

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR  
of  
EPIGRAPHIC SOUTH ARABIAN

by  
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FOREWORD

Intensive study of the South Arabian epigraphic texts dates from the time of J.Halévy, nearly a hundred years ago. During the period since then, an enormous amount of work has been done by specialists on them; but it has to be admitted that relatively little has been done to make the results of these researches easily available to the non-specialist. The reason is, no doubt, that our inscriptional sources have been and still are constantly increasing in bulk, and every new discovery modifies to some extent the overall picture; and there is a natural reluctance to broadcast information which has to be regarded as in some degree provisional and which may become obsolete in a short time, with the risk that the general reader may continue to accept such information as valid and never see the subsequent refutation of it, which is likely to appear tucked away in some article with a limited circulation. Nevertheless, it is incumbent on the specialists from time to time to survey the present position in this field, while cautioning the reader against acceptance of this summing-up as definitive; for the continuing progress of these studies will certainly entail modifications of our present positions.

In the realm of the grammar of the inscriptions, the first essay was by F.Hommel, in his "Südarabische Chrestomathie" (Munich, 1893). But the method adopted by Hommel was unfortunate; since his chrestomathy was concerned with Minaean texts, he took the Minaean dialect as the basis of his grammatical sketch. Even in his time, the amount of Minaean material available was much less than that in the Sabaeen dialect (since then, the disparity in bulk of material has greatly increased between the two dialects), and our possibilities of understanding the phenomena correspondingly more limited; however suitable, therefore, his sketch is as an introduction to his chrestomathy, the method employed was not a good one for the analysis of the basic phenomena. His grammar must today be considered useless.

I.Guidi's "Summarium grammaticae veteris linguae arabicae meridionalis" (Cairo, 1930) is a brief summary far too restricted in scope to be of much use to the comparative Semitist. The first really practical work in this field is M.Höfner's "Altsüdarabische Grammatik"

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(Leipzig, 1943). This is in many ways still an admirable handbook. But since the date of its publication, a great many new materials have accumulated, which enable us to add considerably to it, as well as modifying some of its details.

The present work is an attempt to present systematically the grammar of these texts, as it appears on the basis of our present knowledge. It is formulated strictly in terms of a descriptive account and (except in one or two instances) I have avoided comparisons with other Semitic languages. A purely descriptive account of this kind is the necessary preliminary to a comparative grammar. I have, however, freely made use of the technical terms usual in Semitic linguistics, since it is highly unlikely that anyone would embark on the study of these texts without some previous acquaintanceship with the problems of Semitic studies.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(other than those expanded in the Index of Inscriptions Cited)

- BASOR Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.  
 BiArch The Biblical Archaeologist.  
 BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis.  
 ESA Epigraphic South Arabian.  
 JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
 JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 MSA Modern South Arabian dialects (Mahri, Soqotri, Shori).  
 SAWW Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.  
 WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.  
 ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
- \*\*\*\*\*
- Beeston (A.F.L.), Calendars = Epigraphic South Arabian Calendars and Dating. London, 1956.  
 ditto, Gleanings = Epigraphic and Archaeological Gleanings from South Arabia, Oriens Antiquus 1 (1961) [to appear shortly].  
 ditto, Notes = Notes on Old South Arabian Lexicography I-II, Muséon 63 (1950) pp.53-7, 261-8; III, ibid., 64 (1951) pp.127-32; IV, ibid., 65 (1952) pp.139-47; V, ibid., 66 (1953) pp.109-22; VI, ibid., 67 (1954) pp.311-22.  
 ditto, Oracle Sanct. = The Oracle Sanctuary of Jār al-Labbā, Muséon 62 (1949), pp.207-28.  
 ditto, Phonology = Phonology of the Epigraphic South Arabian Unvoiced Sibilants, Trans. of the Philological Soc., 1951, pp.1-26.  
 ditto, Problems = Problems of Sabaean Chronology, BASOR 16 (1954), pp.37-56.  
 ditto, Ritual Hunt = The Ritual Hunt, Muséon 61 (1948), pp.183-96.  
 ditto, Sab. Boundary Formula = A Sabaean Boundary Formula, BSOAS 13 (1949), pp.1-3.  
 ditto, Sab. Inscr. = Sabaean Inscriptions. Oxford, 1937.  
 Conti-Rossini (G.), Chrestomathia = Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica. Rome, 1931.  
 Fakhry (A.), Arch. Journey = An archaeological Journey to Yemen. Service des Antiquités d'Égypte) Cairo, 1951-2.  
 Gordon (C.H.), Ugaritic Handb. = Ugaritic Handbook, revised grammar. (Analecta Orientalia, 25) Rome 1947.  
 Höfner (M.), AEA = Höfner, Mlaker and Rhodokanakis, Zur altsüdarabischen Epigraphik und Archäologie ii, WZKM 41, pp.69-106.

- Höfner (M.), Gr. = Altsüdarabische Grammatik. (Porta Linguarum Or., 24) Leipzig, 1943.  
 ditto, Sab. Inscr. d. S. A. Exp. = Sabäische Inschriften der südarabischen Expedition, WZKM 40, pp.1-36.  
 Mordtmann (J.H.), Mittwoch (E.), Sab. Inscr. = Sabäische Inschriften. (Rathjens-von Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise, 1) Hamburg, 1931.  
 Nami (K.Y.), Monuments = Les Monuments de Ma'in. (Institut français d'archéologie du Caire, Etudes sud-arabiques, 2) Cairo, 1952.  
 Pirenne (J.), Paléographie = Paléographie des inscriptions sud-arabes, tom.1. (Verh.v.d.k.Vlaamsche Acad., .kl.d.lett., verh.nr.26) Brussels, 1956.  
 Rathjens (C.), Sabaeica = Sabaeica I. (Mitt.a.d.Mus.f.Völkerkunde in Hamburg, 24) Hamburg, 1953.  
 Rhodokanakis (N.), AST = Altsabäische Texte i, SAWW Bd.206, 2.Abh., 1927; ii, WZKM 39, pp.173-226.  
 ditto, Grundsatz = Der Grundsatz der Öffentlichkeit in den südarabischen Urkunden, SAWW Bd.177, 2.Abh., 1915.  
 ditto, KTB = Katabanische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft i, SAWW Bd.194, 2.Abh.; ii, SAWW Bd.198, 2.Abh.  
 ditto, St. = Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabisch i, SAWW Bd.178, 4 Abh.; ii, SAWW Bd.185, 3.Abh.  
 Ryckmans (G.), Noms propres = Les Noms propres sud-sémitiques. (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 2) Louvain, 1934.  
 Ryckmans (J.), Himyaritica = Himyaritica i, Muséon 69 (1956) pp.91-8.  
 ditto, Inst.mon. = L'Institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam. (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 28) Louvain, 1951.  
 ditto, Persécution = La Persécution des Chrétiens himyarites au 6e siècle. (Uitgaven v.h.Nederlands hist-arch.inst.te Istanbul, 1) Istanbul, 1956.  
 Stehle (D.), Sibilants and Emphatics = Sibilants and Emphatics in South Arabic, JAOS 60 (1940), pp.507-43.

## INTRODUCTORY

The South Arabian inscriptions with which this work deals are drafted in a group of nearly related dialects and written in a uniform alphabetic script. They represent the monuments of an individual and highly developed culture, the heartland of which lay mainly in a chain of alluvial valleys and oases situated in a kind of "fertile crescent" between the sand-desert of the Ramlat Sab'atāin (an outlier of the great "Empty Quarter"), and the mountain ranges which line the south-western coasts of the Arabian peninsula; it stretches from the Wadi Najran as its northern limit to the Wadi Hadramaut in the east. The territory between this crescent and the sea probably also belonged to the same culture area, but apart from the mountain mass of central Yemen, which has produced abundant inscriptions, the epigraphic monuments south and west of the fertile crescent are mainly confined to routes of communication between it and the sea.

Monuments of South Arabian script which are found elsewhere than in the main area of South Arabian culture may be divided into three classes:

1. Those from areas occupied on a more or less permanent basis by colonists from the South Arabian cultural area speaking and writing one of the known South Arabian dialects. Of such, the only one known to us so far is Dedan (the present al-ʿUḷā in north-west Arabia), on the caravan route running up the west coast of Arabia and linking the incense producing country of South Arabia with Gaza and Egypt.
2. Those due to trading journeys or military expeditions from a South Arabian base. These texts are scattered over a remarkably wide range, and include, for example, the sarcophagus of a South Arabian merchant, of which the probable provenance is the Fayyum (R 3427); an altar inscription on the island of Delos (R 3570); a series of important rock inscriptions in central Arabia<sup>(1)</sup>; a graffito from Bir Menih in Upper Egypt (R 3571); &c
3. Those resulting from South Arabian cultural influence on neighbouring areas. The most important of these areas is Ethiopia, where the earliest inscriptions are in South Arabian script; most of these, however, are either too short to reveal their linguistic affinities conclusively<sup>(2)</sup>, or their linguistic features are combined in a way not known in any fully attested South Arabian dialect. It may be that a group of texts from north-east Arabia<sup>(3)</sup> also represent a use of the South Arabian script to

render a local, non-South-Arabian language.

The time range of the Epigraphic South Arabian texts extends over at least a millenium. The latest ones known to us belong to the third quarter of the sixth century A.D. The dating of the earliest ones is still a vexed question, and no final solution has yet been reached; W.F. Albright<sup>(4)</sup> dates the beginning of our series of texts to the early eighth century B.C., and J.Pirenne in her "Paléographie" to the early fifth century B.C. The views of F.Hommel, who pushed the beginnings back to the middle of the second millenium B.C., are now completely discredited. No scholar at present accepts a date earlier than the ninth century B.C. for them.

The texts are all of a severely practical character: legal enactments, funerary monuments, building records, ex votos and so forth. We possess no poetic or literary material such as is found in Ugaritic. This restricted nature of the subjects dealt with is a limiting factor on our knowledge of both the culture and than language. Much lexical material, relating to subjects which the inscriptions do not discuss, is unknown to us; and even in the realm of morphology and syntax, the rigidly formalized stylistic conventions which governed the drafting of the epigraphic texts result in considerable gaps in our information. One example of this is the convention which dictated that the inscriptions should almost invariably be drafted in the third person; consequently our knowledge of first and second person forms of verbs and pronouns is scanty in the extreme.

### SCRIPT

1:1 The South Arabian alphabet contains 29 symbols, and the transliteration adopted for them in this work is shown on the accompanying table. The letter-forms shown in the table are based on the forms found in early SAB texts; later palaeographic developments affect chiefly the stylistic execution of these basic geometric forms, and have affected the forms themselves very little. One or two aberrant letter-forms are encountered extremely occasionally; on which see J.Pirenne's "Paléographie".

1:2 A discovery a few years ago at Quhlān/Tumna<sup>(5)</sup> suggests that the ESA alphabet had a conventional letter-order showing some similarity to the traditional order of the Ethiopic alphabet. Since, however, we do not yet know this order in its entirety, the arrangement of the present table is based on phonetic considerations.

1:3 The most usual direction of writing was right to left, and the forms of the letters given in the table are those employed in writing thus. Some texts, however, of the early period are written "boustrophedon", i.e. with alternate lines running in each direction, though normally beginning with a right-to-left line. In such texts, letters like *ḍ*, *ṛ*, etc, which are not bilaterally symmetrical, are reversed in the lines running from left to right. Reversed letters are very occasionally found also in texts otherwise written normally from right to left.

1:4 words are separated from each other by a single vertical stroke. But certain particles, which may be termed "proclitics", namely *b*, *l*, *k*, *w*, *ṣ*, *ḍ* are not so separated from the following word, unless two of them come together. In the latter case the dividing stroke separates the second of them from the following word. Sporadic deviations from these normal rules occur.

1:5 The custom of using the initial letter or letters of a word as an abbreviation for the whole word was not unknown in ESA. It occurs specially on coins<sup>(6)</sup>, and very occasionally in inscriptions also: e.g. Ry 373/3 *h/k/*, and R 2751 *s'h/rt* which seems to be an abbreviation for *s'hāt/rtā*.

1:6 The basic numerical symbols are shown on the script table. Intervening numbers are expressed by appropriate repetitions and combinations of these signs, on the same principle as the Roman numerals.

Script Table

Pharyngals and Laryngals:	ħ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	
	ʕ	ħ	ʕ	ħ	ʕ	
Velars:	q	q	q	q	q	
	q	q	q	q	q	
Palatals:	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	
	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	
Dentals and Interdentals:	t	t	t	t	t	
	t	t	t	t	t	
Sibilants:	s	s	s	s	s	
	s	s	s	s	s	
Emphatics:	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	
	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	
Labials:	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	
	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	
Liquids and Nasals:	l	l	l	l	l	
	l	l	l	l	l	
Semivowels:	w	w	w	w	w	
	w	w	w	w	w	
Numerals:	1	5	10	50	100	1000
	1	5	10	50	100	1000
Numerator bracket:	⌈	⌈	⌈	⌈	⌈	⌈

Numerical symbols are usually enclosed between two hatched bars (as shown on the table). These numerator-brackets are occasionally found enclosing letter-symbols other than the ordinary numerical symbols; the significance of these is not clear: see for example R 4728/1 where t is used between numerator-brackets. Note also the w of Ry 373/3 which, although not enclosed in numerator-brackets, may have a numerical significance. In C 570/2 a symbol resembling the letter n is used as a cipher for 'mt "cubit".

1:7 Some of the "divine symbols" (7) have a tendency to become formalized into patterns which resemble alphabetic letters. Thus the "lightning" symbol develops into a form resembling the letter h, the "Doppelgriffel" into one resembling d. These symbolic "letters" are often placed at the beginning and/or end of texts (e.g. C 634), but have no phonetic significance.

2:1 The 29 letters of the ESA alphabet are all primarily consonants. Only in the case of w and y does the question arise whether they have a vocalic value in addition to their consonantal one. Höfner, in her "Grammatik", denies that these two letters ever represent pure vowels; where they occur in positions where we expect them to terminate a syllable, she treats them as uniformly representing the diphthongs aw and ay. This extreme view is criticized by Leslau (8); and it is indeed difficult to imagine that the pronominal suffix -hww (so spelt from the very earliest SAB texts onwards) can have been pronounced otherwise than with a final vowel u. And by the middle SAB period at least, an internal y could be used as a mater lectionis for the vowel e, so that the tribal name which appears in Greek sources from about the 1st century A.D. onwards (Periplus Maris Erythraei) as Homêritai is regularly spelt in the ESA texts hmyr. Further, when we encounter the variant spellings ywm and ym in a single text (as in G1 1209) there is a strong presumption that this represents a pronunciation yom, spelt sometimes plene and sometimes defective. It does therefore seem possible that w and y do sometimes represent matres lectionis for the vowels i, e and u, o.

2:2 With this exception, the ESA script has no notation at all for vowels; the use of ' as an indication of with which we are familiar in standard Arabic, seems wholly unknown in ESA, which has no notation

for an  $\alpha$  quality vowel.

2:3 Equally unknown in ESA is the practice employed in Arabic and Syriac of denoting by ' the anaptyctic vowel introduced to avoid an initial consonant-cluster (the Arabic *ḥamsat al-waḡl* ). The fact that the inscriptional name *s'myfc* appears in Greek as *Esimiphaios* indicates that ESA may also have pronounced such a vowel; but it remains without notation in the script.

2:4 It is obvious that this dearth of vowel-notation imposes a severe limit on our knowledge of the structure of the language. There are many cases where two or more forms, which must undoubtedly have been differentiated by varying vocalization, are graphically identical.

In the present work no attempt is made to fill in the consonantal skeletons of words, as found in the texts, with vowels; such attempts, though they can sometimes be plausibly made on the basis of analogies with the neighbouring Semitic tongues, can only be conjectural.

Such attempts would moreover be misplaced in a descriptive account of the ESA dialects, and run the risk of creating unwarranted preconceptions about the relation of the ESA dialects to other Semitic languages. There has been some tendency in the past to "vocalize" ESA texts and words on a pattern approximating to the standards of Classical Arabic. It seems to me personally to be highly unlikely that this is justified; I think it far more likely that the ESA vocalic pattern was closer to those of Ethiopic or the MSA dialects than to Classical Arabic.

2:5 Lengthening or "intensification" (Arabic *tašdīd* ) of a consonant is normally devoid of any notation in the ESA script, just as it is in the Ethiopic script. Nevertheless, note C 353/1 *mḥmmām* which would seem to be a name comparable with Arabic *Muḥammad*. On the verbs with graphic doubling of the middle radical see 18:6.

#### DIALECTS

3:0 The principal dialects are Sabaeen [SAB], Minaean [MIN], Qatabanian [QAT], and Hadrami [HAD]. On Harami [HAR] as an independent dialect-classification see 3:9.

#### Sabaeen

3:1 The main area of SAB dialect is the Mārib-Širwāḥ region together with the Yemeni highlands to the west and north-west thereof. Not only is SAB attested by a larger body of material than any other dialect, but it also had a greater chronological range, stretching throughout the

whole period of the inscriptional evidence. We can, however, distinguish three phases of the dialect. The early SAB texts belong for the most part to the period of the "mkrb' s of Saba" and of those "kings of Saba" whose nomenclature is similar to that of the *mkrb's*<sup>(9)</sup>; and their typical palaeography is characterized by a rectilinear, rectangular (though sometimes verging slightly towards the acute-angled) and unornamented style of script<sup>(10)</sup>. All boustrophedon SAB texts fall within this period. It may further be remarked that the majority of the early SAB texts come from the Mārib-Širwāḥ region; they are only sparsely attested from the highland area.

Characteristic of the middle SAB period is the curvilinear, acute-angled style of script embellished with serifs<sup>(11)</sup>. The chronological boundary between early and middle SAB may perhaps be tentatively given as the second century B.C., though the present unsettled state of South Arabian chronological studies makes such a precision subject to caution. A majority of our texts from the highland Sabaeen area in central Yemen are in middle SAB dialect.

Late SAB belongs to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

3:2 In all periods of SAB we find *h-* causative verbal prefix, pronominal forms with *h* , a series of demonstratives formed on the base *h-* , and imperfect verb-forms with an *-n* ending.

Among the characteristics of early SAB are the numeral forms *s<sup>2</sup>lṭt* and *s<sup>1</sup>ṭt* and the preposition *ēḏ* : in middle and late SAB these forms are replaced by *lṭt*, *s<sup>1</sup>ṭt*, *ēḏy*. Late SAB is characterized by extensive use of the conjunction *k-* (rare in earlier periods), and by numerous lexical innovations.

#### Minaean

3:3 The bulk of our MIN material comes from the sites of Ma'in/Qarnaw and Barāqīš/Yaṭīl a little way north of the Mārib-Širwāḥ region, and from the Minaean colony at al-ʿUlā/Dedan in north-west Arabia. It is all pre-Christian in date, and seems to have become obsolete, at least for official inscriptional purposes, somewhere around the time when middle SAB makes its appearance.

3:4 The chief characteristics of MIN are: *s<sup>1</sup>-* causative prefix, and pronominal forms with *s<sup>1</sup>* in place of the SAB *h* ; the use of a preposition *k-* "to, for", for which SAB employs *l-* ; extensive appearance of a



"parasitic" *h* (see 4:7); imperfects ending in *-n* as in SAB.

#### Qatabanian

3:5 The QAT dialect belongs to the ancient kingdom of Qataban in the wadis Baiḥān and Ḥarīb, to the east of the SAB area. This seems to have been still flourishing round about the beginning of the Christian era, though how much later one can date QAT texts is uncertain; it does not appear that any text showing the most typical characteristics of QAT can be dated later, at all events, than the 3rd century A.D.

3:6 The chief characteristics of QAT are: *s*<sup>1</sup>-causative prefix, and pronominal forms in *s*<sup>1</sup> against SAB *h*; a singular pronominal affix varying between *-s*<sup>1</sup> and *-s*<sup>1</sup>*ww*/*s*<sup>1</sup>*yww*; a fondness for endings in *-w* where other dialects tend to have *-y* or zero; imperfects with a *b*-prefix; absence of imperfects with the *-n* ending; preposition *l*- "to, for" as in SAB; extensive use of encilitic particles *-y*, *-mw*.

#### Hadrami

3:7 The HAD dialect is associated with the Shabwa area, the wadi Hadramaut, and the districts between there and the sea; being thus the most easterly of the known ESA dialects. It was already showing some signs of decay<sup>(12)</sup> shortly before the Sabaean conquest of Hadramaut, which was perhaps around the turn of the third/fourth century A.D.

3:8 The chief characteristics of HAD are: *s*<sup>1</sup>-causative prefix and pronominal forms; masculine singular pronominal affix *s*<sup>1</sup> or *s*<sup>1</sup>*ww* as in QAT, but feminine *t* or *s*<sup>3</sup>; original *t* and *s*<sup>3</sup> have fallen together into a single phoneme spelt indifferently with either letter; an ending *-hn* for the emphatic noun-state where all other dialects have *-n*; absence of *n* imperfects; a preposition *h*- "to, for" in place of MIN SAB and QAT *l*-; preposition *ḏ* in place of *ḏ*/*ḏy* in other dialects.

#### Harami

3:9 A small group of texts, namely C 523, 532, 533, 546, 547, 548, 568, R 3956, 3957, while in the main resembling SAB, and classed as such by the Corpus and Répertoire editors, yet exhibit certain distinctive linguistic features. All these texts originate either certainly or most probably from the site of Haram, to the west of Ma'in/Qarnaw, except for C 533 which comes from the immediately adjacent site of Kamnah; and all are concerned with religious ritual, with a strong

emphasis on the "public confession" of sins<sup>(13)</sup>. The group has thus a considerable homogeneity; and for the purposes of registering the special linguistic features of these texts it is convenient to classify them as representing an independent "Harami" dialect. There are, however, other texts from Haram drafted in standard SAB or MIN, so that HAR in the linguistic sense is not co-extensive with "Harami" used in an archaeological context.

3:10 The most striking of the HAR characteristics is the use of preposition *mn* where all other ESA dialects use *bn*; one may also observe the use of a negative *lm* and a phonological shift of original *s*<sup>3</sup> to *s*<sup>1</sup>.

3:11 Some authorities (e.g. Conti-Rossini in his *Chrestomathia*) have distinguished a small handful of texts associated with kings of an "Ausanian" group. However, from the purely morphological point of view, these exhibit all the characteristics of QAT (and the Répertoire classifies them as such). It is chiefly their lexical content that gives them an appearance different from that of QAT; from the point of view of the present work there seems nothing to be gained by treating them separately.

#### Dialectal Mixtures

3:12 From the Baiḥān and Shabwa areas we possess a few texts (e.g. Ja 348 and Ham 11) showing a mixed form of dialect. They have *s*<sup>1</sup>-causative prefix and *s*<sup>1</sup> pronominal forms, but combined with features such as the *-n* imperfects which are characteristic of SAB but not of true QAT or HAD. The number of such texts is still too small for us to be able to assign any geographical or chronological labels to this linguistic phase.

3:13 In spite of the general rule that the causative prefix and the pronominal forms have *s*<sup>1</sup> in MIN, QAT and HAD, we find occasionally *h* forms in texts otherwise assignable to those dialects.

3:14 This is notably the case in QAT, where a wide range of proper names from the earliest period onwards contain verbal forms with *h*-prefix. Rhodokanakis has argued<sup>(14)</sup>, from the fact that the formal preambles of certain Qatabanian royal texts are completely SAB in character, that the ruling caste in Qataban was of Sabaean origin. If this is so, it would be understandable that *h* forms should have been regarded as

socially "superior" to the native  $s^1$  forms, creating a tendency to extend the use of such proper names throughout all classes of the population.

3:15  $h$  in the pronominal affixes is found sporadically in HAD (see R 4223 and CT 17a) and in QAT (Ja 322, 344). The cause of this phenomenon is obscure.

3:16 Outside proper names (as described in 3:14), the only verbal form in which the  $h$ - prefix occurs within the  $s^1$  dialect area is  $hqny$  with its infinitive or verbal-noun  $hqnyt$  <sup>(15)</sup>. This is found particularly freely in HAD (R 4065/2, 4067, 4181, etc.), fairly often in QAT (Ja 330 etc.), and occasionally in MIN (R 2771/11). The limitation of the prefix to this particular verb suggests a different explanation from that proposed for the phenomena discussed above. It is possible that the verb was in origin a technicality of specifically Sabaeen religious practice, and that in other dialects it is a loanword which has sometimes retained its SAB form and sometimes been assimilated to the prevailing linguistic feeling in the borrowing dialect so as to become  $s^1qny$ .

#### PHONOLOGY

4:0 The consonantal system of ESA preserves the full range of the primitive Semitic system of 29 consonants <sup>(16)</sup>. The following notes are intended to give a general account of the principal features of the ESA phonology, and do not claim to be exhaustive; there are, of course, numerous individual words of which each presents its own individual phonological problem.

#### Pharyngals and Laryngals

4:1  $\text{ʔ}$  is exemplified in  $\text{ʔd}$  "one",  $\text{bʔr}$  "well",  $\text{mrʔ}$  "lord".

4:2 Alternation between  $\text{ʔ}$  and  $w/y$  is sporadically attested within ESA: SAB R 2876/6  $\text{wʔr}$  from the root otherwise attested as  $\text{ʔr}$ , SAB R 4964/5  $\text{tʔlʔn}$  from the root otherwise attested as  $\text{ʔlw}$ , HAD R 2687/2  $\text{bnʔ}$  against  $\text{bny}$  in other dialects. The same phenomenon may be allowed for on a rather wider scale when comparing ESA roots with those in other languages.

4:3 In HAD,  $\text{ʔ}$  seems to result from original  $\epsilon$  in the preposition  $\text{ʔd}$  (see 50:1).

4:4  $h$  attested in  $\text{hrg}$  "slay",  $\text{thr}$  "pure",  $\text{gbht}$  "mare".

4:5 If the HAD preposition  $h-$  (46:8) is morphologically related to the MIN  $k-$ , this would seem to attest a shift of  $k$  to  $h$  probably by way of a fricative.

4:6  $h$  seems to be occasionally used as a glide-sound between vowels. Thus, HAD R 2687/2  $\epsilon\text{h}t\text{y}h\text{n}$ , a dual form from a singular  $\text{*}\epsilon\text{h}t$ , is explained by Rhodokanakis <sup>(17)</sup> as equivalent to Arabic  $\epsilon\text{al}\bar{\text{w}}\text{at}/\epsilon\text{al}\bar{\text{y}}\text{at}$  with  $h$  serving as glide between the vowels instead of  $w/y$ .

4:7 Closely connected with the phenomenon just mentioned is the appearance of a "parasitic"  $h$  within a syllable. Rhodokanakis, on the basis of a parallel feature in the MSA dialects, deduces <sup>(18)</sup> that a strongly accented vowel tended first to diphthongize, then to split into two vowels, between which a glide was finally introduced. In ESA, this feature is particularly characteristic of MIN (31:11, 33:2, 40:8).

4:8 Outside MIN, this "parasitic"  $h$  is of fairly rare occurrence, and in many of the non-MIN instances alternative explanations are possible.

Thus, Rhodokanakis himself points out <sup>(19)</sup> that in the case of the late SAB relative-demonstrative  $\text{ʔh}t$  (40:1), it would be possible to regard the  $h$  as an independent demonstrative semantic element and not purely phonological. The HAD noun-ending  $-\text{hn}$  (28:1) is perhaps susceptible of a similar explanation.

4:9 The alternation between  $h$  and  $s^1$  in causative and pronominal forms is a distinction between ESA dialects which has its roots in primitive Semitic (compare the contrast in this respect between Accadian and Hebrew), and is thus not a feature of ESA phonology in the strict sense.

4:10  $\epsilon$  is exemplified in  $\text{ebd}$  "servant",  $\text{mrey}$  "pastureland",  $\text{ʔrbet}$  "four".

4:11  $\epsilon$  results from original  $\bar{g}$  in  $\text{mcrb}$  "west" (C 555/4 etc., and cp. Arabic  $\text{ma}\bar{g}\text{r}\text{ib}$ ),  $\text{tert}$  "sluices" (R 3945/2, cp. Arabic  $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{g}\text{r}$ ),  $\text{ʔerf}$  "chambers" (C 24/5, cp. Arabic  $\bar{g}\text{ur}\text{fat}$ ),  $\text{ʔers}^3$  "plantations" (C 308/6, cp. Arabic  $\bar{g}\text{ars}$  <sup>(20)</sup>). It will be noticed that in all these examples the  $\epsilon$  immediately precedes  $r$ , and there can be little doubt that the shift is conditioned by this factor. Since the shift does not occur in  $\text{ʔgr}$  "small", we may further infer that it was dependent on immediate contact of the two letters with no vowel intervening; for all the forms where the shift is attested are ones where by morphological analogy we should expect the  $\epsilon$  to be vowelless.



4:12 Reduction of  $\text{ʿ, h}$  or  $\text{ε}$  to zero is attested in a numerous series of sporadic examples. For instance, SAB 335/4  $wl\dot{d}t/ys/t\cdot lb$  (for normal  $ys\cdot$ ), MIN R 3824/2  $wf\epsilon l$  proper name (against normal  $wf\epsilon\cdot l$ ), SAB C 1/1  $rt\dot{d}twn$  proper name (a compound of the divine epithet  $t\dot{h}wn$ ), SAB C 609/4  $\dot{d}m\epsilon r m$  (against  $\dot{d}m\epsilon h r m$  in the preceding line), SAB C 535/8  $hnn$  (against normal  $h\epsilon nn$ ), HAR C 532/8-9  $\cdot l/bhn/s^2\epsilon r t/w\cdot l/lm/ts^2r$  (for  $ts^2\epsilon r$ ), QAT R 3902/65,72  $\epsilon myt$  (against normal  $\epsilon myt\epsilon$ )<sup>(21)</sup>.

The editors have frequently treated these and similar instances as cases of inadvertent omission on the part of the engraver of the inscription<sup>(22)</sup>. But the fact that we have so wide a range of examples all involving precisely these three letters  $\text{ʿ, h}$  and  $\text{ε}$  shows that we are here dealing with a genuine linguistic phenomenon: a tendency towards elimination of these three phonemes in pronunciation.

4:13  $\dot{h}$  is exemplified in  $\dot{h}yw$  "life",  $b\dot{h}r$  "sea",  $\dot{d}b\dot{h}$  "sacrifice".

#### Velars

5:1  $\dot{h}$  as in  $\dot{h}\dot{t}$  "sin",  $n\dot{h}l$  "palmgrove",  $\dot{t}b\dot{h}$  "cooked food".

5:2 In a few roots ESA shows  $\dot{h}$  where other Semitic languages have  $\dot{p}$ : C 570/4  $mnf\dot{h}t$  (cp. Arabic  $manfah$ ), C 544/5  $rb\dot{h}$  (cp. Arabic  $raba\dot{h}a$ ). The reverse process is claimed by Höfner<sup>(23)</sup> for  $\dot{p}h\dot{t}$  which she compares with Arabic  $ma\dot{h}afat$ , but this etymology is not wholly certain. The alternation  $\dot{h}/\dot{h}$  is not reliably attested within ESA.

5:3  $\dot{g}$  as in  $\dot{g}yr$  "other",  $\dot{g}gr$  "little".

5:4 In one instance  $\dot{g}$  seems to derive from original  $*q$ : R 4151/6  $\dot{g}d\dot{g}$  contrasted with normal ESA  $\dot{g}dq$ .

5:5 On the relation between  $\dot{g}$  and  $\epsilon$  see 4:11.

5:6  $q$  as in  $q\dot{t}n$  "small",  $bql$  "vegetables",  $brq$  "lightning".

#### Palatals

6:1  $k$  as in  $kbr$  "great",  $rkb$  "rider",  $mlk$  "king".

6:2  $g$  as in  $gb\dot{l}t$  "hill-country",  $rg\dot{l}$  "foot",  $hrg$  "slay".

6:3 In an unpublished inscription from Hagar, the very common ESA word  $hgr$  is spelt  $hqr$ , an alternation which suggests that ESA  $g$  was a stop and not the affricate  $\dot{g}$ .

#### Dentals and Interdentals

7:1  $t$  as in  $t\dot{h}t$  "beneath",  $\cdot tw$  "come".

7:2  $\dot{d}$  as in  $\dot{d}bs^1$  "honey",  $gd\dot{r}$  "wall",  $w\dot{l}\dot{d}$  "son".

7:3  $\dot{t}$  as in  $\dot{t}ny$  "two",  $\cdot \dot{t}l$  "tamarisk",  $\dot{h}r\dot{t}$  "plough".

7:4 On HAD  $\dot{t}$  and  $s^3$  see 8:7.

7:5 In MIN,  $\dot{t}$  is employed to represent Greek sigma in loanwords<sup>(24)</sup>.

7:6  $\dot{d}$  as in  $\dot{d}hb$  "gold",  $\dot{h}\dot{d}r$  "beware",  $\dot{f}h\dot{d}$  "thigh".

7:7 A few sporadic instances are found of  $\dot{d}$  from  $*s$ : SAB R 4011/8-9  $[w\dot{d}]$  against the usual  $w\dot{s}$ <sup>(25)</sup>; SAB JIH 66, MIN JSa 49<sup>(26)</sup>, QAT R 3878/17  $\dot{d}y\dot{d}$  (proper name) against normal  $sy\dot{d}$ ; MIN R 3310B/1  $\dot{h}f\dot{d}$  "delimit" against Arabic  $\dot{h}afasa$ ; SAB R 3519/1  $\epsilon\dot{d}\dot{d}$  from the root normally attested as  $\epsilon s s$ .

7:8 In a certain number of graffiti, the  $\dot{d}$  which normally introduces the clan-affiliation (40:4,c) is replaced by  $s$ : see Ry 433 etc. Note also the similar occurrence R 5085/10  $s\dot{s}rbn$  (month name).

7:9 In HAD we regularly find the spelling  $\cdot l\epsilon\dot{d}$  representing the proper name elsewhere attested as  $\cdot l\epsilon s$  (e.g. MIN K 3603/3). This, however, is not enough to justify us in concluding that  $\dot{d}$  and  $s$  formed a single phoneme in that dialect, as in the case discussed below, 8:7.

7:10 It has been suggested by Littmann<sup>(27)</sup> that  $\dot{d}krm$  and  $qr\dot{d}$  in R 4884 correspond to Arabic  $Dukain$  and  $Qird$ , and that in consequence we may conclude "that here in the HAD dialect  $\dot{d}$  is written for  $\dot{d}$  and that  $\dot{d}$  was pronounced like  $\dot{d}$ ". This does not seem to me justified by the available evidence. If  $\dot{d}$  was in fact pronounced in HAD like  $\dot{d}$  we would expect to find HAD spellings with  $\dot{d}$  corresponding to  $\dot{d}$  elsewhere, as well as vice versa; and this does not appear to be the case.

#### Sibilants

8:1 The ESA unvoiced sibilants are a much-discussed problem. D. Stehle has devoted an intensive study to them<sup>(28)</sup>, but her conclusions do not seem to me to be supported by the evidence. My own views broadly coincide with those of J. Cantineau<sup>(29)</sup>.

The only other Semitic languages where we can distinguish three separate unvoiced sibilants are Hebrew and the MSA dialects (Mahri, Soqotri, Saḥori). The MSA group preserves the same phonological values as Hebrew for at least two of these sibilants: Hebrew  $\dot{s}$  is etymologically equivalent to MSA  $\dot{s}$ , Hebrew  $s$  to MSA  $s$ , and Hebrew  $\dot{s}$  to the MSA laterally enunciated sibilant. Given this congruence at opposite ends of the Semitic world, it seems reasonable to think that the Hebrew and MSA values for  $\dot{s}$  and  $s$ , at least, are the original Semitic ones; and the most satisfactory working hypothesis is that ESA had the same values, and had not (at least until its very latest stage, see 8:8), undergone the sibilant sound-shifts characteristic of modern Arabic<sup>(30)</sup>.

8:2 ESA  $s^1$  corresponds etymologically to Hebrew  $\text{ש}$ , MSA  $\text{š}$ , Arabic  $s$ : as in  $s^1m$  "name", against Hebrew  $\text{שֵׁם}$ , Soqotri  $\text{šem}$ , Saḥori  $\text{šum}$ , Arabic  $\text{ism}$ . ESA  $s^1$  represents Syriac  $\text{š}$  in the late SAB loanwords C 541/2  $ms^1h$  = Syriac  $m\text{š}i\text{h}\text{o}$ , and C 541/67  $qs^1s^1$  = Syriac  $q\text{a}\text{š}i\text{š}\text{o}$ .

8:3 In one anomalous instance ESA  $s^1$  corresponds to Hebrew  $s$ , in  $s^1\text{c}\text{d}$  against Hebrew  $\text{sac}\text{ad}$ ; and once to Hebrew  $\text{sin}$ , in  $\text{c}\text{s}^1y$  against Hebrew  $\text{ca}\text{śah}$ .

8:4 ESA  $s^2$  corresponds etymologically to Hebrew  $\text{sin}$ , MSA  $\text{ś}$  (the lateral sibilant), Arabic  $\text{š}$ ; as in  $\text{c}\text{s}^2r\text{t}$  "ten", against Hebrew  $\text{e}\text{ś}\text{arah}$ , Soqotri  $\text{e}\text{ś}\text{ereh}$ , Arabic  $\text{e}\text{ś}\text{arah}$ .

8:5 ESA  $s^3$  corresponds etymologically to Hebrew  $\text{samek}$ , MSA  $s$ , Arabic  $s$ : as in  $ks^3w$  "garment", against Hebrew  $\text{kasah}$ , Soqotri  $\text{kes}$ , Arabic  $\text{kas}\text{ā}$ . ESA  $s^3$  represents foreign  $s$  in the late SAB loanwords R 3904  $kr\text{s}^3\text{ts}^3$  "Christos" and C 534/1  $ys^3r^3$  "Israel".

8:6 In HAR, original  $*s^3$  has undergone a sound-shift to  $s^1$ . Thus MIN R 3427/2  $ks^3w$  corresponds to HAR C 523/6  $'ks^1wt$ . But  $s^3$  is found in one HAR text, R 3956/7  $ys^3wb\text{nh}$ , derived from original  $*t$ .

8:7 In HAD, original  $s^3$  and  $t$  have fallen together into a single phoneme, spelt indifferently with either letter: R 2687/5  $s^3ny$  "two" from  $*tny$ , CT 9/3-4  $mt\text{nd}$  "inscription" from  $ms^3nd$  (31).

8:8 In SAB of the sixth century A.D., there are sporadic instances of spellings with  $s^1$  where we would have expected  $s^3$ : Ry 507/11  $hs^1s^3$  contrasted with the earlier form R 3856/6  $hs^3s^3$ ; C 325/2  $s^1n$  against earlier  $s^3n$  (32); C 541/90  $frs^1$  "Persia", where we would have expected, on the basis of 8:5,  $*frs^3$ ; Ry 510/3  $ms^1nd$  against earlier regular  $ms^3nd$ , while in Ry 507/11 both spellings occur together; Ry 508/8  $s^1s^1lt$  and Ry 507/10  $s^1s^3lt$ , where on the basis of Hebrew  $\text{sansinnun}$  we would have expected an ESA  $*s^3s^3lt$ .

8:9 For the voiced sibilant  $s$ , note  $s^3d$  "increase",  $ms\text{sy}$  "goats".

8:10 On the relationship between  $s$  and  $\underline{d}$ , see 8:7, 7:8, 7:9.

8:11  $s$  for normal  $s^3$  seems to occur in R 4638  $yh\text{š}\text{h}\text{m}$  (clan-name), contrasted with normal  $yh\text{s}^3\text{h}\text{m}$ .

8:12 In R 4188/10  $n\text{s}\text{c}$  contrasts with normal  $n\text{c}\text{e}$ . Höfner's explanation of this (33) as a genuine sound-shift is opposed by Stehle (34), who thinks that "a confusion of signs, not sounds, is responsible for the anomaly".

### Emphatics

9:1  $\text{ṭ}$  as in  $\text{ṭhr}$  "pure",  $\text{ḥṭ}$  "sin",  $\text{ṭṭ}$  "judge".

9:2  $\text{ḍ}$  as in  $\text{ḍ}^n$  "sheep",  $\text{wḍ}$  "issue",  $\text{'rḍ}$  "earth".

9:3  $\text{ḡ}$  as in  $\text{ḡṣr}$  "small",  $\text{nḡr}$  "help",  $\text{ḥlḡ}$  "sincerity".

9:4  $\text{ḣ}$  as in  $\text{ḣby}\text{t}$  "young (camel)",  $\text{ḣṭḣḡ}$  "preserve".

9:5 A certain amount of fluctuation is apparent among the emphatics. Thus, between  $\text{ṭ}$  and  $\text{ḍ}$ , R 2891/2  $qb\text{ṭ}$  beside normal  $qb\text{ḍ}$ , C 408/12  $\text{mwḍn}$  (35) beside normal  $\text{mwṭn}$ , C 529/4  $\text{ṭṣ}$  beside C 70/1  $\text{ḍṣ}$  (36); and between  $\text{ḡ}$  and  $\text{ḣ}$ , R 4325/3  $\text{ḡbḣt}$  beside R 4176/2  $\text{ḣbḣ}$ .

These instances, however, are exceptional and rare. The amount of evidence is quite inadequate to justify Stehle's statement (37) that "interchange of  $\text{ḍ}$  and  $\text{ḡ}$  indicates that it is possible for both signs to represent the same sound". For apart from these anomalous cases, the spellings are in general remarkably stable.

9:6 Markedly more frequent is variation between  $\text{ḡ}$  and  $\text{ḣ}$ . For example: R 4646/10  $\text{ḣḡr}$  against C 542/3  $\text{ḡḡr}$ , R 461/3  $\text{ḡlmt}$  against R 4659/4  $\text{ḣlmt}$ , R 2693/3  $\text{qḡ}$  against R 3857/4 (38)  $\text{qḣ}$ , C 323/9  $\text{qyḡ}$  against C 448/6  $\text{qyḣ}$ , R 3188/10  $\text{s}^2\text{ḡy}$  against C 87/10 (and often)  $\text{s}^2\text{ḣy}$ , R 2774/1  $\text{ṭḡwr}$  against R 2999/2  $\text{ṭḣwr}$ , R 4574  $\text{ḍt/ḡhrn}$  against normal  $\text{ḍt/ḣhrn}$  (39). The number of instances of this variation constitutes a remarkably high proportion when considered in relation to the total number of roots containing  $\text{ḡ}$ . In this case, therefore, there may well be grounds for thinking that in part of the ESA linguistic area the two letters were phonemically indistinguishable.

The very close graphic similarity between the two letters is also worth noting in this connection. The similarity has led to some editorial confusion, since on a badly preserved stone it may be difficult to determine which is the true reading. For this reason, any attempt to chart the chronological or geographical distribution of the feature would be hazardous. But there is a sufficiency of instances in well-preserved texts to make it certain that the variation did exist.

9:7 An unusual alternation of  $\text{ḍ}/\text{s}^2$  seems to be attested in Nami 62  $\text{ḍqr}$  for normal  $\text{s}^2\text{qr}$ . On variation between  $\text{ḍ}/\text{s}$  see 8:12.

### Labials

10:1  $\text{ḡ}$  corresponds to Semitic  $p$ , as in  $\text{ḡr}\text{q}$  "distinguish",  $\text{ḡs}^1$  "soul",  $\text{'ḡḡ}$  "thousand".  $\text{ḡ}$  is regularly employed to render a foreign  $p$  in loanwords:  $\text{'ḡk}$  from Accadian  $\text{apka}\text{lu}$ ,  $\text{'ṭrḡḡ}$  from Egyptian  $\text{'šrḡp}$ .

Conversely, Latin *carfiathum* (40) "autumn crop (of incense)", from ESA *hrf* "autumn", seems to show that this phoneme was realised in ESA as *f* just as it is in Arabic, Geez and MSA.

10:2 *b* as in *bēl* "lord", *ebē* "servant", *qrb* "near".

#### Liquids and Nasals

11:1 *l* as in *lb* "heart", *šlm* "image", *nhl* "palmgrove".

11:2 *r* as in *r's* "head", *brq* "lightning", *twr* "bull".

11:3 *m* as in *mwt* "death", *m* "mother".

11:4 *n* as in *ns* "arise", *gnm* "booty", *bn* "stone".

#### Semivowels

12:1 The "weak" consonants *w* and *y* show great instability. In the first place they tend to merge into vowels and are thus liable to disappear from the graphic form of the word altogether (for examples see 23 and 24:4-5). Secondly, there are frequent and ubiquitous cases of fluctuation between the two, both within ESA itself and when ESA is compared with other Semitic languages. As examples of such fluctuation within ESA may be mentioned: C 37/6, C 645/3 etc. *qwl* beside C 314/2, C 658/2 etc. *qyl*; Nami NAG 6/20 *yhrqwn* beside Nami NAG 9/22 *yhrqyn* (41).

12:2 A fairly constant distinction between these two sounds is however maintained in cases where one of them is the first radical of the root. In such cases ESA usually preserves an initial *w* as in *wld* "child". Original initial *y* is exemplified in *yd* "hand". Nevertheless, there are a few examples of an original first-radical *w* being changed into *y*: Nami /74/4 *ys't* "midst", against normal *ws't* (see 23:5).

12:3 On alternation between *w/y* and *'* see 4:2.

#### Assimilation

13:1 A number of instances occur where *n* (probably unvoiced) is assimilated to the immediately following consonant; this would result in a lengthening of the second consonant, and since consonant length is not normally indicated in the script (2:5), the original *\*n* disappears altogether from the graphic form of the word. This takes place most frequently before dentals, interdental, sibilants and emphatics. No instances seem to be recorded of it occurring before pharyngals and laryngals. Among the velars and labials, it seems to be attested only before *q* and *f*: R 4230/10 *mqgm* from root *nqg*, C 544/4 *'fs*

from root *nfs*. The evidence for assimilation of *n* before the palatals *k* and *g* is less conclusive, but there are some indications that it probably took place: the royal name spelt in the inscriptions *s'rhb'l/ykf* (42) seems to be represented in the Islamic sources by the form *šarahbīl yankaš* (43); and Našwān's *hlny* which he quotes as a Himyarite term equivalent to *mitl* (44) appears to be identical with the ESA *hg* (a preposition, "according to", see 51:3; and a conjunction "as", see 55:2). Additional evidence for assimilation before *g* is provided by C 67/12 *ygnw*, if this is (as the Corpus editor holds) derived from root *ngw*.

13:2 G.Ryckmans (45) suggests that *n* as second radical tends to be retained except in certain primitive nouns such as *bt* (from *bnt*), *'s*, *'tt*, *ity*. However, I would attribute the comparative rarity of assimilated second-radical *n* to purely statistical causes: on the one hand, roots with *n* as middle radical are distinctly rarer than those with initial *n* (on a rough lexical count the proportion is about one-third); on the other hand, whereas several common word-formations have an unvoiced first radical (causative verb-stem, *'fcl* plural of nouns, etc.), an unvoiced second radical is largely confined to the noun-form *fcl*, *fclt*.

13:3 Although assimilation of *n* under the conditions mentioned in 13:1, takes place fairly often, it is not invariably present. Beside the assimilated forms C 171 *mqlh*, C 544/4 *'fs*, C 544/1 *'tt*, C 460/6 *mtjt*, we find also C 159 *mndh*, R 2965/3 *'nfs*, C 126/3 *'ntt*, C 460/8 *mtjt*. It will be noticed that the same word sometimes occurs in assimilated and unassimilated forms in the same text (e.g. C 460). This practice of assimilation may consequently have been facultative and not obligatory.

13:4 Assimilation of *t* occurs in the element *et* from *ett* in (cp.16:1) theophorous names, and once in the divine name itself, R 4194/5 *ctr* from *etttr*.

13:5 Assimilation of *d* to a following *t* possibly occurs in the numeral forms *'ht*, *tt* (35:1,2).

13:6 Assimilation of *d* occurs in middle and late SAB forms of the numeral "six" (35:6): *s'tt* against early SAB *s'dtt* etc. According to G.Ryckmans (46), the late SAB R 5085/11 *s'ty* "sixty" arises from a double assimilation: *s'dttt* to *s'tty* to *s'ty*.

## Dissimilation

14:1 *gnāl* "fortress", which seems to belong to the root *gdł*, is explained by G.Ryckmans<sup>(47)</sup> as dissimilated from *\*gdāl*.

14:2 It is uncertain whether ESA *s<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>* "sun" and *s<sup>2</sup>rs<sup>1</sup>* "foundation", which contrast with Hebrew *šemeš*, *šoreš*, are the result of dissimilation; or whether the Hebrew forms could be regarded as assimilative.

14:3 The same could be said about ESA *s<sup>2</sup>l<sup>t</sup>* "three", which Höfner<sup>(48)</sup> records as a case of dissimilation from *\*tll<sup>t</sup>*. It is to be noted, though, that as regards the internal chronology of the ESA forms of this numeral, *s<sup>2</sup>l<sup>t</sup>* is the older form, characteristic of MIN and early SAB, while *tll<sup>t</sup>* belongs to middle and late SAB.

## Metathesis

15:1 We occasionally find that the plural of nouns containing *w* or *y* as first radical shows a tendency to metathesis of the first and second radicals: SAB C 543/3-4 *\*lwā* from singular *wlā* (and the same form in Ja 348/3-4), SAB R 4194/3 *\*ywn* from singular *wyn*, HAD Ingrams 1/2 *\*wym* from *ywm*. None of the texts involved seems to be of pre-Christian date, and the phenomenon should perhaps be regarded as a comparatively late feature.

15:2 Roots containing *w* or *y* are specially exposed to metathesis variations: C 315/12 *ws<sup>2</sup>ε* and C 79/7 *s<sup>2</sup>wε* occur in the identical sense "help" and seem to be only variants of each other; Fa 120/15 *s<sup>2</sup>y<sup>f</sup>* is probably a variant of the root *ws<sup>3</sup>f* "give, grant" common in the votive texts.

15:3 Beyond the above-mentioned cases, metathesis is rare. But observe C 74/20 *qml* and R 4230/10 *qlm*, both in the sense "noxious insects". See also 29:6.

## Apocope and Syncope

16:1 The divine name *εttr* when forming the second element of a theophorous name, frequently assumes the apocopated form *εtt* or even, with assimilation as well (13:4), *εt*. This peculiarity seems to be inherited from early Semitic, for a similar loss of final *r* is attested in Ugaritic<sup>(49)</sup>.

16:2 The problematic form G1 1209/8 *lbnhn*, where we would have expected *\*lbnnhn*, perhaps arises by syncope; though Rhodokanakis<sup>(50)</sup> terms it a "dissimilatory" loss of one *n*.

## ROOTS

17:1 Various ancient biliteral roots are preserved, such as *\*l, \*h, yd*. These are sometimes expanded to trilaterals in the formation of derivatives, as in the case of the verb-form *t<sup>1</sup>hw*; cp. also 31:1.

17:2 There are one or two possible instances of secondary verbal roots originating in nouns derived from weak roots with a feminine *-t* suffix, where the *t* has become radical in the verb-form; e.g. the verbs *s<sup>2</sup>ft* (51) and *hmt* (52).

17:3 Quadriliteral roots are common in proper names, but otherwise extremely rare. To be specially noted are the reduplicated forms R 3347/3 *f<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup>q* and R 4781/2 *f<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>d<sup>2</sup>tm*. Apart from this special class, the only examples I can cite are C 432/6 *yhs<sup>2</sup>\*mln* from root *s<sup>2</sup>\*ml*, and R 5065 *hs<sup>1</sup>mhr* from root *s<sup>1</sup>mhr*.

## VERBAL STEMS

18:1 The simple ground-stem of the verb shows the radical letters alone. Distinguishable graphically by the addition of extra consonants to the ground-stem are the following derivative stems, all of them well attested and frequent:

- (a) "causative" stem characterized by prefixed *h-* in SAB and HAR, and by *s<sup>1</sup>-* in MIN, QAT and HAD; e.g. SAB *hεdb*, QAT *s<sup>1</sup>εdb*.
- (b) *t*-prefix stem, as in *tqdm*.
- (c) *t*-infix stem, as in *qtqm*.
- (d) *s<sup>1</sup>t*-prefix stem, as in *s<sup>1</sup>tmh<sup>2</sup>*.

18:2 It has hitherto been commonly assumed that ESA also possessed a *n*-prefix stem, but the only instance of it adduced is the unique form *nhql*, of which there are five occurrences (C 601/15, R 3689/11, 3856/3, 3878/12, Ry 533/7<sup>(53)</sup>); but in no case do we find a finite verb-form, all these occurrences being (if we accept them as verb-forms at all) infinitives.

C 547/1 *mng<sup>r</sup>* was taken by Grimme as the participle of this stem, but the Corpus is surely right in considering the first two letters as the pronoun "whoever", with omission of the word-divider.

R 4337B/9 *nkw<sup>n</sup>* is in my view a noun-form from root *nkw* and not a verb from root *kwn* as it was taken by Höfner and the Répertoire.

The *n*-prefix stem is exceptionally rare in the MSA dialects<sup>(54)</sup>, and in Geez this stem is confined to a restricted class of verbs with a



frequentative meaning and usually from a reduplicated root of the type e.g. 'angargara "revolve".

In view of all this, there is a good deal of probability that *nḥql* should be regarded as a noun-form, not as a verbal stem.

On the other hand, it is possible that MIN R 3306/3 'nārr/ywm "whether the day has come round again" could be analysed as interrogative particle ' plus verb-stem nārr. In favour of such a view is the fact that the meaning of the verb is frequentative, and that it is a quasi-reduplicated form from root *dwr* (55), in both features resembling the Geez *n*-stems.

At all events, it must be said that the *n*-prefix stem, if it does occur in ESA, is very rare and to be regarded as exceptional rather than as a regular part of the verbal system.

18:3 The existence of a derived "intensive" (56) stem, graphically indistinguishable from the ground-stem, can be deduced from variations in meaning, e.g. C 323/3 'tw "come" contrasted with C 461/4 'tw "bring, offer" (57). This stem may have been characterized by consonant lengthening of the second radical, like Arabic and Geez *qattala* (see also 18:6). Whether ESA possessed a stem with vocalic lengthening, like Arabic and Geez *qātala*, cannot, owing to the lack of vocalization, be determined.

18:4 In the case of the *t*-prefix stem of roots mediae infirmae, the existence of a form such as G1 1209/6 *ts²m* (root *s²ym*) must point to a stem similar to Geez *taqatla* (i.e. *tas²ayma* becoming *tas²ēma*). But it is problematical whether C 337/5 *ts²ym* represents *tas²ayma*, *tas²ayyama* or *tas²āyama*. In MSA all the prefix stems can be formed from either the ground-stem or the "intensive" stem, and in Geez prefix-stems are formed from the ground-stem, the *qattala* stem and the *qātala* one. The possibility is not excluded that in ESA the prefix-stems may similarly have existed in at least two forms, if not three.

18:5 In the case of the *t*- infix stem from a root beginning with *n* the radical *n* may be assimilated (see 13:1) to the following *t* as in R 4150/4,6 *tḥc* from \**ntḥc*, root *nḥc* (58).

18:6 In MIN there occurs sporadically a stem *ʃcēl* (R 2771/5 *ʃrre*, R 2774/2 *ēlly*, etc.), of which the explanation has given rise to some debate. The older commentators assumed it to be an "intensive" stem with lengthening of the second consonant expressed (contrary to the usual scribal conventions of ESA) by gemination in the script. Rhodokanakis,

followed by Höfner, explains these stems otherwise, namely as *ʃacēala* stems, terming them "frequentatives". This view is opposed by G. Ryckmans (59) on the grounds that, first, scribal gemination to express a lengthened consonant is not wholly unknown in ESA (see 2:5), and secondly that in most cases the MIN *ʃcēl* stem occurs in contexts where the reference is to a single completed action, and the notion of a "frequentative" is quite inappropriate. The latter remark is fully justified; whatever the vocalization of these forms may have been, their function was not "frequentative", but either factitive as in *ēlly* "cause to be high, raise up", or denominative as in *ʃrre* "offer first-fruits" derived from the noun *ʃre* "firstfruits". These two functions, factitive and denominative, are precisely the ones most commonly associated, in other Semitic languages, with the *qattala* stem; a point which adds a good deal of weight to Ryckmans' view.

18:7 I find it difficult to assent to Höfner's statement (60) that the ESA verb-stem system is closely allied with that of North Arabic. This could only be asserted with confidence if we knew more about the ESA vocalization; the few facts that we do know (almost total absence of *n*-prefix stem, presence of a *taqatla* stem) tend rather to indicate a closer relationship with MSA and Geez than with Arabic.

#### INFINITIVE

19:1 Infinitives, apart from the suffix-form described in 19:5, are graphically indistinguishable from the masculine singular of the perfect.

19:2 In general, this applies to all verbal stems, including the "intensive"; thus C 573/5 *lwḥc/wṭbr/wmnc/wḥrn/kl/qrhmw* "to lay low and crush and repulse and drive backward all their enemies", where the factitive sense of *ḥrn* points to an intensive stem.

19:3 But we also find a few instances where a finite verb which is apparently intensive is associated with a noun-form *tʃcēl* as in C 461/4-5 *\*twḥw/tnyḥ/t²tum* "offered to him a second offering", and C 79/9 *btqām/qām/bem/erbn* "in the expedition which he made against the Arabs". This tends to suggest that *tʃcēl* sometimes served as an infinitive for the intensive stem (compare Arabic *taʃcēl* as the infinitive of *ʃacēala*).

19:4 Infinitives of the derived stems sometimes show a *-t* suffix, as in the very common form *hḥnyṭ*.

19:5 In SAB and HAR infinitives with a suffix  $-n$  are very common. They do not occur in MIN, QAT or HAD. This infinitival suffix is clearly differentiated from the ending of the emphatic noun-state (28:1) by the fact that it is retained in the construct: thus, C 308/20 *lhngrnhmw* "to assist them". Infinitives with and without  $-n$  are found in identical syntactic contexts, and it seems clear that the use or omission of this ending depends on stylistic rather than syntactic considerations. In series of consecutive infinitives, it sometimes happens that only the last term of the series has this ending, sometimes that it is attached to them all; compare SAB C 40/2 *hwtr/w hqw/whs<sup>2</sup>qrn* with SAB Fa 3/1 *qnyn/wbrgn/wbcln/wgrbn*.

## PARTICIPLES

20:1 From the ground-stem are formed an active participle  $fcl$  and a passive one  $mfc$ : Ist 7608 bis/16 *glb* "victorious", R 5000/2 *mrtd* "(object) dedicated".

20:2 The form  $mfc$  has, however, at times an undoubtedly active meaning, as in Gl 1209/1 *mgf* "minister"; the parallel Arabic *nāṣiṣ* and *manṣaf* both meaning "servant", point to the possibility of a nomen agentis in  $m-$  being formed from the ground-stem. There is no reason to assume that such forms are necessarily from the intensive stem (an assumption which underlies the conventional vocalization of *mkrb* as "mukarrīb"). On the other hand, some of the  $mfc$  forms are no doubt to be regarded as based on the intensive stem; a probable example is QAT Ja 348/5 *mnkr* used in place of the more common form from the causative stem, *ms<sup>1</sup>nkr*.

20:3 In the case of the other verbal stems, participles are formed, from the purely graphic point of view, simply by prefixing  $m-$  to the stem. Thus, (a) causative, SAB C 449/4 *mhnkr* (note the retention of the stem-prefix, contrary to Arabic and Hebrew practice), QAT R 3856/6 *ms<sup>1</sup>nkr* "one who damages"; (b)  $t-$  prefix, SAB Fa 74/3 *mtrhm* "merciful"; (c)  $t-$  infix, SAB C 308/7 *ms<sup>2</sup>trc* "watering-place" (strictly speaking a nomen loci, but probably identical in form with a passive participle, as is the case with Arabic nouns of place from the derived verbal stems), perhaps also *mqtwy* "(title of an administrative official)" from root *qwy*.

## THE VERB; PERSONS AND TENSES

21:1 First and second person forms are not so far attested for finite verbs. The explanation for this is probably to be sought in the stylistic convention which required that inscriptions should ordinarily be drafted wholly in the third person.

21:2 The third person of the perfect has in all dialects:  
 masculine singular  $fcl$             feminine singular  $fclt$   
 masculine dual  $fclv$             feminine dual  $fcltv$  (e.g. C 389/4)  
 masculine plural  $fclw$

21:3 In the simple imperfect, the singular in all dialects is, masculine  $wfc$ , feminine  $wfc$ ; masculine dual  $wfcv$  (61); masculine plural  $wfcw$ , except in QAT where we find  $wfcwn$ . Imperfect feminine plurals are inadequately attested, but there are some grounds for supposing the simple form to be  $*wfc$  (see 21:7).

21:4 In the imperfects of the derived stems, the  $y$  or  $t$  is prefixed to the verb-stem; this applies also to the causative, which retains its characteristic stem-prefix, e.g. SAB C 444/2 *yhb<sup>s</sup>*.

21:5 On the question of a possible shortened "jussive" form of the imperfect, morphologically distinct from a longer form, see 22:3.

21:6 Imperfects in SAB and HAR, sometimes also in MIN, characterized by an ending  $-n$ . This does not occur in the older QAT nor in HAD (but see 3:12).

21:7 Höfner<sup>(62)</sup> defines the morphology of the  $-n$  imperfects thus:

In the singular  $-n$  is added, giving masculine  $wfcn$ , feminine  $wfc$ . The dual is attested only in MIN as  $wfcvn$  (e.g. R 3458/1 *ys<sup>1</sup>meyn*). In the masculine plural the  $-w$  of the simple imperfect is replaced by  $-n$  in the MIN form  $wfcn$  and by  $-nn$  in the SAB form  $wfcnn$ . The feminine plural seems to be attested reliably only in the MIN forms R 3306/5,6 *trann*, *t<sup>1</sup>trnn*; here one may plausibly analyse the first  $n$  as belonging to the simple imperfect (comparable with the Arabic  $-na$  ending for feminine plurals), so that these forms would then have a single additional  $n$  for the ending of this special form and so be morphologically parallel to the MIN singular and masculine plural.

21:8 The rule as thus stated, however, admits of exceptions. In SAB R 4775/2, *yhtmyrn* (with double  $n$  ending!) has a singular subject *m<sup>1</sup>hd* (as the singular demonstrative in the next line, *hw<sup>t</sup>/m<sup>1</sup>hdn*,

shows). Conversely, we have a single *n* ending for the SAB plural in C 392/6 *ykn* (root *kwn*), of which the subject is *\*tmr/w'fql*.

The analysis of SAB C87/5 *yēbrn* is very problematical, but its subject is *'ḡf*, which, whatever its meaning, certainly looks like a plural.

21:9 When an imperfect occurs (a) in a jussive sense, introduced by *l-*, or (b) within a conditional, relative, descriptive or purposive clause, it usually has in SAB and HAR the *n* ending. E.g.:

SAB C 3/9 *wl/yz'n* "and may he continue".

HAR C 548/9 *lywfyw/ḡlēn* "let him pay the fine".

SAB C 88/8 *kl/'ml'w/s'tml'w/wys'tml'n* "all the oracles which they have sought or will seek".

SAB R 3910/3 *mnmw/āys²'mn* "whoever purchases".

SAB C 570/5-6 *lkā/...tā'n/tḡrw* "in order that the delimitation may be established".

SAB C 603/18 *hm/yhwkbn* "if he is compelled".

21:10 Exceptions to this norm nevertheless occur: SAB R 850/6 *lyz'* "may he continue", SAB R 4176/4 *wlkā/lyqny/t'lb* "and that [jussive] Ta'lab should possess". In SAB Ry 535, where we encounter a wealth of narrative imperfects (see 52:10) unparalleled in any other text, some of them have the *-n* form (which is not usual in such a syntactic context), others not, apparently without any principle of distinction: contrast line 7 *wbnhw/fyt'wlkn* with line 8 *wbnhw/fyt'wlw*.

21:11 Imperfects with *-n* ending occur also in MIN, but much less frequently than in SAB; in MIN these imperfects seem to be exceptional. Contrast R 3603/8 *ys'brn*, R 3306/4 *hn/ys³qn* with R 2814/6 *hm'y/āyngw*, R 2831/3 *āyhg*.

21:12 A special characteristic of QAT is the use of imperfects with prefix *b-*. The normal rule seems to be that every QAT imperfect has this prefix unless it is introduced by *l-* or a conditional particle. The syntactic basis for this is probably to be stated in the form that "*b-* is characteristic of the indicative in QAT, while a jussive (and perhaps also a subjunctive) use is characterized by the absence of *b-*". Such a formulation would bring the QAT imperfect usage very close to that of the Syro-Palestinian dialect of Arabic<sup>(63)</sup>. The vast majority of QAT imperfects conform to this rule: e.g. R 3566/14 *'l/s'knw/w'l/*

*bys¹knwn* "what they have decreed and what they will [indicative] decree"; R 3854/7 *wl/ylyḡq* "let him prosecute" [independent jussive]; R 4337C/10 *lyḡbḡ* "until day dawns" [subjunctive?]; R 3854/8 *hmw/yys's'lb* "if he neglects" [subordinate jussive].

21:13 A meagre number of apparent exceptions to the rule as stated in the preceding paragraph can be observed, though in some cases the exception is perhaps more apparent than real: in R 4337C/9 *ybnwn* is certainly jussive in sense, although not introduced by *l-*; in R 3688/6 *fykbr* is syntactically obscure, but a jussive sense is not excluded; in R 3878/13 *ēdkm/byḡrys¹/mlkn* "until the king commands" and R 3854/2 *kām/byf'rw* "that they shall work in the fields", one might have expected a subjunctive usage (but compare the cases where *mā* after an Arabic subordinating conjunction hinders its regime); on R 4337A/13 *mty/yhār* see 55:5.

21:14 Imperfects with prefix *b-* are also encountered in MIN, though rarely: R 2918/2 *wān/bybht*, R 3285/5 *ān/bḡrn/fs¹mm/byḡtn*. The syntax of these MIN *b-* imperfects is extremely obscure, owing to the fragmentary state of the texts where they are found, and we have not sufficient reliable material to make any plausible analysis of them.

21:15 The perfect is a narrative tense denoting events in past time, and includes the meanings of both perfect and pluperfect in European languages. The imperfect conveys a present or future notion, whether this be (in main clauses) relative to the drafting of the text, or (in subordinate clauses) relative to the action of the main clause. On the use of the imperfect as a narrative tense see 52:10.

21:16 ESA has nothing corresponding to the auxiliary use of *kāna* in Arabic *kāna fa'ala*, *kāna ya'fa'alu*. ESA *kwn* is followed only by nominal or prepositional complements. Nevertheless, something like an auxiliary verbal usage is found in the case of the verb *wz'* "continue" in Fa 74/2 *wz'w/s²rēw/bythmw* "and they furthermore provided a water supply for their house". Elsewhere, *wz'* is normally followed by an infinitive.

#### IMPERATIVE AND JUSSIVE

22:1 The second person imperative is hardly ever found; but observe SAB 4088/1 *tḡw/ēbrm* "beware ye of passing".

22:2 The jussive or optative in main clauses is expressed by *l-* introducing either an infinitive or an imperfect. In SAB and HAR an imperfect so used has normally the *-n* ending (21:9). Examples of the infinitive: SAB C 82/8 *wl/wz'/'lmqh* "and may Ilmuqah continue", SAB C 570/6-7 *lkw/n/...wtnn* "let the boundaries be ..." Examples of the imperfect: SAB Nami 74/13 *wl/yeabn* "and let him be punished", HAR C 548/5 *lyglen* "let him be fined", QAT R 3854/8 *wl/ylysq* "let him prosecute".

22:3 In SAB C 126/12-3 we find the contrasting forms *qymwt* "who shall die" and *wl/ymt* "so let him die". This might tend to suggest that the jussive imperfect may sometimes have been distinguished from the indicative by a shortened form, as in Arabic and Geez. This however must remain problematical, for in SAB C 392/6 *ykn* we have a short form in an ordinary descriptive clause where we would expect an indicative, and in SAB C 380/3 *lykwunn* the long form where we would expect a jussive.

#### VERBS FROM WEAK ROOTS

23:1 It does not seem possible to define any strict rules governing the forms adopted by weak roots. The following observations refer to general tendencies, but it would be possible to adduce exceptions to most of them.

#### Primae Infirmas

23:2 In verbs with *w* as first radical, the first radical normally disappears from the graphic form in the imperfect of the ground-stem, and in the *ftel* stem: R 3696/1 *yrd*, R 4176/7 *tfr* (64).

23:3 Verbs with *y* as first radical are rather infrequent, but in such cases the first radical is sometimes retained in the imperfect; contrast Nami NAG 4/6-7 *yfen* (65) with C 949/4 *yufen*.

23:4 *w* or *y* as first radical is usually preserved in the graphic form of the causative and *s'tfel* stems: C 407/21 *hwkb*, Nami 74/3-4 *hyfe*, R 3845/5 *s'twfy*, C 597/9 *s'tyfe*.

23:5 In Nami 74, a text which has the characteristic of replacing initial radical *w* by *y* at the beginning of a word, the original *w* is retained in the derived prefix-stem of the verb: line 10 *s'twfn*.

#### Mediae Infirmas

23:6 In verbs with *w* or *y* as second radical, both plene and defective forms occur freely in the singular of the perfect: C 610/1 *hrwh*, C 82/8 *s'waf*, against R 3961/2 *hqh*, R 3991/6 *s'f*. In the plural of the perfect, defective forms seem commoner than plene ones: C 1/3 *s'mw*, C 541/51 *hedw*. In the imperfect, both plene and defective forms occur freely.

#### Tertiae Informas

23:7 In verbs with *w* or *y* as last radical, the normal tendency seems to be to retain the weak letter in the perfect of the ground-stem, the intensive stem, and the *ftel* stem: C 323/3 *'tw*, C 334/13 *wfyt*, C 68/2 *gaw*, C 660/2 *hgw*, C 657/1 *bnv*; R 3902 bis/2 *bnvy*, R 3945/1 *htgyw*.

23:8 Imperfects retaining the weak letter are exemplified in R 4009/4 *ygy*, R 3688/8 *yrbv*, R 4775/2 *yhtmyrn*. Some examples showing the defective form could perhaps be explained as "shortened" jussive (see 22:3), as in R 4176/10 *ly't*, but it is doubtful whether this explanation would cover all cases.

23:9 In causative and *s'tfel* stems both plene and defective forms are found: C 37/7 *hgd*, Nami 74/10 *s'twfn*, against C 334/23 *hrqw* [sing.], C 599/4 *s'twfn*.

#### Mediae Geminatae

23:10 In the ground-stem of verbs from roots in which the second and third radicals are the same, we find forms without graphic reduplication: C 548/10 *kr*, R 3878/7 *hlt*. To what extent the forms with graphic reduplication represent intensive stems is very difficult to say; some of the following instances may well be such: C 657/2 *klb*, R 3427/2 *yfnw*, SAB C 601/2 *hll* (probably intensive, since in QAT we find the causative stem in the same meaning, R 3566/15 *s'hll*), R 4912/2 *glb*, C 541/11 *hrrw*.

23:11 The causative stem in these verbs shows both types freely: R 2865/1 *hgdd*, C 81/7 *yhdlln*, C 613/4 *hs'nn*, against C 648/4 *hgl*, R 3566/15 *s'hll*, R 3961/2 *hs'qw*.

23:12 In the few attested *ftel* stems from such verbs we find normally forms with graphic reduplication: R 3945/1 *y'tmw*, R 4913/3 *mtll*.



## NOUN STEMS

24:1 Noun stems consisting, in their graphic form, of simply the root letters no doubt conceal many varieties of vocalization: e.g. *ʾrḳ* "land", *mlk* "king", *ḡlm* "boy".

24:2 Stems enlarged by additional consonants are found as follows:

(a) suffix *t* forms feminines (see 25:1).

(b) *ʾfɛl* is frequently found in proper names. Apart from these, it is rare, but does seem to be attested as an "relative" form comparable with Arabic *ʾafʿalu*: R 3307/3 *ʾḡne/kl/gš[ytm]* "most rigorous of all decrees".

(c) *ʾfɛyl* is also encountered mostly in proper names, and is probably a diminutive formation comparable with Arabic *fʿaylun*. Otherwise, it is not common, but seems to be attested in R 4671/4 *ḡlym* "statuette".

(d) *ʾfɛl* may perhaps occur in R 4912/2 *ḡydm*.

(e) *ʾfɛl*: most of the words of this pattern seem to be plurals (30:3), and whether R 3566/5 *ḡwllt* "stipulations" allows us to infer a singular *\*ḡwll* is an open question.

(f) *ʾfɛly* is employed for secondary nouns corresponding to the Arabic *nisbah* formation, as in R 4133/6 *ḡnky* "man of *ḡnk*".

The form Ist 7608 bis/4 *mlyky* "belonging to the king" suggests that the ESA *nisbah* may sometimes have lengthened the vowel of the second syllable, as we find in Arabic Yaman: Yamānī. This seems to me better than deriving the word from an otherwise unattested *\*mlyk*.

Note too the *nisbah* form *ʾfɛlny*, in C 570/2 *ʾlwny*, from the place-name *ʾlw*, comparable with Arabic *Ṣanʿā: Ṣanʿanī*.

Höfner claims<sup>(66)</sup> that *ʾfɛly* is also used as an abstract; this is intrinsically possible, but the example cited, C 352/5 *rwsʾy*, is a dubious reading (Winckler emends it to a verb *rsʾyw*).

R 3566/22 *ywmyt* is perhaps a secondary abstract formation meaning "date"; if so, it may perhaps be registered as a feminine *nisbah* form, comparable with the Arabic use of such forms for abstracts.

(g) *mʾfɛl* is extensively used for:

- i. Nouns of place: *msʾwā* "altar of burnt sacrifice" (root "burn").
- ii. Nouns of instrument: C 376/16-7 *mḡdq* "document of attestation"
- iii. Abstracts: *mqm* "power, authority".

See also 20:1, 20:2 on participial uses of this form.

(h) *mʾfɛlt* is sometimes used in place of *mʾfɛl* when the root is mediae infirmae, tertiae infirmae, or mediae geminatae: C 601/17 *mḡbt* "decree", root *ḡwb*; R 4176/4 *mḡmyt* "field", root *ḡmy*; R 4794 *mḡbt* "barrage", root *ḡbb*.

(j) *tʾfɛl* seems to have been in origin an abstract, as in R 3992/5 *tbsʾr* "good news", but it sometimes develops a concrete sense, as in R 3689/6 *tʾnt* "(womankind), women". On the use of this form as an infinitive see 19:3. A graphically identical form may also have been used as a noun of agent, if the reading *tḡmr* "judge" is right in R 4691/1<sup>(67)</sup>.

(k) *ʾfɛln* is attested as an abstract in C 308/15 *ʾḡwnḡmw* "their alliance", R 4646/14-5 *ḡn/ḡmrn* "this concession", C 570/4 *ḡqbnḡw* "its exchange".

(l) *ʾfɛlnt*: on R 3306/7 *ywmyt* see 32:4.

(m) *nʾfɛl* is attested in the proper names of the divinities *nkrḡ* and *nbrl*<sup>(68)</sup>. On the problematical form *nḡql* see 18:2.

24:3 In middle SAB, the nouns *bn* and *ʾn*, when followed by a pronoun suffix, sometimes show a singular stem with a lengthened vowel *-y-*. Thus: Nami 19/16 *ḡlhn/wbnyḡw/sʾerm/mlky/sʾbʾ* "A. and his son S., the two kings of Saba", C 314/15-6 *ʾlsʾrḡ/yḡḡb/wʾḡyḡw/yʾsl/byr/mlky/sʾbʾ/wḡryḡn* "I.Y. and his brother Y.B., the two kings of Saba and *du-Raydan*". Also worth noting is QAT Ja 339/3 *ʾḡhsʾm*, followed by a single name, which may perhaps be susceptible of a similar explanation, i.e. a lengthening of the stem vowel, in this dialect producing a "parasitic" *n* (4:7).

24:4 Nouns derived from weak roots and roots mediae geminatae show the same diversity of graphic forms as the corresponding verbal formations (23:1 and following sections). A few examples will suffice: C 506/3 *mḡfr* beside C 546/2 *mʾfr*, R 4069/6 *msʾqy* beside C 655/2 *msʾqt*, R 4176/13 *mḡḡ* (root *rḡw*), R 4794 *mḡbt*.

24:5 There seems, however, to be a tendency for the form *ʾfɛl* to be written plene, with retention of the weak letter: *byt* and *ywm* occur far more frequently than *bt*, *ym*; note also *rḡw*, *ḡḡy*, etc. The form *mʾfɛl*, when derived from a root mediae infirmae, usually appears written defective: *mḡf* from root *qḡf*, *mqm* from *qwm*.

24:6 Roots with initial *w* give rise to a noun form with complete loss of the *w* and either with or without the suffix *t*. Thus from the root *wqh* we find C 325/3 *qh* and C 332/2 *qht*.

NOUNS: GENDER

25:1 Feminines are formed by the suffix *-t*: *bn* "son", *bnt* "daughter"; *mqtwy* "(title of an administrative functionary)", feminine *Nami* 14/2 *mqtwyt*. This suffix is also used in a wide range of nouns neuter in meaning but grammatically feminine, such as *ghnt* "wound". It also occurs very commonly in masculine proper names, such as *s'met* (69), where of course the name remains grammatically masculine.

25:2 Certain nouns devoid of this suffix are grammatically feminine. E.g. *'m* "mother", *s<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>* "sun", *byn* "time" (C 547/14), *qbr* "tomb" (Ja 343/3 with feminine demonstrative), *rgl* "period of office" (R 3535/2 with feminine numeral), *hgr* "town" (Ry 535/6, fem.demonst.), *'rh* "judgment" (R 3992/13 fem.demonstr.). Of common gender is *n<sup>2</sup>s<sup>1</sup>* "self", which is masculine in C 126/13, feminine in k 4088/5.

NOUN STATES: Construct

26:1 Apart from the cases described below (33:2,3), the singular of the construct state shows the noun in its bare stem form, and is thus graphically indistinguishable from the absolute without *-m* (27:1,2).

26:2 The construct is employed wherever a noun is followed by a dependent genitive or a pronominal suffix. Bare stem forms are also encountered preceding an asyndetic descriptive clause; and there is a possibility that these should be interpreted as constructs rather than absolutes (see further 41:1).

Absolute

27:1 The absolute is the ordinary state of nouns which are not followed by closely dependent expressions such as have been described in 26:2. It occurs in two forms, either with or without the ending *-m*. The absolute ending *m* does not *per se* correspond to the English indefinite article "a/an"; the form *'s<sup>1</sup>m* may need to be rendered either "a man" or "the man" according to the context (70).

27:2 The absolute without *m* is graphically indistinguishable from the construct except in the dual (29:2-6) and the external masculine plural (31:1-7). The forms with the *m* ending (sometimes called the

"mimation") occur in the singular, the internal plural, and the external feminine plural. In the dual and the external masculine plural we find only forms without mimation.

27:3 The factors governing the use of the mimated rather than the unmimated absolute are obscure. In MIN particularly, there is great freedom in the use or the omission of the mimation. When we compare R 2789/2 *dbh/ettr/daqbd/'dbh/*, R 2771/5-6 *dbh/ettr/daqbdm/b'hqrn/ 'dbhm/*, and R 3535/2 *dbh/ettr/daqbd/b'hqr/'dbh/wettr/duhrq/bytl/'dbhm/*, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the syntactic function of the mimation is minimal and that considerations of sentence-rhythm are the main factor in the choice between the mimated and unmimated form.

27:4 In SAB the absolute is (within the morphological limits described in 27:2) almost always mimated; yet exceptions do occur here too.

Points of the compass and names of seasons rarely if ever occur in the mimated form, being usually either in the emphatic state (29:1) or the unmimated absolute: C 2/13 *dt<sup>2</sup>/whrf* "spring and autumn", C 547/9 *dt<sup>2</sup>n/whrfn*, C 308/8 *edy/s<sup>2</sup>m<sup>1</sup>t* "northwards", R 852/3 *ebrrn/ms<sup>2</sup>rqn* "eastwards".

27:5 Nouns denoting materials have also some tendency to appear in unmimated forms, though in this case usage is more free and instances are found of mimated and unmimated absolute as well as the emphatic: MIN R 2789/2 *bny/eq/wtqr* "built in wood and hewn stone", MIN R 2771/3 *mbny/...eqm/wtqrm* "building in wood and hewn stone", SAB C 683 *rnd/ qhb/nem/qs<sup>1</sup>t* "nard, golden incense, sweet incense, costus", SAB C 352/4 *glmn/dqhb* against SAB C 534/4-5 *glmn/dqhb* "the image of gold".

Emphatic

28:1 The emphatic noun-state is characterized by the ending *-hn* in HAD, by *-n* in all other dialects. This ending may be attached to the singular, internal plural, and external feminine plural. The emphatic dual shows a variety of special endings, on which see 29:7-10. External masculine plurals with emphatic ending are not yet attested.

28:2 The emphatic state has a deictic force of varying strength. It may be virtually equivalent to a demonstrative, as in SAB C 81/1-2 *hqn/... ms<sup>2</sup>ndn* "dedicated this votive-tablet", or its force may be no stronger than that of a definite article, as in SAB C 397/3 *'dm/mlkn* "clients of the king".

28:3 The emphatic is regularly used (a) after a demonstrative adjective, as SAB C 83/2-3 *dn/ms<sup>3</sup>ndn*, SAB Nami 74/3 *hjt/eqwt<sup>n</sup>*; and (b) in a common noun which is defined by a following proper name in apposition to it, as SAB C 407/10 *hgrn/mrb* "the town Marib".

NOUNS: NUMBER

29:1 The dual was extensively used in ESA.

29:2 In the construct state the dual ending *-y* occurs in all dialects: SAB C 1/4 *mgrey/fnwt/grhthmw*, MIN R 2980 bis/5 *mlky/men*, QAT R 4336/1 *wely/dhbn*, HAD R 3869/2 *mlky/hgrmt*. When a pronominal affix is added, this form of the construct dual is occasionally written defectively (with no ending apparent in the graphic form): HAD R 2687/1 *mr's'ww* (where the context shows that the noun is dual).

29:3 The MIN ending *-hy* also functions as a construct dual<sup>(71)</sup>. This ending is to be distinguished from the MIN singular *hy* ending (32:2) by the fact that the latter is confined to the genitive, whereas dual *-hy* occurs also in other cases.

29:4 That the construct dual ending *hy* was known also in HAD seems to be indicated by the occurrence of HAD decad numerals with this ending (see 35:13): R 4912/3 *tty/wtmnhy/hwrw* "82 sheep". Equally, in HAD R 3869/5 *gn'hy/myfct* Höfner claims<sup>(72)</sup> with much probability that we have a construct dual ending; though in this instance the alternative possibility is open that we may be dealing with the enclitic *hy* (57:8).

29:5 In QAT we encounter also construct dual endings *-w* and *-wy*: R 3965/8 *bnw*, R 3961/2 *bnwy*.

29:6 The absolute dual ending in SAB is usually *-n*, as C 350/5 *tny/s'n*; but in late SAB we find in addition *-yn* as C 540/85 *m'tyn* against *ibid./49 m'tn*. In MIN the absolute dual ending is *-ny*, as R 2918/2 *tny/ε gmnny*. In HAD it is *-nyw*, as Ingrams 1/2-3 *fhdnnyw*. In QAT it is *-nyw*, as Ja 343/4 *tnw/hms'my<sup>w</sup>* "two-fifths"; this last form may perhaps arise by metathesis from a dual ending *\*yn* + normal enclitic *mw* (57:4), i.e. *\*ynmw* *\*ymw* *myw*.

29:7 The emphatic state of the dual has a variety of forms. In SAB, the commonest ending is *-nhn*, as C 407/7 *glmnhn*. But other endings are found sporadically:

*-hn* in early SAB, as in R 4781/1 *nhlnhn*.

*-ynn* in SAB R 4659/4 *glmtynn*, also probably comparatively early.

*-nn* in early SAB Ja 541/8 *'dbnn*.

*-ynhn* in middle SAB, C 326/1 *s<sup>2</sup>εbynhn*.

*-ynhy<sup>n</sup>* in middle and late SAB, C 40/1 *s<sup>2</sup>εbynhyn*.

29:8 In MIN the emphatic dual endings are *-nhn* and *-nyhn*: e.g. R 2929/2 *mhjdnhn*, R 3022/1 *mhjdnhyhn*.

29:9 An ending *-hn* is also encountered in MIN, specially in the texts from Dedan. Unfortunately, all the contexts are fragmentary, and it is hence difficult to analyse the function of the ending. Höfner<sup>(73)</sup> lists it as an absolute external plural ending; but this can hardly be right, for in two instances the noun-state is certainly emphatic and not absolute, being linked with other emphatic nouns - R 3705/6 *kbrr/w εhrhn/wms<sup>2</sup>qbn*, R 3700/6 *[w]rhn/whrfhn*. It is also very doubtful whether these *-hn* nouns are plurals, in view of the extremely restricted use of external masculine plurals in ESA (31:1, 31:9). If one takes into consideration the known use of *-hn* as an emphatic dual ending in SAB (29:7), and the fact that the ending *-nhn* is common to both SAB and MIN, it might be tentatively suggested that *hn* is an emphatic dual ending in Dedanite MIN, as it is in SAB.

29:10 In QAT the usual emphatic dual ending is *-nyhn*: Ja 342/2 *glmnnyhn*. In QAT Ry 366/1 G.Ryckmans restores *mebrh[n]*, which he regards as an emphatic dual. There is nothing improbable in this, but it would be premature to consider the form as established on the basis only of this restored form.

Internal Plural

30:1 Like other South Semitic languages, ESA shows a decided preference for internal or "broken" plurals (forms not derived directly from the singular but by a fresh formation from the root) over external ones. This tendency is in fact carried further in ESA than in the neighbouring languages; for whereas Arabic and Geez employ external plurals for *nisba<sup>n</sup>* forms and participles, ESA uses internal plurals even for these classes of noun: *h<sup>n</sup>ky*, plural *'h<sup>n</sup>k*; *mqtwy*, plural *mqtt*.

30:2 The internal plurals exhibit a considerable variety of forms, but by far the commonest is *'fel*, which accounts for probably more than half the total number of internal plurals found: *'be<sup>l</sup>*, *'s<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>*, *'hgr*, etc

30:3 Other internal plural formations are:

fɛl	R 3945/14 hrf;	fɛlt	C 87/9 grbt;
·fɛlt	C 548/15 ·hrft;	·fɛlw	C 618/1 ·kbrw;
fɛwl	R 4069/5 kbwr;	fɛyl	R 4196/4 hruf;
fɛwlt	R 3951/3 ·dwm̄t;	fɛylt	C 609/2 ·dym̄t;
fɛwl	C 570/2 s²wh̄t;	fɛlw	R 3951/1 h̄s³rw;
fɛln	G1 481/2 hrfn (see 31:9), C 570/1 ·mn (sing. ·mt, root ·mm)		

It is not uncommon for a noun to have two or more internal plural forms.

30:4 The plural HAD 4912/2 bgr̄r is also claimed by the Répertoire as an internal plural, and Höfner<sup>(74)</sup> compares it with a similar plural formation in Mahri.

30:5 m̄fɛlt is the normal plural of m̄fɛl: thus, singular mnd̄h, plural C 40/5 mnd̄ht; singular mh̄f̄d̄, plural C 448/1 mh̄f̄d̄t.

30:6 Singulars of the form m̄fɛl from roots mediae infirmae appear to have two plurals, one with reduction of the middle radical to a vowel, with its consequent disappearance from the graphic form, the other retaining the middle radical as y: ms²m, from root s²ym, has plurals C 343/12 ms²mt and C 2/14 ms²ymt; mqm, from root qum, has C 40/4 mqmt and C 40/6 mqymt.

30:7 There are some grounds for thinking that the singular m̄fɛlt, when derived from a root tertiae infirmae (24:2,h) has a plural m̄fɛl<sup>(75)</sup>; but the contexts do not always establish with certainty whether a singular or plural is present.

30:8 The noun-form t̄fɛl has a plural t̄fɛlt: C 541/89 t̄nblt, if the Corpus is right in rendering this as a plural. But it cannot be said with certainty whether this is an internal plural, or an example of an external feminine plural form (such as is often formed in Arabic from abstract nouns).

30:9 There are a few examples of a plurale tantum, a plural with no singular in use from the same root. In SAB, ·s¹d̄ "men" and ·dm̄ (·dwm̄t, ·dym̄t) "clients, servants" appear to be used only in the plural; and to serve respectively as plurals to ·s¹ "man" and ɛbd̄ "client", which occur only in the singular and dual.

#### External Plurals

31:1 In the case of substantives, the only masculine external plurals reliably attested in ESA are those of certain primitive words: bn, ·h̄, ·b, ·l, mw, ywm, and perhaps n̄fs¹ (see 31:3). All these, however,

have broken (internal) plurals of the normal types (30:2,3) in addition to the external plurals: Ry 513/4 ·bny, C 332/7 ·bw, Ry 508/10 ·lh (formed from the extended stems bny, bw, lh; see 17:1).

31:2 The construct external plurals of ·h̄, ·b, ·l, mw, ywm show the following endings:

SAB -y	C 88/1 ·hy, R 3945/2 mw̄y.
MIN -y	R 2831/3 ywm̄y.
QAT -hy and -hw	R 3689/3 ·h̄hy, R 4329/3-4 ·lhw.
HAD -hy	R 2693/6 ·lhy.

31:3 In MIN and QAT, plurals of the nouns mentioned in 31:1 sometimes appear with -h- when a pronominal suffix is attached: MIN R 2771/8 ·bhs¹m, MIN R 2869/8 ·h̄hs¹m, QAT BiArch xv.1/6 ·lhs¹ww, QAT Ja 343/3 n̄fs¹hs¹ yw (where the context indicates a plural noun). Similar formations appear very occasionally even in SAB: C 37/6 ·bh̄hw, R 4712/1 ·hh̄hw<sup>(76)</sup>.

The correct analysis of these forms is obscure. Rhodokanakis<sup>(77)</sup> suggests that they correspond to Arabic internal plural formations ending in -ā'u with h̄ employed as glide between the vowels instead of the Arabic hamsah; but the restricted list of nouns exhibiting these forms indicates to my mind that they are external plurals.

31:4 bn has the construct plurals bnw and bny (see 33:4).

31:5 In MIN, the plural of bn, as also of its feminine bnt, is formed from the stem bh̄n-; the appearance of the h̄ here may be due to a regressive accent falling on the first syllable (see 4:7). Thus, R 2978/1 bh̄ny, R 3306/5 bh̄nt.

31:6 The construct plural of bn is frequently written defectively, with no ending apparent in the script: SAB C 5/1 bn/, MIN R 2978/1 bh̄n/, MIN R 3316/4 bh̄ns¹m.

31:7 Absolute masculine external plurals are very rare, and I can cite only SAB C 544/3 bnn, C 126/12 ywm̄n<sup>(78)</sup>, MIN R 3318/1 ymh̄n; and the adjectival hn̄'n (see 34:1).

QAT R 4336/2 bqd̄mw/ywm̄n is rendered by Höfner "in vergangenen Tagen", but this is a paraphrase; the literal translation is "before this (present) day", with the emphatic singular, as is clear from the parallel expression Ry 367/3-4 bqd̄mw/d̄n/ywm̄n with singular demonstrative.

31:8 No examples of an emphatic masculine external plural are available in the material we have at present at our disposal.



31:9 External masculine plurals formed from nouns other than those mentioned in 31:1 are of exceptional rarity, if attested at all.

Some of the examples which have been claimed as such are in reality probably duals, e.g. MIN R 3307/5 *rs<sup>2</sup>wy/ˈlhn*. In QAT Ja 852/4-5 *s<sup>1</sup>qgr/wdˈl/bnyhw/...qgrw/ˈtrt* "W. appointed his sons ... as procurators of A.", *qgrw* is most likely an internal plural formation (see 30:3); and the same may be the case with early SAB G1 481/2 *hrfn*.

31:10 The external plural of feminine nouns ending in *-t* is in SAB graphically indistinguishable from the singular: C 544/4 *tl̄t/bntm* "three daughters".

31:11 In MIN the ending of these plurals is normally *-ht*: R 3306/3 *ˈnht̄t*. An exception is furnished by *bhnt* "daughters" (R 3699/4 etc.) where it would appear that the accent fell on the first syllable (see 31:5), and the ending was consequently unaccented and the "parasitic" *h* did not arise in the ending.

31:12 In HAR, QAT and HAD the external feminine plural is normally *-t*. But there are indications that the *-ht* ending was not wholly unknown. Note HAR 546/5 *ˈhht̄t*, and for QAT and HAD the instances cited in the following paragraph.

31:13 In MIN, QAT and HAD the construct state of the external feminine plural sometimes has an ending *-y* added after the *-t*: MIN R 2965/4 *ḗbbhty/tḡwrt/mḡḡdn*, QAT R 3691/5 *bntys<sup>1</sup>m*, HAD R 2693/6 *ˈlhty/hgrn*. Note also the preposition (see 51:1) QAT R 3566/6 *bynhtys<sup>1</sup>m*, which morphologically has the form of a feminine plural.

Hofner<sup>(79)</sup>, who mentions this ending only in connection with MIN, describes it as a construct genitive ending. But, as the instances quoted show, it occurs also in QAT and HAD, and it is not confined to the genitive, for in the QAT instance *bntys<sup>1</sup>m* is nominative.

31:14 It will be seen that in some cases the external plural becomes indistinguishable graphically from the dual, and only the context can determine whether a dual or a plural is more likely.

#### Plural Forms to be specially noted

32:1 The following formations deserve special notice, though they are not necessarily in all cases "irregular".

32:2 *ˈl* is exceptional in possessing a reduplicated plural form *ˈlˈlt̄* (SAB C 40/4, MIN Tawfik 5/3, etc.), which is commoner than the external plural.

32:3 The forms SAB C 609/2 *ˈbwt* and SAB C 541/18 *ˈhwt* could be regarded as normal internal plurals of the type *ḡlt̄* from the extended stems (cp. 31:1); though in the former case at least one might be tempted to compare a form like Hebrew *ˈabot*.

32:4 Possibly MIN 3535/4 *ymt* is equally to be regarded as an internal plural.

MIN *ywmnt* (R 2912/3, 3695/10, 3705/6) is claimed by the Répertoire as a plural. But no other instances of such a formation occur, and since it is always in contexts relating to the dating of decrees, it should probably be analysed as a secondary abstract noun-form meaning "dating". The same interpretation could be applied to QAT R 3566/22 *ywmyt* in a similar context.

32:5 On metathesized plurals of the type *ˈwym* see 15:1.

32:6 *ˈmt* "handmaid" has a plural SAB C 581/3 *ˈmh*. Its homograph "cubit" also has plural MIN Tawfik 5/4 *ˈmh* beside normal internal plurals SAB C 540/75 *ˈmm* and SAB C 570/1 *ˈmn*.

32:7 *yd̄* "hand" has the plurals SAB C 541/51 *ˈyd̄*, MIN R 2975/9-10 *ˈyd̄w*, and MIN R 3020/2 *ˈd̄w*.

#### NOUNS: CASE

33:1 The problem of case-endings in ESA is, in default of vocalized texts, a difficult one. The only dialect which displays any regular scheme of case-endings is MIN, and even here the usage is to some extent fluctuating.

33:2 In MIN, the genitive case (and the term genitive here includes, as it does in Arabic, the case of a noun governed by a preposition) of a construct noun in the singular or the broken plural is usually marked by the ending *-h*, occasionally by the ending *-hy*, though this latter form does not occur before pronominal affixes: R 3350/3 *bbyth/qrnw*, R 3357/1 *bnt/lwˈths<sup>1</sup>*, R 3306/10 *bḡḡf/ˈs<sup>1</sup>mehs<sup>1</sup>mn*, R 2803/3 *bˈmrh/wd̄*, Tawfik 4 *bˈmrhy/wd̄* (80).

Rhodokanakis<sup>(81)</sup> explains the appearance of the *h* in this position as due to a strong accent falling on a case-ending when a pronominal affix or second dependent genitive is added; this accent led not only to the preservation of the case-ending but also to its diphthongization with subsequent insertion of a glide. A qualifying clause seems to have had the same effect as a dependent genitive in this respect (cp. also 41:1): R 3318/4 *ḡdyt/mḡrh/s<sup>1</sup>me/ḡkhl̄n* "according to the decree which *dk.* has witnessed".

This *-h* ending is regularly absent even in MIN from the word *kl*, from *bn*, and from its masculine and feminine external plurals (31:5, 31:11), and from certain stock phrases like *mlk/mcn* <sup>(82)</sup>; it is also sporadically absent in other contexts: R 2772/1 *brcg/wd*, R 2775/2 *bs²cbs¹*.

If in MIN R 3285/2 *rtā/²wldh/wd* the first word were a verb, we would have to admit the possibility of MIN *-h* occurring in the accusative. But in view of the fragmentary nature of the text, we cannot assert this to be so; the first word could be a noun or an infinitive governing the second word in the genitive.

33:3 Very rarely an *-h* ending is found in QAT in similar circumstances to its MIN usage: R 3566/20 *bnclw/mqmhs¹m*.

33:4 Outside MIN and the rare QAT examples of the genitival *-h*, the only instances where a case distinction is observable is the construct plural of *bn* with its parallel forms *bnw* and *bnv*. The general tendency in MIN, QAT and in early SAB is to employ *bnw* for the nominative and *bnv* for the oblique cases. But from middle SAB onwards a striking phenomenon occurs: nominative *bnw* holds its ground when followed by a proper name, but when the word has a pronominal affix added we frequently find *bnv* employed in syntactically nominative positions. A noteworthy example is C 30/1 *bnvhnw/bnw/sydm*. And at least one middle SAB text offers us the converse instance of *bnw* employed for an oblique case: R 3991/20 *bnw/s¹hymm*, where *bnw* is syntactically genitive. Equally, the middle SAB singular stem *bnv-* followed by a pronominal affix (24:3) is used for both nominative and oblique cases; note the nominative in C 693/1.

33:5 It is dubious whether or not the other nouns which have an external masculine plural (21:1) showed a similar case distinction, since in the majority of the instances of the construct (where alone a case distinction would be graphically visible) are in an oblique case. But it is noteworthy that MIN R 3012/1 *²bhy* is nominative.

33:6 In a very few anomalous instances in MIN and HAD, we find a parasitic *h* in words where we would syntactically expect an accusative. Rhodokanakis <sup>(83)</sup> regards these as due to "orthographic analogy" which has extended the use of the genitival *h* to an accusative termination "where it is unjustified either formally or phonologically". The

instances he quotes are: MIN R 3022/3 *²lmhm/wafyh* "in safety and well-being" (adverbial accusative), HAD R 2687/4 *qrnhm* "in battle", *ibid./5* *gs¹mhm* "in solid construction", MIN R 2959/2 [*²lth*]y/*hrfhm/XXX* "thirty sheep", MIN R 3055/3 *t²mwh[m]* in a fragmentary context.

I doubt whether we can accept his analysis of these forms. In the first three instances the word in question is not a direct accusative but an adverbial expression; in R 2959, if the translation offered is correct, we presumably have to regard *hrfhm* as a "specifying" accusative" (i.e. "thirty in respect of sheep") <sup>(84)</sup>; and the context of R 3055 is too fragmentary to enable us to define the syntax precisely. In view of all this, it would be preferable to regard these endings as adverbial formations (42:2); they do not, at all events, serve to mark the case which European grammarians would term a direct accusative, or Arabic grammarians a *maʿfūl bihi*.

33:7 From these scanty data it is difficult to formulate any definitive account of ESA case system. But they would seem to point to the following conclusions: (a) that at least from the middle SAB period onwards, all feeling for morphological case distinctions as such had disappeared; (b) that even in the older period, covered by MIN, QAT and early SAB, it is highly doubtful whether the ancient Semitic case system, as it is exemplified in Ugaritic and classical Arabic, still existed in ESA - rather the indications are that it subsisted only in a vestigial manner.

#### ADJECTIVES

34:1 Adjectives agree in gender and number with the substantives which they qualify. Normally, they also show the same noun-status, though this is limited by the fact that external masculine plurals never carry mimation (27:2). Thus, SAB C 86/5-6 *²wldm/²dkrwam/hn²m* "male children" (with internal plural of the adjectives), SAB C 531/6 *²wldm/hn²n* (with external masculine plural of the adjective).

The qualifying term normally follows the qualified one; except in the cases described in 34:2(c), 36:1, 36:5.

34:2 Where European languages would employ an ordinary attributive adjective, however, ESA sometimes uses other syntactic structures, as: (a) Hendiadis (see 60:1), in which the second term logically qualifies the first: SAB R 3992/5 *grv/wtbs²r* "declaration and good-news" =

"favourable declaration".

(b) Replacement of the adjective by a corresponding abstract substantive depending in the genitive on the qualified noun: SAB C 2/15 *ṭmr/sdqm* "crops of excellence" = "excellent crops".

(c) A form in which the (logically) qualifying term precedes the (logically) qualified one, the latter being a genitive depending on the former: SAB C 174/1 *ṭmrm* "lush (or, tall) crops". Two alternative analyses of this structure are possible: either the first term may, while retaining the same meaning as the adjective, be used functionally as a substantive, a syntactic form extremely common in classical Arabic<sup>(85)</sup>, specially in verse, as in *ḡummu l-ʿasāwidi*<sup>(86)</sup> "the deaf ones of serpents" = "the deaf serpents"; or, the first term may be an abstract, in which case the example cited above would be literally "lushness of crops"<sup>(87)</sup>.

#### CARDINAL NUMERALS

35:1 "One" is denoted not only by the forms *ḥd* (masculine) and *ḥt* (feminine), but also in QAT R 3858/10 *ḥd* and QAT R 3854/6 *ḥt*<sup>(88)</sup>; and further MIN R 3707/6 *es't* and QAT R 3854/3 *es'tm*<sup>(89)</sup>.

35:2 While *ḥd*, *ḥt* are employed with masculine nouns and *ḥt* with feminines, the only attested occurrence of *ḥt* accompanies the noun *ywm*. Whether this indicates that *ywm* is in QAT a feminine noun, or that *ḥt* is used also for the masculine, is an open question.

35:3 "Two" has the masculine forms *ṭny*, and in QAT *ṭnw* (Ja 343/4); feminine SAB *ṭty* (C 334/8), MIN *ṭnty* (R 3535/2).

35:4 "Three": early SAB *s<sup>2</sup>lt*, *s<sup>2</sup>lṭt* (C 570/2, R 3945/1); middle and late SAB *tlṭ*, *tlṭt* (C 46/6, C 6/4); MIN dubiously *s<sup>2</sup>lwṭ* (R 2781/2)<sup>(90)</sup>; QAT *s<sup>2</sup>lṭt* (R 3858/8); HAD *s<sup>2</sup>ls<sup>2</sup>t* (R 2687/5).

35:5 "Four" and "five": C 570/1 *rbc*, C 325/6 *rbcṭ*; C 548/8 *hms<sup>1</sup>*, C 481/2 *hms<sup>1</sup>t*.

35:6 "Six": MIN, QAT and early SAB *s<sup>1</sup>dṭ*, *s<sup>1</sup>dṭt* (MIN R 2774/1, QAT R 3858/11, early SAB R 3945/4); middle and late SAB *s<sup>1</sup>t*, *s<sup>1</sup>tt* (late SAB C 325/5, middle SAB C 315/3)<sup>(91)</sup>; HAD *s<sup>1</sup>t* (Ingrams 1/3).

35:7 "Seven": R 2774/4 *s<sup>1</sup>bc*, R 3858/10 *s<sup>1</sup>bcṭ*.

35:8 "Eight": HAR and early SAB *ṭmny*, *ṭmnyt* (HAR C 546/1, early SAB R 3945/3, C 423/1); QAT and middle and late SAB *ṭmn*, *ṭmnt* (QAT R 3856/3, middle SAB C 407/10, late SAB C 541/119); MIN *ṭhmnny* (R 2893/3)<sup>(92)</sup>.

35:9 "Nine" and "ten": C 671/4 *ts<sup>1</sup>c*, C 325/5 *ts<sup>1</sup>cṭ*; C 548/4 *es<sup>2</sup>r*, *ibid./14 es<sup>2</sup>rt*.

35:10 In the numerals from 3 to 10 the forms ending in *-t* qualify nouns of which the singular is masculine: G1 481/2 *hms<sup>1</sup>t/hrfn* "five years", Ingrams 1/2 *rbcṭ/ṭmnr* "four panthers". The forms without *-t* qualify nouns of which the singular is feminine: C 570/1 *rbc/ṭmn* "four cubits", C 540/75 *s<sup>1</sup>t/ṭmm* "six cubits" (singular *ṭmt* in both cases).

35:11 In enumerating days of the month, cardinals devoid of *-t* (not ordinals) are used, either with or without a construct noun preceding: C 461/5-6 *b<sup>2</sup>rbcṭm* "on (day number) four", C 601/18 *bywm/ṭmnyy* "on the day of eight (= on the eighth day)"<sup>(93)</sup>.

35:12 In numerals from 11 to 19 the units precede the ten without *w*: SAB 4196/4 *s<sup>1</sup>ṭtes<sup>2</sup>r* "16", QAT R 3858/10 *ḥd/es<sup>2</sup>r* "11". In the case of these numerals, the unit obeys the same rules as are stated in 35:10 while the "10" is invariable: SAB R 3945/4 *s<sup>1</sup>dṭt/es<sup>2</sup>r/ṭlfm* "16000", MIN R 2774/4 *s<sup>1</sup>bc/es<sup>2</sup>r/ṭmh* "17 cubits".

35:13 The decad numerals from 20 to 90 are formed by adding to the stems of "10" and of the units from 3 to 9 the same endings as characterize the dual of nouns<sup>(94)</sup>. These do not vary for gender. Thus, HAD Ingrams 1/2 *es<sup>2</sup>ry/wymm* "20 days", middle SAB C 308/3 *tlṭrhn/ḡlmm* "the 30 images", middle SAB C 350/6 *hms<sup>1</sup>n* "50"<sup>(95)</sup>, early SAB R 2868/4 *s<sup>1</sup>ḏty/s<sup>2</sup>whṭ* "60 paces".

35:14 The late SAB form of 80, *ṭmnyy* (C 537/9) deserved notice. The *y* characteristic of the dual is preceded by another *y* which may perhaps represent a consonantization of a final *i* vowel characteristic of the unit numeral, although the late SAB form of 8 (see 35:8) has no indication of this vowel in its graphic form. One may perhaps visualize the vocalization of the two forms as something like *ṭamant*: *ṭamanyē*.

35:15 "Hundred" is *m<sup>2</sup>t* (C 308/5 etc.). The plural of this is in early SAB *m<sup>2</sup>* (C 413/1 *s<sup>2</sup>lt/m<sup>2</sup>m*); in MIN and HAD *m<sup>2</sup>h* (MIN R 3705/2 *hms<sup>1</sup>/m<sup>2</sup>h*, HAD Ingrams 1/3 *s<sup>1</sup>t/m<sup>2</sup>hm*); in middle SAB *m<sup>2</sup>n* (R 4988/2 *ṭmn/m<sup>2</sup>n/s<sup>1</sup>ḏm*); in late SAB *m<sup>2</sup>t* (C 325/5 *s<sup>1</sup>t/m<sup>2</sup>tm*).

35:16 *ṭlf* "thousand" has plural *ṭlf*: QAT R 3856/3, late SAB C 541/120, etc.

35:17 In compound numerals above 20, the lower digit precedes the higher one and is linked to it by *w*: MIN R 2774/4 *s'bc/w'rbcny/ḥ* "47 cubits", middle SAB C 350/4 *ḥms'y/wm't/s'dm* "150 warriors", late SAB Ry 520/10 *'rbet/ws'bcy/wḥms'/m'tm* "574".

35:18 The noun is normally dual after "two", as R 3535/2 *tnty/rglny*; plural after all higher numbers, as R 3945/1 *s'ltt/'qbḥm* "3 sacrifices" R 3858/10 *ḥd/εs²r/'nhlm* "11 palmgroves", C 80/10 *'rbey/'qdr̄m* "40 measures", R 2687/5 *εs²ry/wm't/s'dm* (96) "120 warriors".

35:19 Nevertheless, exceptions to this principle occur: in MIN R 3458/4 *[ḥm]s't/wεs²ry/rbm* "25 minae" and R 2695/4 *ḥmrrhy/wm't/rb* "180 minae" the noun appears to be singular; and in early SAB the usage of *'ljf* is puzzling. Here, we do not find the plural *'ljf*, but only the form *'ljm* (R 3945/3 *tmyt/'ljm*), even surprisingly after "two" (R 3945/13 *tmy/ 'ljm*); except for one instance of the emphatic state, R 3943/1 *'rbet/ 'ljn* (97).

35:20 The numeral may stand in apposition to the noun. In this case, the numerals from 3 upwards have the emphatic ending if the noun is in the emphatic state, and mimation if the noun is mimated: C 573/2 *'rbetn/ wεs²rnhn/'s'lmn* "the 24 images", C 376/3-4 *'ljm/blḥm* "1000 blḥ-coins", *ibid./14 hn/blḥn/'ljn* "these 1000 blḥ-coins".

35:21 The numeral one, however, does not occur in the mimated state, though the noun following it may be either mimated or in the unmimated absolute state: C 609/3 *'ḥt/s²'mtm*, R 4176/3-4 *'ḥd/ywm̄m*, R 2948A/3 *'ḥd/twr*, R 4176/8 *'ḥdhr̄f*. "Two" does not occur in the emphatic state, though its noun may be either emphatic or absolute: C 398/3 *tmy/s'lmnhn*, C 350/5 *tmy/s'n* (98).

35:22 Instead, however, of the appositional syntax, we sometimes find a mimated absolute noun preceded by a numeral without mimation: C 548/8-9 *ḥms'/s'lem* "5 shekels", C 80/10 *'rbey/'qdr̄m* "40 measures". It would be natural in such cases (specially in the light of the decads, where the dual ending of the numeral has its construct form) to take the numeral to be a construct; but the phenomenon described in 35:23 prevents us from regarding this as established.

35:23 A number of cases occur where decadal numerals appear in forms which are, from the morphological point of view, construct, although the

syntactical structure might have led us to expect an absolute form: MIN Tawfik 5/3 *'rbet/w'rbcny* "44", where no noun follows; late SAB C 6/4 *tltt/ws'bcy/wḥms'/m'tm* "573", again with no noun. It rather looks as if, side by side with the usage of treating the decadal numeral endings as ordinary *dm̄als* (exemplified in the second and third citations in 35:13), there was a tendency to stereotype them into an invariable form congruent with the construct dual.

#### ORDINAL NUMERALS, FRACTIONS &c.

36:1 Höfner<sup>(99)</sup> cites *qdm* and *'hr* as terms for "first" and "second". It should however be observed that these terms have been encountered so far only in contexts where pairs of things are envisaged<sup>(100)</sup>, and it might be more strictly correct to render them "former" and "later". At the same time, in the MIN phrase *qdmn/kbrs'* (R 3306/8 etc.) "his first kabirate", *qdmn* is treated syntactically like an ordinal in being put before the noun (see 36:5).

36:2 No certain occurrence is known to me of the use of the term for "first" otherwise than as described above, and it is uncertain whether ESA had any other term than *qdm* for this connotation.

In late SAB Fa 74/7 we find *bhr̄f'ḥd*, which G.Ryckmans renders by "in the first year", but the expression is a difficult one to analyze satisfactorily, and I doubt whether either the reading or the rendering is justified.

36:3 The ordinary term for "second" in a series of more than two is *tny*, in HAD *s'ny* (CT 4/5). For the feminine we find C 603B/16 *tnyt*, Ry 535/11 *tnt*.

36:4 Ordinals from 3 to 10 have the graphic form *fεl*: C 435/3 *rbc* "fourth". Ordinals of higher numerals are not attested.

36:5 Ordinals frequently precede the nouns they qualify: C 461/5 *tnym/ t'tym* "a second offering", R 3910/6 *s'bem/ywm̄m* "the seventh day"<sup>(101)</sup>. Instances of the ordinal following the noun are somewhat rarer, but see Ry 535/11 *dr̄m/\_tntm* "a second time", C 314/10-11 *hr̄f/tbkr̄b/... s'dtn* "the sixth year of T."

35:6 In one case, C 461/5 *tny/s²m̄lm* "a second ill-omen"<sup>(102)</sup>, the ordinal may be construct governing the noun in the genitive, as in the classical Arabic construction *tānt marratin*.

35:7 Fractions are similarly expressed by the graphic form *fεl*, with



plural 'fcl: R 3945/1 rbc "quarter", C 369/2 εs²r "one tenth" (103), Ja 343/4 s²lṭṭ/'hms¹m "three-fifths".

36:8 "So-many times" is expressed by a cardinal followed by a plural of the infinitive of the governing verb: Fa 74/4-5 sēmḥ/...ṭlṭ/'sēm "her declaration made three times" (104).

36:9 Early SAB C 366 s²lṭṭ'ā is morphologically reminiscent of Ugaritic šbetā "seven times", but it is doubtful what the meaning of the ESA expression is.

36:10 The form MIN R 2774/2 s²lwt/hgrn is explained by Rhodokanakis (105) as an "abstract or collective formation of the numeral 3", with the added comment "It must denote some locality on the perimeter of the town; may it be a 'trivium', the place where three roads from the town or the neighbourhood joined?".

#### PERSONAL PRONOUNS

37:1 with a very few possible exceptions, first and second personal pronouns are not attested (cp. 21:1).

37:2 Nevertheless, two examples seem to occur of second-person pronoun affixes, -k in the singular and -km in the plural: QAT Ja 367 b'ḏnk (106), QAT Baroda s¹lsmkm.

37:3 The SAB third person pronoun affixes are:

Masculine singular -hw very common, but -h occasionally (for example G1 A 682/2).

There are also a few examples of -hw referring to a feminine antecedent: Ry 548/3 'bltn/ḏt/s¹mhw, G1 A 788/2 hgryt/mr'hw. How this phenomenon is to be explained is obscure. One could envisage several alternatives: (a) that the examples are simply due to lax concord; (b) that in certain stages of the language the third person singular pronoun affix was a common-gender form; (c) that this form with feminine antecedent was vocalized differently from the same graphic form with masculine antecedent.

Feminine singular -h: Nami 14/7 mqmḥ.

Dual -hmy very frequent.

Masculine plural -hmw very frequent, but -hm occasionally (see for example C 20/2 mqbrhm).

Feminine plural -hn: C 21/3 mqbrhn.

37:4 The MIN pronoun affixes are:

Masculine singular -s¹ very frequent, but -s¹w occasionally (see

R 2774/6 bhns¹w); there are not sufficient examples to enable us to determine whether the incidence of this -s¹w in MIN resembles in any way that of the QAT form described in 37:5.

Feminine singular -s¹: R 3697/3 lw'tn/mw'l/wqnyš¹.

Dual -s¹mn: R 3306/2 εms¹mn.

Masculine plural -s¹m very frequent.

Feminine plural not attested.

37:5 The QAT pronoun affixes are:

Masculine singular -s¹ or -s¹ww: Ry 463/3 ḡrḡts¹ww/wḡḡḡbs¹/wqrwḡs¹.

Feminine singular -s¹ or -s¹yw: R 3691/7 's¹ḡrs¹ (antecedent is the feminine ḡrytn), Ja 343/4 nḡs¹ḡs¹yw (antecedent ḏt/qbrn, which is feminine as the demonstrative shows).

In these affixes, the short form -s¹ occurs attached to singulars and internal plurals; the long forms -s¹ww, -s¹yw are affixed to duals and external plurals (whether masculine or feminine).

Rhodokanakis (107) suggests that the factor which entails the use of the long forms after duals and external masculine plurals is the presence of a long-vowel ending in the noun. In order then to account for the use of the long form after external feminine plurals (of the type ḡrḡt cited above), he is obliged to describe these as "mixed" forms, meaning presumably that they had a long vowel ending added after the -t suffix. This somewhat forced analysis seems to me unnecessary, if we assume that it was not a long-vowel ending in the noun, but rather a strong accent falling on the ultimate syllable of the noun, that led to the use of the long forms of the pronominal affixes; that the external feminine plural ending carried a strong accent is attested by the occurrence of parasitic ḡ in this ending in certain cases (see 31:11, 31:13).

Dual -s¹my: Ja 341/4 'wlḏs¹my.

Masculine plural -s¹m very frequent.

Feminine plural not attested.

37:6 The HAD pronoun affixes are:

Masculine singular -s¹ or -s¹ww: for the short form see CT 4/4

ms³ndhn/wqḡs¹; for the long form, R 2687/1 mr's¹ww, R 2693/7

eyns¹ww. In both these last two instances the noun, though defectively written, is dualk; which suggests that the HAD use of the long form of this affix was governed by similar factors to those operating in QAT (37:5).

Feminine singular  $-s^3/-t$ : R 2693/3  $q\ddot{s}^3t$  (antecedent  $s^1qnyt$ ),  
 R 2640/1  $h\ddot{l}f^3t$  (antecedent  $myf^3t$ ); CT 4/7  $s^1\epsilon qbs^3$  (antecedent  $b^3r$   
 "well", no doubt feminine as in Arabic). The distinction between the  
 masculine and feminine forms in this dialect corresponds precisely to  
 the Shori differentiation between masculine  $-š$  and feminine  $-s$ .  
 Dual  $-s^1mn$  and  $-s^1myr$ : CT 4/6  $b^3mnts^1mn$ , R 4909/5  $mr^3s^1myr$ .  
 Masculine plural  $-s^1m$ : Ja 402/5  $grbs^1m$ .  
 Feminine plural not attested.

37:7 The HAR pronoun affixes are the same as those found in SAB.

37:8 Pronoun affixes may be added to verbs, having then an objective  
 function; to nouns, in a genitival function; to infinitives, being then  
 either subjective or objective; or to prepositions.

37:9 The masculine singular pronoun affix is occasionally used with  
 reference not to any specific person or thing mentioned, but to a  
 complete sentence or idea: Ry 535/6  $wb\epsilon d\ddot{h}w$  "and thereafter".

38:1 Independent personal pronouns, though rare, occur (a) at the  
 beginning of a sentence preceding a finite verb for emphasis, as QAT R  
 4324/5  $ws^1w/f^3ks^3$  "and as for him, he commanded" ( $f$  introducing a  
 predicate, see 53:1), SAB C 2/7  $whmw/f^3ymd\ddot{w}$  "and as for them, they  
 praised", SAB dual  $hmy$  in R 4730/3; (b) as subject of a nominal  
 sentence, as SAB C 518/3  $\ddot{a}hw/by\ddot{a}n/\ddot{a}ql\ddot{h}n$  "which is in front of the  
 $ql\ddot{h}$ " (with  $hw$  as subject of the clause, as in Arabic  $\text{'al}l\ddot{a}\ddot{a}t\ hwwa$ ).

38:2 The last-cited instance provides a key for the syntactic analysis  
 of QAT R 3566/5  $s^1m/s^2\epsilon bn$ : word-for-word this is "they are the tribe",  
 but the phrase as a whole constitutes an expression qualifying the  
 preceding substantive, and expressed in the form of an asyndetic  
 descriptive clause (41:1) instead of a clause introduced by an explicit  
 relative term as in the SAB instance. For purposes of translation into  
 English, we are forced to use a relative, "who are the tribe"; yet in  
 terms of Semitic grammar,  $s^1m$  is not a relative but an independent  
 personal pronoun forming the subject of a nominal sentence. A similar  
 analysis seems to me most satisfactory in lines 20-21 of the same text,  
 $s^1m(n)/^{(108)}\ddot{a}tw/g\ddot{s}wmn$  "which are (= consist of) these decisions".

38:3 An independent second person pronoun is claimed by the editor in  
 Ry 508/11  $mr^3/\ddot{a}t$  "Thou art Lord".

## DEMONSTRATIVES

39:1 Demonstrative adjectives are formed in SAB and QAT on a base  
 which varies dialectically between SAB  $h-$  and QAT  $s^1-$ , thus:

SAB masculine singular	$h^3$	Fa 30bis/5	$h^3/g\ddot{h}rn$ .
	$hw^3$	C 99/6	$hw^3/s^1rn$ .
	$hwt$	C 19/10	$hwt/g\ddot{l}mn$ .
feminine singular	$h^3$	R 852/5	$h^3/f^3rwt^n$ .
	$hy^3$	C 40/4	$hy^3/mwrt^n$ .
	$hyt$	C 308/10	$hyt/mknt^n$ .
dual	$hmyt$	C 326/1	$[h]myt/s^2\epsilon byr\ddot{h}n$ .
masculine plural	$hmw$	C 609/5	$hmw/s^1\ddot{t}rn$ .
	$hmt$	Ry 535/10	$hmt/\ddot{h}mrn$ .
feminine plural	$hn$	C 376/14	$hn/bl\ddot{t}n/\ddot{a}f^n$ (see 39:4).
	$hnt$	Fa 76/4	$hnt/\ddot{a}t^n$ .
QAT masculine singular	$s^1w$	R 3878/4	$s^1w/\ddot{a}ns^1n$ .
	$s^1wt$	R 3566/6	$s^1wt/m\ddot{h}rmn$ .
feminine singular	$s^1yt$	R 3854/6	$s^1yt/g\ddot{r}dt^n$ .
dual	$s^1myt$	R 3566/10	$s^1myt/mqmn\ddot{y}h^n$ .
masculine plural	$s^1m$	R 3566/18	$s^1m/\ddot{a}f\ddot{t}h^n$ .
	$s^1mt$	R 3566/16	$s^1mt/\ddot{a}f\ddot{t}h^n$ .
feminine plural not attested.			

MIN and HAD do not form demonstrative adjectives from this base<sup>(109)</sup>

39:2 A second series of demonstrative adjectives are formed on a base  
 which ordinarily varies between  $\ddot{a}-$  for the singular and  $\ddot{a}l-$  for the  
 plural; except that in QAT,  $\ddot{a}-$  serves also as a base for the plural.

39:3 In this series, we have:

Singular, masculine  $\ddot{a}n$  and feminine  $\ddot{a}t$ , common to all dialects; e.g.  
 SAB C 82/2  $\ddot{a}n/ms^3ndn$ , C 308/16  $\ddot{a}t/hqnytn$ .

Dual:  $\ddot{a}ln$  seems to be attested in early SAB R 4781/1  $\ddot{a}ln/n\ddot{h}ln\ddot{h}n$  <sup>(110)</sup>,  
 and  $\ddot{a}lyn$  in middle SAB Fa 71/3-4  $\ddot{a}lyn/g\ddot{l}mr\ddot{h}n$ .

Plural: SAB  $\ddot{a}ln$  R 3945/10  $\ddot{a}ln/\ddot{a}q\ddot{e}n$ .

$\ddot{a}lt$  C 353/15  $\ddot{a}lt/s^1b^3tn$ .

MIN  $\ddot{a}hlt$  R 3015/2  $\ddot{a}hlt/m\ddot{h}f\ddot{a}tn$ .

QAT  $\ddot{a}tn$  R 3689/8  $\ddot{a}tn/\ddot{a}f\ddot{t}rn$ .

$\ddot{a}tw$  R 3566/21  $\ddot{a}tw/g\ddot{s}wmn$ .

**39:4** Demonstrative adjectives precede the substantives they qualify, and the latter are characterized by the emphatic state. In the plural, the SAB forms on base *h-* accord in gender with the gender of the singular of the noun. Hence, C 570/7 *hmt/ymtn* with masculine demonstrative since *ym* in SAB is masculine (cp. R.4176/3-4 *'hā/ymmm*) but C 376/14 *hn/blṣn* with feminine demonstrative since the singular is *blṣt* (cp. C 73/9). There is not enough evidence as yet to enable us to formulate any statement about the plural concords of the forms listed in 39:3.

The forms listed in 39:1-3 are adjectives. Höfner's remark<sup>(111)</sup> that "both the demonstratives formed from the *h* stem and those from the *ḡ* stem can be used adjectivally or substantivally" does not seem justified by the available evidence. One or two of the adjectival forms are indeed also attested in substantival uses (SAB *hmm* and *'lt*, QAT *s'w*, see 38:1, 39:5), but the majority of them are not.

**39:5** Demonstrative pronouns in the strict sense are rare, and some of the examples which have been cited are dubious. The following possible examples may be mentioned:

SAB and QAT *'l*, see 40:3.

SAB *'lt*, R 3946/1 *'lt/hgrm/w'bqem* "these are the towns and districts (which ...)".

MIN *hl*, R 3306/5 *ym/hl/bnm/'nṣhtn* "the day of that one among the women", according to Rhodokanakis<sup>(112)</sup>; R 2833[=Tawfik 8]/2 *hl/mn* rendered by Nami<sup>(113)</sup> *hāḡā llaḡā*.

MIN *'hl*, R 4731/3, according to the interpretation of Höfner<sup>(114)</sup> and Littmann<sup>(115)</sup>.

QAT *hlyt*, R 3879/7 *hlyt'y/εlhtn* (with enclitic *'y*, see 57:5) "these are copies", according to Rhodokanakis' rendering.

#### RELATIVES

**40:1** A series of relatives (I use this term for convenience, although the actual range of usage of these forms is much wider than is customarily implied by the term; see 40:4) show forms closely resembling those of the demonstrative adjectives on base *ḡ-*/*'l-* listed in 39:3.

Masculine singular *ḡ-* (proclitic, see 1:4) and feminine singular *ḡt* are common to all dialects, except that the late SAB text C 540 consistently shows a feminine form *t-* (proclitic). In addition, QAT

has a masculine singular *ḡw*, e.g. R 3521/1.

Dual: SAB masculine *ḡy* (C 655/1), feminine *ḡty* (R 3912/2); MIN *ḡy* (R 3401/4); QAT *ḡw* (Ja 340/1).

Plural: SAB *'lw* (Fa 3/2) and *'ly* (C 435/3); late SAB *'lht* (C 541/55); MIN *'hl* (R 2774/1); QAT *ḡtw* (Ja 343/2) and *'lw* (R 4337B/6).

The remark of Höfner<sup>(116)</sup> that SAB *'lw* is nominative and *'ly* the oblique case, is of dubious validity; in F'a 121 we find an accusative *'lw*.

**40:2** The form *'l* presents a specially difficult problem, on account of its graphic identity with the negative particle (56:1). In many of the contexts where Rhodokanakis identified it as a relative, it is certainly in fact the negative. One passage, however, where a plural relative seems to be required is SAB R 3945/16 *εtb/bn/ns<sup>2</sup>n/'l/wḡ't/s<sup>2</sup>fthmw/ns'rn/:'l'ltn/wyhrḡw* "he designated from N. those whose dedication to the gods was ordained, so that they should be slain".

**40:3** Höfner<sup>(117)</sup> cites QAT R 4337C/1 *lḡw* and QAT R 3689/10 *'lḡy* as relatives showing a combination of the elements *'l* and *ḡ-*. But in the former instance the reading is a dubious one, and I strongly suspect that the beginning of the expression should read *hl-* "all", in conformity with the parallel passage in lines 6-7 of the same text. In R 3689/10 the whole syntax is extremely obscure, and Rhodokanakis' rendering unconvincing.

In SAB C 601/2 *εḡ'l/ḡs'tqr* we could perhaps recognise a demonstrative pronoun *'l* followed by relative *ḡ* (with invariable *ḡ*, see 40:5) "according to those things which he had proclaimed", if we accept Rhodokanakis' rendering; but the Corpus takes *εḡ'l* here as a clan-name.

**40:4** The relatives listed in 40:1 have the following range of usage: (a) as a relative pronoun with expressed antecedent: C 40/2 *nṣεthmw/tlḡm/ḡt/bfnw/hwr/mlḡḡn* "their bastion T. which is in front of the cistern of the tower", C 407/26 *ḡnm/ḡhrḡhw* "booty which contented him", C 334/15 *tty/shntn/ḡshn* "two wounds with which he was wounded" (invariable relative, see 40:5).

(b) as a relative pronoun without expressed antecedent: R 4938/20 *bn/*  
*ḏbs'rn* "from that which is in the valley", R 4663/4-5 *s'edhwa/nemtm/*  
*wḏqnyw* "grant prosperity to them and to that which they possess".

(c) as a periphrasis for the genitive: C 555/4 *m'tmn/ḏbn/εrqb* "the  
estate of the Beni 'U.", C 571/7 *hmt/ymtn/ḏtnḏεtn* "these days of  
the song-ritual"<sup>(118)</sup>, R 2975/15 *kl/·l·lt/ḏbḏrm* "all gods of the sea".

A variety of this usage is the very frequent employment of these  
forms to denote clan-affiliation: SAB C 655/1 *hufεtt/wns²·krb/ḏy/*  
*ḥbb*, late SAB C 621/1-2 *s'myε/·s²wε/wbnyhw/...·lht/klεn*, MIN R  
2774/1-2 *εlmn/...wyḏkr·l/wl/s'ed·l/wshb·l/wys'mε·l/·hl/gb·n*.

(d) expressing a genitival notion but with omission of the antecedent  
substantive: MIN R 2869/6 *ḏqbḏ* "He of Q." (compared with the normal  
*εttr/ḏqbḏ* "Attar of Q."), SAB R 3945/13 *hbḏε/ḏ·mnt/krb·l*  
"attacked those who are of the 'mnt of K.", MIN R 3306/1 *·hl/·mnhn*  
"those who are of the 'amtn class".

(e) the forms *ḏ* and *ḏt* are extensively used in combination with  
prepositions to form a variety of conjunctions: *kḏ*, *lkḏ* (see 54:7,8),  
*lqbl/ḏ-* (C 79/8), *lqbl/ḏt/* (C 82/3), *εdy/ḏt* (Ry 535/9). Moreover,  
we occasionally find *ḏ* added to conjunctions, where it is functionally  
otiose: MIN R 2814/6 *hm·y/ḏ-* (where *hm* is the conditional  
conjunction and *y* enclitic, see 55:11, 57:5). It must also be  
regarded as otiose after the relative *mn* (see 40:8).

40:5 The above-mentioned "relatives" usually vary so as to agree in  
gender and number with the preceding substantive, when one is present.  
Thus SAB 375/1 *·wḏn/·lyy'ḏrn* "the lines of the inscription", where  
*·ly* is plural in agreement with *·wḏn*; SAB R 3913/2-3 *ḥrtnhn/ḏty/*  
*s²ltn/klwt* "the two irrigation-channels of the three terraces", with  
*ḏty* feminine dual in agreement with *ḥrtnhn*. Nevertheless, in many  
cases we find *ḏ-* used as an invariable particle irrespective of any  
concord with the antecedent noun, as in the examples cited above from  
C 334/15, C 571/7, R 2975/15; and note specially C 374 *·wḏn/ḏs'ḏrn*  
beside C 375/1 *·wḏn/·lyy'ḏrn*, both texts being early SAB.

40:6 The noun-state of the antecedent substantive preceding one of  
these "relative" terms (irrespective of whether this is used in a true

relative function or as a genitive periphrasis) seems not to be  
governed by any regular rule. The citations given above include  
examples of nunation (C555/4), mimation (C 407/26) and the absence of  
both (R 2975/15).

40:7 A further relative is *·s'ḏ*: SAB 4727/7, C 287/1<sup>(119)</sup>, C 84/4  
<sup>(120)</sup>; MIN R 3318/8; QAT R 3566/23. Höfner<sup>(121)</sup> suggests that this  
usage originates from *·s'ḏ* in the sense "man, men".

40:8 The indefinite relative *mn* "whoever" belongs to all dialects.  
It is often used in conjunction with the relative *ḏ-*: MIN R 3695/9  
*mn/ḏyys'erb*. Note too the repeated *ḏ* in SAB Nami 74/11 *mnḏ/ḏyεtqwn*,  
and the strange form Fa 64/6 *mn/ḏnmn*.

In MIN we encounter, beside *mn*, also a form *mhn*: R 3285/6  
*kl/mhn/yḏdq*, R 3706/2 *mhn/hḏ'*. Höfner<sup>(122)</sup> interprets this as an  
impersonal "whatever", and explains it as formed from the element *mā*  
with an "indefinite" *hn* added. The contexts available, however, are  
too fragmentary and obscure for any real certainty on the function of  
the form.

40:9 An indefinite relative *y* (cp. Arabic *·ayyū*) may perhaps be  
found in QAT R 3854/4 *y/·y/·s'ḏm* "whatsoever person", QAT R 3566/4-5  
*w'y/ḏth/wl·ḥr/·ḏth/wmḥrtm* "whatsoever (the tribe) may decree and  
ordain in the way of decrees and ordinances" (according to Rhodokanakis).

40:10 An impersonal relative *hn/mh* appears to be reliably attested  
in MIN R 2771/8 *kl/qnyw/hn/mh/ksḏqs'* "every possession which he  
dedicated to him". The same form, but enlarged with enclitic *-m* (see  
57:3) is probably present in MIN R 3342/1 *kl/hnmhm/k..* "whatever".

40:11 More obscure is *hnmh* in MIN R 3318/1, where the fact that the  
following word is not a verb makes the interpretation of the form on  
the same basis as the preceding instances rather less certain.

40:12 In MIN R 2791/5 and R 3282/3 we find *hnmhm* interpreted as  
"anything" at the end of a clause. But both texts are extremely  
fragmentary, and their true interpretation must be regarded as very  
uncertain. One may here also note SAB Ry 443/4 *hnm* at the end of a  
clause, translated by the editor as "in any fashion"; but what, if any,  
is the relation between this and the other forms discussed above is  
again very doubtful.

41:1 In addition to relative clauses introduced by one of the relative forms described in section 40, we also find asyndetic descriptive clauses attached to the antecedent noun without any linking word: SAB C 40/3 *s'qf/kwn/bhyt/njētn* "the roof which was on this bastion", C 37/7 *gdyt/hgā* "the concession which he conceded".

In these instances the antecedent noun may have nunation, as in R 4176/11-12 *qnyr/ābbhww*; or mimation, as in R 3946/1 *hgrm/w'bdqem/gn'/whjfn*; or, most commonly, absence of both. In those instances where it is devoid of both, it is perhaps likely that it is to be regarded as construct; for in MIN R 3306/2 *bn/ābbhwy/ys'erb/men* "from the sacrifice which the Minaeans offer", the noun *ābbhwy* shows the ending characteristic of the MIN construct genitive (33:2).

41:2 Within the relative or descriptive clause, we may find a pronoun affix (the *ēā·iā* of classical Arabic grammar) referring back to the antecedent: SAB R 3945/16 *l/wq't/s<sup>2</sup>ftnmw* "those whose dedication was ordained", C 73/7 *grb/...bhw/kwn/myrn/tmn/brm* "the harvest in which the purchase-price of wheat was one-eighth of a measure ...", R 4176/12 *qnyr/ābbhww/tny/s'n* "that slave whom two men slew". But this pronoun may be omitted when it would, if inserted, have functioned as an accusative. See C 37/7 and R 3306/2 cited in the preceding paragraph, and MIN R 2774/2 *frēhy/frē/k'l·ltn* "the firstfruits which he offered to the gods".

#### ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

42:1 The modal demonstrative adverb "thus" is in SAB *kn* (R 3951/1); in MIN *s<sup>2</sup>kn* (R 2831/1) and *s<sup>2</sup>kdm* (Ry 428b); in QAT *kwmw* (R 3688/8) and *hgkm* (R 3854/1).

42:2 An adverb of place *tmt* is perhaps attested in SAB 4176/7 *edy/tmt* "thither" (123).

42:3 Late SAB *ā* is rather obscure; on the possibility of it being an adverb see 56:5.

42:4 In MIN and HAD, adverbial expressions are occasionally formed from nouns by the addition of the ending *-h*, *-hm*; see 33:6. In addition to examples there given, note MIN R 2814/1 *ywmh/hn* "at the time when..."

42:5 MIN R 2827B/1 *ēā/hn/ywh* is rendered by Rhodokanakis<sup>(124)</sup> "until any day whatsoever", but without any explanation of the form *ywh*.

If his interpretation is valid, we may here have another example of this adverbial ending, and the phrase would mean literally "to anywhere in respect of time".

#### DEICTIC PARTICLES

43:1 *r'* "behold, verily, assuredly" (attested so far only in SAB) is often, though not invariably, followed by *k-*: C 397/10 *wr'/kkmr/·lmqh/ēbdhw* "and verily Ilmuqah granted to his servant", C 376/10 *w'bely/wyhjfrē/r'/hgb·y/l·lmqh/hwt/·rqn* "and as for A. and Y., they have verily leased out this land on behalf of Ilmuqah", R 3399 *wr'/s<sup>1</sup>tufyw/tbqltn* "and behold they have completed the garden-works".

43:2 Deictic *hn* "lo, behold" has been recognized only in MIN R 3272/2, according to Rhodokanakis' interpretation of the text.

43:3 In certain usages *l-* should be classified as a deictic particle. This is the case, for example, with *l-* introducing the jussive (21:9). In addition, it is sometimes used pleonastically after a conjunction or relative: SAB R 4176/4 *edy/lyrtē* (for conjunctive use of *edy* see 55:2), SAB C 604/4 *kdkdy/lyknn*, QAT R 4337B/9-10 *mn/lys'erb*, HAR C 548/2-3 *hn/lyngs'n*.

43:4 In two MIN instances we find *k-* following the relatives *hn/mh* (R 2771/8) or *hnmm* (R 3342/1) which have been mentioned in 40:10. This usage is perhaps the MIN equivalent of the QAT use of *l-* after a relative described in 43:3.

43:5 QAT *n<sup>l</sup>* is explained by Rhodokanakis as a subordinating conjunction, "on condition that"; e.g. R 3691/5 *n<sup>l</sup>/ys<sup>1</sup>tjhw*. It seems to me more natural to suppose that we have here a deictic *n-* reinforcing the jussive (deictic) *l*, and introducing a non-subordinate jussive clause: "so let them be governed". A somewhat similar deictic *n-* may be present (together with enclitic *y* 57:5) in QAT R 3566/9 *n'y/kdm/jth*, but the syntax of that passage is obscure.

#### PREPOSITIONS

44:1 The single-letter prepositions *b-*, *l-*, *k-*, *h-* are proclitics (see 1:4).

45:1 *b* occurs frequently in all dialects. With nouns of time or place it denotes the point 'at' which, or the area 'within' which, an action takes place: QAT R 4337A/7 *btmne* "in (the town) Tumna'", SAB R 4193/10



*bhlf/bythmw* "at the gate of their house", HAD CT 4/5 *bs<sup>3</sup>nyw/ywmm* "on the second day", SAB C 80/12 *bhrf/wdd<sup>3</sup>l* "during the year of W.". Similarly with nouns not exclusively temporal in sense, MIN R 2831/3 *bqrm/ws<sup>1</sup>lmm* "in war and peace".

45:2 Many of the abstract usages of *b-* are instrumental in origin. Thus, MIN R 2774/3-4 *bnw/bbh<sup>3</sup>n* "constructed by means of the revenue", SAB C 40/4 *brd<sup>3</sup>/wmmq* "by the aid and power of ...".

45:3 Subsidiary to the foregoing usage is the *b-* of price (the price being the means by which the transaction is effected): SAB C 73/7-9 *kwon/myrn/tmn/brm/bdhbn/bbl<sup>3</sup>tm* "the purchase-price of wheat was one-eighth of a measure for one *b<sup>3</sup>tt*-coin in gold". Note also Fa 124/3-5 *hqnyw/...ms<sup>1</sup>lmm/bwfy/<sup>3</sup>nf<sup>3</sup>s<sup>1</sup>hmm* "dedicated this libation-altar in exchange for the protection of their persons".

45:4 Particularly frequent is the invocatory *b-* used in the formula which ends many texts. The precise notion underlying this is not easy to define; the preposition governs not only divine names but also names of human rulers and towns (i.e. the inhabitants thereof), as in SAB C 493/4-9 *be<sup>3</sup>tr/...wb/yte<sup>3</sup>mr/wb/ktlm* from the site of the town Ktl. Since in middle SAB invocations this simple *b-* is replaced by expressions such as *brd<sup>3</sup>*, *bmqm* "by the help of, by the power of" etc., it might be suggested that the earlier usage differed from this only in the form of expression and not in basic meaning.

45:5 A number of verbs govern by means of *b-* and such cases are closely parallel to Arabic usage. Thus, HAD R 2687/3 *hd<sup>3</sup>r/b-* "beware of", SAB C 375/2 *\*tw/...bs<sup>1</sup>lmm* "brought peace". Verbs of assertion may govern with *b-*: SAB C 949/1 *temm/btebr* "announcement of delimitation" (125).

45:6 Other usages can often be classed simply as the abstract reflexes of the local sense "in": SAB Nami 74/3 *bmhyt/eqwt<sup>3</sup>n* "in (the commission of) this impiety" (126).

46:1 *l-* in its prepositional meaning "to" (in virtually all the senses of the English preposition) is found only in SAB, QAT and HAR. The function which *l-* has in those dialects is performed in MIN by *k-* and in HAD by *h-*. A preposition *k-* occurs also in SAB and QAT but with a different range of meaning (see 45:5,6).

46:2 *l-* of SAB, QAT and HAR is used of spatial or temporal motion towards: HAR C 547/5 *qeno/lytl* "they journeyed to Y.", SAB C 555/3 *l<sup>3</sup>rk<sup>3</sup>n* "for ever".

46:3 Metaphorically, its principal usages are to indicate:

(a) Purpose: SAB C 314/17-18 *s<sup>1</sup>tqr/...lqrm* "summoned aid for war", QAT R 3884bis/6-7 *brts<sup>1</sup>/lmemrm* "its proper use as a memorial" (127). Under this heading may be listed the use of *l* after verbs of ordering or commanding: SAB C 74/4-5 *wqh/bny/mrt<sup>3</sup>dm/l<sup>3</sup>s<sup>2</sup>ym* "commanded the Beni M. to establish ...".

(b) Dativus commodi: QAT R 4330/1 *mh<sup>3</sup>d/nqsn/...l<sup>3</sup>rqs<sup>1</sup>* "dug the well for (the benefit of) his ground".

(c) Ownership: SAB Ist.7626/1 *wtfn/...lqs<sup>1</sup>mwy* "this *wtf-* territory belongs to *ds*.", SAB R 3946/1 *hf<sup>3</sup>tn/...l<sup>3</sup>lmqh* "ordained as the property of Ilmuqah". This heading also covers the use of *l* to indicate a creditor: SAB C 376/1 *s<sup>3</sup>hly/wchd/...lyh<sup>3</sup>r<sup>3</sup>e/...<sup>3</sup>lfm/bl<sup>3</sup>tm* "acknowledged 1000 *b<sup>3</sup>tt*-coins as owed to Y.".

(d) In the sense of "with reference to": SAB R 3910/1-2 *wqh/...lkl/s<sup>2</sup>mt* "commanded, with reference to every purchase, that ...". However, most of the instances cited by Höfner (128) for this sense seem to me to be classifiable rather as conjunctive usages.

(e) Serving (as in Arabic) as a periphrasis for accusative or genitive in certain syntactical situations. Thus, marking an accusative after an infinitive (or, more properly, an object), SAB C 74/13-14 *wgtrnn/lhmt/<sup>3</sup>s<sup>1</sup>r<sup>3</sup>rn* "and to harvest these valleys".

46:4 *k-* is used in MIN in most of the usages described above for SAB *l-*: direction, R 3309/3 *wk/q<sup>3</sup>r<sup>3</sup>e* "and towards the west"; ownership, R 3427/1 *nfqn/k<sup>3</sup>syd<sup>3</sup>l* "this sarcophagus belongs to Z."; dativus commodi, R 3535/3 *\*rh/k<sup>3</sup>lh<sup>3</sup>a<sup>1</sup>mn* "is ordained for (the benefit of) their god"; genitive periphrasis, R 3427/3 *hrf/tny/wes<sup>2</sup>ry/ktlmyt* "twenty-second year of Ptolemy".

46:5 In SAB the preposition *k-* is of rare occurrence, the usage being:

(a) temporal: Ry 446/4 *ktbelhmm* "at the time of their founding".

(b) comparative: R 3910/3 *kmrmw/d<sup>3</sup>ys<sup>2</sup>\*mn/ebdm* "such as whosoever buys a slave", R 3945/1 *k<sup>3</sup>hd* "like one man".

46:6 In QAT also, *k-* is occasionally used in a manner similar to the comparative use of SAB *k-*: R 3566/2 *k'ydm[r]m* "as a regular rule".

46:7 The anomalous SAB R 4905/2 *bnj/kl/bel/s<sup>2</sup>ben* "built for the lord of S." is difficult to account for, in default of further examples.

46:8 In HAD, *h-* is used where SAB would have *l-* and MIN *k-*. Thus, R 2687/2 *\*mrs'/. . . hbn'/eqbtr* "appointed him for the construction of the mountain-road", R 2693/4 *kt'/hs'* "ordained unto him".

47:1 *bn* "from" is frequent in all dialects except HAR. In the latter dialect we find instead *mn*: C 548/8 *mn/mjrmn* "from the sanctuary".

47:2 *bn* (and HAR *mn*) denotes generally motion away from a point of departure. Concretely, in space or time: MIN R 2869/9 *ys'nkrs'm/bn/ mqmhs'm* "remove them from their place", SAB C 571/5 *bn/hwt/hrfn* "from this year (onwards)".

47:3 Metaphorically, its principal usages are:

(a) Partitive: SAB R 4230/7 *m'dbthmw/bn/hwr/hgrn* "their dependents from among the inhabitants of the town".

(b) Explicative: SAB R 3910/3 *kl/s<sup>2</sup>mt/. . . bn/'ns'm/w'blm/wtorm/wberm* "every purchase consisting of a man [slave] or camel or ox or cattle".

(c) Consequential: HAD R 4912/2 *mt/tbrw/bn/sydmn* "when they were damaged as a result of the collapse".

(d) Exclusion or prohibition: MIN R 2771/11 *rt'd/. . . hqnyts'm/. . . bn/ dym<sup>3</sup>rs'm* "consecrated their dedication [dedicated objects] against the possibility of anyone damaging them", SAB R 3945/16 *yhjrm/bn/mu<sup>3</sup>ftm* "made (it) sacrosanct from burning = forbade it to be burnt".

(e) Possibly also in the sense "instead of": R 3691/4 *bn/s'n<sup>3</sup>gfm/ws'kt/ w'h<sup>3</sup>/wg<sup>3</sup>dm/l<sup>3</sup>gm/w<sup>3</sup>dm* "in lieu of (the various forms of regular taxation), to make a freewill offering" (129).

47:4 *ln* occurs in early and middle SAB in the sense "from", but only in a stereotyped form of expression where it serves as the correlative of a following *ed(edy)* "to" (130): early SAB C 418/1 *ln/hljf/ern/. . . ed/hljf/mryb* "from the gate of the citadel to the gate of Marib", middle SAB R 4085/3 *ln/gylm/edy/s<sup>2</sup>qrm* "from base to summit".

47:5 In HAD we find once in similar circumstances *hn*: R 2640/2 *hn/ es'nm/'d/mn<sup>3</sup>ym* "from foundation to top".

47:6 The distribution of these forms, taken in conjunction with the fact that in Ugaritic both *b* and *l* are attested in the sense "from", strongly suggests that the whole ESA series *bn*, *ln*, *hn* are morphologically only enlarged forms of *b-*, *l-*, *h-*, to which the differentiated meaning "from" has been attached. If so, it would be erroneous to visualize ESA *bn* as a "variant" of Semitic *mn* as attested in Arabic and Ethiopic (and HAR).

47:7 G. Ryckmans (131) suggests that a preposition *m* from *\*mn* "from" is found in late SAB Ry 510/4 *ely/mhns'b'tm* and in R 5055 *trc ms'bl*, and he cites also C 160/7, read by Glaser as *s'tml'/ memhw*. But in the last-mentioned case the correct reading is certainly *demhw* (see *Orientalia* n.s.25, p.295), and the other two instances are extremely dubious; I suspect that in each we have simply nominal forms of the pattern *m<sup>3</sup>el*.

48:1 *tht* "under", *el* "upon", *em* "with", *ebr* "towards", *ns'ir* "unto", *bed* "after (of time)", often occur in forms enlarged by the addition of a suffixed *-n*, or of a prefixed *b-* or *bn*, or of both suffix and prefix together. No differentiation of meaning can, however, be detected between the various forms of the same preposition. Thus: SAB C 609/7 *emn*, SAB C 407/14 *bem*, QAT R 3858/5-6 *bn/em*, SAB C 581/7 *bemn*; SAB Fa 121 *thtr*, QAT R 3566/2 *btht*, SAB C 970/1 *bn/tht*; SAB C 611/3 *ebtr*, SAB C 308/10 *bibr*; SAB R 3945/16 *ns'irn*; SAB R 3910/4 *bedn*.

48:3 The *-n* suffix forms of these prepositions do not normally occur when a pronominal affix is added to them; nevertheless, note late SAB Ry 506/7 *bednhw*.

49:1 Certain prepositions have forms characterized by a vocalic ending which appears in SAB as *-y*, in QAT as *-w*, and in MIN and HAD as *-hy*. These endings too may coexist with the prefix *b-* or *bn*. Thus: SAB C 461/9 *bthty*, R 3945/5 *ely*, C 407/21 *bely*, R 3951/4 *bn/ely*, C 308/16 *bqdmw* "before"; QAT R 3689/10 *belw*, R 3566/12 *bn/elw*, R 4336/2 *bqdmw*; MIN R 2827A/11 *bn/fqhy* "above", R 2771/5 *hhy* "in front of" (132); HAD R 2687/2 *elhy*, R 2640/2 *'hy* "against(?)".

49:2 As is the case with the *-n* ending, there seems to be a tendency to avoid the vocalic endings (at least in the graphic representation of the word) when the preposition is followed by a pronominal affix. Note, however, late SAB C 325/8 *elwhw*, unusual both in having the vocalic ending and in its appearing (in SAB) as *-w*.

49:3 Rhodokanakis (133) explains this vocalic ending as being in origin

a construct plural ending, a view which I formerly accepted (134). I would now, however, rather regard it as dual in its ultimate origin, in accordance with the dual usage of *-hy* in MIN (see 29:3) and the variation between SAB *-y* and QAT *-w* (see 29:5).

49:4 In MIN, *bcm* usually has the form *bemh*: R 2886/2 *wb/emh/hlyf[ε]*. Contrast this with R 3306/2 *ems'mn*.

50:1 *εd* "up to" or "in, at" also has forms with a vocalic ending, but their distribution differs from that of the forms described in the preceding section. In this case, *εd* is characteristic of MIN and early SAB (e.g. MIN R 2771/3, early SAB R 3945/15); *εdy* of middle and late SAB (C 80/9); while QAT has both *εd* (R 3566/4) and *εdw* (R 3854/2). In HAD this preposition is replaced by the form *'d* (R 2687/5). None of these forms is attested with the *b-* or *bn* prefix.

50:2 *εd* (*εdy*, *εdw*) is employed mainly in concrete (spatial and temporal) usages: SAB C 418/2 *εd/hlf/mryb* "up to the gate of Marib", QAT R 3566/4 *εd/ws't/hf/bm/mhrrm/εm* "in the midst of H. the sanctuary of 'Am", MIN R 2771/7 *εd/wrh/dhqr* "until the month *dh*". Abstract uses are rarer, but observe SAB R 3951/1 *εd'l/ds'tqr* "according to what he has proclaimed" [but see 40:4 on this interpretation], SAB C 376/15 *κεd/h'ghrrn* "according to this document" (135).

51:1 *byn* "between" is the regular SAB form, though there is possibly one instance of it being written defectively, C 343/6 *bn*. In MIN it has, like *bem*, an *-h* ending: R 2975/5-6 *bynhs'm/wbynh/dmlyh*. In one MIN instance it has an ending resembling that of the external feminine plural (see 31:11): R 2902/2 *bynhts'm*. Similarly in the QAT R 3566/6 *bynhtys'm* (cp. 31:13).

51:2 *bεd* and *bεdn* "after (temporal)" seem to be confined to middle and late SAB: C 80/2 *bεd/hdtt* "after the disaster". In early SAB this meaning is conveyed by *'tr*: R 3951/5 *bqdmu/w'tr/dt/mtbt* "before and after this decree".

51:3 *hg* "according to" (see 13:1) has also the form *bhg*: SAB C 74/16 *hg/εlm/dhw/εlm* "according to the oracular vision whereby he was instructed", SAB C 570/9 *bhg/mtbt* "according to the ordinance".

51:4 *tht* (together with its enlarged forms) is used several times concretely: SAB C 971/1 *bn/tht/dn/wtrn* "below this boundary-mark".

But it is often abstract, and frequently denotes "by the authority of" or a similar notion: SAB Fa 121 *thtn/byt/hll* "by the authority of the H. clan", SAB C 461/9-10 *gru/s'mhkrb/bthty/εtr* "S. delivered a favourable oracle under the inspiration of 'Attar" (136).

51:5 *εl* with its enlarged forms denotes concretely "above, over": SAB R 4196/2 *m'gbyhmw/...bely/wynhmw* "their two cisterns above their vineyard". In the abstract field it sometimes denotes, after suitable verbs, an idea of "to the detriment of": SAB R 3910/5 *ys'b'n/belyhw* "works (an animal) to its detriment", SAB C 308/21 *qrm/bely/mr'hmw* "war against their lords". Sometimes it denotes the imposition of taxes or the like: SAB R 3945/3 *qbe/belhmw/bem/s'l'hmw/bqrm* "imposed on them in addition to their (normal) tribute, (a tribute of) oxen". In contexts dealing with monetary transactions, it denotes the debtor: SAB C 376/12 *ghrrn/dhghr/εly/hlk'mr* "the document which attests the indebtedness of H.". At other times these pejorative notions are absent, and it denotes simply "on the basis of": SAB R 4176/13 *εlnhgr/t'lb/s'wrhw* "on the basis of T. reserving his portion", QAT R 3689/6 *bεlw/dt/mhrrn* "on the basis of this decree". It denotes a building material in HAD R 2687/2 *εlhy/grbtm* "(constructed) in hewn stone". A temporal usage, "during" is attested in late SAB Ry 510/4 *εly/mhns'd'tm*, see 51:8.

51:6 *εm* with its enlarged forms is one of the most difficult of the ESA prepositions to analyse satisfactorily. Its basic notion seems to be that of association: R 4727/5 *'s'd/bemhmw* "those who are associated with them". But it is also used in connection with verbs which imply the presence of two parties to the action, such as "fighting" and "buying": in these cases it is convenient for translation to render the preposition "against" or, respectively, "from", in English; but ESA linguistic feeling visualizes such actions as taking place "with" the mutual participation of the other party in the transaction. Thus, SAB C 350/7 *tqdmw/bem/hbs't* "they made a foray against the Abyssinians", SAB C 37/5 *dqny/wes'y/εmn/εms'jq* "which he acquired and purchased from 'A.". 51:7 Another characteristic usage of the *εm* group is to denote "by the authority of" or "on the initiative of": QAT R 3854/6 *bem/mlkn* "by the king's authority, on the king's initiative". Similar to this is the standard formula *s'tml'/bcm* (e.g. SAB C 88/8); it is convenient to



translate this as "seek an oracle-response from", but the idea underlying the ESA expression seems to be that of a mutual transaction between deity and worshipper.

51:8 Sometimes the noun governed by the preposition is preceded by a construct noun which merely reinforces and specifies the idea already implied in the preposition<sup>(137)</sup>: R 3945/15 *bws'ṭ/hgrn* "in the midst of the town", Ry 510/4 *ely/mhns'b'tm* "during the course of an expedition"<sup>(138)</sup>.

51:9 Other rarer prepositions belong rather to the realm of lexicography than of grammar. Since most Semitic prepositions are in origin only nouns used in an adverbial accusative, it is often a matter of indifference whether a particular form is registered as a noun or as a preposition, as in the case, e.g. of C 547/13 *ert* "in exchange for".

#### COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

52:1 The proclitic *w-* is a simple coordinating conjunction linking words, phrases or propositions: *ḏt'/whrf* "spring and autumn", *bn'y/wts²qrn* "built and constructed".

52:2 *w-* also marks adversative coordination, "but", and is the only term which ESA has for this sense: SAB R 3945/15-16 *nḏw/gn'ḥgrhsw/ns²n/ḗd/h²s²rs¹hw/whgrn/ns²n/yhḥrm/bn/mwafṭm* "he destroyed the wall of his town N. utterly, but the town N. was forbidden to be burnt".

52:3 *w-* is further used in disjunctive coordination, "or": SAB C 126/8 *mn'²s¹/w'nṭt* "whoever, man or woman".

52:4 *w-* may introduce an apodosis: SAB Fa 30/7 *ḥnmw/ekr/wl/yw²en* "whenever it is (= even if it be at any time) contested, yet let it be held valid".

52:5 *w-* may introduce a predicate when the subject or a complement of the verb has been placed before the verb in the sentence: SAB C 334/12-13 *whrt/mr¹hmsw/...wafyt* "and as for their lord's encampment, it was saved".

52:6 *w-* may introduce a phrase describing the attendant circumstances of an action (the *wāw al-ḥād* of Arabic grammar): HAR C 548/2-4 *hn/lyn²gs¹n/s¹lhḥw/wdmwm/ds²yeḥw* "if his weapons are defiled, there being blood on his garment", MIN R 311/1-2 *tbekrb/...rs²w/ḗm/wḏrs²wts¹/*

*grym/bn/mrqdm/s¹ṭd/ṭly* "T. priest of Am - the chief of his priestly college being Ṣ. of M. - offered a lamb".

52:7 *w-* is used occasionally as an introductory particle at the beginning of an inscription: C 570/1 *wkw* "Now let there be ...".

The Corpus editor denied the existence of this usage, and wherever a text begins so, asserts that it must be fragmentary. But we now possess several texts which are indubitably complete and yet begin in this way; note for example R 4782, of which Glaser says "Not a single letter is missing".

52:8 In a sequence of two or more closely connected coordinate verbs linked by *w-* it is usual for only the first one to be a finite verb-form, while the succeeding one or ones are infinitives: SAB Fa 72/2-3 *hwṭrw/wbr'²whs²qrn* "founded and built and completed", QAT R 3854/8 *wl/ylysq/wqrw/ws¹ḗb* "let him prosecute and accuse and punish".

The employment of finite verbs in a narrative sequence tends, however, to become more common in late SAB; see for example Fa 74.

52:9 An imperfect verb introduced by *w-* is frequently not simply coordinate with the preceding verb, but has a consequential or modal force: R 3945/2 *hṭb/mwy/ḡhḥsw/rymn/wykn/fnwṭm/fnwṭm* "repaired the water(-supply) of his alluvial land R. so that it should be arranged canal by canal", *ibid./16 ḗb/bn/ns²n/²l/wḏ²t/s²fṭhms/ns¹rn/²l²ltn/wyhrḡw* "he designated from N. those whose dedication to the gods was ordained, so that they should be slain".

52:10 Instances of *w-* introducing an imperfect used as a simple narrative tense (as with Hebrew "*waw* conversive") are rare, but found occasionally: MIN R 3427/1-2 *nḏqn/k²syd²l/...ḏs¹ḗrb/²mrrn/wqlymtn/k²bytt/²l²lt/m²r/...wḡqr/syd²l/bwrh/hṭhr* "this sarcophagus belongs to Z. ... who imported myrrh and calamus for the temples of the gods of Egypt ... and Z. died<sup>(139)</sup> in the month Hathor". Narrative imperfects are also employed freely throughout SAB Ry 535, a text which is anomalous in this respect.

53:1 In the functions described in 52:4 and 52:5 for *w-* we find also fairly often in SAB and QAT proclitic *f-*: in apodosis, SAB R 4088/4-5 *hm/²l/t²hḏ/fḡlt/nḏs¹hw* "if he does not surrender, his life is forfeit", QAT R 3854/8-9 *hmsw/ys¹s¹lb/kbrn/...ḡl/yetny/mlkn* "if the kabīr-magistrate neglects ... let the king take notice"; introducing a predicate, SAB C 314/13 *wbm/ḡn/hṭrfn/fnb/s²mr* "and in this year S.

sent" (140), QAT R 4324/5 *wa'w/fkt* "and as for him, he commanded".

53:2 *f-* as a true coordinating conjunction, linking tow parallel clauses, seems to be mainly characteristic of HAR: C 547/11, C 568/5,7, R 3957/6.

53:3 *'w* (and *f'w*) "or" occur mainly in SAB: C 126/13 *h'/'s'n/'w/[h]yt/'n[t]tn* "this man or this woman", C 571/8-10 *wb/ygdn/...f'w/eqbhw* "let him or his deputy celebrate the hunt" (141). But *'w* is met also in QAT, e.g. R 4337A/24.

#### SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

54:1 An important group of subordinating conjunctions comprises a number of forms based on the element *k*. It is not easy to define the function of these forms, since in most contexts several shades of meaning are possible. But broadly speaking, one can classify the usages as (a) temporal/causal, "when, because, as", usually with the verb of the subordinate clause in the perfect; (b) consecutive/final, "so that, in order that", usually with the subordinate verb in the imperfect; (c) substantival, introducing a noun-clause, "that".

Usage (c) is somewhat difficult to disentangle from (b). In most cases we are dealing with a noun-clause dependent on a verb of commanding, and the meaning of such verbs imparts a certain "purposive" or final flavour to the clause. A pure substantival clause seems however to be attested in C 541/73 cited in 54:3. In other cases the *k*-form is part of a complex expression: R 3945/2 *bn/kā* could be formally analysed as preposition *bn* governing a noun-clause introduced by a substantival conjunction *kā* = "to the exclusion of (the possibility) that", though the expression as a whole forms the negative purposive conjunction "lest".

54:2 The distribution of the individual forms, however, does not correlate in any way with the distribution of function described above. Many forms are to be found in all these varieties of functional usage. It is clear that ESA linguistic feeling did not differentiate between the functions described above, but recognized only one function for all the forms, that of introducing a clause subordinate to the main verb; the position is analogous to that existing in Hebrew, where the single form *kī* serves indifferently for all the functions which have been mentioned. The distribution of the ESA forms is to be sought along other lines than functional ones: perhaps diachronic, perhaps sub-dialectal, perhaps purely stylistic.

54:3 Simple proclitic *k-* is comparatively rare in early and middle SAB: causative sense, R 4176/6 *khrmw* "because they are sacred"; final/substantival sense, C 88/5 *wqhlmw/'lmqh/bms'lnhw/kyfēn* "Ilmuqah gave them an oracular decision that he would raise up". In late SAB on the other hand it is very common: substantival sense, C 541/73 *r'yw/khny/qln* "they saw that the pestilence was severe"; temporal sense in C 541/42 *ktbr* "when it was damaged". In some late SAB texts (Ry 507, Ry 509, C 621) *k-* introduces a clause or clauses describing a series of historical events, in a manner similar to the earlier usage of *ywm*, 55:4. In these cases the editors have hitherto interpreted it temporally as "when" (followed by a verb in pluperfect sense); but since the preamble of the texts of this period is not dedicatory as the earlier ones are, but in the simple form "X wrote this inscription", we could also visualize the *k-* clauses as being substantival ones, implying "(to the effect) that".

54:4 SAB *kī* is temporal/causal in C 541/73 *kl/r'yw* "when they saw", final/substantival in C 333/13 *wqh/'dmhw/...kl/ydbhtrnhw* "oracularly commanded his servants that they should sacrifice to him". *bkl* is possibly attested as a temporal conjunction in G1 481/2 *bkl/hrš'/bkbtn* (142).

54:5 SAB and QAT *kn* is temporal/causal in Philby 135a *kn/det/hgrn* "when he attacked the town" (143), QAT Ham 7/3 *kn/kwn/belw* "when he was in charge of".

54:6 SAB *bkn* is temporal/causal in C 81/3 *bkn/mēhw* "because he delivered him", consecutive/final in C 80/10 *bkn/yfqln* "so that, in order that he may gather crops".

54:7 SAB *kā* and *kām*, and QAT *kām*, are substantival/final in SAB R 3945/2 *bn/kā/tq'n* "lest it should issue" (see 54:1), SAB Fa 55/4 *gsmw/...kām/ydqhnn* "resolved that they should take", QAT R 3854/2 *s'hr/whr/g/...kām/byfrwn* "ordained and commanded that they should work in the fields".

54:8 SAB *lkā* is final (purposive) in C 570/5-6 *lkā/...tq'n/thrw* "in order that the boundary may be established", substantival/final in R 4176/1 *hhr/...lkā/'l/yētrn/s'mē* "ordained that S. should not neglect".

The same usage is perhaps found in the complex form SAB C 604/4 *kīkādū/l-*

though the context is too fragmentary to permit of any certainty.

54:9 The corresponding forms in MIN regularly have the prefix  $s^2$ , comparable with that found in the MIN forms cited in 42:1. Thus beside SAB  $k-$ ,  $k\bar{a}$ ,  $km$ , we have MIN  $s^2k'y$  (with enclitic, see 57:5),  $s^2k\bar{a}$ ,  $s^2km$ : R 2814/1  $f'th/ws'tb/s^2k'y$  "ordained and decreed that"<sup>(144)</sup>, R 3535/2  $s^2k\bar{a}$  "so that" (consequential), R 2895A/4  $s^2km$  (function obscure owing to the fragmentary nature of the context).

55:1 A second class of subordinating conjunctions consists of forms based on prepositions. The conjunctive usage of these is sometimes differentiated from the prepositional one by the addition of the elements  $\bar{a}-$  or  $\bar{a}t$ .

55:2 Among the undifferentiated forms may be cited: MIN R 3306/4  $l'y/s'tm\bar{s}$  "until it is made plain" (with enclitic, 57:5), SAB C 407/22  $\bar{e}dy/hm\bar{l}hmw/bh'r$  "until he drove them into the sea", QAT R 3551/3  $hg/'mrw$  "as they commanded".

55:3 Of forms differentiated by the addition of  $\bar{a}-/\bar{a}t$  we find e.g.  $\bar{l}\bar{a}t$ ,  $\bar{b}\bar{a}t$ ,  $\bar{l}qbl/\bar{a}-$ ,  $\bar{l}qbl/\bar{a}t$  (C 95/8, C 308/3, C 79/4, C 82/3) all in the causal sense "because", or the final sense "in order that" as in C 76/4  $\bar{b}\bar{a}t$ ; C 314/17  $\bar{b}\bar{e}\bar{a}/\bar{a}-$  "after", C 374  $\bar{h}g\bar{a}t$  "as", Ry 535/9  $\bar{e}dy/\bar{a}t$  "until".

55:4  $ywm$  (also spelt defectively  $ym$ ) must originally have had a temporal sense, "at the time when"; but it is widely used in the votive texts to introduce series of clauses which describe the events which preceded and motivated the dedication. It has thus developed virtually the force of a causal conjunction. This is particularly clear in MIN R 2771/2-4  $s^2l'/\bar{e}ttr/\dots ywm/rtkl/mgr/w\bar{g}st/w's^2r/w\bar{s}l\bar{m}$  "consecrated to 'Attar ... because he had made a trading journey to Egypt and Gaza and  $s^2r$  and had been preserved in safety", where the original sense of  $ywm$  is quite lost sight of.

55:5  $mty$  "when" occurs in MIN R 3306/3 and QAT R 4337A/13; but in the latter text it is possible that it has acquired a quasi-conditional sense (cp. the remarks made on  $hn$  in 55:14), which would help to explain the absence of  $b-$  from the following verb (see 21:12,13). In HAD we find  $mt$  (R 2687/1) in the sense "when".

55:6 On causal and temporal usages of  $hn$  see 55:14.

55:7 MIN R 3306/3  $'ndrr$  is analysed by Rhodokanakis as containing a conjunction  $'n$  "that", introducing a substantival clause; but on this see 18:2.

55:8  $'\bar{a}$  "when" is attested only in HAR C 547/4.

55:9  $\bar{l}hm$  occurs as a temporal conjunction, "when", in the late SAB Ry 510/4  $\bar{l}hm/\bar{a}-$ . Nami<sup>(145)</sup> assigns the same meaning to  $\bar{l}hm$  in MIN Tawfik 6(=R 2803)/1, but G.Ryckmans<sup>(146)</sup> interprets it these as negative. (see 56:3).

55:10 A group of conjunctive forms with the meaning "whenever, where-ever" is based on the element  $'hn/'yhn$ .

This is possibly related to Arabic  $'ayna$ ; there may also be a morphological connection with  $hn$  (55:14). But the supposition advanced by Höfner (147) that this element is basically a pronominal form meaning "whoever, whatever" seems to me more doubtful.

This base may be enlarged by the addition of  $b-$ ,  $-n$ , and/or enclitic  $-m/-mw$ , giving the following forms: SAB C 376/14-15  $'hrr$ , SAB C 407/28  $'hrrm$ , SAB C 609/6  $'hrrmm$ , SAB C 352/8  $b'hrrmw$ , QAT R 3566/17  $'yhrmw$ , MIN R 3318/8  $'yhn$ .

55:11 The conditional particle "if" is normally in SAB  $hm$  (C 603/18, R 4088/4), in MIN  $hn$  (R 3306/2), in HAR  $hn$  (C 548/2), in QAT  $hmw$  (R 3854/8).

55:12 The form  $hm$  occurs also sporadically in MIN (R 2814/6  $hm'y/\bar{a}-$  and R 3357/4  $hm/\bar{l}hm$ ) and HAR (C 548/6  $hm/\bar{l}m$ ).

55:13 Höfner<sup>(148)</sup> quotes BME 25[= R 3285]/4  $hn/hm/\bar{a}yh\bar{t}b\bar{l}$  as containing both forms of the conditional particle in juxtaposition, which seems improbably. In fact, it seems to rest on a misreading of Mordtmann, for the photograph favours the Répertoire reading  $hn/hm'/y\bar{h}t\bar{b}\bar{l}$ , in which the sense of the second word is obscure.

55:14 In origin,  $hn$  may have been a temporal conjunction (cp. the close connection between German "wann" and "wenn"), and there are in fact instances of this particle in a temporal/causative usage: MIN R 2814/1  $ywmh/hn$  "at the time when", HAR C 523/1-4  $tnhy/wtn\bar{d}rr/\bar{l}\bar{a}/s'mwy/bhr/\dots whn$  "confessed and did penance to  $\bar{d}S$ . because ... and because ...".

55:15  $'l \dots 'l$  "whether ... or" is claimed by the Corpus editor in C 532/8, C 600/7, C 603/26-7, C 609/2. But in the last three instances

this explanation is very dubious, and we are more probably dealing either with the negative (56:1) or the relative (40:2). Even in the first case, C 532/8, where "whether ... or" is attractive, it would be possible rather to see a relative.

55:16 On the possible interrogative particle  $\delta$  "whether" see 18:2.

#### NEGATIVES

56:1 By far the commonest negative is  $\delta$ , found in SAB, QAT and HAD. It may precede either a perfect or an imperfect verb: SAB C 411/9  $\delta$ l/δεω, SAB G1 739/6  $\delta$ l/ymnεω. When it precedes  $\delta$ s' or the pronominal  $\underline{\delta}$ -, the combined expression has the force of "nobody": SAB C 657/2  $\delta$ l/δs'/s' $\delta$ , SAB C 619/1  $\delta$ l/δs' $\delta$  "let nobody raise a claim".

56:2 Negative  $\delta$ m occurs several times in HAR, with imperfect verb: C 523/7  $\delta$ m/yq̄ts' $\delta$ .

56:3 The usual negative in MIN seems to be  $\delta$ hm, so far attested only with a perfect verb: R 3357/4  $\delta$ m/δhm/s'brr.

56:4  $\delta$ ' occurs with a perfect verb in MIN Fa 14/14  $\delta$ 'εtny.

SAB R 2865 (= C 610)/4  $\delta$ ' is a misreading on Halévy's part; the photograph in Rathjens, Sabaeica ii, p.275, shows the normal SAB negative  $\delta$ .

56:5 Late SAB  $\delta$ ' occurring in C 540/66 and a few other late SAB texts, is of some obscurity. It has been classified as a negative particle by the Corpus editor and others<sup>(149)</sup>, while Rhodokanakis<sup>(150)</sup> interprets it as an adverb "already".

#### ENCLITICS

57:1 Certain enclitic particles are found attached to words of any part of speech. Probably they are of deictic origin and had at one time some emphasizing force, but in the historic period attested by our texts they have lost this force and seem to have no semantic function at all. This is illustrated by two passages in a single text which have identical value from the point of view of the sense: SAB Nami 19/5, 7  $\delta$ hwt/δrfn,  $\delta$ m/δwt/δrfn "in this year". The use of these enclitics seems to be purely a stylistic ornament, perhaps associated with ideas of sentence-rhythm.

57:2 QAT employs these enclitics with specially notable frequency. In

MIN their use is on the whole rare, and the majority of the MIN instances are gathered from a single text, R 3306, which employs them with a frequency comparable to QAT; this accords with the supposition that their value is stylistic and rhythmical rather than semantic.

57:3 Enclitic  $\delta$ m occurs in SAB and MIN: thus, SAB C 975/7  $\delta$ m/δhln "from the palmgrove", SAB C 413/4  $\delta$ m/δhδ "by one", MIN R 3306/3  $\delta$ m/δtrδ "when she shall come".

In MIN R 2965/4 the text is misprinted: it should read  $\delta$ m/δhm/δy/δm/δt/rb "with 180 minae". Hommel's view that  $\delta$ m is here an abbreviation for  $\delta$ mqr is certainly wrong; we have simply the normal  $\delta$  of price (see 45:3) with enclitic  $\delta$ .

57:4 Enclitic  $\delta$ m is found in SAB, QAT and HAD. Thus, SAB R 3946/4  $\delta$ m/δfmo/δhwh "so as to enlarge his tribe", SAB C 314/13  $\delta$ m/δn/δrfn "and in this year"<sup>(151)</sup>, QAT R 3691/2  $\delta$ m/δhybr "descendent of H.", QAT R 4337C/11  $\delta$ m/δqbn "the king of Qataban", HAD R 2687/3  $\delta$ m/δrbbm "from the foundations".

57:5 Enclitic  $\delta$ y occurs in MIN and QAT. Thus, MIN R 3306/1  $\delta$ y/δhln "the two prefects of the  $\delta$ amln-class", *ibid.*/3  $\delta$ y/δs'tmg "until it is made plain", QAT R 3566/4  $\delta$ y/δsm "in sincerity and goodwill", *ibid.*/9  $\delta$ y/δs't "in the midst".

57:6 In MIN R 3306/1  $\delta$ m/δy/δqbh/δlwt "in accordance with the protocol, we appear to have two enclitics used together,  $\delta$ m and  $\delta$ y.

57:7 Höfner<sup>(152)</sup> cites also a QAT enclitic  $\delta$ my. But this is in fact a dual ending (see 29:6). The context of Ja 343/4 shows this clearly; in R 3858/10  $\delta$ m/δhlnmy, which Rhodokanakis renders "half a palmgrove (or, two palmgroves ?)" the latter is undoubtedly correct; in R 3858/4  $\delta$ m/δmy must be rendered as a dual<sup>(153)</sup>; and in R 3688/3-4  $\delta$ m/δrfmy a dual is possible.

57:8 A HAD enclitic  $\delta$ hy<sup>(154)</sup> appears to be reliably attested by CT 10/2  $\delta$ hy/δδm "in(the year of)  $\delta$ δm". On the basis of this, in the closely parallel passage R 2687/5 the Répertoire's  $\delta$ hy should evidently be read (b)hy, a proposal already made by Hommel. Here too there seems no possibility of explaining the ending otherwise than as an enclitic.

On the other hand, in R 2687/3  $\delta$ s'mhy, where Rhodokanakis<sup>(155)</sup> interprets the ending as an enclitic, it may be more attractive to take it as the HAD construct dual ending (see 29:4), since the noun governs two dependent genitives.



58:1 Concord in gender and number is ordinarily observed between (a) the verb and its subject, irrespective of which comes first (for a plural verb preceding its subject see SAB R 3951/1 *hṭbw*); (b) between pronoun and its antecedent; (c) between adjective (including the demonstrative adjectives) and noun. But in middle and late SAB, and in the more recent HAD texts, there is frequent laxity in the dual concord, so that we find plural verbs and pronouns where strict concord would require a dual: e.g. Nami 22, where a dual subject has a plural verb.

58:2 Internal plurals of nouns have a plural concord of the same gender as the singular of the noun: SAB C 555/1 *ymhrw/ʾln/ʾwtrn* "these boundary-marks shall face towards ...", QAT R 3566/11 *ʾfṭhm/bsʾm/ʾfṭhw* "ordinances wherein they ordained", SAB Ry 535/4 *hntʾhgrn* "these towns" (feminine noun, see 25:2).

58:3 A pronoun referring to a sequence of nouns linked with *w* is masculine plural: QAT 3962/2-5 *bytsʾ/...wʾhṭbsʾ/wqrḥtsʾw/...klsʾm* "his house ... and its understructures and its upper parts ... all of them (i.e. of these objects)".

58:4 Where a subject consists of a singular noun enlarged by the addition of one or more further nouns linked by *w*, the verb may sometimes be singular: see R 4337A/1, R 3882/2.

58:5 The concord of expressions consisting of *kl* "all" plus a noun or nouns is sometimes masculine singular (with reference to the *kl*), sometimes appropriate to the terms depending on *kl*: contrast R 3566/10 *kl/ʾrhm/wʾfṭhm/wmḥrtm/...kwn* with masculine singular verb, and *ibid.* /11 *kl/ʾfṭhm/bsʾm* with masculine plural pronoun.

58:6 In SAB texts of the latest period, the acts of the king are described by plural verbs, and pronouns referring to him are plural; see C 541 *passim*.

## WORD ORDER

59:1 At the beginning of an inscriptional text the normal rule is that the verb occupies the second position in the sentence, and is preceded either by the subject or by a deictic expression, with the subject in the latter case following the verb. Such deictic expressions

may consist of either a deictic adverb, or a demonstrative pronoun or demonstrative adjective with its noun, or the "introductory" *w-* (see 52:7). Thus: SAB C 610 *ḏmrēly/wtr/bn/krbʾl/hgdḏ* "D.W. son of K. renewed", QAT R 3854 *ḥgkm/sʾḥr/wḥrg/sʾḥr/hll* "Thus decreed and ordained S.H.", SAB R 4176 *bḥg/ḏn/mḥrn/hḥr/tʾlb* "According to this law did T. ordain", SAB R 3945 *ʾlt/hṭḥn/krbʾl/wtr* "These did K.W. assign", SAB C 553/1 *wkwn/wṭn/ḡrn* "Now let the boundary of G. be".  
59:2 In subsequent clauses, the verb normally comes (a) in asyndetic clauses at the beginning of the clause; (b) in syndetic clauses immediately after the coordinating or subordination conjunction or relative: MIN R 2774/6 *wṛṭḏ/εlmn/wbḥnsʾw/sʾlʾsʾm* "and 'A. with his sons consecrated their offering", SAB Fa 3/9 *εlmw/ḏḥbb* "the clan H. signed".

59:3 There are, however, two exceptions to the foregoing principle. In syndetically coordinated clauses, the place immediately following the coordinating conjunction may be occupied by the subject or by a prepositional complement of the verb, but in such cases *w-* or *ʾ-* is normally prefixed to the verb: SAB C 74/18-9 *wʾlmqh/ḏhrn/ʾḡry* "and as for Ilmuqah of H., he delivered", SAB Ry 535/4 *wbnḥw/wḥwḥw* "and from there, they reached"; see also 52:5, 53:1 and other examples there.

59:4 Secondly, in relative or descriptive clauses, a prepositional complement containing the pronoun referring back to the antecedent (41:2) is normally put in front of the verb without insertion of *w* or *ʾ*: Fa 30bis/2-4 *ḡhrm/...ḏbhw/tεlm/ʾlεhr* "the document wherein 'I. signed".

59:5 There is a good deal of variety in the order of those parts of the clause which follow the verb, but the following points can be noted.

59:6 A prepositional complement is often put immediately after the verb, and may be followed by subject or direct object: C 541/10 *hḥwḥ/ḡsmn/yḥḏ* "Y. disregarded the covenant", R 2980bis/1-2 *sʾḥḏt/krkrḥ/sʾymhsʾm/kl/sʾqʾ* "he renewed for their patron N. all the roof", C 81/8-9 *hṭb/lʾlmqh/tʾmrm* "he rendered to Ilmuqah a thank-offering".

59:7 With *ḥqny* and certain other verbs governing two accusatives, the personal object commonly precedes the impersonal one: C 86/2-3 *ḥqny/ʾlmqh/ḏhrn/msʾndn* "he dedicated to Ilmuqah of H. this votive-tablet", R 2789/4 *ḏbh/εttr/ḏqbd/ʾḏbh/vii* "he sacrificed to 'Attar of Q. eight sacrifices".

59:8 Pure nominal sentences (containing no verb) are rare, but show examples of both orders, subject + predicate and vice versa: C 548/3-4  $\alpha\mu\omega\mu/\delta\sigma^2\gamma\epsilon\eta\omega$  "blood is on his garment", C 40/2-3  $\beta\sigma^2\eta\delta\eta\omega/\kappa\rho\upsilon\mu\eta$  "opposit it is the cistern".

#### MISCELLANEOUS STYLISTIC POINTS

60:1 Hendiadis is very frequent. What is logically a single notion is expressed by a phrase of two or more members linked by  $\omega$ : Fa 33/4  $\epsilon\lambda\mu/\omega\sigma^2\eta\alpha\tau/\alpha\beta\eta\omega/\tau\epsilon\lambda\mu\gamma$  "(literally, document and indebtedness = ) written acknowledgment of indebtedness in which they both signed" (note the masculine singular pronoun affix), C 6/3  $\delta\rho^2\omega/\omega\eta\sigma^2\eta\rho\eta$  "(constructed and completed = ) constructed completely", C 376/7-8  $\rho\eta\alpha/\omega\epsilon\beta\rho\tau/\omega\sigma^3\omega\omega\delta\tau$  "(land and meadows and cultivated ground = ) land consisting of meadows and cultivated ground".

60:2 Closely connected with this is the fact that a group of terms linked by  $\omega$  may be treated as a single syntactic unit and jointly govern a regimen, which itself may be either a single word or a second group of words linked by  $\omega$ . Hence, contrary to the rule in e.g. Arabic, two or more construct nouns may jointly govern a regimen. Thus, R 3856/4  $\beta^2\eta\rho/\omega\mu\alpha\delta\mu/\epsilon\tau\tau\rho/\sigma^2\eta\alpha\eta/\omega\epsilon\mu/\alpha\delta\omega\eta\mu/\omega\eta\sigma^1\omega\rho/\omega^2\eta/\eta\rho$  "by command and direction of 'Attar S. and of 'Am of D., and of N., and of 'I."; C 37/3  $\kappa\lambda/\mu\omega\rho\tau/\omega\alpha\eta^2/\omega\alpha\omega\beta\tau/\mu\eta\eta\delta\eta$  "all the fortification(?) and wall and substructure of the tower"; in the former case the first two nouns are jointly construct governing the series of divine names, in the latter we have three construct nouns jointly governing  $\mu\eta\eta\delta\eta$ .

60:3 A favourite stylistic device is the practice of deriving two members of a sentence from the same root: C 435/3  $\eta\alpha\mu\omega/\eta\alpha\mu/\epsilon\tau\tau\rho$  "they swore the oath of 'Attar". This is specially common as between the verb of a relative or descriptive clause and its antecedent noun: R 2869/6  $\beta\eta\rho\epsilon/\eta\rho\epsilon/\omega\eta\delta^2\eta$  "by means of the firstfruits which W. offered", C 37/6  $\mu\omega\eta\beta\tau/\omega\eta\delta\omega/\beta\eta\eta\omega$  "donations which his ancestors made".

60:4 A combination of this principle with that of hendiadis produces such characteristic types of expression as R 4964/4-5<sup>(156)</sup>  $\alpha\mu\rho/\omega\tau\eta\lambda^2\eta$  /  $\alpha\mu\rho\omega/\omega\tau\eta\lambda^2\eta$  "the judgment and proclamation which they delivered and proclaimed".

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- (1) G. Ryckmans, *Inscr. sud-ar.*, 9e sér., *Muséon* 64, pp. 93 ff.
- (2) Drewes, *BiOr* 13, p. 180.
- (3) C 984, C 985, R 4685 and two others described by P. B. Cornwall in *Geographical Journal* 107, pp. 44-5.
- (4) BASOR 143, p. 10.
- (5) A. M. Honeyman, "The letter order of the Semitic alphabets", *Africa* 22, pp. 136 ff.
- (6) J. Walker, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th ser., 17, pp. 9-11; Beeston, *Notes III*, p. 130, note 22.
- (7) A. Grohmann, "Göttersymbole u. Symboltiere", *Denkschr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Bd. 58 (1914)*, Abh. 1.
- (8) *JAOS* 1949, p. 98.
- (9) Beeston, *Problems*, pp. 43, 50.
- (10) A good specimen in *JRAS* 1954, Pl. xix, fig. 3; further examples in the first volume of Pirenne, *Paléographie*.
- (11) Exemplified in *JRAS* 1954, Pl. xxi, fig. 2.
- (12) In a series of texts from 'Uqlah/'nwd, probably to be dated c. 2nd or 3rd century A.D., the characteristic HAD ending - $\eta\eta$  is used indifferently with the - $\eta$  characteristic of other dialects: compare R 4909/4  $\eta\alpha\delta\eta\eta$  with R 4910/3  $\eta\alpha\delta\eta$ .
- (13) The so-called "penitential" texts, of which the keyword is the term  $\tau\eta\eta\gamma$ , are wholly within the group described; indeed, the group is co-extensive with these "penitential" texts except for including one additional text, C 548, concerned with ritual rules. On the "penitential" texts see G. Ryckmans, "La confession publique des péchés", *Muséon* 58, pp. 2 ff.
- (14) KTB ii, pp. 78-81.
- (15) There are one or two dubious exceptions. Ky 526, showing a verb form  $\eta\alpha\mu$ , is classed by the editor as QAT; but the occurrence of  $\omega\eta$  in a fragmentary context is not enough to justify assuming a mention of the specifically QAT deity of that name here.  $\eta\eta\eta$  is cited from R 3537B, of which the full text is not available.
- (16) J. Cantineau, "Le consonantisme du sémitique", *Semitica* 4, pp. 79-94.
- (17) St. ii, p. 50.
- (18) St. i, pp. 12-56.
- (19) St. i, p. 52.
- (20) Beeston, "Two South Arabian Inscriptions", *JRAS* 1937, p. 77.
- (21) Jamme, "Pièces épigraphiques... Muncharjee", *Muséon* 65, pp. 106, 108, nos. 73, 76.
- (22) For example, Jamme, "Aperçu général des inscriptions à Marib", *Acad. roy. de Belgique, Bull. de la cl. des lettres*, 1952, p. 300.
- (23) AEA ii, p. 83.
- (24) Beeston, *Phonology*, p. 23.
- (25) The reading with  $\alpha$  is clearly right on an inspection of the photograph in Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Sab. Inscr.*, p. 105; but the editors (and the Répertoire) have mistakenly read [ $\omega$ ]r'.
- (26) See for this reading G. Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, i, p. 69.
- (27) *ZDMG* 101, p. 377.
- (28) *Sibilants and Emphatics*, pp. 507-543.
- (29) "Mutation des sifflantes", in *Mélanges Godefroy-Demombynes*, 1939-46, pp. 313-323.
- (30) To adopt the view that ESA had undergone these sound-shifts would

involve the corollary that it, like Arabic, had reduced the three primitive Semitic sibilants to two phonemes: and Stehle does not shrink from accepting this, for she holds that ESA  $s^1$  and  $s^2$  denoted a single phoneme. But in the vast majority of ESA material the two letters are consistently distinguished, and there is no trace of confusion between them; only in HAR and the latest SAB texts (see 8:6, 8:8) does a different state of affairs appear.

(31) cp. also Beeston, Phonology, pp.21-2.

(32) The word is still spelt  $s^2n$  in C 540/16, 19 (dated in the 5th century A.D.) as the corrected reading in Fakhry, Arch. Journey i, p.77, shows; the Corpus reading is a misprint.

(33) Sab. Inschr. d. S.A. Exp., p.5.

(34) Sibilants and Emphatics, p.515.

(35) According to the reading of Mordtmann and Mittwoch, Sab. Inschr., p.163.

(36) Both forms ultimately loan-words from Sumerian by way of Accadian  $tuppu/\dot{a}uppu$ .

(37) Sibilants and Emphatics, p.519.

(38) Beeston, Notes II, p.261.

(39) G. Ryckmans, Noms propres, i p.15.

(40) Pliny, Hist. Nat., xii.60.

(41) Thus in the photograph; the text given by Nami inadvertently omits the first  $y$ .

(42) J. Ryckmans, Inst. mon., pp. 220-4 for inscriptional evidence.

(43) Hamdani, Südarabisches Muštabih, ed. Löfgren (Uppsala, 1953), no.144.

(44) A. Ahmad, "Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwans im Šams al-'Ulum" (London and Leiden, 1916), p.29.

(45) Muséon 56, pp.142-3.

(46) Muséon 56, p.143.

(47) *ibid.*

(48) Gr., p.131, note 2.

(49) C.H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handb., § 5.15.

(50) AST ii, pp.174, 185.

(51) Beeston, JRAS 1954, p.59.

(52) Rhodokanakis, St.i, pp.7-8.

(53) The editor reads  $nhql$ , but since a root  $hql$  is unattested in ESA, it seems to me safer to read this as another occurrence of the known  $nhql$ .

(54) Many descriptions of MSA morphology omit all mention of it; but cp. Soqotri  $in\dot{t}e\dot{s}$  "receive", from  $\dot{t}e\dot{s}$  "give" (Leslau, Lexique soq., s.v.).

(55) Cp. Arabic  $\dot{d}awr$  and C 392/6  $\dot{d}rm/bhrj\dot{m}$  "one occasion in each year".

(56) A. Goetze ("The so-called Intensive", JAOS 62, pp.1-8) argues that this is not a satisfactory description of the function and meaning of the  $qattala$  stem. The term is, however, sanctioned by long usage, and is a not inappropriate morphological description of the stem, characterized by  $ta\dot{s}\dot{a}\dot{t}\dot{a}$ , "intensification" of the second root letter.

(57) Beeston, Oracle Sanct., p.215.

(58) This analysis seems to me better than supposing that we have here a prefix stem ( $*tn\dot{q}c$ ), for such a form could only arise by syncope of the vowel which normally follows the first radical of this stem both in Arabic and in Ethiopic.

(59) Muséon 56, p.140.

(60) Gr., p.83.

(61) Attested in a late SAB text from Wadi Sana', see Beeston, Gleanings.

(62) Gr., pp.70-2 and ZDMG 93. pp. 197-203.

(63) M. Cohen, "Le système verbal sémitique" (Paris 1924), pp.63-4.

(64) Beeston, Two South Arabian Inscr., p.68.

(65) Beeston, Sab. Boundary Formula, p.2 on this reading.

(66) Gr., § 84

(67) Beeston, Notes II, pp.263, 266.

(68) A. Jamme, "Le Panthéon sud-arabe", Muséon 60, pp.110, 143.

(69) G. Ryckmans, Noms propres, i, p.152.

(70) Beeston, in Muséon 64, pp. 313-5.

(71) Beeston, BiOr 10, p.200.

(72) Gr., p.120.

(73) Gr., p.124.

(74) BiOr 10, p.152.

(75) Rhodokanakis, AST i, pp.62-3.

(76) Ja 495, in Muséon 67, p. 331, on this reading.

(77) St.i, p.37.

(78) This reading established by the facsimile in Rathjens, Sabaeica i, p.100.

(79) Gr., p.122.

(80) Beeston, BiOr 10, pp.199-200.

(81) St.i, p.44.

(82) Rhodokanakis, St.i, pp.46-7.

(83) St.i, p.49.

(84) The fact that the preceding numeral has an apparently construct form is no objection

to this view; for on this feature of the numerals see 35:23.

(85) Reckendorf, "Arabische Syntax" (Heidelberg, 1921) § 85, 2.

(86) Naqā'id of Jarir and Farazdaq, ed. by A.A. Bevan, p.1040, line 6.

(87) The latter is the view favoured by G. Ryckmans, Muséon 70, pp.102-3.

(88) Cp. Mahri  $\dot{t}ad$ , feminine  $\dot{t}ayt$ , Sahari  $\dot{t}ad$ , feminine  $\dot{t}it$ .

(89) Cp. Accadian  $e\dot{s}t\dot{u}$ ,  $e\dot{s}t\dot{a}n$ ,  $e\dot{s}t\dot{e}n$  Rhodokanakis, followed by Höfner (Gr.p.135) renders this form in K 3854 as an ordinal, "first"; it is, however, almost certainly a cardinal, "(day) one", cp.35:11.

(90) Halévy, followed by the Répertoire, renders the word here "one-third(?)" ; but since it is followed by  $\dot{m}h$ , which is known only as a plural (32:6), it seems more likely that we have here the cardinal numeral.

(91) Note nevertheless middle SAB C 581/8  $s^1\dot{a}tm$ , Ry 538/23  $s^1\dot{a}t$ , if these are in fact cardinals.

(92) The Répertoire renders this as "eighty", but this seems erroneous. The MIN decal numerals normally end in  $-hy$ , and this is actually attested for 80 in K 2965/4  $\dot{t}hmny$ . The form  $\dot{t}hmny$  should therefore be regarded as the unit "eight", thus paralleling the early SAB form, as does the MIN form of "six".

(93) This recalls Syriac usage as exemplified in John ii.1  $walyawmo \dot{d}at\dot{t}oto$  "and on the day of three = on the third day"; cp. also Arabic  $yawm al-\dot{a}had$ ,  $yawm al-\dot{t}nayn$ .

(94) Rhodokanakis, KTB i, p.126, unjustifiably regards the MIN forms ending in  $-hy$  as plurals. It would be surprising if the MIN decads were formed on a pattern different from that found elsewhere in ESA; and on the MIN dual ending  $-hy$  see 29:3.

- (95) The Corpus rendering of this as "copiae" seems unjustified, for the parallelism of this clause with the preceding one requires a numeral here.
- (96) The noun here is a plurale tantum; see 30:9.
- (97) Rhodokanakis, AST i, p.16.
- (98) Mimation is of course excluded in the case of the dual, which never has it; see 27:2.
- (99) Gr., p.135.
- (100) On the use of these terms in MIN and QAT eponymous datings see Beeston, Calendars, pp.27-8.
- (101) Thus rightly Höfner, Gr., p.135; Rhodokanakis' translation "seven days" is incompatible with all we know of the syntax of the ESA numerals.
- (102) Beeston, Oracle Sanct., p. 220.
- (103) In this text, the term  $\epsilon\sigma^2\pi$  is as it were glossed by the addition of the explanatory phrase '(h)t/\* $\sigma$ bem/bn/ $\dot{t}$ ty/yd "one finger from two hands".
- (104) Beeston, Notes IV, pp.143-4, and J.Ryckmans, Himyaritica i p.93.
- (105) St.ii, p.63.
- (106) Beeston, Muséon 66, p.178 and Ullendorff, Orientalia n.s. 23, p.328.
- (107) AST i, pp.70-1.
- (108) The  $\pi$  is a doubtful reading. Rhodokanakis, Grundsatz, p.49, emended it to  $\dot{t}$ , on the hypothesis that the word is a demonstrative adjective, used in addition to the following demonstrative adjective for heightened emphasis. This seems to me improbable; as stated above, I take it as an independent
- (substantival) pronoun form. And if one admits that the word is not functionally adjectival, there is no reason to assume that its form necessarily coincided with that of the demonstrative adjective (see 39:1).
- (109) Höfner, Gr., p.39, cites as a "plural demonstrative"  $s^1mt$  in MIN R 3015/2  $s^1m/ws^1mt/mlkn$ ; but it is clear that in this context the form cannot be a demonstrative adjective. It is obscure what the real syntax of the expression is.
- (110) Wrongly printed in Répertoire as  $nhlnn$ ; for the correct text see WZKM 45, p.22.
- (111) Gr., § 36.
- (112) St.i, p.34.
- (113) Monuments, p.11.
- (114) BiOr 10, p.152.
- (115) ZDMG 101, p.376.
- (116) Gr., p.42.
- (117) Gr., p.51.
- (118) Beeston, Ritual Hunt, pp.187-8.
- (119) Erroneously taken by the Corpus as a clan or tribal name, but rightly by Höfner, Gr., p.53, and Nami 58 as a relative.
- (120) Beeston, Sab.Inscr., p.22.
- (121) Gr., § 45.
- (122) Gr., p.52.
- (123) Beeston, JRAS 1937, p.69.
- (124) St.ii, p.63.
- (125) Beeston, Sab.Boundary Formula, p.2.
- (126) Beeston, Notes IV, pp.143-4.
- (127) J.Ryckmans, "A propos du  $m\epsilon m\pi$ " Muséon 66, p.369.
- (128) Gr., p.150  $\zeta$ .

- (129) Beeston, Notes II, pp.267-8.
- (130) Except once, R 3946/5, where according to Rhodokanakis, AST i, p.78, the correlative  $\epsilon\delta$  is implied in the verb  $\dot{t}\pi\epsilon$ .
- (131) Muséon 66, p.309.
- (132) Beeston, Notes I, p.55.
- (133) St.i, p.43.
- (134) Notes I, p.55, note 10.
- (135) To the use of  $\kappa$  here the same remarks apply as in 46:7.
- (136) Beeston, Oracle Sanct., p. 219.
- (137) Reckendorf, "Arabische Syntax" (Heidelberg, 1921), § 124.
- (138) Beeston, Orientalia n.s.25, p.295.
- (139) Beeston, JRAS 1937, pp.59-62.
- (140) Rhodokanakis, WZKM 47, p. 51, note 1.
- (141) Beeston, Ritual Hunt, pp. 187-8.
- (142) Taking  $hrs^1$  as a verb, which seems more satisfactory than to take it, as Rhodokanakis does, as a noun depending on  $\kappa\dot{t}$ .
- (143) Beeston, Notes VI, p.312.
- (144) Höfner, Gr., pp.162-3, following Rhodokanakis, treats  $s^2\kappa$  in this passage and in R 2813/4 as a preposition governing  $\gamma\omega m h$ . But since in both places it is preceded by a verb of commanding, such as is normally followed by a conjunction introducing a substantival clause, I prefer to take  $s^2\kappa$  so here, and to interpret  $\gamma\omega m h$  as an adverbial form; see 33:6, 42:4,5.
- (145) Monuments, p.9.
- (146) Muséon 66, p.402.
- (147) Gr., p.55.
- (148) Gr., p.164.
- (149) Mordtmann and Mittwoch, Sab. Inscr., p.67, note 2; J.Ryckmans, Persécution, p.14, note 56.
- (150) KTB ii, p.90, note 2.
- (151) Rhodokanakis, WZKM 47, p.51, note 1.
- (152) Gr., p.57.
- (153) Beeston, Calendars, pp.6-7.
- (154) Höfner, Gr., pp.56-7.
- (155) KTB i, p.125; St.ii, p.171.
- (156) See also J.Ryckmans, Muséon 67, pp.644-5.



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\* The second series of Nami NAG has two concurrent numerations, one  
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 (numbered "1-6"). It is the numeration "5-10" that I have adopted.