

# Safaitic

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## Introduction

Safaitic is a term for the northern-most variety of the South Semitic script classified under the umbrella of Ancient North Arabian. Texts carved in this alphabet are concentrated in the Syro-Jordanian Harrah, a basalt desert stretching from southern Syria to northwestern Saudi Arabia. Safaitic inscriptions are also occasionally found elsewhere. Isolated examples come from Palmyra (Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 144–45), Dura Europos (Macdonald 2005), and even as far as Pompeii (Calzini Gysens 1990).

<<MAP>>

## Language

Safaitic has usually been classified as an Ancient North Arabian variety. This term refers to a ‘dialect bundle’ closely related to, and perhaps mutually intelligible with, Classical Arabic (M. C. A. Macdonald 2009, 318, n. 198). In several recent works, Al-Jallad (2015, 11–13, 2017, forthcoming) has suggested that the distinction between Safaitic and Old Arabic is arbitrary, and that linguistically, these texts represent a dialect continuum of Old Arabic, spanning from the southern Levant to northwest Arabia. Safaitic shares many of the important isoglosses that characterize Arabic, including but not limited to the following (Al-Jallad forthcoming; Huehnergard 2017):

- 1) system of verbal negation
- 2) the G-passive participle pattern *maf'ūl*
- 3) *'an* as a complementizer
- 4) the use of *f* to introduce modal clauses
- 5) independent object pronominal base (')*y*
- 6) unique set of prepositions and adverbs, such as *'nd* [ʕend] ‘at’ (Classical Arabic *'inda*), *f* [p<sup>h</sup>ī] ‘in’ (Classical Arabic *fī*), etc.
- 7) vestiges of nunation
- 8) the subjunctive use of the prefix conjugation terminating in *-a*

Unlike later varieties of Arabic, Safaitic exhibits a variety of definite articles. While the most frequent form is *h-*, and this has served to argue that the language is not a form of Arabic, other article forms are attested including *'l* (see §definite article), suggesting that the *'al* article was simply one of many competing forms in the earliest stages of Arabic. Thus, Safaitic represents our largest corpus of Old Arabic (i.e. Arabic from the pre-Islamic period, Al-Jallad forthcoming) and gives us our most honest view of the language more than half a millennium before the rise of Islam.

### ***Dialectal Variation***

A considerable amount of linguistic variation is attested in the Safaitic corpus; however, the laconic nature of most inscriptions, combined with the fact that their authors were mobile, prevents us from interpreting the exact nature of this variation. Moreover, the diachronic dimension remains unclear, as no clear chronology of these texts has been established. Individual points of variation will be discussed under their respective grammatical headings.

### **Dating**

The dating of the Safaitic inscriptions is wrought with difficulties. Scholars have conventionally placed their period of production between the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE to the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE (Macdonald 1994). A small minority of inscriptions contain a dating formula introduced by the word *s<sup>l</sup>nt* 'year' (Al-Jallad 2015, 211). The nomads who produced Safaitic inscriptions do not seem to have had a fixed calendar; instead, texts were dated to notable local events, many of which have been lost to history, such as *s<sup>l</sup>nt myt 'drm* 'the year 'drm died' (KRS 1852). On the other hand, a few of these texts mention identifiable groups or events, such as *s<sup>l</sup>nt ḥrb nbṭ* 'the year of the Nabataean war' (C 211). Since most of the latter type belong to the Nabataean and Roman periods, it has been suggested that the inscriptions begin in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE. However, we must bear in mind two facts:

- 1) The vast majority of texts are not dated
- 2) None of the other desert North Arabian inscriptions contain a dating formula

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It may be the case that the tradition of dating inscriptions was a late innovation. Thus, basing the chronology of the entire corpus on this small subset of texts could be misguided. Instead, the practice of carving Safaitic may be much older than previously thought and that only at a relatively late period was the custom of dating one's inscription introduced. The development of the Safaitic script from whatever antecedent North Arabian alphabet remains to be worked out. An important inscription carved in an "Ancient North Arabian" script, containing a prayer formula common to both Safaitic and Hismaic, discovered in Bāyir, Jordan, may bear on this question. This text, which contains an undeciphered Canaanite component, invokes the gods of the Iron Age kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, suggesting that it dates to the Iron Age II period (Hayajneh, Ababneh, and Khraysheh 2015). Since Ancient North Arabian inscriptions stretch back to the early first millennium BCE, it may be the case that Safaitic reflects a continuous tradition of writing in the region.

### **Script**

The Safaitic script is a branch of the South Semitic alphabet. In former times, scholars assumed that Safaitic, and indeed all North Arabian scripts, derived from Ancient South Arabian. This relationship, however, has been soundly disproven (Al-Jallad 2015, 26–27 and especially Macdonald 2015). Instead, the Safaitic script seems to share a common ancestor with the Ancient South Arabian alphabet rather than descending from it. The relationship between Safaitic and the other Ancient North Arabian scripts is unclear. Thamudic B would seem to be the closest in terms of letter shapes and, indeed, inscriptional formulae. A small number of Safaitic inscriptions contain a mixture of Hismaic letter forms (Al-Jallad 2015, 28–29; on Hismaic, an Ancient North Arabian script used primarily in southern Jordan and Northwest Arabia, see King 1990). The reasons for this mixture remain unclear.

The Safaitic script comprises 28 separate glyphs, one for each phoneme in Old Arabic. Despite their seemingly informal nature, the Safaitic alphabet exhibits a high degree of stability in letter shapes. Nevertheless, different script variants exist, most robustly described by Clark (1979, 70–71), and variant letter forms occur throughout the corpus, and sometimes within a single inscription. For a description of the various letter forms, see Al-Jallad (2015, 29–38) and (Macdonald 2015, 30–33).

*Idealized letter-shapes of the Safaitic alphabet; top row is the normal hand, bottom row is the square script*

ʾ	ʿ	b	d	<u>d</u>	<u>d</u>	f	g	<u>g</u>	h	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	k	l
Y	◦	C	ḏ	ḏ	H	ξ	◦	ʃ	ʎ	E	X	F	I
Y	◦	C	ḏ	ḏ	H	Ξ	◻	ʃ	ʎ	E	X	F	I

  

m	n	q	r	s <sup>1</sup>	s <sup>2</sup>	š	t	<u>t</u>	ṭ	w	y	z	z̄
⊕	ı	ϕ	Ϸ	∠	ʒ	ʃ	+	⊕	H	⊖	ʔ	τ	∨
⊕	■	ϕ	Ϸ	∠	ʒ	ʃ	+	⊕	H	⊖	ʔ	τ	∨

The orthography of Safaitic is purely consonantal. No *matres lectionis* (vowel letters) are employed in any position and vowel prothesis, if it existed, is not noted either. What is more, diphthongs, at least word internally, were treated as long vowels, even though they obtained in pronunciation. This phenomenon is illustrated clearly in Safaitic-Greek bilinguals, e.g. *ḡt* = Γαυτος [ḡawt] (Al-Jallad and al-Manaser 2016, 57–60).

### Text Genres

The corpus of Safaitic inscriptions, which now nears 40,000 texts, contains mostly anthroponyms, ranging from single names to genealogies exceeding 14 generations. Subjects include building inscriptions, funerary texts, prayers for safety during migration, pasturing, watching keeping, and military activities, commemorations of the performance of religious rituals, and the signing of rock art. Only two literary texts have been discovered so far, both poems (Al-Jallad 2015b; Al-Jallad 2017c). The purpose of the Safaitic inscriptions is the subject of much debate and to date no consensus has been reached as to why these texts were carved (see Al-Jallad 2015, 1–10). Their highly formulaic structure and stable language suggest that the texts containing narrative content belong to a tradition of writing rather than reflect opportunistic graffiti.

## Phonology

Like Classical Arabic, Safaitic keeps separate 28 of the 29 Proto-Semitic consonants, exhibiting only the merger of  $s^1$  and  $s^3$  to [s].

*The realization of  $s^1$ :* This glyph corresponds to Classical Arabic *sīn*. Beeston (1962) proposed that the plain sibilant of Arabic was pronounced as [ʃ] even as late as Sibawayh (8<sup>th</sup> c. CE). This theory was applied to North Arabian as well based on the use of this phoneme to render loans from Northwest Semitic containing [ʃ], and the use of *ṣ* to render Northwest Semitic and Greek [s]. However, with the accumulation of more texts, it is clear that both  $s^1$  and *ṣ* were used to transcribe foreign [s], much like Classical and Modern Arabic (Al-Jallad 2017a, 129–32, 138). It therefore seems more economical to posit that Safaitic  $s^1$  remained [s].

*The realization of  $s^2$ :* This glyph corresponds to Classical Arabic *šīn*. Since  $s^2$  was not used to transcribe Northwest Semitic [ʃ], it is reasonable to assume that it retained its lateral articulation, [ʃ].

*The realization of the emphatics:* Greek transcriptions from the adjacent settled areas of Arabic names as well as bilingual Safaitic-Greek inscriptions indicate that the emphatic series was voiceless, opening up the possibility that they were glottalized rather than ejectives (Al-Jallad 2015, 43–44, 2017a, 128–38).

Proto-Semitic	Old Arabic (in Greek transcription)	Safaitic (emphatic correlate unclear)	Classical Arabic
[tθʾ]	τ<t>	/θ/	[ðʕ] ظ
[tʾ]	τ<t>	/t/	[tʕ] ط
[tsʾ]	σ<s>	/s/	[sʕ] ص
[tʃʾ]	σ<s>	/ʃ/	[ʃʕ] ض
[kʾ]	κ<k>	/q/	[q] ق

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*The realization of \*p*: It is natural to assume that Proto-Semitic \*p was realized as [f] as in all other varieties of Arabic; however, the fact that authors used the *f* glyph to render Greek π rather than *b*, e.g. *flfš* = Φίλλιππος (KRS 1991), may suggest that the phoneme was still realized as [p<sup>h</sup>].

## Consonant Chart

table 2 *Consonantal phonemes of Safaitic*

	Bilabial	Labiovelar	Interdental	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
<b>Stop</b>								
<i>Voiceless</i>	<i>p</i> [p <sup>h</sup> ](?)			<i>t</i> [t <sup>h</sup> ]		<i>k</i> [k <sup>h</sup> ]		' [ʔ]
<i>Voiced</i>	<i>b</i> [b]			<i>d</i> [d]		<i>g</i> [g]		
<i>Emphatic</i>				<i>ṭ</i> /ṭ/		<i>q</i> /q/		
<b>Fricative</b>								
<i>Voiceless</i>			<i>ʃ</i> [θ]			<i>ħ</i> [x] <i>h</i> [ħ]		
<i>Voiced</i>			<i>ð</i> [ð]			<i>ǧ</i> [ɣ]   ' [ʕ] <i>h</i> [h]		
<i>Emphatic</i>			<i>ʒ</i> /ʒ/					
<b>Sibilant</b>								
<i>Voiceless</i>				<i>s</i> [s]				
<i>Voiced</i>				<i>z</i> [z]				
<i>Emphatic</i>				<i>ʂ</i> /ʃ/ <i>ʐ</i> /z/				
<b>Approx.</b>		<i>w</i> [w]				<i>y</i> [j]		
<b>Trill</b>				<i>r</i> [r]				
<b>Lateral</b>								
<i>Voiceless</i>				<i>s<sup>2</sup></i> [ɬ]				

*Voiced* l [l]

*Emphatic* ḏ /š/

**Nasal** m [m] n [n]

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**The vowels:** Greek transcriptions indicate that the short high vowels, \*u and \*i, were realized lower than in Classical Arabic, [o] and [e]. Short \*a, however, remained stable in all environments. The long vowels do not seem to have conditioned allophones, and were realized as [ā], [ū], and [ī] (Al-Jallad 2015, 46).

**Diphthongs and triphthongs:** Greek transcriptions further suggest that the diphthongs \*ay and \*aw obtained in pronunciation (Al-Jallad 2015, 47; Al-Jallad and al-Manaser 2016). The Proto-Semitic triphthongs \*awa and \*aya also pass unchanged into Safaitic, as will be clearly illustrated in the discussion on the verbal system (Al-Jallad 2017b, 76).

### ***Marginal Sound changes***

Several marginal sound changes are attested in the inscriptions:

*w and y:* Confusion of w and y is common in verbs the final radical of which is a glide is common, but this may be the result of morphological merger rather than a purely phonological phenomenon.

*ḏ > ṭ:* A very rare sound change, attested a handful of times in inscriptions from northern Jordan (Al-Jallad 2017b, 77).

*q > ':* This sound change is attested twice in the word *qyz > 'yḏ* (Macdonald 2004, 498; Al-Jallad 2015, 53).

*z > ḏ:* This change is attested a handful of times, notably alongside the *q > '* change (see above).

*ḏ > z:* The writing of the lateral with the emphatic interdental glyph is rarely attested. The clearest example is found in the word *ḏrt* 'enclosure' (CSNS 318), usually spelled *zrt* (Al-Jallad 2015, 355).

Loss of the glottal stop: The glottal stop is very rarely lost, yielding a homo-organic glide. This is clearly attested in the expression *d-y/l* [dīyāl] ‘of the lineage’ from *d-'l* [dī'āl] (AAHY 1; Al-Jallad 2015, 53, 2017b, 79).

N-assimilation: The sporadic assimilation of *n* to a following consonant is found throughout the Ancient North Arabian inscriptions (Macdonald 2004, 501) and appears to be an areal feature of North Arabia. In Safaitic, assimilation most frequently occurs in unstressed environments, mainly with proclitics such as the preposition \**min*, written mostly as *m* and only rarely as *mn*. Byforms with and without assimilation abound: e.g. *bnt* /bent/ (WH 1861) and *bt* /bett/ (WH 214) both ‘daughter’.

## Morphology

### Nominal Morphology

#### *number*

Safaitic inflects for three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. The dual is indicated in the orthography by the termination *-n*, which may reflect either [ān] or [ayn] depending on whether case inflection obtained, *bkrtn* [bakratayn] ‘two she-camels’ (WH 182). Two strategies of plural formation exist: apophony and suffixes, and these sometimes go hand and hand. Apophonic plural patterns include: 'CCC (= 'af'āl, 'af'ul), CCCn (fV'lān, suffix -ū/īna), CCCt (fa'alat, suffix āt), CCC (fV'al, fu'ūl, fV'l, fV'lay, etc.), 'CCCt ('af'ilat), CCCy (fV'lā, fV'lā'), 'CCCy ('af'ilā').

External plural suffixes are *n* (ū/īna) and *t* (āt), masculine and feminine respectively. These suffixes occur most frequently on verbal adjectives (participles), *mhrbn* [maḥrūbīna] ‘plundered’ (masculine plural) (HCH 71); *ḡnmt* [ḡanamāt] ‘goats’ (C 4448).

Singulatives and collectives: collectives are lexically determined and from these singulatives can be formed through the addition of the feminine suffix *t*. Singulatives are pluralized with the termination *āt*, which is orthographically identical to the singular: *d'n* [šaʔn] ‘sheep’ > *d'nt* [šaʔnat] ‘an ewe’ > *d'nt* ‘a number of sheep’ [šaʔnāt] .

### **gender**

Two genders are distinguished, an unmarked masculine and a feminine usually marked by *t* [at]. Lexically determined feminine nouns are also known, mainly pertaining to animates: *'tn* 'she-ass' (C 505), *'m* 'mother' (ZSI 1).

The sound change *at* > *ah*, which operates in Aramaic and most varieties of Arabic, did not yet operate in Safaitic. Only one example known so far of this sound change is attested: *n'mh* [na'āmah] (AWS 302) from *n'mt* 'ostrich.'

### **case**

Our only witness to the existence of case inflection in Safaitic is the Graeco-Arabic inscription A1. This text attests the loss of the final short vowels \**u* and \**i* but the maintenance of \**a* as a marker of the accusative: (α)ουα ειραυ βακλα [wa yir'aw baqla] 'and they pastured on fresh herbage', cf. the common Safaitic phrase *r'y bql*.

The consistent notation of the final radical in III-weak verbs, while at the same time the inconsistent notation of diphthongs and the non-notation of long vowels, suggests that the final [a] of the perfect obtained, supporting the idea that final \**a* was not lost. The orthography, however, makes it impossible to detect case inflection in other environments.

### **state**

The genitive construction remains the normal way to express a possessive relationship between two nouns. As in other Semitic languages, only the final element of a genitive construction can take the definite article. The non-final noun or the noun bearing pronominal suffixes is said to be in construct.

SIJ 37	<i>b's'</i>	<i>'-s'nt</i>
	misfortune.cnst	ART-year

'misfortune of this year'

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Safaitic permits the coordination of two (or more) nouns in construct with the conjunction *w*

AWS 81	<i>'m</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>wld</i>	<i>ḏ</i>	<i>y'wr</i>	<i>h-s'fr</i>
	people.CNST	CONJ	offspring.CONST	REL	efface.PC.3MS	ART-writing

‘(may destruction befall) the people and offspring of him who would efface this writing’

Dual and masculine plural nouns lose their final *n* when in construct with a noun or bear a pronominal suffix. There only seem to be vestiges of nunation, e.g. *mḥltn* (KRS 1551) ‘dearth of pasture’, *wln* (AAEK 394) ‘woe’, *'mt{n}* ‘Libra’ (KRS 1770), *'rtn* ‘a journey’ (SG 5), and possibly *'wsn* ‘a boon’ (RWQ 62). Otherwise, the feature has completely disappeared, and no examples in Greek transcription exist.

### ***definiteness***

Definite nouns are marked by a prefix article, which can vary in its morphological form. The commonest article is *h-* [ha], but *'* [ʔa-] is not uncommon. The article *'l* is also encountered, without assimilation to coronals. It is possible that the *'*-article is an assimilating variant of *'l*. Rarer yet is the article form *hn*, which is attested only a handful of times, and once in an inscription by a man from the tribe of Ḥwlt (LP 87). This tribe was located in North Arabia, and the *hn* article may be a dialectal feature of that area. A few important inscriptions lack a definite article in places where it is expected (e.g. HSNS 5). These varieties probably reflect an archaic situation, shared with Hismaic, before the article developed in Old Arabic.

### **Pronominal morphology**

#### ***Personal pronouns***

Independent personal pronouns are very rare. Only the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular is attested with certainty, *'n* [ʔanā]; the 3ms independent pronoun may be attested as *h* [hū], but this depends on the interpretation of a few difficult texts, where there is a possibility of reading clitic pronoun in these contexts as well. The independent object pronoun is attested once with the base *y* (AWS 218).

The following clitic forms are known

Clitic	Singular	Dual	Plural
1c	∅		-n (c) [nī]
2m	-k [ka]	-km [komā] (?)	-km [kom]
2f	-k [ek] or [kī]		
3m	-h, -nh [(nn)oh]	-hm [homā] (?)	-hm [hom]
3f	-h [ah] or [ha]		

**The n-infix:** The third person pronominal clitics can sometimes follow an *n*-infix, a form found in other Semitic languages. The *n*-suffix is attested on clitics attached to the prefix conjugation, imperative, and suffix conjugation: 'g'-nh [ʔawgaʕannoh] 'he caused him pain' (KRS 3074), *d* y'wr-nh [yoʕawwerVnnoh] 'he who effaces it' (LP 566); s<sup>2</sup>'-nh [sī'annoh] 'join him' (KRS 307).

### Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns very infrequently attested. The most common deictic element is the definite article itself, which often has a demonstrative force: *l*-PN *h*-bkrt 'this camel (referring to a rock drawing of a camel) is by PN' or *l*-PN *h*-nfs 'this funerary monument is for PN'. In rare cases, demonstrative pronouns are used in the same contexts as the deictic *h*. These are:

Masculine singular	<i>d</i> <i>d</i> ʕwy 'this cairn' (LP 684)	*[dā]
Feminine singular	<i>d</i> <i>d</i> h-dr 'this place' (ASWS 217)	*[dī]
	<i>t</i> <i>t</i> h-ḥṭṭ 'this writing' (BS 870)	*[tī]
Plural	'ly '-fs 'ly' these funerary monuments' (unpub.)	*[ʔolāy]/[ʔolay]

## Relatives

Relative pronouns are most often attested as part of the phrase *d l* 'of the lineage'. The following forms are known. While these clearly indicate that the relative inflected for gender and number, in some inscriptions the masculine singular has been generalized for all genders and numbers. The indefinite relative has only one form, *m* [mā]

Masculine singular	<i>d</i> (passim)	[dV:]
Feminine singular	<i>d't</i> (CSNS 412)	[dāʔat]
	<i>d'</i> (SHS 10)	[dāʔ]
	<i>dt</i> (JbS 1)	[dāt]
Plural	<i>dw</i> (C 2156)	[dawV:]

## Verbal System

### Suffix Conjugation

The suffix conjugation is a perfective that can denote realized and non-realized actions. Realized actions are pragmatically in the past tense, and can be translated as a perfect or pluperfect, while unrealized actions can be translated in a variety of modal ways.

#### Realized actions

MKJS 1	<i>s<sup>2</sup>ty</i>	<i>'nzt</i>
	spend winter.SC.3MS	TOP

'he spent the winter at 'nzt'

C2036	<i>wgd</i>	<i>ḥbb-h</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>bky</i>
	find.SC.3MS	beloved-SC.3MS	CONJ	weep.SC.3MS

'he found (the writing) of his loved one and wept'

Ms 44	<i>sm'</i>	<i>'n</i>	<i>myt</i>	<i>flfš</i>
	hear.SC.3MS	COMP	die.SC.3MS	PN

'he heard that Phillip had died'

*Non-realized actions*

The non-realized dimension of the suffix conjugation covers a wide range of functions. It is often used to express wishes and requests:

JaS189.2	<i>dkrt</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>'ls'</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>rb</i>
	be mindful.SC.3MS	DN	PN	CONJ	PN

‘May Lt be mindful of ’ls<sup>1</sup> and Rb’

In payers and curses, the suffix conjugation denotes the possible completion of an action that has not yet occurred.

NST 3	<i>'wr</i>	<i>ds<sup>2</sup>r</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>hbl</i>
	blind.SC.3MS	DN	REL	efface.SC.3MS

‘may Dsr blind the one who effaces’

WH 613	<i>gdđf</i>	<i>s'lm</i>	<i>m- s<sup>2</sup>n'</i>	<i>s'lm</i>	<i>l-d</i>
	DN	security	PREP-enemies	secure.INF	PREP-REL
	<i>d'y</i>				
	read.SC.3MS				

‘O Gdđf, may he who read would (this writing) be well secured against enemies’

***Morphology***

Person, number, and gender are indicated through suffixes to the verbal stem. The following are attested

Attested PNG suffixes of the suffix conjugation

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<b>Singular</b>	<b>Dual</b>	<b>Plural</b>
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2f			
3m	-t [t] or [tī]	NA	NA
	∅ [a]	-y [ay]	∅ [ū]
3f	-t [at]	NA	-n [na]

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The third person masculine forms of the unmarked verbal stem, the G-stem, are identical in the orthography to the verbal root, e.g. *qtl* [qatala] ‘he killed’; *rġm* [roġemū] ‘they were struck down.’ The inflection of verbs derived from roots containing a glide (weak roots), however, can experience irregularities.

#### II-w/y

Roots with a medial and/or final glide tend to remain triconsonantal, although examples of the collapse of the triphthong exist.

	Preserved	Collapsed
To return	ʿyd [ʕayeda] (C 654)	ʿd [ʕāda] (KhS 13)

#### III-w/y

The collapse of the triphthong of III-weak verbs has not yet been clearly attested. This form of the verb is found in Greek transcription, where it is clearly trisyllabic: αθαοα [ʔatawa] ‘he came’ (A1). While the triphthong obtains, there is a clear tendency to merge III-w roots with III-y ones, and the latter are far commoner in the corpus.

	III-w	III-y
To spend the winter	śtw[śatawa] (KhBG 376)	śty[śataya] (KRS 1964)
To escape	ngw[nagawa] (C 406)	ngy[nagaya] (WH 153)

#### Geminate roots

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Geminate roots most often form biradical suffix conjugation stems in the 3ms, as in Classical Arabic, e.g. *wd* [wadda] (KRS 307) ‘he loved’. However, the common verb ‘to encamp’ *hll* is attested most frequently in a triradical form. This may, in fact, suggest that it reflects a D-stem (Form II) rather than a G-stem as in Classical Arabic.

### ***Prefix Conjugation***

The three historical moods of the prefix conjugation are attested in Safaitic, but it is unclear if they were all distinguished morphologically. The subjunctive mood, at least, must have terminated in a final [a], as the spelling of III-weak verbs of this mood attest the final radical, while their indicative counterparts do not.

#### *The indicative*

WH 3929	<i>ytzr</i>	<i>hyt</i>
	lie in wait.PC.3MS	animals

‘(while) lying in wait for animals’

C4803	<i>hyy</i>	<i>l-d</i>	<i>yqr</i> ’	<i>h-ktb</i>
	life	PREP-REL	read.PC.3MS	ART-writing

‘may he who reads this writing have long life’

#### *The subjunctive*

The subjunctive is attested in result and purposes clauses. This form historically terminated in a short [a], which is naturally invisible in most cases in Safaitic orthography. In WH 135, the spelling *nngy* points towards the preservation of this final vowel, as otherwise the verb would have been spelled *nng*, cf. *yd*’ [yad’ī] ‘he reads aloud’ (QZMJ 468).

WH 135	<i>h</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>qbll</i>	<i>’hl</i>	<i>s<sup>l</sup>lm</i>
	VOC	DN	be reunited.INF	family	safe

	<i>f</i>	<i>nngy</i>		
	CONJ	be saved.PC.1S~P		

‘O Lt, may there be a safe reunion with family so that I/we may be saved’

LP180	<i>trwh</i>	<i>l-ys<sup>2</sup>rq</i>
	set off at night.SC.3MS	PREP- migrate to inner desert.PC.3MS

‘he set off at night in order to migrate to the inner desert’

### *The Jussive*

The jussive goes back to the Proto-Semitic preterite and has no vocalic termination. This form is employed in Safaitic, as it is in Classical Arabic and other West Semitic languages, to express wishes and requests. The jussive can be used independently or following the asseverative particle *l-*.

LP 643	<i>ng<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>‘l- s<sup>2</sup>mt</i>	<i>‘s<sup>1</sup>r</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>lt</i>
	grieve in pain.3MS.SC	PREP- PN	captured.PPC.MS	CONJ	VOC	DN
	<i>ys<sup>1</sup>lm</i>					
	be secure.PC.3MS					

‘he grieved in pain for Šmt, who was captured, so O Lt, may he be secure

Following *l-*:

AWS 237	<i>h</i>	<i>rḏw</i>	<i>f-l- y<sup>c</sup>wr</i>	<i>m</i>
	VOC	PN	CONJ-ASV-be blinded.PC.3MS	REL
	<i>‘wr</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>l- yq<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>b- ṣdq</i>
	efface.SC.3MS	CONJ	ASV-be thrown out.PC.3MS	PREP-friend

‘O Rḏw, let whosoever effaces (this inscription) be made blind and let him be thrown out (of the grave) by a friend’

### ***Morphology***

The prefix conjugates for person, number, and gender through a combination of prefixes and suffixes. Since this verb form is much rarer in the inscriptions, only the following preformative prefixes are attested:

Attested preformative prefixes

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

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### **Weak roots**

I-w/y

Only one example of this root class has been attested in the prefix conjugation, *lm ygd-h* [lam yaged-oh] ‘he did not find him’ (unpub.), attesting the loss of the first radical, as in Classical Arabic.

II-w/y

Medial weak roots show a biradical verbal stem. The triphthong of III-weak roots monophthongizes, except in the subjunctive on account of the vocalic [a] suffix. Geminate roots appear to be biradical as well.

I-w/y	‘to find’	KRS 1715	<i>ygd</i> [yaged] (jussive)
II-w/y	‘to return’	WH 3840	<i>ytf</i> [yatūp <sup>h</sup> ]
III-w/y	‘to live (long)’	LP 495	<i>nhyy</i> [nehyyaya] (subjunctive)
	‘to read’	QZMJ 468	<i>yd’</i> [yad‘ī]
C2=C3	‘to make a pilgrimage’	WH 3053	<i>yhg</i> [yahogga] (subjunctive)

### Derived Verbal Stems

The following verb stems are attested in Safaitic. Of the major stems, only the Ct-stem (Form X) is missing, but this may be due to gaps in attestation rather than morphological loss.

D (= CAr. fa‘‘ala, Form II) and L (= CAr. fā‘ala, Form III)

The D-stem, formed by the doubling of the medial consonant, which is only apparent in medial weak and geminate verbs, forms factitive, causative, and denominal verbs.

	G-stem/Noun	D
Factitive	<i>wlh</i> [waleha] ‘to be distraught’	<i>wlh</i> [wallaha](C 3177) ‘to make distraught’
Causative	<i>'kl</i> [ʔakala] ‘to eat’	<i>'kl</i> [ʔakkala] (HaNSC 8) ‘to feed’
Denominal	<i>drh</i> [šarīḥ] ‘tomb’	<i>drh</i> [šarraḥa] (RWQ 340) ‘to construct a tomb’

The L-stem is identical in orthography to the D-stem and so its existence is posited purely on the basis of Classical Arabic cognates with a reciprocal sense, e.g. *qtl* [qātala] (HCH 71) ‘to fight one another’

’CCC = C (= CAr. ’af‘ala, Form IV)

The C-stem, formed with a prefixed glottal stop, has a similar functional range to the D-stem, and by-forms utilizing both stems exist. The causative morpheme is lost in the prefix conjugation, e.g. *ys<sup>2</sup>rq* ‘to migrate to the inner desert’, suffix conjugation *'s<sup>2</sup>rq*. Based on Greek transcriptions, the preformative vowel was [o], e.g. Θοκιμη [toqīm].

	G/Noun	C
Factitive	<i>hlk</i> [halaka] (CEDS 87) 'to die'	<i>'hlk</i> [ʔahlaka] (C 35) 'to slaughter'
Causative	<i>wgd</i> [wagada] 'to find'	<i>'gd</i> [ʔawged] (imp, KRS 1715) 'to make find'
Denominal	* <i>dm</i> 'tears'	<i>'dm</i> [ʔadmaʕa] 'to weep', cf. <i>dm</i> (AAEK 141)

CtCC = Gt (= CAR. ifta'ala, Form VIII)

Forms with an infix *t* are very rare. No single semantic function can be identified for this form and so it appears that the stem was already lexicalized.

'to await'; 'to keep watch' NzR	C 2967	<i>tʒr</i> [ettaʒara] < *intazara
'to wage war' QTL	KRS 1024	<i>qtīl</i> [eqtatala]
'to despair' Y'S	LP 679	<i>t's</i> [ettaʔasa]
'petition' ŠKY	C 31	<i>štky</i> [eštakaya]

tCCC = tD (= CAR. tafa'ala, Form X); tL (= CAR. tafā'ala, Form VI); tG (= EAr. itfa'al;

Arm. *etqtel*)

Verbs with a prefixed *t* are rather common; however, their morphological identity is not always certain. Verbs of this type could in some cases reflect tD-stem (Form V) or a prefixed *t*-morpheme to form a medio-passive, as in Aramaic, Sabaic, and Egyptian Arabic. In general, verbs of this type are medio-passive or reflexive in meaning, although in some cases the meaning is lexical.

'to be weighed down by grief'	KRS 49	<i>ttql</i> [tataqqala]
'to be made distraught'	WH 1243	<i>twlh</i> [tawallaha]
'to depart at night'	LP 180	<i>trwḥ</i> [tarawwaḥa]
'to preserve oneself'	C 2209	<i>twqy</i> [tawaqqaya]

nCCC = N (= Ar. infa'ala, Form VII)

This stem forms passive, medio-passive, and reflexive verbs, overlapping to some degree with the t-stems discussed above. The vocalization of the stem was likely naCCaCa, as the *n* does not exhibit assimilation.

'to be angry'	LP 475	<i>ngḏb</i> [naḡṣaba]
'to grieve in pain'	KRS 213	<i>ng'</i> [nawgaʿa]
'to be removed'	KRS 2640	<i>nśl</i> [naśāla]
'to be captured'	C 1758	<i>nsl</i> [nasalla]

Reduplicated stem (Form IX)

A stem with reduplication of the final radical is commonly attested in the infinitive *qbl* 'to be reunited'.

R-stem	'to be reunited'	AWS 48	<i>qbl</i> [qeblāl]
		KRS 455	<i>qbl</i> [qaballa]
		Unpub.	<i>yqbl</i> [yeqballa] (subjunctive)

## Internal Passives

The Semitic Languages 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El (Routledge), forthcoming.

The context of some finite verbs requires a passive reading, suggesting the existence of a passive signified by vowel apophony beside the *n*- and *t*-stems. There is no independent evidence for the vocalization of this form.

HaNSB 660	<i>w</i>	<i>šlb</i>	<i>ḥbb-h</i>
	CONJ	crucify.SC.3MS	beloved-CPRO.3MS

‘and his beloved was crucified’

### Participles

Each verbal stem forms an active and passive participle. These decline as adjectives; the following forms are attested:

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	<i>mqt</i> [maqṭūl] (HCH 72) ‘killed’	<i>trḥt</i> [tarḥat] (NST 2) ‘perished’
Dual	<i>qšyn</i> [qašeyyayn] (C 1658) ‘dedicated’	NA
Plural	<i>ḍb`n</i> [šābeʔīna] (HH 1) ‘raiding’	<i>ms`rqt</i> [mošreqāt] (KRS 1011) ‘migrating’ (or FS.)

Participles usually form asyndetic subordinate clauses signifying an action contemporary with the main event or a completed action at the time of the main event.

HH 1	<i>ḥrṣ</i>	<i>{ }s`y`-h</i>	<i>ḍb`n</i>
	keep watch.SC.3MS	companions-CPRO.3MS	raid.APC.MPL

‘he kept watch for his companions who were on a raid’

C 2538	<i>wlh</i>	<i>fqd</i>	<i>`s`y`-h</i>	<i>kr</i>
	be distracted.SC.3MS	lose.APC.3MS	companions-CPRO.3MS	<i>again</i>

‘he was distracted by grief having lost his companions once again’

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In the derived stems, participles are formed by a prefixed *m* and voice is distinguished through apophony, e.g. KWQ 119: *mʿwr* [moʕawwer] ‘effacing’ vs. AWS 48 *mʿwr* [moʕawwar] ‘effaced.’ In the G-stem, the active participle is identical in form with the suffix conjugation while the passive has two forms, probably reflecting dialectal variation: the first with an *m*-prefix, cognate with Classical Arabic *mafʿūl* and the second a triradical stem, reflecting the vocalizations CaCūC or CaCīC.

	m-augment	CaCīC or CaCūC
‘plundered’	<i>mhrbn</i> [maḥrūbīna] (HCH 71)	<i>hrbn</i> [ḥarībīna] (KRS 1161)
‘killed’	<i>mqt</i> [maqṭūl](C2947)	<i>qtl</i> [qatīl](C2113)

### Imperatives

The imperative is identical in its consonantal form with the verbal stem of the prefix conjugation. It is encountered most frequently in prayers and curses:

C 3315	<i>h</i>	<i>rḥm</i>	<i>slm-h</i>
	VOC	DN	keep safe.IMP.MS- CPRO.3MS

‘O Rḥm, keep him safe!’

### Infinitive

The Old Arabic of the Safaitic inscriptions often uses a nominal form of the verb, an infinitive, as a verbal complement and in purposes clauses, as well as to express commands. Unlike Classical Arabic, the infinitive does not require the definite article when it is used as verbal complement. A variety of noun patterns are employed to form the infinitive of the G-stem, cf. the Classical Arabic *maʕdar*. Other stems exhibit variation regarding whether or not the infinitive is modified by the feminine ending.

	Infinitive without <i>-t</i>	Infinitive with <i>-t</i>
G-Stem	<i>ksr</i> 'to break' (KRS 1023)	<i>lgt</i> 'to restore to health' (KRS 1575)
D-Stem	<i>tḏb</i> [tašbīʔ] 'to raid' (AWS 347)	<i>tḏyt</i> [tawfeyyat] 'to fulfill' (C 1744)
C-Stem	<i>ḡwy</i> [ʔeqwāy] 'to grant endurance'	NA
T-Stem	<i>tnzr</i> [tanattor] 'to await' (Mu 412)	NA
N-Stem	<i>nḡl</i> [naḡgāl] 'to be hasty' (WH 2181)	<i>nḡbt</i> [naḡābat] 'to disappear' (C 2786)

## Particles

### *Prepositions*

The attested prepositions are:

*l* = 'to, for', used most commonly with verbs of petition and motion.

*l* = 'to, for', a dative preposition used to express indirect, benefactive, temporal, and directional objects. This preposition is also used to express a possessive relationship, *l*- PN *h-nfs* 'this funerary monument is for (belongs to) PN.'

*b*- = 'by, at, with', used to express location, in space and time, and association.

*b'd* = 'after', 'for', cognate with Classical Arabic *baʿda*, the preposition in Safaitic can express reason or benefaction, WH 559: *nZr b'd h-msrt* 'he kept guard on behalf of the troop.'

*bn* = 'between'

*l* = 'on, against', this preposition is most often used to introduce the object of verbs of grieving, *wgm l-PN* 'he grieved for PN'.

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*f* = 'in', a rare alternative to *b*-, cognate with Classical Arabic *fī*

*m'* = 'with', used exclusively with animate objects

*m(n)* = 'from', 'because', the [n] of this preposition inconsistently assimilates to the following word. Compound prepositions with *mn* are attested: *m-l* 'because of', *m-dn* [meddūn] 'without', *mn-qbl* [men-qobol] 'facing'.

*'nd* = 'at', 'with'

*k* = 'like'

### **Vocative particles**

A variety of vocative particles are attested, ordered from most common to least: *h*, *hy*, *'y*, *hyh*, *'yh*, and *y*.

### **Subordinating particles**

The following are attested: *'d* [ʿedā] 'when', *'n* [ʿan] 'that' (complementizer), and possibly *'kdy* 'thereafter' and *ht* [ḥattay] 'until', although the latter two are not attested in unambiguous contexts (Al-Jallad 2015, 164).

### **Negation**

The negation of tense is tied to mood. Three negative adverbs are attested, revealing a system of negation rather similar to Classical Arabic.

*lm* + prefix conjugation

The particle *lm* [lam] negates the jussive to form the negated preterite, cf. Classical Arabic *lam yaf'al* 'he did not do.'

WGGR 1	<i>lm</i>	<i>tmṭr</i>	<i>h-sknt</i>
	NEG	rain.PC.3FS	ART-settlements

‘it did not rain upon the settlements’

*m* + suffix conjugation

The particle *m* [mā] is used to negate the suffix conjugation, cf. *mā fa'ala* ‘he did not do’

Mu 253	<i>ng'</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>hn'</i>
	grieve.SC.3MS	CONJ	NEG	be happy.SC.3MS

‘he grieved in pain and was not happy’

*l'n* + prefix conjugation

This particle, cognate with Classical Arabic *lan*, takes a subjunctive complement and negates the explicit future. It has been attested only once in Safaitic.

AWS 264	<i>w</i>	<i>l'n</i>	<i>yqtl</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>yslm-h</i>
	CONJ	NEG	be killed.PC.3MS	REL	keep safe.SC.3MS-CPRO.3MS

‘and may he who makes a prayer for security upon him (the author) never be killed’

No examples of the negative indicative imperfect have yet appeared.

## Syntax

The laconic nature of the inscriptions and their highly formulaic structure greatly limit what can be learned about syntax. The following section will deal with the major points of syntax.

## Word Order

The unmarked word order is Verb-Subject-Object, but in most cases the subject is omitted. Since most inscriptions begin with a preposition phrase, *l-* (by, for) and the name of a person, a conjunction introduces a new clause containing the verb:

<i>l</i>	<i>PN</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>r’y</i>	<i>bql</i>
PREP	PN	CONJ	pasture.SC.3MS	fresh herbage

‘by PN and he pastured on fresh herbage’

Other elements can be fronted to the beginning of a clause, reflecting nuance of topic and focus. Adverbs and prepositional phrases have a relatively free syntax. Vocative subjects, however, are often fronted to the beginning of the clause:

HAUI 76	<i>y</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>gyrt</i>
	VOC	Lt	abundance

‘O Lt, let there be abundance’

### Verbless clauses

Clauses containing requests from deities often lack a verb, as in HAUI 76 above. These have traditionally been taken as examples of ellipsis. While possible, a number of cases exist where an imperative cannot be posited, suggesting that existential clauses were often formed without an overt marker of predication.

C 3818	<i>tlg</i>	<i>b- h- dr</i>
	snow	PREP-ART-region

‘there was snow in this region’

In this case, it is possible to interpret requests lacking a verb as examples of modal existential clauses, ‘may there be X’ or ‘let there be X’.

KRS 1944	<i>h</i>	<i>mlk h-smy</i>	<i>my</i>
	VOC	<i>mlk h-smy</i>	water

‘O Master of the sky, let it rain’ (lit. let there be water’)

### Syntax of the accusative

Static location and the goal of verbs of motion are usually indicated by the accusative rather than with a preposition.

KRS 1554	<i>w</i>	<i>r’y</i>	<i>h-nhl</i>
	CONJ	pasture.SC.3 MS	ART-valley

‘and he pastured in the valley’

KRS 1554	<i>w</i>	<i>hyt</i>	<i>mdbr</i>
	CONJ	journey.SC. 3MS	inner desert

‘and he journeyed to the inner desert’

Even in cases without a verb, the unmarked noun, presumably in the accusative, can signify static location.

WH 766	<i>l</i>	PN	<i>h- mdt’</i>
	PREP	PN	ART-spring pasture

‘by PN, at the spring pasture’

### Conjunctions

The conjunction *w* primarily connects equivalent elements, but can introduce result and purpose clauses as well, which will be discussed under subordination. The conjunction *f* indicates sequential actions:

C 2036	<i>wgd</i>	<i>ḥbb-h</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>bky</i>
	find. SC.3 MS	beloved-3MS	CONJ	weep.SC.3MS

'he found his beloved and then wept'

This conjunction can also connect individual words, e.g. '*m f 'm* 'year after year' (SIJ 119), and can be used to express intensity when it connects two identical words, *zlmn f zlmn* '(they were) terribly unjust' (KRS 1087).

*f* can also optionally introduce modal clauses

HCH 103	<i>h</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>ds<sup>2</sup>r</i>
	VOC	DN	CONJ	DN
<i>f</i>	<i>t'r</i>	<i>mn- ḥwlt</i>		
CONJ	vengeance	PREP-GN		

'O Lāt and Dusares, may he have vengeance against Ḥawilat'

### Subordination

Safaitic exhibits several strategies of subordination and clause linking. The conjunctions *w* and *f* can be used to introduce logically subordinated clauses:

SG 1	<i>'f</i>	<i>h-m 'zy</i>	<i>s'nt</i>	<i>b's</i>
	feed on fodder.SC.3MS	ART-goats	year.CNST	misfortune
<i>w</i>	<i>ḥgz -h</i>	<i>b'ls'mn</i>		
CONJ	withhold.SC.3MS-	B'ls'mn		

	3MS			
--	-----	--	--	--

'he fed the goats on dry fodder the year of misfortune because B'ls'mn withheld it (the rain)'

KRS 1051	<i>wgm</i>	<i>'l-'h-h</i>	<i>hry</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>myt</i>
	grieve.SC.3MS	PREP-brother- 3ms	PN	CONJ	die.SC.3MS

'he grieved for his brother hry because he died'

The conjunctions also serve to introduce result and purpose clauses:

MA 1	<i>dbh</i>	<i>l- rdy</i>	<i>w</i>
	sacrifice.SC.3MS	PREP-DN	CONJ
<i>gnm</i>	<i>nqt</i>		
grant.SC.3MS	she-camel		

'he sacrificed to Rdy so may he grant a she-camel (as spoil)'

C 31	<i>s'tky</i>	<i>'l-lt</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>hnn</i>
	petition.SC.3MS	PREP-DN	CONJ	show compassion.IMP

'he petitioned Lāt so show compassion'

Verbal complement clauses can be introduced by 'n [ʔan], as in Classical Arabic.

Ms 44	<i>s'm'</i>	<i>'n</i>	<i>myt</i>	<i>flfš</i>
	hear.SC.3MS	COMP	die.SC.3MS	PN

'he heard that Philippus died'

Syndetic relative clauses are not as common as they are in later forms of Arabic. They are attested with definite and indefinite antecedents, and the relative pronoun is rarely prefixed with the deictic element *h*.

C 1758	<i>wgm</i>	<i>'l-'s'y'-h</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ns'l</i>
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	<i>grieve.SC.3MS</i>	PREP- companions-3MS	REL	<i>be captured.SC.3MP</i>
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'he grieved for his companions who were captured'

RWQ 73	<i>h</i>	<i>ds²r</i>	<i>l'n</i>	<i>hwlt</i>
	VOC	DN	curse.IMP	GN
	<i>hd</i>	<i>'tm</i>		
	REL	act wrongly.SC.3MP		

'O Dusares, curse the Ḥawilat who acted wrongly'

Asyndetic relative clauses are by far the commonest strategy of subordination. They can occur with definite or indefinite antecedents.

CSNS 1004	<i>wgm</i>	<i>'l-dd-h</i>	<i>ms'by</i>	<i>s'byt-h</i>	<i>ty'</i>
	<i>grieve.SC.3MS</i>	PREP-paternal uncle-3MS	captured	<i>capture.SC.3MS</i>	GN

'he grieved for his paternal uncle, who was captured, whom the Tayyi' captured'

### The infinitive

The infinitive is much more productive in Old Arabic and often replaces the verb in the following environments.

Infinitive of command:

SESP.U 18	<i>h</i>	<i>b'ls'mn</i>	<i>trwḥ</i>	<i>b- mṭr</i>
	VOC	DN	send.INF	PREP-rain

'O B'ls'mn, send the winds with rain!'

Infinitive of purpose:

KRS 1023	<i>mrd</i>	<i>'l-h-mlk</i>	<i>grfš</i>	<i>ks'r</i>	<i>{h-} s'l{s'}[lt]</i>
	<i>rebel.SC.3MS</i>	PREP-ART- king	PN	break.INF	ART-chains

‘he rebelled against King Agrippa to break the chains (of bondage)’

Adverbial infinitive:

WH 2584	<i>tzr</i>	<i>h- s'my</i>	<i>b-ḥḍr</i>
	await.SC.3MS	ART-rains	PREP- camp.INF

‘he awaited the rains while camping by permanent water’

In addition to these functions, the infinitive can replace a non-initial member of a sequence of coordinate verbs (the infinitive chain). In such cases, the infinitive can only be identified if it differs in its spelling than the suffix conjugation.

KRS 78	<i>h</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>ryḥ</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>qyt</i>
	VOC	DN	grant ease.INF	CONJ	protect.INF

‘O Lāt, grant ease and protect!’

### Numerals and quantifier

The quantifier *kll* is attested for ‘all’, ‘every’, ‘each.’ Its spelling suggests that it was bisyllabic, perhaps reflecting a plural form [kelāl] or [kulūl]. The following numerals are attested:

	Feminine	Masculine
1		<i>wḥd</i>
3	<i>tlṭt</i>	<i>tlṭ</i>
4	<i>ʿrb ʿt</i>	<i>ʿrb ʿ</i>
5	<i>ḥms ʿt</i>	<i>ḥms ʿ</i>
6		<i>s ʿt</i>
7		<i>s ʿb ʿ</i>
8		<i>ṭmny</i>
10		<i>ʿs ʿr</i>
12		<i>ṭn ʿs ʿr</i>
18	<i>ṭmn ʿs ʿrt</i>	

20		<i>ʿs<sup>2</sup>rn</i>
25	<i>ḥms<sup>ʿ</sup>t ʿs<sup>2</sup>rn</i>	
30		<i>tltn</i>
100		<i>m<sup>ʿ</sup>t</i>
1000		<i>ʿlf</i>

The syntax of numerals is in agreement with the classical Semitic languages: digits exhibit gender polarity with the quantified noun; the decade and digit of 12 (and presumably 11) exhibit polarity with the quantified noun; the decade of the teen agrees with the quantified noun while the digit exhibits polarity.

## **Sigla**

A	Greek inscriptions in Al-Jallad and al-Manaser 2015
AAEK	Safaitic inscriptions in Al-Manaser 2008
AAHY	Safaitic inscriptions in A. Al-Manaser 2014
ASWS	Safaitic inscriptions in Awad 1999
AWS	Safaitic inscriptions in Alolow 1996
BS	Safaitic inscriptions published on OCIANA
C	Safaitic inscriptions in Ryckmans 1950
CEDS	Safaitic inscriptions recorded by V. Clark and published on OCIANA
CSNS	Safaitic inscriptions in Clark 1979
HaNSB	Safaitic inscriptions in Harahsheh 2010
HaNSC	Safaitic inscriptions in Harahsheh 2007
HCH	Safaitic inscriptions in Harding 1953
HH	Safaitic inscriptions in Hayajneh 2016
HSNS	Safaitic inscriptions in Harahsheh and Shdeifat 2006
JaS	Safaitic inscriptions published on OCIANA

JbS	Safaitic inscriptions from Jebel Says published on OCIANA
KhBG	Safaitic inscriptions in Khraysheh 2002
KhS	Safaitic inscriptions in Khraysheh 2007
KRS	Safaitic inscriptions collected by G.M.H King, published on OCIANA
LP	Safaitic inscriptions in Littmann 1943
MA	Safaitic inscriptions in Al-Maani and Al-Ajlouni 2003
Ms	Safaitic inscriptions from Isawi published on OCIANA
Mu	Safaitic inscriptions form Isawi published on OCIANA
OCIANA	Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia: <a href="http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana">http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#ociana</a>
QZMJ	Safaitic inscriptions to appear on OCIANA
RWQ	Safaitic inscriptions in Al-Rousan 2005
SESP.U	Safaitic inscriptions published on OCIANA
SG	Safaitic inscriptions published on OCIANA
SHS	Safaitic inscriptions in Sadaqah and Harahsheh 2005
SIJ	Safaitic inscriptions in Winnett 1957

The Semitic Languages 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El (Routledge), forthcoming.

WGGR      Safaitic inscriptions published on OCIANA

WH          Safaitic inscriptions in Winnett and Harding 1978

ZSI          Safaitic inscription in Zayadine 1980

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