



Arabian Epigraphic Notes

<http://www.arabianepigraphicnotes.org>

ISSN: 2451-8875

E-mail alerts: To be notified by e-mail when a new article is published, write “subscribe” to editor@arabianepigraphicnotes.org.

Twitter: Subscribe to the Journal on Twitter for updates: @AENJournal.

Terms of usage: This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/4.0/>. © the author.



A Publication of the Leiden Center for the Study of Ancient Arabia
<http://www.hum.leiden.edu/leicensaa/>

Marginal notes on and additions
to *An Outline of the Grammar of
the Safaitic Inscriptions* (SSLL 80;
Leiden: Brill, 2015), with a sup-
plement to the dictionary

Ahmad Al-Jallad

Leiden University

Arabian Epigraphic Notes 3 (2017): 75–96.

Published online: 7 April.

Link to this article: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/47178>

Marginal notes on and additions to *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions* (SSL 80; Leiden: Brill, 2015), with a supplement to the dictionary^{*}

Ahmad Al-Jallad (Leiden University)

Abstract

This contribution provides a preliminary update to *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions* (SSL 80; Leiden: Brill, 2015) based on new inscriptions and the re-interpretation of previously published texts. New data pertain to phonology, demonstratives, verbal morphology, and syntax. The supplement to the dictionary contains hundreds of new entries, mainly comprising rare words and *hapax legomena*.

Keywords: Safaitic Ancient North Arabian Arabic grammar

1 Introduction

In the preface of my *Outline Grammar of Safaitic* (Al-Jallad 2015c), I remarked that the rapid pace of discovery will require constant updates, as new inscriptions will inevitably yield new grammatical constructions and vocabulary, and provide a better context for the interpretation of older inscriptions. While I am currently in the process of preparing a full revision of the text in the form of a second edition, I thought users would find it helpful if I published occasional notes in the meantime. The following pages contain data from unpublished inscriptions relevant to the grammar of the language as well as corrections, modifications, and emendations to grammatical outline itself. In addition to this, I have added a supplement to the dictionary containing many rare words and *hapax legomena* that I have omitted from the first edition.

^{*}I thank Marijn van Putten, Benjamin Suchard, Ali al-Manaser, Fokelien Kootstra, and Jérôme Norris for their corrections and suggestions. All abbreviations follow Al-Jallad (2015c), unless otherwise indicated.

2 Notes on chapters

§1.6.1 Text Genres

A new poetic text has been identified and will appear as Al-Jallad (forthcoming a).

Phonology

§3.1 Consonants

a) New consonantal representations: Safaitic *ġ* and *ṭ* are represented by Gamma and Tau, respectively, in Γαυτος /ġawṭ(os)/ (Al-Jallad & al-Manaser 2016). The latter representation is probably on account of the fact that *ṭ* is not specified for aspiration, and that Greek Theta remained an aspirated stop [tʰ].

§3.2.3 Diphthongs and Triphthongs

a) The diphthong /aw/: The new bilingual Safaitic-Greek inscription published by Al-Jallad & al-Manaser (2016) further proves that diphthongs were maintained in word-internal position but simply not represented in Safaitic orthography, thus Safaitic *ġṭ* is transcribed as Γαυτος /ġawṭ(os)/.

b) It is worth stating explicitly that the triphthongs of III-w/y nouns also remain intact, compare (see Al-Jallad forthcoming b for a discussion):

Safaitic	QCT	CAr
<i>ngwt</i> /nagawat/ (C 4842) ‘escape, deliverance’	<i>ngwh</i> ‘salvation’	<i>naġāh</i>
<i>ḥywt</i> /ḥayawat/ (ISB 14) ‘life’	<i>ḥywh</i> ‘life’	<i>ḥayāh</i>
<i>mnwt</i> /manawat/ (MISSB 1) ‘fate, divine name’	<i>mnwh</i> ‘divine name’	<i>manāh</i>

c) The attestation of the divine name *rḏw* as *rḏ* in CSNS 304 suggests that the sound change of *aw(V)#* > *a*’ occurred in the source of this particular manifestation of the deity. Since divine names can cross linguistic boundaries, this may not reflect a sound change that operated in the Safaitic varieties. Given that this sequence is preserved in all other environments in Safaitic, it would suggest that the sound change is foreign to the area.¹

§3.4a

The attestation of the prefix conjugation of the verb *rb* ‘to exalt’ (APMS) as *yrb* may further support the change of **iyu* to **ī*, if it is derived from the root *√rbw/y*.

¹Note that this change cannot be compared to Classical Arabic, where final *awV* and *ayV* become *ā*. Only *āy/w* develops into a glottal stop, so *fatayV* > *fatā* but *samāy* > *samāʾ*.

§3.4.1 Uncommon Sound Changes

a) $\dot{d} > \dot{t}$: In a new inscription from Wādī Salmā, which I am preparing for publication, the tribal name $\dot{d}f$ is spelled $\dot{t}f$, suggesting a merger between the two sounds.² This merger occurs in some pre-Hilalian Maghrebian dialects of Arabic (Al-Jallad 2015b). The same sound change is attested in the divine name $r\dot{d}y$, spelled $r\dot{t}y$, which occurs in unpublished inscriptions from Marabb al-Shurafā'.³

b) $\dot{d} = q$: In 2016, I published an inscription from Jebel Qurma where the divine name $r\dot{d}y$ was spelled $r\dot{q}y$ (Al-Jallad 2016). This is not likely the result of a sound change, but rather the Aramaicization of the Arabian god's name.

c) $s^1 > s^2$: I have had the opportunity to study the photograph of SIJ 644 closely and I no longer think it supports the confusion of these two sounds. The word in question is much more likely ts^2wq .

d) $\text{ʿ} > h$: One possible example is known to me of regressive voice assimilation of the pharyngeal ʿ to h when contiguous with h :⁴

ISB 76:

h lt ḡnmt l-ḡ s²ḡh w s¹lm

‘O Lt may he who leagues with him have spoil and be secure’

If the reading is correct, $s^2ḡh$ is best parsed as $s^{2c}h$, possibly a noun ‘his colleague’ or a verb $\dot{s}ā'a$ ‘to league with someone’. The latter case requires us to posit the loss of the final /a/, so perhaps $*/\dot{s}āḡho/ < */\dot{s}ā^c-ho/$ or $*/\dot{s}āḡh/ < */\dot{s}ā^c-h/$.⁵

Morphology

§4.4.2g Plural

I identify the plural of ‘night’ *lyly* as a reflex of the *CaCāCay* pattern rather than the *CaCāCiy* pattern found in Classical Arabic *layālīn* and Gəʿəz *layālay*. The reason for this is orthographic – the sequence *iy* with a suffixed pronoun seems to disappear: r^c-h ‘his friend’ $*/rā^c-i-h/$ (KRS 25). The pattern *CaCāCay* is common with final-weak roots, so *hadāyā* $< hadāyaw < hadāyay$, and so it is likely that the plural of ‘night’ was drawn into this pattern. A full discussion of this is found in Al-Jallad (forthcoming b).

²M.C.A. Macdonald points out to me that $\dot{t}f$ is found as a personal name in six inscriptions, which could suggest the sound change occurred more widely or that it is in fact a separate name, and that the $\text{ʿ}l\dot{t}f$ is a minor lineage group attested just once. Nevertheless, the spelling $r\dot{t}y$ can only be interpreted as a sound change, and therefore gives more weight to connecting the $\text{ʿ}l\dot{t}f$ with the well-attested $\text{ʿ}l\dot{d}f$.

³Dr. Ali al-Manaser kindly informs me that $r\dot{t}y$ has also appeared in the inscriptions of Wādī Salmā.

⁴A similar development is found in some modern dialects of Arabic.

⁵Dr. Ali al-Manaser suggests the possibility that $s^2ḡh$ be amended to $s^2ḡṣ$ ‘to experience scarcity, want’, which produces an attested formulation.

§4.9.1 The Proximal Demonstratives

Chiara Della Puppa reads a new inscription from Jebel Qurma as follows:

QUR 541.9.1:

l hs¹m h-ʿr hq{n/y}

‘By Hs¹m is this ass’

The final word must be identified as a demonstrative pronoun, preceded by a deictic *h-*. This has only previously been attested with the feminine dual (H 457). A line leaning towards the left and a bit thicker at the top follows the word. This letter could conceivably be a *y* or an *n*. If the former is the case, one may consider a connection with the augmented demonstratives in Maghrebian Arabic, *hadaya*, but if the latter is true, then perhaps the form terminated with an *n*, as in Aramaic, Sabaic, Thamudic D, Taymanitic, and Maltese.

§4.9 Demonstrative Pronouns

I suggested that the expression *h-nfs¹t* might be better parsed as *h-nfs¹ t*, where *t* is the Old Arabic demonstrative *tī*, cf. Namarah Inscription *ty*. This suggestion is now supported by the attestation of the same construction in the plural followed by the demonstrative in an unpublished inscription from Marabb al-Shurafā.⁶

*h-ʿfs¹ ʿly * /haʿ-ʿaffos ʿolay/*

‘these funerary monuments’

The term *ʿly* must be the plural demonstrative **ʿolay*, cf. Classical Arabic *ʿulāʾi/ʿulā* and Hebrew *ʿellē*.⁷ In another inscription from the same corpus, the demonstrative precedes the noun, *ʿly h-rgm* ‘these funerary cairns’, also showing that the demonstrative can take prepositive and postpositive positions in Safaitic.

This allows us now to provide the following demonstrative paradigm, which can be compared to the relative pronoun series of Late Sabaic and of the modern Arabic dialects of the Asir (Watson 2011):

	Masc	Fem	Plural
Safaitic	<i>ḏ, ḏ(y/n)</i>	<i>t, ḏ</i>	<i>ʿly</i>
Rigāl Alma^c	<i>ḏā</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>wulā</i>
(Asir)			

⁶These texts will appear in the Leiden University dissertation of Phillip Stokes.

⁷On cognates of this form in the pre-Classical Arabic material, see Rabin (1951: 153).

§4.10 Relative-Determinative Pronoun: Masculine Singular

Chiara Della Puppa reads and interprets a new inscription from Jebel Qurma as follows:

QUR 689.3.1:

l gdy bn mn't d{w}l nm{r}

'By Gdy son of Mn't of the lineage of Nmr'

In the discussion of the relative pronoun in the Grammar, I note the existence of at least one example where the glottal stop is elided, yielding a y in its place. This could imply, among other things, that the vowel following the pronoun's onset was /ī/, and the y emerged in the transition from this vowel to the /ā/ of the word /āl/ 'lineage'. The form *dwl* here suggests that the vowel in at least some dialects of Safaitic was /ū/, as in the Arabic of the Namārah Inscription (i.e. *dw* = *dū*), and was probably pronounced as */dū-wāl/. If case inflection were active in the relative pronoun, the *ī* vowel would have been expected, as in the first example. The presence of the /ū/ here could suggest that case had been neutralized in the relative pronoun.⁸

§5 The Verb

a) I have identified a number of functions of the prefix and suffix conjugation. These can be more simply organized into indicative and modal categories, where the modal category can cover optative, subjunctive, and possibly future meanings.

§5.2.1 d Suffix Conjugation, Functions, Future

I have argued that the suffix conjugation used to express travelling to a location that is not the one in which the inscription was produced and an accompanying prayer cannot be so easily construed as a past tense. Such examples prefer a future tense interpretation, perhaps derived from the modal use of the suffix conjugation. Another interpretation is also possible: such verbs can be interpreted as inchoatives, so that *'s¹fr* would not mean 'he travelled' or 'he will travel' but 'he set off for' or 'he began the journey'. So, the re-interpretation of C 1649 would be *w 's¹fr tdmr f h b'l s¹lm* 'he set off for Palmyra so, O B'l, may he be secure' or NST 7: *w hyt mdr f h lt mgdt w s¹lm* 'and he began the journey to the inner desert so, O Lt, may there be bounty and security'.

§5.6.1.1 Verb Stems, CCC, G-stem, prefix conjugation

Spelling of the prefix conjugation of *nwy* as *yny* 'to migrate': The vocalization I suggested was /yenāy/ or /yanūy/, based on the collapse of the medial glide.

⁸One caveat deserves mention. The *w* of this inscription has a small tail, which is not typical of the letter shape. This may suggest that the author hesitated between a *w* and a *y*.

However, if like Classical Arabic, these yielded first forms with the collapse of the final triphthong, like *yarwī*, we may also permit the vocalizations /yan-yī/ or /yenyā/. A further example of this verb type has been recognized: ygy (KRS 583) */yagi/ ‘may it come’, cf. CAr *yaḡī*’u.

§5.6.1.1.1 Verb Stems, CCC, G-stem, Notes on Weak Roots

a) I-y/w: In an unpublished inscription from Wādī al-Ḥašād, the prefix conjugation of the verb *wgd* ‘to find’ is attested in the expression: *lm ygd-h* */lam yaged-oh/ ‘he did not find him’.

b) II-w/y: I analyzed the term *mt* as the suffix conjugation of the root *mwt*, with the collapse of the internal triphthong, so *māta*. However, it is noteworthy that the original form *myt* */mayeta/ is not attested in contexts where one would expect a participle, for example in the epitaph of grieving formulae: NST 2: *wgm l-ḥld ḥt-h mtt* ‘he grieved for Ḥld, his sister, who died’. Since *myt* forms never occur in this context, it is possible to consider *mt* and *mtt* participle forms comparable to Hebrew *mēt*; also see the discussion in Rabin (1951: 111–113). Note also that in the discussion of the phonetic realization of medial weak forms, I suggested that stress played the primary role in producing the stem allomorphy in the suffix conjugation of Classical Arabic, *qāma* vs. *qumtu*. This was actually first suggested by Bauer (1912: 111), which I was unaware of at the time of writing this section.⁹

§7 Prepositions

a) I remarked that *ʾl* and *l* do not have an identical distribution, the former being used primarily with the verb *ts²wq* ‘he longed for’ and once with *s²tky* ‘he petitioned’. To this should also be added the construction *ḥwb ʾl-rḏw* ‘he cried out to Rḏw’ in an inscription re-edited and interpreted by Chiara Della Puppa (forthcoming), and originally published by Knauf (1991).¹⁰

b) One of the functions of the preposition *m(n)-* is to indicate the partitive. A new example of this usage is attested in the curse section of an inscription re-edited by M.C.A. Macdonald and myself in 2015: *ʾwr ḏ yʾwr h-sʾfr w sʾḥq w mḥq w nqʾt b-w{d}d [l-]ḏ yḥbl m-h-sʾfr* ‘And blind him who would efface this writing, and may ruin and misfortune befall him who would obscure any part of this inscription, and may he be thrown out (of the grave) by a loved one’.

§11.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

To the functions of *w* /wa/ should be added the comitative, attested in A1: *ouα βαναα* /wa bannā’a/ ‘with Bannā’.

⁹For a discussion of these verbal forms, see Voigt (1988: 142–148).

¹⁰Knauf (1991) translated this phrase as ‘he sinned against Ruḏaw’, but neither this meaning of the verb or preposition is defensible from other attestations. A related construction is attested in CSNS 918.

Syntax

§ 12.1 Existential clauses

An existential clause following *f* and a presentative *h* has been identified:

KRS 1617:

l šʿb bn bnwʿd bn gs²n w hyt s¹hb f h hmlt f ʿmrʿ

‘By Šʿb son of Bnwʿd son of Gs²n and he journeyed swiftly and, behold, there was a plain and he found herbage’

§15 Topicalization

We can also add to category 1, topicalization of nouns, the following example:

LP 679:

h lt tʿr m ʿ{s¹}lf {w} {t}{b}r l-hm

‘O Lt, he will have vengeance against those who committed this act and may {destruction} befall them!’

§16.1 Infinitive chain

To the examples I have given in the book, we may add the following inscription:

KhBG 432:

ʿlh bn hggʿt s¹nt qtl s¹dn w s¹fr h-mdf f hln w h ʿlt gnmʿt h- s¹nt

‘By ʿlh son of Hggʿt, the year S¹dn was killed, and he travelled to Mdf and camped so, O ʿlt, may this year bring spoil’

If *hln* is an infinitive, it would be a morphological by-form of the infinitive of this verb, already attested as *hlt* in JaS 159.2 (Al-Jallad 2015c: 322).

§16.3 Infinitive to express purpose

The use of the dative *l-* to introduce the infinitive of purpose is attested once:

KRS 1575:

h ytʿ flt l-ʿlgt-h

‘O Ytʿ, grant deliverance in order to heal him’

§22.7 Names of deities

To this list, we may now add *gdnbt* ‘the Gadd of Nbʿt’ and *gdtm* ‘the Gadd of (the lineage group) Taym’; on this inscription, see Al-Jallad & Macdonald (2015).

3 Notes on the interpretation of inscriptions

KhBG 411:

l hs¹m bn ghfl bn s¹dy w ml-h ys¹r b-dkr 'gzt

‘By Hs¹m son of Ghfl son of S¹dy and may his work be successful during Aries when (the rains) were held back’

KRS 15:

s¹lm w gnyt l-d s²hš

This should be translated as ‘may he who suffers from scarcity have security and abundance’.

KRS 941:

{w} {q}l hbl-h trh

In my interpretation of this inscription, I took *hbl* as an active participle with a suffixed pronoun ‘its effacer’ (referring to the inscription), the phrase being a curse against vandalism – ‘may its effacer perish’. However, in 2016, Al-Manaser and Abbadi published a new inscription (p. 47) containing the phrase *trh-h l-’bd*. The best interpretation of the element *trh* here is as a noun, *tarahun* ‘grief, sorrow’ (Lane 302b), the entire phrase meaning ‘his sorrow was everlasting’. This opens up another avenue of interpretation for the phrase *w ql hbl-h trh*, namely, ‘and he said: sorrow drove him mad’. Both interpretations are suitable as reactions to finding the (grave) inscription of a loved one.

KRS 1015:

wgd ’tr ’l df w rb-h qyl hy lt s¹lm w b-’n-h s¹lm w {q}m-h ’bd

In my original interpretation of this inscription, I took the suffixed pronoun following *rb* ‘to exalt’ as referring to *’tr* ‘trace’, but it is equally possible and perhaps more likely that it refers to the *’l df* ‘the lineage of Dayf’, in this case being masculine or feminine singular. An alternative translation is: ‘and he found the trace of the lineage of Dayf, and exalted them saying O Lt may it be secure and remain secure throughout time and its people forever’.

RWQ 334:

wgd ʔtr ʔl dʔ glyn mħrb nbʔ

In my original interpretation of this inscription, I took *glyn* as referring to the ‘trace’ or ‘graves’ of the *ʔl dʔ* but it is equally possible to take it as a participle ‘exiled’ (Al-Jallad 2015c: 314–315). This interpretation permits the following translation:

wgd ʔtr ʔl dʔ glyn m-ħrb nbʔ

‘and he found the trace of the lineage of Dʔ, who were exiled on account of the Nabataean war’

RWQ 335:

w ħrʂ bʔs¹ w ħr

This is better rendered ‘and he kept watch during bad and good times’.

WH 375

The translation of *ʔtm ʔys¹* could be ‘the restoration to health of *ʔys¹*’ in light of Thamudic B meaning of *ʔtm* (Al-Jallad & al-Manaser 2015).

WH 736.a

The term *gnmt*, which I took as raiders (Ar. *gannāmat*) based on its context can naturally be interpreted as ‘spoil’, as the original editors suggested.

C 285

The phrase *nyk b-grmh* is certainly *nyk bgrmh*, where *bgrmh* is a single name.

KRS 1427:

— — — — *rʔl bn mty h- tll f ʔl -h ʔwɔn*

‘— — — — Rʔl son of Mty is this writing so protection be upon it/him’

KRS 1064:

l ḥd bn ḥrb bn s¹d bn s¹d bn s¹kṛn w ḥrṣ ʾh[[[]l-h f h lt s¹lm w wgd s¹fr ʾb-h f ḥdt-h

‘By Ḥd son of Ḥrb son of S¹d son of S¹d son of S¹kṛn and he kept watch for his family so, O Lt, may they be secure and he found the writing of his father and read it aloud’

This inscription provides further evidence for the reading aloud of inscriptions, compare *ḥdt* with Arabic *ḥaddaṭa*, *taḥaddaṭa* ‘to speak’.

KRS 583:

l bn bn rm¹l bn bs¹ w r¹y h-nḥl {ṣ}wy w hmr ygy hlh

‘By Bn son of Rm¹l son of Bs¹ and he pastured the valley {suffering from the lack of rain} so let the rain flow, O Lh!’

4 Notes on vocabulary

ʾs¹d: ‘to raid’, cf. Sabaic ʾs¹d ‘troop, war party’.

LP 319:

h rḏw hb l-qdm nqmt mn ʾs¹d ʾbl-h

‘O Rḏw, grant retribution to Qdm against the raiders of his camels’

RWQ 187:

l-s²mt bn trbt h-dr w s²ml ʾs¹d

‘By S²mt son of Trbt, at this place, and he went north to raid’

mṣr: ‘to attack’, cf. Sabaic *mṣr* ‘army’ < ‘attack force’, ‘attackers’ (?)

C 2947:

f h lt w ds²r nqmt mn-mn mṣr-h

‘O Lt and Ds²r, let there be vengeance against whoever has attacked him’

s¹r: ‘to remain alive’. I no longer think the meaning ‘to leave untouched’ is viable. The verb primarily occurs in the blessing and curse following narratives describing mourning for the dead.

ZSSH (= ZmNSIH = ASFF) 32:

l zhrn bn ys¹lm w bny ḳ-ḡt ʾ-nṣ¹ w wgm f h lt fṣy l-ḡ s¹r

‘By Zhrn son of Ys¹lm and he built this funerary monument for Ḡt and grieved, so, O Lt, may those who remain alive be delivered’

KRS 1432:

*l qtl bn ḥrs²n bn qn¹l bn kmd w wlh mtdkr ḥbb f ḥbb f ḥbb f ḥbb w ḥrs ḳ-d s¹r f
h lt w s²hqm ḡnyt*

‘By Qtl son of Ḥrs²n son of Qn¹l son of Kmd and he was distraught with grief remembering one loved one after another while he looked after those those who remain alive, so O Lt and S²hqm, let there be abundance’

5 Supplement to Dictionary

This supplement to §24 Dictionary contains rare words and those attested only once. Many of these also come from hand-copies that cannot be relied upon completely. This list, combined with §24, forms over 90%, in my estimation, of the Safaitic vocabulary.

›

ḳb (HCH 73): herbage

ḳfl (WH 2870): young, weaned camel; CAr ḳfīlun (Lane, 70a)

ḳll (LP 1300): SC to cry

ḳnf (C 1475): G-SC to cry, feel sadness

ḳnn (WH 345): SC to cry out in sadness

ḳs¹f (WH 2017): G-SC to feel sorrow

ḳsl (KRS 753): G-INF to make attain

ḳyb (C 3293): G-SC to return; CAr āba

ḳyl (WH 1145): weariness

◁

ḳbs¹ (NST 2): G-SC to frown

ḳgz (passim): withhold, restrain, usually in reference to rain and signifying a drought.

ḳhn (KRS 1596): G-SC he dwelt; CAr ḳhana “he remained, stayed, dwelt” (Lane, 2185a); INF ḳhnt (KRS 38).

ḳlgt (KRS 1575): INF to restore to health

ḳlmt (WH 583): sign, mark

ḳn (WH 1599): C-SC to cause hardship, √ḳny, perhaps related to Arabic ḳnnā-hu ‘he caused him difficulty’ (Lane, 2180c). Note the non-representation of the final glide!

ḳnw (KRS 1570): to suffer, VAR ḳny

ḳqbt (passim): retribution

ḳrs¹ (KRS 1703): G-SC to be fatigued

ḳs¹ (WH 3840): night watchman (Lane, 2039c)

tḳk (WH 3129): T2-SC to be/become a freeman

ḳty (KRS 203): to behave arrogantly G-SC, CAr ḳtā “he behaved proudly, he was excessively proud” (Lane, 1951a).

ʕr (WH 1599): ‘disgrace’, CA*r* *ʕrun* ‘shame, disgrace’.
mʕdt (C 823): safe return

B

bʕr (HNMSII 10): G-SC to ride a beast
bʕr (BTH 39): camel, probably a diminutive or plural; CA*r* *baʕrun*
bdʕ (M 147): G-SC to begin
bdd (KRS 306): D-IMP compensate; CA*r* *biddun*, *bVdād* “a lot, share, portion” (Lane, 161c).
bhm (KRS 439): mutism; CA*r* *ʕabhamu* “destitute of the faculty of speech or articulation, like the beasts” (Lane, 269b).
bhr (KRS 439): disappointment, CA*r* *bahrūn* “being overcome, disappointed” (Lane, 265c).
bḥrt (WH 1002): pond (?) or late summer
bll (C 1046): G-SC to be healthy, well
bnyt (WH 967): building, structure
brʕ (M 160): freedom (from illness or affliction)
brt (KRS 2669): desert; CA*r* *barratun* (Lane, 177b).
bwy (C 1828): G-SC to come back to, to return to; CA*r* *bāʕa*
bzt (Ms 15): booty

D

dgyn (Mu 894): lurking place; CA*r* *daḡiyyun* ‘lurking place’
dll (LP 997): mark, writing; CA*r* *dalilun* ‘sign’
dmʕ (CSNS 895): G-SC to shed tears
dwy (KRS 15): G-SC to feel sick (from grief)

Ḍ

ḍhb (WH 1666): to go (perhaps euphemism for death); CA*r* *ḍahaba*
ḍkrt (APMS 1): fame, memory
ʕdry (KRS 1703): C-SC to set up a shelter, CA*r* *ḍariyyun* “a shelter” (Lane, 965a).
ḍryt (KRS 2842): chaff
ḍwq (SHNS 4): to taste (grief)

Ḍ

ḍʕw (KRS 1707): G-SC to efface
ḍrb (CEDS 371): injury
ḍrt (WH 2180): to break wind (?)
ḍyq (WH 2704): G-SC to experience straitness, difficulty

F

f (APMS 1): mouth
fʿl (KRS 1924): G-SC to do ; INF *fʿlt*
fʿdl (CSNS 190): favor
fgʿ (H 122): G-SC to pain, distress someone
tfhr (HFSI 46940.1): T2-SC to be proud, haughty
fl (RWQ 124): G-SC to set off; Levantine Arabic *fall* ‘leave, run off’
flht (KRS 2609): prosperity; CAr *falāḥ* ‘prosperity, success’
frʿ (SIJ 784): wild ass, CAr *faraʿun*
frqt (C 3871): separation
fz (APMS 1): good fortune, √fwz

G

gʿl (WH 1603): to make, set up (camp)
gʿlt (HNSM 31) short palm-trees; CAr *ḡaʿlun* ‘short palm-tree’
gb (KRS 3051) a well; CAr *ḡubbun*
gdr (KRS 201) enclosure
gny (KRS 2425): L-SC (?) to injure; CAr *ḡānā-hu* ‘he injured him’ (Lane, 472).
grft (ZSHA 14): a young female camel at the age of weaning; CAr *ḡarfātun*.
gr (KRS 1585): snare; CAr *ḡarrun*; pl. (?) *grt* (WH 752.1).
grm (C 2405): G-SC to be cut off
gryt (HaNS 408): a female slave
grz (HaNS 156): G-SC to be cut off
gry (ISB 366): river course
gt (WH 930): body, corpse
ʿgwf (KRS 900): a hollow; lowland; CAr *ḡawfun*, *ʿaḡwāfun*.
ygy (KRS 583): G-PC to come √gwy; CAr *ḡāʿa*
gyz (WH 1255): G-SC to pass; CAr *ḡāza* ‘he passed’ (Lane, 484–485)
mgr (KRS 2453): dwelling
gwz (KRS 878): G-INF to cross
gzy (WH 620): to be satisfied; CAr *ḡazā*

Ġ

ʿgrb (WH 2165): to return from the inner desert, opposite of *ʿaśraqa* to migrate to the inner desert.
ḡnz (WH 1675): G-SC to be distressed
ḡtn (KRS 2457): G-INF remove affliction √ḡwt
ḡyb (WH 19): G-SC to become absent, remote
tḡwḏ (RWQ 1): T2-SC to long for

H

- mhlk* (LP 720): a perilous place √*hlk*
ʾhmd (C 2473): G-SC to remain in place √*hmd*, CAr *ʾahmada*
hml (C 2363): G-SC to be bathed in tears
hmr (KRS 583): flow of water; CAr *hamara* “it flowed, said of water, rain, and of tears” (Lane, 2900b).
hrg (KRS 2916): killing, death (?)

H

- hdt* (KRS 1064): D-SC to speak/read aloud
hfl (WH 1031): migrating group
hfr (CSNS 23): G-SC to dig (a grave?)
hlmt (KRS 1836): forbearance, health; cf. CAr *hilmun* (Lane, 631c–632a)
*hls*¹ (KRS 2273): weakness
hmr (WH 2311): donkey
mḥmy (KRS 2425): a guard √*hmy*
htt (RWQ 329): cultivated (feminine adjective) √*hnt*
thqr (C 657): T2-SC to become contemptible √*hqr*; CAr *haqura* (Lane 661c).
*hws*² (WH 710): D-SC to drive game (Lane, 668c).
hydt (WH 2814): G-SC F.SG to menstruate

H

- hlb* (WH 3134): G-SC to seize
hmlt (KRS 1617): a plain producing herbage or plants; CAr *hamlatun*
hfg (WH 171): a kind of plant, *hafağ* = *diplotaxis Harra* (see the commentary to KRS 1836)
hsf (APMS 1): G-SC to be tracked (or return)
hrf (HNSM 42): the side of a rivulet; CAr ‘the extremity, verge, boarder, margin, brink, brow, side, or edge of anything...for example the side of a rivulet’ (Lane, 550a)
hmrt (CSNS 296): G-SC F.SG to hide, conceal oneself; CAr *hamira*; INF *hmr* (WH 2706).
yhrš (RWQ 214): PC to keep watch for, guard √*hrš*
*hs*¹ (Unpub): decline, scarcity, C-SC *ʾhs*¹ (WH 2411): to experience scarcity
*hs*¹y (LP 161): stagnate water
*ht*² (KRS 2604): G-SC to do wrong; CAr *ḥatīʾa*
hwt (BTH 92): vacant land; CAr *huwwatun*
hym (LP 344): to pitch tents

K

- kbs*¹ (HN 91): to attack; CAr *kabasa fulānan* “they made a sudden attack upon the house of such a one and surrounded it” (Lane, 2588a).
*ʿkm*¹ (WH 2867): truffles, plural of *km*¹ (Al-Jallad 2015c, s.v.)
kmh (C 2816): blindness; CAr *kamahun* “blindness from birth” (Hava 668).
*kns*¹ (H 1017): SC to drive animals
*kʃ*¹ (KRS 1866): to turn over, PC *yʃ*¹ (KRS 2573)
*krs*¹ (KRS 3001): a plant name, Syr *karšā*
mkr (WH 3405): repeatedly *√krr*
*ks*¹ (WH 25): a contrary wind; CAr *kawsun* (Lane 2638).

L

- lṭ* (WH 1229): lion
lḥm (RWQ 325): meat
lḡm (Mu 868): to reach; CAr *laḡḡama*, *ʿalḡama* “to reach the mouth of (a swimmer: water)” (Hava 670).

M

- ymṭl* (C 2163): G-PC to copy; CAr *maṭṭala*
*ʿmr*¹ (KRS 1617): G-SC to find herbage, pasture G-SC, CAr. *ʿamraʿa*
mrg (KRS 2224): G-SC to spoil an affair
*mt*¹ (H 122): SC to beat, afflict pain upon; CAr *mataʿa* “to beat [someone with a staff or stick]” (Lane, 2688a).
*mw*¹ (KRS 1482): waters

N

- nʿrt* (KRS 2830): place name (?)
ndr (CSNS 578): prominent part of a mountain; CAr *nādirun*
ndr (KWQ 42): G-SC to make a vow
nfy (CSNS 388): to be in exile, CAr *naḡā* “to be exiled” (Hava).
nhl (C 4355): to drink
ʿhl (KRS 47): valleys, plural of *nhl*
nqʿt (MSTJ 22): stagnant water
*ns*¹ (M 160): people, folk
*ns*¹*n* (unpub): women, CAr *nasūna*
*ʿns*¹ (WH 3730): mankind
nym (KhBG 283): G-SC to die (lit. to sleep)
ʿnwy (KRS 583): remote, CAr *ʿanwā* “to be remote” (Hava).
*nz*¹ (C 3216): G-SC to yearn (?); CAr *nazaʿa ʿilā ʿahli-hī*
*ns*² (WH 3685): G-SC to engage in a skirmish ; CAr *nāwaša*

Q

qbb (KRS 1377): a curse; distress
tqnt (KRS 1305): T2-SC he was filled with despair
qrb (WH 2411): G-SC to make an offering
qrnt (Ms 83): highest point, most elevated part of a desert
qnwt (WH 1699): canal
qn (KRS 1695): slave
qrh (CSNS 426): G-SC to be wounded; CAr *qaraḥa-hū* “he wounded him” (Lane, 2509c)
ʔqm (unpub): C-SC to settle down; CAr *ʔaqāma*
mqm (WH 1411): place, area
mqft (C 1240): a stopping place
qrt (L 206): small mountain; CAr *qāratun*
ql (APMS): a saying √*qwl*

R

rʔs¹ (APMS 1): first, foremost
rđmt (KhU 27): area with large rocks
rgʕ (C 4276): G-SC to return
rh (KRS 534): hillock
rhl (WH 142): abode
rhl (APMS): SC to journey
rql (C 4276): SC to traverse a desert; CAr *raqala* (Lane, 1138b).
ršb (N 90): SC to remain, dwell
rtʔ (SHNS 4): to be sad
rtm (KRS 424): to be crushed (by grief) G-SC, CAr *ratama* “he broke a thing” (Lane, 1028c).
ʔrh (ISB 79): C-SC to depart, set off; CAr *ʔarāḥa*
ʔrwḥ (MKWI 88): C-SC to wish for ease
rwʔ (ASWS 124): sweet water; CAr *rawāʔun* “sweet [water]” (Lane, 1195c).
rzy (C 74): to accept a bounty; CAr *razā*

S¹

s¹b (H 19): IMP curse; CAr *subb*
s¹l (LP 435) flashflood, torrent
s¹hwt (WH 2016): a great mass of stones
s¹hb (KRS 1617): swiftly; CAr *marra yashabu fi l-ʔarḍi* “he went, or passed by, or ran, swiftly [in the land, or upon the ground]” (Lane, 1515b).
s¹hlt (ISB 104): lamb, kid; CAr *sahlātun*
s¹lh (C 4985): to feed (animals) on *S¹lh* (a type of desert plant)
s¹lq (WH 1666): G-SC to remember; call out to
s¹mn (RWQ 333): prosperity; fat
s¹qr (unpub): sun-scorched

s¹qy (ISB 366): G-SC to give drink; CAr *saqā*
ts¹r (RWQ 324): T2-SC to be pleased
ms¹tr (C 1781): PPC something written
s¹ (WH 191): evil; CAr *sū'un*
ms¹lt (WH 1023): streambed, $\sqrt{s^1yl}$
s¹yt (KRS 878): an order; Arm *šyt* 'to give an order'

S²

s²fr (ISB 58): edge, border of an area; CAr *šufrun*
s²ml (RWQ 187): D-SC to go north
s²rgt (KRS 1779): a place in which water flows from a *harrah* to a soft or plain;
 CAr *šarğatun* (Lane, 1529b).
s²rk (ISB 58): war party
s²ry h-ns¹ (Is.Mu 89 = LP 407): pox
ms²t (RWQ 340): will, $\sqrt{s^2y}$
s²q (RWQ 124): G-SC to long for; more commonly *ts²wq*
s²qt (C 1970): longing
s²wt (KRS 1715): sheep

Ş

yş'b (WH 700): G-PC to experience difficulty
şbb (C 4454): SC to make a libation
şbh (WH 2833.1): SC to arise, arrive at
şdt (HNSM 10): side of a valley; CAr *şuddun* 'the side of a valley' (Lane, 1659a)
şgr (WH 2165): emaciation
şhy (RWQ 343): drought
şrb (KRS 2580): a type of herbage; CAr *şarabatun* (Lane, 1674c).
şrm (KRS 439): separation from friends; CAr *şurmun* "separation from a friend"
 (Lane, 1684a).
şy^c (RWQ 155): SC to be in a state of commotion
şwf (JaS 11): to trade wool (?) or a variant of *şyf*, to spend the early summer.

T

tbb (KRS 2408): scarcity, diminution; CAr *tabba*, *tabbun* "he, or it, suffered loss" (Lane, 203a).
tl't (KRS 366): watercourse; CAr *tal'atun* "high or elevated, land or ground, a water course from the upper part of a valley to its lower part" (Lane, 312b-c).
trk (WH 1241): G-SC to leave, go off
twr (CSNS 958): SC to return time after time; CAr *tāra*

T

- tdw* (SESP 96): a certain desert plant; cf. *tudā* ‘a certain plant [growing] in the desert’ (Lane, 344a).
trm (KRS 2453): to eat, feast
tql (KRS 1435): G-SC to be weighed down (by grief)
tr (KhBG 193): a bull (animal); CAr *tawrun*
tyt (WH 1023): sheepfold; CAr *tiyyatun*
twl (KRS 439): madness; CAr *tawalun* ‘madness’ (Lane 365b).
twy (APMS 1): to alight

T

- thr* (MA 1): G-SC to be purified; CAr *ṭahara*
twf (C 1900): G-SC to return; CAr *ṭāfa*; G-PC *ytf* (WH 3894)

W

- wʿl* (KRS 456): escape
wdy (HN 61): G-SC to go towards, draw near to; Levantine Arabic *waddā* ‘to send’
wgʿ (M 98): G-SC to be injured
ʿgd (KRS 1715): C-IMP to cause one to find (smth), √*wgd*, CAr *ʿawḡdada*
mwgd (SIJ 287): perseverance, √*wgd*
twht (BTH 92): T2-SC to be weak, languid, √*whṭ*; CAr *wahṭa*, *tawahṭa*
wlʿ (KRS 2473): G-SC to be fond of, eager for, CAr *wallaʿa bi-hi* ‘he made him to be desirous, or fond, of it’ (Lane, 3060a).
ʿld (Mu 89): children, offspring; CAr *ʿawlādun*
wqʿt (KRS 2999): watering place
wqd (C 1927): scorching
h-wrd (C 744): common toponym, perhaps meaning ‘the lowlands’.

Z

- zm* (RWQ 325): a dish of milk; CAr *zawmun*
zrʿ (C 1383): G-SC to plant, sow a field

Z

- zmʿ* (KRS 33) G-SC to thirst; CAr *zamiʿa* ‘he thirsted, thirsted most vehemently’ (Lane 1923b).

6 Bibliographic Updates

- 1) The edition of A1 is now published as Al-Jallad & al-Manaser (2015).
- 2) The edition of the poetic text KRS 2453 is now published as Al-Jallad (2015a), with further notes in Al-Jallad (forthcoming a).
- 3) For an in-depth discussion on the palaeography of Ancient North Arabian and the Safaitic square script, see Macdonald (2015).
- 4) AsUI 1 (= AbNH 1) is now published as Abbadi (2015).

7 Updates to Sigla

APMS	Safaitic inscription published in Al-Jallad (forthcoming a).
H (= Is.H)	Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Hussein Zeinaddin during the SESP survey at al-ʿĪsāwī in 1996–2003.
HN (Al-Namārah.H)	Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Hussein Zeinnadin during the Namara Rescue Survey 1996.
HNSM	Safaitic Inscriptions published in Al-Housan (2015).
JaS	Safaitic inscriptions published by Jamme.
JbS	Unpublished inscriptions recorded by the SESP 1995 survey at Jabal Says.
K (= Is.K)	Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Geraldine King during the SESP survey at al-ʿĪsāwī in 1996–2003.
KWQ	Inscriptions recorded and edited by Khaysheh from Wadi Qattafi.
L (= Is.L)	Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Laila Nehmé during the SESP survey at al-ʿĪsāwī in 1996–2003.
MKWI	Safaitic inscriptions recorded on the M.C.A. Macdonald, Geraldine King, Ann Searight Jawa Epigraphic Survey Wādī Irenbeh (published in OCIANA).
N (Is.N)	Unpublished inscriptions recorded by Najat al-Rafi during the SESP survey at al-ʿĪsāwī in 1996–2003.
QZUI (= QZMJ)	Previously unpublished inscriptions of Alqadrah and Al-Zoubi on OCIANA.
WAMS	Safaitic inscriptions in Winnett (1971: pls. 1–14).
ZeGa	Zeinaddin (2000: pls. 58–69).

ZeWa Unpublished inscription presented at a conference by H.
Zeinaddin (2002).

Address for Correspondence: a.m.al-jallad@hum.leidenuniv.nl

References

- Abbadi, S. 2015. New evidence of a conflict between the Nabataeans and the Ḥwlt in a Safaitic inscription from Wadi Ram, *Arabian Epigraphic Notes*, 1: 71–76.
- Al-Housan, A. 2015. A selection of Safaitic inscriptions from the Mafraq Antiquities Office and Museum, *Arabian Epigraphic Notes*, 1: 77–102.
- Al-Jallad, A. 2015a. Echoes of the Baal Cycle in a Safaito-Hismaic Inscription, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 15: 5–19.
- 2015b. On the voiceless reflex of *š and *ṭ in pre-Hilalian Maghrebic Arabic, *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik*, 62: 88–95.
- 2015c. *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions*, (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 80), Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- 2016. New evidence from a Safaitic inscription for a late velar/uvular realization of š in Aramaic, *Semitica*, 58: 257–270.
- forthcoming a. Pre-Islamic “Ḥamāsah” Verses from Northeastern Jordan: A New Safaitic Poetic Text from Marabb al-Shurafā’, with further remarks on the ‘Ēn ‘Avdat Inscription and KRS 2453, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, 47.
- forthcoming b. Was it Sūrat al-Baqārah? Evidence for antepenultimate stress in the Quranic Consonantal Text and its relevance for صلوه type nouns, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 167 (1): 81–90.
- Al-Jallad, A. & al-Manaser, A. 2015. New Epigraphica from Jordan I: A pre-Islamic Arabic inscription in Greek letters and a Greek inscription from north-eastern Jordan, *Arabian Epigraphic Notes*, 1: 51–70.
- 2016. New Epigraphica from Jordan II: Three Safaitic-Greek partial bilingual inscriptions, *Arabian Epigraphic Notes*, 2: 55–66.
- Al-Jallad, A. & Macdonald, M.C.A. 2015. A Few Notes on the Alleged Occurrence of the Group Name ‘Ghassān’ in a Safaitic Inscription, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 53: 152–157.
- Bauer, H. 1912. Mitteilungen zur semitischen Grammatik, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 66: 103–114.
- Della Puppa, C. forthcoming. Notes on ḥwb in Safaitic, in a forthcoming *Festschrift*.
- Hava, J.G. 1899. *Arabic-English dictionary for the use of students*, Beirut: Catholic Press.
- Knauf, E.A. 1991. More Notes on Ḡabal Qurma, Minaeans and Safaites, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 107: 92–101.

- Lane, E.W. 1863–1893. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London: Williams & Norgate.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2015. On the uses of writing in ancient Arabia and the role of palaeography in studying them, *Arabian Epigraphic Notes*, 1: 1–50.
- Rabin, C. 1951. *Ancient West-Arabian*, London: Taylor's Foreign Press.
- Voigt, R.M. 1988. *Die infirmen Verbaltypen des Arabischen und das Biradikalismus-Problem*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Watson, J.C.E. 2011. Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, in: *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, S. Weninger, ed., Boston & Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 897–908.
- Winnett, F.V. 1971. An Arabian Miscellany, *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 31 [N.S. 21]: 443–454.
- Zeinaddin, H. 2000. Safaitische Inschriften aus dem Ġabal al-ʿArab, *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 12: 265–289.
- 2002. Al-ʿalāqāt al-ṣafāʾiyyah al-nabaṭiyyah min ḥilāl al-kitābāt al-ṣafāʾiyyah wa-ḍikr al-malik mālik al-ṭālīṭ malik al-anbāt, unpublished typescript of a paper given at a conference in Petra, 29–31 October.