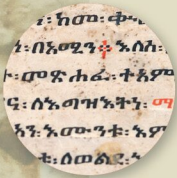


The Writing Culture of Ancient Dadan

A Description and Quantitative Analysis of Linguistic Variation

Fokelien Kootstra



The Writing Culture of Ancient Dadan

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Linguistic Variation*

By

Fokelien Kootstra



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Sigla and Abbreviations

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 from al-Ḥuraybah published in al-Theeb (2013)
- al-Mazroo and Nasif 1992 Inscriptions published in al-Mazroo and Nasif (1992)
- Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999 Dadanitic inscriptions published in al-Saʿīd (1419/1999)
- Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999 Dadanitic inscriptions published in al-Saʿīd (1420/1999)
- Al-Saʿīd 2011 Dadanitic inscription published in al-Saʿīd (2011)
- Al-Theeb 2013 Dadanitic inscriptions published in al-Theeb (2013)
- Al-ʿUḏayb Dadanitic inscriptions from al-ʿUḏayb published in OCIANA
- Al-ʿUlā Dadanitic inscriptions from al-ʿUlā published in OCIANA
- Al-ʿUlā Museum Dadanitic inscriptions from the al-ʿUlā museum published in OCIANA
- Bogue Dadanitic inscriptions published by Van den Branden (1960)
- BRenv. Inscriptions recorded by the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme in 1995 published in OCIANA
- Bron-al-ʿUḏayb Dadanitic inscription published in Bron (1996) and later in Sima (1999)
- C Safaitic inscriptions published by G. Ryckmans in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (1950–1951)
- CAL Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project, <http://cal.huc.edu/>
- CIS II *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum: II, Inscriptiones Aramaicas Continentis* 1907
- DASI Digital Archive for the Study of pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions, <http://dasi.cnr.it/>
- El-Khouri Dadanitic inscription published by El-Khouri (2002–2007)
- Esk. Inscriptions from the Taymāʾ area published in Eskoubi (1999)
- Eut Dadanitic inscriptions in Jamme (1974)
- Fa Inscriptions published in Fakhry (1952)
- Graf Abū al-Ḍibāʿ Inscriptions published in Graf (1983)
- Ġabal Itlib Dadanitic inscriptions from the Ġabal Itlib area published in OCIANA
- Ġabal al-Ḥuraymāt Dadanitic inscriptions from the Ġabal al-Ḥuraymāt area published in OCIANA
- Ġabal al-Zuhrah Dadanitic inscriptions from the Ġabal al-Zuhrah area published in OCIANA

HALOT	Koehler et al. (1995)
HCH	Safaitic inscriptions published in Harding (1953)
HE	Inscriptions published by Harding in Parr, Harding, and Dayton (1971)
HU	Inscriptions recorded by C. Huber and renumbered in Van den Branden (1950)
Ir	Ancient South Arabian inscriptions published in Iryāni (1990)
Is.R	Inscriptions recorded by the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Programme by the Al-Īsāwī well published in OCIANA
Ja	Inscriptions from al-ʿUqlah published in Jamme (1963)
JaL	Inscriptions published in Jamme (1968)
JSLih	Inscriptions called Lihyanite 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 G. 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 and Capuzzi (1974) available in DAS1
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-Šāni'	Dadanitic inscriptions from the Qaṣr al-Šāni' 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)
Sabaweb	Online Sabaic dictionary, project of the DFG and Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/Sabaweb/
TA	The registration numbers of the inscriptions discovered during the

	Saudi-German excavations at Taymā' published in <i>OCIANA</i> and MacDonald (2020)
Tall al-Katīb	Dadanitic inscriptions published in Zahrānī (2007)
Teima	Imperial Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā' and the surrounding area, published in (Schwirderski 2006, 2:410–413)
Tdr	Inscriptions published in Koenig (1971)
U	Dadanitic inscriptions from al-'Uḏayb published in Sima (1999)
Umm Darağ	Dadanitic inscriptions from the Umm Darağ area published in <i>OCIANA</i>
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	genealogy
LeiCenSAA	Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia
PN	personal name
POSS	possessive
TrN	tribal name
TN	toponym

Glossing Abbreviations (Used in the Appendix)

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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Introduction

In and around the oasis of ancient Dadan—modern-day al-‘Ulā—in northwest Arabia, many rock surfaces can be found inscribed with texts written in the local script, called Dadanitic. Dadanitic falls under the umbrella of Ancient North Arabian (ANA) scripts,¹ a group that also includes Taymanitic, Dumaitic, Dispersed Oasis North Arabian (ONA),² Safaitic, Hismaic, and Thamudic³ (Macdonald 2000, 32–37). M.C.A. Macdonald distinguishes ONA scripts, including Dadanitic,⁴ from the scripts that were used by nomadic populations. The ANA scripts are part of the South Semitic script family and are attested from the northern borders of Yemen to the southern Levant. They are usually negatively defined as those scripts that are not Ancient South Arabian (ASA). It has been hypothesized that the ANA scripts form one group, descending parallel to ASA from a putative proto-South Semitic script. However, a paleographic connection between all ANA scripts has yet to be demonstrated (Al-Jallad 2015, 10).

The corpus of Dadanitic inscriptions currently consists of about 2000 examples that are generally assumed to have been written between the sixth and first centuries BCE. While most are short graffiti, often not mentioning more than a personal name, there are also hundreds of texts dedicated to the local deity, Dūgābat. Although most of the known ANA inscriptions are classified as graffiti, Dadanitic stands out as it is the only ANA variety in which we have clear attestations of commissioned texts (Al-Jallad 2018b, 2; and see Macdonald 2010a, 7 on craftsmanship and the use of writing in ancient society).

The skillfully carved relief style in which the inscription in Figure 1 is executed is, therefore, a typically Dadanitic feature within the ANA corpus. Other typical Dadanitic features of this inscription are its formulae and content. The inscription commemorates the performance of several rituals for the main

1 See Macdonald (2000) for an excellent overview and nomenclature, and Al-Jallad (2018) for a linguistically oriented overview.

2 M.C.A. Macdonald classifies Dispersed ONA as all texts written in ONA scripts used in sedentary environments that cannot be classified as Taymanitic, Dadanitic, or Dumaitic. This subgroup includes texts from Mesopotamia that were formerly called ‘Chaldean’ (Macdonald 2000, 29).

3 Thamudic includes a number of different scripts that have not fully been identified (Macdonald 2000, 32).

4 Besides Dadanitic, ONA includes Taymanitic, Dumaitic, and Dispersed ONA (Macdonald 2000, 29).

deity of the oasis, Dūgābat (*dġbt* in the inscription). One of its most striking features, in light of the present work, is its peculiar linguistic form: the inscription contains two causative verbs, each exhibiting a different morphological form (indicated in boldface in the transcription).



FIGURE 1 A dedicatory inscription in relief (AH 197)
PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

AH 197 (5–7) *hggw / h-nq / w hġnyw / b-bt-hm / l- ----//tn / l-ħrg / w-ʒlw / b-h-
mšd / ʒll / h-[nq] // l-dġbt*
‘they performed the pilgrimage and **dedicated** (lit. made increase
wealth) at their temple for ... *tn* for *ħrg* and **they performed the**
ʒll of the [*nq*] for *dġbt*’

The linguistic variation attested in the Dadanitic inscriptions was already noted in the earliest publications of these texts (e.g., D.H. Müller 1889, 13–14; Grimme 1937, 300). Despite this early recognition, the phenomenon has not yet received any attention in its own right and no comprehensive explanation for the variation has been formulated to date. The grammar of the inscriptions continues to be of interest, however, with several descriptions of the grammar of the inscriptions published, usually accompanying an edition of texts. The most recent descriptions of Dadanitic are those of A. Sima (1999) and S. Farès-Drappeau (2005). However, while Sima’s (1999) description is very thorough, it only focuses on the formal inscriptions from the al-‘Udayb area and does not deal with inscriptions from other areas or with graffiti, and although Farès-Drappeau’s (2005) work contains a grammatical sketch based on the whole

corpus, she takes a very CAR-oriented approach in her description.⁵ In this work, I aim to remedy the situation by approaching the language of the inscriptions on their own terms, offering both a more traditional description and a quantitative analysis of their linguistic variation.

Through this analysis, we will not only gain a better understanding of the linguistic variation in the Dadanitic inscriptions and its possible underlying causes, it will also improve our understanding of the linguistic situation at the oasis when these texts were composed. In addition, this study will shed light on the oasis's scribal culture and the perennial question of literacy. While Macdonald has extensively discussed the interaction between writing material and variation in letter shapes (2015, 2010), this book will be the first study to systematically consider the interaction between writing practices and linguistic form.

1 Outline of the Present Work

This work is divided into eight chapters, preceded by an introduction that outlines the corpus and offers a methodological discussion on the use of epigraphic material to answer questions about its language and variation. Chapter 1 will provide a more in-depth discussion of the historical context of the Dadanitic inscriptions. It will focus on the dating of the corpus, with attention given to the different methods and types of evidence that have been used to try and establish a (relative) chronology of the Dadanitic inscriptions. Chapters 2 through 6 contain a description and grammatical analysis of the corpus, thereby helping to contextualize the variation discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 by giving an overview of the common and less common forms of the grammar, but also of the formulaic parts and writing styles. Chapter 2 discusses the script and different styles of inscribing used to carve the inscriptions. Chapter 3 contains an overview of the different genres that can be distinguished and the compositional formulae associated with them. Chapters 4 through 6 offer a description of the grammar of the Dadanitic inscriptions; specifically, Chapter 4 deals with the orthography and phonology of the inscriptions, Chapter 5 contains a description of its verbal morphology, and Chapter 6 addresses nominal and pronominal morphology.

5 But see Al-Jallad (2018, 21–23), where he shows that Dadanitic is probably a sister language of Arabic rather than a direct descendant of Proto-Arabic.

Chapters 7 and 8 deal exclusively with the variation attested in the corpus, building on the description in the chapters that precede them. They offer 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 different methodological approach of Chapters 7 and 8 compared to the preceding chapters, Chapter 7 will start with a methodological introduction, discussing in detail the statistical methods used to determine the interaction between different variables and how each variable was chosen. The aim of this analysis is to reveal patterns of co-occurrence between different varying features, which could offer insights into the reasons behind these variations.

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 null-hypothesis is that there is no relationship between the compared groups. The further the results of both calculations are apart, the less likely it is that 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 7 will begin with an explanation of the statistical method used for the analysis, followed by a description of the variables included in the analysis. Chapter 8 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.

2 The Corpus

As noted above, most Dadanitic inscriptions are found in and around the ancient oasis of Dadan, modern-day al-‘Ulā.⁶ The first western traveler said to have visited al-‘Ulā and Madā’in Šāliḥ (the Nabataean site Ḥegrā, some 20km northeast of the oasis of al-‘Ulā), was C.M. Doughty, who published

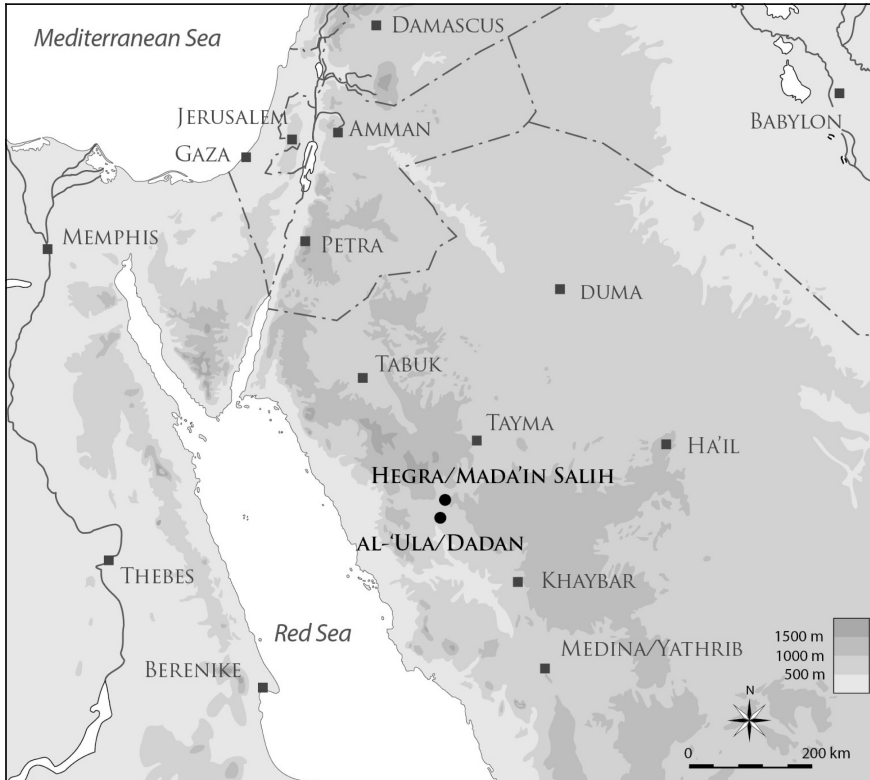
6 Several Dadanitic inscriptions have been found further away from the oasis: four were found about 85km north of al-‘Ulā in Jabal Thadrā (JaL 171; 174) and two in the area northeast of Wādī Ramm, in southern Jordan (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2015). A few Dadanitic inscriptions have been found in the vicinity of the nearby oasis of Taymā’ (Hayajneh 2016). Several inscriptions in the Aramaic script mentioning the king of Liḥyān have also been found at Taymā’ (JSNab 334; 335; 337).

an account of his travels in 1888. This work 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). These copies were published already in the volume *Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l’Arabie* (Doughty 1884), which provided the basis on which J. Halévy offered a first attempt at their decipherment (Halévy 1884). According to D.H. Müller (1889, 15–21), the first decipherment of the script benefited greatly from the resemblance it had to the already deciphered Sabaic script.

Shortly after these initial attempts, the first edition of Dadanitic texts was D.H. Müller’s (1889) work on the inscriptions brought back from the region of al-‘Ulā by J. Euting. Müller termed the inscriptions ‘Lihjanisch’ (1889, 4) after the attestation of several kings that are called *mlk lhyn* ‘king of Liḥyān’ in the corpus (1889, 5). Müller’s work includes a script table with his reading of the attested glyphs (1889, pl. x), and yet, despite these efforts, the reading of several letter shapes was amended in later works (Grimme 1926, 1932; Winnett 1937). The next step in the study of the Dadanitic inscriptions came when a large number of additional Dadanitic inscriptions became available after the publication of those collected by A. Jaussen and M. Savignac (1909). This expansion of the available corpus was of great importance to their further decipherment. Later, major contributions to the corpus were made by R. Stiehl (1971) and H. Abū ‘l-Ḥasan (1997, 2002).⁷

Another key moment in the study of the inscriptions came in the 1930s, with a change in terminology. H. Grimme (1932, 754) was the first to propose dividing the Dadanitic corpus into a Dadanite and Liḥyānite script type, using the term Dadanite to refer to the inscriptions Jaussen and Savignac had initially termed ‘old Thamudic’ (for more on the paleographic distinction between Dadanite and Liḥyānite see § 4 in Chapter 1 below). These labels referred to the two consecutive kingdoms that are mentioned in the inscriptions: the kingdom of Dadan and the kingdom of Liḥyān. However, rather than following Grimme, I have adopted the name ‘Dadanitic’ to refer to the complete corpus by its geographical location. This usage is relatively recent and follows Macdonald (2000, 33), who replaced former ‘Dadanite’ and ‘Liḥyānite’, arguing that, since we cannot make a clear distinction between two different types of script (see Chapter 1, § 4), dividing the corpus into two would not accurately reflect its

7 For a more elaborate overview of the decipherment of the Dadanitic script see Farès-Drapeau (2005, 31–33) and (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>.



MAP 1 Showing the location of Dadan
COURTESY OF ROHMER AND CHARLOUX (2015)

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 specific regime risks blurring our understanding of the history of the oasis (Macdonald 2000, 33).

Moving on to the current study, at the time the data for this study was collected and annotated, the Dadanitic corpus consisted of 1969 inscriptions, which are all brought together in the searchable online OCIANA database.⁸ The database was developed at the Khalili Research Center at the University of Oxford under the supervision of M.C.A. Macdonald and J. Johns.⁹ It includes all

8 22-04-2018 <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana> (now available at <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>). See the Index of inscriptions for a full list of the inscriptions included in the analysis of this work. Whenever other inscriptions are considered, they will be noted separately.

9 For more information about the project and staff see <http://kr2c.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/index.php>.

currently published and even some unpublished Dadanitic inscriptions. Each inscription has its own record containing available images, a transcription and translation when possible, and a complete bibliography.

The images provided on the OCIANA website have formed the basis for my analysis of the manners of inscribing, as outlined in Chapter 2. 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 the glossary in the Appendix).

3 A Holistic Approach to the Epigraphic Object

While the principal 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. In 1998, Macdonald, following P.A. 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. This approach finds strong parallels in the so-called New Philology or Material Philology, which was first promoted as such in a special issue of *Speculum* in 1990 (Nichols 1990), but clearly built on scholarship from previous decades, such as that of P. Zumthor (1972), D.F. McKenzie (1986) and, more directly, B. Cerquiglini (1989). The main overlap with the approach advocated by Macdonald (1998) is New Philology's focus on the materiality of a manuscript, how it was produced, how it was interacted with, and, importantly, how both the text and the object relate to their historical context (Driscoll 2010).

Therefore, the study of the language of the Dadanitic texts begins with the objects themselves. 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. When considering the Dadanitic inscriptions as the product of local writing culture, for example, one needs to reckon with the fact that official inscriptions, which

are not graffiti, do not represent natural speech but a written code, something which is often overlooked in epigraphic studies.¹⁰ The formalization of language for such purposes will have a standardizing effect that creates some distance between the spoken and written registers.

This chapter will discuss the foundational elements to a holistic approach to the epigraph, contextualizing the discussions surrounding script, genre, and the language of the inscriptions. Such an 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 their transcribed text. Now that it has become clear that the explanation is not purely linguistic, it is understandable that the linguistic dimension alone does not contain the answers to the question of variation. For this reason, following the brief overview of the key varying features of the Dadanitic inscriptions, I will then turn to a discussion of the literary environment in which the inscriptions were produced, and the impact this has on how we should approach variation attested in them in more detail, before finally offering a consideration of graffiti and the spread of literacy.

To begin with the foundational elements, however, a brief overview of the key varying features of the Dadanitic inscriptions will be given. 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; 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, ending with a thorough discussion of how to classify the language of the Dadanitic inscriptions and the impact surrounding cultures and languages it was in contact with, had on it.

10 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 ASA and ANA epigraphy this plays a much less prominent role in the approach to their language, probably partly due to the large number of graffiti found in scripts that fall under these umbrella terms.

3.1 *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). A great example of this within the Dadanitic corpus is inscription AHUD 1, which is written in the ASA script, which is associated with the Minaic inscriptions at the oasis, but is typically Dadanitic in its language and content and is, therefore, considered part of the Dadanitic corpus.

The following section will focus on the relationship between different manners of inscribing and the formality and genre of a text. The use of paleography to establish a relative chronology of the texts will be dealt with in more detail as part of the discussion on the dating of the inscriptions in Chapter 1. The script itself and the attested variation in letter shapes will be treated in more detail in Chapter 3.

3.1.1 Script Style and Socio-economic Status

Several different methods were used to inscribe the Dadanitic inscriptions, which 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, Dadanitic inscriptions were also deeply incised, chiseled, or pounded onto the rock (for a full discussion and examples of the different techniques see Chapter 2). The inscriptions using the first of these methods were deeply incised into a rock face or stone objects, while 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). In contrast, chiseled and pounded inscriptions required less skill to produce. However, this does not mean that all pounded inscriptions are graffiti, as 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. In short, there clearly is not a one-to-one relationship between the purpose and content of a text and the level of execution of the inscription. That said, 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 and Chapter 7), despite the lack of a direct relationship between register and purpose.

3.1.2 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).¹¹ 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.¹² This in turn has implications for the expected level of execution of the inscription, both in terms of its language and physical form.

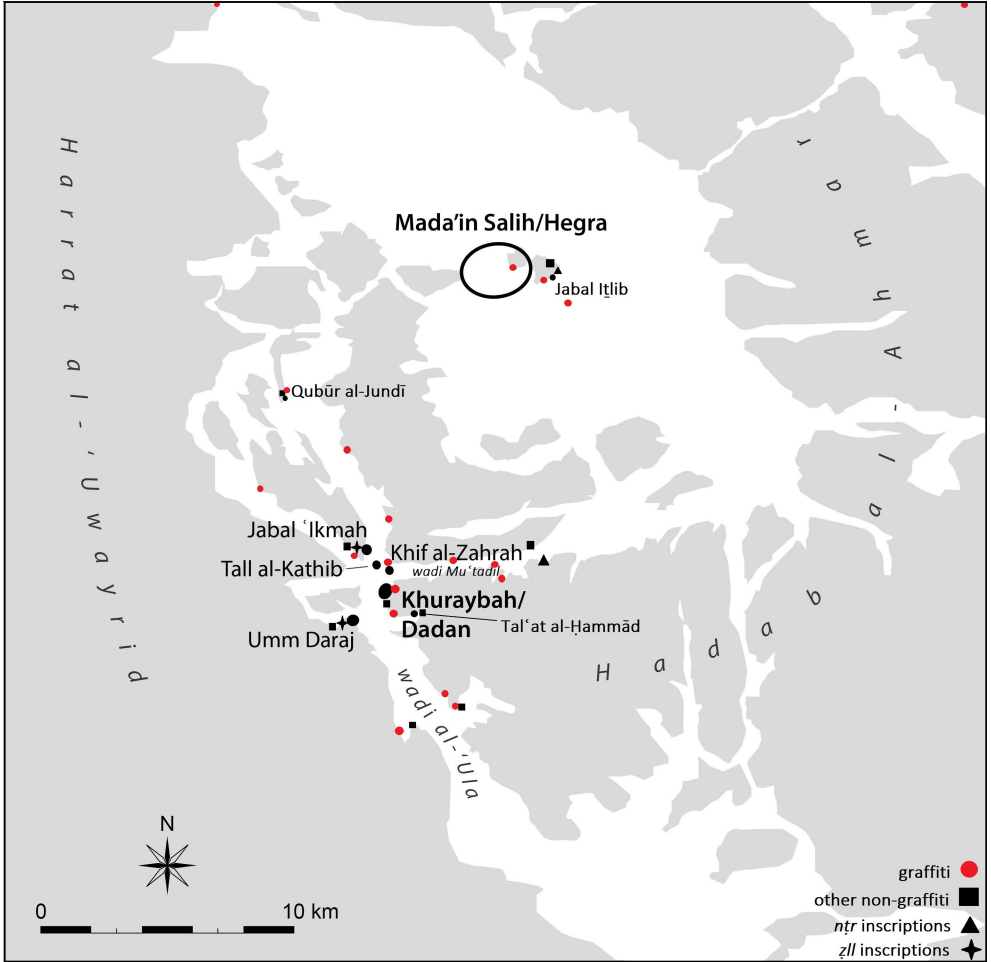
In addition, the fact that graffiti are personal statements means that their content and formulations are in principle not bound to the same restrictions as the highly formulaic official inscriptions, even though they were clearly influenced by the structure and formulae of the official inscriptions. Therefore, graffiti often contain 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). I will return to this point in Chapter 3, which offers a complete overview of commonly used phrases and the content of the inscriptions.

A final division between formal inscriptions and graffiti is supported by how the inscriptions are spread across the landscape. As can be seen in Map 2, the non-graffiti are clustered around a few specific places mostly close to the oasis itself. In contrast, graffiti seem much less bound to specific places in the landscape.¹³

11 While K. 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).

12 For a more elaborate discussion on the possible role of a scribal school at the oasis see the discussion on scribal school and variation below in the Introduction.

13 The *nṯr* inscriptions are a notable exception. They are found almost exclusively at Jabal Iṭlib, a rock outcrop to the northeast of the oasis, except for one that was found at Wādi 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 Iṭlib, although recent discoveries of the Madā’in Sālih archaeological project suggest they may be associated with a funerary context (Nehmé et al. 2021, 14–19 and see Chapter 1, §6). 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 *ṯ* in the verb and 5 of the 19 *nṯr* inscriptions share a particular style of engraving (see Chapter 2).



MAP 2 The approximate distribution of different types of inscriptions in the landscape
 MAP ADAPTED FROM ROHMER AND CHARLOUX (2015)

3.2 Genre

Another point of variation in the Dadanitic corpus is the genre of the text, which is determined by its content and is closely associated with particular formulae. This closely follows the definition of genre as outlined in D. Biber and S. Conrad (2009, 2), who, when considering the genre of a text, take its purpose and situational context into account. They also include the conventional structures that are part of a specific variety of text in their analysis. In this work, the conventional structures will be referred to as a text’s formulaic parts. It should be noted, however, that in order to be able to say anything meaningful about the interaction between genre and linguistic forms attested in it,

linguistic variables cannot be used to determine the genre of a text. Whether an inscription includes an *h*-causative or a ²-causative is not used to determine whether it should be considered a graffito or a dedicatory inscription, for example.¹⁴

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, 201–221; Avanzini 2017, 97–98), the specific formulae, the *ʒll* ritual, and the deity *dǧbt* are unique to the Dadanitic inscriptions.¹⁵ The main distinction in genre is that between graffiti and more formal inscriptions, as mentioned above. Within the more formal inscriptions, several different types can be distinguished within the Dadanitic corpus, such as dedicatory, *ʒll*, building, and legal inscriptions. Each genre and associated formulae will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Using the category of genre as one of the variables in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 8 mostly functions as a control category for the hypothesis that the more complex carving techniques were reserved for more formal and 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 the manner of inscribing always have a similar relationship to the linguistic variants occurring in the inscriptions, this is likely owing to the same or a similar cause: most likely register.¹⁶ 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

14 This is similar to the use of genre by I. 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), there are no features that are exclusively used with specific genres. Therefore, there is no clear difference between a linguistically motivated ‘text type’ distinct from a content- and formula-based ‘genre’. Because of this, I will not use the separate category ‘text type’ in my analysis of Dadanitic.

15 See Chapter 3 for a complete overview of all specific formulae used in the Dadanitic inscriptions.

16 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 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.

the *ntr* inscriptions, for example. In Chapter 7, § 2.2 the relationship between genre and register will be treated in more detail.

3.3 *Language and Linguistic Variation*

Finally, there is significant linguistic variation in the Dadanitic corpus. For example, the verb *zll* ‘to perform the *zll* ceremony’¹⁷ has been attested in no fewer than four variant forms, *ʔll*, *hʔll*, *ʔl*, and *hʔl* (Sima 1999, 93), which all appear in identical contexts; numbers between 10 and 20 can either be expressed by a ‘teen-and-digit’ or a ‘digit-teen’ system (Sima 1999, 118–120; but cf. Macdonald 2008, 213); and both *h(n)*- and *ʔ(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 of whether it is even possible to talk about *the* Dadanitic language in the first place.

Therefore, a description of the language of the Dadanitic inscriptions must grapple with this variation. Some of the earliest scholars working on Dadanitic 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). One of the reasons that even those scholars who believed Dadanitic should be divided into several different phases based on paleography (see Chapter 1) did not connect the linguistic variation to the variation in letter shapes they found, is that the varying forms did not neatly line up with the proposed paleographic divide. Grimme, for example, placed JSLih 063 (containing *ʔdq*), JSLih 062 (containing *hdq*), and JSLih 049 (containing *hwdq*) in his later Liḫyānite phase, based on their content and letter shapes (Grimme 1937, 300).

More recent discussions of Dadanitic seem to offer two main explanations for the linguistic variation in the Dadanitic inscriptions. One is the development of the language over time (Sima 1999), while the other focusses more

17 For reasons of space and brevity, I adopt here the neutral translation of (*h/ʔ*)*zll* as ‘to perform the *zll* ceremony’ offered in the OCIANA database. The interpretation of the ritual has long been debated. Previous interpretations have suggested the ritual included the construction of sunroofs for a religious ceremony (Stiehl 1971, 5–7), or the construction and maintenance of a subterranean canal system (Van den Branden 1969; Sima 1999, 49–50). Recently, a new interpretation of the form *hʔl* from the same root in Sabaic has been suggested, which links it to the act of writing, rather than shade (see <http://sabaweb.uni-jen.a.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=5547&showAll=0>, accessed 04-10-2021; I would like to thank Peter Stein for pointing me to this recent interpretation). This meaning would fit well with the interpretation of the *zll* ritual as a reference to the inscription itself as part of a ritual with a documentary element (see Kootstra 2022 for a full discussion of this interpretation).

on synchronic linguistic variation (e.g., Farès-Drappeau 2005). For the former, A. Sima (1999, 117) suggests that the *h*-causatives were probably ‘on their way out’, based on their low number of occurrences, implying a chronological development. For the latter, which takes 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.¹⁸ 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 the inscriptions termed Arabo-Dadanitic by Macdonald is the use of the definite article *ʾl*-, as opposed to the more common *h*-. This is somewhat problematic, as the form of the definite article is not a reliable way to classify a language as Arabic (Huehnergard 2017, 22–23; Al-Jallad 2018b, 6).

3.3.1 Classifying the Dadanitic Language

This leads to the question of how to determine what defines the language of an inscription as Arabic or Dadanitic. To determine this, we need to establish a set of diagnostic features, ideally morphological innovations, that set one language or group of languages apart from others within the same larger language family. Thus, it is only when languages share such diagnostic features that they can be said to share a direct ancestor (Al-Jallad 2018b, 5; Huehnergard and Rubin 2011).

A commonly cited feature to relate different epigraphic languages to Arabic, as mentioned above, is the form of the definite article. This is not unproblematic, however. The use of the definite article seems to be an innovation from Proto-Semitic, as it is absent in Akkadian and Classical Ethiopic. Many of the Central Semitic languages have a definite article which is remarkably similar in its syntax across languages, but it displays a wide range of forms and is not found in all. This indicates that while it was not a Central Semitic innovation, it is likely an innovation that spread areally (Huehnergard and Rubin 2011, 269). Similarly, in Arabic the definite article is not found in all varieties (Al-Jallad 2018b, 12)¹⁹ and, therefore, it cannot be considered a feature of Proto-Arabic, nor is it a reliable feature for linguistic classification. In his 2017 article, J. Huehnergard listed 14 Proto-Arabic innovations. A. Al-Jallad (2018a) added

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

19 Hismaic and some Safaitic inscriptions lack the definite article (Al-Jallad 2018a, 322).

another five features to this list. Of these 19 features, Dadanitic only shares two with Proto-Arabic: the merger of s^1 and s^3 (Huehnergard 2017, 13; Al-Jallad 2018b, 6) and the use of the complementizer ʔ , as in AH 203 (Al-Jallad 2018a, 320).

Aside from these two features, Al-Jallad (2018b, 21–23) shows that there are five Proto-Arabic innovations in which Dadanitic did not participate, or did so only partially. First, several of the Dadanitic inscriptions retain the archaic h -causative, demonstrating that the earliest stages of Dadanitic did not participate in the Proto-Arabic innovation that led to the ʔ -causative (Al-Jallad 2018b, 21). Second, Dadanitic still uses the third-person singular pronoun anaphorically and does not seem to have replaced it with a form derived from the demonstrative base (Al-Jallad 2018b, 22). Third, Dadanitic did not level the $-at$ allomorph for the feminine ending (e.g., *qrt* /*qarīt*/ ‘village’ instead of **qryt* /*qariyat*/) (Al-Jallad 2018b, 22). Fourth, whenever dual forms are used, they seem to have retained archaic complexity, using a $-y$ ending in the pronouns and $-h$ / $-ā$ / on verbs (Al-Jallad 2018b, 22). Finally, Dadanitic seems to use the preposition $\text{ʔ}dky$ instead of the typically Arabic *hattā* (Al-Jallad 2018b, 22–23).

For the other Proto-Arabic innovations we simply have no Dadanitic data for comparison. For example, there are no clear attestations in the Dadanitic corpus of feminine plural verbs in the suffix conjugation, making it impossible to tell whether Dadanitic participated in the Proto-Arabic innovation of realizing these with the suffix $-na$ (Huehnergard 2017, 13 also see Chapter 5, §1.5 for further discussion of the fem.pl. in Dadanitic). Other features are obscured by the Dadanitic script, which does not display final short vowels, which makes it impossible to tell for sure whether the Dadanitic subjunctive would have been realized with a final $-a$ (Al-Jallad 2018a, 319). Based on the features that are shared between Dadanitic and Arabic, in combination with the lack of participation in some of the Proto-Arabic innovations, Al-Jallad (2018, 21–24) concludes that Dadanitic is most likely a sister language of Arabic and not a direct descendant from Proto-Arabic.

To classify the language of a specific inscription in the Dadanitic script as a form of Arabic, it needs to contain at least one of the innovative features of Proto-Arabic that we do not otherwise find in the Dadanitic inscriptions. One such text is JSLih 384, which was already classified as linguistically Arabic in previous publications (Müller 1982, 32–33; Macdonald 2000, 50; Fiema et al. 2015, 409). The language of this inscription is considered a form of Old Arabic,²⁰

20 Al-Jallad identifies the variety more specifically as Old Ḥigāzī, which he identifies based on the use of the relative pronoun formed using a demonstrative form based on the use of (h)alla+DEM, such as CAR. *ʔalladī* (Al-Jallad 2015, 13–14; 2020).

based on the usage of the feminine relative pronoun *'lt* (compare Car. *'allatī*). This is the only inscription in Dadanitic script to use this form of the relative pronoun. The common Dadanitic form of the relative pronoun was masculine *d* and feminine *dt* (see Chapter 6, § 5.1). Thus, even though Dadanitic cannot be classified as a form of Arabic as a whole, the presence of Old Arabic in the Dadanitic corpus shows that Arabic substrate influence cannot be excluded as a possible cause for some of the variation attested in the corpus, such as the use of the definite article *'(l)-* (Al-Jallad 2018b, 23–24).

3.3.2 Dadanitic in Its Multilingual Context

Dadanitic writing practice did not exist in a cultural and linguistic vacuum, with interaction between the Dadanitic language and writing practice and its surrounding written and spoken languages. As the Lingua Franca of the Near East in this period, it is not surprising that the presence of Aramaic can be felt in the Dadanitic cultural sphere. For example, in JSLih 384, the differences are clear enough that we can say that the language of this text was Old Arabic, written in Dadanitic script. Aside from the grammatical divergence it shows from Dadanitic, however, the text also does not follow the common Dadanitic formulae. Most Dadanitic inscriptions, whether they are graffiti or monumental inscriptions, follow the general structure that is common to most ANA varieties: starting with the name or lineage of the author(s), followed by a verb which agrees with the persons mentioned in the first element, and ending in a blessing formula or a curse on whoever might damage the inscription (see Chapter 4 for an in-depth discussion of compositional formulae). JSLih 384, on the other hand, starts with the object of the verb (*ḥfš*¹ 'funerary monument'), followed by the person the funerary monument was made for, only then giving the verb (*bnh* 'she built')²¹ and the name of the woman who set up the monument. Interestingly, this structure is the same as that of Aramaic dedicatory inscriptions found at Taymā' (Stein 2013, 35; e.g., the inscription labeled Teima 2). This shows that the author of JSLih 384 not only broke with Dadanitic linguistic conventions, but also with its formulaic conventions, likely drawing on the Aramaic writing culture for the formulaic structure she used.

This is not the only example of contact between Dadanitic and Aramaic written culture. There are several Aramaic inscriptions left at Taymā' dated to Lihyānite kings. While this does not mean that these kings knew Aramaic themselves, as these texts were likely commissioned, it does show that they

21 The common form of the third-person feminine singular verb in the suffixing conjugation would be *bnt* in Dadanitic. See Chapter 5, § 1.2 for a full discussion of this verbal form.

were aware of the presence of Aramaic and its prestige outside of Dadan. They clearly felt that while Dadanitic was the preferred mode of expression for their rituals and inscriptions at home, outside Dadan, Aramaic was much better suited to their communicative goals.

Inside the Dadanitic inscriptions we can also find several lexical items that probably came from Aramaic. These roughly fall into two categories: terms for administrative personnel and architectural terms. Regarding the first, in one inscription, we encounter the title *ḫt* ‘governor’. The originally Assyrian term seems to have entered the region and, ultimately, Dadanitic through its usage in Aramaic. Another term that might have entered Dadanitic through Aramaic is *nṯr* ‘guard’ or ‘he guarded’ (Abu al-Hasan 2002, 260 considers it to be of Aramaic origin). If this is indeed a loan from Aramaic, that would explain the shift of *z to ṯ in this word. However, this sound change can be found sporadically in other lexical items in Dadanitic making it unclear whether this is an internal development or due to contact with a language that had already undergone this sound change, such as Aramaic (see Chapter 4, § 6.3 for a full discussion of this sound change in Dadanitic).

Turning to the second category, in the realm of architecture and dedicatory objects the following lexical items seem to be of Aramaic origin: *mgdl* ‘tower’, *ṛbʿw* ‘sanctuary, square structure’, and *mḥrw* ‘incense burner’. The word *mgdl* is firmly attested in North-West Semitic languages, such as Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Aramaic. It also occurs as *mjdal* in Arabic, but this seems to be a loan as the *mifʿal* pattern is mostly reserved for tools in Arabic and not used for places. Given the prominence of Aramaic in the region in the period the Dadanitic inscriptions were carved, this seems to be the most likely source language for the word in Dadanitic. There is a single attestation of *mgdl* in a Minaic inscription from Dadan (M 315), indicating that it probably entered Minaic in the cultural context of the Minaean trading post at Dadan. The word *ṛbʿw* is attested in two building inscriptions (JSLih 059 and U 008) and can probably be connected with Nabataean *ṛbʿn*, referring to architectural structures in dedicatory inscriptions, which L. Nehmé suggests comes from the root RBʿ ‘four’ (Nehmé 2003, 25 and see Chapter 4, § 2.2 for a more in-depth discussion). Dadanitic *mḥrw* finds a parallel in *mḥrn* in an Aramaic inscription on an incense altar currently at the Taymāʾ Museum (TM.IA.017, Macdonald and Al-Najem 2021, 19, also see Chapter 4, §§ 2.2 and 6.6 for a discussion of the phonological form of *ṛbʿw* and *mḥrw*).

In addition, al-Ḥuraybah 12 and JSLih 035 may contain the verb *ʿbd* with the meaning ‘to do, to make’, which is generally considered an Aramaic isogloss (Huehnergard 1995, 276). In both texts, the verb occurs in the phrase *ʿbd l-mrʿ-h*. In OCIANA, the phrase is translated as ‘he made [this] for his lord’ in

al-Ḥuraybah 12, following the Aramaic meaning of the root. In the record of JSLih 035, on the other hand, OCIANA offers the translation ‘he served for his lord’²² following the common Semitic meaning of the root.²³ The most commonly attested verb to express ‘to make, to do’ in Dadanitic is *ʿl* (e.g., U 039; AH 038; al-Ḥuraybah 06; Al-Saʿīd 2011.1 and .2). While this might be taken as an argument that *ʿbd* more likely had the meaning ‘to serve’ in Dadanitic, it should be noted that Al-Saʿīd 2011.1 and 2011.2 contain the parallel phrase PN *ʿl* l-DN ‘PN made (it) for DN’ (al-Saīd 2011). Moreover, an interpretation of *ʿbd* as ‘to make’ would work well with the self-identification of the person preceding the verb as *h-ṣnʿ* ‘the artisan’ in both al-Ḥuraybah 12 and JSLih 035, turning them into signatures of the inscription. If this interpretation is correct, the duplication of the verb ‘to do, to make’ would further support the status of *ʿbd* with this meaning as a borrowing.

Finally, some interaction with Minaic writing can also be observed in the Dadanitic corpus. The Minaean presence at Dadan and the close cultural ties between Minaeans and Dadanites will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, §§ 3 and 6. The most common form of interactions between the two writing cultures can be seen in the mixing of Minaic and Dadanitic lettershapes in graffiti (e.g., JSLih 220). More intensive interaction between the two written languages can be observed in AHUD 1, an inscription in Minaic script, following Dadanitic formulae and linguistic forms, and two Minaic inscriptions (JSMIn 145 and JSMIn 166). The two Minaic inscriptions were written by the same author, who identifies as the artisan of Wadd (the main deity of the Minaeans). The inscriptions contain roughly the same content, giving the name and title of the author and mentioning an offering he made. Both texts are written in Minaic script and mostly follow Minaic linguistic conventions (such as the use of an *s^L*-causative), but they also contain a nominal form of the Dadanitic *ʿ*-causative, and JSMIn 145 also seems to contain the definite article *ʿ*, attested in Dadanitic (Kootstra 2018a, 24). This all points to quite intense contact between both writing traditions, and at least some degree of bilingualism. Most of the cross-pollination between both corpora seems to have been from Dadanitic to Minaic, which would fit well with a situation where Dadanitic was the main and most prestigious written register at the oasis.

22 Note that Jaussen and Savignac also translated *ʿbd* as the verb ‘to do’, ‘like in the Nabataean inscriptions’, in their publication of JSLih 035 (1909–1912, 363).

23 Based on the records in OCIANA, <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana> (accessed 30-06-2021).

Looking at the traces left by Arabic, Aramaic, and Minaic on the Dadanitic inscriptions, it becomes apparent that we cannot see Dadanitic in a linguistic vacuum and further highlights the problems surrounding attempts to distinguish ‘the’ Dadanitic language. Was the shift of *z to ʔ an internal development, or triggered by contact with Aramaic, or should we consider the *ntr* forms as a borrowing from Aramaic? What about the introduction of the ʔ-causative, can we see that as evidence of the influence of an Arabic substrate or as a diachronic development, as suggested by Sima (1999, 117)?

In light of this situation, the present study will depart from a usage-based definition of the Dadanitic language and analyze the distribution of recurring linguistic variation across the corpus and in relation to other features of the inscriptions that define them as ‘Dadanitic’. This will allow for variation to be incorporated in the description and analysis of the language of the inscriptions, while simultaneously setting up some clearly defined boundaries as to what can be considered Dadanitic. JSLih 384, for example, falls outside the scope of Dadanitic proper; that is, while it belongs to the corpus because it was found at Dadan and was written in the Dadanitic script, it breaks with both the formulaic and linguistic conventions of Dadanitic. Such exceptional inscriptions are important in aiding our understanding of the Dadanitic corpus, and although they mostly define the edges of the tradition rather than its inner workings, they do offer a glimpse of the cultural context that is otherwise largely left unwritten.

4 Scribal School and Variation

Now that we have established an inclusive working definition of Dadanitic that can establish some boundaries to the corpus while also allowing for the presence of variation, we can turn to the evidence for the presence of a local scribal culture, its influence on the production of the texts, and the analysis of the variation attested in them. While the preceding paragraphs explored some of the key characteristics of the Dadanitic inscriptions and the cultural environment in which they were produced—identifying those as script, genre, and language—we still might ask how these features inform our understanding of literacy at the oasis. Who was writing in Dadan and how were they taught to write? Understanding the status of literacy at the oasis and how the inscriptions were produced is 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 Dadan.

The development of the Dadanitic script (see Table 1 in Chapter 1, § 4.1) 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 Dadan. Therefore, Dadan 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).²⁴ Even though no documents on perishable materials have been found to date, contracts, letters, and administrative documents were probably drawn up regularly at the oasis.

This probable existence of different types of texts, ranging from private letters to official legal documents, which would have been written for different purposes (formal and informal), may also explain the point of contact between the different forms of written language that led to the mixing of forms in the inscriptions, similar to Macdonald's (2015, 7) suggested process for the mixing of letter shapes, which will be discussed in more depth below in the discussion of paleography (Chapter 1, § 4). That is, if people who were more used to writing private documents, like letters or private notes, attempted to carve 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. As we know from the Sabaic material, for example, 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.

24 Macdonald uses this term to distinguish it from societies such as those which produced the Safaitic and Hismaic 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 E. 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).

If the use of writing was indeed so widespread in ancient Dadan, this would suggest that professional scribes were employed and trained at 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),²⁵ setting up formal documents—such as letters, contracts, and deeds—would require expertise beyond ‘just’ knowing the letters.²⁶ For example, based on comparisons with scribal education in Mesopotamia and Egypt, K. van der Toorn (2007, 98) argues that Hebrew scribes not only learned 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, scribes were likely responsible for bookkeeping, 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 Dadan, these materials were not necessarily the same, but anyone writing

25 The material attested at Ugarit clearly shows a discrepancy between the amount of teaching materials and practice texts for Akkadian cuneiform as opposed to those in the Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform, with the Akkadian cuneiform material forming the vast majority of that recovered. 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). Also, among psycholinguists the issue of learnability of writing in different types of writing systems is controversial. Sebba gives an overview of psycholinguistic studies to show learnability is a complex issue and difficult to establish with certainty. His overview suggests, however, that more phonemic writing systems seem to favor quick learning for new learners, who will rely more on phonology, but are not necessarily the most friendly for smooth reading for more ‘mature’ users, who will rely more on lexicon (Sebba 2007, 18–23).

26 Viewing literacy as more than just the memorization of a script is central to the approach of the New Literacy Studies which developed in the 1980s. This approach to literacy views reading and writing as a set of social and cultural practices and presumes one would not only need to learn the script but also how to use it in different social and cultural contexts (Sebba 2007, 13; and see Barton 2007, 22–28 for an overview of the development of the field of literacy studies). In the Dadanitic context, the high level of formulaicity of even graffiti indeed suggests that even rudimentary levels of literacy included learning the basic formulaic structure of a graffiti (or an inscription more generally), besides the script.

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.

In summary, 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 prepare writing equipment. In this light, it may be useful to think about just how many scribes an oasis like Dadan would need. W.M. Schniedewind reminds us that ‘writing is fundamentally a luxury good’ (2013, 118) and that it needs a degree of economic and cultural support to thrive. How many documents, then, would a society like Dadan’s need and how many people could afford to commission a text? Given the relatively small reach of the kingdoms of Dadan and Liḥyān, the demand for writing was 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; clearly this cannot be compared to the bureaucratic apparatus needed by the Babylonians or ancient Egyptians.²⁷

Additional support for the presence of scribes at Dadan may be found in the inscriptions themselves. Based on the attestation of the word *h-sʿfr* ‘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 some of the commissioned inscriptions. There are two inscriptions that mention *h-sʿfr* ‘the writer’ of the inscription and their name at the end, alongside ‘the artisan’ *h-ʂnʿ* who presumably cut the inscription (JSLih 082 and AH 220).²⁸ This slot in the formulae is usually reserved for mentioning the artisans involved in the production of the inscription, who are always mentioned separately from those who dedicated it, whose names are given at the start of the text (see Chapter 3, §3.4). This supports the reading of *h-sʿfr* in this position as a professional title. Furthermore, the fact that *h-sʿfr* and *h-ʂnʿ* are both used in the same inscription tells us that the one who cut the inscription was apparently a different person to the one who wrote the text—that is, unless we assume that the fact that the writer is mentioned in only these two inscriptions points to the unusual circumstances under which they were made. Since it is quite common, however, not to mention the artisan who cut the inscription

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

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

either, even in inscriptions executed in relief, it seems unlikely that anything only mentioned sporadically was necessarily out of the ordinary.²⁹

As for the training of individuals to read, 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 conclude that it probably represents a writing exercise (1986, 113). The presence of repeating glyphs and badly formed letters in several other inscriptions on the same rock face led Macdonald to suggest that it was used as a practice site (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.

4.1 *Graffiti and the Spread of Literacy*

While there seems to be some evidence for the existence of a scribal class at Dadan, the presence of a large number of graffiti in and around the oasis³⁰ 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 those as found on seals, seal impressions, weights, and economic texts in the period between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE to argue for what he calls ‘the democratization of writing’ (2013, 99–105). He links this spread of the ability to write to a loss of a strictly controlled written standard; that is, as writing was no longer confined to a small scribal elite, the ability to control the written standard diminished, 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 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; specifically, in the existence of large amounts of graffiti accompanied by a remarkable amount of variation in grammar, letter shapes, and orthography.

29 The verbs *sʿtr* (JaL 061 f) and *sʿfr* (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, so much as to the act of inscribing a graffiti.

30 In fact, graffiti make up the bulk of the attested inscriptions: 1462 of 1871 inscriptions of which the genre could clearly be identified are graffiti (see Chapter 7, § 2).

While the presence of large amounts of graffiti in the area of Dadan suggests that literacy probably spread beyond a small group of professional scribes, this does not mean that everyone at the oasis could read and write, or that everyone reached the same or a similar level of literacy. Here the concept of craftsman's literacy seems helpful. W.V. 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' (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 (2013, 105). This level of literacy is not comparable to that of a trained scribe but would be sufficient to leave a short graffiti.³¹

The amount of variation that began to occur in Ancient Hebrew writing between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE lead Schniedewind to conclude that there was no strong Hebrew scribal institution present in Iron Age Judah (Schniedewind 2013, 117). When compared to the Dadanitic situation, this may lead us to conclude there was likewise no strong scribal tradition in Dadan either, as we have plenty of variation in all layers of writing. However, this is based on the supposition that 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 ʿ-causative and the collapse of word final triphthongs which we see reflected in the spelling of *rd-h* 'may he please him' (see Kootstra 2019 and discussed further in Chapter 4, § 3.2) most likely followed these developments in the spoken language and eventually became the most common form in writing as well. However, this does not mean that the written language was simply a transcription of the spoken language, as we can see for example from the occasional spelling of *t* for **z* (e.g., in AH 009.1). The loss of **z* seems to have

31 In literacy studies the phenomenon of being able to perform certain literacy events, but not others, is tied to the idea of literacy domains or literacies. A literacy 'is a stable, coherent, identifiable configuration of practices' (Barton 2007, 38). In other words, filling out your tax forms, reading a book to a child, and skimming the headlines of the newspaper are all literacy events in the sense that you interact with written language, but they each require different skills. One of the uses of approaching literacy through literacy domains is to move away from viewing different uses of literacy on a scale from simple to complex, but to see them as different uses of literacy.

been a feature of at least some spoken register at the oasis, but it clearly was not the most favored in the written language.

Even though the influence of literate individuals from outside the scribal elite may have opened up the written tradition, allowing it 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 *q̣* is often used to represent *z, while they were consistently kept apart in monumental writing until the end of the tradition (Stein 2011, 1048). Thus, 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 *ṭ* 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 they had not quite mastered. For example, in the inscription in which both an *h*-causative and a ²-causative occur (Al-Sa'īd 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). Such inconsistencies seem like hypercorrections, which suggests a certain distance between the spoken and written registers of Dadanitic that the authors of the inscriptions were quite aware of for these linguistic features.

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 of employing 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.

4.2 *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.³² 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 can become separated from each other to some degree.³³

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 from 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

32 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 Hismaic inscriptions, for example (Al-Jallad 2015, 3).

33 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).

of the variant ‘infiltrating’ forms are linguistically archaic.³⁴ Since the oasis of Dadan 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.³⁵

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 would therefore 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 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 previous proposals about the chronological development of the script.

34 For an overview of the absolute number of occurrences of variant forms see Chapter 7.

35 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 the minority (Gzella 2011, 582–583).

4.3 *Methodological Concerns—Analyzing the Language of a Scribal School*

In this introduction, 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 just discussed, 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.³⁶

In this light, then, 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 Chapters 3 through 7 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 ²-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, as discussed in Chapter 4—is that we have no transcriptions of Dadanitic language in other scripts, like

36 See, e.g., Barton (2007, 33–50) for a practice approach to literacy and his introduction of the metaphor of an ‘ecology of written language’.

Greek, for example.³⁷ This sets the Dadanitic corpus apart from corpora like Nabataean and Safaitic. Consequently, a description of the phonology of Dadanitic must 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 the 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 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.

4.3.1 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 has thoroughly discussed, names do not necessarily reflect the language of their bearer, as they are often linguistically archaic and can ‘travel’ from language to language (1999, 254–257). 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,³⁸ the fact that they are often borrowed from other languages still needs to be taken into account.³⁹ 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, as it is also possible that the 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 is the female name *ṁtktbh*, in which the etymological ending

37 There may be two Minaic inscriptions at Dadan that include several borrowings or code-switches to Dadanitic: JSMIn 145 and JSMIn 166 (Kootstra 2018b).

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

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

*-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 Chapter 4, § 2.1) 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, as it could equally 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. Having established the methodological approach on which this study is based, it is first necessary to offer some background information locating the Dadanitic inscriptions in time and space, which I will do in Chapter 1. With this background scope established, Chapters 2 through 6 of this work can then turn to the key work of providing a complete picture of the written practice of ancient Dadan, including both common variation and linguistic and formulaic outliers, in order to be able to say something about the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of variation, which will be treated in depth in Chapters 7 and 8.

The Oasis of Dadan in Space and Time

Dadan was situated on a strategic site on the incense trade route between the south of the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, and the Levant to the north (Macdonald 1997, 335–336). Map 1 (p. 6) shows the location of the oasis in relation to some of the other important sites in the region. The presence of a major Minaean settlement at the site underscores its international importance.¹

Besides being an important trading hub, agriculture also played an important role in the economy of the oasis. Date palms (*nḥl*, e.g., Al-ʿUḏayb 071), grain (*tbrt*. U 112; U 069), and other seasonal crops (*dtʿ*, AH 107; *ḥrf*, 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).

While most of the Dadanitic inscriptions are found in and around the oasis, the area can be divided into several different sites as identified in Map 3. Most of the monumental inscriptions have been found close to the site of the ancient settlement known as al-Ḥuraybah (spelled Khuraybah on Map 2 and Map 3), but also a few kilometres further to the north at a site called Qubūr al-Jundī (in the valley connecting al-Ḥuraybah to the site of Madāʿin Ṣāliḥ) and at Jabal Iṭlib. Map 2 (p. 11) offers an overview of the distribution of the inscriptions across the main sites.

Jabal Iṭlib is connected to the ancient town of Ḥegrā (modern Madāʿin Ṣāliḥ), 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 Dadanitic inscriptions found in this location are graffiti mentioning the guarding activities of the individuals posted there.² Among the monumental inscriptions, especially the location of the *zll* inscriptions stands out, commemorating the performance of an enigmatic ritual called the *zll* for

1 See § 3 for a more elaborate discussion of the interaction between the Dadanitic population and the Minaeans and the implications for the dating of the inscriptions.

2 The structure on top of the outcrop where the inscriptions were found was initially interpreted as a look-out post, partly because of the topography of the site and partly based on the contents of the Dadanitic inscriptions. Re-examination during the 2020 season of the Madāʿin Ṣāliḥ archaeological project, however, revealed the structure to be a tomb, which was dated to 471–366 Cal BC. It is currently unclear exactly how the inscriptions and the tomb relate to each other, and if they were contemporaneous (Nehmé et al. 2021, 14–19).

the main local deity *dġbt*.³ These inscriptions are only attested at two sites near the ancient settlement: at al-ʿUḏayb or Jabal ʿIkmaḥ (Stiehl 1971; Sima 1999) and at Umm Daraj (Nasif 1988; Abū l-Ḥasan 2002, 25–162). Their concentration at these two locations 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, with some as far away as the vicinity of Taymāʾ (see Hayajneh 2016), another oasis town about 150 km to the North-East of al-ʿUlā as the crow flies (see Map 1).⁴

The dating of the Dadanitic inscriptions is problematic. They are generally assumed to have been produced between the sixth and first centuries BCE. However, because the inscriptions themselves do not refer to any datable historical events, their dating has mostly relied on epigraphic material and outside references to Dadan. Recently, new finds at Taymāʾ of Aramaic inscriptions mentioning kings of Liḥyān (Stein 2020), as well as analysis of the material uncovered in the ongoing excavations at Madāʾin Šāliḥ and the site of ancient Dadan (Rohmer and Charloux 2015), are starting to provide us with increasingly secure dates for the period under discussion.⁵ Ongoing archaeological work in the area will likely continue to contribute greatly to our understanding of the chronology of ancient Dadan in the years to come, especially the Dadan Archaeological Project of the Royal Commission for al-ʿUlā and the CNRS under the supervision of Jérôme Rohmer and Abdulrahman Alsuhaibani, which started in 2020. Below, an overview and discussion of the main arguments concerning the dating of the inscriptions will be presented, starting with the evidence present in the Dadanitic inscriptions themselves and in the contemporary Minaic inscriptions found at Dadan, followed by a discussion of the use of paleography in dating the inscriptions. The discussion will then turn to the attestations of Dadan and Liḥyān in other corpora, and end with a presentation of the latest insights from the ongoing archaeological work at the site of ancient Dadan and its surroundings. It will become clear that none of the traditional methods of dating the corpus has yielded absolute, or in some case even reliable, results.

3 See note 17 in the Introduction on the interpretation of this ritual.

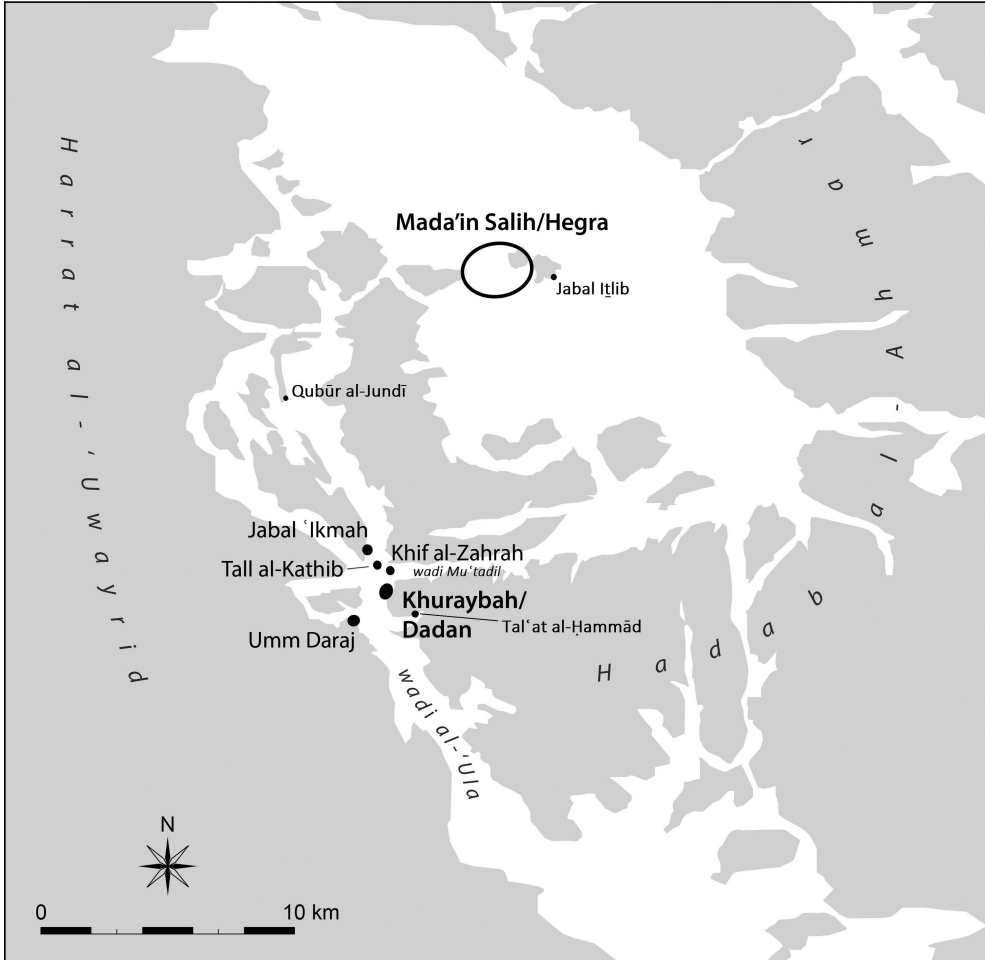
5 The article by Rohmer and Charloux (2015) includes a thorough discussion of the main epigraphic and historical sources used to date the Dadanitic corpus up to 2015.

1 The Dadanite and Liḥyanite Kingdoms

It is generally assumed that the Liḥyanite kingdom followed the Dadanite kingdom and that the end of the Liḥyanite kingdom coincides with the end of the production of Dadanitic inscriptions (e.g., Winnett and Reed, 1970, 116; Farès-Drappeau, 2005, 117–122). The division of the period in which the Dadanitic inscriptions were carved into two subsequent kingdoms is based on the mentioning of both kings of Dadan 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. In the Dadanitic inscriptions we find five names connected to the title *mlk ddn: kbr'l* as a personal name in JSLih 138 and as a patronymic in two inscriptions recently published by al-Theeb (inscriptions 1 and 2 in al-Theeb 2020, 23–24); *mt'ol* as a personal name in JSLih 138 and as a patronymic in the two previously mentioned inscriptions published by al-Theeb; *šy* in Al-Sa'īd 2011.1 and 2011.2; and, finally, *dbbt* and *hḥnt* (inscriptions 5 and 6 in al-Theeb 2020, 27–28). For the Liḥyanite kings, five names connected to the (at least) eight individual kings are attested: *hn's'l* (e.g., AH 202; AH 222); *s²hr* (AH 053); *tlmy* (e.g., AH 226); *lḏn* (e.g., JSLih 082); and *gs²m* (Rabeler 001).⁶ Based on the Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā' we can add *pšgw s²hrw* to this list (Teima 20), who identifies himself as *br [m]lky lḥyn* 'son of the kings of Liḥyān' rather than as a king himself (Stein 2020, 23). Another inscription has been found mentioning a man who does identify as king of Liḥyān and who was identified as the son of the author of Teima 20 by Stein. Unfortunately, his personal name is missing in the inscription and only the phrase '... son of *pšg*, king of [Liḥyān]' is preserved. However, the two texts seem paleographically closely related, confirming the possibility that they were written by members of two consecutive generations (Stein 2020, 23). Even with the addition of the name *pšg* from the Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā', the royal house of Liḥyān seems to have employed a restricted set of regnal names that was not used by the kings of Dadan nor by the general public.⁷

6 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 § 1.1.

7 The names *hn's'l* 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 *lḏn 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'ol* and *šy* occur once together in a broken monumental inscription (AH 214); *šy* further occurs in another fragmentary inscription in relief (JSLih 323); while *mt'ol* seems to have been more widespread and occurs in several other inscriptions in which it does not



MAP 3 The main archaeological sites of Dadan. The map is adapted to show additional sites (Qubūr al-Jundi, Jabal Itlib, 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) COURTESY OF ROHMER AND CHARLOUX (2015)

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 to gain insight into the length of the period over which the inscriptions were produced (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 123; Rohmer and Charloux 2015,

seem to be connected to a royal lineage (JSLih 186; JSLih 187; Nasif 1988: 98, pl. cL; Nasif 1988: 91, pl. cxxx/d).

299). J. Rohmer and G. Charloux conclude that there were at least 12 different kings over 199 regnal years. They combine this with the fact that in the royal chronicle of Nabonidus, who resided in Taymā' from 552 to 543 BCE (Beaulieu 1989, 150), reference is made to a 'king of Dadan', suggesting that the kingdom of Liḥyān did not yet exist at that time. Based on this, they establish 552 BCE as a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of the Liḥyānite kingdom and conclude that it must have existed until at least 353 BCE (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 299–300). P. Stein pushes the beginning of the Liḥyanite presence at Taymā' to the second half of the fifth century BCE, to accommodate an intervening Achaemenid presence at the oasis (Stein 2020, 21), which would push the earliest end-date of the Liḥyanite kingdom to the middle of the third century BCE.

Farès-Drappeau (2005, 126) has taken the information provided by the royal lineages even further, using it to provide a line of succession of the different kings. 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 (the 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 attempting to reconstruct a family tree, especially if we allow for the possibility that not every new king represents a new generation, and that consecutive kings may have been brothers.

The following reconstruction (Figure 2) rests on a number of assumptions. First, it assumes that our list of kings is complete and that there are no gaps in our attestation of rulers. Based on the Aramaic evidence from Taymā', mentioned above, we now know this not to be true.⁸ Second, it assumes that the inscriptions sought to clearly identify 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 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

⁸ Note that the first king in this sequence *s²hr bn hn's¹* (AH 013) occurs without the title *mlk lḥyn*. However, it occurs in the dating formula at the end of the inscription, which is generally based on the regnal years of the king mentioned.

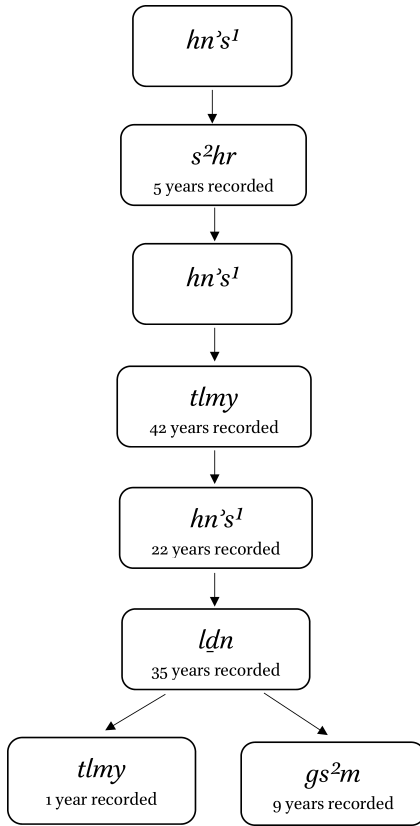


FIGURE 2
Possible royal lineage, as presented in Farès-
Drappeau 2005

every king with the same name and patronymic is the same person has as an advantage in that it reduces the possible number of outcomes and, additionally, yields the most conservative time depth. Such a short chronology is not necessarily closer to the true royal lineage of the Liḥyānite kings of course; based just on the additional Aramaic evidence from Taymā' we know it was longer. However, using the inscriptions to determine the minimum amount of time the Liḥyānite kings ruled the oasis, as Rohmer and Charloux (2015, 299–300) did, is the only conclusion they can provide reliable evidence for.

This can be supplemented by looking at the reigns reported in the inscriptions. Most kings are mentioned in dating formulae, counting the years of the reign of the king. It seems safe to say that if *tlmy* son of *hn'sl* reigned for at least 42 years (al-Ḥuraybah 10), it is less likely that he was succeeded by his brother *lḏn* son of *hn'sl* 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'sl*. When used in conjunction with accounting for the number of regnal

years, this most constrictive method yields the genealogy as presented in Farès-Drappeau's work (2005, 126), represented here in Figure 2.⁹

Without changing any of these underlying assumptions, however, it is also possible that *s²hr* was the brother of *l_{dn}* (JSLih 082), as shown in Figure 3. 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 is attested of *tlmy* son of *l_{dn}* (Müller, D.H. 1889, 63–64 no. 8); only year seven of his brother *gs²m* is attested (JSLih 085); and for their nephew *hn's¹* son of *s²hr* no specific regnal year is mentioned (JSLih 053). Since this is already a difference of three generations for *s²hr* son of *hn's¹*, accepting one or the other would have serious implications for the relative chronology of the inscriptions.

Supplementing the Dadanitic data with insights from the Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā' that mention Liḥyanite kings shows, however, that the proposed lineage in Figure 2 is at least incomplete. The addition of the son of *pšg* (TA 6233) was already mentioned above. Based on paleography and the fact that his father did not overtly present himself as 'king of Liḥyān' but as 'son of the kings of Liḥyān', Stein places them at the beginning of the list of Liḥyanite kings that are attested at Taymā' and keeps the possibility open that *pšg s²hr* did not have the same kind of power over Taymā' as his descendants did (2020, 23–25). If the interpretation of his self identification as 'son of the kings of Liḥyān' is correct,¹⁰ this could also suggest that there were at least two preceding generations of 'kings of Liḥyān' who are not attested in the Aramaic record at Tayma, nor in the Dadanitic record known to us.¹¹

Another important emendation to the lineage proposed by Farès-Drappeau, as represented in Figure 2, concerns the position of *l_{dn}*. A king with this name is attested in TA 964. Based on paleography and the inclusion of the later form of the relative *dy* (< **dy*) in TA 2382/1, which mentions *tlmy* (who can probably

9 Note that Farès-Drappeau does not make these choices underlying her reconstruction of the royal genealogy explicit, nor does she discuss any alternative reconstructions (2005, 122–126).

10 Sima (1999, 55–56) interprets *mlk* as a personal name followed by *z lḥyn* 'of the lineage of Liḥyān', based on the idea that it would be unlikely that a person would only name the title of his ancestors instead of the name of their father, as is common in such genealogies. While giving a title of multiple ancestors instead of a name is indeed unusual, there are Dadanitic inscriptions in which names are given according to the scheme: PN PN bn PN (e.g., U 120). Moreover, Stein concludes that the reading *z lḥyn* is not supported by the photographs of the inscriptions (Stein 2020, 23 nt. 9).

11 It should be kept in mind, of course, that such a backwards projection of ancestral power does not necessarily reflect the historical reality but could merely be an attempt to claim longstanding legitimacy.

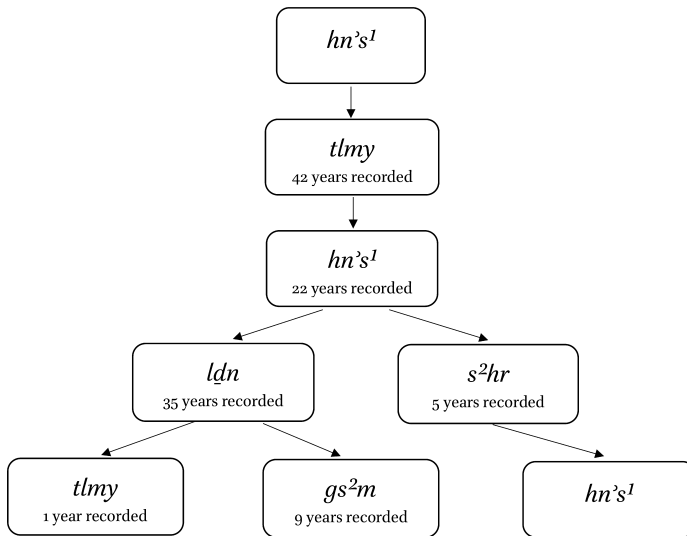


FIGURE 3 Possible royal lineage, with maximum restrictions

be identified with *tlmy* son of *hn's¹* from the Dadanitic inscriptions), Stein concludes that *lḏn* must have preceded him, as TA 964 retains the more archaic *z* reflex of **ḏ* in *zkyr* and *z'* (Stein 2020, 25). Based on the identification of *lḏn* with *lḏn* son of *hn's¹* (JSLih 082) and the *tlmy* from the Aramaic inscriptions (TA 2550; 2382; 4916; 4915) with *tlmy* son of *hn's¹* (JSLih 045, 077; Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1 (lacking *bn*); al-Ḥuraybah 10), Stein suggests that they were brothers and that the older *lḏn* held the throne before his brother succeeded him (2020, 24–26). Since the 35th regnal year of *lḏn bn hn's¹* is recorded (JSLih 082), as is the 42nd regnal year of *tlmy bn hn's¹*, this would necessitate a substantial age gap between the two, which is not impossible and might suggest that *lḏn bn hn's¹* did not have any suitable heirs of his own. Another option, based on the Dadanitic record, would be to insert three intermediate kings in between (the brothers *tlmy* and *gs²m*, sons of *lḏn*, followed by *hn's¹* son of *tlmy*), as in Figure 4.

In summary, the number of possible orderings of the kings shown above makes it clear that it is impossible to draw any reliable conclusions about the relative chronology of the inscriptions based on the royal lineages. In fact, they are unreliable even for determining the overall duration of the Liḥyānite kingdom. Of most kings we only have one inscription mentioning a specific year of their reign, making it very possible that *tlmy* son of *lḏn* ruled far longer than the one year that has been recorded in the inscriptions.

On top of this, not all kings may be represented in the epigraphic record as we know it today. Combining the Aramaic record from Taymā' with the Dadanitic record suggests that we need to add several generations preceding

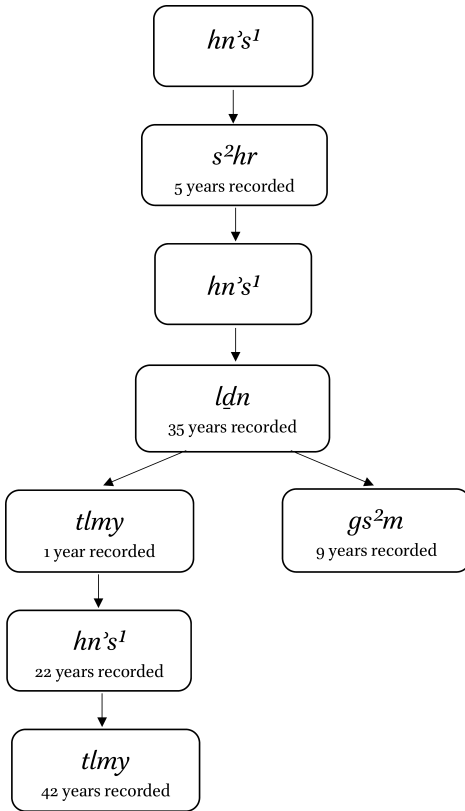


FIGURE 4
Possible royal lineage, incorporating the Aramaic evidence that suggests that *lḏn* ruled before the *tlmy* for whom 40 regnal years are attested in the epigraphic record from Taymāʾ

s²hr bn hn's¹ to accommodate the son of *pšg* (TA 6233) and the claim of *pšg s²hr* (Teima 20) that he is the son of the kings of Liḥyān. Following Stein's list of royal names, the later end of the lineage can also probably be extended by at least two generations to incorporate *ms¹wdw* and *s²hr* mentioned in the latest Aramaic inscriptions (TM.Tar.004 and TA 1743; Stein 2020, 27).

The Aramaic inscriptions do shed some new light on the general dating of the reign of the Liḥanite kings, partly because the paleographic dating of these inscriptions from Taymāʾ is much more secure than that of the Dadanitic inscriptions, as there are several inscriptions that can be more securely dated relative to each other. Based on a recently discovered Aramaic inscription that can be dated to the time of Nabonidus' presence at the oasis¹² (552–543 BCE) and a better understanding of the apparently smooth transition of Aramaic to

12 The inscription was discovered by Macdonald during the Taymāʾ Hinterland Survey and is still awaiting publication. It was written by a government official of king Nabonidus (Stein 2020, n. 6).

Nabataean writing at Taymā', Stein suggests, on the basis of a combination of paleographic grounds and known regnal years, that the Aramaic inscriptions mentioning the kings of Liḥyān from Taymā' were likely made between the sixth or fifth and the second or first centuries BCE (Stein 2020, 27–28). This would push back the fourth century BCE date suggested by Farès-Drappeau (2005, 123) by at least a century.

2 Philological Arguments

Using philological arguments to date the inscriptions, F.V. Winnett refers to the title *ḥht ddn*, used in JSLih 349, which he translates as 'governor of Dadan' (Winnett and Reed 1970, 115–116). Based on when this, originally Assyrian, word was thought to have been introduced into western Arabia he proposes dating the text to the Persian period of the sixth to fourth century BCE (Winnett 1937, 51; Winnett and Reed 1970, 115–116).¹³ D.F. Graf, however, showed that the first occurrence of the Aramaic title *pḥt*, which is probably the source of the Dadanitic term, 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, W. Caskel (1954) uses the formula 'Es werde seiner im Guten gedacht!' *ḏbh* (JSLih 082; Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8). He believes these three letters are an abbreviation of the phrase *ḏukir bi-ḥayr* in which he sees a parallel to the Nabataean formula *dkyr b-ṭb* (Caskel, 1954, 76),¹⁴ which is first attested in inscriptions from the first century BCE (Caskel, 1954, 36). However, 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 record from both Dadan and Ḥegrā (Madā'in Ṣāliḥ) does not show any clear and unquestionable evidence for direct contact between the Nabataeans and the Liḥyānite kingdom (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 309), although this cannot prove that none existed, of course.

13 Caskel (1954, 102) acknowledges Winnett's arguments but dates the text to the second 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.

14 Note that this formula is also found in other forms of Aramaic, such as Palmyrene. For an overview of its use and variations with bibliography see Hoftijzer and Jongeling (1995, 324–329).

3 Minaean Presence at Dadan

Another historical anchor for the inscriptions may be found in the presence of Minaic inscriptions at Dadan. Minaic inscriptions mentioning the title *kbr ddn*, found at Dadan, were initially taken as proof the Minaeans took political control of the oasis (Winnett 1939, 6). In his 1970 publication with W.L. Reed, however, Winnett pointed out that this was likely not the case, as *kabīr* is also used in other Minaean settings in which they did not exercise political control (Winnett and Reed 1970, 117).¹⁵ Instead, Winnett assumed that the Minaeans and Dadanites were contemporaneous. This is supported by an inscription in the 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 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 centuries BCE.¹⁶ Nevertheless, one of the most recent studies on the chronology of the Minaean kingdom, by J. Schiettecatte and M. Arbach (2020), which relies on the attested royal names in the Minaic inscriptions, suggests that Minaean kings appeared on the political stage of South Arabia as early as the eighth century BCE. References to known historical events in the Minaic inscriptions are scarce, however, which has made it challenging to tie any relative chronology of the Minaic inscriptions to absolute dates.

One Minaic inscription that has featured prominently in the search for datable events is RES 3022; in particular, the mention of a conflict (*mrd*) between *mdy* and Egypt has been the focus of many studies attempting to date the inscription and the events it describes. The event has commonly been linked to the invasion of Egypt by Artaxerxes II Ochus in 343 BC (Winnett and Reed 1970, 119; and more recently in Garbini 2006, 291). A. Lemaire, however, points out that the inscription talks about a *mrd* and not a *dr*: the word *dr* is commonly used to refer to a war, whereas *mrd* usually means 'revolt'. This led Lemaire to date the inscription to the period between 482 and 345 BCE, during which there were several Egyptian revolts against Persia (first proposed in Lemaire 1996,

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

16 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.

46; and repeated by the same author in 2010, 381–383). He further 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), giving slight preference to the latter date (Lemaire 2010, 383).

More recently, A. Multhoff convincingly ties the events in RES 3022 to those described in a Sabaic inscription BL-Nashq? = Demirjian 1, which also mentions Liḥyān (Multhoff 2019). She based the link between the texts on idiomatic and lexical parallels (Multhoff 2019, 244–246), and parallels between the events described in both texts (246–250). This allowed her to date both to the period of ‘tensions at the fringes of the Achaemenid Empire around 400 BCE’ (252), confirming earlier proposals for the date of BL-Nashq? = Demirjian 1 put forward by Stein (2017) and S.L. Sørensen and K. Geus (2019). Such an interpretation also supports a connection to the 405/404 BCE revolt in Egypt (Multhoff 2019, 251; Lemaire 2010, 383).¹⁷ This would place the reign of the Minaean king Abīyada‘ Yaṭā‘, mentioned in RES 3022, at the end of the fifth century BCE (Schiettecatte and Arbach 2020, 249), making it an important anchor for the dating of the Minaean royal lineage in this period.

A set of Minaic inscriptions that directly hint at relations between the Minaeans and Dadanites have been found at the Temple of Ruṣāfim, just outside the ramparts of Qarnāw (al-Said 2009, 93). These include the names of women from outside Ma‘īn, marrying a Minaean man.¹⁸ Both Dadan and Liḥyān are mentioned in these examples: Dadan as a toponym and Liḥyān as an anthroponym (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 119).¹⁹ The dating of the texts is still disputed, since the inscriptions themselves are undated, and do not explicitly mention historical events (e.g., Lemaire 1996, 35–48; Bron 1998, 3:102–103; Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 302). Most attempts to gain some insight into this issue have been based on paleography. This led J. Pirenne (1956, 212) to assume that

17 But cf. Multhoff (2019, n. 69) on Lemaire’s identification of the *mḏy* as the Medes. She argues that the use of the otherwise unattested word *mrd* likely suggests that the Minaeans viewed this ‘revolt’ as an internal Egyptian affair. According to her, such an interpretation suggests no large powers such as the Chaldeans or the Medes were necessarily involved.

18 I would like to thank one of the reviewers for pointing me to this article on this genre of inscriptions that published several new ones of the same type.

19 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 texts. Note that most of the publications that refer to these inscriptions refer to them as one list, often called ‘the Hierodules list’, while in fact they are many short entries most of which occur on one block of stone and are spread out across the four faces of the block. Additionally, several other fragments were found in the vicinity of the main block—these may have belonged to similar blocks that are now destroyed (al-Said 2009, 96).

the inscriptions were gradually compiled sometime between 320 and 150 BCE (Lemaire 1996, 39–40). Lemaire, however, came to a different conclusion based on the place names mentioned in the inscriptions. 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 were probably produced before the fourth century BCE (Lemaire 1996, 44). Since it seems likely that the inscriptions were indeed added over a longer period, it is not clear whether we can take them all as representative of the international relations of the Minaeans at one specific point in time. Based on the more recent research on the chronology of the kingdom of Maʿīn and its presence at Dadan (e.g., Rohmer and Charloux 2015; Schiettecatte and Arbach 2020), a date before the fourth century BCE seems too early, at least for a more permanent Minaean presence in Dadan.





Final proposed datings worth noting came from A.F.L. Beeston, who proposed that the Minaean presence at Dadan probably lasted from about the fourth century BCE (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, 184–185; Arbach 2003, § 24–25).²⁰ In contrast, Schiettecatte and Arbach date the first Minaic inscriptions at Dadan that are dated to the reign of a Minaean king and local official (*kbr*) to the third and second centuries BCE (their groups 6 and 7). They show, based on the inscriptions, that in this period there was an official and institutionalized Minaean presence at the oasis (Schiettecatte and Arbach 2020, 263) and that there were no signs of decline of the kingdom throughout the third century BCE (265). They date the decline of the Minaean presence in Dadan to around the second and first centuries BCE (Schiettecatte and Arbach 2020, 268).

4 Paleography

Another way in which the Dadanitic inscriptions have been used to establish at least a relative chronology of the inscriptions is through paleography. Dadanitic exhibits variation in its letter shapes, which has motivated schol-

20 Arbach argues for the entry of Arabian tribes from the north in the beginning of the second century BCE, based on changes in the epigraphic record, where different deities start to be mentioned (*hlfīn* and *dsʿmwy*), 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 first century BCE truly meant the end of the Minaic realm (Arbach 2003, § 25).

ars to use this method for dating the inscriptions (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 (2015) 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.

All theories concerning a script-based order of the inscriptions distinguish a 'Dadanite' followed by a 'Liḥyānite' period, although there are several theories as to the exact number 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 Dadan' and the direction of writing²¹ 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 *lḥyn* (755) on the other. Grimme extensively discusses the reading of what he called 'Dadanite' *g* , which he distinguished from the 'Liḥyānite' *g*  (1932, 754–755). It was assumed that the letters with a square base developed to become more triangular, until some even became disconnected (see Table 1 on p. 47 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 .²²

While Grimme (1932) focused mainly on the script and its stages of development, Winnett (1937) and Caskel (1954) discussed the dating of the periods in further detail. Winnett proposed what is known as the 'long chronology' of the inscriptions, placing the Dadanite period between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE and the Liḥyānite period between the fourth and second centuries BCE (1937, 49–51). Caskel proposed the less accepted 'short chronology', which places the Dadanite inscriptions between 160 and 115 BCE and the Liḥyānite phase between 115 BCE and 150 CE (1954, 35–37).

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

22 For a complete overview of letter shapes and their subdivision into Dadanite and Liḥyānite forms see Caskel (1954, 33–34) and most recently Farès-Drappeau (2005, 109–111).

Caskel's 'short chronology' of the Dadanitic texts is largely based on the development of the script in which he distinguishes three script phases: Dadanite, early Liḥyānite, and late Liḥyānite. Based on the more pronounced differences he found between the Dadanite and early Liḥyānite scripts he concludes that early Liḥyānite should be considered 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 pronounced, he assumed that this points to a mere 'disturbance' in the power structure at the oasis (Caskel 1954, 35).²³ 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 (1954, 36; but see § 3 on the relationship between the Minaeans and Dadanitic people). Farès-Drappeau (2005, 113–124) 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.²⁴ Her own paleographic analysis largely follows the proposal by Winnett (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 116–125).

As Macdonald (2015, 17–18) very carefully discussed, however, it is problematic to use paleography to date inscriptions in corpora like our Dadanitic example. The most fundamental problem in using this methodology to date the Dadanitic inscriptions is that none is securely dated; neither in absolute terms nor relative to each other. Even the chronological division of the script into two phases, Dadanite and Liḥyānite, seems untenable. First, no distinction can be made between a Dadanite and a Liḥyānite script: so-called Dadanite letter-shapes occur in Liḥyānite inscriptions and *vice versa*.²⁵ 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 Dadan would choose to only slightly alter the existing script 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).

23 He identifies a brief Nabataean presence at the oasis as this disturbance (Caskel 1954, 35), see § 4.

24 See Macdonald (2010a; and 2018) for the latest treatment of the Dadanitic paleography.

25 E.g., JSLih 071, in which several different forms of the *alif* and *s'* occur. See Macdonald (2010, 12–14) for an explanation of the developments of the letter forms and examples.

Second, 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, although it may be possible to distinguish a general trend going from old letter forms to inscriptions in a 'middle' variety with mixed letter forms and, finally, to 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, we need to bear 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 8 for the analysis of variation in linguistic features across the corpus).

4.1 *The Writing Surface and Development of the Script*

The development of the variation in letter shapes was likely the result of writing on soft materials, as argued by Macdonald (2010, 12). He 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 two lines on top, eventually to two inverted chevrons above each other (see Table 1; Macdonald 2010, 13–14 and fig. 3).²⁶ These kinds of developments usually only occur when writing in pen and ink, or similar materials such as paint or charcoal, 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 or similar material (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, as opposed to boustrophedon, is only beneficial to someone writing with pen or possibly a blade (Macdonald 2010, 12).

26 Note that the chronology of the development is the same as that used for the paleographic chronology of the inscriptions by earlier scholars (e.g., Grimme 1932; Caskeel 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.

TABLE 1 Schematic overview of the development of the letter *alif* shown in 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 script²⁷ 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). 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 (2015, 4).

Features from writing on soft materials are likely to be transferred to writing in stone by someone who is more used to writing on the former and tries to transfer their 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 relief (e.g., AH 235²⁸). This shows that the 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). Thus, while interference from 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.

27 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 Chapter 7. 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. In contrast, the registers distinguished in Chapter 7 do not relate to the tools or techniques used to make an inscription, but focus on its content and purpose.

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

4.2 *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 the development of letter shapes Macdonald identifies in his article. He also stresses the 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 in fact due to development of the script and not to a number of other uncontrolled varying features whose 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; they can be due to differing local traditions; or they can even be attributed to minor variations in the writing material available (Macdonald 2015, 23).

The likely presence of a writing tradition at Dadan (see the introduction, above) 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). This gives us the opportunity to approach Dadanitic letter shapes as a coherent whole showing internal development. This has enabled Macdonald, for example, to divide the general letter shapes into different developmental stages (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 Dadanitic 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 Dadanitic paleography.

5 Dadan in Other Corpora

Besides epigraphic evidence from the two contemporary corpora of Minaic and Dadanitic inscriptions found at the oasis of ancient Dadan itself, the Liḥyānite kingdom and the placename Dadan are also mentioned in sources from outside the oasis. We have already encountered the mentioning of Liḥyānite

kings in Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā', but the oasis is also mentioned in inscriptions from Taymā' in the local Taymanitic script. Beside these, Dadan is also mentioned in the Bible, and in Sabaic and Safaitic inscriptions. Such literary and inscriptional evidence can give us important clues regarding the role of Dadan and the kingdom of Liḥyān in relation to the outside world, and when other corpora are more securely dated such references can add important anchors for dating the Dadanitic corpus. Unfortunately, it is often unclear from the non-Dadanitic sources whether they are contemporary to the production of the Dadanitic inscriptions. Moreover, most of the other epigraphic corpora, such as Safaitic and to a lesser extent Taymanitic and Sabaic, cannot be securely dated themselves either. Below, evidence from Aramaic and Taymanitic inscriptions will be discussed, followed by references to Dadan in the Bible. The discussion will end with the evidence from the Sabaic and Safaitic epigraphic record, which probably postdate the production of the Dadanitic inscriptions, but which mention the Liḥyānites, or Liḥyānite territory.

5.1 *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 (1914–1922, 221) consider the script an evolution of the Aramaic script, which eventually resulted in the Hebrew square script and the Nabataean script. They very cautiously propose dating it to the second century BCE.

Caskel, on the other hand, saw parallels with the Palmyrene script and proposed dating them to the first century BCE (1954, 42 and note 125). Some take the inscriptions as evidence that the Liḥyānites were overthrown by the Nabataeans, who then came to occupy the oasis. (e.g., Caskel 1954, 42). When Winnett put forward the hypothesis that the author of the inscriptions was probably not a Nabataean king but more likely an adventurer from the 'Nabataean cultural zone north of Dadan' acting on his own behalf (Winnett and Reed, 1970, 120),²⁹ he based this on the evidence available to him at the time,

29 Charloux and Rohmer caution that, since this person is only attested in Aramaic inscriptions from outside Dadan we cannot conclude he ruled in Dadan in the same way as the kings that are mentioned in the Dadanitic inscriptions (2015, n. 6). Given the more complete list of Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā' bearing the names of Liḥyānite kings that was recently published by Stein (2020) and the attestation of names in them that are also well-known from the Dadanitic record (such as *hn's'* and *tlmy*) it seems very likely that

which only included these three graffiti. Since then, however, an official inscription in the Taymā' Aramaic script, mentioning a Liḥyānite king with the same name (Mas'ūdū) has been discovered (TM.TAr.004, published in Macdonald and Al-Najem 2021) confirming the official status of his title. In addition, Macdonald (forthcoming) has since 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, showing that these inscriptions cannot be attributed to Nabataean influence at Dadan (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 301).

An actual Nabataean inscription attested in Dadan, is a grave inscription, dated to the first year of Aretas IV (CIS II, 1, 332), which corresponds to the year nine BCE (Caskel 1954, 35). Caskel interprets this inscription as an indication of a brief Nabataean presence at the oasis, which marks the 'disturbance' between the early and late Liḥyānite period. According to Caskel, this 'political disturbance' explains the slight shift in the letter shapes used in each period (1954, 36).³⁰ However, as will be discussed in more detail below, there does not seem to be any definite archaeological evidence showing direct contact between the Nabataeans and the Liḥyānite kingdom, suggesting the Liḥyānite kingdom may already have collapsed by the time the Nabataeans established their presence in the area (Rohmer and Charloux 2015, 309).

New evidence suggests, however, that the production of Dadanitic inscriptions may have continued into the first century BCE and overlapped with some type of Nabataean presence at the oasis. Specifically, a recently published Aramaic/Dadanitic bilingual inscription, whose photo was published by al-Theeb (Nehmé, and Alsuhaibani 2019, 79), is dated to *ywmt hr̥tt mlk nbṭw* 'the days of Aretas, king of the Nabataeans'. The caption specifies that the inscription was found in the Dadanitic Sanctuary (al-Ḥuraybah). The Aramaic inscription is executed in relief and takes up most of the surface of the block, while the Dadanitic one is also carved in relief, but with much smaller and more irregular letter shapes, seemingly squeezed below the Aramaic. Although the Dadanitic inscription is damaged, it seems to be a translation of the Aramaic text. If the Dadanitic inscription is at least secondary to the Aramaic one mentioning the Nabataean king, this would suggest that Dadanitic was still written at least in the mid-second century BCE, when Aretas I ruled. Unfortunately, it does not tell us much about the power relations between the Nabataeans and the local population at Dadan when the inscription was made. The person who com-

at least some of the *mlk lḥyn* mentioned in the Dadanitic inscriptions overlap with those found in the Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā' (see §1).

30 See §4 for a more elaborate discussion on the attempts to use paleography to establish a relative chronology of the inscriptions.

missioned the Aramaic text might have been visiting the oasis, and Dadanitic might have continued to be written in certain contexts after the Liḥyānite kings lost power.

5.2 *Taymanitic Inscriptions*

Dadan 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 sixth century BCE, based on several inscriptions found around Taymā', which mention *nbnd mlk bbl* (Esk. 169 and Esk. 177) or only *mlk bbl* (Esk. 025), identified as 'Nabonidus king of Babylon', who resided at Taymā' for ten years in the middle of the sixth century BCE.

The Taymanitic inscriptions also mention a 'war of Dadan' *ḏr ddn* (e.g., W Tay 20). This can at least tell us that Dadan was inhabited at the time these Taymanitic inscriptions were produced. From the attestation of the Liḥyānite kings in the Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā' that post-date Nabonidus' stay at the oasis, and the mention of a *mlk ddn* during his stay at Taymā', it is probably safe to conclude that the Taymanitic inscriptions likely pre-date the Dadanitic inscriptions produced during Liḥyānite rule, although we cannot rule out that Dadanite and Liḥyānite self-identification did not always line up with their neighbors' view or identification of them.

5.3 *Dadan in the Bible*

Not all clues to the dating of the Dadanitic inscriptions come from epigraphic data, as there are also several Biblical references to Dadan. For instance, Dadan is mentioned in the Biblical genealogies in Genesis and Chronicles,³¹ in which it is represented as a sibling of Sheba. This is generally assumed to refer to close relations between the two—either commercial (Macdonald 1997, 337–338) or tribal (Winnett and Reed 1970, 113). In another example, a century or more after the inscription by Yariris (eighth c. BCE), Ezekiel's prophecy mentions Dadan as part of a network of trading relations,³² probably as middlemen for the trade in goods, possibly from Egypt, and as producers of saddle cloths (Macdonald, 1997, 342). In addition, there are several other references to the place name.³³ Based on these references Winnett assumes that the oasis flourished in the sixth century BCE (Winnett and Reed 1970, 113–114 and note 6).

31 Gen. 10:6, 7; 25:3 and Chron. 1:9.

32 Ez. 25:13; 27:15, 20; 38:13.

33 Jer: 25:23, 49:8.

5.4 *Sabaic Inscription Jabal Rīyām 2006–2017*

Even after the end of Liḥyanite control over Dadan, and the likely demise of the written tradition in the local script, there are some mentions of *lḥyn* in the epigraphic sources. A Sabaic inscription, first published by Schiettecatte and Arbach (2016), mentions *ʾrḏ lḥyn* ‘the land of Liḥyān’ as a travel destination on a diplomatic mission, probably a part of *ʾrḏ s²mt* ‘land of the north’ (178–179). This text can be dated to the first to third century AD based on paleographic considerations (Schiettecatte and Arbach 2016, 177). The considerable time gap between Liḥyānite control over ancient Dadan and the production of this inscription, however, makes it unclear how the *lḥyn* mentioned in this text relates to the Liḥyān that we find in the Dadanitic inscriptions. Schiettecatte and Arbach (2016) tentatively suggest three possible locations for the ‘land of Liḥyān’ mentioned in the text. The first suggestion is that the area around the oasis of al-ʿUlā, ancient Dadan, simply continued to be referred to by its old name, in which case the term should merely be seen as a toponym for the area ‘squeezed between Ghassān and Nabaṭ’ rather than the location of a diplomatic meeting (Schiettecatte and Arbach 2016, 183). This seems unlikely, as adding such a location would do little to clarify the itinerary since the Nabaṭ and Ghassān are also featured in the list. The second option they suggest is to locate the land of Liḥyān between al-ʿUlā and Mecca (183–184), which is where the Islamic genealogical and historical sources (written down in the eighth/ninth centuries CE) place them as a branch of the Huḏayl, in the sixth century CE. Muslim tradition does not seem to have preserved any accounts of their history beyond their name, unfortunately (Drewes and Levi Della Vida 1986),³⁴ making it unclear how the Liḥyānite tribe remembered in the eighth and ninth centuries CE relates to the land of Liḥyān mentioned in this text about 500 years prior, and to the Liḥyānite kingdom of Dadan about a millennium before the Islamic sources that have come down to us. Their third suggestion is based on the mention of *lḥyn* in several Safaitic inscriptions, which will be discussed in more detail below, and places the land of Liḥyān further north on the desert fringes between northern Arabia and southern Syria. They find support for the argument inside the text itself, noting that ‘[t]his scenario would be consistent with the hypothesis that the author of *Riyām 2006–2017* listed the territories he visited in chronological order’, but they generally dismiss the possibility due to lack of evidence (184). Wherever exactly the land of Liḥyān was located at this time, the inscription forms an important testament to the continued survival

34 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0583 (accessed online, 16-11-2022).

of at least the tribal name Liḥyān well past the time the Liḥyānites lost control over ancient Dadan and apparently ceased to produce Dadanitic inscriptions.

5.5 *Safaitic Inscriptions*

The Safaitic inscriptions that mention the Liḥyānites (BRenv.B 1; BRenv.A 2) come from Wādī Shām in southern Syria. The inscriptions mention a sudden attack by the *ʿl ḥyn* ‘the family/tribe of Liḥyān’ on the ‘settlements/settled areas’³⁵ (Macdonald, Al-Muʿazzin, and Nehmé 1996, 458). There are other Safaitic inscriptions that mention *ḥyn* in a dating formula (WH 641.1; KRS 2287; KRS 2327; KRS 2342³⁶), but in those contexts it may have been a personal name.³⁷ Unfortunately, these texts are of little help with the exact dating of the Dadanitic inscriptions.

The Safaitic inscriptions are generally assumed to have been written roughly between the first century BCE and the fourth 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). They may have been contemporary to the namesakes of the *ʿrd ḥyn* mentioned in the Sabaic inscription, discussed above (Jabal Riyām 2006–2017), but neither the Safaitic inscriptions nor the Sabaic one gives enough information to be sure. Even if they were contemporary, the fact that both are a reference to outsiders, means that we could not be sure both sources imagined them in the same way.

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 Dadan (modern al-Ḥuraybah) and the results of the joint Saudi-French excavations of the residential area and necropolis at ancient Ḥegrā (modern Madāʿin Ṣāliḥ) carried out over recent decades have been crucial in finding new evidence for our understanding of the history of

35 The word *ʿlkn* is left untranslated in Macdonald, Al-Muʿazzin, and Nehmé (1996, 458) and the OCIANA database. The translation ‘settlement/settled areas’ is based on Al-Jallad (2015, 341).

36 Note that all three inscriptions with the KRS siglum seem to refer to the same event, *sʿnt wsʿq ʿbdrb}{l ḥyn* ‘the year *ʿbdrbʿl* confronted *ḥyn*’ (OCIANA, accessed 22-04-2018).

37 *ḥyn* is more commonly found as a personal name in the Safaitic inscriptions. Compare for example (KRS 185) *l-ḥyn bn sʿny bn sʿlm bn sʿd* ‘by *ḥyn* son of *sʿny* son of *sʿlm* son of *sʿd*’ (OCIANA, accessed 22-04-2018).

the area (al-Said and al-Ghazzi 2013; Al-Theeb 2013; Nehmé, al-Talhi, and Villedeneuve 2010; Nehmé 2011). This understanding will surely be expanded further in the years to come, as a result of the abovementioned Dadan Archaeological Project of the Royal Commission for al-ʿUlā and the CNRS, which started in 2020. Based on a synthesis of the results of past excavations, Rohmer and Charloix suggest that there was a disruption in the history of Dadan in the third century BCE (2015, 313). In this period the site of tall al-Katīb (al-Zahrani 2007) and the rural area of Ḥif al-Zahrah (Bawden 1979), which were connected to the oasis of Dadan, seem to have been abandoned (Rohmer and Charloix 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 third and late first centuries BCE found at the site of ancient Ḥegrā led Rohmer and Charloix to suggest that the site entered a phase of decline in this period, and that it no longer played a major role in the region by this time (Rohmer and Charloix 2015, 310–311).

Very little evidence for Dadanitic presence has been found at the site of ancient Ḥegrā. The only material pointing to Dadanitic presence at the site is some Dadanitic painted ware, found in the first layer of occupation dated between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE. The inscriptions at Jabal Itlib seem to point to a military presence rather than occupation of the site (Rohmer and Charloix 2015, 309), although new evidence suggests the Dadanitic *nṯr* ‘guarding’ inscriptions found at the site may be connected to funerary structures on the outcrop (Nehmé et al. 2021, 14–19). Based on the very low number of coins found at al-Ḥuraybah in contrast to the fairly high number found at Ḥegrā,³⁸ they tentatively suggest that the heyday of ancient Dadan must have preceded the spread of coins in the Arabian Peninsula in the third/early second century BCE. They even suggest, based on the absence of clear evidence for a Nabataean presence at Ḥegrā until the second half of the first century BCE, that Nabataean control of Ḥegrā may have been preceded by another tribal entity (Rohmer and Charloix 2015, 312).

38 Since the publication by Rohmer and Charloix, Th. Bauzou (2016) has published an overview and chronology of the imitations of Athenian owl tetradrachms found at Ḥegrā. He concluded that these coins were of local production and suggested calling them ‘the owls of Ḥegrā.’

7 Summary of the Dating Evidence

Combining these different strands of evidence, the Aramaic inscriptions from Taymā' provide the widest time frame and suggest Lihyanite influence at the oasis between the sixth/fifth centuries and the second/first centuries BCE (Stein 2020, 27–29). If this is correct, this means that the actual production of Dadanitic inscriptions at Dadan likely started even earlier, during the reign of the kings of Dadan. A continued use of the Dadanitic script until at least the second century BCE seems confirmed by the bilingual Aramaic/Dadanitic inscription mentioning 'the days of Aretas, king of the Nabataeans' (photograph published in Nehmé and Alsuhaibani 2019). Even though the variation in letter shapes in the Dadanitic corpus makes it interesting for paleographic study, the lack of secure dates for any of the inscriptions, even relative to each other, currently prohibits reliable use of paleography to date the inscriptions, unfortunately. The archaeological evidence provides some additional insight and suggests that the oasis flourished around the fourth or third centuries BCE, after which it entered a phase of decline (Rohmer and Charloux 2015). The most recent reassessment of the chronology of the Minaean kings places the heyday of the Minaean presence at the oasis in the third to second centuries BCE and suggests it continued until the second or first centuries BCE (Schiettecatte and Arbach 2020, 263–268).

Script and Manners of Inscribing

The first of the key elements of Dadanitic inscriptions that were outlined in the Introduction is that of script itself, including the various manners of inscribing. In this chapter I will, therefore, focus on this aspect of the corpus. Starting with a brief introduction to the origins of the Dadanitic script and how it functions, the chapter continues with a discussion of the variation in letter shapes within the corpus, focusing on the form of *t* and *z*, as this is a point where my reading varies most from previous interpretations of the texts. This section will also include a general overview of the glyphs and a script table. In §2 the different manners of inscribing will be introduced, which will later be an important variable in the analysis of variation conducted in Chapters 7 and 8. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of an alphabetic text in Dadanitic script, and its relation to the local writing culture.

Dadanitic is a South Semitic script. As noted in the Introduction, 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* (Drewes 1985, 167; but cf. Macdonald 2008, 186), a point I will return to in Chapter 4. It is one of the few ANA varieties to make consistent use of word dividers (Macdonald 2008, 186). There are a number of glyphs that occur in several variant forms. As discussed in the Introduction, I will follow Macdonald's proposal to consider the inscriptions from Dadan in the local script as one corpus (2000, 33), since he has convincingly shown that these variant forms were in use at the oasis in parallel with each other (see Macdonald 2010, 13–14; and 2015, 17–27 on the use of paleography).¹

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

TABLE 2 Script table of Dadanitic based on Macdonald (2008, 187)

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>ḏ</i>	𐩾 𐩿 𐻀 𐻁	<i>s¹</i>	𐩿 𐻀 𐻁 𐻂
<i>ḏ</i>	𐻃 𐻄	<i>s²</i>	𐻅
<i>f</i>	𐻆 𐻇	<i>s</i>	𐻈 𐻉
<i>g</i>	𐻊 𐻋 𐻌	<i>t</i>	𐻍 𐻎
<i>ḡ</i>	𐻏 𐻐	<i>ṭ</i>	𐻑 𐻒 𐻓 𐻔
<i>h</i>	𐻕 𐻖 𐻗	<i>ṭ</i>	𐻘 𐻙 𐻚
<i>ḥ</i>	𐻛 𐻜	<i>w</i>	𐻝 𐻞 𐻟
<i>ḥ</i>	𐻠 𐻡 𐻢	<i>y</i>	𐻣 𐻤
<i>k</i>	𐻥 𐻦 𐻧	<i>z</i>	𐻨 𐻩 𐻪
<i>l</i>	𐻫 𐻬	<i>z̤</i>	𐻭 𐻮

1 Glyphs and Their Variant Forms

Dadanitic preserved 28 of the 29 Proto-Semitic consonants, which are all represented by separate glyphs, only merging *s¹* and *s³*, as shown in Table 2.^{2,3} There has been some debate about the existence of a separate glyph *z̤*, 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/ʔzll* should be read as *z̤* rather than *ṭ*.⁴ Sima (1999, 96) finds further support for the existence of a separate glyph *z̤* in the letter shapes themselves. This is particularly evident in the inscriptions AH 197 and

2 See the introduction to Chapter 4 for a more elaborate discussion on the interaction between the merging of the glyphs and their phonological representation.
 3 An earlier script table by Macdonald (2000, 34) subdivides the letter shapes into Early and Late Dadanitic. However, since it is currently unclear how the different script types of Dadanitic should be subdivided, and whether a clear-cut division is even possible, I have adopted Macdonald’s later (2008) script table which no longer makes such a distinction.
 4 Her reading of the glyph was taken over by Van den Branden (1969), Müller (1982, 22), Scagliarini (1996), and Sima (1999) and has become the most generally accepted reading today. For a discussion on the history of the reading of *z̤* in the Dadanitic inscriptions see Sima (1999, 96).

TABLE 3 *ʔ* and *ʔ* in AH 197 and JSLih 313








	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
AH 197		
JSLih 313		

TABLE 4 Variant forms of *ʔ* and *ʔ* based on the forms presented in Macdonald (2000, 34)

<i>ʔ</i>	Early Dadanitic <i>ʔ</i>	Late Dadanitic <i>ʔ</i>
		

JSLih 313, which contain both glyphs (Table 3⁵). Sima does caution that the *ʔ* is the glyph that occurs in most variant forms in the corpus, even though it is the rarest (Sima 1999, 96). In fact, however, it seems that *ʔ* is the form with most attested variation.















As shown in Table 4, the second form of both the *ʔ* and the *ʔ* 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 5,⁶ which are all found in *nʔr* inscriptions (see Chapter 3 for more on different genres and compositional formulae) and are all transcribed as *ʔ* in the OCIANA database.⁷

5 The glyphs in the table are tracings based on the photo of AH 197 and the photo of the squeeze of JSLih 313 available on OCIANA. The grey scale in the tracing of the *ʔ* 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.

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

7 <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana> (accessed 25-04-2018); now available at <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana>.

TABLE 5 Glyphs read as *t* in the *ntr* inscriptions

Prototypical <i>z</i> form: 		Prototypical <i>t</i> form: 		
AH 328; AH 332	AH 313; AH 336; AH 337; AH 323; AH 325; AH 338; AH 343; ^a AH 347 ^b	JSLih 007 (b); JaL 158 a ^c	AH 312; AH 314; AH 318; AH 315	AH 331; AH 344
	 ;  ^d ;  ;  ; 	 ; 	 ^e ; 	 ; 

- a The letter shape in this inscription is very similar in shape to AH 325: like a hooked Dadanitic *t* with a small leg coming out the left.
- b The letter shape in this inscription is very similar to AH 338, with a curved leg coming out the horizontal shaft.
- c 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 158 a from Jamme (1974, pl. 3).
- d 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.
- e This is a tracing of the Itlib relief-style letter in AH 312; the *t* in AH 314 and AH 318 is very similar in shape.

While the glyphs in columns four and five are clearly identifiable as *t*, the glyphs in the second and third columns 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 found in the examples in columns four and five of Table 5. It seems, therefore, that the glyphs interpreted as *t* in AH 328 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, 186–187).

For the reading of *z* or *t* in the *zll* inscriptions, OCIANA seems to have taken a similarly context-based approach. In it, two inscriptions are identified that very clearly contain the rake-shaped form as *t* (AH 009.1; U 048) but others, with similar letter shapes, are transcribed as *z* following the most common form of the formula. Similar to the overview of the *ntr* inscriptions in Table 5, it seems that the letter shapes are best represented on a scale ranging from unambiguously *z* in the left-most column of Table 6, through ambiguous forms in the second and third columns, to unambiguous forms of *t* in columns four and five.

TABLE 6 The 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-'Uḏayb 080	AH 010; AH 001; AH 100; Al-'Uḏayb 044 ^a	AH 070; ^b 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- 'Uḏayb 001; U 037.1; U 038; AH 032; AH 087.1; AH 138; ^c AH 142; ^d Al-'Uḏayb 008; Al-'Uḏayb 009; ^e Al-'Uḏayb 088; ^f U 017.1	AH 009.1; U 048

a The top of the *z* in Al-'Uḏayb 044 is damaged, indicated by the grey area in the tracing.

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

c 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).

d 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.

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

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

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 *nṭr* inscriptions in the second and third columns in Table 5, to those in the second column in Table 6, it seems that the direction in which the main shaft is leaning may also be taken as distinctive (see Table 7 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 must 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.

While the reading suggested in Table 6 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 inter-

TABLE 7 Comparing ambiguous *z*/*t* shapes from *ntr* and *zll* inscriptions

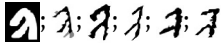
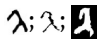



<i>t</i> in <i>ntr</i>	<i>z</i> in <i>zll</i>
AH 313; AH 336; AH 337; AH 323; AH 325; AH 338; AH 343; AH 347	AH 010; AH 001; AH 100
	

TABLE 8 The glyph *z* in graffiti

U 106	Umm Darağ 06	U 078
		

pretation of *z*, the majority of *zll* inscriptions can still be interpreted as written with *z* (179 with *z* vs. 25 with *t*).⁸ Table 8 includes a small sample of *z* in graffiti to show that a clearly distinguished *z* is not a feature unique to monumental inscriptions.

Finally, beyond the variation just outlined, there is also more general variation of typical letter shapes. Descriptions of the variant letter shapes generally distinguish two main types. First, square, converging, triangular, and disconnected forms for glyphs with the basic shape \square . Second, round and diamond-based forms for letters containing circular shapes such as \odot and \circ .⁹

8 In the case of the *ntr* inscriptions, it may be argued that the glyphs in the first column of Table 7 (and second column in Table 5) could also be read as *z*. Since the *ntr* inscriptions form their own subgroup in the quantitative analysis in Chapters 7 and 8, this does not have strong implications for the analysis of the distribution of *z* in relation to other features.

9 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 109–111), but cf. Macdonald (2015, 17–27; 2018) on using this variation for a paleographic and chronological interpretation.

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),¹⁰ 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 Dadanic corpus, as noted in the introduction. This differentiates between inscriptions made in relief, deeply incised inscriptions, and those that were chiseled, or pounded. In the following I will outline each of these methods with explanatory examples from the corpus.

2.1 *Inscriptions in Relief*

One of the unique features of Dadanic within the corpus of ANA inscriptions is the occurrence of inscriptions carved in relief (Macdonald 2008, 186). This technique was used to carve inscriptions on prepared slabs of stone, as in Figure 5, as well as on rock face, as in Figure 6. These inscriptions make regular use of word dividers (Macdonald 2008, 186) and are generally written from right to left (Macdonald 2010, 12).¹¹ Most examples carved using this technique are *zll* inscriptions and other dedicatory inscriptions.



FIGURE 5 A dedicatory inscription in relief on a prepared stone (al-Ḥuraybah 12)
PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

10 See Chapter 1, § 4 for a discussion of the use of paleography to create a relative chronology of the inscriptions.

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

al-Ḥuraybah 12

ddn / htbt / mtb / w hwd't / 'dm / l-dgbt / mr'//-h / f rdy / w s'c'd /
'm-hbny / bn / 'ws¹ / h- sn' / 'bd / l-mr²-h / f rdy-h

'Dadan dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to *dgbt* her lord so may he favor and aid her people, *bn* son of *'ws¹* the mason made (it) for his lord so may he favor him'



FIGURE 6 A *zll* inscription in relief on rockface (U 001)
 PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

U 001 *yhn' / w g's'm / bn//{y} / 'mtb's'mn / 'g//w / [h-]zll / l dgbt // [b-]*
[k]hl / f rd -hm / w 'hr----
'yhn' and g's'm {the (two) sons of} 'mtb's'mn dedicated the zll to
dgbt at {khl} so may he favor them and [their] {descendants} ...'¹²

When creating an inscription in relief, 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. There are two (possibly three) inscriptions which might shed some light on the process of creating these inscriptions. JSLih 048 and 057 seem to show thin incisions outlining the letter shapes, possibly in preparation for the carving of the relief (see Figure 7).

12 See note 17 in the Introduction and Kootstra (2022) for a more recent and specific interpretation of the *zll* ritual.



FIGURE 7
An inscription seemingly in preparation for
a relief (JSLih 048)
PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

JSLih 048 [---] // --- zddġ[bt] --- // ---n/rfd / ħ---// --- fkl / h--- // ---bh /
w mr--- // --- {b}{n} / {m}{r}{l}--- // [---]th
'... zddġbt ... rfd ... priest {of} ...'

2.2 *Jabal Itlib Relief*

A separate style of relief seems to be found at Jabal Itlib and is associated with the inscriptions mentioning *ntr* 'he guarded'¹³ and several inscriptions mentioning only personal names on the same rock face.¹⁴ 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 horizon-

13 For a discussion of the writing of *NZR as *ntr* see (Kootstra 2018b). Also, as previously mentioned, new evidence suggests the Dadanitic *ntr* 'guarding' inscriptions found at the site may be connected to funerary structures on the outcrop (Nehmé et al. 2021, 14–19).

14 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.

tal 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.

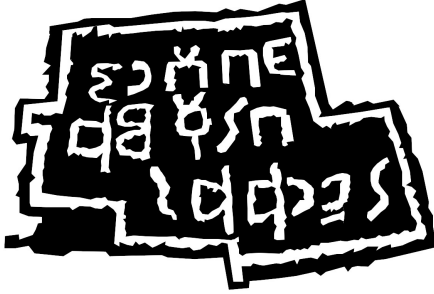


FIGURE 8
ntr inscriptions in Itlib-style relief (AH 314)
ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON
OCIANA

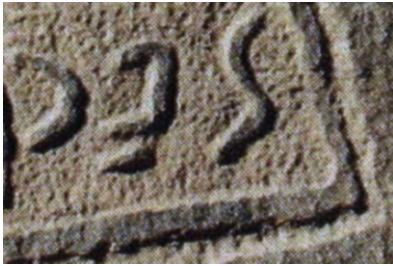


FIGURE 9
Detail of AH 314 showing the individual points of
impact created by pounding the rock
PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

AH 312 *ndb bn s^llw // ntr ddn*
 ‘*ndb* son of *s^llw* guarded Dadan’

2.3 *Deeply Incised Inscriptions*

The second manner consists of deeply incised inscriptions. This form is typically found on objects, such as incense burners (Private collection 2), but can also be seen in dedicatory inscriptions, legal inscriptions, as in Figure 10 (al-Ḥuraybah 17; JSLih 077), and even graffiti on rock face, as in Figure 11 (e.g., JSLih 288).

The Dadanic 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. For example, al-Ḥuraybah 12, shown in Figure 5, is a beautifully executed relief, commemorating the city of Dadan making dedications to *dgbt*, in which the mason signed his name in the last line of the inscription.



FIGURE 10 A legal inscription incised in a block (al-Ḥuraybah 17)
PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

al-Ḥuraybah 17

[---]/f / mm--- // --- l-ddn / l-'bd / --- // ---rs¹ / mn / s¹rq / 'ym-
 --- // ---{m}n / s¹rq / f-'n / yšbr / b-mh / s¹r[q]--- // ---{d}n / thd-h
 / kll-h / f ḥtm --- // --- hs¹rq / ytb / h-s¹rq / 'w / y --- // ---bh
 ‘... to/for Dadan 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 An inscription deeply incised on a rock face (U 040 a *zll* inscription)
PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

U 040 *qnl* / *bn* / 'bddd*h* // *w bn-h* / *ms^lk* / 'gw // *h-zll* / *l-dgbt* // *f rd-h* / *w*
 'tb-h
 '*qnl* son of 'bddd*h* and his son *ms^lk* dedicated the *zll* to *dgbt* so
 may he favor him and aid him and reward him'

2.4 *Chiseled Inscriptions*

Chiseled inscriptions are also cut into the rock and can be distinguished from 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 as well as in dedicatory (see Figure 12) and funerary inscriptions.

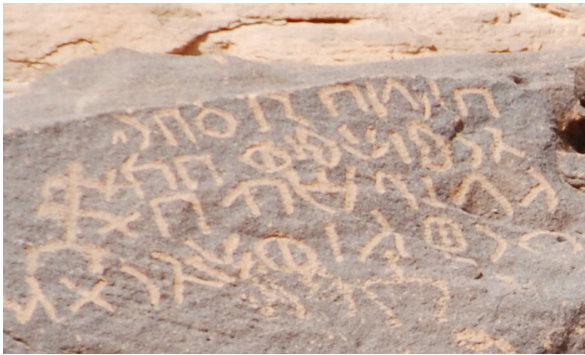


FIGURE 12
 A dedicatory text chiseled
 on a rock face (AH 113)
 PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE
 ON OCIANA

AH 113 *b{h}l* / *bn* / 'bd//*hrg* /'gw *b-k//hl* / *l-dgbt* // *f rd-h* / *w 'hrt-h*
 '*b{h}l* son of 'bd*hrg* dedicated at *hkl* to *dgbt* so may he favor him
 and his posterity'

2.5 *Pounded*

The fourth manner of inscribing, where the text is pounded onto the rock, is 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 13 A *zll* inscription pounded on a rock face (U 116)
PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

U 116 *'bd'tbl // hzll / l-dġ//bt / frdy-h*
 'bd'tbl performed the zll for dġbt so may he favor him'

As a final note on the varying manners of inscribing, it is worth noting that both U 001 (Figure 6) and U 116 (Figure 13) are written on rock faces, commemorating the same ritual, using similar formulae. However, while the first was executed in relief, the second was pounded onto the rock. Even though inscriptions in relief are generally longer than some of the attested graffiti, which often only contain personal names, it seems to have been perfectly acceptable to use any of the above-mentioned methods to produce any genre of inscription.

3 Dadanic Alphabetic Text

So far, one Dadanic 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' (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 formu-

lae occur throughout the Dadanitic corpus, their concentration is particularly high on this rock face, which might suggest that this was a practice site (Macdonald 1986, 115).¹⁵

4 Summary: Varying Styles, Varying Forms

This chapter introduced the Dadanitic script in all its variation, displaying varying letter shapes and manners of execution. Although the variation in letter shapes was already mentioned in relation to our understanding of the development of the Dadanitic script in the Introduction and Chapter 1, § 4, here the focus was on the specific variation in the representation of *z* and *t*, showing that distinguishing them based on form is not always unambiguous. The chapter continued with a discussion of the different manners of inscribing that I distinguish in this work: inscriptions executed in relief, deeply incised, chiseled, and pounded inscriptions. These will be used as variables in the statistical analysis in Chapters 7 and 8. The chapter ended with a brief discussion of the one attested Dadanitic abecedary, which was already mentioned in the Introduction in relation to its significance for our understanding of the workings of scribal practice and education at Dadan. The discussion in the present chapter focused more on the content of the inscription and what this short text can tell us about the established letter-order used at the oasis.

¹⁵ Macdonald notes that the Minaic abecedary found in al-'Ulā also seems to be surrounded by several other exercise texts (Macdonald 1986, 115).

Genres and Compositional Formulae

Having established the first of the key elements of Dadanitic inscriptions in Chapter 2, I will now turn to the second, that of genre and compositional formulae. In general, we can say that ASA and ANA inscriptions contain the same basic formulaic parts. That is, they start with the subject of the text, indicated by a genealogy, followed by ‘the principal verb that characterizes the typology of the text’ (Avanzini 2017, 98) with possible elaborations, and end in an invocation or a curse on any person who would damage the inscription (Al-Jallad 2015, 201–221; Avanzini 2017, 97–98).

In his work on the Dadanitic inscriptions from al-‘Uḏayb, Sima (1999, 49) extensively discusses the use of formulae, recognizing the same basic three-part division, whose elements he termed *superscriptio*, *narratio*, and *invocatio*, following E.A. Knauf (1980). 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. This section can be elaborated by adding to whom the dedication is being made, 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 on any person who might damage the inscription. In the following, this basic three-part structure will guide my analysis, in which the most common compositional formulae will be presented. In this way, it is similar to Al-Jallad’s presentation of the Safaitic data (2015, 201–220).

This understanding of the formulae is extended when we also consider the inscriptions’ content, as the Dadanitic corpus comprises several different textual genres besides graffiti: dedicatory, construction, funerary, and legal and or narrative. While the first three genres are also clearly represented in the compositional formulae, the ‘legal and or narrative’ texts are not easily described in these terms, mostly because there are too few examples and some inscriptions that fall into this category currently represent 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. It is unclear, however, whether this declaration may have had further legal consequences; for example, relating to borders or land rights. Given their lack of recognizable formulaicity, based on the currently available evidence, these texts will not receive further detailed discussion here, but they will be treated as ‘non-graffiti’ in the analysis in Chapters 7 and 8.

In the following, I will address the three main formulaic parts of the inscriptions, following Knauf's (1980) tripartite division of the texts. Beginning with a description of the basic elements that can be found in the *superscriptio*,¹ I will then turn to the *narratio* and discuss the formulaic parts that can be found in the different genres of inscriptions: dedicatory, building, and funerary inscriptions. This will be followed by a discussion of the third, and final, part of the inscriptions: the *invocatio*, which will include a description of the basic elements as well as several less-common elaborations, such as a date and signature. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the common types of Dadanitic graffiti and their formulaic parts.

1 Superscriptio

Starting with the first formulaic part, we can see that almost all inscriptions start with a personal name,² 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.³ The genealogies are generally very short: only about 120 persons are mentioned with their patronym and fewer than 20 with a third generation.⁴ This is an extremely low number in a corpus of nearly 2000 inscriptions, many of which mention several individuals.⁵

Turning next to family lineage, we can see that this 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

1 A thorough analysis of the content of the first element of the inscriptions from al-'Uḏayb can be found in Sima (1999, 52–90).

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

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

4 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.

5 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 that repeat more than once, excluding the kings that are mentioned in the dating formula in some of the inscriptions. This calculation does not take into account the chance recurrence of personal names, which would only further lower the number of individuals mentioned more than once. This suggests leaving an inscription was a once-in-a-lifetime action and not part of an annual or recurring ritual.

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, interprets these as indicating the name of the direct family, as opposed to the lineage or clan which, she argues, would be indicated by *d* (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. This is usually done by using a conjunction *w*- followed by a lexical item indicating the family connection with a possessive suffix and the name of the relation. In the list of family relations mentioned in the *superscriptio* below, the number of attestations of each form is indicated in parentheses, in the first column.

w X-h PN

Family relations mentioned in the *superscriptio*:

' <i>b</i> (2)	'father'	U 044; Al-'Udayb 065
' <i>h</i> (2)	'brother'	JSLih 079 (' <i>hw</i> '); U 064
' <i>ht</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-'Udayb 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>htn</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). Occupations mentioned in the *superscriptio*:⁶

6 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.

<i>ʾfkl</i> (5)	‘priest’	Al-ʿUḏayb 079; JaL 010 a; Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 15–26, no. 2; JSLih 048; Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1
<i>ʾfkl h-ktby</i> (1)	‘priest of <i>h-ktby</i> ’	JSLih 055
<i>ʾfkl lt</i> (1)	‘priest of <i>lt</i> ’	JSLih 277
<i>ʾfkl wd</i> (1)	‘priest of <i>wd</i> ’	JSLih 049
<i>frs^l</i> (2)	‘horseman’	AH 136; AH 137
<i>kbr h-dʿt</i> (1)	‘ <i>kabir</i> of the council(?)’	JSLih 072
<i>mlk</i> (1)	‘king’	AH 145
<i>mlk ddn</i> (1)	‘king of Dadan’	Al-Saʿīd 2011.1
<i>mlkt lhyn⁷</i> (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
<i>s^llh dġbt</i> (24)	‘priest of <i>dġbt</i> ’	e.g., JSLih 061; U 023; Al-ʿUḏayb 042
<i>s^llht dġbt</i> (7)	‘priestess of <i>dġbt</i> ’	e.g., U 022; AH 006; Al-ʿUḏayb 129
<i>s^llht wd</i> (1)	‘priestess of <i>wd</i> ’	AH 199

2 Narratio

Within the next formulaic part, the *narratio*, we find the main verb of the text that signals its genre or, as A. Avanzini calls it, the ‘typology’ of the text (2017, 98). In the following, I will distinguish dedicatory, building, and funerary inscriptions. Within the dedicatory inscriptions, *zll*-inscriptions, pilgrimage inscriptions, and ‘other’ dedicatory texts will be recognized as separate genres, partly based on the verbs used in each type of inscription, but also on the different elaborations that are possible with each type. Building inscriptions can semantically either be dedicatory or funerary inscriptions, depending on the type of construction they commemorate. They are grouped together based on the principle that the main verb is leading in reconstructing the text type. The final genre—funerary texts—is distinguished from the inscriptions commemorating the building of a funerary structure in their use of unique formulae that do not occur outside funerary contexts. The separation between building

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

inscriptions commemorating the construction of funerary structures and the genre of funerary inscriptions is, therefore, based on the compositional formulae of the two text types and not their content.

2.1 *Dedicatory*

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 inscription is overwhelmingly found in two locations at the oasis: at al-ʿUḏayb and at a rock formation called Umm Daraġ (see Map 2 showing the distribution of the different types of inscriptions across the landscape). The formulae of the inscriptions from the first of these sites, al-ʿUḏayb, have been thoroughly discussed by Sima (1999, 49–113), who considered all dedicatory inscriptions from this area to be of the same type, regardless of the object that was being dedicated.

However, while it is true that all dedicatory inscriptions follow the same formulaic template, I have chosen to split the dedicatory inscriptions into their main semantic types: *zll* inscriptions, *hgg* or pilgrimage inscriptions, and general dedications. This subdivision seems justified by the fact that 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. Moreover, some phrases, like the toponym *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. These formal differences between the *zll* ritual and other dedications already justify differentiating between the two, which seems to be corroborated by the different relation the two text types have with several of the linguistic variables, discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. Moreover, as I have recently proposed, the *zll* ritual seems to have had a documentary dimension to do with the registration and acquisition of land rights, which further supports the idea that it is somewhat separate from other dedicatory texts (Kootstra 2022).

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

2.1.1 *zll* Inscriptions

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

Gn [verb][object] *l-dġbt b-LOC bʿd/ʿly* [property] *b-*[toponym] *f-invocatio*

The Verbs

Most frequently the performance of the *zll* ritual is indicated by a causative verb of the same root.⁸ 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 Chapter 2, §1. Note that *ʔy* ‘to fulfill, accomplish’ is only attested in combination with the *zll* ritual. The verbs *ʔdq*, *ʔgw*, and *fʔl* are also attested with other types of dedications.

Gn [verb] *h-zll l-dḡbt*

Verbs used for the dedication of the *zll*:

<i>ʔzll</i> (116)	‘to perform the <i>zll</i> ’	e.g., U 019; U 058; AH 003
<i>ʔzl</i> (37)	‘to perform the <i>zll</i> ’	e.g., AH 072; AH 080; U 006
<i>hʔzll</i> (10)	‘to perform the <i>zll</i> ’	e.g., U 041; U 116; AH 011
<i>ʔy</i> (9)	‘to fulfill’	e.g., U 005; U 031; AH 015
<i>ʔdq</i> (1)	‘to offer’	AH 087
<i>ʔgw</i> (35)	‘to dedicate’	e.g., U 038; AH 202; Al-ʔUdayb 138
<i>fʔl</i> (1)	‘to do, to make’	AH 088
<i>ndr</i>	‘to vow’	U 010

The Objects

The most commonly used phrase uses the verb and object of the same root *ʔzll 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 *dḡbt*⁹ in the case of the *zll* inscriptions) with a preposition *l-*. In some cases, the location where the dedication was made is also mentioned. Note that while VERB *h-zll l-dḡbt b-LOC* is the most common order attested, any of the elaborations can be left out and they occur in different orders.¹⁰ Although Sima considers the dedication to *dḡbt* and the

8 For a discussion of the different forms of the verb see Chapter 5.

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

10 This variation may be compared to that 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 (2003, 26).

location of the action¹¹ part of the elaborations, 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 $\text{ʔllt } l-//\underline{d}gbt \text{ } b-\{k\}hl$
 ‘she performed the *ʔll* ceremony for *dgbt* at *khl*’
- U 058 $\text{ʔll } / \text{ } h\text{-ʔll } // \{b-\}khl / l\text{-}\underline{d}g//bt$
 ‘he performed the *ʔll* ceremony at *khl* for *dgbt*’
- U 050 $\text{ʔll } / l\text{-}\underline{d}gbt / \underline{tl}//\underline{tt} / \text{ʔlt}$
 ‘he performed for *dgbt* three *ʔll* ceremonies’

Different ways of specifying the *ʔll*:

<i>h-ʔll</i>	‘the <i>ʔll</i> ceremony’	e.g., U 049; U 054; AH 062; AH 244
<i>ʔll h-nq</i> (9)	‘the <i>ʔll</i> of the <i>nq</i> ’	e.g., AH 001; AH 225; U 037; U 119
<i>h-ʔll dh</i> (11)	‘this <i>ʔll</i> ceremony’	e.g., U 005; U 033; U 038; Al-‘Udayb 041; AH 061
<i>ʔll</i> (5)	‘a <i>ʔll</i> ceremony’	AH 100; AH 015; AH 079; AH 091; Al-‘Udayb 138
ʔ-ʔll (2)	‘the <i>ʔll</i> ’	U 043; AH 138
<i>h-ʔlln</i> (1)	‘the two <i>ʔll</i> ceremonies’	U 034
$\underline{tl}\underline{t}\underline{t} \text{ ʔlt}$ (2)	‘three <i>ʔll</i> ceremonies’	U 032; U 050

Locations

In the first narrative part of the inscriptions several different locations are mentioned, seemingly indicating where the ceremony was performed (e.g., M.C. Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2014, 20–22 for *khl*; and see Beeston 1974, 172 more generally on mentioning the location of the performed ceremony). Locations in the *ʔll* inscriptions:

11 Sima translates *b-khl* as ‘nach Vermögen’ (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, M.C. Hidalgo-Chacón Díez (2014, 20–22) has clearly shown that all attestations of *khl* occur at al-‘Udayb, which led her to suggest that it was the ancient name for this site, following the hypothesis of Beeston (1974, 172).

<i>khl</i> (72)	‘toponym’	e.g., AH 100; U 002; U 071; AH 119
<i>mšd</i> (6)	‘sanctuary’ ¹²	AH 202; AH 244; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII; AH 197; AH 199; Private collection 1
<i>btr</i> (1)	‘toponym’	U 079 bis

ndr

Some of the *zll* inscriptions mention that the *zll* was completed ‘according to what was vowed’ (*hmd ndr*), possibly referring to a longer lasting commitment tied to the ritual (Kootstra 2022) or a previous promise of the fulfillment of the *zll* itself. Different *hmd ndr* phrases:

Gn [verb][object] *l-dğbt b*-[location] *hmd ndr* (X) *invocatio*
(AH 023; AH 204; AH 244; AH 013; Private collection 1)

Gn [verb] [object] *ndr* (*l-dğbt*) elaboration *invocatio*
(U 003; U 021; U 007)

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.¹³ This section can be extended by adding different crops or other property following the conjunction *w-*.

12 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 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 07-03-2018). 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 word’s etymology, 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.

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

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

Property mentioned in the dedication:

<i>nhl</i> (39)	'palm trees'	e.g., U 038
<i>ḥhl</i> (2)	'palm trees (pl.)'	Al-'Udayb 071; 073
<i>dt'</i> (32)	'crops of the season of the later rains'	e.g., Al-'Udayb 132; JSLih 077
<i>ḏt'</i> (1)	'crops of the season of the later rains'	AH 107
<i>ḏt'</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>ḏ-kn l-h</i> (21)	'that which was his'	e.g., U 050; U 108; AH 069; AH 075
<i>ḏ-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>ḥrf</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>rḏ</i> (1)	'valley'	U 046
<i>h-drt</i> (1)	'enclosed area'	U 003
<i>mrbḏ</i> (1)	'meadow'	AH 073

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//t^cl / mn / dt' / w ḥrf*
 'on behalf of what was his at *ḏt^cl* of the crops of the season of the later rains and the crops of the season of the first rains'

AH 077 *b//d / ḏ-kn / l-h // b-bdr / mn / nhl{-h}*
 'on behalf of that which was his at *bdr* of his palm trees'

Persons mentioned in the dedication:

<i>-h</i> (1)	'him(self)'	U 102 bis
<i>'b-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 M.C. Hidalgo-Chacon Dièz (2014). For this reason, I am only including the list of attested forms and their number of occurrences. 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^l</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^ldn</i> (2)	AH 066; U 126
<i>d^ldn</i> (1)	U 013
<i>d^l^cl</i> (5)	e.g., AH 072; U 059; U 091
<i>d^lmn</i> (20)	e.g., AH 062; U 028; U 066
<i>ms²hl</i> (1)	U 026
<i>mh{m/g}t</i> (1)	U 089
<i>h-mdhb</i> (1)	U 075

2.1.2 Pilgrimage: *hgt* Inscriptions

A special kind of dedicatory inscription refers to the *hgt* 'pilgrimage'. Whenever the activity is expressed by the verb *hgg*, it mostly occurs in the plural, with nine attestations as opposed to two 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 in broken context as ... *mšd hgt* '... sanctuary, pilgrimage' (AH 226), and once in construct with *mšd* as *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 many ways to add information. The following discussion, therefore, focuses on distilling the most basic form of the formula to which more could be added. Generally, 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*

Deities mentioned with *hgg*:

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

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

Elaboration

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

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*

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>'šdq</i> (1)	JSLih 008

<i>fʿl</i> (8)	e.g., Al-Saʿīd 2011.1; Nasif 1988: 86, pl. CXVI/e; al-Ḥuraybah 06
<i>hdq</i> (2)	Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1–2; JSLih 062
<i>hgnyw</i> (1)	AH 197
<i>wqd</i> (1)	al-Ḥuraybah 08
<i>htb</i> (1)	al-Ḥuraybah 12
<i>hwdq</i> (4)	al-Ḥuraybah 13; AH 288; al-Ḥuraybah 14; JSLih 049
<i>hwqʿ</i> (1)	al-Ḥuraybah 12
<i>qrb</i> (3)	JSLih 041; AH 209; al-Ḥuraybah 09

Attested deities in the general dedicatory texts:

<i>dqbt</i> (15)	e.g., AH 222; JSLih 041; al-Ḥuraybah 12
<i>hn-ʿktb</i> (1)	JSLih 062
<i>hrg</i> (2)	AH 222; AH 197
<i>lh</i> (1)	JSLih 061
<i>ṭhln</i> (2)	Al-Saʿīd 2011.1; Al-Saʿīd 2011.2

Elaboration

Elaborations attested with general dedicatory inscriptions:

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

2.2 *Building*

Remaining within the *narratio*, we can identify a second genre of inscriptions related to building or construction. Within this category there are two subtypes: dedicatory ones that mention the building of an object for divine favor; and ones mentioning funerary structures. Most building inscriptions use the verb *bny* ‘he built’ (nine attestations), while there is one inscription that uses the verb *fʿl* ‘he made’ to refer to the construction of a temple.¹⁴

2.2.1 Funerary Structures

The formula of inscriptions mentioning the construction of funerary structures can be summarized as below, with an overview of the attested funerary structures in the texts listed.

Gn *bny* [funerary structure]

14 Most examples containing *fʿl* are more general dedicatory inscriptions.

JSLih 078 *bny / b//r' / h-mtbr /'//l-h / h'*
 'he built the facade of the grave chamber and it is his'

Funerary structures mentioned:

<i>mtbr</i>	'grave chamber'	JSLih 078
<i>kfr</i>	'tomb'	JSLih 045

2.2.2 Dedicatory Building Inscriptions

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-šn---- // l-dgbt / f rd-hmy / w s'd-hmy / w 'hrt// -hmy
 'they built the ... for *dgbt* so may he favor them both and aid them
 and their posterity'

Structures mentioned in building inscriptions:

<i>bt</i>	'temple'	Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8; JaL 006
<i>bryn</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 sanctuary(?) so aid ...'

2.3 *Funerary*

There is another type of funerary inscription that is different from the funerary subtype of the building inscriptions based on its formulaic structure. These inscriptions contain *'hd* 'he took' as the main verb in their *narratio*. This verb is used to refer to taking possession of funerary structures (e.g., *qbr* in JSLih 079 and *mqr* in JSLih 306), but also of sections of cliff (JSLih 065; JSLih 066), an overview of the objects following *'hd* in funerary inscriptions can be found in

the list below. The inscriptions that mention taking possession of a cliff were probably meant to reserve a section of the cliff face for the future construction of a tomb.¹⁵ 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 *ʾhd* ([object] (*dh*))

Objects following *ʾhd*:

<i>hl-btt</i>	‘this section (of cliff)?’	JaL 021 f
<i>h-mqbr dh</i>	‘this burial place’	JSLih 306
<i>h-mtbrn</i>	‘the grave chambers’	JSLih 045
<i>h-qbr</i>	‘the grave’	JSLih 257
<i>h-qbr dh</i>	‘this grave’	JSLih 079
<i>ʾsfht</i>	‘the section of cliff’	JSLih 065
<i>h-sfht dt</i>	‘this section of cliff’	JSLih 066

3 Invocatio

The third formulaic part to be considered is the *invocatio*, which 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); these will be considered separately below.

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 *rd-h* ‘may he favor him’, which is commonly followed by *w-ʾhrt-h* ‘and his posterity’. The longer phrase *f-rd-h w-sʾd-h w-ʾhrt-h* ‘so may he favor him and aid him and his posterity’ occurs frequently; it is sometimes amended with the verb *ʾtb-h* ‘may he reward him’. While *rd* (256 occurrences) is clearly the most common form, and *ʾtb* does not occur very frequently (36 occurrences), these basic elements were seemingly freely combined in different orders.

15 Compare the use of the verb *ʾhd* in Nabataean texts from Ḥegrā outlining and claiming the position of a future tomb (Nehmé 2015, 1105).

f-[verbs] *w-ʕrt-h*

Verbs attested in the *invocatio*:

rd-h or *rdy-h* ‘may he favor him’

s^ld-h ‘may he aid him’

ʕb-h ‘may he reward him’

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

U 040.1 ʕll *h-zll* // *hny* / *hn-ʕ* // *ʕrt*
 ‘he performed the *ʕll* ceremony **may he benefit the posterity**’

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

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). Graffiti and their formulaic parts will be discussed in more detail in § 4.

AH 288 *w hwdq / l-h / h-mḥry* ---- // {*l*}*hgr* / *f rdyt-h* / *w ʕrt-h* ---- // ʕr / *dḡbt* / *w h^ʕ* / *ʕrt* ---- // ʕr-*h*
 ‘... and he dedicated to him the incense burner ... to *hgr* so may she favor him and his posterity ... **may *dḡbt* dishonor and this posterity ... [who] mistreats it**’

AH 210 ʕ^l*k* / *bn* / *htm* / *h* // *tṭ* / *tqṭ* / ʕ[r] {*d*}*ḡ*{*b*} // *t* / *tⁿ* / ʕr ----
 ‘PN son of PN PN inscribed; **may *dḡbt* by smiting(?) the one who mistreats ...**’

AH 289 *f-mn yʕrr-h* // *yʕr-h n^m* // *dḡbt* // *w ṭḥln*
 ‘so may the one who mistreats it be stripped of property, *dḡbt* and *ṭḥln*’

3.3 *Date*

In some inscriptions, a date is included at the end, usually following the *invocatio* when they occur in dedicatory inscriptions. Such 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.¹⁶ The dating formulae are found within several kinds of dedicatory inscriptions: *zll* inscriptions (AH 244*; AH 013; AH 216; AH 235; Private collection 1; AH 202); *hgg* types (AH 206; AH 221*; AH 219*; Rabeler 001*; AH 239*; AHUD 1); and other dedicatory forms (e.g.; AH 204; AH 222). They are found in building inscriptions (U 008*; Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8*), 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).¹⁷

s'nt X PN bn PN mlk Lḥyn
 'year X PN son of PN king of Liḥyān' (e.g., AH 064)

s'nt X b-r'y Y PN bn PN mlk Lḥyn
 '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 / s'nt / {s²}/r / w s¹b' / b-r'y / s¹lhn*
 'they built the sanctuary so may he favor them year seventeen during the rising of the asterism *S¹lhn*'

AH 219 *---bt / ḥgt / h-mšd / frd-h / {w} s¹//d-h / b-r'y / hrf / s'nt / ḥms¹ / 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-dḡbt / b-k//hl / hmq / ndrṭ // fr{d}{-h} / w{s¹}d-h // w {³}{h}rt-h / s'nt / ḥms¹ // s²{h}r / {b}n / hn's^p*
 'she performed the *zll* ceremony for *dḡbt* 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's^p*'

16 See Kootstra (2020) for a full discussion of this dating formula and its interpretation.

17 The sigla indicated with an asterisk are those that include the more elaborate dating formula, including the time of year.

AH 204 ṛqww / h---//bt / hm-d / ndr / dǧ[b][t]--- [f]//rd-hm / w s¹d-hm / ---// s¹nt / s²rn / w ṛ[b][]--- // bn hn's¹ mlk lhy[n]
 'they sent up the ... according to what was vowed [to] dǧbt ... so may he favor them and aid them ... year twenty-four ... son of hn's¹ king of Liḥyān'

AH 222 ṛqd h-m--- l-ḥrg // s¹nt s¹t hn's¹ // mlk lḥyn
 'he dedicated the ... to ḥrg year six of hn's¹ king of Liḥyān'

Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLIV
 ms¹kh / ys²bk // tqṭ / s¹nt / ḥdy // b-rṽ / d'bs¹mwy
 'ms¹kh ys²bk inscribed year one during the rṽ of the asterism d'bs¹mwy'

JSLih 072 ḥḏw / h-mkn // w h-mq^cd / dh / kll-h / mn / m^c//n / h-gbl / hn^cly / dky // m^c{n} / h-gbl / hn's¹{f}lf//rd-//hm / s¹nt / ḥms¹ / b-rṽ // 'bdn / hn's¹
 'they took the place and this seat, all of it, from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border¹⁸ so may he favor them, year five during the rṽ of the asterism 'bdn [during the reign of] hn's¹'

3.4 Signature

A final element comes in the form of a signature, with some texts signed at the end of the inscription by the artisan who made them. This confirms that at least some of the inscriptions were commissioned (Macdonald 2010, 7). The most common way of mentioning the artisan is by giving their name and title following the *invocatio* (and, where it is included, the date). There are also several inscriptions in which the person mentioned in the genealogy, in the *superscriptio* of the text, gives their title as '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^c-h* 'he made [it] for his lord' (al-Ḥuraybah 12; JSLih 035).¹⁹

18 Translation following Lundberg (2015, 135).

19 In OCIANA, the phrase is translated as 'he made [this] for his lord' in al-Ḥuraybah 12 and as 'he served for his lord' in the record of JSLih 035. Based on the records in the

f-invocatio PN *bn* PN [title] *'bd l-mr'-hf*-invocatio

Occupations mentioned in the signature:

<i>s'fr</i> (2)	'writer'	JSLih 082; AH 220
<i>šn'</i> (11)	'artisan'	e.g., al-Ḥuraybah 12; JSLih 075; JSLih 082
<i>šwġ</i> (2)	'smith'	al-Ḥuraybah 04; 05
<i>šyġ</i> (1)	'smith'	al-Ḥuraybah 14

4 Graffiti

Besides the content-based genres, that rely on the main verb in the *narratio* for their identification, a distinction can be made between graffiti and more formal inscriptions. I will now briefly consider the different types and related compositional formulae of the inscriptions that can be categorized as graffiti. In doing so, I follow Macdonald's definition of graffiti as 'personal statements, carved, written or painted on a surface in a public space' (2015, 8), as discussed in the section on script as one of the key factors of a Dadanitic inscription in the Introduction. 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.²⁰

Taking an inscription's purpose as leading in defining it as a graffiti means that, for example, a *zll*-inscription will never be considered as a graffiti. 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 a personal statement.

OCIANA database, <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana> (accessed 30-06-2021). See the section on the language of the inscriptions in the Introduction for a discussion of the phrase and its interpretation.

20 The high formulaicity 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 the texts about love, sports, and games (Bagnall 2011, 16) found in the basement of the Smyrna basilica, probably dating to between the later first and the late second century CE (Bagnall 2011, 8) look much more personal and free in their self-expression.

In other cases, the distinction seems less clear.²¹ Take for example JaL 016 a, which is a unique inscription, but has religious content.

JaL 016 a *f-ys^lm^c l-h^l // w-ylm^c-h*
 ‘so may ʿĒl listen to him and make him splendidous’

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 personal, meaning the inscription would therefore fall into the category of graffiti.²²

In general, graffiti are much shorter than the other inscriptions considered above. 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 *ʿydmnt / bn s^llm / r^cy*
 ‘*ʿydmnt* son of *s^llm* pastured (the livestock)’

More frequently recurring themes within the graffiti can be divided into three categories. There are inscriptions mentioning the activity of writing and thus claiming authorship, inscriptions with the verb *wdd* ‘to love’, and those mentioning *nṭr* ‘he guarded’. I will briefly consider each below.

4.1 *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*

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).

21 For a more in-depth analysis of the meaning of the *ʿll*, see note 17 in the Introduction and Kootstra (2022).

22 Note that this inscription is only known from A. 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.

JSLih 182 { }*bdhny* // *tqt* // 'ly // *qrt*
 ' { }*bdhny* inscribed on behalf of *qrt*'

Attested verbs of writing and inscribing:

ḥt (1) JSLih 181
ḥtt (1) Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII
ktb (1) JSLih 279
mtl (1) JSLih 339
qt (1) JaL 152
sʿfr (2) Ġabal Iṭlib 08; JSLih 128
tqt (85) e.g., JaL 169 af; JSLih 339; W.Dad 16

4.2 **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).²³

PN *wdd* PN

4.3 **nṭr**

The *nṭr* inscriptions are almost all found at Jabal Iṭlib in Madā'in Šāliḥ or Ḥeḡrā. They commemorate the guarding activities that were carried out at this location.²⁴ Several were executed in a unique style (see Chapter 2, § 2.1 for a discussion of the Jabal Iṭlib relief).

PN *bn* PN *nṭr ddn* / PN

5 **Summary**

Above, I have outlined the main genres and their related compositional formulae, as attested in the Dadanic corpus. Using Avanzini's (2017, 98) notion that

23 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 *ḡlmt* and adding references to intercourse *nk* (e.g., KJA 105; KJA 23).

24 See Chapter 1, § 6 for the possibility that these inscriptions are connected to a funerary context, based on the recent discoveries of the Madā'in Šāliḥ archaeological project (Nehmé et al. 2021, 14–19).

the main verb in the *narratio* of an inscription is often indicative of its genre, or typology, I distinguished three types of more formal inscriptions: dedicatory, building, and funerary inscriptions. For each, the common compositional formulae were presented, with notes on how some can be combined to form more, or less, elaborate inscriptions. The chapter concluded with a brief discussion on the formulaicity of graffiti and how this compares to their more formal counterparts, followed, again, by an overview of some of the most common compositional formulae in this genre of inscriptions. Given the high level of formulaicity in the Dadanitic inscriptions, understanding how the formulae relate to each other and knowing their constituent parts is key to their reading and decipherment; thus, the various genres, as outlined above, will feature as variables in the analysis of variation in Chapters 7 and 8.

Orthography and Phonology

As already mentioned in Chapter 2, the Dadanitic script is made up of 28 glyphs, each representing a separate phoneme, except for *s*¹, which came to represent both **s*¹ and **s*³. Their merger probably not only reflects the merging of the signs in the script, but also the phonological situation. Since there are no transcriptions of Dadanitic language into other scripts, which represent short vowels or with a substantially different phoneme inventory,¹ 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 (2000) has argued that the earliest form of the ANA script probably did not have a sign for the interdental *ɖ*. He shows that the *ɖ* 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 *ɖ* in the various ANA scripts (Macdonald 2000, 43).

ɖ 𐩧
z 𐩧

If it was possible to fill gaps in the phonology of the language the script was used to represent by creating new glyphs, like the *ɖ*, it would seem unlikely this would not have happened for other ‘missing’ phonemes too. It is, therefore, 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 *ɖ* (see § 6.3).

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

¹ Such inscriptions are available, for example, of Safaitic in Greek script (e.g., Al-Jallad and al-Manaser 2016, 58–59).

1 Word Dividers

There are several ANA scripts that use word dividers,² but only monumental Dadanitic uses them consistently (Macdonald 2008, 186). They are also ‘commonly, though not consistently’ employed in Dadanitic graffiti (Macdonald 2008, 186). Within the 1969 Dadanitic inscriptions in the OCIANA database at the time of writing, 975 contain word dividers.³ These include longer dedicatory inscriptions on rock face (e.g., U 102bis; U 063; U 056), graffiti solely containing personal names (e.g., U 114; 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).

Word dividers are usually employed to separate every lexeme in the inscription, even in genitive constructions.⁴

U 050 *s^lmy / bn / tlg̃l // ʔzll / l-dḡbt*
 ‘*s^lmy son of tlg̃l performed the zll for dḡbt*’

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

U 108 *brd / s^llm // dḡbt / ʔz//ll / l-dḡbt // b-khl / b^d // d-kn / l-h / b-y//r /*
 f-rd-h [/] w ʔ//tb-h⁵
 ‘*Brd s^llmdḡbt performed the zll ceremony for dḡbt at khl on behalf*
 of that which was his at yr so may he favor him and reward him.’

At the end of lines, word dividers are used somewhat irregularly. 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 *ʔzllw* is written across two lines, while the personal name *gffh* and the noun *h-nq* end exactly at the end of the

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

3 OCIANA (accessed 18-10-2017).

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

5 Note that even though the word dividers are used as expected in most of this text, the word divider between *f-rd-h w-ʔtb-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.

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 // s^ld'l / d-yf`n / `z//llw /
zll / h-nq / l-//dġbt / f-rđ-hm*
'*bn[w]d* and *whb`m* and 'wd and *lb`n* sons of *s^ld* 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* fulfilled 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 s^ld-h / w `h//rt-h /*
'So **may he favor** him and aid him and his posterity'

2 *Matres lectionis*

Scholars have identified three *matres lectiones* employed in Dadanitic: *-h*, *-w*, and *-y* (Drewes 1985, 167–168, 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).

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 Chapter 5, § 1.3 and Drewes 1985, 168; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 62); one example of the dual *-h* on a noun in the nominative case (see Chapter 6, § 2.2); and the difference between the spelling of relative *mh* in proclitic or independent position (Drewes 1985, 168). There are also several personal names attested in which *-h* seems to represent *-ā* (Drewes 1985, 168).⁶

6 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 § 2.3.

2.1.1 On Verbs

The representation of \bar{a} with $-h$ is attested on what seem to be dual verbs in the SC (Drewes 1985, 168).

- U 019 *rhz / bn / thmh / w // mt'zh / s'lh / dġbt / 'zlh / h-zl // l / l-dġbt / b-khl / b'd / ml-hm / b-bdr / frq-hm // w 'hrt-hm*
 'rhz son of thmh and mt'zh, priestess of dġbt performed (du.) the zl ceremony for dġbt 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 $'zlh$ represents a dual verb here, with $-h$ representing \bar{a} . The suffixed personal pronouns in the inscription are all plural $-hm$, which seems to be a mistake (see Chapter 7, § 2). A dual verb seems to fit the inscription better than assuming that $'zlh$ represents a feminine singular verb with a sporadic $-at > -ah$ shift (see Overlaet, Macdonald, and Stein 2016, n. 23; also Chapter 5, § 1.2), 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.⁷ There is one inscription attested with full dual agreement throughout the text (AH 199).

- AH 199 *s'mwh / bnt / s'mr / s'lh / w // d / w zyd / b'l-h / d- yf'n / ' // zllh / l-dġbt / h-zl / b-h-mš // d / frq-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 zl for dġbt 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.

2.1.2 Nominative Dual

Even though the ending $-y$ was generally leveled for all forms of the dual (see Chapter 6, § 2.2), there is one inscription that seems to use a nominative form of the dual *bnh* /banā/.

7 See Al-Jallad's commentary in OCLANA 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).

Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII

d / *ms^hyh* / *w bd* / *bnh* / *tm^l* // *ʔlw* / *h-ʔll* / *l-dǧbt*

‘*dms^hyh* and *bd* two sons of *tm^l*, they performed the *ʔll* ceremony’

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*⁸).

JSLih 077 *wdyw* / *nfs^l* / *mr* / *bn* / *hwt* / ***m{h}***⁹ // *ʔhd* / *ʔ-hmy* / *hrg* /
‘They placed the funerary monument of *mr* son of *hwt* according to {**what**} he took upon them by lawsuit.’

JSLih 064 *bʔs^hmn* / *ʔhrm* / *h-qrt* / *mn* / ***mh*** / *trq-h* / *mr^t* / *l-bhny* / *hn-ʔfkt*
‘*bʔs^hmn* protected the village from **what** [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it’

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. However, as mentioned in the previous section, it is not unusual for word dividers to be left out at line breaks in Dadanitic.

In word internal position, however, relative *m(h)* is consistently attested without the *-h* (Drewes 1985, 168).¹⁰

U 059 *ʔy* / *m-kn* / *l-h*
‘on behalf of that which was his’

AH 125 *ʔ-m-kn* / *l-h*
‘on behalf of that which was his’

8 And possibly Hebrew *mā* (< *mah) (Suchard 2019, 80).

9 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*.

10 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 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 *bʔd* // *d-kn* / *l-h* / *b-y/r* ‘on behalf of what was his at *yr*’ (U 108) and *b//ʔd* / *ml* / *kn* / [*l*]//*h* / *b-bdr* ‘on behalf of property that was his at *bdr*’ (AH 120).

U 044 *b'd / 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.

2.1.4 Evidence from Personal Names

There are several personal names in which *-h* clearly represents *-ā*; *'mt'zh* (U 019; Drewes 1985, 168) and *'mktbh* (AH 078).¹¹ The theophoric elements of the first two names come from feminine elatives: **/'uzzay/* and **'/kutbay/* 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.

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.

11 And possibly *'ls'mh*, although the exact interpretation of the name is uncertain, it could come from $\sqrt{S'MY}$: 'El has named'.

2.2.1 Verbs

3MP SC

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

<i>bnyw</i> ¹²	‘they built’	Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8
<i>ḡww</i> ¹³	‘they dedicated’	U 088
<i>fʿlw</i>	‘they made’	al-Ḥuraybah 11
{ḡ}rsʿw	‘they planted’	U 023
<i>ḥggw</i> ¹⁴	‘they made the pilgrimage’	AH 197
<i>ḥḡnyw</i>	‘they dedicated (lit. make rich)’	AH 197
<i>ḥwdqw</i>	‘they dedicated’	JSLih 049
<i>qrbw</i> ¹⁵	‘they offered’	al-Ḥuraybah 09
<i>ẓlw</i>	‘they performed the ẓll’	e.g., AH 235

The consistent representation of final weak consonants in the 3MP SC verbs, as opposed to the 3FS SC verbs, in which the third root consonant *y* is almost never represented,¹⁶ suggests a different phonological environment in each. This probably confirms the vocalic nature of the 3MP 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-‘Uḏayb 043)
ʿfy (e.g., U 004; U 031; U 035) but *ʿft* (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 3MP SC to fill the hiatus between the vocalic end of the verbal stem 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.

12 *bnyw* as a plural verb is also attested in U 008; AH 200; Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3.

13 *ḡww* is also attested in AH 243; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVI; Al-‘Uḏayb 001.

14 *ḥggw* also occurs in AH 217; AH 221; AH 231; AH 233; Rabeler 001; U 063; Al-‘Uḏayb 075; Umm Daraḡ 22.

15 Also in AH 209.

16 There is one attestation of *rdyt* (AH 288), see § 2.3.

III-w Verbs

It seems that in III-w verbs, the reflex of the final glide is represented orthographically in the 3 MS SC.¹⁷

U 038 *ḏbn / 'mr / bn / mrd // 'gw / 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 § 2.3), 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 *'gt* (U 126; AH 006; 079; Al-'Uḏayb 129; 008). There are no attestations of III-w verbs with enclitic personal pronouns.¹⁸

2.2.2 Substantives

Final -w is also found on the bound plural of *bn* 'son',¹⁹ and on the nouns *mḥrw* and *'rb'w*.

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

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

U 008 *bnyw / hn-'rb // 'w / frḏ-hm*
 'they built the sanctuary²⁰ so may he favor them'

Both *mḥrw* and *'rb'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 on nominal morphology), which makes this inter-

17 The verb *'gw* 'he dedicated' occurs 26 times in the Dadanitic corpus.

18 Transcription into another script with a better understood orthography could offer another source of more conclusive evidence for this.

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

20 U 008 *'rb'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 (Ir 49) (accessed through DASI).

pretation unlikely. I would suggest that the *w* in *mḥrw* is part of the root²¹ (see the Appendix for further discussion). Sima (1999, 97) links *ʿrbʿw* to the word *rabiʿ* ‘qanāt channel open to the sky’ following A.A. Nasif (1988, 274). However, it may be better to compare it to Nabataean *ʿrbʿn*, which Nehmé suggests is derived from the root RBʿ ‘four’ and which she interprets as ‘square building’ (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-ʿarbiʿā*, which Lane reports to be the only singular word of this measure (except *ʿarmidāʿ*) (Lane, 1020a), but compare, for example, plural formations like CAr. *ṣaḍīq* ~ *ʿaṣḍiqā* ‘friend’. This *-ā* suffix may have come from **ʿarbaʿāw* or *-āy* (compare CAr. **samāy* > *samāʿ*).

2.2.3 Personal Names

There are two examples of personal names with a suffixed *-w*. Their vocalization is currently unclear. They look very similar to names bearing *wawation*, as is common in Nabataean names (Cantineau 1930, 48).²² 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.

<i>ʿbdw</i>	JaL 061 d
<i>ḥdrw</i>	JSLih 349
<i>zḥyw</i>	Al-ʿUḍayb 124

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.²³ Word final *-y* is attested in the 3MS form of the SC of III-weak verbs, on bound dual forms (see Chapter 6, § 2.2), as the gentilic suffix (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 62), and on several personal names (Drewes 1985, 169–170). Below, only those forms that require further discussion will be treated more extensively.

21 On the variant *mḥry* see § 6.6.

22 For a more recent analysis of the function of the otiose *w* at the end of personal names see Al-Jallad (2022).

23 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 /bani/ for *bny*.

2.3.1 Verbs

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

bny e.g., Al-Saʿīd 1420/2000: 15–26, no. 2; JSLih 045
bnyw AH 200; U 008; Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3

Word internally, there seems to be variation. Compare *rđy-h* (e.g., AH 213) and *rđ-h* (e.g., U 038). This difference could be interpreted as a difference in morphological form: *rđy-h* representing the optative use of the SC /rađđaya-hu/ ‘may he favor him’ and *rđ-h* the imperative /rađđī-hu/ ‘favor him’.²⁴

Alternatively, we might interpret *rđ-h* not as an imperative, but as a developed phonological form of the SC. While *rđy-h* shows us that the triphthong was still intact when this spelling was introduced /rađđaya-hu/. The form *rđ-h* could suggest the pronunciation /rađđē-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 /rađđē/ 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 (see Kootstra 2019 for an in-depth discussion of this development).

The eventual collapse of the triphthongs is further supported by the attestation of both 3FS SC *rđt-h*²⁵ and *rđyt-h*. These forms can only represent variant spellings of the same morphological form and since they are based on the same root, the difference in spelling cannot be explained as a difference in vowel quality (Kootstra 2019, 188 and see §3.2 of this chapter).

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

AH 288/4 f rđyt-h / w ʿhrt-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 *rđyt* and *rđy-h* forms represent older forms or archaic spellings, rep-

24 I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting this interpretation of the difference between *rđ* and *rđy* to me.

25 The form *rđt* 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 *rđt*). 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.

representing a period in which the (final) triphthong had not collapsed yet, while the *rdt* and *rd-h* spellings represent the form after the collapse of the triphthong. This means that all other attestations of III-y feminine verbs (e.g., *ʔt* in U 005 and AH 015) are only attested in the more progressive spelling. Since the *rd-h* forms seem to have been the norm (224 attestations, with only 30 attestations with *plene* spelling), and *ʔt* only occurs twice, it is not surprising that these two attestations represent the most commonly attested form without the preservation of the *y*.

The fact that there is no variation attested in the spelling of word final triphthongs suggests that at the time the triphthongs collapsed, word final -y came to be used as a *mater lectionis* for -ē. Given the high frequency of *rd-h* spellings, most of the final -y's on 3MS SC verbs were probably intended to represent -ē (e.g., *bny* and *ʔy* as /banē/ and /ʔōfē/), as Drewes already suggested (1985, 170). However, since over 10% of the attested forms of √RḌY 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 intended to represent a triphthong at the time of writing. The consistency in the writing of the etymologically correct root consonant in the verb²⁶ suggests that the collapse of /awa/ and /aya/ had different outcomes, probably /awa/ > /ū/ or /ō/ and /aya/ > /ī/ or /ē/.

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 CAR. -īyy or Aram. -āy.²⁷ 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 *ʔbsʔmwy*,²⁸ in which the -y should probably be interpreted as the gentilic suffix */ʔab samawiyy/, as evidence for the use of -y as a *mater lectionis* for -ī (2005, 62). This interpretation depends on whether the sound change -īyy > -ī had taken place, as in the modern dialects of Arabic.

2.3.3 Personal Names

There are several divine names based on a feminine relative pattern *fuʔlay*.

h-ktby 'divine name' JSLih 055

26 Except for one attestation of *ʔy* for *ʔw* (JSLih 177), see § 6.6.

27 Suchard reconstructs *-īy- for Hebrew (2019, 242).

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

- hn'hzy* 'theophoric name' (occurs AH 197
in an inscription with
rdy-h)
- zn'zy* 'theophoric name' (occurs AH 096
in an inscription with *rd-h*)

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.²⁹ 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 the pronunciation /'uzzē/ for the theophoric element of the personal name (see the discussion of *rdy* above).

3 Triphthongs

The glide of the (etymological) final triphthong is always represented in 3MP SC verbs and 3MS SC verbs without an enclitic personal pronoun of final weak roots (see § 2.3). They are never represented in the medial weak verbs and rarely in the third person feminine singular suffix conjugation.³⁰

3.1 /*awa*/

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 § 2.2).³¹

- JSLih 138 *w trw / n'm / b-h / n'rgd*
'and may *n'rgd* **enrich** him with livestock'³²

29 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, 154–155). Of course, this material is much later and from a different area than the Dadanitic examples and is therefore not directly comparable.

30 The only attested exception is *rdyt* in AH 288 (see § 2.3).

31 Drewes (1985, 167–173) assumes that the diphthongs had been monophthongized, as they were not represented in word internal position (cf. Macdonald 2000, n. 164). For a more extensive discussion on the interplay between orthography and phonology see the methodological discussion in the Introduction.

32 I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting this translation to me.

AH 109 *'bd's¹ // bn / 'n{/ }b // 'gw / h-zll*
 'bd's¹ son of 'nb 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 in the examples below (for a discussion of the origin of this glide see § 2.3).

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

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

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/.³³

U 108 *{b}rd / s¹lm//dgbt / 'z//ll / l-dgbt // b-khl / b'd // d-kn / l-h / b-y//r*
 'brd s¹lmdgbt performed the zll for dgbt at khl on behalf of that
 which was his at yr'

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/.³⁴ 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 personal

33 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' and *mt* and *myt* 'he died'. The presence of *y* instead of etymological *w* in *myt* could suggest the sound changes *áwi/u > ā* and *awí/ú > i* (Al-Jallad 2015, 120). This interpretation depends on when the triphthong in medial weak verbs collapsed. See Huehnergard (2005, n. 75), who considers the triphthong to have collapsed at the Proto-Semitic stage but see Suchard (2016) for a reconstruction of Proto-Hebrew with the triphthong maintained.

34 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 Healey (2001, 132–136).

names. The following names do contain word internal *w*, but due to the uncertainty surrounding their vocalization no reliable conclusions can be drawn from them.

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

3.2 /aya/

3.2.1 Verbs

III-y Verbs

The final -y in III-y verbs is consistently represented in 3MS SC verbs without enclitic pronouns (for a discussion of the vocalization see § 2.3).

Al-Saʿīd 1420/2000: 15–26, no. 2

nfyh / *bn* / *ʿm* / *ʿfkl* / *hlh* // *bny* / *h-bny* / *dh* / *l-ʿlh*
 ‘*nfyh* son of *ʿm* priest of *hlh* **built** this building for *ʿlh*’

U 040.1 *ʿrs²* / *ʿy{d}* // *ʿzll* *h-zll* // *hny* / *hn-ʿ* // *hrt*
 ‘*ʿrs²* [son of] *ʿy{d}* performed the *zll* ritual, **may he (the deity) benefit** the posterity’

U 031 *ʿbdhgbr* / *b//n* / *hblʿl* / *ʿfy* // *h-zll* / *l-dgbt* / *b-khl*
 ‘*ʿbdhgbr* son of *hblʿl* **fulfilled** the *zll* for *dgbt* 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 § 2.3 for the possibility that glide here may simply be filling the hiatus.

AH 197 *zdʿl* / *w bnwd* / *w ʿlh* --- // *ʿ* / *d- h{s}br* / *w ʿm-hm* / *tbrh* / *bn[t]* --- // -
 --- *ms¹* / *w {n}h^c* / *w ʿws¹* / *w zd{l}[h]* --- [*s¹*] // *{ }dʿl* / *w hnʿhzy* / *bnw*
 / *zd* --- // *nwd* / *hggw* / *h-nq* / *w hgnyw* / *b-bt-hm*
 ‘*zdʿl* and *bnwd* and *ʿlh* ... ʿ ... of the lineage of *h{s}br* and their mother *tbrh* daughter of ... *ms¹* and *{n}h^c* and *ʿws¹* and *zd{l}[h]* ... [*s¹*] *{ }dʿl* and *hnʿhzy* sons of *zd* ... *nwd* they made the pilgrimage of the *nq* and **offered** at their temple’³⁵

35 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 Dadanitic seem to mean

JSLih 077 *whblh / bn / zdqny / w lmy / bn // nfyh / wdyw / nfs¹ / mr / bn / hwt*
/ m{h} // 'hd / 'l-hmy / hrg
 'whblh son of zdqny 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.³⁶

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

U 116 'bd'tbl // hzll / l-dg//bt / f *rdy-h*
 'bd'tbl performed the zll for dgbt and so **may he favor him**'

Note that the more common variant of this formula does not write the final -y; there are 224 attestations of *rd-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 § 2.3.

AH 001 ---- 'z//llw / zll / h-nq / l-//dgbt / f *rd-hm*
 '... they performed the zll ceremony of the nq for dgbt and so **may he favor them**'

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

II-y Verbs

There may be two examples of the verb *byt* 'to spend the night' (AH 291; Graf Abū al-Ḍibā' 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 denominial verb. In this case the medial y does not represent a triphthong /aya/.

'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 fl h-bt 'rs² son of 'mr made the temple' (AH 247) and bny h-bt dgbt 'he built the temple of dgbt' (JaL 006).

36 See § 6.7 for a further discussion on the third root consonant of *rdy* (< *rdw).

AH 291 *nʿm // ʿklʿ // w byt*
 ‘*nʿm ʿklʿ* and he spent the night’
 OR
 ‘*nʿm ʿklʿ* and *byt*’

Graf Abū al-Ḍibāʿ 1

---ʿ*gr* / *w {h}{n}ʿl // byt / b-lwh / dld*
 ‘... ʿ*gr* and *hnʿl* spent the night (sing.) at [the] sandy depression
lwh dld’
 OR
 ‘... ʿ*gr* and *{h}{n}ʿl byt* are at [the] sandy depression *dld*’³⁷

In Graf Abū al-Ḍibāʿ 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 *bytʷ*. In fact, each inscription may better be interpreted by reading *byt* as a personal name instead of as a verb.³⁸ Although 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 *yʿd / bn šqw // w ʿbsʿlm / bn tly*
 ‘*yʿd* son of *šqw* and ‘*bsʿlm* son of *tly*’³⁹

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.

rʿn qny (AH 345)

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

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

39 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 tracing of the inscription is available on the OCIANA website, http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0034920.html (accessed 03-11-2017).

4 Final Short Vowels

There is no direct evidence to determine whether word-final short vowels were present in Dadanitic. The spelling of *rdy-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 § 5). 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 the orthography was established (that is, before they collapsed and *-y* came to represent *-ē*).⁴⁰

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.

<i>tmnt</i>	/taym manāt/	U 063 and AH 303; JSLih 256
<i>n'mnt</i>	/na'm manāt/	JSLih 238

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 /tamlīk/.⁴¹

<i>tmlk</i>	/taym malk/	AH 064; Al-'Uḏayb 088
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There is one example of the assimilation of *l* to a following sibilant.

<i>'mtb's'mn</i>	/'amat ba'l samīn/	U 053
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There is one example of the assimilation of the voiced dento-alveolar stop to a following sibilant.

<i>'bs²m{n/s¹}</i>	/'abd šams/	AH 259
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⁴⁰ 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 of word boundary spellings in the language of the inscriptions cannot tell us much about the phonological reality of these forms.

⁴¹ I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for pointing out this alternative reading to me.

5 Diphthongs

It is common for ANA scripts not to represent diphthongs orthographically. However, this lack of representation does not necessarily mean 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 Γαυτος 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.⁴²

5.1 w

There are several 1-*w* verbs with the initial *w*- represented in the *h*-causative form.

<i>hwdq</i>	AH 288; al-Ḥuraybah 13; al-Ḥuraybah 14
<i>hwdqw</i> ⁴³	JSLih 049
<i>hwḏt</i>	al-Ḥuraybah 12

However, there are also attestations of 1-*w* verbs in the causative form without the diphthong represented:

<i>hdq</i>	Al-Sa'īd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1–2
<i>hdqt</i>	JSLih 062

42 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.

43 There are four attestations with *w* represented in *h*-causative form; two 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 six attestations without the *w* represented in *'*-causative form. There are no attestations of ***'wdq* in OCIANA (accessed 07-07-2021), but there are two Dadanitic inscriptions that were exhibited as part of the 2018 exhibition at the Sharjah Archeology Museum (AUE) that contain a *'wdq* form (Page, Hussein, and Al-Hadhram 2018). I would like to thank Jérôme Norris for bringing these inscriptions to my attention.

Our understanding of this variation depends on whether we want to interpret this as orthographic or grammatical variation. Note that both forms seem to be used with a similar meaning: to indicate the dedication of an object.⁴⁴

If we want to explain this as a change in writing conventions, the forms with the *w* represented would be the more innovative, 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; JSLih 042), *ym* ‘day’ (Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1),⁴⁵ and *qnt* ‘female servant’ (AH 186; 303; JSLih 282; 302). There are two possible attestations of the spelling *ḍḡybt* for the theonym *ḍḡbt* (in AH 207 and AH 229), but both readings cannot be confirmed from the available images of the inscriptions (see § 5.2 for a more elaborate discussion of this form).

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*ʾ)awCaCa/ (see also Chapter 5, § 3.3). 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 present in the OCIANA database.⁴⁶ There we find that 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 ʾdq⁴⁷ in the ʾ-causative (see examples above); the verb ʾy⁴⁸ never occurs with the initial *w*, but is only attested in ʾ-causative form.

44 Note that *hwdq* and *hdq* are mostly used in combination with *h-šlm* as the dedicated object, except for two *hwdq* forms which dedicate *h-mtlt*. There is one *hwqd* with *h-šlm* (al-Ḥuraybah 13) and two *hdq* with *h-šlm* (JSLih 062 and Al-Saʿīd 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-mgmrt*.

45 Also possibly *sʿt* (U 063; Al-ʿUḏayb 075) if it should be interpreted as a noun from the root SʾWT (M. Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2016), but its interpretation is very uncertain.

46 <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana> (accessed 07-07-2021).

47 ʾdq occurs six times (e.g., AH 087; JSLih 061); ʾdqw occurs once (al-Ḥuraybah 09).

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

U 035 *brqh / s^l//lh / dġbt // 'fy / h-zll // l-dġbt*
 'brqh priest of dġbt fulfilled the zll for dġbt'

U 037 *'rs² / bn // zdlh / w //bn-h / gffh // 'fyw/[z][l][l] h-nq // l-dġbt*
 'rs² son of zdlh and his son gffh fulfilled the [zll] of the nq for dġbt'

Note however, that 'wdq forms are attested in two Dadanitic inscriptions that were included in the exhibition at the Sharjah Archeology Museum entitled *The Echo of Caravans: Pre-Islamic Civilization Sites in Saudi Arabia* (Page, Hussein, and Al-Hadhram 2018).⁴⁹ This still means that the two least common features (*h*-causatives and *w* causatives with the *w* represented) co-occur most commonly in these verbs. If this is to be understood as purely orthographic variation it seems puzzling 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 the CD-stem was still productive, the 'causative form was not yet very common in written language (see Chapter 7 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.

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 zdw^d dedicated the boy s^llm, {the substitute} to dġbt'

al-Ḥuraybah 13
zd // bn /'//ws^P//{l} / d- y//hdf//m / hw//dq / h-//{s}lm
 'zd son of 'ws^P{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^P{l} also occurs. In this spelling the name should probably be interpreted as representing the

49 I would like to thank Jérôme Norris for bringing these inscriptions to my attention.

diminutive form /ʷuways/, but it cannot be completely ruled out that /aw/ was represented with *w* here.

It remains unclear 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^{pl}, 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 a possible borrowing of the orthography of the name from another writing tradition.⁵⁰

If we assume the existence of a CD-stem verb, it could also be argued that this explains the alternation of geminate roots with and without all root consonants represented (C-stem /ʷazalla/ and CD-stem /ʷazallala/ and /hazallala/; see Chapter 5, § 3.3). Note that if these should be interpreted as CD-stems, there are attestations of CD-stems of the ʷ-causative in the geminate roots, which seems to contradict the distribution we see in the 1-*w* verbs. Given the high frequency of the verb ʷll 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 ʷ-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 Chapters 7 and 8).

AH 080 *dnʷl / bn // ʷbdh / ʷzll // bʷd / ml-h / b-//bdr / l-dǧbt // frd-h / w ʷtb-h*
 ‘*dnʷl* son of *ʷbdh* **performed the ʷll** on behalf of his property at *bdr* for *dǧbt* so may he favor him and reward him’

AH 067 [*n*]fʷ / bn / ʷbdh / ʷzny / [m]nʷ/[d]rʷl // ʷzll / h-zll / l-dǧbt
 ‘{*nfy*} son of *ʷbdh zny mnʷ drʷl* **performed the ʷll** ceremony for *dǧbt*’

U 116 ʷbdʷtbl // hzll / l-dǧ//bt / frdʷy-h
 ‘*bdʷtbl* **performed the ʷll** for *dǧbt* so may he favor him’

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

Given the differences in distribution of the *hwdq* and *ʔll* forms, it seems more likely that they are two unrelated developments. In this case the alternation between *ʔl* and *ʔll* 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.

5.1.1 *w*-Diphthongs in Personal Names

Despite the absence of clear examples of the representation of word internal diphthongs in nouns just outlined, it is not uncommon to find them represented in personal names, especially in names containing the element *ʔwsʔ*. However, these forms are more commonly attested without the glide represented.⁵¹ 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 personal names. If this is the case, the PNs with diphthongs preserved caused some confusion as to 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: *ʔwsʔ* could, for example, be a diminutive /ʔuways/ or a verbal form in *ʔwsʔl* /ʔawas/. The only forms in which the diphthong can be fairly certainly assumed are the *qwsʔ* names.

<i>yṯbqwsʔ</i>	Al-Saʔid 1419/1999: 28–30, no. 5
<i>qwsʔbr</i>	JSLih 334
<i>qwsʔmlk</i>	JSLih 331
<i>ʔwsʔ</i>	AH 197
<i>rʔnʔwsʔ</i>	JaL 157 b
<i>ʔwsʔl</i>	al-Ḥuraybah 13
<i>hʔwsʔt</i>	JSLih 344
<i>ʔwd</i>	AH 001
<i>ḡwṯ</i>	JaL 012 b
<i>ḡwṯ</i>	JaL 157 ab

51 *hnʔsʔ* (e.g., AH 202; AH 222; JSLih 053); *ʔmtʔ sʔ* (AH 094); *ʔsʔ* (e.g., JaL 111 f; JSLih 071; AH 201); *ʔsʔmnt* (JSLih 250; AH 062); *mltq sʔ* (JSLih 083); *qsʔ* (AH 271); *bdqsʔ* (JSLih 363).

5.2 y

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 them,⁵² while there are no occurrences of 'ly⁵³ with a following enclitic pronoun, as already noted by Lundberg (2015, 125).

AH 070 *ʔll//t / 'l / d-k[n] / l-h // b-bdr*
 'she performed the *ʔll* **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** / *dġbt* // ----[sʔ][ʔ]{d} / w 'hrt
 '... he built **the temple** for *dġbt* ... aid him and posterity'

There are two examples of *byt*.

Graf Abū al-Dibā' 1
'gr / w-hn'l // byt / b-lwh / dld
 'gr and hn'l **spent the night** at [the] sandy depression *dld*'⁵⁴

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

The above translations follow that proposed in OCIANA.⁵⁵ However, *byt* may better be understood as a personal name in each inscription (see § 3.2 for a discussion of these inscriptions and the interpretation of *byt*).

52 AH 206; AH 233; AH 237; JSLih 073; JSLih 077; JSLih 078.

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

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

55 Accessed 18-10-2017.

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>	‘the official?’	Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8/ 1–2; JSLih 054
<i>nyt</i>	‘?’ (dedicated object)	JSLih 312

5.2.2 *y*-Diphthongs in Personal Names

The theonym *ḏġbt* may be attested as *ḏġybt* in two inscriptions. The photographs available of both inscriptions are of 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 *ḏġbt* was intended in each inscription.⁵⁶

<i>ḏġ{y}bt</i>	AH 207
<i>ḏ{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 161 b
<i>tym</i>	e.g., AH 272; AH 313; al-Ḥuraybah 05
<i>qynh</i>	U 046; JSLih 128; Al-‘Uḏayb 073
<i>qys^r</i>	Nasif 1988: 58, pl. LVII/e
<i>ḡkdn</i>	JaL 010 b
<i>ḡlh</i>	JSLih 206
<i>ḡyl</i>	JaL 145 r
<i>lhylh</i>	JaL 102 b
<i>krblhy</i>	JaL 062 c
<i>lhy</i>	AH 209
<i>tlmy</i>	e.g., AH 245

⁵⁶ If these (very uncertain) readings are correct, this confirms that the name of the deity comes from the root √ĠYB /ḏu ḡaybat/.

6 Sound Changes

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

If *ʔgy* comes from *ngw*, as has been suggested by Drewes (1985, 172) and taken over by Sima (1999, 93),⁵⁷ this verb forms another example of *n*-assimilation in Dadanitic. However, it might also be a causative form of the root GWY ‘to come’.⁵⁸

6.2 Dissimilation of ʔ

There is one attestation of the form *ʔʔt* ‘three’ (JSLih 068; see Chapter 6, § 11.4) from the root ʔLT, in which the second ʔ dissimilated. Slightly more common is the original form *ʔʔt*, however.⁵⁹

6.3 ʔ > ʔ

There are several examples in which etymological **ʔ* is written with ʔ in Dadanitic. There are 25 examples of *ʔʔl* instead of **ʔʔl*. OCIANA identified the two examples below; for the other 23 attestations see Chapter 2, § 1.

AH 009.1 *bs²klbt----* [ʔ]ʔʔl // *h-ʔʔl----* *b-khl // l-dǧbt / b'd / d-kn // b-bdr / frd[-*
h] / w [ʔ]ʔ[r]t-h
 ‘*bs²klbt ... performed the ʔʔl ceremony ... at khl for dǧbt on behalf*
of that which is at bdr so may he favor him and his posterity’

57 Drewes (1985, 172) does not offer an explicit translation. 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 (2014, 154) proposed connecting the verb *ngy* in Safaitic with Sabaic *ngw* ‘to announce’ but does not propose any connection to the Dadanitic *ʔgy*.

58 I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting this to me.

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

- U 048 *ʾmth / bnt // wʾl / ʾtlt // l-dǧbt / bʿ//d / ml-h / b-tqmm // f rd-h / w sʾd-h*
 ʾmth daughter of wʾl performed the tll for dǧbt on behalf of her property at tqmm so may he favor her and aid herʾ

Since *ʾzll h-zll* ‘he performed the *zll* ceremony’ is one of the most frequently occurring formulae in the Dadanitic inscriptions, these variant spellings are striking. There are fewer than 250 *zll* inscriptions in total. Therefore, 25 deviating spellings is a relatively high amount of variation, suggesting this sound change was quite common in the language of the authors of the inscriptions.⁶⁰

There is also variation in the spelling of **nʒr*.⁶¹

- AH 313 *tm / bn zbd / ntr / mtʿl / w ddn*
 ʾtm son of zbd guarded mtʿl and Dadanʾ
- AH 332 *{g} ʾ nʒr ddn*
 {g} ʾ guarded Dadanʾ

Since most of these inscriptions refer to guarding Dadan, *ntr* may reflect Aramaic influence at the Dadanitic court (Abu al-Hasan 2002, 260), rather than a local sound change. Aramaic became a prestigious language at Taymāʾ after Nabonidus brought it with him as the language of his court during his stay at the oasis from 552 to 543 BCE⁶² (Macdonald 2010, 18). It seems that Aramaic did not enjoy the same status at Dadan as it did at Taymāʾ,⁶³ although in recent excavations one long Aramaic inscription was discovered at the site of ancient Dadan,⁶⁴ as well as a bilingual Aramaic-Dadanitic dedicatory inscription for the Nabataean deity Dūšarā discovered at al-Khuraybah (Nehmé and Alsuhaibani 2019, 79).

60 For a more elaborate discussion of the implications of the variation in *t* and *z* in the *zll* inscriptions see Kootstra (2018b); although there only the two *t* spellings in the *zll* inscriptions that were identified by OCIANA were taken into account.

61 The form *nʒr* is attested 3 times, *ntr* 17 times, both in what seems to be the same formula.

62 For a more detailed discussion of Nabonidus’ stay at Taymāʾ see Beaulieu (1989), D’Agostino (1994), and Lambert (1972).

63 Note that the rulers of Dadan left their inscriptions in Dadanitic at Dadan, but close to Taymāʾ 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.

64 The inscription is being prepared for publication by S. Theeb.

On top of that, there are several personal names with etymological *z* that are represented with *t*.⁶⁵ This includes: *nṭr* (JSLih 079) < **nṣr* ‘to guard’; *ṭn*’ (JaL 064 f) < **znn*(?) ‘thought, belief’; *ṭrbn* (JaL 029 d) < **zrbn*(?). While we cannot draw any conclusions about the language of a person based on the name they bear (Macdonald 1999, 254–257), the complete absence of names spelled with *t* for *z* would have made it doubtful that such a sound change occurred in the language (or part of it) of Dadan.

6.4 *ḏ* > *z*

In most inscriptions *ḏ* and *z* are consistently kept apart in Dadanitic. It has been suggested that there are two examples of *ḏ* realized as *z* in the relative/demonstrative **ḏ* (Hayajneh 2016, 162 and 165). Both Dadanitic inscriptions were found in the vicinity of Taymā.⁶⁶

Esk. 074 *mznz // t{/}qt*
 ‘*mzn*, who incised / wrote (the inscription)’⁶⁷

Esk. 253 *s^lln / s^lyt z*
 ‘*s^lln* placed this (inscription)’⁶⁸

The reading of both *z*’s as **ḏ* of the relative and demonstrative is slightly problematic, however. First of all, the demonstrative in Dadanitic is *ḏh*, not *ḏ* (e.g., U 038; JSLih 079), which means that just assuming the loss of interdental in Esk. 253 is not enough to arrive at this form. 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 *ḏ* is attested in the Dadanitic inscriptions, is to indicate kinship (e.g., AH 197; see Chapter 6, § 5). While the verb *tqt* is quite common in the Dadanitic inscriptions (84 attestations in OCIANA⁶⁹), the inscriptions containing it usually follow the formula

65 In addition, *ḥt* could be from the root $\sqrt{\text{ḤṬ}}$ ‘to be in favor with so.’, but the name could also come from the root $\sqrt{\text{ḤṬṬ}}$ ‘to place, to put’ (Lane 1863, 592a). The names *ḥt* and *ḥṭṭ* are attested in Safaitic as well (e.g., C654; KRS 2889). The name *ṭby* (JaL 022 c, JaL 063 f) could come from **zby* ‘gazelle’, but may also be related to Aram./Heb. Ṭūbiyā, modern Tobias (I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting this to me).

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

67 Translation by Hayajneh (2016, 162).

68 Translation by Hayajneh (2016, 165).

69 Accessed 19-10-2017.

‘PN *tqt*’ or, less frequently, ‘*tqt* PN’ (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 H. Hayajneh assumes was a writing error (2016, 162). While there are other examples of word dividers that are clearly in the wrong place (e.g., U 018; see § 1), 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]nʿsʿ / bn / s²hr ---- // ---- [m]lk{t} / lhyn / ʿ{f}---- //
---- gbl / s²mt / zkr / n---- // ----l / w rtm / w brlh / {w}---- // [----]

6.4.1 $\underline{d} > z$ in Personal Names

The sound change $\underline{d} > z$ is clearly attested in one personal name in the corpus.

ʿzkr JaL 033 s

6.5 Merging of \underline{t} and s^1

Based on the last word of JSLih 081, Winnett proposed a possible merger of s^1 and \underline{t} in this inscription, reading *trqh* as CAr. *saraqah* ‘thieve or theft’ (Winnett and Reed 1970, 124).

JSLih 081 l-ntnbʿl // bn / wny / hn-//qbr / dh / {h}{m} // ʿly / ymn // w ʿly /
s²m[l] // mn / **trqr**
‘this grave belongs to *ntnbʿl* son of *wny* {*hm*} from the south and
from the north from **trqr**(?)’

There are several issues with this interpretation, however. First, 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 (1909–1914, 452), who read *trqr*, seems to fit the photograph, represented in Figure 14, better.

In addition, it seems that Dadanitic did not undergo the -at > -ah shift (see § 6.9 below), meaning we would need to presume another sound change, unique to this inscription, to arrive at the proposed interpretation of *saraqah*.



FIGURE 14
JSLih 081 (Jaussen and Savignac 1909–1912 pl. LXXXV)
PHOTOGRAPH AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

Unfortunately, the form *trqr* does not yield anything meaningful at present and is taken as a personal name or theonym in the OCIANA database.⁷⁰

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).

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’ (which occurs 28 times; e.g., U 049; AH 202; AH 201), presumably from the root NGW (see § 6.1). 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*/. Nevertheless, this does not seem to have been the case for the majority of the Dadanic inscriptions (see § 2.3).

In addition, there are attestations of both *mḥrw* (al-Ḥuraybah 06; AH 209) and *mḥry* (AH 288), probably meaning ‘incense burner’,⁷¹ from the root ḤRW or ḤRR.

⁷⁰ In OCIANA *mn trqr* is translated as ‘by *trqr*’ (accessed 24-10-2017).

⁷¹ See Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 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 ḤRW (2017, 60).

√NGW 'to dedicate, to offer'
 ḡy JSLih 177
 ḡw e.g., U 049; AH 202; AH 201

√HRW 'incense burner'
 mḥry AH 288
 mḥrw al-Ḥuraybah 06; AH 209

6.6.2 II-Weak Roots

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

al-Ḥuraybah 04
 'lḥrs² // h-ṣwǧ
 'lḥrs² the smith'

al-Ḥuraybah 05
 s¹ḥm / bn / t//m / h-ṣn^c / 'bd//zd / h-ṣwǧ
 's¹ḥm son of *tm* the artisan, 'bdzd the smith'

al-Ḥuraybah 14
 ----// h-ṣyǧ / h//wdq / h-m//tlt / l-d//ǧbt
 '... the smith dedicated the substitute to *dǧbt*'

In addition, there is the personal name *nyr*,⁷² 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, 254–257).

√NWR 'light'
nyr JaL 033 0

6.7 -iwa > -iya

In Dadanitic we consistently see *rḏy* from the etymological root *RḏW. 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

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

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 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.

<i>rḏw</i>	AH 176
<i>rḏwl</i>	U 117; Nasif 1988: 56, pl. LVI(b)/d
<i>rḏws²n</i>	JaL 043 a
<i>rḏwt</i>	Nasif 1988: 97, pl. CXLIX/a
<i>rʿnrḏw</i>	JaL 026 b

6.8 Assimilation of w > y

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

<i>tlt</i> / <i>ʕym</i>	'three days'	JSLih 068
<i>s¹bʿ</i> / <i>ʕym</i>	'seven days'	AH 244
<i>ʕs²r</i> / <i>ʕym</i>	'ten days'	JSLih 070

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>ʕy ʕs²rt mnhh</i> 'he dedicated ten minah ' ⁷³
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JSLih 072	<i>ʕbʿlf</i> / <i>b[n] ʕyww kbr hdʿt s²t hnsʕ</i> ' <i>ʕbʿlf</i> son of <i>ʕyww kabīr</i> of the council of the party of <i>hnsʕ</i> '
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73 The translation and reading of *mnhh* were suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad, during one of the reading sessions with the Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia (LeiCen-SAA).

AH 219 *hgt h-mšd*
 ‘the feast/pilgrimage of the temple’

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

U 038 ----*m' hn-ʿfkl t b-bn'l*
 ‘... with(?) the priestess at *bn'l*’

U 063 *f rd-hm // w rb-hm / zdlh w // qnt / t'l*
 ‘so may he favor them and their lord *zdlh* and female servant⁷⁴ *t'l*’

There are only a few final *-h*'s, most of which 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 from just this inscription. It could, for example, be a dual *h*-causative: ‘they (two) erected the tower⁷⁵ 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 § 3.1).

Other occurrences of similar forms in what seem to be comparable phrases seem to confirm that *qymh* should be read as a noun here, but also provide further evidence that the *-h* does not represent the feminine ending. Two new inscriptions that were found in the 2020 mountain survey of the Dadan Archaeological Project in the Jabal Khuraybah area contain the phrases *qymy n'm dġbt* and *qymy mgdl dġbt*. To this, we can add the attestation of *qymh n'm dġbt* in JSLih 054. Taken together, this suggests that we have two different administrative positions *qym(h/y) n'm dġbt* and *qym(h/y) mgdl dġbt* in which *qym(h/y)* stands in construct with the following noun, making it unlikely that the feminine ending would be realized here as *-h*, as this environment is generally not treated as word-final. Even though the two published inscriptions are too dam-

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

75 The translation of *mgdl* as ‘tower’ was first suggested by Johan Lundberg during a reading session at the LeiCenSAA.

aged to ascertain the exact grammatical form and function of the noun, in the inscriptions from the mountain survey both forms ending in *-y* might be interpreted as a bound plural form. The forms in Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8 and JSLih 054 might then be understood as dual forms (see Chapter 6, § 2.2).

AH 304 *md'l qnh h-mlk*
 '*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.

6.9.1 Personal Names

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

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 § 3). It is unclear whether /iya/ behaved differently than /aya/ in Dadanitic.

6.11 *Loss of Intervocalic ʾ*

There is no clear evidence from the language of the inscriptions for the loss of intervocalic ʾ. The form *h-zlt* in U 013 may be interpreted as a broken plural *ʾzlt* with loss of the glottal stop, but other interpretations are also possible, such as a singulative, or simply a writing error⁷⁶ (see Chapter 6, § 2.1).

76 The form may also represent an alternative plural form /zallāt/ (I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad 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.

U 013/2-4 *ʔlt // h-ʔlt / b-khl / l-dǰ//bt*
 ‘she performed **the ʔll ceremony/ceremonies** at *khl* for *dǰbt*’

6.11.1 Personal Names

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

ʔds¹ JSLih 359
hnyl Al-ʕUdayb 074

Verbal Morphology

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 9 Attested forms of the suffix conjugation

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

1.1 3MS

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

JSLih 066 *'bnh / 'hd // h-sfht dh*
'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 / dh / 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-zll hmq ndr 'b-h l-dgbt
'he fulfilled the zll according to what his father had vowed to dgbt'

1.2 3FS

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

U 056 *'mtb's'mn bnt // ---hyt 'zll l-//dgbt*
'mtb's'mn daughter of ... hyt performed the zll for dgbt'

AH 013 *s¹gl / bnt // s²mr / s¹lht // dġbt /^o/zlt / h-zll // l-dġbt / b-k//hl / hmd
/ ndr^t*
 ‘*s¹gl* daughter of *s²mr* priestess of *dġbt* performed the *zll* ceremony for *dġbt* according to what **she vowed**’

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 // zdħrg / ‘lt / bnh // s¹lmh / bnt / {^o}s¹ // ‘rs²n /*
 ‘the funerary monument of *‘bds¹mn* son of *zdħrg* which *s¹lmh* daughter of *‘s¹ ‘rs²n* **built**’

U 026/ 1–2 *‘b^l / dl / ‘fjh / h-zll // l-dġbt/*
 ‘the lords of *dl* **fulfilled** the *zll* for *dġbt*’

The inscription JSLih 384 contains several grammatical features that place it apart from the other Dadanic inscriptions. It contains a feminine relative *‘lt* (compare CAR. *‘allatī*; see Chapter 6, § 5.1), 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 Chapter 4, § 6.9).

In U 026, however, apart from the spelling of the verbal suffix, there are no such clearly diverging features. Note that the name of the deity *dġbt* is spelled regularly, with the final *-t*. Even though the dual was also formed with a suffix *-h* (see § 1.3), interpreting *‘fjh* as a dual verb is problematic with the clearly plural subject *‘b^l*. The dual was used with some variation in Dadanic (see Chapter 7), 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 only remains in the written language, that it may be used in such environments as a hypercorrection. Interpreting *‘fjh* as a feminine singular form, however, does not require the assumption of a grammatical mistake on the part of the author of the inscription, if we assume that the broken plural form was treated as grammatically feminine (compare to CAR.; see Fischer 2001, § 111c).

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.¹

AH 199 *s'mwh / bnt / s'mr / s'llht / w//d / w zyd / b'l-h / d-yf'n / '//zllh / l-dgbt / h-zll / b-h-mš//d / frd-hmy / w s¹d-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 dgbt at the sanctuary so may he favor them (both) and aid them (both) and ...'

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 § 1.4, Chapter 7, § 2, and Chapter 6, § 2).²

There is one inscription with a dual verb, but with plural enclitic personal pronouns.³

U 019 *rhz / bn / thmh / w//mt'zh / s'llht // dgbt / 'zlh / h-zl//l / l-dgbt / b-kh//l / b'd / ml-hm / b-//bdr / frd-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'

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, it seems that the author of U 019 made a mistake and this should be considered an exam-

1 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. The first person mentioned in the inscription identifies herself as a priestess of Wadd, the main deity of the Minaeans at Dadan, and both persons are identified as belonging to the lineage of *yf'n*, one of the most commonly attested Minaean family names at Dadan.

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

3 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 (Jouïon and Muraoka 2009, 514–517). There is one example of this in Dadanitic: AH 200.

ple of ‘anomalous agreement’ (see Chapter 7). The mistake can possibly be explained as a hypercorrection, where the author tried to use an archaic form that was part of a written register which was no longer productive in the spoken language.

1.4 3MP

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 / s¹dlh // w b{n}-h / s¹dʿl / w s²rd / ʾzlw // l-dġbt /*
ʾmrtʿt daughter of s¹dlh and her sons s¹dʿl and s²rd performed
the zll for dġbtʿ

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

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

U 064 *s²rd / w ʿh-h / ʿbd//s¹mh / bnw / ʿyd//ħrn / ʾzlw / h-zll / l-dġbt*
ʿs²rd and his brother ʿbd s¹mh sons of ʿydh rn performed the zll
ceremony for dġbtʿ

U 029 *ʿyd / bn / zhlh / w bn-h // ʾmhh / ʾ{z}lw / h-{z}//ll / l-dġbt*
ʿyd son of zhlh and his son ʾmhh performed the zll ceremony for
dġbtʿ

U 075 *qnh / bnt / ʿqhwnh // w {h}tn-h / ʿbb / ʾzllw[/] l-dġ/[b][t][/] bʿd /*
dtʿ-h / b-hm//dħb / frd-hm / w ʿtb-//hm
ʿqnh daughter of ʿqhwnh and her relative (in-law) ʿbb performed
the zll for dġbt on behalf of their spring crops at hmdħb so may
he favor them them and reward themʿ

1.5 3FP

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 (six 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 *ʕydh / w ʾmth{n}ʾktb / bnt / qn//y / w ʾm-hm / s²nʾh / w bʾlhzd / nm-
--//h / w bn[t]-h / ʾmtytʾn / ʾzlw / b-kh//l / zll / h-nq / l-djbt /*
‘*ʕydh and ʾmth{n}ʾktb daughter of qny and their mother s²nʾh and bʾlhzd nm ... //h and her [daughter] ʾmtytʾn performed the zll of the nq at khl for djbt*’

The form *ḥggn* in JSLih 006 is interpreted as a feminine plural form /ḥaggagna/ in OCIANA.⁴ While it is often difficult to tell whether a name is masculine or feminine in the Dadanitic inscriptions, it seems unlikely that *ʾbddd* was a feminine name based on the initial masculine form *ʾabd* ‘servant’ of the compound name. Therefore, I would suggest interpreting *ḥggn* here as a nominal masculine plural, forming an existential sentence with the authors mentioned at the start of the inscription.

JSLih 006 *ʾmrtn / w-ḥrm w-nn // w-drh / w-gzʾt // w-ʾnʾm / w-ʾbd//ddt / ḥggn
//f-sʾmʿ / l-h{m}*
‘*ʾmrtn and ḥrm and nn and drh and gzʾt and ʾnʾm and ʾbddd are pilgrims/are performing a pilgrimage so may he (a deity) hear them*’

1.6 Weak Verbs

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 3MP SC, but it is lost in 3FS SC verbs:

<i>bny</i>	‘he built’	e.g., AH 208; JaL 006; JSLih 045; Al-Saʿīd 1420/2000: 15–26, no. 2
<i>bnyw</i>	‘they built’	Müller D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8; Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3; U 008; AH 200

4 http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0036361.html (accessed 24-03-2021).

<i>wḏyḡw</i>	‘they placed’	JSLih 077
<i>ʿfyw</i>	‘they fulfilled’	U 037
<i>bnt</i>	‘she built’	Al-‘Udayb 043
<i>ʿft</i>	‘she offered’	U 005

This applies equally to final *-y* and final *-w* verbs. Compare: 3MS *ʿgw* (e.g., AH 065; AH 157; U 032), but 3FS *ʿgt* (AH 006; AH 079; U 126). For more on the implications this has for the vocalization of these forms, see Chapter 4, § 3.

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 Kootstra (2019) and Chapter 4, § 3.2 in the present work.

Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1/ 2

--- *f rḏt / w ʿhr[t]*---

‘... so may she favor [him] and [his] posterity ...’

JSLih 036/ 2 --- {ʿzy} / *f rḏt-h / {h}*---

‘... {ʿzy} so may she favor him ...’

AH 288 ... {*l*} *hgr / f rḏyt-h / w ʿhrt-h*

‘... {to} *hrg* so may she favor him and his posterity’

Geminate Roots

Geminate roots have identical second and third root consonants. Most of the attested geminate verbs have all three root consonants represented; for example, *ʿrr* ‘he dishonored, mistreated (the inscription)’ (e.g., JaL 161 a; 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. *ʿarrara-hu* ‘to disgrace or dishonor someone’ is a D-stem verb. The root $\sqrt{\text{ḤṬṬ}}$ is attested both as *hṭṭ* (Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII) and as *ḥṭ* (JSLih 181).

AH 198 [*h*] *nʿktb / bn // tms²ms¹ / hyw // hgg / l-dǧb // t*

‘[*h*] *nʿktb* son of *tms²ms¹ hyw* made a pilgrimage to/for *dǧbt*’

Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII

wmr hṭṭ ‘*dm* ‘*dm*

‘*wmr* inscribed ‘*dm* ‘*dm*’

TABLE 10 Attested suffix forms of geminate roots

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3M	CCC /CaCaCa/	NA	CCC-w /CaCaCū/
3F	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 performed?) a pilgrimage 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 (she performed?) a pilgrimage ...'

Since the root √HGG seems to appear earlier in AH 226, in the position where one would expect a verb of dedication or ritual performance (see Chapter 3), the second *hgt* should probably be interpreted as a nominal form, indicating the object of dedication.

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.

AH 239 ---*zd* / *hgt* / l/---{*h*}*y* / 'qd / *h-r*^c
 '... *zd* (she performed a?) pilgrimage ... {*h*}*y* the dedication of the livestock'

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

If *hgt* represents a 3FS in one of these inscriptions, it seems that it underwent metathesis of the third syllable /*ħaggat*/. 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* /*ħagagū*/ (U 063; AH 217; AH 221; AH 231; AH 233; Rabeler 001; AH 197; Al-ʿUḏayb 075; Umm Darağ 22).

AH 217 *wʷl / w s²nʰ ----//{ʷ}ktb / w ʷm-h ----//bd / hggw / h---- / /l-ħrg /*
ʷʷl and w²nʰ ... {ʷ}ktb and his mother ... bd performed the pil-
grimage (pl.) the ... to ħrgʷ

1.7 Functions of the Suffix Conjugation

1.7.1 Past Events

The SC is most commonly used to refer to events in the past.

JSLih 066 *ʷbnh / ʷħd // h-šfħt dh*
ʷbnh took (possession of) this section of cliffʷ

Al-Saʿīd 2011. 1

ʷsy / mlk ddn / fʷl // l-ṭħln
ʷsy king of Dadan made (it) for ṭħlnʷ

1.7.2 Optative

The perfect can be used to indicate an optative meaning. This function is mostly attested in the prayer formula at the end of the inscriptions, *rdy-h(m) / raḏ-dayahu(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 Kootstra 2019 for a full discussion of the development of this form, and Chapter 4, § 3.2 above).

AH 004 *ws²h / bn / wdd // d-dmr / ʷzl-//l / h-ʷll / l / l-//dġbt / f //rdy-h / w*
sʷ//d-h / w ʷħrt[-h]
ʷws²h son of wdd of the family of dmr performed the ʷll ceremony
for dġbt so may he favor him and aid him and his posterityʷ

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 § 3.4).

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 *ʷn*.

TABLE 11 Attested forms of the prefix conjugation

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3M	y-CCC	NA	NA
3F	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-'t---- // ----m / flh / y'd / w `n---- // ----dy /
 dh / f `nh / y---- // ----hn`mn / hlqt ---- // ---- / hmqtl ---- // ---- d ----⁵

JaL 002 b [----]//----s¹/yt' / hm//----{w}ys¹tfy⁶ / h//----w tšbh⁷ // ----n / t-hns¹
 // ----bt / w bt // ----m'n / bm// ----mlk / w // ----hn'y

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 § 2.3 below) and final weak root RQY (jussive trq see § 2.3 below), is it clear that Dadanitic distinguished a short and a long form of the prefix conjugation, following the Central Semitic innovation of the long form (Huehnergard 2005, 164–165).

However, 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 must be interpreted based on syntax, given the lack of representation of short vowels in the Dadanitic script.

5 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).

6 This is probably an st-stem of the verb 'fy, see § 3.5.

7 Since this verb would not agree with the ys¹tfy form earlier in the inscription, this is probably a t-stem verb; also, see § 3.4.

2.2 Subjunctive

If the interpretation of JaL 016 a is correct,⁸ it shows the use of the subjunctive in a volitive meaning,⁹ similar to its most common function in Arabic, which is also attested in Safaitic (Al-Jallad 2015, 109).

JaL 016 a *f-ys^lm^c l-h ʾl // w-ylm^c-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* ----[*d*]//*ġbt* / ʾ{n} / *yk*{*n*} // *l-h* / {*w*}*ld* / *f rdy*[-*h*]---- //
w ʾhrt-h {*d*}----
 ‘... [*d*]*ġbt* that there may be a son to him so may he favor him and his posterity ...’¹⁰

There is one clear example¹¹ of the particle *ʾn* followed by a subjunctive introducing a conditional clause.

al-Ḥuraybah 17

mn / sʾrqt / ʾym---- // ----{*m*}*n* / *sʾrq* / *f-ʾn* / *yšbr* / *b-mh* / *sʾr*[*q*]----
 // ----{*d*}*n* / *thd-h* / *kll-h* / *f ħtm*---- // ----*hsʾrqt* / *yṭb* / *h-sʾrq* / ʾw /
y----// ----*bh*

8 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 (accessed 17-11-2016) seems to interpret the inscription as solely containing personal names.

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

10 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 *yn* in the line before it, suggesting that it is complete.

11 Ġabal al-Ḥuraymāt 01 also seems to contain a particle *ʾn*, but the inscription is too fragmentary to give a reliable interpretation *ksʾt // w ṭbʾ{t} // mny / {q}d / w grsʾ / rḥw // fʾn / sʾ{b}w / b-{k}l{sʾ}th*----

'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 ...'¹²

Even though the inscription is damaged and does not conform to the common formulae we find in other Dadanic 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 / dl / ʾfyh / h-zll // l-dgbt / <f>*¹³*rd-hm / w s¹/ʿd-hm / w ʿqb-hm*
[ʾ] ʾny // ys¹rg [ʾ]ʾb-hm / w {m} ʾn-h[m] // w {m} fr-h{m} / b-ms²hl
 'The lords of *dl* fulfilled 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*.'¹⁴

2.3 *Jussive*

Even though final short vowels are not represented in the Dadanic orthography, the spelling of the geminate root *ʿrr* reveals a difference between a jussive or apococate and the indicative. In AH 289 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 *yʿr* /*yuʿrir*/ and an indicative *yʿr* /*yuʿarru*/.¹⁵

AH 289 *f-mn yʿrr-h / yʿr-h nʿm*
 'and may whoever mistreats it, be stripped of property'¹⁶

12 I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for suggesting to interpret this as a conditional clause.

13 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 *ʾhrt-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 here, suggesting that the author of the inscription used the formula in a quite flexible manner.

14 Ahmad Al-Jallad proposed interpreting the particle *ʾny* 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 OCLANA database (accessed 17-11-2016).

15 I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for first suggesting the reading and interpretation of the verbal forms as jussive and indicative to me.

16 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

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

JSLih 064 *b'ls^lmn / 'ḥrm / h-qrt // mn / mh / **trq-h** / mr't // l-bḥny / hn-ʔfkl //*
d
 'b'ls^lmn protected the village from what [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess **cast on it** *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.

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 to refer to past events (JSLih 064).¹⁷

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 12 gives an overview of the derived stems attested in Dadanitic. The third column gives comparative evidence and suggested vocalizations.

TABLE 12 Overview of the forms of the derived stems

G-stem	CCC	CAr. <i>fa'ala</i>
D-stem	CCC	CAr. <i>fa^ˁala</i>

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.

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

TABLE 12 Overview of the forms of the derived stems (*cont.*)

C-stem	ʿCCC	CAr. <i>ʿafʿala</i>
	hCCC	e.g., Heb. <i>hiphʿil</i>
CD-stem	ʿCCC	/ʿafaʿala/
	hCCC	/hafaʿala/
T prefix-stem	tCCC	e.g., EAr. <i>itfaʿal</i>
T infix-stem	CtCCC	CAr. <i>ʿiftaʿala</i>
ST-stem	s ^h tCCC	CAr. <i>ʿistafʿala</i>

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.

3.1.1 Weak Roots *II-w/y*

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

AH 291 *nʿm // ʿklʿ // w byt*
 ‘*nʿm ʿklʿ* and **he spent the night**’
 OR
 ‘*nʿm ʿklʿ* and *byt*’

Graf Abū al-Ḍibāʿ 1

---ʿgr / w {h}{n}ʿl // **byt** / *b-lwh* / *dlḏ*
 ‘... ʿgr and *hnʿl* **spent the night (sing.)** at [the] sandy depression
Ḍlḏʿ
 OR
 ‘... ʿgr and {h}{n}ʿl **byt** are at [the] sandy depression *Ḍlḏʿ*’

If *byt* represents a verb in these inscriptions it should probably be interpreted as a denominal verb in the D-stem /bayyata/. This reading seems to be supported by the consistent spelling of *kn* ‘it was’ without the medial glide represented (see Chapter 4, § 3).

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 its attestations in Dadanitic have an enclitic pronominal object.¹⁸ The *plene* spelled /raḏḏaya/ and the defectively spelled /raḏḏī/ or /raḏḏē/ should probably both be interpreted as 3MS SC (see Kootstra 2019, 188 and Chapter 4, § 3 in the present work for a discussion of these forms).

II=III

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 § 1.6). The attestation of both *ḥt* (JSLih 181) and *ḥtt* (Nasif 1988: 92, pl. CXXXII) seems to suggest that they 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. It is equally unclear whether the root *ʿrr* should be interpreted as a G-stem or D-stem verb.

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 ²-causative and a formally archaic *h*-causative.¹⁹ 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), coupled with the development of the causative forms in other Semitic languages, led to the obvious suggestion that diachronic change is responsible for the variation in the 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.²⁰ This shows that at least for some

18 Except for Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1/ 2 ---- *f rdt / w ʿhr[t]*----, but the damaged context makes it difficult to interpret this form.

19 Compare, for example, Aram. in which *h* > ² in the causative prefix in the attested material (Gzella 2015, 34).

20 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-ʿUḏayb 009; JSLih 077; U 032; U 038; U 040; U 115; al-Ḥuraybah 12.

time during the period in which the inscriptions were produced, 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. Two such examples can be found in U079 bis and AH 197.

U 079bis *w---t / bld ʼ--- // ---l / hzll / h-z//ll // b-bt//r / bʼd / n{h}l-h w // dtʼ-h / b- dʼmn // l-dǵbt frd-//hm // w ʼtb-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 *dʼmn* for *dǵbt* so may he favor them and reward them’

AH 197 *hggw / h-nq / w hǵnyw / b-bt-hm / l- ----// tn / l-ħrg / w ʼzlw / b-h- mšd / zll / h-[nq] // l-dǵbt*
 ‘they performed the pilgrimage and dedicated (lit. made increase wealth?) at their temple for ... *tn* for *ħrg* and they performed the *zll* of the [*nq*] for *dǵbt*’

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 ʼ-*causative*). In AH 197 it is interesting to note that the more common verb *zll* is written in the most common ʼ-*causative* form, while the thus-far unique verb *hǵny* is written in the *h*-form. This might suggest that while the written conventions dictated the *zll* form, the spoken language of the author maintained a more archaic form of the *causative* (see Chapters 7 and 8 for a discussion of the distribution and possible causes of this variation).²¹ In general, the ʼ-*causative* is the most commonly attested form of the two in Dadanitic (234 attestations as opposed to 17 *h*-*causatives*).²²

3.2.1 Prefix Conjugation

There are no attestations of a verb in either form of the *causative* 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 rep-

21 The occurrence of both *h*- and ʼ-*causatives* in the corpus has already been observed by previous scholars (e.g., Farès-Drappeau 2005, 68–69; Sima 1999, 93).

22 Based on the data in the OCIANA database as of February 2016.

resented. Unfortunately, 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 (see Macdonald 1999, 254–257).

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 / l-dǧbt // f rd-h / w s¹d-h*
 'ks²d son of ... ng' performed the zll for dǧbt so may he favor him and aid him'

U 112 *'d'h / bnt / ḥrm / dǧbt // 'zll / h-zll / l-dǧbt*
 'd'h daughter of ḥrm dǧbt performed the zll ceremony for dǧbt'

AH 032 *ydn w dmd / bnt / zd//ggḥn / 'zllw / zll[l] h-nq // b-khl*
 'ydn and dmd daughter of zdggḥn performed the zll ceremony of the nq at khl'

3.2.3 Weak Roots

I-w/y

The first glide of I-w/y verbs does not seem to be represented in the causative, which points to a vocalic pattern /(*h*'*v*)CC*v*C*v*/. The diphthong in the first syllable would not be represented in Dadanitic orthography (see Chapter 4, § 5). I-w verbs that are attested are: 'fy 'to fulfill, accomplish' from √wFY, *htb* 'to dedicate' from √wTB, 'dq and *hdq* 'to offer' from √wDQ (but see *hwdq* in § 3.3) and possibly 'qd 'to dedicate' from √wQD, and, finally there is one attestation of the verb 't 'he protected' from √YT'.

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

al-Ḥuraybah 12

ddn / htbt / mtb
 'Dedan offered the throne'

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

- JSLih 062 {s²}---[b]//nt / qs^lm // **hdqt** / h//šlmn // l-hn'kt//b / f rd-h / w
 //{''}{h}rt-h
 '... {daughter of} qs^lm **offered** the two statues to hn'ktb so may he favor her and her posterity'
- AH 222 ---- d 'lhrbt 'dq---- s^l---- //l-dǰbt 'mt-{h}my 'ydh // b{n}t 'mthn'tt ----
 h----t // ym 'qd h-m---- // l-hrg
 '... of the lineage f 'lhrbt **offered** ... to dǰbt their maidservant 'ydh daughter of 'mthn'tt ... day he **dedicated** the ... to hrg'

I-n

The first root letter *n* assimilates to the following consonant in the C-stem (see Chapter 4, § 6.1). 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'²³ from NFQ and 'gy, and 'gw (see Chapter 4, § 6.6 on the 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}²⁴
 'hnmnt s²grh **dedicated** ten minah'²⁵
- U 038 dbn / 'mr / bn / mrd // 'gw / h-zll / dh / l-dǰbt
 'dbn 'mr son of mrd **dedicated** this zll ceremony to dǰbt'

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 common II-weak verb 'tb 'to reward, recompense'. Compare Sab. ytwbn 'reward, recompense (a worshipper by a deity)' (Beeston et al. 1982, 151).

23 Attested once in broken context.

24 OCIANA (accessed 29-11-2016) 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).

25 This translation was made during a reading session at the LeiCenSAA and was first suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad.

- U 059 *fʾrd-h / w ʾtb-h*
 ‘so may he favor him and reward him’²⁶

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 3MP forms, but never in the 3FS form (see Chapter 4, § 3 for the implications on vocalization). The final-weak verbs attested in the C-stem are: *ʾfy* ‘to fulfill, accomplish’ from √WFY (see § 3.2), *ʾgy* and *ʾgw* from √NGW, and *ʾrqw* ‘to dedicate, to send up’ from √RQW.

- U 031 *ʾbdhgbr / b//n / ḥblʾl / ʾfy // h-zll / l-dḡbt / b-khl*
 ‘*bdhgbr* son of *ḥblʾl* fulfilled the *zll* for *dḡbt* at *khl*’

- U 005 *ḥmyh / bnt // nzrh / ʾft / h-z//ll / dh / l-dḡbt*
 ‘*ḥmyh* daughter of *nzrh* fulfilled this *zll* for *dḡbt*’

- AH 204 ----ʿ----ʾl / bn / zdl{h} ---- // ʾḥt-h / ʾrqww / h---- // bt / hmd / ndr
 ‘... ʿ ... ʾl son of *zdl{h}* ... his sister they offered ... {temple} according to what they vowed’

Overview of the attested III-weak causative forms:

<i>ʾfy</i>	‘he fulfilled’	U 035; U 004; U 031; AH 087.1; Private collection 1
<i>ʾgy</i>	‘he dedicated’	JSLih 177
<i>ʾgw</i>	‘he dedicated’	e.g., U 038; U 049; AH 135; AH 157; AH 202; AH 201
<i>ʾft</i>	‘she offered’	U 023; U 005; AH 051
<i>ʾgt</i>	‘she dedicated’	U 126; AH 006; AH 079; Al-ʿUḏayb 129; Al-ʿUḏayb 008
<i>ʾfyh</i>	‘they (du.) fulfilled’	U 026
<i>ʾfyw</i>	‘they fulfilled’	U 037
<i>ʾgww</i>	‘they dedicated’	AH 243; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII; U 088; Al-ʿUḏayb 001
<i>ʾrqww</i>	‘they offered’	AH 204

²⁶ Translation following OCIANA (accessed 29-11-2016).

II=III

There seem to be two different ways of spelling 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 C-stem *ʔl* /ʔazalla/. Note that there are no attestations of *hʔll* forms (see § 3.3 for the *hʔll* forms) which may confirm a historical component to the development of the spelling of the geminate roots. Since there are only eight attestations of *h*-causative forms of the root *ʔll*, however, this distribution may just be due to accident of survival. Overview of attested geminate root causative forms:

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

Both spellings generally occur in the same context with no apparent difference in meaning, as in U 101 and U 117.

U 101 *ks²d / bn ---// ng' / ʔl / l-dġbt // f rd-h / w s¹d-h*
'*ks²d* son of ... *ng'* performed the *ʔll* for *dġbt* so may he favor him and aid him'

U 117 *rḏwl / bn / 'bdh / ʔll // l-dġbt*
'*rḏwl* son of '*bdh* performed the *ʔll* for *dġbt*'

There is one inscription in which several *zll* ceremonies seem to be dedicated, in which a CD-stem is used, and another in which a suffix *-n* on the noun *zll* could also be interpreted as a plural (see Chapter 6, § 2.2). 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 *s^lmy / bn / tlǵl // ʔzll / l-dǵbt / tl//tt / ʔlt*
 ‘*s^lmy* son of *tlǵl* performed for *dǵbt* **three *zll* ceremonies**’

U 034 *ʔyd / bn / hr / b-khl // ʔzll / zlln²⁷*
 ‘*ʔyd* son of *hr* at *khl* he performed *zll* **ceremonies**’

Moreover, there is another inscription in which a woman dedicates *hzlt* but uses a plain C-stem. It is unclear whether *hzlt* is another plural form, a singularative, or interference from the verb and simply a writing error.²⁸

U 013 *ʔmtrf^c / bnt // rbh / ʔzt // h-zlt*
 ‘*ʔmtrf^c* daughter of *rbh* performed the *zll* **ceremony/ceremonies?**’

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 Chapter 4, § 5.1 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, § 2 for the number of occurrences and their distribution across the corpus).

AH 080 *ǵn^l / bn // ʔbdh / ʔzl // b^d / ml-h / b-//bdr / l-dǵbt // f rd-h / w ʔtb-h*
 ‘*ǵn^l* son of *ʔbdh* **performed the *zll*** on behalf of his property at *bdr* for *dǵbt* so may he favor him and reward him’

AH 091 *ʔmṯsd / bnt / bs^lrh // s^llh / dǵbt / ʔzl//t / ʔll*
 ‘*ʔmṯsd* daughter of *bs^lrh* priestess of *dǵbt* **performed a *zll* ceremony**’

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

28 For the inscriptions with *ʔzll* as the object of dedication, see Chapter 6, § 2.3.

AH 081 *ʕdḥ / w ʾmth{n}ʾktb / bnt / qn//y/ w ʾm-hm / s²nʾh / w bʾlhzd / nm-
 ---//h / w bn[t]-h / ʾmtytʿn / ʾzlw / b-kh//l / zll / h-nq*
 ‘*ʕdḥ* and *ʾmth{n}ʾktb* daughter of *qny* and their mother *s²nʾh* and
bʾlhzd nm ... h and his {daughter} *ʾmtytʿn* performed, at *khl*, the
zll ceremony of the *nq*’

3.3 CD-stem

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/, as can be seen from the examples below.²⁹ 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-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 Chapter 4, §5). Overview of the attested CD-stem verbs with I-weak roots:

<i>hwḏt</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

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-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 *ʿbds²hr // ʾkr w // dly / sʾnt // ts¹lmt ʾs²//hdn / f rḏ -h // hʾt w s¹//ʿd -h*

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

AH 031 --- *ts^llm m't f-rd-h*

3.4.1 t-infix Stem

Inscription AH 207 seems to contain a t-infix stem *s^lttr* from Sabaic *s^ltr* ‘to write, to inscribe’.³⁰ The lack of an initial ’ suggests that there was no initial vowel /s^ltaṭara/.

AH 207 ----l / b---- // d----*s^lttr* / b-mṣd----*s^lm^c* // ---- / dġ ... *bt*³¹
 ‘... l b ... d ... wrote at the temple ... *s^lm^c* ... {*dġbt*}’

Weak roots

Macdonald (2008, 203–204) has suggested that *tqt* ‘to inscribe’ is a t-infix stem from a t-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 ***/ntaqta/ > /(t)taqta/* or ***/tanqata/ > /ta(q)qata/*. 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 *tqt* as a t-prefixing verb of the geminate root QTT ‘to cut’³² /taqṭṭa/ (compare, e.g., CAR. *qatṭa-hu* ‘he cut it’ [Lane]).³³ This reading seems to be supported by the occurrence of the form *qt* ‘to cut’ (JaL 152) and *tqtṭ* (AH 260). However, their similar surface form does not necessarily mean that they are derived from the same root.

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; and see § 3.4, above).

30 The same form of the verb also occurs in two Minaic inscriptions from Dadan (JSMIn 145; JSMIn 166) and in a Ḥaḍramitic one (Qāni’ 4), DASI (accessed 22-02-2018).

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

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

33 *tqt* is translated as a nominal form ‘the signature’ in OCIANA. In AH 302, however, it seems to be a verb, possibly indicating that *mk* was the one who wrote the much longer inscription above it (AH 300): ‘*mk* inscribed’.

3.4.3 t-D Stem

The interpretation of *tqt* having a root QṬṬ could be supported by the attestation of the form *tqtṭ* 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----d----*
 ‘*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 yet metathesized /taqaṭaṭa/ (see § 3.3).

3.5 *st-stem*

If the interpretation of Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 3–14, no. 1 is correct, there is one attestation of a St-stem verb.

Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 3–14, no. 1
 ---m / ym / s¹tḥbl / ʿqd / h-r^c / f-rd-hm / w //---
 ‘... [the] day **he pledged** the dedication of the livestock so may he favor them and ...’

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 3MP forms of the active participle are attested. To my knowledge there are no attestations of passive participles in Dadanitic.

TABLE 13 Overview of attested participle forms

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	CCC	CCCn (JSLih 006)

4.1 *Singular*

The following examples can be interpreted as participles based on their syntactic context or semantics.

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'fr / w [d]hlh / h-šn^c
 '{the} scribe and dhlh the artisan'

JaL 161 a *'rr // dġbt / 'r//r / h-s'fr / 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, but its interpretation is less certain.

JSLih 317 ---- / bn /' // dhn / mġbr / 'rf
 '... son of dhn a fenced field/grave'

4.2 Plural

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

JSLih 006 *'mrtm / w-hrm w-nn // w-drh / w-gz't // w-'n'm / w-'bd//ddt / hggñ*
// f s'm^c / l-h{m}
 'mrtm and hrm and nn and drh and gz't and 'n'm and 'bddd are
 pilgrims/are performing a pilgrimage so may he (the deity) listen to them'

In this example, *hggñ* 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 *hggñ* represents a verb here (see § 1.4 for plural verbs, and § 1.2 for the interpretation of the form as a 3FS verb).

4.3 Functions of the Active Participle

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).³⁴

34 Sima (1999, 99) interprets *ndr* here as an adverb 'als weihegabe', following H. Wehr in Stiehl (1971, 565).

- U 003 *bd / ʔzll / 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 / ʔzll / h-zll / n//dr / l-djbt*
 '... *wh hdm* ... *h* performed the *zll* ceremony (which was) **vowed** to *djbt*'
- U 021 *f / bn / {y}dh / ʔ/zll / h-zll / ndr // b'd / d{t}²-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 / t'n / 'rr ----*
 'may *djbt* dishonor by **smiting**(?) the one who mistreats ...'

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 / ʔ//dhn / mtbr / 'rf*
 '... son of '*dhn* a **fenced** field'

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 // djbt ' / r//r / h-s'fr / dh*
 'and may *djbt* dishonor the **one who mistreats** (lit. mistreater) of this inscription'

Nominal and Pronominal Morphology

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 *ʃklt* ‘priestess’ (U 038; JSLih 064) and *ʃkl* ‘priest’ (e.g., JSLih 049; JaL 010 a); *ʔt* ‘sister’ (JSLih 077) and *ʔh* ‘brother’ (JSLih 077; U 064); *ʔt* ‘wife’ (Al-ʿUdayb 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-ǰ//lm / s^llm / h-//[m]tlt / l-//dǰbt*
 ‘they dedicated the boy *s^llm* (as) **the substitute** to *dǰbt*’

U 069 *ʔllw / h-ʔll / b-khl // b^d / tbrt-hmy*
 ‘they performed the *ʔll* ceremony on behalf of their (du.) **grain**’

There are also nouns that are semantically feminine without the suffix *-t*; for example, *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*. Additionally, Dadanitic does not seem to 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 (Al-Jallad 2018, 22; also see Chapter 4, § 6.9).

2 Number

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.¹ Similar to CAR., pattern

¹ 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 pro-

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 in internal vocalization, may not be formally distinguishable from singular 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.

There is a distinction between bound and unbound dual (Macdonald 2008, 194)² 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 § 2.2). Compare CAr. *al-kitābāni* ‘the two books’ and *kitābā ṭ-ṭālibi* ‘the two books of the student’.

2.1 *Pattern Replacement*

The following plural patterns have been attested in Dadanitic:

ʾCCC		
ʾbʿl	lords	U 026
ʾnhʿl ³	palm trees / palm groves	Al-ʿUḏayb 071; Al-ʿUḏayb 073
ʾdtʿ	crops of the season of the later rains	Al-ʿUḏayb 071; Al-ʿUḏayb 073
ʾšlm	statues	JSLih 063
ʾnʿm	livestock	JSLih 177

ductivity in these languages can likely be explained as a contact phenomenon. Dadanitic fits nicely into this contact area between Arabic and South Arabian influences, most notably in the form of the Minaic trading colony at Dadan and, more generally, its place on the incense trading route.

2 Macdonald (2008, 194) noted the distinction between *-n* in unbound and *-y* in bound forms. He was reluctant to see this as a general rule due to the limited number of attestations at the time. I have found 19 examples of duals, ten 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); nine are in bound position and have a suffix *-y* (AH 200; 226; 241; 288; JSLih 072; 075; 077; 272; JaL 001).

3 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.

'CC(C)t		
ʔzlt	ʔll ceremonies	U 050; U 032
CCct ⁴		
bnt	daughters	AH 032; AH 081
CChC		
mnhh	minah (coins)?	JSLih 177
CC(C)w (in construct)		
bnw	sons of	AH 001; JSLih 079; U 064; AH 197
'hw-h	his brothers	JSLih 079

2.2 Suffixes

2.2.1 Bound Forms

-y

There are several bound forms with a suffix -y. While these 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 // t-djbt*
 'mr'lh and tmlh sons (du.) of mṭr built for djbt'

JSLih 077 *wl / ḥmm / b-bt-h ṣ{l}m / wl / s'lmm // 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'⁵

Note that there is quite some variation in Dadanitic 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 8 for an overview of the distribution of variation).

JSLih 079 *mrrh / w ḥṭrh / bnw // nṭr / 'ḥdw / h-qb//r / dh*
 'mrrh and ḥṭrh sons of nṭr took possession of this tomb'

4 If the interpretation of *s'l't* as 'coins' is correct (translation OCIANA; JSLih177; al-Ḥuraybah 09; JaL 001 [uncertain, broken context]), this would be another example of a -t plural.

5 Lundberg proposed interpreting this section as a chiasmic structure during one of the reading sessions at the LeiCenSAA.

Case

It seems that the oblique ending *-y* was levelled for all cases in most inscriptions (see § 2.4). In AH 200 *bny* stands in construct with the following personal name, but it is the subject of the verb *bnyw* ‘they built’.⁶

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 / s^llmm // b-ḥq[w]y / kfr / ḥmm⁷*
 ‘and verily he offered at his temple a statue and he has offered
 peace offerings (?) **on the walls of (a?) cave/tomb**’⁸

JSLih 075 ‘*qrb / bn / mr’lh / h-ṣ//n^c / d-ḡlh / ṣ^c / ’//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.

-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: 99, pl. CLVIII

d / ms^yh / w bd / bnh / tm^l // ṣ^lw / h-ṣll⁹
 ‘*d ms^yh* and *bd* **two sons** of *tm^l*, they performed the *ṣll* ceremony’

6 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).

7 Note the opposition between independent *s^llmm* and *ḥqwy* in construct with the following noun.

8 Lundberg proposed interpreting this section as a chiasmic structure during one of the reading sessions at the LeiCenSAA.

9 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*. There are about 13; (e.g., AH 147; AH 142; JSLih 284), and 3 that only consist of the letter *d* with no other text following (JaL 014 b; JaL 124; JaL 142). Some of these inscriptions (AH 147; JSLih 297; 284) both start and end with an iso-

-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 ḥṭrh / bnw // nṭr / ḥḏw / h-qb//r / ḏh / hm / w ḥw-hm*¹⁰
 ‘*mrrh* and *ḥṭrh* sons (pl.) of *nṭr* 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.

-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 persons mentioned at the beginning of the inscription is given is not impossible in AH 032.

AH 032 *yḏn w ḏwd / bnt / zd // gmḥn / ḥlw / ḥll[l] h-nq // b-khl*
yḏn and *ḏwd* daughters of *zd gmḥn* performed the *ḥll* of the *nq* at *khl*

AH 081 *yḏh / w ḥmth{n}’ktb / bnt / qn/y / w ḥm-hm / s²n’h / w b’lhzd / nm-
 ---//h / w bn[t]-h / ḥmtyt’n / ḥlw / b-kh//l / ḥll / h-nq / l-ḏḡbt*
 ‘*yḏh* and *ḥmth{n}’ktb* daughters of *qn* and their mother *s²n’h* and *b’lhzd nm ... //h* and his daughter *ḥmtyt’n* performed the *ḥll* of the *nq* at *khl* for *ḏḡbt*’

lated *ḏ*, which suggests that they had a non-linguistic function. Macdonald suggests they may be apotropaic signs, possibly a reference to the deity *Dūḡābat* (Macdonald 2008, 200; and see Abu ḥ-Ḥasan 1999, 199 for a similar interpretation of inscriptions with an isolatid *ḏ* at the end). If the *ḏ* does have a grammatical function here, *bnh* would be expected to have the genitive case instead of the nominative.

10 *ḥw-hm* should probably be interpreted as a broken plural /aḥawā/, see Chapter 4, § 2.2.

2.2.2 Unbound Forms

-n

While it is clear, in some cases, whether a suffix -n represents a dual or a plural suffix, there are other instances in which the distinction is ambiguous. If the only difference between dual and plural outside of construct chains were 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 *ʿym* (e.g., JSLih 068) is also attested. Moreover, the number of days mentioned in the dating formula is always specific.

AH 197 *s¹nt / s²r / wtlt / 13 / ymn / tlf / 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 tmy son of ldn king of Liḥyān'

JSLih 068 *tlt / 'ym / qbl // r'y / s¹lhn*
 'three **days** before the r'y of s¹lhn'

Other examples are less clear. In U 034 *zlln* should most likely be interpreted as a dual, since we have attestations of a broken plural form *ʿzt* (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'.

U 034 *ʿzll / h-zlln*
 'he performed the **(two) zll ceremonies**'

JSLih 061 *ʿdq / l-l//h / {h}-šlmn*
 'he dedicated to Lh the **two statues**'

The form *mṭbrn* in JSLih 045 is also ambiguous. The block with the text was re-used and not found in its original context, and therefore there is no archaeological context that could inform us further about the structure mentioned in the inscription (OCIANA record).¹¹

11 http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0037791.html, now available at <http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd/ociana> (accessed 10-03-2017).

JSLih 045 *bny / h-//kfr / l-h / w l-wrt-h / h-kfr / dh / kll-h // w 'hd / h-mtbrn*
 'he built the tomb for him and his descendants, all of this tomb,
 and he took possession of the (two?) grave-chambers'

2.3 State

2.3.1 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 ' :¹²

AH 032 *ydn w dmd / bnt / zd//ggħn / 'zlw / zll[l] h-nq // b-khl*
 'ydn and dmd daughter of zdggħn 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 cultic structure and the 'nk ...'

Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3 (line 3)
 ----/ *h-mqdr / hn-'kbr*
 '... the biggest cultic structure'

Al-Sa'īd 1420/2000: 3–14, no. 1
 wasm *zddġbt // hn-'fkl*
 'zddġbt the priest'

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, 208–209). Note, however, that in this inscription, the definite article is followed by a line break, which may have influenced its lack of assimilation.¹³ It is also possible that the end of the line is missing and *hn-* was followed by something other than *qbr* (Macdonald 2000, n. 94). In Safaitic there are examples in which the

12 See also Sima (1999, 118), Farès-Drappeau (2005, 65), and Macdonald (2008, 208–209) who all comment on the variation between *h-* and *hn-* forms in Dadanitic.

13 I would like to thank Ahmad Al-Jallad for sharing this possible interpretation with me.

unassimilated definite article occurs before *ḥ* (*hn-ḥwly* ‘the Ḥwlyte’ LP 87).¹⁴ In Dadanitic there are no clear examples of any nouns with an initial *ḥ* preceded by the definite article.

JSLih 081 *l-ntnbʿl // bn / wny / hn-//qbr / dh*
 ‘this **grave** belongs to *ntnbʿl*’

Generally, the definite article does assimilate to a following *q*:

JSLih 312 *s²kr / bn // ḥs²s² / h-qbr // dh/*
 ‘this **grave** belongs to *s²kr* son of *ḥs²s²*’

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. Note that *hl-* seems to have a stronger demonstrative force in this inscription than the definite article in other inscriptions.

JaL 021 f *fʿln bn ʿl ʿḥd hl-btt*
 ‘*fʿln* son of *ʿl* took **this section** (of the rock?)’

There are several attestations of what seems to be an assimilated *ʿl-* definite article (D.H. Müller 1889: 14; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 65).

JSLih 276 *f ʿrr / dḡbt / ʿrr / ʿ-sʿfr / dh*
 ‘so may *dḡbt* dishonor the one who mistreats this **inscription**’

AH 119 *ʿzlt ʿ-zll dh*
 ‘she performed this *zll* **ceremony**’

Compare also:

AH 074 *ʿm / bnt / bs² ʿzlt ʿ-zll*
 ‘*ʿm* daughter of *bs²* performed the *zll* **ceremony**’

¹⁴ For a discussion of the *hn*-article in Safaitic see Al-Jallad (2015, 76).

- AH 138 *ʕw ʔ-zll l-dǵbt*
 ‘he performed the *zll* ceremony for *dǵbt*¹⁵
- JSLih 065 *ḥtl / bn / dmn // ʕd / ʔ-sfht*¹⁶
 ‘*ḥtl* son of *dmn* took possession of the rockface’
- U 115 *ʕw//w / ʔ-zll / l-dǵbt*¹⁷
 ‘they dedicated the *zll* ceremony to *dǵbt*’

At the time of writing, only one attestation of the unassimilated ʔ- article, preceding a ʕ, has been identified.

- Ǧabal al-Ḥuraymāt 04
 ʔ-ʕʔd
 ‘the lion’

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 *hlḥyt* possibly a *hl-* definite article
 AH 197 *hnʕ-ʕy* assimilated definite article before guttural. It is
 JSLih 344 *h-ʕwsʔt* unclear whether it represents *ʔawsʔat/* or *ʔuwaysʔat/*

2.4 *Case*

At the time of writing, 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 § 2.2).

15 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 always definite, this should probably also be read as a form with an assimilated ʔ(-) definite article. A clear example of a broken plural form of *zll* is attested in U 050 and U 032 *tlṭ ʔlt* ‘three *zll* ceremonies’ (see § 2.1).

16 Compare JSLih 066 *h-sfht dh* ‘he took this (section of) cliff’.

17 In the transcription in OCIANA there is no word divider following the last *w* of the plural verb *ʕww*, but it is visible in the photograph.

2.4.1 Indefinite Accusative

Since Dadanitic represented \bar{a} with a *mater lectionis* $-h$ (see Chapter 4, § 2.1), a pausal indefinite accusative \bar{a} 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 $\$lm$ is indeed an indefinite noun, it seems that Dadanitic did not have a pausal indefinite accusative \bar{a} .

JSLih 077 $hmm / b\text{-}bt\text{-}h \$\{l\}m$
 ‘he dedicated {a statue} at his temple’

3 Noun Formation

3.1 Prefix m -

3.1.1 Nouns of Place

The prefix m - can be used to form nouns of place as in other Semitic languages. The maCCaC pattern can be augmented with a suffix $-t$, which seems to be lexically determined.

3.1.2 Instrumental Nouns

There seems to be one example of the use of m - to form an instrumental noun: *mgmrt* ‘incense burner’ (Private collection 2). Compare, CAr. *mijmarah* ‘a vessel for fumigation, a vessel in which live coals are put with incense’ (Lane, 454 ab).

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 Chapter 4, § 5).

II-Weak Roots

The second radical of middle weak verbs is not represented orthographically and was probably realized as a long vowel maC \bar{v} C.

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 Chapter 4, §§ 2.2 and 2.3). Noun formation:

maCCvC

<i>mqbr</i>	tomb, burial place	√QBR 'to bury'	JSLih 306
<i>mq'd</i>	seat, throne	√Q'D 'to sit down'	JSLih 072; JaL 161
<i>mrbd</i>	meadow	√RBD 'to grant grazing rights'	AH 073
<i>mqdr</i>	cultic structure	√QDR 'He (God) distributed, divided; appointed (as though by measure)'	JSLih 045; Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3

ma(C)CvC (I-weak)

<i>mm'</i>	oath	√WM' 'to swear' (Aram.)	JSLih 070
<i>mtb</i>	sitting place, throne	√WTB 'to sit, to sit down'	al-Ḥuraybah 12; JSLih 055

maCv̄C (II-weak)

<i>mkn</i>	place	√KWN 'to be'	JSLih 072
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maCCvC (III-weak)

<i>mḥrw</i>	incense burner	√ḤRW 'to burn (with anger)'	al-Ḥuraybah 06; AH 209
<i>mḥry</i>			AH 288

maCCvCt

<i>mḡmrt</i>	incense burner	√GMR CAr. <i>jamrah</i> 'live or burning coal'	Private collection 2
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3.2 *Elative*

The masculine form of the elative is formed with the \sqrt{vCCvC} pattern.¹⁸

<i>h-mqdr / hn-'kbr</i>	'the biggest'	√KBR 'to be or become big'	Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3: 2
<i>h-gbl / hn-'ly</i>	'the upper border'	√LY 'to be or become high'	JSLih 072: 6

18 In addition to these examples there is one inscription containing the form *hn-'lm'* 'the brightest' (Qaṣr al-Ṣāni' 6) PN *hn-'lm'* // PN *hn-'lm'*. It is unclear, however, whether this should be interpreted as a title or a personal name.

h-gbl hn-'s'fl 'the lower border' √s¹FL 'to be or become low' JSLih 072: 7

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 in JSLih 037. However, it most commonly occurs as the theophoric element in personal names, as in the examples below.

JSLih 037 ----{t}----// *h-mh* // *r w l* // {*h*}*n-'ktb* / *f* // *rđy-hmy* // ----
 '... the incense burner to {*hn-'ktb*} so may he favor them both ...'

zdhn'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 the theonym *h-ktby*.¹⁹

JSLih 055 ---*y wkl* / *h{g}s¹n* / *'fkl* / *h-ktby*
 '... *wkl hgs¹n* priest of *h-ktby*'

3.3 Suffix -n

The usage of a suffix *-n* for nominal derivation seems to be lexically determined. Nouns with *-n*:

byn 'building' √BNY 'to build' Al-Sa'īd 1420/2000: 15–26,
 no. 2

s¹lmn 'security(?)' √s¹LM 'to be or become safe' JSLih 073; 077

19 Farès-Drappeau views *h-ktby* and *hn-'ktb* as variant orthographic representations of the same form. She considers *h-ktby* to be a masculine form in parallel to the form *kwtb*, attested in Nabataean 'even though al-kutbā is a feminine deity in Syriac literature' (Farès-Drappeau 1999, 203–204).

3.4 Suffix -t

The suffix *-t* can be used to form abstract nouns and singulatives²⁰ and to form verbal nouns. In some examples its usage seems lexically determined. Independent lexical items:

<i>mʔlt</i>	‘substitute’	JSLih 049; al-Ḥuraybah 14
<i>s²t</i>	‘party, group’	AH 227; JSLih 072; JaL 161 a; AH 198

Abstract nouns:

<i>ḥrt</i>	‘posterity’	e.g., U 058; AH 100
<i>brʔt</i>	‘health?’	JSLih 057
<i>brḥt</i>	‘honor?’	JSLih 041
<i>s¹ʔqt</i>	‘theft, stolen goods’	al-Ḥuraybah 17
<i>s²hdt</i>	‘witness?’	JSLih 052

Singulative:

<i>qds¹t</i>	‘sacred offering’	JSLih 063
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Verbal noun:

<i>ḥgt</i>	‘pilgrimage’	AH 206; AH 226; AH 239; AH 219
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3.5 Gentilic Suffix -y

Gentilic adjectives can be formed by adding a suffix *-y*. There are no attestations of feminine forms.²¹

AH 334	<i>zd h-ḥmrny</i> ‘zd the ḥrnmn-ite’
--------	---

AH 325	<i>ms¹kt h-ṯm // dy nṯr</i> ‘ms ¹ kt the Thamudite guarded’
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20 U 013 *ʔlt hʔlt* may be interpreted as a singulative ‘she performed the (one) *ʔll* ceremony’, but other interpretations are also possible. It could be dittography or may have been intended as a broken plural *ʔlt*, with omission of the ‘ (see Chapter 4, § 6.11).

21 See Chapter 4, § 2.3 for a discussion on the relevance of gentilic *-y* for the possible interpretation of *-y* as a *mater lectionis* for *-ī*.

4 Demonstrative Pronoun

Dadanitic has a *d*-based demonstrative; masculine *dh* and feminine *dt*. The demonstrative always occurs post nominally.

4.1 *Masculine*

U 038 *h-zll / dh*
 'this zll ceremony'

AH 213 *h-s^lfr / dh*
 'this inscription'

JSLih 072 *h-mq'd / dh*
 'the seat/throne'

Note that the inscriptions with a ' definite article use the same demonstrative.

JSLih 276 *f'rr / dgbt / 'rr /'sfr / dh*
 'so may *Dgbt* dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription'

AH 119 *'zlt 'zll dh*
 'she performed this zll ceremony'

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 *'hd h-mqbr d* 'he took this tomb' (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 183). The reading of JSLih 071 is quite uncertain, as 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.²²

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 § 4.3 below). Both inscriptions seem to be incomplete, however, mak-

22 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*'.

ing it difficult to say anything about the agreement of these forms (whether they are singular or plural, masculine or feminine).

JSLih 083 *gs²ms¹---- // mn / hdh ----// 'b-hm / hrhđgbt*
 'gs²ms¹ ... {from those} ... their father hrhđgbt'

The word might be incomplete, since the end of this line and the one before it are both missing, making it impossible to tell what it would refer to.

Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17

{h}{d} // l-d//đbt // f//rdy-h // w ----// [----]
 'this for *đbt* 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 use predicatively.²³

4.2 *Feminine*

JSLih 066 *h-šfht dt*
 'this cliff'

JSLih 313 *h-ṭrt dt*
 'this mountain'

4.3 *Plural Demonstrative*

There is one inscription in which a demonstrative may refer back to a dual noun (Winnett and Reed 1970, 125; Jamme 1974, 108–109). It is unclear, however, whether *šlmn* should be interpreted as a dual or a diminutive form.

23 Compare CAr. MS/MP *hāda/hā'ulā'i*; FS/FP *hāđihī/hā'ulā'i*, which uses a suppletive stem to form the plural, but consistently forms its demonstratives with a prefix *h*-.

JSLih 082 *h-{\\$}lmn / hdh/[n]*
 ‘these two statues / this statuette’

Farès-Drappeau refuses to identify this form, based on the argument that the inscription is too damaged to verify the reading (2005, 66). While she is correct that the reading of the *n* on the second line cannot be verified from the photograph and can barely be confirmed 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 now lost.

If this reading is correct, this would be an example of the attributive use of the demonstrative with the deictic *h-* prefix.

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.

5.1 *dV*

5.1.1 Masculine

The lineage affiliations of men are indicated using *d*.

AH 001 *bn[w]d / w whbʾm / w ʾ/wd / w lbʾn / bnw // sʾdʾl / d yfʿn*
 ‘*bn[w]d* and *whbʾm* and ‘*wd* and *lbʾn* sons of *sʾdʾl* of the lineage of *yfʿn*’

AH 157 *wʾl // zdḥmm / d bsʾn*
 ‘*wʾl zdḥmm* of the lineage of *bsʾn*’

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).²⁴

24 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 (*bʾdʾly*) *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-ʿUḏayb area.

- U 050 *s^lmy / bn / tlǵl // ʔll / l-dǵbt / tl//tt / ʔlt / ʔy / {d-}kn // {l-}h / b-bdr*
 ‘*s^lmy* son of *tlǵl* performed three *ʔll* ceremonies for *dǵbt* on behalf of **that which was his** at *bdr*’
- U 108 *{b}rd / s^llm//dǵbt / ʔ//ll / l-dǵbt // b-khl / b’d // d- kn / l-h / b-y// r*
 ‘*brd s^llmdǵbt* performed the *ʔll* for *dǵbt* at *khl* in behalf of **that which was his** at *yr*’
- AH 142 *ʔll//l / l-dǵbt / b-khl / b’d d//l-h / b-bdr/*
 ‘he performed the *ʔll* for *dǵbt* at *khl* on behalf of **that which is his** at *bdr*’

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 *ʔdh / dt / ʔd / ʔt // l-dǵbt / h-ʔll*
 ‘*ʔdh* of the lineage of *ʔd* dedicated to *dǵbt* the *ʔll*’

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).²⁵ In these cases it seems likely that the lineage affiliation given is that of the father.

- U 006 (1–3) *mr’h / bnt / wd’lh // d-wtmt / ʔlt / h- ʔll//l / l-dǵbt*
 ‘*mr’h* daughter of *wd’lh* of the lineage of *wtmt* performed (fem.) the *ʔll* ceremony for *dǵbt*’

5.1.3 Variation

There is one inscription (JSLih 384) in which the relative *ʔlt* occurs (compare CAr. *allatī*; see Farès-Drappeau 2005, 67).

- JSLih 384 *nfs¹ / ʔbds¹mn / bn // zdḥrg / ʔlt / bnḥ // s¹lmh / bnt / {ʔ}s¹ // ʔrs²n /*
 ‘funerary monument of ‘*bds¹mn* son of *zdḥrg* **which** *s¹lmh* daughter of {ʔ}s¹rs²n built’

²⁵ I would like to thank Michael Macdonald for pointing out these examples to me.

This short inscription seems to be linguistically and formulaically different from the other Dadanitic inscriptions on several points, however (see the discussion of the language of the inscriptions in the Introduction and Chapter 5, § 1.2). For this reason it should probably be considered an Arabic inscription in Dadanitic script (Macdonald 2000, 49).²⁶

6 *hmd*

The anaphoric pronoun *hmd* is most commonly attested in the phrase *hmd ndr* ‘that which he vowed’. It seems to be a compound with the relative *d* and may be compared to Ugaritic *hnd*,²⁷ which Pardee suggested was a compound of the particles */han + na + dū/ ‘this’ (2011, 464). Sima (1999, 115) proposed parsing it as deictic element *h-* + particle *-m-* + relative *-d*. Jaussen and Savignac (1909, 436–437) compare *hmd* to CAR. *hamma alladī* ‘this intention, design’ and the CAR. construction *ḥasba mā* ‘according to’.

AH 244 ʔllw / h-ʔll / b-//h-mʂd / l-dġbt / **hm-d** / ndr / hn[ʔ]//sʔ/
 ‘they dedicated the ʔll ceremony at the temple to dġbt **which hn’sʔ**
 vowed’

AH 013 ʔ//ʔlt / h-ʔll // l-dġbt / b-k//hl / **hm-d** / ndr
 ‘she dedicated the ʔll to dġbt at khl **which she vowed**’

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 Chapter 4, § 2.1 for the implications this has for its pronunciation).

26 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 third-person singular masculine form, however, with the final *-h* reflecting *-ā*, after the collapse of the final triphthong (followed by Macdonald 2000, 50).

27 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.

JSLih 064 *b'ls'mn / 'h'rm / h-qrt // mn / mh / trq-h / mr't // l-bhny / hn-'fkl't // d*
 'b'ls'mn protected the village from **what** [spell] the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it *d'*²⁸

JSLih 077 *whblh / bn / zdqny / w lmy / bn // nfyh / wdyw / nfs' / mr / bn / hwt / m{h} // 'hd / 'l-hmy / hrg*
 'whblh son of *zdqny* 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'²⁹

al-Ḥuraybah 17

----{m}n / s'rq / f'n / yšbr / b-mh / s'r[q]---- //
 '... and if he is caught **with what** he stole ...'

U 059 'ly / m-kn / l-h
 'on behalf of **that which** was his'

8 mn

The indefinite relative *mn* occurs most frequently in curse formulae.

AH 289 *f-mn y'rrh // y'rh n'm // dġbt // w-ṭhln*
 'and may **whoever** mistreats it be stripped of property, *dġbt* and *ṭhln*'

Müller, D.H. 1889: 78, no. 29

[----] // [m][l]k / lhyn / f-'rr / h----/' { } mn / 'rr / h-kfr / dh
 '... {king} of Liḥyān so may he dishonor ... **the one who** mistreats this tomb'

JSTham 251.3 {w} mn y'rr 'rr dġbt 't{h}{l}r
 'whoever mistreats [it] may *dġbt* disgrace [him] ???'

28 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.

29 This translation was made during a reading session at the LeiCenSAA.

It occurs once in an inscription that seems to be a legal text but is heavily damaged.

al-Ḥuraybah 17

[----]/f / mm---- // ---- l-ddn / l'bd / ---- // ----rs¹ / mn / s¹rq / ḡm-
 --- // ----{m}n / s¹rq / f'ḡn / yṣbr / b-mh / s¹r[q]---- // ----{d}n / thd-h
 / kll-h / f ḥtm ---- // ----hs¹rq / yṭb / h-s¹rq / ḡw / y ---- // ----bh
 '... to/for Dadan 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 ...'

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.

9.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

Only the first person singular ḡn, third person singular and plural masculine h' and hm, respectively, are attested.³⁰

JSLih 347 *lbbt / ḥbb // w ḡn / n'mn / bn / mn'm*
 'lbbt ḥbb and I am n'mn son of mn'm'³¹

Ḡabal Itlib 06

ḡn / m't // ṣ²r s¹{t}
 'I am m't companion/kinsman of s¹{t}'

JaL 166 e */ḡn rfs¹l*
 'I am rfs¹l'

If JSLih 347 should indeed be read as two separate inscriptions, it seems that all examples of ḡn can be interpreted as a kind of introductory particle, announcing

30 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-Drappeau 2005, 68).

31 These may be two separate inscriptions.

TABLE 14 Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ʾn</i>	NA
2	NA	NA
3	<i>hʾ</i>	<i>hm</i>

the start of the inscription.³² This is very different from the rest of the Dadanitic inscriptions which generally do not have any introductory particle.

There are two inscriptions that use the third-person singular masculine independent personal pronoun anaphorically: AH 288 (Farès-Drappeau 2005, 66) and JSLih 078 (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 67–68).³³

AH 288 *wʾl / ʾbd / sʾrmrʾ / hʾ / nšb / ----//h / [l-]ʾtrǧth / qbl / ʾnsʾ / ---- // blhh / w hwdq / l-h / h-mḥry---- // ḥgr / frdyt-h / w ʾḥrt-h ---- // ʾrr / dǧbt / w hʾ / ʾḥrt ----// ʾrr-h*
*ʾwʾl, servant of sʾrmrʾ, he set up the cult stone ... [for] Atargatis before PN ... and he offered to her the incense burner ... ḥgr so may she favor him and his posterity ... may dǧbt dishonor and his posterity [too] ... [who] mistreats it*³⁴

JSLih 078 *zdhnʾktb // wdʾ / bny / b//rʾ / h-mṭbr / ʾ//l-h / hʾ*
*ʾzdhnʾktb wdʾ built the facade of the grave chamber and it is his*³⁵

There is one inscription in which a third person plural indepent personal pronoun seems to be attested.

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- 32 Compare the use of *ʾn* at the beginning of two Taymanitic inscriptions Esk. 169 and 177.
 33 Note that this usage of the personal pronouns is no longer productive in Arabic (Al-Jallad 2015, 12).
 34 This translation is largely following that proposed by Hidalgo-Chacón Díez (2017, 61), except for the plural interpretation of the word *mḥry*, which I would consider a singular noun (see the Appendix), and the reading of the first word of the third line.
 35 This inscription was read during one of the reading sessions at the LeiCeSAA. Johan Lundberg suggested comparing *brʾ* to OffAram. *brʾ* ‘outside’ (CAL, accessed 13-03-2017) which led to the translation ‘façade’.

JSLih 079 (2–3)

ʔḥḏw / h-qbr / ḏh / hm / w ʔḥw-hm

‘they took possession of this tomb, **they** and their brothers’

9.2 *Clitic Pronouns*

Due to the composition of the inscriptions the only attested enclitic pronouns are third-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.

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 § 2.2).

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 *ʔrs² / bn // zdlh / w //bn-h / gffh*
 ‘*rs²* son of *zdlh* and **his** son *gffh*’

JSLih 072 *ʔḥḏw / h-mkn // w h-mqʿd / ḏh / kll-h*
 ‘they took the place and this seat, all of **it**’³⁶

U 056 *ʔmtbʿs¹mn bnt // ----ḥyt ʔzllt l-//ḏḡbt b-{}hl bʿd // {}d}t²-h / frḏ-h*
 ‘*mtbʿs¹mn* daughter of ... *ḥyt* performed the *zll* for *ḏḡbt* at *khl* on behalf of **her** crops of the season of the later rains so may he favor **her**’

U 050 *s¹my / bn / tlḡl // ʔll / l-ḏḡbt / tl//tt / ʔlt / ʔly / {}d-}kn // {}l-}h / b-bdr*
/ fr{}d}-h / w {}s¹} / d-h
 ‘*s¹my* son of *tlḡl* performed three *zll* ceremonies for *ḏḡbt* on behalf of what is **his** at *bdr* so may he favor **him** and aid **him**’

36 Translation following Lundberg (2015, 135).

TABLE 15 Clitic pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	NA	NA	NA
2	NA	NA	NA
3	-h	-hmy	-hm

AH 001 *bn[w]d / w whb`m / w ʿ/wd / w lb`n / bmw // s^ldʿl / d-yf`n / ʿz//llw / zll / h-nq / l-//dġbt / frd-hm*
 ‘bn[w]d and whb`m and ʿwd and lb`n sons of s^ldʿl of the lineage of yf`n performed the zll of the nq for dġbt so may he favor **them**’

AH 199 *s^lmwh / bnt / s^lmr / s^llht / w//d / w zyd / b^l-h / d-yf`n / ʿ//zllh / l-dġbt / h-zll / b-hms//d / frd-hmy / w s^ld-hmy w----*
 ‘s^lmwh daughter of s^lmr priestess of Wadd and zyd her husband of the lineage of yf`n performed (du.) the zll ceremony for Dġbt at the sanctuary so may he favor **them both** and aid **them both** and ...’

9.3 Reflexive Pronoun

There is one attestation of the use of the word *nfs^l* with a suffixed personal pronoun as a reflexive pronoun.

U 021 *f / bn / {y}dh / ʿ//zll / h-zll / ndr // b^d / d{t}ʿ-h / w nfs^l//-h / frd-h / w ʿtb//h / w s^ld-h / w ʿtb-h*
 ‘f son of {y}dh performed the zll ceremony vowed on behalf of his crops of the season of the later rains and **himself** so may he favor him and reward him and aid him and reward him’

10 Prepositions

The Dadanic prepositions have received extensive treatment in an article by J. Lundberg (2015). I generally agree with his interpretation, therefore, only *ldy* merits further discussion here. Attested prepositions:

ʿy/ʿl	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>ḥlf</i>	temporal	after (Lundberg 2015, 132)
<i>m'</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)

10.1 *ldy*

The preposition *ldy* is only attested once in Dadanitic, in JSLih 077. 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 could also be related to its CAR. equivalent *laday*, *ladā* 'with' (*Lisān*, 4023), possibly from Aram. *l-yd* 'under control of, next to' (CAL, 19-02-2018).

JSLih 077 *whblh / bn / zdqny / wlmv / bn // nfyh / wdyw / nfs' / mr / bn / ḥwt / m{h} // 'ḥd / 'l-hmy / ḥrg / w h- dt' / ldy / d // t' / ḥmm / b-df'*
'whblh son of *zdaqny* and *lmy* son of *nfyh* erected the funerary monument of *mr* son of *ḥwt* (according to) that which he took upon them by lawsuit 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 *df'*

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).³⁷

In the numerals 13 to 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 / t-//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,³⁸ 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, 182–183).³⁹

The numerals are generally placed before the noun they are counting. However, most occur with the noun *s¹nt* ‘year’ in a specific construction in which the number follows the noun *s¹nt X* ‘year X’. Here follows an overview of all attested numerals in Dadanitic, followed by a short discussion of those that merit closer attention.

ʾ (m.)

<i>s¹nt / ʾhdy</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>ʾhd-hm</i>	‘one of them’	JaL 001

37 I would like to thank Michael Macdonald for adding 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), but this does not mean that *ym* is a feminine noun too. While this works for *ym*, the plural form *zlt* agrees with the numeral *tltt*.

38 There are two examples in which the digit precedes the teen (see §11.4).

39 Huehnergard (2005, 182–184) concluded that this form of the tens is a Central Semitic innovation. 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; also see the discussion of the language of the Dadanitic inscriptions in the introduction).

'2' (m.)	<i>s^lnt / ttn</i>	'year two'	JSLih 045
'3' (m.)	<i>s^lnt / tlt</i> III ⁴⁰	'year three'	AH 239; Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3 ⁴¹
	<i>l-tlt // s^lnn</i>	'for three years'	JSLih 071 ⁴²
'3' (f.)	<i>tltt / zll/t</i>	'three <i>zll</i> ceremonies'	U 032
'3 t-base' (m.)	<i>lt / 'ym</i>	'three days'	JSLih 068
'5' (m.)	<i>s^lnt / hms^l</i>	'year five'	AH 219; JSLih 072; JSLih 075; AH 013
'6' (m.)	<i>s^lnt s^lt</i>	'year six'	AH 222
'7' (m.)	<i>s^lb^c / 'ym / qb//l / r'y / d's^ll'n</i>	'seven days before the r'y of d's ^l l'n'	AH 244
'10' (m.)	<i>s²r / 'ym</i>	'ten days'	JSLih 070
'10' (m.)	<i>s²rt / mnh{h}</i>	'ten Minah'	JSLih 177
'12' (m.)	<i>s^lnt // s²r / w {t}tn</i>	'in year 12'	AH 081
'13' (m.)	<i>s^lnt / s²r / w tlt/13</i>	'year thirteen'	AH 197

40 The numeral is indicated by three vertical lines between two short diagonal lines placed above each other on either side.

41 The word *tlt* 'three' occurs in broken context.

42 The inscription is marked as Arabic language in Dadanitic script in OCIANA (accessed 05-03-17).

'16' (m.)	$s^1nt / s^1t / 's^2r$ ----	'year sixteen'	Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII ⁴³
'16' (f.)	$s^1tt / 's^2r / m//n / s^1nt$ $/ mt / 't//h$	'sixteen [times] according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her'	AH 064
'17' (m.)	$/s^1nt / '{s^2} //r / w$ s^1b^c	'year seventeen'	U 008
'19' (m.)	$[s^1][n]{t} / 's^2r / w$ ts^1c	'{year} nineteen'	Al-Sa'id 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1
'20' (m.)	$s^1nt / 's^2rn$	'year twenty'	AH 063
'22' (m.)	$s^1nt / 's^2rn / w \underline{tn}$	'year twenty-two'	AH 244
'24' (m.)	$s^1nt / 's^2rn / w \text{ } \dot{r}[b][\]$ ----	'year twenty-{four}'	AH 204; AH 226
'25' (m.)	$s^1nt / 's^2rn / w$ $\dot{h}[m][s^1]$	'year twenty-{five}'	AH 206
'28' (m.)	$/\{s^1\} //nt / 's^2rn /$ $\langle w \rangle tmn\{y\}$	'year twenty-eight'	JSLih 068

43 The number is transcribed as $s^1t / w 's^2r$ in OCIANA, but the photograph shows that there is no complementizer w - before the ten. This was already noted by Sima (1999, 199).

‘29’ (m.) <i>s^lnt / ‘s²r//n / w ts^lc</i>	‘year twenty-nine’	JSLih 070; JSLih 083
‘30’ (c.) <i>s^lnt // tltⁿ</i>	‘year thirty’	AHUD 1
‘35’ (m.) <i>s^ln[t] / tltⁿ / w ħm//s^l35</i>	‘year thirty-five 35’	JSLih 082
‘40’ (c.) <i>b-ʾrbʿn{/}s^lt-----</i>	‘with forty drachmas’ ⁴⁴	JSLih 177
‘41’ (m.) <i>/ s^lnt / ʾrbʿn / w ʾ<ħ>d//y</i>	‘year forty-one’	(AH 202)
‘42’ (m.) <i>s^lnt / ʾr{b}//n / w ttn</i>	‘year forty-two’	al-Ḥuraybah 10
‘45’ (m.) <i>---- [ʾ][r][b][ʾ][n] [w] ħms^l45 ----</i>	‘[forty]-five 45’	AH 225
‘60’ (c.) <i>[s^l]nt / s^ltn ----</i>	‘year sixty’	Müller, D.H. 1889: 77–78, no. 28
‘120’ (c.) <i>mʿt / w ‘s²rn / s^ld----</i>	‘one hundred and twenty ...’	JSLih 077
‘140’ (c.) <i>mʿt / w ʾrbʿn / ----</i>	‘one hundred and forty’	Müller, D.H. 1889: 77–78, no. 28

44 Translation following Macdonald (2008, 213).

'145' (c.)

m/ʔt/w ʔbʕn/w 'one hundred and U 023
ḥms¹/nh¹⁴⁵ forty-five palm trees'

11.1 *One*

The Dadanic numeral one has the morphological form of a feminine relative/ʔvḥday/ (compare CAR. إحدى *ʔiḥdā*). There is one attestation where the numeral is followed by a suffixed pronoun, in which the glide is not represented.

JaL 001 ---*bndw/ʔhd-hm/b-s^lt---*
 '... **one of them** with coins ...'

11.2 *Two*

As already carefully discussed in Macdonald (2008), the form *ttn* 'two' is probably an assimilated form of **ṭintān*, with the regular assimilation of *n* to following consonants in Dadanic (see Chapter 4, § 6.1). Note that this form does not have a prosthetic vowel (compare CAR. *ṭintān* and *ʔṭnatāni*; Macdonald 2008, 213).⁴⁶

11.3 *Eight*

The numeral eight is only attested once in the compound number twenty-eight *ʕ²rn/⟨w⟩tmny*⁴⁷ (JSLih 068). If this reading is correct, this numeral underwent the sound change *ṭ > t*, similar to some forms of the numeral three (see § 11.4 below). In the numeral eight, however, it cannot be explained as dissimilation. While we have other isolated examples of etymological interdentals being written with stops,⁴⁸ this does not seem to have been common in Dadanic. Since we only have one example of *tmny* it is impossible to tell whether this spelling is an anomaly or not.

45 As already noted by Macdonald (2008, 213) the first and last words of the line are almost invisible in the photograph and are left off by Abū al-Ḥasan.

46 Macdonald (2008, 213) also points out the form *ṭintēn* in modern dialects of central and eastern Arabia.

47 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 in the more recent photograph of the rock provided in the database, the final *y* is clearly visible (accessed 04-07-2017).

48 Possibly *tlt* for *ṭlt* (JSLih 047; also see Chapter 6 § 11.4 below), *nṭr* for *nṭ̣r* (e.g., AH 313), and *ʔll* for *ʔlḷ* (AH 009.1; also see Chapter 4, § 6.3).

11.4 *Variation*

11.4.1 Three

The numeral three is attested with two variant bases: twice as *tlt* (U 032; JSLih 071) and once as *tl̄t* (JSLih 068).⁴⁹ The example of *tl̄t* occurs with *ʕym* ‘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 dissimilation from the first interdental; compare Sab. *s²ms¹* and CAR. *šams* ‘sun’ < *s²ms² (Kogan 2011, 193).

<i>tlt̄</i> / <i>ʕzl</i> // <i>t</i>	‘three <i>ʕll</i> ceremonies’	U 032
<i>s¹nt</i> / <i>tl̄t</i> 3 ⁵⁰	‘year three 3’	AH 239; Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3
<i>l-tlt̄</i> // <i>s¹nn</i>	‘for three years’	JSLih 071
<i>tl̄t</i> / <i>ʕym</i>	‘three days’	JSLih 068

Note that the glyphs for *t* and *t̄* are quite similar in shape. They both have an x-shaped base. The *t̄* is generally slightly smaller and sits on top of a vertical line[†], while the *t* is simply an X. Given the similar basic shape they may be difficult to tell 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); however, comparing the size of the x-shape in the *t̄* 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 tracing (1909–1914, pl. LXXXIV).

In addition to these forms, the existence of a third form, *tl̄t*, has also been suggested on the basis of JSLih 047 (Macdonald 2000, 212–213).

JSLih 047 [----] // *m----nw* // *tl̄t* / *m¹n* / *mn* / *d----* // *ft* / *b-ʕrb¹n* / *w----* // *lmn* / *h-mr²----*
 ‘... three (?) sanctuaries of/from ... with forty and ... the lord ...’⁵¹

49 OCIANA reads *tlt̄*, but the copy and the photograph both clearly show *tl̄t*.

50 See note 40 in this chapter.

51 The translation largely follows OCIANA (accessed 04-07-2017), except for *ʕrb¹n*. OCIANA takes this as ‘sanctuary’, probably based on the preceding preposition *b-* which is taken as



FIGURE 15
Tracing of the word *tlt* in JSLih 068
ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPHS AVAILABLE ON OCIANA

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'n*. This word is attested in JSLih 072 as a singular noun with the meaning ‘sanctuary’ (Lundberg 2015, n. 37). The form *m'n*, in JSLih 047, would then have to be a broken plural. If *tlt* really does represent **tl̥t*, the replacement of the interdental with stops may be compared to the examples in which *z* > *t* (see Chapter 4, § 6.3).

11.4.12 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; Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII). According to R. 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, one is found in a dating formula, which is the most common environment for numerals to occur in Dadanitic. Occurrences of teen-and-digit and digit-teen notation:

Digit-teen	Teen-and digit
12	<i>s^hnt</i> // <i>s²r</i> / <i>w</i> { <i>t</i> } <i>tn</i> ‘in year 12’ (AH 081)
13	<i>s^hnt</i> / <i>s²r</i> / <i>w</i> <i>tlt</i> / 13 ‘year thirteen’ (AH 197)

a locative. I do not see any reason to translate the form as anything other 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.

(cont.)

	Digit-teen	Teen-and digit
16	<i>s¹tt / 's²r / m//n / s¹nt / mt / 'l-//h</i> 'sixteen [times] according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her' (AH 064) <i>s¹nt/s¹t/'s²r</i> ---- ⁵² 'year sixteen' (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVII)	
17		<i>/s¹nt / {'s²}//r / w s¹b'</i> 'year seventeen' (U 008)
19		<i>s¹l[n]{t} / 's²r / w ts¹'</i> '{year} nineteen' (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1)
22		<i>s¹nt / 's²rn / w ttn</i> 'year twenty-two' (AH 244)
24		<i>s¹nt / 's²rn / w r[b][ʔ]</i> ---- 'year twenty-{four} ...' (AH 204; AH 226)
25		<i>s¹nt / '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>s¹nt / 's²r//n / w ts¹'</i> 'year twenty-nine' (JSLih 070; JSLih 083)

12 Adverbs

12.1 Locative b-dh

There is one attestation of the compound adverb *b-dh* 'here' (Macdonald 2008, 200) in a graffito.

JSLih 279 *mrh ktb-h / b-dh*
 '*mrh* wrote it **here**'

52 See note 43 in this chapter for the reading of the inscription.

12.2 *Temporal Adverbs*

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 // 'hḏ h-mqbr {d}[h] w dm*
 ‘*brk{t}ḡt* {of the lineage of} *thyw* took possession of this tomb **forever**’

12.2.2 *hld*

The adverb *hld* occurs twice in two related inscriptions with uncertain meaning. For the meaning of *hld*, compare CAR. *halada* ‘he remained, stayed’ (Lane, 783c).

JSLih 070: 1–4

hls¹ / zdhrg / bn /// bl / hld / s¹nt / 's²r / n / w ts^{1c} / 's²r / 'ym // hlf / fdg /
 ‘*zdhrg* son of *bl* was released **forever**, year twenty-nine, ten days after [the setting of? the asterism] *fdg*’

JSLih 068

hls¹ tḡb / b{n} // s¹d / hld / {s¹} / nt / 's²rn / <w> tmn{y} // tlt / 'ym / qbl // r'y / s¹lhn
 ‘*tḡb* son of *s¹d* was released **forever**, year twenty-*{eight}*, three days before the rising of the asterism *slhn*’

13 *Particles*

13.1 *'n*

The particle *'n* / *'in*/ can be used to introduce the protasis of a conditional clause. The phrase *f-'n* can be compared to CAR. *fā-inna*.

al-Ḥuraybah 17

---[*m*]*n* / *s¹rq* / *f-'n* / *yšbr* / *b-mh* / {*s¹r*}[*q*]---- //----{*d*]*n* / *thḏ-h* / *kl-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](?) ...’

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 Dadanic 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 ’s^ldn w-’ntn* (Fa 3) ‘and may these men and women be’.⁵³

JSLih 313 *l-lbh / w z’/nh / w bnt-h / h-ṭrt // dt / wl / wrṭ-hm*⁵⁴
 ‘for *lbh* and *z’nh* and his daughter [is] this mountain and **verily**
 [it is] their inheritance’

JSLih 077: 6–7
wl / ḥmm / b-bt-h ṣ{l}m / wl / s^llmm // b-ḥq[w]y / kfr / ḥmm
 ‘and **verily** (or he has **already**) offered at his (*dḡbt*?) temple a
 statue and he has offered two offerings (?) for security on the walls
 of (a?) cave’

13.3 *Quantifier*

The 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 /kalilu/ and suggests a similar pronunciation /kalil/ for Safaitic (2015, 89).

JaL 161 a *l-s²t // ’l / k’/mn h-mq’d k//ll-h / f’rr // dḡbt / ’r/r / h-s^lfr / dh*
 ‘to the party of *’lk’mn* the seat,⁵⁵ **all of it** and may *dḡbt* dishonor
 the one who mistreats this inscription’

53 DASI (accessed 08-02-2018).

54 OCIANA reads *ḡnth*, which is interpreted as a personal name, instead of *bnt-h* (accessed 13-08-2018).

55 This might be compared to Nabataean inscriptions mentioning the dedication of a bed or ritual couch *rb’t*, which Nehmé (2003, 24) suggests comes from the root √RBD. A similar form, *rb’y*, was discovered in a Nabataean inscription from the Moab plateau (al-Salameen and Shdaifat 2017, 3–4).

JSLih 072: 4-7

*ʕḏw / h-mkn // w h-mqʕd / dh / kll-h / mn / mʕ/n / h-gbl / hnʕly /
 ʕky // mʕ{n} / h-gbl / hnʕsʕlʕl*

‘they took the place and the seat, **all of it**, from the assembly place of the upper border up to the sanctuary of the lower border’

U 010

*ʕdʕtbl / bn / zdḥmm // twbt / ndr / h-zll / l-dḡbt // b-khl / bʕd / ml-h
 / b-tr / frḏ-h // w sʕd-h / w ʕrt-h // kll-h*

‘*ʕdʕtbl* son of *zdḥmm* *twbt* vowed the *zll* to *dḡbt* at *khl* on behalf of his property at *tr* so may he favor him and aid him and his posterity, **all of it**’

14 Conjunctions

14.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

The two coordinating conjunctions attested in Dadanic are *w-* and *f-*.

14.1.1 *w-*

The conjunction *w-* functions roughly as the 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 *ʕḏh / w ʕmth{n}ʕktb / bnt / qn/y / w ʕm-hm / sʕnʕh / w bʕlhzd / nm-
 ---/h / w bn[t]-h / ʕmtyʕʕn / ʕlw /*

‘*ʕḏh* **and** *ʕmth{n}ʕktb* daughter of *qn* **and** their mother *sʕnʕh* **and** *bʕlhzd* *bm ... h* **and** his/her daughter *ʕmtyʕʕn* performed the *zll*’

U 038: 3-4 *frḏ-h / w ʕr[t]-h // w ʕb-h*

‘so may he favor him **and** his posterity **and** reward him’

U 058: 1-5 *ʕḏ / bn / ydʕ // ʕzll / h-zll // {b-}khl / l-dḡ//bt / bʕd / {n}ḥl-h // w dtʕ-h
 b-bdr*

‘*ʕḏ* son of *ydʕ* performed the *zll* ceremony at *khl* for *dḡbt* on behalf of their palm trees **and** their crops of the season of the later rains at *bdr*’

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 ‘*erstarrt*’ 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 *ʕd / bn / ydʕ // ʕll / h-ʕll // {b-}khl / l-dġ//bt / bʕd / {n}hl-h // w dtʕ-h b-bdr // fr{d}-h w ʕrt-h*
 ‘*ʕd* son of *ydʕ* performed the *ʕll* ceremony at *khl* for *dġbt* 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 *ʕrtm / w ʕrm w nn // w drh / w gzʕ // w ʕʕm / w ʕd // ddt / hggn // f sʕmʕ / l-h{m}*
 ‘*ʕrtm* and *ʕrm* and *nn* and *drh* and *gzʕ* and *ʕʕm* and *ʕddd* are pilgrims / are performing a pilgrimage so may he listen to {them}’

14.1 *Subordinating Conjunction ʕdh*

The form *ʕdh* occurs in two different inscriptions (JSLih 055; JSLih 069) probably with the meaning ‘if/when’. Compare, for example, Ug. *ʕd* ‘when, as soon as’ (Tropper 2000, 796) and CAr. *ʕdā* ‘when’. While the attested forms look like the Arabic *ʕdā*, the context does not allow for the definition of its function in Dadanitic.

JSLih 055 *---y wkl / h{ġ}sʕn / ʕkl / hktby --- // ---h / bn / hrmh / ʕdh / ʕrb-hm ---//---tlh / b-mtb / b-{t}ʕn / ʕd / d---*
 ‘... *wkl h{ġ}sʕn* priest of *h-ktby* ... son of *hrmh* if/when he waged war on them ... at a throne(?) during the setting of the asterism *ʕd* ...’

JSLih 069 *wsʕqt // ʕmm ʕdh // nwl / ʕmg//h*
 ‘??? ??? when he offered on behalf of his expulsion/grain’

Since *ʕdh* occurs in a broken context in JSLih 055 and in a poorly understood context in JSLih 069, it is not entirely clear whether it represents a conjunction or an adverb.

14.2 *Disjunctive Conjunction* ʾw

Both examples of ʾw occur in broken context, but the meaning seems clear on comparative grounds, compare Ug. ʾu (< *ʾaw) ‘or’ (Tropper 2000, 792), and CAR. ʾaw ‘or’ (Fischer 2001, 177).

al-Ḥuraybah 17 (line 6)

---*h-sʾrqt / yṭb / h-sʾrq / ʾw / y*---

‘... the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief **or** ...’

JaL 001 (line 2)

---*hm / l-bn-h / ʾw / bnt*---

‘... for his son **or** daughter ...’

14.3 *Complementizer* ʾn

The complementizer ʾn is attested once in Dadanitic. The construction ʾn *yn* in AH 203 is related to CAR. ʾan *yafʿala* ‘that he may do’ (Al-Jallad 2018, 24 and see Chapter 5, § 2.2).

AH 203 [---] // *hm*---[*d*]//*ḡbt / ʾ{n} / yk{n} // l-h / {w}ld / frdy[-h]*--- // *w*
ʾḡrt-h {d}---

‘... [*d*]*ḡbt* that there may be a son to him so may he favor him and his posterity ...’⁵⁶

14.4 *Presentative* ʾny

The presentative ʾny can be compared to Ug. *hny*, Heb. *hinneh*, and CAR. ʾinna.⁵⁷ It is used to initiate a new clause.⁵⁸

U 026 ʾbʿl / *dl* / ʾfyh / *h-zll* // *l-dḡbt / <f> rd-hm / w sʾ//d-hm / w ʾqb-hm*
[/] ʾny // *ysʾrg* [/] ʾb-hm / w {*m*} ʾn-h[*m*] // w {*m*} *fr-h*{*m*} / *b- ms²hl*
‘The lords of *dl* accomplished the *zll* for *dḡbt* so may he favor them (pl.) and aid them and their posterity see now **that** their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at *ms²hl*’⁵⁹

56 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 to the edge of the stone, there seems to be an empty space following *yn* in the line before it, suggesting that it is complete.

57 This was suggested by Ahmad Al-Jallad, see commentary on U 026 in OCIANA.

58 Interpretation following OCIANA (accessed 19-02-2019).

59 Translation following OCIANA (accessed 14-04-2022).

A Quantitative Approach to Variation

Dadanitic contains many points of variation. The previous chapters described how inscriptions may differ in their execution (Chapter 2); their purpose, combined with differences in appropriate compositional formulae (Chapter 3); the location where they were left, and even the grammatical forms they contain (Chapters 4 to 6). This chapter will bring the major points of variation within the inscriptions together in a quantitative study, concerning grammatical and stylistic features.

The investigation will focus on the co-occurrence of two variables within the same inscription, to see whether 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 time-period, 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.

The statistical analysis of the variation in the inscriptions offered here will provide evidence for the kind of relationships that may exist between forms and reveal concrete patterns of distribution of variation. By considering correlations between language-internal and extralinguistic features this analysis aims to take a more holistic approach to the epigraphic object. This approach, which was outlined in the Introduction, will provide a more contextualized discussion of variation in Dadanitic than previous text-focused approaches. Including a statistical analysis will help move the discussion of linguistic variation in the Dadanitic corpus beyond impressionistic observations about single varying features, thereby moving beyond the discussion offered by Sima (1999, 117) and Farès-Drappeau (2005, 65–66).

1 Methodology: Statistics

The significance of an association will be determined using the chi-square test (Pearson 1900), which is designed to test whether there is a relationship

TABLE 16 Contingency table demonstrating a comparison of the co-occurrence of the variables of gender and hat wearing

	Boy	Girl	Total
Hat	40	10	50
No hat	20	30	50
Total	60	40	100

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 16 contains fictitious numbers and categories to clarify the basic principles. It shows a group of 60 boys and 40 girls, from 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.

The expected frequencies in Table 16 can be rendered using the following equation (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. That is, 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

TABLE 17 Contingency table showing the expected frequencies of co-occurrence of gender and hat wearing

	Boy	Girl	Total
Hat	30	20	50
No hat	30	20	50
Total	60	40	100

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 17.

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 freedom¹ 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 underlying the chi-square test:

$$x_c^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

Here, the subscript c stands for the degrees of freedom, the observed values (O) are the attested frequencies, and E represents the expected frequencies (under the null hypothesis). Subtracting the 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, which could leave us with an

¹ Degrees of freedom (df) are calculated by multiplying the number of rows (r) of the table minus one by the number of columns (c) minus one: $df = (r - 1)(c - 1)$.

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 2×2 tables, like the one in the example, this prediction may often be gleaned by looking at the expected and attested frequencies, but when the tables get bigger the relationships are not always immediately obvious (see § 1.2 below for more on standardized residuals and how they will be used). If one were to do the calculations by hand, there are tables in which the critical values per degrees of freedom of the contingency table are given. When the corresponding chi-square value from the calculations is larger 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.² 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.³

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),⁴ which is typically used when one or more cells of the contingency table contain an expected value of less than five.⁵ 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

2 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.

3 An excellent introduction to the chi-square test can be found in Field (2013, 721–723).

4 Another commonly used alternative to the chi-square test in corpus linguistics is the log-likelihood test (McEnery and Hardie 2012, 51).

5 The general principles behind Fisher's exact test are briefly discussed in Field (2013, 723–724).

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.

For 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 and .3 as low effect size, .3 and .75 as medium effect size, and values higher than .75 as high or strong effect size.

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 of genre and agreement, see § 2), it is not always clear from the expected and attested values which category caused the effect.

The effect of individual categories will, therefore, 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. To return to the basic example from Table 17, instead of giving a general indication for the association between hat-wearing and gender, the standardized residuals will give 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.⁶ 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.

6 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) for a more detailed explanation of z scores (28–34) and the use of standardized residuals (743–744).

2 The Data and Methodology

The variables selected for comparison are text internal 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 found within it. In this chapter the consistently varying grammatical and orthographic forms were taken as text internal variables. These 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{RDY} , the spelling of $*z$, and agreement type.

It is not always clear whether a variable can be considered an orthographic or a grammatical variant. It is clear that agreement is a grammatical variant. The spelling of \sqrt{RDY} and $*z$ and the variation of $h/\text{'}$ -causatives, however, are related to phonological changes in the language underlying the Dadanitic script and inscriptions. As it is impossible to tell if a certain spelling remained in use after it no longer accurately reflected the phonological reality, it is problematic to draw a clear boundary between purely orthographic practice and phonology in these cases. In the case of the geminate causative and the i - w causative, deciding whether they represent orthographic or grammatical variants seems impossible at present, as it is unclear whether the variation represents variation in the spelling of diphthongs or between C and CD-stems of the affected verbs (see Chapter 4, § 5 and Chapter 5, § 3.3).

This ambiguity makes it problematic to include this distinction prominently in the final analysis of the variation in the corpus, even though grammatical and orthographic variables were likely impacted by language change in different ways, spelling conventions being typically conservative. Labeling an ambiguous variable either grammatical or orthographic based on its distribution in the corpus runs the risk of ending in circularity. Therefore, the distinction between orthographic and grammatical variants will be introduced into the discussion only cautiously.

In the Introduction, the location of the inscription was also mentioned as a component of 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. Thus, when comparing causative type and \sqrt{RDY} forms, the set may be smaller than the total set of attested causative forms, for example. That is, while there are 240 inscriptions containing a causative verb, and 256 with a form of the root \sqrt{RDY} , there are only 197 in which both occur together and can be used to test any hypothesis about their co-occurrence (see Chapter 8, § 1.1).

Furthermore, any uncertain attestations were left out, to avoid skewing the results. For example, inscriptions lacking a clear photograph or those that only have a copy available in the OCIANA database were excluded from the script type analysis, as were damaged inscriptions or inscriptions with unclear interpretations. An example of this is JSLih 076.

JSLih 076 *ʾmṯḥmd / bnt // ʿsm / h-mṯʿt*
 “*mṯḥmd* daughter of *ʿsm* protected / the protector’

First, it is unclear whether the final word of the inscription is a verb, or a noun preceded by a definite article. Second, 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.

While such decisions limit the dataset, they should not make observations about patterns in distribution invalid. As statistics is generally used to make predictions about a general population based on a sample, having a limited sample is part of the expected process. As discussed above (§1.1), 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 will ensure transparency about the actual distribution and frequency of the features under discussion.

2.1 *Text Internal Variables*

2.1.1 Morphological Variants

ʾ/h-Causative

As outlined in Chapter 5, §3.2, Dadanitic contains two forms of causative verbs, a ʾ-causative and a formally archaic *h*-causative (also see, e.g., Sima 1999, 93; Farès-Drappeau 2005, 68–69). Table 18 gives an overview of the attested causative verbs in the corpus. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of attestations of each individual form, while the final column on the right gives the total number of both ʾ- and *h*-causatives of the same root.

TABLE 18 Attested forms of the causatives

Sigla of attested inscriptions	'-stem	<i>h</i> -stem	Total
JSLih 054	<i>ʔq</i> (1)		1
U 005; U 037; U 035; U 026; U 004; U 031; AH 087.1; AH 015; Private collection 1	<i>ʔy</i> (9)		9
JSLih 177	<i>ʔy</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-ʿUdayb 001; Al-ʿUdayb 009; Al-ʿUdayb 011; Al-ʿUdayb 041; Al-ʿUdayb 075; Al-ʿUdayb 113; Al-ʿUdayb 138; U 126; AH 006; AH 079; Al-ʿUdayb 129; Al-ʿUdayb 008	<i>ʔw</i> (35)		35
AH 221	<i>ʔnm</i> (1)		1
AH 197		<i>hʔny</i> (1)	1
JSLih 064	<i>ʔrm</i> (1)		1
AH 204	<i>ʔqw</i> (1)		1
JSLih 077	<i>ʔtt/ʔht</i> (1)		1
JSLih 008; Müller, D.H. 1889: 68, no. 16	<i>ʔdq</i> (2)		2
al-Ḥuraybah 12		<i>htb</i> (1)	1
JSLih 075	<i>ʔt</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-ʿUdayb 009; Al-ʿUdayb 032; Al-ʿUdayb 132; Al-ʿUdayb 129; Al-ʿUdayb 008	<i>ʔb</i> (31)		31
For <i>ʔdq</i> : AH 222; JSLih 061; JSLih 063; Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1–2; AH 087; Private collection 2; al-Ḥuraybah 09 For <i>hdq</i> : JSLih 062; Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1–2	<i>ʔdq</i> (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>hwqʔ</i> (1)	1
AH 239; AH 217; AH 226; AH 222; Al-Saʿīd 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1	<i>ʔqd</i> (5)		5
For <i>ʔll</i> : e.g., AH 057; AH 163; AH 142; U 058. For <i>hʔll</i> : AH 023; AH 021; AH 038; AH 225; AH 011; U 079bis; AH 026	<i>ʔll</i> (116)	<i>hʔll</i> (8)	124
e.g., AH 064; U 125; U 016; AH 197; U 028	<i>ʔl</i> (42)		41
Total	234	17	271

TABLE 19 Attested forms of *l-w* causatives

	ʔ-causative	<i>h</i> -causative	Total
Without <i>w</i>	ʔdq (7)	hdq (2)	9
	ʔfy (9)		9
	ʔqd (5)		5
With <i>w</i>		hwdq (4)	4
		hwqʔ (1)	1
Total	21	7	28

TABLE 20 Attested forms of the geminate causative

	ʔ-causative	<i>h</i> -causative	[.]causative	Total
Without geminate	ʔzl (42)			42
	ʔʔl (5)			5
With geminate	ʔzll (108)	hzll (7)	[.]zll (2)	117
	ʔʔll (8)	hʔll (2)		10
Total	163	9	2	174

l-w Causative

The *h*-causative of *l-w* verbs is attested in two different forms: with the root-initial *w* represented and without it. Note that there are no attestations of ʔ-causatives of *l-w* roots with the initial *w* represented in the corpus (see Chapter 4, §5). Table 19 gives an overview of the attested forms.

Geminate Causative

There is only one geminate root attested as a causative verb: the very common root \sqrt{ZLL} . Besides variation in the type of causative, with a ʔ- or *h*- prefix, there is also variation in the representation of the geminate root consonant, which can be written just once or twice (see Chapter 5, §3.2). Table 20 gives an overview of the attestations of the different forms.

TABLE 21 Attested spellings of \sqrt{RDY}

	Masculine	Feminine	Total
Defective spelling	<i>rd</i> (224)	<i>rdt</i> (2)	226
<i>Plene</i> spelling	<i>rdy</i> (29)	<i>rdyt</i> (1)	30
Total	253	3	256

2.1.2 Phonological/Orthographic Variants

Spelling of RDY

The verb *rdy* ‘he favored’ is only attested with an enclitic pronominal pronoun. In this form, it is attested with the spelling *rdy* and *rd*. Given the attestation of both the feminine forms *rdyt* and *rdt*, it seems that the difference in spelling represents a chronological development in the corpus. If this is correct, then the *rdy* forms reflect an older form with the triphthong still intact, while the *rd* forms represent a more progressive spelling from after the collapse of word final triphthongs (for a complete discussion see Chapter 4, §3.2 and Kootstra 2019). Table 21 gives an overview of the attested forms of \sqrt{RDY} .

z/ʔ Spelling

There are some attestations of etymological *z represented with ʔ. The OCIANA database identifies two examples of this spelling in the highly frequent root \sqrt{ZLL} (AH 009.1; U 048). Upon closer inspection of the photographs, I would propose that there are 26 such spellings of \sqrt{ZLL} in the corpus (see Chapter 2 for a complete overview). Beside these examples, this spelling is also commonly found in inscriptions mentioning the guarding of Dadan \sqrt{NZR} and in personal names (Kootstra 2018b). As discussed in Chapter 4, it is not entirely clear whether the use of ʔ for *z reflects a change in the spoken language at the oasis, or a borrowing from Aramaic in the *ntr* inscriptions. The use of ʔll for zll, however, is not likely due to a borrowing. The verb seems to be unique to Dadan, and the more archaic zll spelling is clearly the norm, indicating that ʔll is the substrate form. The data from the personal names cannot be directly compared to that of the verbs found in the inscriptions,⁷ and will therefore not be part of the statistical analysis.

⁷ See the introduction for a complete methodological discussion of the use of personal names for the analysis of the corpus.

TABLE 22 Agreement types

	Subject	Verb	Pro- nouns	No. of attes- tations
Full dual agreement	PN <i>bn</i> PN <i>w</i> -PN <i>bn</i> PN	<i>f^lh</i>	<i>-hmy</i>	1
Partial dual agreement	PN <i>bn</i> PN <i>w</i> -PN <i>bn</i> PN	<i>f^lw</i>	<i>-hmy</i>	5
Neutralization of dual agreement	PN <i>bn</i> PN <i>w</i> -PN <i>bn</i> PN	<i>f^lw</i>	<i>-hm</i>	13
Total				19

2.1.3 Syntactic Variants *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 Chapter 5, §§ 1.3 and 1.4).⁸ The category of neutralization of the dual is by far the most common. As shown in Table 22, there are thirteen inscriptions with neutralization,⁹ five examples of partial dual agreement,¹⁰ and only one example of full dual agreement (AH 199). There is one example that suggests the dual may have survived on nouns while it was already lost on verbs and pronouns (U 001).¹¹ This distribution of the dual is typologically common and can be found in Arabic dialects¹² (Macdonald 2008, 217) and Biblical Hebrew (Joüon and Muraoka 2009, 514–517), for example. Since there is only evidence for this in Dadanitic in

8 See Sima (1999, 117) for an overview table of inscriptions from al-ʿUḏayb with incongruences in their number agreement.

9 U 027; U 044; AH 011; Al-ʿUḏayb 064; Al-ʿUḏayb 065; U 047; U 064; U 063; U 115; AH 081; JSLih 079; JSLih 282; U 036; Al-ʿUḏayb 075. Al-ʿUḏayb 075 is not completely certain. The beginning of the inscription is damaged, casting some doubt on the number of dedicants.

10 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: although they both have dual pronouns, suggesting they had partial dual agreement, both inscriptions are damaged, making the number of the subject and verb uncertain.

11 For a complete discussion and description of dual agreement see Chapter 5, § 1.3.

12 E.g., in Syrian Arabic, where dual nouns agree with plural predicates: *wəšlu l-əktābēn tabaʿi?* ‘have my two books arrived?’ (Cowell 1964, 420).

one inscription, however, it is impossible to say whether this system underlies all inscriptions which have lost the dual on verbs and pronouns.

Anomalous Agreement

Several inscriptions seem to be different from the more common and regular types of agreement.¹³ 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’ (Table 23). 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. They may be explained in different ways.

When trying to explain this category of ‘mixed agreement’, one can imagine that the scribe or the mason simply lost track of the subject toward 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 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 / ʔqhwnh // w-{}tn-h / ‘bb / ʔllw [ʔ] l-dǰ//[b][t][ʔ] b’d / dtʔ-h / b-hm // dhb / f-rd-hm / w-ʔtb-//hm*

‘*qnh* daughter of *ʔqhwnh* and her relative through marriage *bb* performed the *ʔll* (pl.) for *dǰ[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 / ʔll // h-ʔll / l-dǰbt // ʔly / ml-hm / b-dʔ//mn / f-rd-h / w-ʔh//rt-h*

‘... *ns²ms¹* son of *kdn* performed (sing.) the *ʔll* ceremony for *dǰbt* on behalf of their property at *dʔmn* 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 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

13 For a complete overview of the verbal forms and agreement types see Chapter 5.

TABLE 23 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

person performed the ritual, he did it on behalf of communal crops, but he is only asking for favor for himself as he was the one performing the ritual, as already 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.

2.2 *Register Indicators*

2.2.1 Script Style

Script style refers to the technique used to make an inscription. The different forms that can be distinguished were discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, here, the different categories will only be listed (see Table 24). Note that the number of inscriptions listed is less than half of the total number of inscriptions. This is because 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. These are given in Table 25, and include texts such as those 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 for an inscription in relief that was abandoned halfway through the process (Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17; JSLih 057).

TABLE 24 Distinguished script styles and no. of occurrences

Script style	No. of occurrences
Pounded	375
Chiseled	242
Incised	163
Relief	135
Iṭlib relief	9
Total	924

TABLE 25 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	e.g., Nasif 1988: 68, pl. LXXIX; U 113; Al-ʿUḏayb 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-ʿUlā Museum 2	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 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		1044

TABLE 26 Distinguished genres and no. of occurrences

Genre	No. of occurrences
Building	6
Dedication	82
Funerary	24
Graffiti	1462
<i>nṭr</i>	20
Non-graffiti	33
<i>ʒll</i>	244
Total	1871

2.2.2 Genre

Genre refers to the content and purpose of the inscription. The different genres and compositional formulae that come with them were discussed in Chapter 3. A basic distinction is made between graffiti and more official inscriptions. Within the more official inscriptions, the genres of building, dedication, funerary, non-graffiti, *nṭr*, and *ʒll* inscriptions are distinguished (Table 26). Since the *ʒll* 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 compositional formulae and ritual aspect (see Kootstra 2022 and Chapter 3, § 2.2 in the present work for a more detailed discussion of the interpretation of the ritual). The high frequency of the *ʒll* inscriptions likely affected their formularity.

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). It also includes three inscriptions that were incised into an object (al-Ḥuraybah 15, al-Mazroo and Nasif 1992: 4, no. 3, al-Ḥuraybah 01). The graffiti genre contains inscriptions with their own compositional formulae, inscriptions mentioning *tqṭ* '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.¹⁴ Finally, even though they can arguably be seen as

14 JaL 008 o; JaL 014 b; JaL 023 c; JaL 085 h; JaL 156 d; JaL 124; JaL 135 a; JaL 142.

TABLE 27 Inscriptions excluded from genre analysis

Category	Sigla	No. of attestations
Fragment	e.g., JaL 001; AH 335; JSLih 050	80
Genre undetermined, possibly graffiti	e.g., Al-‘Ulā 1; Al-‘Uḍayb 016; Al-‘Uḍayb 050	8
Name on object	al-Ḥuraybah 01; al-Ḥuraybah 15; al-Mazroo and Nasīf 1992: 4, no. 3	3
Rockart	JaL 005	1
Unknown	Qaṣr al-Ṣāni‘ 4	1
Total		93

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 unduly influence the outcome of any comparison with other variables (Tables 26 and 27).

Analysis

1 Text Internal Variants

1.1 ʾ/h-Causative

The occurrence of one of the two causative types correlates significantly with two other grammatical variants: the spelling of the *l-w* causative and the spelling of *RDY*, which also have a significant correlation to each other. Interestingly, even though the ʾ/h-causative does not correlate significantly with script style, it does with genre. There are 241 inscriptions of which both the causative type and genre could be determined; there are 219 inscriptions of which both the causative type and script style could be determined. Below, the significant correlations will be reported. The results will be interpreted in §§ 4 and 5.

TABLE 28 Overview of the correlations between the attested variables. The *p* value indicates the chance that the null hypothesis is true as a value between 0 and 1. The cut-off point for significance is .05; grey cells represent significant results, NA means the combination of features is not attested.

	ʾ/h causative	Geminate causative	<i>l-w</i> causative	Spelling of <i>RDY</i>	Agree- ment	ʒ/ʃ spelling	Script style	Genre
ʾ/h causative	---							
Geminate causative	<i>p</i> = .116	---						
<i>l-w</i> causative	<i>p</i> < .001	NA	---					
Spelling of <i>RDY</i>	<i>p</i> < .001	<i>p</i> = .372	<i>p</i> = .002	---				
Agreement	<i>p</i> = 1	<i>p</i> = .243	NA	<i>p</i> = .378	---			
ʒ/ʃ spelling	<i>p</i> = .298	<i>p</i> = .349	NA	<i>p</i> = 1	<i>p</i> = 1	---		
Script style	<i>p</i> = .228	<i>p</i> = .671	<i>p</i> = .498	<i>p</i> = .001	<i>p</i> = .001	<i>p</i> < .001	---	
Genre	<i>p</i> < .001	NA	<i>p</i> = .34	<i>p</i> < .001	<i>p</i> = .138	<i>p</i> < .001	<i>p</i> < .001	---

1.1.1 Co-occurrence with *l-w* Causative

There are 27 inscriptions in which both evidence for either a ʾ- or *h*-causative and the spelling of *l-w* causative occur. Two further inscriptions in which both the ʾ- and *h*-causative occur were taken out of the sample so as not to skew the general trend (U 079 bis; AH 197), because these two would have constituted a separate type of mixed-causative by themselves. The inscriptions Al-Saʿid 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1–2 were counted as two separate inscriptions: once as a text with an *h*-causative and defective spelling of the *l-w* causative, and

TABLE 29 Contingency table comparing causative type and spelling of 1-*w* causative

Causative type * 1- <i>w</i> in C-stem crosstabulation					
			1- <i>w</i> in C-stem		Total
			<i>plene</i> 1- <i>w</i> causative	defective 1- <i>w</i> causative	
Causative type	<i>h</i> -causative	Count	5	2	7
		Expected Count	1.3	5.7	7.0
		Standardized Residual	3.3	-1.6	
	ʔ-causative	Count	0	20	20
		Expected Count	3.7	16.3	20.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.9	.9	
Total	Count	5	22	27	
	Expected Count	5.0	22.0	27.0	

once as a text with a ʔ-causative and defective spelling of the 1-*w* causative. Even though both verbs occur on the same side of the object, the second form seems to be a separate inscription, as it starts with a personal name (*zdh*) right after the blessing in the lines above (*f-rd-h w-ʔ[rt-h]*). Note that the inscription at the top of the object, which seems to have been carved first, contains the *h*-causative *hdq*, while the inscription following it contains the ʔ-causative *ʔdq*. Comparing the use of causative type to the spelling of 1-*w* causatives using Fisher's exact test gives a highly significant result with a strong effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 17.532$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .806$). This indicates that there seems to be a relationship between the use of the type of causative and the spelling of 1-*w* causatives in the same inscription.¹

Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 29, only the combination of *h*-causative and *plene* spelling of the 1-*w* causative verb (*hwdq* type) gives a significant result (3.3). This indicates that the most relevant effect found with

1 As this analysis is based on the inscriptions that are part of the OCIANA database, this does not include the two ʔ*wdq* forms that are part of inscriptions that were exhibited at the Sharja Museum as part of the exhibition *The Echo of Caravans* (Page, Hussein, and Al-Hadhram 2018). Note that, even when those two forms are included in the sample, there is still a significant correlation between these forms ($p = .003$). Looking at the standardized residuals, after adding the two ʔ*wdq* forms, it is also still only the combination of *h*-causative with *plene* spelling of the *w* that gives a significant result: 2.5.

TABLE 30 Contingency table comparing causative type and spelling of RPY

Causative type * RPY spelling crosstabulation					
		RPY spelling		Total	
		<i>plene</i> spelling	defective spelling		
Causative type	<i>h</i> -causative	Count	6	6	12
		Expected Count	.7	11.3	12.0
		Standardized Residual	6.2	-1.6	
	² -causative	Count	6	179	185
		Expected Count	11.3	173.7	185.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.6	.4	
Total		Count	12	185	197
		Expected Count	12.0	185.0	197.0

Fisher's exact test is caused by an unexpectedly high number of *plene* spellings of the 1-*w* causative verbs using the *h*-prefix. The combination of ²-causative with *plene* spelling of the 1-*w* causative verb (²*wdq* type) approaches a negative significant result (-1.9), indicating that this combination occurs less frequently than expected to a degree just shy of statistical significance.

1.1.2 Co-occurrence with RPY

There are 197 inscriptions in which both evidence for a ²- or *h*-causative and the spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RPY}}$ occur. Two further inscriptions were excluded from the analysis to avoid obscuring the general trend, because they contained both *h*- and ²-causatives and would have constituted a separate type of mixed-causative by themselves (U 079 bis; AH 197). Comparing the use of causative type to the spelling of RPY using Fisher's exact test gives a highly significant result with a medium effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 43.068$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .468$). This indicates that there seems to be a relationship between the use of the type of causative and the spelling of RPY in the same inscription.

Looking at the standardized residuals (Table 30), only the combination of *h*-causative and *plene* spelling gives a significant result (6.2). This indicates 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 31 Contingency table comparing causative type and genre of the inscription

		Genre * causative crosstabulation		
		Causative		Total
		<i>h</i> -causative	'-causative	
Genre <i>zll</i>	Count	8	201	209
	Expected Count	13.9	195.1	209.0
	Standardized Residual	-1.6	.4	
dedication	Count	7	19	26
	Expected Count	1.7	24.27	26.0
	Standardized Residual	4.0	-1.1	
funerary	Count	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.1	.9	1.0
	Standardized Residual	-.3	.1	
non-graffiti	Count	1	4	5
	Expected Count	.3	4.7	5.0
	Standardized Residual	1.2	-.3	
Total	Count	16	225	241
	Expected Count	16.0	225.0	241.0

1.1.3 Co-occurrence with Genre

There are 241 inscriptions for which both the causative type and the genre can be determined. Again, the inscription with both a '-' and *h*-causative (Al-Sa'īd 1419/1999: 4-24, no. 1, side 1-2) was treated as two separate inscriptions, one with a '-'-causative and one with an *h*-causative (see above). The two inscriptions that include both a '-' and *h*-causative (U 079 bis and AH 197) were excluded to avoid a separate 'mixed causative' category. Comparing the use of the causative type to the genre in which the verb occurs using Fisher's exact test gives a highly significant result with a low effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 21.435$; $df = 3$; Cramér's $V = .298$). This indicates that there is a relationship between the use of the type of causative and the genre of the inscription.

Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 31, the combination of the *h*-causative with dedicatory inscriptions gives a significant result (4.0). This indicates that there are significantly more attestations of *h*-causatives in dedicatory inscriptions than expected. The relationship that probably exists between

TABLE 32 Contingency table comparing the spelling of R̄DY and I-w causatives

I-w causative * R̄DY spelling crosstabulation					
			R̄DY spelling		Total
			<i>Plene</i>	Defective	
I-w causative	<i>Plene</i>	Count	4	0	4
		Expected Count	1.1	2.9	4.0
		Standardized Residual	2.7	-1.7	
	Defective	Count	1	13	14
		Expected Count	3.9	10.1	14.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.5	.9	
Total	Count	5	13	18	
	Expected Count	5.0	13.0	18.0	

causative type and genre that is indicated by Fisher's exact test is therefore caused by a relatively high number of *h*-causatives in the dedicatory inscriptions.

1.2 Spelling of $\sqrt{R̄DY}$

The occurrence of one of the two types of the spelling of $\sqrt{R̄DY}$ correlates significantly with grammatical and register variants. It correlates significantly with the spelling of the I-w causative, and with script style and genre.

1.2.1 Co-occurrence with I-w Causative

There are 18 inscriptions which include evidence for both the spelling of $\sqrt{R̄DY}$ and that of the I-w causative. Comparing the spelling of R̄DY 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 R̄DY and of I-w causative verbs in the same inscription.

Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 32, only the combination of *plene* spelling of R̄DY 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.

TABLE 33 Contingency table comparing script style and spelling of RPY

		Script style * RPY spelling crosstabulation			
		RPY spelling		Total	
			<i>plene</i> spelling	Defective spelling	
Script style	relief	Count	14	51	65
		Expected Count	7.7	57.3	65.0
		Standardized Residual	2.3	-.8	
	incised	Count	8	56	64
		Expected Count	7.5	56.5	64.0
		Standardized Residual	.2	-.1	
	chiseled	Count	0	53	53
		Expected Count	6.2	46.8	53.0
		Standardized Residual	-2.5	.9	
	pounded	Count	5	42	47
		Expected Count	5.5	41.5	47.0
		Standardized Residual	-.2	.1	
Total	Count	27	202	229	
	Expected Count	27.0	202.0	229.0	

1.2.2 Co-occurrence with Script Style

There are 229 inscriptions for which the spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RPY}}$ and script style could be determined. This does not include one inscription that was only outlined (Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17), seemingly in preparation for later execution in relief (see Chapter 2, § 2.1). This inscription was excluded from the analysis to avoid a category of just one example. Comparing the spelling of RPY with script style of the inscription in which it occurs, using Fisher's exact test, gives a significant result with a low effect size ($p = .001$; $\chi^2 = 13.114$; $df = 3$; Cramér's $V = .239$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the spelling of RPY and the script style of the inscription in which it occurs.

Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 33, the combination of the *plene* spelling of RPY in a chiseled inscription gives a significant result (-2.5). This indicates that the occurrence of *plene* spelling of RPY is significantly lower in chiseled inscriptions than expected if they were in free variation. The com-

TABLE 34 Contingency table comparing the spelling of RPY and genre

		Genre * RPY spelling crosstabulation		
		RPY spelling		Total
		<i>plene</i> spelling	Defective spelling	
Genre <i>zll</i>	Count	10	189	199
	Expected Count	20.6	178.4	199.0
	Standardized Residual	-2.3	.8	
dedication	Count	15	29	44
	Expected Count	4.6	39.4	44.0
	Standardized Residual	4.9	-1.7	
building	Count	1	3	4
	Expected Count	.4	3.6	4.0
	Standardized Residual	.9	-.3	
non-graffiti	Count	0	4	4
	Expected Count	.4	3.6	4.0
	Standardized Residual	-.6	.2	
Total	Count	26	225	251
	Expected Count	26.0	225.0	251.0

bination of *plene* spelling and execution in relief, on the other hand, shows a positive significant relationship (2.3), indicating that the occurrence of *plene* spelling of RPY is significantly higher in inscriptions in relief than would be expected if they were in free variation.

1.2.3 Co-occurrence with Genre

There are 251 inscriptions for which the spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RPY}}$ and genre could be determined. This excludes five fragmentary inscriptions of which too little survived to determine the exact genre. One funerary inscription was grouped under non-graffiti to avoid a category with a single example (JSLih 075).²

Comparing the spelling of RPY with the genre of the inscription in which it occurs using Fisher's exact test gives a highly significant result with a moderate

² There are 24 funerary inscriptions in total.

effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 34.170$; $df = 3$; Cramér's $V = .369$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the spelling of RPY and the genre of the inscription in which it occurs.

Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 34, the combination of *plene* spelling of RPY in dedicatory inscriptions gave a significant result (4.9). This indicates that the number of RPY spellings in dedicatory inscriptions is higher than expected. The *plene* spelling of RPY also yielded a significant result in the *zll* inscriptions (-2.3) showing the opposite relationship: the number of *plene* spellings of RPY in *zll* inscriptions is significantly lower than expected if they had a relation to each other.

The fact that *zll* inscriptions have the opposite relationship with *plene* spellings of RPY than other dedicatory inscriptions confirms that they are a relevant separate category and are not just another type of dedicatory inscription.

2 Register Indicators

2.1 Script Style

Script style correlates significantly with several grammatical variants. Specifically, it correlates significantly with RPY spelling, *t/z* spelling, and agreement type. Script style and genre also correlate significantly.

2.1.1 Co-occurrence with *z/t* Spelling

There are 211 inscriptions for which both script style and the 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 ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 39.832$; $df = 4$; Cramér's $V = .434$). This indicates that there is probably a relationship between the spelling of *z and the script style of an inscription.

Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 35, the combination of chiseled inscriptions and the spelling of *z with *t* gives a significant result (2.5). This indicates that there are significantly more chiseled inscriptions with *t* spellings than would be expected if there was no relation between spelling and script style. The *t* spelling has a positive relationship with the Itlib relief style, as expected (4). 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 (-2.5), indicating there are significantly less inscriptions than expected in relief with *t* spelling for *z if there was no relationship between them.

TABLE 35 Contingency table comparing script style and spelling of *z

			*z spelling		Total
			z	t	
Script style	relief	Count	39	1	40
		Expected Count	32.0	8.0	40.0
		Standardized Residual	1.2	-2.5	
	incised	Count	44	4	48
		Expected Count	38.4	9.6	48.0
		Standardized Residual	.9	-1.8	
	Iṭlib relief	Count	0	5	5
		Expected Count	4.0	1.0	5.0
		Standardized Residual	-2.0	4.0	
	chiseled	Count	40	21	61
		Expected Count	48.9	12.1	61.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.3	2.5	
	pounded	Count	46	11	57
		Expected Count	45.7	11.3	57.0
		Standardized Residual	.1	-.1	
	Total	Count	169	42	211
		Expected Count	169.0	42.0	211.0

2.1.2 Co-occurrence with Agreement Type

There are 67 inscriptions for which both agreement type and script style could be determined. Comparing the script type of an inscription with the agreement type used in it using Fisher's exact test gives a significant result with a low effect size ($p = .001$; $\chi^2 = 28.005$; $df = 15$; Cramér's $V = .373$). 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 in Table 36, the overall significant result is mostly due to how inscriptions with a loss of the dual interact with script style. Chiseled inscriptions and neutralization of the dual give a significant result (2.1), while relief and neutralization of the dual have the opposite relation (-2.2). This indicates that the neutralization of the dual seems to occur

TABLE 36 Contingency table comparing script style and agreement type

			Agreement type * script style crosstabulation				Total
			Relief	Incised	Chiseled	Pounded	
Agreement type	full plural agree- ment	Count	20	10	2	7	39
		Expected Count	15.1	10.5	4.7	8.7	39.0
		Standardized Residual	1.3	-.1	-1.2	-.6	
full dual agree- ment	full dual agree- ment	Count	1	0	0	0	1
		Expected Count	.4	.3	.1	.2	1.0
		Standardized Residual	1.0	-.5	-.3	-.5	
partial dual agree- ment	partial dual agree- ment	Count	2	3	0	0	5
		Expected Count	1.9	1.3	.6	1.1	5.0
		Standardized Residual	.0	1.4	-.8	-1.1	
neutralization of dual agreement	neutralization of dual agreement	Count	0	3	4	5	12
		Expected Count	4.7	3.2	1.4	2.7	12.0
		Standardized Residual	-2.2	-.1	2.1	1.4	
mixed number agreement	mixed number agreement	Count	0	2	2	2	6
		Expected Count	2.3	1.6	.7	1.3	6.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.5	.3	1.5	.6	
mistake	mistake	Count	3	0	0	1	4
		Expected Count	1.6	1.1	.5	.9	4.0
		Standardized Residual	1.2	-1.0	-.7	.1	
Total	Total	Count	26	18	8	15	67
		Expected Count	26.0	18.0	8.0	15.0	67.0

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).

2.1.3 Co-occurrence with Genre

There are 861 inscriptions for which both script style and genre could be determined. This excludes a further 68 fragmentary inscriptions for which the genre could not be determined, and one inscription incised in pottery to avoid a category with a single example. Inscriptions inscribed into objects were classified as non-graffiti. Comparing the combination of script style and genre within inscriptions using Fisher's exact test gives a highly significant result with a moderate effect 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 in

TABLE 37 Contingency table comparing the genre and script style of inscriptions

		Genre * script style crosstabulation					Total
		Script style					
		Relief	Incised	Iṭlib relief	Chiseled	Pounded	
Genre graffiti	Count	4	47	4	159	284	498
	Expected Count	62.5	86.2	5.2	135.9	208.2	498.0
	Standardized Residual	-7.4	-4.2	-.5	2.0	5.3	
<i>zll</i>	Count	48	53	0	55	64	220
	Expected Count	27.6	38.1	2.3	60.0	92.0	220.0
	Standardized Residual	3.9	2.4	-1.5	-.7	-2.9	
dedication	Count	40	24	0	4	8	76
	Expected Count	9.5	13.2	.8	20.7	31.8	76.0
	Standardized Residual	9.9	3.0	-.9	-3.7	-4.2	
<i>nṭr</i>	Count	0	0	5	11	2	18
	Expected Count	2.3	3.1	.2	4.9	7.5	18.0
	Standardized Residual	-1.5	-1.8	11.1	2.7	-2.0	
building	Count	6	0	0	0	0	6
	Expected Count	.8	1.0	.1	1.6	2.5	6.0
	Standardized Residual	6.0	-1.0	-.3	-1.3	-1.6	
funerary	Count	4	8	0	3	0	15
	Expected Count	1.9	2.6	.2	4.1	6.3	15.0
	Standardized Residual	1.5	3.4	-.4	-.5	-2.5	
non-graffiti	Count	6	17	0	3	2	28
	Expected Count	3.5	4.8	.3	7.6	11.7	28.0
	Standardized Residual	1.3	5.5	-.5	-1.7	-2.8	
Total	Count	108	149	9	235	360	861
	Expected Count	108.0	149.0	9.0	235.0	360.0	861.0

Table 37, each genre correlates significantly with at least one script style. Given the long list of significant combinations, I have summarized them in Table 38.

The strong interaction between genre and script style and the direction in which they correlate as shown in Table 37 and Table 38, clearly shows that the more official inscriptions (building, dedicatory, funerary, non-graffiti, and *zll*) tend to be executed using more technically demanding writing techniques (in-

TABLE 38 Overview of the significant standardized residuals of genre and script style

Genre	Script style	Standardized residuals	Attested no. of inscriptions	Expected no. of inscriptions
Graffiti	Chiseled	2	159	135.9
	Incised	-4.2	47	86.2
	Pounded	5.3	284	208.2
	Relief	-7.4	4	62.5
zll	Incised	2.4	53	38.1
	Pounded	-2.9	64	92
	Relief	3.9	48	27.6
Dedication	Chiseled	-3.7	4	20.7
	Incised	3	24	13.2
	Pounded	-4.2	8	31.8
	Relief	9.9	40	9.5
nṭr	Chiseled	2.7	11	4.9
	Itlib relief	11.1	5	.2
	Pounded	-2	2	7.5
Building	Relief	6	6	.8
Funerary	Incised	3.4	8	2.6
	Pounded	-2.5	0	6.3
Non-graffiti	Incised	5.5	17	4.8
	Pounded	-2.8	2	11.7

cised 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 a text.

2.2 Genre

Genre correlates significantly with the variants mentioned above (script style, /h causative, and spelling of RḌY) but also with z/t spelling.

2.2.1 Co-occurrence with z/t Spelling

There are 225 inscriptions for which genre and the spelling of *z can be determined. This excludes one further inscription (Al-Uḏayb 048) that contains the letters z/l but is too fragmentary to determine whether it is a zll inscription with certainty. Comparing these categories using Fisher's exact test gives a highly sig-

TABLE 39 Contingency table comparing the genre of the inscription and the spelling of *z

			*z spelling		Total
			z	t	
Genre	zll	Count	178	27	205
		Expected Count	163.1	41.9	205.0
		Standardized Residual	1.2	-2.3	
	ntr	Count	1	19	20
		Expected Count	15.9	4.1	20.0
		Standardized Residual	-3.7	7.4	
Total	Count	179	46	225	
	Expected Count	179.0	46.0	225.0	

nificant result with a moderate effect size ($p < .001$; $\chi^2 = 75.019$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .577$), indicating that there is probably a relationship between the genre of the inscription and the spelling of *z.

Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 39, 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 (-3.7). 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 (-2.3), showing there are fewer *zll* inscriptions with *t* spelling than expected if the two had no relation to each other.

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, there is the interaction between genre and the two grammatical variables it does not interact with, which do have significant relations with

TABLE 40 Contingency table comparing genre and the spelling of 1-*w* causative

		Genre * 1- <i>w</i> causative crosstabulation			
		1- <i>w</i> causative		Total	
		<i>plene</i> spelling	Defective spelling		
Genre	<i>zll</i>	Count	3	7	10
		Expected Count	1.9	8.1	10.0
		Standardized Residual	.8	-.4	
	dedication	Count	2	14	16
		Expected Count	3.1	12.9	16.0
		Standardized Residual	-.6	.3	
Total	Count	5	21	26	
	Expected Count	5.0	21.0	26.0	

other variables: 1-*w* causative and agreement. Second, 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 28), they do show a pattern in their distribution.

3.1 *Genre*

3.1.1 Co-occurrence with 1-*w* Causative

There are 26 inscriptions that contain evidence for the spelling of the 1-*w* causative and for which the genre can be determined. Comparing the co-occurrence of genre and spelling of the 1-*w* causative does not give a significant result, and only shows a low effect size ($p = .340$; $\chi^2 = 1.213$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .216$).

Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 40, the *plene* spelling of 1-*w* causatives and the *zll* inscriptions have the strongest relationship (.8). This indicates that there are slightly more 1-*w* causatives with *plene* spelling in *zll* inscriptions than expected, but not nearly enough to reach significance (for which a standardized residual of 1.96 would be needed). The spelling of 1-*w* causatives seems fairly evenly distributed across genres.

TABLE 41 Contingency table comparing agreement type and genre

			Agreement type * genre crosstabulation				Total
			Genre				
			graffiti	zll	dedication	non-graffiti	
Agreement type	full plural agreement	Count	2	19	15	3	39
		Expected Count	1.7	24.3	9.6	3.4	39.0
		Standardized Residual	.2	-1.1	1.7	-.2	
	full dual agreement	Count	0	1	0	0	1
		Expected Count	.0	.6	.2	.1	1.0
		Standardized Residual	-.2	-.5	-.5	-.3	
	partial dual agreement	Count	0	2	1	2	5
		Expected Count	.2	3.1	1.2	.4	5.0
		Standardized Residual	-.5	-.6	-.2	2.4	
	neutralization of agreement	Count	1	10	1	1	13
		Expected Count	.6	8.1	3.2	1.1	13.0
		Standardized Residual	.6	.7	-1.2	-.1	
	mixed agreement	Count	0	7	0	0	7
		Expected Count	.3	4.4	1.7	.6	7.0
		Standardized Residual	-.6	1.3	-1.3	-.8	
	mistake	Count	0	4	0	0	4
		Expected Count	.2	2.5	1.0	.3	4.0
		Standardized Residual	-.4	1.0	-1.0	-.6	
Total		Count	3	43	17	6	69
		Expected Count	3.0	43.0	17.0	6.0	69.0

3.1.2 Co-occurrence with Agreement

There are 69 inscriptions for which both the genre and agreement type can be determined. This excludes two further fragmentary inscriptions which seem to deal with multiple persons and include the plural enclitic pronoun *-hm* (AH 220; JaL 001). Because of their fragmentary nature the readings of the inscriptions are unclear, and we cannot be certain of verbal and pronominal agreement in them. There is no significant correlation between genre and agreement type, with a moderate effect size ($p = .138$; $\chi^2 = 20.143$; $df = 15$; Cramér's $V = .312$). Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 41, non-graffiti and partial dual agreement have a positive relationship (standardized residual = 2.4).

TABLE 42 Contingency table comparing causative type and spelling of geminate causative

Causative type * geminate causative crosstabulation					
			Geminate causative		Total
			Double geminate	Single geminate	
Causative type	<i>h</i> -causative	Count	9	0	9
		Expected Count	6.5	2.5	9.0
		Standardized Residual	.96	-1.57	
	ʾ-causative	Count	116	47	163
		Expected Count	118.5	44.5	163.0
		Standardized Residual	-.23	.37	
Total		Count	125	47	172
		Expected Count	125.0	47.0	172.0

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. Since the geminate causative only occurs with the root \sqrt{zLL} , there is logically no possible correlation with *l-w* causatives. There is also no correlation possible with genre, as all examples occur in *zll* inscriptions.

3.2.1 Co-occurrence with Causative Type

There are 172 inscriptions for which the causative type and spelling of the geminate causative could be determined. Fisher's exact test gives a non-significant result, with a low effect size ($p = .116$; $\chi^2 = 3.114$; $df = 1$; Cramér's $V = .144$). Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 42, 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 (-1.57). 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 ʾ-causative and spelling of the geminate causative, but the strength of association between them is even lower.

TABLE 43 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	10	33	43
		Expected Count	11.6	31.4	43.0
		Standardized Residual	-.5	.3	
	Incised	Count	10	28	38
		Expected Count	10.3	27.7	38.0
		Standardized Residual	-.1	.1	
	Pounded	Count	11	33	44
		Expected Count	11.9	32.1	44.0
		Standardized Residual	-.3	.2	
	Relief	Count	12	22	34
		Expected Count	9.2	24.8	34.0
		Standardized Residual	.9	-.6	
	Total	Count	43	116	159
		Expected Count	43.0	116.0	159.0

3.2.2 Co-occurrence with Script Style

There are 159 inscriptions with a geminate causative of which the script style could be determined. Their relationship is not significant with a low effect size ($p = .671$; $\chi^2 = 1.589$; $df = 3$; Cramér's $V = .1$). Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 43, 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.

3.2.3 Co-occurrence with RPY

There are 152 inscriptions for which both a causative form of the geminate root and the verb RPY 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 in Table 44, the strongest relationship exists between the *plene* spelling of RPY and the defective spelling of the geminate causative

TABLE 44 Contingency table comparing the spelling of geminate causatives and RPY

		Spelling of geminate causative * spelling of RPY crosstabulation			
		Spelling of RPY		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

(1.2), but not to a significant degree. This means that there are slightly more inscriptions with *plene* spelled RPY and defectively spelled geminate causative than expected.

3.2.4 Co-occurrence with Agreement

There are 32 inscriptions for which both plural agreement type and the spelling of geminate causatives could be determined. They do not correlate significantly, and there is a medium effect size ($p = .27$; $\chi^2 = 6.163$; $df = 5$; Cramér's $V = .439$). Looking at the standardized residuals in Table 45, 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 45 Contingency table comparing spelling of geminate causatives with agreement type

Agreement type		Agreement type * spelling of geminate causative crosstabulation			Total
		Spelling of geminate causative			
		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	
	Partial dual agreement	Count	1	6	7
		Expected Count	2.8	4.2	7.0
		Standardized Residual	-1.1	-.9	
	Mixed number agreement	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	

4 Discussion

The following will bring together the statistical data that came out of the analysis in the previous sections and discuss potential interpretations of the data. The present section will focus on the discussion of the correlations that came out of the statistical analysis; these will be further contextualized in light of the writing culture of ancient Dadan in the Conclusions.

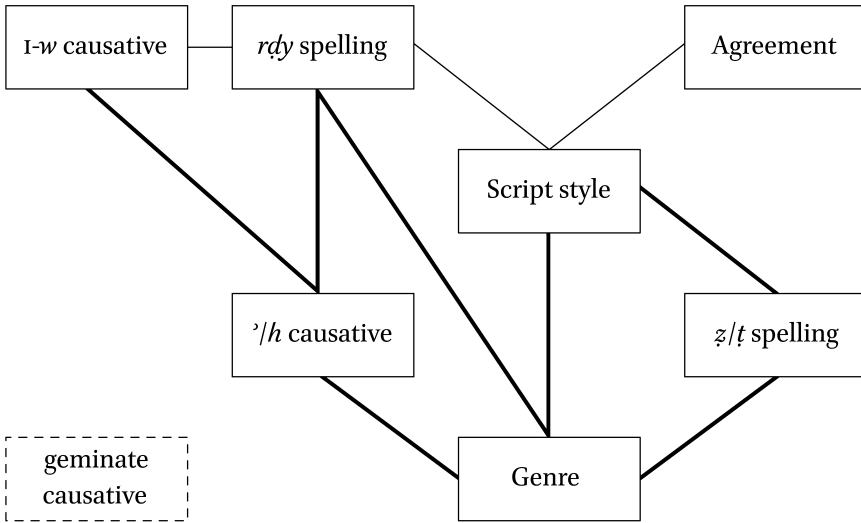


FIGURE 16 Overview of correlations between variables. Significant relations are indicated by a line, the thicker the line the higher the significance (see Table 28 for the exact *p* values)

4.1 *Genre*

The overview in Figure 16 shows that genre has a significant relationship with most of the variables that interact significantly with at least one other variable, except for the spelling of *l-w* causatives and agreement. 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, especially in the case of inscriptions that were produced in a more formal setting. 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 \sqrt{RDY}), while the *zll* inscriptions, which are a particular kind of dedicatory inscription, have a negative relationship with the archaic, *plene* spelling of \sqrt{RDY} . There also seems to be a preference for avoiding the more archaic *h*-causative in *zll* inscriptions, but this relationship is not significant (the standardized residual for this relationship is -1.6, see Table 31). A more elaborate discussion of the *zll* inscriptions follows below in § 4.4.

Looking at the spelling of **z*, we see that there is a significant positive relationship between the more innovative *t* spelling and *ntr* 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, while attested, was not generally preferred in the more formal inscriptions.

We should note that there are only attestations of lexical items with **Z* in *zll* and *nṭr* inscriptions. These two types may give us some insight into the general categories of formal inscriptions, as opposed to graffiti, but we cannot be sure that the behavior of these sub-categories is always the same as all other types of formal inscriptions and graffiti. A clear example of this can be found in the relationship between *zll* inscriptions and the causative type, which shows the opposite distribution from that between dedicatory inscriptions and the causative type. The matter is complicated further by the possibility that *nṭr* was borrowed from Aramaic as a term related to government and power (see the Introduction for a discussion of the interaction between Aramaic and Dadanitic). Since both *nṭr* and *nṣr* are attested in the guarding inscriptions, however, it seems likely that we are looking at a Dadanitic internal development in these inscriptions, similar to the alternation of *z* and *t* spellings in the *zll* inscriptions.

Even though one might expect genre to affect all variables, based on the strong link between content and form in the inscriptions, not all linguistic variables have a significant correlation with genre: it does not seem to influence the writing of the *1-w* causative and the choice of agreement type. In the case of the variable *1-w* causative this might be due to the particularly small data set (26 inscriptions), which has the effect that finding a single new inscription with such a verbal form could drastically change the outcome of the comparison. Moreover, all attestations of *1-w* causatives occur in just two different genres of inscriptions: *zll* (10) and dedicatory (16). The sample size and its association with two genres that seem to interact in similar ways with several other variables likely had a strong impact on the lack of significant correlation between genre and *1-w* causatives. Finally, the low effect size of this correlation (see § 3) does not provide clear support for a possible increase in significance when the dataset is expanded.

There is also no correlation between genre and agreement type (see § 3). Agreement does, however, correlate significantly with script style. This is based on a negative relationship between inscriptions in relief and the neutralization of the dual (standardized residual -2.2, see Table 36), but a positive relationship between chiseled inscriptions and the loss of the dual category (standardized residual 2.1, see Table 36). The low effect size is likely due to the high number of categories being compared in combination with a total sample of only 67 inscriptions and makes this correlation somewhat less certain (§ 2), but the distribution could support an interpretation that dual agreement was part of an archaic linguistic register that was more available to the professional scribes

who were likely involved in the production of inscriptions executed in relief, than to private individuals chiseling their own inscription into a rock face. 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. While this may explain the lack of correlation between genre and agreement type, this is difficult to confirm, since agreement does not correlate significantly with any of the other linguistic variables whose chronological development is more certain (such as the spelling of RDY , see Chapter 4, § 2.3).

Script style and genre 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. This is probably due to the high number of categories being compared. 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 techniques such as pounding, while the more formal inscriptions are more likely to be incised or executed in relief (see § 2, Table 38). 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.

Figure 17 offers a visualization of the relationship between three text internal variables that clearly cluster together once genre is taken out of the picture. This group of text internal features ('/h -causative, the form of the I-w causative, and the spelling of RDY) clusters together and is here shown in red, on the left. One of the three (the spelling of RDY) is also related to script style (besides genre) and forms the only point of overlap with one of the features in the other cluster. The other side of the diagram contains two text internal features (agreement and t/z spelling of *z) that correlate significantly with script style (and genre) but not with each other or with the other text internal variables.

I would propose that the relationship between the variables in the red cluster on the left (cluster I) is mainly due to diachronic change, or because these variables were preserved together as markers of an archaic register mostly available to persons with some training in writing and/or engraving. Cluster II is less strongly related, as the spelling of *z behaves very differently from all the other text internal variables. The spelling of *z is the only variable for which the more archaic variant is the most commonly attested. The use of the dual may have been part of the same archaic register as the variables associated with cluster I, but the use of dual agreement is so rare that it seems to have been less impor-

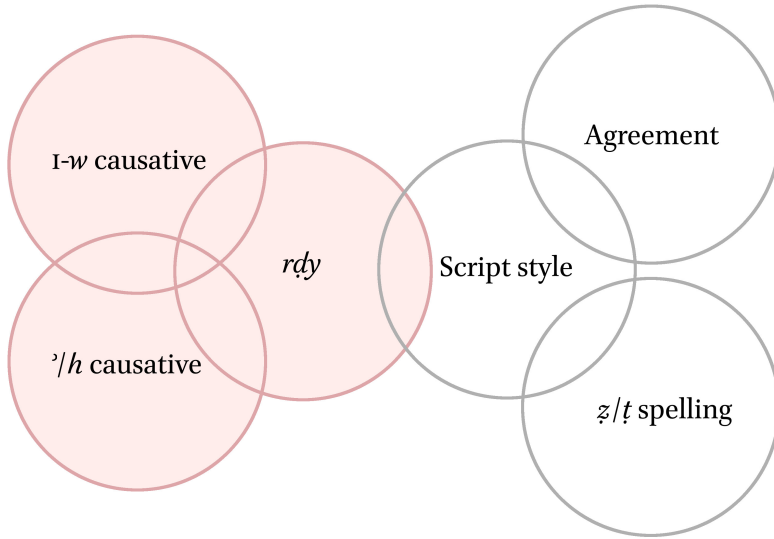


FIGURE 17 Overlap of variables with significant results excluding genre. The degree of overlap does not represent the degree of significance

tant as a marker of high register texts or possibly less available to the authors of the inscriptions.

4.2 Cluster 1: *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. All correlations seem quite robust, as all combinations have highly significant *p* values ($< .001$ for *ʾ/h*-causative in combination with *I-w* causative, and *rdy* with *I-w* causative; $p = .002$ for causative with *rdy*, see Table 28), and medium (causative with *rdy*) to strong effect size (the other two pairs, see §1).

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. It is also clear 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 Chapter 4, §2).

Based on comparative evidence, a similar claim can be made for the difference between the *ʾ*- and *h*-causative forms, where the *h*-causatives represent a more archaic form than the *ʾ*-causatives.³ However, the existence of two inscrip-

³ Compare, for example, Aramaic, in which *h* > *ʾ* in the causative prefix in the attested material (Gzella 2015, 34).

TABLE 46 Overview of correlations between the variables in cluster I

Variable I	Variable II	Standardized residual
<i>h</i> -causative	<i>Plene</i> spelling of <i>rdy</i>	6.2
<i>h</i> -causative	<i>Plene</i> spelling of <i>1-w</i> causative	3.3
<i>Plene</i> spelling of <i>rdy</i>	<i>Plene</i> spelling of <i>1-w</i> causative	2.7

tions 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 ²-causatives (see Chapter 5, § 3.2).

Looking at the variant spellings for *1-w* causative forms, it is not immediately clear if one form is more archaic than the other and, if this is the case, which 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 Chapter 4, § 5). If this analysis is correct, the ‘defective spelling’, without the *w* represented, is the more developed form. Interpreting this variation as a historical development seems to be supported by the significant relationship between *plene* spelling of *1-w* causatives and the more archaic features of the other two variables it correlates with.

4.2.1 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 the use of genre and script style as well (see also § 4.1). It seems likely, however, that convention and prestige played an important role in the maintenance of some archaic linguistic features in the dedicatory inscriptions. Despite the positive significant relationship between dedicatory inscriptions and the *h*-causative and *plene* spelling of *rdy*, there are plenty of attestations of dedicatory inscriptions with ²-causative forms and defective spelling of *rdy*. Any prestige that was connected to these archaic linguistic forms did not, therefore, make it obligatory to use only those forms in higher register inscriptions. The high prestige connected to more archaic linguistic forms would have made them more appropriate for more formal inscriptions even if their use were open to individual choice, to a certain degree. 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, as they are the most numerous attested.

4.2.2 Cluster I and Geminate Causative

The geminate causative does not show a significant correlation with any of the variables it could be compared to. Therefore, it seems that the different spellings of the geminate causative (metathesized and *plene*) either continued to exist in free variation, or represented 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.

However, this lack of correlation is probably at least partly due to its restricted use. The only attested verb in the causative form of a geminate root is $\sqrt{z}LL$. Since it is only found in *zll* inscriptions, it cannot be compared to the variable genre, and since there are no *l-w* geminate roots, a comparison to that category is also impossible.

4.3 Cluster II: *z/ṭ Spelling, Script Style, Agreement, and Genre*

As discussed above (§ 4.1), agreement and the spelling of $*z$ each have a significant correlation 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 either they are not part of a similar historical development, or that the archaic spelling of *zll* was more accessible to all authors while the other variables associated with a more archaic register were more commonly limited to the authors of more professionally produced inscriptions.

4.3.1 *z/ṭ Spelling*

In relation to the significance of genre as an explanatory factor for variation, I have already noted that the spelling of *t* for $*z$ was dis-preferred in the more official *zll* inscriptions, while the *nṭr* graffiti show a strong preference for the more progressive *t* spelling (§ 4.1). The use of *t* for $*z$ is, therefore, probably best understood as influence from the spoken language of the inscriber. It is unclear whether this means that *z* and *t* had merged in the language of the oasis itself, or that the authors of the inscriptions using *t* for $*z$ spoke an entirely different language (Kootstra 2018b, 210).

However, in a more general sense, the spelling of $*z$ behaves very differently from other text internal variables where we can clearly identify a more archaic and a more progressive variant. For the other text internal variants (spelling of *RDY*, \prime/h -causative, agreement) it is always the more progressive form that is the

most widely attested. If the correlation between *plene* spelled 1-*w* causatives, and the archaic variants of both the spelling of RḌY and ʾ/*h*-causatives means that the *plene* spelled 1-*w* causative was the more archaic variant as well, then this pattern also includes 1-*w* causative forms.

The more common preservation of *z might have to do with the relative rarity of this phoneme in combination with its occurrence in one of the most frequently used roots in the corpus and the central place the zll ritual seems to have had in Dadanitic cultural practice. While the spelling of a single, frequent lexical item can be done in relative isolation, the preservation of other archaic spellings, such as the *h*-causative and the *plene* spelling of rḏy in non-word-final position, would have more parallels outside a ritual, and formulaic context. The use of *h*-causative verbs in ritual contexts would be strikingly different from ʾ-causatives in day-to-day usage, and the pronunciation, and possibly the spelling, of rḏy-*hm* would have plenty of parallels in other word final weak verbs with attached suffixes outside the context of the inscriptions, putting these archaic forms under more pressure to level to the more commonly used variants.

4.3.2 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 § 2). 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. One of these inscriptions uses the dual on the verb, but not the pronouns (U 019), and the other uses a dual pronoun where none is needed (AH 120). Especially hypercorrections, such as that attested in AH 120, suggest that some authors continued to (attempt to) use the dual form even though it was not, or was 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 probably already falling out of use by the time the Dadanitic writing tradition developed, and neutralization of the dual was completely acceptable in all registers.

Agreement and Causative Type

Taking into consideration the distribution of ʾ- 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),⁴ while the most archaic form of dual agreement (full dual agreement) only occurs in an inscription with a ʾ-causative (AH 199). It should, however, also be noted 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 ʾ-causative, but it is impossible to say in absolute terms that any inscription containing *h*-causative forms is older than one containing ʾ-causative forms (§ 4.2). 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 has no historical component. It does show, however, that it probably did not develop in parallel with the linguistic variables in cluster I, and that archaic and more progressive linguistic variants of different variables could be mixed.⁵

4.4 *The zll Inscriptions*

Within cluster I the *zll* inscriptions deserve special attention. Both in content, structure, and wording the *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. There is even overlap in the verbs (*ʾdq*; *ʾgw* and *ʾl*) that occur in the *narratio* part of both *zll* and general dedicatory inscriptions (see Chapter 3, § 2). Given their similarities, they would be expected to belong to the same or a similar register as they are both clearly not graffiti, but formulaic and official in character. Their similar degree of formality is indeed reflected in the way both genres of inscription interact with script style (see Table 47). 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. 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 more progressive spelling of *t* for *z (see Table 47 and Table 48).

4 And once with the neutral full plural agreement (JSLih 049).

5 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 what might be the more archaic *plene* spelled geminate causative (a ʾ-causative verb).

TABLE 47 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 48 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
ʒ	-2.4	-.4

TABLE 49 Relationship between the spelling of RPY and *zll* or dedicatory inscriptions in standardized residuals

Spelling of RPY	Relationship to <i>zll</i>	Relationship to dedicatory
<i>Plene</i>	-2.3	4.9
<i>Defective</i>	.8	-1.7

If we compare their relationship to the linguistic variables in cluster I (spelling of RPY, causative type, spelling of I-w causative and agreement type; see Table 49, Table 50, and Table 51), however, they always have the opposite relationship to them. In these cases, the authors of the *zll* inscriptions seem to have preferred the more common progressive variants. Considering that these two variables (causative type and spelling RPY) also cluster together and seem to share a historical dimension (see § 4.2), 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 linguistically more progressive forms.

TABLE 50 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
<i>ʿ</i> -causative	.2	-.8

TABLE 51 Relationship between the *I-w* causative and *zll* or dedicatory inscriptions in standardized residuals

<i>I-w</i> causative	Relationship to <i>zll</i>	Relationship to dedicatory
Defective	.5	-.4
<i>Plene</i>	-1.2	.9

TABLE 52 Absolute number of attestations of inscriptions executed in the different script styles

	Relief	Incised	Chiseled	Pounded
<i>zll</i>	48	53	55	64
Dedication	40	24	4	8
Total attested	108	149	235	360

The difference in linguistic form between the dedicatory and *zll* inscriptions may be explained by their distribution in absolute numbers across the different script types. Table 52 shows that even though *zll* inscriptions have a positive significant correlation to relief style, the number of inscriptions attested in each style is roughly equal. Since other types of inscriptions, apart from dedicatory inscriptions, almost never occur in relief this gives a significant correlation. However, when we compare this to the distribution of dedicatory inscriptions across script styles a very different picture emerges, as the dedicatory inscriptions clearly shy away from simpler modes of production. Therefore, the difference in their correlation to linguistic variables may be related to who was involved in the production of the inscriptions, and not just to how their authors perceived their formality.

As discussed in the introduction, inscriptions that were deeply incised and inscriptions executed in relief were likely commissioned and made by skilled craftsmen (Macdonald 2010, 7). From the signatures of people who identify themselves as *h-s/fr* ‘the writer; the scribe’ in a few of the inscriptions executed in relief (AH 213, 220; JSLih 082), it is clear that the production of at least some of these inscriptions also involved a scribe, besides a mason (*sn*). Scribal training, whatever precise form it took at Dadan, is a likely environment for the preservation of the kind of linguistic archaisms we see preserved more often in these more formally executed inscriptions. This does not mean that prestige had nothing to do with the choice to use more archaic linguistic forms, but the fact that such linguistic forms seem connected to the level of execution of the object of the inscription might also tell us something about who had access to this more archaic linguistic register.

If this interpretation is correct, this could explain why both *zll* and more general dedicatory texts have different relationships to the archaic linguistic forms identified as cluster 1 (see § 4.2) despite their similarity in content and wording, and probably level of formality. Since the *zll* dedications are much more numerous than other dedicatory inscriptions and are more often executed by persons who do not seem to have had any training in inscribing, this may suggest that this ritual was more widespread in the community and that persons from more diverse strata of society participated in it. Some were able to afford to commission the inscriptions associated with the ritual, but others seem to have made their own.

Another possibility could be to consider the non-material aspects of the rituals that were involved in the production of the general dedicatory and *zll* inscriptions. As they are both types of religious texts, they were likely part of a ritual practice that is now lost to us. Therefore, a difference in language use between these two types of religious texts 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 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 as I recently proposed elsewhere (Kootstra 2022). Such a legal

function may have influenced the language used in them, pushing them closer to the language of documentary texts, which tend to be linguistically more progressive.⁶ Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence for such documentary use of Dadanitic.⁷

In summary, based on the currently available material, it is difficult to say whether a difference in cultural practice surrounding the general and *zll* dedications caused the difference in language preference between them. It is clear, however, that the dedicatory inscriptions and inscriptions executed in styles that require more skill, seem to be associated with a special archaic linguistic register.

4.4 Agreement and the *zll* Inscriptions

Agreement and genre do not correlate significantly 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 the expression of 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. Thus, their correlation might still be due to chance.

While agreement type and genre do not have a significant relationship ($p = .138$), 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 (Table 53), which seems to confirm the more common use of more progressive linguistic forms in the *zll* inscriptions and a dis-preference for them in dedicatory inscriptions.

6 Compare, for example, the Sabaic documentary texts (Stein 2011, 1048). For a discussion of this phenomenon see the methodological discussion in the Introduction.

7 Macdonald argues for the use of Dadanitic script for writing on soft materials, on the basis of specific kinds of variation in letter shapes and the strong preference for unidirectional writing we see in the inscriptions (see Macdonald 2015, 7; 2010, 12–14; and my discussion on script in the Introduction).

TABLE 53 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	1.7
Full dual agreement	.5	-.5
Partial dual agreement	-.6	-.2
Mix	1.3	-1.3
Mistake	1	-1
Neutralization of the dual	.7	-1.2

5 Summary

Looking at the absolute number of occurrences, the forms that are most common in the Dadadnitic writing tradition are those that are more linguistically progressive. The more archaic forms are usually the less frequent form.⁸ 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 has a clear 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 inscriptions in which both an *h*-causative and a *ʿ*-causative occur (U 079bis; AH 197 and Al-Saʿīd 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1–2 with both causatives on the same object); the inscription in which two dedicants agree with a dual verb but plural resumptive pronouns (U 019); and an inscription that is completely in the singular except for the resumptive pronoun in the blessing formula in the dual (AH 120). This suggests that the authors of these inscriptions were trying to use linguistic forms that they were (no longer) familiar with in their day-to-day speech, apparently because these had special significance or status.

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

⁸ The spelling of **z* is the only exception to this general trend.

usage, the archaic forms did not have the kind of prestige that would make them the target 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. The lower number of occurrences of archaic linguistic forms outside more professionally produced inscriptions may also indicate that the use of the more highly prestigious, archaic forms was the domain of trained craftsmen and less readily available or relevant to private persons leaving an inscription.

Given the fact that there was not a prescriptive archaic norm for 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 were somehow different from each other, despite their overlap in formulaic usage and register.

The higher proportion of *zll* inscriptions inscribed in simpler styles, when compared to dedicatory inscriptions, may help us understand how they differed. Possibly, the *zll* inscriptions were produced in a period in which it was harder to afford a professional scribe and mason to prepare the text. Alternatively, a wider cross-section of society may have participated in this ritual, some able to afford to commission their text, others opting not to hire a professional. If we consider the register of the inscriptions to be leading, however, it might suggest that the administrative function of the the *zll* inscriptions (besides their religious function) influenced the language choice in the inscriptions (Kootstra 2022). Such a documentary character of the texts could have resulted in a closer relation between the language of the inscriptions and a possibly more progressive administrative written practice.

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 Dadan and the role of a scribal school or writing culture at the oasis. As previous works that focused on the text of the inscriptions had not been able to provide a comprehensive explanation for the variation attested in the inscriptions, this work set out to take a more holistic approach to the inscriptions by including aspects of their materiality into the analysis of variation besides their language. This means I have also considered the manner of inscribing and the different formulaically expressed genres of inscriptions.¹

In the Introduction, the concepts of script, genre, and language were introduced to help understand the Dadanitic inscriptions and the variation attested in them. These three elements combined make a Dadanitic inscription recognizably a product of the local Dadanitic writing culture. Bringing the writing culture that produced the inscriptions more clearly into view in this way, helps to contextualize the choices their authors made in their production in a way that only looking at the text of the inscriptions does not. This approach was combined with a statistical analysis of the co-occurrence of selected variables, including the manner of inscribing, genre, and language of the inscriptions. This led to a clearer understanding of how these variables cluster together in the corpus, some through historical development, and some purposefully combined by the authors of the inscriptions to create social meaning.

The following provides a brief summary of the conclusions reached in each chapter. This is then followed by a more synthesized discussion in which the cultural context and materiality of the inscriptions will be combined with the variation attested in them. This allows me to address this study's central question and focus on the possible causes for the variation attested in the different layers of the Dadanitic inscriptions.

1 Given the very clear link between genre and location of the inscriptions, discussed in Chapter 1, location was left out of the analysis as it would not have contributed to our understanding of the variation in the inscriptions beyond the currently selected variables.

1 Descriptive and Grammar Chapters

Chapter 2 gave an overview of the variation in letter shapes and script styles in the Dadanitic corpus. Following Macdonald (2010, 2015), I argued that the variation in letter shapes cannot be used to date the inscriptions relative to each other. Furthermore, I showed 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).

Chapter 3 gave 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.

This was followed by a treatment of the orthography and phonology of the inscriptions in Chapter 4, which argued that 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 (Kootstra 2019).

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 the 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 **NZR*. 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 widespread this feature was.

Chapter 5 described 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 *1-w* causative, and the spelling of the geminate causative.²

² These are the same variables that are used in Chapter 7.

Especially remarkable is the use of the construction $\text{'n} + \text{subjunctive}$, as the use of 'n as a subordinator is considered a Proto-Arabic innovation (Al-Jallad 2015, 12).

Chapter 6 described the attested nominal and pronominal morphology and its variation in the Dadanitic inscriptions. Only the variation in dual agreement, which was also discussed in the chapter on verbal morphology, was used as a variable for the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7.

Of note is the fact 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 ($-\text{y}$) was leveled to the nominative, there is one inscription with a dual form *bnh* 'sons' (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII) with a suffix $-\bar{a}$ in the nominative case. There is one attestation of a plural form *bnw* (JSLih 079) in the nominative case, suggesting a vocalic suffix $-\bar{u}$. I also noted that there is a remarkable degree of variation in the form of the definite article. The $h(n)$ - form is the most commonly used, but there also seems to be one attestation of a *hl*- definite article (JaL 021f). Finally, several attestations of an assimilated 'l - definite article (e.g., JSLih 276; AH 119), and one of an unasimilated form before a ' (Ġabal al-Ḥuraymāt 04) were identified.

2 Chapters Analyzing Variation

Based on the description and grammatical analysis in Chapters 2 through 6, several of the more consistently varying features of the inscriptions were selected to perform a quantitative analysis of the variation in the corpus. These variables included both grammatical and stylistic features of the texts. The stylistic features, script style, and genre can give insights 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 chosen were the type of causative form (' - or *h*-causative), the form of the r-w causative ($\text{'}/hwCC$ or $\text{'}/hCC$), the spelling of the geminate causative ($\text{'}/h\text{z}ll$ or $\text{'}/h\text{z}l$), the spelling of \sqrt{RDY} (*rdy-h(m)* or *rd-h(m)*), the spelling of 'z (as z or t), and agreement type. For the analysis, the chi-square test was used to find statistically significant associations between variables.

This approach revealed two main causes underlying variation: language change and the use of different registers. Moreover, the close association between expertly carved inscriptions and archaic linguistic forms suggests that this archaic register was mainly the domain of skilled craftsmen. There is one cluster of grammatical features that co-occur significantly with each other

TABLE 54 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

and with high register inscriptions. These variables are the causative type, the spelling of *i-w* causative forms, and the spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$, referred to as ‘cluster *r*’ in Chapter 8, § 4. Of these features, the more archaic linguistic forms all co-occur significantly with each other (Table 54) and with high-register inscriptions.

For the causative form and the spelling of $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$ 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 $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$ is attested within the corpus clearly shows that the *plene* spellings of $\sqrt{\text{RDY}}$ before the pronominal suffix are the more archaic forms as shown in Chapter 4, § 3, building on Kootstra (2019).

However, as per the discussion in Chapter 4, § 5, for the spelling of the *w*-causative it is less evident which variant represents the archaic form. 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 and probably their subsequent use as markers of an archaic linguistic register, which seems to have been associated with higher register inscriptions.

The strong association between these archaic linguistic forms and high-register inscriptions shows that even though the archaic linguistic forms were the minority, they are not likely to have been infiltrations from a spoken register into the written language. Such intrusions 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 misuse 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 the inconsistent use of dual agreement (U 019 and AH 120), both of which suggest that the author was trying to use a form that was prestigious, albeit one they were 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 misuse of archaic linguistic forms mentioned above, however.

In this light it is worth repeating 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 might be explained by the relatively higher proportion of more simply executed *zll* inscriptions than dedicatory inscriptions. If the archaic linguistic register that we typically see in more formal and elaborate inscriptions was mainly used by skilled scribes and masons, this would explain why they are also most commonly found in dedicatory inscriptions, most of which were produced by such professionals, based on their technical execution and the signatures that some of them bear.

In turn, 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 date to a time when the archaic forms had lost, or were losing, their prestige, also as a formal register marker, by the time the *zll* inscriptions were produced. Alternatively, it may say something about the nature of the ritual. The content of the inscriptions suggests the *zll* ceremony may have had a legal aspect, besides its religious significance, related to taxes or property rights (Kootstra 2022). 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.

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 1, it mimics their distribution across registers: 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 and possibly the skill level of the author of the inscriptions as well. The attestation of mistakes in the use of the dual further confirms 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 the relative distribution of the other variables across the different registers, we also saw 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.

3 Variation and Literacy

As discussed above, script and manner of inscribing, genre, and the language of the Dadanitic inscriptions are important elements for the description and analysis of the epigraphic corpus from ancient Dadan. To fully contextualize the variation attested in the Dadanitic epigraphic record, however, we also need to consider the role of writing and literacy in ancient Dadan and their impact on the local writing culture. In the Introduction, I discussed the role of writing at the oasis of Dadan and the methodological implications of analyzing the output of a writing culture which was influenced by the presence of trained scribes. The following will bring together this study's conclusions about the variation in the manner of inscribing, genre, and language of the Dadanitic inscriptions and the discussion of literacy and scribal training at the oasis of Dadan.

As Macdonald (2010) has shown, the Dadanitic script contains features that suggest it 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 their production and that the people who made them received specialized training as well (Macdonald 2010, 7). From the inscriptions JSLih 082 and AH 220 it is clear that, at least for some inscriptions, both a craftsman *ṣnʿ* and a scribe *sʿfr* 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. The presence of a family or a small number of families 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.

Having posited the existence of a defined written register, apart from the spoken languages at the oasis, the introduction 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 the statistical analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 showed 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 and possibly their subsequent preservation as markers of a prestigious archaic linguistic register. 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 alongside 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 inscriptions beautifully produced in relief, variation in letter shapes can be found (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 preponderance of graffiti within the corpus of Dadanic inscriptions 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 begin 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, where both were leaving inscriptions, may partially explain 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 misuse of an archaic form, or even the incorporation of forms that were not part of the less formal registers of writing (yet), such as the *ṭ* 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 the Sabaic material, for example, the linguistic norms used to write personal letters are often a lot more progressive than those used to write monumental inscriptions. One can imagine how someone, who was not a highly trained scribe, leaving a graffito or small inscription may have used some forms that were common in day-to-day writing, but not necessarily part of the high register of inscriptions. This is similar to the scenario sketched by Macdonald concerning the interaction of formal and informal forms of the script in such a situation (2015, 7). Influence from a linguistically more progressive documentary written practice may also explain why the *zll* inscriptions have a negative relationship with several more archaic linguistic variants (see Chapter 8, §4.4).

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 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.³

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 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 specific 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. Although the proposals to use paleographic variation to date the inscriptions so far have been unreliable (as demonstrated by Macdonald 2015, 17–18), the diachronic dimension to linguistic variation found in this study raises 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 in them in terms of the order and number of different elements a text can consist of, as shown in Chapter 3, § 2. The sheer number of possible variations in word order and the different levels of building blocks present within an inscription (genre, but also the elements of *superscriptio*, *narratio*, and *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

3 Such conscious use of archaic forms may be compared to the use of Kufic script from about the twelfth century CE (this was brought to my attention by Petra Sijpesteijn). Even though round scripts started to replace Kufic from the late ninth to the early tenth centuries CE in manuscripts and from the late eleventh century also in monumental epigraphy, Kufic continued to be used sporadically in headings in Quran manuscripts and historical texts (Blair 2007, 600–601).

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 Dadan.

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; however, the sophisticated production of the inscriptions and cultural setting at the oasis do point to the existence of a scribal school. As part of this education the professional scribes probably also familiarized themselves with archaic linguistic forms. 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, which could be found in the landscape and possibly encountered through oral ritual practice.

It has also become clear that while the more archaic linguistic forms appear to have had a certain prestige, they did not 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 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 Dadan.

Glossary

This glossary contains the lexical material present in the Dadanitic inscriptions that make up the corpus of the current study.¹ It also includes all toponyms and theonyms included in the corpus. Only the personal names that have been interpreted as lexical items in the OCIANA database 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 *ʔq̣w* ‘they dedicated’ is attested and, therefore, it has its own lexical entry, while both pl. *ʔllw* and sing. *ʔll* ‘to perform the *ʔll* ceremony’ are attested, therefore, *ʔllw* can be found under the singular form *ʔll*. 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.

A lemma can have a NOTE added to it, which includes comparative notes and additional discussion and references when necessary. The linguistic comparisons in these notes are not meant to claim linguistic affiliation (see §1.6.3 for comments on the linguistic affiliation of Dadanitic). Some semantic shifts clearly form linguistic isoglosses, such as the shift of the meaning of the root HLK ‘to go’ > ‘to die’ for Arabic, or the shift of the root ‘BD ‘to serve’ > ‘to make’ for NWS languages. However, such lexical items can easily spread through contact as well, as we can see in the Dadanitic usage of *ʔd*, and *ʔl* for the verb ‘to make’ (see glossary, below). Given the clear contact between Dadanitic, and both Aramaic and South Arabian writing culture, there will be regular comparisons to the use of certain roots in NWS and ASA varieties, not based on a supposed direct linguistic affiliation, but because of cultural contact between these writing traditions.

1 This corpus is based on the inscriptions that were available in the OCIANA database March 2019. A complete overview of the inscriptions that were considered for this work can be found in the Index of Inscriptions.

Alphabetic Order

’ – ‘ – b – d – ḏ – ḏ – f – g – ġ – h – ḥ – ḥ – k – l – m – n – q – r – s (for s¹) – s² – š – t – ṭ – ṭ – 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 boldface*. *example sentence (sigla/ line no.)* ‘translation of example’. *derived forms: form in boldface*. *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*. *Typology: different text genres in which the word occurs*. *Usage:* example of highly frequent or idiomatic usage; translation.

••

’ly *adjective, relative*. highest, upper. *Etym:* ’lw. ’ḥḏw / h-mkn // w h-mq’ḏ / ḏh / kll-h / mn / m’/n / h-gbl / hn’ly / ’ḏky // m{n} / h-gbl / hn-’s{f}l (JSLih 072/ 4-7) ‘they took the place and this seat, all of it, from the assembly place of the upper border until the sanctuary of the lower border (Lundberg 2015, 135)’. *Certainty:: certain*. *Frequency:: 1*. *Typology:: narrative*.

’b *noun*. pasture. *Etym:* ’bb. ’ny // ys’g [ʃ] ’b-hm / w {m}’n-h[m] // w {m}’fr-h{m} / b-ms²hl (U 026/3-5) “that their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at ms²hl***”.

NOTE: Compare CAR. ’abb ‘herbage, whether fresh or dry or, pasture or herbage which beasts feed upon’ (Lane, 3c). *Certainty:: uncertain*. *Frequency:: 1*. *Typology:: dedicatory, legal*.

’bt *noun*. Q. *Etym:* Q. ---//{n} / ’ty / ’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*. *Typology:: Q*.

’dq *verb, c, 3m.s.* to offer. *Etym:* wdq. ’d{q} / h-//{z}{l} / l-ḏġ//{b}{t} (AH 087/ 2-4) ‘he offered the ḏll to Dūġābat so favor him***’. ’dq / l-l//h / {h}-šlmn (JSLih 061/ 3-4) ‘he offered to Lh the two statues/the statuette***’. *3pl.:: ’dqw*. ’dqw / w qr//bw / h-šlm

/h-nḥs / l-//dǧbt (Al-Ḥuraybah 09/3-5) 'they dedicated and offered the bronze statue to dǧbt*'.
 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 also hdq and hwdq. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 'dq; 6; 'dqw: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

'dh *complementizer*. if; when. *Etym*: dV. ---h / bn / PN / 'dh / ḥrb-hm ----// (JSLih 055/2) '... son of PN if/when he waged war on them ...**'. wsqt // 'mm 'dh // 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), CAR. idā 'if, when'. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: **legal; Q**.

'dm *noun pl.?*. wheat? *Etym*: ndm. ddn / ḥbt / mtb / w hwdt / 'dm / l-dǧbt / mr'// -h (Al-Ḥuraybah 12) 'Dadan dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to dǧbt * her lord**'.
 NOTE: al-Sa'īd proposed to translate 'dm as 'presents' (al-Sa'īd 2013-2014, 293-295). Compare CAR. naḏm 'rich wheat' (Steingass, 1126b). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

'fkl *noun*. priest. *Etym*: 'pkl. 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*:: 'fkl. ḡw / h-zll / dh / l-dǧbt // 'l---m' / hn-'fkl / b-bn'l (U 038/2-3) 'he dedicated* this zll for dǧbt ... the priestess at Bn'l*. b'lsmn / 'ḥrm / h-qrt // mn / mh / trqh / 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* (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 Nashan' (Beeston et al 1982, 2). The term is thought to come from Sumerian apkallu through Akkadian (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; 'fkl: 2. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; narrative; graffiti; construction**.

'fqw *verb, c, 3m.pl.* to dedicate. *Etym*: nfq. ---- // 'fqw / f-rd-hm / w ---- (JSLih 054/4) '... they dedicated so favor them and...*'.
 NOTE: Compare Sab. nfq 'to demand' (Beeston 1982, 92); Nab., JA.Palm. npq 'to leave, to go forth', hif'il 'to send', OffAram. 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

'fy *verb, c, 3m.s.* to pay, grant, fulfill an obligation. *Etym*: wfy/nfy. 'fy // h-zll / l-dǧbt /

b-khl (U 031/ 2-3) 'he fulfilled* the *zll* for *dġbt* at *Khl***'. *3s.f.::* 'ft. *PN / bnt // PN / ʔt / h-z//ll / dh / l-dġbt // b-khl* (U 005/ 2-4) 'she fulfilled* this *zll*-ceremony for *dġbt* at *Khl***'. *du.::* 'fyh. 'b'l / dl / ʔyh / h-zll // l-dġbt (U 026/ 1-2) 'the lords of *dl* fulfilled* the *zll* for *dġbt***'. *3pl.::* 'fyw. ʔyw / [z][l][l] h-nq // l-dġbt (U 037/ 4-5) 'they fulfilled [the *zll*] of the *nq* for *dġbt**'.

NOTE: Compare Sab. *hwfy* 'to pay, grant, fulfill obligations, render s.o. his due' (Biella: 138) and CAR. 'awfa' 'to accomplish (a vow)' (Hava, 876b). *Certainty:: certain*. *Frequency::* 'fy: 5; 'ft: 2; 'fyh: 1; 'fyw: 1. *Typology:: zll*.

'gw *noun*. dedication. *Etym:* ngw or gyw. *PN / w-st-h / st//ʔn PN // ʔw-h / {z}nfss // w-hggw / dġbt // b-khl* (AL-Udayb 075/ 1-5) 'PN and he dedicated it, a portion for PN his dedication ???* and they performed the pilgrimage to *dġbt* 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. *Typology:: dedicatory*.

'gw *verb, c, 3m.s.* to dedicate. *Etym:* ngw or gyw. *ʔw [h-z]l//l [l-dġb[t]* (U 049/ 3-4) 'he dedicated* [the] *zll* to *dġb*[t]**'. *ʔw b-k//hl / l-dġbt* (AH n3/ 2-3) 'he dedicated* at *Khl* to *dġbt***'. *Variant:* 'gy. ʔy / 's²rt / mnh{h} / {ʔ}{y}dn // {w} mshn (JSLih 177/ 1-2) 'he dedicated ten minah ??? and ???*. *3s.f.::* 'gt. ʔt // l-dġb{t} / {h-z}ll (U 126/ 1-2) 'she dedicated to* *dġbt* the *zll***'. *3pl.::* 'gww. ʔww / h-zll / [l-][d]ġ//bt (U 088/ 2-3) 'they dedicated the *zll* to *dġbt*'.

NOTE: Either from *gyw* 'to go' as a causative 'to bring' or from *ngw* (suggested by Drewes 1985, 172): compare Sab. *ngw* 'to announce' (<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/Sabaweb/Suche/Suche>, accessed 14-07-2021, and see Macdonald 2014, 154, who connects this to *ngy* in Saf.). *Certainty:: semantic domain is certain*. *Frequency::* 'gw: 26; 'gy: 1; 'gt: 5; 'gww: 4. *Typology:: zll; dedicatory*. *Usage:* 'gw h-zll; he dedicated the *zll* ceremony.

'gnmw *verb, c, 3m.pl.* to present, dedicate (spoils?) *Etym:* gnm. ---rb / hggw / w//---r / w ʔnmw / l//--- (AH 221/ 3-4) '... they performed the pilgrimage ... and they presented (as booty?) ...**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. *gannamtu-hu* 'I gave him spoil, or a free and disinterested gift' (Lane, 2301a); Sab. *gnm* 'to give booty (deity)' (Beeston et al 1982, 54). *Certainty:: semantic domain is certain*. *Frequency::* 1. *Typology:: dedicatory*.

'hl *noun*. family. *Etym:* 'hl. --- / bn // PN / d-'h{l}--- // ʔll / h-zll // l-dġbt (U 060/ 1-4) '... son of PN of the lineage of** ... OR of the lineage of 'hl* performed the *zll* ceremony for *dġbt***'.

NOTE: Kinship is usually indicated with only the particle *d* directly followed by the family name in Dadanic, therefore 'hl may actually be the family name. Compare the Saf. term 'hl which seems to have a more restricted meaning 'family' than 'l. Macdonald and Nehmé point out the original Semitic meaning of 'hl 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 (Macdonald and Nehmé, 2015).
Certainty:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: **1**. *Typology*:: **lineage**; **zll**.

ḥ *noun*. brother. *Etym*:: ḥ. *PN* / *w* ḥ-h / *P/N* / *bnw* / *PN* // *PN* // ḥlw / *h-zll* / *l-dgbt* (*U* 064/1-3) 'PN and his brother PN PN sons of PN PN performed the zll ceremony for dgbt**'. *pl.*:: ḥw (**construct form**). *PN* / *w* PN / *bnw* // *nṭr* / ḥdḥ / *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: See ḥt for the feminine *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: ḥ: **2**; ḥw: **1**. *Typology*:: **lineage**.

ḥrt *noun*. posterity, descendants. *Etym*:: ḥr. *f r*{*d*}-*h w* ḥrt -*h* (*U* 058/6) 'so favor him and his posterity**'. *f*{*r*}*d*{-*h*} // *w s*'*d*-*h* / *w* ḥrt-*h* (*AH* 100/6-7) 'so favor her and aid her and her posterity**'.
 NOTE: Compare Nab. ḥr 'posterity' (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **116**. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**; **blessing formula**. *Usage*: *f-rd-h w-ḥrt-h w-s-d-h*; so favor him and his posterity and aid him.

ḥt *noun*. sister. *Etym*:: ḥ. *w-ṛtt* / ḥ-h // *w* ḥt-*h* / *b-mh* / 'ntw (*JSLih* 077/7-8) 'and he made his brother and sister ??? with what they ??? ...*'. ----'----*l* / *bn* / *PN* ----// ḥt-*h* / ṛqww / *h*---- (*AH* 204/1-2) '... son of PN ... his sister they sent up {the} ...*'.
 NOTE: see ḥ for 'brother'. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **2**. *Typology*:: **lineage**.

ḥd *verb*. to take; take possession of st. *Etym*:: ḥd. *PN* / ḥd // *h-šft* *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 / ṭ-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.*:: ḥdḥ. ḥdḥ / *h-qb/r* / *dh* (*JSLih* 079/2-3) 'they took possession of this tomb**'. ḥdḥ / *h-mkn* // *w h-mq'd* / *dh* / *kll-h* (*JSLih* 072/4-5) 'they took the place and this seat, all of it**'. *PN* // *bn* *PN* / ḥd // *hl-btt* (*JaL* 021*f*) 'PN son of PN took possession of this section*'.
 NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥadaḥa 'he took, he took with his hand, he took hold of' (Lane, 28b). The funerary inscriptions do not mark an existing grave, but might be laying 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, 105). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: ḥd: **10**; ḥdḥ: **2**. *Typology*:: **funerary**; **legal**; **graffiti**.

ḥdy *numeral, m*. one. *Etym*:: ḥd. *PN* / *PN* // *tqt* / *snt* / ḥdy // *b-r'y* / *d'bsmwy* (*Nasif* 1988: 96, *pl. CXLIV*) 'PN PN wrote [in] year one during the** rising of the asterism of d'bsmwy*. *Variant*: ḥd (**bound form**). ----*bndw* / ḥd-hm / *bsl't*----// (*JaL* 001/5) '... one of them** with coins ...*'. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: ḥdy: **8**; ḥd: **1**. *Typology*:: **dating formula**. *Usage*: ḥd-hm; one of them.

ḥrm *verb, c, 3m.s.* to protect. *Etym*:: ḥrm. *b'lsmn* / ḥrm / *h-qrt* // *mn* / *mh* / *trqh* / *mr't* // *l-bhny* / *hn-fklt* // *d*(*JSLih* 064) *b'lsmn* protected the village from what [spell]

the woman of the palm tree, the priestess cast on it \underline{d}^* (see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of 'ḥrm and trq):

NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥarama 'he was, or became sacred, inviolable' (Lane, 553).

Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: narrative.

'kbr *adjective, relative.* biggest. *Etym:* kbr. [---]//---h / bn / PN // ---/ h-mqdr / hn-'kbr //--- (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26–36, no. 3/1–2) '... PN son of PN ... the the biggest cultic structure ...*'. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: funerary; dedicatory?.*

'l *noun.* family, tribe, clan. *Etym:* 'l. PN // \underline{d} -l // TrN (JSLih 226) 'PN of the family of TrN*'. PN / PN // PN / 'l / TrN (JSLih 127) 'PN PN PN* of the family of TrN**'. PN / bn / PN // bn / PN / bn / PN // \underline{d} 'l / TrN // sh / s²f-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 / \underline{d} 'l / TrN // 'zllw / L-djbt (U 047/1–3) 'PN son of PN and PN of the family of TrN performed the zll for djbt**'.

NOTE: Based on the attestations in the Dadanitic corpus it is impossible to say how large a social group 'l could refer to, but compare the Saf. use of 'l which can range from a family or tribe to a whole nation (e.g. 'l rm referring to the Romans) (Nehmé and Macdonald, 2015). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 4. Typology:: lineage; graffiti; narrative; zll. Usage:* \underline{d} 'l TrN; of the lineage of TrN.

'lh *noun.* sanctuary, divine place. *Etym:* lh. ---PN / bn PN // fl / h-bt / w h-/'lh / f-s' \underline{d} //--- (AH 247) '... PN son of PN made the temple and the sanctuary(?)* so aid ...**'.

NOTE: Compare the theonym 'lh e.g., in Saf. (Al-Jallad 2015, 299). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory.*

'lm' *noun/PN?, relative.* brightest. *Etym:* lm'. PN hn-'lm' // PN hn-'lm' (Qaṣr al-Šāni' 6) 'PN the brightest PN the brightest*'.
NOTE: It is not clear whether hn'lm' is title here or a personal name. Compare CAR. lm' 'to shine very brightly, to flash'. OCIANA translates 'lm' as 'the sagacious' following CAR. 'alma' 'sharp minded' (Hava 1915, 689). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: graffiti.*

'm *noun.* mother. *Etym:* 'mm. PN / w-PN / bnt / P//N / w-'m-hm (AH 081/1–2) 'PN and PN daughter of PN and their mother PN**'. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 7. Typology:: dedicatory; zll; genealogy.*

'mt *noun.* maid servant. *Etym:* 'm. --- \underline{d} 'l TrN 'dq--- s--- // L-djbt 'mt-{h}my PN // b{n}t PN (AH 222/1–3) '... of the family of TrN dedicated* ... to djbt their maidservant PN daughter of PN**'.

NOTE: Compare Sab. 'mt 'bondwoman, female vassal' (Beeston et al 1982, 5); OffAram. 'mh 'maid servant' (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory.*

'n *complementizer.* that. *Etym:* 'n. [---]//hm --- [d]//jbt / 'n} / yk{n}---// l-h / {w}ld (AH 203/1–4) '... djbt that there may be a son ... to him**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. 'an yaf'ala 'that he may do' (Al-Jallad 2018, 24) *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: dedicatory; legal.*

'n *pronoun, 1c.s. I. Etym: 'n. l-PN / ḥbb // w-'n / PN / bn / PN (JSLih 347) 'for PN PN and I am PN son of PN'. Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: graffiti; dedicatory?.*

'n *particle, that. Etym: 'n. ---/--- {m}n / srq / f-'n / yšbr / b-m-h / sr[q]--- // ---{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-'inna to introduce the apodosis of a conditional clause. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: dedicatory; legal.*

'ny *presentative, that. 'ny // ysg [/] 'b-hm / w {m} 'n-h[m] // w-{m}fr-h{m} / b-ms²hl (U 026) 'that their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at Ms²hl**'.*

NOTE: Compare Ug. hny, Heb. hinneh and CAR. 'inna. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory; legal.*

'qd *verb, c, 3m.s. to make, to dedicate. Etym: wqd. --- d 'l TrN 'dq--- s---// l-dḡbt 'mt - {h}my 'ydh // b{n}t 'mthn'tt --- h---t // ym 'qd h-m--- l-ḥrg (AH 222/1-4) '... of the family of TrN he dedicated ... to dḡbt their maid servant PN daughter of PN ... he made the ... for ḥrg**'.*

NOTE: Compare CAR. wdq 'to approach' (Lisān). A similar semantic connection exists in the CAR. D-stem form qarraba 'he presented it, or offered it to them' (Lane 2505b) from qaraba 'to become near' (Lane 2504b). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory.*

'qd *noun, produce, dedication. Etym: wqd?. ---{h}y / 'qd / h- r' / f/--- (AH 239/3-4) '... the dedication of the sheep so ... *'. ---m / ym / stḥbl / 'qd / h- r' (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 4) '... [the] day he pledged the produce/dedication of the sheep**'.*

NOTE: Compare CAR. wdq 'to approach' (Lisān). A similar semantic connection exists in the CAR. D-stem form qarraba 'he presented it, or offered it to them' (Lane 2505b) from qaraba 'to become near' (Lane 2504b). *Frequency:: 3. Typology:: dedicatory. Certainty:: uncertain.*

'rb' *numeral, four. Etym: rb'. s //---[n][t] 's²rn / w-'rb' / 24 // --- [t][l]ymy/ bn / hn's / m{l}[k] //--- l[h][y][n] (AH 226/ 4-7) 'year twenty-four 24 ... Tlmy son of Hn's king of Liḥyān**'. Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 5. Typology:: dating formula.*

'rb'n *numeral, forty. Etym: rb'. {ḡ}rsw / b- bdr / [w] b- bn'l / m/'t / w 'rb'n / w ḥms / nḥl (U 023/4-5) 'they planted at Bdr and at Bn'l hundred forty-five palm trees**'. ... snt / r{b} // 'n / w ttn / b-r' / y / d'sl'n / tlm / y / bn / hn's / ml / k / ḥym (al-Ḥuraybah 10) '... {them} year forty-two** during the rising of the asterism d'sl'n*, Tlmy son of Hn's king of Liḥyān*. Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 7. Typology:: dating formula; ḡll.*

ʾrbʿw *noun*. sanctuary. *Etym*: 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 Nab. inscription from the Moab plateau (al-Salameen and Shdaifat 2017, 3–4). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 3. *Typology*:: **construction**.

ʾrf *active participle*, 3m.s. limited; fenced? *Etym*: ʾrf. ---- / bn / P//N / m₂br / ʾrf (JSLih 317) ‘... son of PN a fenced field/delimited grave chamber*’.

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. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

ʾrh *noun*. matter, (judicial) case. *Etym*: ʾrh. ---l-hm / w-^{s²}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. *Typology*:: **legal**.

ʾrqww *verb*, c, 3c.pl. to make ascend; to dedicate. *Etym*: rqw. ----ʿ----l / bn / zdl{h} ---- // ʾht-h / ʾrqww / h---- // bt / hmd / ndr / dǧ[b][t] ---- (AH 204/1-3) ‘... son of PN ... his sister** they sent up {the} ...* according 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’ (see also trq (JSLih 064) in Dadanic). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

ʾrt *noun?*. legacy; inheritance. *Etym*: wrt. PN / bn / PN // ʾrt-h hlqn (Al-ʾUdayb 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’ in OCIANA Hlqn does not occur as a PN at all in OCIANA however. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

ʾsd *noun*. lion. *Etym*: ʾsd. PN fl ʾl-//ʾsd (Jabal al-Khramāt No. 4) ‘PN made the lion (Hidalgo-Chacón Díez 2017, 226)’. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

ʾsdq *verb*, c, 3m.s. to fulfill a duty. *Etym*: šdq. PN / ʾsd{q} // f-rd-h / h-lh / w-sʿd-h (JSLih 008) ‘PN fulfilled his duty* so favor him** Hlh* and aid him**’.

NOTE: Compare Sab. hšdq ‘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*:: **cer-tain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

'šdq *noun, elative, pl.* rightful heirs. *Etym*: šdq. [----]//---- h-/šdq n b---- // w b / dmr / dğbt ----//----h / h-bt / dh ----(Müller, D.H. 1889: 68, no. 16) '... the rightful heirs ... dğbt ... this temple ... **'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. 'ašdaq 'more and most true and veracious' (Lane, 1668c) in this context as the truest heirs, descendants. Compare 'šdqh 'legitimate heir' in Nab. funerary texts (Nehmé 2015, 103). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **Q**.

't' *verb, c, 3m.s.* protect. *Etym*: y't'. PN / bn / PN / h-š//n' / d-TrN / 't' // PN / b-hqwy / 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. *Typology*:: **funerary?**.

'tb *verb.* to reward so. *Etym*: t'wb. f-rd-hm // w 'tb-hm (U 079 bis/6-7) 'so favor them and reward them**'. f-rd-h // w '[h]rt-h / w 't[b]-h / {w} [s]{}[d]-h (Al-'Udayb 008/3-4) 'so favor her and her posterity and reward her and aid her**'.

NOTE: compare Sab. y'twbn 'reward, recompense (a worshipper by a deity)' (Beeston et al, 151). In JSLih 077 OCIANA reads 'tb-hm, but on the photograph it is visible that there is a horizontal line coming down from the X. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 36. *Typology*:: **zll; blessing formula**. *Usage*: f-rd-h w-'tb-h; so favor him and reward him.

'tt *noun.* wife. *Etym*: 'nt. PN / bn P//N / w-'tt-h // PN / bn//t / PN / 'gw // w 'zll / l-dğbt (U 115/1-5) 'PN son of PN and his wife PN daughter of PN dedicated* and performed the zll for dğbt**'. PN----nt / bn / 'ft / s//lh / dğbt / w-bn-h / PN // ' / w 'tt-h / P//N / {'ğ}rs'w / b-bdr / [w]b-bn'l / m//t / w 'rb'n / w hms / nhl (U 023/1-5) 'PN son of PN priest of dğbt and his son PN and his wife PN planted at Bdr and at Bn'l hundred and forty-five palm trees**'.

NOTE: Compare e.g. Sab. 'ntt and 'tt 'woman, female, wife' (Sabaweb, accessed 15-07-2021). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 5. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; legal; genealogy**.

'w *complementizer. or.* *Etym*: 'w. [----]//----n----//---hm / l-bn-h / 'w / bnt ----// (JaL 001/2) '... {them} for his son or daughter ...**'. //----h-srqt / ytb / h-srqt / 'w / y ----//----bh (Al-'Huraybah 17/6) '... the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief or ...**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. 'aw 'or'. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: **dedicatory, legal**.

'ydn *q. Q.* *Etym*: Q. PN / PN / 'gy / 's²rt / mnh{h} / {}{y}dn (JSLih 177/1) 'PN PN dedicated ten minah {as support}?**'. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

NOTE: Compare possibly to CAR. 'iyād 'anything by which a person or a thing is strengthened' (Lane, 136c).

ʔzll *verb, c, 3m.s.* to perform the zll. *Etym:* zll. ʔzll / h-zll // {b-}khl / l-dǵ//bt (U 058/2-4) 'he performed the zll ceremony at Khl for dǵbt**'. *Variant:* ʔz. ʔz // b'd / ml-h / b- // bdr / l-dǵbt (AH 080/2-4) 'he performed the zll on behalf of his property at Bdr for dǵbt**'. *Variant:* ʔll. [ʔ]ll // h-ʔll --- b-khl // l-dǵbt (AH 009.1/1-3) 'he performed the ʔll ceremony ... at Khl for dǵbt**'. *Variant:* ʔl. ʔl l-dǵbt // b-khl (U 125/2-3) 'he performed the ʔll for dǵbt**'. *3s.f.:* ʔllt. ʔllt l-/dǵbt b-{k}hl (U 056/2-3) 'she performed the zll for dǵbt at khl**'. *Variant:* ʔzt. ʔz / l-d//ǵbt (AH 165/3-4) 'she performed the zll for dǵbt**'. *Variant:* ʔllt. ʔllt / b-khl (AH 163/2) 'she performed the ʔll at khl*'. *Variant:* ʔlt. ʔlt // l-dǵbt / b'/d / ml-h / b-tqmm (U 048/2-4) 'she performed the ʔll for dǵbt on behalf of her property at Tqmm**'. *du.:* ʔllh. ʔllh / l-dǵbt / h-zll / b-h-mš//d/(AH 199/1-5) 'they both performed the zll ceremony for dǵbt** at the sanctuary (Lundberg 2015: 136)'. *Variant:* ʔlh. PN / bn / PN / w // PN / slht // dǵbt / ʔlh / h-zl//l / l-dǵbt (U 019/1-5) 'PN son of PN and PN priestess of dǵbt both performed the zll ceremony for dǵbt**'. *3pl.:* ʔllw. ʔlw / h-zll / l-dǵbt (U 064/3) 'they performed the zll ceremony for dǵbt**'. ʔ//llw / zll / h-nq / l-/dǵbt (AH 001/3-5) 'they performed the zll of the nq* for dǵbt**'. *Variant:* ʔlw. ʔlw / h-zll / l-dǵbt (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII/2) 'they performed the zll for dǵbt**'. *Variant:* ʔlw. ʔlw / ʔl[l] h-nq // b-khl (AH 032/2-3) 'they performed the ʔll of the nq* at Khl*'.
 NOTE: For a discussion of the proposed translations of ʔzll h-zll so far see (Scagliarini 2002, 573-575). Recently, a new interpretation of the form hzl from same root in Sabaic has been suggested, which links it to the act of writing, rather than shade (<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=5547&showAll=0> consulted 04/10/2021. I would like to thank Peter Stein for pointing me to this recent interpretation.). See Kootstra (2018) on the variation between z and ʔ in Dadanitic and Kootstra (2022) for a new analysis of the zll ritual as a reference to the inscription itself and part of local legal and documentary practice. *Certainty:* certain. *Frequency:* ʔzll: 87; ʔz: 6; ʔll: 7; ʔl: 2; ʔllh: 1; ʔlh: 1; ʔllt: 8; ʔzt: 16; ʔllt: 2; ʔlt: 2; ʔllw: 11; ʔlw: 8; ʔlw: 2. *Typology:* zll; dedicatory. *Usage:* ʔzll h-zll l-dǵbt; he performed the zll ceremony for dǵbt.

ʔbd *verb, g, 3m.s.* to make. *Etym:* ʔbd. PN / bn / ʔws / h-ʔnʕ / ʔbd / l-mrʕ-h (Al-Ḥuraybah 12/3) 'PN son of PN the artisan made [it] for his lord**'. PN / bn / PN / h-ʔnʕ // ʔbd / l-mrʕ-h (JSLih 035/1-2) 'PN son of PN the artisan made [it] for his lord*'.
 NOTE: Compare Aram. ʔbd 'to make, act, do' (CAL, 13-2-2018; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 810). Or possibly to be compared to CAR. ʔabada Allāh 'he served, worshipped God'. Note that OCIANA translates JSLih 053 as 'he served for his lord'

(accessed 15-07-2021). Each translation is syntactically slightly awkward as the verb would typically be expected to take a direct object which would be omitted completely in case of a translation that follows the typical NWS meaning of the root 'to make' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 810). If we opt for a translation 'to serve' there is an unexpected oblique object. However, an exact parallel to this construction can be found in Dadanitic with the verb f'l 'to do to make' (Al-Sa'īd 2011.1), where we also have f'l directly followed by the preposition l- + theonym. It is unclear at the moment if and how the different forms of 'to make' in Dadanitic relate to linguistic or dialectal diversity at the oasis. *Certainty*:: **quite certain**. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: **dedication**.

'bd *pn. PN. Etym*: 'bd. *PN / bn / P/PN / h-šn' / PN // PN / h-šwǰ* (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: *ḍbn/mr/bn/mrd// 'gw/h-zll/dh* (U 038) 'PN PN son of PN dedicated this zll'. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 9. *Typology*:: **genealogy**.

'db *noun*. name of a time period. *Etym*: 'db. *f rd-h / w 'hr//t-h / 'db / snt // 's²m / tmy / [mlk / l]//hyn* (AH 064/6-9) 'so favor her and her posterity** [during] 'db* year twenty of Tlmy king of Lhyn**.'

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 t'n so far. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dating formula**.

'dky *preposition*. until. *Etym*: 'd+ky. *'hḍw / h- mkn // w h-mq'd / dh / kll-h / mn / m'//n / h-gbl / hn'ty / 'dky // m'{}n / h-gbl / hn's{l}l* (JSLih 072/4-7) 'they took the place and this seat, 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, 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. *Typology*:: **legal; narrative**.

'kb *verb, g, 3m.s.* to remain. *Etym*: 'kb. *PN // trq / 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. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

'ly *preposition*. on behalf of; on. *Etym*: 'ly. *w-b-mm' / 'ly / mg-h / mn / h-hls* (JSLih 070/4-6) 'and by the oath against his expulsion/grain from the loan*. *l-PN // bn / PN / hn-//qbr / dh / {h}{m} // 'ly / ymn // w 'ly / s²m[l] // mn / trqr* (JSLih 081) 'for PN son of PN [is] this grave {hm} from the south and from the north** from trqr(?)*. *PN // tqṭ // 'ly // qrt* (JSLih 182) 'PN wrote* on a boulder** OR PN wrote on behalf

of PN*'. *zlt /h-zll // l-dǧbt /'ly / d-kn l-h / b-bd[r]* (U 087/3-4) 'she performed the zll ceremony for dǧbt on behalf of** that which was hers* at Bdr**'. *Variant: 'l. PN / zll//l / h-zll // l-dǧbt // 'l / d-kn / l-hm // b-bdr* (U 073/1-5) 'PN performed the zll ceremony for dǧbt on behalf of** that which was theirs* at Bdr**'. *wdyw / nfs / PN / bn / PN / m{h} // 'hd / 'l-hmy / hrg* (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-mtbr / '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. Typology:: zll; dedicatory; funerary; graffiti. Usage: 'ly d-kn l-h b-TN, 'ly m-kn l-h b-TN; on behalf of what was his at [toponym].*

'nk *noun.* door? *Etym: 'nk. ----// w /h-mqdr / w hn-'nk /----* (JSLih 054/3) '... the cultic structure and the door? ...*.

NOTE: Compare CAR. 'ank 'the larger part of anything' and 'ink 'door' (Steingass, 732b). This would work well with the interpretation of mqdr as an architectural structure as well (see mqdr). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory.*

'ntw *verb, g, 3c.pl.* to commit a sin, a crime. *Etym: 'nt. w-'rtt / 'h-h // w 'ht-h / b-mh / 'ntw / b-rs / 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). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: legal?.*

'qb *noun.* offspring, descendants. *Etym: 'qb. {f} rd-hm / w s/'d-hm / w 'qb-hm* (U 026/2-3) 'so favor them and aid them and their descendants**.

NOTE: Compare CAR. 'āqibah 'offspring' (Lane, 2153 b), and the parallel Dadanitic expression: f rd-hm w s'd-hm w 'hrt-hm 'so favor them and aid them and their posterity' *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: zll; blessing.*

'rd *noun.* land. *Etym: 'rd. zll / h-zll / d//h / b-khl / b'd / h-'rd // w-d-kn / l-h / b-bdr / l-dǧbt* (U 046/2-4) 'he performed this zll ceremony at Khl on behalf of** the land* and that which was his at Bdr for dǧbt**.

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, 2007-2008). OCIANA translates 'rd as 'the valley', but since the dedication seems to be made on behalf of personal property a claim to the valley in general seems unlikely. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: zll.*

'rr *active participle, m.s.* mistreater, dishonorer. *Etym: 'rr. f-'rr // dǧbt / 'r//r / h-sfr / dh* (JaL 161a/4-6) 'so may dǧbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription**.

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*:: 12. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**. *Usage*: f-'rr//dǧbt/'r//r/h-sfr/dh; so may dǧbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription.

'rr *verb, d, 3m.s.* to mistreat, dishonor, disgrace. *Etym*: 'rr. f-'rr // dǧbt / 'r//r / h-sfr / dh (JaL 161a/4–6) 'so may dǧbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription**'. mn y'rr 'rr dǧbt ʔ{h}{l}r (JSTham 251.3) 'whoever mistreats [it] may dǧbt disgrace [him] ʔh̄lr*.

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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; graffiti**. *Usage*: f-'rr // dǧbt / 'r//r / h-sfr / dh; so may dǧbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription.

's²r *numeral*. ten. *Etym*: 's²r. [sn]{t} / 's²r / w ts' / b-r'y / hr' / tlmy / hn's (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 3–14, no. 1/5) 'year nineteen** during the rising of the asterism hr'^c Tlmy Hn's**'. ʔlt // l-dǧ[b]t / b-kh//l / stt / 's²r / m//n / snt / mt / 'l//h (AH 064/2–6) 'she performed the ʔll for dǧbt at Khl sixteen [times]** according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her*. *feminine*:: 's²rt. PN / PN / ʔy / 's²rt / mnh{h} / {ʔ}{y}dn (JSLih 177/1) 'PN PN dedicated ten minah ??? and ???*. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 's²r: 7; 's²rt: 1. *Typology*:: **dating formula; dedication**.

's²r *noun*. companion; kinsman. *Etym*: 's²r. 'n / m't // 's²r {PN/TrN} (Ġabal Itlib 06) 'I am PN companion/kinsman of PN/TrN*. *feminine*:: 's²rt. ----PN / w hn-'s²rt / 's²rt / '---- (Al-Sa'īd 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*:: 's²r: 1; 's²rt: 1. *Typology*:: **dating formula; graffiti**.

's²rn *numeral*. twenty. *Etym*: 's²r. w l-dǧbt /----//bl / yn / m't / w 's²rn / sd---- (JSLih 077/4–5) 'and for dǧbt ...** wine* hundred twenty ...**'. snt//s²rn/tlmy/[m][l][k][l-]//hyn (AH 064/7–9) 'year twenty of Tlmy [king] of Liḥyān**'. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 11. *Typology*:: **dating formula; dedication**.

B – b

b'd *preposition*. on behalf of. *Etym*: b + 'd. ʔt h-ʔll dh l-dǧbt b-khl b'd ml-h (U 005/2–5) 'she fulfilled this ʔll-ceremony for dǧbt at Khl on behalf of her property**'. ʔllt l-//dǧbt b-{k}hl b'd //d{t}'-h (U 056/2–4) 'she performed the ʔll for dǧbt at Khl on behalf of her crops of the season of the later rains**'. ʔll / h-ʔll // {b-}khl / l-dǧ//bt

/b'd / {n}hl-h // w-dt'-h b-bdr (U 058/2-5) 'he performed the zll ceremony at Khl for dġbt on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains 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 nṣr b'd-h-msrt 'he stood guard on behalf of the troop'). The consonantly identical b'd (compare CAr. ba'd 'after') never occurs in Dadanitic (Lundberg 2015, n. 9). See hl̄f for the preposition with the meaning 'following, after'. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 122. Typology:: dedication; zll.*

b'l *noun*. leader, husband. *Etym:* 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 Wd 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-dġbt (U 026/1-2) 'the lords of Dl fulfilled the zll for dġbt**'.*

NOTE: Compare e.g., Aram. b'el 'husband' (CAL, 16-2-2018); Sab. b'l (Beeston et al. 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. Typology:: zll; narrative.*

bdr *toponym*. bdr. *Etym:* bdr. 'zll // l-dġbt / b-khl // b'd / 'nhl-h // w'dt'-h / b-bdr (Al-Udayb 071/2-5) 'he performed the zll for dġbt at Khl on behalf of his palm trees and his seasonal crops* at Bdr so favor him and his descendants**'.

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. Typology:: zll.*

bhny *noun*. type of palm tree. *Etym:* bn. b'lsmn / 'h̄rm / h-qrt // mn / mh / trqh / mr't // l-bhny / hn-'fkt (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 'h̄rm and trq)'.
NOTE: Compare CAr. bhn 'specific kind of palm tree' (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860, 174). It might be compared to Min. bhny 'sons' e.g. M.151, M185, M200 (available on DASI) If this reading is correct, this would be the only example where Minaic clearly influenced Dadanitic, instead of the other way around. The commonly used construct plural of bn in Dadanitic is bnw (see bn). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: unique text.*

blh *toponym*. blh. *Etym:* blh. 'gw / h-zl//l / b-khl / 'l{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^{**}: ʔz//ll / l-dǧb[t] // b-khl / b[ʔd] // ---l-h / b-blh (U 072/3-6) 'he performed the ʔll for dǧbt 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 Dadanic corpus. *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: ʔll.

bn *noun*. son. *Etym*: bn. PN // bn / PN (U 114) 'PN son of PN^{**}. *du.*:: **bnh**. d / PN / w-PN / bnh / PN // ʔlw / h-ʔll / l-dǧbt (Nasif 1988: 99, pl. CLVIII/1-2) 'd PN and PN sons (du.) of PN performed the ʔll ceremony for dǧbt^{**}. *du.*:: **bny** (**construct**). PN / w-PN // bny / mʔr / bnyw // l-dǧbt (AH 200/1-3) 'PN and PN sons (du.) of PN built for dǧbt^{**}. *pl.*:: **bnw** (**construct**). PN / w-PN / bnw // PN / ʔhdw / h-qb//r / dh (JSLih 079/1-3) 'PN and PN sons of PN took possession of this tomb^{**}.

NOTE: See Macdonald and Nehmé (2015) for a discussion of the term bny, ʔl and ʔhl in the Saf. and Nab. inscriptions. *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: **bn**: 666; **bnh**: 1; **bny**: 2; **bnw**: 4. *Typology*:: **genealogy**.

bnʔl *toponym*. bnʔl. *Etym*: Q. ʔll / hʔll / b-khl / l-dǧbt / bʔd / nhl-h / b-bnʔl / w-tqmm (U 025/1-4) 'he performed the ʔll ceremony at Khl for dǧbt on behalf of his palm trees at Bnʔl and Tqmm^{**}.

NOTE: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 17) for a discussion of the place name and its distribution in the Dadanic corpus. *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: 10. *Typology*:: ʔll.

bnt *noun*. daughter. *Etym*: bn. PN // bnt / PN // d-TrN // ʔllt / h-ʔll // l-dǧbt (U 068/1-4) 'PN daughter of PN of the lineage of TrN performed the ʔll ceremony for dǧbt^{**}. *pl.*:: **bnt**. PN / w PN / bnt / P/N / w ʔm-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^{**}. *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: **bnt** (sg.): 69; **bnt** (pl.): 2; **bt** (sg): 2. *Typology*:: **genealogy**.

bny *verb*, g, 3m.s. build. *Etym*: bny. 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^{**}. PN / bn / PN / ʔkl / hl--- // bn{y} / h-bn{y}n / dh / l-ʔh (Al-Saʔd 1420/1999: 15-26, no. 2/1-2) 'PN son of PN priest of hl ... built this building for^{**} ʔh^{*}. 3s.f.: **bnt** (**fem.**). PN --- // PN / bnt / l-dǧbt // mqm (Al-ʔdayb 043) 'PN ... PN built for dǧbt an abode^{**}. 3pl.: **bnyw**. PN / w PN // bny / PN / bnyw // l-dǧbt (AH 200/1-3) 'PN and PN sons of PN built for dǧbt^{**}. PN / bn / PN / P/N / w-PN / d//TrN / bnyw / hn-ʔb//w (U 008/1-4) 'PN son of PN PN and PN of the lineage of TrN built the sanctuary^{**}. *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: **bny**: 4; **bnt**: 1; **bnyw**: 4. *Typology*:: **construction**; **funerary**.

bny *noun*. building. *Etym*: bny. PN / bn / PN / ʔkl / hl--- // bn{y} / h-bn{y}n / dh / l-ʔh (Al-Saʔd 1420/1999: 15-26, no. 2/1-2) 'PN son of PN priest of hl ... built this building^{**} for ʔh^{*}.

NOTE: Compare e.g. CAr. bunyān 'building' (Lane, 261b); Sab. bnyt and bnwt

'building' (Beeston et. al, 29); Aram. benyān 'bulding' (CAL, 10-5-2018). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: construction.*

br' *noun.* facade, outside. *Etym:* 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. Typology:: construction.*

br't *noun.* health. *Etym:* 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, 1414) *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory?.*

brḥ *verb, q, 3m.s. Q.* *Etym:* brḥ. *qrb / h-šlm // l-dḡbt / b-h-brḥt // brḥ / bt d-ly h- s²n//t / m' gbl / ddn / h- {s²} { } [n] (JSLih 041/ 2-5)* 'he offered the statue to Dḡbt, with the honour [with which] the illustrious** temple of d'ly* is honoured in company with the {illustrious} lord of Ddn**'.
NOTE: Compare Syr. brḥ (D-stem) 'to make clear, shiny' (CAL, 16-2-2018) for the meaning in the OCIANA translation. *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedication.*

brḥt *noun.* Q. *Etym:* brḥ. *qrb / h-šlm // l-dḡbt / b-h-brḥt // brḥ / bt d-ly h- s²n//t / m' gbl / ddn / h- {s²} { } [n] (JSLih 041/ 2-5)* 'he offered the statue to Dḡbt, with the honour [with which] the illustrious** temple of d'ly* is honoured in company with the {illustrious} lord of Ddn**'.
NOTE: Syr. brḥ (D-stem) 'to make clear, shiny' (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedication.*

bt *noun.* daughter. *Etym:* bnt.
NOTE: See bnt

bt *noun.* temple. *Etym:* byt. ----[b]ny / h-bt / {l}dḡbt (JaL 006/ 1) 'he built the temple for dḡbt**'. ----//b-h-bt / dh (JSLih 042/ 3) '... at this temple*. wl / ḥmm / b-bt-h š{ }m (JSLih 077/6-7) 'and verily he offered at his temple a statue'. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 12. Typology:: dedication, construction.*

bt' *personal name.* PN. *Etym:* bt'. *PN / bt' (JSLih 209)* 'PN PN*'. *P</>N / w-bnt-{h} / w-qnt-hm / bt' (JSLih 282)* 'PN and his daughter and their female servant PN*'. *PN bt' (Jacobs & Macdonald 2009: 372-373)* 'PN PN*'.
NOTE: In OCIANA, this word is translated as 'may he be resolute', based on CA. '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. In Dadanitic, verbs regularly mark the differ-

ence between singular and plural in agreement with the subject. The article also lists JSLih 015 as an attestation of the verb *bt'*, but this inscription only seems to contain the letters *bt'*, making it even more likely that this is a personal name.

Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: graffiti.

btt *noun. section? Etym: btt. PN // bn PN / 'ḥd // hl-btt (JaL 021f) '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-šḥnt ḏh* 'he took possession of this rockface' JSLih 079 'ḥdw *h-qbr ḏh* 'they took possession of this grave' *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: graffiti; funerary?.*

btr *toponym. btr. Etym: btr. hzll / h-z//ll // b-bt//r / b'd / n{h}l-h w //dt'-h / b-d'mn (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'mn**'.*

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. Typology:: zll.*

byt *verb, d, 3m.s. to spend the night OR PN. Etym: 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' 1) '... PN and PN he spent the night at lwh dld** OR and PN were at Lwh Dld*'.*

NOTE: Compare CAR. *bāta* 'to pass or spend the night; to stay overnight'. It is unusual that in Graf Abū al-Dibā' 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. Typology:: graffiti.*

D – d

d't *noun. advisor. Etym: wd'. PN / b[n] PN kbr // h-d't / s²t / hnš / w rb-h//m / PN / bn / PN / kb//ry / s²t / hnš (JSLih 072/1-4) 'PN son of PN kabir of the council* of the party of Hnš and their lord PN son of PN the two kabirs of the party of Hnš**'.*

NOTE: Jaussen and Savignac (1909–1922 vol. II, 429–430) translate *d't* as 'advisor' based on the root *yd'* 'to know' in 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. Typology:: narrative.*

dm *adverb?. forever. Etym: 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* 'con-

tinuing, lasting, remaining, everlasting' (Lane, 937c). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **funerary**.

drt *noun*. enclosed area. *Etym*: *dwr*. ʔll / h-ʔl// / ndr / b'd / h-dr//t (U 003/ 2-4) 'He performed the ʔll ceremony** vowed on behalf of the fields*'. --- h-drt / b-mʔb//[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 1863-1893: 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; funerary/construction**.

dt' *noun*. crops of the season of the later rains. *Etym*: dt'. PN / slh / dġ//bt / ʔll / 'ly // {d}t'{-h} / w nh'l // [-h] (Al-Uḡayb 132/1-4) 'PN priest of dġbt performed the ʔll on behalf of his crops of the season of the later rains and his palm trees**'. *Variant*: dt'. --- / h-ʔll // 'ly [ʔ]dt'-h [ʔ] w nh'/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.*:: dt'. ʔll // l-dġbt / b-khl // b'd / 'nh'l-h // w 'dt'-h / b-bdr (Al-Uḡayb 071/ 2-5) 'he performed the ʔll for dġbt at Khl on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains 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 dġ/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; dt': 2. *Typology*:: ʔll.

D - d

d *relative, m.s.* that, which, of. *Etym*: dV. PN / w PN / w PN ---// / d-TrN / w 'm-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-dġbt / t//t / ʔlt / 'ly / {d-}kn // {l}-h / b-bdr (U 050/ 2-4) 'he performed three ʔll ceremonies for dġbt on behalf of that which was his at Bdr**'. d / s²b{t}d (AH 147) 's²b{t}**'. *feminine*:: dt. PN / dt / TrN / 'gt // l-dġb{t} / {h-}ʔll (U 126/ 1-2) 'PN of the lineage of TrN** dedicated* for dġbt the ʔll**'.

NOTE: There are several inscriptions with either a \underline{d} both at the beginning and the end of the inscription, and some with only a \underline{d} at the end of the inscription, possibly as a reference to $\underline{d}\dot{g}bt$ (Macdonald 2008, 200). Note that there are several inscriptions in which a woman's name is followed by \underline{d} to indicate lineage (e.g. U 006; 068; 112) (Macdonald, pc.) in these cases \underline{d} should probably be interpreted as a reference to the lineage of the father. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: \underline{d} : 117; $\underline{d}t$: 1. Typology:: lineage; dedication; introductory particle. Usage: PN bn PN \underline{d} TrN, 'ly \underline{d} kn l-h; PN son of PN of the lineage of TrN, on behalf of what was his.*

$\underline{d}'dn$ *toponym. Q. 'gt // l-dġb{t} / {h-}zll / 'ly / n{h}/l-h / b-bdr / [w] b-d'dn (U 126/1-3) 'she dedicated* to $\underline{d}\dot{g}bt$ the zll on behalf of her palm trees at Bdr [and] at $\underline{d}'dn^{**}$. zll / h-zll / d//h / l-dġbt / b'd // dt'-h / b-d'dn / (AH 066) 'he performed this zll for $\underline{d}\dot{g}bt$ on behalf of his** seasonal crops* at $\underline{d}'dn^{**}$.*

NOTE: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 18) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 2. Typology:: zll.*

$\underline{d}'dn$ *toponym. Q. z'lt // h-zlt / b-khl / l-dġ//bt / b'd / tbrt-h / { b-} // d'dn (U 013/2-5) 'she performed the {zll ceremony* / zll ceremonies**} at Khl for $\underline{d}\dot{g}bt$ on behalf of her grain at $\underline{d}'dn^{**}$.*

NOTE: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 18–19) for a a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: zll.*

$\underline{d}'mn$ *toponym. Q. hzll / h-z//ll // b-bt//r / b'd / n{h}l-h w // dt'-h / b-d'mn // l-dġbt (U 079bis/2-6) 'he performed the zll ceremony at Btr on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains at $\underline{d}'mn^{**}$.*

NOTE: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 19–20) for a a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 23. Typology:: zll.*

$\underline{db}\dot{h}$ *q. Q. sn[t] / tlt'n / w ħm//s 35 / b-r'y / [m]n'y / ldn / b//n / hn's / mlk / lhyn / PN / b//[n] ---- h-šn' / w-PN / bn //---- s'bt't / h-sfr / dbħ // [----] (JSLih 082/4-9) 'year thirty-five 35 during** the rising of the asterism Mn'y*, Ldn son of Hn's king of Lihyān PN** ... the artisan and PN son of** ... PN the writer ??? ... *. snt / 'hdy / b-r'y / d's{l}n / t//{l}my / bn / ldn / mlk / lhyn / d bħ (Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8/3-4) 'year one during** the rising of the asterism D'sl'n*, Tlmy son of Ldn king of Li hyān** ???*.*

NOTE: The root does not seem to exist. Caskel proposed to interpret it as an abbreviation $\underline{d}ukir$ bi- $\underline{h}ayr$ calqued on Nab. $\underline{d}kir$ b- $\underline{t}\dot{a}b$ '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 \underline{d} bħ 'he of bħ. *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 2. Typology:: dating formula.*

dh *demonstrative*. this. *Etym*: $\underline{d}V$. $PN / PN / bn / PN // 'gw / h-zll / \underline{dh} / l-d\dot{g}bt$ (U 038/2) 'he organized* this \underline{zll} for $\underline{d\dot{g}bt}^{**}$. $'h\dot{d}w / h-qb//r / \underline{dh}$ (JSLih 079/2-3) 'they took possession of this tomb^{**}. $f 'rr / \underline{d\dot{g}bt} / 'rr / 'sfr / \underline{dh}$ (JSLih 276) 'so may $\underline{d\dot{g}bt}$ dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription^{**}. $PN ktb-h / b-\underline{dh}$ (JSLih 279) 'mrh wrote this here^{**}. $hdq // h-\underline{\dot{s}lm} // [d]h // [l-\underline{d}]\{\dot{g}\}/bt$ (Al-Sa'īd 1419/1999:4-24, no. 1, side 1-2/5-9) 'he offered this statue to $\underline{d\dot{g}bt}^{**}$. *feminine*:: **dt**. $PN / 'h\dot{d} // h-sfht \underline{dt}$ (JSLih 066) 'PN took possession of this cliff face^{**}. $L-PN / w PN / w-bnt-h / h-trt // \underline{dt} / wl / wrt-hm$ (JSLih 313) 'for PN and PN and his daughter [is] this mountain* and verily [it is] their inheritance^{**}. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **dh: 3; dt: 3**. *Typology*:: **funerary; dedicatory; curse; graffiti**. *Usage*: $h-zll \underline{dh}$, $b-\underline{dh}$ (JSLih 279); this \underline{zll} (most likely referring to the inscription itself), here.

dt¹ *toponym*. Q. $\underline{zllw} / h-zll / b-khl // b'd / tbrt-hmy / b-d//t'l$ (U 069/3-5) 'they performed the \underline{zll} at Khl on behalf of both their grain at \underline{Dt}^{1**} .

NOTE: See Hidalgo Chacon Diéz (2014, 19) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **6**. *Typology*:: **zll**.

F – f

f *complementizer*. and, and so. *Etym*: $f ' // rr \underline{d\dot{g}bt} 'rr h-sfr$ (AH 222/6-7) 'and may $\underline{d\dot{g}bt}$ dishonor^{**} the one who mistreats the inscription*. $hggn // f sm' / l-h\{m\}$ (JSLih 006/4-5) 'they are pilgrims* so may he (the deity) listen to them^{**}. $fr\{d\}-h w 'hrt-h$ (U 058/6) 'so favor him and his posterity^{**}. $frd-hm // w 'tb-hm$ (U 079 bis/6-7) 'so favor them and reward them^{**}.

NOTE: Compare CAR. fa- 'so, and'. See Sima (1999: 110–114) for a discussion of f in the inscriptions from al-'Uḏayb. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **261**. *Typology*:: **blessing formula after dedicaton; curse**. *Usage*: $f rd-h w 'hrt-h$; so favor him and his posterity.

f1 *verb, g, 3m.s.* do, make. *Etym*: $f'l. hzll / h-zll // w f'l / h-\dot{s}lm // l-\underline{d\dot{g}bt}$ (U 039/3-5) 'he performed the \underline{zll} ceremony and made the statue for $\underline{d\dot{g}bt}^{**}$. $PN / mlk ddn / f'l // l-t\dot{h}ln$ (Al-Sa'īd 2011.1) 'PN king of Dadan made [it] for $\underline{t\dot{h}ln}^{**}$. $f'l / h-bt$ (AH 247/2) 'he made the temple*. $PN f'l 'l-//sd$ (Jabal al-Khraymāt 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 \underline{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'. Within Dadanitic, 'bd seems to have been used with the same meaning. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **f'1: 9; f'lt: 1; f'lw: 1**. *Typology*:: **zll; dedicatory; graffiti; construction**.

fht *noun*. governor. *Etym*: $fht. ---rm / PN / fht / ddn$ (AH 305/2) '... PN governor of Dadan^{**}. $b-\dot{y}m / PN / bn // PN / w PN / fht / ddn / b-r[y] ----$ (JSLih 349/1-2)

NOTE: *ḥt* 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, 115–117). 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. *Typology*:: **graffiti?**.

frs *noun*. horseman. *Etym*: 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. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

G – g

gbl *noun*. border. *Etym*: *gbl*. *ḥdḥw* / *h-mkn* // *w h-mq’d* / *dh* / *klh-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 seat, all of it, from the assembly place of the upper border up to 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. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; narrative**.

gbl *noun*. lord. *Etym*: *gbl*. *qrb* / *h-šlm* // *l-dḡbt* / *b-h-brḥt* // *brḥ* / *bt d-’ly h- s²n//t* / *m’ gbl* / *ddn* / *h-’s²{’}[n]* (JSLih 041/ 2–5) ‘they 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 Ddn**’.

NOTE: JSLih 041 is translated as ‘the lord of Dadan’ 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; narrative**.

gbn *noun*. place of prayer. *Etym*: *gbn*. ----*PN* / *bn PN* // *f’l* / *h-bt* / *w h-’/’lhn* / *f s’d//--* -- *{b-}h-gbn* (AH 247) ‘... PN son of PN made the temple and the sanctuary(?) 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

gdw *noun; pl.* granted/gifted property. *Etym*: *gdw*. *ḡllt* / *h-ḡll* // *l-dḡbt* / *b’//d* / *gdw l-h* / *b-t[q]//mm* (U 070/ 2–5) ‘PN daughter of PN performed the ḡll ceremony on behalf of the property that was given to her* at Tqmm**’.

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 1863–1893: 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’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 49). 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. Typology:: zll.*

Ġ – ġ

ġlm *noun*. boy. *Etym:* ġlm. *hw//dqw / h-ġ//lm / PN / h-/[m]tlt / l-//dġbt // f rdy-h//m---* (JSLih 049/5–11) ‘they offered the boy* PN as a substitute to dġbt so may he favor them ...**’.

NOTE: Compare CAR. ġulām ‘a young man, youth, boy, or male child’ (Lane, 2331c). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory.*

ġrsw *verb, g, 3m.pl.* to plant. *Etym:* ġrs. {ġ}rsw / b-bdr / [w] b-bn’l / m//’t / w ’rb’n / w ħms / nhl(U 023/4–5) ‘they planted at Bdr and at Bn’l hundred and forty-five 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. Typology:: dedicatory; agriculture.*

H – h

h- *definite article*. the. *Etym:* hn.

NOTE: See hn- for the definite article h- and variant forms

h’ *pronoun*. he; it. *Etym:* h’. *PN / PN / PN / h’ / nšb / ---- // h/[l-]’trġth / qbl / ’ns / ----* (AH 288/1–2) ‘PN PN PN he set up the cult stone ... [for] Atargatis in the presence of PN ...**’. *PN // PN / bny / b//r’ / h-mtbr / f//l-h / h’* (JSLih 078) ‘PN PN built the facade of the grave chamber and it is his**’.

NOTE: For the anaphoric use of h’ see Hidalgo-Chacón Diéz (2017, 67). OCIANA reads ‘l-h h’ at the end of JSLih 078. The letter they read as ‘ is clearly open at the bottom however and should probably be read as f instead. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: dedicatory; funerary.*

hdq *verb, c, 3m.s.* offer. *Etym:* wdq. *P//N / bn / P//N // hdq // h-šlm // [d]h // [l-][d]{ġ}//bt* (Al-Sa’id 1419/1999: 4–24, no. 1, side 1–2/1–9) ‘PN son of PN offered this

statue to **dġbt***. 3s.f.: **hdqt**. {s²}--- [b]/nt / PN // *hdqt* / h-//šlmn // 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. 'ty 'to come' and hyty 'to bring' (CAL, 4-10-2017). See also hwdq and 'dq. *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: **hdq**; **1**; **hdqt**: **1**. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hdh *demonstrative*. this; that. *Etym*: h + d. [---] // hyw --- h-{\š}lmn / hdh/{n} / ndr / (JSLih 082/1-2) '... PN ... these two statues he vowed**'. *Variant*: **hd**. {h}d // l-d//ġbt / f//rdy-h // w ---/[---] (Müller, D.H. 1889: 69, no. 17) 'this [is] for dġbt so may he favor him and ... **'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. haḏā 'this' (m.s.). The more common form of the demonstrative is dh. JSLih 082 is usually read as hdhn 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 hd: the reading of this part of the inscription is uncertain. Compare CAR. haḏā 'this' (m.s.). *Certainty*:: reading of JSLih 082 is uncertain. *Frequency*:: **hdh**: **2**; **hd**: **1**. *Typology*:: **dedication**.

hġnyw *verb*, c, 3m.pl. to offer; lit. to make prosperous. *Etym*: ġny. hġgw / h-nq / w-hġnyw / 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. 'aġnāhu 'an kaḏ'ā 'he caused him to be in no need, or free from want, of such a thing' or 'to enrich' (Lane, 2302c) and ḡanā 'he was or became free from want; in a state or condition of having no wants' (Lane 2301c). *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: **1**. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hlh *theonym*. hlh. *Etym*: lh. PN / 'šd{q} // f-rd-h / hlh / w s'd-h (JSLih 008) 'PN fulfilled his duty so favor him, Hlh and aid him*'. PN / bn / PN / 'fkl / h-l{h} (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 15-26, no. 2/1) 'PN son of PN priest of {Hlh}'.

NOTE: Compare to the theonym 'lh, probably allāh, also attested in Saf. inscriptions (Al-Jallad 2015, 299). *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: **2**. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hmd *relative*. according to that which. *Etym*: Q. PN / bn / PN / 'gw / h-zll / b-{m}š//d / hmd / 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--- // 'ht-h / 'rqww / h---//bt / hmd / ndr / dġ[b][t] --- (AH 204/1-3) '... son of PN ... his sister they sent up {the}* ... according to what was vowed to dġbt ... **'. 'zllw / h-zll / b-//h-mšd / l-dġbt / hmd / ndr / hn[']//s (AH 244/3-5) 'they performed the zll ceremony at the sanctuary* for dġbt according to what Hn's vowed**'.

NOTE: compound with the relative d. It 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, 436–437) compare hmd to CAR. hamma alladī 'this intention, design' and the CAR. construction ḥasba mā 'according to'. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 7. *Typology*:: **dedication**. *Usage*: hmd ndr; according to what he vowed.

hmdhb *toponym*. hmdhb. *Etym*: Q. ʔllw [ʔ] l-dḡ//[b][t] [ʔ] b'd / dt'-h / b-hm//dḡb (U 075/2-4) 'they performed the ʔll for dḡbt on behalf of their crops of the season of the later rains* at Hmdhb**'.

NOTE: See Hidalgo Chacon Dièz (2014, 23) for a discussion of the place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: ʔll.

hn- *definite article*. the. *Etym*: hn. PN / hn-ʔkl (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-ʔs2rt / ʔs2rt / ʔ---// (Al-Saʔid 1420/1999: 3-14, no. 1/ 1) '... PN and the community community(?)**'. *Variant*: h-. ʔll h-ʔll (U 054/ 2) 'He performed the ʔll ceremony**'. *Variant*: hl-. PN bn PN ʔhd hl-btt (JaL 021f) 'PN son of PN took this section (of the rock?)**'. *Variant*: ʔ-. ʔlt / l-//dḡbt / ʔ-ʔll // dh (AH 119/ 2-4) 'she performed this ʔll ceremony**'. ʔgw ʔll l-dḡbt (AH 138/ 2-3) 'he dedicated the ʔll 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 Chapter 6 § 2.3 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**. *Typology*:: **occurs in all types of inscriptions**. *Usage*: h-ʔll; the ʔll ceremony.

hny *verb, g, 3m.s.* to benefit. *Etym*: hny. PN / PN // ʔll h-ʔll // hny / hn-ʔ//hrt (U 040.1) 'PN PN performed the ʔll ceremony may he benefit* the descendants**'.

NOTE: Compare e.g. Heb. hny 'to benefit' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 289). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: **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 mention 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. They consider the vertical line in the rock that would be the shaft of the y to be damage on the rock. Formally it could be a blessing 'may she save' similar to the use of hny in U 040.1. Such blessings are usually preceded by the conjunction f-, however, in Dadanitic formulae. It would also be unclear who the feminine deity would be who is asked for protection. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **funerary**.

htbt *verb, c, 3f.s.* to dedicate. ddn / htbt / mtb / w hwḡt / ʔdm / l-dḡbt / mrʔ//-

h (*Al-Ḥuraybah* 12/1–2) ‘Dadan dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to *dġbt* her lord*’.

NOTE: Sab. *hwṭbt* (n.) ‘laying foundations’ (Beeston et al. 1982, 165). Compare Aram. *yṭb* ‘to sit, to dwell, to stay, remain’ (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hwdq *verb, cd, 3m.s.* offered. *Etym*: *wdq*. *w-hwdq* / *l-h* / *h-mḥry* (*AH* 288/3) ‘and he offered to him the incense burner* ... to *Hgr***’. *hw*//*dq* / *h-*//*{s}lm* (*Al-Ḥuraybah* 13/6–8) ‘he offered the statue**’. *---*//*h-syġ* / *h*//*wdq* / *h-m*//*tlt* / *l-d*//*ġbt* (*Al-Ḥuraybah* 14/2–5) ‘... the smith offered the substitute to *dġbt***’. *3pl.*:: **hwdqw**. *hw*//*dqw* / *h-ġ*//*lm* / *PN* / *h-*//*[m]tlt* / *l-*//*dġbt* (*JSLih* 049/5–9) ‘they offered the boy *PN* as a substitute to *dġbt***’.

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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hwḏt *verb, cd, 3f.s.* to offer, to fulfill an obligation. *Etym*: *wḏ*. *ddn* / *hṭbt* / *mṭb* / *w hwḏt* / *ḏm* / *l-dġbt* / *mr*’//*-h* (*Al-Ḥuraybah* 12/1–2) ‘Dadan dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to *dġbt* 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, 605). *Certainty*:: general semantic domain is certain. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hḏll *verb, c, 3m.s.* to perform the *ḏll* ritual. *Etym*: *ḏll*. *PN* // *hḏll* / *l-dġ*//*bt* / *f rḏy-h* (*U* 116) ‘*PN* performed the *ḏll* for *dġbt* so may he favor him**’. *3pl.*:: **hḏllw**. *hḏllw* / *ḏll* / *h-*//*nq* / *l-dġ*[*b*]t / *f rḏ-hm* (*AH* 011/2–3) ‘they performed the *ḏll* ceremony of the *Nq** for *dġbt* so favor them**’. *Variant*: **ḏll**. *3s.f.*:: **hḏllt**. *PN* / *bnt* //--- *hḏllt* // --- // --- [*d*][*ġ*]/*bt* --- // [---] (*Al-Udayb* 088) ‘*PN* daughter of ... performed the **ḏll** ... {*dġbt*}**’.

NOTE: The more common form of the verb is *’ḏll*. While it is clear that this is a ritual for the local deity *dġbt*, it is unclear what the ritual entailed exactly, although inscriptions mentioning *h-ḏll* *ḏh* ‘this *ḏll*’ suggest that the inscription itself was considered ‘the *ḏll*’ or part of it. The primary meaning of the root *ḏll* is ‘shade, cover’ but it is unclear how this relates exactly to the ritual at the moment. See Scagliarini (2002, 573–575) for a discussion of the translations of *ḏll*, offered so far. *Certainty*:: semantic domain is certain. *Frequency*:: **hḏll**: 8; **hḏllw**: 1; **hḏllt**: 1. *Typology*:: **ḏll**. *Usage*: *hḏll* *h-ḏll* *l-dġbt*; he performed the *ḏll* ceremony for *dġbt*.

Ḥ – ḥ

ḥld *adverb*. forever. *Etym*: ḥld. ḥls / PN bn // PN / ḥld (JSLih 070/1–2) ‘PN son of PN was released for ever*’. 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. *Typology*:: **legal; funerary?**.

ḥlf *preposition*. following, after. *Etym*: ḥlf. snt / ‘s²r//n / w ts^c / ‘s²r / ‘ym // ḥlf / fdg (JSLih 070/2–4) ‘year 19, 10 days after fdg*’. snt / ‘s²r / w tlt / 13 / ymn / ḥlf / tⁿ / d//--- -{ }{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 ..., Tlmy son of Ldn king of Lihyān*’.

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. *Typology*:: **dating formula**.

ḥls *q. Q.* *Etym*: ḥls. ḥls PN / b{n} // PN / ḥld / {s} // nt / ‘s²rn / tmn{y} // tlt / ‘ym / qbl // r^y / slḥn (JSLih 068) ‘PN son of PN was released for ever year twenty-{eight}, three days before the rising of the asterism slḥn*. ḥls / PN / bn // PN / ḥld / snt / ‘s²r//n / w ts^c / ‘s²r / ‘ym // ḥlf / fdg (JSLih 070/1–4) ‘PN son of PN was released forever* in the year 19, 10 days after fdg*’.

NOTE: Both inscriptions are found in relation to tombs cut out in the rock face. Possibly compare Aram. ḥlš ‘to strip, to remove (one’s garment)’ (CAL, 23-1-2019). Both the etymological and semantic relation are unsure however. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: **legal/funerary?**.

ḥlym *noun*. sincere; pure. *Etym*: ḥlm. PN PN PN // h-ḥlym (U 096) ‘PN PN PN the sincere*’.

NOTE: Following Abū l-Hasan’s interpretation ‘sincere, pure’ (Abū l-Hasan 1997, 346–347). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

ḥms *numeral, m.* five. *Etym*: ḥms. snt / ḥms // s²{h}r / {b}n / hn’s (AH 013/8–9) ‘year five of S²hr son of Hn’s*’. {ḡ}rsw / b-bdr / [w] b-bn’l / m//t / w ṛb’n / w ḥms / nḥl (U 023/4–5) ‘they planted at Bdr and at Bn’l hundred and forty-five palm trees*’. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 8. *Typology*:: **dating formula; zll**.

ḥrf *noun*. crops of the season of the first rains. *Etym*: ḥrf. ‘zll / b-khl // ‘ly / m-kn / l-h / b-d//t^cl / mn / dt^c / w ḥrf (U 059/2–4) ‘he performed the zll at Khl on behalf of what was his at D^cl of the crops of the season of the later rains and the crops of the season of the first rains*’. hzll // [l]dḡbt / b-khl // b[]d / ḥrf-h / b-bd[r] (U 041/2–4) ‘he performed the zll [for] dḡbt at Khl on behalf of his crops of the season of the first rains at Bdr*’.

NOTE: compare dt^c ‘seasonal crops of the later rains’ which are much more common in the zll inscriptions. Macdonald notes that ḥrf does not occur as a name for a season “either in Saf. or in modern bedouin usage”, and points to the seden-

tary use of *ḥrf* as autumn (Macdonald 1992, 3–4). Since, in the dry desert climate these would be the first rains after the dry period, and therefore a very welcome event, Macdonald proposes to translate it as signifying ‘the first rains’. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 2. Typology:: zll.*

ḥrg *noun.* lawsuit. *Etym:* *ḥrg. wdyw / nfs / mr / bn / ḥwt / m{h} // 'ḥd / 'l-hmy / ḥrg (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. *ḥrg* ‘to bring a lawsuit against so.’ (Beeston et al 1982, 62). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: legal.*

ḥrg *theonym.* *ḥrg.* *Etym:* *ḥrg. ḥggw / h---// l-ḥrg (AH 217/ 3–4)* ‘they performed the pilgrimage ... for *ḥrg***’. *ḥggw / h-nq / w ḥgnyw / b-bt-hm / l---//tn / l-ḥrg / w 'zlw / b-h-mšd / zll / h-[nq] // l-dḡbt{b} (AH 197/ 5–7)* ‘they performed the pilgrimage** of the nq and offered at their temple to ... * to *ḥrg* and they performed the zll ceremony** of the nq at the sanctuary for *dḡbt**’.

NOTE: Based on context. *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: dedicatory.*

ḥtn *noun.* male relative by marriage. *Etym:* *ḥtn. PN / bnt / PN // w {ḥ}tn-h / PN / 'zllw[/] l-dḡ/[bt] (U 075/ 1–3)* ‘PN daughter of PN and her relative law PN performed the zll for *dḡbt***’.

NOTE: Compare CAR. *ḥatan* ‘daughter’s husband’ (Lane, 704a); Aram. *ḥtn* (D-stem) ‘to become a son in law; to ally by marriage’ (CAL, 14-2-2018). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: zll.*

ḥṭ *verb, g, 3m.s.* to inscribe; to write. *Etym:* *ḥṭṭ. PN // ḥṭ / PN // snt / hs (JSLih 181)* ‘PN inscribed [for?] PN year Hs**’.

NOTE: See *ḥṭṭ* for the D-stem. Compare CAR. *ḥaṭṭa* ‘he made a line, a mark’ (Lane, 759b). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: graffiti.*

ḥṭṭ *verb, d, 3m.s.* to cut; to carve. *Etym:* *ḥṭṭ. PN ḥṭṭ 'dm 'dm (Nasif 1988: 92, pl. cXXXII)* ‘PN carved ‘dm ‘dm*’.

NOTE: See *ḥṭ* for the G-stem. Compare CAR. *ḥaṭṭa* ‘he made a line, a mark’ (Lane, 759b). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: graffiti.*

Ḥ – ḥ

ḥfr *personal name.* PN. *Etym:* *ḥfr. 'lwt/ ḥfr / hrs (JSTham 427)* ‘PN PN PN*’.

Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: graffiti.

NOTE: Translated as a verb ‘he engraved’ in OCIANA, it does not occur as a PN in the Dadanitic corpus, but *ḥfirt* os attested in Saf. as a personal name (Is.R 116). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: graffiti.*

ḥgg *verb, d, 3m.s.* to make a pilgrimage. *Etym:* *ḥgg. ḥgg / l-dḡb//t / b-h-mšd / w -- (AH 198/ 4–5)* ‘he performed the pilgrimage for *dḡbt*** at the sanctuary* and

...**. 3s.f.: **hgg**t. ---t / PN / bn / PN /d Tr//N / hgg / dġbt / f rd-h//m / w 'hrt-hm / w s'd-hm (AHUD 1/ 2-3) '... PN son of PN of the lineage of TrN performed the pilgrimage to dġbt so favor them and their posterity and aid them**. 3pl.: **hgg**w. hggw / dġ/[b][t][/] (Rabeler 001/ 3-4) 'they performed the pilgrimage to {dġbt}**.

NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥajja 'he performed the pilgrimage to the House [of God at Mekkeh]' (Lane, 513). *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: **hgg**: 1; **hgg**t: 1; **hgg**w: 9. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hggn *participle, m.pl.* being a pilgrim/making a pilgrimage. *Etym*: hgg. PN / w PN w PN // w PN / w PN // w PN / w P//N / hgg / f sm' / l-h{m} (JSLih 006) '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 hgg for the more common verbal form. *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hgt *noun.* pilgrimage. *Etym*: hgg. --- / hgt / {b}-khl / 'l-hm (AH 206/ 1) '... pilgrimage at Khl on behalf of them**. ---bt / hgt / 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 hgg for the more common verbal form. *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

hmm *noun.* decreed offering. wdyw / nfs / PN / bn / PN / m{h} // 'hd / 'l-hmy / hry / w h-dt' / ldy / d//t' / hmm / b-df' (JSLih 077/ 2-4) 'they set up the funerary monument of PN son of PN** [according to] what was placed upon them them as a lawsuit, and the crops of the season of the first 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory, legal?**.

hqwy *noun, du, cs.* two sides. *Etym*: hqw. PN / bn / PN / h-š//n' / d-TrN / t' / P//N / b-hqwy / 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**. wl / hmm / b-bt-h š{l}m / wl / slmn // b- hq[w]y / kfr / hmm (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 chastic structure).

NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥaqw 'waist; flank' also of a mountain (Lane: 613c). *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: **funerary**.

hrb *verb, q, 3m.s.* he waged war (on so). *Etym*: hrb. ---h / bn / PN / ḏh / hrb-hm --- (JSLih 055/ 2) 'son of PN when he waged war on them ...**.

NOTE: Compare CAR. ḥāraḇa-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. *Typology*:: narrative.

K – k

kbr *noun*. kabir, leader. *Etym*: kbr. *PN* / b[n] *PN* kbr // h-d't / s²t / hnš / w rb-h//m / *PN* / bn / *PN* / kb//ry / s²t / hnš (JSLih 072/1–4) 'PN son of PN kabir of the council* of the party of Hnš and their lord PN son of PN the two kabirs of the party of Hnš**'. *dual*:: kbry. *PN* / b[n] *PN* kbr // h-d't / s²t / hnš / w rb-h//m / *PN* / bn / *PN* / kb//ry / s²t / hnš (JSLih 072/1–4) 'PN son of PN kabir of the council* of the party of Hnš and their lord PN son of PN the two kabirs 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 'kabir, chief' e.g., RES 2742. *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: **kbr: 1; kbry: 1**. *Typology*:: narrative.

kfr *noun*. tomb. *Etym*: kfr. *PN* / bn / *PN* / h-š//n^c / d-TrN / ʔ / *PN* / b-ḥqwy / k//fr (JSLih 075/1–4) 'PN son of PN the artisan of the lineage of TrN represented PN on two sides of [the] tomb **'. *wdyw* / *nfs* / *PN* / bn / *PN* (JSLih 077/1–2) 'They set up the funerary monument for PN son of PN**'. *f-ʔrr* / h---/' {/} *mn* / ʔr / 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-wr^t-h / h-kfr / dh / kll-h (JSLih 045/1–2) 'PN son of PN PN built the tomb for him and his descendants, all of it**'.

NOTE: CAR. kafara 'he veiled, concealed, hid or covered the thing' (Lane, 2620b) and kafir 'earth or dust' "because it covers what is beneath it" and from that also 'a grave or sepulchre' (Lane, 2621b). Compare JSLih 257 'qfr', which is also translated as 'tomb' 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. The form kpr' is commonly found in Nabataean inscriptions with the meaning 'grave'. Healey suggested that the term entered Nabataean through 'Lihyanite' (Healey 1993, 69). For a discussion of the term in Nabataean inscriptions and its attestations in other Semitic languages see Abdelaziz and Rababeh (2008, 178). *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: funerary.

khf *noun*. cave, tomb. *Etym*: khf. *l-mḥhr* / h-khf (Umm Darağ 60) 'The cave* belongs to mḥr**'. *khf* / l-PN/b-'ly (JSLih 124) 'cave* of PN at 'ly**'. *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 Dadan**'.

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. Typology:: funerary?; royal funerary.*

khl *toponym. khl. Etym: khl. PN / slht / dġbt / ʔzllt // h-zll / b-khl / b'd / nhl-h / b-bn'l (AH 012/1-2) 'PN priestess of dġbt performed the zll ceremony at Khl on behalf of her palm trees at Bn'l**'.*

NOTE: Maria del Carmen Hidalgo-Chacon Diez has clearly shown that all attestations of the place Khl occur at al-ʿUḏayb (2014: 20-22), suggesting that it was the ancient name for this site, which was one of the two sites at which the zll inscriptions are found. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 78. Typology:: zll. Usage: ʔzll h-zll b-khl l-dġbt, ʔzll h-zll l-dġbt b-khl; he performed the zll ceremony at khl, he performed the zll ceremony for dġbt at khl.*

khlw *verb, g, 3m.pl. to be successful; to prosper. Etym: 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 succesful' (Beeston et al 1982, 77); OffAram. 'to be able' (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: graffiti.*

kl *quantitative. all, each, everything. Etym: kll. l-s²t' // 'l / k' / mn h-mq'd k // ll-h (JaL 161a/1-4) 'to the party of 'l'k'mn the seat, all of it**'. ʔhdw / h-mkn // w h-mq'd / dh / kll-h / mn / m' / n / h-gbl / hn'ly / 'dky // m{n} / h-gbl / hn'sf{l} (JSLih 072: 4-7) 'they took the place and the seat, 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 s'd-h / w ʔhrt-h // kll-h (U 010/3-5) 'So 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. Typology:: legal, dedicatory(?)*.

kn *verb, c, 3m.s. to be. Etym: kwn. ʔz // ll / l-dġbt // b-khl / b'd // d-kn / l-h / b-y // r (U 108/2-6) 'he performed the zll for dġbt at Khl on behalf of what was his at Yr**'. PN / slh // d{ġ}bt / ʔzll / b-khl // 'ly / m-kn / l-h / b-d // t 'l / mn / dt' / w hrf (U 059/1-4) 'PN priest of dġbt performed the zll at Khl on behalf of what was his at Dṭ' of the crops of the season of the later rains and the crops of the season of the first rains**'. PN / bn // PN / sl // h / dġb // t / ʔzll / 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 / ʔ{n} / yk{n} --- // l-h / {w}ld (AH 203/1-3) '... dġbt that there may be a son {for him}**'.* *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: kn: 25; ykn: 1. Typology:: zll; dedicatory. Usage: b'd dkn l-h; on behalf of that which was his.**

ktb *verb, g, 3m.s. to write. Etym: ktb. PN ktb-h / b-dh (JSLih 279) 'PN wrote it here**'.* *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: graffiti.*

L – l

- l-** *preposition.* for, to. *Etym:* l. ʔz//ll / l-dğbt // b-khl / b'd // d-kn / l-h / b-y//r (U 108/ 2–6) 'He performed the ʔll for dğbt at Khl on behalf of what was his at Yr**'. l-PN / h-khf (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, 209–210)). However, in Dadanitic it is rare. While in most of the other corpora the lam auctoris is left untranslated (Macdonald 2006, 294–295), 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. *Typology:* ʔll; **dedicatory; funerary; graffiti**. *Usage:* 'ʔll h-ʔll l-dğbt, b'd d-kn l-h; he performed the ʔll ceremony for dğbt, on behalf of that which was his.

ldy *preposition.* with. *Etym:* l + yd. wdyw / nfs / PN / bn / PN / m{h} // 'hđ / 'l-hmy / hrg / w h-dt' / ldy / d//t' / hmm / 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 lawsuit and the seasonal crops with the decreed offering of the seasonal crops at D'f**'.
 NOTE: See Lundberg (2015, 135) for a discussion of the preposition ldy. Compare CAR. ladā 'with, by, at' (Lisān). *Certainty:* **quite certain**. *Frequency:* 1. *Typology:* ʔll; **dedicatory; funerary; graffiti**.

- lh** *theonym.* Lh. *Etym:* lh. l-lh/ PN PN ' // gw / d'mn (AH 134) 'for Lh PN PN dedicated D'mn*'. ʔdq / l-l//h / {h}-šlmm // {f} rdy-h / w // {s} ʔ-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. *Typology:* **dedicatory**.

lqn *noun.* support. *Etym:* lqn. PN / bn / PN // 'rt-h h-lqn (Al-'Udayb 106) 'PN son of PN [for] his legacy the support/help*'.
 NOTE: Compare CAR. liqn 'support, help' (Hava, 685b). *Certainty:* **uncertain**. *Frequency:* 1. *Typology:* **graffiti**.

- lwh** *noun.* sandy depression. *Etym:* lwy. PN / w PN // byt / b-lwh / dld (Graf Abū al-Dibā' 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)'. *Certainty:* **uncertain**. *Frequency:* 1. *Typology:* **graffiti**.

M – m

mṯ *numeral*. hundred. *Etym*: mṯ. {ġ}rsw / b-bdr / [w] b-bnṯ / m//t / w ṛbṯn / w ḥms / nḥl (U 023/ 4–5) ‘They planted at Bdr and at Bnṯ hundred and forty-five palm trees**’. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

mṣ *preposition*. with. *Etym*: mṣ. fṯl/w / mṣ // ṽb-h//m / h-g//{}t (Al-Ḥuraybah n/ 1–6) ‘they made with their father the ...**’. qrb / h-šlm // l-dġbt / b-h-brḥt // brḥ / bt d-ṽly h-s²n//t / mṣ gbl / ddn / h-{}s²{}[n] (JSLih 041) ‘He offered the statue to Dġbt, with the honour [with which] the illustrious house of the lineage of ṽly is honoured in company with the {illustrious} lord of Ddn**’.

NOTE: compare CAR. maṣ ‘with’. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; legal?**.

mṯd *noun*. sanctuary, dwelling, abode. *Etym*: ṽwn. mn / mṯ//n / h-gbl / hn-ṽly / ṽdky // m{d} / h-gbl / hn-ṽs{f}l (JSLih 072/ 5–7) ‘from the sanctuary of the upper border up to the assembly place of the lower border (based on Lundberg 2015, 135)’.

NOTE: following the comparison made in Lundberg (2015) who compares mṯd to Heb. mwṯd ‘meeting place’ (HALOT, 557–558) from the root yṯd. He also references the CAR. form mawṯid ‘a covenant, compact’ and miṯād ‘a time and a place of promise, ... and of appointment’ (Lane, 2953a) from the cognate root wṯd (Lundberg 2015 nt. 37) *Certainty*:: **not completely certain**. *Frequency*:: 3. *Typology*:: **narrative; dedicatory**.

mṯn *noun*. sanctuary, dwelling, abode. *Etym*: ṽwn. mn / mṯ//n / h-gbl / hn-ṽly / ṽdky // m{d} / h-gbl / hn-ṽs{f}l (JSLih 072/ 5–7) ‘from the sanctuary of the upper border up to the assembly place of the lower border (based on Lundberg 2015, 135)’. ṽny // ysrġ [ṽ]ṽb-hm / w {m}ṽn-h[m] // w {m}ṽfr-h{m} / b-ms²hl (U 026/ 3–5) ‘See now that their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at Ms²hl**’.

NOTE: following the comparison made in Lundberg (2015): “Heb. mṯwn which occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls with the meaning ‘abode’ or as a reference to the temple or a dwelling place (TWQ II, 728–730). There is also an Akkadian noun māṽunnu with the meaning ‘dwelling’ which, according to von Soden, is derived from Canaanite māṽōn (AHW II, 637). In addition to this, there is an example of mṯwn meaning ‘temple’ in Punic (DNWSI, 668) and compare Aram. mṯwn (CAL, 16-2-2018).” (Lundberg 2015 nt. 37) *Certainty*:: **not completely certain**. *Frequency*:: 3. *Typology*:: **narrative; dedicatory**.

mṽr *noun*. cultivated land. *Etym*: mṽr. [ṽ]ṽny // ysrġ [ṽ]ṽb-hm / w {m}ṽn-h[m] // w {m}ṽfr-h{m} / b-ms²hl (U 026/ 3–5) ‘see now that their pasture may be beautified and their {abode} and their {cultivated} land at Ms²hl**’.

NOTE: see Stein (2007, 34) and Robin (1992). mṽr occurs in Sab. Haram. 8 (DASI),

where it is translated as 'agricultural land' (Kultur Land). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**.
Frequency:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

mg *noun*. Q. *Etym*: mgg. *hls* / PN *bn* // PN / *hld* / *snt* / 's²r/n / wts' / 's²r²ym // *hlf* / *fdg* / *w-b-mm* / 'ly / *mg-h* / *mn* / *h-hls* (JSLih 070/1-5) 'PN son of PN was released for ever, in the year 19, 10 days after *fdg* and by the oath against his expulsion/grain from the loan*. *wsqt* // 'mm *ḏh* // *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. *Typology*:: **legal?**; **dedicatory?**.

mgdl *noun*. tower, sanctuary. *Etym*: gdl. *h-qymh* / *mgdl* / *dḡbt* / (Müller, D.H. 1889: 63-64, no. 8) 'the caretakers of the tower of *dūgābat**.

NOTE: Compare Moab. *mgdl* 'tower' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 592). Aram. *mgdl* 'tower' (CAL, 08-01-2021). The French-Saudi survey of spring 2020 discovered another building/dedicatory inscription with the similar phrase *qymy mgdl dḡbt* to describe the dedicants at the beginning of the text. *mgdl* is attested once in a Minaic inscription from Dadan (M 315 = JSMin 010) *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 3. *Typology*:: **dedicatory, construction**.

mgmrt *noun*. incense burner. *Etym*: gmr. PN / *bn* // PN // 'dq / *h-m*//*gmrt* / *t*//*dḡbt* (*Private collection 2*) 'PN son of PN offered the incense burner to *dḡbt**.

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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

mh *relative/interrogative*. what. *Etym*: mh. *b'lsmn* / 'h²rm / *h-qrt* // *mn* / *mh* / *trqh* / *mr²t* // *t-bhny* / *hn-²fklt* // *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 'h²rm, *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* / *t-dḡbt* [t] // *b-bdr* / (AH 125/3-5) 'he performed the *zll* ceremony on behalf of what was his for *dḡbt* at *Bdr**.

NOTE: Compare CAR. *mā*, *mahmā* 'what, whatever'. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **mh**: 2; **m**: 3. *Typology*:: **narrative**; **legal**. *Usage*: m-kn / l-h; what was his.

mhgt *toponym*. Q. *Etym*: Q. 'zll // *h-zll* / *b-khl* [] *b'd* / *ml-h* // *b-mh*{g}t / *t-dḡbt* / (U 089/1-3) 'he performed the *zll* at *Khl* on behalf of his property at *Mhgt* for *dḡbt**.

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. *Typology::* zll.

mḥrw *noun*. incense burner. *Etym:* ḥrw. *fl / h-mḥr{w} // l-dḡbt* (Al-Ḥuraybah 06/2–3) ‘He made the incense burner* for dḡbt**’. *qr//bw / h-//mḥrw // l-dḡ//bt* (AH 209/4–8) ‘They dedicated the incense burner to dḡbt**’. *Variant: mḥry. w-hwdq / l-h / h-mḥry ----* (AH 288/3) ‘he offered to him 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). Compare Aram. mḥrn ‘incense altar’ on an Imperial Aramaic incense altar in the Taymā’ museum (TM.IA.017), first published in al-Theeb (1414/1993, 43–44). 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 mḥg. 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. Typology:: dedicatory.*

mkn *noun*. place. *Etym:* kwn. *’ḥḏw / h-mkn // w h-mq’d / dh / kll-h* (JSLih 072/4–7) ‘they took the place and this seat, all of it**’.

NOTE: Compare e.g. CAR. makān; Sab. mknt ‘agricultural estate’ (Beeston et al 1982, 80). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: narrative.*

mks²d *personal name?*. ks²d. *PN // bn PN // h-mt’ // nṭr / b-tlb / mks²d* (JSLih 007) ‘PN son of PN the protector guarded at Tbl Mks²d**’.

NOTE: The meaning is very uncertain. Most inscriptions with the verb nṭr are followed by a place name or a personal name functioning as a direct object. It may be that tlb mks²d is simply a personal name, even though mks²d does not occur as such in other Dadanitic inscriptions. Possibly compare CAR. kas²ad ‘who toils for his family’ (Steingass: 886). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: guarding.*

ml *noun*. property. *Etym:* mwl. *zll / b’d / ml / kn / [l-]h / b-bdr / l-dḡbt* (AH 120/4–6) ‘He performed the zll on behalf of property that was his at Bdr for dḡbt**’. *ḡw [/ 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. Typology:: zll; dedicatory.*

- mlk** *noun*. king. *Etyim*: mlk. *snt* / 's^2rn / *w ttn* --- *sb*^c / '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^* , 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 Dadan**’. *PN* / *mlk* *ddn* / f'l // *l-ṭhln* (Al-Sa'īd 2011.1) ‘PN king of Dadan made [it] for ṭhln**’. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 28. *Typology*:: **dating formula; graffiti; funerary; dedicatory**. *Usage*: *snt* X b-r'y Y PN bn PN mlk lhyn, *snt* X PN bn PN mlk lhyn; 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, agreement. *Etyim*: *wm'*. *w-b-mm'* / '//ly / *mq-h* / *mn* / *h-hls* (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, 1233b). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **legal**.
- mn** *relative pronoun*. who, whoever. *Etyim*: *mn*. *f mn y'rrh* // y'rh n'm // *dḡbt* // *w-ṭhln* (AH 289) ‘and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of property, *dḡbt* and *ṭhln* (Al-Jallad pc.)’ *f'rr* / *h*---// ' {*mn* / 'rr / *h-kfr* / *dh* (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'n / *yšbr* / *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. *Typology*:: **curse; legal**.
- mn** *preposition*. from, of. *Etyim*: *mn*. 'zll / *b-khl* // 'ly / *m-kn* / *l-h* / *b-d*// 'l / *mn* / *dt* / *w-lrf* (U 059/ 2–4) ‘he performed the *zll* at Khl on behalf of what was his at $\text{D't}^{\text{'l}}$ of the crops of the season of the later rains and the crops of the season of the first rains**’. 'zlt // *l-dḡ*[*b*]t / *b-kh*//*l* / *stt* / 's^2r / *m//n* / *snt* / *mt* / 'l //*h* (AH 064/ 2–6) ‘She performed the *zll* for *dḡbt* at Khl sixteen [times] according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her*’. *w-b-mm'* / '//ly / *mq-h* / *mn* / *h-hls* (JSLih 070/ 4–5) ‘and by the oath against his expulsion/grain from the loan*’. 'hdw / *h-mkn* // *w h-mq'd* / *dh* / *kll-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 seat, 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. *Typology*:: **zll; genealogy?; funerary/legal; narrative**.
- mnhh** *noun, pl.* minah, coins. *Etyim*: *mny*. 'gy / 's^2rt / *mnh*{*h*} / { ' }*y*{*dn* // {*w*} *mšhn* ' --- (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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.
- mq'd** *noun*. seat, throne. *Etyim*: *q'd*. 'hdw / *h-mkn* // *w h-mq'd* / *dh* / *kll-h* (JSLih 072/

4-5) 'they took the place and this seat all of it (Lundberg 2015, 135). *l-s²t* // 'l / k'//mn h-mq'd k//ll-h (JaL 161 a/1-4) 'the whole seat belongs to the party of '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. *Typology*:: narrative, legal?.

mqbr *noun*. tomb. *Etym*: qbr. PN {d-}TrN // 'hd 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. *Typology*:: funerary. *Etym*: qbr.

mqdr *noun*. cultic structure, part of a religious building. *Etym*: qdr. ---- // w /h-mqdr / w hn-'nk /---- // 'fqw (JSLih 054/3-4) '... the cultic structure and the door? they dedicated*'. ---- / h-mqdr / hn-'kbr // ---- (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999: 26-36, no. 3/2) '... the the biggest cultic structure ...*'.
NOTE: Compare Sabaic 'qdr, Sabaweb includes an uncertain meaning of 'qdr, from the root qdr as 'unspecified part of a building', based on its occurrence in broken context in CIH 633 bis/1-2. (accessed 14-07-2021). *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: dedicatory; funerary; construction.

mqm *noun*. place, abode. *Etym*: qwm. bnt / l-djbt // mqm / 'z}lt / b-bdr (Al-'Udayb 043/2-3) 'She built for djbt an abode [and] she performed the zll at Bdr** (OR the place of the zll)*'. ---- / 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, 864a); Heb. qōm 'to rise' (HALOT, 8302); Palm mqmw 'stead, place' (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: dedicatory; construction.

mr' *noun*. lord. *Etym*: mr'. ddn / h₁bt / m₁tb / w hwd't / 'dm / l-djbt / mr'//h (Al-Ḥuraybah 12/1-2) 'Dadan dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to djbt her 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 e.g. Sab. mr' 'lord/lady, overlord, suzerain, social superior' (Beeston et al. 1982, 87); CAR. mar' 'man, human being' (Lane, 2702c); Aram. mr' 'lord/fem. lady' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 682-684). *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: dedicatory.

mr't *noun, f.* woman. *Etym*: mr'. b'lsmn / 'h₁rm / h-qrt // mn / mh / trqh / 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' (see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of 'h₁rm, trq and bhny)'.
NOTE: Compare e.g. Sab. mr' 'lord/lady, overlord, suzerain, social superior' (Beeston et al. 1982, 87); CAR. mar' 'man, human being' (Lane, 2702c); Aram. mr' 'lord/fem. lady' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 682-684). *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: dedicatory.

mr't *noun, f.* woman. *Etym*: mr'. b'lsmn / 'h₁rm / h-qrt // mn / mh / trqh / 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' (see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of 'h₁rm, trq and bhny)'.
NOTE: Compare e.g. Sab. mr' 'lord/lady, overlord, suzerain, social superior' (Beeston et al. 1982, 87); CAR. mar' 'man, human being' (Lane, 2702c); Aram. mr' 'lord/fem. lady' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 682-684). *Certainty*:: certain. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: dedicatory.

NOTE: Compare e.g. Sab. *mr* 'lord/lady, overlord, suzerain, social superior' (Beeston et al. 1982, 87); CAR. *mar* 'man, human being' (Lane, 2702c); Aram. *mr* 'lord/fem. lady' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 682–684). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*::

1. *Typology*:: **narrative**.

mrbd *noun*. meadow. *Etym*: *rbđ*. *ʔll l-dğbt b'd mrbd-h b-d'mn* (AH 073/ 2–4) 'he performed the *ʔll* for *dğbt* on behalf of his field(?) at *D'mn***.

NOTE: Compare Sab. *mrbd* 'grazing ground' (Beeston et al 1982, 114). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **ʔll**.

mt *noun*. land, town. *Etym*: *mwt*. *ʔlt // l-dğ[b]t / b-kh//l / stt / ʕsʔr / m//n / snt / mt / ʔ-//h* (AH 064/ 2–6) 'She performed the *ʔll* for *dğbt* 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. *Typology*:: **ʔll; legal?**.

mt' *active participle, 3m.s.* protector. *Etym*: *mt'*. *PN // bn PN // h-mt' // ntr / b-tlb / mks²d* (JSLih 007) 'PN son of PN the protector guarded at *Tbl Mks²d***'. *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**. *Typology*:: **guarding**.

ms²hr *noun*. name of an asterism. *Etym*: *s²hr*. *b-ť'n / ms²hr / ʔd---* (JSLih 059/ 2) 'during the setting of the asterism *ms²hr ...**'.

NOTE: *b-ť'n* seems to indicate the opposite of *b-r'y*. Therefore *ms²hr* is probably an indication of the date, most likely based on a local star calendar. See Kootstra (2020) for a full discussion of the dating formula in Dadanitic. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dating formula**.

ms²h{l/r} *toponym (or asterism?)*. Q. *ny // ysg [ʔ] ʔb-hm / w {m} ʔn-h[m] // w {m} fr-h{m} / b-ms²hl* (U 026: 3–5) 'that their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at *Ms²hl*** (OR during (the visibility of) the asterism *Ms²hr*)*'.

NOTE: May be compared to *ms²hr*, 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 Dièz (2014, 19–20) for a discussion of *ms²hl* as a place name and its occurrence in the Dadanitic corpus. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **ʔll**.

mşđ *noun*. sanctuary. *Etym*: *şđd*. *hgg / l-dğb//t / b-h-mşđ* (AH 198/ 4–5) 'he performed the pilgrimage for *dğbt*** at the sanctuary (Lundberg 2015: 136). *ʔltw / h-ʔll / b-//h-mşđ* (AH 244/3–4) 'they performed the *ʔll* ceremony** at the sanctuary

(Lundberg 2015: 136). *ḡw / h-zll / b-{\m}š//d / hmq / tr{k}----* (AH 202/ 1-2) 'he dedicated the zll** 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 məšōdāh '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-'Udayb (see Maria del Carmen Hidalgo-Chacon Diez 2014: 20-22). Note that the remains of a temple have been found at Umm Daraj (Abū l-Ḥasan, 2001: 97-99), which may have been the sanctuary the inscriptions refer to, as suggested by Abū l-Hasan 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-šmd 'the Lord' in OCIANA but the photograph shows it says mšd instead (accessed 14-07-2021). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 21. Typology:: dedicatory; zll. Usage:* ḡgg b-h-mšd; he performed the pilgrimage at the sanctuary.

mtb *noun.* throne; seat. *Etym:* wtb. *ddn / htbt / mtb / w hwd't / 'dm / l-dqbt / mr' / -h* (Al-Ḥuraybah 12/ 1-2) 'Dadan dedicated the throne and offered the wheat(?) to dqbt her lord*'. ---*tlh / b-mtb / b-{\t}'n / šd / d----* (JSLih 055/ 3) '... at throne(?) during the setting of the asterism šd ...*'.
 NOTE: Compare Aram. ytb 'to sit, to dwell, to stay, remain' and mittōb 'seat' (CAL, 16-2-2018). Sab. mwtb 'throne' (Sabaweb, accessed 14-07-2021). The 'seat' may have been comparable in function to the ritual couches mentioned in Nab. inscriptions rb't (Nehmé 2003, 24-25). *Certainty:: quite certain. Frequency:: 2. Typology:: dedicatory; legal?*

mtbr *noun.* field, grave. *Etym:* tbr. *l-PN / bn / PN / h-mtbr* (JSLih 012) 'for PN son of PN is the grave**/field*'. *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*'. *l-PN / h-mtbr // w h-mtbr / 'ly / h-qrt* (JSLih 366) 'the grave**/field* is for PN and the grave**/field* is above the village*'. *l-PN / bn / PN // 'mtbr* (Ġabal Itlib 07) 'the grave**/field* is for PN son of PN'. *dual:: mtbrn. w-'hd / h-mtbrn* (JSLih 045/3) 'and he took the two grave chambers**/fields*'.
 NOTE: tbr in CAR. means 'to confine, hold back' tuḥbūr 'going astray, destruction', possibly a field or chamber, from the sense of a defined or restricted area. Dadanitic-internally it may be related to tbrt 'grain' and indicate an agricultural field. Note that none of the inscriptions is clearly linked to a grave or tomb. The inscriptions that seem to lay a claim on a mtbr (l-PN h-mtbr and 'hd h-mtbr) may be compared to the Nab. practice of leaving an inscription to lay

claim to a tomb or a part of a rockface for a future tomb (Nehmé 2015, 1: texte: 105). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: **mṭbr: 8; mṭbrn: 1**. *Typology*:: **legal?; funerary?**.

mṭl *verb, g, 3m.s. to copy. Etym: mṭl. PN PN bn PN tqṭ w mṭl (JSLih 339) 'PN PN son of PN inscribed and copied*'*.

NOTE: Compare e.g. CAR. mṭl (noun) 'a like, a match, a resemblance, an equivalent' (Lane (Supplement) 3017c). 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**. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

mṭlt *noun. substitute. Etym: mṭl. PN // 'fkl / w//d / w-bn-h // PN / w P//N / hw//dqw / h-ḡ//lm / PN / h-//[m]ṭlt / l-//ḡḡbt (JSLih 049/ 1-9) 'PN priest of Wadd and his two sons PN and PN offered** the boy* PN as the substitute to ḡḡbt**'. --- // h-ṣyḡ / h//wdq / h-m//ṭlt / l-d//ḡḡbt (Al-Ḥuraybah 14/ 1-4) '... the smith dedicated the substitute to ḡḡbt**'*.

NOTE: Compare Sab. mṭl 'similar in status to someone' (Beeston at al 1982, 88); CAR. mṭl 'a like, a similar thing, a match, a fellow' (Lane (Supplement) 3017c). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: **2**. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

mṭr *personal name. mṭr. Etym: mṭr. PN / w PN w // PN w PN w PN //w PN / ḥwyn mṭr // b-{\underline{d}}wh / ymn (Graf Abū al-Ḍibā' 2) 'PN and PN and PN and PN and PN and PN PN PN [were] at {\underline{d}wh} 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 is attested in Dadanitic as a PN (AH 200). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: **1**. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

N – n

n'm *noun. livestock; property; grace. Etym: n'm. 'zlt / 'zll//l / l-ḡḡbt // b'd / n'm-h / b-//bn'l (AH 074/ 2-5) 'She performed the zll ceremony for ḡḡbt on behalf of her property/livestock at Bn'l*'. 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 Dadan and may he become abundant in property/divine grace by means of him, Na'rgadd*'. f-mn y'rrh // y'rh n'm // ḡḡbt // w-ṭḥln (AH 289) 'and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of property/grace, ḡḡbt and ṭḥln (Al-Jallad pc.)'pl.: 'n'm. ḡy / s'2rt / 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, 775a). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: **n'm: 7; n'm: 1**. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; zll; funerary, curse**.

ndr *verb, g, 3m.s. to vow. Etym: ndr. 'fy / h-z//ll / hmd / ndr / ')/b-h / l-ḡḡbt / b-h-//mṣd (Private collection 1/ 2-5) 'He fulfilled* the zll ceremony according to that which*

his father vowed to *dġbt*** at the sanctuary*. 3s.f.: **ndrt**. *PN / bnt // PN / slht // dġbt /'//zlt / h-zll // l-dġbt / b-k//hl / hmd / ndr* (AH 013/ 1-6) 'PN daughter of PN priestess of *dġbt* performed the *zll* for *dġbt* at Khl according to that which she vowed**'. *act part*:: **ndr**. *'zll / h-zll//l / ndr / b'd / h-dr//t* (U 003/ 2-4) 'He performed the *zll* ceremony vowed on behalf of the fields*.'

NOTE: Compare CAR. *naġara* 'alā nafsi-hī 'he imposed upon himself a vow' (Lane, 2781c). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **ndr**: 8; **ndrt**: 2; **ndr** (act. part.): 3. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**; **zll**. *Usage*: *hmd ndr PN*; according to what PN vowed.

nfs *reflexive pronoun*. self. *Etym*: *nfs. 'zll / h-zll / ndr // b'd / d{t}'-h / w nfs//h* (U 021/ 1-4) 'He performed the *zll* ceremony vowed on behalf of his seasonal crops* and himself**'.

NOTE: Compare e.g. CAR. *ra'aytu nafsi* 'I saw myself' (Fischer 2002, 145). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **zll**.

nfs *noun*. funerary monument. *Etym*: *nfs. wdyw / nfs / PN / bn / PN / m{h} // 'hd / 'l-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 lawsuit*. *nfs / PN / bn // PN / 'lt / 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. *Typology*:: **funerary**.

nhl *noun*. palm tree. *Etym*: *nhl. 'zll / h-zll // {b-}khl / l-dġ//bt / b'd / {n}hl-h // w-dt'-h b-bdr* (U 058) 'He performed the *zll* ceremony at Khl for *dġbt* on behalf of his palm trees and his crops of the season of the later rains at Bdr**'. *pl*:: 'n^{hl}. *'zll // l-dġbt / b-khl // b'd / 'n^{hl}-h // w-dt'-h / b-bdr* (Al-Udayb 071/ 2-5) 'He performed the *zll* for *dġbt* 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, 1109b). In most inscriptions the *nhl* is used collectively. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **n^{hl}**: 39; **n^{hl}**: 2. *Typology*:: **zll**; **dedicatory**. *Usage*: *b'd nhl-h b-TN*; on behalf of his palm trees at TN.

nhs *noun*. bronze object. *Etym*: *nhs. PN // PN // 'rr / b---l // 'rr/h-nhs//dh* (JSLih 269) 'PN PN dishonor ... the one who mistreats** this bronze [object]*'.

NOTE: Compare OffAram. *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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**. **nhs** · *noun*. *'dqw / w qr//bw / h-šlm / h-nhs / l-/dġbt / w-slh / s[l]//t / 'slht* (Al-Ḥuraybah 09/ 3-6) 'They dedicated and offered the bronze statue to *dġbt* and sent tax coins(?)*.'

nht *verb, g, 3m.s.* to cut. *Etym*: *nht. PN / h-šn' / 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

nq *noun*. *noun*. *Etym*: Q. *ḥggw / h-nq / w-ḥgnyw / b-bt-hm / l----* (AH 197/5) ‘performed the pilgrimage** of the Nq and made an offering at their temple for ...*’. *hʒll / ʒll / h-nq / l-dǰ[b]t / fr/d-h* (Al-‘Udayb 014/ 2–3) ‘He performed the ʒll** of the nq* for dǰbt so 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 ʒll ritual remains unclear. It is most commonly used to modify the ʒll that is mentioned or by itself following a dedicatory verb. OCIANA reads s²qn in AH 287 and translates it as ‘the two clefts’. The inscription is crudely made, but the letter read in OCIANA as s² seem to have a similar shape as the -n at the end of the same word. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: **nq: 14; nqn: 1**. *Typology*:: **ʒll; dedicatory**. *Usage*: ‘ʒll ʒll h-nq; he performed the ʒll of the nq.

nšb *verb, g, 3m.s.* to set up a cult stone. *Etym*: nšb. *PN / nšb wasm h-yd wqt* (JaL 152) ‘PN set up a cult stone and inscribed the arm*’. *PN / PN / PN / h’ / nšb / ----/h / [l-]‘trǰth / qbl / PN / ----* (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. 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; graffiti**.

nṯr *verb, g, 3m.s.* to guard. *Etym*: nṯr. *PN bn PN // nṯr ddn* (AH 312) ‘PN son of PN guarded Dadan**’. *Variant*: **nṯr**. *nṯr ddn // PN* (AH 328) ‘PN guarded Dadan**’. *PN h-ṯm//dy nṯr* (AH 325) ‘PN the ṯm dy guarded**’.

NOTE: Compare e.g. Aram. nṯr ‘to watch over, to guard’ (CAL, 14-07-2021); 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**. *Typology*:: **guarding; graffiti**. *Usage*: *PN bn PN nṯr ddn*; PN son of PN guarded Dadan.

Q – q

qbl *preposition*. before. *Etym*: qbl. *snt / ‘s²rn / w ṯtn ---- sb’ / ‘ym / qb//l / r’y / d’sl’n / hn’s / bn / tlmy / m//lk / ḥyn* (AH 244/ 6–8) ‘year twenty-{two} ... seven days before the rising of the asterism d’sl’n, Hn’s son of Tlmy king of Liḥyān*’. *PN / ‘bd / PN / h’ / nšb / ----/h / [l-]‘trǰth / 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. Typology:: dating formula; dedicatory.*

qbr *noun.* tomb. *Etym:* 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 'ḥd 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. Typology:: funerary.*

qdst *noun.* sacred offering. *Etym:* 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. Typology:: dedicatory.*

qnt *noun.* female servant. *Etym:* 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, 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'. If the final -h represents the shift of -at# > -ah, it may be compared to the same sound change in the language of the author of JSLih 384. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: qnt: 4; qnh: 1. Typology:: graffiti.*

qrb *verb, d, 3m.s.* to offer, dedicate (lit. bring close). *qrb / h-šlm // l-dğbt (JSLih 041/2-3)* 'He dedicated the statue to Dğbt**'. *3pl.: qrbw. qr//bw / h-//mḥrw // l-dğ//bt (AH 209/4-8)* 'They dedicated the incense burner to dğbt**'. *'dqw / w qr//bw / h-šlm / h-nḥs / l-//dğbt (Al-Huraybah 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, 577b). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: qrb: 1; qrbw: 2. Typology:: dedicatory.*

qrt *noun.* village, settlement. *Etym:* qry. *s²rfw / b-h-{q}rt (AH 300/6)* 'They were about to reach the village*'. *b'lsmn / 'ḥrm / h-qrt (JSLih 064)* 'b'lsmn protected the village* (see Lundberg 2015, 134 for the interpretation of 'ḥrm). *{ }bdhny // tqṭ // 'ly // qrt (JSLih 182)* 'PN wrote* on a boulder** OR PN wrote on behalf of PN*. *l-PN / h-mtbr // w h-mtbr // 'ly / h-qrt (JSLih 366)* 'the field is for PN and the field is above the village*'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. qariyah 'village' (Hava, 595b); Aram. qryh 'town, village' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 1033–1034). 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. *Typology*:: narrative; graffiti; legal.

qsm *noun*, oracle priest. *Etym*: qsm. *PN* / *h-qsm* (*U*100) 'PN the oracle priest**'.

NOTE: Compare Sab. mqsm 'oracle' and the causative verb of the same root hqsm 'to obtain an oracle' (Sabaweb, 02-09-2021) AH 218 probably contains a plural verbal form ---qsmw, but as the letters preceding the q are missing, it is impossible to determine what the exact formation of the verb would be. In many of the attestations hqsm can be interpreted as a PN. In AH 218 hqsm seems to be attested as a PN, directly preceding bn 'son of'. This casts some doubt on whether the other attestations should be interpreted as a title or a PN. It is not uncommon in Dadanitic inscriptions to mention someone's patronym directly following the PN. However, there are two persons with hqsm and two with hnfy as their PN in AH 218. Each with a different patronym, making an interpretation of hqsm and hnfy as titles not impossible here. AH 303 and Nasif 1988: 96, pl. CXLVI; Ġabal al-Zuhrah 07 contain hqsm clearly as patronym following bn 'son of'. *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: 3. *Typology*:: graffiti, dedicatory.

qsmw *verb*, *g*, 3*m* pl. Q. *Etym*: qsm. ---qsmw / *gbl* / *d[d][n]* --- (AH 218/4) '... they ??? the border/lord of Dadan ...** (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 Dadan'? *Certainty*:: uncertain, broken context. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: Q.

qt *verb*, *g*, 3*m*.s. to cut. *Etym*: qtt. *PN* / *nšb wasm h-yd w-qt* (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. *Typology*:: graffiti.

qymh *noun*, *m*.*du*. caretakers (du.) *Etym*: qym. [---]//*hqymh* / *mgdl* / *dḡbt* / *bnyw* / *bt* / *h-šn*--- // *l-dḡbt* (Müller, D.H. 1889: 63–64, no. 8/1–2) '... the caretakers of the tower of dḡbt built the temple of the [statue] for dḡbt*'. *PN*--- / *bn* / *PN* ---[*h*]//*qymh* / *n'm* / *dḡbt* / ---// (JSLih 054/1–2) 'PN son of PN ... caretakers of the property (treasury?) of dḡbt...*'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. qiyam 'superintendent, guardian' (Steingass, 1993, 867b). *Certainty*:: uncertain. *Frequency*:: 2?. *Typology*:: dedicatory; construction.

R – r

r'y *noun*. rising/appearance of an asterism. *Etym*: r'y. {s}//nt / 's²rn / tmn{y} // tlt / 'ym / qbl // r'y / slhn (JSLih 068/2–5) 'year twenty-{eight}, three days before** the rising of the asterism slhn*. sn[t] / tlt'n / w hm//s 35 / b-r'y / [m]n'y / ldn / b//n / hn's / mlk / l hyn (JSLih 082/4–6) 'year thirty-five 35 during** the rising of the asterism mn'y Ldn son of Hn's king of Lihyān*.

NOTE: compare to the usage in Saf. tlg 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 in the Safaitic inscriptions see Al-Jallad (2014; 2016) for a discussion of this dating formula in Dadanitic see Kootstra (2020). *Certainty*:: **semantic domain is certain**. *Frequency*:: 19. *Typology*:: **dating formula**. *Usage*: snt X b-r'y Y PN bn PN mlk Lhyn; year X during the rising of Y [in the era of] PN son of PN king of Lihyān.

r' *noun*. livestock or pasture. *Etym*: r'y. ----{h}y / 'qd / h-r' / f//---- (AH 239/3) '... the produce of the livestock {so} ...*'. ----m / ym / sthbl / 'qd / h-r' / frd-hm / w //---- (Al-Sa'īd 1420/1999:3–14, no. 1/4) '... [the] day he pledged the produce of the livestock so 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

r'y *verb, g, 3m.s.* to pasture (livestock). *Etym*: 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'. In parallel with other Dadanitic inscriptions that mention the occupation of the author, the noun should have a definite article preceding it for such an interpretation. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 2. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

rb *noun*. lord. *Etym*: rbb. f rđ-hm // w rb-hm / PN w //qnt / PN (U 063/5–7) 'so favor them and their lord PN** and the maid servant of PN*'. l-PN / w l-rb-hmy (AH 295/1–2) 'for* PN and for their (du.) lord**'. PN / b[n] PN kbr // h-d't / s²t / TrN / w rb-h//m / PN / bn / PN / kb//ry / s²t / TrN (JSLih 072/1–4) 'PN son of PN kabir of the council* of the party of TrN and their lord PN son of PN the two kabirs of the party of TrN**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. rabb 'a lord, a possessor, an owner' (Lane 1003b). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; graffiti**.

rđy *verb, d, 3m.s.* to favor so. *Etym*: rđw. f rđy-hm / w 'hrt-hm / w s'd-hm (AH 197/7) 'so may he favor them and their posterity and aid them**'. PN / P//N / rđy (JaL 119 b) 'PN PN bestowed a favor(?)*'. *Variant*: rđ. f rđ-h / w 'hr[t]-h // w 'tb-h / PN / bn / PN (U 038/3–4) 'so favor him and his posterity and reward him, PN son of PN**'.

3s.f.: **rdyt**. *f rdyt-h / w ḥrt-h* ---- (AH 288/4) 'so may she favor him and his posterity ...**'. 3s.f.: **rdt**. *f rdt / w ḥr[t]*----/(Tall al-Kaṭīb, no. 1/2) 'so may she favor [him] and [his] posterity ...*'. *f rdt-h / {h}*---- (JSLih 036/2) 'so may she favor him ...**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. raḏḏiya 'he made him to be pleased, content or satisfied' (Lane 1099c). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **rdy**: 29; **rd**: 224; **rdyt**:1; **rdt**: 2. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**; **zll**; **blessing formula**; **graffiti**. *Usage*: f rḏ-h w s'd-h w ḥrt-h; So favor him and aid him and his posterity.

rhḏ *verb, q, 3m.s.* to favor so. *Etym*: rḏw. *PN / bn / PN / ḏll // l-ḏḡbt / 'ly / d-kn // l-h / b-bdr / f rhḏ-h* (AH 075) 'PN son of PN performed the zll for ḏḡbt on behalf of that which was his at Bdr so favor him**'.

NOTE: This is probably a writing error for the common blessing formula f rḏ-h (see rḏ). There is some damage, or a previous inscription on the rock around rhḏ. This may explain why the author got confused. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **blessing formula**.

rs *personal name*. *PN*. *Etym*: Q. *twt / 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 Dadanitic 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. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

S – s

s'd *verb, g, 3m.s.* to aid. *Etym*: s'd. *f r{s}d-h / w {s}'//d-h* (U 050/4-5) 'so 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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**; **blessing formula**. *Usage*: f rḏ-h w ḥrt-h w s'd-h; so favor him and his posterity and aid him.

sb' *numeral*. seven. *Etym*: sb'. ---- *sb' / ḡm / qb//l / rḡy / d'sl'n / hn's / bn / tlmy / m//lk / lhyn* (AH 244/6-8) '... seven days before** the rising of the asterism d'sl'n* (during the reign of) Hn's son of Tlmy king of Liḥyān**'. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 7. *Typology*:: **dating formula**.

sfr *noun*. inscription; writing. *Etym*: sfr. *PN / bn / PN / d-TrN / f 'rr / ḏḡbt / 'rr / ḏ-sfr / dh* (JSLih 276) 'PN son of PN of the lineage of TrN so may ḏḡbt dishonor the one who mistreats this inscription**'. *f 'rr // ḏḡbt / 'r/r / h-sfr / dh* (JaL 161 a/4-6) 'so may ḏḡbt dishonor the the one who mistreats this inscription**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. sifr 'a book, or writing' (Lane, 1371a). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 6. *Typology*:: **curse**; **graffiti**. *Usage*: f 'rr ḏḡbt 'rr h-sfr dh.

sfr *active participle, m.s.* writer; written. *Etym:* sfr. *PN* / *b*/[*n*] ---- *h-ṣn*^c / *w-PN* / *bn* // ---- *s'bt* / *h-sfr* (*JSLih* 082/ 6-9) 'PN {son of} ... the artisan** and PN son of ... PN the writer*'. *m----**r----* / *bn* // {*h-*}/*sfr* / *w-PN* / *h-ṣn*^c (*AH* 220/ 6-7) '... son of PN the writer* and PN the artisan**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. *sāfir* 'a writer, a scribe' (Lane 1371c). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 2. Typology:: dedicatory; title.*

sfr *verb, g, 3m.s.* to write. *Etym:* sfr. *PN* // *sfr* / *l-PN* // *bnt* / *PN* (*Ġabal Itlib* 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. Typology:: graffiti.*

slmn *noun.* security or theonym. *Etym:* slm. *wl* / *ḥmm* / *b-bt-h* ṣ{*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/tomb* (J. Lundberg (pc.) proposed to interpret this section as a chiasmic structure)'. *PN* / *bnt* // *dd* / *nd*[*r*]*t* / *b'd* *bn*/t-*h* *qn* / *bnt* *ḥtl* // *l-slmn* / *hm-d* *nd* /*rt* 'l-*h* / 'm-*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. Typology:: dedicatory; legal?.*

sl't *noun, pl(?)*. coins. *Etym:* sl'. *ḏqw* / *w qr*//*bw* / *h-ṣlm* / *h-nḥs* / *l-*//*dḡbt* / *w slḥ* / *s*[*l*]//*t* / 'slḥt (*Al-Huraybah* 09/ 3-6) 'they dedicated and offered the bronze statue to dḡbt and sent the sent coins(?)*'. *ḡy* / 's²*rt* / *mnh*{*h*} / {'}{*y*}*dn* // {*w*}-*m**ṣhn* '---- 'ly / {*m*}*zny* / *b-* *rb'n* {*l*} *sl't*---- *mn* / 'n{*m*} // *fkw*{*y*} (*JSLih* 177/ 1-3) 'he dedicated ten minah also and ??? on behalf of ??? with forty coins ... [worth] of cattle ???*'. ---- *bndw* / 'ḥd-*hm* / *b-sl't*---- (*JaL* 001) '... one of them with coins ...*'.

NOTE: Compare Sab. *sl'* 'coin' (Beeston, 126). Heb, Palm JAR. *sl'* 'certain coin (drachm in Nab., tetradrachm in Heb. and JAr.)' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 788). *Certainty:: not quite certain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: dedicatory.*

slḥ *noun.* priest. *Etym:* slḥ. *PN* / *slḥ* / *dḡ*//*bt* / 'zll (*Al-Uḏayb* 132/ 1-2) 'PN priest of dḡbt performed the zll**'. ----] // *PN* / *PN* / {*s*}/*lh* / *dḡb*//*t* / 'dq / *l-l*//*h* / {*h*}-*slmn* (*JSLih* 061/ 1-4) '... PN PN priest of dḡbt offered to Lh* the two statues**'. *feminine:: slḥt*. *PN* / *bn* / *PN* / *w-*//*PN* / *slḥt* // *dḡbt* / 'zlh / *h-zl*//*l* / *l-dḡbt* / *b-kh*//*l* (*U* 019/ 1-5) 'PN son of PN and PN priestess of dḡbt performed the zll ceremony for dḡbt at Kh1**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. *sillih* 'Apostle' (Have, 322b); Aram. *šlh* 'to send' (CAL, 16-2-2018). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: slḥ: 25; slḥt: 9. Typology:: genealogy; title; zll; dedicatory. Usage:* PN bn PN slḥ dḡbt; PN son of PN priest of dḡbt.

slḥ *verb, g, 3m.s.* to send. *Etym:* slḥ. *w-slḥ* / *s*[*l*]//*t* / 'slḥt / (*Al-Huraybah* 09/ 5-6) 'and he sent the sent coins(?)*'.

NOTE: Compare Heb. and OffAram. šlh 'to send' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 1137–1138). OCIANA translates this phrase as: 'and he collected the representative taxes'. *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory.*

sm' *verb, g, 3m.s.* to listen, to hear. *Etym:* sm'. PN / w PN w PN // w PN / w PN // w PN / w PN // hggN // f-sm' / l-h{m} (JSLih 006) 'PN and PN and PN and PN and PN and PN are performing a pilgrimage* so may he (the deity) listen to them**'. PN // bn / PN // 'zll / ' / f rd-h / w sm' / l-{l} // hy / n{h}l / b- d'mn (U 066) 'PN son of PN performed the zll so may he favor him and listen to lhy* palm trees at D'mn**'.

NOTE: see ysm' for the PC. Compare CAR. sami'a aš-šay' 'he heard or listened to the thing' (Lane 1427b). See Sima (1999, 112–113) for a comparison of the f sm' l-h formula to the inscriptions from Qaryat al-Faw. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 2. Typology:: dedicatory; blessing formula. Usage:* sm' l-X; listen to so.

snt *noun.* custom. *Etym:* snn. PN / bnt // PN / 'zlt // l-dg{b}t / b-kh // l / stt / 's²r / m // n / snt / mt / l // h / (AH 064/1–6) 'PN daughter of PN performed the zll for dgbt 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. Typology:: dedication.*

snt *noun.* year. *Etym:* snt. 'mr // b-l-hgr / w s²[d] // snt / mn'dy / s // fy (JSLih 071/4–7) 'he was amir in al-Higr and {stood out} for a year against the aggression of Sfy**'. f rd-h // w 'hrt-h / snt / 'rb'n / w ' < h > d // y / hn's / mlk / lhyn (AH 202/2–4) 'so favor him and his posterity year forty-one of Hn's king of Lihyān**'. f rd-h // m / w 'hrt-hm / w s'd-hm / snt // tltN / b-r'y / 'tdn / ldn / bn // hn's / mlk / lhyn (AHUD 1/2–5) 'so favor them and their posterity and aid them year thirty during the rising of the asterism 'tdn, Ldn son of Hn's king of Lihyān*. *pl.:: snn. f hfr // hlmfl / d // l-tlt // snn (JSLih 071/7–10) 'and he subsequently acted as caravan guard in these desert areas** for three years (Lundberg 2015, 129)'.*

NOTE: See r'y for the extended dating formula. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: snt: 41; snn: 1. Typology:: dating formula. Usage:* snt X PN bn PN mlk lhyn, snt X b-r'y Y PN bn PN mlk lhyn; year X of PN son of PN king of Lihyān, year X during the rising of the asterism Y (in the era of) PN son PN king of Lihyān.

srq *verb, g, 3m.s.* to steal. *Etym:* srq. ---rs / mn / srqt / 'ym--- // --- {m}n / srq / f 'n / yšbr / b-m-h / sr[q]--- (Al-Huraybah 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. saraq min-hu mālan 'he stole from him property' (Lane, 1352a). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: legal.*

srq *noun.* thief. *Etym:* srq. ---h-srqt / ytb / h-srq / 'w / y --- // ---bh (Al-Huraybah 17/6–7) '... the theft/stolen goods acquit the thief** or ...*'.

NOTE: Compare Sab. *srq* 'to steal' (Beeston et al. 1982: 128); CAR. *saraqa min-hu mālan* 'he stole from him property' (Lane, 1352a). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: legal.*

srqt *noun*, theft/stolen goods. *Etym:* *srq*. ----*rs* / *mn* / *srqt* / *ʿym*---- // ----{*m*}*n* / *srq* / *f* *ʾn* / *yšbr* / *b-m-h* / *sr*[*q*]---- // ----{*d*}*n* / *thd-h* / *kll-h* / *f htm* ---- // ----*h-srq* / *yṯb* / *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. *saraqa min-hu mālan* 'he stole from him property' (Lane, 1352a). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: legal.*

st *numeral*, *m. six*. *Etym:* *st*. ---- *snt st hn's* // *mlk ḥyn* (*AH* 222/5-6) '... year six of Hn's king of Liḥyān**'. / *snt* / *st* / *w* *ʿs²r* ---- // ----*n* / *hn's* / *mlk* / *ḥyn* (*Nasif* 1988: 99, *pl. CLVII/5-6*) '... year sixteen ... [son of] Hn's king of Liḥyān ...**'. *feminine:: stt. PN/bnt* // *PN* / *zlt* // *l-dj[b]t* / *b-kh/l* / *stt* / *ʿs²r* / *m/n* / *snt* / *mt* / *ʿl/h* (*AH* 064/2-6) 'PN daughter of PN performed the *zll* for *djbt* at Khl sixteen [times]** according to the custom of the land [placed] upon her*'. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: st: 2; stt: 1. Typology:: dating formula.*

sthbl *verb, st, 3m.s.* to pledge. *Etym:* *hbl*. ----*m* / *ym* / *sthbl* / *ʿqd* / *h-r'* / *f-rd-hm* / *w*//---- (*Al-Saʿīd* 1420/1999: 3-14, *no. 1/4*) '... [the] day he pledged the dedication/produce of the livestock so favor them and ...*'.
NOTE: Compare Aram. *hbl* 'to take as a pledge' (*CAL*, 16-2-2018); Sab. *hbl* '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. Typology:: dedicatory.*

stn *numeral*, *sixty*. *Etym:* *st*. [*s*]*nt* / *stn* (*Müller, D.H.* 1889: 77-78, *no. 28/4*) 'year sixty**'. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dating formula.*

stṯr *verb, t-infix, 3m.s.* to write. *Etym:* *stṯr*. ---- *stṯr* / *b-mšd* ---- (*AH* 207) 'he wrote at the sanctuary*'.
NOTE: Compare MMin. *stṯr* (M335 and M 370) and Ḥad. (Qāni' 4) (*DASI*, 22-2-2018). Compare CAR. *saṯara* 'he wrote; he ruled a book' (Lane, 1375c). In Nab. texts the noun *šṯr* is used with the meaning 'decree' (compare Akk. *šaṯaru* '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. Typology:: graffiti.*

sṯ *verb, g, 3m.s.* to portion, dedicate. *Etym:* *syṯ. PN* / *w sṯ-h* / *sṯ//ʾn PN* // *ʿgw-h* / {*z*}*nfss* (*Al-Uḍayb* 075/1-3) 'PN and he dedicated it, a portion for PN his dedication ???*'.
NOTE: Compare CAR. *sawṯ* 'a portion or share' (Lane 1467a) and *sawṯ* 'a remaining portion (of water)' (Lane 1467b); Sab. *syṯ* 'rainwater cistern' (Beeston et al 1982, 130). The second *sṯ* in *Al-Uḍayb* 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 *sṭ*. See also *sṭsṭ*. There seems to be one attestation of an unpublished inscription with what seems to be a reduplicated verb *sṭsṭ l-dğbt* (Ahmad Al-Jallad pc.) *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **dedicatory?**

sṭ *noun*. portion. *Etym*: *swṭ*. *PN* // *PN* / *w-sṭ* // *d'mn* / *hggw* // *dğbt* / *b-khl* (U 063/1-4) 'PN PN and [on behalf of??] the portion of D'mn* they performed the pilgrimage to dğbt at Khl**'. *PN* / *w sṭ-h* / *sṭ* // 'n *PN* // 'gw-h / {z}nfss // *w hggw* / *dğbt* // *b-khl* (*Al-Uḏayb* 075/1-5) 'PN and he dedicated it, a portion for PN his dedication ???* and they performed the pilgrimage to dğbt at Khl**'.

NOTE: See also *sṭsṭ*. 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. *Typology*:: **Q**.

sṭr *verb, g, 3m.s.* to write. *Etym*: *sṭr*. *PN bn PN sṭr* (*JaL* 061f) 'PN son of PN has written**'.

NOTE: compare CAR. *saṭara* 'he wrote; he ruled a book' (Lane, 1375c). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **graffiti**.

sṭsṭ *noun*. Q. *Etym*: Q. *PN* // *bn* / [t<<>>]rf // *h-sṭ sṭ* // *d'mn* // *snt* / *r{t}* (*AH m*) 'PN son of ... the ??? d'mn year(?) rṭ*'.
NOTE: See also *sṭ*. 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 porting (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 *sṭ* also occurs together with *d'mn*. There seems to be one attestation of an unpublished inscription with what seems to be a reduplicated verb *sṭsṭ l-dğbt* (Ahmad Al-Jallad pc.) *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **title; dedicatory?**

S² – s²

s²n *adjective, m.s.* honor, dignity. *Etym*: *s²n*. *qrb* / *h-šlm* // *l-dğbt* / *b-h-brḥt* // *brḥ* / *bt d-ly h-s²n* / *t* / *m' gbl* / *ddn* / *h-{s²}{?}[n]* (*JSLih* 041/2-5) 'he offered the statue to Dğbt, with the honour [with which] the illustrious house of the lineage of ly is honoured in company with the {illustrious} lord of Ddn**'. *feminine*:: **s²nt**.

NOTE: Farès-Drappeau suggests to connect *s²n* 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*:: **s²n: 1; s²nt: 1**. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

s²t *noun*. party; group. *Etym*: *s²y'*. *PN* / *b[n]* *PN kbr* // *h-d't* / *s²t* / *PN* / *w rb-h//m* / *PN* / *bn* / *PN* / *kb/ry* / *s²t* / *TrN* / 'ḥḏw / *h-mkn* // *w h-mq'd* / *dh* / *kll-h* (*JSLih* 072/1-5) 'PN son of PN kabir of the council* of the party of Hnš and their lord PN son

of PN the two kabirs of the party of Hnṣ took the place and this seat, all of it**'. *l-s²t*//PN / P//N *h-mq'd k//ll-h* (JaL 161 a/1-4) 'the whole seat belongs to the party of 'l k'mn**'.

NOTE: Compare CAR. šī'ah 'a separate or distinct party. or sect of men' (Lane, 1632c). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

s²hdt *noun*. witness. *Etym*: s²hd. //---l-hm / w {s²}hdt / w h-rḥ // ---lh / bn / PN---//[---] (JSLih 052/7-9) '... and a witness(?) and the case ... [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 Dadan). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **legal?**.

s²ml *noun*. north. *Etym*: s²ml. l-PN // bn / PN / hn{---} // qbr / dh / {h}{m} // 'ly / ymn // w 'ly / s²m[l] // mn / trqr (JSLih 081) 'for PN son of PN [is] this grave {hm} from the south and from the north** from trqr(?)**'.

NOTE: Possibly compare the expression in the inscription to 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'adu-ka llaha 'I beg God to preserve, keep, guard, or watch thee'. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **funerary?**.

s²ym *noun*. field. *Etym*: s²ym. 'zll / {l}dġbt b'/d / s²ym-h (U 118/2-3) 'he performed the zll {for} dġbt on behalf of his field**'. 'gw / 'zll / l-dġb//t / b'd / tbrt-h / w s²ym-h (AH 138/2-4) 'he dedicated* the zll to dġbt on behalf of his grain and his field**'. 'z[l]t / b'/d / nhl-h / w s²ym//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. ms²m pl. ms²ynt, ms²mt, ms²ym 'cultivated area, field' (Beeston et al. 1982, 136) and Min. ms²mm "surface cultivée, champ" (Arbach 1993, 88). *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 3. *Typology*:: **zll; dedicatory**.

§ – §

šfht *noun*. cliff face. *Etym*: šfh. PN / bn / PN // 'hd/'šfht (JSLih 065) 'PN son of PN took possession of** the cliff face*. PN / 'hd // h-šfht 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. *Typology*:: **legal; funerary**.

šlm *noun*. statue. *Etym*: šlm. qrb / h-šlm // l-dġbt (JSLih 041/2-3) 'he dedicated the statue to dġbt**'. PN / h-šn' / nht / h-šlm (JSLih 074) 'PN the artisan cut the statue**'. *dual*: šlmn. [---] // PN / PN / {s} // lh / dġb//t / dq / l-l//h / {h}-šlmn (JSLih 061/

1-4) ‘... PN PN priest of dğbt offered** to Lh* the two statues/the statuette**’.
pl.:: ʕšlm. ʔdq / {l}-dğ{b}t / hn-ʕl[m] (JSLih 063/ 2) ‘he offered to dğbt the statues**’.

NOTE: Compare Sab. *šlm* ‘image, statue of man’; Nab. *šlm* ‘statue’ (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 968). See Scagliarini (2007, 254–255) for a discussion of the word *šlm* in the Dadanitic inscriptions. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: šlm: 13; šlmm: 5; ʕšlm: 1. Typology:: dedicatory.*

šnʕ *noun.* artisan. *Etym:* šnʕ. *PN / h-šnʕ / nħt / h-šlm (JSLih 074)* ‘PN the artisan cut the statue**’.

NOTE: Compare CAR. *šanāʕ* ‘a man skilful in the work of the hands or hand’ (Lane, 1733c) and *šāniʕ* ‘a handicraftsman; a manufacturer’ (Lane, 1734c). *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 11. Typology:: dedicatory; graffiti.*

šwğ *noun.* smith. *Etym:* swğ. *PN // h-šwğ (Al-Ḥuraybah 04)* ‘PN the smith**’. *PN / bn / P//N / h-šnʕ / PN // PN / h-šwğ (Al-Ḥuraybah 05)* ‘PN son of PN the artisan**’, *PN PN the smith**. *Variant: syğ. --- // h-šyğ / h//wdq / h-m//tlt / 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. Typology:: title, profession.*

T – t

tmny *numeral.* eight. *Etym:* tmn. {s} // nt / ʕs²m / tmn{y} // tlt / ʕym / qbl // rʕy / slħn (JSLih 068/ 2–5) ‘year twenty-{eight}, three days before** the rising of the asterism slħn**’.

NOTE: While there are some examples of etymological interdentials 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. Typology:: dating formula.*

tqmm *toponym.* tqmm. *Etym:* Q. *PN / bn / PN / ʕll / hʕll / bkhl / l-dğbt / bʕd / nħl-h / bbnʕ / w tqmm (U 025/ 1-4)* ‘PN son of PN performed the ʕll ceremony at Khl for dğbt on behalf of his palm trees at Bnʕ 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. Typology:: ʕll.*

tqt *verb, t, 3m.s.* inscribe. *Etym:* nqt. *PN / bn PN // tqt (JaL 169 af)* ‘PN son of PN inscribed*’. *PN // bn PN tqt // w mtl (JSLih 339)* ‘PN son of PN inscribed and copied*’. *PN / bn / PN // tqt / mʕ // d-TrN (W.Dad 16/ 1-3)* ‘PN son of PN inscribed with the family of TrN*’. *PN / bn / P//N tqt / sn//t / {ʕ}ħdy (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. *naqaṭa* 'he dotted, the letter or the word with the diacritical points' and *naqqaṭa* '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 *ṭ* is really written twice in AH 260, this may indicate that the verb is a t-stem of the root *qtṭ* rather than *nqt*, but the photograph is unclear. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **tqt**: 84; **tqtṭ**: 1. *Typology*:: **graffiti**. *Usage*: PN bn PN *tqt*; PN son of PN inscribed.

trk *verb, g, 3m.s.* to leave, relinquish. *Etym*: trk. *PN* / *bn* / *PN* / *'gw* / *h-zll* / *b-{m}s//d* / *hmd* / *tr{k}----* (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 ḥ----* / ---- *d* / *hm d* / *trk* / *'----* // ---- *y* / *hm* / *ndr* / *l-dǧ[b][t]----* (AH 243/ 4-6) '... his son they dedicated the ... according to what he left/relinquished ...* they vowed to *dǧbt* ...**'.

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. *Typology*:: **dedicatory**.

trq *verb, g, 3f.s. jussive.* to conjure; to cast a spell. *Etym*: r_{qy}. *b'lsmn* / *'hrm* / *h-qrt* // *mn* / *mh* / *trq-h* / *mr't* // *l-bhny* / *hn-fklt* // *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. *Typology*:: **narrative**.

ts' *numeral, m.* nine. *Etym*: ts'. *snt* / *t[s']----* // *b- r'y* / *ḥmt* / *gs²m* / *bn* / *lḏn* / *mlk* --- *[l]* // *ḥyn* (JSLih 085) 'year nine ... during the rising of the asterism *ḥmt** *G²m* son of *Lḏn* king of *Lihyān***'. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: **dating formula**.

T – t

tbrt *noun.* grain. *Etym*: tbr. *'zlt* / *h-zll* / *l-dǧbt* // *b-kh[l]* / *f rd-h* / *w 'hrt-h* / *b'd* / *tbr[t]-h* (U 112/ 2-3) 'she performed the *zll* ceremony for *dǧbt* at *Khl* so favor her and her descendants on behalf of her grain**'. *'zltw* / *h-zll* / *b-khl* // *b'd* / *tbrt-hny* (U 069/ 3-5) 'they performed the *zll* ceremony at *Khl* on behalf of their grain**'.

NOTE: Farès-Drappeau (2005, 206) connects its to Heb. *šeber* 'corn, grain (which is broken in a mill)' (Gesenius, 803b). See Sima (1999, 104) for a discussion on this term. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 12. *Typology*:: **zll**.

tlṭ *numeral.* three. *Etym*: tlṭ. *snt* / *tlṭ 3* / *b-r/[y]* / ---- *[b]n hn's* / *mlk* / *ḥyn* (AH 239/ 4-5) 'year three 3 during the rising of the asterism* ... son of *Hn*'s king of *Lihyān**'. *Variant*: **tlṭ**. *{s}* // *nt* / *'s²m* / *tmn{y}* // *tlṭ* / *'ym* / *qbl* // *r'y* / *slḥn* (JSLih 068/ 2-5)

‘year twenty-{eight}, three days before** the rising of the asterism *slh*n*. *feminine*:: **tltt**. *ʔll / l-dǧbt / tl//tt / ʔlt* (U 050/2-3) ‘he performed three *ʔll* ceremonies for *dǧbt***.

NOTE: See Macdonald (2008, 212) on the variation between *tlt* and *tlt*. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **tlt**: 4; **tlt**: 1; **tltt**: 2. *Typology*:: **dedication**.

tltn *numeral*. thirty. *Etym*: *tlt. sn[t] / tltn / w hm//s 35 / b-r’y / [m]n’y / ldn / bn / hn’s / mlk / lhyn* (JSLih 082/4-6) ‘year thirty-five 35 during the rising of the asterism *mn’y** [during the reign of] *Ldn* son of *Hn*’s king of *Lihyān***.

NOTE: See also *tlt*. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 3. *Typology*:: **dating formula**.

tr *toponym*. *tr. ndr / h-ʔll / l-dǧbt // b-khl / b’d / ml-h / b-tr/* (U 010/2-3) ‘he vowed the *ʔll* to *dǧbt* 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. *Typology*:: **ʔll**.

trw *verb, g, 3m.s.* become abundant. *Etym*: *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 *Dadan* and may he become abundant in property/divine grace by means of him, *Na’rgadd***.

NOTE: Compare *CAR. ʔaraytu bik* ‘I became abundant [in property] by means of thee’ (Lane, 335b). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **funerary**.

ttn *numeral*. two. *Etym*: *tn. snt / ttn / l-tlmy / bn / h//n{ʔ}{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-Ḥuraybah 10) ‘year forty-two during the rising of the asterism *d’s’l’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 **tintān*, following the regular assimilation of *n* to following stops in Dadanitic (cf. *n*-assimilation in phonology). *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: 4. *Typology*:: **dating formula**.

T – ʔ

ʔ’n *active participle, m.s.* to smite. *Etym*: *ʔ’n. tqʔ / r[r] {d}ǧ{b} // t / ʔ’n / r’r ----* (AH 210) ‘he inscribed may *dǧbt* dishonor by smiting(?) the one who mistreats ...*’.

NOTE: Compare *CAR. ʔa’ana-hu* ‘he pierced him, smote him, or wounded him’ (Lane, 1855b). See Hidalgo-Cahcón Díez (2008, 39-41) for a discussion of *ʔ’n* as a verb. *Certainty*:: **uncertain**. *Frequency*:: 1. *Typology*:: **curse**.

ʔ’n *noun*. setting of an asterism. *Etym*: *ʔ’n. ... snt / ‘s²r / w tlʔ / 13 / ymn / hlf / ʔ’n / d//--- -l{ʔ}{b} / [t]lmy / bn / [l]d{n} / ml{k} / {l}{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-ʔ’n* occurs in AH 197, it is almost certainly semantically related to the more common form *r’y*. See Hidalgo-Cahcón

Díez (2008, 39–41) for a discussion of ṭ'n as a verb. *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: dating formula.*

ṭhln *theonym. ṭhln. Etym: ṭhl. f-mn y'rrh // y'rh n'm // dḡbt // w ṭhln (AH 289) 'and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of property/divine grace, dḡbt and ṭhln*'. PN / mlk ddn / f'l // l-ṭhln (Al-Sa'īd 2011.1) 'PN king of Dadan made [it] for ṭhln**'.*

NOTE: Translation based on context. Ṭhln occurs once in Sab. as a patronym (Fa 124, DASI 14-2-2018). See al-Said (2011) for the first publication of Al-Sa'īd 2011.1 and a brief discussion of the theonym ṭhln. *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 3. Typology:: curse; dedicatory.*

ṭrq *verb, g, 3m.s. to hammer. Etym: 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. Typology:: dedicatory?; graffiti.*

ṭrt *noun. mountain. l-PN / w PN / w bnt-h / h-ṭrt // dt / wl / wrt-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. Typology:: legal?.*

W – w

wdd *verb, q, 3m.s. to love(?) Etym: 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*'. Variant: wd. PN / bn / PN / wd // PN (JaL n6) '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. Typology:: graffiti.*

wdy *verb, g, 3m.s. to place; to set up. Etym: wdy. --- n / wdy / {n}fs / h-'l--- // --- (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 / 'l-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 Ge'ez wadaya 'put, put in, add, put on (adornments), put under, lay, place, set, throw' (Leslau 1991, 605). *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: wdy: 2; wdyq: 1. Typology:: legal; funerary?.*

whbt *verb, g, 3f.s.* to offer. *Etym:* whb. ---- {w}h{b}t / l-dğbt ----// (Umm Darağ 01) ‘{she offered} to dğbt ...**’.

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. *Typology:* **dedicatory.**

wl *asseverative.* verily, already. *Etym:* w + l. l-PN / w PN / w PN / h-ṭrt // dt / wl / wrṭ-hm (JSLih 313) ‘for PN and PN and his daughter [is] this mountain and verily [it is] their inheritance*’. 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/tomb* (J. Lundberg (pc.) proposed to interpret this section as a chiastic 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-’ntn (Fa 3) ‘and may these men and women be’. *Certainty:* **certain.** *Frequency:* 2. *Typology:* **legal.**

wld *noun.* son; child. *Etym:* wld. ---- [d]/ğbt / ’{n}/yk{n}---- // l-h / {w}ld / f rd{y}[-h] ---- // w ’ḥrt-h {d}---- (AH 203/ 2–4) ‘... dğbt 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 / ’zllw / h-zll(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 zll*’.

NOTE: Compare CAR. walad ‘a child, son, daughter’ and ‘children, sons, daughters, offspring’ (Lane 2966b). *Certainty:* **certain.** *Frequency:* 3. *Typology:* **dedicatory; zll.**

wqd *verb, q, 3m.s.* to offer. *Etym:* wqd. ---- ’rdy ---- // ----[h]wqd/h-s---- // ---- [f] rdy{h} (Al-Huraybah 08) ‘... PN ... he offered the ... [so] may he favor him**’.

NOTE: See ’qd. 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. *Typology:* **dedicatory.**

wrt *noun.* descendants. *Etym:* wrṭ. 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 descendants, all of this tomb**’.

NOTE: Compare CAR. wārīt ‘an heir’ (Lane, 2934c). *Certainty:* **certain.** *Frequency:* 1. *Typology:* **legal; construction; funerary.**

wrt *noun.* inheritance. *Etym:* wrṭ. l-PN / w P//N / w PN / h-ṭrt // dt / wl / wrṭ-hm (JSLih 313) ‘for PN and PN and his daughter [is] this mountain and verily [it is] their inheritance*’.

NOTE: Compare CAR. wārīt ‘an heir’ (Lane, 2934c). *Certainty:* **certain.** *Frequency:* 1. *Typology:* **legal; construction; funerary.**

Y – y

yʿr *verb, g, 3m.s. pc.* to mistreat, dishonor, disgrace. *Etym:* ‘rr. *f mn yʿrrh // yʿrh nʿm // dǧbt // w tḥln* (AH 289) ‘and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of property, dǧbt and tḥln (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 ‘rr. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: curse.*

yʿrr *verb, g, 3m.s. jussive.* to mistreat, dishonor, disgrace. *Etym:* ‘rr. *f mn yʿrr-h // yʿr-h nʿm // dǧbt // w tḥln* (AH 289) ‘and may whoever mistreats it be stripped of property, dǧbt and tḥln (Ahmad Al-Jallad, pc.)’ *mn yʿrr ʿrr dǧbt t{h}{l}r* (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 ‘rr. *Certainty:: certain. Frequency:: 2. Typology:: curse.*

yd *noun.* hand, arm. *PN / nšb wasm h-yd wqt* (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, 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. Typology:: graffiti.*

ylmʿ *verb, g, 3m.s. pc.* to make splendorous. *Etym:* *lmʿ. f ysmʿ l-h ʿl // w ylmʿ-h* (JaL 016 a) ‘And may ʿel listen to him and make him splendorous(?)*’.

NOTE: Compare CAR. *lmʿ* ‘to shine very brightly, to flash’. Sima (1999, 113) proposed to interpret *ylmʿ* as ‘to give a sign’ from CAR. *lamaʿa* ‘winken, e. Zeichen, e. Signal geben’. *Certainty:: uncertain. Frequency:: 1. Typology:: dedicatory; graffiti.*

ym *noun.* day. *Etym:* *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/produce of the livestock so favor them and ...*’. *dual:: ymn. PN / w PN w //PN w PN w PN // w PN / PN PN // b-{d}wh / ymn* (Graf Abū al-Dibāʿ 2) ‘PN and PN and PN and PN and PN and PN PN PN [were] at {dwh} for two days*’. *snt / sʿr / w tlt / 13 / ymn / ḥlf / tʿn / d //----l{ʿ}{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* ..., Tlmy son of Ldn king of Lihyān***’. *pl.:: ʿym. {s} / nt / sʿrn / tmn{y} // tlt / ʿym / qbl // rʿy / slḥn* (JSLih 068/ 2–5) ‘year twenty-{eight}, three days before** the rising of the asterism slḥn*’. *PN / bn / PN / t {q}t / b-ʿym / PN / bn // PN / w PN / fht / ddn / b-rʿ[ʿy] ----* (JSLih 349) ‘PN son of PN inscribed during the days of PN son of PN and PN governor of Dadan** during

the rising of the asterism ...^{*}. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **ym: 1; ymn: 4; 'ym: 5**. *Typology*:: **zll; legal; graffiti; dating formula**. *Usage*: X 'ym qbl r'y Y; X days before the rising of the asterism Y.

ymn *noun*. south. *Etym*: ymn. *l-PN // bn / PN / hn-//qbr / dh / {h}{m} // 'ly / ymn // w 'ly / s²m[l] // mn / trqr (JSLih 081)* 'for PN son of PN [is] this grave {hm} from the south and from the north^{**} from trqr(?)^{*}.

NOTE: Possibly compare the expression in JSLih 081 to 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**. *Typology*:: **funerary**.

ysm' *verb, g, 3m.s. pc.* to listen, to hear. *Etym*: sm'. *f ysm' l-h 'l // w ylm'-h (JaL 016 a)* 'And may 'ēl listen to him and make him splendorous(?)^{*}.

NOTE: Compare CAR. samī'a aš-šay' 'he heard or listened to the thing' (Lane 1427b). Sima (1999, 113) already proposed this interpretation of f-ysm' l-h and compared the use of sm' with the preposition l- with this meaning to the texts from Qaryat al-Faw. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: **1**. *Typology*:: **dedicatory; graffiti**. *Usage*: sm' l-X; listen to so.

ysrg *verb, g, 3m.s. jussive*. it was rendered beautiful, embellished. *Etym*: srg. [/'ny // ysrg [/' 'b-hm / w {m}'n-h[m] // w {m}'fr-h{m} / b-ms²hl (U 026/ 3-5) 'that their pasture may be beautified and their abode and their cultivated land at Ms²hl^{**}.

NOTE: OCIANA compares it to CAR. yusarragu 'it was rendered beautiful, embellished'. *Certainty*:: **not quite certain**. *Frequency*:: **1**. *Typology*:: **zll**.

Z – z

zll *noun*. the zll ceremony. *Etym*: zll. *z // llw / zll / h-nq / l-//dġbt / frd-hm (AH 001/ 3-5)* 'they performed the zll ritual of the nq^{*} for dġbt so favor them^{**}'. *Variant*: **ṭll**. ---- [']*tll // h-tll* ---- (AH 009.1/ 1-2) 'he performed the ṭll ceremony^{**}'. *dual*:: **zlln**. *PN / bn / PN / b-khl // 'zll / h-zlln (U 034/ 1-2)* 'PN on of PN at Khl performed the two zll ceremonies^{**}'. *pl.*:: **zlt**. *'zll / l-dġbt / t//tt / 'zlt (U 050/ 2-3)* 'he performed three zll ceremonies^{**}'. *'gw / l-dġbt // tltt / 'zl/t (U 032/ 2-4)* 'he dedicated* to dġbt three zll^{**}.

NOTE: For a discussion of the proposed translations of 'zll h-zll so far see (Scagliarini 2002, 573–575). Recently, a new interpretation of the form hzl from same root in Sabaic has been suggested, which links it to the act of writing, rather than shade (<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=5547&showAll=0> consulted 04/10/2021. I would like to thank Peter Stein for pointing me to this recent interpretation.). See Kootstra (2018) on the

variation between z and ζ in Dadanitic and Kootstra (2022) for a new analysis of the zll ritual as a reference to the inscription itself and part of local legal and documentary practice. *Certainty*:: **certain**. *Frequency*:: zll : 123; ζll : 14; $zlln$: 1; $'zlt$: 2. *Typology*:: zll .

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