆𓀁𓏤𓃀𓏤𓏤𓏤𓉐𓏤𓁀𓂋𓏥

iw bwpw=k ir.t n=i	*While you did not for me*
pꜣ wn nꜣy=k it.w (ḥr) ir.t	*which your fathers used to do*
n=i	*for me.*

pꜣ wn nꜣy=k it.w (ḥr) ir.t : relative form is used as object to 1st perfect tense in negation, prosthetic yod is omitted after sing. masc. definite article.

(P. Bol. 1049, 10,9= LEM 10,1)

𓁀𓇳𓂋𓂻𓅓𓁁𓅃𓄿𓅆𓈖𓉐𓏤

bw irt sḏm=i	*I have not listened*
pꜣ i.ḏd=f	*what he said.*[4]

pꜣ i.ḏd=f : defined as relative form occurred as object of negative aorist pattern "*bw irt sḏm*"

(P. Anast. IV, 9,3= LEM 44,4)

𓂧𓅃𓄿𓅆𓂝𓇳𓁀𓇋𓂋𓇋𓏤𓏥𓅓𓊃𓈖𓏤𓁷𓊪𓏏𓎛

ꜥm=k	*May you take cognizance*
m iri=k m ms n ptḥ	*that you will present to Ptah.*[5]

iri=k: bare RF as object to subjunctive *sḏm=f* form preceded by *m* of object, and that confirm that definition of relative form is not necessary when it is used as object.

(Ani, B17,3)

[1] Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani,* p. 86.
[2] For more example see: Kadesh Inscription &181= KRI II 58, 16; Horus and Seth 10,12= LES 51,11.
[3] Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani,* p. 98.
[4] Camion, *LEM,* p. 26.
[5] Camion, *LEM,* p. 165.
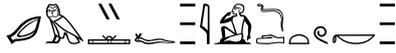
sḏm=f   *He will listen*

i.ḏd.t=f   *what he says.*[1]

i.ḏd.t=f: bare relative form is used as object of future *sḏm=f* form with neutral ending.

(Ani B 20,4)

iw iry=tw   *Man (one) do*

i.ḏd.t= k nb.t   *all that you say.*[2]

i.ḏd.t= k nb.t: defined relative form by the adjective "*nb*" is used as object of future *iry= f* form with neutral ending.

There are examples whose relative form can be as object of the infinitive, and the definition of relative form is not necessary:

(P. Bib Nat 199 III, 5= LRL 70, 12-13)

r wȝḥ   *To store*

nȝ gm=n nb im   *all that we have found there.*

nȝ gm=n nb im: defined RF by definite article and the adjective "*nb*'' is used as object of the infinitive with omitted the prosthetic yod. This usage is clear in the following example:

(Ani, B 20,8)

r rdi.t   *To cause*

gm.t=f r=k ȝs   *that he found your hasty statement.*[3]

(Gebel Es-Silsilah N. 100 =JEA 38, 49, Pl. XII, line 33):

rdi sw ʾImn ḥr nsw.t=f r smn   *Amun set him upon his throne to advance*

šȝ.n=f   *what he had commenced.*

(Nauri Decree, 2= KRI I 46, 3)

ḥr ir.t   *To do*

ḥss it ʾImn Rˁ   *what the father Amun- Re praises.*

(P. Anastasi III, 4,1= LEM 24, 5-6)

---

[1] Quack, *Lehren des Ani*, p. 95.
[2] Quack, *Lehren des Ani,* p. 107.
[3] Quack, *Lehren des Ani,* p. 107.

imi ib=k   *Cause your heart*

sḏm i.ḏd.t=i   *to listen what I say*

To *iw=f ḥr sḏm* Form

This pattern is which occurred in Late Egyptian texts, defined relative form occurred as object.

(Two Brothers 16,4= LES 2,18,1)

iw=f ḥr sḏm   *He listened*

i.ḏd=s nbt   *all that she said.*

i.ḏd=s nbt: defined relative form by the adjective "*nb*" is used as object to "*iw=f ḥr sḏm*"

(P. Anast. IX, 6= KRI III 505, 14 = Bakir, Epistolography, Pl. 33)

iw=f h3b   *you wrote (sent)*

r (i.) ini p3y.w mniw   *what their herdsmen*[1] *brought.*

(P. Turin 2021, 2,4= JEA 13, Pl. XIV)

iw=i (ḥr) dit n   *I would have given them*

m p3 (i). ini=i   *some of what I am bringing.*[2]

p3 (i). ini=i: defined RF occurred as object of *iw=f (ḥr) sḏm* after *m* of object.

To Preposition

When relative form occurred after preposition, it would be defined by definite article. This feature is not recent appearance, but it is clear in Old Egyptian texts:

(Westcar 6,1)

mi n3 ḏd. n=k   *As you said.*

(Abbott 6,2= KRI VI 477,5)[3]

inn i,iri=tn nhm   *If you are rejoicing about the matter*

r p3y (i.) wn.t im   *with which you are in.*[1]

---

[1] Lesko, L. and Lesko, B., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol 1, 2nd edition, Rhode Island (2002), p. 186.

[2] Černý, J. and Peet, T., "A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty: An Unpublished Document from Turin", *JEA* 13 (1927), p. 32.

[3] For more examples see: P. Anast. I, 6,8= Lit. Texts 12, 9-11; P. Anast. V 9,7= LEM 60,9; P. Anast. V 24,2= LEM 70,5; P. BM 10100, 4= LRL 50,6; P. BM 10100, 6= LRL 50,8-9; P. Turin 2021+ Geneva D. 409, rt. 2,1= KRI VI 739,6.

(O. Černý 19, vs. 5-6= KRI III 534, 4-5)

m- ir ẖ3ˁ ẖ3=k   Don't Turn your back

r p3 i.ḏd=i n:k nb.t   on anything that I said to you.[2]

(P. Anast III, 1,4= LEM 20, 14-15)

nḫt= tw   what one wishes

m p3 i.iri=f nb   for all that he did.

(P. Anast III, 1,4= LEM 20, 13-14)

iri=tw   One acted

m i.ḏd.t=f nb   with all that he has said.[3]

(P. BM 10375, 14-15=LRL 45, 5-6)

iry=n sp   We will do, we will do

m p3 i.ḏd p3y.n nb   according to all that our Lord has said.[4]

There is an another opinion: we can purpose that "*m*" is an article which preceded the object, Černý and Groll mentioned that the preposition *m* introducing object equivalent to the Coptic (n,m) of the direct object,[5] as we see in the following examples *m* which preceded a defined relative form.

(Stela I, II main text, 3= KRI 1, 396, 7)

di i3wt   who give official badge[6]

n mr.n=f   to whom he liked

(Ani B 22,12)

mn t3y   No blame

n p3 (i.) iri=f   on what he did.[7]

(Ani B 22,10)

---

[1] Bakir, A., *Egyptian Epistolography from the Eighteenth to Twenty- First Dynasty*, Cairo (1970), p. 83.
[2] *KRITA* III, p. 373.
[3] Camion, *LEM*, p. 69.
[4] Wente, *LRL*, p. 60.
[5] Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 94.
[6] Hannig, R., *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch- Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950 v. Chr.),* Mainz (1995), p. 23.
[7] Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani,* p. 118.

ḫꜣm=k   *You bow*

(n) pꜣ (i.) iri=f   *(to) what he says.*

(P. Turin 2021+ P. Geneva D. 409, rt. 3,12-3= KRI VI 741, 12-3)

ꜥnḫ n niwt ink-sw-nḏmt   *The citizenness Anoksunodjmet,*

ḥnꜥ pꜣ (i.) ini=f nb irm=s   *with all he brought in with her*

As Subject

This usage is an extension of what it was Middle Egyptian, as the following examples:

(CT IV, 156 e)

ḏd.t n=i   *What I said is*

nfr   *good.[1]*

(CT IV, 156 g)

ḏd.t=i   *What I say*

ir   *shall be done (is done).[2]*

ir: prospective passive participle occurred as predicate.

In Late Egyptian, relative form can be subject of another predicate whether stative, adjectival or noun clause used as predicate.

(RF+ Stative)

(P. Bibl. Nat 198 II, vs. 4= LRL 68,6)

i.ḏd= (i) nb   *All I have said is*

ꜥnḫ.tw   *still alive.[3]*

This construction is in first present, the 1st member is an initial relative form defined by the adjective "*nb*", and the 2nd member is a stative of the verb "*ꜥnḫ*".

(P. Mayer A, 4,7= KRI VI 75,2)

pꜣ i.iri=k   *What you have done is*

ḫpr   *come to pass.*

---

[1] Gilula, M., "An Adjectival Predicative Expression of Possession in Middle Egyptian", *RdÉ* 20 (1968), p. 56.
[2] Gilula, *RdÉ* 20, p. 56.
[3] Groll, *Negative Verbal System,* p. 212.

P3 i.iri=k: defined RF is as subject in nominal sentence whose predicate is a stative.

(P. Turin 1940+1941 rt. 2,4)

p3 i.iri=(i)	*What I have done is*
ḫpr Mint	*become Mont.*

p3 i.ir(.i) nb: The relative form is as subject, and the suffix pronoun of the 1st person is omitted as often in Late Egyptian.[1]

(P. Anast. II, 4,8= LEM 14,14)

i.iri=f nb	*Whatever he has done has*
ḫpr	*succeeded.*[2]

(P. Lansing, 13b,9= LEM 113,10)

i.iri=k nb	*What you have done*
ḫpr	*has succeed.*

Relative form can be used in the pattern "*nfr sw*"

(Westcar 10,4)

ḳsn ms=s	*That she gives birth is hard.*[3]

ms=s: relative form is as logical subject to logical adjectival predicate.

(Sinuhe B28)

nfr	*It is good*
ir.t n=sn	*what they did.*

Lit: "*What they did is good.*"[4]

This usage continues in Late Egyptian:

(P. BM 10053, vs. 2,18= KRI VI 758, 6)

m3ꜥt	*It is true*
p3 (i.) ḏd. (i) nb	*that I have said.*[1]

---

[1] Botti. G., "A Fragment of the Story of a Military Expedition of Tuthmosis III to Syria (P. Turin 1940- 1941)", *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 66, n.5.
[2] Camions, *LEM*, p. 45.
[3] Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p. 376.
[4] Winand, J., *Temps et Aspect en Égyptien: Une Approche sémantique*, Leiden (2006), p. 254.

Relative form is as logical subject in adjectival sentence. Groll translated this sentence as cleft sentence, but Kitchen translated as *"All that I have said is true"*.[2]

(P. BM 10052, 3,18= KRI 774,9)

ꜥḏꜣ	It is false
pꜣ (i.) ḏd.t=k	what you said.

Lit: *"What you said is false."*

(Horus and Seth 15,3-4= LES 57, 16)

nfr iḳr sp	It is Very good, very good,
pꜣ i.iri=k	all that you have done.

Lit: *"All that you have done is very good, very good."*

The last two examples correspond to the adjectival sentence *"nfr A"*, since in Late Egyptian the defined relative form is equivalent to the noun. The definite article of relative in one form regardless of the gender of the adjective.[3]

(P. Bibl. Nat. 199,5-9+ 196, V+ 198, IV, vs. 4= LRL 6, 7-8)

bn nfr pꜣy i.iri=k	What you have done is not good.[4]

Relative Form can be occurred as subject in verbal pattern, we saw this use in ME texts,

(Westcar 5,3-4)

ḫpr.n swt	Now, it happened
wnn ḥm.n nsw-bity snfrw	that SNEFRU,
mꜣꜥ ḫrw m nswt	justified, used to be king

Lit: *"that the incarnation of the Dual King SNEFRU, justified, used to be king happened."*

There is one example like the last in "Ani's instructions"

(Ani B 15,7)

ḫpr i.ḏd.t=k nb.t mnḫ

That everything you say becomes good.[5]

---

[1] Groll, *Negative Verbal System,* p. 104.
[2] *KRITA* VI, p. 535.
[3] Groll, S., *Non- verbal sentences pattern in Late Egyptian*, London (1967), p. 45.
[4] Wente, *LRL*, p. 22.
[5] Quack, *Lehren des Ani,* p. 87.

(Mayer A 6,13= KRI VI 816, 1-2)

mtw ḫpr   and it happened

 i.iri šm im r šd ḫt   that I went there to take wood.[1]

Lit: "*and that I went there to take wood happened.*"

(P. Mayer A, 4,7= KRI VI 75,2)

p3 ḏd=k   What you have said is

p3 nty mn   what is firm. [2]

The sentence consists of two members, the first is the defined relative form with omitted prosthetic yod because of definite article preceded; the other is defined relative clause, relative form here occurred as subject of the sentence. Groll mentioned that two last examples correspond to first present.[3]

(P. Mayer A, 1,18-19= KRI VI 805, 10-11)
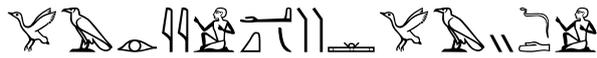
p3 iry=i ꜥḳ   What I have done is exactly

p3y ḏd=i   this what I said.

(P. BM 10052, 5,8-9= KRI VI 779, 13)

p3 ptr=i   Which I saw is

p3 ḏd=i   which I said.[4]

Neveu mentioned that the last example one of pseudo -cleft sentences,[5] but I propose that each of of two last examples consist of two nominal relative forms, one of them is as subject, and the other is as predicate, we can illustrate this sentence that relative forms are used as two elements of "Balanced sentence"

Second Part of Genitive

Relative form can be occurred as the second part of a direct or indirect genitive, this usage continued from Middle Egyptian as the following examples:

(Sin. B 187)

w3ḥ=k špssw   You shall keep the finery

---

[1] Allen, *Ancient Egyptian,* p. 171.
[2] Groll, *Negative Verbal System,* p. 216.
[3] Groll, *Non- verbal sentences,* p. 28.
[4] Groll, *Non- verbal sentences,* p. 27.
[5] Neveu, *The Language of Ramesses*, p. 208, n.433.

n dd=sn n=k   *of they give to you.*[1]

(Himmelskuh, 25)

iw=f mi R⁽ hrw   *He is like Re on the day*

n ms.tw=f   *of he was born.*[2]

Examples with the direct genitive mostly involve compound prepositional phrases.

(Siut I, 298)

m-ḫt   *In the wake*

rdi n=i wnwt-ḥwt- nṯr   *of the hourly temple staff give me*

p3- t3- ḥḏ   *that white-bread.*[3]

Helmut stated also this opinion by this example:

nb   *Lord of*

šnn.t ꞌItn   *that which the sun encircles.*[4]

This use has not been focused from linguistics in the Late Egyptian grammar book, the definition is not necessary.

As second part of indirect genitive:

(P. Mayer A, rt.2,12= KRI VI 807, 8)

p3 sḫr n i.iri=f   *The story of what he had done.*[5]

i.iri=f: bare RF is preceded by genitive article "*n*".

(P. Turin Strike rt. 3,10= RAD 56,12)

mitt n p3 ḏd=f   *Similar of what he said.*

(P. Bol. 1049, 2,2= LEM 2,8)

smi n p3 i.iri=k nb   *Report of all that you have done.*

As second part of direct genitive:

(P. Turin 2021+ P. Geneva D. 409, rt. 3,7= KRI VI 741, 2)

---

[1] Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p. 375.
[2] Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p. 375.
[3] Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, p. 375.
[4] Helmut, B., *An Outline of Middle Egyptian Grammar*, Mainz (1998), p. 111.
[5] Groll, *Negative Verbal System*, p. 212.

p3y 9 b3kiw i. dd=f   *This 9servants of which he said.*[1]

(P. Turin 2021+ P. Geneva D. 409, rt. 3,12-3= KRI VI 741, 12-3)

3nḫ n niwt ink-sw-ndm …   *The citzen Inoksunodjmet....*

..i.dd=f   *..... of which he said.*[2]

(Cairo GCG 713, vs. 2= KRI III, 43, 8-9)

n3 n st   *The places of*

i.dd p3y nb   *which my lord said.*

(P. Cairo J. 65739, 20=KRI II 802,1-2)

n3 n mtr.w   *This witness*[3]

i dd=k st   *of which you said.*

(P. BM 10052 vs. 16,9= KRI VI 802, 12)

p3y ḫd   *This silver*

i.dd=w sw   *of which they said that.*[4]

Conclusion:

The Middle relative forms continued in Late Egyptian especially in the 19th dynasty because of the phenomenon of diglossia. Verbs continued in Middle RF "*iri, rdi, dd, km3, h3b, wd, stp*" which survived into Ramesside period and even long after that, they were often used during the third intermediate period especially royal documents and monuments.

There is no Late RF with the verb "*mri*", there is no example with "*i.mr=f*", it would be in Middle form, There are only examples of the verb "*mr*" in Middle perfective "*mry*" or perfect "*mr.n=f*", even it appears in non-literary texts.

Middle relative form widely occurred epithets of individuals in autobiographical inscriptions, monumental texts, inscription building, offering formula, titles of the books, kings'names and their titles.

The nominal uses of relative form are as object of preposition and various verbal forms, subject, predicate, second part of genitive.

---

[1] Kitchen, K., *Ramesside inscriptions: Translated and Annotated Translation.* VI, Oxford (2012), p. 527.
[2] *KRITA* VI, p. 527.
[3] Lesko. L., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol 1, 2nd edition, Rhode Island (2002), p. 215.
[4] *KRITA* VI, p. 556.

Bibliography:

– Allen, J. P., *Middle Egyptian: An introduction to the language and culture of Hieroglyphs*, 2nd edition, New York (2010).

– Allen, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Language: An Historical Study,* New York (2013).

– Botti, G., "A Fragment of the Story of a Military Expedition of Tuthmosis III to Syria (P. Turin 1940- 1941)", *JEA* 41 (1955), pp. 64-71.

– Camions, R. A., Gebel Es-Silsilah, N. 100, *JEA* 38 (1952), pp. 46-61.

– Camions, R. A., *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, London (1954).

– Černý, J. and Peet, T. Eric, "A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty: An Unpublished Document from Turin", *JEA* 13 (1927), pp. 30-39.

– Davies, N. de G., *The Rock tomb of El-Amarna*, part V, London (1908).

– Gardiner, A. H., *Egyptian Grammar, Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd edition, Oxford (1957).

– Goldwasser, O., *On the Choice of Registers- Studies on the Grammar of Papyrus Anastasi I,* Jerusalem (1990).

– Goldwasser, O., "'Low' and 'High' dialects in Ramesside Egyptian." in: Stefan Grunert and Ingelore Hofmann (eds.) *Textcorpus und Wörterbuch. Aspekte zur aegyptischen Lexicographie*, (Probleme of Ägyptologie 14), Brill: Leiden (1999), pp. 311-328.

– Groll, S., *Non-verbal sentences pattern in Late Egyptian*, London (1967).

– Groll, S., *The Negative Verbal System in Late Egyptian*, London (1970).

– Hannig, R., *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch- Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz (1995).

– Hartman, T. Ch., *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II: An Analysis of verbal Patterns of Ramesside Royal Inscriptions*, Ph.D dissertation, Department of Mediterranean Studies, Faculty of Graduate school of Arts and Sciences, Brandeis University (1967).

– Helmut, B., *An Outline of Middle Egyptian Grammar*, Mainz (1979).

– Hibachi, L., "Preliminary Report on Kamose Stela and Other Inscribed Blocks Found Reused in the Foundations of Two Statues at Karnak", *ASAE* 53, No. 1 (1955), pp. 199-202.

– Jansen-Winkeln, K., "Diglossie und Zweisprachigkeit im alten Ägypten." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85 (1995), pp. 85-115.

– Jansen-Winkeln, K., *Ägyptische Biographien der 22nd und 23rd Dynastie* I, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden (1958).

– Junge, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*, translated David Warburton, 2nd English edition, Griffith Institute Publications, Oxford (2005).

– Kitchen, K. A., *Ramesside inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, I-VI, Oxford (1969-1983).

– Kitchen, K. A., *Ramesside inscriptions: Translated and Annotated Translation.* I-VI, Oxford (1969-1983).

– Kurchten, J.-M., "Form Middle to Late Egyptian." *LingAeg* 6 (1999), pp. 1-97.

– Lesko, L. and Lesko, B., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I, 2nd edition, B. C. Scribe Publications, Rhode Island (2002).

– Masakatsu, N., "Language Variety in the 19th Dynasty." *LingAeg* 14 (2006), pp. 223-232.

– Mercer, S.A.B., *An Egyptian Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary*, New York (1961).

– Quack, J. F., *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein Neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld*, Freiburg (1994).

– Selden, D., *An Introduction to the Language and Literature of the Middle Kingdom*, California (2013).

– Wente, E., *Late Ramesside Letters*, SAOC 33, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Illinois (1967).

– Winand, J., *Études de néo-égyptien 1. La morphologie Verbale*, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 2, Liége (1992).

– Winand, J., *Temps et Aspect en Égyptien: Une Approche sémantique*, Leiden (2006).