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Marginal notes on and additions  
to *An Outline of the Grammar of  
the Safaitic Inscriptions* (SSLL 80;  
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plement to the dictionary

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# 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\*

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## 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 The following pages contain data from unpublished inscriptions relevant to the grammar of the language as well as corrections, modifications, and emendations to grammatical outline itself.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.

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\*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 *t̥* are represented by Gamma and Tau, respectively, in Γαυτοϛ /ġawt̥(os)/ (Al-Jallad & al-Manaser 2016). The latter representation is probably on account of the fact that *t̥* is not specified for aspiration, and that Greek Theta remained an aspirated stop [t<sup>h</sup>].

### §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 *ġt̥* is transcribed as Γαυτοϛ /ġawt̥(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>ħywt</i> /ħayawat/ (ISB 14) ‘life’	<i>ħywh</i> ‘life’	<i>ħayāh</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 *rđw* as *rđʷ* in CSNS 304 suggests that the sound change of *aw(V)#* > *aʷ* 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.<sup>1</sup>

### §3.4a

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

<sup>1</sup>Note 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* > *samāʔ*.

### §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.<sup>2</sup> 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'.<sup>3</sup>

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  $\text{ʿ}$  to  $h$  when contiguous with  $h$ :<sup>4</sup>

#### ISB 76:

*h lt ḡnmt l-ḡ s<sup>2</sup>ḡh w s<sup>1</sup>lm*

'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  $*/\dot{s}āḡḡo/ < */\dot{s}ā^c\text{-}ho/$  or  $*/\dot{s}āḡḡ/ < */\dot{s}ā^c\text{-}h/$ .<sup>5</sup>

## 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 *layālin* and Gə'əz *layālay*. The reason for this is orthographic – the sequence *iy* with a suffixed pronoun seems to disappear:  $r^c\text{-}h$  'his friend'  $*/rā^c\text{-}i\text{-}h/$  (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).

<sup>2</sup>M.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  $\text{ʿ}l\dot{d}f$ .

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

<sup>4</sup>A similar development is found in some modern dialects of Arabic.

<sup>5</sup>Dr. Ali al-Manaser suggests the possibility that  $s^2ḡh$  be amended to  $s^2ḡḡ$  '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 hs<sup>1</sup>m h-r hḏ{n/y}*

‘By Hs<sup>1</sup>m 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 Maghrebic 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-nfs<sup>1</sup>t* might be better parsed as *h-nfs<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

*h-ʿfs<sup>1</sup> ʿly \*/haʿ-ʿaffos ʿolay/*

‘these funerary monuments’

The term *ʿly* must be the plural demonstrative *\*ʿolay*, cf. Classical Arabic *ʿulāʾi/ʿulā* and Hebrew *ʿellē*.<sup>7</sup> 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):

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

<sup>6</sup>These texts will appear in the Leiden University dissertation of Phillip Stokes.

<sup>7</sup>On 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.<sup>8</sup>

#### §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 *'s<sup>1</sup>fr* 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 's<sup>1</sup>fr tdmr f h b<sup>1</sup>l s<sup>1</sup>lm* ‘he set off for Palmyra so, O B<sup>1</sup>l, may he be secure’ or NST 7: *w hyt mabr f h lt mgdt w s<sup>1</sup>lm* ‘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.

<sup>8</sup>One 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) \*/yagīy/ ‘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 ḷ-ḥld ḡt-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.<sup>9</sup>

#### §7 Prepositions

a) I remarked that *ḷ* and *l* do not have an identical distribution, the former being used primarily with the verb *ts<sup>2</sup>wq* ‘he longed for’ and once with *s<sup>2</sup>tky* ‘he petitioned’. To this should also be added the construction *ḡwb ḷ-rḡw* ‘he cried out to Rḡw’ in an inscription re-edited and interpreted by Chiara Della Puppa (forthcoming), and originally published by Knauf (1991).<sup>10</sup>

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: *wr ḡ yḡwr h-s<sup>1</sup>fr w s<sup>1</sup>ḡq w mḡq w nq<sup>t</sup> b-w{d}d [l-]ḡ yḡbl m-h-s<sup>1</sup>fr* ‘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’.

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

<sup>10</sup>Knauf (1991) translated this phrase as ‘he sinned against Rḡw’, 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 gsʿn w hyt sʿhb f h hmlt f ʿmrʿ*

‘By Šʿb son of Bnwʿd son of Gsʿn 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{sʿ}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 sʿnt qtl sʿdn wʿsʿfr h-mdf f hln w h ʿlt gʿmt h- sʿnt*

‘By ʿlh son of Hggʿt, the year Sʿdn 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-ʿgt-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 hs<sup>1</sup>m bn ghfl bn s<sup>1</sup>dy w ml-h ys<sup>1</sup>r b-dkr gzt*

‘By Hs<sup>1</sup>m son of Ghfl son of S<sup>1</sup>dy and may his work be successful during Aries when (the rains) were held back’

**KRS 15:**

*s<sup>1</sup>lm w gnyt l-d s<sup>2</sup>hš*

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-<sup>1</sup>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 <sup>1</sup>tr <sup>1</sup>df w rb-h qyl hy lt s<sup>1</sup>lm w b-<sup>1</sup>n-h s<sup>1</sup>lm w {q}m-h <sup>1</sup>bd*

In my original interpretation of this inscription, I took the suffixed pronoun following *rb* ‘to exalt’ as referring to <sup>1</sup>*tr* ‘trace’, but it is equally possible and perhaps more likely that it refers to the <sup>1</sup>*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 bʔs<sup>1</sup> w ħr*

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

**WH 375**

The translation of *ʔtm ʔys<sup>1</sup>* could be ‘the restoration to health of *ʔys<sup>1</sup>*’ in light of Thamudic B meaning of *ʔtm* (Al-Jallad & al-Manaser 2015).

**WH 736.a**

The term *gñmt*, 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 s<sup>1</sup>c<sup>d</sup> bn s<sup>1</sup>c<sup>d</sup> bn s<sup>1</sup>k<sup>r</sup>n w ḥrṣ ʾh[[[]]l-h f h lt s<sup>1</sup>lm w wgd s<sup>1</sup>fr ʾb-h f ḥdṭ-h*

‘By Ḥd son of Ḥrb son of S<sup>1</sup>c<sup>d</sup> son of S<sup>1</sup>c<sup>d</sup> son of S<sup>1</sup>k<sup>r</sup>n 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 *ḥdṭ* with Arabic *ḥaddata*, *taḥaddata* ‘to speak’.

**KRS 583:**

*l bn bn rm<sup>l</sup> bn bs<sup>1</sup> w r<sup>ʿ</sup>y h-nḥl {ṣ}wy w hmr ygy hlh*

‘By Bn son of Rm<sup>l</sup> son of Bs<sup>1</sup> and he pastured the valley {suffering from the lack of rain} so let the rain flow, O Lh!’

## 4 Notes on vocabulary

*ʾs<sup>1</sup>d*: ‘to raid’, cf. Sabaic *ʾs<sup>1</sup>d* ‘troop, war party’.

**LP 319:**

*h rdw hb l-qdm nqmt mn ʾs<sup>1</sup>d ʾbl-h*

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

**RWQ 187:**

*l-s<sup>2</sup>mt bn trbt h-dr w s<sup>2</sup>ml ʾs<sup>1</sup>d*

‘By S<sup>2</sup>mt 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 ds<sup>2</sup>r nqmt mn-mn mṣr-h*

‘O Lt and Ds<sup>2</sup>r, let there be vengeance against whoever has attacked him’

*s<sup>1</sup>r*: ‘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 ys<sup>1</sup>lm w bny ʿl-ḡt ʾ-nfs<sup>1</sup> w wgm f h lt fṣy l-ḡ s<sup>1</sup>r*

‘By Zhrn son of Ys<sup>1</sup>lm 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 ḥrs<sup>2</sup>n bn qn<sup>1</sup> bn kmd w wlh mtḏkr ḥbb f ḥbb f ḥbb f ḥbb w ḥrs ʿl-ḏ s<sup>1</sup>r f  
h lt w s<sup>2</sup>ḥqm ḡnyt*

‘By Qtl son of Ḥrs<sup>2</sup>n son of Qn<sup>1</sup> 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 S<sup>2</sup>ḥqm, 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.

›

ʾb (HCH 73): herbage

ʾfl (WH 2870): young, weaned camel; CAR ʾafilun (Lane, 70a)

ʾll (LP 1300): SC to cry

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

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

ʾs<sup>1</sup>f (WH 2017): G-SC to feel sorrow

ʾsl (KRS 753): G-INF to make attain

ʾyb (C 3293): G-SC to return; CAR āba

ʾyl (WH 1145): weariness

◁

ʿbs<sup>1</sup> (NST 2): G-SC to frown

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

ʿhn (KRS 1596): G-SC he dwelt; CAR ʿahana “he remained, stayed, dwelt” (Lane, 2185a); INF ʿhnt (KRS 38).

ʿlgt (KRS 1575): INF to restore to health

ʿlmt (WH 583): sign, mark

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

ʿnw (KRS 1570): to suffer, VAR ʿny

ʿqbt (passim): retribution

ʿrs<sup>1</sup> (KRS 1703): G-SC to be fatigued

ʿs<sup>1</sup> (WH 3840): night watchman (Lane, 2039c)

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

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

ʿyr (WH 1599): ‘disgrace’, CAr ʿārun ‘shame, disgrace’.  
 mʿdt (C 823): safe return

**B**

bʿr (HNMSII 10): G-SC to ride a beast  
 bʿyr (BTH 39): camel, probably a diminutive or plural; CAr baʿīrun  
 bdʾ (M 147): G-SC to begin  
 bdd (KRS 306): D-IMP compensate; CAr biddun, bVdād “a lot, share, portion”  
 (Lane, 161c).  
 bhm (KRS 439): mutism; CAr ʾabhamu “destitute of the faculty of speech or  
 articulation, like the beasts” (Lane, 269b).  
 bhr (KRS 439): disappointment, CAr bahrun “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  
 brʾ (M 160): freedom (from illness or affliction)  
 brt (KRS 2669): desert; CAr barratun (Lane, 177b).  
 bwy (C 1828): G-SC to come back to, to return to; CAr bāʾa  
 bzt (Ms 15): booty

**D**

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

**D**

ḏhb (WH 1666): to go (perhaps euphemism for death); CAr ḏahaba  
 ḏkrt (APMS 1): fame, memory  
 ʾḏry (KRS 1703): C-SC to set up a shelter, CAr ḏariyyun “a shelter” (Lane, 965a).  
 ḏryt (KRS 2842): chaff  
 ḏwq (SHNS 4): to taste (grief)

**D**

ḏʾw (KRS 1707): G-SC to efface  
 ḏrb (CEDS 371): injury  
 ḏrt (WH 2180): to break wind (?)  
 ḏyq (WH 2704): G-SC to experience straitness, difficulty

## F

*f* (APMS 1): mouth  
*fʿl* (KRS 1924): G-SC to do ; INF *fʿlt*  
*fʿl* (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’  
*frʾ* (SIJ 784): wild ass, CAr *faraʾun*  
*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  
*ʾgwf* (KRS 900): a hollow; lowland; CAr *ḡawfun*, *ʾaḡwāfun*.  
*ygy* (KRS 583): G-PC to come √gwy; CAr *ḡāʾa*  
*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

*ʾḡrb* (WH 2165): to return from the inner desert, opposite of *ʾaśraqa* 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*  
*ʿhmd* (C 2473): G-SC to remain in place √*hmd*, CAr *ʿahmada*  
*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

- ḥḏt* (KRS 1064): D-SC to speak/read aloud  
*ḥfl* (WH 1031): migrating group  
*ḥfr* (CSNS 23): G-SC to dig (a grave?)  
*ḥlmt* (KRS 1836): forbearance, health; cf. CAr *ḥilmun* (Lane, 631c–632a)  
*ḥls*<sup>1</sup> (KRS 2273): weakness  
*ḥmr* (WH 2311): donkey  
*mḥmy* (KRS 2425): a guard √*ḥmy*  
*ḥtt* (RWQ 329): cultivated (feminine adjective) √*ḥnt*  
*ḥtqr* (C 657): T2-SC to become contemptible √*ḥqr*; CAr *ḥaqura* (Lane 661c).  
*ḥws*<sup>2</sup> (WH 710): D-SC to drive game (Lane, 668c).  
*ḥyḏt* (WH 2814): G-SC F.SG to menstruate

H

- ḥlb* (WH 3134): G-SC to seize  
*ḥmlt* (KRS 1617): a plain producing herbage or plants; CAr *ḥamlatun*  
*ḥfg* (WH 171): a kind of plant, *ḥafağ* = *diplotaxis Harra* (see the commentary to KRS 1836)  
*ḥsf* (APMS 1): G-SC to be tracked (or return)  
*ḥrf* (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)  
*ḥmrt* (CSNS 296): G-SC F.SG to hide, conceal oneself; CAr *ḥamira*; INF *ḥmr* (WH 2706).  
*yḥrṣ* (RWQ 214): PC to keep watch for, guard √*ḥrṣ*  
*ḥs*<sup>1</sup> (Unpub): decline, scarcity, C-SC *ʿḥs*<sup>1</sup> (WH 2411): to experience scarcity  
*ḥs*<sup>1</sup>y (LP 161): stagnate water  
*ḥt*<sup>2</sup> (KRS 2604): G-SC to do wrong; CAr *ḥatīʿa*  
*ḥwt* (BTH 92): vacant land; CAr *ḥuwwatun*  
*ḥym* (LP 344): to pitch tents

## K

- kbs*<sup>1</sup> (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*<sup>ʿ</sup> (WH 2867): truffles, plural of *km*<sup>ʿ</sup> (Al-Jallad 2015c, s.v.)  
*kmh* (C 2816): blindness; CAr *kamahun* “blindness from birth” (Hava 668).  
*kns*<sup>1</sup> (H 1017): SC to drive animals  
*kf*<sup>ʿ</sup> (KRS 1866): to turn over, PC *ykf*<sup>ʿ</sup> (KRS 2573)  
*krs*<sup>1</sup> (KRS 3001): a plant name, Syr *karšā*  
*mkr* (WH 3405): repeatedly *√krr*  
*ks*<sup>1</sup> (WH 25): a contrary wind; CAr *kawsun* (Lane 2638).

## L

- l̥t* (WH 1229): lion  
*l̥hm* (RWQ 325): meat  
*l̥gm* (Mu 868): to reach; CAr *lağğama*, *ʿalğama* “to reach the mouth of (a swimmer: water)” (Hava 670).

## M

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

## N

- nʿrt* (KRS 2830): place name (?)  
*ndr* (CSNS 578): prominent part of a mountain; CAr *nādīrun*  
*ndr* (KWQ 42): G-SC to make a vow  
*nfy* (CSNS 388): to be in exile, CAr *nafā* “to be exiled” (Hava).  
*nhl* (C 4355): to drink  
*ʿhl* (KRS 47): valleys, plural of *nhl*  
*nqʿt* (MSTJ 22): stagnant water  
*ns*<sup>1</sup> (M 160): people, folk  
*ns*<sup>1n</sup> (unpub): women, CAr *nasūna*  
*ʿns*<sup>1</sup> (WH 3730): mankind  
*nym* (KhBG 283): G-SC to die (lit. to sleep)  
*ʿnwy* (KRS 583): remote, CAr *ʿanwā* “to be remote” (Hava).  
*nz*<sup>ʿ</sup> (C 3216): G-SC to yearn (?); CAr *nazaʿa ʿilā ʿahli-hī*  
*ns*<sup>2</sup> (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)  
*ʾqm* (unpub): C-SC to settle down; CAr *ʾaqāma*  
*mqm* (WH 1411): place, area  
*mqft* (C 1240): a stopping place  
*qrt* (L 206): small mountain; CAr *qāratun*  
*ql* (APMS): a saying √*qwl*

R

*r<sup>s</sup>1* (APMS 1): first, foremost  
*rđmt* (KhU 27): area with large rocks  
*rg<sup>c</sup>* (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  
*rt<sup>y</sup>* (SHNS 4): to be sad  
*rtm* (KRS 424): to be crushed (by grief) G-SC, CAr *ratama* “he broke a thing” (Lane, 1028c).  
*ʾrh* (ISB 79): C-SC to depart, set off; CAr *ʾarāḥa*  
*ʾrwh* (MKWI 88): C-SC to wish for ease  
*rwy* (ASWS 124): sweet water; CAr *rawāʾun* “sweet [water]” (Lane, 1195c).  
*rzy* (C 74): to accept a bounty; CAr *razā*

S<sup>1</sup>

*s<sup>1</sup>b* (H 19): IMP curse; CAr *subb*  
*s<sup>1</sup>l* (LP 435) flashflood, torrent  
*s<sup>1</sup>hwt* (WH 2016): a great mass of stones  
*s<sup>1</sup>hb* (KRS 1617): swiftly; CAr *marra yashabu fi l-ʾarḍi* “he went, or passed by, or ran, swiftly [in the land, or upon the ground]” (Lane, 1515b).  
*s<sup>1</sup>hlt* (ISB 104): lamb, kid; CAr *sahlātun*  
*s<sup>1</sup>lh* (C 4985): to feed (animals) on *S<sup>1</sup>lh* (a type of desert plant)  
*s<sup>1</sup>lq* (WH 1666): G-SC to remember; call out to  
*s<sup>1</sup>mn* (RWQ 333): prosperity; fat  
*s<sup>1</sup>qr* (unpub): sun-scorched

*s<sup>1</sup>qy* (ISB 366): G-SC to give drink; CAr *saqā*  
*ts<sup>1</sup>r* (RWQ 324): T2-SC to be pleased  
*ms<sup>1</sup>tr* (C 1781): PPC something written  
*s<sup>1</sup>* (WH 191): evil; CAr *sū<sup>1</sup>un*  
*ms<sup>1</sup>lt* (WH 1023): streambed, √*s<sup>1</sup>yl*  
*s<sup>1</sup>yt* (KRS 878): an order; Arm *šyt* ‘to give an order’

S<sup>2</sup>

*s<sup>2</sup>fr* (ISB 58): edge, border of an area; CAr *šufrun*  
*s<sup>2</sup>ml* (RWQ 187): D-SC to go north  
*s<sup>2</sup>rgt* (KRS 1779): a place in which water flows from a *ħarrah* to a soft or plain;  
 CAr *šarğatun* (Lane, 1529b).  
*s<sup>2</sup>rk* (ISB 58): war party  
*s<sup>2</sup>ry h-ns<sup>1</sup>* (Is.Mu 89 = LP 407): pox  
*ms<sup>2</sup>t* (RWQ 340): will, √*s<sup>2</sup>y<sup>1</sup>*  
*s<sup>2</sup>q* (RWQ 124): G-SC to long for; more commonly *ts<sup>2</sup>wq*  
*s<sup>2</sup>qt* (C 1970): longing  
*s<sup>2</sup>wt* (KRS 1715): sheep

## Ş

*yş<sup>1</sup>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<sup>1</sup>* (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<sup>1</sup>t* (KRS 366): watercourse; CAr *tal<sup>1</sup>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*

Ṭ

*ṭdw* (SESP 96): a certain desert plant; cf. *ṭudā'* “a certain plant [growing] in the desert” (Lane, 344a).

*ṭrm* (KRS 2453): to eat, feast

*ṭql* (KRS 1435): G-SC to be weighed down (by grief)

*ṭr* (KhBG 193): a bull (animal); CAr *ṭawrun*

*ṭyt* (WH 1023): sheepfold; CAr *ṭiyyatun*

*ṭwl* (KRS 439): madness; CAr *ṭawalun* “madness” (Lane 365b).

*ṭwy* (APMS 1): to alight

Ṭ

*ṭhr* (MA 1): G-SC to be purified; CAr *ṭahara*

*ṭwf* (C 1900): G-SC to return; CAr *ṭāfa*; G-PC *ytf* (WH 3894)

W

*w'l* (KRS 456): escape

*wdy* (HN 61): G-SC to go towards, draw near to; Levantine Arabic *waddā* ‘to send’

*wg'* (M 98): G-SC to be injured

*'gd* (KRS 1715): C-IMP to cause one to find (smth), √*wgd*, CAr *'awgdada*

*mwgd* (SIJ 287): perseverance, √*wgd*

*twht* (BTH 92): T2-SC to be weak, languid, √*whṭ*; CAr *wahaṭa*, *tawahhaṭa*

*wl'* (KRS 2473): G-SC to be fond of, eager for, CAr *walla'a bi-hi* “he made him to be desirous, or fond, of it” (Lane, 3060a).

*'ld* (Mu 89): children, offspring; CAr *'awlādun*

*wq't* (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*

*zr'* (C 1383): G-SC to plant, sow a field

Ṣ

*ṣm'* (KRS 33) G-SC to thirst; CAr *ṣami'a* “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 Zeinaddin 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 Khraysheh 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-Rafī 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).

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