An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions
An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions

By

Ahmad Al-Jallad
For Michael C.A. Macdonald, dearest teacher and beloved friend
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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 A special acknowledgement of the efforts of the Late G.M.H. King is necessary—I benefited greatly from her unpublished lexicographic notes during my work on this project.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

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<tr>
<td>BWM</td>
<td>Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Betts from Wadi Miqat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H  Harding unpublished notes on inscriptions


HAUI  Abd al-Qadr, Unpublished photos of inscriptions from the Mafraq Museum.


KRS  Safaitic inscriptions recorded by G.M.H. King on the Basalt Desert Rescue Survey.


MKJS  Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Macdonald/King at Jabal Ṣaqaʿ (to appear on OCIANA).

MKMR  Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Macdonald/King at Mithnayat Rajil (to appear on OCIANA).

MKOWI  Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Macdonald/King on the way from W. Irainbeh (to appear on OCIANA).

MKWS  Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Macdonald/King at W. Safawi (to appear on OCIANA).


RVP  Safaitic inscriptions (except Stein, q.v.) in Ryckmans, G. 1941.


RyD  Ryckmans, G. 1951. "Inscriptions safaïtiques au British Museum et au Musée de Damas". Le Muséon 64, pp. 83–91, pl. 1–3


SIJ  Winnett, F.V. 1957 Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan. (Near and Middle Eastern Series 2). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

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Abbreviations

Grammatical Abbreviations

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<td>1CS</td>
<td>first person common singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1CP</td>
<td>first person common plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2FS</td>
<td>second person feminine singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>third person masculine singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
<td>third person feminine singular</td>
</tr>
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<td>3MP</td>
<td>third person masculine plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>APC</td>
<td>active participle</td>
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<tr>
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<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASV</td>
<td>asseverative particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNST</td>
<td>construct state</td>
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<tr>
<td>COL</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPRO</td>
<td>clitic pronoun</td>
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<td>DU</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>gentilic adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gn#</td>
<td>lineage chain/genealogy</td>
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<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
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<td>IPRO</td>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><em>lam auctoris</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>masculine</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negator</td>
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<td>nominative</td>
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<td>OPRO</td>
<td>independent object pronoun</td>
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<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfect particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCL</td>
<td>paucal/individuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>person-number-gender</td>
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</table>
ABBREVIATIONS

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 Ge’ez
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

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<td>L</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>tL</td>
<td>VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>cD</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>VII</td>
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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
CHAPTER 1

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 Harrah, 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. A
dictionary of the lexica attested in the appendix of inscriptions—with an ety-

mological 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 Dedân, Taymā’, or
Dūmāh 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 some-
thing of practical use, except for one thing. Nomadic life involves long
periods of solitary idleness, guarding the herds while they pasture, keep-
ing 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; oth-
ers 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 circum-
cumstances. 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 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 sug-
gested process by which the nomads acquired writing is certainly plausible,
several important aspects of the Safaitic inscriptions challenge the character-
ization 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 oppor-
tunities 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 rybm and
perhaps swy.
Abānš 86: \( l\, bhs^2\, bnt\, hn\,'w\, mtt \)

‘For Bhs\(^2\) daughter of Hn’ and she died’

Vogue 404.2: \( l\, 'n\, bn\, ksl\, 'n-\, nfs^1 \)

‘This funerary monument is for ‘n son of Ks\(1\)’

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)

\( l\, s^2mt\, bn\, hls\, bn\, hddn\, bn\, 'n\, d\, 'l\, hig \)

‘By S\(^2\)āmet son of Ḥalīṣ son of Ḥaddīdān son of ‘n of the lineage of Ḥagg’

Μνησθῇ Σαμέθος Ἀλιζου τοῦ Ἀδδ[1]δανοῦ Ἅγγηνος

‘May S\(^2\)āmet son of Ḥalīṣ the Ḥaddīdān-Ḥaggite be remembered’

Macdonald (2009 I: 76)

\( l\, nsr\,'el\, bn\, 'lw \)

‘By Naṣr\(^\prime\)el son of ‘lw’

Μνησθῇ Νασρηλος Αλουου

‘May Naṣr\(^\prime\)el son of ‘lw be remembered’
**Safaitic—Palmyrene**  
Macdonald (2009 II: 347)

\[l\text{ rf}'l\text{ bn Tfn}] \quad \text{rp}'l\text{ br twp'} \text{ zbd}bl \text{ bṭb} \\
‘By Rf’l son of Tfn’ \quad [may] \text{ Rp’l son of Twp’ Zbd}bl \text{ [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:

WH 1860 (= + Greek 2)

\[l\text{ whbl}h\text{ bn zn’l bn whbl}h \ldots \quad \text{Ουαβαλλας Τανηνλου του [ ] Ουαβαλλου} \]
‘By Wahballah son of Žann’el son of Wahballah’

While overt memorial expressions were used in Greek and Aramaic, this function was entirely pragmatic in the Safaitic context. The fact that \textit{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 \textit{lam auctoris}:

RSIS 231: \[l\text{ ἱρ\ bn Mγny\ w' n dhs}^2 \]
‘For Ἰρ son of Mγny and I am Dhs’

KRS 268: \[l\text{ s}^2\text{rw\ bn Fl}ṭṭ\ h- dr\ w' n 'tm\ bn s}^2\text{rw} \]
‘For S\(^2\)rw son of Flṭṭ, at this place, and I am ‘tm son of S\(^2\)rw’

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

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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 wʿl bn sʿmt*, followed by a narrative: *w ṭgd sfr znʿl* 'and he found the writing of Znʿl'. As the editors point out, the writing to which Ḥrb must be referring is the nearby inscription WH 311, which contains the name *znʿl bn rgl*. In this case, it is most economical to understand Ḥrb 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. 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. 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. 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.

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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- đ’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- nbh h- đ’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 ЫJarrah 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: \( l\, m\, g\, y\, r\, b\, n\, m\, s\, 1\, k\, b\, n\, \text{'}m\, d\, b\, n\, m\, l\, k\, b\, n\, q\, h\, s^2 \, w\, r\,'y\, h\,-\text{'}b\, l\, f\, h\, s^2[h]\, qm\, g\, n\, t\, m\,-\text{'}r\,'y\, t\)

'By Mgyr son of Ms\,k son of 'md son of Mlk son of Qhs\,2 and he pastured the camels so, O [S\,hqm], 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: \( s^{'hm\, l\,-\, mn\, d\,'y\, h\,-\, s\,'fr\, \text{'}may\, he\, who\, would\, read\, this\, writing\, have\, security'\).\n
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, \textit{to read} and \textit{to call out} \( (cf.\, CAr\, iqra\, \textit{‘read’ and ‘call out’}).\)
KRS 941: \( wgd \, 'tr \, s'd \, fng \, w \, b's' \, m \, zll \, wrgm \, m{n}\{y\} \{\} \{n\} \{y\} \{w\} \{q\} \, l \, $bl \, -h \, trh \)

`he found the trace of $d' so he grieved in pain, for those who remain despair, and he ($d) was struck down by {Fate while suffering}; {and he said aloud}: may its (the inscription's) effacer perish' 

KRS 1015: \( wgd \, 'tr \, 'd \, f \, wrb \, -h \, qyl \, hy \, Lt \, s'lm \, w \, b- \, 'n \, -h \, s'lm \, w \{q\} \, m \, -h \, 'bd \)

`he found the trace of the people of Df so he exalted it saying aloud: O Lt may it be secure and may it remain secure for all time, and its {people} too.'

BRenv.H 1: \( wgd \, 'tr \, 'm \, -h \, hmyn \, fql \, h \, gddf\{h\} \, b \, \{l\} \, -\{h\} \, k- \, s'\d \, -h \, w \, k- \, wld \, -h \, w \, k- \, n'm \, -h \)

`he found the trace (grave?) of his grandfather protected (or Hmyn, 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: \( wgd \, htt \, gyr'f \, fng \, w \, ql \, $bl \, hr \, 'n \, yg'll \)

`he found the writing of Gyr'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 n$b or mn$b, 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.
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 bn(y) 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 ħ, 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 monophthonization. Finally, there is good evidence in both pre-Islamic sources and the materials gathered by the Arab Grammarians for a non-monophthonized 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 ħ-, hn-, ‘ and ‘l; Dadanitic h(n)-, ‘l(t); Taymanitic ħ; Hismaic ǿ, but note the use of the morpheme ħ- as a demonstrative; the various Thamudics attest ‘l and ħ; 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/; I'n */lā-'an/ > CAr lan
mafi'ūl G-passive participle
prepositions and adverbs f, 'n, 'nd, ḥt, 'kt
da subjunctive in -a
t-demonstratives
leveling of the -at allomorph of the feminine ending
'n complementizer and subordinator
the use of f- to introduce modal clauses
independent object pronoun in ('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 ' < *'an and 'l = *'al/ 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. 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. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Arabic at this ancient stage derives almost exclusively from onomastics.

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

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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.
feminine ending. 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. 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:

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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 */qarit/ rather than */qariyat/ (see D 67).

16 On the grammatical features of Taymanitic, see Kootstra (2014).

17 Old Higazi is characterized by the innovative relative pronoun 'ulladi, 'ullati, etc., which is attested once in JSLih 384 and is the common form in the QCT.
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., \( l-h-rgm \) \( \simloh-har-rVgm/ \) '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
INTRODUCTION

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 */mäta/ 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:

\[ hll h^- dr s^1 nt myt qsr \]
'he camped in this place the year Caesar died'

Ms 44:

\[ r'y h^- ' bl h^- ' rd s^1 nt myt bn qsr \]
'he pastured the camels in the valley the year the son of Caesar died'

KhNSJ 1:

\[ g{[l]}s^1 mn^- dnt s^1 nt mt mlk nb^t \]
'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 \( \sqrt{vnr} \) '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: /fa’il/ or /fa’il/. 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, k’n ‘existing’ and z’m ‘dead’, while others with a medial glide, hyt ‘journeying’ and nwy ‘migrating’ (see §5.6.1.1).

c. The Relative Pronoun: The paradigm comprises three forms: MS ḍ, FS ḍt, and MP ḍw, 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 ḍ is used with a feminine singular antecedent in an inscription composed by (or for) a woman from the lineage of Ms’kt (SIJ 314) and once with a woman from the lineage of Rksṭ (AtlN 3). The masculine plural is only attested twice and in only one case with a clear masculine plural antecedent. The simple form ḍ 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-, ḍ-, ḍ-, 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 ḍ- article is not infrequently encountered and, as mentioned above, members of a single social group will put both to use. The relationship between the ḍ- and ḍ- 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 Hwl-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 $grfs bn hrds$, 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., $sfjr$, $hlt$, $tt$, $ktb$, all 'writing'; $hrs$, $hll$, $r'y$, 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 Harrah 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 Harrah, 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 copora 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 quern 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 Saffaites, 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: 

\[l' 's'd bn rb'l bn 's'd bn rb'l nb'twy s'lmwy w brh hlqt s^ty h- dr w t'rz h- s'my s'nt \--\]

‘By ”s’d son of Rb’l son of ”s’d son of Rb’l the Nabataean (nb’twy = /nabaṭawwayā/?) the S’lm-ite (s’lmwy = /s’lmowayya/?) 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: 

\[l mn’m bn ‘rs^mnwt bn ‘bgr bn ‘tl h- nbty \]

‘By Mn’m son of ‘rs^mnwt 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: 

\[dL bn s^rk bn rbh d ‘L qmr w mty f h s^2’hqm ġnmt w rmy b- rmhk -h w hzr b- s’j -h f mraq kdl s’ls -h f w gd’wd ġnmt w s’lm w hlf -s’lh -h m- ‘L nb’t ‘wr d ġbl \]

‘By Dl son of S’rk son of Rbh of the lineage of Qmr and he will journey so, O S’hm, 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: 

\[ls’h’d bn mr’bn nr w wgm [l-] ‘h -h nr qlt-h ‘l- {n}bt y [ ] r’y n’m ‘wd w dff h lt m’mn w lt dtn w gd [’] w d w gd’df t’r m- ‘s’lf w wh l k[b] {r} s’h’r ‘l- ‘h -h ḫb -h l- ‘bd \]

‘By S’h’d 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 Dtn and [Gd’wd] and Gd’df, 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 Tayma', have also carved inscriptions in the Safaitic script and idiom.\footnote{In the case of \textit{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 Ślm, a god otherwise not worshipped in the Safaitic inscriptions but found at Tayma', 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 \textit{editio princeps} interpreted \textit{ṭḥ dmt} as 'god of effigies'.}

\begin{quote}
KRS 30: \textit{l bn bn 'nlh h- dny w ḫrs fh ślm ṭḥ dmt rw⟨⟨⟩⟩h}

'By bn son of 'nlh the Dumaite and he kept watch so, O Ślm, god of Dūmat, let there be ease'
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
LP 82: \textit{lṣṭ d bn ng [b][n] dw[d] h- tmwy}

'By Sṭd son of Ng [son] of [Dwd] the Taymanite'
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
KRS 1507: \textit{l grgs ḳ bn ḳlds l}

'By Gregory son of Claudius'
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
UIO 322: \textit{l byn bn tm ḱʾltts ḳ yz b---}

'By Byn son of Tm of the people of Titus and he spent the dry season near---'
\end{quote}

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 inscriptions. 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 \textit{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
groups such as \( Df \), \( \text{‘wd}, \) or \( \text{‘mrt}, \) 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 compositional 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 Jawa 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-Jimal and Bostra. In particular, the texts from Umm al-Jimal 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., \( l \text{ PN } h - gml \ qsy \ l - lt \) '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 Wirmett’s 1950 expedition to Jāwā, Jathûm, 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 OCIA. 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—
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 1197 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 Semitohamitica Berolinensia (SSHB): AAEK, AbaN, 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—AAEK and RSIS—contain photographs, these are usually of such low quality that it is often impossible to scrutinize the reading properly. AbaN 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.
CHAPTER 2

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 d. 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. 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.

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

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3 Tracing by M.C.A. Macdonald (1989:77); the text reads $l$ zhln bn hrds$^1$ bn hs$^2$l.
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.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
(1) & (2) & (3) \\
\hline
\checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\end{array}
\]

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.

---

See al-Salameen (2011); the tracing is by the author. The text reads: l’qrb bn ms’k d l’mrw hll s’n’t mt hrtt h-mlk ‘By ‘qrb son of Ms’k of the people of ‘mrw and he camped the year Ḥāreṣat the king died’.
This letter also has two basic forms: (1) a half circle, similar to the roman letter c and (2) a long bow-shaped line.

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 a single point which sits beside the vertical line about halfway down.

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.

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.
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.

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

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.

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

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.

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.

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

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.

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.

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 $l$. 
$s^1$  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.

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

$s$  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.
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.

\[ \begin{array}{ll} 
(1) & (2) \\
\hline 
\end{array} \]

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.

\[ \begin{array}{ll} 
(1) & (2) \\
\hline 
\end{array} \]

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.

\[ \begin{array}{l} 
(1) \\
\hline 
\end{array} \]

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

\[ \begin{array}{ll} 
(1) & (2) \\
\hline 
\end{array} \]
The glyph consists of a vertical line with a (1) circle or (2) triangle on one end. Like the $s$ and more rarely the $t$, the loops can be filled in.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
(1) & (2) \\
\vdash & \bigtriangleup
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
(1) \\
\vdash
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
(1) & (2) & (3) & (4) \\
\vdash & \bigtriangleup & \backslash & \bigcirc
\end{array}
\]

*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.
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 / in words such as *kl* 'all' and *zl* 'he remained' as attempts to represent the geminated liquid of the underlying forms *kul* 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' */s al(l)alay/

RQ.A 10 *mty frs* 'two cavalry units' */me’atay paras/, CAr *mi’atay farasin*

C 137: *rdw* ‘Rudaw’ (deity) */roš aw/, CAr *rudan* < *rudaw-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., ḏyf (AAEK 71) versus ḏf (passim) ‘(the lineage) ḏayf’ and qyṣr (MISSD 1) ‘Caesar’ versus qṣr (passim), and possibly the causative verbs y’s to make miserable and ymn to go south’ (but see §5.6.2.1). The spelling of names such as ‘ws’ could reflect the representation of the internal diphthong, */aws/ (Gr. Auσσος), or be interpreted as diminutives, */'oways/. Likewise, the commonly cited example, ‘yr for */ayr/ can also be understood as a diminutive */oyayr/ ‘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 qttl = 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, sʔmь */samay/ ‘sky’; sʔby */sabuy/ ‘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., ḥrdwlh */ḥā roṣaw-walleh/ ‘O ḥrdw, cause grief’ (C 3177); w hwfhsʔr sʔlм */wa ḱVwVp-pa ḍu-ṣarē salema/ ‘and he was in in fear so, O ḏsʔr, may he be secure’ (KRS 1949). This phenomenon can only occur when the word-final vowel has been lost (§3.4).

---

5 The coalescence of the f in hwf and the following conjunction suggest that hwf 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/.
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 ẓ, even though in CAr it was pronounced as a pharyngealized voiced interdental fricative, [ẓ̞]. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Semitic</th>
<th>OCIANA</th>
<th>WII</th>
<th>SSHB</th>
<th>Classical Arabic</th>
<th>ASA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*[s]</td>
<td>s¹</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>س</td>
<td>s¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[ṭ]</td>
<td>s²</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>s²</td>
<td>ش</td>
<td>s²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[ts]</td>
<td>s¹</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>س</td>
<td>s³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following provides the consonant correspondences between Old Arabic, as represented by the Safaitic script, and other Semitic languages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Safaitic</th>
<th>QCT/CAr</th>
<th>Ug</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>OfAr</th>
<th>Gz</th>
<th>Akk</th>
<th>PS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>启动仪式</td>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>ʕ ʕ ʕ ʕ ʔ ʔ ʔ ʔ ʔ ʔ ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>b b b b [b]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>g g g g [g]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>d d d d [d]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>h h h h /ʔ/ [h]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>w w w w [w]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>z z z z [dz]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
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<td>h h h h /ʔ/ [h]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
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<td>t t t t [t']</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/l/</td>
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<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
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<td>n n n n [n]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/s/ (&lt; *s⁴)</td>
<td>s s s s s [ts]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>f f f f [p]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/s/ (&lt; *s⁵)</td>
<td>s s s s [ts']</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>q q q q [k']</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>仪式</td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>r r r r [r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/.
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 i). 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, [tʰ] and [kʰ], respectively; t = θ: Λοβαλαθού = lbt; Σαμεθος = s²mt; k = χ: Χεσεμαν = khs’mn; Λμμασαγγος = hms’k. The reflex of *p is difficult to ascertain. The traditional transcription with ŋ is purely conventional and based on CAr. While no bilinguals containing this phoneme have

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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 $\pi$ [p] and $\varphi$ [ph], e.g., $flf\$ (KRS 1991) = Φιλάππους, and even geminated $\pi$, $grf\$ (KRS 1023) = Ἀγρίππαις. 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 $\beta$ and $\delta$ 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 $\check{g}$ [d3], as in the traditional pronunciation of CA. The sound is transcribed by $\gamma$ in the bilingual inscription C 2823–2824 (+Greek): $hg = Αγγελικς$. Islamic period transcriptions often employ $\zeta$ or the digraph $\tau\zeta$ to represent the affricated $\check{g}$ in Greek. Moreover, the $g$ glyph is used to transcribe Greek and Latin $[g]$, $grg\$ (KRS 1507) = Γρηγόριος and $grmnq$ (LP 653) = GERMANICUS. Had $g$ signified the sound [d3], one would expect either $k$, or perhaps $q$, to transcribe foreign $[g]$. This sound is consistently represented by $\gamma$ in the Graeco-Arabica.

3.1.3 The Interdentals *t and *d
The $t$ glyph is transcribed once in a Greek bilingual with $\theta$: $yt\epsilon = Ιασεδου$, 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 $\delta$: $\deltaε\betaου /d\epsilon\eyb/ = \delta\beta$. 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 *g
The reflex of *$h$ is attested once in a bilingual inscription where it is not indicated graphically in Greek, $hl\$ = Αλεξιο. 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 $\chi$ [kh], as a better approximation of the sound (Al-Jallad 2015, §3.2). The reflex of *$g$ has not yet appeared in a bilingual inscription, but there is no reason to assume that it was anything other than the voiced counterpart of $h$.

3.1.5 The Pharyngeals *h and *
There is no reason to assume a value other than [h] and [v]. 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 qaʃ, or a glottalized velar plosive, as in Modern South Arabian [k']. Its voiceless character is confirmed by its use to transcribe Latin c: ʾqlds² (KRS 1507) = CLAUDIUS and qsr (Ms 44) = CAESAR, and, vice versa, the use of x 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- k dú s²r sdq 'he longed for every righteous kinsman' or SIJ 352 w ts²wq l- ḫwn -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, *
 [ta'allawak'el]. 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 mrets¹ (AbaNS 656) = Μυρτος. In the Graeco-Arabica, τ is consistently used to transcribe Arabic t.

3.1.8 *t = ž
The sound is found once in a bilingual text, in which it is transcribed with τ: žnl' WH 1860 (= Greek 2) = Ταννολας. 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 žalimun. The sound was probably the emphatic correlate of the voiceless interdental t. 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 *s
This phoneme is transcribed as both unvoiced and voiced in Greek: nṣr'l = Νασρηλος and hil = Ἀλιζου. A 1 transcribes what is probably the word s²hs as σεαζ, 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/.
It is impossible to decide on the nature of emphasis for the unvoiced variant, 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, [s'] and [ts'], respectively. The proximity of s' and  in some varieties is borne out by misspellings such as KhBG 345 b's for b's 'misfortune' and perhaps C 1813 s'dl for s'dl.

3.1.10  *s = d
The reflex of the emphatic lateral is transcribed with sigma in the Arabic names of the neighboring settled areas, e.g., رماية = nght. 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, Ξαφνος = h- dff (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 [l], with possible affrication, [t'], or [t'].

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

5 For a lengthy discussion on the possible realizations of the voiceless variant, see Al-Jallad (2015, §3.7.2).
This type of fluctuation could indicate that the Greek (and Latin) voiceless sibilant had an apical realization, i.e., [s], just as in Modern Greek. If $s^l$ was a pure alveolar sibilant, Greek and Latin [s] 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 $\tilde{s}$, especially in the vicinity of backed vowels, e.g., [bos$\tilde{s}^s$] < bus or [as$^s$-s$^u$:ma:l] < 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$^l$fr ‘inscription’ (passim) < sifr; ys$^l$ (ISB 330) ‘Joseph’ < yosep, although the month name n$sn$ (ASWS 202) = nis$m$ may reflect the use of $\tilde{s}$ for this purpose as well.

$s^2$: The phonetic value of $s^2$ 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 CAร $\ddot{\text{s}}$in. 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 Ժ in Greek. Were it realized as [ç], the sound would probably have been represented by the spiritus asper, just as the reflex of $\ddot{s}h$. 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 $s^2$ and $\ddot{s}h$

The glottal stop and fricative are not represented in Greek transcriptions: $l$ $hn'$ $bn$ $lb't$ = Ἐνος Λόβασιαθού. There is no evidence for the loss or dissimilation of the glottal stop following another glottal stop, compare CAร $\ddot{a}$mara < *$a$'mara to Safaitic ”mr *'$a$’mar/.
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, §4.1ff.). This situation is reflected in the few Safaitic-Greek bilinguals:

*i = [e]
y’t = Ιαγιδευ */yayte’
s^2mt = Σαμεθος */sâmêt/
^h1n’ = Ἔνως */hên’/
^zn’l = Ταννήλος */tann’êl/

*u = [o]
lb’t = Λοβαιαθού */lobay’at/

*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.

whblh = Ουαζβαλλάς */wahballâh/
hg = Αγγγνος */hagg/
^hls = Αλιζου */halîz/ < *halîs

However, in A 1, the short high vowel *i is consistently represented by i 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 /û/ has not yet appeared in bilinguals, but is almost always given with ου in the onomastica from settled areas (Al-Jallad 2015, §4.1ff.); *û has appeared once in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant where it is realized as [iː]:

^hls = Αλιζου */halîz/ < *halîs

Long /á/ is transcribed with α and there is no evidence for raising to [eː], even in the vicinity of an i-class vowel:
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 = Ιαθεου or the transcription of the tribal name Σαφηνος = ḫy. While one can argue that Greek αι had already monophthongized to [e] in this period, it is not the case for 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., φυλής Χαυνηνών = ʿl kn or in A 1 Λαυρ = ḫy. 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 Ṿt and rdr, both of which occur in non-accusative positions, must reflect secondary word-final diphthongs, */patay/ and */roṣaw/, 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 ʿalā < *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 ʿl- ‘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 > ʿalā, written ʿly.

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

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7 No phonetic value is reconstructed for the emphatics given the existence of several equal possibilities.
a. *iyu, *iyi > û: 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 /i/, s²t */sätî/ ‘wintering’ (C 1868) < *såtiyu; hz */håzi/ ‘being hostile’ (ASWS 124) < *håziyu. Although examples are not attested, it is likely that a similar sound change would have collapsed the sequences *uGV[+high] to û.

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

C 3177: h rdwelh ... */hâ rošaw-walleh/ < *hâ rošawu walleh ‘O Rdw, cause grief ...’

AtlN 3: lj§l bnt bngd d ’rks’w l-h-rgm* */lah-har-rVgm/ < *lahar-rVgm ‘By Fl’s daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks’ and for her is the cairn’

WH 3420: lgm bn hb d ’sbh w l-h-rgm* */lahar-rVgm/ < *lahar-rVgm ‘By ’gm son of Hb of the lineage of §bh and for him is the cairn’

A 1 sheds further light on the scope of this change. Only final short /a/ survives, e.g., αθαοα /atawa/ ‘he came’ and βαχκα /baqla/, fresh herbage in the accusative, compared to no vowel in αλ-ιδαμ /al-‘idamiyy/ rather than *al-‘idamiyyu or μι-σιαζε /mi-(s)-sihaši. 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 AtlN 3 (above) requires the deletion of word-final /a/, or perhaps even /a/ (!), of the 3FS clitic pronoun. The same is true of the spelling of the 3MS pronoun *huwa as h */hû/ (e.g., KRS 1684, 2453). Less secure is the phrase ‘dwd -h ’rb’t rgm mnv ‘... 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, */rağinä/. It is, however, also possible to take this form as a finite verb in the passive, */roğemû/, 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-
CHAPTER 3

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, rḍy ‘to be satisfied’ (KRS 1042) must reflect */raši/eya/ rather than */rašiy/ = */raši/, which would have been spelled rḍ. 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 > ə / ÇvC_, perhaps exclusively in items without lexical stress (such as prepositions and pronouns). Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{luhu}^6 & \rightarrow \text{luh} \sim \text{loh} = l-h \\
\text{laha} & \rightarrow \text{lah} = l-h \\
\text{huwa} & \rightarrow \text{huw} = h
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\ast s^2\text{atawa} & \rightarrow s^2\text{ty} / \ast\text{šataya} / \text{‘to spend the winter’}; \text{but } s^2\text{tw} \text{ (CSNS 324; KhBG 376)} \\
\ast \text{da’awa} & \rightarrow d’y / \ast\text{da’aya} / \text{‘to read aloud/invoke’} \\
\ast \text{a’lawa} & \rightarrow r’y / \ast\text{a’laya} / \text{‘to raise’}
\end{align*}
\]

The divine name Rdw */rosaw/ and its variant rḍy */rosay/, which must be the outcome of the above-described processes, have a much more balanced distribution. 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.²⁰

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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, Rdw appears in 320 inscriptions while Rḍy is found in 195.

10 The commonly held view is that Rdw and Rḍy 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
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d. \( w \rightarrow y / y_\text{a}: \) The progressive assimilation of \( w \) to \( y \) occurs when the two are contiguous and followed by a long \( /\text{a}\).\(^{11}\)

MKWS 8:  \( 'ym \ast/'\text{ayy\text{"a}/} < *'\text{ayw\text{"a/}m 'days'} \) (but note \( 'wm \) in KRS 2453)
AbaNS 407:  \( 'h\text{yt} \ast/'\text{hayyat}/ < *\text{hayw\text{"a/}t 'animals'} \)

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 *\text{min}, for example, is almost always spelled \( m\)-, with assimilation, and only rarely \( mn\).

\( n\)-assimilation

\( \alpha. \) Word boundary

C 1341:
\( w \text{rdw} 'wr m 'wr-h \ast/'\text{ma/}-'\text{awwara-h}/ < *\text{man-'awwara-hu} \)
\( \) and may \( \text{rdw} \) blind whosoever would efface it' (the inscription)

Compare to:

C 1957:
\( \{y\}'wr mn 'wr h- s^\text{fr} \)
\( \) may whosoever would efface this writing be blinded'

\( \beta. \) 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' *\text{bint}, for instance, is most frequently attested as \( bnt \ast/'\text{bint}/, \) and only occasionally as \( bt \ast/'\text{bitt}/. \)

\( bnt \)

KRS 1975:
\( qbrt hs^\text{m} bnt hl-h \)
\( \) '\text{Is}^\text{m} \) daughter of his paternal uncle was buried'

WH 1861:
\( l^*d^\text{q} bnt whb'l \)
\( \) 'by 'd^\text{q} daughter of Whb'l'

both are reflexes, Aramaic and Arabic, respectively, of the Nabataean deity, *\( \text{dii-sasray/}. \) The fact that \( \text{rdw} \) and \( \text{rdy} \) 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: \( l\text{rdwn }bt\ hdl \)
'By R\text{dwn} daughter of H\text{dl}'

WH 214: \( l\text{mty }bt\ hr't \)
'by M\text{ty} daughter of H\text{r'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 = ‘qlds\(^t\) (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—s\(^t\)ky */\text{stakVya/} or */V\text{stakVya/} and qttl */\text{qtatVla/} or */V\text{qtatVla/}, 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 interdentals: \(t\) for \(t\), WH 1791 \(\text{hrtt}\) for etymological \(\text{hrtt}\), and \(d\) for \(d\), ds\(^2\)r (passim) for ds\(^2\)r. 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 *\(\text{s}\) is written with \(\text{z}\), 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 \( 'bnkltb.\)
sounds merged to \(z\), or from a dialect in which \(s^*\) was realized closer to the sound the glyph \(z\) signified. None of these instances are attested alongside another examples of etymological \(s^*\), 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:

\(a. q > \dot{y}\): Two inscriptions attest the shift of \(q\) to \(\dot{y}\):

**MKMR 9:**

\[
\ell \{\ell\w \ell \ell \ w nfr f \, \ell \ell \}
\]

'by \{\w\} son of Bnt and he deserted and then spent the dry season'

**Mu 113:**

\[
l \, S \, d \, b n \, \ell b n \, t m \, w \, h l \, h - d r \, d t \, f \, \ell \, s^2 \, f h \, b \, l s^3 \, m n \, q b l l
\]

'by \$’d son of \Db son of ‘bd son of ‘dm and he camped here to spend the season of later rains, then the dry season, then the winter, so, O B’ls’mn, may there be reunion with loved ones'

The spelling of \(qyz\) as \(\dot{y}d\) 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 \(qbl\) ‘reunion’. On the other hand, it is also possible that \(qbll\) reflects a traditional spelling while \(\dot{y}d\) was the contemporary pronunciation.

\(b. \quad \ell > d\): The same word also exhibits the merger of \(\ell\) 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, AAEK 244 spells \(\ell \, n t \) ‘to seek water and herbage’ as \(d \, n t\), pointing towards the same change.

\(c. s^2 > s^l\): The spelling of the phrase \(t s^2 \, w q\) ‘to long for’ as \(t s^l \, w q\) ‘l in ANKS 1 and SLJ 644 could suggest the rare merger of these two sounds, or perhaps the realization of \(s^2\) as \([f]\) in some dialects, and its transcription with the closest approximate, \(s^l\).

\(d. s^* > y or \emptyset\): A few inscriptions exhibit the loss of the glottal stop, as exemplified by the writing of \(s^2 \, n\) ‘enemies’ as \(s^2 \, n\) (MSNS 1). In word medial position, we find the phrase \(d \, l\) is written \(dyl\) in an unpublished inscription, suggesting the pronunciation \(*dî\,yal/\) from original \(*dî\,-\,l\). The same spelling of this phrase is
also found once in a Hismaic 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.
CHAPTER 4

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCC stems</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Vocalization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strong</td>
<td>s'fr (C 99)</td>
<td>*/sepr/</td>
<td>‘writing’</td>
<td>√s'fr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-w</td>
<td>wq’ (AKSD 5)</td>
<td>*/waq’/ (?)</td>
<td>‘inscription’</td>
<td>√wq’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-w/y</td>
<td>qyz (ZeGA 11)</td>
<td>*/qeyat/</td>
<td>‘dry season’</td>
<td>√qyz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III-w/y</td>
<td>s^ty (Mu 113)</td>
<td>*/setay/</td>
<td>‘winter’</td>
<td>√s^ty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C² = C³</td>
<td>hll (LP 135)</td>
<td>*/hali/</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
<td>√hll</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 A1 only exhibits /i/.
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).

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 *ftr* 'male slave' or *mt* 'female slave', or agreement with other elements in the sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male names</th>
<th>Female names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C 3929:</td>
<td>WH 3865:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s^2ddt bn hny</td>
<td>{m}l^h bnt rks^t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCH 131:</td>
<td>C 4768:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myt bn ^k^l</td>
<td>ghbm bnt 'n'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP 264:</td>
<td>KRS 59:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mlkt bn 'dyn</td>
<td>s'lm 'mt s'lm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 'l Qmr, known in this form from other inscriptions (C 9; C 1414; C 1870; C 1951, etc.).

KRS 2819:  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{l } s'd \text{ bn tm bn } s'd \text{ bn } zhk \text{ bn } ms^2r \text{ bn } s^4wd \text{ bn } wtr \text{ bn mlk bn hyt bn } \\
\text{hbl bn whbn bn qmr}
\end{array}
\]

The most common way of expressing affiliation with a social group is to use the phrase *d 'l* (lit. 'of the 'dl', 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:  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{l Tbr bn } 'zz \text{ d 'l } \text{hd} \\
\text{By Tbr son of 'zz of the lineage of } \text{Hd'}
\end{array}
\]

KhNSJ 5:  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{l grm bn } l^t \text{ bn } s^rmt \text{ d 'l 'mrt} \\
\text{By Grm son of } L^t \text{ son of } S^rmt \text{ of the lineage of } '\text{mrt'}
\end{array}
\]

CSNS 438:  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{l } s'lm bn 's'd \text{ d 'l tyr} \\
\text{By } S'lm \text{ son of } 's'd \text{ of the lineage of } '\text{tyr'}
\end{array}
\]

a. In very rare cases, an author may express affiliation with two 'ls: HaNSB 307  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{l s'}dlh bn 's'l bn zn'l bn hyln } d 'l } \text{m'yr w d 'l frt } '\text{by S'}dlh \text{ son of } 's'l \text{ son of } Zn'l \text{ son of } Hyn \text{ of the people of } M'yr \text{ and of the people of Frt'}. \text{Unlike later Arabic practice,} \\
\text{the Safaitic inscriptions do not distinguish various levels of descent—all groups are referred to as 'ls, as illustrated in the following inscription: RWQ 346 l 'l's' bn}
\end{array}
\]
hs'n bn hnn d 'l df mn 'l s²w' "by 's³ son of Hs'n son of Hnn of the lineage of Df, 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, s'lm could be vocalized as salm, sälem, salîm, solâym, etc., all of which are found in Greek transcriptions from the area.

HCH 182: 'n'm = */'an'am/, Gr. Ανάμ
HCH 194: rdwt = */rašāwat/, Gr. Ρασσαουάτος
M 112: mtr = */maṭar/, Gr. Ματαρός

4.2.2 Theophoric Names

Theophoric names consist of sentences or genitive compounds based on the name of a deity, usually It, Ih, and 'l. Many of these names are attested in Greek transcription:

C 1665: tmth
'servant of Allāh', Gr. Θεόμαλλας

C 4237: 'bdlt
'worshipper of Allāt', Gr. Βαπάλλαθος

C 3751: nṣrt
'the aid of EI', Gr. Νασρηλός

KRS 902: hflth
'Allāh has granted a successor', Gr. Αλαφαλλάς

Theophoric names containing other deities occur less frequently:

AbaNS 265: 'bsd⁵ms¹
'worshipper of S²ams', Gr. Βαπδασμάνου

AbaNS 892: {s²} 'bl
'companion of Bêl'
4.2.3 Basileophoric Names
Nabataean basileophorics are also rarely attested:

SIJS 11: 'bd'bdt
'slave of Obodas', Gr. Αβδοδάς

KRS 2327: 'bdrl'
'slave of Rabbel', Gr. Αβδοραβήλος

AKSD 4.1: 'bdml{k}
'slave of Malichus', Gr. Αβδομαλίχος

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

C 226: k-'m-h
'like his grandfather', Gr. Χαμώς

C 227: b-nsr-h
'by his help'

C 2559: l-s²ms¹
'for S²ms¹, Gr. Λισάμου

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

KRS 1507: grgs¹ bn qlds¹
'Grégorès son of Claudius'
NSR 44: \textit{ttts}^{1}

\textit{'Titus'}

AbaNS 656: \textit{mrts}^{1}

\textit{'Myrtos'}

α. UIO 322 attests a social group with an eponymous ancestor bearing a Latin name, \textit{'ttts}^{1}.

### 4.2.6 Names of Social Groups

The names of lineage groups to which the authors of the Safaitic inscriptions belong follow the phrase \textit{d 'l} and are morphologically singular:

HCH 53: \textit{l s'^{2}hm bn 'dm bn bh' d 'l df}

\textit{'By S'^{2}hm son of 'dm son of bh' 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: \textit{l rs'l bn qdm h- dfy}

\textit{'By Rs'l son of Qdm the Df-ite'}

Names of outside peoples usually appear without the definite article:

WH 736.a: \textit{h rdw s'^{2}d-h m- s'^{2}n' gnmt}

\textit{VOC Rdw aid.IMP.2MS -CPR.3MS against- enemy.PL raider.PL m-rhy w nb't w hwl't from- Rhy CONJ Nb't CONJ Hwl't}

\textit{'O Rdw, help him against enemies, raiders from Rhy, Nb't, and Hwl't'}

But there are exceptions:

C 4448: \textit{hrb h- mdy 'l rm b- bs'r}

\textit{plunder.SC.3M ART-Mdy people.CNST Rm near- Bs'r}

\textit{'the Persians plundered the Romans near Bs'r'}

C 220: \textit{s'nt hrb h- nb't}

\textit{year.CNST war.CNST ART- Nb't}

\textit{'the year of the war of the Nabataeans'}
4.3 Diminutives

The diminutive pattern was probably CoCCayC(at), as suggested by the transcrip-
tion of Arabic personal names from southern Syria, such as Ḫoṣayḥos and 
Σοφαγος, and nouns such as Γαναγε '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 */bonay-yoh/ 'his young(est) son' (C 4076), from bn; 
'ḥyt */'ohayyat/ 'little sister' (C 893), from ḥt; rwđt */rowayšat/ 'small meadow' 
(HAUI 70), from rdt; and possibly 'yr */'oyayr/ 'small ass' (AbaNS 855), from 
'r.

α. 'wlt */'owaylat/ (C 5050) may attest the diminutive of the unattested *"lt or 
*"lt 'family' or a by-form with a medial w */'awelat/.

β. If s'tr (SESP.U 26) and s'trt (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 ẓlt */əlaylat/ 'small shelter' (C 4681) vs. 
ẓlt */ʻellat/ '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: wrhn 'two months' < wrh + n
AbaNS 28: n'mtn 'the two ostriches' < n'mt + n
WH 182: bkrtn 'the two she-camels' < bkrt + n
WH 3912: nqto{n} 'two she-camels' < nqt + n

4.4.2 Plural

As in CAr, there are two strategies of pluralization: pattern replacement and 
external plural suffixes—masculine n (CAr -ūna, -ūna; Arm -īn) and feminine t 
(CAr -āt; Hb -ōt). 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., $rht = \text{CAr } rahtun$ ‘folk’, Safaitic pl. $\text{`rhtt} *$/`arheṭat/ vs. CAr `arhuṭun and `arāhiṭu.

a. `CC(C): This pattern is characterized by a prefixed ' and the insertion of a vowel between the C$^2$ and C$^3$. As such, it encompasses at least two patterns in CAr, 'aCCaC and 'aCCuC. While the inserted long vowel of the former pattern was probably /a/, one cannot rule out with certainty the existence of a pattern with an /u/ infix, as in Gz. CC nouns tend to form their plurals according to this pattern.

CCC > `CCC

C 1148: `gml 'camels' s. gml
WH 3792.a: `s²hr 'months' s. s²hr
KRS 25: `rh 'months' s. wrh
H 507: `gdy 'kids' s. gdy (only in personal names)

CC > `C(w/y)C

KRS 2340: `dwd 'paternal uncles' s. dd
KRS 2340: `hwl 'maternal uncles' s. hl
MKWS 8: `ym 'days' s. ym
a. The 'CCC plural of C² = C³ roots exhibits a clustered form: */m */'a'amm/ 'forefathers', 'grandfathers' (WH 399), from 'm. In rare cases, the plural of s² 'companion' is spelled as s² (UIO 147; RWQ 120) instead of the expected s²y'. If this is not the result of a writing error, then it could reflect attraction to the C² = C³ pattern, */'ašāa'/ rather than */'ašāy'/.

b. KRS 2453 attests the plural of ym as 'wm, which probably reflects an archaic variant */aywām/ or perhaps an opposite pattern of assimilation, */awwām/.

g. The plural of nqt */nāqat/ 'she-camel' is attested in AbaNS 564.1 as 'nq, and probably reflects the pattern aCCvC rather than aCCvC. The spelling 'nq suggests that that the *wu sequence had collapsed to a long vowel, probably */'anu/q/ 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/*īna.

(1) Patterns with the termination */ān/:  

CSNS 550:  žbyn 'gazelles' */tobyān/ s. žby  
SIJ 352: 'hw 'brothers' */Vhwān/ 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 *īna in the oblique. This continues to be the productive method by which the plural of participles is formed.

KRS 6:  rāmn 'stuck down.PPC.MP' */rağimin/ s. rām  
HCH 71:  mhrbn 'plundered.PPC.MP' */mahrūbin/ s. mhrb  
RQ.A 10:  rm'n 'archers' */rammāin/ s. rmy

a. In addition to 'hw, 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, 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, \( wgm \ 'l 'hhwy \) 'he grieved for brothers' rather than the common \( wgm \ 'l 'hw -h \) 'he grieved for his two brothers'.

\( \beta \). As in other Semitic languages, the feminine \( s'n t \) 'year' forms an external masculine plural, \( s'n n \) '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 \( fi'ālatun, fu'ūlatun, \) etc. Suffixation with */āt/ is the productive method of pluralizing singulatives in CAr, and the same appears to be true in Safaitic.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{KhMNS 51:} & \quad \text{hyt} \ 'animals' \quad */ḥayyāt/ \quad \text{s. hywy} \\
\text{C 218:} & \quad \text{b's}'t \ 'misfortunes' \quad */be'sāt/ \quad \text{s. b's}' \\
\text{C 4448:} & \quad \text{gnmt} \ 'goats' \quad */ğanamāt/ \quad \text{s. *ğnm} \\
\text{RSIS 204:} & \quad \text{mtrt} \ 'rains' \quad */maṭarāt/ \quad \text{s. mtr} \\
\text{WH 179:} & \quad \text{bkrt} \ 'she-camels' \quad */bek(a)rāt/ \quad \text{s. bkrt}
\end{align*} \]

\( \alpha \). 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' (C1837) = \text{CAr } maṭiyyatun, \text{pl. } mtt (WH 2837); dmyt (C1615) 'image' = \text{CAr } dumy-\text{atun, 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 \( y \), \( hyt */ḥayyāt/ < *ḥaywat/ (§ 3.4b). \)

\( \beta \). 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, \( fi'āl, fi'uāl, fu'āl, \) etc.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{KRS 903:} & \quad \text{hrṣ } \quad 'l- rgl -h \\
& \quad \text{watch.sc.3MS over- foot soldier.pl -cp}, \text{pro.3MS} \\
& \quad \text{he watched over of his foot soldiers'}
\end{align*} \]
Compare with singular rgl (C 2076).

α. If I am correct in identifying HN 161 s²n‘enemies’ as a plural, then it could be the case that the more common hrš s²n‘ reflects the idiomatic use of the singular */sāne’/ or perhaps a variant CCC plural, */sonna’/ 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 sḥm m- s²n‘
CONJ Ds²r security against- enemy.PL
‘and Ds²r, may he be secure against enemies’

β. Šy’d ‘snares’ (MKWS 28) may reflect a CCC plural of a CC noun, if WH 2938 {s}d attests its singular.

e. ‘CC(C)t: This rare plural form, cognate with CAr ‘aqf‘liatun and Gz ‘aqf‘alt, 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 ”lhht, */a’lehat/ and the plural of rht ‘kinsfolk’ as rhtt */a’rheqtat/ in ShNGA 1. The word ls²nt is probably the plural of the unattested ls²n‘tongue’.

LP 1108: w h lt sḥm m- ls²nt
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/a)y/ ‘goats’ (LP 360), from perhaps m’z (C 4973), cf CAr ma’azun.

g. miscellaneous: The plural patterns CaCaCay and ‘aCCeCay are each attested once, lyly */layalay/ ‘nights’ (KRS 2453), and ”rdy */a’reṣay/ ‘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, d’n ‘sheep’ (C 744); bqr ‘cattle’ (LP 155); ‘bl ‘camels’ (passim). A singulative (nomen uniu-
tatis) can sometimes be derived from the collective by the suffixation of t */ṭat/, n’m ‘an ostrich’ */na’amat/ (KRS 1610), from n’m ‘na’ām ‘ostrich’ (HaNSB 117); d’nt */ṣa’nat/ ‘an ewe’ (C 35), from d’n */ṣa’a(a)n/; and possibly
sfrt */sepr/ ‘an instance of writing’ (WH 153), from sfr */sepr/ ‘writing’ (passim).

**a. Plural of paucity/individuation:** The singulative forms its plural with the external suffix */at/. This may function as an individuative plural or as a paucal; no evidence has yet been attested to distinguish between the two. While the CAR paucal signifies a number between three and ten, there is no reason to assume that this precise quantity holds for the Safaitic dialects. The paucal/individuative and singulative are identical in Safaitic orthography and therefore must be distinguished by context.

C 2307: $s^2r\{q\} \{b-\} h- d'nt \ l- hrrn$

{migrate}.SC.3MS {with}-sheep.PCL to- Hrrn

'and he migrated with a number of sheep to the inner desert, towards Hrrn'

C 4448: $syr \ b- \ gnmt -h$

return to water.SC.3MS with- goat.PCL -CPRO.3MS

'he returned to a place of water with a number of his goats'

Compare to the plural:

KRS 1304: $mrq \ ?n \ l \ m'\ b$

pass.3M sheep.PL.CNST people.CNST M'b

'he let the sheep of the people of M'b pass'

**Derivational relationship between the collective, singulative, paucal/individuative, and plural**

collective: $\dot{d}n = */\dot{\dot{s}}'(a)n/$ → plural: $\dot{d}n = */a\dot{\dot{s}}^3n/$

↓

singulative: $d'nt = */\dot{\dot{s}}'(a)nat/$ → paucal/individuative: $d'nt = */\dot{\dot{s}}'(a)n\dot{\dot{a}}t/$

**4.5 State**

In Proto-Semitic, a noun governing another noun in the genitive case or bearing a pronominal suffix is said to stand in the construct state. In this state, it is distinguished from its independent form by the loss of final nasalization (*mination* in the singular, *nunation* in dual and plural). Since final nasalization
had already disappeared in all environments in singular nouns (but see § 4.5.1,
below), only duals and external masculine plurals continue to exhibit morpho-
logically 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 ʔlt ʔs'il
      voc goddess.cnst ʔs'il
      ‘O goddess of ’Usays’

KRS 59: ʾmt s'ilm
       slave girl.cnst S'ilm
       ‘the slave girl of S'ilm’

**Definite because of the article:**

SIJ 37: b's'il ʾ b's'ilnt
       misfortune.cnst ART-year
       ‘the misfortune of this year’

**Definite because of a pronominal clitic:**

C 2713: ʾtr ʾs'2y'-h
       trace.cnst companion.pl -cpro.3ms
       ‘the traces of his companions’
Three-term construct-genitive:

C 320: 

\[ n'm \quad 'l \quad 'bd \]

livestock.CNST lineage.CNST 'bd

'the livestock of the lineage of 'bd'

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

HAUL 72: 

\[ t'mr \quad h-s^2n' \quad s^hnt \quad qsr \quad w \]

be widespread.sc.3MS ART-adversity year.CNST Caesar CONJ h-mdy

ART-Persians

'adversity was widespread in the year of Caesar and the Persians'

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: 

\[ s^hq \quad w \quad mhq \quad l- 'm \quad w \quad wld \]

ruin CONJ bad fortune to-people.CNST CONJ offspring.CNST d \quad y'wr \quad h-sfr

REL efface.PC.3MS ART-writing

'may the people and the offspring of him who would efface this writing have ruin and bad fortune'

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

C 4037: 

\[ \{h\} \quad lt \quad whbt \quad s^2n'-h \quad bn \]

{voc} Lt give.sc.2FS enemy.PL-CPRO.3MS between yd-h

hand.DU.CNST -CPR03MS

'O Lt, may you give his enemies into his hands!'
RQ.A 10:  
\[ b\text{-}m'ty \quad frs^l \]
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 'rm (ZeWa 1) 'warriors of the people of Rome' is likely */qâtelî/, and may reflect the construct of the so far unattested masculine plural active participle **qtln */qâtelî/ûna/. The same phenomenon is reflected in ASWS 59 bn 'zmy */bani 'zmy/, from the unattested unbound form **bnn */banîn/ (see, also, C 511).

### 4.5.1 Vestiges of Nunation

A few examples of nunation are attested in the inscriptions. The term mhLt 'dearth of pasture' in the prayer segment of KRS 1551 is followed by an otiose n: h lh rwh w mhLt n l- y'ywr h- sfr '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. AAEK 394 seems to provide an example of nunation on a noun which is syntactically in the accusative, wgm win 'he grieved in despair', where win, perhaps, */waylan/, is best connected with CAr 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 'mrt n '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. 'abû, GEN. 'abî, ACC. 'abâ), 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 RQA 10 \[ b\text{-}m'ty frs^l \] '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 A1:

A1: ḏḥwət /'atawa/ βανα’-α /bana’a/ α-δαυρ-α /a(d)-dawra/ come.sc.3ms Bana’-acc art-place -acc
‘he came to Bn’ at this place’

A1: σατ /wa/ ειψατ /yir’aw/ βακλ-α /baqla/ conj pasture.past.3mp fresh herbage -acc
‘and they pastured on fresh herbage’

WH 742: hɔyt mdbwr journey.sc.3ms inner desert
‘he journeyed to the inner desert’

WH 466: r’y bql whd pasture.sc.3ms fresh herbage alone
‘he pastured on fresh herbage alone’

WH 65: ǧzɔ l- nhɔl raid.sc.3ms art-valley
‘he raided in this valley’

WH 766: l h’wɔl bn ḥbb h-mdt’ la H’wɔl son.cnst ḥbb art- the spring pasture
‘By H’wɔl son of ḥbb, 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

a. The overlap between the locative function of the accusative and the preposition b- is illustrated in WH 784: r’y b- rɔd w mdbwr w b- ‘lsi’ /ra’aya bi-raws wa

⁴ Compare to Hb. wo-hu yɔsheb petay-ha-’ohel ‘and he was sitting at the entrance of the tent’ (Gen 18:1) or ləshebet bəyit ‘that it may dwell in a shrine’ (Isa 44:13).
madbara wa bi-'Vls/ '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; s^2t (C 1868) ‘wintering’ < √s^2ty; hz (ASWS 124) ‘being hostile’ < √hz, 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), s^2t */sātī/ < *sātiyu.

a. 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 hrs h- nw m‘h- h m- mdbr ‘he kept watch with his brother for the migrating party from the inner desert’. If h- nw should be vocalized as */han-nawi/, 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 */naww/ in analogy with the participles of C^2 = C^3 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. 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 3s 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.

\textit{a.} As in other Semitic languages, the \textit{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     | mnzr */manț\textup{Vr}/ | look-out
|              |             | \textup{Vnt} ‘point’       | √nzr ‘to guard’ |
| +n-assimlation| WH 318      | m\textup{zr} */matț\textup{Vr}/ | |
| maCCVCat     | KRS 2499    | mrb */mar\textup{Vbb}/ | land with
|              |             | \textup{Vrbb} ‘to be
|              |             | abundant
|              |             | herbage’  √rbb ‘to be
|              |             | large/plenty’ |
| maCCVC       | ZeGA 1      | mn\textup{ssb} */\textup{manșVb}/ | ‘cult-stone’ <\textup{nșb} ‘idem’ |
| +n-assimlation| KRS 2914    | m\textup{s\textup{b}} */mașș\textup{Vb}/ | |
| maCCVCat     | C 511       | m\textup{s\textup{bt}} */mașș\textup{Vbat}/ | |
| maCCVC       | WH 3500     | ms\textup{2ty} */m\textup{astay}/ | winter
|              |             | √s\textup{2ty} ‘winter’ |
| maCCVCat     | M 358       | ms\textup{2\textup{tyt}} */m\textup{astayat}/ | |
\alpha. Nouns of placed formed from II-w/y roots follow the pattern maCCvCat and have a long vowel in the penultimate syllable, *ma₂qāṭ/*maqīṭat/ ‘summer pasture’ (C 1240) <\(\sqrt{\text{qv}}\)z; *mdnt/*madinat/ ‘province’ <\(\sqrt{\text{v}}\)dny (WH 1698); *mgrt/*maɡārat/ ‘tomb chamber’ (Rsh 1)<\(\sqrt{\text{gw}}\).

\beta. The G-passive participle, *mqtl = *maq₄tul/, 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); *mqtl/*maq₄tul/ ‘killed.pPC.MS’ (HCH 72); *ms₄by/*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 */eey/ or perhaps */iyy/ rather than */i/. A 1 attests a transcription of the gentilic adjective ‘dmy as \(\alpha\lambda-\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\)l/\(\alpha\lambda\)’idāmiiyy/ ‘the ‘Idāmite’.

\(C\ 27:\) \(h-\ m^{3}y\) ‘the M’ṣ-ite’ < \(\ell m^{3}\) ‘the lineage of M’ṣ’

\(\text{HaNSC } 2:\) \(h-\ dfy\) ‘the Sayfite’ < \(\ell df\) ‘the lineage of Df’

\(\text{WH } 852:\) \(h-\ lb’y\) ‘the Lb’t-ite’ < the personal name lb’t

\(\text{LP } 653:\) \(h-\ s’mwy\) ‘the Samawite’ < s’\(mwt\) ‘toponym’ (AAUI 267)

\(\text{KRS } 30:\) \(h-\ dmy\) ‘the Dumaite’ < dmt the oasis Dumah, in North Arabia

\[^{6}\] It is also unclear how one writing in the Greek script would attempt to represent a geminated \(\gamma\). The feminine gentilic adjective \(\alpha\lambda-\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\)l/\(\alpha\lambda\)’idāmiiyy from P. Petra 17 indicates that a geminated \(\gamma\) could have gone unrepresented. Thus, \(\alpha\lambda\)’idāmiiyy could easily represent an underlying */al-‘idāmiyy/.
a. The masculine singular substantivized gentilic adjective can refer to groups of people. For example, h- ‘wdy (MSNS 1, 6) ‘the ‘wd—ites’ < ‘wd and snht h- yhdy (C 2732) ‘the year of the Jews’, cf. Hb hak-kona’anî ‘the Canaanites’.

c. If the gentilic adjective tmwy (LP 82) should be associated with the oasis Taymâ‘, 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 Taymâ‘. Instead, tmn may reflect taymân, 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., hyn ‘travelling’ (WH 1022); hw{r}n ‘return’ (WH 2837); tdb“‘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’ */had-dhe’b/ (LP 732); h- mdnt */ham-madinat/ ‘the province’ (C 1240).

b. Two other articles are attested, ‘and ’, 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).
The 'article:

HaNSB 312: \( l-h \) \( ^{2} f r s \)
by -CPRO.3MS ART- horse
'the horse is his'

WH 3418: \( ^{2} b k r t \)
ART- she-camel
'the she-camel'

WH 234: \( b n y \) \( ^{2} r g m \)
build.SC.3MS ART- cairn
'he built the cairn'

KhMNS 5: \( ^{2} d m t \)
ART-image.PL
'the images'

The 'l-article:

C 5137: \( w \) \( h l l \) \( ^{2} d r \)
CONJ camp.SC.3MS ART-place
'and he camped in this place'

C 2446: \( ^{2} (n)b t y \)
ART- Nbd.GADJ
'the Nabataean'

HCH 194: \( r d w t \) \( ^{2} h d y \)
Rdw\( t \) ART- commander
'Rdw\( t \), the commander'

α. There is some evidence for the elision of the onset of the 'article:

BRCM 0194: \( b n y \) \( ^{2} n f s \)
build.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS ART- funerary monument CONJ
s'tr
[ART-] shelter
'he built the funerary monument and [the] shelter'
MKOWI 2: $hrb\cdot h$ w $s\text{myt}$ 

war.sc.3M -CPRO.3MS ART- snow CONJ [ART-] heavens 

$hdt$

forbid.sc.3FS

'the snow waged war upon him and [the] heavens were forbidding'

β. The Greek inscription accompanying KRS 2420 (see Attallah and Al-Jibour 1997) confirms that the $h$- article triggered the gemination of the following consonant.

ANAMOS ΣΑΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΙΜΑΛΛΟΥ ΑΜΜΑΣΙΧΗΝΟΣ

This inscription probably renders 'n’m bn s’t’d bn tmlh h/-ms’ky */An’am son of Sa’d son of Taymallāh the Masikite or the ‘A/Ham-Masikite’, */ham-masīkeyy/.

γ. A1 transcribes an example of the assimilation ‘l-article, thus we have $\alpha\lambda$-$\delta\alpha\mu$ */al’idāmiyy/ ‘the ‘Idāmite’ but $\alpha$-$\delta\alpha\varphi\alpha$ */a-dawra/ ‘this place’. It is unclear if the assimilated form of the ‘l article triggered gemination, as this author also writes the assimilated form of the preposition *min as μ- without the expected gemination of the following consonant. This may suggest that such forms did not induce gemination (at least in these environments) in this author’s dialect or that he simply did not represent it orthographically.

c. A clear attestation of the $hn$-article occurs in LP 87, $hn\cdot hwly$. This article may have been typical of the dialect of the Ḥwlites who were situated in North Arabia (see Macdonald 2009: II, 35). Other attestations, such as $hn\cdot yr$ ‘the small ass’ (N 101), do not provide any information about their authors, and so it is unclear if these texts were composed by Ḥwlites as well. H 786 attests $l\text{glh } hn\cdot wlt$, which if parsed correctly may attest the $hn$ article before a non-laryngeal consonant. It is, however, unclear what a $wlt$ is; the inscription could equally be parsed and interpreted as an incomplete text $l\text{glh } hn\ w\ lt\ ...$ ‘by Glh, (who is) here, and Lt ...’.

d. As in other CS languages, the article substantivizes adjectives:

C 2446: $qtl\cdot h$ $\{n\} bty$

kill.sc.3MS -CPRO.3MS ART-{Nbt}.GADJ

‘the Nabataean killed him’
e. The definite article can also function as a proximal demonstrative. In most cases, the sense of the article must be inferred from pragmatic considerations. While ambiguity is common, some cases only permit a single interpretation. For example, the $h$- morpheme in KRS 1023 can only be taken as a definite article.

KRS 1023: $mrđ$ $'l- h- mlk$ $grť$
rebelsc.3MS against-art- king Grť
‘he rebelled against king Agrippa’

In curses against potential effacers of an inscription, a demonstrative force is preferred.

C 1293: $'wr$ $%$ $y'rwr$ $h-sfť$
blind.imp.2MS rel.ms efface.pc.3MS art-writing
‘blind him who would efface this writing’

C 893: $'wr$ $l- %$ $y'rwr$ $h-hť$%
blindness to-rel.ms efface.pc.3MS art-writing
‘may he who would efface this writing go blind’

Likewise, the article in inscriptions which express ownership of a structure or authorship is better interpreted as a demonstrative.

KhMNS 5: $l$ $s{l}lm bn hg bn ţhm bn hmsďk $'dmt$
LA GNO4 ART-drawing.pl
‘By $S{l}lm$ son of $Hg$ son of $Ţhm$ son of $Hmsďk$ are these drawings’

WH 329: $l$ $s{d}d bn ţbḥ $h- rgm$
LA GNO2 ART-funerary cairn
‘this funerary cairn is for $S{d}$ son of $Ţbḥ$’

The existence of a separate demonstrative morpheme $h$, and possibly $'$, is clear in cases in which it precedes a genitive construction (1) or the article itself (2). Only in these cases will the $h/'$- morpheme be glossed as DEM.
(1) Before a genitive construction:

HCH 79:  
\[ h \quad \text{dmyt} \quad \text{zmrt} \]
DEM image.CNST flute-playing girl
'this image of a flute-playing girl'

LP 342:  
\[ w \quad 'zz \quad h \quad \text{hmy} \quad 'l \]
CONJ protect.SC.3MS DEM area of pasture.CNST lineage.CNST 'wd'
'and he protected this area of pasture of the lineage of 'wd'

MSNS 1:  
\[ \text{wrd} \quad h \quad 'dyt \quad h-'wdy \]
go to water.SC.3MS DEM watering hole ART-'wd.PL
'he went to this watering hole of the 'wd-ites'

A less secure example is found in LP 534—known only from a hand copy—which reads:  
\[ \text{lpN} h-'mq'd h-'ssd. \]  
As Littmann suggested, the second s 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:  
\[ l \quad s^2kr \quad bn \quad hf \quad h \quad h-hyt \]
LA S^2kr son.CNST Hf DEM ART-animal.PL
'By S^2kr son of Hf are these animals'

HaNSB 354:  
\[ l \quad \text{kmd} \quad bn \quad ns^p't \quad h \quad h-hyt \]
LA Kmd son.CNST Ns^p't DEM ART-animal.PL
'By Kmd son of Ns^p't 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 'l trm 'the lineage of Trm'; then the term h'nis' should be parsed as h 'nis' '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 'ltrm attested as personal name.

WH 587:8  l 'trm h 'nis'.
LA {l'ltrm} DEM ART- funerary monument
'This funerary monument is for 'ltrm'

b. In two inscriptions, nis is preceded by two glottal stops, 'nis' (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 '.

c. 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., flt mn- s'qm 'deliverance from illness' (C 527); s'lm l -hm 'may they be secure', lit. 'security be theirs' (C 4039). Infinitives are not preceded by the article either, {f} gis hlt '{and} he halted to camp' (Ja$ 159.2). However, when generic nouns are the subject of a finite verb, they often take the article. Consider, for example, t'mr h- s'n 'adversity was widespread' (HAIU 72); t'mr h- s'h '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 yhbl s'fr 'may (this) writing not be effaced' to the more common construction 'wr g yhbl h- s'fr '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 '. These demonstratives usually refer to images accompanying the inscription, or to the present time period, e.g., h- s'nt 'this year'.
d-Demonstrative

Demonstratives based on the element d (cf. CAr dā; Hb zē) 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 Ḫarrān inscription: d' 'l-mrtwšl 'this martyrion'.

LP 684:  \(\text{w} \text{dmy wšl } d \text{ h-šwy}\)
\\(\text{CONJ draw.sc.3MS arrive.acp.MS DEM.MS ART- cairn}\)

'and he drew, having arrived at this cairn'

Feminine dual

A form hdl may be attested with a dual antecedent, and would seem to parallel Dadanitic hslnm hdlh 'these two statues', if slmn 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/, */hāday/, 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- ds²r, 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 qsšy 'dedicated'.

H 457:  \(l \text{ zhd bn m'l bn fdq h- bkrtn} \quad \{h\}d\)
\\(\text{LA Gno3 ART-she-camel.DU {DEM}.DU(?)}\)

'by Zhd son of M'l son of Fdq are these two she-camels'

---

9 Another possible instance is WH 1236, which the edition reads as: ls²qqt h- hrt d- 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:**

\[
\text{w} \quad \text{id} \quad \text{h-dr} \\
\text{CONJ \ DEM.FS \ ART-place} \\
\text{‘while at this place’}
\]

**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 *'rd* ‘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 *'rdt* 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, *'rd*.

**C 2953:**

\[
\text{w} \quad \text{mr} \quad \text{h-}'rd \quad \text{t} \\
\text{CONJ \ dwell.sc.3MS \ ART-land \ DEM.FS} \\
\text{‘and he dwelt in this land’}
\]

**AbaNS 906:**

\[
\text{w} \quad \text{gzz} \quad \text{b-h-}'rd \quad \text{t} \\
\text{CONJ \ raid.sc.3MS \ by-ART-land \ DEM.FS} \\
\text{‘and he raided this land’}
\]

with this interpretation is that *hrt* cannot stand for the toponym the *harrah*, since it is preceded by the article. Moreover, the same person authored the inscription WH 424: *ls^2rqt h- hrt[y] h-gml*, where it is clear that *hrt* is a gentilic adjective. I would then read WH 1236 as *ls^2rqt h- hrt[y] h-bkrt*, in line with the expected signature formula, without a demonstrative.
In one case, ‘ṛḏ 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 ṭê pa’āmayim ‘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 �Const ‘inner desert’ (C 2682; KRS 926). While feminine by-forms of nouns of place do exist, e.g., ṃšb vs. ṁšbt, Ṁdb is a proper noun referring to the Ḥamād, and none of its cognates in other languages exhibit a feminine by-form, Hb ṧidbār, OArm Ṁdb, 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 ḏḏtu in CAr, where as a substantive it means ‘being, self’ (Fischer 2002:149, n. 2).\(^{11}\)

C 2682:...‘So, Ṣḏy, let there be spoil this year in the inner desert itself’

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

\(^{10}\) C 1607 reads Ṽ lb ṭ- ṣgs ʿ ṛḥ ṣrb, where the editor took the ṭ 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 ṣgs ʿ ṭ is an attributive demonstrative following a head which is not modified by the definite article. Two things, however, make this unlikely: (1) the construction ṣgs ʿ ṫ ṣrb ‘his plundered troop’ is rather common and so it is possible that Dunand copied ṭḥ 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.
The form $h$-$nfs^I$ 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:

\begin{verbatim}
Vogue 404.1: l  ks\textsuperscript{I} bn 'ms\textsuperscript{I} bn hn bn hnn bn s\textsuperscript{2}hyt w wh
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
LA  Gno5 CONJ  grieve.SC.3MS
'l bn -h  z'm w bny
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
for-son CPRO.3MS die.APC.MS CONJ build.SC.3MS
l bn -h  h - nfs^I
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
for-son CPRO.3MS ART-funerary monument
'By Ks\textsuperscript{I} son of 'ms\textsuperscript{I} son of Hn son of Hnn son of S\textsuperscript{2}hyt and he
grieved for his son, who had died, and so he built for his son the
funerary monument'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Vogue 404.2: l 'n bn ks\textsuperscript{I} h - nfs^I
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
LA 'n son.CNST Ks't ART-
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
funerary monument
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
'For 'n son of Ks\textsuperscript{I} is the funerary monument'
\end{verbatim}

Authors who spoke dialects with the $-$ 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 $nfs^I$ as a plural:

\begin{verbatim}
WH 587: l '{\textit{I}trm} h '{-nfs^I}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
LA '{\textit{I}trm} DEM ART-funerary monument
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
'This funerary monument is for 'Itrm'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
KRS 3239: l  nsr bn 's\textsuperscript{I}d bn 'mrt h '{-n{\textit{I}s}^I}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
LA  Gno3 DEM ART- \{funerary monument\} here
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
ql speak.IMP
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
'This \{funerary monument\} is for son of 's\textsuperscript{I}d son of 'mrt; (so) speak here'
\end{verbatim}

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' \(\text{\cite{Lane, 931c}}\). 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: $h$ $lt$ $qb{L}$ $m$- $t$ $h$- $s^nt$

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 $d$ can be added at will to proper names (Rabin 1951: 76).

WH 614: $l$ $'sm$ w $tnzr$ $d$ $mny$

LA $'sm$ CONJ await.sc.3MS DEM Fate

‘By $'sm$ and Fate lay in wait’ (= $tnzr$ $mny$)
KRS 3029: $t\text{zr} \quad d \quad mny$
await.sc.3MS DEM Fate
‘Fate lay in wait’ (= $t\text{zr} \quad mny$)

ISB 117: $\mathscr{y}r (\langle r \rangle) \quad \text{hn} \quad \text{wgd} \quad d \quad \text{tn}$
journey.apc.ms here find.inf DEM dry herbage
‘having journeyed here to find dry herbage’

KRS 2961: $t\text{nzr} \quad d \quad \text{hbt}$
await.sc.3MS DEM rain
‘he awaited rain’ (cf. $t\text{zr} \; h- \; s'ny$)

4.10 Relative-Determinative Pronoun

The relative-determinative pronouns form the following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>FS</th>
<th>MP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>$d't/dt/ ; d' ; (?)$</td>
<td>$dw$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relative pronoun is most frequently attested as a component of the phrase $d \; 'l$, 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. $dù$, 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 ‘$\text{bdwšr}'$/*‘$\text{abd-}\text{dù-šarē}'$ 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 */$dû$/ in all positions. In an unpublished inscription, however, the common phrase $d \; 'l$ ‘of the lineage’ is written
as *dyl. 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 /i/, not /u/, to /a/, suggesting the vocalization */di/. The head of this pronoun is in the genitive, and so such a spelling could point towards either a generalized reflex */di/ 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-vocically 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 mšs

‘he grieved for Hn’ of the lineage of Mšs

grieve.sc.3ms for-Hn’ rel.ms lineage.cnst Ms

KRS 1964:

’hls d’d’n d l hls

‘he kept the sheep of the lineage of Hls safe

keep safe.cs.3ms art- sheep.col rel.ms lineage.cnst Hls

α. RSIS 351 attests the following curse grb l- dy y’wr h- hﬄ ‘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 form *d’t, */dā’at/ or */di’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’ bn hnl d’t

‘by ’d daughter.cnst ’s son.cnst Hn’l rel.fs

la ’d daughter.cnst ’s son.cnst Hnl’ rel.fs

lineage.cnst Tm

‘by ’d daughter of ’s son of Hn’l of the lineage of Tm

CSNS 620:

l Hrg bnt g’t d’t l tm

‘by Hrg daughter.cnst Gt rel.fs lineage.cnst Tm

la Hrg daughter.cnst Gt rel.fs lineage.cnst Tm

‘by Hrg daughter of Gt of the lineage of Tm
SHS 10 attests the form $d^* /dá'$, 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 $brd$ $d'$ $l$ $rk{s^3}$

Fš'l daughter.CNST Brd rel.FS lineage.CNST {Rks}$^3$

'Fš'l daughter of Brd of the lineage of Rks'

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: $ts^2$wq $l$ $\{b\}$tl{s^2}n $dt$ $l$ $'g'$

long.sc.3ms for {btls^2n} rel.FS lineage.CNST 'g'

'he longed for {btls^2n} of the lineage of 'g''

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

C 2156: $wgd$ $t$ $s^2$-h $qbrn$

find.sc.3MS trace.PL.CNST kinsmen-CPRO.3MS bury.PPC.MP
dw $t$ $yżr$
rel.MP lineage.CNST Yżr

'he found the traces of his buried kinsmen who were of the lineage of Yżr'

H 506: $'wr$ $l$-$dŵ$ $'wr$ $h$-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.
LA 'F-sl daughter. CNST Bngd REL. MS lineage. CNST Rks'.

By 'F-sl daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks'.

\[ \text{\textit{L-}} \text{\textit{\textit{s}-\textit{\textit{y}}'-\textit{\textit{h}}}} \text{\textit{\textit{d}}} \]

grieve. SC. 3 MS for-companion. PL-CPRO. 3 MS REL. MS

\[ \text{\textit{\textit{n}s'-\textit{\textit{l}}}} \text{\textit{\textit{b}-\textit{\textit{tbr}}}} \]

grew away. SC. 3 MP in- Sagittarius

'he grieved for his companions who went off when the sun was in Sagittarius'.

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

\[ \text{\textit{\textit{h}dr}} \text{\textit{\textit{b}-\textit{\textit{'zmy h lt w h ds}-\textit{\textit{r}}}} \]

camp by water. SC. 3 MS near- 'zmy Voc LT CONJ Voc Dsr

\[ \text{\textit{l'n hwtl h- d 'tm}} \]

curse. IMP Hwtl ART- REL act wrong. SC. 3 M

'he camped by permanent water near 'zmy; O LT and O Ds-\textit{\textit{r}}, curse the Hwtl-ites who acted wrongfully'.

\[ \text{\textit{\textit{z}hr}} \text{\textit{\textit{\textit{s}-\textit{\textit{f}-\textit{\textit{h}}}} \text{\textit{\textit{mn h- d}}}} \]

be evident. SC. 3 MS regret-CPRO. 3 MS from ART- REL

\[ \text{\textit{y's'}} \]

upset. SC. 3 MS

'his regret on account of him whom he upset was evident'.

\[ \alpha. \] In rare cases, the relative-determinative can also function as a genitive marker, as an alternative to the construction chain, KRS 1964: 'hls- d'n d 'l hls

'he kept the sheep of the lineage of Hls safe' and possibly SESP.D 12 dt- h- 'rd d 'l ngbr

'and he spent the season of the later rains in the valley of the lineage of Ngbr'.

4.11 Indefinite Relative

The indefinite relative has two forms when its antecedent is human, \textit{mn} and \textit{m}, which probably reflect inconsistent \textit{n}-assimilation at word boundaries. It is also possible to interpret this variation as reflecting the by-forms *\textit{m}n and *\textit{m}an, 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 199:  
\[ \text{rdy 'wr m 'wr} \]  
\[ \text{Rdy blind.IMP.3MS REL blind.SC.3MS} \]  
\[ \text{Rdy, blind whosoever would efface} \]

C 1186:  
\[ \text{'wr l-mn hbl} \]  
\[ \text{blindness for REL obscure.SC.3MS} \]  
\[ \text{'may whosoever would obscure go blind'} \]

C 2947:  
\[ \text{nqmt mn mn msr -h} \]  
\[ \text{retribution against REL take away.SC.3MS} \]  
\[ \text{('let there be) retribution against whosoever had taken him away'} \]

With non-human referents, the indefinite relative pronoun is always \( m \), most likely */ma/.

Ms 44:  
\[ \text{h gddf l'n d y'wr m} \]  
\[ \text{VOC Gddf curse.IMP.2MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS REL yhn} \]  
\[ \text{please.PC.3MS} \]  
\[ \text{'O Gddf curse him who would efface that which pleases'} \]

4.12 Quantifiers

a. The quantifier \( kll \) corresponds with CAr \( k\ll\ln \) ‘all, each, entire, every’, although the writing of two \( \ell \)s indicates a different pronunciation. A similar form is found in Ug \( k\ll \)/kalilu/, which may suggest an identical vocalization for Safaitic, thus */kalil/. The form \( kll \) is found across the ANA corpora.

H 191:  
\[ \text{ts^wq [']l- kll s^2r \ sdq} \]  
\[ \text{long.SC.3MS [for]- QUANT.CNST kinsman righteous.MS} \]  
\[ \text{'he longed for every righteous kinsman'} \]

WH 161:  
\[ \text{r'y kll rd} \]  
\[ \text{pasture.SC.3MS QUANT.CNST land} \]  
\[ \text{'he pastured every region'} \]
KRS 6: \textit{'s\textquotesingle y\textquotesingle'}-\textit{h} \quad \textit{kll}-hm
companion.PL -CPRO.3MS QUANT -CPRO.3MP
'his companions, all of them'

HaNSB 16: \textit{kll} \quad \textit{h}-s\textquotesingle{nt}
QUANT.CNST ART- year
'the entire year'

HaNSB 304: \textit{mrq} \quad \textit{kll} \quad s\textquotesingle{l}s\textquotesingle{l}-\textit{h}
throw off.SC.3MS QUANT.CNST bond.PL -CPRO.3MS
'he threw off all of his bonds'

\(\alpha\). There is so far only one attestation of the quantifier 'all' with one \textit{l}, \textit{kll} \textit{'bd} */kolla 'abad/ 'all eternity' (SW 193).

\(b\). When used independently, \textit{kll} may mean 'everything' or 'everyone':

KRS 2646: \textit{hrb} \quad \textit{kll}
plunder.SC.3MS QUANT
'he plundered everything'

c. A quantifier with one \textit{l} is attested once in a dual context, and it should probably to be connected with CAr \textit{kil\text{"a}} 'both'.

LP 305: \textit{kl} \quad \textit{dlly}
both lost.sc.3D
'both were lost'

4.13 Numerals

\(a\). The agreement features of the numerals are in line with other classical Semitic languages: the digits exhibit gender polarity with the quantified noun. Both the decade and the digit of twelve, and presumably eleven (unattested), exhibit polarity with the noun they qualify. The decade of the teens agrees with its complement while the digit exhibits gender polarity. The qualified noun of numerals three through ten is plural, while numerals above ten modify singular nouns. The following examples are attested:
Three

WH 3792.1:  \( w \ wrd \ tlt \ s^2 hr \ s'nt \)
CONJ go to water.cs.3MS three.F month.PL year.CNST
\( hr b \ g/s^2/m \ 'l \ tmd \)
war.sc.3P \( \{G s^2/m\} \) lineage.CNST \( T m d \)
‘and he went to water for three months, the year \( G s^2/m \) plundered the lineage of \( T m d \)’

C 1573:  \( w \ tgr \ h-nhl \ tlt \)
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
\( rgm \ mny \)
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:  \( l \ qs'r \ bn \ 'hs'n \ h-zrt \ 'rb' \ s'n{n} \ tly \)
LA Gno2 ART-enclosure four.M year.{PL} later
‘By \( Q s^1/r \) son of \( 'hs'n \), at this enclosure four years later’

Five

KRS 25:  \( syr \ m-mdbr \ 'l- hms't \ 'lh \)
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:  \( \{k\}l' \ h-nhl \ hms'l \ ws'q \)
\{detain\}.sc.3MS ART-valley five.M.CNST herds of camels
‘he detained five herds of camels in the valley’
Six

MKWS 8: 'mr h- mkmn s'rt 'ym
dwell.SC.3MS ART-hiding place six.F.CNST day.PL
'he dwelt in the hiding place for six days'

Seven

C 1084: w rdw gnm m s'bh'
CONJ Rdw spoil seven
'and, Rdw, let there be spoil, seven fold!'

Ten

MKWS 28: w 'mr s'2r gd
CONJ construct.INF ten.M.CNST snare.PL
'while constructing ten snares'

Twelve

KRS 303: g{d}-h l- tn's'2r ym
{mistreat}.SC.3MP -CPR0.3MS for-twelve.M day
'they mistreated him for twelve days'

Eighteen

H 763: s'nt tmn's'2rt l- mlk 'grfs
year.CNST eighteen.M for- king 'grfs
'the year eighteen of king Agrippa'

Twenty

RQA 1: s'2ry h- frs m- mlk b- 's'2rn mny
buy.SC.3MS ART- horse from- Mlk for- twenty mina
'he bought the horse from Mlk for twenty Minas'
**Twenty-five**

**KRS 225:**

\[ r'y \quad h\text{-}bl \quad \text{ḥms}t\text{s}\text{rn} \quad \text{m} \]

\text{pasture.sc.3MS ART-camel.PL twenty-five.M year}

‘he pastured camels for twenty five years’

**Thirty**

**ZeWa 1:**

\[ s'nt \quad \text{ṭrq} \quad mk \quad mk \quad nb\text{ṭ} \quad \text{ṭltn} \quad m't \]

\text{year.CNST smite.sc.3MS Mk king.CNST Nbṭ thirty unit}

\[ qtl \quad l \quad rm \]

\text{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:**

\[ s^2ry \quad m\text{-}ţ-h \quad m'd \quad h\text{-}frs'i \]

\text{buy.sc.3MS from-brother-CPRO.3MS M'd ART-horse}

\[ b-m't \]

\text{with-hundred}

‘he bought from his brother M’d the horse with one hundred (currency?)’

**C 2076:**

\[ s'rt \quad l\text{-}\{h\}dq \quad \text{bgr} \]

\text{serve.sc.3MS against\{-walled enclosure\}.CNST bgr}

\[ b\text{-}\{l\}f \quad rgl \quad w \]

\text{with-one thousand.CNST foot soldiers CONJ}

\[ m't-f[r]s'i \]

\text{[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 RQA 10 is dated to the year that a certain Bnḥr took control with ʿz archers or lancemen, \text{rmʾn}, and two cavalry units, \text{mṭyfrsʿ}. 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 ‘tlt ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1C</td>
<td>$n^*/'anâ/$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>$h^*/hû/$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>$-k^*/ka/$</td>
<td>$-km^*/komâ/$ (?)</td>
<td>$-km^*/kom/$ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>$-k^*/ek/ or */ki/$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>$-h^<em>/oh/ -nh^</em>/Vnoh/$</td>
<td>$-hm^*/homâ/$ (?)</td>
<td>$-hm^*/hom/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>$-h^*/ah/, or */ha/$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
ICS: 'n

WH 1403b:  
\[ w \quad \text{'}n \quad \text{frds}^1 \quad \text{bn} \quad \text{'}rd \]
\[ \text{CONJ IPRO.ICS Frds}^1 \quad \text{son.CNST } \text{'}rd \]
\[ '\text{and I am Frds}^1 \text{ son of 'rd}' \]

KRS 268:  
\[ w \quad \text{'}n \quad \text{'}tm \quad \text{bn} \quad \text{s}^2\text{rw} \]
\[ \text{CONJ IPRO.ICS 'tm son.CNST S}^2\text{rw} \]
\[ '\text{and I am 'tm son of S}^2\text{rw}' \]

3ms: h

KRS 1684:  
\[ \text{gddf s}^3\text{lm} \quad w \quad \text{mgd} \quad w \quad h \quad t\text{lq} \]
\[ \text{Gddf security CONJ bounty CONJ IPR0.3MS set off.APC.MS} \]
\[ l\text{-h-dsy} \]
\[ \text{for-ART-ibex} \]
\[ '\text{Gddf, let there be security and bounty as he sets off for ibex'} \]

KRS 2453:  
\[ w \quad \text{l} \quad h \quad \text{bt} \quad w \quad m \quad \text{nm} \]
\[ \text{CONJ ASV IPR0.3MS cut off.SC.3MS CONJ NEG sleep.SC.3MS} \]
\[ '\text{and he is indeed cut off, but not dead'} \]

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 ḵyā, but perhaps without the initial syllable, */ya/. A connection with the vocative y should be considered, which may well be the source of the CAr ḵyā < *'in + yā.

AWS 218:  
\[ \text{s}^1\text{d-h} \quad \text{rdw} \quad \text{n'm} \quad w \quad \text{bd} \quad \text{dr} \quad w \]
\[ \text{help.SC.3MS -CPR0.3MS Rdw favor CONJ here danger CONJ} \]
\[ \text{y}h \quad \text{brk} \]
\[ \text{OPRO.3MS bless.SC.3MS} \]
\[ '\text{may Rdw help him through divine favor, for there is danger here,} \]
\[ \text{and may he (Rdw) bless him'} \]
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 */ki/ 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:

\[ h \quad s^{2}hqm \quad s'l\m \quad w \quad 'wd-k \]

VOC S^{2}hqm security CONJ protection-CPRO.sMS

'O S^{2}hqm, let there be security and your protection'

2fs: -k

Mu 550:

\[ h \quad 'lt \quad s^{1}d \quad ys'm'l \quad bn \quad fhl \quad 'bd-k \]

VOC 'lt aid.IMP.2FS Ys'm'l son.CNST Fhl worshipper-CPRO.sFS

'O 'lt, aid Ys'm'l son of Fhl, 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 'lrb kl-h */mlk 'al-'arab kollah(a)/, 'king of all the Arabs' or 'king of the entire territory of 'Arab'.

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

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12 If the 3fs pronoun were realized as /ha/, 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: $s^2rq$ $m$-$hrn$ $b$-$'bl$-$h$
migrate.SC.3MS from-Hrn with-camel.COL -CPRO.3MS
‘he migrated to the inner desert from Ḥawrān with his camels’

LP 306: $wgd$ $r$ $s^2y$-$h$
find.SC.3MS trace.CNST companions.PL -CPRO.3MS
‘he found the traces of his companions’

3fs: -h

AiTN 3: $l$ $fs'l$ $bnt$ $bngd$ $d$ $l$ $rks$
LA Fs'I daughter.CNST Bngd REL.MS lineage.CNST Rks
$w$ $l$ -$h$ $[h]$ $rgm$
CONJ for -CPRO.3FS [the] funerary cairn
‘For Fs'I daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks and this funerary cairn is hers’

ZSI 1: $ndm$ $l$-$'m$-$h$ $trht$
devastated.SC.3MS over-mother-CPR0.3MS perish.PPC.3FS
$w$ $bny$ $l$-$h$
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 $y'wrnh$ $h$-$blrt$; however, here the second term seems to have been a later addition. Similar forms are found in Hb, $yiqṭlēnnū$ kill.
PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS < *yiqtulinhu; BArm yiqtalinkôn kill.PC.3MS -CPRO.2MP, and on the participles in some contemporary forms of Arabic, fa'ilinhu 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: 'wr l- ɖ y'wr-nh
blindness to- REL.MS efface.PC.3MS-CPRO-3MS
‘may he who would efface it (the inscription) go blind’

Ms 37: 'wr ɖ y'wr-nh
blind.IMP.2MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS -CPRO-3MS
‘blind him who effaces it [the inscription]’

KRS 307: h y[t] s2'-nh b- ɖ wd
VOC [Yt'] join.IMP.M -CPRO.3MS with- REL.MS love.SC.3MS
‘O Yt’, join him with the one whom he loved

KRS 3074: 'g'-nh 'n bn 'ns^ '-s'n'
cause pain.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS 'n son.CNST 'ns^ ART-enemy
‘n son of ’ns^, 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 wq'n dh ‘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 */na/.

AKSD 5: tqb yd-h w ds²ṛ 'l-
cut.SC.3MS hand-CPRO.3MS CONJ Ds²ṛ against-
ks'ṛ wq'-n
destroyer.CNST inscription-CPRO.1CS
‘may he he cut off his hand that Ds²ṛ be against the destroyer of our inscription’

13 These data come from Hasselbach (2006:317); see that publication for more evidence and citations.
2d/p: -km

The two clear attestations of this form occur with dual antecedents, and in C 25, both antecedents are feminine. Unless gender distinction collapsed in the plural, the form km must reflect a dual */-koma/). If gender distinction did collapse, then km could represent the 3MP form */kom(ū)/.

C 25:      hy  lt  w  h
voc Lt  conj  voc
s^ms1  'tn    'l-km
S^ms cut.csc.3MS for-cpro.2du/pl
yd -h
hand.du.cnst -cpro.3MS avenge.sc.3MS
'O Ylt and O S^ms, may he cut off his hand for you both (as a promise) that he will have vengeance'

KRS 1683: h  gd'wd  w  h  gddf
voc Gd'wd  conj  voc Gddf
'wd -km
put under protection.sc.3MS -cpro.2DU/pl  art-camel.col
'O Gd'wd and O Gddf, he placed the camels under your protection'

α. KRS 1683 also attests what seems to be the use of the singular -k with a dual antecedent. This may reflect optional feminine singular agreement in pronouns with dual antecedents (see § 6.4b.β). The blessing component of the inscription reads: hy lt w h s^hqm s^lm w 'wd -k w h gd'wd w h gddf 'wd -km h -'bl
'O Lt and O S^hqm, let there be peace and your protection, and, O Gd'wd and O Gddf, he put the camels under your protection'. If this interpretation is correct, then it could imply that 'wd -km later in the same inscription would refer to all four previously mentioned deities.

3d/mp: -hm

If the 3MP is to be compared with the hm of the Namārah Inscription, then it probably is a reflex of the short form */hom/ rather than */homū/, which is attested in various languages, such as Akk. šunu and Sabaic hmw. The same form is used with two antecedents (e.g., KRS 6), in which case it could reflect either a distinct dual */homā/ or simply the use of the 3MP for both categories.
LP 243: \( ts^{2}wq \ l-\ dd-h \ w \)
long.sc.3MS for- paternal uncle- cpro.3ms conj
\( s^{2}y-h \)
\( kll-hm \)
companion.plc -cpro.3ms all-cpro.3mp
'he longed for his paternal uncle and his companions, all of them'

KRS 6: \( wlh \ l-hm \ l-bd \)
mourn.sc.3ms for-cpro.3mp/d forever
'he mourned for (both of) them forever'

NST 3: \( s'nt \ hrb-hm \ l \ w'd \)
year.cnst plunder.sc.3m -cpro.3mp lineage.cnst 'w'd
'the year the lineage of 'w'd 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-t */t/ or */ti/</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>Ø */a/</td>
<td>-y */ay/</td>
<td>Ø */ü/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-t */at/</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: ‘wr l- gw ‘wr h- s/lfr
blindness to-rel.mp efface.sc.3mp art-writing
‘may they who would efface this writing go blind’
LP 679:  
\[ h \quad lt \quad t^r \quad [m] \quad m \quad 'slf \quad \{w\} \]
VOC Lt vengeance [against] REL act.SC.3MP \{CONJ\}
\{t\}{b}\{r \quad l-hm \}
\{destruction\} \quad for -CPRO.3MP
'O Lt, he shall have vengeance against whoever has committed this act and may destruction befall them'

3MS

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

WH 1698:  
\s\՚nt \quad ngy \quad qsr \quad 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 \quad bl\ s\ son.CNST \quad grm \quad son.CNST \quad drr \quad w \quad r’yw \}
LA Bll son.CNST Grm son.CNST Drr CONJ pasture.SC.W
\{w\} \quad wrdw \quad h-nmrt \quad f \quad h \quad lt \quad rh\}
\[\text{CONJ}\] \quad 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 \quad bl\ s\ son.CNST \quad grm \quad son.CNST \quad drr \quad w \quad ts^2qwq \quad "-ms^2kt \}
LA Bll son.CNST Grm son.CNST Drr CONJ long.SC.W for-Ms^2kt
\w \quad hrsw \}
CONJ watch.SC.W
'By Bll son of Grm son of Drr and they longed for Ms^2kt while they/he stood guard'
RSIS 304: l s\textsuperscript{2}t\textsuperscript{m} \textit{bn} wtr \textit{bn} 'bgr \textit{d} \textit{l}  \\
LA S\textsuperscript{2}t\textsuperscript{m} son.CNST Wtr son.CNST 'bgr rel.MS lineage.CNST  \\
fr\textit{t} w r'yw h-\textit{dn}  \\
Fr\textit{t} CONJ pasture.sc.w ART-sheep  \\
'by S\textsuperscript{2}t\textsuperscript{m} son of Wtr son of 'bgr of the lineage of Fr\textit{t} and they/he  

pastured the sheep'

3DU

The dual has been attested once clearly and terminates in a \textit{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 */\textit{a}/. Dadanitic, however, maintains a -\textit{y} ending on the the 3MDU clitic pronoun, -\textit{hmy}.

LP 305: \textit{w} wgm 'l-\textit{s}\textsuperscript{1} w 'l-wd' w kl  \\
CONJ grieved.sc.3MS for-'s\textsuperscript{1} CONJ for-wd' CONJ both  \\
\textit{d}\textit{lb}y  \\
lost.sc.3DU  \\
'and he grieved for 's\textsuperscript{1} and \textit{wd}', and both were lost'

3FS

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

AKSJ 1.2.3: l hgr w ts\textsuperscript{2}wqt 'l-\textit{lb}'  \\
LA Hgr CONJ long.sc.3FS for-\textit{lb}'  \\
'By Hgr and she longed for \textit{lb}''

SIAM 30: l grmt \textit{b\{t\}} hr w g\textit{ls}\textsuperscript{t} \textit{l}  \\
LA Grmt \{daughter.CNST\} Hr CONJ halt.sc.3FS until  \\
y'm(f)\textit{r} f wg[d]t s'fr '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'
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: \( \{h\} \), it \( whbt \) \( s^2n' - h \)
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 a 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: \( s^2ty \) \( 'nzt \)
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: \( s^m ' \quad n \quad myt \quad flf \)  
heard.sc.3ms cord died.sc.3ms Flf  
‘he heard that Flf had died’

C 25: \( wgd \quad 'r \quad 'h \cdot h \quad f \)  
find.sc.3ms trace.cnst brother-cpro.3ms so  
whl  
be distraught.sc.3ms  
‘he had found the trace of his brother, and so he was distraught’

\[ \text{\textalpha}. \] 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: \( l \quad b \text{\textalpha} \quad nyk \quad bg\text{\textalpha}m \quad f \)  
LA Bt conj copulate.sc.3ms Brmh conj  
\( tm \quad zf \quad f \quad qd \)  
celebrate.sc.3ms sending of the bride conj perf  
bs  
be pleased.sc.3ms  
‘By Bt 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: \( s^{d \cdot h} \quad rdw \quad m \cdot h \cdot ns \)  
aid.sc.3ms -cpro.3ms Rdw against-enmity  
‘May Rdw aid him against enmity’

HaNSB 8: \( s^{d \cdot h} \quad rdw \quad w \quad 'kl \cdot h \)  
aid.sc.3ms -cpro.3ms Rdw conj nourish.sc.3ms -cpro.3ms Rdw  
‘may Rdw aid him and may Rdw nourish him’
JaS 189.2: \[\text{dkrt} \quad \text{lts} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{rb}\]

be mindful.sc.3FS Lt 'lts' CONJ Rb

'may Lt be mindful of 'lts' and Rb'

\(\alpha\). 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 \(w\bar{\omega}\) + suffix conjugation in Hebrew is open to debate, but this usage could have naturally developed from the optative function described above.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{C 1649:} & \quad w \quad 'sfr \quad tdmr \quad f \quad h \quad b'l \quad s'lm \\
& \quad \text{CONJ travel.sc.3MS Palmyra CONJ VOC B'l be secure.sc.3MS} \\
& \quad 'and he will travel to Palmyra so, O B'l, may he be secure' \\
\text{WH 589:} & \quad w \quad 's'rq \quad f \quad h \quad b'l's'mn \quad s'lm \\
& \quad \text{CONJ travel to desert.sc.3MS CONJ VOC B'l's'mn be secure.sc.3MS} \\
& \quad 'and he will travel to the inner desert so, O B'l's'mn, may he be secure' \\
\text{NST 7:} & \quad w \quad hyt \quad mdb\bar{r} \quad f \quad h \quad lt \quad mgdt \\
& \quad \text{CONJ journey.sc.3MS inner desert CONJ VOC Lt bounty} \\
& \quad w \quad s'lm \\
& \quad \text{CONJ be secure.sc.3MS} \\
& \quad 'and he will journey to the inner desert so, O Lt, let there be bounty that he may be secure'
\end{align*}\]

\(\alpha\). 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.
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.

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 nY- preformative prefix from the 1CP to the singular, and in the case of Maghrebian Arabic, producing the symmetrical paradigm, nif'al and nif'alā. While context of LP 495 is unclear and permits both interpretations, WH 135 points towards a 1CS interpretation:
WH 135: 

\[l\ qny \ f\ h\ \lt\ qbl\ \hl\ s\lm\]

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.

\[\alpha\]. Aī attests the prefix conjugation of the verb 'to pasture' in the form ειφαυ */yir'aw/ 'they pastured'. If names in the Graeco-Arabica such as Iaj-(pXixo<; /*yamlik/ reflect the Safaitic situation, then it would seem that Barth's law was operational. However, names based on the prefix conjugation could be traditional, and so perhaps the two sources cannot be directly compared.

\[\beta\]. The plural terminations: The same verb ειφαυ in Aī suggests that the masculine plural ending verbs derived from III-w/y roots was */aw/ as in CA. 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.

\[\underline{Preformative prefixes}\]

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
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<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>t-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *yaqtulul*, 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 *yaqtuluna*. 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 *yaqtulul*. The subjunctive is used in subordinate clauses, mainly after the coordinator ‘an, 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:  
\[ \text{ytzr hyt} \]  
\[ \text{await.PC.3MS animal.PL} \]  
‘(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:  
\[ w \text{ hyy l-} \text{d yqρ' h-ktb} \]  
\[ \text{CONJ life to-REL.MS read.PC.3MS ART-writing} \]  
‘and may he who would read this writing aloud have long life’

C 286:  
\[ h \text{ rdy 'wr l-} \text{d y wur} \]  
\[ \text{voc Rdy blindness to-REL.MS efface.PC.3MS} \]  
‘O Rdy, may he who would efface go blind’

WH 2112:  
\[ h \text{ rдв 'wr l d y wr-nh} \]  
\[ \text{voc Rdw blind.IMP.2MS REL.MS effaces.PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS} \]  
‘O Rdw, blind him who would efface it (the inscription)’
The prefix conjugation can also be used—Independently or following the asseverative /—as a volitive, cf. CAri li-yaf’al ‘let him do’.

Independent:

LP 643: \[ng' l-s^m^t s'h f h\]
grieve in pain.sc.3MS for-S^m^t captured.PPC.3MS CONJ VOC
lt ysHlm
Lt secure.PC.3MS
‘he grieved in pain for S^m^t who was captured so, O Lt, may he be secure’

With the asseverative /:

AWS 237: \[h rdw f l-ywr m 'wr w\]
VOC Rdw CONJ ASV-be blinded.PC.3MS REL efface.SC.3MS CONJ
l-yq’ b- sdq
ASV-thrown-out.PC.3MS -CPRo.3MS by-friend
‘O Rdw, 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:

HshNSM 5: \[w lm yhbl s'lfr\]
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 CAri. 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 */nangoya/,\(^2\) as III-w/y participles show that the sequence */tyu/, and so likely */tyu as well, collapsed to a long vowel (§ 3.4a). The second subjunctive prefix conjugation, nhyy (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 */nihya.*
terminated in a vowel, the quality of which is unclear. The indicative *nihayyu would yield */nehyay/ while the subjunctive *nihyaya would yield */nehyaya/, both in turn would have been spelled as nhyy.

LP 495:  
\[ h \ r\text{dw} \ f\text{lt} - n \quad m - b's^1 \quad w \]
\text{VOC} \ r\text{dw} \ \text{deliver.IMP.MS} \ - \text{CPRO.ICP} \ \text{from- misfortune} \ \text{CONJ} \ nhyy
\text{live.PC.ICP}
'O Rdw, deliver us/me from misfortune that we/I may live long'

LP 712:  
\[ w\text{rd} \quad b - r'y \quad d\text{l} \quad \{L\} \ s^2r\text{b} \]
go to water.SC.3MS \ in- rising.CNST \ Pisces \ \text{to-} drink.{PC.3MS} \n'he went to water during the rising of Pisces in order to drink'

LP 180:  
\[ t\text{rwh} \quad l - y\text{s}^2r\text{q} \]
set off at night.SC.3MS \ to-migrate.PC.3MS \l - m\text{dbr} \n\text{toward- inner desert} \n'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, CAr 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:  
\[ s'lm \quad l - d \quad s'\text{r} \quad w \]
security for-REL \ leave untouched.SC.3MS \ CONJ \nq't \quad l - d \quad s'\text{y}'\text{wr} \nthrown out.INF for-REL \ FUT- efface.PC.3MS \n'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 CAr lam yaf'al 'he did not do'. Ai attests an unaugmented prefix-conjugated verb in a context in which a past tense interpretation is preferred: \(\text{oua} \ \text{e} \text{f} \text{rau} \ \text{b} \text{x} \text{t} \text{a} \text{pl} \text{a} \ \text{b} \text{i-} \text{X} \text{t} \text{a} \text{n} \text{u} \text{v} \text{n} \text{[v]} \) */wa yir'aw baqla bi-kanū[n]*/ 'and they pastured on fresh herbage during [Kanūn]'.
MSNS 2: \( \text{bgy} \quad \text{'h-h} \quad f \quad \text{lm} \quad \text{y'd} \)  
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 \( \text{hwf} \) 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: \( \text{'ty} \quad \text{ngr} \quad h-\text{tbrn} \quad mn-\text{'l} \)  
come.SC.3M guard.INF ART-warrior.PL from-lineage.CNST  
\( \text{sh} \text{h} \quad \text{s'nt} \quad \text{hrb-hm} \quad \text{'l} \)  
\( \text{s} \text{h} \text{h} \text{ year.CNST war.SC.MP-CPRO.3MP lineage.CNST} \)  
\( \text{'wd} \)  
\( \text{'wd} \)  
‘the warriors of the lineage of s\text{h}h made war upon them’
Command

SIJ 808: \[ w \ nzr s^2[n] \ f \ h \ lt \ fgy \]
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: \[ wgd \ tr \ 'b-h \ f \ bk{y} \]
find.sc.3MS trace.cnst father -cpro.3MS CONJ {weep.sc.3MS}
w \ dkr \ l-\{h\} \ f \ \{\}'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: \[ w \ rdw \ ‘wr \ d \ y’wr \]
CONJ Rdw blind.imp.3MS rel.ms efface.pc.3MS
‘O Rdw, 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: $h \, ds^r \, s^l m \, -h \{m\} \{h\} \, s^l f\{t\} \{n\}$

VOC $Ds^r$ secure.IMP.M -CPR.3MS {from} {ART-} {authorities}

'O $Ds^r$, keep him safe from the authorities (i.e., the Romans or Nabataeans)'

Abstract noun

WH 153: $h \, lt \, s^l m \, l-\, g \, s^l r$

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 $trh^*/tarîh/ 'perished''

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>FS</th>
<th>MD</th>
<th>MP</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$trh$</td>
<td>$trht$</td>
<td>$trhn$</td>
<td>$trhn$</td>
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</table>

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: $h \, lt \, \{h\} rs^l \, l- \, m \, mhbl \, h- \, \{s^l\} fr$

VOC $Lt$ {dumbness} to-REL obscure.APC.MS ART-{writing}

'O $Lt$, may anyone who would be an obscurer of this writing become dumb'
The participle can be used adverbially to signal an action contemporary with the main event.

**C 28:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w} & \quad \text{byt} & \quad \text{byt} & \quad f \\
\text{CONJ} & & & \\
\text{spend the night.SC.3MS} & \quad \text{journey.APC.MS} & \quad \text{CONJ} & \\
\text{tzr} & \quad h-\ 's\d & \\
\text{await.SC.3MS} & \quad \text{Leo} & \\
\text{and he spent the night while journeying, then awaited (the appearance of) Leo'}
\end{align*}
\]

**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, *fatē₁* 'having opened' < *fatihun*, *qari‘un* (see Cowell 2005:258 ff.).

**MKJS 1:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w} & \quad s^2\text{ty} & \quad 'nzt & \quad nfr & \quad \text{mn} & \quad '_-\text{rm} \\
\text{CONJ} & & & & & \\
\text{winter.SC.3MS} & \quad \text{flee.APC.MS} & \quad \text{from} & \quad \text{ART-Rm} & \\
\text{and he wintered in 'nzt, having fled from the Romans'}
\end{align*}
\]

**ISB 421:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{l} & \quad \text{hzr} & \quad \text{bn} & \quad \text{frhz} & \quad h-\text{dr} & \quad \text{mhdrb} \\
\text{LA} & \quad \text{Frhz} & \quad \text{ART-place} & \quad \text{plunder.PPC.MS} & \\
\text{endure.PC.3MS} & \\
\text{Hzr son of Frhz endures in this place, having been plundered'}
\end{align*}
\]

**ASWS 73:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ng'} & \quad \text{'}l-\ \text{hbb} & \quad \text{w} & \quad \text{'}l-\ \text{h-}'b1 \\
\text{grive in pain.SC.3MS} & \quad \text{for-loved one} & \quad \text{CONJ} & \quad \text{for-camels} & \\
\text{r'y-h} & \quad \text{hgr} & \quad \text{m-} & \quad \text{mdbr} & \\
\text{pasture.SC.3MS} & \quad \text{-CPR0.3FS} & \quad \text{migrate.APC.MS} & \quad \text{from-inner desert} & \\
\text{and he grieved in pain for Hbb and for the camels which he had pastured, having migrated from the inner desert'}
\end{align*}
\]
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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CCC} &= G (= \text{CAr. fa'ala}); D (= \text{CAr. fa''ala}); L (= \text{CAr. fà'ala}) \\
\texttt{ccc} &= C (= \text{CAr. 'af'ala}) \text{ and possibly a } D (\text{Gz. 'aqattala}) \\
\text{ctCC} &= Gt (= \text{CAr. ifta'ala}) \\
\text{tccc} &= tD (= \text{CAr. tafa''ala}); tL (= \text{CAr. tafà'ala}); tG (= \text{EAR. itfa'äl}; \text{Arm. } \text{etqtel}) \\
\text{nCCC} &= N (= \text{Ar. infa'ala})
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[^3\text{One may also consider I-n roots as part of the weak class, as the }/n/ \text{ sometimes assimilates in the prefix conjugation, but there are not enough examples to merit a separate treatment.}\]
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 hasuna '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 ʿtw as ʿa9aoa 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 wny 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 eɪrəw */yir'aw/ 'they pastured'.

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive of strong roots is attested as both qtl and qttl. 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/.

Particless: The active participle—also spelled qtl—was likely vocalized as CaCeC. Names derived from this pattern are well attested in the Graeco-Arabica, e.g., Ανεμω /gānem/, Μαλαχή /mālekat/, Άμηρος /ēmer/. The passive comes in two shapes, qtl and mqtl. The former probably reflects two patterns, */qatil/ and */qatūl/, both of which are found in CAr, e.g., qatilun, qatulun 'killed'. The Graeco-Arabica from the southern Levant attest both patterns in Arabic personal names, Ουαςμαθως /wasmat/ and Αβουμαθη /ḥabūbat/. The second form mqtl is cognate with the productive maqtul-passive of CAr and is found in Nabataean graffiti from the Sinai, mdkwr /madkūr/, in the Graeco-Arabica, in the personal name Μακσουμαθη /maṣṣūrat/, and in a toponym in P. Petra 17, Μεψωρ /mēḥfōr/ 'dug' (Al-Jallad et al. 2013).
G principle parts

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>APART</th>
<th>PPART</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>qtl</td>
<td>yqtl</td>
<td>qtl(t)</td>
<td>qtl</td>
<td>qtl</td>
<td>qtl/mqtl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive:

C 3820: \( wgd \) 'tr 'h -h
\( \text{find.sc.3MS trace.cnst brother -cpro.3MS} \)
'he found the trace of his brother'

C 4443: \( qtl-h \) \{j\}l \( $b h \)
\( \text{kill.sc.3 -cpro.3M \{lineage.cnst\} $b h} \)
'the lineage of $b h killed him'

LP 325: \( h \) lt \( s'lm \) w \( gnmt l-d \) d'y
\( \text{voc Lt security conj spoil to-rel read aloud.sc.3MS} \)
\( h-\text{s/jfr} \)
\( \text{art-writing} \)
'may he who would read this writing aloud have security and spoil'

Intransitive/Static:

C 2190: \( s'nt \) myt \{d\}{d} -h
\( \text{year.cnst died.sc.3MS \{paternal uncle\} -cpro.3MS} \)
'the year his paternal uncle died'

KRS 29: \( h r s \) d b'd m-'s^2y'
\( \text{watch.sc.3MS rel.ms be far.sc.3MS from-companion.pl} \)
'he kept watch for him who was far from companions'

NSR 117: \( w \) whd
\( \text{conj alone.sc.3MS} \)
'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 '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) < √vqwq, while abstract nouns retain the initial \(w\): wqyt 'protection' (WH 159) < √vqwq. 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 \(C^2\) 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; räh '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 rāh and rawwah, 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 √mwt, 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 žyd 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 /a/ 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: √awi/u > i and √awi/u > i, < */i, and u, < */u, respectively: mawita > māta but mawlittu > mittu and qawwuma > qāma but qawwīmtu > 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 rwh 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 √mwt 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 qyt-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/ > */qātah/.

One possible example of the 2Fs is attested, ʿst */‘ēst(ī)/(? ’may you cause hardship’ (UIO 183) < √ws, 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)\(^4\) < \(\sqrt{w}d\); the second could be interpreted as either a short or augmented form, ‘\(kd\ -h\ y\Sn\ */yV\Sn/\ ‘after it (the withholding of the rain), may he preserve (it)’ (LP 722 = SG 1) < \(\sqrt{w}\Sn\). The prefix conjugation of the verb \(nwy\ ‘to migrate’ is attested as \(nwy\ */yen\^-y/\ or */yan\^-y/\ (?) (C 1108).

Infinitive/Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is attested without the medial glide \(hb\ ‘to lament’ (WH 116) probably */\(\sqrt{h}\)\(u\)\(b\)/ or */\(\sqrt{h}\)awb/ < \(\sqrt{h}\)w\(b\). Other forms with medial glides probably reflect a pattern with a long vowel following \(C\^2\), e.g., \(\{g\}\yr\ ‘to provide provisions’ (SIJ 463), perhaps */\(\sqrt{g}\)\(V\)\(\acute{y}\)\(r\)/ or */\(\sqrt{g}\)\(V\)\(\acute{y}\)\(\acute{r}\)/. The ‘\(n\) in the blessing portion of C 5182, \(h\ \{l\}[\{\}n\), could reflect the use of an infinitive as a command */\(\sqrt{f}\)\(w\)\(n\)/ or */\(f\)\(\acute{w}\)\(n\)/ ‘help!’ or an imperative */\(f\)\(\acute{w}\)\(n\)/.

Participles: Active participles with a medial glottal stop are attested beside forms with a medial glide: compare \(z\ ‘m\ ‘dead’ (Vogue 404.1) < \(\sqrt{z}\)\(wm\) and \(k\ ‘n\ (LP 1198) ‘existing’ < \(\sqrt{v}\)\(w\) to \(h\ ‘y\(t\ ‘journeying’ (C 28) < \(\sqrt{h}\)\(y\)\(t\), and \(g\ ‘v\ ‘starving’ (C 3811) < \(\sqrt{g}\)\(w\). These no doubt reflect dialectal variation. A participle or verbal adjective of \(n\)\(yt\ might be attested once in C 1133 as \(m\:\ w\)\(w\)\(m\ ‘t\ ‘\(b\rs\^2\ mt\ mn\{y\) ‘and he mourned for ‘\(b\rs\)\(\acute{s}\)\(\acute{r}\) 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/f/y

Suffix Conjugation: Bearing in mind the possible sound change \(w > y\ in word-final position, the class does not exhibit irregular behavior, \(n\)\(gy\ ‘he was announced’ (WH 15); \(m\)\(ty\ ‘he journeyed’ (C 663); \(s\^2\)\(ry\ ‘he purchased’ (C 2832). The final \(y\ is preserved in the 3FS as well: \(n\)\(gy\ ‘t\ ‘\(m\)\(l\)\(kt\ ‘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, \(s\^2\)\(tw\ */\(s\)\(a\)\(t\)\(w\)\/ ‘he wintered’ (CSNS 324), \(n\)\(gw\ */\(n\)\(a\)\(w\)\/ ‘he escaped’ (UIO 136), ‘\(tw\ ‘he came’ (SIJ 957) = \(A\)\(\dot{a}\)\(\dot{a}\)\(w\) ‘\(a\)\(t\)\(w\)’ (A 1).

\(^4\) The short form contains an original medial short vowel, as in the CAr jussive.
Prefix Conjugation: No indicative forms are attested. The subjunctive preserves the final y, nhyy 'that I/we may live' */nVhyaya/ (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 CVCVy 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 */šatat/ or */šatät/ < *šatayat. 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’yt ‘pasturing’ (KRS 1886); {n}gwt ‘escape’ (C 4842), and without, hbw ‘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’ */dami/ < √dmy; s²t (C 1868) ‘wintering’ */šātī/ < √s²ty; hz (ASWS 124) ‘being hostile’ */ḥāṣī/ < √ḥz, while the later exhibit the final radical—r’y (C 2446) ‘while pasturing’ and Ṉy ‘while suffering’ (KRS 1964), most likely */rā’eya/ and */šāteya/, respectively. Passive participles retain the final radical in the singular and plural, s¹by (C 2113) ‘captured’, perhaps */sabūy/, and s¹byn (ASWS 18) */sabūyina/, and ms¹by ‘idem’ (HCH 132) */masbūy/.

C² = C³

Suffix Conjugation: All of the CS languages attest two patterns in the declension of geminate roots: the first clusters C² and C³ 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, hl (C 726, 2104) ‘he camped’ < √hl; mr (RSIS 80) ‘he passed by’; wd (KRS 307) ‘he loved’ < √wdd; fšy (C 1280) ‘that he may live long’ < √hyy < √hyw, but some verbs of this root class have by-forms where both consonants are kept apart, e.g., hll ‘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, *lyḥg ‘in order to go on a pilgrimage’ */le-yVḥogga/ (WH 3053) < ṣḥḥg.

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

Participles: The active participle is clearly attested once in a clustered form, ḥl ‘camping’ */ḥll/ (C 407) < ṣḥl, cf. CAr ḥllun. The participle of the root ḣgzz, however, is attested in an unclustered form in WH 128, ḡzz ‘having gone on a raid’. This is unexpected because the finite verb is always ḣgzz, pointing towards a D-stem, the participle of which would be mḡz. However, since this root is a back-formation from an original ḡgzy, it is possible that there was a suppletive G-stem participle, ḡgazzāż. The Graeco-Arabica mostly attests unclustered forms, e.g., ṫān̄ib /tān̄īn/; ḫān̄in /bān̄ī/). Passive participles only attest unclustered forms, wdd (LP 673) ‘beloved’ */wādīd/ < ṣwdd; ḥbb (C 96) ‘loved one’ */ḥābīb/ < ṣḥāb; ḏl (HCH 131) ‘lost’ */ṣāhil/, and possibly an m-passive participle: mhbb (WH 116) ‘loved one’ */maḥbūb/ < ṣḥbb, 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, CaCCaCā, ẖbl ‘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 */yḥabbel/ ‘would he obscure’ (KRS 1042) and yslm -h */yosalleh-oh/ ‘would he keep it safe’ (AWS 264).

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is attested with a t-prefix (cf. CAr taffilun), tdb ‘to raid’ (LP 742), probably */ṭaṣbir/; trwḥ */tarwḥ/ ‘to send the
winds' (SESP.U 18), and the abstract noun ts’fr */taspir/ ‘writing’ (HAUI 76). Forms with a final -t are also attested, ‘wdt ‘to return’ (C 5011), perhaps */‘awwādat/.

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

**Participles:** The active and passive are distinguished by vowel ablaut in the stem final syllable, CA active mufa’ilun and passive mufa’ilun. The Graeco-Arabica from southern Syria suggests a similar vocalization, although no passives have been attested—Μοσανος /mo’ayyin/; Μοσαιέρος /moqayyer/, and so on. If these transcriptions reflect the situation in the Safaitic dialects, then the vocalization moCaCCeC for the active participle seems likely, mhbl */mohabbel/ (Mu 278). One example of the passive has so far been attested, m‘wr */mo’awwar/ ‘effaced’ (AWS 48).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>AP</th>
<th>PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qtl</td>
<td>yqtl</td>
<td>tqtl/qtlt</td>
<td>qtl</td>
<td>mqtł</td>
<td>mqtł</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The D-stem as a causative of the G:

C 3177:  
\[ h \quad r{[w]} \quad wh \quad w \quad ‘wr \quad m \]
\[ VOC \; R{[w]} \quad make \; grieve.IMP.2MS \quad CONJ \quad blind.IMP.2MS \quad REL \]
\[ ‘wr \quad efface.SC.3MS \]
\[ ‘O \; R{[w]}, \; make \; grieve \; and \; blind \; whosoever \; would \; efface \; (this \; inscription)’ \]

Compare to the G-stem in C 25: whl ‘l-h ‘he grieved for him’.

C 4010:  
\[ h \quad lt \quad r{[w]}h \quad m-d \]
\[ VOC \; Lt \; {relief} \; from- \quad REL.MS \]
\[ b{[s]}l-i-h \]
\[ make \; miserable.SC.3MS \quad -CPRO.3MS \]
\[ ‘O \; Lt, \; let \; there \; be \; relief \; from \; that \; which \; has \; made \; him \; miserable’ \]
Compare to the G-stem in b's't (C 2544) 'he was miserable'.

α. The D-stem sometimes overlaps with the C-stem: \( ^{2}wr \) (C 763) = 'wr 'to blind' (passim); \( ^{2}s^2rq \) (passim) 'migrate to the inner desert' = \( s^2rq \) (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.

a. The existence of an L-stem in the Arabic dialects of this region is suggested by transcription of the personal name مساليم /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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HCH 71:</td>
<td>s'nt qtl hw{s}t w b(y)g'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BWM 3:</td>
<td>s'nt qtl hrb w 'lmn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.1.2.1 Notes on Weak Roots

Η-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 VVd, and therefore must reflect the leveling of the y, perhaps from the suffix conjugation, across the paradigm.

Imperative: In rare cases, Η-w roots are confused with Η-y ones, 'yr 'blind' (KRS 1695) and ryh (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 rayye'h '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 *rabbâ-hu and *rabbaba-hû 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 $y$, $s^byt\cdot h\cdot ty$ ‘the (tribe) Ty’ took him captive’ (CSNS 1004), $s^byt\cdot h$ should be vocalized as */sabbat-oh/, and ‘$by\cdot n^f s\cdot l\cdot frs\cdot grm\cdot l$ he erected [the] funerary monuments for the horsemen of Grm’l’ (NRW.D 1), where ‘$by$ must be */‘allaya/. The following examples of the overlap between III-y/w and $C^2 = C^3$ are attested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III-w/y</th>
<th>$C^2 = C^3$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġzy (KhBG 11)</td>
<td>ġzz (passim) ‘to raid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bny (passim)</td>
<td>bnn h- st\cdot r (AbANS 78) ‘he built the shelter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrby (KRS 167) ‘foster child’</td>
<td>yrbb (C 1186) ‘he brings up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gly (AbANS 881) ‘to be cut off’</td>
<td>yqll (KRS 213) ‘to erase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hly(^5)</td>
<td>hll (RWQ 281) ‘to keep watch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Infinitive and Abstract Nouns:** An abstract noun is attested once with $t$-prefix and suffix: *fyt */tawfiyyat/ ‘fulfillment’ (C 1744) < $\sqrt{\text{fwy}}$.

$C^2 = C^3$

**Imperative:** Only one clear example of the imperative is attested as *hy ‘grant life!’ (LP 335), which suggests the vocalization */‘hayyi/. 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.

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\(^5\) 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., ᾠδὲκμος '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., Ὅκιμον /toqim/ < *tuqimu '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 */'eCCaC/. All infinitives attested so far derive from Ill-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 ὓγνυ (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., Ἐλευθερος */moqlem/ = mhlm; Μοσβής */mosbeh/ = mshb, etc.

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'qtl</td>
<td>yqtl</td>
<td>'qtl</td>
<td>'qtl</td>
<td>mqtl</td>
<td>–</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Causative:

WH 1696: $f s^2\text{hqm} 'ly l-hm 'n$  
\text{CONJ} S^2\text{hqm} \text{raise.INF for-CPRO.3PL help}$  
\text{m- b's} \text{against- misfortune}$  
'so S^2\text{hqm}, bring to them help against misfortune!'

WH 1022: $'y's^l-h$ $hytn$  
\text{make sad.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS travelling}$  
'travelling made him sad'

UIO 183: $h lt l \ 'st d \ 'dyr$  
\text{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: $w '{y}mn$  
\text{CONJ \{go south\}.SC.3MS}$  
'and he went south'

LP 180: $w trwh l-ys^rq$  
\text{CONJ he set off at night.SC.3MS to- migrate.PC.3MS}$  
\text{l- mdbr}$  
\text{to- inner desert}$  
'and he set off at night in order to migrate towards the inner desert'

C 1649: $s^fr tdmr$  
\text{travel.SC.3MS Palmyra}$  
'he will travel to Palmyra'

5.6.2.1 Notes on Weak Roots

\text{I-y/w}$

\text{Suffix Conjugation: The initial glide of two I-y C-stem verbs is expressed orthographically, $y's^l/*\text{ay's}a/ 'he caused despair' (WH 1022) and $'{y}mn *\text{ay'ma}/ '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., $qysr$ (MISSD 1) = CAESAR. All examples of I-w C-stems, however, leave the initial consonant unrepresented orthographically, `$qd`/`awqada`/`he struck violently` (AbaNS 16); `$hd`/`awhada`/`two became one` (AAU 281); `$y`/`awga'a`/`he caused pain` (KRS 3074). One possible explanation of the spellings `$ys` and `$yn` is that they reflect the so-called cD stem, that is, the causative prefix applied to the D-stem, forming a portmanteau `aCaCCaC`. Thus, `$ys` would not reflect `*/'ay'asa/` but rather `*/'aya'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—`wrd`/`a'wara`/ (C 793); `t'yr`/`to anger`/`adyara`/ (UIO 183) and other times elided, `d`/`a'da`/ `place under protection` (AWS 380). A similar situation is found in CAr, where both `a'ara` and `a'wara` are known (Lane, 2194a), although they have different meanings. The interpretation of this phenomenon is not straightforward. 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 `wrd` and `t'yr` as cD stems, `*/a'awwara/ and */a'dayyara/, respectively.

Prefix Conjugation: This part is only known in the prefix conjugation from the root `vwr`, attested as `y'rr`/`to efface`/`yo'ir/ (KRS 2569) eight times so far. If we interpret `wrd` 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 `qwyy`/`to grant endurance` (SIJ 1008) <`qwyy`, perhaps `*/eqwyy/`. A verbal noun without the representation of the medial radical is also attested, `hyl`/`uncertainty` (C 1186) <`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 ṣkwn, 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, */moyakan/ < *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., mgf C 2947 = Gr. Μοι-θος.

III-ṣ/y/w

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

Infinitive: The spelling of the infinitive does not contradict the pattern ʾCiCCaC— ʾly ‘to raise’ */ešlay/ (KRS 2420) and ʾqwy ‘to grant endurance’ */eqwāy/ (SIJ 1008) <♀qwy, but other vocalizations are naturally possible.

Imperative: The final glide disappears in the imperative, ʾgn ‘to render free of want’ (SW 264), which can reflect a short form */aġnī/ <♀gny, as in CAr, or a long form */aġnī/, 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, ʾdll */ašlala/ ‘he led astray’ (KRS 303), ʾḥbb */aḥbabā/ ‘he loved’ (MKWS 8), ʾzz */aʿzāzī/ ‘make steadfast’ (C 74), and clustered forms ʾṭn */aṭānna/ ‘he cut off’ (C 25), ʾḥt */aṣḥḥa/ ‘he cried aloud in grief’ (LP 409), and ʾmd */amarsha/ ‘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—Αὐδᾶδου /’awdad/ = ῦδδ and Αθαμμος /’atamm/ = ῦμ.

Participles: Only one clear example of the C-stem participle is attested, the passive mḥbh */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 Ti-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 \( \text{whd} '\text{to be alone}' \) (WH 128) and \( \text{twhd} '\text{idem}' \) (AWS 244).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>APC</th>
<th>PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>qttl</td>
<td>yqttl (?)</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>tqtl</td>
<td>ytqtl</td>
<td>tqtl</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>mtqtl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.3.1  

**Ti: 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—\( s^{2}tky '\text{to complain}' \) (C 31), equivalent to CAr \( \text{istakd} \), and \( qttl '\text{to battle}' \) (KRS 1024), equivalent to the rare CAr form \( \text{iqtatala} \).

**Ti-stem**

*C 31:*

\[
\text{w} \quad s^{2}tky \quad \text{‘I-It} \\
\text{CONJ} \quad \text{complain.sc.3MS to-Lt} \\
\text{‘and he complained to Lt’}
\]

*KRS 1024:*

\[
s^{1}nt \quad qttl \quad hrdṣ \quad \text{year.cnst wage war.sc.3MS hrdṣ} \\
\text{‘the year Herod waged war’}
\]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Safaitic</th>
<th>Classical Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to long for someone’</td>
<td>ts²wq</td>
<td>ištāqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to move ahead’</td>
<td>tdyym</td>
<td>iddāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to guard oneself’</td>
<td>twqy</td>
<td>ittaqā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to have one’s tongue restrained on account of grief’</td>
<td>t’ql</td>
<td>i’taqala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, etqtel and it‘atal, respectively. A clue may lie in the T-stem of the root nzr, which is most often written tżr but has a rare by-form tnżr. If these spellings reflect variation in the assimilation of the /n/ in the same form, then one could posit a vocalization */tantera/ = tnżr and */taţtera/ = tżr. The rare by-form ts²q (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/ > */taşyeqa/, 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 inflection of the morpheme in s²tky was not conditioned by the sibilant, but was truly a dialectal variable.

It is, however, equally possible to take tżr and tnżr as evidence for variation between a t-infix and prefix—tżr */itaţtera/ < */intaţtera/ versus tnżr */intaţera/ or */tan(a)ţera/, respectively. This reconstruction can also account for the form ts²q, */itsayeqa/ < */itsaweqa/.

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 irta‘a and tarawwa‘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 *t\dgr* is attested as *yt\dgr* 'he lies in wait' (WHI 3929), which, if taken as a tG, can only be vocalized as */y\Vta\t\dgr/ < *yatanziru. The Gt would produce */y\Vtt\a\t\dgr/*. SG 5 attests *yt\dgr* '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 \dVnzr is attested once as *tnzr* (Mu 412). Its vocalization depends one 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 mt\dldkr (KRS 1432), possibly the equivalent of CAr *ta\dak\r\k\rara* 'to become reminded of a thing'. The verbal counterpart is possibly attested once in an incomplete or damaged inscription, *tdkr* (Mu 537). The other example is mtq\d\l (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'sl* 'he despaired' (LP 679) < \Vysl and *tqd* 'he was beaten (metaphorically, despaired)' (KRS 1161) < \Vq\d. Depending on which view of the T-stem one takes, these could reflect the prefixed form with syncope of the pre-penultimate vowel, */tay\v\es\a/ and */tawqe\da/ or, as in CAr, the infixed *ta* with the assimilation of C1 to the morpheme, */Vta\v\es\a/ and */Vta\v\q\da/.

II-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The commonest T2-stem verb is II-w, *ts\lwq* (passim), discussed above, and the by-form *ts\lyq. 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 */tCaCeCa/
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 860 attests a form \{t\} \{r\} \{d\}. If the reading is correct, then this may be a nominal form of the tG of the root \(\sqrt{rdd}\) 'to return', perhaps */taradd/ 'recompense'.

### 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—\(thwf^*/tahawwafa/\) (KhBG 345) 'to be diminished by the lack of rain' = CAr \(tahawwafa\), \(ts^2ry^*/tasarraya/\) (RWQ 317) 'to be dispersed, scattered' = CAr \(tasarrā\), 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 syr 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.

### Notes on Weak Roots

**I-w/y**

**Suffix Conjugation:** The verb \(tw\(ly\) (AWS 48) should be connected with CAr \(ta'ahhā\), 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'ohh\(h\)\(v\)ya/ > */towohh\(h\)\(v\)ya/. 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., \(twhd^*/tawahh\(h\)\(d\)\(a/\) 'to be alone' (AWS 244).

### nCC(C)

The N-stem is formed by a prefixed n- to the verbal root, CAr \(infa'ala\), Hb \(niqtal\), Akk \(naprus\), and signifies the medio-passive or reflexive of the G-stem.
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—*nagsaba/ (LP 475).

Prefix Conjugation: The only possible example of this part in strong roots is found in AWS 264, *yqṭl perhaps */yVqṭatel/ '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 *nqʾs/ (C 2276) does not seem to reflect CAr *infiʾalun, as one would expect the assimilation of the *n in a pretonic environment. Instead, one may consider *nVCCāC = */nVqʾāš/.
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 √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- m günd ‘he grieved in pain for Mgny’ (LP 314). The root √wqd is also attested in the N-stem, in which it has a reflexive sense, nqd ‘he prostrated himself’ (LP 146) */nawqa’d/a/.

II-w/y

**Suffix conjugation:** One example is attested in the verb ns²l ‘to be removed’ (KRS 2460) < Vs²yl, where the medial glide is not represented, and should perhaps be vocalized as */nasala/ = 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 √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 √qy‘, and could perhaps to be vocalized as */naqa‘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*) < √dmm; ndb */nasabba/ ‘to be hidden’ (LP 1265), < √dBB, and ngn */naganna/ ‘to go mad’ (MAHB 2) < √gnn.

5.6.5 Rare Stems

H-Stem

The h-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 iig) < √rwq, preserves an h- reflex, perhaps reflecting an ancient loan. Incidentally, the same root yields an h-causative in CAr as well, hardqa ‘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, iqbilal* '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‘anan* 'to be at ease', indicate that its range was wider in former times. Another verb which possibly belongs to this category is CAr *iḥwawā* < *iḥwawaya*. In this case, one has to assume the collapse of the final triphthong, *iḥwawayat > *iḥwawat > *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:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w gnmt slyt</td>
<td>'and may spoil be granted'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HaNS 660:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w sib hbb-h</td>
<td>'and his loved one was crucified'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LP 183:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wgd sifr m’r d wq</td>
<td>'he found the writing of M'r who was imprisoned'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KRS 1161:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s’nt qtl mn’t</td>
<td>'the year Mn‘t was killed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 6

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:  \( w \quad nq't \quad b-nfs^1 \quad wdd \quad d \)
CONJ thrown out.INF by-person loved.M REL.MS
\( y'wr \quad h-s^fr \)
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:  \( w \quad ts^2wq \quad l-kll \quad s^2r \quad s^dq \)
CONJ long.sc.3MS for-QUANT kinsman righteous.M
‘and he longed for every righteous kinsman’

KRS 6:  \( mny \quad s^2dd \)
fate harsh.MS
‘a harsh fate’

KRS 1684:  \( ngy \quad m-[g]qt \quad hbfft \)
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 \( b'ls^\text{mn} \) **s'^y'** h-\( gs^2 \) 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: \( {q}d \) h-nqt h-\( hbq \{y \}

{strike}.sc.3MS ART- she-camel ART-stinking.{F}

‘he struck the stinking she-camel’

Attributive participles

LP 317: h-nqt qsyt l-nh{y}

ART-she camel dedicated.PPC.FS for-{Nhy}

‘the she-camel which is dedicated to Nhy’

C 1658: h-gmln qsyn l-'lt

ART-camel.D dedicated.PPC.MD for- ‘lt

‘the two camels which are dedicated to ‘lt’

C 2285: wgm 1-ks't rgm mny

mourn.sc.3MS for-Ks't struck down.PPC.MS Fate

‘he mourned for Ks't who was struck down by Fate’

C 304: h\( \text{dnt} \) hbbt-h rgm mny

H\( \text{dnt} \) loved one.FS -CPR0-3MS struck down.PPC.FS Fate

‘H\( \text{dnt}, his beloved, who was struck down by Fate’

C 4988: s'^y'-h rgmn 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 'qs 'furthest' derives from the root Vqsw. 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 \(\sqrt{hbb}\) is also attested in a clustered form, suggesting the vocalization */'ahabb/.

\begin{verbatim}
AWS 48: \(ts^2wq 'l- 'hb\)
long.sc.3MS for- ART- most beloved
'he longed for the most beloved'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
C 4332: \(mty s^nt brh 'qs\)
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'
\end{verbatim}

\(\alpha\). A nearly identical phrase to C 4332 occurs in Qur'\(\text{\'a}n 28:20\): \(wa-\ddot{g}a'a ra\ddot{g}ulun min 'aq\ddot{s}a l- madinati\) 'and a man came from the furthest end of the city'.

The feminine elative also appears once in \(hbqy\) 'stinking' (WH 1234), already cited above.\(^2\) If transcriptions of this pattern from the Petra area—\(\text{\'O}v\text{\'a}s /\text{\c{c}}osn\dot{\varepsilon}/, \text{\c{c}}\text{\l{a}}\text{\c{s}}\text{\o}{\text{s}}\varepsilon\dot{\lambda} /al-suf\dot{\i}\dot{e}=/—reflect the Safaitic situation, then the FS was probably vocalized as */hobqay/.

\(b\). There are two secure\(^3\) and one possible example\(^4\) of an adjective with an \(n\) derivational suffix, which likely signals a pattern CVCC\(\alpha\), cf. LAr \(kabr\dot{\alpha}n\) 'grown up', \(fah\dot{m}\dot{\alpha}n\) 'understanding', etc. There is not enough data to determine this pattern's distribution.

\begin{verbatim}
RWQ 334: \(wgd 'tr 'l df glyn\)
find.sc.3MS trace.CNST lineage.CNST \(\ddot{D}f\) exposed.MS
mhrb nbt
plundered.ppc.MS Nabataeans
'he found the grave(s) of the lineage of \(\ddot{D}f\) exposed, plundered by
the Nabataeans'\(^5\)
\end{verbatim}

\(^2\) Note also that \(hbqy\) is attested as a gentilic adjective and so one could interpret it as a misplaced word in this inscription.

\(^3\) The second is \(kdbn\) 'liar', and is attested in an unpublished inscription from Jebel Qurma.

\(^4\) The term \(hmyn\) in BRenv.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 '\(tr\) in this context referred to a 'grave'.
6.3 Verbal Agreement

a. Non-human: As in many other varieties of Arabic, non-human plurals are usually treated as feminine singular.

\[
\text{CSNS 1: \quad zllt \quad d'\text{-}n-h \quad hbs't \quad l \quad s'lm}
\]

stay.sc.3FS sheep -sc.3MS enclosure.cnst lineage.cnst S'lm

‘his sheep remained in the enclosure of the lineage of S'lm’

\[
\text{WH 1900: \quad 'qdt \quad m-rhb\text{-}t \quad h- \ 'jm}
\]

restrain.sc.3FS from- Rhbt ART-goat.PL

‘the goats were prevented from (entering) Rhbt’

There are cases, however, in which a non-human plural takes masculine concord.

\[
\text{UIO 117: \quad myt \quad 'nz-h \quad b-h- \ 'zrt}
\]

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

\[
\text{WH 2815: \quad mrdt \quad nb\text{-}l \quad l-\ 'l \quad \{r\}m}
\]

rebel.sc.3FS Nb\text{-}l against- people.cnst \{Rm\}

‘The Nabataeans rebelled against the people of Rome’

\[
\text{SIJ 59: \quad hr\text{-}b\text{-}t \quad l \quad 'w\text{-}d \quad l \quad s'bh}
\]

plunder.sc.3FS lineage.cnst ‘w\text{-}d lineage.cnst S'bh

‘the lineage of ‘w\text{-}d plundered the lineage of S'bh’
CSNS 1004:  
\[ s^i\text{byt-h} \quad ty' \]
\[ \text{capture.sc.3FS -CPRo.3MS } Ty' \]
'Ty' captured him

**Masculine agreement**

HCH 126:  
\[ qtl-h \quad 'l \quad hwlt \]
\[ \text{kill.sc.3M -CPRo.3MS people.CNST } Hwlt \]
'the people of Hwlt killed him'

SIJ 78:  
\[ 'ty \quad h-\text{mdy} \quad bsry \]
\[ \text{come.sc.3M ART- Persians } Bo\hat{\text{s}}\text{r}a \]
'the Persians came to Bo\hat{\text{s}}\text{r}a'

BTH 228:  
\[ trd-h \quad nb\text{t} \quad m-\text{nzt} \]
\[ \text{drive.sc.3M -CPRo.3MS } Nb\text{t} \text{ from-\text{nzt}} \]
'the Nabataeans drove him away from 'nzta'

\( a.\) If Bv\text{a}\text{a} 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:  
\[ trd-h \quad nb\text{t} \quad m-\text{'nzta} \quad w \]
\[ \text{drive away.sc.3M -CPRo.3MS Nabataeans from-'nzta CONJ} \]
\[ \{s^i\text{dy} \quad h-\text{hl} \quad f \quad nzr-hm \}
\[ \text{set off}\text{.sc.3MS ART- horse CONJ guard.sc.3MS -CPRo.3MP} \]
'the Nabataeans drove him away from 'nzta and so he set off on horseback, and then stood guard against them'
NST 3:  
\[ l \text{ } s^b h \text{ } s^t n t \text{ } h r b - h m \]
lineage.CNST \( s^b h \) year.CNST plunder:SC.3M -CPR0.3MP
\[ l \text{ } 'w d \]
lineage.CNST ‘wd
‘... the lineage of \( s^b h \), the year the lineage of ‘wd plundered them’

\[ b. \text{ Non-human collective nouns take singular pronominal agreement. If pronominal agreement follows adjectival agreement, then these were treated as FS.} \]

ASWS 73:  
\[ n g^t \text{ } 'l- h b b \text{ } w \text{ } 'l- h \text{ } 'b l \]
grieve in pain.SC.3MS for-loved one CONJ for-ART-camels
\[ r'y - h \]
pasture.SC.3MS -CPR0.3FS
‘and he grieved in pain for Hbb and for the camels which he had pastured’

\[ \alpha. \text{ The narrative component of C } 4973 \text{ may provide another example of feminine singular agreement with a non-human plural/collective antecedent: } w l d \text{ } h - m ' z[y] \{ w \} r'y - h b q l b - d k r ' \text{ he helped the goats to give birth and then pastured it/them on herbage when the sun was in Aries'. Although the common formula is } w l d h - m ' z y, \text{ which is why I have restored the } y \text{ in C } 4973, \text{ the author may have in this particular case been referring to a single female goat, in which case } - h \text{ would have a singular antecedent.} \]

\[ \beta. \text{ There is some evidence that the dual is sometimes resumed with feminine singular pronouns. As seen in KRS } 1683, \text{ the clitic pronoun } - k \text{ seems to resume two previously mentioned deities: } h y \text{ } l t \text{ } w \text{ } h s^2 h q m \text{ } s^h m \text{ } w \text{ } 'w d - k ' O \text{ } L t \text{ and } O \text{ } S^2 h q m, \text{ let there be security and your protection'. Another possible example is found in C } 2552: \text{ } h r s \text{ } 'j w - h s^b y - h l w l t ' \text{ and he kept watch for his two brothers whom the } l w l t - i t e s \text{ have captured'. The word } 'j w \text{ is usually taken as a dual, but it is possible that it should be construed as a collective form, perhaps something like 'bretheren'. Finally, we have } h \text{ } l t \text{ } w \text{ } d s^2 r \text{ } d k r t \text{ (AAUI } 406), \text{ where } d k r t \text{ can either be a } 2 \text{ or } 3 \text{FS verb, in agreement with a dual antecedent.} \]
Prepositions

Overview

Prepositions govern nouns, infinitives, and clitic pronouns. The dative /- can also govern non-indicative forms of the prefix conjugation.

'/: Unlike CAr, this preposition does not seem to be interchangeable with /-. It occurs almost exclusively with the root √s²wq 'to long for', once with the verb 'complain' s²tky (C 31), and possibly with d'y, in HaNSB 307 d'y '/ [l]t 'he called upon Lt'. Since only one / is written in the inscription, this may suggest the vocalization */'el/ rather than */'elay/ or */'elâ/, similar to the form with pronominal suffixes in many contemporary dialects of Arabic, e.g., il-ak 'yours' lit. 'for you', and Hb él.

AKSJ 1.2.3: $ts³wqt$ '/ $'lb'$
long.sc.3FS for- 'lb'
"she longed for 'lb"

C 1539: $hl[l]$ / $h·bt$ / $[l]s³wq$ / '$lbhh$
[camp].APC.MS ART- tent [long].INF for- Lbh 'he camped in the tent longing for Lbh'

'/ can also have the sense of 'as far as' or 'until':

C 1167: $r'y$ / $m'hl·h$ / '$lhnr$
pasture.sc.3MS with -maternal uncle -CPR0.3MS as far as- Ḥrn
"he pastured with his maternal uncle as far as Ḥawrân"

/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.
a. Indirect object:

LP 504:  
\[ hb \quad l-h \quad n'm \]

give.IMP.2FS to -CPRO.3MS divine favor
‘bestow upon him divine favor’

β. Benefactive:

LP 325:  
\[ dmy \quad l-h \quad 'b-h \]
draw.SC.3MS for- CPRO.3MS father -CPRO.3MS
‘his father drew for him’

WH 3925:  
\[ db' \quad l-nbt \]
raid.SC.3MS for- Nbť
‘he raided for the Nabataeans’

γ. Temporal:

KRS 25:  
\[ syl \quad m-mdbr \quad l-hms't \]
return to water.SC.3MS from- inner desert for-five.F.CNST
‘he returned to a place of water from the inner desert for five months’

δ. Directional:

KRS 1670:  
\[ s^ry \quad l-h-nhl \quad bql \quad kbr \]
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 \( \beta i /bi/ \) in A 1, has two primary functions, locative and instrumental. When used as a locative, it is often best interpreted
as 'near', 'by', or 'at' (similar to 'inda in CAr). However, there are some rare cases where the translation 'in' is preferred, as it corresponds syntactically to the unmarked locative noun. B- can also be used as comitative with both humans and animals, and is the regular way of expressing exchange. Unlike Hb, the h-article is not elided following this preposition.

α. Locative and Temporal:

M 358: \[ sy[r] b- h- ms^2tyt \]
\{return to water\, sc.3MS near -ART- winter pasture\}
\{'l- h- nmrt\}
\{bordering- ART- Nmrt\}
\{'he returned to a place of water near the winter pasture bordering Namārah'\}

RSIS 339: \[ wrd h-b'r b- h- nmrt \]
\{go to water\, sc.3MS ART- well at/near -ART- Nmrt\}
\{'he went to the well at/near Namārah'\}

KRS 1563: \[ tζr ^2- s'my b- mlh \]
\{await, sc.3MS ART- sky during- Aquarius\}
\{'he awaited the rains when the sun was in Aquarius'\}

β. Instrumental:

HaNSB 304: \[ hζr b- s'l-f-h \]
\{strike, sc.3MS with- sword -CPRO.3MS\}
\{'he struck with his sword'\}

γ. Comitative:

WH 325: \[ dt' b- h- 'bl \]
\{later rains, sc.3MS with- ART- camel, col\}
\{'he spent the season of later rains with the camels'\}

C 2830: \[ h b'l's^1 mn rwh b- mtr \]
\{voc B'l's^1 mn send winds, imp with- rain\}
\{'O B'l's^1 mn, send the winds with rain'\}
5. 'In exchange for':

AbaNS 286: $s^2ry \quad m-\h-h \quad m'd \ h-frs$\textsuperscript{1}  
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’

6. This preposition also introduces the object of the verb $gzz$ ‘to raid’:

C 4452: $gzz \quad b- h- m'zyn$  
raid.sc.3MS by- ART-shepherd  
‘he raided the shepherd’

HaNSB 349: $gzz \quad b- 'bl$  
raid.sc.3MS by- camels  
‘he raided camels’

Compare to: C 1206 $gzz \ h- nhl$ ‘he raided in this valley’

$b'd$: While consonantally identical to CAr $ba'da$ ‘after’, two separate meanings are attested, suggesting two different etymological sources—$1b'd$ from the root $\sqrt{b'd}$ ‘to be far’, which gives rise to Safaitic ‘after’; ‘behind’, and $2b'd$, 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’.

$1b'd$:  

WH 1700.1: $s^2rq \quad b- h- hl \quad b'd- h- n'm$  
migrate.sc.3MS with- ART-horses after-ART-livestock  
‘he migrated to the inner desert with the horses following the livestock’

$2b'd$:  

WH 599: $nzm \quad b'd- h- ms^rt$  
guard.sc.3MS on behalf of- ART-troop  
‘he stood guard on behalf of the troop’
CHAPTER 7

SIT 52: $n\ddagger r$ $b'd-m'zy-h$

guard.sc.3MS on account of goats - CPROM.3MS
'he stood guard on account of his goats'

KRS 1468: $qss$ $b-m't$ $frs^1$ $b'd-\ddagger l$
patrol.sc.3MS with unit cavalry on behalf of lineage.CNST $df$

'D
'he patrolled with a cavalry unit on behalf of the lineage of $D$

WH 374: $bh'$ $b'd-\ddagger tm$ $ys^l$

rejoice.sc.3MS on account of celebration.CNST $ys^l$
'he rejoiced on account of the (wedding?) celebration of $ys^l$

bn: 'between'—This preposition is securely attested once with the meaning 'between', C 4037 $bn\ yd-h$ 'between his hands'. The $b-$ preceding $bql$ in WH 641.1 should probably be seen as the same preposition with the assimilation of the /n/ at word-boundary position, $byt\ b-h-rq\ wrh\ b-bql$ 'and he camped in this

valley for a month among fresh hergabe'.

'l: This preposition is most commonly used to indicate the object of the following verbs of grieving: $ndm$, $wlh$, $wgm$, $qsf$, $ng'$, $wg'$, (see §24.1). It has the basic spatial sense of 'upon', 'on (the edge of)' or 'bordering'. In curse formulae, $l$ has the meaning 'against'. The preposition can also have a benefactive sense, especially when used in conjunction with the verbs $hrs$ and $n\ddagger r$.

α. 'upon'; 'on the edge':

KRS 756: $h$ $s^2hqm$ $s4m$ $[m]$ $l-h-\ddagger bl$

voc $S^2hqm$ secure.imp.ms rel on-art-camel.col
'O $S^2hqm$, keep safe what is upon the backs of the camels'

C 3230: $r'y$ $\{h-\} b'l$ $b-r'y$ $mlh$
pasture.sc.3MS {art-} camel.col in-rising.CNST Aquarius $l-[h-] nhl$
on the edge-valley
'he pastured the camels on the edge of [the] valley during the rising of Aquarius'
LP 330: \( w \, qyz \quad 'l-\, h-\, nmrt \)
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: \( d'y \quad 'l-\,[l]t \quad 'l-\, mn \quad yhlbl \)
call.sc.3MS Upon -[Lt] against- anyone obscure.pc.3MS
‘he has called upon [Lt] against anyone who would obscure (the inscription)’

AKSD 5: \( tqb \quad yd-h \quad w \quad ds^2r \)
pierce.sc.3MS hand -cpro.3MS conj Ds^2r
‘l-\, ks^1r \quad wq^1\,-n \)
against- destroyer.cnst inscription -cpro.1cp
‘May he cut off his hand that Ds^2r be against the destroyer of our inscription’

γ. benefactive:

HaNSB 305: \( w \quad nzr \quad 'l-\, gs^2-h \)
CONJ guard.sc.3MS on behalf of- troop -cpro.3MS
‘and he stood guard on behalf of his troop’

SIAM 35: \( w \quad hrs \quad 'l-\, s^2y^-h \)
CONJ watch.sc.3MS after- companion.pl -cpro.3MS
‘and he looked after his companions’

Related to this sense, ‘l seems to mean ‘under the authority’ in the following context:

RQ.A10: \( s^1rt \quad 'l-\, mlk \quad h-\, s'ltn \)
to serve in a troop.sc.3MS under- ruler.cnst art- governed area
‘he served in a troop under the authority of the governor’

‘n: ‘n seems to have the same sense as its CAr counterpart, namely, an ablative ‘away’. The relationship between this preposition and ‘l is unclear, but the confusion of liquids is an attested phenomenon in Arabic, e.g., sanam ‘statue’ < *salm. So far, the preposition has been attested only once.
LP 1265: \[ \text{ndb} \quad \text{'}n \quad \text{h- m'} \text{'}l \]
be missing.SC.3MS \quad away -CPRO.3MS \{\text{unit}\}
'he went missing from the unit'

\( f \): The locative preposition \( f \), cf. CAr \( f \), is a less common alternative to the unmarked locative noun. Its source is likely the construct state of the word for mouth. In CAr, 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 'al-p\( i \)' 'according to' < 'according to the mouth of'.

KRS 3291: \[ \text{r'y} \quad h- 'bl \quad f- h- nhl \]
pasture.SC.3MS \quad ART-camel.COL \quad in- ART-valley
'he pastured the camels in this valley'

Compare this with the normal idiom: C 2670 \( \text{r'y} \quad h- 'bl \quad h- nhl \) 'he pastured the camels in this valley'

\( m' \): Like \( b- \), \( m' \) has a comitative meaning, but it is used exclusively with persons:

LP 325: \[ \text{w} \quad \text{hrs} \quad h- nw \quad \text{m'- 'h -h} \]
CONJ \quad watch.APC.MS \quad ART-migrating group \quad with- brother -CPRO.3MS
'while standing watch with this brother for the migrating group'

C 320: \[ \text{s'rt} \quad \text{m'- 'b -h} \]
serve in a troop.SC.3MS \quad with- father -CPRO.3MS
'he served in a troop with his father'

SESP.U26: \[ \text{w} \quad \text{bny} \quad \text{m'- zn'l} \quad h- s'lr} \]
CONJ build.SC.3MS \quad with- \( \text{Zn'l} \) \quad ART-shelter
'and he built with \( \text{Zn'l} \) 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 \( m \) 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.
α. 'from':

C 654:  
\[ \text{syr} \quad \text{m-} \quad \text{mdbr} \]
return to water.SC.3MS from- inner desert
‘he returned to a place of water from the inner desert’

HaNSB 218:  
\[ \text{s^rq} \quad \text{m-} \quad \text{hrn} \quad \text{b-} \quad \text{bl-h} \]
migrate.SC.3MS from- Hrn with- camel.COL -CPRO.3MS
\[ \text{s^2r} \quad \text{b-} \quad \text{r'y} \quad \text{y'm}\{r\} \]
herbage in- rising.CNST \{Capricorn\}
‘he migrated from Hrn with his camels to herbage during the rising of Capricorn’

β. In prayers for security and vengeance, m(n) can be translated as 'against':

C 31:  
\[ \text{w} \quad \text{s^lm} \quad \text{m-} \quad \text{s^2n}\]  
CONJ security against- enemy.PL
‘and let there be security against enemies’

CSNS 1004:  
\[ \text{wgm} \quad \text{t-} \quad \text{s'y} \quad \text{mqtl} \quad \text{h} \quad \text{lt} \quad \text{t'r} \]
mourn.SC.3MS for-S'yd killed.PPC.MS VOC Lt vengeance
\[ \text{mn-} \quad \text{qtl} \quad \text{-h} \]
from- kill.APC.MS -CPRO.3MS
‘he mourned for S'yd who was killed; O Lt, he will have vengeance against his murderer’

γ. mn- to indicate reason:

LP 475:  
\[ \text{ngdB} \quad \text{mn-} \quad \text{bn} \quad \{-h\} \]
be angry.SC.3MS from- son -{CPRO.3MS}
‘he was angry because of his son’

KhNSJ 1:  
\[ \text{g\{\}s^l} \quad \text{mn-} \quad \text{z-} \quad \text{dmt} \]
{halt}.SC.3MS from- ART- downpour
‘he halted because of the downpour’

δ. Partitive; The preposition m(n) can be used to express a part belonging to a larger mass:
m’l-: ‘because of’—This compound preposition, comprising m- and ‘-l, is paralleled in Hb, mē-‘āl ‘within’, although its semantics do not correspond to the Safaitic form.

KRS 1015: h lt {l}’n m ḫbl m’l- hwq
voc Lt {curse}.IMP REL obscure.SC.3MS because of- jealousy
‘O Lt, curse whosoever would obscure because of jealousy’

m- dn-: ‘without’—This compound preposition, cognate with CAr min duni ‘without’, is attested only once, in reference to the absence of B’l, the rain god, signaling the dry season and the absence of rains.

ASWS 37: wgm m-dn b’l f h rdw rwh
grieve.SC.3MS without B’l CONJ VOC Rdw ease
‘he grieved in the absence of B’l so, O Rdw, let there be ease’

mn-qbl: ‘facing’—This compound preposition is attested only once, and can be compared with CAr min qubul ‘from the front’ and Syriac menq̲bol ‘opposite, against’.

AZNG 1: mrd ḫlt s’nn mn-qbl- ṣf̲s̲ l̲m
rebellen 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’)

‘nd: ‘at’; ‘belonging’—Both the sense of ownership and location are attested:

ISB 91: w l-h h-frs l nd- h
CONJ for -CPR.3MS ART- horse at- CPR.3MS
‘and by him is the horse which belongs to him’
KRS 2869: mhl bn hby bn s’d bn gbs² bn qflt bn bdn bn glm bn y’ly
LA Gno8
h-srt w ngd w
ART- structure CONJ be courageous.sc.3MS CONJ
tzr ‘nd{-h}
await.sc.3MS at {-CPRO.3MS}
‘By Mhl son of Hby son of S’d son of Gb² son of Qflt son of Bdn son of Glm 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’.

BEnv.H 1: wgd ‘tr ‘m-h
find.sc.3MS trace.CNST grandfather -CPRO.3MS
hmyn f ql h gddf
Hmyn/protected CONJ say.sc.3MS voc Gddf
{h}b {t-} {-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 Hmyn/protected, then said: O Gddf, 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:

'\text{\textasciitilde}d': 'once again'

H 506: \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
s'nt & hgz & b'ls^m\text{\textasciitilde}nm & l-h \\
year & withhold & B'ls^m\text{\textasciitilde}mn & against-C\text{\textasciitilde}PRO.3\text{\textasciitilde}MS \\
\end{array}
\]

once again

'the year B'ls^m\text{\textasciitilde}mn withheld (the rain) against it (the province)

'wd: 'again'

RSIS 331: \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
w & s^2\text{\textasciitilde}ty & k{\{b}\{r\} & hrt \\
CONj & winter & the Harrah & again \\
\end{array}
\]

'and he spent the winter in the Harrah again'

l-\text{\textasciitilde}bd: 'forever', 'always'

C 2446: \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
wlh & k{\{b}\{r\} & s'h\text{\textasciitilde}r \\
grieve & \{continuously\} & broken heart \\
'l- & h-h & hbb-h & l-\text{\textasciitilde}bd \\
for- & brother& C\text{\textasciitilde}PRO.3\text{\textasciitilde}MS loved one & C\text{\textasciitilde}PRO.3\text{\textasciitilde}MS forever \\
\end{array}
\]

'he grieved continuously with a broken-heart for his brother, his beloved, forever'
ADVERBS

*l-nfs\(^1\)-h: 'by himself'*

LP 360: \ r'y h-m'zy l-nfs\(^1\)-h \ 
\pasture.sc.3MS ART-goat.PL by himself \ 
‘he pastured the goats by himself’

'hrt: 'thereafter’

KRS 896: \ wgd s'fr s'd f ng' \ 
\find.sc.3MS writing.CNST S'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 S’d and therefore grieved in pain, then \ 
he went to water at Namārah when the sun was in Libra thereafter’

a. The form 'bd without the preposition is also attested (KRS1015), and probably \ 
reflects a by-form in the accusative.

β. While s'nt 'year' is usually unmarked when used adverbially, this function is \ 
sometimes indicated by the preposition b-, e.g., C 2209 ftwqy b-s'nt hr α yr ‘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 inscrip-\ 
tional 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’al.

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-s'kn{t} \ 
\CONJ NEG rain.PC.3FS ART- dwelling.{PL} \ 
‘and it did not rain at the dwellings’
This negator, which is probably cognate with the interrogative *mā*, negates the suffix conjugation.

Mu 253: \( ng' f m hn' \)
grieve in pain.sc.3MS CONJ NEG be happy.sc.3MS 'he grieved in pain and was unhappy'

RWQ 155: \( l \ 'rm w \ 'st w \ 'm \ 'nm \)
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: */la-'an/ is the antecedent form of CAr *lan*, which negates the explicit future. This particle is encountered only once in the inscriptions.

AWS 264: \( w ln yqtl d ys'l m-h \)
and NEG kill.pc.3MS REL secure.pc.3MS -cpro.3MS 'and may he who keeps it (the inscription) safe never be killed'

\( l: */la/ is attested only once as part of the phrase 'nothing'

HCH 132: \( w myt kwy b-l s^2' \)
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: \( h 'lt s^2{'} hn w s'l m h n ngr-h \)
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.'
a. 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 ‘hwlτ ‘the people of Hwlτ 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-đā* (cf. Dadanitic *bd*, Taymanitic *bz*, and Hb *bāzē*). It seems impossible to determine from its single, clear attestation whether it means ‘here’ or ‘there’.

KRS 303:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘dll</th>
<th></th>
<th><em>bd</em></th>
<th><em>gs^2</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lead astray.sc.3MS here/there troop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he led a troop astray here/there’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 9

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:  
\[ h \ b'l's'mn \ w \ h \ d's^2r \]  
\[ \text{voc B'l's'mn conj voc D's^2r} \]  
'O B'l's'mn and O D's^2r'

α. An '-vocative has been recorded in RSIS 204: \[ f' b'l's'mn \ rwh \ b- \ mtrt \ 'so, O B'l's'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 ‘ or if a stray line had intersected with the h-vocative, causing the editor to mistake it for a ‘.

*y*: This particle is probably related to the first component of CAr ‘ayyuḥā. It has so far only been attested in invocations to Lt.

KRS 1562:  
\[ rwh \ y \ lt \]  
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 'ilḥt 'gods'. Its appearance with 'lt and 'ilḥt precludes the interpretation of the y as emerging from the sequence */hā-ilat/ or */hā-ilāh/.

C 25:  
\[ hy \ lt \ w \ h \ s^2ms^1 \]  
\[ \text{voc Lt conj voc S^2ms^1} \]  
'O Lt and O S^2ms^1'
LP 243: $hy\ l_h\ i'r$
   voc Lh vengeance
   'O Lh, there shall be vengeance!'

KRS 1287: $hy\ '+lht$
   voc god.PL
   'O gods'

'yh/ hyh: 'yh, which seems to correspond with CAr 'āyyuhā, and a form with an
initial h, are each attested once with Lt.

Mu 141: $'yh\ l_t$
   voc Lt
   'O Lt'

LP 619: $hyh\ l_t$
   voc Lt
   'O Lt'

'y: This rare vocative is cognate with CAr yā.

RWQ 73: $h\ l_t\ w\ y\ ds^2r$
   voc Lt conj voc Ds^2r
   'O Lt and O Ds^2r'

HAUI 76: $f\ y\ l_t\ ḡyɾt$
   conj voc Lt abundance
   'So, O Lt, let there be abundance'
CHAPTER 10

Other Particles

Several other particles associated with conditional clauses, presentation, and asservation 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.

'n (KRS 213): This particle is cognate with CAr ʔin, which denotes a real condition. The single Safaitic example, however, occurs in a hypothetical context.

'm (AWS 237): The particle 'm is cognate with Hb ʔm 'if', Gz ʔmma, and perhaps CAr ʔimmä.

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: ʃ s'lm h lt w rwh l-w.hd h
CONJ security VOC Lt CONJ ease ASV- be alone.SC.3MS VOC
Yt
Yt
'so let there be security, O Lt, and let their be ease, for he was indeed alone, O Yt'

C n86: w lt l-ʔhl w wk{sl} l w hrs l w
CONJ Lt ASV- uncertainty CONJ {loss} CONJ dumbness CONJ
'rg w 'wr 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:  qs$^m$  b- lh  hy  l- hdy
swear.sc.3MS  by- lh  alive.apc.ms  asv-command.sc.3MS
zm
greatness
‘he swore by ‘lh, who is living, that he will command with greatness’

c. Presentative: The particle ‘n, CAr ‘inna Hb hinn̄e, is attested once in a damaged context; however, from the context and the photograph, the readings of the glyphs are relatively certain.

KRS 68:  {‘}n{k  bgy-h  w
{pres}- cpro.2ms  sought after -cpro.3ms  conj
q{f}y{t}  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 hbb - 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 gdwg h{b} f'r m - l g'
voc Gd'wd {give}.1MP.2M vengeance from- lineage.CNST G'
zlnn f zlnn unjust APC.MP CONJ unjust APC.MP
‘O Gd’wd, 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:  
\[ h \ \text{rdw} \ f \ \text{l-} \ \text{y}^{\prime}\text{wr} \ \ m \ \text{wr} \]
\( \text{voc Rdw CONJ ASV be blind.PC.3MS REL efface.SC.3MS} \)
'O Rdw, may he who would efface be made blind'

HCH 103:  
\[ h \ \text{lt} \ w \ \text{ds}^{2r} \ f \ \text{t}^{r} \ \text{mn-} \text{hwlt} \]
\( \text{voc Lt CONJ Ds}^{2r} \text{ CONJ vengeance.SC.3MS from- Hwlt} \)
'O Lt and Ds^{2r}, he will have vengeance against Hwlt'

In cases where the first clause of the narrative is introduced by \( f \), e.g., \( \text{l-} \text{PN f sc} \), 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:  
\[ l \ \text{wdm'}l \ \text{bn} \ \text{w{g}l f byt w} \]
\( \text{LA Wdm'}l \text{ son.CNST } \{\text{Wl}\} \text{ CONJ camp.sc.3MS CONJ} \)
\( n\{g\}r \)
persevere.sc.3MS
'By Wdm'l son of Wl', and so may he camp the night and persevere'

C 3466:  
\[ l \ \text{hi b[n] tlh f bt} \]
\( \text{LA Hi [son].CNST Tlh CONJ camp.sc.3MS} \)
'By Hi son of Tlh, so may he camp the night (safely)'

KhMNS 13:  
\[ l \ \text{'s}^{1} \text{ bn} \ \text{br'h f 'd} \]
\( \text{LA 's}^{1} \text{ son.CNST Br'h CONJ return.sc.3MS} \)
'For/by 's^{1} son of Br'h, and so may he return'

SIJ 152:  
\[ l \ \text{'m bn mn f 'tw mn-} \text{hrt} \]
\( \text{LA 'm son.CNST mn CONJ come.SC.3MS from- the Ḥarrah} \)
'For 'm son of Mn, so may he return from the Ḥarrah'

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.
‘d: ‘when’—This conjunction is probably cognate with CAr ‘iḏā ‘when’.

AWS 8:  
\[w\ ng’  \d wgd  \y\]  
CONJ  griev 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’

‘kdy: ‘after’—This adverb is probably cognate with ‘kdy in the Namārah inscription, the etymology of which is obscure. Beeston has suggested that it is a metathesized form of ‘dky, but its meaning is rather different. Nevertheless, its meaning in the Safaitic texts and in the Namārah inscription seems congruent.

LP 732:  
\[\text{dr} \ h-\d'b \ zl'\] \[\{m\}-mn \ kdy\]  
\[\text{drive.sc.3MS wolf rage.apc.ms \{from\} Mn after}\]  
\[\text{glh} \ f [h]\]  
\[\text{attack.sc.3MS so [voc]}\]  
\[\text{[l]}[t] \ [s][l][m]\]  
\[\text{[Lt] [security]}\]  
‘he drove away the wolf, which was raging, from Mn after he attacked so, \{[O Lt, may he be secure]\}’

SG 1 = LP 722: \[\text{hgz-h} \ b'ls'mn \ k\{-h\} \ ysn\]  
\[\text{withhold.sc.3MS -cpro.3MS B'ls'mn after \ protect.pc.3MS}\]  
‘B'ls'mn withheld it \{the rain\}, but may he preserve \{i.e., the land\} thereafter’

ht: ‘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 ḫattā ‘until’, ‘so that’.

C 4384:  
\[\text{syd \ ht \ wqf} \ f l-\{\}kl \ w\]  
\[\text{hunt.sc.3MS until exhaustion conj asv-\{eat.inf\} conj}\]  
\[\{q\}t-h\]  
\[\text{protect.inf -cpro.3MS}\]  
‘he hunted until exhaustion, so may he eat and be protected’
11.3 The Complementizer 'น

The complementizer 'น, CAr. 'an(na), substantivizes sentential complements of verbs of cognition:

WH 1141: \( w \ s^\text{rt} \ s^\text{m}' \ 'น \)  
CONJ serve in a troop.SC.3MS hear.APC.MS COMP 'm- h ----
grandfather -CPR o.3MS 
‘and he served in a troop, having heard that his grandfather ...’

Ms 44: \( r'y \ h- 'bl \ h- 'rd \ s^\text{nt} \)  
pasture.SC.3MS ART- camel.COL ART- valley year.CNST 
myt qsr w s^\text{m}' 'น myt 
die.SC.3MS Caesar CONJ hear.SC.3MS COMP die.SC.3MS  
Philippus 
‘he pastured the camels in the valley the year Caesar died but he had heard that Philippus had died’
CHAPTER 12

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, fi-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, *iṭ, Arm ʾṭ, Hb yēš, Ug ʾṭ. 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^my ‘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^my my
   VOC king.CNST ART-sky water
   ‘O king of the sky (i.e., B’ls’mn), let there be water’

C 1084: rdy ʾgmnt s^h’
   Rdy spoil seven
   ‘Rdy, let there be spoil, seven-fold’

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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 'ḥd bn 'ḥnn w ǧnmt
LA 'ḥd son.cnst 'ḥnn conj spoil
'By 'ḥd son of 'ḥnn and let there be spoil'

AbaNS 1128:  ʿty ʿhl-h w my ʿs ʾs m
come.sc.3ms family-conj.3ms conj water art-north
'he came to his family because there was water in the north'

AZNG 1:  mrd tlt s̄nn mn-qbl n̄fs l ẓlm
rebellion three.m year.pl facing nepos to oppress.apc.ms
'there was a rebellion for three years facing Nepos, who was oppressive'

C 3818:  w tlg b-h-dr b-{r} ʿqbt
conj snow near-art-place during-{rising} scorpio
'and there was snow near this place during the rising of Scorpio'

C 320:  bhʾ 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 ǧnmt l ʿd ʿdy
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:  ʿwr w ʿrg w hrs l w grb w
blindness conj lameness conj dumbness conj scab conj
hkk l ʿd yʾwr h-s l fr
mange to-rel.ms efface.dpc.3ms art-writing
'let there be blindness and lameness and dumbness and scab and mange on him who effaces the writing'
12.3 Locative Predication

Examples of locative predicatation 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).\(^4\)

\[\text{C 4681:} \quad \begin{align*}
\text{bny} & \quad h \cdot z[l]t \quad \{s\}nt \quad 'rb \\
\text{build.GSC.3MS} & \quad \text{ART-} \{\text{shelter}\} \quad \{\text{year}\}.\text{CNST} \quad \text{arab.PL.CNST} \\
\text{h- b\~y\{y\}t} & \quad \{b\} \quad h \cdot rhbt \\
\text{ART-} \{\text{Bgyt}\} & \quad \text{in-} \quad \text{ART-} \text{R\~hbt} \\
\text{'he built the} & \quad \text{the} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{Arabs of} \quad \text{were} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{this} \\
\text{Ra\~habah'} & \quad \text{Ra\~habah'}
\end{align*}\]

\(^4\) Note that the existential particle in the modern Arabic dialect of Palmyra is derived from a locative phrase introduced by bi- rather than fi- as in most varieties of Arabic.
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: \[ w \quad \text{n} \quad \text{frds}^1 \quad \text{bn} \quad \text{r}d \]  
CONJ IPR0.ICS Frds\(^1\) son.CNST 'r\(d\)'  
'and I am Frds\(^1\) son of 'r\(d\)'  

C 1185: \[ w \quad \text{mt[y]} \quad h\text{-ht}^n{t} \]  
CONJ [Mty] ART- \{writer\}  
'and [Mty] is the writer'  

C 5041: \[ w \quad l\text{-} \quad \text{dm} \]  
CONJ ASV IPR0.3MS 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 \(h\) \(bkrt\) seems secure, as does its interpretation.
AWS 124: 's'lf h- rwy m- h-hm f
bring to an end.SC.3MS ART- sweet water from- ART- heat CONJ
hz h- 's'id
hostile.APC.MS Leo
'the sweet water was brought to an end from the heat, for Leo was hostile'

WH 2851: s'nt mrdt 'l nbf
year.CNST rebel.SC.3FS people.CNST Nbř
'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'
CHAPTER 13

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', *ts'wqt '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 'wd 'l sbh*  
plunder.SC.3FS lineage.CNST 'wd lineage.CNST $b\text{h}$  
'the lineage of 'wd plundered the lineage of $b\text{h}$'

**VERB—OBJECT—SUBJECT**

QZUI 462:  
*trq 'n-h h-mrd*  
smite.SC.3MS eye-CPR0.3MS ART-rebel  
'the rebel struck out his eye'

WH 1516:  
*{h}d klb-h db*  
{take}.SC.3MS dog-CPR0.3MS wolf  
'a wolf carried off his dog'

**VERB—PRONOMINAL OBJECT—SUBJECT**

LP 161:  
*klm-h h-'s\text{i}d*  
injure.SC.3MS -CPR0.3MS ART-lion  
'the lion injured him'
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:
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:  
\[ w \text{ bd}^c \quad d \quad hbl \quad w \]
CONJ be debased.SC.3MS REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS CONJ
\[ rdy \quad d \quad d'y \]
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 -(CPR0.3MS) 
'so, may Lh make him successful in his journey'

LP 259: \( w \; \dot{g}nm\; -h \) \( b'l's^3m\{y\} \) 
CONJ grant spoil.SC.3MS -(CPR0.3MS) \{B'l's\^3my\}  
m- s^n\{ \} \from- [enemy.PL]  
'and may B'l's\^3my grant him spoil from enemies'

JbS 1: \( dkr\; -h \) \( rdy \) 
remember.SC.3MS -(CPR0.3MS) 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, \( 'l't\;Lt\; mn\; ylb\)l 'may you, Lt, curse whosoever would obscure (this writing)' (CSA 1.2), while in the other examples, it follows its subject:

LP 687: \( h \; Lt \; s'l'dt \; mn \; d'y \) \( h\; -s'lfr \)  
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: \( h \; Lt \; brkt \; \dot{h}k \; d \)  
VOC Lt bless.SC.2FS \( \dot{h}k \) REL.MS  
'O Lt, bless \( \dot{h}k \) of ...'

C 4037: \( \{h\} \; Lt \; whbt \; s^n\; -h \)  
VOC Lt give.SC.2FS enemy -(CPR0.3MS)  
bn- yd\; -h \between- hand.DU.CNST -(CPR0.3MS)  
'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 ḏqn mrn f ṛwḥ
> 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 ṛdy w ḏs²r s’lm ḡnmt
> voc Lt conj ṛdy conj ḏs²r security spoil
> ‘O Lt and ṛdy and ḏs²r, may he be secure by means of spoil’

(2) HCH 72:  
> h lt w h ḏs²r t’r {l-} mn ḡwlt
> voc Lt conj voc ḏs²r vengeance asv against ḡwlt
> ‘O Lt and O ḏs²r, there will be vengeance against ḡwlt’

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 ṛdw flt-h
> voc ṛdw deliver.imp.2MS-cpro.3MS
> ‘O ṛdw, deliver him!’

AWS 290:  
> h ‘lt s’t’d ḡrdt bn ‘brr w
> voc ‘lt help.imp.fs ḡrdt son.cnst ‘brr conj flt-h
> deliver.imp.fs-cpro.3MS
> ‘O ‘lt, help ḡrdt son of ‘brr and deliver him!’

SW 264:  
> h yt’ ḡn ‘m-h
> voc yt’ free from want.imp.ms people-cpro.3MS
> ‘O yt’, render his people free from want’

HCH 107:  
> h lt s’lm ḡ ḣrm
> voc Lt secure.imp.fs rel.ms lineage.cnst ḣrm
> ‘O Lt, keep safe him/those of the lineage of ḣrm!’

KRS 1562:  
> f ṛwḥ y lt
> conj ease/grant ease.imp.fs voc Lt
> ‘so grant ease/let there be ease, O Lt’
c. **Unmarked vocative:** Some unmarked nouns must be construed as vocatives. Unmarked vocatives, like those marked by a vocative particle, nearly always precede the request. An exception is encountered in CSA 1.2, which contains 2p sc.

C 1341: \[ w \text{ rdw 'wr m 'wr-h} \]  
\[ \text{voc Lt blind.imp.fs rel.ms efface.sc.ms -cpro.3ms} \]  
\[ \text{‘and Rdw, blind whosoever would efface it’} \]

CSA 1.2: \[ f \text{ lt w ds²r s²lm ‘l ys²kr} \]  
\[ \text{conj Lt conj Ds²r secure.imp rel.ms lineage.cnst Ys²kr} \]  
\[ \text{‘so, Lt and Ds²r, secure him/them of the lineage of Ys²kr’} \]

α. The word-boundary spelling of the final /w/ of rdw and the first /w/ of wlh in C 3177 with one w suggests that nouns in the vocative were not followed by a vocalic suffix.
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' kbr 'l-gyr
grieve in pain SC.3MS continuously over- Gyrs
‘he grieved in pain continuously on account of Gyrs’

HaNSBi84: mlh f 'ny kbr
traded salt SC.3MS conj toil SC.3MS continuously
‘he traded salt and toiled continuously’

K 196: h b'ls'mn mwl h-'rd s'rl
voc B'ls'mn make abundant IMP.MS ART- land quick
‘O B'ls'mn, quickly make this land abundant’

SIJ 1008: w dt' w qy[ζ] w
CONJ later rains SC.3MS conj [dry season] SC.3MS conj
s'ly h- rhbt 'wd
winter SC.3MS ART- Rhbt again
‘as he will spend the season of the later rains, the dry season, and
the winter at this Rahbah again’

MKWS 8: f gd'wd w s'2hqm gnmt qrb
CONJ Gd'wd conj S'2hqm spoil soon
‘so Gd'wd and S'hqm, 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. SESP.D 12, for example, allows an object and prepositional phrase to intervene between the adverb and the term it modifies.
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:  \( w \{r\} \{y\} \quad m\{d\}br \quad \{n\}wy \quad s^{2}ty \)
CONJ \{pasture\}.SC.3MS \{inner desert\} migrate.APC.MS winter
‘and he pastured the inner desert while migrating in the winter’

RyD 6822:  \( w \quad wgm \quad \{l\} \quad \{m\} \quad trh \quad mh\ll \)
CONJ grieve.SC.3MS for- \{m\} perish.PC.MS camping.APC.MS
‘and he grieved while camping for ‘m, who perished’
KRS 1432:  \( wlh \quad mtdkr \quad hbb \quad f \)
be distraught.sc.3MS remember.apc.MS loved one conj
\( hbb \)
loved one
‘he was distraught as he remembered loved one after loved one’

C 1539:  \( s^2mr \ h[l] \quad h- \ bt \quad [t]s^2wq \quad 'l-lbh \)
S\(^2\)mr [camp].apc.MS art-tent [long].inf for Lbh
‘S\(^2\)mr is camping in this tent, longing for Lbh’
CHAPTER 15

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:  
\[ w \ b's^l \ l-h \ mn-s^2n' \]
CONJ misfortune to-CPR0.3MS from-enemy.PL
'and misfortune\textsuperscript{topic} from enemies was his'

C 76:  
\[ w \ \dot{g}nmt \ \dot{s}^byt \]
CONJ spoil \ be granted.sc.3FS
'and may spoil\textsuperscript{topic} be granted'

KRS 941:  
\[ w \ ql \ hbl-h \ trh \]
CONJ say.sc.3MS obscurer -CPR0.3MS perish.sc.3MS
'and he said: may [its obscurer\textsuperscript{topic}] perish'

(2)

Ms 64:  
\[ l \ 'qrb \ bn \ 'bgr \ b-ms^rt \ l \ 'mrt \ frs^l \]
LA 'qrb son.CNST 'bgr by-Ms\textsuperscript{rt} lineage.CNST 'mrt horseman
s\textsuperscript{nrt} ngy \ \dot{g}w\textsuperscript{t} \ bn \ rd\textsuperscript{wt} \]
year.CNST announce.sc.3MS \ Gw\textsuperscript{t} son.CNST Rd\textsuperscript{wt}
'By 'qrb son of 'bgr who was a horsemen [in the troop of the
lineage of 'mrt]\textsuperscript{topic} the year \ Gw\textsuperscript{t} bn Rd\textsuperscript{wt} was announced (commander)'

(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\textsuperscript{topic}] it did not rain'
In KRS 213, the entire apodosis is left-dislocated.

KRS 213:  
\[ hbl \quad hrm \quad n \quad ygll \]
be.insane.SC.3MS  hammer.AP.C.MS  COND  erase.PC.3MS

' [may one who hammers go insane\textsuperscript{topic}] if he should erase'
CHAPTER 16

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:  
\[ w \quad yqr \quad w \quad g\ell \quad 'rd \quad t \]
\[ \text{CONJ cold.PC.3MS CONJ be cut off.INF land DEM.FS} \]
\[ '\text{and he is cold and cut off in this land'} \]

MAHB 5:  
\[ r'\ell \quad h-\text{rmh} \quad bql \quad w \]
\[ \text{pasture.SC.3MS ART- camel.COL herbage CONJ} \]
\[ km't \]
\[ \text{gather truffles.INF} \]
\[ '\text{he pastured the camels on fresh herbage and gathered truffles'} \]

KRS 1770:  
\[ w \quad wrd \quad f \quad nyt \quad \{b-\} \quad 'mtn \]
\[ \text{CONJ go to water.SC.3MS CONJ migrate.INF} \quad \{\text{during}\}-\text{Libra} \]
\[ '\text{and he went to water, then will migrate when the sun is in Libra'} \]

KRS 78:  
\[ h \quad lt \quad ryh \quad w \quad qyt \]
\[ \text{VOC Lt grant ease.IMP.FS CONJ protect.INF} \]
\[ 'O \text{Lt, grant ease and protect'} \]

C 3113:  
\[ h \quad r\ell w \quad flt\quad h \quad m-b'sl \quad w \]
\[ \text{VOC Rdw deliver.IMP -CPRO.3MS from- misfortune CONJ} \]
\[ t'mt \quad mn\quad sd \quad l-frk \quad bn \quad ltnh \]
\[ \text{nourish.INF from- game for- Frk bn Ltnh} \]
\[ 'O \text{Rdw, deliver him from misfortune and nourish Frk son of Ltnh with something of game'} \]
The infinitive chain seems to have been an optional alternative to the use of a series of finite forms. Given the defective orthography, it is often impossible to identify which construction is being used. For example, the second “verb” of C 98 (below) could reflect either a finite form or an infinitive, with no change in meaning.

C 98:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
w & gyr & w & r'y \\
\text{CONJ return to water.SC.3MS CONJ pasture.INF} \\
h-'bl \\
\text{ART- camel.COL} \\
'and he returned to a place of water and pastured the camels'
\end{array}
\]

\[a.\] In the case of the verb \(dkr\), the infinitive and finite verb seem to have a different syntax—the former takes a direct object introduced by \(l\)- while the finite verb does not (e.g., JAS 189.2; JbS 1; RSIS 351).

Mu 253:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
wgd & 'tr & 'b-h & f \\
\text{find.SC.3MS trace.CNST father-CPR.3MS CONJ} \\
bk\{y\} & w & dkr & l- '{h} -h \\
\{weep.SC.3MS\} \text{ CONJ remember.INF to- \{brother\} -CPR.3MS} \\
\{wl\} \\
\{wl\} \\
'and he found the trace of his father so he wept and remembered his \{brother\} \{wl\}'
\end{array}
\]

As in ASA and NWS, the pronominal subject of an infinitive can be expressed by a clitic pronoun. Since the infinitive is not marked for voice,\(^2\) one must infer whether a passive or active sense is intended.

KRS 37:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
l & ngm & bn & z'nn & bn & rgl & bn & s'd & w & s^2tt -h \\
\text{LA Gn05 CONJ winter.INF -CPR.3MS} \\
nwy \\
\text{pasture} \\
'by Ngm son of Z'nn son of Rgl son of S'd and he spent the winter on pasture'
\end{array}
\]

\[^2\] Compare with CAr \(qattlu\) \(zaydin\) which can mean both ‘Zayd was killed’ or ‘Zayd’s killing (of someone else)’.\]
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.

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.
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’.
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:  
\[w\] tzr \[h-s^\text{my}\] b-hdr  
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:  
\[w\] tzr \[h-s^\text{my}\] b-hdr  
CONJ await.sc.3MS ART-sky in-camp near water-INF  
‘he awaited the rains while camping by permanent water’

C 4233:  
\[w\] r’y \{b\} \{n\}yt h-smkk  
CONJ pasture.sc.3MS {in-} {migrate}.INF Hşmkk  
‘and he pastured while migrating to Hşmkk’

16.5 Cognate Infinitive

The cognate infinitive amplifies the meaning of the main verb.

WH 116:  
\[hy\{b\}\] [l]-mḥbb ḥb  
lament.sc.3MS over-loved one lament-INF  
‘he lamented greatly over a loved one’

WH 613:  
\[f\] gddf s’lm m-s\text{2}n’ s’lm  
so Gddf security from-enemy.PL secure-INF  
‘so Gddf, may he be secured well against enemies’
CHAPTER 17

Relative and Subordinate Clauses

17.1 Relative Clauses

There are three types of relative clauses: the first is introduced by a relative pronoun *d*, *dʾ*, *dw* (syndetic relative), the second is formed by pronominal resumption linking the subordinate and matrix clauses (asnydetic 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* ʾ *l* 'of the lineage/people'. Outside of this context, they are rare, simply because they are not a component of most inscriptive formule. 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: 

\[ \text{wgd sifr mʾr d ʾwq} \]

find.sc.3MS writing.cnst Mʾr rel.ms be detained.sc.3MS

‘he found the writing of Mʾr who was imprisoned’

LP 1261: 

\[ \text{l dboy bn ksʾt d nkr} \]

LA Dboy son.cnst Ksʾt rel.ms contend.sc.3MS

h.sʾn{ʾ} ART- {enemy}

‘By Dboy son of Ksʾt who has contended with the enemy’

C 1758: 

\[ \text{wgm lʾ sʾyʾ-h d} \]

grieve.sc.3MS for-companion.pl-cpro.3MS rel.ms

nsʾl bʾ tbr

gone.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:  
\[ w \text{ rdy } d \text{ d' } y \text{ w} \]

\[ \text{CONJ be satisfied.sc.3MS REL.MS read aloud.sc.3MS CONJ l'n } d \text{ yhbl} \]

\[ \text{be cursed.sc.3MS REL.MS obscure.pc.3MS} \]

'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:  
\[ h \text{ gddf l'n } d \text{ y'wr } m \]

\[ \text{VOC Gddf curse.imp.2MS REL.MS efface.pc.3MS REL yhn'} \]

\[ \text{please.pc.3MS} \]

'O Gddf, curse him who would efface what would please'

AWS 236:  
\[ h \text{ rdw hb l-h } m \text{ hn'} \]

\[ \text{VOC Rdw give.imp.2M to-cpro.3MS REL please.sc.3MS} \]

'O Rdw, 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:  
\[ wgm \text{ 'l-bn dd-h} \]

\[ \text{grieve.sc.3MS over-son.cnst paternal uncle-cpr0.3MS ms'by s'byt-h ty'} \]

\[ \text{capture.ppc.ms capture.sc.3FS -cpro.3MS Ty'} \]

'he grieved for the son of his paternal uncle, who was captured, whom Ty' captured'

C n86:  
\[ w \text{ l-h h-mhrt yrbb-h} \]

\[ \text{CONJ for-cpro.3MS ART-filly train.pc.3MS -cpro.3FS} \]

'and the filly, which he is training, is his'

KRS 995:  
\[ nq't b-wdd-h yhbl \]

\[ \text{thrown out.inf by-beloved-cpro.3MS obscure.pc.3MS h- } h\{t}\{t\} \]

\[ \text{ART- } \{\text{writing}\} \]

'and may he who would obscure this writing be thrown out of the grave by his loved one'
ISB 91: 
\[ w \quad l\text{-}h \quad h\text{-}frs' \quad 'nd\text{-}h \]
\[ \text{CONJ for-}\text{-CPR0.3MS ART- horse at-}\text{-CPR0.3MS} \]
\[ 'and by him is the horse, which belongs to him' \]

\( \alpha \). 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: 
\[ qsf \quad l\text{-}'l \quad d'b \quad w \quad n'nl \quad dllen \]
\[ \text{be sad.sc.3MS for-lineage.CNST D'b CONJ N'n'l lost.pPC.MDU} \]
\[ 'he was sad on account of the lineage of D'b and N'n'l, who were lost' \]

HCH 131: 
\[ ndm \quad l\text{-}klb\text{-}h \quad dll \]
\[ \text{be devastated.sc.3MS over- dog-}\text{-CPR0.3MS lost.pPC.MS} \]
\[ 'he was devastated by grief on account of his dog, which was lost' \]

SESP.U 13: 
\[ hrs \quad hw\text{-}h \]
\[ \text{watch.sc.3MS brother.DU.CNST -CPR0.3MS} \]
\[ ms^\text{2rqn} \]
\[ \text{migrate to desert.APC.MDU} \]
\[ 'he kept watch for his two brothers, who were migrating to the inner desert' \]

The agent of the passive participle is an adnominal modifier; the two do not form a construct-genitive chain.

KRS 6: 
\[ whl \quad l\text{-}hm \quad l\text{-}bd \quad w \quad l\text{-zkr} \]
\[ \text{distracted.sc.3MS over-}\text{-CPR0.3MPL forever CONJ over-Zkr} \]
\[ w \quad l\text{-}hls \quad rjmn \quad mny \quad kl\text{-}hm \]
\[ \text{CONJ over- Hls struck down.pPC.MP Fate QUANT -CPR0.3MP} \]
\[ 'he was distracted over them forever and over Zkr and over Hls, who were struck down by Fate, all of them' \]

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 *š'ot* 'year'. A similar construction is attested in CAr with *yawm* 'day' (e.g., Q 3:30).
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-yaf'ala* construction in CAr.

WH 3053:  
\[ \text{rhd b-h-ngm l-yhg} \]  
\( \text{wash.sc.3MS in-Virgo to-ritual. PC.3MS} \)  
'he washed when the sun was in Virgo in order to perform a pilgrimage'

LP 712:  
\[ \text{wrd b-r'y dl} \]  
\[ \{l-\} s^2 rb \]  
\( \text{go to water.sc.3MS in-rising. CNST Pisces [to]-{drink}. PC.3MS} \)  
'he went to water during the rising of Pisces in order to drink'

*a. 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 *liqtól.*

C 4803:  
\[ \text{h b\{'ls'mn s'l m l-n'm hl} \]  
\( \{B\}'ls'mn\} security ease. INF camping \( \)  
'O B\{'ls'mn, 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:  
\[h\ r\&w\ f\&lt-n\ m-\ b's^l\]  
\[voc\ Rdw\ deliver.IMP.2MS\ -CPRO.ICP\ from-\ misfortune\ w\ nhyy\]  
\[CONJ\ live.PC.1C\]  
‘O Rdw, deliver us/me from evil that I/we may live long’

WH 135:  
\[h\ \&lt\ q\&ldl\ 'h\ l\ s'llm\ f\ nngy\]  
\[voc\ Lt\ reunion\ family-(CPRO.1CS)\ security\ so\ save.PC.1C\]  
‘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:  
\[d'b'h\ l-\ rdy\ w\ gnm\ nqt\]  
\[sacrifice.SC.3MS\ for-\ Rdy\ CONJ\ grant.SC.3MS\ she-camel\]  
‘he performed a sacrifice for Rdy that he (Rdy) may grant a she-camel as spoil’

C 4457:  
\[w\ [g]\d'wd\ rwh\ m\ s'lr\ w\]  
\[and\ [Gd'wd]\ ease.IMP.2MS\ REL\ be\ captured.SC.3MS\ CONJ\ s'llm\]  
\[be\ secure.SC.3MS\]  
‘and Gd'wd, grant ease to whosoever was captured that he may be secure’

C 31:  
\[s'ltk\ y\ l-\ lt\ f\ hnn\ w\]  
\[petition.SC.3MS\ to-\ Lt\ so\ show\ compassion.IMP.2FS\ CONJ\ s'llm\ m-\ s'2n]\]  
\[secure.SC.3MS\ from-\ enemy.PL\]  
‘he petitioned Lt, so show compassion that he may be secure against enemies’

α. The phrase *w s'llm*, 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 $h \ b^\text{ls}^\text{mn} \ gyrt \ w \ s^\text{lm}$ (1) ‘O $B^\text{ls}^\text{mn}$, let there be abundance that he may be secure’ or (2) ‘O $B^\text{ls}^\text{mn}$, 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: $w \ wgm \ 'l- \ s^\text{wd} \ w \ tr^h$
CONJ  griev.SG.3MS for- $S^\text{wd}$ CONJ perish.SG.3MS
‘and he grieved for $S^\text{wd}$ because he perished’

SG 1 = LP 722: $w \ 'f \ h- \ m^\prime \zy \ s^\text{nt}$
CONJ feed on fodder.SG.3MS ART-goat.PL year.CNST
$b^\text{s}^1 \ w \ hgz^{-h} \ b^\text{ls}^\text{mn}$
misfortune CONJ withhold.SG.3MS -CPR0.3S $B^\text{ls}^\text{mn}$
‘and he fed the goats on dry fodder during a year of misery because $B^\text{ls}^\text{mn}$ withheld the rain’

KRS 1051: $w \ wgm \ 'l- \ {\text{brother}} \ -h \ hry \ f$
CONJ  griev.SG.3MS for- {brother} -CPR0.3MS $H^\text{ry}$ CONJ
$m^y^t$
die.SG.3MS
‘and he grieved for his brother, $H^\text{ry}$, because he died’

NST 2: $'b^\text{s}^1 \ w \ r^\text{mt} \ mn[y]$
austere.SG.3MS CONJ struck down.SG.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:  
\[ h \text{ } lt \text{ } w \text{ } gddf \text{ } s^{'l}m \text{ } w \text{ } mgd \]
VOC Lt CONJ Gddf security CONJ glory
\[ w \text{ } h \text{ } tlq \text{ } l-h-dsy \]
CONJ IPR0.3MS set off.APC.MS for-ART-ibex
‘O Lt and Gddf let there be security and glory as he sets off for ibex’

Circumstantial clause with a locative noun or prepositional phrase

C 3140:  
\[ wg{d} \text{ } 'tr \text{ } 'm-h \text{ } f \]
{find}.sc.3MS trace.CNST grandfather -CPR0.3MS so
\[ b{k}y \text{ } w \text{ } h-śwy \]
{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:**

\[ ng' \quad 'l-klbh \quad bn-h \quad w]  
grieve in pain.sc.3MS for-Klbh son-CPR0.3MS CONJ  
\[ r'y \quad \{h\} \quad \{b\} l \quad w\hat{h}d \]  
pasture.sc.3MS \{ART\} \{camel\}.COL alone  
'he grieved in pain for Klbh, his son, while he pastured the camels alone'

**SIJ 1008:**

\[ gd'w[d] \quad nw[y] \quad w \quad 'qwy \]  
\[ [Gd'wd] \{pasture\} \{CONJ\} grant endurance.INF \]  
\[ w \quad dt' \quad w \quad qy[z] \quad w]  
CONJ later rains.sc.3MS CONJ dry.season.sc.3MS CONJ  
\[ s^2ty \quad h-rhbt \quad 'wd \]  
winter.sc.3MS \{ART\}= Rahbah again  
'Gd'wd, let there be pasture and grant endurance as he will spend the season of the later rains, the summer, and the winter at this Rahbah again'

**WH 582:**

\[ rdf \quad h-d'n \quad l-mdb\]  
follow.sc.3Ms \{ART\}= sheep towards-inner desert CONJ  
\[ h\breve{r}s \quad s'qm \]  
watch.sc.3Ms illness  
'he followed the sheep towards the inner desert while he anticipated illness'

**LP 597:**

\[ h\breve{r}s \quad 'l-rgl-h \quad w]  
watch.sc.3Ms over-soldier.PL-CPR0.3Ms CONJ  
\[ h\breve{d}r \]  
camp at water.sc.3MP  
'he watched over his foot soldiers while they camped by permanent water'
CHAPTER 19

Coordination

The conjunction used to link two syntactically equal elements is \( w \):

KRS 1683:

\[
\text{h} \quad \text{h-} \quad \text{b-} \quad \text{w} \\
\text{camp.sc.3MS} \quad \text{ART-} \quad \text{place} \quad \text{with-} \quad \text{family} \quad \text{CPRO.3MS} \quad \text{CONJ}
\]

\[
\{\text{watch}.sc.3MS \quad \text{over-} \quad \text{camel}.\text{COL} \quad \text{CPRO.3MS}\}
\]

\( 'l- \quad 'bl-h \)

\( \text{he camped in this place with his family and watched over his camels'} \)

HCH 72:

\[
\text{wgm} \quad \text{'}l- \quad \text{hn'} \quad \text{trh} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{'l-} \quad \text{bdy}
\]

\( \text{grieve.sc.3MS} \quad \text{for-} \quad \text{Hn'} \quad \text{perish.ppc.MS} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{for-} \quad \text{bdy} \quad \text{mql}\)

\( \text{kill.ppc.MS} \)

\( \text{he grieved for Hn', who perished, and for 'bdy, who was killed'} \)

In this context, the conjunction can also have an adversative meaning, 'but':

C 3931:

\[
\text{h} \quad \text{'t} \quad \text{s'lm} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{hrs} \quad \text{q'sn}
\]

\( \text{voc} \quad \text{'t} \quad \text{security} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{watch.sc.3MS} \quad \text{murderer.PL} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{fr} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{flee.sc.3MS} \)

\( \text{O 't', may he be secure, as he had kept watch for enemies (lit. murderers), but fled'} \)

Ms 44:

\[
\text{myt} \quad \text{qsr} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{s'm} \quad \text{'n} \quad \text{myt}
\]

\( \text{die.sc.3MS} \quad \text{Caesar} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{hear.sc.3MS} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{die.sc.3MS} \quad \text{ffs} \quad \text{f} \quad \text{s'hr} \quad \text{Philip} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{be fooled.sc.3MS} \)

\( \text{Caesar died but he heard that Philip had died, and was fooled'} \)

HCH 194:

\[
\text{w} \quad \text{nfr} \quad \text{f} \quad \text{s'lm} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{b{'}} \{d\}
\]

\( \text{CONJ} \quad \text{flee.sc.3MS} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{surrender.sc.3MS} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \{\text{after}\} \quad \text{flt} \quad \text{escape.sc.3MS} \)

\( \text{and he fled, and then surrendered, but escaped afterwards'} \)
19.1 Sequential Narrative

Clauses which express a sequence of events whereby the first is temporally or logically anterior to the second are connected by the coordinator \( f \), and only rarely by \( w \).

C 2713:  
\[
\text{find.sc.3MS} \quad \text{trace.CNST} \quad \text{companion.PL} \quad -\text{CPRO.3MS} \quad \text{CONJ} \\
\text{miserable.sc.3MS} \\
\text{he had found the trace of his companions, so he was miserable}
\]

Mu 867:  
\[
\text{w} \quad \text{s2ty} \quad \{b-\} \quad \text{rd} \quad h-\text{nmrt} \quad \text{w} \\
\text{CONJ} \quad \text{winter.sc.3MS} \quad \{\text{near-}\} \quad \text{valley.CNST} \quad \text{ART-} \quad \text{nmrt} \quad \text{CONJ} \\
\text{dry season.sc.3MS} \\
\text{and he spent the winter near the valley of Namâh, and then the dry season}
\]

The distinction between \( w \) and \( f \) is best illustrated by the following pair:

C 793:  
\[
\text{find.sc.3MS} \quad \text{writing.CNST} \quad \text{grandfather -CPRO.3MS} \quad \text{CONJ} \\
\text{grieve in pain.sc.3MS} \\
\text{he had found the writing of his grandfather, so he grieved in pain}
\]

C 2196:  
\[
\text{find.sc.3MS} \quad \text{writing.CNS} \quad \text{Qhs2} \quad \text{w} \quad \text{ng'} \quad \text{CONJ} \\
\text{for- Mty} \\
\text{he found the writing of Qhs2 and he grieved in pain for Mty}
\]
CHAPTER 20

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 ḡāla tāla ‘he who wanders will find something’ or the famous introduction of Imru‘ul-Qays’s mu‘allaqah, qifā nabki ‘stop, let us weep’ (see Fischer 2001, § 446).

Mu 278:       w m {m}ḥbl h-sfr nq`t
CONJ REL{obscure}.APC.MS ART- writing thrown out.INF
l- `h- 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 mṣlk f bqr
voc Ds²r REL oppress.sc.3MS mṣlk CONJ split.INF
‘O Ds²r, whosoever would oppress Mṣlk, split (him) in two’

a. The common curse formula ‘wr m y‘wr ‘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 ‘n and ‘m conditional particles reflect dialectal variation.

AWS 237:       m m ‘wr h rḍw f l-
COND REL efface.sc.3MS VOC Rḍw CONJ ASV-
y‘wr
be made blind.sc.3MS
‘and if one would efface, O Rḍw, then let him be made blind’
'he said: may one who hammers go insane if he would erase (this inscription)'
CHAPTER 21

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: \( \text{wgm } \text{L-} \text{ghm } \text{bnt } \text{n'm } \text{mr't -} \text{h} \)
mourn.sc.3MS over-Ghm daughter.CNST 'n'm wife -CPR0.3MS 'he mourned for Ghm daughter of ’n’m, his wife'

C 304: \( \text{wgm } \text{L-} \text{.hdnt } \text{hbbt -} \text{h} \)
mourn.sc.3MS over-Hdnt loved one.FS -CPR0.3MS 'he mourned for Hdnt, his beloved'

LP 135: \( \text{wgd } \text{s'fr } \text{whb'l } \text{hll} \)
found.sc.3MS writing.CNST Whb'l friend 'he found the writing of Whb'l, a friend'

21.2 Cleft Sentences

The cleft construction \( \text{mn } \text{d}, \) compare to Arabic \( \text{man } \text{da } \text{lla} \text{di}, \) is attested once:

C 2276: \( \text{nq's } \text{l- } \text{mn } \text{d } \text{hbl} \)
sudden death.inf to-rel rel.ms obscure.sc.3MS h- s'fr 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 \( \text{qs'lm } \text{b}, \) and the asseverative \( \text{l-} \) is attested:
'and he made a burnt offering, and swore by 'lh, who is living, that he will command with greatness'
CHAPTER 22

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 q 'l 'of the lineage', the use of a gentilic 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: \( l s'd \text{ bn } zm \text{ r bn } hzn \text{ h- dr } \)  
'By S’d son of Zmr son of Hzn, at this place'

C 2396: \( l \text{ hl } \text{ bn } 'mr \text{ bn } 'zd \text{ bn } qt'[n] \text{ h- dr } \)  
'By Hl son of Mr son of ‘zd son of {Qt’n}, at this place'

Other common locations include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'hdt</td>
<td>water pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m(n)zr</td>
<td>look-out point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdt’/ms²ty(t)</td>
<td>spring/winter pasture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swy</td>
<td>cairn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This formula can be expanded by using verbs of camping \((l- \text{ Gn} + \text{ Verb} + \text{ place name})\), such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>byt</td>
<td>to spend the night/camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hll</td>
<td>to camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gls¹</td>
<td>to halt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rgm</td>
<td>funerary cairn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s²tr</td>
<td>shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swy</td>
<td>cairn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zl(l)t</td>
<td>shelter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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: $\ell \text{ Gn} + \text{ ART- drawing}$.

Next to a drawing of a she-ass

C 505: $l\ hdg\ bn\ s^2 wr\ h-\ 'tn$

‘By Ḥdg son of Swr is the she-ass’

Next to a drawing of two camels

AbaNS 28: $l\ bdn\ bn\ 'zz\ h-\ bkrt\ n$

‘by Bdn son of ‘zz are the two she-camels’

Next to a drawing of two gazelles

WH 3151: $l\ 's^1 f\ bn\ l\{r\}tt\ h-\ zbyn$

‘By ‘s1 son of {Hrtt} are the two gazelles’

The following lists contains the terms for animals commonly depicted in the rock drawings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʾsld</td>
<td>lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾtn</td>
<td>she-ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾr</td>
<td>ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bkrt</td>
<td>young she-camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dṣy(t)</td>
<td>ibex/oryx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gml</td>
<td>male camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frs1</td>
<td>horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫmr</td>
<td>donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫyt</td>
<td>animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nʾm(t)</td>
<td>ostrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqt</td>
<td>she-camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭr</td>
<td>bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wʾl</td>
<td>ibex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓbyt</td>
<td>gazelle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other times, the signature will refer to the drawing in more general terms:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{dmyt} & drawing \\
\textit{srt} & image \\
\end{tabular}

Authors would sometimes produce rock drawings of animals dedicated in some way to a deity. These are often accompanied by the following formula: \textit{l- Gn} + \textit{ART- drawing} + \textit{w qsy l- deity}. The ritualistic meaning of these texts is unclear at the current moment:

\begin{itemize}
\item C 1658: \textit{lwq{r} bn y'l h- gmln qsyn l- 'lt w l- rdw}  \\
  'By \{Wqr\} son of Y'l are these two camels which have been dedicated to 'It and to Rdw'
\item KRS 1307: \textit{l hts's bn s'krn bn hts's bn zkr h- gml qsy l- s^2'hqm}  \\
  'By Hts's son of S'krn son of Hts's son of Zkr is this camel which has been dedicated to S^2'hqm'
\end{itemize}

\subsection*{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: \textit{wgd} + \textit{'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).

\begin{itemize}
\item (1) KRS 926: \textit{wgd 'tr mlk}  \\
  'he found the trace of Mlk'
\item (2) C 25: \textit{wgd 'tr 'h -h}  \\
  'he found the trace of his brother'
\item (3) Mu 897: \textit{wgd s'fr hl -h 'n'm}  \\
  'he found the writing of his maternal uncle, 'n'm'
\end{itemize}

The exact sense of \textit{'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 *ṭr* 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 *l* (2). These constructions often follow clauses expressing the finding of an inscription or trace.

(1) C 3474:  
<l’ll b’n s’lm b’n n’mn w wgm
‘By ’ll son of s’lm son of N’mn and he grieved’

(2) HCH 82:  
<l’zz b’n h’n’d l’nrmr w wgm l’- h’n’
‘by ’zz son of Hn’ of the lineage of Nmrt and he grieved over Hn’

WH 151.1:  
wgm l’- kmrd w kmrd w s’d w s’d w r’y w qdm w znn w s’d w t’m w rbb’il
‘He grieved for Kmd and Kmd and s’d and s’d and R’y and Qdm and Znn and s’d and t’m and Rb’il’

Some of the commonest verbs of grieving are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bky</td>
<td>to weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndm</td>
<td>to be devastated (by grief)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng’</td>
<td>to grieve in pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qsf</td>
<td>to be sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wgm</td>
<td>to grieve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wg’</td>
<td>to grieve in pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wth</td>
<td>to be distraught</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kinship terms which often appear in these contexts include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>’b</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’b ’m</td>
<td>maternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’h</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’ht</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Common terms of affection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫḥb</td>
<td>loved one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḏq</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṽḏd</td>
<td>loved one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭḥm ṭnḥy</td>
<td>struck down by Fate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭḥḥ</td>
<td>perished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫḥt/Ḥḥqţl</td>
<td>murdered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥṛḥ/Ḥḥqṛḥ</td>
<td>plundered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22.6 Funerary

Inscriptions associated with funerary rituals usually follow the formula: (1) ṣḥḥ ṭ- PN ḫ- ṭḥm ‘he built for PN the cairn’ or (2) ṣḥḥ ṭ- 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bly</th>
<th>a baliyyah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drh</td>
<td>tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgrt</td>
<td>tomb chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfs(^\d)+ (t)</td>
<td>funerary monument</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/swy refers to the use of such a cairn to deposite the body of a loved one.

The “proverb” b’s\(^\d\)+ mn zll ‘those who remain dispair’

A common expression associated with funerary inscriptions and those generally expressing grief over the loss of a loved one is f b’s\(^\d\)+ m(n) zll ‘for those who remain despair’. Some earlier scholars took this as meaning ‘overshadowed by grief’, but the presence of the n in HAUI 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 *Rdw*, followed by an imperative verb, usually *s’d* ‘help’ or *hb* ‘give’:

SIJ 779.1:  
[h] rdw s’d zy’ ‘n wn bn thwr  
'[O] Rdw, help Zy’ against Wn son of Thwr'

LP 319:  
h rdw hb l- qdm nqmt mn s’d ’bl -h  
'O Rdw, 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 *(n) wr*, (3), and the use of the prefix conjugation in the relative clause *y’wr* (4):

1. *(1) wr m wr*  
   ‘blind whosoever would efface’
2. *(2) wr l- m wr*  
   ‘may whosoever would efface go blind’
3. *(3) wr d’ wr or wr l- d’ wr*  
   ‘blind him who would efface’
   or ‘may he who would efface go blind’
4. *(4) wr d y’wr or wr l- d y’wr; wr m y’wr or wr l-m y’wr*  
   ‘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’lm (1) w’rk rhl- d’ y (2) h- btt  
'O Lt, let there be security and long life to him who reads this writing aloud'
C 1936: (3) h g[d] [ ']w[d] w h lt (1) s[lm] l- g s[P] r w 'wr h lt w nq't b- w[d] l- g y 'wr (2) h- s[fr]
 '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 gddf l'n g y 'wr (2) m yhn’ (1) w gmnt l- g 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fšy(t)</td>
<td>deliverance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flt</td>
<td>deliverance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĝmnt</td>
<td>spoil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyrt</td>
<td>abundance/blood money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĝnyt</td>
<td>abundance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlst</td>
<td>salvation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgdt</td>
<td>abundance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqmt</td>
<td>retribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qblĩ</td>
<td>be reunited/reunion (with loved ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rwh</td>
<td>ease/relief/send winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s[lm]</td>
<td>security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wqyt</td>
<td>preservation/protection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Curses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'rg</td>
<td>lameness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wr</td>
<td>blindness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrs¹</td>
<td>dumbness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nq't</td>
<td>thrown out (of the grave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hkk</td>
<td>mange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhl[t]</td>
<td>dearth of pasture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Terms for effacing an inscription

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'wr</td>
<td>to efface (scratch out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hbl</td>
<td>obscure (render illegible)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Terms for positive actions towards an inscription

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d'y</td>
<td>to read aloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qr'</td>
<td>idem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s^r</td>
<td>to leave untouched</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Terms for inscriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>htt</td>
<td>writing (lit. carvings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ktb</td>
<td>writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tll</td>
<td>words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s^fr(t)/ts^fr</td>
<td>writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wq'</td>
<td>inscription</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names of deities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'hd</td>
<td>gddf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'t</td>
<td>gdwhb'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lh</td>
<td>nhy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lt</td>
<td>s^2hqm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ils^mn/b'ls^my</td>
<td>s^2ms^3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ds^2r/ds^2ry/ds^2r/ds^2ry</td>
<td>rdw/rdy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gd'wd</td>
<td>ytl'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
22.8  Time

The recording of time is expressed through four different means: (1) the explicit mentioning of the word *sḥnt* ‘year’, (2) the mentioning of a particular season, (3) astronomical phenomena, or (4) the use of the Babylonian months.

1. *sḥnt*: 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 *sḥnt + 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 dating of events exhibits the greatest variability in expression (see, for example, MISSD 1).

   (1) C 3680  
   *gmm sḥnt ḥrb nbṭ*
   ‘he raided the year of the war of the Nabataeans’

   (2) H 506  
   *ḥdr sḥnt ḥgz b’ls’mn ‘l ‘ḥ dh*
   ‘he camped by permanent water the year B’ls’mn withheld (the rain) from it (the land) again’

   (3) KRS 1852  
   *ḥl h- dr sḥnt myt ḏrm*
   ‘he camped in this place the year ḏrm died’

2. *sḥnt ngy PN hdy*: In addition to the three categories mentioned above, another common *sḥnt* 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:  
   *nzr l- msḥrt sḥnt ngy myt ḏdy*
   ‘he stood guard on behalf of the troop the year Mṭy was announced 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Safaitic</th>
<th>Time period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the winter</td>
<td>$s^2ty$</td>
<td>October–mid February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the season of the later rains</td>
<td>$dt'$</td>
<td>mid-February–mid-April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early summer</td>
<td>$syf$</td>
<td>mid-April–July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the dry season</td>
<td>$qyz$</td>
<td>July–October</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Harrah had a three-season year, and $syf$ referred to the part of $Qyz$ in which pasturage was left over from $s^2ty$ and $dt'$. Likewise, the term $bhrt$ signified the period of $Qyz$ in which there was no more pasturage.

### Modified Seasons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seasons</th>
<th>Safaitic</th>
<th>Time period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the winter</td>
<td>$s^2ty$</td>
<td>mid-October–mid February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the season of the later rains</td>
<td>$dt'$</td>
<td>mid-February–mid-April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the dry season</td>
<td>$qyz$</td>
<td>late-April–early October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) early summer</td>
<td>$syf$</td>
<td>late-April–July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) late summer</td>
<td>$bhrt$</td>
<td>July–early-October</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: \[s^2ty \, l \langle \rangle \, h\cdot \, nmrt\]
‘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:

- \(b\cdot \, r'y\) during the heliacal/acronical rising of X
- \(b\cdot \, ks'\) during the full moon of X/during the cosmical setting
- \(b\cdot \) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Babylonian months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(knn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s^1ht)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n, sn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dţ' = Season of the later rains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qyz = Dry season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhrt = late summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s²ty = Winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ophiucus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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: \( w\ r'y \ (2) \ h-nhl \ (3) \ bql \ (2) \ b-\ dkr \ s'nt \ gs^2m \ w \ hn'lt \)
‘and he pastured in the valley on fresh herbage during Aries, the year of Gs\(^2\)m and Ḥn’lt’

ZeGA ii: \( w\ r'y \ (1) \ h-\ m'zy \ (2) \ h-\ nhl \ (3) \ qyz \)
‘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: \( w\ r'y \ (1) \ h-\ bl \ (2) \ h-\ s^2q \ (4) \ nwy \)
‘and he pastured the camels on the side of the mountain while migrating’

C 1338: \( r[y \ (1) \ h-\ bl \ (2) \ b-r'y \ dkr \ (3) \ bql{f} \)
‘[he pastured] the camels during the rising of Aquarius on fresh herbage’

---

**Herbage commonly pastured**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bql</th>
<th>(fresh) herbage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nwy</td>
<td>grazing land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mqzt</td>
<td>summer pasture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms^2ty(t)</td>
<td>winter pasture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrb</td>
<td>abundant herbage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Animals frequently pastured

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bl</td>
<td>camels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'n</td>
<td>sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ml</td>
<td>camels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'zy</td>
<td>goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'm</td>
<td>livestock</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locations pastured

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'rd</td>
<td>valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhl</td>
<td>(torrent) valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdbr</td>
<td>inner desert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'hbt</td>
<td>Ruḥbah (toponym)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h- r'hbt</td>
<td>a raḥabah (see DICTIONARY)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22.10 Ritual

In addition to prayers, several terms which signify religious practices of some sort are encountered in the inscriptions. These include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'wd b-</td>
<td>to seek refuge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍbh</td>
<td>to sacrifice (an animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'sy</td>
<td>to dedicate (an animal depicted in a rock drawing to a deity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qs b'm</td>
<td>to swear an oath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫg</td>
<td>to go on a pilgrimage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rḥd</td>
<td>to wash</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22.11 Watering

The inscriptions mention several activities associated with water:
Guarding and watch-keeping are frequently recorded in the inscriptions. The two terms associated with these activities are nzr ‘to guard’ and hrs ‘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 ‘l or b’d.

(1) C 49:  l "s’d bn bwk w nzr  
‘By ”s’d son of Bwk and he stood guard’

KRS 2060:  l ‘ny bn km bn ’hlm w hrs f h lt s’lm  
‘By ’ny son of Km son of ’ hlm 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 hrs h- s²n’f h lt s’lm  
‘and he kept watch for enemies, so, O Lt, may he be secure’

(3) HCH 102:  w hrs ‘l- ’h -h  
‘and he kept watch for his brother’

LP 597:  hrs ‘l- rgl -h w hdr  
‘he kept watch for his men as they camped by permanent water’

HaNSB 305:  w nzr ‘l- gs² -h w mty  
‘and he stood guard for his raiding party while journeying’

SIT 52:  w nzr b’d- m’zy -h  
‘and he stood guard on account of his goats’
Other verbs of watch-keeping are:

\[ h\ell(l) \] ‘to keep watch’
\[ r'y \] ‘to look (out)’

22.13 Waiting

The verb used to express general waiting or lying in wait is \( t\varphi r \), which takes a direct object.

WH 359: \( w \ t\varphi r \ h\varphi t \)
‘and he lay in wait for animals’

C 420: \( w \ t\varphi r \ s^2 n' \)
‘and he lay in wait for enemies’

A common proverbial expression is \( t\varphi r \ mny \), which translates to ‘and Fate lay in wait’. This is often followed by a prayer for protection:

WH 3133a: \( w \ t\varphi r \ mny \ f \ h \ r\varphi w \ s^3 d \ h \)
‘and Fate lay in wait so, O R\varphi w, help him!’

WAMS 19.2: \( w \ t\varphi r \ mny \ f \ h \ r\varphi w \ f\ell \ h \)
‘and Fate lay in wait so, O R\varphi w, deliver him!’

22.14 Weather

The basic formula used to express waiting for the rains is: \( t\varphi r \ aRT- \ s^4 mny \), or more rarely with the by-form \( t\varphi n\varphi r \).

KRS 1563: \( w \ t\varphi r \ s^4 mny \)
‘and he awaited the rains’

HaNSB 62: \( w \ t\varphi n\varphi r \ h- \ s^4 mny \)
‘and he awaited the rains’
22. In periods of drought, authors sometimes expressed their despair with the formula: *y'sm* (ART) *s'my* 'he despaired of the sky'.

### 22.15 Yearning

The common formula for expressing yearning is *ts^2wq*, which (1) can stand alone or (2) take an object introduced by 'l-. Yearning is often followed by a prayer for *qbll* 'reunion (with loved ones)'.

1. **SIT 58:**  
   \[ l \lg{y} w ts^2wq \]  
   'By {Lgy} and he was filled with longing'

2. **LP 680:**  
   \[ l \ 'm bn \ mny bn 'bd w ts^2wq \ 'l- r'-h \]  
   'By 'm son of lMny son of 'bd and he longed for his friend'
CHAPTER 23

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’r’k bn gmr bn ġr w syr m- s’mwt s’nt ws’q m’s
By S’r’k 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-rḥ w ‘ḥd 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 ‘ṛ ḱl f b s’il 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 ‘mr’ t w ḱlt w ds’r ḱkr t ‘ḥt šrmt w ‘qr b w grm w s’lm bn “ṭl
By Qnm son of ġt son of Šrmt of the lineage of ‘mr’ and, O ḱlt and Ds’r, be mindful of the sister of Šrmt and ‘qr b and Grm and s’lm son of “ṭl.

AKSJ 1.2-3

l hgr w ts’wqt l ‘l’b’
By Hgr and she longed for ‘l’b’
CHAPTER 23

AtlN 3

Ifṣ'1 bnt Bngd d'rlks1 w l-h [h-] rgm
For Ifṣ'1 daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks1 and [this] funerary cairn is hers.

AZNG 1

Ifṣ'2'1 m'n d l's1'1 d w mrd ṯṯ s'hn mn-qbl nfs1 ẓlm f h lt w ds2'r s'lm d ǧnz ẓlm
By Ifṣ'1 son of M'n of the lineage of S'2'd and Nepos, who was oppressive, faced a rebellion for three years, so, O Lt and Ds2'r, keep safe him who was distressed by oppression.

AbaNS 16

Iṣdh bn Mzn h- bkrtn w 'qd -h
By Iṣdh son of Mzn is the she-camel and he struck her.

AbaNS 28

Iṣbn bn 'zz h- bkrtn
By Iṣbn son of 'zz h- Bkrtn

AbaNS 78

Iṣkrn bn 'mr bn s'krn 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 Iṣ'krn son of 'mr son of S'krn 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

Iṣd bn Hn' w mtt w : [n]Iṣ1
For Iṣd2 daughter of Hn' and she died and this [funerary monument] is hers.

AbaNS 286

Iṣ'd bn Gt bn 'd bn qz w s2ry m- 'h -h m'd h-frs1 b- m't
By Iṣ'd son of Gt son of 'd son of Gt and he bought the horse from his brother M'd with a hundred.

AbaNS 383

Iṣm1k bn s'lm bn Gg h- frs1't
By Iṣm'k son of s'lm son of Gg is the mare.

AbaNS 407

Iṣ2kr bn Hf h-hyt
By Iṣ2'kr son of Hf are these animals.

AbaNS 564.1

Iṣ'r bn s2mrh bn lb't h- 'nq
By G'r son of S2'mrh son of Lb't are the she-camels.
AbaNS 656

ls²hyt bn mrtš

By S²hyt son of Mrts

AbaNS 881

hzr bn fršs h-r w yqr w gly ṛrd t

By Hzr son of Frš is this ass and he is cold and cut off in this land.

AbaNS 906

hhd bn {w}{n}{t} f h rd[ w] [s²][ ]d-h w ṣzz b-h ṛrd t

By H ld son of {Wnnt}, so, O [Rdw], [help] him while he raids this land.

AbaNS 1128

ls²d w ṭy ṭl-h w my ṭ-s²m

By S²d and he came to his family because there was water in the north.

AKSD 5

lzζ bn s²lm [d] lrkš² w n{d} [m ]l ² b-h w ²- {t}wd ḥl \{h } w l- s²w hrš w ṭqby yd-h w ds²r lΚš²r ṭwq²-n

By Ζζ son of s²lm [of the lineage of] Rkš and he was devastated by grief [on account of his father and {wδ}, his maternal uncle, and S², while he kept watch; and may he cut off his hand that Ds² be against any destroyer of our inscription.

ANKS 1

lmrd bn mhrβ w s²ty ṭr² l{s²}nt mt ṭbd t ts²wq l-zn² w l- qnm f h lt ṭqbl

By Mrd son of Mhrβ and he spent the winter at Τr² the year ṭbd died and he longed for Zn² and Qnm, so, O Lt, let there be reunion with loved ones.

AsUI 1

lzęd bn m²z bn grm w r²y s²nt ṭys² 妤 h lt s²lm w ṭnμt w h ds²r ḥb s²d l- ṭb t l- ṭhwl$t

By Zyed son of M²z son of Grm and he pastured the year of ṭys² so, O Lt, let there be security and abundance and, O Ds², grant aid to the Nabataeans against Ṭhwl$t.

ASWS 18

lh²y bn ns²l bn shyn w ṭngm l- ṭs²d mt w ṭ- qdm s²by w ṭ- grm² l s²by w ṭ- ṭltt mn l² s²by w ṭ- qdm² s²by w hrš f h lt ṭw h mb ṭl hrs w s²lm l- ṭ s²r w ṭq² t l² ṭ- ṭ l²-ywr

By Ḥy son of Ns²l son of Shyn and he grieved for ṭs²d, who had died, and for Qdm, who was captured, and for Grm², 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.
By Hrs¹ son of Tm and he grieved in the absence of B'l so, O Rdw, let there be ease.

By Syd son of Gn¹ son of Grm¹ and he returned safely to water with the goats the year the sons of "zmy {rebelled}.

By Khl son of Hṭṣ²t of the lineage of S¹d and he sat and wept for his sister who had died.

By Rb¹ son of Ḥmn son of Ṣ'n son of Hyd son of 'dr 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.

By Mġt son of Gn¹ son of Ḥy son of Sbh son of Hy son of Gn¹ son of Whb son of S'r 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.

By Qṣy son of Q'sn son of Ḥlm son of Rwp and the sweet water was brought to an end by the heat, for Leo was hostile, so, O Ṣ²hqm, may he be delivered.

By S'krn son of S''d son of 'b'ns¹ son of S'krn son of Tmn son of Ḥwḍ son of Ḥṣ'n son of Ḥkm son of Ṣlm 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 Nṣn (March–April) because B'lms'smn returned from the inner desert but during the late summer, it did not rain and caused dearth.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

ASWS 217  
{lks'} bn whb'l bn wrl w wld h- m'zy b- knn s'nt nz 'lyhd w bny f' h lt s'lm w  wr l- d 'wr w d h- dr 
By Ksl't 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  
lrbh bn s' l w wld h- m'zy b- ' tlt 
By Rbh son of s' and he helped the goats to give birth in the third (month?).

AWS 8  
{lmgny} bn zb' bn zd'l bn hny bn hdg w ng' 'd wgd 'tr dd -h 
By Mgny son of Zb' son of Zd'l son of Hny son of Hdg and he grieved in pain when he found the trace of his paternal uncle.

AWS 48  
lmt y bn 'dy bn mkbl w wgd s'fr bny m'wr w s' b f twry w l'n w ts'wq l- h' hbc [-h f' h lt s'lm] w qbll w bl 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 Namarah.

AWS 72  
l s'd'dt bn s'bm w r'y h- nhl w s' y' f h rdy gny[t] l- d r'y 
By S'd'dt son of S'bm and he pastured in this valley but experienced want so, O Rdy, may he who would pasture have abundance.

AWS 81  
l s'd bn s'hm bn hl bn s'wd bn l'tmn bn whb'l bn ngbr w wrd b- r'y qbt h- nmrt f' h b'ls'mn rwh b- mtr w s'hm w s'hq w nhq l- m w wld d'y'wr h- s'fr 
By S'd son of S'hm son of Hl son of S'wd son of L'tmn son of Whb'l son of Ngbr and he went to water at Namarah during the rising of Scorpio so, O B'ls'mn, 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 hr bn rb'l bn hmlt w wgd 'tr m -h w b' m -h f ng' f h gd's'wd s'lm w 'wr d 'wr h- s'fr 
By Hr son of Rbl son of Hmlt and he found the traces of his paternal grandfather and maternal grandfather and so he grieved in pain, so, O Gd's'wd, may he be secure, but blind him who would efface.
AWS 218
ls'ld bn s'w't bn lm'w s'ld -h rdw n'm w bd dr wyh brk
By S'l'd son of S'w't son of Lm' and may Rdw help him through divine favor, as there is danger here, and may he bless him.

AWS 264
l hyl bn ddmw w l'n yqtl q ys'lm -h
By Hy'l son of Ddwt and may he who keeps it (the inscription) safe never be killed.

AWS 236
l 'wr bn 'byt bn m's'y'l w h rdw hbr l -h m h
By 'wr son of 'byt son of M's'y'l and, O Rdw, grant him that which would please.

AWS 237
l hzm' bn kn h-gml w qsy -h 'm m 'wr h rdw f1 -y'wr m 'wr w l' yq' b -sdq
By H zm' son of Kn is the camel and he dedicated it (to a deity); if one would efface, O Rdw, 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 s'llk bn rml bn 'bdy h -dr s'nt h -rb' w fsy m h -rsf w twhd w nqm m bn'
By S'llk son of Rml son of 'bdy, at this place the year of abundance, so let there be deliverance from Rsf; and he was alone and so sought vengeance against Bn'.

AWS 302
l mkmd bn hg h -n'mh
By Mkmd son of HG is the ostrich.

AWS 380
l 'n'm bn kn bn nml bn hi/mlh d 'l mht h-dmyt w 'd -h b -yt'
By 'n'm son of Kn son of Nml son of Hi/mlh of the lineage of Mht is this image and he placed it under under the protection of Yt'.

BTH 228
l gzl bn 's1 w trd -h nbt m -'nzt w {s1}dy h -l fl fn'r -hm ffl
By Gzl son of 's1 and the Nabataeans drove him away from 'nzt and so {he set off} on horseback, and then stood guard against them, so let there be deliverance!

BRCM 0194
l s2km bn s2hd ---- bn w'|l|t bn 's1 w wgm 'l -m'y r w 'l -'s1 w 'l -k'dwt w 'l -s'r ---- l w bny' -nf's1 w s'tr
By S2km son of S2hd ---- son of {W'l|t} son of 's1 and he grieved for M'y r and for 's1 and for K'dwt and for S'r ---- 1 while he built the funerary monument and the shelter.
BRenv.H 1

```
 l mlk bn 'md bn ms'k w wgd 'tr ' m - h hmyn f ql h gddf (h)b {l} - {h} [ ] [ ] k -
 s t'd - h w k - wld - h w k - n ' m - h
```

By Mlk son of 'md son of Ms'k and he found the trace of his grandfather
Hmyn (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

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 l frds' l - [d] r s'nt qtl hrb w 'lmn f nw y l - 'nks'r
```

By Frds', at this place the year Hrb and 'lmn fought, then he will migrate
towards 'nks'r.

C 25

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 l gt bn gt w wgd 'tr ' h f w lh ' l - h [ ] ] f hy lt w h s' ms' l 'tn ' l - k m yd - h l - t' r
 m - d ' s' ly
```

By Gt son of Gt and he found the trace of his brother so he was dis-
traught with grief for him. So, O Lt and S' ms' l, 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

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 l mlkn bn m 'n bn s' ms' r h - m s y w hyt
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By Mlkn son of M'n son of S' ms' r the M'site and he journeyed.

C 28

```
 l dr'l bn mty bn rgd bn h dr w byt hyt f t' r h - s' d f h ' l t s' l m
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By Dr'l son of Mty son of Rgd son of Hdr and he spent the night while
journeying, then he awaited [the appearance of] Leo so, O 'lt, may he be
secure.

C 31

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 l s' d bn zhk bn ms' s' r w s' t k y ' l - t f h mn w s' l m m - s' n'
```

By S'd son of Zhk son of Ms' s' r and he petitioned Lt, so show compassion
that he may be secure from enemies.

C 35

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 l s' t d bn hn'l w h t l (k h - d' n t) - - - -
 'By S' d son of Hn'l and [he slaughtered the ewe].'
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C 49

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 l ' s' d bn bwk w nzr
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By 's'd son of Bwk and he stood guard.

C 70

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 l hr bn s' krn bn sbh w h ll h - dr f t' r s' n' f h ' l t s' l m w g nm t
```

By Hr son of S' krn son of Sbh 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-} l'hwbt l'f - h l - 'bd hy 'lt "22
By 'qyn son of {Sfy} and he was treated [with] contempt by l'hwbt who had always been his close companion. 0 'lt, restore [him].

C 76  
l's'wd' bn dhm w rdw fsy l'ms'k h- s'nt m- b's'wyl w gs'm m- s'qim w qnmtn
's'yt
By 's'wd' son of Dhm and may Rdw 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 nsr bn sn 'mn mk w ts'[wq] l- b'l's'my w l- bny dd - h w l- k{l}l qyh
f'Il w ds'r s'bn w qbl'l'h
By S'mt son of Nsr son of Sn' the confidant [or guard] of Mk and he [longed] for B'l's'my and the children of his paternal uncle and {every} qyh, so, O 'lt and D's'r, let there be security and reunion with family.

C 96  
{l} {n} {m} bn flt bn 's'd bn bwk bn 'rs' bn 'wd bn whb'l w qgm 'l- hbb w
'l- hbb w 'l- hbb w hbb w hbb w hbb dgr l- h- 'kyf's'rq b- b: 'bl w ts'wq f'h l't s'l'm
w h 'lt 's'l' qnt l- dy'w'r h- s'fr
{By} {N'm} son of Flt son of 's'd son of Bwk son of 'rs' son of 'wd 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 syr 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 s'rk bn 'dnt bn wrd bn ngbr w syr w tm {h}- s'fr 'l- hrm
f ts'wq 'l- hbb w qgm 'l- mhlm w 'l- hn{q}t
By [Wrd] son of 'dnt son of S'rk son of 'dnt son of Wr'd son of Ngbr and he returned to a place of water and the journey lasted as far as Hwr'n, and so he longed for a loved one and grieved for Mhlm and {Hnqt}.

C 159  
l's'l'm bn kmd h- fr's'
By 's'l'm son of Kmd is the horse.
C 218

lsdy bn hbd bn ysml w hyt gwt h bsl
By Sdy son of Hbd son of Ysml and, O Yt, remove from him [these] misfortunes.

C 220

hhly bn hmlk bn nhd bn hymn bn gdtt w n rfh rdw snt hrb h n{b}tt
By Hly son of Hmlk son of Nhdl son of Hymn son of Gdtt and {he was in need of aid} so, O Rdw, the year of the war of the {Nabataeans}.

C 269

grm bn nr bn hl w rhy h nhl bql b qkr sn labeled gs3m w hnl
By Grm son of Nr son of Hl and he pastured in the valley on fresh herbage during Aquarius the year of Gs3m and Hn'l.

C 272

qmh[z] bn md'l[{]}{]} w rhy h nhl h'bl
By {Qmhz} son of {Md'l} {and} he pastured the camels in the valley.

C 285

bt w nyk b grmh f tm zff qd b3
By Bt and he copulated with Grmh, as he had celebrated the sending of the bride and had been pleased.

C 286

nmn bn mty bn n'mn h gblmt w h rdy 'wr l dy'wr
By N'mn son of Mty son of N'mn is the slave girl so, O Rdy, may he who would efface go blind.

C 300

dd bn dm h hywy
By Dd son of Dm is the animal.

C 304

'wd bn hr d l kbb w qgm l hdn mf hbb -h rjmt mny
By 'wd son of Hr of the lineage of Kkb and he griefed for Hdn his beloved, struck down by Fate.

C 320

whblh bn hrbd bn ykn d l kbb w bh brkt w b(( ))q{l} w hrbd snt r'y l 'wd n'm l 'bd w srt m' b -h {b-} m't frs
By Whblh son of Hrbd 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 'wd pastured the livestock of the lineage of 'bd; and he served with his father in a cavalry unit.

C 325

srn bn rmmmt w 'ymln
By $rn son of Rmmmt and he {went south}. 
C 404  \[l\;w\d\textsuperscript{dn}'l\;bn\;w(l)\;f\;byt\;wn\;w\;n(g)\;r\]
By Wdm'l son of Wl', and so may he camp the night (safely) and {persevere}.

C 407  \[\{l\}\;df\;b[n]\;\textsuperscript{mm}\;hl\;b\;-\;hrmt\]
{By} \{df\;{son of}\;\textsuperscript{mm} while camping near Hrmt.

C 420  \[l\;ms\textsuperscript{lk}\;bn\;ms\textsuperscript{k}'l\;bn\;fltt\;w\;tzh\;s\textsuperscript{2}n\;\]
By Ms'k son of Ms'k'l son of Fltt and he lay in wait for enemies.

C 505  \[l\;hdg\;bn\;s\textsuperscript{wr}\;h\;-\;tn\]
By Hdg son of S'wr is the she-ass.

C 511  \[l\;ht\;bn\;\textsuperscript{mt}\;h\;-\;msbt\;f\;qyt\;bn\;y'd\]
The cult-stone was set up by Ht son of 'mt, so (may it) preserve the sons of Y'd.

C 523  \[l\;lh\;bn\;b'h\textsuperscript{h}h\;bn\;trb\;w\;wrd\;h\;-\;nmrt\;b\;-\;ks'\;mlh\]
By 'lh son of B'hh son of Trb and he went to water at Namârah during the cosmical setting/full moon of Aquarius.

C 527  \[l\;mfny\;bn\;ms\textsuperscript{2}r\;h\;\textsuperscript{nsh}\;f\;yt\;f\;lt\;mn\;s\textsuperscript{q}m\]
The cult-stone was set up by Mfny son of Ms'k'r, so, O Yt', let there be deliverance from illness.

C 663  \[l\;gl\;bn\;ws\textsuperscript{l}\;bn\;s'd\;w\;mty\;tdmr\;f\;h\;lt\;s'lm\]
By 'gl son of 'ws'l son of S'd and he will journey in haste to Palmyra, so, O Lt, let there be security.

C 654  \[l\;s'mk'\textsuperscript{l}\;bn\;tm\;bn\;s'r\;w\;sy\;m\;-\;mdb\;f\;h\;lt\;s'lm\;l\;-\;d\;y'd\;w\;wgm\;l\;-\;h't\]
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 Ht.

C 726  \[l\;s\textsuperscript{2}qr\;bn\;hggt\;w\;hl\;b\;-\;d'n\;h\;-\;h\;-\;dr\]
By S'qr son of Hggt and he camped with his sheep near this place.

C 744  \[l\;s\textsuperscript{d}\;bn\;h[l]\;q\;w\;r'y\;h\;-\;d'n\;f\;h\;lt\;s'lm\;w\;r'y\{h\}-\;wrd\]
By S'd son of {Hlg} and he pastured the sheep so, O Lt, let there be security while pasturing at {h-wrd}.
C 763  
lgrm bn t\textsuperscript{m} bn s\{\textsuperscript{p}\} d w [w]gd ṭr m{[r]}{t} fn{g}'

By Grm son of T\textsuperscript{m} son of {S\textsuperscript{d}} and {he found} the trace of {Mrt}, so he grieved in pain.

C 793  
lḥṣź\textsuperscript{t} bn fltt bn bḥs\textsuperscript{2} bn ḍnt bn s\textsuperscript{l}lm w wgd s\textsuperscript{fr} ṭm-h fn{g}' wrd\textsuperscript{nq} t l-d ṭwr

By Ḥṣź\textsuperscript{t} bn Flt\textsuperscript{t} bn Bḥs\textsuperscript{2} bn ḍnt bn s\textsuperscript{l}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  
lqrn bn mḡyr bn s\{r\} w ḏhh ḟ h gd\textsuperscript{d}wd s\textsuperscript{l}lm w {t}{r} df \{r\} md bqr s\textsuperscript{nt} ṭy - sf qr

By Qrn son of Mḡyr son of S\textsuperscript{r} and he made a sacrifice so, O Gd\textsuperscript{d}wd, let there be security and {recompense} because [the] cattle {perished from cold} the year cold came during the early summer.

C 893  
lmty bn l\textsuperscript{t}mn bn n\textsuperscript{m} bn l\textsuperscript{t}mn bn rgd bn ḡdry w wgm 'l- t\textsuperscript{mr} trḥt w 'l-hyṭ -h ḏ lt w gd\textsuperscript{d}wd ḡyṛt [w] ['] [w][r] [l-] ḏ y\textsuperscript{w}r h-ḥṭ

By Mty son of L\textsuperscript{t}mn son of n\textsuperscript{m} son of L\textsuperscript{t}mn son of Rgd son of ḡdry and he grieved for T\textsuperscript{mr}; who perished, for his younger sister, so, O Lt and Gd\textsuperscript{d}wd, let there be bloody money but may he who would efface this writing [go blind].

C 1071  
l\textsuperscript{s}\textsuperscript{2}ym bn dr\textsuperscript{l} bn ks\textsuperscript{t} w ḏt' h- ḏr

By \textsuperscript{s}\textsuperscript{2}ym son of Dr\textsuperscript{l} son of Ks\textsuperscript{t} and he spent the season of the later rains in this place.

C 1084  
l\textsuperscript{s}\textsuperscript{m}mm bn ṛml w ṛdw ḡnm\textsuperscript{t} s\textsuperscript{b}'

By S\textsuperscript{m}mm son of ṛml and ṛdw, let there be spoil, seven fold!

C 1108  
l\textsuperscript{g}n' b\{n\} ṭnk\textsuperscript{y} ṭ\{b\} y\textsuperscript{t} {w} ḡnn

By 'gn\{n\} {son of} 'nk who is migrating and he will camp the night {and} sit in contemplation (?).

C 1133  
l ḡl\textsuperscript{l} bn s\textsuperscript{2}rb w wgm 'l- \{b\} rs\textsuperscript{2} mtn\{y\}

By ḡL\textsuperscript{1} son of S\textsuperscript{2}rb and he grieved for \{brs\textsuperscript{2}\} who died {at the hand of Fate}.

C 1137  
l\textsuperscript{q}n bn ṭmr bn ṣḍ\textsuperscript{l} w ḏt' ṭwj\textsuperscript{y} hy 'lt m- h's\textsuperscript{1}

By Qn son of ṭmr son of ṣḍ\textsuperscript{l} and he will spend the season of the later rains so, O ḡLt, deliver from misfortune.
CHAPTER 23

C 1148

\[ls't\{b\}n bn m\{l\}\{k\} bn bnt h- 'gml w 'wr l- d ---\]

By \{S'b\}bn son of \{Mlk\} son of Bnt are the camels and may he who ... go blind.

C 1167

\[l 'lht bn \{k\}h\{n\} bn m'z\{z\} bn s'h\{r\} bn 'wd w r'y m'- hl- h 'l- hrm\]

By 'lht son of \{Khn\} son of \{M'zz\} son of \{S'hr\} son of 'wd and he pastured with his maternal uncle as far as \(\text{Hawran}\).

C 1185

\[l qym bn ms^2\{k\}\{s^2\} w mt[y] h- h't\{t\} w l- h- gml f'hy lt s'lm m w 'wr l- d y'wr m'l- h- hy\{q\}\]

For Qym son of \{Ms^2\} 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

\[l \{m\}ty bn s'n bn mty bn \{l\}y d- --- fh gd'wd sl'm m w l- h- mhrt yrbb- h \{w\}\]

\[dny l- h s'mt\{t\} w lt l- 'hl w wk\{s\} w hrs't w 'rg w 'wr l- mn hbl\]

By \{Mty\} son of S'n of Mty son of \{Ly\} of ---- so, O Gd'wd, let there be security while he trains the colt which belongs to him; and \{S'mt\} drew for him, so, O Lt, let there indeed be uncertainty, \{loss\}, dumbness, lameness, and blindness on whosoever would obscure.

C 1206

\[l s'\{r\}\{k\} \{b\}n rml w \(\text{gazz}\) h- nhl\]

By \{S'rk\} \{son of\} Rml and he went on a raid in this valley.

C 1240

\[l gmm bn 'n'm bn 'dnt bn 'n'm bn qdm w syr m- mdbr s'n't hgz - h b's'm\{n\} l- h- mdnt w wrd h- m'qzt b'dr f\{h\} lt s'lm m w 'wr w 'rg l- d y'wr h- h't\]

By Gmm son of 'n'm son of 'dnt son of 'n'm son of Qdm and he returned to a place of water from the inner desert, the year B's'm\{n\} 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

\[h 'lt s'd ysm'l b\{n\} rbbn f'hy\]

O 'Lt, help Y's'm'l \{son of\} Rbbn so that he may live long.

C 1293

\[l ns'\{r\} bn mhlm bn hr'b bn 'dm bn hdg bn s'wr w syr f'wgd hwr'd bql s'n't qdm --- mn h- s'fr w 'wr d y'wr h- s'fr\]

By Ns'r son of Mhlm son of Hrb son of 'dm son of Hdg son of S'wr and he returned to a place of water and found fresh herbage at Hwrd the year of 'qdm ---- mn this writing and blind him who would efface this writing.
C1338  ḷhmël b[n].[n] s²bt bn ktm w rt'y h- 'bl b- r'y dkr bq{l}
By ḥml [son of] {Ns²bt} son of Ktm and he [pastured] the camels during the rising of Aquarius on {fresh herbage}.

C1339  ḷhy'il bn z[n].'[l] dm l- 's'lmn 'dl-h
By Ḥy'il son of {Zn'l} who draws for 's'lm, his companion.

C1341  ḷs²by bn ms²[ ]'[r] b[n] {s²}wd h- dffy w rdbw 'wr m 'wr-h
By S²y son of {Ms²r} [son] of S²wd the ḏf-ite and may Rdw blind whosoever would efface it (the inscription).

C1539  s²mr h[t] h- bt [t]s²wq 'l- lbh
S²mr is [camping] in the tent, [longing] for Lbh.

C1573  ḷhydt bn hbt bn s'mk bn s'wr bn m{q}'[r] bn bdn w wgd 'tr 'ḷḍff̣ wgm 'l- dd-h w tžr h- nhḷ tlt w ----
By Ḥydt son of Ḥbt son of S'mk son of S'wr son of {Mqr} son of Bdn and he found the trace of the lineage of ḏf, so he grieved for his paternal uncle while he waited in the valley for three (days?) and ---

C1607  ḷhlf bn n'mn bn kn w wlh 'l- gs² {-h} h[r]bn f h įt tr
By Ḥlf son of N'mn son of Kn and he was distraught over {his} troop who were {plundered}, so, O Lt, he will have vengeance.

C1615  ḷms'k bn mṛṭn h- dmyt
By Ms'k son of Mrṭn is the image.

C1639  ḷs²'d bn 'bwhb bn 'zz w 'nỵgr f h rdbw rdt
By S²'d son of 'bwhb son of 'zz and he suffered as a hired man so, O Lt, may there be (just) reward.

C1649  ḷs²'d bn ḥls bn n'mn d 'lḍf f s²fr tdmr f h b'l s'lmn w m{g} dtw 'wr l- ḏ 'wr h- s²fr
By 'ṣ'd son of Ḥls son of N'mn of the lineage of ḏf and he will travel to Palmyra, so, O B'ls'mm, let there be security and {glory}; and may he who would efface this writing go blind.

C1658  lwq{r} bn y'l h- gmln qsyn l- 'lt w l- rdbw f h īt 'wr m 'wr h- [h]ṭṭ
By {Wqr} son of Y'l are the two camels which have been dedicated to 'lt and to Rdw, so, O Yṭ', blind whosoever would efface this [writing].
CHAPTER 23

C 1744 lnr bn hmy bn s'krn bn gt bn šbh w hrš f h s²hqm w h lt w b'ls'mn w gd'wd s'lm w tfyt w ġnyt
By Nr son of Hmy son of S'krn son of Gt son of Sbh and he kept watch so, O S²hqm and O Lt and B'ls'mn and Gd'wd, let there be security and fulfillment and abundance.

C 1758 l'm bn {h}r bn 'm bn h{n} d l b'r w wqm 'l- s²y'- h d ns'll b- tbr
By 'm son of {Hr} son of 'm son of {Hn} 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'd bn s'wr bn nqm bn s'wr w hrš f h 'lt s'lm l- h- mtyt hmt w qyt mn- grb h ġyt'
By 'd son of S'wr son of Nqm son of S'wr and he stood watch, so, O 'lt, may the riding camel(s) be secure by means of (divine) protection and protect (them) from scabies, O Yt'.

C 1868 l'bt bn s'd bn tm bn m'z d l qmr w {d}t'h- hns s'nt {h-} rm s²t b- 'blt w whb 'mlk- h 'hrs' wdlmwwbmlz'b'- l-- l--
By 'bt bn S'd bn Tm bn M'z of the lineage of Qmr and {he spent the season of the later rains} (among) the young animals the year the Romans wintered at 'blt and bestowed upon its rulers guards ...

C 1875 l'dn bn 'ws' w s²rqf f h lt hn m b- s'lm bn {w} h lt {w} 'wr l- d {y}'wr h- s'[f]r
By 'dn son of 'ws' 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'krn bn hmy bn s'krn bn gt bn s'r bn šbh bn qš²m w ḥdr f h s²hqm w t' s'lm w wg{m} 'l- gt 'h- h w l- s'krn w l- 'd w l- hll w l- km{d} w l- gt f h g{d} [ ]w d w h lt s'lm l- d s'r w w'wr [-h] h lt w nq't b- w{d}d l- dy'wr h- s'fr
By S'krn son of Hmy son of S'krn son of Gt son of S'r son of Sbh son of Qš²m and he camped by permanent water so, O S²hqm and t', let there be security; and he {grieved} for Gt, his brother, and for S'krn and for 'd and for Hll and for {Kmd} and for Gt, so, O [Gd'wd] 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 zn} zn bn hmy bn y{m} {d} w q[s] ff s'lm w {y} 'wr mn 'wr h- s'fr
By Zn son Hmy 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 s'h lj bn tm bn m'fny bn n'mn w wgd 'tr s'd qbr h- frs'f ng'
By 'h son of S'hI son of Tm son of M'fny son of N'mn and he found
the trace of S'd, the horseman, who was buried, so he grieved in pain.

C.2031  
{Grm} bn mrt bn {Khl} bn wrd bn n'fr w b{y} t h- {d} r f h lt s'lm w nq't b-
rfHmwnq'tb- wdd dy'wr h- s'fr
By {Grm} son of Mrt son of {Khl} son of Wr 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 hbb-h f bky
By Nl son of {Ds'} and he found his loved one and so he wept.

C.2076  
l lt sfy g'd bn 'bt n w s'rt 'l- {h} dq 'bgr b- 'lf rgl w m{f[r]} s'lm w nr h- s'my b-
h- {d[r]} f h lt r{w} h w h b'ls[i]{m}[n] ----
By Lt slave boy of G'd son of 'bt 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 {s'} dl bn zhk bn m's'r w {k} l' h- n'h l hms't wskq
By {S'd} son of Zhk son of M's'r and he {detained} five mobs of driven
cattle in the valley.

C.2104  
l qhs's bn h'dg bn s'wr bn {b} n hmy n w {d} {t} h- n'h l s'nt hl whd f h rdw s'bn
By Qhs's son of H'dg son of S'wr son of Hmy and {he will spend
the season of the later rains} in this valley the year he camped alone, so, O
Rdw, may he be secure.

C.2113  
l 'dnt bn wrd bn {n'm} bn khl bn {m} d' l n'gr w wgm 'l- s'rk qtl w 'l- 'yd
s'hy w l- 'n'm qtl w 'wr l- d'y'wr h- htt
By 'dnt son of Wr son of {n'm} son of KhI son of {m} of the lineage
of N'gr and he grieved for S'rk, who was killed, and for 'yd, who was
captured, and for {n'm}, who was killed, and may he who would efface
this inscription go blind.
By Qhd 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.

By Q’t and, O Rdw, deliver the lineage of Kl’t from Mk’l son of Ms’k.

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 Ks’t.

By Gn son of Hyn son of Hrb and he found the writing of Qhs’ and he grieved in pain for Mty.

By Qd son of Frs’ of the lineage of Df so may he preserve himself during the year of the war of Yzr.

By Sy son of Zmr son of Hzn, at this place.

By ‘wd son of Gnm son of {Ldn} son of S’smt son of Gnm son of ‘nm son of {s} 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.

By ‘gl son of S’ and he grieved for Ks’t, struck down by Fate.

By Tm’l son of Mgny son of S’r {son of} Sbh and he migrated {with} a number of sheep {to the inner desert}, towards {Hrrn}, so, O Lt, may he be secure.

By D’b son of N’mn son of Kn and he hid near Rhbt so, O Lt and Ds’r, let there be security from enemies and spoil.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

C 2396

\[ \text{lh} \text{bn} \ 'mr \ bn \ 'sd \ bn \ qt{[n]} \ h- \ dr \]

By Hl son of 'mr son of 'sd son of {Qt'n}, at this place.

C 2446

\[ \text{l s't'd bn mr' bn nr w wgm} \ [l'] \ 'h-h \ nr \ qt\{l-h} \ 'l- \ [n]bty \ [r} \ y \ n'm \ 'wd \ w \ dff \ h \ lt \ m'nn \ w \ 'lt \ dm \ w \ gd} \ [{w}]d \ w \ gddf \ f'r \ m-d \ 's'l \ w \ wh \ k{[b]} \ \{r} \ s'lhr \ 'l-h-h \ hbb-h \ l-b'd \]

By S't'd 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 'It-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

\[ \text{l s't'd bn 'bd bn s'hr bn 'bd bn 'dm bn ms}{[k]} \ w \ wgd \ 'tr' \ s'y-h \ l \ dff \ b's{l} \ m \ zdl \]

By S't'd 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

\[ \text{l 'tk bn gn'l w gyr} \ [m-] \ mdbr \ dt' \ f's'l \ m-h \ 't'} \]

By 'tk son of Gnl and he returned [from] the inner desert to water in the season of the later rains, so may 't' keep him safe.

C 2670

\[ \text{l z'n bn kmd bn mhyb bn \ 'bd'l w r'ly h- \ 'bl h- nhl bql s'nt q d \ 'l rhy nb't w \ hrs \ hwlt f h} \ {[l} \ t \ s'l \ m] \]

By Z'n son of Kmd son of Mhyb 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 Hwlt, so, O {Lt}, may he be secure.

C 2682

\[ \text{l 'dwl bn \ 'ml bn bddh f rdy gnmt h- s'nt \ mdbr t} \]

By 'dwl son of 'ml son of Bddh so, Rdy, let there be spoil this year in the inner desert itself.

C 2686

\[ \text{l mlk bn znr'l w nq' kbr \ 'l- gyr w gl}{[h]}d \ w \ hrt} \]

By Mlk son of Znr'l and he grieved in pain continuously for Gyr and {Glhd} and Hrt.

C 2713

\[ \{b's't'd bn \ hny bn \ {bd bn s't'd w wgd \ 'tr' \ s'y-h \ f b's'l \ m \ zdl f qsf \ l-h-d'n \ mm- h- \ hs'l} \]

By {bs't'd} son of Hny son of {bd} son of S't'd 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  

By Dr'l son of 's'ym son of Dr'l son of Ks't son of 'bd son of ['s']d son of Bwk son of {'rs'} and he raided Namarah so, O Lt, let there be security in the year of the Jews and he grieved for Nzr and for S'r and for Ksh, so, O Lt, {be with} him who would leave (this inscription) untouched.

C 2830  

By {Hy} son of Mlk son of {S'd} is the she-camel [and] he camped in this place while ill so, O Lt, may he be secure.

C 2832  

By Znn son of {Wdm} son of ['d] son of Gt 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  

By {S'kr'} son of Rmyn son of Mgt 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 Ds^r, let there be vengeance against whoever has taken him away(?).

C 2953  

By Bgl son of Ghf the {'bb-ite} and he dwelt in this land.

C 2964  

By Hmlg son of 'd son of Swr 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  

By Grm'l son of D'b son of Kn and he awaited the Romans so may {weakness be removed} that he may prosper.
By "sM son of Mhlm son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of 's' and he camped here while he awaited the rains, so, O B'ls'mn, send the winds; and may he who would efface this {writing} be scorched by fire.

By Bny son of 'rs' son of 'wd and he pastured the camels in this valley near [M'd?] on fresh herbage.

By Dr'l son of Hdr son of L'tmn son of Rgd 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.

By Mwd and, O Rdw, deliver him from misfortune and nourish Frk son of Ltnh with something of game.

By 's' {son of} W'l son of S^hyt and he {found} the trace of his grandfather, and so he wept while at the cairn.

By S^hr son of Nhk son of {Grzl} and [he kept watch], so, O [Rdw], make distraught and blind whosoever would efface.

By 'fLt' son of [Grm'l] son of Flt and there was snow near this place during {the rising of} Scorpio.

By 'm son of Hy and he pastured {the} camels on the edge of [the] valley during the rising of Aquarius; and he grieved [for] {his} grandfather

By 'gz son of Thb' and Rdw, may his young son/sons be healed from sickness.
C 3466  
*lhl b[n] th fbt*
By Ťl [son of] Th, so may he camp the night (safely).

C 3474  
*l'll bn s'lm bn n'mn w wgm*
By Ťl son of s'lm son of N'mn and he grieved.

C 3680  
*l'n'm bn qhs2 w ģnm s'nt hr t 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'ld {b} {n} {']}{m} h rdw w{h}b rkb t l- bny {d} 'l qm{r}*
By [Dhd] {son} of S'ld {son} of {m}; O Rdw give to Bny {of} the lineage of Qmr a riding camel.

C 3811  
*l'mr bn m bn ws'm w h rdy ģnm t- qm g y' w h lt ġqm mn r frw h*
By 'mr son of m son of Ws'm and, O Rdy, 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 dhd w wgd 'tr 'h-h*
By Bnt son of Dhd and he found the trace of his brother.

C 3929  
*ls2 ddt bn hny bn mlkt bn {'}{d}{r} bn hn*
By S2 ddt son of Hny son of Mlkt son of {'dr} son of Hn'.

C 3931  
*l nsr'l bn gmr h- ḥṭṭ w ḥdr h- dr f h 't' s'lm w ḥrṣ q'sn w fr*
By Nsr'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  
*ls2 ddt bn sbh bn s'hly bn hr [w] {t}2{r} h- {s}my w h lt r{w}h m- d b's1-h*
By S2 ddt son of Sbh 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  
*ls'ld bn bgrt w wgm l- 'h-h ñwr d l{r}rt w {h} lt wḥbt s2n' h bn- yd-h*
By S'ld son of Bgrt and he grieved for his brother Dwr of the lineage of {F'rt} and, {O} Lt, may you give his enemies into his hands.

C 4039  
*l'n'mn bn hbyt w qṣf l- 'l d'b w n'n'l dlnn f h s2hqm s'lm l-hm*
By N'mn son of Hbyt and he was sad on account of the lineage of D'b and N'n'l, who were lost, so, O S2hqm, may they be secure.
C.4068

l's'l bn 'ky w h 't' qyt b- ∼ry ∼hl -h

By 's'l son of 'ky and, O 't', protect Rhy, his maternal uncle.

C.4076

lwblh bn 'bgr bn n'mn w wgm 'l- 'bgr bny -h f h 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

lbrd bn kh bn zmnn w r'y {b-} {n} {y}t h- ∼smk

By Brd son of Kh son of Zmnn and he pastured {while} {migrating} (to/in) Hsmk

C.4261

(----) bn ðlnt w hřs h- s{n}'f h lt s'l'm

---- son of ðlnt and he kept watch for the enemy so, O Lt, let there be security.

C.4332

l{m|g}yr bn 's'l bn {z} bny bn 's'l d 'lg'br w mty s'hnt brh 'qš h- mdnt h lt ġmmt m- s'n' 'bl

By {Mgyr} son of 's'l son of {Zbny} son of 's'l 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 {g} {d} {w} {d} f h rřm w h ymyt w h rdw q{r} {h} qm

By '{n'm} and O {G'd'w}d, O merciful one and O causer of death, and O Rdw, may the people be established (in this place).

C.4384

l's'd bn ġmn d 'l qmr w syd lt wqffΓ Γ l{kl w {q} t -h

By S'd'son of Ġmn of the lineage of Qmr and he hunted until exhaustion, so may he eat and be protected.

C.4443

l{s}nt bn l'tmn bn s{t}nt bn s{r}k 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} sbb fwhl 'l- bn hl -h trh w r'y h- d'n w rřd b- tbr w hl h- s'n] f h lt s'l'm w wgd 'tr 'h -h f ndm

By S'tnt bn L'tmn bn S'tnt bn S'rksbn '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 Sbh 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\textit{mhw}r bn \textit{gfn} bn \textit{\textdagger}nt w \textit{sr} b- \textit{gnt}mt - h s\textsuperscript{nt} \textit{hrb} h- m\textdagger y \textit{l} \textit{rm} b- bsr\{y\} q\textit{trz} By M\textit{hw}r son of \textit{Gfn} son of \textit{\textdagger}nt and he returned to a place of water with his goats the year the Persians waged war upon the people of Rome at \{B\textit{sry}\} q\textit{trz}

C 4452 l \textit{qn}'l bn qhs\textsuperscript{2} bn qn'\textit{l} w \textit{gzz} b- h- m\textsuperscript{zyn} s\textsuperscript{nt} s\textsuperscript{2}ty h- \textit{rm} b- \textit{\{-----\}} By Qn'\textit{l} son of Qhs\textsuperscript{2} son of Qn'\textit{l} and he raided the shepherd the year the Romans spent the winter near ----

C 4457 l \textit{\textdagger}m bn s\textsuperscript{1}d bn ms\textsuperscript{4}k bn rm\textit{mnt} w l \textit{tmn} 'b h'sl bn - h w \{g\}d'\textit{wd} rwh m 's\textsuperscript{1}r w s\textsuperscript{1}lm By \textit{\textdagger}m son of S\textsuperscript{1}d son of Ms\textsuperscript{4}k son of Rm\textit{mnt} and for Tmm, father of H'sl, his son, and may [Gd'\textit{wd}] grant ease to whosoever was captured that he may be secure.

C 4469 l \textit{hlf} bn \textit{hd} w bny h- \textit{zlt} By Hlf son of \textit{hd} and he built the shelter.

C 4481 l \textit{hls} bn g'l bn mtr w bny h- \textit{\{l\}}lt \{s\}nt 'rb h- \textit{bg\textsuperscript{2}yt} \{b\} - h- \textit{rhtbf} flt s\textsuperscript{4}lm w 'wr \{l\} d'y\textsuperscript{wr} By Hls son of G'l son of Mtr and he built the \{small shelter?\} \{the year\} the Arabs of B\textit{g\textsuperscript{2}yt} were \{at\} this Ra\textsuperscript{2}bahah, so Lt, may he be secure, but may he who would efface go blind.

C 4476 l \textit{khl} bn \textit{gt} d \textit{\textdagger}shyn w wgm \textit{\textdagger}l- \textit{ghm} bnt 'n'm mr't - h f\textit{\textdagger}lh \{l\} zd 'qbl - h w t\textit{grf} f'h lt s\textsuperscript{4}lm By Khl son of \textit{Gt} of the lineage of \textit{Shyn} and he grieved for \textit{Ghm} daughter of 'n'm his wife, and then he was distraught \[for\] Zd his kisman, so may he be compensated and, O Lt, may he be secure.

C 4483 l \textit{\textdagger}whb bn \{z\}mbn dt\{r\} f\textit{w}\{y\} \{\}l- \textit{rhtlf} - h ws\textsuperscript{4}q - h - d'\textit{bf} h b\{\}'ls\textsuperscript{m}m s\textsuperscript{4}lm l- n'm \textit{hl} w 'wr \{l\} d'y\textsuperscript{wr} h- s\textsuperscript{fr} w hyy l- d yq'r h- ktb By \textit{\textdagger}whb son of \{Zmr\} son of D\textit{kr} and \{he was mindful\} of his ewe-lamb, which the wolf had seized, so, O B'\textit{ls}mn, 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 4485 l \textit{gnnt} bn \textit{gzyt} bn \textit{hyd} w ng' \textit{\textdagger}l- \textit{k\textsuperscript{2}hb} bn - h w r'y \{h\} \{\}\{b\}l \textit{whd f hy 'lt s\textsuperscript{4}lm By Gnnt son of Gzyt son of Hyd and he grieved in pain for Kl\textit{hb}, his son while he pastured \{the camels\} alone, so, O 'Lt, may he be secure.
C 4842  \(l\ tmn\ bns\ h'wd\ w\ hrs\ f\ rdy\ s'lm\ w\ {n}gw\)
By Tmn son of H'wd and he kept watch so, Rdy, let there be security and {escape} (from harm).

C 4974  \(l\ \{g\} t\ bns\ s'r\ bns\ sbh\ w\ wqgd\ s'fr\ qdm\ f\ bky\)
By \(\{Gt\}\) son of S'\r son of Sbh and he found the writing of Qdm so he wept.

C 4988  \(l'\ n'm\ bns\ s'rk\ bns\ mhlm\ w\ wqgd\ {s'}[fr]\ dd\ f\ ndm\ 'l-\ htn\ -h\ w\ wgm\ 'l-\ g(- - -)
\(hbb\ -h\ w\ 'l-\ {s'}y' -h\ rgmn\ mny\)
By 'n'm son of S'\rk son of Mhlm 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  \(l\ mtl\ bns\ qn\ bns\ 'sr\ bns\ 'sd\ w\ 'wdt\ rdw\)
By Mtl son of Qn son of 'sr son of 'sd and may Rdw grant return.

C 5041  \(l\ h[y]\ bns\ q{s}\ y\ w\ l\ h\ dm\)
By \{Hy\} son of \{Qsy\} and he has indeed drawn.

C 5050  \(l\ s'\d\ bns\ ymlk\ bns\ m{g}\ yr\ bns\ mhlm\ bns\ 'bd\ w\ ndm\ 'l-\ rgl\ w\ wgm\ 'l-\ tm\ w\ 'l-
\(dqt\ w\ 'l-\ hy\ w\ 'l-\ ms^2r\ w\ 'l-\ tm\ w\ 'l-\ ms^1\ w\ s'lt\ \{r\}wh\ 'l-\ s'd\ w\ r'y\ \{h-\}\ m'zy\ d
\lqm(r)\ \{w\}\ byt\ h[w]\ rrd\ \{w\}\ hy[r]\ s'lm\ f\ h\ lt\ s'lm\ l-\ s\lt\ -h\)
By S'\d son of Ymlk son of \{Mgyr\} son of Mhlm 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 Ms^2\r and for Tm and for Ms^1 and \{his\} \{spirit\} was stripped away (by grief) for S'd; 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  \(l\ bq\ bns\ 'ny\ w\ hy\ yt\ 'nqmt\ m-\ d\ rkb\ -h\ f\ h\ rdw\ flt\ -h\)
By Bq son of 'ny and O Yt', let there be retribution against the one who has wronged him and, O Rdw, deliver him!

C 5137  \(l\ \hny\ bns\ s'hr\ bns\ 'br\ bns\ 'dm\ bns\ m{s} k\ w\ h{[l]}l\ 'l-\ dr\)
By \hny son of S'\hr son of 'br son of 'dm son of \{Ms^1\} and \{he camped\} in this place.

C 5182  \(-----\ bns\ mty\ w\ r'y\ h-\ 'bl\ w\ h\ \{lt\}\ \{n\}
-----\ y\ son\ of\ Mty\ and\ he\ pastured\ the\ camels\ so,\ O \{Lt\}, \{help\}\)
CSA 1.2

lṣ²km bn s²d’l bn mqtł bn ḃyn bn km bn ḥš’nt bn ḗln bn qn bn bkr w ṣwy w dt’f lt w ds²r šlm d ’lyṣ²kr w ’lt lt mn yḥbl -h

By S³km son of S³d’l son of Mqtł son of ḃyn son of Km son of ḥš’nt son of ḗln 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 Dṣ²r, may the lineage of Yṣ²kr be secure and may Lt curse whosoever would obscure it.

CSNS 1

lṣyrl bn ’n’m bn ṭf’t d ’ḥzy w ṣq’w w żll ṭ’hr[t] ḳmn’t w žllt d’n -h ḥbs’t l’s²lm

By Ṣyrl son of ’n’m son of ṭf’t 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 Ṣ²lm.

CSNS 65

l Ṿmqm s’q

For Ṿmqm who drove beasts.

CSNS 89

l g{b}{n} [n] {ṣ}r

For {Gbn} who {returned to a place of water}.

CSNS 304

ḥ rd’ s²’d ṭf’t bnt knt

O Ṣd’ help ṭf’t daughter of Knt.

CSNS 324

l ḍrh bn ‘nq bn šlab w s²tw ḥ- ḍr

By Drh son of ’nq son of S²lab and he spent the winter in this place.

CSNS 412

l ’d bnt s¹ bn ḥnl’ d’t ṭ.tm w l -h ṭgm

By ’d daughter of s¹ son of ḥnl of the lineage of ṭm and this funerary cairn is hers.

CSNS 438

lṣʰm bn s³’d ḍ’t ltyr

By S³hm son of s³’d of the lineage of Tyr.

CSNS 517

ḥ rḏw s¹’d bn … bn {q}d[h] ṭ h - mngr w ṣfṭ -h

O Rḏw, help S¹’d son of … son of {Qḏht} the one who is longsuffering, so deliver him!

CSNS 620

l ḫrg bnt ḡt ṭ’ṭ tm w [l] -h ṭgm

By Ḫrg daughter of ḡt of the lineage of ṭm and this cairn is [hers].

CSNS 661

l ḍrh bn qn ḥ- nbṭy

By Drh son of Qn the Nabataean.
CSNS 818  l ḫlm bn s²bn w ḥ ḫlm son of S²bn and he set off at night.

CSNS 957  l hrs¹ bn brzt bn ḳl w ṭṣr ḥmlk ṭy's l- ṭr ṭm- ḥwlt
By Hrs son of Brzt son of ḳl and he awaited ḥmlk (or the king) but lost hope; indeed, he shall have vengeance against the ḥwlt.

CSNS 1004  ṭmlk bn ḥwḏ d ḳmn w ṭy's l- ṭm w ḥwlt ṭs'yd ṭy's ṭl ṭm ṭqtl f ḥlt ṭr ṭm- ṭqtl- ṭh w ṭgm ṭl- ṭbn ḥd ṭh ṭms'by ṭbyt ṭh ṭy
By Mlk son of ḥwḏ of the lineage of ṭmn and he halted on account of a monitor lizard the year ḥm declared war? for ṭm and he mourned for ṭs'yd, who was murdered, so, O ḥt, there shall be vengeance against his murderer; and he mourned for his paternal uncle's son, who was captured, whom ṭayyi' ṭh have captured.

CSNS 1010  ṭmlḥ bn ṣfdy d ṭgrs w ṭgm ṭl ṭswd ṭh ḥ ṭmlḥ son of ṣfdy of the lineage of ṭgrs and he grieved for ṭswd because he had perished.

CSNS 1021  ṭmr bn ṭmr bn brqt ṭl ṭy's ṭh ṭmh
By ṭmr son of ṭmr son of Brqt and for {him} who is loved.

H 457  ṭzd ḫn ṭm' ṭl ḫn ṭfdg ṭh ḫbrtn ṭh ṭzd son of ṭm' son of ṭfdg are {these} two camels.

H 506  ṭkm ḫn ṭn'm ḫn s²rk ḫn ṭkrm ḫn ṭbh ḫn ṭs²m ḫn ṭhr ṭs'nt ṭḥg ṭb'ls'mn ṭl ṭh ḫl ṭs'nt ḫn ḫn ṭwr ṭl ṭdw ṭw ṭh ṭs'fr
By Kmd son of ṭn'm son of S²rk son of S¹km son of ṭbh son of Qs²m and he camped near permanent water the year B'ls'mn withheld [the rain] from it [the land/province] once more so, O ḥt, let there be security and may they who would efface this writing go blind.

H 507  ṭs²mt ḫn ṭzn ḫn ṭkm ḫn ṭy' ṭgdy
By S²mt son of ṭzn 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.
CHAPTER 23

H 763 = LP 1064 + 1065

\[ l \, hl \, bn \, m'n \, bn \, 'dg \, bn \, m'n \, bn \, mlk \, bn \, rgl \, d' \, f'smn \, w \, wld \, h- \, m'zy \, b- \, s'nt \, t'mn \, s'2r \, l \, mlk \, grfs \, f \, hl \, sl'm \, w \, gnm \, t \, d' \, d' \, y \, h- \, s'fr \]

By Hl son of M'n son of 'dg son of M'n son of Mlk son of Rgl of the lineage of F'smn 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

\[ l \, mrt \, bn \, ys'2kr \, bn \, nhbt \, w \, slb \, hbb \, -h \]

By Mrt son of Ys'2kr son of Nhbt and his loved one was crucified.

HaNSB 8

\[ l \, 'dnt \, bn \, 'bd \, w \, r'y \, h- \, - \, b' \, f's'2d \, -h \, r'dw \, w \, 'k' \, h' \, r'dw \, [w] \, r'y \, bql \, ntl \]

By 'dnt son of 'bd and he pastured h--b so may R'dw aid him and may R'dw nourish him and he pastured on fresh herbage ahead of the others.

HaNSB 16

\[ ---- \, w \, gzt \, h- \, s'my \, kl \, h- \, s'nt \]

---- and the sky withheld (the rain) the entire year.

HaNSB 48

\[ l \, 'n'm \, bn \, 'hd \, w \, nzr \, h- \, gs'2 \]

By 'n'm son of 'hd and he stood guard for the troop.

HaNSB 56

\[ l \, srmt \, bn \, qds' \, w \, tdym \, ntl \]

By Srmt son of Qds' and he continued course ahead of the others.

HaNSB 62

\[ l \, s'h't \, bn \, 'rs \, w \, tn'zr \, h- \, s'my \, f'z'n \, h- \, s'nt \]

By s'h't son of 'rs and he awaited the rains, then he journeyed looking for herbage (or water) this year.

HaNSB 117

\[ l \, 'mn \, bn \, mlnk \, h- \, n'm \]

By 'mn son of Mlnk is the ostrich.

HaNSB 184

\[ f'hm \, bn \, ntn \, bn \, 'flt \, bn \, 'ss \, bn \, hr' \, bn \, gml \, w \, hr' \, h- \, dff \, rwh \, b'ls'mn \, w \, nzr \, h- \, s'my \, b- \, 'sh[y] \, w \, mlnk \, f'ny \, kbr \, fwqyt \, m- \, s'2n' \, --- \]

By F'hm son of Ntn son of 'flt son of 'ss son of Hr sn of Gml and he kept watch for the [lineage] of Df, 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  

\[ l\text{hm} 'bn \text{wrd} bn s^2\text{hyt} bn 's^4 w s^2 r q m-hrn b'-bl-h s^2 r b-r'y y'm(r) fh b'l's'mn \]
\[ \text{gyrt} w s'l'm w 'wr m 'wr \]

By Hn son of Wrd son of S\text{²}hyt son of 's\text{¹} and he migrated to the inner desert from the Hrn with his camels to herbage during the rising of \{Capricorn\} and so, O B'l's'mn, let there be abundance that he may be secure, and blind whosoever would efface.

HaNSB 206  

\[ l\text{khl} bn q\text{hs}^2 w 'hd l- s'l'hm h- swy \]

By Khl son of Q\text{hs}² and he placed S\text{¹}hm on the funerary cairn.

HaNSB 218  

\[ l\text{dhd} bn nr bn \text{hrb} bn \text{dhd} bn \text{k\text{tbt}} bn \text{hmyn} w wgm 'l- s'l'm w 'l-\text{gyr} w 'l- "dg w 'l- 'wdn w 'l- 'bl w 'l-\text{hy} w 'l- s'hy f\text{wny} w ngs^2 h- 'bl m-hrn mn-tlg b-r'y ngm \]

By Dhd son of Nr son of Hrb son of Ktbt son of Hmyn and he grieved for S\text{¹}hm and for Gy and for "dg and for 'wdn and for B'l and for Hny and for S\text{¹}hy and he was feeble while he drove the camels from the Hawrān on account of snow (or cold) during the rising of Virgo.

HaNSB 293  

\[ l\text{hs} bn \{r\}myn bn \text{ts}\{r\} bn 'w's\text{l}h bn \text{ts}\{t\} bn g---- bn mhs^1 bn y\text{qn}h bn 'bdlh \]

By Hs son of \{Rmyn\} son of \{Ts\} son of 'w's\text{l}h son of Tts\text{¹} son of G---- son of Mhs\text{¹} son of Y\text{qn}h son of 'bdlh.

HaNSB 304  

\[ l\text{dl} bn s^2\text{rk} bn \text{rbh} d 'l qmr w m\text{ty} f\text{h} s^2 h\text{q}m \text{gnmt} w r\text{my} b-r\text{m} h-h w h\text{zr} b-s'l'-f m\text{mrq} kl s'l's-l'-h fw gd'wd \text{gnmt} w s'l'm w h\text{l}'f'l- s'l'h-h m- 'nb\text{t} w 'wr d \text{hbl} \]

By Dbn of S\text{²}rk son of Rbh of the lineage of Qmr and he journeyed in haste so, O S\text{²}hqm, let there be spoil; and he cast his lance and struck with his sword, then threw off all his bonds, so Gd'wd, let there be spoil, security, and compensation for his weapons from the Nabataeans, and blind him who would obscure (this inscription).

HaNSB 305  

\[ l\text{md'} bn znn'l bn \text{sr\text{h}} bn s\text{²}mt d 'l qmr w m\text{ty} f\text{h} r\text{dy} \text{gnmt} w s'l'm w n\text{sr} l-gs^2-h w m\text{ty} \]

By Md' son of Znn'l son of Sr\text{h} son of S\text{²}mt of the lineage of Qmr and he journeyed in haste so, O Rdy, let there be spoil that he may be secure; and he stood guard for his troop while journering.
CHAPTER 23

HaNSB 307 l's'ldh bn s'li bn zn'l bn hyn d 'lm'yr w d 'lfrt w ts^wq l' 'hly g h llt s'ilm w qbl w ùñmt w bny ' nfs' w d'y l' [l] t' l-mnyhbl-h
By S'^ldh son of s'li son of Zn'l son of Hyn of the lineage of M'yr and of the lineage of Frt 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'ldh w l-h ' frsl
By S'^ldh and the horse is his.

HaNSB 349 l-md'bn bnl bn s'ilm w ùqz b- 'bl
By Md' son of Bnl son of s'ilm and he raided camels.

HaNSB 354 l-kmd bn ns^t l-h- 'hyt
By Kmd son of Ns^t are these animals.

HaNSB 371 l s'lk' bn r'd s'il-d-h r'dw m- h- ns'
By S'^lk' son of R'd, may R'dw aid him against enmity.

HaNSC 5 l hs'r bn kddh h- t'mny w ùqz
By Hs'r son of Kddh, the Tymn-ite, and he went on a raid.

HAUI 70 l s^s'mt bn tm w r'y h- rwdt f h llt s'ilm
By S'^mt son of Tm and he pastured the small meadow so, O Lt, may he be secure.

HAUI 72 l-khs'im bn gn'l bn s^z'r bn gn'l d'l kn w t'mr h- s'nt qsr w h- md'y f h ltw gddf s'ilm w 'wr l- 'wr h- s'fr
By Khs'imn son of Gn'l son of S^z'r son of Gn'l of the lineage of Kn and adversity was widespread the year of Caesar and the Persians so, O Lt and Gddf, may he be secure; and may he who would efface this writing go blind.

HAUI 76 l s'd bn ys^d bn mrm bn fny bn s^z'r w wgrm 'l- hrbb [w] 'l- mr' w l- hs'r f hrbb fyl t gyrt w nq't l- d' y'wr
By S'd son of Ys^d son of Mrm son of Fny son of S^z'r and he grieved for Hrbb [and] for Mr' and for Hs'r, for they were plundered, so, O Lt, let there be blood money; and may he who would efface be thrown from the grave.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

HAUI 125

l z' n bn grm'l bn z' n bn bnt bn z' n bn hts't d l kn w wgd s'fr grm'l f b's'1 mn zll w qnt 'l rm s'nt yhd f h 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 Hts'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 glmt bn mtn bn hny bn ms'k bn s'2rk bn 'bd bn glmt w h'rs h- mlkt f h lt w gd'wd w s'2hqm w ds'2r b- hfrt -k 'wd -k w nq't b- wd[d] d hbl h- s'fr w glnmt l- d 'y h- s'fr w

By S'd son of Glmt son of Mtn son of Hny son of Ms'k son of S'2rk son of 'bd son of Glmt and he kept watch for the queen so, O Lt and Gd'wd and S'2hqm and Ds' 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, 0 {Lt}, may this year bring {reunion} with loved ones.

HCH 10

l s'2' d bn qhs2 w wgm 'l- hdl h- hn' rYM MNY

By S'2' d son Qhs2 and he grieved for his maternal uncle Hn', struck down by Fate.

HCH 37

l s'2' d bn zn bn tlhm w wgm w bny 'l- hn' tRh w rYM MNY

By S'2' d son of Z'n son of Tlhm 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 tbr bn 'zz d 'l hd w wgm 'l- hn' tRh

By Tbr son of 'zz of the lineage of Hd and he grieved for Hn' who had perished.

HCH 53

l S'2' hm bn 'dm bn bh'd d 'l dfw bny 'l- hn'

By S'2' hm son of 'dm son of Bh' of the lineage of Df and he laid a stone upon the funerary cairn of Hn'.

HCH 69

l ms'2' d bn 'hdt bn rmht w wgm 'l- hn' d 'l m's tRh

By Ms'2' d son of 'hdt son of Rmht and he grieved for Hn' of the lineage of M's, who had perished.
l 'wd bn s r bn 'wd bn s l m w 'rf kl - h mt f wdl 'l - h w wgm 'l - hrs w 'l - s 2 tm w 'l - dtm w 'l - gbny w 'l - rmht 't w - h mbrn w hll w gls s'nt qtl hw[s]t w b[y]y 'w hrs d 'l tm fh lt s l m m - b s l

By 'wd son of s r son of 'wd son of 's l m and his maternal uncle came to know death and so he was distraught over him and grieved for Hrs and for S 2 tm and for Dtm and for Gbny and for Rmht, his maternal uncles, who were plundered; and he camped while he halted the year Hwst and {Byg'} fought and kept watch for the lineage of Tm. So, O Lt, may he be secure against misfortune.

lzbdy bn s 2 ms ly w wgm 'l - hn trh w 'l - bdy mqtl fh lt w h ds 2 r r {l} - mn hwlt

By Zbdy son of S 2 ms ly and he grieved for Hn', who had perished, and for 'bdy, who was murdered, so, O Lt and O Ds 2 r, let there be vengeance against Hwlt.

l 'qrbn bn ks t bn s l d h - dmyt zmrt

By 'qrbn son of Ks t son of S l d is this image of a flute-playing girl.

l 'zz bn hn d 'l nmrt w wgm 'l - hn

By 'zz son of Hn' of the people of Nmrt and he grieved for Hn'.

lm'n bn zbd bn 'tk bn zbd w hrs 'l - h - h rdf'bl {h} fh lt w - - - s 2 h - - -

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 - - - s 2 h - - -

lm'n bn 'tm bn 'nhk bn s l d 'l zhr w wgm 'l - kmn mqtl fh lt w ds 2 r f tr r mn-hwlt

By 'm'n son of 'tm son of 'nhk son of 's l of the lineage of Zhr and he grieved for Kmn, who was killed, so, O Lt and Ds 2 r, he will have vengeance against Hwlt.

l '{d}d bn 'qdm w qyz 'l - thrn f thwfv fh lt s l m d 'l hrm

By '{dd} 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 Hrm.

l 'd bn hn'w wgm 'l - rdwt d 'l nmrt bn s l mqtl qtl - h 'l hwlt fh lt w ds 2 r r

By 'd son of Hn' and he grieved for Rdwt of the lineage of Nmrt son of 's l, who was killed; the people of Hwlt killed him, so, O Lt and Ds 2 r, he will have vengeance.
HCH 131

lʼmyt bn ʼkl d lʼhly w ndm ʼl- ʼklb -h dlf f h lt hwr
By ʾmyt son of ʾkl 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

lʼs-ʼ-m bn whblh bn ḩl d lʼhly w ndm ʾl- bn ḩ-h ms/by ḥwlt f n(ʾw)gy f-
myt {k}wy b-l ʾs^2 h ʾh
By ʾs-ʾ-m son of Whblh son of Ḫl of the lineage of Hly and he was devastated by grief on account of the son of his brother, who was taken prisoner by Ḫwlt but then escaped and died while wandering with nothing, O Lḥ.

HCH 191

lʼgt bn ḥnʼ d lʼmrt w ts^s wq [l]- ʾkll ʾs^r ʾsdq
By ḡt son of ḥnʼ of the lineage of ʾmrt and he longed for every righteous kinsman.

HCH 194

lʼnʼm bn qṣmt d lʼmrt w nrfr f ʾs^lm w b{[d]} ʾflt s^nt ʾs^rq rdwt ʾl- ʾhdy l-
ym{n}t
By ʾnʼm son of Qṣmt of the lineage of ʾmrt and he deserted but then surrendered but {afterwards} escaped the year ṛdwt the commander migrated {southward} to the inner desert.

HN 62

l ʾhnlg bn s^lm bn qdm w ṭy h- ṭmty b-hqy -h ṭh b-ls^n mn rwh
By Ṣḥnlg son of Shm son of Qdm and Sagittarius has come with his quiver so, O B^ls^n, send the winds.

HN 161

l ʾdb bn s^hr bn ʾbd bn ʾdm w ʾdt w hrš h- ʾs^2 n n h f h lt s^lm
By Ṣḥ bn of S^hr son of ʾbd son of ʾdm and he spent the season of the later rains (here) and anticipated adversity/enemies so, O Lt, may he be secure.

HshNSMI 5

l ʾhb t bn ḥṣt t bn ʾflt bn bhs^2 bn ʾdnt bn s^lm bn zkr bn tlf t bn ws^2 yt bn ṭf bn ʾgd bn ṭw ʾd ṭ h dmr s^nt mlk grfs bn ḥdrṣ w ṭgd ṭr ṭhlw ḩ-h ṭs^2 ll tm w ṭmr w ṭhwd w zbd ṭng ṭw h ṭs^2 ry w lt n{[n]}mt l- ṭ ḩd ṭ y ṭ w lm yḥbl sl̄fr
By Ṣḥ t son of Ḥṣt son of Flḥ son of Bḥs^2 son of ṭdnt son of ṭs^lm son of Zkr son of ṭFt son of Wṣ^2 yt son of ṭF son of ṭGd son of ṭWʾ ṭw ʾd 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 ṭs^ll and Grm and ṭhwd and Zbd, so he grieved in pain; so, O ṭs^2 ry and ṭt, may he who would read aloud have [divine favor] and may [this] inscription not be effaced.
By Gnm son of Yt’ son of S’h son of ‘bd and by him is the horse which belongs to him.

By ‘hwn son of ‘mdn, at this place near ‘r’l, having journeyed here to find dry herbage.

By Hzr son of Frhz, at this place, having been plundered, he endures.

By Hfhl son of ‘byn and he suffered from the lack of rain but then the season of the later rains came and he collected truffles.

By Y’mr son of {Mswty} son of Frm and he built upon Hist and Mt’t and accepted the bloodwit so, O Lt, let there be closeness (to loved ones?) and a life of ease.

By Gt son of Klb son of Brd and he halted and patrolled and, Lt, let there be security and...

By Hn’ son of ‘kilt and he halted to camp so, O Lt an {Ds’r}, may he be secure.

By {Ms’wl} son of Qsmtn son of Hdd and may ‘It be mindful of ‘Is’ and Rb.

By Dd’l and he longed for {‘bts’n} of the lineage of ‘g’ so may Rdy be mindful of her.

By L’tmn son of Z’kt son of ‘s’lm son of {Mrdy} son of Kwnt and O B’ls’mn make this land abundant quickly.
KhBG 11  l‘wsl bnhgml w qzy
By ‘ws‘l son of Hgml and he raided.

KhBG 315  l‘mr h‘r
By ‘mr is the wild ass

KhBG 330  lgh(r)n bnhmr h*dSYt
By {Ghrn} son of ‘mr is the ibex.

KhBG 345  l‘n‘m bnl‘m d‘lhzzy w qyz l- {g}lnf w l- hdd w thwff {h} lts‘lm w fsy m- b‘{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  lm‘ly bnhrbw s2tw {f}lyt wfl[t] l-h s3n‘
By M‘ly son of Hrb and he wintered at {Flyt} so may he {be delivered}
[from] adversity.

KhNSJ 1  lhnbn‘dr.ld l‘mrt w gls‘mn dmtn mt mltm nbţ
By Hnn son of ‘dr‘l of the lineage of ‘mrt and he halted on account of the
downpour the year king of Nabataea died.

KhNSJ 5  lgrmbnltnbn‘srmt d l‘mrt w syr qyz r‘y
By Grm son of Lt son of Srmt of the lineage of ‘mrt and he returned to a
place of water in the dry season to pasture.

KhMNS 5  ls‘lm bnhg bnhm bnhms‘k’dmnt
By S‘lm son of Hg son of Thm son of Hms‘k are these images.

KhMNS 13  ls‘bnbr’h‘fd
By ‘s‘ son of Br‘h so may he return.

KhMNS 51  lhgg bnrdfwthlyt
By Hgg son of Rdfwt are these animals.

KRS 6  ls2hlskrs‘hs’t wwwgd [r]rr{w}nynwghm fbs‘mzll‘lhmr{r}gmn
mnyw wnhl‘lhml‘bdw l-zkrw l-hūsrgmn mny klhlhmwl-s‘lmlmny s2dd
By S‘hl son of S‘krn son of Hts‘t and he found the [traces] of {Wny} and
Ghm, for those who remain despair on account of those who were struck
down by Fate; and he remained distraught over them forever, and over Zkr and over Hls, all of them struck down by Fate; and a harsh fate befell S\(^{2}\).

KRS 15

\[l qrb bn m'z bn gzlt w wgd sfr ms'k w ng't ft ql w dwy w mty m-gl'd l-tdmr f h s^2hqm s^1bn w gnyt l-d s^2h^s\]

By 'qrb son of Ms'k son of Gzlt and he found the writing of Ms'k 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 S\(^{2}\)hqm, may he who acts nobly have security and abundance.

KRS 18

\[ls^2mt bn s^2krn bn s^2mnt w wgm l- 'qrb w l-hlt -h mn'm trt w hrs f h lt w h s^2hqm wth m d hrs\]

By S^2\(^{2}\)mt son of S^2\(^{2}\)krn son of S^2\(^{2}\)mnt and he grieved for 'qrb and for his maternal aunt, Mn'm, who had died, and he kept watch, so O Lt and O S\(^{2}\)hqm, let there be relief from that against which one must keep watch.

KRS 24

\[l s^2mnt bn s^2krn bn s^2mnt w wgm l- 'hw -h w s^2y' -h hrbn w wdh l- 'bd l- zkr w nzrf h lt w gdfl s^1lm\]

By S^2\(^{2}\)mnt son of S^2\(^{2}\)krn son of S^2\(^{2}\)mnt 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 Gdfl, may he be secure.

KRS 25

\[l 'n'm bn tm bn 'n'm w r'y h- d'n w syr m- mdrb l- hms't rh s^1nt ngy whbl hdy w tw' l- r'- h gb l[fh lt qbl] -h s^1bn w 'wr d'y'wr h- htt\]

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 Whbl 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

\[- - - - - bn s^2rk bn ms^2dt bn syh bn 'bd bn 'm bn \{w\}rm w hrs d b'd m- 's^2y' f h s^2hqm[m] w ds^2[r] w r qbl.l w l'n d'y'wr h- s^2fr\]

- - - - - son of S^2\(^{2}\)rk son of Ms^2\(^{2}\)dt son of Syh son of 'bd son of 'm son of \{Wrm\} and he kept watch for him who was far from companions so, O \{S\(^{2}\)hqm\} and \{ds^2\} and \{r\}, let there be reunion with loved ones but curse him who would efface this inscription.
KRS 30  
*l bn 'nhlh h- dmy w hrs f h sIm 'lh dmt rw(())h*  
By *bn son of *nhlh the Dumite and he kept watch, so, O SIm, god of Dumat, let there be ease.

KRS 37  
*lngm bn 2'n bn rgl bn s'd w s2tt -h nwfy f h lt qbl l - s'lm {']hld + -h +[w] s'lm  l- yh[d] w rg'b- 'bl'r'y []] l- hrt 'fht*  
By Ngm son of Z'n son of Rgl son of S'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 Harrah to pasture on 'awf (plants) of low-lying tracts of land.

KRS 51  
{l} mfny w bny l- ghm h- rgm  
{By} Mfny and he built the funerary cairn for Ghm.

KRS 59  
*l mn bn gn'l bn hy bn s'h bn hy bn [g]n'l bn wnhb w nyk s'lm 'mt s'lm*  
By *mn son of Gn'l son of Hy son of S'h son of Hy son of {Gn'l} son of Whb and he copulated with SUm, the slave-girl of S'Im.

KRS 68  
*l'n'm {b}{n} wrl bn dmy d 't s2ll w h s2'hqm ... f {'}{n}k bg'y -h w qfl'y t -h  
{w} b- hrt-k fttn m- mt*  
By *n'm {son} of Wrl son of Dmy of the lineage of 's'U and, O S'Uhm ... 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 ys'm'l bn ym lbn s'd w wgm 'l- 'h -h 'l- 's'w 'l- 'hd 'h -h f h lt ryh  
w qyt*  
By *dm son of {Ys'm'l} son of Ys'm'l son of S'd and he grieved for his brother, for 's', and for Hd, his brother, so, O Lt, grant ease and protect.

KRS 96  
*l b'drh bn 'lyn bn hngs  
w h rDw hh l -h h- mty*  
By B'drh son of 'lyn son of Hngs2 and, O Rdw, grant him water!

KRS 102  
*l gt bn s2ym bn sn w tzn - my f rDw r(w)h w rDw 'wr d y'wr*  
By Gt son of 's'ym son of Sn and he awaited the rains so may Rdw {grant ease} and may Rdw blind him who would efface.

KRS 109  
*l'hlm bn l'tmn bn 'dnt bn s'Im bn bqlt bn {z}kr bn tf't w rdy 'wr m 'wr*  
By *hlm son of L'tmn son of 'dnt son of 's'lm son of Bqlt son of {Zkr} son of Rft and may Rdy blind whosoever would efface.
KRS 132

l s'ny bn ys'lm bn 'wdn bn mlk bn qhs² bn ḥdg bn s'wr bn {g}<[d]>t bn
'ndt bn ws²y bn ḥmyn bn d̃f w s²[{r} w b's¹ w ḏn w qr l- d'ywr h- s'fr
By S'ny son of Ys'lm son of 'wdn son of Mlk son of Qhs² son of Ḥdg son
of S'wr son of {Gddt} son of 'ndt son of Ws²y son of Ḥmyn son of Df and
may there be separation from kin and despair and contempt and cold
for him who would efface this writing.

KRS 164

l s¹b' bn ghfl w ngy m- {g)qt hbt t f h l̃t w gddf s'lm w mgd w h t̃l q l- h-
sy
By S¹b' son of Ghfl and he escaped from a corrupt [group of men], so, O
Lt and Gddf, let there be security and success while he sets off for ibex
(alone).

KRS 167

l whblh {f}ty l gr̃t w r'y h- q'n f h l̃t s¹lm w ingleton w wgm l- h̃l l h w l- m̃rby
-h zn'w l- htn - h ḥgg w l- htn - h s²'d bn mlk
By Whblh slave of the lineage of Gr̃t 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'w, and his wife's relation, Ḥgg, and his
wife's relation S²'d son of Mlk.

KRS 169

l n'rt bn ḥdmtn trml s'ry bn s'hm w ḡz b- nhlf h yt's¹lm w k' h- s'my
hd{r} mlk f {k} r f'mt fy's² f h b'l's'mn r w h w s¹lm
By N'rt son of Ḥdmtn son of Trml son of S'ry son of S¹hm 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'l's'mn, let there be relief that he remain se-
cure.

KRS 213

l s¹lm bn rgl bn zhm w ṣgd ḥtt ḡyr'lf ng' w qł hbl l̃rn 'n ygLl
By S¹lm son of Rgl son of Zhm and he found the writing of ḡyr'lf so he
grieved in pain and said: may any effacer go mad if it (the inscription)
should be erased.

KRS 225

l mhłm bn 'bd'l bn mhłm s²dt bn l̃mnn w r'y h- 'bl ḥms²'s²rn m fwl[h]
f f h s²'hqm ḡny[t]
By Mḥłm son of 'bd'l son of Mḥłm son of S²dt son of L̃mnn and he
pastured the camels for twenty five years and so was distraught, so, O
S²'hqm, let there be [abundance].
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

KRS 303

l'slm ft[y] ----{d} bn hls w r'y h- d'n w 'dll bd gs 2 w g{d} - l tn's rym s'nt ngy hn' bn lb't hyd (f) h lt s'lm

By 's'llm [slave] of - - - {d} son of Hls 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

ln'my bn brk'l w h y[ f ] s 2 - nh b- d wd

By N'my son of Brk'l and, O [Yt'] join him with the one whom he loved.

KRS 598

lhmy 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 'bt w dhf h s 2 hqm s'lm [m] l h- 'bl mt l- mdbr

By Mty son of 'dy son of Mty son of Mkbl son of DhD and he made a sacrifice so, O S 2 hqm, keep safe what is upon the camels, provisions for the inner desert.

KRS 844

ls'llm bn hms'k h- 'hdt

By S'llm son of Hms'k, at the pool of water.

KRS 896

ly's'llm bn grm'l bn qhs 2 w wgd s'fr s'd f ng' w wrd h- nmrt b- 'mt 'hrt

By Y's'llm son of Grm'l son of Qhs 2 and he found the writing of S'd, so he grieved in pain, then he went to water at Namârah when the sun was in Libra thereafter.

KRS 922

lm'm'm bn s'wdn bn ngr bn grb bn s'llm bn s'id w hrr s' {y} b- hrr f s'llm h lt w rhlt l- wld h yt'

By Mn'm son of S'wdn son of Ngr son of Grb son of S'llm son of S'id and he kept watch for him who toiled near Hawrân, so let there be security, O Lt, and ease, for he was indeed alone, O Yt'.

KRS 926

l 'd{y} bn 'nhm w s'wq mdbr t w wgd 'tr mlk f wlh

By {'dy} son of 'nhm and he drove (beasts) into the inner desert itself and he found the trace of Mk, so he was distraught.

KRS 941

l n'mn bn s'd bn ys'm'l w wgd 'tr s'd f ng' w b's l m zll w rjm m{n} {y} {r} {n} {y} {w} {q} hbl h-tr h w h lt 'wr d y'wr h- s'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 ëyr'l bn 'bdh'kttb bn ëyr'l bn rwh bn hnn'l bn 'dy w t'mr h s^4hys f
h lt w h gdddf w ds^2r w h b'ls'mnn w w w lth gnyt w s^2rq s'nt {n}g{y} mty
hdy f t t t t t t t t t t t

By Whblh son of Gyr'l son of 'bdh'kttb son of Gyr'l son of Rwh son of Hnn'l son of 'dy and scarcity was widespread, so, O Lt and O Gddf and Ds^2r and O B'ls'mnn 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 rdf h d'n ms^2rqt

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 s^2hl bn nis'r'l bn s^2kr'l bn nis'r'l bn gbdy w wd gd tr l'df w rb h qyl hq l't l'slm
w b'n h sbl w {q}m 'bd w h lt {l}'m m hbl m'l hwp

By S^2hl son of Nis'r'l son of S^2kr'l son of Nis'r'l son of Gbdy and he found the trace of the lineage of Df 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 'im bn s'b bn grm'l bn d'b w mrd l h mlkgrfs ks'r {h} sH{s'}[lt]

By 'Im son of S'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 hlf bn n'm bn rb'l bn n'm bn ms^k bn s^2rb bn gilm bn df bn hld d l
d'fw w gm 'l ms^k w l m'n w s'lt h'rs f hlt l'slm w
gmnt l d y w qttl [g]fr

By 'bd son of Hlf son of n'm son of Rb'l son of n'm son of Ms^k son of S^2rb son of Gilm son of Df son of Hld of the lineage of Df and he grieved for Ms^k and for M'n and he served in a troop under the command of Hr, the commander, the year Hrds went to battle, so, O Lt, may he who would read aloud have security and spoil, and {Gfr} went to battle {as well?}.

2 I thank Ali al-Manaser for this reading.
**APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS**

**KRS 1042**

\[l\text{hd} \text{bn}\ l\text{hs} \text{bn}\ t\text{m} \text{bn}\ s\text{hr} \text{bn}\ m\text{fny} \text{bn}\ n\text{mn} \text{w}\ s^2\text{rq}\ f\text{h} \text{lt} \text{w}\ g\text{ddf}s\ l\text{bm} \text{w}\ m\text{gd}\ t\text{w}\ r\text{dy} \text{d} \text{dy} \text{w} \text{l'n} \text{d} \text{ybbi} \text{m'l-} \text{h-} \text{hw[q]}\]

By H'd son of H's son of T'm son of M'ny son of N'mn and he will travel to the inner desert, so O Lt and O G'df, 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**

\[---\text{hb} \text{bn}\ w\text{slt} \text{w}\ w\text{gm} \text{lt}\ \{\text{h}\} \text{-}\text{h} \text{hrf}\ f\text{myt}\]

--- son of W'sl and he grieved for his {brother} H'ry because he had died.

**KRS 1087**

\[l\text{ngr} \text{bn}\ 'hd \text{bn}\ h\text{nn} \text{bn}\ h\text{htmt} \text{bn}\ n'm \text{bn}\ g\text{lmt}\ w\ g\text{dd'}w\ h\{\text{b}\} \text{t'r m-} \text{'lg'} \text{zlmn} \text{fzlmn} \text{f}l\text{tt} \text{lt}\ t'r \text{ld y'wr}\]

By N'sr son of H'd son of H'nn son of H'tmt son of N'm son of G'lmt and O G'd'dw {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**

\[l\text{'m} \text{bn}\ h\text{d} \text{bn}\ b\text{gr} \text{bn}\ s\text{hr} \text{bn}\ s^2\text{httr} \text{w}\ h\{\text{s}\}\text{y} \text{r}\ h- \text{dr m-} \text{dy} \{\text{w}\} \text{hrf} \text{hl-} \text{h} \text{hdr} \text{fh} \text{'hmd w h lt s'lm w g} \text{lmt l-} \text{d y'y'wr}\]

By 'm son of H'd son of B'gr son of S'htr 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**

\[l\text{ms'k} \text{bn}\ s\text{wd} \text{bn}\ z\text{hk} \text{bn}\ m\text{s'w} \text{bn}\ h\text{ylt} \text{bn}\ h\text{bl} \text{bn}\ w\text{hbn} \text{bn}\ q\text{mr} \text{bn}\ r\text{tt} \text{bn}\ s\text{wd} \text{bn}\ w\text{hbl} \text{w} \text{wgd} \text{tr s'2y'} \text{-h} \text{hrbn s'nt qtl mn't ftdq f h lt \text{'wr l-} \text{dy'wr h-} \text{s'fr}\]

By M's'k son of S'wd son of Z'hk son of M's'w son of Mlk son of H'ylt son of H'bl son of W'hbn son of Q'mr son of R'tt son of S'wd son of Wh'b'l and he found the trace of his companions who were plundered the year M'n't was killed, and so he was devastated by grief; so, O Lt, may he who would efface this writing go blind.

**KRS 1287**

\[---\text{lm} \text{bn}\ '\text{dm} \text{bn}\ h\text{dg} \text{bn}\ s\text{wr h-} \text{htf f hy} \text{''lht nq't b-} \text{sdq l-} \text{d y'wr}\]

---lm son of 'd'm son of H'dg son of S'wr is this writing, so, O gods, may he who would efface be thrown out of the grave by a friend.

**KRS 1304**

\[l\text{zn} \text{bn}\ s^2\text{r} \text{d}'l\ \text{kn w mraq} \text{z'd'n} \text{'l m'b f h lt s'lm}\]

By Z'n son of S'^r of the lineage of Kn and he let the sheep of the people of M'b pass by, so, O Lt, let there be security.
By Hz't son of S'km son of Hz't son of Zkr is the camel, which has been dedicated to S'hqm.

By Hz't son of S'km son of Hz't son of Zkr son of Zn'l son of S'b and he put a dead man on a funerary cairn, but found the hn (mark?) of his grandfather, so O Lt and D's'r, may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave.

By Qtl son of Hrs'n son of Qn'l son of Kmd and he was distraught with grief remembering one loved one after another while he looked after those who remain, so O Lt and S'hqm, let there be abundance.

By Mlk son of Bis' son of Ys'wI son of S'd son of V and he patrolled as a part of a cavalry unit on behalf of the lineage of Df so, O Gddf, keep {him} safe!

By Grgs' son of 'qlds'

By Hz't son of S'km son of Hz't son of Zkr son of Zn'l son of S'b and he put a dead man on a funerary cairn, but found the hn (mark?) of his grandfather, so O Lt and D's'r, may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave.

By Qtl son of Hrs'n son of Qn'l son of Kmd and he was distraught with grief remembering one loved one after another while he looked after those who remain, so O Lt and S'hqm, let there be abundance.

By Mlk son of Bis' son of Ys'wI son of S'd son of V and he patrolled as a part of a cavalry unit on behalf of the lineage of Df so, O Gddf, keep {him} safe!

By Grgs' son of 'qlds'

By Hz't son of S'km son of Hz't son of Zkr son of Zn'l son of S'b and he put a dead man on a funerary cairn, but found the hn (mark?) of his grandfather, so O Lt and D's'r, may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave.

By Qtl son of Hrs'n son of Qn'l son of Kmd and he was distraught with grief remembering one loved one after another while he looked after those who remain, so O Lt and S'hqm, let there be abundance.

By Mlk son of Bis' son of Ys'wI son of S'd son of V and he patrolled as a part of a cavalry unit on behalf of the lineage of Df so, O Gddf, keep {him} safe!

By Grgs' son of 'qlds'

By Hz't son of S'km son of Hz't son of Zkr son of Zn'l son of S'b and he put a dead man on a funerary cairn, but found the hn (mark?) of his grandfather, so O Lt and D's'r, may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave.

By Qtl son of Hrs'n son of Qn'l son of Kmd and he was distraught with grief remembering one loved one after another while he looked after those who remain, so O Lt and S'hqm, let there be abundance.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

KRS 1563

l‘dm bn b‘mrh bn ‘bdtn bn s‘mnk bn s‘mnt bn ----l bn qny w tjr ‘s‘my b–mlḥ
‘tq w hṛs h df ‘yr ḥr ṭrw bdd ‘h m–n‘m m–‘yṛt ‘h
By ‘dm son of B‘mrḥ son of ‘bdtn son of S‘mnk son of S‘mnt 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) Df as a hired man, so, O ṭrw, grant him his share in terms of livestock as his compensation.

KRS 1610

---- bn tm h–n‘mnt
---- son of Tm is the ostrich.

KRS 1670

l bns’hṭl w s‘ry l–h– nthl bql kbr
By Bns’hṭl and he travelled by night towards the valley to tall herbage.

KRS 1683

l bny bn wrd bn s‘ḥyt bn ‘s‘l w hḥl h–dṛ b–‘ḥl ‘ḥ–w h ḥr{s} ‘l–‘bl ‘ḥ–f ḥy ṭt w h s‘ḥqm s‘lm w ‘wḍ ‘k w h gd‘wḍ w h gdḍf ‘wṭ ‘km h–‘bl
By Bny son of Wrḍ son of S‘ḥyt son of ‘s‘ and he camped in this place with his family and watched over his camels so, O Lt and O S‘ḥqm, let there be security and your protection; O Gd‘wḍ and O Gdḍf, he has placed the camels under your protection.

KRS 1695

l qdy bn y’s‘l bn drḥ bn ‘nq bn s‘ḥr w ḥṛṣ qn h–mlḥ f ḥ yʾ ṭl t–h w tjr w h ṭrd y ‘yr m ‘yr {–h}
By Qdy son of Y’s‘ son of Drḥ son of ‘nq son of S‘ḥr and he kept watch as a servant of the king so, O Yṭ, may he be delivered and he lay in wait; and, O ṭrd, blind whosoever would efface {it}.

KRS 1706

l ysl‘lm bn ‘wḍn bn mlḥ k w ‘yd h–d‘n b–ḥrn b–r‘y ‘ly f ḥ b‘ls‘mn w h ḏs₂r w lt w s‘ḥqm fṣḥt w ‘wr ḏ y‘wr
By Ys‘lm son of ‘wḍn son of Mlk and he put the sheep in an enclosure in the Ḥawrān during the rising of Taurus, so, O B’ls‘mn and O ḏs₂r and Lt and S‘ḥqm, let there be deliverance and blind him who would efface.

KRS 1761

l‘lmḥ bn mhlm w ṭr y h–‘bl l–h–rmḥ
By ‘lmḥ son of Mḥlm and he pastured the camels for the herdsman.

KRS 1770

l‘dm bn ‘s‘l bn kmd bn ‘s‘l w wrd fṣḥt {–b} ‘mṭn f ṭrwḥ h–b(‘)ls‘mn
By ‘dm bn son of ‘s‘l son of Kmd son of ‘s‘l and he went to water, and then will migrate {when the sun is in} Libra, so send the winds, O B’ls‘mn.
KRS 1852

l š'd bn 'n'm bn rb'l bn 'n'm bn ms'k d l d'f w ħl h- dr s'nt mt y 'dvrn f h lt s'l'm

By š'd son of 'n'm son of Rbl son of 'n'm son of Ms'k of the lineage of Df and he camped at this place the year 'dvrn died, so, O Lt, may he be secure.

KRS 1886

l mġyr bn ms'k bn 'md bn mlk bn qhs² w r'y h- b'l f h s²[h] qm ḫnyt m- r'yt

By Mġyr 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 whbl' bn 'ktb w hrs ḫl- rgl h f h lt s'l'm w ng't l- d y'wr

By Whbl' 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 nr bn ḥfz bn s'wd w h mlk h- s'ny my

By Nr son of Ḥfz son of S'wd and, O master of the sky (i.e., B'ls'mn), let there be water.

KRS 1949

l whbl'h bn 'bd'l w r'y h- rglt nwy w hwf h ---- ds²rs'il'm w rwh

By Whbl'h son of 'bd'l and he pastured the water-course while migrating and he was in fear (of scarcity?) so, O Ds²r, let there be security and ease.

KRS 1964

l dbr bn s'b' bn ḥl w s²ṣ ty 'ny {ṣlt f hls' ḫ- d'n d l hls'

By Dbr son of s'b' son of Ḥl and he wintered suffering {from scarcity}, but he kept the sheep of the lineage of Ḥls safe.

KRS 1965

l ghm bn zhrn bn 'd bn tm bn 'd w ts²wj {l-} hbb b- s²hr s'btf f h lt qbl

By Ghm son of Zhrn son of 'd son of Tm and he longed {for} a friend in the month of S'btf, 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 fh b'ls'mn s'il'm w gyr fh lt qbl(l) ḫl- h s'il'm

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 'ṣr bn grm'l w wgm {l-} bny ṭjm nny w ts²wj {l- ḫl- h f h lt qbl w r'y h- d'n s'nt qbl l hnr qsr l- f[fr][s]

By S'ny son of Syd son of 'ṣr 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 Hawran complained to Caesar about {Philippus}. 
KRS 1975

l 㬂 t bn ʔnh ß bn ʔkr w qɔr t ḥsˈm bnt ʔl-ʰ f nqˈ  ʻBy Hmlt son of Nhb son of Zkr and ḥsˈm, daughter of his maternal uncle, was buried and so he grieved in pain.

KRS 2060

l ʔny bn ʔm bn ʔhl m w ḥrʃ f h ːt sl ʔbm
By ʔny son of Km son of ṭlm and he kept watch, so OLt, may he be secure.

KRS 2340

l ʔnhk bn ʒyɾ bn ʔl k bn ʔld bn ʒyɾ d ʔlm sˈkt w ndn ʔl-ʰ w ʔl- ʔdwd-ʰ ʔrbˈt rˈjm mnˈ w ʔl- ʔhwл-ʰ ʔrbˈt frˈjm mny f h ːt w h ḥsˈr sˈʔqt rḥt ʔsˈt w ʔdr tmnh ʔbn fˈlky
By ʔnhk son of ʒyɾ son of ṭl k son of ṭld son of ʒyɾ of the lineage of Sˈkt 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 Dsˈr, may the kinsfolk of ḥsˈt be crushed and may ṭmnh son of Fˈlky be remembered.

KRS 2409

l ʔḥd ʔ bn wˈl w rˈy h- ʔnh l ṭwy
By ḥd ʔ son of Wˈl and he pastured the valley while migrating.

KRS 2420

l ʔqr b bn ʔnh w rˈy h- mˈzy f hrʃ h- ʔl w rˈd w ʔl- ʔd ʔd ʔd w ḥsˈr sˈʔqt rḥt ʔsˈt w ḥsˈr
By ʔqr b son of Nhb and he pastured the goats and anticipated thirst, and he had come to these regions (?) to raise cairn of ḥsˈr, so, O Bˈlsˈmn, send the winds with rain!

KRS 2453 = mixed Safaitic-Hismaic

l ḥg mt w ḥg ṭrm
fˈnˈykn ʔlf ṭly-h w ṭm-h w ḥ ʔbˈly b w ḥt w ʔm nm
Mṭot has held a feast; the scouter eats
Established is the alternation of his nights and days
Behold, Baˈal is cut off; cut off indeed, but not dead.

KRS 2460

l ʔgnˈt bn ˈysˈ d ʔl df w hrʃ h-ʰ sˈq[[m]] f h ːt nsˈʔlm sˈq ʔm
By Gnˈt son of ˈysˈ of the lineage of Df and he watched over his brother who was sick, so, O Lt, may that which causes sickness be removed!

KRS 2499

l ʔbd w rˈy h- mrb
By ʔbd and he pastured this land with abundant herbage.
KRS 2525  
\[ l^\text{si'd}lh w r'y w \text{s}w \]
By Si'dlh and he pastured but suffered from the lack of rain.

KRS 2556  
\[ l\text{t}br bn \text{s}^\text{z}[r] bn \text{hmnt} w \text{wgm} \text{'l-} \text{gmm w ds}^2r \text{t'r} \]
By Tbr son of s^z[r] son of Hmnt and he grieved for Gmm, so, O Ds^2r, he will have vengeance.

KRS 2568  
\[ l qdm bn mfny bn rmzn w r'y h- 'bl h- s^2q nw'y w t\text{zr} h- s'my f h b'l's'mn r\text{w}h w s'l'm \]
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'l's'mn, send the winds that he may be secure.

KRS 2569  
\[ l zby bn 'brq'n bn sb'h bn hwd bn s'hly bn h'r w h'r's f h l t w d s^2r y s'l'm w 'wrl-d'y' r- s'l'r \]
By Zby son of 'brq'n son of Sb'h son of Hwd son of S'hly son of Hr and he kept watch, so, O Lt and Ds^2r, may he be secure, but may he who would efface this writing go blind.

KRS 2646  
\[ l '{\text{zz}} b{n} kfr'y w hrb kll \]
By '{zz} {son of} Kfr'y and he plundered everything.

KRS 2869  
\[ l m'hl bn hby bn s'd bn gbs^2 bn qflt bn bd'n bn g'l'm bn y'l'y h- \text{sr}t w n\text{qd} w t\text{zr} 'nd \{h\} h l t w r'd'y w d s^2r s'l'm \text{gn}m't \]
By M'hl son of Hby son of S'd son of Gbs^2 son of Qflt son of B'dn son of Glm son of Y'l'y at the structure on high ground, and he was courageous while he stood guard at {it} (the structure); O Lt and R'dy and Ds^2r, let there be security [and] spoil!

KRS 2890  
\[ l s'r bn ws'n bn bnn bn s'ywr bn h's^2 bn h'b't bn 'l bn m\text{nwl w wgm l- '}tw \{h\} \]
By s'r son of Ws'n son of Bnn son of s'ywr son of H's^2 son of H'b't son of '{l} son of M'nwl and he grieved for {his} two brothers.

KRS 2914  
\[ l gr'm'l bn mtn bn yqm bn s^2qr bn g'h'r bn nd' bn s^2ym bn m'n'l bn brz't bn s'\text{r}k bn s'hly bn q'h bn gr bn zm[[]] h r w h'y l t 'w'r m \text{'w}r h- s'l'r w wgd h- m's'b f wgm f'h'y l t r\text{w}h \]
By Gr'm'l son of Mtn son of Yqm son of S^2qr son of G'h'r son of N'd' son of s^2ym son of M'n'l son of Brz't son of s'rk son of S'hly son of Q'h 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 ʾgml w tnzr d ḫbt f h ṛḍ(w) {y}-----
By ʾs²q son of ʾgml and he awaited rain, so, O ṛḍw, {y}-----

KRS 3029  {f} s’ṭd bn ʾn’m bn ḥmlk bn n{ḥ} {dh} w tṣr d mnry f h ṛḍw fsy m- b’s¹ s’ṭd h- ḏfy
By S’ṭd son of ʾn’m son of ḥmlk son of {Nḥd} and Fate lay in wait, so, O ṛḍw, deliver S’ṭd the ḏf-ite from misfortune.

KRS 3074  l sʾqn bn wtr ḫ lʾmrṭ w ʾlt {- ḡb} s¹lm m ʾḏn ṛd ṛdsy m- b’s² ḏ ḏf
By Sʾqn son of Wtr of the lineage of ʾmrṭ and, ṛlt ṣ⁻ ḏb, may he be secure, for ʾn son of ṛnds¹, {the} enemy, has caused him pain.

KRS 3160  l s²ʾl bn ṭṭs¹ bn sʰḥr
By S²ʾl son of ṭṭs¹ son of Sʰḥr

KRS 3239  l ṇṣr bn sʾl’d bn ʾmrṭ h- ṛds¹ ḥn ṛql
For ṇṣr son of sʾl’d son of ʾmrṭ is this {funerary monument}; (so) speak here (i.e. make an invocation here).

KRS 3291  l ʾgrmn w r’y h- ṛbl ṛ- ṛḥl w ṛwr h- ṣʳḥt
By ʾgrmn and he pastured the camels in the valley and went westward to water.

KWQ 119  l s²w’ bn zʾbrn ḫ ʾlt ṛ ḡr ḏn ṛm ṣr ṣr
By S²w’ son of Zʾbrn; O goddess of ṣ⁻ ḡr (?), debase those who would efface.

L 184  l sʾmdʾl bn ḡn h- ṣḥby
By Sʾmdʾl son of ḡn is the gazelle.

LP 82  l sʾṭd bn ṛng [b][n] ḏw[d] h- ṭmwy
By Sʾṭd son of ṛng [son of] [Dwd], the Taymanite.

LP 87  l tmʾl bn ṣṭʾn bn nʾmn bn msʾkʾl bn bs²ʾmt bn ṭwr bn ṭylt bn ṛḍ bn ḥbn bn ṛnʾl ḥn- ḫlwy w ṣfr ṣm rm
By Tmʾl son of ṣṭʾn son of Nʾmn son of Msʾkʾl son of Bs²ʾmt son of ṭwr son of ṭylt son of ṛḍ son of ḥbn son of ṛnʾl the ḥlw-ite and he fled from Rome (i.e. the Romans).

LP 135  l ḥy bn ṣʾly bn ḫwg w ṭw ṣfr ṭḥbʾl ḥll
By ḥy son of ṣʾly son of ḫwg and he found the writing of ṭḥbʾl, a friend.
By Fltt son of Tm son of Fltt son of Bhs² and he camped in this place, then [pastured] the camels, so, O Lh and B’ls³mn, follow the rear guard, then he prostrated.

By Whblh son of Grr son of ‘m³l son of Mtr and he pastured the cattle, so, O Lh, let there be {security}.

By Fltt son of Tm son of Fltt son of {Bhs²} son of’dnt and he camped on the edge of an area of sand, then the lion injured him, so, O Lh, may he be secure.

By Ms⁵k son of Znn¹l son of Nr son of Y’mr and he will set off at night in order to travel towards the inner desert, so O Lh, let there be bounty, that he may be secure from adversity.

By Mlk son of S’d son of Hn¹l son of Ngy and {he camped} in this place and found the inscription of M’r who was imprisoned.

This tomb is for ‘bt son of Zhm.

By ‘d son of ‘d son of Gt and he grieved for Gt, who was killed, so may Lh make him {successful} in his journey; and he grieved for [’sM] and ’rsf.

By ‘d son of Gt son of ‘d son of ‘d son of Gt son of Wdm son of [S’r] son of Sbh 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.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

LP 246

{l}znn bn grs²
By Znn son of Grs²

LP 257

{l}w'd bn ġnm bn ld bn s²mt w {ḥ} {ḥ} bn h l t s'lm h l t {ḥ} rs² l-m mḥbl h-{s}'fr w ġmt l-h
By 'wd son of ġnm son of LD 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] hfl bn 's'd bn gl bn hgm l w ġnm -h b'l's'm[y] m- s²n'['] w wgd '['] t[r] dd fng'
[By] Hfl son of 's'd son of G'l son of Hgml and may {B'l's'my} grant him spoil from {enemies} and he found the [trace] of his paternal uncle so he grieved in pain.

LP 264

lmklt bn 'dyn
By Mklt son of 'dyn.

LP 282

lrbl bn 'nhk h- nqt w h 'lt sm w nq't m- qbr l- d y'wr -nh
By Rbl 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

lmnl bn 'ws²l bn s'hr bn hml w wgd s'fr mn'l w s'fr tm'l w s'fr s'hr ḏln f h l t s'lm l- d s²'r w ngmt m d qtl w wgm 'l- 's² w 'l- wd' w kl ḏll w h b'l's'm mn 'wr d y'wr h- s'fr
By Mn'l son of 'ws²l son of S'hr son of Hml and he found the writing of Mn'l and the writing of Tm'l and the writing of S'hr, 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 's²I and for Wd², both of whom were lost; and, O B'l's'm, blind him who would efface this writing.

LP 306

bn'lh bn 'hlm bn 'zkr w tql 'l- 'h -h w 'l- ['] b- h w 'l- dd -h w qnt h- s²n' f h l t w gd'wd wqyt w wgd 'tr s²y -h fng'
By Bn'lh son of 'hlm 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 Gd'wd, let there be preservation, and he found the traces of his companions, so he grieved in pain.
LP 314

\[ l\ ms'k\ bn\ 'n'm\ bn\ qdm\ w\ wg'\ 'l-\ mgny\ w'\ 'l-\ 'n'm\ w'\ 's'\ d \]

By Ms'k son of 'n'm son of Qdm and he grieved in pain for Mgny and for 'n'm for S'I-d.

LP 317

\[ l\ n[z]r\ bn\ qn'l\ bn\ qhs²\ bn\ hdq\ h-\ nqt\ qsy\ t-\ nh\{y} \]

By {Nzt} son of Qn'l son of Qhs² son of Hdq is the she-camel, which was dedicated to {Nhy}.

LP 319

\[ l\ 'whb\ bn\ 's'w\ bn\ zlm\ h-\ dr \]

By 'Whb son of 's'w son of Zlm, at this place.

LP 325

\[ l\ mtr\ bn\ 'm\ bn\ mtr\ bn\ 'n'm\ bn\ qdm\ d'\ l'\ wd\ w\ dmy\ l-\ h\ w\ hcr\ h-\ nw\ m'\ h-\ h\ m-\ mdbr\ f\ h\ ls'l\ w\ gmnt\ l-\ d\ d'l\ y\ h-\ sjfr\ w'\ wr\ w\ hcr\ l-\ d\ y'wr\ h-\ htt \]

By Mtr son of 'm son of Mtr son of 'n'm son of Qdm of the lineage of 'wd 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

\[ l\ qdm\ bn\ 'n'm\ bn\ mgny\ bn\ mgny\ w\ qyz\ 'l-\ h-\ nmrt\ w\ qnt\ h-\ s²'f\ h\ ls\ l'm \]

By Qdm son of 'n'm son of Mgny son of Mgny 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

\[ l\ hn'\ bn\ s²rk\ bn\ mhlm\ bn\ 'dnt\ bn\ wrd\ bn\ ngr\ d'\ l'\ wd\ w\ wgd\ sjfr\ s²'y-\ h\ f\ ndm\ s'nt\ ws'q\ qbr\ w'\ zz\ h-\ hmy\ y'\ ld'w\ f\ h\ gd'wd\ w\ ds²r\ w\ h\ l't\ m'wn\ s'bn\ l-\ d\ s²'r\ w\ gmnt\ m-\ s²'h\ w\ mhlt\ w\ hcr\ l-\ dg\ h-\ s'f\ w\ gmnt\ l-\ d\ d'y \]

By Hn' son of S²rk son of Mhlm son of 'dnt son of Wrd son of Ngr of the lineage of 'wd 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 'wd, so, O Gd'wdr and Ds²r and O Lt-m'wn, 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

\[ l'\ n'm\ bn\ 'bd\ bn\ 'lht\ bn\ whb\ w\ r'y\ h-\ m'sy\ l-\ nfs¹\ h\ s'nt\ hrb\ l'df\ fqt\ f\ h\ l't\ s'lm\ w\ l'n\ d\ h(b)\ b\ btt \]

By 'n'm son of 'bd son of 'lht son of Whb and he pastured the goats by himself the year the lineage of D'f plundered Tqt, so, O Lt, may he be secure but curse him who would {obscure} this writing.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

LP 409 / l's1 bn's'd bn rb'l w wgds'lfr 'bd w'n'm f'sh l'-d dll
By 's1 son of 's'd 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'1 bn 'zzt h rdw hb l-'bd'l nqmt {h} {l}t n'm mn rh
By 'rbt son of 'db'l son of 'zzt; O Rdw, grant retribution to 'db'l; {O} {Lt}, show favor to whosoever would depart (at night?).

LP 475 / l'mr bn hjmy w ng'db mn- bn {h}
By 'mr son of Hjmy and he was angry because of {his} son.

LP 495 / h rdw flt -n m- bs1 w nhyy
O Rdw, 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 tmtn h-mq'dh-[s][d]
By Grm son of Tmtn, at this hide (seat of hunting).

LP 562.1 / l nn bn nzr'l w wgds lfr 'b-h fng'w l-h d'n
By Nn son of Nzr'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-d 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 dr bn 's'wr w hrs dn frwh h 'lt
By Bddh son of 'yl son of Dr son of 's'wr and he kept watch for Dn so, let there be relief, O 'Lt.

LP 597 / l'dn bn s'd bn s2rk bn rfd bn hd'l bn grm'1 w hrs 'l-rgl -h w h'dr
By Ldn son of S'd son of S2rk son of Rfd son of Hd'l son of Grm'1 and he watched over his men while they camped by permanent water.

LP 619 / l'ms'k'l bn ytm w hyh lt nl s'lm h- mlk
By Ms'k'l son of Ytm and, O Lt, may the king attain security.
LP 643

\[
\text{ls}^2 \text{mt bn gs'm bn s}^2 \text{mt bn hll}'w ng' 'l- s}^2 \text{mt s}'r fh lt y's'lm}
\]

By S'mt son of Gs'm son of S'mt son of Hpl and he grieved in pain for S'mt, who was taken prisoner, so, O Lt, may he be secure.

LP 653\textsuperscript{3}

\[
\text{l mgyr bn mhlm bn 'bd bn m'z bn ms}^2 \text{r w hdr h- dr s'nt lgy[n] grmnsq b-}
\]

By Mgyr son of Mhlm son of 'bd son of M'z son of Ms'\text{r} and he camped by permanent water at this place the year the [legions] of Grmnqs 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 Ns'm, and for Tr, the S'mw-ite.

LP 673

\[
\text{l 'hrb bn s}^2 \text{hl bn 'hrb bn ms'k bn s}^2 \text{rb w bny h- rym w 'wr {l-} d y'wr h- s'fr w nq't b- wdd}
\]

By 'hrb son of S'hl son of 'hrb son of Ms'k son of S'rb 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

\[
\text{l hny bn s'hr bn 'bd bn 'dm bn ms'k bn s}^2 \text{rb w ts}'rdf bn 'h- qtl 'rdt f h lt t'rm m 's'tf[w] \{t\}{b}\{r\} l-hm}
\]

By Hny son of S'h\text{r} son of 'bd son of 'dm son of Ms'k son of S'rb and he despaired of Rd\text{f}, 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

\[
\text{l 'm bn hny bn 'bd w ts}'sq 'l- r' h-}
\]

By 'm son of Hny son of 'bd and he longed for his friend.

LP 684

\[
\text{l s'}r bn tm bn khl w dny ws'ld h- syw f[h] lt w gd'wd}'q't b- wdd {l-} d y'hbl{t} h- ltt}
\]

By S'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.

---

\textsuperscript{3} I thank M.C.A. Macdonald for this reading.
By Zlm son of W'l son of Zlm and he grieved for his father while he built the cairn for S'r, so, O Lt, may he who would read this writing aloud have security and forbearance.

By M'z son of Whb'l son of S'd of the lineage of Df so, O Lt, may you aid whosoever would read this writing aloud.

By T'm son of S'd son of Dr and he went to water during the rising of Pisces [in order to] drink.

By Hmlt {son of} Bnt and his regret for him whom he upset {was evident}.

By S'rk son of Hi son of S'krn son of Sbh and he drove away the wolf which was seeking to copulate, from Mn after it had attacked so, [O Lt let there be security].

By 'm son of Rbn and he came down from Tl'n in order to raid.

By Mlkt son of 'bn and he suffered a loss while {journeying in haste}, so, O D'sr, keep him safe from the authorities.

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.

For M'n son of Glmt son of HI son of Hny son of {Ms'k} and there was commotion (in the land) so 0 Lt, may he be secure while he slumbers
the year XXIV; so, O {Lt} and S^hqm and O {Gd'wd}, 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
\{\{\}h \ 'ty \ d'wt \ w \ zr \ h- \ bny \ s'hbb \ ymmmt \ w \ df^t \ 'tm \ w \ t'h{y} \ h{n}\}
N/A

LP 1265
l's^1 \ bn \ qdm \ bn \ mhlm \ bn \ kh{l} \ w \ wgd \ s'fr \ mty \ fndb \ 'n \ h- \ m{f} \ t \ ((t)) \ {f} \ {r}s^1
By 's^1 son of Qdm son of Mhlm son of \{Kh\} and he found the inscription of Mty, for he went missing from the \{cavalry\} unit.

LP 1261
l dbsy \ bn \ ks't \ d \ nkr \ h- \ s^2n{f}
By Dbsy son of KS^t who contended with the \{enemy\}.

LP 1267
l bbh{f} \ hn \ lhyn \ bn \ hbb \ bn \ kdr \ bn \ thrt \ w \ hy \ f \ h \ {f}'lt \ l- \ {k}'mh \ 'h \ -h{t}
By \{Bh\} son of Lhyn son of Hbb son of Kdr son of THrt and grant long life, O \{Lt\}, to \{K'Mh\}, his brother.

M 358
l rb'l \ bn \ s'd \ bn \ rb'l \ bn \ 'n'm \ bn \ ms'k \ w \ 'lf \ h- \ mrb't \ f \ sy{r} \ b- \ h- \ ms^2ty \ l- \ h- \ nmrt \ f \ h \ b'ls'mn \ rwh \ w \ nq't \ b \ w- \ ---- \ s'hnt \ bhr \ w{k} \ k \ m- \ s"^t
By Rb'l son of 's'd son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of Ms'k 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 Namärah; so, O B'ls'mn, send the winds and ... the year Wk'k departed from Si'.

MA 1
l trm \ bn \ b{n} \ h \ thr \ w \ rdbh \ {l-} \ rdy \ w \ gnm \ nqt
By Trm son of \{Bnn\} and he cleansed and performed a sacrifice \{for\} Rdy that he may grant a she-camel as spoil.

MAHB 2
l qdm \ bn \ ls^2ms^1 \ bn \ z'n \ w \ wgd \ 'tr \ s^2y' \ -h \ fn gn
By Qdm son of Ls^2ms^1 son of Z'n and he found the inscription of his companions and went insane (on account of grief).

MAHB 5
l 'mn \ bn \ kdd \ bn \ qs'm \ w \ r'y \ h- \ rmh \ bql \ w \ km't \ f \ h \ lt \ s'dlm \ m- \ b's^1
By 'mn son of Kdd son of Qs'm 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 \text{n}'\text{mn} \text{bn} \text{hbyt} \text{bn} \text{n\text{s}r} \text{bn} \text{n}'\text{mn} \text{bn} \text{n\text{s}r} \text{bn} \text{w}\text{l} \text{bn} \text{rbn} \text{bn} \text{s}^2\text{r} \text{bn} \text{kn} \text{bn} \text{thrt} \text{bn} \text{hys}\text{r} \text{bn} \text{b}'\text{s}^2 \text{bn} \text{df} \text{w} \text{nsh} \text{'}\text{t}' \text{s}'\text{nt} \text{'}\text{md} \text{gy}\text{s}r \text{h-} \text{mdnt} \text{w} \text{s}'\text{wy} \text{h-} \text{mdnt} \text{w} \text{bhs}' \text{'}\text{l} \text{s}'\text{hm} \text{fhrb} - \text{hm} \text{'}\text{lmk} \text{w} \text{'}m \text{h-} \text{'}\text{bs}^2 \text{w} \text{'s}' \text{d} \text{'}\text{f} \text{r} \text{t} \text{w} \text{d} \text{'lyzr}

By N\text{'mn} \text{son of Hbyt son of Nsr son of N\text{'mn} son of Nsr son of \{Grm\}'l} son of Kn son of N\text{'mn} son of Wl son of Rbn son of B's^2 son of Df and he erected a cult-stone of 't' the year Caesar sent reinforcements to the province and restored order to the province and the lineage of 's'hm was defeated, for the lineage of Mk and 'm the 'bs^2ite and 's' of the lineage of Frt and he/those of the lineage of Yzr had (all) made war upon them.

**MISSI 2**

\[l \text{'tm} \text{bn} \text{rb} \text{[w]} \text{wgd} \text{mly} \text{s}^2\text{r}

By 'tm son of Rb [and] he found the words of S^2r.

**MKJS 1**

\[l \text{'n}'\text{m} \text{bn} \text{ys}' \text{bn} \text{d} \text{bn} \text{'mr} \text{w} \text{s}^2\text{ty} \text{'nzt} \text{nfr} \text{mn} \text{'-} \text{rm}

By 'n'm son of 'ys' son of 'd son of 'mr and he wintered at 'nzt, having fled from the Romans.

**MKMR 9**

\[l \{\}\{w\} \text{bn} \text{bnt} \text{w} \text{nfr} \text{f'y}{d}

By \{wl\} son of Bnt and he fled, then {spent the dry season}.

**MKMR 51**

\[l \text{'}\text{hd} \text{bn} \text{'}\text{hnn} \text{w} \text{gnmt}

By 'hd son of 'hnn and let there be spoil.

**MKOWI 2**

\[l \text{'hl} \text{bn} \text{w}s^2\text{yt} \text{w} \text{hrb} - \text{'-} \text{tlg} \text{w-} \text{s}'\text{myt} \text{hdt}

By 'hl son of Ws^2yt and the snow waged war upon him and the heavens were forbidding.

**MKWS 8**

\[l \text{dl} \text{bn} \text{s}^2\text{rk} \text{bn} \text{rbh} \text{w} \text{knn} \text{f} \text{h} \text{rdy} \text{gnmt} \text{w} \text{s}'\text{l}m \text{w} \text{qbl} \text{d} \text{'}\text{hbb} \text{w} \text{nq}' \text{t} \text{b-} \text{wdd} \text{d} \text{hl} \text{h-} \text{slfr} \text{w} \text{'}\text{mr} \text{h-} \text{mkmn} \text{s}'\text{l} \text{'}y\text{m} \text{fwny} \text{fgd} \text{w} \text{w} \text{s}^2\text{hqm} \text{gnmt} \text{qrb}

By Dl son of S^2rk son of Rbh and he went into hiding, so, O Rdv, 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'wd and S^2hqm, let there be spoil soon!

**MKWS 28**

\[l \text{'}\text{ht} \text{bn} \text{h's}' \text{w} \text{tzy} \text{nmy} \text{w} \text{h} \text{rdw} \text{s}'\text{d} - \text{h} \text{w} \text{'}\text{mr} \text{'}s^2 \text{r} \text{gyd}

By 'ht son of H's' and he awaited Fate and, O Rdw, aid him while constructing ten snares.
By Hlf son of Hrb son of s1 is this writing; O Yt', blind him who would efface them.

By Zd son of Rgl and he pastured the camels in the valley the year the son of Caesar died but he heard that Flfs 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.

By 'qrb son of 'bgr who was a horseman in the troop of the lineage of 'mrt the year Gwt son of Rdwt was announced commander.

By S'd son of Db 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'ls'mn, let there be reunion with loved ones!

By Rb'l son of 'nhk is this writing and, O Lt, may he who would efface be thrown out of the grave.

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.

By 'zhm son of Ghfl son of Znn and whosoever would be {an effacer} of this writing, may his brother be thrown out of the grave.

By Qdm son of Hmy son of 'lg and he grew weak of waiting for the queen.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

Mu 550

h 'lt s'l'd ys'm'l bn fhl 'bd-k
O 'lt aid Ys'm'l son of Fhl, your servant.

Mu 867

l 'bd bn gt bn s'rk w s'ty {b-} 'rq h- nmrt w qyz
By 'bd son of Gt son of S'rk and he wintered {near} the valley of Namarah and spent the dry season (there as well).

MSNS 1

l 'n'm bn gt bn s'hm w wrd h 'dyt h- 'wdy f'b'l's'm nn gyrt w s'l'm m- s'ny
By 'n'm son of Gt son of S'hm and he went to water at this pool of the 'wds-ites, so B'l's'm, let there be blood money and security from enemies.

MSNS 2

l grm'l bn s'd bn qhs'w bgy 'h-h f'bm y'd f qsf
By Grm'l son of S'd son of Qhs 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 'wds-ite(s) son(s) of Trd.

N 101

l 'bd't hn- 'yr
By 'bd't is the small ass.

NRW.D 1

l s'krn bn qdm d 'ls'b w 'ly h- 'fs'1 l- frs' grm'l f h lt lft
By S'krn son of Qdm of the lineage of S'b and he erected these funerary monuments for the horsemen of Grm'l so, O Lt, may you grant compensation.

NSR 82

l gry bn 'dnt bn sr bn hwr w dt'w {s}wy
By Gry son of 'dnt son of Sr son of Hwr and he spent the season of the later rains, but {suffered from the lack of rain}.

NSR 117

l 'tm bn wznt bn w'd w wgm 'l-y's'2b w 'l- s'd'l w 'l- 's'd w 'l- hld w dt'w whd
By 'tm son of Wznt son of W'd and he grieved for Y's'2b and for S'd'l and for 's'd and for Hld and he spent the season of the later rains while being alone.

NST 2

l db bn 'sm d 'l tm w wgm 'l- hld 'ht-h mtt trht w 'bs'l w r'gmt mn[y] mn-mt
By Db son of 'sm of the lineage of Tm and he grieved for Hld, his sister, who died, perished; and he was austere because she was struck down by [Fate] ...
By Š' son of Khl and he grieved for Šg', his brother, struck down by Fate, and the warriors from the lineage of Šbh came to guard the year the lineage of ʿwd waged war upon them near W'l; and may he who would read aloud have spoil but may Ds²r blind him who would obscure.

By Tm son of N'r'l of the lineage of Df and he will journey to the inner desert so, O Lt, let there be bounty that he may be secure.

By ʿs'd son of ʿHmy and the rebel struck out his eye so, O Lt, let there be retribution.

By Gt son of Ms'k son of Hrg son of Ht and he purchased the horse from Mkł for twenty Minas.

By Ms'k son of H{l}{f} son of S%r son of Hd son of Mhrb {of the lineage of} S^ry and he served in a troop under the possessor of authority (a governor?) the year Bnhr took control with 77 archers and two cavalry units.

By Mr' son of Gnn'l son of Mr' son of S^f and he anticipated the affliction of enemies and ... 0 Lt, deliver Șgr' and misfortune be to them who seek (to cause) affliction.

By ʿqrb son of 'bd son of N'mn son of Kn and he passed by Df; and Leo transgressed and ruined the spring, so, O Lt, bless ʿhk ʿd ...
RSIS 204

\[ RSIS \, 204 \quad bll \, bn \, grm \, bn \, drr \, w \, ts^2wqw \, l- \, sh \, w \, l- \, ms^lkt \, w \, hrsw \, h- \, s'nt \, f' \, b'l's^mm \, nw \, rwh \, b- \, m\text{-}trt \]

By Bll son of Grm son of Drr and he (?) longed for Sh and for Ms^lkt while he (?) kept watch this year so, O B'l's^mm, send the winds with rain.

RSIS 324

\[ RSIS \, 324 \quad s^\text{2}tm \, bn \, wtr \, bn \, 'bgr \, d' \, l'frt \, w \, r'yw \, h- \, d'n \, s'nt \, hrb \, yhd \]

By S^2tm 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

\[ RSIS \, 339 \quad s\text{rm} \, bn \, rmmt \, h- \, dr \, h- \, tfl \, w \, wrd \, h- \, b'r \, h- \, nmrt \]

By S\text{rm} son of Rmmt, at this place (of) sediment (?), and he went to water at the well near Namärah.

RSIS 351

\[ RSIS \, 351 \quad l \, s\text{hr} \, bn \, 'bd \, bn \, 'dm \, bn \, ms^l \, bn \, s^2rb \, w \, dkr \, dr \, w \, bk\, y \, 'l- \, 'b- \, h \, w \, 'l- \, 'bd \, w \, dd \, h- \, f\, whl \, 'l- \, d \, dr \, j\, f\, l\, d \, w \, s^2ty \, hrt \, 'wd \, w \, kl \, h- \, dr \, w \, nq^t \, w \, grb \, l- \, dy \, y\, wr \, h- \, htt \]

By S\text{hr} son of 'bd son of 'dm son of Ms^l son of S^2rb and he remembered Dr 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 Harrah again and camped in this place; and may he who would efface this writing have scabies and be thrown from the grave.

Rsh 1

\[ Rsh \, 1 \quad l \, hn' \, bn \, qhf \, w \, bny \, h- \, m\text{-}qrt \]

By Hn' son of Qhf and he built the tomb-chamber.

RVP 7

\[ RVP \, 7 \quad l \, 'zhm \, bn \, nbs^2 \, w \, gzz \, b- \, rhbt \, wrhn \]

By 'zhm son of Nbs^2 and he raided Rhbt over a period of two months.

RWQ 62

\[ RWQ \, 62 \quad l \, 'sk\, lk \, bn \, s^2dd \, w \, h\, yt' \, rwh \, 'ws'h \]

By 'sk\, lk son of S^2dd and, O Yt', grant ease by means of (a) boon(s).

RWQ 73

\[ RWQ \, 73 \quad l \, s'lm\, t \, bn \, bnn \, bn \, brd \, w \, h\, dr \, b- \, 'zmy \, h \, lt \, w \, h \, ds^2r \, l- \, n \, h\, l\wtil \, hd \, 'tm \, w \, wgm \, 'l- \, trm \, f\, h \, lt \, w \, yd \, d^2f \, h \, ds^2r \, m \, zlm \, ms^l \, f\, bqr \]

By S'lm\, t son of Bnn son of Brd and he camped by permanent water near 'zmy; O Lt and O Ds^2r, curse the Hwlt-ites who acted wrongfully, and he grieved for Trm, so, O Lt and O Ds^2r, and even Ds^2r, whosoever would/has oppress(ed) Ms^l, split him in two.

RWQ 117

\[ RWQ \, 117 \quad l \, 'n'm \, bn \, zbdhm \, w \, h\, dr \, w \, wgm \, w \, nsr \]

By 'n'm son of Zbdhm and he camped near water and grieved and was in need of aid.
By Ns^l son of Sbh son of Hi son of Ms% son of Dd and he kept watch on behalf of his companions while they camped near permanent water; and he grieved for Yhy.

By Rm and there was unrest but he did not perish.

By Hrn son of Rbn son of 'mr son of Tyr son of Tyr son of 'grd son of Hn' son of Hrr son of 'd son of 'gs'm son of Mkbl son of Yxr 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 B'lsl'my, send the winds.

By Hd son of Hls son of Tm son of S'hr son of Mfny son of N'mn and he grieved in pain on account of Hnmr.

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.

By S^mk son of S^nf son of 'bd and he raided a part of the Hawran/from Hawran.

By 'qrb son of Grm'l son of Bhtn and he kept watch for 'bgr, his brother, at Šnkkr bordering the river Euphrates, so, O Gddf, let there be security.

By Mn't son of Mgd son of Mr' son of Žnn'l and he found the trace(s) of the lineage of Df erased, plundered by the Nabataeans ... for the province.
RWQ 335

\[ l\text{n}^\prime\text{m}^\prime \text{bn} \text{'s}'^\prime \text{bn} \text{hr} \text{bn} \ldots \text{bn} \text{'dnt} \text{w} \text{r}'y -h \text{'l} \text{hwlt} \text{s}'nt \ldots \text{f} \text{h} \text{lt} \text{'ws}'^\prime \text{d} \text{bn} \text{w} \text{hrs}^\prime \text{b}'s''^\prime \text{w} \text{hr} \text{f} \text{h} \text{lt} \text{wqyt} \]

By \text{`n}'m son of \text{'s}' son of \text{Hr} son of \ldots son of \text{'dnt} and the people of \text{Hwlt} pastured here (or them, i.e. the animals) the year \ldots so, \text{O Lt}, grant a boon and let good fortune be manifest, and he expected misfortune so let there be good, and, \text{O Lt}, let there be protection.

RWQ 339

\[ l\text{bhs}'^2 \text{bn} \text{'dnt} \text{bn} \text{'s}'^\prime \text{bn} \text{cmd} \text{w} \text{r}'y \text{h} - \text{'}rd \text{s}'nt \text{mrq} \text{'}s^2\text{h} \text{d} \text{'}l \text{'mrt} \text{w} \text{qnt} \text{s}'^2\text{n}' \]

By Bhs\text{'s} son of \text{'dnt} son of \text{'s}' son of \text{cmd} and he pastured this valley the year the sheep of the lineage of \text{'mrt} passed by and so he despairs on account of enemies.

RWQ 346

\[ l\text{'s}'^\prime \text{bn} \text{hs''n} \text{bn} \text{hn} \text{nn} \text{d} \text{'l} \text{df} \text{mn} \text{'}l \text{s}'^2\text{w}' \text{s}'nt \text{t}'q\text{lt} \text{'}l \text{df} \text{w} \text{'}l \text{'wd} \]

By \text{'s}' son of \text{Hs'n} son of \text{hn} of the lineage of \text{Df} from the clan (?) of \text{S}'\text{w}' the year the lineage of \text{Df} and the lineage of \text{'wd} formed an alliance.

RWQ 347

\[ l\text{s}'\text{krnn} \text{bn} \text{grm}'l \text{d} \text{'l} \text{s}'^2\text{w}' \text{s}'nt \text{s}'rt \text{'}l \text{df} \text{lt} \text{'}\text{wd} \]

By S'krnn son of Grm'l of the lineage of \text{S}'\text{w}' the year the lineage of \text{Df} served in a troop for the \text{'wd}.

RWQ 349

\[ l\text{'n}'m' \text{bn} \text{'}ws' \text{bn} \text{hl} \text{bn} \text{'s}'\text{hr} \text{bn} \text{'}hnt \text{w} \text{r}'y \text{b}'-l \text{hwlt} \text{s}'nt \text{fg}'t \text{f} \text{h} \text{lt} \text{'ws}' \]

By \text{'n}'m son of \text{ws} son of \text{Hl} son of \text{'s}'hr son of \text{hnt} and he pastured with the people of \text{Hwlt} the year they spread out, so, \text{O Lt}, grant a boon.

RyD 6822

\[ l\text{'}\text{bt} \text{bn} \text{'}qrb \text{d} \text{'}l \text{dm} \text{w} \text{wgm} \text{'}l-\text{'m trh mhl}'l \]

By \text{'bt} son of \text{qrb} of the lineage of \text{dm} and he grieved for \text{'m}, who had perished, while camping.

SIAM 30

\[ l\text{grmt} \text{bt} \text{hr} \text{w} \text{gl's't} \text{'}l-\text{y'}m(\text{P})\text{r} \text{fwg} \text{d} \text{t} \text{s}'fr \text{'}b \text{fwgmt} \text{'l-h} \]

By Grmt \{daughter of\} \text{Hr} and she haulted until (the rising of?) \{Capricorn\} then she [found] the writing of \text{'b} and so she grieved for him.

SESP.D 12

\[ l\text{got} \text{bn} \text{ghfl} \text{bn} \text{zn} \text{bn} \text{zhm} \text{w} \text{d}'t' \text{h} - \text{'}rd \text{d} \text{'}l \text{ngbr} \text{w} \text{'wr} \text{w} \text{'rg} \text{l-} \text{d} \text{y'wr mtl} \text{hwq} \text{w} \text{gnmt} \text{'}bl l-\text{d} \text{df}'y \]

By Gt son of Ghfl son of Znn son of \text{zhm} and he spent the season of the later rains in this valley of the lineage of \text{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.
By Ms'k' son of Hmy and he kept watch for his brothers who were travelling to the inner desert, so, O Lt, may they be secure.

By 'dm son of S'd son of Z'n son of Rgl son of {S'd} son of --- and he grieved for 'sbh and for Ns' and for Rf't and for 's'; and O B'ls'mn, may he who travels to the inner desert have protection.

By 's'd son of 'n'm son of 's'd son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of Ms% son of S^rb and he anticipated want (of rain) so, O S^hqm, let there be security while he awaited the rains during Cancer; so, O B'ls'mn, send the winds with rain, and may he who would efface this writing be thrown from the grave by a loved one.

By Bny son of 's' son of S^dn and he built the shelter with Zn'l.

By "s'd son of S^' son of Hg son of S'wd and he fed the goats on dry fodder the year of misery because B'ls'mn 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.

By Qdm son of Gmm son of 'n'm son of 'dnt of the people of Nqbr and he rebelled the year Qsryn was at this place, having lost his brother 'n'm, who perished, whom fate struck down, and so he was distraught during the journey to reunite with loved ones at Bs''l, 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.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

ShNGA 1  l hmlt bn slm [d] 'l sht 'l [df] w 'yr b- rht 'h 'mrn d 'l g'brt{t} lh [w] tmlh d 
'l 't w dkr 'rhtt 'h f h lt slm w wqyt m b's!
By Hmlt son of Slm [of] the lineage of Shp the lineage of [Df] and 'mrn 
of the lineage of G'brtlh journeyed with his kinsfolk and Tmlh of the 
lineage of 't so may his kinsfolk be remembered, so, O Lt, may he be 
secure and let there be protection from misfortune.

SIJ 37  l trs bn bnklbt bn mtr bn m'z bn fdlg w mlh f h lt slm w fyt m- b's1 ' snt
By Trs son of Bnklbt son of Mtr 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 nzr s'nt hrb t 'wd 'l sbh f h ds2 r slm w qnt 
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 Shb, so, O Ds2 r, let there be security 
and spoil.

SIJ 78  l mty bn hzn w mr'd 'l- rm s'nt 'ty h- mdy bṣry f h lt slm
By Mty son of Hzn and he rebelled against Rome the year the Persians 
came to Bsr, so, O Lt, let there be security.

SIJ 152  l 's'lh'lh bn lbd w wg 'm f'm
By 's'lh'lh son of Lbd and he grieved in pain year after year.

SIJ 274  l hst {w} ds2 r lm [m] hb' b- s'tr
By H lst {and} Ds2 r is all-knowing of [what] is hidden behind veils.

SIJ 2934  l mṣk bn bdbl bn mṣk bn rft w 'ṣly w 'ṣs'm b - 'lh hy l- ḫdy 'zm
By Mṣk son of Bdbl son of Mṣk son of Rft and he made a burnt offering 
and swore by 'fh, who is living, that he shall lead with greatness.

SIJ 352  l s2 bnm qmr bn s2 bnm s1 bn zhr w nfr mn rm w ts3 wq ['t]\l. 'hw n-h l- mdb
By S2 son of Qmr son of S2 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 hlq w {r} y fh {r} {d} w {g} yr
By Wdm son of Hlq and he pastured} so, O {Rdw}, {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 ts^2wq 'l- hm -h zn'l f h lt {'}db l -h ñlm w '{h}t -h rhlt w {s}wn f q[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

lr bn hd d l ms'kt w qss w nzr s^3nt ngyt 'l-mkt
By Rbn son of Hd of the lineage of Ms'kt and he patrolled and stood guard the year the queen was announced.

SIJ 808

lys'm'l {b} {n} ---- wd w nzr s^2{n} 'f h lt fsy
By Ys'm'l {son of} ---- wd and he stood guard against {enemies} so, O Lt, deliver!

SIJ 957

l 'm bn mn f'tw ⟨⟨⟩⟩ mn ḥrt
For 'm son of Mn, so may he come from the Ḥarrah.

SIJ 1008

l ⟨⟨⟩⟩ b'mrh {w} gd'w[d] nw[y] w 'qwy w dt' w qy[z] w s^2ty h - rhbt 'wd w h '{l}t {s}f-hm
By B'mrh and, [Gd'wd], 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 'It, let them (i.e. the seasons) provide sustenance.

SW 168

lznn bn m'hm bn n'my bn lb' w qtl gml-[h] 'wls^4n -h f ḥwb
By Znn son of M'hm son of N'my son of Lb' and [his] camel was killed at the beginning of his journey, so he lamented.

SW 193

lnsr bn 'hd bn hm bn ḥmtm bn 'n'm bn ḡlmnt w ts^2wq 'l- 'h - hm f h lt qbl 'w ñnyt kl 'bd w r'y h - 'bl w 'wr q-d- y'w
By Nṣr son of Ḥd son of Ḥmn son of Ḥmtm son of 'n'm son of Ḡlmnt 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 s^3nt w bh{'} b - 'rs l mnqs l w s^2ty f h yt 'yŋ 'm - h flt mn s^3nt
By Grm son of S^3nt and he rejoiced at the wedding of Mnqs' while wintering, so, O Yt', render his people free from want; may [the] year bring deliverance.
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

UIO 27  
$L PN h$- $hmr$
By PN is the donkey.

UIO 117  
$w myt "$nz - $b - $zrt$
and his she-goats died in the sheepfold.

UIO 183  
$w r'y hry f h lt l 'st d 'dyr$
and he pastured $Hry$, so, O Lt, may you indeed cause hardship to him
who causes anger.

UIO 268  
$h 'lt s^{2(\gamma)} hn w s'lm hn ngr - h$
O $Lt$, want is here is here be here security to preserve him.

UIO 298  
$w r'y s^{2n} qrb f h rdw  \acute{g}w$t$
and he saw an enemy nearby, so, O Rdw, remove affliction!

Vogue 404.1  
$\text{ls}'t \ bn 'ms'l \ bn hn \ bn hnn \ bn s^{2}ht w whlt l - bn - h z'm \ w bny l - bn - h - nfs'1$
By $Ks't$ son of $'ms'$ son of $Hn$ son of $Hnn$ son of $S^{2}ht$ and he was
distraught over his son, who had died, and he built for his son the
funerary monument.

Vogue 404.2  
$l 'n \ bn k's't h - nfs'1$
The funerary monument is for $'n$ son of $Ks't$.

WGGR 1  
$l gs't \ bn hn' w r'y h - q'n w wg'm l - b'ls'mn s'nt mh{l} w lm tmtr h - s'knt bny rdn \hwwt f h lt w s^{2}hqm s'lm w \acute{g}mnt$
By $Gs't$ son of $Hn'$ and he pastured the sheep and grieved for $B'ls'mn$ 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 $S^{2}hqm$, let there be security and spoil.

WH 1  
$l hn' \ bn 'wldn \ bn bny d 'ldf w qbr 'bgr$
By $Hn'$ son of $'wldn$ son of $Bny$ of the lineage of $Df$ and he buried $'bgr$.

WH 15  
$l hts't \ bn s'krn \ bn grml' l w wg'm l - b'gr d 'ldf s'nt ngy \whb'l \hdy$
By $Hts't$ son of $S'krn$ son of $Grml'$ and he grieved for $'bgr$ of the lineage
$Df$ the year $Whb'l$ was announced commander.

WH 30  
$l s'rb \ bn 'hbb \ bn ns^{2}wn h r'y h - rhb$
By $S^{2}rb$ son of $'hbb$ son of $Ns^{2}wn$; he pastured these spacious tracts.
WH 65  
\( l\, ng\, \text{nt} \, bn \, `s^2lb \, w \, gzz \, h- \, nhl \)
By Nz\text{mt} son of `s\text{nt} and he raided in this valley.

WH 116  
\( l\, \{g\},m\, \text{bn} \, bt \, bn \, `mr \, bn \, mlkt \, w \, ly\{b\} \)  
\( `l\), m\text{hbb} \, hb \)
By \{Gtm\} son of Bt son of `mr son of Mlkt and he lamented greatly {over} a loved one.

WH 128  
\( l\, zn\, l\, bn \, rgl \, w \, whd \, gzz \)
By Zn\text{l} son of Rgl and he was alone after having gone on a raid.

WH 135  
\( l\, qny\, f\, h\, \text{lt} \, qbll \, `hl\, s\text{l}m\, f\, nngy \)
By Qny so, O Lt, let there be reunion with (my) family that we/I may be saved.

WH 138  
\( l\, mlyt\, bn\, znn\, h- \, mzr \)
By Mlyt son of Znn, at this look-out.

WH 153  
\( l\, s^2mt\, bn\, `bd\, bn\, `gt\, bn\, s^2rk\, bn\, s^k\text{rn} \, w \, ngy \, m- \, hwlt\, f\, h\, lt\, s\text{l}m\, l- \, d\, s^t\, r\, w \, `wr\, l- \, dy\, `wr\, h- \, s^ftr \)
By S\text{nt} son of `bd son of `Gt son of S\text{rk} son of S\text{k}\text{rn} and he escaped from the Hwlt 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  
\( l\, wd\, bn\, ytm\, bn\, wd\, bn\, ytm\, w\, r^y\, h- \, m^z\text{yf}\, f\, h\, lt\, s\text{l}m\, w\, wqyt\, m- \, b^s^1 \)
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  
\( l\, frhz\, bn\, kmd\, w\, trd\, mn- \, h\text{rn}\, f\, r^y\, k\text{ll}\, r\text{d} \)
By Frhz son of Kmd and he was driven from Ἁ\text{w}\text{r}\text{g}\text{n}, so he pastured every region.

WH 179  
\( l\, nd\, bn\, dl\, bn\, rbn\, w\, gzz\, b- \, h\text{rt}\, tbl\, h- \, bk\text{rt}\, m- \, m\text{rn} \)
By Nd\text{d} son of Dl son of Rbn and he raided the Ἁ\text{r}\text{h}\text{r}ra to bring (back) the she-camel(s) from M\text{rn}.

WH 181  
\( l\, `n\text{m}\, bn\, mg\text{ny} \, bn\, w\text{hs}^2 \, w\, wgm\, l- \, m\text{r}\text{r}\, w\, l- \, dh\{n\} \, tr\text{hn} \, w\, dt\, h- \, m\text{s}^n\text{nn}\, f\, h\, lt\, s\text{l}m\, w\, nq\, t\, b- \, sdq\, l- \, dy\text{bbl}\, h- \, h\text{f} \)
By `n\text{m} son of Mg\text{ny} son of Whs\text{nt} and he grieved for M\text{r} 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  lṣm bn {b}ḫr h-bkrt
By $m son of {Bḥr} are the two she-camels.

WH 214  lmt� bt ḫr’t
By Mty daughter of Ḫr’t

WH 234  lẓ’n bn ‘n w bny ‘r-rgm
By Z’n son of ‘n and he built the cairn.

WH 289  l’dl bn ‘mr’l w qyṣ brkt
By D’l son of ‘mr’l and he spent the summer at Brkt.

WH 318  lmlṭ bn źnn h-mẓr
By Mlṭ son of źnn, at the look-out point.

WH 325  l’słm w ḏt’ b-h ‘bl w ṣqd ṣr ‘m-h
By ‘slmü and he spent the season of the later rains with the camels and he found the trace of his grandfather.

WH 329  lṣ’d bn ṣbh h-rgm
This funerary cairn is for S’d son of ṣbh.

WH 345  lkt {b}t ḥ d ‘l-n----
By Kṭ {daughter of} ‘ḥ of the lineage of N----

WH 351  l’h bn ṣḍ‘ w s‘r-h ṣr ḫyt
By ‘ḥ son of ṣḍ‘ and images of animals pleased him.

WH 359  lṣrm bn ṛmmt w ṣr ḫyt
By Šrm son of ṛmmt and he lay in wait for animals.

WH 368  l bny bn s’hml bn qḥs^2 h-hytt w h lt ‘wr w ‘rg w ḫrs’ w ṣrb w ḥkk l-d y’wr h-sřfr
By Bny son of S’hml son of Qḥs^2 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.
By Rgl son of S^hm and he rejoiced on account of the wedding of 'ys^.

By 'wdn son of Zn'l and he mourned for Zn'l and he was cautious on account of enemies so, O B'lsm'mn, let there be deliverance.

By Zn'l son of Rgl son of Grml son of Qhs^ son of Hdg son of S'wr son of Hmyn son of Gdtt son of N'dt son of Ws'^yt son of Df and, O Lt, may he who would efface this writing go blind; and he found the traces of his forefathers.

By S^rqt the Hrt{-ite} is the camel.

By Bs'' son of {K"mn} and he pastured on fresh herbage alone.

By Frhz son of Fr'

By Kmd son of S^kr son of Nsr'l and he followed the sheep towards the inner desert while he anticipated illness so, O Lt, grant ease.

This funerary monument is for 'Itrm.

By L'bn and he pastured in this place for a month.

By Qddm son of Qym and he stood guard on behalf of the troop so, O Lt, may he be secure.

By Hk nf son of 'mrt is this burnt offering.
WH 610  
L qdm bn qym w nzr l- ms^rt s'nt 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'hr bn tm w nzr f gddf s'bn m- s^n' s'bn l- d d'y
By 'qrb son of s'hr 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 tngz r d mny
By 'sm and Fate lay in wait.

WH 632  
L qhs^2 bn hn' bn qhs^2 w km'
By Qhs^2 son of Hn' son of Qhs^2 and he collected truffles.

WH 641.1  
Lfty bn rwd w byt b- h- 'rd wrh b- bql w flt -h m- lhyn h- s'^nt
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 s^br bn 'nm bn s^br bn s^ry w hyt mddb
By S^br son of 'nm son of S^br son of S^ry and he journeyed to the inner desert.

WH 766  
L h'wdd bn hbb h- mdt'
By H'wdd son of Hbb, at the spring pasture.

WH 784  
L 'bd bn y'tt w r'y b- rd w mddb w b- 'ls^1
By 'bd son of Y'tt and he pastured on meadows and in the inner desert and on grainland (?).

WH 837  
L hrb bn qlds^1 bn k'mh bn g'dtt
By Hrb son of qlds^1 son of K'mh son of G'dtt

WH 852  
L hyl' bn rb'l h- lby'
By Hyl' son of Rb'l, the Lb't-ite.

WH 1019  
L tm bn hts^1 t w q{s}s^f h lt s'lm
By Tm son of Hts^1 and he {patrolled} so, O Lt, may he be secure.

WH 1022  
L hdm bn gt w y's^1 -h hytn m----- s'lm
By Hdm son of Gt and travelling made him sad ...
WH 1060 \( l s'l \text{ bn qdm h'-dfy} \)
By Rs'l son of Qdm the Df-ite.

WH 1136 \( l's' \text{ bn kmd bn 's' } w qbr 'h'-h \)
By 's' son of Kmd son of 's' and he buried his brother.

WH 1191 \( l'm \text{ bn } gyz \text{ bn yqmm } [b][n] \text{ gr } bn \text{ yt' } bn \text{ gr } bn \text{ zmhr } w \text{ bny } [n] f's'w qyz \)
By 'm son of Gyz son of Yqmm [son of] Grson of Yt' son of Gr son of Zmhr and he built the [funerary monument] while he spent the summer.

WH 1193 \( l'h's' \text{ bn zgr } h'-dr 'm f'm l- brkt } \)
By H's' son of Zgr, at the place, year after year on the way to Brkt.

WH 1234 \( ---- bn \text{ kmd } w ['q']d \text{ h'-nqt } h'-\text{hbg} [y] w \text{ knf'}l'- 'br'-h \)
---- son of Kmd and he {struck} the stinking she-camel and then he showed mercy on account of her trembling in fear.

WH 1236 \( l s'rq't \text{ h- hrt} [y] \text{ h- bkrt} \)
By Srq't the Hrt-ite is the she-camel.

WH 1243 \( l'dh \text{ bn } hgr \text{ w twlh } mt \text{ w ns' } f'h \text{ brkt} \)
By 'dh son of 'hgr and he was made to grieve by death (or Môt) so he went forth towards Ns' for he was at Brkt.

WH 1361 \( lzhyn \text{ bn } g'l \text{ w } \{r\}'[y] \text{ m'dbr } \{n\}w y s^2'ly \)
By Zhyn son of G'l and {he pastured} {in the inner desert} {while migrating}in the winter.

WH 1403.2 \( {l}\{w\} \{f\} \{k\} \{g\} h'r[f][l] \{m\} \{n\} gs^2'nd\{g\}k w 'n frds' \text{ bn } 'rdl } \)
... And I am Frds' son of 'rdl

WH 1516 \( l s'ddt h- m\{z\}(\)(r)w 'h'd klb -h d'b \)
By S'ddt, at this {look-out point}, and a wolf {carried off} his dog.

WH 1546 \( l hgt \text{ bn } \{d\}m \)
By Bgt son of {Dm}.

WH 1613 \( l'mld \text{ bn ghr } bn hs^2 \)
By 'mld son of Ghr son of Hs^2
APPENDIX OF INSCRIPTIONS

WH 1648

l’ws’d bn ḡs’m h- ‘tn
By ’ws’d son of ḡs’m is the she-ass

WH 1663

l ‘tq bn ḏl bn ḫb h- mnzr
By ‘tq son of ḏl son of ḫb, at the look-out point.

WH 1696

l ḡrm’l bn ḡyrl bn ṣbh w ḫrs ḡw h- ṣfṣ hqm ḡy l- ḫm ’n ḡ- b’s
By ḡrm’l son of ḡyrl son of ṣbh and he was on the look-out for his two brothers, so, S²hqm, bring them help against misfortune.

WH 1698

l ṣbh bn ṛm{y}n bn ’b- bn ṣm{y} d ḡl ḫw ḡwd h- ṭzv s’nt ṣqṣ h- ṣmdnt ḡt ḍw ḡt ṣm² ’w ṣwq l- ḡyrl h- ṣ h ḡd ṣ² ṣbll ṣlm
By ṣbh son of ṛm{y}n son of ’b- ---- on of ṣm{y} of the lineage of ḏf and he helped the sheep give birth the year Caesar announced the province so, O ḫt, let there be protection against enemies; and he longed for ḡyrl, his brother, so, O ḡs², let there be safe reunion with loved ones.

WH 1700.1

l n’mn bn ṣyw’lb’n y’d d l ḡw ṣ² ṣqṣ h- ṭb ṣ’d h- n’m ṣ’nt ḡrb h- mlk ḡs² ṭt ḡt ṣlm
By N’mn son of Yw’lb’n son of Y’d of the lineage of ḏf and he migrated to the inner desert with the horses following the livestock the year the king made war upon the lineage of ḡs² ṭt so, O ḫt, may he be secure.

WH 1791

l ḡrrt bn ḡ’wd
By ḡrrt son of ḡ’wd.

WH 1861

l ḡq bnt ṭḥb’l bn ṣn’l
By ḡq daughter of ṭḥb’l son of ṣn’l.

WH 1900

l ṳ’d bn ṟm bn ṣqṣ bn ṳ’d ḡwr ṣqṭ m- ṭḥb t h- ṣyn
By ṳ’d son of ṟm son of ṣqṣ son of ṳ’d and he remained behind because the goats were prevented from entering ṭḥb t.

WH 1958

l ṭms² l h- ḏṛ ṭ
By ṭms², at this place

WH 2112

l ḡy bn Ṵhm w ḡ ṭḥw Ṵ + ḡ + ṭ ḡ’wrn h- ḡh bkt +
By ḡy son of Ṵhm and, O ṭḥw, blind him who would efface it, the camel.
WH 2139  
\textit{ls}^2 \textit{g}' \textit{bn} \textit{s}^2 \textit{hr} \textit{bn} \textit{s}^2 \textit{hr} \textit{bn} \textit{mr}' \textit{w} \textit{r}' \textit{y} \textit{h} - \textit{rdy} \textit{f} \textit{yr} \textit{w} \textit{lt} \textit{g}nm\textit{t}

By \textit{S}^2 \textit{g}' [son] of \textit{H}'\textit{yt} and he pastured \{these\} valleys and will then return to a place of water so, O Lt, let there be spoil.

WH 2145  
\textit{ls}^2 \textit{g}' \textit{bn} \textit{s}^2 \textit{hr} \textit{bn} \textit{s}^2 \textit{hr} \textit{bn} \textit{mr}' \textit{w} \textit{r}' \textit{y} \textit{h} - \textit{bl} \textit{h} - \textit{rdt} \textit{bql} \textit{f} \textit{h} \textit{lt} \textit{s}^4 \textit{lm}

By \textit{S}^2 \textit{g}' son of \textit{S}^2 \textit{hr} son of \textit{s}^2 \textit{hr} son of \textit{Mr}' and he pastured the camels in the meadow on fresh herbage so, O Lt, let there be security.

WH 2147  
\textit{ls}^2 \textit{g}' \textit{bn} \textit{s}^2 \textit{hr} \textit{bn} \textit{lgz} \textit{bn} \textit{n}'\textit{mn} \textit{dl} \textit{l} \textit{nzr}'\textit{lt} \textit{w} \textit{nyk} \textit{mr}' \textit{ml} \textit{w} \textit{mr}' \textit{w} \textit{lt} \textit{g}nm\textit{t} \textit{w} \textit{dhn}

By \textit{ls}^2 \textit{g}' son of \textit{Z}'\textit{n} son of \textit{Lgz} son of \textit{N}'\textit{mn} of the lineage of \textit{Nzr}'\textit{lt} and he copulated with the man of \textit{Ml} and the wife of \textit{W}'\textit{l} of the lineage of \textit{Shw}t and \textit{Dhbn}.

WH 2194  
\textit{l} \textit{hwn} \textit{bn} \textit{hm}'\textit{dl} \textit{bn} \{\textit{g}s'm \textit{w} \textit{w} \textit{f} \textit{h} \textit{lt} \textit{w} \textit{dl} \textit{d}

By \textit{Hwrn} son of \textit{Hm}'\textit{dl} son of \{\textit{g}s'm} and --- so, O Lt, show love.

WH 2255  
\textit{l} \textit{ls}^2 \textit{bn} \textit{khl} \textit{bn} \textit{h}'\textit{dr} \textit{bn} \textit{zhmn} \textit{w} \textit{t} \textit{zr} \textit{h} - \textit{wr} \{\textit{d}\textit{l} \textit{brk} \textit{t} \textit{s}^4 \textit{nt} \{\textit{ls}^2\} \{\textit{g}\} \{\textit{t}\} \{\textit{m}\} \{\textit{s}'\} \{\textit{k}\} \textit{r}\{\textit{h}\} \textit{b} - \textit{r}'\textit{l}

By \textit{ls}^2 \textit{bn} of \textit{Khl} son of \textit{H}'\textit{dr} son of \textit{Zhmn} and he waited at the \{watering place\} called \textit{Brk} the year \{the party\} \{of\} \{\textit{M}'\textit{s}'\textit{k}\} were at the \{spacious pastures near\} \textit{r}'\textit{l}.

WH 2342  
\textit{l} \textit{zh} \textit{bn} \textit{h}'\textit{s}' \textit{bn} \textit{t}' \textit{h} - \textit{zhyt}

By \textit{Zhr} son of \textit{H}'\textit{s}' \textit{bn} of \textit{t}' is the she-gazelle.

WH 2815  
\textit{l} \textit{bd} \textit{bn} \{\textit{y}g\} \textit{dl} \{\textit{g}\} \{\textit{t}\} \{\textit{b}\} \{\textit{g}s'y \textit{w} \textit{n}g\textit{y} \textit{m} \textit{nf} \{\textit{r}\textit{t} \textit{w} \textit{h} - \textit{h} \textit{s}^4 \textit{nt} \textit{mr} \textit{dt} \textit{nt} \textit{f} \textit{l} \{\textit{l} \{\textit{r} \textit{m} \textit{f} \textit{t} \textit{s}^4 \textit{lm} \textit{f}

By \textit{bd} son of \{\textit{Yg}t\} of the \{lineage of\} \textit{Bs}' 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  
\textit{l} \textit{wd} \textit{bn} \{\textit{s}l'h \textit{d} \textit{l} \textit{rks}' \textit{w} \textit{hr} \textit{s} \textit{mtt} - \textit{h} \textit{f} \textit{h} \textit{lt} \textit{w} \textit{ds}^2 \textit{r} \textit{s}^4 \textit{lm} \textit{w} \textit{g}nm\textit{t} \textit{w} \textit{hwr}\{n\}

By \textit{wd} son of \textit{s}l'h of the lineage of \textit{Rks}' and he kept watch over his riding-camels, so, O Lt and \textit{Ds}^2 \textit{r}, let there be security and spoil and \{safe return\}.

WH 2938  
\textit{l} \textit{dnt} \textit{bn} \textit{bd} \textit{h} - \{\textit{s}'\textit{d}

By \textit{dnt} son of \textit{bd} is the snare (?).
WH 3053

"l'dy bn ns² w rhď b - h - ngm l - yhg"

By D’y son of Ns² and he washed when the sun was in Virgo in order to perform a pilgrimage.

WH 3094

"lqs'r bn 'hs'n b - gzt r'b's'n {n} tly"

By Qs¹r son of 'hs'n at the sheepfold, four {years} later.

WH 3133.1

"l 'šl bn yḥtyr w tżr mny f h rdw s¹d - h"

By š'll son of Yḥtyr and Fate lay in wait so, O Rdw, help him!

WH 3151

"l 'šl'f bn h(r)tt b - Ḻbyn"

By 'šl'f son of Ḵṛtt are the two gazelles.

WH 3418

"l dhdt bn s¹d(r) ḱ bkrt"

By Dhdt son of S¹dr is the she-camel.

WH 3420

"l 'gm bn ḥb d l'sbh w l - h [h -] rgm"

By 'gm son of Ḥb of the lineage of Sbh and [this] funerary cairn is his.

WH 3500

"l's²lm bn lgyn w r'y mdbr h - ms²ty f syf - h gml"

By S²lm 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 tżr h - s'my b - ḫdr 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 tżr h - s'my b - ḫdr"

By 'qrb son of Y'll and he awaited the rains while camping at permanent water.

WH 3730

"l mlk bn dhr w ślm f h rdŷ wayt m - b's¹ 'ns¹ w ġṃt m - s²n'"

By Mk son of Dhr and he was oppressed, so, O Rḏy, let there be protection from the affliction of man and spoil from enemies.

WH 3736.1

"l mlkt bn s'rk bn 'shb w h rdw s¹d - h m - s²n' ġṃt m - rhy w nbţ w Ḵwlṭ"

By Mkṭ son of S'rk son of 'shb and, O Rďw, help him against enemies through spoil from Rhy and the Nabataeans and Ḵwlṭ.
WH 3792.1  l ntn bn 'dm bn 'qdm bn q'sn w wrd tl$t  s'ht $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 bnt b{n} {n}bq h- s'hly w h- nqt{n}
By {S¹l} son of Nn son of {Nbq} the S'hl-ite and these {two} camels.

WH 3925  l 'hm w db' l- nb$t
By 'hm and he raided for the Nabataeans

WH 3929  l kwkb bn glt ytzr hyt
By Kwkb son of Glt while lying in wait for animals.

ZeGA 1  l gfft bn kn d l 'ty w l- h mnsb f h 'lh s'llm
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 zn w r' y h- m'zy h- nhl qyz f hrs h- tb' f hy lt s'llm w
nq't l- d ywr 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' lbn hnn bn 'bd bn gt bn s²rk bn s'lkrn d 'l qs²{m} w s²ty h- dr {m-} rk
s'nt trq mk nkt tltn m't qty 'l rm w s²q trmr l- h- + z + {²}m gd'w d w h lh
w h s²hqm gnyt w s'llm m- d hrs w gnm t l- d d' y h- h$t
By Whb'l son of Hnn son of 'bd son of Gt son of S²rk son of S¹lkrn 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 Nabataea, smote thirty cavalry
units, warriors of the Romans, s²q trmr l- h- + z + {²}m gd'w d. And, O Lh
and O S²hqm, 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  
\[l\,zhrn\,bn\,ys'lm\,w\,bny\,'l-\,\check{g}t\,"\,-\,nfs\,'\,w\,wgm\,fh\,lt\,fsy\,'l-\,d\,s't\,r\]
By Zhrn son of Ys'lm and he built this funerary monument upon Gt and grieved, so, O Lt, may he who leaves (this inscription) untouched be delivered.

ZmNSIH 37  
\[l\,\check{g}t\,bn\,'s'l\,h\,d\,'lgr\,w\,'l-\,h\,"\,-\,nfs\,'\]
For Gt son of 's'l 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)  
\[l\,s^2\,mt\,bn\,hls\,bn\,hddn\,bn\,'n\,d\,l\,hg\]
By S'^amet son of Halis son of Haddidan son of 'n of the lineage of Hagg

Μνησθή Σαμεθος Αλιζου του Αδα[ι]θανου Αγγηνος
May S'^amet son of Halis the Haddidan-Haggite be remembered

Macdonald (2009 I: 76)  
\[lnsr'/\,bn\,'lw\]
By Nasr’el son of ‘alw

Μνησθή Νασρηλος Αλουου
May Nasr’el son of ‘alw be remembered

MISSJ 1–2  
Ενεος Λοβαιαθου
Hen’ Lobay’at

\[l\,hn'\,bn\,ls't\,bn\,'s'l\,d\,'l\,mlk\,fh\,lt\,s'lm\]
By Hen’ son of Lobay’at son of ‘s’l of the lineage of Mk, so, O Lt, may he be secure.
MISSI 1  Σααρος Χεσεμανου Σααφηνος φυλης Χαανηνον
Sa’ar son of Ke’seman, the Shayite, of the lineage of Kawn
For the corresponding inscription, see MISSI 2.

WH 1860 (= + Greek 2)

\[ l \, w h b l h \, b n \, z n ' l \, b n \, w h b l h \]
Wahballah son of Zann‘el son of Wahballah

Ουαβαλλας Ταανηλου του [ ] Ουαβαλλαν
Wahballah son of Zann‘el son of Wahballah

WH 3563 (= Greek 3)

Μαανος Ιαμεου μαηαβη
For the corresponding inscription, see WH 3562.

An Old Arabic Inscription in Greek Characters

A 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Αως Ουδου</td>
<td>‘Aws (bin) Hûd (?)</td>
<td>Aws son of Hûd (?) son of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Βαανασο Χαζιμ</td>
<td>(bin) Bana‘ (bin) Kazim(m)</td>
<td>Bana‘ son of Kazim(⟨m⟩) the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μων αλ-Ιαδαμι αθα</td>
<td>‘al-Idamiyy ‘atawa mi-sihas;</td>
<td>‘Idamites came because of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σα μι- σειαζ αθαοα {υ}</td>
<td>‘atawa bana‘a’a ⟨d⟩-dawra</td>
<td>want; he came to Bana‘ (PN or lineage group) in this place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α Βααναα α-δαμαρα</td>
<td>⟨⟨a⟩⟩ wa yir’aw baqla</td>
<td>and they pastured on fresh herbage during [Kanûn].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⟨⟨a⟩⟩ οου ειραξ βασιλα</td>
<td>bi- Kanû[ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>βι-Χανου[ν]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES:

The author begins writing Greek but switches to Arabic when he starts to write his tribal affiliation and subsequent activities.

1) The verb ‘rw is spelled in two ways, αθααα and αθααωαα, 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 ou.
2) The /i/ vowel is given with both i and ι.

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 Χανου, 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.
CHAPTER 24

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

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<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>j</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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.

'BD

'b' (AKSD 5; C 320, 2832, 4457; LP 243, 325, 344, 1135; KRS 2349; Mu 253; RSIS 351), father

'b'm (AWS 125), maternal grandfather

NOTES: The equivalent of Arabic *li-‘abadi l-‘abad* “to the end of time; forever” and the adverb *‘abadan*, which signifies all future time (*Lane*, 4c).

'BD

'bd (KRS 1015; SW 193), forever, eternity,

VAR l-‘bd (C 74, 2446; KRS 6, 24)

'BL

'bl (ASWS 73; C 96, 98, 272, 1338, 2670, 3020, 3230, 4332, 4815, 5182;
'blt (C 1868), toponym

'BS
'bš (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 nṣt, i.e. raġulun ʿabīsun, ʿabīsun: naṣṣit, 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 (SLJ 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.

'DW
'dyt, watering hole (MSNS 1, 6)

NOTES: Probably related to CAr ʿaddāratun ‘a pool in the rough of the ground’ al-ġadārisīti ʾīl-ġalsī mina l-ʿard; see the commentary under MSNS 1 for more.

'FL
'tfl (C 2315), T2-SC to hide oneself

NOTES: In CAr, the verb ʿñfala 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
'ght (KRS 1563), wage, compensation for work

NOTES: CAr ʿagīrūn, “hireling” (Lane, 24b); CAr ʿiğāratun “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.

'HL
'hl (AbaNS 1128; C 88; HaNSB 307; KRS 37, 1131, 1683, 1991; WH 135), family

'H
'ḥ (AbaNS 286; C 25, 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 ʿḥw (C 832; KRS 24, 2890; SESP.U 13; WH 1696), pl. ʿḥwn (C 2955; SLJ 352)
'ht (AAU1 406; ASWS 70; NST 2; SIJ 750), sister
'hyt (C 893), little sister (DIM)
twhy (AWS 48) t2-sc to be considered a brother
NOTES: Compare with CAr ta'ahayā “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-swy, rgm) to put a dead man on a funerary cairn
NOTES: The verb 'hd refers with both terms for cairn swy 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 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 perhaps placed to decompose. Such cairns would have been easy to reuse. In light of this, I would suggest that 'hd h-rgm/swy refers to the use of such a cairn to deposit a corpse. Thus, we should understand the sentence 'hd l-s'hm h-swy 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
'kl (C 4384), g-inf 'kl to eat
2'kl (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’.

‘Ih (KRS 995; SIJ 293; ZeGA 1), name of a deity (‘allah or ‘elah)

‘Ih (HCH 132; KRS 1551; LP 243; ZeWA 1), name of a deity (Allah or Läh)

‘I (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)

‘ltn (C 2446), deity

‘ltn ’hr (KWQ 119), deity

notes: It is likely that ‘ltn ’hr refers to Hegrā; modern Madain Saleh, with the ‘l article instead of the common h- or ‘l.

‘ltn ’g (KRS 3074), deity


‘l (AAUI 406; AZNG 1; ANKS 1; C25, 31, 96, 663, 654, 744, 893, 1185, 1186, 1249, 1607, 1744, 1875, 1936, 2031, 2076, 2276, 2397, 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; HAUI 70, 76, 198; RN 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; SES.P.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 m‘nn (C 2446), deity

‘ltm‘nn (KRS 1551), Mars (planet)

notes: Compare with Akk Ąlumnu, ‘Mars’. The initial ālif may reflect a compound āl-lumnu, a phonological reproduction of the determinative, an elative formation, or even the definite article āl-. (Al-Jallad 2014).

‘ltn (KRS 1964), scarcity

notes: Compare with Car ālata, INF āltun “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, alū, 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 IIIa 48 Ὠμμαετ */'umm-γαωώτ/; PTer 46 Ὠμμαζη */'umm-'αβι/ (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 āmara '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'; 'appearing', and could reflect the stative or passive sense of the CAr āmara and āmirā-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 v'mt 'to measure or compute quantity' (Lane, 94c); see Al-Jallad (2014).

'NKs'R
'nks'r (BWM 3), toponym

'NS1
'ns1 (WH 3730), mankind

'RĐ
'rđ (AbaNS 881, 906; C 2953, WH 161, 641.1), land, region

'RK
'rkh (LP 685), forbearance
NOTES: Compare with Hb "ārāk-rūāh... longanimity, forbearance" (Littmann 1943: xxi).

'S1S1
's1s1 (C 96), toponym (Usays in southern Syria)

'S1D
1's1d (LP 161), lion
2's1d (C 28; ASWS 124), Leo (constellation)
NOTES: The same term for this
constellation survives into the Islamic period (Al-Jallad 2014).

'SF

'sf (LP 718), regret

NOTES: The verbal noun of an unattested verb 'asifa “He grieved, lamented, or regretted” (Lane, 58b).

'SR

'sr (C 4457), G-sc to be captured; PPC 'sr (LP 643)

NOTES: Compare to CArt 'asara-hu 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 CArt '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)

'T'

't (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 CArt 'atarun “a sign, mark, or trace” (Lane, 18c)).

'TM

'tm (RWQ 73), G-sc to act wrongfully

NOTES: Compare to CArt 'atima “he did what was unlawful” (Lane, 21c–22a).

'WL

'l (passim), lineage; people
'wl (SW 168), beginning

NOTES: CArt. 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 ‘awilum “freeman”. The term is used to refer to any body of people, including outside groups such as the Nabataeans and Romans.
A boon (either with nunation or a derivational morpheme)  

D-iMP to grant a boon  

The CA root \( \sqrt{\text{ws}} \) denotes compensation and giving, al-\( \text{ātīyyatu} \) (Lisan, s.v.).

\( \sqrt{\text{dI}} \) (C 1339), companion  

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.

\( \sqrt{\text{gl}} \) (SG 5), hastily  

CAr \( \text{āqīlun} \) “Hasting, making haste, speeding” (Lane, 1964b).

\( \sqrt{\text{ky}} \) (C 96), a strong fever  

Perhaps an elative formation from \( \sqrt{\text{kk}} \), the basic meaning of which is “It (a day) was, or became ... vehemently hot” (Lane, 2118b). The form \( \sqrt{\text{akkatun}} \) can refer to “access of a fever, on the occasion of the first tremor, or shivering, thereof” (ibid.).

\( \sqrt{\text{lf}} \) (LP 722; M 358), to feed on dry fodder  

CAr \( \text{ālafu} \text{-d-dābata} \) “He fed the beasts with fodder” (Lane, 2131a). While the term \( \sqrt{\text{alafun}} \) 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.

\( \sqrt{\text{lm}} \) (SIJ 274), to know

\( \sqrt{\text{bs}} \) (NST 2), to frown; to be austere  

CAr \( \text{ābasa} \) “He frowned; [looked sternly, austere]ly, or morosely]” (Lane, 1939a).

\( \sqrt{\text{dy}} \) (RSIS 80), to transgress, exceed limits  

CAr \( \text{al-\'adwu} \) “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.
NOTES: The single attestation of the term in the Safaitic inscriptions accords with CAr ‘alima, i.e., to know a fact rather than a person (Lane, 2138 ff.).

‘ls
‘ls (WH 784), grainland (?)
NOTES: Compare with CAr ‘alasun “[a kind of grain] like wheat, but difficult to cleanse, having two grains in one envelope, and it is the corn of San’ā’ (Lane, 230a). This can obviously not be the same meaning as Safaitic ‘ls, 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.

‘ly
‘ly (NRW.D 1), d-sc to raise, erect
‘ly (WH 1696), c-sc to raise; c-INF ‘ly (KRS 2420)
NOTES: CAr a’lā-hu “he elevated it; or made it high, or lofty” (Lane, 2143c). The form ‘ly must reflect the d with an equivalent meaning of the c.

‘mm
1’m (AWS 125; BRevnH 1; C 793; 3140, 3230; KRS 1379; WH 325) paternal grandfather, pl. “m (WH 399)
2’m (AWS 8; 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.

‘mr
‘mr (C 2953; MKWS 2, 8, 28), sc to dwell; construct
NOTES: Classical Arabic ‘amara bi-makānin “He remained, continued, stayed, resided, dwelt, or abode, in a place” (Lane, 2154a).

‘wm
‘m (KRS 225; SIJ 119; WH 1193), year
NOTES: CAr ‘amun “a year” (Lane, 2202b).

‘tq
‘tq (KRS 1563), a freed man
NOTES: In CAr, ‘atīqun and ‘āṭīqun are adjectives “applied to a slave,signifying freed from slavery, or emancipated” (Lane, 1947b).

‘ny
‘ny (C 1639; HaNSB 184; KRS 922), g-sc to suffer; g-APC ‘ny (KRS 941, 1964)
NOTES: Compare with Car ‘ānā “He was, or became, lowly, humble, or submissive” (Lane, 2178b). For a similar range of meanings, see HALOT, #7135 ‘ānā, but also “to be wretched, suffering”.

‘nz
“nz (UIO 117), she-goats, probably the plural of the unattested *‘nz
NOTES: Based on the CAr, the singular was probably */‘anz/, cf. ‘anzun (Lane, 2173).

‘nz (BHT 228), toponym
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‘QB
‘qbt (AWS 81; C 3818; KRS 1551), Scorpio (constellation)

NOTES: Safaitic ‘qbt is very close to the expected ‘qrīb(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 ‘aqadā l-ḥabla “He tired the cord, or rope” (Lane, 2014c). 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 Rhḥt.

‘QL
1’t’ql (KRS 15), T2-SC to be unable to speak (metaphor for grief)

NOTES: Compare with CAr ḫtaqala “his tongue was withheld or restrained from speaking” (Lane, 2014b).

2’t’ql (RWQ 346) T2-SC to form an alliance

NOTES: An association with CAr ta’aqala “They paid among themselves, or conjointly, the mulct for the blood of such a one” (Lane, 2014b) is tempting; however, in light of RWQ 347, which refers to the same event by describing a military 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
‘rī (ANKS 1; ISB 117), toponym

‘RB
‘rb (C 4681), Arabs

‘RD
‘rd (MS 44; Mu 867; RWQ 339), a valley, pl. “rdy (WH 2139).

‘rd (LP 679), army (?)

NOTES: CAr ʿirdun “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 nhl, which would signify a torrent valley, i.e., a wadi. The single occurrence of ‘rdt suggests a connection instead with CAr ʿardun “an army” (Lane, 2009a).

‘RF
‘rf (HCH 71), G-SC to know

NOTES: CAr ʿarifa “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 ʿaraqun “natural lameness” (Lane, 1996b).

‘RS
‘rs (SW 264), wedding

NOTES: CAr ʿursun “The ceremony
of conducting a wife to her husband” (Lane, 1999a).

'S2R

1's²r (MKWS 28), ten; s²rn (RQA 1), twenty
2's²r (HCH 191), kinsman; member of a community

NOTES: Compare with CAr 'ašīrun “a community, such as the Benoo-
Temeem [sic], and the Benoo-'Amr-
Ibn-Temeem [sic]” (Lane, 2053a).

Safaitic s²r probably reflects a single member of the 'ašīratun “kinsfolk” (ibid.).

'TN

'tn-rh (AAUI 281), the foremost of a group (?)

NOTES: Compare with CAr 'ūṭānu
r-riḥi “the trail of wind when it comes
drawing along the dust” or the “first of
anything” (Lane, 1954c).

'WD

1'yd (C 654), to return, VAR 'd
(KhmNNS 13); G-PC y'd (MSNS 2)

2'yd (KRS 1706), D-SC to put animals in
an enclosure; to cause to return; D-INF
'wdt (C 5011)

'wd (RSIS 353; SIJ 1008), again (ADV)

NOTES: A causative of √'wd, which
 carries the basic sense of 'to circle,
enclose, encompass, etc’ (CDG, 77a).

'WQ

1'wrd (HAUI 182; KRS 1683), protection
2'wrd (KRS 1683), D-SC to place under
protection

'yd (b-') (AWS 380), C-SC to place under
protection

NOTES: CAr ʿada bi-hī “he sought
protection, or preservation by him”
(Lane, 2192a).

'WF

1'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”; ʿānā-hū “He aided,
helped, or assisted him” (Lane,
2203b–c).

'WR

1'wr (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
2'wr (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, 133, 941, 1087,
1287, 1379, 1531, 1957; LP 282, 673,
"wr (C 793) c-sc idem; to be blind in one eye; c-pc y’r (KRS 2569)
NOTES: CAr ‘awira, ya’waru “He was, or became, blind of one eye” (Lane, 2193c); Hb D ya’awer “to blind” (HALOT, #6883).

’S$ ‘st (UIO 183), g-sc cause hardship (2FS, other forms unattested)
NOTES: Compare with CAr ‘avisa “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).

‘YN ‘n (QZUI 462), eye

‘YR ‘r (AbANS 881; KhBG 315), wild ass
1yr (AbANS 855, N 101), small or young wild ass (DIM).
’rtn (SG 5), a journey
2yr (ISB 117; ShNGA 1), sc to journey
NOTES: CAr ‘āra, ya’āru “He went, or journeyed” (Lane, 2207).

‘YS$ ‘s$ (C 2156), kinsman (?)
NOTES: This term does not find direct cognates in related languages, but seems to be derived from the root √yš, 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’.

‘ZZ ‘zz (LP 342), d-sc to protect
‘zz (C 74), c-sc or INF to restore
NOTES: In CAr ‘azzaza-hū and ‘a’azza-hū can mean ‘to render powerful; to strengthen’ (Lane, 2031b). The object of this verb in LP 342 is a protected area of pasturage ḫmy, 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 ‘a’azza-hū “He rendered him mighty ... after he had been low, or mean, in condition” (idem).

‘ZM ‘zm (SJ 293), greatness
NOTES: Compare with CAr ‘azmūn “esteemed great by another or others” (Lane, 2087c).

’B’R b’r (RSIS 339), well

’B’S$ b’s$ (C 76, 1137, 2276, 2964, 3113; HAUI 125; HCH 71; KRS 132, 941, 3029; LP 495, 720; MAHB 5; RR 4; ShNGA 1; SJ 37; RWQ 335; WH 135, 159, 1696, 3730), misfortune; affliction, var b’s (KhBG 345), pl b’s’t (C 218)
^b's' (AAUI 294; C 254, 2713; HAU1 125; KRS 6), g-sc to be miserable

3^b's' (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'l's'mn (ASWS 202; C 1240, 1744, 2076, 2937, 4803; H 506; HaNS 84, 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; WGR 1; WH 398), deity (rain god),

VAR ^b'l's'my (C 88; LP 259; RWQ 281),

debý (= Arm ^b'l's'myn)

^b'l (ASWS 37), deity, perhaps the short form of ^b'l's'mn/y = NWS Baal

BDR

^bdr (C 1240), end of the dry season (Qyz) or first part of winter (S^{2}y)

NOTES: The noun badrun signifies the 'full moon', and is called so because it hastens to rise before sunset. The form with a gentilic 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.

BGY

^h^-^b'^ght (C 4681), toponym

NOTES: WH 635, which reads as follows, i l'tmn bn 'rs'k w b'r b^-^b'^ght 'By L'tmn son of 'rs'k and there were camels at B'^ght attests another example of ^b'^ght as a toponym.

^b'^ght (KRS 68), a thing sought

2^b'^ght (MSNS 2), g-sc to seek;

APC.mp.cnst ^b'^ght (RR 4)

NOTES: Car ba^gá "He sought; sought for, or after" and ^bag^yatu^n, ^bag^yatu^n "a thing sought" (Lane, 23a–c).

BH'

^b'h' (C 320; SW 264; WH 374), g-sc to rejoice

NOTES: Car baha'a bi-hí "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' wedding in (SW 264), and in the phrase bh' ^b'd 'tm ^ys' (WH 374, 375, 377, 496), which I would suggest translating as 'he rejoiced on account of the ceremony of ^ys'. This sense also suits C 320: bh' ^brkt w b(l)q 'he rejoiced at Brkt because there was fresh herbage'.

BHS1

^b'h's' (MISSD 1), sc to defeat

NOTES: bahasa-hú "He diminished it" (Lane, 159a)
BHR

\textit{bhrt} (ASWS 202), \textit{the late summer} (July–early October)

\textbf{NOTES:} Car \textit{bāhūrūn}, \textit{bāhūrā’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 Qyz, the former half being denoted by \textit{Syf}.

BKR

\textit{bkr} (AbAN 16; C 2830, 2832; Ms 44; WH 179, 1236, 2112, 3418), \textit{young she-camel. DU bkr} (AbAN 28; H 457; WH 182), pl. \textit{bkrt} (WH 179)

BKY

\textit{bk} (ASWS 70; C 2036, 3140, 4974; LP 243; RSIS 351), g-sc to weep

BN

\textit{bn} (passim), \textit{son. PL bny} (C 88, 3365), \textbf{VAR bn} (C 511)

\textit{bny} (C 4076) \textit{young(est) son} (DIM)

\textit{bnt} (AbAN 86; C 4768; CSNS 304, 412, 620; KRS 1991; SHS 10; WH 1861, 3865), \textit{daughter, VAR bt} (SIAM 35; WH 214, 345)

BNY

\textit{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; + T to lay a stone (upon a funerary carin)

\textit{bnn} (AbAN 78), d-sc to build

BQL

\textit{bql} (C 269, 320, 1293, 1338, 2670, 3020; HaNSC 8; KRS 1670; MAHB 5; WH 466, 641.1, 2145), \textit{fresh herbage}

\textbf{NOTES:} Car \textit{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

\textit{1bqr} (C 860; LP 155), \textit{cattle}

\textit{2bqr} (RWQ 73), inf (?) to be split in half

\textbf{NOTES:} This word appears in a curse and should therefore be connected with the Car \textit{baqirun} “slit; ripped; split; cut; or divided, lengthwise” (Lane, 234c).

BR'

'br' (WH 1234), c-sc trembling in fear

\textbf{NOTES:} Gz \textit{bar’a} ‘tremble, shake, be agitated’; LAr \textit{barba’} ‘frighten’ (CDG, 101b).

BRH

\textit{brh} (C 4332; M 358), sc to depart

\textbf{NOTES:} Car \textit{baraḥa l-makāna} “He went away, or departed, from the place” (Lane, 181a).

BRK

\textit{brk} (AWS 218), IMP to bless, SC.FS \textit{brkt} (RSIS 80)

\textit{brkt} (C 320, WH 289, 1193, 1243, 2255, 3559.1), toponym

\textbf{NOTES:} A watering place in the Harrah; see Macdonald (1992b).
BSR
bšry (C. 4448; SIJ 78), toponym (Bostra in southern Syria).

BIT
bt (KRS 2453), g-sc to be cut off; pc ybt (KRS 2453)
NOTES: Connect with the CA n inbatta “to be cut off, separated” (Lane, 148a).

BYN
bn (RWQ 335), g-sc to be manifest
NOTES: Compare with CA r 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, 5950; WH 641.1), g-sc to spend the night; to camp, var bt (C 3466), apc b’t (C 1108)
NOTES: CA r baytun signifies a tent with more than one pole (Lane, 280a). The g bātā 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; HAU1 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: CA r du’ā “[the act of] seeking, desiring, asking or demanding”; da’ā lāhā “he prayed to God”; da’awtu lahū “I prayed for him”, ‘alāyhi “against him”. In the past, scholars have connected this with Arabic da’ā (y’d’y) “to leave untouched”, but a word for this is already attested frequently as s’t’. While synonyms are common, it seems better to take this as to read the inscription, paralleling the development of the verb qara’a, “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,
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#4816). M.C.A. Macdonald has identified the Mdb 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 nidmā “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

1dmy (KRS 30), Dumait, gentilic adjective of Dāmah

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)

2dmy (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

1dn (KRS 132), contempt
dnwt (JaS 73), closeness

NOTES: Compare with Car danā, danāvatun “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’.

2dn (KWQ 119), d-IMP render contemptible

NOTES: Compare with Car danuwa “he (a man) was, or became, such as is turned danīyun, 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 ‘ky which probably refers to a type of fever, suggesting then that dry means something like ‘succumb’. This would be the opposite sense of Car dāriña “He rose in grade, degree, rank, condition, or station” (Lane, 867c), but this is not problematic. On the other hand, the c’adrağa means “to cause to pass a way” (ibid.) and so it is also possible to see in dry 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.
**DSY**

dsy (KRS 1684), *ibex, F/SING dṣyt* (KhBG 330)

*NOTES:* Scholars have long recognized a connection with Syriac *dayṣā,* f. *dayṣtā* "An animal named from its agility in leaping, probably the rock-goat or ibex" (SD, 91a).

**DT’**

mdt’ (WH 766), *spring pasture*

*NOTES:* Macdonald identifies d’t’ with a by-form of CAr *dafaʾyyun,* *datayyun,* which refers to the period between the šitā’ and sayf’, which the modern Bedouin call *snāk.* Macdonald translates the term as "the season of the later rains" (1992b: 3).

d’t’ (C 1071, 1137, 1837, 2088, 2104, 2579, 2691; CSA 1.2; HN 161; JaSy 6; 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 (AWS 217; AWS 48; BWM 3; C 70, 726, 1017, 2031, 2076, 2243, 2396, 2830, 2997, 3095, 3818, 3933, 5137; ISB 117, 421; KRS 1131, 1683, 1852; LP 146, 257; RSIS 339, 351; WH 1193, 1958; ZeWa 1),

*place; region, PL drrn (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 *dārūn,* 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 Ai indicates, the word was vocalized as /dawr/ = ḫawr rather than /dār/.

**DWY**

dw (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 *dimatun* “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).
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**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, 1398; KRS 169), *Aries* (constellation)

**NOTES:** Compare with Aramaic נַרְבָּה *'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; JB 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**

*dn* (C 381), sc to grow old or a noun extremely old man.

**NOTES:** CAr *dianun* "a decrepit, old and weak, or extremely aged, man" (Lane, 967c).

**DŚR**

*dś²r* (KRS 1160, 1379, 1949, 2556, 2869; LP 1013; RWQ 73; SIJ 274), deity (Nabataean *dwr*, Gr. Δωσάρις, *Dū-Šaray), VAR *dshr* (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 *dš²ry* (HshNSMI 5; KRS 2569), deity

**DYL**

*dl* (LP 712), *Pisces* (constellation)

**NOTES:** The term matches the Babylonian name, *zibbattail*, cf. CAr *dayyun* "tail", or more generally, "the latter, hinder, or last part of anything" (Lane, 990c). See Al-Jallad (2014).

**DYN**

*dyr* (UIO 183), c-sc to anger

**NOTES:** The C-stem of the root *dyr*, related to CAr *'adārahu *'alayhi* "He made him angry with him"; *'adāra-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 5621; WGGR 1; WH 582), sheep, *d'nt* (C 35), an ewe, pcl *d'nt* (C 2307), pl. *d'n* (KRS 1304)

**D'F**

*df* (C 2967), weakness

**NOTES:** CAr *da'ffun* "weakness, feebleness" (Lane, 1791c).

**D'B'**

*d'b'* (RWQ 323; WH 3925), d-sc to raid; d-*INF* *tdb'* (LP 742)
NOTES: Sabaic *db* "fight, wage war" (*SBD*, 40); also Hb *ṣdb* "to go to war" (*HALOT*, #7841).

**DBB**

**nāb** (*LP* 1265), N-sc to go missing  
NOTES: Compare to LAr *ṭināb* "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.

**DLL**

dll (*LP* 305, 409), D-sc to be lost, DU *dλly*  
G-PFC dll (*HCH* 131), DU *dλλy* (*LP* 305), MP *dλλn* (*C* 4039)  
’dll (*KRS* 303), C-sc to lead astray  
NOTES: Compare with CAr *dalla* "It became lost [as though it went astray]; it perished, came to nought, or passed away". (*Lane*, 1796c). CAr c *ḍalla-hu* "to cause him to go astray" (*Lane*, 1798a).

**FBD**

fdyt (*JaS* 73), to accept bloodwit  
NOTES: CAr *fada* '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 ‘ahabba ṭādaw*, 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**

ftnt (*KRS* 68), escape; deliverance  
flt (*HCH* 194), SC to escape  
NOTES: CAr *ṭalata* "He, or it, escaped; got away" (*Lane*, 2435b).

**FLT**

1flt (*m-*) (*BHT* 228; KhBG 376; KRS 1695; LP 504; SW 264), deliverance  
2flt (*m-*) (*C* 527, 1137, 5121; CSNS 517; KhBG 376; LP 495; WAMS 19.1; WH 135), D-IMP to deliver; INF flt (*WH* 641.1)  
NOTES: Compare to Syr *pālet* "to save, deliver"; *pālta* "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

1frs¹ (AbaNS 286; C 159, 320; HaNSB 312; ISB 91; KRS 1468; LP 566), horse; frs¹
(AbaNS 383), mare

²frs¹ (C 1989), horseman

FRT

nhrfrt (RWQ 329), the river Euphrates

FS¹

fs¹ (RWQ 349), sc to spread out; expand

notes: Compare with JArm pašat 'to stretch, extend', Hb d-stem of ṣpšt
'to make a foray, meaning to plunder' (HALOT, #960). Perhaps also related
to Car basata-hu "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, 1796; SIJ 37; WH 398), deliverance

notes: Compare to Car fasṣaytu-hu "He freed it, or cleared it, from it" (Lane, 2408b). This word is essentially identical to ftl, which may indicate that the latter is an Aramaic loan.

FTY

fly (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 ǧadda "he cut it, he cut it off" (Lane, 384a). The Safaitic could reflect a secondary development from a meaning "to strike".

gdwd (AWS 125; C 860, 893, 1186, 1744, 1936, 4351, 4457; HaNSB 304; HAUI 182; KRS 1087, 1683; LP 306, 342, 684, 198; MKWS 8; ZeWA 1), deity (the Gadd of the lineage of ǧwd)

gddf (ASWS 107; BReNH 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 Df)

GDY

'gdy (H 507), PL kids (singular unattested).

GLH

glh (LP 732), sc to attack

notes: Compare with Car gallaha "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
ygll (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 √gln/ɡly with a similar meaning (Lane, 446b).

GLS

gLs1 (CSNS 1004; HCH 71; JaS 159.2; KhNSJ 1), g-sc to halt, fs gls’t (SIAM 35)

NOTES: CAr ɡalasa “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

²gml (WH 3500), Gemini (constellation)

NOTES: The identification of this word with the constellation Gemini is demonstrated by WH 3500 r’y mdbr h- ms²tyf syf -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 syf 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 ɡumlatun, ɡumul, 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 3955), garden(s)

gm ≠ (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 mağnûn “possessed by a ɡinnîyyun or by ɡinnun or by a devil, or demon, etc ... hence meaning bereft of reason; or mad, insane, etc ...” (Lane, 464b). The N, however, occurs in LAr ingân ‘he went insane’.

GRB

grb (C 937; RSIS 351; WH 368), scab

NOTES: CAr ɡarabun “an eruption consisting of pustules upon the bodies of men and camels” (Lane, 403a).

GRFS

grfs (KRS 1023), Agrippa, var ɡrfs (H 763)
grfs bn hrds (HshNSMI 5), Agrippa son of Herod (= Agrippa II)

GRMNQS

grmqs (LP 653), Germanicus

GS2M

gs²m (C 76), hardship

NOTES: Compare with CAr ɡašima
"He did such and such things against his will, and in spite of difficulty or trouble or inconvenience" (Lane, 427c).

GW'
gy' (C 3811), G-APC starving (verb is unattested)

NOTES: Car ǧā'a “he was, or became, hungry” (Lane, 487a).

GWQ
gqt (KRS 1684), a gathering/group of people

NOTES: Car ǧawqatun: al-ǧamā’atu mina n-nās ‘a gathering of people’ (Lisān, s.v.). The word is spelled in the inscriptions as ǧqt, 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).

GDB
nḡḍb (LP 475), N-SC to be angry; to be upset

NOTES: The TD-stem in Car seems to carry this meaning taḡḍḍaša (Lane, 2265), but note Lar inḡaṭdab.

GLM
ṭlm (SIJ 750), slave boy, r ṭlmt (C 286)

GMM
ṭmt (LP 257), sorrow

NOTES: Car ǧammun, ǧammatun “Grief, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, sadness, or unhappiness” (Lane, 2290a).

GNM
ṯnmt (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; WGG 1; WH 18s, 825, 2139, 2837, 3730, 3736.1; ZeWa 1), spoil

ṯnmt (WH 3736.1), raiders (probably a faʾālatun plural).

ṯnm (C 3680), G-SC to raid

ṯnm (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 ǧanimatun “Booty, spoil, or plunder” (Lane, 2301b).

ṯnm (WH 1900), goats, (probably a plural of an unattested COL ṯnm) ‘goats’, PCL ṣṭnm (C 4448), idem

NOTES: Car ǧanamun “sheep and goats” (Lane, 2301a–b).

GNY
ṯnyt (ASWS 107; AsUI 1; AWS 72; C 1744; KRS 15, 167, 225, 995, 1432, 1886; SW 193; ZeWa 1), abundance

ṯny (C 2967), G-SC to prosper

ṯn (SW 264), C-IMP free (someone) from want

NOTES: Car ǧaniya “He was, or became, free from want” (Lane, 2301c).
**DICTIONARY**

**GNZ**

\( \text{\textganz} (AZNG i) \), G-sc to be distressed  
Notes: CAr \text{\textganz-hu} "It and he, distressed him. And it, or he, filled him with wrath" (Lane, 2306b). The Safaitic is used in a context which requires a stative interpretation.

**GRB**

\( \text{\textgrbt} (KRS 3291) \), west

**GWR**

\( \text{\textmgrt} (Rsh 1) \), tomb chamber  
Notes: Cf. CAr \text{\textmaghrun} and \text{\textmaghratun} "A place of entrance" (Lane, 2306b)

**GW\text{T}**

\( \text{\textgwt} (C 218; UIO 298) \), D-imp to remove affliction  
Notes: Compare with CAr \text{\textagt-hu} "he removed from him trouble or affliction" (Lane, 2306a).

**GYR**

\( \text{\textgyr} (C 893; HaNSB 197; HAUI 76; MSNS 1) \), blood money; abundance  
Notes: Compare with CAr \text{\textgurtun} "A bloodwit" (Lane, 2316b); however, some contexts prefer the interpretation "abundance", an abstract noun of \text{\textgyr}.

注: \( \text{\textgur} (SIJ 463) \), to provide provisions  
Notes: \text{\textghara} \text{\textahl-hu} "he brought, or conveyed, to his family m\text{\textirah} [or a provision of corn, or wheat, &c.] ... And he benefited them" (Lane, 2314c).  
\( \text{\textgyr} (C 2967) \), C-sc to remove (contextually passive).  
Notes: Compare with the CAr d

\( \text{\textgayyara} \text{\textsay} \text{\textahu} "He ... changed altered it; changed it" (Lane, 2315a).

**GZW**

\( \text{\textgzy} (C 2732; KhBG ii) \), G-sc to raid  
\( \text{\textgzz} (AbaNS 906; C 1206, 4452; HaNSB 349; HaNSC 5; RVP 7; WH 65, 128, 179) \), D-sc idem  
Notes: CAr \text{\textgas\textld-d\textu"a\textw\textwa} "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 \text{\textgzz}, see (§ 5.6).

**HDY**

\( \text{\texthdy} (HCH 194; KRS 25, 303, 995, 1024; WH 15, 610) \), commander  
\( \text{\texthdy} (SIJ 293) \), to command  
Notes: Macdonald has connected this term convincingly with Palmyrene \text{\texthdy n\texttryn} "commander of the guards" (2014). CAr \text{\texthad-hu} "He directed him, or guided him, to the way" (Lane, 3042b).

**HGR**

\( \text{\texthgr} (ASWS 10) \), G-APC to migrate

**HLK**

\( \text{\texth\textlk} (C 35) \), C-sc to slaughter  
Notes: CAr \text{\textahlaka} "He destroyed, made an end of, or caused to perish" (Lane, 3044b).

**HN’**

\( \text{\texthn’} (Mu 253) \), G-sc to be happy  
\( \text{\texthn’} (AWS 236) \), D-sc to please; D-PC \text{\textyhn’} (Ms 44)  
Notes: CAr \text{\texthan\textu\textca, hani\textca} “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 ḥāṭatun, hawtatun, pl. huwatun, ḥittun "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

1habl (KRS 941), effacer; obscurer
2habl (KRS 213), G-SC to go insane

HBT

hbt (SG 5), awful state or circumstance

hbtt (KRS 1684), F corrupt (ADJ)

Notes: CAr habītun "Bad; corrupt: disapproved, hated, or abominable" (Lane, 694a).

HD'

hdt (ASWS 107), SC to be debased

Notes: CAr haḍḍa’ta "He was, or became, lowly, humble or submissive" (Lane, 757c).

HFR

hftr (HAUI 182; KRS 68), guidance

Notes: CAr ḥafara-hū "He protected him; granted him refuge; preserved, saved, rescued, or liberated, him" (Lane, 772a). Also, Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic ḥafir '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

1hlf (HaNSB 304), compensation
2hlf (NRW.D 1), SC to grant compensation

(only the 2FS is attested)

Notes: CAr ṣāhila fulāmun li-nafṣi-hū li-ġayri-hū "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. *halla*wa “watch, keep watch, guard” (CDG, 262), rendering it essentially equivalent to *hrs*. A connection with CAr *tahawwala-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.

HLȘ

*hlș (KRS 2728), salvation

’vehs (KRS 1964), c-sc to make safe

notes: Compare with CAr *halasa*, inf *halasun, halasatun “he became safe, or secure, or free, from embarrassment, or difficulty, or from destruction” (Lane, 785b).

HMS1

*hms1 (C 2088), five, t hms’t (KRS 25); hms’t’s gur (KRS 225), twenty-five

HNȘ

*hnș (C 1868), young animals, swine

notes: Compare to CAr *hinnausun, idem* (Lane, 817a).

HRM

*hrm (KRS 213), G-APC to drill; hammer

notes: Compare with CAr *haramah-hū “he perforated, or pierced, it” (Lane, 730a).

HRS1

*hrs1 (C 1186; LP 325, 342; WH 368), dumbness

notes: CAr *ahrasu “dumb” (Lane, 722a).

HRȘ

*hrs (ASWS 107; ASWS 18; AKSD 5; C 1744; 1837, 2670, 3177, 3931, 4261, 4842; HaNSB 184; HAUI 182; HCH 71, 102; HN 161; KRS 18, 29, 30, 922, 1131, 1432, 1563, 1695; 1903, 2060, 2460, 2569; LP 325, 357; SESP.U 13, 18; RR 4; RWQ 120, 329, 335; WH 368, 582, 852, 1696; ZeGA 11; ZeWa 1), sc to keep watch (for), + ‘I- to look after, + f- on behalf of; to anticipate, w-form *hrys* (RSIS 204)

ths (WH 398), t2-sc to be cautious

notes: The CAr expression *harasa n-nahla* 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 *harasa* 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
CHAPTER 24

NOTES: CAr *hasfun* “Leanness, or emaciation” and  
/bātā l-qawmu ʿalā l-*hasfī* “The party passed the night in a state of hunger” (Lane, 738c).

**HS'R**

hs'r (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 *hataman* “any relation on the wife's side” (Lane, 704a).

**HTT**

1htt (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

2htt (C 1185), writer

NOTES: CAr *hattun, PL huttūn* “A line, streak, or stripe” (Lane, 759a) but probably with the sense “a writing” (Lane, 759b).

**HWF**

hwf (KRS 1949), INF (?) to fear

thwrf (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 tahawwafa-nā s-sanatu “the year of drought, or sterility, took from us by little and little” (Lane, 823c). Safaitic thwrf is attested four times in the corpus, three of which occur with the verb qys ‘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 hlwl (HCH 71; HshNSMI 5; KRS 2340)

htl (KRS 18), maternal aunt

NOTES: CAr *ḥālun* “mother's brother” and *ḥālatun* “mother's sister” (Lane, 825b).

**HYL**

hl (BTH 228; WH 1700.1), horse(s)

NOTES: CAr *haylan* “horses” (Lane, 853b). It is used adverbially in BTH 228 to mean ‘on horseback’.

'hhl (C 1186), uncertainty

NOTES: The form *ḥl* 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 s'l'm (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 *ḥātā fidānun ḥayṭatan* “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 hyt hyt ‘he spent the night while journeying’.
HZR

hzr (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.

HZY

hz (ASWS 124), G-AFC to be hostile
NOTES: CAr hazā-hu "He treated him, or regarded him, with enmity, or hostility" (Lane, 735a–b).

HBH

hbt (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 gamām 'clouds' to refer to 'hail' (Lane, 496b). Since hbt occurs in a variant of the common meteorological formula ṭzr h- s'my 'he awaited rain', it should probably be taken as a reference to 'rain', perhaps in the paucal to mean 'a bit of rain'.

hbb (ASWS 73; C 96, 99, 2036, 2446, 4968; HaNS 660; KRS 1180, 1432), loved one, v hbbt (C 304), VAR mhbb (WH 116), loved one; participle of the g-stem

'hb (AWS 48), most beloved (elative)

'hbb (MKWS 8), to love; PPC mh
(CNS 1021)
NOTES: CAr 'aḥabba "He loved, liked, approved, or took pleasure in, him, or it" (Lane, 495c).

HBQ

hbqy (WH 1234), stinking (feminine elative).

NOTES: Probably the elative of the root ṣḥbq, 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).

HBS

hbs't (CSNS 1), enclosure
NOTES: CAr ḥabsun "a place of confinement", "a jail" (Lane, 500c).

HDD

hdd (KkBG 345), ononym

hdt (MKOWI 2), G-SC to forbid; hinder (masculine unattested)
NOTES: CAr ḥadda r-raḡula 'ani l-amr "He prevented, or hindered, or withheld, or restrained, a man from the affair" (Lane, 524b).

HDQ

hdq (C 2076), walled enclosure
NOTES: Compare with Arabic ḥadiqah "A walled garden" (Lane, 532b). C 2076 hdq was the object of a siege, suggesting that it referred to a strategically walled structure rather than a garden.

HDR

hdr (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 hmr (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 ħādirun, 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).

**HGG**

**yhg** (WH 3053), G-PC to make a pilgrimage

NOTES: The sense of “to make a pilgrimage” is confirmed by an unpublished inscription stating btl ḥq s’t “the pilgrimage to Si’ was rendered void”. The temple of B’ls’mn was located at Si’, 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 ḥy bt ḥ-lt ‘he made a pilgrimage to the temple of the goddess’.

**HGZ**

**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’ls’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**

**ḥbw** (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 ṣ’qm ‘illness’, i.e., ‘healing’.

**ḤMR**

**ḥmr** (UIO 27), donkey

**ḤMY**

**ḥmy** (LP 342), area of pasture
hmyn (BReν.H 1), possibly protected (ADJ)
notes: CAR hmīn "A place of herbage, or pasture, and of water, prohibited to the people (i.e., the public)" (Lane, 651c).

hm (AWS 124; KRS 598), heat

HN

hnn (C 31), D-IMP to show compassion
notes: Compare with ḥānānūn "mercy, compassion, pity" (Lane, 653b).

HQB

ḥqb (HCH), quiver
notes: Compare with CAR hāqībatun "a bag or receptacle" (Lane, 610c), but in the context of ṭmy, a quiver.

HR

ḥrt (CSNS 1; KRS 37; RSIS 351; SIJ 957; WH 197), toponym (the Harrah)

HRB

ḥrb (C 2209, 3680; RSIS 324), war

2ḥrb (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, ḥrbt (SIJ 59); PPC mḥrb (ISB 421; RWQ 334), PL ḥrbn (C 1607; KRS 24), VAR mḥrbn (HCH 71).
notes: CAR ḥaraba-hā "He despoiled him of his wealth, or property; or plundered him", and ḥarbun "war, battle, fight, or conflict" (Lane, 540b).

HRM

ḥrmt (C 407), toponym (?)

HWR

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).

HWB

ḥwb (SW 168), g-sc to lament, var ḥyb (WH 116); g-inf ḥb (WH 116).
notes: CAR ḥawbūn "He became in an evil condition or state; tahāwawa he cried out expressing pain, grief, sorrow, etc." (Lane, 662a–b).

HWLT

ḥwlt (AsUI 1; C 2670; CSNS 957, HCH 72, 103, 126, 132; RWQ 73, 335, 349; WH 153, 376.1), 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 Harrah.

HWW

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 ḥwawā "become red inclining to blackness" (CDG, 250b).

HYQ

ḥwq (KRS 1015, 1042; SESP.D 12), jealousy, var ḥyq (C 1185)
notes: CAR ḥāyaqa-hā "He envied or hated him" (Lane, 688b).
**HYW**

*hyy* (C 4803), *life*

*hyy* (C 300), *animal, pl. hyt* (AbA NS 407; HaNSB 354; KhMNS 51; WH 351, 359, 3929)

1*hyy* (C 1280), *G-SC to live long; G-PC nhyy* (LP 495); *APC/ADJ hy* (SIJ 293)

2*hyy* (LP 335, 1267), *D-IMP grant (long) life*

**NOTES:** Compare with CA*Rev* hayawd-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 CA*Rev* kablrun 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.

**KL’**

*kl’* (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 wāyyikkālē’ hāq-gēšēm min-haš-šāmāyim “and the rain from the sky was restrained”.

**KLL**

*kll* (HaNSB 16, 305; KRS 6; LP 243), *all, var kl* (SW 193); *each* (C 88; HCH 191; WH 161); *everything* (KRS 2646)

**NOTES:**

*kl* (LP 305), *both*

**KLM**

*klm* (LP 161), *G-SC to injure*

**KM’**

*km’* (JaS 6i; WH 632), *SC to collect truffles; inf km’t* (MAHB 5)

**NOTES:** CA*Rev* kammanun “a place of concealment; a lurking place” (Lane, 3003c).

**KMN**

*mkmn* (MKWS 8), *hiding place*

**NOTES:** CA*Rev* 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 CA*Rev* sense in kanfu lāhi: rahmatu-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 Harrah had only one.

**KSP**

ks\textsuperscript{p} (C 523), full moon or cosmical setting

**NOTES:** I have argued in Al-Jallad 2014 that this term should be connected with Hb k\textit{sē} and Syriac kes\textit{ā}, both “full moon” (HALOT, #4326); however, it is also possible that the term should be connected with the Arabic root ks\textit{ī} 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 ks\textit{ī} would therefore signal the end of its visibility in the sky at night. Both phenomena occur at the same time, so neither translation affect the chronological dimension of our interpretation.

**KSR**

ks\textit{r} (AKSD 5), destroyer

ks\textit{r} (KRS 1023) G-\textit{inf} to break

**NOTES:** CAIr kasara-hû “He broke it off” (Lane, 2610c).

**KTB**

	extit{ktb} (C 4803), writing

**KWN**

	extit{k̄n} (LP 1198), G-\textit{apc} to be

	extit{mykn} (KRS 2453), C-\textit{ppc} to be established

(?)

**NOTES:** In the case of 	extit{mykn}, one must assume an earlier form 	extit{mu'\textcircled{a}kān̄}, whereby the glottal stop was lost or merged with y. This form may be restricted to the poetic register.

**KWy**

\textit{kwy} (HCH 132), to wander

**NOTES:** Compare with Gz \textit{kawawa} “hasten, hurry”; Amh \textit{käbwa} “wandering” (CDG, 300b).

**L’N**

l’\textit{n} (AWS 48, KRS 29, 1042; LP 360; Ms 44),
to curse/be cursed, 2FS \textit{lt} (CSA 1.2);
G-\textit{imp} l’\textit{n} (KRS 1015; Ms 44; RWQ 73)

**NOTES:** The identical use of the verb l’\textit{n} is very common in the Nabataean inscriptions; see Cantineau (1930:11) for examples.

**LD**

\textit{h-lld} (C 2947), toponym

**LGYN**

\textit{lgyn} (LP 653), legion(s), from Latin \textit{LEGIONEM} (credit goes to M.C.A. Macdonald for the identification of this word).

**LHN**

\textit{lhn} (WH 641.1), social group (possibly Libyan).

**LS’N**

\textit{’ls’nt} (LP 1108), tongues or curses

(singular unattested)
LWN

Iwny (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)

LZZ or LWZ

lz (KRS 2453), scourer
NOTES: Ugaritic ‘lz ‘scorn’, Hebrew lš, and perhaps Akkadian lāšu (UD, 508). The cognate Arabic root mlzz gives rise to the word lāzzun, applied to a man ‘hard, or difficult in disposition’ (Lane, 2661c), and the g-stem verb lāzza, 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.).

M’T

‘m’t (AbaNS 286; C 2832), hundred
m’t frs† (C 320, 2076; KRS 1468; LP 1265; ZeWa 1), cavalry unit, DU m’ty frs† (RQ.A 10)
NOTES: M.C.A. Macdonald ingeniously connects m’t frs† 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).

M’D

m’d (C 3020), toponym (?)
NOTES: Probably a toponym in r’y h-nḥl b- m[’]l d h- ’bl, although it could be a personal name, or even Aquarius mlḥ, if the text was incorrectly copied.

M’Z

m’zy (ASWS 217, 360; C 2276, 5050; H 763; KRS; 2420; LP 360; RWQ 317; SIT 52; WH 159, 1698; ZeGA 11), goats
NOTES: CAr ma’zun, ma’azun “Goats... the kind of ġanamun opposed to da’nun; the kind of ġanamun with hair” (Lane, 2724a).

m’zyn (C 4452), shepherd
NOTES: Probably the equivalent of CAr ma’āzun “a possessor, or master of, mi’zan” (Lane, 2724c), with an adjectival suffix, /ān/.

MDD

‘md (MISSD 1), C-sc to send reinforcements
NOTES: MISSD 1, p. 456 connects this verb with CAr ʿamdadtu-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 māḏi ‘Medes’.

MGD

mgdt (KRS 1042; LP 180), bounty, VAR mgd (KRS 1684)
NOTES: CAr maqd “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 mqd usually follow expressions of scarcity, hunting, or seasonal movement.

MHIR
mhart (C 1186), filly, pl mhr (C 3095), colts
NOTES: Compare with CAr muhr “colt”, with צ “filly” (Lane, 2740b).

MHL
mḥlt (LP 342), dearth of pasture, dryness of earth, deprivation of herbage, var mḥltm (KRS 1551) (with possible nunation), mḥl (ASWS 202; WGGR 1).
‘mḥl (ASWS 202), c-sc to cause dearth
NOTES: CAr maḥlun and muḥalatun, with the same meanings as above (Lane, 3018b).

MHQ
mḥq (AWS 81), bad fortune
NOTES: According to the Lisān (s.v.), mḥq is refers to the removal of blessing—maḥqa-hū llāhu ‘ay ʿadḥaba ḥayra-hū wa-barakata-hū ‘... that is, Allah has removed his good will and blessings’.

MLH
1mḥl (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 ʿamlaha l-qawmu “the people possessed milk”, the context of HaNSB 184 mlḥ f’ny 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.

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 B’ls’mn, mlk h-s’my ‘sovereign of the sky’, v mlkt (Mu 412; SIJ 786), queen
mlk h-sltn (RQ.A 10), possessor of authority (perhaps an epithet for a governor?)
’mlk (RQ.A 10), c-sc to take control

MLY
mly (MISSI 2), words
NOTES: Syr maldld “endowed with the power of speech, full of talk, talkative, eloquent, garrulous” (SD, 278a).
MN

\textit{mn't} (CSNS 1), SC to be hindered (masculine unattested)
NOTES: CAr mana'a 'to hinder'.

MNY

\textit{mny} (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 maniyyatun "A decreed event, fate; destiny", also manan < *manay-, pl. manýyā (Lane, 3025b).

\textit{mny} (RQA 1), mina (currency)
NOTES: An ancient Near Eastern unit of currency, μνā, Syr manyā, Hb mānā.

MR

\textit{mr} (WH 2147), man; husband
\textit{mr't} (C 4768; WH 2147), wife; woman

MRD

\textit{mrd} (AZNG 1), a rebellion
\textit{mrd} (QZUI 462), a rebel
\textit{mrd} (KRS 1023; SG 5; SIJ 78), G-SC to rebel, 3FS mr̪dt (WH 2815)
NOTES: CAr marada, murādan "He exalted himself, or was insolent, and audacious, in pride and in acts of rebellion or disobedience" (Lane, 2706a).

MRQ

\textit{mrq} (RWQ 339), G-SC to pass by
\textit{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, maraqa "to cross, pass by", maraqa "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 intaraqa "He drew [i.e. removed, my insertion] the sword from its scabbard" (Lane, 3019a).

MRR

\textit{mr b-} (RSIS 8o), G-SC to pass
NOTES: CAr marra bi-hi 'He passed by him'; see (Lane, 2699c).

MSR

\textit{msr} (C 2947), D-SC to take away (?)
NOTES: CAr massara-hā "He made it (namely a town) a hisr, 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 mesr. Perhaps one can understand this verb to mean 'to take away', that is, to cause separation.
**DICTIONARY**

**MT**

*mt* (KRS 756), **provisions**

*NOTES: CA* rmata'un "Anything useful or advantageous; as goods ... commodities ... food, the necessaries 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: CA* rmatarati s-samā'u "the sky rained" and maṭarun "rain" (Lane, 2721b–2722a).

**MTY**

*myt* (C 1837), **riding camel, pl mtt** (WH 2837)

*NOTES: Compare with CA* rmatiyy- atun "a camel or beast that one rides" (Lane, 3021c).

*my* (ASWS 202; AbaNS 1128; KRS 102, 1944), **water, var myt** (KRS 96)

*NOTES: Safaitic my and myt correspond perfectly with LAr mayy and maye < *mayyat, both water. I thank my student C. Della Puppa for this suggestion.*

**N'M**

^1n'm (HaNSB 17) **ostrich, sing n'mt** (KRS 1610), **var n'mh** (AWS 302); **DU n'mtn** (AbaNS 28)

^2n'm (C 320, 2446; KRS 1563; WH 1700.1), **livestock**

*NOTES: CA* rnamun "pasturing ml [or cattle]; mostly applied to camels, and neat, and sheep and goats" (Lane, 3035b); rnamun "ostrich".

^3n'm (C 4803), **INF to improve; make easy**

^4n'm (AWS 218; C 4803; LP 325, 460, 504), **divine favor; ease; enjoyment, var n'mt** (HshNSMI 5)

*NOTES: CA* rnimatun "A benefit; benefaction; favour; boon; or good" (Lane, 3035b–c). Also rnamun and rnumun.

**NBṬ**

*nbt* (AsUI 1; C 3690; RWQ 334), **Nabataea; Nabataeans** (toponym; eth-
nonynm), GAD\textbf{J} nbty (CSNS 661; MISSB 1)

**NFR**

\textit{nfrt} (WH 2815), \textit{k}\textit{insmen}

*NOTES:* “party of near k\textit{insmen sworn to go to war” (Lane, 2825b).

\textit{nfr} (HCH 194; LP 87; MKMR 9; SIJ 352), G-\textit{sc to flee}; G-\textit{APC nfr} (MKJS 1)

*NOTES:* CA\textit{r nafa}ra “he took fright, and fled, or ran away at random” (Lane, 2823c).

**NFS\textsuperscript{1}**

\textit{1nfs\textsuperscript{1}} (BRCM 0194; HaNSB 307; KRS 3239; Vogue 404.1, 404.2; WH 587, 1191; ZinNSIH 32, 37), \textit{funerary monument}, PL \textit{fs\textsuperscript{1}} (NRW.D 1)

*NOTES:* Compare with NWS \textit{npš “funerary monument; stele” (DNWSI, 748). A plural form \textit{(n)fs\textsuperscript{1}} 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 \textit{nfs\textsuperscript{1}} + the \textsuperscript{1}-article. In the case of AbaNS 86, an \textit{n} should probably be restored between the first two letters of \textit{fs\textsuperscript{1}}, \textit{[n]}\textit{fs\textsuperscript{1}} “this funerary monument”, as there is a larger gap than between other letters. Indeed, other inscriptions on the rock express grieving for Bhs\textsuperscript{2}, to whom the monument is dedicated.

\textit{2nfs\textsuperscript{1}} (C 2031), \textit{person}

*NOTES:* CA\textit{r naf}šun “a person; a being; an individual” (Lane, 2827c).

\textit{l-nsf\textsuperscript{1}-h} (LP 360), \textit{by himself}

*NOTES:* CA\textit{r gā̄a-ni bi-nafsi-hī “he came to me himself” (Lane, 2827c).

\textit{3nfs\textsuperscript{1}} (AZNG 1), \textit{Nepos} (personal name)

*NOTES:* Abbadi and Zayadine cleverly connect \textit{nfs\textsuperscript{1}} with T. Haterius Nepos, governor of Provincia Arabia in the 2nd c. CE. See the commentary under AZNG 1 for more.

**NGD**

\textit{ngd} (KRS 2869), SC to be/become \textit{courageous}

*NOTES:* CA\textit{r na}̄\textit{guda “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**

\textit{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 \textit{ngm} should be connected with CA\textit{r root Vngm, which refers to ‘the emergence’ or ‘appearance’ tala’a/zahara, of, among other things, a ‘plant’, a canine tooth’, a horn’ or ‘a planet’ (Lisan, s.v).

**NGR**

\textit{mngr} (CSNS 517), long-suffering (morphologically a participle)

\textit{ngr} (C 404; KRS 598), \textit{to be patient}; \textit{endure}; G-\textit{PC ygr} (ISB 421); G-\textit{INF ngr} (UIO 268)

*NOTES:* Compare with Syr \textit{ngar, which, among its many meanings, attests “to be longsuffering, patient” (SD 327b).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGS²</th>
<th>ngs² (HaNSB 218), to drive</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>notes: CAr nağiša “He collected together camels [&amp;c.] after a state of dispersion” and “he drove vehemently” (Lane, 2771b).</td>
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<th>NGW</th>
<th>ngwt (C 4842), escape</th>
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<tr>
<td>₁ngy</td>
<td>(HCH 132; WH 153), G-sc to escape; be saved; g-pc ngy (WH 135)</td>
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<tr>
<td>₂ngy</td>
<td>(CSNS 1004; KRS 25, 303, 995, 1684; WH 15, 610, 1698, 2815) G-sc to (be) announce(d), fs ngyt (SIJ 786)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>notes: Macdonald has connected this word with Sabaic ngw “to announce” (ṢbD, 93), and is used to announce leadership over a raiding or war party (2014).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>notes: CAr nağā “He became safe, secure; he escaped” (Lane, 3028c).</td>
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<tr>
<th>NHL</th>
<th>nhl (AWS 72; C 269, 272, 1206, 1573, 2088, 2104, 2670, 3020, 3230; KRS 1670, 2409, 3291; WH 65; ZeGA 11), (torrent) valley</th>
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<td>notes: Hb nahal “river valley, wadi” (HALOT, #6089).</td>
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<tr>
<th>NKR</th>
<th>nkr (LP 1261), sc to contend with; battle</th>
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<td>notes: Perhaps equivalent to CAr nākara “He contended with him in a fight, battle, war” (Lane, 2849b).</td>
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<tr>
<th>NMR</th>
<th>h-nmrt (AWS 48; C 523, 2732; LP 330; Mu 867; M 358; RSIS 199, 339), toponym (Namārah)</th>
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<th>NQL</th>
<th>nql (AbaNS 78), sc to transport</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>notes: CAr an-naqlu: taḥwīlu š-šayʔî min mawdīʔîn ‘ilā mawdīʔîn ‘the transport of a thing from a place to a place’ (Lisān, s.v.).</td>
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<tr>
<th>NQM</th>
<th>nqmt (C 2947, 4076; LP 305, 319, 460, 4076, 5121; QZUI 462; SG 5), retribution, vengeance</th>
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<tr>
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<td>notes: CAr niqmatun “penal retribution, or vengeance” (Lane, 3037c).</td>
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<tr>
<th>NS²Ṭ</th>
<th>ns²ṭ (WH 1243), sc to go forth</th>
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<td></td>
<td>notes: CAr naṣa‘a r-raqulu ‘He went forth from a place”; “he passed or crossed, [from one country or the like to another]” (Lane, 2796a).</td>
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<tr>
<th>NS‘</th>
<th>ns‘ (HaNSB 371), enmity</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>notes: CAr naṣa‘a r-raqulu ‘He made apparent and clear his enmity and intention to kill’ (Lisān, s.v.).</td>
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<th>NSB</th>
<th>₁nṣb (C 527), cult stone</th>
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<td></td>
<td>mnsb (ZeGA 1), cult stone, var mṣb</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(KRS 2914), mṣbt (C 511)</td>
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<tr>
<td>₂nṣb</td>
<td>(MISSD 1), sc to set up a cult stone</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>notes: Macdonald (2012:291) has suggested that the nṣb-stone acted as a commemorative symbol of a divine being, or even a representation of the...</td>
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</table>
being itself. For cognates, see \(DNWSI, 749-750\).

**NŞN**

*nşn* (ASWS 202), the month Nisan (March–April)

**NŞR**

*nşr* (C 220; RWQ 117), N-SC to be in need of aid

**NOTES:** CAr naşara-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, */našara/* < *našara*.

**NTL**

*ntl* (HaNSB 8, 56), G-APC ahead of others

**NOTES:** CAr natala min bayni-him ..., taqaddama “natala from among them ...: he advanced” (Lisân, 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**

*nqît* (LP 316; MA 1; WH 1234), she-

**camel, DU nq́tn** (WH 3912), PL 'nq (AbaNS 564.1); VAR nq (LP 335)

**NOTES:** CAr an-náqátu: al-'ānûtā mina l-ibil “the female of the camel” (Lisân, s.v.).

**NWY**

*nw* (LP 325), migrating group

1*nywy* (KRS 2409, 2568), pastureland

**NOTES:** Hb nāwē “grazing place” (HALOT, #6035); CAr nawān "A tract, or region towards which one goes in journeying" (Lane, 3040b).

2*nywy* (BWM 3), SC to migrate; G-PC yny (C 1108); G-1NF nyt (C 4233; KRS 1770); G-APC nywy (KRS 37, 1949)

**NOTES:** CAr nawā-hū “he intended it, purposed it ... as the object of his aim” and the GT intawā l-qawmu manzilan bi-mawdī’i kadā “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), explosion (?)

**NOTES:** Perhaps connected to CAr nazā ‘to jump’ (Lisân, s.v.).

**NYK**

*nyk* (WH 2147), to copulate

**NZR**

*mnzr* (WH 1663), look-out point, VAR mzr (WH 318).
nzr (BTH 228; C 49; HaNSB 48, 184, 395; NST 3; KRS 24, 1944; SJ 59, 786, 808; SIT 52; WH 599, 610, 613), G-sc to guard; (+ h-s’my) to await
tzr (C 28, 70, 420, 1573, 2997, 4010; CSNS 957; KRS 1536, 1562, 1683, 1695, 2869, 3029; MKWS 28; RWQ 28; SESP.U 18; WAMS 19.1; WH 359, 2225, 2255, 3133-1, 3559-1, 3584), T-sc to wait; await; lie in wait, VAR tnzr (C 2076; HaNSB 62; KRS 2961; WH 614); vcztzr (WH 3929); INF tnzr (Mu 412).
NOTES: CAr intaṣara-hū “he looked for him; expected him; awaited him; waited for him; watched for his presence” (Lane, 2812a). Constructions such as w nzr b’d h- ms’rt (WH 599) ‘and he nzr on account of the troop’ suggest a meaning closer to Syr nṭaḥ “to guard, watch, keep; to keep watch or ward” (SD, 337b). Also CAr manzaratun “a high place on which a person is station to watch” (Lane, 2813c).

Q'D
mq’d (LP 534), seat; position
q’d (ASWS 70), G-sc to sit
NOTES: CAr maq’adun “a place of sitting” (Lane, 2547b).

Q’S
q’ṣn (C 3931), killers (an agentive noun in the plural, perhaps */qaʾašin/, if not a personal name)
nq’ṣ (C 2276), N-INF to die suddenly
NOTES: CAr qaṣṣun “a quick death”, māta qaṣṣan “He (man) died on the spot”; qaʾṣa-hū “he slew him on the spot”; inqaʾaṣa “he died” (Lane, 2549).

QBL
qbl (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; HAUI 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, tŝwq ’l- PN fḥ 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; iqbilātun, 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 qafṭī 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**

\textit{qnb} (C 3095), a company of men

Notes: Compare with \textit{CAR qanibun} "companies of men ... and hence, as being likened thereto ... clouds such as are dense or compact" (Lane, 2566a).

**QNT**

\textit{qnt} (HAUI 125; LP 306, 330; RWQ 339), \textit{g-sc to fear, despair of}

Notes: \textit{CAR qanata} "He despaired most vehemently of a thing" (Lane, 2568b).

**QRB**

\textit{qrb} (MKWS 8; UIO 298), soon; near

Notes: \textit{CAR qaribun} "shortly after and before" (Lane, 2508a).

**QRR**

\textit{qr} (C 860; KRS 132), cold

Notes: \textit{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).

\textit{2qr} (AbaNS 881; C 4351), \textit{g-sc to be cold; to be established; g-pc yqr}

(AbaNS 881)

**QS^M**

\textit{qs^m} (SIJ 293), \textit{c-sc to swear (an oath)}

Notes: \textit{CAR qasamun} "an oath by god" (Lane, 2988c); \textit{'uqsimu bil-lahi} "I swear an oath by God".

**QSF**

\textit{qsf} (C 1957; 2713, 4039), \textit{sc to be sad}

Notes: \textit{SYT qasf} "to be sad, irritated; to dread, be anxious, worried, to take a miss" (SD, 516a).

**QSY**

\textit{qs} (C 4332), furthest (elative)

\textit{qsy} (AWS 237), \textit{g-sc to dedicate; ppc qsy}

(KRS 1307). \textit{F qsy} (LP 317), \textit{DU qsyn} (C 1658).

Notes: \textit{QSY 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 √qsy, which signals ‘cutting, breaking’ is obvious, cf. Gz ṣṣāṣa “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 \textit{CAR qaṣṣa} “to cut” (Lane, 2526b), through the general confusion of IIIw/y and C² = C³ roots.

**QSS**

\textit{qss} (KRS 1468; SIJ 786; WH 1019, 1849), to patrol; to track

Notes: \textit{CAR qaṣṣa} "He followed, tracked" (Lane, 2526b). In Safaitic, the term occurs frequently with military activities, e.g., KRS 1468 \textit{qss b- m't firs} ‘he \textit{qss} 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 qšš frs³-[h] h- ms'b [y] “he tracked [his/a] horse to the winter pasture”.

QTL

\textit{1qtl} (ZeWa 1), warriors, (probably masculine plural construct: */qāṭīlī/ or */qāṭīli/).

\textit{2qtl} (KRS 1161), a fight; battle

\textit{3qtl} (C 2446, 4443; HCH 126, KRS 1161; LP 305), G-sc to kill; PC \textit{yqtl} (N-stem or internal passive) (AWS 264); APC \textit{qtl} (CSNS 1004); PPC \textit{qtl} (C 2113; LP 243, 679), \textit{mqtl} (C 2947; CSNS 1004; HCH 72, 103, 126)

\textit{4qtl} (HCH 71), L-sc to fight one another

\textit{qttl} (KRS 1024), T2-sc to engage in battle/war

QWL

\textit{1ql} (BRenv.H 1; KRS 213, 941), G-sc to say; G-IMP \textit{ql} (KRS 3239); G-APC \textit{qyl} (KRS 1015)

Notes: CAr \textit{qāla} “He said” and \textit{qawlan} “a saying, something said” (Lane, 2994c).

QWM

\textit{qm} (C 3811, 4353; KRS 1015), people

Notes: CAr \textit{qawmun} “A people, or body of persons composing a community” (Lane, 2996a).

QWY

\textit{'qwy} (SIJ 1008), C-INF to grant endurance

Notes: The CAr root \textit{qw}y signifies “strength or endurance” (Lane, 2997a), of which the Safaitic is the causative. The CAr \textit{c} means to “vacate or empty”, which seems to be an unsuitable meaning for the word’s single occurrence.

\textbf{QY’}

\textit{yq’} (AWS 237), N-PC to be thrown out

(of the grave); N-INF \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{nq’t m- qbr} ‘being thrown out of a grave’ (LP 282) and indeed \textit{nq’t b- sdq} ‘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 \textit{b- sdq} or \textit{b-wdd} signal the ultimate betrayal, namely, having a loved one reuse your grave.

QYH

\textit{qyh} (C 88), meaning and etymology uncertain
QYSR
qṣr (MISSD 1), Caesar, VAR qṣr
(HAUI 72; KRS 1991, 2375; MS 44;
WH 1698)
qṣryn (SG 5), uncertain meaning
QYN
qn (KRS 1695), servant
QYZ
1qyṣ (ZeGA 11), dry season
mqṣt (C 1240), summer pasture
2qyṣ (HCH 107; KhBG 345; LP 330; Mu
867; WH 289, 119; ZeGA 11), to spend
the dry season; 1NF qyṣ (KhNSJ 5), VAR
yḍ (Mu 113)
NOTES: CAR qāṣa bil-makānī “He
remained, or abode, in the place
during the season called qayṣ,
during the summer” (Lane, 2579b)
and maqizun, maqizatun “a place
of pasturing in the summer” (ibid.,
R'Y
1r'y (C 1338, 3230, 3818; HaNSB 197, 218;
KRS 1160; LP 712), heliacal/acronical
rising (of an asterism)
2r'y (UL 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).
RBY
mrby (KRS 167), foster child
yrbb (C 1186), D-PC to bring up, train
NOTES: CAR rabbaytu-hu “I reared
him, fostered him”, murraban
“fostered” (Lane, 1977b; 1023b)

rb' (KRS 2340), the spring
mrbb't (M 358), the period of first spring
rains
NOTES: CAR rabi‘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] rabr”.

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’.
mrb (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).

mrby (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)
**RDD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rdt</th>
<th>(C 1699), reward</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trd</td>
<td>(C 860), recompense</td>
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</table>

**NOTES:** CAr radda “He returned” (Lane, 1061c ff).

**RDF**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>^rdf</th>
<th>(LP 146), rear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>^rdf</td>
<td>(HCH 102; KRS 1011), g-sc to follow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:** CAr radifa-hū “He, or it, followed, or came after, him, or it” (Lane, 1067b).

**RDN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rdn</th>
<th>(WGGR 1), yellowish red</th>
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</table>

**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.

**RDW**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rgw</th>
<th>(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, 3736.1), deity (probably, ṫrštš = Neo-Assyrian ru-ul-da-a-a-u), var</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>^rdy</td>
<td>(AWS 72; C 286, 793, 2682, 3811, 4842; HaNSB 305; JbS 1; KRS 109, 1042, 1695, 2869; MA 1; MKWS 8; WH 3730)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ^rgy | (ASWS 107; KRS 1042), g-sc to be satisfied |

**RG’**

| rg’ | (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 |

**NOTES:** CAr rağiłun, rağilun “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 rāgtatun “a water course, or channel in which water flows, from a ḫarrāh 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 exclusively in a funerary context, suggesting the translation ‘funerary cairn’, cf. CAr rağama l-qabra “He placed upon the grave [meaning large stones to cover make a gibbous covering to it]" (Lane, 1048a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>^rgm</th>
<th>(SG 5), sc to strike down; PPC rým</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>^rgm</td>
<td>(C 2285; HCH 10, 37; KRS 941, 1991; NST 3), fs ^rgmt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^rgm</td>
<td>(C 4988; KRS 6, 2340)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES: This term appears in the common mourning formula, *rjm mny*, which has traditionally been translated as “humbled by fate”, based on CAr *rajima l-’anfu* “he was, or became, abased, or humbled, or submissive; as though his nose clave to the earth” (Lane, 113b). However, *rajima* 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 ‘struck down’ or ‘killed’. For an alternative view, see Jamme (1967b).

*RHT*

*rht* (KRS 2340), *kinsfolk, PL ‘rhatt*

(ShNGA 1)

NOTES: CAr *rahtun* “A man’s people, and tribe, consisting of his nearer relations: his kinsfolk” (Lane, 1169c).

*RHL*

*rhlt* (C 4803; SIJ 750), *ewe-lamb*

NOTES: CAr *rhlun* and *rhlatun* “an ewe-lamb” (Lane, 1059a).

*RHB*

*rḥt* (WH 1900; RVP 7), *toponym* (Ruhbah)

NOTES: The region known as al-Ruhbah, east of Tulul al-Šafā (Macdonald 1992a: 1).

(h-) *rḥt* (C 4681, SIJ 108b), *raḥahah; PL rḥb* (WH 30; WH 2255)

NOTES: With the article, the term *rḥt* refers to an open area where water collects and herbage is abundant (Macdonald 1992a: 1).

*RHD*

*rḥd* (C 4443; WH 3053), *G-SC to wash*

NOTES: CAr *rahadā* “He washed a thing or a garment, and his hand” (Lane, 1052c).

*RḤM*

*rḥm* (C 4351), *merciful* (divine epithet of Gd[f])

*RKK*

*rk* (ZeWa 1), *light rain*

NOTES: CAr *rikān* “Weak rain or rain little in quantity” (Lane, 1141b–c).

*RKB*

*rkt* (C 3757), *riding camel*

*rkb* (C 5321), *SC to wrong someone*

NOTES: Compare to CAr *rakība* danban and *irtakāba-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; HAUJ 725; LTJ 87; MKÆJS 1; SIJ 78, 352), *Rome*

*RMH*

*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 *ramkhā* “a herd of swine, camels, &c.” (SD, 543b).
The irregular correspondences between the two suggest a loan from Old Arabic into Syriac, where \( h \) was approximated by \( k \).

**RMH**

\( rmh \) (HaNSB 304), lance

Notes: CAr \( ramh\)un “A spear or lance with which one thrusts, not which one casts” (Lane, 1053a). The Safaitic \( rmh \), however, can be cast as it is the object of the verb \( rmy \) ‘to cast’.

**RMY**

\( 1rmy \) (HN 62), Sagittarius (constellation)

Notes: Perhaps */rammā\'y/ ‘archer’ or ‘lancer’ (Al-Jallad 2014).

\( rmn \) (RQA 19), archers/lancers

Notes: This particular form probably results from dissimilation of the final \( y \) next to the high vowel \( i \) of the plural ending: */rammā\'in/ < */rammā\'iyin/.

\( 2rmy b- \) (HaNSB 304), to cast a lance

Notes: CAr \( ramā\, bi-hī “he threw, cast, or flung, the thing” (Lane, 1164c).

**RWV**

\( r’ \) (KRS 25; LP 680), friend

Notes: Hb \( rē\’a “friend, companion” (HALOT, #8870).

\( trw’ \) (KRS 25), T2-SC to fear

Notes: CAr \( tarawwā’a \) and \( īrta\’a “He was, or became, frightened, or afraid” (Lane, 1187c).

**RWD**

\( rdt \) (WH 2145), meadow, pl. \( rd \) (WH 784)

\( rwdt \) (HAUI 70), small meadow (DIM)

Notes: CAr \( rawd\)atun “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)

\( trwzh \) (LP 180), T2-SC to set off at night.

Notes: CAr \( rāhā, rowāh \) and \( tarawwāhā “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, \( rowwih bi- “give rest” (Lane, 1179b). The meaning ‘to send the winds’ is preferred in prayers for rain, and probably reflects a denominative verb from \( rh \) ‘wind’, referring to the winds which bring rain clouds.

**RYM**

\( rym \) (‘l-') (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).

**SPR**

\( s’r \) (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.

s’r (M 358), toponym (Si’ in southern Syria)

S’D
1s’d (BReNH 1; RWQ 335), good fortune
2s’d (AsU1 i), aid
3s’d (AWS 218; SiJ 779.1), sc to help, 2fs s’dt (LP 687); imp s’d (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).

S’B
s’b’ (C 1084), seven

S’BY
s’by (CSNS 1004), g-sc to capture, fs s’byt (CSNS 1004); g-ppc s’by (AbANS 78; ASWS 18; C 2113), var ms’by (CSNS 1004; HCH 132), pl s’byyn (ASWS 18)
NOTES: CAr sabab l-‘adawwa “He made captive, captivated, or took a prisoner [the enemy or other than the enemy]” (Lane, 1303a).

S’DT
s’ètre (MKWS 8), six

S’DY
s’dy (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).

S’IP
s’ip’ (SiJ 1008), d-inf to feed
NOTES: Compare with Ug sp’ “to eat, devour” (UD, 766).

S’FR
s’fr (AWS 48; C 99, 793, 1293, 1649, 1875, 1936, 1957, 2031, 2196, 2276, 4803, 4974, 4988; H 506, 763; HAUI 125, 182; HshNSMI 5; KRS 15, 29, 132, 896, 944, 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 s’fr’t (WH 153), a writing, an instance of writing

ts’fr (HAUI 76), (act of) writing
NOTES: CAr sifrun “a book, or writing” (Lane, 1371a).

’s’fr (C 1649), to travel, journey
NOTES: The equivalent of CAr sāfara “He journeyed, or went, or went forth to journey” (Lane, 1370c).

S’HR
s’hr (C 2446), broken heart
NOTES: Compare with CAr sahara-hū “He, or it, hit or hurt, his sahr [or lungs, &c.] or his suhrah [i.e. heart]” (Lane, 1316a). Gz sarha “labor to the
point of exhaustion, drudge, weary oneself, be fatigued, be troubled, be anxious" (CDG, 513a) probably reflects a metathesized from of this root.

**SIHQ**

sīhq (AWS 81), destruction

sīhqt (KRS 2340), g-sc to be crushed

Notes: Compare to CAr sahaqa “to crush, pulverize” (Lane, 1318c).

**SIJR**

sījr (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.

**SIKN**

sīknt (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.

**SILH**

sīlh 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).

**SILL**

sīlsīl (HaNSB 304), bonds; chains, sing

sīlsīl (KRS 1023)

Notes: CAr silsilatun “a chain ... of iron or the like of metals” (Lane, 1397c).

**tsull** (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.

nsl (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).

**SILF**

1sīlf (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.

2sīlf (ASWS 124), c-sc to bring to an end

Notes: CAr salafa “came to an end” or “was naught” (Lane, 1407c).
SLM

1s'lm (passim), security or sc to be secure; G-PC ys'lm (LP 643)
2s'lm (KRS 756; 2869), D-sc to keep safe; deliver; D-PC ys'lm (AWS 264); D-IMP s'lm (HCH 107; KRS 1468)

s'lm (HCH 194), C-sc to surrender

SLT

s'lt (LP 1013), authorities

NOTES: CArl sananun “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.

S'M

s'm' (Ms 44), sc to hear

S'MY

s'my (C 2076, 2997; HaNSB 135, 62, 184; KRS 169, 1563, 1944; RWQ 281, 317; WH 3559-1, 3584), s'ty; rains, Pl s'myt (MKOWI 2)
s'mwt (AAUI 267), toponym

S'NT(T)

s'n̩t (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; HAOS 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; RQA 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, 3792.8; ZeWa 1), year, Pl s'nu (AZNG 1)

S'nn

ms'nn (WH 181), beaten track; land the herbage of which had been eaten

NOTES: Connected to CArl sananun “the beaten track, or part along which one travels” (Lane, 1438c–1439a).

SWQ

s'q (CSNS 65), G-sc to drive beasts, Var s'wq (KRS 926)

SWY

s'wy (MISSD 1), sc to put in order

NOTES: MISSD 1, p. 457 takes this as a metaphorical extension of the meaning of CArl sωww揶 ‘He made it equal, equable, uniform ...’ (Lane, 1476c).

s'yt (C 76), C-sc to be granted (masculine unattested)

NOTES: This verb (probably a passive 'osliya) may be compared to LAr saww ‘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.

S'Qm

1s'q'm (C 76, 527, 3365; WH 582), illness
2s'q'm (C 2830), G-sc to be ill
3s'q'm (KRS 2460), D-sc to cause sickness

NOTES: CArl saqima, saquma “He was, or became, diseased, disordered, distempered, sick, or ill” (Lane, 1383c).
**SIR**

s'ir’ (K 196), quickly

NOTES: CAr sar‘un “quick, expeditious, hasty, speedy, rapid, swift” *(Lane, 1350b).*

**SIRR**

s’i (WH 351), g-sc to make happy

NOTES: CAr sarra ‘to cheer, delight’.

**SIRT**

ms’ir (WH 599, 610), troop

m’s’ir (C 320, 2076; KRS 1024; RQ.A 10; RWQ 347), g-sc to serve in a troop

NOTES: MacDonald (2014) convincingly connects m’s’ir with Arm mašritā, which, in Syriac, can mean a ‘camp’ or ‘military unit’. He then suggests that s’ir should be understood as a verb meaning ‘to serve’ in a m’s’r, and may be a denominative verb or be cognate with Hb šērēt ‘to serve’.

**SIRT[N]**

s’ir (SESP.U 18), Cancer (constellation)

NOTES: Possibly the constellation Cancer should be restored as s’irtna, but the final n is sometimes missing. Whether this points towards phonological erosion or simply word boundary assimilation is unclear (see Al-Jallad 2014).

**SIRY**

s’iry (KRS 1679), g-sc to travel by night

NOTES: CAr sara “He journeyed, or traveled, by night, or in the night” *(Lane, 1355a).*

**SITR**

s’tir (AbaNS 78; BRCM 0194; SESP.U 26; SJ 274), shelter

s’tir (WH 405), small shelter (DIM?)

NOTES: In CAr, the terms sir‘un and sutratun 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.

**SIF**

s’if (HaNSB 304), sword

NOTES: CAr sayjun “a sword” *(Lane, 1485c).*

**SIR**

s’irn (SW 168), journeying

NOTES: Compare with Arabic sāra ‘to go; travel, probably a nominal formation */sV:rān/.

**SIRM**

s’irm (AbaNS 1128), north

NOTES: Compare with Sabaic s’irm “north” *(SbD, 130).*

**SIR**

s’ir (HaNSB 197, 218), herbage

NOTES: CAr ša‘a‘run “trees; or tangled, or luxuriant, or abundant dense trees” and ša‘irun “a certain grain” *(Lane, 1561a–c).*

**SIDD**

s’idd (KRS 6), harsh

NOTES: CAr šādīdun “possessing the quality of šiddah, i.e. hard” *(Lane, 1519).*
CHAPTER 24

s²hr (KRS 1965), month, pl. s²hrs (WH 3792.a)

NOTES: CAR sahrun “the new moon, when it appears” (Lane, 1612b).

s²Hš

1s²Hš (ASWS 107; KRS 995; SESP.U 18), scarcity; want

2s²Hš (KRS 15), sc to act nobly (i.e. not to destroy an inscription)

NOTES: In most Semitic languages, the root s²Hš (note dissimilation of s¹ to s² in Safaitic; cf. s¹ams¹um > s²ems²) 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, s²Hš 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-sahš¹u ‘an ewe without milk’ and aš-sahšatsu and aš-sahasu (Lisan, s.v.). This sense seems to hold true in Safaitic as well, s²Hš ‘bl (KRS 761), but there is no reason to assume such a restricted semantic range when not used in conjunction with an animal.

s²Kw

s²Kw y (C 31), ti-sc to petition, complain

NOTES: CAR išṭakā = šakā ‘amra-hū ‘lā lāhā “He complained his case to God”.

s²Ms¹

s²Ms¹ (C 25), deity (the sun)

s²N

s²N (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 s²N (HN 161)

NOTES: CAR šami‘un “hating, or a hater, and an enemy” (Lane, 1603c). In some cases, the idiomatic translation ‘adversity’ is preferred.

s²Qq

s²Qq (KRS 2568), side of the mountain

NOTES: CAR šiqqun “the side of the mountain” (Lane, 1577c).

s²Rb

ys²rb (LP 712), g-psc to drink

NOTES: CAR šariba, yašrabu “He drank” (Lane, 1526a).

s²Rq

s²Rq (C 1875, 2307; SESP.U 17), d-psc to migrate to the inner desert

s²Rq (C 96, 995, 2190; HaNSB 197, 218; HCH 194; WH 1700.) c-sc idem, ys²Rq
(LP 180); APC.FS ms\textsuperscript{2}rqt (KRS 1011), APC.MP/DU ms\textsuperscript{2}rqn (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 š\textit{arraqa} ‘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 š\textit{arraq} among the Rwala as described by Musil, where it means to migrate to the desert regardless of the direction taken (Macdonald 1992b: 4–5).

\begin{center}
\textbf{S\textsuperscript{2}RY}
\end{center}

\begin{itemize}
\item s\textsuperscript{2}ry (AbANs 286; C 2832), g-sc to buy
  \begin{flushleft}
  \textit{NOTES: CAr šarā-hu} ‘He bought it ... he took it, or acquired it, for a price’ (Lane, 1544b).
  \end{flushleft}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item ts\textsuperscript{2}ry (RWQ 317), t2-sc to be scattered
  \begin{flushleft}
  \textit{NOTES: CAr tašarrā ‘it became scattered, or dispersed’ (Lane, 1545b)}.
  \end{flushleft}
\end{itemize}

\begin{center}
\textbf{S\textsuperscript{2}TW}
\end{center}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}s\textsuperscript{2}ty (Mu 113; WH 1361), \textit{the winter}
  \begin{flushleft}
  \textit{ms\textsuperscript{2}ty} (WH 3500), \textit{winter pasture}, \textit{VAR ms\textsuperscript{2}tyt} (M 358)
  \end{flushleft}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2}s\textsuperscript{2}ty (ANKS 1; C 4452; KRS 1964; MKJS 1; Mu 867; RSIS 351; SJ 352; GIT 58; SW 193; WH 1698), t2-sc to winter,
  \begin{flushleft}
  \textit{VAR s\textsuperscript{2}tw} (KhBG 376; CSNS 324); APC s\textsuperscript{2}t (C 1868); INF s\textsuperscript{2}tt (KRS 37)
  \textit{NOTES: CAr š\textit{ā}tā bi-hī ‘He ... remained, stayed, dwelt, or abode, during the š\textit{itā}’ [or winter &c.]’ (Lane, 1503c) and mast\textit{ān}, maš\textit{ā}t\textit{ān} ‘place [in which one resides, stays, dwells, or abides, during the season] of the š\textit{itā}’ [winter]’ (Lane, 1504b–c).
  \end{flushleft}
\end{itemize}

\begin{center}
\textbf{S\textsuperscript{2}WQ}
\end{center}

\begin{itemize}
\item ts\textsuperscript{2}wq (AWS 48; C 88, 96, 99, 2832; HaNSB 307; HCH 191; JbS 1; KRS 1991; LP 243, 680; SJ 352; GIT 58; SW 193; WH 1698), t2-sc to long, yearn for,
  \begin{flushleft}
  \textit{3FS t\textsuperscript{2}wqt} (AKS) 1.2.3, w-form ts\textsuperscript{2}wqw (RSIS 204); T-INF ts\textsuperscript{2}wq (C 1539)
  \textit{NOTES: The equivalent of CAr ʃ\textit{ṭāqa īlay-hī ‘He was, or became, desirous of it ... [or he longed for it in his soul]’ (Lane, 1620b)}.
  \end{flushleft}
\end{itemize}

\begin{center}
\textbf{S\textsuperscript{2}Y}
\end{center}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}s\textsuperscript{2} (HCH 132), \textit{thing}
\item \textsuperscript{2}s\textsuperscript{2} (UIO 268), \textit{want}
\item s\textsuperscript{2}y (AWS 72), \textit{to experience want}
  \begin{flushleft}
  \textit{NOTES: CAr š\textit{ā}u-hū ‘He willed, wished, or desired it’ and š\textit{ay’un ‘thing” (Lane, 1625c–1626a)}.
  \end{flushleft}
\end{itemize}

\begin{center}
\textbf{S\textsuperscript{2}Y’}
\end{center}

\begin{itemize}
\item s\textsuperscript{2}y’ (C 2732; LP 146), \textit{INF to follow; be a companion}
\end{itemize}
s²c (KRS 307), IMP to join s.o. with
's²y' (C 1858, 2544, 2713, 3095, 4988; KRS 24, 29, 1161; LP 243, 306, 342; MAHB 2), companions, VAR 's²c (RWQ 120; UIO 147)
s²t (WH 2255), party, group
NOTES: CAr šayya'tu-hu 'inda rahilī-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).
s²ham (ASWS 124; C 1744, 1936, 4039; HaNSB 304; HAUI 182; KRS 15, 18, 29, 68, 225, 756, 1160, 1307, 1432, 1683, 1704, 1886; LP 1198; MKWS 8; SESPU 18; WGGR 1; WH 1696; ZeWa 1), deity
NOTES: CAr šayya-hu “a friend"
and šādiqun “speaking, saying, uttering, or telling truth” (Lane, 1668b–c).

\textbf{ŞHR}

şhr (ASWS 202), SC to glisten or to appear
NOTES: The term corresponds well with Hb şhr “to appear” or “glisten” (HALOT #7892), and less so with Arabic sahara “he melted or liquefied”. The Hb verb, however, is cognate with the CA root şhr, which is also attested in the Safaitic inscriptions (see şhr below). In this case, we must assume a loan.

\textbf{ŞHY}

şhy (KRS 2420), thirst
şhy (HaNSB 184), C-INF drought
NOTES: Syr šhō and šī ‘to thirst, to be dry’ and sahwōnō ‘thirst, drought’ (SD, 474a).

\textbf{ŞHH}

şh (LP 409), C-SC to cry aloud (in grief)
NOTES: Compare with CA sūhātun “A cry that deafens by its vehemence” (Lane, 1657a).

\textbf{ŞLB}

šb (HaNS 660), G-SC to crucify
NOTES: salaba-hu “He crucified him” (Lane, 1711c).

\textbf{ŞLY}

šly (SJJ 293), C-SC to make a burnt offering
NOTES: CAr šala-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.

SMKR

§mkr (RWQ 329), toponym? (near the Euphrates)

SMM

§m (LP 282), deafness

NOTES: CAr šamma “He was, or became, deaf” (Lane, 1722b).

SRT

§rt (KRS 2869), an enclosure; a structure on high ground

NOTES: A connection with širatun “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 šayyīratun “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.

SWN

§wn (SIJ 750) to preserve; protect; G-PC

NOTES: CAr šāna-hū “he preserved it” (Lane, 1750b).

SWY

§wy (C 3140; HaNSB 206; KRS 2420; LP 684), cairn (see also ‘hd)

NOTES: CAr šawwa šawan “He made a šawan [i.e. signs set up for the guidance of travelers] in the way”; šuwwatun “a sign for the guidance of travelers”; šawwā’n “graves” (Lane, 1739b). The term seems to be attested once in a fragmentary Greek inscription as σιον[α], suggesting the vocalization */şiwy/. 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.

NOTES: CAr sdw/« “Dry, by reason of thirst, or want of irrigation, or by reason of leanness, or emaciation” (Lane, 1751b).

SWR

§r (WH 351), G-INF to draw

NOTES: CAr suratun ‘an image’.

SY

$t (RWQ 155), G-SC FS to be in a state of commotion (masculine unattested). NOTES: Perhaps related to CAr ‘asya’u ‘A state of commotion, or of exceeding commotion” (Lane, 1755c) and tasawwā’a l-qawmu “the people, or party, became dispersed,
or scattered, and remote, all of them, one from another” (Lane, 1746a).

ȘYD

ṣd (C 3113), game

mq’d h-ṣd (LP 534), seat of hunting (?)

ṣydrd (MKWS 2), snares (singular unattested)

ṣydrd (C 4384), sc to hunt

NOTES: Car ṣāda-hū “He took, captured, or caught, it; snared, or ensared it”; saydun “game, chase, or prey” (Lane, 1752b–1753a).

ȘYF

ṣf (C 860), early summer


ȘYR

ṣyr (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 ṣr (CSNS 89)

NOTES: This verb consistently appears in the context of movement towards water, either away from the mdbr 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 sayrun “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 sfr and ḥṭṭ. Interestingly, in LAr the verb tallal, ytallel means “converser, causer” (Barthélémy, 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 tīlwun “A thing that follows another thing” (Lane, 314a).

TM'

tmwy (LP 82), GADJ Taymanite

TMM

tm (C 99), G-SC to last

NOTES: Car ʿatamma ʾš-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).

TRH

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: CArtarīḥa “He perished, or
died: became cut off, was put an
d end to; or came to an end” (Lane,
302).

T’R
tr’ (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: CArtā‘ūra-hū “He revenged,
or avenged, his blood, by retaliating
his slaughter; he slew his slayer”
and tā‘run “blood-revenge” (Lane,
327c–328a).

TBR
ṯbr (C 1758, 4443), Sagittarius
ṯbr (LP 679), destruction
ṯbrn (NST 3), Pl warriors, of an
unattested singular tbr
2ṯbrn (HCH 107), toponym
NOTES: CArtabarā-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).

TFL
ṯfl (RSIS 339), sediment (?)
NOTES: CArtufn “sediment” (Lane,
340b). The context of the inscription
cannot shed further light on the exact
meaning of this word.

TLG
tlg (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 commemo-
ration in an inscription. On the other
hand, it might be possible to interpret
tlg in these circumstances as ‘cold’
or ‘severe cold’ rather than literally
‘snow’.

TLT
tlt (AZNG 1; C 1573), three, v tlt (ASWS 18; WH 3792.a); tlt (ZeWa 1), thirty
tl t (ASWS 360), third (?)

TMN
tmn’s2rt (H 763), eighteen

TNN
tnt (ISB 117), dry herbage
NOTES: Probably related to CArtin: yabīsu l-haššī ‘dry herbage’
(Lisan, s.v.).

TNY
tn’s2r (KRS 303), twelve

TQB
tqb (AKSD 5), sc to cut; pierce
NOTES: taqaba “He perforated; bored;
pierced it” (Lane, 341c).

TM
t’m (C 3133), Inf to nourish
NOTES: CArtā‘āmun “food of any
kind” (Lane, 1854b).
TB'

ṭb’ (ZeGA ii), river or rivulet
NOTES: CAr ṭib’un “a river or rivulet” (Lane, 1823c).

THR

ṭhr (MA 1), sc to cleanse
NOTES: CAr tahara, tahura “It was, or became, clean, free from dirt or filth, or pure” (Lane, 1886c).

TLQ

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 intalaga “he went away or departed” (Lane, 1872b).

ṬNN

ṭn (C 25), c-sc to cut off
NOTES: CAr C-stem of the root ṭnn, ṭāṭanna 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, 1898b).

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.

W'L

w'l (NST 3), toponym

WY

w'y (C. 4803), sc to be mindful
NOTES: CAr waʾā-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 wabālim ‘to carry’ is more likely, in which case the present form would reflect the D-INF */tawbil/.

WDD

wdd (C 1936, 2032; HAUI 182; KRS 995; LP 673, MKWS 8; SESPU 18), loved one
wdt (WH 2194), love
NOTES: CAr waddan “A person loved synonymous with habtun and sadīqun” (Lane, 2931b).

WFY

tfyt (C. 1744), fulfillment
NOTES: CAr waffa-hu ḥaqqa-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; HAUI 125;
HshNSMI 5; KRS 6, 15, 213, 896, 926, 941, 1015, 1161, 1379, 2914; LP 135, 183, 304, 306, 342, 409, 562, 1265, 1351; MAHB 5; Mu 253, 897; RWQ 334; WH 325, 399. G-sc to find, FS wgd (SIAM 35); G-inf wgd (ISB 117).

NOTES: CAr wa'gada-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 'l- (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, 5056; CSNS 1004, 1010; HaNSB 218; HAUI 76; HCH 10, 37, 46, 69, 72, 82, 103, 126; KRS 18, 24, 78, 167, 1024, 1051, 1991, 2890, 2914; LP 243, 304, 344, 406, 562, 1, 643; Mu 253; RWQ 310), N-sc to grieve in pain (idiomatic)

NOTES: Both terms are probably equivalent to CAr tawaggā'a "He expressed manifested pain, affliction, distress, grief, or sorrow" (Lane, 3049b).

WHB

wib, (C 1868), G-sc to give, grant, FS whbt (C 4037); hb G-IMP (AsUI 1; AWS 236; BRevn.H 1; KRS 96, 1087; LP 319, 460; Mu 571);

2whh (C 3757), D-IMP idem

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 waqmun, 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 'l-b'ls'mn s'nt mhl 'he grieved for B'ls'mn in the year of dearth'.

WG’

wg’ (LP 314; SiI 152), G-sc (always passive) to grieve in pain (idiomatic)
y’ (KRS 3074), C-sc to cause pain

ng’ (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, 643; Mu 253; RWQ 310), N-sc to grieve in pain (idiomatic)

NOTES: Both terms are probably equivalent to CAr tawaggā’a “He expressed manifested pain, affliction, distress, grief, or sorrow” (Lane, 3049b).

WHĐ

1hd (KRS 1131), deity

2whd (C 2104, 4815; KRS 922), by oneself

2whd (NSR 117; WH 128, 366), to be alone

2hd (AAUI 281), C-sc to make two one

twhd (AWS 244), T2-SC, to be alone
CHAPTER 24

NOTES: CAr wahuda "He, or it, was, or became, alone, by himself or itself, apart from others" (Lane, 2927a).

WKS\(^1\)

\(wks\)\(^1\) (C. 1186), loss

NOTES: CAr al-waksu: an-naqṣu ‘loss’ (Līsān, s.v.).

WLD

\(wld\) (Brenv.H 1), offspring

\(\text{\textasciitilde}wld\) (ASWS 217, 366; 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 wāladun, PL wuddun “a child ... offspring, young, or younglings; of any kind” (Lane, 2966a–b).

WLH

\(wlh\) (C 25, 1607, 2446, 4443, 4768; HCH 71; KRS 6, 24, 926, 1432, 2453; RSIS 351; SG 5; Vogue 404.1), G-sc to be distraught

\(\text{\textasciitilde}wlh\) (C 3177), D-IMP to make distraught

\(\text{\textasciitilde}twlh\) (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\(^1\)

\(\text{\textasciitilde}wq\) (AKSD 5), inscription

\(\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\textasciitilde}wq\) (CSNS 1), sc to inscribe

NOTES: The term seems to be a rare alternative to sfr and ḥāṭṭ. Compare with CAr waqqā’a fi l-kitāb “he signed the writing” (Lane, 3057c).

WQD

\(wqd\) (C 2997), fire

NOTES: CAr waqḍun “fire” (Lane 2959b).

\(\text{\textasciitilde}qd\) (AbaNS 16; WH 1234), c-sc to beat violently

\(\text{\textasciitilde}tqd\) (KRS 1161), T-sc to be in a beaten state (metaphorically despairsed)

\(\text{\textasciitilde}nqd\) (LP 146), N-sc to prostrate oneself

NOTES: waqada-hū “He beat him or stuck him violently” c. \(\text{\textasciitilde}awqada\), 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 waqqaf “to stop or cease doing something”.

WQY

\(qyt\) (C 511, 1837, 4068, KRS 78), G-INF to protect, preserve, VAR qt (C 4384)

\(\text{\textasciitilde}qyt\) (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 waqá-hu lláhu s-sū'a “God preserved him from evil”; TD tawaqqá-hu “he guarded against it”
GT ittaqá “he guarded himself” (Lane, 3059a)

WR'
wr’ (WH 1900), sc to remain behind

NOTES:
CAr wará‘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.j, 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. y̲rh (KRS 25)
NOTES: Compare with Hb yeraḥ/ yārēah “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
ws¹q (C 2088), a mob of driven cattle (singular unattested).

WS¹qn (C 3095), G-APC.PL to drive
NOTES: CAr wasiqatun “a mob of driven cattle” (Lane 3053).

WS¹q (AAUI 267; C 2670; LP 342), struggle
NOTES: CAr wāsaqa “to oppose, to contend a.o.” (Hova, 869); in the modern dialect of Syria, wasaq means “to injure (someone)” (Barthélemy, 894).

WSL
wsl (LP 684), to arrive
NOTES: CAr wasala ‘ilay-hi “He, or it, arrived at, came to, reached, attained him, or it” (Lane, 3054c).

WYL
wyl (C 76), woe, var wrtn (AAEK 394)
NOTES: CAr waylun/an la-hū “woe to him!” (Lane, 3962c).

Ý’s¹
Ý’s¹ (CSNS 957; KRS 169), G-sc to despair
Ý’s¹ (LP 718), d-sc to upset; to make despair
Ý’s¹ (WH 1022), c-sc to make despair
t’s¹ (LP 679), t-sc to despair
NOTES: Arabic ya‘īsa “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.
CHAPTER 24

YD

\( \text{yd} \) (AKSD 5; C 25), hand, DU-CNST \( \text{yd} \) (C 4037)

YHD

\( \text{yhd} \) (ASWS 217; HAUI 125; RSIS 324), Jews; GADJ \( \text{yhd} \) (C 2732)

YM

\( \text{ym} \) (KRS 303), day, pl. 'ym (MKWS 8), VAR 'wm (KRS 2453)

YMN

\( \text{ymnt} \) (HCH 194), south

\( \text{tmny} \) (HaNSC 5), GADJ of \( \text{Tmn} \) (probably southerner)

\( \text{y} \text{mn} \) (C 325), c-sc to go south

NOTES: CA \( \text{al-yam} \text{nun} \) “the location that is on the right. \( \text{Yam} \text{lnun} \) also, the south” (Lane, 3640b); Sab \( \text{ymnt} \) “south” and \( \text{yhymnn} \) “be southward” (ShD, 168).

YT

\( \text{yt'} \) (AWS 380; C 218, 527, 1658, 1837, 5121; KRS 169, 307, 922, 1695; Ms 37; RWQ 62; SW 264), deity (vocalized perhaps as Yayte').

YZR

\( \text{y} \text{zr} \) (C 2156, 2209; MISSD 1), Iturians

(ethnonym, suggested by Knauf 1983)

ZFF

\( \text{zf} \) (C 285), sending of the bride

NOTES: CA \( \text{zaff} \text{a} \) “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

\( \text{zmrt} \) (HCH 79), flute-playing girl

NOTES: CA \( \text{zawmarun} \) “playing; or a player” of a \( \text{mizm} \text{ärun} \) “a musical reed, or pipe” (Lane, 1251a).

ZRY

\( \text{zry} \) (C 74), G-SC to treat with contempt

NOTES: The context of this verb suggests a passive interpretation, in which case Safaitic \( \text{zry} \) may be the equivalent of CA \( \text{izdar} \text{ā-hu} \) “he contemned, or despised, him ... or made him to be contemned or despised” (Lane, 1229c).

ZWM

\( \text{z'm} \) (Vogue 404.1), G-APC dead (verb unattested)

NOTES: This verb seems to have been very rare in CA, occurring only once with a suitable sense in the \( \text{Lisān} \) (s.v.) \( \text{zāna} \text{ r-} \text{ra} \text{ğul} \text{u} \text{'idd māta}. \)

ZN

\( \text{z'n} \) (HaNSB 62), SC to seek after herbage or water; INF \( \text{d'nt} \) (AAEK 244)

NOTES: CA \( \text{za'ana} \) “He journeyed to seek after herbage, or to water” (Lane, 1911c). The infinitive \( \text{d'nt} \) is attested in a variety in which \( d \) and \( z \) have been confused.

ZBY

\( \text{zby} \) (L 184), DU \( \text{zbyn} \) (WH 3151), F \( \text{zbyt} \) (WH 2342), gazelle

NOTES: CA \( \text{zabyūn} \) “a gazelle” (Lane, 1908b).
ZHHR

자라 (LP 718), to become evident
NOTES: CAr 자하라 “It was, or became, outward ... it appeared; became apparent... plain, or evident” (Lane, 1926b).

ZI

자라 (LP 732), seeking to copulate (ADJ or APC)
NOTES: CAr 자라은 is applied to a dog that is lusting for a female (Lane, 1918a).

ZLL

자라 (C 4649), shelter
자라 (C 4681), small shelter (DIM)
NOTES: CAr 자라탄 “A thing that covers or protects on overhead”; also 자라탄 “that whereby one shades himself of trees, stones, and other things” (Lane, 1916b).

자라 (AAUI 294; C 2544, 2713; CSNS 1; HAUI 125; KRS 6, 941; SG 5), sc to remain, f 자라 (CSNS 1)
NOTES: CAr 자라라 우나로 가끼 “he continued doing such a thing” (Lane, 1914b); this usage is especially common in the modern dialects of Arabic.

ZLM

자라 (AZNG 1; RWQ 73; WH 3730), G-SC to oppress; to be unjust; APC.PL 자라 (KRS 1087)
NOTES: CAr 자라마 “He did wrong; or acting wrongfully, unjustly, infuriously, or tyrannically” (Lane, 1920).

ZMY

자마 (RWQ 73), toponym

ZNN

자나 (C 1108), sc to sit in contemplation
NOTES: Compare with CAr 자나 “He thought, opined, supposed, or conjectured” (Lane, 1924b).

ZRT

자라 (UIO 117; WH 3094), enclosure
NOTES: Compare with Syriac 티라 ‘enclosure’ (SD, 126a).
Plates

PLATE 1  KRS 68

PLATE 2  KRS 169
Bibliography

This bibliography contains the works cited in the book. The bibliography already cited under Sigla (xiii), however, will not be repeated here.


Huehnergard, J. 2005. "The features of Central Semitic", in A. Gianto (ed.), *Biblical and


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.

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