The writing culture of ancient Dadān: A description and quantitative analysis of linguistic variation
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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-*h* (AH 199; U 019; U 026)	CCC-*w*
3 Feminine	CCC-*t* (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	*ʾbnh/ʾḫḏ //h-ṣfḥt ḏh* '*ʾbnh* **took** (possession of) this (section of) cliff'
Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 15–26, no. 2	*nfyh/bn/ʿm/ʾfkl/hl{ʾh}//bny/h-bnyn/ḏh/l-ʾlh //ʾlh/hrmʿt* '*nfyh* son of *ʿm* priest of *{hlh}* **built** this building for *ʾlh* of *hrmʿt*'
Private collection 1	*ʾfy h-ẓ ll hmḏ **nḏr** ʾb-h l-ḏġbt* 'he completed the *ẓll* according to what his father **had vowed** to *ḏġbt*'

5.1.2 3FS

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

U 056	*ʾmtbʿs¹mn bnt //{{}}ḫyt **ẓllt** l-//ḏġbt* '*ʾmtbʿs¹mn* daughter of *ḫyt* **performed the** *ẓll* for *ḏġbt*´
AH 013	*s¹gl/bnt//s²mr/s¹lḥt//ḏġbt/ʾ//ẓlt /h-ẓll//l-ḏġbt/b-k//hl/hmḏ/**nḏrt*** '*s¹gl* daughter of *s²mr* priestess of -*ḏġbt* performed the *ẓll* ceremony for *ḏġbt* 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/ʿbds¹mn/bn//zdḫrg/ʾlt/**bnh**//s¹lmh/bnt/{ʾ}s¹///ʾrs²n/* 'the funerary monument of *ʿbds¹mn* son of *zdḫrg* which *s¹lmh* daughter of *ʾs¹ ʾrs²n* **built**'

U 026/ 1–2   *ʾbʿl/ḏl/ʾfyh/h-ẓll//l-ḏġbt/*
'The lords of *ḏl* **fulfilled** the *ẓll* for *ḏġbt*'

The inscription JSLih 384 contains several grammatical features that place it apart from the other Dadanitic inscriptions. It contains a feminine relative *ʾlt* (compare CAr. *ʾallatī*) (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 *ḏġbt* is spelled regularly, with the final *-t*. Even though the dual was also formed with a suffix *-h* (see § 5.1.3 Dual)*,* interpreting *ʾfyh* as a dual verb is problematic with the clearly plural subject *ʾbʿl*. 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 *ʾfyh* 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/s¹lḫt/w//ḏ/w zyd/bʿl-h/ḏ-yfʿn/ʾ//ẓllh/l-ḏġbt/h-ẓll/b-h-mṣ//d/f rḍ-**hmy**/w s¹ʿd-**hmy** w*
'*s¹mwh* daughter of *s¹mr* priestess of Wadd and *zyd* her husband of the lineage of *yfʿn* **performed the** *ẓll for ḏġbt* 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   *rhẓ/bn/tḥmh/w//ʾmtʿzh/s¹lḫt//ḏġbt/ʾẓlh/h-ẓl//l/l-ḏġbt/b-kh//lʿ/bʿd/ml-hm/b-//bdr/f rḍ-**hm**//w ʾḥrt-**hm***
'*rhẓ* son of *tḥmh and ʾmtʿzh* priestess of *ḏġbt* performed the *ẓll* ceremony for *ḏġbt* at *khl* on behalf of their property at *bdr* so may he aid **them** and **their** posterity'

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[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-ʿUḏayb.

[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	*ʾmrtʿt/bnt/s¹ʿdlh //w b{n}-h/s¹ʾdʾl/w s²rd/ʾ**ẓlw** //l-ḏġbt/*
	' *ʾmrtʿt* daughter of *s¹ʿdlh* and her sons *s¹ʾdʾl* and *s²rd* **performed the *ẓll*** for *ḏġbt*'

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	*yḏn w ḏmd/bnt/zd//ggḥn/ʾ**ẓlw**/ẓl[l] h-nq //b-khl*
	'*yḏn* and *ḏmd* daughter of *zdggḥn* **performed the *ẓll*** ceremony of the *nq* at *khl*'

U 064	*s²rd/w ʾḫ-h/ʿbd//s¹mh/bnw/ʾyḏ //ḥrn/ʾ**ẓlw**/h-ẓll/l-ḏġbt*
	'*s²rd* and his brother *ʿbd s¹mh* sons of *ʾyḏḥrn* **performed the *ẓll*** ceremony for *ḏġbt*'

U 029	*ʿyḏ/bn/zhlḥ/w bn-h//ʾmḥh/ʾ**{ẓ}lw**/h-{ẓ}//ll/l-ḏġbt*
	'*ʿyḏ* son of *zhlḥ* and his son *ʾmḥh* **performed the *ẓll*** ceremony for *ḏġbt*'

U 075	*qnh/bnt/ʾqḥwnh//w {ḫ}tn-h/ʿbb/ʾ**ẓllw**[/]l-ḏġ//[b][t][/]bʿd/dṯ ʾ-h/b-hm//ḏhb/f rḍ-hm/w ʾṯb-//hm*
	'*qnh* daughter of *ʾqḥwnh* and her relative in-law *ʾbb* **performed the *ẓll*** for *ḏġbt* on behalf of their spring crops at *hmḏhb* 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 *ʿydh* 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-ʿUdayb 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	*ʿydh/w ʾmth{n}ʾktb/bnt/qn//y/w ʾm-hm/s²nʾh/w bʿlhzd/nm----//h/w bn[t]-h/ʾmtyṯʿn/ʾ**ẓlw**/b-kh//l/ẓll/h-nq/l-ḏġbt/*
	'*ʿydh* and *ʾmth{n}ʾktb* daughter of *qny* and their mother *s²nʾh* and *bʿlhzd nm----//h* and her [daughter] *ʾmtyṯʿn* **performed the *ẓll*** of the *nq* at *khl* for *ḏġbt*'

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

bny	'he built'	(e.g. AH 208; JaL 006; JSLih 045; Al-Saʿīd 1420/2000: 15-26, no. 2)
bnyw	'they built'	(Müller D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8; Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 26-36, no. 3; U 008; AH 200
wdyw	'they placed'	(JSLih 077)
ʾfyw	'they offered'	(U 037)
bnt	'she built'	(Al-ʿUḏayb 043)
ʾft	'she offered'	(U 005)

This goes for final -*y* and final -*w* verbs alike. Compare: 3MS *ʾgw* (e.g. AH 065; AH 157; U 032), but 3FS *ʾgt* (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 *rḍy* is *rḍt* as expected, there is one example of *rḍyt*. For a discussion of the phonological variation of these forms see § 4.3.2 /aya/.

Tall al-Kaṯīb, no. 1/ 2	*---- f rḍt/w ʾḫr[t]----* '…so may she favor [him] and [his] posterity…'
JSLih 036/ 2	*---- {ʿ}zy/ f rḍt-h/{h}----* '...*zy* so may she favor him…'
AH 288	*...{l-}ḫgr/f rḍyt-h/w ʾḫrt-h* '… to *ḫrg* 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. *ʿrr* 'he dishonored (the inscription)' (e.g. JaL 161a; JSTham 251.3), *ḥggw* 'they made the pilgrimage' (e.g. Rabeler 001) and *ḫṭṭ* '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. *ʿarrara-hu* 'to disgrace or dishonor someone' is a D-stem verb, and that of the root √ḪṬṬ also the form *ḫṭ* is attested once (JSLih 181).

AH 198	*[h]nʾktb/bn//tms²msⁱ/ḥyw//**ḥgg**/l-ḏġb//t* '*[h]nʾktb* son of *tms²ms¹ ḥyw* **dedicated** to *ḏġbt*'
Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII	*wmr **ḫṭṭ** ʿdm ʿdm* '*wmr* inscribed *ʿdm ʿdm*'

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 *ḫgt*, most in damaged context, but they seem to represent nominal forms rather than the 3FS verb.

AH 206 ----*/ḫgt/{b}-khl/ˀl-hm*

'…**she dedicated/a dedication** at *khl* on behalf of them'

AH 226 ---- *ḏ ndm/ḥ{g}//----[b-] [h-]mṣd/ḫgt/*----

'of the family of *ndm* dedicate….. [at the] temple a **dedication/she dedicated**'

Since the root *ḥgg* 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 *ḫgt* should probably be interpreted as a nominal form, indicating the object of dedication.

AH 239 ----*ẓd/ḫgt/l//----{ḫ}y/ˀqd/h-rˁ*

'…*ẓd* **dedication/she dedicated**….{ḫ}y the offering of the livestock'

AH 219 ----*d/b{n}/ẓ---- nyq ---- //----bt/ḫgt/h-mṣd*

' …*d* son of *ẓ… nyq* …. *bt* **the dedication of** the temple'

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

If *ḫgt* represents a 3FS in one of these inscriptions, it seems that it underwent metathesis of the third syllable /ḥaggat/. 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 *ḥggw* /ḥagagū/ (U 063; AH 217; AH 221; AH 231; AH 233; Rabeler 001; AH 197; Al-ˁUḏayb 075; Umm Darag 22).

AH 217 *w ˀl/w s²n ˀh ---- //{ˀ}ktb/w ˀm-h ----//bd/ḥggw/h----//l-ḫrg/*

'*w ˀl* and *w²n ˀh*…{ˀ}ktb and his mother… *bd* **dedicated (pl.)** the…. to *ḫrg*'

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 *ˀbnh/ˀḫḏ //h-ṣfḥt ḏh*

''*ˀbnh* **took** (possession of) this section of cliff'

Al-Saʿīd 2011. 1   *ʿṣy/mlk ddn/fʿl //l-ṭḥln*
'*ʿṣy* 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 //ḏ-ḏmr/ʾẓl-//l/h-ẓll/l/l-//ḏġbt/f //rḍy-h/w s¹ʿ//d-h/w ʾḥrt[-h]*
'*ws²ḥ* son of *wdd* of the family of *ḏmr* performed the *ẓll* ceremony for *ḏġbt* 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 *ʾn*.

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}---- //---- ʾw----//----mn/s²rm/w----//----ḥ/ḏkh/yqʿd ----//---- n/wdy/{n}fs¹/h-ʾl----//----m/f lh/yʿd/w ʾn----//----dy/ḏh/f ʾnh/y----//----hn ʾmn/ḫlqt ----//----/hmqtl ----//----d----*[179]

JaL 002 b   *[----]//----s¹/yṭ ʿ/hm//----{w}ys¹tfy*[180]*/h//----w tṣbḥ*[181]*//---- ʾn/l- hns¹//----bt/w bt/ //----m ʿn/bm//----mlk/w //----hn ʾʿy*

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[179] Farès-Drappeau gives the two verbs *yqʿd* and *yʿd* from this inscription as the only examples of the PC (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 70).
[180] This is probably an st-stem of the verb *ʾfy* 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 ʿRR (indicative *yʿr* vs. jussive *yʿrr*, see § 5.2.3 Jussive below) and final weak root RQY (jussive *trq* see § 5.2.3 Jussive below), is it 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-ys¹mʿ l-h ʾl //w-ylmʿ-h*
'So may ʾĒl listen to him and make him splendorous(?)'

There is one inscription in which a complementizer *ʾn* 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 *ʾan* (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 ----[ḏ]-//ġbt/ʾ{n}/yk{n}//l-h/{w}ld/f rḍy[-h]---- //w ʾ hrt-h {ḏ}----*
'…[ḏ]ġbt that there may be a son to him so may he favor him and his posterity…'[184]

There is one clear example[185] of the particle *ʾn* followed by a subjunctive introducing a conditional clause.

Al-Ḫuraybah 17 *mn/s¹rqt/ʾym---- //----{m}n/s¹rq/**f- ʾn/yṣbr**/b- mh/s¹r[q]---- //----{d}n/thḏ-h/kll-h/f ḫtm----//----hs¹rqt/**yṭb**/h-s¹rq/ʾw/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]

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[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 *rḍy[-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] Ǧabal al-Ḫuraymāt 01 also seems to contain a partical *ʾn*, but the inscription is too fragmentary to give a reliable interpretation *ks¹ṭ //w ṭb ʾ/{ṭ}//mny/{q}d/w grs¹/rḥw //f ʾn/s¹{b}w/b-{k}l{s¹}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 *ʾn* + PC verb seems clear.

The prefix conjugation is also attested following the presentative *ʾny*.

U 026   *ʾbʿl/ḏl/ʾfyh/h-ẓll//l-ḏġbt/<f>*[187]*rḍ-hm/w s¹//ʿd-hm/w ʿqb-hm[/] **ʾny//ys¹rg**[/] ʾb-hm/w {m}ʿn-h[m]//w {m}fr-h{m}/b-ms²hl*
     'The lords of *ḏl* accomplished the *ẓll*-ceremony for *ḏġbt* <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 *ʿrr*, reveals a difference between a jussive or apocopate and the indicative.

AH 289   *f-mn yʿrr-h / yʿr-h nʿm*
     '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 *yʿrr* /yuʿrir/ and an indicative *yʿr* /yuʿarru/.[190]

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

JSLih 064   *bʿls¹mn/ʾḥrm/h-qrt//mn/mh/**trq-h**/mrʾt//l- bhny/hn-ʾfklt//ḏ*
     '*bʿls¹mn* protected the village because of what **she conjured**,[191] the woman of the palm tree the priestess of *ḏ*…'

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]

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[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 *ʾḫrt-h(m)* in the same phrase is replaced by *ʿqb-hm* in this inscription. The substitution of this word in the formula by *ʿqb* 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 *ʾny* as a complementizer comparable to Ugaritic *hny*, Hebrew *hinneh* and Arabic *ʾinna* (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. *faʿala*
D-stem	CCC	CAr. *faʿʿala*
C-stem	ʾCCC	CAr. *ʾafʿala*
	hCCC	e.g. Heb. *hiphʿil*
CD-stem	ʾCCC	/ʾafaʿʿala/
	hCCC	/hafaʿʿala/
T prefix-stem	tCCC	e.g. EAr. *itfaʿal*
T infix-stem	CtCCC	CAr. *ʾiftaʿala*
ST-stem	s¹tCCC	CAr. *ʾistafʿala*

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-Ḫuraybah 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	*nʿm//ʿklʾ//w byt*
	'nʿm ʿklʾ and he spent the night'
	OR
	'nʿm ʿklʾ and *byt*'

Graf Abū al-Ḍibāʿ 1	*--- ʾgr/w {h}{n}ʾl//byt/b-lwh/ḍlḍ*
	' ...ʾgr and hnʾl spent the night (sing.) at [the] sandy depression *Ḍlḍ*'
	OR
	'--- ʾgr and {h}{n}ʾl byt are at [the] sandy depression *Ḍlḍ*'

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).

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[192] There may be one example of a jussive following the prohibitive *ʾl* (JSLih 127) *ʾrs¹ʿd/ʿbd//fmn/ʾl/yḏlmh*. The interpretation of this very short inscription is unclear however. It is translated in OCIANA as only containing personal names, with *ʾl 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 *rḍy* '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 /raḍḍaya/ and the defectively spelled /raḍḍī/ or /raḍḍē/ 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 *ḫṭ* (JSLih 181) and *ḫṭṭ* (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 *ʿrr* 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 ʾ-causative and a formally archaic *h*-causative[194] (see Chapter 7 - A quantitative approach to variation for a discussion of the distribution and possible causes of this variation).[195] The ʾ-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 *yhḏkr* (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 ----//ngʾ/ʾẓl/l-ḏġbt//f rḍ-h/w s¹ʿd-h*
             'ks²d son of …ngʾ **performed the** *ẓll* for *ḏġbt* so may he favor him and aid him'

U 112   *ʾdʿh/bnt/ḥrm/ḏġbt//ʾẓlt/h-ẓll/l-ḏġbt*
             'ʾdʿh daughter of *ḥrm* *ḏġbt* **performed the** *ẓll* ceremony for *ḏġbt*'

AH 032   *yḏn w ḏmd/bnt/zd//gghn/ʾẓlw/ẓl[l] h-nq //b-khl*
             'yḏn and *ḏmd* daughter of *zdgghn* **performed the** *ẓll* ceremony of the *nq* at *khl*'

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[193] Except for Tall al-Katīb, no. 1/ 2 ---- *f rḍt/w ʾḫr[t]*----, but the damaged context makes it difficult to interpret this form.

[194] Compare, for example, Aramaic in which *h* > ʾ 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*/ʾ)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: *ʾfy* 'to offer' from √WFY, *ḥtb* 'to dedicate' from √WṮB, *ʾdq* and *hdq* 'to offer' from √WDQ (but see *hwdq* in § 5.3.3 CD-stem) and possibly *ʾqd* 'to dedicate' √WQD, finally there is one attestation of the verb *ʾṯʿ* 'he protected' from √YṮʿ.

U 035	*brqh/s¹//lh/ḏġbt //ʾfy/h-ẓll //l-ḏġbt*
	'*brqh* son of *ḏġbt* offered the *ẓll* ceremony to *ḏġbt*'
Al-Ḥuraybah 12	*ddn/ḥṯbt/mṯb*
	'Dedan offered the throne'
AH 087	*ʾbdh/bn //mrr/ʾd{q}/h//{ẓ}{l}l/l-ḏġ//{b}{t}/f rḍ-h*
	'ʾbdh son of *mrr* **offered** the *ẓll* ceremony to *ḏġbt* so may he favor him'
JSLih 062	*{s²}----[b]//nt/qs¹m//hdqt/h//ṣlmn//l-hn ʾkt//b/f rḍ-h/w //{ʾ}{ḥ}rt-h*
	'… {daughter of } *qs¹m* **offered** the two statues to *hnʾktb* so may he favor her and her posterity'
AH 222	*---- ḏ ʾlhrbt ʾdq---- s¹----//l-ḏġbt ʾmt-{h}my ʿydh//b{n}t ʾmthn ʾtt ---- h----t//ym ʾqd h-m---//l-ḫrg*
	'… of the lineage f *ʾlhrbt* **offered**…. to *ḏġbt* their maidservant *ʿydh* daughter of *ʾmthn ʾtt*… day he **offered** the… to *ḫrg*'

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 *ʾfq* 'to offer'[197] from NFQ; *ʾgy* and *ʾgw* (see § 4.6.6 Interchange of *w* and *y*) 'to dedicate' from NGW.

JSLih 054	*---- //ʾfqw/f rḍ-hm*
	'…**they offered** so may he favor them'
JSLih 177	*hnmnt/s²grh/ʾgy/ ʿs²rt/mnh{h}*[198]
	'*hnmnt s²grh* dedicated ten minah'[199]
U 038	*ḏbn/ ʿmr/bn/mrd //ʾgw/h-ẓll/ḏh/l-ḏġbt*
	'*ḏbn ʿmr* son of *mrd* **dedicated** this *ẓll* ceremony to *ḏġbt*'

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

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[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 *ṯb* 'to reward, recompense' (compare Sab. *yṯwbn* 'reward, recompense (a worshipper by a deity)' (Beeston et al. 1982, 151)).

U 059   *f rḍ-h/w ʾṯb-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: *ʾfy* 'to fulfill' from √WFY (see § 5.3.2.3.1 I-w/y); *ʾgy* and *ʾgw* from √NGW (see § 5.3.2.3.2 I-n) and *ʾrqw* 'to dedicate, to send up' √RQW.

U 031   *ʿbdhgbr/b//n/ḥblʾl/ʾfy//h-ẓll/l-ḏġbt/b-khl*
              '*ʿbdhgbr* son of *ḥblʾl* **fulfilled** the *ẓll* for *ḏġbt* at *khl*'

U 005   *ḥmyh/bnt//nẓrh/ʾft/h-ẓ//ll/ḏh/l-ḏġbt*
              '*ḥmyh* daughter of *nẓrh* **fulfilled** this *ẓll* for *ḏġbt*'

AH 204   *---- ʿ----ʾl/bn/zdl{h} ---- //ʾẖt-h/ʾrqww/h----//bt/hmḏ/nḏr*
              '…ʾ… ʾl son of *zdl{h}*… his sister **they offered** …. {temple} according to what they vowed'

Table 35 Overview of the attested III-weak causative forms

ʾfy	he offered	(U 035; U 004; U 031; AH 087.1; Private collection 1)
ʾgy	he dedicated	(JSLih 177)
ʾgw	he dedicated	(e.g. U 038; U 049; AH 135; AH 157; AH 202; AH 201)
ʾft	she offered	(U 023; U 005; AH 051)
ʾgt	she dedicated	(U 126; AH 006; AH 079; Al-ʿUḏayb 129; Al-ʿUḏayb 008)
ʾfyh	they (du) offered	(U 026)
ʾfyw	they offered	(U 037)
ʾgww	they dedicated	(AH 243; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII; U 088; Al-ʿUḏayb 001)
ʾrqww	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: *ʾẓll* for /ʾaẓalala/ and *ʾẓl* for a metathesized form /ʾaẓalla/. Alternatively, it may be understood as two different stem formations: a CD-stem *ʾẓll* /ʾaẓallala/ and a

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

C-stem ʾẓl /ʾaẓalla/. Note that there are no attestations of *hẓl* forms (see § 5.3.3 CD-stem for the *hẓll* 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 *ẓll*, however, this distribution may just be due to accident of survival.

Table 36 Overview of attested geminate root causative forms

ʾẓl	he performed the *ẓll*	e.g. AH 080; AH 072; U 125; U 101; U 076
ʾẓll	he performed the *ẓll*	e.g. U 050; U 054; U 058; U 060; U 079; U 102 bis
ʾẓlt	she performed the *ẓll*	e.g. AH 091; AH 090; AH 064; AH 062; U 112; U 094
ʾẓllt	she performed the *ẓll*	U 056; U 070; U 068; AH 012; AH 094; AH 101; AH 163; Al-ʿUḏayb 061
ʾẓlh	they (du.) performed the *ẓll*	U 019
ʾẓlw	they performed the *ẓll*	e.g. AH 032; AH 235; Bron-al-ʿUḏayb 1; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII; U 064; U 055; U 044; U 029
ʾẓllw	they performed the *ẓll*	AH 244; U 069; U 047; U 027; U 023; U 075; U 119; Al-ʿUḏayb 064; Al-ʿUḏayb 065

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

U 101   *ks²d/bn ----//ngʾ/ʾẓl/l-ḏġbt//f rḍ-h/w s¹ʿd-h*
          'ks²d son of … ngʾ performed the *ẓll* for *ḏġbt* so may he favor him and aid him'

U 117   *rḍwl/bn/ʿbdh/ʾẓll//l-ḏġbt*
          'rḍwl son of ʿbdh performed the *ẓll* for *ḏġbt*'

There is one inscription in which several *ẓll* ceremonies seem to be dedicated, in which a CD-stem is used, and another in which a suffix *-n* on the noun *ẓll* 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 //ʾẓll/l- ḏġbt/**tl**//**tt**/ʾẓlt*
          's¹my son of tlġl performed for *ḏġbt* three *ẓll* ceremonies'

U 034   *ʿyḏ/bn/ḥr/b-khl //ʾẓll/**ẓlln***[201]
          'ʿyḏ son of ḥr at khl he performed *ẓll* ceremonies'

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

U 013   *ʾmtrfʿ/bnt//rbḥ/ʾẓlt//**h-ẓlt***
          'ʾmtrfʿ daughter of rbḥ performed the *ẓll* ceremony/ceremonies?'

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[201] OCIANA reads *h-ẓlln*, but after consulting the photograph, I do not think there is a definite article preceding *ẓlln* (consulted 30-11-2016).
[202] For the inscriptions with ʾẓll 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   *ḍnʾl/bn //ʿbdh/ʾẓl//b ʿd/ml-h/b//bdr/l-ḏġbt //f rḍ-h/w ʾṯb-h*[203]
'*ḍnʾl* son of *ʾbdh* **performed the *ẓll*** on behalf of his property at *bdr* for *ḏġbt* so may he favor him and reward him'

AH 091   *ʾmtṣd/bnt/bsˡrh //sˡlḥ/ḏġbt/ʾẓll//t/ẓll*[204]
' *ʾmtṣd* daughter of *bsˡrh* priestess of *ḏġbt* **performed a *ẓll*** ceremony '

AH 081   *ʾyḏh/w ʾmth{n} ʾktb/bnt/qn//y/w ʾm-hm/s²nʾh/w bʿlhzd/nm----//h/w bn[t]-h/ʾmtyṯ ʿn/ʾẓlw/b-kh//l/ẓll/h-nq*[205]
' *ʾyḏh* and *ʾmth{n} ʾktb* daughter of *qny* and their mother *s²nʾh* and *bʿlhzd nm*… *h* and his {daughter} *ʾmtyṯ ʿn* **performed**, at *khl*, the *ẓll* 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

hwdq	he offered	AH 288; Al-Ḫuraybah 13; Al-Ḫuraybah 14
hdq	he offered	Al-Saʿīd 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

hwḍʾt	he offered, fulfilled an obligation	al-Ḫuraybah 12
hwdq	he offered	AH 288; al-Ḫuraybah 13
hwdqw	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-

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[203] There are 42 attestations of *ʾẓl* forms (e.g. AH 080; AH 072; U 125; U 101; U 076).
[204] There are 22 attestations of *ʾẓlt* forms. (e.g. AH 091; AH 090; AH 064; AH 062; U 112; U 094).
[205] There are 14 attestations of *ʾẓlw* 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   ʿ*bds²hr //ʾkr w //dly/s¹nt //**ts¹lmt** ʾs²//hdn/f rḍ -h //hʾl w s¹//ʿd -h*

AH 031   *...**ts¹lm** mʾt f-rḍ-h*

5.3.4.1 t-infix stem
Inscription AH 207 seems to contain a t-infix stem *s¹ṭṭr* from Sabaic *s¹ṭr* 'to write, to inscribe'.[207] The lack of an initial ʾ suggests that there was no initial vowel /s¹taṭara/.

AH 207   *----l/b----//ḏ----**s¹ṭṭr**/b-mṣd----s¹m ʿ//----/ḏġ...bt*[208]
            '…*l b…ḏ*…**wrote** at the temple….*s¹m ʿ*...{*ḏġbt*}

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 NQṬ or WQṬ. Since the *n* assimilates to following consonants, this form could represent either a t-prefix or a t-infix stem **/ntaqṭa/ > /(t)taqaṭa/ or **/tanqaṭa/ > /ta(q)qaṭa/. It is unclear how a cluster *wt*V- 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] /taqaṭṭa/ (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 /taqaṭṭa/ (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 /taqaṭṭaṭa/. Alternatively it may be a more archaic form of the t-prefix stem in which the geminate roots had not metathesized yet /taqaṭaṭa/ (see § 5.3.3 CD-stem).

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[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 (Qāniʾ 4) DASI, 22–2–2018.
[208] There is a space on the rock between the *ġ* and *b* in *ḏġbt*. 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/**s¹tḥbl**/ʾqd/h-rʿ/f-rḍ-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   *ʾtm/bn/nfy/ʿ//bd/ʾẓll/h-ẓl//l/**ndr**/bʿd/h-dr//t*
‘*ʾtm son of nfy ʿbd* performed the *ẓll* ceremony **vowed** on behalf of the field’

AH 220/ 6-7   *{h-}//**s¹fr**/w [d]ḫlh/h-ṣnʿ*
‘the **scribe** and *dḫlh* the **artisan**’

JaL 161 a   *ʿrr//dġbt/ʿr//r/h-s¹fr/ḏh*
‘and may *dġbt* dishonor **the one who mistreats** this inscription’

AH 210   *ʿr[r] {d}ġ{b}// t/**ṭʿn**/ʿrr ----*
‘may *dġbt* dishonor by **smiting**(?) the **one who mistreats**…’

JSLih 317 may also contain an active participle.

JSLih 317   *----/bn/ʾ//ḏhn/mṯbr/ʾrf*
‘… son of *ʾḏhn* 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-ḥrm w-nn //w-ḏrh/w-gzʾt //w-ʾnʿm/w-ʿbd//ddt/**ḥggn** //f s¹mʿ/l-h{m}*
‘*ʿmrtm* and *ḥrm* and *nn* and *ḏrh* and *gzʾt* and *ʾnʿm* and *ʿbd ddt* are pilgrims/are performing a pilgrimage so may he (the deity) listen to them’

In this example *ḥggn* 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 *ḥggn* 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	*ḏd/ʾẓll/h-ẓl//l/**nḏr**/bʿd/h-dr//t/*
	'ḏd performed the ẓll ceremony (which was) **vowed** on behalf of the fields'

U 007	*----wh/hḏm //----h/ʾẓll/h-ẓll/**n//ḏr**/l-ḏġbt*
	'…wh hḏm …h performed the ẓll ceremony (which was) **vowed** to ḏġbt'

U 021	*ʾf/bn/ʿ{y}ḏh/ʾ//ẓll/h-ẓll/**nḏr** //bʿd/d{t}ʾ-h/w nfs¹//-h*
	'ʾf son of ʿ{y}ḏh performed the ẓll ceremony (which was) **vowed** on behalf of his crops of the season of the later rains and himself'

If the reading of *ṭʿn* in AH 210 is correct this shows the use of the active participle to modify the main verb.

AH 210	*ʿr[r] {ḏ}ġ{b}// t/**ṭʿn**/ʿrr ----*
	'may ḏġbt 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/ʾ//ḏhn/**mṯbr**/ʾrf*
	'…son of ʾḏhn 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//ḏġbt/**ʿr**//r/h-s¹fr/ḏh*
	'And may ḏġbt efface the **effacer** of this inscription'

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[211] Sima (1999, 99) interprets *nḏr* here as an adverb 'als weihegabe', following Hans Wehr in Stiehl (1971, 565).