

Articles

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The Predicative Infinitive Construct in Phoenician and Punic

Abstract This study examines the prevalent predicative utilization of the infinitive construct following the preposition *l-* (= *l*- + IC) in Phoenician, Punic and Neo-Punic. It compiles predicative *l*- + IC constructions through the different historical phases of Phoenician, providing a comprehensive insight into its use. Two distinct grammaticalization pathways of the *l*- + IC construction are suggested: obligatory attachment of the preposition *l-* to the IC, and its transition from adverbial to predicative usage. The varied modal functions of the independent predicative *l*- + IC construction are traced to these two primary processes. Widespread predicative use of the *l*- + IC in Late Biblical Hebrew and Qumran Hebrew is believed to echo Phoenician constructions—an outcome of the historically intensive language contact situation—underscoring its central role within the Phoenician linguistic structure.

Keywords Phoenician, Punic, infinitive construct, predicative constructions, grammaticalization, modality, language contact



1 Introduction

This article addresses independent predicative uses of the infinitive construct preceded by the preposition *l-* ('to') in Phoenician and Punic (*l- + IC*). Use of this predicative *l- + IC* construction is consistently seen across the different epochs of the Phoenician and Punic civilizations, encompassing diverse geographical regions where evidence of Phoenician or Punic language persists. These *l- + IC* constructions have been addressed in the scholarly literature, with particular focus on their function as predicates. It is, however, notable that because of their prevalence and typicality in dependent roles, instances that should rightfully be construed as independent are often understood to depend on a finite verb, albeit not always convincingly.¹ The most extensive review of predicative *l- + IC* constructions in Phoenician and Punic is by Krahmalkov (1987), which focuses on predicative *l- + IC* constructions serving a future function. This present article aims to classify all instances of predicative *l- + IC* constructions in a defined corpus, categorizing them according to their modal functions and suggesting a grammaticalization process that leads to those different functions.

Exploring Phoenician's predicative use of *l- + IC* within its broader context, this article begins by describing the process by which the preposition *l-* became attached to the IC, suggesting that it is a grammaticalization process (section 1.1). It then demonstrates how the subordinated *l- + IC* becomes detached from the main verb—a process in which the construction becomes an independent predicative form (section 1.2). This phenomenon is then comprehensively reviewed from two perspectives: diachronic (from Phoenician to Neo-Punic) and geographic (from the homeland to settlements across the Mediterranean, see section 1.3). The article's second and central part categorizes all predicative *l- + IC* constructions according to their modal functions (section 2). Its reflection in Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) and Qumran Hebrew (QH) is then examined, suggesting profound Phoenician influence (section 3).²

1.1 Grammaticalization of the *l- + IC* construction

To understand more clearly the predicative use of the *l- + IC* construction, the process it underwent in becoming a distinct construction must be addressed. This section first addresses the preposition *l-*, and relying on typological evidence, suggests that the allative and purposive functions of the preposition lead to its inclusion within the *l- + IC* construction (section 1.1.1). This process is

¹ See Krahmalkov (1987: 76–79) for examples.

² All biblical verses are from <https://www.tanach.us/Tanach.xml>. All biblical translations are from the New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition (NRSVue).

explained by using parameters of grammaticality (section 1.1.2), which support the suggestion that it is a grammaticalization process. Then, the grammaticalization process and mechanism are described (section 1.1.3).

1.1.1 The preposition *l-* as a part of the *l-* + IC construction

This construction consists of the preposition *l-*, followed by an IC. The preposition *l-* is prevalent in West Semitic languages, and among its functions, it serves as a prepositional complement, governed by a verb. Among the different prepositional complements that are introduced by *l-*, in many West Semitic languages, it introduces allative³ or purposive complements. As these functions of the preposition *l-* are common in many West Semitic languages, they should be seen as originating in Proto-West Semitic (Koehler and Baumgartner 1994–2000; Huehnergard 2019: 67).⁴

Considering the preposition's functions, a connection between *l-* and ICs is predictable: in many languages from many different language families, the form of the infinitive includes allative or purposive linguistic elements or remnants of such elements.⁵ This grammaticalization path is evident in many genetically different languages (Kuteva et al. 2019: 49–50, 351–352). Such typological evidence is significant, as it leads to an assumption that the allative and purposive functions of the preposition *l-* were the source of the *l-* + IC construction and not the preposition's other functions.

1.1.2 The *l-* + IC as a grammaticalized construction

The juxtaposition of the two formerly distinct elements was reanalyzed as a new construction, in which the preposition *l-* was reanalyzed as an integral part of the infinitive construction. The preposition *l-* becomes more dependent on obligatory conventions laid down in grammar, and is therefore more grammatical.⁶ Hence, the preposition *l-* is considered to have undergone a grammaticalization process. The grammaticality parameters suggested by Lehmann (2015: ch. 4) support this

³ The term allative refers in linguistics to a 'type of inflection which expresses meaning of motion "to" or "towards" a place' (Crystal 2003: 19).

⁴ East Semitic probably does not possess a genetically related preposition with these functions (von Soden 1995: 204–207).

⁵ Haspelmath (1989) provides numerous examples from different language families. Prominent examples are English and German infinitives, which include the purposive *to* and *zu*, respectively. For claims regarding a parallel construction in BH, see Fox (1984: 7–14); Driver (1892: 275–276); Kautzsch (1910: 348); Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 405). For the use of purposive prepositions with infinitives in Semitic, see Huehnergard (2019: 64).

⁶ According to the definition given by Lehmann (2015: 130). A similar claim has been made by Haspelmath (1989: 295–297) regarding the German infinitive.

view, and two of them are presented: decrease in paradigmatic variability and semantic bleaching.

First, the very frequent use of the preposition *l-* with the IC gradually made it virtually obligatory, reducing the freedom of language users to choose other prepositions from the paradigm.⁷ With this new status, the *l-* preposition sometimes lost its original functions and merely served to mark the IC.⁸ Such de-semanticization is a prominent feature of grammaticalized forms. This is seen in adjacent Semitic languages and dialects such as Mishnaic Hebrew, in which the other prepositions are attached to the *l-* + IC construction rather than the IC form that contains no other prepositions—for example *?swr mlrhws* ‘is forbidden to wash’ (Berakhot 2, 6) rather than *mrhws* (Kutscher 1982: 126).⁹

This view of *l-* + IC as a unified grammaticalized construction suggests that it is a distinct form whose function is not deducible from the morphemes of which it consists. The construction’s uniqueness justifies limiting the scope of this article to the *l-* + IC construction and excluding ICs without this preposition.

1.1.3 The grammaticalization mechanism

The grammaticalization process described in this section has already occurred, as the grammaticalized form is evident in the earliest recorded Phoenician dialect. Hence, the linguistic situation at the onset of the grammaticalization process can only be assumed, and no example can be shown from that time. However, the preposition *l-* in its allative and purposive function before an IC is evident alongside its grammaticalized form.¹⁰ Therefore, the description of the grammaticalization process in this section, builds on analysing the outcome of this process.

The onset of grammaticalization processes lies in the high frequency of an element in a specific environment, in this case, the allative or purposive preposition *l-* followed by an IC. Following the high frequency, language users begin to

⁷ The high frequency of *l-* with IC is witnessed in the recorded phases of Phoenician, and it is assumed to reflect the situation in the unrecorded stage in which the grammaticalization process took off. For the high frequency of *l-* with IC in Phoenician, see Friedrich and Röllig (1999: 193), where it is claimed that the IC is always preceded by the *l-* preposition. In Krahmalkov (2001: 202–203), 38 IC occurrences are presented, 33 of them containing the *l-* preposition. For the decrease in paradigmatic variability as a grammaticalization parameter, see Lehmann (2015: 146–152).

⁸ This can also be seen in BH, e.g. Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 406). For de-semanticization as a parameter of grammaticalization, see Lehmann (2015: 134–141).

⁹ This tendency is widespread in QH as well, for example confer the quote from BH in which the verbal form was adapted to the late usage, with the use of the *l-* + IC construction, *whšlty šmry wpyšty mlkswt* ‘and I shall withdrawing my wool and flax in order not to cover her nakedness’ (4Q166 ii 9) rather than *mlkswt*. See Muraoka (2020: 118).

¹⁰ See Friedrich and Röllig (1999: 193–194). According to the principle of divergence, a grammaticalized form could coexist with the original form. See Hopper (1991: 24–25).

reanalyze the construction, in this case, to see the preposition *l-* as marking the IC and not as a functional preposition governed by the main verb. At this stage, the interpretation of the preposition *l-* alternates between these two possibilities. During the reanalysis stage, the construction appears in the same syntactic and pragmatic environments as before, and hence, this stage inevitably involves ambiguity.¹¹ The following example from the fourth century BCE in Kition (present-day Cyprus) demonstrates this stage, in which the preposition *l-* could be interpreted in its allative meaning followed by an IC, or as an almost obligatory element, simply marking the IC:

*bmš?nm ?bn wšzrnm hppym l?gd ln mlhmt... wyš? šln[m mħ]nt ?š kty l?gd lm mlhmt
bmqm ?z* (KAI 288:1–3):

When our enemies and their Paphian allies **came** (*b-* + IC) **to do** (*l-* + IC) battle with us... the army of the people of Kition **came** (*qatal*) forth against them **to do** (*l-* + IC) battle with them at this place. (Krahmalkov 2001: 208)

Here, according to the original use of *l-*, the inflected IC *mš?nm* and the finite verb *wyš?* ('to come')¹² are followed by *l-*, which is itself followed by an IC *?gd* ('to wage'), showing the direction or purpose of the main verb. According to the emerging interpretation of the preposition *l-*, it merely marks the IC and is devoid of its allative function in this context. Determining which interpretation was intended is impossible, as ambiguity is a crucial part of the grammaticalization process.

The reanalysis is evident only when the construction is expanded to other environments by analogy, environments in which the former interpretation is impossible. This stage is evident, for example, in instances where the *l-* + IC does not follow a verb, and therefore, the preposition *l-* could not be interpreted as complementing a verb.

1.2 Grammaticalization of the predicative *l-* + IC construction

Following the reanalysis of the *l-* + IC as a unified construction, it went through a grammaticalization process and began to assume predicative functions. Ambiguous use of the form is the onset of the grammaticalization process. Ambiguous instances can theoretically be interpreted in two ways—the original adverbial interpretation and the emerging predicative construal—an ambiguity resulting

¹¹ On the role of ambiguous uses in initiating grammaticalization processes, see Hopper and Traugott (2003: 49–52).

¹² *mš?nm* is an IC followed by a pronominal suffix, which functions as a subject. For such use of pronominal suffixes, see, e.g. Krahmalkov (2001: 206). This use of pronominal suffixes following ICs in Phoenician and Punic deserves a separate treatment and is not discussed here.

from the dwindling bond between the main verb and the *l* + IC construction.¹³ The following example shows one way in which the bond between a main verb and a *l* + IC construction can be diminished. It is from an inscription found in the Carthage Tophet, most likely written in 406–405 BCE.

qr? lmlqrt ysp ʕlty lšlm wlyrḥy bmqm [z] (KAI 302:6–7):

As for him who calls to Milqart, they **shall continue** (*yiqtol*) **to greet** (*l* + IC) him and **make him comfortable** (*l* + IC) in this city [Carthage]. (Krahmalkov 2000: 308)

Here, two *l* + IC constructions follow the finite verb *ysp*. The first, *lšlm*, should be understood as dependent on the finite verb, meaning ‘continue to greet’. The second *l* + IC construction, *wlyrḥy* ‘and make him comfortable’,¹⁴ however, can be interpreted in two different ways: either dependent on or independent of the finite verb. In the former, the *waw* connects the two *l* + IC constructions as they are on the same syntactic level. In contrast, in the latter, the second *l* + IC and the finite verb are on the same syntactic level, and it is these that the *waw* connects. The ambiguous stage exemplified here allows reanalysis of the *l* + IC construction as predicative. The end of this process is evident in the unambiguously predicative use of the *l* + IC construction, presented in the following section.

1.3 Phoenician and Punic evidence of predicative *l* + IC

The earliest recorded Phoenician stage, dated to the eleventh or tenth century BCE, is from the ancient Phoenician city Byblos, on the western shores of present-day Lebanon (Wilson-Wright 2019: 509–510). The Byblos vernacular had several distinct linguistic features, which set it apart from other early Phoenician dialects in the region (Krahmalkov 2001: 8–9). Following the Phoenician expansion from coastal Lebanon to present-day Israel, Palestine and Egypt, Standard Phoenician became the coastal language of the Levant (Krahmalkov 2001: 2). It also found its way to present-day Greece, Cyprus, Italy and Turkey, where local Phoenician dialects evolved (Röllig 2011: 473). With the continued spread of the Phoenician empire, there is evidence of the language spanning the entire Mediterranean Basin, including North Africa, with inscriptions from the city of Carthage found in present-day Tunisia. These dialects continued to be used in this area in later periods and were influenced by indigenous languages. They are referred to as Punic until the fall of Carthage in 146 BCE, and thereafter, until their

¹³ See Cohen (2005) and Mor (2019) on similar claims regarding the weakening of the bond between the finite verb and the *l* + IC construction in LBH and QH.

¹⁴ This *l* + IC construction is followed by a pronominal suffix, which functions as an object. This phenomenon in Phoenician and Punic deserves a separate treatment and is not discussed here.

latest attestations around the fourth century AD, they are known as Late-Punic or Neo-Punic (Röllig 2011: 473; Krahmalkov 2001: 10–15).

The examples that follow demonstrate predicative uses of *l*- + IC constructions in various stages of Phoenician and Punic. The first shows a predicative *l*- + IC in the Byblos dialect. The occurrence of predicative *l*- + IC constructions in the language's earliest recorded stage suggests that the process had already occurred before Phoenician was recorded in writing. Alongside the new use of the construction for predicative functions, it continued to serve in its earlier function as a verb complementizer throughout all recorded stages of Phoenician and Punic.¹⁵ The following example consists of a graffiti written on the shaft of King Aḥiram's tomb in Byblos (present-day Lebanon) in the tenth century BCE, probably as a routine warning against violating it.

ldšt hn ypd lk tḥt zn (KAI 2:1–3):

Know (*l*- + IC) that you will pay for this.¹⁶

The predicative *l*- + IC construction is also evident in this next example, in Standard Phoenician, probably written in the first century BCE and found in Greece. Identifying the following *l*- + IC construction as predicative is relatively simple since the main sentence has no other possible verbal form.

ʔyt ršt z lktb hʔdmm ʔš nšʔm ln sl bt ʔlm slt mšbt ḥrṣ (KAI 60:4–5):

The persons who were elected by us in charge of the temple **shall inscribe** (*l*- + IC) this resolution on a gold stele. (Krahmalkov 2000: 131)

In the next example, found on a stele in the Carthage Tophet and probably written between the third and second century BCE, the predicative *l*- + IC can be discerned in Punic, spoken outside the motherland:

wkl ʔš lsr t ʔbn z by py ʔnk wby py ʔdm bšmy wšpṭ tnt pn bšl brḥ ʔdm hʔ (KAI 79:6–11):

As for anyone who **shall remove** (*l*- + IC) this stone without my permission or without the permission of someone authorized by me, Tinnit-Phanebal shall condemn that person. (Krahmalkov 2000: 348)

¹⁵ For the principle of divergence, see comment 10. When the two forms coexist, the frequency of the emerging form does not necessarily increase with time compared to the original form, and the frequency of the original form does not necessarily decrease over time.

¹⁶ Own translation. This example was read and translated differently by Krahmalkov and KAI. See below section 2.1.3, comment 28.

The *l* + IC construction is most likely predicative since there is no other verb in the relative clause opening with the relativizer *ʔš*.

Predicative *l* + IC constructions are also seen in Neo-Punic, the latest recorded stage of the language. The following example was found in Tripolitania, and was written between the first and fourth century AD.

pšl mšqr... lqn?m wl?hy?... ʔš lkn ?hr bbry?t (TRIP 10:1–4):

Macer built <this tomb> for his parents and for his brother. **May** <their> after-life **be** (*l* + IC) safe. (Krahmalkov 2000: 80; TRIP 10)

The abundance of predicative *l* + IC constructions in Phoenician and Punic is clear when considering the proportion of their independent as opposed to their dependent uses. Fifty *l* + IC constructions in Phoenician and Punic are found in the corpus examined.¹⁷ In nineteen, they have their original function as a verb complement. In ten, they are ambiguous, and can be interpreted as either dependent on or independent of a finite verb. In twenty-one occurrences, the construction should be understood as predicative and independent of a finite verb. Independent use of the *l* + IC construction thus comprises 42%–62%, depending on how the ambiguities are construed. All examples are exhibited in the appendix to this article and categorized, among other factors, by their interpretation as dependent or independent.

As shown above, the predicative *l* + IC construction is found in all geographical and chronological stages of Phoenician and Punic. Its abundance is shown both by its span across the Mediterranean Basin over approximately 1,400 years and by the higher percentage of predicative function compared with any other function. This suggests that its predicative use was integral to the Phoenician language, rooted in all its stages.

2 Modal uses of the predicative *l* + IC construction

It is suggested above that the *l* + IC construction resulted from a grammaticalization process in which the preposition *l*- and the IC became a single construction. The *l*- bore functions of purpose, showing desire, and was therefore considered modal. According to the principle of persistence,¹⁸ this function is expected to imprint on the modal functions of the *l* + IC construction. As this section shows, all occurrences of the predicative *l* + IC construction serve an array of modal

¹⁷ The corpus consists of KAI, NSI and TRIP. Poen and CIS were not systematically searched, but their occurrences were collected from Krahmalkov (2000; 2001).

¹⁸ According to the principle of persistence, the meaning of a grammatical form reflects an earlier meaning. See Hopper (1991: 28–30).

functions, which are probably influenced by the modal meaning of the allative or purposive *l*-.

The section is divided into two. The first (2.1) shows *l* + IC constructions that express deontic modality—attitude towards a potential future event (Palmer 2001: 8);¹⁹ the second (2.2) is of *l* + IC constructions that express epistemic modality—judgment of the factual status of the proposition in the realm of the future (Palmer 2001: 8).²⁰

These two types of modality are not mutually exclusive, as some categories demonstrate both. An example is the wish category, which is primarily concerned with desiring an event to occur, while simultaneously expressing uncertainty as it is yet to take place.²¹ Occurrences of predicative *l* + IC constructions are classified below, according to their primary modal function.

2.1 Deontic modality

As indicated, the preposition *l* primarily expresses direction and purpose, absorbed in the common use of the *l* + IC construction. This usage expresses deontic modality, as it concerns self-desire. It is from this initial function that the four deontic modal uses of *l* + IC constructions in Phoenician and Punic probably emerged: wish, command, imperative and prohibitive. Use of *l* + IC constructions in these four functions likely results from their original allative and purposive functions. The *l* + IC construction's wish function can be explained through its looser bond with a governing verb (section 2.1.1); the command explained as a specific kind of a wish (section 2.1.2); the imperative through expansion from general use of commands to situation-specific scenarios (section 2.1.3); and the prohibitive as negation of a command or an imperative (section 2.1.4).

2.1.1 Wish

Several clear examples show the *l* + IC construction serving as a predicate expressing a wish (Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 194; Solá-Solé 1961: §97). In others, it can be seen as a purposive *l* followed by an IC with an alternative interpretation of the *l* + IC construction as a predicate.²² In the following example, found in Sidon (present-day Lebanon) and written in the fifth century BCE, both interpretations are possible:

¹⁹ See also Jespersen (1924: 319–321).

²⁰ The terms 'deontic' and 'epistemic' follow von Wright (1951: 1–2).

²¹ See Palmer (2001: 13).

²² Another demonstration of the *l* + IC construction as ambiguously dependent or independent on a governing verb is given in section 1.2.

wšd ytn ln ʔdn mlkm ʔyt dʔr wypy... **wyspnnm** šlt gbl ʔrš **lknnm** lšdnm lšlm (KAI 14:18–20):

In addition, the Lord of Kings ceded to us Dor and Joppa, and **we annexed them** to the territory of <our> land **that they might belong** (*l*-+IC; complement/wish) to the Sidonians forever. (Krahmalkov 2000: 233)

In this translation, as well as in that of KAIii (p. 20), the *l*-+IC construction is dependent on the finite verb *wyspnnm* and functions as an adverb, with a purposive meaning. This example can, however, be theoretically understood as having two predicates: the first is the finite verb *wyspnnm*, and the second is the *l*-+IC construction. If so, it can be better translated as, ‘In addition, the Lord of Kings ceded to us Dor and Joppa, and **we annexed them** to the territory of land, **let them belong** to the Sidonians forever’.²³ Translated this way, the *l*-+IC construction is a predicate expressing a wish.

As for the ambiguous interpretations of *l*-+IC constructions, reanalysis may give them a predicative force of their own—leading by analogy to a clear-cut predicative use of the *l*-+IC construction.²⁴ The following example was found in Karatepe (present-day Turkey) and written around 720 BCE. It comprises two sentences, each conveying a wish. The first sentence does so with a verbal form at sentence-initial position, whereas the second employs the *l*-+IC construction, also at sentence-initial position, to convey the wish’s meaning.

wbrk bšl kr[n]tryš ʔyt ʔztwd hym wšlm wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk **lty** bšl krntryš wkl ʔln qrt lʔztwd ʔrk ymm wrb šnt wršʔt nšmt wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk (KAI 26A III:2–7):

May Baal-KRNTRYŠ **bless** Azatiwada with long life and prosperity and power greater than that of any king. **May** Baal-KRNTRYŠ and all the gods of the city **give** (*l*-+IC; wish) to Azatiwada many days and many years and a good old age and power greater than that of any king. (Krahmalkov 2000: 362)²⁵

The interpretation of the *l*-+IC construction in this example is most probably unambiguous. From a semantic point of view, interpreting the *l*-+IC as dependent on the finite verb seems unlikely. Viewing the *l*-+IC as subordinated to the finite verb would lead to an interpretation such as ‘may Baal-KRNTRYŠ bless to give’, an interpretation that seems less plausible. The suggested interpretation leaves

²³ Own translation.

²⁴ On analogy in grammaticalization processes, see Hopper and Traugott (2003: 63–69).

²⁵ The *l*-+IC *lty* is suffixed by a pronominal suffix which functions as a subject and is not represented in the translation. The name Azatiwada is transliterated according to Hawkins (2012: 58). For an interpretation of this *l*-+IC as a precative construction, see Barré (1983).

the *l*- + IC as the sole verbal form in the second sentence, strongly supporting the interpretation of its function as predicative.

2.1.2 Command

The wish modality shows desire that an event will happen, which can show desire for other people to act, and can thus be seen as a command or a general obligation. The following example, written in the first century BCE in Greece, has no finite verb, and the *l*- + IC construction should, therefore, be interpreted as predicative.

ʔyt rʕt z lktb hʔdmm ʔš nšʔm ln ʕl bt ʔlm ʕlt mšbt ʕrʕ wyʔnʔy bʕrpt bt ʔlm ʕn ʔš (KAI 60:4–5):

The persons who were elected by us in charge of the temple **shall inscribe** (*l*- + IC; command) this resolution on a gold stele and shall erect it in the temple portico. (Krahmalkov 2000: 131)²⁶

Laws often contain commands, and these examples belong in this section. The situation to which the laws and regulations apply expresses epistemic modality, and is discussed below in the relevant section (2.2).

2.1.3 Imperative

The preceding section shows the use of predicative *l*- + IC constructions with the meaning of commands or general obligations. When the construction is addressed to a second person and is more situation-specific, however, its function is considered imperative. Commands are generally less situation-specific and inflected in the third person, whereas imperatives are more specific and inflected in the second person. Since the IC is uninflected for person, it is often unclear whether a specific *l*- + IC construction is a command or an imperative. Perhaps, therefore, the imperative meaning of *l*- + IC constructions is considered rare in Phoenician and Punic. In the next example, written in Byblos in the tenth century BCE, the *l*- + IC construction is used as an imperative in the second person.

ldʕt hn ypd lk tʕt zn (KAI 2:1–3):

Know (*l*- + IC; imperative) that you will pay for this.²⁷

²⁶ Krahmalkov (1987) views this example, among others, as a periphrastic future. See section 2.2.

²⁷ Own translation.

This warns against opening a grave, a standard admonition on tombstones (compare with similar examples classified as prohibition in section 2.1.4, below). While this phrase was read and translated differently in the literature,²⁸ its exact interpretation is not the main issue here, since the *l* + IC construction is considered imperative in all translations. The imperative function of the *l* + IC construction in this example is clear because it contains a preposition inflected in the second person *lk*, setting it apart from the function of the command described in the previous section.

2.1.4 Prohibition

Commands and imperatives demand for action to be taken, whereas prohibition is the reverse, demanding that a specific action is not taken.²⁹ The negative particle *(?)bl*³⁰ followed by the *l* + IC construction in a negative command or imperative conveys prohibition.³¹ The prohibitive *l* + IC construction is used several times in Phoenician and Punic, mainly on sarcophagi, warning against opening the coffin or disturbing the dead.³² The following example was found in France, but was perhaps written in Carthage in the third century BCE.

qbr zybqt hkhn[t...] ?bl lpth (KAI 70:3–4):

<this is> the tomb of ZYBQT the Priestess. **Do not open** (*l* + IC; prohibition)
<it>! (Krahmalkov 2000: 28)

²⁸ E.g. Krahmalkov (2000: 206) reads this sentence as *ldst hny bslk tht zn*.

²⁹ Friedrich and Röllig (1999: 194) and Solá-Solé (1961: §100) address these two opposing functions in relation to one another. Prohibition is often described as a ‘negative imperative’, e.g. Zanuttini (1997: 105–154). The difference between the two concepts also lies in the recipient: while imperatives are directed towards a second person, prohibition can be directed towards both second or third person, therefore functioning as the negative equivalent of both an imperative addressed to a second person, and a command addressed to a third party.

³⁰ *?bl* is analyzed as a juxtaposition of two negative particles: *?y-bl*, see Friedrich and Röllig (1999: 178). The common negative particle that serves in modal contexts is *?l*, for example *?l ?l tpth slty w?l trgzn* ‘do not open my sarcophagus and do not upset me’ (KAI 13: 3–4), see Pat-El (2013: 48–49). Perhaps the infinitive is negated by *(?)bl* in those contexts due to its nominal features.

³¹ In such clauses, the *l* + IC forms are analyzed in the literature differently. In some, the *l* + IC construction is not considered a predicate. Due to the close relation between prohibitions, commands and imperatives, those occurrences are within the scope of this article.

³² A similar use of the IC is also found in Jewish Aramaic *wl? lmpth* ‘No one may open’. See Mor (2015: 443).

2.2 Epistemic modality—the category of future

This section demonstrates *l*- + IC constructions whose primary role is expressing epistemic modality related to the future. The future tense often expresses an attitude towards the sentence, and thus also conveys deontic meaning. Since it can never be strictly factual, carrying notions of intention, prediction or belief, futurity and modality are often difficult to distinguish (Lyons 1968: 310; 1977: 677). This is shown by future markers deriving from modals, which can be discerned, for example, in the English-language *will* and *shall* (Lyons 1968: 310). The epistemic quality of the future tense, however, probably characterizes its function better than the deontic, as the future always carries at least a certain level of irrealis and uncertainty in referring to events that have not yet taken place. This expansion of *l*- + IC construction's function from deontic to epistemic is not surprising, as the use of the same forms for both functions appears typologically in many languages.³³

Punic and Neo-Punic employ the *l*- + IC construction to signify the future. In some cases, this use clearly conveys deontic meanings, and in others, it does not convey an easily defined deontic meaning and is hence seen as a periphrastic future. This section provides two examples of the *l*- + IC construction, one showing and the other lacking a clear deontic expression. It will be shown that while Krahmalkov (1987) emphasizes the use of this construction as a periphrastic future, this use should be viewed as an extension of the deontic uses into more epistemic functions of this construction. Here is an example in Punic, in which the future is involved with both deontic and epistemic modalities. It is from an inscription found in the Carthage Tophet, written around 406–405 BCE.

wkl ?dm] ?š lkp ?yt ?mnt z wlskr wlsbt y?ml yd[? (KAI 302:3–4):

As for any person who **shall lay hands** (*l*- + IC; Future) on this stele or **shall disturb** (*l*- + IC; Future) or **shall remove/destroy** (*l*- + IC; future) it, his hand shall wither (*yiqtol*)! (Krahmalkov 2000: 239)³⁴

The first part of the sentence is a relative clause comprising three *l*- + IC constructions anticipating possible interference to the stele. The contrasting second part is a finite verb form, denoting the grave consequence of such action. Syntactically, this sentence and others similarly structured are simple verbal sentences.³⁵ The relative clause describes possible transgression, with the main clause a threat, conveying the potential outcome of this wrongdoing. Such sentences semantical-

³³ This has happened, for example, in English usage of *must* and *may*. See Palmer (2001: 7, 18, 86).

³⁴ The reading follows CIS i 5510.

³⁵ See similar examples in KAI 79:6–11, CIS i 3784 and CIS i 4937.

ly resemble conditional sentences, with the preceding clauses conditioning the clause which contains the warning. The *l* + IC constructions may, therefore, be considered as serving as the protasis of a conditional sentence.³⁶ From a deontic perspective, actions described by *l* + IC constructions are undesirable. From an epistemic perspective, the first part of the sentence with the *l* + IC constructions is irrealis and will not necessarily happen.³⁷

In other examples, pinpointing the exact deontic or epistemic quality expressed by the *l* + IC construction is less straightforward. This next example comes from the Marseille Tariff, a Punic inscription from the third century BCE that regulates the distribution of sacrifices between those who bring them and the priests. The action of sacrifice is conveyed by a *l* + IC construction. It is in the future, and hence shows some epistemic modality as its taking place is not definite, but it shows less deontic modality than the examples demonstrated above.³⁸

[ʕ]l bll wʕl ḥlb wʕl ḥlb wʕl kl zbh ?š ?dm **lzbḥ** bmnḥ[t--] y[kn lkḥnm] (KAI 69:14):

For mash or for fat or for milk or for any sacrifice that one **shall make** (*l* + IC; future) as a *mnḥt*-sacrifice, the priests shall receive [...]. (Krahmalkov 2000: 95)

It is possibly this example and others with fewer deontic qualities, that led Krahmalkov (1987) to consider some *l* + IC constructions as predicates that strictly signify the future tense.³⁹ He defined this *l* + IC construction's function as either an indicative or a periphrastic future,⁴⁰ and to show the *l* + IC construction's future function, he used parallel examples in which it corresponds to an imperfect finite verb. This comparison of parallel examples does not rule out the modal overtones of the future function since the imperfect finite verb also serves a spectrum of modal functions. The modal overtones of the future function are, in fact, evident in Krahmalkov's article, with his translations of the *l* + IC constructions containing the word *shall*, in which the deontic nuance is present.

Krahmalkov's claim that signifying the future is among the functions of the *l* + IC construction is indeed correct, although it should be refined in light of the modal origin and overtones of these constructions. Viewing the future function of the *l* + IC construction as part of its modal scope is only possible when considering it alongside its other functions.

³⁶ The future tense often carries conditioned features; see, e.g. Palmer (2001: 104).

³⁷ This is referred to as *l'éventualité* in Solá-Solé (1961: §99).

³⁸ In this example, the *l* + IC construction describes the situation in which a law applies.

³⁹ Krahmalkov (1987) sees all examples of the *l* + IC construction mentioned in this section, among others, as indicatives or periphrastic futures.

⁴⁰ See Krahmalkov (2001: 205–206) for the former term and Krahmalkov (1987) for the latter.

3 *l*- + IC constructions in BH and QH in light of contact with Phoenician

As predicative *l*- + IC constructions are common not only in Phoenician and Punic but also in LBH and QH, a possible connection between these languages deserves attention. It is suggested here that predicative usage in these Hebrew stages is influenced by language contact with Phoenician.

In CBH, *l*- + IC constructions are mainly used as verb complements, and are especially common with modal verbs of roots such as *h-p-š* ‘to will, to desire’, *q-w-y* ‘to want, expect’, *b-q-š* ‘to seek’ and *?-b-y* ‘to be willing’ (Kautzsch 1910: 350). CBH also shows a grammaticalization process that combines the preposition *l*- with the IC, resulting in a construction that primarily expresses modal functions, like that suggested in Phoenician and Punic, above.⁴¹ This process is further validated by the very frequent appearance of the preposition *l*- with the IC, compared with the IC introduced by other prepositions or by none.⁴² The second stage of this process, however, in which the *l*- + IC construction gains predicative function, does not occur in CBH, and any predicative role of the *l*- + IC construction in CBH is restricted and marginal.⁴³ On the contrary, Predicative *l*- + IC are widespread in LBH and QH and are found in all modal functions used in Phoenician.⁴⁴

The predicative *l*- + IC construction in LBH and QH can theoretically be explained in one of three ways: (1) it is an inherited Canaanite feature; (2) it is associated with unrelated inner development within each language;⁴⁵ or (3) it is an outcome of language contact.⁴⁶ The first explanation, a shared Canaanite feature, should account for the phenomenon’s absence in CBH and must assume that it was represented in spoken language but not in writing. The second of these, inner Hebrew development, cannot be ruled out, as CBH consolidated the

⁴¹ See section 1.1 above.

⁴² For the frequency of *l*- with IC in BH, see Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 405), Waltke and O’Connor (1990: 604); in QH, see Qimron (2018: 180–181).

⁴³ For example, אֲשֶׁר לָתִיתִי־לּוֹ בְּשִׁרָה *lašer latitti-lō bəšōrā* (2 Sam. 4:10): ‘This was the reward I gave him for his news’ (Driver 1892: 276).

⁴⁴ See, e.g. Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 408); Waltke and O’Connor (1990: 611). See Cohen (2005; 2013: 211–221) on the widespread use of *l*- + IC constructions to convey the deontic function of wish, imperatives, commands, prohibitions and in the epistemic realm of the future tense.

⁴⁵ Ariel (2014) views the predicative use of the infinitive as stemming from the inclination of LBH and QH to complex sentences and containing more subordinate clauses. When subordinate *l*- + IC constructions are used more widely in more complex sentences, their reanalysis as predicative is likelier.

⁴⁶ As suggested in Cohen (2020: 3–8; 2023: 112–113). Mor (2019) compares the LBH construction to that of Phoenician but does not claim Phoenician to be the source of this phenomenon in Hebrew.

purposive *l-* with an IC, and infinitives generally tend to take predicative roles. However, as will be shown, language contact with Phoenician should be considered as a main factor in the development of this phenomenon in LBH and QH.

Hebrew has little motivation for utilizing a new predicative modal construction, as there are already two forms filling similar functions: the *yiqtol* and the *wəqatal*.⁴⁷ As the deontic and epistemic modal functions could be manifested with both these forms, the emergence of a third competitive construction for the same functions is redundant. Assuming an inner Hebrew development seems less plausible, as it is difficult to find any motivation for the emergence of a competitive form with such a functional correlation in modal meaning.

The language contact hypothesis seems likely, as (1) Hebrew did not possess predicative *l-* + IC in earlier stages and Phoenician possessed this function in all its recorded stages, (2) the modal domain is generally more susceptible to change due to language contact,⁴⁸ and (3) traces of Phoenician influence on LBH are evident in several language phenomena.⁴⁹

In addition to the modal functions shared with Phoenician, LBH and QH show a further development, using this construction to indicate the habitual present and past.⁵⁰ These habitual aspects should be seen as connected to the epistemic modal realm, with the event's occurrence at a specific time uncertain. If the LBH and QH predicative *l-* + IC construction should indeed be attributed to Phoenician influence, its use expanded in these Hebrew stages beyond that in Phoenician. In this case, the habitual function in LBH and QH should be considered a later secondary function. However, due to the scarcity of evidence and the heterogeneity of the corpus, it is impossible to follow the expansion of the phenomenon in its different stages.

It may seem as if such an expansion supports the explanation of the predicative *l-* + IC as an inner Hebrew development, showing the independence of the phenomenon from its Phoenician counterpart. However, it is also reasonable to assume that only following the 'borrowing'⁵¹ of the predicative use of the *l-* + IC,

⁴⁷ See Cohen (2013: 173–192) for *yiqtol* modal functions and Cohen (2013: 198–210) for *wəqatal* modal functions in LBH.

⁴⁸ See, e.g. Matras (2007: 45–46; 2020: 202–203).

⁴⁹ Other language phenomena that may be considered as resulting from contact with Phoenician in these Hebrew language phases are, e.g. the use of the infinitive absolute and the introduction of the relative pronoun *š-* alongside the CBH *šr*, as suggested in Cohen (2020: 8–13).

⁵⁰ See Cohen (2005: 85–88; 2013: 221–227). For QH, see Qimron (2018: 383–384). Conversely, Muraoka (2020: 122–123) rejects the predicative interpretation of Qimron and reinterprets some of these instances as dependent on a finite verb or complementing a substantive. Mor (2015: 445–446) suggests that the habitual meanings of the *l-* + IC stem from the appearance of the construction in a sequence of verbal forms with a habitual meaning.

⁵¹ Following Matras (2020: 158), this term is used metaphorically to refer to the replication of a linguistic structure.

it was incorporated into the language and not considered foreign to it. When the *l*-+IC constructions began to assume modal functions in Hebrew, they coalesced with two already existing forms assuming the same modal functions – the *yiqtol* and the *wəqatal*. The key to understanding the habitual functions of the predicative *l*-+IC constructions lies in the overlapping functions of these three forms. As the *l*-+IC construction assumed some of the functions of *yiqtol* and *wəqatal* due to Phoenician influence, the three forms were interchangeable in some contexts, namely, they were in paradigmatic relation. This interchangeability is suggested to later expand to new environments, further extending the paradigmatic relation of the three forms. This resulted in the expansion of the *l*-+IC construction to another function of the *yiqtol* and *wəqatal*, i.e. the habitual function.

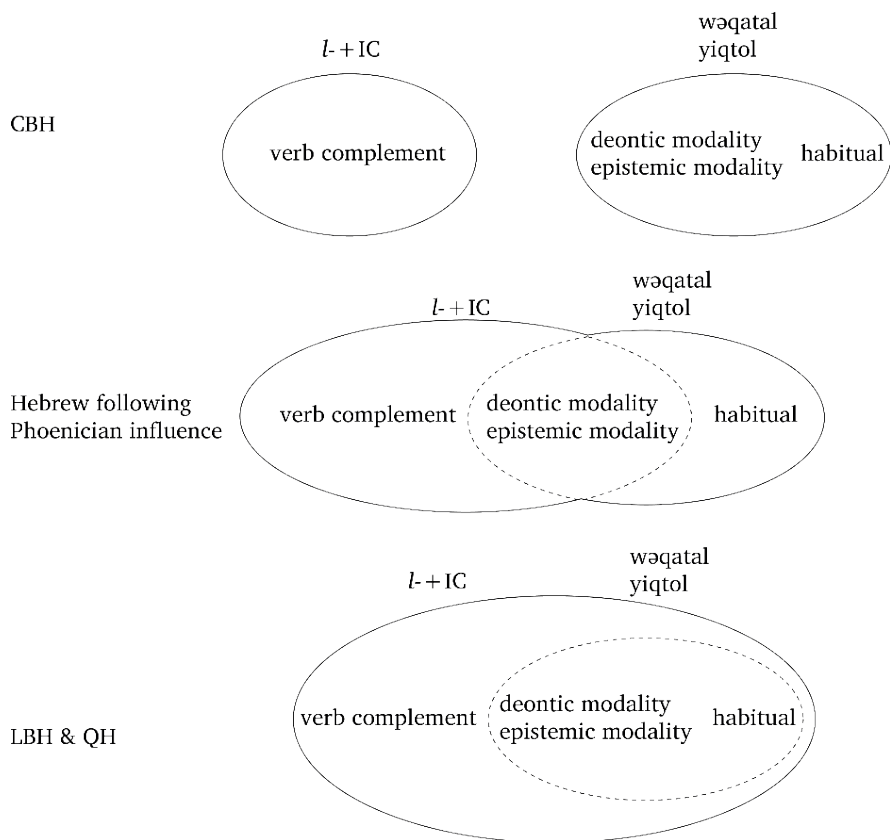


Figure 1. The expansion of *l*-+IC's functions in Hebrew

Understanding that predicative use of *l*-+IC constructions in LBH and QH is influenced by language contact is significant not only for the nature of LBH and QH

but also for the linguistics of Phoenician itself. If this Phoenician usage left its marks on the verbal systems of LBH and QH to such a degree, it was likely deeply rooted in that language and integral to it.

Language contact, brought about by sociolinguistic interaction and historical processes, catalyzes the evolution of linguistic forms and structures. In this context, the emergence of alternate linguistic forms, particularly in response to external influences, reflects a dynamic interplay between linguistic systems. The historical backdrop of language contact between Phoenicians and Hebrew speakers during the Persian period in the southern regions of present-day Israel has significant implications for our understanding of both languages, with its echoes illuminating linguistic aspects of both Phoenician and Hebrew. Examination of this historical resonance will surely provide insight into the dynamics of linguistic borrowing, adaptation and influence between these two languages, enriching our understanding of the linguistic dynamics of the Persian-era Levant.⁵²

4 Conclusion

The focus of this article is the examination of a possible grammaticalization process observed in the predicative *l*- + IC construction within Phoenician and Punic dialects. It additionally aimed at systematically categorizing all instances of its use in these dialects according to modal function. It posits that the modal functions exhibited by the *l*- + IC construction—both deontic (wish, command, imperative and prohibition) and epistemic (future tense expressions) originated with the purposive and allative functions inherent in the preposition *l*.

Within the general framework of grammaticalization, where infinitive forms begin to function as independent predicative forms, Phoenician is conspicuous in both the depth and ubiquitousness of this process. Diachronically, this structure abounds in Phoenician from its earliest dialectal stage (Byblos) through to its most recent form (Neo-Punic), and is found throughout the vast geographic area where Phoenician was spoken. As we have seen, its appearance in LBH syntax is yet further evidence of the centrality of the predicative *l*- + IC construction in Phoenician.

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⁵² See Cohen (2020).

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Abbreviations

BH	Biblical Hebrew
Byb.	the dialect of Byblos
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
IC	the infinitive construct
KAI	Donner and Röllig (2002)
KAIii	Donner and Röllig (1968)
<i>l</i> + IC	the preposition <i>l</i> - followed by the infinitive construct
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
NPu.	Neo-Punic
NSI	Cooke (1903)
Ph.	Standard Phoenician
Poen	Plautus and Ernout (1938)
Pu.	Punic
QH	Qumran Hebrew
TRIP	Levi Della Vida and Amadasi (1987)

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Appendix

All examples are categorized according to their primary function. Within each category, the examples are organized chronologically by the language stages: Byb., Ph., Pu. and NPu. For each example, the place of origin, assumed dating and reference details are provided in brackets. Within each language stage, the examples are presented according to their source in the following order: KAI, CIS, Poen, TRIP and NSI.

1 l- + IC constructions as verb complements

KAI 10:12–13 – *kl mmlkt wkl ?dm ?š ysp lpšl ml?kt šlt mzbh zn [wšlt pt]h hrš zn wšlt šrpt zt šm ?nk yhwmlk mlk gbl [tšt ?t] šlt <t> ml?kt h?* (Byb., 5th–4th century BCE, KAIii: 11)

KAI 280:4–6 – *wysp[t...] khwn ym l?gd lm mlhm[t]* (Byb., 5th century BCE, Cross 1979: 40)

KAI 14:2 – *dbr mlk ?šmnšzr mlk šdnm l?mr* (Ph., Sidon, 5th century BCE, KAIii: 19)

KAI 24:5–7 – *kn bt ?by bmtkt mlkm ?drm wkl šlh yd l <h> lhm wkt byd mlkm km?š ?klt zqn w[km]?š ?klt yd* (Ph., Zincirli, 825 BCE, KAIii: 30)

KAI 26A II:3–6 – *wbmqmm ?š kn lpm nštšm ?š yštš ?dm lkt drk wbymty ?nk ?št t <l> k lhd y dl plkm* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 26A II:10–12 – *k bšl wršp šprm šlh lbnt wbn y ?nk bšbr bšl wbšbr ršp šprm* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 26C IV:14–16 – *?m ?dm ?š ?dm šm ?š y?m[r] lmht šm ?ztwd bsml ?[l]m z wšt šm* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 60:1–2 – *tm bd šdnym bn?špt lštr ?yt šmšbšl bn mgn ?š nš? hnw šl bt ?lm wšl mbnt hšr bt ?lm* (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

KAI 60:6–7 – *lmht lkn ydš hšdnym k ydš hgw lšlm hlpt ?yt ?dnm ?š pšl mšrt ?t pn gw* (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

KAI 288:1–3 – *bms?nm ?bn wšzrnm hppym l?gd ln mlhmt... wys? šln[m mh]nt ?š kty l?gd lm mlhmt bmqm ?z* (Ph., Kition, 4th century BCE, Yon and Sznycer 1991: 803)

KAI 288:1–3 – *bms?nm ?bn wšzrnm hppym l?gd ln mlhmt... wys? šln[m mh]nt ?š kty l?gd lm mlhmt bmqm ?z* (Ph., Kition, 4th century BCE, Yon and Sznycer 1991: 803)

KAI 302:6–7 – *qr? lmlqrt ysp šlty lšlm wlyrh y bmqm [z]* (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 124:2–4 – *bšlytn qmd? ?š šl? bbn m?t mšqr bn gšy bktbt dbr? hbt šgšy bn hn? kšš lpšl whtm* (NPu., Tripolitania, 53 CE, KAIii: 130)

KAI 126:2–4 – *lmy lpm y ddr? ?lpqy wšm ?lpqy lpy m?š? ?btm wm?sm bn/tm ytn? lšbd bšp?t kl hštm mzbh wp?dy pšl lmbmlktm btm* (NPu., Tripolitania, 92 CE, KAIii: 131)

KAI 163:1 – *ʔtm ʔškʔ knṯm ltt lʔyʔ bʕl ʔbmsbt bnʔ ʔlm* (NPu., Constantine, 2nd century BCE, KAIii: 152–153)

CIS i 151:5–6 – *k ʕbdʔ hmt lʔ ṯ[n]t kmt bʕsʕ lbntm lm* (NPu., Sulci)⁵³

Poen 935 – *ys sidobrim chy fel yth chyl ys chon chen liful* (NPu., theater play from Rome, 200 BCE, Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 2)

Poen 945 – *et cu/el comu con liful* (NPu., theater play from Rome, 200 BCE, Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 2)

Poen 948 – *Alem us duber limur* (NPu., theater play from Rome, 200 BCE, Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 2)

2 Ambiguous cases of *l-* + IC constructions (verb complements or predicates)

KAI 14:9–11 – *wysgrum hʔlnm hqdšm ʔt mmlkt ʔdr ʔš mšl bnm lqštnm ʔyt mmlkt ʔm ʔdm hʔ ʔš yphʔ ʕlt mškb z ʔm ʔš yšʔ ʔyt ḥlt z* (Ph., Sidon, 5th century BCE, KAIii: 19)

KAI 14:18–20 – *wʕd ytn ln ʔdn mlkm ʔyt dʔr wypy ʔrʕt dgn hʔdrt ʔš bśd šrn lmdt ʕšmt ʔš pʕlt wyspnm ʕlt gbl ʔrʕ lknm lšdnm lʕlm* (Ph., Sidon, 5th century BCE, KAIii: 19)

KAI 18:3–6 – *ʔt hšʕr z whdłht ʔš l pʕlt btkly bnt bšt 180 lʔdn mlkm 143 št lʕm šr lkny ly lskr wšm nʕm* (Ph., Umm el-Awamid, 132 BCE, KAIii: 26)

KAI 19:9–11 – *km ʔš bn ʔyt kl ʔḥry [hmqdš]m ʔš bʔrʕ lkn lm [lʕkr wšm nʕm ʕd] ʕlm* (Ph., Maʕšüb, 222 BCE, KAIii: 27)

KAI 26A I:17–18 – *wbn ʔnk ḥmyt bmqmm hmt lšbntm dnny m bnḥt lbnm* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 26A II:11–15 – *wbny ʔnk bʕbr bʕl wbʕbr ršp šprm bšbʕ wbmnm wšbt nʕmt wb- nḥt lb lkny mšmr lʕmq ʔdn wlbṯ mpš* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 302:6–7 – *qrʔ lmlqrt ysp ʕlty lšlm wlyrḥy bmqm [z]* (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 147:1–3 – *hmzrh ʔš[p... wn]gd hšmm ndr ndr?... [ʔ]š lʔtt hʔl ʔbbrktm l[n]* (NPu., Maktar, 1st century AD, KAIii: 144 and Sznycer 1972: 30)⁵⁴

KAI 172:1–4 – *[lʔ]ḥ]mlkt bn ʔdnbʕl bn ḥmlkt ḥprṯ ʕl myṯb ʔršʔ hslky lbnʔt t hmqdš st lhrbt lʔlt ʔʕnʔ* (NPu., Sulci, 1st century BCE, KAIii: 156 and Dillmann 1881)

CIS i 151:1–4 – *lplkš khrḥsy pʕl t hmqrʔ ʔst phlyʔ ʔgbr ʔtmʔ bn mqrʔ lkn lʔ wlʔmm bʕnʔ* (NPu., Sulci)

⁵³ Based on the literature at hand, we were unable to date this inscription.

⁵⁴ According to the reading in Krahmalkov (2000: 127). When relying on the reading of KAI, it is hard to determine whether it is a *l-* + IC construction.

3 l- + IC constructions as predicates

3.1 Wish

KAI 26A III:2–7 – *wbrk bšl kr[n]tryš ʔyt ʔztdw hym wšlm wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk lty bšl krntryš wkl ʔln qrt lʔztdw ʔrk ymm wrb šnt wršʔt nšmt wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 26C III:16–IV:1 – *wbrk bšl krntryš ʔyt ʔztdw bhym wbšlm wbšz ʔdr šl kl mlk lty bšl krntryš lʔztdw ʔrk ymm wrb šnt wršʔt n[š]mt wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

3.2 Command

KAI 60:3–5 – *ʔyt ršt z lktb hʔdmm ʔš nšʔm ln šl bt ʔlm šlt mšbt hṛš wyṫnʔy bšrpt bt ʔlm šn ʔš* (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

KAI 60:3–6 – *ʔyt ršt z lktb hʔdmm ʔš nšʔm ln šl bt ʔlm šlt mšbt hṛš wyṫnʔy bšrpt bt ʔlm šn ʔš lknt gw šrb šlt mšbt z yšʔn bksp ʔlm bšlšdn drkmm 20* (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

CIS i 3917:2–3 – *ṫnʔ šlšm hʔš ʔš šl hmšʔ[...] rt lbšl hzbh ʔm ltt lkhn ʔyt [...] rt lbšl hzbh ʔm ltt [...] (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE, Davis 1863: 3)*

CIS i 3917:2–3 – *ṫnʔ šlšm hʔš ʔš šl hmšʔ[...] rt lbšl hzbh ʔm ltt lkhn ʔyt [...] rt lbšl hzbh ʔm ltt [...] (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE, Davis 1863: 3)*

3.3 Imperative

KAI 2:1–3 – *ldšt hn ypd lk tḫt zn* (Byb., 10th century BCE, KAIii: 2–4)

KAI 76B:8 – *lšt šlt hḫdrt npt* (Pu., Carthage, 4th–3rd century BCE, NSI: 44)

KAI 145 I:3–4 – *wšmʔ yšb ʔdmt lʔlm hqyđš lšʔt ʔḫt šmm bṫwb* (NPu., Maktar, 1st century AD, KAIii: 144 and Sznycer 1972: 30)

3.4 Prohibition

KAI 9A:5 – *[ʔl tḫt] š[lt hmškb] zn lrgz ššmy* (Byb., 5th–4th century BCE, KAIii: 10)

KAI 280:2 – *bl lḫt šlt ʔrn zn wlrgez ššmy* (Byb., 5th century BCE, Cross 1979: 40)

KAI 280:2 – *bl lḫt šlt ʔrn zn wlrgez ššmy* (Byb., 5th century BCE, Cross 1979: 40)

KAI 70:3–4 – *qbr zybyqt hkhn[t l] rbt [...]ʔ bt šbdʔšmn bn bšlytn bn šbdʔšmn ʔšt bšlḫnʔ mq[m] ʔl[m] bn šbdmlqrt bn ḫmlkt bn šbdʔšmn ʔbl lḫt* (Pu., Avignon or Carthage, 3rd century BCE, KAIii: 83, 87)

3.5 Future

KAI 69:14 – [ʕ]l bl wʕl ḥlb wʕl ḥlb wʕl kl zbḥ ʔš ʔdm **lzbḥ** bmnḥ[t-] y[kn lkḥnm] (Pu., Marseille or Carthage, 3rd century BCE, KAIii: 83)

KAI 79:6–11 – wkl ʔš **lsr** t ʔbn z by py ʔnk wby py ʔdm bšmy wšpṭ tnt pn bʕl brḥ ʔdm h? (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE, Roschinski 1988: 606)

KAI 302:3–4 – wkl ʔdm] ʔš **lkp** ʔyt ʔmtnt z wʕskr wʕšbt yʔml yd[?] (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 302:3–4 – wkl ʔdm] ʔš lkp ʔyt ʔmtnt z **wʕskr** wʕšbt yʔml yd[?] (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 302:3–4 – wkl ʔdm] ʔš lkp ʔyt ʔmtnt z wʕskr **wʕšbt** yʔml yd[?] (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

CIS i 3784:1–3 – kl ʔš **lgnb** t ʔbn z bʕlḥmn yqsy? (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE)⁵⁵

CIS i 4937:1–5 – w[kl] ʔdm ʔš **lsr** t mtnt z wšpṭ tnt pnbʕl brḥ ʔdm h? (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE)⁵⁶

TRIP 10:1–4 – pʕl mʕqr hrds lqnʔm wlʔḥy? ʕyg? wkl ʔš **lkn** ʔḥr bbryʔt (NPu., Tripolitania)⁵⁷

4 Doubtful examples of *l*- + IC constructions

KAI 9A:2 – bl tqm **lšt** ʔrn ʕlt ʔrn (Byb., 5th–4th century BCE, KAIii: 10)

KAI 60:6–8 – lmḥt **lkn** ydʕ ḥšdny m k ydʕ ḥgw lšlm ḥlpt ʔyt ʔdmm ʔš pʕl mšrt ʔt pn gw (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

KAI 302:7 – [m]šrt **lqnʔ** wkn lʔ ḥl wšlm (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 162:6 – **lkn** lʔ tʕmt ʔdrt (NPu., Constantine, 2nd century BCE, KAIii: 152)

NSI 56:4 – ʔmʔ **lšrt** šnt ḥmšm (NPu., Cherchell)⁵⁸

⁵⁵ We dated this inscription as KAI 79 due to their similarity.

⁵⁶ We dated this inscription as KAI 79 due to their similarity.

⁵⁷ Based on the literature at hand, we were unable to date this inscription.

⁵⁸ This inscription is hard to date but might cautiously be attributed to the first century CE, see Février (1952: 23).