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

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Citation

Kootstra, F. (2019, April 23). *The writing culture of ancient Dadān: A description and quantitative analysis of linguistic variation*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/71772>

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

Issue Date: 2019-04-23

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/'h_d //h-šfht d_h*
 'bnh took (possession of) this (section of) cliff'

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

Private collection 1 *'fy h-ṣ ll hmd ndr 'b-h l-dgbt*
 'he completed the ṣll according to what his father had vowed to dgbt'

5.1.2 3FS

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

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

AH 013 *s¹gl/bnt//s²mr/s¹lht//dgbt/'zllt /h-ṣll//l-dgbt/b-k//hl/hmd/ndrt*
 's¹gl daughter of s²mr priestess of -dgbt performed the ṣll ceremony for dgbt
 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//zdḥrg/'lt/bnh//s¹lmh/bnt/{'}s¹//rs²n/*
 'the funerary monument of 'bds¹mn son of zdḥrg which s¹lmh daughter of 's¹
 rs²n built'

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

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 *s¹lmh* (e.g. JaL 119 b), *s¹lmt* (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 *dğbt* 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 *s¹mwh/bnt/s¹mr/s¹lht/w//d/w zyd/b ’l-h/d-yf[’]n//’zllh/l-dğbt/h-zll/b-h-mš//d/f rđ-hmy/w*
s¹’d-hmy w
‘*s¹mwh* daughter of *s¹mr* priestess of Wadd and *zyd* her husband of the lineage of *yf[’]n*
performed the *zll* for *dğbt* 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/tħmh/w//’mt ’zh/s¹lht//dğbt/’zlh/h-zll/l-l-dğbt/b-kh//l/b ’d/ml-hm/b-//bdr/f rđ-*
hm//w ’hrt-hm
‘*rhz* son of *tħmh* and *’mt ’zh* priestess of *dğbt* performed the *zll* ceremony for *dğbt* 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-Drappeau 2005, 69).

- U 055** *'mrt t/bnt/s' dlh //w b{n}-h/s' d' l/w s²rd/'zlw //l-dgbt/*
 ‘*'mrt t* daughter of *s' dlh* and her sons *s' d' l* and *s²rd* **performed the *zll*** for *dgbt*’

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** *ydn w dmd/bnt/zd//ggħn/'zlw/zl[l] h-nq //b-khl*
 ‘*ydn* and *dmd* daughter of *zdgghn* **performed the *zll*** ceremony of the *nq* at *khl*’
- U 064** *s²rd/w 'h-h/'bd//s'mh/bnw/'yḏ //ħrn/'zlw/h-zll/l-dgbt*
 ‘*s²rd* and his brother *'bd s'mh* sons of *'yḏħrn* **performed the *zll*** ceremony for *dgbt*’
- U 029** *'yḏ/bn/zhlh/w bn-h/'mħh/'{z}lw/h-{z} //l-l-dgbt*
 ‘*'yḏ* son of *zhlh* and his son *'mħh* **performed the *zll*** ceremony for *dgbt*’
- U 075** *qnh/bnt/'qhwnh//w {h}tn-h/'bb/'zllw[/l-dg[/[b][t][/]b'd/dt'-h/b-hm//dħb/f rd-hm/w 'tb-
 //hm*
 ‘*qnh* daughter of *'qhwnh* and her relative in-law *'bb* **performed the *zll*** for *dgbt* on behalf of their spring crops at *hmdħb* so may he favor 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 *'yḏh* 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-'Uḏayb 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** *'yḏh/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/*
 ‘*'yḏh* and *'mth{n}'ktb* daughter of *qny* and their mother *s²n'h* and *b'lhzd nm----//h* and her [daughter] *'mtyt'n* **performed the *zll*** of the *nq* at *khl* for *dgbt*’

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-‘Udayb 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 ’ḥr[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-}ḥgr/f rḏyt-h/w ’ḥrt-h*
‘... to *ḥrg* 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), *ḥggw* ‘they made the pilgrimage’ (e.g. Rabeler 001) and *ḥṭṭ* ‘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 *ḥt* is attested once (JSLih 181).

AH 198 [*h*]n *’ktb/bn//tms²ms¹/ḥyw//ḥgg/l-ḏgb//t*
‘[*h*]n *’ktb* son of *tms²ms¹ ḥyw* **dedicated** to *ḏgbt*’

Nasif 1988: 92, *wmr ḥṭṭ* *’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/'qd/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 /haggat/. 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 s²n'h ---- //{'}ktb/w 'm-h ----//bd/hggw/h----//l-hrg/
 'w'l and w²n'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 'bnh/'hd //h-šfht dh
 'bnh **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, *rdy-h(m)* /raḏḏayahu(m)/ (e.g. AH 203; AH 209; JSLih 083) and *rd-h* (e.g. U 058; AH 176; AH 100) which probably represents a later development of the SC /raḏḏē-h(u)/ (see 4.3.2.1 Verbs).

AH 004 ws²h/bn/wdd //d-ḏmr/'zll-//l/h-zll/l/l-//dḡbt/f //rdy-h/w s¹'//d-h/w 'hrt[-h]
 'ws²h son of wdd of the family of ḏmr performed the zll ceremony for dḡbt 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	y-CCC	NA	NA
3 Feminine	t-CCC (?)	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/dkh/yq 'd ----//---- n/wdy/{n}fs¹/h-
 'l----//----m/f lh/y 'd/w 'n----//----dy/dh/f 'nh/y----//----hn 'mn/hlqt ----//----/hmqtl
 ----//----d----¹⁷⁹

JaL 002 b [----]//----s¹/yt 'hm//----{w}ys¹tfy¹⁸⁰/h//----w tšbh¹⁸¹//----'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 *y'r* vs. jussive *y'rr*, see § 5.2.3 Jussive below) and final weak root RQY (jussive *trq* see § 5.2.3 Jussive below), it is clear that Dadanitic 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 Dadanitic 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-ys'm 'l-h 'l //w-y'lm 'h*
'So may 'Ēl listen to him and make him splendid(?)'

There is one inscription in which a complementizer 'n 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 'an (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 Dadanitic 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]-//gbt/'{n}/yk{n}/l-h/{w}ld/f rdy[-h]---- //w 'hrt-h {d}----*
'...[d]gbt 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 'n followed by a subjunctive introducing a conditional clause.

Al-Ḥuraybah 17 *mn/s'rqt/'ym---- //----{m}n/s'rqt/f-'n/y'sbr/b- mh/s'r[q]---- //----{d}n/thd-h/kll-h/f*
h'm----//----hs'rqt/y'b/h-s'rqt/'w/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 'n, but the inscription is too fragmentary to give a reliable interpretation *ks't //w t'b '{l}/mny/{q}d/w grs'r/hw //f'n/s'/{b}w/b-{k}l{s't}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/'h'rm/h-qrt//mn/mh/trq-h/mr't//l- bhny/hn-'fkl't//d
 '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, Dadanitic 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>'afa'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 *rđy* ‘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 *yḥḏkr* (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 rđ-h/w s’ d-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//ggḥn/’zlw/zll h-nq //b-khl*
‘*yḏn* and *dmd* daughter of *zdgḡḥn* performed the *zll* ceremony of the *nq* at *khl*’

¹⁹³ Except for Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1/ 2 ---- *f rđt/w ’ḥr[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 √WFY, *hṭb* 'to dedicate' from √WTB, 'dq and *hdq* 'to offer' from √WDQ (but see *hwdq* in § 5.3.3 CD-stem) and possibly 'qd 'to dedicate' √WQD, finally there is one attestation of the verb 'ṭ 'he protected' from √YT'.

- U 035** *brqh/s¹//lh/dḡbt // 'fy/h-ṣll //l-dḡbt*
'brqh son of dḡbt offered the ṣll ceremony to dḡbt'
- Al-Ḥuraybah 12** *ddn/hṭbt/mṭb*
'Dedan offered the throne'
- AH 087** *'bdh/bn //mrr/'d{q}/h/{z}{l}/l-dḡ//{b}{t}/f rḏ-h*
'bdh son of mrr **offered** the ṣll ceremony to dḡbt so may he favor him'
- JSLih 062** *{s²}----[b]//nt/qs¹m//hdqt/h//šlmn//l-hn'kt//b/f rḏ-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-dḡbt 'mt-{h}my 'yḏh//b{n}t 'mthn'ṭt ---- h----t/ym*
'qd h-m---//l-hrg
'... of the lineage f 'lhrbt **offered**.... to dḡbt their maidservant 'yḏh daughter of 'mthn'ṭt... 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 rḏ-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** *ḏbn/'mr/bn/mrd //'gw/h-ṣll/dh/l-dḡbt*
'ḏbn 'mr son of mrd **dedicated** this ṣll ceremony to dḡbt'

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. *yṭwbn* ‘reward, recompense (a worshipper by a deity)’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 151)).

U 059 *frḏ-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 √WFY (see § 5.3.2.3.1 I-w/y); *ʔy* and *ʔw* from √NGW (see § 5.3.2.3.2 I-n) and *ʔqw* ‘to dedicate, to send up’ √RQW.

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

U 005 *hmyh/bnt/nzrh/ʔft/h-z//ll/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>ʔw</i>	he dedicated	(e.g. U 038; U 049; AH 135; AH 157; AH 202; AH 201)
<i>ʔt</i>	she offered	(U 023; U 005; AH 051)
<i>ʔt</i>	she dedicated	(U 126; AH 006; AH 079; Al-ʔUdayb 129; Al-ʔUdayb 008)
<i>ʔyh</i>	they (du) offered	(U 026)
<i>ʔyw</i>	they offered	(U 037)
<i>ʔww</i>	they dedicated	(AH 243; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII; U 088; Al-ʔUdayb 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 *ʔzl* /ʔazalla/. Note that there are no attestations of *hʔzl* forms (see § 5.3.3 CD-stem for the *hʔzl* 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 *ʔll*, however, this distribution may just be due to accident of survival.

Table 36 Overview of attested geminate root causative forms

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

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

U 101 *ks²d/bn ----//ngʔʔzl/l-ḏḡbt/f rḏ-h/w sʔʔd-h*
 ‘*ks²d* son of ... *ngʔ* performed the *ʔll* for *ḏḡbt* so may he favor him and aid him’

U 117 *rḏwl/bn/ʔbdh/ʔʔll/l-ḏḡbt*
 ‘*rḏwl* son of *ʔbdh* performed the *ʔll* for *ḏḡbt*’

There is one inscription in which several *ʔll* ceremonies seem to be dedicated, in which a CD-stem is used, and another in which a suffix *-n* on the noun *ʔll* 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 *sʔmy/bn/tlḡl //ʔʔll/l- ḏḡbt/tl//ttʔʔlt*
 ‘*sʔmy* son of *tlḡl* performed for *ḏḡbt* three *ʔll* ceremonies’

U 034 *ʔyḏ/bn/ḥr/b-khl //ʔʔll/ʔʔlln²⁰¹*
 ‘*ʔyḏ* son of *ḥr* at *khl* he performed *ʔll* ceremonies’

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

U 013 *ʔmtrfʔ/bnt//rbḥ/ʔʔlt//h-ʔʔlt*
 ‘*ʔmtrfʔ* daughter of *rbḥ* performed the *ʔll* ceremony/ceremonies?’

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

²⁰² For the inscriptions with *ʔll* 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/bs¹rh //s¹lh/ḏgbt/ 'zll/t/zll*²⁰⁴
 'mtṣd daughter of bs¹rh priestess of ḏgbt **performed a zll** ceremony '

AH 081 *'yḏh/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*²⁰⁵
 'yḏh and 'mth{n} 'ktb daughter of qny and their mother s²n '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 'zl forms (e.g. AH 080; AH 072; U 125; U 101; U 076).

²⁰⁴ There are 22 attestations of 'zlt 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 rḏ -h // h¹l w s¹// 'd -h*

AH 031 *...ts¹lm m 't f-rḏ-h*

5.3.4.1 t-infix stem

Inscription AH 207 seems to contain a t-infix stem *s¹tṛ* from Sabaic *s¹ṛ* ‘to write, to inscribe’.²⁰⁷ The lack of an initial ‘ suggests that there was no initial vowel /s¹taṛara/.

AH 207 *----l/b----//ḏ----s¹tṛ/b-mṣḏ----s¹m '----/ḏḡ...bt²⁰⁸
‘...l b...ḏ...wrote at the temple....s¹m '...{ḏḡbt}*

5.3.4.1.1 Weak roots

Macdonald (2008, 203–4) has suggested that *tqṭ* ‘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//tqṭ*
‘*ns²r* son of *tm* inscribed’

Another option would be to interpret *tqṭ* as a t-prefixing verb of the geminate root QṬṬ ‘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 *qṭ* ‘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 *tqṭ* from QṬṬ /taqṭṭa/ (Winnett and Reed 1970, 129) (see § 5.3.4.1.1 Weak roots).

5.3.4.3 t-D stem

The interpretation of *tqṭ* having a root QṬṬ 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}ṭ<ṭ> m---- ḏ----*
‘*s²rd* wrote....’

The double representation of the *ṭ* seems to point to a t-D formation /taqṭṭaṭa/. Alternatively it may be a more archaic form of the t-prefix stem in which the geminate roots had not metathesized yet /taqṭaṭa/ (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 *ḏḡbt*. 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 *tqṭ* 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-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 3014, no 1 is correct, there is one attestation of a St-stem verb.

Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 3014, no 1 ----m/ym/s^t**thbl**/ʿqd/h-r/ʿf-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 ʿtm/bn/nfy/ʿ//bd/ʿzll/h-zl//l/**ndr**/b ʿd/h-dr//t
 ‘ʿtm son of nfy ʿbd performed the zll ceremony **vowed** on behalf of the field’

AH 220/ 6-7 {h-}/s^t**fr**/w [d]hlh/h-**sn** ʿ
 ‘the **scribe** and dhlh the **artisan**’

JaL 161 a ʿrr//dgbt/ʿr/r/h-s^t**fr**/dh
 ‘and may dgbt dishonor **the one who mistreats** this inscription’

AH 210 ʿr[r] {d}g{b}// t/ʿn/ʿrr ----
 ‘may dgbt dishonor by **smiting**(?) the **one who mistreats**...’

JSLih 317 may also contain an active participle.

JSLih 317 ----/bn/ʿ//dhn/m^t**br**/ʿrf
 ‘... son of ʿdhn a **fenced** field’

5.4.2 Plural

There seems to be only one example of a plural form of the active participle.

JSLih 006 ʿmrtm/w-**hrm** w-nn //w-drh/w-gz ʿt //w-ʿn ʿm/w- ʿbd//ddt/**hggn** //f sʿm ʿl-h{m}
 ‘ʿmrtm and hrm and nn and drh and gz ʿt and ʿn ʿm and ʿbd 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/ʿzll/h-zll/l/ndr/b ʿd/h-dr//t/*
‘bd performed the *zll* ceremony (which was) **vowed** on behalf of the fields’
- U 007** *----wh/hqm //----h/ʿzll/h-zll/n//dr/l-dgbt*
‘...wh *hqm* ...h performed the *zll* ceremony (which was) **vowed** to *dgbt*’
- U 021** *f/bn/ʿ{y}dʰ//zll/h-zll/ndr //b ʿd/d{t}ʿ -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 *tʿn* in AH 210 is correct this shows the use of the active participle to modify the main verb.

- AH 210** *ʿr[r] {d}g{b} // t/tʿn/ʿrr ----*
‘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/ʿ//dhn/mṭbr/ʿrf*
‘...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/ʿrr//dgbt/ʿr/r/h-sʿfr/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).