An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions

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An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions

By

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

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

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Contents

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.

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

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 Michael shared his life's work with me, his unpublished papers, inscriptions, the Safaitic database, and most of all, his critical approach.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

Sigla

Sigla of Editions of Inscriptions

A   Unpublished photograph taken by S. Abbadi in Wadi Salmā, read and interpreted by Ahmad Al-Jallad. I thank Ali al-Manaser for sharing this image. The full text will appear in a forthcoming publication by Al-Jallad and al-Manaser.

AAEK   al-Manaser, A. 2008. *Ein Korpus neuer safaitischer Inschriften aus Jordanien* (SSHB 10). Aachen: Shaker Verlag.

AbaNS   Ababneh, M. 2005. *Neue safaitische Inschriften und deren bildliche Darstellungen* (SSHB 6). Aachen: Shaker Verlag.

ASWS   Awad, M. 1999. *Dirāsat nuqūš ṣafawiyyah min ǧanūb wādī sārah al-bādiyah al-ʾurdunniyyah aš-šamāliyyah*. Masters Thesis. Irbid, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Yarmouk University.

AKSD   Abū ʿAssāf, A. 1973. "Kitābāt ʿarabiyyah ṣafawiyyah ǧadīdah fī al-matḥaf al-waṭanī bi-dimašq". *AAAS* 23: 202–212.

AKSJ   Abū ʿAssāf, A. 1975. "Kitābāt ṣafawiyyah ǧadīdah fī matḥafay dimašq wa tadmūr". *AAAS* 25: 141–145.

ANKS   Naǧī, A. 1962. "Kitābah ṣafawiyyah min ṣaḥrāʾ al-ruṭbah". *Sumer* 18: 165–170.

AtIN   Atallah, N. 2001. "Des Inscriptions du Nord de la Jordanie". *Epigraphic Anatolica* 33: 199–2007.

AAUI   Unpublished inscriptions of Ali al-Manaser from al-Fahad and al-Faydah (to appear on OCIANA).

AWS   Alolow, Ġ. 1996. *Dirāsat nuqūš ṣafawiyyah ǧadīdah min wādī as-sūʿ ǧanūb Sūriyā*. Masters Thesis. Irbid, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Yarmouk University.

AZNG   Abbadi, S. and F. Zayadine. 1996. "Nepos the governor of the Provincia Arabia in Safaitic inscription?". *Semitica* 46: 155–164.

BHT   Van den Branden, A. 1960. *Histoire de Thamoud*. Beirut: al-Jamiah al-Lubnaniyah.

BRCM   Bikai, P.M. 2005. "Rajl: Cairn of the Mermaids". *ACOR Newsletter* 17.2: 4–5.

BRenv.H   Unpublished texts from the Safaitic Epigraphic Survey Project

BWM   Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Betts from Wadi Miqaṭ

C   Ryckmans, J. (ed.) 1950–1951. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum Pars V*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

CSA   Clark, V.A. 1984–1985. "New Safaitic inscriptions from Sakaka and Azraq". *Abr-Nahrain* 23: 14–21.

CSNS   Clark, V.A. 1979. *A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*. A Thesis
           presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Middle
           Eastern Studies, University of Melbourne. Ann Arbor, MI: Univeristy Micro-
           films International.

H   Harding unpublished notes on inscriptions

HaNSB   Ḥarāḥišah, R. 2010. *Nuqūš ṣafāʾiyyah mina ʾl-bādiyah al-ʾUrdunniyyah*. Am-
           man: Ward Books.

HAUI   Abd al-Qadir, Unpublished photos of inscriptions from the Mafraq Muse-
           um.

HCH   Harding, G. Lankaster. 1953. "The Cairn of Hani". *ADAJ* 2: 8–56.

HshNSMI   Harahsheh, R. and Y. Al-Shdifat. 2006. "Nuqūš ṣafawiyyah muʾarraḫah ʾilā
           ḥukm ʾaghrībā aṯ-ṯānī 49/50–92/93 m". *Maǧallat muʾtah lil-buḥūṯ wad-
           dirāsāt* (silsilat al-ʿulūm al-ʾinsāniyyah wal-ʾiǧtimāʿiyyah), 21.6: 111–129.

ISB   Oxtoby, W.G. 1968. *Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin*. (American
           Oriental Series 50. New Haven). CT: American Oriental Society.

KhBG   Khraysheh, F. 2002. *Nuqūš ṣafawiyyah min biyār al-ġuṣayn*. (Mudawwanat
           an-nuqūš al-ʾUrdunniyyah 1). Irbid: Yarmouk University Press.

KhNSJ   Khraysheh, F. 1995. "New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan". *Syria* 72: 401–
           414.

KhMNS   Khraysheh, F. 2007. "al-ṣayd ʿinda ʾl-ʿarab al-ṣafāʾiyyīn qabla ʾl-ʾislām", *Jour-
           nal of Epigraphy and Rock Drawings* 1: 9–28.

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

LP   Littmann, E. 1943. *Safaïtic Inscriptions*. (Syria. Publications of the Prince-
           ton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909;
           Division IV. Section D). Leyden: Brill.

MAHB   Ababneh. M. 2007. "Safaitische Inschriften aus El-Hseniyyat/jordanisches
           Badiyah". *Journal of Epigraphy and Rock Drawings* 1: 19–28.

MISSD/I   Macdonald, M.C.A., M. Al Muʾazzin and L. Nehmé. 1996. "Les inscriptions
           safaïtic de Syrie, cent quarante ans après leur découverte", *Comptes rendus
           de séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*: 435–494.

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

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

Ms   Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-
           ANA).

MSNS	Maani, S.A. and I.S. Sadaqah. 2002. "New Safaitic Inscriptions from the Mafraq office Department of Archaeology of Jordan". *Syria* 79: 249–269.
Mu	Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
N	Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
NRW.D	Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
NSR	Abdallah. 1970. *Al-nuqūš al-ṣafawiyya fī maǧmūʿat ǧāmiʿat al-riyāḍ ʿām 1996*, MA Thesis. American University of Beirut.
NST	Harding, G.L. 1951. "New Safaitic Texts". *ADAJ* 1: 25–29.
QZUI	Unpublished inscriptions of Alqadrah and Al-Zoubi (to appear on OCIANA).
Rsh	Inscription from Rushayda in appendix to Macdonald (2006).
RQ.A	Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
RR	Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
RSIS	Schirin, R. 2013. *Nueu safaitische Inschriften aus Süd-Syrien.* (SSHB 16). Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
RVP	Safaitic inscriptions (except Stein, q.v.) in Ryckmans, G. 1941.
RWQ	Al-Rousan, M. 2005. *Nuqūš ṣafawiyyah min wādī qaṣṣāb bi-l-ʾUrdunn*. PhD dissertation. Ar-Riyāḍ, Ǧāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
RyD	Ryckmans, G. 1951. "Inscriptions ṣafaïtiques au British Museum et au Musée de Damas". *Le Muséon* 64, pp. 83–91, pl. 1–3
SESP.D	Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
SESP.U	Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
SG	Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCIANA).
ShNGA	Al-Shdifat, Y. 2003. "Naqš ṣafawī min ǧabal eʿnazah fī šamāl šarq al-ʾurdunn: ʾiʿādat qirāʾah wa taḥlīl". *Maǧallat muʾtah lil-buḥūṯ wad-dirāsāt* (silsilat al-ʿulūm al-ʾinsāniyyah wal-ʾiǧtimāʿiyyah), 18.3: 213–229.
SHS	Unpublished Inscriptions from S. Hauran Survey, Site 363, nr. Dayr a-Qinn (to appear on OCIANA).
SIJ	Winnett, F.V. 1957 *Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan.* (Near and Middle Eastern Series 2). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
SIT	Harding, G.L. 1972. "Safaitic Inscriptions from Tapline in Jordan". *ADAJ* 17: 5–16.

SW   Sweerky, M. 1999. *Dirāsat nuqūš ṣafawiyyah ğadīdah min šamāl wādī sārah
            fī šamāl al-ʾUrdunn*. Masters Thesis, Irbid: Institute of Archaeology and
            Anthropology, Yarmouk University.

UIO[1]   Unpublished inscriptions to appear on OCIANA

Vogue   Safaitic inscriptions copied by Vogüé and republished in C.

WAMS   Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-
            ANA).

WGGR   Inscriptions recorded on the SESP surveys 1996–2003 (to appear on OCI-
            ANA).

WH   Winnett, F.V. & G. Lankester Harding. 1978. *Inscriptions from 50 Safaitic
            Cairns*. (Near and Middle Eastern Series 9). Toronto: University of Toronto
            Press.

ZeGA   Zeinaddin, H., 2000. "Safaitische Inschriften aus dem Ğabal al-ʿArab". *Da-
            maszener Mitteilungen* 12: 265–289, pls 58–69.

ZeWa   Zeinaddin, F. 2002. Unpublished inscriptions on fax.

ZSI   Zayadine, F. 1980. "A Safaitic Inscription in the Amman Archaeological
            Museum". *ADAJ* 24.

ZmNSIH   Al-Zoubi, M. 2014. "New Safaitic inscriptions from Haroun area in north-
            eastern Jordan". *FU*—Berlin.

Dictionary Sigla

Barthélemy   Barthélemy, A. 1935–1954. *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie:
              Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuth-
              ner.

CDG   Leslau, W. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez*. Wiesbaden: Otto Har-
              rassowitz.

DNWSI   Hoftijzer, J. and K. Jongeling. 1995. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic
              Inscriptions* I–II, with Appendices by R.C. Steiner, A. Mosak Moshavi and
              B. Porten. (Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten
              21). Leiden: Brill.

HALOT   Koehler, L., Baumgartner, W., Richardson, M.E.J. & Stamm, J.J. 1995–
              2000. *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament I–V*. (Elec-
              tronic edition). Leiden: Brill.

Hava   Hava, J.G. 1982. *Al-Farāʾid Arabic-English Dictionary*. 5th edition. Beirut:
              Dār al-Mashriq.

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1   These inscriptions have been reproduced without their genealogies.

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

Abbreviations

Grammatical Abbreviations

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

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

Language and Script Abbreviations

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

Transcription Conventions

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

Translation Conventions in the Appendix of Inscriptions

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

Transcription of the Verbal Stems

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

Abbreviations of Root Classes

I-n   Triradical root with /n/ as the first consonant
I-w/y   Triradical root with /w/ or /y/ as the first consonant
II-w/y   Triradical root with /w/ or /y/ as the second consonant
III-w/y   Triradical root with /w/ or /y/ as the third consonant
$C^2 = C^3$ Triradical root where the second and third consonants are identical

Introduction

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

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

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

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

1.1   Writing in the Ḥarrah

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

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

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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 cir-
> 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 2010:15

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

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

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

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

AbaNS 86:   *l bhs² bnt hn' w mtt*
             'For Bhs² daughter of Hn' and she died'

Vogue 404.2: *l ʿn bn ks¹ṭ h- nfs¹*
             'This funerary monument is for ʿn son of Ks¹ṭ'

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

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

Safaitic—Greek (Partial) Bilinguals
C 2823–2824 (+ Greek)

l s²mt bn ḫlṣ bn ḥddn bn ʿn ḏ ʾl ḥg
'By S²āmet son of Ḫalīṣ son of Ḥaddīdān son of ʿn of the lineage of Ḥagg'

Μνησθῇ Σαμεθος Αλιζου τοῦ Αδδ[ι]δανου Αγγηνος
'May S²āmet son of Ḫalīṣ the Ḥaddīdān-Ḥaggite be remembered'

Macdonald (2009 I: 76)

l nṣrʾl bn ʿlw   Μνησθῇ Νασρηλος Αλουου
'By Naṣrʾel son of ʿalw'   'May Naṣrʾel son of ʿalw be remembered'

Safaitic—Palmyrene
Macdonald (2009 II: 347)

l rf'l bn tfn	*rp'l br twp' zbdbl bṭb*
'By Rf'l son of Tfn'	'[may] Rp'l son of Twp' Zbdbl [be remembered] well'

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

WH 1860 (= + Greek 2)

l whblh bn ẓn'l bn whblh ...	Ουαβαλλας Ταννηλου τοῦ [ ] Ουαβαλλου
'By Wahballāh son of Ẓann'el son of Wahballāh'	'By Wahballāh son of Ẓann'el son of Wahballāh'

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

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

RSIS 231:   *l ḫr bn mġny w 'n dhs²*
              'For Ḫr son of Mġny and I am Dhs²'

KRS 268:   *l s²rw bn flṭt h- dr w 'n 'tm bn s²rw*
              'For S²rw son of Flṭt, at this place, and I am 'tm son of S²rw'

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

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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 w'l bn s²mt*, followed by a narrative: *w wgd s¹fr ẓn'l* 'and he found the writing of Ẓn'l'. As the editors point out, the writing to which *Ḥrb* must be referring is the nearby inscription WH 311, which contains the name *ẓn'l 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.[5] Following Macdonald, the written word would have had little practical purpose in the desert, and so I would suggest that the skill was transformed into a genre of rock art. The written representation of daily activities could have then functioned as aesthetic depictions of reality. The inscriptions focus on a limited set of subjects, the selection of which was perhaps guided by local or communal ideals.[6] This point is brought into relief once we compare themes across different ANA writing traditions. In Hismaic, for example, expressions of love and lust are common while such motifs are only rarely encountered in the Safaitic inscriptions.[7] This can hardly mean that the authors of the Safaitic inscriptions felt these emotions less frequently than those who produced Hismaic ones; instead, the rarity of such expressions suggests that they were not regarded as aesthetically appropriate in the former tradition.

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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' *rʿy*, another might specify an animal *rʿy h- ḍʾn* 'he pastured the sheep', and yet others might form a rather elaborate image with details of location and types of herbage, *rʿy h- nḫl h- ḍʾn bql* 'he pastured the sheep in the valley on fresh herbage'. Nevertheless, narratives of all lengths follow strict stylistic conventions (see § 24.9); even the most elaborate descriptions are encountered verbatim across multiple inscriptions. Thus, writing in the Safaitic context was not a practice of unstructured self-expression, but a genre of rock art restricted by stylistic and thematic formulae. I would therefore suggest that when individuals learned the art of writing, they were taught which themes were aesthetic (what to write about) and the appropriate way of expressing them through the use of formulae (how to write).

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

Considering the foregoing 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 mġyr bn ms¹k bn ʿmd bn mlk bn qḥs² w rʿy h- ʾbl f h s²[h]qm ġnyt m- rʿyt*
'By Mġyr son of Ms¹k son of ʿmd son of Mlk son of Qḥs² and he pastured the camels so, O [S²ʿhqm], 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: *s¹lm l- mn dʿy h- s¹fr* 'may he who would read this writing have security'. Many texts record expressions of grief and sorrow in reaction to finding the inscription of a lost loved one. However, a small number of texts suggest that this ritual had an oral dimension as well. It seems that after reading the inscription of a loved one, authors would make an oral invocation to a deity to protect the author/owner of the inscription or the text itself.[8] So far only four authors recorded in writing what they pronounced orally:

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

KRS 941: *wgd ʾṭr ṣ'd f ngʿw bʾsˡ m ẓll w rġm m{n}{y} {ʾ}{n}{y} {w} {q}l ḫbl -h trḥ*

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

KRS 1015: *wgd ʾṭr ʾl ḏf w rb -h qyl hy lt sˡlm w b- ʾn -h sˡlm w {q}m -h ʾbd*

'he found the trace of the people of Ḏf 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 ʾṭr ʿm -h ḥmyn f ql h gdḏf {h}b {l}-{h} k- sˡʾd -h w k- wld -h w k- nʿm -h*

'he found the trace (grave?) of his grandfather protected (or Ḥmyn, a PN) and then said aloud: O Gdḏf {grant} {him} the like of his good fortune, and the like of his children, and the like of his livestock'

KRS 213: *wgd ḫṭṭ ġyrʾl f ngʿw ql ḫbl ḫrm ʾn ygll*

'he found the writing of Ġyrʾl, 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 Bʿlsˡmn, 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.

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

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

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

1.2   Language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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10   The various scripts attest the following articles: Safaitic *h-*, *hn-*, ʾ- and *ʾl-*; Dadanitic *h(n)-*, *ʾ(l)*; Taymanitic *h-*; Hismaic ∅, but note the use of the morpheme *h-* as a demonstrative; the various Thamudics attest *ʾl* and *h-*; Hasaitic seems to attest a suffixed -ʾ on nouns and *hn* in personal names.

11   I differ here from Knauf (2010) who calls all of the ANA material "Ancient Arabic" and sees it as a predecessor of Old Arabic. See Huehnergard (*forthcoming*) on a list of these features.

12   See the appropriate sections in the grammatical chapters for a discussion of these features.

Arabic Isoglosses in the Safaitic Inscriptions

> negative particles *m* */mā/; *l'n* */lā-'an/ > CAr *lan*
> *maf'ūl* G-passive participle
> prepositions and adverbs *f, 'n, 'nd, ḥt, 'kdy*
> a 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.[13] The forebears of these languages were probably situated in the southern Levant and North Arabia as early as the middle Iron Age, where Arabic speakers were involved in several feuds with Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs.[14] Unfortunately, our knowledge of Arabic at this ancient stage derives almost exclusively from onomastica.

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

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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.
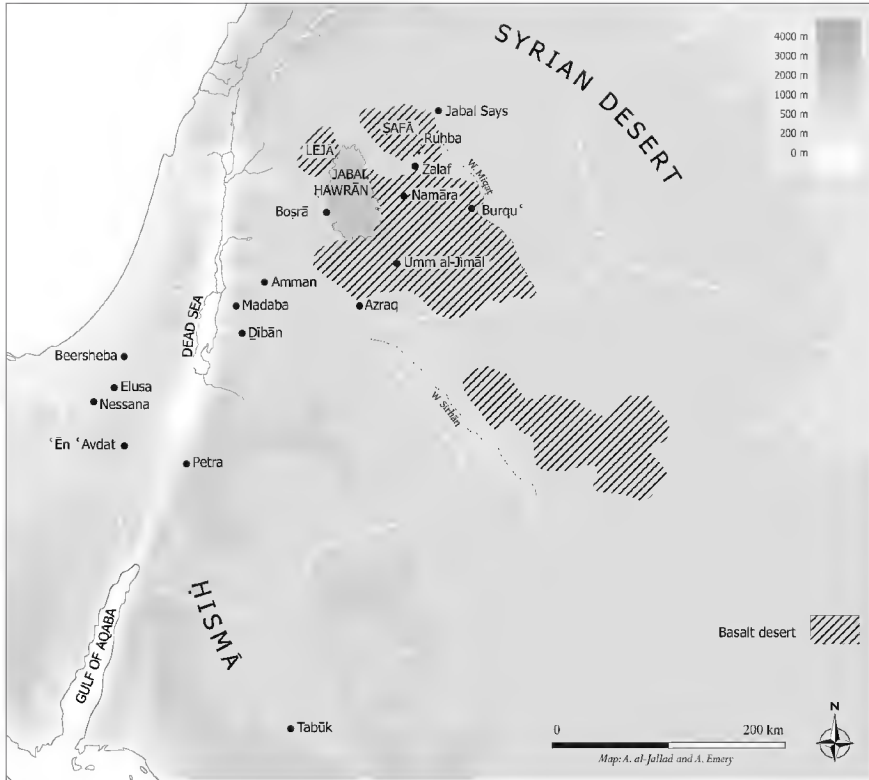
MAP 1   *Geographic concentration of Old Arabic*

feminine ending.[15] Taymanitic, on the other hand, exhibits the common NWS sound change of *w* > *y* in word-initial position and merges *s³ with *t instead of *s¹, excluding a Proto-Arabic origin.[16] At the moment, nothing can be said about the languages which stand behind the Thamudic inscriptions, but the difficulty they have posed for decipherment speaks to their remote linguistic character. If these impressions are correct, then it would suggest the following classification:[17]

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15   The anaphoric pronoun *h'* is attested (Fares-Drappeau 2005:66); the *t* ending is exempli-
      fied by the spelling of the word *qrt* 'settlement', which points towards a */qarīt/ rather than
      */qariyat/ (see D 67).

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

17   Old Ḥigāzī is characterized by the innovative relative pronoun *'allaḏī, 'allatī*, etc., which is
      attested once in JSLih 384 and is the common form in the QCT.
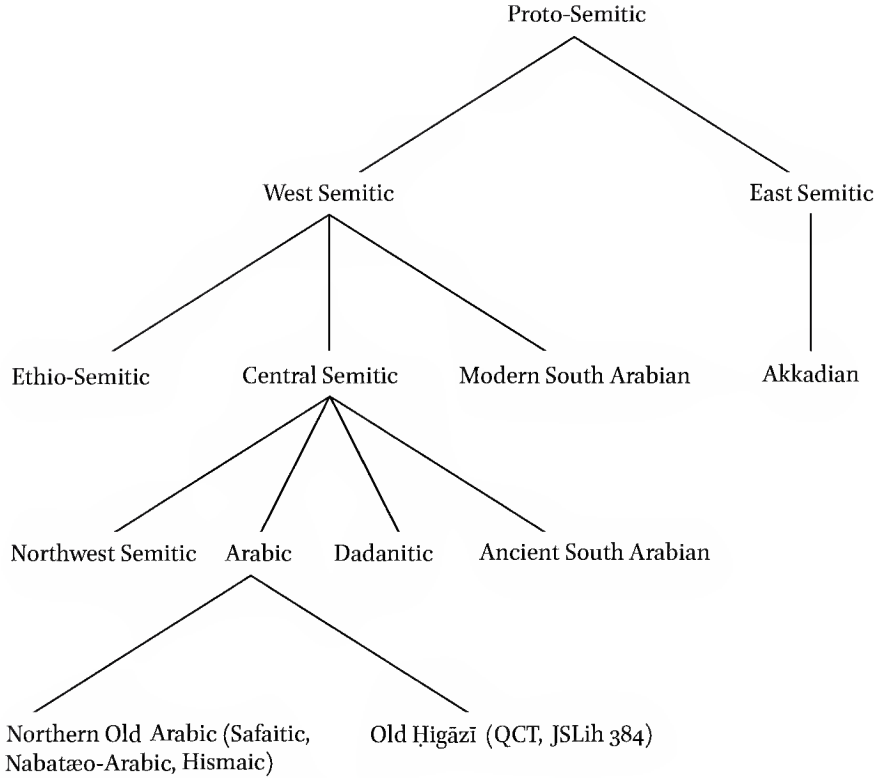
FIGURE 1   *Classification of Old Arabic*

1.2.1   *Linguistic Variation in the Safaitic Inscriptions*

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

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

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

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

KRS 2375:   *ḫll h- dr s¹nt myt qṣr*
             'he camped in this place the year Caesar died'

Ms 44:   *rʿy h- ʾbl h- ʿrḍ s¹nt myt bn qṣr*
             'he pastured the camels in the valley the year the son of Caesar died'

KhNSJ 1:   *g{l}s¹ mn ʾ- dmt s¹nt mt mlk nbṭ*
             'he {halted} on account of the downpour the year the king of Nabataea died'

Variation is also found in the shape of the T-stem of the root √nẓr '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: *fˁl* */faˁīl/ or */faˁūl/ and *mfˁl* */mafˁūl/. 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, *kʔn* 'existing' and *zʔm* 'dead', while others with a medial glide, *ḥyṭ* 'journeying' and *nwy* 'migrating' (see §5.6.1.1).

c. The Relative Pronoun: The paradigm comprises three forms: MS *ḏ*, FS *ḏʔt*, and MP *ḏw*, 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 *ḏ* is used with a feminine singular antecedent in an inscription composed by (or for) a woman from the lineage of *Msˡkt* (SIJ 314) and once with a woman from the lineage of *Rksˡ* (AtIN 3). The masculine plural is only attested twice and in only one case with a clear masculine plural antecedent. The simple form *ḏ* 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-*, *ʔ-*, *ʔl-*, 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 *ʔ*-article is not infrequently encountered and, as mentioned above, members of a single social group will put both to use. The relationship between the *ʔl-* and *ʔ-* articles is unclear, but secure evidence for the independent attestation of the former exists (e.g., C 2664). The *hn-* article is securely attested in an inscription from southern Syria produced by a Ḥwl-ite (LP 87), whose territory is thought

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

There is at least one inscription composed in a dialect without any definite marking, HshNSMI 5, which is reminiscent of Hismaic. The text is dated to the year of *grfṣ bn hrdṣ*, 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., *s¹fr, ḫṭṭ, tll, ktb*, all 'writing'; *ḥrṣ, ḫll, rᵓy*, all used to express 'watch-keeping'. Since these are all used in an identical context, although with varying frequency, it is hard to imagine that they signaled different shades of meaning. Lexical variation could therefore reflect synchronic or diachronic dialectal variation, although one cannot rule out the possibility that the use of synonyms was the result of variation in aesthetic preferences.

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

1.3   The Dating and Authors of the Inscriptions

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

of dating inscriptions was the result of contact with both of these civilizations. Other 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 quem* of the 4th c. CE is entirely conventional since it is based on an *argumentum ex silentio*, namely, that there are no unambiguous references to Christianity in the texts.

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

1.4   A Safaitic People?

Terms such as the Safaïtes, 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 ʾsꞋd bn rbꞋl bn ʾsꞋd bn rbꞋl nbṭwy sꞋlmwy w brḥ ḫlqt sꞋty h- dr w tẓr*
            h- sꞋmy sꞋnt ----
            'By ʾsꞋd son of *RbꞋl* son of ʾsꞋd son of *RbꞋl* the Nabataean (*nbṭwy*
            = /nabaṭōwayyā/?) the SꞋlm-ite (*sꞋlmwy* = /sꞋlmōwayyā/?) 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 *ʾ(l)*, and the gentilic
suffix *y*.

MISSB 1:   *l mnꞋm bn ʾrsꞋmnwt bn ʾbgr bn ʾꞋtl h- nbṭy*
            'By MnꞋm son of ʾrsꞋmnwt son of ʾbgr son of ʾꞋtl, the Nabataean'

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

HaNSB 304: *l ḏl bn sꞋrk bn rbḥ ḏ ʾl qmr w mty f h sꞋhqm ġnmt w rmy b- rmḥ -h*
            w ḫzr b- sꞋf -h f mrq kll sꞋlsꞋl -h f w gdꞋwḏ ġnmt w sꞋlm w ḫlf l- sꞋlḥ
            -h m- ʾl nbṭ Ꞌwr ḏ ḫbl
            'By Ḏl son of SꞋrk son of Rbḥ of the lineage of Qmr and he will
            journey so, O SꞋhqm, let there be spoil; and he cast his lance and
            struck with his sword, then threw off all of his bonds, so, O GdꞋwḏ,
            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 *ʾl-nbṭy* 'the Nabataean'.

C 2664:   *l sꞋꞋd bn mrʾ bn nr w wgm ꞋꞋl-Ꞌ ʾḫ -h nr qtl-h ʾl- {n}bṭy [ ] rꞋy nꞋm Ꞌwd w*
            ḏf f h lt mꞋmn w ʾlt dṯn w gd [ꞋꞋ{w}ḏ w gdḏf ṯꞋr m- ḏ ʾsꞋlf w wlh k{b}{r}
            sꞋhr ʾl- ʾḫ -h ḥbb -h l- ʾbd
            'By SꞋꞋd son of Mrʾ son of Nr and he grieved for his brother Nr,
            whom the {Nabataean} killed while pasturing the livestock of
            Ꞌwḏ and Ḏf so, O Lt of MnꞋm and ʾlt of Dṯn and [GdꞋwḏ] and
            Gdḏf, 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 Taymāʾ, have also carved inscriptions in the Safaitic script and idiom.[18]

KRS 30:   *l ʾbn bn ʿnhlh h- dmy w ḫrṣ f h ṣlm ʾlh dmt rw⟨⟨⟩⟩h*
            'By ʾbn son of ʿnhlh the Dumaite and he kept watch so, O Ṣlm, god of Dūmat, let there be ease'

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

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

KRS 1507:   *l grgsⁱ bn ʾqldsⁱ*
            'By Gregory son of Claudius'

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

UIO 322:   *l byn bn tm ḏ ʾl ttsⁱ w qyẓ b----*
            'By Byn son of Tm of the people of Titus and he spent the dry season near----'

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

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

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

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

1.5   Distribution of the Inscriptions

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

> In some cases these are places which afford a good view, in others where there is shade and shelter, but others are in flat open country where after the rains there is good grazing.
>
> MACDONALD 1992C: 305

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

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

1.6   Text Genres and Text Editions

1.6.1   *Text Genres*
There are six basic genres of compositional formulae:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6.2   *Text Editions*

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

1.6.2.1   Major Published Text Editions

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

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

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

The 1957 publication of Winnett's 1950 expedition to Jāwā, Jathūm, and Tell al-ʿabd 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 Burquʿ and the Wadi Miqāt region of Jordan. The tracings and commentaries are complemented by numerous photographs, a useful introduction, and several valuable indices. The readings of the inscriptions in both editions are highly accurate, but many of their interpretations—especially of the longer inscriptions—are now outdated and require revision.

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

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

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

1.6.2.2   Dissertations

Many Safaitic editions exist in the form of unpublished MA theses and PhD dis-sertations 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 pan-handle, on the H5 and H4, north of al-Wisād. Three dissertations on Safaitic, written under the direc-tion of R. Voigt, have been published by the series *Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia* (SSHB): AAEK, AbaNS, and RSIS. Each of these contains an introduction, an analytical section dealing with cultural context of the texts, and a few remarks on grammar, along with an edition of previously unpublished texts and a glossary. While two volumes—AAEK and RSIS—contain photographs, these are usually of such low quality that it is often impossible to scrutinize the reading properly. AbaNS contains only tracings. Most of the interpretations of the prose must be closely scrutinized, as there are many errors in grammatical reasoning and interpretation.

1.6.2.3   Other Materials

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

Script and Orthography

The Safaitic script is a member of the South Semitic script family, which split
from Proto-Sinaitic sometime in the 2nd millennium BCE. Its relationship with
the other members of this family is obscure and requires further research.
Many scholars, including Littmann and Winnett, believed that the various ANA
alphabets were derived from the ASA script, mainly because the latter was
employed by a major civilization and exhibited more angular features. On the
other hand, Rodinson (1963: 131–134) believed that the ANA and ASA scripts
shared a common ancestor from which they both developed in a parallel man-
ner. Indeed, it seems unlikely that the various ANA scripts descend from the
monumental ASA alphabet, but that they collectively share a common ances-
tor 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 sim-
plification of an original form resembling the ASA *z* glyph or if it bears some
relation to ASA *ḏ*. No transitional forms, so to speak, have been discovered, sug-
gesting that if ANA *z* developed from either source, it would have gone back to
a common ANA source.[1] Whether this one feature is enough to argue for a com-
mon proto-ANA script, however, is unclear. It is of course possible that the ASA
form is innovative and that the various ANA scripts continue the original South
Semitic shape of the letter.[2]

Perhaps the primary argument against an ASA source is Safaitic orthogra-
phy: 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 orthographi-
cally. 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

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

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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* encom-
passes 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 stylis-
tic 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 *ʿmrt* 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 exclu-
sively 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 contain-
ing square letters also contain letters belonging to the normal variety. Moreover,
there is no evidence from dated inscriptions to suggest that the square variant
is older.

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

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

FIGURE 1   *Example of the cursive hand*[3]

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

a. Cursive Forms

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

b. Mixed Safaitic—Hismaic

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

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3   Tracing by M.C.A. Macdonald (1989:77); the text reads *l zhln bn hrds¹ bn hs²ll*.
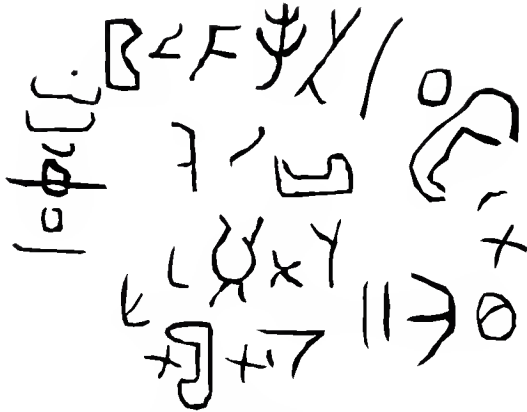
FIGURE 2   *Example of a Safaitic-Hismaic mixed text*[4]

2.2   Characteristics of the Individual Glyphs

ʾ   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.

(1)   (2)   (3)
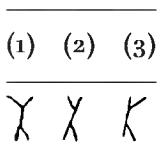
ʿ   The basic shape of this glyph ranges between (1) an oval of various sizes—sometimes resembling more a diamond or triangle—to (2) a single dot.

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4   See al-Salameen (2011); the tracing is by the author. The text reads: *l ʿqrb bn ms�位k ḏ ʾl ʿmrt w ḥll s�1nt mt ḥrṭt h-mlk* 'By ʿqrb son of Ms� 1k of the people of ʿmrt and he camped the year Ḥāreṭat the king died'.

(1) (2)

o ▪

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

(1) (2)

C (

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

(1) (2)

þ |·

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

(1) (2)

⋏ ⋏

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

(1)   (2)

ᛘ   ᚳᚳ

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

(1)   (2)

ᚲ   ᚲ

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

(1)   (2)   (3)

●   ◗   ▯

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

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

ꜣ   ꜣ   ꜣ   ꜣ

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

(1)

ḥ   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.

(1)   (2)   (3)
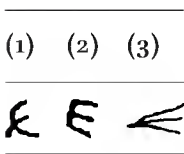
ḫ   This letter is basically (1) a Greek χ. This glyph can sometimes be distinguished from *t* by the fact that (2) one of the diagonal lines is wavy.

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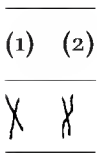
k   The basic shape is a (1) half circle or (2) bow with a tail facing up, down, or away from the opening. Some forms are better described as (3) a single vertical line with a bow attached to one end.

(1)   (2)   (3)
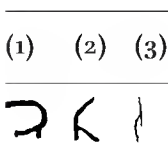
l   The *l* is essentially a vertical line, sometimes with (1) a small hook on the upper end but (2) often without.

(1)   (2)

⌠ |

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

(1)   (2)   (3)

Ϲ Ϲ ⦅

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

(1)   (2)

ı   .

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

(1)   (2)

ɸ ɸ

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

(1)   (2)   (3)

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

(1)   (2)

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

(1)

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

(1)   (2)

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

(1)   (2)

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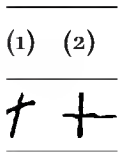
t̲   The glyph consists of a verticle line with a circle on each end. The circles can connect to (1) the side of the shaft or to (2) the end of the shaft.

(1)   (2)
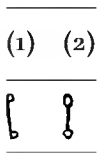
t̰   The glyph consists of (1) three parallel vertical lines with an intersecting horizontal line in the middle. There is some variation in how far beyond the outer two vertical lines the intersecting horizontal line may extend, and sometimes a fourth line—either verticle or horizontal—is added.

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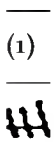
w   The basic shape of the glyph is (1) an oval with a line drawn across the diameter, but (2) angular variants also exist.

(1)   (2)
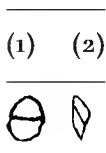
y　　The glyph consists of a vertical line with a (1) circle or (2) triangle on one end. Like the *ṣ* and more rarely the *ṭ*, the loops can be filled in.

(1)　(2)
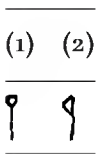
z　　The glyph resembles (1) a T, with some variation in the length of the shaft.

(1)

ẓ　　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.

(1)　(2)　　(3)　(4)
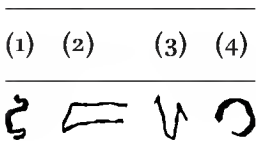
Script Chart: The following chart contains idealized forms of the Safaitic glyphs. The top row gives the normal forms while the bottom row provides the so-called 'square' variants.

ʾ	ʿ	b	d	ḏ	ḍ	f	g	ġ	h	ḥ	ẖ	k	l
Ƴ	◦	(	þ	⋔	Ħ	Ƹ	◊	ʂ	⅄	Є	✕	Ϝ	l
⅄	◭	⊏	þ	⋔	Ħ	⊐	▫	ʔ	⅄	E	✕	⊓	l

m	n	q	r	s¹	s²	ṣ	t	ṯ	ṭ	w	y	z	ẓ
Ɛ	ˎ	φ	⊂	∠	{	⅄	+	⸙	⸙	Ħ	∅	ໃ	⋁
⊟	▪	ⴲ	⅁	⅄	⟩	⅄	卐	↕	↕	Ħ	▭	⟨	⹁

2.3   Orthography

Safaitic orthography is purely consonantal; *matres lectionis* (consonants used to represent vowels) are not used to indicate either short or long vowels. As in other Semitic scripts, gemination is not represented either. Some scholars in the past have interpreted the double *l* in words such as *kll* 'all' and *ẓll* 'he remained' as attempts to represent the geminated liquid of the underlying forms *kull* and *ẓalla*; 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: *ḍlly* 'they (DU) were lost' */ṣ al(l)alay/

RQ.A 10 *m'ty frs¹* 'two cavalry units' */me'atay paras/, CAr *mi'atay farasin*

C 137: *rḍw* 'Ruḍaw' (deity) */roṣ aw/, CAr *ruḍan* < *ruḍaw-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., *ḍyf* (AAEK 71) versus *ḍf* (*passim*) '(the lineage) Ṣayf' and *qyṣr* (MISSD 1) 'Caesar' versus *qṣr* (*passim*), and possibly the causative verbs *ʾyʾs¹* 'to make miserable' and *ʾymn* 'to go south' (but see §5.6.2.1). The spelling of names such as *ʾws¹* could reflect the representation of the internal diphthong, */ʾaws/ (Gr. Αυσος), or be interpreted as diminutives, */ʾoways/. Likewise, the commonly cited example, *ʿyr* for */ʿayr/ can also be understood as a diminutive /ʿoyayr/ '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 *s²tky* = 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, *s¹my* */samāy/ 'sky'; *s¹by* */sabūy/ 'captive', etc.

d. *Word Boundary Spellings*

When the final consonant of a word is identical to the onset of the following syllable, the two are sometimes treated as a geminate consonant and written with a single glyph, e.g., *h rḍwlh* */hā roṣaw-walleh/ 'O Rḍw, cause grief' (C 3177); *w ḫwfḥḍs²r s¹lm* */wa ḫVwVp-pa hā ḏū-śarē salema/ 'and he was in in fear so, O Ḏs²r, may he be secure' (KRS 1949).[5] This phenomenon can only occur when the word-final vowel has been lost (§3.4).

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

Phonology and Phonetics

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

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

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

TABLE 1   *Semitic sound correspondences*[1]

Safaitic[2]	QCT/CAr	Ug	BH	OfAr	Gz	Akk	PS
ʾ	او ی\ / [ʔ]	ʾ	א	א	ʾ	ʾ/∅	[ʔ]
b	ب / [b]	b	ב	ב	b	b	[b]
g	ح/[g]	g	ג	ג	g	g	[g]
d	د / [d]	d	ד	ד	d	d	[d]
h	ه / [h]	h	ה	ה	h	ʾ/∅	[h]
w	و / [w]	w	ו	ו	w	w	[w]
z	ر / [z]	z	ז	ז	z	z	[dz]
ḥ	ح / [ħ]	ḥ	ח	ח	ḥ	ʾ/∅	[ħ]
ṭ	ط / [tˤ]	ṭ	ט	ט	ṭ	ṭ	[t']
y	ی / [j]	y	י	י	y	y	[j]
k	ك / [k]	k	כ	כ	k	k	[k]
l	ل / [l]	l	ל	ל	l	l	[l]
m	م / [m]	m	מ	מ	m	m	[m]
n	ن / [n]	n	נ	נ	n	n	[n]
s¹ */s/(< *s³)	س / [s]	s	ס	ס	s	s	[ts]
ʿ	ع/[ʕ]	ʿ	ע	ע	ʿ	ʾ/∅	[ʕ]
f */p/	ف / [f]	p	פ	פ	f	p	[p]
ṣ	ص / [sˤ]	ṣ	צ	צ	ṣ	ṣ	[ts']
ḍ */ṩ/	ص / [ʐˤ]	ṣ	צ	ע	ḍ	ṣ	[tɬ']
q	ق / [q]	q	ק	ק	q	q	[k']
r	ر / [r]	r	ר	ר	r	r	[r]

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

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

Safaitic	QCT/CAr	Ug	BH	OfAr	Gz	Akk	PS
s^1	س / [s]	š	שׁ	שׁ	s	š	[s]
t	ﺕ / [t]	t	ת	ת	t	t	[t]
ṯ	ﺙ/ [θ]	ṯ	שׁ	ת	s	š	[θ]
ḫ	ﺥ / [x]	ḫ	ח	ח	ḫ	ḫ	[x]
ḏ	د / [ð]	ḏ/d	ז	ד	z	z	[ð]
ẓ */ṭ/	ظ / [ðˤ]	ẓ/ġ	צ	ט	ṣ	ṣ	[tθ']
ġ	ﻉ / [ɣ]	ġ	ע	ע	ġ	ḫ/∅	[ɣ]
s^2 */ɬ/	س/ [ʃ]	š	שׁ	ס	ś	š	[ɬ]

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

3.1   Consonants

3.1.1   *The Voiceless Plosives, *p, *t, *k*
The Safaitic-Greek bilinguals and Greek transcriptions suggest that the voiceless plosives, *t* and *k* were aspirated, [tʰ] and [kʰ], respectively; *t* = θ: Λοβαιαθου = *lbʾt*; Σαμεθος = *s²mt*; k = χ: Χεσεμαν = *kḥs¹mn*; Αμμασιχηνος = *ḥms¹k*. The reflex of *p is difficult to ascertain. The traditional transcription with *f* is purely conventional and based on CAr. While no bilinguals containing this phoneme have

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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 π [p] and φ [pʰ], e.g., *flfṣ* (KRS 1991) = Φίλιππος, and even geminated π, *grfṣ* (KRS 1023) = Ἀγρίππας. While the data are ambiguous, it is nevertheless important to emphasize that there is no positive evidence to suggest that it was realized as [f].

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

The phonemes *b* and *d* were transcribed by β and δ in Greek, and were probably realized as [b] and [d] in all environments. There is no evidence that the *g* was pronounced as a voiced palato-alveolar affricate ǧ [d͡ʒ], as in the traditional pronunciation of CAr. The sound is transcribed by γ in the bilingual inscription C 2823–2824 (+Greek): *ḥg* = Αγγηνος. Islamic period transcriptions often employ ζ or the digraph τζ to represent the affricated ǧ in Greek. Moreover, the *g* glyph is used to transcribe Greek and Latin [g], *grgs¹* (KRS 1507) = Γρηγόρης and *grmnqṣ* (LP 653) = GERMANICUS. Had *g* signified the sound [d͡ʒ], one would expect either *k*, or perhaps *q*, to transcribe foreign [g]. This sound is consistently represented by γ in the Graeco-Arabica.

3.1.3   *The Interdentals *ṯ and *ḏ*

The *ṯ* glyph is transcribed once in a Greek bilingual with θ: *yṯʿ* = Ιαιθεου, which must point towards a voiceless interdental fricative realization, [θ]. Its voiced counterpart has not yet appeared in Greek transcription; however, in the Graeco-Arabica, the sound is consistently represented by δ: δοεβου /ḏoʾeyb/ = *ḏʾb*. There is no evidence for the merger of the interdentals with the plosive series in a non-onomastic context.

3.1.4   *The Velars *ḫ and *ġ*

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

3.1.5   *The Pharyngeals *ḥ and *ʿ*

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

3.1.6 *q

The *q* glyph probably signified an unaspirated voiceless plosive, but it is unclear if it was a uvular plosive, as in CAr *qāf*, or a glottalized velar plosive, as in Modern South Arabian [k']. Its voiceless character is confirmed by its use to transcribe Latin c: *ʾqlds¹* (KRS 1507) = CLAUDIUS and *qsr* (Ms 44) = CAESAR, and, vice versa, the use of κ to transcribe this sound in Greek, A 1 βαϰλα */baqla/ 'fresh herbage' = *bql*. Fourteen inscriptions spell the common phrase *ts²wq ʾl-* 'he longed for' as *ts²wq l-*, e.g., H 191: *w ts²wq l- kll ʾs²r ṣdq* 'he longed for every righteous kinsman' or SIJ 352 *w ts²wq l- ʾḫwn -h* 'and he longed for his brothers'. If the initial glottal stop of the preposition *ʾel* was not omitted by accident, then it may have coalesced in pronunciation with the co-articulated glottal stop of a glottalic *q*, *[taławwak"el].[4]

3.1.7 *ṭ

Like *q*, *ṭ* seems to signify an unaspirated voiceless stop, but it is unclear if we are dealing with pharyngealization or glottalization. The *ṭ* glyph transcribes Greek τ in *mrṭs¹* (AbaNS 656) = Μύρτος. In the Graeco-Arabica, τ is consistently used to transcribe Arabic *ṭ*.

3.1.8 *ṯ̣ = ẓ

The sound is found once in a bilingual text, in which it is transcribed with τ: *ẓnʾl* WH 1860 (= Greek 2) = Ταννηλος. 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 *ẓālimun*. The sound was probably the emphatic correlate of the voiceless interdental *ṯ*. 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 *ṣ

This phoneme is transcribed as both unvoiced and voiced in Greek: *nṣrʾl* = Νασρηλος and *ḫlṣ* = Αλιζου. A 1 transcribes what is probably the word *s²ḥṣ* as σειαζ, pointing towards a voiced realization. It seems, however, that the unvoiced realization was more widespread, as the sound was often used to transcribe Latin and Greek [s]:

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

LP 653:   *grmnqṣ*   GERMANICUS
KRS 1023:   *grfṣ*   Ἀγρίππας
KRS 1024:   *hrdṣ*   Ἡρῴδης
KRS 1991:   *flfṣ*   Φίλιππος

It is impossible to decide on the nature of emphasis for the unvoiced variant,[5] but the voiced variant cannot reflect glottalization, as voice is not compatible with glottal closure. Therefore, the latter must have been realized as a pharyngealized or velarized sibilant [zˤ], while its voiceless counterpart could have ranged from a pharyngealized sibilant [sˤ] to a glottalized sibilant or affricate, [s'] and [ts'], respectively. The proximity of *s¹* and *ṣ* in some varieties is borne out by misspellings such as KhBG 345 *bʼ{ṣ}* for *bʼs¹* 'misfortune' and perhaps C 1813 *ṣʿdʼl* for *s¹dʼl*.

3.1.10   **ṣ́ = ḍ*

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

3.1.11   **s¹, *s², *z*

*s¹: The phonetic value of *s¹* has been the subject of much debate. Macdonald (2000; 2004; 2009) suggested that Safaitic *s¹* was realized as [ʃ] based on its use to transcribe Aramaic *š* [ʃ] in the divine name *bʿls¹mn* < */baʿal-šemīn/. To support this equation, he pointed to the fact that *ṣ* was used to transcribed Greek and Latin [s] more frequently than *s¹*, which implied that the emphatic, rather than *s¹*, was the closest approximant to the sibilant [s]. However, the matter seems a bit more complicated. First, the use of *s¹* for Aramaic *š* only confirms that *s²* did not have the same value as its CAr counterpart, namely, [ʃ]. This fact, in turn, indicates only that authors judged the plain sibilant a better approximation of [ʃ] than whatever the value of *s²* was. Second, *s¹* was used just as frequently as *ṣ* to represent Greek and Latin [s], e.g., *grgs¹*

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

= Γρηγόρης (KRS 1507), *ʾqlds¹* = CLAUDIUS (KRS 1507; WH 837), *tts¹* = TITUS (HaNSB 293; KRS 3160), *mrṭs¹* = Μύρτος (AbaNS 656). This type of fluctuation could indicate that the Greek (and Latin) voiceless sibilant had an apical realization, i.e., [s̠], just as in Modern Greek. If *s¹* was a pure alveolar sibilant, Greek and Latin [s̠] would then have no equivalent in Safaitic, causing authors to fluctuate in their representation of the foreign sound. It is perhaps also important to point out that modern Arabic, which has a plain sibilant [s], also loans in foreign [s] with its emphatic *ṣ*, especially in the vicinity of backed vowels, e.g., [bɔːsˤ] < *bus* or [asˤ-sˤuːmaːl] < *Somalia*. In the case of the Safaitic inscriptions, however, the distribution does not seem to correlate with other features, such as vowel quality or the presence of other emphatic consonants. *S¹* seems to be the normal way to loan in NWS *Samech* as well, *s¹fr* 'inscription' (*passim*) < *sifrā*; *ys¹f* (ISB 330) 'Joseph' < *yōsep*, although the month name *nṣn* (ASWS 202) = *nīsān* may reflect the use of *ṣ* for this purpose as well.

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

*z: Safaitic *z* was the voiced counterpart of *s¹*, and is given as the equivalent of Palmyrene *z* in a bilingual text (see Macdonald 2009 II: 347).

3.1.12   **ʾ and *h*
The glottal stop and fricative are not represented in Greek transcriptions: *l hnʾ bn lbʾt* = Ενος Λοβαιαθου. There is no evidence for the loss or dissimilation of the glottal stop following another glottal stop, compare CAr *āmara* < **ʾaʾmara* to Safaitic *ʾʾmr* **/ʾaʾmar/*.

3.2   Vowels

3.2.1   *Short Vowels*

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

*i = [e]
*yṯ*ʿ = Ιαιθεου */yayṯeʿ/
s²mt = Σαμεθος */śāmet/
hn' = Ενος */hen'/
ẓn'l = Ταννηλος */ṭann'el/

*u = [o]
lb't = Λοβαιαθου */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 = Ουαβαλλας */wahballāh/
ḥg = Αγγηνος */ḥagg/
ḫlṣ = Αλιζου */ḫalīẓ/ < *ḫalīṣ

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

3.2.2   *Long Vowels*

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

ḫlṣ = Αλιζου */ḫalīẓ/ < *ḫalīṣ

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

ḥddn = Αδδ[ι]δανου */ḥaddīdān/
s²mt = Σαμεθος */śāmet/

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 *yṯ*ᶜ = Ιαιθεου or the transcription of the tribal name Σαιφηνος = *ḏfy*. While one can argue that Greek αι had already monophthongized to [e] in this period,[6] the same cannot be argued in the case of the spelling of the diphthong *aw. Several texts contain transcriptions of this sequence with αυ, which could only signal [au] or [af] but never [o] in Greek. These transcriptions always correspond to Safaitic spellings without any representation of the diphthong: e.g., φυλὴς Χαυνηνῶν = ʾl *kn* or in A 1 δαυρα = *dr*. Thus, from the evidence presently available, it seems clear that diphthongs obtained but were simply not normally written in word-internal position.

The status of word-final diphthongs is dependent upon our understanding of the status of word-final short vowels. If, as it seems, word-final high vowels were lost, then spellings such as *fty* and *rḍw*, 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 *ᶜalā* < *ᶜalay. Etymological diphthongs occur in the construct dual ending, the dual ending of the verb, and on the longer forms of the prepositions *ᶜalay and *ᶜelay. 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 */ᶜal/, like many modern dialects of Arabic, in contrast to CAr, which exhibits a reflex of the form *ᶜalay > *ᶜalā*, written *ʿly*.

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

TABLE 2   *Consonantal phonemes of Safaitic*[7]

	Bilabial	Labiovelar	Interdental	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop								
Voiceless	*p* [pʰ](?)			*t* [tʰ]		*k* [kʰ]		ʾ [ʔ]
Voiced	*b* [b]			*d* [d]		*g* [g]		
Emphatic				*ṭ* /t̠/		*q* /q/		
Fricative								
Voiceless			*ṯ* [θ]			*ḫ* [x]	*ḥ* [ħ]	
Voiced			*ḏ* [ð]			*ġ* [ɣ]	ʿ [ʕ]	*h* [h]
Emphatic			*ẓ* /t̠/					
Sibilant								
Voiceless				*s* [s]				
Voiced				*z* [z]				
Emphatic				*ṣ* /⁽ᵗ⁾s̠/~/⁽ᵈ⁾z̠/				
Approx.		*w* [w]			*y* [j]			
Trill				*r* [r]				
Lateral								
Voiceless				*s²* [ɬ]				
Voiced				*l* [l]				
Emphatic				*ḍ* /ṡ̠/				
Nasal	*m* [m]			*n* [n]				

3.4   Sound Changes

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

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

a. *ɯyu, *ɯyi > ī: The spelling of active participles from III-w/y roots, when not used adverbially, suggests that the aforementioned sequences collapsed to a long vowel, which can be none other than /ī/, *s²t* */śātī/ 'wintering' (C 1868) < *śātiyu; *ḫz* */ḫāzī/ 'being hostile' (ASWS 124) < *ḫāziyu. Although examples are not attested, it is likely that a similar sound change would have collapsed the sequences *uGV[+high] to *ū*.

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

C 3177:   *h rḍwlh …* */hā roṣaw-walleh/ < *hā roṣawu walleh
              'O Rḍw, cause grief …'

AtIN 3:   *lfṣ'l bnt bngd ḏ 'l rks¹ w l -h- rgm* */lah-har-rVgm/ < *laha har-rVgm
              'By Fṣ'l daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks¹ and for her is the cairn'

WH 3420:   *l ʿgm bn hb ḏ 'l ṣbḥ w l -h- rgm* */loh-har-rVgm/ < *lahu har-rVgm
              'By ʿgm son of Hb of the lineage of Ṣbḥ 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 /ʾatawa/ 'he came' and βαχλα /baqla/, fresh herbage in the accusative, compared to no vowel in αλ-Ιδαμι /al-ʾidāmiyy/ rather than *al-ʾidāmiyyu or μι-σιεαξ rather than *mi(ś)-śiḥaṣi. If this pattern reflects the general situation in Safaitic, then it would seem that only the short high vowels were lost in final position, leaving short /a/ intact, a situation reminiscent of Gz.

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

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

final vowel. In fact, one class of III-w/y verb seems to require the presence of a vowel, CaCiCa. Had the final vowel disappeared in such forms, the last syllable would have been realized as a long vowel and have gone unwritten. Thus, *rḍy* 'to be satisfied' (KRS 1042) must reflect */raṣi/eya/ rather than */raṣiy/ = */raṣī/, 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, $a > \emptyset$ / #CvC_#, perhaps exclusively in items without lexical stress (such as prepositions and pronouns). Thus:

luhu[8] > luh ~ loh = *l-h*
laha   > lah   = *l-h*
huwa > huw = hū = *h*

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

*s²atawa > *s²ty* */śataya/ 'to spend the winter', but *s²tw* (CSNS 324; KhBG 376)
*daʿawa   > *dʿy* */daʿaya/ 'to read aloud/invoke'
*ʾaʿlawa   > *ʾʿly* */ʾaʿlaya/ 'to raise'

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

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

10   The commonly held view is that Rḍw 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 *ḏs²r* are invoked sepereately, even though

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

MKWS 8:   *ʾym* */ʾayyām/ < *ʾaywām 'days' (but note *ʾwm* in KRS 2453)
AbaNS 407:   *ḥyt* */ḥayyāt/ < *ḥaywāt 'animals'

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

α. Word boundary

C 1341:   *w rḍw ʿwr m ʿwr-h* */maʿ-ʿawwara-h/ < *man-ʿawwara-hu
               'and may Rḍw blind whosoever would efface it' (the inscription)

Compare to:

C 1957:   {*y*}*ʿwr mn ʿwr h- s¹fr*
               'may whosoever would efface this writing be blinded'

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

bnt

KRS 1975:   *qbrt ḥs¹m bnt ḫl-h*
               'Ḥs¹m daughter of his paternal uncle was buried'

WH 1861:   *l ʾḍq bnt whbʾl*
               'by ʾḍq daughter of Whbʾl'

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

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

bt

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

WH 214:   *l mty bt ḥrʿt*
               'by Mty daughter of Ḥrʿt'

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 = *ʾqlds¹* (KRS 1507), */ʾVqlawdVs/. In other cases, it seems that word initial clusters were tolerated or resolved by a vowel which was not represented in the orthography—*s²tky* */śtakVya/ or */VśtakVya/ and *qttl* */qtatVla/ or */VqtatVla/, respectively. Thus, it is impossible to say if the imperatives and monosyllabic words such as *bn*, **bin* 'son', agreed with CAr in exhibiting prothesis, or if their original syllabic structure, CvCvC and CvC respectively, was preserved. In other words, Safaitic *bn* could reflect equally */ben/ or */ebn/. There is one attestation of the word for son spelled as *ʾbn* (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 *ṯ*, WH 1791 *ḥrtt* for etymological *ḥrṯt*, and *d* for *ḏ*, *ds²r* (*passim*) for *ḏs²r*. 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 **ṣ* is written with *ẓ*, 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

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12   The patronymic *ʾbn* is attested in Nabataean spellings of Arabic personal names, e.g., the
        personal name *ʾbnklbt*.

sounds merged to *ẓ*, or from a dialect in which **ṣ́* was realized closer to the sound the glyph *ẓ* signified. None of these instances are attested alongside another examples of etymological **ṣ́*, 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 > ʾ: Two inscriptions attest the shift of *q* to *ʾ*:

MKMR 9:   *l {ʾ}{w}l bn bnt w nfr f ʾy{ḏ}*
                   'by {ʿwl} son of Bnt and he deserted and then s**pent the dry season**'

Mu 113:   *l ṣʿd bn ḏb bn ʿbd bn ʾdm w ḥll h- dr dṯ ʾ f ʾyḏ f s²ty f h bʿls¹mn qbll*
                   'by Ṣʿd son of Ḏb son of ʿbd son of ʾdm and he camped here to spend the season of later rains, then **the dry** season, then the winter, so, O Bʿls¹mn, may there be reunion with loved ones'

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

b. ẓ > ḍ: The same word also exhibits the merger of *ẓ* with *ḍ*. 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 *ẓʿnt* 'to seek water and herbage' as *ḍʿnt*, pointing towards the same change.

c. s² > s¹: The spelling of the phrase *ts²wq ʾl* 'to long for' as *ts¹wq ʾl* in ANKS 1 and SIJ 644 could suggest the rare merger of these two sounds, or perhaps the realization of *s²* as [ʃ] in some dialects, and its transcription with the closest approximate, *s¹*.

d. *ʾ > y or ∅: A few inscriptions exhibit the loss of the glottal stop, as exemplified by the writing of *s²nʾ* 'enemies' as *s²ny* (MSNS 1). In word medial position, we find the phrase *ḏ ʾl* is written *ḏyl* in an unpublished inscription, suggesting the pronunciation **/ḏīyāl/* from original **ḏī-ʾāl*. 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.

Nominal and Pronominal Morphology

Overview

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

CCC stems	Spelling	Vocalization	Meaning	Root
strong	*s¹fr* (C 99)	*/sepr/	'writing'	√s¹fr
I-w	*wqʿ* (AKSD 5)	*/waqʿ/ (?)	'inscription'	√wqʿ
II-w/y	*qyẓ* (ZeGA 11)	*/qeyāṭ/	'dry season'	√qyẓ
III-w/y	*s²ty* (Mu 113)	*/śetāy/	'winter'	√s²ty
C² = C³	*ḫll* (LP 135)	*/ḫalīl/	'friend'	√ḫll

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1   While, in most cases, the vocalization of a given noun can be recovered on the basis of the comparative evidence, the spellings themselves usually provide no information in this regard, and so a discussion on the various unaugmented noun patterns would amount to little more than a practice in etymology and is therefore not undertaken here. For an overview of the Semitic noun patterns, see Fox (2003).

2   While roots of four or more consonants are known from other Semitic languages, no nouns or verbs derived from these have yet been attested in the Safaitic inscriptions.

3   While both /e/ and /i/ are attested as reflexes of *i and /u/ and /o/ as reflexes of *u, I have chosen to vocalize Safaitic according to the lower values as they are much more frequently attested in Greek transcription, although note that A 1 only exhibits /i/.

CC stems	Spelling	Vocalization	Meaning	Root
biradical	*yd* (C 25)	*/yad/	'hand'	√yd
II-w/y	*mt* (LP 1198)	*/mawt/	'death'	√mwt
III-w/y	*nw* (LP 325)	*/nāww/ (?)	'migrating group'	√nwy
C² = C³	*ʿm* (C 793)	*/ʿamm/	'grandfather'	√ʿmm

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., *frsˡt* 'mare' (AbaNS 383) vs. *frsˡ* 'horse' (C 159); *mrʾt* 'wife', 'woman' (C 4768) vs. *mrʾ* 'man' (WH 2147); *ẓbyt* 'female gazelle' (WH 2342) vs. *ẓby* 'male gazelle' (L 184); *ḫlt* 'maternal aunt' (KRS 18) vs. *ḫl* 'maternal uncle' (HCH 10). There are several lexically feminine nouns which are not marked by the -*t* morpheme, such as *ʾm* 'mother' (ZSI 1) and *ʾtn* 'she-ass' (C 505).

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

4.2 Onomastica

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

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

Male names		Female names	
C 3929:	*s²ddt bn ḥny*	WH 3865:	*{m}lḥ bnt rks¹*
HCH 131:	*myt bn 'kl*	C 4768:	*ġḥm bnt 'n'm*
LP 264:	*mlkt bn 'dyn*	KRS 59:	*s¹lm 'mt s¹lm*

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:   *l ṣ'd bn tm bn ṣ'd bn zḥk bn ms²'r bn s¹wd bn wtr bn mlk bn ḥyt bn hbl bn whbn bn qmr*

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

HCH 46:   *l ṯbr bn 'zz ḏ 'l ḥd*
            'By Ṯbr son of 'zz of the lineage of Ḥd'

KhNSJ 5:   *l grm bn lṯ bn ṣrmt ḏ 'l 'mrt*
             'By Grm son of Lṯ son of Ṣrmt of the lineage of 'mrt'

CSNS 438:   *l s¹hm bn 's¹d ḏ 'l tyr*
              'By S¹hm son of 's¹d of the lineage of Tyr'

α. In very rare cases, an author may express affiliation with two *'l*'s: HaNSB 307 *l s¹'dlh bn 's¹ bn ẓn'l bn ḥyn ḏ 'l m'yr w ḏ 'l frṯ* 'by S¹'dlh son of 's¹ son of Ẓn'l son of Ḥyn of the people of M'yr and of the people of Frṯ'. Unlike later Arabic practice, the Safaitic inscriptions do not distinguish various levels of descent—all groups are referred to as *'l*'s, as illustrated in the following inscription: RWQ 346 *l 's¹ bn*

ḥs¹n bn ḥnn ḏ ʾl ḏf mn ʾl s²w² 'by 's¹ son of Ḥs¹n son of Ḥnn of the lineage of Ḏf, from the lineage (clan?) of S²w²'.

4.2.1   *One-Word Names*

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

HCH 182:   *ʾnʿm* = */ʾanʿam/, Gr. Αναμος
HCH 194:   *rḍwt* = */raṣāwat/, Gr. Ρασαουαθος
M 112:   *mṭr* = */maṭar/, Gr. Ματαρος

4.2.2   *Theophoric Names*

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

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

C 4237:   *ʿbdlt*
             'worshipper of Allāt', Gr. Αβδαλλαθος

C 3751:   *nṣrʾl*
             'the aid of ʾĒl', Gr. Νασρηλος

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

Theophoric names containing other deities occur less frequently:

AbaNS 265:   *ʿbds²ms¹*
             'worshipper of S²ams¹', Gr. Αβδασαμσου

AbaNS 892:   {*s²*}*ʿbl*
             'companion of Bēl'

Mu 836   *ʿbds²r*
              'worshipper of Dū-śarē', Gr. Αβδουσαρης

NTSB 1:   *ʿbdʾktb*
              'worshipper of ʾaktab'

WH 627:   *mrʾʿzy*
              'man of ʿozzay'

4.2.3   *Basileophoric Names*
Nabataean basileophorics are also rarely attested:

SIJS 11:   *ʿbdʿbdt*
              'slave of Obodas', Gr. Αβδοοβδας

KRS 2327:   *ʿbdrbʾl*
              'slave of Rabbēl', Gr. Αβδοραββηλος

AKSD 4.1:   *ʿbdml{k}*
              'slave of Malichus', Gr. Αβδομαλιχος

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

C 226:   *k-ʿm-h*
              'like his grandfather', Gr. Χααμμος

C 227:   *b-nṣr-h*
              'by his help'

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

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

KRS 1507:   *grgs¹ bn ʾqlds¹*
              'Grēgorēs son of Claudius'

NSR 44:   *tts¹*
              'Titus'

AbaNS 656:   *mrṭs¹*
              'Myrtos'

α. UIO 322 attests a social group with an eponymous ancestor bearing a Latin
name, *ʾl tts¹*.

4.2.6   *Names of Social Groups*
The names of lineage groups to which the authors of the Safaitic inscriptions
belong follow the phrase *ḏ ʾl* and are morphologically singular:

HCH 53:   *l s²hm bn ʾdm bn bhʾ ḏ ʾl ḏf*
              'By S²hm son of ʾdm son of bhʾ of the lineage of Ḏf'

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

WH 1060:   *l rs¹l bn qdm h- ḏfy*
              'By Rs¹l son of Qdm the Ḏf-ite'

Names of outside peoples usually appear without the definite article:

WH 736.a: h   rḍw   s¹ʿd -h   m- s²nʾ   ġnmt
              VOC Rḍw aid.IMP.2MS -CPRO.3MS against- enemy.PL raider.PL
              m- rhy   w   nbṭ w   ḥwlt
              from- Rhy CONJ Nbṭ CONJ Ḥwlt
              'O Rḍw, help him against enemies, raiders from Rhy, Nbṭ, and
              Ḥwlt!'

But there are exceptions:

C 4448:   ḥrb   h- mḏy   ʾl   rm b- bṣr
              plunder.SC.3M ART- Mḏy people.CNST Rm near- Bṣr
              'the Persians plundered the Romans near Bṣr'

C 220:   s¹nt   ḥrb   h- nbṭ
              year.CNST war.CNST ART- Nbṭ
              'the year of the war of the Nabataeans'

4.3   Diminutives

The diminutive pattern was probably CoCCayC(at), as suggested by the tran-scription of Arabic personal names from southern Syria, such as Χοθαιβος and Σοραιχος, and nouns such as Γοναιναθ 'small gardens' from the Petra Papyri (see Al-Jallad et al. 2013). It is only clearly distinguished in the orthography in CC stems, where it is characterized by the appearance of a glide in medial or final position: *bny-h* */bonayy-oh/ 'his young(est) son' (C 4076), from *bn*; *ʾḫyt* */ʾoḫayyat/ 'little sister' (C 893), from *ʾḫt*; *rwḍt* */rowayṣat/ 'small meadow' (HAUI 70), from *rḍt*; and possibly *ʿyr* */ʿoyayr/ 'small ass' (AbaNS 855), from *ʿr*.

α. *ʿwlt* */ʿowaylat/ (C 5050) may attest the diminutive of the unattested * ʾlt or * ʿylt 'family' or a by-form with a medial *w* */ʿāwelat/.

β. If *sᴵtr* (SESP.U 26) and *sᴵtrt* (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 *ẓllt* */ṭolaylat/ 'small shelter' (C 4681) vs. *ẓlt* */ṭellat/ 'shelter' (C 4649).

4.4   Number

Overview

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

4.4.1   Dual

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

RVP 7:	*wrḫn* 'two months'	< *wrḫ* + *n*
AbaNS 28:	*nʿmtn* 'the two ostriches'	< *nʿmt* + *n*
WH 182:	*bkrtn* 'the two she-camels'	< *bkrt* + *n*
WH 3912:	*nqt{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*, *-īna*; Arm *-īn*) and feminine *t* (CAr *-āt*; Hb *-ôt*). Since pattern replacement sometimes includes suffixation,

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

a. ʾCC(C)
b. CC(C)n
c. CC(C)t
d. CC(C)
e. ʾCC(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., *rḥṭ* = CAr *rahṭun* 'folk', Safaitic pl. *ʾrḥṭt* */ʾarheṭat/ vs. CAr *ʾarhuṭun* and *ʾarāḥiṭu*.

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

CCC > ʾCCC

C 1148:	*ʾgml* 'camels'	s. *gml*
WH 3792.a:	*ʾs²hr* 'months'	s. *s²hr*
KRS 25:	*ʾrḫ* 'months'	s. *wrḫ*
H 507:	*ʾgdy* 'kids'	s. *gdy* (only in personal names)

CC > ʾC(w/y)C

KRS 2340:	*ʾdwd* 'paternal uncles'	s. *dd*
KRS 2340:	*ʾḫwl* 'maternal uncles'	s. *ḫl*
MKWS 8:	*ʾym* 'days'	s. *ym*

α. The ʾCCC plural of C² = C³ roots exhibits a clustered form: *ʾm* */ʾaʿamm/ 'forefathers', 'grandfathers' (WH 399), from ʿm. In rare cases, the plural of *s²ʿ* 'companion' is spelled as *ʾs²ʿ* (UIO 147; RWQ 120) instead of the expected *ʾs²yʿ*. If this is not the result of a writing error, then it could reflect attraction to the C² = C³ pattern, */ʾaśāʿ/ rather than */ʾaśyāʿ/.

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

γ. The plural of *nqt* */nāqat/ 'she-camel' is attested in AbaNS 564.1 as *ʾnq*, and probably reflects the pattern ʾaCCvC rather than ʾaCCv̄C. The spelling *ʾnq* suggests that that the *wu sequence had collapsed to a long vowel, probably */ʾanūq/ from *ʾanwuq.

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

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

| CSNS 550: | *z̠byn* 'gazelles' | */t̠obyān/ | s. *z̠by* |
| SIJ 352: | *ʾḥwn* 'brothers' | */ʾVḥwān/ | s. *ʾḥ* |

(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:	*rġmn* 'stuck down.PPC.MP'	*/raġīmīn/	s. *rġm*
HCH 71:	*mḥrbn* 'plundered.PPC.MP'	*/maḥrūbīn/	s. *mḥrb*
RQ.A 10:	*rmʾn* 'archers'	*/rammāʾīn/	s. *rmy*

α. In addition to *ʾḥwn*, another form with a pronominal suffix is relatively frequently attested, *ʾḥw -h*. This form is sometimes clearly a dual, */ʾaḥaway -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 *ʾḥw* 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, *ʾḥwy*, is attested in KRS 2890, but this should probably be corrected to *ʾḥw -h* 'his (two)

brothers', otherwise the inscription terminates with a rather strange formula-
tion, *wgm ʿl ʾḫwy* 'he grieved for brothers' rather than the common *wgm ʿl ʾḫw*
-h 'he grieved for his two brothers'.

β. As in other Semitic languages, the feminine *s¹nt* 'year' forms an external
masculine plural, *s¹nn* 'years' (AZNG 1), probably */sinīna/ or */sinūna/.

c. CC(C)t: The final *t* can reflect the external ending */āt/ or a plural pattern aug-
mented by the feminine ending */at/, comparable to CAr *fiʿālatun, fuʿūlatun,*
etc. Suffixation with */āt/ is the productive method of pluralizing singulatives
in CAr, and the same appears to be true in Safaitic.

KhMNS 51:	*ḥyt* 'animals'	*/ḥayyāt/	s. *ḥywy*
C 218:	*bʾs¹t* 'misfortunes'	*/beʾsāt/	s. *bʾs¹*
C 4448:	*ġnmt* 'goats'	*/ġanamāt/	s. **ġnm*
RSIS 204:	*mṭrt* 'rains'	*/maṭarāt/	s. *mṭr*
WH 179:	*bkrt* 'she-camels'	*/bek(a)rāt/	s. *bkrt*

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

β. While *ḥyt* is the normal plural of *ḥywy* 'animal', the editor took the form *h-
ʾḥyt* in HaNSB as a plural by-form. It is more likey, however, that the initial ʾ is
to be identified as a definite article preceded by the *h-* demonstrative, *h ʾ- ḥyt*
'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, *fiʿāl, fuʿūl, fuʿʿāl,* etc.

KRS 903:   *ḫrṣ*   *ʿl- rgl -h*
              watch.SC.3MS over- foot soldier.PL -CPRO.3MS
              'he watched over of his foot soldiers'

Compare with singular *rgl* (C 2076).

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

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

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

e. *'CC(C)t*: This rare plural form, cognate with CAr *'af'liatun* and Gz *'af'əlt*, is only thrice attested, and in only two cases is the corresponding singular form known. The plural of *'lh* 'god' appears in KRS 1287 as *''lht*, */'a'lehat/ and the plural of *rhṭ* 'kinsfolk' as *'rhṭt* */'arheṭat/ in ShNGA 1. The word *'ls¹nt* is probably the plural of the unattested *ls¹n* 'tongue'.

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

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

g. *miscellaneous:* The plural patterns CaCāCay and 'aCCeCāy are each attested once, *lyly* */layālay/ 'nights' (KRS 2453), and *''rḍy* */'a'reṣāy/ 'valleys' (WH 2139), s. *'rḍ* (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, *ḍ'n* 'sheep' (C 744); *bqr* 'cattle' (LP 155); *'bl* 'camels' (*passim*). A singulative (nomen unitatis) can sometimes be derived from the collective by the suffixation of *t* */at/, *n'mt* 'an ostrich' */na'āmat/ (KRS 1610), from *n'm* */na'ām/ 'ostrich' (HaNSB 117); *ḍ'nt* */ṣa'nat/ 'an ewe' (C 35), from *ḍ'n* */ṣa'(a)n/; and possibly

sˡfrt */seprat/ 'an instance of writing' (WH 153), from *sˡfr* */sepr/ 'writing' (*passim*).

a. Plural of paucity/individuation: The singulative forms its plural with the external suffix */āt/. 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:	*s²r{q}*	{*b-*} *h- ḍʾnt*	*l- ḥrrn*
	{migrate}.SC.3MS	{with}-ART- sheep.PCL	to- Ḥrrn

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

C 4448:	*ṣyr*	*b- ġnmt -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*	*ʾḍn*	*ʾl*	*mʾb*
	pass.3M	sheep.PL.CNST	people.CNST	Mʾb

'he let the sheep of the people of Mʾb pass'

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

collective: *ḍʾn* = */śaʾ(a)n/   → plural: *ʾḍn* = */ʾaśʾān/
                                       ↓
singulative: *ḍʾnt* = */śaʾ(a)nat/ → paucal/individuative: *ḍʾnt* = */śaʾ(a)nāt/

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 (*mimation* 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 morphologically distinct construct forms.

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

Definite because of a proper noun:

C 96:   *h*   *ʾlt*   *ʾs¹s¹*
              VOC goddess.CNST ʾs¹s¹
              'O goddess of ʾUsays'

KRS 59:   *ʾmt*   *s¹lm*
              slave girl.CNST S¹lm
              'the slave girl of S¹lm'

Definite because of the article:

SIJ 37:   *bʾs¹*   *ʾ- s¹nt*
              misfortune.CNST ART- year
              'the misfortune of this year'

Definite because of a pronominal clitic:

C 2713:   *ʾtr*   *ʾs²yʿ-h*
              trace.CNST companion.PL -CPRO.3MS
              'the traces of his companions'

Three-term construct-genitive:

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

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

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

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

AWS 81:   *s¹ḥq* *w*   *mḥq*   *l- 'm*   *w*   *wld*
            ruin CONJ bad fortune to-people.CNST CONJ offspring.CNST
            ḏ   *y'wr*   *h- s¹fr*
            REL efface.PC.3MS ART- writing
            'may the people and the offspring of him who would efface this writing have ruin and bad fortune'

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

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

RQ.A 10:   *b- m'ty*   *frs¹*
            with-unit.DU.CNST   horsemen
            'with two cavalry units'

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

4.5.1   *Vestiges of Nunation*

A few examples of nunation are attested in the inscriptions. The term *mḥlt*
'dearth of pasture' in the prayer segment of KRS 1551 is followed by an otiose
n: *h lh rwḥ w mḥltn l- ḏ y ʿwr h- s¹fr* '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 wln* 'he grieved in despair', where
wln, 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, *ḏ 'l 'mrtn* 'of the lineage of 'mrt'.

4.6   Case

Proto-Semitic distinguished three cases in most singular and broken plurals
by means of final short vowels, nominative *u*, genitive *i*, and accusative *a*,
and two cases in the dual and external plurals, nominative and oblique. In the
dialect reflected in A 1, the loss of final short high vowels seems to have
eliminated the nominative and genitive cases, but it is unclear if these would
have survived when they were distinguished by long vowels, such as in words
like *'ab* (NOM. *'abū*, GEN. *'abī*, ACC. *'abā*), or before the few examples of
nunation mentioned above. It is impossible to determine if case inflection
obtained in the dual (NOM. *ā*, OBL. *ay*) or the masculine plural (NOM. *ū*, OBL.
ī), both declensions which were not dependent upon final short vowels. The
construct form attested in RQ.A 10 *b- m'ty frs¹* 'with two cavalry units' is in the
expected oblique case, but, as in other Semitic languages, the oblique case is

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

4.6.1   *Functions of the Accusative*

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

A 1:   αθαοε{υ}α /ʾatawa/ βανα-α /banaʾa/ α-δαυρ-α /ʾa(d)-dawra/
             come.sc.3ms   Banaʾ-acc   art-place -acc
             'he came to Bnʾ at this place'

A 1:   ουα /wa/ ειραυ /yirʿaw/   βαϰλ-α /baqla/
             conj   pasture.pc.3mp fresh herbage -acc
             'and they pastured on fresh herbage'

WH 742:   ḫyṭ   mdbr
             journey.sc.3ms inner desert
             'he journeyed to the inner desert'

WH 466:   rʿy   bql   wḥd
             pasture.sc.3ms fresh herbage alone
             'he pastured on fresh herbage alone'

WH 65:   ġzz   h- nḫl
             raid.sc.3ms art-valley
             'he raided in this valley'

WH 766:   l   hʿwḏ bn   ḫbb h- mdṯʾ
             la Hʿwḏ son.cnst Ḫbb art- the spring pasture
             'By Hʿwḏ son of Ḫbb, at this spring pasture'

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

α. The overlap between the locative function of the accusative and the preposition *b-* is illustrated in WH 784: *rʿy b- rḍ w mdbr w b- ʿls¹* */raʿaya bi-rawḍ wa

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4   Compare to Hb. *wǝ-hû yōšēḇ petaḥ-hā-ʾōhel* 'and he was sitting at the entrance of the tent' (Gen 18:1) or *lāšeḇet bāyiṯ* 'that it may dwell in a shrine' (Isa 44:13).

madbara wa bi-ʿVls/ ʿhe pastured in meadows and in the inner desert and in grainland'.

b. Adverbs: III-w/y participles exhibit two forms: a bi-radical CC form when used as a nominal predicate: *dm* (C 1339) 'drawing' < √dmy; *s²t* (C 1868) 'wintering' <√s²ty; *ḫz* (ASWS 124) 'being hostile' < √ḫzy, and a tri-radical CCy form when used adverbially: *rʿy* (C 2446) 'while pasturing' and *ʿny* '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, *rʿy* */rāʿeya/, while the others terminated in a high vowel and were subject to the sound change described in (§ 3.4a), *s²t* */śātī/ < *śātiyu.

α. The adverb 'forever' is attested as both *l- ʾbd* */le-ʾabad/ (C 74) and simply *ʾbd* (KRS 1015) */ʾabada/, 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 *ḫrṣ h- nw m*ʿ *ʾḫ -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-nāwī/, a reflex of an active participle, then it would suggest that final short vowels had been lost in the dialect of this inscription. On the other hand, *nw* could reflect another vocalization, perhaps */nāww/ in analogy with the participles of C² = C³ roots, in which case the suffixation of an /a/ would not leave an orthographic trace.

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

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

4.7   Nominal Derivation

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

a. As in other Semitic languages, the *m*-prefix */ma/ forms nouns of loca-
tion, 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	*mnẓr* */manṭVr/*	'look-out point'	√nẓr 'to guard'
+n-assimlation	WH 318	*mẓr* */maṭṭVr/*		

maCCVC	KRS 2499	*mrb* */marVbb/*	'land with abundant herbage'	√rbb 'to be large/plenty'

maCCVC	ZeGA 1	*mnṣb* */manṣVb/*	'cult-stone'	< *nṣb* 'idem'
+n-assimilation	KRS 2914	*mṣb* */maṣṣVb/*		
maCCVCat	C 511	*mṣbt* */maṣṣVbat/*		

maCCVC	WH 3500	*ms²ty* */maśtay/*	'winter pasture'	√ s²ty 'winter'
maCCVCat	M 358	*ms²tyt* */maśtayat/*		

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

β. The G-passive participle, *mqtl* = */maqtūl/, 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* */maqtūl/ 'killed.PPC.MS' (HCH 72); *ms¹by* */masbūy/ 'captured.PPC.MS' (CSNS 1004). Participles of the derived stems are also characterized by a prefixed *m-*, but the preformative vowel of this prefix was /o/ < *u; see (§ 5.6).

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

C 27:	*h- mʿṣy* 'the Mʿṣ-ite'	< *ʾl mʿṣ* 'the lineage of Mʿṣ'
HaNSC 2:	*h- ḍfy* 'the Ṣayfite'	< *ʾl ḍf* 'the lineage of Ḍf'
WH 852:	*h- lbʾy* 'the Lbʾt-ite'	< the personal name *lbʾt*
LP 653:	*h- s¹mwy* 'the Samawite'	< *s¹mwt* 'toponym' (AAUI 267)
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 *y*. The feminine gentilic adjective αλ-Μασια = al-maʿṣiyyah from P. Petra 17 indicates that a geminated *y* could have gone unrepresented. Thus, αλ-Ιδαμι could easily represent an underlying */al-ʾidāmiyy/.

α. The masculine singular substantivized gentilic adjective can refer to groups of people. For example, *h- ʿwḏy* (MSNS 1, 6) 'the ʿwḏ-ites' < ʿwḏ and *sʰnt h- yhdy* (C 2732) 'the year of the Jews', cf. Hb *hak-kənaʿănî* 'the Canaanites'.

c. If the gentilic adjective *tmwy* (LP 82) should be associated with the oasis *Taymāʾ*, then it would appear that, as in CAr, nouns terminating in *āʾ* 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 Taymāʾ. Instead, *tmn* may reflect *taymān*, and simply mean 'southern'; thus, *h- tmny* would simply mean 'the southerner'.

d. Other affixes such as a suffixed -*n* and a prefixed *t*- can occur on verbal and abstract nouns and infinitives, e.g., *ḫyṭn* 'travelling' (WH 1022); *ḥwr{n}* 'return' (WH 2837); *tḍbʾ* '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- ḏʾb* 'the wolf' */had-deʾb/ (LP 732); *h- mdnt* */ham-madīnat/ 'the province' (C 1240).

b. Two other articles are attested, ʾand *ʾl*, but they do not appear as frequently in the inscriptions as *h*-. While in some cases, the ʾ- article may reflect a form of the *ʾl*- article with the assimilation of the *l* to coronals (see γ below), there are some cases in which the ʾ-article precedes consonants which do not usually induce assimilation (e.g., HaNSB 312 and WH 3418 below). In such cases, the ʾ-article article may reflect an assimilated form of the *ʾan*-article known from other forms of Arabic. Finally, a few examples of the *ʾl*-article without the assimilation of the *l* to a following coronal are attested. The unassimilating *ʾl*-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 ʾ(*l*) article(s).

The ʾ-article:

HaNSB 312: *l -h*   *ʾ- frs¹*
      by -CPRO.3MS ART- horse
      'the horse is his'

WH 3418: *ʾ- bkrt*
     ART- she-camel
     'the she-camel'

WH 234: *bny*   *ʾ- rgm*
     build.SC.3MS ART- cairn
     'he built the cairn'

KhMNS 5: *ʾ- dmt*
     ART-image.PL
     'the images'

The ʾl-article:

C 5137: *w* *ḥll*   *ʾl- dr*
     CONJ camp.SC.3MS ART-place
     'and he camped in this place'

C 2446: *ʾl- {n}bty*
     ART- Nbṭ.GADJ
     'the Nabataean'

HCH 194: *rḍwt* *ʾl- hdy*
     Rḍwt ART- commander
     'Rḍwt, the commander'

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

BRCM 0194: *bny*   *ʾ- nfs¹*   *w*
      build.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS ART- funerary monument CONJ
      s¹tr
      [ART-] shelter
      'he built the funerary monument and [the] shelter'

MKOWI 2:   *ḥrb -h*   *'- ṭlg*   *w*   *s¹myt*
                war.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS ART- snow CONJ [ART-] heavens
                ḥdt
                forbid.SC.3FS
                'the snow waged war upon him and [the] heavens were forbid-
                ding'

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.

ΑΝΑΜΟΣ ΣΑΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΙΜΑΛΛΟΥ ΑΜΜΑΣΙΧΗΝΟΣ

This inscription probably renders *'n'm bn s¹'d bn tmlh h/'-ms¹ky* *°An'am son of Sa'd son of Taymallāh the Masīkite or the 'A/Ham-Masīkite', */ham-masīkeyy/.

γ. A1 transcribes an example of the assimilation *'l*-article, thus we have αλ-Ιδαμι */al-'idāmiyy/ 'the 'Idāmite' but α-δαυρα */'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 μι- 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- ḥwly*. 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- '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 glḥ hn-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 glḥ hn w lt ...* 'by Glḥ, (who is) here, and Lt ...'.

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

C 2446:   *qtl -h*   *'l- {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:   *mrd*   *'l- h- mlk*   *grfṣ*
              rebel.SC.3MS against-ART- king Grfṣ
              'he rebelled against king Agrippa'

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

C 1293:   *ʿwr*   *ḏ*   *yʿwr*   *h- s¹fr*
            blind.IMP.2MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS ART- writing
            'blind him who would efface this writing'

C 893:   *ʿwr*   *l- ḏ*   *yʿwr*   *h- ḫṭṭ*
           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   s¹lm bn ḥg bn ṭhm bn hms¹k   '- dmt*
             LA GN04   ART- drawing.PL
             'By S¹lm son of Ḥg son of Ṭhm son of Hms¹k are these drawings'

WH 329:   *l   s¹ʿd bn ṣbḥ h- rgm*
            LA GN02   ART- funerary cairn
            'this funerary cairn is for S¹ʿd son of Ṣbḥ'

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 dmyt   zmrt*
      DEM image.CNST flute-playing girl
      'this image of a flute-playing girl'

LP 342: *w ʿzz   h ḥmy   ʾl*
      CONJ protect.SC.3MS DEM area of pasture.CNST lineage.CNST
      ʿwḏ
      ʿwḏ
      'and he protected this area of pasture of the lineage of ʿwḏ'

MSNS 1:[7] *wrd   h ʾḏyt   h-ʿwḏy*
      go to water.SC.3MS DEM watering hole ART-ʿwḏ.PL
      'he went to this watering hole of the ʿwḏ-ites'

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

(2) before the article:

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

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

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

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

than than *'l trm* 'the lineage of Trm', then the term *h'nfs¹* should be parsed as *h* '- *nfs¹* '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*   *'{l}trm* *h*   *'- nfs¹*
           LA {'ltrm} DEM ART- funerary monument
           'This funerary monument is for 'ltrm'

β. In two inscriptions, *nfs¹* is preceded by two glottal stops, ' '- *nfs¹* (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 '.

f. The article is not usually used before generic nouns when they are objects of prepositions or when they are the subjects of verbless clauses, e.g., *flṭ mn- s¹qm* 'deliverance from illness' (C 527); *s¹lm l -hm* 'may they be secure', lit. 'security be theirs' (C 4039). Infinitives are not preceded by the article either, {*f*} *gls¹ ḥlt* '{and} he halted to camp' (JaS 159.2). However, when generic nouns are the subject of a finite verb, they often take the article. Consider, for example, *t'mr h- s²n* 'adversity was widespread' (HAUI 72); *t'mr h- s²ḥs¹* 'want was widespread' (KRS 995).

g. HshNSMI 5 attests a dialect without the definite article, which is reminiscent of Hismaic: compare *ḥll dr* 'he camped in (this) place' (HshNSMI 5) to *ḥll h- dr* 'idem' (*passim*) and *lm yḫbl s¹fr* 'may (this) writing not be effaced' to the more common construction *'wr ḏ yḫbl h- s¹fr* '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- s¹nt* 'this year'.

ḏ- Demonstrative

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

Masculine singular

The masculine singular is possibly attested once preceding its head, if *ṣwy* 'cairn' is not feminine. This is comparable to the construction in the Ḥarrān inscription: *ḏ᾽ ᾽l-mrṭwl* 'this martyrion'.[9]

LP 684:   *w*   *dmy*   *wṣl*   *ḏ*   *h- ṣwy*
              CONJ draw.SC.3MS arrive.ACP.MS DEM.MS ART- cairn
              'and he drew, having arrived at this cairn'

Feminine dual

A form *hḏ* may be attested with a dual antecedent, and would seem to parallel Dadanitic *hṣlmn hḏh* 'these two statues', if *ṣlmn* 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/, */hāḏay/, or /ā/, */hāḏā/. On the other hand, the dual may have licensed feminine singular agreement with demonstratives, and so this form may reflect an underlying */hāḏī/. 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- ḏs²r*, 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 *qṣy* 'dedicated'.

H 457:   *l*   *zhd bn mʿl bn fḏg* *h- bkrtn*   *{h}ḏ*
              LA Gn03   ART- she-camel.DU {DEM}.DU(?)
              'by Zhd son of Mʿl son of Fḏg are these two she-camels'

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

Feminine singular

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

ASWS 217:   *w*   *ḏ*   *h- dr*
             CONJ DEM.FS ART- place
             'while at this place'

t- Demonstrative

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

a. The feminine demonstrative seems to be attested a few times with the common noun *ʾrḍ* '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 *ʾrḍt* 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, *ʾrḍ*.

C 2953:   *w*   *ʿmr*   *h- ʾrḍ*   *t*
             CONJ dwell.SC.3MS ART- land DEM.FS
             'and he dwelt in this land'

AbaNS 906:   *w*   *ġzz*   *b- h- ʾrḍ*   *t*
             CONJ raid.SC.3MS by- ART- land DEM.FS
             'and he raided this land'

---

with this interpretation is that *ḥrt* cannot stand for the toponym the *ḥarrah*, since it is preceded by the article. Moreover, the same person authored the inscription WH 424: *l s²rqt h- ḥrt{y} h- gml*, where it is clear that *ḥrt* is a gentilic adjective. I would then read WH 1236 as *l s²rqt h- ḥrt{y} h- bkrt*, in line with the expected signature formula, without a demonstrative.

β. In one case, *’rḍ 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 *zê pa‘ămayim* '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 *mdbr* 'inner desert' (C 2682; KRS 926). While feminine by-forms of nouns of place do exist, e.g., *mṣb* vs. *mṣbt*, *mdbr* is a proper noun referring to the Ḥamād, and none of its cognates in other languages exhibit a feminine by-form, Hb *midbār*, OArm *mdbr’*, 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 *ḏātu* in CAr, where as a substantive it means 'being, self' (Fischer 2002:149, n. 2).[11]

C 2682:   *f   rḍy ġnmt h- s¹nt   mdbr   t*
            CONJ Rḍy spoil ART- year inner desert DEM.FS
            'So, Rḍy, let there be spoil this year in the inner desert itself'

c. While *mdbrt* is rare, the general term for 'funerary monument' is *nfs¹t*. On comparative grounds, this should probably be understood as a combination of the noun *nfs¹* and demonstrative. The term is attested as *npš* in the Northwest Semitic inscriptions (*DNWSI*, 748), and has this form in the Namārah inscription, *ty npš mr’lqyš* 'this is the funerary monument of Mr’lqyš', where its gender is also feminine, and in Dadanitic, *nfs¹*. Moreover, it nearly always appears with a demonstrative referring to the monument or structure itself. Thus, the phrase *h- nfs¹t* may be better parsed as *h- nfs¹ t* 'this funerary monument', and was simply a fixed phrase used by authors. In addition to its etymology, attestations of the basic form *nfs¹* also support the interpretation of the final *t* as a demonstrative:

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10   C 1607 reads *w wlh ’l- gs² ḏ ḥ{r}bn*, where the editor took the *ḏ* 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 *gs²ḏ* is an attributive demonstrative
      following a head which is not modified by the definite article. Two things, however, make
      this unlikely: (1) the construction *gs² -h ḥrbn* 'his plundered troop' is rather common and
      so it is possible that Dunand copied *h* as *ḏ* and (2) it is unclear what the function of the
      demonstrative would be in such a context.
11   In CAr, however, the term is followed by a clitic pronoun referring back to its antecedent.

(1) The form *h- nfs¹* is twice attested from the area east of Jabal Ḥawrān, both by the same man. This may simply reflect a deviation from the formula used elsewhere with the demonstrative. The author states his name and the fact that he is building a monument for his son, and uses the same term on the funerary monument itself:

Vogue 404.1: *l*   *ks¹ṭ bn ʿms¹ bn ḥn bn ḥnn bn s²hyt w*   *wlh*
              LA Gn05   CONJ grieve.SC.3MS
              ʾl- bn -h   *zʾm*   *w*   *bny*
              for- son- CPRO.3MS die.APC.MS CONJ build.SC.3MS
              l- bn -h   *h- nfs¹*
              for- son -CPRO.3MS ART-funerary monument
              'By Ks¹ṭ son of ʿms¹ son of Ḥn son of Ḥnn son of S²hyt and he grieved for his son, who had died, and so he built for his son the funerary monument'

Vogue 404.2: *l*   *ʿn bn*   *ks¹ṭ h- nfs¹*
             LA ʿn son.CNST Ks¹ṭ ART- funerary monument
             'For ʿn son of Ks¹ṭ is the funerary monument'

(2) Authors who spoke dialects with the ʾ- article sometimes used the *h-* demonstrative instead of the post-positive *t*-demonstrative. As I have explained earlier, it does not always make sense to take the form *ʾnfs¹* as a plural:

WH 587:   *l*   *ʾ{l}trm h*   *ʾ- nfs¹*
           LA {ʾltrm} DEM ART- funerary monument
           'This funerary monument is for ʾltrm'

KRS 3239: *l*   *nṣr bn ʾs¹d bn ʿmrt h*   *ʾ- n{f}s¹*   *hn*
           LA Gn03   DEM ART- {funerary monument} here
           ql
           speak.IMP
           'This {funerary monument} is for son of ʾs¹d son of ʿmrt; (so) speak here'

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

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

WH 1958:   *l   ms¹l h- dr   t*
            LA Ms¹l ART- place DEM.FS
            'By Ms¹l, at this place'

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

HAUI 198:   *h   lt   qb{l}l   m-   t   h- s¹nt*
            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 ḏ-Particle*

An otiose *ḏ* 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 *ḏī* can be added at will to proper names (Rabin 1951: 76).

WH 614:   *l   ʾṣmʿ w   tnẓr   ḏ   mny*
            LA ʾṣmʿ CONJ await.SC.3MS DEM Fate
            'By ʾṣmʿ and Fate lay in wait' (= *tnẓr mny*)

KRS 3029:   *tẓr*   *ḏ*   *mny*
              await.SC.3MS DEM Fate
              'Fate lay in wait' (= *tẓr mny*)

ISB 117:   *ʿyr* ⟨⟨*r*⟩⟩   *hn*   *wgd*   *ḏ*   *ṯnt*
              journey.APC.MS here find.INF DEM dry herbage
              'having journeyed here to find dry herbage'

KRS 2961:   *tnẓr*   *ḏ*   *ḥbt*
              await.SC.3MS DEM rain
              'he awaited rain' (cf. *tẓr h- s¹my*)

4.10   Relative-Determinative Pronoun

The relative-determinative pronouns form the following paradigm:

MS	FS	MP
ḏ	*ḏ't*/*ḏt*/ *ḏʾ* (?)	*ḏw*

The relative pronoun is most frequently attested as a component of the phrase *ḏ ʾl*, 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 *ḏ* is cognate with the CAr determinative pronoun, NOM. *ḏū*, GEN. *ḏī*, and ACC. *ḏā*. The vocalization of the Safaitic reflex is dependent upon whether case inflection survived in declensions based on long vowels. The Nabataean theophoric name *ʿbddwšrʾ* */ʿabd-ḏū-śarē/ 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 *ḏ*, then it should be vocalized as */ḏū/ in all positions. In an unpublished inscription, however, the common phrase *ḏ ʾl* 'of the lineage' is written

as *ḏyl*. It is tempting to see the *y* as homo-organic glide resulting from the loss of the glottal stop. The *y* would have emerged from the transition of /ī/, not /ū/, to /ā/, suggesting the vocalization */ḏī/. The head of this pronoun is in the genitive, and so such a spelling could point towards either a generalized reflex */ḏī/ or the survival of case inflection in this form. Other explanations are also possible: the sequence *ḏūwāl may have dissimilated to /ḏūyal/, or the glottal stop may have simply merged with *y post-vocalically 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'*   *ḏ*   *'l*   *m'ṣ*
             grieve.SC.3MS for- Hn' REL.MS lineage.CNST M'ṣ
             'he grieved for Hn' of the lineage of M'ṣ'

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

α. RSIS 351 attests the following curse *grb l- ḏy y'wr h- ḫṭṭ* 'may he who would efface this writing have scab', where *ḏy* substitutes for *ḏ* 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 *ḏ't*, */ḏā'at/ or */ḏī'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*   *'s¹   bn*   *ḥn'l   ḏ't*
             LA 'd daughter.CNST 's¹ son.CNST Ḥn'l REL.FS
             'l   *tm*
             lineage.CNST Tm
             'by 'd daughter of 's¹ son of ḥn'l of the lineage of Tm'

CSNS 620:   *l*   *ḥrg   bnt*   *ġṯ   ḏ't*   *'l*   *tm*
             LA Ḥrg daughter.CNST Ġṯ REL.FS lineage.CNST Tm
             'by Ḥrg daughter of Ġṯ of the lineage of Tm'

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

SHS 10:   *fṣʾl bnt*   *brd ḏʾ*   *ʾl*   *rk{s¹}*
               Fṣʾl daughter.CNST Brd REL.FS lineage.CNST {Rks¹}
               'Fṣʾl daughter of Brd of the lineage of Rks¹'

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

JbS 1:   *ts²wq*   *ʾl*   *{b}tl{s²}n ḏt*   *ʾl*   *ʾgʾ*
               long.SC.3ms for {ʿbtls²n}   REL.FS lineage.CNST ʾgʾ
               'he longed for {ʿbtls²n} of the lineage of ʾgʾ'

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

C 2156:   *wgd*   *ʾṭr*   *ʿs² -h*   *qbrn*
               find.SC.3MS trace.PL.CNST kinsmen- CPRO.3MS bury.PPC.MP
               ḏw   *ʾl*   *yẓr*
               REL.MP lineage.CNST Yẓr
               'he found the traces of his buried kinsmen who were of the lineage of Yẓr'

H 506:   *ʿwr*   *l- ḏw*   *ʿwr*   *h- s¹fr*
               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 *ḏ* is also attested with FS and MP antecedents, suggesting that agreement was lost in some varieties.

AtIN 3:   *l   fṣ'l bnt   bngd ḏ   'l   rks¹*

LA Fṣ'l daughter.CNST Bngd REL.MS lineage.CNST Rks¹

'By Fṣ'l daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks¹'

C 1758:   *wgm   'l- 's²y'-h   ḏ*

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

ns¹l   b- ṯbr

went away.SC.3MP in- Sagittarius

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

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

RWQ 73:   *ḥḏr   b- 'ẓmy   h   lt w   h   ḏs²r*

camp by water.SC.3MS near- 'ẓmy VOC Lt CONJ VOC Ḏsr

l'n   ḥwlt h- ḏ   'ṯm

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

'he camped by permanent water near 'ẓmy; O Lt and O Ḏs²r, curse the Ḥwlt-ites who acted wrongfully'

LP 718:   *ẓhr   's¹f-h   mn   h- ḏ*

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

y's¹

upset.SC.3MS

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

α. In rare cases, the relative-determinative can also function as a genitive marker, as an alternative to the construction chain, KRS 1964: *'ḥlṣ '- ḏ'n ḏ 'l ḥlṣ* 'he kept the sheep of the lineage of Ḥlṣ safe' and possibly SESP.D 12 *dṯ' h- 'rḍ ḏ 'l nġbr* 'and he spent the season of the later rains in the valley of the lineage of Nġbr'.

4.11   Indefinite Relative

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

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

KRS 109:   *rḍy ʿwr   m   ʿwr*
              Rḍy blind.IMP.3MS REL blind.SC.3MS
              'Rḍy, blind whosoever would efface'

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

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

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

Ms 44:   *h   gdḍf lʿn   ḍ   yʿwr   m*
              VOC Gdḍf curse.IMP.2MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS REL
              yhnʾ
              please.PC.3MS
              'O Gdḍf, curse him who would efface that which pleases'

4.12   Quantifiers

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

H 191:   *ts²wq   [ʾ]l- kll   ʿs²r   ṣdq*
              long.SC.3MS [for]- QUANT.CNST   kinsman righteous.MS
              'he longed for every righteous kinsman'

WH 161:   *rʿy   kll   ʾrḍ*
              pasture.SC.3MS QUANT.CNST land
              'he pastured every region'

KRS 6:   *ʾs²yʿ -h*   *kll -hm*
              companion.PL -CPRO.3MS QUANT -CPRO.3MP
              'his companions, all of them'

HaNSB 16:   *kll*   *h- s¹nt*
              QUANT.CNST ART- year
              'the entire year'

HaNSB 304:   *mrq*   *kll*   *s¹ls¹l -h*
              throw off.SC.3MS QUANT.CNST bond.PL -CPRO.3MS
              'he threw off all of his bonds'

α. There is so far only one attestation of the quantifier 'all' with one *l*, *kl ʾbd*
*/kolla ʾabad/ 'all eternity' (SW 193).

b. When used independently, *kll* may mean 'everything' or 'everyone':

KRS 2646:   *ḥrb*   *kll*
              plunder.SC.3MS QUANT
              'he plundered everything'

c. A quantifier with one *l* is attested once in a dual context, and it should
probably to be connected with CAr *kilā* 'both'.

LP 305:   *kl*   *ḏlly*
              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*   *ṯlṯt*   *ʾs²hr*   *s¹nt*
CONJ   go to water.CS.3MS three.F   month.PL   year.CNST
ḥrb   *g{s²}m*   *ʾl*   *ṯmd*
war.SC.3P {Gs²m} lineage.CNST Ṯmd
'and he went to water for three months, the year Gs²m plundered the lineage of Ṯmd'

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

Four

KRS 2340: *w*   *ndm*   *ʿl-ʾb -h*
CONJ be devastated.SC.3MS   for-father.CPRO.3MS
w   *ʿl-ʾdwd -h*   *ʾrbʿt*
CONJ over-paternal uncle.PL- CPRO.3MS four.F
rġm   *mny*
struck down.SC.3MP   Fate
'and he was devastated by grief for his father and his four paternal uncles who struck down by Fate'

WH 3094: *l*   *qs¹r bn ʾḥs¹n h- ẓrt*   *ʾrbʿ*   *s¹n{n}*   *tly*
LA Gn02   ART- enclosure four.M year.{PL} later
'By Qs¹r son of ʾḥs¹n, at this enclosure four years later'

Five

KRS 25: *ṣyr*   *m- mdbr*   *l- ḫms¹t*   *ʾrḫ*
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}lʾ*   *h- nḫl*   *ḫms¹*   *ws¹q*
{detain}.SC.3MS ART-valley five.M.CNST herds of camels
'he detained five herds of camels in the valley'

Six

MKWS 8:   *ʿmr*   *h- mkmn*   *s¹t*   *ʾym*
              dwell.SC.3MS   ART-hiding place   six.F.CNST   day.PL
              'he dwelt in the hiding place for six days'

Seven

C 1084:   *w*   *rḍw ġnmt s¹bʿ*
              CONJ   Rḍw spoil   seven
              'and, Rḍw, let there be spoil, seven fold!'

Ten

MKWS 28:   *w*   *ʿmr*   *ʿs²r*   *ṣyd*
              CONJ   construct.INF   ten.M.CNST   snare.PL
              'while constructing ten snares'

Twelve

KRS 303:   *g{d}-h*   *l- ṯnʿs²r*   *ym*
              {mistreat}.SC.3MP -CPRO.3MS   for- twelve.M   day
              'they mistreated him for twelve days'

Eighteen

H 763:   *s¹nt*   *ṯmnʿs²rt*   *l- mlk*   *ʾgrfṣ*
              year.CNST   eighteen.M   for- king   ʾgrfṣ
              'the year eighteen of king Agrippa'

Twenty

RQ.A 1:   *s²ry*   *h-frs¹*   *m- mlk*   *b- ʿs²rn*   *mny*
              buy.SC.3MS   ART- horse   from- Mlk   for- twenty   mina
              'he bought the horse from Mlk for twenty Minas'

Twenty-five

KRS 225: *rʿy*   *h-ʾbl*   *ḥms¹tʾs²rn*   *ʿm*
pasture.SC.3MS ART-camel.PL twenty-five.M year
'he pastured camels for twenty five years'

Thirty

ZeWa 1: *s¹nt*   *ṭrq*   *mk mlk*   *nbṭ ṭlṭn*   *mʾt*
year.CNST smite.SC.3MS Mk king.CNST Nbṭ thirty unit
qtl   *ʾl*   *rm*
warrior.PL.CNST lineage.CNST Rm
'the year Mk King of Nabataea smote thirty units, warriors of the
people of Rome'

One hundred and one thousand

AbaNS 286: *s²ry*   *m-ʾḫ-h*   *mʿḏ h-frs¹*
buy.SC.3MS from-brother-CPRO.3MS Mʿḏ ART-horse
b-mʾt
with-hundred
'he bought from his brother Mʿḏ the horse with one hundred
(currency?)'

C 2076: *s¹rt*   *ʾl-{ḥ}dq*   *ʾbgr*
serve.SC.3MS against-{walled enclosure}.CNST ʾbgr
b-ʾlf   *rgl*   *w*
with-one thousand.CNST foot soldiers CONJ
mʾt-f[r]s¹
[cavalry] unit
'He served in a troop against the walled enclosure of ʾbgr with one
thousand foot soldiers and a cavalry unit'

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

c. Only one possible case of the numerical use of the Safaitic letters is attested. The inscription RQ.A 10 is dated to the year that a certain Bnḫr took control with *ʿz* archers or lancemen, *rmʾn*, and two cavalry units, *mʾty frs¹*. A numerical

interpretation of ʿz according to the Aramaic values would render 77 – ʿ = 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: ʾwl '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:

Independent

1CS	ʾn */ʾanā/
3MS	h */hū/

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

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

1cs: *ʾn*

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

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

3ms: *h*

KRS 1684:   gdḍf s¹lm   w   mgd   w   *h*   ṭlq
             Gdḍf security CONJ bounty CONJ IPRO.3MS set off.APC.MS
             l- h- dṣy
             for- ART- ibex
             'Gdḍf, let there be security and bounty as he sets off for ibex'

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

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

AWS 218:   s¹ʿd -h   rḍw nʿm w   bḏ   ḏr   w
             help.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Rḍw favor CONJ here danger CONJ
             yh   brk
             OPRO.3MS bless.SC.3MS
             'may Rḍw help him through divine favor, for there is danger here, and may he (Rḍw) bless him'

4.14.2   *The Clitic Pronouns*

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

2MS and 2FS: *-k*

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

2ms: *-k*

KRS 1683:   *h   s²ʿhqm   sˡlm   w   ʿwḏ -k*
VOC S²ʿhqm security CONJ protection-CPRO.3MS
'O S²ʿhqm, let there be security and your protection'

2fs: *-k*

Mu 550:   *h   ʾlt sˡʿd   ysˡmˡl bn   fḥl ʿbd-k*
VOC ʾlt aid.IMP.2FS Ysˡmˡl son.CNST Fḥl worshipper-CPRO.3FS
'O ʾlt, aid Ysˡmˡl son of Fḥl, 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 ʾlʿrb kl-h* */malk ʾal-ʿarab kollah(a)/, 'king of all the Arabs' or 'king of the entire territory of ʿArab'.[12]

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

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12   If the 3fs pronoun were realized as /hā/, it would have been written as *hʾ* 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:   *ʾs²rq*   *m- ḥrn*   *b- ʾbl -h*
              migrate.SC.3MS from-Ḥrn with-camel.COL -CPRO.3MS
              'he migrated to the inner desert from Ḥawrān with his camels'

LP 306:   *wgd*   *ʾtr*   *ʾs²yʿ -h*
              find.SC.3MS trace.CNST companions.PL -CPRO.3MS
              'he found the traces of his companions'

3fs: *-h*

AiTN 3:   *l   fṣʾl   bnt*   *bngd ḏ*   *ʾl*   *rks¹*
              LA Fṣʾl daughter.CNST Bngd REL.MS lineage.CNST Rks¹
              w   l   -h   [h]   *rgm*
              CONJ for -CPRO.3FS [the] funerary cairn
              'For Fṣʾl daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks¹ and this funerary cairn is hers'

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

-nh

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

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

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

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

KRS 307:   *h*   *y[ṯ]ʿ*   *s²ʿ-nh*   *b- ḏ*   *wd*
             VOC [Yṯʿ] join.IMP.M -CPRO.3MS   with- REL.MS   love.SC.3MS
             'O Yṯʿ, join him with the one whom he loved'

KRS 3074:   *ʾgʿ-nh*   *ʿn bn*   *ʾns¹ ʾ- s²nʾ*
             cause pain.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS ʿn son.CNST ʾns¹ ART- enemy
             'ʿn son of ʾns¹, the enemy, has caused him pain'

1cp: -*n*

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

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

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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 */-komā/. If gender distinction did collapse, then *km* could represent the 3MP form */kom(ū)/.

C 25:   *hy   lt   w   h*
             VOC Lt CONJ VOC
             s²ms¹ ʾṭn   ʾl -km
             S²ms¹ cut.CSC.3MS   for-CPRO.2DU/PL
             yd -h   l- ṯʾr
             hand.DU.CNST -CPRO.3MS ASV- avenge.SC.3MS
             'O Ylt and O S²ms¹, may he cut off his hand for you both (as a promise) that he will have vengeance'

KRS 1683:   *h   gdʿwḏ   w   h   gdḏf*
             VOC Gdʿwḏ CONJ VOC Gdḏf
             ʿwḏ -km   h- ʾbl
             put under protection.SC.3MS -CPRO.2DU/PL ART-camel.COL
             'O Gdʿwḏ and O Gdḏf, 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 s²ʿhqm s¹lm w ʿwḏ -k w h gdʿwḏ w h gdḏf ʿwḏ -km h- ʾbl* 'O Lt and O S²ʿhqm, let there be peace and your protection, and, O Gdʿwḏ and O Gdḏf, he put the camels under your protection'. If this interpretation is correct, then it could imply that *ʿwḏ -km* later in the same inscription would refer to all four previously mentioned dieties.

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:   *ts²wq*   *ʾl- dd -h*   *w*
            long.SC.3MS for- paternal uncle- CPRO.3MS CONJ
            ʾs²yʿ-h   *kll -hm*
            companion.PL -CPRO.3MS all-CPRO.3MP
            'he longed for his paternal uncle and his companions, all of them'

KRS 6:   *wlh*   *ʾl -hm*   *l-ʾbd*
            mourn.SC.3MS for-CPRO.3MP/D forever
            'he mourned for (both of) them forever'

NST 3:   *s¹nt*   *ḥrb -hm*   *ʾl*   *ʿwḏ*
            year.CNST plunder.SC.3M -CPRO.3MP lineage.CNST ʿwḏ
            'the year the lineage of ʿwḏ plundered them'

The Verb

Overview

The verb has six principle parts: a SUFFIX CONJUGATION, PREFIX CONJUGA-
TION, IMPERATIVE, INFINITIVE, ACTIVE PARTICIPLE, and PASSIVE PARTICI-
PLE. 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 suf-
fixes. The paradigm is incomplete:

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

3MP and 3MS

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

3P

H 506:	*'wr*	*l- dw*	*'wr*	*h- s¹fr*
	blindness	to-REL.MP	efface.SC.3MP	ART- writing
	'may they who would efface this writing go blind'

LP 679:   *h   lt ṯ'r*   [*m*]   *m   's¹lf*   {*w*}
            VOC Lt vengeance [against] REL act.SC.3MP {CONJ}
            {*ṯ*}{*b*}*r*   *l*-*hm*
            {destruction}   for -CPRO.3MP
            'O Lt, he shall have vengeance against whoever has committed
            this act and may destruction befall them'

3MS

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

WH 1698:   *s¹nt*   *ngy*   *qṣr*   *h*- *mdnt*
            year.CNST announce.SC.3MS Caesar ART- province
            'the year Caesar announced the province'

Wawation on 3rd person verbs

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

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

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

RSIS 304:   *l   s²ʿtm   bn   wtr   bn   ʾbgr   ḏ   ʾl*
             LA S²ʿtm son.CNST Wtr son.CNST ʾbgr REL.MS lineage.CNST
             frṯ   w   rʿyw   h- ḍʾn
             Frṯ CONJ pasture.SC.W ART- sheep
             'by S²ʿtm son of Wtr son of ʾbgr of the lineage of Frṯ and they/he
             pastured the sheep'

3DU

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

LP 305:   *w   wgm   ʾl- ʾs¹   w   ʾl- wdʿ   w   kl*
             CONJ grieved.SC.3MS for-ʾs¹ CONJ for-wdʿ CONJ both
             ḏlly
             lost.SC.3DU
             'and he grieved for ʾs¹ and wdʿ, and both were lost'

3FS

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

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

SIAM 30:   *l   grmt   b{t}   ḥr   w   gls¹t   ʾl*
             LA Grmt {daughter.CNST} Ḥr CONJ halt.SC.3FS until
             yʾm⟨⟨f⟩⟩r   f   wg[d]t   s¹fr   ʾb   f
             {Capricorn} CONJ [find].SC.3FS writing.CNST ʾb CONJ
             wgmt   ʾl -h
             grieve.SC.3FS for -cpro.3MS
             'By Grmt daughter of Ḥr and she halted until (the sun was in?)
             {Capricorn}, then she found the writing of ʾb and so she grieved
             for him'

2S

The identification of the second person forms is challenged by similarities in form and syntax with the infinitive. Since the infinitive can sometimes substitute for a finite verb and often terminates in a *t*, it is often impossible to prove that any given form is one or the other. The form *whbt* in the invocation in C 4037 below, for example, could be interpreted as both a 2FS form */wahabt(ī)/ or an infinitive, perhaps */wahbat/. The spelling of the form *lʿt* in CSA 1.2, however, suggests that the final consonant of the verb root, *n*, was continuous with the *t*, indicating that it reflects a 2FS suffix conjugation rather than an infinitive or 3FS verb, probably */laʿatt(ī)/ < *laʿanti.

C 4037:   {*h*} *lt* **whbt**   *s²nʾ-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*   *lʿt*   *lt* *mn* *yḫbl -h*
              CONJ curse.SC.2FS Lt REL obscure.PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS
              'and may you, Lt, curse whosoever would obscure it (the writing)'

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

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

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

C 2036:   *wgd*   *ḥbb -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:   *s¹mᶜ*   *'n*   *myt*   *flfṣ*
              heard.SC.3MS CORD died.SC.3MS Flfṣ
              'he heard that Flfṣ had died'

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

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

C 285:   *l*   *bt* *w*   *nyk*   *bgrmh*   *f*
              LA Bt CONJ   copulate.SC.3MS Brmh   CONJ
              'tm   *zf*   *f*   *qd*
              celebrate.SC.3MS sending of the bride CONJ PERF
              'bṣ
              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:   *s¹ᶜd -h*   *rḍw* *m- h- nṣᶜ*
              aid.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Rḍw against- enmity
              'May Rḍw aid him against enmity'

HaNSB 8:   *s¹ᶜd -h*   *rḍw* *w*   *'kl -h*
              aid.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Rḍw CONJ nourish.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS
              rḍw
              Rḍw
              'may Rḍw aid him and may Rḍw nourish him'

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

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

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

C 1649:   *w   's¹fr   tdmr   f   h   b'l s¹lm*
               CONJ travel.SC.3MS Palmyra CONJ VOC B'l be secure.SC.3MS
               'and he will travel to Palmyra so, O B'l, may he be secure'

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

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

α. The future sense seems appropriate for the verb *ṯ'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 *ṯ'r* as vows to attain vengeance in the future rather than requests.

HCH 72:   *ḥ   ds²r   ṯ'r*   {*l-*}   *mn- ḥwlt*
            VOC Ds²r avenge.SC.3MS {ASV-} against- Ḥwlt
            'O Ds²r, he will indeed have vengeance against the Ḥwlt'

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

NST 3:   *w   'wr   ds²r   ḏ   ḫbl*
            CONJ blind.SC.3MS Ds²r REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS
            'and may Ds²r blind him who would obscure [this inscription]'

C 1649:   *w   'wr   l- ḏ   'wr   h- s¹fr*
            CONJ blindness to-REL blind.SC.3MS ART- writing
            'and may he who would efface this writing go blind'

WH 613:   *f   gdḏf s¹lm   m- s²n'   s¹lm   l- ḏ*
            CONJ Gdḏf security from-enemies secure.INF to-REL.MS
            d'y
            read aloud.SC.3MS
            'So, Gdḏf, may he who would read aloud be secured well against enemies'

5.2   Prefix Conjugation

5.2.1   *Form*

a. Preformative prefixes: The prefix conjugation inflects for PNG through the use of prefixes and suffixes. The 3MS and 3FS are securely attested and are marked by the *y* and *t* prefixes, respectively. Two first person forms with the preformative prefix *n* are attested (LP 495; WH 135), but it is unclear if they should be interpreted as 1CS or 1CP. If the latter is correct, then it would suggest that the dialect of the Safaitic inscriptions underwent the same analogy as Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and the Maghrebian dialects of Arabic, namely, the leveling of the *nV-* preformative prefix from the 1CP to the singular, and in the case of Maghrebian Arabic, producing the symmetrical paradigm, *nif'al* and *nif'alū*. While context of LP 495 is unclear and permits both interpretations, WH 135 points towards a 1CS inter pretation:

WH 135:	*l*	*qny*	*f*	*h*	*lt*	*qbll*	*ʾhl*		*s¹lm*
	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 *ʾhl* 'family' could be followed by a 1CS suffix pronoun, cf. *h lt qbll ʾhl -h s¹lm* '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 *ʾhl* should be taken simply as 'family', without a pronominal suffix, the final verb can still be interpreted as such on contextual grounds: an individual is more likely to be saved by being reunited with a group rather than the other way around.

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

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

Preformative prefixes	
1c	*n-*
3m	*y-*
3f	*t-*

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

5.2.2   *Function*

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

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

WH 3929:   *ytẓr   ḥyt*
              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   ḥyy l-ḏ   yqrʾ   h- ktb*
              CONJ life to-REL.MS read.PC.3MS ART- writing
              'and may he who would read this writing aloud have long life'

C 286:   *h   rḍy ʿwr   l-ḏ   yʿwr*
              VOC Rḍy blindness to- REL.MS efface.PC.3MS
              'O Rḍy, may he who would efface go blind'

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

The prefix conjugation can also be used—independently or following the asseverative *l*—as a volitive, cf. CAr *li-yafʿal* 'let him do'.

Independent:

LP 643: *ngˁ*   *ˀl- s²mt   ˀs¹r*   *f   h*
         grieve in pain.SC.3MS for- S²mt captured.PPC.3MS CONJ VOC
         lt   ys¹lm
         Lt secure.PC.3MS
         'he grieved in pain for S²mt who was captured so, O Lt, may he be
         secure'

With the asseverative *l*:

AWS 237: *h   rḍw f   l-yˁwr*   *m   ˁwr*   *w*
          VOC Rḍw CONJ ASV- be blinded.PC.3MS REL efface.SC.3MS CONJ
          l-yqˀ   *b- ṣdq*
          ASV-thrown-out.PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS by- friend
          'O Rḍw, let anyone who would efface be made blind, then let him
          be thrown out of the grave by a friend'

The negated short imperfect can also have a volitive meaning:

HshNSMI 5: *w   lm   yẖbl*   *s¹fr*
            VOC NEG be obscured.PC.3MS writing
            'and may (the) writing not be effaced'

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

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

terminated in a vowel, the quality of which is unclear. The indicative *nihyayu
would yield */nehyay/ while the subjunctive *nihyaya would yield */nehyaya/,
both in turn would have been spelled as *nhyy*.

LP 495:   *h   rḍw   flṭ -n*   *m- b's¹*   *w*
           VOC Rḍw deliver.IMP.MS -CPRO.1CP from- misfortune CONJ
           nhyy
           live.PC.1CP
           'O Rḍw, deliver us/me from misfortune that we/I may live long'

LP 712:   *wrd*   *b- r'y*   *ḏl*   *[l-] {y}s²rb*
           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'

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

c. Explicit future: While the *u*-augmented prefix conjugation can be used to
signify present or future time, 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:   *s¹lm*   *l- ḏ*   *s¹ʾr*   *w*
            security for-REL leave untouched.SC.3MS CONJ
            nqʾt   *l- ḏ*   *s¹- y'wr*
            thrown out.INF for- REL FUT- efface.PC.3MS
            'may he who would leave untouched have security and may he
            who will efface be thrown out of the grave'

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

MSNS 2:   *bġy*   *ʾḫ -h*   *f*   *lm* *yʿd*
            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 *ḥwf* 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:   *ʾty*   *nẓr*   *h- ṯbrn*   *mn- ʾl*
           come.SC.3M guard.INF ART- warrior.PL from- lineage.CNST
           ṣbḥ *s¹nt*   *ḥrb -hm*   *ʾl*
           Ṣbḥ year.CNST war.SC.MP-CPRO.3MP lineage.CNST
           ʿwḏ
           ʿwḏ
           'the warriors of the lineage of Ṣbḥ came to guard the year the lineage of ʿwḏ made war upon them'

Command

SIJ 808:   *w*   *nẓr*   *s²{n}ʾ*   *f*   *h*   *lt*   *fṣy*
            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*   *ʾtr*   *ʾb* -*h*   *f*   *bk{y}*
            find.SC.3MS trace.CNST father -CPRO.3MS CONJ {weep.SC.3MS}
            w   *ḏkr*   *l-* *ʾ{ẖ}* -*h*   {ʾ}*wl*
            CONJ remember.INF to- {brother} -CPRO.3MS {ʿwl}
            'he found the trace of his father, and so he wept and remembered
            his brother ʿwl'

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*   *rḍw* *ʿwr*   *ḏ*   *yʿwr*
            CONJ Rḍw blind.IMP.3MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS
            'O Rḍw, blind him who would efface'

Abstract noun

KRS 1161:   *h*   *lt* *ʿwr*   *l-* *ḏ*   *yʿwr*
            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   ḏs²r   s¹lm* -*h*   {*m*-} {*h*}- *s¹l*{*t*}{*n*}
              VOC Ḏs²r secure.IMP.M -CPRO.3MS {from} {ART-} {authorities}
              'O Ḏs²r, keep him safe from the authorities (i.e., the Romans or
              Nabataeans)'

Abstract noun

WH 153:   *h   lt   s¹lm   l- ḏ   s¹ʾr*
              VOC Lt security to-REL.MS leave untouched.SC.3MS
              'O Lt, may he who would leave (this inscription) untouched be
              secure' (lit. ... security be to him who would leave untouched).

5.5   Participles

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

Attested forms of *trḥ* */tarīḥ/ 'perished'

MS	FS	MD	MP
trḥ	*trḥt*	*trḥn*	*trḥn*

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   {ẖ}rs¹   l- m   mḫbl*   *h-* {*s¹*}*fr*
              VOC Lt {dumbness} to- REL obscure.APC.MS ART-{writing}
              'O Lt, may anyone who would be an obscurer of this writing
              become dumb'

C 1339:   *l   ḥy'l   bn   ẓ{n}'{l}   **dm**   *l- 's¹lm*
             LA   Ḥy'l son.CNST {Ẓn'l}   draw.APC.MS for-'s¹lm
             'ḏl -h
             companion-CPRO.3MS
             'By Ḥy'l son of Ẓn'l who draws for 's¹lm his companion'

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

C 28:   *w   byt*   **ḥyṭ**   *f*
             CONJ spend the night.SC.3MS journey.APC.MS CONJ
             tẓr   *h- 's¹d*
             await.SC.3MS Leo
             'and he spent the night while journeying, then awaited (the ap-
             pearance of) Leo'

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

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

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

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

5.6   Verb Stems

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

Verb Classes

CCC = G (= CAr. faʿala); D (= CAr. faʿʿala); L (= CAr. fāʿala)
ʾCCC = C (= CAr. ʾafʿala) and possibly a cD (Gz. ʾaqattala)
CtCC = Gt (= CAr. iftaʿala)
tCCC = tD (= CAr. tafaʿʿala); tL (= CAr. tafāʿala); tG (= EAr. itfaʿal; Arm. *etqtel*)
nCCC = N (= Ar. infaʿala)

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

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

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

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

Prefix Conjugation: The morphological shape */yVCCVC/ is confirmed for the augmented prefix conjugation based on the spelling of I-n verb *ygr* 'he endures' (ISB 421) */yVggor/ < */yVngur/ and by the spelling of the II-w/y root √nwy as *yny* 'he migrates' (C 1108), indicating a vocalization with a medial vowel rather than a consonant (see § 5.6.1.1.1). The short form is attested in A 1 as ειραυ */yir'aw/ 'they pastured'.

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

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

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

G *principle parts*

SC	PC	INF	IMP	APART	PPART
qtl	*yqtl*	*qtl(t)*	*qtl*	*qtl*	*qtl/mqtl*

Transitive:

C 3820:   **wgd**   **ʾtr**   **ʾḫ -h**
            find.SC.3MS trace.CNST brother -CPRO.3MS
            'he found the trace of his brother'

C 4443:   **qtl -h**   **{ʾ}l**   **ṣbḥ**
            kill.SC.3 -CPRO.3M {lineage.CNST} Ṣbḥ
            'the lineage of Ṣbḥ killed him'

LP 325:   **h**   **lt** **s¹lm**   **w**   **ǵnmt** **l- ḏ**   **dʿy**
            VOC Lt security CONJ spoil to- REL read aloud.SC.3MS
            h- s¹fr
            ART- writing
            'may he who would read this writing aloud have security and
            spoil'

Intransitive/Stative:

C 2190:   **s¹nt**   **myt**   **{ḏ}{d} -h**
            year.CNST died.SC.3MS {paternal uncle} -CPRO.3MS
            'the year his paternal uncle died'

KRS 29:   **ḫrṣ**   **ḏ**   **bʿd**   **m- ʾs²yʿ**
            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**   **wḥd**
            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*); *yʾs¹* 'he dispaired' (CSNS 957).

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

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

II-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The original realization of roots containing a glide in C² position is disputed. Huehnergard (2005:177, n. 75) has suggested that the collapse of these sequences to /ā/ was the result of a Proto-Semitic sound change. The medial radical was then restored independently in Gz, *kōna* < **kawna* < **kawina* and ASA *kwn*. Suchard (*forthcoming*), however, has argued that forms with a medial glide must be reconstructed for Proto-Hebrew, which, in turn, suggests that a triradical stem must be reconstructed for Proto-Canaanite. This would mean that the Gz and ASA forms are in fact archaisms and the remaining Semitic languages collapsed the triphthong in this position independently. The interpretation of the Safaitic evidence is therefore dependent upon which view of the Proto-Semitic situation we chose. The inscriptions attest two forms, one with a medial glide and one without, e.g., *mt* 'he died' and *myt; bt* 'he spent the night' (C 3466) and *byt, ʿd* 'he returned' (KhMNS 13) and *ʿwd, ʿyd; rḥ* 'he departed at night' (CSNS 818) and *rwḥ*. Some of these, especially those expressing movement, can be seen as the result of semantic overlap between the G and D, something which is attested in the modern dialects of Arabic, LAr *rāḥ* and *rawwaḥ*, 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 *ʿyd* as continuations of the original situation. This would beg the question as to why the medial glide no longer reflects the original value of the root. One could suggest that the *y* value was simply leveled to all II-w/y roots in the G suffix conjugation, which would, in turn, mean that CCC verbs exhibiting a medial *w* must belong to the D-stem. However, another explanation is possible. In Gz, all II-w/y verbs belong to the intransitive CaCi/uCa pattern of the suffix conjugation (cf. *kōna* above). The same seems to be true in the pre-history of Arabic (as suggested by Suchard, *forthcoming*). The suffix conjugation of II-w/y verbs exhibits an interesting allomorphy, where in the 3P, the medial vowel is /ā/ while in the first and second it is a short high vowel, either /u/ or /i/. The reflex is lexical and cannot be inferred from the shape of the root. To explain this variation, we can posit two, stress-based sound changes: *áwi/u* > *ā* and *awí/ú* > *i*, < *$^*\bar{\imath}$, and *u*, < *$^*\bar{u}$, respectively: *máwita* > *māta* but *mawíttu* > *mittu* and *qáwuma* > *qāma* but *qawúmtu* > *qumtu*. Safaitic forms such as *myt* and *byt* may therefore reflect a pre-contraction situation. If so, then the *y* of *myt* could be explained by the fact that the root probably formed an *i*-class suffix conjugation stem, CaCiCa. In this case, the /w/ could have shifted to /y/ under the influence of the following /i/, *mawita > *mayita > *myt* */mayeta/. While forms such as *rwḥ* could still reflect the D-stem or reflexes of an *CaCuCa pattern.

Curiously, there are no inflected examples of G-stems with a medial glide. A feminine form of the root √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 *qt -h* (C 4384) as the infinitive *qyt* 'to protect' with a pronominal suffix is correct, it may suggest that a similar sound change was operational there as well: */qayatoh/ > */qātoh/.

One possible example of the 2FS is attested, *ʾṣt* */ʿeṣt(ī)/(?) 'may you cause hardship' (UIO 183) < √ʿwṣ, 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 yʿd* */yVʿod/ 'he did not return' (MSNS 2)[4] < √ʿwd; the second could be interpreted as either a short or augmented form, *ʿkd -h yṣn* */yVṣūn/ 'after it (the withholding of the rain), may he preserve (it)' (LP 722 = SG 1) < √ṣwn. The prefix conjugation of the verb *nwy* 'to migrate' is attested as *yny* */yenāy/ or */yanūy/(?) (C 1108).

Infinitive/Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is attested without the medial glide *ḥb* 'to lament' (WH 116) probably */ḥūb/ or */ḥawb/ < √ḥwb. Other forms with medial glides probably reflect a pattern with a long vowel following C², e.g., {*ǵ*}*yr* 'to provide provisions' (SIJ 463), perhaps */ǵVyār/ or */ǵVyūr/. The *ʿn* in the blessing portion of C 5182, *h* {*l*}[*t*] {ʿ}*n*, could reflect the use of an infinitive as a command */ʿawn/ or */ʿūn/ 'help!' or an imperative */ʿūnī/.

Participles: Active participles with a medial glottal stop are attested beside forms with a medial glide: compare *zʾm* 'dead' (Vogue 404.1) < √zwm and *kʾn* (LP 1198) 'existing' < √kwn to *ḫyṭ* 'journeying' (C 28) < √ḫyṭ, and *gyʿ* 'starving' (C 3811) <√gwʿ. These no doubt reflect dialectal variation. A participle or verbal adjective of *myt* might be attested once in C 1133 as *mt: w wgm ʿl- ʾbrs² mt mn*{*y*} 'and he mourned for ʾbrs² who died by the hand of Fate (lit. by Fate)', since this formula usually makes use of adjectives. However, one cannot exclude the possibility of a finite verb in this position. Other attestations are ambiguous (see CSNS 65, 89).

III-w/y

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

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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*, *nḥyy* 'that I/we may live' */nVḥyaya/ (LP 495) and *nngy* 'that I/we may be saved' */nVngoya/ (WH 135).

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

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

$C^2 = C^3$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is attested with a *t*-prefix (cf. CAr *tafʿīlun*), *tḍbʾ* 'to raid' (LP 742), probably */taṣbīʾ/; *trwḥ* */tarwīḥ/ 'to send the

winds' (SESP.U 18), and the abstract noun *ts¹fr* */taspīr/ 'writing' (HAUI 76). Forms with a final -*t* are also attested, *ʿwdt* 'to return' (C 5011), perhaps */ʿawwā-dat/.

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

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

SC	PC	INF	IMP	AP	PP
qtl	*yqtl*	*tqtl/qtlt*	*qtl*	*mqtl*	*mqtl*

The D-stem as a causative of the G:

C 3177:   *h*   *rḍ[w]*   **wlh**   *w*   *ʿwr*   *m*
            VOC Rḍ[w] make grieve.IMP.2MS CONJ blind.IMP.2MS REL
            ʿwr
            efface.SC.3MS
            'O Rḍw, make grieve and blind whosoever would efface (this inscription)'

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

C 4010:   *h*   *lt*   *r{w}ḥ*   *m-ḏ*
            VOC Lt {relief} from- REL.MS
            bʾs¹-h
            make miserable.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS
            'O Lt, let there be relief from that which has made him miserable'

Compare to the G-stem in *b's¹* (C 2544) 'he was miserable'.

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

β. As discussed above, geminate roots may have been reanalyzed as D-stems, even though they retain the semantics of the G. By-forms exist with no appearant 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 Μοσαλεμος /mosālem/. While indistinguishable orthographically, L-stems are posited mainly for the root *qtl* when it has a reciprocal sense. Note, however, that this function is not found in the relic forms of the L-stem in the NWS languages, and thus may be an Arabic innovation.

HCH 71:   *s¹nt*   *qtl*   *ḥw{s}t w   b{y}g'*
             year.CNST   fight.SC.3 {Hwṣt} CONJ {Byg'}
             'the year {Hwṣt} and {Byg'} fought'

BWM 3:   *s¹nt*   *qtl*   *ḥrb w   'lmn*
             year.CNST   fight.SC.3 ḥrb   CONJ 'lmn
             'the year Ḥrb and 'lmn fought'

5.6.1.2.1   *Notes on Weak Roots*
II-w/y

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

Imperative: In rare cases, II-w roots are confused with II-y ones, *ʿyr* 'blind' (KRS 1695) and *ryḥ* (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 *rayyeḥ* 'idem'.

III-w/y

Some roots of this class have been reanalyzed as C² = C³ in the suffix and prefix conjugation, sometimes with no change in meaning. One form, however, is usually dominant. Relics of this situation make their way into the medieval Arabic dictionaries, where the lexicographers record, for example, both *rabbā-hu* and *rabbaba-hū* for 'to bring up, rear' (*Lane*, 1002b). This is by no means a universal phenomenon in Safaitic, and there are clear attestations of D-stems which retain the final *y*, *s¹byt -h ṭy'* 'the (tribe) Ṭy' took him captive' (CSNS 1004), *s¹byt -h* should be vocalized as */sabbayat-oh/, and *'ly 'nfs¹ l-frs¹grm'l* 'he erected [the] funerary monuments for the horsemen of Grm'l' (NRW.D 1), where *'ly* must be */ʿallaya/. The following examples of the overlap between III-y/w and C² = C³ are attested:

III-w/y	C² = C³
ġzy (KhBG 11)	*ġzz* (*passim*) 'to raid'
bny (*passim*)	*bnn h- s¹tr* (AbaNS 78) 'he built the shelter'
mrby (KRS 167) 'foster child'	*yrbb* (C 1186) 'he brings up'
gly (AbaNS 881) 'to be cut off'	*ygll* (KRS 213) 'to erase'
*ḫly[5]	*ḫll* (RWQ 281) 'to keep watch'

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

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

C² = C³

Imperative: Only one clear example of the imperative is attested as *ḥy* 'grant life!' (LP 335), which suggests the vocalization */ḥayyī/. While this root is not originally a C² = C³ 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, *ḥallawa* "watch, keep watch, guard" (*CDG*, 262). A new C² = C³ G-stem has also been back-formed, *ḥl* (C 4443).

5.6.2 ʾ*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 ʾ*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 ʾaCCaC-, e.g., Ασλαμος /ʾaslam/.

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

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

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

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

SC	PC	INF	IMP	APC	PP
ʾqtl	yqtl	ʾqtl	ʾqtl	mqtl	–

Causative:

WH 1696:   *f   s²ʿhqm   ʾly   l -ḥm   ʿn*
            CONJ S²ʿhqm raise.INF for -CPRO.3PL help
            m- bʾs¹
            against- misfortune
            'so S²ʿhqm, bring to them help against misfortune!'

WH 1022:   *ʾyʾs¹ -h*   *ḥyṭn*
            make sad.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS travelling
            'travelling made him sad'

UIO 183:   *h   lt   l   ṣ̌t   ḏ   ʾdyr*
            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   ʾ{y}mn*
            CONJ {go south}.SC.3MS
            'and he went south'

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

C 1649:   *ʾs¹fr*   *tdmr*
            travel.SC.3MS Palmyra
            'he will travel to Palmyra'

5.6.2.1   Notes on Weak Roots
I-y/w

Suffix Conjugation: The initial glide of two I-y C-stem verbs is expressed ortho-
graphically, *ʾyʾs¹* */ʾayʾasa/* 'he caused despair' (WH 1022) and *ʾ{y}mn* */ʾaymana/*
'he went south' (C 325). This is unexpected given the fact that word-internal

diphthongs are not usually represented in the orthography, but rare examples of their notation do exist, e.g., *qyṣr* (MISSD 1) = CAESAR. All examples of I-w C-stems, however, leave the initial consonant unrepresented orthographically, *ʾqḏ* */ʾawqaḏa/ 'he struck violently' (AbaNS 16); *ʾḥd* */ʾawḥada/ 'two became one' (AAUI 281); *ʾgʿ* */ʾawgaʿa/ 'he caused pain' (KRS 3074). One possible explanation of the spellings *ʾyʾs¹* and *ʾymn* is that they reflect the so-called cD stem, that is, the causative prefix applied to the D-stem, forming a portmanteau ʾaCaCCaC. Thus, *ʾyʾs¹* would not reflect */ʾayʾasa/ but rather */ʾayaʾʾasa/. 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— *ʾʿwr* 'to efface' */ʾaʿwara/ (C 793); *ʾḏyr* 'to anger' */ʾaḏyara/ (UIO 183) and other times elided, *ʾḏ* */ʾaʿāḏa/ 'place under protection' (AWS 380). A similar situation is found in CAr, where both *ʾaʿāra* and *ʾaʿwara* are known (*Lane*, 2194a), although they have different meanings. The interpretation of this phenomenon is not straight forward. The forms preserving the medial glides could equally reflect the original situation, like the triconsonantal II-w/y G-suffix conjugation, or an innovation analogous to strong verbs. In light of the I-y forms discussed above, it is even possible to take *ʾʿwr* and *ʾḏyr* as cD stems, */ʾaʿawwara/ and */ʾaḏayyara/, respectively.

Prefix Conjugation: This part is only known in the prefix conjugation from the root √ʿwr, attested as *yʿr* 'to efface' */yoʿīr/ (KRS 2569) eight times so far. If we interpret *ʾʿwr* as a cD stem, then it is possible that *yʿwr* 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 */yoʿawwer/.

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive is attested once in *ʾqwy* 'to grant endurance' (SIJ 1008) <√qwy, perhaps */ʾeqwāy/. A verbal noun without the representation of the medial radical is also attested, *ʾḥl* 'uncertainty' (C 1186) < √ḥyl; 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 √kwn, meaning 'to be established'. The initial *y* must be explained as a reflex of the causative morpheme, here in a dialect which has lost the glottal stop following vowels, */moyakān/ < *mu'akānu. Since none of the other forms reflect the preservation of a reflex of the glottal stop, this must be considered an archaism, perhaps restricted to the poetic register or maybe an example of a rare dialectal form. The C-active participle is common in personal names, and Greek transcriptions confirm the vocalization */moCīC/, e.g., *mġṯ* C 2947 = Gr. Μοι-θος.

III-*y/w*

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

Infinitive: The spelling of the infinitive does not contradict the pattern 'iCCāC— *'ly* 'to raise' */'e'lāy/ (KRS 2420) and *'qwy* 'to grant endurance' */'eqwāy/ (SIJ 1008) <√qwy, but other vocalizations are naturally possible.

Imperative: The final glide disappears in the imperative, *ġn* 'to render free of want' (SW 264), which can reflect a short form */'aġni/ < √ġny, as in CAr, or a long form */'aġnī/, as is the case with III-w/y roots in many modern dialects.

$C^2 = C^3$

Suffix Conjugation: The same issues regarding $C^2 = C^3$ stems in the G-stem hold for the C. We find examples of unclustered forms, *'ḍll* */'aṣlala/ 'he led astray' (KRS 303), *'ḥbb* */'aḥbaba/ 'he loved' (MKWS 8), *''zz* */'a'zazī/ 'make steadfast' (C 74), and clustered forms *'ṯn* */'aṯanna/ 'he cut off' (C 25), *'ṣh* */'aṣaḫḫa/ 'he cried aloud in grief' (LP 409), and *'md* */'amadda/ 'he sent reinforcements' (MISSD 1), but the latter are seemingly less common. One must remember, however, that C-stem verbs of this root class are rather rare in general, and so this distribution could simply be an accident of attestation rather than representative of any linguistic reality. Both forms are attested in Greek transcription—Αυδαδου /'awdad/ = *'dd* and Αθαμμος /'atamm/ = *'tm*.

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

5.6.3   *tCCC and CtCC*

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

	SC	PC	INF	IMP	APC	PP
T1	*qttl*	*yqttl* (?)	----	----	----	----
T2	*tqtl*	*ytqtl*	*tqtl*	----	*mtqtl*	----

5.6.3.1   T1: The t-Stem of the G, CtCC = CAr iftaʿala

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

T1-stem

C 31:	*w*	*s²tky*		*ʾl-lt*
	CONJ	complain.SC.3MS		to-Lt
	'and he complained to Lt'			

KRS 1024:	*s¹nt*	*qttl*	*hrḍ*
	year.CNST	wage war.SC.3MS	*hrḍ*
	'the year Herod waged war'		

5.6.3.2   T2: The t-Stem of the G tCCC = EAr itfaʿala or taf(a)ʿela

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 *tafaʿala*), it is also possible to view such verbs as comprising the *t*-derivational morpheme applied to the G-stem.

Meaning	Safaitic	Classical Arabic
'to long for someone'	*ts²wq*	*ištāqa*
'to move ahead'	*tdym*	*iddāma*
'to guard oneself'	*twqy*	*ittaqā*
'to have one's tongue restrained on account of grief'	*tʿql*	*iʿtaqala*

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, *eṭqṭel* and *itʾatal*, respectively. A clue may lie in the T-stem of the root *nẓr*, which is most often written *tẓr* but has a rare by-form *tnẓr*. If these spellings reflect variation in the assimilation of the /n/ in the same form, then one could posit a vocalization */tanṭera/ = *tnẓr* and */taṭṭera/ = *tẓr*. The rare by-form *ts²yq* (KRS 124) of the common verb *ts²wq* 'to long for' supports the presence of an /i/ vowel following C², which would have motivated the shift of *w > y*, */taświqa/ > */taśyeqa/, just as in *myt*. Thus, combining the evidence from these two forms, one could argue for the vocalization, */taCCeCa/. Moreover, the identification of *ts²wq* as a tG stem would then indicate that, unlike Aramaic, the infixation of the morpheme in *s²tky* was not conditioned by the sibilant, but was truly a dialectal variable.

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

While the evidence for a tG stem in the Safaitic inscriptions is compelling, one must also bear in mind the overlap between the G and D stems in general (see §5.6.1). A similar overlap could have applied to the T-stems of the G and D as well, ultimately resulting in the equivalence between the Safaitic tD and the CAr Gt. Evidence for this overlap is found in the CAr lexicon, where one often finds Gt and tD stems with the same meaning, e.g., Safaitic *trwʿ* 'to fear' = CAr *irtāʿa* and *tarawwaʿa* '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 *tẓr* is attested as *ytẓr* 'he lies in wait' (WH 3929), which, if taken as a tG, can only be vocalized as */yVtaṭṭer/ < *yatanẓiru. The Gt would produce */yVttaṭer/. SG 5 attests *ytʾgr* '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 √nẓr is attested once as *tnẓr* (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 *mtḏkr* (KRS 1432), possibly the equivalent of CAr *taḏakkara* 'to become reminded of a thing'. The verbal counterpart is possibly attested once in an incomplete or damaged inscription, *tḏkr* (Mu 537). The other example is *mtqtl* (JaS 145.1); however, the inscription is not interpretable and so its exact meaning is unclear.

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

Suffix Conjugation: Two examples of I-w/y roots are attested: *tʾs¹* 'he despaired' (LP 679) < √yʾs¹ and *tqḏ* 'he was beaten (metaphorically, despaired)' (KRS 1161) < √wqḏ. Depending on which view of the T-stem one takes, these could reflect the prefixed form with syncope of the pre-penultimate vowel, */tayʾesa/ and */tawqeḏa/ or, as in CAr, the infixed *ta* with the assimilation of C¹ to the morpheme, */Vttaʾesa/ and /Vttaqeḏa/.

II-w/y

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

III-w/y

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

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

$C^2 = C^3$

Infinitive: C 860 attests a form {*t*}{*r*}*d*. If the reading is correct, then this may a nominal form of the tG of the root √*rdd* 'to return', perhaps */taradd/ 'recompense'.

5.6.3.3   T2: The T-Stem of the D, tCCC = CAr tafaʿala

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

Prefix Conjugation: The verb *ytʾgr* 'to be compensated' (SG 5) probably reflects an example of the tD prefix conjugation, perhaps */yataʾaggar/.

Infinitive and Abstract Nouns: The infinitive or abstract noun of this stem is perhaps attested once in AAUI 271 *ṣyr m tʾfl* 'he returned to a place of water from taking cover/hiding', where *tʾfl* must be construed as a nominal form of the verb *tʾfl* (C 2315). However, it is impossible to determine if this form should be taken as a tG or a tD, since no cognates are attested in CAr.

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

Suffix Conjugation: The verb *twḫy* (AWS 48) should be connected with CAr *taʾaḫḫā*, but with a passive meaning the current context, 'to be considered a brother'. The ad hoc change of root initial ʾ to *w* may therefore have been influenced by the vocalization */toʾoḫḫVya/ > */towoḫḫVya/. The same verb is spelled with a glottal stop in LP 1211, *tʾḫ*{*y*}, but the meaning of this entire inscription is unclear. Otherwise, verbs of this class do not exhibit abnormal behavior, e.g., *twḥd* */tawaḥḥada/ 'to be alone' (AWS 244).

5.6.4   *nCC(C)*
The N-stem is formed by a prefixed *n-* to the verbal root, CAr *infaʿala*, Hb *niqtal*, Akk *naprus*, and signifies the medio-passive or reflexive of the G-stem.

SC	PC	INF	IMP	APC	PPC
nqtl	*yqtl*	*nqtl(t)*	----	----	----

C 2276:   ***nqʿṣ***   *l- mn*   *ḏ*   *ḫbl*
            die suddenly.INF to whomever REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS
            h-sˡfr
            ART- writing
            'may he who would obscure this writing die suddenly'

HCH 132:   ***ndm***   *ˤl- bn*   *ʾḫ -h*
            be devastated.SC.3MS on-son.CNST brother -C.PRO.3MS
            msˡby
            captured.PPC.MS
            'he was devastated by grief on account of his nephew who was
            captured'

LP 475:   ***nġḍb***   *mn- bn -h*
            be angry.SC.3MS from son -CPRO.3MS
            'he was angered by his son'

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

Prefix Conjugation: The only possible example of this part in strong roots is found in AWS 264, *yqtl* perhaps */yVqqatel/ 'to be killed'. Since the *n*-morpheme assimilates to C^1 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 *nqʿṣ* (C 2276) does not seem to reflect CAr *ʾinfiʿālun*, as one would expect the assimilation of the *n* in a pretonic environment. Instead, one may consider *nVCCāC = */nVqʿāṣ/.

5.6.4.1   Notes on Weak Roots
I-w/y

Suffix Conjugation: The common verb of mourning *ngʿ* 'to grieve in pain'
(*passim*) probably reflects the N-stem of the root √wgʿ, to be vocalized as
*/nawgaʿa/. The G-stem of the verb, which is either intransitive or an internal
passive, is attested in the same context, *wgʿ ʾl- mġny* 'he grieved in pain for Mġny'
(LP 314). The root √wqḏ is also attested in the N-stem, in which it has a reflexive
sense, *nqḏ* 'he prostrated himself' (LP 146) */nawqaḏa/.

II-w/y

Suffix conjugation: One example is attested in the verb *ns²l* 'to be removed'
(KRS 2460) < √s²yl, where the medial glide is not represented, and should
perhaps be vocalized as */naśāla/ = LAr *inšāl* 'idem'.

Prefix Conjugation: A single volitive example is attested, *l- yqʾ*, the verb of the
commonly attested infinitive *nqʾt* 'to be thrown out (of a grave)', from √qyʾ. This
form likely reflects the short prefix conjugation, and so should be vocalized as
*/yVqqaʾ/ < *yVnqaʾ.

Infinitive: The term *nqʾt* (*passim*) 'to be thrown out (of a grave)' reflects the
N-infinitive of the root √qyʾ, and could perhaps to be vocalized as */naqāʾat/.
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; *nḏb* */naṣabba/ 'to be hidden' (LP 1265), < √ḏbb, and *ngn* */naganna/
'to go mad' (MAHB 2) <√gnn.

5.6.5   *Rare Stems*
H-Stem

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

R-Stem

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

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

C 76:   *w   ġnmt ʾs¹yt*
             CONJ spoil   be granted.SC.3FS
             'and may spoil be granted'

HaNS 660:   *w   ṣlb   ḥbb -h*
             CONJ be crucified.SC.3M loved one -CPRO.3MS
             'and his loved one was crucified'

LP 183:   *wgd   s¹fr   mʿr ḏ   ʿwq*
             find.SC.3MS writing Mʿr REL be imprisoned.SC.3MS
             'he found the writing of Mʿr who was imprisoned'

KRS 1161:   *s¹nt   qtl   mnʾt*
             year.CNST (be) kill(ed).SC.3M Mnʾt
             'the year Mnʾt was killed'

Adjectives and Agreement

6.1   General Remarks on Adjectives

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

C 2031:   *w   nq't*   *b- nfs¹   wdd   ḏ*
             CONJ thrown out.INF by- person loved.M REL.MS
             y'wr   h- s¹fr
             efface.PC.3MS ART- writing
             'and may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of his grave by a loved person'

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

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

KRS 1684:   *ngy   m- [g]qt   ḫbṯt*
             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 ͨls¹mn s²y ͨ*   ***h- g̣s²***   ***h- rdf***
               So VOC lt CONJ B ͨls¹mn follow.IMP ART-guard ART-rear.M
               'So, O Lt and B ͨls¹mn, follow the rear guard!'

WH 1234:[1]   *ʾ{q}d̠*   ***h- nqt***   ***h- ḫbq{y}***
               {strike}.SC.3MS ART- she-camel ART- stinking.{F}
               'he struck the stinking she-camel'

Attributive participles

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

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

C 2285:   *wgm*   *ͨl- ks¹t̠* ***rg̣m***   *mny*
               mourn.SC.3MS for- Ks¹t̠ struck down.PPC.MS Fate
               'he mourned for Ks¹t̠ who was struck down by Fate'

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

C 4988:   *ʾs²y ͨ -h*   ***rg̣mn***   *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 *ʾaCCaC is clear from the copious amounts of personal names based on this pattern in Greek transcription. The masculine singular *ʾqṣ* 'furthest' derives from the root √qṣw. With only one example of a III-w/y root, it is impossible to make much of the non-notation of the final diphthong.

An elative of the root √ḥbb is also attested in a clustered form, suggesting the vocalization */ʾaḥabb/.

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

C 4332:   *mṭy   s¹nt   brḥ   ʾqṣ*
            journey.SC.3MS year.CNST depart.SC.3MS furthest.CNST
            h- mdnt
            ART- province
            'he journeyed the year he departed to the furthest end of the
            province'

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

The feminine elative also appears once in **ḥbqy** 'stinking' (WH 1234), already cited above.[2] If transcriptions of this pattern from the Petra area—Οσνης /ḥosnē/, αλσουφλη /al-suflē/—reflect the Safaitic situation, then the FS was probably vocalized as *CoCCay, */ḥobqay/.

b. There are two secure[3] and one possible example[4] of an adjective with an *n* derivational suffix, which likely signals a pattern CVCCān, cf. LAr *kabrān* 'grown up', *fahmān* 'understanding', etc. There is not enough data to determine this pattern's distribution.

RWQ 334:   *wgd   ʾtr   ʾl   ḏf glyn*
            find.SC.3MS trace.CNST lineage.CNST Ḏf exposed.MS
            mḥrb   nbṭ
            plundered.PPC.MS Nabataeans
            'he found the grave(s)? of the lineage of Ḏf exposed, plundered by
            the Nabataeans'[5]

---

2   Note also that *ḥbqy* is attested as a gentilic adjective and so one could interpret it as a misplaced word in this inscription.

3   The second is *kḏbn* 'liar', and is attested in an unpublished inscription from Jebel Qurma.

4   The term *ḥmyn* in 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 *ʾtr* in this context referred to a 'grave'.

BRenv.H 1:   *wgd*   *ʾṯr*   *ʿm -h*   *ḥmyn*
             find.SC.3MS trace.CNST grandfather -CPRO.3MS protected.MS
             'he found the grave of his paternal uncle protected'

6.3   Verbal Agreement

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

CSNS 1:   *ẓllt*   *ḍʾn -h*   *ḥbsᵗt*   *ʾl*   *sᵗlm*
             stay.SC.3FS sheep -SC.3MS enclosure.CNST lineage.CNST Sᵗlm
             'his sheep remained in the enclosure of the lineage of Sᵗlm'

WH 1900:   *ʿqdt*   *m- rḥbt*   *h- ʾġnm*
             restrain.SC.3FS from- Rḥbt ART- goat.PL
             'the goats were prevented from (entering) Rḥbt'

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

UIO 117:   *myt*   *ʿnz -h*   *b- h- ẓrt*
             died.SC.3M she-goat.PL -CPRO.3MS in- ART- enclosure
             'his she-goats died inside this enclosure'

b. Groups of humans: While groups of humans are treated as masculine and
plural with adjectival agreement (e.g., C 4988) and pronominal resumption (see
§ 4.14.2), they can take both masculine (number unclear) and feminine singular
agreement with verbs. It is unclear if these differences reflect dialectal variation
or if this was a point of free variation.

Feminine singular agreement

WH 2815:   *mrdt*   *nbṭ* *ʾl-ʾl*   *{r}m*
             rebel.SC.3FS Nbṭ against- people.CNST {Rm}
             'The Nabataeans rebelled against the people of Rome'

SIJ 59:   *ḥrbt*   *ʾl*   *ʿwḏ ʾl*   *ṣbḥ*
             plunder.SC.3FS lineage.CNST ʿwḏ lineage.CNST Ṣbḥ
             'the lineage of ʿwḏ plundered the lineage of Ṣbḥ'

CSNS 1004: *s¹byt -h*   *ṭy'*
       capture.SC.3FS -CPRO.3MS Ṭy'
       'Ṭy' captured him'

Masculine agreement

HCH 126: *qtl -h*   *'l*   *ḥwlt*
       kill.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS people.CNST Ḥwlt
       'the people of Ḥwlt killed him'

SIJ 78: *'ty*   *h- mḏy*   *bṣry*
       come.SC.3M ART- Persians Boṣrā
       'the Persians came to Boṣrā'

BTH 228: *ṭrd -h*   *nbṭ m- 'nzt*
       drive.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS Nbṭ from- 'nzt
       'the Nabataeans drove him away from 'nzt'

α. If Βαναα 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: *ṭrd -h*   *nbṭ*   *m- 'nzt* *w*
       drive away.SC.3M -CPRO.3MS Nabataeans from- 'nzt CONJ
       {s¹}dy   *h- ḫl* *f* *nẓr -hm*
       {set off}.SC.3MS ART- horse CONJ guard.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MP
       'the Nabataeans drove him away from 'nzt and so he set off on horseback, and then stood guard against them'

NST 3:   *ʾl*   *ṣbḥ* *s¹nt*   *ḥrb* **-hm**
                 lineage.CNST Ṣbḥ year.CNST plunder.SC.3M -CPRO.3MP
                 ʾl   *ʿwḏ*
                 lineage.CNST ʿwḏ
                 '... the lineage of Ṣbḥ, the year the lineage of ʿwḏ plundered them'

b. Non-human collective nouns take singular pronominal agreement. If pro-
nominal agreement follows adjectival agreement, then these were treated as
FS.

ASWS 73:   *ngʿ*   *ʾl-* *ḥbb*   *w*   *ʾl-* *h-* *ʾbl*
                 grieve in pain.SC.3MS for- loved one   CONJ   for- ART- camels
                 rʿy **-h**
                 pasture.SC.3MS -CPRO.3FS
                 'and he grieved in pain for Ḥbb and for the camels which he had
                 pastured'

α. The narrative component of C 4973 may provide another example of femi-
nine singular agreement with a non-human plural/collective antecedent: *wld
h- mʿz[y] {w} rʿy -h bql b- ḏkr* 'he helped the goats to give birth and then pas-
tured it/them on herbage when the sun was in Aries'. Although the common
formula is *wld h- mʿzy*, which is why I have restored the *y* in C 4973, the author
may have in this particular case been referring to a single female goat, in which
case *-h* would have a singular antecedent.

β. There is some evidence that the dual is sometimes resumed with feminine
singular pronouns. As seen in KRS 1683, the clitic pronoun *-k* seems to resume
two previously mentioned deities: *hy lt w h s²ʿhqm s¹lm w ʿwḏ -k* 'O Lt and O
S²ʿhqm, let there be security and your protection'. Another possible example is
found in C 2552: *ḥrṣ ʾḫw -h s¹by -h ḥwlt* 'and he kept watch for his two brothers
whom the Ḥwlt-ites have captured'. The word *ʾḫw* is usually taken as a dual, but
it is possible that it should be construed as a collective form, perhaps something
like 'bretheren'. Finally, we have *h lt w ds²r ḏkrt* (AAUI 406), where *ḏkrt* can
either be a 2 or 3FS verb, in agreement with a dual antecedent.

Prepositions

Overview

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

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

AKSJ 1.2.3:   *ts²wqt*   *ʾl- ʾlb*
                long.SC.3FS for- *ʾlb*
                'she longed for ʾlb''

C 1539:   *ḥ*[*l*]   *h- bt*   [*t*]*s²wq*   *ʾl- lbḥ*
            [camp].APC.MS   ART- tent [long].INF for- Lbḥ 'he
            camped in the tent longing for Lbḥ'

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

C 1167:   *rʿy*   *mʿ -ḫl -h*   *ʾl- ḥrn*
            pasture.SC.3MS with -maternal uncle -CPRO.3MS as far as- Ḥrn
            'he pastured with his maternal uncle as far as Ḥawrān'

l: The preposition functions as a dative, 'to' or 'for'. It sometimes introduces the direct object of infinitives, indirect objects, and is used in possessive predication (see §12.2). With verbs of motion, it more often marks the general direction of travel rather than the destination or goal, as the later function is a property of the unmarked noun (perhaps modified by an adverbial ending or accusative). The *h-* article is not elided following this preposition.

α. Indirect object:

LP 504:   *hb*   *l -h*   *nʿm*
            give.IMP.2FS to -CPRO.3MS divine favor
            'bestow upon him divine favor'

β. Benefactive:

LP 325:   *dmy*   *l -h*   *ʾb -h*
            draw.SC.3MS for- CPRO.3MS father -CPRO.3MS
            'his father drew for him'

WH 3925:   *ḍbʾ*   *l- nbṭ*
            raid.SC.3MS for- Nbṭ
            'he raided for the Nabataeans'

γ. Temporal:

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

δ. Directional:

KRS 1670:   *s¹ry*   *l- h- nḫl*   *bql*   *kbr*
            travel by night.SC.3MS towards- ART- valley herbage large.M
            'he traveled by night towards the valley to tall herbage'

a. Lam Auctoris: Nearly every Safaitic inscription begins with a *l-*, which has
been termed the *lam auctoris*. Its function has been the subject of much debate,
but there is general consensus that it can mark authorship or ownership. It
frequently occurs in signature inscriptions associated with rock art and on the
names of the deceased associated with burials, e.g., *l-* PN *h- rgm* 'this funerary
cairn belongs to PN'. See §1.1 for a discussion on this particle's function.

b: This preposition, transcribed as βι /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:   *ṣy{r}*   *b- h- ms²tyt*
                {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:   *tẓr*   *'- s¹my   b- mlḥ*
                await.SC.3MS ART- sky during- Aquarius
                'he awaited the rains when the sun was in Aquarius'

β. Instrumental:

HaNSB 304: *ḫzr*   *b- s¹f -h*
                strike.SC.3MS with- sword -CPRO.3MS
                'he struck with his sword'

γ. Comitative:

WH 325:   *dṯ'*   *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'ls¹mn   rwḥ*   *b- mṭr*
                VOC B'ls¹mn send winds.IMP with- rain
                'O B'ls¹mn, send the winds with rain!'

δ. 'In exchange for':

AbaNS 286:   *s²ry*   *m- ʾḫ -h*   *mʿḏ h-frs¹*
              buy.SC.3MS from-brother-CPRO.3MS Mʿḏ ART-horse
              b- mʾt
              with-hundred
              'he bought from his brother Mʿḏ the horse with one hundred'

ε. This preposition also introduces the object of the verb *ġzz* 'to raid':

C 4452:   *ġzz*   *b- h- mʿzyn*
              raid.SC.3MS by- ART- shepherd
              'he raided the shepherd'

HaNSB 349:   *ġzz*   *b- ʾbl*
              raid.SC.3MS by- camels
              'he raided camels'

Compare to: C 1206 *ġzz h- nḫl* 'he raided in this valley'

bʿd: While consonantally identical to CAr *baʿda* 'after', two separate meanings
are attested, suggesting two different etymological sources—¹*bʿd* from the root
√bʿd 'to be far', which gives rise to Safaitic 'after'; 'behind', and ²*bʿd*, which is a
compound of the prepositions *bi-* and *ʿad*, 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, *bʿd* 'on behalf of'.

¹*bʿd*:

WH 1700.1:   *ʾs²rq*   *b- h- ḫl*   *bʿd- h- nʿm*
              migrate.SC.3MS with- ART- horses after-ART- livestock
              'he migrated to the inner desert with the horses following the
              livestock'

²*bʿd*:

WH 599:   *nẓr*   *bʿd- h- ms¹rt*
              guard.SC.3MS on behalf of- ART- troop
              'he stood guard on behalf of the troop'

SIT 52:   *nẓr*   *bʿd- mʿzy -h*

guard.SC.3MS on account of- goats -CPRO.3MS

'he stood guard on account of his goats'

KRS 1468:   *qṣṣ*   *b- mʾt*   *frs¹*   *bʿd- ʾl*

patrol.SC.3MS   with- unit cavalry on behalf of- lineage.CNST

ḏf

Ḏf

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

WH 374:   *bhʾ*   *bʿd- ʾtm*   *ʾys¹*

rejoice.SC.3MS on account of- celebration.CNST ʾys¹

'he rejoiced on account of the (wedding?) celebration of ʾys¹'

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-ʾrḍ wrḫ b-bql* 'and he camped in this valley for a month **among fresh h**ergabe'.

ʿl: This preposition is most commonly used to indicate the object of the following verbs of grieving: *ndm, wlh, wgm, qṣf, ngʿ, wgʿ,* (see §24.1). It has the basic spatial sense of 'upon', 'on (the edge of)' or 'bordering'. In curse formulae, *ʿl* has the meaning 'against'. The preposition can also have a benefactive sense, especially when used in conjunction with the verbs *ḫrṣ* and *nẓr*.

α. 'upon'; 'on the edge':

KRS 756:   *h*   *s²ʿhqm s¹lm*   *[m]* *ʿl- h- ʾbl*

voc S²ʿhqm secure.IMP.MS REL on- ART- camel.COL

'O S²ʿhqm, keep safe what is upon the backs of the camels'

C 3230:   *rʿy*   *{h-} ʾbl*   *b- rʿy*   *mlḥ*

pasture.SC.3MS {ART-} camel.COL in- rising.CNST Aquarius

ʿl- [h-] nḫl

on the edge- valley

'he pastured the camels on the edge of [the] valley during the rising of Aquarius'

LP 330:   *w*   *qyẓ*   *ʾl- h- nmrt*
                 CONJ spend dry season.SC.3MS on the edge- Namārah
                 'and he spent the dry season on the edge of Namārah'

β. 'against':

HaNSB 307:   *dʿy*   *ʾl -[l]t*   *ʾl- mn*   *yḫbl*
               call.SC.3MS Upon -[lt] against- anyone obscure.PC.3MS
               'he has called upon [Lt] against anyone who would obscure (the
               inscription)'

AKSD 5:   *ṯqb*   *yd -h*   *w*   *ds²r*
               pierce.SC.3MS hand -CPRO.3MS CONJ Ds²r
               ʾl- ks¹r   *wqʿ -n*
               against- destroyer.CNST inscription -CPRO.1CP
               'May he cut off his hand that Ds²r be against the destroyer of our
               inscription'

γ. benefactive:

HaNSB 305:   *w*   *nẓr*   *ʾl- gs² -h*
               CONJ guard.SC.3MS on behalf of- troop -CPRO.3MS
               'and he stood guard on behalf of his troop'

SIAM 35:   *w*   *ḫrṣ*   *ʾl- ʾs²yʿ -h*
               CONJ watch.SC.3MS after- companion.PL -CPRO.3MS
               'and he looked after his companions'

Related to this sense, *ʾl* seems to mean 'under the authority' in the following
context:

RQ.A 10:   *s¹rt*   *ʾl- mlk*   *h- s¹lṭn*
               to serve in a troop.SC.3MS under- ruler.CNST ART- governed area
               'he served in a troop under the authority of the govenor'

ʿn: *ʿn* seems to have the same sense as its CAr counterpart, namely, an ablative
'away'. The relationship between this preposition and *ʾl* is unclear, but the
confusion of liquids is an attested phenomenon in Arabic, e.g., *ṣanam* 'statue'
< *ṣalm. So far, the preposition has been attested only once.

LP 1265:   *nḏb*   *ˤn*   *h- m{ʾ}t*
             be missing.SC.3MS   away -CPRO.3MS {unit}
             'he went missing from the unit'

f : The locative preposition *f,* cf. CAr *fī* , 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 *ˤal-pî* 'according to' < 'according to the mouth of'.

KRS 3291:   *rˤy*   *h- ʾbl*   *f- h- nḫl*
             pasture.SC.3MS   ART- camel.COL   in- ART- valley
             'he pastured the camels in this valley'

Compare this with the normal idiom: C 2670 *rˤy h- ʾbl h- nḫl* 'he pastured the camels in this valley'

mˤ: Like *b-,* *mˤ* has a comitative meaning, but it is used exclusively with persons:

LP 325:   *w*   *ḫrṣ*   *h- nw*   *mˤ- ʾḫ -h*
             CONJ watch.APC.MS ART- migrating group with- brother -CPRO.3MS
             'while standing watch with this brother for the migrating group'

C 320:   *s¹rt*   *mˤ- ʾb -h*
             serve in a troop.SC.3MS   with- father -CPRO.3MS
             'he served in a troop with his father'

SESP.U 26:   *w*   *bny*   *mˤ- ẓnʾl*   *h- s¹tr*
             CONJ build.SC.3MS   with- Ẓnʾl ART- shelter
             'and he built with Ẓnʾl 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 μι 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:   *ṣyr*   *m- mdbr*
                return to water.SC.3MS from- inner desert
                'he returned to a place of water from the inner desert'

HaNSB 218:   *ʾs²rq*   *m- ḥrn*   *b- ʾbl -h*
                migrate.SC.3MS   from- Ḥrn with- camel.COL -CPRO.3MS
                s²ʿr   *b- rʿy*   *yʾm{r}*
                herbage in- rising.CNST   {Capricorn}
                'he migrated from Ḥrn 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:   *w*   *s¹lm*   *m- s²nʾ*
                CONJ security against- enemy.PL
                'and let there be security against enemies'

CSNS 1004:   *wgm*   *ʾl- s¹yd*   *mqtl*   *h*   *lt*   *t̠ʾr*
                mourn.SC.3MS for- S¹yd killed.PPC.MS VOC Lt vengeance
                mn- qtl -h
                from- kill.APC.MS -CPRO.3MS
                'he mourned for S¹yd who was killed; O Lt, he will have vengeance
                against his murderer'

γ. *mn-* to indicate reason:

LP 475:   *nǵḏb*   *mn- bn {-h}*
                be angry.SC.3MS from- son -{CPRO.3MS}
                'he was angry because of his son'

KhNSJ 1:   *g{l}s¹*   *mn- ʾ- 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:

C 3113:   *w   ṭ'mt*   *mn- ṣd   l-frk   bn   ltnh*
            CONJ nourish.INF from- game for- Frk son.CNST Ltnh
            'and nourish Frk son of Ltnh with something of game'

m'l-: 'because of'—This compound preposition, comprising *m-* and *'l-*, is par-
alleled in Hb, *mē-ʿāl* 'within', although its semantics do not correspond to the
Safaitic form.

KRS 1015:   *h   lt   {l}'n   m   ḫbl   m'l- ḥwq*
            VOC Lt {curse}.IMP REL obscure.SC.3MS because of- jealousy
            'O Lt, curse whosoever would obscure because of jealousy'

RWQ 310:   *ng'*   *m'l- Hnmr*
            grieve in pain.SC.3MS because of- Hnmr
            'he grieved because of Hnmr'

m- dn-: 'without'—This compound preposition, cognate with CAr *min dūni*
'without', is attested only once, in reference to the absence of Bʿl, the rain god,
signaling the dry season and the absence of rains.

ASWS 37:   *wgm*   *m- dn   bʿl f   h   rḍw rwḥ*
            grieve.SC.3MS without Bʿl CONJ VOC Rḍw ease
            'he grieved in the absence of Bʿl so, O Rḍw, let there be ease'

mn-qbl: 'facing'—This compound preposition is attested only once, and can be
compared with CAr *min qubulin* 'from the front' and Syriac *menqᵉbol* 'opposite,
against'.

AZNG 1:   *mrd   ṭlṭ   s¹nn   mn-qbl- nfs¹   ẓlm*
            rebellion three.M year.PL facing-   Nepos oppress.APC.MS
            'Nepos, who was oppressive, faced a rebellion for three years'
            (lit. 'there was a rebellion for three years facing Nepos who was
            oppressive')

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

ISB 91:   *w   l-h   h-frs¹   'nd- h*
            CONJ for -CPRO.3MS ART- horse at- CPRO.3MS
            'and by him is the horse which belongs to him'

KRS 2869:   *l*   *mḥl bn hby bn ṣʿd bn gbs² bn qflt bn bdn bn ǵlm bn yʿly*
             LA Gno8
             h- ṣrt   *w*   *ngd*   *w*
             ART- structure CONJ be courageous.SC.3MS CONJ
             tẓr   *ʿnd* {*-h*}
             await.SC.3MS   at {-CPRO.3MS}
             'By Mḥl son of Hby son of Ṣʿd son of Gb² son of Qflt son of Bdn
             son of Ǵlm son of Yʿly, 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 intro-
duces a nominalized preposition phrase, i.e., 'the like of'.

BRenv.H 1:   *wgd*   *ʾtr*   *ʿm -h*
             find.SC.MS trace.CNST grandfather -CPRO.3MS
             ḥmyn   *f*   *ql*   *h*   *gdḍf*
             Ḥmyn/protected CONJ say.SC.3MS VOC Gdḍf
             {*h*}*b*   {*l-*} {*-h*} [[ ]]   *k- s¹ʿd -h*
             give.IMP.2MS {to-} {-CPRO.3MS} like- good fortune -CPRO.3MS
             w   *k- wld -h*   *w*
             CONJ like- offspring -CPRO.3MS CONJ
             k- nʿm -h
             like- livestock -CPRO.3MS
             'he found the trace of his grandfather Ḥmyn/protected, then said:
             O Gdḍf, 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:

ʾḍ: 'once again'

H 506:   *s¹nt*   *ḥgz*   *bʿls¹mn* *ʿl -h*
           year.CNST withhold.SC.3MS B'ls¹mn against -CPRO.3MS
           ʾḍ
           once again
           'the year B'ls¹mn withheld (the rain) against it (the province) once again'

ʿwd: 'again'

RSIS 351:   *w*   *s²ty*   *ḥrt*   *ʿwd*
            CONJ   winter.SC.3MS   the Ḥarrah again
            'and he spent the winter in the Ḥarrah again'

l-ʾbd: 'forever', 'always'

C 2446:   *wlh*   *k{b}{r}*   *s¹ḥr*
           grieve.SC.3MS {continuously} broken heart
           ʿl- ʾḫ -h   *ḥbb -h*   *l- ʾbd*
           for- brother- CPRO.3MS loved one -CPRO.3MS forever
           'he grieved continuously with a broken-heart for his brother, his beloved, forever'

l- nfs¹ -h: 'by himself'

LP 360:   *rᶜy*   *h- mᶜzy*   *l- nfs¹ -h*
            pasture.SC.3MS ART- goat.PL by himself
            'he pastured the goats by himself'

ʾḫrt: 'thereafter'

KRS 896:   *wgd*   *s¹fr*   *ṣᶜd f*   *ngᶜ*
            find.SC.3MS writing.CNST Ṣᶜd CONJ grieve-in-pain.SC.3MS
            w   *wrd*   *h- nmrt b- ʾmt*   *ʾḫrt*
            CONJ go-to-water.SC.3MS h- nmrt in- Libra thereafter
            'he found the writing of Ṣᶜd and therefore grieved in pain, then
            he went to water at Namārah when the sun was in Libra there-
            after'

α. The form *ʾbd* without the preposition is also attested (KRS 1015), and probably
reflects a by-form in the accusative.

β. While *s¹nt* 'year' is usually unmarked when used adverbially, this function is
sometimes indicated by the preposition *b-*, e.g., C 2209 *f twqy b- s¹nt ḥrb yẓr* 'so
may he preserve himself during the year of the war of Yẓr'.

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 yafᶜal*.

MSNS 2:   *bġy*   *ʾḫ -h*   *f*   *lm*   *yᶜd*
            seek.SC.3MS brother -CPRO.3MS CONJ NEG return.PC.3MS
            'he sought after his brother because he never returned'

WGGR 1:   *w*   *lm*   *tmṭr*   *h- s¹kn{t}*
            CONJ NEG rain.PC.3FS ART- dwelling.{PL}
            'and it did not rain at the dwellings'

m: This negator, which is probably cognate with the interrogative *mā*, negates the suffix conjugation.

Mu 253:   *ngʿ*   *f*   *m*   *hnʾ*
            grieve in pain.SC.3MS CONJ NEG be happy.SC.3MS
            'he grieved in pain and was unhappy'

RWQ 155:   *l   rm   w   ṣʿt   w   m   nm*
            LA Rm CONJ unrest CONJ NEG sleep
            'By Rm and there was unrest, but he did not perish'

ASWS 202:   *m   mṭr*   *f*   *ʾmḥl*
            NEG rain.SC.3MS CONJ cause dearth.SC.3MS
            'it did not rain and caused dearth'

lʾn: */lā-ʾan/ is the antecedent form of CAr *lan*, which negates the explicit future. This particle is encountered only once in the inscriptions.

AWS 264:   *w   lʾn   yqtl*   *ḏ*   *ys¹lm* -h
            and NEG kill.PC.3MS REL secure.PC.3MS -CPRO.3MS
            'and may he who keeps it (the inscription) safe never be killed'

l: */lā/ is attested only once as part of the phrase 'nothing'

HCH 132:   *w   myt*   *kwy*   *b-l*   *s²ʾ*
            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   ʾlt s²{ʾ}*   *hn*   *w   s¹lm*   *hn*   *ngr* -h
            VOC ʾlt {want} here CONJ security here persevere.INF -CPRO.3MS
            'O Lt, want is here, so let there be here security to preserve him.'

α. Another possible attestation of *hn* is found in KRS 1379: *wgd **hn** ʿm -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 *ʾṯr* and *s¹fr*. 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, *rʿy h ʾl ḥwlt* 'the people of Ḥwlt 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).

bḏ: 'here' or 'there'?: This is probably related to CS *bi-ḏā* (cf. Dadanitic *bḏ*; Taymanitic *bz*, and Hb *bāzê*). It seems impossible to determine from its single, clear attestation whether it means 'here' or 'there'.

KRS 303:   *ʾḏll*   ***bḏ***   *gs²*
             lead astray.SC.3MS here/there troop
             'he led a troop astray here/there'

Vocative Particles

The inscriptions attest a variety of vocative particles used primarily in prayers to deities. Several of these can be combined into larger units. Some particles are only used in association with certain deities. The significance of this distribution is unclear.

h: This is by far the most common particle and is used with all deities. Based on the comparative evidence, its vocalization can only be */hā/.

KRS 1160:   *h   bʿls²mn w   h   ḏs²r*
              voc Bʿls²mn conj voc Ḏs²r
              'O Bʿlˡmn and O Ḏs²rʾ'

α. An ʾ-vocative has been recorded in RSIS 204: *fʾ bʿls²mn rwḥ b- mṭrt* 'so, O Bʿls²mn, send the winds with rains'. However, since no photographs accompany the edition, it is impossible to verify whether the vocative should indeed be read as ʾ or if a stray line had intersected with the *h-* vocative, causing the editor to mistake it for a ʾ.

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

KRS 1562:   *rwḥ ʾy   lt*
              ease voc Lt
              'let there be ease, O Lt'

hy: This is no doubt a variant of the previous particle, but occurs more widely, with *ʾlt, Lt, Lh*, and with the generic *ʾʾlht* 'gods'. Its appearance with *ʾlt* and *ʾʾlht* precludes the interpretation of the *y* as emerging from the sequence */hā-ilat/ or */hā-ilāh/.

C 25:   *hy   lt w   h   s²ms¹*
              voc Lt conj voc S²ms¹
              'O Lt and O S²ms¹'

LP 243:   ***hy   lh ṯʾr***
               VOC Lh vengeance
               'O Lh, there shall be vengeance!'

KRS 1287:   ***hy   ʾʾlht***
               VOC god.PL
               'O gods'

ʾyh/hyh: *ʾyh,* which seems to correspond with CAr *ʾayyuhā,* and a form with an initial *h,* are each attested once with Lt.

Mu 141:   ***ʾyh   lt***
               VOC Lt
               'O Lt'

LP 619:   ***hyh lt***
               VOC Lt
               'O Lt'

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

RWQ 73:   ***h   lt w   y   ḏs²r***
               VOC Lt CONJ VOC Ḏs²r
               'O Lt and O Ḏs²r'

HAUI 76:   ***f   y   lt ġyrt***
               CONJ VOC Lt abundance
               'So, O Lt, let there be abundance'

SIJ 293: *'qs^lm*   *b-'lh ḥy*   *l-hdy*
       swear.SC.3MS by-*'lh* alive.APC.MS ASV-command.SC.3MS
       ʿẓm
       greatness
       'he swore by 'lh, who is living, that he will command with great-
       ness'

c. Presentative: The particle *'n*, CAr *'inna* Hb *hinnê*, 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*   *bġy -h*   *w*
      {PRES}- CPRO.2MS sought after -CPRO.3MS CONJ
      qf{y}t -h
      {path} -CPRO.3MS
      'you are indeed his sought after and his path'

CHAPTER 11

Conjunctions

11.1   Coordinating Conjunctions

Two coordinating conjunctions are attested, *w* and *f*. Their usages are roughly equivalent to their CAr counterparts, and their syntax will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

w: This conjunction has a variety of functions, but primarily serves to join equivalent elements, from words to entire sentences, equivalent to English 'and'. Additionally, *w* can indicate the result of a preceding action or condition 'because, as', the adversative 'but', and purpose 'so that'. These functions will be illustrated in (§ 17–19).

f: This particle mainly indicates a temporal or causal relationship between two elements, that is, X *f*- Y 'X so/then/therefore Y', much like in CAr.

C 2036:   *wgd*   *ḥbb* -*h*   *f*   *bky*
           find.SC.3MS loved one -CPRO.3MS CONJ weep.SC.3MS
           'he found [the inscription of] his beloved and so he wept'

α. *f* can also connect individual words to express a sequence, as in the common expression '*m f* '*m*, 'year after year' (SIJ 119; WH 1193).

β. *f* can express intensity when the two words it connects are identical:

KRS 1087:   *h*   *gdʿwḏ* *h{b}*   *ṯʾr*   *m-* ʾ*l*   *gʿ*
            VOC Gdʿwḏ {give}.IMP.2M vengeance from- lineage.CNST Gʿ
            ẓlmn   *f*   *ẓlmn*
            unjust.APC.MP CONJ unjust.APC.MP
            'O Gdʿwḏ, grant vengeance from the lineage of Gʿ who were terribly unjust'

γ. *f* can optionally introduce a modal clause following a topicalized or vocative noun.

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            VOC Gdʿwḏ {give}.IMP.2M vengeance from- lineage.CNST Gʿ
            ẓlmn   *f*   *ẓlmn*
            unjust.APC.MP CONJ unjust.APC.MP
            'O Gdʿwḏ, grant vengeance from the lineage of Gʿ who were terribly unjust'

γ. *f* can optionally introduce a modal clause following a topicalized or vocative noun.

AWS 237:   *h*   *rḍw f*   *l-*   *yʿwr*   *m*   *ʿwr*
            VOC Rḍw CONJ ASV be blind.PC.3MS REL efface.SC.3MS
            'O Rḍw, may he who would efface be made blind'

HCH 103:   *h*   *lt w*   *ds²r f*   *ṭ'r*   *mn- ḥwlt*
            VOC Lt CONJ Ds²r CONJ vengeance.SC.3MS from- Ḥwlt
            'O Lt and Ds²r, he will have vengeance against Ḥwlt'

In cases where the first clause of the narrative is introduced by *f*, e.g., *l-* PN *f* SC, the following verb has an optative sense. In some cases, this could imply that the inscription was composed on behalf of another person.

C 404:   *l*   *wdm'l bn*   *w{l}ʿ f*   *byt*   *w*
            LA Wdm'l son.CNST {Wlʿ} CONJ camp.SC.3MS CONJ
            n{g}r
            persevere.SC.3MS
            'By Wdm'l son of Wlʿ, and so may he camp the night and perse-
            vere'

C 3466:   *l*   *ḥl b[n]*   *tlḥ f*   *bt*
            LA Ḥl [son].CNST Tlḥ CONJ camp.SC.3MS
            'By Ḥl son of Tlḥ, so may he camp the night (safely)'

KhMNS 13:   *l*   *'s¹ bn*   *br'h f*   *ʿd*
            LA 's¹ son.CNST Br'h CONJ return.SC.3MS
            'For/by 's¹ son of Br'h, and so may he return'

SIJ 152:   *l*   *ʿm bn*   *mn f*   *'tw*   *mn-   ḥrt*
            LA ʿm son.CNST mn CONJ come.SC.3MS from- the Ḥarrah
            'For ʿm son of Mn, so may he return from the Ḥarrah'

11.2   Subordinating Conjuctions

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.

ʾd: 'when'—This conjunction is probably cognate with CAr *ʾiḏā* 'when'.

AWS 8:   *w*   *ngʿ*   *ʾd*   *wgd*   *ʾtr*

                 CONJ grieve in pain.SC.3MS when find.SC.3MS trace.CNST

                 dd -h

                 paternal uncle -CPRO.3MS

                 'and he was grieved in pain when he found the trace of his paternal uncle'

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

LP 732:   *ṭrd*   *h- ḏʾb ẓlʿ*   {*m-*}*mn*   *ʿkdy*

               drive.SC.3MS wolf   rage.APC.MS {from-} Mn after

               glḥ   *f*   [*h*]

               attack.SC.3MS so [VOC]

               [*l*][*t*] [*s¹*][*l*][*m*]

               [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: *ḥgz -h*   *bʿls¹mn*   *ʿkd* {*-h*} *yṣn*

               withhold.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Bʿls¹mn after   protect.PC.3MS

               'Bʿls¹mn withheld it [the rain], but may he preserve (i.e., the land) thereafter'

ḥt: 'until'—This particle is attested only once and in a non-formulaic context, so its identification is tentative at the moment. If our interpretation of C 4384 is correct, then it would be cognate with CAr *ḥattā* 'until', 'so that'.

C 4384:   *ṣyd*   *ḥt*   *wqf*   *f*   *l-* {*ʾ*}*kl*   *w*

               hunt.SC.3MS until exhaustion CONJ ASV- {eat.INF} CONJ

               {*q*}*t -h*

               protect.INF -CPRO.3MS

               'he hunted until exhaustion, so may he eat and be protected'

11.3   The Complementizer ʾn

The complementizer ʾn, CAr. ʾan(na), substantivizes sentential complements
of verbs of cognition:

WH 1141:   *w*   *s¹rt*   *s¹mˁ*   *ʾn*
            CONJ serve in a troop.SC.3MS hear.APC.MS COMP
            ˁm -h ----
            grandfather -CPRO.3MS
            'and he served in a troop, having heard that his grandfather ...'

Ms 44:   *rˁy*   *h- ʾbl*   *h- ˁrḍ*   *s¹nt*
            pasture.SC.3MS ART- camel.COL ART- valley year.CNST
            myt   *qṣr*   *w*   *s¹mˁ*   *ʾn*   *myt*
            die.SC.3MS Caesar CONJ hear.SC.3MS COMP die.SC.3MS
            flfṣ
            Philippus
            'he pastured the camels in the valley the year Caesar died but he
            had heard that Philippus had died'

Verbless Clauses

12.1 Existential Clauses

No single existential particle can be reconstructed for PS and each of its sub-branches seems to have developed its own strategy of overtly marking existential clauses. Most contemporary Arabic dialects have grammaticalized a locative phrase, *fī-h* or *bi-h* 'lit. in it'. A similar construction is the source of Gz *bo* < *bahu* 'in it', and the Akk verb *bašûm* 'to be' also seems to have a similar origin.[1] The NWS languages, on the other hand, exhibit reflexes of a single existential particle, *ʾiṯ, Arm *ʾīṯ*, Hb *yēš*, Ug *ʾiṯ*. 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- s¹my* '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- s¹my   my
VOC king.CNST ART- sky water
'O king of the sky (i.e., Bʿls¹mn), let there be water'

C 1084: rḍy ġnmt s¹bʿ
Rḍy spoil seven
'Rḍy, let there be spoil, seven-fold'

---

1 Huehnergard (*forthcoming*).
2 Note that the Arab Grammarians analyzed constructions as these as containing an invisible verb [grant], but there is no reason to posit invisible verbs.
3 This analysis follows Bar-Asher (2011).

MKMR 51:   *l   ʾḥd bn   ʾḥnn w   ġnmt*
            LA ʾḥd son.CNST ʾḥnn CONJ spoil
            'By ʾḥd son of ʾḥnn and let there be spoil'

AbaNS 1128: *ʾty   ʾhl -h   w   my   ʾ- s²m*
            come.SC.3MS family -CPRO.3MS CONJ water ART- north
            'he came to his family because there was water in the north'

AZNG 1:   *mrd   ṯlṯ   s¹nn   mn-qbl nfs¹   ẓlm*
            rebellion three.M year.PL facing Nepos to oppress.APC.MS
            'there was a rebellion for three years facing Nepos, who was op-
            pressive'

C 3818:   *w   ṯlg   b- h- dr   b- {r}{ʾ}y   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   ġnmt l- ḏ   dʿy*
            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   ḥrs¹   w   grb   w*
            blindness CONJ lameness CONJ dumbness CONJ scab CONJ
            ḥkk   l- ḏ   yʿwr   h- s¹fr
            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'

C 3811:   *h   rḍy   ġnmt l- qm   gyʿ*
            VOC Rḍy spoil for- people starving
            'O Rḍy, may a starving people have spoil' (lit. let there be spoil for
            a starving people)

SESP.U17:   *h   bʿls¹mn wqyt   l- ḏ   s²rq*
            VOC Bʿls¹mn protection for- REL.MS migrate.SC.3MS
            'O Bʿls¹mn, may he who would migrate to the inner desert be
            protected' (lit. 'let there be protection for him who would migrate
            to the inner desert')

a. Existential predication is the general method used to express possession with
a pronominal possessor.

LP 562.1:   *w   l -h   h- ḍʾn*
            CONJ to -CPRO.3MS ART- sheep
            'and the sheep are his'

SHS 10:   *w   l -h   [h-] rgm*
            CONJ for -CPRO.3FS [ART-] funerary cairn
            'and the funerary cairn is hers'

12.3   Locative Predication

Examples of locative 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]

C 4681:   *bny   h- z̧{l}lt   {s¹}nt   ʿrb*
            build.GSC.3MS ART- {shelter} {year}.CNST arab.PL.CNST
            h- bġ{y}t   {b-} h- rḥbt
            ART- {Bġyt} in- ART- Rḥbt
            'he built the {shelter} the {year} the Arabs of {Bġyt} were {at} this
            Raḥabah'

---

4 Note that the existential particle in the modern Arabic dialect of Palmyra is derived from a
   locative phrase introduced by *bi-* rather than *fi-* as in most varieties of Arabic.

LP 653: *s¹nt*   *lgy[n]*   *grmnqṣ* *b- nqʾt*
year.CNST legions. CNST Grmnqṣ at- Nqʾt
'the year the legions of Germanicus were at Nqʾt'

WH 1243: *ns²{t}*   *l- ʿms²*   *f*   *h*   *brkt*
{go forth}.SC.3MS towards-ʿms² CONJ IPRO.3MS Brkt
'he was at Brkt and went forth towards ʿms²' (lit. 'he went forth towards ʿms² for he was at Brkt'[5])

12.4   Equational Sentences

As in most Semitic languages, the relationship between the subject and the nominal or pronominal predicate is expressed syntactically by juxtaposing the two. Predicative adjectives are distinguished from attributive adjectives in that definiteness is not a concord feature. The definite article only appears on the predicate if it is a noun (e.g., C 1185). The few attested examples of this construction suggest that both subject-predicate and predicate-subject word orders are permissible.

WH 1403.2: *w*   *ʾn*   *frds¹ bn*   *ʿrḍ*
CONJ IPRO.1CS Frds¹ son.CNST ʿrḍ
'and I am Frds¹ son of ʿrḍ'

C 1185: *w*   *mt[y]* *h- ḫt{t}*
CONJ [Mty] ART- {writer}
'and [Mty] is the writer'

C 5041: *w*   *l-* *h*   *dm*
CONJ ASV IPRO.3MS draw.APC.MS
'and he has indeed drawn'

---

5   The toponym *brkt* never appears with the article. Moreover, a directive preposition *h-*, as in Hadramitic and the Modern South Arabian languages, is not attested in Safaitic. Thus, the reading *h bkrt* seems secure, as does its interpretation.

AWS 124:   *ʾs¹lf*   *h- rwy*   *m- h- ḥm*   *f*
              bring to an end.SC.3MS ART- sweet water from- ART- heat CONJ
              ḫz   *h- ʾs¹d*
              hostile.APC.MS Leo
              'the sweet water was brought to an end from the heat, for Leo was
              hostile'

WH 2851:   *s¹nt*   *mrdt*   *ʾl*   *nbṭ*
              year.CNST rebel.SC.3FS people.CNST Nbṭ
              ʿl- ʾl   *{r}m f*   *ʾt*   *s¹lm*
              against- people.CNST Rm   CONJ come.APC.MS peace
              'the year the Nabataeans rebelled against the Romans, so may
              peace come'

Verbal Clauses

13.1 Main Clauses with Indicative Verbs

a. The finite verb stands in clause initial position. Pronominal subjects are embedded in the verb itself, *rʿy* 'he pastured', *ts²wqt ʾl-* '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*   *qṣr*   *h- mdnt*
             announce.SC.3MS Caesar ART- province
             'Caesar announced the province (i.e., Provincia Arabia)'

SIJ 59:   *ḥrbt*   *ʾl*   *ʿwḏ ʾl*   *ṣbḥ*
             plunder.SC.3FS lineage.CNST ʿwḏ lineage.CNST Ṣbḥ
             'the lineage of ʿwḏ plundered the lineage of Ṣbḥ'

VERB—OBJECT—SUBJECT

QZUI 462:   *ṭrq*   *ʿn -h*   *h- mrd*
             smite.SC.3MS eye -CPRO.3MS ART- rebel
             'the rebel struck out his eye'

WH 1516:   *ʾ{ḫ}ḏ*   *klb -h*   *ḏʾb*
             {take}.SC.3MS dog -CPRO.3MS wolf
             'a wolf carried off his dog'

VERB—PRONOMINAL OBJECT—SUBJECT

LP 161:   *klm -h*   *h- ʾs¹d*
             injure.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS ART- lion
             'the lion injured him'

C 1240:   *ḥgz -h*   *bʿlsʾmn ʾl- h- mdnt*
               withhold.SC.3MS -CPRO.3S Bʿlsʾmn from- ART- province
               'Bʿlsʾmn withheld it (the rain) from the province'

VERB—SUBJECT—PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

RWQ 347:   *sʾrt*   *ʾl*   *ḏf l- ʿwḏ*
               serve.SC.3MS lineage.CNST Ḏf for- ʿwḏ
               'the lineage of Ḏf performed military service for ʿwḏ'

VERB—PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE—SUBJECT

LP 325:   *dmy*   *l -h*   *ʾb -h*
               draw.SC.3MS for -CPRO.3MS father -CPRO.3MS
               'his father drew (a picture) for him'

VERB—OBJECT—PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

KRS 1536:   *tẓr*   *ʾ- sʾmy   b- mlḥ*
               wait.SC.3MS ART- sky during- Aquarius
               'he awaited the rains during Aquarius'

KRS 1546:   *bny*   *h- rgm*   *l- gfft*
               build.SC.3MS ART- funerary cairn for- Gfft
               'he built the funerary cairn for Gfft'

VERB—PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE—OBJECT

KRS 51:   *bny*   *l- ghm   h- rgm*
               build.SC.3MS for- Ghm ART- funerary cairn
               'he built the funerary cairn of Gfft'

b. The indirect object of ditransitive verbs is optionally marked by the preposition *l-*. Direct and indirect objects follow the verb, but otherwise their syntax is free:

C 1868:   *s¹nt*   *h- rm*   *s²t*   *b- ʾblt*   *w*
            year.CNST ART- rome   spend the winter.APC.3MS at- ʾblt CONJ
            whb   *ʾmlk -h*   *ʾḥrs¹*
            give.SC.3MS king.PL -CPRO.3f guard.PL
            'the year Rome (i.e., the romans) was wintering near ʾblt and
            bestowed upon its rulers guards'

LP 460:   *h*   *rḍw*   *hb*   *l- ʿbdʾl*   *nqmt*
            VOC Rḍw give.IMP.2MS to- ʿbdʾl retribution
            'O Rḍw, grant retribution to ʿbdʾl'

LP 504:   *h*   *ʾlt flṭ*   *l- rgʿ*   *w*   *hb*
            VOC ʾlt deliver.INF to- Rgʿ CONJ give.IMP.FS
            l -h   *nʿm*
            to -CPRO.3MS favor
            'O ʾlt, deliver Rgʿ and grant him favor'

AsUI 1:   *h*   *ds²r*   *hb*   *s¹ʿd*   *l- nbṭ*
            VOC Ds²r give.IMP.MS aid to- the Nabataeans
            ʿl- ḥwlt
            against- Ḥwlt
            'O Ds²r, grant aid to the Nabataeans against Ḥwlt'

13.2   Clauses with Pragmatic Optatives

a. The optative use of the prefix and suffix conjugation generally has the same syntax as their indicative counterparts. In a few cases, SV word order is attested, but these likely reflect the topicalization of the subject; see §15 for more examples.

AWS 107:   *w*   *ḥḍʿ*   *ḏ*   *ḫbl*   *w*
            CONJ be debased.SC.3MS REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS CONJ
            rḍy   *ḏ*   *dʿy*
            be satisfied.SC.3MS REL.MS read aloud.PC.3MS
            'may he who would obscure (this writing) be debased but may he who would read aloud be satisfied'

LP 236:   *f   yq{h}r -h*   *l{h}   mty {-h }*
            so {make successful}.PC.3MS {Lh} journey -{CPRO.3MS}
            'so, may Lh make him successful in his journey'

LP 259:   *w   ġnm -h*   *bʿlsˡm{y}*
            CONJ grant spoil.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS {Bʿlsˡmy}
            m- s²n[ʾ]
            from- [enemy.PL]
            'and may Bʿlsˡmy grant him spoil from enemies'

JbS 1:   *ḏkr -h*   *rḍy*
            remember.SC.3MS -CPRO.3MS Rḍy
            'may Rḍy 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, *lʿt lt mn yḫbl* '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 sˡʿdt   mn dʿy*   *h- sˡfr*
            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   ʾḫk ḏ*
            VOC Lt bless.SC.2FS ʾḫk REL.MS
            'O Lt, bless ʾḫk of ...'

C 4037:   *{h} lt whbt   s²nʾ -h*
            VOC Lt give.SC.2FS enemy -CPRO.3MS
            bn- yd -h
            between- hand.DU.CNST -CPRO.3MS
            'O Lt, may you give his enemy into his hands'

13.3   The Vocative and Imperative

a. Vocative phrases usually precede the main clause, which typically consists of an existential clause or a clause containing an imperative or infinitive. Vocative phrases containing more than one element can be introduced by a single vocative particle (1) or by a particle preceding each member of the phrase (2).

C 3811:   ***h   lt   ḏqn   mrn f   rwḥ***
VOC Lt grow old.SC.3MS   Mrn CONJ   ease
'O Lt, Mrn has grown old, so let there be
ease'

(1) KRS 2869: ***h   lt   w   rḏy   w   ḏs²r   s¹lm   ġnmt***
VOC Lt CONJ Rḏy CONJ Ḏs²r security spoil
'O Lt and Rḏy and Ḏs²r, may he be secure by means of spoil'

(2) HCH 72: ***h   lt   w   h   ds²r   t'r   {l-}   mn   ḥwlt***
VOC Lt CONJ VOC Ds²r vengeance ASV against Ḥwlt
'O Lt and O Ds²r, there will be vengeance against Ḥwlt'

b. The imperatives, along with infinitives and existential sentences signifying requests, usually follow the vocative phrase, but can sometimes precede it as well:

C 5121:   *h   rḏw   flṭ -h*
VOC Rḏw deliver.IMP.2MS -CPRO.3MS
'O Rḏw, deliver him!'

AWS 290:   *h   'lt   s¹ᶜd   ḥrḏt   bn   'brr   w*
VOC 'lt help.IMP.FS Ḥrḏt son.CNST 'brr CONJ
flṭ -h
deliver.IMP.FS -CPRO.3MS
'O 'lt, help Ḥrḏt son of 'brr and deliver him!'

SW 264:   *h   yṯᶜ   ġn   ᶜm -h*
VOC Yṯᶜ free from want.IMP.MS people -CPRO.3MS
'O Yṯᶜ, render his people free from want'

HCH 107:   *h   lt   s¹lm   ḏ   'l   ḥrm*
VOC Lt secure.IMP.FS REL.MS lineage.CNST Ḥrm
'O Lt, keep safe him/those of the lineage of Ḥrm!'

KRS 1562: *f   rwḥ   'y   lt*
CONJ ease/grant ease.IMP.FS VOC Lt
'so grant ease/let there be ease, O Lt'

C 1837:   *w*   **qyt**   *mn- grb*   *h yṯ ͑*
               CONJ   protect.INF   against- scabies   O Yṯ ͑
               'and protect against scabies, O Yṯ ͑'

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*   *rḍw* ***͑wr***   *m*   *͑wr -h*
               voc Lt   blind.IMP.FS   REL.MS   efface.SC.MS -CPRO.3MS
               'and Rḍw, blind whosoever would efface it'

CSA 1.2:   *f*   *lt*   *w*   *ds²r s¹lm*   *ḏ ʾl*   *ys²kr*
               CONJ Lt   CONJ Ds²r secure.IMP REL.MS lineage.CNST Ys²kr
               'so, Lt and Ds²r, secure him/them of the lineage of Ys²kr'

α. The word-boundary spelling of the final /w/ of *rḍw* 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:   *ngꜥ*   **kbr**   *ꜥl-ġyr*
            grieve in pain.SC.3MS continuously over- Ġyr
            'he grieved in pain continuously on account of Ġyr'

HaNSB 184: *mlḥ*   *f*   *ꜥny*   **kbr**
            traded salt.SC.3MS CONJ toil.SC.3MS continuously
            'he traded salt and toiled continuously'

K 196:   *h*   *bꜥls¹mn* *mwl*   *h-ꜥrḍ*   *s¹rꜥ*
            VOC Bꜥls¹mn make abundant.IMP.MS ART- land quick
            'O Bꜥls¹mn, quickly make this land abundant'

SIJ 1008:   *w*   *dṯꜣ*   *w*   *qy[ẓ]*   *w*
            CONJ later rains.SC.3MS CONJ [dry season].SC.3MS CONJ
            s²ty   *h- rḥbt*   *ꜥwd*
            winter.SC.3MS ART- Rḥbt again
            'as he will spend the season of the later rains, the dry season, and
            the winter at this Raḥbah again'

MKWS 8:   *f*   *gdꜥwḏ* *w*   *s²ꜥhqm* *ġnmt* *qrb*
            CONJ Gdꜥwḏ CONJ S²ꜥhqm spoil soon
            'so Gdꜥwḏ and Sꜥhqm, 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.

C 4332:   *h   lt ġnmt m- s²n'*   *'bl*
               VOC Lt spoil from- enemy.PL camel.COL
               'O Lt, let there be spoil from enemies in terms of camels'

C 1837:   *h   'lt s¹lm   l- h- mtyt*   **ḥmt**   *w   qyt*
               VOC 'lt security for- ART- camel   protection CONJ protect.INF
               mn- grb   h   yt'
               from- scabies   VOC Yt'
               'O 'lt, may the riding camel be secure by means of protection
               (from harm) and protect against scabies, O Yt'ᵒ

SESP.D 12:   *ws¹qn   h- mhr   m- gnt   h- dr*
               drive.APC.MP ART-colt.PL from- garden ART- area
               qnb
               company of men
               '... who were driving the colts from the garden(s) of this area as a
               company of men'

14.2   Adverbs of Circumstance

Adverbs of circumstance are usually formed by participles, although at least
one example of an infinitive in this use is attested. These adverbs indicate an
action or condition which is simultaneous with the main verb. Such forms
are always indefinite, and were probably marked by the accusative case. All
examples are attested with a masculine singular antecedent.

WH 1361:   *w   {r}'{y}   m{d}br   {n}wy   s²ty*
               CONJ {pasture}.SC.3MS {inner desert} migrate.APC.MS winter
               'and he pastured the inner desert while migrating in the winter'

RyD 6822:   *w   wgm   'l- 'm   trḥ   mḫll*
               CONJ grieve.SC.3MS   for- 'm perish.PC.MS camping.APC.MS
               'and he grieved while camping for 'm, who perished'

KRS 1432:   *wlh*   ***mtḏkr***   *ḥbb*   *f*
              be distraught.SC.3MS remember.APC.MS loved one CONJ
              ḥbb
              loved one
              'he was distraught as he remembered loved one after loved one'

C 1539:   *s²mr ḥ[l]*   *h- bt*   *[t]s²wq*   *ʾl-lbḥ*
              S²mr [camp].APC.MS ART- tent [long].INF for- Lbḥ
              'S²mr is camping in this tent, longing for Lbḥ'

Topicalization

Topicalization is rare in the inscriptions and so our knowledge of this phenomenon is extremely limited. Topicalized elements are dislocated towards the beginning of the clause. Examples of (1) topicalized nouns, (2) prepositional phrases, (3) adverbs, and (4) clauses are attested.

(1)

C 2964:　　　 *w*　　*bʾs¹*　　　　 *l -h*　　　　　　 *mn- s²nʾ*
　　　　　　　 CONJ misfortune to -CPRO.3MS from-enemy.PL
　　　　　　　 'and misfortune^topic from enemies was his'

C 76:　　　　 *w*　　*ġnmt ʾs¹yt*
　　　　　　　 CONJ spoil be granted.SC.3FS
　　　　　　　 'and may spoil^topic be granted'

KRS 941:　　 *w*　　*ql*　　　　*ḫbl -h*　　　　　　 *trḥ*
　　　　　　　 CONJ say.SC.3MS obscurer -CPRO.3MS perish.SC.3MS
　　　　　　　 'and he said: may [its obscurer^topic] perish'

(2)

Ms 64:　　　 *l*　 *ʿqrb bn*　　　 *ʾbgr b- ms¹rt*　 *ʾl*　　　　　　 *ʿmrt frs¹*
　　　　　　　 LA ʿqrb son.CNST ʾbgr by- Ms¹rt lineage.CNST ʿmrt horseman
　　　　　　　 s¹nt　　　 *ngy*　　　　　　 *ġwṯ bn*　　　 *rḍwt*
　　　　　　　 year.CNST announce.SC.3MS Ġwṯ son.CNST Rḍwt
　　　　　　　 'By ʿqrb son of ʾbgr who was a horsemen [in the troop of the lineage of ʿmrt]^topic the year Ġwṯ bn Rḍwt was announced (commander)'

(3)

ASWS 202:　 *w*　　*bḥrt*　　　　　　　　　 *m*　 *mṭr*
　　　　　　　 CONJ vehemence of heat in July NEG rain.SC.3MS
　　　　　　　 'but [during the vehemence of heat in July^topic] it did not rain'

(4)

In KRS 213, the entire apodosis is left-dislocated.

KRS 213:   ***ḫbl***   ***ḫrm***   *'n*   *ygll*
            be.insane.SC.3MS hammer.APC.MS COND erase.PC.3MS
            '[may one who hammers go insane[topic]] if he should erase'

Syntax of the Infinitive

16.1 Infinitive Chain

As in ASA, an infinitive can replace a finite verb as the non-initial member of a sequence of two or more coordinate verbs which belong to a single semantic unit. Since the infinitive is often identical to the suffix conjugation, it is difficult to determine in the majority of cases whether one encounters a sequence of finite verbs or the infinitive chain. Clear examples occur when the two elements in question are inflected differently.

AbaNS 881: *w   yqr   w   gly   'rḍ   t*
            CONJ cold.PC.3MS CONJ be cut off.INF land DEM.FS
            'and he is cold and cut off in this land'

MAHB 5:   *rʿy   h- rmẖ   bql   w*
            pasture.SC.3MS ART- camel.COL herbage CONJ
            kmʾt
            gather truffles.INF
            'he pastured the camels on fresh herbage and gathered truffles'

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

KRS 78:   *h   lt ryḥ   w   qyt*
            VOC Lt grant ease.IMP.FS CONJ protect.INF
            'O Lt, grant ease and protect'

C 3113:   *h   rḍw flṭ -h   m- bʾsⁱ   w*
            VOC Rḍw deliver.IMP -CPRO.3MS from- misfortune CONJ
            ṭ ʿmt   mn- ṣd   l- frk bn ltnh
            nourish.INF   from- game   for- Frk bn Ltnh
            'O Rḍw, 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:	*w*	*ṣyr*		*w*	*rʿy*
	CONJ	return to water.SC.3MS	CONJ		pasture.INF
	h- ʾbl				
	ART- camel.COL				

'and he returned to a place of water and pastured the camels'

α. In the case of the verb *ḏkr*, 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:[1]	*wgd*	*ʾṯr*	*ʾb -h*		*f*
	find.SC.3MS	trace.CNST	father -CPRO.3MS	CONJ	
	bk{y}	*w*	*ḏkr*	*l- ʾ{ḫ} -h*	
	{weep.SC.3MS}	CONJ	remember.INF	to- {brother} -CPRO.3MS	
	{ʾ}wl				
	{ʿwl}				

'and he found the trace of his father so he wept and remembered his {brother} {ʿwl}'

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:	*l*	*ngm bn ẓʿn bn rgl bn ṣʿd w*	*s²tt -h*
	LA	Gn05 CONJ	winter.INF -CPRO.3MS
	nwy		
	pasture		

'by Ngm son of Ẓʿn son of Rgl son of Ṣʿd and he spent the winter on pasture'

---

2   Compare with CAr *qatlu zaydin* which can mean both 'Zayd was killed' or 'Zayd's killing (of someone else)'.

SIJ 1008:   *h*   *ʾ{l}{t}* *s¹fʿ -hm*
                VOC {ʾlt}   feed.INF -CPRO.3MP
                'O Lt, may they (the seasons) provide sustenance'

WH 641.1:   *w*   *flṭ -h*   *m- lḥyn*
                CONJ deliver.INF -SC.3MS from- Lḥyn
                'and may he be delivered from Lḥyn'

C 4384:   *ṣyd*   *ḥt*   *wqf*   *f*   *l- {ʾ}kl*   *w*
                hunt.SC.3MS until exhaustion CONJ ASV- {eat.INF} CONJ
                {q}t -h
                {protect}.INF -CPRO.3MS
                'he hunted until exhaustion so, so may he eat and be protected'

16.2   Commands

The infinitive also frequently replaces the imperative in the expression of commands. There was probably a semantic nuance between the two options which is not detectable from our distance. The infinitive of command may sometimes overlap in form and even in meaning with the use of abstract nouns in existential clauses (see §12). These forms can precede or follow their logical subject.

SESP.U 18:   *h*   *bʿls¹mn* *trwḥ*   *b- mṭr*
                VOC Bʿls¹mn send winds.INF by- rain
                'O Bʿls¹mn, send the winds with rain!'

C 1137:   *w*   *fṣy*   *hy* *ʾlt m- bʾs¹*
                CONJ deliver.INF VOC ʾlt from- misfortune
                'and deliver, O ʾlt, from misfortune!'

16.3   The Infinitive to Express Purpose

One of the commonest usages of the infinitive is as a complement of a verb of motion, in which case it expresses purpose, similar to the Latin supine.

KhNSJ 5:   *w   ṣyr   qyẓ   rʿy*
            CONJ   return to water.SC.3MS   dry season pasture.INF
            'and he returned to a place of water in the dry season to pasture'

NST 3:   *ʾty   nẓr   h- ṯbrn   mn- ʾl   ṣbḥ*
            come.SC.3M   guard.INF   ART- warriors   from- lineage.CNST Ṣbḥ
            'the warriors from the lineage of Sbḥ came to guard'

LP 742:   *wrd   mn- tlʿn   tḏbʾ*
            come down.SC.3MS   from- Tlʿn   raid.INF
            'he came down from Tell-ʿayn to raid'

KRS 37:   *rgʿ   b- ʾbl   rʿy* [[ ]]
            return.SC.3MS   with- camel.COL   pasture.INF
            l- ḥrt   f   ht
            towards- the Ḥarrah   ʿawf.CNST   low-lying land
            'he returned towards the Ḥarrah with camels to pasture on ʿawf
            (plants) of low-lying land'

WH 179:   *ġzz   b- ḥrt   tbl   h- bkrt*
            raid.SC.3MS   by- the Ḥarrah   return.INF   ART- she camel.PL
            m- mʿn
            from- Mʿn
            'he raided the Ḥarrah to recapture the she-camels from Mʿn'

KRS 2420:   *wrd   ʾʿly   h   ṣwy   ʾbgr*
            come down.SC.3MS   raise.INF   DEM   cairn.CNST   ʾbgr
            'he came to raise this cairn of ʾbgr'

JaS 159.2: *gls¹   ḥlt*
            halt.SC.3MS   camp.INF
            'he halted to camp'

In one case, the infinitive occurs with the verb *mrd* 'to rebel' to express purpose.
It may be the case that speakers interpreted this as a verb of motion, perhaps
similar to English 'to go against' or 'to go up against'.

KRS 1023:   *mrd*   *'l- h- mlk*   *grfṣ ks¹r*   {*h-*} *s¹l*{*s¹*}[*lt*]
            rebel.SC.3MS against- ART- king Grfṣ break.INF   {ART}- bonds
            'he rebelled against king Agrippa to break the bonds (of oppres-
            sion?)'

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*   *tẓr*   *h- s¹my*   *b- ḥḍr*
             CONJ await.SC.3MS ART- sky in- camp by water.INF
             w   *wrd*   *brkt*
             CONJ go to water.SC.3MS   Brkt
             'he awaited the rains while camping by permanent water and
             then went to water at Brkt'

WH 3584:   *w*   *tẓr*   *h- s¹my*   *b- ḥḍr*
             CONJ await.SC.3MS ART- sky in- camp near water.INF
             'he awaited the rains while camping by permanent water'

C 4233:   *w*   *rʿy*   {*b-*} {*n*}{*y*}*t*   *h- ṣmkk*
             CONJ pasture.SC.3MS {in-} {migrate}.INF Hṣmkk
             'and he pastured while migrating to Hṣmkk'

16.5   Cognate Infinitive

The cognate infinitive amplifies the meaning of the main verb.

WH 116:   *ḥy*{*b*}   '[*l*]- *mḥbb*   *ḥb*
             lament.SC.3MS over- loved one lament.INF
             'he lamented greatly over a loved one'

WH 613:   *f gdḍf s¹lm*   *m- s²n'*   *s¹lm*
             so Gdḍf security from- enemy.PL secure.INF
             'so Gdḍf, may he be secured well against enemies'

Relative and Subordinate Clauses

17.1   Relative Clauses

There are three types of relative clauses: the first is introduced by a relative pronoun *ḏ, ḏ't, ḏw* (syndetic relative), the second is formed by pronominal resumption linking the subordinate and matrix clauses (asyndetic relatives), and the third comprises a sentential genitive construction (construct-genitive relative). All relative clauses follow the main clause:

a. Syndetic relative clauses occur most frequently as a component of lineage chains which introduce tribal affiliation, *ḏ 'l* 'of the lineage/people'. Outside of this context, they are rare, simply because they are not a component of most inscriptional formulae. A few clear examples, however, are attested, but these all occur with definite heads. It is unclear whether the *ḏ* can occur with an indefinite antecedent, but there is no reason to doubt that it could.

LP 183:   *wgd   s¹fr   m'r ḏ   'wq*
            find.SC.3MS writing.CNST M'r REL.MS be detained.SC.3MS
            'he found the writing of M'r who was imprisoned'

LP 1261:   *l   dbṣy bn   ks¹ṭ ḏ   nkr*
            LA Dbṣy son.CNST Ks¹ṭ REL.MS contend.SC.3MS
            h- s²n{'}
            ART- {enemy}
            'By Dbṣy son of Ks¹ṭ who has contended with the enemy'

C 1758:   *wgm   'l- 's²y'-h   ḏ*
            grieve.SC.3MS for- companion.PL-CPRO.3MS REL.MS
            ns¹l   b- ṯbr
            went.away.SC.3MP in- Sagittarius
            'he grieved for his companions who had gone away when the sun was in Saggitarius'

The relative pronoun *ḏ* often stands as the definite head of free relative clauses, meaning 'he who':

KRS 1042:   *w*   *rḍy*   *ḏ*   *dʿy*   *w*
            CONJ be satisfied.SC.3MS REL.MS read aloud.SC.3MS CONJ
            lʿn   *ḏ*   *yḫbl*
            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*   *gdḍf* *lʿn*   *ḏ*   *yʿwr*   *m*
            VOC Gdḍf curse.IMP.2MS REL.MS efface.PC.3MS REL
            yhnʾ
            please.PC.3MS
            'O Gdḍf, curse him who would efface what would please'

AWS 236:   *h*   *rḍw* *hb*   *l -h*   *m*   *hnʾ*
            VOC Rḍw give.IMP.2M to-cpro.3MS REL please.SC.3MS
            'O Rḍw, grant him what would please'

b. Asyndetic relative clauses are bound to the matrix clause through the agree-
ment of its verb or pronoun with its antecedent. Unlike CAr, asyndetic relative
clauses can be used with definite heads as well.

CSNS 1004: *wgm*   *ʿl- bn*   *dd -h*
            grieve.SC.3MS over- son.CNST paternal uncle -CPRO.3MS
            ms¹by   *s¹byt -h*   *ṭyʾ*
            capture.PPC.MS capture.SC.3FS -CPRO.3MS Ṭyʾ
            'he grieved for the son of his paternal uncle, who was captured,
            whom Ṭyʾ captured'

C 1186:   *w*   *l -h*   *h- mhrt*   *yrbb -h*
            CONJ for -CPRO.3MS ART- filly train.PC.3MS -CPRO.3FS
            'and the filly, which he is training, is his'

KRS 995:   *nqʾt*   *b- wdd -h*   *yḫbl*
            thrown out.INF by- beloved -CPRO.3MS obscure.PC.3MS
            h- ḫ{ṭ}{ṭ}
            ART- {writing}
            'and may he would obscure this writing be thrown out of the grave
            by his loved one'

ISB 91:   *w*   *l -h*   *h- frs¹*   *ˁnd -h*
           CONJ for -CPRO.3MS ART- horse at -CPRO.3MS
           'and by him is the horse, which belongs to him'

α. Attributive participles modifying noun phrases can be interpreted as asyndetic relative clauses or adnominal phrases. In this function, the participle never exhibits agreement in definiteness, distinguishing it from other attributive adjectives.

C 4039:   *qṣf*   *ˀl- ˀl*   *ḏˀb w   nˀnl ḏlln*
           be sad.SC.3MS for- lineage.CNST Ḏˀb CONJ Nˀnl lost.PPC.MDU
           'he was sad on account of the lineage of Ḏˀb and Nˀnl, who were lost'

HCH 131:   *ndm*   *ˀl- klb -h*   *ḏll*
           be devastated.SC.3MS over- dog -CPRO.3MS lost.PPC.MS
           'he was devastated by grief on account of his dog, which was lost'

SESP.U 13: *ḫrṣ*   *ˀḫw -h*
           watch.SC.3MS brother.DU.CNST -CPRO.3MS
           ms²rqn
           migrate to desert.APC.MDU
           'he kept watch for his two brothers, who were migrating to the inner desert'

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

KRS 6:   *wlh*   *ˀl -hm*   *l-ˀbd   w   ˀl- zkr*
           distraught.SC.3MS over -CPRO.3MPL forever CONJ over-Zkr
           w   ˀl- ḫlṣ   rǵmn   *mny kll -hm*
           CONJ over- Ḫlṣ struck down.PPC.MP Fate QUANT -CPRO.3MP
           'he was distraught over them forever and over Zkr and over Ḫlṣ, 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 *s¹nt* 'year'. A similar construction is attested in CAr with *yawm* 'day' (e.g., Q 3:30).

SIJ 78:   *mrd*   *'l- rm*   *s¹nt*   *'ty*
              rebel.SC.3MS against- Rome year.CNST come.SC.3M
              h- mdy   *bṣry*
              ART- Persians Bostra
              'he rebelled against Rome the year the Persians came to Boṣrā'

KhNSJ 1:   *g{l}s¹*   *mn*   *'- dmt*   *s¹nt*   *mt*
              {stop}.SC.3MS from ART- downpour year.CNST die.SC.3MS
              mlk   *nbṭ*
              king.CNST Nbṭ
              'he stopped briefly on account of the downpour the year the king
              of Nabaṭaea died'

17.2   Purpose and Result Clauses

a. With the particle l-: Purpose clauses can be formed through the use of *l-* with
the prefix conjugation, essentially equivalent to the *li-yafʿala* construction in
CAr.

WH 3053:   *rḥḍ*   *b- h- ngm l- yḫg*
              wash.SC.3MS in- Virgo   to- ritual. PC.3MS
              'he washed when the sun was in Virgo in order to perform a
              pilgrimage'

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

α. There is a single possible example of an infinitive forming a purpose clause
introduced by *l-*, which can be compared to the Hb infinitive construct *liqṭôl*.

C 4803:   *h*   *b{'}ls¹mn s¹lm*   *l- nʿm*   *ḥl*
              VOC {B'ls¹mn} security ease.INF camping
              'O B'ls¹mn, 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   rḍw flṭ -n   m- b'sˡ*
VOC Rḍw deliver.IMP.2MS -CPRO.1CP from- misfourtune
w   nḥyy
CONJ live.PC.1C
'O Rḍw, deliver us/me from evil that I/we may live long'

WH 135: *h   lt qbll   'hl   sˡlm   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: *'{ġ}yr   ḏ'f   w   ġny*
be removed.SC.3MS weakness CONJ prosper.SC.3MS
'may weakness {be removed} that he may prosper'

MA1: *ḏbḥ   l- rḍy   w   ġnm   nqt*
sacrifice.SC.3MS for- Rḍy CONJ grant.SC.3MS she-camel
'he performed a sacrifice for Rḍy that he (Rḍy) may grant a she-camel as spoil'

C 4457: *w   [g]dʿwḏ rwḥ   m   'sˡr   w*
and [Gdʿwḏ] ease.IMP.2MS REL be captured.SC.3MS CONJ
sˡlm
be secure.SC.3MS
'and Gdʿwḏ, grant ease to whosoever was captured that he may be secure'

C 31: *s²tky   'l- lt f ḥnn   w*
petition.SC.3MS to- Lt so show compassion.IMP.2FS CONJ
sˡlm   m- s²n'
secure.SC.3MS from- enemy.PL
'he petitioned Lt, so show compassion that he may be secure against enemies'

α. The phrase *w sˡlm*, 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 bʿlsᴵmn ġyrt w sᴵlm* (1) 'O Bʿlsᴵmn, let there be abundance that he may be secure' or (2) 'O Bʿlsᴵmn, let there be abundance and security'. In such cases, a descision 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   ʾl- sᴵwd   w   trḥ*
              CONJ grieve.SC.3MS for- Sᴵwd CONJ perish.SC.3MS
              'and he grieved for Sᴵwd because he perished'

SG 1 = LP 722: *w   ʾf   h- mʿzy   sᴵnt*
              CONJ feed on fodder.SC.3MS ART- goat.PL year.CNST
              bʾsᴵ   w   ḥgz -h   bʿlsᴵmn
              misfortune CONJ withhold.SC.3MS -CPRO.3S Bʿlsᴵmn
              'and he fed the goats on dry fodder during a year of misery because Bʿlsᴵmn withheld the rain'

KRS 1051:   *w   wgm   ʾl- {ʾ}{ḫ} -h   ḥry f*
              CONJ grieve.SC.3MS for- {brother} -CPRO.3MS Ḥry CONJ
              myt
              die.SC.3MS
              'and he grieved for his brother, Ḥry, because he died'

NST 2:   *ʿbsᴵ   w   rġmt   mn[y]*
              austere.SC.3MS CONJ struck down.SC.3FS [Fate]
              'he was austere because she was struck down by Fate'

Circumstantial Clauses

Circumstantial clauses indicate an action which occurs simultaneously with the main event, similar to the circumstantial accusative discussed above. These clauses, as in other Semitic languages, are introduced by the coordinating conjunction *w* or *f*. Circumstantial clauses can range in size from a single term to an entire sentence. Any grammatical form can follow the conjunction; however, it seems that participles require the resumption of the subject in the circumstantial clause by an independent pronoun. Suffix conjugated verbs in circumstantial clauses refer to a past or future circumstance while other elements are unbound by time. Since the suffix conjugation and the infinitive are often identical, one must distinguish between the two in these situations pragmatically.

Circumstantial clause with a participle

KRS 1684: *h   lt w   gdḏf sˡlm   w   mgd*
VOC Lt CONJ Gdḏf security CONJ glory
w   h   ṭlq   l- h- dṣy
CONJ IPRO.3MS set off.APC.MS for- ART- ibex
'O Lt and Gdḏf, let there be security and glory as he sets off for ibex'

Circumstantial clause with a locative noun or prepositional phrase

C 3140: *wg{d}   ʾtr   ʿm -h   f*
{find}.SC.3MS trace.CNST grandfather -CPRO.3MS so
b{k}y   w   h- ṣwy
{cry}.SC.3MS CONJ ART- cairn
'he found the trace of his grandfather so he cried while at the cairn'

Circumstantial clause with a suffix conjugated verb

Circumstantial clauses containing a suffix conjugated verb can either single the past or future tense, depending on the semantics of the main clause.

C 4815:   *ngᶜ*   *ᵓl- klbh*   *bn -h*   *w*
             grieve in pain.SC.3MS for- Klbh   son -CPRO.3MS CONJ
             rᶜy   *{h-} {ᵓ}{b}l*   *wḥd*
             pasture.SC.3MS {ART}- {camel}.COL alone
             'he grieved in pain for Klbh, his son, while he pastured the camels alone'

SIJ 1008:   *gdᶜw[ḏ]* *nw{y}*   *w*   *ᵓqwy*
             [Gdᶜwḏ] {pasture} CONJ grant endurance.INF
             w   *dṯᵓ*   *w*   *qy[ẓ]*   *w*
             CONJ later rains.SC.3MS CONJ dry.season.SC.3MS CONJ
             s²ty   *h- rḥbt*   *ᶜwd*
             winter.SC.3MS ART- Raḥbah again
             'Gdᶜwḏ, let there be pasture and grant endurance as he will spend the season of the later rains, the summer, and the winter at this Raḥbah again'

WH 582:   *rdf*   *h- ḍᵓn*   *l- mdbr*   *w*
             follow.SC.3MS ART- sheep towards- inner desert CONJ
             ḫrṣ   *s¹qm*
             watch.SC.3MS illness
             'he followed the sheep towards the inner desert while he anticipated illness'

LP 597:   *ḫrṣ*   *ᶜl- rgl -h*   *w*
             watch.SC.3MS over- soldier.PL -CPRO.3MS CONJ
             ḥḍr
             camp at water.SC.3MP
             'he watched over his foot soldiers while they camped by permanent water'

Coordination

The conjunction used to link two syntactically equal elements is *w*:

KRS 1683: *ḥll*   *h- dr*   *b- ʾhl -h*   *w*
            camp.SC.3MS ART- place with- family -CPRO.3MS CONJ
            ḥr{ṣ}   *ʿl- ʾbl -h*
            {watch}.SC.3MS over- camel.COL -CPRO.3MS
            'he camped in this place with his family and watched over his camels'

HCH 72:   *wgm*   *ʿl- hnʾ*   *trḥ*   *w*   *ʿl- ʿbdy*
           grieve.SC.3MS for- Hnʾ perish.PPC.MS CONJ for- ʿbdy
           mqtl
           kill.PPC.MS
           'he grieved for Hnʾ, who perished, and for ʿbdy, who was killed'

In this context, the conjunction can also have an adversative meaning, 'but':

C 3931:   *h*   *ʾṯ ʿ sˡlm*   *w*   *ḥrṣ*   *qṣn*
           VOC ʾṯ ʿ security CONJ watch.SC.3MS murderer.PL
           w   *fr*
           CONJ flee.SC.3MS
           'O ʾṯ ʿ, may he be secure, as he had kept watch for enemies (lit. murderers), but fled'

Ms 44:   *myt*   *qṣr*   *w*   *sˡmʿ*   *ʾn*   *myt*
           die.SC.3MS Caesar CONJ hear.SC.3MS CONJ die.SC.3MS
           flfṣ   *f*   *sˡḥr*
           Philip CONJ be fooled.SC.3MS
           'Caesar died but he heard that Philip had died, and was fooled'

HCH 194:   *w*   *nfr*   *f*   *ʾsˡlm*   *w*   *b{ʾ}{d}*
           CONJ flee.SC.3MS CONJ surrender.SC.3MS CONJ {after}
           ʾflt
           escape.SC.3MS
           '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:   *wgd*   *ʾtr*   *ʾs²yʿ -h*   *f*
            find.SC.3MS trace.CNST companion.PL -CPRO.3MS CONJ
            bʾs¹
            miserable.SC.3MS
            'he had found the trace of his companions, so he was miserable'

Mu 867:   *w*   *s²ty*   {*b-*} *ʿrḍ*   *h- nmrt*   *w*
            CONJ winter.SC.3MS {near-} valley.CNST ART- nmrt CONJ
            qyẓ
            dry season.SC.3MS
            'and he spent the winter near the valley of Namārah, and then the dry season'

The distinction between *w* and *f* is best illustrated by the following pair:

C 793:   *wgd*   *s¹fr*   *ʿm -h*   *f*
            find.SC.3MS writing.CNST grandfather -CPRO.3MS CONJ
            ngʿ
            grieve in pain.SC.3MS
            'he had found the writing of his grandfather, so he grieved in pain'

C 2196:   *wgd*   *s¹fr*   *qḥs²* *w*   *ngʿ*
            find.SC.3MS writing.CNS Qḥs² CONJ grieve in pain.SC.3MS
            ʾl- mty
            for- Mty
            'he found the writing of Qḥs² and he grieved in pain for Mty'

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 ğāla tāla* 'he who wanders will find something' or the famous introduction of Imruʾu l-Qays's *muʿallaqah, qifā nabki* 'stop, let us weep' (see Fischer 2001, § 446).

Mu 278:   *w   m   {m}ḫbl   h- s¹fr   nqʾt*
           CONJ REL{obscure}.APC.MS ART- writing thrown out.INF
           l- ʾḫ- 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   ẓlm   ms¹k f   bqr*
           VOC Ds²r REL oppress.SC.3MS ms¹k CONJ split.INF
           'O Ds²r, whosoever would oppress Ms¹k, split (him) in two!'

α. The common curse formula *ʿwr m yʿwr* 'blind whosoever would efface' belongs to this type of conditional clause.

b. Only two examples attest the use of an overt conditional particle to mark the protasis. As remarked earlier, it would seem that the *ʾn* and *ʾm* conditional particles reflect dialectal variation.

AWS 237:   *ʾm   m   ʿwr   h   rḍw f   l-*
           COND REL efface.SC.3MS VOC Rḍw CONJ ASV-
           yʿwr
           be made blind.SC.3MS
           'and if one would efface, O Rḍw, then let him be made blind'

KRS 213:   *ql*   *ḫbl*   *ḫrm*   *'n*
             say.SC.3MS be insane.SC.3MS hammer.APC.MS COND
             ygll
             erase.PC.3MS
             'he said: may one who hammers go insane if he would erase (this
             inscription)'

Other Constructions

21.1 Apposition

Two nouns are in apposition if they have the same referent. These tend to be syntactically contiguous, with the second term agreeing, when possible, with the first.

C 4768: *wgm*   *ʾl- ġḥm*   *bnt*   *ʾnʿm* **mrʾt -h**
mourn.SC.3MS over- Ġḥm daughter.CNST ʾnʿm wife -CPRO.3MS
'he mourned for Ġḥm daughter of ʾnʿm, his wife'

C 304: *wgm*   *ʾl- ḫdnt*   **ḥbbt -h**
mourn.SC.3MS over- Ḫdnt loved one.FS -CPRO.3MS
'he mourned for Ḫdnt, his beloved'

LP 135: *wgd*   *sⁱfr*   *whbʾl* **ḫll**
found.SC.3MS writing.CNST Whbʾl friend
'he found the writing of Whbʾl, a friend'

21.2 Cleft Sentences

The cleft construction *mn ḏ*, compare to Arabic *man ḏa llaḏī*, is attested once:

C 2276: *nqʿṣ*   *l- mn*   *ḏ*   *ḫbl*
sudden death.INF to- REL REL.MS obscure.SC.3MS
h- sⁱfr
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 *qsⁱm b-* and the asseverative *l-* is attested:

SIJ 293:   *w*   *ʾṣly*   *w*   *ʾqsˡm*   *b- ʾlh*
            CONJ burn offering.SC.3MS CONJ swear.SC.3MS by- *ʾlh*
            ḥy   *l- hdy*   *ʿẓm*
            alive.APC.MS ASV-command.SC.3MS greatness
            '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 *ḏ ʾl* '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*.

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1   For a different approach to the Safaitic formulae, see Voigt (1980).

C 2243:   *l s¹d bn zmr bn ḥzn h- dr*
               'By S¹d son of Zmr son of Ḥzn, at this place'

C 2396:   *l ḫl bn ʾmr bn ʿṣd bn qṭ ʿ{n} h- dr*
               'By Ḫl son of ʾmr son of ʿṣd son of {Qṭʿn}, at this place'

Other common locations include:

ʾḫḏt	water pool
m(n)ẓr	look-out point
mdṯʾ/ms²ty(t)	spring/winter pasture
ṣwy	cairn

This formula can be expanded by using verbs of camping (*l- Gn* + **Verb** + **place name**), such as:

byt	to spend the night/camp
ḥll	to camp
gls¹	to halt

22.3   Building

Authors sometimes mention the construction of structures with the formula *bny* X, where X is the name of a structure. Some common structures include:

rgm	funerary cairn
s¹tr	shelter
ṣwy	cairn
ẓl(l)t	shelter

22.4   Claiming Authorship of Drawings

Rock art frequently accompanies the inscriptions, and authors will often mark ownership of a rock drawing by the following formula: *l-* **Gn** + ART- **drawing**.

Next to a drawing of a she-ass

C 505:   *l ḥḏg bn s¹wr h- ʾtn*
                'By Ḥḏg son of S¹wr is the she-ass'

Next to a drawing of two camels

AbaNS 28:   *l bdn bn ʿzz h- bkrtn*
                'by Bdn son of ʿzz are the two she-camels'

Next to a drawing of two gazelles

WH 3151:   *l ʾs¹f bn ḫ{r}ṭt h- ẓbyn*
                'By ʾs¹f son of {Ḫrṭt} are the two gazelles'

The following lists contains the terms for animals commonly depicted in the rock drawings:

ʾs¹d	lion
ʾtn	she-ass
ʿr	ass
bkrt	young she-camel
dṣy(t)	ibex/oryx
gml	male camel
frs¹	horse
ḥmr	donkey
ḥyt	animals
nʿm(t)	ostrich
nqt	she-camel
ṯr	bull
wʿl	ibex
ẓbyt	gazelle

Other times, the signature will refer to the drawing in more general terms:

dmyt	drawing
ṣrt	image

Authors would sometimes produce rock drawings of animals dedicated in some way to a deity. These are often accompanied by the following formula: *l*- Gn + ART- drawing + *w qṣy l*- deity. The ritualistic meaning of these texts is unclear at the current moment:

C 1658:   *l wq{r} bn y'l h- gmln qṣyn l- ʾlt w l- rḍw*
            'By {Wqr} son of Y'l are these two camels which have been dedi-
            cated to ʾlt and to Rḍw'

KRS 1307:   *l ḫṭs¹t bn s¹krn bn ḫṭs¹t bn zkr h- gml qṣy l- s²ʿhqm*
            'By Ḫṭs¹t son of S¹krn son of Ḫṭs¹t son of Zkr is this camel which
            has been dedicated to S²ʿhqm'

22.5   Inscription Finding and Grieving

Authors will sometimes react to finding the trace or inscription of someone they knew, usually a friend or family member. The basic formula used in this situation is: *wgd* + *ʾtr* or *s¹fr* + PN. The PN component can consist of a single name (1), a kinship term or a word for companion or friend (2), or both (3).

(1)   KRS 926:   *wgd ʾtr mlk*
                  'he found the trace of Mlk'

(2)   C 25:   *wgd ʾtr ʾḫ -h*
                  'he found the trace of his brother'

(3)   Mu 897:   *wgd s¹fr ḫl -h ʾnʿm*
                  'he found the writing of his maternal uncle, ʾnʿm'

The exact sense of *ʾtr* 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 *ʾṯr* 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 *ʾl* (2). These constructions often follow clauses expressing the finding of an inscription or trace.

(1) C 3474:   *l ʾll bn ʾs¹lm bn nʿmn w wgm*
                    'By ʾll son of ʾs¹lm son of Nʿmn and he grieved'

(2) HCH 82:   *l ʿzz bn hnʾ ḏ ʾl nmrt w wgm ʾl- hnʾ*
                    'by ʿzz son of Hnʾ of the lineage of Nmrt and he grieved over Hnʾ'

     WH 151.1:   *wgm ʾl- kmd w kmd w ṣʿd w ʾs¹d w rʾy w qdm w ẓnn w ʾs¹d w ʾtm w rbbʾl*
                    'He grieved for Kmd and Kmd and Ṣʿd and ʾs¹d and Rʾy and Qdm and Ẓnn and ʾs¹d and ʾtm and Rbʾl'

Some of the commonest verbs of grieving are:

bky	to weep
ndm	to be devastated (by grief)
ngʿ	to grieve in pain
qṣf	to be sad
wgm	to grieve
wgʿ	to grieve in pain
wlh	to be distraught

Kinship terms which often appear in these contexts include:

ʾb	father
ʾb ʾm	maternal grandfather
ʾḫ	brother
ʾḫt	sister

'm	mother
'm	paternal grandfather
'mt	grandmother
bn	son
bnt	daughter
dd	paternal uncle
ḫl	maternal uncle
ḫlt	maternal aunt
ḫtn	any relation on the side of the wife, i.e., father-in-law, etc.
mrby	foster child

Common terms of affection

ḥbb	loved one
ṣdq	friend
wdd	loved one

Authors often record the finding of the inscriptions of loved ones who passed away or who were plundered. The names of such individuals are usually accompanied by the following epitaphs:

rġm mny	struck down by Fate
trḥ	perished
qtl/mqtl	murdered
ḥrb/mḥrb	plundered

22.6   Funerary

Inscriptions associated with funerary rituals usually follow the formula: (1) *bny l- PN h- rgm* 'he built for PN the cairn' or (2) *bny 'l- PN*. The second phrase probably refers to the process of laying a stone on the cairn of a dead person (see §1.1).

(1)   KRS 51:   *{l} mfny w bny l- ghm h- rgm*
                     '{By} Mfny and he built for Ghm the funerary cairn'

(2)   HCH 37:   *w bny 'l- hn' trḥ w rġm 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:

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bly	a *baliyyah*
ḍrḥ	tomb
mġrt	tomb chamber
nfs¹ + (t)	funerary monument

A minor funerary formula is the verb *qbr* + PN, 'to bury PN':

WH 1:   *qbr 'bgr*
               'he buried 'bgr'

WH 1136:   *w qbr 'ḫ -h*
               'and he buried his brother'

The formula *'ḫḏ (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 *'ḫḏ h- rgm/ṣwy* refers to the use of such a cairn to deposite the body
of a loved one.

The "proverb" *b's¹ mn ẓll* 'those who remain dispair'

A common expression associated with funerary inscriptions and those gener-
ally expressing grief over the loss of a loved one is *f b's¹ m(n) ẓll* '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 *Rḍw*, followed by an imperative verb, usually *s¹d* 'help' or *hb* 'give':

SIJ 779.1:   [*h*] *rḍw s¹d zyʾ ʿn wn bn thwr*
                '[O] Rḍw, help Ẓyʾ against Wn son of Tḥwr'

LP 319:   *h rḍw hb l- qdm nqmt mn ʾs¹d ʾbl -h*
                'O Rḍw, 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 *ʿwr*, 'blind!', and then the phrase 'whosoever would efface', *m(n) ʿwr*. Variations include the use of an existential sentence with a verbal noun *ʿwr l-* (2), the use of the relative pronoun *ḏ* instead of *m(n)* (3), and the use of the prefix conjugation in the relative clause *yʿwr* (4):

(1)   *ʿwr m ʿwr*   'blind whosoever would efface'
(2)   *ʿwr l- m ʿwr*   'may whosoever would efface go blind'
(3)   *ʿwr ḏ ʿwr* or *ʿwr l- ḏ ʿwr*   'blind him who would efface'
                                        or 'may he who would efface go blind'
(4)   *ʿwr ḏ yʿwr* or *ʿwr l- ḏ yʿwr*;   'idem'
        ʿwr m yʿwr or *ʿwr l-m yʿwr*

By exchanging the negative term *ʿwr* 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 s¹lm* (1) *w ʾrk rḥ l- ḏ dʿy* (2) *h- ḫṭṭ*
                'O Lt, let there be security and long life to him who reads this writing aloud'

C 1936:   (3) *h g[d]* [ʾ]*wḏ w h lt* (1) *sˡlm l- ḏ sᴵʾr w ʿwr h lt w nqʾt b- w{d}d l- ḏ y ʿwr* (2) *h- sˡfr*
                 'O [Gdʿwḏ] 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 gdḏf lʿn ḏ y ʿwr* (2) *m yhnʾ* (1) *w ġnmt l- ḏ dʿy* (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

fṣy(t)	deliverance
flṭ	deliverance
ġnmt	spoil
ġyrt	abundance/blood money
ġnyt	abundance
ḥlṣt	salvation
mgdt	abundance
nqmt	retribution
qbll	be reunited/reunion (with loved ones)
rwḥ	ease/relief/send winds
sˡlm	security
wqyt	preservation/protection

Curses

ʿrg	lameness
ʿwr	blindness
ḥrsˡ	dumbness
nqʾt	thrown out (of the grave)
ḥkk	mange
mḥlt	dearth of pasture

Terms for effacing an inscription

ʿwr	to efface (scratch out)
ḫbl	obscure (render illegible)

Terms for positive actions towards an inscription

dʿy	to read aloud
qrʾ	idem
s¹r	to leave untouched

Terms for inscriptions

ḫṭṭ	writing (lit. carvings)
ktb	writing
tll	words
s¹fr(t)/ts¹fr	writing
wqʿ	inscription

Names of deities

ʾḥd	*gdḏf*
ʾṯʿ	*gdwhbʾl*
ʾlh	*nhy*
ʾlt	*s²ḥqm*
lh	*lt*
bʿls¹mn/bʿls¹my	*s²ms¹*
ḏs²r/ḏs²ry/ds²r/ds²ry	*rḍw/rḍy*
gdʿwḏ	*yṯʿ*

22.8   Time

The recording of time is expressed through four different means: (1) the explicit mentioning of the word *s¹nt* 'year', (2) the mentioning of a particular season, (3) astronomical phenomena, or (4) the use of the Babylonian months.

1. s¹nt: 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 **s¹nt** + 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 repitoire of Safaitic formulae. This may explain why the the dating of events exhibits the greatest variability in expression (see, for example, MISSD 1).

(1)   C 3680   *ġnm s¹nt ḥrb nbṭ*
                   'he raided the year of the war of the Nabataeans'

(2)   H 506   *ḥḍr s¹nt ḥgz b¹ls¹mn ¹l -h ʾḍ*
                   'he camped by permanent water the year Bʿls¹mn withheld (the rain) from it (the land) again'

(3)   KRS 1852   *ḥll h- dr s¹nt myt ʾdrm*
                   'he camped in this place the year ʾdrm died'

α. **s¹nt ngy PN hdy:** In addition to the three categories mentioned above, another common *s¹nt* 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:   *nẓr l- ms¹rt s¹nt ngy mty hdy*
            'he stood guard on behalf of the troop the year Mty 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	Safaitic	Time period
the winter	*s²ty*	October–mid February
the season of the later rains	*dt'*	mid-February–mid-April
early summer	*ṣyf*	mid-April–July
the dry season	*qyẓ*	July–October

The term *ṣyf*, 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 *qyẓ*, and was perhaps not considered an independent season. On this basis, I suggest that the inhabitants of the Ḥarrah had a three-season year, and *ṣyf* referred to the part of *Qyẓ* in which pasturage was left over from *s²ty* and *dt'*. Likewise, the term *bḥrt* signified the period of *Qyẓ* in which there was no more pasturage.

Modified Seasons

Seasons	Safaitic	Time period
the winter	*s²ty*	mid-October–mid February
the season of the later rains	*dt'*	mid-February–mid-April
the dry season	*qyẓ*	late-April–early October
(1) early summer	*ṣyf*	late-April–July
(2) late summer	*bḥrt*	July–early-October

The seasons usually occur as verbs meaning 'to spend X season' and occasionally as adverbs, and are usually followed by a toponym indicating the place at which the author spent the specified season.

WH 289:   *qyẓ 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:   *s²ty ʾl ⟨⟨⟩⟩ h- nmrt*
             'he spent the winter at the edge of Namārah'

3. Astronomical phenomena: The zodiacal constellations and the movement of the sun and possibly the moon through them, along with their risings, and possibly settings, on the horizon, seem to have functioned as a seasonal calendar for the inhabitants of the Ḥarrah, and was used primarily in reference to the rains and other meteorological phenomena. In only rare cases do these references couple with the mentioning of a specific year so that a more precise date can be known. The zodiacal constellations follow Al-Jallad (2014); see table on pp. 214–215.

Other terms associated with the zodiacal constellations are:

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b- rʾy   during the heliacal/acronical rising of X
b- ksˡʾ during the full moon of X/during the cosmical setting
b-   during X, i.e., when the sun is in X

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4. Babylonian months: Very few inscriptions record the use of the Babylonian months. Only three have so far been attested:

Babylonian months

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knn   December–January (?)
sˡbṭ   January-Febuary
nṣn   March–April

Season	Latin	Arabian	Date of the sign	Astronomical date (in antiquity)
dt̠ʾ = Season of the later rains	Pisces	dl 'tail(s)'	mid-February–mid March	mid-February–early April 38 days
	Aries	ḏkr 'ram'	mid-March–mid-April	early April–late April 25 days
ṣyf = early summer	Taurus	ʾly 'bull'	mid-April–mid-May	late April–late May 37 days
	Gemini	gml 'twins?' or 'camel'	mid-May–mid-June	late May–late June 31 days
	Cancer	s¹rṭ[n]? 'crab'	mid-June–mid-July	late June–early July 20 days
qyẓ = Dry season	Leo	h-ʾs¹d 'lion'	mid-July–mid-August	early July–mid August 37 days
bhrt = late summer	Virgo	h-ngm 'seed-produce'	mid-August–mid-September	mid August–late September 45 days
	Libra	ʾmt 'scale'	mid-September–mid-October	late September–late October 23 days

Season	Latin	Arabian	Date of the sign	Astronomical date (in antiquity)
s²ty = Winter	Scorpio	ʿqbt 'scorpion'	mid-October–mid-November	late October–late October / 7 days
	Ophiucus			late October to mid-November / 18 days
	Sagittarius	ḥ-rmy and/or tbr? 'archer'/'soldier'	mid-November to mid-December	mid-November to mid-December / 32 days
	Capricorn	yʾmr 'sea-goat'	mid-December–mid-January	mid-December–mid-January / 28 days
	Aquarius	mlḥ 'salt vessel' or 'salt worker'	mid-January–mid-February	mid-January–mid-February / 24 days

22.9   Pasturing

Pasturing is one of the major subjects of the Safaitic inscriptions, and authors record this activity using the following formula: *rʿy* '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 rʿy* (2) *h-nḫl* (3) *bql* (2) *b- ḏkr s¹nt gs²m w ḥnʾl*
            'and he pastured in the valley on fresh herbage during Aries, the
            year of Gs²m and Ḥnʾl'

ZeGA 11:   *w rʿy* (1) *h- mʿzy* (2) *h- nḫl* (3) *qyẓ*
            'and he pastured the goats in the valley in the dry season'

KRS 2409:   *w rʿy* (2) *h- nḫl* (4) *nwy*
            'and he pastured in the valley on pastureland'

KRS 2568:   *w rʿy* (1) *h- ʾbl* (2) *h- s²q* (4) *nwy*
            'and he pastured the camels on the side of the mountain while
            migrating'

C 1338:   *r[ʿ]y* (1) *h- ʾbl* (2) *b- rʿy ḏkr* (3) *bq{l}*
            '[he pastured] the camels during the rising of Aquarius on fresh
            herbage'

Herbage commonly pastured

bql	(fresh) herbage
nwy	grazing land
mqẓt	summer pasture
ms²ty(t)	winter pasture
mrb	abundant herbage

Animals frequently pastured

ʾbl	camels
ḍʾn	sheep
gml	camels
mʿzy	goats
nʿm	livestock

Locations pastured

ʿrḍ	valley
nḫl	(torrent) valley
mdbr	inner desert
rḥbt	Ruḥbah (toponym)
h- rḥbt	a raḥabah (see DICTIONARY)

22.10   Ritual

In addition to prayers, several terms which signify religious practices of some sort are encountered in the inscriptions. These include:

ʿwḏ b-	to seek refuge
ḏbḥ	to sacrifice (an animal)
qṣy	to dedicate (an animal depicted in a rock drawing to a deity)
ʾqs¹m	to swear an oath
ḥg	to go on a pilgrimage
rḥḍ	to wash

22.11   Watering

The inscriptions mention several activities associated with water:

ḥḍr   'to camp by permanent water'
ṣyr   'to return to a place of water'
wrd   'to go to water; to go to a well'

22.12   Watch-Keeping and Guarding

Guarding and watch-keeping are frequently recorded in the inscriptions. The
two terms associated with these activities are *nẓr* 'to guard' and *ḥrṣ* 'to keep
watch/to look after', and both can occur (1) independently, with (2) a direct
object, or (3) a benefactive introduced by a preposition, either *ʾl* or *bʿd*.

(1)   C 49:   *l ʾsʰd bn bwk w nẓr*
                     'By ʾsʰd son of Bwk and he stood guard'

      KRS 2060:   *l ʾny bn km bn ʾ ḥlm w ḥrṣ f h lt sʰlm*
                     'By ʾny son of Km son of ʾ ḥlm and he kept watch, so, O Lt,
                     let there be security'

(2)   HaNSB 48:   *w nẓr h- gs² *
                     'and he stood guard against the raiding party'

      C 4261:   *w ḥrṣ h- s²nʾ f h lt sʰlm*
                     'and he kept watch for enemies, so, O Lt, may he be secure'

(3)   HCH 102:   *w ḥrṣ ʾl- ʾḫ -h*
                     'and he kept watch for his brother'

      LP 597:   *ḥrṣ ʾl- rgl -h w ḥḍr*
                     'he kept watch for his men as they camped by permanent
                     water'

      HaNSB 305:   *w nẓr ʾl- gs² -h w mṭy*
                     'and he stood guard for his raiding party while journeying'

      SIT 52:   *w nẓr bʿd- mʿzy -h*
                     'and he stood guard on account of his goats'

Other verbs of watch-keeping are:

ḫl(l)   'to keep watch'
rʾy   'to look (out)'

22.13   Waiting

The verb used to express general waiting or lying in wait is *tẓr*, which takes a direct object.

WH 359:   *w tẓr ḥyt*
            'and he lay in wait for animals'

C 420:   *w tẓr s²nʾ*
            'and he lay in wait for enemies'

A common proverbial expression is ***tẓr mny***, which translates to 'and Fate lay in wait'. This is often followed by a prayer for protection:

WH 3133a: *w tẓr mny f h rḍw s¹ʿd -h*
            'and Fate lay in wait so, O Rḍw, help him!'

WAMS 19.2: *w tẓr mny f h rḍw flṭ -h*
            'and Fate lay in wait so, O Rḍw, deliver him!'

22.14   Weather

The basic formula used to express waiting for the rains is: *tẓr* ART- *s¹my*, or more rarely with the by-form ***tnẓr***.

KRS 1563:   *w tẓr ʾ- s¹my*
            'and he awaited the rains'

HaNSB 62:   *w tnẓr h- s¹my*
            'and he awaited the rains'

α. In periods of drought, authors sometimes expressed their despair with the formula: *y's¹m-* (ART)- *s¹my* 'he despaired of the sky'.

22.15   Yearning

The common formula for expressing yearning is *ts²wq*, which (1) can stand alone or (2) take an object introduced by *'l-*. Yearning is often followed by a prayer for *qbll* 'reunion (with loved ones)'.

(1)   SIT 58:   *l lg{y} w ts²wq*
                     'By {Lgy} and he was filled with longing'

(2)   LP 680:   *l 'm bn ḥny bn 'bd w ts²wq 'l- r'-h*
                     'By 'm son of Ḥny son of 'bd and he longed for his friend'

Appendix of Inscriptions

This appendix contains all of the inscriptions referenced in the grammar. Each inscription has been re-read and interpreted/verified by the author according to the grammatical outline presented in this book.

AAEK 71	*l wtk bn rs¹ṭ bn s¹rʾ ḏ ʾl ḏyf* By Wtk son of Rs¹ṭ son of S¹rʾ of the lineage of Ḏyf.
AAEK 244	*l ʿyḏ bn ʿdy w wrd b- ḏkr ḏʿnt f wny* By ʿyḏ son of ʿdy and he went to water to seek herbage during Aries because he had become feeble.
AAEK 394	*l ḥyt bn s¹ʿdʾl w wgm wln* By Ḥyt son of S¹ʿdʾl and he grieved, woe.
AAUI 267	*l s²rk bn gmr bn ġr w ṣyr m- s¹mwt s¹nt ws¹q mʿṣ* By S²rk son of Gmr son of Ġr and he returned to water from S¹mwt the year of the struggle of Mʿṣ.
AAUI 281	*l khl bn ʾs¹d bn ʾs¹lm w wgm mʾl- ṯn-rḥ w ḥd f wrṯ* By Khl son of ʾs¹d son of ʾs¹lm 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 ḏ ʾl gr w wgd rgm ġṯ w ʾtr khl f bʾs¹ m ẓll* By Mty son of Tm son of Mty of the lineage of Gr and he found the cairn of Ġṯ and the trace of Khl, for those who remain despair.
AAUI 406	*l qnm bn ġṯ bn ṣrmt ḏ ʾl ʿmrt w h lt w ds²r ḏkrt ʾḥt ṣrmt w ʿqrb w grm w ʾs¹lm bn ʾʿtl* By Qnm son of Ġṯ son of Ṣrmt of the lineage of ʿmrt and, O Lt and Ds²r, be mindful of the sister of Ṣrmt and ʿqrb and Grm and ʾs¹lm son of ʾʿtl.
AKSJ 1.2.3	*l hgr w ts²wqt ʾl ʾlbʾ* By Hgr and she longed for ʾlbʾ

AtIN 3   *l fṣ'l bnt bngd ḏ'l rks¹ w l-h [h-] rgm*
                  For Fṣ'l daughter of Bngd of the lineage of Rks¹ and [this] funerary
                  cairn is hers.

AZNG 1   *l ḥlṣt bn m'n ḏ 'l s¹'d w mrd ṯlṯ s¹nn mn-qbl nfs¹ ẓlm f h lt w ds²r s¹lm ḏ ġnz*
                  ẓlm
                  By Ḥlṣt son of M'n of the lineage of S¹'d and Nepos, who was oppressive,
                  faced a rebellion for three years, so, O Lt and Ds²r, keep safe him who
                  was distressed by oppression.

AbaNS 16   *l gdh bn mzn h- bkrt w 'qḏ -h*
                  By Gdh son of Mzn is the she-camel and he struck her.

AbaNS 28   *l bdn bn 'zz h- bkrtn*
                  By Bdn son of 'zz h- Bkrtn

AbaNS 78   *l s¹krn bn 'mr bn s¹krn bn mn' bn n'm bn mn' bn hgml bn mrt bn 'd bn b's¹*
                  w bnn h- s¹tr w nql h- s¹by
                  By S¹krn son of 'mr son of S¹krn son of Mn' son of N'm son of Mn' son of
                  Hgml son of Mrt son of 'd son of B's¹ and he built the shelter while he
                  transported the captive.

AbaNS 86   *l bhs² bnt hn' w mtt w '- [n]fs¹*
                  For Bhs² daughter of Hn' and she died and this [funerary monument]
                  (is hers)

AbaNS 286   *l ṣ'd bn ġt bn 'd bn 'd bn ġt w s²ry m- 'ḫ -h m'ḏ h- frs¹ b- m't*
                  By Ṣ'd son of Ġt son of 'd son of 'd son of Ġt and he bought the horse
                  from his brother M'ḏ with a hundred.

AbaNS 383   *l ms¹k bn 's¹lm bn gg h- frs¹t*
                  By Ms¹k son of 's¹lm son of Gg is the mare.

AbaNS 407   *l s²kr bn hf h h-ḫyt*
                  By S²kr son of Hf are these animals.

AbaNS 564.1   *l ġ'r bn s²mrḫ bn lb't h- 'nq*
                  By Ġ'r son of S²mrḫ son of Lb't are the she-camels.

AbaNS 656   *l s²hyt bn mrṭs¹*
By S²hyt son of Mrṭs¹

AbaNS 881   *l ḫzr bn frs¹ h- ʿr w yqr w gly ʾrḍ t*
By Ḫzr son of Frs¹ is this ass and he is cold and cut off in this land.

AbaNS 906   *l ḫld bn {w}n{n}{t} f h rḍ[w] [s¹][ ]d -h w ġzz b- h- ʾrḍ t*
By Ḫld son of {Wnnt}, so, O [Rḍw], [help] him while he raids this land.

AbaNS 1128   *l s¹ʿd w ʾty ʾhl -h w my ʾ- s²ʾm*
By S¹ʿd and he came to his family because there was water in the north.

AKSD 5   *l ʿzz bn ʾs¹lm [ḏ] ʾl rks¹ w n{ḏ}m [ʾl-] ʾb -h w ʾl- {ʾ}wḏ ḫl {-h} w ʾl- s²ʿ w ḥrṣ w ṭqb yd -h w ds²r ʾl ks¹r wqʿ -n*
By ʿzz son of ʾs¹lm [of the lineage of] Rks¹ and {he was devastated by grief} [on account] of his father and {ʿwḏ}, his maternal uncle, and S²ʿ, while he kept watch; and may he cut off his hand that Ds²r be against any destroyer of our inscription.

ANKS 1   *l mrd bn mḫrb w s²ty ʿr¹l s¹nt mt ʿbdt w ts¹wq ʾl- ẓnn w ʾl- ġnm f h lt qbll*
By Mrd son of Mḫrb and he spent the winter at ʿr¹l the year ʿbdt died and he longed for Ẓnn and Ġnm, so, O Lt, let there be reunion with loved ones.

AsUI 1   *l zyd bn mʿz bn grm w rʿy s¹nt ʾys¹ f h lt s¹lm w ġnyt w h ds²r hb s¹ʿd l- nbṭ ʾl- ḥwlt*
By Zyd son of Mʿz son of Grm and he pastured the year of ʾys¹ so, O Lt, let there be security and abundance and, O Ds²r, grant aid to the Nabataeans against Ḥwlt.

ASWS 18   *l ḥy bn ns²ʿl bn ṣhyn w wgm ʾl- ʾs¹d mt w ʾl- qdm s¹by w ʾl- grmʾl s¹by w ʾl- tltt mn ʾ- s¹byn w ʾl- qdm s¹by w ḫrṣ f h lt rwḥ m ḏ ḫrṣ w s¹lm l- ḏ s¹ʾr w nqʾt l- ḏ s¹- yʿwr*
By Ḥy son of Ns²ʾl son of Ṣhyn and he grieved for ʾs¹d, who had died, and for Qdm, who was captured, and for Grmʾl, who was captured, and for three of the captured, and for Qdm, who was captured while he kept watch so, O Lt, let there be ease from that which he kept watch against and may he who would leave (the inscription) untouched have security but may he who will efface be thrown out of the grave.

ASWS 37   *l ḥrs¹ bn tm w wgm m- dn- bʿl f h rḍw rwḥ*
By Ḥrs¹ son of Tm and he grieved in the absence of Bʿl so, O Rḍw, let there be ease.

ASWS 59   *l ṣyd bn gnʾl bn grmʾl w ṣyr s¹lm b- h- mʿzy s¹nt {m}rd bn ʾʿẓmy*
By Ṣyd son of Gnʾl son of Grmʾl and he returned safely to water with the goats the year the sons of ʾʿẓmy {rebelled}.

ASWS 70   *l khl bn ḫṭs¹t ḏ ʾl s¹ʿd w qʿd f bky ʾl- ʾḫt -h mtt*
By Khl son of Ḫṭs¹t of the lineage of S¹ʿd and he sat and wept for his sister who had died.

ASWS 73   *l rbʾl bn ḥnn bn ẓʿn bn ḫyḏ bn ʿḍr w wrd ḥḏr f mlḥ f ḏkr f ʾmt f ʾmt w ngʿ ʾl- ḥbb w ʾl- h -ʾbl rʿy -h hgr m mdbr s¹nt myt bnt*
By Rbʾl son of Ḥnn son of Ẓʿn son of Ḫyḏ son of ʿḍr and he went to water cautious of drought, then (again) in Aquarius, then Aries, then Libra, and then Libra (again, i.e. for two years in a row), during which he grieved in pain for a loved one and for the camels, which he pastured, having migrated from the inner desert, the year Bnt died.

ASWS 107   *l mġṯ bn gnʾl bn ḥy bn ṣbḥ bn ḥy bn gnʾl bn whb bn s¹r w ḥrṣ h- s²ḥṣ f h gdḏf ġnyt w ḥḏʿ ḏ hbl w rḍy ḏ dʿy*
By Mġṯ son of Gnʾl son of Ḥy son of Ṣbḥ son of Ḥy son of Gnʾl son of Whb son of S¹r and he anticipated scarcity so, O Gdḏf, let there be abundance; and may he who would obscure (this writing) be debased but may he who would read aloud be satisfied.

ASWS 124   *l qṣy bn qʿṣn bn ʾḥlm bn rwḥ w ʾs¹lf h- rwy m h- ḥm f ḥz h- ʾs¹d f h s²ḥqm f ṣyt l -h*
By Qṣy son of Qʿṣn son of ʾḥlm son of Rwḥ and the sweet water was brought to an end by the heat, for Leo was hostile, so, O S²ḥqm, may he be delivered.

ASWS 202   *l s¹krn bn s¹ʿd bn ʾbʾns¹ bn s¹krn bn tmn bn hʿwḏ bn ʾḥs¹n bn ḥkm bn ẓlm bn mr bn bdn w ṣyr s¹nt my w mḥ{l} f ṣhr my b- nṣn w bʿls¹mn ḥwr m mdbr w bḥrt m mṭr f ʾmḥl*
By S¹krn son of S¹ʿd son of ʾbʾns¹ son of S¹krn son of Tmn son of Hʿwḏ son of ʾḥs¹n son of Ḥkm son of Ẓlm 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 Bʿlms¹mn returned from the inner desert but during the late summer, it did not rain and caused dearth.

ASWS 217   *l ks¹ṭ bn whbʾl bn wrl w wld h- mʿzy b- knn s¹nt nz ʾl yhd w bny f h lt s¹lm w ʿwr l- ḏ ʿwr w ḏ h- dr*
By Ks¹ṭ son of Whbʾl son of Wrl and he helped the goats to give birth during Knn the year of the expulsion of the Jews and he built so, O Lt, may he be secure—and may he who would efface go blind—while at this place.

ASWS 360   *l rbḥ bn ʾs¹ w wld h- mʿzy b- ʾ- ṯlṯ*
By Rbḥ son of ʾs¹ and he helped the goats to give birth in the third (month?).

AWS 8   *l mġny bn zbʾ bn zdʾl bn ḥny bn ḥḏg w ngʿ ʿḏ wgd ʾtr dd -h*
By Mġny son of Zbʾ son of Zdʾl son of Ḥny son of Ḥḏg and he grieved in pain when he found the trace of his paternal uncle.

AWS 48   *l mty bn ʿdy bn mkbl w wgd s¹fr bny mʿwr w ṣʿb f twḥy w lʿn w ts²wq ʾl- h-ʾḥb [-h f h lt s¹lm] w qbll w ḥl h-dr w wrd h- nmrt*
By Mty son of ʿdy son of Mkbl and he found the writing of Bny effaced and it (the act of vandalism) caused distress because he was considered like a brother, so may they be cursed; and he longed for the most beloved, [so, O Lt, let there be security] and reunion with loved ones; and he camped in this place but will go to water at Namārah.

AWS 72   *l s²ddt bn s²bm w rʿy h- nḥl w s²yʾ f h rḍy ġny[t] l- ḏ rʿy*
By S²ddt son of S²bm and he pastured in this valley but experienced want so, O Rḍy, may he who would pasture have abundance.

AWS 81   *l ṣʿd bn s²hm bn ḥl bn s¹wd bn lʿtmn bn whbʾl bn nġbr w wrd b- rʾy ʿqbt h- nmrt f h bʿls¹mn rwḥ b- mṭr w s¹lm w s¹ḥq w mḥq l- ʿm w wld ḏ y ʿwr h- s¹fr*
By Ṣʿd son of S²hm son of Ḥl son of S¹wd son of Lʿtmn son of Whbʾl son of Nġbr and he went to water at Namarah during the rising of Scorpio so, O Bʿls¹mn, send the winds with rain that he may be secure; and may the people (or forefathers?) and offspring of him who would efface have ruin and bad fortune.

AWS 125   *l ḥr bn rbʾl bn ḥmlt w wgd ʾtr ʿm -h w ʾb ʾm -h f ngʿ f h gdʿwḏ s¹lm w ʿwr ḏ ʿwr h- s¹fr*
By Ḥr son of Rbʾl son of Ḥmlt and he found the traces of his paternal grandfather and maternal grandfather and so he grieved in pain, so, O Gdʿwḏ, may he be secure, but blind him who would efface.

AWS 218   *l s¹ʿd bn s¹w't bn lm' w s¹ʿd -h rḍw nʿm w bḏ ḏr w yh brk*
By S¹ʿd son of S¹w't son of Lm' and may Rḍw help him through divine favor, as there is danger here, and may he bless him.

AWS 264   *l ḥy'l bn ddwt w l'n yqtl ḏ ys¹lm -h*
By Ḥy'l son of Ddwt and may he who keeps it (the inscription) safe never be killed.

AWS 236   *l ʿwr bn 'byt bn ms²yl w h rḍw hb l -h m hn'*
By ʿwr son of 'byt son of Ms²yl and, O Rḍw, grant him that which would please.

AWS 237   *l ḫzm' bn kn h-gml w qṣy -h 'm m ʿwr h rḍw f l- yʿwr m ʿwr w l- yq' b- ṣdq* By
Ḥ zm' son of Kn is the camel and he dedicated it (to a deity); if one would efface, O Rḍw, then let him who would efface be made blind, and then let him be thrown out of the grave by a friend.

AWS 244   *l s¹lk bn rml bn ʿbdy h- dr s¹nt h- rbʿ w fṣy m h- rṣf w twḥd w nqm m bn'*
By S¹lk son of Rml son of ʿbdy, at this place the year of abundance, so let there be deliverance from Rṣf; and he was alone and so sought vengeance against Bn'.

AWS 302   *l mkmd bn ḫg h- nʿmh*
By Mkmd son of Ḫg is the ostrich.

AWS 380   *l 'nʿm bn kn bn nml bn ḥrmlh ḏ 'l mḫtr h-dmyt w 'ḏ -h b- ytʿ*
By 'nʿm son of Kn son of Nml son of Ḥrmlh of the lineage of Mḫtr is this image and he placed it under under the protection of Ytʿ.

BTH 228   *l gzl bn 's¹ w ṭrd -h nbṭ m- ʿnzt w {s¹}dy h- ḫl f nẓr -hm f flṭ*
By Gzl son of 's¹ and the Nabataeans drove him away from ʿnzt and so {he set off} on horseback, and then stood guard against them, so let there be deliverance!

BRCM 0194   *l s²km bn s²ḥdd ---- bn w'{l}t bn 's¹ w wgm 'l- mʿyr w 'l- 's¹ w 'l- kḍwt w 'l- s¹r ----'l w bny '- nfs¹ w s¹tr*
By S²km son of S²ḥdd ---- son of {W'lt} son of 's¹ and he grieved for Mʿyr and for 's¹ and for Kḍwt and for S¹r ----'l while he built the funerary monument and the shelter.

BRenv.H 1   *l mlk bn ʿmd bn ms¹k w wgd ʾtr ʿm -h ḥmyn f ql h gdḍf {h}b {l} -{h} [[]] k-*
            s¹ʿd -h w k- wld -h w k- nʿm -h

            By Mlk son of ʿmd son of Ms¹k and he found the trace of his grandfather
            Ḥmyn (or protected) and then said aloud: O Gdḍf, grant him the like of
            his good fortune and the like of his children and the like of his livestock.

BWM 3   *l frds¹ h- {d}r s¹nt qtl ḥrb w ʾlmn f nwy l- ʾnks¹r*

            By Frds¹, at this place the year Ḥrb and ʾlmn fought, then he will migrate
            towards ʾnks¹r.

C 25   *l ġṯ bn ġṯ w wgd ʾtr ʾḫ -h f wlh ʾl -h [[]] f hy lt w h s²ms¹ ʾṯn ʾl -km yd -h l- ṯʾr*
            m- ḏ ʾs¹lf

            By Ġṯ son of Ġṯ and he found the trace of his brother so he was dist-
            raught with grief for him. So, O Lt and S²ms¹, may he cut off his hand
            for you (in promise) that he will indeed have vengeance against him
            who has committed this act.

C 27   *l mlkn bn mʿn bn s²ʿr h- mṣy w ḥyṭ*

            By Mlkn son of Mʿn son of S²ʿr the Mṣite and he journeyed.

C 28   *l drʾl bn mty bn rgḍ bn hḍr w byt ḫyṭ f tẓr h- ʾs¹d f h ʾlt s¹lm*

            By Drʾl son of Mty son of Rgḍ son of Hḍr and he spent the night while
            journeying, then he awaited [the appearance of] Leo so, O ʾlt, may he be
            secure.

C 31   *l ṣʿd bn zḫk bn ms²ʿr w s²tky ʾl- lt f ḥnn w s¹lm m- s²nʾ*

            By Ṣʿd son of Zḫk son of Ms²ʿr and he petitioned Lt, so show compassion
            that he may be secure from enemies.

C 35   *l s¹ʿd bn ḥnʾl w ʾhl{k h- ḍʾnt}- - - -*

            'By S¹ʿd son of Ḥnʾl and {he slaughtered the ewe}.'

C 49   *l ʾs¹d bn bwk w nẓr*

            By ʾs¹d son of Bwk and he stood guard.

C 70   *l ḥr bn s¹krn bn ṣbḥ w ḫll h- dr f tẓr s²nʾ f h ʾlt s¹lm w ġnmt*

            By Ḥr son of S¹krn son of Ṣbḥ and he camped in this place, then he lay
            in wait for enemies so, O ʾlt, let there be security and spoil.

C 74   *l ʾqyn bn {ṣ}fy w zry {b-} ʾlwhb ʾlf -h l- ʿbd hy ʾlt ʾ̓zz*
        By ʾqyn son of {Ṣfy} and he was treated {with} contempt by ʾlwhb who
        had always been his close companion. O ʾlt, restore [him].

C 76   *l ʾs¹wdʾ bn dḥn w rḍw fṣy ʾl ms¹k h- s¹nt m- bʾs¹ wyl w gs²m m- s¹qm w ġnmt
        ʾs¹yt*
        By ʾs¹wdʾ son of Dḥn and may Rḍw deliver the lineage of Ms¹k this year
        from [the] misfortune of woe and hardship on account of sickness, so
        may spoil be granted.

C 88   *l s²mt bn nṣr bn ṣnʾ mn mk w ts²[wq] l- bʾls¹my w l- bny dd -h w l- k{l}l qyḥ
        f ʾlt w ds²r s¹lm w qbll ʾhl*
        By S²mt son of Nṣr son of Ṣnʾ the confidant [or guard] of Mk and he
        [longed] for Bʾls¹my and the children of his paternal uncle and {every}
        qyḥ, so, O ʾlt and Ds²r, let there be security and reunion with family.

C 96   *{l} {n}{ }{m} bn flṭ bn ʾs¹d bn bwk bn ʿrs¹ bn ʿwd bn whbʾl w wgm ʾl- ḥbb w
        ʾl- ḥbb w ʾl- ḥbb w ḥbb w ḥbb w drg l- h- ʿky f ʾs²rq b- h- ʾbl w ts²wq f h lt s¹lm
        w h ʾlt ʾs¹s¹ nqʾt l- ḏ y ʿwr h- s¹fr*
        {By} {Nʿm} son of Flṭ son of ʾs¹d son of Bwk son of ʿrs¹ son of ʿwd son of
        Whbʾl 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 ʾs¹s¹, may he who would efface this writing be thrown out
        of his grave.

C 98   *l ms¹k bn ʿnf bn ms¹k w ṣyr w rʿy h- ʾbl*
        By Ms¹k son of ʿnf son of Ms¹k and he returned to a place of water and
        pastured the camels.

C 99   *l [w][r]d bn ʾḏnt bn s²rk bn ʾḏnt bn wrd bn nġbr w ṣyr w tm {h}- s¹fr ʾl- ḥrn
        f ts²wq ʾl- ḥbb w wgm ʾl- mḥlm w ʾl- ḥn{q}t*
        By [Wrd] son of ʾḏnt son of S²rk son of ʾḏnt son of Wrd son of Nġbr and
        he returned to a place of water and the journey lasted as far as Ḥawrān,
        and so he longed for a loved one and grieved for Mḥlm and {Ḥnqt}.

C 159   *l ʾs¹lm bn kmd h- frs¹*
        By ʾs¹lm son of Kmd is the horse.

C 218   *l s²dy bn h'bd bn ys¹m'l w h yt' ġwṯ -h [h-] b's¹t*
By S²dy son of H'bd son of Ys¹m'l and, O Yṯ', remove from him [these] misfortunes.

C 220   *l ḫly bn hmlk bn nhḍ bn ḥmyn bn ġḍḍt w n{ṣ}r f h rḍw s¹nt ḥrb h- n{b}{ṭ}*
By Ḫly son of Hmlk son of Nhḍ son of Ḥmyn son of Ġḍḍt and {he was in need of aid} so, O Rḍw, the year of the war of the {Nabataeans}.

C 269   *l grm bn nr bn ḫl w r'y h- nḫl bql b- ḏkr s¹nt gs²m w ḥn'l*
By Grm son of Nr son of Ḫl and he pastured in the valley on fresh herbage during Aquarius the year of Gs²m and Ḥn'l.

C 272   *l qmh{z} bn m'd{'}{l} {w} r'y h- nḫl h- 'bl*
By {Qmhz} son of {M'd'l} {and} he pastured the camels in the valley.

C 285   *l bṯ w nyk b- grmh f 'tm zf f qd 'bṣ*
By Bṯ and he copulated with Grmh, as he had celebrated the sending of the bride and had been pleased.

C 286   *l n'mn bn mty bn n'mn h- ġlmt w h rḍy 'wr l- ḏ y'wr*
By N'mn son of Mty son of N'mn is the slave girl so, O Rḍy, may he who would efface go blind.

C 300   *l dd bn ḍm h- ḥywy*
By Dd son of Ḍm is the animal.

C 304   *l 'wḏ bn ḫr ḏ 'l kbb w wgm 'l- ḫḍnt ḥbbt -h rġmt mny*
By 'wḏ son of Ḫr of the lineage of Kkb and he grieved for Ḫḍnt his beloved, struck down by Fate.

C 320   *l whblh bn 'ḥrb bn ykn ḏ 'l kkb w bh' brkt w b⟨⟨⟩⟩q{l} w hrbt s¹nt r'y 'l 'wḏ n'm 'l 'bd w s¹rt m' 'b -h {b-} m't frs¹*
By Whblh son of 'ḥrb 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 'wḏ pastured the livestock of the lineage of 'bd; and he served with his father in a cavalry unit.

C 325   *l ṣrm bn rmmt w '{y}mn*
By Ṣrm son of Rmmt and he {went south}.

C 404   *l wdm'l bn w{l}'f byt w n{g}r*
By Wdm'l son of Wl', and so may he camp the night (safely) and {perse-
vere}.

C 407   *[l] ḏf' b[n] 'mm ḫl b- ḥrmt*
{By} ḏf' {son of} 'mm while camping near Ḥrmt.

C 420   *l ms¹k bn ms¹k'l bn flṭt w tẓr s²n'*
By Ms¹k son of Ms¹k'l son of Flṭt and he lay in wait for enemies.

C 505   *l ḥdg bn s¹wr h- 'tn*
By Ḥdg son of S¹wr is the she-ass.

C 511   *l ḥt bn 'mt h- mṣbt f qyt bn y'ḏ*
The cult-stone was set up by Ḥt son of 'mt, so (may it) preserve the
sons of Y'ḏ.

C 523   *l 'lh bn b'ḫh bn trb w wrd h- nmrt b- ks¹ᵛ mlḥ*
By 'lh son of B'ḫh son of Trb and he went to water at Namārah during
the cosmical setting/full moon of Aquarius.

C 527   *l mfny bn ms²'r h- nṣb f yt'flṭ mn- s¹qm*
The cult-stone was set up by Mfny son of Ms²'r, so, O Yṯ', let there be
deliverance from illness.

C 663   *l 'gl bn 'ws¹ bn ṣ'd w mṭy tdmr f h lt s¹lm*
By 'gl son of 'ws¹ son of Ṣ'd and he will journey in haste to Palmyra, so, O
Lt, let there be security.

C 654   *l s¹mk'l bn tm bn s¹r w ṣyr m- mdbr f h lt s¹lm l- ḏ 'yd w wgm 'l- ḥt*
By S¹mk'l son of Tm son of S¹r and he returned to a place of water from
the inner desert, so, O Lt, may he who has returned be secure, and he
grieved for Ḥt.

C 726   *l s²qr bn ḥggt w ḫl b- ḍ'n -h b- h- dr*
By S²qr son of Ḥggt and he camped with his sheep near this place.

C 744   *l s¹'d bn ḫ{l}q w r'y h- ḍ'n f h lt s¹lm w r'y {h-} wrd*
By S¹'d son of {Ḫlq} and he pastured the sheep so, O Lt, let there be
security while pasturing at {h- wrd}.

C 763   *l grm bn tʾm bn s¹{ʿ}d w [w]gd ʾtr m{r}{t} f ngʿ*
By Grm son of Tʾm son of {S¹ʿd} and {he found} the trace of {Mrt}, so he grieved in pain.

C 793   *l ḫṭs¹t bn flṭṭ bn bhs² bn ḏnt bn ʾs¹lm w wgd s¹fr ʿm -h f ngʿ w rḍy nqʾt l-ḏ ʾʿwr*
By Ḫṭs¹t bn Flṭṭ bn Bhs² bn ḏnt bn ʾs¹lm and he found the writing of his grandfather, so he grieved in pain, so, O Rḍy, may he who would efface be thrown out of his grave.

C 860   *l qrn bn mġyr bn s¹r w ḏbḥ f h gdʿwḏ s¹lm w {t}{r}d f {r}md bqr s¹nt ʾty ʾ- ṣf qr*
By Qrn son of Mġyr son of S¹r and he made a sacrifice so, O Gdʿwḏ, let there be security and {recompense} because [the] cattle {perished from cold} the year cold came during the early summer.

C 893   *l mty bn lʿtmn bn ʾnʿm bn lʿtmn bn rgḏ bn hdry w wgm ʿl- tʿmr trḥt w ʿl- ʾhyt -h f h lt w gdʿwḏ ġyrt [w] [ʿ][w][r] [l-] ḏ yʿwr h- ḥṭṭ*
By Mty son of Lʿtmn son of ʾnʿm son of Lʿtmn son of Rgḏ son of Hdry and he grieved for Tʿmr, who perished, for his younger sister, so, O Lt and Gdʿwḏ, let there be bloody money but may he who would efface this writing [go blind].

C 1071   *l ʾs²ym bn drʾl bn ks¹ṭ w ḏṭʾ h- dr*
By ʾs²ym son of Drʾl son of Ks¹ṭ and he spent the season of the later rains in this place.

C 1084   *l s¹mm bn rml w rḍw ġnmt s¹bʿ*
By S¹mm son of Rml and Rḍw, let there be spoil, seven fold!

C 1108   *l ʾgnʾ b{n} ʿnk yny f b{y}t {w} znn*
By ʾgnʾ {son of} ʿnk who is migrating and he will camp the night {and} sit in contemplation (?).

C 1133   *l ḫlʾl bn s²rb w wgm ʿl- ʾ{b}rs² mt mn{y}*
By Ḫlʾl son of S²rb and he grieved for {ʾbrs²} who died {at the hand of Fate}.

C 1137   *l qn bn ʾmr bn ṣdʾl w ḏṭʾ w fṣy hy ʾlt m- bʾs¹*
By Qn son of ʾmr son of Ṣdʾl and he will spend the season of the later rains so, O ʾlt, deliver from misfortune.

C 1148   *l s¹{b}n bn m{l}{k} bn bnt h- ʾgml w ʿwr l- ḏ ----*
By {S¹bn} son of {Mlk} son of Bnt are the camels and may he who ... go blind.

C 1167   *l ʾlht bn {k}h{n} bn mʿz{z} bn s²h{r} bn ʿwḏ w rʿy mʿ- ḫl -h ʾl- ḥrn*
By ʾlht son of {Khn} son of {Mʿzz} son of {S²hr} son of ʿwḏ and he pastured with his maternal uncle as far as Ḥawrān.

C 1185   *l qym bn ms²{k}{s²} w mt[y] h- ḫt{ṭ} w l -h h- gml f hy lt s¹lm w ʿwr l- ḏ y ʿwr mʿl- h- ḥy{q}*
For Qym son of {Ms²ks²} and [Mty] is the {inscriber}, and the camel is by him, so, O Lt, let there be security; and may he who would efface because of {jealousy} go blind.

C 1186   *l {m}ty bn s¹n bn mty bn ʾ{l}y ḏ ---- f h gdʿwḏ s¹lm w l -h h- mhrt yrbb -h {w} dmy l -h s²m{t} w lt l- ʾhl w wk{s¹} w ḥrs¹ w ʿrg w ʿwr l- mn hbl*
By {Mty} son of S¹n of Mty son of {ʾly} of ---- so, O Gdʿwḏ, let there be security while he trains the colt which belongs to him; and {S²mt} drew for him, so, O Lt, let there indeed be uncertainty, {loss}, dumbness, lameness, and blindness on whosoever would obscure.

C 1206   *l s¹r{k} [b]n rml w ġzz h- nḫl*
By {S¹rk} {son of} Rml and he went on a raid in this valley.

C 1240   *l gmm bn ʾnʿm bn ʾdnt bn ʾnʿm bn qdm w ṣyr m- mdbr s¹nt ḫgz -h bʾls¹mn ʿl- h- mdnt w wrd h- mqẓt bdr f h lt s¹lm w ʿwr w ʿrg l- ḏ y ʿwr h- ḫṭṭ*
By Gmm son of ʾnʿm son of ʾdnt son of ʾnʿm son of Qdm and he returned to a place of water from the inner desert, the year Bʾls¹mn 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 ʾlt s¹ʿd ys¹mʿl b[n] rbbn f hy*
O ʾlt, help Ys¹mʿl {son of} Rbbn so that he may live long.

C 1293   *l ns¹r bn mḥlm bn ḥrb bn ʾdm bn ḥdg bn s¹wr w ṣyr f wgd hwrd bql s¹nt ʾqdm ----mn h- s¹fr w ʿwr ḏ y ʿwr h- s¹fr*
By Ns¹r son of Mḥlm son of Ḥrb son of ʾdm son of Ḥdg son of S¹wr and he returned to a place of water and found fresh herbage at Hwrd the year of ʾqdm ---- mn this writing and blind him who would efface this writing.

C 1338   *l ḥml b{n} [n]s²bt bn ktm w r[ʿ]y h- ʾbl b- rʿy ḏkr bq{l}*
          By ḥml {son of} {Ns²bt} son of Ktm and he [pastured] the camels during
          the rising of Aquarius on {fresh herbage}.

C 1339   *l ḥyʾl bn ẓ{n}ʾ{l} dm l- ʾs¹lm ʿdl -h*
          By Ḥyʾl son of {Ẓnʾl} who draws for ʾs¹lm, his companion.

C 1341   *l s²by bn ms²[ʿ][r] b[n] {s¹}wd h- ḏfy w rḍw ʿwr m ʿwr -h*
          By S²by son of [Ms²ʿr] [son] of S¹wd the Ḏf-ite and may Rḍw blind
          whosoever would efface it (the inscription).

C 1539   *s²mr ḫ[l] h- bt [t]s²wq ʾl- lbḫ*
          S²mr is [camping] in the tent, [longing] for Lbḫ.

C 1573   *l ḫyḏt bn ḫbt bn s¹mk bn s¹wr bn m{q}{r} bn bdn w wgd ʾtr ʾl ḏf f wgm ʿl- dd
          -h w tzr h- nḫl tlt w ----*
          By Ḫyḏt son of Ḫbt son of S¹mk son of S¹wr 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 ---

C 1607   *l ḫlf bn nʿmn bn kn w wlh ʿl- gs² {-h} ḫ{r}bn f h lt ṯ'r*
          By Ḫlf son of Nʿmn son of Kn and he was distraught over {his} troop who
          were {plundered}, so, O Lt, he will have vengeance.

C 1615   *l ms¹k bn mrṭn h- dmyt*
          By Ms¹k son of Mrṭn is the image.

C 1639   *l s¹ʿd bn ʾlwhb bn ʿzz w ʿny ʾgr f h rḍw rdt*
          By S¹ʿd son of ʾlwhb son of ʿzz and he suffered as a hired man so, O Lt,
          may there be (just) reward.

C 1649   *l ʾs¹d bn ḫlṣ bn nʿmn ḏ ʾl ḏf w ʾs¹fr tdmr f h bʿl s¹lm w m{g}dt w ʿwr l- ḏ ʿwr h-
          s¹fr*
          By ʾsd son of Ḥlṣ son of Nʿmn of the lineage of Ḏf and he will travel to
          Palmyra, so, O Bʿls¹mn, let there be security and {glory}; and may he
          who would efface this writing go blind.

C 1658   *l wq{r} bn yʿl h- gmln qṣyn l- ʾlt w l- rḍw f h ytʿ ʿwr m ʿwr h- [ḫ]tt*
          By {Wqr} son of Yʿl are the two camels which have been dedicated to ʾlt
          and to Rḍw, so, O Ytʿ, blind whosoever would efface this [writing].

C 1744   *l nr bn ḥmy bn s¹krn bn ġt bn ṣbḥ w ẖrṣ f h s²ʿhqm w h lt w bʿls¹mn w gdʿwḏ s¹lm w tfyt w ġnyt*

By Nr son of Ḥmy son of S¹krn son of Ġt son of Ṣbḥ and he kept watch so, O S²ʿhqm and O Lt and Bʿls¹mn and Gdʿwḏ, let there be security and fulfillment and abundance.

C 1758   *l ʿm bn {ẖ}r bn ʿm bn ḥ{n} ḏ ʾl bʿr w wgm ʾl- ʾs²yʿ -h ḏ ns¹l b- ṯbr*

By ʿm son of {Ḥr} son of ʿm son of {Ḥn} of the lineage of Bʿr and he grieved for his companions who had gone away when the sun was in Sagittarius.

C 1837   *l ʿḏ bn s¹wr bn nqm bn s¹wr w ẖrṣ f h ʾlt s¹lm l- h- mṭyt ḥmt w qyt mn- grb h yṯʿ*

By ʿḏ son of S¹wr son of Nqm son of S¹wr and he stood watch, so, O ʾlt, may the riding camel(s) be secure by means of (divine) protection and protect (them) from scabies, O Yṯʿ.

C 1868   *l ʿbṭ bn s¹ʿd bn tm bn mʿz ḏ ʾl qmr w {d}ṯ h- ẖnṣ s¹nt {h-} rm s²t b- ʾblt w whb ʾmlk -h ʾhrs¹ wdlnnwwbmlz̧ bʿl----*

By ʿbṭ bn S¹ʿd bn Tm bn Mʿz of the lineage of Qmr and {he spent the season of the later rains} (among) the young animals the year the Romans wintered at ʾblt and bestowed upon its rulers guards …

C 1875   *l ʿdn bn ʾws¹ w s²rq f h lt hn m b- s¹lm {w} h lt {w} ʿwr l- ḏ {y} ʿwr h- s¹[f]r*

By ʿdn son of ʾws¹ 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 s¹krn bn ḥmy bn s¹krn bn ġt bn s¹r bn ṣbḥ bn qs²m w ḥdr f h s²ʿhqm w ʾṯʿ s¹lm w wg{m} ʾl- ġt ʾẖ -h -w ʾl- s¹krn w ʾl- ʿḏ w ʾl- hlh w ʾl- km{d} w ʾl- ġt f h g[d] [ʾ]wḏ w h lt s¹lm l- ḏ s¹ʾr w ʿwr [-h] h lt w nqʾt b- w{ḏ}d l- ḏ y ʿwr h- s¹fr*

By S¹krn son of Ḥmy son of S¹krn son of Ġt son of S¹r son of Ṣbḥ son of Qs²m and he camped by permanent water so, O S²ʿhqm and ʾṯʿ, let there be security; and he {grieved} for Ġt, his brother, and for S¹krn and for ʿḏ and for Hlh and for {Kmd} and for Ġt, so, O [Gdʿwḏ] and O Lt, may he who leaves (the inscription) untouched have security and blind [him], O Lt, and may he who would efface this writing be thrown out of the grave by a {loved one}.

C 1957   *l znn bn ḥmy bn y{m}{d} w q[ṣ]f f s¹lm w {y}ʿwr mn ʿwr h- s¹fr*
            By Znn son Ḥmy son of {Ymd} and [he was sad] so may he be secure
            and may whosoever would efface this writing be made blind.

C 1989   *l ʾḥ bn s²ḥl bn tm bn mfny bn nʿmn w wgd ʾtr ṣ́d qbr h-frs¹ f ngʿ*
            By ʾḥ son of S²ḥl son of Tm son of Mfny son of Nʿmn and he found the
            trace of Ṣ́d, the horseman, who was buried, so he grieved in pain.

C 2031   *l gr{m} bn mrt bn {k}hl bn wrd bn nǵbr w b{y}t h- {d}r f h lt s¹lm w nqʾt b-*
            nfs¹ wdd ḏ yʿwr h- s¹fr
            By {Grm} son of Mrt son of {Khl} son of Wrd son of Nǵbr 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{s¹} w wgd ḥbb -h f bky*
            By Nl son of {Ds¹} and he found his loved one and so he wept.

C 2076   *l lṭ fty gʿd bn ʿbtn w s¹rt ʾl- {ḥ}dq ʾbgr b- ʾlf rgl w mʾt f [r]s¹ w tnẓr h- s¹my b-*
            h- d{r} f h lt r{w}ḥ w h bʿls¹{m}[n] ----
            By Lṭ slave boy of Gʿd son of ʿbtn and he served in a troop against the
            {walled enclosure} of ʾbgr 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 [Bʿls¹mn] - - - -

C 2088   *l {ṣ}ʿd bn zḫk bn ms²ʿr w {k}lʾ h- nḫl ḥms¹ ws¹q*
            By {Ṣʿd} son of Zḫk son of Mʿs²r and he {detained} five mobs of driven
            cattle in the valley.

C 2104   *l qḥs² bn ḥdg bn s¹wr {b}n ḥmyn w {d}{ṭ}ʾ h- nḫl s¹nt ḫl wḥd f h rḍw s¹lm*
            By Qḥs² son of Ḥdg son of S¹wr son of Ḥmyn and {he will spend the
            season of the later rains} in this valley the year he camped alone, so, O
            Rḍw, may he be secure.

C 2113   *l ʾḍnt bn wrd bn {ʾ}nʿm bn khl bn ʿ{m} ḏ ʾl nǵbr w wgm ʾl- s²rk qtl w ʾl- ʿyd*
            s¹by w ʾl- ʾ{n}ʿm qtl w ʿwr l- ḏ yʿwr h- ḫṭṭ
            By ʾḍnt son of Wrd son of {ʾnʿm} son of Khl son of {ʿm} of the lineage
            of Nǵbr and he grieved for S²rk, who was killed, and for ʿyd, who was
            captured, and for {ʾnʿm}, who was killed, and may he who would efface
            this inscription go blind.

C 2156   *l ḏhd bn gdy bn mty w wgd ʾtr ʾsʾ²-h qbrn ḏw ʾl yẓr f ngʿ*
              By Ḏhd son of Gdy son of Mty and he found the trace of his kinsmen,
              who were buried, of the people of Yẓr, and so he grieved in pain.

C 2172   *l ʿbṭ w h rḍ[w] fṣy l- ʾl klʾt mn- mlk bn msʾ¹k*
              By ʿbṭ and, O [Rḍw], deliver the lineage of Klʾt from Mlk son of Msʾ¹k.

C 2190   *l ʿyd bn mrt bn ʿyd w ʾsʾ²rq sʾ¹nt myt {d}{d} -h [w] wgm ʾl- ksʾ¹ṭ*
              By ʿyd son of Mrt son of ʿyd and he travelled to the inner desert the year
              his {paternal uncle} died [and so] he grieved for Ksʾ¹ṭ.

C 2196   *l gn bn ḥyn bn ḥrb w wgd sʾ¹fr qḥsʾ² w ngʿ ʾl- mty*
              By Gn son of Ḥyn son of Ḥrb and he found the writing of Qḥsʾ² and he
              grieved in pain for Mty.

C 2209   *l gd bn frsʾ¹ ḏ ʾl {ḏ}f f twqy b- sʾ¹nt ḥrb yẓr*
              By/for Gd son of Frsʾ¹ of the lineage of Ḏf, so may he preserve himself
              during the year of the war of Yẓr.

C 2243   *l sʾ¹d bn zmr bn ḥzn h- dr*
              By Sʾ¹d son of Zmr son of Ḥzn, at this place.

C 2276   *l ʿwḏ bn gnm bn {l}ḏn bn sʾ²mt bn gnm bn ʾnʿm bn ʾ{sʾ¹} w rʿy h- mʿzy f h lt
              sʾ¹lm m- bʾsʾ¹ {w} nqʾṣ l- mn ḏ ḥbl h- sʾ¹fr*
              By ʿwḏ son of Gnm son of {Lḏn} son of Sʾ²mt son of Gnm son of ʾnʿm
              son of {ʾsʾ¹} and he pastured the goats, so, O Lt, let there be security
              against misfortune {and} may whosoever would obscure this writing
              experience a sudden death.

C 2285   *l ʿlg bn sʾ²ʿ w wgm ʾl- ksʾ¹ṭ rǵm mny*
              By ʿgl son of Sʾ²ʿ and he grieved for Ksʾ¹ṭ, struck down by Fate.

C 2307   *l tmʾl bn mǵny bn sʾ¹r {b}n ṣbḥ w sʾ²r{q} {b-} h- ḍʾnt l- ḥr{r}n f h lt sʾ¹lm* By
              Tmʾl son of Mǵny son of Sʾ¹r {son of} Ṣbḥ and he {migrated} {with} a
              number of sheep {to the inner desert}, towards {Ḥrrn}, so, O Lt, may
              he be secure.

C 2315   *l ḏʾb bn nʿmn bn kn w tʾfl b- rḥbt f h lt w dsʾ²r sʾ¹lm m- sʾ²nʾ w ǵnmt*
              By Ḏʾb son of Nʿmn son of Kn and he hid near Rḥbt so, O Lt and Dsʾ²r, let
              there be security from enemies and spoil.

C 2396   *l ḥl bn ʾmr bn ʿṣd bn qṭ ʿ{n} h- dr*
              By Ḥl son of ʾmr son of ʿṣd son of {Qṭʿn}, at this place.

C 2446   *l s¹ʿd bn mrʾ bn nr w wgm ʿ[l-] ʾḥ -h nr qtl[-h] ʾl- {n}bṭy [ ] {r}ʿy nʿm ʿwḏ w*
              ḏf f h lt mʿmn w ʾlt dtn w gd[ʿ]{w}d w gddf ṯʾr m- ḏ ʾs¹lf w wlh k{b}{r} s¹ḫr
              ʿl-ʾḥ -h ḥbb -h l- ʾbd
              By S¹ʿd son of Mrʾ son of Nr and he grieved [for] his brother Nr,
              {whom} the {Nabataean} killed while {pasturing} the livestock of ʿwḏ
              and Ḏf; so, O Lt-Mʿmn and ʾlt-Dtn and Gdʿwḏ and Gddf, he will have
              vengeance against him who committed this act; and he was
              {contiuously} distraught with a broken heart over his brother, his
              beloved forever.

C 2544   *l s¹ʿd bn ʿbd bn s¹ḫr bn ʿbd bn ʾdm bn ms¹{k} w wgd ʾtr ʾs²yʿ -h ʾl dʾff bʾs¹ m ẓll*
              By S¹ʿd son of ʿbd son of S¹ḫr son of ʿbd son of ʾdm son of {Ms¹k} and
              he found the traces of his companions, the lineage of Dʾf, for those who
              remain dispair.

C 2579   *l ʿtk bn gnʾl w ṣyr [m-] mdbr dṯ f s¹lm -h ʾṭ ʿ*
              By ʿtk son of Gnʾl and he returned [from] the inner desert to water in the
              season of the later rains, so may ʾṭʿ keep him safe.

C 2670   *l ẓʿn bn kmd bn mḥyl bn ʿbdʾl w rʿy h- ʾbl h- nḥl bql s¹nt ws¹q ḏ ʾl rhy nbṭ w*
              ḥrṣ ḥwlt f h {l}t s¹lm
              By Ẓʿn son of Kmd son of Mḥyl son of ʿbdʾl 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 Ḥwlt, so, O {Lt},
              may he be secure.

C 2682   *l ʾdwl bn ʾml bn bddh f rḍy ġnmt h- s¹nt mdbr t*
              By ʾdwl son of ʾml son of Bddh so, Rḍy, let there be spoil this year in the
              inner desert itself.

C 2686   *l mlk bn ẓnnʾl w ngʿ kbr ʿl- ġyr w gl{h}d w ḥrt*
              By Mlk son of Ẓnnʾl and he grieved in pain continuously for Ġyr and
              {Glhd} and Ḥrt

C 2713   *l {ʾ}bs¹ʿd bn ḥny bn {ʾ}bd bn s¹ʿd w wgd ʾtr ʾs²yʿ -h f bʾs¹ m ẓll f qṣf ʿl- h- ḍʾn*
              mn- h- ḫs¹f
              By {ʾbs¹ʿd} son of Ḥny son of {ʾbd} son of S¹ʿd and he found the traces of
              his companions, for those who remain despair, and then he was sad on
              account of the sheep which had gone hungry.

C 2732   *l dr'l bn 's²ym bn dr'l bn ks¹ṭ bn 's¹ bn 's²ym bn 'bd bn ''[s¹]d bn bwk bn '{r}{s¹} w ġzy b- nmrt f h lt s¹lm s¹nt h- yhdy w wgm 'l- nẓr w 'l- s²rb w 'l- ks¹ṭ f h lt s²y{ } ḏ s¹'r*
By Dr'l son of 's²ym son of Dr'l son of Ks¹ṭ son of 's¹ son of 's²ym son of 'bd son of [''s¹d] son of Bwk son of {'rs¹} and he raided Namarah so, O Lt, let there be security in the year of the Jews and he grieved for Nẓr and for S²rb and for Ks¹ṭ, so, O Lt, {be with} him who would leave (this inscription) untouched.

C 2830   *l ḥ{y} bn mlk bn {s¹}'d h- bkrt [w] ḫll {h-} dr s¹qm f h lt s¹lm*
By {Ḥy} son of Mlk son of {S¹'d} is the she-camel [and] he camped in this place while ill so, O Lt, may he be secure.

C 2832   *l ẓnn bn {w}dm bn [ ]ḏ bn [ ]ḏ bn ġt w s²ry m- 'ḫ -h 'ḏ h- bkrt b- m't w ts²wq 'l- 'b -h w 'ḫw -h*
By Ẓnn son of {Wdm} son of ['ḏ] son of Ġṯ and he purchased the she-camel from his brother 'ḏ for one hundred, and he longed for his father and his two brothers.

C 2947   *l {s²}kr' bn rmyn bn mġṯ ḏ 'l 'mrtn w ndm 'l- 'ḫ -h mḷṯ mqtl b- hld f h lt w ds²r nqmt mn- mn mṣr -h*
By {S²kr'} son of Rmyn son of Mġṯ of the lineage of 'mrt and he was devastated by grief on account of his brother Mṯl who was killed near Hld, so, O Lt and Ds²r, let there be vengeance against whoever has taken him away(?).

C 2953   *l bgl bn ġḫf h- {'}bb{y} w 'mr h- 'rḍ t*
By Bgl son of Ġḫf the {'bb-ite} and he dwelt in this land.

C 2964   *l ḥmlg bn 'ḏ bn s¹wr bn nqm bn s¹wr w dṯ' s¹nt nmrn w b's¹ l -h mn- s²n'*
By Ḥmlg son of 'ḏ son of S¹wr son of Nqm and he spent the season of the later rains (here) the year of Nmrn; and misfortune was his on account of enemies.

C 2967   *l grm'l bn ḏ'b bn kn w tẓr h- rm f '{ġ}yr ḏf w ġny*
By Grm'l son of Ḏ'b son of Kn and he awaited the Romans so may {weakness be removed} that he may prosper.

C 2997   *l ʾs¹d bn mḥlm bn rbʾl bn ʾnʿm bn ʾs¹ w ḥll h- dr w tẓr h- s¹my f h bʿls¹mn rwḥ w wqd l- ḏ yʿwr h- {s¹}f{r}*

By ʾs¹d son of Mḥlm son of Rbʾl son of ʾnʿm son of ʾs¹ and he camped here while he awaited the rains, so, O Bʿls¹mn, send the winds; and may he who would efface this {writing} be scorched by fire.

C 3020   *l bny bn ʾrs¹ bn ʿwḏ w rʿy h- nḫl bql b- m[ʿ]ḏ h- ʾbl*

By Bny son of ʾrs¹ son of ʿwḏ and he pastured the camels in this valley near [Mʿḏ?] on fresh herbage.

C 3095   *l drʾl bn hḍr bn lʿtmn bn rġḍ w wgm ʿl- ḥbb w ʿl- ʾs²yʿ -h ws¹qn h- mhr m- gnt h- ḏ{r} qnb*

By Drʾl son of Hḍr son of Lʿtmn son of Rġḍ and he grieved for a loved one and for his companions who were driving the colts from the gardens of this {region} as a company of men.

C 3113   *l mwd w h rḍw flṭ -h m- bʾs¹ w ṭʿmt mn- ṣd l- frk bn ltnh*

By Mwd and, O Rḍw, deliver him from misfortune and nourish Frk son of Ltnh with something of game.

C 3140   *l ʾs¹ {b}{n} w{ʾ}l bn s²hyt w wg{d} ʾtr ʿm -h f b{k}y w h- ṣwy*

By ʾs¹ {son of} Wʾl son of S²hyt and he {found} the trace of his grandfather, and so he wept while at the cairn.

C 3177   *l s²hr bn nhk bn grz{l} w ḫr[ṣ] w h rḍ[w] wlh w ʿwr m ʿwr*

By S²hr son of Nhk son of {Grzl} and [he kept watch], so, O [Rḍw], make distraught and blind whosoever would efface.

C 3818   *l {ʾ}flṭ bn {g}rm{ʾ}l bn flṭ w tlg b- h- dr b- {r}{ʾ}y ʿqbt*

By {ʾflṭ} son of {Grmʾl} son of Flṭ and there was snow near this place during {the rising of} Scorpio.

C 3230   *{l} ʿm bn ḥy w rʿy {h-} ʾbl b- rʾy mlḥ ʿl- nḫl w wgm [ʿ][l-] ʿm {-h} ----*

{By} ʿm son of Ḥy and he pastured {the} camels on the edge of [the] valley during the rising of Aquarius; and he grieved [for] {his} grandfather ----

C 3365   *l ʿgz bn tḫbʾ w rḍw ḥlw l- bny -h mn- s¹qm*

By ʿgz son of Tḫbʾ and Rḍw, may his young son/sons be healed from sickness.

C 3466   *l ḥl b[n] tlḥ f bt*
                By Ḥl [son of] Tlḥ, so may he camp the night (safely).

C 3474   *l ʾll bn ʾs¹lm bn nʿmn w wgm*
                By ʾll son of ʾs¹lm son of Nʿmn and he grieved.

C 3680   *l ʾnʿm bn qḥs² w ġnm s¹nt ḥrb nbṭ*
                By ʾnʿm son of Qḥs² and he raided the year of the war of Nabataea.

C 3757   *l ḍh[d] {b}[n] s¹ʿd {b}{n} {ʾ}{m} h rḍw w{ḥ}b rkbt l- bny {ḍ} ʾl qm{r}*
                By [Ḍhd] {son} of S¹ʿd {son} of {ʿm}; O Rḍw give to Bny {of} the lineage
                of {Qmr} a riding camel.

C 3811   *l ʿmr bn ʿm bn ws¹m w h rḍy ġnmt l- qm gyʿ w h lt ḍqn mrn f rwḥ*
                By ʿmr son of ʿm son of Ws¹m and, O Rḍy, 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 ḍhd w wgd ʾtr ʾh -h*
                By Bnt son of Ḍhd and he found the trace of his brother.

C 3929   *l s²ddt bn ḥny bn mlkt bn {ʾ}{ḍ}{r} bn hnʾ*
                By S²ddt son of Ḥny son of Mlkt son of {ḍr} son of Hnʾ.

C 3931   *l nṣrʾl bn gmr h- ḥṭṭ w ḥḍr h- dr f h ʾṭ ʿs¹lm w ḥrṣ qʿṣn w fr*
                By Nṣrʾl son of Grm is this writing and he camped by permanent water in
                this place, so, O ʾṭ, let there be security as he had kept watch for murders
                but fled.

C 4010   *l s²ddt bn ṣbḥ bn s¹ḥly bn hr [w] [t]ẓ[r] h- {s¹}my w h lt r{w}ḥ m- ḍ bʾs¹ -h*
                By S²ddt son of Ṣbḥ son of S¹ḥly son of Hr [and] [he awaited] the {rains},
                so, O Lt, let there be ease from that which has made him miserable.

C 4037   *l s¹ʿd bn bgrt w wgm ʿl- ʾh -h ḍwr ḍ ʾl f{ʾ}rt w {h} lt whbt s²nʾ -h bn- yd -h*
                By S¹ʿd son of Bgrt and he grieved for his brother Ḍwr of the lineage of
                {Fʾrt} and, {O} Lt, may you give his enemies into his hands.

C 4039   *l nʿmn bn ḥbyṭ w qsf ʿl- ʾl ḍʾb w nʾnl ḍlln f h s²hqm s¹lm l -hm*
                By Nʿmn son of Ḥbyṭ and he was sad on account of the lineage of Ḍʾb
                and Nʾnl, who were lost, so, O S²hqm, may they be secure.

C 4068   *l ᵓs¹ bn ʿky w h ᵵ ᵵʿ qyt b- rhy ẖl -h*
By ᵓs¹ son of ʿky and, O ᵵᵵʿ, protect Rhy, his maternal uncle.

C 4076   *l whblh bn ᵓbgr bn nʿmn w wgm ᵓl- ᵓbgr bny -h f h lt [n]qmt*
By Whblh son of ᵓbgr son of Nʿmn and he grieved for ᵓbgr, his young son
so, O Lt, let there be [retribution].

C 4233   *l brd bn kẖ bn ẓmn w rʿy {b-} {n}{y}t h- ṣmkk*
By Brd son of Kẖ son of Ẓmn and he pastured {while} {migrating} (to/in)
Hṣmkk

C 4261   *(----) bn ᵓḏnt w ḥrṣ h- s²nᵓ f h lt s¹lm*
---- son of ᵓḏnt and he kept watch for the enemy so, O Lt, let there be
security.

C 4332   *l m{ġ}yr bn ᵓs¹ bn {z}bny bn ᵓs¹ ḏ ᵓl gʿbr w mty s¹nt brḥ ᵓqṣ h- mdnt h lt ġnmt
m- s²nᵓ ᵓbl*
By {Mġyr} son of ᵓs¹ son of {Zbny} son of ᵓs¹ of the lineage of Gʿbr and he
journeyed in haste the year he departed (to?) the furtherst part of the
province; O Lt, let there be camels as spoil from enemies.

C 4351   *l ᵓ{n}{ʿ}m {w} h {g}{d} {ʿ}w{ḏ} f h rḥm w h ymyt w h rḍw q{r} {h}- qm*
By {ᵓnʿm} and O {Gdʿwḏ}, O merciful one and O causer of death, and O
Rḍw, may the people be established (in this place).

C 4384   *l s¹ʿd bn ġnm ḏ ᵓl qmr w ṣyd ḥt wqf f l- {ᵓ}kl w {q}t -h*
By S¹ʿd son of Ġnm of the lineage of Qmr and he hunted until exhaustion,
so may he eat and be protected.

C 4443   *l s²mt bn l'tmn bn s²mt bn s²rk bn ᵓnʿm bn l'tmn w wgm ᵓl- ᵓm -h w ᵓl- dd -h
w ᵓl- ẖl -h w ᵓl- ʿm w ᵓl- ᵓnʿm qtl -h {ᵓ}l ṣbḥ f wlh ᵓl- bn ẖl -h trḥ w rʿy h- ḍn w
rḥḏ b- ṯbr w ẖl h- s²[n]ᵓ f h lt s¹lm w wgd ᵓtr ᵓẖ -h f ndm*
By S²mt bn Lᵗmn bn S²mt bn S²rk bn ᵓnʿm bn Lᵗmn and he grieved for
his mother and for his paternal uncle and for his maternal uncle and for
ʿm and for ᵓnʿm whom {the lineage} of Ṣbḥ killed, then he was distraught
over the son of his maternal uncle, who had perished; and he pastured
the sheep, washed during Sagittarius, and kept watch against
[enemies], so, O Lt, may he be secure; and he found the trace of his
brother, so he was devastated by grief.

C 4448   *l mḥwr bn gṭfn bn ʾḏnt w ṣyr b- ġnmt -h s¹nt ḥrb h- mḏy ʾl rm b- bṣr{y} qṭrz*
By Mḥwr son of Gṭfn son of ʾḏnt and he returned to a place of water with his goats the year the Persians waged war upon the people of Rome at {Bṣry} qṭrz

C 4452   *l qnʾl bn qḥs² bn qnʾl w ġzz b- h- mʿzyn s¹nt s²ty h- rm b- (----)*
By Qnʾl son of Qḥs² son of Qnʾl and he raided the shepherd the year the Romans spent the winter near ----

C 4457   *l ʿlm bn s¹ʿd bn ms¹k bn rmmt w l tmm ʾb hʾs¹ bn -h w [g]dʿwḏ rwḥ m ʾs¹r w s¹lm*
By ʿlm son of S¹ʿd son of Ms¹k son of Rmmt and for Tmm, father of Hʾs¹, his son, and may [Gdʿwḏ] grant ease to whosoever was captured that he may be secure.

C 4649   *l ḥlf bn ʿhd w bny h- ẓlt*
By Ḥlf son of ʿhd and he built the shelter.

C 4681   *l ḥlṣ bn gʿl bn mṭr w bny h- ẓ{l}lt {s¹}nt ʿrb h- bġyt {b-} h- rḥbt f lt s¹lm w ʿwr [l-] ḏ yʿwr*
By Ḥlṣ son of Gʿl son of Mṭr and he built the {small shelter?} {the year} the Arabs of Bġyt were {at} this Raḥabah, so Lt, may he be secure, but may he who would efface go blind.

C 4768   *l khl bn ġṯ ḏ ʾl ṣhyn w wgm ʿl- ġḥm bnt ʾnʿm mrʾt -h f wlh ʿ[l]- zd ʾqbl -h w tʾgr f h lt s¹lm*
By Khl son of Ġṯ of the lineage of Ṣhyn and he grieved for Ġḥm daughter of ʾnʿm his wife, and then he was distraught [for] Zd his kisman, so may he be compensated and, O Lt, may he be secure.

C 4803   *lʾ lwhb bn {z}mbn ḏk{r} f w{ʿy} {ʾ}l- rḥlt -h ws¹q -h h- ḏʾb f h b{ʾ}ls¹mn s¹lm l- nʿm ḥl w ʿwr {l-} ḏ yʿwr h- s¹fr w ḥyy l- ḏ yqrʾ h- ktb*
By ʾlwhb son of {Zmr} son of Ḏkr and {he was mindful} of his ewe-lamb, which the wolf had seized, so, O Bʾls¹mn, let there be security that camping be made easy; and may he who would efface this writing go blind but may he who would read this writing have long life.

C 4815   *l gnnt bn ġzyt bn ḥyd w ngʿ ʿl- klbh bn -h w rʿy {h-} {ʾ}{b}l wḥd f hy ʾlt s¹lm*
By Gnnt son of Ġzyt son of Ḥyd and he grieved in pain for Klbh, his son while he pastured {the camels} alone, so, O ʾLt, may he be secure.

C 4842   *l tmn bn ḥʿwḏ w ḥrṣ f rḍy s�‘lm w {n}gwt*
            By Tmn son of Ḥʿwḏ and he kept watch so, Rḍy, let there be security
            and {escape} (from harm).

C 4974   *l {ġ}t bn s�‘r bn ṣbḥ w wgd s�’fr qdm f bky*
            By {Ġt} son of S�‘r son of Ṣbḥ and he found the writing of Qdm so he
            wept.

C 4988   *l ʾnʿm bn s²rk bn mḥlm w wgd {sᵘ}[fr] ddf ndm ʿl- ḫtn -h w wgm ʿl- g(----)*
            ḥbb -h w ʿl- {ʾ}s²yʿ -h rġmn mny
            By ʾnʿm son of S²rk son of Mḥlm 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 mṯl bn qn bn ʾmr bn ʿṣd w ʿwdt rḍw*
            By Mṯl son of Qn son of ʾmr son of ʿṣd and may Rḍw grant return.

C 5041   *l ḥ{y} bn q{ṣ}y w l h dm*
            By {Ḥy} son of {Qṣy} and he has indeed drawn.

C 5050   *l sᵘʿd bn ymlk bn m{ġ}yr bn mḥlm bn ʿbd w ndm ʿl- rgl w wgm ʿl- tm w ʿl-*
            ʿḍqt w ʿl- ḥy w ʿl- ms²ʿr w ʿl- tm w ʿl- msᵘ w sᵘlḥ {r}wḥ ʿl- ṣʿd w rʾy {h-} mʿzy ḏ
            ʾl qm⟨r⟩ {w} byt ḥ{w}rd {w} ḥy{r} sᵘlm f h lt sᵘlm l- ʿwlt -h
            By Sᵘʿd son of Ymlk son of {Mġyr} son of Mḥlm son of ʿbd and he was
            devastated by grief on account of Rgl and he grieved for Tm and for
            ʿḍqt and for Ḥy and for Ms²ʿr and for Tm and for Msᵘ and [his] {spirit}
            was stripped away (by greif) for Ṣʿd; and he pastured the goats of the
            lineage of {Qmr} and {spent the night} at {Ḥwrd} where he enjoyed
            security so, O Lt, let there (also) be security for his family.

C 5121   *l bq bn ʾny w h yṯʿ nqmt m- ḏ rkb -h f h rḍw flṭ -h*
            By Bq son of ʾny and O Yṯʿ, let there be retribution against the one who
            has wronged him and, O Rḍw, deliver him!

C 5137   *l ḥny bn sᵘḥr bn ʿb{r} bn ʾdm bn m{sᵘ}k w ḥ{l}l ʾl- dr*
            By ḥny son of Sᵘḥr son of {ʿbr} son of ʾdm son of {Msᵘk} and {he camped}
            in this place.

C 5182   *----y bn mty w rʾy h- ʾbl w h {l}[t] {ʾ}n*
            ---y son of Mty and he pastured the camels so, O [Lt], {help}!

CSA 1.2   *l s²km bn s¹ᶜd̠l bn mqtl bn ᵓbyn bn km bn ḥs¹nt bn zẖn bn qn bn bkr w ṣwy*
           w d̠ᵓ f lt w ds²r s¹lm d̠ ᵓl ys²kr w lᶜt lt mn yẖbl -h
           By S²km son of S¹ᶜd̠l son of Mqtl son of ᵓbyn son of Km son of Ḥs¹nt son
           of Zẖn son of Qn son of Bkr and he suffered from the lack of rain while
           he spent the season of the later rains so, Lt and Ds²r, may the lineage of
           Ys²kr be secure and may Lt curse whosoever would obscure it.

CSNS 1   *l ġyrᵓl bn ᵓnᶜm bn rfᵓt d̠ ᵓl ḥzy w wqᶜw zll ᶜl- ḥr[t] f mnᶜt w zllt d̠n -h ḥbs¹t ᵓl s¹lm*
           By Ġyrᵓl son of ᵓnᶜm son of Rfᵓt of the lineage of Ḥzy and he wrote while
           he remained at the edge of the [Ḥarrah], and his sheep were hindered
           and remained in the sheepfold of the lineage of S¹lm.

CSNS 65   *l mqm s¹q*
           For Mqm who drove beasts.

CSNS 89   *l g{b}{n} {s̠}r*
           For {Gbn} who {returned to a place of water}.

CSNS 304   *h rḍᵓ s¹ᶜd rfᵓt bnt knt*
           O Rḍᵓ help Rfᵓt daughter of Knt.

CSNS 324   *l drh bn ᶜnq bn s¹ẖb w s²tw h- dr*
           By Drh son of ᶜnq son of S¹ẖb and he spent the winter in this place.

CSNS 412   *l ᶜd bnt ᵓs¹ bn ḥnᵓl d̠t ᵓl tm w l -h rgm*
           By ᶜd daughter of ᵓs¹ son of Ḥnᵓl of the lineage of Tm and this funerary
           cairn is hers.

CSNS 438   *l s¹hm bn ᵓs¹d d̠ ᵓl tyr*
           By S¹hm son of ᵓs¹d of the lineage of Tyr.

CSNS 517   *h rḍw s¹ᶜd bn----bn {q}d{ḥ}t h- mngr w flṭ -h*
           O Rḍw, help S¹ᶜd son of ---- son of {Qdht} the one who is longsuffering,
           so deliver him!

CSNS 620   *l ẖrg bnt ġt d̠ᵓt ᵓl tm w [l-] -h rgm*
           By Ḫrg daughter of Ġt of the lineage of Tm and this cairn is [hers].

CSNS 661   *l drb bn qn h- nbṭy*
           By Drb son of Qn the Nabataean.

CSNS 818   *l ʾḥlm bn s²ʿbn w rḥ*
By ʾḥlm son of S²ʿbn and he set off at night.

CSNS 957   *l ḥrs¹ bn brzt bn ʾyl w tẓr hmlk f yʾs¹ l- t̠ʾr m- ḥwlt*
By Ḥrs son of Brzt son of ʾyl and he awaited Hmlk (or the king) but lost
hope; indeed, he shall have vengeance against the Ḥwlt.

CSNS 1004 *l mlk bn ʾḥwḏ ḏ ʾl ʿmn w gls¹ mn- wrl s¹nt ngy mk l- rm w wgm ʿl- s¹yd mqtl*
f h lt t̠ʾr mn- qtl -h w wgm ʿl- bn dd -h ms¹by s¹byt -h ṭyʾ
By Mlk son of ʾḥwḏ of the lineage of ʿmn and he halted on account of
a monitor lizard the year Mk announced (declared war?) for Rome;[1]
and he mourned for S¹yd, who was murdered, so, O Lt, there shall
be vengeance against his murderer; and he mourned for his paternal
uncle's son, who was captured, whom Ṭayyiʾ have captured.

CSNS 1010 *l tmlh bn ṣfdy ḏ ʾl grs¹ w wgm ʿl- s¹wd w trḥ*
By Tmlh son of Ṣfdy of the lineage of Grs¹ and he grieved for S¹wd
because he had perished.

CSNS 1021 *l gmr bn ʾmr bn brqt w l- {ḏ} mḥb*
By Gmr son of ʾmr son of Brqt and for {him} who is loved.

H 457   *l zhd bn mʿl bn fḏg h- bkrtn {h}ḏ*
By Zhd son of Mʿl son of Fḏg are {these} two camels.

H 506   *l kmd bn ʾnʿm bn s²rk bn s¹krn bn ṣbḥ bn qs²m w ḥḏr s¹nt ḥgz bʿls¹mn ʿl -h*
ʾḏ f h lt s¹lm w ʿwr l- ḏw ʿwr h- s¹fr
By Kmd son of ʾnʿm son of S²rk son of S¹krn son of Ṣbḥ son of Qs²m and
he camped near permanent water the year Bʿls¹mn withheld [the rain]
from it [the land/province] once more so, O Lt, let there be security and
may they who would efface this writing go blind.

H 507   *l s²mt bn ẓnn bn kmd w rʿy h- ʾgdy*
By S²mt son of Ẓnn son of Kmd and he pastured the kids.

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1   This probably referes to when Malichus II sent military reinforcements to help Titus crush
    the Jewish rebellion in 66 CE.

H 763 = LP 1064 + 1065

l ḥl bn mʿn bn ʾdg bn mʿn bn mlk bn rgl ḏ ʾl fṣmn w wld h- mʿzy b- s¹nt ṯmn
ʿs²rt l- mlk ʾgrfṣ f h lt s¹lm w ǵnmt l- ḏ ḏʿy h- s¹fr

By Ḥl son of Mʿn son of ʾdg son of Mʿn son of Mlk son of Rgl of the
lineage of Fṣmn 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 glḥ hn- wlt*
                   By Glḥ is the Wlt(?)

HaNS 660   *l mrṭ bn ys²kr bn nhbt w ṣlb ḥbb -h*
                   By Mrṭ son of Ys²kr son of Nhbt and his loved one was crucified.

HaNSB 8   *l ʾḏnt bn ʿbd w rʿy h----b f s¹ʿd -h rḍw w ʾkl -h rḍw [w] rʿy bql ntl*
                   By ʾḏnt son of ʿbd and he pastured h----b so may Rḍw aid him and may
                   Rḍw nourish him and he pastured on fresh herbage ahead of the others.

HaNSB 16   *---- w ʿgzt h- s¹my kll h- s¹nt*
                   - - - -and the sky withheld (the rain) the entire year.

HaNSB 48   *l ʾnʿm bn ʿhd w nẓr h- gs²*
                   By ʾnʿm son of ʿhd and he stood guard for the troop.

HaNSB 56   *l ṣrmt bn qds¹ w tdym ntl*
                   By Ṣrmt son of Qds¹ and he continued course ahead of the others.

HaNSB 62   *l s¹rʿt bn ʿrṣ w tnẓr h- s¹my f ẓʿn h- s¹nt*
                   By s¹rʿt son of ʿrṣ and he awaited the rains, then he journeyed looking
                   for herbage (or water) this year.

HaNSB 117   *l ʾmn bn mlkn h- nʿm*
                   By ʾmn son of Mlkn is the ostrich.

HaNSB 184   *l fḥmn bn ntn bn ʾflṭ bn ʿṣṣ bn ḥrʿ bn gml w ḥrṣ h- ḏf f rwḥ bʿls¹mn w nẓr h-*
                   s¹my b- ʾṣh[y] w mlḥ f ʿny kbr f wqyt m- s²nʾ ----
                   By Fḥmn son of Ntn son of ʾflṭson of ʿṣṣ son of Ḥrʿ sn of Gml and he
                   kept watch for the [lineage] of Ḏf, so may Bʿls¹mn 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 ḥnʾ bn wrd bn s²ḥyt bn ʾs¹ w ʾs²rq m- ḥrn b- ʾbl -h s²ʿr b- rʾy yʾm{r} f h bʿls¹mn ġyrt w s¹lm w ʿwr m ʿwr*

By Ḥnʾ son of Wrd son of S²ḥyt son of ʾs¹ and he migrated to the inner desert from the Ḥrn with his camels to herbage during the rising of {Capricorn} and so, O Bʿls¹mn, let there be abundance that he may be secure, and blind whosoever would efface.

HaNSB 206 *l khl bn qḥs² w ʾḥḏ l- s¹hm h- ṣwy*

By Khl son of Qḥs² and he placed S¹hm on the funerary cairn.

HaNSB 218 *l ḏhd bn nr bn ḥrb bn ḏhd bn kṯbt bn ḥmyn w wgm ʿl- s¹lm w ʿl- ġyr w ʿl- ʾ̄dg w ʿl- ʿwḏn w ʿl- bʿl w ʿl- ḥny w ʿl- s¹ny f wny w ngs² h- ʾbl m- ḥrn mn- ṯlg b- rʾy ngm*

By Ḏhd son of Nr son of Ḥrb son of Ḏhd son of Kṯbt son of Ḥmyn and he grieved for S¹lm and for Ġyr and for ʾ̄dg and for ʿwḏn and for Bʿl and for Ḥny and for S¹ny and he was feeble while he drove the camels from the Ḥawrān on account of snow (or cold) during the rising of Virgo.

HaNSB 293 *l ḥlṣ bn {r}myn bn tṣ{r} bn ʾws¹lh bn tts¹ bn g---- bn mḫs¹ bn yqnh bn ʿbdlh*

By Ḥlṣ son of {Rmyn} son of {Tṣr} son of ʾws¹lh son of Tts¹ son of G---- son of Mḫs¹ son of Yqnh son of ʿbdlh.

HaNSB 304 *l ḏl bn s²rk bn rbḥ ḏ ʾl qmr w mty f h s²ʿhqm ġnmt w rmy b- rmḥ -h w ḫzr b- s¹f -h f mrq kll s¹ls¹l -h f w gdʿwḏ ġnmt w s¹lm w ḫlf l- s¹lḥ -h m- ʾl nbṭ w ʿwr ḏ hbl*

By Ḏl son of S²rk son of Rbḥ of the lineage of Qmr and he journeyed in haste so, O S²ʿhqm, let there be spoil; and he cast his lance and struck with his sword, then threw off all his bonds, so Gdʿwḏ, let there be spoil, security, and compensation for his weapons from the Nabataeans, and blind him who would obscure (this inscription).

HaNSB 305 *l mdʿ bn ẓnnʾl bn ṣrḥ bn s²mt ḏ ʾl qmr w mty f h rḍy ġnmt w s¹lm w nẓr ʿl- gs² -h w mty*

By Mdʿ son of Ẓnnʾl son of Ṣrḥ son of S²mt of the lineage of Qmr and he journeyed in haste so, O Rḍy, let there be spoil that he may be secure; and he stood guard for his troop while journeying.

HaNSB 307   *l s¹ʿdlh bn ʾs¹ bn z̧nʾl bn ḥyn ḏ ʾl mʿyr w ḏ ʾl frt̠ w ts²wq ʾl- ʾhl -h f h lt s¹lm w qbll w ġnmt w bny ʾ- nfs¹ w dʿy ʾl- [l]t ʿl- mn yḫbl -h*

By Sʿdlh son of ʾs¹ son of Z̧nʾl son of Ḥyn of the lineage of Mʿyr and of the lineage of Frt̠ 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 s¹ʿdlh w l -h ʾ- frs¹*

By Sʿdlh and the horse is his.

HaNSB 349   *l mdʿ bn bnll bn ʾs¹lm w ġzz b- ʾbl*

By Mdʿ son of Bnll son of ʾs¹lm and he raided camels.

HaNSB 354   *l kmd bn ns¹ᵗt h- ʾḥyt*

By Kmd son of Ns¹ᵗt are these animals.

HaNSB 371   *l s¹kʿ bn rḍ s¹ʿd-h rḍw m- h- nṣʿ*

By S¹kʿ son of Rḍ, may Rḍw aid him against enmity.

HaNSC 5   *l hs¹r bn kddh h- tmny w ġzz*

By Hs¹r son of Kddh, the Tymn-ite, and he went on a raid.

HAUI 70   *l ʾs²mt bn tm w rʿy h- rwḍt f h lt s¹lm*

By S²mt son of Tm and he pastured the small meadow so, O Lt, may he be secure.

HAUI 72   *l kḫs¹m bn gnʾl bn s²ʿr bn gnʾl ḏ ʾl kn w tʾmr h- s²nʾ s¹nt qṣr w h- mḍy f h lt w gdḏf s¹lm w ʿwr l- ḏ ʿwr h- s¹fr*

By Kḫs¹mn son of Gnʾl son of S²ʿr son of Gnʾl of the lineage of Kn and adversity was widespread the year of Caesar and the Persians so, O Lt and Gdḏf, may he be secure; and may he who would efface this writing go blind.

HAUI 76   *l ṣʿd bn ys¹ʿd bn mrm bn fny bn s²ʿr w wgm ʿl- ḥrb [w] ʿl- mrʾ w ʿl- ḥs¹r f ḥrb f y lt ġyrt w nqʾt l- ḏ yʿwr*

By Ṣʿd son of Ys¹ʿd son of Mrm son of Fny son of S²ʿr and he grieved for Ḥrb [and] for Mrʾ and for Ḥs¹r, for they were plundered, so, O Lt, let there be blood money; and may he who would efface be thrown from the grave.

HAUI 125   *l ẓ'n bn grm'l bn ẓ'n bn bnt bn ẓ'n bn ḫts¹t ḏ 'l kn w wgd s¹fr grm'l f b's¹ mn ẓll w qnṭ 'l rm s¹nt yhd f h lt … wqyt m b's¹*

By Ẓ'n son of Grm'l son of Ẓ'n son of Bnt son of Ẓ'n son of Ḫts¹t 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 ṣ'd bn ġlmt bn mtn bn ḥny bn ms¹k bn s²rk bn 'bd bn ġlmt w ḫrṣ h- mlkt f h lt w gd'wd w s²'hqm w ds²r b- ḫfrt -k 'wḏ -k w nq't b- wd[d] ḏ hbl h- s¹fr w ġnmt l- ḏ d'y h- s¹fr w*

By Ṣ'd son of Ġlmt son of Mtn son of Ḥny son of Ms¹k son of S²rk son of 'bd son of Ġlmt and he kept watch for the queen so, O Lt and Gd'wd and S²'hqm and Ds² 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}l m t h- s¹nt*

By Mgd son of 'bd son of Drh son of 'nq son of Gr and, O {Lt}, may this year bring {reunion} with loved ones.

HCH 10   *l s¹'d bn qḥs² w wgm 'l- ḫl -h hn' rġm mny*

By S¹'d son Qḥs² and he grieved for his maternal uncle Hn', struck down by Fate.

HCH 37   *l 's¹d bn ẓn bn ṯlm w wgm w bny 'l- hn' trḥ w rġm mny*

By 's¹d son of Ẓn son of Ṯlm 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 ṯbr bn 'zz ḏ 'l ḥd w wgm 'l- hn' trḥ*

By Ṯbr son of 'zz of the lineage of Ḥd and he grieved for Hn' who had perished.

HCH 53   *l S²hm bn 'dm bn bh' ḏ 'l ḏf w bny 'l- hn'*

By S²hm son of 'dm son of Bh' of the lineage of Ḏf and he laid a stone upon the funerary cairn of Hn'.

HCH 69   *l ms¹'d bn 'ḥḏṭ bn rmḥt w wgm 'l- hn' ḏ 'l m'ṣ trḥ*

By Ms¹'d son of 'ḥḏṭ son of Rmḥt and he grieved for Hn' of the lineage of M'ṣ, who had perished.

HCH 71   *l ʿwḏ bn s¹r bn ʿwḏ bn ʾs¹lm w ʾrf ḫl -h mt f wlh ʾl -h w wgm ʾl- hrs¹ w ʾl- s²ʿtm*
              w ʾl- dtm w ʾl- gbny w ʾl- rmḫt ʾḫwl -h mḫrbn w ḫll w gls¹ s¹nt qtl ḥw{ṣ}t w
              b{y}g' w ḫrṣ ḏ ʾl tm f h lt s¹lm m- b's¹
              By ʿwḏ son of s¹r son of ʿwḏ son of ʾs¹lm and his maternal uncle came to
              know death and so he was distraught over him and grieved for Hrs¹ and
              for S²ʿtm and for Dtm and for Gbny and for Rmḫt, his maternal uncles,
              who were plundered; and he camped while he halted the year Ḥwṣt and
              {Byg'} fought and kept watch for the lineage of Tm. So, O Lt, may he be
              secure against misfortune.

HCH 72   *l zbdy bn s²ms¹y w wgm ʾl- hn' trḫ w ʾl- ʿbdy mqtl f h lt w h ds²r ṯ'r {l}- mn ḥwlt*
              By Zbdy son of S²ms¹y and he grieved for Hn', who had perished, and
              for ʿbdy, who was murdered, so, O Lt and O Ds²r, let there be vengeance
              against Ḥwlt.

HCH 79   *l ʿqrbn bn ks¹ṭ bn s¹ʿd h- dmyt zmrt*
              By ʿqrbn son of Ks¹ṭ son of S¹ʿd is this image of a flute-playing girl.

HCH 82   *l ʿzz bn hn' ḏ ʾl nmrt w wgm ʾl- hn'*
              By ʿzz son of Hn' of the people of Nmrt and he grieved for Hn'.

HCH 102   *l mʿn bn zbd bn ʿtk bn zbd w ḫrṣ ʾl- ʾḫ -h rdf ʾbl {-h} f h lt w- - - - s²h - - -*
              By Mʿn son of Zbd son of ʿtk son of Zbd and he watched over {his}
              brother who was following {his} camels, so, O Lt and - - - - s²h - - - -

HCH 103   *l 'nʿm bn 'tm bn 'nhk bn 's¹ ḏ ʾl zhr w wgm ʾl- kmn mqtl f h lt w ds²r f ṯ'r mn-*
              ḥwlt
              By 'nʿm son of 'tm son of 'nhk son of 's¹ of the lineage of Zhr and
              he grieved for Kmn, who was killed, so, O Lt and Ds²r, he will have
              vengeance against Ḥwlt.

HCH 107   *l '{d}d bn 'qdm w qyz ʾl- ṯbrn f thwf f h lt s¹lm ḏ ʾl ḥrm*
              By {'dd} son of 'qdm and he spent the dry season on the edge of Ṯbrn
              and was diminished by the lack of rain, so, O Lt, secure him/those of the
              lineage of Ḥrm.

HCH 126   *l 'ḍ bn hn' w wgm ʾl- rḍwt ḏ ʾl nmrt bn 's¹ mqtl qtl -h ʾl ḥwlt f h lt w ds²r ṯ'r*
              By ʿḍ son of Hn' and he grieved for Rḍwt of the lineage of Nmrt son of 's¹,
              who was killed; the people of Ḥwlt killed him, so, O Lt and Ds²r, he will
              have vengeance.

HCH 131   *l ʾmyt bn ʾkl ḏ ʾl ḥly w ndm ʿl- klb -h ḏll f h lt ḥwr*

By ʾmyt son of ʾkl of the lineage of Ḥly and he was devastated by grief on account of his dog that had strayed, so, O Lt, may he return safely.

HCH 132   *l ʿ----m bn whblh bn ḫl ḏ ʾl ḥly w ndm ʿl- bn ʾḫ -h ms¹by ḥwlt f n⟨⟨w⟩⟩gy f-myt {k}wy b- l s²ʾ h lh*

By ʿ----m son of Whblh son of Ḫl of the lineage of Ḥly and he was devastated by grief on account of the son of his brother, who was taken prisoner by Ḥwlt but then escaped and died while wandering with nothing, O Lh.

HCH 191   *l ġt bn hnʾ ḏ ʾl ʿmrt w ts²wq [ʾ]l- kll ʿs²r ṣdq*

By Ġt son of Hnʾ of the lineage of ʿmrt and he longed for every righteous kinsman.

HCH 194   *l ʾnʿm bn qṣmt ḏ ʾl ʿmrt w nfr f ʾs¹lm w b{ʾ}{d} ʾflt s¹nt ʾs²rq rḍwt ʾl- hdy l-ym{n}t*

By ʾnʿm son of Qṣmt of the lineage of ʿmrt and he deserted but then surrendered but {afterwards} escaped the year Rḍwt the commander migrated {southward} to the inner desert.

HN 62   *l ḥmlg bn s¹hm bn qdm w ʾty h- rmy b- ḥqb -h f h bʿls¹mn rwḥ*

By Ḥmlg son of Shm son of Qdm and Sagittarius has come with his quiver so, O Bʿls¹mn, send the winds.

HN 161   *l ḍb bn s¹ḫr bn ʿbd bn ʾdm w ḏṭ w ḫrṣ h- s²nʾn f h lt s¹lm*

By Ḍb son of S¹ḫr son of ʿbd 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 lbʾt bn ḫṭs¹t bn flṭt bn bhs² bn ʾdnt bn ʾs¹lm bn zkr bn rfʾt bn ws²yt bn ḏf bn ʿgd bn tʿwḏ w ḫl dr s¹nt mlk grfṣ bn hdrs w wgd ʾtr ʾhwl -h ʾl ʾs²ll tm w grmʾ w ʾḫwḍ w zbd f ngʿw h ds²ry w lt n[ ]mt l- ḏ dʿy w lm yḫbl s¹fr*

By Lbʾt son of Ḫṭs¹t son of Flṭt son of Bhs² son of ʾdnt son of ʾs¹lm son of Zkr son of Rfʾt son of Ws²yt son of Ḍf son of ʿgd son of Tʿwḏ 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 ʾs²ll and Grmʾ and ʾḫwḍ and Zbd, so he grieved in pain; so, O Ds²ry and Lt, may he who would read aloud have [divine favor] and may [this] inscription not be effaced.

ISB 91   *l ġnm bn ytˁ bn s²ll bn ʾbd w l -h h- frs¹ ˁnd -h*
            By Ġnm son of Ytˁ son of S²ll son of ʾbd and by him is the horse which
            belongs to him.

ISB 117   *l ʾḫwn bn ˁmdn h- dr b- {ʾ}rʾ{l} ˁyr⟨⟨r⟩⟩ hn wgd ḏ ṯnt*
            By ʾḫwn son of ˁmdn, at this place near ˁrʾl, having journeyed here to find
            dry herbage.

ISB 421   *l ḫzr bn frḫz h- dr mḥrb ygr*
            By Ḫzr son of Frḫz, at this place, having been plundered, he endures.

JaS 61   *l ḥlflh bn ʾbyn w ṣwy w dṯʾ w kmʾ*
            By Ḥlflh son of ʾbyn and he suffered from the lack of rain but then the
            season of the later rains came and he collected truffles.

JaS 73   *l yˁmr bn m{ṣ}{w}t{y} bn frm [w] bny ʾl-ḫlṣt w ʾl- mtˁt w fdyt f lt dnwt w trf*
            By Yˁmr son of {Mṣwty} son of Frm [and] he built upon Ḫlṣt and Mtˁt and
            accepted the bloodwit so, O Lt, let there be closeness (to loved ones?)
            and a life of ease.

JaS 145.1   *l ġṯ bn klb bn brd w gls¹ w qṣṣ w ḥll w lt s¹{l}m w mtqtl ṣḥfy w qṣyn*
            By Ġṯ son of Klb son of Brd and he halted and patrolled and, Lt, let there
            be security and ...

JaS 159.2   *l hnʾ bn ʾk{l}{l}t {f} gls¹ ḫlt f h lt w ds²{r} s¹lm*
            By Hnʾ son of {ʾkllt} and he halted to camp so, O Lt an {Ds²r}, may he be
            secure.

JaS 189.2   *l ms²{w}l bn qṣmt bn ḥdd w ḏkrt ʾlt ʾls¹ w rb*
            By {Ms²wl} son of Qṣmt son of Ḥdd and may ʾlt be mindful of ʾls¹ and
            Rb.

JbS 1   *l ddʾl w ts²wq ʾl- ʾ{b}tl{s²}n ḏt ʾl ʾgʾ w ḏkr -h rḍy*
            By Ddʾl and he longed for {ʾbtls²n} of the lineage of ʾgʾ so may Rḍy be
            mindful of her.

K 196   *l lʾṯmn bn zʾkt bn ʾs¹lm bn mr{ḏ}y bn kwnt w {h} bˁls¹mn mwl h- ʾrḍ s¹rˁ*
            By Lʾṯmn son of Zʾkt son of ʾs¹lm son of {Mrḏy} son of Kwnt and {O}
            Bˁls¹mn make this land abundant quickly.

KhBG 11   *l ʾws¹l bn hgml w ġzy*
By ʾws¹l son of Hgml and he raided.

KhBG 315   *l ʾmr h ʿr*
By ʾmr is the wild ass

KhBG 330   *l ġh{r}n bn ʾmr h- dsyt*
By {Ghrn} son of ʾmr is the ibex.

KhBG 345   *l ʾnʿm bn ʿlm ḏ ʾl ḥzy w qyz ʾl- {g}{n}fw ʾl- ḥdd w tḥwff {h} lt s¹lm w fṣy m-b'{ṣ}*
By ʾnʿm son of ʿlm of the lineage of Ḥzy and he spent the dry season on the edge of {Gnf} and {Ḥdd} and became diminished by the lack of rain so, {O} Lt, let there be security and deliver from {misfortune}.

KhBG 376   *l mʿly bn hrb w s²tw {f}lyt w fl{ṭ} l -h s²nʾ*
By Mʿly son of Hrb and he wintered at {Flyt} so may he {be delivered} [from] adversity.

KhNSJ 1   *l ḥnn bn ʿdrʾl ḏ ʾl ʿmrt w g{l}s¹ mn ʾ- dmt s¹nt mt mlk nbṭ*
By Ḥnn son of ʿdrʾl of the lineage of ʿmrt and he halted on account of the downpour the year king of Nabataea died.

KhNSJ 5   *l grm bn lṯ bn ṣrmt ḏ ʾl ʿmrt w ṣyr qyz rʿy*
By Grm son of Lṯ son of Ṣrmt of the lineage of ʿmrt and he returned to a place of water in the dry season to pasture.

KhMNS 5   *l s¹lm bn ḥg bn ṭhm bn hms¹k ʾ- dmt*
By S¹lm son of Ḥg son of Ṭhm son of Hms¹k are these images.

KhMNS 13   *l ʾs¹ bn brʾh fʿd*
By ʾs¹ son of Brʾh so may he return.

KhMNS 51   *l ḫgg bn rḍwt h- ḫyt*
By Ḫgg son of Rḍwt are these animals.

KRS 6   *l s²ḫl bn s¹krn bn ḫts¹t w wgd [ʾ][ṯ]{r} {w}ny w ghm f b's¹m ẓll ʾl- hm {r}ġmn mny w wlh ʾl -hm l- ʾbd w ʾl- zkr w ʾl- ḫlṣ rġmn mny kll -hm w l- s¹ʾl mny s²dd*
By S²ḫl son of S¹krn son of Ḫts¹t and he found the [traces] of {Wny} and Ghm, for those who remain despair on account of them who were struck

down by Fate; and he remained distraught over them forever, and over Zkr and over Ḥlṣ, all of them struck down by Fate; and a harsh fate befell S¹ʾl.

KRS 15   *l ʿqrb bn mˁz bn gzlt w wgd s¹fr ms¹k w ngʾt f tˁql w dwy w mṭy m- glˁd l- tdmr f h s²ḥqm s¹lm w ġnyt l- ḏ s²ḥṣ*

By ʿqrb son of Ms¹k son of Gzlt and he found the writing of Ms¹k and Ngʾt, and so he was unable to speak and became sick with grief while he journeyed in haste from Gilead for Palmyra, so, O S²ḥqm, may he who acts nobly have security and abundance.

KRS 18   *l ṣˁd bn gs¹m bn s²ḫl bn tm w wgm ˁl- ʿqrb w ˁl- ḫlt -h mnˁm trḫt w ḫrṣ f h lt w h s²ḥqm rwḥ m ḏ ḫrṣ*

By Ṣˁd son of Gs¹m son of S²ḫl son of Tm and he grieved for ʿqrb and for his maternal aunt, Mnˁm, who had died, and he kept watch, so O Lt and O S²ḥqm, let there be relief from that against which one must keep watch.

KRS 24   *l s²mt bn s¹krn bn s²mt w wgm ˁl- ʾhw -h w ʾs²yˁ -h ḫrbn w wlh l- ʾbd ˁl- zkr w nẓr f h lt w gdḍf s¹lm*

By S²mt son of S¹krn son of S²mt and he grieved for his two brothers and his companions, who were plundered, and he was distraught forever over Zkr and he stood guard, so, O Lt and Gdḍf, may he be secure.

KRS 25   *l ʾnˁm bn tm bn ʾnˁm w rˁy h- ḍʾn w ṣyr m- mdbr l- ḥms¹t ʾrḫ s¹nt ngy whbʾl hdy w trwˁ l- rˁ -h g[[]]fr f h lt qbll -h s¹lm w ˁwr ḏ yˁwr h- ḫṭṭ*

By ʾnˁm son of Tm son of ʾnˁm and he pastured the sheep; and he returned to a place of water from the inner desert for five months the year Whbʾl was announced commander; and he feared for his friend Gfr, so, O Lt, reunite him with loved ones safely, and blind him who would efface this inscription.

KRS 29   *- - - - bn s²rk bn ms²dt bn ṣyḥ bn ˁbd bn ʾm bn {w}rm w ḫrṣ ḏ bˁd m- ʾs²yˁ f h s²ḥq[m] w ds²[r] w ˁr qbll w lˁn ḏ yˁwr h- s¹fr*

- - - - son of S²rk son of Ms²dt son of Ṣyḥ son of ʿbd son of ʾm son of {Wrm} and he kept watch for him who was far from companions so, O {S²ḥqm} and [ds²r] and ˁr, let there be reunion with loved ones but curse him who would efface this inscription.

KRS 30   *l ʾbn bn ʿnhlh h- dmy w ḫrṣ f h ṣlm ʾlh dmt rw⟨⟨⟩⟩ḥ*
          By ʾbn son of ʿnhlh the Dumite and he kept watch, so, O Ṣlm, god of
          Dūmat, let there be ease.

KRS 37   *l ngm bn ẓʿn bn rgl bn ṣʿd w s²tt -h nwy f h lt qbll ʾ- s¹lm {ʾ}hl + -h +[w] s¹lm
          l- yh[d] w rgʿ b- ʾbl rʿy [[]] l- ḥrt ʿf ht*
          By Ngm son of Ẓʿn son of Rgl son of Ṣʿd and he wintered while migrating,
          so, O Lt, may there be safe reunion with his family; [and] may {Yhd} be
          secure; and he returned with camels to the Ḥarrah to pasture on ʿawf
          (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 ʿmn bn gnʾl bn ḥy bn ṣbḥ bn ḥy bn [g]nʾl bn whb w nyk s¹lm ʾmt s¹lm*
          By ʿmn son of Gnʾl son of Ḥy son of Ṣbḥ son of Ḥy son of {Gnʾl} son of
          Whb and he copulated with S¹lm, the slave-girl of S¹lm.

KRS 68   *l ʾnʿm {b}{n} wrl bn dmy ḏ ʾl ʾs²ll w h s²ḥqm ... f {ʾ}{n}k bġy -h w qf{y}t -h
          {w} b- ḫfrt-k fltn m- mt*
          By ʾnʿm {son} of Wrl son of Dmy of the lineage of ʾs²ll and, O S²ḥqm ...
          for {you are indeed} his sought after and his path and by means of your
          guidance there is deliverance from death.

KRS 78   *l ʾdm bn ys¹mʿ{l} bn ys¹mʿl bn ṣʿd w wgm ʿl- ʾḫ -h ʿl- ʾs¹w ʿl- ḥd ʾḫ -h f h lt ryḥ
          w qyt*
          By ʾdm son of {Ys¹mʿl} son of Ys¹mʿl son of Ṣʿd and he grieved for his
          brother, for ʾs¹, and for Ḥd, his brother, so, O Lt, grant ease and protect.

KRS 96   *l bʿḏrh bn ʿyn bn hngs² w h rḍw hb l -h h- myt*
          By Bʿḏrh son of ʿyn son of Hngs² and, O Rḍw, grant him water!

KRS 102   *l ġṯ bn ʾs²ym bn ṣn w tẓr ʾ- my frḍw r⟨w⟩h w rḍw ʿwr ḏ y ʿwr*
          By Ġṯ son of ʾs²ym son of Ṣn and he awaited the rains so may Rḍw {grant
          ease} and may Rḍw blind him who would efface.

KRS 109   *l ʾḥlm bn lʿṯmn bn ʾḏnt bn ʾs¹lm bn bqlt bn {z}kr bn rfʾt w rḍy ʿwr m ʿwr*
          By ʾḥlm son of Lʿṯmn son of ʾḏnt son of ʾs¹lm son of Bqlt son of {Zkr} son
          of Rfʾt and may Rḍy blind whosoever would efface.

KRS 132   *l s¹ny bn ys¹lm bn ʿwḏn bn mlk bn qḥs² bn ḥḏg bn s¹wr bn {ġ}{ḏ}[ḏ]t bn
ʾnḏt bn ws²y bn ḥmyn bn ḏf w s²ṭr w b's¹w dn w qr l- ḏ yʿwr h- s¹fr*
By S¹ny son of Ys¹lm son of ʿwḏn son of Mlk son of Qḥs² son of Ḥḏg son
of S¹wr son of {Ġḏḏt} son of ʾnḏt son of Ws²y son of Ḥmyn son of Ḏf and
may there be separation from kin and despair and contempt and cold
for him who would efface this writing.

KRS 164   *l s¹bʿ bn ġḫfl w ngy m- ⟨g⟩qt ḫbṭṭ f h lt w gdḏf s¹lm w mgd w h ṭlq l- h-
ḏṣy*
By S¹bʿ son of Ġḫfl and he escaped from a corrupt [group of men], so, O
Lt and Gdḏf, let there be security and success while he sets off for ibex
(alone).

KRS 167   *l whblh {f}ty ʾl grṭ w rʿy h- ḏʾn f h lt s¹lm w ġnyt w wgm ʿl- ḫl -h w ʿl- mrby
-h ẓnʾl w ʿl- ḫtn -h ḥgg w ʿl- ḫtn -h s¹ʿd bn mlk*
By Whblh slave of the lineage of Grṭ 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, Ẓnʾl, and his wife's relation, Ḥgg, and his
wife's relation S¹ʿd son of Mlk.

KRS 169   *l nʿrt bn ḥdmt bn trml bn s¹ry bn s¹hm w ġz b- nḥl f h ytʿ s¹lm w klʾ h- s¹my
ḥḏ{r} mlḫ f d{k}{r} f ʾmt f y's¹ f h bʿls¹mn r{w}ḥ w s¹lm*
By Nʿrt son of Hdmt son of Trml son of S¹ry son of S¹hm and he raided
this valley, so, O Ytʿ, 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 Bʿls¹mn, let there be relief that he remain se-
cure.

KRS 213   *l s¹lm bn rgl bn zhrn w wgd ḫṭṭ ġyrʾl f ngʿ w ql ḥbl ḥrm ʾn ygll*
By S¹lm son of Rgl son of Zhrn and he found the writing of Ġyrʾl so he
grieved in pain and said: may any effacer go mad if it (the inscription)
should be erased.

KRS 225   *l mḥlm bn ʿbdʾl bn mḥlm bn s²dt bn lʿtmn w rʿy h- ʾbl ḫms¹t's²rn ʿm f wl{h}
f {h} s²ʿhqm ġny[t]*
By Mḥlm son of ʿbdʾl son of Mḥlm son of S²dt son of Lʿtmn and he
pastured the camels for twenty five years and so was distraught, so, O
S²ʿhqm, let there be [abundance].

KRS 303   *l ʾs¹lm ft[y] ----{d} bn ḫlṣ w rʿy h- ḍʾn w ʾḍll bd gs² w g{d} -h l- tnʾs²r ym s¹nt ngy hnʾ bn lbʾt hdy ⟨f⟩ h lt s¹lm*

By ʾs¹lm [slave] of - - - -{d} son of Hlṣ and he pastured the sheep; and he led a troop astray here, so they mistreated him for twelve days the year Hnʾ son of Lbʾt was announced commander, so, O Lt, may he be secure.

KRS 307   *l nʿmy bn brkʾl w h y[t] ʿs²ʿ-nh b- ḏ wd*

By Nʿmy son of Brkʾl and, O [Ytʿ] join him with the one whom he loved.

KRS 598   *l ḥmy w ngr {ẓ}lm b- ḥm*

By Ḥmy and he endured oppressed in/by the heat.

KRS 756   *l mty bn ʿdy bn mty bn mkbl bn ḏhd bn ʿbṭ w ḏbḥ f h s²ʿhqm s¹lm [m] ʾl- h- ʾbl mtʿt l- mdbr*

By Mty son of ʿdy son of Mty son of Mkbl son of Ḏhd son of ʿbṭ and he made a sacrifice so, O S²ʿhqm, keep safe what is upon the camels, provisions for the inner desert.

KRS 844   *l s¹lm bn hms¹k h- ʾḫdt*

By S¹lm son of Hms¹k, at the pool of water.

KRS 896   *l ys¹lm bn grmʾl bn qḥs² w wgd s¹fr ṣʿd f ngʿ w wrd h- nmrt b- ʾmt ʾḫrt*

By Ys¹lm son of Grmʾl son of Qḥs² and he found the writing of Ṣʿd, so he grieved in pain, then he went to water at Namārah when the sun was in Libra thereafter.

KRS 922   *l mnʿm bn s¹wdn bn nṣr bn ġrb bn s¹lm bn s¹fd w ḥrṣ ḏ ʿn{y} b- ḥrn f s¹lm h lt w rwḥ l- wḥd h ytʿ*

By Mnʿm son of S¹wdn son of Nṣr son of Ġrb son of S¹lm son of S¹fd and he kept watch for him who toiled near Ḥawrān, so let there be security, O Lt, and ease, for he was indeed alone, O Ytʿ.

KRS 926   *l ʿd{y} bn ʿnhm w s¹wq mdbr t w wgd ʾtr mlk f wlh*

By {ʿdy} son of ʿnhm and he drove (beasts) into the inner desert itself and he found the trace of Mlk, so he was distraught.

KRS 941   *l nʿmn bn ṣʿd bn ys¹mʾl w wgd ʾtr ṣʿd f ngʿ w bʾs¹ m ẓll w rġm m{n}{y} {ʾ}{n}{y} {w} {q}l ḥbl -h trḥ w h lt ʿwr ḏ yʿwr h- s¹{f}r*

By Nʿmn son of Ṣʿd son of Ys¹mʾl and he found the trace of Ṣʿd, 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 wḥblh bn ġyr'l bn 'bdh'ktb bn ġyr'l bn rwḥ bn ḥnn'l bn 'dy w t'mr h- s²ḥṣ f h lt w h gddf w ds²r w h b'ls¹mn w - - - - 'lh ġnyt w 's²rq s¹nt {n}g{y} mty hdy f{'}{t}{}² s¹lm w nq't b- wdd -h yḥbl h- ḫ{{t}}{{t}}*

By Wḥblh son of Ġyr'l son of 'bdh'ktb son of Ġyr'l son of Rwḥ son of Ḥnn'l son of 'dy and scarcity was widespread, so, O Lt and O Gddf and Ds²r and O B'ls¹mn and - - - - 'lh, let there be abundance; and migrated to the inner desert the year Mty was {announced} commander, so, O {'ṭ}, 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 ḏhl bn 'nf w rdf h- ḍ'n ms²rqt*

By 'm son of 'n'm son of Ḏhl son of 'nf and he followed the sheep which were migrating to the inner desert.

KRS 1015   *l s²ḫl bn nṣr'l bn s²kr'l bn nṣr'l bn gbdy w wgd 'ṯr 'l ḏf w rb -h qyl hy lt s¹lm w b- 'n -h s¹lm w {q}m -h 'bd w h lt {l}'n m ḥbl m'l ḥwq*

By S²ḫl son of Nṣr'l son of S²kr'l son of Nṣr'l son of Gbdy and he found the trace of the lineage of Ḏf so he exalted it saying: O Lt may it be secure and may it remain secure for all time, and its people too; O Lt, curse whosoever would obscure out of jealousy.

KRS 1023   *l 'lm bn ṣ'b bn grm'l bn ḏ'b w mrd 'l- h- mlk grfṣ ks¹r {h-} s¹l{s¹}[lt]*

By 'lm son of Ṣ'b son of Grm'l son of Ḏ'b and he rebelled against the king Agrippa in order to break {the chains of bondage}.

KRS 1024   *l 'bd bn ḫlf bn 'n'm bn rb'l bn 'n'm bn ms¹k bn s²rb bn ġlmt bn ḏf bn ḫld ḏ 'l ḏf w wgm 'l- ms¹k w ⟨⟨⟩⟩ 'l- m'n w s¹rt {l-} ḫr hdy s¹nt qttl hrdṣ f h lt s¹lm w ġnmt l- ḏ d'y w qttl {g}ftr*

By 'bd son of Ḫlf son of 'n'm son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of Ms¹k son of S²rb son of Ġlmt son of Ḏ'f son of Ḫld of the lineage of Ḏ'f and he grieved for Ms¹k and for M'n and he served in a troop under the command of Ḫr, the commander, the year Hrdṣ went to battle, so, O Lt, may he who would read aloud have security and spoil, and {Gftr} went to battle {as well?}.

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2   I thank Ali al-Manaser for this reading.

KRS 1042 *l ḥd bn ḫlṣ bn tm bn s¹ḫr bn mfny bn nʿmn w ʾs²rq f h lt w h gddf s¹lm w mgdt*
w rḍy ḏ dʿy w lʿn ḏ yḫbl mʿl- h- ḥw[q]

By Ḥd son of Ḫlṣ son of Tm son of S¹ḫr son of Mfny son of Nʿmn and he
will travel to the inner desert, so O Lt and O Gddf, let there be security
and bounty; and may he who would read aloud be satisfied and may he
who would obscure out of [jealousy] be cursed.

KRS 1051 *----hb bn wṣlt w wgm ʿl- {ʾ}{ḫ} -h ḥry f myt*

--- son of Wṣlt and he grieved for his {brother} Ḥry because he had died.

KRS 1087 *l nṣr bn ʿhd bn ḥnn bn ḫtmt bn ʾnʿm bn ġlmt w h gdʿwḏ h{b} ṯʾr m- ʾl gʿ ẓlmn*
f ẓlmn f h lt ṯʾr l- ḏ yʿwr

By Nṣr son of ʿhd son of Ḥnn son of Ḫtmt son of ʾnʿm son of Ġlmt
and O Gdʿwḏ {grant} revenge against the lineage of Gʿ, who were ter-
ribly unjust, and so, O Lt, may he who would efface be the object of
vengeance.

KRS 1131 *l ʿm bn ḥd bn ʾbgr bn ʾs¹ḫr bn s²ḥtr w ḫl ṣ{y}r h- dr m- ʿdy {w} ḥrṣ ʾhl -h ḥḏr*
f h ʾḥd w h lt s¹lm w ġnmt l- ḏ d'{y}

By ʿm son of Ḥd son of ʾbgr son of ʾs¹ḫr son of S²ḥtr and he camped
{having returned} to this place {of water} from ʿdy and he kept watch
for his family while camping near water so, O ʾḥd and O Lt, may he who
{would read aloud} have security and spoil.

KRS 1161 *l ms¹k bn s¹wd bn zḫk bn ms²ʿr bn s¹wd bn mlk bn ḥyt bn hbl bn whbn bn*
qmr bn rtḫ bn ʿwḏ bn whbʾl w wgd ʾtr ʾs²yʿ -h ḥrbn s¹nt qtl mnʾt f tqḏ f h lt
ʿwr l- ḏ y ʿwr h- s¹fr

By Ms¹k son of S¹wd son of Zḫk son of Ms²ʿr son of S¹wd son of Mlk son
of Ḥyt son of Hbl son of Whbn son of Qmr son of Rtḫ son of ʿwḏ son of
Whbʾl and he found the trace of his companions who were plundered
the year Mnʾt was killed, and so he was devastated by grief; so, O Lt, may
he who would efface this writing go blind.

KRS 1287 *----lm bn ʾdm bn ḥdg bn s¹wr h- ḫṭṭ f hy ʾʾlht nqʾt b- ṣdq l- ḏ yʿwr*

----lm son of ʾdm son of Ḥdg son of S¹wr is this writing, so, O gods, may
he who would efface be thrown out of the grave by a friend.

KRS 1304 *l ẓnn bn s²ʿr ḏ ʾl kn w mrq ḍʾn ʾl mʾb f h lt s¹lm*

By Ẓnn son of S²ʿr of the lineage of Kn and he let the sheep of the people
of Mʾb pass by, so, O Lt, let there be security.

KRS 1307   *l ḥṭs¹t bn s¹krn bn ḥṭs¹t bn zkr h- gml qṣy l- s²ʿhqm*
               By Ḥṭs¹t son of S¹krn son of Ḥṭs¹t son of Zkr is the camel, which has been
               dedicated to S²ʿhqm.

KRS 1379   *l ḥṭs¹t bn s¹krn bn ḥṭs¹t bn zkr bn ẓnʾl bn s¹b w ʾhd h- rgm w wgd hn ʿm -h f*
               h y lt w ds²r nqʾt l- ḏ yʿwr h- s¹fr
               By Ḥṭs¹t son of S¹krn son of Ḥṭs¹t son of Zkr son of Ẓnʾl son of S¹b and
               he put a dead man on a funerary cairn, but found the *hn* (mark?) of his
               grandfather, so O Lt and Ds²r, may he who would efface this writing be
               thrown out of the grave.

KRS 1432   *l qtl bn ḥrs²n bn qnʾl bn kmd w wlh mtdkr ḥbb f ḥbb f ḥbb f ḥbb w ḥrṣ ʾl- ḏ*
               s¹ʾr f h lt w s²ʿhqm ⟨ġ⟩nyt
               By Qtl son of Ḥrs²n son of Qnʾl son of Kmd and he was distraught with
               grief remembering one loved one after another while he looked after
               those those who remain, so O Lt and S²ʿhqm, let there be abundance.

KRS 1468   *l mlk bn bls¹ bn ys¹mʾl bn ṣʿd bn ʾs¹ w qṣṣ b- mʾt frs¹ bʿd ʾl ḏf f h gddf s¹lm -{h}*
               By Mlk son of Bls¹ son of Ys¹mʾl son of Ṣʿd son of ʾs¹ and he patrolled as
               a part of a cavalry unit on behalf of the lineage of Ḏf, so, O Gddf, keep
               {him} safe!

KRS 1507   *l grgs¹ bn ʾqlds¹*
               By Grgs¹ son of ʾqlds¹

KRS 1536   *l ṣʿd bn nzl bn ṣʿd bn ʿbd bn ʿḏ*
               By ṣʿd son of Nzl son of ṣʿd son of ʿbd son of ʿḏ.

KRS 1546   *l ʾṣr bn ʿbd w bny h- rgm l- ġfft*
               By ʾṣr son of ʿbd and he built the funerary cairn for Gfft.

KRS 1551   *l ʾs¹hr bn ḥdmt bn trml bn s¹ry bn s¹lm w ʾlmn b- ʿqbt f h lh rwḥ w mḥltn l- ḏ*
               yʿwr h- s¹fr
               By ʾs¹ hr son of Ḥdmt son of Trml son of S¹ry son of S¹lm and Mars was
               in Scorpio so, O Lh, send the winds; and may he who would efface this
               writing experience a dearth of pasture.

KRS 1562   *l ḥlṭṭ bn s²nf bn ʾzr w tẓr mny f rwḥ ʾy lt*
               By Ḥlṭṭ son of S²nf son of ʾzr and Fate lay in wait, so let there be relief, O
               Lt.

KRS 1563   *l ʾdm bn bʾmrh bn ʿbdt bn s¹mk bn s²mt bn ----ʾl bn qny w tẓr ʾ- s¹my b- mlḥ*
            ʿtq w ḫrṣ h ḏf ʾgr f h rḍw bdd -h m- nʿm m- ʾgrt -h
            By ʾdm son of Bʾmrh son of ʿbdt son of S¹mk son of S²mt son of ----ʾl
            son of Qny and he was waiting for the rains during Aquarius as a freed
            man after having kept watch for the (lineage of) Ḏf as a hired man,
            so, O Rḍw, grant him his share in terms of livestock as his compensa-
            tion.

KRS 1610   *---- bn tm h- nʿmt*
            ---- son of Tm is the ostrich.

KRS 1670   *l bns¹ḫl w s¹ry l- h- nḫl bql kbr*
            By Bns¹ḫl and he travelled by night towards the valley to tall herbage.

KRS 1683   *l bny bn wrd bn s²hyt bn ʾs¹ w ḫll h- dr b- ʾhl -h w ḫr{ṣ} ʿl- ʾbl -h f hy lt w h*
            s²ʿhqm s¹lm w ʿwḏ -k w h gdʿwḏ w h gddf ʿwḏ -km h- ʾbl
            By Bny son of Wrd son of S²hyt son of ʾs and he camped in this place
            with his family and {watched} over his camels so, O Lt and O S²ʿhqm,
            let there be security and your protection; O Gdʿwḏ and O Gddf, he has
            placed the camels under your protection.

KRS 1695   *l qḏy bn yʾs¹ bn drh bn ʿnq bn s¹ḫr w ḫrṣ qn h-mlk f h yt̲ʿ flṭ l -h w tẓr w h rḍy*
            ʿyr m ʿyr {-h}
            By Qḏy son of Yʾs¹ son of Drh son of ʿnq son of S¹ḫr and he kept watch
            as a servant of the king so, O Yt̲ʿ, may he be delivered and he lay in wait;
            and, O Rḍy, blind whosoever would efface {it}.

KRS 1706   *l ys¹lm bn ʿwḏn bn mlk w ʿyd h- ḍʾn b- ḥrn b- rʾy ʾʾly f h bʿls¹mn w h ḍs²r w lt*
            w s²ʿhqm f̣ṣyt w ʿwr ḏ yʿwr
            By Ys¹lm son of ʿwḏn son of Mlk and he put the sheep in an enclosure
            in the Ḥawrān during the rising of Taurus, so, O Bʿls¹mn and O Ḍs²r
            and Lt and S²ʿhqm, let there be deliverance and blind him who would
            efface.

KRS 1761   *l ʾlmḫ bn mḫlm w rʿy h- ʾbl l- h- rmḫ*
            By ʾlmḫ son of Mḫlm and he pastured the camels for the herdsman.

KRS 1770   *l ḏnt bn ʾs¹ bn kmd bn ʾs¹ w wrd f nyt {b-} ʾmtn f rwḥ h- b⟨ʿ⟩ls¹mn*
            By ḏnt son of ʾs¹ son of Kmd son of ʾs¹ and he went to water, and then
            will migrate {when the sun is in} Libra, so send the winds, O Bʿls¹mn.

KRS 1852   *l ṣ'd bn 'n'm bn rb'l bn 'n'm bn ms¹k ḏ 'l ḏf w ḫll h- dr s¹nt myt 'drm f h lt
                 s¹lm*

                 By Ṣ'd son of 'n'm son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of Ms¹k of the lineage of
                 Ḏ'f and he camped at this place the year 'drm died, so, O Lt, may he be
                 secure.

KRS 1886   *l mġyr bn ms¹k bn 'md bn mlk bn qḥs² w r'y h- 'bl f h s²[ḥ]qm ġnyt m- r'yt*

                 By Mġyr son of Ms¹k son of 'md son of Mlk son of Qḥs² and he pastured
                 the camels so, O [S²'ḥqm], may pasturing bring abundance.

KRS 1903   *l whb'l bn 'ktb w ḫrṣ 'l- rgl -h f h lt s¹lm w nq't l- ḏ y'wr*

                 By Whb'l son of 'ktb and he watched over his foot soldiers so, O Lt, may
                 they be secure but may he who would efface be thrown out of his grave.

KRS 1944   *l nẓr bn ḫfẓ bn s¹wd w h mlk h- s¹my my*

                 By Nẓr son of Ḫfẓ son of S¹wd and, O master of the sky (i.e., B'ls¹mn), let
                 there be water.

KRS 1949   *l whblh bn 'bd'l w r'y h- rglt nwy w ḫwf h ---- ḏs²r s¹lm w rwḥ*

                 By Whblh son of 'bd'l and he pastured the water-course while migrating
                 and he was in fear (of scarcity?) so, O Ḏs²r, let there be security and ease.

KRS 1964   *l ḏbr bn s¹b' bn ḫl w s²ty 'ny {'}lt f 'ḫlṣ '- ḏ'n ḏ 'l ḫlṣ*

                 By Ḏbr son of s¹b' son of {Ḫl} and he wintered suffering {from scarcity},
                 but he kept the sheep of the lineage of Ḫlṣ safe.

KRS 1965   *l ghm bn zhrn bn 'ḏ bn tm bn 'ḏ w ts²wq '[l-] ḥbb b- s²hr s¹bṭ f h lt qbll*

                 By Ghm son of Zhrn son of 'ḏ son of Tm and he longed {for} a friend in
                 the month of S¹bṭ, so, O Lt, let there be reunion with loved ones.

KRS 1990   *l 'n'm bn 'nf bn grm'l w r'y h- ḏ'n f h b'ls¹mn s¹lm w ṣyr f h lt qbl⟨l⟩ 'hl -h s¹lm*

                 By 'n'm son of 'nf son of Grm'l and he pastured the sheep so, O B'ls¹mn,
                 may he be secure, and he will return to a place of water so may he be
                 safely reunited with family.

KRS 1991   *l s¹ny bn ṣyd bn 'ṣr bn ġrm'l w wgm 'l- bny rġm mny w ts²wq 'l- 'hl -h f h lt
                 qbll w r'y h- ḏ'n s¹nt qbl 'l ḥrn qṣr 'l- flf{ṣ}*

                 By S¹ny son of Ṣyd son of 'ṣr son of Ġrm'l and he grieved for Bny who was
                 struck down by Fate; and he longed for his family, so, O Lt, let there be
                 reunion with loved ones; and he pastured the sheep the year the people
                 of the Ḥawrān complained to Caesar about {Philippus}.

KRS 1975   *l ḥmlt bn nhb bn zkr w qbrt ḥs¹m bnt ḫl -h f ngʿ*
By Ḥmlt son of Nhb son of Zkr and Ḥs¹m, daughter of his maternal uncle, was buried and so he grieved in pain.

KRS 2060   *l ʾny bn km bn ʾḥlm w ḥrṣ f h lt s¹lm*
By ʾny son of Km son of ʾḥlm and he kept watch, so O Lt, may he be secure.

KRS 2340   *l ʾnhk bn mġyr bn ḫlk bn ḫld bn mġyr ḏ ʾl ms¹kt w ndm ʿl- ʾb -h w ʿl- ʾdwd -h ʾrbʿt rġm mny w ʿl- ʾḥwl -h ʾrbʿt f rġm mny f h lt w h ds²r s¹ḥqt rḥt ks¹ṭ w ḏkr tmnh ʾbn fs¹ky*
By ʾnhk son of Mġyr son of Ḫlk son of Ḫld son of Mġyr of the lineage of Ms¹kt and he was devastated by grief on account of his father and his four paternal uncles, struck down by Fate, and for his four maternal uncles, struck down by Fate, so O Lt and Ds²r, may the kinsfolk of Ks¹ṭ be crushed and may Tmnh son of Fs¹ky be remembered.

KRS 2409   *l ḥdḏ bn wʿl w rʿy h- nḫl nwy*
By Ḥdḏ son of Wʿl and he pastured the valley while migrating.

KRS 2420   *l ʿqrb bn nhb w rʿy h- mʿzy f ḥrṣ h- [] ṣhy w wrd ʾʿly h- ṣwy ʾbgr b- ʾ- {d}r{n} f h bʿls¹mn rwḥ b- mṭr*
By ʿqrb son of Nhb and he pastured the goats and anticipated thirst, and he had come to these regions (?) to raise cairn of ʾbgr, so, O Bʿls¹mn, send the winds with rain!

KRS 2453 = mixed Safaitic-Hismaic
    l ḫg mt w lẓ ṯrm
    f mykn ḫlf lyly -h w ʾwm -h
    w h ʾbʿl ybt w l h bt w m nm
Mōt has held a feast; the scorner eats
Established is the alternation of his nights and days
Behold, Baʿal is cut off; cut off indeed, but not dead.

KRS 2460   *l gnʾl bn ʾys¹ ḏ ʾl ḏf w ḥrṣ ʾh -h s¹q[[]]m f h lt ns²l m s¹qm*
By Gnʾl son of ʾys¹ of the lineage of Ḏf and he watched over his brother who was sick, so, O Lt, may that which causes sickness be removed!

KRS 2499   *l ʿbd w rʿy h- mrb*
By ʿbd and he pastured this land with abundant herbage.

KRS 2525   *l s¹ʿdlh w rʿy w ṣwy*

By Sˡʿdlh and he pastured but suffered from the lack of rain.

KRS 2556   *l ṯbr bn ʾs²{r} bn hmnt w wgm ʿl- gmm w ds²r ṯʾr*

By Ṯbr son of {ʾs²r} son of Hmnt and he grieved for Gmm, so, O Ḏs²r, he will have vengeance.

KRS 2568   *l qdm bn mfny bn rmzn w rʿy h- ʾbl h- s²q nwy w tẓr h- s¹my f h bˡls¹mn rwḥ w s¹lm*

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 Bˡls¹mn, send the winds that he may be secure.

KRS 2569   *l ẓby bn ʾbrqn bn ṣbḥ bn hwd bn s¹ḫly bn hr w ḫrṣ f h lt w ds²ry s¹lm w ʿwr l- ḏyʿr h- s¹fr*

By Ẓby son of ʾbrqn son of Ṣbḥ son of Hwd son of Sˡḫly son of Hr and he kept watch, so, O Lt and Ds²ry, may he be secure, but may he who would efface this writing go blind.

KRS 2646   *l {ʿ}zz b{n} kfry w ḫrb kll*

By {ʿzz} {son of} Kfry and he plundered everything.

KRS 2869   *l mḫl bn hby bn ṣʿd bn gbs² bn qflt bn bdn bn glm bn yʿly h- ṣrt w ngd w tẓr ʿnd {-h} h lt w rḍy w ḏs²r s¹lm ġnmt*

By Mḫl son of Hby son of Ṣʿd son of Gbs² son of Qflt son of Bdn son of Glm son of Yʿly at the structure on high ground, and he was courageous while he stood guard at {it} (the structure); O Lt and Rḍy and Ḏs²r, let there be security [and] spoil!

KRS 2890   *l s¹r bn ws¹n bn bnn bn ʾs¹wr bn hs² bn ḥbt bn ʾl bn mnwl w wgm ʿl- ʾḫw {-h}*

By s¹r son of Ws¹n son of Bnn son of ʾs¹wr son of Hs² son of Ḥbt son of {ʾl} son of Mnwl and he grieved for {his} two brothers.

KRS 2914   *l grmʾl bn mtn bn yqm bn s²qr bn ġḥr bn nḏ bn ʾs²ym bn mʿnʾl bn brzt bn ʾs¹rk bn s¹ly bn qrḥ bn gr bn zm[[]]hr w hy lt ʿwr m ʿwr h- s¹fr w wgd h- mṣb f wgm f hy lt rwḥ*

By Grmʾl son of Mtn son of Yqm son of S²qr son of Ġḥr son of Nḏ son of ʾs²ym son of Mʿnʾl son of Brzt son of ʾs¹rk son of Sˡly son of Qrḥ 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 ʿs²q bn ʾgml w tnẓr d̲ ḥbt f h rd̲{w} {y}----*
By ʿs²q son of ʾgml and he awaited rain, so, O Rḍw, {y}----

KRS 3029   *{l} s¹d bn ʾnʿm bn hmlk bn n{h}{d̲} w tẓr d̲ mny f h rḍw fṣy m- bʾs¹ s¹ʿd h- d̲fy*
By S¹ʿd son of ʾnʿm son of Hmlk son of {Nhḏ} and Fate lay in wait, so, O
Rḍw, deliver S¹ʿd the Ḏf-ite from misfortune.

KRS 3074   *l s¹qn bn wtr d̲ ʾl ʿmrt w ʾlt ʾ- {ǵ}b ⟨⟨s¹⟩⟩ s¹lm w ʾgʿ -nh ʿn bn ʾns¹ {ʾ}- s²nʾ*
By S¹qn son of Wtr of the lineage of ʿmrt and, ʾlt ʾ-ǵb, may he be secure,
for ʿn son of ʾns¹, {the} enemy, has caused him pain.

KRS 3160   *l s²ʿl bn tts¹ bn s¹ḫr*
By S²ʿl son of Tts¹ son of S¹ḫr

KRS 3239   *l nṣr bn ʾs¹d bn ʿmrt h- ʾ- n{f}s¹ hn ql*
For Nṣr son of ʾs¹d son of ʿmrt is this {funerary monument}; (so) speak
here (i.e. make an invocation here).

KRS 3291   *l grmn w rʿy h- ʾbl f- h- nḫl w wrd h- ǵrbt*
By Grmn and he pastured the camels in the valley and went westward
to water.

KWQ 119   *l s²wʾ bn zʿbrn h ʾlt ʾ- ḫgr dn -hm yʿwr*
By S²wʾ son of Zʿbrn; O goddess of ʾ- ḫgr (Hegrā?), debase those who
would efface.

L 184   *l s¹mdʾl bn qn h- ẓby*
By S¹mdʾl son of Qn is the gazelle.

LP 82   *l s¹ʿd bn ng [b][n] dw[d] h- tmwy*
By S¹ʿd son of Ng [son of] [Dwd], the Taymanite.

LP 87   *l tmʾl bn qṭn bn nʿmn bn ms¹kʾl bn bs²mt bn t̲wr bn t̲ylt bn rʿd bn ḫbn bn
qnʾl hn- ḫwly w nfr mn rm*
By Tmʾl son of Qṭn son of Nʿmn son of Ms¹kʾl son of Bs²mt son of T̲wr
son of T̲ylt son of Rʿd son of Ḫbn son of Qnʾl the Ḫwl-ite and he fled from
Rome (i.e. the Romans).

LP 135   *l ḥy bn ʿly bn ḥwg w wgd s¹fr whbʾl ḫll*
By Ḥy son of ʿly son of Ḥwg and he found the writing of Whbʾl, a friend.

LP 146   *l flṭt bn tm bn flṭt bn bhs² w ḥll h- dr f r°[y] h- 'bl f h lt w b°ls¹mn s²y° h- gs²*
h- rdf f nqd

By Flṭt son of Tm son of Flṭt son of Bhs² and he camped in this place,
then [pastured] the camels, so, O Lt and B°ls¹mn, follow the rear guard,
then he prostrated.

LP 155   *l whblh bn grr bn °m{°}l bn mṭr w r°y h- bqr f h lt s¹{l}m*

By Whblh son of Grr son of {°m°l} son of Mṭr and he pastured the cattle,
so, O Lt, let there be {security}.

LP 161   *l flṭt bn tm bn flṭt bn b{h}s² bn 'dnt w ḥll °l- h- ḥs¹y f klm -h h- 's¹d f h lt s¹lm*

By Flṭt son of Tm son of Flṭt son of {Bhs²} son of 'dnt and he camped on
the edge of an area of sand, then the lion injured him, so, O Lt, may he
be secure.

LP 180   *l ms¹k bn ẓnn'l bn nr bn y°mr w trwḥ l- ys²rq l- mdbr f h lt mgdt w s¹lm m-*
s²n'

By Ms¹k son of Ẓnn'l son of Nr son of Y°mr and he will set off at night
in order to travel towards the inner desert, so O Lt, let there be bounty,
that he may be secure from adversity.

LP 183   *l mlk bn s¹°d bn ḥn'l bn ngy w {ḥ}ll {h-} dr w wgd s¹fr m°r ḏ °wq*

By Mlk son of S¹°d son of Ḥn'l son of Ngy and {he camped} in this place
and found the inscription of M°r who was imprisoned.

LP 201   *l °bṭ bn zhm h- ḍrḥ*

This tomb is for °bṭ son of Zhm.

LP 236   *l °ḏ bn °ḏ bn ġt w wgm °l- ġt qtl f yq{h}r -h l{h} mty {-h} w wgm °l- 'b f ['s¹]d w*
'rṣf

By °ḏ son of °ḏ son of Ġt and he grieved for Ġt, who was killed, so may
Lh make him {successful} in his journey; and he grieved for ['s¹d] and
'rṣf.

LP 243   *l °ḏ bn ġt bn °ḏ bn °ḏ bn ġt bn wdm bn s¹[r] bn ṣbḥ w b{k}y w wgm °l- 'b -h*
qtl f hy lh ṯ°r w ts²wq 'l- dd -h w 's²y° -h kll -hm w °{w}r l- ḏ y°wr

By °ḏ son of Ġt son of °ḏ son of °ḏ son of Ġt son of Wdm son of [S¹r]
of Ṣbḥ and he {wept} and grieved for his father, who was murdered, so,
O Lh, he will have vengeance; and he longed for his paternal uncle and
all of his companions; and may he who would {efface} go blind.

LP 246   *l ẓnn bn grs²*

By Ẓnn son of Grs²

LP 257   *l ʿwḏ bn ġnm bn lḏ bn s²mt w {ẖ}{ḏ}{r} b- {h-} {ḏ}r f ẖ lt s¹lm ẖ lt {ẖ}rs¹ l-m mẖbl h- {s¹}fr w ġmt l -h*

By ʿwḏ son of Ġnm son of Lḏ son of S²mt and {he camped by permanent water} near {this place} so, O Lt, may he be secure; O Lt, may whosoever would be an effacer of this {inscription} become mute and may sorrow be his!

LP 259   *[l] ḥfl bn ʾs¹d bn gʿl bn hgml w ġnm -h bʿls¹m{y} m- s²n[ʾ] w wgd [ʾ]t{r} dd f ngʿ*

[By] Ḥfl son of ʾs¹d son of Gʿl son of Hgml and may {Bʿls¹my} grant him spoil from [enemies] and he found the [trace] of his paternal uncle so he grieved in pain.

LP 264   *l mlkt bn ʾdyn*

By Mlkt son of ʾdyn.

LP 282   *l rbʾl bn ʾnhk h- nqt w h ʾlt ṣm w nqʾt m- qbr l- ḏ yʿwr -nh*

By Rbʾl son of ʾnhk is this she-camel so, O ʾlt, may he who would efface it go deaf and be thrown out of the grave.

LP 305   *l mnʾl bn ʾws²ʾl bn s¹ẖr bn ḥml w wgd s¹fr mnʾl w s¹fr tmʾl w s¹fr s¹ẖr ḏlln f ẖ lt s¹lm l- ḏ s¹ʾr w nqmt m ḏ qtl w wgm ʿl- ʾs¹ w ʿl- wdʿ w kl ḏlly w h bʿls¹mn ʿwr ḏ yʿwr h- s¹fr*

By Mnʾl son of ʾws²l son of S¹ẖr son of Ḥml and he found the writing of Mnʾl and the writing of Tmʾl and the writing of S¹ẖr, 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 ʾs¹ and for Wdʿ, both of whom were lost; and, O Bʿls¹mn, blind him who would efface this writing.

LP 306   *l bnʾlh bn ʾẖlm bn ʾzkr w ṭql ʿl- ʾẖ -h w ʿl- [ʾ]b -h w ʿl- dd -h w qnṭ h- s²nʾ f ẖ lt w gdʿwḏ wqyt w wgd ʾtr ʾs²yʿ -h f ngʿ*

By Bnʾlh son of ʾẖlm son of ʾzkr 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 Gdʿwḏ, let there be preservation, and he found the traces of his companions, so he grieved in pain.

LP 314   *l ms¹k bn ʾnʿm bn qdm w wgʿ ʾl- mġny w ʾl- ʾnʿm w ʾl- s¹ʿd*
By Ms¹k son of ʾnʿm son of Qdm and he grieved in pain for Mġny and for
ʾnʿm for S¹ʿd.

LP 317   *l n{z̧}r bn qnʾl bn qḥs² bn ḥdg h- nqt qṣyt l- nh{y}*
By {Nz̧r} son of Qnʾl son of Qḥs² son of Ḥdg is the she-camel, which was
dedicated to {Nhy}.

LP 319   *l ʾlwhb bn ʾs¹wd bn z̧lm h- dr*
By ʾlwhb son of ʾs¹wd son of Z̧lm, at this place.

LP 325   *l mṭr bn ʿm bn mṭr bn ʾnʿm bn qdm ḏ ʾl ʿwḏ w dmy l -h ʾb -h w ḫrṣ h- nw mʿ*
ʾh -h m- mdbr f h lt s¹lm w ġnmt l- ḏ dʿy h- s¹fr w ʿwr w ḫrs¹ l- ḏ y ʿwr h- ḫṭṭ
By Mṭr son of ʿm son of Mṭr son of ʾnʿm son of Qdm of the lineage of ʿwḏ
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 ʾnʿm bn mġny bn mġny w qyz̧ ʾl- h- nmrt w qnṭ h- s²nʾ f h lt s¹lm*
By Qdm son of ʾnʿm son of Mġny son of Mġny 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 hnʾ bn s²rk bn mḥlm bn ʾḏnt bn wrd bn nġbr ḏ ʾl ʿwḏ w wgd s¹fr ʾs²yʿ -h f*
ndm s¹nt ws¹q qbr w ʿzz h- ḥmy ʾl ʿwḏ f h gdʿwḏ w ds²r w h lt mʿwn s¹lm l- ḏ
s¹ʾr w ġnyt m- s²ḥṣ w mḥlt w ḫrs¹ w ʿrg l- ḏ ḥbl h- s¹fr w ġnmt l- ḏ dʿy
By Hnʾ son of S²rk son of Mḥlm son of ʾḏnt son of Wrd son of Nġbr of
the lineage of ʿwḏ 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 ʿwḏ, so, O Gdʿwḏ and Ds²r
and O Lt-mʿwn, 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 ʾnʿm bn ʿbd bn ʾlht bn whb w rʿy h- mʿzy l- nfs¹ -h s¹nt ḥrb ʾl ḏʾf ṭqt f h lt s¹lm*
w lʿn ḏ h{b}ĺ- ḫṭṭ
By ʾnʿm son of ʿbd son of ʾlht son of Whb and he pastured the goats by
himself the year the lineage of Ḏʾf plundered Ṭqt, so, O Lt, may he be
secure but curse him who would {obscure} this writing.

LP 409   *l ʾs¹ bn ʾs¹d bn rbʾl w wgd s¹fr ʿbd w ʾnʿm f ʾs̱ẖ ʾl- d̠ d̠ll*
By ʾs¹ son of ʾs¹d son of Rbʾl and he found the writing of ʿbd and ʾnʿm so he cried aloud in grief over those who were lost.

LP 460   *l ʾrbṭ bn ʾdbʾl bn ʿzzt h rd̠w hb l- ʿbd̠l nqmt {h} {l}t nʿm mn rḥ*
By ʾrbṭ son of ʾdbʾl son of ʿzzt; O Rd̠w, grant retribution to ʿdbʾl; {O} {Lt}, show favor to whosoever would depart (at night?).

LP 475   *l ʾmr bn ḥmyn w ng̣d̠b mn- bn {-h}*
By ʾmr son of Ḥmyn and he was angry because of {his} son.

LP 495   *h rd̠w flṭ -n m- bʾs¹ w nḥyy*
O Rd̠w, deliver us/me from misfortune that we/I may live long.

LP 504   *h ʾlt flṭ l- rgʿw hb l -h nʿm*
O ʾlt, deliver Rgʿ and grant him livestock.

LP 534   *l grm bn ṭmtn h- mqʿd h- ṣ[[]]d*
By Grm son of Ṭmtn, at this hide (seat of hunting).

LP 562.1 *l nn bn nz̠rʾl w wgd s¹fr ʾb -h f ngʿw l -h h- d̠ʾn*
By Nn son of Nz̠rʾl 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 ʿwr l- d̠ yʿwr -nh*
By Tbn is the horse and may whoever would efface it (the drawing of the horse) go blind.

LP 576   *l bddh bn ʾyl bn d̠r bn ʾs¹wr w ḫrṣ dn f rwḥ h ʾlt*
By Bddh son of ʾyl son of D̠r son of ʾs¹wr and he kept watch for Dn so, let there be relief, O ʾLt.

LP 597   *l ld̠n bn s¹ʿd bn s²rk bn rfd̠ bn ḥd̠l bn grmʾl w ḫrṣ ʾl- rgl -h w ḥd̠r*
By Ld̠n son of S¹ʿd son of S²rk son of Rfd̠ son of Ḥd̠l son of Grmʾl and he watched over his men while they camped by permanent water.

LP 619   *l ms¹kʾl bn ytm w hyh lt nl s¹lm h- mlk*
By Ms¹kʾl son of Ytm and, O Lt, may the king attain security.

LP 643   *l s²mt bn gs¹m bn s²mt bn ḫl'l w ngʿ 'l- s²mt 's¹r f h lt ys¹lm*

By S²mt son of Gs¹m son of S²mt son of Ḫl'l and he grieved in pain for S²mt, who was take prisoner, so, O Lt, may he be secure.

LP 653[3]   *l mġyr bn mḥlm bn ʿbd bn mʿz bn ms²r w ḥḍr h- dr s¹nt lgy[n] grmnqṣ b- nqʾt w wg[m] 'l- glḫn qtl w 'l- ʾb{n} qtl w 'l- mʿz qtl w 'l- mlk qtl w 'l- ns¹m w 'l- ṭr {h-} s¹mwy*

By Mġyr son of Mḥlm son of ʿbd son of Mʿz son of Ms²r and he camped by permanent water at this place the year the [legions] of Grmnqṣ were at Nqʾt; and he [grieved] for Glḫn, who was killed, and for {ʾbn}, who was killed, and for Mʿz, who was killed, and for Mlk, who was killed, and for Ns¹m, and for Ṭr, the S¹mw-ite.

LP 673   *l ʾḥrb bn s²ḫl bn ʾḥrb bn ms¹k bn s²rb w bny h- rgm w ʿwr {l-} ḏ yʿwr h- s¹fr w nqʾt b- wdd*

By ʾḥrb son of S²ḫl son of ʾḥrb son of Ms¹k son of S²rb and he built the funerary cairn, so may he who would efface this writing go blind and then be thrown out of the grave by a loved one.

LP 679   *l ḥny bn s¹ḫr bn ʿbd bn ʾdm bn ms¹k bn s²rb w tʾs¹ rdf bn ʾḫ -h qtl ʿrḍt f h lt ṭʿr m ʾ{s¹}lf{w} {ṭ}{b}r l -hm*

By Ḥny son of S¹ḫr son of ʿbd son of ʾdm son of Ms¹k son of S²rb and he despaired of Rdf, his brother's son, who was killed by/in an army, so, O Lt, he will have vengeance against the ones who {committed this act} and {destruction} be upon them!

LP 680   *l ʿm bn ḥny bn ʿbd w ts²wq 'l- rʿ -h*

By ʿm son of Ḥny son of ʿbd and he longed for his friend.

LP 684   *l ṣʾr bn tm bn khl w dmy wṣl ḏ h- ṣwy f[h] lt w gdʿwḏ nqʾt b- wdd {l-} ḏ yhb{l} h- ḫṭṭ*

By Ṣʾr son of Tm son of Khl and he drew (an image), having arrived at this cairn, so, [O] Lt and Gdʿwḏ, may he who would {obscure} this writing be thrown out of the grave by a loved one.

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3   I thank M.C.A. Macdonald for this reading.

LP 685   *l ẓlm bn w'l bn ẓlm w wgm 'l- 'b -h w bny h- ṣwy l- ṣ'r f h lt s¹lm w 'rk rḥ l- ḏ d'y h- ḫṭṭ*

By Ẓlm son of W'l son of Ẓlm and he grieved for his father while he built the cairn for Ṣ'r, so, O Lt, may he who would read this writing aloud have security and forbearance.

LP 687   *l m'z bn whb'l bn ṣ'd ḏ 'l ḏf f h lt s¹'dt mn d'y h- s¹fr*

By M'z son of Whb'l son of Ṣ'd of the lineage of Ḏf so, O Lt, may you aid whosoever would read this writing aloud.

LP 712   *l t'm bn s¹'d bn ḏr w wrd b- r'y ḏl [l-] {y}s²rb*

By T'm son of S¹'d son of Ḏr and he went to water during the rising of Pisces [in order to] drink.

LP 718   *l ḥmlt {b}{n} bnt w ẓ{h}r 's¹f -h mn- hd y's¹*

By Ḥmlt {son of} Bnt and his regret for him whom he upset {was evident}.

LP 732   *l s²rk bn ḫl bn s¹krn bn ṣbḥ w ṭrd h- ḏ'b ẓl' m- Mn 'kdy glḥ f [h] [l][t] [s¹][l][m]*

By S¹rk son of Ḫl son of S²krn son of Ṣbḥ and he drove away the wolf, which was seeking to copulate, from Mn after it had attacked so, [O Lt let there be security].

LP 742   *l 'm bn rbn w wrd mn- tl'n tḏb'*

By 'm son of Rbn and he came down from Tl'n in order to raid.

LP 1013   *l mlkt bn 'bn w ḫs¹r f mṭ{y} w h ḏs²r s¹lm -h {m-} {h}- s¹l{t}{n}*

By Mlkt son of 'bn and he suffered a loss while {journeying in haste}, so, O Ḏs²r, keep him safe from the authorities.

LP 1108   *l l'ṭ{m}{n} bn ṭmṭn bn {h}mlk w h lt s¹lm m- 'ls¹nt w 'wr {l-} ḏ y{'}{w}r h- s¹{f}{r}*

By {L'ṭmn} son of Ṭmṭn son of {Hmlk} and, O Lt, may he be secure against curses and may he who {would efface} this {writing} go blind.

LP 1198   *l m'n bn ġlmt bn ḫl bn ḥny bn ms¹{k} w ts¹ll f h lt s¹{l}m w ws¹n {s¹}{n}t XXIV f h {l}lt w s²hqm w h {g}{d} 'wd fṣ{y}{t}m- mt k'n w nq't l- ḏ y'wr h- s¹fr*

For M'n son of Ġlmt son of Ḫl son of Ḥny son of {Ms¹k} and there was commotion (in the land) so O Lt, may he be secure while he slumbers

{the year} XXIV; so, O {Lt} and S²hqm and O {Gdʿwḏ}, 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   {ʾ}{n}h ʾty ḏ dʿwt w zr h- bny s¹bḥ ymmt w dfʿ ʾtm w tʾḫ{y} h{n}
N/A

LP 1265   l ʾs¹ bn qdm bn mḥlm bn kh{l} w wgd s¹fr mty f nḏb ʿn h- m{ʾ}t ⟨⟨t⟩⟩{f}{r}s¹
By ʾs¹ son of Qdm son of Mḥlm son of {Khl} and he found the inscription of Mty, for he went missing from the {cavalry} unit.

LP 1261   l dbṣy bn ks¹ṭ ḏ nkr h- s²n{ʾ}
By Dbṣy son of Ks¹ṭ who contended with the {enemy}.

LP 1267   l bḫ{l}h bn lhyn bn ḥbb bn kdr bn ṯḥrt w ḥy f h {ʾ}lt l- {k}ʿmh ʾḫ -h⟨t⟩
By {Bḫlh} son of Lhyn son of Ḥbb son of Kdr son of Ṯḥrt and grant long life, O {ʾlt}, to {Kʿmh}, his brother.

M 358   l rbʾl bn ʾs¹d bn rbʾl bn ʾnʿm bn ms¹k w ʾlf h- mrbʿt f ṣy{r} b- h- ms²ty ʾl- h-
nmrt f h bʿls¹mn rwḥ w nqʾt b w----r s¹nt brḥ w{k}ʾk m- s¹ʿʿ
By Rbʾl son of ʾs¹d son of Rbʾl son of ʾnʿm son of Ms¹k and he fed (the animals) on dry fodder during the time of the early spring rains, so {he returned to a place of water} near the winter pasture on the edge of Namārah; so, O Bʿls¹mn, send the winds and ... the year Wkʾk departed from Sīʿ.

MA 1   l ṭrm bn b{n}{n} w ṯhr w ḏbḥ {l-} rḍy w ġnm nqt
By Ṭrm son of {Bnn} and he cleansed and performed a sacrifice {for} Rḍy that he may grant a she-camel as spoil.

MAHB 2   l qdm bn ls²ms¹ bn ẓʿn w wgd ʾṯr ʾs²yʿ -h f ngn
By Qdm son of Ls²ms¹ son of Ẓʿn and he found the inscription of his companions and went insane (on account of grief).

MAHB 5   l ʿmrn bn kdd bn qs¹m w rʿy h- rmḥ bql w kmʾt f h lt s¹lm m- bʾs¹
By ʿmrn son of Kdd son of Qs¹m and he pastured the herd of camels on fresh herbage and collected truffles, so, O Lt, may he be secure from misfortune.

MISSD 1   *l nʿmn bn ḫbyt bn nṣr bn nʿmn bn nṣr bn gr[m]ʾl bn kn bn nʿmn bn wʾl bn rbn bn s²ʿr bn kn bn ṯhrt bn hysʾr bn bʾs² bn ḏf w nṣb ʾtʿ sʾnt ʾmd qyṣr h- mdnt w sʾwy h- mdnt w bḫsʾ ʾl ʾsʾhm f ḥrb -hm ʾl mlk w ʿm h- ʿbs²y w ʾsʾ ḏ ʾl frt w ḏ ʾl yẓr*

By Nʿmn son of Ḫbyt son of Nṣr son of Nʿmn son of Nṣr son of {Grmʾl} son of Kn son of Nʿmn son of Wʾl son of Rbn son of S²ʿr son of Kn son of Ṯhrt son of Hysʾr son of Bʾs² son of Ḏf and he erected a cult-stone of ʾtʿ the year Caesar sent reinforcements to the province and restored order to the province and the lineage of ʾsʾhm was defeated, for the lineage of Mlk and ʿm the ʿbs²ite and ʾsʾ of the lineage of Frt and he/those of the lineage of Yẓr had (all) made war upon them.

MISSI 2   *l ʾtm bn rb [w] wgd mly s²ʿr*

By ʾtm son of Rb [and] he found the words of S²ʿr.

MKJS 1   *l ʾnʿm bn ʾysʾ bn ʿḏ bn ʾmr w s²ty ʿnzt nfr mn ʾ- rm*

By ʾnʿm son of ʾysʾ son of ʿḏ son of ʾmr and he wintered at ʿnzt, having fled from the Romans.

MKMR 9   *l {ʾ}{w}l bn bnt w nfr f ʾy{ḏ}*

By {ʿwl} son of Bnt and he fled, then {spent the dry season}.

MKMR 51   *l ʾḥd bn ʾḥnn w ġnmt*

By ʾḥd son of ʾḥnn and let there be spoil.

MKOWI 2   *l ḫl bn ws²yt w ḥrb -h ʾ- tlg w- sʾmyt ḥdt*

By Ḫl son of Ws²yt and the snow waged war upon him and the heavens were forbidding.

MKWS 8   *l ḏl bn s²rk bn rbḥ w kmn f h rḏy ġnmt w sʾlm w qbll ḏ ʾḥbb w nqʾt b- wdd ḏ ḫbl h- sʾfr w ʾmr h- mkmn sʾt ʾym f wny f gdʿwḏ w s²ʿhqm ġnmt qrb*

By Ḏl son of S²rk son of Rbḥ and he went into hiding, so, O Rḏy, let there be spoil and security and reunite those whom he loved; and may he who would obscure this writing by thrown out of the grave by a loved one; and he dwelt in this hiding place for six days and grew weary so, Gdʿwḏ and S²ʿhqm, let there be spoil soon!

MKWS 28   *l ʾlht bn hʾsʾ w tzr mny w h rḏw sʾʿd -h w ʾmr ʿs²r ṣyd*

By ʾlht son of Hʾsʾ and he awaited Fate and, O Rḏw, aid him while constructing ten snares.

Ms 37 *l ḫlf bn ḥrb bn ʾs¹ h- ḫṭṭ h ytˤ ˤwr ḏ yˤwr -nh*
By Ḫlf son of Ḥrb son of ʾs¹ is this writing; O Ytˤ, blind him who would efface them.

Ms 44 *l zd bn rgl w rˤy h- ʾbl h- ˤrḍ s¹nt myt bn qṣr w s¹mˤ ʾn myt flfṣ f s¹ḫr w h bkrt w h gddf lˤn ḏ yˤwr m yhnʾ w ġnmt l- ḏ dˤy h- tll*
By Zd son of Rgl and he pastured the camels in the valley the year the son of Caesar died but he heard that Flfṣ had died and was fooled—*and the young she-camel*—and O Gdḏf, curse him who would efface that which brings pleasure but may he who would read these words aloud have spoil.

Ms 64 *l ˤqrb bn ʾbgr b- ms¹rt ʾl ˤmrt frs¹ s¹nt ngy ġwṯ bn rḍwt*
By ˤqrb son of ʾbgr who was a horseman in the troop of the lineage of ˤmrt the year Ġwṯ son of Rḍwt was announced commander.

Mu 113 *l ṣˤd bn ḏb bn ˤbd bn ʾdm w ḫll h- dr dṯʾ f ʾyḍ f s²ty f h bˤls¹mn qbll*
By Ṣˤd son of Ḏb son of ˤbd son of ʾdm and he has camped in this place during the season of later rains, then the dry season, then the winter, so, O Bˤls¹mn, let there be reunion with loved ones!

Mu 141 *l rbʾl bn ʾnhk h- ḫṭṭ w ʾyh- lt nqʾt l- ḏ yˤwr*
By Rbʾl son of ʾnhk is this writing and, O Lt, may he who would efface be thrown out of the grave.

Mu 253 *l rbʾl bn ˤbd w wgd ʾtr ʾb -h f bk{y} w ḏkr l- ʾ{ḫ} -h {ʾ}wl f ngˤ f m hnʾ*
By Rbʾl son of ˤbd and he found the inscription of his father, so {he wept} and remembered his {brother}, ˤwl, so he grieved in pain and was unhappy.

Mu 278 *l ˤzhm bn ġḫfl bn ẓnn w m {m}ḥbl h- s¹fr nqʾt l- ʾḫ -h*
By ˤzhm son of Ġḫfl son of Ẓnn and whosoever would be {an effacer} of this writing, may his brother be thrown out of the grave.

Mu 412 *l qdm bn ḥmy bn ˤlg w wny m- tnẓr h- mlkt*
By Qdm son of Ḥmy son of ˤlg and he grew weak of waiting for the queen.

Mu 537 *l s²qr bn ˤ{m} w tḏkr ----*
By S²rq son of {ˤm} and he remembered ...

Mu 550   *h ʾlt s¹ʿd ysˡmˡl bn fḥl ʿbd -k*
O ʾlt aid Ysˡmˡl son of Fḥl, your servant.

Mu 867   *l ʿbd bn ġt bn s²rk w s²ty {b-} ʿrḍ h- nmrt w qyẓ*
By ʿbd son of Ġt son of S²rk and he wintered {near} the valley of Namā-
rah and spent the dry season (there as well).

MSNS 1   *l ʾnʿm bn ġt bn s²hm w wrd h ʾḏyt h- ʿwḏy f bˡls¹mn ġyrt w s¹lm m- s²ny*
By ʾnʿm son of Ġt son of S²hm and he went to water at this pool of
the ʿwḏ-ites, so Bˡls¹mn, let there be blood money and security from
enemies.

MSNS 2   *l grmˡl bn s¹ʿd bn qḥs² w bġy ʾh -h f lm yʾd f qṣf*
By Grmˡl son of S¹ʿd son of Qḥs² 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 ʾḏyt h- ʿwḏy bn ṭrd*
By Qdm son of Ghm and he went to water at the watering-hole of the
ʿwḏ-ite(s) son(s) of Ṭrd.

N 101   *l ʿbdt hn- ʿyr*
By ʿbdt is the small ass.

NRW.D 1   *l s¹krn bn qdm ḏ ʾl s¹b w ʿly h- ʾfs¹ l- frs¹ grmˡl f h lt ẖlft*
By S¹krn son of Qdm of the lineage of S¹b and he erected these funerary
monuments for the horsemen of Grmˡl so, O Lt, may you grant compen-
sation.

NSR 82   *l gry bn ʾḏnt bn ṣr bn ḥwr w dt̠ʾ w {ṣ}wy*
By Gry son of ʾḏnt son of Ṣr son of Ḥwr and he spent the season of the
later rains, but {suffered from the lack of rain}.

NSR 117   *l ʾtm bn wznt bn wʿd w wgm ʿl- yʾs²b w ʿl- s¹ʿdʾl w ʿl- ʾs¹d w ʿl- ẖld w dt̠ʾ w wḥd*
By ʾtm son of Wznt son of Wʿd and he grieved for Yʾs²b and for S¹ʿdʾl and
for ʾs¹d and for H̱ld and he spent the season of the later rains while being
alone.

NST 2   *l ḍb bn ʿṣm ḏ ʾl tm w wgm ʿl- ẖld ʾẖt -h mtt trẖt w ʿbs¹ w rġmt mn[y] mn-*
mt
By Ḍb son of ʿṣm of the lineage of Tm and he grieved for H̱ ld, his sister,
who died, perished; and he was austere because she was struck down
by [Fate] ...

NST 3   *l s²ᶜ bn khl w wgm 'l- s²gʾ ʾḫ -h rġm mny w ʾty nẓr h- ṯbrn mn- ʾl ṣbḥ s¹nt ḥrb -hm ʾl ʿwḏ b- wʾl w ġnmt l- ḏ dʿy w ʿwr ds²r ḏ ḫbl*

By S²ᶜ son of Khl and he grieved for S²gʾ, his brother, struck down by Fate, and the warriors from the lineage of Ṣbḥ came to guard the year the lineage of ʿwḏ waged war upon them near Wʾl; and may he who would read aloud have spoil but may Ds²r blind him who would obscure.

NST 7   *l tm bn nʾrʾl ḏ ʾl ḏf w ḫyṭ mdbr f h lt mgdt w s¹lm*

By Tm son of Nʾrʾl of the lineage of Ḏf and he will journey to the inner desert so, O Lt, let there be bounty that he may be secure.

QZUI 462   *l ʾs¹d bn ḥmy w ṭrq ʿn- h h- mrd f h lt nqmt*

By ʾs¹d son of Ḥmy and the rebel struck out his eye so, O Lt, let there be retribution.

RQ.A 1   *l ġṯ bn ms¹k bn ḫrg bn ḫt w s²ry h- frs¹ m- mlk b- ʿs²rn mny*

By Ġṯ son of Ms¹k son of Ḫrg son of Ḫt and he purchased the horse from Mlk for twenty Minas.

RQ.A 10   *l ms¹k bn ḥ{l}{f} bn s¹ḫr bn ḥd bn mḫrb ḏ {ʾ}l s²ry w [[]]s¹rt ʾl- mlk h- s¹lṭn s¹nt bnḫr {ʾ}ml{k} b- {ʾ}{z} rmʾn w b- mʾty frs¹*

By Ms¹k son of Ḥ{l}{f} son of S¹ḫr son of Ḥd son of Mḫrb {of the lineage of} S²ry and he served in a troop under the possessor of authority (a governor?) the year Bnḫr took control with 77 archers and two cavalry units.

RR 4   *l mrʾ bn gnnʾl bn mrʾ bn s²fw ḥrṣ b'¹ s²nʾ w ... f hy lt fṣy sġrʾ w b's¹ l- bġy b's¹*

By Mrʾ son of Gnnʾl son of Mrʾ son of S²f and he anticipated the affliction of enemies and ... O Lt, deliver Sġrʾ and misfortune be to them who seek (to cause) affliction.

RSIS 80   *l ʿqrb bn ʿbd bn nʿmn bn kn w mr b- ḏf f ʿdy h- ʾs¹d f ḫbl rbʿt f h lt brkt ʾḫk ḏ-*

By ʿqrb son of ʿbd son of Nʿmn son of Kn and he passed by Ḏf; and Leo transgressed and ruined the spring, so, O Lt, bless ʾḫk ḏ ...

RSIS 199   *l bll bn grm bn drr w rʿyw [w] wrdw h- nmrt f h lt rwḥ*

By Bll son of Grm son of Drr and he (?) pastured [and] went to water at Namārah so, O Lt, let there be ease.

RSIS 204   *l bll bn grm bn drr w ts²wqw ʾl- ṣḥ w ʾl- ms¹kt w ḫrṣw h- s¹nt fʾ bʿls¹mn rwḥ b- mṭrt*
By Bll son of Grm son of Drr and he (?) longed for Ṣḥ and for Ms¹kt while he (?) kept watch this year so, O Bʿls¹mn, send the winds with rain.

RSIS 324   *l s²ʿtm bn wtr bn ʾbgr ḏ ʾl frṯ w rʿyw h-ḏn s¹nt ḥrb yhd*
By S²ʿtm son of Wtr son of ʾbgr of the lineage of Frṯ and he (?) pastured the sheep the year of the war of the Jews.

RSIS 339   *l ṣrm bn rmmt h- dr h- ṯfl w wrd h- bʾr b- h- nmrt*
By Ṣrm son of Rmmt, at this place (of) sediment (?), and he went to water at the well near Namārah.

RSIS 351   *l s¹ḥr bn ʿbd bn ʾdm bn ms¹k bn s²rb w ḏkr ḏr w bky ʾ[l]- ʾb -h w [ʾl-] ʿbd w dd -h f wlh ʾl- ḏ ḏr f tfqd w s²ty ḥrt ʿwd w ḥl h- dr w nqʾt w grb l- ḏy yʿwr h- ḫṭṭ*
By S¹ḥr son of ʿbd son of ʾdm son of Ms¹k son of S²rb and he remembered Ḏr and wept [for] his father and [for] ʿbd and his paternal uncle and so he was distraught over those who were harmed and were lost; and he spent the winter in the Ḥarrah again and camped in this place; and may he who would efface this writing have scabies and be thrown from the grave.

Rsh 1   *l hnʾ bn qḥf w bny h- mġrt*
By Hnʾ son of Qḥf and he built the tomb-chamber.

RVP 7   *l ʿzhm bn nbs² w ġzz b- rḫbt wrḫn*
By ʿzhm son of Nbs² and he raided Rḫbt over a period of two months.

RWQ 62   *l ʾs¹lk bn s²dd w ytʿ rwḥ ʾws¹n*
By ʾs¹lk son of S²dd and, O Ytʿ, grant ease by means of (a) boon(s).

RWQ 73   *l s¹lmt bn bnn bn brd w ḥḍr b-ʾẓmy h lt w h ḏs²r lʿn ḥwlt hḏ ʾẓm w wgm ʾl-ṯrm f h lt w y ḏs²r f h ḏs²r m ẓlm ms¹k f bqr*
By S¹lmt son of Bnn son of Brd and he camped by permanent water near ʾẓmy; O Lt and O Ḏs²r, curse the Ḥwlt-ites who acted wrongfully, and he grieved for Ṯrm, so, O Lt and O Ḏs²r, and even Ḏs²r, whosoever would/has oppress(ed) Ms¹k, split him in two.

RWQ 117   *l ʾnʿm bn zbdhm w ḥḍr w wgm w nṣr*
By ʾnʿm son of Zbdhm and he camped near water and grieved and was in need of aid.

RWQ 120   *l ns²l bn ṣbḥ bn ḫl bn ms¹k bn dd w ḫrṣ l- ʾs²ᶜ -h w ḥḍr w wgm ʾl yḥy*
By Ns²l son of Ṣbḥ son of Ḫl son of Ms¹k son of Dd and he kept watch on behalf of his companions while they camped near permanent water; and he grieved for Yḥy.

RWQ 155   *l rm w ṣʿt w m nm*
By Rm and there was unrest but he did not perish.

RWQ 281   *l ḥrn bn rbn bn ʿmr bn s¹r bn ṭyr bn ṭyr bn ʾgrd bn hnʾ bn ḥrr bn ʾbyn bn ḍ bn ʾġs¹m bn mkbl bn yẓr w rʿy h-ʾbl w ḫll f h lt s¹lm w nqʾt l-ḏ yʿwr h-s¹fr w tẓr h-s¹my ... f h bʿls¹my rwḥ*
By Ḥrn son of Rbn son of ʿmr son of S¹r son of Ṭyr son of Ṭyr son of ʾgrd son of Hnʾ son of Ḥrr son of ʾbyn son of ḍ son of ʾġs¹m son of Mkbl son of Yẓr 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 Bʿls¹my, send the winds.

RWQ 310   *l ḥd bn ḫlṣ bn tm bn s¹ḥr bn mfny bn nʿmn w ngʿ mʾl- hnmr*
By Ḥd son of Ḫlṣ son of Tm son of S¹ḥr son of Mfny son of Nʿmn and he grieved in pain on account of Hnmr.

RWQ 317   *l qrmʾl bn ẓʿn bn bnt bn ẓʿn w wld h- mʿzy w ts²ry h- s¹my*
By Qrmʾl son of Ẓʿn son of Bnt son of Ẓʿn and he helped the goats to give birth while the rains were scattered.

RWQ 323   *l s²mk bn s²nf bn ʾʿbd w ḍbʾ m- ḥrn*
By S²mk son of S²nf son of ʾʿbd and he raided a part of the Ḥawrān/from Ḥawrān.

RWQ 329   *l ʿqrb bn grmʾl bn bḫtn w ḥrṣ ʾbgr ʾh -h ṣmkr ʾl- nhr frt f h gdḏf s¹lm*
By ʿqrb son of Grmʾl son of Bḫtn and he kept watch for ʾbgr, his brother, at Ṣmkr bordering the river Euphrates, so, O Gdḏf, let there be security.

RWQ 334   *l mnʿt bn mgd bn mrʾ bn ẓnnʾl w wgd ʾtr ʾl ḏf glyn mḥrb nbṭ ... t l- mdnt*
By Mnʿt son of Mgd son of Mrʾ son of Ẓnnʾl and he found the trace(s) of the lineage of Ḍf erased, plundered by the Nabataeans ... for the province.

RWQ 335   *l ʾnʿm bn ʾs¹ bn ḫr bn ... bn ʾdnt w rʿy -h ʾl ḥwlt s¹nt ... f h lt ʾws¹ w s¹ʿd bn w ḫrṣ bʾs¹ w ḫr f h lt wqyt*

By ʾnʿm son of ʾs¹ son of Ḥr son of ... son of ʾdnt and the people of Ḥwlt pastured here (or them, i.e. the animals) the year ... so, O Lt, grant a boon and let good fortune be manifest, and he expected misfortune so let there be good, and, O Lt, let there be protection.

RWQ 339   *l bhs² bn ʾdnt bn ʾs¹ bn kmd w rʿy h- ʿrḍ s¹nt mrq ʾs²h ḏ ʾl ʿmrt w qnṭ s²nʾ*

By Bhs² son of ʾdnt son of ʾs¹ son of Kmd and he pastured this valley the year the sheep of the lineage of ʿmrt passed by and so he despaired on account of enemies.

RWQ 346   *l ʾs¹ bn ḥs¹n bn ḥnn ḏ ʾl ḏf mn ʾl s²wʾ s¹nt tʿql ʾl ḏf w ʾl ʿwḏ*

By ʾs¹ son of Ḥs¹n son of Ḥnn of the lineage of Ḏf from the clan (?) of S²wʾ, the year the lineage of Ḏf and the lineage of ʿwḏ formed an alliance.

RWQ 347   *l s¹krnn bn grmʾl ḏ ʾl s²wʾ s¹nt s¹rt ʾl ḏf l- ʿwḏ*

By S¹krnn son of Grmʾl of the lineage of S²wʾ, the year the lineage of Ḏf served in a troop for the ʿwḏ.

RWQ 349   *l ʾnʿm bn ʾws¹ bn ḫl bn ʾs¹ḫr bn ʾḫnt w rʿy b-ʾl ḥwlt s¹nt fs¹ṭ f h lt ʾws¹*

By ʾnʿm son of ʾws¹ son of Ḫl son of ʾs¹ḫr son of ʾḫnt and he pastured with the people of Ḥwlt the year they spread out, so, O Lt, grant a boon.

RyD 6822   *l ʿbṯ bn ʿqrb ḏ ʾl ʾdm w wgm ʾl- ʿm trḥ mḥll*

By ʿbṯ son of ʿqrb of the lineage of ʾdm and he grieved for ʿm, who had perished, while camping.

SIAM 30   *l grmt b{t} ḫr w glsʾt ʾl- y{ʾ}m⟨⟨f⟩⟩r f wg[d]t sʾfr ʾb f wgmt ʾl -h*

By Grmt {daughter of} Ḥ r and she haulted until (the rising of?) {Capricorn} then she [found] the writing of ʾb and so she grieved for him.

SESP.D 12   *l ġṯ bn ġḫfl bn ẓnn bn ʿzhm w dṯʾ h- ʿrḍ ḏ ʾl nġbr w ʿwr w ʿrg l- ḏ yʿwr mʾl-ḥwq w ġnmt ʾbl l- ḏ dʿy*

By Ġṯ son of Ġḫfl son of Ẓnn son of ʿzhm and he spent the season of the later rains in this valley of the lineage of Nġbr; and may he who would efface out of jealousy go blind and become lame but let him who would read aloud have camels as spoil.

SESP.U 13   *l ms¹k'l bn ḥmy w ḥrṣ 'hw -h ms²rqn f h lt s¹lm*
             By Ms¹k'l son of Ḥmy and he kept watch for his brothers who were
             travelling to the inner desert, so, O Lt, may they be secure.

SESP.U 17   *l 'dm bn ṣ'd bn z̧'n bn rgl bn ṣ'{d} bn ---- w wgm 'l- 'ṣbḥ w 'l- ns²' w 'l- rf't w
             'l- 's¹ w h b'ls¹mn wqyt l- d̠ s²rq*
             By 'dm son of Ṣ'd son of Z̧'n son of Rgl son of {Ṣ'd} son of --- and he
             grieved for 'ṣbḥ and for Ns²' and for Rf't and for 's¹; and O B'ls¹mn, may
             he who travels to the inner desert have protection.

SESP.U 18   *l 's¹d bn 'n'm bn 's¹d bn rb'l bn 'n'm bn ms¹k bn s²rb w ḥrṣ h- s²ḥṣ f h s²ḥqm
             s¹lm w tz̧r h- s¹my b- s¹rt̠ f h b'ls¹mn trwḥ b- mt̠r w nq't b- wdd l- d̠ 'wr h- s¹fr*
             By 's¹d son of 'n'm son of 's¹d son of Rb'l son of 'n'm son of Ms¹k son of
             S²rb and he anticipated want (of rain) so, O S²ḥqm, let there be security
             while he awaited the rains during Cancer; so, O B'ls¹mn, send the winds
             with rain, and may he who would efface this writing be thrown from the
             grave by a loved one.

SESP.U 26   *l bny bn 's¹ bn ṣ'dn w bny m' z̧n'l h- s¹tr*
             By Bny son of 's¹ son of Ṣ'dn and he built the shelter with Z̧n'l.

SG 1 = LP 722   *l ''s¹d bn s²' bn ḥg bn s¹wd w 'lf h- m'zy s¹nt b's¹ w ḥgz -h b'ls¹mn 'kd-h yṣn w
             ġnmt l- d̠ d'y w 'wr l- d̠ 'wr h- ḥt̠t̠*
             By ''s¹d son of S²' son of Ḥg son of S¹wd and he fed the goats on dry
             fodder the year of misery because B'ls¹mn withheld it (i.e. the rain); but
             may he preserve (it) thereafter (lit. after it); and may he who would
             read aloud have spoil but may he who would efface this writing go
             blind.

SG 5   *l qdm bn gmm bn 'n'm bn 'd̠nt d̠ 'l nġbr w mrd s¹nt h- dr qṣryn fqd 'ḫ -h 'n'm
             trḥ rġm -h mny f wlh 'rtn yqbl b- bs¹'l w rym 'l -h [f] h m- z̧ll ḫbt yt'gr f h lt
             rwḥ w nqmt m- d̠ 's¹lf 'gl*
             By Qdm son of Gmm son of 'n'm son of 'd̠nt of the people of Nġbr and
             he rebelled the year Qṣryn 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 Bs¹'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) compen-
             sated, and, O Lt, let there be respite and hasty vengeance against him
             who has committed this act.

ShNGA 1   *l ḥmlt bn s¹lm [ḏ] ʾl ṣt ḏ ʾl [ḏf] w ʿyr b- rḥt -h ʿmrn ḏ ʾl gʿbrt{} lh [w] tmlh ḏ*
ʾl ʾṭ w ḏkr ʾrḥtt -h f h lt s¹lm w wqyt m bʾs¹
By Ḥmlt son of S¹lm [of] the lineage of Ṣṭf the lineage of [Ḏf] and ʿmrn
of the lineage of Gʿbrtlh journeyed with his kinsfolk and Tmlh of the
lineage of ʾṭ so may his kinsfolk be remembered, so, O Lt, may he be
secure and let there be protection from misfortune.

SIJ 37   *l ṭrṣ bn bnklbt bn mṭr bn mʿz bn fḏg w mlḥ f h lt s¹lm w fṣyt m- bʾs¹ ʾ- s¹nt*
By Ṭrṣ son of Bnklbt son of Mṭr son of Mʿz son of Fḏg and he traded salt
so, O Lt, let there be security and deliverance from misfortune this year.

SIJ 59   *l {m}nʾt bn ʿd bn gtt w nzr s¹nt ḥrbt ʾl ʿwḏ ʾl ṣbḥ f h ds²r s¹lm w ġnmt*
By {Mnʾt} son of ʿd son of Gtt and he stood guard the year the lineage of
ʿwḏ waged war against the lineage of Ṣbḥ, so, O Ds²r, let there be security
and spoil.

SIJ 78   *l mty bn ḫzn w mrd ʿl- rm s¹nt ʾty h- mdy bṣry f h lt s¹lm*
By Mty son of Ḫzn and he rebelled against Rome the year the Persians
came to Bosrā, so, O Lt, let there be security.

SIJ 152   *l ʾs¹ḫʾlh bn lbd w wgʿ ʿm f ʿm*
By ʾs¹ḫʾlh son of Lbd and he grieved in pain year after year.

SIJ 274   *l ḥlṣt {w} ḏs²r ʿlm [m] ḫbʾ b- s¹tr*
By Ḥ lṣt {and} Ḏs²r is all-knowing of [what] is hidden behind veils.

SIJ 293[4]   *l ms¹k bn bdbl bn ms¹k bn rfʾt w ʾṣly w ʾqs¹m b- ʾlh ḥy l- hdy ʿẓm*
By Ms¹k son of Bdbl son of Ms¹k son of Rfʾt and he made a burnt offering
and swore by ʾlh, who is living, that he shall lead with greatness.

SIJ 352   *l s²ʿ bn qmr bn s²ʿ bn ʾs¹ bn zhr w nfr mn rm w ts²wq [ʾ]l- ʾḥwn -h l- mdbr*
By S²ʿ son of Qmr son of S²ʿ son of ʾs¹ 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 ḫlq w {r}ʿy f h {r}{ḍ}w {ġ}yr*
By Wdm son of Ḫlq and {he pastured} so, O {Rḍw}, {provide provisions}!

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4 This reading was made by M.C.A. Macdonald based on a photograph and is not found in SIJ.

SIJ 750
l ʿm bn ẓnʾl w ts²wq ʾl- ḥm -h ẓnʾl f h lt {ʾ}db l -h ġlm w ʾ{ḫ}t -h rḫlt w {ṣ}wn f q[y][t]

By ʿm son of Ẓnʾl and he longed for his father-in-law Ẓnʾl so, O Lt, {grant} him a servant boy and his {sister} an ewe-lamb, and {preserve} and [protect].

SIJ 786
l rbn bn ḥd d̠ ʾl ms¹kt w qṣṣ w nẓr s¹nt ngyt ʾ-mlkt

By Rbn son of Ḥd of the lineage of Ms¹kt and he patrolled and stood guard the year the queen was announced.

SIJ 808
l ys¹mʿl {b}{n} ----wd w nẓr s²{n}ʾf h lt fṣy

By Ys¹mʿl {son of} ----wd and he stood guard against {enemies} so, O Lt, deliver!

SIJ 957
l ʿm bn mn f ʾtw ⟨⟨⟩⟩ mn ḥrt

For ʿm son of Mn, so may he come from the Ḥarrah.

SIJ 1008
l ⟨⟨⟩⟩ bʾmrh {w} gdʿw[d̠] nw{y} w ʾqwy w dt̠ʾ w qy[ẓ] w s²ty h- rḥbt ʿwd w h ʾ{l}{t} s¹fʾ -hm

By Bʾmrh and, [Gdʿwd̠], 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 ʾlt, let them (i.e. the seasons) provide sustenance.

SW 168
l ẓnn bn mʿhm bn nʿmy bn lbʾ w qtl gml -[h] ʾwl s¹rn -h f ḥwb

By Ẓnn son of Mʿhm son of Nʿmy son of Lbʾ and [his] camel was killed at the beginning of his journey, so he lamented.

SW 193
l nṣr bn ʿhd bn ḥnn bn ḥtmt bn ʾnʿm bn ġlmt w ts²wq ʾl- ʾḫ -h ḫr f h lt qbll w ġnyt kl ʾbd w rʿy h- ʾbl w ʿwr d̠- yʿwr

By Nṣr son of ʿhd son of Ḥnn son of Ḥtmt son of ʾnʿm son of Ġlmt and he longed for his brother, Ḥr, so, O Lt, let there be reunion with loved ones and freedom from want for all time and pasturing (?) of camels but blind him who would efface.

SW 264
l grm bn s²mt w bh{ʾ} b- ʿrs¹ mnqs¹ w s²ty f h ytʿ ġn ʿm- h flt mn s¹nt

By Grm son of S²mt and he rejoiced at the wedding of Mnqs¹ while wintering, so, O Ytʿ, render his people free from want; may [the] year bring deliverance.

UIO 27   *l- PN h- ḥmr*
                By PN is the donkey.

UIO 117   *w myt ʾʿnz -h b- h- ẓrt*
                and his she-goats died in the sheepfold.

UIO 183   *w rʿy ḥry f h lt l ʿṣt ḏ ʾḏyr*
                and he pastured Ḥry, so, O Lt, may you indeed cause hardship to him
                who causes anger.

UIO 268   *h ʾlt s²{ʾ} hn w s¹lm hn ngr -h*
                O ʾlt, want is here so let there be here security to preserve him.

UIO 298   *w rʾy s²nʾ qrb f h rḍw ġwṯ*
                and he saw an enemy nearby, so, O Rḍw, remove affliction!

Vogue 404.1   *l ks¹ṭ bn ʿms¹ bn ḥn bn ḥnn bn s²hyt w wlh ʿl- bn -h zʾm w bny l- bn -h h- nfs¹*
                By Ks¹ṭ son of ʿms¹ son of Ḥn son of Ḥnn son of S²hyt and he was
                distraught over his son, who had died, and he built for his son the
                funerary monument.

Vogue 404.2   *l ʿn bn ks¹ṭ h- nfs¹*
                The funerary monument is for ʿn son of Ks¹ṭ.

WGGR 1   *l ġṯ bn hnʾ w rʿy h- ḍʾn w wgm ʿl- bʿls¹mn s¹nt mḥ{l} w lm tmṭr h- s¹knt bwny*
                rdn ḥwwt f h lt w s²ʿhqm s¹lm w ġnmt
                By Ġṯ son of Hnʾ and he pastured the sheep and grieved for Bʿls¹mn 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 S²ʿhqm, let there be security and spoil.

WH 1   *l hnʾ bn ʿwḏn bn bny ḏ ʾl ḏf w qbr ʾbgr*
                By Hnʾ son of ʿwḏn son of Bny of the lineage of Ḏf and he buried ʾbgr.

WH 15   *l ḥts¹t bn s¹krn bn grmʾl w wgm ʿl- ʾbgr ḏ ʾl ḏf s¹nt ngy whbʾl hdy*
                By Ḥts¹t son of S¹krn son of Grmʾl and he grieved for ʾbgr of the lineage
                Ḏf the year Whbʾl was announced commander.

WH 30   *l s²ʿrb bn ʾḥbb bn ns²wn h rʿy h- rḥb*
                By S²ʿrb son of ʾḥbb son of Ns²wn; he pastured these spacious tracts.

WH 65

l nẓmt bn 's²lb w ġzz h- nḫl

By Nẓmt son of 's²lb and he raided in this valley.

WH 116

l {g}tm bn bṭ bn ʿmr bn mlkt w ḥy{b} ʿ⟨l⟩ mḥbb ḥb

By {Gtm} son of Bṭ son of ʿmr son of Mlkt and he lamented greatly {over} a loved one.

WH 128

l ẓn'l bn rgl w wḥd ġzz

By Ẓn'l son of Rgl and he was alone after having gone on a raid.

WH 135

l qny f h lt qbll 'hl s¹lm f nngy

By Qny so, O Lt, let there be reunion with (my) family that we/I may be saved.

WH 138

l mlyt bn ẓnn h- mẓr

By Mlyt son of Ẓnn, at this look-out.

WH 153

l s²mt bn ʿbd bn ġt bn s²rk bn s¹krn w ngy m- ḥwlt f h lt s¹lm l- ḏ s¹ʿr w ʿwr l- ḏ yʿwr h- s¹frt

By S²mt son of ʿbd son of Ġt son of S²rk son of S¹krn and he escaped from the Ḥwlt so, O Lt, may he who would leave (this inscription) untouched have security but may he who would efface this writing go blind.

WH 159

l wd bn ytm bn wd bn ytm w rʿy h- mʿzy f h lt s¹lm w wqyt m- b's¹

By Wd son of Ytm son of Wd son of Ytm and he pastured goats so, O Lt, let there be security and protection from misfortune.

WH 161

l frhz bn kmd w ṭrd mn- ḥrn f rʿy kll 'rḍ

By Frhz son of Kmd and he was driven from Ḥawrān, so he pastured every region.

WH 179

l nd' bn ḏl bn rbn w ġzz b- ḥrt tbl h- bkrt m- mʿn

By Nd' son of Ḏl son of Rbn and he raided the Ḥarrah to bring (back) the she-camel(s) from Mʿn.

WH 181

l 'nʿm bn mġny bn wḥs² w wgm ʿl- mṭr w ʿl- dh{n} trḥn w dṯ' h- ms¹nn f h lt s¹lm w nq't b- ṣdq l- ḏ yḫbl h- ḫṭṭ

By 'nʿm son of Mġny son of Wḥs² and he grieved for Mṭr and {Dhn}, both of whom had perished, and he spent the season of the later rains in this

land in which the herbage had been eaten, so, O Lt, may he be secure, and may he who would spoil this writing be thrown out of his grave by a friend.

WH 182 *l ṣm bn {b}ḫr h- bkrtn*
By Ṣm son of {Bḫr} are the two she-camels.

WH 214 *l mty bt ḫrʿt*
By Mty daughter of Ḫrʿt

WH 234 *l ẓʿn bn ʿn w bny ʾ- rgm*
By Ẓʿn son of ʿn and he built the cairn.

WH 289 *l dʾl bn ʾmrʾl w qyẓ brkt*
By Dʾl son of ʾmrʾl and he spent the summer at Brkt.

WH 318 *l mlyt bn ẓnn h- mẓr*
By Mlyt son of Ẓnn, at the look-out point.

WH 325 *l ʾs¹lm w dṯ b- h- ʾbl w wgd ʾtr ʿm -h*
By ʾs¹lm and he spent the season of the later rains with the camels and he found the trace of his grandfather.

WH 329 *l s¹ʿd bn ṣbḥ h- rgm*
This funerary cairn is for S¹ʿd son of Ṣbḥ.

WH 345 *l kṯ {b}t ʾḥ ḏ ʾl n----*
By Kṯ {daughter of} ʾḥ of the lineage of N---

WH 351 *l ʾḫ bn ydʿ w s¹r -h ṣr ḥyt*
By ʾḫ son of Ydʿ and images of animals pleased him.

WH 359 *l ṣrm bn rmmt w tẓr ḥyt*
By Ṣrm son of Rmmt and he lay in wait for animals.

WH 368 *l bny bn s¹hm bn qḥs² h- ḥtt w h lt ʿwr w ʿrg w ḥrs¹ w grb w ḥkk l- ḏ yʿwr h- s¹fr*
By Bny son of S¹hm son of Qḥs² is this writing and, O Lt, let there be blindness and lameness and dumbness and scab and mange to him who would efface this writing.

WH 375   *l rgl bn s²hm w bḥ' b'd 'tm 'ys¹*
            By Rgl son of S²hm and he rejoiced on account of the wedding of 'ys¹.

WH 398   *l 'wḏn bn ẓn'l bn s¹krn w wgm 'l- ẓn'l w thṛṣ m- s²n' f h b'ls¹mn fṣyt*
            By 'wḏn son of Ẓn'l son of S¹krn and he mourned for Ẓn'l and he was
            cautious on account of enemies so, O B'ls¹mn, let there be deliverance.

WH 399   *l ẓn'l bn rgl bn grm'l bn qhṣ² bn ḥdg bn s¹wr bn ḥmyn bn gḍdt bn 'nḍt bn*
            ws²yt bn ḏf w h lt 'wr l- ḏ y'wr h- s¹fr w wgd 'ṯr '‛m -h
            By Ẓn'l son of Rgl son of Grm'l son of Qhṣ² son of Ḥdg son of S¹wr of
            Ḥmyn son of Gḍdt son of 'nḍt son of Ws²yt son of Ḏf and, O Lt, may he
            who would efface this writing go blind; and he found the traces of his
            forefathers.

WH 424   *l s²rqt h- ḥrt{y} h- gml*
            By S²rqt the Ḥrt-{ite} is the camel.

WH 466   *l bs¹‛ bn {k}°mn w r'y bql wḥd*
            By Bs¹‛ son of {K°mn} and he pastured on fresh herbage alone.

WH 515   *l frhz bn fr'*
            By Frhz son of Fr'

WH 582   *l kmd bn s²kr bn nṣr'l w rdf h- ḍ'n l- mdbr w hṛṣ s¹qm f h lt rwḥ*
            By Kmd son of S²kr son of Nṣr'l and he followed the sheep towards the
            inner desert while he anticipated illness so, O Lt, grant ease.

WH 587   *l '{l}trm h '- nfs¹*
            This funerary monument is for 'ltrm.

WH 597   *l l'bn w r'y wrh h- dr*
            By L'bn and he pastured in this place for a month.

WH 599   *l qddm bn qym w nẓr b'd h- ms¹rt f h lt s¹lm*
            By Qddm son of Qym and he stood guard on behalf of the troop so, O Lt,
            may he be secure.

WH 604.1   *l hknf bn 'mrt h- ṣ'dt*
            By Hknf son of 'mrt is this burnt offering.

WH 610   *l qdm bn qym w nẓr l- ms¹rt s¹nt ngy mty hdy*
By Qdm son of Qym and he stood guard for the troop the year Mty was announced commander.

WH 613   *l ʿqrb bn ʾs¹ḫr bn tm w nẓr f gdḏf s¹lm m- s²nʾ s¹lm l- ḏ dʿy*
By ʿqrb son of ʾs¹ḫr son of Tm and he stood guard, so, Gdḏf, may he who would read aloud be secured well against enemies.

WH 614   *l ʾṣmʿ w tnẓr ḏ mny*
By ʾṣm and Fate lay in wait.

WH 632   *l qḫs² bn hnʾ bn qḫs² w kmʾ*
By Qḫs² son of Hnʾ son of Qḫs² and he collected truffles.

WH 641.1 *l fty bn rwḏ w byt b- h- ʾrḏ wrḫ b- bql w flṭ -h m- lḥyn h- s¹nt*
By Fty son of Rwḏ and he camped in this land for a month among fresh herbage, so may he be delivered from Lḥyn this year.

WH 742   *l s²br bn ʾnʿm bn s²br bn s¹ry w ḥyṭ mdbr*
By S²br son of ʾnʿm son of S²br son of S¹ry and he journeyed to the inner desert.

WH 766   *l hʿwḏ bn ḫbb h- mdṯʾ*
By Hʿwḏ son of Ḫbb, at the spring pasture.

WH 784   *l ʾbḏ bn yʿtt w rʿy b- rḏ w mdbr w b- ʿls¹*
By ʾbḏ son of Yʿtt and he pastured on meadows and in the inner desert and on grainland (?).

WH 837   *l ḥrb bn ʾqlds¹ bn kʿmh bn gḏḏt*
By Ḥrb son of ʾqlds¹ son of Kʿmh son of Gḏḏt

WH 852   *l ḫyʾl bn rbʾl h- lbʾy*
By Ḫyʾl son of Rbʾl, the Lbʾt-ite.

WH 1019   *l tm bn ḫṭs¹t w q{ṣ}ṣ f h lt s¹lm*
By Tm son of Ḫṭs¹t and he {patrolled} so, O Lt, may he be secure.

WH 1022   *l ḥdm bn ġṯ w ʾyʾs¹ -h ḫytn m---- s¹lm*
By Ḥdm son of Ġṯ and travelling made him sad …

WH 1060   *l rs¹l bn qdm h- ḏfy*
               By Rs¹l son of Qdm the Ḏf-ite.

WH 1136   *l ʾs¹ bn kmd bn ʾs¹ w qbr ʾh -h*
               By ʾs¹ son of Kmd son of ʾs¹ and he buried his brother.

WH 1191   *l ʿm bn ġyz bn yqmm [b][n] gr bn ytˁ bn gr bn zmhr w bny ʾ- [n]fs¹ w qyẓ*
               By ʿm son of Ġyz son of Yqmm [son of] Gr son of Ytˁ son of Gr son of Zmhr
               and he built the [funerary monument] while he spent the summer.

WH 1193   *l hʾs¹ bn zgr h- dr ʿm f ʿm l- brkt*
               By Hʾs¹ son of Zgr, at the place, year after year on the way to Brkt.

WH 1234   *---- bn kmd w ʾ{q}d h- nqt h- ḥbq{y} w knf ʿl- ʾbrˁ -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 s²rqt h- ḥrt{y} h- bkrt*
               By S²rqt the Ḥrt-ite is the she-camel.

WH 1243   *l ʾdh bn ʾhgr w twlh mt w ns²{ṭ} l-ˁms² f h brkt*
               By ʾdh son of ʾhgr and he was made to grieve by death (or Mōt) so he
               went forth towards Ns²ṭ for he was at Brkt.

WH 1361   *l zhyn bn gʾl w {r}{ˁy} m{d}br {n}wy s²ty*
               By Zhyn son of Gʾl and {he pastured} {in the inner desert}{while migrat-
               ing}in the winter.

WH 1403.2   *{l}{w}{l}{k}{g}hʾrf{l}m{n}gs²ndʾ{g}k w ʾn frds¹ bn ˁrḍ*
               ... And I am Frds¹ son of ˁrḍ

WH 1516   *l s²ddt h- m{ẓ}⟨⟨⟩⟩r w ʾ{h}d klb -h ḏb*
               By S²ddt, at this {look-out point}, and a wolf {carried off} his dog.

WH 1546   *l bġṯ bn {d}m*
               By Bġṯ son of {Dm}.

WH 1613   *l ʾmld bn ġhr bn hs²*
               By ʾmld son of Ġhr son of Hs²

WH 1648   *l ʾws¹d bn ʾgs¹m h- ʾtn*
             By ʾws¹d son of ʾgs¹m is the she-ass

WH 1663   *l ʿtq bn ʾfḍ bn hb h- mnẓr*
             By ʿtq son of ʾfḍ son of Hb, at the look-out point.

WH 1696   *l grmʾl bn ġyrʾl bn ṣbḥ w ḫrṣ ʾḫw -h f s²ʿhqm ʾly l -hm ʿn m- bʾs¹*
             By Grmʾl son of Ġyrʾl son of Ṣbḥ and he was on the look-out for his two
             brothers, so, S²ʿhqm, bring them help against misfortune.

WH 1698   *l ṣbḥ bn rm{y}n bn ʾb---- bn s²m{y} ḏ ʾl ḏf w wld h- mʿzy s¹nt ngy qṣr h-
             mdnt f h lt wqyt m- s²nʾ w ts²wq l- ġyrʾl ʾḫ -h f h ds²r qbll s¹lm*
             By Ṣbḥ son of {Rmyn} son of ʾb ---- on of {S²my} of the lineage of
             Ḍf and he helped the sheep give birth the year Caesar announced the
             province so, O Lt, let there be protection against enemies; and he longed
             for Ġyrʾl, his brother, so, O Ds²r, let there be safe reunion with loved
             ones.

WH 1700.1   *l nʿmn bn ys¹mʾl bn yʿd ḏ ʾl ḏf w ʾs²rq b- h- ḫl bʿd h- nʿm s¹nt ḥrb h- mlk ʾl s¹bṭt
             f h lt s¹lm*
             By Nʿmn son of Ys¹mʾl son of Yʿd of the lineage of Ḍf and he migrated
             to the inner desert with the horses following the livestock the year the
             king made war upon the lineage of S¹bṭt so, O Lt, may he be secure.

WH 1791   *l ḥrtt bn hʿwḏ*
             By Ḥrtt son of Hʿwḏ.

WH 1861   *l ʾḍq bnt whbʾl bn ẓnʾl*
             By ʾḍq daughter of Whbʾl son of Ẓnʾl.

WH 1900   *l ʾs¹d bn s¹lm bn qrṣ bn ʾs¹d w wrʾ f ʿqdt m- rḥbt h- ġnm*
             By ʾs¹d son of S¹lm son of Qrṣ son of ʾs¹d and he remained behind because
             the goats were prevented from entering Rḥbt.

WH 1958   *l ms¹ʾl h- dr t*
             By Ms¹ʾl, at this place

WH 2112   *l ʿdy bn ʿnhm w h rḍw ʿ + w + r ḏ yʿwrn -h + h- bkrt +*
             By ʿdy son of ʿnhm and, O Rḍw, blind him who would efface it, the camel.

WH 2139   *l s²gʾ b[n] hʿyt w rʿy {h-} ʾrḍy f ṣyr w h lt ġnmt*
By S²gʾ [son] of Hʿyt and he pastured {these} valleys and will then return to a place of water so, O Lt, let there be spoil.

WH 2145   *l s²gʾ bn s²ḫtr bn ʾs¹ḫr bn s²ḫtr bn mrʾ w rʿy h- ʾbl h- rḍt bql f h lt s¹lm*
By S²gʾ son of S²ḫtr son of ʾs¹ḫr son of S²ḫtr son of Mrʾ and he pastured the camels in the meadow on fresh herbage so, O Lt, let there be security.

WH 2147   *l ʾfs¹ bn ẓʿn bn lgz bn nʿmn ḏ ʾl nẕrʾl w nyk mrʾ mtl w mrʾt wʾl ḏ ʾl s¹ḥwt w ḏhbn*
By ʾfs¹ son of Ẓʿn son of Lgz son of Nʿmn of the lineage of Nẕrʾl and he copulated with the man of Mtl and the wife of Wʾl of the lineage of S¹ḥwt and Ḏhbn.

WH 2194   *l ḥwrn bn hmʿḏ bn ʾ{ġ}s¹m w ----f h lt wdt*
By Ḥwrn son of Hmʿḏ son of {ġs¹m} and --- so, O Lt, show love.

WH 2255   *l ʿs² bn khl bn hʿḏr bn zhmn w tẓr h- wr{ḍ} brkt s¹nt {s²}{ʿ}{t} {m}{s¹}{k} r[ḫ]b b- ʿrʾl*
By ʿs² son of Khl son of Hʿḏr son of Zhmn and he waited at the {watering place} called Brkt the year {the party} {of} {Ms¹k} were at the {spacious pastures near} ʿrʾl.

WH 2342   *l ẓhr bn hʾs¹ bn ʾtʿ h- ẓbyt*
By Ẓhr son of Hʾs¹ son of ʾtʿ is the she-gazelle.

WH 2815   *l ʿbd bn {y}gṯ ḏ {ʾ}l {b}{s¹}ʾ w ngy m nf{r}t w ʾḫ -h s¹nt mrdt nbṭ ʾl- ʾl {r}m f ʾt s¹lm f*
By ʿbd son of {Ygṯ} of the {lineage of} Bs¹ʾ and he and his brother were announced [commander] of a party of near kinsmen the year the Nabataeans rebelled against the people of {Rome}, so may peace come ...

WH 2837   *l ʿwḏ bn ʾṣlḥ ḏ ʾl rks¹ w ḥrṣ mṭt -h f h lt w ds²r s¹lm w ġnmt w ḥwr{n}*
By ʿwḏ son of ʾṣlḥ of the lineage of Rks¹ and he kept watch over his riding-camels, so, O Lt and Ds²r, let there be security and spoil and {safe return}.

WH 2938   *l ʾḏnt bn ʿbd h- {ṣ}d*
By ʾḏnt son of ʿbd is the snare (?).

WH 3053   *l ḏ'y bn ns²l w rḥḍ b- h- ngm l- yḫg*
By D'y son of Ns²l and he washed when the sun was in Virgo in order to perform a pilgrimage.

WH 3094   *l qs¹r bn 'ḫs¹n h- ẓrt 'rbʿs¹n{n} tly*
By Qs¹r son of 'ḫs¹n at the sheepfold, four {years} later.

WH 3133.1 *l 'ṣll bn yḫtyr w tẓr mny f h rḍw s¹ʿd -h*
By 'ṣll son of Yḫtyr and Fate lay in wait so, O Rḍw, help him!

WH 3151   *l 's¹f bn ḫ{r}tt h- ẓbyn*
By 's¹f son of {Ḥrṭṭ} are the two gazelles.

WH 3418   *l ḍhdt bn s¹d{r} '- bkrt*
By Ḍhdt son of {S¹dr} is the she-camel.

WH 3420   *l ʿgm bn hb ḏ 'l ṣbḥ w l -h [h-] rgm*
By ʿgm son of Hb of the lineage of Ṣbḥ and [this] funerary cairn is his.

WH 3500   *l ys¹lm bn lgyn w rʿy mdbr h- ms²ty f ṣyf -h gml*
By Ys¹lm son of Lgyn and he pastured in the inner desert at the winter pasture, then he spent the early summer there till Gemini.

WH 3559.1 *l ḥrb {{b}}n ⟨⟨y⟩⟩ 'll w tẓr h- s¹my b- ḥḍr w wrd brkt*
By Ḥrb son of yʿll and he awaited the rains while camping by permanent water and he had gone to water at Brkt.

WH 3584   *l ʿqrb bn yʿll w tẓr h- s¹my b- ḥḍr*
By ʿqrb son of Yʿll and he awaited the rains while camping at permanent water.

WH 3730   *l mlk bn dhr w ẓlm f h rḍy wqyt m- b's¹ 'ns¹ w ġnmt m- s²n'*
By Mlk son of Dhr and he was oppressed, so, O Rḍy, let there be protection from the affliction of man and spoil from enemies.

WH 3736.1 *l mlkt bn s¹rk bn 'ṣhb w h rḍw s¹ʿd -h m- s²n' ġnmt m- rhy w nbṭ w ḥwlt*
By Mlkt son of S¹rk son of 'ṣhb and, O Rḍw, help him against enemies through spoil from Rhy and the Nabataeans and Ḥwlt.

WH 3792.1   *l ntn bn 'dm bn 'qdm bn q'ṣn w wrd tltt 's²hr s¹nt ḥrb g{s²}m 'l tmd*
By Ntn son of 'dm son of 'qdm son of Q'ṣn and he went to water for three
months the year {Gs²m} and the people of Ṭmd made war.

WH 3865   *l {m}lḫ bnt rks¹*
By {Mlḫ} daughter of Rks¹

WH 3912   *l {s¹}{l}y bn nn b{n} {n}bq h- s¹hly w h- nqt{n}*
By {S¹ly} son of Nn son of {Nbq} the S¹hl-ite and these {two} camels.

WH 3925   *l 'hm w ḏb' l- nbṭ*
By 'hm and he raided for the Nabataeans

WH 3929   *l kwkb bn glt ytẓr ḥyt*
By Kwkb son of Glt while lying in wait for animals.

ZeGA 1   *l gfft bn kn ḏ 'l 'ty w l -h mnṣb f h 'lh s¹lm*
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 ẓnn w r'y h- m'zy h- nḫl qyẓ f ḥrṣ h- ṭb' f hy lt s¹lm w
nq't l- ḏ y'wr h- s¹fr*
By 'm son of Rkb son of Hwd son of Ẓnn and he pastured the goats in
this valley in the dry season and he kept watch at the rivulet, so, O Lt,
may he be secure; and may he who would efface this writing be thrown
out of the grave.

ZeWa 1   *l whb'l bn ḥnn bn 'bd bn gt bn s²rk bn s¹krn ḏ 'l qs²{m} w s²ty h- dr {m-} rk
s¹nt ṭrq mk mlk nbṭ tltn m't qtl 'l rm w s¹q tmr l- h- + z + {'}m gd'wḏ w h lh
w h s²'hqm ġnyt w s¹lm m- ḏ ḥrṣ w ġnmt l- ḏ d'y h- ḫtt*
By Whb'l son of Ḥnn son of 'bd son of Ġt son of S²rk son of S¹krn of the
lineage of {Qs²m} and he spent the winter in this place {on account of}
the lack of rain the year Mk, king of the Nabataea, smote thirty cavalry
units, warriors of the Romans, *s¹q tmr l- h- + z + {'}m gd'wḏ*. And, O Lh
and O S²'hqm, let there be abundance and safety from that which must
be guarded against; and may he who would read aloud this writing have
spoil.

ZmNSIH 32   *l zhrn bn ysˡlm w bny ˈl- ġt̠ ᾿ ᾿- nfsˡ w wgm f h lt f s̠y l- d̠ sˡr*
By Zhrn son of Ysˡlm and he built this funerary monument upon Ġt̠ and grieved, so, O Lt, may he who leaves (this inscription) untouched be delivered.

ZmNSIH 37   *l ġt̠ bn ᾿sˡlh d̠ ᾿l gr w l -h ᾿ ᾿- nfsˡ*
For Ġt̠ son of ᾿sˡlh of the lineage of Gr and this funerary monument is his.

ZSI 1   *l ʿqrb bn hn᾿t d̠ ᾿l tm w ndm ˈl- ᾿m -h trh̠t w bny ˈl -h*
By ʿqrb 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 s²mt bn h̠lṣ bn h̠ddn bn ʿn d̠ˈl h̠g
By S²āmet son of Ḥalīṣ son of Ḥaddīdān son of ʿn of the lineage of Ḥagg

Μνησθῇ Σαμεθος Αλιζου τοῦ Α̣δδ[ι]δανου Αγγηνος
May S²āmet son of Ḥalīṣ the Ḥaddīdān-Ḥaggite be remembered

Macdonald (2009 I: 76)

l nṣrˈl bn ˈlw
By Naṣrˈel son of ʿalw

Μνησθῇ Νασρηλος Αλουου
May Naṣrˈel son of ʿalw be remembered

MISSJ 1–2   Ενος Λοβαιαθου
Hen᾿ Lobay᾿at

l hn᾿ bn lb᾿t bn ᾿sˡ d̠ ᾿l mlk f h lt sˡlm
By Hen᾿ son of Lobay᾿at son of ᾿sˡ of the lineage of Mlk, so, O Lt, may he be secure.

MISSI 1   Σααρος Χεσεμανου Σαιφηνος φυλῆς Χαυνηνῶν
               S²a'ar son of Keḥsemān, the Ṣayfite, of the lineage of Kawn
               For the corresponding inscription, see MISSI 2.

WH 1860 (= + Greek 2)
               l whblh bn ẓn'l bn whblh
               Wahballāh son of Ẓann'el son of Wahballāh

               Ουαβαλλας Ταννηλου τοῦ [ ] Ουαβαλλου
               Wahballāh son of Ẓann'el son of Wahballāh

WH 3563 (= Greek 3)
               Μανος Ιαιθεου μνησθῇ
               For the corresponding inscription, see WH 3562.

An Old Arabic Inscription in Greek Characters

A 1

Greek	Transcription	Translation
Αυσος Ουδου	'Aws (bin) Hūd (?)	Aws son of Hūd (?) son of
Βαναου Χαζιμ	(bin) Bana' (bin) Kazim(m)	Bana' son of Kazim⟨⟨m⟩⟩ the
μου αλ-Ιδαμι αθα	'al-'idāmiyy 'atawa mi-śiḥaṣ;	'Idāmite came because of
οα μι- σειαζ αθαοε{υ}	'atawa bana'a 'a(d)-dawra	want; he came to Bana' (PN
α Βαναα α-δαυρα	⟨⟨a⟩⟩ wa yir'aw baqla	or lineage group) in this place
⟨⟨α⟩⟩ ουα ειραυ βακλα	bi- Kanū[n]	and they pastured on fresh
βι-Χανου[ν]		herbage during [Kanūn].

NOTES:

The author begins writing Greek but switches to Arabic when he starts to write his tribal affiliation and subsequent activities.

1) The verb *'tw* is spelled in two ways, αθαοα and αθαοευα, both equal ways of representing Arabic /w/. The latter may reflect a mistake on the part of the author who wrote an epsilon between the digraph ου.

2) The /i/ vowel is given with both ι and ει

3) The author repeats the final letter of line 2 at the beginning of line 3 and the final letter of line 5 at the beginning of line 6.

4) The final word has been restored as Χανουν, duplicating the phrase *b- knn* in ASWS 217. The absence of the final /n/ could be the result of a writing error or some kind of pausal phenomenon, or may be a result of Greek influence.

Dictionary

This dictionary contains the non-onomastic vocabulary attested in the Appendix of Inscriptions (excluding prepositions and pronouns). I only cite previous discussions of vocabulary when they become relevant for the interpretation I suggest or when I have accepted an interpretation based on an analytical etymological argument made elsewhere. Otherwise, the interpretations given here derive from the thorough study of the corpus and are justified, when needed, in the *notes* section following the entries. Those interested in the history of scholarship and previous discussions of the Safaitic lexicon may consult the editions. Morphological glosses are provided when possible and follow the abbreviations presented at the beginning of this book.

Alphabetic Order

ʾ—ʿ—*b*—*d*—*ḏ*—*ḍ*—*f*—*g*—*ġ*—*h*—*ḫ*—*ḥ*—*k*—*l*—*m*—*n*—*q*—*r*—*s¹*—*s²*—*ṣ*—*t*—*ṯ*
—*ṭ*—*w*—*y*—*z*—*ẓ*

Structure of the Entry

Etymological Root

attested noun/adjective (attestations), *meaning* (ADJ, ADV, DIM), VAR ***attested noun/adjective*** (attestations); etc.

attested verb (attestations), PART *meaning*, PNG, VAR ***attested verb*** (attestations); etc.

ʾB

ʾb (AKSD 5; C 320, 2832, 4457; LP 243, 325, 344, 1135; KRS 2340; Mu 253; RSIS 351), *father*

ʾb ʾm (AWS 125), *maternal grandfather*

ʾBD

ʾbd (KRS 1015; SW 193), *forever, eternity,* VAR *l- ʾbd* (C 74, 2446; KRS 6, 24)

NOTES: The equivalent of Arabic *li-ʾabadi l-ʾabad* "to the end of time; forever" and the adverb *ʾabadan*, which signifies all future time (*Lane*, 4c).

ʾBL

ʾbl (ASWS 73; C 96, 98, 272, 1338, 2670, 3020, 3230, 4332, 4815, 5182;

HaNSB 197, 218, 349; HCH 102; KRS 37, 225, 756, 1683, 1761, 1886, 2568, 3291; LP 319, 146, 406; Ms 44; SESP.D 12; SW 193; WH 325, 2145), *camel* (COL)

ʾblt (C 1868), *toponym*

ʾBṢ

ʾbṣ (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 *nšṭ*, i.e. *raǧulun ʾabiṣun, ʾabūṣun: našīṭ*, that is, "brisk, lively, sprightly, active, agile, promt, and quick; or pleased, cheerful, happy, or willing" (*Lane*, 2797a). The latter set of meanings better suits its context in C 285.

ʾDB

ʾdb (SIJ 750), SC *to offer*

> NOTES: CAr *ʾadaba* "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.

ʾḌW

ʾḍyt, watering hole (MSNS 1, 6)

> NOTES: Probably related to CAr *ʾaḍāʾatun* 'a pool in the rough of the ground' *al-ǧadīru fī l-ǧalzi mina l-ʾarḍ*; see the commentary under MSNS 1 for more.

ʾFL

tʾfl (C 2315), T2-SC *to hide oneself*

> NOTES: In CAr, the verb *ʾafala* 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).

ʾGR

ʾgr (C 1639; KRS 1563), *a hired man*

ʾgrt (KRS 1563), *wage, compensation for work*

> NOTES: CAr *ʾaǧīrun*, "hireling" (*Lane*, 24b); CAr *ʾiǧāratun* "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.

tʾgr (C 4768), T2-SC *to be compensated*; PC *ytʾgr* (SG 5)

> NOTES: The T-stem is unattested with this sense in CAr. In both inscriptions, it probably refers to compensation with blood money.

ʾHL

ʾhl (AbaNS 1128; C 88; HaNSB 307; KRS 37, 1131, 1683, 1991; WH 135), *family*

ʾḤ

ʾḥ (AbaNS 286; C25, 2446, 2832, 2947, 3063, 3820, 4037, 4443; HCH 102, 132; KRS 78, 1051, 2460; LP 306, 325, 679; MSNS 2; NST 3; RWQ 329; SW 193; WH 1136, 1698, 2815), *brother*, DU-CNST *ʾḥw* (C832; KRS 24, 2890; SESP.U 13; WH 1696), PL *ʾḥwn* (C 2955; SIJ 352)

ʾ*ht* (AAUI 406; ASWS 70; NST 2; SIJ 750),
      sister

ʾ*ḫyt* (C 893), little sister (DIM)

twḫy (AWS 48) T2-SC *to be considered a*
      brother
      NOTES: Compare with CAr *taʾāḫayā*
      "They became brothers, or friends,
      or companions, or the like, to each
      other" or *taʾaḫḫā* "I adopted a brother
      … I called him brother" (*Lane*,
      33a).

ʾḤD

ʾ*ḥdt* (KRS 844), *pool of water; land taken*
      for a grave
      NOTES: CAr *ʾiḫdatun* "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.

ʾ*ḥd* (KRS 1379; WH 1546), G-SC *to take;*
      + (*h-ṣwy, rgm*) *to put a dead man on a*
      fnerary cairn
      NOTES: The verb ʾ*ḥd* occurs with both
      terms for cairn *ṣwy* 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 Survial 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 ʾ*ḥd h-*
rgm/ṣwy refers to the use of such a
cairn to deposite a corpse. Thus, we
should understand the sentence ʾ*ḥd*
l-s¹ḥm h-ṣwy as 'he placed S¹ḥm on the
funerary cairn' (HaNSB 206), i.e. the
author placed the body of S¹ḥm 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:
ʾ*ḥd h- rgm w wgd hn ʿm -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.

ʾḤR

ʾ*ḥrt* (KRS 896), *thereafter*
      NOTES: Likely the equivalent of
      Nabataean *l-ʾḥrh* 'in the future'
      (*DNWSI*, 40). The absence of the *l-*
      can be explained by the use of the
      accusative, cf. *l-ʾbd* and ʾ*bd*, both
      'forever'.

ʾKL

¹ʾ*kl* (C 4384), G-INF ʾ*kl to eat*
²ʾ*kl* (HaNSB 8), D-SC *to feed, nourish*

ʾL

ʾ*lh* (KRS 30), *generic term for a deity: a*
      god, F ʾ*lt* (C 96), PL ʾ*lht* (KRS 1287)

NOTES: Probably an augmented form of PS *ʾil 'divinity'.

ʾlh (KRS 995; SIJ 293; ZeGA 1), *name of a deity* (ʾallāh or ʾelāh)

lh (HCH 132; KRS 1551; LP 243; ZeWA 1), *name of a deity* (Allāh or Lāh)

ʾlt (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* (ʾallāt or ʾelat)

ʾlt dṯn (C 2446), *deity*

ʾlt ʾ-ḥgr (KWQ 119), *deity*
NOTES: It is likely that ʾ- ḥgr refers to Ḥegrā, modern Madain Saleh, with the ʾ- article instead of the common h- or ʾl-.

ʾlt ʾ-ġb (KRS 3074), *deity*
NOTES: The name likely translates as 'goddess of the unseen', compare with Arabic ġaybun 'unseen', and the epithet of Allāh in the Qurʾān, *ʿālimu l-ġayb* 'knower of the unseen' (Qurʾān 6:73).

lt (AAUI 406; AZNG 1; ANKS 1; C25, 31, 96, 663, 654, 744, 893, 1185, 1186, 1240, 1607, 1744, 1875, 1936, 2031, 2076, 2276, 2307, 2315, 2446, 2830, 3811, 4010, 4037, 4076, 4261, 4332, 4443, 4681, 4768, 5050, 5182; CSA 1.2; CSNS 1004; H 506, 763; HaNSB 307; HCH 71, 72, 102, 103, 105, 107, 126, 131; HAUI 70, 76, 198; HN 161; JaS 159.2; KhBG 345; KRS 18, 24, 25, 37, 167, 303, 922, 941, 995, 1015, 1024, 1042, 1087, 1131, 1160, 1161, 1304, 1432, 1562, 1683, 1684, 1852, 1903, 1965, 1991, 2060, 2340, 2460, 2569, 2869, 2914; LP 146, 155, 161, 180, 257, 305, 306, 325, 330, 342, 344, 360, 619, 643, 679, 684, 685, 687, 732, 1108, 1198; MAHB 5; Mu 141; NRW.D 1; RSIS 80, 199; NST 7; RR 4; RWQ 73, 281, 349; QZUI 462; SESP.U 13; SIJ 37, 78, 808; UIO 183; WGGR 1; WH 135, 153, 159, 181, 368, 399, 582, 599, 852, 1019, 1698, 2139, 2145, 2149, 2837; ZeGA 11), *deity* (Lāt or Allāt)

lt mʿmn (C 2446), *deity*

ʾN

b- ʾn -h (KRS 1015), *time*
NOTES: CAr ānun and al-āna "present time" (*Lane*, 138c), possibly with a relic 3MS pronominal suffix indicating definitiness (Huehnergard and Pat-el 2013).

ʾLF

¹ʾlf (C 2076), *thousand*

²ʾlf (C 74), *close companion*
NOTES: CAr ʾilfun "a mate; a fellow; a yoke-fellow; one who is familiar" (*Lane*, 80b).

ʾLM

ʾlmn (KRS 1551), *Mars* (planet)
NOTES: Compare with Akk ᵈLumnu, 'Mars'. The initial *alif* may reflect a compound ʾel-lumnu, a phonological reproduction of the determinative, an elative formation, or even the definite article ʾ- (Al-Jallad 2014).

ʾLT

ʾlt (KRS 1964), *scarcity*
NOTES: Compare with CAr ʾalata, INF ʾaltun "It (a thing) became decreased; diminished; lessened; became defective, deficient, incomplete, or imperfect" (*Lane*, 79a).

ʾLW

ʾly (KRS 1706), *Taurus* (constellation)
  NOTES: Compare with the Akkadian
  name of this constellation, *alû*, which
  refers to the bull as mythological
  being (Al-Jallad 2014)

ʾMM

ʾm (C 4443, ZSI 1), *mother*
  NOTES: Probably vocalized as
  /ʾumm/, based on nearby Greek
  transcriptions—PAES III.a 48
  Ουμαυατ */ʾumm-ġawwāt/; PTer 46
  Ουμαβιη */ʾumm-ʾabī/ (see Al-Jallad
  2015).

ʾMN

ʾmn (C 88), *a guard*

ʾMR

tʾmr (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 *ʾāmār* 'to
  say', etc., with the CAr *ʾamara* 'to
  command' reflecting a later semantic
  development. The Safaitic better
  accords with the root's original
  meaning, which, in the DT, would
  mean 'to be manifest'; 'appearant',
  and could reflect the stative or passive
  sense of the CAr *āmara* and *ʾamira-hū*
  "he multiplied it; or made it many"
  (*Lane*, 96b).
yʾmr (HaNSB 197; SIAM 35), *Capricorn*
  NOTES: The CAr lexicons define
  the *yaʾmūrun* 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).

ʾMT

¹*ʾmt* (KRS 59), *female slave*
²*ʾmt* (ASWS 37; LP 246; KRS 169, 896),
  Libra (constellation)
  NOTES: The scales, derived from
  the root root √mt 'to measure or
  compute quantity' (*Lane*, 94c); see
  Al-Jallad (2014).

ʾNKS¹R

ʾnks¹r (BWM 3), *toponym*

ʾNS¹

ʾns¹ (WH 3730), *mankind*

ʾRḌ

ʾrḍ (AbaNS 881, 906; C 2953, WH 161,
  641.1), *land, region*

ʾRK

ʾrk rḥ (LP 685), *forbearance*
  NOTES: Compare with Hb "ʾārāk-
  rūaḥ ... longanimity, forbearance"
  (Littmann 1943: xxi).

ʾS¹S¹

ʾs¹s¹ (C 96), *toponym* (*Usays* in southern
  Syria)

ʾS¹D

¹*ʾs¹d* (LP 161), *lion*
²*ʾs¹d* (C 28; ASWS 124), *Leo* (constella-
  tion)
  NOTES: The same term for this

constellation survives into the Islamic period (Al-Jallad 2014).

ʾSʲF

ʾsʲf (LP 718), *regret*
> NOTES: The verbal noun of an unattested verb *ʾasifa* "He grieved, lamented, or regretted" (*Lane*, 58b).

ʾSʲR

ʾsʲr (C 4457), G-SC *to be captured*; PPC *ʾsʲr* (LP 643)
> NOTES: Compare to CAr *ʾasara-hū* and *ʾasrun* "he made him a captive; captured him; or took him a prisoner" (*Lane*, 57c).

ʾTM

ʾtm (WH 375), *ceremony*
ʾtm (C 285), SC *to celebrate*
> NOTES: As Winnett had already pointed out, a connection with CAr *ʾatima* "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 *bhʾ* which precedes it has a positive connotation, and therefore it more likely references a happy occasion, perhaps a wedding.

ʾTN

ʾtn (C 505; WH 1648), *she-ass*

ʾTW

ʾty (AbaNS 1128; C 860; NST 3; SIJ 78), G-SC *to come*, VAR *ʾtw* (SIJ 957); APC.MS *ʾt* (WH 2815)

ʾṬʿ

ʾṭʿ (C 1936, 2579, 3931, 4068; KRS 995; MISSD 1), *name of a deity*

ʾTR

¹*ʾtr* (AAUI 294; AWS 8, 125; C 25, 763, 1573, 1989, 2156, 2544, 2713, 3140, 3820, 4443; HshNSMI 5; LP 259, 306; KRS 6, 926, 941, 1015, 1161; MAHB 2; Mu 253; RWQ 334; WH 325, 399), *trace(s)*.
> NOTES: The exact meaning of this term is unclear. That it occurs with *rgm* in AAUI 294 strongly suggests that it can have a funerary function. It is possible that 'trace' refers to a type of burial (as suggested by Eksell 2002:112) or perhaps even to a funerary inscription. Given these difficulties, I have chosen to translate the word literally as 'trace' (cf. CAr *ʾaṯarun* "a sign, mark, or trace" (*Lane*, 18c)).

ʾṬM

ʾṭm (RWQ 73), G-SC *to act wrongfully*
> NOTES: Compare to CAr *ʾaṭima* "he did what was unlawful" (*Lane*, 21c–22a).

ʾWL

ʾl (*passim*), *lineage; people*
ʾwl (SW 168), *beginning*
> NOTES: CAr. *āl* "kinsfolk", "family" (*Lane*, 127b). This word probably reflects an original collective noun based on the root ʾwl, *ʾāl* < ʾawal, originally denoting free folk, cf. Akk *ʾawīlum* "freeman". The term is used to refer to any body of people, including outside groups such as the Nabataeans and Romans.

ʾWS¹

ʾws¹n (RWQ 62), *a boon* (either with
    nunation or a derivational mor-
    pheme)
ʾws¹ (RWQ 335, 349), D-IMP *to grant a
    boon*
    NOTES: The CAr root √ʾws denotes
    compensation and giving, *al-ʿaṭiyyatu*
    (*Lisan*, s.v.).

ʾYḌ

ʾḍ (H 506), *once again* (ADV)
    NOTES: CAr *āḍa* "He returned to the
    thing, i.e., to the doing of the thing;
    he did the thing again, or a second
    time", esp. the adverb *ʾayḍan* (*Lane*,
    137a).

ʿBD

ʿbd (Mu 550), *slave*

ʿBS¹

ʿbs¹ (NST 2), G-SC *to frown; to be austere*
    NOTES: CAr *ʿabasa* "He frowned;
    [looked sternly, austerely, or mo-
    rosely]" (*Lane*, 1939a).

ʿDY

¹ʿdy (RSIS 80), *to transgress, exceed limits*
²ʿdy (KRS 1131), *toponym* (?)
    NOTES: CAr *al-ʿadwu* "transition
    ... the going, or passing, beyond,
    or the exceeding, a limit ..." (Lane,
    1977b). The subject of this verb is the
    constellation Leo which signals the
    end of the spring rains. The author
    complains that the spring was ruined,
    suggesting that Leo, i.e. the early
    summer, transgressed into the season
    of spring.

ʿḌL

ʿḍl (C 1339), *companion*
    NOTES: No suitable meaning for this
    term can be found in the dictionaries;
    however, it is in apposition with
    a personal name, suggesting that
    it denotes some sort of personal
    relation. The translation "companion"
    is tentative.

ʿGL

ʿgl (SG 5), *hastily* (ADV)
    NOTES: CAr *ʿaǧilun* "Hasting, making
    haste, speeding" (*Lane*, 1964b).

ʿKK

ʿky (C 96), *a strong fever*
    NOTES: Perhaps an elative formation
    from √ʿkk, the basic meaning of
    which is "It (a day) was, or became
    ... vehemently hot" (*Lane*, 2118b). The
    form *ʿakkatun* can refer to "access of
    a fever, on the occasion of the first
    tremor, or shivering, thereof" (ibid.).

ʿLF

ʿlf (LP 722; M 358), G-SC *to feed on dry
    fodder*
    NOTES: CAr *ʿalafa d-dābata* "He fed
    the beasts with fodder" (*Lane*, 2131a).
    While the term *ʿalafun* 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.

ʿLM

ʿlm (SIJ 274), G-SC *to know*

NOTES: The single attestation of the term in the Safaitic inscriptions accords with CAr *ʿalima*, i.e., to know a fact rather than a person (*Lane*, 2138 ff.).

ʿLS¹

ʿls¹ (WH 784), *grainland* (?)
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʿalasun* "[a kind of grain] like wheat, but difficult to cleanse, having two grains in one envelope, and it is the corn of Ṣanʿàʾ" (*Lane*, 2130a). This can obviously not be the same meaning as Safaitic *ʿls¹*, so I have opted for a neutral translation of 'grainland'. Perhaps this refers to the phenomenon whereby agriculturalists allow the nomads to graze on their plots of land after the crop has been collected in order to fertilize them.

ʿLY

ʿly (NRW.D 1), D-SC *to raise, erect*
ʾʿly (WH 1696), C-SC *to raise*; C-INF *ʾʿly* (KRS 2420)
NOTES: CAr *ʾaʿlā-hu* "he elevated it; or made it high, or lofty" (*Lane*, 2143c). The form *ʿly* must reflect the D with an equivalent meaning of the C.

ʿMM

¹*ʿm* (AWS 125; BRenv.H 1; C 793, 3140, 3230; KRS 1379; WH 325) *paternal grandfather*, PL *ʾʿm* (WH 399)
²*ʿm* (AWS 81; SW 264), *people*
NOTES: Unlike CAr, this word refers to the father of one's father rather

than the paternal uncle; see the commentary of LP 140.

ʿMR

ʿmr (C 2953; MKWS 2, 8, 28), SC *to dwell; construct*
NOTES: Classical Arabic *ʿamara bi-makānin* "He remained, continued, stayed, resided, dwelt, or abode, in a place" (*Lane*, 2154a).

ʿWM

ʿm (KRS 225; SIJ 119; WH 1193), *year*
NOTES: CAr *ʿāmun* "a year" (*Lane*, 2202b).

ʿTQ

ʿtq (KRS 1563), *a freed man*
NOTES: In CAr, *ʿatīqun* and *ʿātiqun* are adjectives "applied to a slave, signifying freed from slavery, or emancipated" (*Lane*, 1947b).

ʿNY

ʿny (C 1639; HaNSB 184; KRS 922), G-SC *to suffer*; G-APC *ʿny* (KRS 941, 1964)
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʿanā* "He was, or became, lowly, humble, or submissive" (*Lane*, 2178b). For a similar range of meanings, see *HALOT*, #7135 *ʿānâ*, but also "to be wretched, suffering".

ʿNZ

ʾʿnz (UIO 117), *she-goats*, probably the plural of the unattested **ʿnz*
NOTES: Based on the CAr, the singular was probably **/ʿanz/*, cf. *ʿanzun* (*Lane*, 2173).
ʿnzt (BHT 228), *toponym*

ʿQB

ʿqbt (AWS 81; C 3818; KRS 1551), *Scorpio* (constellation)

NOTES: Safaitic *ʿqbt* is very close to the expected *ʿqrb(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 *ʿuqāb* 'eagle', suggesting a different conceptualization of this constellation. See Al-Jallad (2014) for further discussion.

ʿQD

ʿqdt (WH 1900), SC *to be restrained* (only the feminine singular is attested).

NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʿaqada l-ḥabla* "He tired the cord, or rope" (*Lane*, 2104c). In the context of WH 1900, the term probably meant to tie up the sheep in order to prevent them from grazing on the agricultural fields of the area called Rḥbt.

ʿQL

¹*tʿql* (KRS 15), T2-SC *to be unable to speak* (metaphor for grief)

NOTES: Compare with CAr *iʿtaqala* "his tongue was withheld or restrained from speaking" (*Lane*, 2114b).

²*tʿql* (RWQ 346) T2-SC *to form an alliance*

NOTES: An association with CAr *taʿāqala* "They paid among themselves, or conjointly, the mulct for the blood of such a one" (*Lane*, 2114b) is tempting; however, in light of RWQ 347, which refers to the same event by describing a mili-

tary alliance between *Ḏf* and *ʿwḏ*, it is best to appeal to the basic sense of the root 'to bind', and understand it as a term to signify an alliance.

ʿRʾL

ʿrʾl (ANKS 1; ISB 117), *toponym*

ʿRB

ʿrb (C 4681), *Arabs*

ʿRḌ

ʿrḍ (MS 44; Mu 867; RWQ 339), *a valley*, PL *ʾrḍy* (WH 2139).

ʿrḍt (LP 679), *army* (?)

NOTES: CAr *ʿirḍun* "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 *nḫl*, which would signify a torrent valley, i.e., *a wadi*. The single occurrence of *ʿrḍt* suggests a connection instead with CAr *ʿarḍun* "an army" (*Lane*, 2009a).

ʿRF

ʿrf (HCH 71), G-SC *to know*

NOTES: CAr *ʿarifa* "He knew it; he had cognition of it" (*Lane*, 2013a).

ʿRG

ʿrg (C 1186, 1240; LP 342; SESP.D 12; WH 368), *lameness*

NOTES: CAr *ʿaraǧun* "natural lameness" (*Lane*, 1996b).

ʿRS¹

ʿrs¹ (SW 264), *wedding*

NOTES: CAr *ʿursun* "The ceremony

of conducting a wife to her husband"
(*Lane*, 1999a).

ʿS²R

¹ʿs²r (MKWS 28), ten; ʿs²rn (RQ.A 1),
　twenty
²ʿs²r (HCH 191), *kinsman; member of a*
　community
　NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʿašīrun*
　"a community, such as the *Benoo-*
　Temeem [*sic*], and the *Benoo-ʾAmr-*
　Ibn-Temeem [*sic*]" (*Lane*, 2053a).
　Safaitic *ʿs²r* probably reflects a sin-
　gle member of the *ʿašīratun* "kinsfolk"
　(ibid.).

ʿṮN

ʿṯn-rḥ (AAUI 281), *the foremost of a group* (?)
　NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʿuṯnūnu*
　r-rīḥi "the trail of wind when it comes
　drawing along the dust" or the "first of
　anything" (*Lane*, 1954c).

ʿWD

¹ʿyd (C 654), *to return*, VAR *ʿd*
　(KhMNS 13); G-PC *yʿd* (MSNS 2)
²ʿyd (KRS 1706), D-SC *to put animals in*
　an enclosure; to cause to return; D-INF
　ʿwdt (C 5011)
ʿwd (RSIS 351; SIJ 1008), *again* (ADV)
　NOTES: A causative of √ʿwd, which
　carries the basic sense of 'to circle,
　enclose, encompass, etc' (*CDG*, 77a).

ʿWḎ

¹ʿwḏ (HAUI 182; KRS 1683), *protection*
²ʿwḏ (KRS 1683), D-SC *to place under*
　protection
ʾḏ (*b-*) (AWS 380), C-SC *to place under*
　protection

NOTES: CAr *ʿāḏa bi-hī* "he sought
protection, or preservation by him"
(*Lane*, 2192a).

ʿWF

ʿf (KRS 37), *awf* (a type of plant)
　NOTES: CAr *ʿawf* "A species of plants,
　of the plants of the desert of sweet
　odour; the tending or pasturing
　[cattle]" (*Lane*, 2198c).

ʿWN

ʿn (C 5182; WH 1696), *help*
　NOTES: CAr *ʿawn* "aid, help, or
　assistance"; *aʿāna-hū* "He aided,
　helped, or assisted him" (*Lane*,
　2203b–c).

ʿWQ

ʿwq (LP 183), D-SC *to be imprisoned*
　NOTES: Littmann (*LP*, p. 42) suggests
　the meaning "imprisoned" probably
　a passive of CAr "it hindered,
　prevented, impeded, or withheld him"
　(*Lane*, 2199a).

ʿWR

¹ʿwr (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*
²ʿwr (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
　ʿyr (KRS 1695); D-PC *yʿwr* (ASWS 18;
　AWS 237; C 286, 1875, 1936, 2031, 4803;
　HAUI 76; KRS 102, 132, 941, 1087,
　1287, 1379, 1551, 1957; LP 282, 673,

722, 1198; KWQ 119; Ms 44; Mu 141; RSIS 351; RWQ 281; SW 193; WH 153, 2112; ZeGA 11); D-IMP *ʿwr* (C 1293, 1341; KRS 102, 109, 941; SESP.U 18; SW 193); PPC *mʿwr* (AWS 48)

ʾʿwr (C 793) C-SC idem; *to be blind in one eye*; C-PC *yʿr* (KRS 2569)
NOTES: CAr *ʿawira, yaʿwaru* "He was, or became, blind of one eye" (*Lane*, 2193c); Hb D *yǝʿawēr* "to blind" (*HALOT*, #6883).

ʿWṢ

ʿṣt (UIO 183), G-SC *cause hardship* (2FS, other forms unattested)
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʿawiṣa* "it was, or became, difficult; the thing was … difficult and confused and intricate to him, so that he did not find the right course therein" (*Lane*, 2196b).

ʿYN

ʿn (QZUI 462), *eye*

ʿYR

ʿr (AbaNS 881; KhBG 315), *wild ass*
¹*ʿyr* (AbaNS 855, N 101), *small or young wild ass* (DIM).
ʿrtn (SG 5), *a journey*
²*ʿyr* (ISB 117; ShNGA 1), SC *to journey*
NOTES: CAr *ʿāra, yaʿūru* "He went, or journeyed" (*Lane*, 2207).

ʿYS²

ʿs² (C 2156), *kinsman* (?)
NOTES: This term does not find direct cognates in related languages, but seems to be derived from the root √ʿyš, which denotes 'living' in CAr.

Since it occurs in the context where one would expect a kinship term, I can only offer the neutral translation 'kinsman'.

ʿZZ

ʿzz (LP 342), D-SC *to protect*
ʾʿzz (C 74), C-SC or INF *to restore*
NOTES: In CAr *ʿazzaza-hū* and *ʾaʿazza-hū* can mean 'to render powerful; to strengthen' (*Lane*, 2031b). The object of this verb in LP 342 is a protected area of pasturage *ḥmy*, so the sense 'protect' is preferable. The C-stem in C 74, on the other hand, occurs in a prayer following a statement in which the author complains about being treated with contempt, and so fits well the sense of CAr *ʾaʿazza-hū* "He rendered him mighty … after he had been low, or mean, in condition" (idem).

ʿẒM

ʿẓm (SIJ 293), *greatness*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʿaẓīmun* "esteemed great by another or others" (*Lane*, 2087c).

BʾR

bʾr (RSIS 339), *well*

BʾS¹

¹*bʾs¹* (C 76, 1137, 2276, 2964, 3113; HAUI 125; HCH 71; KRS 132, 941, 3029; LP 495, 720; MAHB 5; RR 4; ShNGA 1; SIJ 37; RWQ 335; WH 135, 159, 1696, 3730), *misfortune; affliction*, VAR *bʾṣ* (KhBG 345), PL *bʾs¹t* (C 218)

²*b's¹* (AAUI 294; C 2544, 2713; HAUI 125;
KRS 6), G-SC *to be miserable*

³*b's¹* (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'ls¹mn (ASWS 202; C 1240, 1744, 2076,
2997, 4803; H 506; HaNSB 184, 197;
HN 62; K 196; KRS 169, 995, 1160, 1990,
2420, 2568; LP 146, 305, 722; M 358;
MSNS 1; Mu 113; RSIS 204; SESP.U 17,
18; WGGR 1; WH 398), *deity* (rain god),
VAR *b'ls¹my* (C 88; LP 259; RWQ 281),
deity (= Arm *b'lšmyn*)

b'l (ASWS 37), *deity, perhaps the short
form of B'ls¹mn/y = NWS Baal*

BDR

bdr (C 1240), *end of the dry season* (Qyẓ)
or first part of winter (S²ty)
NOTES: The noun *badrun* signifies the
'full moon', and is called so because
it hastens to rise before sunset. The
form with a 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 sug-
gest that *bdr* signifies this time period,
given its context within C 1240.

BĠY

h- bġyt (C 4681), *toponym*
NOTES: WH 635, which reads as
follows, *l l'ṭmn bn 'rs¹k w b'r b-
bġyt* 'By L'ṭmn son of 'rs¹k and
there were camels at Bġyt' attests
another example of *bġyt* as a
toponym.

¹*bġy* (KRS 68), *a thing sought*

²*bġy* (MSNS 2), G-SC *to seek*;
APC.MP.CNST *bġy* (RR 4)
NOTES: CAr *baġā* "He sought;
sought for, or after" and *biġyatun,
baġiyyatun* "a thing sought" (*Lane*,
231a–c).

BH'

bh' (C 320; SW 264; WH 374), G-SC *to
rejoice*
NOTES: CAr *baha'a bi-hī* "He was, or
became, sociable, friendly, or familiar,
with him, or it, namely a man, or a
thing; and loved or liked his, or its
nearness" (*Lane*, 263b). The suggested
meaning in the Safaitic inscriptions
comes from its occurrence with *'rs¹*
wedding in (SW 264), and in the
phrase *bh' b'd 'tm 'ys¹* (WH 374, 375,
377, 496), which I would suggest
translating as 'he rejoiced on account
of the ceremony of 'ys¹'. This sense
also suits C 320: *bh' brkt w b⟨⟨⟩⟩ql* 'he
rejoiced at Brkt because there was
fresh herbage'.

BḤS¹

bḥs¹ (MISSD 1), SC *to defeat*
NOTES: *baḥasa-hū* "He diminished it"
(*Lane*, 159a)

BḤR

bḥrt (ASWS 202), *the late summer*
(July–early October)
NOTES: CAr *bāḫūrun, bāḫūrāʾu*
"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 *Ṣyf*.

BKR

bkrt (AbaNS 16; C 2830, 2832; Ms
44; WH 179, 1236, 2112, 3418),
young she-camel, DU *bkrtn*
(AbaNS 28; H 457; WH 182), PL *bkrt*
(WH 179)

BKY

bky (ASWS 70; C 2036, 3140, 4974; LP 243;
RSIS 351), G-SC *to weep*

BN

bn (*passim*), *son*, PL *bny* (C 88, 3365),
VAR *bn* (C 511)
bny (C 4076) *young(est) son* (DIM)
bnt (AbaNS 86; C 4768; CSNS 304, 412,
620; KRS 1991; SHS 10; WH 1861, 3865),
daughter, VAR *bt* (SIAM 35; WH 214,
345)

BNY

bny (ASWS 217; BRCM 0194; C 4681;
HaNSB 307; HCH 37; JaS 73; KRS 51,
1546; LP 673; Rsh 1; SESP.U 26; Vogue
404.1; WH 234, 1191; ZmNSIH 32; ZSI 1),
G-SC *to build;* + *ʾl to lay a stone* (upon a
funerary cairn)
bnn (AbaNS 78), D-SC *to build*

BQL

bql (C 269, 320, 1293, 1338, 2670, 3020;
HaNSC 8; KRS 1670; MAHB 5; WH 466,
641.1, 2145), *fresh herbage*
NOTES: CAr *baqlun* "Herbage
produced by the spring rain" (*Lane*,
236b), but its context in the Safaitic
inscriptions may suggest that it
referred more generally to fresh
herbage produced by rain in any
season.

BQR

¹*bqr* (C 860; LP 155), *cattle*
²*bqr* (RWQ 73), INF (?) *to be split in half*
NOTES: This word appears in a curse
and should therefore be connected
with the CAr *baqīrun* "slit; ripped;
split; cut; or divided, lengthwise"
(*Lane*, 234c).

BRʿ

ʾ*brʿ* (WH 1234), C-SC *trembling in fear*
NOTES: Gz *barʿa* 'tremble, shake, be
agitated'; LAr *barbaʿ* 'frighten' (*CDG*,
101b).

BRḤ

brḥ (C 4332; M 358), SC *to depart*
NOTES: CAr *baraḥa l-makāna* "He
went away, or departed, from the
place" (*Lane*, 181a).

BRK

brk (AWS 218), IMP *to bless*, SC.FS *brkt*
(RSIS 80)
brkt (C 320, WH 289, 1193, 1243, 2255,
3559.1), *toponym*
NOTES: A watering place in the
Ḥarrah; see Macdonald (1992b).

BṢR

bṣry (C 4448; SIJ 78), *toponym* (Bostra in southern Syria).

BTT

bt (KRS 2453), G-SC *to be cut off*; PC *ybt* (KRS 2453)
NOTES: Connect with the CAr *inbatta* "to be cut off, seperated" (*Lane*, 148a).

BYN

bn (RWQ 335), G-SC *to be manifest*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *bāna, ʾabāna, bayyana, tabayyana*, and *istabāna*, all meaning "It was, or became apparent, manifest, evident, clear, plain, or perspicuous" (*Lane*, 268a).

BYT

bt (C 1539), *tent*
byt (C 28, 404, 2031, 5050; WH 641.1), G-SC *to spend the night; to camp*, VAR *bt* (C 3466), APC *bʾt* (C 1108)
NOTES: CAr *baytun* signifies a tent with more than one pole (*Lane*, 280a). The G *bāta* can mean "he did such a thing by night, or at night ... he passed, or spent the night, or a night, or part thereof" (*Lane*, 279a). WH 641.1 states that the author *byt* for an entire month, suggesting that the verb had, at least in this case, come simply to mean 'to camp'.

DʿW

dʿy (ASWS 107; H 763; HaNSB 307; HAUI 182; HshNSMI 5; KRS 1024, 1042, 1131; 1551; LP 325, 342, 344, 685, 687, 722, 1135; Ms 44; NST 3; SESP.D 12;

WH 613; ZeWa 1), SC *to read aloud;*
+ *ʾl to invoke*
NOTES: CAr *duʿāʾ* "[the act of] seeking, desiring, asking or demanding"; *daʿā llāha* "he prayed to God"; *daʿawtu lahū* "I prayed for him", *ʿalayhi* "against him". In the past, scholars have connected this with Arabic *daʿā* (√dʿy) "to leave untouched", but a word for this is already attested frequently as *sʾr*. While synonyms are common, it seems better to take this as *to read the inscription*, paralleling the development of the verb *qaraʾa*, "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 *qrʾ* occurs in the Safaitic inscriptions, in an identical context to *dʿy*, suggesting that the latter was the native term, which was eventually supplanted by the Aramaic verb. As I have suggested in 1.1, *dʿy* 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 *miḏbār* and WS *madbaru*, loaned into Akk as "pasture, steppe, wilderness". Note that the term often refers to a desert in the Hebrew Bible between Palestine and Egypt (*HALOT*,

#4816). M.C.A. Macdonald has identified the Mdbr of the Safaitic inscriptions as the Ḥamād, the desert beyond the Ḥarrah (Macdonald 1992b).

DMM
ndm (C 2947, 4443, 4988, 5050; HCH 131, 132; KRS 2340; LP 343; ZSI 1), N-SC *to be devastated* (by grief, metaphor for grieving).
NOTES: Compare with Hb N-stem *nidmâ* "to be devastated (pasture), to perish" or perhaps even the equivalent of the G "to wail" (*HALOT*, #2114–2115).

DMR
tdmr (C 663, 1649; KRS 15), *Palmyra*

DMY
¹*dmy* (KRS 30), *Dumaite, gentilic adjective of Dūmah*
NOTES: This sense was originally recognized by Ch. Robin; the edition translated the word as "effigies".
dmyt (AWS 380; HCH 79; C 1615) *an image; a drawing*, PL *dmt* (KhMNS 5)
²*dmy* (C 1186; LP 325, 684), G-SC *to draw*, APC *dm* (C 1339, 5041)
NOTES: CAr *dumyatun* "An image, or effigy" (*Lane*, 917b). From its context, Safaitic *dmy* clearly means to produce a *dmyt*, while the CAr verb has a range of other meanings.

DNW
¹*dn* (KRS 132), *contempt*
dnwt (JaS 73), *closeness*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *danā*,

danāwatun "he, or it, was, or became, near; drew near, or approached" (*Lane*, 920b–c). The context in this inscription is uninformative, but the term may refer to closeness to kin or loved ones, the opposite of the curse *s²ṭr* 'seperation from kin'.
²*dn* (KWQ 119), D-IMP *render contemptible*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *danuwa* "he (a man) was, or became, such as is turned *daniyyun*, meaning weak; contemptible" (*Lane*, 920c); and *mudannin* "applied to a man, Weak; contemptible" (*Lane*, 922b).

DRG
drg (C 96), SC *to succumb; to pass away*
NOTES: The context of this word's single occurrence—following the mourning of several individuals—suggests that it refers to a kind of unfortunate circumstance. The word is followed by *'ky* which probably refers to a type of fever, suggesting then that *drg* means something like 'succumb'. This would be the opposite sense of CAr *dariǧa* "He rose in grade, degree, rank, condition, or station" (*Lane*, 867c), but this is not problematic. On the other hand, the C *'adraǧa* means "to cause to pass away" (ibid.) and so it is also possible to see in *drg* a passive of the D. Its syntactic relationship, however, with the following phrase is difficult, since one would have to view *l-* as introducing the agent. In either case, the meaning "succumb" would encompass both senses.

DṢY

dṣy (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).

DṮ'

mdṯ' (WH 766), *spring pasture*
NOTES: Macdonald identifies *dṯ'*
with a by-form of CAr *dafa'iyyun*,
daṯa'iyyun, which refers to the period
between the *šitā'* and *ṣayf*, which
the modern Bedouin call *smāk*. Mac-
donald translates the term as "the
season of the later rains" (1992b:
3).
dṯ' (C 1071, 1137, 1837, 2088, 2104, 2579,
2691; CSA 1.2; HN 161; JaS 61; Mu
113; NSR 82, 117; SIJ 1008; WH 181,
325) SC, *to spend the season of later
rains*

DWD

dd (AWS 8; C 88, 1573, 2190, 4443, 4988;
CSNS 1004; LP 243, 306; RSIS 351),
paternal uncle, PL *'dwd* (KRS 2340)
NOTES: Compare with Hb *dôd*
"father's brother" (*HALOT*, #1990).

DWR

dr (ASWS 217; AWS 48; BWM 3; C 70,
726, 1071, 2031, 2076, 2243, 2396, 2830,
2997, 3095, 3818; 3931, 5137; ISB 117,
421; KRS 1131, 1683, 1852; LP 146, 257;
RSIS 339, 351; WH 1193, 1958; ZeWa 1),
place; region, PL *drn* (KRS 2420) (?,
more likely a toponym).

NOTES: This term has been inter-
preted in a myriad of ways in previous
editions, ranging form a campsite
to a holy place. The CAr *dārun*,
which commonly signifies "a house
of large size, comprising a court"
is inappropriate for the contexts
of the inscriptions. Moreover, the
term never appears as the object
of *bny*, suggesting that it does not
refer to a structure. Since *dr* is
often attested with verbs of camp-
ing and spending time, the neu-
tral term 'place' < "region" (*Lane*,
931a), is preferable. Moreover, as
A1 indicates, the word was vocal-
ized as /dawr/ = δαυρ rather than
/dār/.

DWY

dwy (KRS 15), SC *to be sick (with grief)*
NOTES: CAr "He was or became
diseased, disordered, distempered,
sick, or ill" (*Lane*, 940a). Its context in
the inscriptions seems to suggest that
it was used metaphorically, i.e., 'he
became sick with grief'.

DYM

dmt (KhNSJ 1), *downpour*
NOTES: CAr *dīmatun* "a lasting, or
continuous and still rain" (*Lane*,
937b).
tdym (HaNSB 56), T2-SC *to continue one's
course*
NOTES: In CAr, the GT is the equiv-
alent of the D in meaning with this
root: *dawwamati l-kilābu* "the dogs
went far or continued their course"
(*Lane*, 936a).

DYN

mdnt (C 1240, 4332; MISSD 1; RWQ 334;
WH 1698), *province*; *district* (some-
times clearly *Provincia Arabia*)

ḎʾB

ḏʾb (LP 732, 4803; WH 1516), *wolf*

ḎBḤ

ḏbḥ (C 860; KRS 765; MA 1), sc *to
perform a sacrifice*

ḎKR

¹ḏkr (ASWS 73; C 269, 1338; KRS 169),
Aries (constellation)
NOTES: Compare with Aramaic דכרא
'Aries' < 'ram'. The term in CAr refers
to the male of a species as opposed to
the female (*Lane*, 970a). See Al-Jallad
(2014).
²ḏkr (KRS 2340; JbS 1; RSIS 351; ShNGA 1),
G-sc *to (be) remember(ed); be mindful
of*, fs ḏkrt (AAUI 406; JaS 189.2);
G-INF ḏkr (Mu 253)
tḏkr (Mu 537), T2-sc *to remember*;
possibly T2-APC mtḏkr (KRS 1432)

ḎQN

ḏqn (C 3811), sc *to grow old* or a noun
extremely old man.
NOTES: CAr ḏiqnun "a decrepit, old
and weak, or extremely aged, man"
(*Lane*, 967c).

ḎS²R

ḏs²r (KRS 1160, 1379, 1949, 2556, 2869;
LP 1013; RWQ 73; SIJ 274), *deity*
(Nabataean dwšrʾ, Gr. Δουσαρης,
Dū-Šaray), VAR ds²r (AZNG 1;
AKSD 5; C 2947, 2315; CSA 1.2;

HCH 72, 103, 126; JaS 159.2; KRS 995,
2340; LP 342; NST 3; RWQ 73;
SIJ 59; WH 1698, 2837), VAR ds²ry
(HshNSMI 5; KRS 2569), *deity*

ḎYL

ḏl (LP 712), *Pisces* (constellation)
NOTES: The term matches the
Babylonian name, *zibbātti*"tails", cf.
CAr ḏaylun "tail", or more generally,
"the latter, hinder, or last part of
anything" (*Lane*, 990c). See Al-Jallad,
(2014).

ḎYR

ʾḏyr (UIO 183), C-sc *to anger*
NOTES: The c-stem of the root ḏyr,
related to CAr ʾaḏārahu ʿalayhi "He
made him angry with him"; ʾaḏāra-hū
"he excited him to animosity" (*Lane*,
950b). The classical lexicographers
derive this verb from the root ḏʾr, but
this appears to be a hypercorrection
in light of the Safaitic evidence.

ḌʾN

ḍʾn (C 726, 744, 2713, 4443; CSNS 1;
KRS 25, 167, 303, 1011; 1160, 1304, 1964,
1990, 1991; RSIS 304; LP 562.1; WGGR 1;
WH 582), *sheep*, ḍʾnt (C 35), an *ewe*,
PCL ḍʾnt (C 2307), PL ʾḍʾn (KRS 1304)

ḌʿF

ḍʿf (C 2967), *weakness*
NOTES: CAr ḍaʿfun "weakness,
feebleness" (*Lane*, 1791c).

ḌBʾ

ḍbʾ (RWQ 323; WH 3925), D-sc *to raid*;
D-INF tḍbʾ (LP 742)

NOTES: Sabaic *ḍbʾ* "fight, wage war" (*SbD*, 40); also Hb √ṣbʾ "to go to war" (*HALOT*, #7841).

ḌBB

nḍb (LP 1265), N-SC *to go missing*
  NOTES: Compare to LAr *inḍabb* "to be hidden", "put away"; the N-stem of this root is not found in the classical lexicons. Its context in its single attestation suggests a translation more along the lines of 'to go missing', since it refers to a man who was separated from his military unit.

ḌLL

ḍll (LP 305, 409), D-SC *to be lost*, DU *ḍlly*;
  G-PPC *ḍll* (HCH 131), DU *ḍlly* (LP 305), MP *ḍlln* (C 4039)
ʾḍll (KRS 303), C-SC *to lead astray*
  NOTES: Compare with CAr *ḍalla* "It became lost [as though it went astray;] it perished, came to nought, or passed away". (*Lane*, 1796c). CAr C *ʾaḍalla-hū* "to cause him to go astray" (*Lane*, 1798a).

DRḤ

ḍrḥ (LP 201), *tomb*
  NOTES: Compare with Nabataean *ṣryḥ* (*DNWSI*, 975) 'room or chamber, part of a tomb construction'.

ḌRR

¹ḍr (AWS 218), *danger*
²ḍr (RSIS 351), *to (be) harm(ed)*
  NOTES: CAr *ḍarra-hū* "He, or it, harmed, injured, hurt, marred ... him, or it" (*Lane*, 1775c).

FDY

fdyt (JaS 73), *to accept bloodwit*
  NOTES: CAr *fadā* 'to pay a ransom', but this meaning does not fit the context of the inscription, as the author records performing a funerary ritual. As such, it is probably to be connected with bloodwits. A similar sense is found in CAr saying *wa- ʾin ʾaḥabbū fādaw*, the sense of which is "[And if they like,] they free the slayer, or his next of kin who is answerable for him, and accept the bloodwit" (*Lane*, 2354b).

FLT

fltn (KRS 68), *escape; deliverance*
ʾflt (HCH 194), SC *to escape*
  NOTES: CAr *ʾaflata* "He, or it, escaped; got away" (*Lane*, 2435b).

FLṬ

¹flṭ (*m-*) (BHT 228; KhBG 376; KRS 1695; LP 504; SW 264), *deliverance*
²flṭ (*m-*) (C 527, 1137, 5121; CSNS 517; KhBG 376; LP 495; WAMS 19.1; WH 135), D-IMP *to deliver*; INF *flṭ* (WH 641.1)
  NOTES: Compare to Syr *pāleṭ* "to save, deliver"; *pālṭā* "escape" (*SD*, 448b).

FLY

flyt (KhBG 376), *toponym* (winter location)

FQD

fqd (SG 5), G-SC *to lose*
tfqd (RSIS 351), T2-SC *to be lost*
  NOTES: CAr *faqada-hū* "He found it not, lost it" (*Lane*, 2424b).

FRR

fr (C 3931), G-SC *to flee*
> NOTES: CAr *farra* "He fled" (*Lane*, 2355b).

FRS¹

¹*frs¹* (AbaNS 286; C 159, 320; HaNSB 312; ISB 91; KRS 1468; LP 566), *horse*; *frs¹t* (AbaNS 383), *mare*
²*frs¹* (C 1989), *horseman*

FRT

nhr frt (RWQ 329), *the river Euphrates*

FS¹Ṭ

fs¹ṭ (RWQ 349), SC *to spread out; expand*
> NOTES: Compare with JArm *pəšaṭ* 'to stretch, extend', Hb D-stem of √*pšṭ* 'to make a foray, meaning to plunder' (*HALOT*, #960). Perhaps also related to CAr *basaṭa-hū* "he spread it; spread it out, or forth; expanded it" (*Lane*, 203a).

FṢY

fṣy (*m-*) (AWS 244; C 76, 1137, 2172; KhBG 345; KRS 2775, 3029; RR 4; SIJ 808; ZmNSIH 32), INF *to deliver; save*
fṣyt (*m-*) (ASWS 124; LP 1198; KRS 1160, 1706; SIJ 37; WH 398), *deliverance*
> NOTES: Compare to CAr *faṣṣaytu-hū* "He freed it, or cleared it, from it" (*Lane*, 2408b). This word is essentially identical to *flṭ*, which may indicate that the latter is an Aramaic loan.

FTY

fty (C 2076), *slave boy*
> NOTES: CAr *fatan* "A youth, or young man; or one in the prime of life ... [a] slave, even if an old man" (*Lane*, 2337a).

GDD

gd (KRS 303), G-SC *to mistreat*
> NOTES: Compare with Gz *gadada* "force, compel, be cruel, deform" (*CDG*, 181a), probably from a basic meaning "to cut", cf. CAr *ǧadda* "he cut it, he cut it off" (*Lane*, 384a). The Safaitic could reflect a secondary development from a meaning "to strike".

gd'wḏ (AWS 125; C 860, 893, 1186, 1744, 1936, 4351, 4457; HaNSB 304; HAUI 182; KRS 1087, 1683; LP 306, 342, 684, 1198; MKWS 8; ZeWA 1), *deity* (the Gadd of the lineage of *'wḏ*)
gddf (ASWS 107; BRenv.H 1; C 2446; HAUI 72; KRS 24, 995, 1042, 1468, 1683, 1684, Ms 44; RWQ 329; WH 613), *deity* (the Gadd of the lineage of Ḍf)

GDY

ʾgdy (H 507), PL *kids* (singular unattested).

GLḤ

glḥ (LP 732), SC *to attack*
> NOTES: Compare with CAr *gallaḥa* "The acting, or advancing, boldly, or very boldly, or being bold to do evil or mischief; and showing open enmity or hostility" and "the assaulting, or attacking of a man" (*Lane*, 441a–b).

GLY

gly (AbaNS 881), G-INF *to be cut off; to be exposed*

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
√ǧlw/ǧly with a similar meaning
(*Lane*, 446b).

GLS¹

gls¹ (CSNS 1004; HCH 71; JaS 159.2;
KhNSJ 1), G-SC *to halt*, FS *gls¹t*
(SIAM 35)

NOTES: CAr *ǧalasa* "He placed his
seat, or posteriors, upon rugged
[or rather elevated] ground" (*Lane*,
443b).

GML

¹*gml* (AWS 237; C 1185; KRS 1307;
SW 168; WH 424, 516), *camel*, DU
gmln (C 1658), PL *'gml* (C 1148;
KRS 2961)

²*gml* (WH 3500), *Gemini* (constellation)

NOTES: The identification of this
word with the constellation Gemini
is demonstrated by WH 3500 *r'y mdbr
h- ms²ty f ṣyf -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 *ṣyf* 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 *ǧumlatun, ǧumul*,
which can refer to "any aggregate
unseparated" (*Lane*, 460b–c) or may

be a local reinterpretation of the
constellation as a camel (see Al-Jallad
2014).

GNF

gnf (KhBG 345), *toponym*

GNN

gnt (C 3095), *garden(s)*

ngn (MAHB 2), *to go insane* (metaphor
for grieving)

NOTES: CAr does not attest the N of
this root, but the sense is found in
the common *maǧnūnun* "possessed
by a *ǧinniyyun* or by *ǧinnun* or by
a devil, or demon, etc ... hence
meaning bereft of reason; or mad,
insane, etc ..." (*Lane*, 464b). The N,
however, occurs in LAr *inǧann* 'he
went insane'.

GRB

grb (C 1837; RSIS 351; WH 368), *scab*

NOTES: CAr *ǧarabun* "an eruption
consisting of pustules upon the
bodies of men and camels" (*Lane*,
403a).

GRFṢ

grfṣ (KRS 1023), *Agrippa*, VAR *'grfṣ*
(H 763)

grfṣ bn hrdṣ (HshNSMI 5), *Agrippa son of
Herod* (= Agrippa II)

GRMNQṢ

grmnqṣ (LP 653), *Germanicus*

GS²M

gs²m (C 76), *hardship*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *ǧašima*

"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 *ǧayšun* "a military force" (*Lane*, 494a).

ĠDB

nǧḍb (LP 475), N-SC *to be angry; to be upset*
NOTES: The TD-stem in CAr seems to carry this meaning *taǧaḍḍaba* (*Lane*, 2265), but note LAr *inǧaḍab*.

ĠLM

ǧlm (SIJ 750), *slave boy*, F *ǧlmt* (C 286)

ĠMM

ǧmt (LP 257), *sorrow*

NOTES: CAr *ǧammun, ǧammatun* "Grief, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, sadness, or unhappiness" (*Lane*, 2290a).

ĠNM

¹*ǧnmt* (C 70, 76, 1084, 2351, 2682, 3811, 4332; H 763; HaNSB 304, 305, 307; HAUI 182; KRS 1024, 1131, 2869; LP 342, 344, MKMR 51; MKWS 8; Ms 44; NST 3; SG 1; SIJ 59; WGGR 1; WH 181, 852, 2139, 2837, 3730, 3736.1; ZeWa 1), *spoil*
²*ǧnmt* (WH 3736.1), *raiders* (probably a *fa''ālatun* plural).
¹*ǧnm* (C 3680), G-SC *to raid*
²*ǧnm* (LP 259; MA 1), D-SC *to grant (spoil)*
NOTES: CAr *ǧanima* "He, or they, (i.e. a man ... or party of men) obtained, got, or took spoil, or a thing [as spoil]" (*Lane*, 2300c) and *ǧanīmatun* "Booty, spoil, or plunder" (*Lane*, 2301b).
ʾ*ǧnm* (WH 1900), *goats*, (probably a plural of an unattested COL *ǧnm*) 'goats', PCL *ǧnmt* (C 4448), idem
NOTES: CAr *ǧanamun* "sheep and goats" (*Lane*, 2301a–b).

ĠNY

ǧnyt (ASWS 107; AsUI 1; AWS 72; C 1744; KRS 15, 167, 225, 995, 1432, 1886; SW 193; ZeWa 1), *abundance*
ǧny (C 2967), G-SC *to prosper*
ʾ*ǧn* (SW 264), C-IMP *free (someone) from want*
NOTES: CAr *ǧaniya* "He was, or became, free from want" (*Lane*, 2301c).

ĠNẒ

ġnẓ (AZNG 1), G-SC *to be distressed*
NOTES: CAr *ġanaẓa-hū* "It and he, distressed him. And it, or he, filled him with wrath" (*Lane*, 2300b). The Safaitic is used in a context which requires a stative interpretation.

ĠRB

ġrbt (KRS 3291), *west*

ĠWR

mġrt (Rsh 1), *tomb chamber*
NOTES: Cf. CAr *maġārun* and *maġāratun* "A place of entrance" (*Lane*, 2306b)

ĠWṮ

ġwṯ (C 218; UIO 298), D-IMP *to remove affliction*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʾaġāṯa-hū* "he removed from him trouble or affliction" (*Lane*, 2306a).

ĠYR

ġyrt (C 893; HaNSB 197; HAUI 76; MSNS 1), *blood money*; *abundance*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ġīratun* "A bloodwit" (*Lane*, 2316b); however, some contexts prefer the interpretation "abundance", an abstract noun of *ġyr*.
ġyr (SIJ 463), *to provide provisions*
NOTES: *ġāra ʾahla-hū* "he brought, or conveyed, to his family *mīrah* [or a provision of corn, or wheat, &c.] ... And he benefited them" (*Lane*, 2314c).
ʾġyr (C 2967), C-SC *to remove* (contextually passive).
NOTES: Compare with the CAr D

ġayyara š-šayʾa "He ... changed altered it; changed it" (*Lane*, 2315a).

ĠZW

ġzy (C 2732; KhBG 11), G-SC *to raid*
ġzz (AbaNS 906; C 1206, 4452; HaNSB 349; HaNSC 5; RVP 7; WH 65, 128, 179), D-SC idem
NOTES: CAr *ġazā l-ʿaduwwa* "He went forth ... to wage war, to fight, with the enemy, or he went to fight with, and plunder, the enemy" (*Lane*, 2257a). On the form *ġzz*, see (§ 5.6).

HDY

hdy (HCH 194; KRS 25, 303, 995, 1024; WH 15, 610), *commander*
hdy (SIJ 293), *to command*
NOTES: Macdonald has connected this term convincingly with Palmyrene *hdy nṭryn* "commander of the guards" (2014). CAr *hadā-hu* "He directed him, or guided him, to the way" (*Lane*, 3042b).

HGR

hgr (ASWS 10), G-APC *to migrate*

HLK

ʾhlk (C 35), C-SC *to slaughter*
NOTES: CAr *ʾahlaka* "He destroyed, made an end of, or caused to perish" (*Lane*, 3044b).

HNʾ

¹hnʾ (Mu 253), G-SC *to be happy*
²hnʾ (AWS 236), D-SC *to please*; D-PC **yhnʾ** (Ms 44)
NOTES: CAr *hanuʾa, haniʾa* "It was pleasant" (*Lane*, 2902b).

ḤRB

ḥrbt (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.

ḤWT

ḥt (KRS 37), *low-lying lands*
  NOTES: CAr *ḥūtatun, ḥawtatun*, PL
  ḥuwatun, ḥūtun "A low, or depressed,
  tract, or piece, of land" (*Lane*, 2905a).

ḤBʾ

ḥbʾ (SIJ 274), G-PPC *to be hidden*
  NOTES: CAr *ḥabaʾa-hū* "He hid, or
  concealed, it" (*Lane*, 692c).

ḤBL

¹*ḥbl* (KRS 941), *effacer; obscurer*
²*ḥbl* (KRS 213), G-SC *to go insane*
³*ḥbl* (ASWS 107; C 1186, 2276; HaNSB 304;
  HAUI 182; KRS 1015; LP 342, 360;
  MKWS 8; NST 3; RSIS 80), D-SC *to
  obscure; ruin*; D-PC *yḥbl* (CSA 1.2;
  HaNSB 307; HshNSMI 5; KRS 995,
  1042; LP 684; WH 181); D-APC *mḥbl*
  (Mu 278)
  NOTES: CAr *ḥabila* "He was, or
  became, corrupted, unsound, vitiated,
  or disordered" and "he was or became,
  possessed or insane" (*Lane*, 699b).
  The D with an inscription as an object
  would then mean 'to make corrupt
  or unsound', that is, to obscure the

writing of the text until it can no
longer be read.

ḪBT

ḫbt (SG 5), *awful state or circumstance*
ḫbtt (KRS 1684), F *corrupt* (ADJ)
  NOTES: CAr *ḫabītun* "Bad; corrupt:
  disapproved, hated, or abominable"
  (*Lane*, 694a).

ḪḌʿ

ḫḍʿ (ASWS 107), SC *to be debased*
  NOTES: CAr *ḫaḍuʿa* "He was, or
  became, lowly, humble or submissive"
  (*Lane*, 757c).

ḪFR

ḫfrt (HAUI 182; KRS 68), *guidance*
  NOTES: CAr *ḫafara-hū* "He protected
  him; granted him refuge; preserved,
  saved, rescued, or liberated, him"
  (*Lane*, 772a). Also, Post-Classical
  Yemeni Arabic *ḫafīr* 'guide, scout'
  (Piamenta 1990:133). The context
  of HAUI 183 suggests the word
  sides more closely with the Yemeni
  meaning rather than the CAr.

ḪLF

¹*ḫlf* (HaNSB 304), *compensation*
ḫlft (NRW.D 1), SC *to grant compensation*
  (only the 2FS is attested)
²*ḫlf* (KRS 2453), D-INF *to take back*
  NOTES: CAr *ʾaḫlafa fulānun li-nafsi-hī
  li-ġayri-hī* "Such a one replaced to
  himself, or to another, a thing that
  had gone from him, with another
  thing" (*Lane*, 794c)

ḪLL

ḫll (RWQ 281), SC *to keep watch*, VAR *ḫl* (C 4443)

NOTES: This verb should be connected with Gz. *ḥallawa* "watch, keep watch, guard" (*CDG*, 262), rendering it essentially equivalent to *ḥrṣ*. A connection with CAr *taḥawwala-hū* "he paid frequent attention, or returned time after time" (*Lane*, 825a–b) is also possible. I thank my student, C. Della Puppa, for identifying the etymology of this word.

ḪLṢ

ḫlṣt (KRS 2728), *salvation*

ʾḫlṣ (KRS 1964), C-SC *to make safe*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *ḫalaṣa*, INF *ḫulūṣun, ḫalāṣatun* "he became safe, or secure, or free, from embarrassment, or difficulty, or from destruction" (*Lane*, 785b).

ḪMS¹

ḫms¹ (C 2088), *five*, F *ḫms¹t* (KRS 25); *ḫms¹t'ṣ²rn* (KRS 225), *twenty-five*

ḪNṢ

ḫnṣ (C 1868), *young animals, swine*

NOTES: Compare to CAr *ḫinnawṣun*, idem (*Lane*, 817a).

ḪRM

ḫrm (KRS 213), G-APC *to drill; hammer*

NOTES: Compare with CAr *ḫarama-hū* "he perforated, or pierced, it" (*Lane*, 730a).

ḪRS¹

ḫrs¹ (C 1186; LP 325, 342; WH 368), *dumbness*

NOTES: CAr *ʾaḫrasu* "dumb" (*Lane*, 722a).

ḪRṢ

ḫrṣ (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, 2420, 2460, 2569; LP 325, 576; SESP.U 13, 18; RR 4; RWQ 120, 329, 335; WH 368, 582, 852, 1696; ZeGA 11; ZeWa 1), SC *to keep watch (for)*, + *ʿl- to look after*, + *l- on behalf of*; *to anticipate*, *w*-form *ḫrṣw* (RSIS 204)

tḫrṣ (WH 398), T2-SC *to be cautious*

NOTES: The CAr expression *ḥaraṣa n-naḫla* 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 *ḥaraṣa* probably originally meant something like 'to eyeball', that is, to estimate quantity based on a rough visual assessment. In many cases, authors *ḫrṣ* 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.

ḪS¹F

ḫs¹f (C 2713), *hunger, emaciation*

NOTES: CAr *ḫasfun* "Leanness, or emaciation" and *bāta l-qawmu ʿalā l-ḫasfi* "The party passed the night in a state of hunger" (*Lane*, 738c).

ḪS¹R

ḫs¹r (LP 1013), G-SC *to suffer a loss*
  NOTES: CAr *ḫasira* "He lost, or suffered loss or diminution" (*Lane*, 736c).

ḪTN

ḫtn (C 4988; KRS 167), *wife's relation*
  NOTES: CAr *ḫatanun* "any relation on the wife's side" (*Lane*, 704a).

ḪṬṬ

¹*ḫṭṭ* (C C 893, 1240, 1658, 2113, 3931; KRS 25, 213, 995, 1287; LP 325, 360, 684, 685; Ms 37, Mu 141; RSIS 351; SG 1; WH 181, 368, ZeWA 1), *writing*
²*ḫṭṭ* (C 1185), *writer*
  NOTES: CAr *ḫaṭṭun*, PL *ḫuṭūṭun* "A line, streak, or stripe" (*Lane*, 759a) but probably with the sense "a writing" (*Lane*, 759b).

ḪWF

ḫwf (KRS 1949), INF (?) *to fear*
tḫwf (HCH 107; KhBG 345), T2-SC *to be diminished by the lack of rain*
  NOTES: The best match for this term is found in the expression *taḥawwafa-nā s-sanatu* "the year of drought, or sterility, took from us by little and little" (*Lane*, 823c). Safaitic *tḫwf* is attested four times in the corpus, three of which occur with the verb *qyẓ* 'to spend the dry season', followed by a prayer for protection.

ḪWL

ḫl (AKSD 5; C 1167, 4068, 4443; HCH 10; KRS 167, 1975), *maternal uncle*, PL *ʾḫwl* (HCH 71; HshNSMI 5; KRS 2340)
ḫlt (KRS 18), *maternal aunt*
  NOTES: CAr *ḫālun* "mother's brother" and *ḫālatun* "mother's sister" (*Lane*, 825b).

ḪYL

ḫl (BTH 228; WH 1700.1), *horse(s)*
  NOTES: CAr *ḫaylun* "horses" (*Lane*, 853b). It is used adverbially in BTH 228 to mean 'on horseback'.
ʾḫl (C 1186), *uncertainty*
  NOTES: The form *ʾḫl* 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).

ḪYR

ḫr (RWQ 335), *good*
ḫyr s¹lm (C 5050), *the bliss of security*
  NOTES: CAr *ḫayrun* "Anything that is good, real, or ideal" (*Lane*, 829b).

ḪYṬ

ḫyṭn (WH 1022), *journeying*
ḫyṭ (C 27; WH 742, 2025), G-SC *to journey*; APC *ḫyṭ* (C 28)
  NOTES: CAr *ḫāṭa fulānun ḫayṭatan* "Such a one journeyed on, not pausing for anything" (*Lane*, 831b). The term had a more general sense in the Safaitic inscriptions, as indicated by C 27 *byt ḫyṭ* 'he spent the night while journeying'.

ḪZR

ḫzr (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.

ḪZY

ḫz (ASWS 124), G-APC *to be hostile*
NOTES: CAr *ḫazā-hu* "He treated him, or regarded him, with enmity, or hostility" (*Lane*, 735a–b).

ḤBB

ḥbt (KRS 2961), *a sort of rain*
NOTES: A basic sense of the word *ḥabb*, of which *ḥabbat-* is the *nomen unitatis*, is 'seed' or 'grain', and can be used in conjunction with the word *ġamām* 'clouds' to refer to 'hail' (*Lane*, 496b). Since *ḥbt* occurs in a variant of the common meteorological formula *tẓr h- sⁱmy* 'he awaited rain', it should probably be taken as a reference to 'rain', perhaps in the paucal to mean 'a bit of rain'.
ḥbb (ASWS 73; C 96, 99, 2036, 2446, 4988; HaNS 660; KRS 1180, 1432), *loved one*, F *ḥbbt* (C 304), VAR *mḥbb* (WH 116), *loved one*; participle of the G-stem
ʾḥb (AWS 48), *most beloved* (elative)
ʾḥbb (MKWS 8), *to love*; PPC *mḥb* (CSNS 1021)
NOTES: CAr *ʾaḥabba* "He loved, liked, approved, or took pleasure in, him, or it" (*Lane*, 495c).

ḤBQ

ḥbqy (WH 1234), *stinking* (feminine elative).

NOTES: Probably the elative of the root √ḥbq, which in CAr refers to breaking wind, cf. CAr *ḥabiqun* "emission of wind from the anus, with a sound; mostly used in relation to camels and sheep or goats" (*Lane*, 503a).

ḤBS¹

ḥbsⁱt (CSNS 1), *enclosure*
NOTES: CAr *ḥabsun* "a place of confinement", "a jail" (*Lane*, 500c).

ḤDD

ḥdd (KhBG 345), *toponym*
ḥdt (MKOWI 2), G-SC *to forbid; hinder* (masculine unattested)
NOTES: CAr *ḥadda r-raǧula ʿani l-ʾamr* "He prevented, or hindered, or withheld, or restrained, a man from the affair" (*Lane*, 524b).

ḤDQ

ḥdq (C 2076), *walled enclosure*
NOTES: Compare with Arabic *ḥadīqah* "A walled garden" (*Lane*, 532b). C 2076 *ḥdq* was the object of a siege, suggesting that it referred to a strategically walled structure rather than a garden.

ḤḌR

ḥḍr (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 *ḥḍr* (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 *ḥāḍirun*, 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 cultivatd land, and houses of clay, or pitched their tents by the water, and remained there, and sustained their beasts with the water and herbage around them" (*Lane*, 590b).

ḤGG

yḥg (WH 3053), G-PC *to make a pilgrim-age*

NOTES: The sense of "to make a pilgrimage" is confirmed by an unpublished inscription stating *bṭl ḥg s¹ᶜ* "the pilgrimage to Sīᶜ was rendered void". The temple of *Bᶜls¹mn* was located at Sīᶜ, and so it was likely that the author intended to make the pilgrimage there, but was for some reason unable. Another unpublished inscription from Jebel Qurma attests *ḥg bt h-ʾlt* 'he made a pilgrimage to the temple of the goddess'.

ḤGZ

ḥgz (C 1240; H 506; LP 722), G-SC *to withhold; hinder*

NOTES: CAr *ḥaǧaza-hū* "It prevented,

hindered, impeded, withheld, restrained, or debarred him" (*Lane*, 519a). This verb is always used with Bᶜls¹mn as a subject and a pronominal object, referring presumably to the rain.

ḤKK

ḥkk (WH 368), *mange*

NOTES: CAr *ḥikkatun*; *ḥukākun* "An itching; scab or mange" (*Lane*, 614b)

ḤLL

ḥl (C 4803), *camping*

ḥl (AWS 48, C 726, 2104; KRS 1131; RSIS 351), SC *to camp*; G-APC *ḥl* (C 407); INF *ḥlt* (JaS 159.2)

ḥll (C 70, 2830, 2997, 5137; HCH 71; KRS 1683, 1852; LP 146, 1351) D-SC idem; D-APC *mḥll* (RyD 6822)

NOTES: CAr *ḥalla* "He alighted, lodged or settled in a place, etc." (*Lane*, 619b).

ḤLW

ḥlw (C 3365), *healing*

NOTES: The sense of this root in Classical Arabic is "sweet" and "pleasing", while in NWS it refers to chronic or serious sickness or general suffering (*HALOT*, #2893). The sense required by its context in C 3365 suggests that it is the opposite of *s¹qm* 'illness', i.e., 'healing'.

ḤMR

ḥmr (UIO 27), *donkey*

ḤMY

ḥmy (LP 342), *area of pasture*

ḥmyn (BRenv.H 1), possibly *protected*
(ADJ)
NOTES: CAr *ḥiman* "A place of
herbage, or pasture, and of water,
prohibited to the people (i.e., the
public)" (*Lane*, 651c).

ḥm (AWS 124; KRS 598), *heat*

ḤNN

ḥnn (C 31), D-IMP *to show compassion*
NOTES: Compare with *ḥanānun*
"mercy, compassion, pity" (*Lane*,
653b).

ḤQB

ḥqb (HCH), *quiver*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ḥaqībatun*
"a bag or receptacle" (*Lane*, 610c), but
in the context of *rmy*, a quiver.

ḤRR

ḥrt (CSNS 1; KRS 37; RSIS 351; SIJ 957;
WH 197), *toponym* (the *Ḥarrah*)

ḤRB

¹ḥrb (C 2209, 3680; RSIS 324), *war*
²ḥrb (C 2209, 4448; HAUI 76; KRS 2646;
LP 360; MISSD 1; MKOWI 2; NST 3;
WH 1700.1; 3792.a), *to wage war*; *to
plunder*, F *ḥrbt* (SIJ 59); PPC *mḥrb*
(ISB 421; RWQ 334), PL *ḥrbn* (C 1607;
KRS 24), VAR *mḥrbn* (HCH 71).
NOTES: CAr *ḥaraba-hū* "He despoiled
him of his wealth, or property; or
plundered him", and *ḥarbun* "war,
battle, fight, or conflict" (*Lane*, 540b).

ḤRM

ḥrmt (C 407), *toponym* (?)

ḤWR

ḥrn (C 99, 1167; HaNSB 197, 218; KRS 922,
1706, 1991; RWQ 323; WH 161), *toponym*
(Ḥawrān)

ḥwrn (WH 2837) *safe return*

ḥwr (ASWS 202; HCH 131), SC *to return*
NOTES: CAr *ḥāra* "He, or it, returned"
(*Lane*, 665a).

ḤWB

ḥwb (SW 168), G-SC *to lament*, VAR *ḥyb*
(WH 116); G-INF *ḥb* (WH 116).
NOTES: CAr *ḥawbun* "He became in
an evil condition or state; *taḥawwaba*
he cried out expressing pain, grief,
sorrow, etc." (*Lane*, 662a–b).

ḤWLT

ḥwlt (AsUI 1; C 2670; CSNS 957, HCH 72,
103, 126, 132; RWQ 73, 335, 349;
WH 153, 3736.1), *social* group, GADJ
ḥwly (LP 87)
NOTES: The Ḥwlt seem to have been
a large confederation from North
Arabia who were considered enemies
by the inhabitants of the Ḥarrah.

ḤWW

ḥwwt (WGGR 1), *to become dark in color*
NOTES: Compare with Gz *ḥawaya* "to
become dark (due to sunset), become
gloomy, become evening" and CAr
iḥwawā "become red inclining to
blackness" (*CDG*, 250b).

ḤYQ

ḥwq (KRS 1015, 1042; SESP.D 12), *jealousy*,
VAR *ḥyq* (C 1185)
NOTES: CAr *ḥāyaqa-hū* "He envied or
hated him" (*Lane*, 688b).

ḤYW

ḥyy (C 4803) *life*

ḥywy (C 300), *animal*, PL *ḥyt* (AbaNS 407; HaNSB 354; KhMNS 51; WH 351, 359, 3929)

¹ḥy (C 1280), G-SC *to live long*; G-PC *nḥyy* (LP 495); APC/ADJ *ḥy* (SIJ 293)

²ḥy (LP 335, 1267), D-IMP *grant (long) life*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ḥayawā-nun* "anything possessing animal life" (*Lane*, 682b).

KBR

kbr (C 2686; HaNSB 184; KRS 1670) *large; tall* or *long* (constantly, continuously when used as a temporal adverb).
NOTES: The CAr *kabīrun* 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' hag-gēšēm min-haš-šāmāyim* "and the rain from the sky was restrained".

KLB

klb (HCH 131; WH 1516), *dog*

KLL

kll (HaNSB 16, 305; KRS 6; LP 243), *all*, VAR *kl* (SW 193); *each* (C 88; HCH 191; WH 161); *everything* (KRS 2646)

kl (LP 305), *both*

KLM

klm (LP 161), G-SC *to injure*

KM'

km' (JaS 61; WH 632) SC *to collect truffles*; INF *km't* (MAHB 5)
NOTES: CAr *kama'a* "He fed [people] with [the truffles called] kam'"; *takamma'a* "he gathered [the truffles called] kam'" (*Lane*, 2629a). The verb is never accompanied by an object, and so the G-stem probably had the same sense as the CAr TD.

KMN

mkmn (MKWS 8), *hiding place*

kmn (MKWS 8), G-SC *to go into hiding*
NOTES: CAr *makmanun* "a place of concealment; a lurking place" (*Lane*, 3003c).

KNF

knf (WH 1234), G-SC *to show mercy, kindness*
NOTES: The contexts prefers an association with the CAr sense in *kanfu llāhi: raḥmatu-hū* "Kanf of Allah: his mercy" (*Lisān*, s.v.).

KNN

knn (ASWS 217), *the month Kānūn*
NOTES: The Syrian calendar knows two *kānūn*'s, corresponding to December and January. Since

this month is attested without an accompanying number, it could be the case that the calendar employed by the nomads of the Ḥarrah had only one.

KSᴾ

ksᴾ (C 523), *full moon* or *cosmical setting*
  NOTES: I have argued in Al-Jallad 2014 that this term should be connected with Hb *kīsê* and Syriac *kesā'*, both "full moon" (*HALOT*, #4326); however, it is also possible that the term should be connected with the Arabic root *ks'* signifying the 'end' or 'final part' of something. In this case, it may refer to the cosmical setting of a constellation, that is, when it sets in the western horizon at sun rise. The term *ksᴾ* would therefore signal the end of its visibility in the sky at night. Both phenomena occur at the same time, so neither translation affects the chronological dimension of our interpretation.

KS¹R

ks¹r (AKSD 5), *destroyer*
ks¹r (KRS 1023) G-INF *to break*
  NOTES: CAr *kasara-hū* "He broke it off" (*Lane*, 2610c).

KTB

ktb (C 4803), *writing*

KWN

k'n (LP 1198), G-APC *to be*
mykn (KRS 2453), C-PPC *to be established* (?)

NOTES: In the case of *mykn*, one must assume an earlier form *mu'akānu*, whereby the glottal stop was lost or merged with *y*. This form may be restricted to the poetic register.

KWY

kwy (HCH 132), *to wander*
  NOTES: Compare with Gz *kawawa* "hasten, hurry"; Amh *käwwa* "wandering" (*CDG*, 300b).

LʿN

lʿn (AWS 48, KRS 29, 1042; LP 360; Ms 44), *to curse/be cursed*, 2FS *lʿt* (CSA 1.2); G-IMP *lʿn* (KRS 1015; Ms 44; RWQ 73)
  NOTES: The identical use of the verb *lʿn* is very common in the Nabataean inscriptions; see Cantineau (1930:11) for examples.

LD

h-ld (C 2947), *toponym*

LGYN

lgyn (LP 653), *legion(s)*, from Latin LEGIONEM (credit goes to M.C.A. Macdonald for the identification of this word).

LḤN

lḥyn (WH 641.1), *social group* (possibly Liḥyān).

LS¹N

'ls¹nt (LP 1108), *tongues* or *curses* (singular unattested)

LWN

lwny (WGGR 1), *color*

>   NOTES: CAr *lawnun* "colour" (*Lane*,
>   3015a); the morphological identity
>   of this word is unclear, but it could
>   be a CaCCay pattern with the rare
>   transcription of the word internal
>   diphthong, */lawnay/.

LYL

lyly (KRS 2453), *nights* (singular
unattested)

LẒẒ or LWẒ

lẓ (KRS 2453), *scorner*

>   NOTES: Ugaritic *lẓt* 'scorn', Hebrew
>   *lṣ*, and perhaps Akkadian *lāṣu*
>   (*UD*, 508). The cognate Arabic root
>   √lẓẓ gives rise to the word *lazẓun*,
>   applied to a man 'hard, or difficult
>   in disposition' (*Lane*, 2661c), and
>   the G-stem verb *lazẓa*, 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

[1]*m't* (AbaNS 286; C 2832), *hundred*

m't frs¹ (C 320, 2076; KRS 1468; LP 1265;
ZeWa 1), *cavalry unit*, DU *m'ty frs¹*
(RQ.A 10)

>   NOTES: M.C.A. Macdonald inge-
>   niously connects *m't frs¹* with the
>   Roman *cohors equitata quingenaria*,
>   an auxiliary cavalry unit of the Roman
>   army containing roughly 120 horse-
>   men. The authors of the Safaitic

inscriptions seem to have abbreviated
this to simply 100 (2014).

M'Ḍ

m'ḍ (C 3020), *toponym* (?)

>   NOTES: Probably a toponym in *r'y h-
>   nḫl b- m['] 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
>   *ḍa'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 reinforce-
ments*

>   NOTES: MISSD 1, p. 456 connects
>   this verb with CAr *'amdadtu-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 *māḏî* 'Medes'.

MGD

mgdt (KRS 1042; LP 180), *bounty*, VAR
mgd (KRS 1684)

NOTES: CAr *maǧd* "glory; honour;
dignity; nobility" (*Lane*, 2690a),
and when applied to a man can
signify someone who is generous in
giving and bountiful. The latter set
of meanings is more suitable for the
Safaitic context, as prayers for *mgd*
usually follow expressions of scarcity,
hunting, or seasonal movement.

MHR

mhrt (C 1186), *filly*, PL *mhr* (C 3095),
colts
NOTES: Compare with CAr *muhr*
"colt", with ٥ "filly" (*Lane*, 2740b).

MḤL

mḥlt (LP 342), *dearth of pasture, dryness
of earth, deprivation of herbage*, VAR
mḥltn (KRS 1551) (with possible
nunation), *mḥl* (ASWS 202; WGGR 1).
ʾmḥl (ASWS 202), C-SC *to cause dearth*
NOTES: CAr *mahlun* and *muhālatun*,
with the same meanings as above
(*Lane*, 3018b).

MḤQ

mḥq (AWS 81), *bad fortune*
NOTES: According to the *Lisān*
(s.v.), *mḥq* is refers to the removal
of blessing—*mahaqa-hū llāhu ʾay
ʾadhaba hayra-hū wa-barakata-hū* '...
that is, Allah has removed his good
will and blessings'.

MLḤ

¹*mlḥ* (HaNSB 184; SIJ 37), SC *he traded
salt*
NOTES: Most have assumed that this
verb refers to the manufacture or

trading of salt, which was common
in many of the areas in which Safaitic
inscriptions have been found.
While it is also possible to take
the verb as the equivalent of CAr
mallaha "he [a poet] produced, or
said, something goodly, beautiful,
pretty" or even *ʾamlaha l-qawmu* "the
people possessed milk", the context
of HaNSB 184 *mlḥ f ʿny kbr* "and he
mlḥ and so toiled continuously"
suggests that the verb signifies an
arduous action, confirming the
original translation 'to work/trade
salt'. On the other hand, there is no
way to disprove the other meanings in
ambiguous contexts.

²*mlḥ* (ASWS 73; C 3230; KRS 169, 1536),
Aquarius (constellation)
NOTES: Probably 'salt worker' or 'salt
pan'; see Al-Jallad (2014).

MLK

mlk (CSNS 957; KhNSJ 1; KRS 1023, 1695;
LP 619; WH 1700.1; ZeWa 1) *king*;
(KRS 1944) a component of an epi-
thet of Bʿls¹mn, *mlk h-s¹my* 'sovereign
of the sky', F *mlkt* (Mu 412; SIJ 786),
queen
mlk h- slṭn (RQ.A 10), *possessor of
authority* (perhaps an epithet for a
governor?)
ʾmlk (RQ.A 10), C-SC *to take control*

MLY

mly (MISSI 2), *words*
NOTES: Syr *malālā* "endowed with the
power of speech, full of talk, talkative,
eloquent, garrulous" (*SD*, 278a).

MNʿ

mnʿt (CSNS 1), sc *to be hindered* (masculine unattested)
   NOTES: CAr *manaʿa* 'to hinder'.

MNY

¹*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. *manāyā* (*Lane*, 3025b).

²*mny* (RQ.A 1), *mina* (currency)
   NOTES: An ancient Near Eastern unit of currency, μνᾶ, Syr *manyā*, Hb *mānâ*.

MR'

mr' (WH 2147), *man; husband*
mr't (C 4768; WH 2147), *wife; woman*

MRD

¹*mrd* (AZNG 1), *a rebellion*
²*mrd* (QZUI 462), *a rebel*
³*mrd* (KRS 1023; SG 5; SIJ 78), G-sc *to rebel*, 3FS *mrdt* (WH 2815)
   NOTES: CAr *marada, murūdun* "He exalted himself, or was insolent, and audacious, in pride and in acts of rebellion or disobedience" (*Lane*, 2706a).

MRḌ

mrḍ (LP 335), *to become ill*
   NOTES: CAr *mariḍa* "He ... was, or became, [diseased, disordered, distempered, sick, or ill] in the state termed *maraḍun*" (*Lane*, 2708b).

MRQ

¹*mrq* (RWQ 339), G-sc *to pass by*
²*mrq* (HaNSB 304; KRS 1304), D-sc *to remove, throw off; to let pass by*
   NOTES: The sense 'to pass by' is preserved in the vernacular Arabic of the Levant, *maraqa* "to cross, pass by", *marraqa* "let a.o. pass by" (*Hava*, 717), but seems to have been lost in CAr. A faint whisper of the sense of the D-stem survives in CAr *marqu l-'ihābi* "the burying of the skin, or hide, in the earth so that its hair may be removed, and it may become ready for tanning", and in the verb *imtaraqa* "He drew [i.e. removed, my insertion] the sword from its scabbard" (*Lane*, 3019a).

MRR

mr b- (RSIS 80), G-sc *to pass*
   NOTES: CAr *marra bi-hī* 'He passed by him'; see (*Lane*, 2699c).

MṢR

mṣr (C 2947), D-sc *to take away* (?)
   NOTES: CAr *maṣṣara-hū* "He made it (namely a town) a *miṣr*, 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 *mṣr*. Perhaps one can understand this verb to mean 'to take away', that is, to cause separation.

MTʿ

mtʿt (KRS 756), *provisions*
  NOTES: CAr *matāʿun* "Anything
  useful or advantageous; as goods …
  commodities … food, the necessaries
  of life" (*Lane*, 3017a).

MṬR

mṭr (KRS 2420; SESP.U 18), *rain*, PL *mṭrt*
  (RSIS 324)
tmṭr (WGGR 1), PC *to rain* (3FS; other
  forms not attested)
  NOTES: CAr *maṭarati s-samāʾu* "the
  sky rained" and *maṭarun* "rain" (*Lane*,
  2721b–2722a).

MṬY

mṭyt (C 1837), *riding camel*, PL *mṭt*
  (WH 2837)
  NOTES: Compare with CAr *maṭiyy-
  atun* "a camel or beast that one rides"
  (*Lane*, 3021c).
mṭy (C 663, 4332; HaNSB 304, 305; KRS15;
  LP 236, 1013), G-SC *to journey* (in
  haste?)
  NOTES: CAr *maṭā: ǧadda bis-sayri,
  wa-ʾasraʿa* 'he exerted himself
  in journeying and made haste'
  (*Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, s.v.); Syr *məṭā*
  "to come, arrive at, reach" (*SD*,
  266a).

MWT

mt (KRS 68, 2453; LP 1198; WH 1243),
  death
myt (ASWS 73; C 2190; HCH 132; KRS 1051,
  1852; Ms 4; UIO 117), G-SC *to die*, VAR
  mt (C 1133; KhNSJ 1; NST 2), FS *mtt*
  (ASWS 70; AbaNS 86; NST 2)
ymyt (C 4351), *one who causes death*

(divine epithet of Gdḍf, originally
D-stem verb)

MWL

mwl (K 196), D-IMP *make abundant*
  NOTES: Compare with CAr *tama-
  wwala* "He became abundant in
  wealth" (*Lane*, 3026a).

MY

my (ASWS 202; AbaNS 1128; KRS 102,
  1944), *water*, VAR *myt* (KRS 96)
  NOTES: Safaitic *my* and *myt* corre-
  spond perfectly with LAr *mayy* and
  mayye < *mayyat, both water. I thank
  my student C. Della Puppa for this
  suggestion.

NʿM

¹*nʿm* (HaNSB 117) *ostrich*, SING *nʿmt*
  (KRS 1610), VAR *nʿmh* (AWS 302); DU
  nʿmtn (AbaNS 28)
²*nʿm* (C 320, 2446; KRS 1563; WH 1700.1),
  livestock
  NOTES: CAr *naʿamun* "pasturing *māl*
  [or cattle]; mostly applied to camels,
  and neat, and sheep and goats" (*Lane*,
  3035b); *naʿāmun* "ostrich".
³*nʿm* (C 4803), INF *to improve; make easy*
⁴*nʿm* (AWS 218; C 4803; LP 325, 460, 504),
  divine favor; ease; enjoyment, VAR *nʿmt*
  (HshNSMI 5)
  NOTES: CAr *niʿmatun* "A benefit;
  benefaction; favour; boon; or good"
  (*Lane*, 3035b–c). Also *naʿīmun* and
  nuʿmun.

NBṬ

nbṭ (AsUI 1; C 3690; RWQ 334), *Naba-
  taea; Nabataeans* (toponym; eth-

nonym), GADJ *nbty* (CSNS 661; MISSB 1)

NFR

nfrt (WH 2815), *kinsmen*
NOTES: "party of near kinsmen sworn to go to war" (*Lane*, 2825b).
nfr (HCH 194; LP 87; MKMR 9; SIJ 352), G-SC *to flee*; G-APC *nfr* (MKJS 1)
NOTES: CAr *nafara* "he took fright, and fled, or ran away at random" (*Lane*, 2823c).

NFS¹

¹*nfs¹* (BRCM 0194; HaNSB 307; KRS 3239; Vogue 404.1, 404.2; WH 587, 1191; ZmNSIH 32, 37), *funerary monument*, PL *ʾfs¹* (NRW.D 1)
NOTES: Compare with NWS *npš* "funerary monument; stele" (*DNWSI*, 748). A plural form *ʾ(n)fs¹* has been securely attested once (NRW.D 1). In other cases, the context does not support a plural interpretation but instead, the form should be interpreted as a *nfs¹* + the ʾ-article. In the case of AbaNS 86, an *n* should probably be restored between the first two letters of *ʾfs¹*, *ʾ- [n]fs¹* 'this funerary monument', as there is a larger gap than between other letters. Indeed, other inscriptions on the rock express grieving for *Bhs²*, to whom the monument is dedicated.
²*nfs¹* (C 2031), *person*
NOTES: CAr *nafsun* "a person; a being; an individual" (*Lane*, 2827c).
l- nfs¹ -h (LP 360), *by himself*
NOTES: CAr *ǧāʾa-nī bi-nafsi-hī* "he came to me himself" (*Lane*, 2827c).

³*nfs¹* (AZNG 1), *Nepos* (personal name)
NOTES: Abbadi and Zayadine cleverly connect *nfs¹* with T. Haterius Nepos, governor of Provincia Arabia in the 2nd c. CE. See the commentary under AZNG 1 for more.

NGD

ngd (KRS 2869), SC *to be/become courageous*
NOTES: CAr *naǧuda* "He was, or became, courageous, and sharp, or vigorous and effective, in those affairs which others lack power or ability to accomplish" (*Lane*, 2766b).

NGM

ngm (HaNSB 218; WH 3053), *Virgo* (constellation)
NOTES: Probably refers to an ear of corn, which was the symbol of this constellation in the eastern zodiacs. Safaitic *ngm* should be connected with CAr root √ngm, which refers to 'the emergence' or 'appearance' *talaʿa/ẓahara*, of, among other things, a 'plant', 'a canine tooth', 'a horn' or 'a planet' (*Lisan*, s.v.).

NGR

mngr (CSNS 517), *long-suffering* (morphologically a participle)
ngr (C 404; KRS 598), *to be patient*; *endure*; G-PC *ygr* (ISB 421); G-INF *ngr* (UIO 268)
NOTES: Compare with Syr *ngar*, which, among its many meanings, attests "to be longsuffering, patient" (*SD* 327b).

NGS²

ngs² (HaNSB 218), *to drive*
　　NOTES: CAr *naǧaša* "He collected
　　together camels [&c.] after a
　　state of dispersion" and "he drove
　　vehemently" (*Lane*, 2771b).

NGW

ngwt (C 4842), *escape*
¹*ngy* (HCH 132; WH 153), G-SC *to escape*;
　　be saved; G-PC *nngy* (WH 135)
²*ngy* (CSNS 1004; KRS 25, 303, 995, 1684;
　　WH 15, 610, 1698, 2815) G-SC *to (be)*
　　announce(d), FS *ngyt* (SIJ 786)
　　NOTES: Macdonald has connected
　　this word with Sabaic *ngw* "to
　　announce" (*SbD*, 93), and is used to
　　announce leadership over a raiding or
　　war party (2014).
　　NOTES: CAr *naǧā* "He became safe,
　　secure; he escaped" (*Lane*, 3028c).

NHY

nhy (LP 317), *deity*

NḪL

nḫl (AWS 72; C 269, 272, 1206, 1573, 2088,
　　2104, 2670, 3020, 3230; KRS 1670, 2409,
　　3291; WH 65; ZeGA 11), *(torrent) valley*
　　NOTES: Hb *naḥal* "river valley, wadi"
　　(*HALOT*, #6089).

NKR

nkr (LP 1261), SC *to contend with; battle*
　　NOTES: Perhaps equivalent to CAr
　　nākara "He contended with him in a
　　fight, battle, war" (*Lane*, 2849b).

NMR

h- nmrt (AWS 48; C 523, 2732; LP 330; Mu

867; M 358; RSIS 199, 339), *toponym*
(Namārah)

NQL

nql (AbaNS 78), SC *to transport*
　　NOTES: CAr *an-naqlu: taḥwīlu š-šayʾi*
　　min mawḍiʿin ʾilā mawḍiʿin 'the
　　transport of a thing from a place to
　　a place' (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NQM

nqmt (C 2947, 4076; LP 305, 319,
　　460, 4076, 5121; QZUI 462; SG 5),
　　retribution, vengeance
　　NOTES: CAr *niqmatun* "penal
　　retribution, or vengeance" (*Lane*,
　　3037c).

NS²Ṭ

ns²ṭ (WH 1243), SC *to go forth*
　　NOTES: CAr *našaṭa* "He went forth
　　from a place"; "he passed or crossed,
　　[from one country or the like to
　　another]" (*Lane*, 2796a).

NṢʿ

nṣʿ (HaNSB 371), *enmity*
　　NOTES: CAr *naṣaʿa r-raǧulu* 'He made
　　apparent and clear his enmity and
　　intention to kill' (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NṢB

¹*nṣb* (C 527), *cult stone*
mnṣb (ZeGA 1), *cult stone*, VAR *mṣb*
　　(KRS 2914), *mṣbt* (C 511)
²*nṣb* (MISSD 1), SC *to set up a cult stone*
　　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

being itself. For cognates, see (*DNWSI*, 749–750).

NṢN

nṣn (ASWS 202), *the month Nisan* (March–April)

NṢR

nṣr (C 220; RWQ 117), N-SC *to be in need of aid*
NOTES: CAr *naṣara-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, */naṣṣara/ < *nanṣara.

NTL

ntl (HaNSB 8, 56), G-APC *ahead of others*
NOTES: CAr *natala min bayni-him ...: taqaddama* "*natala* from among them ...: he advanced" (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NWL

nl (LP 619), SC *to attain*
NOTES: CAr *nāla* "He attained, obtained" (*Lane*, 3040c).

NWM

nm (KRS 2453; RWQ 155), G-SC *to sleep; to perish*
NOTES: Both attestations of this verb suggest the metaphoric meaning 'to perish, die'. This euphemism is known from later Arabic as well.

NWQ

nqt (LP 316; MA 1; WH 1234), *she-*

camel, DU *nqtn* (WH 3912), PL *'nq* (AbaNS 564.1); VAR *nq* (LP 335)
NOTES: CAr *an-nāqatu: 'al-'untā mina l-'ibil* "the female of the camel" (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NWY

nw (LP 325), *migrating group*
¹*nwy* (KRS 2409, 2568), *pastureland*
NOTES: Hb *nāwê* "grazing place" (*HALOT*, #6035); CAr *nawan* "A tract, or region towards which one goes in journeying" (*Lane*, 3040b).
²*nwy* (BWM 3), SC *to migrate*; G-PC *yny* (C 1108); G-INF *nyt* (C 4233; KRS 1770); G-APC *nwy* (KRS 37, 1949)
NOTES: CAr *nawā-hu* "he intended it, purposed it ... as the object of his aim" and the GT *intawā l-qawmu manzilan bi-mawḍi'i kaḏā* "the people, or party, repaired, or betook themselves, to, or towards, a place of alighting or abode in such a place" (*Lane*, 3040b). The Safaitic seems to correspond better in meaning with the CAr GT, although Hava (s.v.) reports the meaning "to emigrate" for the G.

NWZ

nz (ASWS 217), *explusion* (?)
NOTES: Perhaps connected to CAr *nazā* 'to jump' (*Lisān*, s.v.).

NYK

nyk (WH 2147), *to copulate*

NẒR

mnẓr (WH 1663), *look-out point*, VAR *mẓr* (WH 318).

nẓr (BTH 228; C 49; HaNSB 48, 184, 305;
NST 3; KRS 24, 1944; SIJ 59, 786, 808;
SIT 52; WH 599, 610, 613), G-SC *to
guard*; (+ *h-s¹my*) *to await*

tẓr (C 28, 70, 420, 1573, 2997, 4010;
CSNS 957; KRS 1536, 1562, 1563, 1695,
2869, 3029; MKWS 28; RWQ 281;
SESP.U 18; WAMS 19.1; WH 359, 2225,
2255, 3133.1, 3559.1, 3584), T-SC *to wait;
await; lie in wait*, VAR *tnẓr* (C 2076;
HaNSB 62; KRS 2961; WH 614); PC *ytẓr*
(WH 3929); INF *tnẓr* (Mu 412).
NOTES: CAr *intaẓara-hū* "he looked
for him; expected him; awaited
him; waited for him; watched
for his presence" (*Lane*, 2812a).
Constructions such as *w nẓr b'd
h- ms¹rt* (WH 599) 'and he *nẓr* on
account of the troop' suggest a
meaning closer to Syr *nṭar* "to guard,
watch, keep; to keep watch or ward"
(*SD*, 337b). Also CAr *manẓaratun*
"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'Ṣ

q'ṣn (C 3931), *killers* (an agentive noun in
the plural, perhaps */qaʿāṣīn/, if not a
personal name)
nq'ṣ (C 2276), N-INF *to die suddenly*
NOTES: CAr *qa'ṣun* "a quick death",
māta qa'ṣan "He (man) died on the
spot"; *'aq'ṣa-hū* "he slew him on the
spot"; *inqa'aṣa* "he died" (*Lane*, 2549).

QBL

'qbl (C 4768), *kinsman*
NOTES: Probably related to Classical
Arabic *qabīlatun* "a body of men from
one father and one mother" or *qabīlun*
"a body of men from several
ancestors" (*Lane*, 2984a).
qbll (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 *qbll* occurs very
frequently in the prayer component
following expressions of longing for
loved ones, *ts²wq 'l-* PN *f h* DN *qbll*
'and he longed for PN so, O DN, may
they be reunited/let there be reun-
ion'. This exact form is attested in
CAr as *iqballa; iqbilālun*, but the
Safaitic reflex better suits the G-stem
qabila 'to receive (someone); to
accept'.

QBR

qbr (LP 282), *grave*
qbr (WH 1, 1136), G-SC *to bury*, FS *qbrt*
(KRS 1975); G-PPC *qbr* (C 1989;
WH 1136), MP *qbrn* (C 2156; WH 1,
1136)

QFY

qfyt (KRS 68), *a path*
NOTES: CAr *qafā fulānan* "He followed
the footsteps of such a one" (*Lane*,
2991c).

QHR

yqhr (LP 236), D/C-PC *to make successful*
NOTES: *qahara-hū* "He overcame,

conquered, prevailed, etc." (*Lane*, 2570a).

god" (*Lane*, 2988c); *'uqsimu bil-lāhi* "I swear an oath by God".

QNB

qnb (C 3095), *a company of men*
  NOTES: Compare with CAr *qanībun* "companies of men ... and hence, as being likened thereto ... clouds such as are dense or compact" (*Lane*, 2566a).

QNṬ

qnṭ (HAUI 125; LP 306, 330; RWQ 339), G-SC *to fear, despair of*
  NOTES: CAr *qanaṭa* "He despaired most vehemently of a thing" (*Lane*, 2568b).

QR'

yqr' (C 4803), G-PC *to read*

QRB

qrb (MKWS 8; UIO 298), *soon; near*
  NOTES: CAr *qarīban* "shortly after and before" (*Lane*, 2508a).

QRR

¹*qr* (C 860; KRS 132), *cold*
  NOTES: CAr *qarra* "He, or it, settled; became firm ... or established ... at rest ... in the place" and "he was, or became, affected, or smitten, by the cold" (*Lane*, 2499b).
²*qr* (AbaNS 881; C 4351), G-SC *to be cold; to be established*; G-PC *yqr* (AbaNS 881)

QS¹M

'qs¹m (SIJ 293), C-SC *to swear (an oath)*
  NOTES: CAr *qasamun* "an oath by

QṢF

qṣf (C 1957, 2713, 4039), SC *to be sad*
  NOTES: Syr *qṣaf* "to be sad, irritated; to dread, be anxious, worried, to take a miss" (*SD*, 516a).

QṢY

'qṣ (C 4332), *furthest* (elative)
qṣy (AWS 237), G-SC *to dedicate*; PPC *qṣy* (KRS 1307), F *qṣyt* (LP 317), DU *qṣyn* (C 1658).
  NOTES: Qṣy 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 √qṣy, which signals 'cutting, breaking' is obvious, cf. Gz *qaṣaya* "to break off, snap off" (*CDG*, 451a–b, and examples from other Semitic languages there); the semantic shift of 'break off' > 'set aside' is negligible. This root would seem to be related to the CAr *qaṣṣa* "to cut" (*Lane*, 2526b), through the general confusion of IIIw/y and C² = C³ roots.

QṢṢ

qṣṣ (KRS 1468; SIJ 786; WH 1019, 1849), *to patrol; to track*
  NOTES: CAr *qaṣṣa* "He followed, tracked" (*Lane*, 2526b). In Safaitic, the term occurs frequently with military activities, e.g., KRS 1468 *qṣṣ b- m't frs¹* 'he *qṣṣ* 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 *qṣṣ frs¹-[h] h- ms¹ty* "he tracked [his/a] horse to the winter pasture".

QTL

¹*qtl* (ZeWa 1), *warriors*, (probably masculine plural construct: */qātilū/ or */qātilī/).

²*qtl* (KRS 1161), *a fight; battle*

³*qtl* (C 2446, 4443; HCH 126, KRS 1161; LP 305), G-SC *to kill*; PC *yqtl* (N-stem or internal passive) (AWS 264); APC *qtl* (CSNS 1004); PPC *qtl* (C 2113; LP 243, 679), VAR *mqtl* (C 2947; CSNS 1004; HCH 72, 103, 126)

⁴*qtl* (HCH 71), L-SC *to fight one another*

qttl (KRS 1024), T2-SC *to engage in battle/war*

QWL

¹*ql* (BRenv.H 1; KRS 213, 941), G-SC *to say*; G-IMP *ql* (KRS 3239); G-APC *qyl* (KRS 1015)

NOTES: CAr *qāla* "He said" and *qawlun* "a saying, something said" (*Lane*, 2994c).

QWM

qm (C 3811, 4351; KRS 1015), *people*

NOTES: CAr *qawmun* "A people, or body of persons composing a community" (*Lane*, 2996a).

QWY

ʾqwy (SIJ 1008), C-INF *to grant endurance*

NOTES: The CAr root √qwy signifies "strength or endurance" (*Lane*,

2997a), of which the Safaitic is the causative. The CAr c means to "vacate or empty", which seems to be an unsuitable meaning for the word's single occurrence.

QYʾ

yqʾ (AWS 237), N-PC *to be thrown out* (of the grave); N-INF *nqʾt* (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 *qyʾ*, 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 *nqʾt m- qbr* 'being thrown out of a grave' (LP 282) and indeed *nqʾt b- ṣdq* 'being thrown out (of a grave) by a trusted one'. The use of this term in curse formulas seems to betoken the undesirable phenomenon of reusing graves (or perhaps removing a corpse from an above-ground burial cairn before it had fully decomposed). Expressions which include the prepositional phrase *b- ṣdq* or *b- wdd* signal the ultimate betrayal, namely, having a loved one reuse your grave.

QYḤ

qyḥ (C 88), *meaning and etymology uncertain*

QYṢR

qyṣr (MISSD 1), *Caesar*, VAR *qṣr*
(HAUI 72; KRS 1991, 2375; Ms 44;
WH 1698)

qṣryn (SG 5), *uncertain meaning*

QYN

qn (KRS 1695), *servant*

QYẒ

¹*qyẓ* (ZeGA 11), *dry season*

mqẓt (C 1240), *summer pasture*

²*qyẓ* (HCH 107; KhBG 345; LP 330; Mu
867; WH 289, 1191; ZeGA 11), *to spend
the dry season*; INF *qyẓ* (KhNSJ 5), VAR
ʾyḍ (Mu 113)
NOTES: CAr *qāẓa bil-makāni* "He
remained, or abode, in the place
during the season called *qayẓ*,
during the summer" (*Lane*, 2579b)
and *maqīẓun, maqīẓatun* "a place
of pasturing in the summer" (ibid.,
2580b–c). See Macdonald 1992b.

RʾY

¹*rʾy* (C 1338, 3230, 3818; HaNSB 197, 218;
KRS 1160; LP 712), *heliacal/acronical
rising* (of an asterism)

²*rʾy* (UIO 298), G-SC *to see*
NOTES: *rʾy* 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).

RʿY

rʿyt (KRS 1886), *pasturing*

rʿy (*passim*), SC *to pasture*, *w*-form *rʿyw*
(RSIS 304, 324); APC *rʿy* (C 2446);
G-INF *rʿy* (KhNSJ 5; KRS 37; SW 193)

RBʿ

ʾrbʿ, *four* (WH 3094), F *ʾrbʿt* (KRS 2340)

rbʿt (RSIS 80), *the spring*

mrbʿt (M 358), *the period of first spring
rains*
NOTES: CAr *rabīʿun*; see Lane (1977b)
for a discussion on the various
meanings of this term, but roughly
equivalent to the season *dtʾ*. In CAr,
mirbāʿun signifies the "rain that
comes in the beginning of the [season
called] *rabīʿ*".

RBB

rb (KRS 1015), G-SC *to exalt*
NOTES: CAr *rabba l-ʾamara* "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).

RBY

mrby (KRS 167), *foster child*

yrbb (C 1186), D-PC *to bring up, train*
NOTES: CAr *rabbaytu-hū* "I reared
him, fostered him", *murraban*
"fostered" (*Lane*, 1023b; 1024b)

RDD

rdt (C 1639), *reward*

trd (C 860), *recompense*
  NOTES: CAr *radda* "He returned"
  (*Lane*, 1061c ff).

RDF

¹*rdf* (LP 146), *rear*

²*rdf* (HCH 102; KRS 1011), G-SC *to follow*
  NOTES: CAr *radifa-hū* "He, or it,
  followed, or came after, him, or it"
  (*Lane*, 1067b).

RDN

rdn (WGGR 1), *yellowish red*
  NOTES: CAr *rādinun* and *radanun*
  "Saffron", used in poetry (*Lane*, 1070b).
  It is unclear if the nomads would
  have known Saffron in this period,
  so it may be the case that the word
  originally referred to the color rather
  than the spice.

RḌW

rḍw (AbaNS 906; ASWS 37; AWS 218, 236,
  237; C 76, 1084, 1341, 1639, 1658, 2104,
  3113, 3177, 3365, 3757, 4351, 5011, 5121;
  CSNS 517; HaNSB 8, 371; KRS 96, 102,
  1563,2961 3029; LP 460, 495; MKWS 28;
  SIJ 463; UIO 298; WH 2112, 3133.1,
  3736.1), *deity* (probably, *Roṣaw* =
  Neo-Assyrian *ru-ul-da-a-a-u*), VAR
  rḍy (AWS 72; C 286, 793, 2682, 3811,
  4842; HaNSB 305; JbS 1; KRS 109,
  1042, 1695, 2869; MA 1; MKWS 8;
  WH 3730)

rḍy (ASWS 107; KRS 1042), G-SC *to be
  satisfied*

RGʿ

rgʿ (KRS 37), G-SC *to return*
  NOTES: CAr "He returned; he went, or
  came, back" (*Lane*, 1088a).

RGL

rgl (C 2076), *foot soldier*, PL *rgl*
  (KRS 1903)
  NOTES: CAr *raǧulun, rāǧilun* "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 *riǧlatun* "a water course,
  or channel in which water flows,
  from a ḥarrah to a soft, or plain, tract"
  (*Lane*, 1046a).

RGM

rgm (AAUI 294; AtIN 3; CSNS 412, 620;
  KRS 51, 1379, 1546; LP 673; SHS 10;
  WH 234, 329, 3420), *funerary cairn*
  NOTES: The *rgm* is attested exclu-
  sively in a funerary context, suggest-
  ing the translation 'funerary cairn',
  cf. CAr *raǧǧama l-qabra* "He placed
  upon the grave [meaning *large stones*
  to cover make a gibbous covering to
  it]" (*Lane*, 1048a).

RĠM

rġm (SG 5), SC *to strike down*; PPC *rġm*
  (C 2285; HCH 10, 37; KRS 941, 1991;
  NST 3), FS *rġmt* (C 304), PL *rġmn*
  (C 4988; KRS 6, 2340)

NOTES: This term appears in the common mourning formula, *rǧm mny*, which has traditionally been translated as "humbled by fate", based on CAr *raǧima l-ʾanfu* "he was, or became, abased, or humbled, or submissive; as though his nose clave to the earth" (*Lane*, 1113b). However, *raǧima* here means 'to cleave to the earth or dust'; the sense of 'humbling' comes from the entire expression. It is, therefore, better to take *rǧm* as a verb meaning "cleave to the ground", with the sense of being 'struck down' or 'killed'. For an alternative view, see Jamme (1967b).

RHṬ

rhṭ (KRS 2340), *kinsfolk*, PL *ʾrhṭt* (ShNGA 1)
  NOTES: CAr *rahṭun* "A man's people, and tribe, consisting of his nearer relations: his kinsfolk" (*Lane*, 1169c).

RḪL

rḫlt (C 4803; SIJ 750), *ewe-lamb*
  NOTES: CAr *riḫlun* and *riḫlatun* "an ewe-lamb" (*Lane*, 1059a).

RḤB

rḥbt (WH 1900; RVP 7), *toponym* (Ruḥbah)
  NOTES: The region known as al-Ruḥbah, east of Tulūl al-Ṣafā (Macdonald 1992a: 1).
(*h-*) *rḥbt* (C 4681, SIJ 1008), *rahabah*; PL *rḥb* (WH 30; WH 2255)
  NOTES: With the article, the term *rḥbt* refers to an open area where water collects and herbage is abundant (Macdonald 1992a: 1).

RḤḌ

rḥḍ (C 4443; WH 3053), G-SC *to wash*
  NOTES: CAr *raḥaḍa* "He washed a thing or a garment, and his hand" (*Lane*, 1052c).

RḤM

rḥm (C 4351), *merciful* (divine epithet of Gdḍf)

RKK

rk (ZeWa 1), *light rain*
  NOTES: CAr *rikkun* "Weak rain or rain little in quantity" (*Lane*, 1141b–c).

RKB

rkbt (C 3757), *riding camel*
rkb (C 5121), SC *to wrong someone*
  NOTES: Compare to CAr *rakiba ḏanban* and *irtakaba-hū* "He committed a sin, or crime, or the like" and "he did to him an evil or abominable or odious deed" (*Lane*, 1142b).

RM

rm (C 4448, 4452; HAUI 125; LP 87; MKJS 1; SIJ 78, 352), *Rome*

RMD

rmd (C 860), G-SC *to perish from cold*
  NOTES: CAr *ramada* "to perish from cold, become like ashes" (*Lane*, 1154a).

RMḪ

rmḫ (MAHB 5), *herd of camels*
  NOTES: From the context, this word clearly refers to something which is herded, which may suggest a connection with Syr *ramkā* "a herd of swine, camels, &c." (*SD*, 543b).

The irregular correspondences between the two suggest a loan from Old Arabic into Syriac, where *ẖ* was approximated by *k*.

RMḤ

rmḥ (HaNSB 304), *lance*
NOTES: CAr *rumḥun* "A spear or lance with which one thrusts, not which one casts" (*Lane*, 1053a). The Safaitic *rmḥ*, however, can be cast as it is the object of the verb *rmy* 'to cast'.

RMY

[1]*rmy* (HN 62), *Sagittarius* (constellation)
NOTES: Perhaps */rammāy/ 'archer' or 'lancer' (Al-Jallad 2014).
rm'n (RQ.A 10), *archers/lancers*
NOTES: This particular form probably results from dissimilation of the final *y* next to the high vowel *ī* of the plural ending: */rammā'īn/ < */rammāyīn/.
[2]*rmy b-* (HaNSB 304), *to cast a lance*
NOTES: CAr *ramā bi-hī* "he threw, cast, or flung, the thing" (*Lane*, 1161c).

RWʿ

rʿ (KRS 25; LP 680), *friend*
NOTES: Hb *rēaʿ* "friend, companion" (*HALOT*, #8870).
trwʿ (KRS 25), T2-SC *to fear*
NOTES: CAr *tarawwaʿa* and *irtāʿa* "He was, or became, frightened, or afraid" (*Lane*, 1187c).

RWḌ

rḍt (WH 2145), *meadow*, PL *rḍ* (WH 784)

rwḍt (HAUI 70), *small meadow* (DIM)
NOTES: CAr *rawḍatun* "a meadow" (*Lane*, 1187a).

RWḤ

rḥ (CSNS 818; LP 460), G-SC *to depart (at night)*
rwḥ (C 4457), D-SC *to grant ease, relief; to send the winds* (in prayers for rain); D-IMP or the abstract noun *ease; relief*
rwḥ (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 *ryḥ* (KRS 78)
trwḥ (LP 180), T2-SC *to set off at night.*
NOTES: CAr *rāḥa, rawāḥ* and *tarawwaḥa* "He ... went, or journeyed, or worked, or did a thing, in the evening or in the afternoon, i.e., from the declining of the sun from the meridian until night" (Lane, 1178b). Also, *rawwiḥ bi-* "give rest" (Lane, 1179b). The meaning 'to send the winds' is preferred in prayers for rain, and probably reflects a denominative verb from *rīḥ* 'wind', referring to the winds which bring rain clouds.

RYM

rym (*ʾl-*) (SG 5), SC *to surpass in a journey*
NOTES: Cf. CAr *rayyama ʿalay-hi* "He exceeded him ... i.e., one man, another; in journey or pace" (*Lane*, 1204a).

S¹R

s¹r (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.

S¹ᶜᶜ

s¹ᶜᶜ (M 358), *toponym* (*Sīᶜ* in southern Syria)

S¹ᶜD

¹*s¹ᶜd* (BRenv.H 1; RWQ 335), *good fortune*
²*s¹ᶜd* (AsUI 1), *aid*
³*s¹ᶜd* (AWS 218; SIJ 779.1), SC *to help*, 2FS *s¹ᶜdt* (LP 687); IMP *s¹ᶜd* (AbaNS 906; C 1280 CSNS 13, 304; HaNSB 8; MKWS 28; Mu 550; WH 3133.1; 3736.1)
NOTES: CAr *sa'ida* "He was, or became, prosperous, fortunate, happy" (*Lane*, 1360).

S¹Bᶜ

s¹bᶜ (C 1084), *seven*

S¹BY

s¹by (CSNS 1004), G-SC *to capture*, FS *s¹byt* (CSNS 1004); G-PPC *s¹by* (AbaNS 78; ASWS 18; C 2113), VAR *ms¹by* (CSNS 1004; HCH 132), PL *s¹byn* (ASWS 18)
NOTES: CAr *sabā l-'aduwwa* "He made captive, captivated, or took a prisoner [the enemy or other than the enemy]" (*Lane*, 1303a).

S¹DṮ

s¹t (MKWS 8), *six*

S¹DY

s¹dy (BTH 228), *to set off*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *sadā* "He went ... towards, or in the direction of, such a thing", also "The going at random, heedlessly, or in a headlong manner, without consideration, or without a certain aim, or object ..." (*Lane*, 1335c).

S¹Fʾ

s¹fʾ (SIJ 1008), D-INF *to feed*
NOTES: Compare with Ug *spʾ* "to eat, devour" (*UD*, 766).

S¹FR

s¹fr (AWS 48; C 99, 793, 1293, 1649, 1875, 1936, 1957, 2031, 2196, 2276, 4803, 4974, 4988; H 506, 763; HAUI 125, 182; HshNSMI 5; KRS 15, 29, 132, 896, 941, 1161, 1379, 1551, 2569, 2914; LP 305, 325, 342, 344, 409, 562.1, 673, 687, 1198, 1265; MKWS 8; RWQ 281; SIAM 35; SESP.U 18; WH 399; ZeGA 11), *writing*, SING *s¹frt* (WH 153), *a writing, an instance of writing*
ts¹fr (HAUI 76), (*act of*) *writing*
NOTES: CAr *sifrun* "a book, or writing" (*Lane*, 1371a).
ʾ*s¹fr* (C 1649), *to travel, journey*
NOTES: The equivalent of CAr *sāfara* "He journeyed, or went, or went forth to journey" (*Lane*, 1370c).

S¹ḤR

s¹ḥr (C 2446), *broken heart*
NOTES: Compare with CAr *saḥara-hū* "He, or it, hit or hurt, his *saḥr* [or lungs, &c.] or his *suḥrah* [i.e. heart]" (*Lane*, 1316a). Gz *sarḥa* "labor to the

point of exhaustion, drudge, weary oneself, be fatigued, be troubled, be anxious" (*CDG*, 513a) probably reflects a metathesized from of this root.

S¹ḤQ

s¹ḥq (AWS 81), *destruction*

s¹ḥqt (KRS 2340), G-SC *to be crushed*
 NOTES: Compare to CAr *saḥaqa* "to crush, pulverize" (*Lane*, 1318c).

S¹ḪR

s¹ḫr (Ms 44), G-SC *to be mocked; to be fooled*
 NOTES: CAr *saḫira min-hu* "He mocked at, scoffed at, laughed at, derided or ridiculed, him" (*Lane*, 1324a). Its single occurrence in Safaitic suggests a passive interpretation.

S¹KN

s¹knt (WGGR 1), *settlement*
 NOTES: CAr *sakinatun* "a place of habitation or abode" (*Lane*, 1394a). The Safaitic suggests a larger sense than a single home, as it is referred to as a location of rain.

S¹LḪ

s¹lḫ rwḥ (C 5050), [*his*] *spirit was stripped away* (metaphor for grief)
 NOTES: CAr *salaḫa* "He stripped off the hide, or skin, of a sheep or goat" (*Lane*, 1403b).

S¹LL

s¹ls¹l (HaNSB 304), *bonds; chains*, SING
 s¹ls¹lt (KRS 1023)

NOTES: CAr *silsilatun* "a chain … of iron or the like of metals" (*Lane*, 1397c).

ts¹ll (LP 1198), D-SC *to be, become, in a state of commotion, agitation*
 NOTES: Littmann connected this word with the sense of the N in CAr, *tasallala* = *insalla* "he slipped away, or stole away". The logical connection between this action and the following 'sleep' is unclear. Instead, I would suggest that it should be connected with the TD meaning, 'it was, or became, in a state of commotion, agitation', which fits the following prayer for security during one's slumber.

ns¹l (C 1758), N-SC *to go off; to go away*
 NOTES: CAr "It (a thing) became pulled forth, drawn out gently; he slipped away, or stole away" (*Lane*, 1396a).

S¹LF

[1]*s¹lf* (C 25, 2446; LP 679; SG 5), C-SC *to commit an act worthy of vengeance*
 NOTES: Compare with CAr *ʾaslafa* "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.

[2]*s¹lf* (ASWS 124), C-SC *to bring to an end*
 NOTES: CAr *salafa* "came to an end" or "was naught" (*Lane*, 1407c).

S¹LM

¹s¹lm (*passim*), *security* or S C *to be secure*;
G-PC *ys¹lm* (LP 643)

²s¹lm (KRS 756; 2869), D-SC *to keep safe;
deliver*; D-PC *ys¹lm* (AWS 264); D-IMP
s¹lm (HCH 107; KRS 1468)

's¹lm (HCH 194), C-SC *to surrender*

S¹LṬ

s¹lṭn (LP 1013), *authorities*
NOTES: CAr *sulṭānun* "power of
dominion; sovereign, or ruling,
power; power of a king; and of a
governor" (*Lane*, 1405c). In the Safaitic
inscriptions, the term seems to refer
to settled authority, either that of the
Nabataeans or the Romans.

S¹M'

s¹m' (Ms 44), S C *to hear*

S¹MY

s¹my (C 2076, 2997; HaNSB 16, 62, 184;
KRS 169, 1563, 1944; RWQ 281, 317;
WH 3559.1, 3584), *sky; rains*, PL *s¹myt*
(MKOWI 2)

s¹mwt (AAUI 267), *toponym*

S¹N(T)

s¹nt (ASWS 73, 202, 217; AAUI 267; AsUI 1;
AAUI 267; AWS 244; BWM 3; C 76, 269,
320, 860, 1240, 1293, 1868, 2104, 2190,
2209, 2670, 2694, 2732, 2862, 3680,
4332, 4448, 4452; CSNS 1004; H 506,
763; HAUI 72, 125, 198; HCH 71, 194;
HaNSB 16, 62; HshNSMI 5; KhNSJ 1;
KRS 25, 303, 995, 1024, 1161, 1852,
1991; LP 342, 344, 360, 406, 653, 722,
1198; M 358; MISSD 1; Ms 44; NST 3;
RSIS 204, 324; RQ.A 19; RWQ 335, 346,

347, 349; SIJ 37, 59, 78, 786; SW 264;
WGGR 1; WH 15, 610, 641.1, 1698, 1700.1,
2255, 2815, 3792.a; ZeWa 1), *year*, PL
s¹nn (AZNG 1)

S¹NN

ms¹nn (WH 181), *beaten track; land the
herbage of which had been eaten*
NOTES: Connected to CAr *sananun*
"the beaten track, or part along which
one travels" (*Lane*, 1438c–1439a).

S¹WQ

s¹q (CSNS 65), G-SC *to drive beasts*, VAR
s¹wq (KRS 926)

S¹WY

s¹wy (MISSD 1), SC *to put in order*
NOTES: MISSD 1, p. 457 takes this
as a metaphorical extension of the
meaning of CAr *sawwā-hu* "He made
it equal, equable, uniform …" (*Lane*,
1476c).

's¹yt (C 76), C-SC *to be granted* (mascu-
line unattested)
NOTES: This verb (probably a passive
'osīyat) may be compared to LAr
sawwā 'to make', with the overlap of
the C and D. In its single attestation,
the translation 'granted' is preferred
since it occurs in a prayer to a deity
and its logical object is spoil.

S¹QM

¹s¹qm (C 76, 527, 3365; WH 582), *illness*
²s¹qm (C 2830), G-SC *to be ill*
³s¹qm (KRS 2460), D-SC *to cause sickness*
NOTES: CAr *saqima, saquma* "He
was, or became, diseased, disordered,
distempered, sick, or ill" (*Lane*, 1383c).

S¹Rʿ

s¹rʿ (K 196), *quickly*
NOTES: CAr *sarīʿun* "quick, expeditious, hasty, speedy, rapid, swift" (*Lane*, 1350b).

S¹RR

s¹r (WH 351), G-SC *to make happy*
NOTES: CAr *sarra* 'to cheer, delight'.

S¹RT

ms¹rt (WH 599, 610), *troop*
s¹rt (C 320, 2076; KRS 1024; RQ.A 10; RWQ 347), G-SC *to serve in a troop*
NOTES: Macdonald (2014) convincingly connects *ms¹rt* with Arm *mašrītā*, which, in Syriac, can mean a 'camp' or 'military unit'. He then suggests that *s¹rt* should be understood as a verb meaning 'to serve' in a *ms¹rt*, and may be a denominative verb or be cognate with Hb *šērēṯ* 'to serve'.

S¹RṬ[N]

s¹rṭ (SESP.U 18), *Cancer* (constellation)
NOTES: Possibly the constellation Cancer should be restored as *s¹rṭn*, but the final *n* is sometimes missing. Whether this points towards phonological erosion or simply word boundary assimilation is unclear (see Al-Jallad 2014).

S¹RY

s¹ry (KRS 1670), G-SC *to travel by night*
NOTES: CAr *sarā* "He journeyed, or traveled, by night, or in the night" (*Lane*, 1355a).

S¹TR

s¹tr (AbaNS 78; BRCM 0194; SESP.U 26; SIJ 274), *shelter*
s¹trt (WH 405), *small shelter* (DIM?)
NOTES: In CAr, the terms *sitrun* and *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.

S¹YF

s¹f (HaNSB 304), *sword*
NOTES: CAr *sayfun* "a sword" (*Lane*, 1485c).

S¹YR

s¹rn (SW 168), *journeying*
NOTES: Compare with Arabic *sāra* 'to go; travel', probably a nominal formation */sV:rān/.

S²ʾM

s²ʾm (AbaNS 1128), *north*
NOTES: Compare with Sabaic *s²ʾm* "north" (*SbD*, 130).

S²ʿR

s²ʿr (HaNSB 197, 218), *herbage*
NOTES: CAr *šaʿārun* "trees; or tangled, or luxuriant, or abundant dense trees" and *šaʿīrun* "a certain grain" (*Lane*, 1561a–c).

S²DD

s²dd (KRS 6), *harsh*
NOTES: CAr *šadīdun* "possessing the quality of *šiddah*, i.e. hard" (*Lane*, 1519).

S²HR

s²hr (KRS 1965), *month*, PL *'s²hr*
   (WH 3792.a)
   NOTES: CAr *šahrun* "the new moon,
   when it appears" (*Lane*, 1612b).

S²ḤṢ

¹*s²ḥṣ* (ASWS 107; KRS 995; SESP.U 18),
   scarcity; want
²*s²ḥṣ* (KRS 15), SC *to act nobly (i.e. not to
   destroy an inscription)*
   NOTES: In most Semitic languages, the
   root *s¹ḥṣ* (note dissimilation of *s¹* to *s²*
   in Safaitic; cf. *s¹ams¹um > s²ms¹*) refers
   to pride and conceit (*HALOT*,
   #9514–9515). In Safaitic, it seems to
   have a positive connotation as the
   term is used in blessing formula
   paralleling other terms such as
   d'y 'to read aloud' and *s¹'r* '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 refer-
   ring to something negative.
   In these cases, *s²ḥṣ* 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-
   šaḥṣā'u* 'an ewe without milk' and *aš-
   šaḥāṣatu* and *aš-šaḥaṣu* (*Lisān*,
   s.v.). This sense seems to hold true in
   Safaitic as well, *s²ḥṣ 'bl* (KRS 761), but
   there is no reason to assume such a

restricted semantic range when not
used in conjunction with an animal.

S²KW

s²tky 'l- (C 31), T1-SC *to petition, complain*
   NOTES: CAr *ištakā = šakā 'amra-hū
   'ilā llāha* "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'n* (HN 161)
   NOTES: CAr *šāni'un* "hating, or a
   hater, and an enemy" (*Lane*, 1603c). In
   some cases, the idiomatic translation
   'adversity' is preferred.

S²QQ

s²q (KRS 2568), *side of the mountain*
   NOTES: CAr *šiqqun* "the side of the
   mountain" (*Lane*, 1577c).

S²RB

ys²rb (LP 712), G-PC *to drink*
   NOTES: CAr *šariba, yašrabu* "He
   drank" (*Lane*, 1526a).

S²RQ

s²rq (C 1875, 2307; SESP.U 17), D-SC *to
   migrate to the inner desert*
's²rq (C96, 995, 2190; HaNSB 197, 218;
   HCH 194; WH 1700.1) C-SC idem, *ys²rq*

(LP 180); APC.FS *ms²rqt* (KRS 1011), APC.MP/DU *ms²rqn* (SESP.U 13)
NOTES: Littmann in his commentary of LP 180 suggested that this verb means 'to migrate to the desert' rather than eastward, as in CAr *šarraqa* "he took the direction to the east". The C in CAr has to do with changes in color (*Lane*, 1539c–1540a). Macdonald goes on to connect this sense with the meaning of *šarraq* among the Rwala as described by Musil, where it means to migrate to the desert regardless of the direction taken (Macdonald 1992b: 4–5).

S²RY

s²ry (AbaNS 286; C 2832), G-SC *to buy*
NOTES: CAr *šarā-hu* "He bought it … he took it, or acquired it, for a price" (*Lane*, 1544b).
ts²ry (RWQ 317), T2-SC *to be scattered*
NOTES: CAr *tašarrā* "it became scattered, or dispersed" (*Lane*, 1545b).

S²TW

¹*s²ty* (Mu 113; WH 1361), *the winter*
ms²ty (WH 3500), *winter pasture*, VAR *ms²tyt* (M 358)
²*s²ty* (ANKS 1; C 4452; KRS 1964; MKJS 1; Mu 867; RSIS 351; SIJ 78, 1008; SW 264; ZeWa 1), G-SC *to winter*,
VAR *s²tw* (KhBG 376; CSNS 324); APC *s²t* (C 1868); INF *s²tt* (KRS 37)
NOTES: CAr *šatā bi-hī* "He … remained, stayed, dwelt, or abode, during the *šitā'* [or winter &c.]" (*Lane*, 1503c) and *maštan, maštātun* "place [in which one resides, stays, dwells, or

abides, during the season] of the *šitā'* [winter]" (*Lane*, 1504b–c).

S²ṬR

s²ṭr (KRS 132), *isolation*
NOTES: CAr *šaṭarati d-dāru* "the house or abode was distant or remote" (*Lane*, 1550c) and *šāṭirun* "one who withdraws far away from his family; or breaks off from them" (*Lane*, 1551b).

S²WH

'*s²h* (RWQ 339), *sheep* (singular unattested)
NOTES: CAr *šātun* "a sheep or goat" (*Lane*, 1623b).

S²WQ

ts²wq (AWS 48; C 88, 96, 99, 2832; HaNSB 307; HCH 191; JbS 1; KRS 1991; LP 243, 680; SIJ 352; SIT 58; SW 193; WH 1698), T2-SC *to long, yearn for*, 3FS *ts²wqt* (AKSJ 1.2.3), *w*-form *ts²wqw* (RSIS 204); T-INF *ts²wq* (C 1539)
NOTES: The equivalent of CAr *ištāqa 'ilay-hi* "He was, or became, desirous of it … [or he longed for it in his soul]" (*Lane*, 1620b).

S²Y'

¹*s²'* (HCH 132), *thing*
²*s²'* (UIO 268), *want*
s²y' (AWS 72), *to experience want*
NOTES: CAr *šā'a-hū* "He willed, wished, or desired it" and *šay'un* "thing" (*Lane*, 1625c–1626a).

S²Yʿ

s²yʿ (C 2732; LP 146), INF *to follow; be a companion*

s²ʿ (KRS 307), IMP *to join s.o. with*

ʾs²yʿ (C 1858, 2544, 2713, 3095, 4988; KRS 24, 29, 1161; LP 243, 306, 342; MAHB 2), *companions*, VAR ʾs²ʿ (RWQ 120; UIO 147)

s²t (WH 2255), *party, group*
NOTES: CAr *šayyaʿtu-hū ʿinda raḥīli-hī* "I went forth with him on the occasion of his departure" and *šīʿatun*, a separate, or distinct, party, or sect, of men (*Lane*, 1632b–c).

s²ʿhqm (ASWS 124; C 1744, 1936, 4039; HaNSB 304; HAUI 182; KRS 15, 18, 29, 68, 225, 756, 1160, 1307, 1432, 1683, 1706, 1886; LP 1198; MKWS 8; SESP.U 18; WGGR 1; WH 1696; ZeWa 1), *deity*

S²YL

ns²l (KRS 2460), N-SC *to be removed*
NOTES: CAr *šāla* "It rose; or became raised, or elevated" (*Lane*, 1621c), but the sense in Safaitic better fits LAr *šīl* 'remove' and the passive *inšāl* 'it was removed'.

ṢʿB

ṣʿb (AWS 48), SC *to cause distress*
NOTES: CAr *ṣaʿuba* "It was, or became, *ṣaʿbun*, i.e. difficult, hard, … or distressing" (*Lane*, 1687a).

ṢʿD

ṣʿd (WH 604.1), *burnt offering*
NOTES: CAr *ṣaʿīdah* 'burnt offering'.

ṢDQ

¹ṣdq (AWS 237; KRS 1287; WH 181), *friend; confidant*

²ṣdq (HCH 191), *righteous* (ADJ)

NOTES: CAr *ṣadīqun* "a friend" and *ṣādiqun* "speaking, saying, uttering, or telling truth" (*Lane*, 1668b–c).

ṢHR

ṣhr (ASWS 202), SC *to glisten* or *to appear*
NOTES: The term corresponds well with Hb *ṣhr* "to appear" or "glisten" (*HALOT* #7892), and less so with Arabic *ṣahara* "he melted or liquefied". The Hb verb, however, is cognate with the CAr root *ẓhr*, which is also attested in the Safaitic inscriptions (see *ẓhr* below). In this case, we must assume a loan.

ṢHY

ṣhy (KRS 2420), *thirst*

ʾṣhy (HaNSB 184), C-INF *drought*
NOTES: Syr *ṣhō* and *ṣhī* 'to thirst, to be dry' and *ṣahwōnō* 'thirst, drought' (*SD*, 474a).

ṢḤḤ

ʾṣḥ (LP 409), C-SC *to cry aloud* (in grief)
NOTES: Compare with CAr *ṣāḥḥatun* "A cry that deafens by its vehemence" (*Lane*, 1657a).

ṢLB

ṣlb (HaNS 660), G-SC *to crucify*
NOTES: *ṣalaba-hū* "He crucified him" (*Lane*, 1711c).

ṢLY

ʾṣly (SIJ 293), C-SC *to make a burnt offering*
NOTES: CAr *ṣalā-hu fī n-nāri* "he threw it into the fire to be burned" (*Lane*, 1721b); note that the C *ʾaṣlā-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.

ṢMKR

ṣmkr (RWQ 329), *toponym?* (near the Euphrates)

ṢMM

ṣm (LP 282), *deafness*
  NOTES: CAr *ṣamma* "He was, or became, deaf" (*Lane*, 1722b).

ṢRT

ṣrt (KRS 2869), *an enclosure; a structure on high ground*
  NOTES: A connection with *ṣīratun* "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 *ṣayyiratun* "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 *ʾamrah*] … sometimes it is excavated, and gold and silver are found in it" (*Lane*, 1955a) is also possible.

ṢWN

ṣwn (SIJ 750) *to preserve; protect*; G-PC *yṣn* (LP 722)
  NOTES: CAr *ṣāna-hū* "he preserved it" (*Lane*, 1750b).

ṢWY

[1]*ṣwy* (C 3140; HaNSB 206; KRS 2420; LP 684), *cairn* (see also *ʾḫḏ*)

NOTES: CAr *ṣawwa ṣuwan* "He made a *ṣuwan* [i.e. signs set up for the guidance of travelers] in the way"; *ṣuwwatun* "a sign for the guidance of travelers"; *ṣawwāʾun* "graves" (*Lane*, 1739b). The term seems to be attested once in a fragmentary Greek inscription as ΣΙΟΥ[ΑΙ], suggesting the vocalization */ṣiwāy/. 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 *ṣwy* refers to the latter type, and that the phrase *ʾḫḏ l-PN h- ṣwy* should be understood as referring to the placement of a dead person atop such a cairn. It would seem, therefore, that the *ṣwy* was reused.

[2]*ṣwy* (CSA 1.2; JaS 61; KRS 2525; NSR 82), SC *to suffer from the lack of rain*
  NOTES: CAr *ṣāwin* "Dry, by reason of thirst, or want of irrigation, or by reason of leanness, or emaciation" (*Lane*, 1751b).

ṢWR

ṣr (WH 351), G-INF *to draw*
  NOTES: CAr *ṣūratun* 'an image'.

ṢYʿ

ṣʿt (RWQ 155), G-SC FS *to be in a state of commotion* (masculine unattested).
  NOTES: Perhaps related to CAr *ʾasyaʿu* "A state of commotion, or of exceeding commotion" (*Lane*, 1755c) and *taṣawwaʿa l-qawmu* "the people, or party, became dispersed,

or scattered, and romote, all of them, one from another" (*Lane*, 1746a).

ṢYD

ṣd (C 3113), *game*

mqʿd h-ṣd (LP 534), *seat of hunting* (?)

¹*ṣyd* (MKWS 2), *snares* (singular unattested)

²*ṣyd* (C 4384), SC *to hunt*
NOTES: CAr *ṣāda-hū* "He took, captured, or caught, it; snared, or ensared it"; *ṣaydun* "game, chase, or prey" (*Lane*, 1752b–1753a).

ṢYF

ṣf (C 860), *early summer*
NOTES: The early part of *Qyẓ*, April–July. See Macdonald (1992b) and Al-Jallad (2014).

ṢYR

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 *ṣayrun* "the returning [of seekers after herbage] to the watering place" (*Lane*, 1754a).

TLL

tll (Ms 44), *words*; *writing*
NOTES: The classical dictionaries do not provide a suitable cognate; however, the meaning of this term is relatively clear based on the fact that it occurs in identical contexts to established terms for writing, such as *s!fr* and *ḫṭṭ*. Interestingly, in LAr the verb *tallal, ytallel* means "converser, causer" (*Barthélemy*, 91), suggesting the translation 'words'. I thank my student C. Della Puppa for pointing this out to me.

tlʿn (LP 742), *toponym* (perhaps, Tall-ʿayn)

TLY

tly (WH 3094), *later* (ADV)
NOTES: CAr *tilwun* "A thing that follows another thing" (*Lane*, 314a).

TMʾ

tmwy (LP 82), GADJ *Taymanite*

TMM

tm (C 99), G-SC *to last*
NOTES: CAr *ʾatamma š-šayʾa* "He made the thing, or the affair, complete, entire, whole, or full" (*Lane*, 315c).

TRF

trf (JaS 73), *a life of ease*
NOTES: CAr *tarafun* "a life of ease and plenty" (*Lane*, 303c).

TRḤ

trḥ (CSNS 1010; KRS 941; SG 5; ZSI 1), G-SC *to perish; die*, G-PPC.MS *trḥ* (C 4443;

HCH 37, 46, 69, 72), FS *trḥt* (ZSI 1)
NOTES: CAr *tariḥa* "He perished, or
died: became cut off, was put an
end to; or came to an end" (*Lane*,
302).

ṬʾR

ṭʾr (C 25, 1607, 2446; CSNS 957, 1004,
1087; HCH 72, 103, 126; KRS 1087, 2556;
LP 243, 679), *vengeance* or SC *to take
revenge*
NOTES: CAr *ṭaʾara-hū* "He revenged,
or avenged, his blood, by retaliating
his slaughter; he slew his slayer"
and *ṭaʾrun* "blood-revenge" (*Lane*,
327c–328a).

ṮBR

¹*ṯbr* (C 1758, 4443), Sagittarius
²*ṯbr* (LP 679), *destruction*
¹*ṯbrn* (NST 3), PL *warriors*, of an
unattested singular *ṯbr*
²*ṯbrn* (HCH 107), *toponym*
NOTES: CAr *ṯabara-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).

ṮFL

ṯfl (RSIS 339), *sediment* (?)
NOTES: CAr *ṯuflun* "sediment" (*Lane*,
340b). The context of the inscription
cannot shed further light on the exact
meaning of this word.

ṮLG

ṯlg (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
ṯlg in these circumstances as 'cold'
or 'severe cold' rather than literally
'snow'.

ṮLṮ

ṯlṯ (AZNG 1; C 1573), *three*, F *ṯlṯt*
(ASWS 18; WH 3792.a); *ṯlṯn* (ZeWa
1), *thirty*
ṯlṯ (ASWS 360), *third* (?)

ṮMN

ṯmnʿs²rt (H 763), *eighteen*

ṮNN

ṯnt (ISB 117), *dry herbage*
NOTES: Probably related to CAr
ṯinnun: yabīsu l-ḥašīši 'dry herbage'
(*Lisan*, s.v.).

ṮNY

ṯnʿs²r (KRS 303), *twelve*

ṮQB

ṯqb (AKSD 5), SC *to cut; pierce*
NOTES: *ṯaqaba* "He perforated; bored;
pierced it" (*Lane*, 341c).

ṬʾM

ṭʾmt (C 3113), INF *to nourish*
NOTES: CAr *ṭaʾāmun* "food of any
kind" (*Lane*, 1854b).

ṬBʿ

ṭbʿ (ZeGA 11), *river or rivulet*
  NOTES: CAr *ṭibʿun* "a river or rivulet"
  (*Lane*, 1823c).

ṬHR

ṭhr (MA 1), SC *to clense*
  NOTES: CAr *ṭahara, ṭahura* "It was, or
  became, clean, free from dirt or filth,
  or pure" (*Lane*, 1886c).

ṬLQ

ṭlq (KRS 1684), APC.MS *to set off*
  NOTES: The basic sense of this root in
  CAr is "to let loose, let go of", but the
  sense required by the inscription is
  closer to the N-stem *inṭalaqa* "he went
  away or departed" (*Lane*, 1872b).

ṬNN

ʾṭn (C 25), C-SC *to cut off*
  NOTES: CAr C-stem of the root *ṭnn*,
  ʾaṭanna yada-hū "He made his arm or
  hand to fall off by a stroke of a sword"
  (*Lane*, 1883a).

ṬRD

ṭrd (BTH 228; LP 732; WH 161), G-SC *to
  drive (away)*
  NOTES: CAr *ṭarada-hū* "He drove away
  him, or it; he drove him away, expelled
  him, or banished him" (*Lane*, 1838b).

ṬRQ

ṭrq (QZUI 462; ZeWa 1), SC *to smite*
  NOTES: CAr *ṭarqun* "beating [a thing],
  or striking" (*Lane*, 1846a). While the
  CAr term seems restricted to things,
  the Safaitic *ṭrq* can take human direct
  objects.

WʾL

wʾl (NST 3), *toponym*

WʾY

wʾy (C 4803), SC *to be mindful*
  NOTES: CAr *waʿā-hu* "He kept it in
  mind, and considered it" (*Lane*,
  3056c).

WBL

tbl (WH 179), D-INF *to carry (back)*, of
  the unattested **wbl.*
  NOTES: CAr *wabala* "(a horse)
  ran vehemently (*Lane*, 3048c)" is
  not a suitable meaning; instead, a
  connection with Akk *wabālum* 'to
  carry' is more likely, in which case the
  present form would reflect the D-INF
  */tawbīl/.

WDD

wdd (C 1936, 2031; HAUI 182; KRS 995;
  LP 673, MKWS 8; SESP.U 18), *loved one*
wdt (WH 2194), *love*
  NOTES: CAr *wadīdun* "A person
  loved synonymous with *ḥabībun* and
  ṣadīqun" (*Lane*, 2931b).

WFY

tfyt (C 1744), *fulfillment*
  NOTES: CAr *waffā-hu 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, 562.1, 1265, 1351; MAHB 5; Mu 253, 897; RWQ 334; WH 325, 399), G-SC *to find*, FS *wgdt* (SIAM 35); G-INF *wgd* (ISB 117). NOTES: CAr *waǧada-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 ʾl- (AAEK 394; AAUI 281; ASWS 37; BRCM 0194; C 96, 99, 304, 654, 893, 1133, 1573, 1758, 1936, 2113, 2190, 2285, 2446, 2732, 3095, 3230, 3474, 4037, 4076, 4443, 4768, 4988, 5050; CSNS 1004, 1010; HaNSB 218; HAUI 76; HCH 10, 37, 46, 69, 72, 82, 103, 126; KRS 18, 24, 78, 167, 1024, 1051, 1991, 2890, 2914; LP 243, 304, 305, 344; NSR 117; NST 2, 3; RWQ 73, 117, 120; RyD 6822; WGGR 1; WH 15, 151.1, 181, 398; ZmNSIH 32), SC *to grieve*, FS *wgmt* (SIAM 35)
NOTES: This verb is one of the most debated terms in the Safaitic lexicon. The latest discussion of the literature can be found in Eksell's 2005 paper, where she suggests the verb means 'to mourn (ritualistically)' (171). Scholars in the past saw a close connection between this verb and the act of constructing memorial/burial cairns, based on the CAr noun *waǧmun*, 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 ʾl- bʿlsⁱmn sⁱnt mḥl* 'he grieved for Bʿlsⁱmn in the year of dearth'.

WGʿ

wgʿ (LP 314; SIJ 152), G-SC (always passive) *to grieve in pain* (idiomatic)
ʾgʿ (KRS 3074), C-SC *to cause pain*
ngʿ (ASWS 73; AWS 8, 125, C 763, 793, 1989, 2156, 2196, 2686, 4815; HshNSMI 5; KRS 213, 896, 941, 1975; LP 306, 344, 406, 562.1, 643; Mu 253; RWQ 310), N-SC *to grieve in pain* (idiomatic)
NOTES: Both terms are probably equivalent to CAr *tawaǧǧaʿa* "He expressed manifested pain, affliction, distress, grief, or sorrow" (*Lane*, 3049b).

WHB

¹*whb*, (C 1868), G-SC *to give, grant*, 2FS *whbt* (C 4037); *hb* G-IMP (AsUI 1; AWS 236; BRenv.H 1; KRS 96, 1087; LP 319, 460; Mu 571);
²*whb* (C 3757), D-IMP idem
NOTES: CAr *wahaba la-hū šayʾan* "He gave to him a thing" (*Lane*, 2968).

WḤD

¹*ʾḥd* (KRS 1131), *deity*
¹*wḥd* (C 2104, 4815; KRS 922), *by oneself* (ADV)
²*wḥd* (NSR 117; WH 128, 366), *to be alone*
²*ʾḥd* (AAUI 281), C-SC *to make two one*
twḥd (AWS 244), T2-SC, *to be alone*

NOTES: CAr *waḥuda* "He, or it, was, or became, alone, by himself or itself, apart from others" (*Lane*, 2927a).

WKS¹

wks¹ (C 1186), *loss*
  NOTES: CAr *al-waksu: an-naqṣu* 'loss' (*Lisān*, s.v.).

WLD

¹*wld* (Brenv.H 1), *offspring*
²*wld* (ASWS 217, 360; H 763; RWQ 317; WH 1698), SC *to help give birth*
  NOTES: CAr *wallada-hā* "He assisted her [namely a woman, and an ewe or she-goat, or other animal [in bringing forth, delivering her of her child or young one]" and *waladun*, PL *wuldun* "a child ... offspring, young, or younglings; of any kind" (*Lane*, 2966a–b).

WLH

wlh (C25, 1607, 2446, 4443, 4768; HCH 71; KRS 6, 24, 926, 1432, 2453; RSIS 351; SG 5; Vogue 404.1), G-SC *to be distraught*
wlh (C 3177), D-IMP *to make distraught*
twlh (WH 1243), T2-SC *to be made distraught*
  NOTES: CAr *waliha* "his reason departed in consequence of grief ... or of joy ... or of the loss of the beloved ... grieved or sorrowed" (*Lane*, 3060a).

WNY

wny (AAEK 244; HaNSB 218; Mu 412;

WGGR 1), G-SC *to be feeble*
  NOTES: Compare with CAr *tawānā* "He was, or became, languid, remiss, weak, feeble, or faint" (*Lane*, 3061b).

WQʿ

¹*wqʿ* (AKSD 5), *inscription*
²*wqʿ* (CSNS 1), SC *to inscribe*
  NOTES: The term seems to be a rare alternative to *s¹fr* and *ḫṭṭ*. Compare with CAr *waqqaʿa fī l-kitāb* "he signed the writing" (*Lane*, 3057c).

WQD

wqd (C 2997), *fire*
  NOTES: CAr *waqdun* "fire" (*Lane* 2959b).

WQD̲

ʾqd̲ (AbaNS 16; WH 1234), C-SC *to beat violently*
tqd̲ (KRS 1161), T-SC *to be in a beaten state* (metaphorically despaired)
nqd̲ (LP 146), N-SC *to prostrate oneself*
  NOTES: *waqad̲a-hū* "He beat him or stuck him violently" C *ʾawqad̲a*, idem; *waqīd̲un* "prostrated", a passive participial formation, and so equivalent of the N-stem. CAr does not have I-w N-stems.

WQF

wqf (C 4384), *exhaustion*
  NOTES: CAr *waqafa* 'to stop or cease doing something'.

WQY

qyt (C 511, 1837, 4068, KRS 78), G-INF *to protect, preserve*, VAR *qt* (C 4384)
wqyt (HaNSB 184; HAUI 125; LP 306;

RWQ 335; SESP.U 17; ShNGA 1;
WH 159, 1698, 3730), *preservation;
protection*

twqy (C 2209), T2-SC *to preserve oneself*
NOTES: CAr *waqā-hu llāhu s-sūʾa*
"God preserved him from evil"; TD
tawaqqā-hu "he guarded against it"
GT *ittaqā* "he guarded himself" (*Lane*,
3059a)

WRʾ

wrʾ (WH 1900), SC *to remain behind*
NOTES: CAr *warāʾun* 'behind'.

WRD

wrd (AAEK 244; ASWS 73; AWS 48;
C 1240; KRS 896, 1770, 2420, 3291;
LP 712, 742; MSNS 1, 6; RSIS 339;
WH 3559.1, 3792.a), SC *to go down;
to go to water*, *w*-form *wrdw* (RSIS 199)
NOUN: Hb *yārād* "to go down" (*HALOT*,
#3953), but in CAr, to go specifically to
water.

hwrd (C 744, 1293, 5050), *toponym*
(perhaps *the watering place*)

WRḤ

wrḥ (WH 597, 641.1) *month*, DU *wrḥn*
(RVP 7), PL *ʾrḥ* (KRS 25)
NOTES: Compare with Hb *yeraḥ/
yārēaḥ* "month" but, like *s²hr*,
also a "full moon" (*HALOT*, #3968;
3970). The difference between
wrḥ and *s²hr* is not at the moment
clear.

WRL

wrl (CSNS 1004), *monitor lizard*
NOTES: CAr *waralun* 'lacerta scincus'
(*Lane*, 3052a).

WRṮ

wrṮ (AAUI 281), SC *to become heir, inherit*

WS¹Q

¹*ws¹q* (C 2088), *a mob of driven cattle*
(singular unattested).

ws¹qn (C 3095), G-APC.PL *to drive*
NOTES: CAr *wasīqatun* "a mob of
driven cattle" (*Lane* 3053).

²*ws¹q* (AAUI 267; C 2670; LP 342),
struggle
NOTES: CAr *wāsaqa* "to oppose, to
contend a.o." (*Hava*, 869); in the
modern dialect of Syria, *wasaq* means
"to injure (someone)" (*Barthélemy*,
894).

WṢL

wṣl (LP 684), *to arrive*
NOTES: CAr *waṣala ʾilay-hi* "He, or it,
arrived at, came to, reached, attained
him, or it" (*Lane*, 3054c).

WYL

wyl (C 76), *woe*, VAR *wln* (AAEK 394)
NOTES: CAr *waylun/an la-hū* "woe to
him!" (*Lane*, 3962c).

YʾS¹

¹*yʾs¹* (CSNS 957; KRS 169), G-SC *to despair*
²*yʾs¹* (LP 718), D-SC *to upset; to make
despair*
ʾ*yʾs¹* (WH 1022), C-SC *to make despair*
tʾs¹ (LP 679), T-SC *to despair*
NOTES: Arabic *yaʾisa* "to despair
of a thing" or "he cut off hope of
the things" or "his hope of the
thing became cut off" (*Lane*,
2973c). As in CAr, it seems that
the GT has the same sense as the
G.

YD

yd (AKSD 5; C 25), *hand*, DU.CNST *yd* (C 4037)

YHD

yhd (ASWS 217; HAUI 125; RSIS 324), *Jews*; GADJ *yhdy* (C 2732)

YM

ym (KRS 303), *day*, PL *'ym* (MKWS 8), VAR *'wm* (KRS 2453)

YMN

ymnt (HCH 194), *south*

tmny (HaNSC 5), GADJ of *Tmn* (probably *southerner*)

'ymn (C 325), C-SC *to go south*
NOTES: CAr *al-yamīnu* "the location that is on the right. *Yamīnun* also, the south" (*Lane*, 3640b); Sab *ymnt* "south" and *yhymnn* "be southward" (*SbD*, 168).

YṮʿ

yṯʿ (AWS 380; C 218, 527, 1658, 1837, 5121; KRS 169, 307, 922, 1695; Ms 37; RWQ 62; SW 264), *deity* (vocalized perhaps as Yayṯeʿ).

YẒR

yẓr (C 2156, 2209; MISSD 1), *Iturians* (ethnonym, suggested by Knauf 1983)

ZFF

zf (C 285), *sending of the bride*
NOTES: CAr *zaffa* "He, [or I], or the women, sent [or conducted] the bride [with festive parade or pageantry, and generally with music,] to her husband" (*Lane*, 1235b).

ZMR

zmrt (HCH 79), *flute-playing girl*
NOTES: CAr *zawmarun* "playing; or a player" of a *mizmārun* "a musical reed, or pipe" (*Lane*, 1251a).

ZRY

zry (*b-*) (C 74), G-SC *to treat with contempt*
NOTES: The context of this verb suggests a passive interpretation, in which case Safaitic *zry* may be the equivalent of CAr *izdarā-hu* "he contemned, or despised, him … or made him to be contemned or despised" (*Lane*, 1229c).

ZWM

z'm (Vogue 404.1), G-APC *dead* (verb unattested)
NOTES: This verb seems to have been very rare in CAr, occurring only once with a sutable sense in the *Lisān* (s.v.) *zāma r-raǧulu 'iḏā māta*.

ẒʿN

ẓʿn (HaNSB 62), SC *to seek after herbage or water*; INF *ḍʿnt* (AAEK 244)
NOTES: CAr *ẓaʿana* "He journeyed to seek after herbage, or to water" (*Lane*, 1911c). The infinitive *ḍʿnt* is attested in a variety in which *ḍ* and *ẓ* have been confused.

ẒBY

ẓby (L 184), DU *ẓbyn* (WH 3151), F *ẓbyt* (WH 2342), *gazelle*
NOTES: CAr *ẓabyun* "a gazelle" (*Lane*, 1908b).

ẒHR

ẓhr (LP 718), *to become evident*
   NOTES: CAr *ẓahara* "It was, or
   became, outward ... it appeared;
   became apparent ... plain, or evident"
   (*Lane*, 1926b).

ẒLʿ

ẓlʿ (LP 732), *seeking to copulate* (ADJ or
   APC)
   NOTES: CAr *ẓaliʿun* is applied to a
   dog that is lusting for a female (*Lane*,
   1918a).

ẒLL

ẓlt (C 4649), *shelter*
ẓllt (C 4681), *small shelter* (DIM)
   NOTES: CAr *ẓullatun* "A thing that
   covers or protects on overhead"; also
   ẓilālatun "that whereby one shades
   himself of trees, stones, and other
   things" (*Lane*, 1916b).
ẓll (AAUI 294; C 2544, 2713; CSNS 1;
   HAUI 125; KRS 6, 941; SG 5), SC *to
   remain*, F *ẓllt* (CSNS 1)
   NOTES: CAr *ẓalla yafʿalu kaḏā* "he
   continued doing such a thing"

(*Lane*, 1914b); this usage is especially
common in the modern dialects of
Arabic.

ẒLM

ẓlm (AZNG 1; RWQ 73; WH 3730), G-SC
   to oppress; to be unjust; APC.PL *ẓlmn*
   (KRS 1087)
   NOTES: CAr *ẓalama* "He did wrong;
   or acting wrongfully, unjustly,
   infuriously, or tyrannically" (*Lane*,
   1920).

ẒMY

ʾẓmy (RWQ 73), *toponym*

ẒNN

ẓnn (C 1108), SC *to sit in contemplation*
   NOTES: Compare with CAr *ẓanna*
   "He thought, opined, supposed, or
   conjectured" (*Lane*, 1924b).

ẒRT

ẓrt (UIO 117; WH 3094), *enclosure*
   NOTES: Compare with Syriac *ṭyārā*
   'enclosure' (*SD*, 126a).

Plates

PLATE 1   *KRS 68*

PLATE 2   *KRS 169*

PLATE 3   *KRS 1683*

PLATE 4   *KRS 2453*

PLATE 5   *KRS 3074*

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Index of Tribes

The Table of Contents and the cross-references in the Dictionary will allow the reader to find most subjects or words with ease. However, since the Dictionary did not include onomastica, the nomadic tribes mentioned in the inscriptions cited in this book are listed below.