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The writing culture of ancient Dadān: A description and quantitative analysis of linguistic variation

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The Writing Culture of Ancient Dadān

A description and quantitative analysis of linguistic
variation

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Sigla

AAEK	Safaitic inscriptions in al-Manaser (2008)
AH	Dadanitic inscriptions in Abū l-Ḥasan (1997)
AHUD	Dadanitic inscription in Minaic script published in Abū l-Ḥasan (2005)
al-Ḥuraybah	Dadanitic inscriptions published in al-Theeb (2013)
al-Mazroo and Nasīf 1992	Inscriptions published in al-Mazroo and Nasif (1992)
Al-Sa‘īd 1419/1999	Dadanitic inscriptions published in al-Sa‘īd (1419/1999)
Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999	Dadanitic inscriptions published in al-Sa‘īd (1420/1999)
Al-Sa‘īd 2011	Dadanitic inscription published in al-Sa‘īd (2011)
Al-‘Uḏayb	Dadanitic inscriptions published in OCIANA
BRenv.	Inscriptions recorded by the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme in 1995 published in OCIANA
Bron-al-‘Uḏayb	Dadanitic inscription published in Bron (1996) and later in Sima (1999)
DASI	Digital Archive for the Study of pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it
C	Safaitic inscriptions published in (1950-1951)
CAL	Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project http://cal.huc.edu/
CIS II	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum: II, Inscriptiones Aramaicas Continens</i> 1907
Esk.	Inscriptions from the Taymā’ area published in Eskoubi (1999)
Fa	Inscriptions published in Fakhry (1952)
Graf Abū al-Ḍibā‘	Inscriptions published in Graf (1983)
Ġabal Iṭlib	Dadanitic inscriptions from the Ġabal Iṭlib area published in OCIANA
Ġabal Al-Ḥuraymāt	Dadanitic inscriptions from the Ġabal Al-Ḥuraymāt area published in OCIANA
HALOT	Koehler et al. (1995)
HCH	Safaitic inscriptions published in Harding (1953)
Ir	Ancient South Arabian inscriptions published in Iryāni (1990)
Is.R	Inscriptions recorder by the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme by the Al-‘Īsāwī well published in OCIANA
Ja	Inscriptions from al-‘Uqlah published in Jamme (1963)
JaL	Inscriptions published in Jamme (1968)
JSLih	Inscriptions called Liḥyanite published in Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1912)
JSMIn	Minaic inscriptions published in Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1912)
JSNab	Inscriptions called Nabataean in Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1912)
JSTham	Thamudic inscriptions published in Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1912)
KJA	Hismaic inscriptions published in King (1990)
KRS	Inscriptions recorded by Geraldine King on the Basalt Desert Rescue Survey in north-eastern Jordan in 1989 and published in OCIANA
Lane	Arabic-English dictionary by Lane (1863)
Lisān	Arabic dictionary
M	Minaic inscriptions in Garbini & Capuzzi (1974) and available in DASI
LP	Safaitic inscriptions published in Littmann (1943)
Müller, D.H. 1889	Inscriptions published in Müller (1889)

Nasif 1988	Dadanitic inscriptions published in Nasif (1988)
OCIANA	Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana
Ph	Dadanitic inscriptions published in Van den Branden (1960)
Private collection	Dadanitic inscriptions from a private collection published in OCIANA
Qāni' 4	Ancient South Arabian inscriptions from ancient Qāni' published in Ryckmans (1939)
Qaṣr al-Ṣāni'	Dadanitic inscriptions from the Qaṣr al-Ṣāni' area published in OCIANA
Rabeler	Dadanitic inscription published in Scagliarini (2002a)
RES	Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique. (8 volumes). Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900–1968.
Ryckmans	Dadanitic inscriptions published in Scagliarini (1999)
RWQ	Safaitic inscriptions published in Al-Rousan (2004)
Tall al-Kaṭīb	Dadanitic inscriptions published in Zahrānī (2007)
TA	The registration numbers of the inscriptions discovered during the Saudi-German excavations at Taymā' published in OCIANA and Macdonald (forthcoming)
U	Dadanitic inscriptions from al-'Uḏayb published in Sima (1999)
Umm Darağ	Dadanitic inscriptions from the Umm Darağ area published in OCIANA
W.Dad	Dadanitic inscriptions published in Winnett and Reed (1970)
WH	Safaitic inscriptions published in Winnett and Harding (1978)
WTay	Taymanitic inscriptions published in Winnett and Reed (1970)

Abbreviations

DIN	theonym
Gn	gynealogy
LeiCenSAA	Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia
PN	personal name
POSS	possessive
TrN	tribal name
TN	toponym

Dictionary

1c.	first person common gender
3	third person
3c.	third person common gender
act. part.	active participle
c	C-stem verb
cs	construct state
cd	CD-stem verb
d	D-stem verb
du.	dual
f.	feminine
g	G-stem verb
m.	masculine
pc	prefix conjugation
pl.	plural
POS	part of speech
Q	query

s.	singular
sc	suffix conjugation
st	st-stem
t	t-prefix stem
t-infix	t-infix stem

Languages

ANA	Ancient North Arabian
Aram.	Aramaic
CAr.	Classical Arabic
CP Aram.	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
Heb.	Hebrew
Ḥaḍ.	Ḥaḍramitic
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
Min.	Minaic
MMin.	Marginal Minaic (the Minaic inscriptions found outside the Minaic homeland)
Nab.	Nabataean
NWS	North West Semitic
OffAram.	Official Aramaic
OldAram.	Old Aramaic
Palm.	Palmyrene
Sab.	Sabaic
Saf.	Safaitic
Syr.	Syriac
Ug.	Ugaritic

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Chapter 1 - Introduction



Figure 1 AH 197 a dedicatory inscription in relief

AH 197 (lines 5-7) *ḥggw/h-nq/w ḥgnyw/b-bt-hm/l- ----//tn/l-ḥrg/w-’zlw/b-h-mṣd/zll/h-[nq]//l-dḡbt*
‘they performed the pilgrimage and dedicated (lit. made increase wealth) at their temple for..... *tn* for *ḥrg* and they performed the *zll* of the *[nq]* for *dḡbt*’

This is a typical example of a Dadanic inscription. It was found in the area of the ancient oasis of Dadān, modern-day al-‘Ulā, in northwest Arabia (see Figure 2). It is a dedicatory inscription commemorating the performance of several rituals for the main deity of the oasis *dḡbt*. It is written in the Dadanic script and executed in relief. One of its most striking features is its peculiar linguistic form: the inscription contains two causative verbs, each exhibiting a different morphological form (indicated in bold face in the transcription).

The linguistic variation attested in the Dadanic inscriptions was already noted in the earliest publications of texts (e.g. D. H. Müller 1889, 13–14; Grimme 1937, 300), but it has never received any attention for its own sake and so far no comprehensive explanation for it has been formulated. This work aims to remedy this situation by offering a description of the language and variation attested in the inscriptions and performing a quantitative analysis of the variation. Several descriptions of the grammar of the inscriptions have been published, usually accompanying an edition of inscriptions. The most recent descriptions are those of Sima (1999) and Farès-Drappeau (2005). Sima’s (1999) description of Dadanic is very thorough, but only focuses on the formal inscriptions from the al-‘Uḏayb area and does not deal with inscriptions from other areas and graffiti (see § 1.4 The oasis of Dadān for an overview of all sites). Farès-Drappeau’s (2005) work contains a grammatical sketch based on the whole corpus, but she takes a very Classical Arabic oriented approach in her description.¹ This work aims to approach the language of the inscriptions on their own

¹ But see Al-Jallad (2018, 21-23), where he shows that Dadanic is probably a sister language of Arabic rather than a direct descendant of Proto-Arabic (see § 1.6.3 Language).

terms (see § 1.2 A holistic approach to the epigraphic object and § 1.7.5 Methodological concerns - Analyzing the language of a scribal school) and give due consideration to the linguistic variation attested in the corpus.

A better understanding of the linguistic variation in the Dadanitic inscriptions and the possible underlying causes will improve our understanding of the linguistic situation at the oasis when inscriptions were composed. In addition to this, it will shed light on the oasis' scribal culture and the perennial question of literacy. While Macdonald has extensively discussed the interaction between writing material and variation in letter shapes (Macdonald 2015, 2010), this will be the first study to systematically consider the interaction between writing practices and linguistic form.

1.1 Outline of the present work

This work is divided into two parts. Part one contains a description and grammatical analysis of the corpus. It helps to contextualize the variation discussed in part two, by giving an overview of the common and less common forms of the grammar, but also of the formulaic parts and writing styles. Part two deals exclusively with the variation attested in the corpus, building on the description in part one. It offers a quantitative analysis of the variation in the corpus in an attempt to move beyond impressionistic accounts of its distribution and possible causes. Given the completely different methodological approach of part two compared to part one, it will have its own methodological introduction. The methodological introduction to part two will elaborately discuss the statistics used to determine the interaction between different variables and how each variable was chosen.

Part one consists of six chapters. This introduction includes an overview of the corpus and history of the oasis, and a methodological discussion on the use of epigraphic material to answer questions about its language and variation in it. Chapter two discusses the script and different styles of inscribing used to carve the inscriptions. Chapter three contains an overview of the different genres that can be distinguished and the compositional formulae associated with them. Chapters four through six offer a description of the grammar of the Dadanitic inscriptions. Chapter four deals with the orthography and phonology of the inscriptions, chapter five contains a description of its verbal morphology and chapter six deals with nominal and pronominal morphology.

Chapter seven forms the second part of this work. It will include the analysis of the variation in the corpus relying on a statistical analysis of co-occurrence of varying features in the inscriptions. The aim of this analysis is to reveal patterns of co-occurrence between different varying features, which could offer insight into the reasons behind variation. For this method, the number of co-occurrences of two features within one inscription are added up and compared to the number of co-occurrences that would be expected to occur if there was no relation between the two features (i.e. if their distribution across the corpus was completely random and independent of each other). The assumption that there is no relationship between compared groups is called the null hypothesis. The further the results of both calculations are apart, the less likely the null hypothesis is true. If the chance of the given outcome occurring by chance is smaller than 5%, the result is found to be *significant*, meaning it is unlikely to have happened by chance if the null hypothesis were true and there was no relationship between the two features. Chapter seven will start off with an elaborate explanation of the statistical method used for the analysis, followed by a description of the variables included in the analysis. The body of the chapter will present the quantitative data, followed by a discussion in which the numbers will be interpreted. The chapter ends with a short conclusion summarizing the results.

1.2 A holistic approach to the epigraphic object

In his (1998) article Macdonald, following Février (1989), emphasized the importance of studying the language and content of epigraphic material in the context of its physical form, location and cultural/historical setting. All these elements contain information on the meaning and significance of a particular text and need to be taken into account in order to even begin to understand the already fragmentary epigraphic record. While the principle concern of this work is the language of the Dadanitic inscriptions and the linguistic variation found within them, this cannot be studied without taking into account the character of the Dadanitic texts. Therefore, the study of the language of the Dadanitic texts begins with the object itself. The features that make a text identifiable as Dadanitic are: its script and to some extent its language, its location, and the particular genres and formulae associated with the Dadanitic writing culture. This chapter will use the three basic features script, genre and language to describe the Dadanitic corpus including the variation it comprises (see § 1.6 Key elements of a Dadanitic inscription). The specific elements of the corpus will be discussed in their wider cultural context in order to take the possible influence of literacy and scribal schools on the linguistic variation in the corpus into consideration. Finally the methodological challenges associated with analyzing this particular body of texts will be discussed (see § 1.7.5 Methodological concerns - Analyzing the language of a scribal school). Such a holistic approach to the epigraphic object is the only way to move beyond simply describing its separate elements and to work towards an explanation for the seeming inconsistencies found in the inscriptions. Previous studies of the language of the inscriptions (e.g. Sima 1999; Farès-Drappeau 2005) have not been able to offer a comprehensive explanation for the variation attested in the inscriptions partly because they did not look beyond the transcribed text of the inscriptions. Now that it has become clear that the explanation is not a purely linguistic one it is understandable that the linguistic dimension alone does not contain the answers to the question of variation. Another element that is often overlooked when studying epigraphy is that official inscriptions, that are not graffiti, do not represent natural speech but a written code.² The formalization of language for such purposes will have a standardizing effect that creates some distance between spoken and written registers. Before discussing the specific features of the inscriptions and the literary environment in which they were produced in more detail, a brief overview of the corpus and the history of the oasis will be given.

1.3 The corpus

Most of the Dadanitic inscriptions are found in and around the ancient oasis of Dadān.³ The Dadanitic script is classified as Ancient North Arabian (ANA), a blanket term to refer to the non-ASA South Semitic scripts attested from the northern borders of Yemen to the southern Levant. ANA consists of various linguistic varieties tied together by their script, which is related to the South Semitic alphabet. It has been hypothesized that the ANA scripts form one group, descending parallel to Ancient South Arabian from a putative proto-South Semitic script. However, a paleographic connection between all of the ANA scripts has yet to be demonstrated (Al-Jallad 2015: 10).

² This has of course long been recognized for ancient languages such as Akkadian written in cuneiform script, or even in alphabetic writing traditions such as Nabataean where the difference between the written Aramaic and the substrate of Arabic, of which traces can be found in the written language, is more immediately apparent. However, in Ancient South Arabian and Ancient north Arabian epigraphy this plays a much less prominent role in the approach to their language, probably partly due to the large amount of graffiti found in scripts that fall under these umbrella terms.

³ A few Dadanitic inscriptions have been found in the vicinity of the nearby oasis of Taymā' (Hayajneh 2016). Several inscriptions in the Aramaic script mentioning the king of Lihyān have also been found at Taymā' (JSNab 334; 335; 337).

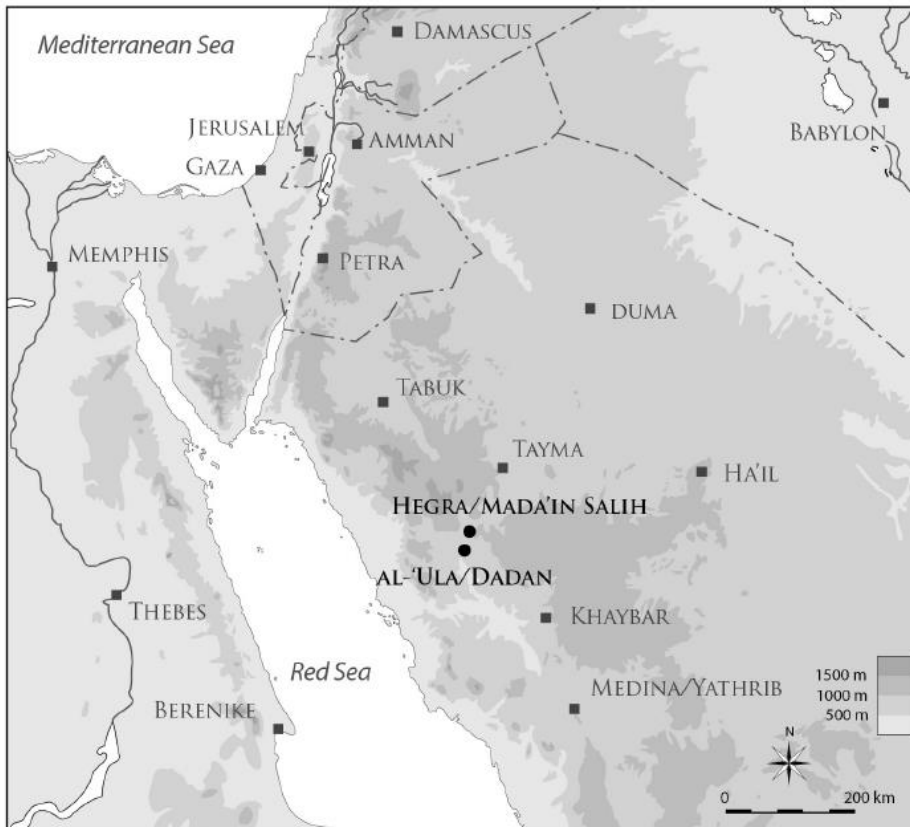


Figure 2 Map showing the location of Dadān, courtesy of Rohmer and Charloux (2015)

The first western traveler said to have visited al-‘Ulā and Madā’ in Šāliḥ, Nabataean al-Ḥiḡr, some 20 km northeast of the oasis of al-‘Ulā, was C.M. Doughty. He published an account of his travels in 1888, which includes a description of both places and sketches of their surroundings. He also copied some of the inscriptions, which he thought to be Sabaic, or “Himyaric” (Doughty 1888, 160). His copies were published in the volume *Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l’Arabie* (Doughty 1884). Based on these texts Halévy offered a first attempt at their decipherment (Halévy 1884). The first decipherment of the script benefited greatly from the resemblance it had to the already deciphered Sabaic script (D. H. Müller 1889, 15–21). The first edition of Dadanitic inscriptions was Müller’s (1889) work on the inscriptions brought back from the region of al-‘Ulā by Euting. Müller termed the inscriptions ‘Lihjanisch’ (D. H. Müller 1889, 4) after the attestation of several kings that are called *mlk lhyn* ‘king of Lihyān’ in the corpus (D. H. Müller 1889, 5). His work includes a script table with his reading of the attested glyphs (D. H. Müller 1889, pl. X). Despite these efforts, the reading of several letter shapes was amended in later works (Grimme 1926, 1932; Winnett 1937). The large number of additional Dadanitic inscriptions that had become available after the publication of the inscriptions collected by Jaussen and Savignac (1909) were of great importance to their further decipherment. Later major contributions to the corpus were made by Stiehl (1971) and Abū ‘l-Ḥasan (1997, 2002).⁴

⁴ For a more elaborate overview of the decipherment of the Dadanitic script see Farès-Drappeau (2005, 31–33) and (2005, 36–41) for a discussion of the history of scholarship on Dadanitic. For an overview of contributions to the study of Dadanitic following Caskel’s (1954) edition see Sima (1999, 3–4). All the inscriptions including available photographs and bibliography are available on the OCIANA database <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>.

1.3.1 Terminology

Grimme was the first to propose dividing the Dadanitic corpus into a Dadānite and Liḥyānite script type (Grimme 1932, 754), using the term Dadānite to refer to inscriptions Jaussen and Savignac had initially termed ‘old Thamudic’ (for more on the paleographic distinction between Dadānite and Liḥyānite see § 1.6.1.1 Paleography below). These labels referred to the two consecutive kingdoms that are mentioned in the inscriptions: the kingdom of Dadān and the kingdom of Liḥyān. The use of the name ‘Dadanitic’, adopted in this work, to refer to the complete corpus by its geographical location is relatively recent. It was first coined by Macdonald (2000, 33), to replace former ‘Dadānite’ and ‘Liḥyānite’. He argues that, since we cannot make a clear distinction between two different types of script (see in more detail below § 1.6.1.1 Paleography), dividing the corpus into two would not accurately reflect its variation. Moreover, even if a distinction could be made, we cannot directly attribute the change in script to a change in political power. Thus connecting any phase of the script to a particular regime risks blurring our understanding of the history of the oasis (Macdonald 2000, 33).

1.3.2 The OCIANA database

At present the Dadanitic corpus consists of 1969 inscriptions, which are all brought together in the searchable online OCIANA database.⁵ The database was developed at the Khalili research center at the University of Oxford, under supervision of Michael Macdonald and Jeremy Johns.⁶ It includes all currently published and even some unpublished Dadanitic inscriptions. Each inscription has its own record containing all available images, a transcription and translation when possible and a complete bibliography. The images provided on the OCIANA website have formed the basis of my analysis of the manners of inscribing (see Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing). The reading of all inscriptions relevant to the analysis of the grammar or orthography was cross checked with the available photographs. Whenever the proposed reading or interpretation of an inscription relevant for my analysis does not follow the one given in OCIANA this will be mentioned in the discussion. In the glossary all readings that deviate from the interpretation in OCIANA are marked with a single asterisk when they are mine, otherwise they are followed by the reference to the publication in which they were proposed (see Appendix - Glossary).

1.4 The oasis of Dadān

Dadān was situated on a strategic place on the incense trade route between the south of the Peninsula, Egypt, and the Levant to the north (Macdonald 1997, 335–36). The presence of a major Minaean settlement at the site underscores its international importance. See § 1.5.3 Minaic presence at Dadān for a more elaborate discussion of the interaction between the Dadanitic population and the Minaeans and the implications for the dating of the inscriptions.

Besides being an important trading hub, agriculture also played an important role in the economy of the oasis. Different crops, such as dates growing on palm trees (*nḥl* (e.g. Al-‘Udayb 071)), grain (*tbrt* (U 112; U 069)), and different seasonal crops (*dt*’ (AH 107); *hrf* (U 059)) are commonly mentioned in the dedicatory inscriptions from the oasis. The agricultural fields were likely fed through a subterranean canal system that was found at the oasis (Nasif 1988). It has been assumed that the construction method used to build it was introduced into Arabia around the 5th century BCE (Sima, 2005: 50 cf. n. 9), but al-Tikriti (2002) has argued convincingly that the subterranean canal system

⁵ 22-4-2018 <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana> (now available at <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>).

⁶ For more information about the project and staff see <http://krc2.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/index.php>

likely originated in South East Arabia “several centuries before its introduction into Iran” (al-Tikriti 2002, 137).

1.4.1 Main sites

While most of the Dadanitic inscriptions are found in and around the oasis, the area can be divided into several different sites (see Figure 3). Most of the monumental inscriptions are found close to the site of the ancient settlement, known as al-Ḥuraybah, but also a few kilometres further to the north at a site called Qubūr al-Jundī (in the valley connecting the ancient village to the site of Madā'in Šāliḥ and at Jabal Iṭlib, see Figure 7 for an overview of the distribution of the inscriptions across the main sites). Jabal Iṭlib is connected to the ancient town of al-Ḥigr (modern Madā'in Šāliḥ), known as “the ‘southern capital’ of the Nabataean kingdom” (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 303). It seems that Jabal Iṭlib was mainly used as a look out spot, and most inscriptions found in this location are graffiti mentioning the guarding activities of the individuals posted there (see § 1.5 A brief history of Dadān for more on the relationship between the Nabataeans and Dadān). Among the monumental inscriptions, especially the location of the *zll* inscriptions stands out, commemorating the performance of an enigmatic ritual called the *zll* for the main local deity *dḡbt*. These inscriptions are only attested at two sites near the ancient settlement: at al-‘Uḏayb or Jabal ‘Ikmaḥ (Stiehl 1971; Sima 1999) and at Umm Daraj (Nasif 1988; Abū l-Ḥasan 2002, 25–162). Their concentration at these two specific sites probably marks them as cultic sites. At Umm Daraj, this is supported by the finding of cultic items such as incense burners and statues (Abū l-Ḥasan 2005, 29). Dadanitic graffiti are found beyond these environs, some even close to Taymā' (see Hayajneh 2016) another oasis town about 150 km to the North East from al-‘Ulā as the crow flies (see Figure 2).⁷

1.5 A brief history of Dadān

The dating of the Dadanitic inscriptions is problematic. They are generally assumed to have been produced between the 6th and 1st centuries BCE. However, the inscriptions themselves do not refer to any datable historical events. Therefore, dating the inscriptions has relied mostly on epigraphic material and outside references to Dadān. Below, an overview and discussion of the main arguments concerning the dating of the inscriptions will be presented. It will become clear that none of the traditional methods of dating the corpus has yielded reliable results. In a recent article discussing the new archaeological data from the ongoing excavations at Madā'in Šāliḥ and the site of ancient Dadān, Rohmer and Charloux have shown the importance of this new source of data for our understanding of the history of the area (Rohmer and Charloux 2015).⁸

1.5.1 The Dadānite and Liḥyānite kingdoms

It is generally assumed that the Liḥyānite kingdom followed the Dadānite kingdom and that the end of the Liḥyānite kingdom coincides with the end of the production of Dadanitic inscriptions (e.g. Winnett and Reed, 1970: 116; Farès-Drappeau, 2005: 117–122). This is based on the mentioning of both kings of Dadān and kings of Liḥyān in the inscriptions. A change in the ruling elite seems to be supported by the names of the kings found in the inscriptions. We only have three names connected to the title *mlk ddn* (*kbr' l* (JSLih 138); *mt ' l* as a patronymic (JSLih 138) and 'sy (Al-Sa'īd 2011.1; 2011.2)), and five names connected to the (at least) eight individual Liḥyānite kings (*hn 's' l* (e.g. AH 202; AH 222);

⁷ To get to Taymā' one would have to go around the mountain range to the north of al-‘Ulā, however, making the actual journey closer to 200/250km.

⁸ Their article includes a thorough discussion of the main epigraphic and historical sources used to date the Dadanitic corpus so far.

s²hr (AH 053); *tlmy* (e.g. AH 226); *lqn* (e.g. JSLih 082); *gs²m* (Rabeler 001)).⁹ The royal house of Liḥyān seems to have employed a restricted set of regnal names that was not used by the kings of Dadān nor by the general public.¹⁰

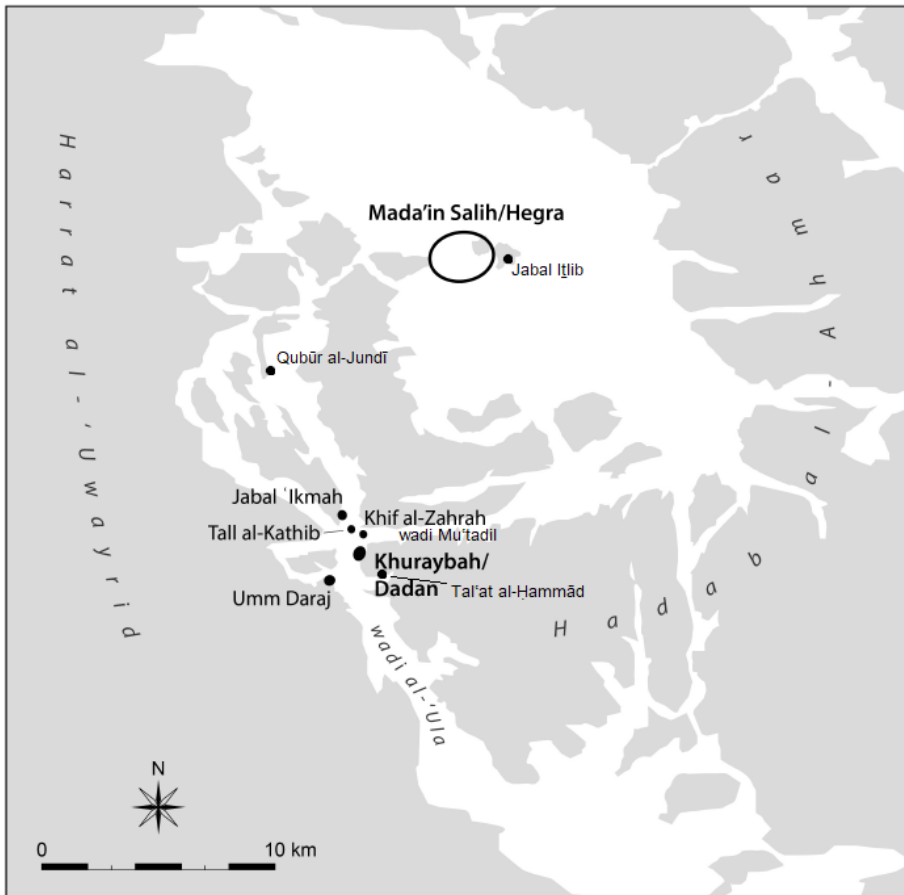


Figure 3 Map showing the main archaeological sites of Dadān, courtesy of Rohmer and Charoloux (2015), map is adapted to show additional sites (qubūr al-jundī, Jabal Iḥlib, tal'at al-Ḥammād and wadi mu'tadil). The grey areas represent sandstone massifs. Jabal 'Ikmaḥ corresponds to the area called al-'Uḏayb in Stiehl (1971) and Sima (1999).

1.5.1.1 Regnal years and the chronology of the inscriptions

Several scholars have tried to use the royal lineage and the inscriptions dated to regnal years as a way to gain insight into the length of the period in which the inscriptions were produced (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 123; Rohmer and Charoloux 2015, 299). Rohmer and Charoloux conclude that there were at least 12 different kings and come to a sum of 199 regnal years. They combine this with the fact that in the royal chronicle of Nabonidus, who resided in Taymā' from 552–543 BCE (Beaulieu 1989, 150), reference is made to a 'king of Dadān', suggesting that the kingdom of Liḥyān did not exist yet at that time. Based on this, they establish 552 BCE as a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of the

⁹ For an overview of the kings' names and a suggested lineage see Farès-Drappeau (2005, 126). For a brief discussion of the Aramaic inscriptions mentioning a 'king of Liḥyān' see § 1.5.4.4 Aramaic inscriptions.

¹⁰ The names *hn's'* and *tlmy* are never mentioned outside the context of dating formulae or royal lineage in the Dadanitic corpus; *s²hr* is mentioned once in a context that may not be a royal lineage, but it appears in broken context at the end of a dedicatory inscription; someone named *lqn bn gs²m* occurs once in what seems to be a graffito (AH 309). The use of the names of kings of Dadan also seems to have been fairly restricted. *kbr'l* only occurs once as a royal name; *mt'l* and 'šy occur once together in a broken monumental inscription (AH 214); 'šy further occurs in another fragmentary inscription in relief (JSLih 323). *mt'l* seems to have been more widespread and occurs in several other inscriptions in which it does not seem to be connected to a royal lineage (JSLih 186; JSLih 187; Nasif 1988: 98, pl. CL; Nasif 1988: 91, pl. CXXX/d).

Lihyānite kingdom, and conclude that it must have existed until at least 353 BCE (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 299–300).

Farès-Drappeau tries to take the information provided by the royal lineages even further and provides a line of succession of the different kings (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 126). If it is indeed possible to establish such a family tree, this would provide us with a relative dating of at least these inscriptions, which could be a valuable tool in understanding internal linguistic and paleographic developments of the corpus. Unfortunately the genealogies provided in the inscriptions are never longer than two names (name of the king and his father), and occasionally do not even mention the name of the father (e.g. AH 063; Rabeler 001; AH 222). Due to the short genealogies and the repetition of names across generations, there are a great many different options when constructing a family tree. Especially if we allow for the possibility that not every new king represents a new generation and consecutive kings may have been brothers.

The following reconstruction (Figure 4) rests on a number of assumptions. First of all it assumes that our list of kings is complete and that there are no gaps in our attestation of rulers; this is of course by no means a certainty. Also, it assumes that the inscriptions were made aiming at the biggest possible clarity in identifying the kings, which implies that every mention of the same name with the same patronym refers to the same person. This is of course not a certainty with genealogies going back no further than one generation. Moreover, optimal clarity was not something the authors of the inscriptions were overly concerned with, as we can see from the five inscriptions that mention only the name of a king without his patronymic (AH 064 and AH 063 *tlmy*; Rabeler 001 *gs²m*; AH 202 and AH 222 *hn's¹*). Assuming that every king with the same name and patronymic is the same person has as an advantage that it reduces the possible amount of outcomes. In addition to that, this method yields the most conservative time depth. Such a short chronology is not necessarily closer to the true royal lineage of the Lihyānite kings of course; it may just as likely have been longer. However, using the inscriptions to determine the minimum amount of time the Lihyānite kings ruled the oasis, as Rohmer and Charloux (2015, 299–300) did, is the only conclusion they provide reliable evidence for.

This can be supplemented by looking at the reported years of reign in the inscriptions. Most kings are mentioned in dating formulae. These count the years of the reign of the king. It seems safe to say that if *tlmy* son of *hn's¹* reigned for at least 42 years (al-Ḥuraybah 10), that he was not succeeded by his brother *lqn* son of *hn's¹* who reigned for at least 35 years (JSLih 082) and therefore they likely belong to different generations and their father is not the same *hn's¹*. This most constrictive method with the addition of accounting for number of regnal years yields the genealogy as presented in Farès-Drappeau's work, represented in Figure 4 (2005, 126).¹¹

Without changing any of these underlying assumptions it is also possible, however, that *s²hr* was the brother of *lqn* (JSLih 082) (see Figure 5). If this is correct, then we seem to enter a period of messy succession in which the sons of each brother reigned for short periods of time (only year one of *tlmy* son of *lqn* is attested (Müller, D.H. 1889, 63–64 no. 8); only year 7 of his brother *gs²m* is attested (JSLih 085); and of their nephew *hn's¹* son of *s²hr* no specific regnal year is mentioned (JSLih 053)). Since this is a difference of three generations already for *s²hr* son of *hn's¹* this has serious implications for the relative chronology of the inscriptions.

¹¹ Note that Farès-Drappeau does not make these choices underlying her reconstruction of the royal genealogy explicit, she does not discuss any alternative reconstructions either (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 122–26).

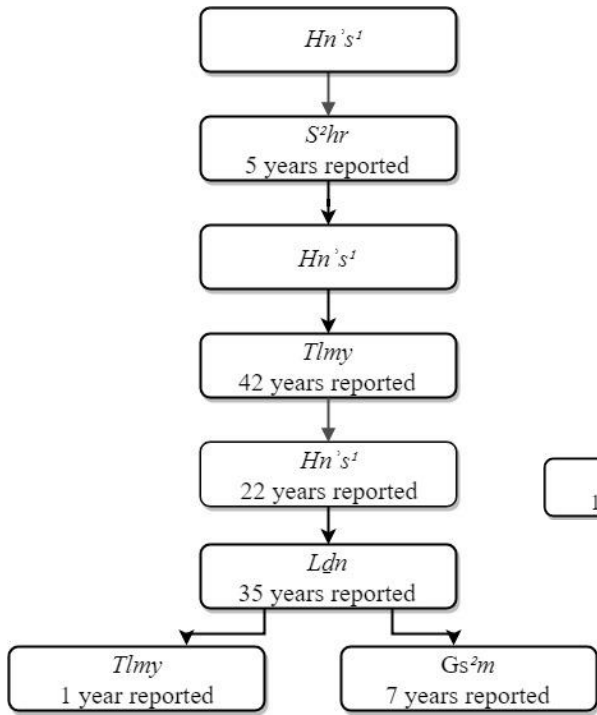


Figure 4 Possible royal lineage, as presented in Farès-Drappeau 2005. Figure made in draw.io



Figure 5 Possible royal lineage, with maximum restrictions. Figure made in draw.io

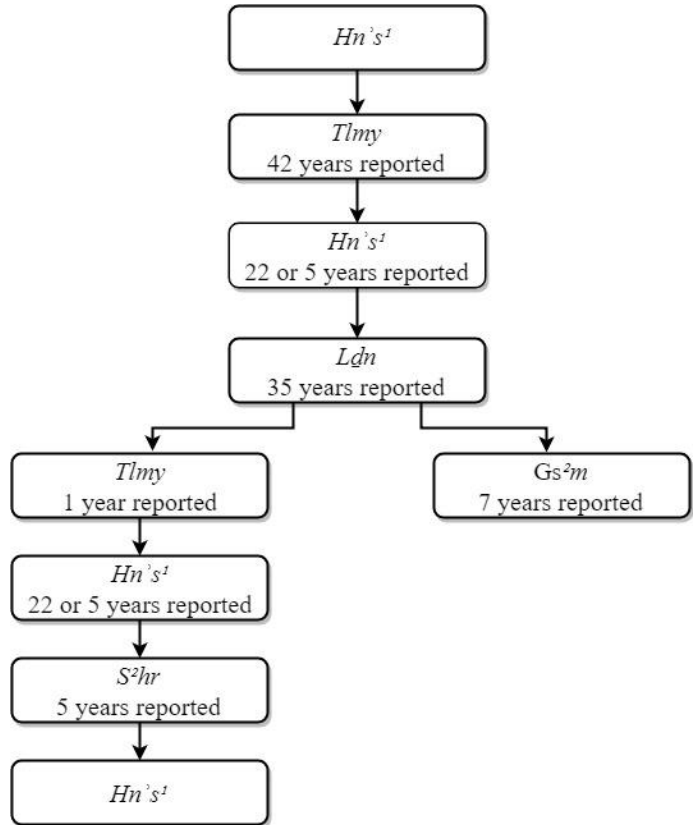


Figure 6 Possible royal lineage, without 1 name = 1 person restriction. Figure made in draw.io

The problems of chronology become even more serious when we consider the possibility that not every inscription mentioning the same name with patronymic refers to the same person. This means, for example, that one of the inscriptions mentioning *hn's^l* son of *tlmy* (AH 244 and JSLih 075) could be moved three generations down and be interpreted as the son of *tlmy* son of *ldn* (Müller, D.H. 1889, 63–64 no. 8). This movement would also open up the possibility that the line of *hn's^l* son of *s²hr* (JSLih 053) son of *hn's^l* (AH 013) could be moved from all the way at the beginning of the line to the bottom, following *hn's^l* son of *tlmy* (AH 244 or JSLih 075) son of *ldn* (Müller, D.H. 1889, 63–64 no. 8), likely a difference of several hundred years (see Figure 6). This is of course just one of the many possibilities when we abandon the idea that the same name always refers to the same person even when they occur in different inscriptions.

The number of possible orderings of the kings makes it clear that it is impossible to draw any reliable conclusions about the relative chronology of the inscriptions based on the royal lineages. Even to determine the overall duration of the Liḥyānite kingdom they are unreliable. Of most kings we only have one inscription mentioning a specific year of their reign, making it very possible that *tlmy* son of *ldn* ruled far longer than the one year that has been recorded in the inscriptions. On top of that not all kings may be represented in the epigraphic record as we know it today. Therefore these inscriptions can only be helpful to gain some basic insight into the minimum number of years the rule of the Liḥyānite kings lasted as Rohmer and Charloux (2015, 299) did.

1.5.2 Philological arguments

Using philological arguments to date the inscriptions, Winnett refers to the title *pht ddn*, used in JSLih 349, which he translates as ‘governor of Dadān’ (Winnett and Reed 1970, 115–16). Based on when this, originally Assyrian, word was thought to have been introduced into western Arabia he proposes to date the text to the Persian period (6th–4th c. BCE) (Winnett 1937, 51; Winnett and Reed 1970, 115–16).¹² Graf however, showed that the first occurrence of the title *pht* is much earlier, in the Adon-Papyrus from Egypt, dated to the early Neo-Babylonian period (604/603 BCE) (Graf 1990, 140; and most recently Rohmer forthcoming).

In a similar way Caskel (1954) uses the formula “Es werde seiner im Guten gedacht!” *dbh* (JSLih 082; Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8). He believes these three letters are an abbreviation of the phrase *dukir bi-ḥayr* in which he sees a parallel to the Nabataean formula *dkīr b-ṭāb* (Caskel, 1954: 76).¹³ The Nabataean formula is first attested in inscriptions from the 1st century BCE (Caskel, 1954: 36). This argument is built upon several assumptions that are difficult to verify. The formula does not occur in a written out form in the corpus, none of the other frequently used formula in the Dadanitic corpus are abbreviated like this, and one would have to assume that the Nabataean formula was not adopted directly but in translation. Moreover, the archaeological evidence from both Dadān and al-Ḥiḡr (Madā'in Šāliḥ), do not show any evidence for direct contact between the Nabataeans and the Liḥyānite kingdom (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 309), although this cannot prove that there was no contact at all of course.

¹² Caskel, (1954) acknowledges Winnett’s arguments, but dates the text to the 2nd century BCE, based on his dating of the Dadanite period. He argues that the term could have lingered in the region after the Persian period (Caskel, 1954: 102).

¹³ Note that this formula is found in other forms of Aramaic, such as Palmyrene, as well. For an overview of its use and variations with bibliography see Hoftijzer and Jongeling (1995, 324–29).

1.5.3 Minaic presence at Dadān

Another historical anchor for the inscriptions may be found in the presence of Minaic inscriptions at Dadān. The presence of Minaic inscriptions mentioning the title *kbr ddn* were initially taken as proof the Minaeans took over political control of the oasis (Winnett 1939, 6). In his (1970) publication with Reed, however, Winnett pointed out that this was likely not the case, as *kabīr* is also used in other Minaean settings in which they were not in political control (Winnett and Reed 1970, 117).¹⁴ Instead, Winnett assumed that the Minaeans and Dadānites were contemporary to each other. This is supported by an inscription in Dadanitic language and script, in which a priest of Wadd, the main deity of the Minaeans, presents *dgbt*, the main deity of the Dadanitic inscriptions, with a young boy (JSLih 049).

Even though it is difficult to establish any exact dates for the beginning and ending of the Minaean kingdom, it is roughly estimated that Minaean kings ruled in the north of modern-day Yemen between the sixth and the first century BCE.¹⁵ One Minaic inscription (RES 3022) from the Minaic homeland in the southern Jawf, in the south of the Peninsula, mentions a conflict between *mḏy* and Egypt (Winnett and Reed, 1970; 118–119). Winnett dates this text to 343 BCE, and interprets it as a reference to Artaxerxes' attack on Egypt (Winnett and Reed, 1970; 119). Lemaire (1996; 46), on the other hand, points out that the inscription talks about a *mrd* and not a *ḏr*. The word *ḏr* is a commonly used to refer to a war whereas *mrd* usually means 'revolt'. This leads him to date the inscription to the period between 482 and 345 BCE, during which there were several Egyptian revolts against Persia (Lemaire, 1996; 46). He adds that the inscription most likely refers to one of the two major revolts, either that of Inaros (between 463 and 461 BCE) or that of Amyrtaeus (405 BCE) (Lemaire, 1996; 47). This places his estimated dating of the inscription much earlier than that of Winnett. The Minaean presence at Dadān probably lasted from about the fourth century BCE (Beeston 1979: 8) until a little before the decline of the kingdom in the south which can probably be placed in the first century BCE (Robin 1998: 184–85; Arbach 2003: § 24–25),¹⁶ however, Beeston suggested that the trading station at Dadān already "ceased to operate" around 100 BCE (Beeston 1979: 8).¹⁷

1.5.4 Dadān in other corpora

1.5.4.1 Hierodules list

One of the sources from outside the Dadanitic corpus commonly used to date the inscriptions is the inscription known as the Hierodules list. This is an inscription that was found in Ma'īn, listing marriages between Minaean men and foreign women. Both Dadān and Liḥyān are mentioned in it: Dadān as a toponym and Liḥyān as an anthroponym (Farès-Drappeau 2005: 119).¹⁸

However, the dating of the text is still disputed, since the inscription is not dated, and no historical events are explicitly mentioned in it (e.g. Lemaire 1996, 35–48; Bron 1998, 3:102–3; Rohmer and

¹⁴ Norris (2018, 78) discusses an ANA inscription from Dūma which he reads *l tḥwb h-kbr* 'by *tḥwb* the *kabīr*'. If his interpretation is correct, this is the first discovery of the mention of a *kabīr* in northern Arabian outside of Dadān (Norris 2018, n. 20).

¹⁵ See for example Winnett (1939) for a general discussion of the chronology of the Minaean kingdom. See Robin and De Maigret (2009) for a discussion of early archaeological evidence of the Minaean kingdom.

¹⁶ Arbach argues for the entry of Arabian tribes from the north in the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, based on changes in the epigraphic record, where different deities start to be mentioned (*hlfn* and *ḏs^lmwy*), the political titles change, and some linguistic changes can be observed (Arbach 2003, § 24). He argues that the arrival of the Roman army in the Jawf at the end of the 1st century BCE truly meant the end of the Minaic realm (Arbach 2003, § 25).

¹⁷ Beeston does not discuss his reasons for this assertion and seems to take it as established fact.

¹⁸ A 'free woman from Liḥyān' Ma'īn 93 side B line 46 and women from Dadan (Ma'īn 93 West side lines 31; 36; 9/10; 16; 42/43; North side line 8; Ma'īn 94 line 4; Ma'īn 95 line 15/16; Ma'īn 98 line 5/6) occur in the text.

Charloux 2015, 302). Most attempts to gain some insight into this issue have been based on paleography. This led Pirenne (1956: 212) to assume that the inscription was gradually compiled sometime between 320 and 150 BCE (Lemaire, 1996; 39–40). Lemaire, however, bases his arguments on the place names mentioned in the inscription. Based on the absence of any mention of Edom and the Nabataeans, as opposed to the explicit mentioning of Sidon, and the presence of the Qedarites, he concludes that the inscriptions that make up the Hierodules list were probably produced before the 4th century BCE (Lemaire, 1996; 44).

1.5.4.2 Taymanitic inscriptions

Dadān is also mentioned several times in the Taymanitic inscriptions, another ANA corpus. The Taymanitic inscriptions are found in the nearby oasis of Taymā'. It is assumed that at least part of the Taymanitic corpus was written around the second half of the 6th century BCE, based on a few inscriptions found around Taymā' which mention *nbn d mlk bbl* (Esk 169 and Esk 177) or only *mlk bbl* (Esk 025) who is identified as 'Nabonidus king of Babylon'. The Taymanitic inscriptions mention a 'war of Dadān' *ḏr ddn* (e.g. WTay 20). This can at least tell us that Dadān was inhabited at the time these Taymanitic inscriptions were produced. It is tempting to assume that Dadān referred to in the Taymanitic script is contemporary to the Dadān of the writers of the Dadanitic inscriptions, but the inscriptions contain no direct evidence for this.

1.5.4.3 Safaitic inscriptions

There are also several Safaitic inscriptions that mention the Liḥyanites (BRenv. A5; BRenv. A2). The inscriptions mention a sudden attack by the 'l *lhyn* 'the family/tribe of Liḥyān' on the settlements/settled areas'¹⁹ (Macdonald, Al-Mu'azzin, and Nehmé 1996, 458). There are other Safaitic inscriptions that mention *lhyn* in a dating formula (WH 641.1; KRS 2287; KRS 2327; KRS 2342²⁰), but in those contexts it may have been a personal name.²¹ Unfortunately these texts are of little help to aid in the exact dating of the Dadanitic inscriptions. The Safaitic inscriptions are generally assumed to have been written roughly between the 1st century BCE and the 4th century CE, but this dating is uncertain and their production might have started centuries before this and continued long after (Al-Jallad 2015, 17–18). Moreover, the tribe of Liḥyān seems to have continued to exist after the collapse of the Liḥyānite kingdom and after they left al-'Ulā as their capital. The Liḥyanites are mentioned in Islamic genealogical and historical sources (8th/9th centuries CE) as a branch of the Huḏayl, situated in the region north-east of Mecca in the 6th century AD. Muslim tradition does not seem to have preserved any accounts of their history beyond their name (Drewes and Levi Della Vida 1986 consulted 28–6–2018), making it very unclear how the Liḥyānite tribe remembered in the 8th and 9th centuries CE relates to the Liḥyānite kingdom of Dadān about a millennium earlier.

1.5.4.4 Aramaic inscriptions

Three Aramaic inscriptions found close to Taymā' have been used to date the end of the Liḥyānite kingdom (JSNab 334, 335, 337). The author of these inscriptions calls himself 'king of Liḥyān' (Winnett and Reed, 1970: 120). Based on paleographic considerations several datings of the inscriptions have been proposed. Jaussen and Savignac (1914: 221) consider the script to be an

¹⁹ The word *s'kn* is left untranslated in (Macdonald, Al-Mu'azzin, and Nehmé 1996, 458) and the OCIANA database. The translation 'settlement/settled areas' is based on Al-Jallad (2015, 341).

²⁰ Note that all three inscriptions with the KRS sigla seem to refer to the same event, *s'nt ws'q 'bdrb' } } l lhyn* 'the year 'bdrb' l confronted *lhyn*' (OCIANA, 22-4-2018).

²¹ *lhyn* is more commonly found as a personal name in the Safaitic inscriptions. Compare for example (KRS 185) *l-lhyn bn s'ny bn s'lm bn s' d* 'by *lhyn* son of *s'ny* son of *s'lm* son of *s' d*' (OCIANA 22-4-2018).

evolution of the Aramaic script, which eventually resulted in the Hebrew square script and the Nabataean script. They very cautiously propose to date it to the second century BCE. Caskel, on the other hand, sees parallels with the Palmyrene script and proposes to date them to the first century BCE (Caskel, 1954:42 and note 125). Some take the inscriptions as evidence that the Lihyānites were overthrown by the Nabataeans, who then came to occupy the oasis (Caskel 1954, 42). Winnett mentions that the name of the author of this inscription is not one of the known Nabataean king's names. Based on this, he assumes that the author of the inscription was probably not a Nabataean king, but more likely an adventurer from the "Nabataean cultural zone north of Dadān" acting on his own behalf (Winnett and Reed, 1970: 120).²² He does believe that the appearance of Nabataean graffiti in the area marks a change in cultural affiliations of the oasis (Winnett, 1970; 120). However, Macdonald has identified the script as a local variety of Aramaic 'Taymā' Aramaic', which developed at the oasis in the last third of the first millennium BCE (Macdonald forthcoming), showing that these inscriptions cannot actually be attributed to Nabataean influence at Dadān (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 301).

An actual Nabataean inscription attested in Dadān is a grave inscription, dated to the first year of Aretas (IV) (CIS II, 1, 332), which corresponds to 9 BCE (Caskel 1954, 35). Caskel interprets this inscription as an indication for a brief Nabataean presence in the oasis, which marks the "disturbance" between the early and late Lihyānite period. According to him, this 'political disturbance' explains the slight shift in the letter shapes used in each period (Caskel, 1954: 36).²³ However, as mentioned above, there does not seem to be any archaeological evidence showing direct contact between the Nabataeans and the Lihyānite kingdom, suggesting the Lihyānite kingdom may already have collapsed by the time the Nabataeans established their presence in the area (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 309).

1.5.5 Dadān in the Bible

Not all possible clues to the dating of the Dadanitic inscriptions come from epigraphic data. There are also several Biblical references to Dadān. Dadān is mentioned in the Biblical genealogies in Genesis and Chronicles,²⁴ in which it is represented as a sibling of Sheba. This is generally assumed to refer to close relations between the two, either commercial (cf. Macdonald, 1997: 337–8) or tribal (Winnett and Reed, 1970: 113). A century or more after the inscription by Yariris (8th c. BCE) Ezekiel's prophecy mentions Dadān in a network of trading relations,²⁵ probably as middlemen for the trade in goods, possibly from Egypt, and as producers of saddle cloths (Macdonald, 1997: 342). In addition to this there are several other references to the place name.²⁶ Based on these references Winnett assumes that the oasis flourished in the sixth century BCE (Winnett and Reed, 1970; 113–4 and note 6).

²² I would like to thank Michael Macdonald for bringing to my attention the recent discovery of an official Aramaic inscription from Taymā' dated to year 3 of *mš'wdw mlk lhyn* (previously only known from JSNab 334, 335, 337). This inscription suggests a more formal status of this 'king of Lihyān' than Winnett assumed, based on only the graffiti available to him. Even though the discovery of this name in an official inscription is significant, I would still agree with Charloux and Rohmer that, since this person is only attested in Aramaic inscriptions from outside Dadān we cannot conclude he ruled in Dadan in the same way as the kings that are mentioned in the Dadanitic inscriptions (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, n. 6).

²³ See § 1.6.1.1 Paleography for a more elaborate discussion about the attempts to use of paleography to establish a relative chronology of the inscriptions.

²⁴ Gen. 10:6, 7; 25:3 and Chron. 1:9.

²⁵ Ez. 25:13; 27:15, 20; 38:13

²⁶ Jer: 25:23, 49:8

1.5.6 Archaeological evidence

As shown in the discussion above, the epigraphic data and historical sources have not produced any secure or precise dating so far. Therefore the King Saud excavation at the site of ancient Dadān (modern al-Ḥuraybah), and the results of the joint Saudi-French excavations of the residential area and necropolis at ancient al-Ḥigr (modern Madā'in Šāliḥ) carried out over the past decades have been crucial in finding new evidence for our understanding of the history of the area (al-Said and al-Ghazzi 2013; Al-Theeb 2013; Nehmé, al-Talhi, and Villeneuve 2010; Nehmé 2011).

Based on the results of these excavations, Rohmer and Charloux suggest that there was a disruption in the history of Dadān in the 3rd century BCE (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 313). In this period the site of tall al-Kaṭīb (al-Zahrani 2007) and the rural area of ḥīf al-Zahrah (Bawden 1979), which were connected to the oasis of Dadān, seem to have been abandoned (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 311). It is unclear if a similar period of abandonment occurred at the same time at al-Ḥuraybah. However, the very low number of coins found at the site, especially compared to the high number of coins struck between the late 3rd and late 1st centuries BCE found at the site of ancient al-Ḥigr (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 310), led Rohmer and Charloux to suggest that the site entered a phase of decline in this period and did not play a major role in the region anymore by this time (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 311).

Very little evidence for Dadanitic presence has been found at the site of ancient al-Ḥigr. The only material pointing to Dadanitic presence at the site is some Dadanitic painted ware, found in the first layer of occupation dated between 6th and 4th centuries BCE. The inscriptions at Jebel Itlib point to a military presence rather than occupation of the site (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 309). Based on the absence of clear evidence for a Nabataean presence at al-Ḥigr until the second half of the 1st century BCE and the presence of certain coins, they tentatively suggest that Nabataean control of al-Ḥigr may have been preceded by another tribal entity (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 312).

1.6 Key elements of a Dadanitic inscription

When studying variation in the Dadanitic corpus, there are three main elements of the inscriptions in which most variation can be found. These are the script, specifically the letter shapes and manner of inscribing of the inscription; the genres of text that can be expressed and the different levels of formality that seem to have been associated with them; and finally the language used to compose them. This section offers a treatment of each of these key elements of variation, followed by a discussion of the evidence for a local scribal school and the implication this has for our understanding of this variation. It will offer a discussion of previous literature that engaged with these topics, and a methodological discussion on its relevance for the present work.





1.6.1 Script

The Dadanitic corpus is primarily defined by its script, although the term is usually also employed to refer to the language of the Dadanitic inscriptions. The two do not always have to go together, as “any script can, of course, be used to express any language (more or less efficiently)” (Macdonald 2000, 37). This is clearly illustrated by the large amount of linguistic variation attested in the Dadanitic inscriptions. For example, the verb *ʒll* ‘to perform the *ʒll* ceremony’ has been attested in no less than four variant forms: *ʒll*, *hʒll*, *ʒl* and *hʒl* (Sima 1999, 93) which all appear in identical contexts; numbers between ten and twenty can either be expressed by a ‘teen-and-digit’ or a ‘digit-teen’ system (Sima 1999, 118–20; but cf. Macdonald 2008, 213); and both *h(n)*- and *ʾ(l)*- forms of the definite article are attested (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65). The language expressed in the Dadanitic texts does not

seem to be a homogeneous entity, raising the question whether it is even possible to talk about *the* Dadanitic language in the first place. The following section will focus primarily on previous scholarship concerning the use of paleography to establish a relative chronology of the texts. The script itself and the attested variation in letter shapes will be treated in more detail in Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing.

1.6.1.1 Paleography

Dadanitic exhibits variation in its letter shapes, which has motivated scholars to propose a relative chronology of the inscriptions based on paleography (Grimme 1932; Winnett 1937; Caskel 1954; Farès-Drappeau 2005). This approach to Dadanitic paleography has been present in the field since the earliest treatment of the inscriptions and has been the most commonly accepted approach to the corpus since it was first proposed (Grimme 1932). More recently, Macdonald has persuasively argued, however, that the use of paleography to arrive at a relative chronology of inscriptions is untenable without the presence of firmly dated inscriptions to anchor the development of the letter shapes (Macdonald 2015).

All theories concerning a script based order of the inscriptions distinguish a ‘Dadānite’ followed by a ‘Liḥyānite’ period, although there are several theories as to the exact amount of stages of development of the script that can be distinguished and the dates attributed to these stages. This division was first proposed by Grimme (1932) and is based on the “*altertümliche, an das Minäische erinnernde Formung*” of the glyphs of an inscription mentioning *mlk ddn* ‘king of Dadān’ and the direction of writing²⁷ of a part of the corpus displaying the same type of ‘archaic’ letter-forms on the one hand, as opposed to the ‘more developed’ letter-forms of the inscriptions mentioning the tribal name *lhyn* (Grimme 1932, 755) on the other. He extensively discusses the reading of what he called ‘Dadānite’ *g*  which he distinguished from ‘Liḥyānite’ *g*  (Grimme 1932, 754–55). It was assumed that the letters with a square base developed to become more triangular, until some even became disconnected (see Table 1 for an example). At the same time letters with a basic circular form were said to change into diamond shapes. Also the *mim* underwent a particularly significant change from two small triangles on top of each other  towards a crescent shape .²⁸

While Grimme (1932) focused mainly on the script and its stages of development, Winnett (1937) and Caskel (1954) discussed the dating of the periods more elaborately. Winnett proposed what is known as the ‘long chronology’ of the inscriptions, placing the Dadānite period between 6th–4th centuries BCE and the Liḥyānite period between 4th–2nd centuries BCE (Winnett 1937, 49–51). Caskel proposed the less accepted ‘short chronology’, which places the Dadānite inscriptions between 160–115 BCE and the Liḥyānite phase between 115 BCE–150 CE (Caskel 1954, 35–37) (see § 1.5 A brief history of Dadān above for a more detailed discussion on the dating of the corpus).

Caskel’s ‘short chronology’ of the Dadanitic texts is largely based on the development of the script in which he distinguishes three script phases: Dadānite, early Liḥyānite, and late Liḥyānite. Based on the more pronounced differences he found between the Dadānite and early Liḥyānite scripts he concludes that early Liḥyānite should be seen as a completely new script, in which he saw evidence for a regime change at the oasis. Since the differences between early Liḥyānite and late Liḥyānite are less

²⁷ According to Grimme it is typical of the earlier Dadanite inscriptions that they could not only be written from right to left (as the Liḥyanite inscriptions), but also from left to right (Grimme 1932, 755).

²⁸ For a complete overview of letter shapes and their subdivision into Dadanite and Liḥyanite forms see (Caskel 1954, 33–34; and most recently Farès-Drappeau 2005, 109–11).

pronounced, he assumed that this points to a mere ‘disturbance’ in the power structure at the oasis (Caskel 1954, 35).²⁹ Caskel believed the Dadanitic script first developed as a symbol of independence after the collapse of the Minaean kingdom and Minaean control of the oasis ended (Caskel 1954, 36) (but see § 1.5.3 Minaic presence at Dadān on the relationship between the Minaeans and Dadanitic people). Farès-Drappeau (2005) discusses the paleography of the inscriptions at some length in her work on Dadanitic, which offers an overview of the main theories on the dating of the stages of different phases of script (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 113–24).³⁰ Her own paleographic analysis largely follows the proposal by Winnett (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 116–25).

As Macdonald (2015, 17–18) very carefully discussed, however, it is problematic to use paleography with corpora like Dadanitic to date the inscriptions. The most fundamental problem in using the Dadanitic inscriptions for this purpose is that none of the inscriptions are securely dated; neither in absolute terms nor relative to each other. Even the chronological division of the script into two phases, Dadānite and Liḥyānite, seems untenable. First of all, no distinction can be made between a Dadānite and a Liḥyānite script: ‘Dadānite’ letter-shapes occur in ‘Liḥyānite’ inscriptions and *vice versa*.³¹ There are no inherent reasons to believe that a change in political power went hand in hand with a change in script as Caskel concluded (1954, 35), even if one would assume that there are different ‘stages’ of the Dadanitic script. One can imagine a scenario in which a foreign group conquers a region and brings their own, new script with them, but it is much harder to imagine why the new rulers of Dadān would choose to only slightly alter the existing script of the oasis when they came to power. As there is no logical reason or proof that script phase and regime should be equated, doing so only risks blurring our understanding of the relation between the texts and variation in script (Macdonald, 2000: 33).

Moreover, the fact that different forms of the same letter are often found in the same inscription, shows that these developments must have happened in parallel to each other (Macdonald 2010, 14), instead of one set of letter shapes replacing the other. This makes it problematic to use paleography to draw any firm conclusions about the relative chronology of the Dadanitic texts. It is probably possible to distinguish a general trend going from old letter forms, to inscriptions in a ‘middle’ variety with mixed letter forms and finally inscriptions with mostly late letter forms (Macdonald 2000, 33). The fact that old letter forms continued to be used after the development of the late letter forms makes it impossible, however, to conclude with any certainty that a single inscription with old letter shapes must be older than one containing later shapes. Until we know more about how the old and late forms are distributed across the corpus exactly, it needs to be kept in mind that motivations of prestige may have been involved in the choice of letter shape, similar to the use of archaic linguistic forms (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation for the analysis of variation in linguistic features across the corpus).

1.6.1.1.1 Writing surface and the development of the script

The development of the variation in letter shapes likely developed through the use of writing on soft materials, as argued by Macdonald (2010, 12). Macdonald clearly shows how, for example, the *alif* develops from a square form with two small lines coming out the top, through a triangle shape with

²⁹ He identifies a brief Nabataean presence at the oasis as this disturbance (Caskel 1954, 35), see § 1.5.4.4 Aramaic inscriptions.

³⁰ See Macdonald (2010, and 2018) for the latest treatment of the Dadanitic paleography.

³¹ E.g. JSLih 71, in which several different forms of the *alif* and *s*^l occur. Cf. Macdonald, 2010; 12–14 for an explanation of the developments of the forms and examples.

two lines on top, eventually to two inverted chevrons above each other (Macdonald 2010, 13–14 and fig 3).³²

Table 1 Schematic overview of the development shown in Macdonald (2010, 12)



These kinds of developments usually only occur when writing in pen and ink to facilitate speedy writing (Macdonald 2015, 7). There are even some examples of ligatures in the Dadanitic inscriptions, another hallmark of writing in pen and ink (Macdonald 2010, 14). Macdonald also suggests that the fact that almost all Dadanitic inscriptions are written from right to left could indicate that the Dadanitic script had been used to write on soft materials for some time before it was used to carve inscriptions in stone (Macdonald 2010, 13–14 and fig. 3), since unidirectional writing is really only beneficial to someone writing with pen or possibly a blade (Macdonald 2010, 12).

Interaction between different uses of writing may explain how the variant forms all ended up in the inscriptions carved in stone. Macdonald’s (2015) distinction between the purpose of a text and the register of its script³³ is very helpful in understanding how scripts used on different materials could come to interact. He distinguishes texts that were meant for private use (like personal, or business letters, aides-memoires, and business accounts), from those meant for public use (like inscriptions on gravestones, inscriptions announcing a law, and published books) (Macdonald 2015, 3). As the register of the script Macdonald distinguishes a formal register, generally used for inscriptions in stone (including graffiti), and public documents on soft materials, and an informal register, used mostly for writing texts on soft materials, for example with pen and ink, or those cut into wax or wood with a stylus or a blade (Macdonald 2015, 4).

Features from the writing on soft materials are likely to be transferred to writing in stone by someone who is more used to writing on soft materials and tries to transfer his reading knowledge of the formal script to writing on stone, for example when leaving a graffito (Macdonald 2015, 7). In Dadanitic, however, we sometimes see different forms of the same letter co-occurring even in inscriptions executed in relief³⁴ (e.g. AH 235³⁵). This shows that mixing of script registers was not only due to imperfect writing knowledge of the formal register - we can assume that a trained stone mason would be highly familiar with the formal register - but that mixing forms from the informal and formal registers of the script had apparently become perfectly acceptable in official inscriptions as well (Macdonald 2010, 14). So while interference of the informal register may explain the point of contact between the two registers, it does not explain all the mixing of letter forms attested in Dadanitic.

³² Note that the chronology of the development is the same as that used for paleographic chronology of the inscriptions by earlier scholars (e.g. Grimme 1932; Caskel 1954). However, Macdonald (2015) shows that this is connected to a different medium than the inscriptions on stone and, therefore, cannot be used to date the inscriptions relative to each other.

³³ Note that the ‘script register’ that Macdonald distinguishes is different from the ‘register of the inscriptions’ I will distinguish in the quantitative analysis of the variation in part two of this work. While both have to do with the perceived formality of a text, Macdonald’s distinction focusses on the writing material and tools used for inscribing. The registers distinguished in part two of this work, do not relate to the tools or techniques used to make an inscription, but focus on content and purpose of the inscription (see Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae and Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation).

³⁴ See the next § 1.6.1.2 Script style and socio-economic status for a more elaborate discussion on different styles of inscribing.

³⁵ In line 1 the legs of the *alif* are not touching at the base, but in the next line, they form a closed triangle.

1.6.1.1.2 Scribal schools and paleography

The need for firmly dated inscriptions and uniformity of writing material is not the only prerequisite for the establishment of a reliable chronology of development of letter shapes Macdonald identifies in his article. He also stresses that importance of the presence of an established writing tradition “in which a tradition of writing in a particular way has been passed on from one generation to the next” (Macdonald 2015, 17).

The existence of a scribal school for tracing the developments of the scripts ensures the establishment of a stable environment, promoting consistency and stability in letter forms and writing materials in the production of writing. When trying to establish a relative dating of letter shapes a stable tradition of writing is necessary to ensure that when we compare variation in the letters shapes it produced, it is really due to development of the script and not to a number of other uncontrolled varying features of which the outcome is difficult to predict. Such variables can be due to the individual scribe, like their mood or personal taste, or their level of learning, it can be due to differing local traditions, or even minor variation in the writing material available, etc. (Macdonald 2015, 23). The likely presence of a writing tradition at Dadān (see § 1.7 Scribal school and variation) sets this corpus apart from other ANA corpora in which writing skills seem to have been passed on in a more informal manner (Macdonald 2010, 15; Al-Jallad 2015, 2–10), which gives us the opportunity to approach Dadanic letter shapes as a coherent whole showing internal developments. This has enabled Macdonald, for example, to divide the general letter shapes into different developmental stages (Macdonald 2000, 33). The likely use of different writing materials within the oasis and the use of different surfaces to produce inscriptions, ranging from prepared slabs to rough rock face, and the lack of securely datable inscriptions, make it unlikely, however, that we will ever be able to establish a comparative dating of the Dadanic inscriptions based solely on their letter forms. This study will be an important step, however, towards understanding the writing culture that produced the inscriptions, laying the groundwork for future inquiries into Dadanic paleography.

1.6.1.2 Script style and socio-economic status

The Dadanic inscriptions also exhibit variation in their execution. These different manners of inscribing seem to represent different levels of formality, and probably cost, associated with the execution of the inscription. While inscriptions in relief (as in Figure 1) are the most distinguishable, Dadanic inscriptions were also deeply incised into the rock, chiseled, or pounded onto the rock (for a full discussion and examples of the different techniques see Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing). The inscriptions deeply incised into rock face or stone objects and those executed in relief were made by skilled craftsmen who sometimes even signed their work (e.g. JSLih 082 and Al-Ḥuraybah 06). These texts were probably commissioned (Macdonald 2010, 7). Chiseled and pounded inscriptions required less skill to produce. This does not mean that all pounded inscriptions are graffiti however. Many of the dedicatory *zll* inscriptions, which have an official character and were firmly entrenched in the writing culture of the oasis, were pounded onto the rock. This illustrates that there is clearly not a one-to-one relationship between the purpose and content of a text and the level of execution of the inscription. It is possible to see a general trend of using script registers that require less skill for graffiti while reserving more skilled manners of inscribing for more official inscriptions (see Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing and Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation), despite the lack of a direct relationship between register and purpose.

1.6.1.3 Graffiti vs. commissioned texts

How, then, do we distinguish between graffiti and more official texts? Graffiti can generally be described as privately produced inscriptions or texts, made on private initiative, left in a public space (Macdonald 2015, 8; Milnor 2014, 5).³⁶ This definition clearly distinguishes graffiti from commissioned texts which were executed by a professional mason and their text probably drawn up by a professional scribe,³⁷ which has implications for the expected level of execution of the inscription both in terms of its language and physical form. In addition to this, the fact that graffiti are personal statements means that their content and formulations are in principle not bound to the same restrictions as the highly formulaic official inscriptions, even though they were clearly influenced by the structure and formulae of the official inscriptions. Therefore, a graffito often contains elements that do not occur in formal inscriptions, such as unique phrases or formulations (e.g. JaL 016 a), or references to the act of inscribing itself (e.g. AH 256). See Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae for a complete overview of common phrases and content of the inscriptions.

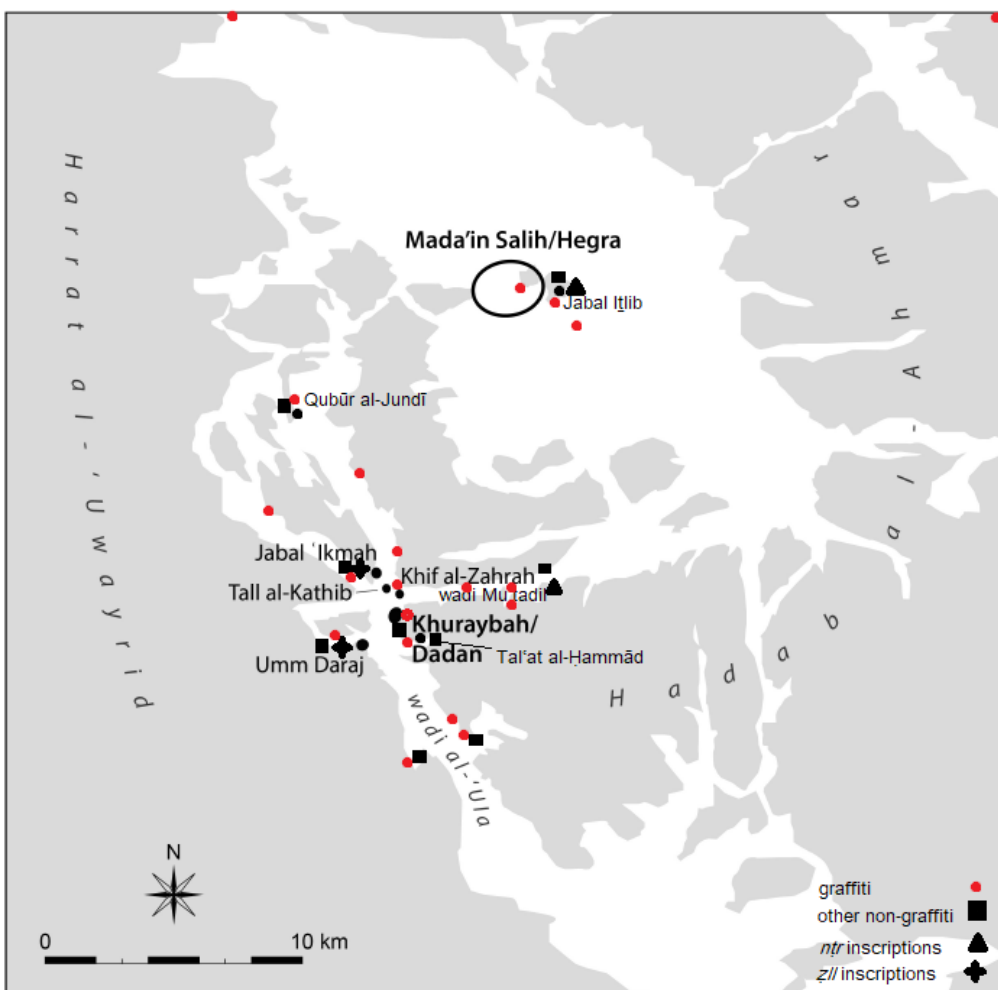


Figure 7 Map showing the approximate distribution of different types of inscriptions in the landscape. Map adapted from Rohmer and Charloux (2015)

³⁶ While Milnor uses this general description of graffiti, she also cautions that the category 'graffiti' should be evaluated in its cultural and historical context. As ideas of authorship and public and private property change over time, so do graffiti, both in their appearance and in what can be understood to make up the category in the first place (Milnor 2014, 4).

³⁷ For a more elaborate discussion on the possible role of a scribal school at the oasis see § 1.7 Scribal school and variation.

1.6.1.3.1 Graffiti in the landscape

The division between formal inscriptions and graffiti is further supported by how the inscriptions are spread out in the landscape, as can be seen in Figure 7. While the non-graffiti are clustered around a few specific places mostly close to the oasis itself, graffiti seem much less bound to specific places in the landscape.³⁸

1.6.2 Genre

Another point of variation in the Dadanitic corpus is the genre of the text. The genre of a text is determined by its content and is closely associated with particular formulae. This closely follows the definition of genre as outlined in Biber and Conrad (2009, 2). When considering the genre of a text they take the purpose and situational context of a text into account and also include the conventional structures that are part of a specific variety of text into their analysis. In this work, the conventional structures will be referred to as a text's formulaic parts. Note that in order to be able to say anything meaningful about the interaction between genre and linguistic forms attested in it, linguistic variables (as described in Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation) are not used to determine the genre of a text. Whether an inscription includes an *h*-causative or a *'*-causative is not used to determine whether it should be considered a graffiti or a dedicatory inscription, for example.³⁹

While the general structure of the texts, starting with personal names, followed by a dedication and ending in a petition for protection from a deity, is comparable to that found in other ANA and Ancient South Arabian (ASA) corpora (Al-Jallad 2015, 201–21; Avanzini 2017, 97–98), the specific formulae, the *zll* ritual, and the deity *dgbt* are unique to the Dadanitic inscriptions.⁴⁰ The main distinction in genre is that between graffiti and more formal inscriptions, as discussed above (§ 1.6.1.3 Graffiti vs. commissioned texts). Within the more formal inscriptions, several different types of inscriptions can be distinguished within the Dadanitic corpus, such as dedicatory, *zll*, building, and legal inscriptions. Each genre and associated formulae will be discussed in detail in the Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae.

Using the category of genre as one of the variables in the quantitative analysis in part II mostly functions as a control category for the hypothesis that the more complex carving techniques were reserved for more formal and more expensive inscriptions. If this hypothesis is correct, the formality of the inscription might also have a relationship to the register of the language used in it. In other words, if genre and manner of inscribing always have a similar relationship to the linguistic variants occurring in the inscriptions, they likely represent the same or similar cause: most likely register.⁴¹

³⁸ The *ntr* inscriptions are a notable exception. They are found almost exclusively at Jabal Itlib, a rock outcrop to the north east of the oasis, except for one that was found at Wādī Mu'tadil. Given that the authors of the inscriptions seem to have acted as guards, it is not surprising that their inscriptions all cluster in a favorable look-out place such as Jabal Itlib. They do not only stand out as a group due to the content and location of the inscriptions, but they also all share the merger of *z* and *t* in the verb and 5 of the 19 *ntr* inscriptions share a particular style of engraving (see Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing).

³⁹ This is similar to the use of genre in Taavitsainen (2001, 140) who proposes to distinguish a linguistically based category 'text type' from a non-linguistically based 'genre'. Even though the use of specific linguistic features seems to have been preferred in certain genres of inscriptions (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation), there are no features that are exclusively used with specific genres. Therefore there is no clear difference in a linguistically motivated 'text type' distinct from a content and formula based 'genre'. Because of this, I will not use a separate category 'text type' in my analysis of Dadanitic.

⁴⁰ See chapter Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae for a complete overview of all specific formulae used in the Dadanitic inscriptions.

⁴¹ Here register will be used to refer to the social hierarchy of the inscriptions. In register studies and sociolinguistics the term is generally used to indicate 'situational language use' (Taavitsainen 2001, 141), in other words, how people's

However, one can also imagine that specific genres came with their own formulae, possibly containing specific linguistic features as well. This is clearly demonstrated by the *ntr* inscriptions for example. In § 7.1.2.2 Register indicators the relationship between genre and register will be treated more elaborately.

1.6.3 Language

There is significant linguistic variation in the Dadanitic corpus, as already mentioned in § 1.6.1 Script. Some of the earliest scholars show the variation in their grammatical sketches or editions of the inscriptions, but do not attempt any explanation (e.g. D. H. Müller 1889, 13–14; Grimme 1937, 300). More recent works by Farès-Drappeau (2005) and Sima (1999) offer some brief comments on the linguistic variation of the inscriptions, but do not focus on it. Sima (1999) suggests that the *h*-causatives were probably ‘on their way out’, based on their low number of occurrences, implying a chronological development (Sima 1999, 117). One of the reasons even scholars who believed Dadanitic should be divided into several different phases based on paleography (see § 1.6.1.1 Paleography above) did not connect the linguistic variation to the variation in letter shapes is that the varying forms did not neatly line up with the proposed paleographic divide. Grimme, for example, placed JSLih 063 (containing *'dq*), JSLih 062 (containing *hdq*), and JSLih 049 (containing *hwdq*) in the later ‘Liḥyānite’ phase based on their content and letter shapes (Grimme 1937, 300).

Taking a different approach, Farès-Drappeau proposes that the variation in the form of the definite article is due to synchronic linguistic diversity at the oasis (2005, 65–66), but she does not offer any explanation for the other points of variation.⁴² Macdonald also recognizes multilingualism at the oasis and classifies several inscriptions as mixed Arabo-Dadanitic texts (e.g. JSLih 071 and JSLih 276 in Macdonald 2000, 52–53), reflecting substrate influence of Arabic within the Dadanitic inscriptions. The main distinguishing feature in these inscriptions is the use of the definite article *'l-* as opposed to the more common *h-*. This is somewhat problematic, as Al-Jallad has convincingly argued that the form of the definite article is not a reliable way to classify a language (Al-Jallad 2018, 13–16; 2015, 10–11 and 16–17). However, the actual presence of an Old Arabic inscription in Dadanitic script (W. Müller 1982; Macdonald 2000, 50; Fiema et al. 2015, 409) shows that Arabic substrate influence cannot be excluded as a possible cause for the use of the definite article *'(l)-* at the oasis (Al-Jallad 2018, 23–24). Dadanitic itself should probably not be classified as a form of Arabic, as it contains several features that cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Arabic.⁴³ Therefore, it is most likely a sister language of Arabic and did not descend from Proto-Arabic (Al-Jallad 2018, 21–24).

1.7 Scribal school and variation

So far, this chapter has explored some of the key characteristics of the Dadanitic inscriptions and the cultural environment in which they were produced. But how do these features inform our understanding of literacy at the oasis? Who was writing in Dadān and how were they taught how to write? Understanding the status of literacy at the oasis and how the inscriptions were produced is

language use changes depending on the situation in which they use it, which can include different social dynamics, different media (written or spoken language), etc. (Ferguson 1994, 16). Since the Dadanitic corpus only reveals the language use in one specific medium, register will primarily relate to the level of formality of the inscription.

⁴² Farès-Drappeau also refers to Robin’s (2001) proposal that there might have been a north Arabian koine that developed from the trade contacts with the south of the Peninsula (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65–66) again referring to multilingualism in the region.

⁴³ Al-Jallad mentions the following features in Dadanitic that cannot be reconstructed for proto-Arabic: the *h*-causative, the anaphoric pronoun *h'*, the form of the feminine ending, the form of the dual, the preposition *'dky*, and the form of the numerals (Al-Jallad 2018, 21–24).

crucial to our approach to the language used in them. Even though there is little direct evidence available to answer such questions, this section will bring together available information to sketch a picture of the status and use of literacy and scribal culture in ancient Dadān.

1.7.1 Cultural context

The development of the Dadanitic script (see Table 1), and the contact through commerce with other literate societies from the south of the peninsula, Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Levant make it very likely that writing on perishable materials was part of day-to-day life in Dadān. Therefore, Dadān can probably be considered a literate society (Macdonald 2010, 14) in the sense that it relied on reading and writing for the functioning of its government and commerce (Macdonald 2005, 49).⁴⁴ Even though no documents on perishable materials have been found yet, contracts, letters and administrative documents were probably drawn up regularly at the oasis. The existence of texts written for different purposes (formal and informal) and representing different types of text, ranging from private letters to official legal documents, may explain the point of contact between different forms of written language that led to the mixing of forms in the inscriptions, similar to the process suggested for the mixing of letter shapes (Macdonald 2015, 7 and see § 1.6.1.1 Paleography). If people who were more used to writing private documents, like letters or private notes, made an attempt at carving a graffito they might try to imitate the linguistic style associated with the monumental inscriptions, comparable to trying to use the formal script for an inscription. Such an attempt at trying to convert imperfect reading knowledge into writing knowledge may lead to similar mixing of forms as Macdonald suggested for the use of the script (Macdonald 2015, 7). As we know from, for example, the Sabaic material the linguistic register used for private letters is often a lot more progressive than that used for monumental inscriptions (Stein 2011, 1048). The accidental combination of both registers in the writings of those not used to writing on stone may explain how different layers of historical forms ended up in the same register. It is interesting, however, if at some point different registers of both script and language existed, how their mixing became widespread enough to become acceptable, even for the more formal registers. To answer this question, it is helpful to turn to the spread of literacy and how people were trained to read and write.

If the use of writing was indeed so widespread in ancient Dadān, this suggests that professional scribes were employed and trained in the oasis. Even though it has been argued that learning to read and write an alphabetic writing system is simple enough not to require any formal education (e.g. Jamieson-Drake 1991, 9:154; but cf. Rollston 2010, 92),⁴⁵ setting up formal documents such as letters, contracts, deeds and other legal documents would require expertise that goes beyond just knowing the letters. For example, based on comparisons with scribal education in Mesopotamia and Egypt, Van

⁴⁴ Macdonald uses this term to distinguish it from societies such as those which produced the Safaitic and Himaic inscriptions which he termed non-literate societies. These societies seem to have had high rates of individual literacy, as evidenced by the large amounts of inscriptions left in these scripts, but they seemed to employ writing primarily for purposes that were not related to the functioning of society, such as record keeping, drawing up of contracts etc. He proposes to use the term illiterate only for individuals who could not read or write and not for societies as a whole. This distinction is a very useful one related to the use of writing in oasis towns and by nomadic groups in pre-Islamic Arabia. This does not mean that Macdonald would suggest a sharp divide between literacy and illiteracy within literate societies. This divide has been challenged for decades in literacy studies as can be seen for example in Chamberlin's analysis of hunting practices of hunter gatherers as reading practice (Chamberlin 2002). For an overview of the development of the field of literacy studies see Street (2009).

⁴⁵ The material attested at Ugarit clearly shows a discrepancy between the amount of teaching materials and practice text for Akkadian cuneiform as opposed to those in the Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform, with the Akkadian cuneiform material forming the vast majority of the recovered material. This seems to confirm that learning the alphabetic script took less effort, which would open up the potential for the development of rudimentary literacy (Schniedewind 2013, 105).

der Toorn (2007, 98) argues that Hebrew scribes did not only learn the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, but were also trained to become familiar with the language use and terminology associated with specific fields, such as notary documents and documents for litigation (Van der Toorn 2007, 99–100). In addition to this, scribes were likely also the ones responsible for book keeping, which would not only require them to know how to write but also to know how to draw up a balance sheet and to perform some basic arithmetic (Van der Toorn 2007, 100). Besides skills in drawing up different kinds of documents, scribes would also learn to prepare their writing materials. In the case of scribes in ancient Israel these would include reed pen, papyrus or parchment, and a stylus (Rollston 2010, 112). Since we do not know what perishable materials were used for writing in Dadān, these materials were not necessarily exactly the same, but anyone writing regularly would need some knowledge of how to produce some of these tools, unless all writing materials were imported ready to use, which would have been very costly. So even though the acquisition of basic reading and writing skills may have been relatively easy for an alphabetic script such as Dadanitic, a society in which writing was used for more than personal notes and lists would still require some professionally trained scribes to produce the more formal documents and writing equipment. In this light it may be useful to think about just how many scribes an oasis like Dadān would need. Schniedewind reminds us that “writing is fundamentally a luxury good” (Schniedewind 2013, 118) and that it needs a degree of economic and cultural support to thrive. So how many documents would a society like Dadān’s need and how many could people afford to commission? Given the relatively small reach of the kingdoms of Dadān and Liḥyān, the demands for writing were probably not massive and one family of scribes in which knowledge would be passed on from father to son may have been sufficient to supply the oasis with the official writing it needed. It is clear that it cannot be compared to the bureaucratic apparatus needed realms such as those of the Babylonians or ancient Egyptians.⁴⁶

1.7.2 Evidence from the inscriptions

Additional support may be found in the inscriptions themselves. Based on the attestation of the word *h-sʿlfr* ‘the writer’ in Dadanitic, there seems to have been a distinct difference between the mason who produced the objects of the inscription and the scribe who set up the text, at least for a few of the inscriptions. There are two inscriptions that mention *h-sʿlfr* ‘the writer’ of the inscription and his name at the end, alongside ‘the artisan’ *h-šn* ‘ who presumably cut the inscription (JSLih 082 and AH 220).⁴⁷ This slot in the formulae is usually reserved for mentioning the craftsmen involved in the production of the inscription. They are always mentioned separately from the persons who dedicated the inscription at the start of the text (see § 3.2.5 Signature). This supports the reading of *h-sʿlfr* in this position as a professional title. Furthermore, the fact that *h-sʿlfr* and *h-šn* ‘ are both used in the same inscription tells us that the one who cut the inscription was apparently a different person than the one who wrote the text. Unless we assume that the fact that the writer is mentioned in only these two inscriptions points to the unusual circumstances under which these two inscriptions were made. Since it is quite common, however, not to mention the artisan who cut the inscription either, even in inscriptions executed in relief, it seems unlikely that anything only mentioned sporadically was necessarily out of the ordinary.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ See Van der Toorn (2007, 54–73) for an overview of scribal practices and training in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

⁴⁷ An often used argument for the existence of a Hebrew scribal class is the use of the term *šp̄p̄r* (√SʿFR) to indicate someone’s profession (Van der Toorn 2007, 78–81).

⁴⁸ The verbs *sʿlfr* (JaL 061f) and *sʿlfr* (Ġabal Iṭlib 08; JSLih 128), both meaning ‘to write’, are mentioned in inscriptions as well, but do not seem connected to the professional production of a text, but to the act of inscribing a graffito.

As for the training of individuals to read and write and produce inscriptions, there is only one abecedary attested in the Dadanitic script (JSLih 158). The inscription contains several badly formed glyphs and repetitions of the same sequence of letters, which led Macdonald to the conclusion that it probably represents a writing exercise (Macdonald 1986, 113). The presence of repeating glyphs and badly formed letters in several other inscriptions on the same rock face suggests that it was used as a practice site (Macdonald 1986, 115). Since this is the only such practice site known so far, it can tell us little about the organization of schooling in the oasis unfortunately. It is unclear whether this site was used for the official training of masons, or by private persons.

1.7.3 Graffiti and the spread of literacy

While there seems to be some evidence for the existence of a scribal class at Dadān, the presence of a large number of graffiti in and around the oasis⁴⁹ suggests that literacy was much more widespread than a small cadre of professional scribes. In the context of ancient Israel, Schniedewind points to the growing number of graffiti and attestations of writing in an administrative context, such as found on seals, seal impressions, weights and economic texts in the period between the 8th and 6th centuries BCE to argue for what he calls “the democratization of writing” (Schniedewind 2013, 99–105). He links this spread of the ability to write to a loss of a strictly controlled written standard. As writing is no longer confined to a small scribal elite, their ability to control the written standard diminishes, as evidenced by the increase in inconsistencies in grammar and spelling in this period in ancient Hebrew writing (Schniedewind 2013, 100). In the Dadanitic situation there is currently no way to tell whether there was a process of democratization going on or whether literacy was relatively widespread within the community from the beginning of the production of the inscriptions, as we cannot date the inscriptions relative to each other. There are some interesting parallels, however, between the situation as described by Schniedewind and what we see in the Dadanitic corpus, in the existence of large amounts of graffiti accompanied by a remarkable amount of variation in grammar, letter shapes, and orthography.

While the presence of large amounts of graffiti in the area of Dadān suggests that literacy probably spread beyond a small group of professional scribes, this does not mean that everyone in the oasis could read and write, or that everyone reached the same or similar level of literacy. Here the concept of craftsman’s literacy seems helpful. Harris defines craftsman’s literacy as “the condition in which the majority...of skilled craftsmen are literate, while women and unskilled laborers and peasants are mainly not” (Harris 1989, 8). Within such a larger group of literate individuals within society the majority may only have achieved what Schniedewind defines as “signature literacy or craft literacy”, a level of literacy sufficient for practical purposes such as signing one’s name, writing lists and receipts and possibly the ability to read short letters (Schniedewind 2013, 105). This level of literacy is not comparable to that of a trained scribe, but would be sufficient to leave a short graffiti.

The amount of variation that is starting to occur in Ancient Hebrew writing between the 8th and 6th centuries BCE leads Schniedewind to conclude that there was no strong Hebrew scribal institution present in Iron Age Judah (Schniedewind 2013, 117). When we compare this to the Dadanitic situation this may lead one to conclude there was likewise no strong scribal tradition in Dadān either, as we have plenty of variation in all layers of writing. However, this is based on the supposition that

⁴⁹ In fact, graffiti make up the bulk of the attested inscriptions. 1447 of 1844 inscriptions of which the genre could clearly be identified are graffiti (see § 7.1.2.2.2 Genre).

the goal of any scribal tradition would be uniformity, which may not have been the case. Relatively widespread literacy can help explain, however, how a certain amount of variation entered the written norm in the first place and enabled it to develop and maintain some connection to the spoken language. The incorporation of more progressive linguistic forms such as the ʾ-causative and the collapse of word final triphthongs which we see reflected in the spelling of *rqd-h* ‘may he please him’ (see § 4.3.2 /aya/ for a complete discussion of this development) most likely followed these developments in the spoken language and eventually became the most common form in writing as well. This does not mean that the written language was simply a transcription of the spoken language, as we can see for example from the very occasional spelling of *t* for *z (e.g. in AH 009.1, see § 4.6.3 z > t). The loss of *z seems to have been a feature of at least some spoken register at the oasis, but it clearly had not made it into the written norm.

Even though the influence of literate individuals from outside the scribal elite may have opened up the written tradition to be able to incorporate a certain amount of variation and flexibility, this does not necessarily mean that there was no scribal tradition present at all. An interesting point of comparison to this may be the monumental Sabaic inscriptions from the south of the Peninsula, which can be divided into an Early, Middle and Late period. Evidence from Sabaic letters written on palm sticks, however, shows that the spoken language changed at a more rapid pace. There we find, for example that the glyph *q* is often used to represent *z, while they were consistently kept apart in monumental writing until the end of the tradition (Stein 2011, 1048). So despite the gradual implementation of linguistic changes in the monumental tradition, the private documents on perishable material confirm that it was quite far removed from the spoken language. Besides the occasional use of *t* for *z in Dadanitic, there are several other specific forms to be found in the corpus that suggest that the author of the text was aiming for a written standard he, or she, had not quite mastered. For example in the inscription in which both an *h*-causative and a ʾ-causative occur (Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1-2); the inscription in which two dedicants agree with a dual verb but plural resumptive pronouns are used (U 019); and the inscription which is completely in the singular except for the resumptive pronoun in the blessing formula in the dual (AH 120).

1.7.3.1 Interaction between scribes and the masses

Even though literacy seems to have been too widespread for a small scribal class to have maintained complete control of the written standard, people were clearly not simply transcribing their spoken language, and there was some form of written standard present. From the likely use of writing for bureaucracy and the possibility to employ a special scribe to set up an inscription (as evidenced by JSLih 082 and AH 220), it seems clear that there were trained scribes present at the oasis. They would have been trained in the “proper” use of the language, including grammar and orthography. Their knowledge of the language and the highly formulaic nature of the inscriptions in general would probably have been enough to establish a core scribal code, which likely included knowledge of less common grammatical forms and phrases. At the same time, there was probably also a group of people outside this cadre of professionally trained scribes that knew how to read and write to some extent (as evidenced by the large amount of graffiti present at the oasis). The common use of writing by such less highly trained individuals may explain how variation entered the written record and possibly even pushed it to become more flexible and incorporate more progressive linguistic and paleographic forms, while the presence of highly trained individuals ensured the continued presence and knowledge of more archaic linguistic forms within the written code. Considering the language of the inscriptions as a written and learned standard, which differed in some ways from the spoken register has

methodological implications for the approach of the description of the language of the inscriptions and how to deal with the variation found within them. This will be discussed in more detail below in §1.7.5 Methodological concerns - Analyzing the language of a scribal school.

1.7.4 Expected patterns of variation in a written code

The historical context and evidence from the content and language of the inscriptions make it likely that not only the physical production of the text on stone was commissioned, but also the drawing up of the text itself could be taken care of by a trained professional scribe. While there are two inscriptions that mention both the scribe and the mason of the text, it is unclear whether they represent the usual division of labor. Both, having a trained scribal class and the use of commonly known standard formulae would have a standardizing effect on the language.⁵⁰ One of the expected effects of using standardized language and formulae to write, is that the language becomes resistant to change and will likely develop at a slower rate than the spoken language, creating an environment in which the spoken and written registers of the language can get separated from each other to some degree.⁵¹ The assumption that the variation in the corpus is due to the archaic nature of the language of the inscriptions, implies that most of the inscriptions will contain more archaic linguistic forms, with occasional interference of more progressive linguistic forms from the spoken language. However, this is not the general distribution of the linguistic variants in Dadanitic. There we see that the linguistically more progressive forms are the most common, while most of the variant, ‘infiltrating’ forms are linguistically archaic.⁵² Since the oasis of Dadān was an important trading hub, it was a multilingual place, as evidenced by the presence of both Minaic and Aramaic writing at the oasis in addition to the Dadanitic inscriptions. Given the multilingual nature of Dadanitic society this distribution of linguistic forms could indicate that the written standard was based on a more linguistically progressive language than (one of the) spoken language(s) at the oasis.⁵³ If the variation in the Dadanitic corpus is indeed due to such a difference between written and spoken language, the higher prestige forms should occur relatively often in more expensive and higher register texts. Presumably someone who could pay for a good mason to produce a beautiful inscription would also want the language of the inscription to be sophisticated and employ an individual that could be trusted to produce a good text. Infiltration from the spoken language, in this case reflecting the more archaic linguistic forms, is then expected to occur more often in informal inscriptions, where the formality of the language is of less concern, or in more poorly made inscriptions. However, upon closer inspection, the opposite seems to be the case again. While the archaic forms are indeed the less common forms, they are more closely associated with higher register inscriptions than with graffiti.

Alternatively, variation may be due to diachronic change. Many of the linguistic variants display a form that is linguistically more archaic and one that is more developed. It is therefore also a logical

⁵⁰ Note that it seems that a writing culture with standard compositional formulae can also develop without the existence of scribal schools, as it did in the Safaitic and Himaic inscriptions for example (Al-Jallad 2015, 3).

⁵¹ We can see this for example in the variation attested in the Aramaic from the Achaemenid period as described by Folmer (1995). A clear example can be found in the letters belonging to the Yedaniah archive, where some scribes diverge more from the archaic standard (for which Folmer used the Arsham letters on leather) than others (Folmer 1995, 693). The higher degree of formality of more archaic forms is further supported by variation in language use across different genres of text with legal texts, for example, containing more archaic spelling than private letters (Folmer 1995, 696).

⁵² For an overview of the absolute number of occurrences of variant forms see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation.

⁵³ An example of a situation where the local language is more archaic than the high prestige written language can be found in the Hermopolis letters, which display influence of the more linguistically progressive Achaemenid imperial Aramaic. The distribution of the varying forms is different, however, with the infiltrations of the high prestige form being the minority (Gzella 2011, 582–83).

possibility that the variation in the corpus reflects diachronic change rather than synchronic variation. If this is the case, we would expect to find that archaic linguistic forms cluster together, possibly even to the exclusion of some of the more progressive forms, in case one form ceased to be productive before another developed. It seems indeed the case that certain archaic linguistic forms tend to occur together within individual inscriptions. In addition to giving new insight into the mechanisms underlying variation in the corpus, this may also cast new light on the previous proposals about the chronological development of the script.

1.7.5 Methodological concerns - Analyzing the language of a scribal school

In § 1.6.1 Script the question was posed whether it is even possible to speak of the Dadanitic language, given the amount of linguistic variation attested in the Dadanitic corpus. As discussed in the previous sections of this paragraph, the variation indeed suggests that the spoken languages of the authors of the inscriptions were not homogeneous, probably due to both synchronic variation and diachronic change. However, it seems possible to distill a written language from the bulk of the inscriptions. The presence of trained scribes at the oasis means that a description of the language of the inscriptions is really a description of the language of the writing tradition. In this light, deviations from standard conventions form invaluable evidence for the linguistic background of the person who composed the inscription and the spoken language(s) at the oasis. The investigation of the language of the Dadanitic inscriptions in Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing through Chapter 6 - Nominal and Pronominal Morphology will therefore aim to identify both the most commonly used forms in the writing tradition and the less common varying forms, both in grammatical features and formulaic parts. Whenever there are two variants of what has to be the same form (e.g. the *h-* and *ʿ-* causatives) there is always one form that is clearly the most common, in terms of number of attestations, and one that is the variant. These more common forms are the frame of reference for our understanding of the core of the Dadanitic writing tradition and as such they can anchor the discussion of any variant forms.

Forms that fall on the periphery of the writing tradition include unique words, or forms that are used in uncommon or unique contexts, and personal names. Since the writing formulae are part of the writing tradition of the oasis, the spellings of the forms that fall within the common formulae were also likely a part of the tradition. This is observable in the relative consistency of the orthography in these inscriptions. This also makes it more likely that when we do see repeating alternative forms in these formulaic environments, they do not reflect random variation due to uncertainty about the existing spelling conventions, but represent phonologically or morphologically different forms.

Another issue that needs to be kept in mind - especially when describing the orthography and phonology of Dadanitic (Chapter 4 - Orthography and Phonology) - is that we have no transcriptions of Dadanitic language in other scripts like Greek for example.⁵⁴ This sets the Dadanitic corpus apart from corpora like Nabataean and Safaitic. As a consequence a description of the phonology of Dadanitic has to rely solely on the orthography of the inscriptions to make inferences about the phonology. The use of *matres lectionis* to write final long vowels, for example has implications for the status of the (word final) triphthongs. However, the interpretation of the value of possible *matres lectionis* *-y* and *-w*, also depends on our understanding of the development of word final diphthongs and triphthongs. To avoid circularity we therefore need additional evidence, for instance from the use

⁵⁴ There may be two Minaic inscriptions at Dadan which include several borrowings or code-switches to Dadanitic JSMin 145 and JSMin 166 (Kootstra 2018b).

of *matres lectionis* in environments where they do not represent an etymological diphthong or triphthong (e.g. the use of *-y* to represent the first person possessive suffix /-ī/). Whenever such conclusive forms are not attested in the corpus, the available evidence will be provided as completely as possible and the different possible explanations of the data will be discussed.

1.7.5.1 Evidence from personal names

Personal names cannot tell us about the synchronic grammar of the language, but they can shed light on the orthographic practice. As Macdonald (1999, 254–57) has thoroughly discussed, names do not necessarily reflect the language of their bearer. They are often linguistically archaic and can ‘travel’ from language to language (Macdonald 1999, 255). This also has implications for the use of personal names to say anything about the phonology or orthography of a language. Even though we can use names to say something about the phonology of the language of their bearer,⁵⁵ the fact that they are often borrowed from other languages still needs to be taken into account.⁵⁶ Someone mentioned in a Dadanitic inscription with the name *nṯr* (JSLih 079), for example, does not necessarily tell us that the language this person spoke had merged *z and *ṯ, it is also possible that his name was taken from another language that had merged the two, like Aramaic.

There are other examples, however, when the spelling of a name does reveal something about the orthographic practices of the script used to write it. A good example of such a name is the female name *ṁtktbh*, in which the etymological ending *-ay of the feminine elative is represented by *-h*. Since it cannot reflect an etymological spelling or an archaic pronunciation here, the *-h* must represent a final *-ā* (see § 4.2.1 Final *-h*) and so it informs us on the use of *matres lectionis* in Dadanitic.

Finally it needs to be remembered that the vocalization of a name as we find it in the epigraphic record is often far from clear (see Macdonald 1999, 271 for a discussion of how to interpret the consonantal skeleton of a name). This makes the interpretation of glides in personal names highly problematic. For example, when we find both *zd* and *zyd*, this does not necessarily indicate that these forms show a difference in the spelling of the diphthong in the name Zayd, it could just as well be the case that *zd* represents the name Zayd while *zyd* represent the name Ziyād with the *y* representing a consonant. Whenever relevant, examples from personal names will be used to illustrate points about phonology and orthography. In most cases, however, for the reasons outlined above, these examples will not provide any conclusive evidence on the matter discussed, but merely additional support or a side note to possible variation.

Of course there are many factors involved in variation. Part one of this work aims to determine the written standard in order to be able to say something about the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of variation, which will be treated in depth in part II.

⁵⁵ Even though the name Michael comes from Hebrew originally, the English pronunciation of it can tell us for example that [i] came to be pronounced as [aɪ] in modern English.

⁵⁶ Even though the Dutch equivalent of the name Michael ‘Michiel’ [miχil] is still used, it is also not uncommon nowadays for Dutch males to be called Michael, with the English pronunciation, for example.

Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing





Dadanitic is a South Semitic script. Other members of the South Semitic script family are the Ancient South Arabian script, the other scripts termed Ancient North Arabian and the Ethiopic syllabary. While they clearly belong to the same script family, the exact relationship between the different South Semitic scripts remains unclear (Macdonald 2008, 185; Al-Jallad 2015, 26).

Dadanitic is a consonantal script, which only indicates long word final vowels with *matres lectiones* (see Chapter 4 - Orthography and Phonology) (Drewes 1985, 167; but cf. Macdonald 2008, 186). It is one of the few ANA varieties to make consistent use of word dividers (see § 4.1 Word dividers) (Macdonald 2008, 186). There are a number of glyphs that occur in several variant forms. As discussed in § 1.3.1 Terminology, I will follow the proposal by Macdonald to consider the inscriptions from Dadān in the local script as one corpus (Macdonald 2000, 33), since he has convincingly shown that these variant forms were in use at the oasis in parallel with each other (Macdonald 2010, 13–14, and on the use of paleography 2015, 17–27).⁵⁷

2.1 Glyphs and their variant forms

Dadanitic preserved 28 of the 29 Proto-Semitic consonants, which are all represented by separate glyphs, only merging *s*¹ and *s*³.⁵⁸ There has been some debate about the existence of a separate glyph *z* which was originally read as *ṭ* (e.g. Grimme 1932, 753; Drewes 1985, 166; Abū l-Ḥasan 2002, 36), until Stiehl (1971, 5–7) argued, mostly based on etymological grounds, that the second glyph in the verb *h/ʿzll* should be read as *z* rather than *ṭ*.⁵⁹ Sima finds further support for the existence of a separate glyph *z* in the letter shapes themselves. This is particularly evident in the inscriptions AH 197 and JSLih 313, which contain both glyphs.

Table 2 *ṭ* and dotted *z* in AH 197 and JSLih 313⁶⁰

AH 197		
JSLih 313		

Sima does caution that the *z* is the glyph that occurs in most variant forms in the corpus, even though it is the rarest one (Sima 1999, 96). In fact, however, it seems that *ṭ* is the form with most attested variation.




⁵⁷ For a complete discussion on the use of paleography in the dating of the Dadanitic script see chapter 1 introduction.

⁵⁸ See the introduction to Chapter 4 - Orthography and Phonology for a more elaborate discussion on the interaction between the merging of the glyphs and their phonological representation.

⁵⁹ Her reading of the glyph was taken over by Van den Branden (1969), Müller (1982), Scagliarini (1996) and Sima (1999) and has become the most generally accepted reading today. For a discussion on the history of the reading of *z* in the Dadanitic inscriptions see Sima (1999, 96).




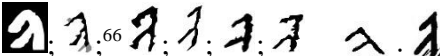








⁶⁰ The glyphs in the table are traces based on the photo of AH 197 and the photo of the squeeze of JSLih 313 available on OCIANA. The grey scale in the trace of the *ṭ* from JSLih 313 indicates the degree of certainty of the reading, black lines being clearly visible, up to the lightest grey horizontal line across the top.

Table 3 Variant forms of *z* and *t* based on the forms presented in Macdonald (2000, 34)

<i>z</i>	Early Dadanitic <i>t</i>	Late Dadanitic <i>t</i>
		

As shown in Table 3, the second form of both the *z* and the *t* termed early Dadanitic by Macdonald (2000, 34) are quite similar and often difficult to distinguish as the sharpness of angles in letter shapes often varies per hand. Whenever there is ambiguity, the formula of a given inscription is usually taken to be leading in transcription. Compare for example the letter shapes in Table 4 which are all found in *ntr* inscriptions (see Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae) and are all transcribed as *t* in the OCIANA database.⁶¹

Table 4 Glyphs read as *t* in the *ntr* inscriptions⁶²

									
AH 328; AH 332	AH 313; AH 336; AH 337; AH 323; AH 325; AH 338; AH 343; ⁶³ AH 347 ⁶⁴	JSLih 007 (b); JaL 158a (b) ⁶⁵	AH 312; AH 314; AH 318; AH 315	AH 331; AH 344					
									

While the glyphs in the right most two columns are clearly identifiable as *t*, the glyphs in the second and third columns from the left closely resemble the more ambiguously *t* or *z* variant. What they all have in common, however, is that they have the lower small leg added to the left of the main vertical shaft. Especially in the more curved forms of the *z/t* it is easy to see how simply extending the curved back a little further would result in the more rake-like shape as found in the examples in the right most two columns of Table 4. It seems therefore, that glyphs interpreted as *t* in AH 238 and AH 332, both with the leg extending from the right of the main vertical shaft, should probably be read as *z* instead (Kootstra 2018b, 186–87).

For the reading of *z* or *t* in the *zll* inscriptions, OCIANA seems to have taken a similarly context-based approach. They identified two inscriptions that very clearly contain the rake-shaped form as *t* (AH

⁶¹ <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana> accessed 25–4–2018. (Now available at <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>).

⁶² The examples of *z* and *t* on either extreme of the table are taken from the script table in Macdonald (2000, 34).

⁶³ The letter shape in this inscription is very similar in shape to AH 325, like a hooked Dadanitic *l* with a small leg coming out the left.

⁶⁴ The letter shape in this inscription is very similar to AH 338, with a curved leg coming out the horizontal shaft.

⁶⁵ There is only a copy available of both inscriptions. The images of both letters are cropped from the copies of the inscriptions available in OCIANA. JSLih 007 from Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1912, pl. XX); JaL 158a from (Jamme 1974, pl. 3).

⁶⁶ The photograph available of this inscription is quite pixelated, making it impossible to tell whether the grey areas are intended or just damage. If there is indeed a line coming out to the left of the vertical shaft at the bottom, this glyph is closer to the example from AH 323.

⁶⁷ This is a trace of the Iḏlib relief style letter in AH 312; the *t* in AH 314 and AH 318 is very similar in shape.

009.1; U 048), but transcribed other with similar letter shapes with *z* following the most common form of the formula.

Table 5 Glyphs *z* and *t* in *zll* inscriptions

<i>z</i> in <i>zll</i>	<i>t</i> in <i>zll</i> but less certain	<i>t</i> in <i>zll</i> inscriptions	identified as <i>t</i> in <i>zll</i> by OCIANA		
AH 064; AH 165; AH 235; U 069; Al- 'Udayb 080	AH 010; AH 001; AH 100; Al- 'Udayb 044 ⁶⁸	AH 070; ⁶⁹ AH 006; AH 075; AH 125; U 028	Both in √ZLL in AH 084; AH 074; U 125	AH 015; AH 109; AH 163; Al-'Udayb 001; U 037.1; U 038; AH 032; AH 087.1; AH 138; ⁷⁰ AH 142; ⁷¹ Al- 'Udayb 008; Al- 'Udayb 009; ⁷² Al- 'Udayb 088; ⁷³ U 017.1	AH 009.1; U 048

Similar to the overview of the *ntr* inscriptions, it seems that the letter shapes are best represented on a scale, ranging from unambiguously *z* in the left-most column, through ambiguous forms in the second and third column, to unambiguous forms of *t* in the right-most two columns.

I have chosen to interpret all forms in which the vertical shaft curves towards the writing direction as *t*. Comparing the glyphs interpreted as *t* in the *ntr* inscriptions in the second and third columns from the left in Table 4, to those in the second column from the left in Table 5, it seems that the direction in which the main shaft is leaning may also be taken as distinctive (see Table 6 for comparison). In addition to the different direction of the slant of the letter, the glyphs interpreted as *z* also seem to have a slight concave curve as opposed to the more general convex curve of the *z/t* glyph. It has to be admitted, however, that the distinction is minimal and some ambiguity remains. In truly ambiguous cases the formula of the inscription still plays a role in the interpretation of the glyph.

⁶⁸ The top of the *z* in Al-'Udayb 044 is damaged, indicated by the grey area in the trace.

⁶⁹ There is no photograph available of this inscription in OCIANA, this *t* is taken from Abū l-Ḥasan's copy (1997: 468, pl. 10).


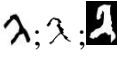
⁷⁰ There is no picture available of AH 138, the letter shape in the table is taken from Abū l-Ḥasan's copy (1997, pl. 16).

⁷¹ The writing is not very clear in the photograph, but the three teeth coming out of the main body of the letter seem clearly visible.

⁷² The letter is written across a break in the rock (the horizontal line running through the trace), but the bottom curving back towards the writing direction is clear.




⁷³ The bottom of the letter is not very clear on the photograph as indicated in grey. It blends in with the previous letter.

Table 6 Comparing ambiguous *z/t* shapes from *ntr* and *zll* inscriptions

<i>t</i> in <i>ntr</i>	<i>z</i> in <i>zll</i>
AH 313; AH 336; AH 337; AH 323; AH 325; AH 338; AH 343; AH 347	AH 010; AH 001; AH 100
	

While the reading suggested in Table 5 favors the *t* reading compared to the interpretation suggested by Macdonald (2000, 34), when we look at the distribution of *z/t* in the *zll* inscriptions using this stricter criterion for the interpretation of *z*, the majority of *zll* inscriptions can still be interpreted as written with *z* (179 with *z* vs. 25 with *t*).⁷⁴ In Table 7 there is a small sample of *z* in graffiti to show that a clearly distinguished *z* this is not only a feature of monumental inscriptions.

Table 7 Glyph *z* in graffiti

U 106	Umm Darağ 06	U 078
		

2.1.1 Variation in letter shapes

There is also more general variation of typical letter shapes. Descriptions of the variant letter shapes generally distinguish square, converging, triangular and disconnected forms for glyphs with the basic shape □; and round and diamond based-forms for letters containing circular shapes such as ⊙ and ∪.⁷⁵

2.2 Script styles

Even though we cannot use the development of the letter shapes to make any reliable claims about the chronology of the inscriptions (Macdonald 2015, 17–18)⁷⁶ we can distinguish different manners of inscribing, some of which would have required more skill than others. I would suggest distinguishing four different manners of inscribing in the Dadanitic corpus: inscriptions made in relief, ones that were incised, chiseled, and pounded inscriptions.

⁷⁴ In the case of the *ntr* inscriptions, it may be argued that the glyphs in the left column of Table 6 (and second column from the left in Table 4) could also be read as *z*. Since the *ntr* inscriptions form their own subgroup in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation, this does not have strong implications for the analysis of the distribution of *z* in relation to other features.

⁷⁵ See Macdonald (2018) for the most recent discussion of variation in the Dadanitic letter shapes. Farès-Drappeau also treats the Dadanitic letter shapes extensively in her work (2005, 56–57 and 109–11), but cf. Macdonald (2015, 17–27, 2018) on using this variation for a paleographic and chronological interpretation.

⁷⁶ See § 1.6.1.1 Paleography for a discussion of the use of paleography to create a relative chronology of the inscriptions.

Table 8 Script table of Dadanitic based on Macdonald (2008, 187)⁷⁷

Transcription	Dadanitic glyph	Transcription	Dadanitic glyph
'	𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪	<i>m</i>	𐩫 𐩬 𐩭
'	𐩮 𐩯	<i>n</i>	𐩰 𐩱
<i>b</i>	𐩲 𐩳 𐩴	<i>q</i>	𐩵 𐩶
<i>d</i>	𐩷 𐩸 𐩹 𐩺	<i>r</i>	𐩻 𐩼 𐩽
<i>d</i>	𐩾 𐩿 𐻀 𐻁	<i>s</i> ¹	𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪
<i>d</i>	𐻂 𐻃	<i>s</i> ²	𐩻
<i>f</i>	𐩫 𐩬	<i>s</i>	𐩭 𐩮
<i>g</i>	𐩯 𐩰 𐩱	<i>t</i>	𐩲 𐩳
<i>g</i>	𐩴 𐩵	<i>t</i>	𐩷 𐩸 𐩹 𐩺
<i>h</i>	𐩻 𐩼 𐩽	<i>t</i>	𐩾 𐩿 𐻀
<i>h</i>	𐩻 𐩼	<i>w</i>	𐩾 𐩿 𐻀
<i>h</i>	𐩻 𐩼 𐩽	<i>y</i>	𐩷 𐩸
<i>k</i>	𐩻 𐩼 𐩽	<i>z</i>	𐩷 𐩸 𐩹
<i>l</i>	𐩻 𐩼	<i>z</i>	𐩻 𐩼

2.2.1 Relief and deeply incised inscriptions

One of the unique features of Dadanitic within the corpus of ANA inscriptions is the occurrence of inscriptions carved in relief (Macdonald 2008, 186). These inscriptions make regular use of word dividers (Macdonald 2008, 186) and are generally written from right to left (Macdonald 2010, 12).⁷⁸ In this technique the mason cuts away the negative space around the letters rather than carving the letter itself into the rock. Lines are separated from each other by a horizontal line in relief. This technique was used to carve inscriptions on prepared slabs of stone as well as on rock face. Most inscriptions carved in this technique are *zll* inscriptions and other dedicatory inscriptions.

⁷⁷ An earlier script table by Macdonald (2000, 34) subdivides the letter shapes into Early and Late Dadanitic. However, since it is unclear at the moment how the different script types of Dadanitic should be subdivided, and if a clear cut division is even possible at all, I have adopted Macdonald's later (2008) script table which does not make such a distinction anymore.

⁷⁸ Macdonald argues convincingly that unidirectional writing most likely developed as a result of writing on soft materials, which suggests that the Dadanitic script was not only used to carve inscriptions on rock (Macdonald 2015, 13).



Figure 8 U 001 *zll* inscription in relief on rockface

U 001 *'tm/bn/nfy/'//bd/'zll/h-zl//l/ndr/b'd/h-dr// t/f rd-h/w ----*
 ‘*'tm* son of *nfy* *'bd* performed the *zll* ceremony promised on behalf of the productive lowlands so may he favor him and....’



Figure 9 al-Ḥuraybah 12 dedicatory inscription in relief on a prepared stone

Al- Ḥuraybah 12 *ddn/htbt/mṭb/w hwd't' ḏm/l-ḏḡbt/mr'//-h/f rdy/w s^l'd/'m-hbny/bn/'ws^l/h-
 ṣn/'bd/l-mr'-h/f rdy-h*
 ‘Dadān dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to *ḏḡbt* her lord so may he favor and aid her people, *bny* son of *'ws^l* the mason made (it) for his lord so may he favor him’

The deeply incised inscriptions are typically found on objects, such as incense burners (Private collection 2), but also in dedicatory inscriptions, legal inscriptions (JSLih 077), and even graffiti (e.g. JSLih 288) on rockface.



Figure 10 al-Ḥuraybah 17 legal inscription incised in a block

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 [----]/f/mm----//---- l-ddn/l-`bd/----//----rs¹/mn/s¹rq^t/^ʿym----//----{m}n/s¹rq/f-
^ʿn/yšbr/b-mh/s¹r[q]----//----{d}n/thḏ-h/kll-h/f ḥṭm ----//----hs¹rq^t/yṭb/h-s¹rq/^ʿw/y
 ----//----bh
 ‘.....to/for Dadān forever.....from theft days.....who stole(?) and if he is
 caught with what he {stole}.....if all of it broke (the stolen things) then beat
 him(?) ...the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief or ...’



Figure 11 U 040 a *zll* inscription inscribed on a rock face

U 040 *qnlt*/bn/^ʿbdddh//w bn-h/ms¹k/^ʿgw//h-*zll*/l-*dḡbt*//f rd-h/w ^ʿtb-h
 ‘*qnlt* son of ^ʿ*bdddh* and his son *ms¹k* dedicated the *zll* to *dḡbt* so may he favor
 him and aid him and reward him’

The Dadanitic inscriptions carved in relief or deeply incised into the rock with a sharp tool may be compared to, for example, the Sabaic inscriptions, which were executed with a level of skill that suggests that people commissioned them and that they were made by a professional mason (Macdonald 2010, 7). Some of these masons even signed their name at the end of their work. Al-Ḥuraybah 12 for example, is a beautifully executed relief, commemorating the city of Dadān making dedications to *dgbt*, in which the mason signed his name in the last line of the inscription (see Figure 9).

2.2.1.1 Jabal Itlib relief

A separate style of relief seems to be found at Jabal Itlib, and is associated with the inscriptions mentioning *nṯr* ‘he guarded’⁷⁹ and several inscriptions mentioning only personal names on the same rock face.⁸⁰ Only a handful of inscriptions are attested in this style and they seem to occur together at the same location. In this style the space cut away around the letters is bigger than in the standard relief style and the lines of writing are not separated by horizontal lines in relief, but only by cut away space. The area that is cut away consists of little dents showing the impact of the individual strokes the author used to pound the rock.

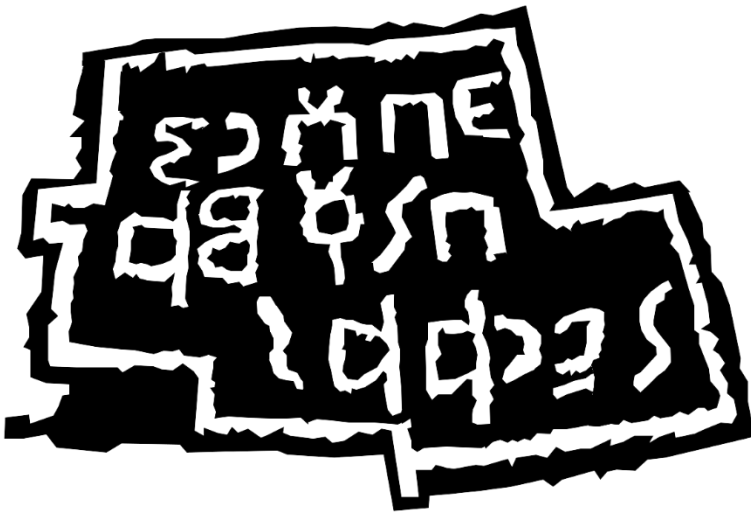


Figure 12 AH 314 *nṯr* inscriptions in Itlib style relief⁸¹



Figure 13 Detail of AH 314 showing the individual points of impact created by pounding the rock

AH 312 *ndb bn s'lw//nṯr ddn*
 ‘*ndb* son of *s'lw* guarded Dadān’

⁷⁹ For a discussion of the writing of *NZR as *nṯr* see (Kootstra 2018b).

⁸⁰ The inscriptions carved in this style are: AH 312; AH 313; AH 314; AH 315; AH 318; AH 317; AH 319; AH 321; AH 324.

⁸¹ Given the poor quality of the photo that is available online (a scan from a book) I have chosen to present a trace of this script style. For a detail of the photo see Figure 13.

2.2.2 Chiseled inscriptions

Chiseled inscriptions are also cut into the rock and can be distinguished from the incised ones by the width of the base of the grooves. Chiseled inscriptions were not carved into the rock with a sharp tool but with a wider one, giving the lines a flat, wider base. This technique was used in graffiti, dedicatory and funerary inscriptions.

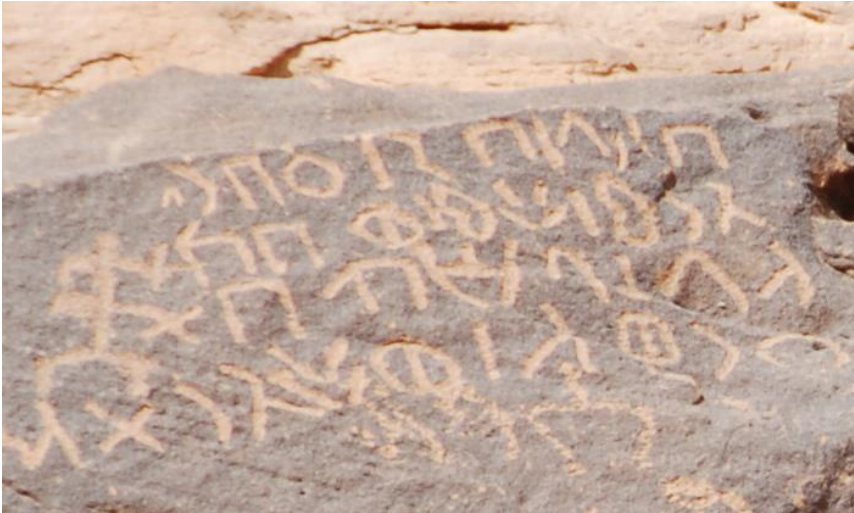


Figure 14 AH 113 a dedicatory text chiseled on rock face

AH 113 *b{ḥ}l/bn/ 'bd//ḥrg/ 'gw b-k//hl/l-ḏḡbt//f rd-h/w 'ḥrt-h*
'*b{ḥ}l son of 'bdḥrg dedicated at khl to ḏḡbt so may he favor him and his posterity*'

2.2.3 Pounded

Pounded inscriptions are relatively easy to produce. For these inscriptions, the inscriber simply hammered out the outline of the letters with another stone. In most pounded inscriptions, the separate impacts of the stone on the rock are still visible in the lines of the letters. This technique was used to carve both *zll* inscriptions (e.g. U 116) and short graffiti containing mostly personal names (e.g. AH 065.1), sometimes accompanied by a short statement about the writing of the inscription (e.g. Nasif 1988: 52, pl. XLVII).

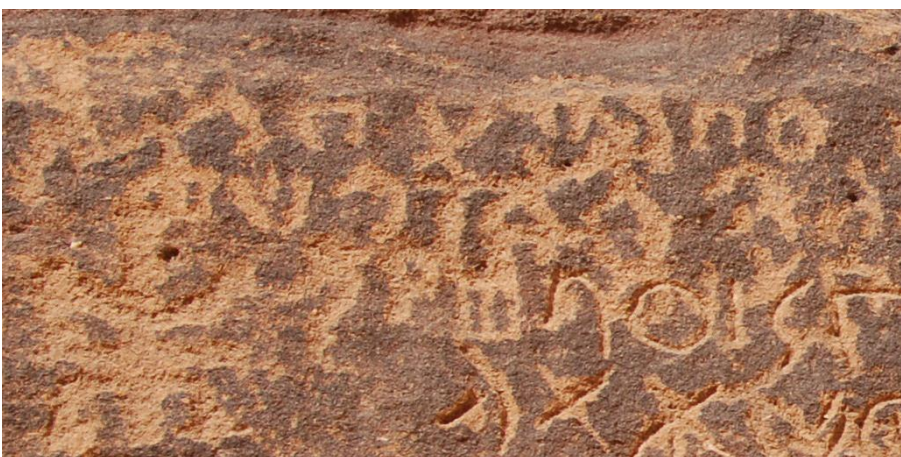


Figure 15 U 116 *zll* inscription pounded on a rock face

U 116 *'bd' tbl//hzzll/l-ḏḡ//bt/f rḏy-h*
'*'bd' tbl performed the zll for ḏḡbt so may he favor him*'

Note that both U 001 (Figure 8) and U 116 are written on rock face, commemorating the same ritual, using similar formulae. The first was executed in relief, while the second was pounded onto the rock. Even though inscriptions in relief are generally longer than some of the graffiti we find, just containing personal names, it seems to have been perfectly acceptable to use pounding or incising for similar kinds of inscriptions as for those that were executed in relief.

2.3 Dadanitic alphabetic text

So far one Dadanitic inscription has been found containing an abecedary (JSLih 158). The abecedary is far from complete (the longest line only representing 11 letters). The repetition of the letters seems to indicate that this was a writing exercise. The first four letters of the first line follow the *hlhm*-letter order. Macdonald (1986, 113) suggests that the first three letters of line 2 represent the same letters as letters 3 through 6 in line 1, but in reverse order. He also suggests that the first letter of line 3 should be read as “another failed attempt to master the correct shape of the *h*-sign” (Macdonald 1986, 113). Another interesting point highlighted by Macdonald (1986, 114) is that many of the other inscriptions on the same rock face as JSLih 158 contain badly formed letters (e.g. JSLih 144; 160; 156; 161) and odd repetitions in letters within the same text (JSLih 155). He notes that even though aberrant letter forms and deviation from the standard formulae occur throughout the Dadanitic corpus, their concentration is oddly high on this particular rock face which might suggest that this was a practice site (Macdonald 1986, 115).⁸²

⁸² He notes that the Minaic abecedary found in al-‘Ulā also seems to be surrounded by several other exercise texts (Macdonald 1986, 115).

Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae

Both ASA and ANA inscriptions contain the same basic formulaic parts, starting with the subject of the text, indicated by a genealogy, followed by “the principle verb that characterizes the typology of the text” (Avanzini 2017, 98) with possible elaborations, and ending in an invocation or a curse for the person who would damage the inscription (Al-Jallad 2015, 201–21; Avanzini 2017, 97–98). In his work on the Dadanitic inscriptions from al-‘Uḏayb, Sima (1999) dedicated a large part of his work to the discussion of the formulae. He recognized the same basic three-part division of the inscriptions and termed them *superscriptio*, *narratio*, *invocatio*, following Knauf (1980) (Sima 1999, 49). The *superscriptio* contains the names of the authors or dedicants of the inscription, in the case of the al-‘Uḏayb inscriptions the *narratio* often contains a dedicatory verb which can be elaborated by adding to whom the dedication is being made and what is being dedicated and on behalf of what the dedication is being made, the *invocatio* contains a plea for favor or sometimes a curse for the person who damages the inscription. In the following this basic three-part structure will form the main division, within which the most common compositional formulae will be presented, similar to how Al-Jallad presented the Safaitic data (Al-Jallad 2015, 201–20).

Based on their content, the Dadanitic corpus comprises several different genres: dedicatory, construction, funerary, legal and or narrative. While the first three genres are also clearly represented in the compositional formulae the ‘legal and or narrative’ texts cannot easily be described in terms of formulae, mostly because there are too few examples and some inscriptions that fall into this category were possibly unique texts (e.g. JSLih 064; JSLih 072; JSLih 077). I would term inscriptions like JSLih 072 ‘legal or narrative’ since it seems to narrate a victory of sorts of the group mentioned in the inscription, but it is unclear whether this declaration may have had further legal consequences, for example relating to land rights.

3.1 Graffiti vs. more formal inscriptions

Besides the content-based genres, a distinction can be made between graffiti and more formal inscriptions. I will follow Macdonald’s definition of graffiti as “personal statements, carved, written or painted on a surface in a public space” (Macdonald 2015, 8) as discussed in § 1.6.1.3 Graffiti vs. commissioned texts. While most of these inscriptions consist of only one or more personal names or a genealogy, they still seem highly formulaic and within this group several compositional formulae can be distinguished as well.⁸³

Taking the purpose of the inscription as leading in defining it as a graffito means a *zll* will never be considered as a graffito. Even ones that are executed with a seemingly low level of skill indicating that they were probably the work of the individual dedicating the inscription instead of a professional mason, cannot be considered graffiti. They were part of a public ritual and can therefore not be considered to be a personal statement. In other cases the border seems less clear. Take for example JaL 016 a, which is a unique inscription, but has religious content.

JaL 016 a *f-ys'm ' l-h 'l//w-ylm 'h*
 ‘so may ’Ēl listen to him and make him splendorous’

⁸³ The high formularity of graffiti seems to be typical of ANA and ASA corpora and is very different from the graffiti we find, for example in Pompeii, which include quotations from literary works (Milnor 2014, 4–5), the phallic drawings and accompanying texts (Bagnall 2011, 11–13), and texts about love and sports and games (Bagnall 2011, 16) found in the basement of the Smyrna basilica probably from between the later first and the late second century CE (Bagnall 2011, 8) look much more personal and free in their self expression.

This inscription is reminiscent of the *invocatio* at the end of dedicatory inscriptions (Sima 1999, 113). While it is likely a religious formula the author of the inscription knew from a different context, it does not seem to have been part of the Dadanitic epigraphic culture, and therefore the choice to represent the statement like this on rock seems to have been a personal choice and the inscription would therefore fall into the category of graffiti.⁸⁴

3.2 The formulaic parts

3.2.1 *Superscriptio*

A thorough analysis of the content of the first element of the inscriptions from al-‘Uḏayb can be found in Sima’s work (1999, 52–90). In the following only the basic structure will be discussed.

Almost all inscriptions start with a personal name,⁸⁵ which can be followed by the name of the father, connected with *bn* ‘son of’. Unlike most other ANA varieties, Dadanitic inscriptions usually lack an introductory particle.⁸⁶ The genealogies are generally very short: only about 120 persons are mentioned with their patronym and less than 20 with a third generation,⁸⁷ an extremely low number in a corpus of nearly 2000 inscriptions, many of which mention several individuals.⁸⁸

Family lineage is usually indicated with the relative *d* followed by the name of the family (Sima 1999, 84). It commonly occurs, however, that two names follow each other directly, not separated by *bn* or *d*. This happens most often following the patronymic, but there are also inscriptions where a name directly follows a personal name (e.g. AH 131; U 096). Sima interprets the directly following name as a family name, the equivalent of a name following *d* (Sima 1999, 84). Farès-Drappeau, on the other hand proposes to interpret these names as indicating the name of the direct family, as opposed to the lineage or clan which, according to her, would be indicated by *d* (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 97–98). Since this practice seems to occur especially frequently following the patronymic and generally with names that are also attested as personal names, I have chosen to interpret these strings of names as part of the genealogy.

In some inscriptions with multiple individuals mentioned in the *superscriptio*, their family relations are specified, usually by using a conjunction *w-* followed by the family term with a possessive suffix and the name of the relation. In the table the number of attestations of each form is indicated between brackets.

w-X-h PN

⁸⁴ Note that this inscription is only known from Jamme’s copy, so it cannot be confirmed that there is no text before this phrase. Even if it did function as a blessing at the end of a longer inscription, however, this particular phrase is unique in the Dadanitic corpus and clearly not part of the standard repertoire of epigraphic expressions.

⁸⁵ But compare for example, inscriptions that do not contain more than a single letter (e.g. JaL 008 o; 084 a; 124), or that start with a verb (e.g. JSLih 147), or with a statement (e.g. JaL 106a).

⁸⁶ However, compare for example JaL 145 m; AH 265; JaL 008 e.

⁸⁷ This calculation includes strings of names that are not separated by *bn*, in which each name was taken to represent a generation and not as several names for the same person.

⁸⁸ Note that the repetition of individuals mentioned in the inscriptions is extremely low. Based on the names in the genealogies that are tagged as such in the OCIANA database, only 3.8% of the names repeat. This is based on 1003 two name genealogies with a more than once repeat, excluding the kings that are mentioned in the dating formula in some of the inscriptions. This calculation does not even take into account the chance recurrence of personal names, which would only further lower the number of individuals mentioned more than once. This suggests that leaving an inscription was a once-in-a-lifetime action and not part of an annual ritual.

Table 9 Family relation mentioned in the *superscriptio*

<i>'b</i> (2)	father	U 044; Al-‘Uḏayb 065
<i>'ḥ</i> (2)	brother	JSLih 079 (‘ḥw); U 064
<i>'ḥt</i> (1)	sister	AH 204
<i>'m</i> (4)	mother	AH 217; AH 081; AH 197; AH 011.3
<i>'tt</i> (4)	wife	U 115; U 023; Al-‘Uḏayb 064; Umm Darağ 04
<i>b'l</i> (1)	husband	AH 199
<i>bn</i> (5)	son	U 037; U 040; U 029; U 023; JSLih 049
<i>bnt</i> (2)	daughter	JSLih 282; AH 081
<i>ḥtn</i> (1)	male relative by marriage	U 075

A person can be further identified by mentioning a title or occupation, following their name or their father’s name (Sima 1999, 88–90).

Table 10 Occupations mentioned in the *superscriptio*⁸⁹

<i>'fkl</i> (5)	priest	Al-‘Uḏayb 079; JaL 010 a; Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 15–26, no. 2; JSLih 048; Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1
<i>'fkl h-ktby</i> (1)	priest of <i>h-ktby</i>	JSLih 055
<i>'fkl lt</i> (1)	priest of <i>lt</i>	JSLih 277
<i>'fkl wd</i> (1)	priest of <i>wd</i>	JSLih 049
<i>frs'</i> (2)	horseman	AH 136; AH 137
<i>kbr h-d't</i> (1)	<i>kabir</i> of the council(?)	JSLih 072
<i>mlk</i> (1)	king	AH 145
<i>mlk ddn</i> (1)	king of Dadān	Al-Sa‘īd 2011.1
<i>mlkt lhyn</i> ⁹⁰ (1)	queen of Liḥyān	JSLih 053
<i>qnt</i> -POSS (3)	his/their female servant	AH 303; JSLih 282; JSLih 302
<i>qnh h-mlk</i> (1)	female servant of the king	AH 304

⁸⁹ Sima also mentions *qs'm* ‘oracle priest’ as a title (1999, 89). However, *hqs'm* also clearly occurs as a personal name in several inscriptions (AH 300; AH 303; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLVI). Therefore interpreting it as priest in U 100, seems highly uncertain.

⁹⁰ This reading is problematic, as the name mentioned before it contains *bn* and seems to belong to a man.

<i>s'lh dġbt</i> (24)	priest of <i>dġbt</i>	e.g. JSLih 061; U 023; Al-'Udayb 042
<i>s'lh̄t dġbt</i> (7)	priestess of <i>dġbt</i>	e.g. U 022; AH 006; Al-'Udayb 129
<i>s'lh̄t wd</i> (1)	priestess of <i>wd</i>	AH 199

3.2.2 Narratio

3.2.2.1 Dedication

The bulk of the Dadanitic dedicatory inscriptions commemorate a local ritual called the *zll* which was performed on behalf of the local deity *dġbt*. This type of inscriptions is found in two locations at the oasis: at al-'Udayb and at a rock formation called Umm Daraġ (see Figure 7 showing the distribution of the different types of inscriptions across the landscape). The formulae of the inscriptions from al-'Udayb have been thoroughly discussed by Sima (1999, 49–113). However, he considered all dedicatory inscriptions from this area to be of the same type, regardless of the object that was being dedicated. While it is true that all dedicatory inscriptions follow the same formulaic template, I have chosen to split the dedicatory inscriptions up into their main semantic types: *zll* inscriptions; *hgg* or pilgrimage inscriptions and general dedications. Since there are several dedicatory verbs that seem to only have been used in combination with the *zll* inscriptions, while other verbs could be used with both *zll* and general dedications, this division may shed some light on the semantics of the individual verbs and possibly even on the purpose of the rituals themselves. Moreover, some phrases, like the location *khl* to indicate where the ritual was performed and the elaboration to indicate on behalf of whom or what the dedication was being made are almost exclusively used with *zll* inscriptions.

In his discussion of the dedicatory inscriptions Sima divides the formula into three parts: the verb, the object, and the extension (Sima 1999, 90–105). I will follow a similar structure below.

3.2.2.1.1 *zll*

The most expansive form of the formula contains the following elements:

Gn [verb] [[object] *l-dġbt b-LOC b 'd/'ly* [property] *b-*[toponym] *f*-invocatio

3.2.2.1.1.1 *The verbs*

Most frequently the performance of the *zll* ritual is indicated by a causative verb of the same root.⁹¹ Since the focus of this chapter is the formulae of the inscriptions, the variation in *z/t* spelling for **z* is left out of the discussion here. For a complete overview of all *zll* inscriptions written with *t* see § 2.1 Glyphs and their variant forms. Note that *'fy* 'to accomplish' and *'dq* 'to dedicate' are only attested in combination with the *zll* ritual. The verbs *'gw* and *f'l* are also attested with other types of dedications (see § 3.2.2.1.3 Other dedicatory texts).

Gn [verb] *h-zll l-dġbt*

⁹¹ For a discussion of the different forms of the verb see Chapter 5 verbal morphology.

Table 11 Verbs used for the dedication of the *zll*

<i>ʿzll</i> (116)	e.g. U 019; U 058; AH 003
<i>ʿzl</i> (37)	e.g. AH 072; AH 080; U 006
<i>hzll</i> (10)	e.g. U 041; U 116; AH 011
<i>ʿfy</i> (9)	e.g. U 005; U 031; AH 015
<i>ʿdq</i> (1)	AH 087
<i>ʿgw</i> (35)	e.g. U 038; AH 202; Al-ʿUdayb 138
<i>fʿl</i> (1)	AH 088
<i>ndr</i>	U 010

3.2.2.1.1.2 *The objects*

The most commonly used phrase uses the verb and object of the same root *ʿzll h-zll*. There are also many inscriptions in which no object of dedication is specified. This phrase can be elaborated by mentioning the deity to whom the dedication is being made (almost always *dġbt*⁹² in case of the *zll* inscriptions) with a preposition *l-*. In some cases also the location where the dedication was made is mentioned. Note that while VERB *h-zll l-dġbt b-LOC* is the most common order attested, any of the elaborations can be left out and they occur in different orders.⁹³

Sima considers the dedication to *dġbt* and the location of the action⁹⁴ as part of the elaborations, but since these two phrases seem closely connected with the action itself and the object can occur after both of these elaborations I would consider them part of the same section of the inscription.

U 056	<i>ʿzllt l-//dġbt b-{k}hl</i> ‘she performed the <i>zll</i> ceremony for <i>dġbt</i> at <i>khl</i> ’
U 058	<i>ʿzll/h-zll//{b-}khl/l-dġ//bt</i> ‘he performed the <i>zll</i> ceremony at <i>khl</i> for <i>dġbt</i> ’
U 050	<i>ʿzll/l-dġbt/tl//ttʿzlt</i> ‘he performed for <i>dġbt</i> three <i>zll</i> ceremonies’

⁹² There is one inscription in which a *zll* seems to be dedicated to *qm* and another deity whose name is lost (AH 100).

⁹³ This variation may be compared to the variation found in the composition of some of the Aramaic magic bowl texts. Even in duplicate texts with the same content, made for the same family, these texts tend to contain minor variations. This led Levene to conclude that the scribes were likely writing from memory and not copying their texts from a notebook or even the first bowl of the set they produced (Levene 2003, 26).

⁹⁴ He translates *b-khl* as ‘nach Vermögen’ (Sima 1999, 98; following Stiehl 1971, 8), but this does not work syntactically. Interpreting it as a location is even more likely when we consider the parallel of *b-mšd* ‘at the sanctuary’, which did not occur in Sima’s corpus. Moreover, Maria del Carmen Hidalgo-Chacon Diez (2014: 20-22) has clearly shown that all attestations of *khl* occur at al-ʿUdayb, suggesting that it was the ancient name for this site.

Table 12 Different ways of specifying the *zll*

<i>h-zll</i>	the <i>zll</i> ceremony	e.g. U 049; U 054; AH 062; AH 244
<i>zll h-nq</i> (9)	the <i>zll</i> of the <i>nq</i>	e.g. AH 001; AH 225; U 037; U 119
<i>h-zll dh</i> (11)	this <i>zll</i> ceremony	e.g. U 005; U 033; U 038; Al-‘Udayb 041; AH 061
<i>zll</i> (5)	a <i>zll</i> ceremony	AH 100; AH 015; AH 079; AH 091; Al-‘Udayb 138
<i>’-zll</i> (2)	the <i>zll</i>	U 043; AH 138
<i>h-zlln</i> (1)	the two <i>zll</i> ceremonies	U 034
<i>iltt ’zlt</i> (2)	three <i>zll</i> ceremonies	U 032; U 050

3.2.2.1.1.3 Locations

In the first narrative part of the inscriptions, several different locations are mentioned, which seem to indicate where the ceremony was performed.

Table 13 Locations in the *zll* inscriptions

<i>khl</i> (72)	toponym	e.g. AH 100; U 002; U 071; AH 119
<i>mšd</i> (6)	sanctuary ⁹⁵	AH 202; AH 244; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII; AH 197; AH 199; Private collection 1
<i>btr</i> (1)	toponym	U 079 bis

3.2.2.1.1.4 *ndr*

Some of the *zll* inscriptions mention that the *zll* was completed ‘according to what was vowed’ (*hmd ndr*) possibly referring to a previous commitment to the fulfillment of the *zll* itself.

Table 14 Different *hmd ndr* phrases

Gn [verb][object] <i>l-dğbt b</i> -[location] <i>hmd ndr</i> (X) invocation		AH 023; AH 204; AH 244; AH 013; Private collection 1
Gn [verb] [object] <i>ndr</i> (<i>l-dğbt</i>) invocatio	elaboration	U 003; U 021; U 007

⁹⁵ Translation following Lundberg (2015, 136). Abū l-Ḥasan (2002, 36–37) translates *h-mšd* as ‘the high red mountain’, which he interprets as a reference to the red stone of Ġabal Umm Darağ where almost all of the inscriptions mentioning *mšd* are found, except for JSLih 085 which was found at Al-Ḥuraybah. Note that JSLih 085 was found at the entry to “the ancient sanctuary” (notes section in OCIANA record, accessed 7–3–2018). Abū l-Ḥasan’s identification of *h-mšd* with the location of Ġabal Umm Darağ is probably correct, based on the distribution of the texts containing this word. However, based on the etymology of the word (discussed in Lundberg 2015, 136) and its occurrence in relation to the sanctuary in Al-Ḥuraybah a translation as ‘sanctuary’ is more accurate, with the important side note that in most cases the sanctuary at Ġabal Umm Darağ was meant.

3.2.2.1.1.4 Elaboration

Following the description of the ritual the dedication can be elaborated by mentioning what seem to be the intended benefactors of the final *invocatio*. This part of the inscription is preceded by a preposition usually followed by property or crops, which can be followed by what seems to be a location. In some cases the property slot can be replaced by a person for whose benefit the dedication was made.⁹⁶ This section can be extended by adding different crops or other property following the conjunction *w-*.

b 'd/ 'l(y) [Property]-[POSS] (*w*-[Property]-[POSS]) *b*-[Location]

Table 15 Property mentioned in the dedication

<i>nhl</i> (39)	palm trees	e.g. U 038
<i>'nhl</i> (2)	palm trees (pl.)	Al-'Udayb 071; 073
<i>d̄t'</i> (32)	crops of the season of the later rains	e.g. Al-'Udayb 132; JSLih 077
<i>d̄t'</i> (1)	crops of the season of the later rains	AH 107
<i>'d̄t'</i> (2)	crops of the season of the later rains (pl.)	Al-'Udayb 071; 073
<i>ml</i> (24)	property	e.g. Ryckmans 3.30; AH 141
<i>ml kn l-h</i> (1)	the property that was his	AH 120
<i>q-kn l-h</i> (21)	that which was his	e.g. U 050; U108; AH 069; AH 75
<i>q-l-h</i> (3)	that which is his	U 092; U 080; AH 010
<i>m-kn l-h</i> (3)	what was his	U 044; U 059; AH 125
<i>tbrt</i> (12)	grain	e.g. U 112; U 069; AH 084
<i>n 'm</i> (4)	livestock or property	U 094; AH 074; AH 076; AH 008.1
<i>s²ym</i> (3)	field?	U 118; AH 100; AH 138
<i>hrf</i> (2)	crops of the season of the first rains	U 041; U 059
<i>gdw l-h</i> (1)	the property that was given to her	U 070
<i>'rd</i> (1)	valley	U 046
<i>h-drt</i> (1)	enclosed area	U 003
<i>mrbq</i> (1)	meadow	AH 073

⁹⁶ There is one inscription in which *b 'd* is followed by a verbal clause (AH 065) *b 'd 'gw b-tr* 'on behalf of what he dedicated at *tr'*.

There are two inscriptions in which the crops are specified after the location is mentioned. In these cases the partitive *mn* ‘of, from’ is used (Lundberg 2015, 133).

- U 059** *ʿly-/m-kn/l-h/b-d//t̄ ʿl/mn/dt̄ ʿw hrf*
‘on behalf of what was his at *dt̄* ʿl of the crops of the season of the later rains
and the crops of the season of the first rains’
- AH 077** *b//d/d̄-kn/l-h//b-bdr/mn/nhl {-h}*
‘on behalf of that which was his at *bdr* of his palm trees’

Table 16 Persons mentioned in the dedication

<i>-h</i> (1)	him(self)	U 102 bis
<i>ʿb-h</i> (1)	his father	U 034
<i>nfs^l-h</i> (1)	himself	U 021

The toponyms occurring in the Dadanitic corpus have already been thoroughly discussed by Hidalgo-Chacon Dièz (2014). Here only a list of attested forms and their number of occurrences will follow.

Table 17 Toponyms specifying the location of property mentioned in the dedication

<i>btr</i> (1)	U 079 bis
<i>bdr</i> (38)	e.g. AH 010; AH 061; U 064
<i>blh</i> (2)	U 071; U 72
<i>bn ʿl</i> (9)	e.g. AH 012; AH 141; U 038
<i>byr</i> (1)	U 108
<i>tqmm</i> (12)	e.g. AH 096; U 025; U 068
<i>tr</i> (8)	e.g. AH 065; AH 157; U 117
<i>d ʿdn</i> (2)	AH 066; U 126
<i>d ʿdn</i> (1)	U 013
<i>dt̄ ʿl</i> (5)	e.g. AH 072; U 059; U 091
<i>d ʿmn</i> (20)	e.g. AH 062; U028; U 066
<i>ms²hl</i> (1)	U 026
<i>mh{m/g}t</i> (1)	U 089
<i>h-mdhb</i> (1)	U 075

3.2.2.1.2 Pilgrimage - *hgg*

A special kind of dedicatory inscriptions refers to the *hgt* ‘pilgrimage’. Whenever the activity is expressed by the verb *hgg*, it mostly occurs in the plural (9 attestations as opposed to 2 singular forms). There are four attestations of the noun (AH 206; AH 219; AH 226; AH 239), but these all occur in damaged inscriptions. It is interesting to note that it occurs once as a noun in *hgt b-khl* ‘pilgrimage at *khl*’ (AH 206), once as *...mšd hgt* ‘... sanctuary, pilgrimage’ (AH 226) and once in construct with *mšd: hgt h-mšd* ‘the pilgrimage of the sanctuary’ (AH 219).

Many of the inscriptions mentioning the verb *hgg* are damaged, making it difficult to distill an exact formula. Based on what is visible, there seems to have been a lot of variation in the possibility to add information. The following discussion therefore focuses on distilling the most basic form of the formula to which more could be added. Generally speaking, in most cases the verb is followed by the name of a deity for which the pilgrimage was made, preceded by the preposition *l-*. There are two inscriptions in which the preposition is missing, which seems to confirm that *hgg* is a verb of motion. Many of the inscriptions mention the location of the ritual, which follows the name of the deity for which the pilgrimage was performed.

Gn *hggw (l-)DIN b-LOC invocatio*

Table 18 Deities mentioned with *hgg*

<i>hrg</i>	AH 217; AH 197
<i>dgbt</i>	U 063; AH 198; Rabeler 001; Al-‘Udayb 075 (without preposition); Umm Darağ 22

Table 19 Locations mentioned with *hgg*

<i>khl</i>	toponym	U 063; Al-‘Udayb 075
<i>h-mšd</i>	the sanctuary	AH 217; AH 221; AH 198
<i>bt-hm</i>	their temple	AH 197

3.2.2.1.2.1 Elaboration

There are two *hgg* inscriptions with the elaboration *l-hm* ‘on behalf of them’ (AH 206; AH 233).

3.2.2.1.3 Other dedicatory texts

Other dedicatory texts generally take the same form as the *zll* inscriptions, excluding the elaboration and usually without mentioning the location of the dedication itself.

Gn verb [object] *l-DIN f-invocatio*

Table 20 Attested dedicatory verbs

<i>’dq</i> (6)	e.g. AH 222; JSLih 061; JSLih 063
<i>’fqw</i> (1)	JSLih 054
<i>’gw</i> (35)	e.g. AH 134; AH 201; AH 140

<i>'gy</i> (1)	JSLih 177
<i>'qd</i> (1)	AH 222
<i>'rqw</i> (1)	AH 204
<i>'sdq</i> (1)	JSLih 008
<i>f^cl</i> (8)	e.g. Al-Sa'īd 2011.1; Nasif 1988: 86, pl. CXVI/e; Al-Ḥuraybah 06
<i>hdq</i> (2)	Al-Sa'īd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1-2; JSLih 062
<i>hḡnyw</i> (1)	AH 197
<i>wqd</i> (1)	Al-Ḥuraybah 08
<i>h₂tb</i> (1)	Al-Ḥuraybah 12
<i>hwdq</i> (4)	Al-Ḥuraybah 13; AH 288; Al-Ḥuraybah 14; JSLih 049
<i>hwḏ'</i> (1)	Al-Ḥuraybah 12
<i>qrb</i> (3)	JSLih 041; AH 209; Al-Ḥuraybah 09

Table 21 Attested deities in the general dedicatory texts

<i>dḡbt</i> (15)	e.g. AH 222; JSLih 041; Al-Ḥuraybah 12
<i>hn-[']ktb</i> (1)	JSLih 062
<i>hrg</i> (2)	AH 222; AH 197
<i>lh</i> (1)	JSLih 061
<i>ṭhln</i> (2)	Al-Sa'īd 2011.1; Al-Sa'īd 2011.2

3.2.2.1.4 Elaboration

Table 22 Elaborations attested with general dedicatory inscriptions

<i>bnt-h</i>	his daughter	JSLih 073
<i>ml-h</i>	his property	AH 140

3.2.2.2 Building

There are two forms of building inscriptions: dedicatory ones that mention the building of an object for divine favor; and ones mentioning funerary structures. Most building inscriptions use the verb *bny* (9 attestations), while there is one inscription that uses the verb *f^cl* to refer to the construction of a temple.⁹⁷

3.2.2.2.1 Funerary buildings

Gn + bny + [funerary structure]

⁹⁷ Most inscriptions containing *f^cl* are more general dedicatory inscriptions.

JSLih 078 *bny/b//r`h-mṭbr//l-h/h`*
 ‘he built the facade of the grave chamber and it is his’

Table 23 funerary structures mentioned

<i>mṭbr</i>	grave chamber	JSLih 078
<i>kfr</i>	tomb	JSLih 045

3.2.2.2.2 Dedicatory buildings

Dedicatory building inscriptions generally follow the following formula, in which the specification of the object and the deity seem to have been optional (the deity is left out in U 008, while the object is not specified in AH 200)

Gn + bny + [OBJ] + [l-DING] + *invocatio*

Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8/ 1-3 *bnyw/bt/h-ṣn----//l- ḏḡbt/f rd-hmy/w s`d-hmy/w `hrt//hmy//*
 ‘they built the... for *ḏḡbt* so may he favor them both and aid them and their posterity’

Table 24 Structures mentioned in building inscriptions

<i>bt</i>	temple	Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8; JaL 006
<i>bnyn</i>	building	Al-Sa`īd 1420/1999: 15–26, no. 2
<i>`rb`w</i>	sanctuary	U 008

The inscription using *f`l* follows the same basic formula as the dedicatory *bny* inscriptions.

AH 247 *f`l/h-bt/w h-//`lhn/f s`d//----*
 ‘he made the temple and the *`lhn* so aid...’

3.2.2.3 Funerary

3.2.2.3.1 *`hḏ*

The verb *`hḏ* is used to refer to taking possession of funerary structures (e.g. *qbr* (JSLih 079); *mḡbr* (JSLih 306)), but also of sections of cliff (JSLih 065; JSLih 066). These were probably meant to reserve a section of cliff for the future construction of a tomb.⁹⁸ The inscriptions minimally consist of a name and the verb, which is usually followed by an object (JSLih 230 and JSLih 289 only contain a name and the verb), specified with a demonstrative.

Gn *`hḏ* ([object] (*ḏh*))

Table 25 Objects following *`hḏ*

<i>hl-btt</i>	this section (of cliff)?	JaL 021 f
<i>h-mḡbr ḏh</i>	this burial place	JSLih 306

⁹⁸ Compare the use of the verb *`hḏ* in Nabataean texts from Hegra outlining and claiming the position of a future tomb (Nehmé 2015, vol.1: 105).

<i>h-mṭbrn</i>	the grave chambers	JSLih 045
<i>h-qbr</i>	the grave	JSLih 257
<i>h-qbr ḏh</i>	this grave	JSLih 079
<i>ʿ-ṣḥt</i>	the section of cliff	JSLih 065
<i>h-ṣḥt ḏt</i>	this section of cliff	JSLih 066

3.2.3 *Invocatio*

The *invocatio* is usually the last part of the inscription, sometimes followed by a dating formula (e.g. U 008; Müller, D.H. 1889:63–64, no.8; JSLih 072). It is typically introduced with the conjunction *f-*. Both blessing and curse formulae exist (Sima 1999, 111).

3.2.3.1 *Blessing*

Blessing formulae occur at the end of almost every dedicatory inscription, and sometimes also in graffiti (e.g. JSLih 084; W.Dad 16). The blessing formula minimally consists of the form *rḏ-h* ‘may he favor him’, which is commonly followed by *w-ʿḥrt-h* ‘and his posterity’. The longer phrase *f-rḏ-h w-sʿd-f w-ʿḥrt-h* ‘so may he favor him and aid him and his posterity’ occurs frequently, and is sometimes amended with the verb *ʿṭb-h* ‘may he reward him’. While *rḏ* (256 occurrences) is clearly the most common form, and *ʿṭb* does not occur very frequently (36 occurrences), these basic elements were seemingly freely combined in different orders.

f-[verbs] *w-ʿḥrt-h*

Table 26 Verbs attested in *invocatio*

<i>rḏ-h</i> or <i>rḏy-h</i>	may he favor him
<i>sʿd-h</i>	may he aid him
<i>ʿṭb-h</i>	may he reward him

There are a few examples of unique blessing formulae, such as the following:

U 040.1 *ʿzll h-zll //hny/hn-ʿ//ḥrt*
‘he performed the *zll* ceremony may he benefit the posterity’

JaL 016 a *f-ysm ʿ l-h ʿ//w-ylm ʿ-h*
‘so may ʿĒl listen to him and make him splendid(?)’

3.2.3.2 *Curse*

Curses occur both in dedicatory inscriptions (e.g. AH 222; AH 230; AH 236) and in what seem to be graffiti (e.g. AH 210; AH 289; JSLih 276). In the dedicatory inscriptions they always occur in the *invocatio* slot at the end of the inscription, usually following a blessing formula (e.g. AH 288). In graffiti curses generally occur in the same position in the inscription, or they may occur by themselves (AH 289).

AH 288 *w hwdq/l-h/h-mhry ----//{l-}hgr/f rdyt-h/w 'hrt-h ----//rr/dgbt/w h'/'hrt ----//rr-h*
 ...and he dedicated to him the incense burner... to *hgr* so may she favor him and his
 posterity... may *dgbt* dishonor and this posterity...[who] mistreats it'

AH 210 *'s¹k/bn/htm/h//tt/tqt/'r[r] {d}g{b}//t/t' n/'rr ----*
 'PN son of PN PN inscribed; may *dgbt* by smiting(?) the one who mistreats...'

AH 289 *f-mn y 'rr-h//y 'r-h n 'm//dgbt/wtħln*
 'so may whoever mistreats it be stripped of grace, *dgbt* and *ħln*'

3.2.4 Date

Some inscriptions are dated to the year of the reign of a king, in addition to which a period referred to as *r'y* can be mentioned, which seems to have indicated a specific time of the year, possibly the rising or setting of an asterism. These formulae usually follow the *invocatio* when they occur in dedicatory inscriptions. The dating formulae are found with building inscriptions (U 008*; Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8*) and several kinds of dedicatory inscriptions: *hgg* types (AH 206; AH 221*; AH 219*; Rabeler 001*; AH 239*; AHUD 001); *zll* inscriptions (AH 244*; AH 013; AH 216; AH 235; Private collection 1; AH 202) and other dedicatory forms (e.g.; AH 204; AH 222). There are also attestations of dated graffiti (Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLIV*; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLV*; JSLih 349*; JSLih 181); and what might be legal inscriptions (JSLih 072*; JSLih 068*; JSLih 070; JSLih 077).⁹⁹

s¹nt X PN bn PN mlk Lħyn 'year X PN son of PN king of Liḥyān' (e.g. AH 64)

s¹nt X b-r'y Y PN bn PN mlk Lħyn 'year X during the *r'y* of Y; PN son of PN king of Liḥyān' (e.g. AH 239; AH 244).

U 008 *bnyw/hn-'rb//w/frd-hm/s¹nt/'{s²}//r/w s¹b'/b-r'y/s¹ħn*
 'they built the sanctuary so may he favor them year seventeen during the rising of the
 asterism *S¹ħn*'

AH 219 *----bt/hgt/h-mšd/f rd-h/{w} s¹//d-h/b-r'y/hrf/s¹nt/hms¹/ntn*
 '... [performed] the pilgrimage of the sanctuary so may he favor him and aid him
 during the rising of the asterism *hrf* year five of *ntn*'

AH 013 *'//zlt/h-zll/l-dgbt/b-k//hl/hmd/ndrt/f r{d}{-h}/w{s¹} 'd-h/w {'}{ħ}rt-*
h/s¹nt/hms¹//s²{h}r/{b}n/hn's¹
 'she performed the *zll* ceremony for *dgbt* at *khl* according to what she vowed so may he
 favor her and aid her and her posterity year five of *s²{h}r* son of *hn's¹*'

AH 204 *'rqww/h----//bt/hm-d/ndr/dg[b][t]---- [f]//rd-hm/w s¹'d-hm/ ----//s¹nt/'s²rn/w 'r[b][']---*
-//bn hn's¹ mlk lħy[n]
 'they sent up the.... according to what was vowed [to] *dgbt*... so may he favor them
 and aid them... year twenty four... son of *hn's¹* king of Liḥyān'

AH 222 *'qd h- m---- l- ħrg//s¹nt s¹t hn's¹//mlk lħyn*
 'he dedicated the... to *ħrg* year six of *hn's¹* king of Liḥyān'

⁹⁹ The sigla indicated with an asterisk are the inscriptions that include the more elaborate dating formula including the time of the year.

Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLIV *ms¹kh/ys²bk//tqt/s¹nt/’hdy//b-r’y/d’bs¹mwy*
 ‘*ms¹kh ys²bk* inscribed year one during the *r’y* of the asterism *d’bs¹mwy*’

JSLih 072 *’hḏw/h-mkn//w h-mq’ d/ḏh/kl-h/mn/m’//n/h-gbl/hn’ly/’dky//m’{n}/h-gbl/hn’s¹{l}l f//rḏ-//hm/s¹nt/hms¹/b-r’y//’bdn/hn’s¹*
 ‘they took the place and this sitting place, all of it from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border*¹⁰⁰ so may he favor them year five during the *r’y* of the asterism *’bdn* [during the reign of] *hn’s¹*’

3.2.5 Signature

Some texts are signed by the artisan who made them at the end of the inscription, confirming that at least some of the inscriptions were commissioned (Macdonald 2010, 7). The most common way of mentioning the artisan is by giving his name and title following the *invocatio* and possibly the date. There are also several inscriptions in which the person mentioned in the genealogy gives his title ‘the artisan’ (e.g. JSLih 074; 075; JaL 003; JSLih 035).

f-invocatio (date) PN *bn* PN [title] (w-PN *bn* PN [title])

In two inscriptions the signature is elaborated by the phrase *’bd l-mr’-h* ‘he made it for his lord’ Al-Ḥuraybah 12; JSLih 035).

f-invocatio PN *bn* PN [title] *’bd l-mr’-h f-invocatio*

Table 27 Occupations mentioned in the signature

<i>s¹fr</i> (2)	writer	JSLih 082; AH 220
<i>ṣn¹</i> (11)	artisan	e.g. Al-Ḥuraybah 12; JSLih 075; JSLih 082
<i>ṣwḡ</i> (2)	smith	Al-Ḥuraybah 04; 05
<i>ṣyḡ</i> (1)	smith	Al-Ḥuraybah 14

3.3 Graffiti

Graffiti are generally much shorter than the other inscriptions. Many consist of only a name or genealogy, some even of just a single letter (e.g. JaL 008 o; 084 a; 124). Others contain brief statements.

JSLih 139 *’yḏmnt/bn s¹lm/r’y*
 ‘*yḏmnt* son of *s¹lm* pastured (the livestock)’

More frequently recurring themes are inscriptions mentioning the activity of writing, thus claiming authorship; inscriptions with the verb *wdd* ‘to love; and those mentioning *nṯr* ‘he guarded’.

3.3.1 Writing and claiming authorship

There are several graffiti that seem to commemorate the writing of the inscription itself. Only the inscriptions using the verb *tqt* seem to form a coherent formulaic group however.

Gn *tqt*

¹⁰⁰ Translation following Lundberg (2015, 135).

This basic formula is sometimes elaborated with, for example, an invocatio (W.Dad 16) a curse (AH 210); a date (JSLih 349) or a dedication (JSLih 182).

JSLih 182 $\{\}$ *bdhny*// *tqt*//*'ly*//*qrt*
 ‘ $\{\}$ *bdhny* inscribed on behalf of *qrt*’

Table 28 Attested verbs of writing and inscribing

<i>ḥt</i> (1)	JSLih 181
<i>ḥtt</i> (1)	Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII
<i>ktb</i> (1)	JSLih 279
<i>mtl</i> (1)	JSLih 339
<i>qt</i> (1)	JaL 152
<i>s'fr</i> (2)	Ğabal İtlib 08; JSLih 128
<i>tqt</i> (85)	e.g. JaL 169 af; JSLih 339; W. Dad 16

3.3.2 *wdd*

The verb *wdd* ‘to love’ occurs 14 times (e.g. JaL 147 c; Ph 395 v; Nasif 1988: 94, pl. CXL/c), and once as *wd* (JaL 116).¹⁰¹

PN *wdd* PN

3.3.3 *nṭr*

The *nṭr* inscriptions are almost all found at Jabal İtlib in Madā’ in Şālih. They commemorate the guarding activities that were carried out at this location. Several of them were executed in a unique style (see § 2.2.1.1 Jabal İtlib relief).



PN *bn* PN *nṭr ddn*/PN

¹⁰¹ The verb *wdd* ‘to love’ is also part of one of the common Hismaic formulae. In Hismaic the verb is usually positioned at the beginning of the inscription however. Also the Hismaic inscriptions seem to be dealing more explicitly with romantic or erotic love, often mentioning that the loved person is a young woman *glmt* and adding references to intercourse *nk* (e.g. KJA 105; KJA 23).

Chapter 4 - Orthography and Phonology

As already mentioned in Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing, the Dadanitic script is made up of 28 glyphs each representing a separate phoneme, except for s^l which came to represent both $*s^1$ and $*s^3$. Their merger probably does not only reflect the merging of the signs in the script, but also the phonological situation. Since there are no transcriptions of Dadanitic language into other scripts,¹⁰² it is difficult to tell for sure how each glyph was pronounced, and whether some glyphs merged in script but not in pronunciation. However, based on the shapes of the letters, Macdonald has argued that the earliest form of the ANA script probably did not have a sign for the interdental d . He shows that the d sign used in Dadanitic looks like an adaptation of the z sign, while other scripts have found other solutions to deal with this ‘missing’ glyph, creating a variety of signs representing d in the various ANA scripts (Macdonald 2000, 43).

Table 29 Dadanitic d , probably derived from z

	Dadanitic
d	
z	

If gaps in the phonology of the language the script was used to represent could be filled by creating new ones, like the d , it would seem unlikely this would not have happened for other ‘missing’ phonemes. It is possible that the Dadanitic alphabet developed using a language with a different phoneme inventory than Dadanitic, but we have no attestations of such use of the script. Moreover, based on comparative evidence it is not unlikely to find a language that only merged $/s^1/$ and $/s^3/$. Compare Arabic for example.

The fact that most glyphs were consistently kept apart suggests that they also remained separate phonemes in the spoken language of the oasis. An exception to this is $*z$, which is occasionally written with t (see § 4.6.3 $z > t$).

Following the considerations outlined in the methodological discussion in Chapter 1 - Introduction this chapter will provide an outline of the orthographic conventions and its implications for the vocalization of the inscriptions, followed by a discussion of the observable sound changes and problematic consonants.

4.1 Word dividers

There are several ANA scripts that use word dividers,¹⁰³ but only monumental Dadanitic uses them consistently (Macdonald 2008, 186). They are also “commonly, though not consistently” employed in Dadanitic graffiti (Macdonald 2008, 186). Of the 1969 Dadanitic inscriptions in the OCIANA database, 975 inscriptions contain word dividers.¹⁰⁴ These include longer dedicatory inscriptions on rock face (e.g. U 102bis; U 063; U 056), graffiti solely containing personal names (e.g. U114; JSLih 268; U 078), inscriptions on prepared surfaces, such as blocks and columns (e.g. AH 202; AH 209; AH 215), and inscriptions in relief (AH 204; AH 218; JSLih 052).

¹⁰² Such inscriptions are available, for example, of Safaitic in Greek script (e.g. Al-Jallad and al-Manaser 2016, 58–59).

¹⁰³ Taymanitic, Dumaitic (of which only three inscriptions are attested) also make use of word dividers (Macdonald 2008, 186). They also occasionally occur in Thamudic C (see Stokes 2016, 35).

¹⁰⁴ OCIANA database, accessed 18–10–2017.

Word dividers are usually employed to separate every lexeme in the inscription even in genitive constructions.¹⁰⁵

U 050 *s¹my/bn/tlġl // 'zll/l-dġbt*
'*s¹my son of tlġl performed the zll for dġbt*'

While certain proclitic elements can be attached to the following word.

U 108 *brd/s¹lm//dġbt'z//ll/l-dġbt //b-khl/b'd //d-kn/l-h/b-y//r/f-rd-h[/]w '//tb-h¹⁰⁶*
'*Brd s¹lmdġbt performed the zll ceremony for dġbt at khl on behalf of that which was his at yr so may he favor him and reward him*'

Word dividers are used somewhat irregularly at the end of lines, they are generally not written in that position, but the end of the line does not automatically indicate the end of a word; it is possible to end a line in the middle of a word and continue it on the next. AH 001 shows how 'zllw is written across two lines, while the personal name *gffh* and the noun *h-nq* end exactly at the end of the line in U 037, U 120 is an example of a word divider employed at the end of a line to separate the last word of the line from the first in the next.

AH 001 *bn[w]d/w-whb`m/w- //wd/w-lb`n/bnw//s¹'d`l/d-yf`n/'z//llw/zll/h-nq/l-//dġbt/f-rd-hm*
'*bn[w]d and whb`m and `wd and lb`n sons of s¹'d of the tribe of yf`n performed the zll ceremony of the nq for dġbt so please them*'

U 037 *'rs²/bn //zdlh/w //bn-h/gffh //fyw/ h-nq //l-dġbt*
'*rs² son of zdlh and his son gffh accomplished the nq for dġbt*'

U 120 *'bd`bdh//bn/bħmh //l-dġbt*
'*bd`bdh son of bħmh, for dġbt*'

There are some examples where the word divider was clearly placed in the wrong position.

U 018 *f r/d//y-h/w s¹'d-h/w `h//rt-h/*
'*So may he favor him and aid him and his posterity*'

4.2 *Matres lectionis*

Scholars have identified three *matres lectiones* employed in Dadanitic: *-h*, *-w* and *-y* (Drewes 1985, 167–68, followed by Farès-Drappeau 2005, 62–63). Even though there seems to be clear evidence for the use of *-h* for *-ā* and *-w* for *-ū*, the evidence for the use of *-y* for *-ī* or *-ē* in Dadanitic is less clear cut (Macdonald 2008, 186).

4.2.1 Final *-h*

Evidence for the use of *-h* as a *mater lectionis* for *-ā* comes from the dual verb in the SC (see § 5.1.3 Dual) (Drewes 1985, 168; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 62); one example of the dual *-h* in the nominative case (see § 6.2.2 Plural and dual forms); and the difference between the spelling of relative *mh* in

¹⁰⁵ Compare Taymanitic in which there is never a word divider between *b* 'son of' and the following personal name in genealogies (Kootstra 2016, 71).

¹⁰⁶ Note that even though the word dividers are used as expected in most of this text, the word divider between *f-rd-h w-`tb-h* was omitted in this inscription. The inscription was pounded onto a rock face in not very regularly formed letters and does not seem to be the work of a professional mason.

proclitic, or independent position (Drewes 1985, 168). There are also several personal names attested in which *-h* seems to represent *-ā* (Drewes 1985, 168).¹⁰⁷

4.2.1.1 On verbs

The representation of *-ā* with *-h* is attested on what seem to be dual verbs in the SC (Drewes 1985, 168).

U 019 *rhz/bn/tḥmh/w//`mt`zh/s`lḥt//dḡbt/`zlh/h-zll//l-dḡbt/b-khl/b`d/ml-hm/b-bdr/f rd-hm//w`hrt-hm*
 ‘*rhz* sn of *tḥmh* and ‘*mt`zh*, priestess of *dḡbt* **performed (du)** the *zll* ceremony for *dḡbt* at *khl* on behalf of their (pl.) property at *bdr* so may he favor them (pl.) and their (pl.) posterity’

Since there are clearly two dedicants, it seems that ‘*zll-h* represents a dual verb here, with *-h* representing *-ā*. The suffixed personal pronouns in the inscription are all plural *-hm*, which seems to be a mistake (see § 7.1.2.1.3.1 Agreement). A dual verb seems to fit the inscription better than assuming that ‘*zll-h* represents a feminine singular verb with a sporadic *-at* > *-ah* shift (see Overlaet, Macdonald, and Stein (2016, n. 23) and § 5.1.2 3FS), as this would have to account for both disagreement between the verb and its subject, and rest on the assumption that the sporadic sound change *-at* to *-ah* operated in the language of this inscription.¹⁰⁸ There is one inscription attested with full dual agreement throughout the text (AH 199).

AH 199 *s`mwh/bnt/s`mr/s`lḥt/w//d/w zyd/b`l-h/d- yf`n//`zllh/l-dḡbt/h-zll/b-h-mš//d/f rd-hmy/w s`d-hmy w*
 ‘*s`mwh* daughter of *s`mr* priestess of Wadd and *zyd* her husband of the lineage of *yf`n* **performed the *zll*** for *dḡbt* at the sanctuary so may he favor them (both) and aid them (both) and...’

Despite the variation in the use of the dual in the rest of the corpus, the interpretation of AH 199 is fairly certain.

4.2.1.2 Nominative dual

Even though the ending *-y* was generally leveled for all forms of the dual (see § 6.2.2 Plural and dual forms), there is one inscription that seems to use a nominative form of the dual *bnh* /*banā*/.

Nasif 1988: *d/ms`yh/w bd/bnh/tm`l//`zlw/h-zll/l-dḡbt*
99, pl. CLVIII ‘*d ms`yh* and *bd* **two sons** of *tm`l*, they performed the *zll* ceremony’

4.2.1.3 Relative *mh*

There are two examples of a relative *mh*. The final *-h* may represent the etymological consonant in this form (compare Ugaritic *mh* (Tropper 2000, 239), CAr. *mahmā*¹⁰⁹).

¹⁰⁷ If the interpretation of *lwh* as /*liwā*/ ‘sandy depression’ in Graf Abū al-Ḍibā‘ 1 is correct, this would be another example of the mater *-h*. Note, however, that the expected reflex of **liway* would be *lwy* in Dadanitic see § 4.2.3 Final *-y*.

¹⁰⁸ See Al-Jallad, commentary OCIANA on U 026 and compare *bnh* in JSLih 384, which seems to represent a third person feminine singular verb in the SC: */*banat*/ > /*banah*/ (Overlaet, Macdonald, and Stein 2016, n. 23). It has also been argued that it represents a third person masculine singular verb in the SC /*banā*/ in which the final triphthong /*aya*/ has collapsed to /*ā*/ (Macdonald 2000, 50).

¹⁰⁹ And possibly Hebrew *mā* (< **mah*) (Suchard 2016a, 93).

- JSLih 077** *wdyw/nfs¹/mr/bn/hwt/m{h}*¹¹⁰//¹hd/¹l-hmy/hrg/
 ‘They placed the funerary monument of *mr* son of *hwt* according to **what** had been taken out on them as a loan’
- JSLih 064** *b¹ls¹mn/¹hrm/h-qrt /mn/mh/trq-h/mr¹t /l-bhny/hn-¹fkl*
 ‘*b¹ls¹mn* protected the village from **what** the woman of *bhny*, the priestess, had conjured’

Note that both examples of *mh* with the *-h* represented, occur in word final position. In JSLih 064 this is clear from the word divider following *mh*; in JSLih 077 *mh* occurs at the end of the line and is not followed by a word divider, it is not unusual, however, for word dividers to be left out at line breaks in Dadanitic, although it is possible to continue a word across lines (see § 4.1 Word dividers).

In word internal position, however, relative *m(h)* is consistently attested without the *-h* (Drewes 1985, 168).¹¹¹

- U 059** *’ly/m-kn/l-h*
 ‘on behalf of that which was his’
- AH 125** *’l-m-kn/l-h*
 ‘On behalf of that which was his’
- U 044** *b¹d/m//kn/l-hm/b-bdr*
 ‘on behalf of that which was theirs at *bdr*’

The position of the word dividers in U 059 and AH 125 clearly shows that *m(h)* is considered to form an orthographic unit with the following verb *kn* in this expression. This may indicate that the consonantal *-h* was lost in proclitic position in this phrase. It could also be taken as additional evidence that *-h* was purely a *mater lectionis* in the independent form /mā/, which would not be represented word internally /mākān(a) lah(u)/ (Drewes 1985, 168), compare CAr. which shows the opposite distribution, in which the *h* continued to be represented in word internal position *mahmā* while it was lost in the independent form *mā*, due to the loss of *-h* in word final position. If this interpretation is correct, this suggests that in Dadanitic the consonantal *-h* was lost in all forms of *m(h)* and only remained orthographically represented as a *mater lectionis* in the independent form of *mh*. The latter interpretation would have as an additional benefit that it can help us understand the environment in which the *mater lectionis* *-h* for *-ā#* developed. If original *-ah#* shifted to *-ā* in Dadanitic after the orthography had been fixed, then all *-h#*’s came to represent *-ā* in pronunciation, which could then spread as an orthographic device to other environments such as the dual verbal endings.

4.2.1.4 Evidence from personal names

There are several personal names in which *-h* clearly represents *-ā*.; *’mt¹zh* (U 019) (Drewes 1985, 168) and *’mktbh* (AH 078).¹¹² The theophoric elements of the first two names come from feminine

¹¹⁰ The tip of the *-h* is missing, so only a triangle is visible, but it is difficult to see how this could have represented anything but *h*.

¹¹¹ It is unlikely that these examples should be read as the noun *mkn* /makān/ ‘place’. Possession is generally indicated with an enclitic pronoun on a noun (***mkn-h* ‘his place’), and would not be expected to be expressed with a preposition (I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad (pc.) for this insight). Moreover, when we compare this phrase to some variant forms, it seems that the dedications were being made on behalf of property in general and when a specific place was mentioned the local toponym was used, compare: *b¹d//d- kn/l-h/b- y//r* ‘on behalf of what was his at *yr*’ (U 108); *b//¹d/ml/kn/[l-]//h/b-bdr* ‘on behalf of property that was his at *bdr*’ (AH 120).

elatives */kutbay/ and */'uzzay/ respectively. The only way in which *-h* could have replaced *-y* in the orthography is if the final diphthongs collapsed to a long vowel *-ā* or *-ē*, which became orthographically represented by *-h* in Dadanitic. The language internal evidence for the use of *-h* for *-ā* supports an interpretation *-ā* rather than *-ē* in these personal names.

4.2.2 Final *-w*

The clearest example of the use of *-w* as a *mater lectionis* for *-ū* comes from the third person masculine plural verbs in the suffix conjugation (Drewes 1985, 170). To give a complete overview of the data, final-*w* verbs and relevant nouns and personal names with *-w* will also be discussed.

4.2.2.1 Verbs

4.2.2.1.1 3M PL SC

Final *-w* was used to represent *-ū* on 3rd person masculine plural verbs in the suffix conjugation.

Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8	<i>bnyw</i> ¹¹³	they built
U 088	' <i>gww</i> ¹¹⁴	they dedicated
Al-Ḥuraybah 11	<i>f'lw</i>	they made
U 023	{ <i>ḡ</i> } <i>rs</i> ¹ <i>w</i>	they planted
AH 197	<i>hggw</i> ¹¹⁵	they made the pilgrimage
AH 197	<i>hḡnyw</i>	they dedicated (lit. make rich)
JSLih 049	<i>hwdqw</i>	they dedicated
Al-Ḥuraybah 09	<i>qrbw</i> ¹¹⁶	they offered
e.g. AH 235	' <i>zlw</i>	they performed the <i>zll</i>

The consistent representation of final weak consonants in the 3M PL SC verbs, as opposed to the 3FS SC verbs in which the third root consonant *y* is almost¹¹⁷ never represented suggests a different phonological environment in each. This probably confirms the vocalic nature of the 3M PL suffix */-ū/* and suggests that while */ayū/* and */awū/* was maintained, */ayat/#* collapsed to */ayt/*, */ēt/*, */āt/* or */at/*.

bny (e.g. AH 208; AH 234; JaL 006) but *bnt* (Al-‘Uḡayb 043)

'*fy* (e.h. U 004; U 031; U 035) but '*ft* (AH 051; U 005)

Alternatively it could be argued that the glide is there secondarily in the plural forms to fill the hiatus: if the final triphthongs had collapsed and *-y* came to represent *-ē* or *-ā*, the glide may have been reintroduced or preserved in the 3MPL SC to fill the hiatus between the vocalic end of the verbal stem

¹¹² And possibly '*ls'mh*, although the exact interpretation of the name is uncertain, it could come from √S¹MY: 'Ēl has named.

¹¹³ *bnyw* as a plural verb is also attested in (U 008; AH 200 and Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3)

¹¹⁴ '*gww* is also attested in AH 243; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII; Al-‘Uḡayb 001.

¹¹⁵ *hggw* also occurs in AH 217; AH 221; AH 231; AH 233; Rabeler 001; U 063; Al-‘Uḡayb 075; Umm Daraḡ 22.

¹¹⁶ Also in AH 209

¹¹⁷ There is one attestation of *rdyt* (AH 288), see § 4.2.3.1 Verbs.

and the vocalic verbal suffix. If the glide is secondary in this position the consistent use of the etymologically correct one is probably based on analogy with the 3MS SC.

4.2.2.1.2 III-*w* verbs

It seems that in III-*w* verbs, the reflex of the final glide is represented orthographically in the 3 MS SC.¹¹⁸

U 038 *ḏbn/ʿmr/bn/mrd//ʿgw/h-ḏll/ḏh/l-ḏḡbt*
 ‘*ḏbn* ‘*mr* son of *mrd* dedicated this *ḏll* to *ḏḡbt*’

Based on the present evidence it is difficult to say whether the final triphthong obtained, or whether it collapsed and -*w* came to represent /-ō/ or /-ū/. Given the development of the final-*y* verbs, however, (see § 4.2.3.1 Verbs), it seems likely that the final triphthongs of final-*w* verbs also collapsed during the history of Dadanitic. Note that the final *w* is never represented in any of the attested feminine forms of this verb ʿ*gt* (U 126; AH 006; 079; Al-ʿUḏayb 129; 008). There are no attestations of III-*w* verbs with enclitic personal pronouns.¹¹⁹

4.2.2.2 Substantives

Final -*w* is also found on the bound plural of *bn* ‘son’;¹²⁰ and on the nouns *mḥrw* and ʿ*rb* ʿ*w*.

AH 001; AH 197; JSLih 079; U 064 *bnw*

AH 209 *qrbw/h-mḥrw*
 ‘they dedicated the **incense burner**’

U 008 *bnyw/hn-ʿrb//ʿw/ḥrd -hm*
 ‘they built the sanctuary¹²¹ so may he favor them’

Both *mḥrw* and ʿ*rb* ʿ*w* have been interpreted as plural forms (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 60; Sima 1999, 97). The nominal plural suffix in unbound position is -*n*, however (see Chapter 6 - Nominal and Pronominal Morphology), which makes this interpretation unlikely. I would suggest that the *w* in *mḥrw* is part of the root¹²² (see Appendix - Glossary for a discussion). Sima (1999, 97) links ʿ*rb* ʿ*w* to the word *rabī* ʿ ‘qanāt channel open to the sky’ following Nasif (Nasif 1988, 274). However, it may be better to compare it to Nabataean ʿ*rb* ʿ*n*, which Nehmé suggests to be derived from the root RB ʿ ‘four’ and which she interprets as ‘square building’ (Nehmé 2003, 25). In the Nabataean context these buildings were also the object of dedications mentioned in inscriptions. The -*w* seems to be part of the noun formation, possibly related to that of the numeral in the Arabic form of Wednesday *yawm al-ʿarbi* ʿ*ā*, which Lane reports to be the only singular word of this measure (except ʿ*armidā*) (Lane, 1020a), but compare for example also plural formations like CAr. *ṣaḏīq* ~ ʿ*aṣḏiqā* ‘friend’. This -*ā* suffix may have come from *ʿ*arba* ʿ*āw* or -*āy* (compare CAr. **samāy* > *samā*).

¹¹⁸ The verb ʿ*gw* ‘he dedicated’ occurs 26 times in the Dadanitic corpus.

¹¹⁹ Transcription into another script with a better understood orthography could be another give source of more conclusive evidence for this.

¹²⁰ There is also a plural of brother ʿ*hw* attested once (JSLih 079), in this case the *w* seems to represent a glide however /ʿaḥawā/, since the *w* is not in word final position due to the enclitic pronoun ʿ*hw-hm* ‘their brothers’ (but see Drewes 1985, 170). So far there is only evidence for the use of *matres lectionis* in word final position.

¹²¹ U 008 ʿ*rb* ʿ*w* ‘sanctuary’ is translated as singular in OCIANA. In Sabaic it occurs as ‘quarter’ or ‘fraction’ (of a tribe) both translated as a plural (Ir 19; Ir 22; Ja 650) and a singular (Ir49) (accessed through DASI).

¹²² On the variant *mḥry* see § 4.6.6 Interchange of *w* and *y*.

4.2.2.3 Personal names

There are two examples of personal names with a suffixed *-w*. Their vocalization is unclear at the moment. They look very similar to names bearing wawation, as is common in Nabataean names (Cantineau 1930, 48).¹²³ Since we have no evidence for this use of the *-w* in Dadanitic outside of these two names, it could suggest that they are an orthographic calque, and their orthography was borrowed along with the name.

'bdw (JaL 061 d)

hdrw (JSLih 349)

zhyw (al-'Udayb 124)

4.2.3 Final -y

The evidence for the use of *-y* as a *mater lectionis* for *-ī* is not as certain as for *-h* and *-w* for *-ā* and *-ū* respectively. Most examples of final *-y* seem to represent either diphthongs or triphthongs, at least etymologically.¹²⁴ Word final *-y* is attested in the 3MS form of the SC of III-weak verbs; on bound dual forms (see § 6.2.5.1 Bound forms); as the gentilic suffix (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 62); and on several personal names (Drewes 1985, 169–70). Below only the forms that require further discussion will be treated more extensively.

4.2.3.1 Verbs

In the 3MS and PL forms of the SC of III-*y* verbs the *y* is always orthographically represented.

bny (e.g. Al-Sa'īd 1420/2000: 15-26, no. 2; JSLih 045)

bnyw (AH 200; U 008; Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26-36, no. 3)

Word internally there seems to be variation. Compare *rḏy-h* (e.g. AH 213) and *rḏ-h* (e.g. U 038). This difference could be interpreted as a difference in morphological form: *rḏy-h* representing the optative use of the SC /raḏḏaya-hu/ 'may he favor him' and *rḏ-h* the imperative /raḏḏī-hu/ 'favor him'.¹²⁵

Alternatively we might interpret *rḏ-h* not as an imperative, but as a developed phonological form of the SC. While *rḏy-h* shows us that the triphthong was still intact when this spelling was introduced /raḏḏaya-hu/. The form *rḏ-h* could suggest a pronunciation /raḏḏē-h/. For this form to develop the final triphthong had to have collapsed, possibly after an initial loss of final short vowels. This would leave us with a form /raḏḏē/ for the 3MS of the SC, in which case the etymological *-y* would come to represent /ē/. This would be represented with a *mater lectionis* word finally, but not in word internal position.

The eventual collapse of the triphthongs is further supported by the attestation of both 3 FS SC *rḏt-h*¹²⁶ and *rḏyt-h*. These forms can only represent variant spellings of the same morphological form and

¹²³ For a more recent analysis of the function of the otiose *w* at the end of personal names see Al-Jallad (forthcoming).

¹²⁴ But see Drewes (1985, 170) who interprets forms like *bny* 'he built' as evidence for the use of *-y* for *-ē* and Farès-Drappeau (2005, 62) who suggests a vocalization /banī/ for *bny*.

¹²⁵ I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad (pc.) for suggesting this interpretation of the difference between *rḏ* and *rḏy* to me.

¹²⁶ The form *rḏt* is also attested in Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1, but the context seems to be slightly different than in other inscriptions (there is no enclitic pronoun on *rḏt*). In combination with the fragmentary nature of the inscription it is unclear how this should be interpreted and whether the form really represents a verb here.

since they are based on the same root, the difference in spelling cannot be explained as a difference in vowel quality (see § 4.3.2 /aya/).

JSLih 036/2 ---- {'}zy/ f rḏt-h/{h}----
 '... 'zy so may she favor him/her...'

AH 288/4 f rḏyt-h/w 'hrt-h ----
 'so may she favor him/her and his/her posterity...'

This suggests that we are witnessing a historical development in the corpus, where the *rḏyt* and *rḏy-h* forms represent older forms or archaic spellings, representing a period in which the final triphthong had not collapsed yet, while the *rḏt* and *rḏ-h* spellings represent the form after the collapse of the triphthong. This means that all other attestations of III-y feminine verbs (e.g. 'ft (U 005; AH 015)) are only attested in the more progressive spelling. Since the *rḏ-h* forms seem to have been the norm (224 attestations, with only 30 attestations with *plene* spelling), and 'ft only occurs twice it is not surprising that these two attestations conform to the norm.

The fact that there is no variation attested in the spelling of word final triphthongs suggests that at the time when the triphthongs collapsed word final -y came to be used as a *mater lectionis* for -ē. Given the high frequency of *rḏ-h* spellings, most of the final -y's on 3 MS SC verbs were probably intended to represent -ē (e.g. *bny* and 'fy as /banē/ and /'ōfē/), as Drewes already suggested (Drewes 1985, 170). However, since over 10% of the attested forms of √RDY preserve the *plene* spelling of the final root consonant, it is not unlikely that some of the word final -y's in other verbs were also intended to represent a triphthong at the time of writing. The consistency in the writing of the etymologically correct root consonant in the verb¹²⁷ suggests that the collapse /awa/ and /aya/ had different outcomes, probably /awa/ > /ū/ or /ō/ and /aya/ > /ī/ or /ē/.

4.2.3.2 Gentilic suffix -y

The gentilic suffix cannot be directly compared to word final diphthongs, as it etymologically terminates in a consonant. Compare ClAr. -iyy or Aram. -āy.¹²⁸ In the Safaitic inscriptions the -y of the gentilic ending is always represented, clearly signaling its consonantal value in the purely consonantal Safaitic script (Al-Jallad 2015, 73).

In Dadanitic Farès-Drappeau mentions the name of the asterism 'bs'mwy,¹²⁹ in which the -y should probably be interpreted as the gentilic suffix */'ab samawiyy/, as evidence for the use of -y as a *mater lectionis* for -ī (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 62). This interpretation depends on whether the sound change -iyy > -ī had taken place, like in the modern dialects of Arabic.

4.2.3.3 Personal names

There are several divine names based on a feminine relative pattern *fu'lay*.

JSLih 055 *h-ktby* 'divine name'

AH 197 *hn'h'zy* 'theophoric name' (occurs in an inscription with *rḏy-h*)

AH 096 *zd'zy* 'theophoric name' (occurs in an inscription with *rḏ-h*)

¹²⁷ Except for one attestation of 'gy, for 'gw (JSLih 177), see § 4.6.6 Interchange of w and y.

¹²⁸ Suchard reconstructs *-īy- for Hebrew (2016a, 258).

¹²⁹ Farès-Drappeau interprets this form as a personal name (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 62).

While these forms etymologically end in a diphthong, it may have collapsed in these forms to -ē (as suggested by Drewes 1985, 170), in which case -y would represent a final long vowel.¹³⁰ Note that AH 197 contains the form *rdy-h*, which suggests that the *mater lectionis* -y for -ē had not yet developed, or that the author of the inscription chose to use an archaic form of the orthography, while AH 096 contains the form *rd-h*, strongly suggesting a pronunciation /'uzzē/ for the theophoric element of the personal name (See the discussion of *rdy* above § 4.2.3.1 Verbs).

4.3 Triphthongs

The glide of the (etymological) final triphthong is always represented in 3M PL SC verbs and 3MS SC verbs without an enclitic personal pronoun of final weak roots (see § 4.2.3.1 Verbs). They are never represented, in the medial weak verbs and rarely in the third person feminine singular suffix conjugation.¹³¹

4.3.1 /awa/

4.3.1.1 III-w verbs

The final -w of III-w verbs is always represented in the 3MS form of the SC (for a complete discussion of the possible vocalization of this form see § 4.2.2.1 Verbs).¹³²

JSLih 138 *w trw/n 'm/b-h/n 'rgd*
 'and may *n 'rgd* enrich him with livestock'¹³³

AH 109 *'bd 's' //bn/'n/b // 'gw/h-zll*
 'bd 's' son of 'n b... **dedicated** the *zll*'

It is not clear whether the -w represents a vowel or a consonant in the examples above. However, the w clearly represents a consonant before the plural ending (for a discussion of the origin of this glide see § 4.2.3 Final -y).

U 088 *'yd{h}/{b}nt qn{/}h w b{n}-h//s'h/'gww/h-zll/[l-][d]g//bt*
 'yd{h} daughter of *qn{h}* and her son *ls'h* **dedicated** the *zll* for *dgbt*'

AH 204 ----'----'l/bn/zdl{h} ---- // 'ht-h/'rqqw/h---- -
 '... '... 'l son of *zdl{h}*... his daughter **sent up** (dedicated?) the...'

4.3.1.2 II-w verbs

In the one attested II-w verb *kn* 'he was' the medial glide is never represented, suggesting the presence of a medial long vowel /kāna/ or /kōna/.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Greek transcriptions of Arabic material from the Greek and Byzantine period from Southern Syria, Southern Jordan and Israel show that in this area word final -ay collapsed to a non-ā vowel, probably close to [æ] (Al-Jallad 2017a, 154–55). Of course this material is much later and from a different area than the Dadanitic examples and can therefore not be seen as directly comparable material.

¹³¹ The only attested exception is *rdyt* in AH 288 (see § 4.2.3.1 Verbs).

¹³² Drewes (1985, 167–73) assumes that the diphthongs had been monophthongized, as they were not represented in word-internal position. See Macdonald (2000, n. 164) who argues against this argument. For a more extensive discussion on the interplay between orthography and phonology see § 1.7.5 Methodological concerns - Analyzing the language of a scribal school.

¹³³ I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting this translation to me (pc.).

¹³⁴ Compare the Safaitic inscriptions in which both spellings with and without a medial glide are attested, e.g. *bt* and *byt* 'he spent the night'; *mt* and *myt* 'he died'. The presence of y instead of etymological w in *myt* could suggest the sound changes áwi/u > ā and awi/ú > i (Al-Jallad 2015, 120). This interpretation depends on when the triphthong in medial weak

U 108

{b}rd/s^llm//dġbt/`z//ll/l-dġbt//b-khl/b`d//d-kn/l-h/b-y//r

‘brd s^llmdġbt performed the zll for dġbt at khl on behalf of that which was his at yr’

4.3.1.3 Personal names

The name *hn`mnwt* (JSLih 264; JSLih 319) probably preserves the old consonantal value of the -w- /hāni`-manawat/, especially when we compare it to the spelling *tmnt* (JSLih 256) which probably comes from a language in which the triphthong had collapsed /manōt/ or /manāt/.¹³⁵ The -w- here could reflect either /awa/ or a long vowel. However, outside of personal names there are no examples where word internal long vowels are represented with a glide, and there is no reason to assume separate orthographic rules for the personal names. The following names do contain word internal w, but due to the uncertainty surrounding their vocalization no reliable conclusions can be drawn based on them.

<i>drwt</i>	(JSLih 131)
<i>dwg</i>	(JaL 045 c)
<i>fkwy</i>	(JSLih 177)
<i>flwy</i>	(U 049; JaL 134)

4.3.2 /aya/

4.3.2.1 Verbs

4.3.2.1.1 III-y verbs

The final -y in III-y verbs is consistently represented in 3 MS SC verbs without enclitic pronouns (for a discussion of the vocalization see § 4.2.3 Final -y).

Al-Sa`īd 1420/2000: *nfyh/bn/`m/`fkl/hlh //bny/h-bnyn/dh/l-`lh*
15-26, no. 2 ‘*nfyh* son of `m priest of *hlh* **built** this building for `lh’

U 040.1 ‘*rs²/`y{d}* //`zll h-zll //hny/hn-`//hrt
 `rs² [son of] `y{d} performed the zll ritual, may he (the deity) benefit the posterity’

U 031 ‘*bdhgbr/b//n/hbl`l/`fy //h-zll/l-dġbt/b-khl//*
bdhgbr son of *hbl`l* **completed** the zll for dġbt at khl’

As with the III-w verbs, the third root consonant remains represented before the plural ending -ū clearly indicating that word internally the y has a consonantal value here. See the discussion in § 4.2.3 Final -y for the possibility of interpreting glide here as simply filling the hiatus.

verbs collapsed. See Huehnergard (2005, n. 75) who considers the triphthong to have collapsed at the Proto-Semitic stage but Suchard (2016b) for a reconstruction of Proto-Hebrew with the triphthong maintained.

¹³⁵ For a discussion of different spellings of *mnwt* in the epigraphic record see Al-Jallad (2017b, n. 6). For more on the deity Manāt and the spelling of her name see Healy (2001, 132–36).

AH 197 *zd`l/w bnwd/w `lh----//`d- h{s}br/w `m-hm/tbrh/bn[t] ---- //----ms¹/w {n}h`/w`ws¹/w zd{l}[h] ---- [s¹]-//{`d`l/w hn`h`zy/bnw/zd----//nwd/hggw/h-nq/w **hḡnyw/b-bt-hm***
 ‘*zd`l* and *bnwd* and *`lh...* ‘...of the lineage of *h{s}br* and their mother *tbrh* daughter of -----*ms¹* and *{n}h`* and *`ws¹* and *zd{l}[h]* ---- *[s¹]{`d`l* and *hn`h`zy* sons of *zd---nwd* they made the pilgrimage of the *nq* and **offered** at their temple’¹³⁶

JSLih 077 *whblh/bn/zdqny/w lmy/bn//nfyh/wdyw/nfs¹/mr/bn/hwt/m{h} //`hd/`l-hmy/hrg*
 ‘*whblh* son of *zdaqny* and *lmy* son of *nfyh* **set up** the *nfs¹* of *mr* son of *hwt* according to that which he took upon them by lawsuit’

The final weak root consonant also remains represented in some cases before enclitic personal pronouns.¹³⁷

AH 203 *...f-rdy-h ... w-`hrt-h*
 ‘and so **may he favor him...** and his posterity’

U 116 *`bd`tbl //hzll/l-dḡ//bt/f rdy-h*
 ‘*`bd`tbl* performed the *zll* for *dḡbt* and so **may he favor him**’

Note that the more common variant of this formula does not write the final -y (there are 218 attestations of *rḏ-h(m)* and 29 of *rdy-h(m)*). For a complete discussion of the interpretation of the variation between these forms and its impact on our understanding of the *matres lectionis* see § 4.2.3 Final -y.

AH 001 *... `z//llw/zll/h-nq/l//dḡbt/f rḏ-hm*
 ‘They performed the *zll* ceremony of the *nq* for *dḡbt* and so **may he favor them**’

JSLih 062 *hdqt/h//slmn //l-hn`kt//b/f rḏ-h/w //{}{}{h}rt-h*
 ‘she dedicated the statuette to *hn-`ktb* and so **may he favor her** and her posterity’

4.3.2.1.2 II-y verbs

There may be two examples of the verb *byt* ‘to spend the night’ (AH 291 and Graf Abū al-Dibā‘ 1). Both these examples are attested in short graffiti. If *byt* is a verb in these inscriptions, it likely represents a D-stem /bayyata/, since it is a denominal verb. In this case the medial y does not represent a triphthong /aya/.

AH 291 *n`m//`kl`//w byt*
 ‘*n`m`kl`* and he spent the night’
 OR
 ‘*n`m`kl`* and *byt*’

¹³⁶ OCIANA translated *hggw h-nq* as ‘they made the pilgrimage to the top of the mountain’ and *bt-hm* with ‘their house’. All other attestations of *bt*, in Dadanic seem to mean ‘temple’, however, without any unambiguous meaning of house, or family. There are two attestations, however, that confirm that it refers to a structure *`rs² bn`mr f`l h-bt`rs²* son of *`mr* made the temple’ (AH 247) and *bny h-bt dḡbt* ‘he built the temple of *dḡbt*’ (JaL 006).

¹³⁷ See 4.6.7 -iwa > -iya for a further discussion on the third root consonant of *rdy* (< **rḏw*).

Graf Abū al-Ḍibā‘ 1 --- ḡr/w {h}{n}’l/byt/b-lwh/dld
 ‘... ḡr and hn’l spent the night (sing.) at [the] sandy depression lwh dld’
 OR
 ‘--- ḡr and {h}{n}’l byt are at [the] sandy depression dld’¹³⁸

Each inscription may better be interpreted by reading *byt* as a personal name instead of as a verb.¹³⁹ While it is part of the basic formula of Safaitic inscriptions to begin the verbal phrase following the genealogy at the beginning of an inscription with the conjunction *w-*, this is not part of the common structure of the Dadanitic inscriptions where the verb usually follows the personal names directly. There are several examples in the Dadanitic inscriptions, however, where multiple persons are mentioned at the beginning of an inscription, separated by the conjunction *w-*.

JSLih 121 y’d/bn ṣqw//w ’bs’lm/bn tly
 ‘y’d son of ṣqw and ’bs’lm son of tly’¹⁴⁰

In Graf Abū al-Ḍibā‘ 1 it is problematic to read *byt* as a verb, as it seems to follow at least two personal names and we would expect a plural form *byt*w.

4.3.2.2 Personal names

There is only one attestation of a personal name that may contain a triphthong with the glide *y*. Note that this is not the only possible vocalization.

r’n qny (AH 345)

4.4 Final short vowels

There is no direct evidence to determine whether word-final short vowels were present in Dadanitic. The spelling of *rḏy-h* clearly shows that there was a vowel present between the *y* and the enclitic *-h*, since there is no other evidence that word internal diphthongs were represented (see § 4.5 Diphthongs). It is not unlikely, therefore, that the final short vowel obtained on 3MS verbs in the SC /raḏḏaya/, but the short vowel may also only have been lost in word final position while it obtained before the enclitic pronoun. The consistent spelling of the final weak root consonants also supports the presence of final triphthongs at the time when the orthography was established (before they collapsed and *-y* came to represent *-ē*).¹⁴¹

4.4.1 Personal names

In the personal names there are several examples of word boundary spellings. For these to occur there cannot have been a word final short vowel on the first element of the name.

tmnt < /taym manāt/ U 063 and AH 303; JSLih 256

n’mnt < /na’m manāt/ JSLih 238

¹³⁸ I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting this translation of *lwh* to me.

¹³⁹ *byt* is not attested as a personal names in other Dadanitic inscriptions, but clearly occurs as such in two Safaitic inscriptions (AAEK 74 and RWQ 45).

¹⁴⁰ Note that the *w* at the beginning of the second line is placed a little away from both lines and is written at a height more or less between both lines (the trace of the inscription is available at the OCIANA website, <http://krccm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>). http://krccm.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0034920.html (accessed 3–11–2017).

¹⁴¹ There are no examples of word boundary spellings in the text of the inscriptions. However, the use of word dividers means that scribes were aware of word boundaries. Therefore the absence word boundary spellings in the language of the inscriptions cannot tell us much about the phonological reality of these forms.

If the interpretation of the following name is correct it may represent another example of word boundary spelling, but since both attestations represent female names, it might also represent /tamlik/.¹⁴²

tmlk < /taym malk/ AH 064; Al-‘Uḏayb 088

There is one example of the assimilation of *l* to a following sibilant.

’mtb ‘s’mn < /’amat ba‘l samīn/ U 053

There is one example of the assimilation of the voiced dento-alveolar stop to a following sibilant.

’bs²m{n/s¹} < /‘abd šams / AH 259

4.5 Diphthongs

It is common for ANA scripts not to represent diphthongs orthographically. The lack of representation of diphthongs does not necessarily mean that they had collapsed phonologically. In Safaitic, for example, this is clearly demonstrated by the Safaitic/Greek bilingual texts. In an inscription from Jordan, for instance, a man writing his name as *ḡt* in Safaitic wrote it as Γᾶντοϛ in Greek, clearly showing that the diphthong was pronounced, but simply not represented in the Safaitic script (Al-Jallad and al-Manaser 2016, 58–59). Unfortunately we do not have such transcribed texts of Dadanitic.¹⁴³

4.5.1 *w*

There are several I-*w* verbs with the initial *w*- represented in the *h*-causative form.

**AH 288; Al-Ḥuraybah 13;
Al-Ḥuraybah 14**

hwdq

JSLih 049

*hwdqw*¹⁴⁴

Al-Ḥuraybah 12

hwd’t

However, there are also attestations of I-*w* verbs in the causative form without the diphthong represented:

Al-Sa‘īd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1–2 *hdq*

JSLih 062

hdqt

¹⁴² I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for pointing out this alternative reading to me.

¹⁴³ A possible exception to this might be two Minaic inscriptions from Dadan (JSMIn 145 and JSMIn 166), both written by the same author. If my interpretation is correct these may contain the Dadanitic verb *’dq* ‘to dedicate’ written as *’wdq*. Note that so far, in Dadanitic no *’*-causatives are attested with the first weak root letter represented, suggesting the first syllable contained either a vowel or a diphthong. Minaic, however, does represent word internal diphthongs. It may therefore be very tentatively suggested that the spelling of this word in the Minaic script shows that the Dadanitic form was /’awdaq/ (Kootstra 2018a). Alternatively this could be the first attestation of a *’*-causative form of a CD-stem.

¹⁴⁴ There are 4 attestations with *w* represented in *h*-causative form; 2 without the *w* represented in the *h*-causative form (Al-Sa‘īd 1419/1999: 4-24, no. 1, side 1-2; JSLih 062). There are 6 attestations without the *w* represented in *’*-causative form; There are no attestations of ***’wdq*.

Our understanding of this variation depends on whether we want to interpret this as variation in the orthography or as grammatical variation. Note that both forms seem to be used with a similar meaning, to indicate the dedication of an object.¹⁴⁵

If we want to explain this as a change in writing conventions, the forms with the *w* represented would be the more innovative form, based on the innovation of the representation of word internal diphthongs. Based on the spelling of nouns which certainly contain an (etymological) diphthong, there is no evidence to suggest that at some point word internal diphthongs started to be represented. Compare for example the consistent spelling of *bt* ‘temple’ (e.g. JaL 006 and JSLih 042); *ym* ‘day’ (Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1);¹⁴⁶ *qnt* ‘female servant’ (AH 186; 303; JSLih 282; 302).

Another option is to consider the two as different stem formations: the forms with the *w* represented as CD-stems /hawaCCaCa/; and the forms without the *w* represented as C-stems /(h')awCaCa/ (see also § 5.3.3 CD-stem). While initially both stems were productive, over time the CD-stem was lost. Such a development would not be surprising given the strong overlap in meaning of the two stem formations. This scenario seems to be supported by the distribution of *w*-spellings across the different causative types. While both CD and C-stems occur with the *h*-causative (with a higher number of the rare CD-stems (4), than the more common C-stem (1) in the relatively rare *h*-causative), there are no attestations of CD stems in ʾ-causative forms, even though ʾ-causatives are much more common than *h*-causatives (214 ʾ-causatives; 13 *h*-causatives). For example, the root WDQ occurs both with and without the *w* represented in the *h*-causative, but only as ʾdq¹⁴⁷ in the ʾ-causative (see examples above); the verb ʾfy¹⁴⁸ never occurs with the initial *w*, but it is only attested in ʾ-causative form.

U 035 *brqh/s¹/lh/dġbt//ʾfy/h-zll/l-dġbt*
 ‘*brqh* priest of *dġbt* accomplished the *zll* for *dġbt*’

U 037 *ʾrs²/bn//zdlh/w //bn-h/gffh //ʾfyw/[z][l][l] h-nq/l-dġbt*
 ‘ʾrs² son of *zdlh* and his son *gffh* accomplished the [zll] of the *nq* for *dġbt*’

This either means that we have no attestations of CD-forms of the ʾ-causative forms of I-weak roots, or that there are no forms with the diphthong represented in the ʾ-causative. If this is to be understood as purely orthographic variation it seems puzzling then that a more innovative spelling of the diphthong is always found in combination with the more archaic form of the causative verb in these cases. This could suggest that at the time when the CD-stem was still productive, the ʾ-causative form was not available yet (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation for a more complete discussion of the correlation between different variable features).

Unfortunately the *hwdq* forms never co-occur with another verbal or nominal form with an (etymological) diphthong in the same inscription. There are two inscriptions that contain relevant personal names.

¹⁴⁵ Note that *hwdq* and *hdq* are mostly used in combination with *h-slm* as the dedicated object, except for two *hwdq* forms which dedicate *h-mġlt*. There is one *hwqd* with *h-slm* (Al-Ḥuraybah 13) and two *hdq* with *h-slm* (JSLih 062 and Al-Sa‘īd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1-2). The dedicated object is lost in two of the three ʾdq inscriptions, in Private collection 2, the dedicated object is an incense burner *h-mgrmt*.

¹⁴⁶ Also possibly *sʾt* (U 063; Al-ʿUdayb 075) if it should be interpreted as a noun from the root SʾWT, but its interpretation is very unsure.

¹⁴⁷ ʾdq occurs six times in total (e.g. AH 087; JSLih 061); ʾdqw occurs once (Al-Ḥuraybah 09).

¹⁴⁸ Forms of this verb occur 9 times: AH 015; U 005; AH 087.1 (unp.); Private collection 1; U 004; U 031; U 035; U 026; U 037

JSLih 049/ 1–9 *'bdwd//fkl/w//d/w bn-h//s^llm/w z//dwd/hw//dqw/h-ġ//lm/s^llm/h-//[m]tlt/l-//dġbt*
 ‘*bdwd* priest of Wadd and his son *s^llm* and *zdwd* dedicated the boy *s^llm*, the substitute to *dġbt*’

Al-Ḥuraybah 13 *zd//bn//ws^l//{l}/d- y//hdf//m/hw//dq/h-//{s}lm*
 ‘*zd* son of *ws^l* {*l*} of the lineage of *yhdfm* dedicated the statue’

Both inscriptions contain forms of *zd* without the (etymological) diphthong represented, which seems to support the interpretation of the *w* in *hwdq* as a consonant. Note, however, that in Al-Ḥuraybah 13 the name *ws^l* {*l*} also occurs. In this spelling the name should probably be interpreted as representing the diminutive form /^ʔuways/, but it cannot be completely ruled out that /aw/ was represented with *w* here. It is unclear at the moment what the seemingly inconsistent spelling of diphthongs in the personal names in contrast to what seems to be consistent lack of representation of diphthongs in nouns means. It could be interpreted as evidence for the collapse of diphthongs in Dadanitic, after which they went unwritten. In the case of *ws^l* {*l*}, this could be interpreted as an archaic or borrowed form with the diphthong still intact phonologically and therefore represented in writing. It is problematic, however, to imagine how the author of the inscription knew how to represent the diphthong if there had never been an environment in Dadanitic in which such a spelling could develop, unless we assume an *ad hoc* innovation to represent a foreign sound, or possibly borrowing of the orthography of the name from another writing tradition.¹⁴⁹

If we assume the existence of a CD-stem verb, this could also be argued to explain the alternation of geminate roots with and without all root consonants represented (C-stem /^ʔazalla/ and CD-stem /^ʔazallala/ and /hazallala/) (See § 5.3.3 CD-stem). Note that if these should be interpreted as CD-stems, there are attestations of CD-stems of the ^ʔ-causative in the geminate roots, which seems to contradict the distribution we see in the I-*w* verbs. Given the high frequency of the verb ^ʔ*zll* and its centrality to the cultural practice at the oasis, it is possible that the archaic CD-stem continued to be productive in this environment after it fell out of use in other less common verbs. If we do assume it is an archaic form, it is striking, however, that the ^ʔ-causative form became the norm and not the *h*-causative (for a complete discussion on the distribution of these linguistic variables across the corpus see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation).

AH 080 *dn^ʔl/bn//bdh/^ʔzll/b^ʔd/ml-h/b-//bdr/l-dġbt//f rġ-h/w ^ʔtb-h*
 ‘*dn^ʔl* son of *bdh* performed the *zll* on behalf of his property at *bdr* for *dġbt* so may he favor him and reward him’

AH 067 *[n]fy/bn/^ʔbdh/zny/[m]n^ʔ/[d]r^ʔl//^ʔzll/h- zll/l- dġbt*
 ‘*nfy* son of *bdh zny mn^ʔ dr^ʔl* performed the *zll* ceremony for *dġbt*’

U 116 *bd^ʔtbl//h^ʔzll/l-dġ//bt/f rġy-h*
 ‘*bd^ʔtbl* performed the *zll* for *dġbt* so may he favor him’

Given the differences in distribution of the *hwdq* and ^ʔ*zll* forms, it seems more likely that they are two unrelated developments. In this case the alternation between ^ʔ*zl* and ^ʔ*zll* could be interpreted as a form with metathesis /^ʔazalla/ as opposed to a form that was treated like a strong verb /^ʔazlala/, in which case the latter should probably be interpreted as the more archaic one.

¹⁴⁹ Note that Taymanitic sporadically represents word internal diphthongs (Kootstra 2016, 70).

4.5.1.1 *w* Diphthongs in personal names

Despite the absence of clear examples of the representation of word internal diphthongs in nouns (see § 4.5.1), it is not uncommon to find it represented in personal names, especially in names containing the element *'ws'*. However, these forms are more commonly attested without the glide represented.¹⁵⁰ The difference in spelling of diphthongs between the content of the inscriptions and the personal names may be explained as a difference in phonology, showing that diphthongs had collapsed in the language, but not in all of the personal names. If this is the case, the PNs with diphthongs preserved caused some confusion as how to represent the diphthong, comparable to the inconsistency in writing diphthongs we see in Taymanitic. Note that the vocalization of most names is uncertain, and different vocalizations may be suggested, *'ws'* could for example be a diminutive /*'uways*/ or a verbal form in *'ws'l* /*'awas*/. The only forms in which the diphthong can be fairly certainly assumed are the *qws'* names.

<i>yṯbqws'</i>	Al-Sa'īd 1419/1999: 28–30, no. 5
<i>qws'br</i>	JSLih 334
<i>qws'mlk</i>	JSLih 331
<i>'ws'</i>	AH 197
<i>r'n'ws'</i>	JaL 157 b
<i>'ws'l</i>	al-Ḥuraybah 13
<i>h'ws't</i>	JSLih 344
<i>'wd</i>	AH 001
<i>ḡwṯ</i>	e.g. JaL 12 b

4.5.2 *y*

4.5.2.1 *'ly*

The variation in spelling of *'ly* (and *'l*) seems to indicate that only word final (and possibly stressed) diphthongs were orthographically represented. Apart from three *'l* forms that are followed by a relative (AH 070; AH 125; U 073) and one that is followed by a word divider and damage (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII), the six other attestations have an enclitic personal pronoun attached to them¹⁵¹, while there are no occurrences of *'ly*¹⁵² with a following enclitic pronoun (Lundberg 2015, 125).

AH 070 *'zll//t'Vd-k[n]/l-h//b-bdr*
 'She performed the *zll* **on behalf of** that which belonged to her at *bdr*'

JSLih 073 *hmd nd//rt 'l-h/'m-h*
 'In accordance with what her mother vowed **on her behalf**'

The spelling of *'ly* seems to suggest that word internally the diphthong /ay/ is left unrepresented. This is supported by the spelling of, for example *bt* /bayt/ 'temple'.

e.g. JaL 006 ----[b]ny/**h-bt**/dḡbt //----[s'][[]{d}/w 'hrt
 '... he built **the temple** for *dḡbt*... aid him and his posterity'

¹⁵⁰ *hn's'* (e.g. AH 202; AH 222; JSLih 053); *'mt's'* (AH 094); *'s'* (e.g. JaL 111 f; JSLih 071; AH 201); *'s'mnt* (JSLih 250; AH 062); *mltq s'* (JSLih 083); *qs'* (AH 271); *'bdqs'* (JSLih 363).

¹⁵¹ AH 206; AH 233; AH 237; JSLih 073; JSLih 077; JSLih 078

¹⁵² *'ly* is attested 23 times (e.g. AH 069; JSLih 063; U 125)

There are two examples of *byt*.

Graf Abū al-Ḍibā^ʿ 1 *ʿgr/w-hn`l //byt/b-lwh/dld*
 ‘*gr and hn`l* spent the night at [the] sandy depression *dld*’¹⁵³

AH 291 *n`m//`kl`//w byt*
 ‘*n`m`kl`* and he spent the night’

The above translations follow that proposed in OCIANA.¹⁵⁴ However, *byt* may better be understood as a personal name in each inscription (see § 4.3.2 /aya/ for a discussion of these inscriptions and the interpretation of *byt*).

There are several other forms with word internal *y* represented. Unfortunately the exact interpretation of these forms remains uncertain, making it problematic to draw any firm conclusions on their vocalization.

<i>s²ym</i>	field?	AH 100; AH 138; U 118
<i>hqymh</i>	?	Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8/ 1–2; JSLih 054
<i>nyt</i>	? (dedicated object)	JSLih 312

4.5.2.2 *y* Diphthongs in personal names

The theonym *dġbt* may be attested as *dġybt* in two inscriptions. The photographs available of both inscriptions are very low resolution unfortunately, making it difficult to confirm the presence of the *y*. In both inscriptions it is clear, however, that there is either a gap between the *ġ* and the *b* (AH 207) or an extra letter (AH 229). Despite the issues with the reading, it seems clear that the name of *dġbt* was intended in each inscription.¹⁵⁵

<i>dġ{y}bt</i>	AH 207
<i>d{ġ}{y}b{t}</i>	AH 229

There are several personal names with etymological *y* represented word internally and word finally (see the *lhy* /luḥay/ names). Given the uncertainty surrounding the vocalization of personal names, not all *y*’s may represent a diphthong.

<i>zyd</i>	AH 199, 252; JSLih 249 vs <i>Zd</i> AH 009, 164; Al-Ḥuraybah 05.
<i>zydḥrg</i>	JaL 161b
<i>tym</i>	e.g. AH 272; AH 313; Al-Ḥuraybah 05
<i>qynh</i>	U 046; JSLih 128; Al-‘Uḍayb 073
<i>qys^ʿr</i>	Nasif 1988: 58, pl. LVII/e
<i>ʿykdn</i>	JaL 010 b

¹⁵³ I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting this translation of *lwh* to me.

¹⁵⁴ Accessed 18–10–2017.

¹⁵⁵ If these (very uncertain) readings are correct, this confirms that the name of the deity comes from the root √ĠYB /ḡu gaybat/.

<i>ʾylh</i>	JSLih 206
<i>ʾdyl</i>	JaL 145 r
<i>lhylh</i>	JaL 102b
<i>krblhy</i>	JaL 062c
<i>lhy</i>	AH 209
<i>tlmy</i>	e.g. AH 245

4.6 Sound changes

4.6.1 *n*-assimilation

The consonant *n* generally seems to assimilate to any directly following consonant. There are two examples of *bt* ‘daughter’ instead of the common form *bnt* (JaL 008 c and JaL 168 f). Both inscriptions are short graffiti. These two examples are far outnumbered by the occurrences of *bnt* however (70 attestations, e.g. U 048; JSLih 076; AH 222). There are several other (possible) examples of assimilation of *n* to a following consonant, while there are no clear examples in which *n* does not assimilate apart from the noun *bnt*.

ʾtt ‘wife’ (< **ʾntt*) is always written without the *n* (JSLih 067; U 023; U 115).

If *ʾgy* comes from *ngw*, as has been suggested by Drewes (1985, 172) and taken over by Sima (1999, 93),¹⁵⁶ this verb forms another example of *n*-assimilation in Dadanitic. However, it might also be a causative form of the root GWY ‘to come’.¹⁵⁷

4.6.2 Dissimilation of *t*

There is one attestation of the form *ʾtl* ‘three’ (JSLih 068 (see § 6.11.4 Variation) from the root *ʾTLʾ*, in which the second *t* dissimilated. Slightly more common is the original form *ʾtlt* however.¹⁵⁸

4.6.3 *z* > *t*

There are several examples in which etymological **z* is written with *t* in Dadanitic. There are 25 examples of *ʾtll* instead of **ʾzll*. OCIANA identified the two examples below. For the other 23 attestations see § 2.1 Glyphs and their variant forms.

AH 009.1 *bs²klbt---[ʾ]ʾtll/h-ʾtll ----b-khl/l-dḡbt/bʾd/d-kn/b-bdr/f rd[-h]/w [ʾ]h[r]t-h*
‘*bs²klbt* ... performed the *ʾtll* ceremony... at *khl* for *dḡbt* on behalf of that which is at *bdr* so may he favor him and his posterity’

¹⁵⁶ Drewes (1985, 172) does not offer an explicit translation. Sima (Sima 1999, 93) compares the verb to CAR. ‘to save oneself, to become free’ and takes the causative stem to mean ‘to clear (the subterranean water canal)’ in the Dadanitic texts. Macdonald (Macdonald 2014, 154) proposed to connect the verb *ngy* in Safaitic with Sabaic *ngw* ‘to announce’, but does not propose any connection to the Dadanitic *ʾgy*.

¹⁵⁷ Suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad pc.

¹⁵⁸ *ʾtlt* is attested four times (JSLih 071; AH 239; AH 197; Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3), *ʾtlt* is attested twice (U 050 and U 032).

U 048 *ḥmtlh/bnt//wḥlḥt//l-dḡbt/b //d/ml-h/b-tqmm//f rd-h/w sḥ d-h*
 ‘ḥmtlh daughter of wḥl performed the ḥll for dḡbt on behalf of her property at tqmm so
 may he favor her and aid her’

Since *ḥll h-ḥll* ‘he performed the ḥll ceremony’ is one of the most frequently occurring formulae in the Dadanitic inscriptions, these aberrant spellings are striking. There are less than 250 ḥll inscriptions in total. Therefore, 25 deviating spellings are a relatively high number of mistakes, suggesting this sound change was quite common in the language of the authors of the inscriptions.¹⁵⁹

There is also variation in the spelling of *nḥr.¹⁶⁰

AH 313 *tm/bn zbdḥ/nḥr/mt ḥl/w ddn*
 ‘tm son of zbdḥ guarded mt ḥl and Dadān’

AH 332 *{g} ḥr nḥr ddn*
 ‘{g} ḥr guarded Dadān’

Since most of these inscriptions refer to guarding Dadān, *nḥr* may reflect Aramaic influence at the Dadanitic courts, rather than a local sound change (Kootstra 2018b, 207). Aramaic became a prestigious language at Taymāḥ after Nabonidus brought it with him as the language of his court during his stay at the oasis (552–543 BCE)¹⁶¹ (Macdonald 2010, 18). It seems that Aramaic did not enjoy the same status at Dadān as it did at Taymāḥ,¹⁶² although in recent excavations one long Aramaic inscription was discovered at the site of ancient Dadān.¹⁶³

On top of that, there are several personal names with etymological ḥ that are represented with ḥ.¹⁶⁴

nḥr (JSLih 079) < *nḥr ‘to guard’; *ḥn* (JaL 064f) < *ḥnm(?) ‘thought, belief’; *ḥrbn* (JaL 029d) < *ḥrbn(?)

While we cannot draw any conclusions about the language of a person based on the name he bears (Macdonald 1999, 254–57), the complete absence of names spelled with ḥ for ḥ would have made it doubtful that such a sound change occurred in the language (or part of it) of Dadān.

¹⁵⁹ For a more elaborate discussion of the implications of the variation in ḥ and ḥ in the ḥll inscriptions see Kootstra 2018. Note that in this paper only the two ḥ spellings in the ḥll inscriptions that were identified by OCIANA were taken into account.

¹⁶⁰ The form *nḥr* is attested 3 times, *nḥr* 17 times, both in what seems to be the same formula.

¹⁶¹ For a more detailed discussion of Nabonidus’ stay at Taymāḥ see (Beaulieu 1989; D’Agostino 1994; Lambert 1972).

¹⁶² Note that the rulers of Dadan left their inscriptions in Dadanitic at Dadan, but close to Taymāḥ inscriptions in Aramaic have been found of someone calling himself ‘king of Liḥyān’ (JSNab 334, 335, 337), further suggesting a difference in status between the two languages at each oasis.

¹⁶³ The inscription is being prepared for publication by S. Theeb (Ahmad Al-Jallad, pc.).

¹⁶⁴ In addition to this *ḥḥ* could be from the root √ḤZ ‘to be in favor with so.’, but the name could also come from the root √ḤT ‘to place, to put’ (Lane 1863, 592a). The names *ḥḥ* and *ḥḥḥ* are attested in Safaitic as well (e.g. C654; KRS 2889). The name *ḥby* (JaL 022c, JaL 063f) could come from *ḥby ‘gazelle’, but may also be related to Aram./Heb. ḥūbiyā, modern Tobias (Ahmad Al-Jallad, pc.).

4.6.4 *d* > *z*

In most inscriptions *d* and *z* are consistently kept apart in Dadanic. It has been suggested that there are two examples of *d* realized as *z* in the relative/demonstrative **d* (Hayajneh 2016, 162 and 165). Both of these Dadanic inscriptions were found in the vicinity of Taymā'.¹⁶⁵

Esk. 74 *mznz//t<</>>qt*
'*mzn*, who incised / wrote (the inscription)'¹⁶⁶

Esk. 253 *s^l'ln / s^lyt z*
'*s^l'ln* placed this (inscription)'¹⁶⁷

The reading of both *z*'s as **d* of the relative and demonstrative is slightly problematic however. First of all the demonstrative in Dadanic is *dh*, not *d* (e.g. U 038; JSLih 079), which means that just assuming the loss of interdentials in Esk. 253 is not enough to arrive at this form of the demonstrative. In addition we must assume the author of the inscription used a different form of the demonstrative all together. The main context, in which the relative form *d* is attested in the Dadanic inscriptions, is to indicate kinship (e.g. AH 197) (See § 6.5 Relative pronoun). While the verb *tqt* is quite common in the Dadanic inscriptions (84 attestations in OCIANA¹⁶⁸), the inscriptions containing it usually follow the formula 'Personal Name *tqt*' or, less frequently 'tqt Personal Name' (e.g. JaL 159 a; JaL 061 k). There are no other attestations in which the dedicant of the inscription is referenced with a relative pronoun. Finally there is a word divider in the middle of what would be the verb *tqt* which Hayajneh assumes was a writing error (Hayajneh 2016, 162). While there are other examples of word dividers that are clearly in the wrong place (e.g. U 018, see § 4.1 Word dividers), it should be noted that the form *qt* 'to cut, inscribe' occurs once in JaL 152. Interpreting the verb as *qt* would leave us with an unattested personal name *mznzt*, but the common formula PN (*t*)*qt*.

There is one inscription in which the form *zkr* appears, likely from the root **DKR*. The beginning and ending of all lines of the inscription are damaged, however, making it difficult to determine the exact meaning of the form.

JSLih 053 [----]//----[h]n's^l/bn/s²hr ---- //---- [m]lk{t}/lhyn'ṣ{f}---- //---- gbl/s²mt/zkr/n----//----l/
w rtm/w brlh/{w}----//[----]

4.6.4.1 *d* > *z* in personal names

'*zkr* JaL 033 s

4.6.5 Merging of *t* and *s^l*

Based on the last word of JSLih 081, Winnett proposed a possible merger of *s^l* and *t* in this inscription, reading *trqh* as CAr. *saraqah* 'thieve or theft' (Winnett and Reed 1970, 124).

JSLih 081 *l-ntnb V//bn/wny/hn//qbr/dh/{h}{m}//ly/yman/w ly/s²m[l]//mn/trqr*
'this grave belongs to *ntnb* 'l son of *wny* {*hm*} from the south and from the north from *trqr*(?)'

¹⁶⁵ Note that in Taymanitic, *z* and *d* did merge (Kootstra 2016, 75).

¹⁶⁶ Translation by Hayajneh (Hayajneh 2016, 162).

¹⁶⁷ Translation by Hayajneh (Hayajneh 2016, 165).

¹⁶⁸ Accessed 19–10–2017.

There are several issues with this interpretation, however. First of all it seems unlikely that the last letter of this word was *h*, if we compare it to the shape of the *h* in lines 2 and 3 of the same inscription. The original interpretation of Jaussen and Savignac (Jaussen and Savignac 1909, 452) who read *trqr* seems to fit the photograph better.



Figure 16 JSLih 081 (Jaussen and Savignac 1909-1912 pl. LXXXV) available on OCIANA

In addition to that, it seems that Dadanic did not undergo the *-at* > *-ah* shift (see § 4.6.9 *-at* > *-ah* below), meaning we would need to presume another sound change unique to this inscription to arrive at the proposed interpretation of *saraqah*. Unfortunately the form *trqr* does not yield anything meaningful at present and is taken as a personal name or theonym in the OCIANA database.¹⁶⁹

4.6.6 Interchange of *w* and *y*

There seems to be some degree of alternation between *w* and *y*, mostly attested in III-weak roots in Dadanic. Such alternation is attested in other Semitic languages as well. Compare, for example, the tendency in the Sabaic inscriptions from south of the central region to change *w* > *y* in III-weak roots (Stein 2003, 3:33–34) and the sound change *w* > *y* / *V_(a)#* effectively merging *w* and *y* in II and III-weak verbs in Safaitic, with only some attestations of the preservation of *w* in this environment, which seems to point to dialectal variation (Al-Jallad 2015, 50).

4.6.6.1 III-weak roots

The verb *'gy* occurs once (JSLih 177), with the exact same meaning as the more frequent *'gw* ‘to dedicate’ (occurring 28 times, e.g. U 049; AH 202; AH 201), presumably from the root NGW (see § 4.6.1 *n-assimilation*). This confusion may indicate that in the language of the author of the inscription the collapse of /*awa*/ and /*aya*/ had the same result, possibly /*ā*/, but this does not seem to have been the case for the majority of the Dadanic inscriptions (see § 4.2.3.1 Verbs).

In addition to that, there are attestations of both *mḥrw* (Al-Ḥuraybah 06 and AH 209) and *mḥry* (AH 288) probably meaning ‘incense burner’,¹⁷⁰ from the root ḤRW or ḤRR.

¹⁶⁹ There *mn trqr* is translated as ‘by *trqr*’ OCIANA accessed 24–10–2017.

¹⁷⁰ See Hidalgo-Chacón Díez (2017) for a discussion of the word *mḥr* [sic], which she translates as ‘*mḥr* rituals (incense offerings)’ interpreting *mḥrw* as a plural form from the root MḤR (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 60).

'gy (JSLih 177)	'gw (e.g. U 049; AH 202; AH 201)	√NGW	'to dedicate, to offer'
mḥry (AH 288)	mḥrw (Al-Ḥuraybah 06; AH 209)	√HRW	'incense burner'

4.6.6.2 II-weak roots

The word ṣwġ 'smith' is attested twice with the etymological *w* and once with a *y*.

Al-Ḥuraybah 04 'lḥrs²//h-ṣwġ
'lḥrs² the smith'

Al-Ḥuraybah 05 s¹ḥm/bn/t//m/h-ṣn / 'bd//zd/h-ṣwġ
's¹ḥm son of *tm* the artisan, 'bdzd the smith'

Al-Ḥuraybah 14 ---//h-ṣyġ/h//wdq/h-m//tlt/l-d//ġbt
'...the smith dedicated the substitute to *dġbt*'

In addition to this there is the personal name *nyr*,¹⁷¹ probably from the root NWR. This was not necessarily representative of the phonology of the Dadanitic language, or that spoken by its bearer (Macdonald 1999, 254–57).

<i>nyr</i> (JaL 033 o)	√NWR	'light'
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4.6.7 -iwa > -iya

In Dadanitic we consistently see *rḏy* from the etymological root *RDW. Since the form that occurs in Dadanitic is transitive and was therefore most likely a D-stem verb, the form *rḏy* does not represent the sound change *-iwa to -iya directly. However, for a form *rḏy* to arise in the D-stem there must have been other forms around to extend this sound change from or to reinterpret the root as *rḏy*. Compare for example the sound change -iwa > -iya which took place in Arabic. This would have affected the intransitive form of the verb *raḏiwa* (> *raḏiya*) from where it could have spread to the derived stems.

The more archaic form *rḏw* does occur in the PNs, which indicates that these names were taken from a language which did not undergo this sound change, or, if they were taken from Dadanitic stock they represent an archaic spelling and possibly pronunciation.

AH 176	<i>rḏw</i>
U 117; Nasif 1988: 56, pl. LVI(b)/d	<i>rḏwl</i>
JaL 043a	<i>rḏws²'n</i>
Nasif 1988: 97, pl. CXLIX/a	<i>rḏwt</i>
JaL 026b	<i>r'nrḏw</i>

4.6.8 Assimilation of *w* > *y*

The realization of the plural of *ym* 'day' as 'ym indicates that the *w* assimilated to the preceding *y* in front of ā /'ayyām/ < */'aywām/ (compare e.g. Safaitic (Al-Jallad 2015, 51)).

¹⁷¹ This name only occurs once in Dadanitic, but is also attested in Safaitic (8 times, e.g. LP 424; WH 188).

JSLih 068	<i>ilt/ym</i>	three days
AH 244	<i>s¹b /ym</i>	seven days
JSLih 070	<i>s²r/ym</i>	ten days

4.6.9 -at > -ah

Even though there are sporadic examples in which *-at* shifted to *-ah* (e.g. JSLih 384), this rule does not seem to have been productive in Dadanitic. There are examples of *-t* in construct.

JSLih 177	<i>'gy s²rt mnhh</i> 'he dedicated ten minah ' ¹⁷²
JSLih 072	<i>'b 'lf/b[n] hyw kbr hd 't s² 't hnš</i> 'b 'lf son of <i>hyw kabīr</i> of the council of the party of <i>hnš</i> '
AH 219	<i>hgt h-mšd</i> 'the feast/pilgrimage of the temple'

But *-t* is also attested in independent forms. For example, the second line of AH 186/2 seems to only say *h-qnt*.

U 038	<i>...m ' hn- 'fkl t b-bn 'l</i> '...with(?) the priestess at <i>bn 'l</i>
U 063	<i>f rđ-hm //w rb-hm/zdlh w //qnt/t 'l</i> 'so may he favor them and their lord <i>zdlh</i> and female servant ¹⁷³ <i>t 'l</i>

There are only few final *-h*'s, most of them can be explained in other ways than as representing the feminine ending.

Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8//*h-qymh/mgdl/dġbt*

Since the line before *h-qymh* is broken it is impossible to tell whether it is even a noun, it could for example be a dual *h*-causative: 'they (two) erected the tower of *dġbt*', although this would need further explanation as to why the medial weak root consonant was preserved in this form and not in *kn* 'he was' (see § 4.3.1.2 II-w verbs).

AH 304	<i>md 'l qnh h-mlk</i> 'md 'l his servant, (of) the king'
---------------	--

Assuming *-ah* here in construct position is problematic. The form *qnh* is attested in two other Dadanitic inscriptions as a personal name (U 075; U 088). Therefore this inscription may have to be read 'md 'l *qnh* the king', even though this name is not attested as a royal name in any other inscriptions, since it is a graffito the author may have been joking or bragging.

¹⁷² The translation and reading of *mnhh* were suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad, during one of the reading sessions with the center.

¹⁷³ *qnt* may also be interpreted as a personal name here.

4.6.9.1 Personal names

<i>nfyh</i>	e.g. JSLih 077
<i>zkyh</i>	U 118
<i>ʿydhmnt</i>	al-Mazroo and Nasīf 1992: 4, no. 3
<i>ʿydh</i>	U 102

4.6.10 Feminine endings -t and -at

The realization of *qrt* ‘village’ suggests that the suffixes -t and -at had not all been levelled to -at in Dadanitic (as opposed to CAr.). The spelling *qrt* suggest a pronunciation /qarīt/ rather than /qariyat/ (Al-Jallad 2015, n. 15), in which we would expect the glide to be represented in the script. It could be argued that this writing is due to the collapse of the triphthong instead (see § 4.3 Triphthongs). It is unclear whether /iya/ behaved differently than /aya/ in Dadanitic.

4.6.11 Loss of intervocalic ʿ

There is no clear evidence from the language of the inscriptions for the loss of intervocalic ʿ. The form *h-zlt* in U 013 may be interpreted as a broken plural ʿzlt with loss of the glottal stop, but other interpretations are also possible, such as a singulative; or simply a writing error¹⁷⁴ (see § 6.2.4 Pattern replacement).

U 013/2-4 ʿzlt//**h-zlt**/b-khl/l-dġ//bt
‘she performed **the zll ceremony/ceremonies** at *khl* for dġbt’

4.6.11.1 Personal names

There are a few examples of the loss of the glottal stop in personal names.

<i>ʿbds^l</i>	JSLih 359
<i>hnyl</i>	Al-ʿUdayb 074

¹⁷⁴ The form may also represent an alternative plural form /zallāt/ (I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad, pc. for pointing out this interpretation to me), but given the high frequency and formulaic context in which the word occurs, it seems unlikely that several plural forms were in use for it.

Chapter 5 verbal morphology

5.1 Suffix conjugation

The suffix conjugation uses suffixes to mark the verb for person, gender and number. The paradigm is not fully attested in the inscriptions.

Table 30 Attested forms of the suffix conjugation

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3 Masculine	CCC	CCC- <i>h</i> (AH 199; U 019; U 026)	CCC- <i>w</i>
3 Feminine	CCC- <i>t</i> (JSLih 036; AH 088; U 056)	NA	NA
2	NA	NA	NA
1	NA	-	NA

5.1.1 3MS

Verbs in the 3MS are not marked with a suffix (see also Farès-Drappeau 2005, 69).

AH 013JSLih 066 *'bnh/'hḏ //h-sfht ḏh*
 'bnh **took** (possession of) this (section of) cliff'

Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 15–26, no. 2 *nfyh/bn/'m/'fkl/hl{h} //bny/h-bnyn/ḏh/l-'lh // 'lh/hrm 't*
 'nfyh son of 'm priest of {hlh} **built** this building for 'lh of hrm 't

Private collection 1 *'fy h-z ll hmd ndr 'b-h l-ḏgbt*
 'he completed the zll according to what his father **had vowed** to ḏgbt'

5.1.2 3FS

The 3FS takes a suffix -*t* (see also Farès-Drappeau 2005, 69).

U 056 *'mtb 's¹mn bnt //{}{}hyt 'zll l-//ḏgbt*
 'mtb 's¹mn daughter of hyt **performed the zll** for ḏgbt'

AH 013 *s¹gl/bnt//s²mr/s¹lht//ḏgbt/'zlt /h-zll//l-ḏgbt/b-k/hl/hmd/ndrt*
 's¹gl daughter of s²mr priestess of -ḏgbt performed the zll ceremony for ḏgbt according to what **she vowed**'

5.1.2.1 Variation

There seem to be two examples of a feminine singular form in the suffixing conjugation with a suffix -*h*: JSLih 384 and U 026.

JSLih 384 *nfs¹/'bds¹mn/bn//zdhrg/'lt/bnh//s¹lmh/bnt/{'}s¹//'rs²n/*
 'the funerary monument of 'bds¹mn son of zdhrg which s¹lmh daughter of 's¹'rs²n **built**'

U 026/ 1–2 *'b 'l/dl'fyh/h-zll/l-dgbt/*
 'The lords of *dl* fulfilled the *zll* for *dgbt*'

The inscription JSLih 384 contains several grammatical features that place it apart from the other Dadanitic inscriptions. It contains a feminine relative *'lt* (compare CAR. *'allatī*) (see § 6.5.1.3 Variation), and an across the board *-at > -ah* shift (Overlaet, Macdonald, and Stein 2016, n. 23). Even though we often find this sound change reflected in personal names (compare for example *s^llmh* (e.g. JaL 119 b), *s^llmt* (e.g. JaL 060 c); *zdh* (e.g. JSLih 184), *zdt* (e.g. JSLih 014)) it does not seem to have been a part of the grammar of the inscriptions (see § 4.6.9 *-at > -ah*).

In U 026 there are, apart from the spelling of the verbal suffix, no such clearly diverging features. Note that the name of the deity *dgbt* is spelled regularly, with the final *-t*. Even though the dual was also formed with a suffix *-h* (see § 5.1.3 Dual), interpreting *'fyh* as a dual verb is problematic with the clearly plural subject *'b 'l*. The dual is used with some variation in Dadanitic (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation), but the variation always leans towards neutralization of dual concord, instead of an extension of its use to plural environments. One can imagine, however, that once the category of dual is only still part of the written language, that it may be used in such environments as a hypercorrection. Interpreting *'fyh* as a feminine singular form, however, does not require the assumption of a grammatical mistake on part of the author of the inscription, if we assume that the broken plural form was treated as being grammatically feminine (compare to CAR. Fischer 2001, § 111c).

5.1.3 Dual

The dual was marked with a suffix *-h* (Stiehl 1971, 18). There is only one example of full dual agreement, in which both the verb and the suffixed pronouns are in the dual form.¹⁷⁵

AH 199 *s^lmwh/bnt/s^lmr/s^llht/w//d/w zyd/b 'l-h/d-yf^ˆn/'//zllh/l-dgbt/h-zll/b-h-mš//d/f rd-hmy/w*
s^l'd-hmy w
 's^lmwh daughter of s^lmr priestess of Wadd and zyd her husband of the lineage of yf^ˆn performed the *zll* for *dgbt* at the sanctuary so may he favor **them** and aid **them**'

Most inscriptions with a dual subject have no grammatical dual marking and the subject agrees with plural forms throughout the inscription. When the dual is grammatically marked, the most common type of agreement is only found on the personal pronouns, with a plural form of the verb (see § 5.1.4 3MPL, Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation, and Chapter 6 - Nominal and Pronominal Morphology).¹⁷⁶

There is one other inscription with a dual verb, but with plural enclitic personal pronouns.¹⁷⁷

U 019 *rhz/bn/thmh/w// 'mt 'zh/s^llht//dgbt'zlh/h-zll//l-dgbt/b-kh//l/b 'd/ml-hm/b-//bdr/f rd-hm//w 'hrt-hm*
 'rhz son of thmh and 'mt 'zh priestess of *dgbt* performed the *zll* ceremony for *dgbt* at *khl* on behalf of their property at *bdr* so may he aid **them** and **their** posterity'

¹⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that this inscription with its archaic dual verb and which was executed in relief seems to have been commissioned by Minaeans.

¹⁷⁶ See Sima (Sima 1999, 117), for an overview table of the attested variation in dual agreement at al-'Udayb.

¹⁷⁷ Macdonald (2008, 217) compares variation in dual agreement to the situation in modern Arabic dialects where the dual is often only preserved on nouns and otherwise agrees with the plural. Compare, for example the modern Arabic dialects (e.g. Syrian Arabic Cowell 1964, 420) and Biblical Hebrew (Joüon and Muraoka 2009, 514–17). There is one example of this in Dadanitic: AH 200.

Since the usual pattern of partial dual agreement in Dadanitic preserves the category of the dual on the pronouns, while it is lost on the verbs,¹⁷⁸ it seems that the author of U 019 made a mistake and this should be considered an example of ‘anomalous agreement’ (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation). The mistake can possibly be explained as an effort to use an archaic form that was part of a written register but no longer productive in the spoken language.

5.1.4 3MPL

The masculine plural verb in the SC is formed by adding a suffix *-w* to the stem (see also Farès-Drapeau 2005, 69).

U 055 *ʾmrt t/bnt/sʾ dlh //w b{n}-h/sʾ dʾl/w sʾrd/ʾzlw //l-dġbt/*
 ‘*ʾmrt t* daughter of *sʾ dlh* and her sons *sʾ dʾl* and *sʾrd* **performed the *zll*** for *dġbt*’

There are several attestations of a plural verb agreeing with a dual subject (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation for more on variation in agreement).

AH 032 *yġn w dmd/bnt/zd//ggħn/ʾzlw/zl[l] h-nq //b-khl*
 ‘*yġn* and *dmd* daughter of *zdgghn* **performed the *zll*** ceremony of the *nq* at *khl*’

U 064 *sʾrd/w ʾh-h/ʾbd//sʾmh/bnw/ʾyġ //ħrn/ʾzlw/h-zll/l-dġbt*
 ‘*sʾrd* and his brother *ʾbd sʾmh* sons of *yġħrn* **performed the *zll*** ceremony for *dġbt*’

U 029 *ʾyġ/bn/zhlh/w bn-h//mħh/ʾ{z}lw/h-{z}//ll-l-dġbt*
 ‘*yġ* son of *zhlh* and his son *mħh* **performed the *zll*** ceremony for *dġbt*’

U 075 *qnh/bnt/ʾqhwnh//w {h}tn-h/ʾbb/ʾzllw//[l-dġ//[b][t][/]b d/dġ -h/b-hm//dħb/f rd-hm/w ʾtb-
 //hm*
 ‘*qnh* daughter of *qhwnh* and her relative in-law *bb* **performed the *zll*** for *dġbt* on behalf of their spring crops at *hmdħb* so may he favor them them and reward them’

5.1.5 3FPL

There are no clear attestations of inscriptions with a plural feminine subject. The only example may be AH 081, where at least most of the dedicants are clearly women. The first person does not clearly indicate their genealogy with *bn* or *bnt*, and while *yġh* is mostly attested as a female name in Dadanitic (6 times), it also occurs twice after *bn* which is usually followed by a patronym (Al-Uḡayb 083; U 021). Moreover, the inscription is damaged, making it uncertain what the gender of the bearer of some of the damaged names is. If they are all women, however, this inscription seems to suggest that there was no gender distinction in the plural verb.

AH 081 *ʾyġh/w ʾmth{n}ʾktb/bnt/qn//y/w ʾm-hm/sʾn ʾh/w b ʾlhzd/nm----//h/w bn[t]-
 h/ʾmtyġ ʾn/ʾzlw/b-kh//l/zll/h-nq/l-dġbt/*
 ‘*yġh* and *mth{n}ktb* daughter of *qny* and their mother *sʾn ʾh* and *b ʾlhzd nm----//h* and her [daughter] *mtyġ ʾn* **performed the *zll*** of the *nq* at *khl* for *dġbt*’

¹⁷⁸ See note 177.

5.1.6 Weak verbs

5.1.6.1 III-weak verbs

The final root consonant of final weak verbs is consistently represented in Dadanitic in the 3MS in word final position and in the 3MPL SC, but it is lost in 3FS SC verbs:

Table 31 Attested suffix forms of III-weak verbs

<i>bny</i>	‘he built’	(e.g. AH 208; JaL 006; JSLih 045; Al-Sa‘īd 1420/2000: 15-26, no. 2)
<i>bnyw</i>	‘they built’	(Müller D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8; Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 26-36, no. 3; U 008; AH 200)
<i>wdyw</i>	‘they placed’	(JSLih 077)
<i>’fyw</i>	‘they offered’	(U 037)
<i>bnt</i>	‘she built’	(Al-‘Uḏayb 043)
<i>’ft</i>	‘she offered’	(U 005)

This goes for final -y and final -w verbs alike. Compare: 3MS *’gw* (e.g. AH 065; AH 157; U 032), but 3FS *’gt* (AH 006; AH 079; U 126). For more on the implications this has for the vocalization of these forms, see § 4.3 Triphthongs.

Beside two inscriptions in which the feminine form of *rḏy* is *rḏt* as expected, there is one example of *rḏyt*. For a discussion of the phonological variation of these forms see § 4.3.2 /aya/.

Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1/ 2 ---- *f rḏt/w ’hr[t]----*
 ‘...so may she favor [him] and [his] posterity...’

JSLih 036/ 2 ---- { }zy/*f rḏt-h/{h}----*
 ‘...zy so may she favor him...’

AH 288 ...{l-}*hgr/f rḏyt-h/w ’hrt-h*
 ‘... to *hrg* so may she favor him and his posterity’

5.1.6.2 Geminate roots

Geminate roots have identical second and third root consonants. Most of the attested geminate verbs have all three root consonants represented, e.g. *’rr* ‘he dishonored (the inscription)’ (e.g. JaL 161a; JSTham 251.3), *hggw* ‘they made the pilgrimage’ (e.g. Rabeler 001) and *hṭṭ* ‘he cut, he carved’ (Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII). Based on their spelling and syntactical properties it is difficult to determine whether this means that geminate verbs behaved like strong verbs, or that these verbs should be interpreted as D-stem verbs. Note that CAR. *’arrara-hu* ‘to disgrace or dishonor someone’ is a D-stem verb, and that of the root √ḤṬṬ also the form *hṭ* is attested once (JSLih 181).

AH 198 [*h*]n *’ktb/bn//tms²ms¹/hyw//hgg/l-dḡb//t*
 ‘[*h*]n *’ktb* son of *tms²ms¹ hyw* **dedicated** to *dḡbt*’

Nasif 1988: 92, *wmr hṭṭ* *’dm ’dm*
pl. CXXXII ‘*wmr* inscribed *’dm ’dm*’

Table 32 Attested suffix forms of geminate roots

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3 Masculine	CCC /CaCaCa/	NA	CCC-w /CaCaCū/
3 Feminine	NA	NA	
2	NA		
1	NA		

There are four attestations of *hgt*, most in damaged context, but they seem to represent nominal forms rather than the 3FS verb.

AH 206 ----/*hgt*/{*b*}-*khl*/^l*hm*
‘...**she dedicated/a dedication** at *khl* on behalf of them’

AH 226 ---- *d ndm*/*h*{*g*}/----[*b*-] [*h*-]*mšd*/*hgt*/----
‘of the family of *ndm* dedicate..... [at the] temple a **dedication/she dedicated**’

Since the root *hgg* seems to appear earlier in AH 226, in the position where one would expect a verb of dedication (see Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae), the second *hgt* should probably be interpreted as a nominal form, indicating the object of dedication.

AH 239 ----*zd*/*hgt*/*l*/----{*h*}*y*/^q*d*/*h-r*‘
‘...**zd dedication/she dedicated**.... {*h*}*y* the offering of the livestock’

AH 219 ----*d*/*b*{*n*}/*z*---- *nyq* ---- //----*bt*/*hgt*/*h-mšd*
‘...*d* son of *z*... *nyq* *bt* **the dedication of** the temple’

In AH 239 it is unclear whether *hgt* is a noun or a verb, since the broken context makes it impossible to rely on its formulaic context to aid interpretation.

If *hgt* represents a 3FS in one of these inscriptions, it seems that it underwent metathesis of the third syllable /*hagat*/. It is unclear, however, why this metathesis would only occur in the 3FS verb, although a CvCC(-at) template for the noun is very common in Semitic languages.

In the 3MP all three root consonants are represented consistently *hggw* /*hagagū*/ (U 063; AH 217; AH 221; AH 231; AH 233; Rabeler 001; AH 197; Al-‘Udayb 075; Umm Darag 22).

AH 217 *w*^l/*w* *s*²*n*^h ---- //{}*ktb*/*w* ^m*h* ----//*bd*/*hggw*/*h*----//*l*-*hrg*/
‘*w*^l and *w*²*n*^h...{}*ktb* and his mother... *bd* **dedicated (pl.)** the.... to *hrg*’

5.1.7 Functions of the suffix conjugation

5.1.7.1 Simple past

The SC is most commonly used to indicate the simple past.

JSLih 066 ^b*nh*/^h*d* //*h-sfht dh*
‘^b*nh* **took** (possession of) this section of cliff’

Al-Sa'īd 2011. 1 *šy/mlk ddn/f'l //l-ṭḥln*
 'šy king of Dadān made (it) for ṭḥln'

5.1.7.2 Optative

The perfect can be used with an optative mood. This function is mostly attested in the prayer formula at the end of the inscriptions, *rḍy-h(m) /raḍḍayahu(m)/* (e.g. AH 203; AH 209; JSLih 083) and *rḍ-h* (e.g. U 058; AH 176; AH 100) which probably represents a later development of the SC */raḍḍē-h(u)/* (see 4.3.2.1 Verbs).

AH 004 *ws²ḥ/bn/wdd //ḍ-ḍmr/'zll-//h-zll/l//ḍḡbt/f //rḍy-h/w s¹'//d-h/w ḥrt[-h]*
 'ws²ḥ son of wdd of the family of ḍmr performed the zll ceremony for ḍḡbt so
may he favor him and aid him and his posterity'

5.2 Prefix conjugation

Verbs in the prefixing conjugation are marked for person, number and gender by adding a prefix to the stem of the verb. Only the 3MS form with a prefix *y-* is securely attested. There may be an attestation of a *t-*prefix to indicate the 3FS (AH 031), but this *t-*prefix may better be interpreted as part of the derived stem (see § 5.3.4 t-stem).

There seem to be various modal forms of the prefix conjugation. There is one example of an apocopate (or jussive) form. Most verbs in the prefixing conjugation are attested following a form of the complementizer *'n*.

Table 33 Attested forms of the prefix conjugation

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3 Masculine	<i>y-CCC</i>	NA	NA
3 Feminine	<i>t-CCC (?)</i>	NA	
2	NA		
1	NA		

The inscriptions JSLih 040 and JaL 002 b also seem to contain 3MS PC verbs, but both inscriptions are heavily damaged and un-formulaic, making them difficult to interpret.

JSLih 040 *----{t}---- //----'w----//----mn/s²rm/w----//----h/ḍkh/yq 'd ----//---- n/wdy/{n}fs¹/h-
 'l----//----m/f lh/y 'd/w 'n----//----dy/ḍh/f 'nh/y----//----hn 'mn/hlqt ----//----/hmqtl
 ----//----d----¹⁷⁹*

JaL 002 b *[----]//----s¹/yṭ 'hm//----{w}ys¹tfy¹⁸⁰/h//----w tṣbh¹⁸¹//----'n/l- hns¹//----bt/w bt//--
 --m 'n/bm//----mlk/w //----hn 'y*

¹⁷⁹ Farès-Drappeau gives the two verbs *yq 'd* and *y 'd* from this inscription as the only examples of the PC (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 70).

¹⁸⁰ This is probably an st-stem of the verb *'fy* See §

5.3.5 st-stem.

¹⁸¹ Since this verb would not agree with the *ys¹tfy* form earlier in the inscription, this is probably a t-stem verb, see further § 5.3.4 t-stem.

5.2.1 Functions of the prefix conjugation

From the spelling of the prefixing forms of the geminate root ‘RR (indicative *yʿr* vs. jussive *yʿrr*, see § 5.2.3 Jussive below) and final weak root RQY (jussive *trq* see § 5.2.3 Jussive below), it is clear that Dadanic distinguished a short and a long form of the prefix conjugation, following the CS innovation of the long form (Huehnergard 2005, 164–65).

Due to the fragmentary and un-formulaic nature of the inscriptions containing prefixing verbs not all of them can be interpreted. In most cases the difference between indicative and jussive/subjunctive forms has to be interpreted based on syntax, given the lack of representation of short vowels in the Dadanic script.

5.2.2 Subjunctive

If the interpretation of JaL 016 a is correct,¹⁸² it shows the use of the subjunctive in a volitive meaning,¹⁸³ similar to its most common function in Arabic, which is also attested in Safaitic (Al-Jallad 2015, 109).

JaL 016 a *f-ysʿm ʿ l-h ʿ l //w-yʿlm ʿ-h*
 ‘So may ʿĒl listen to him and make him splendid(?)’

There is one inscription in which a complementizer ʿn is followed by a prefixing verb. Even though reflexes of this particle are found in other languages (e.g. Ugaritic *hn*; Hebrew *hen*, *hinneh*; Akkadian *a(n)numma*; Arabic ʿan (Tropper 2000, 749)) only Arabic uses it as a subordinator in this way (Al-Jallad 2015, 12). Since this usage with a following verb in the subjunctive seems to be an Arabic innovation it seems plausible that the Dadanic construction shares the same syntax and also used a subjunctive verb here, even though this is not evident from the orthography.

AH 203 *[----] //hm ----[d]-//gʿbt ʿ{n}/yʿk{n}/l-h/{w}ld/f rdy[-h]---- //w ʿhrt-h {d}----*
 ‘...[d]gʿbt that there may be a son to him so may he favor him and his posterity...’¹⁸⁴

There is one clear example¹⁸⁵ of the particle ʿn followed by a subjunctive introducing a conditional clause.

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 *mn/sʿrqt/ʿym---- //----{m}n/sʿrq/f- ʿn/yšbr/b- mh/sʿr[q]---- //----{d}n/thd-h/kl-h/f*
hʿtm----//----hsʿrqt/yʿtb/h-sʿrq/ʿw/y----//----bh
 who stole(?) and if he is caught with what he {stole}.....if all of it broke (the stolen things) then beat him(?) ...the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief or ...¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² This inscription was translated by Jamme as ‘That one may be obedient to the god and give him brilliancy’ (Jamme 1974, 22; followed by Al-Qudra 1993, 58). OCIANA (consulted 17–11–2016) seems to interpret the inscription as solely containing personal names.

¹⁸³ Following the translation by Sima (Sima 1999, 113).

¹⁸⁴ The stone looks like it was prepared and cut into a block. While *rdy[-h]* looks like it was squeezed onto the surface to fit the block, and the *h* might be lost under the damage of the edge of the stone, there seems to be an empty space following *ykn* in the line before it, suggesting that it is complete.

¹⁸⁵ Ḡabal al-Ḥuraymāt 01 also seems to contain a partial ʿn, but the inscription is too fragmentary to give a reliable interpretation *ksʿt //w ʿtb ʿ{t} //mny/{q}d/w grsʿ/rhʿw //fʿn/sʿ{b}w/b- {k}l{sʿ}th----*.

¹⁸⁶ I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad (pc.) for suggesting interpreting this as a conditional clause.

Even though the inscription is damaged and does not conform to the frequent formula we find in the other Dadanitic inscriptions, making it difficult to interpret, the combination of 'n + PC verb seems clear.

The prefix conjugation is also attested following the presentative 'ny.

U 026 'b 'l/dl/'fyh/h-zll/l-dgbt/<f>¹⁸⁷rd-hm/w s'/'d-hm/w 'qb-hm[/]'ny//ys'rg[/]'b-hm/w
 {m} 'n-h[m]//w {m}fr-h{m}/b-ms²hl
 'The lords of *dl* accomplished the *zll*-ceremony for *dgbt* <so> may he favor them and aid them and their successors, **that their pasture may be beautified** and [their] {abode} and {their} {cultivated land} in *ms²hl*'¹⁸⁸

5.2.3 Jussive

Even though final short vowels are not represented in the Dadanitic orthography, the spelling of the geminate root 'rr, reveals a difference between a jussive or apocopate and the indicative.

AH 289 f-mn y'rr-h / y'r-h n'm
 'and whoever removes this, will be stripped of property'¹⁸⁹

In this inscription we find a jussive form where, in the absence of a final vowel the two identical root consonants are kept apart by a short vowel y'rr /yu'rir/ and an indicative y'r /yu'arru/.¹⁹⁰

There seems to be one example of a feminine verb in the jussive with a prefix *t*-.

JSLih 064 b'ls'mn/'h¹rm/h-qrt//mn/mh
 'b'ls¹mn protected the village because of what **she conjured**,¹⁹¹ the woman of the palm tree the priestess of *d*...'

The verb *trq* is interpreted as jussive of the root *rqy* 'to protect, to cast a protective spell'. Had it been an indicative verb, we would expect the *y* to have retained its consonantal value /tarqayu/, which would have been represented in the orthography. Since the *y* is absent in the inscription it seems the form represents the jussive form /tarqa/ followed by a suffixed object pronoun.

5.2.3.1 Functions of the jussive

In the available examples in which the jussive is distinguishable from the indicative, the jussive seems to have had a modal function, to express the *irrealis* (AH 289), and could be used as a preterite (JSLih 064).¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ The letters *f* and *b* are clearly distinguishable in this inscription, the *b* having square corners while the *f* is rounded at the top. While reading the complementizer *f* here makes more sense in the formula, the inscription clearly contains a *b* here. In this regard it also seems worth pointing out that the very frequent 'hrt-h(m) in the same phrase is replaced by 'qb-hm in this inscription. The substitution of this word in the formula by 'qb is unique in this inscription, suggesting that the author of the inscription used the formula in a quite flexible manner.

¹⁸⁸ Ahmad Al-Jallad proposed to interpret the particle 'ny as a complementizer comparable to Ugaritic *hny*, Hebrew *hinneh* and Arabic 'inna (this is discussed in the commentary section of the record of this inscription in the OCIANA database (consulted 17–11–2016)).

¹⁸⁹ This inscription is written in boustrophedon (cf. Macdonald 2010, 12). The line of writing starts on the left and curves around to continue from right to left above the first line. In between the first and second line there is a word divider that runs almost parallel to the first line, giving the inscription the appearance of curving around.

¹⁹⁰ Reading and interpretation of the verbal forms as jussive and indicative were first proposed by Ahmad Al-Jallad.

¹⁹¹ The interpretation of this verb from the root *rqy* 'to protect, to cast a protective spell' was proposed by Hekmat Dirbas during an informal reading session at the Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia. See also Drewes (1985, 167).

5.3 Derived stems

Like other Semitic languages, Dadanic can derive verbal stems from the basic CvCvCv pattern by means of vowel apophony, gemination and the addition of prefixes and infixes.

Table 34 Overview of the forms of the derived stems

G-stem	CCC	CAr. <i>fa'ala</i>
D-stem	CCC	CAr. <i>fa''ala</i>
C-stem	'CCC	CAr. <i>'af'ala</i>
	hCCC	e.g. Heb. <i>hiph'il</i>
CD-stem	'CCC	/afa''ala/
	hCCC	/hafa''ala/
T prefix-stem	tCCC	e.g. EAr. <i>itfa'al</i>
T infix-stem	CtCCC	CAr. <i>'ifta'ala</i>
ST-stem	s'tCCC	CAr. <i>'istaf'ala</i>

5.3.1 D-stem

G-stem verbs and D-stem verbs are generally orthographically indistinguishable, certainly in verbs derived from strong roots. Based on its transitive meaning *qrb* 'to offer, to dedicate' (JSLih 041; AH 209; Al-Ḥuraybah 09) should probably also be interpreted as a D-stem verb.

5.3.1.1 Weak roots

5.3.1.1.1 II-w/y

There are two possible attestations of the verb *byt* 'to spend the night'.

AH 291 *n'm//kl'//w byt*
 ' *n'm kl'* and he spent the night'
 OR
 ' *n'm kl'* and *byt*'

Graf Abū al-Ḍibā' 1 --- *'gr/w {h}{n}'l//byt/b-lwh/dld*
 '... *'gr* and *hn'l* spent the night (sing.) at [the] sandy depression *Ḍld'*
 OR
 '--- *'gr* and *{h}{n}'l byt* are at [the] sandy depression *Ḍld'*

If *byt* represents a verb in these inscriptions it should probably be interpreted as a denominal verb in the D-stem /bayyata/. Such a reading seems to be supported by the consistent spelling of *kn* 'it was' without the medial glide represented (see § 4.3 Triphthongs).

¹⁹² There may be one example of a jussive following the prohibitive 'l (JSLih 127) *'rs'd/'bd/fmn/'l/yḏlmh*. The interpretation of this very short inscription is unclear however. It is translated in OCIANA as only containing personal names, with 'l *yḏlmh* as a tribal affiliation (accessed 28–11–2017). There are no other attestations in OCIANA of a personal name or tribal name *yḏlmh*.

5.3.1.1.2 III-w/y

Based on the syntax of the verb *rdy* ‘to favor (someone)’ it should be interpreted as a D-stem verb. While the G-stem of the verb is intransitive, almost all attestations of this verb in Dadanitic have an enclitic pronominal object.¹⁹³ The *plene* spelled /raḏḏaya/ and the defectively spelled /raḏḏī/ or /raḏḏē/ should probably both be interpreted as 3MS SC (see § 4.3 Triphthongs for a discussion of these forms).

5.3.1.1.3 C2 = C3

It is unclear whether all the verbs from geminate roots with all root consonants represented should be interpreted as G-stem (e.g. /ḥagaga/) or as D-stem verbs (e.g. /ḥaggaga/) (see § 5.1.6.2 Geminate). The attestation of both *ḥt* (JSLih 181) and *ḥtt* (Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII) seems to suggest that they may represent different stem formations of the same root. However, each form occurs only once in a short graffito, which makes it difficult to determine whether they truly represent different stem formations or a different treatment of geminate roots in the G-stem. Of the root ‘*rr*’ it is equally unclear whether it should be interpreted as G-stem or D-stem verb.

5.3.2 Causative

The main function of the C-stem is to form causative verbs from intransitive roots. In the Dadanitic corpus it is mainly found in dedicatory verbs. Two forms of the causative can be found in Dadanitic: a ‘-causative and a formally archaic *h*-causative¹⁹⁴ (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation for a discussion of the distribution and possible causes of this variation).¹⁹⁵ The ‘-causative is the most commonly attested form of the two in Dadanitic (249 attestations as opposed to 17 *h*-causatives).¹⁹⁶

5.3.2.1 Prefix conjugation

There are no attestations of a verb in either form of the causatives in the prefix conjugation. There is one attestation, however, of the personal name *yhdkr* (JSLih 125) which looks like a 3MS prefix conjugation with the *h*-prefix still represented. Since it is a personal name, it cannot tell us about the form of the imperfect of the C-stem in the language of the inscriptions unfortunately (see Macdonald 1999, 254–57).

5.3.2.2 Suffix conjugation

In the suffix conjugation the causative receives the same suffixes as the G-stem. There are only attestations of causative verbs in the suffix conjugation.

U 101 *ks²d/bn ---//ng’/’zll/dḡbt//f rd-h/w s’¹d-h*
‘*ks²d* son of ...*ng*’ **performed the *zll*** for *dḡbt* so may he favor him and aid him’

U 112 *’d’h/bnt/ḥrm/dḡbt//’zlt/h-zll/l-dḡbt*
‘*’d’h* daughter of *ḥrm* **dḡbt performed the *zll*** ceremony for *dḡbt*’

AH 032 *yḏn w dmd/bnt/zd//gghn’zlw/zll] h-nq //b-khl*
‘*yḏn* and *dmd* daughter of *zdgghn* performed the *zll* ceremony of the *nq* at *khl*’

¹⁹³ Except for Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1/ 2 ---- *f rdt/w ’hr[t]*----, but the damaged context makes it difficult to interpret this form.

¹⁹⁴ Compare, for example, Aramaic in which *h* > ‘ in the causative prefix in the attested material (Gzella 2015, 34).

¹⁹⁵ This has already been observed by previous scholars (e.g. Farès-Drappeau 2005, 68–69; Sima 1999, 93).

¹⁹⁶ Based on the data in the OCIANA database February 2016.

5.3.2.3 Weak roots

5.3.2.3.1 I-w/y

The first weak letter of I-w/y verbs does not seem to be represented in the causative, which points to a vocalic pattern $/(h/)'vCCvCv/$. The diphthong in the first syllable would not be represented in Dadanitic orthography (see § 4.5 Diphthongs). I-w verbs that are attested are: $'fy$ 'to offer' from \sqrt{WFY} , htb 'to dedicate' from \sqrt{WTB} , $'dq$ and hdq 'to offer' from \sqrt{WDQ} (but see $hwdq$ in § 5.3.3 CD-stem) and possibly $'qd$ 'to dedicate' \sqrt{WQD} , finally there is one attestation of the verb $'t$ 'he protected' from \sqrt{YT} .

U 035 *brqh/s¹//lh/dğbt // 'fy/h-zll //l-dğbt*
'brqh son of dğbt offered the zll ceremony to dğbt'

Al-Ḥuraybah 12 *ddn/hṭbt/mṭb*
'Dedan offered the throne'

AH 087 *'bdh/bn //mrr/'d{q}/h//{z}{l}l/l-dğ//{b}{t}/f rd-h*
'bdh son of mrr **offered** the zll ceremony to dğbt so may he favor him'

JSLih 062 *{s²}----[b]//nt/qs¹m//hdqt/h//slmn//l-hn'kt//b/f rd-h/w //{''}{h}rt-h*
'... {daughter of } qs¹m **offered** the two statues to hn'ktb so may he favor her and her posterity'

AH 222 *---- d 'lhrbt 'dq---- s¹----//l-dğbt 'mt-{h}my 'ydh//b{n}t 'mthn'tt ---- h----t//ym*
'qd h-m---//l-hrg
'... of the lineage f 'lhrbt **offered**... to dğbt their maidservant 'ydh daughter of 'mthn'tt... day he **offered** the... to hrg'

5.3.2.3.2 I-n

The first root letter *n* assimilates to the following consonant in the C-stem (see § 4.6.1 *n*-assimilation). It is unclear whether this resulted in the doubling of the second root consonant. I-*n* verbs that are attested in the C-stem are: possibly $'fq$ 'to offer'¹⁹⁷ from NFQ; $'gy$ and $'gw$ (see § 4.6.6 Interchange of *w* and *y*) 'to dedicate' from NGW.

JSLih 054 *---- // 'fqw/f rd-hm*
'...they **offered** so may he favor them'

JSLih 177 *hnmnt/s²grh/'gy/'s²rt/mnh{h}¹⁹⁸*
'hnmnt s²grh dedicated ten minah'¹⁹⁹

U 038 *ḍbn/'mr/bn/mrd // 'gw/h-zll/dh/l-dğbt*
'ḍbn 'mr son of mrd **dedicated** this zll ceremony to dğbt'

5.3.2.3.3 II-w/y

The second consonant of the II-weak verbs is not represented in the causative verb. This suggests it was realized as a vowel. The quantity of the vowel is unclear from the orthography. There is only one

¹⁹⁷ Attested once in broken context.

¹⁹⁸ The OCIANA database (consulted 11/29/2016) reads the last letter of *mnh{h}* as an *l*. The reading is uncertain, however, and could also represent another *h*, read here as representing $-ā$ /minahā/ plural of *minah* (monetary unit).

¹⁹⁹ This translation was made during a reading session in LeiCenSAA, and was first suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad.

common II-weak verb *ʔb* ‘to reward, recompense’ (compare Sab. *ytwbn* ‘reward, recompense (a worshipper by a deity)’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 151)).

U 059 *f rd-h/w ʔb-h*
 ‘... so may he favor him and reward him’²⁰⁰

5.3.2.3.4 III-w/y

III-weak verbs in the C-stem behave in a similar way as III-weak verbs in the G-stem. The final glide is always represented in the 3MS and PL forms, but never in the 3FS form (see § 4.3 Triphthongs for the implications on vocalization). The final-weak verbs attested in the C-stem are: *ʔy* ‘to fulfill’ from $\sqrt{\text{WFY}}$ (see § 5.3.2.3.1 I-w/y); *ʔy* and *ʔgw* from $\sqrt{\text{NGW}}$ (see § 5.3.2.3.2 I-n) and *ʔqw* ‘to dedicate, to send up’ $\sqrt{\text{RQW}}$.

U 031 *ʔbdhgbr/b//n/hbl ʔl ʔfy//h-zll/l-dgbt/b-khl*
 ‘*ʔbdhgbr* son of *hbl* **fulfilled** the *zll* for *dgbt* at *khl*’

U 005 *hmyh/bnt//nzrh ʔft/h-z//l/dh/l-dgbt*
 ‘*hmyh* daughter of *nzrh* **fulfilled** this *zll* for *dgbt*’

AH 204 ---- ‘----’ *ʔl/bn/zdl{h}* ---- //’ *ʔht-h ʔrqww/h----//bt/hmd/ndr*
 ‘...’... *ʔl* son of *zdl{h}*... his sister **they offered** {temple} according to what they vowed’

Table 35 Overview of the attested III-weak causative forms

<i>ʔy</i>	he offered	(U 035; U 004; U 031; AH 087.1; Private collection 1)
<i>ʔy</i>	he dedicated	(JSLih 177)
<i>ʔgw</i>	he dedicated	(e.g. U 038; U 049; AH 135; AH 157; AH 202; AH 201)
<i>ʔft</i>	she offered	(U 023; U 005; AH 051)
<i>ʔgt</i>	she dedicated	(U 126; AH 006; AH 079; Al-‘Udayb 129; Al-‘Udayb 008)
<i>ʔyh</i>	they (du) offered	(U 026)
<i>ʔyw</i>	they offered	(U 037)
<i>ʔgww</i>	they dedicated	(AH 243; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII; U 088; Al-‘Udayb 001)
<i>ʔqww</i>	they offered	(AH 204)

5.3.2.3.5 C2 = C3

There seem to be two different ways of spelling of the causative forms of geminate roots, with all three root letters represented or with only the first two orthographically represented. This could be due to variation in treatment of geminate roots: *ʔll* for /ʔazalala/ and *ʔl* for a metathesized form /ʔazalla/. Alternatively, it may be understood as two different stem formations: a CD-stem *ʔll* /ʔazallala/ and a

²⁰⁰ Translation following OCIANA database (consulted 29–11–2016).

C-stem *ʕzl* /ʕazalla/. Note that there are no attestations of *hʕzl* forms (see § 5.3.3 CD-stem for the *hʕzl* forms) which may confirm a historical component to the development of the spelling of the geminate roots. Since there are only 8 attestations of *h*-causative forms of the root *ʕll*, however, this distribution may just be due to accident of survival.

Table 36 Overview of attested geminate root causative forms

<i>ʕzl</i>	he performed the <i>ʕll</i>	e.g. AH 080; AH 072; U 125; U 101; U 076
<i>ʕll</i>	he performed the <i>ʕll</i>	e.g. U 050; U 054; U 058; U 060; U 079; U 102 bis
<i>ʕlt</i>	she performed the <i>ʕll</i>	e.g. AH 091; AH 090; AH 064; AH 062; U 112; U 094
<i>ʕllt</i>	she performed the <i>ʕll</i>	U 056; U 070; U 068; AH 012; AH 094; AH 101; AH 163; Al-ʕUdayb 061
<i>ʕlh</i>	they (du.) performed the <i>ʕll</i>	U 019
<i>ʕlw</i>	they performed the <i>ʕll</i>	e.g. AH 032; AH 235; Bron-al-ʕUdayb 1; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII; U 064; U 055; U 044; U 029
<i>ʕllw</i>	they performed the <i>ʕll</i>	AH 244; U 069; U 047; U 027; U 023; U 075; U 119; Al-ʕUdayb 064; Al-ʕUdayb 065

Both spellings generally occur in the same context with no apparent difference in meaning.

U 101 *ks²d/bn ----//ngʕʕzl/l-dġbt//f rġ-h/w s¹d-h*
 ‘*ks²d* son of ... *ngʕ* performed the *ʕll* for *dġbt* so may he favor him and aid him’

U 117 *rġwl/bn/ʕbdh/ʕll/l-dġbt*
 ‘*rġwl* son of *ʕbdh* performed the *ʕll* for *dġbt*’

There is one inscription in which several *ʕll* ceremonies seem to be dedicated, in which a CD-stem is used, and another in which a suffix *-n* on the noun *ʕll* could also be interpreted as a plural (see § 6.2.5 Suffixes). This may indicate a slight nuance in the meaning of the two stems, with the doubled form having a more plural or durative meaning. Of course, since there are only two possible examples of this usage of the CD-stem (which is the most common form of this root), this may just be a coincidence.

U 050 *s¹my/bn/tlġl //ʕll/l- dġbt/tl//ttʕzl*
 ‘*s¹my* son of *tlġl* performed for *dġbt* three *ʕll* ceremonies’

U 034 *ʕyġ/bn/hr/b-khl //ʕll/ʕlln²⁰¹*
 ‘*ʕyġ* son of *hr* at *khl* he performed *ʕll* ceremonies’

Moreover, there is another inscription in which a woman dedicates *hʕlt*, but uses a plain C-stem. It is unclear whether *hʕlt* is another plural form, a singulative, or interference from the verb and simply a writing error.²⁰²

U 013 *ʕmtrfʕ/bnt//rbhʕʕlt//h-ʕlt*
 ‘*ʕmtrfʕ* daughter of *rbhʕ* performed the *ʕll* ceremony/ceremonies?’

²⁰¹ OCIANA reads *h-ʕlln*, but after consulting the photograph, I do not think there is a definite article preceding *ʕlln* (consulted 30-11-2016).

²⁰² For the inscriptions with *ʕll* as the object of dedication, see § 6.2.6.1.1 Variation of the definite article.

The distribution of the variation in spelling of the geminate roots in the causative form across the corpus is different from that of the spelling of I-*w* verbs in the same stem formation, however, making it unlikely that both are due to the same development of the C and CD-stems (see § 4.5.1 *w* for a more elaborate discussion). Therefore it seems more likely that the variation in spelling of the geminate roots represent is due to metathesis (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation).

AH 080 *ḏn`l/bn //`bdh/`zll/b`d/ml-h/b//bdr/l-ḏgbt //f rḏ-h/w `tb-h*²⁰³
 ‘*ḏn`l* son of *`bdh* **performed the *zll*** on behalf of his property at *bdr* for *ḏgbt* so may he favor him and reward him’

AH 091 *`mtṣd/bnt/bs`rh //s`lh/ḏgbt/`zll/t/zll*²⁰⁴
 ‘*`mtṣd* daughter of *bs`rh* priestess of *ḏgbt* **performed a *zll*** ceremony’

AH 081 *`yḏh/w `mth{n}`ktb/bnt/qn/y/w `m-hm/s`n`h/w b`lhzd/nm----//h/w bn[t]-h/`mtyt`n/`zlw/b-kh/l/zll/h-nq*²⁰⁵
 ‘*`yḏh* and *`mth{n}`ktb* daughter of *qn* and their mother *s`n`h* and *b`lhzd nm... h* and his {daughter} *`mtyt`n* **performed**, at *khl*, the *zll* ceremony of the *nq*’

5.3.3 CD-stem

5.3.3.1 I-*w* verbs

The form of some of the I-*w* verbs in the *h*-causative seems to point to the existence of a CD-stem /haCaCCaCa/.²⁰⁶

Compare:

Table 37 Overview of the C and CD-stem forms of the root √WDQ

<i>hwdq</i>	he offered	AH 288; Al-Ḥuraybah 13; Al-Ḥuraybah 14
<i>hdq</i>	he offered	Al-Sa‘īd 1419/1999: 4-24, no. 1, side 1-2

Since word internal diphthongs do not seem to be represented in Dadanitic orthography, the forms with the *w*-represented could be interpreted as CD-stems in which the *w* would have its consonantal value /hawaddaqa/ (see § 4.5 Diphthongs).

Table 38 Overview of the attested CD-stem verbs with I-weak roots

<i>hwd`t</i>	he offered, fulfilled an obligation	al-Ḥuraybah 12
<i>hwdq</i>	he offered	AH 288; al-Ḥuraybah 13
<i>hwdqw</i>	they offered	JSLih 049

5.3.4 t-stem

There seem to be two examples of a t-stem verb (JaL 017 e; AH 031). While the form in JaL 017 e is formally quite clearly a t-stem, it is not entirely clear what the inscription means, because of its non-

²⁰³ There are 42 attestations of *`zll* forms (e.g. AH 080; AH 072; U 125; U 101; U 076).

²⁰⁴ There are 22 attestations of *`zll* forms. (e.g. AH 091; AH 090; AH 064; AH 062; U 112; U 094).

²⁰⁵ There are 14 attestations of *`zlw* forms (e.g. AH 032; AH 235; U 064; U 055; U 044; U 029)

²⁰⁶ I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting this vocalization.

formulaic character. Due to the Dadanitic orthography it is impossible to tell whether it is a t-stem /taslamat/ or tD-stem /tasallamat/.

JaL 017 e *'bds²hr // 'kr w // dly/s¹nt // ts¹lmt 's²// hdn/ f r d -h // h¹ l w s¹ // 'd -h*

AH 031 *...ts¹lm m¹t f-rd-h*

5.3.4.1 t-infix stem

Inscription AH 207 seems to contain a t-infix stem *s¹ttr* from Sabaic *s¹tr* ‘to write, to inscribe’.²⁰⁷ The lack of an initial ‘ suggests that there was no initial vowel /s¹taṭara/.

AH 207 *----l/b----//d----s¹ttr/b-mṣd----s¹m¹ //----/dḡ...bt²⁰⁸*
 ‘...l b...d...wrote at the temple....s¹m¹ ... {dḡbt}

5.3.4.1.1 Weak roots

Macdonald (2008, 203–4) has suggested that *tqt* ‘to inscribe’ is a t-infix stem from a I-weak root NQT or WQT. Since the *n* assimilates to following consonants, this form could represent either a t-prefix or a t-infix stem ***/ntaqṭa/ > /(t)taqṭa/* or ***/tanqṭa/ > /ta(q)qṭa/*. It is unclear how a cluster *wtV* would be resolved in Dadanitic, but in a t-prefixing verb the diphthong would not be represented.

AH 256 *ns²r/bn/tm//tqt*
 ‘*ns²r* son of *tm* inscribed’

Another option would be to interpret *tqt* as a t-prefixing verb of the geminate root QTT ‘to cut’²⁰⁹ /taqṭṭa/ (compare e.g. CAr. *qaṭṭa-hu* ‘he cut it’ (*Lane*)).²¹⁰ This reading seems to be supported by the occurrence of the form *qt* ‘to cut’ (JaL 152) and *tqṭṭ* (AH 260), however, their similar surface form does not necessarily mean that they are derived from the same root.

5.3.4.2 t-prefix stem

The t-prefix stem is possibly attested in the verb *tqt* from QTT /taqṭṭa/ (Winnett and Reed 1970, 129) (see § 5.3.4.1.1 Weak roots).

5.3.4.3 t-D stem

The interpretation of *tqt* having a root QTT could be supported by the attestation of the form *tqṭṭ* in one inscription (AH 260), if the interpretation of this form in its broken context is correct.

AH 260 *s²rd t{q}t<<t>> m---- d----*
 ‘*s²rd* wrote....’

The double representation of the *t* seems to point to a t-D formation /taqṭṭata/. Alternatively it may be a more archaic form of the t-prefix stem in which the geminate roots had not metathesized yet /taqṭṭa/ (see § 5.3.3 CD-stem).

²⁰⁷ The same form of the verb also occurs in two Minaic inscriptions from Dadan (JSMIn 145 and JSMIn 166) and in a Ḥaḍramitic one (Qāni’ 4) DASI, 22–2–2018.

²⁰⁸ There is a space on the rock between the *ḡ* and *b* in *dḡbt*. Due to the quality of the photograph it is impossible, however, to determine what letter, if any, occupies this space. In the OCIANA database a {y} is read in this position (consulted 11–30–2016).

²⁰⁹ This has previously been suggested by Winnet (Winnett and Reed 1970, 129).

²¹⁰ *tqt* is translated as a nominal form ‘the signature’ in OCIANA. In AH 302, however, it seems to be a verb indicating that *mk* was the one who wrote the big inscription above it. ‘*mk* inscribed’.

5.3.5 st-stem

If the interpretation of Al-Sa‘īd 1419/1999: 3014, no 1 is correct, there is one attestation of a St-stem verb.

Al-Sa‘īd 1419/1999: 3014, no 1 ----m/ym/s^thbl’ qd/h-r’/f-rd-hm/w //---
 ‘...[the] day **he pledged** the dedication of the sheep so may he favor them and...’

5.4 Participles

A participle is an adjective derived from a verb. They can generally be used to indicate the doing, or the doer of a verb. So far only the 3MS and PL forms of the active participle are attested. To my knowledge there are no attestations of passive participles in Dadanitic.

Table 39 Overview of attested participle forms

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	CCC	CCCn (JSLih 006)

5.4.1 Singular

U 003 ‘tm/bn/nfy/’//bd/’zll/h-zl//l/ndr/b’ d/h-dr//t
 ‘tm son of nfy ‘bd performed the zll ceremony **vowed** on behalf of the field’

AH 220/ 6-7 {h-}/s^tfr/w [d]hllh/h-šn’
 ‘the **scribe** and dhlh the **artisan**’

JaL 161 a ‘rr//dġbt/’r/r/h-s^tfr/dh
 ‘and may dġbt dishonor **the one who mistreats** this inscription’

AH 210 ‘r[r] {d}ġ{b}’// t/t’ n/’rr ----
 ‘may dġbt dishonor by **smiting(?)** the **one who mistreats...**’

JSLih 317 may also contain an active participle.

JSLih 317 ----/bn/’//dhn/mṭbr/’rf
 ‘... son of ‘dhn a **fenced** field’

5.4.2 Plural

There seems to be only one example of a plural form of the active participle.

JSLih 006 ‘mrtm/w-ḥrm w-nn //w-drh/w-gz’t //w-’n’ m/w- ‘bd//ddt/hggn //f s^tm’/l-h{m}
 ‘mrtm and ḥrm and nn and drh and gz’t and ’n’ m and ‘bd ddt are pilgrims/are performing a pilgrimage so may he (the deity) listen to them’

In this example hggn has plural referents and it seems to form a nominal phrase with the personal names ‘they are pilgrims’ or ‘they are performing a pilgrimage’. The plural verbal ending is -w, making it unlikely that hggn represents a verb here (see § 5.1.4 3MPL).

5.4.3 Functions of the active participle

5.4.3.1 Adverbial use of the active participle

There are several inscriptions in which an active participle forms the head of a relative clause (Sima 1999, 99).²¹¹

- U 003** *bd/`zll/h-zl//l/ndr/b`d/h-dr//t/*
'bd performed the *zll* ceremony (which was) **vowed** on behalf of the fields'
- U 007** *----wh/hdm //----h/`zll/h-zll/n//dr/l-dgbt*
...wh *hdm* ...h performed the *zll* ceremony (which was) **vowed** to *dgbt*'
- U 021** *f/bn/`{y}dh/`zll/h-zll/ndr //b`d/d{t}`-h/w nfs1//h*
'f son of {y}dh performed the *zll* ceremony (which was) **vowed** on behalf of his crops of the season of the later rains and himself'

If the reading of *t`n* in AH 210 is correct this shows the use of the active participle to modify the main verb.

- AH 210** *`r[r] {d}g{b} // t`n/`rr ----*
'may *dgbt* dishonor by **smiting**(?) the one who mistreats...'

5.4.3.2 Adjectival use of the active participle

If the interpretation of JSLih 317 is correct it seems the active participle can be used as an adjective.

- JSLih 317** *----/bn/`//dhn/mtbr/`rf*
'...son of *dhn* a **fenced** field'

5.4.3.3 Doer of X

As mentioned above, the active participle can be used to indicate the 'doing' or 'doer' of a verb.

- JaL 161 a** *f/`rr//dgbt/`r/r/h-s!fr/dh*
'And may *dgbt* efface the **effacer** of this inscription'

²¹¹ Sima (1999, 99) interprets *ndr* here as an adverb 'als weihegabe', following Hans Wehr in Stiehl (1971, 565).

Chapter 6 - Nominal and Pronominal Morphology

6.1 Gender

Similar to other Semitic languages Dadanitic distinguishes masculine and feminine gender. Masculine nouns are generally unmarked. Feminine nouns can be marked with a suffix *-t*. This can mark biological gender: compare *'fkl* ‘priestess’ (U 038; JSLih 064) and *fkl* ‘priest’ (e.g. JSLih 049; JaL 010 a); *'ht* ‘sister’ (JSLih 077) and *'h* ‘brother’ (JSLih 077; U 064); *'tt* ‘wife’ (Al-‘Uḏayb 064; JSlih 067; U 023; U 115); *qnt* ‘female servant’ (AH 303; JSLih 282; JSlih 302). Many nouns are only morphologically feminine.

JSLih 049 *hw//dqw/h-ḡ//lm/s^llm/h-//[m]tlt/l-//dḡbt*
‘they dedicated the boy *s^llm* (as) **the substitute** to *dḡbt*’

U 069 *'zllw/h-zll/b-khl //b 'd/tbrt-hmy*
‘they performed the *zll* ceremony on behalf of their (du.) **grain**’

There are also nouns that are semantically feminine without the suffix *-t* (e.g. *'m* ‘mother’ (e.g. AH 217; JSLih 073; AH 197)).

The reflex of the feminine suffix is generally *-t* in all environments. Unlike in CAr., there does not seem to be a pausal form *-h*. In addition to this, Dadanitic does not seem have levelled the *-at* allomorph to all environments, unlike Arabic (Huehnergard 2017, 20). If the form *qrt* (e.g. AH 300 and JSLih 064) should indeed be interpreted as ‘village’ from the root QRY, it must have had the suffix *-t* /qarīt/, since the *-at* suffix would have yielded a form /qariyat/ similar to Arabic, in which case the glide would have most likely been represented in Dadanitic (see § 4.6.9 *-at* > *-ah*) (Al-Jallad 2018, 22).

6.2 Number

6.2.1 Pluralization strategies

There are two basic forms of plural formation in Dadanitic. Nouns can be made plural either by the addition of a suffix, traditionally called sound plurals, or by pattern replacement, called broken plurals.²¹² Similar to CAr., pattern replacement may include prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Forms combining a plural suffix with pattern replacement may not be distinguishable from the sound plurals, while some broken plurals, formed using only changes internal vocalization, may not be formally distinguishable from singular forms.

6.2.2 Plural and dual forms

There is evidence for both plural and dual nouns in Dadanitic (Macdonald 2008, 194). However, most of the dual forms are orthographically indistinguishable from sound plural forms. Therefore, the following section is organized based on the attested forms, rather than their function. First the unambiguously plural forms with pattern replacement will be discussed, followed by the more ambiguous dual and plural suffixes. For each suffix the different possible interpretations and their contexts will be given and discussed.

²¹² Even though broken plurals seem to be a shared retention between the languages that are sometimes grouped together as ‘South Semitic’ (Huehnergard and Rubin 2011, 263) their productivity in these languages can likely be explained as a contact phenomenon. Dadanitic fits nicely into this contact area between Arabic and South Arabian influences (the Minaic trading colony and its place on the incense trading route).

6.2.3 Bound and unbound forms

There is a distinction between bound and unbound dual (Macdonald 2008, 194)²¹³ and probably also plural forms. When a noun stands in construct with a following noun or is followed by an enclitic pronoun, the dual suffix is *-y*, whereas unbound nouns receive a dual suffix *-n* (see § 6.2.6 State). Compare CAr. *al-kitābāni* ‘the two books’ and *kitābā ṭ-ṭālibi* ‘the two books of the student’.

6.2.4 Pattern replacement

The following plural patterns have been attested in Dadanitic:

Table 40 Plural formation

'CCC	U 026	' <i>b l</i>	lords
	Al-'Uḏayb 071; Al-'Uḏayb 073	' <i>nhl</i> ²¹⁴	palm trees/palm groves
	Al-'Uḏayb 071 and Al-'Uḏayb 073	' <i>dt</i> '	crops of the season of the later rains
	JSLih 063	' <i>slm</i>	statues
	JSLih 177	' <i>n m</i>	livestock
'CC(C)t	U 050; U 032	' <i>zlt</i>	<i>zll</i> ceremonies
CCCt ²¹⁵	AH 032; AH 081	<i>bnt</i>	daughters
CChC	JSLih 177	<i>mnhh</i>	minah (coins)?
CC(C)w (in construct)	AH 001; JSLih 079; U 064; AH 197	<i>bnw</i>	sons of
	JSLih 079	' <i>hw-h</i>	his brothers

²¹³ Michael Macdonald (2008, 194) noted the distinction between *-n* in unbound and *-y* in bound forms, but was reluctant to see this as a general rule due to the limited amount of attestations at the time. I have found 19 examples of duals, 10 of which are in unbound position and have a suffix *-n* (AH 217; 216; 287; 197; JSLih 044; 045; 061; 082; Graf 1983 no. 2); 9 are in bound position and have a suffix *-y* (AH 200; 226; 241; 288; JSLih 072; 075; 077; 272; JaL 001).

²¹⁴ Note that the two examples of this plural form in the Dadanitic corpus are attested in two inscriptions that were written on a rock face right next to each other.

²¹⁵ If the interpretation of *s'lt* as ‘coins’ is correct (translation OCIANA) (JSLih177; Al-Ḥuraybah 09; JaL 001 (uncertain, broken context)), this would be another example of a *-t* plural.

6.2.5 Suffixes

6.2.5.1 Bound forms

6.2.5.1.1 -y

There are several bound forms with a suffix -y. While these forms are generally interpreted as dual forms, they could also be oblique plural forms (compare CAr. genitive unbound *muslimīna* ~ bound *muslimī* ‘the muslims of...’). In some cases a dual interpretation can be based on context (e.g. AH 200), but this is not always the case (e.g. JSLih 077).

AH 200 *mr`lh/w tmlh//bny/mṭr/bnyw//l-dḡbt*
‘*mr`lh* and *tmlh* **sons (du.)** of *mṭr* built for *dḡbt*’

JSLih 077 *wl/ḥmm/b-bt-h ṣ{l}m/wl/sʿlmm//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/ḥmm*
‘and verily he offered at his temple a statue and he has offered peace offerings (?) **on the walls of (a?) cave/tomb**’²¹⁶

Note that there is quite some variation in Dadanic regarding the use of the dual, and there is one inscription (JSLih 079) in which a plural form of ‘sons’ *bnw* follows two personal names (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation).

JSLih 079 *mrrh/w ḥṭrh/bnw//nṭr/`ḥḍw/h-qb//r/dh*
‘*mrrh* and *ḥṭrh* sons of *nṭr* took possession of this tomb’

6.2.5.1.2 Case

It seems that the oblique ending -y was levelled for all cases in most inscriptions (see § 6.2.7 Case). In AH 200 *bny* stands in construct with the following personal name, but it is the subject of the verb *bnyw* ‘they built’.²¹⁷

AH 200 *mr`lh/w tmlh//bny/mṭr/bnyw//l-dḡbt*
‘*mr`lh* and *tmlh* (the) **two sons** of *mṭr* built (pl.) for *dḡbt*’

The same suffix is used on nouns that are in the genitive case, as expected, for example following a preposition.

JSLih 077 *wl/ḥmm/b-bt-h ṣ{l}m/wl/sʿlmm//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/ḥmm*²¹⁸
‘and verily he offered at his temple a statue and he has offered peace offerings (?) **on the walls of (a?) cave/tomb**’²¹⁹

JSLih 075 *‘qrb/bn/mr`lh/h-ṣ//n/`d-ḡlh/`t/’//b`lf/b-ḥqwy/k//fr*
‘*qrb* son of *mr`lhn* the artisan of the lineage of *ḡlh* protected *b`lf* on **(two?) walls** of the cave/tomb’

There are no examples of dual nouns or plural nouns in the accusative case.

²¹⁶ J. Lundberg proposed to interpret this section as a chiasmic structure during one of the reading sessions at the LeiCenSAA.

²¹⁷ Macdonald compares this to the situation that can also be found in the early Arabic papyri and in the modern dialects where the dual suffix on nouns is always -*ēn* regardless of its grammatical case (Macdonald 2008, 194).

²¹⁸ Note the opposition between independent *sʿlmm* and *ḥqwy* in construct with the following noun.

²¹⁹ J. Lundberg proposed to interpret this section as a chiasmic structure during one of the reading sessions at the LeiCenSAA.

6.2.5.1.2.1 -h

There is one example of what seems to be a dual in the nominative case with a suffix *-h* /-ā/, which suggests that at least in the grammar of this inscription, the difference between the nominative and oblique dual endings was maintained.

Nasif 1988: *d/ms'yh/w bd/bnh/tm`l//`zlw/h-zll*²²⁰
99, pl. CLVIII ‘*d ms'yh* and *bd* **two sons** of *tm`l*, they performed the *zll* ceremony’

6.2.5.1.2.2 -w

The difference between bound and unbound duals suggests that we might find a similar pattern in the plural. There are not many examples of sound plurals, however, and only one clear example of a plural noun in construct position with a vocalic plural suffix (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 66).

JSLih 079 *mrrh/w htrh/bnw//ntr/`hdw/h-qb//r/dh/hm/w`hw-hm*²²¹
 ‘*mrrh* and *htrh* **sons (pl.)** of *ntr* took possession of this grave, they and their brothers’

We do not have any examples of *bn* in unbound position to contrast the form with, making it difficult to make any generalizations based on only this example.

6.2.5.1.3 -t

There are two possible examples of a feminine *-t* suffix, probably /-āt/ in the word *bnt* ‘daughters’ /banāt/. While this form is orthographically indistinguishable from its singular counterpart, the plural meaning is suggested by its context, although an interpretation in which only the patronym of one of the two people mentioned at the beginning of the inscription is given is not impossible in AH 302.

AH 032 *ydn w dwd/bnt/zd// gmhn/`zlw/zl[l] h-nq//b-khl*
 ‘*ydn* and *dwd* daughters of *zd gmhn* performed the *zll* of the *nq* at *khl*’

AH 081 *`ydh/w`mth{n}`ktb/bnt/qn//y/w`m-hm/s²n`h/w b`lhzd/nm----//h/w bn[t]-*
h/`mtyt`n/`zlw/b- kh//l/zll/h-nq/l-dgbt
 ‘*ydh* and *`mth{n}`ktb* daughters of *qny* and their mother *s²n`h* and *b`lhzd nm----*
//h and his daughter *`mtyt`n* performed the *zll* of the *nq* at *khl* for *dgbt*’

6.2.5.2 Unbound forms

6.2.5.2.1 -n

While it is clear in some cases whether a suffix *-n* represents a dual or a plural suffix, there are others in which the distinction is ambiguous. If the only difference between dual and plural outside of construct chains was the vowel (e.g. pl. /ūn/ vs. du. /ān/). This would not have been represented in Dadanitic orthography. For example in AH 197, *ymn* is clearly a dual, both from form and context, since the plural *`ym* (e.g. JSLih 068) is also attested. Moreover, the number of days mentioned in the dating formula is always specific.

²²⁰ The function of the *d* at the beginning of the inscription is not entirely clear. There are several other inscriptions that start with such an isolated *d* (about 13 (e.g. AH 147; AH 142; JSLih 284), and 3 that only consist of the letter *d* (JaL 014 b; JaL 124; JaL 142)). Some of these inscriptions (AH 147; JSLih 297; 284) both start and end with an isolated *d*, which suggests that they had a non-linguistic function. Macdonald suggests they may be apotropaic signs, possibly a reference to the deity Dūgābat (Macdonald 2008, 200). If the *d* does have a grammatical function here, *bnh* would be expected to have the genitive case instead of the nominative.

²²¹ *`hw-hm* should probably be interpreted as a broken plural /`aḥawā/ see § 4.2.2 Final -w.

AH 197 *s'nt/'s²r/wtlt/13ymn/hlf/t'n/d/----*
l' } } {b} / [t] lmy / bn / [l] d {n} / ml {k} / {l} {h} yn
 'year thirteen 13 two days after the t'n of.....l' b tlmy son of ldn king of Lihyān'

JSLih 068 *ilt/'ym/qbl/'r'y/s¹lhn*
 'three days before the r'y of s¹lhn'

Other examples are less clear:

U 034 *'zll/h-zlln*
 He performed the **(two) zll ceremonies**'

JSLih 061 *'dq/l-l/h/{h}-šlmn*
 'he dedicated to Lh **the two statues**'

In U 034 *zlln* should most likely be interpreted as a dual, since we have attestations of a broken plural form *'zlt* (U 050; U 032), but this does not obviously follow from the context in this case. The same goes for *šlmn*: since the broken plural form *'šlm* (JSLih 063) is also attested (once), *šlmn* is probably a dual. However, it may also be interpreted as a diminutive form 'the small statue, or statuette'.

The form *mṭbrn* in JSLih 045 is also ambiguous. It was re-used and not found in its original context, therefore there is no archaeological context that could inform us further about the structure mentioned in the inscription (OCIANA record).²²²

JSLih 045 *bny/h-//kfr/l-h/w l-wrṭ-h/h-kfr/dh/kll-h//w 'hd/h-mṭbrn*
 'he built the tomb for him and his heir, all of this tomb, and he took possession of the **(two?) grave-chambers**'

6.2.6 State

6.2.6.1 Definite article

A definite article marks substantives as definite. Dadanitic has a definite article *hn-* in which the *-n-* generally assimilates to the following consonants, except before gutturals ' and ' .²²³

AH 032 *ydn w dmd/bnt/zd//ggḥn/'zlw/zl[l] h-nq//b-khl*
 'ydn and dmd daughter of zdggḥn performed the *zll* of **the nq** at *khl*'

U 058 *'yd/bn/yd' // 'zll/h-zll//{b-}khl*
 'yd/bn/yd' performed **the zll** at *khl*

JSLih 054 *h-mqdr/w hn-'nk/----*
 'the measure/decreed item and the 'nk'

Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: *----/h-mqdr/hn-'kbr*
26–36, no. 3 (line 3) 'the biggest decreed object'

²²² Accessed 10–3–2017 http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0037791.html, now available at <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>

²²³ See also (Sima 1999, 118; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65; Macdonald 2008, 208–9) who all comment on the variation between *h-* and *hn-* forms in Dadanitic.

Al-Sa'īd 1420/2000: wasm *zddġbt //hn- 'fkl*
3–14, no. 1 'zddġbt the priest'

6.2.6.1.1 Variation of the definite article

There is one example in which the definite article does not assimilate to a following *q* (Sima 1999, 118; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65; Macdonald 2008, 208–9). Note, however, that the definite article is followed by a line break, which may have influenced its lack of assimilation,²²⁴ it is also possible that the end of the line is missing and *hn-* was followed by something else than *qbr* (Macdonald 2000, n. 94). In Safaitic there are examples in which the unassimilated definite article occurs before *h* (*hn-hwly* 'the Ḥwlyte' LP 87).²²⁵ In Dadanitic there are no clear examples of any nouns with an initial *h* preceded by the definite article.

JSLih 081 *l-ntnb 'l //bn/wny/hn//qbr/dh*
'this grave belongs to *ntnb* 'l'

Generally the definite article does assimilate to following *q*:

JSLih 312 *s²kr/bn //hs²s²/h-qbr//dh/*
'this grave belongs to *s²kr* son of *hs²s²*'

JSLih 064 *h-qrt*
'the village'

There are several attestations of other forms of the definite article. There might be an attestation of a *hl-* definite article.

JaL 021f *f'ln bn 'l 'h_d hl-btt*
'*f'ln* son of 'l took this section (of the rock?)'

Note that *hl-* seems to have a stronger demonstrative force in this inscription than the definite article in other inscriptions.

There are several attestations of what seems to be an assimilated 'l- definite article (D. H. Müller 1889, 14; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65).

JSLih 276 *f 'rr/dġbt/ 'rr/'-s¹fr/dh*
'so may *dġbt* dishonor whoever dishonors this inscription'

AH 119 *'zlt 'zll dh*
'she performed this *zll* ceremony'

Compare also:

AH 074 *'m/bnt/bs² 'zlt 'zll*
'*m* daughter of *bs²* performed the *zll* ceremony'

AH 138 *'gw 'zll l-dġbt*
'he performed the *zll* ceremony for *dġbt*'²²⁶

²²⁴ Ahmad Al-Jallad pc.

²²⁵ For a discussion of the *hn*-article in Safaitic see Al-Jallad (2015, 76).

²²⁶ The form 'zll in AH 074 and 138 is often interpreted as a broken plural (Sima 1999, 40 and 46), but when compared to the other examples of 'zll and the standard formula, in which the *zll* ceremony that is mentioned as a nominal form is

JSLih 065

*ḥtl/bn/dmn//ḥd/ḥsfht*²²⁷
'ḥtl son of dmn took possession of the rockface'

U 115

*'gw//w /' - ḥll/ - dḡbt*²²⁸
'they dedicated the ḥll ceremony to dḡbt'

So far there is one example of the unassimilated 'l- article, preceding a '.

Ġabal Al-Ḥuraymāt 4

'l- 's'd
'the lion'

6.2.6.1.2 Personal names

Several different forms of the definite article can be found in the Dadanitic onomasticon, these most likely reflect the usage of the definite article of their source language.

JaL 052 c

hlhyt possibly a *hl-* definite article

AH 197

hn 'h- 'zy assimilated definite article before guttural

JSLih 344

h- 'ws't unclear whether it represents /aws'tat/ or /uways'tat/

6.2.7 Case

So far there may be one attestation of differentiation in the dual between the nominative *-h* (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII) and oblique case *-y* (compare AH 200 and JSLih 077), but this seems to be an exception. Generally the ending *-y* is levelled for all bound forms of the dual (see § 6.2.5.1 Bound forms).

6.2.7.1 Indefinite accusative

Since Dadanitic represented *-ā* with a *mater lectionis -h* (see § 4.2.1 Final *-h*), a pausal indefinite accusative *-ā* would be visible in the orthography. Unfortunately the environment in which such a form would be expected is rare in the inscriptions. JSLih 077 might be such an example, but only if we interpret the *h* as the enclitic pronoun and not as the definite article. If *šlm* is indeed an indefinite noun, it seems that Dadanitic did not have a pausal indefinite accusative *-ā*.

JSLih 077

ḥmm/b-bt-h š{l}m
'he dedicated a statue at his temple'

6.3 Noun formation

6.3.1 Prefix *m-*

6.3.1.1 Nouns of place

The prefix *m-* can be used to form nouns of place as in other Semitic languages. The maCCaC patter can be augmented with a suffix *-t*, which seems to be lexically determined.

always definite, this should probably also be read as a form with an assimilated '(l)- definite article. A clear example of a broken plural form of *ḥll* is attested in U 050 and U 032 *ḥll 'zlt* 'three *ḥll* ceremonies' (see § 6.2.4 Pattern replacement).

²²⁷ Compare JSLih 066 *h-sfht dh* 'he took this (section of) cliff'.

²²⁸ In the transcription in OCIANA there is no word divider following the last *w* of the plural verb *'gww*, but it is visible in the photograph.

6.3.1.2 Instrumental nouns

There seems to be one example of the use of *m-* to form an instrumental noun: *mgmrt* ‘incense burner’, compare: CAr. *mijmarah* ‘a vessel for fumigation, a vessel in which live coals are put with incense’ (*Lane*, 454 ab).

6.3.1.2.1 I-weak roots

The first radical of initial *w-* and *y-* roots is not represented orthographically. It is unclear whether the first syllable contained a diphthong or a vowel, as both would not be represented in this position in the Dadanitic script (see parap. 4.5 Diphthongs).

6.3.1.2.2 II-weak roots

The second radical of middle weak verbs is not represented orthographically and was probably realized as a long vowel maCv̄C.

6.3.1.2.3 III-weak roots

The final radical of final weak roots is represented. It is not clear, however, whether the final glide represents a consonant or a vowel (see § 4.2.2 Final *-w* and 4.2.3 Final *-y*).

Table 41 Noun formation

maCCvC	<i>mqbr</i> (JSLih 306)	tomb, burial place	√QBR ‘to bury’
	<i>mq’d</i> (JSLih 072; JaL 161)	sitting place, throne	√Q‘D ‘to sit down’
	<i>mrbd</i> (AH 073)	meadow	√RBD ‘to grant grazing rights’
	<i>mqdr</i>	decreed object	√QDR ‘He (God) distributed, divided; appointed (as though by measure)’
ma(C)CvC (I-weak)	<i>mm’</i> (JSLih 070)	oath	√WM’ ‘to swear’ (Aram.)
	<i>mtb</i> (Al-Ḥuraybah 12; JSLih 055)	sitting place, throne	√WTB ‘to sit, to sit down’
maCv̄C (II-weak)	<i>mkn</i> (JSLih 072)	place	√KWN ‘to be’
maCCvC (III-weak)	<i>mḥrw</i> (Al-Ḥuraybah 06; AH 209)	incense burner	√ḤRW ‘to burn (with anger)’
	<i>mḥry</i> (AH 288)		
maCCvCt	<i>mgmrt</i> (Private collection 2)	incense burner	√GMR CAr. <i>jamrah</i> ‘live or burning coal’

6.3.2 Elative

The masculine form of the elative is formed with the 'vCCvC pattern.²²⁹

<i>h-mqdr/hn-`kbr</i> (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3: 2)	the biggest	√KBR 'to be or become big'
<i>h-gbl/hn-`ly</i> (JSLih 072: 6)	the upper border	√'LY 'to be or become high'
<i>h-gbl hn-`s'fl</i> (JSLih 072:7)	the lower border	√S'FL 'to be or become low'

6.3.2.1 Theophoric names

This pattern is also attested in the theophoric name *hn-`ktb*, which is attested once in reference to a deity, but most commonly occurs as the theophoric element in personal names.

JSLih 037 ----{t}----//h-mh//r w l-//{h}n`ktb/f//rdy-hmy//----
'... the incense burner to {*hn`ktb*} so may he favor them both'

zdh n`ktb (JSLih 078; JSLih 358)

grmhn`ktb (JSLih 290)

`mthn`ktb (AH 078; AH 081)

The feminine form of the element CvCCy is only attested in the female form of this theonym *h-ktby*.

JSLih 055 ----y wkl/h{g}s'n/'fkl/hktby
'... *wkl hgs'n* priest of *hktby*'

6.3.3 Suffix -n

The usage of a suffix *-n* for nominal derivation seems to be lexically determined.

Table 42 nouns with -n

<i>bnyn</i> (Al-Sa'īd 1420/2000: 15–26, no. 2)	building	√BNY 'to build'
<i>s'lmn</i> (JSLih 073; 077)	security(?)	√S'LM 'to be or become safe'

6.3.4 Suffix -t

The suffix *-t* can be used to form abstract nouns and singulatives²³⁰ and to form verbal nouns. In some examples its usage seems lexically determined.

Table 43 Independent lexical items

<i>mtlt</i> (JSLih 049; Al-Ḥuraybah 14)	substitute
<i>s²'t</i> (AH 227; JSLih 072; JaL 161a; AH 198)	party, group

²²⁹ In addition to these examples there is one inscription containing the form *hn-`lm* 'the brightest' (Qaṣr al-Šāni' 6) *PN hn-`lm //PN hn-`lm*. It is unclear, however, whether this should be interpreted as a title or a personal name.

²³⁰ U 013 *'zlt hzlt* may be interpreted as a singulative 'she performed the (one) *zll* ceremony', but other interpretations are also possible. It could be dittography, or may have been intended as a broken plural *'zlt*, with omission of the ' (see § 4.6.11 Loss of intervocalic ').

Table 44 Abstract nouns

<i>ḥrt</i> (e.g. U 058; AH 100)	posterity
<i>brʾt</i> (JSLih 057)	health?
<i>brḥt</i> (JSLih 041)	honor?
<i>sʾrqt</i> (Al-Ḥuraybah 17)	theft, stolen goods
<i>sʾhdt</i> (JSLih 052)	witness?

Table 45 Singulative

<i>qdsʾt</i> (JSLih 063)	sacred offering
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Table 46 Verbal noun

<i>ḥgt</i> (AH 206; AH 226; AH 239; AH 219)	pilgrimage
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6.3.5 Gentilic suffix -y

Gentilic adjectives can be formed by adding a suffix *-y*. There are no attestations of feminine forms.²³¹

AH 334	<i>zd h-ḥmrny</i>	‘ <i>zd</i> the <i>ḥrmn</i> -ite’
AH 325	<i>msʾkt h-ṯm//dy nṯr</i>	‘ <i>msʾkt</i> the Thamudite guarded’

6.4 Demonstrative pronoun

Dadanitic has a *d*-based demonstrative; masculine *ḏh* and feminine *ḏt*. The demonstrative always occurs post nominally.

6.4.1 Masculine

U 038	<i>h-zll/ḏh</i>	‘this <i>zll</i> ceremony’
AH 213	<i>h-sʾfr/ḏh</i>	‘this inscription’
JSLih 072	<i>h-mq d/ḏh</i>	‘the seat/throne’

Note that the inscriptions with a ʾ - definite article use the same demonstrative.

JSLih 276	<i>f ʾrr/ḏḡbt/ ʾrr/ʾsfr/ḏh</i>	‘so may <i>ḏḡbt</i> dishonor whoever dishonors this inscription’
AH 119	<i>ʾzlt ʾzll ḏh</i>	‘she performed this <i>zll</i> ceremony’

6.4.1.1 Variation

Farès-Drappeau (2005, 66) notes that *d* can also function as a demonstrative, based on JSLih 071 *hl-mfl d//* (which she read as *hl-gbl d*) (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 162) and JSLih 306 *ḥd h-mqbr d* ‘he took

²³¹ See § 4.2.3.2 Gentilic suffix *-y* for a discussion on the relevance of gentilic *-y* for the possible interpretation of *-y* as a *mater lectionis* for *-ī*.

this tomb' (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 183). The reading of JSLih 071 is quite uncertain, the *d* is the last letter of the line, and it is unclear on the photograph of the squeeze whether anything followed. JSLih 306 is indeed clearly missing the *h* on the demonstrative. This seems to be our only clear example, however, and only a copy is available of the inscription.²³²

There are two inscriptions that might contain a demonstrative with a deictic particle *h-* prefixed, similar to the possible dual/plural form attested in JSLih 082 (see § 6.4.3 Plural demonstrative below). Both inscriptions seem to be incomplete, however, making it difficult to say anything about the agreement of these forms (whether they are singular or plural, masculine or feminine).

JSLih 083 *gs²ms¹ ----//mn/h \underline{d} h ----//'* *bhm/hrh \underline{d} gbt*
 'gs²ms¹... {from those}...their father *hrh \underline{d} gbt*'

The word might be incomplete, since the end of the line before it and of this line are both missing. It is impossible to tell what it would refer to.

Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17 *{h}{ \underline{d} }/l- \underline{d} //gbt/f//r \underline{d} y-h//w ----// [----]*
 '{this} for *\underline{d} gbt* may he favor him and....'

Grimme (1937, 303) mentions that it is difficult to tell whether the top of the inscription is complete. This is also suggested by Müller's translation, which starts with dots (D. H. Müller 1889, 69), however, none of the previous editors seem to take the possibility that this may influence the interpretation seriously. On the photograph, however, there seems to be more inscribed above the first fully visible line. This makes the reading of what is now taken as the first line of the inscription even more uncertain, since it is impossible to tell whether it is a continuation of a word in the line above it.

If these forms should be interpreted as demonstrative pronouns, it seems that demonstratives could be modified by a deictic particle *h-* when they were used predicatively.²³³

6.4.2 Feminine

JSLih 066 *h- \underline{s} fh \underline{t} \underline{d} t*
 'this cliff'

JSLih 313 *h- \underline{t} rt \underline{d} t*
 'this mountain'

6.4.3 Plural demonstrative

There may be one inscription in which a demonstrative refers back to a dual noun (Winnett and Reed 1970, 125; Jamme 1974, 108–9). It is unclear, however, whether *šlmn* should be interpreted as a dual or a diminutive form.

JSLih 082 *h- $\{ \underline{s} \}$* *lmn/h \underline{d} h//[n]*
 'these two statues/ this statuette'

Farès-Drappeau refuses to identify this form because the inscription is too damaged to verify the reading according to her (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66). While she is right that the reading of the *n* on the

²³² In addition to this she also posits the use of the "Aramaic demonstrative *d*" (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66) in Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17. While the photograph is not very clear and the inscription seems somewhat damaged, the first two visible letters in the photograph seem to read *hd* and clearly not *d*'.

²³³ Compare CAR. masc. S/PL *hāda/hā'ulā'i*; fem S/PL *hādihī/hā'ulā'i*, which uses a suppletive stem to form the plural, but consistently forms its demonstratives with a prefix *h-*.

second line cannot be verified from the photograph and barely from the copy, from the shape of the rock it seems that there was no space for more than one letter before the word divider and the following word on the second line. This makes it fairly certain that this form should be interpreted as a demonstrative and not as the beginning of a longer phrase or word that is not lost.

If this reading is correct, this would be an example of the attributive use of the demonstrative with the deictic *h-* prefix.

6.5 Relative pronoun

The relative pronoun distinguishes masculine *d* and feminine *dt*. When the masculine form is used as a relative, it is prefixed to the noun it modifies. The most common usage of the relative pronoun is to indicate lineage affiliation. There are no attestations of plural forms of the relative pronoun.

6.5.1 *d*V

6.5.1.1 Masculine

The lineage affiliations of men are indicated using *d*.

AH 001 *bn[w]d/w whb`m/w` //wd/w lb`n/bnw //s`d`l/d yf`n*
 ‘*bn[w]d* and *whb`m* and ‘*wd* and *lb`n* sons of *s`d`l* of the lineage of *yf`n*’

AH 157 *w`l //zdħmm/d bs`n*
 ‘*w`l zdħmm* of the family of *bs`n*’

The relative *d* is also commonly found in the phrase *d-kn l-h* ‘that which was his’ (‘that which belonged to him’) (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66).²³⁴

U 050 *s`my/bn/tlġl//`zll/l-dġbt/tl//tt`zlt/`ly-/{d-}kn/{l-}h/b-bdr*
 ‘*s`my* son of *tlġl* performed three *zll* ceremonies for *dġbt* on behalf of **that which was his** at *bdr*’

U 108 *{b}rd/s`lm//dġbt/`z//ll/l-dġbt//b-khl/b`d//d- kn/l-h/b-y// r*
 ‘*brd s`lmdġbt* performed the *zll* for *dġbt* at *khl* in behalf of **that which was his** at *yr*’

AH 142 ‘*zll// l/l-dġbt/b-khl/b`d d//l-h/b-bdr/*
 ‘he performed the *zll* for *dġbt* at *khl* on behalf of **that which is his** at *bdr*’

6.5.1.2 Feminine

The feminine relative pronoun *dt* is attested once to mark the lineage affiliation of a woman. The feminine relative *dt* is formally indistinguishable from the feminine demonstrative.

U 126 ‘*ydh/dt/šd/`gt//l-dġbt/h-zll*
 ‘*ydh* of the lineage of *šd* dedicated to *dġbt* the *zll*’

There are also several inscriptions in which a woman’s name is followed by *d* and a lineage affiliation (e.g. U 006; 068; 112).²³⁵ In these cases it seems likely that the lineage affiliation given is that of the father.

²³⁴ There are several common alternatives to this phrase: *m kn l-h* ‘that which was his’ (e.g. U 059, AH 125); *ml/kn/l-h* ‘the property that was his’ (e.g. AH 120) or (*b`d/`ly*) *ml-h* ‘on behalf of his property’ (e.g. U 071; U 048; U 036). Note that all expressions with *ml* ‘property’ occur in the al-‘Udayb area.

²³⁵ I would like to thank Michael Macdonald for pointing out these examples to me.

U 006 (1-3) *mr'h/bnt/wd'lh//d-wtmt/'zlt/h- zll/l/l- dgbt*
 'mr'h/bnt/wd'lh of the lineage of *wtmt* performed (fem.) the *zll* ceremony for *dgbt*'

6.5.1.3 Variation

There is one inscription in which the relative *'lt* occurs (compare CAR. *allatī*) in JSLih 384 (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 67).

JSLih 384 *nfs¹/'bds'mn/bn//zdhrg/'lt/bnh//s¹lmh/bnt/{'}s¹//rs²n/*
 'funerary monument of *'bds'mn* son of *zdhrg* which *s¹lmh* daughter of *{'}s¹'rs²n* built'

This short inscription seems to be linguistically different from the other Dadanitic inscriptions on several points, however (see § 5.1.2 3FS), and should probably be considered to be an Arabic inscription in Dadanitic script (Macdonald 2000, 49).²³⁶

6.6 *hmq*

The anaphoric pronoun *hmq* is most commonly used in the phrase *hmq ndr* 'that which he vowed'. It seems to be a compound with the relative *d* and may be compared to Ugaritic *hnd*,²³⁷ which has been suggested to be a compound of the particles **/han + na + dū/* 'this' (Pardee 2011, 464). Sima (1999, 115) proposed to parse it as deictic element *h-* + particle *-m-* + relative *-d*. Jaussen and Savignac (1909, 436–37) compare *hmq* to CAR. *hamma alladī* 'this intention, design' and the CAR. construction *hasba mā* 'according to'.

AH 244 *'zllw/h-zll/b-//h-mšd/l-dgbt/hm-d/ndr/hnf']//s¹/*
 'they dedicated the *zll* ceremony at the temple to *dgbt* **which *hn*'s¹ vowed**'

AH 013 *'//zlt/h-zll/l-dgbt/b-k//hl/hm-d/ndrt*
 'she dedicated the *zll* to *dgbt* at *khl* **which she vowed**'

6.7 *mh*

The indefinite pronoun *mh* is only attested as a relative. When it appears independently it is written with *-h*, but in proclitic position the *h* is not represented (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 67) (see § 4.2.1 Final *-h* for the implications this has for its pronunciation).

JSLih 064 *b'ls'mn/'hrm/h-qrt//mn/mh/trq-h/mr't//l-bhny/hn-'fkl//d*
 'b'ls'mn protected the village from what [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it *d*'²³⁸

JSLih 077 *whblh/bn/zdqny/w lmy/bn//nfyh/wdyw/nfs¹/mr/bn/hwt/m{h}//h¹d/'l-hmy/hrg*
 'whblh son of *zdaqny* and *lmy* son of *nfyh* set up the funerary monument of *mr* son of *hwt* according to **that which** he took upon them by lawsuit'²³⁹

²³⁶ Müller (1982, 32–33) already classified this inscription as Old Arabic, based on the form of the relative pronoun. He considered the verb to reflect the 3rd person singular masculine form, however, with the final *-h* reflecting *-ā*, after the collapse of the final triphthong (followed by Macdonald 2000, 50).

²³⁷ This connection was suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad in his 2015 talk 'more reflections on the linguistic map of Ancient Arabia' in Helsinki. Slides are available on academia.edu.

²³⁸ This inscription was translated during a reading session at the LeiCenSAA. Hekmat Dirbas first suggested the meaning 'to conjure a protective spell' from the root *rqy*.

²³⁹ This translation was made during a reading session at the Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia.

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 ----{m}n/s¹rq/f-³n/yṣbr/b-mh/s¹r[q]---- //
 ‘and if he is caught **with what** he stole’

U 059 ³ly/m-kn/l-h
 ‘on behalf of **that which** was his’

6.8 mn

The indefinite relative *mn* occurs most frequently in curse formulae and once in an inscription that seems to be a legal text, but which is heavily damaged.

AH 289 f-mn y³rrh//y³rh n³m//ḏḡbt/w-ṭhln
 ‘and may **whoever** mistreats it be stripped of property, *ḏḡbt* and *ṭhln*’

Müller, D.H. 1889: 78, no. 29 [----]//[m][l]k/lhyn/f-³rr/h----//‘{ }mn/³rr/h- kfr/ḏh
 ‘king of Liḥyān so may he dishonor... **the one who** mistreats this tomb’

JSTham 251.3 {w-}mn y³rr³ ḏḡbt ṭ{h}{l}r
 ‘**whoever** mistreats [it] may ḏḡbt disgrace [him] ???’

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 [----]//f/mn----//----l-ddn/l-³bd/----//----rs/mn/srqt/³ym----//----{m}n/srq/f-
³n/yṣbr/b-mh/sr[q]----//----{d}n/thḏ-h/kl-h/f ḥtm ----//----hsrqt/yṭb/h-s¹rq/³w/y --
 --//----bh
 ‘.....to/for Dadān forever.....from theft days.....**who stole(?)** and if he is caught with what he {stole}.....if all of it broke (the stolen things) then beat him(?) ...the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief or ...’

6.9 Personal pronouns

Most of the personal pronouns that are attested in Dadanitic are in the enclitic form. Not all forms of the independent pronouns have been attested in the Dadanitic inscriptions.

6.9.1 Independent personal pronouns

Only the first person singular ³n, third person singular and plural masculine h³ and hm, respectively, are attested.²⁴⁰

Table 47 personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	³ n	NA
2	NA	NA
3	h ³	hm

JSLih 347 lbbt/hbb //w³n/n³mn/bn/mn³m
 ‘lbbt hbb and I am n³mn son of mn³m’²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ The existence of the first person singular and the third person masculine plural personal pronouns has already been noted (e.g. Macdonald 2008, 197; Farès-Drapeau 2005, 68).

²⁴¹ These may be two separate inscriptions.

Ğabal Itlib 06 *ʿn/m ʿt // ʿs²r s^l{t}*
 ‘I am *m ʿt* companion/kinsman of *s^l{t}*’

JaL 166e *ʿn rfs^l ʿl*
 ‘I am *rfs^l ʿl*’

If JSLih 347 should indeed be read as two separate inscriptions, it seems that all examples of *ʿn* can be interpreted as a kind of introductory particle, announcing the start of the inscription.²⁴² This is very different from the rest of the Dadanic inscriptions which generally do not have any introductory particle.

There are two inscriptions which use third person singular masculine independent personal pronoun anaphorically: AH 288 (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66) and JSLih 078 (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 67–68).²⁴³

AH 288 *w ʿl ʿbd/s^lrmr ʿh ʿnšb/----//h/[l-] ʿtrğth/qbl ʿns^l/----//blhh/w hwdq/l-h/h-mħry----*
//ħgr/f rdyt-h/w ʿħrt-h ----// ʿrr/dğbt/w h ʿ ʿħrt ----// ʿrr-h
 ‘*w ʿl*, servant of *s^lrmr*’, **he** set up the cult stone... [for] Atargatis before PN ...and he offered to her the incense burner... to *ħgr* so may she favor him and his posterity... may *dğbt* dishonor and his posterity [too]...[who] mistreats it ²⁴⁴

JSLih 078 *zdhn ʿktb //wd ʿbny/b//r ʿh-mtbr/ ʿ//l-h/h ʿ*
 ‘*zdhn ʿktb wd ʿ* built the facade of the grave chamber and it is **his**’²⁴⁵

6.9.2 Clitic pronouns

Due to the composition of the inscriptions the only attested enclitic pronouns are 3rd person forms. Orthographically there is no difference between the 3SF and 3SM forms. There is one inscription with two women as its dedicants (AH 032), but this does not contain an enclitic pronoun and the verb has the regular plural suffix *-w*. Since the difference between masculine and feminine enclitic pronouns is not made in the orthography in the singular and not attested for the other forms, it will not be represented in the table below.

Table 48 Clitic pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	NA	NA	NA
2	NA	NA	NA
3	<i>-h</i>	<i>-hmy</i>	<i>-hm</i>

²⁴² Compare the use of *ʿn* at the beginning of two Taymanitic inscriptions Esk 169 and 177.

²⁴³ Note that this usage of the personal pronouns is not productive anymore in Arabic (Al-Jallad 2015, 12).

²⁴⁴ This translation is largely following the translation proposed by Hidalgo-Chacón Díez (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 61), except for the plural interpretation of the word *mħry*, which I would consider a singular (see Appendix - Glossary), and the reading of the first word of the third line.

²⁴⁵ This inscription was read during one of the reading sessions in the Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia. Johan Lundberg suggested comparing *br ʿ*, to OffAr *br ʿ* ‘outside’ (CAL, accessed 13–3–2017) which led to the translation ‘façade’.

6.9.2.1 -hmy

The dual enclitic personal pronoun *-hmy* should probably be vocalized as /humay/ or /humē/ in analogy with the bound dual suffix *-y* which seems to have been levelled to all cases in most inscriptions (see § 6.2.5.1 Bound forms).

6.9.2.2 Function

Clitic pronouns can be used to both indicate possession on nouns, and direct or indirect objects on verbs and prepositions.

U 037 *ʿrs²/bn//zdlh/w//bn-h/gffh*
‘*rs²* son of *zdlh* and **his** son *gffh*’

JSlih 072 *ʿhdw/h-mkn//w-h-mqʿd/dh/kll-h*
‘they took the place and this sitting place, all of **it**²⁴⁶’

U 056 *ʿmtb ʿsʿmn bnt//---hyt ʿzllt l-//dgbt b-{k}hl bʿd//{d}tʿ-h/f rd-h*
‘*mtb ʿsʿmn* daughter of ... *hyt* performed the *zll* for *dgbt* at *khl* on behalf of **her** crops of the season of the later rains so may he favor **her**’

U 050 *sʿmy/bn/tlgl//ʿzll/l-dgbt/tl//tt/ʿzlt/ʿly-/{d-}kn//{l-}h/b-bdr/f r{d}-h/w {sʿ} //d-h*
‘*sʿmy* son of *tlgl* performed three *zll* ceremonies for *dgbt* on behalf of what is **his** at *bdr* so may he favor **him** and aid **him**’

AH 001 *bn[w]d/w whb ʿm/w- ʿ//wd/w-lb ʿn/bnw//sʿ dʿl/d-yfʿn/ʿz//llw/zll/h-nq/l-//dgbt/f-rd-hm*
‘*bn[w]d* and *whb ʿm* and ʿ *wd* and *lb ʿn* sons of *sʿ dʿl* of the lineage of *yfʿn* performed the *zll* of the *nq* for *dgbt* so may he favor **them**’

AH 199 *sʿmwh/bnt/sʿmr/sʿlht/w//d/w zyd/b ʿl-h/d- yfʿn/ʿ// zllh/l-dgbt/h-zll/b-hmʿ//d/f rd-hmy/w sʿ d-hmy w---*
‘*sʿmwh* daughter of *sʿmr* priestess of Wadd and *zyd* her husband of the lineage of *yfʿn* performed (du) the *zll* ceremony for *dgbt* at the sanctuary so may he favor **them both** and aid **them both** and...’

6.9.3 Reflexive pronoun

There is one attestation of the use of the word *nfsʿ* with a suffixed personal pronoun as a reflexive pronoun.

U 021 *ʿf/bn/ʿ{y}dhʿ//zll/h-zll/ndr//b ʿd/d{t}ʿ-h/w nfsʿ//h/f rd-h/w ʿtb//h/w sʿ d-h/w ʿtb-h*
‘*f* son of *{y}dh* performed the *zll* ceremony vowed on behalf of his crops of the season of the alter rains and **himself** so may he favor him and reward him and aid him and reward him’

6.10 Prepositions

The Dadanic prepositions have received extensive treatment in an article by Johan Lundberg (2015). I generally agree with his interpretation, only *ldy* merits further discussion.

²⁴⁶ Translation following Lundberg (2015, 135).

6.10.1 *ldy*

While the interpretation of *ldy* as benefactive with the translation ‘on account of’ (Lundberg 2015, 135) works well with the rest of the inscription, its meaning in this inscription could also be related to its CAR. equivalent *laday*, *ladā* ‘with’ (*Lisān*, 4023), possibly from Aram. *l-yd* ‘under control of, next to’ (CAL, 19-2-2018).

JSLih 077 *whblh/bn/zdqny/wlmy/bn/nfyh/wdyw/nfs¹/mr/bn/hwt/m{h}/'hd/l-hmy/hrg/w h-dt'/ldy/d//t'/hmm/b-d'f'*
 ‘*whblh* son of *zdqny* and *lmy* son of *nfyh* erected the funerary monument of *mr* son of *hwt* (according to) that which was taken out on them as a loan and (which also included) the crops of the season of the later rains (**together**) **with** the decreed offering of the crops of the season of the later rains at *d'f'*’

Table 49 Attested prepositions

'ly/l	locative	on
	benefactive	for the sake of (Lundberg 2015, 125)
<i>b'd</i>	benefactive	for the sake of (Lundberg 2015, 127)
<i>l-</i>	direct object	to
	benefactive	for
	possession	of
	possible temporal duration	for/during (Lundberg 2015, 128)
<i>b-</i>	locative (both spatial and temporal)	in/at
	instrumental phrases	by
	indicating authorship	by (Lundberg 2015, 129)
<i>qbl</i>	temporal	before (Lundberg 2015, 131)
<i>hlf</i>	temporal	after (Lundberg 2015, 132)
<i>m^c</i>	comitative	with (Lundberg 2015, 132)
<i>mn</i>	origin of source or partitive	from or of
	manner	according to (Lundberg 2015, 133);
	reason	because
	adversative	from (Lundberg 2015, 134)
<i>'dky</i>	terminative	until, as far as (Lundberg 2015, 135)
<i>ldy</i>	benefactive	on account of (Lundberg 2015, 135)

6.11 Numerals

Only cardinal numbers are attested in Dadanitic. The numerals one through ten have both a masculine and a feminine form. Since there is only a very small range of nouns that occur with numerals it is difficult to say whether they conform to the Arabic system of crossed gender agreement. Based on the consistent occurrence of *ym* with numerals without the suffix *-t*, similar to Safaitic, it has been concluded that *ym* ‘day’ must be a feminine noun in Safaitic and Dadanitic (Macdonald 2008, 212).²⁴⁷

In the numerals 13-19 the ten does not seem to inflect for gender, compare *s¹nt/s¹t/s²r----* ‘year sixteen’ (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII) and *s¹tt/s²r/m//n/s¹nt/mt/l--/h* ‘sixteen [times] according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her’ (AH 064).

The numerals above ten are usually formed by placing the teen first,²⁴⁸ followed by the conjunction *w-* and the digit, which is the opposite from the order in CAR. (Caskel 1954, 71; Sima 1999, 119). The decades are formed with the masculine plural suffix *-n*, similar to Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic (Huehnergard 2005, 182–83).²⁴⁹

The numerals are generally placed before the noun they are counting. However, most of them occur with the noun *s¹nt* ‘year’ in a specific construction in which the number follows the noun *s¹nt X* ‘year X’.

Below follows a short discussion of some numerals that merit closer attention.

Table 50 Attested numerals

	Masculine	Feminine	Common
1	<i>s¹nt/ħdy</i> ‘year one’ (Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLIV; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLV; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLVI; Nasif 1988: 97, pl. CXLVII; and probably JaL 002 but in broken context) <i>ħd-hm</i> ‘one of them’ (JaL 001)		
2	<i>s¹nt/ttn</i> ‘year two’ (JSLih 045)		

²⁴⁷ Macdonald (pc.) adds to this that since *ym* is an inanimate plural it is expected it would be treated as a feminine singular form (which would agree with a numeral below ten with no suffix), this does not mean that *ym* is a feminine noun too. While this works for *ym*, the plural form *zlt* agrees with the numeral *l¹tt*.

²⁴⁸ There are two examples in which the digit precedes the teen (see § 6.11.4.2 Teen-and-digit and digit-teen notation).

²⁴⁹ Huehnergard concluded that this form of the tens is a Central Semitic innovation (Huehnergard 2005, 182–84), based on this and several other features of Dadanitic Ahmad Al-Jallad argues that Dadanitic is a sister language of Arabic rather than a direct ancestor of Proto-Arabic (Al-Jallad 2018, 21–24) (see § 1.6.3 Language).

3 *s¹nt/tlt* III²⁵⁰ ‘year three’ *tltt/’zll/t* ‘three zll ceremonies’
 (AH 239; Al-Sa‘īd (U 032)
 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3)
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l-tlt/s¹nn ‘for three
 years’ (JSLih 071)²⁵²

3 t- *tlt/’ym* ‘three days’
 base (JSLih 068)

5 *s¹nt/hms¹* ‘year five’(AH
 219; JSLih 072; JSLih
 075; AH 013)

6 *s¹nt s¹t* ‘year six’ (AH
 222)

7 *s¹b/’ym/qb//lr’y/d’s¹l’n*
 ‘seven days before the
r’y of *d’s¹l’n*’ (AH 244)

10 *s²r/’ym* ‘ten days’ (JSLih *s²rt/mnh{h}* ‘ten Minah’
 070) (JSLih 177)

12 *s¹nt//s²r/w {t}tn* ‘in year
 12’(AH 081)

13 *s¹nt/s²r/w tlt/13* ‘year
 thirteen’ (AH 197)

16 *s¹nt/s¹t/s²r ----* ‘year *s¹tt/s²r/m//n/s¹nt/mt/’l-*
 sixteen’(Nasif 1988: 99, *//h* ‘sixteen [times] according
 pl. CLVII)²⁵³ to the custom of the land
 [placed] upon her’ (AH 064)

17 */s¹nt/’{s²}/r/w s¹b[’]* ‘year
 seventeen ‘ (U 008)

19 *[s¹][n]{t}/s²r/w ts¹’*
 ‘{year} nineteen’ (Al-
 Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 3–14,
 no. 1)

²⁵⁰ The numeral is indicated by three vertical lines between two short diagonal lines placed above each other on either side.

²⁵¹ The word *tlt* ‘three’ occurs in broken context.

²⁵² The inscription is marked as Arabic language in Dadanitic script in OCIANA (accessed 4/3/17).

²⁵³ The number is transcribed as *s¹t/w s²r* in OCIANA, but the photograph shows that there is no complementizer *w-* before the ten. This was already noted by Sima (1999, 199).

20	<i>s'nt/s²rn</i> 'year twenty'(AH 063)	
22	<i>s'nt/s²rn/w ttn</i> 'year twenty two' (AH 244)	
24	<i>s'nt/s²rn/w 'r[b]['] ----</i> 'year twenty {four}' (AH 204; AH 226)	
25	<i>s'nt/s²rn/w h[m][s¹]</i> 'year twenty {five}' (AH 206)	
28	<i>/s¹//nt/s²rn/<w>tmn{y}</i> 'year twenty eight' (JSLih 068)	
29	<i>s'nt/s²r/n/w ts¹</i> 'year twenty nine'(JSLih 070; JSLih 083)	
30		<i>s'nt/tltn</i> (AHUD 1)
35	<i>s¹n[t]/tltn/w hm/s¹ 35</i> 'year thirty five 35' (JSLih 082)	
40		<i>b- 'rb n{/s¹} t-----</i> 'with forty drachmas' ²⁵⁴ (JSLih 177)
41	<i>/s'nt/'rb'n/w '<h>d// y</i> 'year forty one ' (AH 202)	
42	<i>s'nt/'r{b}// 'n/w ttn</i> 'year forty two'(Al-Ḥuraybah 10)	
45	<i>---- ['] [r] [b] ['] [n] [w]</i> <i>hms¹ 45 ----</i> '[forty] five 45' (AH 225)	
60		<i>[s¹]nt/s¹tn ----</i> 'year sixty' (Müller, D.H. 1889: 77–78, no. 28)

²⁵⁴ Translation following (Macdonald 2008, 213).

6.11.1 One

The Dadanitic numeral one has the morphological form of a feminine elative/’*vḥday/* (compare CAR. إحدى *’iḥdā*). There is one attestation where the numeral is followed by a suffixed pronoun, in which the glide is not represented.

JaL 001 *----bndw/’ḥd-hm/bs’l`t----*
 ‘... one of them with coins...’

6.11.2 Two

As already carefully discussed in Macdonald (2008), the form *ttn* ‘two’ is probably an assimilated form of **tintān*, with the regular assimilation of *n* to following consonants in Dadanitic (cf. § 4.6.1 *n*-assimilation). Note that this form does not have a prosthetic vowel (compare CAR. *tintān* and *’itnatāni*) (Macdonald 2008, 213).²⁵⁶

6.11.3 Eight

The numeral eight is only attested once in the compound number twenty eight *’s²rn/<w>tmny*²⁵⁷ (JSLih 068). If this reading is correct, this numeral underwent the sound change *t̥ > t*, similar to some forms of the numeral three (see § 6.11.4.1 Three below). In the numeral eight, however, it cannot be explained as dissimilation. While we have other isolated examples of etymological interdentalals being written with stops,²⁵⁸ this does not seem to have been common in Dadanitic. Since we only have one example of *tmny* it is impossible to tell whether this spelling is an anomaly or not.

6.11.4 Variation

6.11.4.1 Three

The numeral three is attested with two variant bases: twice as *tl̥t* (U 032; JELih 071) and once as *ilt* (JSLih 068);.²⁵⁹ The example of *tl̥t* occurs with *’ym* ‘days’, which otherwise occurs with numerals in their short form (JSLih 070; AH 244), therefore it is unlikely that the stop at the end of the word is the result of assimilation to the *-t* suffix (Macdonald 2008, 212). It might have become a stop due to

²⁵⁵ As already noted by (Macdonald 2008, 213) the first and last words of the line are almost invisible in the photograph and left off by Abū al-Ḥasan.

²⁵⁶ Macdonald also points out the form *tintēn* in modern dialects of central and eastern Arabia (Macdonald 2008, 213).

²⁵⁷ In the OCIANA database the final *y* is indicated as difficult to read. This is true on the photograph of the squeeze taken by Jaussen and Savignac (1909), but the more recent photograph of the rock provided in the database, the final *y* is clearly visible (accessed 4/7/2017)..

²⁵⁸ Possibly *ilt* for *tl̥t* (JSLih 047) (see 6.11.4 Variation, 6.11.4.1 Three below), *ntr* for *nṣr* (e.g. AH 313) and *ill* for *zll* (AH 009.1) (see § 4.6.3 *z > ṭ*).

²⁵⁹ OCIANA reads *ilt*, but the copy and the photograph both clearly show *tl̥t*.

dissimilation from the first interdental (compare Sab. s^2ms^1 and CAR. $\check{s}ams$ ‘sun’ < $*s^2ms^2$ (Kogan 2011, 193)).

$\underline{t}l\underline{t}/z\underline{l}/t$ ‘three zll ceremonies’ (U 032)

$s^1nt/\underline{t}l\underline{t}$ III²⁶⁰ ‘year three 3’ (AH 239; Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3)

$l-\underline{t}l\underline{t}/s^1nn$ ‘for three years’ (JSLih 071)

$\underline{t}l\underline{t}/ym$ ‘three days’ (JSLih 068)

Note that the glyphs for t and \underline{t} are quite similar in shape. They both have an x-shaped base. The \underline{t} is generally slightly smaller and sits on top of a vertical line $\check{\text{X}}$, while the t is simply a X . Given the similar basic shape they may be difficult to keep apart in the photographs. The t in JSLih 068 is curiously ligatured to both the l preceding it and the following word divider. Due to the angle of the photograph it is difficult to see whether there is a vertical line in the middle of the glyph, or whether it is a line that was part of the rock itself (in grey on the trace) but comparing the size of the x-shape in the \underline{t} and the last letter of the word, it seems that it should be read as a t . Jaussen and Savignac do not consider the line under discussion as part of the letter in their trace (Jaussen and Savignac 1909, pl. LXXXIV).



Figure 17 Trace of the word $\underline{t}l\underline{t}$ in JSLih 068

In addition to these forms a third form tlt has also been suggested to exist (JSLih 047) (Macdonald 2000, 212–13).

JSLih 047 [----]// m ---- nw // $\underline{t}l\underline{t}/m^{\prime}n/mn/d$ ----// $ft/b-$ ’ $rb^{\prime}n/w$ ----// $lmn/h-mr^{\prime}$ ----
‘... **three** (?) sanctuaries of/from... with forty and... the lord’²⁶¹

This form is found in a damaged text. From the photograph of the inscription, it is not quite clear whether tlt is a continuation of the last word of the previous line or not. If it is indeed a numeral ‘three’, it specifies the number of $m^{\prime}n$. This word is attested in JSLih 072 as a singular noun with the meaning ‘sanctuary’ (Lundberg 2015, n. 37). The form $m^{\prime}n$, in JSLih 047, would then have to be a broken plural. If tlt really does represent $*\underline{t}l\underline{t}$, the replacement of the interdentals with stops may be compared to the examples in which $z > t$ (see § 4.6.3 $z > t$).

²⁶⁰ See note 36.

²⁶¹ The translation largely follows OCIANA (accessed 4/7/2017), except for $^{\prime}rb^{\prime}n$. OCIANA takes this as ‘sanctuary’, probably based on the preceding preposition $b-$ which is taken as a locative. I do not see any reason to translate the form as anything different than forty, however, which occurs several times in the exact same form in the corpus (JSLih 177; AH 202; Al-Ḥuraybah 10; AH 225). The preposition should then be translated as ‘with’ or ‘by’. The following $w-$ could be followed by a digit.

6.11.4.2 Teen-and-digit and digit-teen notation

Both teen-and-digit and digit-teen forms of the numerals are attested in Dadanitic (Sima 1999, 119). The teen-and-digit forms are by far the most common, with only two examples of digit first forms (AH 064 and Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII). According to Hetzron (1977), the teen-and-digit forms are the more archaic. Even though there are only two examples of the digit-teen form in Dadanitic, in one of them it occurs in a dating formula, which is the most common environment for numerals to occur in Dadanitic.

Table 51 Occurrences of teen-and-digit and digit-teen notation

Digit-teen	Teen-and digit
12	$s^1nt//s^2r/w \{t\}tn$ ‘in year 12’(AH 081)
13	$s^1nt/s^2r/w \underline{t}t/13$ ‘year thirteen’ (AH 197)
16	$s^1tt/s^2r/m//n/s^1nt/mt/‘l-//h$ ‘sixteen [times] according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her’ (AH 064) $s^1nt/s^1t/s^2r$ --- ²⁶² - ‘year sixteen’(Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII)
17	$/s^1nt/‘s^2s^2//r/w s^1b$ ‘year seventeen ‘ (U 008)
19	$s^1][n]\{t\}/s^2r/w ts^1$ ‘{year} nineteen’ (Al-Sa‘īd 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1)
22	$s^1nt/s^2rn/w \underline{t}tn$ ‘year twenty two’ (AH 244)
24	$s^1nt/s^2rn/w ‘r[b][‘]$ ---- ‘year twenty {four}’ (AH 204; AH 226)
25	$s^1nt/s^2rn/w h[m][s^1]$ ‘year twenty {five}’ (AH 206)
28	$/\{s^1\}/nt/s^2rn/<w>tmn\{y\}$ ‘year twenty eight’ (JSLih 068)
29	$s^1nt/s^2r//n/w ts^1$ ‘year twenty nine’(JSLih 070; JSLih 083)

6.12 Adverbs

6.12.1 Locative *b-dh*

There is one attestation of the compound adverb *b-dh* ‘here’ (Macdonald 2008, 200) in a graffito.

²⁶² See note 253 for the reading of the inscription.

JSLih 279 *mrh ktb-h/b-dh*
'*mrh* wrote it here'

6.12.2 Temporal adverbs

6.12.2.1 *dm*

The interpretation of *w-dm* at the end of JSLih 306 is not entirely certain. It is the only example of this adverb, and it is taken to mean 'forever' here. Compare, CAr. *dāma* 'to persist, to continue' (Lane, 935c) and *dā'im* 'continuing, lasting, remaining, everlasting' (Lane, 937c).

JSLih 306 *brk{t}ḡt {d-}thyw//ḥd h-mqbr {d}[h] w dm*
'*brk{t}ḡt* {of the lineage of} *thyw* took possession of this tomb forever'

6.12.2.2 *hld*

The adverb *hld* occurs twice in two related inscriptions with uncertain meaning. For the meaning of *hld*, compare CAr. *ḥalada* 'he remained, stayed' (Lane, 783c).

JSLih 070: 1–4 *ḥls/zdḥrg/bn//bl/hld/s'nt/'s²r//n/w ts¹/'s²r/'ym//ḥlf/fdg/*
'*zdḥrg* son of *bl* was released forever, year twenty nine, ten days after [the setting of? the asterism] *fdg*'

JSLih 068 *ḥls¹ lṭb/b{n}//s¹d/hld/{s¹}//nt/'s²rn/<w> tmn{y}//tlt/'ym/qbl//r'y/s¹lḥn*
'*lṭb* son of *s¹d* was released for ever year twenty{eight}, three days before the rising of the asterism *slḥn*'

6.13 Particles

6.13.1 'n

Particle 'n / 'in/ can be used to introduce the protasis of a conditional clause. The phrase *f-'n* can be compared to CAr. *fa-'inna*.

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 *----[m]n/s¹rq/f-'n/yṣbr/b-mh/{s¹r}[q]---- //----{d}n/thd-h/kll-h/f-ḥtm*
'who stole **and if** he is caught with what he {stole}.....if all of it broke (the stolen things) then beat [him](?) ...'

6.13.2 Asseverative

The asseverative *wl* /*walā*/ 'verily, already' is attested twice. The asseverative *l* is found in all branches of Semitic to assert the truth or certainty of a statement. The Dadanitic form is augmented with the conjunction *w-*. In other Semitic languages, the asseverative is usually not used independently. But compare Sabaic where both proclitic and independent spellings are attested: *w-l yknn h*' (Fa 30) 'and may it be' and *w-l-yknn 'ln 's¹dn w-'nṭn* (Fa 3) 'and may these men and women be'.²⁶³

JSLih 313 *l-lbh/w z'//nh/w bnt-h/h-ṭrt//dt/wl/wrt-hm²⁶⁴*
'for *lbh* and *z'nh* and his daughter [is] this valley and verily [it is] their inheritance'

²⁶³ DASI, 8–2–2018.

²⁶⁴ OCIANA reads *ḡnṭh*, which is interpreted as a personal name, instead of *bnt-h* (accessed 13–8–2018).

JSLih 077: 6-7 *wl/hmm/b-bt-h ṣ{l}m/wl/s{l}mn//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/hmm*
 ‘and verily (or he has already) offered at his (ḏḡbt?) temple a statue and he has offered two burnt offerings (?) for security on the walls of (a?) cave’

6.13.3 Quantifier

Quantifier *kll* ‘all, all of it’ occurs in Dadanic in legal and votive contexts to indicate possession or dedication of the totality of a certain object. It is related to CAR. *kull* ‘totality, entirety, everyone, each one, whole, entire, all’ (Lane, 978a), but the spelling with both *l*’s represented indicates that it was probably pronounced differently, as in other ANA corpora such as Safaitic. Al-Jallad draws a comparison between the Safaitic form and Ugaritic /kalīlu/, and suggests a similar pronunciation /kalil/ for Safaitic (Al-Jallad 2015, 89).

JaL 161 a *l-s² ‘t///l’l/k ‘mn h-mq ‘d k//ll -h/f ‘rr//ḏḡbt/‘r//r/h- s¹fr/dh*
 ‘to the party of ‘l’l k ‘mn the seat,²⁶⁵ **all of it** and may *ḏḡbt* dishonor whoever mistreats this inscription’

JSLih 072: 4-7 *ḥḏw/h-mkn//w h-mq ‘d/dh/kll-h/mn/m //n/h-gbl/hn ‘ly/‘dky//m {n}/h-gbl/hn ‘s¹{l}l*
 ‘they took the place and the sitting place **all of it** from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border’

U 010 *‘bd’tbl/bn/zdḥmm//ṭwbṭ/nḏr/h-zll/l-ḏḡbt//b-khl/b ‘d/ml-h/b-ṭr/f rḏ-h//w s¹ ‘d-h/w ḥrt-h//kll-h*
 ‘*bd’tbl* son of *zdḥmm ṭwbṭ* vowed the *zll* to *ḏḡbt* at *khl* on behalf of his property at *ṭr* so may he favor him and aid him and his posterity, **all of it**’

6.14 Conjunctions

6.14.1 Coordinating conjunctions

The two coordinating conjunctions attested in Dadanic are *w-* and *f-*.

6.14.1.1 *w-*

Conjunction *w-* functions roughly as English ‘and’. It is used to combine two equivalent parts of a sentence, which can range from words to complete sentences.

AH 081: 1-3 *‘yḏh/w ‘mth{n}’ktb/bnt/qn//y/w ‘m -hm/s²n ‘h/w b ‘lhzd/nm----//h/w bn[t] - h/’mtyṭ ‘n/’zlw/*
 ‘*yḏh* **and** ‘*mth{n}*’*ktb* daughter of *qny* **and** their mother *s²n ‘h* **and** *b ‘lhzd* *bm---* *h* **and** his/her daughter ‘*mtyṭ ‘n* performed the *zll*’

U 038: 3-4 *f rḏ-h/w ḥr[t]-h//w ṭb-h*
 ‘so may he favor him **and** his posterity **and** reward him’

U 058: 1-5 *‘yḏ/bn/yḏ’// ‘zll/h-zll//{b-}khl/l-ḏḡ//bt/b ‘d/{n}hl-h//w dt’-h b-bdr*
 ‘*yḏ* son of *yḏ*’ performed the *zll* ceremony at *khl* for *ḏḡbt* on behalf of their palm trees **and** their crops of the season of the later rains at *bdr*’

²⁶⁵ Possibly compare to Nabataean inscriptions mentioning the dedication of a bed or ritual couch *rb ‘t*’, which Nehmé suggests comes from the root √RBD (Nehmé 2003, 24). A similar form *rb ‘y*’ was discovered in a Nabataean inscription from the Moab plateau (al-Salameen and Shdaifat 2017, 3–4).

6.14.1.2 *f-*

The conjunction *f-* is most commonly used to begin the blessing formula and to start a curse at the end of a dedicatory inscription. Due to its almost exclusive and static use as part of these formulae Sima concludes that its use is “*erstart*” and unproductive (1999, 112). Within this templatic use, a causal or temporal relationship between the two parts ‘so, then’, similar to the use of *f-* in CAr, can still be recognized.

U 058 *ʿyḏ/bn/yḏʿ//zll/h-zll//{b-} khl/l-ḏḡ//bt/bʿd/{n}hl-h//w ḏtʿ-h b-bdr//f r{ḏ}-h w ḥrt-h*
‘*ʿyḏ* son of *yḏʿ* performed the *zll* ceremony at *khl* for *ḏḡbt* on behalf of their palm trees and their crops of the season of the later rains at *bdr* **so** {may he favor} him and his posterity’

JSLih 006 *ʿmrtm/w ḥrm w nn//w ḏrh/w gzʿt//w ʿnʿm/w ʿbd//ddt/hggn//f sʿmʿ/l-h{m}*
‘*mrtm* and *ḥrm* and *nn* and *ḏrh* and *gzʿt* and *ʿnʿm* and *bddt* are pilgrims/are performing a pilgrimage **so** may he listen to {them}’

6.14.2 Subordinating conjunction *ʿdh*

The form *ʿdh* occurs in two different inscriptions (JSLih 055 and JSLih 069) probably with the meaning ‘if/when’. Compare e.g. Ug. *ʿd* ‘when, as soon as’ (Tropper 2000, 796) and CAr. *ʿidā* ‘when’. While the attested forms look like the Arabic *ʿidā*, the context does not allow defining its function in Dadanitic.

JSLih 055 *----y wkl/h{ḡ}ʿsʿnʿ/fkl/hktby ----//----h/bn/hrmh/ʿdh/ḥrb-hm ----//----tlh/b-mṭb/b-
{t}ʿn/ṣd/ḏ----*
‘...*wkl h{ḡ}ʿsʿn* priest of *h-ktby*... son of PN **if/when** he waged war on them.... at a throne(?) during the setting of the asterism *ṣd*...’

JSLih 069 *wsʿqt//ʿmm ʿdh//nwlʿl mg//h*
‘??? ??? **when** he offered on behalf of his expulsion/grain’

Since it occurs in broken context in JSLih 055 and in badly understood context in JSLih 069, it is not entirely clear whether it represents a conjunction or an adverb.

6.14.3 Disjunctive conjunction *ʿw*

Both examples of *ʿw* occur in broken context, but the meaning seems clear on comparative grounds. Compare Ug. *ʿu* (< **ʿaw*) ‘or’ (Tropper 2000, 792); CAr. *ʿaw* ‘or’ (Fischer 2001, 177).

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 *---h-sʿrqt/yṭb/h- sʿrqt/ʿw/y ----*
(line 6) ‘the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief **or** ...’

JaL 001 *---hm/l-bn-h/ʿw/bnt ----*
(line 2) ‘... for his son **or** daughter’

6.14.4 Complementizer *ʿn*

Complementizer *ʿn* is attested once in Dadanitic. The construction *ʿn ykn* in AH 203 is related to CAr. *ʿan yafʿala* ‘that he may do’ (Al-Jallad 2018, 24).

AH 203 [----] //hm----[d]//g̃bt/’{n}/yk{n} //l-h/{w}ld/f rdy[-h] ---- //w ’hrt-h {d}----
 ‘...[d]g̃bt that there may be a son to him so may he favor him and his posterity...’²⁶⁶

6.14.5 Presentative ’ny

The presentative ’ny can be compared to Ug. *hny*, Heb. *hinneh* and CAr. ’inna.²⁶⁷ It is used to initiate a new clause.²⁶⁸

U 026 ’b ’l/dl/’fyh/h- zll/l- d̃g̃bt/<f> rd -hm/w s’/’d -hm/w ’qb-hm[/]’ny//ys’rg[/]’b -hm/w
 {m} ’n -h[m]//w {m}fr -h{m}/b- ms²hl
 ‘The lords of *dl* fulfilled (du) the *zll* for *d̃g̃bt* so may he favor them (pl.) and aid them and their posterity **that** their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at *ms²hl*’²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ The stone looks like it was prepared and cut into a block. While *rdy[-h]* looks like it was squeezed onto the surface to fit the block, and the *h* might be lost under the damage of the edge of the stone, there seems to be an empty space following *ykn* in the line before it, suggesting that it is complete.

²⁶⁷ This was suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad, see commentary on U 026 in OCIANA.

²⁶⁸ Interpretation following OCIANA, 19–2–2019.

²⁶⁹ Translation following OCIANA.

Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation

7.1 Introduction

Dadanitic contains many points of variation. Inscriptions may differ in how they were executed, their purpose, the location where they were left, and even the grammatical forms they contain (see Chapter 1 - Introduction). This chapter contains a quantitative study of the major points of variation within the inscriptions, concerning grammatical and stylistic features. The investigation will focus on the co-occurrence of two variables within the same inscription, to see if there are any variables that co-occur more, or less, often than expected. The underlying assumption is that if two variables co-occur significantly more often than would be expected purely by chance, that some relationship exists between the two. Two variants may consistently co-occur together, for example, because an inscription was produced in a certain period of time, when other variants were not in use, or because a specific topic goes together with certain expressions and grammatical forms. Two variables can also co-occur significantly fewer times than expected, which may indicate, for example, that one form replaced another, or was deemed inappropriate in certain types of inscriptions. A statistical analysis of the variation in the inscriptions will offer evidence for the kind of relationships that may exist between forms, and reveal concrete patterns of distribution of variation. This will help move the discussion of linguistic variation in the Dadanitic corpus beyond impressionistic observations about single varying features offered so far, such as by Sima (1999, 117) and Farès-Drappeau (2005, 65–66).

7.1.1 Methodology - Statistics

The significance of an association will be determined using the chi-square test (Pearson 1900). This test is designed to test whether there is a relationship between two categorical variables. For the chi-square test the expected values of each category are calculated based on the assumption that there was no relationship between the two categories that are compared. This assumption is called the null-hypothesis. The expected frequencies can be calculated using a contingency table, showing the attested frequencies per category. The example in Table 52 contains fictitious numbers and categories to clarify the basic principles.

Table 52 Contingency table comparing the co-occurrence of the variables gender and hat wearing

	Boy	Girl	Total
Hat	40	10	50
No hat	20	30	50
Total	60	40	100

Table 52 shows a group of 60 boys and 40 girls, of which 40 boys and 10 girls wear a hat, and 20 boys and 30 girls do not wear a hat. These numbers reflect the observed, or attested, frequencies. The expected frequencies can be calculated by multiplying each row total by their associated column total per cell and dividing it by the grand total.

Equation 1 Showing the formula to calculate expected frequencies in contingency table. (E_{ij} = expected frequency for i th row and j th column; T_i = total of the i th row; T_j = total of the j th column; N = grand total)

$$E_{ij} = \frac{T_i \times T_j}{N}$$

Following this equation the expected number of boys wearing hats, if there was no correlation between gender and hat wearing habits, would be:

$$(50 \times 60) / 100 = 30$$

The round numbers in the table help to visualize how the distribution of the expected frequency is calculated. If 50% of the whole population is wearing a hat and 50% is not, and we have 60 boys, we would expect to find that half the number of these boys (30) is wearing hats, all else being equal. So we are multiplying the number of hat wearers by the number of boys and dividing it by the grand total to get a proportion relative to the whole population. In doing this we find that more boys than expected are wearing hats in this case. Continuing this process for each cell in the table would give the expected results as shown in Table 53.

Table 53 Contingency table showing the expected frequencies of co-occurrence of gender and hat wearing

	Boys	Girls	Total
Hat	30	20	50
No hat	30	20	50
Total	60	40	100

The expected frequencies are then compared to the attested frequencies. Since we are looking at the difference between the expected and attested frequencies, an attestation of 1 or even 0 of a certain variable can still give a significant result, as long as the expected result is far enough removed from the attested numbers. If the difference between the expected and attested frequencies exceeds a certain threshold, dependent on the degrees of freedom²⁷⁰ of the underlying contingency table, the result is found to be significant. A significant result, therefore, indicates that the null hypothesis is likely not true and the two variables are probably not independent from each other.

This can be summarized in the following formula:

Equation 2 Formula underlying the chi-square test

$$\chi_c^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

In this formula the subscript c stands for the degrees of freedom; the observed values (O) are the attested frequencies; E represents the expected frequencies (under the null hypothesis). Subtracting the

²⁷⁰ Degrees of freedom (df) are calculated by multiplying the number of rows of the table minus one by the number of columns minus one: $df = (r - 1)(c - 1)$.

observed values from the expected values gives us the difference or deviation of the attested numbers from our model in which we assume the two variables are independent. The difference between the observed and expected values are squared to ensure that positive and negative outcomes will not cancel each other out and leave us with an outcome of zero. Dividing this deviation from the model by the expected value gives us a ratio of just how much it deviated, which standardizes the result so it can be compared to the deviation of the other cells. The sigma sign indicates that the outcomes of this calculation for each data point need to be added up, which means that the outcome of the formula will indicate whether the relationship between the two categories in general is significant or not. It does not indicate which individual correlations are significant. In the case of gender and hats it will indicate whether gender can predict something about someone's hat wearing preferences, and not specifically whether boys are more likely to wear hats than girls. In simple 2x2 tables, like the one in the example, this may often be gleaned by looking at the expected and attested frequencies, but when the tables get bigger the relationships are not always obvious straight away (see below § 7.1.1.2 Standardized residuals for how this will be dealt with). If one were to do the calculations by hand there are tables in which the critical values per degrees of freedom of your contingency table are given. When the corresponding chi-square value from your calculations is bigger than the indicated cut-off value in the table, this indicates a significant relation between the variables compared. More commonly, and in what follows, the results are described by a *p* value.²⁷¹ If this value is below .05, the correlation is found to be significant. This value indicates that there is a 5% or smaller chance that there is no relationship between the two variables given the attested frequencies, or, in other words, a 5% or smaller chance that the null hypothesis is true.²⁷²

7.1.1.1 Correcting for smaller sample sizes

The chi-square test becomes less reliable when the expected frequencies are low (Dunning 1993). This is corrected for by using Fisher's exact test (Fisher 1922).²⁷³ Fisher's exact test is typically used when one or more cells of the contingency table contain an expected value of less than five.²⁷⁴ Almost all sets of variables compared here contain such low expected frequencies. For each comparison a table containing the results of the chi-square test will be given. These tables contain a footnote mentioning whether there were any cells with a lower expected frequency than five. If this is the case the *p* value of Fisher's exact test will be reported, otherwise the *p* value of the chi-square test will be given.

With each *p* value, the effect size will be reported using Cramér's V. This indicates the strength of association between the variables. Significant results with a very small effect size may not be very reliable, while non-significant results with a very high effect size indicate that there is a good chance that if more data were available they could turn out to be significant. Cramér's V gives an output between 0 and 1, with a result of 0 meaning that there is no association and a result of 1 meaning there is a perfect association between the groups compared. I will report values between 0-.3 as low effect size, .3-.75 as medium effect size and values higher than .75 as high or strong effect size.

²⁷¹ The *p* value, or calculated probability, indicates in decimals the percentage of probability that the null hypothesis is true. The null hypothesis being that there is no relationship between the two variables compared.

²⁷² An excellent introduction to the chi-square test can be found in Field (2013, 721–23).

²⁷³ Another commonly used alternative for the chi-square test in corpus linguistics is the log-likelihood test (McEnery and Hardie 2012, 51).

²⁷⁴ The general principles behind Fisher's exact test are briefly discussed in Field (2013, 723–24).

7.1.1.2 Standardized residuals

The outcome of Fisher's exact test only says something about the general relationship between two variables. It does not indicate which of the categories of each variable caused a possible effect. Especially when a variable has more than two categories (as for example the categories genre and agreement, see § 7.1.2.2.2 Genre), it is not always clear from the expected and attested values which category caused the effect. The effect of individual categories will be assessed by looking at the standardized residuals of the contingency table. These essentially indicate the difference between the expected frequencies and the attested frequencies, for each possible combination of variables. So, to go back to our example from Table 53, instead of giving a general indication for the association between hat-wearing and gender, the standardized residuals will give you an indication of the association between boys and hats, boys and no hats, girls and hats, and girls and no hats. This outcome is then standardized by dividing them by an estimate of their standard deviation, so it becomes independent of the absolute number of occurrences and can be compared across different datasets. A number above 1.96 (or below -1.96) indicates a 5% or smaller chance that the two subcategories are not related.²⁷⁵ A positive value indicates that two categories co-occur more often than expected if they had no relationship, while a negative value indicates that two categories co-occur less than expected if they had no relationship.

7.1.2 The data and methodology

The variables selected for comparison are grammatical variants, and stylistic variants that may say something about the register of the inscription: script style and genre. The previous chapters focused on describing the language of the Dadanitic writing tradition and the attested variation from the norm. In this chapter the consistently varying grammatical forms were taken as grammatical variables. They are the type of causative form (*'*- or *h*-causative), the form of the *I-w* causative, the spelling of the geminate causative, the spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$, the spelling of **z* and agreement type (see below § 7.1.2.1 Grammatical variants).

In Chapter 1 - Introduction the location of the inscription was also mentioned as a component to its interpretation. It was shown, however, that the location of an inscription is closely linked to the genre of the inscription. Therefore, adding location as a separate category would not have added much information, as it largely overlaps with genre and script style.

When comparing two variables they should co-occur in the same inscription, so when comparing causative type and $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$ forms, the set may be smaller than the total set of attested causative forms, for example. So while there are 239 inscriptions containing a causative verb, and 256 with a form of the root $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$, there are only 198 in which both occur together and can be used to test any hypothesis about their co-occurrence. On top of that, any uncertain attestations were left out, to avoid skewing the results. For example, inscriptions lacking a clear photograph, or only having a copy available in the OCIANA database were excluded from the script type analysis. Also damaged inscriptions or inscriptions with unclear interpretation were left out. An example of this is JSLih 076.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ The standardized residuals give us a *z* score, based on a standard normal distribution. In a standard normal distribution with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, a score of 1.96 cuts off the top 2.5% of the curve. Since normal distributions are symmetrical -1.96 would cut off the bottom 2.5% of the bell curve, thus adding up to the same 5% general cut off point for significance. See Field (2013, 28–34 and 743–44) for a more elaborate explanation of *z* scores and the use of standardized residuals respectively.

²⁷⁶ In the following paragraphs the make-up of each set of variables will be discussed in more detail.

JSLih 076 *ʾmḥmd/bnt//ʿsm/h-mt ʿt*
 ‘*ʾmḥmd* daughter of ‘*sm* protected/the protector’

First of all, it is unclear whether the final word of the inscription is a verb or a noun preceded by a definite article. Secondly, based on the content of the inscription, a personal name followed by a title or a single verb, it looks like a graffito. On the other hand, the inscription is executed in relief, which seems to contradict this interpretation. In summary, both the form of the verb and the genre of this inscription are uncertain, making any further hypothesis based on it too uncertain to include it in the analysis. This limits the dataset, but should not make observations about patterns in correlations invalid. As statistics is generally used to make predictions about a general population based on a sample, having a limited sample is therefore part of the expected process. As discussed above (§ 7.1.1 Methodology - Statistics), both the use of Fisher’s exact test and the incorporation of Cramér’s V in the discussion of the data, function as a control for the relatively small sample sizes. On top of this the contingency table, containing the attested and expected frequencies is supplied for every correlation that is discussed. This way it will always be clear what the actual distribution looks like.

7.1.2.1 Grammatical variants

7.1.2.1.1 Morphological variants

7.1.2.1.1.1 *ʾh-causative*

Dadanitic contains two forms of causative verbs, a *ʾ*-causative and a formally archaic *h*-causative (e.g. Sima 1999, 93; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 68–69) (see § 5.3.2 Causative). The *ʾ*-causative is the most commonly attested form of the two in Dadanitic (249 attestations as opposed to 17 *h*-causatives²⁷⁷).

Previous assertions that the variation in letter shapes in the corpus implied a diachronic dimension to the corpus (e.g. Caskel 1954, 21–34; Winnett and Reed 1970, 119; but cf. Macdonald 2015, 17–18) and the development of the causative forms in other Semitic languages, made it obvious to suggest that diachronic change is responsible for the variation in causative forms attested in Dadanitic (Sima 1999, 117). However, there are two inscriptions in which both causative forms co-occur (U 079 bis; AH 197). For comparison: there are 30 inscriptions in which two causative forms of the same type occur.²⁷⁸ This shows that at least for some time during the production of the inscriptions, both forms were known at the oasis. Therefore we cannot rule out that the usage of one or the other was a choice made by the author instead of simply representing different stages in the language.

U 079 bis *w----t/bld ʾ-/--l/hzll/h-z/ll//b-bt//r/b ʿd/n{h}l-h w //dt ʾ-h/b- d ʿmn //l-dgbt frd--/hm //w*
 ʾtb-hm
 ‘... he performed the *zll* ceremony at *btr* on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains at *d ʿmn* for *dgbt* so may he favor them and reward them’

AH 197 *hggw/h-nq/w hgnyw/b-bt-hm/l- ----//tn/l- hrg/w- ʾzlw/b-h-mşd/zll/h-[nq]//l-dgbt*
 ‘they performed the pilgrimage and dedicated (lit. made increase wealth?) at their temple for..... *tn* for *hrg* and they performed the *zll* of the [*nq*] for *dgbt*’

²⁷⁷ Based on the data in the OCIANA database February 2016.

²⁷⁸ AH 072; AH 080; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII; U 044; U 092; AH 065; AH 070; AH 071; AH 101; AH 141; U 020; U 021; U 024; U 025; U 059; U 070; U 075; U 093; U 108; AH 006; AH 109; AH 138; AH 239; Al-ʿUdayb 009; JSLih 077; U 032; U 038; U 040; U 115; Al-Ḥuraybah 12.

Note that in U 079 bis the author starts with singular suffix pronouns and ends the inscription with plural suffix pronouns, which may suggest that he modeled the dedicatory part of the inscription (containing the *h*-causative) on a different example than the blessing formula (containing the *ʿ*-causative). In AH 197 it is interesting to note that the more common verb *ʿzll* is written in the most common *ʿ*-causative form, while the so far unique verb *hḡny* is written in the *h*-form. This might suggest that while the written conventions dictated the *ʿzll* form, the spoken language of the author maintained a more archaic form of the causative.

Table 54 Attested forms of the causatives

Sigla of attested inscriptions	<i>ʿ</i> -stem	<i>h</i> -stem	Total
JSLih 054	<i>ʿfq</i> (1)		1
U 005; U 037; U 035; U 026; U 004; U 031; AH 087.1; AH 015; Private collection 1	<i>ʿfy</i> (9)		9
JSLih 177	<i>ʿgy</i> (1)		1
U 038; U 049; AH 135; AH 157; AH 202; AH 201; AH 243; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII; JaL 155 d; U 115; U 071; U 043; U 040; U 032; U 095; U 088; U 082; AH 065; AH 109; AH 113; AH 138; AH 140; U 055.1; Al-ʿUḡayb 001; Al-ʿUḡayb 009; Al-ʿUḡayb 011; Al-ʿUḡayb 041; Al-ʿUḡayb 075; Al-ʿUḡayb 113; Al-ʿUḡayb 138; U 126; AH 006; AH 079; Al-ʿUḡayb 129; Al-ʿUḡayb 008	<i>ʿgw</i> (35)		35
AH 221	<i>ʿḡnm</i> (1)		1
AH 197		<i>hḡny</i> (1)	1
JSLih 064	<i>ʿhrm</i> (1)		1
AH 204	<i>ʿrqw</i> (1)		1
JSLih 077	<i>ʿrtt/ʿrhṯ</i> (1)		1
JSLih 008; Müller, D.H. 1889: 68, no. 16	<i>ʿsdq</i> (2)		2
Al-ḡuraybah 12		<i>hṯb</i> (1)	1
JSLih 075	<i>ʿṯ</i> (1)		1
JSLih 077; U 038; U 079bis; JaL 004; U 115; U 059; U 047; U 044; U 040; U 036; U 021; U 092; U 084; U 075; AH 006; AH 065; AH 070; AH 072; AH 080; AH 084; AH 099; AH 101; AH 125; AH 138; AH 141; AH 084.1; Al-ʿUḡayb 009; Al-ʿUḡayb 032; Al-ʿUḡayb 132; Al-ʿUḡayb 129; Al-ʿUḡayb 008	<i>ʿṯb</i> (31)		31

'dq: AH 222; JSLih 061; JSlih 063; Al-Sa'īd 1419/1999: 4-2, no. 1, side 1-2; AH 087; Private collection 2; Al-ḥuraybah 09 <i>hdq</i> JSLih 062; Al-Sa'ī 1419/1999: 4-24, no. 1, side 1-2	'dq (7)	<i>hdq</i> (2)	9
AH 288; JSLih 049; al-Ḥuraybah 13; al-Ḥuraybah 14		<i>hwdq</i> (4)	4
Al-Ḥuraybah 12		<i>hwḏ'</i> (1)	1
AH 239; AH 217; AH 226; AH 222; Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1	'qd (5)		5
'zll e.g. AH 057; AH 163; AH 142; U 058. <i>hzll</i> AH 023; AH 021; AH 038; AH 225; AH 011; U 079bis; AH 026	'zll (116)	<i>hzll</i> (8)	124
e.g. AH 064; U 125; U 016; AH 197; U 028	'zl (41)		41
Total	233	17	270

7.1.2.1.1.2 I-w causative

The *h*-causative of I-*w* verbs is attested in two different forms: with the root-initial *w* represented, and without it. Note that there are no attestations of 'causatives of I-*w* roots with the initial *w* represented (see § 4.5 Diphthongs).

Table 55 Attested forms of I-*w* causatives

	'causative	<i>h</i> -causative	Total
Without <i>w</i>	'dq (7)	<i>hdq</i> (2)	9
	'fy (9)		9
	'qd (5)		4
With <i>w</i>		<i>hwdq</i> (4)	4
		<i>hwḏ'</i> (1)	1
Total	21	7	28

7.1.2.1.1.3 Geminate causative

There is only one geminate root attested as a causative verb: the very common *zll*. Besides variation in the type of causative, with a ' or *h*- prefix, there is also variation in the representation of the geminate root consonant, which can be written just once or twice (see § 5.3.2.3.5 C2 = C3).

Table 56 Attested forms of the geminate causative

	ʿ-causative	<i>h</i> -causative	Total
Without geminate	ʿ <i>zl</i> (41)		41
	ʿ <i>tl</i> (4)		4
With geminate	ʿ <i>zll</i> (106)	<i>hzll</i> (10)	116
	ʿ <i>tl</i> (10)		10
Total	142	8	171

7.1.2.1.2 Phonological/orthographic variants

7.1.2.1.2.1 Spelling of *RDY*

The verb *rđy* ‘he favored’ is only attested with an enclitic pronominal pronoun. In this form, it is attested with the spelling *rđy* and *rđ*. Given the attestation of both the feminine forms *rđyt* and *rđt*, it seems that the difference in spelling represents a chronological development in the corpus. If this is correct, then the *rđy* forms reflect an older form with the triphthong still intact, while the *rđ* forms represent a more progressive spelling from after the collapse of word final triphthongs (for a complete discussion see 4.3.2.1 Verbs).

Table 57 Attested spellings of \sqrt{RDY}

	Masculine	Feminine	Total
Defective spelling	<i>rđ</i> (123)	<i>rđt</i> (2)	125
Plene spelling	<i>rđy</i> (29)	<i>rđyt</i> (1)	30
Total	152	3	155

7.1.2.1.2.2 *z/ṭ spelling*

There are some attestations of etymological **z* represented with *ṭ*. The OCIANA database identifies two examples of this spelling in the highly frequent root \sqrt{ZLL} (AH 009.1 and U 048). Upon closer inspection of the photographs I would propose there are 26 such spellings of \sqrt{ZLL} in the corpus (see Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing for a complete overview). Beside these examples, this spelling is also commonly found in inscriptions mentioning the guarding of Dadān * \sqrt{NZR} and in personal names (Kootstra 2018b). As discussed in Chapter 4 - Orthography and Phonology, it is not entirely clear whether the use of *ṭ* for **z* reflects a change in the spoken language at the oasis, or a borrowing from Aramaic in the *nṭr* inscriptions. The use of *ṭll* for *zll*, however, is not likely due to a borrowing. The verb seems to be unique to Dadān, and the more archaic *zll* spelling is clearly the norm, indicating that *ṭll* is the substrate form. The data from the personal names cannot be directly

compared to that of the verbs found in the inscriptions,²⁷⁹ and will therefore not be part of the statistical analysis.

7.1.2.1.3 Syntactic variants

7.1.2.1.3.1 Agreement

It is possible to distinguish three types of dual agreement in Dadanitic: full dual agreement with a dual subject agreeing with a dual verb and dual suffixed pronouns; partial dual agreement with a dual subject, a plural verb and dual pronouns; and neutralization of dual concord in which case we see two dedicants being mentioned, with a plural verb and plural pronouns (see § 5.1.3 Dual and 5.1.4 3MPL).²⁸⁰ The category of neutralization of the dual is by far the most common. There are 14 inscriptions with neutralization,²⁸¹ seven examples of partial dual agreement²⁸² and only one example of full dual agreement (AH 199). There is one example which suggests that the dual may have survived on nouns while it was already lost on verbs and pronouns (U 001).²⁸³ This distribution of the dual is typologically common and can be found in Arabic dialects²⁸⁴ (Macdonald 2008, 217) and Biblical Hebrew (Joüon and Muraoka 2009, 514–17), for example. Since there is only evidence for this in Dadanitic in one inscription, however, it is impossible to say whether this system underlies all inscriptions which have lost the dual on verbs and pronouns.

Table 58 Agreement types

	Subject	Verb	Pronouns	No. of attestations
Full dual agreement	PN <i>bn</i> PN <i>w</i> -PN <i>bn</i> PN	<i>f^l-h</i>	<i>-hmy</i>	1
Partial dual agreement	PN <i>bn</i> PN <i>w</i> -PN <i>bn</i> PN	<i>f^l-w</i>	<i>-hmy</i>	7
Neutralization of dual agreement	PN <i>bn</i> PN <i>w</i> -PN <i>bn</i> PN	<i>f^lw</i>	<i>-hm</i>	14
Total				22

²⁷⁹ See § 1.7.5.1 Evidence from personal names for a complete methodological discussion of the use of personal names for the analysis of the corpus.

²⁸⁰ See Sima (1999, 117) for an overview table of inscriptions from al-‘Uḏayb with incongruences in their number agreement.

²⁸¹ U 027; U 044; AH 011; Al-‘Uḏayb 064; Al-‘Uḏayb 065; U 047; U 064; U 063; U 115; AH 081; JSLih 079; JSLih 282; U 036; Al-‘Uḏayb 075. Al-‘Uḏayb 075 is not completely certain. The beginning of the inscription is damaged casting some doubt on the number of dedicants.

²⁸² Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII; Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8; U 069; AH 209; JSLih 077; AH 215; JSLih 037. AH 215 and JSLih 037 are uncertain. They both have dual pronouns, suggesting they had partial dual agreement, but both inscriptions are damaged, making the number of the subject and verb uncertain.

²⁸³ For a complete discussion and description of dual agreement see § 5.1.3 Dual.

²⁸⁴ E.g. in Syrian Arabic, where dual nouns agree with plural predicate: *wəṣlu l-əktābēn taba ‘i?* ‘have my two books arrived?’ (Cowell 1964, 420).

7.1.2.1.3.1.1 Anomalous agreement

Several inscriptions seem to be different from the more common and regular types of agreement.²⁸⁵ These can be divided into two subgroups: those which seem to contain a mistake and inscriptions with two different suffixed pronouns.

There are only four inscriptions that seem to contain mistakes. There are eight examples of inscriptions with ‘mixed pronouns’. Even though this type of inscription is not very common, they seem to occur too often to be dismissed simply as slips of the pen and they may be explained in different ways.

Table 59 Attested anomalous agreement

Siglum	Subject	Verb	Pronoun 1	Pronoun 2
AH 120	Singular	Singular	Singular	Dual
U 075	Dual	Plural	Singular	Plural
AH 096	Singular	Singular	Singular	Plural
AH 023	Singular(?)	Singular(?)	Singular	Plural
U 079bis	Singular?	Singular	Singular	Plural
AH 089	Singular	Singular	Plural	Singular
U 073	Singular	Singular	Plural	Singular
AH 072	Singular	Singular	Plural	Singular

When trying to explain this category of ‘mixed agreement’ one can imagine that the scribe or the mason simply lost track of the subject towards the end of the inscription. The distance between them is likely part of the reason that the disagreement happened or was deemed acceptable, but it is not consistently the last pronoun of the inscription that disagrees with the rest of the inscription. In addition to the distance between the pronouns and the subject, the real life referents of the persons and objects mentioned in the inscription may also have played a role.

U 075 *qnh/bnt/`qhwnh//w-{}tn-h/`bb/`zllw/[/]l-dg//[b][t][/]b `d/dt`-h/b-hm//dhhb/f-rd-hm/w-
`tb-//hm*
‘*qnh* daughter of ‘*qhwnh* and her relative through marriage ‘*bb* **performed the zll (pl.)** for *dg[bt]* on behalf of **his/her** crops of the season of the later rains in *hmdhb* so may he favor **them** and reward **them**’

AH 089 *----ns²ms¹/bn// kdn/`zll/h-zll/l-dgbt//`ly-/ml-hm/b-d`//mn/f rd-h/w `h//rt-h*
‘...*ns²ms¹* son of *kdn* **performed (sing.) the zll** ceremony for *dgbt* on behalf of **their** property at *d`mn* so may he favor **him** and **his** posterity’

It is possible, for example when we consider U 075, that while the inscription was dedicated by two people, the crops the dedication it was made on behalf of only belonged to one of them, but the blessing invoked by it was meant for both of them again. A similar situation can be imagined for AH 089: while one person performed the ritual, he did it on behalf of communal crops, but he is only

²⁸⁵ For a complete overview of the verbal forms and agreement types see Chapter 5 verbal morphology.

asking for favor for himself as he was the one performing the ritual as suggested by Sima (1999, n. 21). Since we do not know what the ritual exactly entailed and what the rules for obtaining blessings from them were, this can of course be no more than a suggestion. It does, however, provide an explanation for this relatively commonly occurring ‘error’ in the corpus.

7.1.2.2 Register indicators

7.1.2.2.1 Script style

Script style refers to the technique used to make an inscription. The different forms that can be distinguished are discussed in Chapter 2 - Script and manners of inscribing. Here the different categories will only be listed (see Table 61). Note that the number of inscriptions listed is less than half of the total number of inscriptions. This is due to the fact that not all inscriptions have (clear) pictures available. On top of that there are some styles of inscribing that occur so infrequently that they are not very helpful as a category to analyze the general trends in the corpus, such as texts incised in pottery (TA 00888; TA 11414.1; Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 3) and inscriptions in which only the outline of the letters are inscribed, possibly as preparation to making an inscription in relief that was abandoned halfway through the process (Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17; JSLih 057) (See Table 60).

Table 60 Inscriptions that were excluded from the script style analysis and no. of occurrences

Category	Sigla	no. of attestations
Unsure, maybe pounded	e.g. JSTham 539; Umm Darağ 72; AH 311	26
Unsure, maybe chiseled	Nasif 1988: 68, pl. LXXIX; U 113; Al-‘Udayb 002	23
Unsure, maybe incised	Müller, D.H. 1889: 66, no. 11; Nasif 1988: 97, pl. CXLIX/a; AH 246; AH 301; Nasif 1988: 65, pl. LXXII; Nasif 1988: 69, pl. LXXXI(b); Nasif 1988: 97, pl. CXLVII	7
Unsure, maybe relief	Al-‘Ulā Museum 2	1
Both chiseled and incised	AH 337	1
Incised in pottery	TA 00888; TA 11414.1; Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 3	3
Outline	Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17; JSLih 048; JSLih 057	3
No picture available, or too unclear to be determine script style	e.g. U 082; Nasif 1988: 98, pl. CLI; AH 255	47
Only a copy available	e.g. Bogue 058; JaL 007 b; JaL 169 k	934
Total		1045

Table 61 Distinguished script styles and no. of occurrences

Pounded	375
Chiseled	241
Incised	163
Relief	135
Itlib relief	9
Total	923

7.1.2.2.2 Genre

Genre refers to the content and purpose of the inscription. The different genres and compositional formulae that come with them are discussed in Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae. A basic distinction is made between graffiti and more official inscriptions. Within the more official inscriptions the genres building, dedication, funerary, non-graffiti, *nṯr* and *zll* inscriptions are distinguished. Since the *zll* inscriptions take such a central part within the corpus it seems useful to take them as a category separate from other dedicatory texts, even though they seem to overlap in their purpose and compositional formulae. The high frequency of the *zll* inscriptions likely had an effect on their formularity.

Table 62 Distinguished genres and no. of occurrences

building	6
dedication	83
funerary	23
graffiti	1462
<i>nṯr</i>	20
non-graffiti	31
<i>zll</i>	243
Total	1867

The category non-graffiti comprises texts that are too rare as a type to form their own subgroup in a meaningful way, but seem more elaborate than average graffiti such as legal (JSLih 065; JSLih 077) and narrative texts (JSLih 072) and short texts containing a curse (AH 289) or a date (JSLih 054; Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLIV). The graffiti genre contains inscriptions with their own compositional formulae, inscriptions mentioning *tqt* ‘he wrote’ and *wdd* ‘he loved’, but which still belong to the

more general genre of graffiti. It also includes eight inscriptions that only consist of a single letter.²⁸⁶ Finally, even though they can arguably be seen as graffiti, the *nṭr* inscriptions were kept apart from graffiti in general because they have several unique features, in their phonology, script style and location, setting them apart from the other types of graffiti. Including them in the genre of graffiti would therefore unduly influence the outcome of any comparison with other variables.

Table 63 Inscriptions not included in genre analysis

Category	Sigla	no. of attestations
Fragment	e.g. JaL 001; AH 335; JSLih 050	86
Genre undetermined, possibly graffiti	e.g. al-‘Ulā 1; Al-‘Udayb 016; Al-‘Udayb 050	11
Genre undetermined, possibly funerary	Umm Darağ 05	1
Name on object	Al-Ḥuraybah 01; Al-Ḥuraybah 15; Al-Mazroo and Nasīf 1992: 4, no. 3	3
Rockart	JaL 005	1
Total		102

²⁸⁶ JaL 008 o; JaL 014 b; JaL 023 c; JaL 085 h; JaL 156 d; JaL 124; JaL 135 a; JaL 142.

7.2 Significant co-occurrences

Table 64 Overview of the correlations between the attested variables (grey = significant results, NA = Not Attested)

	'/h causative	Geminate causative	I-w causative	Spelling of RDY	Agreement	z/t spelling	Script style	Genre
'/h causative	X							
Geminate causative	$p = .065$	X						
I-w causative	$p < .001$	NA	X					
Spelling of RDY	$p < .001$	$p = .176$	$p = .002$	X				
Agreement	$p = .866$	$p = .27$	NA	$p = .237$	X			
z/t spelling	$p = .599$	$p = .349$	NA	$p = .412$	$p = 1$	X		
Script style	$p = .091$	$p = .406$	$p = .812$	$p = .018$	$p = .002$	$p < .001$	X	
Genre	$p < .001$	NA	$p = .259$	$p < .001$	$p = .089$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	X

7.2.1 Grammatical variants

7.2.1.1 '/h-causative

The occurrence of one of the two causative types correlates significantly with two other grammatical variants: the spelling of the I-w causative and the spelling of RDY. Of these features RDY also correlates significantly with script style.

Interestingly, even though '/h-causative does not correlate significantly with script style, it does with genre. There are 238 inscriptions of which both the causative type and genre could be determined; there are 216 inscriptions of which both the causative type and script style could be determined. Below, the significant correlations will be reported. In the section discussion, the results will be interpreted.

7.2.1.1.1 Co-occurrence with I-*w* causative

There are 24 inscriptions in which both evidence for either a ' - or *h*-causative and the spelling of I-*w* causative occur, one inscription in which both ' - and *h*-causative occur was taken out of the sample as not to skew the general trend. Comparing the use of causative type to the spelling of I-*w* causatives using Fisher's exact test gives a highly significant result with a strong effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 18.24$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .872$). This indicates that there seems to be a relationship between the use of the type of causative and the spelling of I-*w* causatives in the same inscription.

Table 65 Contingency table comparing causative type and spelling of I-*w* causative

Causative type * representation of I-*w* in C-stem Crosstabulation

		Representation of I- <i>w</i> in C-stem		Total
		No <i>w</i> represented	<i>w</i> represented	
causative formation '	Count	19	0	19
	Expected Count	15.8	3.2	19.0
	Standardized Residual	.8	-1.8	
<i>h</i>	Count	1	4	5
	Expected Count	4.2	.8	5.0
	Standardized Residual	-1.6	3.5	
Total	Count	20	4	24

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 65), only the combination of *h*-causative and *plene* spelling of the I-*w* causative verb (*hwdq*) gives a significant result (3.5), indicating that the most relevant effect found with Fisher's exact test is caused by an unexpectedly high number of *plene* spellings of the I-*w* causative verbs using the *h*-prefix.

7.2.1.1.2 Co-occurrence with RDY

There are 199 inscriptions in which both evidence for a ' - or *h*-causative and the spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$ occur, one inscription was excluded from the analysis to avoid obscuring the general trend, because it contained both *h*- and ' -causative and would have constituted a separate type of causative by itself. Comparing the use of causative type to the spelling of RDY using Fisher's exact test gives a highly significant result with a medium effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 39.284$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .445$). This indicates that there seems to be a relationship between the use of the type of causative and the spelling of RDY in the same inscription.

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 66), only the combination of *h*-causative and *plene* spelling gives a significant result (5.9), indicating that the most relevant effect found with Fisher's exact test is caused by an unexpectedly high number of *plene* spellings of *rdy* co-occurring with *h*-causatives.

Table 66 Contingency table comparing causative type and spelling of RDY

Causative type * spelling of RDY Crosstabulation

		spelling of RDY		Total
		Defective	Plene	
Causative type <i>h</i>	Count	6	6	12
	Expected Count	11.2	.8	12.0
	Standardized Residual	-1.6	5.9	
`	Count	179	7	186
	Expected Count	173.8	12.2	186.0
	Standardized Residual	.4	-1.5	
Total	Count	185	13	198

7.2.1.1.3 Co-occurrence with genre

There are 237 inscriptions of which both the causative type and the genre can be determined. Comparing the use of causative type to the genre in which the verb occurs, using Fisher’s exact test, gives a significant result with a low effect size ($p = .025$; $\chi^2 = 12.273$; $df = 3$; Cramér’s $V = .228$). This indicates that there is probably a (weak) relationship between the use of the type of causative and the genre of the inscription.

Table 67 Contingency table comparing causative type and genre of the inscription

Causative type * genre of the inscription Crosstabulation

		Genre of the inscription				Total
		Dedication	Funerary	Non-graffiti	<i>zll</i>	
Causative type	Count	19	1	4	200	224
	Expected Count	22.7	.9	3.8	196.6	224.0
	Standardized Residual	-.8	.1	.1	.2	
<i>h</i>	Count	5	0	0	8	13
	Expected Count	1.3	.1	.2	11.4	13.0
	Standardized Residual	3.2	-.2	-.5	-1.0	
Total	Count	24	1	4	208	237

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 67), the combination of *h*-causative with dedicatory inscriptions gives a significant result (3.2), indicating that there are significantly more attestations of *h*-causatives in dedicatory inscriptions than expected. The relationship that probably exists between causative type and genre that is indicated by Fisher’s exact text is therefore caused by a relatively high number of *h*-causatives in the dedicatory inscriptions.

7.2.1.2 Spelling of RDY

The occurrence of one of the two types of the spelling of RDY correlates significantly with grammatical and register variants. It correlates significantly with the spelling of the I-*w* causative, and with script style and genre.

7.2.1.2.1 Co-occurrence with I-w causative

There are 18 inscriptions which include evidence for both the spelling of \sqrt{RDY} and that of the I-w causative. Comparing the spelling of RDY with the spelling of I-w causatives in the same inscription, using Fisher's exact test, gives a significant result with a high effect size ($p = .002$; $\chi^2 = 13.371$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .862$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the spelling of RDY and of I-w causative verbs in the same inscription.

Table 68 Contingency table comparing the spelling of RDY and I-w causatives

I-w causative * spelling RDY Crosstabulation

			spelling of RDY		Total
			Defective	Plene	
I-w causative	No I-w represented	Count	13	1	14
		Expected Count	10.1	3.9	14.0
		Standardized Residual	.9	-1.5	
	With I-w represented	Count	0	4	4
		Expected Count	2.9	1.1	4.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.7	2.7	
Total	Count	13	5	18	

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 68) only the combination of *plene* spelling of RDY with the *plene* spelling of I-w causative gives a significant result (2.7). This indicates that the co-occurrence of the *plene* spelling of both forms within the same inscription is significantly higher than expected if they were in free variation.

7.2.1.2.2 Co-occurrence with script style

There are 142 inscriptions in which the spelling of \sqrt{RDY} and script style could be determined. Comparing the spelling of RDY with script style of the inscription in which it occurs, using Fisher's exact test, gives a significant result with a low effect size ($p = .018$; $\chi^2 = 8.093$; $df = 3$; Cramér's $V = .239$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the spelling of RDY and the script style of the inscription in which it occurs.

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 69) only the combination of the *plene* spelling of RDY in a chiseled inscription gave a significant result (-2.2), indicating that the occurrence of *plene* spelling of RDY is significantly lower in chiseled inscriptions than expected if they were in free variation.

7.2.1.2.3 Co-occurrence with genre

There are 251 inscriptions of which the spelling of \sqrt{RDY} and genre could be determined. Comparing the spelling of RDY with the genre of the inscription in which it occurs, using Fisher's exact test, gives a highly significant result with a moderate effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 34.170$; $df = 4$; Cramér's $V = .369$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the spelling of RDY and the genre of the inscription in which it occurs.

Table 69 Contingency table comparing script style and spelling of RḌY

Script style * spelling RḌY Crosstabulation

		Spelling of RḌY			
		Defective	<i>Plene</i>	Total	
Script style	Chiseled	Count	25	0	25
		Expected Count	20.2	4.8	25.0
		Standardized Residual	1.1	-2.2	
	Incised	Count	34	8	42
		Expected Count	34.0	8.0	42.0
		Standardized Residual	.0	.0	
	Pounded	Count	18	5	23
		Expected Count	18.6	4.4	23.0
		Standardized Residual	-.1	.3	
Relief	Count	38	14	52	
	Expected Count	42.1	9.9	52.0	
	Standardized Residual	-.6	1.3		
Total		Count	115	27	142

Table 70 Contingency table comparing the spelling of RḌY and genre

Genre of the inscription * *plene* spelling of RḌY Crosstabulation

		Spelling of RḌY			
		Defective	<i>Plene</i>	Total	
Genre of the inscription	Building	Count	3	1	4
		Expected Count	3.6	.4	4.0
		Standardized Residual	-.3	.9	
	Dedication	Count	29	15	44
		Expected Count	39.4	4.6	44.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.7	4.9	
	Funerary	Count	1	0	1
		Expected Count	.9	.1	1.0
		Standardized Residual	.1	-.3	
	Non-graffiti	Count	3	0	3
		Expected Count	2.7	.3	3.0
		Standardized Residual	.2	-.6	
	<i>zll</i>	Count	189	10	199
		Expected Count	178.4	20.6	199.0
		Standardized Residual	.8	-2.3	
Total		Count	225	26	251

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 70) the combination of *plene* spelling of RḌY in dedicatory inscriptions gave a significant result (4.9), indicating that the number of RḌY spellings in dedicatory inscriptions is higher than expected. The *plene* spelling of RḌY also yielded a significant

result in the *zll* inscriptions (-2.3) showing the opposite relationship: the number of *plene* spellings of RDY in *zll* inscriptions is significantly lower than expected if they had relation to each other.

The fact that *zll* inscriptions have the opposite relationship with *plene* spellings of RDY than other dedicatory inscriptions confirms that they are a relevant separate category and not just another type of dedicatory inscriptions.

7.2.2 Register indicators

7.2.2.1 Script style

Script style correlates significantly with several grammatical variants. It correlates significantly with RDY spelling, *t/z* spelling and agreement type. Script style and genre also correlate significantly.

7.2.2.1.1 Co-occurrence with *z/t* spelling

There are 210 inscriptions of which both script style and spelling of *z could be determined. Comparing the script type of an inscription with the spelling of *z with either *z* or *t* in the inscription, using Fisher's exact test, gives a significant result, with a moderate effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 42.260$; $df = 4$; Cramér's $V = .449$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the spelling of *z and the script style of an inscription.

Table 71 Contingency table comparing script style and spelling of *z

		Script style * *z spelling Crosstabulation			
		*z spelling		Total	
		<i>t</i>	<i>z</i>		
Script style	Chiseled	Count	20	40	60
		Expected Count	11.1	48.9	60.0
		Standardized Residual	2.7	-1.3	
	Incised	Count	3	45	48
		Expected Count	8.9	39.1	48.0
		Standardized Residual	-2.0	.9	
	Itlib relief	Count	5	0	5
		Expected Count	.9	4.1	5.0
		Standardized Residual	4.2	-2.0	
Pounded	Count	10	47	57	
	Expected Count	10.6	46.4	57.0	
	Standardized Residual	-.2	.1		
Relief	Count	1	39	40	
	Expected Count	7.4	32.6	40.0	
	Standardized Residual	-2.4	1.1		
Total	Count	39	171	210	
	Expected Count	39.0	171.0	210.0	

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 71) the combination of chiseled inscriptions and the spelling of *z with *t* gives a significant result (2.7), indicating that there are significantly more chiseled inscriptions with *t* spellings than would be expected if there was no relation between spelling

and script style. With incised inscriptions, on the other hand, *t* spelling has a significant negative relationship (-2.0). This shows that there are fewer *t* spellings than expected in the more formal incised style of inscribing if there was no relationship between the two. The *t* spelling has a positive relationship with the Itlib relief style, as expected (4.2). The *z* spelling has a negative relationship with the Itlib relief style (-2). This shows that there are more inscriptions with *t* spelling in Itlib relief style than expected, but less with *z* spelling than expected if there was no relationship between the categories. Finally, the **z* spelled with *t* has a negative significant relationship with inscriptions in relief (-2.4), indicating there are significantly less inscriptions than expected in relief with *t* spelling for **z* if there was no relationship between them.

Table 72 Contingency table comparing script style and agreement type

Agreement type * script style Crosstabulation

			Script style				Total
			Chiseled	Incised	Pounded	Relief	
Agreement type	Full	Count	2	10	7	20	39
		Expected Count	4.6	10.3	8.6	15.5	39.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.2	-.1	-.5	1.1	
	Plural	Count	0	0	0	1	1
		Expected Count	.1	.3	.2	.4	1.0
		Standardized Residual	-.3	-.5	-.5	1.0	
	Full dual	Count	4	3	5	0	12
		Expected Count	1.4	3.2	2.6	4.8	12.0
		Standardized Residual	2.2	-.1	1.4	-2.2	
	Neutralization	Count	0	0	1	3	4
		Expected Count	.5	1.1	.9	1.6	4.0
		Standardized Residual	-.7	-1.0	.1	1.1	
	Mistake	Count	1	2	2	0	5
		Expected Count	.6	1.3	1.1	2.0	5.0
		Standardized Residual	.5	.6	.9	-1.4	
	Mix incongruence	Count	1	0	0	0	1
		Expected Count	.1	.3	.2	.4	1.0
		Standardized Residual	2.6	-.5	-.5	-.6	
	Mix incongruence dual	Count	0	0	0	1	1
		Expected Count	.1	.3	.2	.4	1.0
		Standardized Residual	-.3	-.5	-.5	1.0	
Only on noun	Count	0	3	0	2	5	
	Expected Count	.6	1.3	1.1	2.0	5.0	
	Standardized Residual	-.8	1.5	-1.1	.0		
Mixed agreement t	Count	8	18	15	27	68	
	Expected Count	8.0	18.0	15.0	27.0	68.0	

7.2.2.1.2 Co-occurrence with agreement type

There are 68 inscriptions of which both agreement type and script style could be determined. Comparing script type of an inscription with the agreement type used in it using Fisher's exact test

gives a significant result with a moderate effect size ($p = .002$; $\chi^2 = 35.197$; $df = 21$; Cramér's $V = .415$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the agreement type used in an inscription and the technique used to inscribe it.

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 72) the overall significant result is mostly due to how inscriptions with a loss of the dual interact with script style. Chiseled inscriptions and loss of the dual give a significant result (2.2), relief and loss of the dual have the opposite relation (-2.2). This indicates that the loss of the dual seems to occur more than expected if the two factors had no relation to each other in the chiseled inscriptions, while it occurs less often than expected in inscriptions in relief (in fact it never does).

Chiseled inscriptions and mixed agreement with at least one dual form (1 attested, .1 expected) give a significant result (2.6) as well, but since this is based on just one occurrence it should not be given too much weight at this point.

Table 73 Contingency table comparing the genre and script style of inscriptions

Genre of the inscriptions * script style Crosstabulation

			Script style					Total
			Chiseled	Incised	Itlib relief	Pounded	Relief	
Genre of the inscriptions	Building	Count	0	0	0	0	6	6
		Expected Count	1.6	1.0	.1	2.5	.8	6.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.3	-1.0	-.3	-1.6	6.1	
	Dedication	Count	4	24	0	8	41	77
		Expected Count	21.1	13.2	.8	32.3	9.6	77.0
		Standardized Residual	-3.7	3.0	-.9	-4.3	10.1	
	Funerary	Count	3	8	0	0	3	14
		Expected Count	3.8	2.4	.1	5.9	1.8	14.0
		Standardized Residual	-.4	3.6	-.4	-2.4	.9	
	Graffiti	Count	157	45	4	280	4	490
		Expected Count	134.1	83.8	5.2	205.7	61.3	490.0
		Standardized Residual	2.0	-4.2	-.5	5.2	-7.3	
	Non-graffiti	Count	3	15	0	2	5	25
		Expected Count	6.8	4.3	.3	10.5	3.1	25.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.5	5.2	-.5	-2.6	1.1	
	<i>ntr</i>	Count	10	0	5	2	0	17
		Expected Count	4.7	2.9	.2	7.1	2.1	17.0
		Standardized Residual	2.5	-1.7	11.3	-1.9	-1.5	
	<i>zll</i>	Count	55	53	0	64	47	219
		Expected Count	59.9	37.4	2.3	91.9	27.4	219.0
		Standardized Residual	-.6	2.5	-1.5	-2.9	3.8	
	Total	Count	232	145	9	356	106	848
		Expected Count	232.0	145.0	9.0	356.0	106.0	848.0

7.2.2.1.3 Co-occurrence with genre

There are 848 inscriptions of which both script style and genre could be determined. Comparing the combination of script style and genre within inscriptions using Fisher's exact test gives a highly significant result with a moderate size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 521.566$; $df = 24$; Cramér's $V = .392$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the genre of an inscription and the technique used to inscribe it. Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 73) each genre correlates significantly with at least one script style. Given the long list of significant combinations, they will be summarized in the table below.

Table 74 Overview of the significant standardized residuals of genre and script style

Genre	Script style	standardized residuals	Attested no. of inscriptions	Expected no. of inscriptions
Building	Relief	6	6	.8
Dedication	Chiseled	-3.7	4	21
	Incised	2.9	24	13.3
	Pounded	-4.3	8	32.2
	Relief	10.1	41	9.7
Funerary	Incised	3.6	8	2.4
	Pounded	-2.4	0	5.9
Graffiti	Chiseled	2	155	132.3
	Incised	-4.2	45	83.3
	Pounded	5.2	276	202.3
	Relief	-7.3	4	60.9
Non-graffiti	Incised	5.2	15	4.3
	Pounded	-2.6	2	10.5
<i>nṯr</i>	Chiseled	2.5	10	4.6
	Itlib relief	11.3	5	.2
<i>zll</i>	Incised	2.5	53	37.7
	Pounded	-2.9	64	91.6
	Relief	3.7	47	27.6

The strong interaction between genre and script style and the direction in which they correlate (see Table 73 and Table 74) clearly show that the more official inscriptions (building inscriptions, dedicatory inscriptions, funerary inscriptions, non-graffiti, and *zll* inscriptions) tend to be executed in more technically demanding writing techniques (incised and relief) than would be expected if there was no relation between script style and genre, while graffiti tend to be inscribed more often than expected in the less demanding script styles (chiseled and pounded). This supports the idea that script style can be used as a measure of the formality of the text.

7.2.2.2 Genre

Genre correlates significantly with the variants mentioned above (script style, *'h* causative, and spelling of RDY) but also with *z/t* spelling.

7.2.2.2.1 Co-occurrence with *z/t* spelling

There are 225 inscriptions in which genre and the spelling of *z can be determined. Comparing these categories, using Fisher's exact test, gives a highly significant result with a moderate effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 79.518$; $df = 2$; Cramér's $V = .594$), indicating that there is probably a relationship between the genre of the inscription and the spelling of *z.

Table 75 Contingency table comparing the genre of the inscription and the spelling of *z

			*z spelling		Total
			<i>t</i>	<i>z</i>	
Genre	Dedication	Count	0	1	1
		Expected Count	.2	.8	1.0
		Standardized Residual	-.4	.2	
	<i>ntr</i>	Count	19	1	20
		Expected Count	3.9	16.1	20.0
		Standardized Residual	7.6	-3.8	
	<i>zll</i>	Count	25	179	204
		Expected Count	39.9	164.1	204.0
		Standardized Residual	-2.4	1.2	
Total	Count	44	181	225	
	Expected Count	44.0	181.0	225.0	

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 75) both *ntr* inscriptions and *zll* inscriptions have a significant relationship with the spelling of *z. The *ntr* inscriptions have a significant positive relationship with the *t* spelling (7.4) and a negative relationship with *z* spelling (-3.8). This shows that there are more inscriptions than expected with *t* spelling and less than expected with *z* spelling in the *ntr* genre if the two had no relationship to each other. There is a significant negative relationship between the *t* spelling and the *zll* genre (-2.4), showing there are less *zll* inscriptions with *t* spelling than expected if the two had no relation to each other.

7.2.3 Important non-significant co-occurrences

There are several relationships between variables that are non-significant, but still contribute to the overall picture of how the different variables interact with each other. First of all, there is the interaction between genre and the two grammatical variables it does not interact with, which do have significant relations with other variables: I-*w* causative and agreement. Secondly, it is worth exploring the relationship of the geminate causative to the other variables, since this is the only variable that does not interact significantly with any other one. Below, the results of the correlation between geminate causatives and causative type and script style will be given. Even though these correlations are not necessarily the ones closest to a significant result (see Table 64), they do show a pattern in their distribution.

7.2.3.1 Genre

7.2.3.1.1 Co-occurrence with I-*w* causative

There are 24 inscriptions which contain evidence for the spelling of I-*w* causative and of which the genre can be determined. Comparing the co-occurrence of genre and spelling of the I-*w* causative does not give a significant result, and only shows a moderate effect size ($p = .259$; $\chi^2 = 2.88$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .347$).

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 76) the *plene* spelling of I-*w* causatives and the *zll* inscriptions have the strongest negative relationship. This indicates that there are fewer I-*w* causatives with *plene* spelling in *zll* inscriptions than expected, but not as few as to reach significance. Given the moderate effect size and the small data set, the size of the sample could explain the absence of a significant result.

Table 76 Contingency table comparing genre and the spelling of I-*w* causative

Genre of the inscription * form of I-*w* causative Crosstabulation

			Form of I- <i>w</i> causative		Total
			Defective	<i>plene</i>	
Genre of the inscription	Dedication	Count	11	4	15
		Expected Count	12.5	2.5	15.0
		Standardized Residual	-.4	.9	
	<i>zll</i>	Count	9	0	9
		Expected Count	7.5	1.5	9.0
		Standardized Residual	.5	-1.2	
Total	Count	20	4	24	
	Expected Count	20.0	4.0	24.0	

7.2.3.1.2 Co-occurrence with agreement

There are 70 inscriptions of which both the genre and agreement type can be determined. Even though there is no significant correlation, the outcome of Fisher's exact test does approach significance, with a moderate effect size ($p = .089$; $\chi^2 = 29.869$; $df = 21$; Cramér's $V = .377$). Especially non-graffiti and partial dual agreement have a positive relationship (Table 77) (standardized residual = 2.8).

7.2.3.2 Geminate causative

The geminate causative is the only linguistic variable that does not correlate significantly with any of the other variables in the corpus. There is some relationship between I-*w* causative and causative type and with script style.

Table 77 Contingency table comparing agreement type and genre

Agreement type * genre of the inscription Crosstabulation

			Genre of the inscription				Total
			Dedication	Graffiti	Non-graffiti	<i>zll</i>	
Agreement type	Full plural	Count	16	2	3	18	39
		Expected Count	10.0	1.7	3.9	23.4	39.0
		Standardized Residual	1.9	.3	-.5	-1.1	
	Full dual	Count	0	0	0	1	1
		Expected Count	.3	.0	.1	.6	1.0
		Standardized Residual	-.5	-.2	-.3	.5	
	Neutralization	Count	1	1	1	10	13
		Expected Count	3.3	.6	1.3	7.8	13.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.3	.6	-.3	.8	
	Mistake	Count	0	0	0	4	4
		Expected Count	1.0	.2	.4	2.4	4.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.0	-.4	-.6	1.0	
	Mix incongruence	Count	0	0	0	6	6
		Expected Count	1.5	.3	.6	3.6	6.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.2	-.5	-.8	1.3	
	Mix incongruence dual	Count	0	0	0	1	1
		Expected Count	.3	.0	.1	.6	1.0
		Standardized Residual	-.5	-.2	-.3	.5	
Only on noun	Count	0	0	1	0	1	
	Expected Count	.3	.0	.1	.6	1.0	
	Standardized Residual	-.5	-.2	2.8	-.8		
Mixed agreement	Count	1	0	2	2	5	
	Expected Count	1.3	.2	.5	3.0	5.0	
	Standardized Residual	-.3	-.5	2.1	-.6		
Total	Count	18	3	7	42	70	
	Expected Count	18.0	3.0	7.0	42.0	70.0	

7.2.3.2.1 Co-occurrence with causative type

There are 171 inscriptions in which the causative type and spelling of the geminate causative could be determined. Fisher's exact test gives a marginally significant result, but with a low effect size ($p = .065$; $\chi^2 = 3.793$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .149$). Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 78), the defective spelling of the geminate causative and the *h*-causative have the strongest relationship, albeit not a significant one. The relationship between them is negative (-1.6). This indicates that there are fewer attestations of *hzl* forms than expected, while there are slightly more *plene* spellings with the *h*-causative (*hzll*) than expected. The opposite relationships were found between the ' -causative and spelling of the geminate causative, but the strength of association between them is even lower.

Table 78 Contingency table comparing causative type and spelling of geminate causative

Causative type * geminate spelling in causative verb Crosstabulation

		Geminate spelling in causative verb		Total	
		Defective	<i>Plene</i>		
Causative type	'	Count	45	116	161
		Expected Count	42.4	118.6	161.0
		Standardized Residual	.4	-.2	
<i>h</i>		Count	0	10	10
		Expected Count	2.6	7.4	10.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.6	1.0	
Total		Count	45	126	171

7.2.3.2.2 Co-occurrence with script style

There are 157 inscriptions with a geminate causative of which the script style could be determined. Their relationship is not significant with a low effect size ($p = .406$; $\chi^2 = 2.956$; $df = 2$; Cramér's $V = .137$). Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 79) relief and the spelling of the geminate causative with one *l* has the strongest relationship (1.3). This indicates that there are more defective spellings of the geminate causative than expected in inscriptions executed in relief, but not to a significant degree.

7.2.3.2.3 Co-occurrence with RDY

There are 152 inscriptions in which both a causative form of the geminate root and the verb RDY occur. There is no significant correlation between the two with a low effect size ($p = .176$; $\chi^2 = 1.94$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .113$). Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 80), the strongest relationship exists between the plene spelling of RDY and the defective spelling of the geminate causative (1.2), but not to a significant degree. This means that there are slightly more inscriptions with both *plene* spelled RDY and defectively spelled geminate causative than expected.

7.2.3.2.4 Co-occurrence with agreement

There are 32 inscriptions in which both plural agreement type and the spelling of geminate causatives could be determined. They do not correlate significantly, but there is a medium effect size ($p = .27$; $\chi^2 = 6.163$; $df = 5$; Cramér's $V = .439$). Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 81), the strongest relationship exists between the category of mistake in agreement and the spelling of the geminate causative. There is a positive relationship between mistake and defective spelling (1.3) and a negative

relationship between mistake and *plene* spelling (-1.1), but not to a significant degree. This indicates that there are more inscriptions than expected with a mistake in agreement with only one *l* of *ZLL* represented; while there are slightly fewer inscriptions with mistaken number agreement with both *l*'s represented.

Table 79 contingency table comparing the spelling of geminate causatives and script style

Script style * spelling of geminate root Crosstabulation

		Spelling of geminate root		Total	
		Defective	<i>Plene</i>		
Script style	Chiseled	Count	8	30	38
		Expected Count	9.9	28.1	38.0
		Standardized Residual	-.6	.4	
	Incised	Count	10	31	41
		Expected Count	10.7	30.3	41.0
		Standardized Residual	-.2	.1	
	Pounded	Count	10	33	43
		Expected Count	11.2	31.8	43.0
		Standardized Residual	-.4	.2	
Relief	Count	13	22	35	
	Expected Count	9.1	25.9	35.0	
	Standardized Residual	1.3	-.8		
Total	Count	41	116	157	
	Expected Count	41.0	116.0	157.0	

Table 80 Contingency table comparing the spelling of geminate causatives and RDY

Spelling of geminate causative * spelling of RDY Crosstabulation

		Spelling of RDY		Total	
		Defective	<i>Plene</i>		
Spelling of geminate roots	Defective	Count	36	3	39
		Expected Count	37.5	1.5	39.0
		Standardized Residual	-.2	1.2	
	<i>Plene</i>	Count	110	3	113
		Expected Count	108.5	4.5	113.0
		Standardized Residual	.1	-.7	
Total	Count	146	6	152	
	Expected Count	146.0	6.0	152.0	

Table 81 Contingency table comparing spelling of geminate causatives with agreement type

Agreement type * spelling of geminate causative Crosstabulation

			Spelling of geminate causative		Total
			Defective	<i>Plene</i>	
Agreement type	Full plural	Count	6	6	12
		Expected Count	4.9	7.1	12.0
		Standardized Residual	.5	-.4	
	Full dual	Count	0	1	1
		Expected Count	.4	.6	1.0
		Standardized Residual	-.6	.5	
	Neutralization	Count	3	5	8
		Expected Count	3.3	4.8	8.0
		Standardized Residual	-.1	.1	
	Mistake	Count	2	0	2
		Expected Count	.8	1.2	2.0
		Standardized Residual	1.3	-1.1	
	Mix incongruence	Count	1	6	7
		Expected Count	2.8	4.2	7.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.1	.9	
	Mixed	Count	1	1	2
		Expected Count	.8	1.2	2.0
		Standardized Residual	.2	-.2	
	Total	Count	13	19	32
		Expected Count	13.0	19.0	32.0

7.3 Discussion

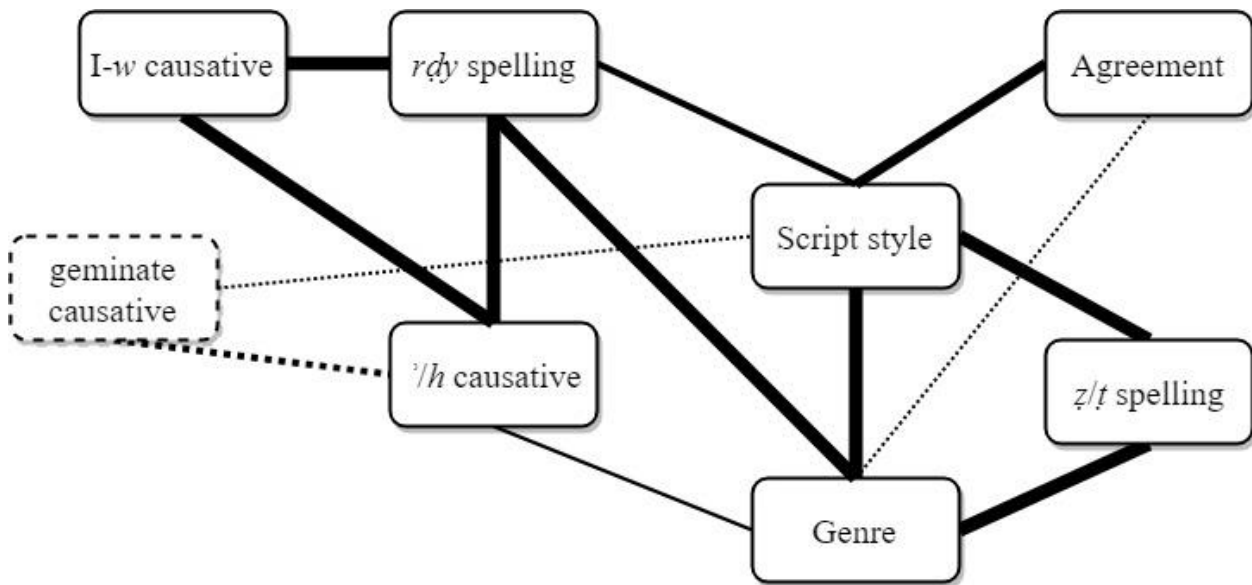


Figure 18 Overview of correlations between variables. Significant relations are indicated by a line, the thicker the line the higher the significance (see table 64 for exact numbers). Dashed lines represent non-significant relationships, the thicker the line the closer to significance.

7.3.1 Genre

The overview in Figure 18 shows that genre has a significant relationship with almost all other variables that interact significantly with at least one other variable, except for the spelling of I-*w* causatives and agreement.²⁸⁷ In light of the high formularity of the inscriptions, it is unsurprising that the content and topic of an inscription go together with specific linguistic conventions or, in case of the graffiti, a distinctive departure from them. The correlation between genre and linguistic variables shows that general dedicatory inscriptions tend to contain more archaic linguistic forms (*h*-causative and *plene* spelling of *rdy*), while the *zll* inscriptions, which are a particular kind of dedicatory inscription, tend to contain the linguistically more progressive, defective spellings of $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$. There also seems to be a preference for not using the more archaic *h*-causative in *zll* inscriptions, but this relationship is not significant (see Table 67). A more elaborate discussion of the *zll* inscriptions follows below in § 7.3.4 The *zll* inscriptions.

Considering the spelling of **z* we see that there is a significant positive relationship between the more innovative *t* spelling and graffiti, while there is a negative relationship between *t* spelling of **z* and *zll* inscriptions. Not only is there a significant correlation between genre and the spelling of **z*, the correlation also has a moderate effect size, showing a convincing relationship between the two variables. This clearly shows that *t* spelling fell outside the norm of writing, and was not generally used or accepted in the writing of formulaic inscriptions. The fact that we see this most clearly reflected in the *zll* inscriptions, is not only due to their formularity and central place within the writing tradition, but also to the fact that they all contain the relatively rare phoneme **z*.

Even though one might expect genre to have an effect on all other variables, based on the strong link between content and form in the inscriptions, not all linguistic variables have a significant correlation

²⁸⁷ Note that the set of I-*w* causatives is particularly small (24 inscriptions), and that they all occur in, *zll* (9) and dedicatory (15) inscriptions.

with genre: it does not seem to influence the writing of the I-w causative and the choice of agreement type. In the case of the variable I-w causative this might be due to the particularly small data set (24 inscriptions), which has the effect that finding a single new inscription with such a verbal form could drastically change the outcome of the comparison. The moderate effect size of this correlation (see § 7.2.3.1.1 Co-occurrence with I-w causative) does not provide clear support for a possible increase in significance when the dataset is expanded.

Note that even though there is no significant relationship between agreement type and genre, the outcome does approach significance (see § 7.2.3.1.2 Co-occurrence with agreement). Especially non-graffiti and partial dual agreement have a positive relationship. The moderate effect size does not give strong support that significance will increase when the dataset is expanded. Given the lack of a very strong correlation, it may be posited, that even though the use of dual agreement, or lack thereof, was not strongly associated with a particular genre, using it was still considered to be prestigious. This would be in line with the correlations found between script style and agreement type, where we find a negative relationship between inscriptions in relief and the loss of the dual category but the positive relationship between chiseled inscriptions and the loss of the dual. The medium effect size makes this correlation pretty robust (§7.2.2.1.2 Co-occurrence with agreement type). Alternatively, the relationship between script style and agreement could indicate a historical development of a preference for specific script styles, with a higher number of inscriptions in relief being produced before the dual was lost, while the different genres in use remained more stable over time. For this last hypothesis it is problematic, however, that agreement does not correlate significantly with any of the other linguistic variables.

Script style and genre, on the other hand, are particularly intricately intertwined, with many individual combinations of script style and genre being significantly related to each other. Despite the relatively large dataset, the effect size is only moderate. The pattern in which they relate to each other confirms the hypothesis that graffiti are more likely to be produced using less technically demanding writing styles such as pounding, while the more formal inscriptions are more likely to be incised or executed in relief (see § 7.2.2.1.3 Co-occurrence with genre). Since genre seems to have a different relationship to different variables, it cannot be taken as a general explanation for all the variables it interacts with. Considering the significant relationships apart from genre is therefore useful.

As can be seen from the diagram in Figure 19, the overlap between variables seems to form two separate clusters if genre is taken out of the equation. One group of grammatical features clusters together and partly with script style (and genre) on the left, colored red ('/h-causative, form of the I-w causative and the spelling of RDY), and the other side of the diagram contains two grammatical features that correlate significantly with script style (and genre) but not with each other or the other grammatical variables (agreement and t/z spelling of *z). I would propose that the relationship between the variables in the red cluster on the left (cluster I) is mainly due to diachronic change, while agreement and the spelling of *z (cluster II) seem to be primarily prestige and register driven.

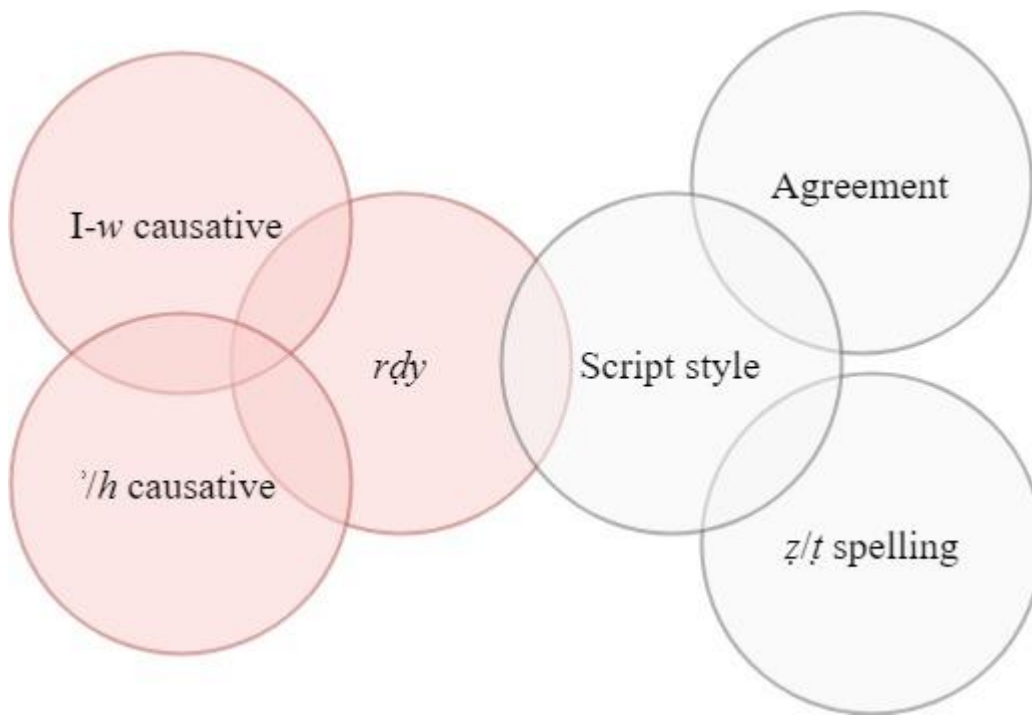


Figure 19 Overlap of variables with significant results excluding genre. The degree of overlap does not represent the degree of significance.

7.3.2 Cluster I: ʾ/h-causative, I-w causative, RDY

Not only do the causative type, the spelling of the I-w causative and RDY all correlate significantly with each other, they all correlate with each other in the same way. Especially the correlations between causative type and I-w causative and between I-w causative and the spelling of RDY are robust, given the strong effect size of both these correlations besides their significant relationship (§ 7.2.1.1.1 Co-occurrence with I-w causative, 7.2.1.1.2 Co-occurrence with RDY, 7.2.1.2.1 Co-occurrence with I-w causative).

Table 82 Overview of correlations between the variables in cluster I

Variable I	Variable II	Standardized residual
<i>h</i> -causative	Plene spelling of <i>rdy</i>	5.9
<i>h</i> -causative	Plene spelling of I-w causative	3.5
Plene spelling of <i>rdy</i>	Plene spelling of I-w causative	2.7

Independently from its correlation with other variables in the corpus, it is clear that the *plene* spelling of final weak verbs in non-word final position is more archaic than the defective spelling, and that the sound change underlying this change in spelling occurred in the period attested in the inscriptions. This follows from the variation in spelling of the final glide (see § 4.2 *Matres lectionis*).

Based on comparative evidence, a similar claim can be made for the difference between ʾ- and *h*-causative forms, where the *h*-causatives represent a more archaic form than the ʾ-causatives.²⁸⁸ However, the existence of an inscription containing both forms also clearly shows that there was a period in which both forms were available to the authors of the Dadanitic inscriptions. This indicates that we cannot conclude that all inscriptions containing *h*-causatives must have been produced before those containing ʾ-causatives (see § 5.3.2 Causative).

Looking at the variant spellings for I-*w* causative forms, it is not immediately clear if one form is more archaic than the other and if this is the case, which one should be considered archaic. Given the lack of evidence for the *plene* spelling of word internal diphthongs in other forms, the variation might be best explained as the loss of the CD-stem (see § 4.5 Diphthongs). If this analysis is correct, the ‘defective spelling’ is the more developed form. Interpreting this variation as a historical development seems to be supported by the significant relationship between *plene* spelling of I-*w* causatives and the more archaic features of the other two variables it correlates with. Based on the complete lack of ʾ-causatives with the first *w* represented (see Table 55), it can even be proposed that the CD-stem had lost its productivity by the time the ʾ-causative developed. Since this is based on the absence of evidence this can be no more than a suggestion of course.²⁸⁹

7.3.2.1 Cluster I and genre

If the features in this cluster indeed represent a historical development in the language of the inscriptions, then the relationship between the spelling of RDY and genre and script style and the relationship between causative type and genre could support a historical development in use of genre and script style as well (see also § 7.3.1 Genre). It is also possible that linguistic change simply entered the higher register genres and script styles at a slower pace due to conventions or a certain prestige connected to more archaic language use. The more archaic linguistic forms may also have had a certain prestige which made them more appropriate for more formal inscriptions and their use was open to choice to a certain degree. It is clear, however, that the more progressive forms eventually became completely acceptable for higher register inscriptions as well. Looking at the absolute number of occurrences of each feature, it is clear that the more progressive linguistic forms eventually became the norm in all layers of the corpus.

7.3.2.2 Cluster I and geminate causative

The geminate causative is the only variable that does not correlate significantly with any other variable in the corpus. This is partly due to its restricted use. The only attested verb in the causative form of a geminate root is √ZLL. Since it is only found in *zll* inscriptions, it cannot be compared to the variable genre, and since there are no I-*w* geminate roots, a comparison to that category is also impossible.

The spelling of the geminate causative does have a marginally significant correlation with causative type, albeit with a low effect size (§ 7.2.3.2.1 Co-occurrence with causative type). It is interesting to note, however, that the association between the different categories seems to corroborate the hypothesis that the *plene* spelling of the geminate roots in the causative stem is the more archaic form. The archaic nature of the *h*-causative is established more firmly and it correlates positively with the

²⁸⁸ Compare, for example, Aramaic in which *h* > ʾ in the causative prefix in the attested material (Gzella 2015, 34).

²⁸⁹ Note however, that there are two inscriptions that are not in the OCIANA database, that contain ʾ*wdq* forms. These are found in text 2 and text 3 in the catalogue of "The Echo of Caravans" exhibition at the Sharjah Museum (UAE). I would like to thank Jérôme Norris for bringing these inscriptions to my attention.

plene spelling of the geminate causative, while it correlates negatively with the defective spelling. The *ʾ*-causative, on the other hand, correlates positively with the defective spelling of the geminate causative, and negatively with the *plene* spelling. So even though the association is not statistically very strong, the pattern that emerges is consistent.

The spelling of the geminate causative and the third variable of cluster I, the spelling of RDY, is not significant, with a low effect size. The categories pattern together in the opposite direction of what would be expected, if there was a historical relationship between them: there is a positive relationship between the defective spelling of RDY and the *plene* spelling of the geminate causative and a negative one between the defective spelling of RDY and the defective spelling of the geminate causative. The more archaic *plene* spelling of RDY patterns in the opposite direction with the different spellings of the geminate causative. Given the non-significant correlation and low effect size, however, this may very well be due to chance.

Given the lack of a significant relationship, not too much weight should be given to the patterning of the different categories of the spelling of RDY and the geminate causatives. The lack of both a consistent pattern and significant correlations does show that even if there is some historical relationship between causative type and the spelling of the geminate causative, it is not the same one as that between the three variables of cluster I. Given the low effect size, even the marginally significant relationship between causative type and the spelling of geminate causatives cannot be taken as proof for a historical development in the spelling of the geminate causatives. Therefore it seems that the different spellings of the geminate causative (metathesized and *plene*) either continued to exist in free variation, or that they represent different morphological forms (a C-stem and a CD-stem) which possibly continued to be productive in this particular context due to its high formularity and centrality to the writing tradition.

7.3.3 Cluster II: *z/ṭ* spelling, script style, agreement and genre

As discussed above (§ 7.3.1 Genre), agreement and the spelling of **z* significantly correlate with genre. The spelling of **z* also correlates significantly with script style. The fact that they do not correlate significantly with any of the variables in cluster I suggests that they are not part of a similar historical development.

7.3.3.1 *z/ṭ* spelling

In relation to the significance of genre as an explanatory factor for variation, it has already been discussed that the spelling of *ṭ* for **z* seems to have fallen outside of the written norm of the Dadanitic language (§ 7.3.1 Genre). It is therefore probably best understood as influence from the spoken language of the inscriber. It is unclear whether this means that *z* and *ṭ* had merged in the language of the oasis itself, or that the authors of the inscriptions using *ṭ* for **z* spoke an entirely different language (Kootstra 2018b, 210).

7.3.3.2 Agreement

Agreement only correlates significantly with script style, mostly due to a significantly lower number of inscriptions with neutralization executed in relief than expected, and a significantly higher number of inscriptions with neutralization that were chiseled into the rock (see §7.2.2.1 Script style). This seems to suggest that the linguistically most progressive forms, which neutralized dual agreement completely, were preferred in more simply produced inscriptions, while neutralization was avoided in the more elaborate inscriptions. This is supported by the attestation of two inscriptions in which the

author seemed unsure about the usage of the dual.²⁹⁰ This suggests that people continued to (attempt to) use the dual forms even though it was not, or no longer, part of their day-to-day speech. The low number of occurrences of dual forms clearly shows that despite any prestige the dual may have had during the production of the inscriptions, it was not part of the standard written register of the inscriptions, probably indicating that it was already falling out of use by the time this register developed.

7.3.3.2.1 Agreement and non-significant correlations

Taking into consideration the distribution of ' and *h*-causatives in inscriptions across the different agreement types, we see that the most archaic type of the causative (*h*-form) only occurs in an inscription with the most progressive treatment of the dual (neutralization, AH 011) and mixed pronouns (U 079 bis),²⁹¹ while the most archaic form of dual agreement (full dual agreement) only occurs in an inscription with an ' -causative (AH 199).

Note that there are only three instances of *h*-causatives in this dataset. As discussed above there seems to be a general historical trend in the development of the *h*-causatives to ' -causative, but it is impossible to say in absolute terms that any inscription containing *h*-causative forms is older than one containing ' -causative forms (§ 7.3.2 Cluster I: ' /*h*-causative, I-w causative,). Therefore, the few examples of *h*-causatives in inscriptions for which the agreement type can be determined do not show definitively that the development of the agreement types does not have any historical component. It does show, however, that it probably did not develop in parallel with the linguistic variables in cluster I.²⁹²

7.3.4 The *zll* inscriptions

Within cluster I the *zll* inscriptions deserve special attention. Both in content and structure *zll* inscriptions and more general dedicatory inscriptions are similar: something is performed or given to a deity, and the inscription ends with a petition to the deity. Given their similarities, they would also be expected to belong to the same or a similar genre as they are both clearly not graffiti, but formulaic and official in character. Their similar degree of formality is reflected in the way both genres of inscription interact with script style (Table 84).

Even though the *zll* inscriptions are more evenly distributed across the different script types and dedicatory inscriptions have a much stronger positive relationship to relief than *zll* ones, they always correlate in the same direction to specific script styles. A similar overlap can be found in the relationship between *zll* and dedicatory inscriptions and the spelling of *z.

Once again, the relationships are not identical, but they do all correlate in the same direction. This seems to confirm that both genres have a similar kind of official character warranting the use of more elaborate techniques for their execution, while they both have a negative relationship with the non-standard spelling of *z.

²⁹⁰ In one inscription two dedicants agree with a dual verb but plural resumptive pronouns are used (U 019), the other inscription is completely in the singular except for the resumptive pronoun in the blessing formula in the dual (AH 120).

²⁹¹ And once with the neutral full plural agreement (JSLih 049).

²⁹² The distribution of agreement type across geminate causative types is fairly similar for each type of geminate causative. Note that the one example of full dual agreement occurs in the more archaic plene spelled geminate causative (a ' -causative verb).

Table 83 Relationship between script style and *zll* or dedicatory inscriptions in standardized residuals

Script style	Relationship to <i>zll</i>	Relationship to dedicatory
Pounded	-2.9	-4.3
Chiseled	-.6	-3.7
Itlib relief	-1.5	-.9
Incised	2.5	2.9
Relief	3.7	10.1

Table 84 Relationship between spelling of *z and *zll* or dedicatory inscriptions in standardized residuals

*z spelling	Relationship to <i>zll</i>	Relationship to dedicatory
z	1.2	.2
ʔ	-2.4	-.4

If we compare their relationship to the linguistic variables in cluster I, however (spelling of RDY, causative type, spelling of I-w causative and agreement type), they always have the opposite relationship to them.

Table 85 Relationship between spelling of RDY and *zll* or dedicatory inscriptions in standardized residuals

Spelling of RDY	Relationship to <i>zll</i>	Relationship to dedicatory
<i>Plene</i>	-2.3	4.9
Defective	.8	-1.7

Table 86 Relationship between causative type and *zll* or dedicatory inscriptions in standardized residuals

Causative type	Relationship to <i>zll</i>	Relationship to dedicatory
<i>h</i> -causative	-1	3.2
'-causative	.2	-.8

Considering that these three variables also cluster together and seem to share a historical dimension (see § 7.3.2 Cluster I: 'h-causative, I-w causative,), the general dedicatory inscriptions seem to occur more frequently with the more archaic forms, while the *zll* inscriptions seem to occur more frequently together with the more progressive forms.

Table 87 Relationship between I-w causative and *zll* or dedicatory inscriptions in standardized residuals

I-w causative	Relationship to <i>zll</i>	Relationship to dedicatory
Defective	.5	-.4
<i>Plene</i>	-1.2	.9

This may suggest that the general dedicatory inscriptions are older, or belong to a different register than the *zll* inscriptions which favors a more linguistically archaic style. However, since both types of inscriptions were composed using similar formulae (see Chapter 3 - Genres and Compositional Formulae) and they have a similar relationship to script style, assuming that they belong to different linguistic and stylistic registers is problematic. It does need to be kept in mind, however, that the *zll* inscriptions are by far the most attested genre of inscriptions (243), after graffiti (1443) and followed by dedicatory inscriptions (83) (see 7.1.2.2.2 Genre). It is tempting to think the *zll* inscriptions may have had a special linguistic register associated with them, based on the special place within the corpus. Looking at the distribution of the linguistic variables, however, it seems instead that the dedicatory inscriptions triggered the preference for more archaic linguistic forms. So despite the fact that the *zll* inscriptions are clearly dedicated to the main deity of the oasis, *dgbt*, and they had a religious character, they do not seem to have been closely associated with a special archaic linguistic register. This may say something about the nature of the *zll* ritual. If we imagine a performative aspect to the *zll* inscriptions, a spoken part to the ritual may have contributed to its language developing more closely along with the spoken register, which may explain the occasional use of even more progressive *t* spellings for **z* in the *zll* inscriptions. However, even spoken ritual language is often archaic and not a direct reflection of the spoken language in the society in which it is used. Another possibility might be that even though the *zll* inscriptions follow the general formulae of the dedicatory inscriptions, their function was not purely religious. The association between the *zll* ritual and crops and what seem to have been names of agricultural plots, may suggest that apart from their ritual association, the *zll* inscriptions also had a legal function, related to taxes or property rights. Such a legal function may have influenced the language used in them to be closer to the language of documentary texts, which tend to be linguistically more progressive (see chapter 1, scribal school and variation). Based on the currently available material it is difficult to say whether the nature or the age of the rituals caused the difference in language preference between the *zll* and dedicatory inscriptions. It is clear, however, that the dedicatory inscriptions seem to be the genre with a special archaic linguistic register associated with them.

7.3.4.1 Agreement and the *zll* inscriptions

Agreement and genre do not correlate in a significant way with only a moderate effect size, but the pattern of co-occurrence of these factors is still interesting. The relationship between genre and full plural agreement does not say anything about the language used for the inscriptions, as there is no linguistic variation in expressing plural agreement. The positive relationship between dedicatory inscriptions and full plural agreement therefore only means that there are more attestations of dedicatory inscriptions made by more than two people than expected if there was no relationship between these two factors, but not as many as to give a significant result. So their correlation might still be due to chance.

While agreement type and genre do not have a significant relationship ($p = .89$), the *zll* and other dedicatory inscriptions do pattern with agreement type in similar directions as with the other linguistic variables. Especially interesting is the relationship between the most progressive neutralization and the genre of the inscription: it has a negative relationship with general dedicatory inscriptions but a slightly positive relationship with *zll* inscriptions, again showing a preference for more progressive linguistic forms in the *zll* inscriptions and a dis-preference for them in dedicatory inscriptions.

Table 88 Relationship between agreement type and *zll* or dedicatory inscriptions in standardized residuals

Agreement type	Relationship to <i>zll</i>	Relationship to dedicatory
Full plural agreement	-1.1	1.9
Full dual agreement	.5	-.5
Partial dual agreement	.6	-.3
Only on noun	.8	-.5
Mix dual	.5	-.5
Mix	1.3	-1.2
Mistake	1	-1
Loss of the dual	.8	-1.3

7.4 Conclusions

Looking at the absolute number of occurrences, the forms that are most common in the writing tradition in fact seem to be the more linguistically progressive forms. The more archaic forms are usually the less frequent form.²⁹³ However, at the same time they correlate significantly with the more formal script styles and genres. Especially the use of the dual (part of the variable agreement), which only correlates significantly with script style, seems to be driven by the register of the inscription. However, the *plene* spelling of RDY, which seems to have a historical component, also correlates significantly with script style and genre.

Additional support for the high prestige of some of the more archaic features can be seen in the inscriptions in which the authors seem to have been confused about their usage. For example in the inscription in which both an *h*-causative and a *ʿ*-causative occur (Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1-2); the inscription in which two dedicants agree with a dual verb but plural resumptive pronouns are used (U 019); the inscription which is completely in the singular except for the resumptive pronoun in the blessing formula in the dual (AH 120); and the occasional use of *ʿ* spellings for **z* (e.g. AH 009.1). This suggests that the authors of the inscriptions were trying to use forms that they were (no longer) familiar with in their day-to-day speech.

On the other hand, the fact that the more archaic forms were not adopted as the written norm, shows that even though register had some effect on their usage, the archaic forms did not have the kind of

²⁹³ The spelling of **z* is the only exception.

prestige that would make them the goal variety of the entire written register. Instead, they seem to have existed in parallel to the more progressive linguistic variables and their use was possibly more of an artistic choice. The physical presence of other (possibly older) inscriptions with archaic linguistic forms in the landscape may have inspired the authors of some of the inscriptions to (attempt to) copy their archaic language.

Given the fact that the archaic forms were clearly not the linguistic norm of the inscriptions, and therefore register alone cannot explain or predict their usage, it may be suggested that script style and genre are not merely indicators of register, but also underwent a historical development themselves. In the case of script style this would mean that technically less demanding manners of inscribing became more acceptable for more formal inscriptions as well (as we can see in the wide variety of styles the *zll* inscriptions were executed in). Within genre, the *zll* inscriptions contain less archaic linguistic forms than the general dedicatory inscriptions. This clearly shows that they form two separate genres, despite their overlap in formulaic usage and register, based on the script styles used to produce the inscriptions. The use of a special archaic linguistic register used in the dedicatory inscriptions could mean that they are simply older than the *zll* inscriptions. If we consider the register of the inscriptions to be leading, however, it might suggest the *zll* inscriptions did not have a purely religious function, which meant that the archaic linguistic register associated with religious texts was less appropriate for them.

Chapter 8 - Conclusions

The general aim of this work was to investigate the linguistic variation attested in the Dadanitic inscriptions in order to understand the reasons behind this variation. A better understanding of the variation in the inscriptions also sheds light on the role of writing in ancient Dadān and the role of a scribal school or writing culture at the oasis. The following will give an overview of the general conclusions of each chapter and move on to a discussion of the local writing practice at Dadān.

8.1 Part I Descriptive and grammar chapters

8.1.1 Chapter 2 script

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the variation in letter shapes and script styles in the Dadanitic corpus. Following Macdonald (2010, 2015), it takes the position that the variation in letter shapes cannot be used to date the inscriptions relative to each other. Furthermore, it shows that there is no absolute relationship between the script style and purpose of an inscription. For example, formal inscriptions commemorating the *zll* ceremony are attested in both the least technically demanding pounded style (e.g. U 116) and in the most complex relief style (e.g. U 001). More general trends of distribution are discussed in Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation.

8.1.2 Chapter 3 formulae

Chapter 3 gives an overview of the different genres and compositional formulae attested in Dadanitic. The compositional formulae are an essential component of the Dadanitic writing culture. Defining the main compositional formulae helps to define which inscriptions and phrases are at the core of the local writing tradition and which are peripheral to it.

8.1.3 Chapter 4 orthography and phonology

Dadanitic used *matres lectionis* -h and -w for -ā and -ū respectively. The *mater* -y for -ī seems to have developed within the time span documented by the Dadanitic inscriptions.

The often attested difference in representation of the diphthongs between the personal names and the content of the inscriptions, could suggest a difference in phonology between the personal names and the language of the inscriptions. If diphthongs had collapsed in the language of the inscriptions, but were preserved in the pronunciation of some of the personal names, this may have led to confusion as to how to represent the diphthongs in the Dadanitic orthography, leading to inconsistent representation of diphthongs in the personal names.

One of the more consistently varying phonemes is *z*, which is sometimes represented with *ṭ*. The spelling with *ṭ* mostly occurs in a specific group of inscriptions, mentioning ‘guarding’ activities *nṭr*, from the root *NṢR. Other *ṭ* spellings occur in the *zll* inscriptions, and in several personal names. This occasional variation suggests that /z/ and /ṭ/ merged in the spoken language of at least some of the inhabitants of the oasis. Based on these relatively few examples, however, it remains difficult to say just how wide spread this feature was.

8.1.4 Chapter 5 verbal morphology

Chapter 5 describes the verbal morphology of the Dadanitic inscriptions, including the variation attested for each form. The more prominent points of variation in verbal morphology are the variation

in dual agreement, causative type, spelling of the I-*w* causative and the spelling of the geminate causative.²⁹⁴

Especially remarkable is the use of the construction *'n* + subjunctive. The use of *'n* as a subordinator is considered an Arabic innovation (Al-Jallad 2015, 12).

8.1.5 Chapter 6 nominal and pronominal morphology

Chapter 6 describes the attested nominal and pronominal morphology and its variation in the Dadanitic inscriptions. Only the variation in dual agreement, which is also discussed in the chapter on verbal morphology, is used as a variable for the quantitative analysis in part II.

It is interesting to note that there is a difference in bound and unbound dual and plural suffixes (as already noted by Macdonald 2008, 194). There is some evidence for the preservation of case. Even though in most inscriptions it seems that the oblique form of the bound dual (-y) was leveled to the nominative as well, there is one inscription with a dual form *bnh* (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII) with a suffix -ā in the nominative case. There is one attestation of a plural form *bnw* (JSLih 079) in the nominative case, suggesting a vocalic suffix -ū.

Finally there is a remarkable degree of variation in the form of the definite article. The *h(n)*- form is the most commonly used form, but there also seems to be one attestation of a *hl*- definite article (JSLih 021f). Finally there are several attestations of an assimilated *'l*- definite article (e.g. JSLih 276; AH 119), and one of an unassimilated form before a *'* (Ġabal Al-Ĥuraymāt 4).

8.2 Part II Variation chapter

Based on the description and grammatical analysis in part I, several of the more consistently varying features of the inscriptions were selected to perform a quantitative analysis of the variation on the corpus. These variables include both grammatical and stylistic features of the texts. The stylistic features, script style and genre, can give insight into the register of an inscription. The grammatical variables were chosen to give insight into the linguistic variation in the Dadanitic corpus. The grammatical features are: the type of causative form (*'* or *h*-causative), the form of the I-*w* causative (*'hwCC* or *'hCC*), the spelling of the geminate causative (*'hzll* or *'hzl*), the spelling of \sqrt{RDY} (*rđy-h(m)* or *rđ-h(m)*), the spelling of **z* (as *z* or *t*) and agreement type. For the analysis the chi-square test (see § 7.1.1 Methodology - Statistics) was used to find statistically significant associations between variables.

This approach reveals two main causes underlying variation: language change and the use of different registers. There is one cluster of grammatical features that co-occur significantly with each other and with high register inscriptions. These variables are the causative type, the spelling of I-*w* causative forms, and the spelling of \sqrt{RDY} , referred to as 'cluster I' in Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation. Of these features, the more archaic linguistic forms all co-occur significantly with each other and with high register inscriptions.

For the causative form and the spelling of \sqrt{RDY} it can be independently established which of the two variant forms is linguistically more archaic. Based on comparative data it is clear that the *h*-causative is more archaic than the *'*-causative. The fact that the development of the spelling of \sqrt{RDY} is attested within the corpus (see § 4.3 Triphthongs) clearly shows that the *plene* spellings of *rđy* before the

²⁹⁴ These are the same variables that are used in the Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation.

pronominal suffix are the more archaic forms. For the spelling of the *w*-causative it is less evident which variant represents the archaic form (see chapter 4.5 Diphthongs). The most plausible explanation seems to be to interpret the spelling with the medial *w* as representing a CD-stem which was eventually lost. So even though we cannot date any of the individual inscriptions relative to each other, the fact that we can independently establish the archaic nature of at least two of the linguistic variables, combined with the consistent pattern of association between all the archaic variants, strongly suggests that the variation in all three features is at least partly the result of diachronic change in the language of the inscriptions.

Table 89 Overview of the grammatical variants with a positive significant relationship

<i>h</i> -causative	<i>plene</i> spelling of <i>w</i> -causative
<i>h</i> -causative	<i>plene</i> spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$
<i>plene</i> spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$	<i>plene</i> spelling of <i>w</i> -causative

The strong association between these archaic linguistic forms and high register inscriptions shows that even though the archaic linguistic forms are the minority, they are not likely infiltrations from a spoken register into the written language. Such ‘mistakes’ would be expected to be more frequent in less carefully composed and constructed inscriptions. While the clustering of archaic linguistic forms suggests a historical component to their development, the association with high register inscriptions implies that prestige may also have played a role. The relationship between archaic forms and high prestige seems to be supported by the occasional mis-use of archaic linguistic features, such as the co-occurrence of an *h*- and a ’-causative within the same inscription (Al-Sa‘īd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1-2) or inconsistent use of dual agreement (U 019 and AH 120), both of which suggests that the author of the inscription was trying to use a form he was not completely familiar with.

It is somewhat problematic, however, to assume that the use of archaic forms was solely driven by register. If archaic linguistic forms had such prestige, it is somewhat surprising that they are not more common and did not become the target forms of all inscriptions. This may suggest that the relationship between general dedicatory inscriptions and archaic linguistic forms is partly caused by the age of the inscriptions, and they are simply generally older than the other inscriptions. This cannot explain the occasional mis-use of archaic linguistic forms mentioned above, however. In this light it is worth noting that there seems to be a strong difference between *zll* inscriptions and other dedicatory inscriptions and their preference for archaic linguistic forms. Even though they seem to belong to the same register in terms of content, formulae, and execution, general dedicatory inscriptions show a preference for the use of archaic linguistic forms, while *zll* inscriptions show the opposite relationship to the same variables. This seems to suggest that, despite the central position of the *zll* inscriptions in the writing tradition at the oasis, the other dedicatory inscriptions are the genre associated with a prestigious archaic linguistic register. The preference for more progressive linguistic forms in the *zll* inscriptions may be due to several different reasons. They may simply be younger than the other dedicatory inscriptions and the archaic forms had lost, or were losing, their prestige, also as a formal register, by the time the *zll* inscriptions were produced. Alternatively it may say something about the nature of the ritual. The content of the inscriptions suggest the *zll* ceremony may have had a legal aspect, besides its religious significance, related to taxes or property rights. A connection to legal practice may have caused the language of the inscriptions to be closer to the linguistic register of documentary texts, which tends to be more progressive than that of monumental inscriptions (see

Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation for a more extensive discussion of the language of the *zll* inscriptions).

In the variation of the spelling of *z and the use of dual agreement on the other hand, the influence of register is more obvious. Even though the use of dual agreement does not correlate significantly with any of the variables in cluster I, it mimics their distribution across register: the more progressive neutralization of the dual correlates negatively with higher register inscriptions, while it correlates positively with lower register script styles; again confirming the connection between lower register inscriptions and more progressive linguistic forms. The attestation of mistakes in the use of the dual further confirm that at some point this type of agreement probably fell out of use in the spoken language of the oasis, but was remembered for a while as part of an archaic, higher register used in writing.

The spelling of *z shows the opposite distribution in absolute numbers. In this case the more archaic form is the most commonly used variant. However, similar to relative distribution of the other variables across the different registers we also see that the more progressive form *ʔ* correlates significantly with lower register inscriptions. The low number of attestations, however, suggests that the *ʔ* spellings are infiltrations from the spoken language that crept into more casually composed inscriptions, possibly by accident.

8.3 Beyond variation

Chapter 1 discussed the role of writing at the oasis of Dadān. As Macdonald (2010) has shown, the Dadanitic script was probably also used for writing on soft materials, and the oasis was likely a literate society (Macdonald 2010, 12–14). This suggests that there was a need for scribes who would know how to draw up certain specialized documents, like contracts or letters, which required training to become familiar with the designated formulae. Looking at the production of the inscriptions, the high level of craftsmanship needed to produce the inscriptions in relief clearly shows that there was an industry surrounding the production of the inscriptions and that the people who made them received specialized training as well (Macdonald 2010, 7). From inscriptions JSLih 082 and AH 220 it is clear, that at least for some inscriptions both a craftsman *ʃn* and a scribe *sʔfr* were involved in their production. Therefore, there seem to have been professional scribes at the oasis that one could turn to when in need of a specific kind of inscription or written document. These scribes would be trained in the local scribal tradition, or scribal school. Given the size of the corpus and the oasis, these scribes were probably not trained in massive institutions. However, the presence of a family of scribes where knowledge was passed on from father to son would probably have been enough to establish a writing tradition and to pass on the knowledge of less common forms and registers as well.

Following the conclusion that we can posit the existence of a defined written register, apart from the spoken languages at the oasis, chapter 1 also explored the possible effects the existence of such a scribal school may have had on the language of the inscriptions and the linguistic variation attested in them. The results of part two have shown that while the archaic linguistic forms did not become the standard, they did have a certain prestige and were favored in some of the higher register inscriptions. The clustering of several more archaic linguistic forms also seems to imply a genuine historical dimension to the linguistic variation. The fact that the inscriptions seem to witness development of the language suggests that, while in some cases the use of archaic forms was deemed prestigious, the written language was not completely divorced from the spoken language and developed along-side it. The lack of absolute correlations between archaic and progressive forms indicates that there was not a

sudden, enforced change of writing practice, but a more gradual development. This allowed for different linguistic forms to remain in use side by side, which gave the authors of the inscriptions a choice of forms and styles they could employ.

This lack of absolute divisions, and the presence of fuzzy variation, does not support the existence of a scribal school with a strong regularizing effect on the language. Instead, it seems that variation was acceptable and possibly even desired in the production of the inscriptions. Macdonald has shown that even within beautifully produced inscriptions in relief, variation in letter shapes can be found (Macdonald 2010, 14). This seems to suggest that we might need to abandon the modern idea that perfect regularity is generally the desired aesthetic aim.

The presence of a large number of graffiti in and around the oasis supports the idea that literacy was not confined to only a small group of trained scribes. A parallel might be drawn here with the situation in Iron Age Judah. It is clear that as literacy in Hebrew began to spread, there was also an increase in inconsistencies in grammar and spelling, noticeable in the epigraphic material (Schniedewind 2013, 100). Based on this, Schniedewind concludes that as literacy spreads it becomes problematic for a scribal school to maintain control over the maintenance of a strictly defined written language. As less highly trained individuals are starting to use the written language, influence from the spoken register is bound to creep in. Such tension between, on the one hand professional scribes and on the other hand private individuals both leaving inscriptions, may explain to some extent the variation attested in the Dadanitic written record. The presence of a small group of trained scribes might have been enough to maintain a written register somewhat removed from the spoken register, and even the memory of some more archaic forms. Scribes could then employ such forms to lift the significance of a commissioned text. At the same time, the participation of private individuals in the writing practices of the oasis may have pushed the incorporation of more progressive forms in the written register. Their participation in the production of texts may also explain the occasional mis-use of an archaic form, or even incorporation of forms that were not even part of the less formal registers of writing (yet), such as the *ʔ* spelling for *z.

A final point of contact between different linguistic forms may also have come from the documents written on perishable materials. As we know from, for example, the Sabaic material, the linguistic norms used to write personal letters is often a lot more progressive than that used to write monumental inscriptions. One can imagine how someone, who is not a highly trained scribe, leaving a graffito or small inscription may use some forms that are common in his day-to-day writing, but not necessarily part of the high register of inscriptions. Similar to the scenario sketched by Macdonald concerning the interaction of formal and informal forms of the script in such a situation (Macdonald 2015, 7).

From the association between archaic linguistic forms and higher register, and the occasional unsuccessful attempt at using them, it is clear that, while these forms fell out of use at some point, they had a certain prestige and they were remembered after they had fallen out of regular use in the spoken variety. The fact that archaic linguistic forms were remembered further supports the idea that the people who produced the inscriptions were educated, and that there was a strong cultural continuity at the oasis. The cultural continuity is, of course, very clearly visible in the homogeneity in

formulae used in the inscriptions. The physical presence of older inscriptions in the landscape undoubtedly also contributed to the memory of older linguistic forms and formulae.²⁹⁵

8.4 Future directions

By incorporating statistical methods into the analysis of linguistic variation in Dadanitic, this work has demonstrated an effective approach to dealing with the fuzzy kind of variation attested in many other epigraphic corpora as well. This quantitative approach can help identify relationships that are especially close, despite the fact that their features may not correlate exclusively together to the exclusion of others. This can help bring out patterns in the data that would be easy to miss when comparing the occurrence of variables in a more impressionistic way.

More specifically to the study of Dadanitic, this methodology may yield fruitful results in the future study of paleography and variation in the use of phrases and word order. Despite the fact that the proposals to use paleographic variation to date the inscriptions so far have been unreliable (Macdonald 2015, 17–18), the diachronic dimension to linguistic variation found in this study brings up new questions about the possibility to link the variation in script to diachronic development as well. Approaching the fuzzy variation in letter shapes with similar quantitative methodology may shed new light on the development of the script and the reasons underlying the choice for more or less archaic letter shapes within individual phrases or inscriptions, if similar clusters of co-occurring variables can be found.

Despite the highly formulaic nature of the inscriptions, there is quite a lot of variation to be found in the inscriptions in terms of the order and amount of the different elements a text can consist of (see § 3.2.2.1.1.2 The objects). The sheer amount of possible variations in word order and the different levels of building blocks present within an inscription (genre, but also the elements *superscriptio*, *narratio*, *invocatio* within each inscription) that can also vary in their order and length, means that a differently structured database is needed to catalogue this variation than the one I built for the analysis of the linguistic variables analyzed in this study. However, as formulae are such an important part of writing traditions in general, understanding the variation attested in the Dadanitic inscriptions can make a serious contribution to furthering our understanding of the writing tradition of Dadān.

8.5 Summary

In short, the language of the Dadanitic inscriptions changed during the time in which the corpus was produced. The fact that there is no clear break between linguistic habits shows that this change was gradual and probably not strictly regulated by a scribal authority. This seems to suggest that professional scribes were not the only ones able to write. The sophisticated production of the inscriptions and cultural setting at the oasis do point to the existence of a scribal school, however. As part of this education the professional scribes probably also familiarized themselves with archaic linguistic forms. For the professional scribes this was likely part of their training. It needs to be kept in mind, however, that less highly trained literate individuals also had access to such forms through the presence of inscriptions containing archaic forms in the landscape. While the more archaic linguistic forms appear to have had a certain prestige, they were not promoted to become the standard written form. Instead, it seems that after they fell out of use in the spoken language of the oasis they could be

²⁹⁵ Such conscious use of archaic forms may be compared to the use of Kufic script from about the 12th century CE (this was brought to my attention by Prof. P. Sijpesteijn (pc.)). Even though round scripts started to replace Kufic from the late 9th to the early 10th centuries CE in manuscripts and from the late 11th century also in monumental epigraphy, Kufic continued to be used sporadically in headings in Quran manuscripts and historical texts (Blair 2007, 600–601).

used optionally, possibly to add to the cultural or religious significance of an inscription. A certain degree of variation, both in letter shapes and linguistic form seems to have been an accepted part of the writing tradition at Dadān.

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Appendix - Glossary

This glossary contains all the lexical material in the currently available Dadanitic corpus. It also includes all toponyms and theonyms included in the corpus. Only the personal names that have been interpreted as lexical items have in OCIANA have been included. The entries are lexeme based, rather than root based to facilitate searching of ambiguous forms. Each entry does include a field with the root of the word. Whenever a lexeme is found in several derived forms, the base form (usually the most commonly occurring form) will be the entry form, with the derived forms listed inside the lemma. When only a derived form is available, this will be listed. For example, only the plural form *'fqw* 'they dedicated' is attested and therefore it has its own lexical entry, while both pl. *'zllw* and sing. *'zll* 'to perform the *zll* ceremony' are attested, therefore *'zllw* can be found under the singular form *'zll*. Variant spellings of the same form can also be found under the same entry. The translation of each example is marked with * to indicate it is my interpretation of the inscription. Those marked with ** follow the translation offered in OCIANA. Whenever the translation is based on another source it will be cited using regular in text citation.

Alphabetic order

' - ' - b - d - d - d - f - g - g - h - h - h - k - l - m - n - q - r - s (for s¹) - s (for s²) - s - t - t - t - w - y - z - z

Structure of the entries

POS, verbal stem, PGN. Gloss. Root. Example sentence followed by (sigla/ line no.) 'translation of the example'.

Variant: form in bold face. example sentence (sigla/ line no.) 'translation of example'. *derived forms: form in bold face. example sentence (sigla/line no.)* 'translation of example'. *NOTE:* etymological comments and discussion when necessary. *Certainty: note about how certain the proposed translation is. Frequency: no. of attestations of each attested form. Genre: different text genres in which the word occurs. Usage: example of highly frequent or idiomatic usage; translation.*

’ly *adjective, elative.* highest, upper. *Root:* ’lw. *ḥḏw/h-mkn//w h-mq’d/ḡh/kl-h/mn/m’//n/h-gbl/hn’ly/’dky//m’{n}/h-gbl/hn-’s{f}l (JSLih 072/ 4-7)* ‘they took the place and this sitting place, all of it, from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border (Lundberg 2015, 135)’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. ’a ’lā ’higher, nobler, loftier’ (Hava 1915, 489b). *Certainty:* **certain.** *Frequency:* **1.** *Genre:* **narrative.**

’b *noun.* pasture. *Root:* ’bb. *’ny//ysg[’] b-hm/w {m}’ n-h[m]//w {m}’fr-h{m}/b-mšhl(U 026/3-5)* ‘that their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at mšhl**’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. ’abb ’herbage, whether fresh or dry or, pasture or herbage which beasts feed upon’ (Lane, 3c). *Certainty:* **uncertain.** *Frequency:* **1.** *Genre:* **dedicatory, legal.**

’bt *noun.* Q. *Root:* Q. *----//{n}/’ly/’bt/d----* (AH 218) ‘... on behalf of families/herbage...*’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. bayt ’house, family’ or ’abb ’herbage, whether fresh or dry or, pasture or herbage which beasts feed upon’ (Lane, 3c). *Certainty:* **uncertain, broken context.** *Frequency:* **1.** *Genre:* **Q.**

’dq *verb, c, 3m.s.* to offer. *Root:* wdq. *’d{q}/h-//{z}’l/’l-dḡ//{b}’t} (AH 087/ 2-4)* ‘he offered the ḡll to ḡḡbt**’. *’dq/l-l//h/{h}-šlmm (JSLih 061/ 3-4)* ‘he offered to lh the two statues/the statuette**’. *3pl.:* **’dqw.** *’dqw/w qr//bw/h-šlm/h-nḥs/l-//ḡḡbt (Al-Huraybah 09/ 3-5)* ‘they dedicated and offered the bronze statue to ḡḡbt*’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. wadaqa ’to approach’ (Lisān). A similar semantic connection exists in CAR. D-stem form qarraba ’he presented it, or offered it to them’ (Lane 2505b) from qaraba ’to become near’ (Lane 2504b) and Aram. ’ty ’to come’ and hyty ’to bring’ (CAL, 4–10–2017). See hdq and hwdq. *Certainty:* **certain.** *Frequency:* **’dq: 6; ’dqw: 1.** *Genre:* **dedicatory.**

’ḡh *complementizer.* if; when. *Root:* ḡV. *----h/bn/PN/’ḡh/ḥrb-hm ----// (JSLih 055/ 2)* ‘... son of PN if/when he waged war on them...**’. *wsqt//’mm ḡh//nwl/’l mg//h (JSLih 069)* ‘??? ??? when he offered on behalf of his expulsion/grain*’. *NOTE:* Compare e.g. Ug. ’d / idā/ē/ ’when, as soon as’ (Tropper 2000, 796). *Certainty:* **uncertain.** *Frequency:* **2.** *Genre:* **legal; Q.**

’ḏm *noun.pl?.* wheat? *Root:* ḏm. *ddn/ḥbt/mtb/w ḥwḏ ’t/’ḏm/l-dḡbt/mr’//h (Al-Huraybah 12)* ‘Dadān dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to ḡḡbt * her lord**’. *NOTE:* al-Sa’īd proposed to translate ’ḏm as ’presents’ to fit the context (Al-Said 2013–2014, 293–95). Compare CAR. naḏm ’rich wheat’ (Steingass 1993, 1126b). *Certainty:* **uncertain.** *Frequency:* **1.** *Genre:* **dedicatory.**

’fkl *noun.* priest. *Root:* ’fkl. *PN//’fkl/w//d/w bn -h//PN/w P//N (JSLih 049/ 1-5)* ‘PN priest of Wadd and his son PN and PN**’. *----y PN/PN/’fkl/hktby ---- (JSLih 055/ 1)* ‘...PN PN* priest of h-ktby...**’. *PN {’}fkl l{t} (JSLih 277)* ‘PN priest of Lt**’. *feminine:* **’fklit.** *’gw/h-zll/ḡh/l-dḡbt//’l----m’/hn-’fklit/b-bn’l (U 038/ 2-3)* ‘he dedicated* this ḡll for ḡḡbt ... the priestess at bn’l*’. *b’lsmn/’ḥrm/h-qrt//mn/mh/trq-h/mr’t//l-bhny/hn-’fklit//ḡ (JSLih 064)* ‘b’lsmn protected the village from what [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it ḡ* (see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of ’ḥrm and trq)’. *NOTE:* Compare Palm. and Nab. ’pkl ’a high religious official’ (CAL, 16–2–2018); Sab. ’fkl ’priest in conquered Nshan’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 2). The term is thought to come from Sumerian apkallu through Akkadian (cf. Kaufman 1974, 34). ’fkl also seems to occur as a personal name: certainly in JSLih 383, probably also in JaL 012; 024; AH 065.1; al-ḥuraybah 15. *Certainty:* **certain.** *Frequency:* **’fkl: 8; ’fklit: 2.** *Genre:* **dedicatory; narrative; graffiti; construction.**

’fqw *verb, c, 3m.pl.* to dedicate. *Root:* nfq. *----//’fqw/f-rḡ-hm/w ---- (JSLih 054/ 4)* ‘... they dedicated so may he favor them and..*’. *NOTE:* Compare Sab. nfq ’to demand’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 92); Nab., JAr.Palm. npq ’to leave, to go forth’, hif’ il ’to send’, OffAram.m. wtpq ’ḥtb ’mr ’and that A. may bring one ’omer...’ (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 742). OCIANA translates ’fq as ’they exercised the administrative powers’. *Certainty:* **uncertain.** *Frequency:* **1.** *Genre:* **dedicatory.**

ʿfy verb, c, 3m.s. to pay, grant, fulfill an obligation. Root: wfy/nfy. ʿfy//h-zll/l- dǧbt/b- khl (U 031/ 2-3) ‘he fulfilled* the zll for dǧbt at Khl**’. 3s.f.: ʿft. PN/bnt//PN/ʿft/h- z//ll/dh/l-dǧbt//b-khl (U 005/ 2-4) ‘she accomplished* this zll-ceremony for dǧbt at khl**’. du.: ʿfyh. ʿbʿl/dl/ʿfyh/h- zll//l- dǧbt (U 026/ 1-2) ‘the lords of dl fulfilled* the zll for dǧbt**’. 3pl.: ʿfyw. ʿfyw/[z][l][l] h- nq//l-dǧbt (U 037/ 4-5) ‘they fulfilled [the zll] of the nq for dǧbt*’. NOTE: Compare Sab. hwfy ‘to pay, grant, fulfill obligations, render s.o. his due’ (Biella 1982, 138) and CAR. ʿawfā ‘to accomplish (a vow)’ (Hava 1915, 876b). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: ʿfy: 5; ʿft: 2; ʿfyh: 1; ʿfyw: 1. Genre: **zll**.

ʿgw verb, c, 3m.s. to dedicate. Root: ngw or gyw. ʿgw [h-] zll//l [l-] dǧb[t] (U 049/ 3-4) ‘he dedicated* [the] zll to dǧb[t]**’. ʿgw b- k//hl/l- dǧbt(AH 113/ 2-3) ‘he dedicated* at khl to dǧbt**’. Variant: ʿgy. ʿgy/ʿśrt/mnh{h}/ʿ{y}dn//{w} mšhn (JSLih 177/ 1-2) ‘he dedicated ten minah ??? and ???*’. 3s.f.: ʿgt. ʿgt//l- dǧb{t}/{h-} zll (U 126/ 1-2) ‘she dedicated to* dǧbt the zll**’. 3pl.: ʿgww. ʿgww/h-zll/[l-] [d]ǧ//bt (U 088/ 2-3) ‘they dedicated the zll to dǧbt*’. NOTE: Either from gyw ‘to go’ as a causative ‘to bring’ or from ngw (suggested by Drewes 1985, 172): compare Sab. ‘to announce’ (see Macdonald 2014, 154 in connection to ngy in Saf.). Certainty: **semantic domain is certain**. Frequency: ʿgw: 26; ʿgy: 1; ʿgt: 5; ʿgww: 4. Genre: **zll; dedicatory**. Usage: ʿgw h-zll; he dedicated the zll ceremony.

ʿgw noun. dedication. Root: ngw or gyw. PN/w- sṭ-h/sṭ//ʿn PN//ʿgw-h/{z}nfss//w- hggw/dǧbt//b-khl (AI-ʿUdayb 075/ 1-5) ‘PN and he dedicated it, a portion for PN his dedication ???* and they performed the pilgrimage to dǧbt at khl**’. NOTE: Either from gyw ‘to go’ as a causative ‘to bring’ or from ngw (suggested by Drewes 1985, 172). compare Sab. ‘to announce’ (see Macdonald 2014, 154, in connection to ngy in Saf.). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: 1. Genre: **dedicatory**.

ʿǧnmw verb, c, 3m.pl. to present, dedicate (spoils?) Root: ǧnm. ----rb/hggw/w//----r/w ʿǧnmw/l//---- (AH 221/ 3-4) ‘... they performed the pilgrimage... and they presented (as booty?)...**’. NOTE: Compare CAR. ǧannamtu-hu ‘I gave him spoil, or a free and disinterested gift’ (Lane, 2301a); Sab. ǧnm ‘to give booty (deity)’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 54). Certainty: **semantic domain is certain**. Frequency: 1. Genre: **dedicatory**.

ʿhl noun. family. Root: ʿhl. ----/bn//PN/d- ʿh{f}----//zll/h-zll//l-dǧbt (U 060/ 1-4) ‘... son of PN of the lineage of** ... OR of the lineage of ʿhl* performed the zll ceremony for dǧbt**’. NOTE: Kinship is usually indicated with only the particle d directly followed by the family name in Dadanitic, therefore ʿhl may actually be the family name. Compare the Saf. term ʿhl which seems to have a more restricted meaning ‘family’ than ʿl. Macdonald and Nehmé point out the original Semitic meaning of ʿhl as ‘tent’. In Saf. this original meaning may have remained in the sense of referring to the close family group one shares a tent with (Nehmé and Macdonald 2015). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: 1. Genre: **lineage; zll**.

ʿḥ noun. brother. Root: ʿḥ. PN/w ḥ- h/P//N/bnw/PN//PN/zlw/h- zll/l- dǧbt (U 064/ 1-3) ‘PN and his brother PN PN sons of PN PN performed the zll ceremony for dǧbt**’. pl.: ʿḥw (construct form). PN/w-PN/bnw//rṭr/ḥdw/h- qb//r/dh/hm/w ḥw-hm (JSLih 079/ 1-3) ‘PN and PN sons of PN took possession of this tomb, them and their** brothers*’. NOTE: Compare CAR. ʿaḥ ‘a brother’ (Lane, 33a). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: ʿḥ: 2; ʿḥw: 1. Genre: **lineage**.

ʿḥd verb. to take; take possession of st. *Root:* ʿḥd. *PN/ḥd//h-ṣḥt dt (JSLih 066)* ‘PN took possession of this cliff face*’. *w-ḥd/h-mṭbrn (JSLih 045/ 3)* ‘and he took the two grave chambers**/fields*’. *wdyw/nfs/PN/bn/PN/m{h}/ḥd/ʿl-hmy/ḥrg (JSLih 077/ 2-3)* ‘they set up the funerary monument for PN son of PN** which was placed upon them as a lawsuit*’. *3pl.: ʿḥdw. ḥdw/h-qb//r/dh (JSLih 079/ 2-3)* ‘they took possession of this tomb**’. *ḥdw/h-mkn//w h-mqʿd/dh/kll-h (JSLih 072/ 4-5)* ‘they took the place and this sitting place, all of it**’. *PN//bn PN/ḥd//hl-btt (JaL 021 f)* ‘PN son of PN took possession of this section*’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. ʿaḥaḍa ‘he took, he took with his hand, he took hold of’ (Lane, 28b). The funerary inscriptions do not mark an existing grave but seem to lay claim to a certain part of the rockface for the construction of a tomb at a later time, comparable to Nab. inscriptions laying claim to a tomb or a site of a future tomb (Nehmé 2015, 1: texte:105). *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* ʿḥd: **10**; ḥdw: **2**. *Genre:* **funerary; legal; graffiti**.

ʿḥrt noun. posterity. *Root:* ʿḥr. *f r{d}-h w ḥrt-h (U 058/ 6)* ‘so may he favor him and his descendatns**’. *f {r}d {-h}/w sʿd-h/w ḥrt-h (AH 100/ 6-7)* ‘so may he favor her and aid her and her posterity**’. *NOTE:* Compare Nab. ʿḥr ‘posterity’ (CAL, 16–2–2018); CAR. ʿāḥir ‘the last, aftermost, hindmost’ (Lane, 32a); Sab. l-ʿḥr ‘heceforth, for the future’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 4). *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* **116**. *Genre:* **dedicatory; blessing formula**. *Usage:* f-rd-h w-ʿḥrt-h w-sʿd-h; so may he favor him and his posterity and aid him.

ʿḥt noun. sister. *Root:* ʿḥ. *w-ʿḥt/ḥ-h//w ḥt-h/b-mh/ʿntw (JSLih 077/ 7-8)* ‘and he made his brother and sister ??? with what they ???...*’. -----ʿ-----ʿl/bn/PN -----//ḥt-h/ʿrqww/h----- (AH 204/ 1-2) ‘... son of PN.. his sister they sent up {the}...*’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. ʿaḥ ‘a brother’ (Lane, 33a) and ʿuḥt ‘a sister’ (Lane, 33b). *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* **2**. *Genre:* **lineage**.

ʿḥdy numeral, m. one. *Root:* ʿḥd. *PN/PN//tq/snt/ḥdy//b-rʿy/dʿbsmwy (Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLIV)* ‘PN PN wrote [in] year one during the** rising of the asterism of dʿbsmwy*’. *Variant:* ʿḥd (bound form). -----bndw/ḥd-hm/bslʿt-----// (JaL 001/ 5) ‘... one of them** with coins...*’. *NOTE:* Compare Sab. ʿḥd ‘one’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 4); Aram. ḥd ‘one’ (CAL, 16–2–2018). *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* ʿḥdy: **8**; ʿḥd: **1**. *Genre:* **dating formula**. *Usage:* ʿḥd-hm; one of them.

ʿḥrm verb, c, 3m.s. to protect. *Root:* ḥrm. *bʿlsmn/ḥrm/h-qrt//mn/mh/trq-h/mrʿt//l-bhny/hn-ʿfkl/d (JSLih 064)* ‘bʿlsmn protected the village from what [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it dʿ* (see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of ʿḥrm and trq)’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. ḥarama ‘he was, or became sacred, inviolable’ (Lane, 553). *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* **1**. *Genre:* **narrative**.

ʿkbr adjective, elative. biggest. *Root:* kbr. [-----]//-----h/bn/PN//-----/h-mqdr/hn-ʿkbr//----- (Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3/ 1-2) ‘..PN son of PN... the the biggest decreed object...*’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. kabīr ‘big’. *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* **1**. *Genre:* **funerary; dedicatory?**.

ʿl noun. family, tribe, clan. *Root:* ʿl. *PN//d-ʿl//TrN (JSLih 226)* ‘PN of the family of TrN*’. *PN/PN//PN/ʿl/TrN (JSLih 127)* ‘PN PN PN* of the family of TrN**’. *PN/bn/PN//bn/PN/bn/PN//dʿl/TrN//sh/šf-h (JSLih 071/ 1-4)* ‘PN son of PN son of PN son of PN of the family of TrN his grain were abundant**’. *PN/bn/PN//w PN/dʿl/TrN//zllw/l-dḡbt (U 047/ 1-3)* ‘PN son of PN and PN of the family of TrN performed the zll for dḡbt**’. *NOTE:* Based on the attestations in the Dadanic corpus it is impossible to say how large a social group ʿl could refer to, but compare the Saf. use of ʿl which can range from a family or tribe to a whole nation (compare ʿl rm referring to the Romans) (Nehmé and Macdonald, in press). *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* **4**. *Genre:* **lineage; graffiti; narrative; zll**. *Usage:* dʿl TrN; of the lineage of TrN.

- ʾlhn** *noun*. divine. *Root*: lh. ----PN/bn PN//fʾl/h-
bt/w h-//ʾlhn/f-sʿd//---- (AH 247) ‘...
PN son of PN made the temple and the
divine(?)* so aid...**’. *NOTE*: Compare the
theonym ʾlh e.g. in Saf. (Al-Jallad 2015, 299).
Certainty: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 1.
Genre: **dedicatory**.
- ʾlmʿ** *noun/pn?*, *elative*. brightest. *Root*: lmʿ. PN hn-
ʾlmʿ//PN hn- ʾlmʿ (Qaṣr al-Šāniʿ 6) ‘PN the
brightest PN the brightest*’. *NOTE*: It is not
clear whether hnʾlmʿ is title here or a personal
name. Compare CAR. lmʿ ‘to shine very brightly, to
flash’. OCIANA translates ʾlmʿ as ‘the sagacious’,
following CAR. ʾalmaʿ ‘sharp minded’ (Hava 1915,
689). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 1.
Genre: **graffiti**.
- ʾm** *noun*. mother. *Root*: ʾmm. PN/w-
PN/bnt/P//N/w-ʾm-hm (AH 081/ 1-2)
‘PN and PN daughter of PN and their mother
PN**’. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. umm ‘mother’; Sab.
ʾmm ‘mother’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 5).
Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency*: 7.
Genre: **dedicatory; zll; genealogy**.
- ʾmt** *noun*. maid servant. *Root*: ʾm. ---- q ʾl TrN
ʾdq---- s----//l- dgbt ʾmt -{h}my
PN//b{n}t PN (AH 222/1-3) ‘...of the family
of TrN dedicated*... to dgbt their maidservant
PN daughter of PN**’. *NOTE*: Compare Sab.
ʾmt ‘bondwoman, femal vassal’ (Beeston et al.
1982, 5); OffAram. ʾmh ‘maid servant’ (CAL, 16-
2–2018). *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: 1.
Genre: **dedicatory**.
- ʾn1** *particle*. that. *Root*: ʾn. ----//----
{m}n/srq/f- ʾn/yšbr/b-m-h/sr{q}----//l-
---{d}n/thq-h/kll-h/f-ḥtm ----- (Al-
Ḥuraybah 17/ 4-5) ‘...who stole(?) and if he
is caught with what he {stole}.....if all of it
broke (the stolen things) then beat him(?)
...*’. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. fa-ʾinna to introduce
the apodosis of a conditional clause.
Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency*: 3.
Genre: **dedicatory; legal**.
- ʾn2** *pronoun*, *1c.s. I*. *Root*: ʾn. l-PN/hbb//w-
ʾn/PN/bn/PN (JSLih 347) ‘for PN PN and I
am PN son of PN’. *NOTE*: Compare Sab. ʾn ‘I’
(Beeston et al. 1982, 6); CAR. anā ‘I’
Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency*: 3.
Genre: **graffiti; dedicatory?**.
- ʾn3** *complementizer*. that. *Root*: ʾn. [----]//hm --
-- [d]//ḡbt/ʾn/yk{n}----//l-h/{w}ld (AH
203/ 1-4) ‘...ḡbt that there may be a son...
to him**’. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. ʾan yaf ala ‘that
he may do’ (Al-Jallad 2018, 24)
Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency*: 3.
Genre: **dedicatory; legal**.
- ʾny** *presentative*. that. ʾny//ysrg[ʾ]b-hm/w
{m}ʿn-h[m]//w-{m}fr-h{m}/b-mšhl (U
026) ‘that their pasture may be beautified and
their abode and their cultivated land at
mšhl**’. *NOTE*: Compare Ug. hny, Heb. hinneh
and CAR. ʾinna. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: 1.
Genre: **dedicatory; legal**.
- ʾqd1** *noun*. offering. *Root*: wqd. ----{h}y/ʾqd/h-
rʿ/f//---- (AH 239/ 3-4) ‘... the offering of
the livestock so....*’. ----
m/ym/stḥbl/ʾqd/h- rʿ (Al-Saʿūd
1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 4) ‘...[the] day he
pledged the dedication of the livestock**’.
NOTE: Compare CAR. wdq ‘to approach’ (Lisān). A
similar semantic connection exists in CAR. D-stem
form qarraba ‘he presented it, or offered it to them’
(Lane 2505b) from qaraba ‘to become near’ (Lane
2504b). *Frequency*: 3. *Genre*: **dedicatory**.
Certainty: **uncertain**.
- ʾqd2** *verb*, *c, 3m.s.* to dedicate. *Root*: wqd. ---- q ʾl
TrN ʾdq---- s----//l- dgbt ʾmt -{h}my
yḡh//b{n}t ʾmthn ʾt ---- h----t//ym ʾqd
h- m---- l- ḥrg (AH 222/ 1-4) ‘... of the
family of TrN he dedicated... to dgbt their
maid servant PN daughter of PN... he
dedicated the... to ḥrg**’. *NOTE*: Compare
CAR. wdq ‘to approach’ (Lisān). A similar semantic
connection exists in CAR. D-stem form qarraba ‘he
presented it, or offered it to them’ (Lane 2505b)
from qaraba ‘to become near’ (Lane 2504b). See
also hwqd. *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 1.
Genre: **dedicatory**.
- ʾrbʿ** *numeral*. four. *Root*: rbʿ. s//---- [n][t]
ʿśrn/w-ʾrbʿ/24//----
[t][l]ymy/bn/hnʿs/m{l}[k]//---- l[h][y][n]
(AH 226/ 4-7) ‘year twenty four 24 ...tlmy
son of hnʿs king of Liḥyān**’. *NOTE*:
Compare Sab. ʾrbʿ ‘four’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 113);
Aram. ʾarba ‘four’ (CAL, 16–2018).
Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency*: 5. *Genre*: **dating
formula**.

- ʾrbʿn** *numeral. forty. Root: rbʿ. {ǧ}rsw/b- bdr/[w] b- bnʾl/m//ʾt/w ʾrbʿn/w ḥms/nḥl (U 023/4-5) 'they planted at bdr and at bnʾl hundred fortyfive palm trees**'. ...snt/ʾr{b}//ʾn/w ttn/b- rʾ/y/dʾslʿn/tlm/y/bn/hnʿs/ml//k/lḥyn (al-Ḥuraybah 10) '... {them} year fortytwo** during the rising of the asterism dʾslʿn*, tlmʿ son of hnʿs king of Liḥyān*'. NOTE: Compare Sab. ʾrbʿ 'four' (Beeston et al. 1982, 113); Aram. ʾarbaʿ 'four' (CAL, 16–2–2018). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **7**. Genre: **dating formula; ʒll**.*
- ʾrbʿw** *noun. sanctuary. Root: rbʿ. bnyw/hn-ʾrb//ʿw (U 008/ 3-4) 'they built the sanctuary**'. NOTE: Compare Sab. rbʿ 'residence/residents' (Beeston et al. 1982, 113); CAR. rabʿ 'a place of alighting or abode of people or a company of men' (Lane, 1016–1017). ʾrbʿw may be compared to Nab. ʾrbʿn, which Nehmé suggests to be derived from the root RBʿ 'four' and which she interprets as 'square building' (Nehmé 2003, 25). In the Nab. context these buildings were also the object of dedications mentioned in inscriptions. More recently the possibly related form rbʿyʿ was discovered in a Nabataean inscription from the Moab plateau (al-Salameen and Shdaifat 2017, 3–4). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **3**. Genre: **construction**.*
- ʾrf** *active participle, 3m.s. limited; fenced? Root: ʾrf. ----/bn/P//N/mṭbr/ʾrf (JSLih 317) '... son of PN a fenced field*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ʾarafa 'he set or put limits or boundaries' (Lane, 49c). OCIANA translates ʾrf as a verb '... son of PN limited the grave chamber' but this does not work syntactically as noted in the commentary section. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **graffiti**.*
- ʾrh** *noun. matter, (judicial) case. Root: ʾrh. ----/hm/w-{{s}}hdt/w h-ʾrh//---- (JSLih 052/ 7) '...and witness and the case...*'. NOTE: Compare Sab. ʾrh 'affair, matter, undertaking' and 'judicial case' (Beeston et al. 1982, 7). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **legal**.*
- ʾrqww** *verb, c, 3c.pl. to make ascend; to dedicate. Root: rqw. ----ʿ----ʾl/bn/zdl{h} ----//ḥt-h/ʾrqww/h---- //bt/hmd/ndr/dǧ[b]{t} ---- (AH 204/ 1-3) '... son of PN.. his sister** they sent up {the}... according to what was vowed to dǧbt...*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. raqā 'he ascended' (Lane 1140a). To make ascend may refer to a burnt offering or an offering of incense in this context. Compare to the possible ritual use of dedicating incense also possibly CAR. raqā-hu 'he charmed him, put a spell on him'; and raqqā ʾalay-hi kalāman 'he told or related a saying against him; he informed against him'. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.*
- ʾrt** *noun?. legacy; inheritance. Root: wrṭ. PN/bn/PN//ʾrt-h hlqn (Al-ʿUḏayb 106) 'PN son of PN [for] his legacy the support/help*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ʾirt (from wirt) 'inheritance' (Lane 2934b). Translated as a noun 'his memory' (of Hlqn) in OCIANA, however, there are no other instances of Hlqn as a PN in OCIANA. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **graffiti**.*
- ʾsd** *noun. lion. Root: ʾsd. PN fʾl ʾl-//ʾsd (Jabal al-Khraymāt No. 4) 'PN made the lion (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2018, 226)'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ʾasad 'lion' (Lane, 57a). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **graffiti**.*
- ʾšdq** *verb, c, 3m.s. to fulfill a duty. Root: šdq. PN/ʾšd{q}///f-rd-h/h-lh/w-sʿd-h (JSLih 008) 'PN fulfilled his duty* so may he favor him** hlh* and aid him**'. NOTE: Compare Sab. ḥšdq 'to fulfill a duty, obligation, to maintain in proper order, to duly bestow s.t. on s.o., to justify s.o.' (Beeston et al. 1982, 141). Note that in MMin. šdq occurs with the meaning 'to claim proprietarial rights' (M 358). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.*
- ʾšdqn** *noun, relative, pl. rightful heirs. Root: šdq. [-----]//---- h-/ʾšdqn b----//w b/dmr/dǧbt - ----//----h/h-bt/dh ---- (Müller, D.H. 1889: 68, no. 16) '... the rightful heirs... dǧbt... this temple...**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ʾašdaq 'more and most true and veracious' (Lane, 1668c) in this context as the truest heirs, posterity. Compare ʾšdqh 'legitimate heir' in Nab. funerary texts (Nehmé 2015, 1: texte:103). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **Q**.*

ʔt verb, c, 3m.s. protect. Root: yṯ. PN/bn/PN/h-
 ṣ//nʿ/d- TrN/ʔt// PN/b-ḥqwy/k//fr (JSLih
 075/ 1-4) ‘PN son of PN the artisan of the
 lineage of TrN** protected PN* on two sides
 of [the] tomb**’. NOTE: Compare Heb. yš ‘to
 help’ (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 476).
 Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**.
 Genre: **funerary?**.

ʔtb verb. to reward so. Root: ṯwb. f rḍ-hm//w
 ṯb-hm (U 079 bis/ 6-7) ‘so may he favor
 them and reward them**’. f-rḍ-h//w-ʔḥrt-
 h/w-ṯb-h/{w}-[s]{[d]}-h (Al-ʿUḍayb
 008/ 3-4) ‘so may he favor her and her
 posterity and reward her and aid her**’.
 NOTE: compare Sab. yṯwbn ‘reward, recompense
 (a worshipper by a deity)’ (Beeston et al. 1982,
 151). In JSLih 077 OCIANA reads ʔtb-hm, but on
 the photograph it is visible that there is a horizontal
 line coming down from the X. Certainty: **certain**.
 Frequency: **36**. Genre: **zll; blessing formula**.
 Usage: f-rḍ-h w-ʔtb-h; so may he favor him
 and reward him.

ʔtt noun. wife. Root: ʔnt. PN/bnP//N/w-ṯt-
 h//PN/bn//t/PN/ʔgw//w-ṯll/l- ḍḡbt (U
 115/ 1-5) ‘PN son of PN and his wife PN
 daughter of PN dedicated* and performed the
 zll for ḍḡbt**’. PN----
 nt/bn/ʔft/s//ḥ/ḍḡbt/w-bn-h/PN//ʔ/w-ṯt-
 h/P//N/{ḡ}rs ʔw/b-bdr/[w]-b-
 bnʔ/m//ʔt/w ʔrbʿn/w ḥms/nḥl (U 023/ 1-
 5) ‘PN son of PN priest of ḍḡbt and his son
 PN and his wife PN planted at bdr and at bnʔ
 hundred and forty five palm trees**’. NOTE:
 Compare Sab. ʔnt and ʔt ‘woman, female, wife’;
 Aram. ʔnth ‘woman, wife’. Certainty: **certain**.
 Frequency: **5**. Genre: **dedicatory; legal;**
genealogy.

ʔw complementizer. or. Root: ʔw. [----]//----n-
 ---//---hm/l-bn-h/ʔw/bnt ----// (JaL
 001/ 2) ‘... {them} for his son or
 daughter...**’. //----h-srqt/ʔb/h-
 srq/ʔw/y ----//----bh (Al-Ḥuraybah 17/
 6) ‘...the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief or
 ...*’. NOTE: Compare CAR. ʔaw ‘or’.
 Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **2**.
 Genre: **dedicatory, legal**.

ʔydn q. Q. Root: Q.
 PN/PN/ʔgy/ʔrt/mnh{h}/{ʔ}ydn (JSLih
 177/ 1) ‘PN PN dedicated ten minah {as
 support}*’. Certainty: **uncertain**.
 Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**. NOTE:
 Compare possibly to CAR. ʔiyād ‘anything by
 which a person or a thing is strengthened’ (Lane,
 136c).

ʔzll verb, c, 3m.s. to perform the zll. Etym: zll.
 ṯll/h-zll//{b-}khl/l-ḍḡ//bt (U 058/ 2-4)
 ‘he performed the zll ceremony at khl for
 ḍḡbt**’. Variant: ʔzl. ṯl//bʿd/ml-h/b-
 //bdr/l-ḍḡbt (AH 080/ 2-4) ‘he performed
 the zll on behalf of his property at bdr for
 ḍḡbt**’. Variant: ʔtll. [ʔtll//h-ṯll ---- b-
 khl//l-ḍḡbt (AH 009.1/ 1-3) ‘he performed
 the ṯll ceremony... at khl for ḍḡbt**’.
 Variant: ʔtl. ṯl l-ḍḡbt//b- hl (U125/2-3) ‘he
 performed the ṯll for ḍḡbt*’. 3s.f.: ʔzllt. ṯllt
 l-//ḍḡbt b-{}khl (U 056/2-3) ‘she
 performed the zll for ḍḡbt at khl**’.
 Variant: ʔzlt. ṯlt/l- ḍ//ḡbt (AH 165/ 3-4)
 ‘she performed the zll for ḍḡbt**’.
 Variant: ʔtllt. ṯllt/b-khl (AH 163/ 2) ‘she
 performed the ṯll at khl*’. Variant: ʔtlt.
 ṯlt//l-ḍḡbt/bʿ//d/ml-h/b-tqmm (U 048/
 2-4) ‘she performed the ṯll for ḍḡbt in behalf
 of her property at Tqmm**’. du.: ʔzllh.
 ṯllh/l-ḍḡbt/h-zll/b-hms//d/(AH 199/ 1-
 5) ‘they performed the zll ceremony for
 ḍḡbt** at the sanctuary (Lundberg 2015,
 136)’. Variant: ʔzlh. PN/bn/PN/w-
 //PN/slḥt//ḍḡbt/ṯlh/h-zll//l-l-ḍḡbt (U
 019/ 1-5) ‘PN son of PN and PN priestess of
 ḍḡbt performed the zll ceremony for ḍḡbt**’.
 3pl.: ʔzllw. ṯlw/h-zll/l-ḍḡbt (U 064/ 3)
 ‘they performed the zll ceremony for ḍḡbt**’.
 ṯ//llw/zll/h-nq/l-//ḍḡbt (AH 001/ 3-5)
 ‘they performed the zll of the nq* for ḍḡbt**’.
 Variant: ʔzlw. ṯlw/h-zll/l-ḍḡbt (Nasif 1988:
 99, pl. CLVIII/2) ‘they performed the zll for
 ḍḡbt**’. Variant: ʔtlw. ṯlw/ṯll/h-nq//b-khl
 (AH 032/ 2-3) ‘they performed the ṯll of the
 nq* at khl*’. NOTE: For a discussion of the
 proposed translations of ʔzll h-zll so far see
 (Scagliarini 2002b, 573-75). See Kootstra (2018b)
 on the variation between z and ṯ in Dadanic.
 Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: ʔzll: **87**; ʔzl: **6**;
 ʔtll: **7**; ʔtl: **2**; ʔzllh: **1**; ʔzlh: **1**; ʔzllt: **8**; ʔzlt:
16; ʔtllt: **2**; ʔtlt: **2**; ʔzllw: **11**; ʔzlw: **8**; ʔtlw: **2**.
 Genre: **zll; dedicatory**. Usage: ʔzll h-zll l-
 ḍḡbt; he performed the zll ceremony for ḍḡbt.

- ‘bd¹ *verb, g, 3m.s. to make. Root: ‘bd. PN/bn/’ws/h-šn’/‘bd/l-mr’-h (Al-Ḥuraybah 12/ 3) ‘PN son of PN the artisan made [it] for his lord**’. PN/bn/PN/h-šn’/‘bd/l-mr’-h (JSLih 035/ 1-2) ‘PN son of PN the artisan made [it] for his lord**’. NOTE: Compare Aram. ‘bd ‘to make, act, do’ (CAL, 13-2-2018). Certainty: quite certain. Frequency: 2. Genre: dedication.*
- ‘bd² *pn. PN. Root: ‘bd. PN/bn/P//N/h-šn’/‘bd//zd/h-šwġ (Al-Ḥuraybah 05) ‘PN son of PN the artisan**’, PN PN the smith*’. NOTE: This word is translated as a noun ‘slave’ in OCIANA, but it may be interpreted as a personal name, as it seems that not all personal names in a genealogy were separated by bn ‘son of’ in Dadanitic. See for example: ḏbn/’mr/bn/mrd//’gw/h-zll/ḏh (U 038) ‘PN PN son of PN dedicated this zll’. Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 9. Genre: genealogy.*
- ‘db *noun. name of a time period. Root: ‘db. frḏ-h/w ḥr//t-h/’db/snt//’šrn/tlmy/[m]l[k]l//l-//ḥyn (AH 064/ 6-9) ‘so may he favor her and her posterity** [during] ‘db* year twenty of tlmy king of Liḥyān**’. NOTE: This may be considered an ellipsed form of the b-r’y formula, with only the asterism or period mentioned. Unfortunately there is no attestation of ‘db with r’y or ṭ’n. Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: dating formula.*
- ‘dky *preposition. until. Root: ‘d+ky. ḥḏw/h-mkn//w h- mḳ’d/ḏh/kll -h/mn/m’//n/h-gbl/hn’ly/’dky//m’{n}/h- gbl/hn’s{l}l (JSLih 072/ 4-7) ‘they took the place and this sitting place all of it from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border (Lundberg 2015, 135)’. NOTE: Compare Syr. ‘dkyl ‘until now’ (CAL, 16-2-2018). See Lundberg (2015, 135) for a discussion of the preposition ‘dky. For a discussion on the significance of ‘dky for the classification of Dadanitic see Al-Jallad (2018, 23). Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: legal; narrative.*

‘kb

verb, g, 3m.s. to remain. Root: ‘kb.

PN//ṭrq/h-’n}qn/w-’kb/ (AH 287) ‘PN hammered the two nq and PN or and he remained’. NOTE: ‘kb is attested as a personal name (JaL 052c), which it may be here as well. If it is a verb, compare CAR. ‘akaba ‘to remain standing, to stand still’; Aram. ‘to hold back, to hesitate, to delay’ (CAL, 16-2-2018). Certainty: very uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: graffiti.*

‘ly

preposition. on behalf of; on. Root: ‘ly. w-b-mm’//ly/mg-h/mn/h-ḥls (JSLih 070/ 4-6) ‘and by the oath against his expulsion/grain from the loan’. l-*

*PN//bn/PN/hn//qbr/ḏh/ḥ}m}//’ly/y mn//w ‘ly/šm[l]//mn/ṭrq (JSLih 081) ‘for PN son of PN [is] this grave {hm} from the south and from the north** from ṭrq(?)*’.*

PN//tqṭ//’ly//qrt (JSLih 182) ‘PN wrote on a boulder** OR PN wrote on behalf of PN*’.*

*zlt/h-zll//l-ḏḡbt/’ly-/ḏ-kn l-h/b-bd[r] (U 087/ 3-4) ‘she performed the zll ceremony for ḏḡbt on behalf of** that which was hers* at Bdr**’. Variant: ‘l. PN/’zll//l/h-zll//l-*

*ḏḡbt//’l/ḏ-kn/l-hm//b-bdr (U 073/ 1-5) ‘PN performed the zll ceremony for ḏḡbt on behalf of** that which was theirs* at bdr**’.*

*wdyw/nfs/PN/bn/PN/m{h}//’ḥḏ/’l -hmy/ḥrg (JSLih 077/ 2-3) ‘they set up the funerary monument for PN son of PN** which was placed upon them as a lawsuit*’.*

PN//PN/bny/b//r’/h-mṭbr//’l-h/h’ (JSLih 078) ‘PN PN built the facade of the grave chamber and it is his on behalf of that which was his at [toponym]’. NOTE: see Lundberg (2015, 125-127) for a discussion of the preposition ‘ly and its bi-form ‘l. Certainty: certain.*

Frequency: ‘ly: 25; ‘l: 12. Genre: zll;

dedicatory; funerary; graffiti. Usage: ‘ly ḏ-kn l-h b-TN, ‘ly m-kn l-h b-TN; on behalf of what was his at [toponym].

‘nk

noun. door? Root: ‘nk. ----//w/h-mḳdr/w-hn-’nk/---- (JSLih 054/ 3) ‘.. the decreed object and the door?...’. NOTE: Compare CAR. ‘ank ‘the larger part of anything’ and ‘ink ‘door’ (Steingass 1993, 732b). Certainty: uncertain.*

Frequency: 1. Genre: dedicatory.

‘ntw verb, g, 3c.pl. to commit a sin, a crime. Root: ‘nt. *w-ʾrtt/ḥ-h//w ḥt -h/b-mh/‘ntw/b-ršs/bn-----// (JSLih 077/ 7-8)* ‘and he ?? his brother and his sister according to what crime they committed ??...*’. NOTE: Compare CAr. ‘nt ‘he committed a sin, a crime, or an act of disobedience deserving punishment’ (Lane, 2168c); Syr. ‘ty (D-stem) ‘to accuse of fraud’ (CAL, 16–2–2018). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **legal?**.

‘qb noun. offspring, posterity. Root: ‘qb. *{f} rđ -hm/w s//‘d -hm/w ‘qb -hm (U 026/ 2-3)* ‘so may he favor them and aid them and their posterity*’. NOTE: compare CAr. ‘āqibah ‘offspring’ (Lane, 2153 b). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **zll; blessing**.

‘rđ noun. valley. Root: ‘rđ. *zll/h-zll/d//h/b-khl/b‘d/h- ‘rđ//w-d-kn/l-h/b-bdr/l-dğbt (U 046/ 2-4)* ‘he performed this zll ceremony at khl* on behalf of* the valley and that which was his at bdr for dğbt*’. NOTE: Compare CAr. ‘ard ‘a part, region, quarter or tract’ and ‘the low ground or land of, or pertaining to, either side of these [the side of a valley]’ (Lane, 2007–8). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **zll**.

‘rr1 verb, d, 3m.s. to dishonor. Root: ‘rr. *f-‘rr//dğbt/‘r//r/h-sfr/dh (JaL 161a/ 4-6)* ‘so may dğbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription*’. *mn y‘rr ‘rr dğbt {ḥ}l}r (JSTham 251.3)* ‘whoever mistreats [it] may dğbt dishonor [him] ‘ḥl*’. NOTE: Compare CAr. ‘arrar-hu and ‘arrara-hu ‘he disgraced or dishonored him’ and ‘he wronged him, or treated him unjustly or injuriously’ (Lane, 1990a). See Hidalgo-Chacón Díez (2008, 31–43) for a discussion of the verb ‘rr and its interpretation. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **13**. Genre: **dedicatory; graffiti**. Usage: *f-‘rr//dğbt/‘r//r/h-sfr/dh*; so may dğbt dishonor the mistreater of this inscription.

‘rr2 active participle, m.s. mistreater, dishonorer. Root: ‘rr. *f-‘rr//dğbt/‘r//r/h-sfr/dh (JaL 161a/ 4-6)* ‘so may dğbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription*’. NOTE: See ‘rr1 for discussion. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **12**. Genre: **dedicatory**. Usage: *f-‘rr//dğbt/‘r//r/h-sfr/dh*; so may dğbt dishonor the mistreater of this inscription.

‘śr1 numeral. ten. Root: ‘śr. *[s][n]{t}/‘śr/w ts‘/b-r’y/hr‘/tlmy/hn’s (Al-Sa’id 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 5)* ‘year nineteen** during the rising of the asterism hr* tlm y hn’s**’. *zlt//l- dğ[b]t/b-kh//l/stt/‘śr/m//n/snt/mt/‘l//h (AH 064/ 2-6)* ‘she performed the zll for dğbt at khl sixteen [times]** according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her*’. feminine: **‘śrt**. *PN/PN/‘gy/‘śrt/mnh{h} (JSLih 177/ 1)* ‘PN PN dedicated ten minah?*’. NOTE: Compare Sab. ‘śr ‘ten’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 21); Aram. ‘śr ‘ten’ (CAL, 14–2–2018). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **‘śr: 7; ‘śrt: 1**. Genre: **dating formula; dedication**.

‘śr2 noun. companion; kinsman. Root: ‘śr. *‘n/m‘t //‘śr {PN/TrN} (Ġabal ḥlib 06)* ‘I am PN companion/kinsman of PN/TrN*’. feminine: **‘śrt**. *----PN/w-hn-‘śrt/‘śrt/’--- (Al-Sa’id 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 1)* ‘...PN and the community, community(?)...*’. NOTE: Compare CAr. ‘ašīr ‘an associate, a relation, a friend’ and ‘ašīrah ‘a man’s kinsfolk, or the smallest subdivision of a tribe’ (Lane, 2053a). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **‘śr: 1; ‘śrt: 1**. Genre: **dating formula; graffiti**.

‘śrn numeral. twenty. Root: ‘śr. *m‘t/w ‘śrn/sd--- (JSLih 077/ 4-5)* ‘hundred twenty ...*’. *snt//‘śrn/tlmy/[m][l][k][l-]/ḥyn (AH 064/ 7-9)* ‘year twenty of Tlmy [king] of Lihyān*’. NOTE: Compare Aram. ‘śryn ‘twenty’ (CAL, 14–2–2018); Sab. ‘śrnh ‘twenty’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 21). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **11**. Genre: **dating formula; dedication**.

B – b

b- preposition. at, in; during; by. Root: b. *zll h-zll b-khl (U 065/ 2-3)* ‘he performed the zll ceremony at Khl*’. *b-r’y/hrf/snt/ḥms/ntn (AH 219/ 3)* ‘during the rising of the asterism hrf, year five {of} ntn*’. *b-yd PN (JSLih 106)* ‘by the hand of PN*’. *PN ktb-h/b-dh (JSLih 279)* ‘PN wrote it here*’. NOTE: For a complete discussion of the preposition b- see Lundberg (2015: 129–131). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **267**. Genre: **dedication; dating formula; graffiti**. Usage: *b-r’y X, b-dh*; during the appearance of an asterism, here.

b'd *preposition*. on behalf of. *Root*: b + 'd. 'ft h-zll dh l-dgbt b-khl b'd ml-h (U 005/ 2-5) 'she accomplished this zll-ceremony for dgbt at khl on behalf of her property**'. 'zllt l-//dgbt b- k}hl b'd//{d}t'-h (U 056/ 2-4) 'she performed the zll for dgbt at Khl on behalf of her crops of the season of the later rains**'. 'zll/h-zll//{b-}khl/l-dg//bt/b'd/{n}h-l-h/w-dt'-h b-bdr (U 058/ 2-5) 'he performed the zll ceremony at khl for dgbt on behalf of his palm trees and his seasonal* crops at bdr**'. *NOTE*: For a complete discussion of the preposition b'd see Lundberg (2015, 127–128). Based on its meaning this preposition seems to be a compound of bi- and 'ad (Al-Jallad 2015, 147). Compare Saf. b'd 'on behalf of' (e.g. WH 599 nqr b'd-h-msrt 'he stood guard on behalf of the troop'). The consonantally identical b'd (compare CAR. ba'd 'after') never occurs in Dadanitic (Lundberg 2015, n. 9).

Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency*: **122**.

Genre: **dedication; zll**.

b'l *noun*. leader, husband. *Root*: b'l. PN/bnt/PN/slht/w//d/w-PN/b'l-h/d-TrN/ (AH 199/ 1-2) 'PN daughter of PN priestess of Wadd and PN, her husband of the lineage of TrN**'. PN/w-PN</>b'l//d-TrN (JSLih 167) 'PN and PN leader of the lineage of TrN*'. *pl.*: 'b'l. 'b'l/dl/'fyh/h- zll//l- dgbt (U 026/ 1-2) 'the lords of dl fulfilled (du) the zll for dgbt**'. *NOTE*: Compare e.g. Aram. b'el 'husband' (CAL, 16–2–2018); Sab. b'l (Beeston et al. 1982, 25). In AH 199 b'l is translated in OCIANA as 'lord'. There are inscriptions of people also mentioning their servants ('mt, qyn) but these inscriptions are usually left by the 'masters' and not by the servants themselves. There are, however, many examples of people dedicating texts with family members (their children, their parents) which makes a translation 'husband' more likely. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **b'l: 2; 'b'l: 1**. *Genre*: **zll; narrative**.

bdr *toponym*. bdr. *Root*: bdr. 'zll///l-dgbt/b-khl//b'd/'nhl-h/w-'dt'-h/b-bdr (Al-Udayb 071/ 2-5) 'he performed the zll for dgbt at khl on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains at bdr so may he favor him and his posterity**'. *NOTE*: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 15–16) for a discussion of the place name and its distribution in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **51**. *Genre*: **zll**.

bhny *noun*. type of palm tree. *Root*: bhn. b'lsmn/'hrm/h-qrt //mn/mh/trq-h/mr't //l-bhny/hn-'fklt (JSLih 064) 'b'lsmn protected the village from what [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it d* (but see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of 'hrm and trq)'. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. bhn 'specific kind of palm tree' (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860, 174). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **unique text**.

blh *toponym*. blh. *Root*: blh. 'gw/h-zl//l/b-khl/'{y}//ml-h[/]b-b{d}{r}/w b-<<>>blh (U 071/ 2-5) 'he dedicated the zll at Khl on behalf of his property at Bdr and at Blh**'. z//ll/l- dgbt[/]b- khl/b{d}///---l-h/b-blh (U 072/ 3-6) 'he performed the zll for dgbt at khl on behalf {his}... at Blh**'. *NOTE*: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 15–16) for a discussion of the place name and its distribution in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **2**. *Genre*: **zll**.

bn *noun*. son. *Root*: bn. PN//bn/PN (U 114) 'PN son of PN **'. *du.*: **bnh (construct)**. d/PN/w-PN/bnh/PN/'zlw/h-zll/l-dgbt (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII/ 1-2) 'd PN and PN sons (du) of PN performed the zll ceremony for dgbt **'. *du.*: **bny (construct)**. PN/w-PN//bny/mtr/bnyw//l-dgbt (AH 200/ 1-3) 'PN and PN sons of PN built for dgbt **'. *pl.*: **bnw (construct)**. PN/w-PN/bnw//PN/'hdw/h- qb//r/dh (JSLih 079/ 1-3) 'PN and PN sons of PN took possession of this tomb **'. *NOTE*: Compare e.g. CAR. 'ibn 'son'; Heb. bin 'son'; Aram. bar. See Macdonald and Nehmé (2015) for a discussion of the term bny, 'l and 'hl in the Saf. and Nab. inscriptions. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **bn: 666; bnh: 1; bny: 2; bnw: 4**. *Genre*: **genealogy**.

bn'l *toponym*. bn'l. *Root*: Q. 'zll/hzll/b-khl/l-dgbt/b'd/'nhl-h/b-bn'l/w-tqmm (U 025/ 1-4) 'he performed the zll ceremony at khl for dgbt on behalf of his palm trees at bn'l and tqmm**'. *NOTE*: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 17) for a discussion of the place name and its distribution in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **10**. *Genre*: **zll**.

- bnt** *noun.* daughter. *Root:* bn. *PN//bnt/PN//d-
TrN//zllt/h-zll//l-dgbt (U 068/ 1-4)* ‘PN
daughter of PN of the lineage of TrN
performed the zll ceremony for dgbt **’.
pl.: **bnt.** *PN/w PN/bnt/P//N/w ’m-hm/PN
(AH 081/ 1-2)* ‘PN and PN daughters of PN
and their mother PN **’. *Variant:* **bt.** *PN/bt
PN (JaL 008 c)* ‘PN daughter of PN**’.
NOTE: Compare e.g. CAR. bint 'daughter'; Heb.
bat; Aram. bart *Certainty:* **certain.**
Frequency: **bnt (sg.): 69; bnt (pl.): 2; bt (sg):**
2. *Genre:* **genealogy.**
- bny** *verb, g, 3m.s.* build. *Root:* bny.
*PN/bn/PN/PN/bny/h-//kfr/l-h/w-l-wrt-
h/h-kfr/dh/kl-h (JSLih 045/ 1-2)* ‘PN son
of PN PN built** the* tomb for him and his
heir, the whole of this tomb**’.
*PN/bn/PN/’fkl/hl----//bn{y}/h-
bn{y}/n/dh/l-’lh (Al-Sa’id 1420/1999: 15-
26, no. 2/ 1-2)* ‘PN son of PN priest of hl...
built this building for** ’lh*’. *3s.f.:* **bnt
(fem.).** *PN ----//PN/bnt/l-
dgbt//mqm/’z}lt/b-bdr (Al-’Udayb 043)*
‘PN ... PN built for dgbt an abode [and] she
performed the zll at bdr **’. *3pl.:* **bnyw.**
*PN/w-PN//bny/PN/bnyw//l-dgbt (AH
200/ 1-3)* ‘PN and PN sons of PN built for
dgbt **’. *PN/bn/PN/P//N/w-
PN/d//TrN/bnyw/hn-’rb//’w (U 008/ 1-4)*
‘PN son of PN PN and PN of the lineage of
TrN built the sanctuary **’. *NOTE:* Compare
e.g. CAR. banā-hu 'he built it' (Lane, 260b); Heb.
bānā (HALOT, 1282); Sab. bny 'to build, to
construct' (Beeston et al. 1982, 29).
Certainty: **certain.** *Frequency:* **bny: 4; bnt: 1;**
bnyw: 4. *Genre:* **construction; funerary.**
- bnyn** *noun.* building. *Root:* bny. *PN/bn/PN/’fkl/hl-
----//bn{y}/h-bn{y}/n/dh/l-’lh (Al-Sa’id
1420/1999: 15-26, no. 2/ 1-2)* ‘PN son of
PN priest of hl... built this building** for
’lh*’. *NOTE:* Compare e.g. CAR. bunyān 'building'
(Lane, 261b); Sab. bnyt and bnwt 'building'
(Beeston et al. 1982, 29); Aram. benyān 'bulding'
(CAL, 10-5-2018). *Certainty:* **certain.**
Frequency: **1.** *Genre:* **construction.**
- br’** *noun.* facade, outside. *Root:* br’.
*PN//PN/bny/b//r’/h-mtbr’//l-h/h’ (JSLih
078)* ‘PN PN built the facade of the grave
chamber and it is his * (This interpretation
was made during a reading session at the
LeiCenSAA with Hekmat Dirbas, Ahmad Al-
Jallad and Johan Lundberg)’. *NOTE:* Compare
OffAram. br’ 'outside' (CAL, 16-2-2018).
Certainty: **certain.** *Frequency:* **1.**
Genre: **construction.**
- br’t** *noun.* health. *Root:* br’. *[-----]/w’----
//br’//t-h/w//h’{d}//h-šl//{m} (JSLih
057)* ‘...his health (?)... the statue... *’.
NOTE: Compare Aram. brē 'healthy, firm' (CAL,
16-2-2018); Heb. bari’ a 'to become free of an
illness; recover' (HALOT) *Certainty:* **uncertain.**
Frequency: **1.** *Genre:* **dedicatory?.**
- brḥ** *verb, q, 3m.s. Q.* *Root:* brḥ. *qrb/h-šlm//l-
dgbt/b-h-brḥt//brḥ/bt d-’ly h-š’n//t/m’
gbl/ddn/h- {š}’{n} (JSLih 041/ 2-5)* ‘he
offered the statue to dgbt, with the honour
[with which] the illustrious house of the
lineage of ‘ly is honoured in company with
the {illustrious} lord of Dadān**’. *NOTE:* Syr.
brḥ (D-stem) 'to make clear, shiny' (CAL, 16-2-
2018); *Certainty:* **uncertain.** *Frequency:* **1.**
Genre: **dedication.**
- brḥt** *noun. Q.* *Root:* brḥ. *qrb/h-šlm//l-dgbt/b-h-
brḥt//brḥ/bt d-’ly h- š’n-//t/m’
gbl/ddn/h- {š}’{n} (JSLih 041/ 2-5)* ‘he
offered the statue to dgbt, with the honour
[with which] the illustrious house of the
lineage of ‘ly is honoured in company with
the {illustrious} lord of Dadān **’. *NOTE:*
Syr. brḥ (D-stem) 'to make clear, shiny' (CAL, 16-
2-2018). *Certainty:* **uncertain.** *Frequency:* **1.**
Genre: **dedication.**
- bt¹** *noun.* temple. *Root:* byt. *----[b]ny/h-bt/{l-
}dgbt (JaL 006/ 1)* ‘he built the temple for
dgbt**’. *----//b-h-bt/dh/mn/’n{s}----
(JSLih 042/ 3)* ‘... at this temple of/from ’ns
(?)...*’. *wl/ḥmm/b-bt-h
š{l}m/wl/slmn//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/ḥmm (JSLih
077/6-7)* ‘and verily he offered at his temple
a statue and he has offered two peace
offerings (?) on the walls of (a?) cave*
(reading this part of the inscription as a
chiastic structure was first proposed by Johan
Lundberg (pc.))’ *NOTE:* Compare e.g. CAR. bayt
'house; place of worship' (Lane 280 ab); Sab. byt
'house, temple' (Beeston et al. 1982, 34); Aram.
'temple' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 159).
Certainty: **certain.** *Frequency:* **12.**
Genre: **dedication, construction.**

- bt²** *noun.* daughter. *Root:* bnt. *NOTE:* See bnt for examples and discussion
- bt^ċ** *personal name.* PN. *Root:* bt^ċ. *PN/bt^ċ* (JSLih 209) ‘PN PN*’. *P* </> *N/w-bnt-{h}/w-qnt-hm/bt^ċ* (JSLih 282) ‘PN and his daughter and their female servant PN*’. *PN bt^ċ* (Jacobs & Macdonald 2009: 372–373) ‘PN PN*’. *NOTE:* In OCIANA, this word is translated as ‘may he be resolute’, based on CAR. ‘bātī’ ‘strong’ and the modern Bedouin usage bātū ‘a resolute hero, a brave rider who does not shrink from a fight’ and bita ‘to go about one’s business in a resolute manner’ (see Macdonald in Jacobs and Macdonald 2009, 373). This translation is problematic, especially in JSLih 282. It’s unexpected for the verb not to agree with the number of dedicants. The article also lists JSLih 015 as an attestation of the verb bt^ċ, but this inscription does not seem to contain more than bt^ċ, making it even more likely that this is a personal name. *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* **3**. *Genre:* **graffiti**.
- btt** *noun.* section? *Root:* btt. *PN//bn PN/ḥd //hl-btt* (JaL 021 f) ‘PN son of PN took this section*’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. battata-hu and batta-hu ‘he cut it off, severed it’; within Dadanitic ḥd is usually used to indicate taking possession of a piece of rockface (to cut a tomb) or a grave (chamber): JSLih 045 ḥd h-mṭbrn ‘he took possession of the two grave chambers’; JSLih 066 ḥd h-sfht dh ‘he took possession of this rockface’ JSLih 079 ḥdw h-qbr dh ‘they took possession of this grave’ *Certainty:* **uncertain**. *Frequency:* **1**. *Genre:* **graffiti; funerary?**
- btr** *toponym.* btr. *Root:* btr. *hzll/h-z//ll//b-bt//r/b^ċd/n{h}l-h w//d^ċ-h/b-d^ċmn* (U 079bis/ 2-5) ‘He performed the zll ceremony at btr on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains at d^ċmn*’. *NOTE:* See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 15) for a discussion of the place name and its distribution in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* **1**. *Genre:* **zll**.
- byt** *verb, d, 3m.s.* to spend the night OR PN. *Root:* byt. *PN//PN//w-byt* (AH 291) ‘PN PN and he spent the night** OR and PN*’. ---- *PN/w-PN//byt/b-lwh/dld* (Graf Abū al-Dibā^ċ 1) ‘...PN and PN he spent the night at** [the] sandy depression dld* OR and PN were at [the] sandy depression dld*’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. bāta ‘to pass or spend the night; to stay overnight’. It is unusual that in Graf Abū al-Dibā^ċ 1 byt is not in the plural, to agree with the two dedicants, which probably indicates that it should be interpreted as a PN. *Certainty:* **uncertain**. *Frequency:* **2**. *Genre:* **graffiti**.
- d^t** *noun.* advisor. *Root:* wd^ċ. *PN/b[n] PN kbr//h-d^t/ś^t/hnṣ/w-rb-h//m/PN/bn/PN/kb//ry/ś^t/hnṣ* (JSLih 072/ 1-4) ‘PN son of PN kabīr of the council* of the party of hnṣ and their lord PN son of PN the two kabīrs of the party of hnṣ**’. *NOTE:* Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1912 vol. II, 429–430) translate d^t as ‘advisor’ based on the root yd^ċ ‘to know’ NWS. Since the text mentions a leader of d^t, however, it seems more reasonable to translate it as referring to a group of people. *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* **1**. *Genre:* **narrative**.
- dm** *adverb?* forever. *Root:* dym. *PN {d-} TrN//ḥd h-mqbr {d}{h} w-dm* (JSLih 306) ‘PN of the lineage of TrN took possession of this tomb for ever*’. *NOTE:* compare CAR. dāma ‘to persist, to continue’ (Lane, 935c) and dā’im ‘continuing, lasting, remaining, everlasting’ (Lane, 937c). *Certainty:* **uncertain**. *Frequency:* **1**. *Genre:* **funerary**.
- drt** *noun.* enclosed area. *Root:* dwr. *zll/h-zl//l/nḍr/b^ċd/h-dr//t* (U 003/ 2-4) ‘He performed the zll ceremony** vowed on behalf of the fields*’. ---- *h-drt/b-mṭb//r*---- (Al-Sa’īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3/ 3-4) *NOTE:* OCIANA proposes to translate drt as ‘productive lowlands’ in U 003 based on “Arabic dārah ‘a wide tract of land among the mountains, reckoned among productive lowlands’” (Lane, 931c) and as ‘chamber’ in Al-Sa’īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3 “on the basis of Arabic dārah, meaning “any space that is surrounded or confined by a thing” (Lane 931c)”. I would propose to use ‘the enclosed area’ as a more general meaning to fit both inscriptions, based on the same root. *Certainty:* **uncertain**. *Frequency:* **2**. *Genre:* **dedicatory; funerary/construction**.

dt'

noun. crops of the season of the later rains.
Root: dt'. *PN/slḥ/dḡ//bt/ʔll/ly/{d}ʔ-h/w nḥl//[-h] (AI-ʿUḡayb 132/ 1-4)* 'PN priest of dḡbt performed the ʔll on behalf of his crops of the season of the later rains and his palm trees**'. *Variant:* dt'. ----/h-ʔll//ly-[-]{dt'-h//w nḥ//l-h (AH 107/ 2-4) '... the ʔll ceremony on behalf of his crops of the season of the later rains and his palm trees**'. *pl.:* ʔdt'. ʔll///l-dḡbt/b-khl//b'd/ʔnḥl-h//w-ʔdt'-h/b-bdr (AI-ʿUḡayb 071/ 2-5) 'he performed the ʔll for dḡbt at khl on behalf of his palm trees** and his seasonal* crops at bdr**'. *NOTE:* The OCIANA translation of this word follows Macdonald's (1992) interpretation of this word as 'season of the later rains' (Macdonald 1992, 3). This is based on the meaning of dʔ/dt' in the Arabic lexica and on evidence from the content of the Saf. inscriptions that mention dt' (Macdonald 1992, 3). He also mentions dt' attested in Sab. and Min. inscriptions (see Beeston 1956, 10-13), where it refers to "the season of the northeast monsoon (November to April)", but cautions that the two cannot be simply equated, since the climate in the south of the Peninsula was clearly very different from that in what is now Jordan and the North of Saudi Arabia (Macdonald 1992, 2). dt' was probably a mistake by the author of the inscription. *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* dt': 32; dt': 1; ʔdt': 2. *Genre:* ʔll.

D - d

d

relative, m.s. that, which, of. *Root:* dV. *PN/w PN/w PN----//d-TrN/w ʔm - hm/PN/bn[t] ---- (AH 197/ 1-2)* 'PN and PN and PN... of the lineage of TrN and their mother PN daughter of ...**'. ʔll/l-dḡbt/tl//t/ʔlt/ly/{d-}kn//{l}-h/b-bdr (U 050/ 2-4) 'he performed three ʔll ceremonies for dḡbt on behalf of that which was his at bdr**'. d/śb{t}d (AH 147) 'śb{t}**'. *feminine:* dt. *PN/dt/TrN/ʔgt//l-dḡbt/t/{h-}ʔll (U 126/ 1-2)* 'PN of the lineage of TrN** dedicated* for dḡbt the ʔll**'. *NOTE:* There are several inscriptions with either a d both at the beginning and the end of the inscription, and some with only a d at the end of the inscription, possibly as a reference to dḡbt (Macdonald 2008, 200).
 Note that there are several inscriptions in which a woman's name is followed by d to indicate lineage (e.g. U 006; 068; 112) (Macdonald, pc.) in these cases d should probably be interpreted as a reference to the lineage of the father.

Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency:* d: 117; dt: 1.

Genre: **lineage; dedication; introductory particle**. *Usage:* PN bn PN d TrN, ly d kn l-h; PN son of PN of the lineage of TrN, on behalf of what was his.

d'dn

toponym. Q. ʔgt//l-dḡbt/t/{h-}ʔll/ly-/n{ḥ}/l-h/b-bdr/[w] b-d'dn (U 126/ 1-3) 'she dedicated* to dḡbt the ʔll on behalf of her palm trees at bdr [and] at d'dn**'. ʔll/h-ʔll/d//h/l-dḡbt/b'd//dt'-h/b-d'dn/ (AH 066) 'he performed this ʔll for dḡbt on behalf of his crops of the season of the later rains at d'dn**'. *NOTE:* See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 18) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanic corpus.

Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency:* 2. *Genre:* ʔll.

d'dn

toponym. Q. ʔlt//h-ʔlt/b-khl/l-dḡ//bt/b'd/tbrt-h/{b-} //d'dn (U 013/ 2-5) 'she performed the {ʔll ceremony*/ʔll ceremonies**} at khl for dḡbt on behalf of her grain at d'dn**'. *NOTE:* See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 18-19) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanic corpus. *Certainty:* **certain**. *Frequency:* 1.

Genre: ʔll.

d'mn

toponym. Q. hʔll/h-ʔ//ll//b-bt//r/b'd/n{ḥ}l-h w //dt'-h/b-d'mn//l-dḡbt (U 079bis/ 2-6) 'he performed the ʔll ceremony at btr on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains at d'mn**'. *NOTE:* See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 19-20) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanic corpus. *Certainty:* **certain**.

Frequency: 23. *Genre:* ʔll.

dbh

q. Q. *sn[t]/tln/w hm//s 35/b-
r'y/[m]n'y/lđn/b//n/hn's/mlk/lhyn/PN/b/
/[n] ---- h- šn'/w-hrh/bn//---- s'bt/h-
sfr/dbh//[----] (JSLih 082/ 4-9)* 'year
thirtyfive 35 during** the rising of the
asterism mn'y*, lđn son of hn's king of
Liḥyān PN**... the artisan and PN son of** ...
PN the writer ??? ...'. *snt/ḥdy/b-
r'y/d'sl}'n/t/{l}my/bn/lđn/mlk/lhyn/d bh
(Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8/ 3-4)*
'year one during** the rising of the asterism
D'sl'n*, Tlmy son of Lđn king of
Liḥyān** ???*. *NOTE:* The root does not seem
to exist. Caskel proposed to interpret it as an
abbreviation dukir bi-ḥayr calqued on Nab. dk̄r b-
ṭāb 'may he be remembered well' (Caskel 1954,
76). This seems unlikely given the recent
developments in our understanding of the history
of the inscriptions (see Rohmer and Charloux
2015). OCIANA proposes to interpret it as an
indication of a lineage d bh 'he of bh'.

Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 2.

Genre: dating formula.

dh

demonstrative. this. Root: dV.
*PN/PN/bn/PN//'gw/h-zll/dh/l-dgbt (U
038/ 2)* 'he dedicated* this zll for dgbt**'.
ḥdw/h-qb//r/dh (JSLih 079/ 2-3) 'they
took possession of this tomb**'. *f
'rr/dgbt/'rr/'-sfr/dh (JSLih 276)* 'so may
dgbt dishonor the one who mistreats this
inscription**'. *PN ktb-h/b-dh (JSLih 279)*
'PN wrote this here**'. *hdq//h-
šlm//[d]h//[l]-[d]{g}/bt (Al-Sa'īd
1419/1999: 4-24, no. 1, side 1-2/ 5-9)*
'he offered this statue to dgbt**'. *feminine: dt.*
PN/ḥd//h-šḥt dt (JSLih 066) 'PN took
possession of this cliff face**'. *l-PN/w-
PN/w-bnt-h/h-ṭrt//dt/wl/wṭ-hm (JSLih
313)* 'for PN and PN and his daughter [is]*
this valley** and verily [it is] their
inheritance**'. *NOTE:* for b-dh see preposition
b-. *Certainty: certain. Frequency: dh: 31; dt:
3. Genre: funerary; dedicatory; curse;
graffiti. Usage: h-zll dh; this zll (most likely
referring to the inscription itself).*

dt'ṭ'

*toponym. Q. 'zllw/h- zll/b- khl//b'd/tbrt-
hmy/b-d/t'ṭ' (U 069/ 3-5)* 'they performed
the zll at khl on behalf of both their grain at
dt'ṭ'**. *NOTE:* See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014,
19) for a discussion of the place name and its
occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus.
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 6. Genre: zll.

F - f

f-

*complementizer. and, and so. Root: f. f-'/rr
dgbt 'rr h-sfr (AH 222/ 6-7)* 'and may dgbt
dihonor the one who** mistreats of the
writing*'. *ḥgggn//f-sm'/l-h{m} (JSLih 006/
4-5)* 'they are pilgrims* so may he (the deity)
listen to them**'. *f-r{d}-h w ḥrt-h (U 058/
6)* 'so may he favor him and his posterity**'.
f-rd-hm//w-ṭb-hm (U 079 bis/ 6-7) 'so
may he favor them and reward them**'.
NOTE: Compare CAR. fa- 'so, and'. See Sima
(1999, 110-14) for a discussion of f- in the
inscriptions from al-'Uḏayb. *Certainty: certain.*
*Frequency: 261. Genre: blessing formula
after dedicaton; curse. Usage: f-rd-h
w'ḥrt-h; so may he facorhim and his
posterity.*

f'l

*verb, g, 3m.s. do, make. Root: f'l. hzll/h-
zll//w-f'l/h-šlm//l-dgbt (U 039/ 3-5)* 'he
performed the zll ceremony and made the
statue for dgbt**'. *PN/mlk ddn/f'l//l-ṭhln
(Al-Sa'īd 2011. 1)* 'PN king of Dadān made
[it] for ṭhln**'. *f'l/h-bt (AH 247/ 2)* 'he
made the temple*'. *PN f'l 'l-/'sd (Jabal al-
Khaymāt No. 4)* 'PN made the lion
(Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 226)'. *3s.f.: f'lt.*
PN/f'lt//h-zll (AH 088/ 1-2) 'PN made the
zll*'. *3pl.: f'lw. w//f'l//w/m'/'b-h//m/h-
g/{l}----t//---- (Al-Ḥuraybah 11)* 'and
they made with their father the...**'. *NOTE:*
Compare e.g. CAR. fa'ala 'to do, make'.
*Certainty: certain. Frequency: f'l: 9; f'lt: 1;
f'lw: 1. Genre: zll; dedicatory; graffiti;
construction.*

fḥt

*noun. governor. Root: fḥt. ----
rm/PN/fḥt/ddn (AH 305/ 2)* '...PN
governor of Dadān**'. *b-
'ym/PN/bn//PN/w-PN/fḥt/ddn/b-r'[y] --
-- (JSLih 349/ 1-2) NOTE: fḥt is interpreted as
coming from Assyrian pīḥatu from the title bēl
pīḥati 'governor' or 'minor provincial official in
Babylonia' (CAD, Vol. 12, 367) via Aramaic
(Winnett 1937, 49-51; and Winnett and Reed
1970, 115-17). See Rohmer (forthcoming) for a
complete discussion and overview of the use of this
word for the dating of the Dadanitic inscriptions.*
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 2.
Genre: graffiti?.

frs *noun*. horseman. *Root*: frs. *PN/h-frs (AH 137)* 'PN the horseman**'. *NOTE*: Compare Aram. parrāš 'horseman' (CAL, 30–4–2018); CAr. fāris 'cavalier' (Lane, 2423c). Also once as a personal name (JSLih 374). *Certainty*: **uncertain**.
Frequency: 2. *Genre*: **graffiti**.

gdw *noun; pl.* granted/gifted property. *Root*: gdw. *zllt/h-zll//l-dggbt/b'//d/gdw l-h/b-t[q]//mm (U 070/ 2-5)* 'PN daughter of PN performed the zll ceremony on behalf of the property that was given to her* at tqmm so may he favor her and reward her**'. *NOTE*: OCIANA suggests reading the letters as gr 'wl-h with the translation 'a partner, or sharer in immovable property, such as land and houses' (Lane, 483c). However, the phrase shows up in a slot that usually indicates a specific crop, which is followed by the name of the field where it was grown (tqmm is known with this meaning in other inscriptions). I would propose to read the letters as gdwlh and parse them as gdw l-h, reading what was previously read as two separate letters r and ' as one d. Compare Sab. gdy 'to make a grant of land'. It may be interpreted as a bound plural 'granted property'. This would then make this an equivalent of the phrase b'd ml-h b-X 'on behalf of his/her property at X' and b'd d-kn l-h b-X 'on behalf of what was his at X'.
Certainty: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 1. *Genre*: **zll**.

G - g

gbl¹ *noun*. lord. *Root*: gbl. *qrb/h-šlm//l-dggbt/b-h-brḥt//brḥ/bt d-'ly h- š'n//t/m^c gbl/ddn/h- {šḥ}[n] (JSLih 041/ 2-5)* 'they offered the statue to dggbt, with the honour [with which] the illustrious house of the lineage of 'ly is honoured in company with the {illustrious} lord of Dadān**'. *NOTE*: JSLih 041 is translated as 'the lord of Dadān' compare e.g. CAr. jabal 'the lord, or chief of a people or company of men' (Lane, 379a). This interpretation may be correct in JSLih 041. Note also Palm. gbl 'people, collectivity' (CAL, 16–2–2018). Gblddn occurs once as a personal name (JSLih 278). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 4.
Genre: **dedicatory; narrative**.

gbl² *noun*. border. *Root*: gbl. *ḥdw/h-mkn//w h-mq^cd/dh/kll-h/mn/m^c//n/h-gbl/hn^c'ly/'dky//m^c{n}/h-gbl/hn^cs{f}l (JSLih 072/ 4-7)* 'They took the place and this sitting place all of it from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border (Lundberg 2015, 135)'. *NOTE*: Compare Old.Aram. gbwl 'border, territory surrounded by a border' (CAL, 16–2–2018). Most occurrences are in broken context. It is unclear whether gbl means the same thing in each inscription (incl. the ones in broken context under gbl¹). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 1.
Genre: **dedicatory; narrative**.

gbn *noun*. place of prayer. *Root*: gbn. *----PN/bn PN//f'l/h- bt/w-h-//^clhn/f-s^cd//---- {b-}h-gbn (AH 247)* '... PN son of PN made the temple and the divine(?) so aid....at the place of prayer (?)**'. *NOTE*: Compare CAr. gabbānah 'a place of prayer; a burial ground; elevated land, land that produces much herbage' (Lane, 377a). In this place in the inscription one would expect a dating formula rather than information about a location.
Certainty: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 1.
Genre: **dedicatory**.

Ġ - ġ

glm *noun*. boy. *Root*: ġlm. *hw//dqw/h- ġ//lm/PN/h//[m]ḥt/l-//dggbt//f rdy - h//m---- (JSLih 049/ 5-11)* 'they offered the boy* PN as a substitute to dggbt so may he favor them...**'. *NOTE*: Compare CAr. ġulām 'a young man, youth, boy, or male child' (Lane, 2331c); Sab. ġlm 'boy, young man' (Beeston et al 1982, 53). *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: 1.
Genre: **dedicatory**.

grsw *verb, g, 3m.pl.* to plant. *Root*: ġrs. *{ġ}rsw/b-bdr/[w] b- bn^l/m//^ct/w ^crb^cn/w ḥms/nḥl (U 023/ 4-5)* 'they planted at bdr and at bn^l hundred and fortyfive palm trees**'. *NOTE*: Compare CAr. ġarasa-hu 'he planted it, or fixed it in the ground namely a tree' (Lane, 2247a). *Certainty*: **quite certain**.
Frequency: 1. *Genre*: **dedicatory; agriculture**.

H - h

h- *definite article*. the. *Root*: hn-. *NOTE*: See hn- for the definite article h- and variant forms.

-h *enclitic pronoun, 3c.s. him/her. Root: h. ʔll h- ʔll b-khl l-dǧbt b'd d-kn l-h b-bdr f-rd-h (AH 130) 'He performed the ʔll ceremony at khl for dǧbt on behalf of that which was his at bdr so may he favor him**'. hdqt/h- //ʔlmn//l- hn'kt//b/f rd -h/w//{ʔ}rt-h (JSLih 062/ 3-7) 'She offered the two statues to hn'ktb so may he favor her and her posterity**'. NOTE: masc. and fem. forms are formally indistinguishable and have to be understood from context. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **281**. Genre: **ʔll; dedicatory; blessing formula**. Usage: f-rd-h w-ʔrt-h w-s'd-h; so may he favor him and his posterity and aid him.*

hʔ *pronoun. he; it. Root: hʔ. PN/PN/PN/hʔ/nʂb/- ---//h/[l-]ʔtrǧth/qbl/ʔns/---- (AH 288/ 1-2) 'PN PN PN he set up the cult stone... [for] Atargatis in the presence of PN ...**'. PN//PN/bny/b//rʔ/h- mʔbr/f//l-h/hʔ (JSLih 078) 'PN PN built the facade of the grave chamber and it is his** NOTE: For the anaphoric use of hʔ see Hidalgo-Chacón Diéz (2017, 67). OCIANA reads 'l-h hʔ' at the end of JSLih 078. The letter they read as ʔ is clearly open at the bottom however, and should probably be read as f instead. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **3**. Genre: **dedicatory; funerary**.*

hdq *verb, c, 3m.s. offered. Root: wdq. P//M/bn/P//N//hdq//h-ʔlm//[d]h//[l]- [d]{ǧ}/bt (Al-Saʔd 1419/1999: 4-24, no. 1, side 1-2/ 1-9) 'PN son of PN offered this statue to dǧbt**'. 3s.f.: hdqt. {ʔ}---- [b]//nt/PN//hdqt/h-//ʔlmn//l- hn'kt//b (JSLih 062/ 1-6) '... daughter of PN offered the two statues* to hn'ktb**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. wdq 'to approach' (Lisān). A similar semantic connection exists in CAR. D-stem form qarraba 'he presented it, or offered it to them' (Lane 2505b) from qaraba 'to become near' (Lane 2504b) and Aram. ʔty 'to come' and hyty 'to bring' (CAL, 4-10-2017). See also hwdq and ʔdq. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **hdq: 1; hdqt: 1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.*

hǧh *demonstrative. this; that. Root: h + ǧ. [----]//hyw ---- h-ʔʂlmn/hǧh//{n}/ndr/ (JSLih 082/ 1-2) '...PN... these two statues he vowed**'. Variant: hǧ. {h}ǧ//l- ǧ//ǧbt/f//rdy-h//w ----//[----] (Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17) 'this [is] for dǧbt so may he favor him and...**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. haǧā 'this' (m.s.). The more common form of the demonstrative is dh. JSLih 082 is usually read as hǧhn and interpreted as a dual demonstrative. This is the only example of such a form, however, and the stone on which the inscriptions was carved is damaged. For hǧ: the reading of this part of the inscription is uncertain. Compare CAR. haǧā 'this' (m.s.). Certainty: **reading of JSLih 082 is uncertain**. Frequency: **hǧh: 2; hǧ: 1**. Genre: **dedication**.*

hǧnyw *verb, c, 3m.pl. to offer; lit. to make prosperous. Root: ǧny. hǧgw/h-nq/w-hǧnyw/b-bt-hm/l- ---- (AH 197/ 5) 'they performed the pilgrimage** of the nq and made an offering at their temple for...*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ʔaǧnāhu 'an kaǧʔā 'he caused him to be in no need, or free from want, of such a thing' or 'to enrich' (Lane, 2302c) and ǧanā 'he was or became free from want; in a state oor condition of having no wants' (Lane 2301c). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.*

hlh *theonym. hlh. Root: lh. PN/ʔsd{q}///f-rd-h/h/hlh/w-s'd-h (JSLih 008) 'PN fulfilled his duty so may he favor him, hlh and aid him**'. PN/bn/PN/ʔfk/h{h} (Al-Saʔd 1420/1999: 15-26, no. 2/ 1) 'PN son of PN priest of {hlh}' . NOTE: Compare to the theonym ʔlh, probably allāh, also attested in Saf. inscriptions (Al-Jallad 2015, 299). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **2**. Genre: **dedicatory**.*

-hm *enclitic pronoun, 3m.pl. them, their. Root: hm. PN/w-PN/w-P//N/w-PN/bnw//PN/ǧ TrN/ʔ//llw/ʔll/h- nq/l-//dǧbt/f rd-hm (AH 001) 'PN and PN and PN sons of PN of the lineage of TrN performed the ʔll ceremony of the nq* for dǧbt so may he favor them**'. NOTE: See -h for the singular form. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **138**. Genre: **ʔll; dedicatory**. Usage: f-rd-hm w-ʔrt-hm w-s'd-hm; so may he favor them and their posterity and aid them.*

hmq *relative*. according to that which. *Root*: Q. *PN/bn/PN/ʔgw/h- zll/b-* {mš//d/hmq/tr{k}---- (AH 202/ 1-2) ‘PN son of PN dedicated the zll** at [the] sanctuary* in accordance with what** he left/relinquished...’. ----‘-----’/bn/PN--- //ḥt -h/ʔrqww/h---- //bt/hmq/ndr/dḡ[b][t] ---- (AH 204/ 1-3) ‘... son of PN..his sister they sent up {the}*... according what was vowed to dḡbt...’. zllw/h-zll/b-//h-mšd/l-dḡbt/hmq/ndr/hn[ʔ]//s (AH 244/ 3-5) ‘they performed the zll ceremony at the sanctuary* for dḡbt according to what hn’s vowed**’. *NOTE*: compound with the relative *d* and may be compared to Ugaritic *hnd* (suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad in his 2015 talk ‘more reflections on the linguistic map of Ancient Arabia’ in Helsinki. Slides are available on academia.edu.), which has been suggested to be a compound of the particles *han + na + dū/ ‘this’ (Pardee 2011, 464). Sima (1999, 115) proposed to parse it as deictic element *h-* + particle *-m-* + relative *-d*. Jaussen and Savignac (1909-1912, 436-37) compare *hmq* to CAr. *hamma allaḡ* ‘this intention, design’ and the CAr. construction *ḥasba mā* ‘according to’. *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 7. *Genre*: **dedication**. *Usage*: *hmq* *ndr*; according to what he vowed.

hmqhb *toponym*. *hmqhb*. *Root*: Q. zllw//l- dḡ//[b][t][l]//b’d/dḡ’ -h/b- hm//dḡb (U 075/ 2-4) ‘they performed the zll for dḡbt on behalf of their seasonal crops* at hmqhb**’. *NOTE*: See Hidalgo Chacón Díez (2014, 23) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: 1. *Genre*: **zll**.

-hmy *enclitic pronoun, 3m.du.* them both; their. *Root*: hm. qr//bw/h-//mḥrw//l-dḡ//bt/f-//rdy -h//my/w-//ʔḥrt-h//my/d (AH 209/ 4-12) ‘they dedicated the incense burner to dḡbt so may he favor them both and their posterity dḡ**’. *PN/bn/PN//w-/PN/bnt/PN//zllw/h-zll/b- khl//b’d/tḡbrt -hmy/b- d//tʔ/f- [r]dy -hmy/w s//d -hmy (U 069)* ‘PN son of PN and PN daughter of PN performed the zll ceremony at khl on behalf of their grain at dḡ ‘I so may he favor them both and aid them both**’. ʔdq---- s----//l- dḡbt ʔmt - {h}my *PN//b{n}t PN (AH 222/ 1-3)* ‘He dedicated... to dḡbt their maid servant PN daughter of PN**’. *NOTE*: See *-h* for the singular. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: 11. *Genre*: **dedicatory; zll**. *Usage*: *f-rd-hmy w-ʔḥrt-hmy*; so may he favor them both and their posterity.

hn- *definite article*. the. *Root*: hn. *PN//hn-ʔfkl (JaL 010a)* ‘PN the priest**’. *l-* *PN//bn/PN/hn//qbr/dh (JSLih 081/ 1-3)* ‘for PN son of PN [is] this grave**’. ---- *krn/w hn- ʔrt/ʔrt/ʔ----// (Al-Saʔd 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 1)* ‘...PN and the community community(?)**’. *Variant*: **h-**. zll h- zll (U 054/ 2) ‘He performed the zll ceremony**’. *Variant*: **hl-**. *PN bn PN ḥd hl-btt (JaL 021f)* ‘PN son of PN took this section (of the rock?)**’. *Variant*: ʔ-. zlt/l//dḡbt/ʔ- zll//dh (AH 119/ 2-4) ‘she performed this zll ceremony**’. ʔgw zll l-dḡbt (AH 138/ 2-3) ‘he dedicated* the zll ceremony to dḡbt**’. *Variant*: ʔl-. *PN fʔl ʔl-//ʔsd (Jabal al-Khraymāt No. 4)* ‘PN made the lion (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2018, 226)’. *NOTE*: See 6.2.6.1 Definite article for a discussion of the variation and phonological conditioning of *h-/hn-* alternation. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **hn-: 12; h-: 281; hl-: 1; ʔ-: 6; ʔl-: 1**. *Genre*: **occurs in all types of inscriptions**. *Usage*: *h-zll*; the zll ceremony.

hny *verb, g, 3m.s.* to benefit. *Root*: hny. *PN/PN//zll h- zll //hny/hn- ʔ/ḥrt (U 040.1)* ‘PN PN performed the zll ceremony may he benefit* the posterity**’. *NOTE*: Compare e.g. Heb. *hny* ‘to benefit’ (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 289). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 2. *Genre*: **dedicatory**.

hnyt *q. Q. l-PN/bn//PN/h-qbr//dh/w-h-n{yt}* (JSLih 312) ‘this grave and the ??? belong to PN son of PN*’. *NOTE*: OCIANA comments that there would not be space between the *t* and the *n* for a *y* at the end of the inscription, even though Jaussen and Savignac (1909-1912, 515) restored *nyt*. The shaft of what seems to have been a *y* is clearly visible between the *n* and possible *t* however. Formally it could be a blessing *hnyt* ‘may she save’, similar to *hny* in U 040.1, but it is unclear who the feminine subject would be in this inscription. *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: 1. *Genre*: **funerary**.

hqymh *q. Q. Root: qym. [-----*
//hqymh/mgdl/dğbt/bnyw/bt/h- şn----
//l-dğbt (Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8/
1-2) ‘... ??? ??? dğbt they built the temple of
the [statue] for dğbt’. PN----/bn/PN ----*
[h]//qymh/n‘m/dğbt/----// (JSLih 054/ 1-
2) ‘PN son of PN... ??? PN dğbt..’. NOTE:*
 OCIANA translated qym as 'administrative officer'
 but this seems syntactically difficult for the two
 following words in both inscriptions. Possibly
 compare CAr. 'aqāma C-stem 'he set up, put up, set
 upright' (Lane 2995c) *Certainty: completely*
uncertain. Frequency: 2?. Genre: dedicatory;
construction.

hṭbt *verb, c, 3f.s. Root: wṭb. to dedicate.*
ddn/hṭbt/mṭb/w-hwḏ‘t/ḏm/l-
dğbt/mr’//–h (Al-Ḥuraybah 12/ 1-2)
 ‘Dadān dedicated the throne and offered the
 wheat(?) to dğbt her lord*’. *NOTE:* Compare
 Aram. ytb 'to sit, to dwell, to stay, remain' (CAL,
 16-2-2018). Sab. hwṭbt (n.) 'laying foundations'
 (Beeston et al. 1982, 165). *Certainty: certain.*
Frequency: 1. Genre: dedicatory.

hwdq *verb, cd, 3m.s. offered. Root: wdq. w-hwdq/l-*
h/h-mḥry (AH 288/ 3) ‘and he offered to
her the incense burner’. hw//dq/h-//{š}lm*
(Al-Ḥuraybah 13/ 6-8) ‘he offered the
*statue***. ---//h-şyğ/h//wdq/h-m/ṭl/l-*
d//ğbt (Al-Ḥuraybah 14/ 2-5) ‘... the smith
offered the substitute to dğbt’.*
3pl.: hwdqw. hw//dqw/h-ğ//lm/PN/h-
//[m]ṭl/l-//dğbt (JSLih 049/ 5-9) ‘they
*offered the boy PN as a substitute to dğbt***’.*
NOTE: compare CAr. wdq 'to approach' (Lisān). A
 similar semantic connection exists in CAr. D-stem
 form qarraba 'he presented it, or offered it to them'
 (Lane 2505b) from qaraba 'to become near' (Lane
 2504b), and Aram. 'ty 'to come' and hyty 'to bring'
 (CAL, 4-10-2017). See also hdq and 'dq.
Certainty: certain. Frequency: hwdq: 3;
hwdqw: 1. Genre: dedicatory.

hwḏ‘t *verb, cd, 3f.s. to offer, to fulfill an obligation.*
Root: wḏ‘. ddn/hṭbt/mṭb/w hwḏ‘t/ḏm/l-
dğbt/mr’//–h (Al-Ḥuraybah 12/ 1-2)
 ‘Dadān dedicated the throne and offered the
 wheat(?) to dğbt her lord*’. *NOTE:* Compare
 Sab. wḏ‘ 'to come out; to acquit oneself of an
 obligation' and uncertainly in one inscription in the
 C-stem 'to be proclaimed (an outlaw)'; Ge'ez
 'awḏə'a 'to bring out, bring forth, spend' (Leslau
 1987, 605). *Certainty: general semantic*
domain is certain. Frequency: 1.
Genre: dedicatory.

hʒll *verb, c, 3m.s. to perform the ʒll ritual. Etym: ʒll.*
PN//hʒll/l- dğ//bt/f-rḏy –h (U 116) ‘PN
performed the ʒll for dğbt so may he favor
*him***’. 3pl.: hʒllw. hʒllw/ʒll/h-//nq/l-*
dğ[b]t/f-rḏ–hm (AH 011/ 2-3) ‘they
performed the ʒll ceremony of the nq for*
*dğbt so may he favor them***’. Variant: ṭll.*
3s.f.: hṭllt. PN/bnt//---- hṭllt//----//---
– [d][ğ]//bt ----//[----] (Al-‘Uḏayb 088)
 ‘PN daughter of... performed the ṭll...
 {dğbt}***’. *NOTE:* The more common form of the
 verb is 'ʒll. While it is clear that this is a ritual for
 the local deity dğbt, it is unclear what the ritual
 entailed exactly, although inscriptions mentioning h-
 ʒll ḏh 'this ʒll' suggest that the inscription itself was
 considered 'the ʒll' or part of it. The primary
 meaning of the root ʒll is 'shade, cover' but it is
 unclear how this relates exactly to the ritual at the
 moment. See Scagliarini (Scagliarini 2002b, 573–
 75) for a discussion of the translations of ʒll,
 offered so far. *Certainty: semantic domain is*
certain. Frequency: hʒll: 8; hʒllw: 1; hṭllt: 1;
Genre: ʒll. Usage: hʒll h-ʒll l-dğbt; he
performed the ʒll ceremony for dğbt.

H – ḥ

ḥld *adverb. forever. Root: ḥld. ḥls/PN*
bn//PN/ḥld (JSLih 070/ 1-2) ‘PN son of PN
was released forever’. ḥls PN/b{n}//PN/ḥld*
(JSLih 068/ 1-2) ‘PN son of PN was released
for ever’. NOTE:* Compare CAr. ḥalada 'he
 remained, stayed' (Lane, 783c).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 2.
Genre: legal; funerary?.

ḥlf *preposition. following, after. Root: ḥlf.*
snt/‘šr//n/w ts/‘šr/ym//ḥlf/fḏg (JSLih
*070/ 2-4) ‘year 19, 10 days after fḏg***’.*
snt/‘šr/w ṭṭ/13/ymn/ḥlf/ṭ‘n/d//----
l{‘}{b}/[t]lmy/bn/[l]d{n}/ml{k}/{l}{h}yn (AH
*197/ 8-9) ‘year thirteen 13 two days after***
the setting(?) of the asterism..., tlmṣ son of
lḏn king of Liḥyān’. NOTE:* Compare CAr.
 ḥalafa 'he came after, followed, succeeded' (Lane,
 792a). See Lundberg (2015: 131) for a complete
 discussion of this preposition in Dadanitic.
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 2. Genre: dating
formula.

hls *q. Q. Root: hls. hls*
PN/b{n}/PN/hld/{s}/nt/‘srn/
tmn{y}/tlt/ym/qbl/r’y/slhn (JSLih 068)
 ‘PN son of PN was released for ever year
 twenty{eight}, three days before the rising of
 the asterism slhn*’.
hls/PN/bn///PN/hld/snt/‘sr//n/w
ts/‘sr/ym/hlf/fdg (JSLih 070/ 1-4) ‘PN
 son of PN was released forever*, in the year
 19, 10 days after fdg**’. *NOTE:* Possibly
 compare Aram. hls ‘to strip, to remove (one’s
 garment)’ (CAL, 23-1-2019). Both the
 etymological and semantic relation are unsure
 however. Both inscriptions are found in relation to
 tombs cut out in the rock face.
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 2.
Genre: legal/funerary?.

hlym *noun. sincere; pure. Root: hlm. PN PN PN//h-*
hlym (U 096) ‘PN PN PN the sincere**’.
NOTE: Following Abū l-Hasan’s interpretation
 ‘sincere, pure’ (Abu l-Hasan 1997, 346–47).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1.
Genre: graffiti.

hms *numeral, m. five. Root: hms.*
snt/hms//ś{hr}/{b}n/hn’s (AH 013/ 8-9)
 ‘year five of śhr son of Hn’s**’. *{g}rsw/b-*
bdr/[w]-b- bn’l/m//’t/w ’rb’n/w hms/nhl
(U 023/ 4-5) ‘they planted at bdr and at bn’l
 hundred and fortyfive palm trees**’. *NOTE:*
 Compare Aram. hms ‘five’ (CAL, 16–2–2018);
 Sab. hms ‘five’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 61).
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 8. Genre: dating
formula; zll.

hrf *noun. crops of the season of the first rains.*
Root: hrf. zll/b- khl//’ly/m-kn/l-h/b-
d/t’l/mn/dt’/w hrf (U 059/ 2-4) ‘he
 performed the zll at khl on behalf of what was
 his at dt’l of the crops of the season of the
 later rains and the crops of the season of the
 first rains**’. *hzll//[l-] dgbt/b-*
khl//b[’]d/hrf -h/b- bd[r] (U 041/ 2-4)
 ‘he performed the zll [for] dgbt at Khl in
 behalf of his crops of the season of the first
 rains at bdr**’. *NOTE:* compare dt’ crops of the
 season of the later rains’ which is much more
 common in the zll inscriptions. Macdonald notes
 that hrf does not occur as a name for a season
 “either in Saf. or in modern bedouin usage”, and
 points to the sedentary use of hrf as autumn
 (Macdonald 1992, 3–4). *Certainty: certain.*
Frequency: 2. Genre: zll.

hrg¹ *theonym. hrg. Root: hrg. hggw/h----//l-hrg*
(AH 217/ 3-4) ‘they performed the
 pilgrimage... for hrg**’. *hggw/h-nq/w-*
hğnyw/b-bt-hm/l- ----//tn/l-hrg/w-
zlw/b- h- mşd/zll/h-[nq]//l-dgbt{b} (AH
197/ 5-7) ‘they performed the pilgrimage**
 of the nq and offered at their temple to...* to
 hrg and they performed the zll ceremony** of
 the nq at the sanctuary for dgbt*’. *NOTE:*
 Based on context. *Certainty: uncertain.*
Frequency: 3. Genre: dedicatory.

hrg² *noun. lawsuit. Root: hrg.*
wdyw/nfs/mr/bn/hwt/m{h} //’hd/’l-
hmy/hrg (JSLih 077/ 2-3) ‘they placed the
 funerary monument for PN son of PN**
 which was placed upon them as a lawsuit*’.
NOTE: Compare Sab. hrg ‘to bring a lawsuit
 against so.’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 62).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1.
Genre: legal.

htn *noun. male relative by marriage. Root: htn.*
PN/bnt/PN//w-’h}tn-h/PN/’zllw/[’]l-
dğ/[b][t] (U 075/ 1-3) ‘PN daughter of PN
 and her relative law PN performed the zll for
 dğbt**’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. hatan ‘daughter’s
 husband’ (Lane, 704a); Aram. htn (D-stem) ‘to
 become a son in law; to ally by marriage’ (CAL,
 14–2–2018). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1.*
Genre: zll.

ht *verb, g, 3m.s. to inscribe; to write. Root: ht.*
PN//ht/PN//snt/hs (JSLih 181) ‘PN
 inscribed [for?] PN year Hs**’. *NOTE:* See ht
 for the D-stem. Compare CAR. haṭṭa ‘he made a
 line, a mark’ (Lane, 759b). *Certainty: certain.*
Frequency: 1. Genre: graffiti.

hṭṭ *verb, d, 3m.s. to cut; to carve. Root: hṭṭ. PN hṭṭ*
’dm ’dm (Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII) ‘PN
 carved ’dm ’dm*’. *NOTE:* See ht for the G-stem.
 Compare CAR. haṭṭa ‘he made a line, a mark’ (Lane,
 759b). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1.*
Genre: graffiti.

H – h

hfr *personal name. PN. Root: hfr. ’lwt/hfr/hrs*
(JSTham 427) ‘PN PN PN*’. *NOTE:*
 Translated as a verb ‘he engraved’ in OCIANA, it
 does not occur as a PN in the Dadanitic corpus, but
 hṭṭ is attested in Saf. as a personal name (Is.R
 116). *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1.*
Genre: graffiti.

ḥgg verb, *d*, 3*m.s.* to make a pilgrimage. Root: ḥgg. ḥgg/l-dǧb//t/b-h-mšd/w --- (AH 198/4-5) 'he performed the pilgrimage for dǧbt** at the sanctuary* and...**'. 3*s.f.*: ḥggt. ---- t/PN/bn/PN/d Tr//N/ḥggt/dǧbt/f rǧ-h//m/w ḥrt-hm/w s'd-hm (AHUD 1/2-3) '...PN son of PN of the lineage of TrN performed the pilgrimage to dǧbt so may he favor them and their posterity and aid them**'. 3*pl.*: ḥggw. ḥggw/dǧ//[b][t][/] (Rabeler 001/3-4) 'they performed the pilgrimage to {dǧbt}**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥajja 'he performed the pilgrimage to the House [of God at Mekkeh]' (Lane, 513)).
Certainty: certain. Frequency: ḥgg: 1; ḥggt: 1; ḥggw: 9. Genre: dedicatory.

ḥggn participle, *m.pl.* being a pilgrim/making a pilgrimage. Root: ḥgg. PN/w PN w-PN//w-PN/w-PN//w-PN/w-P//N/ḥggn//f sm'/l-h{m} (JSLih 006) 'PN and PN and PN and PN and PN and PN and PN are pilgrims/performing a pilgrimage* so may he (the deity) listen to them**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥajja 'he performed the pilgrimage to the House [of God at Mekkeh]' (Lane, 513)). See ḥgg for the more common verbal form.
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: dedicatory.

ḥgt noun. pilgrimage. Root: ḥgg. ----/ḥgt/{b}-khl/'l-hm (AH 206/1) '... pilgrimage at khl on behalf of them**'. ----bt/ḥgt/h-mšd (AH 219) '... the pilgrimage of the sanctuary*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥajja 'he performed the pilgrimage to the House [of God at Mekkeh]' (Lane, 513). See ḥggw for the more common verbal form. *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 4. Genre: dedicatory.*

ḥmm noun. decreed offering. wdyw/nfs/PN/bn/PN/m{h}//ḥd/'l-hmy/ḥrg/w-h-dt'/ldy/d/'t'/ḥmm/b- d'f' (JSLih 077/2-4) 'they set up the funerary monument of PN son of PN** [according to] what was taken out on them as a loan*, and the crops of the season of the later rains** with the decreed offering* of the crops of the season of the later rains at d'f'*. NOTE: CAR. ḥumma la-hu kaḏā 'he decreed or appointed for him, such a thing' (Lane, 635c).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 2. Genre: dedicatory, legal?.

ḥqwy noun, *du, cs.* two sides. Root: ḥqw. PN/bn/PN/h-š//n'/d-TrN/ḥ'/P//N/b-ḥqwy/k//fr (JSLih 075/1-3) 'PN son of PN the artisan of the lineage of TrN** protected* PN on two sides of [the] tomb**'. w/ /ḥmm/b-bt-h š{l}m/wl /slmn//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/ḥmm (JSLih 077/1-7) 'and verily he offered at his temple a statue and he has offered two peace offerings (?) on the walls of (a?) cave/tomb* (J. Lundberg (pc.) proposed to interpret this section as a chiasmic structure)'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥaqw 'waist; flank' also of a mountain (Lane: 613c).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 2. Genre: funerary.

ḥrb verb, *q*, 3*m.s.* he waged war (on so.) Root: ḥrb. ----h/bn/PN/'d/ḥrb -hm ---- (JSLih 055/2) 'son of PN when he waged war on them...**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥaraba-hu 'he waged, or contended in, war with him, warred, or battled with him' (Lane, 510b); Sab. ḥrb 'to wage war on so.' (Beeston et al. 1982, 690).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: narrative.

K - k

kbr noun. kabir, leader. Root: kbr. PN/b[n] PN kbr//h-d't/š't/hnš/w-rb-h//m/PN/bn/PN/kb//ry/š't/hnš (JSLih 072/1-4) 'PN son of PN kabīr of the council* of the party of hnš and their lord PN son of PN the two kabīrs of the party of hnš**'. dual: kbry. PN/b[n] PN kbr//h-d't/š't/hnš/w-rb-h//m/PN/bn/PN/kb//ry/š't/hnš (JSLih 072/1-4) 'PN son of PN kabīr of the council* of the party of hnš and their lord PN son of PN the two kabīrs of the party of hnš**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. kabīr 'lord or chief' (Lane, 2586c); Sab. 'chief administrative officer of a 'tribe' (Beeston et al. 1982, 76); Min. kbr 'kabīr, chief' e.g. RES 2742. *Certainty: certain. Frequency: kbr: 1; kbry: 1. Genre: narrative.*

kfr noun. tomb. Root: kfr. *PN/bn/PN/h-ṣ//nʿ/d- TrN/ṯʿ/P//N/b- ḥqwy/k//fr (JSLih 075/ 1-4)* ‘PN son of PN the artisan of the lineage of TrN protected* PN on two sides of [the] tomb **’.

wdyw/nfs/PN/bn/PN (JSLih 077/ 2) ‘they set up the funerary monument for PN son of PN**’. *f-ʿrr/h----//{}/mn/ʿrr/h-kfr/dh (Müller, D.H. 1889: 78, no. 29/ 1-2)* ‘so may he dishonor... the one who mistreats this tomb*’. *PN/bn/PN/PN/bny/h-//kfr/l-h/w l-wṯ-h/h-kfr/dh/kll-h (JSLih 045/ 1-2)* ‘PN son of PN PN built** the* tomb for him and his heir, the whole of this tomb**’.

NOTE: CAR. kafara ‘he veiled, concealed, hid or covered the thing’ (Lane, 2620b) and kafr ‘earth or dust’ ‘because it covers what is beneath it’ and from that also ‘a grave or sepulchre’ (Lane, 2621b). Sab. ‘sluice, covered cistern’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 77). compare JSLih 257 ‘qbr’, which is translated as ‘grave’ in OCIANA. The content of JSLih 045 makes it likely that the structure mentioned it is a funerary cave, but no physical context is visible. JSLih 075 does not seem to be connected to any tombs in the rockface; neither does JSLih 077; no context is visible for Müller, D.H. 1889: 78, no. 29.

Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 4.
Genre: funerary.

khf noun. cave, tomb. Root: khf. *l-mḥhr/h-khf (Umm Darağ 60)* ‘The cave* belongs to mḥr**’. *khf/l-PN/b-ʿly (JSLih 124)* ‘cave* of PN at ʿly**’. *khf/PN/bn PN/mlk/ddn (JSLih 138)* ‘cave(tomb) of PN son of PN king of Dadān**’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. kahf ‘cave, shelter’ (Lisān). In Umm Darağ 60 khf occurs on an overhanging rockface with a sheltered place beneath it. OCIANA translates khf as cave tomb, but it is unclear whether this is where the dead were left, or whether someone simply claimed the spot for himself for other purposes during life. The other inscriptions lack context on the available copies or photographs. None of them seems to be obviously associated with an actual tomb.

Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 7.
Genre: funerary?; royal funerary.

khl toponym. khl. Root: khl. *PN/slḥt/dğbt/ʒllt//h-ʒll/b-khl/bʿd/nḥl-h/b-bnʿl (AH 012/ 1-2)* ‘PN priestess of dğbt performed the ʒll ceremony at khl on behalf of her palm trees at bnʿl**’. *NOTE:* Hidalgo-Chacon Diez (2014: 20–22) has clearly shown that all attestations of the place Khl occur at al-ʿUdayb, suggesting that it was the ancient name for this site, which was one of the two sites at which the ʒll inscriptions are found.

Certainty: certain. Frequency: 78. Genre: ʒll.
Usage: ʒll h-ʒll b-khl l-dğbt, ʒll h-ʒll l-dğbt b-khl; he performed the ʒll ceremony at khl, he performed the ʒll ceremony for dğbt at khl.

khlw verb, g, 3m.pl. to be successful; to prosper. Root: khl. *PN/w-PN // w-PN/w-PN //khlw (AH 153)* ‘PN and PN and PN and PN have prospered**’. *NOTE:* Compare Sab. khl ‘to be successful’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 77); OffAram.m. ‘to be able’ (CAL, 16–2–2018). *Certainty: certain.*
Frequency: 1. Genre: graffiti.

kll quantitative. all, each, everything. Root: kll. *l-ṣʿt//ʿl/kʿ//mn h-mqʿd k//ll -h (JaL 161a/ 1-4)* ‘to the party of ʿl kʿ mn the seat, all of it**’. *ḥḍw/h-mkn//w-h-mqʿd/dh/kll-h/mn/mʿ//n/h-gbl/hnʿly/ʿdky//m{n}/h-gbl/hnʿsf{l} (JSLih 072: 4-7)* ‘they took the place and the sitting place all of it from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border (Lundberg 2015, 135)’. *f-rd-h//w-sʿd -h/w-ḥrt-h//kll-h (U 010/ 3-5)* ‘So may he favor him and aid him and his posterity, all of it**’. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. kull ‘totality, entirety, everyone, each one, whole, entire, all’ (Lane, 978a); Saf. kll ‘all, each, everything’ (Al-Jallad 2015, 89).

Certainty: certain. Frequency: 7. Genre: legal, dedicatory(?).

kn verb, c, 3m.s. to be. Root: kwn. $\text{z} // \text{ll} / \text{l} - \text{d} \dot{\text{g}} \text{b} / \text{b} - \text{khl} / \text{b} \text{d} // \text{d} - \text{kn} / \text{l} - \text{h} / \text{b} \text{y} // \text{r}$ (U 108/ 2-6) 'he performed the zll for dġbt at khl on behalf of what was his at yr**'.
PN/slĥ // d{ġ}bt / zll / b-khl // ly / m-kn / l-h / b-d // t' / mn / dt' / w ĥrf (U 059/ 1-4) 'PN priest of dġbt performed the zll at khl on behalf of what was his at dt' l of the crops of the season of the later rains and crops of the season of the first rains**'.
PN/bn // PN/sl // ĥ / dġb // t / zll / b // d / ml / kn / [l-] // h / b-bdr / l-dġbt (AH 120/ 1-6) 'PN son of PN priest of dġbt performed the zll on behalf of property that was his at bdr for dġbt**'. *prefixing conjugation: ykn. [-----] // hm ----- [d] // ġbt / {n} / yk{n} ----- // l-h / {w} / d* (AH 203/ 1-3) '...dġbt that there may be a son {for him}**'. *NOTE:* Compare e.g. CAR. kāna 'he was'; Sab. kwn, kyn 'to be, take place, occur' (Beeston et al. 1982, 80); Aram. kn 'to be, to exist, to happen' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 494). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: kn: 25; ykn: 1. Genre: zll; dedicatory.*
Usage: b'd dkn l-h; on behalf of that which was his.

ktb verb, g, 3m.s. to write. Root: ktb. *PN ktb-h/b-dĥ* (JSLih 279) 'PN wrote it here**'. *NOTE:* Compare e.g. CAR. kataba 'he wrote'; Aram. ktb 'he wrote' (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: graffiti.*

L - I

l- preposition. for, to. Root: l. $\text{z} // \text{ll} / \text{l} - \text{d} \dot{\text{g}} \text{b} / \text{b} - \text{khl} / \text{b} \text{d} // \text{d} - \text{kn} / \text{l} - \text{h} / \text{b} - \text{y} // \text{r}$ (U 108/ 2-6) 'He performed the zll for dġbt at khl on behalf of what was his at yr so may he favor him and reward him**'. *l-PN/h-kĥf* (Nasif 1988: 94, pl. CXL/a) 'for PN the cave/tomb'. *l-PN* (Eut 681-682) 'for/by PN*'. *NOTE:* The use of the lam auctoris is common in most types of ANA inscriptions (Taymanitic; Thamudic B, C, D; Saf. and some Hismaic inscriptions (Macdonald 2008, 209-10)). In Dadanitic it is relatively rare, however. While in most of the other corpora the lam auctoris is left untranslated (Macdonald 2006, 294-95), Nasif 1988: 94, pl. CXL/a shows that in the case of Dadanitic there are several clear examples in which the initial l- indicates possession. *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 352. Genre: zll; dedicatory; funerary; graffiti.*
Usage: zll h-zll l-dġbt, b'd d-kn l-h; he performed the zll ceremony for dġbt, on behalf of that which was his.

ldy preposition. with. Root: l + yd. *wdyw/nfs/PN/bn/PN/m{h} // ĥd / l - hmy/ĥrg/w-h-dt' / ldy / d / t' / ĥmm / b - d'f* (JSLih 077: 1-4) 'They set up the funerary monument for PN son of PN** [according to] what had been placed upon them as a loan* and the crops of the season of the later rains** with the decreed offering* of the crops of the season of the later rains at d'f**'. *NOTE:* See Lundberg (2015, 135) for a discussion of the preposition ldy. Compare CAR. ladā 'with, by, at' (Lisān); CPArām. ldy 'on account of' (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty: quite certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: zll; dedicatory; funerary; graffiti.*

lh theonym. Lh. Root: lh. *l-lh/PN PN // gw / d'mn* (AH 134) 'for Lh PN PN dedicated D'mn*'. *dq / l- l // h / {h} - šlmn / {f} - rdy - h / w - // {s} - d - h* (JSLih 061/ 3-6) 'He offered to lh the two statues so may he favor him and aid him**'. *NOTE:* name of a deity, probably allāh or lāh, also attested in Saf. inscriptions (Al-Jallad 2015, 299). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 2. Genre: dedicatory.*

lqn noun. support. Root: lqn. *PN/bn/PN // t' - h - lqn* (Al-'Uḡayb 106) 'PN son of PN [for] his legacy the support/help*'. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. liqn 'support, help' (Hava 1915, 685b). *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: graffiti.*

lwh noun. sandy depression. Root: lwy. *PN/w PN // byt / b - lwh / dld* (Graf Abū al-Ḍibā' 1) '...PN and PN he spent the night at** [the] sandy depression dld* OR and PN were at [the] sandy depression dld*'. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. liwā 'bande des sables qui fait un détour; détour, coude (des sables ou d'une vallée)'. (Kazimirski 1860, 1046). Note that the expected reflex of *liway would be lwy in Dadanitic (see 4.2.3 Final -y) *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: graffiti.*

m^c preposition. with. Root: m^c. w-
//fʿl//w/m^c//b-h//m/h- g//l}----t (Al-
Ḥuraybah 11/ 1-6) ‘and they made with
their father the.....**’. qrb/h- šlm//l-
dǧbt/b- h- brḥt//brḥ/bt d- ‘ly h-
š’n//t/m^c gbl/ddn/h- {š}’[n] (JSLih 041)
‘he offered the statue to dǧbt, with the honour
[with which] the illustrious house of the
lineage of ‘ly is honoured in company with
the {illustrious} lord of Dadān**’. NOTE:
compare CAr. ma ‘with’. Certainty: **certain**.
Frequency: **4**. Genre: **dedicatory; legal?**.

mⁿ noun. sanctuary, dwelling, abode. Root: ‘wn.
mn/m^c//n/h-gbl/hn-’ly/‘dky// m{d}/h-
gbl/hn-’s{f}l (JSLih 072/ 5-7) ‘from
assembly place of the upper border until the
sanctuary of the lower border (Lundberg
2015, 135)’. ‘ny//ysrg[/]’b-hm/w {m}’n-
h[m]//w {m}’fr-h{m}/b- mšhl (U 026/ 3-
5) ‘See now that their pasture may be
beautified and their abode and their cultivated
land at mšhl**’. NOTE: following the
comparison made in Lundberg (2015): "Heb. mⁿ
which occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls with the
meaning ‘abode’ or as a reference to the temple or
a dwelling place (Fabry, Brooke, and Dahmen
2013, II: 728–30). There is also an Akkadian noun
mā’ unnu with the meaning ‘dwelling’ which,
according to von Soden, is derived from Canaanite
mā’ ōn (Von Soden 1972, II: M-S:637). In addition
to this, there is an example of mⁿ meaning
‘temple’ in Punic (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995,
668) and compare Aram. mⁿ (CAL, 16–2–
2018)." (Lundberg 2015 nt. 37) Certainty: **not
completely certain**. Frequency: **3**.
Genre: **narrative; dedicatory**.

m^t numeral. hundred. Root: m^t. {ǧ}rsw/b-
bdr/[w]-b-bn’l/m//’t/w-’rb’n/w-hms/nḥl
(U 023/ 4-5) ‘They planted at bdr and at bn’l
one hundred and fortyfive palm trees**’.
NOTE: Compare e.g. Sab. m^t 'hundred' (Beeston
et al. 1982, 83). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **4**.
Genre: **dedicatory**.

mfr noun. cultivated land. Root: mfr.
[/]’ny//ysrg[/]’b-hm/w {m}’n-h[m]//w-
{m}’fr-h{m}/b-mšhl (U 026/ 3-5) ‘see now
that their pasture may be beautified and their
{abode} and their {cultivated} land at
mšhl**’. NOTE: see Stein (2007, 34) and Robin
(1992). mfr occurs in Sab. Haram. 8 (DASI, 10–5–
2018), where it is translated as 'agricultural land'
(Kultur Land). Certainty: **uncertain**.
Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.

mg noun. Q. Root: mgg. h/s/PN
bn//PN/hld/snt/‘šr//n/wts/‘šr’ym//hlf/f
dǧ/w-b-mm’//ly/mg-h/mn/h-hls (JSLih
070/ 1-5) ‘PN son of PN was released
forever, in the year 19, 10 days after fdg and
by the oath against his expulsion/grain from
the loan*’. wsqt//‘mm dḥ//nwl/’l mg//h-
(JSLih 069) ‘??? ??? when he offered on
behalf of his expulsion/grain*’. NOTE:
Compare CAr. majja 'he cast it forth, or ejected it'
(mostly in relation to things coming out of the
mouth) (Lane, 2689a). Note also CAr. majj 'a kind
of grain resembling the lentil, but more round'
(Lane 2689b) which may fit the context of JSLih
069 better. JSLih 070 and JSLih 069 are on the
same rockface. Certainty: **uncertain**.
Frequency: **2**. Genre: **legal?; dedicatory?**.

mgmrt noun. incense burner. Root: gmr.
PN/bn//PN//’dq/h-m//gmrt/l-//dǧbt
(Private collection 2) ‘PN son of PN offered
the incense burner to dǧbt**’. NOTE: Compare
CAr. gamrah 'a live or burning coal; a piece of
smokeless burning fire' (Lane, 453b) and
migmarah 'a vessel for fumigation, a vessel in
which live coals are put with incense' (Lane, 454
ab). The inscription is incised on an incense burner
or altar, confirming the interpretation.
Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**.
Genre: **dedicatory**.

mh relative/interrogative. what. Root: mh.
b’lsmn/ḥrm/h-qrt//mn/mh/trq-
h/mr’t//l-bhny/hn-’fkl’t//d (JSLih 064)
‘b’ lsmn protected the village from what
[spell] the woman of the palm tree, the
priestess cast on it* (see Lundberg 2015, 134
for the translation of ‘ḥrm, trq and bhny)’.
wdyw/nfs/PN/bn/PN/m{h}/ḥd/’l-
hmy/hrg (JSLih 077/ 2-3) ‘They placed the
funerary monument for PN son of PN which
was placed upon them as a lawsuit*
(translation was made during a reading
session at LeiCenSAA)’. Variant: **m-**.
zll/{h-}{z}ll//’l-m-kn/l-h/l-dǧb[t]//b-
bdr/ (AH 125/ 3-5) ‘he performed the zll
ceremony on behalf of what was his for dǧbt
at Bdr**’. NOTE: Compare CAr. mā, mahmā
'what, whatever'. Certainty: **certain**.
Frequency: **mh: 2; m: 3**. Genre: **narrative;
legal**. Usage: m-kn/l-h; what was his.

- mhgt** *toponym. Q. Root: Q. ʔll//h- ʔll/b- khl[/]b'd/ml-h//b-mh{g}t/l-dǧbt/ (U 089/ 1-3) 'he performed the ʔll at khl on behalf of his property at mhgt for dǧbt**'. NOTE: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 22-23) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: ʔll.*
- mḥrw** *noun. incense burner. Root: ḥrw. f'l/h- mḥr{w}[/]l-dǧbt (Al-Ḥuraybah 06/ 2-3) 'He made the incense burner* for dǧbt**'. qr//bw/h-//mḥrw//l-dǧ//btǧ (AH 209/ 4-8) 'They dedicated the incense burner to dǧbt**'. Variant: mḥry. w-hwdq/l-h/h- mḥry ---- (AH 288/ 3) 'he offered to her the incense burner...*. NOTE: See Hidalgo-Chacón Díez (2017) for a discussion of the word mḥr [sic], which she translates as 'mḥr rituals (incense offerings)' interpreting mḥrw as a plural form from the root mḥr (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 60). Possibly compare CAr. ḥrr 'it was or became hot, the fire burned up and became fierce or hot' (Lane, 538a). Possibly reanalyzed as a final weak root. The last word of the second line in Al-Ḥuraybah 06 was read as mhḡ. However, when it is compared to the ry sequence in the personal name earlier in the line, it seems that letters with a circular base were written inside the hook of the r. This also explains why the top of what would have been the g is not closed. The inscription is carved on what may have been an altar of some sort, further supporting the interpretation. Certainty: certain. Frequency: mḥrw: 2; mḥry: 1. Genre: dedicatory.*
- mkn** *noun. place. Root: kwn. ḥḍw/h-mkn//w h- mǧ'd/ǧh/kll-h (JSLih 072/ 4-7) 'they took the place and this sitting place, all of it**'. NOTE: Compare e.g. CAr. makān; Sab. mknt 'agricultural estate' (Beeston et al. 1982, 80). Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: narrative.*
- mkśd** *personal name?. kśd. PN//bn PN// h- mt'[/]nṯr/b-tlb/mkśd (JSLih 007) 'PN son of PN the protector guarded at tbl mkśd**'. NOTE: The meaning is very uncertain. Most inscriptions with the verb nṯr are followed by a place name or a personal name functioning as a direct object. It may be that tbl mkśd is simply a personal name, even though mkśd does not occur as such in other Dadanitic inscriptions. (kaśad 'who toils for his family' (Steingass 1993, 886)) Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: guarding.*
- ml** *noun. property. Root: mwl. ʔll/b'd/ml/kn/[l-]h/b-bdr/l-dǧbt (AH 120/ 4-6) 'He performed the ʔll on behalf of property that was his at bdr for dǧbt**'. ʔgw[/]h-hb/b-khl//b'd/ml-h/b-d'mn (AH 140/ 2-3) 'He dedicated* the veneration at khl on behalf of his property at d'mn**'. NOTE: compare CAr. māl 'property'. Certainty: certain. Frequency: 25. Genre: ʔll; dedicatory.*
- mlk** *noun. king. Root: mlk. snt/'śrn/wṯtn ---- sb'/'ym/qb//l/r'y/d'sl'n/hn's/bn/tlmy/m //lk/ḥyn (AH 244/ 6-8) 'year twentytwo... seven days before** the rising of the asterism d'sl'n*, Hn's son of Tlmy king of Liḥyān**'. PN/qnh/h-mlk (AH 304) 'PN maid servant of the king**'. khf/PN/bn PN/mlk/ddn (JSLih 138) 'cave(tomb) of PN son of PN king of Dadān**'. PN/mlk ddn/f'l//l- ṯḥln (Al-Sa'īd 2011.1) 'PN king of Dadān made [it] for ṯḥln**'. NOTE: Compare e.g. CAr. malik 'king' (Steingass 1057b); Sab. mlk 'king' (Beeston et al. 1982, 85); Aram. Palm., Nab. mlk 'king' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 636-7). Certainty: certain. Frequency: 28. Genre: dating formula; graffiti; funerary; dedicatory. Usage: snt X b-r'y Y PN bn PN mlk ḥyn, snt X PN bn PN mlk ḥyn; year X during the rising of the asterism Y, PN son of PN king of Liḥyān, year X of PN son of PN king of Liḥyān.*
- mm'** *noun. oath. Root: wm'. w-b-mm'/'//ly/mg-h/mn/h-ḥls (JSLih 070/ 4-5) 'and by the oath against his expulsion/grain from the loan*'. NOTE: Compare Aram. mawma' 'oath' from the root ym' (CAL, 30-4-2018); CAr. muwāma't 'to agree with, to come to an agreement' (Steingass 1993, 1233b). Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: legal.*

mn¹ *preposition. from, of. Root: mn. ʔll/b- khl//ly/m-kn/l-h/b- d//t^c/mn/dt^c/w- hrf (U 059/ 2-4) 'he performed the ʔll at khl on behalf of what was his at dt^c '1 of the crops of the season of the later rains and the crops of the season of the first rains**'. ʔlt//l- dg[b]t/b- kh//l/stt/ʔr/m//n/snt/mt/ʔ//h (AH 064/ 2-6) 'She performed the ʔll for dgbt at khl sixteen [times] according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her*'. w-b- mm^c//ly/mg-h/mn/h-ʔls (JSLih 070/ 4- 5) 'and by the oath against his expulsion/grain from the loan*'. ʔdw/h-mkn//w-h- mq^cd/gh/kll-h/mn/m^c//n/h- gbl/hn^cly/ʔky//m{^cn}/h- gbl/hn^cs{l}l (JSLih 072/ 4-7) 'They took the place and this sitting place, all of it, from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border (Lundberg 2015, 135)'. NOTE: see Lundberg (2015, 133-134) for a discussion of the preposition mn. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **13**. Genre: **ʔll; genealogy?; funerary/legal; narrative**.*

mn² *relative pronoun. who, whoever. Root: mn. f- mn y'rrh//y'rh n'm//dgbt//w-ʔln (AH 289) 'and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of property, dgbt and ʔln (Al-Jallad pc.)' f-ʔr/h----//{}/mn/ʔr/h- kfr/gh (Müller, D.H. 1889: 78, no. 29/ 1-2) 'so may he dishonor... the one who mistreats this tomb**'. ----//mn/srqt/ym----//---- {m}n/srq/f- ʔn/yʔbr/b- mh/sr[q]---- (Al-Ḥuraybah 17/ 3-4) '...who stole(?) and if he is caught with what he {stole}.....*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. man 'who, whoever'. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **4**. Genre: **curse; legal**.*

mnhh *noun, pl. minah, coins. Root: mny. ʔgy/ʔrt/mnh{l}/ʔy{y}dn//{w}-mʔhn ʔ---- (JSLih 177/ 1-2) 'He dedicated ten minah ??? and ??? (Al-Jallad pc.)' NOTE: OCIANA reads mnhl. Compare JBA, Qumran, mn 'minah (weight)' (CAL, 7-2-2018) Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.*

mq^cd *noun. sitting place, throne. Root: q^cd. ʔdw/h- mkn//w h- mq^cd/gh/kll -h (JSLih 072/ 4- 5) 'they took the place and this sitting place all of it (Lundberg 2015, 135)'. - ʔt//ʔl/k^c//mn h- mq^cd k//ll -h (JaL 161 a/ 1-4) 'the whole sitting place belongs to the party of '1' l k' mn**'. NOTE: Compare e.g. CAR. qa'ada 'he sat down' (Lane, 1544c); Possibly comparable in function to the ritual couches mentioned in Nab. inscriptions as rb't (Nehmé 2003, 24-25). Certainty: **not completely certain**. Frequency: **2**. Genre: **narrative, legal?**.*

mqbr *noun. tomb. Root: qbr. PN {d}TrN//ʔd h- mqbr {d}{h} w dm (JSLih 306) 'PN of the lineage of TrN took possession of this tomb for ever**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. maqbar 'burial place, place of graves' (Lane 2480c); Sab. mqbr 'tomb, burial place' (Beeston et al. 1982, 103). Certainty: **quite certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **funerary**. Root: qbr.*

mqdr *noun. measure, decreed object. Root: qdr. --- //w/h-mqdr/w hn-ʔnk/----//ʔqw (JSLih 054/ 3-4) '... the decreed object and the ??? they dedicated*'. ----/h-mqdr/hn-ʔkbr// --- (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26-36, no. 3/ 2) '... the the biggest decreed object...*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. qadara 'He (God) distributed, divided; appointed (as though by measure)' (Lane, 2494c); maqdarā 'decree, appointment, ordinance' (Lane, 2495c); miqdār 'measure' (Lane, 2498c). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **2**. Genre: **dedicatory; funerary; construction**.*

mqm *noun. place, abode. Root: qwm. bnt/l- dgbt//mqm/ʔz}lt/b-bdr (Al-Uḡayb 043/ 2-3) 'She built for dgbt an abode [and] she performed the ʔll at bdr** (OR the place of the ʔll)*'. ----/h-mqm ---- (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 15-26, no. 2/ 5) '...the place...**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. qāma 'to rise and stand upright, to be erected, to stand' (Steingass 1993, 864a); Heb. qōm 'to rise' (HALOT, 8302); Palm. mqmw 'stead, place' (CAL, 16-2-2018). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **2**. Genre: **dedicatory; construction**.*

- mr'** *noun*. lord. *Root*: mr'. *ddn/h₁bt/mt₁b/w hwd't/ḏm/l-dḡbt/mr'//h* (Al-Ḥuraybah 12/ 1-2) 'Dadān dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to dḡbt her lord*'. *PN/bn/PN/h-ṣn'/'bd/l-mr'-h* (JSLih 035/ 1-2) 'PN son of PN the artisan made [it] for his lord*'. *NOTE*: Compare e.g. Sab. mr' 'lord/lady, overlord, suzerain, social superior'; CAR. mar' 'man, human being' (Lane, 2702c); Aram. mr' 'lord/ fem. lady' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 682-684). *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **4**. *Genre*: **dedicatory**.
- mr't** *noun, f.* woman. *Root*: mr'. *b'lsmn/ḥrm/h-qrt//mn/mh/trq-h/mr't//l-bhny/hn-ḥklt//d* (JSLih 064) 'b'lsmn protected the village from what [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it d* (see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of ḥrm, trq and bhny)'. *NOTE*: Compare e.g. Sab. mr' 'lord/lady, overlord, suzerain, social superior'; CAR. mar' 'man, human being' (Lane, 2702c), Aram. mr' 'lord/ fem. lady' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 682-684). *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **narrative**.
- mrbd** *noun*. meadow. *Root*: rbd. *ḡll l-dḡbt b'd mrbd-h b-d'mn* (AH 073/ 2-4) 'he performed the ḡll for dḡbt on behalf of his field(?) at d'mn**'. *NOTE*: Compare Sab. mrbd 'grazing ground' (Beeston et al. 1982, 114). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **ḡll**.
- mšhr** *noun*. name of an asterism. *Root*: šhr. *b-ḥ'n/mšhr/'d----* (JSLih 059/ 2) 'during the setting of the asterism mšhr ...*'. *NOTE*: b-ḥ'n seems to indicate the opposite of b-r'y. Therefore mšhr is probably an indication of the date, most likely based on a local star calendar. *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **dating formula**.
- mšh{l/r}** *toponym (or asterism?)*. Q. *ḡny//ysrg//b-hm/w {m}'n-h[m]//w {m}'fr-h{m}/b-mšhl* (U 026: 3-5) 'that their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at mšhl** (OR during (the visibility of) the asterism mšhr)*'. *NOTE*: May be compared to mšhr, which seems to be the name of a month or asterism. It is not entirely clear from the photograph whether the hook at the top of the l is damage or intentional. See Hidalgo Chacon Diéz (2014, 19-20) for a discussion of mšhl as a place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **ḡll**.
- mšd** *noun*. sanctuary. *Root*: šdd. *ḡgg/l-dḡb//t /b-h- mšd* (AH 198/ 4-5) 'he performed the pilgrimage for dḡbt** at the sanctuary (Lundberg 2015: 136)'. *ḡllw/h- ḡll/b//h- mšd* (AH 244/3-4) 'they performed the ḡll ceremony** at the sanctuary (Lundberg 2015: 136)'. *ḡgw/h- ḡll/b- {m}'š//d/hmd/tr{k}---* (AH 202/ 1-2) 'he dedicated the ḡll** at [the] sanctuary (Lundberg 2015: 136) in accordance with what he left/relinquished...*'. *NOTE*: Mšd from šadda 'to protect'. Compare Aram. mšd 'fortress' (CAL, 16-2-2018) mašad 'the sanctuary' Hebrew mašōdāh 'mountain stronghold' (HALOT, 5538). 14 of the 15 the inscriptions that refer to activity at a/the mšd are found at Umm Daraj, one was found at al-ḥuraybah, the ancient settlement. mšd seems to be in complementary distribution with Khl, which only occurs at al-'Uḡayb (see Hidalgo-Chacon Diez 2014: 20-22). Note that the remains of a temple have been found at Umm Daraj (Abū l-Ḥasan 2005, 29), which may have been the sanctuary the inscriptions refer to as suggested by Abū l-Ḥasan (2002, 36-37). The fact that mšd seems to occur 3 times without the definite article (AH 202; AH 219 and AH 207) seems to suggest that it was such a well-known place that it almost came to function as a toponym. The first word in Müller, D.H. 1889: 66, no. 10 is read as h-smd 'the Lord' in OCIANA but the photograph shows it says mšd instead. *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **21**. *Genre*: **dedicatory; ḡll**. *Usage*: ḡgg b-h- mšd; he performed the pilgrimage at the sanctuary.
- mt** *noun*. land, town. *Root*: mwt. *ḡlt//l-dḡ[b]t/b-kh//l/stt/'šr/m//n/snt/mt/'l-//h* (AH 064/ 2-6) 'She performed the ḡll for dḡbt at khl sixteen [times]** according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her*'. *NOTE*: Compare OldAram. and OffAram. mt 'land, town (as political entity) (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 707). *Certainty*: **quite certain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **ḡll; legal?**.
- mt'** *active participle, 3m.s.* protector. *Root*: mt'. *PN //bn PN// h-mt'//ḡr/b-tlb/mkšd* (JSLih 007) 'PN son of PN the protector guarded at Tbl Mkšd**'. *feminine*: **mt't**. *PN/bnt//PN/h-mt't* (JSLih 076) 'PN daughter of PN the protector**'. *NOTE*: Compare e.g. Sab. hmt' 'to save, deliver, make thrive', mt't 'deliverance' (Beeston et al. 1982, 88); or CAR. mata'a 'to enjoy' and muta' 'to be strong, to be generous' (Steingass, 949). *Certainty*: **certain**. *Frequency*: **mt': 1; mt't: 1**. *Genre*: **guarding**.

mṭb *noun*. throne; seat. *Root*: wṭb. *ddn/hṭbt/mṭb/w-hwḏ't/ḏm/l-ḏḡbt/mr'//h* (Al-Ḥuraybah 12/ 1-2) 'Dadān dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to ḏḡbt her lord*'. ----*t/h/b-mṭb/b-ḏ'ṣd/d*---- (JSLih 055/ 3) '.... at throne(?) during the setting of the asterism ṣd....*'. *NOTE*: Compare Aram. ytb 'to sit, to dwell, to stay, remain' and mittōb 'seat' (CAL, 16–2–2018). Sab. hwṭbt (n.) 'laying foundations' (Beeston et al. 1982, 165). The 'seat' may have been comparable in function to the ritual couches mentioned in Nab. inscriptions rb't (Nehmé 2003, 24–25). *Certainty*: **not quite certain**. *Frequency*: **2**. *Genre*: **dedicatory; legal?**.

mṭbr *noun*. field, grave. *Root*: ṭbr. *l-PN/bn/PN/h-mṭbr* (JSLih 012) 'for PN son of PN is the grave**/field*'. *PN//PN/bny/b//r'/h-mṭbr/'//l-h/h'* (JSLih 078) 'PN PN built the facade of the grave chamber** and it is his*'. *l-PN/h-mṭbr//w-h-mṭbr/'ly-/h-qrt* (JSLih 366) 'the grave**/field* is for PN and the grave**/field* is above the village*'. *l-PN/bn/PN/'-mṭbr* (Ġabal ṭlib 07) 'the grave**/field* is for PN son of PN'. *dual*: **mṭbrn**. *w-ḥḏ/h-mṭbrn* (JSLih 045/3) 'and he took the two grave chambers**/fields*'. *NOTE*: ṭbr in CAR. means 'to confine, hold back' tuṭbūr 'going astray, destruction', possibly a field or chamber, from the sense of restriction. Possibly compare Sab. Mṭbr is 'damage or rupture'. Note that none of the inscriptions is clearly linked to a grave. *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **mṭbr: 8; mṭbrn: 1**. *Genre*: **legal?; funerary?**.

mṭl *verb, g, 3m.s.* to copy. *Root*: mṭl. *PN PN bn PN tqṭ w-mṭl* (JSLih 339) 'PN PN son of PN inscribed and copied*'. *NOTE*: Compare e.g. Sab. mṭl (noun) 'copy, duplicate, exemplar of document' (Beeston et al. 1982, 88); CAR. miṭl (noun) 'a like, a match, a resemblance, an equivalent' (Lane (Supplement) 3017c); Aram. mtl 'to compare' (CAL, 16–2–2018). Possibly referring to the copying of legal inscriptions to be kept at a central place, comparable to the Nab. practice (Nehmé 2015, 100). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **graffiti**.

mṭlt *noun*. substitute. *Root*: mṭl. *PN//'fkl/w//d/w-bn-h//PN/w P//N/hw//dqw/h-ḡ//lm/PN/h-//[mṭlt/l-//ḏḡbt* (JSLih 049/ 1-9) 'PN priest of Wadd and his sons PN and PN offered** the boy* PN as the substitute to ḏḡbt**'. ----*//h-ṣyḡ/h//wdq/h- m-//ṭlt/l- ḏ-//ḡbt* (Al-Ḥuraybah 14/ 1-4) '... the smith dedicated the substitute to ḏḡbt**'. *NOTE*: Compare Sab. mṭl 'similar in status to someone' (Beeston et al. 1982, 88); CAR. mṭl 'a like, a similar thing, a match, a fellow' (Lane (Supplement) 3017c). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **2**. *Genre*: **dedicatory**.

mṭr *personal name*. mṭr. *Root*: mṭr. *PN/w PN w-//PN w-PN w-PN//w-PN /ḥwryn mṭr//b-ḏ}wh/yymn* (Graf Abū al-Ḍibā' 2) 'PN and PN and PN and PN and PN PN PN [were] at {ḏwh} for two days*'. *NOTE*: OCIANA translates mṭr as rain watered field. This does not seem to follow the content of the rest of the inscription. Note that mṭr and ḥwryn are attested as personal names as well. *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **graffiti**.

N - n

n'm *noun*. livestock; property. *Root*: n'm. *ḏlt/'-ḏl//l/l-ḏḡbt//b'd/n'm-h/b-//bn'l* (AH 074/ 2-5) 'She performed the ḏll ceremony for ḏḡbt on behalf of her livestock at bn'l*'. *khf/PN/bn PN/mlk/ddn/w-ṭrn/n'm/b-h/n'rgd* (JSLih 138) 'cave(tomb) of PN son of PN king of Dadān and may n'rgd enrich him with livestock * (following Ahmad Al-Jallad, pc.)'. *f-mn y'rrh//y'rh n'm//ḏḡbt//w-ṭhln* (AH 289) 'and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of property, ḏḡbt and ṭhln (Al-Jallad pc.)'. *pl.: 'n'm. 'gy/'ṣrt/mnh{h}/{}y}dn//{w} mṣhn* '----*'ly/{m}zny/b-'rb'n{/}sl't*----*mn/'n{m}/fkw{y}* (JSLih 177/ 1-3) 'He dedicated ten Minah ??? and ???... on behalf of ??? with forty coins(?) [worth] of livestock...*'. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. na'am, 'an'am 'camels, sheep, cattle' (Hava 1915, 775a). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **n'm: 7; 'n'm: 1**. *Genre*: **dedicatory; ḏll, funerary, curse**.

ndr verb, g, 3m.s. to vow. Root: ndr. *ʿfy/h-z//ll/hmq/ndr/ʿ//b-h/l-dgbt/b-h-//msd* (Private collection 1/ 2-5) 'He fulfilled* the zll ceremony according to that which his father vowed to dgbt** at the sanctuary*'.
3s.f.: **ndrt**.
PN/bnt//PN/slht//dgbt/ʿ//zlt/h-zll//l-dgbt/b-k//hl/hmq/ndrt (AH 013/ 1-6) 'PN daughter of PN priestess of dgbt performed the zll for dgbt at khl according to that which she vowed**'. act part: **ndr**.
ʿzll/h-zl//l/ndr/bʿd/h- dr//t (U 003/ 2-4) 'He performed the zll ceremony vowed on behalf of the fields*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. naḏara 'alā nafsi-hi 'he imposed upon himself a vow' (Lane, 2781c). Certainty: **certain**.
Frequency: **ndr: 8; ndrt: 2; ndr (act. part.): 3**. Genre: **dedicatory; zll**. Usage: hmq ndr PN; according to what PN vowed.

nfs¹ noun. funerary monument. Root: nfs. *wdyw/nfs/PN/bn/PN/m{h}/ʿhḏ/ʿl-hmy/hrg* (JSLih 077/ 2-3) 'They set up the funerary monument of PN son on PN [according to] what [had been placed] upon them as a loan*'.
nfs/PN/bn//PN/ʿlt/bnh//PN/bnt/P//N/ (JSLih 384) 'funerary monument of PN son of PN which PN daughter of PN built**'. NOTE: Compare OffAram. and Nab. npš 'funerary monument, stele' (CAL, 16-2-2018).
Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **3**.
Genre: **funerary**.

nfs² reflexive pronoun. self. Root: nfs. *ʿ//zll/h-zll/ndr//bʿd/dḏ}ʿ-h/w-nfs//h* (U 021/ 1-4) 'He performed the zll ceremony vowed on behalf of his crops of the season of the later rains and himself**'. NOTE: Compare e.g. OffAram. JBA npš 'self, as a reflexive pronoun' (CAL, 16-2-2018); CAR. raʿaytu nafsi 'I saw myself' (Fischer 2001, 145). Certainty: **certain**.
Frequency: **1**. Genre: **zll**.

nhl noun. palm tree. Root: nhl. *ʿzll/h-zll//{b-}khl/l-dg//bt/bʿd/{nhl-h//w-ḏ}ʿ-h b-bdr* (U 058) 'He performed the zll ceremony at khl for dgbt on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains at bdr**'. pl.: **ʿnhl**. *ʿzll//l-dgbt/b-khl//bʿd/ʿnhl-h//w-ʿḏ}ʿ-h/b-bdr* (Al-Uḏayb 071/ 2-5) 'He performed the zll for dgbt at khl on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains at Bdr**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. naḥīl 'palm tree; palm grove' (Steingass 1993, 1109b). In most inscriptions the nhl is used collectively.
Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **nhl: 39; ʿnhl: 2**. Genre: **zll; dedicatory**. Usage: bʿd nhl-h b-TN; on behalf of his palm trees at TN.

nhs noun. bronze object. Root: nhs. *PN //PN //ʿrr/b---l //ʿrr/h- nhs //ḏh* (JSLih 269) 'PN PN dishonor ... who dishonors** this bronze [object]*'.
NOTE: Compare OffAram.m. nhs 'bronze' also used to refer to bronze objects (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 726); CAR. nuḥās and naḥās 'copper or brass' (Lane, 2775b). Certainty: **quite certain**. Frequency: **nhs (noun): 1; nhs (adjective): 1**. Genre: **dedicatory**. **nhs • noun**.
ʿdqw/w-qr//bw/h-šlm/h-nhs/l-//dgbt/w-slh/sll//ʿt/ʿslht (Al-Ḥuraybah 09/ 3-6) 'They dedicated and offered the bronze statue to dgbt and sent tax coins(?)*'.
Certainty: **uncertain**.
Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.

nht verb, g, 3m.s. to cut. Root: nht. *PN/h-šnʿ/nht/h-šlm* (JSLih 074) 'PN the artisan cut the statue**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. naḥata 'he cut or hewed, formed or fashioned by cutting' (Lane, 2773b). Certainty: **uncertain**.
Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.

nq

noun. noun. Root: Q. *hggw/h-nq/w-hgnyw/b-bt-hm/l- ----(AH 197/ 5)* 'performed the pilgrimage** of the nq and made an offering at their temple for...'.
hzll/zll/h-nq/l-dg[bt]/f-r//d-h (Al-'Udayb 014/ 2-3) 'He performed the zll** of the nq* for dgbt so may he favor him**'. dual: **nqn**.
PN//{trq/h-{n}qn/w-'kb/ (AH 287) 'PN hammered the two nq and PN or and he remained*'. NOTE: The meaning of this noun is unclear, and will probably remain so as long as the exact meaning of the zll ritual remains unclear. It is most commonly used to modify the zll that is mentioned or by itself following a dedicatory verb. OCIANA reads šqn in AH 287 and translates it as 'the two clefts'. The inscription is crudely made, but the letter read in OCIANA as š seem to have a similar shape as the -n at the end of the same word.
 Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **nq: 14; nqn: 1**. Genre: **zll; dedicatory**. Usage: 'zll zll h-nq; he performed the zll of the nq.

nšb

verb, g, 3m.s. to set up a cult stone. Root: nšb. *whbr'n/nšb wasm h-yd wqt(JaL 152)* 'PN set up a cult stone and inscribed the arm*'.
PN/PN/PN/h'/nšb/----//h/[l- J'trgth/qbl/'ns/----(AH 288/ 1-2) 'PN PN PN he set up the cult stone... [for] Atargatis in the presence of PN ...**'. NOTE: Compare Car. našaba 'setting up, planting, raising, erecting something' (Steingass, 1123b); OffAram.m. Nab. nšb (noun) 'a stele' (CAL, 16-2-2018). The ' wasm' in JaL 152 is a drawing of an arm the inscription seems to refer to the production of the drawing.
 Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **2**.
 Genre: **dedicatory; graffiti**.

nṯr

verb, g, 3m.s. to guard. Root: nṯr. *PN bn PN//nṯr ddn (AH 312)* 'PN son of PN guarded Dadān**'. Variant: **nṯr**. *nṯr ddn//PN (AH 328)* 'PN guarded Dadān**'.
PN h-ṯm//dy nṯr (AH 325) 'PN the ṯmdy guarded**'. NOTE: Compare e.g. Aram. nṯr 'to watch over, to guard' (CAL); CAR. 'he looked at or towards in order to see him or it' (Lane, 2810c). See Kootstra (2018) for a discussion on the variation between nṯr and nṯr. Certainty: **certain**.
 Frequency: **nṯr: 17; nṯr: 2**. Genre: **guarding; graffiti**. Usage: PN bn PN nṯr ddn; PN son of PN guarded Dadān.

Q - q

qbl

preposition. before. Root: qbl. *snt/'šrn/wṯtn ---- sb/'ym/qb//l/r'y/d'sl'n/hn's/bn/tlmy/m //lk/lhyn (AH 244/ 6-8)* 'year twenty{two}... seven days before the rising of the asterism d'sl'n, nn's son of tlmy king of Lihyān*. *PN/'bd/PN/h'/nšb/----//h/[l- J'trgth/qbl/PN/---- (AH 288/ 1-2)* 'PN son of PN he set up the standing stone... [for] Atargatis in the presence of of PN**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. qabl 'before' (Lane (supplement), 2983c). See Lundberg (2015, 131) for a complete discussion of the prepositions in Dadanitic.
 Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **3**. Genre: **dating formula; dedicatory**.

qbr

noun. tomb. Root: qbr. *PN/w-PN/bnw//PN/ḥdw/h-qb//r/dh/hm/w-ḥw-hm (JSLih 079/ 1-3)* 'PN and PN sons of PN took possession of this** tomb*, they and their brothers**'. *l- PN//bn/PN/hn//qbr/dh (JSLih 081/ 1-3)* 'for PN son of PN [is] this grave**'. *PN ḥḥ/d h-q(b)r ---- (JSLih 257)* 'PN took possession of** the tomb*'. *l-PN/bn//PN/h-qbr//dh (JSLih 312/ 1-3)* 'this tomb* belongs to PN son of PN**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. qabr 'a grave, tomb' (Lane, 2480c). Aram. qbr 'tomb, grave' (CAL, 16-2-2018). Certainty: **certain**.
 Frequency: **4**. Genre: **funerary**.

qdst

noun. sacred offering. Root: qds. ---- */lm/'ly/PN/{q}d}st/w-šlm---- (JSLih 063/ 3)* '... on behalf of PN a sacred offering and a statue...**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. quds 'holiness, sanctity, purity'; Sab. qds 'holiness, holy' (Beeston et al. 1982, 104). Note that the reading of some of the letters of qdst is unsure in JSLih 063.
 Certainty: **uncertain reading**. Frequency: **3**.
 Genre: **dedicatory**.

qnt

noun. female servant. Root: qyn. *h-qnt (AH 186/2)* 'the female servant**'.
PN/bn/PN//w-qnt-h/PN/bn//t/PN (AH 303) 'PN son of PN and his female servant PN daughter of PN**'. Variant: **qnh**.
PN/qnh/h-mlk (AH 304) 'PN maid servant of the king**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. qaynah 'maid servant' (Steingass 1993, 868a). In AH 304 qnh may be a writing error on behalf of the author, or possibly qnh is a personal name and the inscription should be read 'PN PN the king'
 Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **qnt: 4; qnh: 1**.
 Genre: **graffiti**.

qrb verb, *d*, 3*m.s.* to offer, dedicate (lit. bring close). *qrb/h-šlm//l-dğbt* (JSLih 041/ 2-3) ‘He dedicated the statue to Dğbt**’.

3*pl.*: **qrbw**. *qr//bw/h-//mħrw//l-dğ//bt* (AH 209/ 4-8) ‘They dedicated the incense burner to dğbt**’. *’dqw/w-qr//bw/h-šlm/h-nħs//l-//dğbt* (Al-Ĥuraybah 09/3-5) ‘They dedicated and offered the bronze statue to dğbt*’. *NOTE*: Aram. qrb D-stem ‘to offer, dedicate’ (CAL, 16–2–2018); CAR. qarraba ‘to bring st near, to show favor to so, to present an offering to God’ (Hava 1915, 577b).

Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency*: **qrb: 1; qrbw: 2**. *Genre*: **dedicatory**.

qrt noun. village, settlement. *Root*: qry. *šrfw/b-h-}{q}rt* (AH 300/ 6) ‘They were about to reach the village*’. *b’lsmn/’ħrm/h-qrt//mn/mh/trq-h/mr’t//l-bħny/hn-’fkl//d* (JSLih 064) ‘b’lsmn protected the village from what [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it d* (see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of ’ħrm and trq)’. *{’}bdħny//tq’//’ly//qrt* (JSLih 182) ‘PN wrote* on a boulder** OR PN wrote on behalf of PN*’. *l-PN/h-mħbr//w-h- mħbr/’ly/h-qrt* (JSLih 366) ‘the field is for PN and the field is above the village*’. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. qariyah ‘village’ (Hava 1915, 595b); Aram. qryh ‘town, village’ (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 1033–4). See Lundberg (2015, nt. 34) for the interpretation of qrt as ‘village’. Note that qrt may have a different meaning in JSLih 182 and 366.

Certainty: **certain**. *Frequency*: **5**. *Genre*: **narrative; graffiti; legal**.

qsmw verb, *g*, 3*m pl.* Q. *Root*: qsm. ----
qsmw/gbl/d[d][n] ---- (AH 218/ 4) ‘...they ??? the border/lord of Dadān...** (see Lundberg 2015 n. 37 for gbl as border)’. *NOTE*: Compare Aram. qsm ‘to divine’ (CAL, 16–2–2018); Sab. mqsm ‘oracular decision’ OR CAR. qasama ‘to divide, to distribute’ ‘they distributed the territory of Dadān’? *Certainty*: **uncertain, broken context**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **Q**. *NOTE*: Possibly compare Aram. qsm ‘to divine’; Sab. mqsm ‘oracular decision’ OR CAR. qasama ‘to divide, to distribute’ ‘they distributed the territory of Dadān’?

qṭ verb, *g*, 3*m.s.* to cut. *Root*: qṭṭ. *PN/nšb wasm h-yd w-qṭ* (JaL 152) ‘PN set up a cult stone and inscribed the arm*’. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. qaṭṭa-hu ‘he cut it’ (Lane 2539a). The wasm in JaL 152 is a drawing of an arm the inscription seems to refer to the production of the drawing.

Certainty: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **1**. *Genre*: **graffiti**.

r’y noun. rising/appearance of an asterism. *Root*: r’y. *{s}//nt/’šrn/ tmn{y}/’lt/’ym/qbl//r’y/slħn* (JSLih 068/ 2-5) ‘year twenty{eight}, three days before** the rising of the asterism slħn*’. *sn[t]/’tħn/w-ħm//s 35/b- r’y/[m]n’y/ldn/b//n/hn’s/mlk/ħyn* (JSLih 082/ 4-6) ‘year thirty five 35 during** the rising of the asterism mn’y ldn son of hn’s king of Liḥyān*’. *NOTE*: compare to the usage in Saf. ṭlg b-h-dr b-r’y ‘qbt ‘there was snow in this region at the rising of Scorpio’. For a complete discussion of the meaning of r’y as rising of an asterism see Al-Jallad (2014, 2016) for a discussion of this dating formula in Dadanitic see Kootstra (forthcoming). *Certainty*: **semantic domain is certain**. *Frequency*: **19**.

Genre: **dating formula**. *Usage*: snt X b-r’y Y PN bn PN mlk Ĥyn; year X during the rising of Y [in the era of] PN son of PN king of Liḥyān.

r’ noun. livestock or pasture. *Root*: r’y. ----
ḥjy/’qd/h- r’/f//---- (AH 239/ 3) ‘... the offering of the livestock {so}...*’. ----
m/ym/stħbl/’qd/h-r’/f-rd-ħm/w//---- (Al-Sa’īd 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 4) ‘...[the] day he pledged the dedication of the livestock so may he favor them and...*’. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. ri’y ‘pasture or herbage’ and ra’iyyah ‘cattle pasturing or pastured by themselves and cattle kept, tended, pastured’ (Lane 1109bc). *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **2**. *Genre*: **dedicatory**.

r’y verb, *g*, 3*m.s.* to pasture (livestock). *Root*: r’y. *PN/bn PN/r’y* (JSLih 139) ‘PN son of PN pastured (the livestock)*’. *PN/r’y* (JSLih 140) ‘PN pastured (the livestock)*’. *NOTE*: Compare CAR. ra’ā ‘he pastured upon or depastured the herbage by himself’ (Lane, 1108b). OCIANA translates r’y as a noun ‘[the] herdsman’. *Certainty*: **uncertain**. *Frequency*: **2**. *Genre*: **graffiti**.

rb noun. lord. Root: rbb. *f-rđ-hm//w-rb-hm/PN w-//qnt/PN (U 063/ 5-7)* ‘so may he favor them and their lord PN** and the maid servant of PN*’. *l-PN/w-l-rb-hmy (AH 295/ 1)* ‘for* PN and for their lord **’. *PN/b[n] PN kbr//h- d’t/š’t/TrN/w-rb-h//m/PN/bn/PN/kb//ry/š’t/TrN (JSLih 072/ 1-4)* ‘PN son of PN kabīr of the council* of the party of TrN and their lord PN son of PN the two kabīrs of the party of TrN**’. NOTE: Compare CAR. rabb ‘a lord, a possessor, an owner’ (Lane 1003b).
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 4.
Genre: dedicatory; graffiti.

rđy verb, d, 3m.s. to favor so. Root: rđw. *f-rđy-hm/w-ḥrt-hm/w-s’d-hm (AH 197/ 7)* ‘so may he favor them and their descendatns and aid them**’. *PN/P//N/rđy (JaL 119 b)* ‘PN PN bestowed a favor(?)*’. Variant: **rđ**. *f-rđ-h/w ḥrt-h//w-ḥb-h/PN/bn/PN (U 038/ 3-4)* ‘so may he favor him and his posterity and reward him, PN son of PN**’. 3s.f.: **rđyt**. *f-rđyt-h/w-ḥrt-h ---- (AH 288/ 4)* ‘so may she favor him and his posterity...**’. 3s.f.: **rđt**. *f-rđt/w-ḥrt-h----// (Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1/ 2)* ‘so may she favor [him] and [his] posterity...*’. *f-rđt-h/{h}---- (JSLih 036/ 2)* ‘so may she favor him...**’. NOTE: Compare CAR. raḍḍiya ‘he made him to be pleased, content or satisfied’ (Lane 1099c).

Certainty: certain. Frequency: rđy: 29; rđ: 224; rđyt:1; rđt: 2. Genre: dedicatory; ḡll; blessing formula; graffiti. Usage: *f-rđ-h w-s’d-h w-ḥrt-h*; So may he favor him and aid him and his posterity.

rhđ verb, q, 3m.s. to favor so. Root: rđw. *PN/bn/PN/ḡll//l-dḡbt/‘ly/d-kn//l-h/b-bdr/f-rhđ-h (AH 075)* ‘PN son of PN performed the ḡll for dḡbt on behalf of that which was his at bdr so may he favor him**’. NOTE: This is probably a writing error for the common blessing formula *f-rđ-h* (see **rđ**). There is some damage, or a previous inscription on the rock around **rhđ**. This may explain why the author got confused. **Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1.**
Genre: blessing formula.

rs personal name. PN. Root: Q. *‘lwt/ḥfr/hrs (JSTham 427)* ‘PN PN PN*’. NOTE: OCIANA does not translate rs, but takes it as a noun ‘PN engraved the rs’. Hrs does not occur as a personal name in the Dadanic corpus, but it occurs in Saf. (e.g. HCH 185; HCH 4; KRS 1326). ḥfrt occurs once as a PN in Saf. (Is.R 116).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1.
Genre: graffiti.

s’d verb, g, 3m.s. to aid. Root: s’d. *f-r{d}-h/w-ḡs’//d-h (U 050/ 4-5)* ‘so may he favor him and aid him**’. NOTE: Compare e.g. CAR. sā‘ada-hu ‘he aided, assisted or helped him’ (Lane, 1360c); Sab. s’d ‘grant, bestow a favor (deity)’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 121). **Certainty: certain.**
Frequency: 96. Genre: dedicatory; blessing formula. Usage: *f-rđ-h w-ḥrt-h w-s’d-h*; so may he favor him and his descendatns and aid him.

sb’ numeral. seven. Root: sb’. ----
sb’/ym/qb//l/r’y/d’sl’n/hn’s/bn/tlmy/m //lk/ḥyn (AH 244/ 6-8) ‘...seven days before** the rising of the asterism ḡ’sl’n* (during the reign of) hn’s son of tlmy king of Liḥyān**’. NOTE: Compare Aram. šb ‘seven’; Sab. sb’ ‘seven’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 123).
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 7. Genre: dating formula.

sfr¹ verb, g, 3m.s. to write. Root: sfr. *PN//sfr/l-PN//bnt/PN (Čabal ḡlib 08)* ‘PN wrote for PN daughter of PN*’. *l-PN/w-sfr-h/PN/qyn{-h} (JSLih 128)* ‘for PN and PN {his} servant wrote it**’. NOTE: Compare CAR. safara al-kitāb ‘he wrote the book’ (Lane, 1370b).
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 2.
Genre: graffiti.

sfr² active participle, m.s. writer; written. Root: sfr. *PN/b//[n] ---- h- ḡn’/w-PN/bn//---- s’btt/h-sfr/dḡbt//[----] (JSLih 082/ 6-9)* ‘PN {son of}... the artisan** and PN son of... PN the writer dḡbt*’. *m----r----/bn//{h- }//sfr/w-PN/h- ḡn’/b (AH 220/ 6-7)* ‘... son of PN the writer* and PN the artisan b**’. NOTE: Compare CAR. sāfir ‘a writer, a scribe’ (Lane 1371c). **Certainty: certain. Frequency: 2.**
Genre: dedicatory; title.

sfr noun. inscription; writing. Root: sfr. *PN/bn/PN/d-TrN/f-‘rr/dḡbt/‘rr’-sfr/dḡh (JSLih 276)* ‘PN son of PN of the lineage of TrN so may dḡbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription**’. *f-‘rr//dḡbt/‘r//r/h-sfr/dḡh (JaL 161 a/ 4-6)* ‘so may dḡbt dishonor the the one who mistreats this inscription** so may dḡbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription’. NOTE: Compare CAR. sifr ‘a book, or writing’ (Lane, 1371a). **Certainty: certain.**
Frequency: 6. Genre: curse; graffiti.
 Usage: *f-‘rr dḡbt ‘rr h-sfr dḡh*.

slʿt noun, pl(?). coins. Root: slʿ. ʿdqw/w
qr//bw/h-šlm/h-nḥs/l-//dḡbt/w
slḥ/sll//ʿt/ʿslḥt (Al-Ḥuraybah 09/ 3-6)
‘they dedicated and offered the bronze statue
to dḡbt and sent tax coins(?)’.*
ʿgy/ʿśrt/mnh{h}/ʿ{y}dn//{w}-mṣhn ʿ-----
ʿly/{m}zny/b- ʿrbʿn{/}slʿt-----
mn/ʿn{m}/fkw{y} (JSLih 177/ 1-3) ‘he
dedicated ten minah also and ??? on behalf
of ??? with forty coins.... [worth] of
livestock ???’.*. ----bndw/ʿḥd-hm/b-slʿt-
--- (JaL 001) ‘... one of them with coins...’.*
NOTE: Compare Sab. slʿ 'coin' (Beeston et al.
1982, 126). Heb, Palm JAR. slʿ 'certain coin
(drachme in Nab., tetradrachme in Heb. and JAR.)'
(Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 788).
Certainty: **not quite certain**. Frequency: **3**.
Genre: **dedicatory**.

slḥ¹ verb, g, 3m.s. to send. Root: slḥ. w-
slḥ/sll//ʿt/ʿslḥt/ (Al-Ḥuraybah 09/ 5-6)
‘and he sent the sent coins(?)’.*. NOTE: Copare
Heb. and OffAram. šlḥ 'to send' (Hoftijzer and
Jongeling 1995, 1137-8). OCIANA translates this
phrase as: 'and he collected the representative
taxes'. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**.
Genre: **dedicatory**.

slḥ² noun, priest. Root: slḥ. PN/slḥ/dḡ//bt/ʿzll
(Al-ʿUḡayb 132/ 1-2) ‘PN priest of dḡbt
performed the ʿzll’.*. ----
J//PN/PN/{s}/lḥ/dḡb//t/ʿdq/l-l//h/{h}-
šlmn (JSLih 061/ 1-4) ‘... PN PN priest of
dḡbt offered to Lh* the two statues’.*.
feminine: **slḥt**. PN/bn/PN/w-
//PN/slḥt//dḡbt/ʿzlh/h-ʿzl//l-l-dḡbt/b-
kh//l (U 019/ 1-5) ‘PN son of PN and PN
priestess of dḡbt performed the ʿzll ceremony
for dḡbt at kh1’.*. NOTE: Compare CAR. sillīḥ
'Apostle' (Hava 1915, 322b); Aram. šlḥ 'to send'
(CAL, 16-2-2018). Certainty: **certain**.
Frequency: **slḥ: 25; slḥt: 9**.
Genre: **genealogy; title; ʿzll; dedicatory**.
Usage: PN bn PN slḥ dḡbt; PN son of PN
priest of dḡbt.

slmn noun, security or theonym. Root: slm. wl
/ḥmm/b- bt -h šl{m}/wl /slmn//b-
ḥq[w]y/kfr/ḥmm/ (JSLih 077/ 6-7) ‘and
verily he offered at his temple a statue and he
has offered two peace offerings (?) on the
walls of (a?) cave/tomb* (J. Lundberg (pc.)
proposed to interpret this section as a chiasitic
structure)’. PN/bnt//dd/nd[r]t/bʿd bn//t -
h qn/bnt ḥt//l-slmn/hmq nd//rt ʿl -
h/ʿm-h (JSLih 073/ 1-5) ‘PN daughter of
PN vowed on behalf of her daughter PN
daughter of PN to slmn according to that
which she vowed on behalf of her, her
mother’.*. NOTE: Compare CAR. salama 'he was
or became, safe, secure, or he escaped' (Lane,
1412b). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **2**.
Genre: **dedicatory; legal?**.

smʿ verb, g, 3m.s. to listen, to hear. Root: smʿ.
PN/w-PN w-PN//w-PN/w-PN//w-PN/w-
P//N/hggn//f-smʿ/l- ḥ{m} (JSLih 006) ‘PN
and PN and PN and PN and PN and PN and
PN are performing the pilgrimage* so may he
(the deity) listen to them’.*.
PN//bn/PN//ʿzll/ʿf rd-h/w smʿ/l-
{l}/ḥy/n{ḥ}/b- dʿmn (U 066) ‘PN son of
PN performed the ʿzll so may he favor him and
listen to lḥy* palm trees at dʿmn’.*.
NOTE: See ysmʿ for the pc. Compare CAR. samiʿa
aš-šayʿ 'he heard or listened to the thing' (Lane
1427b). See Sima (1999, 112-113) for a
comparison of the f-smʿ l-h formula to the
inscriptions from Qaryat al-Faw. Note that the
elements of the text in U 066 seem to have been
mixed up, the crops are usually mentioned after the
ʿzll but seem to have been added here as an
afterthought. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **2**.
Genre: **dedicatory; blessing formula**.
Usage: smʿ l-X; listen to so.

snt¹ *noun. year. Root: snt. ʾmr//b-l-ḥgr/w ś[d]//snt/mnʿdy/s//fy (JSLih 071/ 4-7) 'he was amir in al-Ḥigr and {stood out} for a year against the aggression of sfy**'. f-rđ-h//w-ḥrt-h/snt/ʾrbʿn/w-ʾ<h>d//y/hnʿs/mlk/lḥyn (AH 202/ 2-4) 'so may he favor him and his posterity year forty-one of hnʿs king of Liḥyān**'. f-rđ-h//m/w-ḥrt-hm/w-sʿd-hm/snt//tḥn/b-rʿy/ʿtdn/lḍn/bn//hnʿs/mlk/lḥyn (AHUD 1/ 2-5) 'so may he favor them and their posterity and aid them year thirty during the rising of the asterism ʿtdn, lḍn son of hnʿs king of Liḥyān**'. pl.: **snn**. f-ḥfr//hlmfl/d//tḥt//snn (JSLih 071/ 7-10) 'and he subsequently acted as caravan guard in these desert areas** for three years (Lundberg 2015, 129)'. NOTE: Compare e.g. CAR. sanat 'year' (Steingass 1993, 512a); Aram. šnh, št 'year' (CAL). See rʿy for the extended dating formula. **Certainty: certain.**
Frequency: snt: 41; snn: 1. Genre: dating formula. Usage: snt X PN bn PN mlk lḥyn, snt X b-rʿy Y PN bn PN mlk lḥyn; year X of PN son of PN king of Liḥyān, year X during the rising of the asterism Y (in the era of) PN son PN king of Liḥyān.*

snt² *noun. custom. Root: snt. PN/bnt//PN/ʾzlt//l-dḡ{b}t/b-kh//l/stt/ʿśr/m//n/snt/mt/ʿl-//h/ (AH 064/ 1-6) 'PN daughter of PN performed the ʾzll for dḡbt at khl sixteen [times]** according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. sanna-hu 'he instituted, established, or prescribed it i.e. a custom, practice, usage or the like, whether good or bad' (Lane 1436b) and sunnah 'a way, course, rule, mode or manners of acting or conduct of like or the like' (Lane, 1438b). **Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: dedication.***

srq¹ *verb, g, 3m.s. to steal. Root: srq. ----rs/mn/srqt/ʾym----//----{m}n/srq/f-ʾn/yṣbr/b-m-h/sr[q]---- (Al-Ḥuraybah 17/ 3-4) '...from theft days...who stole(?) and if he is caught with what he {stole}...*'. NOTE: Compare Sab. srq 'to steal' (Beeston et al. 1982: 128); CAR. saraqā min-hu mālan 'he stole from him property' (Lane, 1352a). **Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: legal.***

srq² *noun. thief. Root: srq. ----h-srqt/ʾyb/h-srq/ʾw/y ----//----bh (Al-Ḥuraybah 17/ 6-7) '...the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief** or ...*'. NOTE: Compare Sab. srq 'to steal' (Beeston et al. 1982: 128); CAR. saraqā min-hu mālan 'he stole from him property' (Lane, 1352a). **Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: legal.***

srqt *noun. theft/stolen goods. Root: srq. ----rs/mn/srqt/ʾym----//----{m}n/srq/f-ʾn/yṣbr/b-m-h/sr[q]----//----{d}n/thd-h/kll-h/f-ḥtm ----//----h-srqt/ʾyb/h-srq/ʾw/y ----//----bh (Al-Ḥuraybah 17/ 3-7) '...from theft days.....who stole(?) and if he is caught with what he {stole}.....if all of it broke (the stolen things) then beat him(?) ...the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief or ...*'. NOTE: Compare Sab. srq 'to steal' (Beeston et al. 1982: 128); CAR. saraqā min-hu mālan 'he stole from him property' (Lane, 1352a). **Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: legal.***

st *numeral, m. six. Root: st. ----snt st hnʿs//mlk lḥyn (AH 222/ 5-6) '...year six of hnʿs king of Liḥyān**'. /snt/st/w ʿśr ---//----n/hnʿs/mlk/lḥyn (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII/ 5-6) '... year sixteen... [son of] Hnʿs king of Liḥyān...**'. feminine: **stt**. PN/bnt//PN/ʾzlt//l- dḡ{b}t/b-kh//l/stt/ʿśr/m//n/snt/mt/ʿl//h (AH 064/ 2-6) 'PN daughter of PN performed the ʾzll for dḡbt at khl sixteen [times]** according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her*'. NOTE: Compare e.g. Aram. št 'six' (CAL, 16-2-2018). **Certainty: certain. Frequency: st: 2; stt: 1. Genre: dating formula.***

sthbl *verb, st, 3m.s. to pledge. Root: ḥbl. ----m/ym/sthbl/ʾqd/h- rʿ/f-rđ-hm/w//---- (Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 4) '...[the] day he pledged the dedication of the livestock so may he favor them and...*'. NOTE: Compare Aram. ḥbl 'to take as a pledge' (CAL, 16-2-2018); Sab. ḥbl 'to conclude a pact' (Beeston et al. 1982, 65); CAR. ḥabl 'The making of a covenant [i.e. a promise or an assurance of security or safety]' (Lane 504b). **Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: dedicatory.***

stn *numeral. sixty. Root: st. [s]nt/stn (Müller, D.H. 1889: 77-78, no. 28/ 4) 'year sixty**'. NOTE: Compare e.g. Aram. št 'six' (CAL, 16-2-2018). **Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: dating formula.***

stṭr verb, *t*-infix, 3*m.s.* to write. Root: *str*. ----
stṭr/b- mṣd ---- (AH 207) ‘he wrote at the sanctuary*’. NOTE: Compare MMin. *stṭr* (M335 and M 370) and Ḥaḍ. (Qāni’ 4) (DASI, 22–2–2018). Compare CAR. *saṭara* ‘he wrote; he ruled a book’ (Lane, 1375c). In Nab. texts the noun *ṣṭr* is used with the meaning ‘decree’ (compare Akk. *ṣaṭaru* ‘written document’) (Nehmé 2015, 119), it is unclear if such a legal meaning applies to the writing referenced in this Dadanitic text as well.
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: graffiti.

st¹ noun. portion. Root: *swṭ*. *PN//PN/w-*
st//d‘mn/hggw//dḡbt/b-khl (U 063/ 1-4) ‘PN PN and [on behalf of??] the portion of d‘mn* they performed the pilgrimage to dḡbt at Khl**’. *PN/w-ṣṭ-h/st//‘n PN//‘gw-h/{z}nfss//w-hggw/dḡbt//b- khl (Al-Uḡayb 075/ 1-5)* ‘PN and he dedicated it, a portion for PN his dedication ???* and they performed the pilgrimage to dḡbt at khl**’. NOTE: See also *stṣṭ*. Compare CAR. *sawṭ* ‘a portion or share’ (Lane 1467a) and *sawṭ* ‘a remaining portion (of water)’ (Lane 1467b); Sab. *syṭ* ‘rainwater cistern’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 130).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 2. Genre: Q.

st² verb, *g*, 3*m.s.* to portion, dedicate. Root: *syṭ*.
PN/w-ṣṭ-h/st//‘n PN//‘gw-h/{z}nfss (Al-Uḡayb 075/ 1-3) ‘PN and he dedicated it, a portion for PN his dedication??*’. NOTE: Compare CAR. *sawṭ* ‘a portion or share’ (Lane 1467a) and *sawṭ* ‘a remaining portion (of water)’ (Lane 1467b); Sab. *syṭ* ‘rainwater cistern’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 130). The second *st* in Al-‘Uḡayb 075 may be another noun, to disambiguate the first general term, even though it is unclear why the disambiguation would not be given with the first mention of *st*. See also *stṣṭ*. There seems to be one attestation of an unpublished inscription with what seems to be a reduplicated verb *stṣṭ* l-dḡbt (Ahmad Al-Jallad pc.) *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: dedicatory?*

stṛ verb, *g*, 3*m.s.* to write. Root: *str*. *PN bn PN stṛ (JaL 061 f)* ‘PN son of PN has written**’. NOTE: compare CAR. *saṭara* ‘he wrote; he ruled a book’ (Lane, 1375c). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: graffiti.*

stṣṭ noun. Q. Root: Q. *PN//bn[/]t<<>>rf//h-ṣṭ st//d‘mn//snt/rḡṭ (AH 111)* ‘PN son of ... the ??? d‘mn year(?) rṭ*’. NOTE: See also *st*. Note that d‘mn is a toponym that is generally associated with agriculture in the inscriptions. Compare CAR. *sawṭ* ‘a portion or share’ (Lane 1467a) and *sawṭ* ‘a remaining portion (of water)’ (Lane 1467b); Sab. *syṭ* ‘rainwater cistern’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 130). It is unclear at this point what the reduplicated form would mean. Note that in U 063 *st* also occurs together with d‘mn. There seems to be one attestation of an unpublished inscription with what seems to be a reduplicated verb *stṣṭ* l-dḡbt (Ahmad Al-Jallad pc.) *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: title; dedicatory?*

ś – ś

ś’n adjective, *m.s.* honor, dignity. Root: *ś’n*.
qrb/h-ślm//l-dḡbt/b-h-brḡt//brḡ/bt d-‘ly h-ś’n//t/m‘ gbl/ddn/h- {śḡ}ḡ[n] (JSLih 041/ 2-5) ‘he offered the statue to dḡbt, with the honour [with which] the illustrious house of the lineage of ‘ly is honoured in company with the {illustrious} lord of Dadān**’.
feminine: ś’nt. NOTE: Farès-Drappeau suggests to connect *ś’n* with CAR. *ša’n* (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 132), compare CAR. ‘*aẓīm aš-ša’ni* ‘of great importance, or rank or dignity’ (Lane, 1491c).
Certainty: uncertain reading. Frequency: ś’n: 1; ś’nt: 1. Genre: dedicatory.

ś’t noun. party; group. Root: *śy’*. *PN/b[n] PN kbr//h-d‘t/ś’t/PN/w-rb-h//m/PN/bn/PN/kb//ry/ś’t/TrN/ḡḡw/h-mkn//w-h-mq‘d/dh/kll-h (JSLih 072/ 1-5)* ‘PN son of PN kabīr of the council* of the party of hṣ and their lord PN son of PN the two kabīrs of the party of hṣ took the place and this sitting place all of it**’. l-
ś’t//PN/P//N h-mq‘d k//ll-h (JaL 161 a/ 1-4) ‘the whole sitting place belongs to the party of ‘l k‘mn**’. NOTE: Compare CAR. *ṣṭ‘ah* ‘a separate or distinct party. or sect of men’ (Lane, 1632c). *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 4. Genre: dedicatory.*

śhdṭ noun. witness. Root: *śhd*. *//----l-hm/w- {ś}hdṭ/w-h- ṛḡ//----lh/bn/’mr----/[--- --] (JSLih 052/ 7-9)* ‘...and a witness(?) and ...[PN] son of PN...’ NOTE: Compare e.g. CAR. *šāhid* ‘witness’ (Lane, 1610a). For the use of witnesses in proceedings noted in inscriptions compare e.g. the Min. inscription M 316 (found at Dadān). *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 1. Genre: legal?*

šml *noun.* north. *Root:* šml. *l-PN//bn/PN/hn{--- }//qbr/dh/ḥm} // 'ly/y mn//w 'ly/šm[l]//mn/ṭrqr (JSLih 081) 'for PN son of PN [is] this grave {hm} from the south and from the north** from ṭrqr(?)'. NOTE:* Compare CAR. šimāl 'left hand, left side' but also šamal, šamāl etc 'North wind' (Hava 1915, 370a); . Possibly compare Q.50.17 'an al-yamīn wa-'an al-šimāl qa'īd 'seated on the right and on the left'. Lane (2546c) mentions this in relation to expressions of conciliation: qa' 'adtu-ka llaha 'I beg God to preserve, keep, guard, or watch thee'. *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: funerary?.*

šym *noun.* field. *Root:* šym. *zll/{l-} dğbt b'//d/šym-h (U 118/ 2-3) 'he performed the zll {for} dğbt on behalf of his field**'. 'gw/'-zll/l-dğb//t//b'd/ṭbrt-h/w šym-h (AH 138/ 2-4) 'he dedicated* the zll to dğbt on behalf of his grain and his field**'. 'zll/t/b'//d/nḥl-h/w šym//h (AH 100/ 2-4) 'she performed the zll ceremony on behalf of her palm trees and her field**'. NOTE:* Translated as 'field' in Sima (1999, 31). Sima (1999, 104) connects this word to Sab. mšm pl. mšymt, mšmt, mšym 'cultivated area, field' (Beeston et al. 1982, 136) and Min. mšmm 'surface cultivée, champ' (Arbach 1993, 88). Compare CAR. šayam 'any land or ground in which one has not yet dug, remaining in its [original] hard state' (Lane, 1634c). *Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 3. Genre: zll; dedicatory.*

š - š

šḥt *noun.* cliff face. *Root:* šḥ. *PN/bn/PN//ḥd/šḥt (JSLih 065) 'PN son of PN took possession of** the cliff face*'. PN/ḥd//h-šḥt dt (JSLih 066) 'PN took possession of this cliff face**'. NOTE:* Compare CAR. šafḥah 'the face, surface or front of a thing' (Lane, 1695b). Compare to the Nab. inscriptions taking possession of a piece of cliff for cutting out a tomb there in the future (Nehmé 2015, 100). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 2. Genre: legal; funerary.*

šlm *noun.* statue. *Root:* šlm. *qrb/h-šlm//l-dğbt (JSLih 041/ 2-3) 'he dedicated the statue to dğbt**'. PN/h- šn' /nḥt/h-šlm (JSLih 074) 'PN the artisan cut the statue**'. dual: šlmn. [----]//PN/PN/{s} //lh/dğb//t/'dq/l- //h/{h}-šlmn (JSLih 061/ 1-4) '... PN PN priest of dğbt offered** to lh* the two statues/the statuette**'. pl.: 'šlm. 'dq/{l}- dğ{b}t/hn-šl[m] (JSLih 063/ 2) 'he offered to dğbt the statues**'. NOTE:* Compare Sab. šlm 'image, statue of man'; Aram. šlm 'image, idol'. See Scagliarini (2007, 254–55) for a discussion of the word šlm in the Dadanitic inscriptions. *Certainty: certain. Frequency: šlm: 13; šlmn: 5; 'šlm: 1. Genre: dedicatory.*

šn' *noun.* artisan. *Root:* šn'. *PN/h-šn' /nḥt/h-šlm (JSLih 074) 'PN the artisan cut the statue**'. NOTE:* Compare CAR. šanā' 'a man skilful in the work of the hands or hand' (Lane, 1733c) and šānī' 'a handicraftsman; a manufacturer' (Lane, 1734c). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 11. Genre: dedicatory; graffiti.*

šwğ *noun.* smith. *Root:* swğ. *PN//h-šwğ (Al-Ḥuraybah 04) 'PN the smith**'. PN/bn/P//N/h-šn' /PN//PN/h-šwğ (Al-Ḥuraybah 05) 'PN son of PN the artisan**', PN PN the smith*'. Variant: syğ. ----//h- syğ/h//wdq/h-m//ṭlt/l-d//ğbt (Al-Ḥuraybah 14/ 1-4) '... the smith offered the substitute to dğbt**'. NOTE:* Compare CAR. šawwāğ 'a goldsmith or worker in gold' (Lane, 1747b). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: swğ: 2; syğ: 1. Genre: title.*

T - t

tmny *numeral.* eight. *Root:* tmn. *{s} //nt/'šrn/tmn{y} //ṭlt/'ym/qbl//r'y/slhn (JSLih 068/ 2-5) 'year twenty{eight}, three days before** the rising of the asterism slhn*'. NOTE:* Compare Aram. tmny 'eight' (CAL, 16-2-2018); Sab. tmn 'eight' (Beeston et al. 1982, 150). While there are some examples of etymological interdentals being represented with stops this is not very common in Dadanitic. Since there is only one attestation of the numeral eight, it is unclear whether this spelling is an anomaly or not. *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1. Genre: dating formula.*

tqmm *toponym. tqmm. Root: Q. PN/bn/PN/'*
zll/hzll/bkhl/l-dgbt/b'd/nhl-
h/bbn'l/wtqmm (U 025/ 1-4) 'PN son of
 PN performed the zll ceremony at khl for dgbt
 on behalf of his palm trees at bn'l and
 tqmm**'. *NOTE:* See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz
 (2014, 18) for a discussion of the place name and
 its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus.
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 11. Genre: zll.

tqt *verb, t, 3m.s. inscribe. Root: nqt. PN/bn*
PN//tqt (JaL 169 af) 'PN son of PN
 inscribed*'. *PN//bn PN tqt//w mt'l (JSLih*
339) 'PN son of PN inscribed and copied*'.
PN/bn/PN//tqt/m'/d-TrN (W.Dad 16/ 1-
3) 'PN son of PN inscribed with the family of
 TrN*'. *PN/bn/P//N tqt/sn//t/'}hdy (Nasif*
1988: 96, pl. CXLVI) 'PN son of PN
 inscribed [in] year one**'. *Variant: tqtt. PN*
t{q}t <<t>> m---- d---- (AH 260) 'PN
 inscribed(?).....*'. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. naqata
 'he dotted, the letter or the word with the diacritical
 points' and naqata 'he made small specks' (Lane,
 2844b). For the interpretation of tqt as a t-stem
 verb of the root nqt or wqt see (Macdonald 2008,
 206). If the t is really written twice in AH 260, this
 may indicate that the verb is a t-stem of the root qtt
 rather than nqt, but the photograph is unclear.
Certainty: certain. Frequency: tqt: 84; tqtt: 1.
Genre: graffiti. Usage: PN bn PN tqt; PN son
of PN inscribed.

trk *verb, g, 3m.s. to leave, relinquish. Root: trk.*
PN/bn/PN/'gw/h- zll/b-
{m}š//d/hmd/tr{k}----/f rd-h//w }hrt-h
(AH 202/ 1-2) 'PN son of PN dedicated the
 zll at [the] sanctuary in accordance with what
 he left/relinquished*'. ---- *wld -h/'gww/h*
h----//----d/hm d/trk/'----//----
y/hm/ndr/l-dg[b][t]---- (AH 243/ 4-6)
 '.... his son they dedicated the... according to
 what he left/relinquished....* they vowed to
 dgbt...**'. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. taraka-hu 'he
 left it, forsook it, relinquished it, abandoned it,
 deserted it, or quitted it' (Lane, 304c).
Certainty: uncertain. Frequency: 2.
Genre: dedicatory.

trq *verb, g, 3f.s. jussive. to conjure; to cast a spell.*
Root: rqr. b'lsmn/'hrm/h-
qrt//mn/mh/trq-h/mr't//l-bhny/hn-
'fkl//d (JSLih 064) 'b'lsmn protected the
 village from what [spell] the woman of the
 palm tree, the priestess cast on it d* (but see
 Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of
 'hrm and trq)'. *NOTE:* Compare CAR. raqiya 'he
 enchanted him or fascinated him by uttering a
 spell, or by tying knots in a thread or string and
 puffing or sputtering upon them' (Lane, 1140b).
Certainty: certain. Frequency: 1.
Genre: narrative.

ts' *numeral, m. nine. Root: ts'. snt/t[s']----//b-*
r'y/hmt/gsm/bn/lqn/mlk ---- [l]// hyn
(JSLih 085) 'year nine.... during the rising of
 the asterism hmt* gsm son of lqn king of
 Lihyān**'. *NOTE:* compare e.g. Aram. tša 'nine'
 (CAL, 16-2-2018); Sab. ts' 'nine' (Beeston et al.
 1982, 148). *Certainty: certain. Frequency: 4.*
Genre: dating formula.

T - t

tbrt *noun. grain. Root: tbr. }lt/h-zll/l-dgbt//b-*
kh[l]/f rd-h/w }hrt-h/b'd/tbr[t]-h (U 112/
2-3) 'she performed the zll ceremony for
 dgbt at khl so may he favor her and her
 posterity on behalf of her grain**'. }llw/h-
zll/b-khl//b'd/tbrt-hmy/b-d/t' (U 069/
3-5) 'they performed the zll ceremony at khl
 on behalf of their grain**'. *NOTE:* Farès-
 Drapeau (2005, 206) connects its to Heb. šeber
 'corn, grain (which is broken in a mill' (Gesenius
 1893, 803b)). See Sima (1999, 104) for a
 discussion on this term. *Certainty: uncertain.*
Frequency: 12. Genre: zll.

tl̄t *numeral. three. Root: tl̄t. snt/tl̄t III/b-*
r//['y]---- [b]n hn's/mlk/lhyn (AH 239/
4-5) 'year three 3 during the rising of the
 asterism* ... son of hn's king of Lihyān*'.
Variant: tl̄t. {s}//nt/'srn/
tmn{y}/tl̄t/'ym/qbl//r'y/slhn (JSLih 068/
2-5) 'year twenty {eight}, three days before**
 the rising of the asterism slhn*. *feminine: tl̄t.*
}ll/l- dgbt/tl̄t/tt/'zlt (U 050/ 2-3) 'he
 performed three zll ceremonies for dgbt**'.
NOTE: Compare Sab. tl̄t 'three' (Beeston et al.
 1982, 150); Aram. tl̄t 'three' (CAL, 15-9-2017).
 See Macdonald (2008, 212) on the variation
 between tl̄t and tl̄t. *Certainty: certain.*
Frequency: tl̄t: 4; tl̄t: 1; tl̄t: 2.
Genre: dedication.

tltn numeral. thirty. Root: *tl̥t*. *sn[t]/tl̥n/w hm//s 35/b- r'y/[m]n'y/ldn/bn/hn's/mlk/lhyn (JSLih 082/ 4-6)* 'year thirtyfive 35 during the rising of the asterism mn'y* [during the reign of] ldn son of hn's king of Lihyān*'. NOTE: Compare Sab. *tl̥t* 'three' (Beeston et al. 1982, 150); Aram. *tlāt* 'three' (CAL, 15-9-2017). See also *tl̥t*. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **3**. Genre: **dating formula**.

tr toponym. *tr. ndr/h-zll/l-dg̥bt //b-khl/b'd/ml-h/b-tr/ (U 010/ 2-3)* 'he vowed the zll to dg̥bt at khl on behalf of his property at tr**'. NOTE: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 18) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **10**. Genre: **zll**.

trw verb, g, 3m.s. become abundant. Root: *trw*. *khf/PN/bn/PN/mlk //ddn/w-trw/n'm/b-h/n'rgd (JSLih 138)* 'cave(tomb) of PN son of PN king of Dadān and may n'rgd enrich him with livestock * (following Ahmad Al-Jallad, pc.)'. NOTE: Compare CAR. *ṭaraytu bīk* 'I became abundant [in property] by means of thee' (Lane, 335b). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **funerary**.

ttn numeral. two. Root: *tn*. *snt/ttn/l-tlmy/bn/h/n{s}s (JSLih 045/ 3-4)* 'year two of [the reign of] Tlmy son of Hn's*'. *snt/'r{b}/'n/w ttn/b-r'/y/d's'l'n/tlm/y/bn/hn's/ml//k/lhyn (Al-Huraybah 10)* 'year fortytwo during the rising of the asterism d'sl'n*, [during the reign of] tlmy son of hn's king of Lihyān*'. NOTE: See Macdonald (2008, 213) for a discussion of the form *ttn* 'two', which is probably an assimilated form of **tt̥ntān*, following the regular assimilation of n to following stops in Dadanitic (cf. n-assimilation in phonology). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **4**. Genre: **dating formula**.

T - t

t'n¹ noun. setting of an asterism. Root: *t'n*. *...snt/'sr/w tlt/13/yymn/hlf/t'n/d//---- l{s}b}/[t]lmy/bn/[l]d{n}/ml{k}/l{s}h}yn (AH 197/ 8-9)* 'year thirteen 13 two days following the setting of the asterism... tlmy son of ldn king of Lihyān*'. NOTE: Given the formulaic context in which b-t'n occurs in AH 197, it is almost certainly semantically related to the more common form r'y. See Hidalgo-Cahcón Díez (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2008, 39-41) for a discussion of t'n as a verb. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **3**. Genre: **dating formula**.

t'n² active participle, m.s. to smite. Root: *t'n*. *tqt/'r[r] {d}g̥{b}/t't'n/'rr ---- (AH 210)* 'he inscribed may dg̥bt dishonor by smiting(?) the one who mistreats...*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. *ṭa'ana-hu* 'he peirced him, smote him, or wounded him' (Lane, 1855b). See Hidalgo-Cahcón Díez (2008, 39-41) for a discussion of t'n as a verb. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **curse**.

ṭhln theonym. *ṭhln*. Root: *ṭhl*. *f-mn y'rrh//y'rh n'm//dg̥bt//wṭhln (AH 289)* 'and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of livestock, dg̥bt and ṭhln*'. *PN/mlk ddn/f'l//l- ṭhln (Al-Sa'īd 2011. 1)* 'PN king of Dadān made [it] for ṭhln*'. NOTE: Translation based on context. *ṭhln* occurs once in Sab. as a patronym (Fa 124, DASI 14-2-2018). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **3**. Genre: **curse; dedicatory**.

ṭrq verb, g, 3m.s. to hammer. Root: *ṭrq*. *ṭrq/h-nqn/w-'kb/ (AH 287/ 2)* 'he hammered** the two nq and he remained*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. *ṭaraqa* 'the beating or striking of a thing in any manner' (Lane, 1846a). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory; graffiti**.

ṭrt noun. mountain. *l-PN/w-PN/w-bnt-h/h-ṭrt//dt/wl/wṭ-hm (JSLih 313)* 'For PN and PN and his daughter [is] this mountain and verily [it is] their inheritance*'. NOTE: Compare Aram. *ṭūr* 'mountain' (CAL, 19-2-2018). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **legal?**.

W - w

w- complementizer. and. Root: *w*. *PN/w-PN/bnt/P//N/w-'m-hm/PN/w-PN/nm--- //h/w-bn[t] -h/PN/'zlw/b-kh//l/zll/h-nq/l-dg̥bt/f-rdy//hm/w-ḥrt-hm/w-s{d}-h{m} (AH 081/ 1-5)* 'PN and PN daughter of PN and their mother PN and PN... and his/her daughter PN performed the zll ceremony** of the nq* for dg̥bt so may he favor them and their posterity and aid them*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. *wa-* 'and'. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **309**. Genre: **occurs in all types of inscriptions**.

wdd verb, q, 3m.s. to love(?) Root: wdd. PN bn PN bn PN//wdd PN (JaL 147 c) 'PN son of PN son of PN loved PN**'. PN/wdd PN w-PN (Ph 395v) 'PN loved PN and PN*'. ḥ----t/wdd/PN/°----k----//w-wdd-h/w-wdd d(Nasif 1988: 94, pl. CXL/c) '... loved PN... and he loved him and he loved d[ḡbt]?*'. Variant: **wd**. PN/bn/PN/wd//PN (JaL 116) 'PN son of PN loved PN**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. wadda-hu 'he loved or affected him or it' (Lane, 2931b). Note that wdd is also attested as a personal name, since the inscriptions where wdd may be interpreted as a verb are mostly very short graffiti, these may be personal names as well. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **wdd: 14; wd: 1**. Genre: **graffiti**.

wdy verb, g, 3m.s. to place; to set up. Root: wdy. -- -- n/wdy/{n}fs/h-ʾl----//----(JSLih 040/5) '... he set up the funerary monument... *'. PN/PN/w----//w-wdy/h-q{y}°----(Müller, D.H. 1889: 86, no. 68) 'PN PN... and he set up the...(?)*'. 3pl.: **wdyw**. wdyw/nfs/PN/bn/PN/m{h}//ḥd/ʾl - hmy/ḥrg (JSLih 077) 'they set up the funerary monument for PN son of PN** which was placed upon them as a lawsuit*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. waddā 'to send a.o.' (Hava 1915, 852b). Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **wdy: 2; wdyq: 1**. Genre: **legal; funerary?**.

whbt verb, g, 3f.s. to offer. Root: whb. ---- {w}h{b}t/l- dḡbt ----//(Umm Darağ 01) '{she offered} to dḡbt... **'. NOTE: Compare Sab. 'to give, grant, hand over, transfer' (Beeston et al. 1982, 158); CAR. wahaba la-hu šay'an 'he gave him a thing' (Lane, 2968c). Certainty: **quite certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.

wl asseverative. verily, already. Root: w + l. l- PN/w-PN/w-PN/h-ʾrt//dt/wl/wrt-hm (JSLih 313) 'for PN and PN and his daughter [is] this valley and verily [it is] their inheritance*'. wl/ḥmm/b-bt-h ṣ{l}m/wl/slmm//b-ḥq[w]y/kfr/ḥmm (JSLih 077: 6-7) 'and verily he offered at his temple a statue and he has offered two peace offerings (?) on the walls of (a?) cave/tomb* (J. Lundberg (pc.) proposed to interpret this section as a chiasitic structure)'. NOTE: In most Semitic languages, the asseverative is only used proclitically. But compare Sab. in which both spellings occur: w-l yknn h' (Fa 30) 'and may it be' and w-l-yknn 'ln 's'dn w- nṭn (Fa 3) 'and may these men and women be'. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **2**. Genre: **legal**.

wld noun. son; child. Root: wld. ---- [d]//ḡbt/{n}/yk{n}----//l-h/{w}ld/f-rd{y}[h] ----//w-ḥrt-h {d}---- (AH 203/2-4) '... dḡbt that there may be a son... for him so may he favor him... and his posterity...**'. ----rlh/w-PN/bn[t]°----s/w-PN/bn//t/PN/w-h----/bn/PN/d-Tr//N/w-wld-hm/ʾllw/h- ʾll(AH 244/ 1-3) '...and PN daughter of... {PN} and PN daughter of PN and {PN}.. son of PN of the lineage of TrN and their children performed the ʾll*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. walad 'a child, son, daughter' and 'children, sons, daughters, offspring' (Lane 2966b). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **3**. Genre: **dedicatory; ʾll**.

wqd verb, q, 3m.s. to offer. Root: wqd. ---- 'rdy -- --//----[h]wqd/h-s----//---- [f-]rdy{-h} (Al-Ḥuraybah 08) '...PN...he offered the... [so] may he favor him**'. NOTE: See hwdq. Since the C-stem verb 'qd of the same root is attested and given the fact that most dedicatory verbs are C-stem verbs, there was likely a h before wqd, which is now lost. Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory**.

wrt¹ noun. inheritance. Root: wrt. l-PN/w- P//N/w-PN/h-ʾrt//dt/wl/wrt-hm (JSLih 313) 'for PN and PN and his daughter [is] this valley and verily [it is] their inheritance*'. NOTE: Compare CAR. wāriṭ 'an heir' (Lane, 2934c). Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **legal; construction; funerary**.

wrt² noun. heir. Root: wrt. PN/bn/PN/PN/bny/h-//kfr/l-h/w-l-wrt-h/h-kfr/dh/kll-h (JSLih 045/ 1-2) 'PN son of PN PN built** the* tomb for him and his posterity, the whole of this tomb**'. NOTE: Compare CAR. wāriṭ 'an heir' (Lane, 2934c). I would like to thank Michael Macdonald (pc.) for suggesting the more specific translation 'heir' instead of 'descendants'. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **legal; construction; funerary**.

yʿr verb, g, 3m.s. pc. to disgrace. Root: ʿrr. *f-mn yʿrrh//yʿrh nʿm//dǧbt//wḥln* (AH 289) ‘and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of livestock, dǧbt and ṭḥln (Ahmad Al-Jallad, pc.)’ NOTE: Compare CAR. ‘arrar-hu and ‘arrara-hu ‘he disgraced or dishonored him’ and ‘he wronged him, or treated him unjustly or injuriously’ (Lane, 1990a). For the more common form see the suffix conjugation ʿrr.

Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**. Genre: **curse**.

yʿrr verb, g, 3m.s. jussive. to mistreat, disgrace. Root: ʿrr. *f-mn yʿrr-h//yʿr-h nʿm//dǧbt//wḥln* (AH 289) ‘and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of livestock, dǧbt and ṭḥln (Ahmad Al-Jallad, pc.)’ *mn yʿrr ʿrr dǧbt ʿṭḥl}* (JSTham 251.3) ‘whoever mistreats [it] may dǧbt disgrace [him] ???*’. NOTE: Compare CAR. ‘arrar-hu and ‘arrara-hu ‘he disgraced or dishonored him’ and ‘he wronged him, or treated him unjustly or injuriously’ (Lane, 1990a). For the more common form see the suffix conjugation ʿrr.

Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **2**. Genre: **curse**.

yd noun. hand, arm. *PN/nṣb wasm h-yd waḩ* (JaL 152) ‘PN set up a cult stone and inscribed the arm*’. *b-yd PN* (JSLih 106) ‘by the hand of PN**’. NOTE: Compare CAR. yad ‘hand’ and ‘forearm’ (Steingass 1993, 1238ab). The ‘wasm’ in JaL 152 is a drawing of an arm the inscription seems to refer to the production of the drawing. Note that bydh is attested as a PN in Dadanitic (JaL 166 c). Certainty: **certain**.

Frequency: **2**. Genre: **graffiti**.

ylmʿ verb, g, 3m.s. pc. to make splendidous. Root: l-m-ʿ. *f-ysmʿ l-h ʿl//w-ylmʿ-h* (JaL 016 a) ‘And may ʿĒl listen to him and make him splendidous(?)*’. NOTE: Compare CAR. l-m-ʿ ‘to shine very brightly, to flash’. Sima (1999, 113) proposed to interpret ylmʿ as ‘to give a sign’ from CAR. lama ‘a ‘winken, e. Zeichen, e. Signal geben’.

Certainty: **uncertain**. Frequency: **1**.

Genre: **dedicatory; graffiti**.

ym

noun. day. Root: ywm. ----

m/ym/stḥbl/ʿqd/h-rʿ/f-rd-hm/w//----

(Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 4)

‘...[the] day he pledged the dedication of the livestock so may he favor them and...*’.

dual: **ymn**. *PN/w-PN w-//PN w-PN w-*

PN//w-PN /PN PN//b-ḩ}wh/ymn (Graf

Abū al-ḩibāʿ 2) ‘PN and PN and PN and PN and PN and PN PN PN [were] at {ḩwh} for

two days*’. *snt/ʿsr/w*

ṭḩ/13/ymn/ḩlf/ʿn/d//----

lʿḩb}/[t]lmy/bn/[ḩ]n}/m{k}/{l}ḩ}yn (AH

197/ 8-9) ‘year thirteen 13 two days after**

the setting of the asterism*...., tmy son of ldn king of Liḩyān**’. pl.: **ʿym**.

{s}/nt/ʿsrn/tmn{y}/ṭḩt/ʿym/qbl//rʿy/slḩn

(JSLih 068/ 2-5) ‘year twenty{eight}, three days before** the rising of the asterism

slḩn*’. *PN/bn/PN/t{q}ḩ/b-*

ʿym/PN/bn//PN/w-PN/ḩt/ddn/b-rʿy} --

-- (JSLih 349) ‘PN son of PN inscribed

during the days of PN son of PN and PN

governor of Dadān** during the rising of the

asterism...*’. NOTE: Compare e.g. Sab. ywm

‘day, time’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 169); CAR. yawm

‘time, season’ (Steingass 1993, 1242b).

Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **ym: 1; ymn: 4;**

ʿym: 5. Genre: **zll; legal; graffiti; dating**

formula. Usage: X ʿym qbl rʿy Y; X days

before the rising of the asterism Y.

ymn

noun. south. Root: ymn. l-

PN//bn/PN/hn//qbr/ḩh/ḩ}m}/ʿly/ymn/

/w ʿly/śm[l]/mn/ṭrqr (JSLih 081) ‘for PN

son of PN [is] this grave {ḩm} from the south

and from the north** from ṭrqr(?)*’. NOTE:

Compare Sab. ymn ‘to be southward(?)’ (Beeston et

al.1982, 168); CAR. yamīn ‘right-hand, right side’

(Hava 1915, 896b). Possibly compare Q.50.17 ‘an

al-yamīn wa-‘an al-šimāl qaʿīd ‘seated on the right

and on the left’. Lane (2546c) mentions this on

relation to expressions of conciliation: qaʿ ‘adtu-ka

llaha ‘I beg God to preserve, keep, guard, or watch

thee’. Certainty: **certain**. Frequency: **1**.

Genre: **funerary**.

ysmʿ

verb, g, 3m.s. pc. to listen, to hear. Root: smʿ. f-

ysmʿ l-h ʿl//w-ylmʿ-h (JaL 016 a) ‘And

may ʿĒl listen to him and make him

splendidous(?)*’. NOTE: Compare CAR. samiʿa

aš-šayʿ ‘he heard or listened to the thing’ (Lane

1427b). Sima (1999, 113) already proposed this

interpretation of f-ysmʿ l-h and compared the use

of smʿ with the preposition l- with this meaning to

the texts from Qaryat al-Faw. Certainty: **certain**.

Frequency: **1**. Genre: **dedicatory; graffiti**.

Usage: smʿ l-X; listen to so..

ysrg *verb, g, 3m.s. jussive.* it was rendered beautiful, embellished. *Root:* srg. [/'ny //ysrg/]'b-hm/w-{m}'n-h[m] //w-{m}fr -h{m}/b-mśhl (U 026/ 3-5) 'that their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at mśhl**'. *NOTE:* OCIANA compares it to CAR. yusarragu 'it was rendered beautiful, embellished'. *Certainty: not quite certain.*
Frequency: 1. Genre: ʒll.

Z - z

ʒll *noun.* the ʒll ceremony. *Etym:* ʒll.
 ʒ//llw/ʒll/h-nq/l-//dǵbt/f-rđ-hm (AH 001/ 3-5) 'they performed the ʒll ritual of the nq* for dǵbt so may he favor them**'.
Variant: ʒll. ---- [ʒʒll//h-ʒll ---- (AH 009.1/ 1-2) 'he performed the ʒll ceremony**'. *dual: ʒlln.* PN/bn/PN/b-khl//ʒll/h-ʒlln (U 034/ 1-2) 'PN on of PN at khl performed the two ʒll ceremonies**'.
pl.: ʒłt. ʒll/l-dǵbt/ʒłt//ʒłt/ʒłt (U 050/ 2-3) 'he performed three ʒll ceremonies**'.
 ʒgw/l-dǵbt/ʒłt/ʒłt/ʒłt (U 032/ 2-4) 'he dedicated* to dǵbt three ʒll**'. *NOTE:* For a discussion of the proposed translations of 'ʒll h-ʒll so far see (Scagliarini 2002b, 573-75). See Kootstra (2018b) on the variation between z and ʒ in Dadanitic. *Certainty: certain. Frequency: ʒll: 123; ʒll: 14; ʒlln: 1; ʒłt: 2. Genre: ʒll.*

Curriculum Vitae

Fokelien Kootstra was born in Arnhem on December 7, 1988. She received her high school diploma in 2007 from the Lorentz Lyceum in Arnhem. Between 2008 and 2011 she completed her BA in Arabic and Middle Eastern studies at Leiden University. She continued her studies at the same university with the Research Master program in linguistics: Structure and Variation in the Languages of the World, with a focus on Semitic and epigraphic languages. In 2014 she received her MA with the completion of her thesis with the title “Taymanitic: a linguistic assessment” under the supervision of Prof. Ahmad Al-Jallad. From 2014 until 2018 she pursued her Ph.D. at the Leiden Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) at Leiden University, under the supervision of Prof. Petra Sijpesteijn and Prof. Ahmad Al-Jallad.

Samenvatting

De Dadanitische inscripties zijn tussen 600 en 100 V.Chr. in steen gehouwen in de oude oase van Dadān. Deze oase ligt in het noord-westen van het Arabisch Schiereiland en wordt tegenwoordig al-'Ulā genoemd. Gedurende de periode waarin de Dadanitische inscripties zijn geproduceerd, is de taal waarin deze zijn opgesteld veranderd. Er is geen duidelijke onderbreking te zien in de gebruikte taal en schrijftraditie, wat er op lijkt te duiden dat deze verandering geleidelijk heeft plaatsgevonden en niet strikt gereguleerd werd van bovenaf door een schrijfschool of autoriteit. Dit suggereert, samen met de relatief grote hoeveelheden graffiti die tot het corpus behoren, dat professionele schriftgeleerden niet de enigen waren die konden schrijven. Aan de andere kant wijzen de technisch geavanceerde manier waarop sommige inscripties zijn uitgevoerd, en de culturele setting van de oase, erop dat er wel degelijk opgeleide schriftgeleerden aanwezig waren in de maatschappij. Als onderdeel van hun training leerden deze professionele schriftgeleerden waarschijnlijk ook het gebruik van archaische taalkundige vormen. Aangezien de inscripties met ouderwetse taalkundige vormen waarschijnlijk echter vrijelijk toegankelijk waren voor iedereen in het landschap, moeten we er ook rekening mee houden dat minder hoog opgeleide personen wel eens met zulke vormen in aanraking kwamen.

Hoewel de meer archaische taalkundige vormen een zekere prestige gehad lijken te hebben, zijn ze uiteindelijk niet de standaard geschreven norm geworden. Het lijkt erop dat, nadat deze vormen niet meer gebruikt werden in de gesproken taal van de oase, ze nog sporadisch gebruikt werden in de schrijftaal, wellicht om extra cultureel of religieus gewicht aan een inscriptie te geven. Een bepaalde mate van variatie, zowel in lettervorm als grammaticale vormen, lijkt een geaccepteerd onderdeel van de schrijftraditie van Dadān te zijn geweest.