

An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions

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An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions

By

Ahmad Al-Jallad



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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

For Michael C.A. Macdonald, dearest teacher and beloved friend



Contents

Preface XI

Sigla XIII

Abbreviations XVIII

- 1 **Introduction** 1
 - 1.1 Writing in the Ḥarrah 2
 - 1.2 Language 10
 - 1.3 The Dating and Authors of the Inscriptions 17
 - 1.4 A Safaitic People? 18
 - 1.5 Distribution of the Inscriptions 21
 - 1.6 Text Genres and Text Editions 22

- 2 **Script and Orthography** 26
 - 2.1 The Glyphs 27
 - 2.2 Characteristics of the Individual Glyphs 29
 - 2.3 Orthography 37

- 3 **Phonology and Phonetics** 39
 - 3.1 Consonants 41
 - 3.2 Vowels 46
 - 3.4 Sound Changes 48

- 4 **Nominal and Pronominal Morphology** 55
 - 4.1 Gender 56
 - 4.2 Onomastica 56
 - 4.3 Diminutives 61
 - 4.4 Number 61
 - 4.5 State 66
 - 4.6 Case 69
 - 4.7 Nominal Derivation 72
 - 4.8 Determination and Deixis 74
 - 4.9 The Demonstrative Pronouns 79
 - 4.10 Relative-Determinative Pronoun 85
 - 4.11 Indefinite Relative 88
 - 4.12 Quantifiers 89
 - 4.13 Numerals 90
 - 4.14 Personal Pronouns 94

- 5 **The Verb** 101
 - 5.1 Suffix Conjugation 101
 - 5.2 Prefix Conjugation 107
 - 5.3 Infinitive 112
 - 5.4 Imperative 113
 - 5.5 Participles 114
 - 5.6 Verb Stems 116

- 6 **Adjectives and Agreement** 138
 - 6.1 General Remarks on Adjectives 138
 - 6.2 Elatives and CVCCān Adjectives 139
 - 6.3 Verbal Agreement 141
 - 6.4 Pronominal Agreement 142

- 7 **Prepositions** 144

- 8 **Adverbs** 154
 - 8.1 Negative Adverbs 155
 - 8.2 Local Adverbs 156

- 9 **Vocative Particles** 158

- 10 **Other Particles** 160

- 11 **Conjunctions** 162
 - 11.1 Coordinating Conjunctions 162
 - 11.2 Subordinating Conjunctions 163
 - 11.3 The Complementizer *ʔ* 165

- 12 **Verbless Clauses** 166
 - 12.1 Existential Clauses 166
 - 12.2 Possessive Predication 167
 - 12.3 Locative Predication 168
 - 12.4 Equational Sentences 169

- 13 **Verbal Clauses** 171
 - 13.1 Main Clauses with Indicative Verbs 171
 - 13.2 Clauses with Pragmatic Optatives 173
 - 13.3 The Vocative and Imperative 174

- 14 **The Syntax of Adverbs** 177
 - 14.1 Adverbs of Specification 177
 - 14.2 Adverbs of Circumstance 178
- 15 **Topicalization** 180
- 16 **Syntax of the Infinitive** 182
 - 16.1 Infinitive Chain 182
 - 16.2 Commands 184
 - 16.3 The Infinitive to Express Purpose 184
 - 16.4 The Infinitive with *b-* 186
 - 16.5 Cognate Infinitive 186
- 17 **Relative and Subordinate Clauses** 187
 - 17.1 Relative Clauses 187
 - 17.2 Purpose and Result Clauses 190
 - 17.3 Logically Subordinated Clauses with *w* and *f* 192
- 18 **Circumstantial Clauses** 193
- 19 **Coordination** 195
 - 19.1 Sequential Narrative 196
- 20 **Conditional Clauses** 197
- 21 **Other Constructions** 199
 - 21.1 Apposition 199
 - 21.2 Cleft Sentences 199
 - 21.3 Oaths to Deities 199
- 22 **Compositional Formulae** 201
 - 22.1 Lineage 201
 - 22.2 Spending Time at a Place 201
 - 22.3 Building 202
 - 22.4 Claiming Authorship of Drawings 203
 - 22.5 Inscription Finding and Grieving 204
 - 22.6 Funerary 206
 - 22.7 Prayers and Curses 208
 - 22.8 Time 211
 - 22.9 Pasturing 216

22.10	Ritual	217
22.11	Watering	217
22.12	Watch-Keeping and Guarding	218
22.13	Waiting	219
22.14	Weather	219
22.15	Yearning	220
23	Appendix of Inscriptions	221
24	Dictionary	296
	Plates	357
	Bibliography	360
	Index of Tribes	363

Preface

The idea for this book came from my work on Prof. Alessandra Avanzini's DASI project in PISA in 2012. Under the direction of M.C.A. Macdonald, I was tasked to re-edit several corpora of Safaitic inscriptions. In this capacity, I had my first serious exposure to the language. I quickly realized that our understanding of the grammar of these inscriptions and much of their vocabulary was still in its infancy. Despite the large number of texts discovered since the Second World War, our image of Safaitic grammar remained essentially unchanged from Littmann's 1943 sketch, which was based heavily on the grammar and lexicon of Classical Arabic. Naturally, from this starting point, a large number of texts seemingly defied interpretation. I decided that a thorough grammatical investigation of the language on its own terms was required.

Dead languages are not particularly amenable to having their grammars written; there are no native speakers from whom to elicit utterances, and if the language has no living tradition, the researcher often has no guide as to the general meaning or purpose of the text. Safaitic combines these shortcomings with yet another problem—a massive corpus of short, disconnected texts. I spent the next two years—on and off—reading through the entire corpus of known inscriptions, the secondary literature, and working on the insertion of new inscriptions into the Safaitic Database Online (now OCIANA), all while taking grammatical and lexical notes which I would discuss at length with my mentor, M.C.A. Macdonald. This book contains the results of that effort. I consider this a contribution—and not the final word—to an on-going discussion about the languages attested in the Ancient North Arabian scripts. New discoveries will continue to complete our understanding of the grammar of the Safaitic inscriptions, and so future updates are inevitable.

I am heavily indebted to the perennial scholars of Ancient North Arabian: E. Littmann, G. Lankaster Harding, F.V. Winnett, G.M.H. King, and M.C.A. Macdonald. Without their work to stand upon, I would not have been in a position to produce this book. A special acknowledgement of the efforts of the Late G.M.H. King is necessary—I benefited greatly from her unpublished lexicographic notes during my work on this project. Her interpretations are acknowledged in the dictionary. I acknowledge here the support provided by the OCIANA project at Oxford, led by Mr. M.C.A. Macdonald and Prof. Jeremy Johns, and for the permission to reproduce the plates.

I sincerely thank Prof. H. Gzella, Dr. M. Kossmann, and Dr. M. van Putten for reading an early draft of this book and for their meticulous comments, which led to important corrections and improvements. I am very grateful to my Ph.D.

student Chiara Della Puppa for her numerous corrections to several earlier versions of this manuscript, and for the hours of engaging discussion on the details of Safaitic grammar. I thank Prof. J. Huehnergard, Dr. A. al-Manaser, Prof. N. Pat-El, and A. Strich for their helpful discussions on matters of comparative Semitics and historical linguistics. And I cannot thank enough Laylan and Victor for their love and support, which made the endless hours of staring at photos of rocks and dirt bearable.

I am most profoundly indebted to the greatest scholar of Ancient North Arabian, my mentor and dear friend, Michael C.A. Macdonald, to whom this book is dedicated. Through countless hours of instruction on the phone, over email, and during several enriching visits to his home in England, Michael guided me with great patience through the minefield of North Arabian epigraphy. Michael shared his life's work with me, his unpublished papers, inscriptions, the Safaitic database, and most of all, his critical approach. I learned everything I know about Ancient North Arabian from him. But Michael's greatest lesson was his example, from which I learned what it means to be a scholar—fairness, generosity, and learning for the love of learning.

Sigla

Sigla of Editions of Inscriptions

- A Unpublished photograph taken by S. Abbadi in Wadi Salmā, read and interpreted by Ahmad Al-Jallad. I thank Ali al-Manaser for sharing this image. The full text will appear in a forthcoming publication by Al-Jallad and al-Manaser.
- AAEK al-Manaser, A. 2008. *Ein Korpus neuer safaitischer Inschriften aus Jordanien* (SSHB 10). Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- AbaNS Ababneh, M. 2005. *Neue safaitische Inschriften und deren bildliche Darstellungen* (SSHB 6). Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- ASWS Awad, M. 1999. *Dirāsāt nuqūš šafawiyyah min ġanūb wādī sārāh al-bādiyah al-ʾurdunniyyah aš-šamālīyyah*. Masters Thesis. Irbid, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Yarmouk University.
- AKSD Abū ʾAssāf, A. 1973. “Kitābāt ʾarabiyyah šafawiyyah ġadīdah fī al-maḥaf al-waṭānī bi-dimašq”. *AAAS* 23: 202–212.
- AKSJ Abū ʾAssāf, A. 1975. “Kitābāt šafawiyyah ġadīdah fī maḥafay dimašq wa tadmūr”. *AAAS* 25: 141–145.
- ANKS Naġī, A. 1962. “Kitābah šafawiyyah min šaḥrāʾ al-ruṭbah”. *Sumer* 18: 165–170.
- AtIN Atallah, N. 2001. “Des Inscriptions du Nord de la Jordanie”. *Epigraphic Anatolica* 33: 199–2007.
- AAUI Unpublished inscriptions of Ali al-Manaser from al-Fahad and al-Faydah (to appear on OCIANA).
- AWS Alolow, Ġ. 1996. *Dirāsāt nuqūš šafawiyyah ġadīdah min wādī as-sūʾ ġanūb Sūriyā*. Masters Thesis. Irbid, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Yarmouk University.
- AZNG Abbadi, S. and F. Zayadine. 1996. “Nepos the governor of the Provincia Arabia in Safaitic inscription?”. *Semitica* 46: 155–164.
- BHT Van den Branden, A. 1960. *Histoire de Thamoud*. Beirut: al-Jamiah al-Lubnaniyah.
- BRCM Bikai, P.M. 2005. “Rajl: Cairn of the Mermaids”. *ACOR Newsletter* 17.2: 4–5.
- BRenv.H Unpublished texts from the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Project
- BWM Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Betts from Wadi Miqaṭ
- C Ryckmans, J. (ed.) 1950–1951. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum Pars V*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- CSA Clark, V.A. 1984–1985. “New Safaitic inscriptions from Sakaka and Azraq”. *Abr-Nahrain* 23: 14–21.

- CSNS Clark, V.A. 1979. *A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*. A Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Melbourne. Ann Arbor, MI: Univeristy Microfilms International.
- H Harding unpublished notes on inscriptions
- HaNSB Ḥarāḥiṣah, R. 2010. *Nuqūš safā'iyyah mina 'l-bādiyah al-'Urdunniyyah*. Amman: Ward Books.
- HAUI Abd al-Qadir, Unpublished photos of inscriptions from the Mafraq Museum.
- HCH Harding, G. Lankaster. 1953. "The Cairn of Hani". *ADAJ* 2: 8–56.
- HshNSMI Harahsheh, R. and Y. Al-Shdifat. 2006. "Nuqūš safawiyyah mu'arraḥah 'ilā ḥukm 'aghribā at-tānī 49/50–92/93 m". *Mağallat mu'tah lil-buḥūt wad-dirāsāt* (silsilat al-'ulūm al-'insāniyyah wal-'iğtimā'iyyah), 21.6: 111–129.
- ISB Oxtoby, W.G. 1968. *Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin*. (American Oriental Series 50. New Haven). CT: American Oriental Society.
- KhBG Khraysheh, F. 2002. *Nuqūš safawiyyah min biyār al-ḡuṣayn*. (Mudawwanat an-nuqūš al-'Urdunniyyah 1). Irbid: Yarmouk University Press.
- KhNSJ Khraysheh, F. 1995. "New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan". *Syria* 72: 401–414.
- KhMNS Khraysheh, F. 2007. "al-ṣayd 'inda 'l-'arab al-safā'iyyīn qabla 'l-'islām", *Journal of Epigraphy and Rock Drawings* 1: 9–28.
- KRS Safaitic inscriptions recorded by G.M.H. King on the Basalt Desert Rescue Survey.
- LP Littmann, E. 1943. *Safaitic Inscriptions*. (Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909; Division IV. Section D). Leyden: Brill.
- MAHB Ababneh. M. 2007. "Safaitische Inschriften aus El-Hseniyyat/jordanisches Badiyah". *Journal of Epigraphy and Rock Drawings* 1: 19–28.
- MISSD/I Macdonald, M.C.A., M. Al Mu'azzin and L. Nehmé. 1996. "Les inscriptions safaitic de Syrie, cent quarante ans après leur découverte", *Comptes rendus de séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*: 435–494.
- MKJS Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Macdonald/King at Jabal Ṣaqa' (to appear on OCIANA).
- MKMR Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Macdonald/King at Mithnayāt Rajil (to appear on OCIANA).
- MKOWI Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Macdonald/King on the way from W. Ireinbeh (to appear on OCIANA).
- MKWS Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Macdonald/King at W. Safawi (to appear on OCIANA).
- Ms Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).

- MSNS Maani, S.A. and I.S. Sadaqah. 2002. "New Safaitic Inscriptions from the Mafraq office Department of Archaeology of Jordan". *Syria* 79: 249–269.
- Mu Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- N Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- NRW.D Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- NSR Abdallah. 1970. *Al-nuqūš al-šafawīyya fi mağmū'at ġāmi'at al-riyāḍ 'ām 1996*, MA Thesis. American University of Beirut.
- NST Harding, G.L. 1951. "New Safaitic Texts". *ADAJ* 1: 25–29.
- QZUI Unpublished inscriptions of Alqadrah and Al-Zoubi (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- Rsh Inscription from Rushayda in appendix to Macdonald (2006).
- RQ.A Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- RR Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- RSIS Schirin, R. 2013. *Nueu safaitische Inschriften aus Süd-Syrien*. (SSHB 16). Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- RVP Safaitic inscriptions (except Stein, q.v.) in Ryckmans, G. 1941.
- RWQ Al-Rousan, M. 2005. *Nuqūš šafawīyyah min wādī qaṣṣāb bi-l-'Urdunn*. PhD dissertation. Ar-Riyāḍ, Ġāmi'at al-Malik Sa'ūd, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- RyD Ryckmans, G. 1951. "Inscriptions šafāitiques au British Museum et au Muséum de Damas". *Le Muséon* 64, pp. 83–91, pl. 1–3
- SESP.D Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- SESP.U Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- SG Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-ANA).
- ShNGA Al-Shdifat, Y. 2003. "Naqš šafawī min ġabal e'nazah fi šamāl šarq al-'urdunn: 'ī'adat qirā'ah wa ṭahlīl". *Mağallat mu'tah lil-buḥūṭ wad-dirāsāt* (silsilat al-'ulūm al-'insāniyyah wal-'iğtimā'iyyah), 18.3: 213–229.
- SHS Unpublished Inscriptions from S. Hauran Survey, Site 363, nr. Dayr a-Qinn (to appear on OCIANA).
- SIJ Winnett, F.V. 1957 *Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*. (Near and Middle Eastern Series 2). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- SIT Harding, G.L. 1972. "Safaitic Inscriptions from Tapline in Jordan". *ADAJ* 17: 5–16.

- SW Sweerky, M. 1999. *Dirāsāt nuqūš šafawiyyah ġadīdah min šamāl wādī sārāh fī šamāl al-ʿUrdunn*. Masters Thesis, Irbid: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Yarmouk University.
- UIO¹ Unpublished inscriptions to appear on OCIANA
- Vogue Safaitic inscriptions copied by Vogüé and republished in C.
- WAMS Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
- WGGR Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
- WH Winnett, F.V. & G. Lankester Harding. 1978. *Inscriptions from 50 Safaitic Cairns*. (Near and Middle Eastern Series 9). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- ZeGA Zeinaddin, H., 2000. “Safaitische Inschriften aus dem Ġabal al-ʿArab”. *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 12: 265–289, pls 58–69.
- ZeWa Zeinaddin, F. 2002. Unpublished inscriptions on fax.
- ZSI Zayadine, F. 1980. “A Safaitic Inscription in the Amman Archaeological Museum”. *ADAJ* 24.
- ZmNSIH Al-Zoubi, M. 2014. “New Safaitic inscriptions from Haroun area in north-eastern Jordan”. *FU*—Berlin.

Dictionary Sigla

- Barthélemy Barthélemy, A. 1935–1954. *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- CDG Leslau, W. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- DNWSI Hoftijzer, J. and K. Jongeling. 1995. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions I–II*, with Appendices by R.C. Steiner, A. Mosak Moshavi and B. Porten. (Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 21). Leiden: Brill.
- HALOT Koehler, L., Baumgartner, W., Richardson, M.E.J. & Stamm, J.J. 1995–2000. *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament I–V*. (Electronic edition). Leiden: Brill.
- Hava Hava, J.G. 1982. *Al-Farāʿid Arabic-English Dictionary*. 5th edition. Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq.

¹ These inscriptions have been reproduced without their genealogies.

- Lane Lane, E.W. 1863–1893. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. London: Williams and Norgate.
- SD Payne Smith, R. 1903. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reprint 1976.
- SbD Beeston, A.F.L., M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, and J. Ryckmans. 1982. *Sabaic Dictictionary (English-French-Arabic)*. Éditions Peeters: Louvain-la-Neuve.
- UD Del Olmo Lete, G. and J. Sanmartín. 2004. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Leiden: Brill.

Abbreviations

Grammatical Abbreviations

1 CS	first person common singular
1 CP	first person common plural
2 FS	second person feminine singular
3 MS	third person masculine singular
3 FS	third person feminine singular
3 MP	third person masculine plural
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
APC	active participle
ART	article
ASV	asseverative particle
CNST	construct state
COL	collective
CONJ	conjunction
CPRO	clitic pronoun
DEM	demonstrative
DU	dual
F	feminine
GADJ	gentilic adjective
GEN	genitive
Gn#	lineage chain/genealogy
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
IPRO	independent pronoun
LA	<i>lam auctoris</i>
M	masculine
NEG	negator
NOM	nominative
OPRO	independent object pronoun
PERF	perfect particle
PC	prefix conjugation
PCL	paucal/individuate
PL	plural
PNG	person-number-gender

PPC	passive participle
PRES	presentative
REL	relative pronoun
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
SC	suffix conjugation
SG	singular
SING	singulative
VAR	variant morphological form
VOC	vocative

Language and Script Abbreviations

Akk	Akkadian
ANA	Ancient North Arabian
Arm	Aramaic
ASA	Ancient South Arabian
CAr	Classical Arabic
CS	Central Semitic
Gz	Gəʿəz
Hb	Hebrew
JArm	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
LAr	Levantine Arabic
OfAr	Official Aramaic
PS	Proto-Semitic
Syr	Syriac
Ug	Ugaritic

Transcription Conventions

[x]	restored letter
⟨x⟩	correction
⟨⟨x⟩⟩	extra letter
{x}	damaged letter

Translation Conventions in the Appendix of Inscriptions

- {x} translation of a word containing a damaged letter
 [x] translation of a word containing a restored letter

Transcription of the Verbal Stems

Stem	Arabic form	Stem	Arabic form
G	I	Gt	VIII
D	II	tD	V
C	IV	Ct	X
L	III	tL	VI
cD	N/A	N	VII

Abbreviations of Root Classes

- I-n Triradical root with /n/ as the first consonant
 I-w/y Triradical root with /w/ or /y/ as the first consonant
 II-w/y Triradical root with /w/ or /y/ as the second consonant
 III-w/y Triradical root with /w/ or /y/ as the third consonant
 C² = C³ Triradical root where the second and third consonants are identical

Introduction

The term Safaitic refers to a variety of the South Semitic script used by the nomads of the basalt desert of southern Syria and northern Jordan, the so-called *Ḥarrah*, and the adjacent areas of Saudi Arabia as far as the Ḥamād, to carve rock inscriptions. Members of these communities occasionally left inscriptions elsewhere. A few have been found around Palmyra and Dura Europos, and eleven men who knew the script etched their names on a corridor wall in Pompeii. Putting aside isolated finds such as these, the vast majority of inscriptions are concentrated in the Ḥarrah. The contents of these texts suggest that their authors led a nomadic lifestyle, although there seems to have been some limited connections with the settled world of southern Syria. At the time of publication, the corpus of Safaitic inscriptions exceeds some 33,000 specimens, and this number is sure to rise with every expedition to the desert.

The first inscriptions were discovered in 1857 near the volcanic area southeast of Damascus known as the *Ṣafā*. While this location gave its name to the script, no texts have yet been found in the *Ṣafā* proper, and so the term is entirely conventional. Attempts at deciphering the script continued throughout the nineteenth century, but a full decipherment was not seen until the publication of Littmann's seminal *Zur Entzifferung der Ṣafā-Inschriften* in 1901. This achievement unlocked an invaluable body of evidence for historians interested in the nomadic populations of the pre-Islamic Near East and a lost chapter in the linguistic history of Arabic. However, the contribution of the inscriptions to both fronts has been extremely limited. The brief and often enigmatic nature of the texts has made them very difficult to handle, a deficiency only amplified by the absence of any comprehensive analytical description of the language.

This book attempts such a description. While this study is based on a corpus of some 33,000 texts, I have chosen the term “outline” because unknown scores of thousands of inscriptions remain unstudied *in situ*. Every new discovery will therefore help complete our understanding of the grammatical structure and lexicon of the varieties attested in the Safaitic script. The chapters devoted to grammar present as detailed a discussion as possible on the attested phonological, morphological, and syntactic features, including rare forms and forms for which multiple interpretations are possible. These chapters hope to be of use to both those who wish to interpret and re-interpret Safaitic inscriptions—especially unformulaic ones—and those who wish to draw on Safaitic data for comparative linguistic purposes. The interpretation of damaged or poorly

carved Safaitic inscriptions is heavily dependent upon a sound knowledge of the formulae authors used to compose their texts, and so an entire chapter has been devoted to the presentation of the compositional formulae. Since many inscriptions are published in difficult-to-access volumes, each text used in this grammar has been re-edited by the author and placed in an appendix.¹ A dictionary of the lexica attested in the appendix of inscriptions—with an etymological discussion of difficult and rare lexical items—presents the reader with an overall view of the Safaitic lexicon.

1.1 Writing in the Ḥarrah

There remains no scholarly consensus as to the motivation for the production of the Safaitic inscriptions or the ideological conditions under which they were created. Macdonald (2009 I and 2010) contains the most sophisticated elaboration of a theory which can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century (Dussaud 1901)—*the Safaitic inscriptions are spontaneous graffiti produced by nomads to pass the time*. The scenario developed by Macdonald goes as follows:

I would suggest that if a nomad went to an oasis like Dedān, Taymā³, or Dūmah and saw a merchant writing a receipt or a letter, he might have asked “What are you doing” and, when told, might have said “Teach me to do that”, simply out of curiosity ... Having learnt to write, the nomad would return to the desert and no doubt show off his skills to his family and friends, tracing the letters in the dust or cutting them with a sharp stone on a rock. Because his nomadic society had no other materials to write on, the skill would have remained more of a curiosity than something of practical use, except for one thing. Nomadic life involves long periods of solitary idleness, guarding the herds while they pasture, keeping a lookout for game and enemies, etc. Anything that can help pass the time is welcome. Some people carved their tribal marks on the rocks; others carved drawings, often with great skill. Writing provided the perfect pastime and both men and women among the nomads seized it with great enthusiasm, covering the rocks of the Syro-Arabian deserts with scores of

1 For this reason, readers who wish to cite examples in this book should cite the particular reading and interpretation herein rather than/in addition to the *editio princeps*, as there may be significant differences. I have chosen not to include an *apparatus criticus* as it would have doubled the size of this volume.

thousands of graffiti. The graffito was the perfect medium for such circumstances. It could be as short or as long as the authors wanted, and since they were carving purely for their own amusement they could say whatever they liked, in whatever order new thoughts occurred to them, and it did not matter if they made mistakes.

MACDONALD 2010:15

Macdonald saw a parallel in the playful use of the Tifinagh script by the Tuareg, a nomadic people of the Sahara (Macdonald 2009 I: 58–64). While the suggested process by which the nomads acquired writing is certainly plausible, several important aspects of the Safaitic inscriptions challenge the characterization of the entire corpus as unstructured self-expression, the outcome of boredom and knowledge of an alphabet. First, most of the inscriptions are highly formulaic. Their uniform structure suggests that writers would have learned a set of compositional and thematic formulae along with the script itself—in other words, one did not simply learn *how* to write, but *what* to write as well. Second, the vast majority of texts contain only names and genealogies. If the primary use of writing was to pass the time, then one would expect a high proportion of these names to repeat, as authors would have had many opportunities to produce texts. The opposite, however, is true: only a small minority of genealogies repeat in more than one inscription. If we maintain that the names which begin the inscriptions are always those of the authors, then it leads to a rather difficult conclusion, namely, that most writers throughout their lives produced only one rock graffito bearing their name.²

Other scholars have argued that the inscriptions had a sacral—or at least more formal—function. Grimme (1929) advanced an elaborate, albeit fanciful, theory that the inscriptions had a funerary purpose, and that the seemingly mundane activities they record (see below) actually refer to a cult of the dead. Lipiński (1997: 72) also suggested that the inscriptions were largely memorial, containing the name of a dead person, a few details about his life, and a short prayer. There are clear examples of inscriptions with a funerary or memorial purpose, but it is probably wrong to conclude from these that the entire corpus consists of funerary texts:³

2 Some caution is perhaps required as many areas in the regions where Safaitic inscriptions are found have not yet been explored. However, if the known corpus is representative—and there is no reason to think that it is not—then this point stands.

3 Other examples include memorial inscriptions associated with burial cairns, called *rgm* and perhaps *šwy*.

AbaNS 86: *l bhs² bnt hn³ w mtt*
 ‘For Bhs² daughter of Hn³ and she died’

Vogue 404.2: *l ‘n bn ks¹t h- nfs¹*
 ‘This funerary monument is for ‘n son of Ks¹t’

In a monograph-length study of the inscriptions and accompanying rock art, Eksell (2002) took issue with the pastime theory, and instead argued based on their formulaic content and syntax that the inscriptions had a sacral connotation (176). The issues of both purpose and authorship meet in the interpretation of the particle *l*, which begins nearly every text. Scholars such as Littmann, Winnett, and Macdonald interpret this particle as a marker of authorship, conventionally translated as *by*, but probably an untranslatable introductory particle (Macdonald 2006: 294–295). Eksell, on the other hand, views it as a marker of ownership, rather than authorship *per se*, and suggests translating it as ‘belonging to’ or ‘for’, which, in turn, permits a greater possibility for a sacral interpretation of the following text or accompanying rock art.

Of course, the question as to why one would etch his name, or have his name etched, is quite separate from the literal meaning of the introductory particle. All graffiti bearing names ultimately have the effect of being memorial in the broadest sense, but was this always the author’s intention? There exists a small subset of inscriptions containing only names in which memorial intent is absolutely clear—bilinguals. These sometimes give the *l* + genealogy as the functional equivalent of Greek and Aramaic memorial formulae.

Safaitic—Greek (Partial) Bilinguals

C 2823–2824 (+ Greek)

l s²mt bn hlš bn ḥddn bn ‘n d ‘l ḥg
 ‘By S²āmet son of Ḥališ son of Ḥaddidān son of ‘n of the lineage of Ḥagg’

Μνησθῆ Σαμεθος Αλιζου του Ἀδδ[ι]δανου Ἀγγηνος
 ‘May S²āmet son of Ḥališ the Ḥaddidān-Ḥaggite be remembered’

Macdonald (2009 I: 76)

l nšr’l bn ‘lw Μνησθῆ Νασηλος Αλουου
 ‘By Našr’el son of ‘alw’ ‘May Našr’el son of ‘alw be remembered’

Safaitic—Palmyrene

Macdonald (2009 II: 347)

l rʔʹl bn tʔn *r pʹl br twpʹ zbdbl bʔb*
 ‘By Rʔʹl son of Tʔn’ ‘[may] R pʹl son of Twpʹ Zbdbl [be remembered] well’

On the other hand, there are at least two bilinguals in which Safaitic *l* + genealogy corresponds only to the name of the individual in Greek:⁴

WH 1860 (= + Greek 2)

<i>l whblh bn ʒnʹl bn whblh ...</i>	Ουαβαλλας Ταννηλου του [] Ουαβαλλου
‘By Wahballāh son of ʒannʹel son of Wahballāh’	‘By Wahballāh son of ʒannʹel son of Wahballāh’

While overt memorial expressions were used in Greek and Aramaic, this function was entirely pragmatic in the Safaitic context. The fact that *lam auctoris* appears in bilingual inscriptions with and without memorial expressions lends further support to Macdonald’s idea that *l* is simply an introductory particle, the translation of which is entirely dependent upon its context.

Attributing a memorial function to some of the inscriptions does not at the same time imply that the names they contain are those of dead men at the time of composition. This might have sometimes been the case and other times not—with texts consisting of only names introduced by *l*, we simply cannot know. A few authors who did compose inscriptions on the behalf of others mentioned their names explicitly, but even in these cases, it is impossible to determine the status of the name directly following the *lam auctoris*:

RSIS 231: *l hr bn mġny w ʹn dhs²*
 ‘For Hr son of Mġny and I am Dhs²’

KRS 268: *l s²rw bn fltt h- dr w ʹn ʹtm bn s²rw*
 ‘For S²rw son of Fltt, at this place, and I am ʹtm son of S²rw’

Thus, in inscriptions consisting of only names, authorship and intent is impossible to determine for certain. But what are we to make of those containing longer narrative components? Such inscriptions sometimes indicate that the

⁴ See also WH 3563 (= Greek 3).

author and the name following the *lam auctoris* were one and the same. For example, WH 308 begins with a genealogy *l ḥrb bn w'l bn s²mt*, followed by a narrative: *w wgd s¹fr zn'l* 'and he found the writing of Zn'l'. As the editors point out, the writing to which *Hrb* must be referring is the nearby inscription WH 311, which contains the name *zn'l bn rgl*. In this case, it is most economical to understand *Hrb* as the author of WH 308, as it would seem that he had the ability to read. It is hard to imagine the involvement of a scribe in such a context. In most cases, however, the same difficulties discussed above in establishing authorship are present.

When inscriptions include a narrative section, it always follows the genealogy. In addition to the recording of sacral practices, such as grieving at graves and offering prayers to deities, narratives often describe secular activities, such as pasturing, keeping watch, and migrating. It is the seemingly mundane nature of such texts that has provided the greatest support for the pastime theory. However, even here, we encounter such remarkable structural and thematic uniformity that the conclusion that authors were using formulae to compose their texts seems inescapable. The use of formulae could provide an important clue as to the status of writing in this particular non-literate context.⁵ Following Macdonald, the written word would have had little practical purpose in the desert, and so I would suggest that the skill was transformed into a genre of rock art. The written representation of daily activities could have then functioned as aesthetic depictions of reality. The inscriptions focus on a limited set of subjects, the selection of which was perhaps guided by local or communal ideals.⁶ This point is brought into relief once we compare themes across different ANA writing traditions. In Hismaic, for example, expressions of love and lust are common while such motifs are only rarely encountered in the Safaitic inscriptions.⁷ This can hardly mean that the authors of the Safaitic inscriptions felt these emotions less frequently than those who produced Hismaic ones; instead, the rarity of such expressions suggests that they were not regarded as aesthetically appropriate in the former tradition.

5 See Macdonald 2010 on the distinction between non-literate and illiterate societies.

6 The same again is mirrored in the rock art: camels and horses are common but goats, which are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, are almost never represented visually. Following Lenssen-Erz's analysis of the representation of animals in Saharan herder rock art, these choices may reflect the social status of these animals. Riding animals were perhaps symbols of status with an individual identity, while goats, which were no doubt essential to survival, may have simply been regarded as property (2012:105).

7 For a preliminary comparison of Safaitic and Hismaic compositional formulae, see Eksell (2002:70–74).

Just as the visual depiction of animals could vary in terms of artistic detail, descriptions of daily and occasional activities vary in length. One author might simply state ‘he pastured’ *r’y*, another might specify an animal *r’y h- d’n* ‘he pastured the sheep’, and yet others might form a rather elaborate image with details of location and types of herbage, *r’y h- nhl h- d’n bql* ‘he pastured the sheep in the valley on fresh herbage’. Nevertheless, narratives of all lengths follow strict stylistic conventions (see § 24.9); even the most elaborate descriptions are encountered verbatim across multiple inscriptions. Thus, writing in the Safaitic context was not a practice of unstructured self-expression, but a genre of rock art restricted by stylistic and thematic formulae. I would therefore suggest that when individuals learned the art of writing, they were taught which themes were aesthetic (what to write about) and the appropriate way of expressing them through the use of formulae (how to write).

Given that the descriptions of daily life are so uniform across the corpus, one may wonder whether they in fact reflect the real-time activities of the writers. M.C.A. Macdonald’s work on the yearly migrations of the authors of the Safaitic inscriptions indicates that the daily activities attested in the narratives can describe the present circumstances of the writer. In his 1992b article, Macdonald brilliantly reconstructs the migration patterns of the nomads of the Ḥarrah based on the content of the inscriptions they produced. These texts contain references to the seasons in the locations where the nomads would have spent them during their yearly migrations. While Macdonald’s observation does not contradict the thesis that descriptions of such activities were essentially aesthetic in nature, it could suggest that the selection of subjects and their elaboration was sometimes inspired by the present circumstances of the writers. At the same time, one must be careful not to overgeneralize; since the suffix conjugation is almost always used to express the main event in narratives, such inscriptions could equally describe activities in a more distant past, ‘he had pastured’, the future ‘he will pasture’, or even wishes ‘may he (have the opportunity to) pasture’, and not necessarily what the author was doing directly before carving an inscription (on the functions of the suffix conjugation, see § 5.1).

Considering the foregone discussion, it seems that any attempt to locate a single purpose or intention for the Safaitic inscriptions as a whole would be misguided. The creation of inscriptions could have had many motivations, and these, in turn, would have had multiple meanings and functions, based on audience and context. In fact, it is often not entirely accurate to consider the individual inscription the minimal thematic or functional unit. The various genres of compositional formulae (see § 1.6.1) can meet in a single text—KRS 1991, for example, begins with a genealogy, followed by sacral elements, the expression of grief for a dead loved one (memorial), then by an expression of longing for

family and a prayer for reunion (prayer), and concludes with a description of pasturing (ornamental).

Prayers to deities, and curses upon anyone who would efface the text, conclude many inscriptions, and these are also regulated by formulaic constraints. Prayers and curses nearly always follow the narrative, and are often logically connected to it. For example:

KRS 1886: *l mgyr bn ms^lk bn 'md bn mlk bn qhs²w r'y h- 'blfh s²[h]qm gnyt
m- r'yt*
'By Mgyr son of Ms^lk son of 'md son of Mlk son of Qhs² and he pastured the camels so, O [S²hqm], may pasturing bring abundance.'

Prayers also—and perhaps more frequently—follow descriptions of negative feelings and circumstances. Unlike the idyllic descriptions of pasturing on fresh herbage in valleys, expressions of despair and sadness could have hardly been considered adornments of a name. In association with burial cairns, statements of grief may have had a ritualistic function. These stones contain the name of an individual followed by an expression of grief for the deceased. The custom of laying a stone upon graves seems to have been very old (*HCH*, p. 8), but in the Safaitic context, this ritual was augmented by writing (Macdonald 2009 I: 93). In this way, inscribed stones acted not only as memorials for the dead, but also of the grief of the living.

Expressions of grief and sadness do not always occur in a clear funerary context (e.g., KRS 1991), but to interpret cases such as these, we should first consider another ritual connected specifically with the inscriptions—grieving and/or reciting blessings upon the finding of one's inscription. Authors often concluded their inscriptions with a blessing to whosoever would read their text: *s^llm l- mn d'y h- s^lfr* 'may he who would read this writing have security'. Many texts record expressions of grief and sorrow in reaction to finding the inscription of a lost loved one. However, a small number of texts suggest that this ritual had an oral dimension as well. It seems that after reading the inscription of a loved one, authors would make an oral invocation to a deity to protect the author/owner of the inscription or the text itself.⁸ So far only four authors recorded in writing what they pronounced orally:

8 This in turn may explain the use of *d'y* as a double entendre, that is, *to read* and *to call out* (cf. CAr *iqra* 'read' and 'call out').

- KRS 941: *wgd ʔr ʂ'd fng' w b's'l m zll w rġm m{n}{y} {{n}{y}} {w} {q}l hbl -h trh*
 'he found the trace of ʂ'd so he grieved in pain, for those who remain despair, and he (ʂ'd) was struck down by {Fate while suffering}; {and he said aloud}: may its (the inscription's) effacer perish'
- KRS 1015: *wgd ʔr 'l dfw rb -h qyl hy lt s'lm w b- 'n -h s'lm w {q}m -h 'bd*
 'he found the trace of the people of ʔf so he exalted it saying aloud: O Lt may it be secure and may it remain secure for all time, and its {people} too.'
- BReuv.H 1: *wgd ʔr 'm -h ħmyn fql h gddf {h}b {l}-{h} k- s'l'd -h w k- wld -h w k- n'm -h*
 'he found the trace (grave?) of his grandfather protected (or ħmyn, a PN) and then said aloud: O Gddf {grant} {him} the like of his good fortune, and the like of his children, and the like of his livestock'
- KRS 213: *wgd htt ġyr'l fng' w ql hbl hrm 'n ygll*
 'he found the writing of Ġyr'l, so he grieved in pain and said aloud: may any effacer go mad if he would erase (the inscription)'

This ritual indicates that the inscriptions were meant to be read, and further suggests that the prayers of others were desired. Could, then, the expression of misfortune and the following invocations actually be appeals to the reader to recite a prayer upon the author or his/her object of grief? Or was writing instead considered a medium of communication with divinities?⁹ One category of prayers suggests that writing had some divine significance—*requests for rain*. The inscriptions often describe feelings of despair on account of droughts and other poor meteorological conditions, and prayers to B'ls'mn, the rain god, for respite nearly always follow. Given that there are virtually no references to positive weather conditions, one could very cautiously suggest that, like funerary practiced described above, rituals connected to rainmaking were also augmented by writing.

9 Following Macdonald (2012:291), cult-stones, the *nšb* or *mnsb*, were erected as symbols of encounters with divinities or perhaps even conduits of communication. One wonders whether writing on stone could have developed as an extension of such a practice.

The various issues discussed above do not invalidate the pastime theory, but they should motivate us to modify it. The long periods of idle waiting that accompany nomadic life may have facilitated the emergence of an elaborate art form based on writing. In other words, it was exactly this aspect of nomadic life that allowed there to develop such a slow and arduous tradition in a context lacking skilled labor. I diverge from previous articulations of this theory in my interpretation of what was involved in the production of the inscriptions. The limited repertoire of subjects and the formulaic structure of the texts suggest that they were not a spontaneous phenomenon but belonged to a tradition of writing, with its own stylistic and aesthetic articulations.

Whatever ritualistic significance these texts may have had to their communities, the very fact that authors carved curses to protect them, that authors mentioned finding and reading inscriptions, and that we have a few examples of prayers recorded in response to inscription finding, strongly suggest that many authors intended their texts to be read. Herein may lie another clue as to the importance of formulae. While there are those who would stray from these conventions and produce rather elaborate texts containing historical information, records of oral prayers, and in one case, three lines of poetry, these examples remain the exception. The vast majority of texts conform to the basic structural formulae authors seem to have learned when they acquired the script. Considering the issue of audience, the use of formulae may have had an additional functional value—to facilitate reading and comprehension. Since inscriptions could be written in almost any direction without word dividers or *matres lectionis* of any type, formulae would have helped guide the reader in deciphering the text.

1.2 Language

The Safaitic script is a member of the ANA sub-grouping of the South Semitic script family, which includes Dadanitic, Taymanitic, Hismaic, and the various Thamudic scripts. Strictly speaking, ANA is negatively defined; it refers to all of the non-ASA South Semitic scripts used in central and northern Arabia. To date, none has demonstrated that these scripts derive from a single ancestor to the exclusion of ASA. Indeed, the history of the Arabian alphabets remains shrouded in mystery, and the precise relationship between the different scripts awaits study.

The hypothesis that all of the non-ASA alphabets derive from a single ancestor which developed parallel to ASA gave rise to the idea that the languages which these scripts express constitute a linguistic unity, also called ANA. Thus,

the notion of an ANA *language*, excluding Arabic, did not emerge from the close comparative study of the ANA epigraphy, but was motivated by assumptions about the interrelatedness of the ANA scripts. Because of this, the grammatical features of ANA were always defined against CAr and never positively in order to demonstrate the linguistic connection between these varieties on their own terms. Take, for example, two features often used to highlight the differences between the ANA epigraphy and Arabic:

- a. The definite article of ANA is *not* 'l
- b. Verbs of which the third root consonant is a glide (y or w) terminate in a consonant, while in Arabic these end in a vowel: compare ANA *bny* to Arabic *banā*.

Within both of these categories, however, one encounters considerable variation and so the matter would not seem to be as simple as traditionally presented. The definite article in the ANA epigraphy is most frequently *h*, but the forms ' and 'l are attested as well, along with perhaps a suffixed ', and indeed no article at all.¹⁰ While word-final triphthongs generally obtain, their reflexes differ from place to place, and there are examples of monophthongization. Finally, there is good evidence in both pre-Islamic sources and the materials gathered by the Arab Grammarians for a non-monophthongized realization of these sequences in Arabic as traditionally defined (see Al-Jallad 2015, § 4.2.4.2).

From a linguistic perspective, the dialects expressed by the Safaitic inscriptions should be classified as forms of *Old Arabic*, as several important isoglosses which characterize Arabic are attested or possibly attested in the Safaitic inscriptions.¹¹ These include:¹²

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- 10 The various scripts attest the following articles: Safaitic *h*-, *hn*-, ' and 'l-; Dadanitic *h(n)*-, 'l-; Taymanitic *h*-; Hismaic ∅, but note the use of the morpheme *h*- as a demonstrative; the various Thamudics attest 'l and *h*-; Hasaitic seems to attest a suffixed ' on nouns and *hn* in personal names.
 - 11 I differ here from Knauf (2010) who calls all of the ANA material "Ancient Arabic" and sees it as a predecessor of Old Arabic. See Huehnergard (*forthcoming*) on a list of these features.
 - 12 See the appropriate sections in the grammatical chapters for a discussion of these features.

Arabic Isoglosses in the Safaitic Inscriptions

negative particles *m* */mā/; *l'n* */lā-ʾan/ > CAr *lan*

mafʿūl G-passive participle

prepositions and adverbs *f*, *ʾn*, *ʾnd*, *ht*, *ʾkdy*

a subjunctive in *-a*

t-demonstratives

leveling of the *-at* allomorph of the feminine ending

ʾn complementizer and subordinator

the use of *f* to introduce modal clauses

independent object pronoun in (ʾ)y

vestiges of *nunation*

The Safaitic inscriptions also exhibit two features which were known only from Arabic until the study of the North and South Arabian epigraphy. These are the definite articles ʾ < *ʾan and ʾl = */ʾal/ and negation of the preterite prefix conjugation with the particle *lm*. Moreover, several lexical items previously thought to be unique to (Classical) Arabic are attested in Safaitic.

It is important to emphasize that the Old Arabic of the Safaitic inscriptions and CAr are by no means the same language; profound differences distinguish the two at every linguistic layer. Rather, the Safaitic inscriptions belong to a continuum of Old Arabic dialects which also included the dialect spoken in parts of Nabataea and the language expressed by the Hismaic inscriptions. Of these three, the Safaitic corpus is the largest and, as such, provides our clearest view of Arabic's pre-Islamic past.¹³ The forebears of these languages were probably situated in the southern Levant and North Arabia as early as the middle Iron Age, where Arabic speakers were involved in several feuds with Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs.¹⁴ Unfortunately, our knowledge of Arabic at this ancient stage derives almost exclusively from onomastica.

The relationship between Old Arabic and the other varieties attested in the ANA scripts remains unclear, but a full discussion of this matter is beyond the scope of this book. Nevertheless, several significant differences are immediately apparent. Unlike Arabic, Dadanitic continues the anaphoric use of the 3rd person pronouns and does not appear to have leveled the *at* allomorph of the

13 I will conventionally use the term Safaitic to refer to the Old Arabic dialects expressed in the Safaitic script.

14 See Eph'al 1982 for these sources.



MAP 1 Geographic concentration of Old Arabic

feminine ending.¹⁵ Taymanitic, on the other hand, exhibits the common NWS sound change of $w > y$ in word-initial position and merges $*s^3$ with $*t$ instead of $*s^1$, excluding a Proto-Arabic origin.¹⁶ At the moment, nothing can be said about the languages which stand behind the Thamudic inscriptions, but the difficulty they have posed for decipherment speaks to their remote linguistic character. If these impressions are correct, then it would suggest the following classification:¹⁷

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- 15 The anaphoric pronoun *h'* is attested (Fares-Drappeau 2005:66); the *t* ending is exemplified by the spelling of the word *qrt* 'settlement', which points towards a $*/qarīt/$ rather than $*/qariyat/$ (see D 67).
- 16 On the grammatical features of Taymanitic, see Kootstra (2014).
- 17 Old Ḥigāzī is characterized by the innovative relative pronoun $'alladī$, $'allatī$, etc., which is attested once in JSLih 384 and is the common form in the QCT.

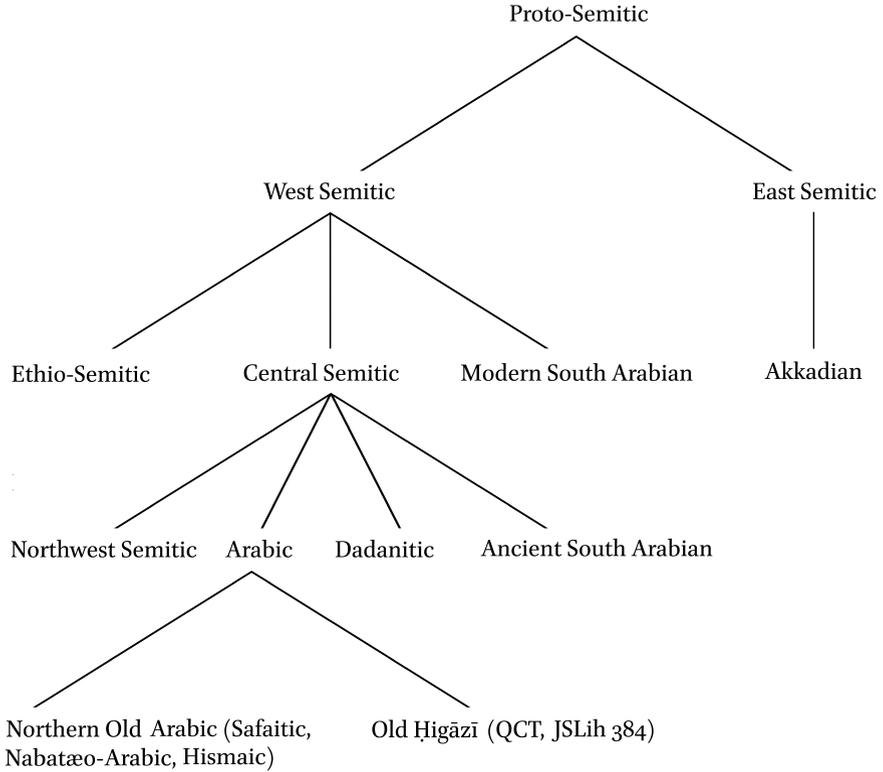


FIGURE 1 *Classification of Old Arabic*

1.2.1 *Linguistic Variation in the Safaitic Inscriptions*

The Safaitic inscriptions exhibit no hypercorrections and attest frequent defective word-boundary spellings—that is, when one word ends with the same consonant with which the following word begins, authors will often represent both with a single glyph, e.g., *l-h-rgm* /*loh-har-rVgm/ ‘the cairn is his’. Additionally, there are only a handful of cases in which the etymological values of consonants seem to have been confused. These facts suggest that the inscriptions represent a phonetic transcript of the language of the compositional formulae, which, in turn, was probably rather close to the spoken language of their authors. There is no evidence that the Safaitic script was written on perishable materials or used for any practical purposes, and so the existence of a linguistic standard would be unexpected. The script and the formulae used for writing were probably transferred from person to person informally, but, as discussed earlier, the way in which this was accomplished is unclear. There are very few inscriptions which could be construed as practice texts, and

so it would seem that the script and the techniques of writing were demonstrated and practiced on earth or sand, and only after authors had mastered the skill on that medium did they take to the more laborious task of carving on rock.

As one might expect, the Safaitic corpus exhibits a degree of linguistic variation. However, since we do not have a reliable chronology of the inscriptions, it is impossible to determine if this variation reflects synchronic dialectal differences, diachronic developments, or perhaps more likely both. The nomadic lifestyle of the Safaitic authors challenges the association of certain linguistic features with geographic areas. While it is possible that some isoglosses were characteristic of certain social groups, this is not borne out in the inscriptions. On the contrary, there is evidence that dialectal differences existed within a single lineage group. For example, two men from the lineage of *'mrt* used the definite article *'(l)* in their inscriptions (HCH 194; KhNSJ 1), while the *h* article is found in C 2947 and UIO 398, both produced by men from the same social group. Bearing these issues in mind, I will outline the main points of linguistic variation in the Safaitic inscriptions. It is hoped that our picture of the dialectology of the Ḥarrah will sharpen as research advances and new discoveries are made.

a. Verbs: Medial weak verbs in the Safaitic inscriptions have two forms, a biradical form reflecting a medial long vowel *mt* */māta/ and a triradical form with a medial glide *myt* */mayeta/ (§ 5.6.1). From a comparative perspective, the triradical form is probably older. Only three roughly datable inscriptions contain this feature, but the events to which they refer are too vague to determine if these texts were indeed composed in different periods:

KRS 2375: *ḥll h- dr s^lnt myt qṣr*
'he camped in this place the year Caesar died'

Ms 44: *r^cy h- 'bl h- 'rḏ s^lnt myt bn qṣr*
'he pastured the camels in the valley the year the son of Caesar died'

KhNSJ 1: *g{l}s^lmn ' - dmt s^lnt mt mlk nbṭ*
'he {halted} on account of the downpour the year the king of Nabataea died'

Variation is also found in the shape of the T-stem of the root $\sqrt{\text{n}z\text{r}}$ 'to guard', but it is difficult to determine with much certainty what this suggests (see § 5.6.3).

The identical usage of the D and G stems and the D and C stems across different texts could also signal dialectal variation (see also §5.6).

b. Participles: Two forms of the G-stem passive participle are attested: *fʿl* */faʿīl/ or */faʿūl/ and *mfʿl* */mafʿūl/. The latter is an innovation which characterizes Arabic, and seems to have been a productive alternative to the older form without the prefixed *m-*. There is not enough evidence, however, to determine how these forms were distributed. The language and formulae of texts containing the *m*-participle does not differ in any obvious way from those with the older *qtl* form. The shape of the G active participle of II-w/y roots exhibits variation: some dialects attest a form with a medial glottal stop, *kʿn* ‘existing’ and *zʿm* ‘dead’, while others with a medial glide, *hʿyʿ* ‘journeying’ and *nwy* ‘migrating’ (see §5.6.1.1).

c. The Relative Pronoun: The paradigm comprises three forms: MS *d*, FS *dʿt*, and MP *dʿw*, but their use is irregular. In many inscriptions, agreement has been neutralized, which no doubt reflects a chronologically shallower linguistic situation. The feminine singular form is attested four times in CSNS (412, 620, 621, 622) with a feminine singular antecedent. The two women to which these inscriptions refer belonged to the lineage of *Tm*; however, it is impossible to confirm whether this was a normal feature of their speech as the remaining examples of the relative pronoun produced by members of this social group all have a masculine singular antecedent. The relative pronoun *d* is used with a feminine singular antecedent in an inscription composed by (or for) a woman from the lineage of *Msʿkt* (SIJ 314) and once with a woman from the lineage of *Rksʿl* (AtIN 3). The masculine plural is only attested twice and in only one case with a clear masculine plural antecedent. The simple form *d* also occurs with plural human antecedents (e.g., C 1758). Thus, all that can be said is that some dialects attested in the Safaitic script have lost agreement in the relative pronoun while others have preserved it.

d. The Definite Article: The article is attested in four forms: *h-*, *ʿ-*, *ʿl-*, and *hn-*. *h-* is by far the most common form, but it should also be kept in mind that many inscriptions, even those with considerably long narrative portions, employ constructions which do not require the use of the article. Nevertheless, an *ʿ-* article is not infrequently encountered and, as mentioned above, members of a single social group will put both to use. The relationship between the *ʿl-* and *ʿ-* articles is unclear, but secure evidence for the independent attestation of the former exists (e.g., C 2664). The *hn-* article is securely attested in an inscription from southern Syria produced by a Ḥwl-ite (LP 87), whose territory is thought

to have been further south in North Arabia. The *hn* article occurs very rarely in other inscriptions (e.g., N 101), but none of these provide any chronological or genealogical information, so it impossible to determine if their authors were also Ḥwl-ites.

There is at least one inscription composed in a dialect without any definite marking, HshNSMI 5, which is reminiscent of Hismaic. The text is dated to the year of *grfš bn hrđš*, which can be none other than Herod Agrippa II (27/28 CE–93/94 CE). Thus, HshNSMI 5 is either contemporaneous with or later than KhNSJ 1, which has a definite article. This means that archaic dialects lacking a morphological means of definition co-existed with varieties which had developed this feature.

e. Vocabulary and Phonology: In addition to the grammatical points mentioned above, there is a large number of what appear to be synonyms, e.g., *sʿfr*; *hṯṯ*, *tlḷ*, *ktb*, all ‘writing’; *hrš*, *hll*, *rʿy*, all used to express ‘watch-keeping’. Since these are all used in an identical context, although with varying frequency, it is hard to imagine that they signaled different shades of meaning. Lexical variation could therefore reflect synchronic or diachronic dialectal variation, although one cannot rule out the possibility that the use of synonyms was the result of variation in aesthetic preferences.

In contrast to the features discussed above, the degree of phonological variation in the inscriptions is surprisingly low. The phonologies of the dialects of the Ḥarrah therefore seem to have been rather close and stable over time. One could also argue that such uniformity implies that Safaitic writing was rigid and preserved an archaic orthography, already distinct from the vernaculars, but such explanation seems considerably less likely as the institutions required to facilitate this could have hardly existed in the desert.

1.3 The Dating and Authors of the Inscriptions

The chronological limits of Safaitic documentation are unknown. Most estimates in the literature place the inscriptions somewhere between the 1st c. BCE and the 4th c. CE. This periodization is based on the fact that the political events mentioned in the Safaitic inscriptions date to the Nabataean and Roman periods. While such an assumption is natural, it could also be the case that the events from these periods were simply prominent enough to be mentioned by the inhabitants of the deserts. Other periods may have witnessed a more isolated Ḥarrah, or perhaps less political control over the members of the desert communities. Moreover, one cannot rule out the possibility that the practice

of dating inscriptions was the result of contact with both of these civilizations. Other corpora of desert North Arabian inscriptions do not contain dating formulae as such, and so the fact that dated inscriptions refer to the Nabataean and Roman period could simply be an indication of when the practice was introduced. The *terminus ad quem* of the 4th c. CE is entirely conventional since it is based on an *argumentum ex silentio*, namely, that there are no unambiguous references to Christianity in the texts.

Most experts would agree that the basis for the conventional chronology of the Safaitic inscriptions is unsatisfactory. At the current moment, it is impossible to know how early the tradition of writing was practiced in the Ḥarrah. It may be the case that the inscriptions which contain exclusively personal names and short prayers reflect the earliest stages of writing, as they typologically resemble the Thamudic inscriptions which we know were composed as early as the 6th c. BCE. The longer inscriptions containing more elaborate formulae may reflect a later, innovative tradition unique to inscriptions carved in the Safaitic script and, as such, date to the Nabataean and Roman periods. Likewise, the absence of references to Christianity lends itself to several interpretations. It may, on the one hand, suggest that Christianity did not spread as rapidly among the nomads as the literary sources would have us believe, or that the tradition of writing was rigidly formulaic and did not reflect social changes among the inhabitants of the Ḥarrah in real time. While such explanations amount to little more than speculation, the large gaps in our knowledge encourage an agnostic approach to chronology.

1.4 A Safaitic People?

Terms such as the Safaites, the Safaitic tribes, and the Safaitic Bedouin abound in the literature, so it is perhaps important here to emphasize that “Safaitic” itself is an invention of modern scholarship. As Macdonald (2009, II) argued convincingly, there is no evidence whatsoever that the thousands of authors of these disconnected inscriptions self-identified as members of a single, self-conscious community. In fact, several men who produced Safaitic inscriptions self-identified as Nabataeans. One man goes so far as to render his social affiliation in what I can only interpret as a kind of Aramaic. The narrative component of the inscription, however, is in line with the expected Safaitic idiom.

C 2820: *l 's'd bn rb'l bn 's'd bn rb'l nbtwy s'lmwy w brh hlqt s²ty h- dr w t_zr
h- s'lm^y s'nt ----*
'By 's'd son of Rb'l son of 's'd son of Rb'l the Nabataean (*nbtwy* = /nabaṭōwayyā/?) the S¹lm-ite (*s'lmwy* = /s¹lmōwayyā/?) and he came to this place for the period of winter and awaited the rains the year ----'

Other men who wrote Safaitic inscriptions also identified as Nabataeans, but in the usual Safaitic way, with the prefixed article, either *h-* or *'(l)*, and the gentilic suffix *y*.

MISSB 1: *l mn'm bn 'rs²mnwt bn 'bgr bn 'tl h- nbty*
'By Mn'm son of 'rs²mnwt son of 'bgr son of 'tl, the Nabataean'

Not all authors felt particularly close to the Nabataeans. For example, the following text seems to describe an author's captivity at the hands of the Nabataeans and his harrowing escape.

HaNSB 304: *l dl bn s²rk bn rbh d 'l qmr w mtyfh s²hqm gnm^t w rmy b- rmh -h
w h_zr b- s'f -h fmrq kll s¹l's¹l -h fw gd'wd gnm^t w s¹lm w hlft- s¹lh
-h m- 'l nbt 'wr d hbl*
'By Dl son of S²rk son of Rbh of the lineage of Qmr and he will journey so, O S²hqm, let there be spoil; and he cast his lance and struck with his sword, then threw off all of his bonds, so, O Gd'wd, let there be spoil and security and compensation for his weapons from the Nabataeans; [and] blind him who would obscure (this inscription)'

Another man swears vengeance against the murderer of his brother, whom he simply calls *'l-nbty* 'the Nabataean'.

C 2664: *l s¹d bn mr' bn nr w wgm [l-] 'h -h nr qtl-h 'l- {n}bty [] r'y n'm 'wd w
d'ffh lt m'mn w 'lt d_tn w gd [] {w}d w gdd'f r m- d 's¹l'fw wlh k{b}{r}
s¹hr 'l- 'h -h hbb -h l- 'bd*
'By S¹d son of Mr' son of Nr and he grieved for his brother Nr, whom the {Nabataean} killed while pasturing the livestock of 'wd and Df so, O Lt of Mn'm and 'lt of D_tn and [Gd'wd] and Gdd'f, he will have vengeance against him who has committed this act; and he grieved {continuously} with a broken heart for his brother, his beloved forever'

Men from two large oases in North Arabia, Dūmah and Taymā', have also carved inscriptions in the Safaitic script and idiom.¹⁸

KRS 30: *l'bn bn 'nhlh h- dmy w hṛṣ fh ṣlm 'lh dmt rw(⟨⟩)h*
 'By 'bn son of 'nhlh the Dumaite and he kept watch so, O Ṣlm, god of Dūmat, let there be ease'

LP 82: *l s^td bn ng [b][n] dw[d] h- tmwy*
 'By S^td son of Ng [son] of [Dwd] the Taymanite'

Some authors even appear to have had rather close connections with sedentary civilization, as implied by their personal names.

KRS 1507: *l grgs^l bn 'qlds^l*
 'By Gregory son of Claudius'

Indeed, there was even a lineage group in the desert with an eponymous ancestor named Titus.

UIO 322: *l byn bn tm d 'l tts^lw qyṣ b----*
 'By Byn son of Tm of the people of Titus and he spent the dry season near----'

While inscriptions such as these seem to be a minority, it must be remembered that the vast majority of texts do not express an explicit connection with a social group. Thus, the true number of authors who would have self-identified as Nabataeans, for example, cannot be known from the inscriptional evidence. Nevertheless, the evidence as such suggests that the use of the Safaitic script was not sole practice of a single social group, and that those who carved the Safaitic texts did not constitute a single *ethnos*, a people, like the Nabataeans or the Jews.

Another important fact emerges from this observation. Despite the various social identifications of the authors, the language of the Safaitic inscriptions is surprisingly uniform. Whether Nabataeans or members of the larger nomadic

18 In the case of *dmt*, it is also possible to assume that this individual came from a village by the same name in southern Syria. But, the mentioning of Ṣlm, a god otherwise not worshipped in the Safaitic inscriptions but found at Taymā', suggests that the author of KRS 30 came from the North Arabian oasis. Credit goes to Christian Robin for the proper reading and translation of KRS 30. The *editio princeps* interpreted 'lh dmt as 'god of effigies'.

groups such as *Df*, *ʿwd*, or *ʿmrt*, the compositional formulae are essentially identical. It cannot be the case that the various peoples who wrote Safaitic inscriptions simply learned the alphabet and, by coincidence alone, produced inscriptions which were essentially identical in structure. Instead, this phenomenon strongly implies, as I have argued above, that learning the compositional formulae came part and parcel with learning the script. What this implies about the linguistic register used in the Safaitic inscriptions is unclear, especially since we have no idea as to what the *spoken* languages were in places like Dūmah in the early centuries CE (if the conventional chronological is correct). The linguistic variation attested so far, however, suggests that the com-positional formulae were learned orally and were flexible enough to accommodate variation in the spoken language.

1.5 Distribution of the Inscriptions

In 1968, Oxtoby made an oft-quoted statement which has contributed to the view that the Safaitic inscriptions, as a whole, had a funerary function: the inscriptions are found mainly at “cairns and only occasionally elsewhere” (1968:1). M.C.A. Macdonald produced an important and sobering article (1992c) in which he systematically discusses the distribution of the Safaitic inscriptions known to that point. He concludes—in agreement with earlier scholars—that the Safaitic inscriptions *can*, but not necessarily, be found just about anywhere there is a suitable surface for inscribing. Inscriptions can be found at cairns, and sometimes these were produced as part of the construction of the cairn, but other times, the cairns were built with rocks already bearing Safaitic inscriptions, and so their association with a cairn is purely accidental. Naturally, prominent areas in the landscape also attracted inscriptions, but texts are not limited to such places. In fact, Macdonald’s Jāwā survey found a surprising correlation in the distribution of the Safaitic inscriptions and those left by modern Bedouin:

In some cases these are places which afford a good view, in others where there is shade and shelter, but others are in flat open country where after the rains there is good grazing.

MACDONALD 1992C: 305

If one generalization holds true, it is the observation Littmann made at the beginning of the last century: “the fewer the traces of real civilization are, the more numerous are the Safaitic inscriptions”. Indeed, to date, only a few Safaitic

inscriptions have been found in settled areas, from Umm al-Jimāl and Bostra. In particular, the texts from Umm al-Jimāl seem to have had a funerary function, as they were carved on lintels, of the type usually employed as grave-markers (LP 1269–1279). At the same time, the absence of Safaitic texts in the towns does not exclude the likely possibility that some, or perhaps even the majority, of the inhabitants of these towns spoke dialects of Old Arabic, closely related to those attested in the Safaitic inscriptions, as the onomastic connections imply. Instead, one can only conclude that the tradition of composing Safaitic inscriptions was not alive in the settled areas.

1.6 Text Genres and Text Editions

1.6.1 *Text Genres*

There are six basic genres of compositional formulae:

a. Genealogy: The vast majority of texts contain only patrilineal genealogies. Their length varies considerably, from as few as two members to in excess of fifteen. Most genealogies, however, fall in between these two ends of the spectrum.

b. Narrative: A sizable minority of texts contains a narrative component. A limited set of compositional formulae express the following themes.

- Day-to-day activities (pasturing, migrating, raiding, etc.)
- Mourning, grieving, longing for lost or absent loved ones (Performance of funerary rituals)
- Performance of religious rituals (sacrifice, pilgrimage, etc.)
- Being present at a place
- Construction of structures

Narrative texts are sometimes dated to the year of prominent events, which transpired locally in the desert or in the settled world.

c. Signature: Short texts expressing authorship/ownership sometimes accompany visual rock art. It is impossible to know if the name expressed in such inscriptions is the one of the artist who produced the rock drawing or if it was the one to whom the rock drawing was dedicated. It is equally impossible to determine what sacral value such images may have had. Some rock drawings could have been connected to rituals, as they are accompanied by inscriptions

which state that the animal depicted was ‘dedicated’ to a deity, e.g., *l PN h- gml qsy l- lt* ‘By PN is the camel which has been dedicated to Lt’.

d. Funerary: Graves, tombs, and other funerary structures usually contain the name of the deceased.

e. Prayer: This type consists of a short prayer offered to a deity requesting the well-being of the author.

f. Poetic texts: Several inscriptions contain elements from a poetic register; however, to date, only a single poetic text has been identified, carved in a mixed Safaitic-Hismaic script, KRS 2453.

1.6.2 *Text Editions*

The edited corpus of Safaitic inscriptions numbers some 33,000 specimens. These texts are spread across numerous editions, articles, and unpublished university dissertations and museum collections. There is little consistency from edition to edition—each editor employs an ad hoc approach to the grammatical interpretation of the inscriptions, and opinions remain divided about the meaning of a great many lexical items. Due to this, it is advised to check each edition’s interpretations against the present grammatical outline. The standard collection of Safaitic texts will be OCIANA (Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia), edited by M.C.A. Macdonald, which the present grammar is intended to complement. This resource will provide access through a single portal to all of the known (both published and unpublished) Safaitic inscriptions, with photographs and tracings, when available. Each inscription will be re-read and interpreted according to the state-of-the-art, and accompanied by a complete *apparatus criticus*. OCIANA is currently under development but should be available to the public by 2017. Since some scholars may still wish to consult the *editiones principes*, the following paragraphs will briefly outline the major text editions, their strengths and drawbacks.

1.6.2.1 Major Published Text Editions

Perhaps one of the most significant contributions to the study of Safaitic was Littmann’s *Safaitic Inscriptions* (LP). This publication contains the first (partial) grammatical description of the language as such, coupled with a useful glossary. The volume contains 1302 texts, each of which is accompanied by valuable commentary. Most of the inscriptions have been copied carefully by Littmann himself and are therefore reliable; however, some five hundred of these texts were copied by “servants of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedi-

tion”, and so must be read with great caution, especially with regard to letters which are close in form even under ideal conditions.

The largest published collection of Safaitic inscriptions is Tome V of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (1950) edited by G. Ryckmans, which contains 5380 texts. While the edition is an invaluable contribution to Safaitic studies, it nevertheless suffers from several drawbacks, such as a lack of any indexing, glossary, or grammatical prolegomenon. The translations and commentary are in Latin and the transliteration of the Safaitic is in a modified Hebrew script. Many of the inscriptions are derived from handcopies made by those who did not know the script. While most of the problems which arise in the copies can be remedied by a sound knowledge of Safaitic formulae and language, the decipherment of unformulaic inscriptions must be considered tentative at best under such conditions.

The 1957 publication of Winnett’s 1950 expedition to Jāwā, Jathūm, and Tell al-‘abd in northeastern Jordan contains 1009 new Safaitic inscriptions, as well as several insightful discussions on the historical context and contents of the texts themselves. This valuable edition was followed by Winnett and Harding’s *50 Cairns* (1978), which contains 4087 texts from Burqu‘ and the Wadi Miqāt region of Jordan. The tracings and commentaries are complemented by numerous photographs, a useful introduction, and several valuable indices. The readings of the inscriptions in both editions are highly accurate, but many of their interpretations—especially of the longer inscriptions—are now outdated and require revision.

An oft-referenced source on Safaitic is Oxtoby’s anachronistically titled *Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin* (1968). The volume contains a lengthy introduction and 480 previously unpublished inscriptions from the environs of Wadi Miqāt. The readings of these texts are generally reliable, but the interpretations also suffer from the lack of a methodologically grounded approach to the grammar and lexicography.

One of the most valuable editions of Safaitic texts was published online as the beta version of the Safaitic Database Online, the predecessor of OCIANA. In 1989, Geraldine King conducted a rescue survey in northeastern Jordan, in the areas which were to be bull-dozed to allow for oil exploration. Between January and March, she succeeded in recording some 3300 inscriptions and rock drawings. The documentation of these texts was exemplary. Each inscription was photographed from multiple angles, from which King produced highly accurate tracings. The edition of these texts was published digitally, complete with high resolution photographs. The online version is naturally searchable, but unfortunately no glossary or concordance was ever made available. The availability of high quality photographs makes it easy to check King’s readings—which

are generally highly accurate—against the text on the stone. The work reflects a considerable advancement in Safaitic lexicography and grammar from the major editions produced in the 70's and earlier, but nevertheless, many of the interpretations are now outdated and require revision.

1.6.2.2 Dissertations

Many Safaitic editions exist in the form of unpublished MA theses and PhD dissertations from the Middle East. These contain many valuable inscriptions, but are hard to obtain in the West. See the SIGLA OF EDITIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS of this book for a list of these works. An important Western dissertation is CSNS, in which V. Clark edits 197 texts from the Jordanian panhandle, on the H5 and H4, north of al-Wisād. Three dissertations on Safaitic, written under the direction of R. Voigt, have been published by the series *Semitica et Semito-aramaica Berolinensia* (SSHB): AA EK, AbaNS, and RSIS. Each of these contains an introduction, an analytical section dealing with cultural context of the texts, and a few remarks on grammar, along with an edition of previously unpublished texts and a glossary. While two volumes—AA EK and RSIS—contain photographs, these are usually of such low quality that it is often impossible to scrutinize the reading properly. AbaNS contains only tracings. Most of the interpretations of the prose must be closely scrutinized, as there are many errors in grammatical reasoning and interpretation.

1.6.2.3 Other Materials

Until now, no grammar, dictionary, or bibliography of Safaitic studies was ever produced. In addition to the grammatical remarks found in the various text editions, a single skillful outline of the type of linguistic features one commonly encounters in the ANA inscriptions has been published (Macdonald 2008), and a classification and rough outline of the geographic distribution of these scripts (Macdonald 2000). While of high quality, both articles require revision to bring them up to the state-of-the-art. A concordance of personal names exists (Harding 1971), but is badly outdated. There is also one short study of the rock art and inscriptional formulae based on WH (Eksell 2002), but nothing in the way of a comprehensive and systematic investigation of this material. Finally, Macdonald (2009 II) presents an excellent treatment of the cultural context of the inscriptions and their authors.

Script and Orthography

The Safaitic script is a member of the South Semitic script family, which split from Proto-Sinaitic sometime in the 2nd millennium BCE. Its relationship with the other members of this family is obscure and requires further research. Many scholars, including Littmann and Winnett, believed that the various ANA alphabets were derived from the ASA script, mainly because the latter was employed by a major civilization and exhibited more angular features. On the other hand, Rodinson (1963: 131–134) believed that the ANA and ASA scripts shared a common ancestor from which they both developed in a parallel manner. Indeed, it seems unlikely that the various ANA scripts descend from the monumental ASA alphabet, but that they collectively share a common ancestor to the exclusion of ASA is also something which has yet to be demonstrated. The only common feature shared by all ANA scripts against ASA is the shape of the letter *z*, which resembles the Roman H in ANA which contrasts with the two triangles mirrored vertically in ASA. It is unclear if the ANA reflects a simplification of an original form resembling the ASA *z* glyph or if it bears some relation to ASA *ḏ*. No transitional forms, so to speak, have been discovered, suggesting that if ANA *z* developed from either source, it would have gone back to a common ANA source.¹ Whether this one feature is enough to argue for a common proto-ANA script, however, is unclear. It is of course possible that the ASA form is innovative and that the various ANA scripts continue the original South Semitic shape of the letter.²

Perhaps the primary argument against an ASA source is Safaitic orthography: there are no word dividers, nor are the glide consonants—*y* and *w*—used as *matres lectionis*. Both long and short vowels are not indicated orthographically. In this way, Safaitic orthography more closely resembles Phoenician and, indeed, the original Proto-Sinaitic model. The use of *matres lectionis* in ASA and in Dadanitic, although the practice differs between the two, represents a departure from the original properties of the script. Since there is no reason to assume that writers would have done away with these orthographic devices, Safaitic, and the other ANA alphabets which do not indicate vowels, continue

1 Note the Gz *z* develops from ASA *ḏ* in an identical fashion.

2 If this scenario is true, then it would appear that ASA *ḏ* was derived by adding an extra stroke to the original *z*. A similar strategy seems to have been the source of Dadanitic *ḏ*.

what must have been the original orthography of the South Semitic script. This means that these scripts could not have derived from ASA, which made use of *matres lectionis* even at its earliest stages.

2.1 The Glyphs

The Safaitic alphabet comprises twenty-eight glyphs, all signifying consonants. There are no word dividers, and inscriptions can be composed in just about any direction: horizontally, right-to-left and left-to-right; boustrophedon; coiling (inwards and outwards); curving; and in vertical lines.

The script has two primary variants—*normal* and *square*. *Normal* encompasses a wide range of variation, which is often affected by the direction in which an inscription is written, the peculiarities of the instrument, and hand of the author. The *square script*, on the other hand, seems to be a deliberate stylistic variant, with a more angular character and several exaggerated features. This script is uncommon but rather widespread in its distribution. Members of the lineage of *'mrt* seem to have been particularly fond of this variant, as a sizable number of specimens have been left by them.

Scholars are divided as to the antiquity of the square variant. Based exclusively on its angular character—which appears formal from our perspective and reminiscent of the ASA script—some scholars have suggested that texts in this script represent the earliest stage of Safaitic writing. Most, however, see these forms as a late development, or simply a stylistic variant which co-existed with other hands, without any reference to a chronology. Indeed, one only rarely encounters texts written entirely in the square script; most texts containing square letters also contain letters belonging to the normal variety. Moreover, there is no evidence from dated inscriptions to suggest that the square variant is older.

Both variants also exhibit characters which are turned 90 degrees, whereby some or all of the glyphs are open vertically rather than towards the end of the inscription. This, it seems, was simply an aesthetic choice made by authors, and does not reflect an independent script type.

The circumstances under which the Safaitic inscriptions were produced make the paleography of the script impossible. For a comparison between letter forms to be meaningful, they must be produced under similar circumstances and within a single scribal tradition. The Safaitic inscriptions vary not only in terms of their instrument and support, both of which play an important role in giving the glyph its ultimate form on the rock, but in terms of their authors as well: the texts were produced by a diverse group of people over a



FIGURE 1 *Example of the cursive hand*³

relatively large area and an unknown chronological span. No letter forms can be associated exclusively with texts dated to certain periods or exclusively with lineage groups, and authors will often employ variants of the same letter within a single inscription. While it is the case that certain letter shapes gave rise to others (e.g., the *l* with a hook is probably the source of the simple vertical line *l*), the fact that authors would use both forms in a single text indicates that the emergence of a new form did not mean the disappearance of its antecedent. Thus, the absence of an alleged “progressive” form in an inscription does not necessarily imply that the text was produced earlier than those containing such forms. In every case, it is equally possible to interpret the form of the script as a deliberate stylistic choice on the part of the author.

a. Cursive Forms

There are a few examples of Safaitic texts which in which lines connect adjacent letters. In a preliminary investigation, M.C.A. Macdonald (1989) has shown that the disconnected instances of this practice do not reflect a consistent variant of the script, but rather an aesthetic practice or, sometimes, the result of vandalism.

b. Mixed Safaitic—Hismaic

A minority of inscriptions exhibits a combination of Safaitic and Hismaic letter shapes, which are conventionally termed “mixed”. Whether such examples genuinely represent transitional forms or the knowledge of both scripts on the part of their authors is unclear. Mixed texts usually exhibit the Hismaic forms of the *d*, *t*, *g*, and *ḡ* glyphs.

3 Tracing by M.C.A. Macdonald (1989:77); the text reads *l zhl n bn hrds^l bn hs²ll*.

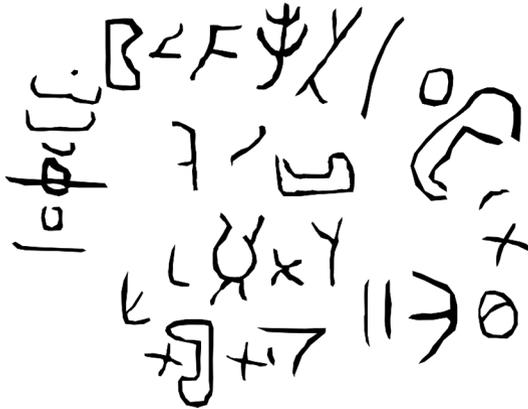
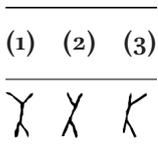


FIGURE 2 Example of a Safaitic-Hismaic mixed text⁴

2.2 Characteristics of the Individual Glyphs

’ The basic shape is a vertical line with forks on both ends. (1) The arms of the fork can branch out symmetrically from the top of the shaft. (2) The shaft can lean slightly to one side, and the two arms which form the V branch in opposite directions. (3) The shaft can remain vertical and the arms form a 45 degree angle.



‘ The basic shape of this glyph ranges between (1) an oval of various sizes—sometimes resembling more a diamond or triangle—to (2) a single dot.

4 See al-Salameen (2011); the tracing is by the author. The text reads: *l ‘qrb bn ms’k d’ l ‘mrt w hll s’nt mt hrtt h-mlk* ‘By ‘qrb son of Ms’k of the people of ‘mrt and he camped the year Hāretat the king died’.

(1) (2)

o .

b This letter also has two basic forms: (1) a half circle, similar to the roman letter c and (2) a long bow-shaped line.

(1) (2)

C C

d The letter is formed by (1) a vertical or a slightly curved line facing the end of the text, with a rounded or triangular loop in the middle. (2) In place of the loop, some variants have single point which sits beside the vertical line about halfway down.

(1) (2)

ǃ ǃ

d This glyph is (1) a trident either facing upwards or downwards. (2) The main vertical lines can sometimes curve towards the end of the text, as can the individual teeth, usually in the same direction. In some cases, a hook extends from the end of the line opposite the trident.

(1) (2)

ǃ ǃ

d The (1) basic shape of the character is a pound-sign #, with some variation with regard to how far the lines extend past the inner square. In rare cases, (2) a third intersecting line is added.

(1) (2)



f This sign (1) consists of a vertical wave with three undulations, which can be angular or rounded; (2) the middle undulation is often much larger than the peripheral ones and sometimes flat as well.

(1) (2)



g This sign is usually (1) ovular, but shapes include (2) bows, and even (3) narrow rectangles.

(1) (2) (3)



ġ The glyph takes on a variety of forms. Its basic shape resembles (1), (2) the Hebrew *lamed*. Other forms include (3) two parallel wavy lines and (4) a line with an open triangle on one end.

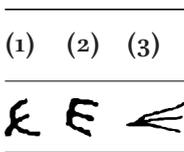
(1) (2) (3) (4)



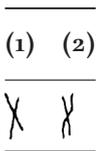
h This glyph consists of (1) a vertical line with a single fork on one end.



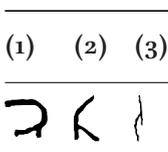
h There are two basic forms: a half circle or open rectangle with a diametrical line; this line can either (1) extend past the base or (2) terminate at the base. A (3) third variant is an open triangle with a line extending from the vertex to the base.



h This letter is basically (1) a Greek χ . This glyph can sometimes be distinguished from *t* by the fact that (2) one of the diagonal lines is wavy.



k The basic shape is a (1) half circle or (2) bow with a tail facing up, down, or away from the opening. Some forms are better described as (3) a single vertical line with a bow attached to one end.



l The *l* is essentially a vertical line, sometimes with (1) a small hook on the upper end but (2) often without.

(1) (2)



m The basic shape is (1) two adjacent half-circles, a larger outer one and a smaller inner one, which are connected at the ends to form a closed circuit; in some cases, (2) the ends are left open. Many times, the closed *m* has an elongated shape, (3) similar to a boomerang, an egg-plant, or sometimes even an oval.

(1) (2) (3)



n This glyph has two basic forms, (1) a vertical line and (2) a dot. The vertical line is almost always shorter than the *l* if it occurs in the same inscription.

(1) (2)



q The glyph is composed of an oval or circle with an intersecting vertical line. The line is (1) sometimes drawn through the circle, and other times (2) stopped at one end and resumed on the other.

(1) (2)



r The *r* has two forms: (1) the first is very similar to half-circle *b*, often with a more angled shape; (2) this form can sometimes exhibit one or two hooks extending from the ends of the half-circle. The *r* can sometimes take (3) an elongated bow shape, coming close to the shape of the *l*.

(1) (2) (3)



s^1 This glyph is similar to the h , but (1) the V connects with a much shorter shaft (1). Another variant (2) resembles more closely the s^1 of other ANA scripts and indeed the ASA s^1 , namely, an open rectangle, with a tail extending from the middle of the base away from the opening. This form is sometimes rounded to the shape of a half-circle.

(1) (2)



s^2 This glyph is (1) a vertical serriform line, with considerable variation in the number of undulations.

(1)

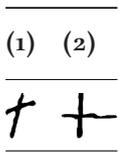


s The glyph consists of (1) a vertical or diagonal line with a circle or triangle on one end and a fork on the other. Sometimes, (2) the circle is filled in.

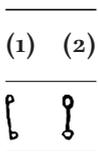
(1) (2)



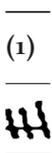
t The glyph is essentially identical to (1) a + sign, but with (2) some variation in the length of the vertical and horizontal lines. The *t* can be distinguished from the *h* glyph by the fact that its arms are never curved.



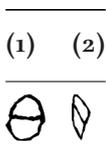
t The glyph consists of a verticle line with a circle on each end. The circles can connect to (1) the side of the shaft or to (2) the end of the shaft.



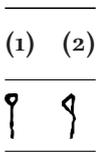
t The glyph consists of (1) three parallel vertical lines with an intersecting horizontal line in the middle. There is some variation in how far beyond the outer two vertical lines the intersecting horizontal line may extend, and sometimes a fourth line—either verticle or horizontal—is added.



w The basic shape of the glyph is (1) an oval with a line drawn across the diameter, but (2) angular variants also exist.



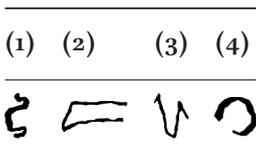
y The glyph consists of a vertical line with a (1) circle or (2) triangle on one end. Like the \mathfrak{s} and more rarely the \mathfrak{t} , the loops can be filled in.



z The glyph resembles (1) a T, with some variation in the length of the shaft.



Ʒ This glyph has a few common forms. The glyph can resemble a *f*, as a (1) wavy line with an enlarged and flattened middle undulation. A second variant is (2) an elongated open rectangle. The third variant comprises (3) a V with two hooked arms extending towards the vertex. Finally, (4) the rarest form is a small half-circle.



Script Chart: The following chart contains idealized forms of the Safaitic glyphs. The top row gives the normal forms while the bottom row provides the so-called 'square' variants.

’	‘	b	d	ḏ	ḏ	f	g	ḡ	h	ḥ	ḥ	k	l
𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍
𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚	𐤛
m	n	q	r	s ¹	s ²	š	t	ṭ	ṭ	w	y	z	z̄
𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	𐤟	𐤠	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣	𐤤	𐤥	𐤦	𐤧	𐤨	𐤩
𐤪	𐤫	𐤬	𐤭	𐤮	𐤯	𐤰	𐤱	𐤲	𐤳	𐤴	𐤵	𐤶	𐤷

2.3 Orthography

Safaitic orthography is purely consonantal; *matres lectionis* (consonants used to represent vowels) are not used to indicate either short or long vowels. As in other Semitic scripts, gemination is not represented either. Some scholars in the past have interpreted the double *l* in words such as *kl̄l* ‘all’ and *z̄ll* ‘he remained’ as attempts to represent the geminated liquid of the underlying forms *kull* and *zalla*; however, in both cases other explanations are more likely (see § 4.12 and § 5.6.1.1).

a. Diphthongs

The reflexes of the diphthongs *aw and *ay are almost consistently indicated in word-final position.

HCH 118: *dly* ‘they (DU) were lost’ */š al(l)alay/

RQ.A 10 *m’tyfrs¹* ‘two cavalry units’ */me’atay paras/, CAR *mi’atay farasin*

C 137: *rḏw* ‘Ruḏaw’ (deity) */roš aw/, CAR *ruḏan* < *ruḏaw-Vn

In the vast majority of cases, word-internal diphthongs are not indicated orthographically, e.g., *bt* ‘tent’ */bayt/; *qm* ‘people’ */qawm/. There are, however, a

few cases in which *ay was represented with a y, e.g., *dyf* (AAEK 71) versus *df* (*passim*) ‘(the lineage) Ṣayf’ and *qysr* (MISSD 1) ‘Caesar’ versus *qsr* (*passim*), and possibly the causative verbs *ʔsʔ* ‘to make miserable’ and *ʔymn* ‘to go south’ (but see §5.6.2.1). The spelling of names such as *ʔwsʔ* could reflect the representation of the internal diphthong, */aws/ (Gr. Αυσος), or be interpreted as diminutives, */oways/. Likewise, the commonly cited example, *ʔr* for */ayr/ can also be understood as a diminutive /ʔoyayr/ ‘little ass’. Greek transcriptions confirm that word-internal diphthongs obtained in the Old Arabic dialects of the southern Levant (see Al-Jallad 2015) and so the differences in the representation of these sequences in word-internal vs. word-final position must result from orthographic practice rather than a phonetic difference.

b. *Prothetic Vowels*

The spellings of Gt verbs such as *sʔtky* = CAr *ištakā* and *qtll* = CAr *iqtatala* (see §5.6.3.1) could imply the presence of a prothetic vowel which was not represented orthographically.

c. *Sequences of a Long Vowel and a Glide*

Word final glides obtain following long vowels and are consistently represented orthographically, *sʔmy* */samāy/ ‘sky’; *sʔby* */sabūy/ ‘captive’, etc.

d. *Word Boundary Spellings*

When the final consonant of a word is identical to the onset of the following syllable, the two are sometimes treated as a geminate consonant and written with a single glyph, e.g., *hrḏwlh* */hā roṣaw-walleh/ ‘O Rḏw, cause grief’ (C 3177); *w ḥwfhḏsʔr sʔlm* */wa ḥVwVp-pa hā ḏū-sarē salema/ ‘and he was in in fear so, O Dsʔr, may he be secure’ (KRS 1949).⁵ This phenomenon can only occur when the word-final vowel has been lost (§3.4).

5 The coalescence of the *f* in *ḥwf* and the following conjunction suggest that *ḥwf* should be construed as an infinitive, part of an infinitive chain construction (§16.1), rather than a suffix conjugated verb, which would have normally terminated in /a/.

Phonology and Phonetics

The system of transcription adopted in this book follows the conventions used by OCIANA. The traditional transcription of the phonemes which the Safaitic glyphs signify has followed in large part the transcription, and not the pronunciation, of CAr. For example, the reflex of Proto-Semitic *ṭ is transcribed as *z*, even though in CAr it was pronounced as a pharyngealized voiced interdental fricative, [ð^h]. While there are certain drawbacks to this approach, it does help to facilitate the use of this book in conjunction with OCIANA. The OCIANA convention of transcription differs in the representation of the sibilants from the traditional presentation of these sounds in earlier editions, primarily the works of Winnett and Harding, and from the Safaitic editions published in the SSHB series.

Proto-Semitic	OCIANA	WH	SSHB	Classical Arabic	ASA
*[s]	s ¹	s	s	س	s ¹
*[ʃ]	s ²	š	ś	ش	s ²
*[ts]	s ¹	s	s	س	s ³

The following provides the consonant correspondences between Old Arabic, as represented by the Safaitic script, and other Semitic languages.

TABLE 1 *Semitic sound correspondences*¹

Safaitic ²	QCT/CAR	Ug	BH	OfAr	Gz	Akk	PS
ʾ	اى و / [ʔ]	ʾ	א	א	ʾ	ʾ/∅	[ʔ]
b	ב / [b]	b	ב	ב	b	b	[b]
g	ח / [g]	g	ג	ג	g	g	[g]
d	ד / [d]	d	ד	ד	d	d	[d]
h	ה / [h]	h	ה	ה	h	ʾ/∅	[h]
w	ו / [w]	w	ו	ו	w	w	[w]
z	ז / [z]	z	ז	ז	z	z	[dz]
ḥ	ח / [ḥ]	ḥ	ח	ח	ḥ	ʾ/∅	[ḥ]
ṭ	ט / [ṭ ^c]	ṭ	ט	ט	ṭ	ṭ	[ṭ ^c]
y	י / [j]	y	י	י	y	y	[j]
k	כ / [k]	k	כ	כ	k	k	[k]
l	ל / [l]	l	ל	ל	l	l	[l]
m	מ / [m]	m	מ	מ	m	m	[m]
n	נ / [n]	n	נ	נ	n	n	[n]
s ¹ */s/(< *s ³)	ס / [s]	s	ס	ס	s	s	[ts]
ʿ	ע / [ʿ]	ʿ	ע	ע	ʿ	ʾ/∅	[ʿ]
f [*] /p/	פ / [f]	p	פ	פ	f	p	[p]
ṣ	צ / [s ^c]	ṣ	צ	צ	ṣ	ṣ	[ts ^c]
d [*] /ṣ/	צ / [k ^c]	ṣ	צ	ע	d	ṣ	[tḏ ^c]
q	ק / [q]	q	ק	ק	q	q	[k ^c]
r	ר / [r]	r	ר	ר	r	r	[r]

1 This table is adapted from Huehnergard (2012:24).

2 When the transcription of glyphs in phonetic reconstructions of Safaitic differs significantly from the conventional transcription, the phonological transcription follows an asterisk between two front slashes, */x/.

Safaitic	QCT/CAr	Ug	BH	OfAr	Gz	Akk	PS
<i>s</i> ¹	س / [s]	š	ש	ש	s	š	[s]
<i>t</i>	ت / [t]	t	ת	ת	t	t	[t]
<i>t̄</i>	ت / [θ]	t̄	ש	ת	s	š	[θ]
<i>h</i>	ח / [x]	h	ח	ח	h	h	[x]
<i>d</i>	ד / [ð]	d/d	ד	ד	z	z	[ð]
<i>z</i> [*] / <i>t̄</i>	ط / [ð ^c]	z/g	צ	ט	š	š	[tθ']
<i>ǰ</i>	ع / [ɣ]	ǰ	ע	ע	ǰ	h/∅	[ɣ]
<i>s</i> ² */ <i>š</i>	س / [ʃ]	š	ש	ס	ś	š	[ʃ]

Our knowledge of how these consonants were actually realized is derived almost exclusively from the small number of Safaitic-Greek and Safaitic-Aramaic bilingual inscriptions, which consist exclusively of onomastica, and the single known Old Arabic prose text written in Greek letters (A 1).³ Loanwords and the spelling of foreign names in the Safaitic script also shed light on the phonetic values of its glyphs. This data can be complemented by Greek transcriptions of Arabic names from the settled areas of the southern Levant, from the 1st c. CE to the Islamic conquests. As one might expect, these sources are not entirely uniform, indicating that the Safaitic script conceals a degree of phonological variation.

3.1 Consonants

3.1.1 *The Voiceless Plosives, *p, *t, *k*

The Safaitic-Greek bilinguals and Greek transcriptions suggest that the voiceless plosives, *t* and *k* were aspirated, [t^h] and [k^h], respectively; *t* = θ: Λοβραιαθου = *lb't*; Σαμεθου = *s²mt*; *k* = χ: Χεσεμαν = *khs¹mn*; Αμμασιχηνος = *hms¹k*. The reflex of **p* is difficult to ascertain. The traditional transcription with *f* is purely conventional and based on CAr. While no bilinguals containing this phoneme have

3 The bilingual texts are not cited with sigla since there are so few of them. The reader is referred to the appendix for citation information.

been discovered, authors used the *f* glyph to transcribe both Greek π [p] and φ [p^h], e.g., *ff̄s̄* (KRS 1991) = Φίλιππος, and even geminated π , *gr̄fs̄* (KRS 1023) = Ἀγρίππας. While the data are ambiguous, it is nevertheless important to emphasize that there is no positive evidence to suggest that it was realized as [f].

3.1.2 *The Voiced Plosives, *b, *d, *g*

The phonemes *b* and *d* were transcribed by β and δ in Greek, and were probably realized as [b] and [d] in all environments. There is no evidence that the *g* was pronounced as a voiced palato-alveolar affricate ǰ [d͡ʒ], as in the traditional pronunciation of CAr. The sound is transcribed by γ in the bilingual inscription C 2823–2824 (+Greek): *hg* = Ἀγγηνος. Islamic period transcriptions often employ ζ or the digraph $\tau\zeta$ to represent the affricated ǰ in Greek. Moreover, the *g* glyph is used to transcribe Greek and Latin [g], *grgs^l* (KRS 1507) = Γρηγόρης and *grmnq̄s̄* (LP 653) = GERMANICUS. Had *g* signified the sound [d͡ʒ], one would expect either *k*, or perhaps *q*, to transcribe foreign [g]. This sound is consistently represented by γ in the Graeco-Arabica.

3.1.3 *The Interdentals *t and *d*

The *t* glyph is transcribed once in a Greek bilingual with θ : *yt^c* = Ιαίθεου, which must point towards a voiceless interdental fricative realization, [θ]. Its voiced counterpart has not yet appeared in Greek transcription; however, in the Graeco-Arabica, the sound is consistently represented by δ : *dōεβου* /d̄ō'eyb/ = *d^lb*. There is no evidence for the merger of the interdentals with the plosive series in a non-onomastic context.

3.1.4 *The Velars *h and *ǰ*

The reflex of **h* is attested once in a bilingual inscription where it is not indicated graphically in Greek, *hl̄s̄* = Ἀλιζου. This is common in the transcriptions of Arabic names in Greek, and suggests that the sound was realized as a front velar fricative in the Arabic dialects of this area, as Greek scribes more frequently judged the *spiritus asper*, rather than the aspirated velar plosive χ [k^h], as a better approximation of the sound (Al-Jallad 2015, § 3.2). The reflex of **ǰ* has not yet appeared in a bilingual inscription, but there is no reason to assume that it was anything other than as the voiced counterpart of *h*.

3.1.5 *The Pharyngeals *h and *c*

There is no reason to assume a value other than [h] and [ʕ]. Both of these sounds are not represented graphically in Greek transcriptions.

3.1.6 *q

The *q* glyph probably signified an unaspirated voiceless plosive, but it is unclear if it was a uvular plosive, as in CAR *qāf*, or a glottalized velar plosive, as in Modern South Arabian [k']. Its voiceless character is confirmed by its use to transcribe Latin *c*: 'qlds' (KRS 1507) = CLAUDIUS and *qsr* (Ms 44) = CAESAR, and, vice versa, the use of *κ* to transcribe this sound in Greek, A 1 βακλα * /baqla/ 'fresh herbage' = *bql*. Fourteen inscriptions spell the common phrase *ts²wq 'l* 'he longed for' as *ts²wq l*, e.g., H 191: *w ts²wq l- kll 's²r šdq* 'he longed for every righteous kinsman' or SIJ 352 *w ts²wq l- 'hwn -h* 'and he longed for his brothers'. If the initial glottal stop of the preposition 'el was not omitted by accident, then it may have coalesced in pronunciation with the co-articulated glottal stop of a glottalic *q*, *[taʔawwakʔel].⁴

3.1.7 *t

Like *q*, *t* seems to signify an unaspirated voiceless stop, but it is unclear if we are dealing with pharyngealization or glottalization. The *t* glyph transcribes Greek τ in *mrtš* (AbaNS 656) = Μύρτος. In the Graeco-Arabica, τ is consistently used to transcribe Arabic *t*.

3.1.8 *t̤ = z̤

The sound is found once in a bilingual text, in which it is transcribed with τ: *zn'l* WH 1860 (= Greek 2) = Ταυνηλος. This corresponds with the reflexes encountered in the settled areas, and indeed in the Harran Inscription: *طلمو* = Ταλεμου (see Al-Jallad 2015, § 3.7.3), which corresponds to CAR *zālimun*. The sound was probably the emphatic correlate of the voiceless interdental *t̤*. Like the other emphatics, it is impossible to determine if emphasis was realized by glottalization or pharyngealization, as its unvoiced character is compatible with both.

3.1.9 *š

This phoneme is transcribed as both unvoiced and voiced in Greek: *nšr'l* = Νασρηλος and *hš* = Αλιζου. A 1 transcribes what is probably the word *s²hš* as *σειαζ*, pointing towards a voiced realization. It seems, however, that the unvoiced realization was more widespread, as the sound was often used to transcribe Latin and Greek [s]:

4 Less likely is the possibility that *l*- and *'l*- were used interchangeably, as there is no evidence for this phenomenon elsewhere in the inscriptions (see § 7). This spelling can only occur in dialects which have lost final /a/.

LP 653:	<i>grmnqš</i>	GERMANICUS
KRS 1023:	<i>grfš</i>	Ἀγρίππας
KRS 1024:	<i>hrdš</i>	Ἡρώδης
KRS 1991:	<i>flfš</i>	Φίλιππος

It is impossible to decide on the nature of emphasis for the unvoiced variant,⁵ but the voiced variant cannot reflect glottalization, as voice is not compatible with glottal closure. Therefore, the latter must have been realized as a pharyngealized or velarized sibilant [z[◌]], while its voiceless counterpart could have ranged from a pharyngealized sibilant [s[◌]] to a glottalized sibilant or affricate, [sʰ] and [tsʰ], respectively. The proximity of *s*^l and *š* in some varieties is borne out by misspellings such as KhBG 345 *bʿš*{*š*} for *bʿs*^l ‘misfortune’ and perhaps C 1813 *šʿdʿl* for *s*^l*dʿl*.

3.1.10 *š = d

The reflex of the emphatic lateral is transcribed with sigma in the Arabic names of the neighboring settled areas, e.g., Πασσαουθος = *rdwt*. Sigma is also used to transcribe the tribal name *df*—whose members produced numerous Safaitic inscriptions—in a monolingual Greek graffito carved by one of the tribe’s members, Σαιφηνος = *h-dfy* (see *MISSD*, p. 481). The use of Sigma points away from a stop realization, suggesting that its original lateral quality obtained. The phoneme was probably realized as either a glottalized or pharyngealized [ɬ], with possible affrication, [ɬ[◌]], [ɬʰ], or [tɬʰ].

3.1.11 *s^l, *s², *z

**s*^l: The phonetic value of *s*^l has been the subject of much debate. Macdonald (2000; 2004; 2009) suggested that Safaitic *s*^l was realized as [ʃ] based on its use to transcribe Aramaic š [ʃ] in the divine name *bʿlsʿmn* < */bəʿal-šemīn/. To support this equation, he pointed to the fact that *š* was used to transcribe Greek and Latin [s] more frequently than *s*^l, which implied that the emphatic, rather than *s*^l, was the closest approximant to the sibilant [s]. However, the matter seems a bit more complicated. First, the use of *s*^l for Aramaic š only confirms that *s*² did not have the same value as its CAr counterpart, namely, [ʃ]. This fact, in turn, indicates only that authors judged the plain sibilant a better approximation of [ʃ] than whatever the value of *s*² was. Second, *s*^l was used just as frequently as *š* to represent Greek and Latin [s], e.g., *grgs*^l

5 For a lengthy discussion on the possible realizations of the voiceless variant, see Al-Jallad (2015, § 3.7.2).

= Γρηγόρης (KRS 1507), *ḡlds^l* = CLAUDIUS (KRS 1507; WH 837), *tts^l* = TITUS (HaNSB 293; KRS 3160), *mrṡs^l* = Μύρτος (AbaNS 656). This type of fluctuation could indicate that the Greek (and Latin) voiceless sibilant had an apical realization, i.e., [s̺], just as in Modern Greek. If *s^l* was a pure alveolar sibilant, Greek and Latin [s̺] would then have no equivalent in Safaitic, causing authors to fluctuate in their representation of the foreign sound. It is perhaps also important to point out that modern Arabic, which has a plain sibilant [s], also loans in foreign [s] with its emphatic ṣ, especially in the vicinity of backed vowels, e.g., [bɔːsˤ] < *bus* or [asˤ-sˤuːmaːl] < *Somalia*. In the case of the Safaitic inscriptions, however, the distribution does not seem to correlate with other features, such as vowel quality or the presence of other emphatic consonants. *S^l* seems to be the normal way to loan in NWS *Samech* as well, *s^lfr* ‘inscription’ (*passim*) < *sifrā*; *ys^lf* (ISB 330) ‘Joseph’ < *yōsep*, although the month name *nṣn* (ASWS 202) = *nīsān* may reflect the use of ṣ for this purpose as well.

***s²**: The phonetic value of *s²* can only be negatively defined. The fact that it was not used to transcribe Aramaic [ʃ] proves that it did not have the same value as CAR *šīn*. Some scholars in the past have suggested that it was pronounced as an *ich-laut*, which seems to be the phonetic value given to its reflex in the dialects Sibawayh, the 8th c. CE Arabic grammarian, described. This, however, does not seem to be true for Safaitic. The phoneme is consistently rendered with σ in Greek. Were it realized as [ç], the sound would probably have been represented by the *spiritus asper*, just as the reflex of ***h**. Thus, it is simplest to assume that its original lateral value [ʃ] obtained.

***z**: Safaitic *z* was the voiced counterpart of *s^l*, and is given as the equivalent of Palmyrene *z* in a bilingual text (see Macdonald 2009 II: 347).

3.1.12 ***ʔ** and ***h**

The glottal stop and fricative are not represented in Greek transcriptions: *lhnʔ bn lbʔt* = Ενος Λοβαιαθου. There is no evidence for the loss or dissimilation of the glottal stop following another glottal stop, compare CAR *āmara* < ***ʔ**aʔmara to Safaitic *ʔmr* ***ʔ**aʔmar/.

3.2 Vowels

3.2.1 Short Vowels

The Old Arabic high vowels *i and *u were generally realized lower than their CAr counterparts (Al-Jallad 2015, § 4.1 ff.). This situation is reflected in the few Safaitic-Greek bilinguals:

*i = [e]

yṯʿ = Ιαιθεου */yayṯeʿ/

s²mt = Σαμεθος */šāmet/

hnʿ = Ενος */henʿ/

znʿl = Ταννηλος */ṯannʿel/

*u = [o]

lbʿt = Λοβαιαθου */lobayʿat/

*a

Short *a remains /a/ in all contexts until the 6th c. CE in the Graeco-Arabica, and a similar situation seems to obtain in the Safaitic inscriptions as well.

whbth = Ουαβαλλας */wahballāh/

hg = Αγγηνος */ḥagg/

hlš = Αλιζου */ḥalīz/ < *ḥalīš

However, in A 1, the short high vowel *i is consistently represented by *ι* or *ει* suggesting the value [i]. Thus, while most varieties must have realized the high vowel slightly lower as [e], at least some maintained its original value. A reflex of *u is not attested in this inscription.

3.2.2 Long Vowels

The vowel /ū/ has not yet appeared in bilinguals, but is almost always given with *ου* in the onomastica from settled areas (Al-Jallad 2015, § 4.1 ff.); *ī has appeared once in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant where it is realized as [i:]:

hlš = Αλιζου */ḥalīz/ < *ḥalīš

Long /ā/ is transcribed with *α* and there is no evidence for raising to [e:], even in the vicinity of an i-class vowel:

ḥddn = Aδδ[ι]δανου * /ḥaddīdān/

s²mt = Σαμεθος * /šāmet/

3.2.3 *Diphthongs and Triphthongs*

Most scholars have assumed that diphthongs had monophthongized since they were not represented orthographically, at least in word internal position. This view is challenged, however, by the spelling of the diphthongs in Greek transcription, e.g., in the bilingual *γτ*⁶ = Ιαίθεου or the transcription of the tribal name Σαιφηνος = *dfy*. While one can argue that Greek αι had already monophthongized to [e] in this period,⁶ the same cannot be argued in the case of the spelling of the diphthong *aw. Several texts contain transcriptions of this sequence with αυ, which could only signal [au] or [af] but never [o] in Greek. These transcriptions always correspond to Safaitic spellings without any representation of the diphthong: e.g., φυλλής Χαυνηγών = 'l kn or in A 1 δαυρα = *dr*. Thus, from the evidence presently available, it seems clear that diphthongs obtained but were simply not normally written in word-internal position.

The status of word-final diphthongs is dependent upon our understanding of the status of word-final short vowels. If, as it seems, word-final high vowels were lost, then spellings such as *fty* and *rɔw*, both of which occur in non-accusative positions, must reflect secondary word-final diphthongs, */patay/ and */rošaw/, respectively.

While secondary diphthongs seem to obtain in word-final position, one may wonder if etymological word-final diphthongs had collapsed to long vowels, as in CAr *alā* < **alay*. Etymological diphthongs occur in the construct dual ending, the dual ending of the verb, and on the longer forms of the prepositions **alay* and **elay*. The former two are written with a *y* in final position, indicating that these sequences obtained as well. The preposition 'l- 'upon', 'on', 'against', however, is never followed by a *y*. Rather than viewing this as the result of a contraction, I would suggest that the Safaitic dialects only knew the short form */al/, like many modern dialects of Arabic, in contrast to CAr, which exhibits a reflex of the form **alay* > *alā*, written 'ly.

6 On why αι does not signify [e] in these transcriptions, see Al-Jallad (2015, § 4.2.4).

TABLE 2 *Consonantal phonemes of Safaitic*⁷

	Bilabial	Labiovelar	Interdental	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop								
<i>Voiceless</i>	<i>p</i> [p ^h](?)			<i>t</i> [t ^h]		<i>k</i> [k ^h]		' [ʔ]
<i>Voiced</i>	<i>b</i> [b]			<i>d</i> [d]		<i>g</i> [g]		
<i>Emphatic</i>				<i>ṭ</i> / <i>ṭ</i> /		<i>q</i> / <i>q</i> /		
Fricative								
<i>Voiceless</i>			<i>θ</i> [θ]			<i>ħ</i> [x]	<i>ħ</i> [ħ]	
<i>Voiced</i>			<i>ð</i> [ð]			<i>ǵ</i> [ɣ]	' [ʕ]	<i>h</i> [h]
<i>Emphatic</i>			<i>ẓ</i> / <i>ẓ</i> /					
Sibilant								
<i>Voiceless</i>				<i>s</i> [s]				
<i>Voiced</i>				<i>z</i> [z]				
<i>Emphatic</i>				<i>š</i> / ^(v) š/~/ ^(d) z/				
Approx.		<i>w</i> [w]				<i>y</i> [j]		
Trill				<i>r</i> [r]				
Lateral								
<i>Voiceless</i>				<i>s</i> ² [ʃ]				
<i>Voiced</i>				<i>l</i> [l]				
<i>Emphatic</i>				<i>d</i> / <i>š</i> /				
Nasal	<i>m</i> [m]			<i>n</i> [n]				

3.4 Sound Changes

This section will discuss some of the sound changes observed in the inscriptions. Considering the uneven attestation of features and the uncertainties regarding chronology, one must be careful not to abstract changes observed in a small sub-section of texts to the entire corpus. Within nearly every category, there is variation, which may reflect synchronic or diachronic differences.

⁷ No phonetic value is reconstructed for the emphatics given the existence of several equal possibilities.

a. **iyu, *iyi > ī*: The spelling of active participles from III-w/y roots, when not used adverbially, suggests that the aforementioned sequences collapsed to a long vowel, which can be none other than /ī/, *s²t* */šātī/ ‘wintering’ (C 1868) < *šātiyu; *h_z* */hāzī/ ‘being hostile’ (ASWS 124) < *hāziyu. Although examples are not attested, it is likely that a similar sound change would have collapsed the sequences *uGV^[+high] to *ū*.

b. *Loss of final short vowels*: Word-boundary spellings suggest that final short vowels were sometimes lost.

C 3177: *h rḏwlh ...* */hā rošaw-walleh/ < *hā rošawu walleh
‘O Rḏw, cause grief ...’

AtIN 3: *l fš' l bnt bngd d' l rks' w l-h-rgm* */lah-har-rVgm/ < *laha har-rVgm
‘By Fš' daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks' and for her is the cairn’

WH 3420: *l'gm bn hb d' l šbh w l-h-rgm* */loh-har-rVgm/ < *lahu har-rVgm
‘By 'gm son of Hb of the lineage of Šbh and for him is the cairn’

A 1 sheds further light on the scope of this change. Only final short /a/ survives, e.g., *αθαα* /'atawa/ ‘he came’ and *βακλα* /baqla/, fresh herbage in the accusative, compared to no vowel in *αλ-Ιδαμι* /al-'idāmiyy/ rather than *al-'idāmiyyu or *μι-σιεαξ* rather than *mi(ś)-šīḥaši. If this pattern reflects the general situation in Safaitic, then it would seem that only the short high vowels were lost in final position, leaving short /a/ intact, a situation reminiscent of Gz.

Some inscriptions provide evidence for the loss of final /a/ as well. The word boundary spelling of the two *h*'s as one in AtIN 3 (above) requires the deletion of word-final /a/, or perhaps even /ā/ (!), of the 3FS clitic pronoun. The same is true of the spelling of the 3MS pronoun *huwa as *h* */hū/ (e.g., KRS 1684, 2453). Less secure is the phrase *'dwd -h 'rb't rḡm mny* ‘... his four uncles, who were struck down by Fate’ in KRS 2340. The normal formula requires the use of a passive participle in this environment, */raḡīmīna/. It is, however, also possible to take this form as a finite verb in the passive, */roḡemū/, and so there is no need to assume the loss of /a/ in this environment.

So how do we reconcile these conflicting data? One approach is simply to argue that there were simultaneously dialects which had lost all final vowels and others which agreed with A 1 in preserving final /a/. The fact that diphthongs are consistently represented in word final position prevents us from using the spelling of most III-w/y verbs as evidence for the presence of a word-

final vowel. In fact, one class of III-w/y verb seems to require the presence of a vowel, CaCiCa. Had the final vowel disappeared in such forms, the last syllable would have been realized as a long vowel and have gone unwritten. Thus, *rđy* ‘to be satisfied’ (KRS 1042) must reflect */raši/eya/ rather than */rašiy/ = */rašī/, which would have been spelled *rđ*. Since verbs of this class are always spelled with the final radical, it would suggest that dialects preserving final /a/ were more common than those that did not.

If we decide that the preservation of /a/ in final position was a widespread phenomenon, as the evidence suggests, then forms lacking a final /a/ should be explained through a more restricted set of sound rules. One may posit a single sound change to account for the lack of /a/ in the environments described above, $a > \emptyset / \#CvC_\#,$ perhaps exclusively in items without lexical stress (such as prepositions and pronouns). Thus:

luhu⁸ > luh ~ loh = *l-h*
 laha > lah = *l-h*
 huwa > huw = hū = *h*

c. $w > y / V_ (a)\#$: The merger of *w* and *y* mostly affects II- and III-w verbs. A few exceptions, however, exist, suggesting that this sound change did not operate in all varieties attested in the Safaitic inscriptions.

*s²atawa > s²ty */śataya/ ‘to spend the winter’, but s²tw (CSNS 324; KhBG 376)
 *da‘awa > d’y */da‘aya/ ‘to read aloud/invoke’
 *’a‘lawa > ’’ty */’a‘laya/ ‘to raise’

The divine name Rđw */rośaw/ and its variant *rđy* */rośay/, which must be the outcome of the above-described processes, have a much more balanced distribution.⁹ The preservation of the final *w* may reflect a traditional pronunciation, while the *y*-form was the result of a contemporary pronunciation. It is possible that the two reflexes came to be associated with different cults.¹⁰

8 One assumes a kind of vowel harmony for the maintenance of a distinction between the two genders following the loss of final short vowels.

9 According to OCIANA, Rđw appears in 320 inscriptions while Rđy is found in 195.

10 The commonly held view is that Rđw and Rđy signify the morning and evening star, but as far as I am aware, there is no evidence in support of this; see Winnett and Reed (1970: 75–76). Bennett (2014) has attempted to identify a functional difference between the two deities, even though they must ultimately derive from the same source. A parallel is perhaps found in RWQ 73, where both *ds²r* and *ds²r* are invoked separately, even though

d. w > y /y_ā: The progressive assimilation of *w* to *y* occurs when the two are contiguous and followed by a long /ā/.¹¹

MKWS 8: ʾym * /ʾayyām/ < *ʾaywām ‘days’ (but note ʾwm in KRS 2453)

AbaNS 407: hyt * /ḥayyāt/ < *ḥaywāt ‘animals’

e. n-assimilation: The phoneme /n/ is occasionally assimilated to a following consonant. This happens inconsistently, both at word boundaries and word internally. Assimilation occurs most frequently in unstressed environments and with proclitic particles. The reflex of the preposition *min, for example, is almost always spelled *m-*, with assimilation, and only rarely *mn*.

α. Word boundary

C 1341: w rḏw ʾwr m ʾwr-h * /maʿ-ʿawwara-h/ < *man-ʿawwara-hu
 ‘and may Rḏw blind whosoever would efface it’ (the inscription)

Compare to:

C 1957: {y} ʾwr mn ʾwr h- sʾfr
 ‘may whosoever would efface this writing be blinded’

β. Stressed word internal: The assimilation of *n* occurs inconsistently in stressed word-internal environments, but forms exhibiting no assimilation seem to be more common. The reflex of the word ‘daughter’ *bint, for instance, is most frequently attested as *bnt* */bint/, and only occasionally as *bt* */bitt/.

bnt

KRS 1975: qbrt ḥs¹m bnt ḥl-h
 ‘Ḥs¹m daughter of his paternal uncle was buried’

WH 1861: l ʾḏq bnt whb¹l
 ‘by ʾḏq daughter of Whb¹l’

both are reflexes, Aramaic and Arabic, respectively, of the Nabataean deity, *ḏū-šaray. The fact that *rḏw* and *rḏy* are never mentioned in the same inscription in this way, however, suggests that they were not seen as separate entities.

11 Other long vowels may induce this change as well, but there are no attestations.

bt

WH 148.1: *l rḏwn bt ḥdl*
 'By Rḏwn daughter of Ḥdl'

WH 214: *l mty bt ḥr't*
 'by Mty daughter of Ḥr't'

f. Prothesis: There is only one case in which a word-initial consonant cluster is unambiguously resolved with a prothetic syllable, the Latin name *CLAUDIUS* = *'qlds¹* (KRS 1507), **/VqlawdVs/*. In other cases, it seems that word initial clusters were tolerated or resolved by a vowel which was not represented in the orthography—*s²tky* **/štakVya/* or **/VštakVya/* and *qtll* **/qtatVla/* or **/VqtatVla/*, respectively. Thus, it is impossible to say if the imperatives and monosyllabic words such as *bn*, **bin* 'son', agreed with *CAr* in exhibiting prothesis, or if their original syllabic structure, *CvCvC* and *CvC* respectively, was preserved. In other words, Safaitic *bn* could reflect equally **/ben/* or **/ebn/*. There is one attestation of the word for son spelled as *'bn* (KRS 2340), but since it occurs in a personal name, it may reflect a Nabataean Arabic pronunciation.¹²

3.4.1 *Uncommon Consonant Mergers and Other Sound Changes*

The phonology of proper nouns and personal names must be considered separately from the actual lexicon. These exhibit several phonological features that are not characteristic of the dialects the Safaitic script normally expresses, such as the loss of the interdental: *t* for *ṭ*, WH 1791 *ḥrtt* for etymological *ḥrṭt*, and *d* for *ḍ*, *ds²r* (*passim*) for *ḍs²r*. The forms lacking interdentals could have been drawn from an Aramaic source or from another Arabian dialect, not habitually written in Safaitic, which had lost these sounds. Littmann still contains the most elaborate discussion on sound changes in the onomastica, but many of his identifications are subject to alternative explanations. Ababneh (*AbaNS*, p. 41) lists a series of personal names in which etymological **š* is written with *z*, but some are unconvincing in terms of etymology or the reading of the glyph itself is problematic. In any case, such confusion could indicate that these names were drawn from a dialect in which the two of these

12 The patronymic *'bn* is attested in Nabataean spellings of Arabic personal names, e.g., the personal name *'bnklbt*.

sounds merged to *z*, or from a dialect in which *š was realized closer to the sound the glyph *z* signified. None of these instances are attested alongside another examples of etymological *š, so it is impossible to determine if such spellings were typical of a dialect spoken in the Ḥarrah or have some other source.

Putting aside personal names, a few examples in the lexicon merit discussion:

a. *q > ʔ*: Two inscriptions attest the shift of *q* to ʔ:

MKMR 9: *l { } {w} l bn bnt w nfr f ʔ {d}*
 ‘by {‘w} son of Bnt and he deserted and then **spent the dry season**’

Mu 113: *l šʔd bn ḏb bn ʔbd bn ʔdm w ḥll h- dr dtʔ f ʔd f s²ty fh bʔlsʔmn qbll*
 ‘by šʔd son of ḏb son of ʔbd son of ʔdm and he camped here to spend the season of later rains, then **the dry season**, then the winter, so, O Bʔlsʔmn, may there be reunion with loved ones’

The spelling of *qyz* as *ʔd* indicates that in some dialects, *q* had become a glottal stop, a sound change typical of many contemporary dialects of Arabic. Mu 113 suggests that it was not an unconditioned change, as *q* obtains in the word *qbll* ‘reunion’. On the other hand, it is also possible that *qbll* reflects a traditional spelling while *ʔd* was the contemporary pronunciation.

b. *z > d*: The same word also exhibits the merger of *z* with *d*. While these two fall together in many modern dialects of Arabic, the directionality here differs and is closer to the forms of Arabic spoken at Petra and Nessana in the pre-Islamic period (Al-Jallad 2015, §3.7.4.1). In addition to these, AA EK 244 spells *zʔnt* ‘to seek water and herbage’ as *dʔnt*, pointing towards the same change.

c. *s² > s^l*: The spelling of the phrase *ts²wq ʔl* ‘to long for’ as *ts^lwq ʔl* in ANKS 1 and SIJ 644 could suggest the rare merger of these two sounds, or perhaps the realization of *s²* as [ʃ] in some dialects, and its transcription with the closest approximate, *s^l*.

d. *ʔ > *y* or *∅*: A few inscriptions exhibit the loss of the glottal stop, as exemplified by the writing of *s²nʔ* ‘enemies’ as *s²ny* (MSNS 1). In word medial position, we find the phrase *d ʔl* is written *dyl* in an unpublished inscription, suggesting the pronunciation */dīyāl/ from original *dī-ʔāl. The same spelling of this phrase is

also found once in a Himaic inscription (see Clark 1980, no. 3). If my parsing and interpretation of the word *mykn* 'established' in the poetic text KRS 2453 is correct, then it offers yet another example of this phenomenon.

Nominal and Pronominal Morphology

Overview

Most Semitic nouns consist of a triradical consonantal root configured with a limited set of vocalic patterns. In their orthographic form, Safaitic nouns fall into two categories, biradical CC and triradical CCC.¹ Nouns belonging to the former category usually derive from roots containing a *w* or *y* in one of the three consonantal slots, or roots in which the consonants in second and third position are identical. However, a few isolated nouns seem to reflect genuine biradical roots. Nominal forms consisting of four consonants are also attested, but these are usually formed through various derivational processes, such as through the addition of affixes (§ 4.7) or reduplication.² The following tables concisely illustrate unaugmented CCC and CC stems and offer tentative vocalizations based on the comparative evidence and what is known about Safaitic phonology.³

CCC stems	Spelling	Vocalization	Meaning	Root
strong	<i>sʿfr</i> (C 99)	*/sepr/	‘writing’	√sʿfr
I-w	<i>wqʿ</i> (AKSD 5)	*/waqʿ/ (?)	‘inscription’	√wqʿ
II-w/y	<i>qyʒ</i> (ZeGA 11)	*/qeyāt/	‘dry season’	√qyʒ
III-w/y	<i>s²ty</i> (Mu 113)	*/šetāy/	‘winter’	√s ² ty
C ² = C ³	<i>hll</i> (LP 135)	*/ḥalil/	‘friend’	√ḥll

- 1 While, in most cases, the vocalization of a given noun can be recovered on the basis of the comparative evidence, the spellings themselves usually provide no information in this regard, and so a discussion on the various unaugmented noun patterns would amount to little more than a practice in etymology and is therefore not undertaken here. For an overview of the Semitic noun patterns, see Fox (2003).
- 2 While roots of four or more consonants are known from other Semitic languages, no nouns or verbs derived from these have yet been attested in the Safaitic inscriptions.
- 3 While both /e/ and /i/ are attested as reflexes of *i and /u/ and /o/ as reflexes of *u, I have chosen to vocalize Safaitic according to the lower values as they are much more frequently attested in Greek transcription, although note that A 1 only exhibits /i/.

CC stems	Spelling	Vocalization	Meaning	Root
biradical	<i>yd</i> (C 25)	*/yad/	'hand'	√yd
II-w/y	<i>mt</i> (LP 1198)	*/mawt/	'death'	√mwt
III-w/y	<i>nw</i> (LP 325)	*/nāww/ (?)	'migrating group'	√nwy
C ² = C ³	<i>m</i> (C 793)	*/'amm/	'grandfather'	√'mm

Nouns inflect for two genders, masculine and feminine, and for three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. Masculine dual and external plural nouns are attested with a special “bound” form, used when the noun takes a pronominal clitic or when it is the non-final member of a construct-genitive. Nouns may also be marked by an accusative case, which has a variety of related functions.

4.1 Gender

Grammatical gender often equals biological sex in the Semitic languages with humans, deities, and higher animates, such as mammals. Feminine nouns are marked by the termination *-t*, e.g., *frs't* ‘mare’ (AbaNS 383) vs. *frs'* ‘horse’ (C 159); *mr't* ‘wife’, ‘woman’ (C 4768) vs. *mr'* ‘man’ (WH 2147); *zbyt* ‘female gazelle’ (WH 2342) vs. *zby* ‘male gazelle’ (L 184); *hlt* ‘maternal aunt’ (KRS 18) vs. *hl* ‘maternal uncle’ (HCH 10). There are several lexically feminine nouns which are not marked by the *-t* morpheme, such as *'m* ‘mother’ (ZSI 1) and *'tn* ‘she-ass’ (C 505).

α. Unlike the CAR pausal form and many modern forms of Arabic, the feminine ending remains *t* in all positions. Only one relatively clear instance of the /at/ > /ah/ sound change is attested, *n'mh* ‘ostrich’ < *n'mt* (AWS 302). The position of this word at the end of the inscription could point towards a CAR-like pausal form.

4.2 Onomastica

The gender of a personal name is dependent on the referent rather than its morphological shape. Names of men can terminate in *t* while the names of females sometimes show no overt feminine marking. In most cases, the gender of the bearer of a name must be determined by other features, such as the

patronymics *bn* ‘son’ or *bnt* ‘daughter’, references to the person as *fty* ‘male slave’ or *mt* ‘female slave’, or agreement with other elements in the sentence.

Male names	Female names
C 3929: <i>s²ddt bn ḥny</i>	WH 3865: <i>{m}lḥ bnt rks¹</i>
HCH 131: <i>myt bn ʿkl</i>	C 4768: <i>ghm bnt ʿnʿm</i>
LP 264: <i>mlkt bn ʿdyn</i>	KRS 59: <i>s¹lm ʿmt s¹lm</i>

Most inscriptions begin with the *lam auctoris* followed by a lineage chain (see § 24), which consists minimally of a single term—the author’s name. Some lineage chains extend back to the eponymous ancestor of the author’s social group. For example, the author of KRS 2819 traced his lineage back ten generations to the eponymous ancestor of *ʿl Qmr*, known in this form from other inscriptions (C 9; C 1414; C 1870; C 1951, etc.).

KRS 2819: *l šʿd bn tm bn šʿd bn zḥk bn ms²r bn s¹wd bn wtr bn mlk bn ḥyt bn hbl bn whbn bn qmr*

The most common way of expressing affiliation with a social group is to use the phrase *d ʿl* (lit. ‘of the *ʿāl*’, which is best translated as ‘lineage group’ in the context of the nomads and ‘people’ when it refers to outside groups, such as the Romans or Jews) followed by the name of the social group.

HCH 46: *l tbr bn ʿzz d ʿl ḥd*
 ‘By Tbr son of ʿzz of the lineage of Ḥd’

KhNSJ 5: *l grm bn lṭ bn šrmt d ʿl ʿmrt*
 ‘By Grm son of Lṭ son of Šrmt of the lineage of ʿmrt’

CSNS 438: *l s¹hm bn ʿs¹d d ʿl tyr*
 ‘By S¹hm son of ʿs¹d of the lineage of Tyr’

α. In very rare cases, an author may express affiliation with two *ʿl*s: HaNSB 307 *l s¹dlh bn ʿs¹bn ḥnʿl bn ḥyn d ʿl mʿyr w d ʿl frṭ* ‘by S¹dlh son of ʿs¹ son of Ḥnʿl son of Ḥyn of the people of Mʿyr and of the people of Frṭ’. Unlike later Arabic practice, the Safaitic inscriptions do not distinguish various levels of descent—all groups are referred to as *ʿl*s, as illustrated in the following inscription: RWQ 346 *l ʿs¹ bn*

ḥs¹n bn ḥnn d ʾl dʿfmn ʾl s²w ‘by ^sson of Ḥs¹n son of Ḥnn of the lineage of ʾDf, from the lineage (clan?) of S²w’.

4.2.1 *One-Word Names*

One-word names constitute the largest class of the Safaitic onomasticon. With the exception of the rare bilingual Safaitic-Greek inscriptions and names belonging to the ^aCCaC pattern, it is usually impossible to determine the exact vocalization of a given name. For example, *s¹lm* could be vocalized as *salm*, *sālem*, *salīm*, *solaym*, etc., all of which are found in Greek transcriptions from the area.

HCH 182: *ʾn¹m* = */an‘am/, Gr. Αναμος

HCH 194: *rḳwt* = */raṣāwat/, Gr. Ρασαουαθος

M 112: *mṭr* = */maṭar/, Gr. Ματαρος

4.2.2 *Theophoric Names*

Theophoric names consist of sentences or genitive compounds based on the name of a deity, usually *lt*, *lh*, and *ʾl*. Many of these names are attested in Greek transcription:

C 1665: *tmlh*
‘servant of Allāh’, Gr. Θαιμαλλας

C 4237: *ʾbdl*
‘worshipper of Allāt’, Gr. Αβδαλλαθος

C 3751: *nṣr¹l*
‘the aid of ʾĒl’, Gr. Νασρηλος

KRS 902: *ḥlflh*
‘Allāh has granted a successor’, Gr. Αλαφαλλας

Theophoric names containing other deities occur less frequently:

AbaNS 265: *ʾbds²ms¹*
‘worshipper of S²ams¹’, Gr. Αβδασαμου

AbaNS 892: {s²}*ʾbl*
‘companion of Bēl’

- Mu 836 *'bds²r*
 'worshipper of Dū-śarē', Gr. Αβδουσαρης
- NTSB 1: *'bd'ktb*
 'worshipper of 'aktab'
- WH 627: *mr'zy*
 'man of 'ozzay'

4.2.3 *Basileophoric Names*

Nabataean basileophorics are also rarely attested:

- SIJS 11: *'bd'bd*
 'slave of Obodas', Gr. Αβδοοβδας
- KRS 2327: *'bdrb'l*
 'slave of Rabbēl', Gr. Αβδοραββηλος
- AKSD 4.1: *'bdml{k}*
 'slave of Malichus', Gr. Αβδομαλιχος

4.2.4 *Prepositional Phrases*

Prepositional phrases, sometimes including clitic pronouns, can form personal names:

- C 226: *k-'m-h*
 'like his grandfather', Gr. Χααμμος
- C 227: *b-nṣr-h*
 'by his help'
- C 2559: *l-s²ms¹*
 'for S²ms¹', Gr. Λισαμσου

4.2.5 *Greek and Latin Names*

A small minority of Safaitic inscriptions were carved by men with Greek and Latin names:

- KRS 1507: *grgs¹bn ḳlds¹*
 'Grēgorēs son of Claudius'

NSR 44: *tts^l*
 ‘Titus’

AbaNS 656: *mrtš^l*
 ‘Myrtos’

α. UIO 322 attests a social group with an eponymous ancestor bearing a Latin name, *ʾl tts^l*.

4.2.6 Names of Social Groups

The names of lineage groups to which the authors of the Safaitic inscriptions belong follow the phrase *d l* and are morphologically singular:

HCH 53: *ls²hm bn ʾdm bn bhʾ d l df*
 ‘By S²hm son of ʾdm son of bhʾ of the lineage of Df’

The gentilic adjective can also express affiliation with a social group, although this option is less frequently used:

WH 1060: *lrs^l bn qdm h- dfy*
 ‘By Rs^l son of Qdm the Df-ite’

Names of outside peoples usually appear without the definite article:

WH 736.a: *h rḏw s^ld-h m- s²nʾ ḡnmt*
 VOC Rḏw aid.IMP.2MS -CPRO.3MS against-enemy.PL raider.PL
m- rhy w nbṭ w ḥwlt
 from-Rhy CONJ Nḃṭ CONJ Ḥwlt
 ‘O Rḏw, help him against enemies, raiders from Rhy, Nḃṭ, and Ḥwlt!’

But there are exceptions:

C 4448: *ḥrb h- mdy ʾl rm b- bšr*
 plunder.SC.3M ART- Mdy people.CNST Rm near- Bšr
 ‘the Persians plundered the Romans near Bšr’

C 220: *s^lnt ḥrb h- nbṭ*
 year.CNST war.CNST ART- Nḃṭ
 ‘the year of the war of the Nabataeans’

4.3 Diminutives

The diminutive pattern was probably CoCCayC(at), as suggested by the transcription of Arabic personal names from southern Syria, such as Χοθαιβος and Σοραιχος, and nouns such as Γοναιναθ ‘small gardens’ from the Petra Papyri (see Al-Jallad et al. 2013). It is only clearly distinguished in the orthography in CC stems, where it is characterized by the appearance of a glide in medial or final position: *bny-h* */bonayy-oh/ ‘his young(est) son’ (C 4076), from *bn*; *ʕyt* */oḥayyat/ ‘little sister’ (C 893), from *ʕt*; *rwḏt* */rowayṣat/ ‘small meadow’ (HAUI 70), from *rdt*; and possibly *ʕr* */oyayr/ ‘small ass’ (AbaNS 855), from *r*.

α. *ʕwt* */owaylat/ (C 5050) may attest the diminutive of the unattested **ʕlt* or **ʕlt* ‘family’ or a by-form with a medial *w* */āwelat/.

β. If *s^ltr* (SESP.U 26) and *s^ltrt* (WH 405) refer to the same type of structure, then the latter may reflect a diminutive, ‘shelter’ and ‘small shelter’, respectively. The same is perhaps reflected in the pair *zllt* */ṭolaylat/ ‘small shelter’ (C 4681) vs. *zlt* */ṭellat/ ‘shelter’ (C 4649).

4.4 Number

Overview

The unmarked form of the noun signifies the singular or collective, while marked forms can indicate the dual, plural, singulative, or plural of paucity.

4.4.1 Dual

The dual is formed by suffixing an *n* (CAr nom. *-āni*, obl. *-ayni*) to the singular or the singulative.

RVP 7:	<i>wrh_n</i> ‘two months’	< <i>wrh</i> + <i>n</i>
AbaNS 28:	<i>nʕmtn</i> ‘the two ostriches’	< <i>nʕmt</i> + <i>n</i>
WH 182:	<i>bkrtn</i> ‘the two she-camels’	< <i>bkr</i> + <i>n</i>
WH 3912:	<i>nqt{n}</i> ‘two she-camels’	< <i>nqt</i> + <i>n</i>

4.4.2 Plural

As in CAr, there are two strategies of pluralization: pattern replacement and external plural suffixes—masculine *n* (CAr *-ūna*, *-īna*; Arm *-īn*) and feminine *t* (CAr *-āt*; Hb *-ôt*). Since pattern replacement sometimes includes suffixation,

often with *n* and *t*, the distinction between the two strategies is not always clear. From the purely consonantal orthography, there are six patterns used for nominal pluralization, ordered roughly by frequency:

- a. 'CC(C)
- b. CC(C)n
- c. CC(C)t
- d. CC(C)
- e. 'CC(C)t
- f. CC(C)y
- g. miscellaneous

The patterns CC(C)n and CC(C)t encompass external pluralization as well, and so the distinction between the two must be made on etymological grounds. While it is natural to assume that the broken plurals in Safaitic correspond to their CAr counterparts, there are clear cases where the patterns employed in both languages do not align, e.g., *rhṭ* = CAr *raḥṭun* 'folk', Safaitic pl. *ʾrhṭt* */arḥeṭat/ vs. CAr *ʾarḥuṭun* and *ʾarāhiṭu*.

a. 'CC(C): This pattern is characterized by a prefixed ' and the insertion of a vowel between the C² and C³. As such, it encompasses at least two patterns in CAr, 'aCCāC and 'aCCuC. While the inserted long vowel of the former pattern was probably /ā/, one cannot rule out with certainty the existence of a pattern with an /ū/ infix, as in Gz. CC nouns tend to form their plurals according to this pattern.

CCC > 'CCC

C 1148:	<i>ʾgml</i> 'camels'	s. <i>gml</i>
WH 3792.a:	<i>ʾs²hr</i> 'months'	s. <i>s²hr</i>
KRS 25:	<i>ʾrh</i> 'months'	s. <i>wrh</i>
H 507:	<i>ʾgdy</i> 'kids'	s. <i>gdy</i> (only in personal names)

CC > 'C(w/y)C

KRS 2340:	<i>ʾdwd</i> 'paternal uncles'	s. <i>dd</i>
KRS 2340:	<i>ʾḥwl</i> 'maternal uncles'	s. <i>hl</i>
MKWS 8:	<i>ʾym</i> 'days'	s. <i>ym</i>

α. The 'CCC plural of $C^2 = C^3$ roots exhibits a clustered form: ${}^c m$ */a'amm/ 'forefathers', 'grandfathers' (WH 399), from ${}^c m$. In rare cases, the plural of s^{2c} 'companion' is spelled as ${}^s 2c$ (UIO 147; RWQ 120) instead of the expected ${}^s 2y'$. If this is not the result of a writing error, then it could reflect attraction to the $C^2 = C^3$ pattern, */aśā' / rather than */aśyā' /.

β. KRS 2453 attests the plural of ym as ${}^w m$, which probably reflects an archaic variant */aywām/ or perhaps an opposite pattern of assimilation, */awwām/.

γ. The plural of nqt */nāqat/ 'she-camel' is attested in AbaNS 564.1 as ${}^n q$, and probably reflects the pattern 'aCCvC rather than 'aCCv̄C. The spelling ${}^n q$ suggests that the *wu sequence had collapsed to a long vowel, probably */anūq/ from *anwuq .

b. CC(C)n: The termination n can signal (1) a plural pattern augmented by the termination *ān , cf. CAr *fa'lānun*, *fu'lānun*, etc., or (2) pluralization through the external suffix *ūna / *ina .

(1) Patterns with the termination ${}^*/ān/$:

CSNS 550: $zbyn$ 'gazelles' ${}^*/\dot{t}obyān/$ s. zby
 SIJ 352: hwn 'brothers' ${}^*/Vḥwān/$ s. h

(2) In Proto-Semitic, the masculine plural of adjectives was formed by the addition of suffixes to the singular stem, *ūna in the nominative and *ina in the oblique. This continues to be the productive method by which the plural of participles is formed.

KRS 6: $rjmn$ 'stuck down.PPC.MP' ${}^*/raḡīmīn/$ s. rjm
 HCH 71: $mḥrbn$ 'plundered.PPC.MP' ${}^*/maḥrūbīn/$ s. $mḥrb$
 RQ.A 10: $rm'n$ 'archers' ${}^*/rammā'in/$ s. rmy

α. In addition to hwn , another form with a pronominal suffix is relatively frequently attested, ${}^hw-h$. This form is sometimes clearly a dual, ${}^*/aḥaway-h(u)/$, as it refers to two brothers mentioned elsewhere in the inscription. In other cases, it stands alone with no antecedent. While it is possible that in such contexts hw reflects a variant plural pattern, it is more likely that even when no referent is explicitly mentioned the term refers either to two brothers or perhaps a collective form meaning 'bretheren'. Another alleged plural form, ${}^hw y$, is attested in KRS 2890, but this should probably be corrected to ${}^hw-h$ 'his (two)

brothers', otherwise the inscription terminates with a rather strange formulation, *wgm* 'l *'hwy* 'he grieved for brothers' rather than the common *wgm* 'l *'hw* -*h* 'he grieved for his two brothers'.

β. As in other Semitic languages, the feminine *s'nt* 'year' forms an external masculine plural, *s'nn* 'years' (AZNG 1), probably */sinīna/ or */sinūna/.

c. CC(C)t: The final *t* can reflect the external ending */āt/ or a plural pattern augmented by the feminine ending */at/, comparable to CAr *fī'ālatun*, *fu'ūlatun*, etc. Suffixation with */āt/ is the productive method of pluralizing singulatives in CAr, and the same appears to be true in Safaitic.

KhMNS 51:	<i>hyt</i> 'animals'	*/ḥayyāt/	s. <i>hywy</i>
C 218:	<i>b's't</i> 'misfortunes'	*/be'sāt/	s. <i>b's'</i>
C 4448:	<i>ḡnmt</i> 'goats'	*/ḡanamāt/	s. ** <i>ḡnm</i>
RSIS 204:	<i>mṭrt</i> 'rains'	*/maṭarāt/	s. <i>mṭr</i>
WH 179:	<i>bkrt</i> 'she-camels'	*/bek(a)rāt/	s. <i>bkrt</i>

α. Some III-w/y nouns corresponding to CaCiyat and CVCyat patterns in CAr appear to lose their third consonant in the plural, e.g., *mtyt* 'riding camel' (C 1837) = CAr *maṭiyyatun*, PL. *mṭt* (WH 2837); *dmyt* (C 1615) 'image' = CAr *dumyatun*, PL. *dmt* (KhMNS 5). The exact process responsible for this—whether phonological or analogical—is unclear. The plural *hyt* 'animals' from *hywy*, however, is probably unrelated. Instead, it reflects the progressive assimilation of the glide *y*, *hyt* */ḥayyāt/ < *ḥaywāt/ (§ 3.4b).

β. While *hyt* is the normal plural of *hywy* 'animal', the editor took the form *h'hyt* in HaNSB as a plural by-form. It is more likely, however, that the initial ' is to be identified as a definite article preceded by the *h*- demonstrative, *h' -hyt* 'these animals', (see § 4.8).

d. CC(C): Plurals of this class are usually identical to their singulars and can only be identified on contextual grounds. These could reflect a number of plural patterns known from CAr, *fī'āl*, *fu'ūl*, *fu'āl*, etc.

KRS 903:	<i>hrṣ</i>	<i>'l-rgl-h</i>
	watch.SC.3MS	over- foot soldier.PL -CPRO.3MS
	'he watched over of his foot soldiers'	

Compare with singular *rgl* (C 2076).

α. If I am correct in identifying HN 161 *s²n'n* 'enemies' as a plural, then it could be the case that the more common *hrš s²n'* reflects the idiomatic use of the singular */šāne'/ or perhaps a variant CCC plural, */šonnā'/ idem. The same may apply to the noun 'tr 'trace', for which context sometimes prefers a plural interpretation (e.g., C 2713).

C 2315: *w* *ds²r* *s¹lm* *m- s²n'*
 CONJ Ds²r security against- enemy.PL
 'and Ds²r, may he be secure against enemies'

β. Šyd 'snares' (MKWS 28) may reflect a CCC plural of a CC noun, if WH 2938 {š}d attests its singular.

e. 'CC(C)t: This rare plural form, cognate with CAR 'af^cliatun and Gz 'af^cəlt, is only thrice attested, and in only two cases is the corresponding singular form known. The plural of 'lh 'god' appears in KRS 1287 as 'lht, */'a'lehat/ and the plural of rht 'kinsfolk' as 'rh^tt */'arhetat/ in ShNGA 1. The word 'ls¹nt is probably the plural of the unattested ls¹n 'tongue'.

LP 1108: *w* *h* *lt* *s¹lm* *m- 'ls¹nt*
 CONJ VOC Lt security from- tongue.PL
 'and, O Lt, may he be secure against tongues (curses?)'

f. CC(C)y: Only a few examples of this class are attested, notably *bny* */benāy/ 'sons' (C 88), from *bn* 'son' (*passim*) and *m'zy* */me'z(a/ā)y/ 'goats' (LP 360), from perhaps *m'z* (C 4973), cf. CAR *ma'azun*.

g. *miscellaneous*: The plural patterns CaCāCay and 'aCCeCāy are each attested once, *lyly* */layālay/ 'nights' (KRS 2453), and 'r^cdy */'a'rešāy/ 'valleys' (WH 2139), s. 'rd (Ms 44), respectively.

4.4.3 *Singulative and Paucal/Individuative*

Collective and Singulatives: Many morphologically unmarked nouns, especially those denoting groups of animals, have a collective sense, *ḏ'n* 'sheep' (C 744); *bqr* 'cattle' (LP 155); 'bl 'camels' (*passim*). A singulative (nomen unitatis) can sometimes be derived from the collective by the suffixation of *t* */at/, *n'mt* 'an ostrich' */na'amat/ (KRS 1610), from *n'm* */na'am/ 'ostrich' (HaNSB 117); *ḏ'nt* */ša'nat/ 'an ewe' (C 35), from *ḏ'n* */ša'(a)n/; and possibly

had already disappeared in all environments in singular nouns (but see § 4.5.1, below), only duals and external masculine plurals continue to exhibit morphologically distinct construct forms.

The construct noun and the following genitive form the construct-genitive chain. This construction has a strict syntax, whereby the construct noun must directly precede the noun it governs. Definiteness is marked by the final term of the phrase, which is the only member which can be modified by the definite article or pronominal suffixes. The demonstrative *h*, however, can precede the entire phrase. If the final member of the phrase is definite, either lexically or by means of the article or suffixed pronoun, then the entire phrase is definite. There are theoretically no limits as to the number of members a construct-genitive chain can have, but chains exceeding three members have not yet been attested.

Definite because of a proper noun:

C 96: *h* *'lt* *'s'ls'*
 VOC goddess.CNST *'s'ls'*
 'O goddess of 'Usays'

KRS 59: *'mt* *s'lm*
 slave girl.CNST S¹lm
 'the slave girl of S¹lm'

Definite because of the article:

SIJ 37: *b's'* *'- s'nt*
 misfortune.CNST ART- year
 'the misfortune of this year'

Definite because of a pronominal clitic:

C 2713: *'tr* *'s'y' -h*
 trace.CNST companion.PL -CPRO.3MS
 'the traces of his companions'

Three-term construct-genitive:

C 320: *n'm* 'l 'bd
 livestock.CNST lineage.CNST 'bd
 'the livestock of the lineage of 'bd'

A single noun may govern two (or more) nouns in the genitive.

HAUI 72: *t'mr* *h-s²n'* *s¹nt* *qsr* *w*
 be widespread.SC.3MS ART-adversity year.CNST Caesar CONJ
h- mdy
 ART- Persians
 'adversity was widespread in the year of Caesar and the Per-
 sians'

Unlike CAR, but similar to many contemporary dialects of Arabic and ASA, two (or more) construct nouns linked by a conjunction can govern a single genitive noun.

AWS 81: *s¹hq w* *m¹q* *l- 'm* *w* *wld*
 ruin CONJ bad fortune to-people.CNST CONJ offspring.CNST
d *y'wr* *h- s¹fr*
 REL efface.PC.3MS ART- writing
 'may the people and the offspring of him who would efface this
 writing have ruin and bad fortune'

a. Dual: The final *-n* of the dual is dropped in the construct state. The absence of any representation of the final diphthong */ay/ before the pronominal suffix *-h* could indicate that the diphthong was interpreted as word internal in this context. However, when followed by another noun, as in RQ.A 10, the sequence could have been interpreted as word-final, which would explain the writing of the diphthong with *y*.

C 4037: {*h*} *lt whbt* *s²n' -h* *bn*
 {VOC} Lt give.SC.2FS enemy.PL -CPRO.3MS between
yd -h
 hand.DU.CONST -CPRO3MS
 'O Lt, may you give his enemies into his hands!'

RQ.A 10: *b- m'ty* *frs^l*
 with-unit.DU.CNST horsemen
 'with two cavalry units'

b. Plural: The external masculine plural ending *-n* is also dropped in the construct state. The first term of the construct-genitive *qtl 'l rm* (ZeWa 1) 'warriors of the people of Rome' is likely */qātelī/, and may reflect the construct of the so far unattested masculine plural active participle ***qtn* */qātelī/ūna/. The same phenomenon is reflected in ASWS 59 *bn* 'zmy */banī 'zmy/, from the unattested unbound form ***bnn* */banīn/ (see, also, C 511).

4.5.1 Vestiges of Nunation

A few examples of nunation are attested in the inscriptions. The term *m'lt* 'dearth of pasture' in the prayer segment of KRS 1551 is followed by an otiose *n*: *h lh rwh w m'hltn l- d'y'wr h- s'fr* 'O Lh, send the winds but may he who who would efface this writing have a dearth of pasture'. While one could argue that the *n* reflects an idiomatic usage of the dual with an emphatic or amplifying meaning, i.e., twice a dearth of pasture!, no other inscriptions provide a parallel for such an idiom. Thus, easiest explanation is to interpret this as a vestige of nunation. AA EK 394 seems to provide an example of nunation on a noun which is syntactically in the accusative, *wgm wln* 'he grieved in despair', where *wln*, perhaps, */waylan/, is best connected with CA r *waylun*, an exclamation of woe. In the genitive, one can point to KRS 1770, where the constellation Libra is followed by an otiose *n*, 'mt{n}. Nunation is possibly attested on the tribal name 'mrt in C 2947, *d 'l 'mrtn* 'of the lineage of 'mrt'.

4.6 Case

Proto-Semitic distinguished three cases in most singular and broken plurals by means of final short vowels, nominative *u*, genitive *i*, and accusative *a*, and two cases in the dual and external plurals, nominative and oblique. In the dialect reflected in A 1, the loss of final short high vowels seems to have eliminated the nominative and genitive cases, but it is unclear if these would have survived when they were distinguished by long vowels, such as in words like 'ab (NOM. 'abū, GEN. 'abī, ACC. 'abā), or before the few examples of nunation mentioned above. It is impossible to determine if case inflection obtained in the dual (NOM. ā, OBL. ay) or the masculine plural (NOM. ū, OBL. ī), both declensions which were not dependent upon final short vowels. The construct form attested in RQ.A 10 *b- m'ty frs^l* 'with two cavalry units' is in the expected oblique case, but, as in other Semitic languages, the oblique case is

usually generalized once nominal declension is lost. Thus, one can draw no conclusions from this example.

4.6.1 *Functions of the Accusative*

a. *Goal of travel and static location:* Safaitic rarely employs prepositions to indicate the goal of travel or static location. As in other Semitic languages, both of these functions are marked by the accusative. This is clearly attested in A 1:

A 1: $\alpha\theta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\{\upsilon\}\alpha$ /'atawa/ $\beta\alpha\nu\alpha\text{-}\alpha$ /bana'a/ $\alpha\text{-}\delta\alpha\upsilon\rho\text{-}\alpha$ /'a(d)-dawra/
 come.SC.3MS Bana'-ACC ART-place -ACC
 'he came to Bn' at this place'

A 1: $\sigma\upsilon\alpha$ /wa/ $\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\upsilon$ /yir'aw/ $\beta\alpha\kappa\lambda\text{-}\alpha$ /baqla/
 CONJ pasture.PC.3MP fresh herbage -ACC
 'and they pastured on fresh herbage'

WH 742: $h\dot{y}t$ $m\dot{d}br$
 journey.SC.3MS inner desert
 'he journeyed to the inner desert'

WH 466: $r'y$ bql $w\dot{h}d$
 pasture.SC.3MS fresh herbage alone
 'he pastured on fresh herbage alone'

WH 65: $\dot{g}zz$ $h\text{-}n\dot{h}l$
 raid.SC.3MS ART-valley
 'he raided in this valley'

WH 766: l $h\acute{w}d$ bn hbb $h\text{-}m\dot{d}t'$
 LA H'wd son.CNST Hbb ART- the spring pasture
 'By H'wd son of Hbb, at this spring pasture'

Even if we admit the possibility of dialects that have lost all final short vowels, the various functions of the accusative could have continued syntactically.⁴

α . The overlap between the locative function of the accusative and the preposition *b-* is illustrated in WH 784: $r'y$ *b- rd w mdr w b- 'ls¹ */ra'aya bi-rawš wa*

4 Compare to Hb. $w\acute{a}\text{-}h\acute{u}$ $y\acute{o}\acute{s}\acute{e}\acute{b}$ $peta\acute{h}\text{-}h\acute{a}\text{-}'\acute{o}hel$ 'and he was sitting at the entrance of the tent' (Gen 18:1) or $l\acute{a}\acute{s}e\acute{b}e\acute{t}$ $b\acute{a}y\acute{i}t$ 'that it may dwell in a shrine' (Isa 44:13).

madbara wa bi-ʿVls/ ‘he pastured in meadows and in the inner desert and in grainland’.

b. Adverbs: III-w/y participles exhibit two forms: a bi-radical CC form when used as a nominal predicate: *dm* (C 1339) ‘drawing’ < √*dmy*; *s²t* (C 1868) ‘wintering’ < √*s²ty*; *hz* (ASWS 124) ‘being hostile’ < √*hzy*, and a tri-radical CCy form when used adverbially: *r’y* (C 2446) ‘while pasturing’ and *ny* ‘while suffering’ (KRS 1964). Although examples are limited, this distribution signals a morphological distinction, based on a suffix, between the two syntactic positions. The adverbial forms likely go back to a construction marked by the accusative, *r’y* */rā‘eya/, while the others terminated in a high vowel and were subject to the sound change described in (§ 3.4a), *s²t* */šātī/ < *šātiyu.

α. The adverb ‘forever’ is attested as both *l-’bd* */le-’abad/ (C 74) and simply *’bd* (KRS 1015) */’abada/, which may reflect two strategies of adverbial marking, the former with the dative and the latter with the accusative.

c. Direct objects: Syntactically speaking, the goal of travel can be considered the direct object of a verb of motion. If other objects followed this pattern, then they would have been marked by the accusative as well. A single example of a III-w/y noun as the direct object of a transitive verb is attested, but what it tells us about the marking of the accusative is not clear: LP 325 *hrš h- nw m’* ‘*h* -*h m- mabr* ‘he kept watch with his brother for the migrating party from the inner desert’. If *h- nw* should be vocalized as */han-nāwī/, a reflex of an active participle, then it would suggest that final short vowels had been lost in the dialect of this inscription. On the other hand, *nw* could reflect another vocalization, perhaps */nāww/ in analogy with the participles of C² = C³ roots, in which case the suffixation of an /a/ would not leave an orthographic trace.

d. The terminative ending: In addition to the accusative, PS had at its disposal another ending to mark the goal of travel and adverbs, the terminative *-is. This morpheme surfaces as */ah/ in WS (cf. Hb -ā; Ug -h). On the basis of the spelling of *mah ‘what’ (cf. Ug *mh*) as *m*, it would appear that /ā/ is a possible reflex of *ah in word-final position.⁵ Thus, the PWS directive *ah could have yielded */ā/ in Safaitic, and so one may consider the possibility that this termination survived alongside the accusative. Both would be transcribed as *α* in Greek.

⁵ Note that such a change must have occurred before restructuring of the 3FS clitic to -ah from earlier -hā.

4.7 Nominal Derivation

As discussed in the overview of this chapter, most substantives are orthographically identical to the consonantal root from which they derive. As such, a long discussion on noun patterns would not derive from evidence provided by the Safaitic inscriptions themselves. This section will therefore focus on nouns with derivational affixes, the noun patterns of which can be more securely identified.

a. As in other Semitic languages, the *m*-prefix */ma/ forms nouns of location, which, by metaphorical extension, can be used temporally. In CAR and other Semitic languages, nouns of place follow two general patterns, one with the feminine ending, maCCVCat, and one without, maCCVC. The choice between either is lexical, although Safaitic exhibits a considerable number of by-forms.

maCCVC	WH 1663	<i>mnzr</i> */mantṬVr/	'look-out point'	√nṣr 'to guard'
+n-assimilation	WH 318	<i>mzr</i> */matṬVr/		
maCCVC	KRS 2499	<i>mrb</i> */marVbb/	'land with abundant herbage'	√rb 'to be large/plenty'
maCCVC	ZeGA 1	<i>mṣb</i> */maṣVb/	'cult-stone'	< <i>nṣb</i> 'idem'
+n-assimilation	KRS 2914	<i>mṣb</i> */maṣṣVb/		
maCCVCat	C 511	<i>mṣbt</i> */maṣṣVbat/		
maCCVC	WH 3500	<i>ms²ty</i> */maṣtay/	'winter pasture'	√s ² ty 'winter'
maCCVCat	M 358	<i>ms²tyt</i> */maṣtayat/		

α. Nouns of placed formed from II-w/y roots follow the pattern maCCvCat and have a long vowel in the penultimate syllable, *mqẓt* */maqīṭat/ 'summer pasture' (C 1240) <√qyz; *mdnt* */madīnat/ 'province' <√dyn (WH 1698); *mḡrt* */maḡārat/ 'tomb chamber' (Rsh 1) <√ḡwr.

β. The G-passive participle, *mqt* = */maqṭūl/, is marked by the preformative */ma/. While less frequently attested than the *qtl* passive, this form is not uncommon in the Safaitic inscriptions, for example: *mḥrbn* */maḥrūbīna/ 'plundered.PPC.MP' (HCH 71); *mqt* */maqṭūl/ 'killed.PPC.MS' (HCH 72); *ms'by* */masbūy/ 'captured.PPC.MS' (CSNS 1004). Participles of the derived stems are also characterized by a prefixed *m-*, but the preformative vowel of this prefix was /o/ < *u; see (§ 5.6).

b. The suffix -y is used to form gentilic adjectives, and will replace the -t morpheme on feminine nouns. No plurals or feminine singular forms have yet been attested. The fact that the suffix is consistently represented in the orthography indicates that it retained a consonantal value even following the loss of final short vowels, and was probably vocalized as */eyy/ or perhaps */iyy/ rather than /ī/. A 1 attests a transcription of the gentilic adjective ḏmy as αλ-Ιδάμι /al-'idāmiy/ 'the ḏIdāmite'.⁶

C 27:	<i>h- m'sy</i> 'the M's-ite'	< <i>l m's</i> 'the lineage of M's'
HaNSC 2:	<i>h- dfy</i> 'the Ṣayfite'	< <i>l df</i> 'the lineage of Ḍf'
WH 852:	<i>h- lb'y</i> 'the Lb't-ite'	< the personal name <i>lb't</i>
LP 653:	<i>h- s'mwy</i> 'the Samawite'	< <i>s'mwt</i> 'toponym' (AAUI 267)
KRS 30:	<i>h- dmy</i> 'the Dumaite'	< <i>dmt</i> the oasis <i>Dumah</i> , in North Arabia

6 It is also unclear how one writing in the Greek script would attempt to represent a geminated *y*. The feminine gentilic adjective αλ-Μασια = al-ma'sīyah from P. Petra 17 indicates that a geminated *y* could have gone unrepresented. Thus, αλ-Ιδάμι could easily represent an underlying */al-'idāmiyy/.

α. The masculine singular substantivized gentilic adjective can refer to groups of people. For example, *h- wḏy* (MSNS 1, 6) ‘the ‘wḏ-ites’ < ‘wḏ and *s^lnt h- yhdy* (C 2732) ‘the year of the Jews’, cf. Hb *hak-kəna’ānī* ‘the Canaanites’.

c. If the gentilic adjective *tmwy* (LP 82) should be associated with the oasis *Taymā’*, then it would appear that, as in CAR, nouns terminating in *ā’* formed their gentilic adjectives with the termination *wy*. The gentilic adjective *tmny* (HaNSC 5) is also attested, but it is unclear if this form should be connected with the oasis of *Taymā’*. Instead, *tmn* may reflect *taymān*, and simply mean ‘southern’; thus, *h- tmny* would simply mean ‘the southerner’.

d. Other affixes such as a suffixed *-n* and a prefixed *t-* can occur on verbal and abstract nouns and infinitives, e.g., *hyṭn* ‘travelling’ (WH 1022); *ḥwr{n}* ‘return’ (WH 2837); *tḏb’* ‘to raid’ (LP 742), but these seem to be lexicalized.

4.8 Determination and Deixis

a. As in other CS languages, definiteness is overtly marked by a prefixed article, while indefinite substantives are unmarked. The most common form of the article is *h-*: *h- mlk* ‘the king’ */ham-malk/ (KRS 1023); *h- d’b* ‘the wolf’ */haḏ-de’b/ (LP 732); *h- mdnt* */ham-madīnat/ ‘the province’ (C 1240).

b. Two other articles are attested, ’ and ’l, but they do not appear as frequently in the inscriptions as *h-*. While in some cases, the ’-article may reflect a form of the ’l-article with the assimilation of the *l* to coronals (see γ below), there are some cases in which the ’-article precedes consonants which do not usually induce assimilation (e.g., HaNSB 312 and WH 3418 below). In such cases, the ’-article may reflect an assimilated form of the ’an-article known from other forms of Arabic. Finally, a few examples of the ’l-article without the assimilation of the *l* to a following coronal are attested. The unassimilating ’l-article is known from Nabataean and Greek transcriptions, and seems to have been a feature of the Arabic dialects of this region (see Al-Jallad 2015, § 5.5). The language of texts with the *h-* article is, as far as one can tell, identical to those with the ’(*l*) article(s).

(1) Before a genitive construction:

HCH 79: *h dmyt zmrt*
 DEM image.CNST flute-playing girl
 ‘this image of a flute-playing girl’

LP 342: *w ‘zz h ḥmy ’l*
 CONJ protect.SC.3MS DEM area of pasture.CNST lineage.CNST
 ‘wd
 ‘wd
 ‘and he protected this area of pasture of the lineage of ‘wd’

MSNS 1:⁷ *wrd h ‘dyt h- ‘wdy*
 go to water.SC.3MS DEM watering hole ART- ‘wd.PL
 ‘he went to this watering hole of the ‘wd-ites’

α. A less secure example is found in LP 534—known only from a hand copy—which reads: *lPN h- mq’d h- ṣṣd*. As Littmann suggested, the second ṣ of the last word could reflect a *y* or simply dittography, in which case it is possible to interpret the phrase as meaning ‘hunting-seat’, lit. ‘seat of hunting’. If correct, the *h*-preceding the entire phrase must be construed as a demonstrative, meaning ‘this hunting seat’.

(2) before the article:

In a few cases, the demonstrative *h* precedes the definite article, either *h* or *’*. This is paralleled in contemporary vernacular forms of Arabic, in which the demonstrative *h* often combines with the article *il* to form *hal*, e.g., LAr *hal-walad* ‘this boy’; *han-nās* ‘these people’.

AbaNS 407: *l s²kr bn hf h h- ḥyt*
 LA S²kr son.CNST Hf DEM ART- animal.PL
 ‘By S²kr son of Hf are these animals’

HaNSB 354: *l kmd bn ns¹t h ’- ḥyt*
 LA Kmd son.CNST Ns¹t DEM ART- animal.PL
 ‘By Kmd son of Ns¹t are these animals’

A less secure example of the phenomenon is attested in WH 587. The funerary inscription belongs to *’{l}trm*. If this is the name of a single individual, rather

than than *ʿl trm* ‘the lineage of Trm’, then the term *hʿnfsʿ* should be parsed as *h ʿ- nfsʿ* ‘this funerary monument’ rather than the plural ‘these funerary monuments’. It is difficult to choose between the two interpretations since *Trm* is not an attested social group, nor is *ʿl trm* attested as personal name.

WH 587:⁸ *l ʿ{ʃ}trm h ʿ- nfsʿ*
 LA {ʃtrm} DEM ART- funerary monument
 ‘This funerary monument is for ʿl trm’

β. In two inscriptions, *nfsʿ* is preceded by two glottal stops, *ʿʿ- nfsʿ* (ZmNSIH 32, 37). In both cases, the funerary monument is that of a single man, and so a plural interpretation is unlikely. It seems, then, that in the dialect of these authors, the demonstrative *h* was realized as *ʿ*.

f. The article is not usually used before generic nouns when they are objects of prepositions or when they are the subjects of verbless clauses, e.g., *flṭ mn- sʿqm* ‘deliverance from illness’ (C 527); *sʿlm l -hm* ‘may they be secure’, lit. ‘security be theirs’ (C 4039). Infinitives are not preceded by the article either, *{f} glsʿ hlt* ‘{and} he halted to camp’ (JaS 159.2). However, when generic nouns are the subject of a finite verb, they often take the article. Consider, for example, *tʿmr h- s²nʿ* ‘adversity was widespread’ (HAUI 72); *tʿmr h- s²hsʿ* ‘want was widespread’ (KRS 995).

g. HshNSMI 5 attests a dialect without the definite article, which is reminiscent of Hismaic: compare *hll dr* ‘he camped in (this) place’ (HshNSMI 5) to *hll h- dr* ‘idem’ (*passim*) and *lm yḥbl sʿfr* ‘may (this) writing not be effaced’ to the more common construction *ʿwr d yḥbl h- sʿfr* ‘blind him who would efface this writing’ (*passim*).

4.9 The Demonstrative Pronouns

4.9.1 The Proximal Demonstratives

Since most inscriptions rarely contain more than a single sentence, there is little opportunity for the attestation of deictic words. The most common deictic element is the demonstrative *h*, and perhaps its rare variant *ʿ*. These demonstratives usually refer to images accompanying the inscription, or to the present time period, e.g., *h- sʿnt* ‘this year’.

d- Demonstrative

Demonstratives based on the element *d* (cf. CAr *dā*; Hb *zê*) are very rarely attested. The few attested examples suggest that there was some dialectal variation in the shape and syntax of this demonstrative.

Masculine singular

The masculine singular is possibly attested once preceding its head, if *šwy* ‘cairn’ is not feminine. This is comparable to the construction in the Ḥarrān inscription: *d' l-mrṭwl* ‘this martyrion’.⁹

LP 684: *w* *dmy* *wšl* *d* *h-šwy*
 CONJ draw.SC.3MS arrive.ACP.MS DEM.MS ART- cairn
 ‘and he drew, having arrived at this cairn’

Feminine dual

A form *hḡ* may be attested with a dual antecedent, and would seem to parallel Dadanitic *hšlmn hḡh* ‘these two statues’, if *šlmn* should in fact be taken as a dual rather than a diminutive. Like Dadanitic, this may suggest that the singular demonstratives were not normally preceded by *h*, but the dual was. There are a few possibilities when it comes to the vocalization of this form—if the dual was a distinct morphological category, then it may have terminated in the endings /ay/, */hāḡay/, or /ā/, */hādā/. On the other hand, the dual may have licensed feminine singular agreement with demonstratives, and so this form may reflect an underlying */hādī/. It should be mentioned, however, that the *h* on the photograph is badly damaged and may also represent an *l*, in which case the author may have intended *l-ḡs²r*, but omitted the final two letters. Against this interpretation is the fact that the word for the animals dedicated to deities is always directly followed by the passive participle *qšy* ‘dedicated’.

H 457: *l* *zhd bn m'l bn fdḡ* *h-bkrtn* {*h*}*d*
 LA GN03 ART- she-camel.DU {DEM}.DU(?)
 ‘by Zhd son of M'l son of Fḡg are these two she-camels’

⁹ Another possible instance is WH 1236, which the edition reads as: *l s²rqt h-ḡrt d h-bkrt*, and takes the phrase *d h-bkrt* as demonstrative + noun, meaning “this she-camel”. The problem

Feminine singular

A feminine-singular form derived from the *d* demonstrative is also possibly attested before the word *dr* ‘place, region’. While this may reflect the use of the *d*-particle (§ 4.9.3), all attested examples of this particle precede indefinite or proper nouns.

ASWS 217: *w d h-dr*
 CONJ DEM.FS ART- place
 ‘while at this place’

t- Demonstrative

There is also evidence for a feminine demonstrative *t*, which, except for in one case, always follows its head. For this reason, it appears identical to the feminine ending, which has caused editors to view nouns modified by this demonstrative as by-forms with the feminine ending. However, a close contextual examination of the evidence sometimes favors a demonstrative interpretation.

a. The feminine demonstrative seems to be attested a few times with the common noun *ʾrd* ‘land’. The absence of the article in AbaNS 881 (see below, c) and the occurrence of the same formula in C 2953, which is from another area, advise against taking *ʾrdt* as a toponym, plural, or common noun. Instead, the form is probably a combination of the noun and the demonstrative. The common noun, without the demonstrative, is attested in a very similar context in WH 641.1, *ʾrd*.

C 2953: *w ʾmr h-ʾrd t*
 CONJ dwell.SC.3MS ART- land DEM.FS
 ‘and he dwelt in this land’

AbaNS 906: *w gzz b-h-ʾrd t*
 CONJ raid.SC.3MS by- ART- land DEM.FS
 ‘and he raided this land’

with this interpretation is that *hrt* cannot stand for the toponym the *harrāh*, since it is preceded by the article. Moreover, the same person authored the inscription WH 424: *l sʾrqt h- hrt{y} h- gml*, where it is clear that *hrt* is a gentilic adjective. I would then read WH 1236 as *l sʾrqt h- hrt{y} h- bkrt*, in line with the expected signature formula, without a demonstrative.

β. In one case, *ʾrd t* (AbaNS 881) is not preceded by the article. It is probably best to see this as the result of a writing error rather than an alternative syntagm, even though such patterns are known from other Semitic languages, e.g., Hebrew *zē paʿamayim* ‘these two times’ (Gen 27:36). Other examples of a demonstrative modifying a noun unmarked by the article can be explained in other ways.¹⁰

b. A second example occurs following the place name *mabr* ‘inner desert’ (C 2682; KRS 926). While feminine by-forms of nouns of place do exist, e.g., *mšb* vs. *mšbt*, *mabr* is a proper noun referring to the Ḥamād, and none of its cognates in other languages exhibit a feminine by-form, Hb *midbār*, OArm *mabrʾ*, Akk *madbaru* (see *DNWSI*, 595). Thus, if the demonstrative interpretation is correct, it may mean something like ‘in the inner desert itself’. This usage is comparable to the function of the demonstrative *dātu* in CAR, where as a substantive it means ‘being, self’ (Fischer 2002:149, n. 2).¹¹

C 2682: *f rdy gnm̄t h- sʾnt mabr t*
 CONJ Rdy spoil ART-year inner desert DEM.FS
 ‘So, Rdy, let there be spoil this year in the inner desert itself’

c. While *mabr t* is rare, the general term for ‘funerary monument’ is *nfsʾt*. On comparative grounds, this should probably be understood as a combination of the noun *nfsʾ* and demonstrative. The term is attested as *npš* in the Northwest Semitic inscriptions (*DNWSI*, 748), and has this form in the Namārah inscription, *ty npš mrʾlqyš* ‘this is the funerary monument of Mrʾlqyš’, where its gender is also feminine, and in Dadanic, *nfsʾ*. Moreover, it nearly always appears with a demonstrative referring to the monument or structure itself. Thus, the phrase *h- nfsʾt* may be better parsed as *h- nfsʾ t* ‘this funerary monument’, and was simply a fixed phrase used by authors. In addition to its etymology, attestations of the basic form *nfsʾ* also support the interpretation of the final *t* as a demonstrative:

10 C 1607 reads *w wlh ʾ- gs² d h{r}bn*, where the editor took the *d* as a relative pronoun. Attributive participles only form asyndetic relative clauses and are never preceded by the relative pronoun, and so it is possible that the phrase *gs² d* is an attributive demonstrative following a head which is not modified by the definite article. Two things, however, make this unlikely: (1) the construction *gs² -h hrbn* ‘his plundered troop’ is rather common and so it is possible that Dunand copied *h* as *d* and (2) it is unclear what the function of the demonstrative would be in such a context.

11 In CAR, however, the term is followed by a clitic pronoun referring back to its antecedent.

(1) The form *h-nfs^l* is twice attested from the area east of Jabal Ḥawrān, both by the same man. This may simply reflect a deviation from the formula used elsewhere with the demonstrative. The author states his name and the fact that he is building a monument for his son, and uses the same term on the funerary monument itself:

Vogue 404.1: *l ks^lt bn 'ms^l bn ḥn bn ḥnn bn s²hyt w wlh*
 LA G_{NO5} CONJ grieve.SC.3MS
'l- bn -h z'm w bny
 for- son- CPRO.3MS die.APC.MS CONJ build.SC.3MS
l- bn -h h- nfs^l
 for- son -CPRO.3MS ART-funerary monument
 'By Ks^lt son of 'ms^l son of Ḥn son of Ḥnn son of S²hyt and he
 grieved for his son, who had died, and so he built for his son the
 funerary monument'

Vogue 404.2: *l 'n bn ks^lt h- nfs^l*
 LA 'n son.CNST Ks^lt ART- funerary monument
 'For 'n son of Ks^lt is the funerary monument'

(2) Authors who spoke dialects with the ʾ- article sometimes used the *h-* demonstrative instead of the post-positive *t-* demonstrative. As I have explained earlier, it does not always make sense to take the form *'nfs^l* as a plural:

WH 587: *l 'l}trm h 'nfs^l*
 LA {'l}trm} DEM ART- funerary monument
 'This funerary monument is for 'l}trm'

KRS 3239: *l nšr bn 's^ld bn 'mrt h 'n{f}s^l hn*
 LA G_{NO3} DEM ART- {funerary monument} here
ql
 speak.IMP
 'This {funerary monument} is for son of 's^ld son of 'mrt; (so) speak
 here'

d. Some editors have connected *drt*—in the expression *l- PN h- drt*—with CAR *dāratun* as a term for 'a wide space of land between mountains' (Lane, 931c). However, if *drt* and *dr* had different referents, one would expect the former to occur more frequently. So far, *drt* has appeared only four times in the corpus. This may suggest that *dr* and *drt* were not distinguished by referent, but rather

by deixis. One may therefore see *h- dr t* as equivalent to *d h- dr* ‘at this place’, but in a dialect which employed the *t*-demonstrative.

WH 1958: *l ms^{pl} h- dr t*
 LA Ms^{pl} ART- place DEM.FS
 ‘By Ms^{pl}, at this place’

e. In one case, the feminine demonstrative precedes its head.

HAUI 198: *h lt qb{f}l m- t h- s^lnt*
 VOC Lt {reunion} from DEM.FS ART- year
 ‘O Lt, may this year bring reunion with loved ones’

4.9.2 *Distal Demonstratives*

There is one possible attestation of the distal demonstrative *tk*. This inscription occurs on a rock containing two carvings of two bull-camels and what appears to be a donkey.

WH 516: *tk h- gml*
 DEM.F ART- camel.COL
 ‘those (two) are the camels’

The short text lends itself to several interpretations. This first is that the author referred to all three animals with *gml*. The feminine *tk* is the expected concord form for the plural of non-human nouns (see §6.3b). It is also possible that the author used the collective, which also licensed feminine agreement. Less likely is the possibility that the author omitted the the *lam auctoris* and *tk* is a personal name.

4.9.3 *The d-Particle*

An otiose *d* particle can sometimes precede nouns without any apparent change in meaning. There is no doubt that this particle is historically related to the demonstrative or relative pronoun. The orthography does not provide evidence for inflection, which is reminiscent of the reports of the Arab Grammarians, who observed that an otiose *dī* can be added at will to proper names (Rabin 1951: 76).

WH 614: *l ’šm^c w tnẓr d mny*
 LA ’šm^c CONJ await.SC.3MS DEM Fate
 ‘By ’šm^c and Fate lay in wait’ (= *tnẓr mny*)

KRS 3029: *tʒr* *d* *mny*
 await.SC.3MS DEM Fate
 ‘Fate lay in wait’ (= *tʒr mny*)

ISB 117: *ʕyr <<(r)>* *hn wgd* *d* *tnt*
 journey.APC.MS here find.INF DEM dry herbage
 ‘having journeyed here to find dry herbage’

KRS 2961: *tnʒr* *d* *ḥbt*
 await.SC.3MS DEM rain
 ‘he awaited rain’ (cf. *tʒr h- s^lmy*)

4.10 Relative-Determinative Pronoun

The relative-determinative pronouns form the following paradigm:

MS	FS	MP
<i>d</i>	<i>dʔ/dʔ/dʔ</i> (?)	<i>dw</i>

The relative pronoun is most frequently attested as a component of the phrase *d ʔl*, which expresses affiliation with a lineage group. The FS and MP forms are inconsistently attested, and the MS often appears with FS and MP antecedents. This seems to indicate that the relative pronoun lost its agreement features in many of the varieties written in Safaitic. When the relative-determinative pronoun heads a clause, it has a definite force, ‘him who’, ‘the one who’, as opposed to the indefinite *m* or *mn* ‘anyone’, ‘who(so)ever’, ‘whatever’.

a. Masculine singular: The masculine singular form *d* is cognate with the CAR determinative pronoun, NOM. *dū*, GEN. *dī*, and ACC. *dā*. The vocalization of the Safaitic reflex is dependent upon whether case inflection survived in declensions based on long vowels. The Nabataean theophoric name ‘*bddwšr*’ */‘abd-*dū-šarē*/ suggests that the form no longer inflected for case in the Nabataean dialect. The same is witnessed in the Namārah Inscription, where the relative pronoun *dw* has a genitive antecedent. If the same situation was true of the Safaitic *d*, then it should be vocalized as */*dū*/ in all positions. In an unpublished inscription, however, the common phrase *d ʔl* ‘of the lineage’ is written

as *dy*l. It is tempting to see the *y* as homo-organic glide resulting from the loss of the glottal stop. The *y* would have emerged from the transition of /ī/, not /ū/, to /ā/, suggesting the vocalization */dī/. The head of this pronoun is in the genitive, and so such a spelling could point towards either a generalized reflex */dī/ or the survival of case inflection in this form. Other explanations are also possible: the sequence *dūwāl may have dissimilated to /dūyal/, or the glottal stop may have simply merged with *y post-vocally to /y/. Both of these processes are paralleled in Hismaic, e.g., *yqry* instead of the expected *yqrw* from *yiqra'u and possibly *mykn* instead of the expected ***mwkn* 'established' (KRS 2453) from earlier *mu'akānu.

HCH 69: *wgm* 'l- *hn'* *d* 'l *m's*
 grieve.SC.3MS for- Hn' REL.MS lineage.CNST M's
 'he grieved for Hn' of the lineage of M's'

KRS 1964: 'hlš ' - *d'n* *d* 'l *hlš*
 keep safe.CS.3MS ART- sheep.COL REL.MS lineage.CNST Hlš
 'he kept the sheep of the lineage of Hlš safe'

α. RSIS 351 attests the following curse *grb l- dy y'wr h- hṭṭ* 'may he who would efface this writing have scab', where *dy* substitutes for *d* in other inscriptions. Unless other unambiguous examples come to light, it is best to take the extra *y* as dittography, since the writing of a word-final vowel is very unlikely.

b. Feminine singular: The Safaitic inscriptions attest three forms of the FS relative pronoun. The form *d't*, */dā'at/ or */dī'at/, is attested four times in genealogies of the lineage of Tm (CSNS 412, 620, 621, 622). This form is cognate with the Old Aramaic demonstrative *z't* and Hebrew *zō(')t*.

CSNS 412: *l* 'd *bnt* 's^l *bn* ḥn'l *d't*
 LA 'd daughter.CNST 's^l son.CNST Ḥn'l REL.FS
 'l *tm*
 lineage.CNST Tm
 'by 'd daughter of 's^l son of ḥn'l of the lineage of Tm'

CSNS 620: *l* ḥrg *bnt* ḡṭ *d't* 'l *tm*
 LA Ḥrg daughter.CNST Ḡṭ REL.FS lineage.CNST Tm
 'by Ḥrg daughter of Ḡṭ of the lineage of Tm'

SHS 10 attests the form *d'* */*dā'*/, which finds a cognate in the Old Aramaic feminine singular demonstrative *z'*. Interestingly, AtIN 3—which is from the same cairn—attests an identical statement, but uses instead the masculine singular form *d*. It is therefore unclear if the form *d'* is simply the result of dittography or reflects a third dialectal variant.

SHS 10: *fš'l bnt* *brd d'* 'l *rk{s'l}*
 Fš'l daughter.CNST Brd REL.FS lineage.CNST {Rks^l}
 'Fš'l daughter of Brd of the lineage of Rks^l'

The form *dt* */*dāt*/ is attested only once, and corresponds in form to CAR *dāt*- and ASA *dt*. The absence of the glottal stop cannot easily be explained through the loss of the phoneme, since it is preserved in several other words in this inscription.

JbS 1: *ts²wq* 'l '{b}tl{s²}n *dt* 'l 'g'
 long.sc.3ms for {'b}tl{s²}n REL.FS lineage.CNST 'g'
 'he longed for {'b}tl{s²}n of the lineage of 'g''

c. Masculine plural: The masculine plural *dw* is only attested twice. Like the MS, its vocalization depends on whether case inflection survived, nom. */*dawū*/ or obl. */*dawī*/. In H 506, the MP is unexpected, since the formula usually requires the MS *d*.

C 2156: *wgd* 'tr 's²-h *qbrn*
 find.SC.3MS trace.PL.CNST kinsmen-CPRO.3MS bury.PPC.MP
 dw 'l *yžr*
 REL.MP lineage.CNST Yžr
 'he found the traces of his buried kinsmen who were of the lineage of Yžr'

H 506: 'wr l- *dw* 'wr h- *s'fr*
 blindness to-REL.MP efface.SC.3MP ART- writing
 'may they who would efface this writing go blind'

d. Non-Agreement: The masculine singular relative *d* is also attested with FS and MP antecedents, suggesting that agreement was lost in some varieties.

- AtIN 3: *l fš'l bnt bngd d 'l rks^l*
 LA Fš^l daughter.CNST Bngd REL.MS lineage.CNST Rks^l
 'By Fš^l daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks^l'
- C 1758: *wgm 'l- 's²y^c-h d*
 grieve.SC.3MS for- companion.PL-CPRO.3MS REL.MS
ns^l b- tbr
 went away.SC.3MP in- Sagittarius
 'he grieved for his companions who went off when the sun was in
 Sagittarius'

e. Agreement in definiteness: The relative pronoun exhibits agreement in definiteness in two inscriptions, both with animate antecedents.

- RWQ 73: *hḍr b- 'zmy h lt w h ḍs²r*
 camp by water.SC.3MS near- 'zmy VOC Lt CONJ VOC Ḍsr
l'n ḥwlt h- d 'tm
 curse.IMP Ḥwlt ART- REL act wrong.SC.3M
 'he camped by permanent water near 'zmy; O Lt and O Ḍs²r, curse
 the Ḥwlt-ites who acted wrongfully'
- LP 718: *zhr 'sf-h mn h- d*
 be evident.SC.3MS regret -CPRO.3MS from ART- REL
y's^l
 upset.SC.3MS
 'his regret on account of him whom he upset was evident'

α. In rare cases, the relative-determinative can also function as a genitive marker, as an alternative to the construction chain, KRS 1964: *'hlš ' - d'n d 'l ḥlš* 'he kept the sheep of the lineage of Ḥlš safe' and possibly SESP.D 12 *dt' h- 'rd d 'l nḡbr* 'and he spent the season of the later rains in the valley of the lineage of Nḡbr'.

4.11 Indefinite Relative

The indefinite relative has two forms when its antecedent is human, *mn* and *m*, which probably reflect inconsistent *n*-assimilation at word boundaries. It is also possible to interpret this variation as reflecting the by-forms *mīn and *man, known from later stages of Arabic. The long vowel of the former was probably

stressed, which could have prevented assimilation, while the short form could have been proclitic, making assimilation more likely.

KRS 109: *rđy ʿwr m ʿwr*
 Rđy blind.IMP.3MS REL blind.SC.3MS
 ‘Rđy, blind whosoever would efface’

C 1186: *ʿwr l- mn ḥbl*
 blindness for- REL obscure.SC.3MS
 ‘may whosoever would obscure go blind’

C 2947: *nqmt mn mn mšr -h*
 retribution against REL take away.SC.3MS
 ‘(let there be) retribution against whosoever had taken him away’

With non-human referents, the indefinite relative pronoun is always *m*, most likely */mā/.

Ms 44: *h gddḏ lʿn d yʿwr m*
 VOC Gddḏ curse.IMP.2MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS REL
yhnʿ
 please.PC.3MS
 ‘O Gddḏ, curse him who would efface that which pleases’

4.12 Quantifiers

a. The quantifier *kll* corresponds with CAR *kullun* ‘all, each, entire, every’, although the writing of two *l*’s indicates a different pronunciation. A similar form is found in Ug *kll* /kalīlu/, which may suggest an identical vocalization for Safaitic, thus */kalīl/. The form *kll* is found across the ANA corpora.

H 191: *ts²wq [ʔ]l- kll ʿs²r šdq*
 long.SC.3MS [for]- QUANT.CNST kinsman righteous.MS
 ‘he longed for every righteous kinsman’

WH 161: *rʿy kll ʿrd*
 pasture.sc.3ms QUANT.CNST land
 ‘he pastured every region’

Three

WH 3792.1: *w wrd tltt 's²hr s¹nt*
 CONJ go to water.CS.3MS three.F month.PL year.CNST
ħrb g{s²}m 'l tmd
 war.SC.3P {Gs²m} lineage.CNST Tmd
 'and he went to water for three months, the year Gs²m plundered the lineage of Tmd'

C 1573: *w tẓr h- nħl tlt*
 CONJ wait.SC.3ms ART-valley three.M
 'and he waited in the valley for three (days?)'

Four

KRS 2340: *w ndm 'l-'b -h*
 CONJ be devastated.SC.3MS for-father.CPRO.3MS
w 'l-'dwd -h 'rb't
 CONJ over-paternal uncle.PL- CPRO.3MS four.F
rġm mny
 struck down.SC.3MP Fate
 'and he was devastated by grief for his father and his four paternal uncles who struck down by Fate'

WH 3094: *l qs¹r bn 'ħs¹n h- zrt 'rb' s¹n{n} tly*
 LA Gno2 ART- enclosure four.M year.{PL} later
 'By Qs¹r son of 'ħs¹n, at this enclosure four years later'

Five

KRS 25: *šyr m- mdbr l- ħms¹t 'rħ*
 return to water.SC.3MS from- inner desert for-five.F.CNST month.PL
 'he returned to a place of water from the inner desert for five months'

C 2088: *{k}l' h- nħl ħms¹ ws¹q*
 {detain}.SC.3MS ART-valley five.M.CNST herds of camels
 'he detained five herds of camels in the valley'

Six

MKWS 8: *ʿmr h- mkmn sʿt ʿym*
 dwell.SC.3MS ART-hiding place six.F.CNST day.PL
 ‘he dwelt in the hiding place for six days’

Seven

C 1084: *w rḏw ḡnmt sʿbʿ*
 CONJ Rḏw spoil seven
 ‘and, Rḏw, let there be spoil, seven fold!’

Ten

MKWS 28: *w ʿmr ʿsʿr syd*
 CONJ construct.INF ten.M.CNST snare.PL
 ‘while constructing ten snares’

Twelve

KRS 303: *g{d}-h l- tnʿsʿr ʿym*
 {mistreat}.SC.3MP -CPRO.3MS for- twelve.M day
 ‘they mistreated him for twelve days’

Eighteen

H 763: *sʿnt tmnʿsʿrt l- mlk ʿgrfš*
 year.CNST eighteen.M for- king ʿgrfš
 ‘the year eighteen of king Agrippa’

Twenty

RQ.A 1: *sʿry h- frsʿl m- mlk b- ʿsʿrn mny*
 buy.SC.3MS ART- horse from- Mlk for- twenty mina
 ‘he bought the horse from Mlk for twenty Minas’

Twenty-five

KRS 225: *r'y* *h- 'bl* *hms't's²rn* *'m*
 pasture.SC.3MS ART-camel.PL twenty-five.M year
 'he pastured camels for twenty five years'

Thirty

ZeWa 1: *s¹nt* *ṭrq* *mk mlk* *nbṭ tltⁿ* *m't*
 year.CNST smite.SC.3MS Mk king.CNST Nbṭ thirty unit
qtl *'l* *rm*
 warrior.PL.CNST lineage.CNST Rm
 'the year Mk King of Nabataea smote thirty units, warriors of the
 people of Rome'

One hundred and one thousand

AbaNS 286: *s²ry* *m- 'h-h* *m'd h-frs¹*
 buy.SC.3MS from-brother-CPRO.3MS M'd ART-horse
b- m't
 with-hundred
 'he bought from his brother M'd the horse with one hundred
 (currency?)'

C 2076: *s¹rt* *'l- {h}dq* *'bgr*
 serve.SC.3MS against- {walled enclosure}.CNST 'bgr
b- 'lf *rgl* *w*
 with-one thousand.CNST foot soldiers CONJ
m't-f[r]s¹
 [cavalry] unit
 'He served in a troop against the walled enclosure of 'bgr with one
 thousand foot soldiers and a cavalry unit'

b. Littmann identified several inscriptions which count the years using Aramaic numerals, closely resembling Palmyrene and Nabataean (LP 94, 162, 1198), but reliability of some of these copies is questionable.

c. Only one possible case of the numerical use of the Safaitic letters is attested. The inscription RQ.A 10 is dated to the year that a certain Bnh^r took control with 'z archers or lancemen, *rm'n*, and two cavalry units, *m'tyfrs¹*. A numerical

interpretation of 'z according to the Aramaic values would render 77 - ' = 70 + z = 7. Whether this was meant to be taken literally or whether 77 was a conventional way of expressing a large number is unknown.

d. Two possible examples of ordinal numbers are attested: 'wl 'first' (SW 168), which in its context functions as a substantive meaning 'beginning', and *ttt* 'third' (ASWS 360), which seems to refer to a time period, perhaps a month.

4.14 Personal Pronouns

The narrative component of most Safaitic inscriptions is set in the 3rd person. Because of this, pronouns referring to other persons are rare. The following forms are attested:

Independent

1CS 'n */'anā/
3MS h */hū/

Clitic	Singular	Dual	Plural
1C	∅		-n (c) */nī/
2M	-k */ka/	-km */komā/ (?)	-km */kom/ (?)
2F	-k */ek/ or */kī/		
3M	-h */oh/ -nh */Vnnoh/	-hm */homā/ (?)	-hm */hom/
3F	-h */ah/, or */ha/		

4.14.1 Independent Pronouns

a. *subject*: The independent nominative pronouns act as the subject of sentences without finite verbs, and can also serve to topicalize the subject of a finite verb.

1CS: *ʾn*

WH 1403b: *w ʾn frds¹ bn ʾrḏ*
 CONJ IPRO.1CS Frds¹ son.CNST ʾrḏ
 ‘and I am Frds¹ son of ʾrḏ’

KRS 268: *w ʾn ʾtm bn s²rw*
 CONJ IPRO.1CS ʾtm son.CNST S²rw
 ‘and I am ʾtm son of S²rw’

3ms: *h*

KRS 1684: *gdḏf s¹lm w mgd w h tḏq*
 Gdḏf security CONJ bounty CONJ IPRO.3MS set.off.APC.MS
l-h- dṣy
 for- ART- ibex
 ‘Gdḏf, let there be security and bounty as he sets off for ibex’

KRS 2453: *w l h bt w m nm*
 CONJ ASV IPRO.3MS cut.off.SC.3MS CONJ NEG sleep.SC.3MS
 ‘and he is indeed cut off, but not dead’

b. object: Only one secure attestation of an independent object pronoun is known, so its is impossible to discern the functional range of this category. If these forms functioned as their CAR counterparts, then they may have, among other things, served to topicalize direct objects. The Safaitic form consists of a stem *y* and a pronominal suffix *h*. The *y* is clearly related to CAR ʾyyā, but perhaps without the initial syllable, */yā/. A connection with the vocative *y* should be considered, which may well be the source of the CAR ʾyyā < *ʾin + yā.

AWS 218: *s¹d-h rḏw nʾm w bḏ ḏr w*
 help.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Rḏw favor CONJ here danger CONJ
yh brk
 OPRO.3MS bless.SC.3MS
 ‘may Rḏw help him through divine favor, for there is danger here, and may he (Rḏw) bless him’

4.14.2 *The Clitic Pronouns*

The clitic pronouns have a genitive or accusative function, and attach to nouns in the construct state, prepositions, and verbs.

2MS and 2FS: *-k*

The second person singular M and F are identical in the consonantal orthography. The underlying forms are probably M **/ka/* and F **/ek/*, although **/kī/* is also a possibility. A reflex of the long form is found in the northern Mesopotamian dialects of Arabic, *-ki < *-kī*.

2ms: *-k*

KRS 1683: *h s²hqm s^llm w 'wd -k*
 VOC S²hqm security CONJ protection-CPRO.3MS
 'O S²hqm, let there be security and your protection'

2fs: *-k*

Mu 550: *h 'lt s^ld ys^lm^l bn fh^l 'bd-k*
 VOC 'lt aid.IMP.2FS Ys^lm^l son.CNST Fh^l worshipper-CPRO.3FS
 'O 'lt, aid Ys^lm^l son of Fh^l, your worshipper'

3MS and 3FS: *-h*

The third person singular M and F forms are likewise identical in the orthography. Based on word-boundary assimilation patterns, these were likely vocalized as M **/oh/* and F **/ah/* when attached to prepositions. The FS may have been **/ha/* in other contexts. The */ah/* or */ha/* form is also encountered in the Namārah inscription, *mlk 'l'rb kl-h* **/malk 'al-ʿarab kollah(a)/*, 'king of all the Arabs' or 'king of the entire territory of 'Arab'.¹²

The vocalization of these forms before long vowels and diphthongs is unclear, and the evidence is conflicting. The spelling *yd -h* 'his two hands' (C 4037) suggests that the pronouns were not preceded by a vowel in such cases, thus **/yaday-h/*, while KRS 2453 *lyly -h* suggests a pronunciation */layālay -oh/*. The

12 If the 3fs pronoun were realized as */hā/*, it would have been written as *h'* in Nabataean orthography. On the latter translation, see Zwettler (2006).

latter example, however, is attested in a short poem written in a mixed Safaitic-Hismaic script, and so may reflect a distinct dialect or register.

3ms: *-h*

HaNSB 197: *ʿs²rq* *m-ḥrn* *b-ʿbl-h*
migrate.SC.3MS from-Ḥrn with-camel.COL -CPRO.3MS
'he migrated to the inner desert from Ḥawrān with his camels'

LP 306: *wgd* *ʿtr* *ʿs²yʿ-h*
find.SC.3MS trace.CNST companions.PL -CPRO.3MS
'he found the traces of his companions'

3fs: *-h*

AiTn 3: *l fšʿl bnt* *bngd d* *ʿl* *rks¹*
LA Fšʿl daughter.CNST Bngd REL.MS lineage.CNST Rks¹
w l -h [h] *rgm*
CONJ for -CPRO.3FS [the] funerary cairn
'For Fšʿl daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks¹ and this funerary
cairn is hers'

ZSI 1: *ndm* *ʿl-ʿm-h* *trḥt*
devastated.SC.3MS over- mother -CPRO.3MS perish.PPC.3FS
w bny *ʿl-h*
CONJ build.SC.3MS over -CPRO.3FS
'he was devastated by grief on account of his mother who had
perished and he lay a stone upon her (cairn)'

-nh

A special *n*-form of the 3MS pronominal suffix occurs occasionally on verbs. This form has been confused in the past for a plural marker on the prefix conjugation; however, several facts rule this out: (1) the relative pronoun preceding these verbs is consistently masculine singular; (2) the formula logically requires a singular form; and (3) the ending occurs on the imperative and the suffix conjugation as well (e.g., KRS 307). Moreover, verbs terminating in an *n* do not seem to take a nominal direct object. There is one exception, WH 2112 *yʿwrnh h-bkrt*; however, here the second term seems to have been a later addition. Similar forms are found in Hb, *yiqṭalénnû* kill.

PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS < *yiqtulinhū; BArm *yiqṭalīnkôn* kill.PC.3MS -CPRO.2MP, and on the participles in some contemporary forms of Arabic, *fā'ilīna* do.ACP.MS -CPRO.3FS.¹³ These forms invite comparison with the energetic endings in CAr and Ug. Considering the comparative evidence, the most likely vocalization of this termination is */-Vnnoh/.

LP 566: *ʿwr* *l-ḏ* *yʿwr-nh*
 blindness to- REL.MS efface.PC.3MS-CPRO-3MS
 ‘may he who would efface it (the inscription) go blind’

Ms 37: *ʿwr* *ḏ* *yʿwr-nh*
 blind.IMP.2MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS -CPRO-3MS
 ‘blind him who effaces it [the inscription]’

KRS 307: *h* *y[ṭ]ʿ s²-nh* *b-ḏ* *wd*
 VOC [Yṭʿ] join.IMP.M -CPRO.3MS with- REL.MS love.SC.3MS
 ‘O Yṭʿ, join him with the one whom he loved’

KRS 3074: *ʿgʿ-nh* *ʿn bn* *ʿns¹ ʿ- s²nʿ*
 cause pain.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS ‘n son.CNST ʿns¹ ART- enemy
 ‘n son of ʿns¹, the enemy, has caused him pain’

1CP: -n

The 1CP is only attested once, rhetorically with a singular antecedent. Interestingly, the 1CP is used in an identical way in Hismaic—on the same noun—MNM b 6 *wqʿn ḏh* ‘this inscription of ours’ (see King 1990). There is no way to determine the vocalization of this form, but there is nothing to contradict the CAr realization */nā/.

AKSD 5: *tqb* *yd-h* *w* *ds²r ʿl-*
 cut.sc.3ms hand-CPRO.3MS CONJ Ds²r against-
ks¹r *wqʿ-n*
 destroyer.CNST inscription- CPRO.1CS
 ‘may he he cut off his hand that Ds²r be against the destroyer of our inscription’

13 These data come from Hasselbach (2006:317); see that publication for more evidence and citations.

- LP 243: *ts²wq* *ʔ-dd-h* *w*
 long.SC.3MS for- paternal uncle- CPRO.3MS CONJ
ʔs²y^ʻ-h *kl-l-hm*
 companion.PL -CPRO.3MS all-CPRO.3MP
 'he longed for his paternal uncle and his companions, all of them'
- KRS 6: *wlh* *ʔ-hm* *l-'bd*
 mourn.SC.3MS for-CPRO.3MP/D forever
 'he mourned for (both of) them forever'
- NST 3: *s^ʔnt* *hrb-hm* *ʔ* *ʔw_{ɔ̄}*
 year.CNST plunder.SC.3M -CPRO.3MP lineage.CNST 'w_{ɔ̄}
 'the year the lineage of 'w_{ɔ̄} plundered them'

The Verb

Overview

The verb has six principle parts: a SUFFIX CONJUGATION, PREFIX CONJUGATION, IMPERATIVE, INFINITIVE, ACTIVE PARTICIPLE, and PASSIVE PARTICIPLE. The purely consonantal orthography often makes it unclear as to which of these is encountered in a given inscription and so both syntactic and pragmatic contexts are required to disambiguate the majority of forms.

5.1 Suffix Conjugation

5.1.1 Form

The suffix conjugation, cognate with CAR *fa'ala*, inflects for PNG through suffixes. The paradigm is incomplete:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
2f	-t */t/ or */tī/	NA	NA
3m	∅ */a/	-y */ay/	∅ */ū/
3f	-t */at/	NA	NA

3MP and 3MS

The 3M is identical to the stem to which PNG suffixes are added. Since final long vowels are not indicated in the orthography, the distinction between the 3MP and the 3MS must be made pragmatically.

3P

H 506: ʿwr l- dʿw ʿwr h- sʿfr
 blindness to-REL.MP efface.SC.3MP ART- writing
 ‘may they who would efface this writing go blind’

LP 679: *h lt t'r [m] m 's'lf {w}*
 VOC Lt vengeance [against] REL act.SC.3MP {CONJ}
{t}{b}r l-hm
 {destruction} for -CPRO.3MP
 'O Lt, he shall have vengeance against whoever has committed
 this act and may destruction befall them'

3MS

WH 1516: *'{h}d klb -h d'b*
 {take}.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS dog- CPRO.3MS wolf
 'a wolf took his dog'

WH 1698: *s'nt ngy qsr h- mdnt*
 year.CNST announce.SC.3MS Caesar ART- province
 'the year Caesar announced the province'

Wawation on 3rd person verbs

A few verbs in RSIS are attested with an otiose *w*. While it is tempting to consider this an alternative plural ending, perhaps */aw/, the context in which these verbs are attested does not require a plural.

RSIS 199: *l bll bn grm bn drr w r'yw*
 LA Bll son.CNST Grm son.CNST Drr CONJ pasture.SC.w
[w] wrdw h-nmrt f h lt rwḥ
 [CONJ] go to water.SC.w Namārah CONJ VOC Lt ease
 'By Bll son of Grm son of Drr and {they/he} pastured then went
 to water at Namārah so, O Lt, let there be ease'

RSIS 204: *l bll bn grm bn drr w ts²wqw 'l- ms¹kt*
 LA Bll son.CNST Grm son.CNST Drr CONJ long.SC.w for-Ms¹kt
w hršw
 CONJ watch.SC.w
 'By Bll son of Grm son of Drr and they longed for Ms¹kt while
 they/he stood guard'

RSIS 304: *l s²t̄m bn wtr bn 'bgr d 'l*
 LA S²t̄m son.CNST Wtr son.CNST 'bgr REL.MS lineage.CNST
fr̄t w r'yw h-ḏ'n
 Fr̄t CONJ pasture.SC.W ART- sheep
 'by S²t̄m son of Wtr son of 'bgr of the lineage of Fr̄t and they/he
 pastured the sheep'

3DU

The dual has been attested once clearly and terminates in a *y* which can reflect nothing other than the dual ending */-ay/. This ending is found in the ASA languages, but differs from CAr and Dadanitic, both of which exhibit a reflex of */ā/. Dadanitic, however, maintains a -y ending on the the 3MDU clitic pronoun, -*hmy*.

LP 305: *w wgm 'l-'s¹ w 'l-wd' w kl*
 CONJ grieved.sc.3MS for-'s¹ CONJ for-wd' CONJ both
dly
 lost.SC.3DU
 'and he grieved for 's¹ and wd', and both were lost'

3FS

The 3FS must reflect the ending */-at/, and, like nouns, there is no evidence for its shift to */ah/.

AKSJ 1.2.3: *l hgr w ts²wqt 'l-'lb'*
 LA Hgr CONJ long.SC.3FS for-'lb'
 'By Hgr and she longed for 'lb''

SIAM 30: *l grmt b{t} hr w gls^t 'l*
 LA Grmt {daughter.CNST} Hr CONJ halt.SC.3FS until
y'm<(f)>r f wg[d]t s¹fr 'b f
 {Capricorn} CONJ [find].SC.3FS writing.CNST 'b CONJ
wgmt 'l-h
 grieve.SC.3FS for -cpro.3ms
 'By Grmt daughter of Hr and she halted until (the sun was in?)
 {Capricorn}, then she found the writing of 'b and so she grieved
 for him'

2S

The identification of the second person forms is challenged by similarities in form and syntax with the infinitive. Since the infinitive can sometimes substitute for a finite verb and often terminates in a *t*, it is often impossible to prove that any given form is one or the other. The form *whbt* in the invocation in C 4037 below, for example, could be interpreted as both a 2FS form */wahabt(i)/ or an infinitive, perhaps */wahbat/. The spelling of the form *l't* in CSA 1.2, however, suggests that the final consonant of the verb root, *n*, was contiguous with the *t*, indicating that it reflects a 2FS suffix conjugation rather than an infinitive or 3FS verb, probably */la'att(i)/ < *la'anti.

C 4037: {*h*} *lt whbt* *s²n' -h*
 VOC Lt give.SC.2FS enemy -CPRO.3MS
bn- yd -h
 between- hand.D.CNST-PRO.3MS
 'O Lt, may you place his enemy in between his hands'

CSA 1.2: *w* *l't* *lt mn yhbl -h*
 CONJ curse.SC.2FS Lt REL obscure.PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS
 'and may you, Lt, curse whosoever would obscure it (the writing)'

5.1.2 Functions

The basic meaning of the suffix conjugation is a perfect; however, it can be translated in various ways depending on its context. With the possible exception of its perfect use, which is once marked by *qd* (see α below), the other uses of the suffix conjugation are unmarked, and therefore must be inferred syntactically or pragmatically.

a. Preterite/perfect: The suffix conjugation can indicate a completed action in the past, corresponding to the English past and present perfect.

MKJS 1: *s²ty* *'nzt*
 winter.SC.3MS 'nzt
 'he spent the winter at 'nzt'

C 2036: *wgd* *hbb -h* *f* *bky*
 find.SC.3MS beloved -CPRO.3MS CONJ weep.SC.3MS
 'he had found his beloved, so he wept'

b. Pluperfect: The pluperfect always occurs in a subordinate or coordinate clause dependent on another clause containing the preterite/perfect suffix conjugation. In all cases, this function must be inferred pragmatically.

Ms 44: *s^lm^ʿ* *ʾn* *myt* *flfš*
 heard.SC.3MS CORD died.SC.3MS Flfš
 'he heard that Flfš had died'

C 25: *wgd* *ʾtr* *ʾh-h* *f*
 find.sc.3ms trace.CNST brother-CPRO.3MS so
wlh
 be distraught.SC.3MS
 'he had found the trace of his brother, and so he was distraught'

α. One inscription possibly attests the verbal particle *qd* before the suffix conjugation, which seems to have an identical function to its CAr counterpart *qad*, namely, to emphasize the completion of the action or state.

C 285: *l* *bṭ w* *nyk* *bgrmh* *f*
 LA Bṭ CONJ copulate.SC.3MS Brmh CONJ
ʾtm *zf* *f* *qd*
 celebrate.SC.3MS sending of the bride CONJ PERF
ʾbš
 be pleased.SC.3MS
 'By Bṭ and he copulated with Grmh, for he had celebrated the sending of the bride and had been pleased'

c. Optative: The suffix conjugation can also have an optative force, which is commonly encountered in prayers expressing wishes, hopes, and curses. This function, which is not known in Aramaic, is one of the hallmark examples of Arabic influence on the Aramaic of the Nabataeans.

HaNSB 371: *s^ld-h* *rḏw m-h-nš^ʿ*
 aid.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Rḏw against-enmity
 'May Rḏw aid him against enmity'

HaNSB 8: *s^ld-h* *rḏw w* *ʾkl-h*
 aid.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Rḏw CONJ nourish.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS
rḏw
 Rḏw
 'may Rḏw aid him and may Rḏw nourish him'

JaS 189.2: *dkrt* *lt 'ls¹ w rb*
 be mindful.SC.3FS Lt 'ls¹ CONJ Rb
 'may Lt be mindful of 'ls¹ and Rb'

α. While optatives are more often encountered with 3rd person verbs, the 2nd person can have this function as well, as illustrated in CSA 1.2 above.

d. Future: The suffix conjugation can also function as a future tense, especially when used in conjunction with a clause containing a modal main event. In the following cases, the future sense of the suffix conjugation is clear because it expresses travel to a destination which is other than the location in which the inscription was composed. This, along with the following prayer, suggests that the author was referring to a future time rather than the past. Whether such constructions are related to the future construction *wə* + suffix conjugation in Hebrew is open to debate, but this usage could have naturally developed from the optative function described above.

C 1649: *w 'sfr tdmr f h b'l s¹lm*
 CONJ travel.SC.3MS Palmyra CONJ VOC B'l be secure.SC.3MS
 'and he will travel to Palmyra so, O B'l, may he be secure'

WH 589: *w 's²rq f h b'ls¹mn s¹lm*
 CONJ travel to desert.SC.3MS CONJ VOC B'ls¹mn be secure.SC.3MS
 'and he will travel to the inner desert so, O B'ls¹mn, may he be secure'

NST 7: *w h^yt mabr f h lt mgdt*
 CONJ journey.SC.3MS inner desert CONJ VOC Lt bounty
w s¹lm
 CONJ be secure.SC.3MS
 'and he will journey to the inner desert so, O Lt, let there be bounty that he may be secure'

α. The future sense seems appropriate for the verb *t'r* 'to avenge'. While it is possible to interpret this verb as a request from the deity, vengeance would have only been satisfying if the one to whom it is owed plays an active role in its attainment. Thus, it may be better to interpret such instances of *t'r* as vows to attain vengeance in the future rather than requests.

HCH 72: *h ds²r t^r {l-} mn- ḥwlt*
 VOC Ds²r *avenge.SC.3MS {ASV-} against- Ḥwlt*
 ‘O Ds²r, he will indeed have vengeance against the Ḥwlt’

e. Future perfect: This function is most often encountered in curse formulae, where it has a potential force, signifying a possible action that has not yet occurred. On these constructions, see § 24.7.2.

NST 3: *w ṣwr ds²r d ḥbl*
 CONJ blind.SC.3MS Ds²r REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS
 ‘and may Ds²r blind him who would obscure [this inscription]’

C 1649: *w ṣwr l- d ṣwr h- s^lfr*
 CONJ blindness to-REL blind.SC.3MS ART- writing
 ‘and may he who would efface this writing go blind’

WH 613: *f gddf s^llm m- s²n[’] s^llm l- d*
 CONJ Gddf security from-enemies secure.INF to-REL.MS
d’y
 read aloud.SC.3MS
 ‘So, Gddf, may he who would read aloud be secured well against enemies’

5.2 Prefix Conjugation

5.2.1 Form

a. Preformative prefixes: The prefix conjugation inflects for PNG through the use of prefixes and suffixes. The 3MS and 3FS are securely attested and are marked by the *y* and *t* prefixes, respectively. Two first person forms with the preformative prefix *n* are attested (LP 495; WH 135), but it is unclear if they should be interpreted as 1CS or 1CP. If the latter is correct, then it would suggest that the dialect of the Safaitic inscriptions underwent the same analogy as Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and the Maghrebian dialects of Arabic, namely, the leveling of the *nV-* preformative prefix from the 1CP to the singular, and in the case of Maghrebian Arabic, producing the symmetrical paradigm, *nifal* and *nifalū*. While context of LP 495 is unclear and permits both interpretations, WH 135 points towards a 1CS interpretation:

WH 135: *l qny f h lt qbll 'hl s'lm*
 LA Qny CONJ VOC Lt reunion family.(CPRO.1CS?) safe
f nngy
 CONJ be saved.PC.1CS(?)
 'By Qny, so, O Lt, may there be a safe reunion with (my) family
 that I/we may be saved'

The author of this inscription seems to have switched persons in the prayer component, indicating perhaps that it reflects a fixed oral expression. The word *'hl* 'family' could be followed by a 1CS suffix pronoun, cf. *h lt qbll 'hl -h s'lm* 'O Lt, may there be a safe reunion with his family' (KRS 1990), which would suggest that the prefix-conjugated verb should be taken as a 1CS rather than a plural. Even if *'hl* should be taken simply as 'family', without a pronominal suffix, the final verb can still be interpreted as such on contextual grounds: an individual is more likely to be saved by being reunited with a group rather than the other way around.

α. A1 attests the prefix conjugation of the verb 'to pasture' in the form εἶραυ **/yir'aw/* 'they pastured'. If names in the Graeco-Arabica such as Ιαμβλιχος **/yamlik/* reflect the Safaitic situation, then it would seem that Barth's law was operational.¹ However, names based on the prefix conjugation could be traditional, and so perhaps the two sources cannot be directly compared.

b. The plural terminations: The same verb εἶραυ in A 1 suggests that the masculine plural ending verbs derived from III-w/y roots was **/aw/* as in CAr. The absence of the *-n* ending indicates that this verb reflects a short prefix conjugation (see below), with a preterite meaning. There are no other unambiguous instances of the second or third person plurals.

Preformative prefixes

1c	<i>n-</i>
3m	<i>y-</i>
3f	<i>t-</i>

¹ i.e., the vowel is /a/ when the theme vowel of the verb stem is /i/ or /u/ and the preformative vowel is /i/ when the theme vowel is /a/.

5.2.2 *Function*

Historically, the CS prefix conjugation had two forms: (1) a short form (= Ar, Hb Jussive): 3MS *yaqtul*, 3MP *yaqtulū*, and (2) an augmented form, which terminated in /na/ in forms ending in a vowel (i.e., the 2FS, the duals, and the 3MP) and in /u/ in other cases (cf. the CAR indicative mood): 3MS *yaqtulu*, 3MP *yaqtulūna*. The augmented form signifies the indicative imperfect, which is formally unmarked for tense, but generally signifies the present-future and durative aspect. The short form was originally a preterite, but this function was largely supplanted by the suffix conjugation in WS. While the preterite sense is preserved in certain constructions in CAR, the primary function of the short form is as a volitive. Arabic developed a second augmented form, the *subjunctive*, which terminates in /a/, rather than /u/, but lacked the /na/ endings on the 2FS, 2MP, and 3MP forms, 3MS *yaqtula*, 3MP *yaqtulū*. The subjunctive is used in subordinate clauses, mainly after the coordinator *ʾan*, and in result clauses after *fa-*. All of these functions are attested in the Safaitic inscriptions, but must be, for the most part, inferred pragmatically. Finally, a few examples of the preterite use of the prefix conjugation are attested.

a. Non-Past Indicative: The indicative imperfect is infrequently encountered in the inscriptions, mainly because most formulae require a preterite verb.

WH 3929: *ytzr* *hyt*
 await.PC.3MS animal.PL
 ‘(while) lying in wait for animals’

b. Subjunctive/Volitive: The subjunctive function of the prefix conjugation is most encountered in blessing and curse formulae. In this context, its sense is identical to the potential force of the future-perfect suffix conjugation.

C 4803: *w* *hyy l-ḏ* *yqrʾ* *h-ktb*
 CONJ life to-REL.MS read.PC.3MS ART-writing
 ‘and may he who would read this writing aloud have long life’

C 286: *h* *rḏy ʿwr* *l-ḏ* *yʿwr*
 VOC Rḏy blindness to-REL.MS efface.PC.3MS
 ‘O Rḏy, may he who would efface go blind’

WH 2112: *h* *rḏw ʿwr* *ḏ* *yʿwr-nh*
 VOC Rḏw blind.IMP.2MS REL.MS effaces.PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS
 ‘O Rḏw, blind him who would efface it (the inscription)’

The prefix conjugation can also be used—independently or following the asseverative *l*—as a volitive, cf. CAR *li-yaf'al* ‘let him do’.

Independent:

LP 643: *ng'* *l- s²mt* *'s¹r* *f* *h*
 grieve in pain.SC.3MS for- S²mt captured.PPC.3MS CONJ VOC
lt ys¹lm
 Lt secure.PC.3MS
 ‘he grieved in pain for S²mt who was captured so, O Lt, may he be secure’

With the asseverative *l*:

AWS 237: *h* *rḏw* *f* *l-y'wr* *m* *'wr* *w*
 VOC Rḏw CONJ ASV- be blinded.PC.3MS REL efface.SC.3MS CONJ
l-yq' *b- ṣdq*
 ASV-thrown-out.PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS by- friend
 ‘O Rḏw, let anyone who would efface be made blind, then let him be thrown out of the grave by a friend’

The negated short imperfect can also have a volitive meaning:

HshNSMI 5: *w* *lm* *yḥbl* *s¹r*
 VOC NEG be obscured.PC.3MS writing
 ‘and may (the) writing not be effaced’

The prefix conjugation is also used in purpose and result clauses, where one would normally encounter the subjunctive in CAR. The final consonant of the III-w/y prefix conjugation in result clauses surfaces in the orthography, which points towards a final triphthong, e.g., *nngy* ‘that I/we may live long’. Such a form can only go back to a triradical stem terminating in an /a/ vowel **/nan-goya/*,² as III-w/y participles show that the sequence **iyu*, and so likely **uyu* as well, collapsed to a long vowel (§ 3.4a). The second subjunctive prefix conjugation, *nḥyy* (LP 495), only indicates that it goes back to a triradical stem which

2 The short prefix conjugation of III-w/y roots would have been bi-radical and terminated in a short vowel, **nangu* and **niḥya*.

terminated in a vowel, the quality of which is unclear. The indicative *niḥyayu would yield */neḥyay/ while the subjunctive *niḥyaya would yield */neḥyaya/, both in turn would have been spelled as *nḥyy*.

LP 495: *h rḏw flt -n* *m- b's^l* *w*
 VOC Rḏw deliver.IMP.MS -CPRO.1CP from- misfortune CONJ
nḥyy
 live.PC.1CP
 'O Rḏw, deliver us/me from misfortune that we/I may live long'

LP 712: *wrd* *b- r'y* *dl* *[-] {y}s²rb*
 go to water.SC.3MS in- rising.CNST Pisces [-] drink.{PC.3MS}
 'he went to water during the rising of Pisces in order to drink'

LP 180: *trwḥ* *l- ys²rq*
 set off at night.SC.3MS to-migrate.PC.3MS
l- mabr
 toward- inner desert
 'he set off at night in order to migrate towards the inner desert'

c. Explicit future: While the *u*-augmented prefix conjugation can be used to signify present or future time, CA_r marked the explicit future through the use of a preverbal particle *sawfa* and its clitic form *sa-*. This particle is attested once in the Safaitic inscriptions.

ASWS 18: *s^llm* *l- d* *s^lr* *w*
 security for-REL leave untouched.SC.3MS CONJ
nq't *l- d* *s^l-y'wr*
 thrown out.INF for- REL FUT- efface.PC.3MS
 'may he who would leave untouched have security and may he who will efface be thrown out of the grave'

d. Preterite: The original preterite sense of the unaugmented prefix conjugation is preserved following the negative particle *lm*, just as in CA_r *lam yaf'al* 'he did not do'. A₁ attests an unaugmented prefix-conjugated verb in a context in which a past tense interpretation is preferred: *ουα ειραυ βακλα βι-Χανου*[v] */wa yir'aw baqla bi-kanū[n]/ 'and they pastured on fresh herbage during [Kanūn]'

MSNS 2: *bǰy* *ʔh-h* *f* *lm* *y'd*
 seek.SC.3MS brother -CPRO.3MS CONJ NEG return.PC.3MS
 'he sought after his brother because he did not return'

5.3 **Infinitive**

The infinitive is a substantive which refers to the act or state denoted by the verb, corresponding roughly to the English gerund and *to*-infinitive.

5.3.1 *Form*

The infinitive must in most cases be identified syntactically, as it is often orthographically identical to the suffix conjugation. The infinitive of weak roots is sometimes distinguished from the SC by derivational prefixes or suffixes, but these will be discussed more extensively in §5.6. Unlike finite verbs and adjectives, the infinitive does not exhibit agreement with its logical subject. It is unclear if the infinitive was marked by the accusative when it was the complement of a finite verb or if it was generally unmarked by case endings. If *hwf* in KRS 1949 is to be interpreted as part of an infinitive chain construction (§16.1), then the coalescence of its *f* with the following conjunction in spelling suggests that it was not followed by a vowel.

5.3.2 *Function*

Infinitives have a variety of functions, including assertion, forming commands, purpose and result clauses, and even replacing a finite verb completely. They are unmarked for TAM and so acquire these features from their pragmatic context. These functions will be discussed in greater detail in (§16), so a few illustrative examples will suffice here:

Purpose

NST 3: *ʔy* *nzr* *h- tbrn* *mn- 'l*
 come.SC.3M guard.INF ART- warrior.PL from- lineage.CNST
šbḥ *s'nt* *hrb -hm* *'l*
 Šbḥ year.CNST war.SC.MP-CPRO.3MP lineage.CNST
ʔwḏ
ʔwḏ
 'the warriors of the lineage of Šbḥ came to guard the year the
 lineage of ʔwḏ made war upon them'

Command

SIJ 808: *w nʒr s²{n}' f h lt fʒy*
 CONJ guard.SC.3MS {enemy.PL} CONJ VOC Lt deliver.INF
 'and he stood guard against enemies, so, O Lt, deliver!'

Replacing a finite verb

Mu 253: *wgd ʔtr 'b-h f bk{y}*
 find.SC.3MS trace.CNST father-CPRO.3MS CONJ {weep.SC.3MS}
w dkr l-'{h}-h {}wl
 CONJ remember.INF to- {brother}-CPRO.3MS {wl}
 'he found the trace of his father, and so he wept and remembered
 his brother 'wl'

5.4 Imperative

The imperative expresses a direct request or command. They occur almost exclusively in prayer and curse formulae, where in most cases they can only be distinguished from cognate abstract nouns by their syntax. The imperative will take a direct object whereas the corresponding formula containing nominal forms marks the logical object with the dative *l-* or with the object wholly unexpressed. Compare the following:

Imperative

KRS 102: *w rɔw 'wr d y'wr*
 CONJ Rɔw blind.IMP.3MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS
 'O Rɔw, blind him who would efface'

Abstract noun

KRS 1161: *h lt 'wr l-d y'wr*
 VOC Lt blindness to- REL.MS efface.PC.3MS
 'O Lt, may he who would efface go blind' (lit. blindness be to him
 ...)

Imperative

LP 1013: *h ds²r s^llm -h* {*m-*} {*h-* s^l{*t*}{*n*}}
 VOC Ds²r secure.IMP.M -CPRO.3MS {from} {ART-} {authorities}
 ‘O Ds²r, keep him safe from the authorities (i.e., the Romans or Nabataeans)’

Abstract noun

WH 153: *h lt s^llm l- d s^lr*
 VOC Lt security to-REL.MS leave untouched.SC.3MS
 ‘O Lt, may he who would leave (this inscription) untouched be secure’ (lit. ... security be to him who would leave untouched).

5.5 Participles

5.5.1 Overview

The participle is an adjective containing the meaning of the verb. They come in two forms, active and passive, and decline as adjectives:

Attested forms of *trḥ* */tarīḥ/ ‘perished’

MS	FS	MD	MP
<i>trḥ</i>	<i>trḥt</i>	<i>trḥn</i>	<i>trḥn</i>

5.5.2 Function

The syntax of the participle will be discussed in more detail in §17 and 18, but a few notes on its functions are appropriate here.

a. Imperfective: The participle can replace the prefix conjugation with the same modal nuances:

LP 257: *h lt {h}rs^l l- m mḥbl h- {s^l}fr*
 VOC Lt {dumbness} to- REL obscure.APC.MS ART- {writing}
 ‘O Lt, may anyone who would be an obscurer of this writing become dumb’

- C 1339: *l ḥy'l bn z{n}'{l} dm l- 's'lm*
 LA Ḥy'l son.CNST {Zn'l} draw.APC.MS for- 's'lm
 'dl-h
 companion-CPRO.3MS
 'By Ḥy'l son of Zn'l who draws for 's'lm his companion'

The participle can be used adverbially to signal an action contemporary with the main event.

- C 28: *w byt ḥyṭ f*
 CONJ spend the night.SC.3MS journey.APC.MS CONJ
tʒr h- 's'd
 await.SC.3MS Leo
 'and he spent the night while journeying, then awaited (the appearance of) Leo'

b. Perfect: The participle can also have a perfect sense when used in adverbial clauses. While this function is typical of the passive participle in other Semitic languages, it is uncommon with the active. However, many modern dialects of Arabic attest a similar function, e.g., Damascene Arabic, *fāteḥ* 'having opened' < *fatiḥun, *ʿāri* 'having read' < *qāri'un (see Cowell 2005:258 ff.).

- MKJS 1: *w s²ty 'nzt nfr mn ' - rm*
 CONJ winter.SC.3MS 'nzt flee.APC.MS from ART- Rm
 'and he wintered in 'nzt, having fled from the Romans'

- ISB 421: *l ḥzr bn frhz h- dr mḥrb*
 LA Ḥzr son.COST Frhz ART- place plunder.PPC.MS
ygr
 endure.FC.3MS
 'Ḥzr son of Frhz endures in this place, having been plundered'

- ASWS 73: *ng' l- ḥbb w l- h- 'bl*
 grieve in pain.SC.3MS for- loved one CONJ for- ART- camels
r'y-h hgr m- mabr
 pasture.SC.3MS -CPRO.3FS migrate.APC.MS from- inner desert
 'and he grieved in pain for Ḥbb and for the camels which he had pastured, having migrated from the inner desert'

5.6 Verb Stems

Like other Semitic languages, different stems—characterized by vowel apophony, gemination, prefixes, and infixes—are used to express voice and causative/factitive features in the verb. The orthography distinguishes five basic *classes* behind which stand at least eight verb stems. They are:

Verb Classes

CCC = G (= CAR. fa‘ala); D (= CAR. fa‘ala); L (= CAR. fā‘ala)
 ’CCC = C (= CAR. ’af‘ala) and possibly a cD (Gz. ’aqattala)
 CtCC = Gt (= CAR. ifta‘ala)
 tCCC = tD (= CAR. tafa‘ala); tL (= CAR. tafā‘ala); tG (= EAr. itfa‘al; Arm.
etqtel)
 nCCC = N (= Ar. infa‘ala)

Semiticists further sub-divide these stems into two conjugational classes: strong and weak. The definition of “weak” differs from language to language, but generally refers to verbs that do not maintain all three root consonant across the various principle parts. In the Safaitic inscriptions, weak verbs encompass roots with a glide consonant, *y* or *w*, in any position, and geminate roots, i.e., those of which the second and third consonant are identical.³ Strong verbs include everything else. The following overview will discuss the attested forms, their functions, and possible vocalizations.

5.6.1 CCC

This is the most common class in Safaitic, which comprises three verbal stems, G, D, and L. The G can be distinguished from the latter two if the corresponding participle is attested. The D and L, however, must be distinguished on an etymological or pragmatic basis. Moreover, the existence of the L-stem is purely conjectural, and is only posited because some CCC-class verbs have a reciprocal sense, which is typically associated with the L-stem in CAR.

5.6.1.1 G-Stem

The basic G-stem verb can have either a transitive or intransitive meaning. Based on comparative evidence, this distinction was likely signaled by a change

3 One may also consider I-n roots as part of the weak class, as the /n/ sometimes assimilates in the prefix conjugation, but there are not enough examples to merit a separate treatment.

in the vowel of the penultimate syllable, /a/ for transitive, CAr *qatala* ‘he killed’, and either /i/ or /u/ for intransitive and stative meanings, CAr *‘aliqa* ‘it hung’, and *ḥasuna* ‘he was handsome, good’.

Suffix Conjugation: The vocalization CvCvC, rather than (v)CCvC as in some later varieties of Arabic, is confirmed by the fact that I-n roots never exhibit assimilation of the first consonant and by the spelling of the verb *ṭw* as *αθαοα* in A1.

Prefix Conjugation: The morphological shape */yVCCVC/ is confirmed for the augmented prefix conjugation based on the spelling of I-n verb *ygr* ‘he endures’ (ISB 421) */yVggor/ < */yVngur/ and by the spelling of the II-w/y root *√nwy* as *yny* ‘he migrates’ (C 1108), indicating a vocalization with a medial vowel rather than a consonant (see § 5.6.1.1.1). The short form is attested in A1 as *εραυ* */yir‘aw/ ‘they pastured’.

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive of strong roots is attested as both *qtl* and *qtl̄t*. These could correspond to nearly twenty forms in CAr used for verbal and abstract substantives. Indeed, the spelling of the infinitive of weak roots indicates that a variety of patterns were in use (see below).

Imperative: The imperative has the shape *qtl*. Since no I-n roots have been attested as imperatives, it is impossible to determine whether this form was vocalized as */VqtVl/ or */qVtVl/.

Participles: The active participle—also spelled *qtl*—was likely vocalized as CāCeC. Names derived from this pattern are well attested in the Graeco-Arabica, e.g., *Ανεμου* /ġānem/, *Μαλεχαθη* /mālekat/, *Αμηρος* /‘āmer/. The passive comes in two shapes, *qtl* and *mqt̄l*. The former probably reflects two patterns, */qatīl/ and */qatūl/, both of which are found in CAr, e.g., *qatīlun*, *qatūlun* ‘killed’. The Graeco-Arabica from the southern Levant attest both patterns in Arabic personal names, *Ουασιμαθος* /wasīmat/ and *Αβουβαθη* /ḥabūbat/. The second form *mqt̄l* is cognate with the productive *maq̄tūl*-passive of CAr and is found in Nabataean graffiti from the Sinai, *mdkwr* /maḏkūr/, in the Graeco-Arabica, in the personal name *Μακσουραθη* /maq̄sūrat/, and in a toponym in P. Petra 17, *Μεφωρ* /mehfōr/ ‘dug’ (Al-Jallad et al. 2013).

G principle parts

SC	PC	INF	IMP	APART	PPART
<i>qtl</i>	<i>yqtl</i>	<i>qtl(t)</i>	<i>qtl</i>	<i>qtl</i>	<i>qtl/mqtl</i>

Transitive:

- C 3820: *wgd* *'tr* *'h-h*
 find.SC.3MS trace.CNST brother -CPRO.3MS
 'he found the trace of his brother'
- C 4443: *qtl-h* *{'}l* *šbh*
 kill.SC.3 -CPRO.3M {lineage.CNST} Šbh
 'the lineage of Šbh killed him'
- LP 325: *h* *lt* *s'lm* *w* *ğnmt* *l-d* *d'y*
 VOC Lt security CONJ spoil to- REL read aloud.SC.3MS
h-s'fr
 ART- writing
 'may he who would read this writing aloud have security and spoil'

Intransitive/Stative:

- C 2190: *s'nt* *myt* *{d}{d}-h*
 year.CNST died.SC.3MS {paternal uncle} -CPRO.3MS
 'the year his paternal uncle died'
- KRS 29: *hrš* *d* *b'd* *m- 's'2y'*
 watch.SC.3MS REL.MS be far.SC.3MS from- companion.PL
 'he kept watch for him who was far from companions'
- NSR 117: *w* *wħd*
 CONJ alone.SC.3MS
 'and he was alone'

5.6.1.1.1 *Notes on Weak Roots**I-y/w*

Suffix Conjugation: Roots containing a glide as an initial radical do not exhibit irregular behavior in the G suffix conjugation, *whb* 'he gave' (*passim*); *wgm* 'he grieved' (*passim*); *y's*¹ 'he dispaired' (CSNS 957).

Infinitives and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive of this class can lack the initial consonant and terminate with a *t*: *qyt* 'to protect' (C 1837, 4068) < √wqy, while abstract nouns retain the initial *w*: *wqyt* 'protection' (WH 159) < √wqy. In some inscriptions, *whb* 'to give' could be taken as an infinitive. If this is correct, then it suggests that multiple patterns were used to form the infinitive of I-w roots as well.

Imperative: The imperative of *whb* 'he gave' is attested as *hb* (LP 460; Mu 571), without the initial glide (cf. CAr *hab*). Other inscriptions (e.g., C 3757), however, attest *whb* in a context where it should be understood as a command. This could reflect the use of the D-stem as the equivalent of the G or an infinitive.

II-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The original realization of roots containing a glide in C² position is disputed. Huehnergard (2005:177, n. 75) has suggested that the collapse of these sequences to /ā/ was the result of a Proto-Semitic sound change. The medial radical was then restored independently in Gz, *kōna* < *kawna < *kawina and ASA *kwn*. Suchard (*forthcoming*), however, has argued that forms with a medial glide must be reconstructed for Proto-Hebrew, which, in turn, suggests that a triradical stem must be reconstructed for Proto-Canaanite. This would mean that the Gz and ASA forms are in fact archaisms and the remaining Semitic languages collapsed the triphthong in this position independently. The interpretation of the Safaitic evidence is therefore dependent upon which view of the Proto-Semitic situation we chose. The inscriptions attest two forms, one with a medial glide and one without, e.g., *mt* 'he died' and *myt*; *bt* 'he spent the night' (C 3466) and *byt*, 'd' 'he returned' (KhMNS 13) and 'wd, 'yd; *rḥ* 'he departed at night' (CSNS 818) and *rwh*. Some of these, especially those expressing movement, can be seen as the result of semantic overlap between the G and D, something which is attested in the modern dialects of Arabic, LAr *rāḥ* and *rawwāḥ*, both 'he left'. This explanation, however, seems unlikely in the case of intransitive G-stems, where the D usually forms the causative/factitive, and so

may support the view that the medial glide was restored in analogy with strong roots. Such would account for why the medial glide is not etymologically correct in the suffix conjugation of $\sqrt{\text{mw}t}$, *myt*.

If we argue that II-w/y roots remained triradical past the Proto-Semitic stage, then it is possible to see forms such as *myt* and γd as continuations of the original situation. This would beg the question as to why the medial glide no longer reflects the original value of the root. One could suggest that the *y* value was simply leveled to all II-w/y roots in the G suffix conjugation, which would, in turn, mean that CCC verbs exhibiting a medial *w* must belong to the D-stem. However, another explanation is possible. In Gz, all II-w/y verbs belong to the intransitive CaCi/uCa pattern of the suffix conjugation (cf. *kōna* above). The same seems to be true in the pre-history of Arabic (as suggested by Suchard, *forthcoming*). The suffix conjugation of II-w/y verbs exhibits an interesting allomorphy, where in the 3P, the medial vowel is /ā/ while in the first and second it is a short high vowel, either /u/ or /i/. The reflex is lexical and cannot be inferred from the shape of the root. To explain this variation, we can posit two, stress-based sound changes: *áwi/u* > *ā* and *awí/ú* > *i*, < **ī*, and *u*, < **ū*, respectively: *máwita* > *māta* but *mawítu* > *mittu* and *qáwuma* > *qāma* but *qawúmtu* > *qumtu*. Safaitic forms such as *myt* and *byt* may therefore reflect a pre-contraction situation. If so, then the *y* of *myt* could be explained by the fact that the root probably formed an *i*-class suffix conjugation stem, CaCiCa. In this case, the /w/ could have shifted to /y/ under the influence of the following /i/, **mawita* > **mayita* > *myt* */*mayeta*/. While forms such as *rwḥ* could still reflect the D-stem or reflexes of an *CaCuCa pattern.

Curiously, there are no inflected examples of G-stems with a medial glide. A feminine form of the root $\sqrt{\text{mw}t}$ is attested thrice as *mtt*, twice in a context where it could be understood as an adjective (NST 2 and ASWS 70) and once where it must be a suffix-conjugated verb (AbaNS 86). The sample size is obviously too small to arrive at any conclusions. This distribution may simply be a result of a coincidence, namely, that all of the feminine forms attested reflect dialects which have collapsed the medial triphthong. It is also possible that such forms reflect an underlying */*maytat*/, with the syncope of the medial vowel. Finally, one may suggest that triphthong collapsed when followed by a closed syllable, yielding 3ms */*mayeta*/ but 3fs */*mātat*/ < **mayetat*; the stem of the feminine form could have eventually been leveled to the masculine. If the identification of *qt-h* (C 4384) as the infinitive *qyt* 'to protect' with a pronominal suffix is correct, it may suggest that a similar sound change was operational there as well: */*qayatoh*/ > */*qātoh*/.

One possible example of the 2FS is attested, $\text{ʕt } */\text{ʕeʕt(i)}/(?)$ 'may you cause hardship' (UIO 183) < $\sqrt{\text{wʕ}}$, but a 3FS interpretation is also possible.

Prefix Conjugation: Only three verbs of this root class are attested in the prefix conjugation, one reflecting the short prefix conjugation: *lm y'd* */yV^od/ 'he did not return' (MSNS 2)⁴ < √^owd; the second could be interpreted as either a short or augmented form, *'kd -h yšn* */yVšün/ 'after it (the withholding of the rain), may he preserve (it)' (LP 722 = SG 1) < √šwn. The prefix conjugation of the verb *nyw* 'to migrate' is attested as *yny* */yenāy/ or */yanūy/(?) (C 1108).

Infinitive/Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is attested without the medial glide *hb* 'to lament' (WH 116) probably */hüb/ or */hawb/ < √hwb. Other forms with medial glides probably reflect a pattern with a long vowel following C², e.g., {ǰ}yr 'to provide provisions' (SIJ 463), perhaps */ǰVyār/ or */ǰVyūr/. The 'n in the blessing portion of C 5182, *h {l}{t} {ʔ}n*, could reflect the use of an infinitive as a command */'awn/ or */'ün/ 'help!' or an imperative */'ünī/.

Participles: Active participles with a medial glottal stop are attested beside forms with a medial glide: compare *z'm* 'dead' (Vogue 404.1) < √zwm and *k'n* (LP 1198) 'existing' < √kwn to *hyt* 'journeying' (C 28) < √hyt, and *gy* 'starving' (C 3811) < √gw'. These no doubt reflect dialectal variation. A participle or verbal adjective of *myt* might be attested once in C 1133 as *mt: w wgm 'l- 'brs² mt mn{y}* 'and he mourned for 'brs² who died by the hand of Fate (lit. by Fate)', since this formula usually makes use of adjectives. However, one cannot exclude the possibility of a finite verb in this position. Other attestations are ambiguous (see CSNS 65, 89).

III-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: Bearing in mind the possible sound change *w > y* in word-final position, the class does not exhibit irregular behavior, *ngy* 'he was announced' (WH 15); *mty* 'he journeyed' (C 663); *s²ry* 'he purchased' (C 2832). The final *y* is preserved in the 3FS as well: *ngyt* ' - *mlkt* 'the Queen was announced' (SIJ 786). There is no unambiguous evidence for the collapse of the etymological word-final triphthong. Relic forms are also attested where the etymologically correct third radical is preserved, *s²tw* */śatawa/ 'he wintered' (CSNS 324), *ngw* */nagawa/ 'he escaped' (UIO 136), *'tw* 'he came' (SIJ 957) = Αθ^ααα /'atawa/ (A 1).

4 The short form contains an original medial short vowel, as in the CA_r jussive.

Prefix Conjugation: No indicative forms are attested. The subjunctive preserves the final *y*, *nḥyy* ‘that I/we may live’ */nVḥyaya/ (LP 495) and *nngy* ‘that I/we may be saved’ */nVngoya/ (WH 135).

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is often identical to the suffix conjugation, *r’y* ‘to pasture’ (KRS 37); *fšy* ‘to deliver’ (C 1137; SIJ 808), and may reflect either CVCy or CVCV̄y patterns. A by-form of the infinitive *s²ty* ‘to winter’ is attested with a *t*-suffix and the loss of the glide, *s²tt* (KRS 37), perhaps */śatat/ or */śatāt/ < *śatayat. The vocalization CaCCat is suggested by the infinitive of √nwy, *nyt* ‘to migrate’ (KRS 1770), probably */nawyat/. Abstract nouns of this class can appear with a final *-t*: *fšyt* ‘deliverance’ (KRS 1706); *r’y* ‘pasturing’ (KRS 1886); {*n*}*gwt* ‘escape’ (C 4842), and without, *ḥlw* ‘healing’ (C 3365).

Participles: As discussed in (§ 4.6), the few examples of active participles of this root class seem to point towards a morphological difference between nominative and adverbial forms. The former are bi-radical—*dm* (C 1339) ‘drawing’ */dāmī/ < √dmy; *s²t* (C 1868) ‘wintering’ */śātī/ < √s²ty; *ḥz* (ASWS 124) ‘being hostile’ */ḥāzī/ < √ḥzy, while the later exhibit the final radical—*r’y* (C 2446) ‘while pasturing’ and *ḥy* ‘while suffering’ (KRS 1964), most likely */rā‘eya/ and */śāteya/, respectively. Passive participles retain the final radical in the singular and plural, *s¹by* (C 2113) ‘captured’; perhaps */sabūy/, and *s¹byn* (ASWS 18) */sabūyīna/, and *ms¹by* ‘idem’ (HCH 132) */masbūy/.

$C^2 = C^3$

Suffix Conjugation: All of the CS languages attest two patterns in the declension of geminate roots: the first clusters C^2 and C^3 without an intervening vowel (*yaruddu*) and the second treats them identically to strong roots (*yardudu*). The former pattern is considered a CS innovation (see Huehnergard 2005:173 ff.). A similar pattern is encountered in the suffix conjugation—the G-stem of geminate roots is often biradical, *ḥl* (C 726, 2104) ‘he camped’ < √ḥll; *mr* (RSIS 80) ‘he passed by’; *wd* (KRS 307) ‘he loved’ < √wdd; *fḥy* (C 1280) ‘that he may live long’ < √ḥyy < *√ḥyw, but some verbs of this root class have by-forms where both consonants are kept apart, e.g., *ḥll* ‘he camped’ (*passim*). It is unclear if the doubled forms are archaisms reflecting an original */ḥalala/, innovations based on analogy with strong roots, or, perhaps most likely, the use of the D in place of the G.

Prefix Conjugation: The stem of the prefix conjugation is attested only once in the clustered form, *l-yḥg* ‘in order to go on a pilgrimage’ */le-yVḥogga/ (WH 3053) < √ḥgg.

Infinitive: The infinitive of √ḥll is attested in JaS 159.2 and C 2158 as *ḥlt* ‘to camp’, which should probably be vocalized as */ḥVllat/. Other cases of C² = C³ roots with a t-suffix can be interpreted as infinitives or abstract nouns: *wdt* ‘to (show) love’ (WH 2194) < √wdd; *rdt* ‘compensation; to compensate’ (C 1639) < √rdd.

Participles: The active participle is clearly attested once in a clustered form, *ḥl* ‘camping’ */ḥāll/ (C 407) < √ḥll, cf. CAR *ḥāllun*. The participle of the root √ǧzz, however, is attested in an unclustered form in WH 128, *ǧzz* ‘having gone on a raid’. This is unexpected because the finite verb is always *ǧzz*, pointing towards a D-stem, the participle of which would be *mǧzz*. However, since this root is a back-formation from an original √ǧzy, it is possible that there was a suppletive G-stem participle, or that this form reflects the so-called emphatic participle, *ǧazzāz*. The Graeco-Arabica mostly attests unclustered forms, e.g., Τᾶνευοῦ /tāneuo/; Βᾶνενη /bāneṇe/. Passive participles only attest unclustered forms, *wdd* (LP 673) ‘beloved’ */wadīd/ < √wdd; *ḥbb* (C 96) ‘loved one’ */ḥabīb/ < √ḥbb; *dll* (HCH 131) ‘lost’ */ṣalīl/, and possibly an *m*-passive participle: *mḥbb* (WH 116) ‘loved one’ */maḥbūb/ < √ḥbb, although this form can also be interpreted as a C-stem (see below).

5.6.1.2 D/L-Stem

The D-stem transitivizes stative G-stems and forms the causative of transitive G-stems, but it can also replace the G and C with no apparent difference in meaning.

Suffix Conjugation: Verbs of this class are indistinguishable from their G counterparts in consonantal garb. There is nothing to contradict a direct reflex of the original vocalization, CaCCaCa, *ḥbl* ‘he obscured’ */ḥabbala/ (NST 3).

Prefix Conjugation: There is no evidence for the vocalization of this form, but again nothing contradicts a normal reflex of *yuCaCCiC, *yḥbl* */yoḥabbel/ ‘would he obscure’ (KRS 1042) and *ysʿlm -h* */yosallem-oh/ ‘would he keep it safe’ (AWS 264).

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is attested with a *t*-prefix (cf. CAR *tafʿilun*), *tḏb* ‘to raid’ (LP 742), probably */taṣbīʿ/; *trwḥ* */tarwīḥ/ ‘to send the

winds' (SESP.U 18), and the abstract noun *tsʿfr* */taspīr/ 'writing' (HAUI 76). Forms with a final *-t* are also attested, ʿ*wdt* 'to return' (C 5011), perhaps */ʿawwā-dat/.

Imperative: The imperative is identical to the suffix conjugation and can only be inferred from context. There is nothing to contradict the vocalization */CaCCeC/, *wlh* 'cause grief!' */walleh/ (C 3177).

Participles: The active and passive are distinguished by vowel ablaut in the stem final syllable, CAr active *mufa* 'ilun and passive *mufa* 'alun. The Graeco-Arabica from southern Syria suggests a similar vocalization, although no passives have been attested—Μοαίνοϛ /moʿayyin/; Μοαίεροϛ /moğayyer/, and so on. If these transcriptions reflect the situation in the Safaitic dialects, then the vocalization moCaCCeC for the active participle seems likely, *mḥbl* */moḥabbel/ (Mu 278). One example of the passive has so far been attested, *mʿwr* */moʿawwar/ 'effaced' (AWS 48).

SC	PC	INF	IMP	AP	PP
<i>qtl</i>	<i>yqtl</i>	<i>tqtl/qtl</i>	<i>qtl</i>	<i>mqtl</i>	<i>mqtl</i>

The D-stem as a causative of the G:

C 3177:	<i>h</i>	<i>rd[w]</i>	<i>wlh</i>	<i>w</i>	ʿ <i>wr</i>	<i>m</i>
	VOC	Rd[w]	make grieve.IMP.2MS	CONJ	blind.IMP.2MS	REL
		ʿ <i>wr</i>	efface.SC.3MS			
			'O Rdw, make grieve and blind whosoever would efface (this inscription)'			

Compare to the G-stem in C 25: *wlh* 'l-h 'he grieved for him'.

C 4010:	<i>h</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>r{w}ḥ</i>	<i>m-d</i>
	VOC	Lt	{relief}	from- REL.MS
		<i>bʿs^l-h</i>	make miserable.SC.3MS	-CPRO.3MS
			'O Lt, let there be relief from that which has made him miserable'	

Compare to the G-stem in *b's^l* (C 2544) 'he was miserable'.

α. The D-stem sometimes overlaps with the C-stem: *'wr* (C 763) = *'wr* 'to blind' (*passim*); *ʕ²rq* (*passim*) 'migrate to the inner desert' = *s²rq* (C 1875); and possibly *hb* (LP 460) 'give!' and *whb* (C 3757), if the latter is not an infinitive.

β. As discussed above, geminate roots may have been reanalyzed as D-stems, even though they retain the semantics of the G. By-forms exist with no apparent difference in meaning.

α. The existence of an L-stem in the Arabic dialects of this region is suggested by transcription of the personal name *Μοσαλεμος* /*mosālem*/. While indistinguishable orthographically, L-stems are posited mainly for the root *qtl* when it has a reciprocal sense. Note, however, that this function is not found in the relic forms of the L-stem in the NWS languages, and thus may be an Arabic innovation.

HCH 71: *s^lnt* *qtl* *ħw{s}t w* *b{y}g'*
 year.CNST fight.SC.3 {Hwšt} CONJ {Byg'}
 'the year {Hwšt} and {Byg'} fought'

BWM 3: *s^lnt* *qtl* *ħrb w* *'lmn*
 year.CNST fight.SC.3 ħrb CONJ 'lmn
 'the year Ĥrb and 'lmn fought'

5.6.1.2.1 *Notes on Weak Roots*

II-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The behavior of stems of this root class is unexceptional, but there is some evidence for the confusion of the etymological value of the medial glide. The verb *'yd* 'to encircle' (KRS 1706) ultimately derives from the root $\sqrt{\text{wd}}$, and therefore must reflect the leveling of the *y*, perhaps from the suffix conjugation, across the paradigm.

Imperative: In rare cases, II-w roots are confused with II-y ones, *'yr* 'blind' (KRS 1695) and *ryħ* (KRS 78). These instances likely reflect the development described above. Note also that many modern dialects of Arabic attest the same form for 'to relieve', LAr *rayyeħ* 'idem'.

III-w/y

Some roots of this class have been reanalyzed as $C^2 = C^3$ in the suffix and prefix conjugation, sometimes with no change in meaning. One form, however, is usually dominant. Relics of this situation make their way into the medieval Arabic dictionaries, where the lexicographers record, for example, both *rabbā-hu* and *rabbaba-hū* for ‘to bring up, rear’ (Lane, 1002b). This is by no means a universal phenomenon in Safaitic, and there are clear attestations of D-stems which retain the final *y*, *s^lbyt-h ty* ‘the (tribe) Ṭy’ took him captive’ (CSNS 1004), *s^lbyt-h* should be vocalized as */sabbayat-oh/, and *‘ly ṛfs^ll-frs^lgrm^l* ‘he erected [the] funerary monuments for the horsemen of Grm^l’ (NRW.D 1), where *‘ly* must be */‘allaya/. The following examples of the overlap between III-y/w and $C^2 = C^3$ are attested:

III-w/y	$C^2 = C^3$
<i>ǰzy</i> (KhBG 11)	<i>ǰzz</i> (<i>passim</i>) ‘to raid’
<i>bny</i> (<i>passim</i>)	<i>bnn h- s^ltr</i> (AbaNS 78) ‘he built the shelter’
<i>mrby</i> (KRS 167) ‘foster child’	<i>yrb̄b</i> (C 1186) ‘he brings up’
<i>gty</i> (AbaNS 881) ‘to be cut off’	<i>ygl̄l</i> (KRS 213) ‘to erase’
* <i>hly</i> ⁵	<i>hll</i> (RWQ 281) ‘to keep watch’

Imperative: The FS is clearly attested once as *dn* */dannī/ ‘render contemptible’ (KWQ 119).

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: An abstract noun is attested once with *t*-prefix and suffix: *tfty* */tawfiyyat/ ‘fulfillment’ (C 1744) < √wfy.

$C^2 = C^3$

Imperative: Only one clear example of the imperative is attested as *hy* ‘grant life!’ (LP 335), which suggests the vocalization */ḥayyī/. While this root is not originally a $C^2 = C^3$ root, progressive assimilation in this environment would have caused it to merge with this root class.

5 This form is so far unattested, but its original shape is confirmed by the Gz cognate, *hallawa* ‘watch, keep watch, guard’ (CDG, 262). A new $C^2 = C^3$ G-stem has also been back-formed, *hl* (C 4443).

5.6.2 'CCC

The C-stem has two functions. It is primarily used to derive causatives from intransitive roots. There is, therefore, some overlap with the D; indeed, some roots form their causatives with both without any apparent difference in meaning. The second function indicates direction of travel or movement. These verbs are usually denominative, but their meaning has sometimes become removed from the meaning of their source. For example, the verb 's²rq 'to migrate to the inner desert' derives originally from the root s²rq meaning 'east' (Macdonald 1992a: 4–5).

Suffix Conjugation: The suffix conjugation is characterized by a glottal stop prefixed to the verbal root; there is no evidence for a sibilant reflex of the causative morpheme, but a single lexicalized *h*- reflex has been attested (see § 5.6.5). The exact vocalization of this stem is unclear. If the elative were vocalized identically to the suffix conjugation of the C-stem, then the Graeco-Arabica indicates the vocalization 'aCCaC-, e.g., Ασλαμος /'aslam/.

Prefix Conjugation: The causative morpheme is elided in the prefix conjugation. Personal names based on the C-stem suggest that the preformative vowel was realized as /o/ < *u, e.g., Θοκιμη /toqīm/ < *tuqīmu 'she establishes' < √qwm. Thus, this stem was likely vocalized as */yoCCeC/.

Infinitive: The infinitive is spelled identically to the suffix conjugation. Nothing contradicts the expected vocalization */eCCāC/. All infinitives attested so far derive from III-w/y roots, so see the discussion below (§ 5.6.2.1) for examples.

Imperative: No imperatives of strong roots have been attested, although a single attestation of the root √ġny (see below) suggests the pattern 'aCCv(C).

Participles: The glottal stop is elided in the participle as well (with the exception of a possible poetic form, see below). The Graeco-Arabica attest several names derived from the participle, which suggest the vocalization */moCCeC/, e.g., Μολεμος */mohlem/ = *mḥlm*; Μοσβεος */mosbeh/ = *mšbh*, etc.

SC	PC	INF	IMP	APC	PP
----	----	-----	-----	-----	----

'qtl	yqtl	'qtl	'qtl	mqtl	–
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Causative:

- WH 1696: *f s²hqm ʿly l-hm ʿn*
 CONJ S²hqm raise.INF for -CPRO.3PL help
m-bʿs¹
 against- misfortune
 ‘so S²hqm, bring to them help against misfortune!’
- WH 1022: *ʿyʿs¹-h hytn*
 make sad.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS travelling
 ‘travelling made him sad’
- UIO 183: *h lt l ʿst d ʿdyr*
 VOC Lt ASV cause hardship.SC.2FS REL.MS anger.SC.3MS
 ‘O Lt, may you indeed cause hardship for him who has caused
 anger’

Direction:

- C 325: *w ʿ{y}mn*
 CONJ {go south}.SC.3MS
 ‘and he went south’
- LP 180: *w trwh l-ys²rq*
 CONJ he set off at night.SC.3MS to- migrate.PC.3MS
l-mabr
 to- inner desert
 ‘and he set off at night in order to migrate towards the inner
 desert’
- C 1649: *ʿsʿfr tdmr*
 travel.SC.3MS Palmyra
 ‘he will travel to Palmyra’

5.6.2.1 Notes on Weak Roots

I-y/w

Suffix Conjugation: The initial glide of two I-y C-stem verbs is expressed orthographically, *ʿyʿs¹* */ayʿasa/ ‘he caused despair’ (WH 1022) and *ʿ{y}mn* */aymana/ ‘he went south’ (C 325). This is unexpected given the fact that word-internal

diphthongs are not usually represented in the orthography, but rare examples of their notation do exist, e.g., *qyṣr* (MISSD 1) = CAESAR. All examples of I-w C-stems, however, leave the initial consonant unrepresented orthographically, *ʔd* * /ʔawqada/ 'he struck violently' (AbaNS 16); *ʔd* * /ʔawḥada/ 'two became one' (AAUI 281); *ʔg* * /ʔawga'a/ 'he caused pain' (KRS 3074). One possible explanation of the spellings *ʔs* and *ʔmn* is that they reflect the so-called cD stem, that is, the causative prefix applied to the D-stem, forming a portmanteau 'aCaCCaC. Thus, *ʔs* would not reflect * /ʔay'asa/ but rather * /ʔaya'asa/. This form is known in Gz, where it would reflect a parallel development. While positing such a form would certainly rid us of the orthographic problem created by I-y verbs, it does not explain why I-w roots would not form causatives according to this pattern. The existence of a cD stem is ultimately impossible to prove since the orthography cannot provide unambiguous examples of its existence.

II-y/w

Suffix Conjugation: The medial glide of this root class is sometimes preserved—*ʔwr* 'to efface' * /ʔa'wara/ (C 793); *ʔdyr* 'to anger' * /ʔadyara/ (UIO 183) and other times elided, *ʔd* * /ʔa'ada/ 'place under protection' (AWS 380). A similar situation is found in CAr, where both *ʔāra* and *ʔ'wara* are known (Lane, 2194a), although they have different meanings. The interpretation of this phenomenon is not straight forward. The forms preserving the medial glides could equally reflect the original situation, like the triconsonantal II-w/y G-suffix conjugation, or an innovation analogous to strong verbs. In light of the I-y forms discussed above, it is even possible to take *ʔwr* and *ʔdyr* as cD stems, * /ʔa'awwara/ and * /ʔadyyara/, respectively.

Prefix Conjugation: This part is only known in the prefix conjugation from the root $\sqrt{\text{wr}}$, attested as *y'r* 'to efface' * /yo'ir/ (KRS 2569) eight times so far. If we interpret *ʔwr* as a cD stem, then it is possible that *y'wr* would at least sometimes reflect its prefix conjugation. However, one wonders how such a form would have been distinguished from the D-stem in the prefix conjugation—both would have likely been vocalized as * /yo'awwer/.

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is attested once in *ʔqwy* 'to grant endurance' (SIJ 1008) < $\sqrt{\text{qw}}$, perhaps * /eqwāy/. A verbal noun without the representation of the medial radical is also attested, *ʔhl* 'uncertainty' (C 1186) < $\sqrt{\text{hyl}}$; its vocalization is unclear, but may reflect again variation between forms preserving the medial glide and those which collapse it to a long vowel.

Participle: The active participle is attested only once, in the poetic text KRS 2453. The word *mykn* seems to reflect the C-passive of the root \sqrt{kwn} , meaning ‘to be established’. The initial *y* must be explained as a reflex of the causative morpheme, here in a dialect which has lost the glottal stop following vowels, */moyakān/ < *mu’akānu. Since none of the other forms reflect the preservation of a reflex of the glottal stop, this must be considered an archaism, perhaps restricted to the poetic register or maybe an example of a rare dialectal form. The C-active participle is common in personal names, and Greek transcriptions confirm the vocalization */moCiC/, e.g., *mḡt* C 2947 = Gr. Μοι-θος.

III-y/w

Suffix Conjugation: The final radical is maintained: *ʔly* */ʔašlaya/ ‘he made a burnt offering’ (SIJ 293).

Infinitive: The spelling of the infinitive does not contradict the pattern ʔCCāC —*ʔly* ‘to raise’ */eʔlāy/ (KRS 2420) and *ʔwy* ‘to grant endurance’ */eqwāy/ (SIJ 1008) < \sqrt{qw} y, but other vocalizations are naturally possible.

Imperative: The final glide disappears in the imperative, *ʔn* ‘to render free of want’ (SW 264), which can reflect a short form */aḡni/ < $\sqrt{ḡn}$ y, as in CAr, or a long form */aḡnī/, as is the case with III-w/y roots in many modern dialects.

C² = C³

Suffix Conjugation: The same issues regarding C² = C³ stems in the G-stem hold for the C. We find examples of unclustered forms, *ʔll* */ʔašlala/ ‘he led astray’ (KRS 303), *ʔbb* */ʔaḥbaba/ ‘he loved’ (MKWS 8), *ʔzz* */ʔaʔzazī/ ‘make steadfast’ (C 74), and clustered forms *ʔn* */ʔaṭanna/ ‘he cut off’ (C 25), *ʔh* */ʔaḡaḡha/ ‘he cried aloud in grief’ (LP 409), and *ʔmd* */ʔamadda/ ‘he sent reinforcements’ (MISSD 1), but the latter are seemingly less common. One must remember, however, that C-stem verbs of this root class are rather rare in general, and so this distribution could simply be an accident of attestation rather than representative of any linguistic reality. Both forms are attested in Greek transcription—Αυδαδου /ʔawdad/ = *ʔdd* and Αθαμμος /ʔatamm/ = *ʔtm*.

Participles: Only one clear example of the C-stem participle is attested, the passive *mḥb* */moḥabb/ (CSNS 1021). Only clustered forms are discernable, as unclustered forms would appear identical to the D-stem.

5.6.3 *tCCC and CtCC*

Stems augmented by the derivational morpheme *t* can correspond to several different Proto-Semitic derivational patterns, the *tG/Gt*, *tD*, and *tL*. Unlike the *CCC* stems, however, these are not easily distinguished on a semantic or pragmatic level. This difficulty is due in part to the fact that the *t*-morpheme can appear as both a prefix and an infix on the *G*-stem in the other Semitic languages and to the general semantic overlap between the *G* and *D* stems in Safaitic. The following section will discuss the various possible morphological interpretations of the *t*-stems. In an effort to stay neutral, I will label stems with a *t*-infix *T1*-stems and those with a *t*-prefix *T2*-stems. Most *T*-stem verbs are either reflexive or intransitive, and can overlap in meaning with the intransitive *G*-stem, e.g., compare *whd* ‘to be alone’ (WH 128) and *twhd* ‘idem’ (AWS 244).

	SC	PC	INF	IMP	APC	PP
<i>T1</i>	<i>qtll</i>	<i>yqtll</i> (?)	----	----	----	----
<i>T2</i>	<i>tqtl</i>	<i>ytqtl</i>	<i>tqtl</i>	----	<i>mtqtl</i>	----

5.6.3.1 *T1: The t-Stem of the G, CtCC = CAr ifta‘ala*

Suffix Conjugation: The *t*-morpheme, when applied to the *G*-stem, can occur as either a prefix or an infix in the various Semitic languages. Both configurations are possibly attested in the Safaitic inscriptions, but it is the infixed form alone that can be securely associated with the *t*-stem of the *G*. Only two verbs have so far been securely attested in this pattern—*s²tky* ‘to complain’ (C 31), equivalent to *CAr ištakā*, and *qtll* ‘to battle’ (KRS 1024), equivalent to the rare *CAr* form *iqtatala*.

T1-stem

C 31: *w* *s²tky* *’l- lt*
 CONJ complain.SC.3MS to-Lt
 ‘and he complained to Lt’

KRS 1024: *s^hnt* *qtll* *hrdṣ*
 year.CNST wage war.SC.3MS *hrdṣ*
 ‘the year Herod waged war’

5.6.3.2 T₂: The *t*-Stem of the G tCCC = EAr itfa‘ala or taf(a)‘ela

Suffix Conjugation: The majority of CAr Gt stems correspond in meaning with tCCC stems. While these have traditionally been taken as tD stems (cf. CAr *tafa‘ala*), it is also possible to view such verbs as comprising the *t*-derivational morpheme applied to the G-stem.

Meaning	Safaitic	Classical Arabic
‘to long for someone’	<i>ts²wq</i>	<i>ištāqa</i>
‘to move ahead’	<i>tdym</i>	<i>iddāma</i>
‘to guard oneself’	<i>twqy</i>	<i>ittaqā</i>
‘to have one’s tongue restrained on account of grief’	<i>t‘ql</i>	<i>i‘taqa</i>

If the Safaitic forms are in fact to be interpreted as tG stems, then the *t* morpheme could reflect a */ta/-syllable, as in Gz *taqatla* < *taqatila, or a */it/-syllable, as in Aramaic and Egyptian Arabic, *eṭṭel* and *i‘atal*, respectively. A clue may lie in the T-stem of the root *nʒr*, which is most often written *tʒr* but has a rare by-form *tnʒr*. If these spellings reflect variation in the assimilation of the /n/ in the same form, then one could posit a vocalization */tanṭera/ = *tnʒr* and */taṭṭera/ = *tʒr*. The rare by-form *ts²yq* (KRS 124) of the common verb *ts²wq* ‘to long for’ supports the presence of an /i/ vowel following C², which would have motivated the shift of *w* > *y*, */taświqa/ > */taśyeqa/, just as in *myt*. Thus, combining the evidence from these two forms, one could argue for the vocalization, */taCCeCa/. Moreover, the identification of *ts²wq* as a tG stem would then indicate that, unlike Aramaic, the infixation of the morpheme in *s²tky* was not conditioned by the sibilant, but was truly a dialectal variable.

It is, however, equally possible to take *tʒr* and *tnʒr* as evidence for variation between a *t*-infix and prefix—*tʒr* */ittaṭera/ < */intaṭera/ versus *tnʒr* */itnaṭera/ or */tan(a)ṭera/, respectively. This reconstruction can also account for the form *ts²yq*, */itśayeqa/ < */itśaweqa/.

While the evidence for a tG stem in the Safaitic inscriptions is compelling, one must also bear in mind the overlap between the G and D stems in general (see § 5.6.1). A similar overlap could have applied to the T-stems of the G and D as well, ultimately resulting in the equivalence between the Safaitic tD and the CAr Gt. Evidence for this overlap is found in the CAr lexicon, where one often finds Gt and tD stems with the same meaning, e.g., Safaitic *trw* ‘to fear’ = CAr *irtā‘a* and *tarawwā‘a* ‘idem’. Considering all of these options, the vocalization of

the T₂-stems which correspond to the CAR Gt and their formal association with one of the Proto-Semitic derivational stems cannot be established with much certainty.

Prefix Conjugation: The prefix conjugation of *tʒr* is attested as *ytʒr* 'he lies in wait' (WH 3929), which, if taken as a tG, can only be vocalized as */yVtatṭer/ < *yatanziru. The Gt would produce */yVttaṭer/. SG 5 attests *ytʒr* 'to be compensated', which may be a tG, although its semantics make a tD interpretation more likely.

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive or abstract noun of the T₂-stem of the root √nʒr is attested once as *tnʒr* (Mu 412). Its vocalization depends on whether one considers it a tD or tG stem.

Participles: Two forms which can be interpreted as participles of the T₂-stem are attested. The first is *mtḏkr* (KRS 1432), possibly the equivalent of CAR *taḏakkara* 'to become reminded of a thing'. The verbal counterpart is possibly attested once in an incomplete or damaged inscription, *tḏkr* (Mu 537). The other example is *mtqtl* (JaS 145.1); however, the inscription is not interpretable and so its exact meaning is unclear.

5.6.3.2.1 Notes on Weak Roots

I-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: Two examples of I-w/y roots are attested: *t's^l* 'he despaired' (LP 679) < √y's^l and *tqḏ* 'he was beaten (metaphorically, despaired)' (KRS 1161) < √wqḏ. Depending on which view of the T-stem one takes, these could reflect the prefixed form with syncope of the pre-penultimate vowel, */tay'esa/ and */tawqeda/ or, as in CAR, the infixed *ta* with the assimilation of C¹ to the morpheme, */Vtta'esa/ and /Vttaqeda/.

II-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The commonest T₂-stem verb is II-w, *ts²wq* (*passim*), discussed above, and the by-form *ts²yq*. No examples of the collapse of the medial vowel are attested.

III-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The single attested form of this root class, *twqy* 'to guard one's self' (C 2209), is more easily explained by the vocalization */itCaCeCa/

or */taCaCeCa/ than */taCCeCa/, as we would have to posit the irregular representation of the diphthong. On the other hand, this spelling may suggest that it should be regarded as a T-stem of the D (see §5.6.3.3).

$C^2 = C^3$

Infinitive: C 86o attests a form $\{t\}\{r\}d$. If the reading is correct, then this may a nominal form of the tG of the root \sqrt{rdd} ‘to return’, perhaps */taradd/ ‘recompense’.

5.6.3.3 T2: The T-Stem of the D, tCCC = CAr tafa‘ala

Suffix Conjugation: Several tCCC stems correspond in meaning to CAr tD-stems and therefore likely reflect the tD stem in Safaitic as well—*thwf* */taḥawwafa/ (KhBG 345) ‘to be diminished by the lack of rain’ = CAr *taḥawwafa*, *ts²ry* */tašarraya/ (RWQ 317) ‘to be dispersed, scattered’ = CAr *tašarrā*, and possibly *trw*’ */tarawwa‘a/ (KRS 25) ‘to be afraid’ = CAr *tarawwa‘a*.

Prefix Conjugation: The verb *yt’gr* ‘to be compensated’ (SG 5) probably reflects an example of the tD prefix conjugation, perhaps */yata‘aggar/.

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive or abstract noun of this stem is perhaps attested once in AAUI 271 *šyr m t’fl* ‘he returned to a place of water from taking cover/hiding’, where *t’fl* must be construed as a nominal form of the verb *t’fl* (C 2315). However, it is impossible to determine if this form should be taken as a tG or a tD, since no cognates are attested in CAr.

5.6.3.3.1 *Notes on Weak Roots*

I-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The verb *twḥy* (AWS 48) should be connected with CAr *ta‘aḥḥā*, but with a passive meaning the current context, ‘to be considered a brother’. The ad hoc change of root initial ’ to *w* may therefore have been influenced by the vocalization */to‘ohḥVya/ > */towohḥVya/. The same verb is spelled with a glottal stop in LP 1211, *t’h{y}*, but the meaning of this entire inscription is unclear. Otherwise, verbs of this class do not exhibit abnormal behavior, e.g., *twḥd* */tawahḥada/ ‘to be alone’ (AWS 244).

5.6.4 *nCC(C)*

The N-stem is formed by a prefixed *n-* to the verbal root, CAr *infā‘ala*, Hb *niqtal*, Akk *naprus*, and signifies the medio-passive or reflexive of the G-stem.

SC	PC	INF	IMP	APC	PPC
<i>nqtl</i>	<i>yqtl</i>	<i>nqtl(t)</i>	----	----	----

C 2276: *nqʕ* *l- mn* *d* *hbl*
 die suddenly.INF to whomever REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS
h-sʕr
 ART- writing
 ‘may he who would obscure this writing die suddenly’

HCH 132: *ndm* *ʕ- bn* *ʕ- h*
 be devastated.SC.3MS on-son.CNST brother -C.PRO.3MS
msʕby
 captured.PPC.MS
 ‘he was devastated by grief on account of his nephew who was captured’

LP 475: *nǰdb* *mn- bn -h*
 be angry.SC.3MS from son -C.PRO.3MS
 ‘he was angered by his son’

Suffix Conjugation: The suffix conjugation is characterized by a prefixed *n-* to the verbal root. The fact that there are no by-forms exhibiting the assimilation of the *n* suggests that it was followed by a vowel, which, based on the comparative evidence, was most likely /a/. Thus, we can reconstruct the following vocalization, *naCCaCa—*nǰdb* */naǰʕaba/ (LP 475).

Prefix Conjugation: The only possible example of this part in strong roots is found in AWS 264, *yqtl*/perhaps */yVqqatel/ ‘to be killed’. Since the *n*-morpheme assimilates to C¹ of the root, it is impossible to distinguish N-stems from internal passives unless other principal parts are attested.

Infinitive: The spelling of the infinitive *nqʕ* (C 2276) does not seem to reflect CAr *ʕnfʕālun*, as one would expect the assimilation of the *n* in a pretonic environment. Instead, one may consider *nVCCāC = */nVqʕāʕ/.

5.6.4.1 Notes on Weak Roots

I-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The common verb of mourning *ng*‘ ‘to grieve in pain’ (*passim*) probably reflects the N-stem of the root \sqrt{wg} ‘, to be vocalized as */nawga‘a/. The G-stem of the verb, which is either intransitive or an internal passive, is attested in the same context, *wg*‘*l-mġny* ‘he grieved in pain for Mġny’ (LP 314). The root \sqrt{wqd} is also attested in the N-stem, in which it has a reflexive sense, *nqd* ‘he prostrated himself’ (LP 146) */nawqada/.

II-w/y

Suffix conjugation: One example is attested in the verb *ns²l* ‘to be removed’ (KRS 2460) < $\sqrt{s^2yl}$, where the medial glide is not represented, and should perhaps be vocalized as */našāla/ = LAr *inšāl* ‘idem’.

Prefix Conjugation: A single volitive example is attested, *l-yq*‘, the verb of the commonly attested infinitive *nq’t* ‘to be thrown out (of a grave)’, from \sqrt{qy} ‘. This form likely reflects the short prefix conjugation, and so should be vocalized as */yVqqa’/ < */yVnqa’.

Infinitive: The term *nq’t* (*passim*) ‘to be thrown out (of a grave)’ reflects the N-infinitive of the root \sqrt{qy} ‘, and could perhaps to be vocalized as */naqā‘at/. With only two examples of N-stem infinitives, it is impossible to say if the *t* ending was characteristic of the infinitive of weak roots.

 $C^2 = C^3$

Suffix Conjugation: Only clustered examples of the suffix conjugation of this stem are attested: *ndm* */nadamma/ ‘to be devastated (by grief)’ (*passim*) < \sqrt{dmm} ; *nġb* */našabba/ ‘to be hidden’ (LP 1265), < $\sqrt{ġbb}$, and *ngn* */naganna/ ‘to go mad’ (MAHB 2) < \sqrt{gnn} .

5.6.5 Rare Stems

H-Stem

The ʾ-causative morpheme ultimately derives the Proto-Semitic morpheme *sa through an intermediate stage of /h/ (see Al-Jallad, *forthcoming*). A single verb, *hrq* ‘to give drink’ (AAUI 119) < \sqrt{rwq} , preserves an *h-* reflex, perhaps reflecting an ancient loan. Incidentally, the same root yields an *h-* causative in CAr as well, *harāqa* ‘to pour forth’.

R-Stem

Reduplication is encountered consistently in the infinitive or verbal noun *qbll* ‘to be reunited/reunion’ (*passim*). Its exact vocalization is unclear, but it would seem to correspond in form with CAR *iqballa*, *iqbilāl* ‘to be cross-eyed’. The prefix conjugation is attested once as a clustered form, *yqbl* (SG 5). While the semantic range of the CAR R-stem is restricted to colors and defects, relics in Hebrew, e.g., *ša’anān* ‘to be at ease’, indicate that its range was wider in former times. Another verb which possibly belongs to this category is *ḥwwt* ‘to become dark’ = CAR *iḥwawā* < *iḥwawayā. In this case, one has to assume the collapse of the final triphthong, *iḥwawayat > *iḥwawāt > *iḥwawat.

5.6.6 *Internal Passives*

In several cases, context requires a passive reading of the finite verb. The agreement in C 76 suggests that a genuine internal passive was operative (even though this form reflects a C-stem), but it is unclear whether all forms which must be interpreted as semantically passive should be construed as such. It may be the case that some of these verbs reflect impersonal constructions with an active verb (as possibly in HaNS 660 below—*they crucified his loved one*, i.e., *his loved one was crucified*). In some cases, it is possible to take the alleged passive verb as an infinitive, e.g., KRS 1161 below can be understood as both ‘the year Mn’t was killed’ or ‘the year of the killing of Mn’t’.

- C 76: *w* *ǰnmt* *ʾslyt*
 CONJ spoil be granted.SC.3FS
 ‘and may spoil be granted’
- HaNS 660: *w* *šlb* *ḥbb -h*
 CONJ be crucified.SC.3M loved one -CPRO.3MS
 ‘and his loved one was crucified’
- LP 183: *wgd* *sʿfr* *mʿr d* *ʿwq*
 find.SC.3MS writing Mʿr REL be imprisoned.SC.3MS
 ‘he found the writing of Mʿr who was imprisoned’
- KRS 1161: *sʿnt* *qtl* *mnʿt*
 year.CNST (be) kill(ed).SC.3M Mnʿt
 ‘the year Mnʿt was killed’

Adjectives and Agreement

6.1 General Remarks on Adjectives

Both attributive and predicative adjectives are rare in the inscriptions and so our knowledge of their concord properties is incomplete. Adjectives seem to exhibit regular agreement with their heads in gender. Number agreement is more difficult to assess. Evidence from attributive participles indicates that the dual was an agreement category and that adjectives agreed in number with plural human heads. Non-human plurals and collectives appear to trigger singular agreement.

C 2031: *w* *nq't* *b-nfs¹* *wdd* *d*
 CONJ thrown out.INF by- person loved.M REL.MS
y'wr *h-s'fr*
 efface.PC.3MS ART- writing
 'and may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of his
 grave by a loved person'

H 191: *w* *ts²wq* *l-kl* 's²r *šdq*
 CONJ long.SC.3MS for-QUANT kinsman righteous.M
 'and he longed for every righteous kinsman'

KRS 6: *mny* *s²dd*
 fate harsh.MS
 'a harsh fate'

KRS 1684: *ngy* *m-[g]qt* *hbt*
 escape.SC.3MS from- [group of men] corrupt.FS
 'he escaped from a corrupt group of men'

a. Definiteness: The article also seems to be a concord feature with attributive adjectives but not attributive participles. This may suggest that the participial constructions should instead be interpreted as unmarked adnominal phrases. For more examples of the latter, see §17.b.

Attributive adjectives

LP 146: *f h lt w b'ls'mn s²y' h-gs² h-rdf*
 So VOC Lt CONJ B'ls'mn follow.IMP ART-guard ART-rear.M
 'So, O Lt and B'ls'mn, follow the rear guard!'

WH 1234:¹ *'{q}d h-nqt h-ḥbq{y}*
 {strike}.SC.3MS ART- she-camel ART- stinking.{F}
 'he struck the stinking she-camel'

Attributive participles

LP 317: *h-nqt qṣyt l-nh{y}*
 ART-she camel dedicated.PPC.FS for-{Nhy}
 'the she-camel which is dedicated to Nhy'

C 1658: *h-gmln qṣyn l-'lt*
 ART-camel.D dedicated.PPC.MD for-'lt
 'the two camels which are dedicated to 'lt'

C 2285: *wgm l-ks¹t rḡm mny*
 mourn.SC.3MS for- Ks¹t struck down.PPC.MS Fate
 'he mourned for Ks¹t who was struck down by Fate'

C 304: *ḥḏnt ḥbbt-h rḡmt mny*
 Ḥḏnt loved one.FS -CPRO-3MS struck down.PPC.FS Fate
 'Ḥḏnt, his beloved, who was struck down by Fate'

C 4988: *'s²y'-h rḡmn mny*
 companion.PL -3MS struck down.PPC.MP Fate
 'his companions who were struck down by Fate'

6.2 Elatives and CVCCān Adjectives

a. Only three examples of the elative have come forth. The vocalization of the masculine elative as ^{*}aCCaC is clear from the copious amounts of personal names based on this pattern in Greek transcription. The masculine singular ḡṣ 'furthest' derives from the root √qṣw. With only one example of a III-w/y root, it is impossible to make much of the non-notation of the final diphthong.

An elative of the root $\sqrt{\text{hbb}}$ is also attested in a clustered form, suggesting the vocalization */aḥabb/.¹

AWS 48: *ts²wq* *ʾl-* *h-* *ʾhb*
 long.SC.3MS for- ART- most beloved
 'he longed for the most beloved'

C 4332: *mṭy* *sʾnt* *brḥ* *ʾqš*
 journey.SC.3MS year.CNST depart.SC.3MS furthest.CNST
h- mdnt
 ART- province
 'he journeyed the year he departed to the furthest end of the
 province'

α. A nearly identical phrase to C 4332 occurs in Qurʾān 28:20: *wa-ǧāʾa raǧulun min ʾaqṣā l- madīnati* 'and a man came from the furthest end of the city'.

The feminine elative also appears once in *ḥbqy* 'stinking' (WH 1234), already cited above.² If transcriptions of this pattern from the Petra area— $\text{O}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ /ḥosnē/, $\alpha\lambda\sigma\upsilon\phi\lambda\eta$ /al-suflē/—reflect the Safaitic situation, then the FS was probably vocalized as *CoCCay, */ḥobqay/.

b. There are two secure³ and one possible example⁴ of an adjective with an *n* derivational suffix, which likely signals a pattern CVCCān, cf. LAr *kabrān* 'grown up', *fahmān* 'understanding', etc. There is not enough data to determine this pattern's distribution.

RWQ 334: *wgd* *ʾtr* *ʾl* *df glyn*
 find.SC.3MS trace.CNST lineage.CNST Df exposed.MS
mḥrb *nbt*
 plundered.PPC.MS Nabataeans
 'he found the grave(s)? of the lineage of Df exposed, plundered by
 the Nabataeans'⁵

2 Note also that *ḥbqy* is attested as a gentilic adjective and so one could interpret it as a misplaced word in this inscription.

3 The second is *kḏbn* 'liar', and is attested in an unpublished inscription from Jebel Qurma.

4 The term *ḥmyn* in BRev.H 1, however, can also be understood as a personal name.

5 The use of both the term 'plundered' and 'exposed' with reference to the previous clause suggests that *ʾtr* in this context referred to a 'grave'.

BRenv.H 1: *wgd* *ʔr* *ʕm -h* *ħmyn*
 find.SC.3MS trace.CNST grandfather -CPRO.3MS protected.MS
 'he found the grave of his paternal uncle protected'

6.3 Verbal Agreement

a. Non-human: As in many other varieties of Arabic, non-human plurals are usually treated as feminine singular.

CSNS 1: *zllt* *dʕn -h* *ħbsʔt* *ʔ* *sʔlm*
 stay.SC.3FS sheep -SC.3MS enclosure.CNST lineage.CNST Sʔlm
 'his sheep remained in the enclosure of the lineage of Sʔlm'

WH 1900: *ʕdt* *m- rħbt* *h- ʔnm*
 restrain.SC.3FS from- Rħbt ART- goat.PL
 'the goats were prevented from (entering) Rħbt'

There are cases, however, in which a non-human plural takes masculine concord.

UIO 117: *myt* *ʕnz -h* *b- h- zrt*
 died.SC.3M she-goat.PL -CPRO.3MS in- ART- enclosure
 'his she-goats died inside this enclosure'

b. Groups of humans: While groups of humans are treated as masculine and plural with adjectival agreement (e.g., C 4988) and pronominal resumption (see § 4.14.2), they can take both masculine (number unclear) and feminine singular agreement with verbs. It is unclear if these differences reflect dialectal variation or if this was a point of free variation.

Feminine singular agreement

WH 2815: *mrđt* *nbʔ ʔ-ʔ* *{r}m*
 rebel.SC.3FS Nbʔ against- people.CNST {Rm}
 'The Nabataeans rebelled against the people of Rome'

SIJ 59: *ħrbt* *ʔ* *ʕd ʔ* *šbh*
 plunder.SC.3FS lineage.CNST ʕd lineage.CNST Šbh
 'the lineage of ʕd plundered the lineage of Šbh'

CSNS 1004: *s'byt -h* *ty'*
 capture.SC.3FS -CPRO.3MS Ty'
 'Ty' captured him'

Masculine agreement

HCH 126: *qtl -h* *'l* *ḥwlt*
 kill.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS people.CNST Ḥwlt
 'the people of Ḥwlt killed him'

SIJ 78: *'ty* *h- mdy* *bšry*
 come.SC.3M ART- Persians Bošrā
 'the Persians came to Bošrā'

BTH 228: *trd -h* *nbṭ m- 'nzt*
 drive.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS Nbṭ from- 'nzt
 'the Nabataeans drove him away from 'nzt'

α. If Βαῦαα in line 5 of A 1 is a single individual, it may reflect masculine plural agreement with a dual human antecedent. But context also supports reading it as the name of a social group, in which case masculine plural agreement is expected.

6.4 Pronominal Agreement

a. Pronouns agree with their antecedent in gender and number. Groups of people are always referred to with plural pronouns, even if these sometimes license feminine singular agreement in the verb.

BTH 228: *trd -h* *nbṭ* *m- 'nzt* *w*
 drive away.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS Nabataeans from- 'nzt CONJ
 {sⁿ}dy *h- ḥl* *f* *nʒr -hm*
 {set off}.SC.3MS ART- horse CONJ guard.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MP
 'the Nabataeans drove him away from 'nzt and so he set off on
 horseback, and then stood guard against them'

NST 3: ʔl šbḥ sʔnt ḥrb -hm
 lineage.CNST Šbḥ year.CNST plunder.SC.3M -CPRO.3MP
 ʔl ʕwḏ
 lineage.CNST ʕwḏ
 ‘... the lineage of Šbḥ, the year the lineage of ʕwḏ plundered them’

b. Non-human collective nouns take singular pronominal agreement. If pronominal agreement follows adjectival agreement, then these were treated as FS.

ASWS 73: ngʕ ʔ- ḥbb w ʔ- h- ʔbl
 grieve in pain.SC.3MS for- loved one CONJ for- ART- camels
 rʕy -h
 pasture.SC.3MS -CPRO.3FS
 ‘and he grieved in pain for Ḥbb and for the camels which he had pastured’

α. The narrative component of C 4973 may provide another example of feminine singular agreement with a non-human plural/collective antecedent: *wld h- mʕ[y] {w} rʕy -h bql b- dkr* ‘he helped the goats to give birth and then pastured it/them on herbage when the sun was in Aries’. Although the common formula is *wld h- mʕzy*, which is why I have restored the *y* in C 4973, the author may have in this particular case been referring to a single female goat, in which case *-h* would have a singular antecedent.

β. There is some evidence that the dual is sometimes resumed with feminine singular pronouns. As seen in KRS 1683, the clitic pronoun *-k* seems to resume two previously mentioned deities: *hy lt w h sʔḥqm sʔlm w ʕwḏ -k* ‘O Lt and O Sʔḥqm, let there be security and your protection’. Another possible example is found in C 2552: *ḥrṣ ʔḥw -h sʔby -h ḥwlt* ‘and he kept watch for his two brothers whom the Ḥwlt-ites have captured’. The word *ʔḥw* is usually taken as a dual, but it is possible that it should be construed as a collective form, perhaps something like ‘bretheren’. Finally, we have *h lt w dsʔr dkr* (AAUI 406), where *dkr* can either be a 2 or 3FS verb, in agreement with a dual antecedent.

Prepositions

Overview

Prepositions govern nouns, infinitives, and clitic pronouns. The dative *l-* can also govern non-indicative forms of the prefix conjugation.

ʕ: Unlike CAR, this preposition does not seem to be interchangeable with *l-*. It occurs almost exclusively with the root $\sqrt{s^2wq}$ ‘to long for’, once with the verb ‘complain’ *s^2tky* (C 31), and possibly with *d^ʕy*, in HaNSB 307 *d^ʕy ʕ- [l]t* ‘he called upon Lt’. Since only one *l* is written in the inscription, this may suggest the vocalization **ʕel/* rather than **ʕelay/* or **ʕelā/*, similar to the form with pronominal suffixes in many contemporary dialects of Arabic, e.g., *il-ak* ‘yours’ lit. ‘for you’, and Hb *ʕl*.

AKSJ 1.2.3: *ts^2wqt ʕ- ʕlbʕ*
 long.SC.3FS for- ʕlbʕ
 ‘she longed for ʕlbʕ’

C 1539: *h[l] h- bt [t]s^2wq ʕ- lbh*
 [camp].APC.MS ART- tent [long].INF for- Lbh ʕhe
 camped in the tent longing for Lbhʕ

ʕ can also have the sense of ‘as far as’ or ‘until’:

C 1167: *r^ʕy m^c -hl -h ʕ- ħrn*
 pasture.SC.3MS with -maternal uncle -CPRO.3MS as far as- Ĥrn
 ‘he pastured with his maternal uncle as far as Ĥawrān’

l: The preposition functions as a dative, ‘to’ or ‘for’. It sometimes introduces the direct object of infinitives, indirect objects, and is used in possessive predication (see § 12.2). With verbs of motion, it more often marks the general direction of travel rather than the destination or goal, as the later function is a property of the unmarked noun (perhaps modified by an adverbial ending or accusative). The *h-* article is not elided following this preposition.

α. Indirect object:

LP 504: *hb* *l-h* *n'm*
 give.IMP.2FS to -CPRO.3MS divine favor
 'bestow upon him divine favor'

β. Benefactive:

LP 325: *dmy* *l-h* *'b-h*
 draw.SC.3MS for- CPRO.3MS father -CPRO.3MS
 'his father drew for him'

WH 3925: *db'* *l-nbt*
 raid.SC.3MS for- Nbt
 'he raided for the Nabataeans'

γ. Temporal:

KRS 25: *sy* *m-mdb* *l-hms't*
 return to water.SC.3MS from- inner desert for-five.F.CNST
'rh
 month.PL
 'he returned to a place of water from the inner desert for five months'

δ. Directional:

KRS 1670: *s'ry* *l-h-nhl* *bql* *kbr*
 travel by night.SC.3MS towards- ART- valley herbage large.M
 'he traveled by night towards the valley to tall herbage'

a. Lam Auctoris: Nearly every Safaitic inscription begins with a *l-*, which has been termed the *lam auctoris*. Its function has been the subject of much debate, but there is general consensus that it can mark authorship or ownership. It frequently occurs in signature inscriptions associated with rock art and on the names of the deceased associated with burials, e.g., *l- PN h- rgm* 'this funerary cairn belongs to PN'. See §1.1 for a discussion on this particle's function.

b: This preposition, transcribed as βi /bi/ in A 1, has two primary functions, locative and instrumental. When used as a locative, it is often best interpreted

δ. 'In exchange for':

AbaNS 286: *s²ry* *m- 'h -h* *m'ḏ h- frs¹*
 buy.SC.3MS from-brother-CPRO.3MS M'ḏ ART-horse
b- m't
 with-hundred
 'he bought from his brother M'ḏ the horse with one hundred'

ε. This preposition also introduces the object of the verb *ḡzz* 'to raid':

C 4452: *ḡzz* *b- h- m'zyn*
 raid.SC.3MS by- ART- shepherd
 'he raided the shepherd'

HaNSB 349: *ḡzz* *b- 'bl*
 raid.SC.3MS by- camels
 'he raided camels'

Compare to: C 1206 *ḡzz h- nhl* 'he raided in this valley'

b'd: While consonantly identical to CAr *ba'da* 'after', two separate meanings are attested, suggesting two different etymological sources—¹*b'd* from the root $\sqrt{b'd}$ 'to be far', which gives rise to Safaitic 'after'; 'behind', and ²*b'd*, which is a compound of the prepositions *bi-* and 'ad, giving rise to the meaning 'on behalf of'. Note that the latter element is not attested independently in the Safaitic inscriptions. The same function is found in Dadanitic, *b'd* 'on behalf of'.

¹*b'd*:

WH 1700.1: *'s²rq* *b- h- hl* *b'd- h- n'm*
 migrate.SC.3MS with- ART- horses after-ART- livestock
 'he migrated to the inner desert with the horses following the livestock'

²*b'd*:

WH 599: *nzr* *b'd- h- ms'rt*
 guard.SC.3MS on behalf of- ART- troop
 'he stood guard on behalf of the troop'

LP 330: *w qyṣ* *ʿl-h-nmrt*
 CONJ spend dry season.SC.3MS on the edge- Namārah
 ‘and he spent the dry season on the edge of Namārah’

β. ‘against’:

HaNSB 307: *dʿy* *ʿl-[l]t* *ʿl-mn* *yḥbl*
 call.SC.3MS Upon -[l]t against- anyone obscure.PC.3MS
 ‘he has called upon [l]t against anyone who would obscure (the inscription)’

AKSD 5: *tqb* *yd-h* *w ds²r*
 pierce.SC.3MS hand -CPRO.3MS CONJ Ds²r
ʿl-ks¹r *wq¹-n*
 against- destroyer.CNST inscription -CPRO.1CP
 ‘May he cut off his hand that Ds²r be against the destroyer of our inscription’

γ. benefactive:

HaNSB 305: *w nṣr* *ʿl-gs²-h*
 CONJ guard.SC.3MS on behalf of- troop -CPRO.3MS
 ‘and he stood guard on behalf of his troop’

SIAM 35: *w ḥrṣ* *ʿl-ʿs²y¹-h*
 CONJ watch.SC.3MS after- companion.PL -CPRO.3MS
 ‘and he looked after his companions’

Related to this sense, *ʿl* seems to mean ‘under the authority’ in the following context:

RQ.A 10: *s¹rt* *ʿl-mlk* *h-s¹lṭn*
 to serve in a troop.SC.3MS under- ruler.CNST ART- governed area
 ‘he served in a troop under the authority of the governor’

ʿn: *ʿn* seems to have the same sense as its CAR counterpart, namely, an ablative ‘away’. The relationship between this preposition and *ʿl* is unclear, but the confusion of liquids is an attested phenomenon in Arabic, e.g., *ṣanam* ‘statue’ < *ṣalm. So far, the preposition has been attested only once.

LP 1265: *nḏb* ʿ*n* *h- m{ʔ}t*
 be missing.SC.3MS away -CPRO.3MS {unit}
 ‘he went missing from the unit’

f: The locative preposition *f*, cf. CA*r* *fī*, is a less common alternative to the unmarked locative noun. Its source is likely the construct state of the word for mouth. In CA*r*, the preposition is frozen in the genitive case; no evidence for the quality of its vowel is available in Safaitic. A parallel, yet ultimately unrelated, development is witnessed in the Hb preposition ʿ*al-pî* ‘according to’ < ‘according to the mouth of’.

KRS 3291: *rʿy* *h- ʿbl* *f- h- nḥl*
 pasture.SC.3MS ART- camel.COL in- ART- valley
 ‘he pastured the camels in this valley’

Compare this with the normal idiom: C 2670 *rʿy h- ʿbl h- nḥl* ‘he pastured the camels in this valley’

mʿ: Like *b-*, *mʿ* has a comitative meaning, but it is used exclusively with persons:

LP 325: *w* *ḥrṣ* *h- nw* *mʿ- ʿḥ- h*
 CONJ watch.APC.MS ART- migrating group with- brother -CPRO.3MS
 ‘while standing watch with this brother for the migrating group’

C 320: *sʿrt* *mʿ- ʿb- h*
 serve in a troop.SC.3MS with- father -CPRO.3MS
 ‘he served in a troop with his father’

SESP.U 26: *w* *bny* *mʿ- ḏnʿl* *h- sʿtr*
 CONJ build.SC.3MS with- ḏnʿl ART- shelter
 ‘and he built with ḏnʿl the shelter’

m(n): Two forms of this preposition exist, *m* and *mn*, sometimes in the same inscription. This variation probably reflects sporadic word-boundary assimilation. However, the short form is attested simply as μ without gemination of the following consonant in (A 1). The primary sense of *m(n)* is ‘from’ when referring to motion. In prayers for security, the preposition is best translated as ‘against’. In other cases, it can be used to express reason and to express the partitive genitive.

C 3113: *w* *ʔmt* *mn- ʂd* *l-frk* *bn* *ltnh*
 CONJ nourish.INF from- game for-Frk son.CNST Ltnh
 ‘and nourish Frk son of Ltnh with something of game’

mʔl: ‘because of’—This compound preposition, comprising *m-* and *ʔl-*, is paralleled in Hb, *mē-ʿāl* ‘within’, although its semantics do not correspond to the Safaitic form.

KRS 1015: *h* *lt* *{l}ʕn* *m* *hbl* *mʔl- hwwq*
 VOC Lt {curse}.IMP REL obscure.SC.3MS because of- jealousy
 ‘O Lt, curse whosoever would obscure because of jealousy’

RWQ 310: *ngʕ* *mʔl- Hnmr*
 grieve in pain.SC.3MS because of- Hnmr
 ‘he grieved because of Hnmr’

m- dn-: ‘without’—This compound preposition, cognate with CAR *min dūni* ‘without’, is attested only once, in reference to the absence of Bʔl, the rain god, signaling the dry season and the absence of rains.

ASWS 37: *wgm* *m- dn* *bʔl f* *h* *rḏw* *rwh*
 grieve.SC.3MS without Bʔl CONJ VOC Rḏw ease
 ‘he grieved in the absence of Bʔl so, O Rḏw, let there be ease’

mn-qbl: ‘facing’—This compound preposition is attested only once, and can be compared with CAR *min qubulin* ‘from the front’ and Syriac *menqʿbol* ‘opposite, against’.

AZNG 1: *mrd* *ʔʔt* *sʔnn* *mn-qbl- nʕsʔ* *zlm*
 rebellion three.M year.PL facing- Nepos oppress.APC.MS
 ‘Nepos, who was oppressive, faced a rebellion for three years’
 (lit. ‘there was a rebellion for three years facing Nepos who was oppressive’)

ʕnd: ‘at’; ‘belonging’—Both the sense of ownership and location are attested:

ISB 91: *w* *l-h* *h-frsʔ* *ʕnd- h*
 CONJ for -CPRO.3MS ART- horse at- CPRO.3MS
 ‘and by him is the horse which belongs to him’

KRS 2869: *l mḥl bn hby bn ṣ'd bn gbs² bn qflt bn bdn bn ḡlm bn y'ly*
 LA Gno8
h- ṣrt w ngd w
 ART- structure CONJ be courageous.SC.3MS CONJ
tʒr ḥnd {-h}
 await.SC.3MS at {-CPRO.3MS}
 'By Mḥl son of Hby son of Ṣ'd son of Gb² son of Qflt son of Bdn
 son of Ḡlm son of Y'ly, at this structure and he was courageous
 as he lay in wait there (lit. at it)'

k: 'like'—Attested only thrice, all in the same inscription, the preposition introduces a nominalized preposition phrase, i.e., 'the like of'.

BRenv.H 1: *wgd ṭr ḥm-h*
 find.SC.MS trace.CNST grandfather -CPRO.3MS
ḥmyn f ql h gddḥ
 Ḥmyn/protected CONJ say.SC.3MS VOC Gddḥ
{h}b {l} {-h} [[]] k- s'd-h
 give.IMP.2MS {to-} {-CPRO.3MS} like- good fortune -CPRO.3MS
w k- wld-h w
 CONJ like- offspring -CPRO.3MS CONJ
k- n'm-h
 like- livestock -CPRO.3MS
 'he found the trace of his grandfather Ḥmyn/protected, then said:
 O Gddḥ, grant him the like of his good fortune, offspring, and
 livestock'

Adverbs

Adverbs modify the meaning of verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, and clauses. The information they provide further specifies location (in space and time), condition, and manner. Generally speaking, almost any noun can serve as an adverb, a function marked by the accusative. In practice, the adverbial use of most nouns must be inferred from their context (on the syntax of adverbs, see §14). The following are the few dedicated adverbs and adverbial constructions:

ʔd: ‘once again’

H 506: *sʔnt* *hgz* *bʔlsʔmn* ʔ-*h*
 year.CNST withhold.SC.3MS Bʔlsʔmn against-CPRO.3MS
ʔd
 once again
 ‘the year Bʔlsʔmn withheld (the rain) against it (the province)
 once again’

ʔwd: ‘again’

RSIS 351: *w* *sʔty* *hrt* *ʔwd*
 CONJ winter.SC.3MS the Ḥarrah again
 ‘and he spent the winter in the Ḥarrah again’

l-ʔbd: ‘forever’, ‘always’

C 2446: *wlh* *k{b}{r}* *sʔhr*
 grieve.SC.3MS {continuously} broken heart
 ʔ-ʔ*h*-*h* *hbb*-*h* *l-ʔbd*
 for- brother- CPRO.3MS loved one -CPRO.3MS forever
 ‘he grieved continuously with a broken-heart for his brother, his
 beloved, forever’

l-nfs¹-h: ‘by himself’

LP 360: *r’y* *h- m’zy* *l-nfs¹-h*
 pasture.SC.3MS ART- goat.PL by himself
 ‘he pastured the goats by himself’

’hrt: ‘thereafter’

KRS 896: *wgd* *s¹fr* *š’d f* *ng’*
 find.SC.3MS writing.CNST Š’d CONJ grieve-in-pain.SC.3MS
w *wrd* *h- nmrt b- ’mt* *’hrt*
 CONJ go-to-water.SC.3MS h- nmrt in- Libra thereafter
 ‘he found the writing of Š’d and therefore grieved in pain, then
 he went to water at Namārah when the sun was in Libra there-
 after’

α. The form *’bd* without the preposition is also attested (KRS 1015), and probably reflects a by-form in the accusative.

β. While *s¹nt* ‘year’ is usually unmarked when used adverbially, this function is sometimes indicated by the preposition *b-*, e.g., C 2209 *ftwqy b- s¹nt ḥrb yzr* ‘so may he preserve himself during the year of the war of Yzr’.

8.1 Negative Adverbs

Since negative clauses are not a component of any of the productive inscriptional formulae, negative adverbs are very rarely attested.

lm: This forms a negative preterite construction with the short form of the prefix conjugation, and is cognate with the CAr construction *lam yaf^cal*.

MSNS 2: *bgy* *’h-h* *f* *lm* *y’d*
 seek.SC.3MS brother -CPRO.3MS CONJ NEG return.PC.3MS
 ‘he sought after his brother because he never returned’

WGGR 1: *w* *lm* *tmtr* *h- s¹kn{t}*
 CONJ NEG rain.PC.3FS ART- dwelling.{PL}
 ‘and it did not rain at the dwellings’

m: This negator, which is probably cognate with the interrogative *mā*, negates the suffix conjugation.

Mu 253: *ng^c f m hn'*
grieve in pain.SC.3MS CONJ NEG be happy.SC.3MS
'he grieved in pain and was unhappy'

RWQ 155: *l rm w š't w m nm*
LA Rm CONJ unrest CONJ NEG sleep
'By Rm and there was unrest, but he did not perish'

ASWS 202: *m mtr f 'mhl*
NEG rain.SC.3MS CONJ cause dearth.SC.3MS
'it did not rain and caused dearth'

ln: */lā-'an/ is the antecedent form of CAR *lan*, which negates the explicit future. This particle is encountered only once in the inscriptions.

AWS 264: *w ln yqtl d ys^llm -h*
and NEG kill.PC.3MS REL secure.PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS
'and may he who keeps it (the inscription) safe never be killed'

l: */lā/ is attested only once as part of the phrase 'nothing'

HCH 132: *w myt kwy b- l s²*
CONJ die.SC.3MS wander.APC.MS with- NEG thing
'and he died, wandering with nothing'

8.2 Local Adverbs

Local adverbs are also rare. Two forms are known:

hn: 'here', cf. CAR *hunā*; see β below on the vocalization.

UIO 268: *h 'lt s²{?} hn w s^llm hn ngr -h*
VOC 'lt {want} here CONJ security here persevere.INF -CPRO.3MS
'O Lt, want is here, so let there be here security to preserve him.'

α. Another possible attestation of *hn* is found in KRS 1379: *wgd hn 'm -h*. This construction belongs to the inscription finding formula and so we would expect *hn* to refer to a text, as it occupies the normal place of *'tr* and *s'fr*. A connection with CAr *hann* 'a thing' (Lane, 3045c) is possible, but if not then *hn* could also be taken as an adverb 'here' with the writing itself simply being implied. Other possible examples are attested in UIO 268; ISB 117; KRS 3239.

β. In RWQ 335, the *h* following the verb could possibly reflect a locative adverb, *r'y h 'l hwtl* 'the people of Ḥwtl pastured here', with perhaps the assimilation of the *n* to the following consonant. This would imply that the adverb terminated in a consonant rather than a vowel, perhaps comparable with LAr *hawn* 'here'. It is also possible to interpret the *h* in such cases as a 3FS clitic pronoun with an implied referent, i.e., 'them' (the animals).

bd: 'here' or 'there'? This is probably related to CS *bi-dā* (cf. Dadanitic *bd*; Taymanitic *bz*, and Hb *bāzê*). It seems impossible to determine from its single, clear attestation whether it means 'here' or 'there'.

KRS 303: ʾdll **bd** gs²
 lead astray.SC.3MS here/there troop
 'he led a troop astray here/there'

Vocative Particles

The inscriptions attest a variety of vocative particles used primarily in prayers to deities. Several of these can be combined into larger units. Some particles are only used in association with certain deities. The significance of this distribution is unclear.

h: This is by far the most common particle and is used with all deities. Based on the comparative evidence, its vocalization can only be */hā/.

KRS 1160: *h* *b'ls'mn* *w* *h* *ds²r*
 VOC B'ls'mn CONJ VOC Ds²r
 'O B'ls'mn and O Ds²r'

α. An ʾ-vocative has been recorded in RSIS 204: *f' b'ls'mn rwh b- mtrt* 'so, O B'ls'mn, send the winds with rains'. However, since no photographs accompany the edition, it is impossible to verify whether the vocative should indeed be read as ʾ or if a stray line had intersected with the *h*-vocative, causing the editor to mistake it for a ʾ.

ʾy: This particle is probably related to the first component of CAr *ʾayuhā*. It has so far only been attested in invocations to Lt.

KRS 1562: *rwh ʾy* *lt*
 ease VOC Lt
 'let there be ease, O Lt'

hy: This is no doubt a variant of the previous particle, but occurs more widely, with *'lt*, *Lt*, *Lh*, and with the generic *ʾlht* 'gods'. Its appearance with *'lt* and *ʾlht* precludes the interpretation of the *y* as emerging from the sequence */hā-ilat/ or */hā-ilāh/.

C 25: *hy* *lt* *w* *h* *s²ms¹*
 VOC Lt CONJ VOC S²ms¹
 'O Lt and O S²ms¹'

LP 243: *hy lh tʳ*
 VOC Lh vengeance
 ‘O Lh, there shall be vengeance!’

KRS 1287: *hy ʳlht*
 VOC god.PL
 ‘O gods’

ʳyh/hyh: *ʳyh*, which seems to correspond with CAr *ʳayyuhā*, and a form with an initial *h*, are each attested once with Lt.

Mu 141: *ʳyh lt*
 VOC Lt
 ‘O Lt’

LP 619: *hyh lt*
 VOC Lt
 ‘O Lt’

y: This rare vocative is cognate with CAr *yā*.

RWQ 73: *h lt w y ds²r*
 VOC Lt CONJ VOC Ds²r
 ‘O Lt and O Ds²r’

HAUI 76: *f y lt gyrt*
 CONJ VOC Lt abundance
 ‘So, O Lt, let there be abundance’

Other Particles

Several other particles associated with conditional clauses, presentation, and assertion are attested. They are listed below, and will be discussed in more detail with their associated syntactic constructions in the chapters dealing with syntax.

a. Conditional Particles: Conditional clauses are rare and so our knowledge of their syntax and the various particles used in these constructions is extremely limited. So far, only two conditional particles have been attested—each only once. It is impossible to determine whether these had a different semantic nuance or instead reflect dialectal or diachronic differences.

ʾn (KRS 213): This particle is cognate with CAR *ʾin*, which denotes a *real* condition. The single Safaitic example, however, occurs in a hypothetical context.

ʾm (AWS 237): The particle *ʾm* is cognate with Hb *ʾm* ‘if’, Gz *ʾamma*, and perhaps CAR *ʾimmā*.

b. Asseverative

l: The asseverative *l* serves to affirm the truth or certainty of a statement, and is found across all branches of Semitic.

KRS 922: *f s^llm h lt w rwh l-whd h*
 CONJ security VOC Lt CONJ ease ASV- be alone.SC.3MS VOC
y^t
Y^t
 ‘so let there be security, O Lt, and let their be ease, for he was indeed alone, O Y^t’

C 1186: *w lt l-ʾhl w wk{s^l} w hrs^l w*
 CONJ Lt ASV- uncertainty CONJ {loss} CONJ dumbness CONJ
ʾrg w ʾwr l-mn hbl
 lameness CONJ blindness for- REL obscure.SC.3MS
 ‘by Lt, let there indeed be uncertainty, loss, dumbness, lameness, and blindness for whosoever would obscure’

SIJ 293: *ʔs^lm* *b-ʔlh* *ħy* *l-hdy*
 swear.SC.3MS by-ʔlh alive.APC.MS ASV-command.SC.3MS
ʕm
 greatness
 ‘he swore by ʔlh, who is living, that he will command with great-
 ness’

c. Presentative: The particle *ʔn*, CAR *ʔinna* Hb *ħinnê*, is attested once in a damaged context; however, from the context and the photograph, the readings of the glyphs are relatively certain.

KRS 68: *{ʔ}{n}k* *bgj-h* *w*
 {PRES}- CPRO.2MS sought after -CPRO.3MS CONJ
qf{y}t-h
 {path} -CPRO.3MS
 ‘you are indeed his sought after and his path’

Conjunctions

11.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

Two coordinating conjunctions are attested, *w* and *f*. Their usages are roughly equivalent to their CAR counterparts, and their syntax will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

w: This conjunction has a variety of functions, but primarily serves to join equivalent elements, from words to entire sentences, equivalent to English ‘and’. Additionally, *w* can indicate the result of a preceding action or condition ‘because, as’, the adversative ‘but’, and purpose ‘so that’. These functions will be illustrated in (§ 17–19).

f: This particle mainly indicates a temporal or causal relationship between two elements, that is, X *f* Y ‘X so/then/therefore Y’, much like in CAR.

C 2036: *wgd* *ḥbb -h* *f* *bky*
 find.SC.3MS loved one -CPRO.3MS CONJ weep.SC.3MS
 ‘he found [the inscription of] his beloved and so he wept’

α. *f* can also connect individual words to express a sequence, as in the common expression ‘*m f m*’, ‘year after year’ (SIJ 119; WH 1193).

β. *f* can express intensity when the two words it connects are identical:

KRS 1087: *h* *gd’wḏ* *h{b}* *t’r* *m-’l* *g’*
 VOC Gd’wḏ {give}.IMP.2M vengeance from- lineage.CNST G’
zlmn *f* *zlmn*
 unjust.APC.MP CONJ unjust.APC.MP
 ‘O Gd’wḏ, grant vengeance from the lineage of G’ who were terribly unjust’

γ. *f* can optionally introduce a modal clause following a topicalized or vocative noun.

AWS 237: *h rđw f l- yʿwr m ʿwr*
 VOC Rđw CONJ ASV be blind.PC.3MS REL efface.SC.3MS
 ‘O Rđw, may he who would efface be made blind’

HCH 103: *h lt w ds²r f tʿr mn- ḥwlt*
 VOC Lt CONJ Ds²r CONJ vengeance.SC.3MS from- Ḥwlt
 ‘O Lt and Ds²r, he will have vengeance against Ḥwlt’

In cases where the first clause of the narrative is introduced by *f*, e.g., *l- PN f SC*, the following verb has an optative sense. In some cases, this could imply that the inscription was composed on behalf of another person.

C 404: *l wdmʿl bn w{l}ʿ f byt w*
 LA Wdmʿl son.CNST {Wl}ʿ CONJ camp.SC.3MS CONJ
n{g}r
 persevere.SC.3MS
 ‘By Wdmʿl son of Wlʿ, and so may he camp the night and perse-
 vere’

C 3466: *l ḥl b[n] tlḥ f bt*
 LA Ḥl [son].CNST Tlḥ CONJ camp.SC.3MS
 ‘By Ḥl son of Tlḥ, so may he camp the night (safely)’

KhMNS 13: *l ʿs¹ bn brʿh f ʿd*
 LA ʿs¹ son.CNST Brʿh CONJ return.SC.3MS
 ‘For/by ʿs¹ son of Brʿh, and so may he return’

SIJ 152: *l ʿm bn mn f ʿtw mn- ḥrt*
 LA ʿm son.CNST mn CONJ come.SC.3MS from- the Ḥarah
 ‘For ʿm son of Mn, so may he return from the Ḥarah’

11.2 Subordinating Conjunctions

While the conjunctions *w* and *f* can express temporal and causal relationships usually expressed by subordinating conjunctions in CAR, a few dedicated subordinating conjunctions are attested. None of the following are attested with enough frequency to determine the details of their syntax.

ḏ: ‘when’—This conjunction is probably cognate with CAr *ʾidā* ‘when’.

AWS 8: *w* *ng*^c *ḏ* *wgd* *ʾtr*
 CONJ grieve in pain.SC.3MS when find.SC.3MS trace.CNST
dd-h
 paternal uncle -CPRO.3MS
 ‘and he was grieved in pain when he found the trace of his paternal uncle’

ʾkdy: ‘after’—This adverb is probably cognate with *ʾkdy* in the Namārah inscription, the etymology of which is obscure. Beeston has suggested that it is a metathesized form of *ʾdky*, but its meaning is rather different. Nevertheless, its meaning in the Safaitic texts and in the Namārah inscription seems congruent.

LP 732: *trd* *h-ḏʾb* *zlc* {*m-*}*mn* *ʾkdy*
 drive.SC.3MS wolf rage.APC.MS {from-} Mn after
glh *f* [*h*]
 attack.SC.3MS so [VOC]
 [*l*][*t*] [*sʾ*][*l*][*m*]
 [*Lt*] [security]
 ‘he drove away the wolf, which was raging, from Mn after he attacked so, {[O Lt, may he be secure]}’

SG₁ = LP 722: *hgz-h* *bʾlsʾmn* *ʾkd{-h}* *yšn*
 withhold.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Bʾlsʾmn after protect.PC.3MS
 ‘Bʾlsʾmn withheld it [the rain], but may he preserve (i.e., the land) thereafter’

ḥt: ‘until’—This particle is attested only once and in a non-formulaic context, so its identification is tentative at the moment. If our interpretation of C 4384 is correct, then it would be cognate with CAr *ḥattā* ‘until’, ‘so that’.

C 4384: *syd* *ḥt* *wqf* *f* *l-}{kl* *w*
 hunt.SC.3MS until exhaustion CONJ ASV- {eat.INF} CONJ
 {*q*}*t-h*
 protect.INF -CPRO.3MS
 ‘he hunted until exhaustion, so may he eat and be protected’

Verbless Clauses

12.1 Existential Clauses

No single existential particle can be reconstructed for PS and each of its sub-branches seems to have developed its own strategy of overtly marking existential clauses. Most contemporary Arabic dialects have grammaticalized a locative phrase, *fī-h* or *bi-h* ‘lit. in it’. A similar construction is the source of Gz *bo* < **bahu* ‘in it’, and the Akk verb *bašûm* ‘to be’ also seems to have a similar origin.¹ The NWS languages, on the other hand, exhibit reflexes of a single existential particle, **it*, Arm *’it*, Hb *yēš*, Ug *’it*. The variety of forms and strategies suggests that PS did not have an overt marker of existential predication. Old Arabic, and hence Proto-Arabic, seems to have preserved this original situation.

Existential clauses can consist of only a single term and are unmarked for TAM features, which they acquire from their pragmatic context. To illustrate, consider the relevant portion of KRS 1944 below. The sentence consists of two components: a vocative phrase containing the epithet of a deity *h mlk h- s^lmy* ‘O master of the sky’ and an existential sentence *my* ‘there is water’. In this case, the existential clause is best translated with an optative force, ‘O master of the sky, let there be water (i.e., rain)’.² Existential clauses are usually embedded within the context of prayer and curse formulae, but a few stand-alone ones are attested.³

KRS 1944: *h mlk h- s^lmy my*
 VOC king.CNST ART- sky water
 ‘O king of the sky (i.e., B^lls^lmn), let there be water’

C 1084: *rđy ġnmt s^lb^c*
 Rđy spoil seven
 ‘Rđy, let there be spoil, seven-fold’

1 Huehnergard (*forthcoming*).

2 Note that the Arab Grammarians analyzed constructions as these as containing an invisible verb [grant], but there is no reason to posit invisible verbs.

3 This analysis follows Bar-Asher (2011).

- MKMR 51: *l 'hd bn 'hnn w gnmt*
 LA 'hd son.CNST 'hnn CONJ spoil
 'By 'hd son of 'hnn and let there be spoil'
- AbaNS 1128: *'ty 'hl-h w my 's²m*
 come.SC.3MS family-CPRO.3MS CONJ water ART- north
 'he came to his family because there was water in the north'
- AZNG 1: *mrd tlt s¹nn mn-qbl nfs¹ zlm*
 rebellion three.M year.PL facing Nepos to oppress.APC.MS
 'there was a rebellion for three years facing Nepos, who was op-
 pressive'
- C 3818: *w tlg b-h-dr b-{r}{'}y 'qbt*
 CONJ snow near-ART- place during- {rising} scorio
 'and there was snow near this place during the rising of Scorpio'
- C 320: *bh' brkt w b{<}>q{l}*
 rejoice.SC.3MS Brkt CONJ {herbage}
 'he rejoiced at Brkt because there was herbage'

12.2 Possessive Predication

Existential clauses can be expanded by a dative phrase to express possession. Possessive predication is widely attested with both definite and indefinite nouns. As in simple existential clauses, possessive predication is also unmarked for TAM.

- LP 342: *w gnmt l-d d'y*
 CONJ spoil for- REL.MS read aloud.SC.3MS
 'and may he who who would read aloud have spoil' (lit. 'and let there be spoil for him who would read aloud')
- WH 368: *'wr w 'rg w hrs¹ w grb w*
 blindness CONJ lameness CONJ dumbness CONJ scab CONJ
hkk l-d y'wr h-s'fr
 mangle to- REL.MS efface.DPC.3MS ART- writing
 'let there be blindness and lameness and dumbness and scab and
 mangle on him who effaces the writing'

C 3811: *h rdy ġnmt l-qm ġyʿ*
 VOC Rdy spoil for- people starving
 ‘O Rdy, may a starving people have spoil’ (lit. let there be spoil for a starving people)

SESP.U17: *h bʿlsʿmn wqyt l-d s²rq*
 VOC Bʿlsʿmn protection for- REL.MS migrate.SC.3MS
 ‘O Bʿlsʿmn, may he who would migrate to the inner desert be protected’ (lit. ‘let there be protection for him who would migrate to the inner desert’)

a. Existential predication is the general method used to express possession with a pronominal possessor.

LP 562.1: *w l-h h-dʿn*
 CONJ to -CPRO.3MS ART- sheep
 ‘and the sheep are his’

SHS 10: *w l-h [h-]rgm*
 CONJ for -CPRO.3FS [ART-] funerary cairn
 ‘and the funerary cairn is hers’

12.3 Locative Predication

Examples of locative predication are rare, but, from the few attested forms, the locative predicate can be introduced by the preposition *b-* or left unmarked (perhaps with a locative ending):⁴

C 4681: *bny h-z{l}lt {sʿ}nt ʿrb*
 build.GSC.3MS ART- {shelter} {year}.CNST arab.PL.CNST
h-bġ{y}t {b-} h-rġbt
 ART- {Bġyt} in- ART- Rġbt
 ‘he built the {shelter} the {year} the Arabs of {Bġyt} were {at} this Raḥabah’

4 Note that the existential particle in the modern Arabic dialect of Palmyra is derived from a locative phrase introduced by *bi-* rather than *fī-* as in most varieties of Arabic.

- LP 653: *sʿnt lgy[n] grmnqš b-nqʿt*
 year.CNST legions. CNST Grmnqš at-Nqʿt
 ‘the year the legions of Germanicus were at Nqʿt’
- WH 1243: *ns²{t} l-ʿms² f h brkt*
 {go forth}.SC.3MS towards-ʿms² CONJ IPRO.3MS Brkt
 ‘he was at Brkt and went forth towards ‘ms²’ (lit. ‘he went forth
 towards ‘ms² for he was at Brkt’⁵)

12.4 Equational Sentences

As in most Semitic languages, the relationship between the subject and the nominal or pronominal predicate is expressed syntactically by juxtaposing the two. Predicative adjectives are distinguished from attributive adjectives in that definiteness is not a concord feature. The definite article only appears on the predicate if it is a noun (e.g., C 1185). The few attested examples of this construction suggest that both subject-predicate and predicate-subject word orders are permissible.

- WH 1403.2: *w ʿn frds¹ bn ʿrd*
 CONJ IPRO.1CS Frds¹ son.CNST ʿrd
 ‘and I am Frds¹ son of ʿrd’
- C 1185: *w mt[y] h-ht{t}*
 CONJ [Mty] ART- {writer}
 ‘and [Mty] is the writer’
- C 5041: *w l- h dm*
 CONJ ASV IPRO.3MS draw.APC.MS
 ‘and he has indeed drawn’

5 The toponym *brkt* never appears with the article. Moreover, a directive preposition *h-*, as in Hadramitic and the Modern South Arabian languages, is not attested in Safaitic. Thus, the reading *h brkt* seems secure, as does its interpretation.

AWS 124: *'s'lf* *h- rwy* *m- h- ḥm* *f*
 bring to an end.SC.3MS ART- sweet water from- ART- heat CONJ
ḥz *h- 's'd*
 hostile.APC.MS Leo
 'the sweet water was brought to an end from the heat, for Leo was
 hostile'

WH 2851: *s'nt* *mrđt* *'l* *nbṭ*
 year.CNST rebel.SC.3FS people.CNST Nbt
'l- 'l *{r}m f* *'t* *s'lm*
 against- people.CNST Rm CONJ come.APC.MS peace
 'the year the Nabataeans rebelled against the Romans, so may
 peace come'

Verbal Clauses

13.1 Main Clauses with Indicative Verbs

a. The finite verb stands in clause initial position. Pronominal subjects are embedded in the verb itself, *r'y* 'he pastured', *ts²wqt 'l-* 'she long for'. Other elements of the sentence have relatively free syntax. The data are not plenty enough to determine if agreement features were influenced by the position of the subject, but see the discussion in § 6.3.

VERB—SUBJECT—OBJECT

WH 1698: *ngy* *qsr* *h- mdnt*
 announce.SC.3MS Caesar ART- province
 'Caesar announced the province (i.e., Provincia Arabia)'

SIJ 59: *hrbt* 'l 'wḏ 'l ṣbh
 plunder.SC.3FS lineage.CNST 'wḏ lineage.CNST ṣbh
 'the lineage of 'wḏ plundered the lineage of ṣbh'

VERB—OBJECT—SUBJECT

QZUI 462: *trq* 'n -h h- mrd
 smite.SC.3MS eye -CPRO.3MS ART- rebel
 'the rebel struck out his eye'

WH 1516: 'h}ḏ klb -h ḏb
 {take}.SC.3MS dog -CPRO.3MS wolf
 'a wolf carried off his dog'

VERB—PRONOMINAL OBJECT—SUBJECT

LP 161: *klm -h* h- 's¹d
 injure.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS ART- lion
 'the lion injured him'

C 1240: *hgz -h* *b'ls'mn* 'l- *h- mdnt*
 withhold.SC.3MS -CPRO.3S B'ls'mn from- ART- province
 'B'ls'mn withheld it (the rain) from the province'

VERB—SUBJECT—PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

RWQ 347: *s'rt* 'l *df l- 'wd*
 serve.SC.3MS lineage.CNST Df for- 'wd
 'the lineage of Df performed military service for 'wd'

VERB—PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE—SUBJECT

LP 325: *dmy* *l-h* 'b- *h*
 draw.SC.3MS for -CPRO.3MS father -CPRO.3MS
 'his father drew (a picture) for him'

VERB—OBJECT—PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

KRS 1536: *tzr* 's' *s'my* *b- mlh*
 wait.SC.3MS ART- sky during- Aquarius
 'he awaited the rains during Aquarius'

KRS 1546: *bny* *h- rgm* *l- gfft*
 build.SC.3MS ART- funerary cairn for- Gfft
 'he built the funerary cairn for Gfft'

VERB—PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE—OBJECT

KRS 51: *bny* *l- ghm* *h- rgm*
 build.SC.3MS for- Ghm ART- funerary cairn
 'he built the funerary cairn of Gfft'

b. The indirect object of ditransitive verbs is optionally marked by the preposition *l-*. Direct and indirect objects follow the verb, but otherwise their syntax is free:

- C 1868: *s¹nt h- rm s²t b- 'blt w*
 year.CNST ART- rome spend the winter.APC.3MS at- 'blt CONJ
whb 'mlk-h 'hrs¹
 give.SC.3MS king.PL -CPRO.3f guard.PL
 'the year Rome (i.e., the romans) was wintering near 'blt and
 bestowed upon its rulers guards'
- LP 460: *h rḏw hb l- 'bd'l nqmt*
 VOC Rḏw give.IMP.2MS to- 'bd'l retribution
 'O Rḏw, grant retribution to 'bd'l'
- LP 504: *h 'lt ftḏ l- rg^c w hb*
 VOC 'lt deliver.INF to- Rg^c CONJ give.IMP.FS
l-h n'm
 to -CPRO.3MS favor
 'O 'lt, deliver Rg^c and grant him favor'
- AsUI 1: *h ds²r hb s¹d l- nbṭ*
 VOC Ds²r give.IMP.MS aid to- the Nabataeans
'l- ḥwlt
 against- Ḥwlt
 'O Ds²r, grant aid to the Nabataeans against Ḥwlt'

13.2 Clauses with Pragmatic Optatives

a. The optative use of the prefix and suffix conjugation generally has the same syntax as their indicative counterparts. In a few cases, SV word order is attested, but these likely reflect the topicalization of the subject; see §15 for more examples.

- AWS 107: *w ḥd^c d ḥbl w*
 CONJ be debased.SC.3MS REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS CONJ
rḏy d d'y
 be satisfied.SC.3MS REL.MS read aloud.PC.3MS
 'may he who would obscure (this writing) be debased but may he
 who would read aloud be satisfied'

- LP 236: *f yq{h}r -h* *l{h} mty {-h}*
 so {make successful}.PC.3MS {Lh} journey -{CPRO.3MS}
 'so, may Lh make him successful in his journey'
- LP 259: *w gnm -h* *b'ls'm{y}*
 CONJ grant spoil.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS {B'ls'my}
m- s²n[']
 from- [enemy.PL]
 'and may B'ls'my grant him spoil from enemies'
- JbS 1: *dkr -h* *rdy*
 remember.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Rdy
 'may Rdy be mindful of him'

b. In rare cases, a vocative noun is the subject of a 2nd person SC with an optative force. In one case, the verb precedes its subject, *l't lt mn y_hbl* 'may you, Lt, curse whosoever would obscure (this writing)' (CSA 1.2), while in the other examples, it follows its subject:

- LP 687: *h lt s¹dt mn d'y* *h- s¹fr*
 VOC Lt aid.SC.2FS REL read aloud.SC.3MS ART- writing
 'O Lt, may you aid whosoever would read this writing
 aloud'
- RSIS 80: *h lt brkt 'hk d*
 VOC Lt bless.SC.2FS 'hk REL.MS
 'O Lt, bless 'hk of ...'
- C 4037: *{h} lt whbt s²n' -h*
 VOC Lt give.SC.2FS enemy -CPRO.3MS
bn- yd -h
 between- hand.DU.CNST -CPRO.3MS
 'O Lt, may you give his enemy into his hands'

13.3 The Vocative and Imperative

a. Vocative phrases usually precede the main clause, which typically consists of an existential clause or a clause containing an imperative or infinitive. Vocative phrases containing more than one element can be introduced by a single vocative particle (1) or by a particle preceding each member of the phrase (2).

- C 3811: *h lt dqn mrn f rwḥ*
 VOC Lt grow old.SC.3MS Mrn CONJ ease
 ‘O Lt, Mrn has grown old, so let there be ease’
- (1) KRS 2869: *h lt w rḏy w ds²r s^llm ḡnmt*
 VOC Lt CONJ Rḏy CONJ Ds²r security spoil
 ‘O Lt and Rḏy and Ds²r, may he be secure by means of spoil’
- (2) HCH 72: *h lt w h ds²r t^r {l-} mn ḥwlt*
 VOC Lt CONJ VOC Ds²r vengeance ASV against Ḥwlt
 ‘O Lt and O Ds²r, there will be vengeance against Ḥwlt’

b. The imperatives, along with infinitives and existential sentences signifying requests, usually follow the vocative phrase, but can sometimes precede it as well:

- C 5121: *h rḏw flt-h*
 VOC Rḏw deliver.IMP.2MS -CPRO.3MS
 ‘O Rḏw, deliver him!’
- AWS 290: *h ’lt s^ld ḥrḏt bn ’brr w flt-h*
 VOC ’lt help.IMP.FS Ḥrḏt son.CNST ’brr CONJ
 deliver.IMP.FS -CPRO.3MS
 ‘O ’lt, help Ḥrḏt son of ’brr and deliver him!’
- SW 264: *h yṯ^c ḡn m-h*
 VOC Yṯ^c free from want.IMP.MS people -CPRO.3MS
 ‘O Yṯ^c, render his people free from want’
- HCH 107: *h lt s^llm d ’l ḥrm*
 voc Lt secure.IMP.FS REL.MS lineage.CNST Ḥrm
 ‘O Lt, keep safe him/those of the lineage of Ḥrm!’
- KRS 1562: *f rwḥ y lt*
 CONJ ease/grant ease.IMP.FS VOC Lt
 ‘so grant ease/let there be ease, O Lt’

The Syntax of Adverbs

Unless topicalized, adverbs follow their heads. The few attested examples, however, do not allow for any further generalizations.

C 2686: *ng^c* *kbr* *ʿl- ġyr*
 grieve in pain.SC.3MS continuously over- Ġyr
 ‘he grieved in pain continuously on account of Ġyr’

HaNSB 184: *mlḥ* *f* *ny* *kbr*
 traded salt.SC.3MS CONJ toil.SC.3MS continuously
 ‘he traded salt and toiled continuously’

K 196: *h* *bʿlsʿmn mwl* *h- ʿrd* *sʿr^c*
 VOC Bʿlsʿmn make abundant.IMP.MS ART- land quick
 ‘O Bʿlsʿmn, quickly make this land abundant’

SIJ 1008: *w* *dt^c* *w* *qy[z]* *w*
 CONJ later rains.SC.3MS CONJ [dry season].SC.3MS CONJ
s²ty *h- rḥbt* *ʿwd*
 winter.SC.3MS ART- Rḥbt again
 ‘as he will spend the season of the later rains, the dry season, and
 the winter at this Raḥbah again’

MKWS 8: *f* *gdʿwd* *w* *s²ʿhqm ġnmt qrb*
 CONJ Gdʿwd CONJ S²ʿhqm spoil soon
 ‘so Gdʿwd and S²ʿhqm, let there be spoil soon!’

14.1 Adverbs of Specification

Unmarked nouns and adjectives used adverbially can specify the quality, content, or material of their head. These always follow the element they modify, but not necessarily directly. SESPD 12, for example, allows an object and prepositional phrase to intervene between the adverb and the term it modifies.

- C 4332: *h lt ġnmt m- s²n' 'bl*
 VOC Lt spoil from- enemy.PL camel.COL
 'O Lt, let there be spoil from enemies in terms of camels'
- C 1837: *h 'lt s¹lm l- h- mtyt ħmt w qyt*
 VOC 'lt security for- ART- camel protection CONJ protect.INF
mn- grb h y¹'
 from- scabies VOC Y¹'
 'O 'lt, may the riding camel be secure by means of protection
 (from harm) and protect against scabies, O Y¹'
- SESP.D 12: *ws¹qn h- mhr m- gnt h- dr*
 drive.APC.MP ART-colt.PL from- garden ART- area
qnb
 company of men
 '... who were driving the colts from the garden(s) of this area as a
 company of men'

14.2 Adverbs of Circumstance

Adverbs of circumstance are usually formed by participles, although at least one example of an infinitive in this use is attested. These adverbs indicate an action or condition which is simultaneous with the main verb. Such forms are always indefinite, and were probably marked by the accusative case. All examples are attested with a masculine singular antecedent.

- WH 1361: *w {r}{y} m{d}br {n}wy s²ty*
 CONJ {pasture}.SC.3MS {inner desert} migrate.APC.MS winter
 'and he pastured the inner desert while migrating in the winter'
- RyD 6822: *w wgm 'l- 'm trħ mħll*
 CONJ grieve.SC.3MS for- 'm perish.PC.MS camping.APC.MS
 'and he grieved while camping for 'm, who perished'

KRS 1432: *wlh* *mtḍkr* *ḥbb* *f*
 be distraught.SC.3MS remember.APC.MS loved one CONJ
ḥbb
 loved one
 'he was distraught as he remembered loved one after loved one'

C 1539: *s²mr ḥ[l]* *h- bt* [*t*]*s²wq* '*l-lbḥ*
 S²mr [camp].APC.MS ART- tent [long].INF for- Lbḥ
 'S²mr is camping in this tent, longing for Lbḥ'

Topicalization

Topicalization is rare in the inscriptions and so our knowledge of this phenomenon is extremely limited. Topicalized elements are dislocated towards the beginning of the clause. Examples of (1) topicalized nouns, (2) prepositional phrases, (3) adverbs, and (4) clauses are attested.

(1)

C 2964: *w b's¹ l-h mn- s²n'*
 CONJ misfortune to -CPRO.3MS from-enemy.PL
 'and misfortune^{topic} from enemies was his'

C 76: *w ġnmt 's¹yt*
 CONJ spoil be granted.SC.3FS
 'and may spoil^{topic} be granted'

KRS 941: *w ql hbl-h trḥ*
 CONJ say.SC.3MS obscurer -CPRO.3MS perish.SC.3MS
 'and he said: may [its obscurer^{topic}] perish'

(2)

Ms 64: *l 'qrb bn 'bgr b- ms¹rt 'l 'mrt frs¹*
 LA 'qrb son.CNST 'bgr by- Ms¹rt lineage.CNST 'mrt horseman
s¹nt ngy ġwt¹ bn rḏwt
 year.CNST announce.SC.3MS Ġwt¹ son.CNST Rḏwt
 'By 'qrb son of 'bgr who was a horsemen [in the troop of the
 lineage of 'mrt]^{topic} the year Ġwt¹ bn Rḏwt was announced (com-
 mander)'

(3)

ASWS 202: *w bhrt m mtr*
 CONJ vehemence of heat in July NEG rain.SC.3MS
 'but [during the vehemence of heat in July^{topic}] it did not rain'

(4)

In KRS 213, the entire apodosis is left-dislocated.

KRS 213: *hbl* *hrm* ʔ*n* *ygl*
 be.insane.SC.3MS hammer.APC.MS COND erase.PC.3MS
 ‘[may one who hammers go insane^{topic}] if he should erase’

Syntax of the Infinitive

16.1 Infinitive Chain

As in ASA, an infinitive can replace a finite verb as the non-initial member of a sequence of two or more coordinate verbs which belong to a single semantic unit. Since the infinitive is often identical to the suffix conjugation, it is difficult to determine in the majority of cases whether one encounters a sequence of finite verbs or the infinitive chain. Clear examples occur when the two elements in question are inflected differently.

AbaNS 881: *w yqr w gly 'rd t*
 CONJ cold.PC.3MS CONJ be cut off.INF land DEM.FS
 'and he is cold and cut off in this land'

MAHB 5: *r'y h-rmh bql w*
 pasture.SC.3MS ART-camel.COL herbage CONJ
km't
 gather truffles.INF
 'he pastured the camels on fresh herbage and gathered truffles'

KRS 1770: *w wrd f nyt {b-}'mtn*
 CONJ go to water.SC.3MS CONJ migrate.INF {during}- Libra
 'and he went to water, then will migrate when the sun is in Libra'

KRS 78: *h lt ryh w qyt*
 V OC Lt grant ease.IMP.FS CONJ protect.INF
 'O Lt, grant ease and protect'

C 3113: *h rđw flt-h m-b's^l w*
 VOC Rđw deliver.IMP-CPRO.3MS from- misfortune CONJ
řmt mn-řd l-frk bn ltnh
 nourish.INF from- game for- Frk bn Ltnh
 'O Rđw, deliver him from misfortune and nourish Frk son of Ltnh with something of game'

- SIJ 1008: *h* 'l}{t} *s'f* -*hm*
 VOC {l}t} feed.INF -CPRO.3MP
 'O Lt, may they (the seasons) provide sustenance'
- WH 641.1: *w* *fl*t -*h* *m*- *lhyn*
 CONJ deliver.INF -SC.3MS from- Lhyn
 'and may he be delivered from Lhyn'
- C 4384: *syd* *ht* *wqf* *f* *l*- {'}kl *w*
 hunt.SC.3MS until exhaustion CONJ ASV- {eat.INF} CONJ
 {q}t -*h*
 {protect}.INF -CPRO.3MS
 'he hunted until exhaustion so, so may he eat and be protected'

16.2 Commands

The infinitive also frequently replaces the imperative in the expression of commands. There was probably a semantic nuance between the two options which is not detectable from our distance. The infinitive of command may sometimes overlap in form and even in meaning with the use of abstract nouns in existential clauses (see § 12). These forms can precede or follow their logical subject.

- SESP.U 18: *h* *b'ls*¹*mn* *trw*h *b*- *m*tr
 VOC B'ls¹mn send winds.INF by- rain
 'O B'ls¹mn, send the winds with rain!'
- C 1137: *w* *f*sy *hy* 'lt *m*- *b*'s¹
 CONJ deliver.INF voc 'lt from- misfortune
 'and deliver, O 'lt, from misfortune!'

16.3 The Infinitive to Express Purpose

One of the commonest usages of the infinitive is as a complement of a verb of motion, in which case it expresses purpose, similar to the Latin supine.

- KhNSJ 5: *w* *ʃyr* *qyz* *rʕy*
 CONJ return to water.SC.3MS dry season pasture.INF
 ‘and he returned to a place of water in the dry season to pasture’
- NST 3: *ʕy* *nʒr* *h- tbrn* *mn- ʔl* *ʃbħ*
 come.SC.3M guard.INF ART- warriors from- lineage.CNST ʃbħ
 ‘the warriors from the lineage of Sbħ came to guard’
- LP 742: *wrd* *mn- tlʕn* *tɔbʕ*
 come down.SC.3MS from- Tlʕn raid.INF
 ‘he came down from Tell-ʕayn to raid’
- KRS 37: *rgʕ* *b- ʔbl* *rʕy* [[]]
 return.SC.3MS with- camel.COL pasture.INF
l- ħrt *f* *ht*
 towards- the Ḥarrah ʕawf.CNST low-lying land
 ‘he returned towards the Ḥarrah with camels to pasture on ʕawf
 (plants) of low-lying land’
- WH 179: *ǧzz* *b- ħrt* *tbl* *h- bkrt*
 raid.SC.3MS by- the Ḥarrah return.INF ART- she camel.PL
m- mʕn
 from- Mʕn
 ‘he raided the Ḥarrah to recapture the she-camels from Mʕn’
- KRS 2420: *wrd* *ʕy* *h* *ʃwy* *ʕbgr*
 come down.SC.3MS raise.INF DEM cairn.CNST ʕbgr
 ‘he came to raise this cairn of ʕbgr’
- JaS 159.2: *glsʔ* *ħlt*
 halt.SC.3MS camp.INF
 ‘he halted to camp’

In one case, the infinitive occurs with the verb *mrd* ‘to rebel’ to express purpose. It may be the case that speakers interpreted this as a verb of motion, perhaps similar to English ‘to go against’ or ‘to go up against’.

KRS 1023: *mrd* *ʔ- h- mlk* *grfš ksʔr* *{h-} sʔl{sʔ}[lt]*
 rebel.SC.3MS against- ART- king Grfš break.INF {ART}- bonds
 ‘he rebelled against king Agrippa to break the bonds (of oppression?)’

16.4 The Infinitive with *b-*

Infinitives preceded by the preposition *b-* denote an action performed either simultaneously or in close temporal proximity with the main event.

WH 3559.1: *w* *tʔr* *h- sʔmy* *b- ḥḍr*
 CONJ await.SC.3MS ART- sky in- camp by water.INF
w *wrd* *brkt*
 CONJ go to water.SC.3MS Brkt
 ‘he awaited the rains while camping by permanent water and then went to water at Brkt’

WH 3584: *w* *tʔr* *h- sʔmy* *b- ḥḍr*
 CONJ await.SC.3MS ART- sky in- camp near water.INF
 ‘he awaited the rains while camping by permanent water’

C 4233: *w* *rʔy* *{b-} {n}{y}t* *h- šmkk*
 CONJ pasture.SC.3MS {in-} {migrate}.INF Hšmkk
 ‘and he pastured while migrating to Hšmkk’

16.5 Cognate Infinitive

The cognate infinitive amplifies the meaning of the main verb.

WH 116: *ḥy{b}* *[l]- mḥbb* *ḥb*
 lament.SC.3MS over- loved one lament.INF
 ‘he lamented greatly over a loved one’

WH 613: *f* *gdḏf* *sʔlm* *m- sʔnʔ* *sʔlm*
 so Gdḏf security from- enemy.PL secure.INF
 ‘so Gdḏf, may he be secured well against enemies’

Relative and Subordinate Clauses

17.1 Relative Clauses

There are three types of relative clauses: the first is introduced by a relative pronoun *d*, *d't*, *dw* (syndetic relative), the second is formed by pronominal resumption linking the subordinate and matrix clauses (asyndetic relatives), and the third comprises a sentential genitive construction (construct-genitive relative). All relative clauses follow the main clause:

a. Syndetic relative clauses occur most frequently as a component of lineage chains which introduce tribal affiliation, *d* 'l' 'of the lineage/people'. Outside of this context, they are rare, simply because they are not a component of most inscriptional formulae. A few clear examples, however, are attested, but these all occur with definite heads. It is unclear whether the *d* can occur with an indefinite antecedent, but there is no reason to doubt that it could.

LP 183: *wgd* *s^lfr* *m'r d* *'wq*
 find.SC.3MS writing.CNST M'r REL.MS be detained.SC.3MS
 'he found the writing of M'r who was imprisoned'

LP 1261: *l dbšy bn* *ks^lt d* *nkr*
 LA Dbšy son.CNST Ks^lt REL.MS contend.SC.3MS
h- s²n{}
 ART- {enemy}
 'By Dbšy son of Ks^lt who has contended with the enemy'

C 1758: *wgm* *'l- s²y^c-h* *d*
 grieve.SC.3MS for- companion.PL-CPRO.3MS REL.MS
ns^l *b- tbr*
 went.away.SC.3MP in- Sagittarius
 'he grieved for his companions who had gone away when the sun
 was in Sagittarius'

The relative pronoun *d* often stands as the definite head of free relative clauses, meaning 'he who':

KRS 1042: *w rđy d d'y w*
 CONJ be satisfied.SC.3MS REL.MS read aloud.SC.3MS CONJ
l'n d yhbl
 be cursed.SC.3MS REL.MS obscure.PC.3MS
 'may he who would read aloud be satisfied and he who would
 obscure be cursed'

Free relative clauses with an indefinite head are introduced by *m*:

Ms 44: *h gđđf l'n d y'wr m*
 VOC Gđđf curse.IMP.2MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS REL
yhn'
 please.PC.3MS
 'O Gđđf, curse him who would efface what would please'

AWS 236: *h rđw hb l-h m hn'*
 VOC Rđw give.IMP.2M to-cpro.3MS REL please.SC.3MS
 'O Rđw, grant him what would please'

b. Asyndetic relative clauses are bound to the matrix clause through the agreement of its verb or pronoun with its antecedent. Unlike CAr, asyndetic relative clauses can be used with definite heads as well.

CSNS 1004: *wgm l- bn dd-h*
 grieve.SC.3MS over- son.CNST paternal uncle -CPRO.3MS
ms^lby s^lbyt-h ty'
 capture.PPC.MS capture.SC.3FS -CPRO.3MS T_y'
 'he grieved for the son of his paternal uncle, who was captured,
 whom T_y' captured'

C 1186: *w l-h h- mhrt yrbb-h*
 CONJ for -CPRO.3MS ART- filly train.PC.3MS -CPRO.3FS
 'and the filly, which he is training, is his'

KRS 995: *nq't b- wdd-h yhbl*
 thrown out.INF by- beloved -CPRO.3MS obscure.PC.3MS
h- h{t}{t}
 ART- {writing}
 'and may he would obscure this writing be thrown out of the grave
 by his loved one'

ISB 91: *w* *l-h* *h-frs^l* *'nd-h*
 CONJ for -CPRO.3MS ART-horse at -CPRO.3MS
 'and by him is the horse, which belongs to him'

α. Attributive participles modifying noun phrases can be interpreted as asyndetic relative clauses or adnominal phrases. In this function, the participle never exhibits agreement in definiteness, distinguishing it from other attributive adjectives.

C 4039: *qsf* *'l-'l* *d'b w* *n'nl dlln*
 be sad.SC.3MS for-lineage.CNST D'b CONJ N'nl lost.PPC.MDU
 'he was sad on account of the lineage of D'b and N'nl, who were lost'

HCH 131: *ndm* *'l-klb-h* *dll*
 be devastated.SC.3MS over-dog -CPRO.3MS lost.PPC.MS
 'he was devastated by grief on account of his dog, which was lost'

SESP.U 13: *hrs* *'hw-h*
 watch.SC.3MS brother.DU.CNST -CPRO.3MS
ms²rqn
 migrate to desert.APC.MDU
 'he kept watch for his two brothers, who were migrating to the inner desert'

The agent of the passive participle is an adnominal modifier; the two do not form a construct-genitive chain.

KRS 6: *wlh* *'l-hm* *l'bd w* *'l-zkr*
 distraught.SC.3MS over -CPRO.3MPL forever CONJ over-Zkr
w *'l-hlš* *rjmn* *mny kll-hm*
 CONJ over-Hlš struck down.PPC.MP Fate QUANT -CPRO.3MP
 'he was distraught over them forever and over Zkr and over Hlš, who were struck down by Fate, all of them'

c. *Construct-genitive relative* clauses can also occupy the position of the genitive in a construct-genitive chain. This type occurs almost exclusively in temporal constructions headed by the word *s'nt* 'year'. A similar construction is attested in CAr with *yawm* 'day' (e.g., Q 3:30).

SIJ 78: *mrd* *ʿl-rm* *sʿnt* *ʿty*
 rebel.SC.3MS against- Rome year.CNST come.SC.3M
h- mdy *bšry*
 ART- Persians Bostra
 'he rebelled against Rome the year the Persians came to Bošrā'

KhNSJ 1: *g{l}sʿ* *mn* *ʿ- dmt* *sʿnt* *mt*
 {stop}.SC.3MS from ART- downpour year.CNST die.SC.3MS
mlk *nbṭ*
 king.CNST Nbṭ
 'he stopped briefly on account of the downpour the year the king
 of Nabaṭaea died'

17.2 Purpose and Result Clauses

a. With the particle l-: Purpose clauses can be formed through the use of *l-* with the prefix conjugation, essentially equivalent to the *li-yafʿala* construction in CAr.

WH 3053: *rḥḍ* *b-h-ngm* *l-yḥg*
 wash.SC.3MS in- Virgo to- ritual. PC.3MS
 'he washed when the sun was in Virgo in order to perform a pilgrimage'

LP 712: *wrd* *b-rʿy* *dl* [*l-*] {*y*}*sʿrb*
 go to water.SC.3MS in- rising.CNST Pisces [to]- {drink}.PC.3MS
 'he went to water during the rising of Pisces in order to drink'

α. There is a single possible example of an infinitive forming a purpose clause introduced by *l-*, which can be compared to the Hb infinitive construct *liqtôl*.

C 4803: *h* *b{ʿ}lsʿmn* *sʿlm* *l-nʿm* *ḥl*
 VOC {Bʿlsʿmn} security ease.INF camping
 'O Bʿlsʿmn, let there be security in order that camping be made easy'

b. With w and f: A sequence of non-indicative verb forms (or an existential sentence with a modal sense) can signify purpose or result without the use of the *l-*. The second verb is introduced with the conjunction *w* and, less

frequently, *f*. This phenomenon is widespread across Semitic, and is, indeed, known in CAr, where *fa-* is more often used (Fischer 2001, § 410). The prefix and suffix conjugation and the infinitive are attested in the logically dependent clause.

- LP 495: *h rḏw flt-n m- b's'*
 VOC Rḏw deliver.IMP.2MS -CPRO.1CP from- misfortune
w nhyy
 CONJ live.PC.1C
 'O Rḏw, deliver us/me from evil that I/we may live long'
- WH 135: *h lt qblł 'hl s'lm f nngy*
 VOC Lt reunion family-(CPRO.1CS) security so save.PC.1C
 'O Lt, let there be safe reunion with family that I/we may be saved'
- C 2967: *'{g}yr d'f w gny*
 be removed.SC.3MS weakness CONJ prosper.SC.3MS
 'may weakness {be removed} that he may prosper'
- MA1: *dbḥ l- rḏy w gnm nqt*
 sacrifice.SC.3MS for- Rḏy CONJ grant.SC.3MS she-camel
 'he performed a sacrifice for Rḏy that he (Rḏy) may grant a she-camel as spoil'
- C 4457: *w [g]d'wḏ rwḥ m 's'r w*
 and [Gd'wḏ] ease.IMP.2MS REL be captured.SC.3MS CONJ
s'lm
 be secure.SC.3MS
 'and Gd'wḏ, grant ease to whosoever was captured that he may be secure'
- C 31: *s²tky 'l- lt f ḥnn w*
 petition.SC.3MS to- Lt so show compassion.IMP.2FS CONJ
s'lm m- s²n'
 secure.sc.3ms from- enemy.PL
 'he petitioned Lt, so show compassion that he may be secure against enemies'

α. The phrase *w s'lm*, which commonly occurs in prayers, can be interpreted in two ways: (1) as a result clause of the preceding request or (2) an existential

sentence containing the noun ‘security’; thus, HaNSB 197 *h b'ls'mn ġyrt w s'lm* (1) ‘O B'ls'mn, let there be abundance that he may be secure’ or (2) ‘O B'ls'mn, let there be abundance and security’. In such cases, a decision between the two is simply an editorial choice.

17.3 Logically Subordinated Clauses with *w* and *f*

Both conjunctions can introduce dependent clauses which are logically, if not formally, subordinate to the preceding non-modal clause. Such clauses usually indicate reason and are best translated as ‘because’ or ‘as’.

CSNS 1021: *w wgm 'l- s'wd w trħ*
 CONJ grieve.SC.3MS for- S'wd CONJ perish.SC.3MS
 ‘and he grieved for S'wd because he perished’

SG 1 = LP 722: *w 'f h- m'zy s'nt*
 CONJ feed on fodder.SC.3MS ART- goat.PL year.CNST
b's'l w ħgz -h b'ls'mn
 misfortune CONJ withhold.SC.3MS -CPRO.3S B'ls'mn
 ‘and he fed the goats on dry fodder during a year of misery
 because B'ls'mn withheld the rain’

KRS 1051: *w wgm 'l- {}{ħ} -h ħry f*
 CONJ grieve.SC.3MS for- {brother} -CPRO.3MS Ĥry CONJ
myt
 die.SC.3MS
 ‘and he grieved for his brother, Ĥry, because he died’

NST 2: *'bs'l w rġmt mn[y]*
 austere.SC.3MS CONJ struck down.SC.3FS [Fate]
 ‘he was austere because she was struck down by Fate’

Circumstantial Clauses

Circumstantial clauses indicate an action which occurs simultaneously with the main event, similar to the circumstantial accusative discussed above. These clauses, as in other Semitic languages, are introduced by the coordinating conjunction *w* or *f*. Circumstantial clauses can range in size from a single term to an entire sentence. Any grammatical form can follow the conjunction; however, it seems that participles require the resumption of the subject in the circumstantial clause by an independent pronoun. Suffix conjugated verbs in circumstantial clauses refer to a past or future circumstance while other elements are unbound by time. Since the suffix conjugation and the infinitive are often identical, one must distinguish between the two in these situations pragmatically.

Circumstantial clause with a participle

KRS 1684: *h* *lt* *w* *gdḏf* *s'lm* *w* *mgd*
 VOC Lt CONJ Gdḏf security CONJ glory
w *h* *ṭlq* *l-h-dsy*
 CONJ IPRO.3MS set off.APC.MS for- ART- ibex
 'O Lt and Gdḏf, let there be security and glory as he sets off for
 ibex'

Circumstantial clause with a locative noun or prepositional phrase

C 3140: *wg{d}* *ṭr* *ṣm-h* *f*
 {find}.SC.3MS trace.CNST grandfather -CPRO.3MS so
b{k}y *w* *h-ṣwy*
 {cry}.SC.3MS CONJ ART- cairn
 'he found the trace of his grandfather so he cried while at the
 cairn'

Circumstantial clause with a suffix conjugated verb

Circumstantial clauses containing a suffix conjugated verb can either single the past or future tense, depending on the semantics of the main clause.

C 4815: *ngʻ* *ʻl- klbh bn -h* *w*
 grieve in pain.SC.3MS for- Klbh son -CPRO.3MS CONJ
rʻy *{h-} {ʻ}{b}l* *wḥd*
 pasture.SC.3MS {ART}- {camel}.COL alone
 'he grieved in pain for Klbh, his son, while he pastured the camels alone'

SIJ 1008: *gdʻw[d]* *nw{y}* *w* *ʻqwy*
 [Gdʻwḏ] {pasture} CONJ grant endurance.INF
w *dtʻ* *w* *qy[z]* *w*
 CONJ later rains.SC.3MS CONJ dry.season.SC.3MS CONJ
s²ty *h- rḥbt* *ʻwd*
 winter.sc.3ms ART- Raḥbah again
 'Gdʻwḏ, let there be pasture and grant endurance as he will spend the season of the later rains, the summer, and the winter at this Raḥbah again'

WH 582: *rdf* *h- ḏʻn* *l- mabr* *w*
 follow.sc.3ms ART- sheep towards- inner desert CONJ
hrš *s¹qm*
 watch.SC.3MS illness
 'he followed the sheep towards the inner desert while he anticipated illness'

LP 597: *hrš* *ʻl- rgl -h* *w*
 watch.SC.3MS over- soldier.PL -CPRO.3MS CONJ
ḥdr
 camp at water.SC.3MP
 'he watched over his foot soldiers while they camped by permanent water'

Coordination

The conjunction used to link two syntactically equal elements is *w*:

KRS 1683: *hll h- dr b- 'hl-h w*
 camp.SC.3MS ART- place with- family -CPRO.3MS CONJ
hr{s} 'l- 'bl-h
 {watch}.SC.3MS over- camel.COL -CPRO.3MS
 'he camped in this place with his family and watched over his
 camels'

HCH 72: *wgm 'l- hn' trh w 'l- 'bdy*
 grieve.SC.3MS for- Hn' perish.PPC.MS CONJ for- 'bdy
mqt
 kill.PPC.MS
 'he grieved for Hn', who perished, and for 'bdy, who was killed'

In this context, the conjunction can also have an adversative meaning, 'but':

C 3931: *h 't' s'lm w hrš q'sn*
 VOC 't' security CONJ watch.SC.3MS murderer.PL
w fr
 CONJ flee.SC.3MS
 'O 't', may he be secure, as he had kept watch for enemies (lit.
 murderers), but fled'

Ms 44: *myt qsr w s'lm' 'n myt*
 die.SC.3MS Caesar CONJ hear.SC.3MS CONJ die.SC.3MS
ffš f s'hr
 Philip CONJ be fooled.SC.3MS
 'Caesar died but he heard that Philip had died, and was fooled'

HCH 194: *w nfr f 's'lm w b{ }{d}*
 CONJ flee.SC.3MS CONJ surrender.SC.3MS CONJ {after}
'flt
 escape.SC.3MS
 'and he fled, and then surrendered, but escaped afterwards'

Conditional Clauses

a. Basic conditional clauses can be formed through the juxtaposition of two modal verbs or two verbless sentences with a modal force. Similar constructions are known from CAR, e.g., *man ġāla tāla* ‘he who wanders will find something’ or the famous introduction of Imru’u l-Qays’s *mu’allaqah*, *qifā nabki* ‘stop, let us weep’ (see Fischer 2001, § 446).

Mu 278: *w m {m}hbl h- sʿfr nqʿt*
 CONJ REL{obscure}.APC.MS ART- writing thrown out.INF
l- ʿh- h
 for- brother -CPRO.3MS
 ‘and whosoever would obscure this writing, let his brother be
 thrown out of the grave’

RWQ 73: *h ds²r m zlm ms¹k f bqr*
 VOC Ds²r REL oppress.SC.3MS ms¹k CONJ split.INF
 ‘O Ds²r, whosoever would oppress Ms¹k, split (him) in two!’

α. The common curse formula *ʿwr m yʿwr* ‘blind whosoever would efface’ belongs to this type of conditional clause.

b. Only two examples attest the use of an overt conditional particle to mark the protasis. As remarked earlier, it would seem that the *ʿn* and *ʿm* conditional particles reflect dialectal variation.

AWS 237: *ʿm m ʿwr h rḏw f l-*
 COND REL efface.SC.3MS VOC Rḏw CONJ ASV-
yʿwr
 be made blind.SC.3MS
 ‘and if one would efface, O Rḏw, then let him be made
 blind’

KRS 213: *ql* *hbl* *hrm* '*n*
 say.SC.3MS be insane.SC.3MS hammer.APC.MS COND
ygl
 erase.PC.3MS
 'he said: may one who hammers go insane if he would erase (this
 inscription)'

Other Constructions

21.1 Apposition

Two nouns are in apposition if they have the same referent. These tend to be syntactically contiguous, with the second term agreeing, when possible, with the first.

C 4768: *wgm* *ʿl- gḥm* *bnt* *ʿnʿm mrʿt-h*
 mourn.SC.3MS over- Gḥm daughter.CNST ʿnʿm wife -CPRO.3MS
 'he mourned for Gḥm daughter of ʿnʿm, his wife'

C 304: *wgm* *ʿl- ḥḏnt* *ḥbbt-h*
 mourn.SC.3MS over- Ḥḏnt loved one.FS -CPRO.3MS
 'he mourned for Ḥḏnt, his beloved'

LP 135: *wgd* *sʿfr* *whbʿl ḥll*
 found.SC.3MS writing.CNST Whbʿl friend
 'he found the writing of Whbʿl, a friend'

21.2 Cleft Sentences

The cleft construction *mn d*, compare to Arabic *man ḏa lladī*, is attested once:

C 2276: *nqʿš* *l- mn* *d* *ḥbl*
 sudden death.INF to- REL REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS
h- sʿfr
 ART- writing
 'sudden death to the one who would obscure this writing'

21.3 Oaths to Deities

A single oath with the common Arabic formula *qsʿm b-* and the asseverative *l-* is attested:

SIJ 293: *w* *ʕly* *w* *ʕsʔm* *b-ʔlh*
 CONJ burn offering.SC.3MS CONJ swear.SC.3MS by-ʔlh
hy *l- hdy* *ʕm*
 alive.APC.MS ASV-command.SC.3MS greatness
 ‘and he made a burnt offering, and swore by ʔlh, who is living, that
 he will command with greatness’

Compositional Formulae

Most Safaitic inscriptions comprise several, independent formulaic units. Understanding these patterns is essential to deciphering poorly carved texts and zeroing in on the meanings of words which are otherwise open to several interpretations. The following will outline the major formulae commonly used to produce inscriptions.¹

22.1 Lineage

The basic formula which begins nearly every inscription is the lineage chain (**Gn**). The genealogy of the author is introduced by the *lam-auctoris*, and the successive generations of the lineage are linked by *bn* or *b(n)t*. Lineage chains can range from two members to often as many as ten; the longest attested chain contains sixteen members. As discussed earlier (§ 4.2) affiliation with a specific social group is also expressed by the phrase *d' l* 'of the lineage', the use of a gentile adjective, and, in rarer cases, the taking of one's genealogy back to the eponymous ancestor.

22.2 Spending Time at a Place

The basic way authors express being present at a place is with the formula *l- Gn* + **place name**. Since the location is never introduced by a preposition, it must be construed as an unmarked locative noun, perhaps in the accusative or bearing an adverbial ending. One of the commonest locations is *h- dr*, which refers to the 'place' or 'region' at which the inscription was produced, rather than to a specific structure. This is made clear by the fact that *h- dr* is never the object of verbs of construction. The *lam auctoris* prevents us from translating this formula as a sentence, i.e., *Gn is at this place*, but rather as a phrase, *by Gn, at this place*.

1 For a different approach to the Safaitic formulae, see Voigt (1980).

C 2243: *l s^ld bn zmr bn ḥzn h- dr*
 'By S^ld son of Zmr son of Ḥzn, at this place'

C 2396: *l ḥl bn 'mr bn 'sd bn qt^{n} h- dr*
 'By Ḥl son of 'mr son of 'sd son of {Qt^{n}}, at this place'

Other common locations include:

<i>'ḥdt</i>	water pool
<i>m(n)zr</i>	look-out point
<i>mdt^l/ms²ty(t)</i>	spring/winter pasture
<i>ṣwy</i>	cairn

This formula can be expanded by using verbs of camping (*l- Gn + Verb + place name*), such as:

<i>byt</i>	to spend the night/camp
<i>ḥll</i>	to camp
<i>gls^l</i>	to halt

22.3 Building

Authors sometimes mention the construction of structures with the formula *bny X*, where X is the name of a structure. Some common structures include:

<i>rgm</i>	funerary cairn
<i>s^ltr</i>	shelter
<i>ṣwy</i>	cairn
<i>z^l(l)t</i>	shelter

22.4 Claiming Authorship of Drawings

Rock art frequently accompanies the inscriptions, and authors will often mark ownership of a rock drawing by the following formula: *l- Gn + ART- drawing*.

Next to a drawing of a she-ass

C 505: *l ḥḍg bn s'wr h- 'tn*
'By Ḥḍg son of S'wr is the she-ass'

Next to a drawing of two camels

AbaNS 28: *l bdn bn 'zz h- bkrtn*
'by Bdn son of 'zz are the two she-camels'

Next to a drawing of two gazelles

WH 3151: *l 's'f bn ḥ{r}tt h- zbyn*
'By 's'f son of {Ḥrtt} are the two gazelles'

The following lists contains the terms for animals commonly depicted in the rock drawings:

<i>'s'd</i>	lion
<i>'tn</i>	she-ass
<i>'r</i>	ass
<i>bkr't</i>	young she-camel
<i>dšy(t)</i>	ibex/oryx
<i>gml</i>	male camel
<i>frs'</i>	horse
<i>ḥmr</i>	donkey
<i>ḥyt</i>	animals
<i>n'm(t)</i>	ostrich
<i>nqt</i>	she-camel
<i>tr</i>	bull
<i>w'l</i>	ibex
<i>zbyt</i>	gazelle

Other times, the signature will refer to the drawing in more general terms:

<i>dmyt</i>	drawing
<i>ṣrt</i>	image

Authors would sometimes produce rock drawings of animals dedicated in some way to a deity. These are often accompanied by the following formula: *l- Gn + ART- drawing + w qsy l- deity*. The ritualistic meaning of these texts is unclear at the current moment:

C 1658: *l wq{r} bn y'l h- gmln qsyn l- 'lt w l- rḏw*
 'By {Wqr} son of Y'l are these two camels which have been dedicated to 'lt and to Rḏw'

KRS 1307: *l ḥṭs't bn s'lkrn bn ḥṭs't bn zkr h- gml qsy l- s²'hqm*
 'By Ḥṭs't son of S'lkrn son of Ḥṭs't son of Zkr is this camel which has been dedicated to S²'hqm'

22.5 Inscription Finding and Grieving

Authors will sometimes react to finding the trace or inscription of someone they knew, usually a friend or family member. The basic formula used in this situation is: *wgd + 'tr* or *s'fr + PN*. The PN component can consist of a single name (1), a kinship term or a word for companion or friend (2), or both (3).

- (1) KRS 926: *wgd 'tr mlk*
 'he found the trace of Mlk'
- (2) C 25: *wgd 'tr 'h -h*
 'he found the trace of his brother'
- (3) Mu 897: *wgd s'fr hl -h 'n'm*
 'he found the writing of his maternal uncle, 'n'm'

The exact sense of *'tr* is not always clear. Eksell has hypothesized that it refers to a type of grave, and this is indeed possible in some contexts, as it occurs in

the same context as *rgm* (see AAUI 294). In other cases, however, one finds an *ʔtr* of an entire tribe, where it may simply mean ‘trace’ of an encampment, an inscription, or some other evidence of their presence at a specific location. Less likely is the possibility that it refers to a burial ground. Until more conclusive evidence comes to light, the neutral translation ‘trace’ is preferred.

Verbs of grieving can occur independently (1) or with an object introduced by *ʔl* (2). These constructions often follow clauses expressing the finding of an inscription or trace.

- (1) C 3474: *l ʔll bn ʔsʔlm bn nʔmn w wgm*
 ‘By ʔll son of ʔsʔlm son of Nʔmn and he grieved’
- (2) HCH 82: *l ʔzz bn hnʔ d ʔl nmrt w wgm ʔl- hnʔ*
 ‘by ʔzz son of Hnʔ of the lineage of Nmrt and he grieved over Hnʔ’
- WH 151.1: *wgm ʔl- kmd w kmd w ʔsʔd w ʔsʔd w rʔy w qdm w ʔnn w ʔsʔd w ʔtm w rbbʔl*
 ‘He grieved for Kmd and Kmd and ʔsʔd and ʔsʔd and Rʔy and Qdm and ʔnn and ʔsʔd and ʔtm and Rbʔl’

Some of the commonest verbs of grieving are:

<i>bky</i>	to weep
<i>ndm</i>	to be devastated (by grief)
<i>ngʕ</i>	to grieve in pain
<i>qsʔ</i>	to be sad
<i>wgm</i>	to grieve
<i>wgʕ</i>	to grieve in pain
<i>wlh</i>	to be distraught

Kinship terms which often appear in these contexts include:

<i>ʔb</i>	father
<i>ʔb ʔm</i>	maternal grandfather
<i>ʔh</i>	brother
<i>ʔht</i>	sister

<i>ʾm</i>	mother
<i>ʾm</i>	paternal grandfather
<i>ʾmt</i>	grandmother
<i>bn</i>	son
<i>bnt</i>	daughter
<i>dd</i>	paternal uncle
<i>hl</i>	maternal uncle
<i>hlt</i>	maternal aunt
<i>htn</i>	any relation on the side of the wife, i.e., father-in-law, etc.
<i>mrby</i>	foster child

Common terms of affection

<i>ḥbb</i>	loved one
<i>ṣdq</i>	friend
<i>wdd</i>	loved one

Authors often record the finding of the inscriptions of loved ones who passed away or who were plundered. The names of such individuals are usually accompanied by the following epitaphs:

<i>rgm mny</i>	struck down by Fate
<i>trḥ</i>	perished
<i>qtl/mqtl</i>	murdered
<i>ḥrb/mḥrb</i>	plundered

22.6 Funerary

Inscriptions associated with funerary rituals usually follow the formula: (1) *bny l- PN ḥ- rgm* 'he built for PN the cairn' or (2) *bny l- PN*. The second phrase probably refers to the process of laying a stone on the cairn of a dead person (see §1.1).

- (1) KRS 51: {*l*} *mfny w bny l-ghm h-rgm*
 ‘{By} Mfny and he built for Ghm the funerary cairn’
- (2) HCH 37: *w bny ‘l-hn’ trh w rgm mny*
 ‘and he layed a stone upon (the cairn of) Hn’, who perished
 and was struck down by Fate’

Other funerary structures are occasionally mentioned:

<i>bly</i>	a <i>baliyyah</i>
<i>drh</i>	tomb
<i>mgrt</i>	tomb chamber
<i>nfs¹ + (t)</i>	funerary monument

A minor funerary formula is the verb *qbr* + PN, ‘to bury PN’:

- WH 1: *qbr ‘bgr*
 ‘he buried ‘bgr’
- WH 1136: *w qbr ‘h-h*
 ‘and he buried his brother’

The formula *‘hd (l-PN) h-cairn* ‘he placed PN on the funerary cairn’

Recent archaeological surveys conducted by the Leiden University team within the scheme of the NWO-funded project *Landscapes of Survival* have revealed that in addition to the funerary cairn which sits atop a grave, many cairns acted as support for a platform upon which a dead person was probably placed to decompose. Such cairns would have been easy to reuse. In light of this, I would suggest that *‘hd h-rgm/šwy* refers to the use of such a cairn to deposite the body of a loved one.

The “proverb” *b’s¹ mn žll* ‘those who remain despair’

A common expression associated with funerary inscriptions and those generally expressing grief over the loss of a loved one is *fb’s¹ m(n) žll* ‘for those who remain despair’. Some earlier scholars took this as meaning ‘overshadowed by grief’, but the presence of the *n* in HAU1 125 rules out such an interpretation.

22.7 Prayers and Curses

22.7.1 *Independent Prayers*

Inscriptions beginning with prayers consist of the following formula: **VOC + Deity + IMP-SENTENCE**. The commonest deity mentioned in such inscriptions is *Rḏw*, followed by an imperative verb, usually *s^ld* ‘help’ or *hb* ‘give’:

SIJ 779.1: [*h*] *rḏw s^ld zy’ ’n wn bn tḥwr*
 ‘[O] Rḏw, help Zy’ against Wn son of Tḥwr’

LP 319: *h rḏw hb l- qdm nqmt mn ’s^ld ’bl -h*
 ‘O Rḏw, grant retribution to Qdm against the lion of his camels
 (i.e. who has killed his camel(s))’

22.7.2 *Blessings and Curses*

Authors will sometimes invoke deities to protect their inscription by inflicting blindness or some other unfortunate condition upon anyone who would vandalize it. In most cases, such requests consist of the imperative of the verb ‘*wr*, ‘blind!’, and then the phrase ‘whosoever would efface’, *m(n)* ‘*wr*. Variations include the use of an existential sentence with a verbal noun ‘*wr l-* (2), the use of the relative pronoun *d* instead of *m(n)* (3), and the use of the prefix conjugation in the relative clause *y’wr* (4):

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (1) | ‘ <i>wr m ’wr</i> | ‘blind whosoever would efface’ |
| (2) | ‘ <i>wr l- m ’wr</i> | ‘may whosoever would efface go blind’ |
| (3) | ‘ <i>wr d ’wr</i> or ‘ <i>wr l- d ’wr</i> | ‘blind him who would efface’
or ‘may he who would efface go blind’ |
| (4) | ‘ <i>wr d y’wr</i> or ‘ <i>wr l- d y’wr</i> ;
‘ <i>wr m y’wr</i> or ‘ <i>wr l- m y’wr</i> | ‘idem’ |

By exchanging the negative term ‘*wr* with positive terms, this basic formula can also be used to ask deities to bless those who leave the inscription undamaged and those who read it aloud (1). Both blessings and curses can be expanded by explicitly mentioning the inscription itself (2), and the names of the deity/deities (3):

LP 685: (3) *h lt s^llm (1) w ’rk rḥl- d d’y (2) h- hṭṭ*
 ‘O Lt, let there be security and long life to him who reads this
 writing aloud’

- C 1936: (3) *h g[d] [']wd w h lt (1) s^llm l- d s^lr w 'wr h lt w nq't b- w{d}d l- d y'wr (2) h- s^lfr*
 'O [Gd'wd] and O Lt, let there be security to him who leaves (this inscription) intact and blind, O Lt, him who would efface this writing, and may he be thrown out of his grave by a {loved one}'
- Ms 44: (3) *h gddfl'n d y'wr (2) m yhn' (1) w gnmt l- d d'y (2) h- tll*
 'O Gddf, curse him who would efface what would please but may he who reads these words aloud have spoil'

Common blessings

<i>fšy(t)</i>	deliverance
<i>flt</i>	deliverance
<i>gnmt</i>	spoil
<i>gyrt</i>	abundance/blood money
<i>gnyt</i>	abundance
<i>hlst</i>	salvation
<i>mgdt</i>	abundance
<i>nqmt</i>	retribution
<i>qbl</i>	be reunited/reunion (with loved ones)
<i>rwh</i>	ease/relief/send winds
<i>s^llm</i>	security
<i>wqyt</i>	preservation/protection

Curses

<i>'rg</i>	lameness
<i>'wr</i>	blindness
<i>hrs^l</i>	dumbness
<i>nq't</i>	thrown out (of the grave)
<i>hkk</i>	mange
<i>mhl</i>	dearth of pasture

Terms for effacing an inscription

ʿwr to efface (scratch out)
 hbl obscure (render illegible)

Terms for positive actions towards an inscription

dʿy to read aloud
 qrʾ idem
 s^lr to leave untouched

Terms for inscriptions

hṭṭ writing (lit. carvings)
 ktb writing
 tll words
 s^lfr(t)/ts^lfr writing
 wqʿ inscription

Names of deities

ʿhd	gddf
ʿtʿ	gdwhbʿl
ʿlh	nhy
ʿlt	s ² hqm
lh	lt
bʿls ^l mn/bʿls ^l my	s ² ms ^l
ds ² r/ds ² ry/ds ² r/ds ² ry	rḏw/rḏy
gdʿwd	yṭʿ

22.8 Time

The recording of time is expressed through four different means: (1) the explicit mentioning of the word *s'nt* 'year', (2) the mentioning of a particular season, (3) astronomical phenomena, or (4) the use of the Babylonian months.

1. *s'nt*: Some texts are dated by the year in which they have been inscribed. In most cases, such years are known by the significant events they witnessed, e.g., (1) conflicts, (2) droughts, (3) the death of an important individual, and other such things. In most cases, it is impossible to determine in absolute terms when these events occurred. The basic dating formula is *s'nt* + **Sentence(s)**. I have suggested that the custom of dating one's text by year may have been motivated by contact with the Romans or Nabataeans, and is a later addition to the traditional repertoire of Safaitic formulae. This may explain why the the dating of events exhibits the greatest variability in expression (see, for example, *MISSD* 1).

- (1) C 3680 *ḡnm s'nt ḥrb nbṭ*
'he raided the year of the war of the Nabataeans'
- (2) H 506 *ḥḍr s'nt ḥgz b'ls'mn 'l -h 'd*
'he camped by permanent water the year B'ls'mn withheld
(the rain) from it (the land) again'
- (3) KRS 1852 *ḥll h- dr s'nt myt 'drm*
'he camped in this place the year 'drm died'

α. *s'nt ngy PN hdy*: In addition to the three categories mentioned above, another common *s'nt* dating formula is: *ngy PN hdy*, which M.C.A. Macdonald has suggested to mean 'PN was announced leader', and probably refers to the appointment of a commander to Roman or Nabataean army units drawn from the nomads.

- WH 610: *nṣr l- ms'rt s'nt ngy mty hdy*
'he stood guard on behalf of the troop the year Mty was an-
nounced commander'

2. *Seasons*: M.C.A. Macdonald has identified four terms for the seasons in the Safaitic inscriptions, three of which occur regularly and seem to correspond to the following portions of the year:

Periods	Safaitic	Time period
the winter	<i>s²ty</i>	October–mid February
the season of the later rains	<i>dt'</i>	mid-February–mid-April
early summer	<i>syf</i>	mid-April–July
the dry season	<i>qyz</i>	July–October

The term *syf*, which is known among some of the modern Bedouin as the early summer, is attested only five times in the inscriptions. M.C.A. Macdonald has suggested to me (p.c.) that it could have referred to a transitional period between *dt'* and *qyz*, and was perhaps not considered an independent season. On this basis, I suggest that the inhabitants of the Ḥarrah had a three-season year, and *syf* referred to the part of *Qyz* in which pasturage was left over from *s²ty* and *dt'*. Likewise, the term *bhrt* signified the period of *Qyz* in which there was no more pasturage.

Modified Seasons

Seasons	Safaitic	Time period
the winter	<i>s²ty</i>	mid-October–mid February
the season of the later rains	<i>dt'</i>	mid-February–mid-April
the dry season	<i>qyz</i>	late-April–early October
(1) early summer	<i>syf</i>	late-April–July
(2) late summer	<i>bhrt</i>	July–early-October

The seasons usually occur as verbs meaning 'to spend X season' and occasionally as adverbs, and are usually followed by a toponym indicating the place at which the author spent the specified season.

WH 289: *qyz brkt*
'he spent the dry season at Brkt'

C 1071: *dt' h- dr*
'he spent the season of the later rains in this place'

MKJS 1: $s^2ty \ 'l \langle \langle \rangle \rangle h- nmrt$
 'he spent the winter at the edge of Namārah'

3. *Astronomical phenomena*: The zodiacal constellations and the movement of the sun and possibly the moon through them, along with their risings, and possibly settings, on the horizon, seem to have functioned as a seasonal calendar for the inhabitants of the Ḥarrah, and was used primarily in reference to the rains and other meteorological phenomena. In only rare cases do these references couple with the mentioning of a specific year so that a more precise date can be known. The zodiacal constellations follow Al-Jallad (2014); see table on pp. 214–215.

Other terms associated with the zodiacal constellations are:

$b- r^3y$	during the heliacal/acronical rising of X
$b- ks^p$	during the full moon of X/during the cosmical setting
$b-$	during X, i.e., when the sun is in X

4. *Babylonian months*: Very few inscriptions record the use of the Babylonian months. Only three have so far been attested:

Babylonian months

knn	December–January (?)
s^1bt	January–February
$n\dot{s}n$	March–April

Season	Latin	Arabic	Date of the sign	Astronomical date (in antiquity)
dṭ = Season of the later rains	Pisces	<i>dḷ</i> 'tail(s)'	mid-February–mid-March	mid-February–early April 38 days
	Aries	<i>dḷkr</i> 'ram'	mid-March–mid-April	early April–late April 25 days
qyz = Dry season	Taurus	<i>'ly</i> 'bull'	mid-April–mid-May	late April–late May 37 days
	Gemini	<i>gml</i> 'twins?' or 'camel'	mid-May–mid-June	late May–late June 31 days
	Cancer	<i>srṭ[n]?</i> 'crab'	mid-June–mid-July	late June–early July 20 days
bhrt = late summer	Leo	<i>h-'s'd</i> 'lion'	mid-July–mid-August	early July–mid-August 37 days
	Virgo	<i>h-ngm</i> 'seed-produce'	mid-August–mid-September	mid-August–late September 45 days
Libra	<i>'mt</i> 'scale'	mid-September–mid-October	late September–late October 23 days	

Season	Latin	Arabian	Date of the sign	Astronomical date (in antiquity)
s ² ty = Winter	Scorpio	<i>ʿqbt</i> 'scorpion'	mid-October–mid-November	late October–late October 7 days
	Ophiucus			late October to mid-November 18 days
	Sagittarius	<i>h-rmy</i> and/or <i>tbr?</i> 'archer'/'soldier'	mid-November to mid-December	mid-November to mid-December 32 days
	Capricorn	<i>y'mr</i> 'sea-goat'	mid-December–mid-January	mid-December–mid-January 28 days
	Aquarius	<i>mllh</i> 'salt vessel' or 'salt worker'	mid-January–mid-February	mid-January–mid-February 24 days

22.9 Pasturing

Pasturing is one of the major subjects of the Safaitic inscriptions, and authors record this activity using the following formula: *r'y* 'he pastured' + one or more of the following: (1) the *type of animal pastured*, (2) the *location of pasturing*, (3) the *time of pasturing*, and (4) *on what type of herbage the animals grazed*, in any order.

C 269: *w r'y (2) h-nhl (3) bql (2) b-dkr s'nt gs²m w hn'l*
 'and he pastured in the valley on fresh herbage during Aries, the year of Gs²m and Hn'l'

ZeGA 11: *w r'y (1) h-m'zy (2) h-nhl (3) qyz*
 'and he pastured the goats in the valley in the dry season'

KRS 2409: *w r'y (2) h-nhl (4) nwy*
 'and he pastured in the valley on pastureland'

KRS 2568: *w r'y (1) h-'bl (2) h-s²q (4) nwy*
 'and he pastured the camels on the side of the mountain while migrating'

C 1338: *r['y (1) h-'bl (2) b-r'y dkr (3) bq{l}*
 '[he pastured] the camels during the rising of Aquarius on fresh herbage'

Herbage commonly pastured

<i>bql</i>	(fresh) herbage
<i>nwy</i>	grazing land
<i>mqzt</i>	summer pasture
<i>ms²ty(t)</i>	winter pasture
<i>mrb</i>	abundant herbage

Animals frequently pastured

<i>'bl</i>	camels
<i>d'n</i>	sheep
<i>gml</i>	camels
<i>m'zy</i>	goats
<i>n'm</i>	livestock

Locations pastured

<i>'rd</i>	valley
<i>nhl</i>	(torrent) valley
<i>mdbr</i>	inner desert
<i>rḥbt</i>	Ruḥbah (toponym)
<i>h-rḥbt</i>	a raḥabah (see DICTIONARY)

22.10 Ritual

In addition to prayers, several terms which signify religious practices of some sort are encountered in the inscriptions. These include:

<i>'wd b-</i>	to seek refuge
<i>dbḥ</i>	to sacrifice (an animal)
<i>qsy</i>	to dedicate (an animal depicted in a rock drawing to a deity)
<i>'qs'm</i>	to swear an oath
<i>ḥg</i>	to go on a pilgrimage
<i>rḥd</i>	to wash

22.11 Watering

The inscriptions mention several activities associated with water:

<i>ḥḍr</i>	‘to camp by permanent water’
<i>ṣyr</i>	‘to return to a place of water’
<i>wrd</i>	‘to go to water; to go to a well’

22.12 Watch-Keeping and Guarding

Guarding and watch-keeping are frequently recorded in the inscriptions. The two terms associated with these activities are *nzr* ‘to guard’ and *ḥrṣ* ‘to keep watch/to look after’, and both can occur (1) independently, with (2) a direct object, or (3) a benefactive introduced by a preposition, either *ʿl* or *b’d*.

- (1) C 49: *l ʾsʿd bn bwk w nzr*
 ‘By ʾsʿd son of Bwk and he stood guard’
- KRS 2060: *l ʾny bn km bn ʾḥlm w ḥrṣ fh lt sʿlm*
 ‘By ʾny son of Km son of ʾ ḥlm and he kept watch, so, O Lt, let there be security’
- (2) HaNSB 48: *w nzr h- gs²*
 ‘and he stood guard against the raiding party’
- C 4261: *w ḥrṣ h- s²nʾ fh lt sʿlm*
 ‘and he kept watch for enemies, so, O Lt, may he be secure’
- (3) HCH 102: *w ḥrṣ ʿl- ʾḥ -h*
 ‘and he kept watch for his brother’
- LP 597: *ḥrṣ ʿl- rgl -h w ḥḍr*
 ‘he kept watch for his men as they camped by permanent water’
- HaNSB 305: *w nzr ʿl- gs² -h w mty*
 ‘and he stood guard for his raiding party while journeying’
- SIT 52: *w nzr bʿd- mʿzy -h*
 ‘and he stood guard on account of his goats’

Other verbs of watch-keeping are:

hl(l) 'to keep watch'
r'y 'to look (out)'

22.13 Waiting

The verb used to express general waiting or lying in wait is *tʒr*, which takes a direct object.

WH 359: *w tʒr hʸt*
 'and he lay in wait for animals'

C 420: *w tʒr s²n'*
 'and he lay in wait for enemies'

A common proverbial expression is *tʒr mny*, which translates to 'and Fate lay in wait'. This is often followed by a prayer for protection:

WH 3133a: *w tʒr mny fh rɔw s¹d -h*
 'and Fate lay in wait so, O Rɔw, help him!'

WAMS 19.2: *w tʒr mny fh rɔw flt -h*
 'and Fate lay in wait so, O Rɔw, deliver him!'

22.14 Weather

The basic formula used to express waiting for the rains is: *tʒr ART- s¹my*, or more rarely with the by-form *tnʒr*.

KRS 1563: *w tʒr ' - s¹my*
 'and he awaited the rains'

HaNSB 62: *w tnʒr h- s¹my*
 'and he awaited the rains'

α. In periods of drought, authors sometimes expressed their despair with the formula: *y's^lm-* (ART)- *s^lmy* 'he despaired of the sky'.

22.15 Yearning

The common formula for expressing yearning is *ts²wq*, which (1) can stand alone or (2) take an object introduced by *'l-*. Yearning is often followed by a prayer for *qbl* 'reunion (with loved ones)'.

- (1) SIT 58: *l lg{y} w ts²wq*
 'By {Lgy} and he was filled with longing'
- (2) LP 68o: *l 'm bn ḥny bn 'bd w ts²wq 'l- r^c -h*
 'By 'm son of ḥny son of 'bd and he longed for his friend'

Appendix of Inscriptions

This appendix contains all of the inscriptions referenced in the grammar. Each inscription has been re-read and interpreted/verified by the author according to the grammatical outline presented in this book.

- AAEK 71 *l wtk bn rs't bn s'r' d' l dyf*
By Wtk son of Rs't son of S'r' of the lineage of Dyf.
- AAEK 244 *l 'yd bn 'dy w wrd b- dkr d'nt fwny*
By 'yd son of 'dy and he went to water to seek herbage during Aries because he had become feeble.
- AAEK 394 *l hyt bn s'd'l w wgm wln*
By Hyt son of S'd'l and he grieved, woe.
- AAUI 267 *l s'rk bn gmr bn ġr w syr m- s'mwt s'nt ws'q m's*
By S'rk son of Gmr son of Ġr and he returned to water from S'mwt the year of the struggle of M's.
- AAUI 281 *l khl bn 's'd bn 's'lm w wgm m'l- 'tn-rh w 'hd f'wrt*
By Khl son of 's'd son of 's'lm and he grieved on account of him who was foremost among us, so two became one, and he became heir.
- AAUI 294 *l mty bn tm bn mty d' l gr w wgd rgm ġt w 'tr khl f b's' m zll*
By Mty son of Tm son of Mty of the lineage of Gr and he found the cairn of Ġt and the trace of Khl, for those who remain despair.
- AAUI 406 *l qnm bn ġt bn šrmt d' l 'mrt w h lt w ds'2r d'krt 'ht šrmt w 'qrb w grm w 's'lm bn 'tl*
By Qnm son of Ġt son of Šrmt of the lineage of 'mrt and, O Lt and Ds'2r, be mindful of the sister of Šrmt and 'qrb and Grm and 's'lm son of 'tl.
- AKSJ 1.2.3 *l hgr w ts'2wqt 'l 'lb'*
By Hgr and she longed for 'lb'

- AtIN 3** *lfš' l bnt bngd d' l rks¹ w l-h [h-] rgm*
For Fš' daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks¹ and [this] funerary cairn is hers.
- AZNG 1** *l hlšt bn m'n d' l s¹d w mrd tlt s¹nn mn-qbl nfs¹ zlm fh lt w ds²r s¹lm d gnz zlm*
By Hlšt son of M'n of the lineage of S¹d and Nepos, who was oppressive, faced a rebellion for three years, so, O Lt and Ds²r, keep safe him who was distressed by oppression.
- AbaNS 16** *l gdh bn mzn h- bkrt w 'qd -h*
By Gdh son of Mzn is the she-camel and he struck her.
- AbaNS 28** *l bdn bn 'zz h- bkrtn*
By Bdn son of 'zz h- Bkrtn
- AbaNS 78** *l s¹krn bn 'mr bn s¹krn bn mn' bn n'm bn mn' bn hgml bn mrt bn 'd bn b's¹ w bnn h- s¹tr w nql h- s¹by*
By S¹krn son of 'mr son of S¹krn son of Mn' son of N'm son of Mn' son of Hgml son of Mrt son of 'd son of B's¹ and he built the shelter while he transported the captive.
- AbaNS 86** *l bhs² bnt hn' w mtt w ' [n]fs¹*
For Bhs² daughter of Hn' and she died and this [funerary monument] (is hers)
- AbaNS 286** *l š'd bn ḡt bn 'd bn 'd bn ḡt w s²ry m- 'h -h m'd h- frs¹ b- m't*
By Š'd son of Ḡt son of 'd son of 'd son of Ḡt and he bought the horse from his brother M'd with a hundred.
- AbaNS 383** *l ms¹k bn 's¹lm bn gg h- frs¹t*
By Ms¹k son of 's¹lm son of Gg is the mare.
- AbaNS 407** *l s²kr bn hf h- h-tyt*
By S²kr son of Hf are these animals.
- AbaNS 564.1** *l g'r bn s²mrh bn lb't h- 'nq*
By G'r son of S²mrh son of Lb't are the she-camels.

- AbaNS 656** *l s²hyt bn mrṭs¹*
By S²hyt son of Mrṭs¹
- AbaNS 881** *l ḥzr bn frs¹ h- ʿr w yqr w gly ʾrd t*
By Ḥzr son of Frs¹ is this ass and he is cold and cut off in this land.
- AbaNS 906** *l ḥld bn {w}n{n}{t}fh rd[w] [s¹][ʾ]d -h w ḡzz b- h- ʾrd t*
By Ḥ ld son of {Wnnt}, so, O [Rḏw], [help] him while he raids this land.
- AbaNS 1128** *l s¹d w ʾty ʾhl -h w my² - s²m*
By S¹d and he came to his family because there was water in the north.
- AKSD 5** *l ʿzz bn ʾs¹lm [d] ʾl rks¹ w n{d}m [ʾ-] ʾb -h w ʾl- {ʾ}wḏ ḥl {-h} w ʾl- s²c w ḥrṣ w tqb yd -h w ds²r ʾl ks¹r wq^c -n*
By ʿzz son of ʾs¹lm [of the lineage of] Rks¹ and {he was devastated by grief} [on account] of his father and {wḏ}, his maternal uncle, and S², while he kept watch; and may he cut off his hand that Ds²r be against any destroyer of our inscription.
- ANKS 1** *l mrd bn mḥrb w s²ty ʿr¹ s¹nt mt ʾbdt w ts¹wq ʾl- ḡnn w ʾl- ḡnm fh lt qbl*
By Mrd son of Mḥrb and he spent the winter at ʿr¹ the year ʾbdt died and he longed for ḡnn and ḡnm, so, O Lt, let there be reunion with loved ones.
- AsUI 1** *l zyd bn mʿz bn grm w r¹y s¹nt ʾys¹ fh lt s¹lm w ḡnyt w h ds²r hb s¹d l- nbṭ ʾl- ḥwlt*
By Zyd son of Mʿz son of Grm and he pastured the year of ʾys¹ so, O Lt, let there be security and abundance and, O Ds²r, grant aid to the Nabataeans against Ḥwlt.
- ASWS 18** *l ḥy bn ns²l bn ṣhyn w wgm ʾl- ʾs¹d mt w ʾl- qdm s¹by w ʾl- grm¹ s¹by w ʾl- tlt mn ʾ- s¹by w ʾl- qdm s¹by w ḥrṣ fh lt rwh m d ḥrṣ w s¹lm l- d s¹r w nq² l- d s¹-y^cwr*
By Ḥy son of Ns²l son of Ṣhyn and he grieved for ʾs¹d, who had died, and for Qdm, who was captured, and for Grm¹, who was captured, and for three of the captured, and for Qdm, who was captured while he kept watch so, O Lt, let there be ease from that which he kept watch against and may he who would leave (the inscription) untouched have security but may he who will efface be thrown out of the grave.

- ASWS 37 *l ḥrs¹ bn tm w wgm m- dn- b¹fh rđw rwh*
By Ḥrs¹ son of Tm and he grieved in the absence of B¹ so, O Rđw, let there be ease.
- ASWS 59 *l šyd bn gn¹ bn grm¹ l w syr s¹lm b- h- m¹zy s¹nt {m}rd bn ¹zmy*
By Šyd son of Gn¹ son of Grm¹ and he returned safely to water with the goats the year the sons of ¹zmy {rebelled}.
- ASWS 70 *l khl bn ḥts¹t d¹l s¹d w q¹d f bky ¹- ḥt -h mtt*
By Khl son of Ḥts¹t of the lineage of S¹d and he sat and wept for his sister who had died.
- ASWS 73 *l rb¹ bn ḥnn bn z¹n bn hyd bn ¹dr w wrd ḥdr f mlh f dkr f¹mt f¹mt w ng¹ ¹- ḥbb w ¹- h -¹bl r¹y -h hgr m mdr s¹nt myt bnt*
By Rb¹ son of Ḥnn son of Z¹n son of Hyd son of ¹dr and he went to water cautious of drought, then (again) in Aquarius, then Aries, then Libra, and then Libra (again, i.e. for two years in a row), during which he grieved in pain for a loved one and for the camels, which he pastured, having migrated from the inner desert, the year Bnt died.
- ASWS 107 *l mgt bn gn¹ bn hy bn šbh bn hy bn gn¹ bn whb bn s¹r w ḥrs¹ h- s²ḥs f h gddf ḡnyt w ḥd¹ d ḥbl w rdy d d¹y*
By Mgt son of Gn¹ son of Hy son of Šbh son of Hy son of Gn¹ son of Whb son of S¹r and he anticipated scarcity so, O Gddf, let there be abundance; and may he who would obscure (this writing) be debased but may he who would read aloud be satisfied.
- ASWS 124 *l qsy bn q¹sn bn ¹ḥlm bn rwh w ¹s¹lh- rwy m h- ḥm fhz h- ¹s¹d fh s²ḥqm fšyt l-h*
By Qsy son of Q¹sn son of ¹ḥlm son of Rwh and the sweet water was brought to an end by the heat, for Leo was hostile, so, O S²ḥqm, may he be delivered.
- ASWS 202 *l s¹krm bn s¹d bn ¹b¹ns¹ bn s¹krm bn tmn bn h¹wđ bn ¹ḥs¹n bn ḥkm bn zlm bn mr bn bdn w syr s¹nt my w mh{l} fšhr my b- nšn w b¹ls¹mn ḥwr m mdr bḥrt m mtr f¹mḥl*
By S¹krm son of S¹d son of ¹b¹ns¹ son of S¹krm son of Tmn son of H¹wđ son of ¹ḥs¹n son of Ḥkm son of Zlm son of Mr son of Bdn and he returned to a place of water the year of rain and {dearth}, for the water glistened during Nšn (March–April) because B¹lms¹mn returned from the inner desert but during the late summer, it did not rain and caused dearth.

ASWS 217 *l ksṭ bn whb'l bn wrl w wld h- m'zy b- knn s'nt nz 'lyhd w bny fh lt s'lm w
'wr l- d' 'wr w d h- dr*

By Ksṭ son of Whb'l son of Wrl and he helped the goats to give birth during Knn the year of the expulsion of the Jews and he built so, O Lt, may he be secure—and may he who would efface go blind—while at this place.

ASWS 360 *l rbḥ bn 's¹ w wld h- m'zy b- '²- tlt*

By Rbḥ son of 's¹ and he helped the goats to give birth in the third (month?).

AWS 8 *l mḡny bn zb' bn zd'l bn ḥny bn ḥdg w ng' 'd wgd 'tr dd- h*

By Mḡny son of Zb' son of Zd'l son of Ḥny son of Ḥdg and he grieved in pain when he found the trace of his paternal uncle.

AWS 48 *l mty bn 'dy bn mkbl w wgd s'fr bny m'wr w s'ḅ ftwḥy w l'n w ts²wq 'l- h- 'ḥb
[-h fh lt s'lm] w qbl w ḥl h- dr w wrd h- nmrt*

By Mty son of 'dy son of Mkbl and he found the writing of Bny effaced and it (the act of vandalism) caused distress because he was considered like a brother, so may they be cursed; and he longed for the most beloved, [so, O Lt, let there be security] and reunion with loved ones; and he camped in this place but will go to water at Namārah.

AWS 72 *l s²ddt bn s²bm w r'y h- nhl w s²y' fh rdy ḡny[t] l- d r'y*

By S²ddt son of S²bm and he pastured in this valley but experienced want so, O Rdy, may he who would pasture have abundance.

AWS 81 *l š'd bn s²hm bn ḥl bn s'wd bn l'tmn bn whb'l bn nḡbr w wrd b- r'y 'qbt h-
nmrt fh b'ls¹mn rwḥ b- mtr w s'lm w s'ḥq w mḥq l- 'm w wld d'y'wr h- s'fr*

By Š'd son of S²hm son of Ḥl son of S'wd son of L'tmn son of Whb'l son of Nḡbr and he went to water at Namarah during the rising of Scorpio so, O B'ls¹mn, send the winds with rain that he may be secure; and may the people (or forefathers?) and offspring of him who would efface have ruin and bad fortune.

AWS 125 *l ḥr bn rb'l bn ḥmlt w wgd 'tr 'm -h w 'b 'm -h fng' fh gd'wd s'lm w 'wr d
'wr h- s'fr*

By Ḥr son of Rb'l son of Ḥmlt and he found the traces of his paternal grandfather and maternal grandfather and so he grieved in pain, so, O Gd'wd, may he be secure, but blind him who would efface.

- AWS 218** *l s¹d bn s¹w^t bn lm¹ w s¹d -h rđw n¹m w bđ đr w yh brk*
By S¹d son of S¹w^t son of Lm¹ and may Rđw help him through divine favor, as there is danger here, and may he bless him.
- AWS 264** *l hy¹l bn ddwt w l¹n yqtl đ ys¹lm -h*
By Hy¹l son of Ddwt and may he who keeps it (the inscription) safe never be killed.
- AWS 236** *l ʿwr bn ʿbyt bn ms²yl w h rđw hb l -h m hn¹*
By ʿwr son of ʿbyt son of Ms²yl and, O Rđw, grant him that which would please.
- AWS 237** *l hzm¹ bn kn h-gml w qsy -h ʿm m ʿwr h rđw fl-y¹wr m ʿwr w l-yq¹ b-şdq By*
H¹zm¹ son of Kn is the camel and he dedicated it (to a deity); if one would efface, O Rđw, then let him who would efface be made blind, and then let him be thrown out of the grave by a friend.
- AWS 244** *l s¹lk bn rml bn ʿbdy h- dr s¹nt h- rb¹ w fşy m h- rşf w twđd w nqm m bn¹*
By S¹lk son of Rml son of ʿbdy, at this place the year of abundance, so let there be deliverance from Rşf; and he was alone and so sought vengeance against Bn¹.
- AWS 302** *l mkmd bn hğ h- n¹mh*
By Mkmd son of Hğ is the ostrich.
- AWS 380** *l n¹m bn kn bn nml bn ħrmlh đ ʿl mħtr h-dmyt w ʿđ -h b-yt¹*
By n¹m son of Kn son of Nml son of ħrmlh of the lineage of Mħtr is this image and he placed it under under the protection of Yt¹.
- BTH 228** *l gzl bn ʿs¹ w trđ -h nbđ m- ʿnzt w {s¹}dy h- ħl fnzr -hm ffl¹*
By Gzl son of ʿs¹ and the Nabataeans drove him away from ʿnzt and so {he set off} on horseback, and then stood guard against them, so let there be deliverance!
- BRCM 0194** *l s²km bn s²hdd ---- bn w¹{l}t bn ʿs¹ w wgm ʿl- m¹yr w ʿl- ʿs¹ w ʿl- kđwt w ʿl- s¹r ---- ʿl w bny ʿ- nş¹ w s¹tr*
By S²km son of S²hdd ---- son of {W¹t} son of ʿs¹ and he grieved for M¹yr and for ʿs¹ and for Kđwt and for S¹r ---- ʿl while he built the funerary monument and the shelter.

- BRenv.H 1** *l mlk bn 'md bn ms¹k w wgd 'tr 'm -h ḥmyn f ql h gddf {h}b {l} -{h} [[]] k-
s¹d -h w k- wld -h w k- n 'm -h*
By Mlk son of 'md son of Ms¹k and he found the trace of his grandfather Ḥmyn (or protected) and then said aloud: O Gddf, grant him the like of his good fortune and the like of his children and the like of his livestock.
- BWM 3** *l frds¹ h- {d}r s¹nt qtl ḥrb w 'lmn fnwy l- 'nks¹r*
By Frds¹, at this place the year Ḥrb and 'lmn fought, then he will migrate towards 'nks¹r.
- C 25** *l ġt bn ġt w wgd 'tr 'h -h fwlh 'l -h [[]] fhy lt w h s²ms¹ 'tn 'l -km yd -h l- t¹r
m- d 's¹lf*
By Ġt son of Ġt and he found the trace of his brother so he was distraught with grief for him. So, O Lt and S²ms¹, may he cut off his hand for you (in promise) that he will indeed have vengeance against him who has committed this act.
- C 27** *l mlkn bn m'n bn s²r h- m'sy w ḥyt*
By Mlkn son of M'n son of S²r the M'site and he journeyed.
- C 28** *l dr'l bn mty bn rgd bn ḥdr w byt ḥyt ftzr h- 's¹d fh 'lt s¹lm*
By Dr'l son of Mty son of Rgd son of Ḥdr and he spent the night while journeying, then he awaited [the appearance of] Leo so, O 'lt, may he be secure.
- C 31** *l s¹d bn zḥk bn ms²r w s²tky 'l- lt fhnn w s¹lm m- s²n'*
By S¹d son of Zḥk son of Ms²r and he petitioned Lt, so show compassion that he may be secure from enemies.
- C 35** *l s¹d bn ḥn'l w 'hl{k h- d'nt}----*
'By S¹d son of Ḥn'l and {he slaughtered the ewe}'
- C 49** *l 's¹d bn bwk w nṣr*
By 's¹d son of Bwk and he stood guard.
- C 70** *l ḥr bn s¹krm bn šbh w ḥll h- dr ftzr s²n' fh 'lt s¹lm w ġnmt*
By Ḥr son of S¹krm son of Šbh and he camped in this place, then he lay in wait for enemies so, O 'lt, let there be security and spoil.

- C 74 *l 'qyn bn {s}fy w zry {b-} 'lwhb 'lf -h l- 'bd hy 'lt 'zz*
By 'qyn son of {Sfy} and he was treated {with} contempt by 'lwhb who had always been his close companion. O 'lt, restore [him].
- C 76 *l 's'wd' bn dhn w rđw fšy 'l ms'k h- s'nt m- b's'wyl w gs'm m- s'qm w ġnmt 's'yt*
By 's'wd' son of Dhn and may Rđw deliver the lineage of Ms'k this year from [the] misfortune of woe and hardship on account of sickness, so may spoil be granted.
- C 88 *l s'mt bn nšr bn šn 'mn mk w ts²[wq] l- b'ls'my w l- bny dd -h w l- k{l}l qyh f'tl w ds²r s'lm w qbll 'hl*
By S'mt son of Nšr son of Šn' the confidant [or guard] of Mk and he [longed] for B'ls'my and the children of his paternal uncle and {every} qyh, so, O 'lt and Ds²r, let there be security and reunion with family.
- C 96 *{l} {n}{ }{m} bn flt bn 's'd bn bwk bn 'rs' bn 'wđ bn whb'l w wgm 'l- ħbb w 'l- ħbb w 'l- ħbb w ħbb w ħbb w drg l- h- 'kyf's²rq b- h- 'bl w ts²wqf h lt s'lm w h 'lt 's's' nq't l- d'y'wr h- s'fr*
{By} {N'm} son of Flt son of 's'd son of Bwk son of 'rs' son of 'wđ son of Whb'l and he grieved for one loved one after another, after another, and they succumbed to a strong fever; then he travelled to the inner desert with the camels and felt much longing, so, O Lt, may he be secure, and O Goddess of 's's', may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of his grave.
- C 98 *l ms'k bn 'nf bn ms'k w šyr w r'y h- 'bl*
By Ms'k son of 'nf son of Ms'k and he returned to a place of water and pastured the camels.
- C 99 *l [w][r]d bn 'dnt bn s²rk bn 'dnt bn wrd bn nğbr w šyr w tm {h}- s'fr 'l- ħrn fts²wq 'l- ħbb w wgm 'l- mħlm w 'l- ħn{q}t*
By [Wrd] son of 'dnt son of S²rk son of 'dnt son of Wrđ son of Nğbr and he returned to a place of water and the journey lasted as far as Ĥawrān, and so he longed for a loved one and grieved for Mħlm and {Hnqt}.
- C 159 *l 's'lm bn kmd h- frs'*
By 's'lm son of Kmd is the horse.

- C 218 *l s²dy bn h'bd bn ys¹m'l w h y_t' g_wt -h [h-] b's't*
By S²dy son of H'bd son of Ys¹m'l and, O Y_t', remove from him [these] misfortunes.
- C 220 *l hly bn hmlk bn nhđ bn h̄myn bn ġđđt w n{s}r fh rđw s¹nt hrb h- n{b}{t}*
By H ly son of Hmlk son of Nhđ son of H̄myn son of Ġđđt and {he was in need of aid} so, O Rđw, the year of the war of the {Nabataeans}.
- C 269 *l grm bn nr bn hl w r'y h- nhl bql b- đkr s¹nt gs²m w hn'l*
By Grm son of Nr son of Hl and he pastured in the valley on fresh herbage during Aquarius the year of Gs²m and Hn'l.
- C 272 *l qmh{z} bn m'd{}{l} {w} r'y h- nhl h- 'bl*
By {Qmhz} son of {M'd'l} {and} he pastured the camels in the valley.
- C 285 *l bt w nyk b- grmh f'tm zffqd 'bs*
By Bt and he copulated with Grmh, as he had celebrated the sending of the bride and had been pleased.
- C 286 *l n'mn bn mty bn n'mn h- ġlmt w h rđy 'wr l- đy'wr*
By N'mn son of Mty son of N'mn is the slave girl so, O Rđy, may he who would efface go blind.
- C 300 *l dd bn đm h- h̄ywy*
By Dd son of Đm is the animal.
- C 304 *l 'wđ bn hr đ'l kbb w wgm 'l- ħđnt h̄b̄bt -h rđmt mny*
By 'wđ son of Hr of the lineage of Kkb and he grieved for Ĥđnt his beloved, struck down by Fate.
- C 320 *l whblh bn 'hrb bn ykn đ'l kbb w bh' brkt w b(⟨⟩)q{l} w hrbt s¹nt r'y 'l 'wđ n'm 'l 'bd w s¹rt m' 'b -h {b-} m't frs¹*
By Whblh son of 'hrb son of Ykn of the lineage of Kkb and he rejoiced at Brkt because there was fresh herbage, and returned from a place of water the year the lineage of 'wđ pastured the livestock of the lineage of 'bd; and he served with his father in a cavalry unit.
- C 325 *l šrm bn rmm̄t w 'y}mn*
By Šrm son of Rmm̄t and he {went south}.

- C 404 *l wdm'l bn w{l}{'f byt w n{g}r*
By Wdm'l son of Wl', and so may he camp the night (safely) and {persevere}.
- C 407 *[l] d{f} b[n] 'mm hl b- ħrmt*
{By} d{f} {son of} 'mm while camping near Ĥrmt.
- C 420 *l ms'k bn ms'k'l bn flt w tẓr s²n'*
By Ms'k son of Ms'k'l son of Flt and he lay in wait for enemies.
- C 505 *l ḥdg bn s'wr h- 'tn*
By Ḥdg son of S'wr is the she-ass.
- C 511 *l ḥt bn 'mt h- mšbt f qyt bn y'd*
The cult-stone was set up by Ḥt son of 'mt, so (may it) preserve the sons of Y'd.
- C 523 *l 'lh bn b'ḥh bn trb w wrd h- nmrt b- ks' mlḥ*
By 'lh son of B'ḥh son of Trb and he went to water at Namārah during the cosmical setting/full moon of Aquarius.
- C 527 *l mfny bn ms²r h- nšb fyt' flt mn- s'qm*
The cult-stone was set up by Mfny son of Ms²r, so, O Yt', let there be deliverance from illness.
- C 663 *l 'gl bn 'ws¹ bn š'd w mty tdmr fh lt s'lm*
By 'gl son of 'ws¹ son of Š'd and he will journey in haste to Palmyra, so, O Lt, let there be security.
- C 654 *l s'mk'l bn tm bn s'r w šyr m- mdbrfh lt s'lm l- d 'yd w wgm 'l- ḥt*
By S'mk'l son of Tm son of S'r and he returned to a place of water from the inner desert, so, O Lt, may he who has returned be secure, and he grieved for Ḥt.
- C 726 *l s²qr bn ḥggt w ḥl b- d'n -h b- h- dr*
By S²qr son of Ḥggt and he camped with his sheep near this place.
- C 744 *l s'ḏ bn ḥ{l}q w r'y h- d'n fh lt s'lm w r'y {h-} wrd*
By S'ḏ son of {Ḥlq} and he pastured the sheep so, O Lt, let there be security while pasturing at {h- wrd}.

- C 763 *l grm bn t'm bn s'l { } d w [w]gd 'tr m {r} {t} fng'*
By Grm son of T'm son of {S'l'd} and {he found} the trace of {Mrt}, so he grieved in pain.
- C 793 *l hts't bn fltt bn bhs² bn 'dnt bn 's'lm w wgd s'fr 'm -h fng' w rdy nq't l -d' 'wr*
By Hts't bn Fltt bn Bhs² bn 'dnt bn 's'lm and he found the writing of his grandfather, so he grieved in pain, so, O Rdy, may he who would efface be thrown out of his grave.
- C 860 *l qrn bn mgyr bn s'r w dbh fh gd'wd s'lm w {t}{r}df{r}md bqr s'nt 'ty' - sf qr*
By Qrn son of Mgyr son of S'r and he made a sacrifice so, O Gd'wd, let there be security and {recompense} because [the] cattle {perished from cold} the year cold came during the early summer.
- C 893 *l mty bn l'tmn bn 'n'm bn l'tmn bn rgd bn hdry w wgm 'l- t'mr trht w 'l- 'hyt -h fh lt w gd'wd gyrt [w] ['] [w] [r] [l-] d'y'wr h- htt*
By Mty son of L'tmn son of 'n'm son of L'tmn son of Rgd son of Hdry and he grieved for T'mr, who perished, for his younger sister, so, O Lt and Gd'wd, let there be bloody money but may he who would efface this writing [go blind].
- C 1071 *l 's²ym bn dr'l bn ks't w dt' h- dr*
By 's²ym son of Dr'l son of Ks't and he spent the season of the later rains in this place.
- C 1084 *l s'imm bn rml w rdw gnmt s'lb'*
By S'imm son of Rml and Rdw, let there be spoil, seven fold!
- C 1108 *l 'gn' b{n} 'nk ynyfb{y}t {w} znn*
By 'gn' {son of} 'nk who is migrating and he will camp the night {and} sit in contemplation (?).
- C 1133 *l hl'l bn s²rb w wgm 'l- ' {b}rs² mt mn{y}*
By Hl'l son of S²rb and he grieved for {brs²} who died {at the hand of Fate}.
- C 1137 *l qn bn 'mr bn sd'l w dt' w fsy hy 'lt m- b's'l*
By Qn son of 'mr son of Sd'l and he will spend the season of the later rains so, O 'lt, deliver from misfortune.

- C 1148** *l s^l{b}n bn m{l}{k} bn bnt h- ḡml w ʿwr l- d ----*
 By {S^lbn} son of {Mlk} son of Bnt are the camels and may he who ... go blind.
- C 1167** *l ʿlht bn {k}h{n} bn mʿz{z} bn s²h{r} bn ʿwḍ w rʿy m- ḥl -h ʿl- ḥrn*
 By ʿlht son of {Khn} son of {Mʿzz} son of {S²hr} son of ʿwḍ and he pastured with his maternal uncle as far as Ḥawrān.
- C 1185** *l qym bn ms²{k}{s²} w mt[y] h- ḥt{t} w l -h h- ḡml fhy lt s^llm w ʿwr l- d yʿm m^l- h- ḥy{q}*
 For Qym son of {Ms²ks²} and [Mty] is the {inscriber}, and the camel is by him, so, O Lt, let there be security; and may he who would efface because of {jealousy} go blind.
- C 1186** *l {m}ty bn s^ln bn mty bn ʿ{ly} d ---- fh ḡdʿwḍ s^llm w l -h h- mhrt yrbb -h {w} dmy l -h s²m{t} w lt l- ʿhl w wk{s^l} w ḥrs^l w ʿrg w ʿwr l- mn ḥbl*
 By {Mty} son of S^ln of Mty son of {ʿly} of ---- so, O Gdʿwḍ, let there be security while he trains the colt which belongs to him; and {S²mt} drew for him, so, O Lt, let there indeed be uncertainty, {loss}, dumbness, lameness, and blindness on whosoever would obscure.
- C 1206** *l s^lr{k} [b]n rml w ḡzz h- nhl*
 By {S^lrk} {son of} Rml and he went on a raid in this valley.
- C 1240** *l ḡmm bn ʿnʿm bn ʿḍnt bn ʿnʿm bn qdm w syr m- mdr s^lnt ḡgz -h b^lls^lmn ʿl- h- mdnt w wrd h- mḡzt bdr fh lt s^llm w ʿwr w ʿrg l- d yʿwr h- ḥtt*
 By Gmm son of ʿnʿm son of ʿḍnt son of ʿnʿm son of Qdm and he returned to a place of water from the inner desert, the year B^lls^lmn withheld it [i.e. rain] away from the province; and he will go to water at the summer pastures at the end of the dry season, so, O Lt, let there be security, and may he who effaces this writing go blind and become lame.
- C 1280** *h ʿlt s^ld ys^lm^l b[n] rbbn fhy*
 O ʿlt, help Ys^lm^l {son of} Rbbn so that he may live long.
- C 1293** *l ns^lr bn mḥlm bn ḥrb bn ʿdm bn ḥḍḡ bn s^lwr w syr f w ḡd ḥwrd bql s^lnt ʿqdm ---- mn h- s^lfr w ʿwr d yʿwr h- s^lfr*
 By Ns^lr son of Mḥlm son of Ḥrb son of ʿdm son of Ḥḍḡ son of S^lwr and he returned to a place of water and found fresh herbage at Hwrd the year of ʿqdm ---- mn this writing and blind him who would efface this writing.

- C 1338 *l hml b{n} [n]s²bt bn ktm w r[]y h- 'bl b- r'y dkr bq{l}*
By hml {son of} {Ns²bt} son of Ktm and he [pastured] the camels during the rising of Aquarius on {fresh herbage}.
- C 1339 *l hy'l bn z{n}'{l} dm l- 's'lm 'dl -h*
By Hy'l son of {Zn'l} who draws for 's'lm, his companion.
- C 1341 *l s²by bn ms²[]r b[n] {s¹}wd h- d'fy w r'ḏw 'wr m 'wr -h*
By S²by son of [Ms²r] [son] of S¹wd the Ḍf-ite and may Rḏw blind whosoever would efface it (the inscription).
- C 1539 *s²mr h[l] h- bt [t]s²wq 'l- lbh*
S²mr is [camping] in the tent, [longing] for Lbh.
- C 1573 *l hy'dt bn hbt bn s'mk bn s'wr bn m{q}{r} bn bdn w wgd 'tr 'l d'ffwgm 'l- dd -h w t'zr h- nhl t't w ---*
By Hy'dt son of Hbt son of S'mk son of S'wr son of {Mqr} son of Bdn and he found the trace of the lineage of Ḍf, so he grieved for his paternal uncle while he waited in the valley for three (days?) and ---
- C 1607 *l hlf bn n'mn bn kn w wlh 'l- gs² {-h} h{r}bn fh lt t'r*
By Hlf son of N'mn son of Kn and he was distraught over {his} troop who were {plundered}, so, O Lt, he will have vengeance.
- C 1615 *l ms'k bn mr'tn h- dmyt*
By Ms'k son of Mr'tn is the image.
- C 1639 *l s'^cd bn 'lw'hb bn 'zz w 'ny 'gr.fh r'ḏw rdt*
By S'^cd son of 'lw'hb son of 'zz and he suffered as a hired man so, O Lt, may there be (just) reward.
- C 1649 *l 's'd bn hl's bn n'mn d 'l d'fw 's'fr tdmr fh b'l s'lm w m{g}dt w 'wr l- ḏ 'wr h- s'fr*
By 'sd son of H l's son of N'mn of the lineage of Ḍf and he will travel to Palmyra, so, O B'l s'mn, let there be security and {glory}; and may he who would efface this writing go blind.
- C 1658 *l wq{r} bn y'l h- gmln qsyn l- 'lt w l- r'ḏw fh yt' 'wr m 'wr h- [h]t't*
By {Wqr} son of Y'l are the two camels which have been dedicated to 'lt and to Rḏw, so, O Yt', blind whosoever would efface this [writing].

- C 1744 *l nr bn ḥmy bn s^lk^rn bn ḡṭ bn ṣbḥ w ḥrsḥ fh s²ḥqm w h lt w b^ls^lmn w gd^ʿwḍ
s^llm w t^ʿyt w ḡnyṭ*
By Nr son of Ḥmy son of S^lk^rn son of Ḡṭ son of Ṣbḥ and he kept watch so, O S²ḥqm and O Lt and B^ls^lmn and Gd^ʿwḍ, let there be security and fulfillment and abundance.
- C 1758 *l ʿm bn {ḥ}r bn ʿm bn ḥ{n} ḍ ʿl b^r w wgm ʿl- ṣ²y^ʿ -h ḍ ns^ll b- ṭbr*
By ʿm son of {Ḥr} son of ʿm son of {Ḥn} of the lineage of B^r and he grieved for his companions who had gone away when the sun was in Sagittarius.
- C 1837 *l ʿḍ bn s^lwr bn nqm bn s^lwr w ḥrsḥ fh ʿlt s^llm l- h- mtyt ḥmt w qyt mn- grb h
yṭ^ʿ*
By ʿḍ son of S^lwr son of Nqm son of S^lwr and he stood watch, so, O ʿlt, may the riding camel(s) be secure by means of (divine) protection and protect (them) from scabies, O Yṭ^ʿ.
- C 1868 *l ʿbṭ bn s^ld bn tm bn m^ʿz ḍ ʿl qmr w {d}ṭ^ʿ h- ḥns s^lnt {h-} rm s²t b- ʿblt w whb
ʿmlk -h ʿhrs^l w ḍlnnw w bmlz^ʿ b^ʿl---*
By ʿbṭ bn S^ld bn Tm bn M^ʿz of the lineage of Qmr and {he spent the season of the later rains} (among) the young animals the year the Romans wintered at ʿblt and bestowed upon its rulers guards ...
- C 1875 *l ʿdn bn ʿws^l w s²rq fh lt hn m b- s^llm {w} h lt {w} ʿwr l- ḍ {y} ʿwr h- s^l[f]r*
By ʿdn son of ʿws^l and he migrated to the inner desert, so, O Lt, let there be here what (brings) security {and}, O Lt, may he who would efface this [writing] go blind.
- C 1936 *l s^lk^rn bn ḥmy bn s^lk^rn bn ḡṭ bn s^lr bn ṣbḥ bn qs²m w ḥḍr fh s²ḥqm w ʿṭ^ʿ
s^llm w wḡ{m} ʿl- ḡṭ ʿh -h w ʿl- s^lk^rn w ʿl- ʿḍ w ʿl- ḥlh w ʿl- km{d} w ʿl- ḡṭ fh
g[d] [ʿ]wḍ w h lt s^llm l- ḍ s^lr w ʿwr [-h] h lt w nq^ʿt b- w{d}d l- ḍ y^ʿwr h- s^lfr*
By S^lk^rn son of Ḥmy son of S^lk^rn son of Ḡṭ son of S^lr son of Ṣbḥ son of Qs²m and he camped by permanent water so, O S²ḥqm and ʿṭ^ʿ, let there be security; and he {grieved} for Ḡṭ, his brother, and for S^lk^rn and for ʿḍ and for Ḥlh and for {Kmd} and for Ḡṭ, so, O [Gd^ʿwḍ] and O Lt, may he who leaves (the inscription) untouched have security and blind [him], O Lt, and may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave by a {loved one}.

- C 1957 *l znn bn ḥmy bn y{m}{d} w q[s]ffs'lm w {y}'wr mn 'wr h- s'fr*
By Znn son Ḥmy son of {Ymd} and [he was sad] so may he be secure and may whosoever would efface this writing be made blind.
- C 1989 *l 'h bn s²hl bn tm bn mfiny bn n'mn w wgd 'tr ṣ'd qbr h- frs'fng'*
By 'h son of S²hl son of Tm son of Mfiny son of N'mn and he found the trace of Ṣ'd, the horseman, who was buried, so he grieved in pain.
- C 2031 *l gr{m} bn mrt bn {k}hl bn wrd bn nḡbr w b{y}t h- {d}rfh lt s'lm w nq't b-nfs' wdd d y'wr h- s'fr*
By {Grm} son of Mrt son of {Khl} son of Wrđ son of Nḡbr and he {spent the night} in this {place} so, O Lt, may he be secure; and may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave by a beloved person.
- C 2036 *l nl bn d{s'} w wgd ḥbb -h f bky*
By Nl son of {Ds'} and he found his loved one and so he wept.
- C 2076 *l lṭfty g'd bn 'bṭn w s'rt 'l- {h}dq 'bgr b- 'lfrgl w m't f[r]s' w tnzr h- s'my b-h- d{r}fh lt r{w}h w h b'ls' {m} [n] ----*
By Lṭ slave boy of G'd son of 'bṭn and he served in a troop against the {walled enclosure} of 'bgr with one thousand foot soldiers and [a cavalry unit]; and the waited for the rains near this place so, O Lt, let there be relief, and O [B'ls'mn] - - - -
- C 2088 *l {ṣ}'d bn zḥk bn ms²r w {k}l' h- nhl ḥms' ws'q*
By {Ṣ'd} son of Zḥk son of M's²r and he {detained} five mobs of driven cattle in the valley.
- C 2104 *l qhs² bn ḥdḡ bn s'wr {b}n ḥmyn w {d}{t}' h- nhl s'nt hl wḥd fh rḡw s'lm*
By Qhs² son of Ḥdḡ son of S'wr son of Ḥmyn and {he will spend the season of the later rains} in this valley the year he camped alone, so, O Rḡw, may he be secure.
- C 2113 *l ḡnt bn wrd bn {}n'm bn khl bn {}m} d' l nḡbr w wgm 'l- s²rk qtl w 'l- yḡ s'by w 'l- {}n}m qtl w 'wr l- d y'wr h- ḥtt*
By ḡnt son of Wrđ son of {}n'm son of Khl son of {}m} of the lineage of Nḡbr and he grieved for S²rk, who was killed, and for 'yḡ, who was captured, and for {}n'm}, who was killed, and may he who would efface this inscription go blind.

- C 2156 *l dhd bn gdy bn mty w wgd 'tr 's²-h qbrn d^w 'lyzr fng^c*
By Dhd son of Gdy son of Mty and he found the trace of his kinsmen, who were buried, of the people of Yzr, and so he grieved in pain.
- C 2172 *l 'bt w h rd[w] fšy l- 'l kl't mn- mlk bn ms¹k*
By 'bt and, O [Rd^w], deliver the lineage of Kl't from Mlk son of Ms¹k.
- C 2190 *l 'yd bn mrt bn 'yd w 's²rq s¹nt myt {d}{d} -h [w] wgm 'l- ks¹t*
By 'yd son of Mrt son of 'yd and he travelled to the inner desert the year his {paternal uncle} died [and so] he grieved for Ks¹t.
- C 2196 *l gn bn hyn bn hrb w wgd s¹fr qhs² w ng^c 'l- mty*
By Gn son of Hyn son of Hrb and he found the writing of Qhs² and he grieved in pain for Mty.
- C 2209 *l gd bn frs¹ d 'l {d}ff twqy b- s¹nt hrb yzr*
By/for Gd son of Frs¹ of the lineage of Df, so may he preserve himself during the year of the war of Yzr.
- C 2243 *l s¹d bn zmr bn hzn h- dr*
By S¹d son of Zmr son of Hzn, at this place.
- C 2276 *l 'wd bn gnm bn {l}dn bn s²mt bn gnm bn 'n'm bn 's¹ w r'y h- m'zy fh lt s¹lm m- b's¹ {w} nqš l- mn d hbl h- s¹fr*
By 'wd son of Gnm son of {Ldn} son of S²mt son of Gnm son of 'n'm son of {s¹} and he pastured the goats, so, O Lt, let there be security against misfortune {and} may whosoever would obscure this writing experience a sudden death.
- C 2285 *l 'lg bn s^{2c} w wgm 'l- ks¹t rjm mny*
By 'gl son of S^{2c} and he grieved for Ks¹t, struck down by Fate.
- C 2307 *l tm¹ bn mğny bn s¹r {b}n šbh w s²r{q} {b-} h- d¹nt l- hr{r}n fh lt s¹lm* By
Tm¹ son of Mğny son of S¹r {son of} Šbh and he {migrated} {with} a number of sheep {to the inner desert}, towards {Hrrn}, so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- C 2315 *l d¹b bn n'mn bn kn w t'fl b- rħbt fh lt w ds²r s¹lm m- s²n' w ğnmt*
By D¹b son of N'mn son of Kn and he hid near Rħbt so, O Lt and Ds²r, let there be security from enemies and spoil.

- C 2396 *l hl bn 'mr bn 'sd bn qt' {n} h- dr*
By Hl son of 'mr son of 'sd son of {Qt'n}, at this place.
- C 2446 *l s'cd bn mr' bn nr w wgm '[l-] 'h -h nr qtl[-h] 'l- {n} bty [] {r} y n'm 'wd w dffh lt m'mn w 'lt dtn w gd [] {w} d w gddf t'r m- d 's'lf w wlh k{b}{r} s'hr 'l-'h -h hbb -h l- 'bd*
By S'cd son of Mr' son of Nr and he grieved [for] his brother Nr, {whom} the {Nabataean} killed while {pasturing} the livestock of 'wd and Df; so, O Lt-M'mn and 'lt-Dtn and Gd'wd and Gddf, he will have vengeance against him who committed this act; and he was {continuously} distraught with a broken heart over his brother, his beloved forever.
- C 2544 *l s'cd bn 'bd bn s'hr bn 'bd bn 'dm bn ms' {k} w wgd 'tr 's'2y' -h 'l d'ffb's' m zll*
By S'cd son of 'bd son of S'hr son of 'bd son of 'dm son of {Ms'k} and he found the traces of his companions, the lineage of D'f, for those who remain despair.
- C 2579 *l 'tk bn gn'l w syr [m-] mdr dt' fs'lm -h 't'*
By 'tk son of Gn'l and he returned [from] the inner desert to water in the season of the later rains, so may 't' keep him safe.
- C 2670 *l z'n bn kmd bn mhyl bn 'bd'l w r'y h- 'bl h- nhl bql s'nt ws'q d 'l rhy nb't w hrs hwt fh {l} t s'lm*
By Z'n son of Kmd son of Mhyl son of 'bd'l and he pastured the camels in this valley on fresh herbage, the year of the struggle of the people of Rhy against the Nabataeans; and he kept watch for the Hwt, so, O {Lt}, may he be secure.
- C 2682 *l 'dwl bn 'ml bn bddh frdy jnmt h- s'nt mdr t*
By 'dwl son of 'ml son of Bddh so, Rdy, let there be spoil this year in the inner desert itself.
- C 2686 *l mlk bn znn'l w ng' kbr 'l- g'yr w gl{h} d w hrt*
By Mlk son of Znn'l and he grieved in pain continuously for G'yr and {Glhd} and Hrt
- C 2713 *l {'}bs'cd bn hny bn {'}bd bn s'cd w wgd 'tr 's'2y' -h f b's' m zll f qsf 'l- h- d'n mn- h- hs'f*
By {'bs'cd} son of Hny son of {'bd} son of S'cd and he found the traces of his companions, for those who remain despair, and then he was sad on account of the sheep which had gone hungry.

- C 2732** *l dr'l bn 's²ym bn dr'l bn ks't bn 's¹ bn 's²ym bn 'bd bn '»[s¹]d bn bwk bn
{r}{s¹}w ġzy b- nmrt fh lt s¹lm s¹nt h- yhdy w wgm 'l- nẓr w 'l- s²rb w 'l- ks¹t
fh lt s²y{ġ} d s¹r*
By Dr'l son of 's²ym son of Dr'l son of Ks't son of 's¹ son of 's²ym son of
'bd son of [»s¹d] son of Bwk son of {rs¹} and he raided Namarah so, O
Lt, let there be security in the year of the Jews and he grieved for Nẓr
and for S²rb and for Ks't, so, O Lt, {be with} him who would leave (this
inscription) untouched.
- C 2830** *l h{y} bn mlk bn {s¹}d h- bkrt [w] hll {h-} dr s¹qm fh lt s¹lm*
By {Hy} son of Mlk son of {S¹d} is the she-camel [and] he camped in
this place while ill so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- C 2832** *l ẓnn bn {w}dm bn [ġ]d bn [ġ]d bn ġt w s²ry m- 'h- h- d h- bkrt b- m't w ts²wq
'l- 'b- h w 'hw -h*
By Ẓnn son of {Wdm} son of [ġ] son of Ġt and he purchased the she-
camel from his brother 'd for one hundred, and he longed for his father
and his two brothers.
- C 2947** *l {s²}kr' bn rmyn bn mġt d 'l 'mrt n w ndm 'l- 'h- h- mlt mqt l b- hld fh lt w
ds²r nqmt mn- mn mšr -h*
By {S²kr'} son of Rmyn son of Mġt of the lineage of 'mrt and he was
devastated by grief on account of his brother Mtl who was killed near
Hld, so, O Lt and Ds²r, let there be vengeance against whoever has taken
him away(?).
- C 2953** *l bgl bn ġhf h- {'}bb{y} w 'mr h- 'rd t*
By Bgl son of Ġhf the {'bb-ite} and he dwelt in this land.
- C 2964** *l hmlg bn 'd bn s¹wr bn nqm bn s¹wr w dt' s¹nt nmrn w b's¹l -h mn- s²n'*
By Hmlg son of 'd son of S¹wr son of Nqm and he spent the season of the
later rains (here) the year of Nmrn; and misfortune was his on account
of enemies.
- C 2967** *l grm'l bn d'b bn kn w tẓr h- rm f'ġ}yr d'f w ġny*
By Grm'l son of D'b son of Kn and he awaited the Romans so may
{weakness be removed} that he may prosper.

- C 2997 *l 's'd bn mḥlm bn rb'l bn 'n'm bn 's'l w ḥll h- dr w tẓr h- s'my fh b's'mn rwh
w wqd l- d'y'wr h- {s'}{r}*
By 's'd son of Mḥlm son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of 's'l and he camped here while he awaited the rains, so, O B's'mn, send the winds; and may he who would efface this {writing} be scorched by fire.
- C 3020 *l bny bn 'rs'l bn 'wḍ w r'y h- nhl bql b- m[ḡ]d h- 'bl*
By Bny son of 'rs'l son of 'wḍ and he pastured the camels in this valley near [M'd?] on fresh herbage.
- C 3095 *l dr'l bn hḍr bn l'tmn bn rġḍ w wgm 'l- ḥbb w 'l- 's'y' -h ws'qn h- mhr m- gnt
h- d{r} qnb*
By Dr'l son of Hḍr son of L'tmn son of Rġḍ and he grieved for a loved one and for his companions who were driving the colts from the gardens of this {region} as a company of men.
- C 3113 *l mwd w h rḍw flt' -h m- b's'l w t'mt mn- ṣd l- frk bn ltnh*
By Mwd and, O Rḍw, deliver him from misfortune and nourish Frk son of Ltnh with something of game.
- C 3140 *l 's'l {b}{n} w{'}l bn s'hyt w wg{d} 'tr 'm -h fb{k}y w h- ṣwy*
By 's'l {son of} W'l son of S'hyt and he {found} the trace of his grandfather, and so he wept while at the cairn.
- C 3177 *l s'hr bn nhk bn grz{l} w hr[s] w h rḍ[w] wlh w 'wr m 'wr*
By S'hr son of Nhk son of {Grzl} and [he kept watch], so, O [Rḍw], make distraught and blind whosoever would efface.
- C 3818 *l {'}flt' bn {g}rm{' }l bn flt' w tlg b- h- dr b- {r}{'}y 'qbt*
By {flt} son of {Grm'l} son of Flt' and there was snow near this place during {the rising of} Scorpio.
- C 3230 *{l} 'm bn ḥy w r'y {h-} 'bl b- r'y mlh' 'l- nhl w wgm [ḡ][l-] 'm {-h} ----*
{By} 'm son of Ḥy and he pastured {the} camels on the edge of [the] valley during the rising of Aquarius; and he grieved [for] {his} grandfather

- C 3365 *l 'gz bn thb' w rḍw ḥlw l- bny -h mn- s'qm*
By 'gz son of Thb' and Rḍw, may his young son/sons be healed from sickness.

- C 3466 *l hl b[n] tlh fbt*
By Hl [son of] Tlh, so may he camp the night (safely).
- C 3474 *l 'll bn 's'lm bn n'mn w wgm*
By 'll son of 's'lm son of N'mn and he grieved.
- C 3680 *l n'm bn qhs² w gnm s'nt hrb nbt*
By n'm son of Qhs² and he raided the year of the war of Nabataea.
- C 3757 *l dh[d] {b}[n] s'd {b}{n} { } {m} h rđw w {h}b rkb l-bny {d} 'l qm {r}*
By [Dhd] {son} of S'd {son} of {m}; O Rđw give to Bny {of} the lineage of {Qmr} a riding camel.
- C 3811 *l 'mr bn 'm bn ws'm w h rđy gnm l-qm gy' w h lt dqn mrn frwh*
By 'mr son of 'm son of Ws'm and, O Rđy, let there be spoil for a starving people and, O Lt, Mrn (or our lord?) has grown old so let there be ease.
- C 3820 *l bnt bn dh d w wgd 'tr 'h -h*
By Bnt son of Dh d and he found the trace of his brother.
- C 3929 *l s²ddt bn hny bn mlkt bn { } {d} {r} bn hn'*
By S²ddt son of Hny son of Mlkt son of { 'dr } son of Hn'.
- C 3931 *l nšr'l bn gmr h- htt w hđr h- dr fh 't' s'lm w hrš q'sn w fr*
By Nšr'l son of Grm is this writing and he camped by permanent water in this place, so, O 't', let there be security as he had kept watch for murders but fled.
- C 4010 *l s²ddt bn šbh bn s'hly bn hr [w] [t]z[r] h- {s'}my w h lt r {w}h m- d b's' -h*
By S²ddt son of Šbh son of S'hly son of Hr [and] [he awaited] the {rains}, so, O Lt, let there be ease from that which has made him miserable.
- C 4037 *l s'd bn bgrt w wgm 'l- 'h -h đwr đ 'l f' }rt w {h} lt whbt s²n' -h bn- yd -h*
By S'd son of Bgrt and he grieved for his brother Đwr of the lineage of {F'rt} and, {O} Lt, may you give his enemies into his hands.
- C 4039 *l n'mn bn hby't w qsf' l- 'l đ' b w n'nl đlln fh s²hqm s'lm l -hm*
By N'mn son of Hby't and he was sad on account of the lineage of Đ'b and N'nl, who were lost, so, O S²hqm, may they be secure.

- C 4068 *l 's¹ bn 'ky w h 't' qyt b- rhy hl -h*
By 's¹ son of 'ky and, O 't', protect Rhy, his maternal uncle.
- C 4076 *l whblh bn 'bgr bn n'mn w wgm 'l- 'bgr bny -h fh lt [n]qmt*
By Whblh son of 'bgr son of N'mn and he grieved for 'bgr, his young son so, O Lt, let there be [retribution].
- C 4233 *l brd bn kh bn zmn w r'y {b-} {n}{y}t h- şmkk*
By Brd son of Kh son of Zmn and he pastured {while} {migrating} (to/in) Hşmkk
- C 4261 *(----) bn 'dnt w hrş h- s²n' fh lt s¹lm*
---- son of 'dnt and he kept watch for the enemy so, O Lt, let there be security.
- C 4332 *l m{g}yr bn 's¹ bn {z}bny bn 's¹ d' l g'br w mty s'nt brh 'qş h- mdnt h lt gnm*
m- s²n' 'bl
By {Mgyr} son of 's¹ son of {Zbny} son of 's¹ of the lineage of G'br and he journeyed in haste the year he departed (to?) the furthest part of the province; O Lt, let there be camels as spoil from enemies.
- C 4351 *l '{n}{m} {w} h {g}{d} { ' }w{d} fh rhm w h ymyt w h rdw q{r} {h}- qm*
By {'n'm} and O {Gd'wd}, O merciful one and O causer of death, and O Rdw, may the people be established (in this place).
- C 4384 *l s¹d bn gnm d' l qmr w syd ht wqffl- { ' }kl w {q}t -h*
By S¹d son of Gnm of the lineage of Qmr and he hunted until exhaustion, so may he eat and be protected.
- C 4443 *l s²mt bn l'tmn bn s²mt bn s²rk bn 'n'm bn l'tmn w wgm 'l- 'm -h w 'l- dd -h*
w 'l- hl -h w 'l- 'm w 'l- 'n'm qtl -h { ' }l şbh fwlh 'l- bn hl -h trh w r'y h- d'n w
rhd b- tbr w hl h- s²[n]' fh lt s¹lm w wgd 'tr 'h -h fndm
By S²mt bn L'tmn bn S²mt bn S²rk bn 'n'm bn L'tmn and he grieved for his mother and for his paternal uncle and for his maternal uncle and for 'm and for 'n'm whom {the lineage} of Şbh killed, then he was distraught over the son of his maternal uncle, who had perished; and he pastured the sheep, washed during Sagittarius, and kept watch against [enemies], so, O Lt, may he be secure; and he found the trace of his brother, so he was devastated by grief.

- C 4448 *l mḥwr bn gṭfn bn ʿdnt w syr b- ḡnmt -h sʿnt ḥrb h- mḍy ʿl rm b- bṣr{y} qtrz*
By Mḥwr son of Ḡṭfn son of ʿdnt and he returned to a place of water with his goats the year the Persians waged war upon the people of Rome at {Bṣry} qtrz
- C 4452 *l qnʿl bn qḥs² bn qnʿl w ḡzz b- h- mʿzyn sʿnt s²ty h- rm b- (---)*
By Qnʿl son of Qḥs² son of Qnʿl and he raided the shepherd the year the Romans spent the winter near ---
- C 4457 *l ʿlm bn sʿd bn ms¹k bn rmmt w l tmm ʿb hʿs¹ bn -h w [g]dʿwḍ rwḥ m ʿs¹r w s¹lm*
By ʿlm son of Sʿd son of Ms¹k son of Rmmt and for Tmm, father of Hʿs¹, his son, and may [Gdʿwḍ] grant ease to whosoever was captured that he may be secure.
- C 4649 *l ḥlf bn ʿhd w bny h- zlt*
By Ḥlf son of ʿhd and he built the shelter.
- C 4681 *l ḥlṣ bn ḡʿl bn mṭr w bny h- z{l}lt {s¹}nt ʿrb h- bḡyt {b-} h- rḥbt flt s¹lm w ʿwr [l-] d yʿwr*
By Ḥlṣ son of Ḡʿl son of Mṭr and he built the {small shelter?} {the year} the Arabs of Bḡyt were {at} this Raḥabah, so Lt, may he be secure, but may he who would efface go blind.
- C 4768 *l khl bn ḡt d ʿl ṣhyn w wgm ʿl- ḡḥm bnt ʿnʿm mrʿt -h fwlh [l]- zd ʿqbl -h w tḡr fh lt s¹lm*
By Khl son of Ḡt of the lineage of Ṣhyn and he grieved for Ḡḥm daughter of ʿnʿm his wife, and then he was distraught [for] Zd his kisman, so may he be compensated and, O Lt, may he be secure.
- C 4803 *l ʿlwḥb bn {z}mbn ḍk{r}fwʿ{y} {ʿ}l- rḥlt -h ws¹q -h h- dʿb fh b{ʿ}ls¹mn s¹lm l- nʿm ḥl w ʿwr {l-} d yʿwr h- s¹fr w ḥyy l- d yqrʿ h- ktb*
By ʿlwḥb son of {Zmr} son of Ḍkr and {he was mindful} of his ewe-lamb, which the wolf had seized, so, O Bʿls¹mn, let there be security that camping be made easy; and may he who would efface this writing go blind but may he who would read this writing have long life.
- C 4815 *l ḡnnt bn ḡzyt bn ḥyd w ngʿ ʿl- klbh bn -h w rʿy {h-} {ʿ}{b}l wḥd fh y ʿlt s¹lm*
By Ḡnnt son of Ḡzyt son of Ḥyd and he grieved in pain for Klbh, his son while he pastured {the camels} alone, so, O ʿLt, may he be secure.

- C 4842 *l tmn bn h'wd w hrš frđy s'lm w {n}gwt*
By Tmn son of H'wd and he kept watch so, Rđy, let there be security and {escape} (from harm).
- C 4974 *l {ġ}t bn s'r bn šbh w wgd s'fr qdm fbký*
By {Ġt} son of S'r son of Šbh and he found the writing of Qdm so he wept.
- C 4988 *l 'n'm bn s'rk bn mħlm w wgd {s¹}[fr] dd fndm 'l- ħtn -h w wgm 'l- g(---)*
ħbb -h w 'l- {'}s²y' -h rġmn mny
By 'n'm son of S'rk son of Mħlm and he found [the inscription] of Dd so he was devastated by grief over his wife's relation, and he grieved for {G- - -} his beloved and for his {companions} who were struck down by Fate.
- C 5011 *l mtl bn qn bn 'mr bn 'šd w 'wdt rđw*
By Mtl son of Qn son of 'mr son of 'šd and may Rđw grant return.
- C 5041 *l h{y} bn q{s}y w l h dm*
By {Hy} son of {Qsy} and he has indeed drawn.
- C 5050 *l s^cd bn ymlk bn m{ġ}yr bn mħlm bn 'bd w ndm 'l- rgl w wgm 'l- tm w 'l-*
'dqt w 'l- ħy w 'l- ms²r w 'l- tm w 'l- ms¹ w s'lh {r}wh 'l- s^cd w r'y {h-} m'zy d
'l qm(r) {w} byt h{w}rd {w} ħy{r} s'lm fh lt s'lm l- 'wlt -h
By S^cd son of Ymlk son of {Mġyr} son of Mħlm son of 'bd and he was devastated by grief on account of Rgl and he grieved for Tm and for 'dqt and for Hy and for Ms²r and for Tm and for Ms¹ and [his] {spirit} was stripped away (by greif) for Š^cd; and he pastured the goats of the lineage of {Qmr} and {spent the night} at {Hwrd} where he enjoyed security so, O Lt, let there (also) be security for his family.
- C 5121 *l bq bn 'ny w h y^t' nqmt m- d rkb -h fh rđw flt -h*
By Bq son of 'ny and O Y^t, let there be retribution against the one who has wronged him and, O Rđw, deliver him!
- C 5137 *l ħny bn s'ħr bn 'b{r} bn 'dm bn m{s¹}k w ħ{l}l 'l- dr*
By ħny son of S'ħr son of {'br} son of 'dm son of {Ms¹k} and {he camped} in this place.
- C 5182 *---y bn mty w r'y h- 'bl w h {l}[t] { }n*
---y son of Mty and he pastured the camels so, O [Lt], {help}!

- CSA 1.2 *l s²km bn s¹d¹ bn mqt¹ bn 'byn bn km bn ḥs¹nt bn zḥn bn qn bn bkr w ṣwy
w d¹f¹lt w ds²r s¹lm d¹lys²kr w l¹t lt mn yḥbl -h*
By S²km son of S¹d¹ son of Mqt¹ son of 'byn son of Km son of Ḥs¹nt son of Zḥn son of Qn son of Bkr and he suffered from the lack of rain while he spent the season of the later rains so, Lt and Ds²r, may the lineage of Ys²kr be secure and may Lt curse whosoever would obscure it.
- CSNS 1 *l ḡyr¹ bn 'n¹m bn rf¹t d¹l ḥzy w wq¹ w zll 'l-ḥr[t] fmn¹t w zllt d¹n -h ḥbs¹t 'l s¹lm*
By Ḡyr¹ son of 'n¹m son of Rf¹t of the lineage of Ḥzy and he wrote while he remained at the edge of the [Ḥarrah], and his sheep were hindered and remained in the sheepfold of the lineage of S¹lm.
- CSNS 65 *l mqm s¹q*
For Mqm who drove beasts.
- CSNS 89 *l g{b}{n} {s}r*
For {Gbn} who {returned to a place of water}.
- CSNS 304 *h rd¹ s¹d¹ rf¹t bnt knt*
O Rđ¹ help Rf¹t daughter of Knt.
- CSNS 324 *l drh bn 'nq bn s¹ḥb w s²tw h- dr*
By Drh son of 'nq son of S¹ḥb and he spent the winter in this place.
- CSNS 412 *l 'd bnt 's¹ bn ḥn¹l d¹t 'l tm w l -h rgm*
By 'd daughter of 's¹ son of Ḥn¹l of the lineage of Tm and this funerary cairn is hers.
- CSNS 438 *l s¹hm bn 's¹d d¹ 'l tyr*
By S¹hm son of 's¹d of the lineage of Tyr.
- CSNS 517 *h rđw s¹d bn ---bn {q}d{h}t h- mngr w flt -h*
O Rđw, help S¹d son of ---- son of {Qdht} the one who is longsuffering, so deliver him!
- CSNS 620 *l ḥrg bnt ḡt d¹t 'l tm w [l-] -h rgm*
By Ḥrg daughter of Ḡt of the lineage of Tm and this cairn is [hers].
- CSNS 661 *l drb bn qn h- nbty*
By Drb son of Qn the Nabataean.

- CSNS 818 *l 'hlm bn s²bn w rḥ*
By 'hlm son of S²bn and he set off at night.
- CSNS 957 *l ḥrs¹ bn brzt bn 'yl w tẓr hmlk fy's¹ l- t'r m- ḥwlt*
By Ḥrs son of Brzt son of 'yl and he awaited Hmlk (or the king) but lost hope; indeed, he shall have vengeance against the Ḥwlt.
- CSNS 1004 *l mlk bn 'ḥwḍ ḍ 'l 'mn w gls¹ mn- wrl s¹nt ngy mk l- rm w wgm 'l- s¹yd mqt l fh lt t'r mn- qtl -h w wgm 'l- bn dd -h ms¹by s¹byt -h ty'*
By Mlk son of 'ḥwḍ of the lineage of 'mn and he halted on account of a monitor lizard the year Mk announced (declared war?) for Rome;¹ and he mourned for S¹yd, who was murdered, so, O Lt, there shall be vengeance against his murderer; and he mourned for his paternal uncle's son, who was captured, whom Ṭayyi' have captured.
- CSNS 1010 *l tmlh bn šfdy ḍ 'l grs¹ w wgm 'l- s¹wd w trḥ*
By Tmlh son of Šfdy of the lineage of Grs¹ and he grieved for S¹wd because he had perished.
- CSNS 1021 *l gmr bn 'mr bn brqt w l- {ḍ} mḥb*
By Gmr son of 'mr son of Brqt and for {him} who is loved.
- H 457 *l zhd bn m' l bn fḍg h- bkrtn {h}ḍ*
By Zhd son of M' l son of Fḍg are {these} two camels.
- H 506 *l kmd bn 'n'm bn s²rk bn s¹krm bn šbh bn qs²m w ḥḍr s¹nt ḥgz b'ls¹mn 'l- h ḍ fh lt s¹lm w 'wr l- ḍw 'wr h- s¹fr*
By Kmd son of 'n'm son of S²rk son of S¹krm son of Šbh son of Qs²m and he camped near permanent water the year B'ls¹mn withheld [the rain] from it [the land/province] once more so, O Lt, let there be security and may they who would efface this writing go blind.
- H 507 *l s²mt bn znn bn kmd w r'y h- 'gdy*
By S²mt son of Znn son of Kmd and he pastured the kids.

1 This probably refers to when Malichus II sent military reinforcements to help Titus crush the Jewish rebellion in 66 CE.

H 763 = LP 1064 + 1065

*l hl bn m'n bn 'dg bn m'n bn mlk bn rgl d 'lfšmn w wld h- m'zy b- s'nt tmn
's²rt l- mlk 'grfš fh lt s'lm w ġnmt l- d d'y h- s'fr*

By Hl son of M'n son of 'dg son of M'n son of Mlk son of Rgl of the lineage of Fšmn and he helped the sheep give birth during year eighteen of King Agrippa, so, O Lt, may he who would read this writing aloud have security and spoil.

H 786

l glh hn- wlt

By Glh is the Wlt(?)

HaNS 660

l mrt bn ys²kr bn nhbt w šlb hbb -h

By Mrṭ son of Ys²kr son of Nhbt and his loved one was crucified.

HaNSB 8

l 'dnt bn 'bd w r'y h---b fs'ḏ -h rḏw w 'kl -h rḏw [w] r'y bql ntl

By 'dnt son of 'bd and he pastured h---b so may Rḏw aid him and may Rḏw nourish him and he pastured on fresh herbage ahead of the others.

HaNSB 16

---- w 'gzt h- s'ly kll h- s'nt

---and the sky withheld (the rain) the entire year.

HaNSB 48

l 'n'm bn 'hd w nṣr h- gs²

By 'n'm son of 'hd and he stood guard for the troop.

HaNSB 56

l šrmt bn qds¹ w tdym ntl

By Šrmt son of Qds¹ and he continued course ahead of the others.

HaNSB 62

l s'r't bn 'rš w tnṣr h- s'ly f'z'n h- s'nt

By s'r't son of 'rš and he awaited the rains, then he journeyed looking for herbage (or water) this year.

HaNSB 117

l 'mn bn mlkn h- n'm

By 'mn son of Mlkn is the ostrich.

HaNSB 184

*l fḥmn bn ntn bn 'flṭ bn 'šš bn ḥr' bn gml w ḥrš h- ḏffrwḥ b'ls'mn w nṣr h-
s'my b- 'šh[y] w mlh f'ny kbr f'wqyt m- s²n' ----*

By Fḥmn son of Ntn son of 'flṭson of 'šš son of Ḥr sn of Gml and he kept watch for the [lineage] of Ḍf, so may B'ls'mn send the winds as he awaited the rains during a [drought] and then he transported salt (or Aquarius had appeared, lit. there was Aquarius) and he suffered continuously, so let there be preservation from enemies.

- HaNSB 197** *l hn' bn wrd bn s²hyt bn 's¹w 's²rqm- ħrn b- 'bl -h s²r b- r'y'y'm{r} fh b'ls¹mn
ğyrt w s¹lm w 'wr m 'wr*
By Hn' son of Wrđ son of S²hyt son of 's¹ and he migrated to the inner desert from the Ĥrn with his camels to herbage during the rising of {Capricorn} and so, O B'ls¹mn, let there be abundance that he may be secure, and blind whosoever would efface.
- HaNSB 206** *l khl bn qħs² w 'ħđ l- s¹hm h- šwy*
By Khl son of Qħs² and he placed S¹hm on the funerary cairn.
- HaNSB 218** *l đhd bn nr bn ħrb bn đhd bn ktbt bn ħmyn w wgm 'l- s¹lm w 'l- ğyr w 'l- 'dg
w 'l- 'wđn w 'l- b'l w 'l- ħny w 'l- s¹ny fwny w ngs² h- 'bl m- ħrn mn- tlg b- r'y
ngm*
By Đhd son of Nr son of Ĥrb son of Đhd son of Ktbt son of Ĥmyn and he grieved for S¹lm and for Ġyr and for 'dg and for 'wđn and for B'l and for Ĥny and for S¹ny and he was feeble while he drove the camels from the Ĥawrān on account of snow (or cold) during the rising of Virgo.
- HaNSB 293** *l ħlš bn {r}myn bn tš{r} bn 'ws¹lh bn tts¹ bn g--- bn mħs¹ bn yqnh bn 'bdlh*
By Ĥlš son of {Rmyn} son of {Tšr} son of 'ws¹lh son of Tts¹ son of G--- son of Mħs¹ son of Yqnh son of 'bdlh.
- HaNSB 304** *l đl bn s²rk bn rbħ đ 'l qmr w mty fh s²ħqm ğnmt w rmy b- rmħ -h w ħzr b-
s'f -h fmrq kll s'ls¹l -h fw gđ'wđ ğnmt w s¹lm w ħłf l- s¹lh -h m- 'l nbł w 'wr
đ ħbl*
By Đbn of S²rk son of Rbħ of the lineage of Qmr and he journeyed in haste so, O S²ħqm, let there be spoil; and he cast his lance and struck with his sword, then threw off all his bonds, so Gđ'wđ, let there be spoil, security, and compensation for his weapons from the Nabataeans, and blind him who would obscure (this inscription).
- HaNSB 305** *l md' bn znn'l bn šrħ bn s²mt đ 'l qmr w mty fh rđy ğnmt w s¹lm w nzr 'l-
gs² -h w mty*
By Md' son of Znn'l son of Šrħ son of S²mt of the lineage of Qmr and he journeyed in haste so, O Rđy, let there be spoil that he may be secure; and he stood guard for his troop while journeying.

- HaNSB 307** *l s^ldlh bn 's^l bn zn^l bn hyn d^l l m^yr w d^l l fr^t w ts²wq 'l- 'hl -h fh lt s^llm w qbl w ġnmt w bry ' n^{fs}^l w d^y'l- [l]t 'l- mn y^hbl -h*
By S^ldlh son of 's^l son of Zn^l son of Hyn of the lineage of M^yr and of the lineage of Fr^t and he longed for his family so, O Lt, let there be security, reunion with loved ones, and spoil; and he built the funerary monument and called upon [Lt] against whosoever would damage it (the funerary monument).
- HaNSB 312** *l s^ldlh w l -h ' frs^l*
By S^ldlh and the horse is his.
- HaNSB 349** *l md^c bn bnll bn 's^llm w ġzz b- 'bl*
By Md^c son of Bnll son of 's^llm and he raided camels.
- HaNSB 354** *l kmd bn ns^lt h- 'h^yt*
By Kmd son of Ns^lt are these animals.
- HaNSB 371** *l s^lk^c bn rđ s^ld-h rđw m- h- n^s^c*
By S^lk^c son of Rđ, may Rđw aid him against enmity.
- HaNSC 5** *l hs^r bn kddh h- tmny w ġzz*
By Hs^r son of Kddh, the Tymn-ite, and he went on a raid.
- HAUI 70** *l 's²mt bn tm w r'y h- rwdt fh lt s^llm*
By S²mt son of Tm and he pastured the small meadow so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- HAUI 72** *l khs^lmn bn gn^l bn s²r bn gn^l d^ll kn w t^{mr} h- s²n' s^lnt qsr w h- mdy fh lt w gđđf s^llm w 'wr l- d^l 'wr h- s^lfr*
By Khs^lmn son of Gn^l son of S²r son of Gn^l of the lineage of Kn and adversity was widespread the year of Caesar and the Persians so, O Lt and Gđđf, may he be secure; and may he who would efface this writing go blind.
- HAUI 76** *l s^d bn ys^ld bn mrm bn fny bn s²r w wgm 'l- ħrb [w] 'l- mr' w 'l- ħs^r f ħrb fy lt ġyrt w nq^t l- d^y'wr*
By S^d son of Ys^ld son of Mrm son of Fny son of S²r and he grieved for Ĥrb [and] for Mr' and for Ĥs^r, for they were plundered, so, O Lt, let there be blood money; and may he who would efface be thrown from the grave.

- HAUI 125 *l z'n bn grm'l bn z'n bn bnt bn z'n bn hṭs't d 'l kn w wgd s'fr grm'l fb's' mn
zll w qnt 'l rm s'nt yhd fh lt ... wqyt m b's'*
By Z'n son of Grm'l son of Z'n son of Bnt son of Z'n son of Hṭs't of the lineage of Kn and he found the writing of Grm'l, for those who remain despair; and he feared the Romans the year of [the] Jews so, O Lt, ... protection against misfortune.
- HAUI 182 *l s'd bn ḡlmt bn mtn bn ḥny bn ms'k bn s'rk bn 'bd bn ḡlmt w hrš h- mlkt f
h lt w gd'wd w s'ḥqm w ds'r b- ḥfirt -k 'wd -k w nq't b- wd[d] d ḥbl h- s'fr w
ḡnmt l- d d'y h- s'fr w*
By S'd son of Ḡlmt son of Mtn son of Ḥny son of Ms'k son of S'rk son of 'bd son of Ḡlmt and he kept watch for the queen so, O Lt and Gd'wd and S'ḥqm and Ds'r through your guidance comes your protection and may he who would obscure this writing be thrown out of the grave by a [loved one] but may he who would read this writing aloud have spoil and ...
- HAUI 198 *l mgd bn 'bd bn drh bn 'nq bn gr w h {l}{t} qb{l}m t h- s'nt*
By Mgd son of 'bd son of Drh son of 'nq son of Gr and, O {Lt}, may this year bring {reunion} with loved ones.
- HCH 10 *l s'd bn qḥs' w wgm 'l- ḥl -h hn' rḡm mny*
By S'd son Qḥs' and he grieved for his maternal uncle Hn', struck down by Fate.
- HCH 37 *l s'd bn zn bn ṭlm w wgm w bny 'l- hn' trḥ w rḡm mny*
By s'd son of Zn son of Ṭlm and he grieved while he lay a stone upon the funerary cairn of Hn', who had perished and was struck down by Fate.
- HCH 46 *l ṭbr bn 'zz d 'l ḥd w wgm 'l- hn' trḥ*
By Ṭbr son of 'zz of the lineage of Ḥd and he grieved for Hn' who had perished.
- HCH 53 *l S'hm bn 'dm bn bh' d 'l d'f w bny 'l- hn'*
By S'hm son of 'dm son of Bh' of the lineage of Ḍf and he laid a stone upon the funerary cairn of Hn'.
- HCH 69 *l ms'd bn 'ḥdṭ bn rmḥt w wgm 'l- hn' d 'l m's trḥ*
By Ms'd son of 'ḥdṭ son of Rmḥt and he grieved for Hn' of the lineage of M's, who had perished.

- HCH 71** *l'wḏ bn s'r bn 'wḏ bn 's'lm w 'rfhl -h mt fwlh 'l-h w wgm 'l- hrs¹ w 'l- s²t^m w 'l- dtm w 'l- gbny w 'l- rmḥt 'ḥwl -h mḥrbn w ḥll w gls¹ s'nt qtl ḥw{s}t w b{y}g' w ḥrṣ ḏ 'l tm fh lt s'lm m- b's¹*
 By 'wḏ son of s'r son of 'wḏ son of 's'lm and his maternal uncle came to know death and so he was distraught over him and grieved for Hrs¹ and for S²t^m and for Dtm and for Gbny and for Rmḥt, his maternal uncles, who were plundered; and he camped while he halted the year Ḥwṣt and {Byg'} fought and kept watch for the lineage of Tm. So, O Lt, may he be secure against misfortune.
- HCH 72** *l zbdy bn s²ms'y w wgm 'l- hn' trḥ w 'l- 'bdy mqtlfh lt w h ds²r t'r {l}- mn ḥwlt*
 By Zbdy son of S²ms'y and he grieved for Hn', who had perished, and for 'bdy, who was murdered, so, O Lt and O Ds²r, let there be vengeance against Ḥwlt.
- HCH 79** *l 'qrbn bn ks¹t bn s¹d h- dmyt zmrt*
 By 'qrbn son of Ks¹t son of S¹d is this image of a flute-playing girl.
- HCH 82** *l 'zz bn hn' ḏ 'l nmrt w wgm 'l- hn'*
 By 'zz son of Hn' of the people of Nmrt and he grieved for Hn'.
- HCH 102** *l m'n bn zbd bn 'tk bn zbd w ḥrṣ 'l- 'h -h rdf'bl {-h} fh lt w - - - s²h - - -*
 By M'n son of Zbd son of 'tk son of Zbd and he watched over {his} brother who was following {his} camels, so, O Lt and - - - s²h - - -
- HCH 103** *l 'n'm bn 'tm bn 'nhk bn 's¹ ḏ 'l zhr w wgm 'l- kmn mqtlfh lt w ds²r f't'r mn- ḥwlt*
 By 'n'm son of 'tm son of 'nhk son of 's¹ of the lineage of Zhr and he grieved for Kmn, who was killed, so, O Lt and Ds²r, he will have vengeance against Ḥwlt.
- HCH 107** *l '{d}d bn 'qdm w qyṣ 'l- tbrn ftḥwffh lt s'lm ḏ 'l ḥrm*
 By {d} son of 'qdm and he spent the dry season on the edge of Tbrn and was diminished by the lack of rain, so, O Lt, secure him/those of the lineage of Ḥrm.
- HCH 126** *l 'ḏ bn hn' w wgm 'l- rḏwt ḏ 'l nmrt bn 's¹ mqt qtl -h 'l ḥwlt fh lt w ds²r t'r*
 By 'ḏ son of Hn' and he grieved for Rḏwt of the lineage of Nmrt son of 's¹, who was killed; the people of Ḥwlt killed him, so, O Lt and Ds²r, he will have vengeance.

- HCH 131** *l 'myt bn 'kl d 'l hly w ndm 'l- klb -h dll fh lt hwr*
By 'myt son of 'kl of the lineage of Hly and he was devastated by grief on account of his dog that had strayed, so, O Lt, may he return safely.
- HCH 132** *l '---m bn whblh bn hl d 'l hly w ndm 'l- bn 'h -h ms⁴by hwlt fn (<w>)gy f myt {k}wy b- ls² h lh*
By '---m son of Whblh son of Hl of the lineage of Hly and he was devastated by grief on account of the son of his brother, who was taken prisoner by Hwlt but then escaped and died while wandering with nothing, O Lh.
- HCH 191** *l gt bn hn' d 'l 'mrt w ts²wq [']l- kll 's²r s²dq*
By Gt son of Hn' of the lineage of 'mrt and he longed for every righteous kinsman.
- HCH 194** *l 'n'm bn qšmt d 'l 'mrt w nfr f 's¹lm w b{ }{d} 'flt s¹nt 's²rq rđwt 'l- hdy l- ym{n}t*
By 'n'm son of Qšmt of the lineage of 'mrt and he deserted but then surrendered but {afterwards} escaped the year Rđwt the commander migrated {southward} to the inner desert.
- HN 62** *l hmlg bn s¹hm bn qdm w 'ty h- rmy b- hqb -h fh b¹ls¹mn rwh*
By Hmlg son of Shm son of Qdm and Sagittarius has come with his quiver so, O B¹ls¹mn, send the winds.
- HN 161** *l db bn s¹hr bn 'bd bn 'dm w dt' w hrš h- s²n¹fh lt s¹lm*
By Db son of S¹hr son of 'bd son of 'dm and he spent the season of the later rains (here) and anticipated adversity/enemies so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- HshNSMI 5** *l lb't bn hts¹t bn fltt bn bhs² bn 'dnt bn 's¹lm bn zkr bn rf't bn ws²yt bn đf bn 'gd bn t'wđ w hl dr s¹nt mlk grfš bn hdrš w wgd 'tr 'hwł -h 'l 's²ll tm w grm' w 'hwđ w zbd fng' w h ds²ry w lt n[]mt l- d d'y w lm yhbł s¹fr*
By Lb't son of Hts¹t son of Fltt son of Bhs² son of 'dnt son of 's¹lm son of Zkr son of Rf't son of Ws²yt son of Đf son of 'gd son of T'wđ and he camped in [this] place the year of king Agrippa son of Herod and he found the traces of his maternal uncles, of the lineage of 's²ll and Grm' and 'hwđ and Zbd, so he grieved in pain; so, O Ds²ry and Lt, may he who would read aloud have [divine favor] and may [this] inscription not be effaced.

- ISB 91 *l ġnm bn yṯ' bn s²ll bn 'bd w l -h h- frs¹ 'nd -h*
By Ġnm son of Yṯ' son of S²ll son of 'bd and by him is the horse which belongs to him.
- ISB 117 *l 'hwn bn 'mdn h- dr b- { }r²{l} 'yr<(r)> hn wgd d tnt*
By 'hwn son of 'mdn, at this place near 'r¹, having journeyed here to find dry herbage.
- ISB 421 *l h_zr bn frhz h- dr mh_rb ygr*
By H_zr son of Frhz, at this place, having been plundered, he endures.
- JaS 61 *l hlflh bn 'byn w šwy w dt' w km'*
By Hlflh son of 'byn and he suffered from the lack of rain but then the season of the later rains came and he collected truffles.
- JaS 73 *l y'mr bn m{s}{w}t{y} bn frm [w] bny 'l-hlšt w 'l- mt't w fdyt f lt dnwt w trf*
By Y'mr son of {Mšwty} son of Frm [and] he built upon Hlšt and Mt't and accepted the bloodwit so, O Lt, let there be closeness (to loved ones?) and a life of ease.
- JaS 145.1 *l ġt' bn klb bn brd w gls¹ w qšš w hll w lt s¹{l}m w mtqtł šhfy w qšyn*
By Ġt' son of Klb son of Brd and he halted and patrolled and, Lt, let there be security and ...
- JaS 159.2 *l hn' bn 'k{l}{l}t {f} gls¹ hlt fh lt w ds²{r} s¹lm*
By Hn' son of {'kllt} and he halted to camp so, O Lt an {Ds²r}, may he be secure.
- JaS 189.2 *l ms²{w}l bn qšmt bn ḥdd w dkr^t 'lt 'ls¹ w rb*
By {Ms²wl} son of Qšmt son of Ḥdd and may 'lt be mindful of 'ls¹ and Rb.
- JbS 1 *l dd'l w ts²wq 'l- {b}tl{s²}n dt 'l 'g' w dkr -h rdy*
By Dd'l and he longed for {'btl's²n} of the lineage of 'g' so may Rdy be mindful of her.
- K 196 *l l'tmn bn z'kt bn 's¹lm bn mr{d}y bn kwnt w {h} b'ls¹mn mwl h- 'rđ s¹r'*
By L'tmn son of Z'kt son of 's¹lm son of {Mrdy} son of Kwnt and {O} B'ls¹mn make this land abundant quickly.

- KhBG 11** *l 'ws¹l bn hgml w ġzy*
By 'ws¹l son of Hgml and he raided.
- KhBG 315** *l 'mr h 'r*
By 'mr is the wild ass
- KhBG 330** *l gh{r}n bn 'mr h- dšyt*
By {Ghrn} son of 'mr is the ibex.
- KhBG 345** *l 'n'm bn 'lm d 'l hzy w qyz 'l- {g}{n}fw 'l- hdd w thwff{h} lt s¹lm w fšy m-
b¹{s}*
By 'n'm son of 'lm of the lineage of Hzy and he spent the dry season on the edge of {Gnf} and {Hdd} and became diminished by the lack of rain so, {O} Lt, let there be security and deliver from {misfortune}.
- KhBG 376** *l m¹ly bn hrb w s²tw {f}lyt w fl{t} l -h s²n'*
By M¹ly son of Hrb and he wintered at {Flyt} so may he {be delivered} [from] adversity.
- KhNSJ 1** *l hnn bn 'dr¹ d 'l 'mrt w g{l}s¹mn ' - dmt s¹nt mt mlk nb¹t*
By Hnn son of 'dr¹l of the lineage of 'mrt and he halted on account of the downpour the year king of Nabataea died.
- KhNSJ 5** *l grm bn l_t bn šrmt d 'l 'mrt w šyr qyz r'y*
By Grm son of L_t son of Šrmt of the lineage of 'mrt and he returned to a place of water in the dry season to pasture.
- KhMNS 5** *l s¹lm bn hğ bn ṭhm bn hms¹k ' - dmt*
By S¹lm son of Hğ son of Ṭhm son of Hms¹k are these images.
- KhMNS 13** *l 's¹ bn br'h f'd*
By 's¹ son of Br'h so may he return.
- KhMNS 51** *l hgg bn rđwt h- hyt*
By Hgg son of Rđwt are these animals.
- KRS 6** *l s²hl bn s¹krn bn h_ts¹t w wgd ['] [t] {r} {w}ny w ghmf b¹s¹m zll 'l- hm {r} ġmn
mny w wlh 'l- hm l- 'bd w 'l- zkr w 'l- h_tš rġmn mny kll- hm w l- s¹l mny s²dd*
By S²hl son of S¹krn son of H_ts¹t and he found the [traces] of {Wny} and Ghm, for those who remain despair on account of them who were struck

down by Fate; and he remained distraught over them forever, and over Zkr and over Hlš, all of them struck down by Fate; and a harsh fate befell S^{pl}.

KRS 15 *l'qrb bn m'z bn gzlt w wgd s'fr ms^lk w ng't ft'ql w dwy w mty m- gl'd l- tdmr fh s²'hqm s^llm w ġnyt l- d s²hš*

By 'qrb son of Ms^lk son of Gzlt and he found the writing of Ms^lk and Ng't, and so he was unable to speak and became sick with grief while he journeyed in haste from Gilead for Palmyra, so, O S²'hqm, may he who acts nobly have security and abundance.

KRS 18 *l š'd bn gs^lm bn s²hl bn tm w wgm 'l- 'qrb w 'l- hlt -h mn'm trht w hrš fh lt w h s²'hqm rwh m d hrš*

By Š'd son of Gs^lm son of S²hl son of Tm and he grieved for 'qrb and for his maternal aunt, Mn'm, who had died, and he kept watch, so O Lt and O S²'hqm, let there be relief from that against which one must keep watch.

KRS 24 *l s²mt bn s^lkrn bn s²mt w wgm 'l- 'hw -h w 's²y' -h hrbn w wlh l- 'bd 'l- zkr w nžrfh lt w gddf s^llm*

By S²mt son of S^lkrn son of S²mt and he grieved for his two brothers and his companions, who were plundered, and he was distraught forever over Zkr and he stood guard, so, O Lt and Gddf, may he be secure.

KRS 25 *l 'n'm bn tm bn 'n'm w r'y h- d'n w syr m- mabr l- hms^t 'rh s^lnt ngy whb^l hdy w trw' l- r' -h g[[[]]]fr fh lt qbll -h s^llm w 'wr d y'wr h- htt*

By 'n'm son of Tm son of 'n'm and he pastured the sheep; and he returned to a place of water from the inner desert for five months the year Whb^l was announced commander; and he feared for his friend Gfr, so, O Lt, reunite him with loved ones safely, and blind him who would efface this inscription.

KRS 29 *---- bn s²rk bn ms²dt bn syh bn 'bd bn 'm bn {w}rm w hrš d b'd m- 's²y' fh s²'hq[m] w ds²[r] w 'r qbll w l'n d y'wr h- s'fr*

---- son of S²rk son of Ms²dt son of Šyh son of 'bd son of 'm son of {Wrm} and he kept watch for him who was far from companions so, O {S²'hqm} and [ds²r] and 'r, let there be reunion with loved ones but curse him who would efface this inscription.

- KRS 30** *l'bn bn 'nhlh h- dmy w hršfh šlm 'lh dmt rw(⟨⟩)h*
By 'bn son of 'nhlh the Dumite and he kept watch, so, O Šlm, god of Dūmat, let there be ease.
- KRS 37** *l ngm bn z'n bn rgl bn š'd w s²tt -h nwyfh lt qblł' - s¹lm { }hl + -h +[w] s¹lm
l-yh[d] w rg' b- 'bl r'γ [] l- hrt fht*
By Ngm son of Z'n son of Rgl son of Š'd and he wintered while migrating, so, O Lt, may there be safe reunion with his family; [and] may {Yhd} be secure; and he returned with camels to the Ḥarrah to pasture on 'awf (plants) of low-lying tracts of land.
- KRS 51** *{l} mfn̄y w bny l- gh̄m h- rgm*
{By} Mfn̄y and he built the funerary cairn for Ghm.
- KRS 59** *l 'mn bn gn'l bn h̄y bn šb̄h bn h̄y bn [g]n'l bn whb w nyk s¹lm 'mt s¹lm*
By 'mn son of Gn'l son of Ḥy son of Šb̄h son of Ḥy son of {Gn'l} son of Whb and he copulated with S¹lm, the slave-girl of S¹lm.
- KRS 68** *l 'n'm {b}{n} wr̄l bn dmy d' l 's²ll w h s²hqm ... f{ }{n}k b̄gy -h w qf{y}t -h
{w} b- h̄fr̄t-k fltn m- mt*
By 'n'm {son} of Wr̄l son of Dmy of the lineage of 's²ll and, O S²hqm ... for {you are indeed} his sought after and his path and by means of your guidance there is deliverance from death.
- KRS 78** *l 'dm bn ys¹m {l} bn ys¹m'l bn š'd w wgm 'l- 'h -h 'l- 's¹ w 'l- ḥd 'h -h fh lt ryh
w qyt*
By 'dm son of {Ys¹m'l} son of Ys¹m'l son of Š'd and he grieved for his brother, for 's¹, and for Ḥd, his brother, so, O Lt, grant ease and protect.
- KRS 96** *l b'drh bn 'lyn bn hngs² w h rđw hb l -h h- myt*
By B'drh son of 'lyn son of Hngs² and, O Rđw, grant him water!
- KRS 102** *l ġt bn 's²ym bn šn w t̄zr ' - my frđw r(w)h w rđw 'wr d̄y'wr*
By Ġt son of 's²ym son of Šn and he awaited the rains so may Rđw {grant ease} and may Rđw blind him who would efface.
- KRS 109** *l 'h̄lm bn l'tmn bn 'dnt bn 's¹lm bn bqlt bn {z}kr bn rf't w rđy 'wr m 'wr*
By 'h̄lm son of L'tmn son of 'dnt son of 's¹lm son of Bqlt son of {Zkr} son of Rf't and may Rđy blind whosoever would efface.

- KRS 132** *l s'ny bn ys'lm bn 'wɔn bn mlk bn qhs² bn ḥdg bn s'wr bn {ǧ}{d}[d]t bn 'nɔt bn ws²y bn ḥmyn bn ɔfw s²tr w b's¹w dn w qr l- ɔy'wr h- s'fr*
 By S'ny son of Ys'lm son of 'wɔn son of Mlk son of Qhs² son of Ḥdg son of S'wr son of {Ǧḏḏt} son of 'nɔt son of Ws²y son of Ḥmyn son of ɔfw and may there be separation from kin and despair and contempt and cold for him who would efface this writing.
- KRS 164** *l s'b' bn ǧḥfl w ngy m- (ǧ)qt ḥbtt fh lt w gddɔf s'lm w mgd w h tɔq l- h- dsy*
 By S'b' son of Ǧḥfl and he escaped from a corrupt [group of men], so, O Lt and Gddɔf, let there be security and success while he sets off for ibex (alone).
- KRS 167** *l whblh {f}ty 'l grɔ w r'y h- ɔ'n fh lt s'lm w ǧnyt w wgm 'l- ḥl -h w 'l- mrby -h zn'l w 'l- ḥtn -h ḥgg w 'l- ḥtn -h s'¹d bn mlk*
 By Whblh slave of the lineage of Grɔ and he pastured the sheep, so, O Lt, let there be security and abundance; and he grieved for his maternal uncle and for his foster child, Zn'l, and his wife's relation, Ḥgg, and his wife's relation S'¹d son of Mlk.
- KRS 169** *l n'rt bn ḥdmt bn trml bn s'ry bn s'hm w ǧz b- nḥl fh yt' s'lm w kl' h- s'my ḥd{r} mlḥfd{k}{r}f'mt fy's' fh b'ls'mn r{w}h w s'lm*
 By N'rt son of Hdmt son of Trml son of S'ry son of S'hm and he raided this valley, so, O Yt', may he be secure; and the sky withheld its rain during [the sun's] presence in Aquarius, then Aries, then Libra, and so he despaired, so, O B'ls'mn, let there be relief that he remain secure.
- KRS 213** *l s'lm bn rgl bn zhrn w wgd ḥtt ǧyr'lfng' w ql ḥbl ḥrm 'n ygl*
 By S'lm son of Rgl son of Zhrn and he found the writing of Ǧyr' so he grieved in pain and said: may any effacer go mad if it (the inscription) should be erased.
- KRS 225** *l mḥlm bn 'bd'l bn mḥlm bn s²dt bn l'tmn w r'y h- 'bl ḥms't's²rn 'mfwl{h} f{h} s²hqm ǧny[t]*
 By Mḥlm son of 'bd'l son of Mḥlm son of S²dt son of L'tmn and he pastured the camels for twenty five years and so was distraught, so, O S²hqm, let there be [abundance].

- KRS 303** *l 's^llm ft[y] ----{d} bn hlš w r'y h- d'n w 'dll bđ gs² w g{d} -h l- tn's²r ym s'nt
ngy hn' bn lb't hdy {f} h lt s^llm*
By 's^llm [slave] of ----{d} son of Hlš and he pastured the sheep; and he led a troop astray here, so they mistreated him for twelve days the year Hn' son of Lb't was announced commander, so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- KRS 307** *l n'my bn brk'l w h y[l]' s^{2c}-nh b- d wd*
By N'my son of Brk'l and, O [Y^l'] join him with the one whom he loved.
- KRS 598** *l hmy w ngr {z}lm b- hm*
By Hmy and he endured oppressed in/by the heat.
- KRS 756** *l mty bn 'dy bn mty bn mkbl bn dhd bn 'bṭ w dbḥ fh s²hqm s'lm [m] 'l- h-
'bl mt't l- mdr*
By Mty son of 'dy son of Mty son of Mkbl son of Dhd son of 'bṭ and he made a sacrifice so, O S²hqm, keep safe what is upon the camels, provisions for the inner desert.
- KRS 844** *l s'lm bn hms^lk h- 'hdt*
By S^llm son of Hms^lk, at the pool of water.
- KRS 896** *l ys^llm bn grm'l bn qhs² w wgd s'fr s'd fng' w wrd h- nmrt b- 'mt 'hrt*
By Ys^llm son of Grm'l son of Qhs² and he found the writing of S'd, so he grieved in pain, then he went to water at Namārah when the sun was in Libra thereafter.
- KRS 922** *l mn'm bn s'wdn bn nšr bn ġrb bn s'lm bn s'fd w hrš d 'n{y} b- hrm f s'lm h
lt w rwh l- whd h y^l'*
By Mn'm son of S'wdn son of Nšr son of Ġrb son of S'lm son of S'fd and he kept watch for him who toiled near Ḥawrān, so let there be security, O Lt, and ease, for he was indeed alone, O Y^l'.
- KRS 926** *l 'd{y} bn 'nhm w s'wq mdr t w wgd 'tr mlk fwlh*
By {'dy} son of 'nhm and he drove (beasts) into the inner desert itself and he found the trace of Mlk, so he was distraught.
- KRS 941** *l n'mn bn s'd bn ys'm'l w wgd 'tr s'd fng' w b's^l m zll w rgm m{n}{y}
{y}{n}{y} {w} {q}l hbl -h trh w h lt 'wr d y'wr h- s^l{f}r*
By N'mn son of S'd son of Ys'm'l and he found the trace of S'd, so he grieved in pain, for those who remain despair, and he was struck down

by {Fate} {while suffering}; and he {said} may the one who would efface it (the inscription) perish; and, O Lt, blind him who would efface this {writing}.

KRS 995 *l whblh bn ġyr'l bn 'bdh'ktb bn ġyr'l bn rwḥ bn ḥnn'l bn 'dy w t'mr h-s²ḥsḥ f
h lt w h gddḥw ds²r w h b'ls'mn w - - - 'lh ġnyt w 's²rq s¹nt {n}g{y} mty
hdyf{ }{t}{ }² s¹lm w nq't b-wdd -h yḥbl h- ḥ{{t}}{t}}*

By Whblh son of Ġyr'l son of 'bdh'ktb son of Ġyr'l son of Rwḥ son of Ḥnn'l son of 'dy and scarcity was widespread, so, O Lt and O Gddḥ and Ds²r and O B'ls'mn and - - - 'lh, let there be abundance; and migrated to the inner desert the year Mty was {announced} commander, so, O {t}, may he be secure but may he who would obscure {this writing} be thrown out of the grave by his loved one.

KRS 1011 *l 'm bn 'n'm bn dhl bn 'nf w rdfh- d'n ms²rqṭ*

By 'm son of 'n'm son of Dhl son of 'nf and he followed the sheep which were migrating to the inner desert.

KRS 1015 *l s²ḥl bn nṣr'l bn s²kr'l bn nṣr'l bn gbdy w wgd 'tr 'l dḥw rb -h qyl hy lt s¹lm
w b- 'n -h s¹lm w {q}m -h 'bd w h lt {l}'n m ḥbl m'l ḥwq*

By S²ḥl son of Nṣr'l son of S²kr'l son of Nṣr'l son of Gbdy and he found the trace of the lineage of Dḥ so he exalted it saying: O Lt may it be secure and may it remain secure for all time, and its people too; O Lt, curse whosoever would obscure out of jealousy.

KRS 1023 *l 'lm bn ṣ'b bn grm'l bn d'b w mrd 'l- h- mlk grfṣ ks¹r {h-} s¹{s¹}[lt]*

By 'lm son of Ṣ'b son of Grm'l son of D'b and he rebelled against the king Agrippa in order to break {the chains of bondage}.

KRS 1024 *l 'bd bn ḥlf bn 'n'm bn rb'l bn 'n'm bn ms¹k bn s²rb bn ġlmt bn d'f bn ḥld d 'l
d'f w wgm 'l- ms¹k w <>> 'l- m'n w s¹rt 'l-} ḥr hdy s¹nt qttl hrdsḥ f h lt s¹lm w
ġnmt l- d d'y w qttl {g}ftr*

By 'bd son of Hlf son of 'n'm son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of Ms¹k son of S²rb son of Ġlmt son of D'f son of Ḥld of the lineage of D'f and he grieved for Ms¹k and for M'n and he served in a troop under the command of Ḥr, the commander, the year Hrdṣ went to battle, so, O Lt, may he who would read aloud have security and spoil, and {Gftr} went to battle {as well?}.

2 I thank Ali al-Manaser for this reading.

- KRS 1042** *l ḥd bn ḥlṣ bn tm bn s¹ḥr bn mfn̄y bn n¹mn w s²r qf h lt w h gddfs¹lm w mgdt
w rḡy ḡ d¹y w l¹n ḡ yḥbl m¹l- h- ḥw[q]*
By Ḥd son of Ḥlṣ son of Tm son of S¹ḥr son of Mfn̄y son of N¹mn and he will travel to the inner desert, so O Lt and O Gddf, let there be security and bounty; and may he who would read aloud be satisfied and may he who would obscure out of [jealousy] be cursed.
- KRS 1051** *---hb bn wṣlt w wgm 'l- {'}{ḥ} -h ḥryfmyt*
--- son of Wṣlt and he grieved for his {brother} Ḥry because he had died.
- KRS 1087** *l nṣr bn 'hd bn ḥnn bn ḥtmt bn 'n¹m bn ḡlmt w h gđ'wḡ h{b} t̄r m- 'l ḡ' zlmn
f zlmn f h lt t̄r l- ḡ y'wr*
By Nṣr son of 'hd son of Ḥnn son of Ḥtmt son of 'n¹m son of ḡlmt and O Gđ'wḡ {grant} revenge against the lineage of G', who were terribly unjust, and so, O Lt, may he who would efface be the object of vengeance.
- KRS 1131** *l 'm bn ḥd bn 'bgr bn s¹ḥr bn s²ḥtr w ḥl ṣ{y}r h- dr m- 'dy {w} ḥrṣ 'hl -h ḥḍr
f h 'hd w h lt s¹lm w ḡnmt l- ḡ d¹{y}*
By 'm son of Ḥd son of 'bgr son of s¹ḥr son of S²ḥtr and he camped {having returned} to this place {of water} from 'dy and he kept watch for his family while camping near water so, O 'hd and O Lt, may he who {would read aloud} have security and spoil.
- KRS 1161** *l ms¹k bn s¹wḍ bn zḥk bn ms²r bn s¹wḍ bn mlk bn ḥyt bn hbl bn whbn bn
qmr bn rḥḥ bn 'wḡ bn whb¹l w wgd 'tr 's²y^c -h ḥrbn s¹nt qtl mn¹t f tḡḡ f h lt
'wr l- ḡ y'wr h- s¹f̄r*
By Ms¹k son of S¹wḍ son of Zḥk son of Ms²r son of S¹wḍ son of Mlk son of Ḥyt son of Hbl son of Whbn son of Qmr son of Rḥḥ son of 'wḡ son of Whb¹l and he found the trace of his companions who were plundered the year Mn¹t was killed, and so he was devastated by grief; so, O Lt, may he who would efface this writing go blind.
- KRS 1287** *---lm bn 'dm bn ḥḡg bn s¹wr h- ḥtt f hy 'lht nq¹t b- ṣḡq l- ḡ y'wr*
---lm son of 'dm son of Ḥḡg son of S¹wr is this writing, so, O gods, may he who would efface be thrown out of the grave by a friend.
- KRS 1304** *l znn bn s²r ḡ 'l kn w mrq ḡ'n 'l m¹b f h lt s¹lm*
By Znn son of S²r of the lineage of Kn and he let the sheep of the people of M¹b pass by, so, O Lt, let there be security.

- KRS 1307** *l ḥṭṣṭ bn s¹kṛn bn ḥṭṣṭ bn zkr h- gml qsy l- s²ḥqm*
By Ḥṭṣṭ son of S¹kṛn son of Ḥṭṣṭ son of Zkr is the camel, which has been dedicated to S²ḥqm.
- KRS 1379** *l ḥṭṣṭ bn s¹kṛn bn ḥṭṣṭ bn zkr bn ḏn¹ bn s¹b w 'ḥd h- rgm w wgd hn 'm -h f hy lt w d^s²r nq^t l- d y^ʿwr h- s¹fr*
By Ḥṭṣṭ son of S¹kṛn son of Ḥṭṣṭ son of Zkr son of ḏn¹ son of S¹b and he put a dead man on a funerary cairn, but found the *hn* (mark?) of his grandfather, so O Lt and D^s²r, may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave.
- KRS 1432** *l qtl bn ḥrs²n bn qn¹ bn knd w wlh mtdkr ḥbb f ḥbb f ḥbb f ḥbb w ḥrs 'l- d s¹r f h lt w s²ḥqm (ḡ)nyt*
By Qtl son of Ḥrs²n son of Qn¹ son of Knd and he was distraught with grief remembering one loved one after another while he looked after those those who remain, so O Lt and S²ḥqm, let there be abundance.
- KRS 1468** *l mlk bn bls¹ bn ys¹m¹ bn ṣ¹d bn 's¹ w qṣṣ b- m^t frs¹ b^d 'l dffh gddfs¹lm -{h}*
By Mlk son of Bls¹ son of Ys¹m¹ son of Ṣ¹d son of 's¹ and he patrolled as a part of a cavalry unit on behalf of the lineage of Df, so, O Gddf, keep {him} safe!
- KRS 1507** *l grgs¹ bn 'qlds¹*
By Grgs¹ son of 'qlds¹
- KRS 1536** *l ṣ¹d bn nzl bn ṣ¹d bn 'bd bn 'd*
By ṣ¹d son of Nzl son of ṣ¹d son of 'bd son of 'd.
- KRS 1546** *l 'ṣr bn 'bd w bny h- rgm l- gfft*
By 'ṣr son of 'bd and he built the funerary cairn for Gfft.
- KRS 1551** *l 's¹ḥr bn ḥdmt bn trml bn s¹ry bn s¹lm w 'lmn b- qbt f h lh rwḥ w mḥltn l- d y^ʿwr h- s¹fr*
By 's¹ ḥr son of Ḥdmt son of Trml son of S¹ry son of S¹lm and Mars was in Scorpio so, O Lh, send the winds; and may he who would efface this writing experience a dearth of pasture.
- KRS 1562** *l ḥlṭt bn s²nf bn 'zr w tẓr mny frwḥ 'y lt*
By Ḥlṭt son of S²nf son of 'zr and Fate lay in wait, so let there be relief, O Lt.

- KRS 1563** *l 'dm bn b'mrh bn 'bdt bn s'mk bn s'mt bn ---'l bn qny w tẓr ' - s'my b- mlh
'tq w hrš h dḡ'gr'f h rḡw bdd -h m- n'm m- 'grt -h*
By 'dm son of B'mrh son of 'bdt son of S'mk son of S'mt son of ---'l son of Qny and he was waiting for the rains during Aquarius as a freed man after having kept watch for the (lineage of) Ḍf as a hired man, so, O Rḡw, grant him his share in terms of livestock as his compensation.
- KRS 1610** *---- bn tm h- n'mt*
---- son of Tm is the ostrich.
- KRS 1670** *l bns'h̄l w s'ry l- h- n'h̄l bql kbr*
By Bns'h̄l and he travelled by night towards the valley to tall herbage.
- KRS 1683** *l bny bn wrd bn s'hyt bn 's' w hll h- dr b- 'hl -h w hr{s} 'l- 'bl -h f'hy lt w h
s'²hqm s'lm w 'wḡ -k w h gḡ'wḡ w h gḡḡf 'wḡ -km h- 'bl*
By Bny son of Wrđ son of S'hyt son of 's and he camped in this place with his family and {watched} over his camels so, O Lt and O S'²hqm, let there be security and your protection; O Gḡ'wḡ and O Gḡḡf, he has placed the camels under your protection.
- KRS 1695** *l qḡy bn y's'¹ bn drh bn 'nq bn s'hr w hrš qn h-mlk f'h yḡ' flḡ l -h w tẓr w h rḡy
'yr m 'yr {-h}*
By Qḡy son of Y's¹ son of Drh son of 'nq son of S'hr and he kept watch as a servant of the king so, O Yḡ', may he be delivered and he lay in wait; and, O Rḡy, blind whosoever would efface {it}.
- KRS 1706** *l ys'lm bn 'wḡn bn mlk w 'yd h- ḡ'n b- ḡrn b- r'y 'ly'f h b'ls'¹mn w h ḡs'²r w lt
w s'²hqm f'syt w 'wr ḡy'wr*
By Ys'lm son of 'wḡn son of Mlk and he put the sheep in an enclosure in the Ḥawrān during the rising of Taurus, so, O B'ls'¹mn and O Ḍs'²r and Lt and S'²hqm, let there be deliverance and blind him who would efface.
- KRS 1761** *l 'lmḡ bn mḡlm w r'y h- 'bl l- h- rmḡ*
By 'lmḡ son of Mḡlm and he pastured the camels for the herdsman.
- KRS 1770** *l 'ḡnt bn 's'¹ bn kmd bn 's'¹ w wrd f'nyḡ {b-} 'mtn frwḡ h- b(')ls'¹mn*
By 'ḡnt son of 's¹ son of Kmd son of 's¹ and he went to water, and then will migrate {when the sun is in} Libra, so send the winds, O B'ls'¹mn.

- KRS 1852** *l š'd bn 'n'm bn rb'l bn 'n'm bn ms'k d 'l d'f w hll h- dr s'nt myt 'drm f h lt s'lm*
 By Š'd son of 'n'm son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of Ms'k of the lineage of D'f and he camped at this place the year 'drm died, so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- KRS 1886** *l mgyr bn ms'k bn 'md bn mlk bn qhs² w r'y h- 'bl f h s²[h]qm gnyt m- r'yt*
 By Mgyr son of Ms'k son of 'md son of Mlk son of Qhs² and he pastured the camels so, O [S²hqm], may pasturing bring abundance.
- KRS 1903** *l whb'l bn 'ktb w hṛš 'l- rgl -h f h lt s'lm w nq't l- d y'wr*
 By Whb'l son of 'ktb and he watched over his foot soldiers so, O Lt, may they be secure but may he who would efface be thrown out of his grave.
- KRS 1944** *l nṣr bn hḫz bn s'wd w h mlk h- s'my my*
 By Nṣr son of Hḫz son of S'wd and, O master of the sky (i.e., B'ls'mn), let there be water.
- KRS 1949** *l whblh bn 'bd'l w r'y h- rgl nwy w h w f h ---- d s²r s'lm w rw h*
 By Whblh son of 'bd'l and he pastured the water-course while migrating and he was in fear (of scarcity?) so, O D s²r, let there be security and ease.
- KRS 1964** *l dbr bn s'b' bn hl w s²ty 'ny {'} l f 'hlš ' d'n d 'l hls*
 By Dbr son of s'b' son of {Hl} and he wintered suffering {from scarcity}, but he kept the sheep of the lineage of Hlš safe.
- KRS 1965** *l ghm bn zhrn bn 'd bn tm bn 'd w ts²wq '[l-] hbb b- s²hr s'bt f h lt qbl l*
 By Ghm son of Zhrn son of 'd son of Tm and he longed {for} a friend in the month of S'bt, so, O Lt, let there be reunion with loved ones.
- KRS 1990** *l 'n'm bn 'nf bn grm'l w r'y h- d'n f h b'ls'mn s'lm w syr f h lt qbl (l) 'hl -h s'lm*
 By 'n'm son of 'nf son of Grm'l and he pastured the sheep so, O B'ls'mn, may he be secure, and he will return to a place of water so may he be safely reunited with family.
- KRS 1991** *l s'ny bn syd bn 'sr bn grm'l w wgm 'l- bny rjm mny w ts²wq 'l- 'hl -h f h lt qbl l w r'y h- d'n s'nt qbl 'l h rn qsr 'l- f f {s}*
 By S'ny son of Syd son of 'sr son of Grm'l and he grieved for Bny who was struck down by Fate; and he longed for his family, so, O Lt, let there be reunion with loved ones; and he pastured the sheep the year the people of the Ḥawrān complained to Caesar about {Philippus}.

- KRS 1975** *l ḥmlt bn nhb bn zkr w qbrt ḥs^lm bnt ḥl -h fng^c*
By Ḥmlt son of Nhb son of Zkr and Ḥs^lm, daughter of his maternal uncle, was buried and so he grieved in pain.
- KRS 2060** *l 'ny bn km bn 'ḥlm w ḥrṣ fh lt s^llm*
By 'ny son of Km son of 'ḥlm and he kept watch, so O Lt, may he be secure.
- KRS 2340** *l 'nhk bn mḡyr bn ḥlk bn ḥld bn mḡyr ḍ 'l ms^lkt w ndm 'l -'b -h w 'l -'dwd -h 'rb^t rḡm mny w 'l -'ḥwl -h 'rb^t frḡm mny fh lt w h ds²r s^lḥqt rhṭ ks^lṭ w ḍkr tmnh 'bn fs^lky*
By 'nhk son of Mḡyr son of Ḥlk son of Ḥld son of Mḡyr of the lineage of Ms^lkt and he was devastated by grief on account of his father and his four paternal uncles, struck down by Fate, and for his four maternal uncles, struck down by Fate, so O Lt and Ds²r, may the kinsfolk of Ks^lṭ be crushed and may Tmnh son of Fs^lky be remembered.
- KRS 2409** *l ḥdd bn w^l w r'y h- nḥl nwy*
By Ḥdd son of W^l and he pastured the valley while migrating.
- KRS 2420** *l 'qrb bn nhb w r'y h- m'zy fḥrṣ h- [] ṣhy w wrd 'ly h- ṣwy 'bgr b- ' {d}r{n} fh b^lls^lmn rwḥ b- mṭr*
By 'qrb son of Nhb and he pastured the goats and anticipated thirst, and he had come to these regions (?) to raise cairn of 'bgr, so, O B^lls^lmn, send the winds with rain!
- KRS 2453 = mixed Safaitic-Hismaic**
l ḥg mt w lṣ ṭrm
fmykn ḥlfly -h w 'wm -h
w h 'b^l ybt w l h bt w m nm
Mōt has held a feast; the scorners eat
Established is the alternation of his nights and days
Behold, Ba'al is cut off; cut off indeed, but not dead.
- KRS 2460** *l gn^l bn 'ys^l ḍ 'l ḍfw ḥrṣ 'ḥ -h s^lq[[]]mfh lt ns²l m s^lqm*
By Gn^l son of 'ys^l of the lineage of Ḍf and he watched over his brother who was sick, so, O Lt, may that which causes sickness be removed!
- KRS 2499** *l 'bd w r'y h- mrb*
By 'bd and he pastured this land with abundant herbage.

- KRS 2525** *l s^ldlh w r^y w s^{wy}*
By S^ldlh and he pastured but suffered from the lack of rain.
- KRS 2556** *l t̄br bn s²{r} bn hmnt w wgm l- gmm w ds²r t̄r*
By T̄br son of {²s²r} son of Hmnt and he grieved for Gmm, so, O Ds²r, he will have vengeance.
- KRS 2568** *l qdm bn mfny bn rmzn w r^y h- b^l h- s²q nwy w t̄zr h- s^lmy fh b^l s^lmn rwh
w s^llm*
By Qdm son of Mfny son of Rmzn and he pastured the camels on the side of the mountain while migrating and awaited the rains, so, O B^ls^lmn, send the winds that he may be secure.
- KRS 2569** *l zby bn b^rqn bn s̄bh bn hwd bn s^lhly bn hr w h^rs^l fh lt w ds²ry s^llm w w^r l-
d^y r h- s^lfr*
By Zby son of b^rqn son of S̄bh son of Hwd son of S^lhly son of Hr and he kept watch, so, O Lt and Ds²ry, may he be secure, but may he who would efface this writing go blind.
- KRS 2646** *l { }zz b{n} k^fry w h^rb kll*
By {zz} {son of} Kfry and he plundered everything.
- KRS 2869** *l mhl bn hby bn s^d bn gbs² bn qflt bn bdn bn glm bn y^ly h- s^rt w ngd w t̄zr
nd {-h} h lt w r̄dy w ds²r s^llm ġnmt*
By Mhl son of Hby son of S^d son of Gbs² son of Qflt son of Bdn son of Glm son of Y^ly at the structure on high ground, and he was courageous while he stood guard at {it} (the structure); O Lt and R̄dy and Ds²r, let there be security [and] spoil!
- KRS 2890** *l s^r bn ws^ln bn bnn bn s^lwr bn hs² bn hbt bn l bn mnwl w wgm l- h^w {-h}*
By s^r son of Ws^ln son of Bnn son of s^lwr son of Hs² son of Hbt son of {l} son of Mnwl and he grieved for {his} two brothers.
- KRS 2914** *l grm^l bn mtn bn yqm bn s²qr bn ghr bn nd^l bn s²ym bn mⁿl bn brzt bn
s^lrk bn s^lly bn qrh bn gr bn zm[[]]hr w hy lt w^r m w^r h- s^lfr w wgd h- mšb
fwgm fh^y lt rwh*
By Grm^l son of Mtn son of Yqm son of S²qr son of Ghr son of Nd^l son of s²ym son of Mⁿl son of Brzt son of s^lrk son of S^lly son of Qrh son of Gr son of Zmhr and, O Lt, blind whosoever would efface this writing; and he came upon the cult-stone and grieved, so, O Lt, let there be ease.

- KRS 2961 *l s²q bn ḡml w tnzr d hbt fh rd{w} {y}----*
By s²q son of ḡml and he awaited rain, so, O Rḏw, {y}----
- KRS 3029 *{l} s¹d bn n'm bn hmlk bn n{h}{d} w tẓr d mny fh rḏw fṣy m- b's¹ s¹d h- dfy*
By S¹d son of n'm son of Hmlk son of {Nhd} and Fate lay in wait, so, O Rḏw, deliver S¹d the Df-ite from misfortune.
- KRS 3074 *l s¹qn bn wtr d l 'mrt w 'lt ' - {ḡ}b <(s¹)> s¹lm w ḡ' -nh 'n bn 'ns¹ {'}- s²n'*
By S¹qn son of Wtr of the lineage of 'mrt and, 'lt 'ḡb, may he be secure, for 'n son of 'ns¹, {the} enemy, has caused him pain.
- KRS 3160 *l s²l bn tts¹ bn s¹hr*
By S²l son of Tts¹ son of S¹hr
- KRS 3239 *l nṣr bn 's¹d bn 'mrt h- ' - n{f}s¹ hn ql*
For Nṣr son of 's¹d son of 'mrt is this {funerary monument}; (so) speak here (i.e. make an invocation here).
- KRS 3291 *l grmn w r'y h- 'blf- h- nhl w wrd h- ḡrbt*
By Grmn and he pastured the camels in the valley and went westward to water.
- KWQ 119 *l s²w' bn z'brn h 'lt ' - ḡgr dn -hm y'wr*
By S²w' son of Z'brn; O goddess of ' - ḡgr (Ḥegrā?), debase those who would efface.
- L 184 *l s¹md'l bn qn h- zby*
By S¹md'l son of Qn is the gazelle.
- LP 82 *l s¹d bn ng [b][n] dw[d] h- tmwy*
By S¹d son of Ng [son of] [Dwd], the Taymanite.
- LP 87 *l tm'l bn qṭ'n bn n'mn bn ms¹k'l bn bs²mt bn tẓr bn tẓlt bn r'd bn ḥbn bn qn'l hn- ḥwly w nfr mn rm*
By Tm'l son of Qṭ'n son of N'mn son of Ms¹k'l son of Bs²mt son of Tẓr son of Tẓlt son of R'd son of Ḥbn son of Qn'l the Ḥwl-ite and he fled from Rome (i.e. the Romans).
- LP 135 *l ḥy bn 'ly bn ḥwg w wgd s¹fr whb'l hll*
By Ḥy son of 'ly son of Ḥwg and he found the writing of Whb'l, a friend.

- LP 146 *l flṭt bn tm bn flṭt bn bhs² w ḥll h- dr fr [y] h- 'bl fh lt w b'ls⁴mn s²y' h- gs² h- rdffnqd*
 By Flṭt son of Tm son of Flṭt son of Bhs² and he camped in this place, then [pastured] the camels, so, O Lt and B'ls⁴mn, follow the rear guard, then he prostrated.
- LP 155 *l whblh bn grr bn 'm{}l bn mṭr w r'y h- bqr fh lt s⁴{l}m*
 By Whblh son of Grr son of {'m'} son of Mṭr and he pastured the cattle, so, O Lt, let there be {security}.
- LP 161 *l flṭt bn tm bn flṭt bn b{h}s² bn 'dnt w ḥll 'l- h- ḥs²y fklm -h h- 's⁴d fh lt s⁴lm*
 By Flṭt son of Tm son of Flṭt son of {Bhs²} son of 'dnt and he camped on the edge of an area of sand, then the lion injured him, so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- LP 180 *l ms⁴k bn znn'l bn nr bn y'mr w trwḥ l- ys²rq l- mdrb fh lt mgdt w s⁴lm m- s²n'*
 By Ms⁴k son of Znn'l son of Nr son of Y'mr and he will set off at night in order to travel towards the inner desert, so O Lt, let there be bounty, that he may be secure from adversity.
- LP 183 *l mlk bn s⁴d bn ḥn'l bn ngy w {h}ll {h-} dr w wgd s⁴fr m'r d 'wq*
 By Mlk son of S⁴d son of Ḥn'l son of Ngy and {he camped} in this place and found the inscription of M'r who was imprisoned.
- LP 201 *l 'bṭ bn zhm h- ḍrh*
 This tomb is for 'bṭ son of Zhm.
- LP 236 *l 'd bn 'd bn ḡṭ w wgm 'l- ḡṭ qtl fyq{h}r -h l{h} mṭy {-h} w wgm 'l- '[s⁴]d w 'rsf*
 By 'd son of 'd son of ḡṭ and he grieved for ḡṭ, who was killed, so may Lh make him {successful} in his journey; and he grieved for [s⁴d] and 'rsf.
- LP 243 *l 'd bn ḡṭ bn 'd bn 'd bn ḡṭ bn wdm bn s⁴[r] bn šbh w b{k}y w wgm 'l- 'b -h qtl fh y lh t'r w ts²wq 'l- dd -h w 's²y' -h kll -hm w 'w}r l- d y'wr*
 By 'd son of ḡṭ son of 'd son of 'd son of ḡṭ son of Wdm son of [S⁴r] son of Šbh and he {wept} and grieved for his father, who was murdered, so, O Lh, he will have vengeance; and he longed for his paternal uncle and all of his companions; and may he who would {efface} go blind.

- LP 246 *l znn bn grs²*
By Znn son of Grs²
- LP 257 *l wḏ bn ḡnm bn lḏ bn s²mt w {h}{d}{r} b- {h-} {d}rfh lt s¹lm h lt {h}rs¹l-m
mhbl h- {s¹fr w ḡmt l -h*
By wḏ son of Ḡnm son of Lḏ son of S²mt and {he camped by permanent water} near {this place} so, O Lt, may he be secure; O Lt, may whosoever would be an effacer of this {inscription} become mute and may sorrow be his!
- LP 259 *[l] ḥfl bn 's¹d bn ḡl bn ḥgml w ḡnm -h b'ls¹m{y} m- s²n['] w wgd [']t{r} dd
fng^c*
[By] Ḥfl son of 's¹d son of Ḡl son of Ḥgml and may {B'ls¹my} grant him spoil from [enemies] and he found the [trace] of his paternal uncle so he grieved in pain.
- LP 264 *l mlkt bn 'dyn*
By Mlkt son of 'dyn.
- LP 282 *l rb'l bn 'nhk h- nqt w h 'lt šm w nq't m- qbr l- ḏy'wr -nh*
By Rb'l son of 'nhk is this she-camel so, O 'lt, may he who would efface it go deaf and be thrown out of the grave.
- LP 305 *l mn'l bn 'ws²l bn s¹ḥr bn ḥml w wgd s¹fr mn'l w s¹fr tm'l w s¹fr s¹ḥr ḏlln fh
lt s¹lm l- ḏ s¹r w nqmt m ḏ qtl w wgm 'l- 's¹ w 'l- wd' w kl ḏlly w h b'ls¹mn 'wr
ḏy'wr h- s¹fr*
By Mn'l son of 'ws²l son of S¹ḥr son of Ḥml and he found the writing of Mn'l and the writing of Tm'l and the writing of S¹ḥr, who were lost, so, O Lt, may he who leaves (this inscription) untouched be secure and let there be retribution against him who has committed murdered; and he grieved for 's¹ and for Wd', both of whom were lost; and, O B'ls¹mn, blind him who would efface this writing.
- LP 306 *l bn'lh bn 'ḥlm bn 'zkr w tql 'l- 'ḥ -h w 'l- [']b -h w 'l- dd -h w qnt h- s²n' fh lt
w ḡd'wḏ wqyt w wgd 'tr 's²y' -h fng^c*
By Bn'lh son of 'ḥlm son of 'zkr and he was burdened by sadness on account of his brother and his [father] and his paternal uncle, and he despaired of the enemies, so, O Lt and Ḡd'wḏ, let there be preservation, and he found the traces of his companions, so he grieved in pain.

- LP 314 *l ms^k bn ḥn^m bn qdm w wg^ʿ l- mǧny w l- ḥn^m w l- s^ld*
 By Ms^k son of ḥn^m son of Qdm and he grieved in pain for Mǧny and for ḥn^m for S^ld.
- LP 317 *l n{z}r bn qn^l bn qhs² bn ḥdg h- nqt qsy^t l- nh{y}*
 By {Nzr} son of Qn^l son of Qhs² son of Ḥdg is the she-camel, which was dedicated to {Nhy}.
- LP 319 *l ḥwhb bn ṣ^lwd bn zlm h- dr*
 By ḥwhb son of ṣ^lwd son of Zlm, at this place.
- LP 325 *l mṭr bn ḥm bn mṭr bn ḥn^m bn qdm d^l ḥw^d w dny l- h ḥ- h w ḥrs¹ h- nw m^ʿ ḥ- h m- mdbr fh lt s^llm w ḡnmt l- d d^y h- s^lfr w ḥwr w ḥrs¹ l- d^y ḥwr h- ḥtt*
 By Mṭr son of ḥm son of Mṭr son of ḥn^m son of Qdm of the lineage of ḥw^d and his father drew (an image) for him while he kept watch with his brother for the migrating group from the inner desert; so, O Lt, may he who would read aloud this writing have security and favor but let there be blindness and dumbness on him who would efface this writing.
- LP 330 *l qdm bn ḥn^m bn mǧny bn mǧny w qyz^ʿ l- h- nmrt w qnt^ʿ h- s²n^ʿ fh lt s^llm*
 By Qdm son of ḥn^m son of Mǧny son of Mǧny and he spent the dry season on the edge of Namārah and he feared the enemy, so, O Lt, let there be security.
- LP 342 *l hn^ʿ bn s²rk bn mḥlm bn ḏnt bn wrd bn nǧbr d^l ḥw^d w wgd s^lfr ṣ²y^ʿ -h f ndm s¹nt ws¹q qbr w ṣz h- ḥmy ḥw^d fh gd ḥw^d w ds²r w h lt m^ʿwn s^llm l- d s¹r w ḡnyt m- s²ḥs w mḥlt w ḥrs¹ w ḥrg l- d ḥbl h- s^lfr w ḡnmt l- d d^y*
 By Hn^ʿ son of S²rk son of Mḥlm son of ḏnt son of Wrd son of Nǧbr of the lineage of ḥw^d and he found the inscription of his companions, and so he was devastated by grief in the year of the struggle of Qbr; and he protected this area of pasture of the lineage of ḥw^d, so, O Gd ḥw^d and Ds²r and O Lt-m^ʿwn, may he who leaves (this inscription) untouched have security and freedom from want, but let there be dearth of pasture and dumbness and lameness on him would would obscure this writing; and may he who would read aloud have spoil.
- LP 360 *l ḥn^m bn ḥd bn ḥlt bn whb w r^y h- m^ʿzy l- nfs¹ -h s¹nt ḥrb ḥl d^ftqt fh lt s^llm w lⁿ d ḥ{b}ḥ- ḥtt*
 By ḥn^m son of ḥd son of ḥlt son of Whb and he pastured the goats by himself the year the lineage of D^f plundered Ṭqt, so, O Lt, may he be secure but curse him who would {obscure} this writing.

- LP 409 *l 's¹ bn 's¹d bn rb'l w wgd s'fr 'bd w 'n'm f'sh 'l- d dll*
By 's¹ son of 's¹d son of Rb'l and he found the writing of 'bd and 'n'm so he cried aloud in grief over those who were lost.
- LP 460 *l 'rbt bn 'db'l bn 'zst h rđw hb l- 'bd'l nqmt {h} {l}t n'm mn rh*
By 'rbt son of 'db'l son of 'zst; O Rđw, grant retribution to 'db'l; {O} {Lt}, show favor to whosoever would depart (at night?).
- LP 475 *l 'mr bn hmy n w ngđb mn- bn {-h}*
By 'mr son of Hmy n and he was angry because of {his} son.
- LP 495 *h rđw flt -n m- b's¹ w nhyy*
O Rđw, deliver us/me from misfortune that we/I may live long.
- LP 504 *h 'lt flt l- rg' w hb l -h n'm*
O 'lt, deliver Rg' and grant him livestock.
- LP 534 *l grm bn tmt n h- mq'd h- s{[]}d*
By Grm son of Tmt n, at this hide (seat of hunting).
- LP 562.1 *l nn bn n'zr'l w wgd s'fr 'b -h fng' w l -h h- đ'n*
By Nn son of N'zr'l and he found the writing of his father and grieved in pain; and the sheep are his.
- LP 566 *l t(t)bn h- frs¹ w 'wr l- đ y'wr -nh*
By Tbn is the horse and may whoever would efface it (the drawing of the horse) go blind.
- LP 576 *l bddh bn 'yl bn đr bn 's¹wr w hrš dn frw h h 'lt*
By Bddh son of 'yl son of Đr son of 's¹wr and he kept watch for Dn so, let there be relief, O 'Lt.
- LP 597 *l lđn bn s¹d bn s²rk bn rfđ bn hđl bn grm'l w hrš 'l- rgl -h w hđr*
By Lđn son of S¹d son of S²rk son of Rfđ son of Hđl son of Grm'l and he watched over his men while they camped by permanent water.
- LP 619 *l ms¹k'l bn ytm w hyh lt nl s¹lm h- mlk*
By Ms¹k'l son of Ytm and, O Lt, may the king attain security.

- LP 643 *l s²mt bn gs¹m bn s²mt bn hl'l w ng^c 'l- s²mt 's¹r fh lt ys¹bn*
 By S²mt son of Gs¹m son of S²mt son of Hl'l and he grieved in pain for S²mt, who was take prisoner, so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- LP 653³ *l mgyr bn mhlm bn 'bd bn m'z bn ms²r w hqr h- dr s¹nt lgy[n] grmnqš b-
 nq't w wg[m] 'l- glhn qtl w 'l- 'b{n} qtl w 'l- m'z qtl w 'l- mlk qtl w 'l- ns¹m w
 'l- tr {h-} s¹mwiy*
 By Mgyr son of Mhlm son of 'bd son of M'z son of Ms²r and he camped by permanent water at this place the year the [legions] of Grmnqš were at Nq't; and he [grieved] for Glhn, who was killed, and for {'bn}, who was killed, and for M'z, who was killed, and for Mlk, who was killed, and for Ns¹m, and for Tr, the S¹mw-ite.
- LP 673 *l 'hrb bn s²hl bn 'hrb bn ms¹k bn s²rb w bny h- rgm w 'wr {l-} dy'wr h- s¹fr
 w nq't b- wdd*
 By 'hrb son of S²hl son of 'hrb son of Ms¹k son of S²rb and he built the funerary cairn, so may he who would efface this writing go blind and then be thrown out of the grave by a loved one.
- LP 679 *l hny bn s¹hr bn 'bd bn 'dm bn ms¹k bn s²rb w t's¹rdf bn 'h -h qtl 'rdt fh lt t'r
 m {s¹}lf {w} {t} {b}r l-hm*
 By Hny son of S¹hr son of 'bd son of 'dm son of Ms¹k son of S²rb and he despaired of Rdf, his brother's son, who was killed by/in an army, so, O Lt, he will have vengeance against the ones who {committed this act} and {destruction} be upon them!
- LP 680 *l 'm bn hny bn 'bd w ts²wq 'l- r' -h*
 By 'm son of Hny son of 'bd and he longed for his friend.
- LP 684 *l š'r bn tm bn khl w dmy wšl d h- šwyf [h] lt w gd'wd nq't b- wdd {l-} dyhb{l}
 h- ht†*
 By Š'r son of Tm son of Khl and he drew (an image), having arrived at this cairn, so, [O] Lt and Gd'wd, may he who would {obscure} this writing be thrown out of the grave by a loved one.

3 I thank M.C.A. Macdonald for this reading.

LP 685 *l zlm bn w'l bn zlm w wgm 'l- 'b -h w bny h- šwy l- š'r fh lt s'lm w 'rk rh l- d
d'y h- htt*

By Zlm son of W'l son of Zlm and he grieved for his father while he built the cairn for Š'r, so, O Lt, may he who would read this writing aloud have security and forbearance.

LP 687 *l m'z bn whb'l bn š'd d 'l dffh lt s'lt mn d'y h- s'fr*

By M'z son of Whb'l son of Š'd of the lineage of Df so, O Lt, may you aid whosoever would read this writing aloud.

LP 712 *l t'm bn s'd bn dr w wrd b- r'y dl [-] {y}s'rb*

By T'm son of S'd son of Dr and he went to water during the rising of Pisces [in order to] drink.

LP 718 *l hmlt {b}{n} bnt w z{h}r 'šf -h mn- hdy's'*

By Hmlt {son of} Bnt and his regret for him whom he upset {was evident}.

LP 732 *l s'rk bn hl bn s'krn bn šbh w trd h- d'b z'l' m- Mn 'kdy glh f [h] [l][t]
[s'] [l][m]*

By S'rk son of Hl son of S'krn son of Šbh and he drove away the wolf, which was seeking to copulate, from Mn after it had attacked so, [O Lt let there be security].

LP 742 *l 'm bn rbn w wrd mn- tl'n tdb'*

By 'm son of Rbn and he came down from Tl'n in order to raid.

LP 1013 *l mlkt bn 'bn w hs'r f mt{y} w h ds'r s'lm -h {m-} {h}- s'l{t}{n}*

By Mlkt son of 'bn and he suffered a loss while {journeying in haste}, so, O Ds'r, keep him safe from the authorities.

LP 1108 *l l{t}{m}{n} bn tmtn bn {h}mlk w h lt s'lm m- 'ls'nt w 'wr {-} d y{-} {w}r h-
s'f{-} {r}*

By {L'tmn} son of Tmtn son of {Hmlk} and, O Lt, may he be secure against curses and may he who {would efface} this {writing} go blind.

LP 1198 *l m'n bn ġlmt bn hl bn hny bn ms{k} w ts'lfh lt s'l{t}m w ws'n {s'}{n}t XXIV
fh {l}t w s'hqm w h {g}{d} 'wd fš{y}{t}m- mt k'n w nq't l- d y'wr h- s'fr*

For M'n son of Ġlmt son of Hl son of Hny son of {Ms'k} and there was commotion (in the land) so O Lt, may he be secure while he slumbers

{the year} XXIV; so, O {Lt} and S²hqm and O {Gd'wḏ}, let there be deliverance from death should it come to be and may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave.

- LP 1211 {ʔ}{n}h ʔy ḏ dʔwt w zr h- bny s¹bh ymmt w df^c ʔtm w t¹h{y} h{n}
N/A
- LP 1265 lʔs¹ bn qdm bn mḥlm bn kh{l} w wgd s¹fr mty fndb ʔn h- m{ʔ}t <<t>{f}{r}s¹
By ʔs¹ son of Qdm son of Mḥlm son of {Khl} and he found the inscription of Mty, for he went missing from the {cavalry} unit.
- LP 1261 l dbšy bn ks¹t ḏ nkr h- s²n{ʔ}
By Dbšy son of Ks¹t who contended with the {enemy}.
- LP 1267 l bh{l}h bn lhyn bn ḥbb bn kdr bn ṯḥrt w ḥyfh {ʔ}lt l- {k} ʔmh ʔh -h<t>
By {Bḥlh} son of Lhyn son of Ḥbb son of Kdr son of Ṭḥrt and grant long life, O {ʔlt}, to {Kʔmh}, his brother.
- M 358 l rbʔl bn ʔs¹d bn rbʔl bn ʔnʔm bn ms¹k w ʔfh- mrb^tf sy{r} b- h- ms²ty ʔl- h-
nmrt fh bʔs¹mn rwḥ w nq^t b w---r s¹nt brḥ w{k} k m- s^{1c}
By Rbʔl son of ʔs¹d son of Rbʔl son of ʔnʔm son of Ms¹k and he fed (the animals) on dry fodder during the time of the early spring rains, so {he returned to a place of water} near the winter pasture on the edge of Namārah; so, O Bʔs¹mn, send the winds and ... the year Wk¹k departed from Sī^c.
- MA 1 l ṯrm bn b{n}{n} w ṯhr w ḏbh {l-} rḏy w ḡnm nqt
By ṯrm son of {Bnn} and he cleansed and performed a sacrifice {for} Rḏy that he may grant a she-camel as spoil.
- MAHB 2 l qdm bn ls²ms¹ bn zʔn w wgd ʔtr ʔs²y^c -h fngn
By Qdm son of Ls²ms¹ son of Zʔn and he found the inscription of his companions and went insane (on account of grief).
- MAHB 5 l ʔmrn bn kdd bn qs¹m w rʔy h- rmḥ bql w km^tfh lt s¹lm m- bʔs¹
By ʔmrn son of Kdd son of Qs¹m and he pastured the herd of camels on fresh herbage and collected truffles, so, O Lt, may he be secure from misfortune.

- MISSD 1** *l n'mn bn ḥbyṭ bn nšr bn n'mn bn nšr bn gr[m]l bn kn bn n'mn bn w'l bn rbn bn s²r bn kn bn ṭḥrt bn ḥys¹r bn b's² bn ḏf w nšb ṭ' s¹nt 'md qyšr h-mdnt w s¹wy h- mdnt w bḥs¹ 'l 's¹hm fḥrb -hm 'l mlk w 'm h- 'bs²y w 's¹ ḏ 'l frṭ w ḏ 'lyzr*
By N'mn son of Ḥbyṭ son of Nšr son of N'mn son of Nšr son of {Grm'l} son of Kn son of N'mn son of W'l son of Rbn son of S²r son of Kn son of Ṭḥrt son of Hys¹r son of B's² son of Ḍf and he erected a cult-stone of ṭ' the year Caesar sent reinforcements to the province and restored order to the province and the lineage of 's¹hm was defeated, for the lineage of Mlk and 'm the 'bs²ite and 's¹ of the lineage of Frṭ and he/those of the lineage of Yzr had (all) made war upon them.
- MISSI 2** *l 'tm bn rb [w] wgd mly s²r*
By 'tm son of Rb [and] he found the words of S²r.
- MKJS 1** *l n'm bn 'ys¹ bn 'ḏ bn 'mr w s²ty 'nzt nfr mn ' - rm*
By n'm son of 'ys¹ son of 'ḏ son of 'mr and he wintered at 'nzt, having fled from the Romans.
- MKMR 9** *l { } {w} l bn bnt w nfr f'y {d}*
By {'wl} son of Bnt and he fled, then {spent the dry season}.
- MKMR 51** *l 'ḥd bn 'ḥnn w ḡnmt*
By 'ḥd son of 'ḥnn and let there be spoil.
- MKOWI 2** *l ḥl bn ws²yt w ḥrb -h ' - tlg w- s¹myt ḥdt*
By Ḥl son of Ws²yt and the snow waged war upon him and the heavens were forbidding.
- MKWS 8** *l ḏl bn s²rk bn rbḥ w kmn fh rḏy ḡnmt w s¹lm w qblḏ ḏ 'ḥbb w nq't b- wdd ḏ ḥbl h- sfr w 'mr h- mkmn s¹t 'ym fwny fgd'wd w s²ḥqm ḡnmt qrb*
By Ḍl son of S²rk son of Rbḥ and he went into hiding, so, O Rḏy, let there be spoil and security and reunite those whom he loved; and may he who would obscure this writing by thrown out of the grave by a loved one; and he dwelt in this hiding place for six days and grew weary so, Gd'wḏ and S²ḥqm, let there be spoil soon!
- MKWS 28** *l 'lht bn h's¹ w tžr mny w h rḏw s¹'d -h w 'mr 's²r ṣyd*
By 'lht son of H's¹ and he awaited Fate and, O Rḏw, aid him while constructing ten snares.

- Ms 37** *l hlf bn ḥrb bn 's¹ h- ḥtt ḥ yṯ' 'wr d y'wr -nh*
By Hlf son of Ḥrb son of 's¹ is this writing; O Yṯ', blind him who would efface them.
- Ms 44** *l zd bn rgl w r'y h- 'bl h- 'rd s'nt myt bn qsr w s'm' 'n myt flfṣ f s'ḥr w h bkrt w h gddfl'n d y'wr m yhn' w ḡnmt l- d d'y h- tll*
By Zd son of Rgl and he pastured the camels in the valley the year the son of Caesar died but he heard that Flfṣ had died and was fooled—and *the young she-camel*—and O Gddf, curse him who would efface that which brings pleasure but may he who would read these words aloud have spoil.
- Ms 64** *l 'qrb bn 'bgr b- ms'rt 'l 'mrt frs¹ s'nt ngy ḡwt bn rḏwt*
By 'qrb son of 'bgr who was a horseman in the troop of the lineage of 'mrt the year Ḡwt son of Rḏwt was announced commander.
- Mu 113** *l s'd bn ḏb bn 'bd bn 'dm w ḥll h- dr dt' f 'yḏ f s² ty f h b'ls¹ mn qbl*
By S'd son of Ḑb son of 'bd son of 'dm and he has camped in this place during the season of later rains, then the dry season, then the winter, so, O B'ls¹mn, let there be reunion with loved ones!
- Mu 141** *l rb'l bn 'nhk h- ḥtt w 'yh- lt nq't l- d y'wr*
By Rb'l son of 'nhk is this writing and, O Lt, may he who would efface be thrown out of the grave.
- Mu 253** *l rb'l bn 'bd w wgd 'tr 'b -h f bk{y} w dkr l- 'h} -h {'} w l f ng' f m hn'*
By Rb'l son of 'bd and he found the inscription of his father, so {he wept} and remembered his {brother}, 'wl, so he grieved in pain and was unhappy.
- Mu 278** *l 'zhm bn ḡhfl bn znn w m {m} ḥbl h- s'fr nq't l- 'h -h*
By 'zhm son of Ḡhfl son of Znn and whosoever would be {an effacer} of this writing, may his brother be thrown out of the grave.
- Mu 412** *l qdm bn ḥmy bn 'lg w wny m- tnzr h- mlkt*
By Qdm son of Ḥmy son of 'lg and he grew weak of waiting for the queen.
- Mu 537** *l s²qr bn {m} w tqkr ----*
By S²rq son of {m} and he remembered ...

- Mu 550** *h 'lt s¹d ys¹m¹ l bn fh¹l 'bd -k*
O 'lt aid Ys¹m¹ son of Fh¹l, your servant.
- Mu 867** *l 'bd bn g¹t bn s²rk w s²ty {b-} 'rd h- nmrt w qyz*
By 'bd son of G¹t son of S²rk and he wintered {near} the valley of Namā-rah and spent the dry season (there as well).
- MSNS 1** *l 'n¹m bn g¹t bn s²hm w wrd h 'dyt h- 'wdy f b¹ls¹mn g¹yrt w s¹lm m- s²ny*
By 'n¹m son of G¹t son of S²hm and he went to water at this pool of the 'wd-ites, so B¹ls¹mn, let there be blood money and security from enemies.
- MSNS 2** *l grm¹l bn s¹d bn qhs² w bg¹y 'h -h flm y¹d f qsf*
By Grm¹l son of S¹d son of Qhs² and he sought after his brother but he did not return, so he was filled with sadness.
- MSNS 6** *l qdm bn ghm w wrd 'dyt h- 'wdy bn trd*
By Qdm son of Ghm and he went to water at the watering-hole of the 'wd-ite(s) son(s) of Trd.
- N 101** *l 'bdt hn- 'yr*
By 'bdt is the small ass.
- NRW.D 1** *l s¹krm bn qdm d¹ l s¹b w 'ly h- 'fs¹ l- frs¹ grm¹l fh lt h¹lft*
By S¹krm son of Qdm of the lineage of S¹b and he erected these funerary monuments for the horsemen of Grm¹l so, O Lt, may you grant compensation.
- NSR 82** *l gry bn 'dnt bn šr bn ḥwr w dt¹ w {š}wy*
By Gry son of 'dnt son of Šr son of Ḥwr and he spent the season of the later rains, but {suffered from the lack of rain}.
- NSR 117** *l 'tm bn wznt bn w¹d w wgm 'l- y¹s²b w 'l- s¹d¹l w 'l- s¹d w 'l- ḥld w dt¹ w whd*
By 'tm son of Wznt son of W¹d and he grieved for Y¹s²b and for S¹d¹l and for 's¹d and for Ḥld and he spent the season of the later rains while being alone.
- NST 2** *l ḍb bn 'šm d¹ l tm w wgm 'l- ḥld 'ht -h mtt trht w 'bs¹ w rgmt mn[y] mn-
mt*
By Ḍb son of 'šm of the lineage of Tm and he grieved for Ḥ ld, his sister, who died, perished; and he was austere because she was struck down by [Fate] ...

- NST 3** *l s^{2c} bn khl w wgm 'l- s^{2g} 'h -h rġm mny w 'ty nẓr h- tbrn mn- 'l šbh s^{1nt} ħrb -hm 'l 'wḍ b- w'l w ġnmt l- ḍ d'y w 'wr ds^{2r} ḍ ḥbl*
 By S^{2c} son of Khl and he grieved for S^{2g}, his brother, struck down by Fate, and the warriors from the lineage of Šbh came to guard the year the lineage of 'wḍ waged war upon them near W'l; and may he who would read aloud have spoil but may Ds^{2r} blind him who would obscure.
- NST 7** *l tm bn n'r'l ḍ 'l ḍf w hyt mabr fh lt mḡdt w s^{1lm}*
 By Tm son of N'r'l of the lineage of Ḍf and he will journey to the inner desert so, O Lt, let there be bounty that he may be secure.
- QZUI 462** *l 's^{1d} bn ḥmy w trq 'n- h h- mrd fh lt nḡmt*
 By 's^{1d} son of Ḥmy and the rebel struck out his eye so, O Lt, let there be retribution.
- RQ.A 1** *l ġt bn ms^{1k} bn ḥrg bn ḥt w s^{2ry} h- frs¹ m- mlk b- s^{2rn} mny*
 By Ġt son of Ms^{1k} son of Ḥrg son of Ḥt and he purchased the horse from Mlk for twenty Minas.
- RQ.A 10** *l ms^{1k} bn ḥ{l}{f} bn s^{1hr} bn ḥd bn mḥrb ḍ {'}l s^{2ry} w [[]]s^{1rt} 'l- mlk h- s^{1tḥn} s^{1nt} bnḥr { }ml{k} b- {'}{z} rm'n w b- m'ty frs¹*
 By Ms^{1k} son of Ḥ{l}{f} son of S^{1hr} son of Ḥd son of Mḥrb {of the lineage of} S^{2ry} and he served in a troop under the possessor of authority (a governor?) the year Bnḥr took control with 77 archers and two cavalry units.
- RR 4** *l mr' bn gnn'l bn mr' bn s^{2fw} ḥrṣ b's¹ s²ⁿ w ... fhy lt fṣy ṣġr' w b's¹ l- bġy b's¹*
 By Mr' son of Gnn'l son of Mr' son of S^{2fw} and he anticipated the affliction of enemies and ... O Lt, deliver Ṣġr' and misfortune be to them who seek (to cause) affliction.
- RSIS 80** *l 'qrb bn 'bd bn n'mn bn kn w mr b- ḍff 'dy h- 's^{1d} fḥbl rb't fh lt brkt 'ḥk ḍ-*
 By 'qrb son of 'bd son of N'mn son of Kn and he passed by Ḍf; and Leo transgressed and ruined the spring, so, O Lt, bless 'ḥk ḍ ...
- RSIS 199** *l blł bn grm bn drr w r'γw [w] wrdw h- nmrt fh lt rwḥ*
 By Blł son of Grm son of Drr and he (?) pastured [and] went to water at Namārah so, O Lt, let there be ease.

- RSIS 204 *l bll bn grm bn drr w ts²wqw 'l- šh w 'l- ms¹kt w hršw h- s¹nt f' b'ls¹mn rwh
b- mṛrt*
By Bll son of Grm son of Drr and he (?) longed for Šh and for Ms¹kt while he (?) kept watch this year so, O B'ls¹mn, send the winds with rain.
- RSIS 324 *l s²tm bn wtr bn 'bgr d 'l frt w r'γw h- d'n s¹nt ḥrb yhd*
By S²tm son of Wtr son of 'bgr of the lineage of Frt and he (?) pastured the sheep the year of the war of the Jews.
- RSIS 339 *l šrm bn rmmt h- dr h- tfl w wrd h- b'r b- h- nmrt*
By Šrm son of Rmmt, at this place (of) sediment (?), and he went to water at the well near Namārah.
- RSIS 351 *l s¹hr bn 'bd bn 'dm bn ms¹k bn s²rb w dkr dr w bky [l]- 'b- h w [l-] 'bd w dd
-h fwlh 'l- d dr f tḡqd w s²ty ḥrt 'wd w ḥl h- dr w nq't w grb l- dyy'wr h- ḥtt*
By S¹hr son of 'bd son of 'dm son of Ms¹k son of S²rb and he remembered Dṛ and wept [for] his father and [for] 'bd and his paternal uncle and so he was distraught over those who were harmed and were lost; and he spent the winter in the Ḥarrah again and camped in this place; and may he who would efface this writing have scabies and be thrown from the grave.
- Rsh 1 *l hn' bn qhf w bny h- mḡrt*
By Hn' son of Qhf and he built the tomb-chamber.
- RVP 7 *l 'zhm bn nbs² w ḡzz b- rḥbt wrḥn*
By 'zhm son of Nbs² and he raided Rḥbt over a period of two months.
- RWQ 62 *l 's¹lk bn s²dd w h yṯ' rwh 'ws¹n*
By 's¹lk son of S²dd and, O Yṯ', grant ease by means of (a) boon(s).
- RWQ 73 *l s¹lmt bn bnn bn brd w ḥḍr b- 'zmy h lt w h ds²r l'n ḥwlt ḥd' tm w wgm 'l- t¹rm
fh lt w y ds²r fh ds²r m zlm ms¹k f bqr*
By S¹lmt son of Bnn son of Brd and he camped by permanent water near 'zmy; O Lt and O D^s2r, curse the Ḥwlt-ites who acted wrongfully, and he grieved for T¹rm, so, O Lt and O D^s2r, and even Ds²r, whosoever would/has oppress(ed) Ms¹k, split him in two.
- RWQ 117 *l 'n'm bn zbdhm w ḥḍr w wgm w nšr*
By 'n'm son of Zbdhm and he camped near water and grieved and was in need of aid.

- RWQ 120 *l ns²l bn šbh bn hl bn ms¹k bn dd w hrš l-³s² -h w ḥḍr w wgm l yhy*
 By Ns²l son of Šbh son of Hl son of Ms¹k son of Dd and he kept watch on behalf of his companions while they camped near permanent water; and he grieved for Yhy.
- RWQ 155 *l rm w š't w m nm*
 By Rm and there was unrest but he did not perish.
- RWQ 281 *l ḥrn bn rbn bn 'mr bn s¹r bn tyr bn tyr bn 'grd bn hn' bn hrr bn 'byn bn 'd bn 'gs¹m bn mkbl bn yzr w r'y h-'bl w ḥll fh lt s¹lm w nq't l-d y'wr h-s¹fr w t²zr h-s¹my ... fh b¹ls¹my rwh*
 By Ḥrn son of Rbn son of 'mr son of S¹r son of Tyr son of Tyr son of 'grd son of Hn' son of Hrr son of 'byn son of 'd son of 'gs¹m son of Mkbl son of Yzr and he pastured the camels and kept watch, so, O Lt, may he be secure but may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave; and he awaited the rains ... so, O B¹ls¹my, send the winds.
- RWQ 310 *l ḥd bn ḥlš bn tm bn s¹hr bn mfn'y bn n'mn w ng' m'l- hnmr*
 By Ḥd son of Ḥlš son of Tm son of S¹hr son of Mfn'y son of N'mn and he grieved in pain on account of Hnmr.
- RWQ 317 *l qrm'l bn z'n bn bnt bn z'n w wld h- m'zy w ts²ry h- s¹my*
 By Qrm'l son of Z'n son of Bnt son of Z'n and he helped the goats to give birth while the rains were scattered.
- RWQ 323 *l s²mk bn s²nf bn 'bd w ḍb' m- ḥrn*
 By S²mk son of S²nf son of 'bd and he raided a part of the Ḥawrān/from Ḥawrān.
- RWQ 329 *l 'qrb bn grm'l bn bhṭn w hrš 'bgr 'h -h šmkr 'l- nhr frt fh gddfs¹lm*
 By 'qrb son of Grm'l son of Bhṭn and he kept watch for 'bgr, his brother, at Šmkr bordering the river Euphrates, so, O Gddf, let there be security.
- RWQ 334 *l mn't bn mgd bn mr' bn znn'l w wgd 'tr l dfglyn mh'rb nbṭ ... t l- mdnt*
 By Mn't son of Mgd son of Mr' son of Znn'l and he found the trace(s) of the lineage of Ḍf erased, plundered by the Nabataeans ... for the province.

- RWQ 335** *l 'n'm bn 's¹ bn hr bn ... bn 'dnt w r'y -h 'l hwl't s'nt ... fh lt 'ws¹ w s¹d bn w hrš b's¹ w hr fh lt wqyt*
 By 'n'm son of 's¹ son of Hr son of ... son of 'dnt and the people of Hwl't pastured here (or them, i.e. the animals) the year ... so, O Lt, grant a boon and let good fortune be manifest, and he expected misfortune so let there be good, and, O Lt, let there be protection.
- RWQ 339** *l bhs² bn 'dnt bn 's¹ bn kmd w r'y h- 'rd s'nt mrq 's²h d 'l 'mrt w qnt s²n'*
 By Bhs² son of 'dnt son of 's¹ son of Kmd and he pastured this valley the year the sheep of the lineage of 'mrt passed by and so he despaired on account of enemies.
- RWQ 346** *l 's¹ bn hš'n bn hnn d 'l df mn 'l s²w' s'nt t'ql 'l df w 'l 'wd*
 By 's¹ son of Hš'n son of Hnn of the lineage of Df from the clan (?) of S²w', the year the lineage of Df and the lineage of 'wd formed an alliance.
- RWQ 347** *l s¹krnn bn grm 'l d 'l s²w' s'nt s¹rt 'l dfl- 'wd*
 By S¹krnn son of Grm 'l of the lineage of S²w', the year the lineage of Df served in a troop for the 'wd.
- RWQ 349** *l 'n'm bn 'ws¹ bn hl bn 's¹hr bn 'hnt w r'y b-'l hwl't s'nt fs¹t fh lt 'ws¹*
 By 'n'm son of 'ws¹ son of Hl son of 's¹hr son of 'hnt and he pastured with the people of Hwl't the year they spread out, so, O Lt, grant a boon.
- RyD 6822** *l 'bt bn 'qrb d 'l 'dm w wgm 'l- 'm trh mhll*
 By 'bt son of 'qrb of the lineage of 'dm and he grieved for 'm, who had perished, while camping.
- SIAM 30** *l grmt b{t} hr w gls¹t 'l- y{ }m<(f)>r fwg[d]t s¹fr 'b fwgmt 'l-h*
 By Grmt {daughter of} H r and she halted until (the rising of?) {Capricorn} then she [found] the writing of 'b and so she grieved for him.
- SESP.D 12** *l g¹t bn ghfl bn znn bn 'zhm w dt' h- 'rd d 'l ngbr w 'wr w 'rg l- d y'wr m'l- hwq w gnm't 'bl l- d d'y*
 By G¹t son of Ghfl son of Znn son of 'zhm and he spent the season of the later rains in this valley of the lineage of Ngbr; and may he who would efface out of jealousy go blind and become lame but let him who would read aloud have camels as spoil.

- SESP.U 13 *l ms¹k¹l bn ḥmy w ḥrṣ ḥw -h ms²rqn fh lt s¹lm*
 By Ms¹k¹ son of Ḥmy and he kept watch for his brothers who were travelling to the inner desert, so, O Lt, may they be secure.
- SESP.U 17 *l ḏm bn ṣ¹d bn z¹n bn rgl bn ṣ¹{d} bn ---- w wgm ḥ- ṣbh w ḥ- ns² w ḥ- rf¹t w ḥ- ṣ¹w h b¹ls¹mn wqyt l- ḏ s²rq*
 By ḏm son of Ṣ¹d son of Z¹n son of Rgl son of {Ṣ¹d} son of --- and he grieved for ṣbh and for Ns² and for Rf¹t and for ṣ¹; and O B¹ls¹mn, may he who travels to the inner desert have protection.
- SESP.U 18 *l ṣ¹d bn ḥ¹m bn ṣ¹d bn rb¹l bn ḥ¹m bn ms¹k¹ bn s²rb w ḥrṣ ḥ- s²ḥṣ fh s²ḥqm s¹lm w tẓr ḥ- s¹my b- s¹rt fh b¹ls¹mn trwḥ b- mṭr w nq¹t b- wdd l- ḏ ḥwr ḥ- s¹fr*
 By ṣ¹d son of ḥ¹m son of ṣ¹d son of Rb¹l son of ḥ¹m son of Ms¹k son of S²rb and he anticipated want (of rain) so, O S²ḥqm, let there be security while he awaited the rains during Cancer; so, O B¹ls¹mn, send the winds with rain, and may he who would efface this writing be thrown from the grave by a loved one.
- SESP.U 26 *l bny bn ṣ¹ bn ṣ¹dn w bny m¹ zn¹l ḥ- s¹tr*
 By Bny son of ṣ¹ son of Ṣ¹dn and he built the shelter with Zn¹.
- SG 1 = LP 722 *l ṣ¹d bn s²c bn ḥg bn s¹wd w ḥfh- m¹zy s¹nt b¹ṣ¹ w ḥgz -h b¹ls¹mn ḥkd-ḥyṣn w ḡnmt l- ḏ ḏ¹y w ḥwr l- ḏ ḥwr ḥ- ḥtt*
 By ṣ¹d son of S²c son of Ḥg son of S¹wd and he fed the goats on dry fodder the year of misery because B¹ls¹mn withheld it (i.e. the rain); but may he preserve (it) thereafter (lit. after it); and may he who would read aloud have spoil but may he who would efface this writing go blind.
- SG 5 *l qdm bn gmm bn ḥ¹m bn ḏnt ḏ ḥngbr w mrd s¹nt ḥ- dr qṣryn fqḏ ḥ- ḥ ḥ¹m trḥ rḡm -h mny fwlh ḥrt n yqbl b- bs¹l w rym ḥ- ḥ [f] h m- ṣll ḥbt yt¹gr fh lt rwh w nqmt m- ḏ ṣ¹lf ḡl*
 By Qdm son of Gmm son of ḥ¹m son of ḏnt of the people of Nḡbr and he rebelled the year Qṣryn was at this place, having lost his brother ḥ¹m, who perished, whom fate struck down, and so he was distraught during the journey to reunite with loved ones at Bs¹l, and he surpassed him (there) on his journey (metaphor for the dead man never arriving), [so] may those who remain in an awful circumstance be (justly) compensated, and, O Lt, let there be respite and hasty vengeance against him who has committed this act.

- ShNGA 1** *l ḥmlt bn s'lm [d] 'l ṣṭ d 'l [df] w 'yr b- rht -h 'mrn d 'lg'brt{} lh [w] tmlh d
'l 'ṭ w dkr 'rht -h fh lt s'lm w wqyt m b's¹*
By Ḥmlt son of S'lm [of] the lineage of Ṣṭf the lineage of [Df] and 'mrn of the lineage of G'brtlh journeyed with his kinsfolk and Tmlh of the lineage of 'ṭ so may his kinsfolk be remembered, so, O Lt, may he be secure and let there be protection from misfortune.
- SIJ 37** *l ṭrṣ bn bnklbt bn mṭr bn m'z bn fdg w mlh fh lt s'lm w fṣyt m- b's¹ - s'nt*
By Ṭrṣ son of Bnklbt son of Mṭr son of M'z son of Fdg and he traded salt so, O Lt, let there be security and deliverance from misfortune this year.
- SIJ 59** *l {m}n't bn 'd bn gtt w nṣr s'nt hrbt 'l 'wd 'l ṣbh fh ds²r s'lm w gnm*
By {Mn't} son of 'd son of Gtt and he stood guard the year the lineage of 'wd waged war against the lineage of Ṣbh, so, O Ds²r, let there be security and spoil.
- SIJ 78** *l mty bn ḥzn w mrd 'l- rm s'nt 'ty h- mdy bṣry fh lt s'lm*
By Mty son of Ḥzn and he rebelled against Rome the year the Persians came to Bosrā, so, O Lt, let there be security.
- SIJ 152** *l 's¹h'lh bn lbd w wg' 'm f'm*
By 's¹h'lh son of Lbd and he grieved in pain year after year.
- SIJ 274** *l hlṣt {w} ds²r 'lm [m] ḥb' b- s¹tr*
By Ḥ ṣt {and} Ds²r is all-knowing of [what] is hidden behind veils.
- SIJ 293⁴** *l ms¹k bn bdbl bn ms¹k bn rf't w 'ṣly w 'qs¹m b- 'lh ḥy l- hdy 'zm*
By Ms¹k son of Bdbl son of Ms¹k son of Rf't and he made a burnt offering and swore by 'lh, who is living, that he shall lead with greatness.
- SIJ 352** *l s^{2c} bn qmr bn s^{2c} bn 's¹ bn zhr w nfr mn rm w ts²wq [']l- 'ḥwn -h l- mdr*
By S^{2c} son of Qmr son of S^{2c} son of 's¹ son of Zhr and he fled from Rome (the Romans) for the inner desert while he longed [for] his brothers.
- SIJ 463** *l wdm bn ḥlq w {r} 'yfh {r}{d}w {g}yr*
By Wdm son of Ḥlq and {he pastured} so, O {Rḏw}, {provide provisions}!

4 This reading was made by M.C.A. Macdonald based on a photograph and is not found in SIJ.

- SIJ 750 *l 'm bn zn'l w ts²wq 'l- ḥm -h zn'lfh lt {'}db l -h ḡlm w {'h}t -h rhlt w {s}wn
fq[y][t]*
By 'm son of Zn'l and he longed for his father-in-law Zn'l so, O Lt,
{grant} him a servant boy and his {sister} an ewe-lamb, and {preserve}
and [protect].
- SIJ 786 *l rbn bn ḥd d 'l ms¹kt w qss w n^zr s¹nt ngyt ' mlkt*
By Rbn son of Ḥd of the lineage of Ms¹kt and he patrolled and stood
guard the year the queen was announced.
- SIJ 808 *l ys¹m'l {b}{n} ----wd w n^zr s²{n}' fh lt fšy*
By Ys¹m'l {son of} ----wd and he stood guard against {enemies} so, O Lt,
deliver!
- SIJ 957 *l 'm bn mn f²tw <(>) mn ḥrt*
For 'm son of Mn, so may he come from the Ḥarah.
- SIJ 1008 *l <(>) b¹mrh {w} gd¹w[d] nw{y} w 'qwy w dt¹ w qy[z] w s²ty h- rhbt 'wd w h
'l}{t} s¹f¹ -hm*
By B¹mrh and, [Gd¹wd], let there be pasture and endurance while he
spends the season of the later rains, the dry season, and the winter at
this Raḥabah once again; and, O 'lt, let them (i.e. the seasons) provide
sustenance.
- SW 168 *l znn bn m¹hm bn n¹my bn lb' w qtl gml -[h] 'wl s¹rn -h fhwb*
By Znn son of M¹hm son of N¹my son of Lb' and [his] camel was killed
at the beginning of his journey, so he lamented.
- SW 193 *l nšr bn 'hd bn ḥnn bn ḥtmt bn 'n¹m bn ḡlmt w ts²wq 'l- 'h -h ḥr fh lt qbll w
ḡnyt kl 'bd w r'y h- 'bl w 'wr d- y'wr*
By Nšr son of 'hd son of Ḥnn son of Ḥtmt son of 'n¹m son of Ḡlmt and he
longed for his brother, Ḥr, so, O Lt, let there be reunion with loved ones
and freedom from want for all time and pasturing (?) of camels but blind
him who would efface.
- SW 264 *l grm bn s²mt w bh{'} b- 'rs¹ mnqs¹ w s²ty fh yt¹ ḡn 'm- h flt mn s¹nt*
By Grm son of S²mt and he rejoiced at the wedding of Mnqs¹ while
wintering, so, O Yt¹, render his people free from want; may [the] year
bring deliverance.

- UIO 27 *l- PN h- ḥmr*
By PN is the donkey.
- UIO 117 *w myt 'nz -h b- h- zrt*
and his she-goats died in the sheepfold.
- UIO 183 *w r'y ḥry fh lt l 'st d 'dyr*
and he pastured Ḥry, so, O Lt, may you indeed cause hardship to him who causes anger.
- UIO 268 *h 'lt s²{'} hn w s¹lm hn ngr -h*
O 'lt, want is here so let there be here security to preserve him.
- UIO 298 *w r'y s²n' qrb fh rḏw ḡwt*
and he saw an enemy nearby, so, O Rḏw, remove affliction!
- Vogue 404.1 *l ks¹t bn 'ms¹ bn ḥn bn ḥnn bn s²hyt w wlh 'l- bn -h z'm w bny l- bn -h h- nfs¹*
By Ks¹t son of 'ms¹ son of Ḥn son of Ḥnn son of S²hyt and he was distraught over his son, who had died, and he built for his son the funerary monument.
- Vogue 404.2 *l 'n bn ks¹t h- nfs¹*
The funerary monument is for 'n son of Ks¹t.
- WGGR 1 *l ḡt bn hn' w r'y h- ḏn w wgm 'l- b'ls¹mn s¹nt mḥ{l} w lm tmṭr h- s¹knt twny rdn ḥwwt fh lt w s²'hqm s¹lm w ḡnmt*
By Ḡt son of Hn' and he pastured the sheep and grieved for B¹ls¹mn the year of {dearth} because it did not rain upon the settlement(s) [and] it (the fields?) became dark, inclining to the color yellowish red, so, O Lt and S²'hqm, let there be security and spoil.
- WH 1 *l hn' bn 'wḏn bn bny ḏ 'l ḏfw qbr 'bgr*
By Hn' son of 'wḏn son of Bny of the lineage of Ḍf and he buried 'bgr.
- WH 15 *l ḥṭs¹t bn s¹krn bn grm'l w wgm 'l- 'bgr ḏ 'l ḏfs¹nt ngy whb'l hdy*
By Ḥṭs¹t son of S¹krn son of Grm'l and he grieved for 'bgr of the lineage Ḍf the year Whb'l was announced commander.
- WH 30 *l s²rb bn 'ḥbb bn ns²wn h r'y h- rḥb*
By S²rb son of 'ḥbb son of Ns²wn; he pastured these spacious tracts.

- WH 65 *l nꜣmt bn 's²lb w ġzz h- nhl*
By Nꜣmt son of 's²lb and he raided in this valley.
- WH 116 *l {g}tm bn bꜥ bn 'mr bn mlkt w hy{b} 'l) mḥbb ḥb*
By {Gtm} son of Bꜥ son of 'mr son of Mlkt and he lamented greatly {over} a loved one.
- WH 128 *l ꜣn'l bn rgl w whd ġzz*
By ꜣn'l son of Rgl and he was alone after having gone on a raid.
- WH 135 *l qny fh lt qbl 'hl s¹lm f nngy*
By Qny so, O Lt, let there be reunion with (my) family that we/I may be saved.
- WH 138 *l mlyt bn ꜣnn h- mꜣr*
By Mlyt son of ꜣnn, at this look-out.
- WH 153 *l s²mt bn 'bd bn ġt bn s²rk bn s¹kꜣn w ngy m- ḥwlt fh lt s¹lm l- d s¹r w 'wr l- d y'wr h- s¹frt*
By S²mt son of 'bd son of Ġt son of S²rk son of S¹kꜣn and he escaped from the Ḥwlt so, O Lt, may he who would leave (this inscription) untouched have security but may he who would efface this writing go blind.
- WH 159 *l wd bn ytm bn wd bn ytm w r'y h- m'zy fh lt s¹lm w wqyt m- b's¹*
By Wd son of Ytm son of Wd son of Ytm and he pastured goats so, O Lt, let there be security and protection from misfortune.
- WH 161 *l frhz bn kmd w trd mn- ḥrn fr'y kll 'rḏ*
By Frhz son of Kmd and he was driven from Ḥawrān, so he pastured every region.
- WH 179 *l nd' bn dl bn rbn w ġzz b- ḥrt tbl h- bkrt m- m'n*
By Nd' son of Dl son of Rbn and he raided the Ḥarrah to bring (back) the she-camel(s) from M'n.
- WH 181 *l 'n'm bn mġny bn whs² w wgm 'l- mṭr w 'l- dh{n} trḥn w dt' h- ms¹nn fh lt s¹lm w nq't b- ṣdq l- d yḥbl h- ḥtt*
By 'n'm son of Mġny son of Whs² and he grieved for Mṭr and {Dhn}, both of whom had perished, and he spent the season of the later rains in this

land in which the herbage had been eaten, so, O Lt, may he be secure, and may he who would spoil this writing be thrown out of his grave by a friend.

- WH 182 *l šm bn {b}hr h- bkrtn*
By Šm son of {B}hr are the two she-camels.
- WH 214 *l mty bt hr't*
By Mty daughter of Hr't
- WH 234 *l z'n bn 'n w bny' -rgm*
By Z'n son of 'n and he built the cairn.
- WH 289 *l d'l bn 'mr'l w qy'z brkt*
By D'l son of 'mr'l and he spent the summer at Brkt.
- WH 318 *l mlyt bn znn h- m'zr*
By Mlyt son of Znn, at the look-out point.
- WH 325 *l 's'lm w dt' b- h- 'bl w wgd 'tr 'm -h*
By 's'lm and he spent the season of the later rains with the camels and he found the trace of his grandfather.
- WH 329 *l s'd bn šbh h- rgm*
This funerary cairn is for S'd son of Šbh.
- WH 345 *l kṭ {b}t 'h d 'ln---*
By Kṭ {daughter of} 'h of the lineage of N---
- WH 351 *l 'h bn yd' w s'r -h šr hyt*
By 'h son of Yd' and images of animals pleased him.
- WH 359 *l šrm bn rmmt w t'zr hyt*
By Šrm son of Rmmt and he lay in wait for animals.
- WH 368 *l bny bn s'hm bn qhs² h- hṭṭ w h lt 'wr w 'rg w hrs¹ w grb w hkk l- d y'wr h- s'fr*
By Bny son of S'hm son of Qhs² is this writing and, O Lt, let there be blindness and lameness and dumbness and scab and mange to him who would efface this writing.

- WH 375 *l rgl bn s²hm w bh' b'd 'tm 'ys¹*
By Rgl son of S²hm and he rejoiced on account of the wedding of 'ys¹.
- WH 398 *l 'wḏn bn ḏn'l bn s¹kṛn w wgm 'l- ḏn'l w thrš m- s²n' f h b¹ls¹mn fšyt*
By 'wḏn son of ḏn'l son of S¹kṛn and he mourned for ḏn'l and he was cautious on account of enemies so, O B¹ls¹mn, let there be deliverance.
- WH 399 *l ḏn'l bn rgl bn grm¹l bn qḥs² bn ḥḏg bn s¹wr bn ḥmyn bn gḏḏt bn 'nḏt bn ws²yt bn ḏf w h lt 'wr l- ḏy'wr h- s¹fr w wgd 'tr 'm -h*
By ḏn'l son of Rgl son of Grm¹l son of Qḥs² son of Ḥḏg son of S¹wr of Ḥmyn son of Gḏḏt son of 'nḏt son of Ws²yt son of Ḍf and, O Lt, may he who would efface this writing go blind; and he found the traces of his forefathers.
- WH 424 *l s²rqt h- ḥrt{y} h- gml*
By S²rqt the Ḥrt-{ite} is the camel.
- WH 466 *l bs^{1c} bn {k} 'mn w r'y bql wḥd*
By Bs^{1c} son of {K^cmn} and he pastured on fresh herbage alone.
- WH 515 *l frhz bn fr'*
By Frhz son of Fr'
- WH 582 *l kmd bn s²kr bn nšr¹l w rḏf h- ḏ'n l- mḏbr w ḥrs s¹qm f h lt rwh*
By Kmd son of S²kr son of Nšr¹l and he followed the sheep towards the inner desert while he anticipated illness so, O Lt, grant ease.
- WH 587 *l '{l}trm h ' nfs¹*
This funerary monument is for 'ltrm.
- WH 597 *l l'bn w r'y wrḥ h- dr*
By L'bn and he pastured in this place for a month.
- WH 599 *l qddm bn qym w nžr b'd h- ms¹rt f h lt s¹lm*
By Qddm son of Qym and he stood guard on behalf of the troop so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- WH 604.1 *l hknf bn 'mrt h- š'dt*
By Hknf son of 'mrt is this burnt offering.

- WH 610 *l qdm bn qym w nzr l- ms^lrt s^lnt ngy mty hdy*
By Qdm son of Qym and he stood guard for the troop the year Mty was announced commander.
- WH 613 *l 'qrb bn 's^lhr bn tm w nzr fgddf s^llm m- s²n' s^llm l- d d'y*
By 'qrb son of 's^lhr son of Tm and he stood guard, so, Gddf, may he who would read aloud be secured well against enemies.
- WH 614 *l 'sm' w tnzr d mny*
By 'sm and Fate lay in wait.
- WH 632 *l qhs² bn hn' bn qhs² w km'*
By Qhs² son of Hn' son of Qhs² and he collected truffles.
- WH 641.1 *l fty bn rwd w byt b- h- 'rd wrh b- bql w flt -h m- lhyn h- s^lnt*
By Fty son of Rwd and he camped in this land for a month among fresh herbage, so may he be delivered from Lhyn this year.
- WH 742 *l s²br bn 'n'm bn s²br bn s^lry w hyt mabr*
By S²br son of 'n'm son of S²br son of S^lry and he journeyed to the inner desert.
- WH 766 *l h'wd bn hbb h- mdt'*
By H'wd son of Hbb, at the spring pasture.
- WH 784 *l 'bd bn y'tt w r'y b- rd w mabr w b- 'ls¹*
By 'bd son of Y'tt and he pastured on meadows and in the inner desert and on grainland (?).
- WH 837 *l hrb bn 'qlds¹ bn k'mh bn gddt*
By Hrb son of 'qlds¹ son of K'mh son of Gddt
- WH 852 *l hy'l bn rb'l h- lb'y*
By Hy'l son of Rb'l, the Lb't-ite.
- WH 1019 *l tm bn htst w q{s}sfh lt s^llm*
By Tm son of Htst and he {patrolled} so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- WH 1022 *l hdm bn gt w 'y's¹ -h hytn m- --- s^llm*
By Hdm son of Gt and travelling made him sad ...

- WH 1060 *l rs^l bn qdm h- dfy*
By Rs^l son of Qdm the Df-ite.
- WH 1136 *l 's^l bn kmd bn 's^l w qbr 'h -h*
By 's^l son of Kmd son of 's^l and he buried his brother.
- WH 1191 *l 'm bn gyz bn yqmm [b][n] gr bn yt^c bn gr bn zmhr w bny ' - [n]fs^l w qyz*
By 'm son of Gyz son of Yqmm [son of] Gr son of Yt^c son of Gr son of Zmhr and he built the [funerary monument] while he spent the summer.
- WH 1193 *l h's^l bn zgr h- dr 'm f' m l- brkt*
By H's^l son of Zgr, at the place, year after year on the way to Brkt.
- WH 1234 *---- bn kmd w 'q}d h- nqt h- hbq{y} w knf' l- 'br^c -h*
---- son of Kmd and he {struck} the stinking she-camel and then he showed mercy on account of her trembling in fear.
- WH 1236 *l s²qrt h- hrt{y} h- brkt*
By S²qrt the Hrt-ite is the she-camel.
- WH 1243 *l 'dh bn 'hgr w twlh mt w ns²{t} l- ms² f h brkt*
By 'dh son of 'hgr and he was made to grieve by death (or Möt) so he went forth towards Ns²t for he was at Brkt.
- WH 1361 *l zhyn bn g' l w {r}{y} m{d}br {n}wy s²ty*
By Zhyn son of G' l and {he pastured} {in the inner desert}{while migrating}in the winter.
- WH 1403.2 *{l}{w}{l}{k}{g}h'r{f}{l}m{n}gs²nd'{g}k w 'n frds^l bn 'rd*
... And I am Frds^l son of 'rd
- WH 1516 *l s²ddt h- m{z}{<>}r w 'h}d klb -h d²b*
By S²ddt, at this {look-out point}, and a wolf {carried off} his dog.
- WH 1546 *l bgt bn {d}m*
By Bgt son of {Dm}.
- WH 1613 *l 'mld bn ghr bn hs²*
By 'mld son of Ghr son of Hs²

- WH 1648 *l 'ws'd bn 'gs'm h- 'tn*
By 'ws'd son of 'gs'm is the she-ass
- WH 1663 *l 'tq bn 'fd' bn hb h- mnzr*
By 'tq son of 'fd' son of Hb, at the look-out point.
- WH 1696 *l grm'l bn ġyr'l bn šbh w hrš 'hw -h fs²hqm 'ly l -hm 'n m- b's¹*
By Grm'l son of Ġyr'l son of Šbh and he was on the look-out for his two brothers, so, S²hqm, bring them help against misfortune.
- WH 1698 *l šbh bn rm{y}n bn 'b---- bn s²m{y} d 'l df w wld h- m'zy s'nt nggy qsr h- mdnt fh lt wqyt m- s²n' w ts²wq l- ġyr'l 'h -h fh ds²r qbl s'lm*
By Šbh son of {Rmyn} son of 'b ---- on of {S²my} of the lineage of Df and he helped the sheep give birth the year Caesar announced the province so, O Lt, let there be protection against enemies; and he longed for Ġyr'l, his brother, so, O Ds²r, let there be safe reunion with loved ones.
- WH 1700.1 *l n'mn bn ys'm'l bn y'd d 'l df w 's²rq b- h- hl b'd h- n'm s'nt hrb h- mlk 'l s'b'tt fh lt s'lm*
By N'mn son of Ys'm'l son of Y'd of the lineage of Df and he migrated to the inner desert with the horses following the livestock the year the king made war upon the lineage of S'b'tt so, O Lt, may he be secure.
- WH 1791 *l hrtt bn h'wd*
By Hrtt son of H'wd.
- WH 1861 *l 'dq bnt whb'l bn zn'l*
By 'dq daughter of Whb'l son of Zn'l.
- WH 1900 *l 's'd bn s'lm bn qrš bn 's'd w wr'f'qdt m- rhbt h- 'ġnm*
By 's'd son of S'lm son of Qrš son of 's'd and he remained behind because the goats were prevented from entering Rhbt.
- WH 1958 *l ms^{pl} h- dr t*
By Ms^{pl}, at this place
- WH 2112 *l 'dy bn 'nhm w h rđw ' + w + r d'y'wrn -h + h- bkrt +*
By 'dy son of 'nhm and, O Rđw, blind him who would efface it, the camel.

- WH 2139 *l s²g' b[n] h²yt w r'y {h-} 'r²dy f²sy^r w h lt g²nm^t*
By S²g' [son] of H²yt and he pastured {these} valleys and will then return to a place of water so, O Lt, let there be spoil.
- WH 2145 *l s²g' bn s²h²tr bn 's¹h^r bn s²h²tr bn mr' w r'y h- 'bl h- r²dt bql f²h lt s¹lm*
By S²g' son of S²h²tr son of 's¹h^r son of S²h²tr son of Mr' and he pastured the camels in the meadow on fresh herbage so, O Lt, let there be security.
- WH 2147 *l 'fs¹ bn z'n bn lgz bn n'mn d 'l n²zr'l w nyk mr' mtl w mr't w'l d 'l s¹hwt w d²hbn*
By 'fs¹ son of Z'n son of Lgz son of N'mn of the lineage of N²zr'l and he copulated with the man of Mtl and the wife of W'l of the lineage of S¹hwt and D²hbn.
- WH 2194 *l h²wrn bn hm'd bn 'g²s¹m w ---f²h lt wdt*
By H²wrn son of Hm'd son of {g²s¹m} and --- so, O Lt, show love.
- WH 2255 *l 's² bn khl bn h²dr bn zhmn w t²zr h- wr{d} brkt s¹nt {s²} {t} {m} {s¹} {k} r[h]b b- 'r'l*
By 's² son of Khl son of H²dr son of Zhmn and he waited at the {watering place} called Brkt the year {the party} {of} {Ms¹k} were at the {spacious pastures near} 'r'l.
- WH 2342 *l z²hr bn h's¹ bn 't' h- z²byt*
By Z²hr son of H's¹ son of 't' is the she-gazelle.
- WH 2815 *l 'bd bn {y}gt d {'}l {b}{s¹}' w ngy m nf{r}t w 'h -h s¹nt mr²dt nb²t 'l- 'l {r}m f 't s¹lm f*
By 'bd son of {Ygt} of the {lineage of} Bs¹ and he and his brother were announced [commander] of a party of near kinsmen the year the Nabataeans rebelled against the people of {Rome}, so may peace come ...
- WH 2837 *l 'w²d bn 'šlh d 'l rks¹ w hrš mtt -h f²h lt w ds²r s¹lm w g²nm^t w h²wr{n}*
By 'w²d son of 'šlh of the lineage of Rks¹ and he kept watch over his riding-camels, so, O Lt and Ds²r, let there be security and spoil and {safe return}.
- WH 2938 *l 'dnt bn 'bd h- {s}d*
By 'dnt son of 'bd is the snare (?).

- WH 3053 *l d'y bn ns²l w rḥd b- h- ngm l- yḥg*
By D'y son of Ns²l and he washed when the sun was in Virgo in order to perform a pilgrimage.
- WH 3094 *l qs'r bn ḥs'n h- zrt ṛb' s'n{n} tly*
By Qs'r son of ḥs'n at the sheepfold, four {years} later.
- WH 3133.1 *l ṣll bn yḥtyr w tẓr mnyf h rḥw s¹d- h*
By ṣll son of Yḥtyr and Fate lay in wait so, O Rḥw, help him!
- WH 3151 *l ṣ'f bn ḥ{r}tt h- zbyn*
By ṣ'f son of {Ḥrtt} are the two gazelles.
- WH 3418 *l ḏhdt bn s¹d{r} ' - bkr*
By ḏhdt son of {S¹dr} is the she-camel.
- WH 3420 *l 'gm bn hb d l ṣbh w l -h [h-] rgm*
By 'gm son of Hb of the lineage of ṣbh and [this] funerary cairn is his.
- WH 3500 *l ys¹lm bn lgyn w r'y mabr h- ms²tyf ṣyḥ -h gml*
By Ys¹lm son of Lgyn and he pastured in the inner desert at the winter pasture, then he spent the early summer there till Gemini.
- WH 3559.1 *l ḥrb {{b}}n <<y>>'ll w tẓr h- s¹my b- ḥḏr w wrd brkt*
By ḥrb son of y'll and he awaited the rains while camping by permanent water and he had gone to water at Brkt.
- WH 3584 *l 'qrb bn y'll w tẓr h- s¹my b- ḥḏr*
By 'qrb son of Y'll and he awaited the rains while camping at permanent water.
- WH 3730 *l mlk bn dhr w zlm f h rḥy wqyt m- b's¹ 'ns¹ w ḡnmt m- s²n'*
By Mlk son of Dhr and he was oppressed, so, O Rḥy, let there be protection from the affliction of man and spoil from enemies.
- WH 3736.1 *l mlkt bn s¹rk bn ṣḥb w h rḥw s¹d- h m- s²n' ḡnmt m- rhy w nbṭ w ḥwlt*
By Mlkt son of S¹rk son of ṣḥb and, O Rḥw, help him against enemies through spoil from Rhy and the Nabataeans and Ḥwlt.

- WH 3792.1 *l ntn bn 'dm bn 'qdm bn q'sn w wrd tltt 's²hr s'nt hrb g{s²}m 'l tmd*
By Ntn son of 'dm son of 'qdm son of Q'sn and he went to water for three months the year {Gs²m} and the people of Tmd made war.
- WH 3865 *l {m}lh bnt rks¹*
By {Mlh} daughter of Rks¹
- WH 3912 *l {s¹} {l}y bn nn b{n} {n}bq h- s'hl'y w h- nqt{n}*
By {S¹y} son of Nn son of {Nbq} the S¹hl-ite and these {two} camels.
- WH 3925 *l 'hm w db' l- nbṭ*
By 'hm and he raided for the Nabataeans
- WH 3929 *l kwkb bn glt ytzr hyt*
By Kwkb son of Glṭ while lying in wait for animals.
- ZeGA 1 *l gfft bn kn d 'l 'ty w l -h mnšb f h 'lh s'lm*
By Gfft son of Kn of the lineage of 'ty and the cult-stone is his, so, O 'lh, may he be secure.
- ZeGA 11 *l 'm bn rkb bn hwd bn znn w r'y h- m'zy h- nhl qyz f hrš h- ṭb' f hy lt s'lm w nq't l- d y'wr h- s'fr*
By 'm son of Rkb son of Hwd son of Znn and he pastured the goats in this valley in the dry season and he kept watch at the rivulet, so, O Lt, may he be secure; and may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave.
- ZeWa 1 *l whb'l bn ḥnn bn 'bd bn gṭ bn s²rk bn s'krn d 'l qs²{m} w s²ty h- dr {m-} rk s'nt trq mk mlk nbṭ tltⁿ m't qtl 'l rm w s¹q tmr l- h- + z + { }m gd'wd w h lh w h s²'hqm ḡnyt w s'lm m- d hrš w ḡnmt l- d d'y h- ḥtt*
By Whb'l son of Ḥnn son of 'bd son of Ḡṭ son of S²rk son of S¹krn of the lineage of {Qs²m} and he spent the winter in this place {on account of} the lack of rain the year Mk, king of the Nabaṭaea, smote thirty cavalry units, warriors of the Romans, s¹q tmr l- h- + z + { }m gd'wd. And, O Lh and O S²'hqm, let there be abundance and safety from that which must be guarded against; and may he who would read aloud this writing have spoil.

- ZmNSIH 32** *l zhrn bn ys^llm w bny 'l-ġt''- nfs^lw wgm fh lt fšy l- d s^lr*
By Zhrn son of Ys^llm and he built this funerary monument upon Ġt and grieved, so, O Lt, may he who leaves (this inscription) untouched be delivered.
- ZmNSIH 37** *l ġt bn 's^llh d 'l gr w l-h''- nfs^l*
For Ġt son of 's^llh of the lineage of Gr and this funerary monument is his.
- ZSI 1** *l 'qrb bn hn't d 'l tm w ndm 'l-'m-h trht w bny 'l-h*
By 'qrb son of Hn't of the lineage of Tm and he was devastated by grief on account of his mother, who had perished, and so he put a stone on her (cairn).

(Partial) Bilingual Inscriptions

C 2823–2824 (+ Greek)

*l s²met bn hliš bn hddn bn 'n d'l hg*By S²āmet son of Ḥališ son of Ḥaddīdān son of 'n of the lineage of Ḥagg

Μνησθή Σαμεθος Αλιζου του Αδδ[ι]δανου Αγγηνος

May S²āmet son of Ḥališ the Ḥaddīdān-Ḥaggite be remembered

Macdonald (2009 I: 76)

l nšr'el bn 'alw

By Našr'el son of 'alw

Μνησθή Νασηλος Αλουου

May Našr'el son of 'alw be remembered

MISSJ 1–2

Ενος Λοβαιαθου

Hen' Lobay'at

*l hn' bn lb't bn 's^l d 'l mlk fh lt s^llm*By Hen' son of Lobay'at son of 's^l of the lineage of Mlk, so, O Lt, may he be secure.

MISSI 1 Σααρως Χεσεμανου Σαιφηνος φυλής Χαυνηνών
 S²a'ar son of Keḥsemān, the Ṣayfite, of the lineage of Kawn
 For the corresponding inscription, see MISSI 2.

WH 1860 (= + Greek 2)
l whblh bn zn'l bn whblh
 Wahballāh son of Zann'el son of Wahballāh

Ουαβαλλας Ταννηλου τοῦ [] Ουαβαλλου
 Wahballāh son of Zann'el son of Wahballāh

WH 3563 (= Greek 3)
 Μανος Ιαιθεου μνησθη
 For the corresponding inscription, see WH 3562.

An Old Arabic Inscription in Greek Characters

A 1

Greek	Transcription	Translation
Αυσος Ουδου	'Aws (bin) Hūd (?)	Aws son of Hūd (?) son of
Βαναου Χαζιμ	(bin) Bana' (bin) Kazim(m)	Bana' son of Kazim(⟨m⟩) the
μου αλ-Ιδαμι αθα	'al-'idāmiyy 'atawa mi-ṣiḥaṣ;	'Idāmite came because of
οα μι-σειαζ αθαοε{υ}	'atawa bana'a 'a(d)-dawra	want; he came to Bana' (PN
α Βαναα α-δαυρα	⟨⟨a⟩⟩ wa yir'aw baqla	or lineage group) in this place
⟨⟨α⟩⟩ ουα ειραυ βακλα	bi- Kanū[n]	and they pastured on fresh
βι-Χανου[υ]		herbage during [Kanūn].

NOTES:

The author begins writing Greek but switches to Arabic when he starts to write his tribal affiliation and subsequent activities.

- 1) The verb *'tw* is spelled in two ways, *αθαοα* and *αθαοευα*, both equal ways of representing Arabic /w/. The latter may reflect a mistake on the part of the author who wrote an epsilon between the digraph *ου*.

- 2) The /i/ vowel is given with both ι and ει
- 3) The author repeats the final letter of line 2 at the beginning of line 3 and the final letter of line 5 at the beginning of line 6.
- 4) The final word has been restored as *Χανουν*, duplicating the phrase *b- knn* in ASWS 217. The absence of the final /n/ could be the result of a writing error or some kind of pausal phenomenon, or may be a result of Greek influence.

Dictionary

This dictionary contains the non-onomastic vocabulary attested in the Appendix of Inscriptions (excluding prepositions and pronouns). I only cite previous discussions of vocabulary when they become relevant for the interpretation I suggest or when I have accepted an interpretation based on an analytical etymological argument made elsewhere. Otherwise, the interpretations given here derive from the thorough study of the corpus and are justified, when needed, in the *notes* section following the entries. Those interested in the history of scholarship and previous discussions of the Safaitic lexicon may consult the editions. Morphological glosses are provided when possible and follow the abbreviations presented at the beginning of this book.

Alphabetic Order

ʾ—^ˁ—*b*—*d*—*ḍ*—*ḍ̣*—*f*—*g*—*ḡ*—*h*—*ḥ*—*ḥ̣*—*k*—*l*—*m*—*n*—*q*—*r*—*s*¹—*s*²—*ṣ*—*t*—*ṭ*
—*ṭ̣*—*w*—*y*—*z*—*ẓ*

Structure of the Entry

Etymological Root

attested noun/adjective (attestations), *meaning* (ADJ, ADV, DIM), VAR *attested noun/adjective* (attestations); etc.

attested verb (attestations), PART *meaning*, PNG, VAR *attested verb* (attestations); etc.

ʾB

ʾ*b* (AKSD 5; C 320, 2832, 4457; LP 243, 325, 344, 1135; KRS 2340; Mu 253; RSIS 351),
father

ʾ*b* ʾ*m* (AWS 125), *maternal grandfather*

NOTES: The equivalent of Arabic *li-ʾabadi li-ʾabad* “to the end of time; forever” and the adverb *ʾabadan*, which signifies all future time (*Lane*, 4c).

ʾBD

ʾ*bd* (KRS 1015; SW 193), *forever, eternity*,
VAR *l-ʾbd* (C 74, 2446; KRS 6, 24)

ʾBL

ʾ*bl* (ASWS 73; C 96, 98, 272, 1338, 2670, 3020, 3230, 4332, 4815, 5182;

HaNSB 197, 218, 349; HCH 102; KRS 37, 225, 756, 1683, 1761, 1886, 2568, 3291; LP 319, 146, 406; Ms 44; SESP.D 12; SW 193; WH 325, 2145), *camel* (COL) *'blt* (C 1868), *toponym*

'BŞ

'bş (C 285), SC *to be pleased, cheerful, happy*

NOTES: Root is not in Lane, but the *Lisān* (s.v.) equates its meaning with the root *nšt*, i.e. *rağulun 'abişun, 'abūşun: našīt*, that is, “brisk, lively, sprightly, active, agile, prompt, and quick; or pleased, cheerful, happy, or willing” (Lane, 2797a). The latter set of meanings better suits its context in C 285.

'DB

'db (SIJ 750), SC *to offer*

NOTES: CAR *'adaba* “He invited (people) to his repast, or banquet” (Lane, 34c) does not seem to fit the context of the inscription. Something more general like ‘to offer’ or ‘to grant’ is instead required, which is, after all, not too far removed from the basic sense of the root in CAR.

'DŴ

'dwt, *watering hole* (MSNS 1, 6)

NOTES: Probably related to CAR *'adā'atun* ‘a pool in the rough of the ground’ *al-ğadīru fi l-ğalzi mina l-'arḏ*; see the commentary under MSNS 1 for more.

'FL

t'fl (C 2315), T2-SC *to hide oneself*

NOTES: In CAR, the verb *'afala* is usually applied to celestial bodies, with the meaning “It was, became absent, hidden, concealed” (Lane, 70a–b). In other Semitic languages, the basic sense of this root is ‘to make/be dark’ (HALOT, #764).

'GR

'gr (C 1639; KRS 1563), *a hired man*
'grt (KRS 1563), *wage, compensation for work*

NOTES: CAR *'ağīrun*, “hireling” (Lane, 24b); CAR *'iğāratun* “recompense, compensation, hire, pay, or wages, from one man to another, for work” (Lane, 24b). This sense was recognized by G.M.H. King in her interpretation of the inscription.

t'gr (C 4768), T2-SC *to be compensated*;
PC *yt'gr* (SG 5)

NOTES: The T-stem is unattested with this sense in CAR. In both inscriptions, it probably refers to compensation with blood money.

'HL

'hl (AbaNS 1128; C 88; HaNSB 307; KRS 37, 1131, 1683, 1991; WH 135), *family*

'Ḥ

'ḥ (AbaNS 286; C25, 2446, 2832, 2947, 3063, 3820, 4037, 4443; HCH 102, 132; KRS 78, 1051, 2460; LP 306, 325, 679; MSNS 2; NST 3; RWQ 329; SW 193; WH 1136, 1698, 2815), *brother*, DU-CNST *'ḥw* (C832; KRS 24, 2890; SESP.U 13; WH 1696), PL *'ḥwn* (C 2955; SIJ 352)

'ht (AAUI 406; ASWS 70; NST 2; SIJ 750),
sister

'hyt (C 893), little sister (DIM)

twby (AWS 48) T2-SC *to be considered a brother*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *ta'āḥayā* "They became brothers, or friends, or companions, or the like, to each other" or *ta'ahhā* "I adopted a brother ... I called him brother" (Lane, 33a).

'HD

'hdt (KRS 844), *pool of water; land taken for a grave*

NOTES: CAr *'ihdatun* "A pool of water left by a torrent" or "A thing that one digs in the form of a watering-trough" (Lane, 30b–c). Both meanings are possible in the inscriptions, but in some cases, e.g. KRS 843–845, the term occurs in a clear funerary context, suggesting that it sometimes refers to dug-out land.

'hd (KRS 1379; WH 1546), G-SC *to take; + (h-šwy, rgm) to put a dead man on a funerary cairn*

NOTES: The verb **'hd** occurs with both terms for cairn *šwy* and *rgm*, and has traditionally been translated in such contexts as 'he took position of the cairn'. Recent archaeological surveys conducted by the Leiden University team within the scheme of the NWO-funded project *Landscapes of Survīal* have revealed that in addition to the funerary cairn which sits atop a grave, many cairns acted as support for a platform upon which a dead person was perhaps placed

to decompose. Such cairns would have been easy to reuse. In light of this, I would suggest that **'hd h-rgm/šwy** refers to the use of such a cairn to deposit a corpse. Thus, we should understand the sentence **'hd l-s'hm h-šwy** as 'he placed S'hm on the funerary cairn' (HaNSB 206), i.e. the author placed the body of S'hm on the above ground platform supported by the cairn to decompose. Perhaps afterwards mourners would compose a memorial inscription. In fact, as much is suggested by KRS 1379: **'hd h-rgm w wgd hn 'm -h** 'he took possession of the cairn and found the writing of his grandfather'. This could suggest that his grandfather had died and was placed on the same cairn to decompose, and somebody produced a memorial inscription which the author of KRS 1379 read.

'HR

'hrt (KRS 896), *thereafter*

NOTES: Likely the equivalent of Nabataean *l-'hrh* 'in the future' (DNWSI, 40). The absence of the *l-* can be explained by the use of the accusative, cf. *l-'bd* and *'bd*, both 'forever'.

'KL

¹kl (C 4384), G-INF *'kl to eat*

²kl (HaNSB 8), D-SC *to feed, nourish*

'L

'lh (KRS 30), *generic term for a deity: a god, F 'lt* (C 96), PL **'lht** (KRS 1287)

NOTES: Probably an augmented form of PS **il* ‘divinity’.

’lh (KRS 995; SIJ 293; ZeGA 1), *name of a deity* (‘allāh or ‘elāh)

lh (HCH 132; KRS 1551; LP 243; ZeWA 1), *name of a deity* (Allāh or Lāh)

’lt (C 28, 70, 74, 88, 1137, 1280, 1658, 1837, 4815; HshNSMI 5; JaS 189.2; KRS 1964; LP 282, 504, 576, 1267; Mu 867; SIJ 1008; UIO 268), *deity* (‘allāt or ‘elat)

’lt dtn (C 2446), *deity*

’lt ʔ-hgr (KWQ 119), *deity*

NOTES: It is likely that ʔ-*hgr* refers to Ḥegrā, modern Madain Saleh, with the ʔ- article instead of the common *h-* or *’l-*.

’lt ʔ-gb (KRS 3074), *deity*

NOTES: The name likely translates as ‘goddess of the unseen’, compare with Arabic *ḡaybun* ‘unseen’, and the epithet of Allāh in the Qur’ān, ‘*alimu l-ḡayb* ‘knower of the unseen’ (Qur’ān 6:73).

lt (AAUI 406; AZNG 1; ANKS 1; C25, 31, 96, 663, 654, 744, 893, 1185, 1186, 1240, 1607, 1744, 1875, 1936, 2031, 2076, 2276, 2307, 2315, 2446, 2830, 3811, 4010, 4037, 4076, 4261, 4332, 4443, 4681, 4768, 5050, 5182; CSA 1.2; CSNS 1004; H 506, 763; HaNSB 307; HCH 71, 72, 102, 103, 105, 107, 126, 131; HAU 70, 76, 198; HN 161; JaS 159.2; KhBG 345; KRS 18, 24, 25, 37, 167, 303, 922, 941, 995, 1015, 1024, 1042, 1087, 1131, 1160, 1161, 1304, 1432, 1562, 1683, 1684, 1852, 1903, 1965, 1991, 2060, 2340, 2460, 2569, 2869, 2914; LP 146, 155, 161, 180, 257, 305, 306, 325, 330, 342, 344, 360, 619, 643, 679, 684, 685, 687, 732, 1108, 1198; MAHB 5;

Mu 141; NRW.D 1; RSIS 80, 199; NST 7; RR 4; RWQ 73, 281, 349; QZUI 462; SESP.U 13; SIJ 37, 78, 808; UIO 183; WGGR 1; WH 135, 153, 159, 181, 368, 399, 582, 599, 852, 1019, 1698, 2139, 2145, 2149, 2837; ZeGA 11), *deity* (Lāt or Allāt)

lt mʔmn (C 2446), *deity*

’N

b- ʔ-n -h (KRS 1015), *time*

NOTES: CAR *ānun* and *al-āna* “present time” (Lane, 138c), possibly with a relic 3MS pronominal suffix indicating definiteness (Huehnergard and Pat-el 2013).

’LF

1ʔf (C 2076), *thousand*

2ʔf (C 74), *close companion*

NOTES: CAR *ʔifun* “a mate; a fellow; a yoke-fellow; one who is familiar” (Lane, 80b).

’LM

’lmn (KRS 1551), *Mars* (planet)

NOTES: Compare with Akk *ḏLumnu*, ‘Mars’. The initial *alif* may reflect a compound *ʔel-lumnu*, a phonological reproduction of the determinative, an elative formation, or even the definite article ʔ- (Al-Jallad 2014).

’LT

’lt (KRS 1964), *scarcity*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *ʔalata*, INF *ʔaltun* “It (a thing) became decreased; diminished; lessened; became defective, deficient, incomplete, or imperfect” (Lane, 79a).

’LW

’ly (KRS 1706), *Taurus* (constellation)

NOTES: Compare with the Akkadian name of this constellation, *alû*, which refers to the bull as mythological being (Al-Jallad 2014)

’MM

’m (C 4443, ZSI 1), *mother*

NOTES: Probably vocalized as *’umm/, based on nearby Greek transcriptions—PAES III.a 48 Ουμμουτ *’umm-ġawwāt/; PTer 46 Ουμαβη *’umm-’abī/ (see Al-Jallad 2015).

’MN

’mn (C 88), *a guard*

’MR

t’mr (HAUI 72; KRS 995), T2-SC *to be manifest; to be widespread*

NOTES: The basic sense of this root is ‘to know’ or ‘make known’, cf. Akk *amārum* ‘to see’, Hb ’āmār ‘to say’, etc., with the CAR ’amara ‘to command’ reflecting a later semantic development. The Safaitic better accords with the root’s original meaning, which, in the DT, would mean ‘to be manifest’; ‘appearant’, and could reflect the stative or passive sense of the CAR *āmara* and ’amira-hū “he multiplied it; or made it many” (Lane, 96b).

y’mr (HaNSB 197; SIAM 35), *Capricorn*

NOTES: The CAR lexicons define the ya’mūrun as “a kind of wild mountain-goat” or “a certain beast resembling a goat, having a single

branching horn in the middle of its head”, “a certain beast of the sea” (Lane, 99a), which nicely match the Babylonian mythical *Sea Goat* (Al-Jallad 2014).

’MT

1’mt (KRS 59), *female slave*

2’mt (ASWS 37; LP 246; KRS 169, 896), *Libra* (constellation)

NOTES: The scales, derived from the root root √’mt ‘to measure or compute quantity’ (Lane, 94c); see Al-Jallad (2014).

’NKS’R

’nks’r (BWM 3), *toponym*

’NS’

’ns’ (WH 3730), *mankind*

’RD

’rd (AbaNS 881, 906; C 2953, WH 161, 641.1), *land, region*

’RK

’rk rḥ (LP 685), *forbearance*

NOTES: Compare with Hb “’ārāk-rūaḥ ... longanimity, forbearance” (Littmann 1943: xxi).

’S’S’

’s’¹ (C 96), *toponym* (*Usays* in southern Syria)

’S’D

1’s’d (LP 161), *lion*

2’s’d (C 28; ASWS 124), *Leo* (constellation)

NOTES: The same term for this

constellation survives into the Islamic period (Al-Jallad 2014).

’SF

’sʃf (LP 718), *regret*

NOTES: The verbal noun of an unattested verb ’asifa “He grieved, lamented, or regretted” (Lane, 58b).

’SR

’sʃr (C 4457), G-SC *to be captured*; PPC ’sʃr (LP 643)

NOTES: Compare to CAR ’asara-hū and ’asrun “he made him a captive; captured him; or took him a prisoner” (Lane, 57c).

’TM

’tm (WH 375), *ceremony*

’tm (C 285), SC *to celebrate*

NOTES: As Winnett had already pointed out, a connection with CAR ’atima “any assembly of men and of women in a case of mourning or of rejoicing” (Lane, 14a) seems most likely. While Winnett understood the term as a mourning ceremony, the verb bh’ which precedes it has a positive connotation, and therefore it more likely references a happy occasion, perhaps a wedding.

’TN

’tn (C 505; WH 1648), *she-ass*

’TW

’ty (AbaNS 1128; C 860; NST 3; SIJ 78),

G-SC *to come*, VAR ’tw (SIJ 957); APC.MS ’t (WH 2815)

’Tʿ

’tʿ (C 1936, 2579, 3931, 4068; KRS 995; MISSD 1), *name of a deity*

’TR

’tr (AAUI 294; AWS 8, 125; C 25, 763,

1573, 1989, 2156, 2544, 2713, 3140, 3820, 4443; HshNSMI 5; LP 259, 306; KRS 6, 926, 941, 1015, 1161; MAHB 2; Mu 253; RWQ 334; WH 325, 399), *trace(s)*.

NOTES: The exact meaning of this term is unclear. That it occurs with *rgm* in AAUI 294 strongly suggests that it can have a funerary function. It is possible that ‘trace’ refers to a type of burial (as suggested by Eksell 2002:112) or perhaps even to a funerary inscription. Given these difficulties, I have chosen to translate the word literally as ‘trace’ (cf. CAR ’atarun “a sign, mark, or trace” (Lane, 18c)).

’TM

’tm (RWQ 73), G-SC *to act wrongfully*

NOTES: Compare to CAR ’atima “he did what was unlawful” (Lane, 21c–22a).

’WL

’l (*passim*), *lineage; people*

’wl (SW 168), *beginning*

NOTES: CAR. *āl* “kinsfolk”, “family” (Lane, 127b). This word probably reflects an original collective noun based on the root ’wl, ’āl < ’awal, originally denoting free folk, cf. Akk ’awīlum “freeman”. The term is used to refer to any body of people, including outside groups such as the Nabataeans and Romans.

ʾWSʾ

ʾwsʾn (RWQ 62), *a boon* (either with nunciation or a derivational morpheme)

ʾwsʾ (RWQ 335, 349), D-IMP *to grant a boon*

NOTES: The CAR root √ʾws denotes compensation and giving, *al-ʿaṭṭiyātu* (*Lisan*, s.v.).

ʾYD

ʾd (H 506), *once again* (ADV)

NOTES: CAR *āda* “He returned to the thing, i.e., to the doing of the thing; he did the thing again, or a second time”, esp. the adverb *ʾaydan* (*Lane*, 137a).

ʾBD

ʾbd (Mu 550), *slave*

ʾBSʾ

ʾbsʾ (NST 2), G-SC *to frown; to be austere*

NOTES: CAR *ʿabasa* “He frowned; [looked sternly, austere, or morosely]” (*Lane*, 1939a).

ʾDY

1ʿ *dy* (RSIS 80), *to transgress, exceed limits*

2ʿ *dy* (KRS 1131), *toponym* (?)

NOTES: CAR *al-ʿadwu* “transition ... the going, or passing, beyond, or the exceeding, a limit ...” (*Lane*, 1977b). The subject of this verb is the constellation Leo which signals the end of the spring rains. The author complains that the spring was ruined, suggesting that Leo, i.e. the early summer, transgressed into the season of spring.

ʾDL

ʾdl (C 1339), *companion*

NOTES: No suitable meaning for this term can be found in the dictionaries; however, it is in apposition with a personal name, suggesting that it denotes some sort of personal relation. The translation “companion” is tentative.

ʾGL

ʾgl (SG 5), *hastily* (ADV)

NOTES: CAR *ʾaḡilun* “Hasting, making haste, speeding” (*Lane*, 1964b).

ʾKK

ʾky (C 96), *a strong fever*

NOTES: Perhaps an elative formation from √ʿkk, the basic meaning of which is “It (a day) was, or became ... vehemently hot” (*Lane*, 2118b). The form *ʾakkatun* can refer to “access of a fever, on the occasion of the first tremor, or shivering, thereof” (*ibid.*).

ʾLF

ʾlf (LP 722; M 358), G-SC *to feed on dry fodder*

NOTES: CAR *ʾalafa d-dābata* “He fed the beasts with fodder” (*Lane*, 2131a). While the term *ʾalafun* is applied to both fresh and dry fodder, that this term always occurs in the context of drought and the dry season would seem to indicate that the latter sense was productive in the Safaitic inscriptions.

ʾLM

ʾlm (SIJ 274), G-SC *to know*

NOTES: The single attestation of the term in the Safaitic inscriptions accords with CAR *ʿalima*, i.e., to know a fact rather than a person (*Lane*, 2138ff.).

ʿLS¹

ʿls¹ (WH 784), *grainland* (?)

NOTES: Compare with CAR *ʿalasin* “[a kind of grain] like wheat, but difficult to cleanse, having two grains in one envelope, and it is the corn of Ṣanʿā” (*Lane*, 2130a). This can obviously not be the same meaning as Safaitic ʿls¹, so I have opted for a neutral translation of ‘grainland’. Perhaps this refers to the phenomenon whereby agriculturalists allow the nomads to graze on their plots of land after the crop has been collected in order to fertilize them.

ʿLY

ʿly (NRW.D 1), D-SC to *raise, erect*

ʿly (WH 1696), C-SC to *raise*; C-INF ʿly (KRS 2420)

NOTES: CAR *ʿalā-hu* “he elevated it; or made it high, or lofty” (*Lane*, 2143c). The form ʿly must reflect the D with an equivalent meaning of the C.

ʿMM

¹m (AWS 125; BRenv.H 1; C 793, 3140, 3230; KRS 1379; WH 325) *paternal grandfather*, PL ²m (WH 399)

²m (AWS 81; SW 264), *people*

NOTES: Unlike CAR, this word refers to the father of one’s father rather

than the paternal uncle; see the commentary of LP 140.

ʿMR

ʿmr (C 2953; MKWS 2, 8, 28), SC to *dwell; construct*

NOTES: Classical Arabic *ʿamara bi-makānin* “He remained, continued, stayed, resided, dwelt, or abode, in a place” (*Lane*, 2154a).

ʿWM

ʿm (KRS 225; SIJ 119; WH 1193), *year*

NOTES: CAR *ʿāmun* “a year” (*Lane*, 2202b).

ʿTQ

ʿtq (KRS 1563), *a freed man*

NOTES: In CAR, *ʿatīqun* and *ʿātiqun* are adjectives “applied to a slave, signifying freed from slavery, or emancipated” (*Lane*, 1947b).

ʿNY

ʿny (C 1639; HaNSB 184; KRS 922), G-SC to *suffer*; G-APC ʿny (KRS 941, 1964)

NOTES: Compare with CAR *ʿanā* “He was, or became, lowly, humble, or submissive” (*Lane*, 2178b). For a similar range of meanings, see HALOT, #7135 *ʿānā*, but also “to be wretched, suffering”.

ʿNZ

ʿnz (UIO 117), *she-goats*, probably the plural of the unattested *ʿnz

NOTES: Based on the CAR, the singular was probably */ʿanz/, cf. *ʿanzun* (*Lane*, 2173).

ʿnzt (BHT 228), *toponym*

‘QB

‘*qbt* (AWS 81; C 3818; KRS 1551), *Scorpio* (constellation)

NOTES: Safaitic ‘*qbt* is very close to the expected ‘*qrb(t)*, scorpion. The unexpected deletion of the *r* may point towards taboo deformation, which is a common phenomenon with dangerous animals. It is also possible to consider a connection with CAR ‘*uqāb* ‘eagle’, suggesting a different conceptualization of this constellation. See Al-Jallad (2014) for further discussion.

‘QD

‘*qdt* (WH 1900), SC *to be restrained* (only the feminine singular is attested).

NOTES: Compare with CAR ‘*aqada l-ḥabla* “He tired the cord, or rope” (Lane, 2104c). In the context of WH 1900, the term probably meant to tie up the sheep in order to prevent them from grazing on the agricultural fields of the area called Rḥbt.

‘QL

‘*t’ql* (KRS 15), T2-SC *to be unable to speak* (metaphor for grief)

NOTES: Compare with CAR ‘*taqala* “his tongue was withheld or restrained from speaking” (Lane, 2114b).

2^t‘*ql* (RWQ 346) T2-SC *to form an alliance*

NOTES: An association with CAR ‘*ta’āqala* “They paid among themselves, or conjointly, the mulct for the blood of such a one” (Lane, 2114b) is tempting; however, in light of RWQ 347, which refers to the same event by describing a mili-

tary alliance between *Df* and ‘*wd*, it is best to appeal to the basic sense of the root ‘to bind’, and understand it as a term to signify an alliance.

‘RL

‘*r’l* (ANKS 1; ISB 117), *toponym*

‘RB

‘*rb* (C 4681), *Arabs*

‘RD

‘*rd* (MS 44; Mu 867; RWQ 339), *a valley*,
PL ‘*rdy* (WH 2139).

‘*rdt* (LP 679), *army* (?)

NOTES: CAR ‘*irdun* “side of a valley, low ground or land, any valley in which there are towns or trees” (Lane, 2007c–2008a). This term could contrast with the *nḥl*, which would signify a torrent valley, i.e., *a wadi*. The single occurrence of ‘*rdt* suggests a connection instead with CAR ‘*ardun* “an army” (Lane, 2009a).

‘RF

‘*rf* (HCH 71), G-SC *to know*

NOTES: CAR ‘*arifa* “He knew it; he had cognition of it” (Lane, 2013a).

‘RG

‘*rg* (C 1186, 1240; LP 342; SESP.D 12; WH 368), *lameness*

NOTES: CAR ‘*araḡun* “natural lameness” (Lane, 1996b).

‘RS¹

‘*rs¹* (SW 264), *wedding*

NOTES: CAR ‘*ursun* “The ceremony

of conducting a wife to her husband”
(Lane, 1999a).

‘S²R

¹š²r (MKWS 28), ten; š²rn (RQ.A 1),

twenty

²š²r (HCH 191), *kinsman; member of a community*

NOTES: Compare with CAR ‘aššurun “a community, such as the *Benoo-Temeem* [sic], and the *Benoo-’Amr-Ibn-Temeem* [sic]” (Lane, 2053a).

Safaitic š²r probably reflects a single member of the ‘ašširatun “kinsfolk” (ibid.).

‘TN

‘tn-rh (AAUI 281), *the foremost of a group* (?)

NOTES: Compare with CAR ‘utnūnu r-rīhi “the trail of wind when it comes drawing along the dust” or the “first of anything” (Lane, 1954c).

‘WD

¹y^d (C 654), *to return*, VAR ‘d

(KhMNS 13); G-PC y^d (MSNS 2)

²y^d (KRS 1706), D-SC *to put animals in an enclosure; to cause to return*; D-INF ‘wdt (C 5011)

‘wd (RSIS 351; SIJ 1008), *again* (ADV)

NOTES: A causative of √wd, which carries the basic sense of ‘to circle, enclose, encompass, etc’ (CDG, 77a).

‘WD

¹w^d (HAUI 182; KRS 1683), *protection*

²w^d (KRS 1683), D-SC *to place under protection*

‘d (b-) (AWS 380), C-SC *to place under protection*

NOTES: CAR ‘āda bi-hī “he sought protection, or preservation by him” (Lane, 2192a).

‘WF

f (KRS 37), *awf* (a type of plant)

NOTES: CAR ‘awf “A species of plants, of the plants of the desert of sweet odour; the tending or pasturing [cattle]” (Lane, 2198c).

‘WN

n (C 5182; WH 1696), *help*

NOTES: CAR ‘awn “aid, help, or assistance”; ‘āāna-hū “He aided, helped, or assisted him” (Lane, 2203b-c).

‘WQ

wq (LP 183), D-SC *to be imprisoned*

NOTES: Littmann (LP, p. 42) suggests the meaning “imprisoned” probably a passive of CAR “it hindered, prevented, impeded, or withheld him” (Lane, 2199a).

‘WR

¹wr (ASWS 217; C 286, 893, 1148, 1185, 1186, 1649, 1875, 1936, 4803; H 506; KRS 1161; LP 566, 673, 722; SESP.D 12; WH 153, 368), *blindness*

²wr (ASWS 217; AWS 237; C 3177, 1341, 1957, 4803; KRS 109; NST 3) D-SC *to blind* (with a person as a direct object); *to efface* (with an inscription or rock art as a direct object), VAR ‘yr (KRS 1695); D-PC y^wr (ASWS 18; AWS 237; C 286, 1875, 1936, 2031, 4803; HAUI 76; KRS 102, 132, 941, 1087, 1287, 1379, 1551, 1957; LP 282, 673,

722, 1198; KWQ 119; Ms 44; Mu 141; RSIS 351; RWQ 281; SW 193; WH 153, 2112; ZeGA 11); D-IMP *ʿwr* (C 1293, 1341; KRS 102, 109, 941; SESP.U 18; SW 193); PPC *mʿwr* (AWS 48)

ʿwr (C 793) C-SC idem; *to be blind in one eye*; C-PC *yʿr* (KRS 2569)

NOTES: CAR *ʿawira, yaʿwaru* “He was, or became, blind of one eye” (Lane, 2193c); Hb D *yəʿawēr* “to blind” (HALOT, #6883).

ʿWŞ

ʿšt (UIO 183), G-SC *cause hardship* (2FS, other forms unattested)

NOTES: Compare with CAR *ʿawişa* “it was, or became, difficult; the thing was ... difficult and confused and intricate to him, so that he did not find the right course therein” (Lane, 2196b).

ʿYN

n (QZUI 462), *eye*

ʿYR

r (AbaNS 881; KhBG 315), *wild ass*

¹*yʿr* (AbaNS 855, N 101), *small or young wild ass* (DIM).

rtn (SG 5), *a journey*

²*yʿr* (ISB 117; ShNGA 1), *SC to journey*

NOTES: CAR *āra, yaʿūru* “He went, or journeyed” (Lane, 2207).

ʿYS²

s² (C 2156), *kinsman* (?)

NOTES: This term does not find direct cognates in related languages, but seems to be derived from the root $\sqrt{y\dot{y}š}$, which denotes ‘living’ in CAR.

Since it occurs in the context where one would expect a kinship term, I can only offer the neutral translation ‘kinsman’.

ʿZZ

ʿzz (LP 342), D-SC *to protect*

ʿzz (C 74), C-SC or INF *to restore*

NOTES: In CAR *ʿazzaza-hū* and *ʿaʿazza-hū* can mean ‘to render powerful; to strengthen’ (Lane, 2031b). The object of this verb in LP 342 is a protected area of pasturage *ḥmy*, so the sense ‘protect’ is preferable. The C-stem in C 74, on the other hand, occurs in a prayer following a statement in which the author complains about being treated with contempt, and so fits well the sense of CAR *ʿaʿazza-hū* “He rendered him mighty ... after he had been low, or mean, in condition” (idem).

ʿZM

ʿzm (SIJ 293), *greatness*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *ʿazīmun* “esteemed great by another or others” (Lane, 2087c).

BʿR

bʿr (RSIS 339), *well*

BʿS¹

¹*bʿs¹* (C 76, 1137, 2276, 2964, 3113;

HAUI 125; HCH 71; KRS 132, 941, 3029; LP 495, 720; MAHB 5; RR 4; ShNGA 1; SIJ 37; RWQ 335; WH 135, 159, 1696, 3730), *misfortune; affliction*, VAR *bʿš* (KhBG 345), PL *bʿsʿt* (C 218)

- ²*b's^l* (AAUI 294; C 2544, 2713; HAU1 125; KRS 6), G-SC *to be miserable*
³*b's^l* (C 4010), D-SC *to make miserable*
 NOTES: CAR *bu'sun* "Distressed; straitness of the means of subsistence, or of the conveniences of life; poverty ... or a state of pressing want ... or misfortune; calamity" (*Lane*, 146b).

B'D

- ¹*b'd* (HCH 194), *afterwards* (ADV)
²*b'd* (KRS 29), SC *to be far away*
 NOTES: CAR *ba'uda* "He, or it, was, or became distant, remote, far off" (*Lane*, 224a–b).

B'L

- b'ls'^lmn* (ASWS 202; C 1240, 1744, 2076, 2997, 4803; H 506; HaNSB 184, 197; HN 62; K 196; KRS 169, 995, 1160, 1990, 2420, 2568; LP 146, 305, 722; M 358; MSNS 1; Mu 113; RSIS 204; SESP.U 17, 18; WGGR 1; WH 398), *deity* (rain god), VAR *b'ls'^lmy* (C 88; LP 259; RWQ 281), *deity* (= Arm *b'ls'myn*)
b'l (ASWS 37), *deity, perhaps the short form of B'ls'^lmn/y = NWS Baal*

BDR

- bdr* (C 1240), *end of the dry season* (Qyʒ) *or first part of winter* (S²ty)
 NOTES: The noun *badrun* signifies the 'full moon', and is called so because it hastens to rise before sunset. The form with a gentile suffix, *badriyyun*, can be applied to rain which is before, or a little before, or in the first part of the winter (*Lane*, 166ba). I would suggest that *bdr* signifies this time period, given its context within C 1240.

BĠY

- h-bġyt* (C 4681), *toponym*
 NOTES: WH 635, which reads as follows, *ll'tmn bn 'rs^lk w b'r b-bġyt* 'By L'tmn son of 'rs^lk and there were camels at Bġyt' attests another example of *bġyt* as a toponym.

- ¹*bġy* (KRS 68), *a thing sought*
²*bġy* (MSNS 2), G-SC *to seek*;
 APC.MP.CNST *bġy* (RR 4)
 NOTES: CAR *baġā* "He sought; sought for, or after" and *biġyatun*, *baġiyyatun* "a thing sought" (*Lane*, 231a–c).

BH'

- bh'* (C 320; SW 264; WH 374), G-SC *to rejoice*
 NOTES: CAR *baha'a bi-hī* "He was, or became, sociable, friendly, or familiar, with him, or it, namely a man, or a thing; and loved or liked his, or its nearness" (*Lane*, 263b). The suggested meaning in the Safaitic inscriptions comes from its occurrence with 'rs^l wedding in (SW 264), and in the phrase *bh' b'd 'tm ʒs^l* (WH 374, 375, 377, 496), which I would suggest translating as 'he rejoiced on account of the ceremony of 'ys^l'. This sense also suits C 320: *bh' brkt w b{<>}ql* 'he rejoiced at Brkt because there was fresh herbage'.

BHS^l

- bhs^l* (MISSD 1), SC *to defeat*
 NOTES: *baḥasa-hū* "He diminished it" (*Lane*, 159a)

BĤR

bĥrt (ASWS 202), *the late summer*
(July–early October)

NOTES: CAr *bāĥūrun*, *bāĥūrā'u*

“the vehemence of heat in [the
Syrian month of] Tammūz or Tamūz
[corresponding to July]” (*Lane*, 157c).

I would suggest that this term denotes
the latter half of *Qyʒ*, the former half
being denoted by *Šyf*.

BKR

bkrt (AbaNS 16; C 2830, 2832; Ms

44; WH 179, 1236, 2112, 3418),

young she-camel, DU *bkrtn*

(AbaNS 28; H 457; WH 182), PL *bkrt*

(WH 179)

BKY

bky (ASWS 70; C 2036, 3140, 4974; LP 243;

RSIS 351), G-SC *to weep*

BN

bn (*passim*), *son*, PL *bny* (C 88, 3365),

VAR *bn* (C 511)

bny (C 4076) *young(est) son* (DIM)

bnt (AbaNS 86; C 4768; CSNS 304, 412,

620; KRS 1991; SHS 10; WH 1861, 3865),

daughter, VAR *bt* (SIAM 35; WH 214,

345)

BNY

bny (ASWS 217; BRCM 0194; C 4681;

HaNSB 307; HCH 37; JaS 73; KRS 51,

1546; LP 673; Rsh 1; SESP.U 26; Vogue

404.1; WH 234, 1191; ZmNSIH 32; ZSI 1),

G-SC *to build*; + *ʾl to lay a stone* (upon a
funerary carin)

bnn (AbaNS 78), D-SC *to build*

BQL

bql (C 269, 320, 1293, 1338, 2670, 3020;

HaNSC 8; KRS 1670; MAHB 5; WH 466,

641.1, 2145), *fresh herbage*

NOTES: CAr *baqlun* “Herbage

produced by the spring rain” (*Lane*,
236b), but its context in the Safaitic

inscriptions may suggest that it

referred more generally to fresh

herbage produced by rain in any

season.

BQR

¹*bqr* (C 860; LP 155), *cattle*

²*bqr* (RWQ 73), INF (?) *to be split in half*

NOTES: This word appears in a curse

and should therefore be connected

with the CAr *baqīrun* “slit; ripped;

split; cut; or divided, lengthwise”

(*Lane*, 234c).

BRʿ

^ʿ*br* (WH 1234), C-SC *trembling in fear*

NOTES: Gz *barʿa* ‘tremble, shake, be

agitated’; LAr *barbaʿ* ‘frighten’ (*CDG*,

101b).

BRĤ

brĥ (C 4332; M 358), SC *to depart*

NOTES: CAr *baraĥa l-makāna* “He

went away, or departed, from the

place” (*Lane*, 181a).

BRK

brk (AWS 218), IMP *to bless*, SC.FS *brkt*

(RSIS 80)

brkt (C 320, WH 289, 1193, 1243, 2255,

3559.1), *toponym*

NOTES: A watering place in the

Ḥarraḥ; see Macdonald (1992b).

BŠR

bšry (C 4448; SIJ 78), *toponym* (Bostra in southern Syria).

BTT

bt (KRS 2453), G-SC *to be cut off*; PC *ybt* (KRS 2453)

NOTES: Connect with the CAr *inbatta* “to be cut off, separated” (*Lane*, 148a).

BYN

bn (RWQ 335), G-SC *to be manifest*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *bāna*, *’abāna*, *bayyana*, *tabayyana*, and *istabāna*, all meaning “It was, or became apparent, manifest, evident, clear, plain, or perspicuous” (*Lane*, 268a).

BYT

bt (C 1539), *tent*

byt (C 28, 404, 2031, 5050; WH 641.1), G-SC *to spend the night; to camp*, VAR *bt* (C 3466), APC *b’t* (C 1108)

NOTES: CAr *baytun* signifies a tent with more than one pole (*Lane*, 280a). The G *bāta* can mean “he did such a thing by night, or at night ... he passed, or spent the night, or a night, or part thereof” (*Lane*, 279a). WH 641.1 states that the author *byt* for an entire month, suggesting that the verb had, at least in this case, come simply to mean ‘to camp’.

D’W

d’y (ASWS 107; H 763; HaNSB 307;

HAUI 182; HshNSMI 5; KRS 1024, 1042, 1131; 1551; LP 325, 342, 344, 685, 687, 722, 1135; Ms 44; NST 3; SESP.D 12;

WH 613; ZeWa 1), SC *to read aloud*; + ’l *to invoke*

NOTES: CAr *du’ā* “[the act of] seeking, desiring, asking or demanding”; *da’ā llāha* “he prayed to God”; *da’awtu lahū* “I prayed for him”, *’alayhi* “against him”. In the past, scholars have connected this with Arabic *da’ā* (√d’y) “to leave untouched”, but a word for this is already attested frequently as *s’r*. While synonyms are common, it seems better to take this as *to read the inscription*, paralleling the development of the verb *qara’ā*, “to call” > “to read aloud.” Indeed, the phenomenon of appealing to the passer-by to read one’s inscription aloud is well known. Only one attestation of *qr’* occurs in the Safaitic inscriptions, in an identical context to *d’y*, suggesting that the latter was the native term, which was eventually supplanted by the Aramaic verb. As I have suggested in 1.1, *d’y* could have also referred to the phenomenon of reciting a prayer or invocation after reading the inscription of a loved one.

DBR

mdbr (ASWS 73, 202; C 654, 1240, 2579, 2682; KRS 25, 756, 926; LP 180, 325; SIJ 352; WH 582, 784, 2025, 3500), *inner desert*

NOTES: Connect with Hb *midbār* and WS *madbaru*, loaned into Akk as “pasture, steppe, wilderness”. Note that the term often refers to a desert in the Hebrew Bible between Palestine and Egypt (*HALOT*,

#4816). M.C.A. Macdonald has identified the MdbR of the Safaitic inscriptions as the Ḥamād, the desert beyond the Ḥarrah (Macdonald 1992b).

DMM

ndm (C 2947, 4443, 4988, 5050; HCH 131, 132; KRS 2340; LP 343; ZSI 1), N-SC *to be devastated* (by grief, metaphor for grieving).

NOTES: Compare with Hb N-stem *nidmâ* “to be devastated (pasture), to perish” or perhaps even the equivalent of the G “to wail” (*HALOT*, #2114–2115).

DMR

tdmr (C 663, 1649; KRS 15), *Palmyra*

DMY

¹*dmy* (KRS 30), *Dumaite, gentilic adjective of Dūmah*

NOTES: This sense was originally recognized by Ch. Robin; the edition translated the word as “effigies”.

dmyt (AWS 380; HCH 79; C 1615) *an image; a drawing*, PL *dmt* (KhMNS 5)

²*dmy* (C 1186; LP 325, 684), G-SC *to draw*, APC *dm* (C 1339, 5041)

NOTES: CAr *dumyatun* “An image, or effigy” (*Lane*, 917b). From its context, Safaitic *dmy* clearly means to produce a *dmyt*, while the CAr verb has a range of other meanings.

DNW

¹*dn* (KRS 132), *contempt*

dnwt (JaS 73), *closeness*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *danā*,

danāwatun “he, or it, was, or became, near; drew near, or approached”

(*Lane*, 920b–c). The context in this inscription is uninformative, but the term may refer to closeness to kin or loved ones, the opposite of the curse *s²tr* ‘separation from kin’.

²*dn* (KWQ 119), D-IMP *render contemptible*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *danuwa* “he (a man) was, or became, such as is turned *daniyyun*, meaning weak; contemptible” (*Lane*, 920c); and *mudannin* “applied to a man, Weak; contemptible” (*Lane*, 922b).

DRG

drg (C 96), SC *to succumb; to pass away*

NOTES: The context of this word’s single occurrence—following the mourning of several individuals—suggests that it refers to a kind of unfortunate circumstance. The word is followed by *ʿky* which probably refers to a type of fever, suggesting then that *drg* means something like ‘succumb’. This would be the opposite sense of CAr *dariġa* “He rose in grade, degree, rank, condition, or station” (*Lane*, 867c), but this is not problematic. On the other hand, the C *ʿadraġa* means “to cause to pass a way” (*ibid.*) and so it is also possible to see in *drg* a passive of the D. Its syntactic relationship, however, with the following phrase is difficult, since one would have to view *l-* as introducing the agent. In either case, the meaning “succumb” would encompass both senses.

DŞY

dşy (KRS 1684), *ibex*, F/SING *dşyt*
(KhBG 330)

NOTES: Scholars have long recognized a connection with Syriac *dayšā*, f. *dayštā* “An animal named from its agility in leaping, probably the rock-goat or ibex” (*SD*, 91a).

DṬ'

mdṭ' (WH 766), *spring pasture*

NOTES: Macdonald identifies *dṭ'* with a by-form of CAR *dafa'yyun*, *daṭa'yyun*, which refers to the period between the *šitā'* and *şayf*, which the modern Bedouin call *smāk*. Macdonald translates the term as “the season of the later rains” (1992b: 3).

dṭ' (C 1071, 1137, 1837, 2088, 2104, 2579, 2691; CSA 1.2; HN 161; JaS 61; Mu 113; NSR 82, 117; SIJ 1008; WH 181, 325) SC, *to spend the season of later rains*

DWD

dd (AWS 8; C 88, 1573, 2190, 4443, 4988; CSNS 1004; LP 243, 306; RSIS 351), *paternal uncle*, PL *'dwd* (KRS 2340)

NOTES: Compare with Hb *dōd* “father’s brother” (*HALOT*, #1990).

DWR

dr (ASWS 217; AWS 48; BWM 3; C 70, 726, 1071, 2031, 2076, 2243, 2396, 2830, 2997, 3095, 3818; 3931, 5137; ISB 117, 421; KRS 1131, 1683, 1852; LP 146, 257; RSIS 339, 351; WH 1193, 1958; ZeWa 1), *place; region*, PL *drn* (KRS 2420) (?), more likely a toponym).

NOTES: This term has been interpreted in a myriad of ways in previous editions, ranging from a campsite to a holy place. The CAR *dārun*, which commonly signifies “a house of large size, comprising a court” is inappropriate for the contexts of the inscriptions. Moreover, the term never appears as the object of *bny*, suggesting that it does not refer to a structure. Since *dr* is often attested with verbs of camping and spending time, the neutral term ‘place’ < “region” (*Lane*, 931a), is preferable. Moreover, as A1 indicates, the word was vocalized as /dawr/ = δαυρ rather than /dār/.

DWY

dwy (KRS 15), SC *to be sick (with grief)*

NOTES: CAR “He was or became diseased, disordered, distempered, sick, or ill” (*Lane*, 940a). Its context in the inscriptions seems to suggest that it was used metaphorically, i.e., ‘he became sick with grief’.

DYM

dmt (KhNSJ 1), *downpour*

NOTES: CAR *dīmatun* “a lasting, or continuous and still rain” (*Lane*, 937b).

tdym (HaNSB 56), T2-SC *to continue one’s course*

NOTES: In CAR, the GT is the equivalent of the D in meaning with this root: *dawwamati l-kilābu* “the dogs went far or continued their course” (*Lane*, 936a).

DYN

mdnt (C 1240, 4332; MISSD 1; RWQ 334; WH 1698), *province; district* (sometimes clearly *Provincia Arabia*)

D'B

d'b (LP 732, 4803; WH 1516), *wolf*

DBH

dbh (C 860; KRS 765; MA 1), SC to *perform a sacrifice*

DKR

¹*dkr* (ASWS 73; C 269, 1338; KRS 169), *Aries* (constellation)

NOTES: Compare with Aramaic דכרא 'Aries' < 'ram'. The term in CAr refers to the male of a species as opposed to the female (Lane, 970a). See Al-Jallad (2014).

²*dkr* (KRS 2340; JbS 1; RSIS 351; ShNGA 1), G-SC to (be) *remember(ed); be mindful of*, FS *dkrt* (AAUI 406; JaS 189.2); G-INF *dkr* (Mu 253)

tdkr (Mu 537), T2-SC to *remember*; possibly T2-APC *mtdkr* (KRS 1432)

DQN

dqn (C 3811), SC to *grow old* or a noun *extremely old man*.

NOTES: CAr *dīqnun* "a decrepit, old and weak, or extremely aged, man" (Lane, 967c).

DS²R

ds²r (KRS 1160, 1379, 1949, 2556, 2869; LP 1013; RWQ 73; SIJ 274), *deity* (Nabataean *dwšr*², Gr. Δουσαρης, *Dū-Šaray), VAR *ds²r* (AZNG 1; AKSD 5; C 2947, 2315; CSA 1.2;

HCH 72, 103, 126; JaS 159.2; KRS 995, 2340; LP 342; NST 3; RWQ 73; SIJ 59; WH 1698, 2837), VAR *ds²ry* (HshNSMI 5; KRS 2569), *deity*

DYL

dl (LP 712), *Pisces* (constellation)

NOTES: The term matches the Babylonian name, *zibbāt*'tails', cf. CAr *daylun* "tail", or more generally, "the latter, hinder, or last part of anything" (Lane, 990c). See Al-Jallad, (2014).

DYR

¹*dyr* (UIO 183), C-SC to *anger*

NOTES: The C-stem of the root *dyr*, related to CAr *ʿadārahu* 'alayhi "He made him angry with him"; *ʿadāra-hū* "he excited him to animosity" (Lane, 950b). The classical lexicographers derive this verb from the root *d'r*, but this appears to be a hypercorrection in light of the Safaitic evidence.

D'N

d'n (C 726, 744, 2713, 4443; CSNS 1; KRS 25, 167, 303, 1011; 1160, 1304, 1964, 1990, 1991; RSIS 304; LP 562.1; WGGR 1; WH 582), *sheep*, *d'nt* (C 35), an ewe, PCL *d'nt* (C 2307), PL *d'n* (KRS 1304)

D'F

d'f (C 2967), *weakness*

NOTES: CAr *daʿfun* "weakness, feebleness" (Lane, 1791c).

DB'

db' (RWQ 323; WH 3925), D-SC to *raid*; D-INF *tdb'* (LP 742)

NOTES: Sabaic *db'* "fight, wage war" (*SbD*, 40); also Hb $\sqrt{\text{šb}}$ "to go to war" (*HALOT*, #7841).

ḌBB

nḏb (LP 1265), N-SC to go missing

NOTES: Compare to LAr *inḏabb* "to be hidden", "put away"; the N-stem of this root is not found in the classical lexicons. Its context in its single attestation suggests a translation more along the lines of 'to go missing', since it refers to a man who was separated from his military unit.

ḌLL

ḏll (LP 305, 409), D-SC to be lost, DU *ḏlly*; G-PPC *ḏll* (HCH 131), DU *ḏlly* (LP 305), MP *ḏlln* (C 4039)

ḏll (KRS 303), C-SC to lead astray

NOTES: Compare with CAr *ḏalla* "It became lost [as though it went astray;] it perished, came to nought, or passed away". (*Lane*, 1796c). CAr C *ʾaḏalla-hū* "to cause him to go astray" (*Lane*, 1798a).

DRḤ

ḏrḥ (LP 201), tomb

NOTES: Compare with Nabataean *šryḥ* (*DNWSI*, 975) 'room or chamber, part of a tomb construction'.

ḌRR

ḏr (AWS 218), danger

ḏr (RSIS 351), to (be) harm(ed)

NOTES: CAr *ḏarra-hū* "He, or it, harmed, injured, hurt, marred ... him, or it" (*Lane*, 1775c).

FDY

fdyt (JaS 73), to accept bloodwit

NOTES: CAr *fadā* 'to pay a ransom', but this meaning does not fit the context of the inscription, as the author records performing a funerary ritual. As such, it is probably to be connected with bloodwits. A similar sense is found in CAr saying *wa- 'in 'aḥabbū fādaw*, the sense of which is "[And if they like,] they free the slayer, or his next of kin who is answerable for him, and accept the bloodwit" (*Lane*, 2354b).

FLT

flt (KRS 68), escape; deliverance

flt (HCH 194), SC to escape

NOTES: CAr *ʾaflata* "He, or it, escaped; got away" (*Lane*, 2435b).

FLṬ

¹*flṭ* (m-) (BHT 228; KhBG 376; KRS 1695; LP 504; SW 264), deliverance

²*flṭ* (m-) (C 527, 1137, 5121; CSNS 517;

KhBG 376; LP 495; WAMS 19.1;

WH 135), D-IMP to deliver; INF *flṭ*

(WH 641.1)

NOTES: Compare to Syr *pālet* "to save, deliver"; *pālṭā* "escape" (*SD*, 448b).

FLY

flyt (KhBG 376), toponym (winter location)

FQD

fqd (SG 5), G-SC to lose

tfqd (RSIS 351), T2-SC to be lost

NOTES: CAr *faqada-hū* "He found it not, lost it" (*Lane*, 2424b).

FRR

fr (C 3931), G-SC to *flee*

NOTES: CAr *farra* “He fled” (*Lane*, 2355b).

FRS¹

¹*frs*¹ (AbaNS 286; C 159, 320; HaNSB 312; ISB 91; KRS 1468; LP 566), *horse*; *frs*¹*t* (AbaNS 383), *mare*
²*frs*¹ (C 1989), *horseman*

FRT

nhr frt (RWQ 329), *the river Euphrates*

FS¹Ṭ

*fs*¹Ṭ (RWQ 349), SC to *spread out*; *expand*

NOTES: Compare with JArm *pəšaṭ* ‘to stretch, extend’, Hb D-stem of √*pšṭ* ‘to make a foray, meaning to plunder’ (*HALOT*, #960). Perhaps also related to CAr *bašaṭa-hū* “he spread it; spread it out, or forth; expanded it” (*Lane*, 203a).

FŠY

fsy (*m-*) (AWS 244; C 76, 1137, 2172; KhBG 345; KRS 2775, 3029; RR 4; SIJ 808; ZmNSIH 32), INF to *deliver*; *save*

fsyt (*m-*) (ASWS 124; LP 1198; KRS 1160, 1706; SIJ 37; WH 398), *deliverance*
NOTES: Compare to CAr *faššaytu-hū* “He freed it, or cleared it, from it” (*Lane*, 2408b). This word is essentially identical to *flṭ*, which may indicate that the latter is an Aramaic loan.

FTY

fty (C 2076), *slave boy*

NOTES: CAr *fatan* “A youth, or young

man; or one in the prime of life ...

[a] slave, even if an old man” (*Lane*, 2337a).

GDD

gd (KRS 303), G-SC to *mistreat*

NOTES: Compare with Gz *gadada* “force, compel, be cruel, deform” (*CDG*, 181a), probably from a basic meaning “to cut”, cf. CAr *ğadda* “he cut it, he cut it off” (*Lane*, 384a). The Safaitic could reflect a secondary development from a meaning “to strike”.

gd^ʿ*wḏ* (AWS 125; C 860, 893, 1186, 1744, 1936, 4351, 4457; HaNSB 304; HAUI 182; KRS 1087, 1683; LP 306, 342, 684, 1198; MKWS 8; ZeWA 1), *deity* (the Gadd of the lineage of ^ʿ*wḏ*)

gdḏf (ASWS 107; BRenv.H 1; C 2446; HAUI 72; KRS 24, 995, 1042, 1468, 1683, 1684, Ms 44; RWQ 329; WH 613), *deity* (the Gadd of the lineage of ḏf)

GDY

^ʿ*gdy* (H 507), PL *kids* (singular unattested).

GLḤ

glḥ (LP 732), SC to *attack*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *gallaḥa* “The acting, or advancing, boldly, or very boldly, or being bold to do evil or mischief; and showing open enmity or hostility” and “the assaulting, or attacking of a man” (*Lane*, 441a–b).

GLY

gly (AbaNS 881), G-INF to *be cut off*; to *be exposed*

ygl (KRS 213), D-PC to erase

glyn (RWQ 334), *erased/exposed* (?)

(ADJ)

NOTES: Compare with Gz *galaya*

“cut off, break off, reveal, disclose”

(CDG, 192–193), and the Arabic roots

√*glw/ġly* with a similar meaning

(Lane, 446b).

GLS¹

gls¹ (CSNS 1004; HCH 71; JaS 159.2;

KhNSJ 1), G-SC to halt, FS *gls^{1t}*

(SIAM 35)

NOTES: CAR *ġalasa* “He placed his

seat, or posteriors, upon rugged

[or rather elevated] ground” (Lane,

443b).

GML

¹gml (AWS 237; C 1185; KRS 1307;

SW 168; WH 424, 516), *camel*, DU

gmln (C 1658), PL *gml* (C 1148;

KRS 2961)

²gml (WH 3500), *Gemini* (constellation)

NOTES: The identification of this

word with the constellation Gemini

is demonstrated by WH 3500 *r’y mdr*

h- ms²tyf:šyf -h gml ‘he pastured

in the inner desert on the winter

pasture, then spent the early summer

there till [the sun was in] Gemini’.

According to Macdonald (1992b), the

period of *šyf* lasted from mid-April

till early June, which corresponds

well with the period in which the sun

passed through Gemini (mid-May

until mid-June). The term *gml* may be

connected with CAR *ġumlatun*, *ġumul*,

which can refer to “any aggregate

unseparated” (Lane, 460b–c) or may

be a local reinterpretation of the

constellation as a camel (see Al-Jallad

2014).

GNF

gnf (KhBG 345), *toponym*

GNN

gnt (C 3095), *garden(s)*

ngn (MAHB 2), *to go insane* (metaphor

for grieving)

NOTES: CAR does not attest the N of

this root, but the sense is found in

the common *maġnūnun* “possessed

by a *ġinnīyyun* or by *ġinnun* or by

a devil, or demon, etc ... hence

meaning bereft of reason; or mad,

insane, etc ...” (Lane, 464b). The N,

however, occurs in LAr *inġann* ‘he

went insane’.

GRB

grb (C 1837; RSIS 351; WH 368), *scab*

NOTES: CAR *ġarabun* “an eruption

consisting of pustules upon the

bodies of men and camels” (Lane,

403a).

GRFŠ

grfš (KRS 1023), *Agrippa*, VAR *grfš*

(H 763)

grfš bn hrđš (HshNSMI 5), *Agrippa son of*

Herod (= Agrippa II)

GRMNQŠ

grmnqš (LP 653), *Germanicus*

GS²M

gs²m (C 76), *hardship*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *ġašima*

“He did such and such things against his will, and in spite of difficulty or trouble or inconvenience” (*Lane*, 427c).

GW^c

gy^c (C 3811), G-APC *starving* (verb is unattested)

NOTES: CAR *ǧā^ca* “he was, or became, hungry” (*Lane*, 487a).

GWQ

gqt (KRS 1684), a *gathering/group of people*

NOTES: CAR *ǧawqatun*: *al-ǧamā^catu mina n-nās* ‘a gathering of people’ (*Lisān*, s.v.). The word is spelled in the inscriptions as *gqt*, but this root does not yield a meaningful word. It is therefore possible that this spelling is an error resulting from the confusion of the phonetically proximate *g* and *ǧ*.

GYS²

gs² (C 1607; HaNSB 48, 305; KRS 303; LP 146), *troop; guard*

NOTES: CAR *ǧaysun* “a military force” (*Lane*, 494a).

ǦDB

nǧdb (LP 475), N-SC *to be angry; to be upset*

NOTES: The TD-stem in CAR seems to carry this meaning *tagaǧdaba* (*Lane*, 2265), but note LAR *inǧadab*.

ǦLM

ǧlm (SIJ 750), *slave boy*, F *ǧlmt* (C 286)

ǦMM

ǧmt (LP 257), *sorrow*

NOTES: CAR *ǧammun, ǧammatur* “Grief, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, sadness, or unhappiness” (*Lane*, 2290a).

ǦNM

ǧnmt (C 70, 76, 1084, 2351, 2682, 3811, 4332; H 763; HaNSB 304, 305, 307; HAU 182; KRS 1024, 1131, 2869; LP 342, 344, MKMR 51; MKWS 8; Ms 44; NST 3; SG 1; SIJ 59; WGGR 1; WH 181, 852, 2139, 2837, 3730, 3736.1; ZeWa 1), *spoil*

ǧnmt (WH 3736.1), *raiders* (probably a *fa^calatur* plural).

ǧnm (C 3680), G-SC *to raid*

ǧnm (LP 259; MA 1), D-SC *to grant* (*spoil*)

NOTES: CAR *ǧanima* “He, or they, (i.e. a man ... or party of men) obtained, got, or took spoil, or a thing [as spoil]” (*Lane*, 2300c) and *ǧanimatur* “Booty, spoil, or plunder” (*Lane*, 2301b).

ǧnm (WH 1900), *goats*, (probably a plural of an unattested COL *ǧnm*) ‘goats’, PCL *ǧnmt* (C 4448), idem
NOTES: CAR *ǧanamun* “sheep and goats” (*Lane*, 2301a–b).

ǦNY

ǧnyt (ASWS 107; AsUI 1; AWS 72; C 1744; KRS 15, 167, 225, 995, 1432, 1886; SW 193; ZeWa 1), *abundance*

ǧny (C 2967), G-SC *to prosper*

ǧn (SW 264), C-IMP *free (someone) from want*

NOTES: CAR *ǧaniya* “He was, or became, free from want” (*Lane*, 2301c).

ĠNZ

ġnz (AZNG 1), G-SC *to be distressed*

NOTES: CAR *ġanaḏa-hū* "It and he, distressed him. And it, or he, filled him with wrath" (*Lane*, 2300b). The Safaitic is used in a context which requires a stative interpretation.

ĠRB

ġrbt (KRS 3291), *west*

ĠWR

mġrt (Rsh 1), *tomb chamber*

NOTES: Cf. CAR *maġārun* and *maġāratun* "A place of entrance" (*Lane*, 2306b)

ĠWT

ġwt (C 218; UIO 298), D-IMP *to remove affliction*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *'aġāta-hū* "he removed from him trouble or affliction" (*Lane*, 2306a).

ĠYR

ġyrt (C 893; HaNSB 197; HAU 76;

MSNS 1), *blood money; abundance*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *ġīratun* "A bloodwit" (*Lane*, 2316b); however, some contexts prefer the interpretation "abundance", an abstract noun of *ġyr*.

ġyr (SIJ 463), *to provide provisions*

NOTES: *ġāra 'ahla-hū* "he brought, or conveyed, to his family *mīrah* [or a provision of corn, or wheat, &c.] ... And he benefited them" (*Lane*, 2314c).

'ġyr (C 2967), C-SC *to remove* (contextually passive).

NOTES: Compare with the CAR D

ġayyara š-šay'a "He ... changed altered it; changed it" (*Lane*, 2315a).

ĠZW

ġzy (C 2732; KhBG 11), G-SC *to raid*

ġzz (AbaNS 906; C 1206, 4452; HaNSB 349; HaNSC 5; RVP 7; WH 65, 128, 179), D-SC idem

NOTES: CAR *ġazā l-'aduwwa* "He went forth ... to wage war, to fight, with the enemy, or he went to fight with, and plunder, the enemy" (*Lane*, 2257a). On the form *ġzz*, see (§ 5.6).

HDY

hdy (HCH 194; KRS 25, 303, 995, 1024; WH 15, 610), *commander*

hdy (SIJ 293), *to command*

NOTES: Macdonald has connected this term convincingly with Palmyrene *hdy nṭryn* "commander of the guards" (2014). CAR *hadā-hu* "He directed him, or guided him, to the way" (*Lane*, 3042b).

HGR

hgr (ASWS 10), G-APC *to migrate*

HLK

'hlk (C 35), C-SC *to slaughter*

NOTES: CAR *'ahlaka* "He destroyed, made an end of, or caused to perish" (*Lane*, 3044b).

HN'

¹*hn'* (Mu 253), G-SC *to be happy*

²*hn'* (AWS 236), D-SC *to please*; D-PC *yhn'* (Ms 44)

NOTES: CAR *hanu'a*, *hani'a* "It was pleasant" (*Lane*, 2902b).

HRB

hrbt (C 320), INF *to return from water*

NOTES: The general sense of *haraba* in CAR is to abandon or retreat; however, the active participle of the G-stem has the peculiar meaning of “to return from a place of water” (*Lane*, 2889c), which fits nicely the term’s single occurrence in C 320, as the author describes departing *brkt*, a well-known watering place.

HWT

ht (KRS 37), *low-lying lands*

NOTES: CAR *hūtātun*, *hawtātun*, PL *huwātun*, *hūtun* “A low, or depressed, tract, or piece, of land” (*Lane*, 2905a).

HB'

hb' (SIJ 274), G-PPC *to be hidden*

NOTES: CAR *haba'a-hū* “He hid, or concealed, it” (*Lane*, 692c).

HBL

¹*hbl* (KRS 941), *effacer; obscurer*

²*hbl* (KRS 213), G-SC *to go insane*

³*hbl* (ASWS 107; C 1186, 2276; HaNSB 304;

HAUI 182; KRS 1015; LP 342, 360; MKWS 8; NST 3; RSIS 80), D-SC *to obscure; ruin*; D-PC *yhbl* (CSA 1.2; HaNSB 307; HshNSMI 5; KRS 995, 1042; LP 684; WH 181); D-APC *mhbl* (Mu 278)

NOTES: CAR *habila* “He was, or became, corrupted, unsound, vitiated, or disordered” and “he was or became, possessed or insane” (*Lane*, 699b). The D with an inscription as an object would then mean ‘to make corrupt or unsound’, that is, to obscure the

writing of the text until it can no longer be read.

HBT

hbt (SG 5), *awful state or circumstance*

hbt (KRS 1684), F *corrupt* (ADJ)

NOTES: CAR *habītun* “Bad; corrupt; disapproved, hated, or abominable” (*Lane*, 694a).

HD'

hd' (ASWS 107), SC *to be debased*

NOTES: CAR *haḍu'a* “He was, or became, lowly, humble or submissive” (*Lane*, 757c).

HFR

hfrt (HAUI 182; KRS 68), *guidance*

NOTES: CAR *hafara-hū* “He protected him; granted him refuge; preserved, saved, rescued, or liberated, him” (*Lane*, 772a). Also, Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic *hafir* ‘guide, scout’ (Piamenta 1990:133). The context of HAUI 183 suggests the word sides more closely with the Yemeni meaning rather than the CAR.

HLF

¹*hlf* (HaNSB 304), *compensation*

hlf (NRW.D 1), SC *to grant compensation* (only the 2FS is attested)

²*hlf* (KRS 2453), D-INF *to take back*

NOTES: CAR *ahlafa fulānun li-nafsi-hī li-ḡayri-hī* “Such a one replaced to himself, or to another, a thing that had gone from him, with another thing” (*Lane*, 794c)

HLL

hll (RWQ 281), SC *to keep watch*, VAR *hl* (C 4443)

NOTES: This verb should be connected with Gz. *hallawa* “watch, keep watch, guard” (CDG, 262), rendering it essentially equivalent to *hrs*. A connection with CAr *taḥawwala-hū* “he paid frequent attention, or returned time after time” (Lane, 825a–b) is also possible. I thank my student, C. Della Puppa, for identifying the etymology of this word.

HLŞ

hlş (KRS 2728), *salvation*

hlş (KRS 1964), C-SC *to make safe*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *halaşa*, INF *hulüşun*, *halāşatun* “he became safe, or secure, or free, from embarrassment, or difficulty, or from destruction” (Lane, 785b).

HMS¹

hms¹ (C 2088), *five*, F *hms¹t* (KRS 25);

hms¹t^s²rn (KRS 225), *twenty-five*

HNS

hns (C 1868), *young animals, swine*

NOTES: Compare to CAr *hinnawşun*, idem (Lane, 817a).

HRM

hrm (KRS 213), G-APC *to drill; hammer*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *ḥarama-hū* “he perforated, or pierced, it” (Lane, 730a).

HRS¹

hrs¹ (C 1186; LP 325, 342; WH 368), *dumbness*

NOTES: CAr *ʾaḥrasu* “dumb” (Lane, 722a).

HRŞ

hrş (ASWS 107; ASWS 18; AKSD 5; C 1744, 1837, 2670, 3177, 3931, 4261, 4842; HaNSB 184; HAU1 182; HCH 71, 102; HN 161; KRS 18, 29, 30, 922, 1131, 1432, 1563, 1695; 1903, 2060, 2420, 2460, 2569; LP 325, 576; SESP.U 13, 18; RR 4; RWQ 120, 329, 335; WH 368, 582, 852, 1696; ZeGA 11; ZeWa 1), SC *to keep watch (for)*, + *l-* *to look after*, + *l-* *on behalf of*; *to anticipate*, w-form *hrşw* (RSIS 204)

thrş (WH 398), T2-SC *to be cautious*

NOTES: The CAr expression *ḥaraşa n-naḥla* means “He conjectured the quantity of the fruit upon the palm-tress” (Lane, 723a) and reflects semantic narrowing from an original meaning ‘to watch’ or ‘to look’ found in the Safaitic inscriptions. The CAr *ḥaraşa* probably originally meant something like ‘to eyeball’, that is, to estimate quantity based on a rough visual assessment. In many cases, authors *hrs* intangible things, such as the want of rain. In these cases, the verb is best translated as ‘to worry about’ or ‘to anticipate’. The semantic shift, *to watch out for* > *to anticipate* is negligible as the former is the result of the latter.

HS¹F

hs¹f (C 2713), *hunger, emaciation*

NOTES: CAr *hasfun* “Leanness, or emaciation” and *bāta l-qawmu ‘alā l-hasfi* “The party passed the night in a state of hunger” (*Lane*, 738c).

HS¹R

hs¹r (LP 1013), G-SC to suffer a loss

NOTES: CAr *hasira* “He lost, or suffered loss or diminution” (*Lane*, 736c).

HTN

htn (C 4988; KRS 167), wife’s relation

NOTES: CAr *hatanun* “any relation on the wife’s side” (*Lane*, 704a).

HTT

¹*htt* (C C 893, 1240, 1658, 2113, 3931;

KRS 25, 213, 995, 1287; LP 325, 360, 684, 685; Ms 37, Mu 141; RSIS 351; SG 1; WH 181, 368, ZeWA 1), *writing*

²*htt* (C 1185), *writer*

NOTES: CAr *haṭṭun*, PL *hutūtun* “A line, streak, or stripe” (*Lane*, 759a) but probably with the sense “a writing” (*Lane*, 759b).

HWF

hwf (KRS 1949), INF (?) to fear

thwf (HCH 107; KhBG 345), T2-SC to be diminished by the lack of rain

NOTES: The best match for this term is found in the expression *taḥawwafa-nā s-sanatu* “the year of drought, or sterility, took from us by little and little” (*Lane*, 823c). Safaitic *thwf* is attested four times in the corpus, three of which occur with the verb *qyz* ‘to spend the dry season’, followed by a prayer for protection.

HWL

hl (AKSD 5; C 1167, 4068, 4443; HCH 10; KRS 167, 1975), *maternal uncle*, PL ¹*hwl* (HCH 71; HshNSMI 5; KRS 2340)

hlt (KRS 18), *maternal aunt*

NOTES: CAr *hālun* “mother’s brother” and *hālatun* “mother’s sister” (*Lane*, 825b).

HYL

hl (BTH 228; WH 1700.1), *horse(s)*

NOTES: CAr *haylun* “horses” (*Lane*, 853b). It is used adverbially in BTH 228 to mean ‘on horseback’.

¹*hl* (C 1186), *uncertainty*

NOTES: The form ¹*hl* probably reflects a verbal noun derived from the C-stem, which in Arabic means “It (a thing) was, or became, dubious, or confused, or vague” (*Lane*, 834).

HYR

hr (RWQ 335), *good*

hyr s¹lm (C 5050), *the bliss of security*

NOTES: CAr *hayrun* “Anything that is good, real, or ideal” (*Lane*, 829b).

HYT

hytn (WH 1022), *journeying*

hyt (C 27; WH 742, 2025), G-SC to journey; APC *hyt* (C 28)

NOTES: CAr *hāṭa fulānun haytatan* “Such a one journeyed on, not pausing for anything” (*Lane*, 831b). The term had a more general sense in the Safaitic inscriptions, as indicated by C 27 *byt hyt* ‘he spent the night while journeying’.

ḤZR

ḥzr (HaNSB 304), SC *to strike with a sword*

NOTES: The meaning of this word is apparent from its context, but I am aware of no good cognates.

ḤZY

hz (ASWS 124), G-APC *to be hostile*

NOTES: CAR *hazā-hu* “He treated him, or regarded him, with enmity, or hostility” (*Lane*, 735a–b).

ḤBB

ḥbt (KRS 2961), *a sort of rain*

NOTES: A basic sense of the word *ḥabb*, of which *ḥabbat-* is the *nomen unitatis*, is ‘seed’ or ‘grain’, and can be used in conjunction with the word *ḡamām* ‘clouds’ to refer to ‘hail’ (*Lane*, 496b). Since *ḥbt* occurs in a variant of the common meteorological formula *ṭzr h- ṣʾmy* ‘he awaited rain’, it should probably be taken as a reference to ‘rain’, perhaps in the paucal to mean ‘a bit of rain’.

ḥbb (ASWS 73; C 96, 99, 2036, 2446, 4988; HaNS 660; KRS 1180, 1432), *loved one*, F *ḥbbt* (C 304), VAR *ṃḥbb* (WH 116), *loved one*; participle of the G-stem

ʾḥb (AWS 48), *most beloved* (elative)

ʾḥbb (MKWS 8), *to love*; PPC *ṃḥb* (CSNS 1021)

NOTES: CAR *ʾḥabba* “He loved, liked, approved, or took pleasure in, him, or it” (*Lane*, 495c).

ḤBQ

ḥbqy (WH 1234), *stinking* (feminine elative).

NOTES: Probably the elative of the root $\sqrt{h}bq$, which in CAR refers to breaking wind, cf. CAR *ḥabiqun* “emission of wind from the anus, with a sound; mostly used in relation to camels and sheep or goats” (*Lane*, 503a).

ḤBS¹

ḥbsʾt (CSNS 1), *enclosure*

NOTES: CAR *ḥabsun* “a place of confinement”, “a jail” (*Lane*, 500c).

ḤDD

ḥdd (KhBG 345), *toponym*

ḥdt (MKOWI 2), G-SC *to forbid; hinder* (masculine unattested)

NOTES: CAR *ḥadda r-raḡula ʾani l-ʾamr* “He prevented, or hindered, or withheld, or restrained, a man from the affair” (*Lane*, 524b).

ḤDQ

ḥdq (C 2076), *walled enclosure*

NOTES: Compare with Arabic *ḥadiqah* “A walled garden” (*Lane*, 532b). C 2076 *ḥdq* was the object of a siege, suggesting that it referred to a strategically walled structure rather than a garden.

ḤDR

ḥdr (C 1936, 3931; H 506; KRS 169, 1131; LP 257; RWQ 73, 117, 120), G-SC *to camp by (permanent) water; to be present (with reference to the sun)*; G-INF *ḥdr* (WH 3559.1, 3584)

NOTES: The basic sense of this root is ‘to be present’, and can further signify inhabited regions, such as cities,

towns, and cultivated lands, and in CAr, it can mean to be present in such places. The term in the Safaitic inscriptions occurs frequently in the contexts of droughts and near areas of permanent water, suggesting a closer connection with CAr *ḥādirun*, which signifies any people “that have alighted and taken up their abode by a constant source of water, and do not remove from it in winter nor in summer, whether they have alighted and taken up their abode in towns or villages, and cultivated land, and houses of clay, or pitched their tents by the water, and remained there, and sustained their beasts with the water and herbage around them” (*Lane*, 590b).

ḤGG

yhg (WH 3053), G-PC to make a pilgrimage

NOTES: The sense of “to make a pilgrimage” is confirmed by an unpublished inscription stating *bt l ḥg s^l* “the pilgrimage to Sī^r was rendered void”. The temple of B^rl^sl^mn was located at Sī^r, and so it was likely that the author intended to make the pilgrimage there, but was for some reason unable. Another unpublished inscription from Jebel Qurma attests *ḥg bt h-’lt* ‘he made a pilgrimage to the temple of the goddess’.

ḤGZ

ḥgz (C 1240; H 506; LP 722), G-SC to withhold; hinder

NOTES: CAr *ḥaḡaza-hū* “It prevented,

hindered, impeded, withheld, restrained, or debarred him” (*Lane*, 519a). This verb is always used with B^rl^sl^mn as a subject and a pronominal object, referring presumably to the rain.

ḤKK

ḥkk (WH 368), *mange*

NOTES: CAr *ḥikkatun*; *ḥukākun* “An itching; scab or mange” (*Lane*, 614b)

ḤLL

ḥl (C 4803), *camping*

ḥl (AWS 48, C 726, 2104; KRS 1131; RSIS 351), SC to camp; G-APC *ḥl* (C 407); INF *ḥlt* (JaS 159.2)

ḥll (C 70, 2830, 2997, 5137; HCH 71; KRS 1683, 1852; LP 146, 1351) D-SC idem; D-APC *mḥll* (RyD 6822)

NOTES: CAr *ḥalla* “He alighted, lodged or settled in a place, etc.” (*Lane*, 619b).

ḤLW

ḥlw (C 3365), *healing*

NOTES: The sense of this root in Classical Arabic is “sweet” and “pleasing”, while in NWS it refers to chronic or serious sickness or general suffering (*HALOT*, #2893). The sense required by its context in C 3365 suggests that it is the opposite of *s^lqm* ‘illness’, i.e., ‘healing’.

ḤMR

ḥmr (UIO 27), *donkey*

ḤMY

ḥmy (LP 342), *area of pasture*

ḥmyn (BRev.H 1), possibly *protected*
(ADJ)

NOTES: CAR *ḥiman* “A place of herbage, or pasture, and of water, prohibited to the people (i.e., the public)” (*Lane*, 651c).

ḥm (AWS 124; KRS 598), *heat*

ḤNN

ḥnn (C 31), D-IMP *to show compassion*

NOTES: Compare with *ḥanānūn* “mercy, compassion, pity” (*Lane*, 653b).

ḤQB

ḥqb (HCH), *quiver*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *ḥaqībatun* “a bag or receptacle” (*Lane*, 610c), but in the context of *rmy*, a quiver.

ḤRR

ḥrt (CSNS 1; KRS 37; RSIS 351; SIJ 957; WH 197), *toponym* (the *Ḥarrah*)

ḤRB

¹**ḥrb** (C 2209, 3680; RSIS 324), *war*

²**ḥrb** (C 2209, 4448; HAU 76; KRS 2646;

LP 360; MISSD 1; MKOWI 2; NST 3; WH 1700.1; 3792.a), *to wage war; to plunder*, F **ḥrbt** (SIJ 59); PPC **mḥrb** (ISB 421; RWQ 334), PL **ḥrbn** (C 1607; KRS 24), VAR **mḥrbn** (HCH 71).

NOTES: CAR *ḥaraba-hū* “He despoiled him of his wealth, or property; or plundered him”, and *ḥarbun* “war, battle, fight, or conflict” (*Lane*, 540b).

ḤRM

ḥrmt (C 407), *toponym* (?)

ḤWR

ḥrn (C 99, 1167; HaNSB 197, 218; KRS 922, 1706, 1991; RWQ 323; WH 161), *toponym* (*Ḥawrān*)

ḥwrn (WH 2837) *safe return*

ḥwr (ASWS 202; HCH 131), SC *to return*
NOTES: CAR *ḥāra* “He, or it, returned” (*Lane*, 665a).

ḤWB

ḥwb (SW 168), G-SC *to lament*, VAR **ḥyb** (WH 116); G-INF **ḥb** (WH 116).

NOTES: CAR *ḥawbun* “He became in an evil condition or state; *taḥawwaba* he cried out expressing pain, grief, sorrow, etc.” (*Lane*, 662a–b).

ḤWLT

ḥwlt (AsUI 1; C 2670; CSNS 957, HCH 72, 103, 126, 132; RWQ 73, 335, 349; WH 153, 3736.1), *social group*, GADJ **ḥwly** (LP 87)

NOTES: The Ḥwlt seem to have been a large confederation from North Arabia who were considered enemies by the inhabitants of the *Ḥarrah*.

ḤWW

ḥwwt (WGGR 1), *to become dark in color*

NOTES: Compare with Gz *ḥawaya* “to become dark (due to sunset), become gloomy, become evening” and CAR *iḥwawā* “become red inclining to blackness” (*CDG*, 250b).

ḤYQ

ḥwq (KRS 1015, 1042; SESP.D 12), *jealousy*, VAR **ḥyq** (C 1185)

NOTES: CAR *ḥāyaqa-hū* “He envied or hated him” (*Lane*, 688b).

ḤYW

ḥyy (C 4803) *life*

ḥywy (C 300), *animal*, PL *ḥyt* (AbaNS 407; HaNSB 354; KhMNS 51; WH 351, 359, 3929)

¹*ḥy* (C 1280), G-SC *to live long*; G-PC *nḥyy* (LP 495); APC/ADJ *ḥy* (SIJ 293)

²*ḥy* (LP 335, 1267), D-IMP *grant (long) life*
NOTES: Compare with CAR *ḥayawā-nun* “anything possessing animal life” (Lane, 682b).

KBR

kbr (C 2686; HaNSB 184; KRS 1670) *large; tall or long* (constantly, continuously when used as a temporal adverb).
NOTES: The CAR *kabūrun* expresses intensity in terms of size and/or substance (Lane, 2586c), while its usage in the Safaitic inscriptions seems to be temporal as well, indicating a large amount of time.

KLʾ

klʾ (C 2088; KRS 169), SC *to detain, restrain*

NOTES: The sense in Safaitic seems to accord with the Hebrew “retain, detain” (HALOT, #4241), as clearly illustrated in KRS 169, where the term refers to a lack of rain. A comparable use of this root is found in Gen. 8:2 *wāyiyikkālēʾ haq-gēšēm min-haš-šāmāyim* “and the rain from the sky was restrained”.

KLB

klb (HCH 131; WH 1516), *dog*

KLL

kl (HaNSB 16, 305; KRS 6; LP 243), *all*, VAR *kl* (SW 193); *each* (C 88; HCH 191; WH 161); *everything* (KRS 2646)
kl (LP 305), *both*

KLM

klm (LP 161), G-SC *to injure*

KMʾ

kmʾ (JaS 61; WH 632) SC *to collect truffles*; INF *kmʾt* (MAHB 5)
NOTES: CAR *kamaʾa* “He fed [people] with [the truffles called] kam”; *takammaʾa* “he gathered [the truffles called] kam” (Lane, 2629a). The verb is never accompanied by an object, and so the G-stem probably had the same sense as the CAR TD.

KMN

mkmn (MKWS 8), *hiding place*
kmn (MKWS 8), G-SC *to go into hiding*
NOTES: CAR *makmanun* “a place of concealment; a lurking place” (Lane, 3003c).

KNF

knf (WH 1234), G-SC *to show mercy, kindness*
NOTES: The contexts prefers an association with the CAR sense in *kanfu llāhi: raḥmatu-hū* “Kanf of Allah: his mercy” (Lisān, s.v.).

KNN

knn (ASWS 217), *the month Kānūn*
NOTES: The Syrian calendar knows two *kānūn*'s, corresponding to December and January. Since

this month is attested without an accompanying number, it could be the case that the calendar employed by the nomads of the Ḥarrah had only one.

KS¹

ks¹ (C 523), *full moon* or *cosmical setting*

NOTES: I have argued in Al-Jallad 2014 that this term should be connected with Hb *kīsê* and Syriac *kesā*, both “full moon” (*HALOT*, #4326); however, it is also possible that the term should be connected with the Arabic root *ks*’ signifying the ‘end’ or ‘final part’ of something. In this case, it may refer to the cosmical setting of a constellation, that is, when it sets in the western horizon at sun rise. The term *ks¹* would therefore signal the end of its visibility in the sky at night. Both phenomena occur at the same time, so neither translation affects the chronological dimension of our interpretation.

KS¹R

ks¹r (AKSD 5), *destroyer*

ks¹r (KRS 1023) G-INF *to break*

NOTES: CAr *kasara-hū* “He broke it off” (*Lane*, 2610c).

KTB

ktb (C 4803), *writing*

KWN

k¹n (LP 1198), G-APC *to be*

mykn (KRS 2453), C-PPC *to be established*

(?)

NOTES: In the case of *mykn*, one must assume an earlier form *mu’akānu*, whereby the glottal stop was lost or merged with *y*. This form may be restricted to the poetic register.

KWY

kwy (HCH 132), *to wander*

NOTES: Compare with Gz *kawawa* “hasten, hurry”; Amh *kāwwa* “wandering” (*CDG*, 300b).

L¹N

l¹n (AWS 48, KRS 29, 1042; LP 360; Ms 44), *to curse/be cursed*, 2FS *l¹t* (CSA 1.2);

G-IMP *l¹n* (KRS 1015; Ms 44; RWQ 73)

NOTES: The identical use of the verb *l¹n* is very common in the Nabataean inscriptions; see Cantineau (1930:11) for examples.

LD

h-ld (C 2947), *toponym*

LGYN

lgyn (LP 653), *legion(s)*, from Latin

LEGIONEM (credit goes to M.C.A.

Macdonald for the identification of this word).

LḤN

lḥyn (WH 641.1), *social group* (possibly Liḥyān).

LS¹N

’ls¹nt (LP 1108), *tongues* or *curses* (singular unattested)

LWN

lwny (WGGR 1), *color*

NOTES: CAR *lawnun* ‘colour’ (*Lane*, 3015a); the morphological identity of this word is unclear, but it could be a CaCCay pattern with the rare transcription of the word internal diphthong, */lawnay/.

LYL

lyly (KRS 2453), *nights* (singular unattested)

LZṢ or LWṢ

lṣ (KRS 2453), *scorner*

NOTES: Ugaritic *lṣt* ‘scorn’, Hebrew *lṣ*, and perhaps Akkadian *lāṣu* (*UD*, 508). The cognate Arabic root √lṣṣ gives rise to the word *laṣṣun*, applied to a man ‘hard, or difficult in disposition’ (*Lane*, 2661c), and the G-stem verb *laṣṣa*, which can mean ‘to drive away’ (*ibid*, 2661b). The C-stem of this root, which takes an object introduced by *b-*, has the sense of ‘cleaving to’ or ‘applying oneself to something perseveringly or incessantly’ (*ibid*).

MṬ

¹*mṭ* (AbaNS 286; C 2832), *hundred*
mṭ frs¹ (C 320, 2076; KRS 1468; LP 1265; ZeWa 1), *cavalry unit*, DU *mṭy frs¹* (RQ.A 10)

NOTES: M.C.A. Macdonald ingeniously connects *mṭ frs¹* with the Roman *cohors equitata quingenaria*, an auxiliary cavalry unit of the Roman army containing roughly 120 horsemen. The authors of the Safaitic

inscriptions seem to have abbreviated this to simply 100 (2014).

MḎ

mḎ (C 3020), *toponym* (?)

NOTES: Probably a toponym in *rṣy h-nhl b- m* [ḏ h- *bl*, although it could be a personal name, or even Aquarius *mlh*, if the text was incorrectly copied.

MṢ

mṣy (ASWS 217, 360; C 2276, 5050; H 763; KRS; 2420; LP 360; RWQ 317; SIT 52; WH 159, 1698; ZeGA 11), *goats*

NOTES: CAR *maṣun*, *maṣun* ‘Goats ... the kind of *ḡanamun* opposed to *ḡaṣnun*; the kind of *ḡanamun* with hair’ (*Lane*, 2724a).

mṣyn (C 4452), *shepherd*

NOTES: Probably the equivalent of CAR *maṣṣun* ‘a possessor, or master of, *miṣan*’ (*Lane*, 2724c), with an adjectival suffix, /ān/.

MDD

ṣmd (MISSD 1), C-SC *to send reinforcements*

NOTES: MISSD 1, p. 456 connects this verb with CAR *ṣmḏadtu-hū bi-madadin* ‘I aided him, and strengthened him ... with an army’ (*Lane*, 2696a).

MDY

mdy (C 4448; SIJ 78), *Persians*

NOTES: Compare with Hb *māḏī* ‘Medes’.

MGD

mgdt (KRS 1042; LP 180), *bounty*, VAR *mgd* (KRS 1684)

NOTES: CAR *maǧd* “glory; honour; dignity; nobility” (*Lane*, 2690a), and when applied to a man can signify someone who is generous in giving and bountiful. The latter set of meanings is more suitable for the Safaitic context, as prayers for *mgd* usually follow expressions of scarcity, hunting, or seasonal movement.

MHR

mhr (C 1186), *filly*, PL *mhr* (C 3095), *colts*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *muhr* “colt”, with ʾ: “filly” (*Lane*, 2740b).

MHL

mhl (LP 342), *dearth of pasture, dryness of earth, deprivation of herbage*, VAR *mhltn* (KRS 1551) (with possible nunation), *mhl* (ASWS 202; WGGR 1).

ʾmhl (ASWS 202), C-SC *to cause dearth*

NOTES: CAR *mahlun* and *muhālatun*, with the same meanings as above (*Lane*, 3018b).

MḤQ

mḥq (AWS 81), *bad fortune*

NOTES: According to the *Lisān* (s.v.), *mḥq* is refers to the removal of blessing—*maḥaqa-hū llāhu ʾay ʾadhaba ḥayra-hū wa-barakata-hū* ‘... that is, Allah has removed his good will and blessings’.

MLḤ

¹*mlḥ* (HaNSB 184; SIJ 37), SC *he traded salt*

NOTES: Most have assumed that this verb refers to the manufacture or

trading of salt, which was common in many of the areas in which Safaitic inscriptions have been found.

While it is also possible to take the verb as the equivalent of CAR *mallaha* “he [a poet] produced, or said, something goodly, beautiful, pretty” or even *ʾamlaḥa l-qawmu* “the people possessed milk”, the context of HaNSB 184 *mlḥ f ʾny kbr* “and he *mlḥ* and so toiled continuously” suggests that the verb signifies an arduous action, confirming the original translation ‘to work/trade salt’. On the other hand, there is no way to disprove the other meanings in ambiguous contexts.

²*mlḥ* (ASWS 73; C 3230; KRS 169, 1536), *Aquarius* (constellation)

NOTES: Probably ‘salt worker’ or ‘salt pan’; see Al-Jallad (2014).

MLK

mlk (CSNS 957; KhNSJ 1; KRS 1023, 1695; LP 619; WH 1700.1; ZeWa 1) *king*; (KRS 1944) a component of an epithet of Bʾlsʾmn, *mlk h-sʾmy* ‘sovereign of the sky’, F *mlkt* (Mu 412; SIJ 786), *queen*

mlk h- sltn (RQ.A 10), *possessor of authority* (perhaps an epithet for a governor?)

^ʾ*mlk* (RQ.A 10), C-SC *to take control*

MLY

mly (MISSI 2), *words*

NOTES: Syr *malālā* “endowed with the power of speech, full of talk, talkative, eloquent, garrulous” (*SD*, 278a).

MN^c

mn't (CSNS 1), SC *to be hindered* (masculine unattested)

NOTES: CAr *mana'a* 'to hinder'.

MNY

¹*mnny* (C 304, 1133, 2285, 4988; HCH 10, 37; KRS 6, 941, 1562, 1991, 2340, 3029; MKWS 28; NST 2, 3; SG 5; WAMS 19.1; WH 614, 3133.1), *Fate*

NOTES: Probably a deification of fate, comparable to the deity *manawat*, Nab. *mnwtw*, ASA *mnt*, etc. CAr *manīyyatun* "A decreed event, fate; destiny", also *manan* < *manay-, pl. *manāyā* (Lane, 3025b).

²*mnny* (RQ.A 1), *mina* (currency)

NOTES: An ancient Near Eastern unit of currency, μνᾶ, Syr *manyā*, Hb *mānā*.

MR^c

mr' (WH 2147), *man*; *husband*

mr't (C 4768; WH 2147), *wife*; *woman*

MRD

¹*mrđ* (AZNG 1), *a rebellion*

²*mrđ* (QZUI 462), *a rebel*

³*mrđ* (KRS 1023; SG 5; SIJ 78), G-SC *to rebel*, 3FS *mrđt* (WH 2815)

NOTES: CAr *marada*, *murūdun* "He exalted himself, or was insolent, and audacious, in pride and in acts of rebellion or disobedience" (Lane, 2706a).

MRD

mrđ (LP 335), *to become ill*

NOTES: CAr *marīḏa* "He ... was, or became, [diseased, disordered, distempered, sick, or ill] in the state termed *marāḏun*" (Lane, 2708b).

MRQ

¹*mrq* (RWQ 339), G-SC *to pass by*

²*mrq* (HaNSB 304; KRS 1304), D-SC *to*

remove, throw off; to let pass by

NOTES: The sense 'to pass by' is

preserved in the vernacular Arabic of the Levant, *marāqa* "to cross, pass by", *marraqa* "let a.o. pass by" (Hava, 717), but seems to have been lost in CAr. A faint whisper of the sense of the D-stem survives in CAr *marqu l-ihābi* "the burying of the skin, or hide, in the earth so that its hair may be removed, and it may become ready for tanning", and in the verb *imtarāqa* "He drew [i.e. removed, my insertion] the sword from its scabbard" (Lane, 3019a).

MRR

mr bi- (RSIS 80), G-SC *to pass*

NOTES: CAr *marra bi-hī* 'He passed by him'; see (Lane, 2699c).

MŠR

mšr (C 2947), D-SC *to take away* (?)

NOTES: CAr *maššara-hū* "He made it (namely a town) a *mišr*, i.e. a limit, or boundary, between two things" (Lane, 2719b) does not seem to fit the context of this inscription. The author asks for vengeance against the one who killed his brother, and the verb associated with the murderer is *mšr*. Perhaps one can understand this verb to mean 'to take away', that is, to cause separation.

MT*

mt't (KRS 756), *provisions*

NOTES: CAR *matā'un* "Anything useful or advantageous; as goods ... commodities ... food, the necessities of life" (*Lane*, 3017a).

MTR

mtr (KRS 2420; SESP.U 18), *rain*, PL *mtrt* (RSIS 324)

tmtr (WGGR 1), PC *to rain* (3FS; other forms not attested)

NOTES: CAR *maṭarati s-samā'u* "the sky rained" and *maṭarun* "rain" (*Lane*, 2721b–2722a).

MṬY

mṭyt (C 1837), *riding camel*, PL *mṭt* (WH 2837)

NOTES: Compare with CAR *maṭṭyy-atun* "a camel or beast that one rides" (*Lane*, 3021c).

mty (C 663, 4332; HaNSB 304, 305; KRS15; LP 236, 1013), G-SC *to journey* (in haste?)

NOTES: CAR *maṭā: ḡadda bis-sayri, wa-'asra'a* 'he exerted himself in journeying and made haste' (*Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, s.v.); Syr *mṭā* "to come, arrive at, reach" (*SD*, 266a).

MWT

mt (KRS 68, 2453; LP 1198; WH 1243), *death*

myt (ASWS 73; C 2190; HCH 132; KRS 1051, 1852; Ms 4; UIO 117), G-SC *to die*, VAR

mt (C 1133; KhNSJ 1; NST 2), FS *mtt* (ASWS 70; AbaNS 86; NST 2)

ymyt (C 4351), *one who causes death*

(divine epithet of Gdḏf, originally D-stem verb)

MWL

mwl (K 196), D-IMP *make abundant*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *tama-wwala* "He became abundant in wealth" (*Lane*, 3026a).

MY

my (ASWS 202; AbaNS 1128; KRS 102, 1944), *water*, VAR *myt* (KRS 96)

NOTES: Safaitic *my* and *myt* correspond perfectly with LAR *mayy* and *mayye* < *mayyat, both water. I thank my student C. Della Puppa for this suggestion.

N'M

¹*n'm* (HaNSB 117) *ostrich*, SING *n'mt* (KRS 1610), VAR *n'mh* (AWS 302); DU *n'mtn* (AbaNS 28)

²*n'm* (C 320, 2446; KRS 1563; WH 1700.1), *livestock*

NOTES: CAR *na'amun* "pasturing *māl* [or cattle]; mostly applied to camels, and neat, and sheep and goats" (*Lane*, 3035b); *na'amun* "ostrich".

³*n'm* (C 4803), INF *to improve; make easy*

⁴*n'm* (AWS 218; C 4803; LP 325, 460, 504), *divine favor; ease; enjoyment*, VAR *n'mt* (HshNSMI 5)

NOTES: CAR *ni'matun* "A benefit; benefaction; favour; boon; or good" (*Lane*, 3035b–c). Also *na'imun* and *nu'mun*.

NBT

nbt (AsUI 1; C 3690; RWQ 334), *Nabataea; Nabataeans* (toponym; eth-

nonym), GADJ *nbtj* (CSNS 661; MISSB 1)

NFR

nfrt (WH 2815), *kinsmen*

NOTES: “party of near kinsmen sworn to go to war” (*Lane*, 2825b).

nfr (HCH 194; LP 87; MKMR 9; SIJ 352),

G-SC *to flee*; G-APC *nfr* (MKJS 1)

NOTES: CAR *nafara* “he took fright, and fled, or ran away at random” (*Lane*, 2823c).

NFS¹

¹*nfs¹* (BRCM 0194; HaNSB 307; KRS 3239;

Vogue 404.1, 404.2; WH 587, 1191;

ZmNSIH 32, 37), *funerary monument*,

PL *ʾfs¹* (NRW.D 1)

NOTES: Compare with NWS *npš* “funerary monument; stele” (*DNWSI*, 748). A plural form *ʾ(n)fs¹* has been securely attested once (NRW.D 1).

In other cases, the context does not support a plural interpretation but instead, the form should be interpreted as a *nfs¹* + the ʾ-article.

In the case of AbaNS 86, an *n* should probably be restored between the first two letters of *ʾfs¹*, ʾ- [*n*]*fs¹* ‘this funerary monument’, as there is a larger gap than between other letters. Indeed, other inscriptions on the rock express grieving for *Bhs²*, to whom the monument is dedicated.

²*nfs¹* (C 2031), *person*

NOTES: CAR *nafsun* “a person; a being; an individual” (*Lane*, 2827c).

l-nfs¹-h (LP 360), *by himself*

NOTES: CAR *ǧāʾa-nī bi-nafsi-hī* “he came to me himself” (*Lane*, 2827c).

³*nfs¹* (AZNG 1), *Nepos* (personal name)

NOTES: Abbadi and Zayadine cleverly connect *nfs¹* with T. Haterius Nepos, governor of Provincia Arabia in the 2nd c. CE. See the commentary under AZNG 1 for more.

NGD

ngd (KRS 2869), *SC to be/become courageous*

NOTES: CAR *nağuda* “He was, or became, courageous, and sharp, or vigorous and effective, in those affairs which others lack power or ability to accomplish” (*Lane*, 2766b).

NGM

ngm (HaNSB 218; WH 3053), *Virgo* (constellation)

NOTES: Probably refers to an ear of corn, which was the symbol of this constellation in the eastern zodiacs. Safaitic *ngm* should be connected with CAR root *√ngm*, which refers to ‘the emergence’ or ‘appearance’ *ṭalaʾa/ṣahara*, of, among other things, a ‘plant’, ‘a canine tooth’, ‘a horn’ or ‘a planet’ (*Lisan*, s.v.).

NGR

mngr (CSNS 517), *long-suffering* (morphologically a participle)

ngr (C 404; KRS 598), *to be patient; endure*; G-PC *ygr* (ISB 421); G-INF *ngr* (UIO 268)

NOTES: Compare with Syr *ngar*, which, among its many meanings, attests “to be longsuffering, patient” (*SD* 327b).

NGS²

*ngs*² (HaNSB 218), *to drive*

NOTES: CAR *nağšaša* “He collected together camels [&c.] after a state of dispersion” and “he drove vehemently” (*Lane*, 2771b).

NGW

ngwt (C 4842), *escape*

¹*ngy* (HCH 132; WH 153), G-SC *to escape*; *be saved*; G-PC *nngy* (WH 135)

²*ngy* (CSNS 1004; KRS 25, 303, 995, 1684; WH 15, 610, 1698, 2815) G-SC *to (be) announce(d)*, FS *ngyt* (SIJ 786)

NOTES: Macdonald has connected this word with Sabaic *ngw* “to announce” (*SbD*, 93), and is used to announce leadership over a raiding or war party (2014).

NOTES: CAR *nağā* “He became safe, secure; he escaped” (*Lane*, 3028c).

NHY

nhy (LP 317), *deity*

NHL

nhl (AWS 72; C 269, 272, 1206, 1573, 2088, 2104, 2670, 3020, 3230; KRS 1670, 2409, 3291; WH 65; ZeGA 11), (*torrent*) *valley*

NOTES: Hb *naḥal* “river valley, wadi” (*HALOT*, #6089).

NKR

nkṛ (LP 1261), SC *to contend with*; *battle*

NOTES: Perhaps equivalent to CAR *nākara* “He contended with him in a fight, battle, war” (*Lane*, 2849b).

NMR

h-nmrt (AWS 48; C 523, 2732; LP 330; Mu

867; M 358; RSIS 199, 339), *toponym* (Namārah)

NQL

nql (AbaNS 78), SC *to transport*

NOTES: CAR *an-naqlu: taḥwīlu š-šay'i min mawḏi'in 'ilā mawḏi'in* ‘the transport of a thing from a place to a place’ (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NQM

nqmt (C 2947, 4076; LP 305, 319, 460, 4076, 5121; QZUI 462; SG 5), *retribution, vengeance*

NOTES: CAR *niqmatun* “penal retribution, or vengeance” (*Lane*, 3037c).

NS²Ṭ

ns²ṭ (WH 1243), SC *to go forth*

NOTES: CAR *našaṭa* “He went forth from a place”; “he passed or crossed, [from one country or the like to another]” (*Lane*, 2796a).

NŞ^c

nş^c (HaNSB 371), *enmity*

NOTES: CAR *naša'a r-rağulu* ‘He made apparent and clear his enmity and intention to kill’ (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NŞB

¹*nşb* (C 527), *cult stone*

mnşb (ZeGA 1), *cult stone*, VAR *mşb* (KRS 2914), *mşbt* (C 511)

²*nşb* (MISSD 1), SC *to set up a cult stone*
NOTES: Macdonald (2012: 291) has suggested that the *nşb*-stone acted as a commemorative symbol of a divine being, or even a representation of the

being itself. For cognates, see (*DNWSI*, 749–750).

NŠN

nšn (ASWS 202), *the month Nisan* (March–April)

NŠR

nšr (C 220; RWQ 117), N-SC *to be in need of aid*

NOTES: CAR *našara-hū* “He aided or assisted him” (*Lane*, 2802c). This word always appears in contexts which require an intransitive sense in the inscriptions, perhaps suggesting it should be taken as an N-stem, */naššara/ < *naššara.

NTL

ntl (HaNSB 8, 56), G-APC *ahead of others*
NOTES: CAR *natala min bayni-him ...: taqaddama* “*natala* from among them ...: he advanced” (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NWL

nl (LP 619), SC *to attain*
NOTES: CAR *nāla* “He attained, obtained” (*Lane*, 3040c).

NWM

nm (KRS 2453; RWQ 155), G-SC *to sleep; to perish*

NOTES: Both attestations of this verb suggest the metaphoric meaning ‘to perish, die’. This euphemism is known from later Arabic as well.

NWQ

nqt (LP 316; MA 1; WH 1234), *she-*

camel, DU *nqtn* (WH 3912), PL *’nq* (AbaNS 564.1); VAR *nq* (LP 335)

NOTES: CAR *an-nāqatu: ’al-’untā mina l-’ibil* “the female of the camel” (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NWY

nw (LP 325), *migrating group*

¹*nwy* (KRS 2409, 2568), *pastureland*

NOTES: Hb *nāwé* “grazing place” (*HALOT*, #6035); CAR *nawan* “A tract, or region towards which one goes in journeying” (*Lane*, 3040b).

²*nwy* (BWM 3), SC *to migrate*; G-PC *yny* (C 1108); G-INF *nyt* (C 4233; KRS 1770); G-APC *nwy* (KRS 37, 1949)

NOTES: CAR *nawā-hu* “he intended it, purposed it ... as the object of his aim” and the GT *intawā l-qawmu manzilan bi-mawḏī’i kaḏā* “the people, or party, repaired, or betook themselves, to, or towards, a place of alighting or abode in such a place” (*Lane*, 3040b). The Safaitic seems to correspond better in meaning with the CAR GT, although Hava (s.v.) reports the meaning “to emigrate” for the G.

NWZ

nz (ASWS 217), *expulsion* (?)

NOTES: Perhaps connected to CAR *nazā* ‘to jump’ (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NYK

nyk (WH 2147), *to copulate*

NZR

mnzr (WH 1663), *look-out point*, VAR *mzr* (WH 318).

nʒr (BTH 228; C 49; HaNSB 48, 184, 305; NST 3; KRS 24, 1944; SIJ 59, 786, 808; SIT 52; WH 599, 610, 613), G-SC *to guard*; (+ *h-sʰmy*) *to await*
tʒr (C 28, 70, 420, 1573, 2997, 4010; CSNS 957; KRS 1536, 1562, 1563, 1695, 2869, 3029; MKWS 28; RWQ 281; SESP.U 18; WAMS 19.1; WH 359, 2225, 2255, 3133.1, 3559.1, 3584), T-SC *to wait*; *await*; *lie in wait*, VAR *tnʒr* (C 2076; HaNSB 62; KRS 2961; WH 614); PC *ytʒr* (WH 3929); INF *tnʒr* (Mu 412).
 NOTES: CAR *intaʒara-hū* “he looked for him; expected him; awaited him; waited for him; watched for his presence” (Lane, 2812a). Constructions such as *w nʒr bʿd h- msʰrt* (WH 599) ‘and he *nʒr* on account of the troop’ suggest a meaning closer to Syr *nʒar* “to guard, watch, keep; to keep watch or ward” (SD, 337b). Also CAR *manʒaratun* “a high place on which a person is station to watch” (Lane, 2813c).

QʿD

mqʿd (LP 534), *seat; position*
qʿd (ASWS 70), G-SC *to sit*
 NOTES: CAR *maqʿadun* “a place of sitting” (Lane, 2547b).

QʿṢ

qʿṣn (C 3931), *killers* (an agentive noun in the plural, perhaps */qaʿāṣin/, if not a personal name)
nqʿṣ (C 2276), N-INF *to die suddenly*
 NOTES: CAR *qaʿṣun* “a quick death”, *māta qaʿṣan* “He (man) died on the spot”; *ʾaqʿsa-hū* “he slew him on the spot”; *inqaʿaša* “he died” (Lane, 2549).

QBL

ʾqbl (C 4768), *kinsman*
 NOTES: Probably related to Classical Arabic *qabilatun* “a body of men from one father and one mother” or *qabilun* “a body of men from several ancestors” (Lane, 2984a).
qbl (AWS 48; ANKS 1; C 88; HaNSB 307; HAU 198; KRS 25, 29, 37, 1991; MKWS 8; Mu 113; SW 193; WH 135, 1698), SC/INF *reunion with loved ones*, PC *yqbl* (SG 5)
 NOTES: The verb *qbl* occurs very frequently in the prayer component following expressions of longing for loved ones, *tsʰwq ʿl- PN fh DN qbl* ‘and he longed for PN so, O DN, may they be reunited/let there be reunion’. This exact form is attested in CAR as *iqballa*; *iqbilālun*, but the Safaitic reflex better suits the G-stem *qabila* ‘to receive (someone); to accept’.

QBR

qbr (LP 282), *grave*
qbr (WH 1, 1136), G-SC *to bury*, FS *qbrt* (KRS 1975); G-PPC *qbr* (C 1989; WH 1136), MP *qbrn* (C 2156; WH 1, 1136)

QFY

qfyt (KRS 68), *a path*
 NOTES: CAR *qafā fulānan* “He followed the footsteps of such a one” (Lane, 2991c).

QHR

yqhr (LP 236), D/C-PC *to make successful*
 NOTES: *qahara-hū* “He overcame,

conquered, prevailed, etc.” (*Lane*, 2570a).

QNB

qnb (C 3095), *a company of men*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *qanībun* “companies of men ... and hence, as being likened thereto ... clouds such as are dense or compact” (*Lane*, 2566a).

QNT

qnt (HAUI 125; LP 306, 330; RWQ 339),
G-SC *to fear, despair of*

NOTES: CAr *qanaṭa* “He despaired most vehemently of a thing” (*Lane*, 2568b).

QR

yqr (C 4803), G-PC *to read*

QRB

qrb (MKWS 8; UIO 298), *soon; near*

NOTES: CAr *qarīban* “shortly after and before” (*Lane*, 2508a).

QRR

¹*qr* (C 860; KRS 132), *cold*

NOTES: CAr *qarra* “He, or it, settled; became firm ... or established ... at rest ... in the place” and “he was, or became, affected, or smitten, by the cold” (*Lane*, 2499b).

²*qr* (AbaNS 881; C 4351), G-SC *to be cold; to be established*; G-PC *yqr* (AbaNS 881)

QS¹M

qs¹m (SIJ 293), C-SC *to swear (an oath)*

NOTES: CAr *qasamun* “an oath by

god” (*Lane*, 2988c); *ʿuqsimu bil-lāhi* “I swear an oath by God”.

QŞF

qşf (C 1957, 2713, 4039), SC *to be sad*

NOTES: Syr *qşaf* “to be sad, irritated; to dread, be anxious, worried, to take a miss” (*SD*, 516a).

QŞY

ʿqş (C 4332), *furthest (elative)*

qşy (AWS 237), G-SC *to dedicate*; PPC *qşy* (KRS 1307), F *qşyt* (LP 317), DU *qşyn* (C 1658).

NOTES: Qşy texts contain an image of an animal. It is unclear if the image is what was dedicated or whether the carving was of an animal set aside. A connection with the root $\sqrt{qşy}$, which signals ‘cutting, breaking’ is obvious, cf. Gz *qaşaya* “to break off, snap off” (*CDG*, 451a–b, and examples from other Semitic languages there); the semantic shift of ‘break off’ > ‘set aside’ is negligible. This root would seem to be related to the CAr *qaşsa* “to cut” (*Lane*, 2526b), through the general confusion of IIIw/y and C² = C³ roots.

QŞŞ

qşş (KRS 1468; SIJ 786; WH 1019, 1849), *to patrol; to track*

NOTES: CAr *qaşsa* “He followed, tracked” (*Lane*, 2526b). In Safaitic, the term occurs frequently with military activities, e.g., KRS 1468 *qşş b- m^t frs¹* ‘he qşş in a cavalry unit’, suggesting a translation of ‘patrolled’ rather

than ‘track’ in such contexts. There is at least one context where the translation ‘he tracked’ is possible: WH 1849 *qss frs^l-[h] h- ms^{ty}* “he tracked [his/a] horse to the winter pasture”.

QTL

- ¹*qtl* (ZeWa 1), *warriors*, (probably masculine plural construct: */qātilū/ or */qātilī/).
- ²*qtl* (KRS 1161), *a fight; battle*
- ³*qtl* (C 2446, 4443; HCH 126, KRS 1161; LP 305), G-SC *to kill*; PC *yqtl* (N-stem or internal passive) (AWS 264); APC *qtl* (CSNS 1004); PPC *qtl* (C 2113; LP 243, 679), VAR *mqtl* (C 2947; CSNS 1004; HCH 72, 103, 126)
- ⁴*qtl* (HCH 71), L-SC *to fight one another*
- qttl* (KRS 1024), T2-SC *to engage in battle/war*

QWL

- ¹*ql* (BRev.H 1; KRS 213, 941), G-SC *to say*; G-IMP *ql* (KRS 3239); G-APC *qyl* (KRS 1015)
- NOTES: CAR *qāla* “He said” and *qawlun* “a saying, something said” (Lane, 2994c).

QWM

- qm* (C 3811, 4351; KRS 1015), *people*
- NOTES: CAR *qawmun* “A people, or body of persons composing a community” (Lane, 2996a).

QWY

- ¹*qwy* (SIJ 1008), C-INF *to grant endurance*
- NOTES: The CAR root √qwy signifies “strength or endurance” (Lane,

2997a), of which the Safaitic is the causative. The CAR C means to “vacate or empty”, which seems to be an unsuitable meaning for the word’s single occurrence.

QY

- yq’* (AWS 237), N-PC *to be thrown out* (of the grave); N-INF *nq’t* (ASWS 18; C 96, 793, 1936, 2031; HAUI 76, 182; KRS 995, 1287, 1379, 1903; LP 282, 673, 1198; M 358; MKWS 8; Mu 141, 278; RSIS 351; RWQ 281; SESP.U 18; WH 181; ZeGA 11)

NOTES: This is probably the N-stem of the root *qy’*, which in CAR means “to vomit” (Lane, 2576a). In Safaitic, its meaning must have been more general, i.e., simply *to throw out*. The N-stem is not attested in CAR. Our interpretation is confirmed by the expression *nq’t m- qbr* ‘being thrown out of a grave’ (LP 282) and indeed *nq’t b- šdq* ‘being thrown out (of a grave) by a trusted one’. The use of this term in curse formulas seems to betoken the undesirable phenomenon of reusing graves (or perhaps removing a corpse from an above-ground burial cairn before it had fully decomposed). Expressions which include the prepositional phrase *b- šdq* or *b- wdd* signal the ultimate betrayal, namely, having a loved one reuse your grave.

QYH

- qyh* (C 88), *meaning and etymology uncertain*

QYṢR

qyṣr (MISSD 1), *Caesar*, VAR *qṣr*
(HAUI 72; KRS 1991, 2375; Ms 44;
WH 1698)
qṣryn (SG 5), *uncertain meaning*

QYN

qn (KRS 1695), *servant*

QYẒ

¹*qyẓ* (ZeGA 11), *dry season*
maqẓt (C 1240), *summer pasture*
²*qyẓ* (HCH 107; KhBG 345; LP 330; Mu
867; WH 289, 1191; ZeGA 11), *to spend*
the dry season; INF *qyẓ* (KhNSJ 5), VAR
ḡd (Mu 113)

NOTES: CAR *qāẓa bil-makāni* “He remained, or abode, in the place during the season called *qayẓ*, during the summer” (*Lane*, 2579b) and *maqīẓun*, *maqīẓatun* “a place of pasturing in the summer” (*ibid.*, 2580b–c). See Macdonald 1992b.

R'Y

¹*r'y* (C 1338, 3230, 3818; HaNSB 197, 218;
KRS 1160; LP 712), *heliacal/acronical*
rising (of an asterism)
²*r'y* (UIO 298), G-SC *to see*
NOTES: *r'y* is probably the equivalent of Babylonian *ittanmar* ‘to rise heliacally’, but must have applied to the acronical rising of an asterism as well (Al-Jallad 2014).

R'Y

r'yt (KRS 1886), *pasturing*
r'y (*passim*), SC *to pasture*, w-form *r'yw*
(RSIS 304, 324); APC *r'y* (C 2446);
G-INF *r'y* (KhNSJ 5; KRS 37; SW 193)

RB'

'rb', *four* (WH 3094), F *'rb't* (KRS 2340)
rb't (RSIS 80), *the spring*
mrb't (M 358), *the period of first spring*
rains
NOTES: CAR *rabī'un*; see Lane (1977b) for a discussion on the various meanings of this term, but roughly equivalent to the season *dt'*. In CAR, *mirbā'un* signifies the “rain that comes in the beginning of the [season called] *rabī'*”.

RBB

rb (KRS 1015), G-SC *to exalt*
NOTES: CAR *rabba l-'amara* “He put the affair into a right, or proper, state”. In the Safaitic context, the verb seems to refer to performing an oral ritual upon finding an inscription. The translation “to exalt” is an attempt to be neutral with regard to the function of this ritual, and is based on the basic sense of the root, ‘to be big, or abundant’.

mrbb (KRS 2499), *land with abundant*
herbage
NOTES: CAR *marabb* “a place of alighting; a place of abiding, or dwelling, and congregating”; “land abounding with plants, or herbage” (*Lane*, 1007a).

RBY

mrby (KRS 167), *foster child*
yrbbb (C 1186), D-PC *to bring up, train*
NOTES: CAR *rabbaytu-hū* “I reared him, fostered him”, *murraban* “fostered” (*Lane*, 1023b; 1024b)

RDD

rdt (C 1639), *reward*

trd (C 860), *recompense*

NOTES: CAr *radda* “He returned”
(Lane, 1061c ff).

RDF

¹*rdf* (LP 146), *rear*

²*rdf* (HCH 102; KRS 1011), G-SC to *follow*

NOTES: CAr *radifa-hū* “He, or it,
followed, or came after, him, or it”
(Lane, 1067b).

RDN

rdn (WGGR 1), *yellowish red*

NOTES: CAr *rādinun* and *radanun*
“Saffron”, used in poetry (Lane, 1070b).
It is unclear if the nomads would
have known Saffron in this period,
so it may be the case that the word
originally referred to the color rather
than the spice.

RḌW

rḏw (AbaNS 906; ASWS 37; AWS 218, 236,
237; C 76, 1084, 1341, 1639, 1658, 2104,
3113, 3177, 3365, 3757, 4351, 5011, 5121;
CSNS 517; HaNSB 8, 371; KRS 96, 102,
1563, 2961 3029; LP 460, 495; MKWS 28;
SIJ 463; UIO 298; WH 2112, 3133.1,
3736.1), *deity* (probably, *Rošaw* =
Neo-Assyrian *ru-ul-da-a-u*), VAR
rḏy (AWS 72; C 286, 793, 2682, 3811,
4842; HaNSB 305; JbS 1; KRS 109,
1042, 1695, 2869; MA 1; MKWS 8;
WH 3730)

rḏy (ASWS 107; KRS 1042), G-SC to *be*
satisfied

RG^c

rg^c (KRS 37), G-SC to *return*

NOTES: CAr “He returned; he went, or
came, back” (Lane, 1088a).

RGL

rgl (C 2076), *foot soldier*, PL *rgl*

(KRS 1903)

NOTES: CAr *rağulun*, *rāğilun* “A
man ... applied only to one who has
attained to puberty and manhood”
(Lane, 1045b), from foot soldier,
a man of military age. The term
occurs mostly in military contexts,
suggesting that its original sense
“foot soldier” obtained in the Safaitic
inscriptions.

rglt (KRS 1949), *water course*

NOTES: CAr *riğlatun* “a water course,
or channel in which water flows,
from a ḥarrah to a soft, or plain, tract”
(Lane, 1046a).

RGM

rgm (AAUI 294; AtIN 3; CSNS 412, 620;

KRS 51, 1379, 1546; LP 673; SHS 10;

WH 234, 329, 3420), *funerary cairn*

NOTES: The *rgm* is attested exclu-
sively in a funerary context, suggest-
ing the translation ‘funerary cairn’,
cf. CAr *rağğama l-qabra* “He placed
upon the grave [meaning *large stones*
to cover make a gibbous covering to
it]” (Lane, 1048a).

RĠM

rġm (SG 5), SC to *strike down*; PPC *rġm*

(C 2285; HCH 10, 37; KRS 941, 1991;

NST 3), FS *rġmt* (C 304), PL *rġmn*

(C 4988; KRS 6, 2340)

NOTES: This term appears in the common mourning formula, *rjm mny*, which has traditionally been translated as “humbled by fate”, based on CA*r* *raġima l-ʿanfu* “he was, or became, abased, or humbled, or submissive; as though his nose cleave to the earth” (*Lane*, 113b). However, *raġima* here means ‘to cleave to the earth or dust’; the sense of ‘humbling’ comes from the entire expression. It is, therefore, better to take *rjm* as a verb meaning “cleave to the ground”, with the sense of being ‘struck down’ or ‘killed’. For an alternative view, see Jamme (1967b).

RHṬ

rhṭ (KRS 2340), *kinsfolk*, PL *ʿrhṭṭ* (ShNGA 1)

NOTES: CA*r* *raḥṭun* “A man’s people, and tribe, consisting of his nearer relations: his kinsfolk” (*Lane*, 1169c).

RHL

rhl (C 4803; SIJ 750), *ewe-lamb*

NOTES: CA*r* *riḥlun* and *riḥlatun* “an ewe-lamb” (*Lane*, 1059a).

RḤB

rḥbt (WH 1900; RVP 7), *toponym* (Ruḥbah)

NOTES: The region known as al-Ruḥbah, east of Tulūl al-Ṣafā (Macdonald 1992a: 1).

(*h-*) *rḥbt* (C 4681, SIJ 1008), *raḥabah*; PL *rḥb* (WH 30; WH 2255)

NOTES: With the article, the term *rḥbt* refers to an open area where water collects and herbage is abundant (Macdonald 1992a: 1).

RHḌ

rḥḍ (C 4443; WH 3053), G-SC *to wash*

NOTES: CA*r* *raḥaḍa* “He washed a thing or a garment, and his hand” (*Lane*, 1052c).

RḤM

rḥm (C 4351), *merciful* (divine epithet of Gddf)

RKK

rk (ZeWa 1), *light rain*

NOTES: CA*r* *rikkun* “Weak rain or rain little in quantity” (*Lane*, 1141b–c).

RKB

rkb (C 3757), *riding camel*

rkb (C 5121), SC *to wrong someone*

NOTES: Compare to CA*r* *rakiba ḍanban* and *irtakaba-hū* “He committed a sin, or crime, or the like” and “he did to him an evil or abominable or odious deed” (*Lane*, 1142b).

RM

rm (C 4448, 4452; HAU 125; LP 87;

MKJS 1; SIJ 78, 352), *Rome*

RMD

rmd (C 860), G-SC *to perish from cold*

NOTES: CA*r* *ramada* “to perish from cold, become like ashes” (*Lane*, 1154a).

RMḤ

rmḥ (MAHB 5), *herd of camels*

NOTES: From the context, this word clearly refers to something which is herded, which may suggest a connection with Syr *ramkā* “a herd of swine, camels, &c.” (*SD*, 543b).

The irregular correspondences between the two suggest a loan from Old Arabic into Syriac, where *ḥ* was approximated by *k*.

RMḤ

rmḥ (HaNSB 304), *lance*

NOTES: CAR *rumḥun* “A spear or lance with which one thrusts, not which one casts” (*Lane*, 1053a). The Safaitic *rmḥ*, however, can be cast as it is the object of the verb *rmy* ‘to cast’.

RMY

¹*rmy* (HN 62), *Sagittarius* (constellation)

NOTES: Perhaps */rammāy/ ‘archer’ or ‘lancer’ (*Al-Jallad* 2014).

rm’n (RQ.A 10), *archers/lancers*

NOTES: This particular form probably results from dissimilation of the final *y* next to the high vowel *ī* of the plural ending: */rammāīn/ < */rammāyīn/.

²*rmy b-* (HaNSB 304), *to cast a lance*

NOTES: CAR *ramā bi-hī* “he threw, cast, or flung, the thing” (*Lane*, 1161c).

RWʿ

rʿ (KRS 25; LP 680), *friend*

NOTES: Hb *rēaʿ* “friend, companion” (*HALOT*, #8870).

trwʿ (KRS 25), T2-SC *to fear*

NOTES: CAR *tarawwaʿa* and *irtāʿa* “He was, or became, frightened, or afraid” (*Lane*, 1187c).

RWD

rdt (WH 2145), *meadow*, PL *rđ* (WH 784)

rdt (HAUI 70), *small meadow* (DIM)

NOTES: CAR *rawḏatun* “a meadow” (*Lane*, 1187a).

RWH

rh (CSNS 818; LP 460), G-SC *to depart* (at night)

rwh (C 4457), D-SC *to grant ease, relief; to send the winds* (in prayers for rain);

D-IMP or the abstract noun *ease; relief*
rwh (ASWS 18, 37; C 2830, 2997, 3811, 4457; HaNSB 184; KRS 18, 169, 922, 1551, 1562, 1949, 2420, 2914; LP 576; M 358; RSIS 199, 204; RWQ 62, 281; SG 5; WH 582), VAR *ryh* (KRS 78)

trwh (LP 180), T2-SC *to set off at night*.

NOTES: CAR *rāḥa*, *rawāḥ* and *tarawwaḥa* “He ... went, or journeyed, or worked, or did a thing, in the evening or in the afternoon, i.e., from the declining of the sun from the meridian until night” (*Lane*, 1178b). Also, *rawwiḥ bi-* “give rest” (*Lane*, 1179b). The meaning ‘to send the winds’ is preferred in prayers for rain, and probably reflects a denominative verb from *rīḥ* ‘wind’, referring to the winds which bring rain clouds.

RYM

rym (*ʿ*) (SG 5), SC *to surpass in a journey*

NOTES: Cf. CAR *rayyama* ‘*alay-hi* “He exceeded him ... i.e., one man, another; in journey or pace” (*Lane*, 1204a).

S^ʿR

s^ʿr (C 1936, 2732; LP 305, 342; KRS 1432; WH 153; ZmNSIH 32), G-SC *to leave*

untouched (with reference to an inscription); to remain alive (with reference to people)

NOTES: CAr *sa'ara* "It remained; became left, as residue" (*Lane*, 1282a) probably reflects semantic narrowing from a broader 'to remain', which is preserved in the Safaitic inscriptions.

S¹ᶜ

s¹ᶜ (M 358), *toponym (Sīr in southern Syria)*

S¹ᶑ

1s¹ᶑ (BRenV.H 1; RWQ 335), *good fortune*

2s¹ᶑ (AsUI 1), *aid*

3s¹ᶑ (AWS 218; SIJ 779.1), *SC to help*, 2FS *s¹ᶑt* (LP 687); IMP *s¹ᶑ* (AbaNS 906; C 1280 CSNS 13, 304; HaNSB 8; MKWS 28; Mu 550; WH 3133.1; 3736.1)

NOTES: CAr *sa'ida* "He was, or became, prosperous, fortunate, happy" (*Lane*, 1360).

S¹Bᶜ

s¹bᶜ (C 1084), *seven*

S¹BY

s¹by (CSNS 1004), *G-SC to capture*,

FS *s¹byt* (CSNS 1004); G-PPC *s¹by* (AbaNS 78; ASWS 18; C 2113), VAR *ms¹by* (CSNS 1004; HCH 132), PL *s¹byn* (ASWS 18)

NOTES: CAr *sabā l-'aduwwa* "He made captive, captivated, or took a prisoner [the enemy or other than the enemy]" (*Lane*, 1303a).

S¹DT

s¹t (MKWS 8), *six*

S¹DY

s¹dy (BTH 228), *to set off*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *sadā* "He went ... towards, or in the direction of, such a thing", also "The going at random, heedlessly, or in a headlong manner, without consideration, or without a certain aim, or object ..." (*Lane*, 1335c).

S¹F

s¹f (SIJ 1008), *D-INF to feed*

NOTES: Compare with Ug *sp* "to eat, devour" (*UD*, 766).

S¹FR

s¹fr (AWS 48; C 99, 793, 1293, 1649, 1875,

1936, 1957, 2031, 2196, 2276, 4803,

4974, 4988; H 506, 763; HAU 125,

182; HshNSMI 5; KRS 15, 29, 132, 896,

941, 1161, 1379, 1551, 2569, 2914; LP 305,

325, 342, 344, 409, 562.1, 673, 687, 1198,

1265; MKWS 8; RWQ 281; SIAM 35;

SESP.U 18; WH 399; ZeGA 11), *writing*,

SING *s¹frt* (WH 153), *a writing, an instance of writing*

ts¹fr (HAUI 76), *(act of) writing*

NOTES: CAr *sifrun* "a book, or writing" (*Lane*, 1371a).

's¹fr (C 1649), *to travel, journey*

NOTES: The equivalent of CAr *sāfara* "He journeyed, or went, or went forth to journey" (*Lane*, 1370c).

S¹HR

s¹hr (C 2446), *broken heart*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *saḥara-hū* "He, or it, hit or hurt, his *saḥr* [or lungs, &c.] or his *suḥrah* [i.e. heart]" (*Lane*, 1316a). Gz *sarḥa* "labor to the

point of exhaustion, drudge, weary oneself, be fatigued, be troubled, be anxious" (*CDG*, 513a) probably reflects a metathesized form of this root.

S¹HQ

s¹hq (*AWS* 81), *destruction*

s¹hqt (*KRS* 2340), G-SC *to be crushed*

NOTES: Compare to CAR *sahaqa* "to crush, pulverize" (*Lane*, 1318c).

S¹HR

s¹hr (*Ms* 44), G-SC *to be mocked; to be fooled*

NOTES: CAR *sahira min-hu* "He mocked at, scoffed at, laughed at, derided or ridiculed, him" (*Lane*, 1324a). Its single occurrence in Safaitic suggests a passive interpretation.

S¹KN

s¹knt (*WGGR* 1), *settlement*

NOTES: CAR *sakinatun* "a place of habitation or abode" (*Lane*, 1394a). The Safaitic suggests a larger sense than a single home, as it is referred to as a location of rain.

S¹LH

s¹lh rwh (*C* 5050), [*his*] *spirit was stripped away* (metaphor for grief)

NOTES: CAR *salaha* "He stripped off the hide, or skin, of a sheep or goat" (*Lane*, 1403b).

S¹LL

s¹ls¹l (*HaNSB* 304), *bonds; chains*, SING

s¹ls¹lt (*KRS* 1023)

NOTES: CAR *silsilatun* "a chain ... of iron or the like of metals" (*Lane*, 1397c).

ts¹ll (*LP* 1198), D-SC *to be, become, in a state of commotion, agitation*

NOTES: Littmann connected this word with the sense of the N in CAR, *tasallala = insalla* "he slipped away, or stole away". The logical connection between this action and the following 'sleep' is unclear. Instead, I would suggest that it should be connected with the TD meaning, 'it was, or became, in a state of commotion, agitation', which fits the following prayer for security during one's slumber.

ns¹l (*C* 1758), N-SC *to go off; to go away*

NOTES: CAR "It (a thing) became pulled forth, drawn out gently; he slipped away, or stole away" (*Lane*, 1396a).

S¹LF

¹s¹lf (*C* 25, 2446; *LP* 679; *SG* 5), C-SC *to commit an act worthy of vengeance*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *'aslafa* "to do something (before the present time) which requires requital (either good or bad, at the present time)" (*Lane*, 1408a–b). As G.M.H. King pointed out, this verb occurs almost exclusively in the context of killing and vengeance, and so seems to refer to a negative action.

²s¹lf (*ASWS* 124), C-SC *to bring to an end*

NOTES: CAR *salafa* "came to an end" or "was naught" (*Lane*, 1407c).

S¹LM

- ¹*s¹lm* (*passim*), *security* or *SC to be secure*;
G-PC *ys¹lm* (LP 643)
²*s¹lm* (KRS 756; 2869), D-SC *to keep safe*;
deliver; D-PC *ys¹lm* (AWS 264); D-IMP
s¹lm (HCH 107; KRS 1468)
³*s¹lm* (HCH 194), C-SC *to surrender*

S¹LṬ

- s¹lṭn* (LP 1013), *authorities*
NOTES: CAr *sultānun* “power of
dominion; sovereign, or ruling
power; power of a king; and of a
governor” (*Lane*, 1405c). In the Safaitic
inscriptions, the term seems to refer
to settled authority, either that of the
Nabataeans or the Romans.

S¹M^c

- s¹m^c* (Ms 44), *SC to hear*

S¹MY

- s¹my* (C 2076, 2997; HaNSB 16, 62, 184;
KRS 169, 1563, 1944; RWQ 281, 317;
WH 3559.1, 3584), *sky*; *rains*, PL *s¹myt*
(MKOWI 2)
s¹mwt (AAUI 267), *toponym*

S¹N(T)

- s¹nt* (ASWS 73, 202, 217; AAUI 267; AsUI 1;
AAUI 267; AWS 244; BWM 3; C 76, 269,
320, 860, 1240, 1293, 1868, 2104, 2190,
2209, 2670, 2694, 2732, 2862, 3680,
4332, 4448, 4452; CSNS 1004; H 506,
763; HAU 72, 125, 198; HCH 71, 194;
HaNSB 16, 62; HshNSMI 5; KhNSJ 1;
KRS 25, 303, 995, 1024, 1161, 1852,
1991; LP 342, 344, 360, 406, 653, 722,
1198; M 358; MISSD 1; Ms 44; NST 3;
RSIS 204, 324; RQ.A 19; RWQ 335, 346,

347, 349; SIJ 37, 59, 78, 786; SW 264;
WGGR 1; WH 15, 610, 641.1, 1698, 1700.1,
2255, 2815, 3792.a; ZeWa 1), *year*, PL
s¹nn (AZNG 1)

S¹NN

- ms¹nn* (WH 181), *beaten track*; *land the
herbage of which had been eaten*
NOTES: Connected to CAr *sananut*
“the beaten track, or part along which
one travels” (*Lane*, 1438c–1439a).

S¹WQ

- s¹q* (CSNS 65), G-SC *to drive beasts*, VAR
s¹wq (KRS 926)

S¹WY

- s¹wy* (MISSD 1), *SC to put in order*
NOTES: MISSD 1, p. 457 takes this
as a metaphorical extension of the
meaning of CAr *sawwā-hu* “He made
it equal, equable, uniform ...” (*Lane*,
1476c).

- s¹yt* (C 76), C-SC *to be granted* (mascu-
line unattested)

NOTES: This verb (probably a passive
ʾosīyat) may be compared to LAR
sawwā ‘to make’, with the overlap of
the C and D. In its single attestation,
the translation ‘granted’ is preferred
since it occurs in a prayer to a deity
and its logical object is spoil.

S¹QM

- ¹*s¹qm* (C 76, 527, 3365; WH 582), *illness*
²*s¹qm* (C 2830), G-SC *to be ill*
³*s¹qm* (KRS 2460), D-SC *to cause sickness*
NOTES: CAr *saqima*, *saquma* “He
was, or became, diseased, disordered,
distempered, sick, or ill” (*Lane*, 1383c).

S¹R^c

s¹r^c (K 196), *quickly*

NOTES: CAR *sarīun* “quick, expeditious, hasty, speedy, rapid, swift” (Lane, 1350b).

S¹RR

s¹r (WH 351), G-SC *to make happy*

NOTES: CAR *sarra* ‘to cheer, delight’.

S¹RT

ms¹rt (WH 599, 610), *troop*

s¹rt (C 320, 2076; KRS 1024; RQ.A 10;

RWQ 347), G-SC *to serve in a troop*

NOTES: Macdonald (2014) convincingly connects *ms¹rt* with Arm *mašrītā*, which, in Syriac, can mean a ‘camp’ or ‘military unit’. He then suggests that *s¹rt* should be understood as a verb meaning ‘to serve’ in a *ms¹rt*, and may be a denominative verb or be cognate with Hb *šērēṭ* ‘to serve’.

S¹RT̄[N]

s¹rt̄ (SESP.U 18), *Cancer* (constellation)

NOTES: Possibly the constellation Cancer should be restored as *s¹rt̄n*, but the final *n* is sometimes missing. Whether this points towards phonological erosion or simply word boundary assimilation is unclear (see Al-Jallad 2014).

S¹RY

s¹ry (KRS 1670), G-SC *to travel by night*

NOTES: CAR *sarā* “He journeyed, or traveled, by night, or in the night” (Lane, 1355a).

S¹TR

s¹tr (AbaNS 78; BRCM 0194; SESP.U 26; SIJ 274), *shelter*

s¹trt (WH 405), *small shelter* (DIM?)

NOTES: In CAR, the terms *sitrun* and *sutrātun* refers to “anything by which a person or thing is veiled, concealed, hidden, or covered” (Lane, 1304b). That the term often follows *bny* ‘to build’ suggests that it refers to a structure of some sort.

S¹YF

s¹f (HaNSB 304), *sword*

NOTES: CAR *sayfun* “a sword” (Lane, 1485c).

S¹YR

s¹rn (SW 168), *journeying*

NOTES: Compare with Arabic *sāra* ‘to go; travel’, probably a nominal formation */sV:rān/.

S²M

s²m (AbaNS 1128), *north*

NOTES: Compare with Sabaic *s²m* “north” (SbD, 130).

S²R

s²r (HaNSB 197, 218), *herbage*

NOTES: CAR *ša’urun* “trees; or tangled, or luxuriant, or abundant dense trees” and *ša’urun* “a certain grain” (Lane, 1561a–c).

S²DD

s²dd (KRS 6), *harsh*

NOTES: CAR *šadīdun* “possessing the quality of *šiddah*, i.e. hard” (Lane, 1519).

S²HR

s²hr (KRS 1965), *month*, PL *ʔs²hr*
(WH 3792.a)

NOTES: CAR *šahrūn* “the new moon, when it appears” (*Lane*, 1612b).

S²HŞ

1s²hş (ASWS 107; KRS 995; SESP.U 18),
scarcity; want

2s²hş (KRS 15), SC *to act nobly* (i.e. *not to destroy an inscription*)

NOTES: In most Semitic languages, the root *s¹hş* (note dissimilation of *s¹* to *s²* in Safaitic; cf. *s¹ams¹um* > *s²ms¹*) refers to pride and conceit (*HALOT*, #9514–9515). In Safaitic, it seems to have a positive connotation as the term is used in blessing formula paralleling other terms such as *d’y* ‘to read aloud’ and *s¹r* ‘to leave untouched’. In such contexts, the term probably means ‘to act nobly or with dignity’, i.e., not to destroy the inscriptions of others. On the other hand, there are cases in which the term should be interpreted as referring to something negative.

In these cases, *s²hş* is a noun and probably means ‘scarcity’, especially considering the drought context of (SESP.U 18). A semantically narrowed sense of this word is found in CAR. As Macdonald and King have pointed out, the term, when applied to an animal, can mean ‘want of milk’, CAR *aš-šahşā’u* ‘an ewe without milk’ and *aš-šahşatu* and *aš-šahaşu* (*Lisān*, s.v.). This sense seems to hold true in Safaitic as well, *s²hş ʔbl* (KRS 761), but there is no reason to assume such a

restricted semantic range when not used in conjunction with an animal.

S²KW

s²tky ʔl (C 31), T1-SC *to petition, complain*

NOTES: CAR *ištakā* = *šakā ʔamra-hū ʔilā llāha* “He complained his case to God”.

S²MS¹

s²ms¹ (C 25), *deity* (the sun)

S²Nʔ

s²nʔ (C 31, 70, 420, 2315, 2964, 4037, 4261, 4332, 4443; HaNSB 184; KhBG 376; KRS 3074; LP 180, 259, 306, 330, 1261; UIO 298; RR 4; RWQ 339; SIJ 808; WH 398, 613, 1613, 1698, 3730, 3736.1) *enemy/enemies; adversity*, VAR *s²ny*, VAR-PL *s²nʔn* (HN 161)

NOTES: CAR *šāniʔun* “hating, or a hater, and an enemy” (*Lane*, 1603c). In some cases, the idiomatic translation ‘adversity’ is preferred.

S²QQ

s²q (KRS 2568), *side of the mountain*

NOTES: CAR *šiqqun* “the side of the mountain” (*Lane*, 1577c).

S²RB

ys²rb (LP 712), G-PC *to drink*

NOTES: CAR *šariba, yašrabu* “He drank” (*Lane*, 1526a).

S²RQ

s²rq (C 1875, 2307; SESP.U 17), D-SC *to migrate to the inner desert*

ʔs²rq (C96, 995, 2190; HaNSB 197, 218; HCH 194; WH 1700.1) C-SC idem, *ys²rq*

(LP 180); APC.FS *ms²rq̄t* (KRS 1011),
APC.MP/DU *ms²rq̄n* (SESP.U 13)

NOTES: Littmann in his commentary of LP 180 suggested that this verb means ‘to migrate to the desert’ rather than eastward, as in CAR *šarraqa* “he took the direction to the east”. The *c* in CAR has to do with changes in color (Lane, 1539c–1540a). Macdonald goes on to connect this sense with the meaning of *šarraq* among the Rwala as described by Musil, where it means to migrate to the desert regardless of the direction taken (Macdonald 1992b: 4–5).

S²RY

s²ry (AbaNS 286; C 2832), *G-SC to buy*
NOTES: CAR *šarā-hu* “He bought it ... he took it, or acquired it, for a price” (Lane, 1544b).

ts²ry (RWQ 317), *T2-SC to be scattered*
NOTES: CAR *tašarrā* “it became scattered, or dispersed” (Lane, 1545b).

S²TW

¹s²ty (Mu 113; WH 1361), *the winter*
ms²ty (WH 3500), *winter pasture*, VAR
ms²tyt (M 358)
²s²ty (ANKS 1; C 4452; KRS 1964; MKJS 1;
Mu 867; RSIS 351; SIJ 78, 1008;
SW 264; ZeWa 1),
G-SC to winter,
VAR *s²tw* (KhBG 376; CSNS 324); APC *s²t*
(C 1868); INF *s²tt* (KRS 37)
NOTES: CAR *šatā bi-hī* “He ... remained, stayed, dwelt, or abode, during the *šitā*’ [or winter &c.]” (Lane, 1503c) and *maštan, maštātun* “place [in which one resides, stays, dwells, or

abides, during the season] of the *šitā*’ [winter]” (Lane, 1504b–c).

S²TR

s²tr (KRS 132), *isolation*
NOTES: CAR *šaṭarati d-dāru* “the house or abode was distant or remote” (Lane, 1550c) and *šaṭirun* “one who withdraws far away from his family; or breaks off from them” (Lane, 1551b).

S²WH

’s²h (RWQ 339), *sheep* (singular unattested)
NOTES: CAR *šātun* “a sheep or goat” (Lane, 1623b).

S²WQ

ts²wq (AWS 48; C 88, 96, 99, 2832;
HaNSB 307; HCH 191; JbS 1; KRS 1991;
LP 243, 680; SIJ 352; SIT 58; SW 193;
WH 1698), *T2-SC to long, yearn for*,
3FS *ts²wq̄t* (AKSJ 1.2.3), *w-form ts²wq̄w*
(RSIS 204); T-INF *ts²wq* (C 1539)
NOTES: The equivalent of CAR *ištāqa* *’ilay-hi* “He was, or became, desirous of it ... [or he longed for it in his soul]” (Lane, 1620b).

S²Y

¹s²’ (HCH 132), *thing*
²s²’ (UIO 268), *want*
s²y’ (AWS 72), *to experience want*
NOTES: CAR *šā’a-hū* “He willed, wished, or desired it” and *šay’un* “thing” (Lane, 1625c–1626a).

S²Y^c

s²y^c (C 2732; LP 146), INF *to follow; be a companion*

s^{2c} (KRS 307), IMP *to join s.o. with*
 š^{2y} (C 1858, 2544, 2713, 3095, 4988;
 KRS 24, 29, 1161; LP 243, 306, 342;
 MAHB 2), *companions*, VAR š^{2c}
 (RWQ 120; UIO 147)

s^{2t} (WH 2255), *party, group*
 NOTES: CAR šayya‘tu-hū ‘*inda raḥīli-*
hī “I went forth with him on the
 occasion of his departure” and
 šī‘atun, a separate, or distinct,
 party, or sect, of men (Lane, 1632b–
 c).

s^{2hqm} (ASWS 124; C 1744, 1936, 4039;
 HaNSB 304; HAUI 182; KRS 15, 18, 29,
 68, 225, 756, 1160, 1307, 1432, 1683, 1706,
 1886; LP 1198; MKWS 8; SESP.U 18;
 WGGR 1; WH 1696; ZeWa 1), *deity*

S^{2YL}

ns^{2l} (KRS 2460), N-SC *to be removed*
 NOTES: CAR šāla “It rose; or became
 raised, or elevated” (Lane, 1621c), but
 the sense in Safaitic better fits LAr šīl
 ‘remove’ and the passive inšāl ‘it was
 removed’.

Š^B

š^b (AWS 48), SC *to cause distress*
 NOTES: CAR ša‘uba “It was, or became,
 ša‘bun, i.e. difficult, hard, ... or
 distressing” (Lane, 1687a).

Š^D

š^d (WH 604.1), *burnt offering*
 NOTES: CAR ša‘īdah ‘burnt offering’.

ŠDQ

š^{1dq} (AWS 237; KRS 1287; WH 181), *friend;*
confidant
 š^{2dq} (HCH 191), *righteous* (ADJ)

NOTES: CAR šadīqun “a friend”
 and šādīqun “speaking, saying,
 uttering, or telling truth” (Lane,
 1668b–c).

ŠHR

šhr (ASWS 202), SC *to glisten or to appear*
 NOTES: The term corresponds
 well with Hb šhr “to appear” or
 “glisten” (HALOT #7892), and less
 so with Arabic šahara “he melted
 or liquefied”. The Hb verb, however,
 is cognate with the CAR root zhr,
 which is also attested in the Safaitic
 inscriptions (see zhr below). In this
 case, we must assume a loan.

ŠHY

šhy (KRS 2420), *thirst*
 š^{hy} (HaNSB 184), C-INF *drought*
 NOTES: Syr šhō and šhī ‘to thirst, to be
 dry’ and šahwōnō ‘thirst, drought’ (SD,
 474a).

ŠHH

š^h (LP 409), C-SC *to cry aloud* (in grief)
 NOTES: Compare with CAR šāhh^hatun
 “A cry that deafens by its vehemence”
 (Lane, 1657a).

ŠLB

š^{lb} (HaNS 660), G-SC *to crucify*
 NOTES: šalaba-hū “He crucified him”
 (Lane, 1711c).

ŠLY

š^{ly} (SIJ 293), C-SC *to make a burnt*
offering
 NOTES: CAR šalā-hu fi n-nāri “he
 threw it into the fire to be burned”
 (Lane, 1721b); note that the C ‘ašlā-hu

is equivalent to the G in this root. The Safaitic seems to have a ritual sense as it occurs in the context of an oath.

ŠMKR

šmkr (RWQ 329), *toponym?* (near the Euphrates)

ŠMM

šm (LP 282), *deafness*

NOTES: CAr šamma “He was, or became, deaf” (Lane, 1722b).

ŠRT

šrt (KRS 2869), *an enclosure; a structure on high ground*

NOTES: A connection with šīratun “an enclosure for sheep or goats and for cows or bulls, constructed of wood and stones and branches of trees” (Lane, 1954c) is obvious. In the context of standing watch a connection with CAr šayyiratun “a thing, upon the head of a qārah [or small isolated mountain or the like], resembling [the heap of stones, piled up as a sign of the way, called ‘amrah] ... sometimes it is excavated, and gold and silver are found in it” (Lane, 1955a) is also possible.

ŠWN

šwn (SIJ 750) *to preserve; protect*; G-PC yšn (LP 722)

NOTES: CAr šāna-hū “he preserved it” (Lane, 1750b).

ŠWY

¹šwy (C 3140; HaNSB 206; KRS 2420; LP 684), *cairn* (see also ‘hd)

NOTES: CAr šawwa šuwan “He made a šuwan [i.e. signs set up for the guidance of travelers] in the way”; šuwwatun “a sign for the guidance of travelers”; šawwā’un “graves” (Lane, 1739b). The term seems to be attested once in a fragmentary Greek inscription as ΣΙΟΥ[ΑΙ], suggesting the vocalization */šiwāy/. Two major types of funerary cairns are found in the Ḥarrah: the first is constructed above the grave and the second contains a platform atop it where the dead person is placed to decompose. I would suggest that šwy refers to the latter type, and that the phrase ‘hd l-PN h- šwy should be understood as referring to the placement of a dead person atop such a cairn. It would seem, therefore, that the šwy was reused.

²šwy (CSA 1.2; JaS 61; KRS 2525; NSR 82), *SC to suffer from the lack of rain*

NOTES: CAr šāwin “Dry, by reason of thirst, or want of irrigation, or by reason of leanness, or emaciation” (Lane, 1751b).

ŠWR

šr (WH 351), G-INF *to draw*

NOTES: CAr šūratun ‘an image’.

ŠY

š’t (RWQ 155), G-SC FS *to be in a state of commotion* (masculine unattested).

NOTES: Perhaps related to CAr ‘ašya’u “A state of commotion, or of exceeding commotion” (Lane, 1755c) and tašawwa’a l-qawmu “the people, or party, became dispersed,

or scattered, and remote, all of them, one from another" (*Lane*, 1746a).

ŞYD

şđ (C 3113), *game*

mğ'd h- şđ (LP 534), *seat of hunting* (?)

¹*şđ* (MKWS 2), *snares* (singular unattested)

²*şđ* (C 4384), *sc to hunt*

NOTES: CAR *şāda-hū* "He took, captured, or caught, it; snared, or ensared it"; *şaydun* "game, chase, or prey" (*Lane*, 1752b–1753a).

ŞYF

şf (C 860), *early summer*

NOTES: The early part of *Qyž*, April–July. See Macdonald (1992b) and Al-Jallad (2014).

ŞYR

şyr (ASWS 202; AAUI 267; C 98, 99, 654, 742, 1240, 1293, 2579, 4448; KhNSJ 5; KRS 25, 1131, 1990; M 358; WH 2139), *sc to return to a place of water*, VAR *şr* (CSNS 89)

NOTES: This verb consistently appears in the context of movement towards water, either away from the *mđbr* or towards well-known watering places such as *Namārah*. Therefore, we agree with Madonald (1992b: n. 41–43) that the term be translated as 'returning to a place of water' rather than simply 'return', which it can also mean in CAR. Thus, it is comparable to CAR *şayrun* "the returning [of seekers after herbage] to the watering place" (*Lane*, 1754a).

TLL

tll (Ms 44), *words; writing*

NOTES: The classical dictionaries do not provide a suitable cognate; however, the meaning of this term is relatively clear based on the fact that it occurs in identical contexts to established terms for writing, such as *s'fr* and *hṭṭ*. Interestingly, in LAR the verb *tallal*, *ytallel* means "converser, causer" (*Barthélemy*, 91), suggesting the translation 'words'. I thank my student C. Della Puppa for pointing this out to me.

tl'n (LP 742), *toponym* (perhaps, Tall-'ayn)

TLY

tly (WH 3094), *later* (ADV)

NOTES: CAR *tihwun* "A thing that follows another thing" (*Lane*, 314a).

TM'

tmwy (LP 82), GADJ *Taymanite*

TMM

tm (C 99), *G-SC to last*

NOTES: CAR *ʾatamma š-šay'a* "He made the thing, or the affair, complete, entire, whole, or full" (*Lane*, 315c).

TRF

trf (JaS 73), *a life of ease*

NOTES: CAR *tarafun* "a life of ease and plenty" (*Lane*, 303c).

TRḤ

trḥ (CSNS 1010; KRS 941; SG 5; ZSI 1), *G-SC to perish; die*, G-PPC.MS *trḥ* (C 4443;

HCH 37, 46, 69, 72), FS *trḥt* (ZSI 1)
 NOTES: CAR *tariḥa* “He perished, or died: became cut off, was put an end to; or came to an end” (*Lane*, 302).

ṬʾR

ṭʾr (C 25, 1607, 2446; CSNS 957, 1004, 1087; HCH 72, 103, 126; KRS 1087, 2556; LP 243, 679), *vengeance* or SC *to take revenge*

NOTES: CAR *ṭaʾara-hū* “He revenged, or avenged, his blood, by retaliating his slaughter; he slew his slayer” and *ṭaʾrun* “blood-revenge” (*Lane*, 327c–328a).

ṬBR

ṭbr (C 1758, 4443), Sagittarius
ṭbr (LP 679), *destruction*
ṭbrn (NST 3), PL *warriors*, of an unattested singular *ṭbr*
ṭbrn (HCH 107), *toponym*

NOTES: CAR *ṭabara-hū* “He drove him away, expelled him, or banished him” and “he destroyed him” (*Lane*, 330c). On the name of the constellation, see Al-Jallad (2014).

ṬFL

ṭfl (RSIS 339), *sediment* (?)
 NOTES: CAR *ṭuflun* “sediment” (*Lane*, 340b). The context of the inscription cannot shed further light on the exact meaning of this word.

ṬLG

ṭlg (C 3818; HaNSB 218; MKOWI 2), *snow*; *cold* (?)
 NOTES: In two cases, it seems that

“snow” fell in late October or late February, both times in which snow would not be expected. At the same time, it may be this unexpectedness that motivated the event’s commemoration in an inscription. On the other hand, it might be possible to interpret *ṭlg* in these circumstances as ‘cold’ or ‘severe cold’ rather than literally ‘snow’.

ṬLT

ṭlt (AZNG 1; C 1573), *three*, F *ṭltt* (ASWS 18; WH 3792.a); *ṭltn* (ZeWa 1), *thirty*
ṭlt (ASWS 360), *third* (?)

ṬMN

ṭmnʿs²rt (H 763), *eighteen*

ṬNN

ṭnt (ISB 117), *dry herbage*
 NOTES: Probably related to CAR *ṭinnun*: *yabīsu l-ḥašīši* ‘dry herbage’ (*Lisan*, s.v.).

ṬNY

ṭnʿs²r (KRS 303), *twelve*

ṬQB

ṭqb (AKSD 5), SC *to cut*; *Pierce*
 NOTES: *ṭaqaba* “He perforated; bored; pierced it” (*Lane*, 341c).

ṬʾM

ṭʾmt (C 3113), INF *to nourish*
 NOTES: CAR *ṭaʾāmun* “food of any kind” (*Lane*, 1854b).

ṬBʿ

ṭbʿ (ZeGA 11), *river or rivulet*

NOTES: CAr *ṭibʿun* “a river or rivulet” (Lane, 1823c).

ṬHR

ṭhr (MA 1), *SC to clense*

NOTES: CAr *ṭahara, ṭahura* “It was, or became, clean, free from dirt or filth, or pure” (Lane, 1886c).

ṬLQ

ṭlq (KRS 1684), *APC.MS to set off*

NOTES: The basic sense of this root in CAr is “to let loose, let go of”, but the sense required by the inscription is closer to the N-stem *inṭalaqa* “he went away or departed” (Lane, 1872b).

ṬNN

ṭn (C 25), *C-SC to cut off*

NOTES: CAr C-stem of the root *ṭnn*, *ʾaṭanna yada-hū* “He made his arm or hand to fall off by a stroke of a sword” (Lane, 1883a).

ṬRD

ṭrd (BTH 228; LP 732; WH 161), *G-SC to drive (away)*

NOTES: CAr *ṭarada-hū* “He drove away him, or it; he drove him away, expelled him, or banished him” (Lane, 1838b).

ṬRQ

ṭrq (QZUI 462; ZeWa 1), *SC to smite*

NOTES: CAr *ṭarqun* “beating [a thing], or striking” (Lane, 1846a). While the CAr term seems restricted to things, the Safaitic *ṭrq* can take human direct objects.

WʿL

wʿl (NST 3), *toponym*

WʿY

wʿy (C 4803), *SC to be mindful*

NOTES: CAr *waʿā-hu* “He kept it in mind, and considered it” (Lane, 3056c).

WBL

tbl (WH 179), *D-INF to carry (back)*, of the unattested **wbl*.

NOTES: CAr *wabala* “(a horse) ran vehemently (Lane, 3048c)” is not a suitable meaning; instead, a connection with Akk *wabālum* ‘to carry’ is more likely, in which case the present form would reflect the D-INF **/tawbīl/*.

WDD

wdd (C 1936, 2031; HAU 182; KRS 995; LP 673, MKWS 8; SESP.U 18), *loved one wdt* (WH 2194), *love*

NOTES: CAr *wadīdun* “A person loved synonymous with *ḥabībun* and *ṣadīqun*” (Lane, 2931b).

WFY

tfyt (C 1744), *fulfillment*

NOTES: CAr *waffā-hu ḥaqqā-hū* “He paid, or rendered, to him fully, or completely, his right, or due” (Lane, 3057b).

WGD

wgd (AAUI 294; AWS 8, 125, 48; BRenv.H 1; C 25, 763, 793, 1293, 1573, 1989, 2036, 2156, 2196, 2544, 2713, 3140, 3474, 3820, 4443, 4974, 4988; HAU 125;

HshNSMI 5; KRS 6, 15, 213, 896, 926, 941, 1015, 1161, 1379, 2914; LP 135, 183, 304, 306, 342, 409, 562.1, 1265, 1351; MAHB 5; Mu 253, 897; RWQ 334; WH 325, 399), G-SC *to find*, FS *wgdt* (SIAM 35); G-INF *wgd* (ISB 117).
 NOTES: CAr *wağada-hū* ‘He found it; lighted on it; attained it; obtained it by searching or seeking; discovered it; perceived it; saw it; experienced it; or became sensible of it’ (*Lane*, 2924b).

WGM

wgm ʔ- (AAEK 394; AAUI 281; ASWS 37; BRCM 0194; C 96, 99, 304, 654, 893, 1133, 1573, 1758, 1936, 2113, 2190, 2285, 2446, 2732, 3095, 3230, 3474, 4037, 4076, 4443, 4768, 4988, 5050; CSNS 1004, 1010; HaNSB 218; HAU1 76; HCH 10, 37, 46, 69, 72, 82, 103, 126; KRS 18, 24, 78, 167, 1024, 1051, 1991, 2890, 2914; LP 243, 304, 305, 344; NSR 117; NST 2, 3; RWQ 73, 117, 120; RyD 6822; WGGR 1; WH 15, 151.1, 181, 398; ZmNSIH 32), SC *to grieve*, FS *wgmt* (SIAM 35)
 NOTES: This verb is one of the most debated terms in the Safaitic lexicon. The latest discussion of the literature can be found in Eksell’s 2005 paper, where she suggests the verb means ‘to mourn (ritualistically)’ (171). Scholars in the past saw a close connection between this verb and the act of constructing memorial/burial cairns, based on the CAr noun *wağmun*, which can refer to a heap of stones. Littmann, for example, translated it as ‘to lay a stone on a grave’. The more

general sense ‘grieve’ is chosen here in light of contexts where the sadness associated with *wgm* cannot be connected with the loss of a human being: WGRR 1: *wgm ʔ- bʔlsʔmn sʔnt mʔl* ‘he grieved for Bʔlsʔmn in the year of dearth’.

WGʕ

wgʕ (LP 314; SIJ 152), G-SC (always passive) *to grieve in pain* (idiomatic)
ʔgʕ (KRS 3074), C-SC *to cause pain*
ngʕ (ASWS 73; AWS 8, 125, C 763, 793, 1989, 2156, 2196, 2686, 4815; HshNSMI 5; KRS 213, 896, 941, 1975; LP 306, 344, 406, 562.1, 643; Mu 253; RWQ 310), N-SC *to grieve in pain* (idiomatic)
 NOTES: Both terms are probably equivalent to CAr *tawağğaʕa* ‘He expressed manifested pain, affliction, distress, grief, or sorrow’ (*Lane*, 3049b).

WHB

¹*whb*, (C 1868), G-SC *to give, grant*, 2FS *whbt* (C 4037); *hb* G-IMP (AsUI 1; AWS 236; BEnv.H 1; KRS 96, 1087; LP 319, 460; Mu 571);
²*whb* (C 3757), D-IMP idem
 NOTES: CAr *wahaba la-hū šayʕan* ‘He gave to him a thing’ (*Lane*, 2968).

WHÐ

¹*ħd* (KRS 1131), *deity*
^ħ*whd* (C 2104, 4815; KRS 922), *by oneself* (ADV)
²*whd* (NSR 117; WH 128, 366), *to be alone*
²*ħd* (AAUI 281), C-SC *to make two one*
twħd (AWS 244), T2-SC, *to be alone*

NOTES: CAr *waḥuda* “He, or it, was, or became, alone, by himself or itself, apart from others” (*Lane*, 2927a).

WKS¹

wks¹ (C 1186), *loss*

NOTES: CAr *al-waksu: an-naqṣu* ‘loss’ (*Lisān*, s.v.).

WLD

¹*wld* (Brenv.H 1), *offspring*

²*wld* (ASWS 217, 360; H 763; RWQ 317;

WH 1698), *SC to help give birth*

NOTES: CAr *wallada-hā* “He assisted her [namely a woman, and an ewe or she-goat, or other animal [in bringing forth, delivering her of her child or young one]]” and *waladun*, PL *wuldun* “a child ... offspring, young, or younglings; of any kind” (*Lane*, 2966a–b).

WLH

wlh (C25, 1607, 2446, 4443, 4768;

HCH 71; KRS 6, 24, 926, 1432, 2453;

RSIS 351; SG 5; Vogue 404.1), *G-SC to be distraught*

wlh (C 3177), *D-IMP to make distraught*

twlh (WH 1243), *T2-SC to be made distraught*

NOTES: CAr *waliha* “his reason departed in consequence of grief ... or of joy ... or of the loss of the beloved ... grieved or sorrowed” (*Lane*, 3060a).

WNY

wny (AAEK 244; HaNSB 218; Mu 412;

WGGR 1), *G-SC to be feeble*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *tawānā*

“He was, or became, languid, remiss, weak, feeble, or faint” (*Lane*, 3061b).

WQ^ʿ

¹*wq^ʿ* (AKSD 5), *inscription*

²*wq^ʿ* (CSNS 1), *SC to inscribe*

NOTES: The term seems to be a rare alternative to *sʿfr* and *ḥṭṭ*. Compare with CAr *waqqaʿa fi l-kitāb* “he signed the writing” (*Lane*, 3057c).

WQD

wqd (C 2997), *fire*

NOTES: CAr *waqḍun* “fire” (*Lane* 2959b).

WQD

^ʿ*qd* (AbaNS 16; WH 1234), *C-SC to beat violently*

tqd (KRS 1161), *T-SC to be in a beaten state* (metaphorically despaired)

nqd (LP 146), *N-SC to prostrate oneself*

NOTES: *waqada-hū* “He beat him or stuck him violently” C *ʿawqada*, idem; *waqīḍun* “prostrated”, a passive participial formation, and so equivalent of the N-stem. CAr does not have I-w N-stems.

WQF

wqf (C 4384), *exhaustion*

NOTES: CAr *waqafa* ‘to stop or cease doing something’.

WQY

qyt (C 511, 1837, 4068, KRS 78), *G-INF to protect, preserve*, VAR *qt* (C 4384)

wqyt (HaNSB 184; HAUI 125; LP 306;

RWQ 335; SESP.U 17; ShNGA 1;
WH 159, 1698, 3730), *preservation*;
protection

twqy (C 2209), T2-SC *to preserve oneself*

NOTES: CAR *waqā-hu llāhu s-sū'a*
“God preserved him from evil”; TD
tawaqqā-hu “he guarded against it”
GT *ittaqā* “he guarded himself” (*Lane*,
3059a)

WR'

wr' (WH 1900), SC *to remain behind*

NOTES: CAR *warā'un* ‘behind’.

WRD

wrd (AAEK 244; ASWS 73; AWS 48;
C 1240; KRS 896, 1770, 2420, 3291;
LP 712, 742; MSNS 1, 6; RSIS 339;
WH 3559.1, 3792.a), SC *to go down*;
to go to water, *w*-form **wrdw** (RSIS 199)
NOUN: Hb *yārād* “to go down” (*HALOT*,
#3953), but in CAR, to go specifically to
water.

hwrd (C 744, 1293, 5050), *toponym*
(perhaps *the watering place*)

WRH

wrh (WH 597, 641.1) *month*, DU **wrhn**
(RVP 7), PL **wrh** (KRS 25)
NOTES: Compare with Hb *yeraḥ*/
yārēaḥ “month” but, like *s²hr*,
also a “full moon” (*HALOT*, #3968;
3970). The difference between
wrh and *s²hr* is not at the moment
clear.

WRL

wrl (CSNS 1004), *monitor lizard*
NOTES: CAR *waralun* ‘lacerta scincus’
(*Lane*, 3052a).

WRT

wrt (AAUI 281), SC *to become heir, inherit*

WS¹Q

¹ws¹q (C 2088), *a mob of driven cattle*
(singular unattested).

ws¹qn (C 3095), G-APC.PL *to drive*
NOTES: CAR *wasīqatun* “a mob of
driven cattle” (*Lane* 3053).

²ws¹q (AAUI 267; C 2670; LP 342),
struggle

NOTES: CAR *wāsaqa* “to oppose, to
contend a.o.” (*Hava*, 869); in the
modern dialect of Syria, *wasaq* means
“to injure (someone)” (*Barthélemy*,
894).

WŞL

wşl (LP 684), *to arrive*

NOTES: CAR *waşala 'ilay-hi* “He, or it,
arrived at, came to, reached, attained
him, or it” (*Lane*, 3054c).

WYL

wyl (C 76), *woe*, VAR **wln** (AAEK 394)

NOTES: CAR *waylun/an la-hū* “woe to
him!” (*Lane*, 3962c).

Y'S¹

¹y's¹ (CSNS 957; KRS 169), G-SC *to despair*
²y's¹ (LP 718), D-SC *to upset; to make*
despair

y's¹ (WH 1022), C-SC *to make despair*
t's¹ (LP 679), T-SC *to despair*

NOTES: Arabic *ya'isa* “to despair
of a thing” or “he cut off hope of
the things” or “his hope of the
thing became cut off” (*Lane*,
2973c). As in CAR, it seems that
the GT has the same sense as the
G.

YD

yd (AKSD 5; C 25), *hand*, DU.CNST *yd*
(C 4037)

YHD

yhd (ASWS 217; HAUI 125; RSIS 324),
Jews; GADJ *yhdy* (C 2732)

YM

ym (KRS 303), *day*, PL *ym* (MKWS 8),
VAR *ʾwm* (KRS 2453)

YMN

ymnt (HCH 194), *south*
tmny (HaNSC 5), GADJ of *Tmn* (probably
southerner)

ymn (C 325), C-SC *to go south*

NOTES: CAr *al-yamīnu* “the location
that is on the right. *Yamīnun* also,
the south” (*Lane*, 3640b); Sab *ymnt*
“south” and *yhymn* “be southward”
(*SbD*, 168).

YṬᶜ

yṭᶜ (AWS 380; C 218, 527, 1658, 1837,
5121; KRS 169, 307, 922, 1695; Ms 37;
RWQ 62; SW 264), *deity* (vocalized
perhaps as *Yayṭᶜ*).

YZR

yzr (C 2156, 2209; MISSD 1), *Iturians*
(ethnonym, suggested by Knauf 1983)

ZFF

zf (C 285), *sending of the bride*

NOTES: CAr *zaffa* “He, [or I], or the
women, sent [or conducted] the bride
[with festive parade or pageantry,
and generally with music,] to her
husband” (*Lane*, 1235b).

ZMR

zmrt (HCH 79), *flute-playing girl*

NOTES: CAr *zawmarun* “playing; or a
player” of a *mizmārun* “a musical reed,
or pipe” (*Lane*, 1251a).

ZRY

zry (*b-*) (C 74), G-SC *to treat with*
contempt

NOTES: The context of this verb
suggests a passive interpretation,
in which case Safaitic *zry* may be
the equivalent of CAr *izdarā-hu*
“he contemned, or despised, him
... or made him to be contemned or
despised” (*Lane*, 1229c).

ZWM

zʾm (Vogue 404.1), G-APC *dead* (verb
unattested)

NOTES: This verb seems to have been
very rare in CAr, occurring only once
with a sutable sense in the *Lisān* (s.v.)
zāma r-rağulu ʾidā māta.

ZʾN

zʾn (HaNSB 62), SC *to seek after herbage or*
water; INF *dʾnt* (AAEK 244)

NOTES: CAr *zaʾana* “He journeyed to
seek after herbage, or to water” (*Lane*,
1911c). The infinitive *dʾnt* is attested in
a variety in which *d* and *z* have been
confused.

ZBY

zby (L 184), DU *zbyn* (WH 3151), F *zbyṭ*
(WH 2342), *gazelle*

NOTES: CAr *zabyun* “a gazelle” (*Lane*,
1908b).

ZHR

zhr (LP 718), *to become evident*

NOTES: CAR *zahara* "It was, or became, outward ... it appeared; became apparent ... plain, or evident" (*Lane*, 1926b).

Zl'

zl' (LP 732), *seeking to copulate* (ADJ or APC)

NOTES: CAR *zali'un* is applied to a dog that is lusting for a female (*Lane*, 1918a).

ZLL

zll (C 4649), *shelter*

zllt (C 4681), *small shelter* (DIM)

NOTES: CAR *zullatun* "A thing that covers or protects on overhead"; also *zilalatun* "that whereby one shades himself of trees, stones, and other things" (*Lane*, 1916b).

zll (AAUI 294; C 2544, 2713; CSNS 1; HAU 125; KRS 6, 941; SG 5), *sc to remain*, F *zllt* (CSNS 1)

NOTES: CAR *zalla yaf'alu kadā* "he continued doing such a thing"

(*Lane*, 1914b); this usage is especially common in the modern dialects of Arabic.

ZLM

zlm (AZNG 1; RWQ 73; WH 3730), G-SC *to oppress; to be unjust*; APC.PL *zlmn* (KRS 1087)

NOTES: CAR *zalamā* "He did wrong; or acting wrongfully, unjustly, infuriously, or tyrannically" (*Lane*, 1920).

ZMY

'zmy (RWQ 73), *toponym*

ZNN

znn (C 1108), *sc to sit in contemplation*

NOTES: Compare with CAR *zanna* "He thought, opined, supposed, or conjectured" (*Lane*, 1924b).

ZRT

zrt (UIO 117; WH 3094), *enclosure*

NOTES: Compare with Syriac *tyārā* 'enclosure' (*SD*, 126a).

Plates



PLATE 1 *KRS 68*



PLATE 2 *KRS 169*

PLATE 3 *KRS 1683*PLATE 4 *KRS 2453*



PLATE 5 *KRS 3074*

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Index of Tribes

The Table of Contents and the cross-references in the Dictionary will allow the reader to find most subjects or words with ease. However, since the Dictionary did not include onomastica, the nomadic tribes mentioned in the inscriptions cited in this book are listed below.

<i>ʾdm</i>	A 1 (Greek); RyD 6822	<i>ḥrm</i>	HCH 107
<i>gʾ</i>	JbS 1	<i>ḥzy</i>	CSNS 1; KhBG 345
<i>ʾlbʾ</i>	AKSJ 1.2.3	<i>kbb</i>	C 304, 320
<i>ʾsʾll</i>	HshNSMI 5; KRS 68	<i>klʾt</i>	C 2172
<i>ʾty</i>	ZeGA 1	<i>kn</i>	HAUI 72, 125; KRS 1304; MISSI 1 (Greek bilingual)
<i>ʾṯ</i>	ShNGA 1	<i>mʾb</i>	KRS 1304
<i>ʾbd</i>	C 320	<i>mʾš</i>	HCH 69
<i>ʾmn</i>	CSNS 1004	<i>mʾyr</i>	HaNSB 307
<i>ʾmrt</i>	AAUI 406; C 2947, 3757; HCH 191, 194; KhNSJ 1, 5; KRS 3074; Ms 64; RWQ 339	<i>mḥtr</i>	AWS 380
<i>ʾwd</i>	C 320; LP 325, 342; NST 3; RWQ 346, 347; SIJ 59	<i>mlk</i>	MISSD 1; MISSJ 1–2 (Greek bilingual)
<i>bʾr</i>	C 1758	<i>msʾk</i>	C 76
<i>dʾf</i>	C 2544; KRS 1024, 1852; LP 360, 687	<i>msʾkt</i>	KRS 2340; SIJ 786
<i>dʾb</i>	C 4039	<i>nmrt</i>	HCH 82, 126
<i>df</i>	C 1573, 1649, 2209; HCH 53; KRS 1015, 1468, 2460; MISSI 1 (Greek bilingual); RWQ 334, 346, 347; NST 7; ShNGA 1; WH 1, 15, 1698, 1700.1; VAR <i>dyf</i> : AA EK 71	<i>nḡbr</i>	C 2113; SES.P.D 12; SG 5
<i>fʾrt</i>	C 4037	<i>nzrʾl</i>	WH 2147
<i>frt</i>	HaNSB 307; MISSD 1; RSIS 324	<i>qmr</i>	C 1868, 3757, 4384, 5050; HaNSB 304, 305
<i>fšmn</i>	H 763	<i>qs²m</i>	ZeWa 1
<i>g^c</i>	KRS 1087	<i>rks¹</i>	AtIN 3; AKSD 5; WH 852, 2837
<i>gʾbr</i>	C 4332	<i>sʾd</i>	AZNG 1; ASWS 70
<i>gʾbrt</i>	ShNGA 1	<i>sʾb</i>	NRW.D 1
<i>gr</i>	AAUI 294; ZmNSIH 37	<i>sʾbḥt</i>	WH 1700.1
<i>grs¹</i>	CSNS 1010	<i>sʾhwt</i>	WH 2147
<i>grṯ</i>	KRS 167	<i>sʾlm</i>	CSNS 1
<i>gs²m</i>	WH 3792.1	<i>s²wʾ</i>	RWQ 346, 347
<i>ḥd</i>	HCH 46	<i>šbh</i>	NST 3; SIJ 59; WH 3420
<i>ḥg</i>	C 2823–2824 (Greek bilingual)	<i>šhyn</i>	C 4768
<i>ḥlš</i>	KRS 1964	<i>šṯ</i>	ShNGA 1
<i>ḥly</i>	HCH 131, 132	<i>tm</i>	CSNS 412, 620; HCH 71; NST 2; ZSI 1
		<i>tyr</i>	CSNS 438
		<i>tmd</i>	WH 3792.1
		<i>ys²kr</i>	CSA 1.2
		<i>zhr</i>	HCH 103