

The concluding formulae in Punic votive inscriptions

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1. Introduction

The main body of Punic and Neo-Punic texts is formed by two types of more or less stereotyped texts: votive texts and tomb inscriptions, the votive texts being more numerous than the tomb inscriptions. Although these texts are rather monotonous, detailed study even of their most stereotyped elements may be interesting. The main body of these texts exhibits the following elements: dedication to one or more deities, the name of the dedicant and the reason for this form of devotion. These basic elements may be found in e.g. a text from Carthage (N 7):

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------------------|
| 1) | <i>l^cdn lb^cl^c mn n^d</i> | <i>ladūn lābal amūn nāda</i> |
| 2) | <i>r ʔš ndr^c b^clpg^c</i> | <i>r āš nadara balpigo</i> |
| 3) | <i>š^cm^ʔ ql^ʔ brk^ʔ</i> | <i>šamō qūlō barakō</i> |

To the Lord, to Bal Amun, a votive offering, which Balpigo has dedicated, he heard her voice and blessed her. Of course there are many differences and quite a few much longer texts, especially when the dedicant is not a private person but an official or official body. In those instances a date may be added (cf. e.g. Maktar N 11), or an indication of the situation from which the votive offering originated (cf. e.g. Bir bou Rekba N 1). In almost all these texts, however, some equivalent of the just quoted words in line 3 of Carthage N 7 is to be found. Although in some texts the formula is to be found somewhere in the middle or at the beginning of the text, it is mainly used to conclude the text.

As far as we know the only overview encompassing these concluding formulae in Punic texts is the one by Alt in 1944. The point he is mainly interested in is the question whether imperfect forms with the preformative element *t-* may be considered as forms indicating the 3rd p. m. pl. and even the 3rd p. m. sg. As several new inscriptions have been made known since then it may be worthwhile to see whether the material will lead to new conclusions. To give the reader a fair impression of the extant material we

give in an appendix those formulae that are used in the discussion below. The formulae are differentiated in the following manner:

CAPITALS: the deity (deities) to whom the votive stele is dedicated and/or an extra dedicatory formula;

normal letters: information concerning the dedicant(s); in many instances where we have chosen for a singular male dedicant other interpretations remain possible, but they are less probable.

The following combinations are attested:

<i>Bm</i>	Bal, dedicant sg. m.
<i>Bp</i>	Bal, dedicants.
<i>Em</i>	El, dedicant sg. m.
<i>Sm</i>	Sid, dedicant sg.m.
<i>Šm</i>	Shadrafa, dedicant sg.m.
<i>B&Tm</i>	Bal & Tinnit, dedicant sg. m.
<i>B&Tf+m</i>	Bal & Tinnit, dedicant sg. f. + dedicant sg. m.
<i>T&Bm</i>	Tinnit & Bal, dedicant sg. m.
<i>T&Bm+f</i>	Tinnit & Bal, dedicant sg. m. + dedicant sg. f.
<i>T&Bf</i>	Tinnit & Bal, dedicant sg. f.
<i>T&B[]</i>	Tinnit & Bal, []
<i>[]Bm</i>	[] & Bal, dedicant sg. m.
<i>[]m</i>	[], dedicant sg. m.
<i>[]f</i>	[], dedicant sg. f.
<i>[]</i>	[]
<i>[]&[]m</i>	[] & [], dedicant sg. m.
<i>BTBBm</i>	Bal Shamem, Tinnit, Bal Hammon & Bal MGNM, dedicant sg. m.
<i>B&Dm</i>	Bal & <i>d^clhrm</i> , dedicant sg. m.
<i>Mm&m</i>	Melqart, dedicant sg. m. + dedicant sg. m.
<i>Š&Mp</i>	Shadrafa & Melqart, dedicants.
<i>Am&m</i>	Ashtart, dedicant sg. m. + dedicant sg. m.
<i>m</i>	dedicant sg. m., no deity mentioned.
<i>Ym</i>	<i>bym n^cm wbrk</i> , no name of deity mentioned, dedicant sg. m.
<i>YBm</i>	<i>bym n^cm wbrk</i> , Bal, dedicant sg. m.

The last two combinations are only mentioned when they are combined with the dedicatory formula *šm^c ql²*, etc. Where Bal is mentioned, mostly Bal Hammon is meant. In several cases, however, only Bal is mentioned without a differentiating element.

2. Verbal forms containing a prefixed personal element.

In view of the article by Alt we first discuss the formulae in which verbal

forms with initial *t*- are found, and we compare these formulae in the first place to those in which an element *y*- is attested.

To get an impression of the material used in this discussion we first list all the constructions in which forms of a prefixconjugation are attested. As the actual orthography may be found in the Appendix, we only mention the most ordinary spelling of these formulae. The numbers in this list refer to the numbers in the Appendix. The dedicatees are designated as in the Appendix, see above for the abbreviations used. Between [] the number of attestations is given. The following indications for the type of construction are used: *y* indicates a verbal form of a prefixconjugation beginning with a personal prefix *y*, divided according to the verbal roots used. Thus "1.3 *y t*" means 'the formulae containing one verbal form beginning with either *y* or *t*, as mentioned in the Appendix sub 1.3.', and "1.3.1 *y-šm^c*" means 'the sub-group of these formulae beginning with *y* and derived from the root *šm^c*'. In these indications $\emptyset$ is used to indicate a verbal form without a personal prefix.

1.3 <i>y t</i>	[]m [1]
1.3.1 <i>y-šm^c</i>	[]&Bm [1]
<i>yšm^c ql^o</i>	[]&Tm [1]
T&Bm [2]	
[]m [1]	1.3.4 <i>t-brk</i>
	<i>tbrk^o</i>
1.3.2 <i>t-šm^c</i>	T&Bm [4]
<i>tšm^c ql^o</i>	T&Bf [3]
T&Bm [15]	B&Tm [1]
T&Bf [2]	Tm [1]
B&Tm [1]	[]&Bm [2]
Bm [2]	[]m [2]
m [1]	[]f [1]
[]m [1]	
[] [2]	1.3.5 <i>t-ḥnn</i>
	<i>tḥn^o</i>
1.3.3 <i>y-brk</i>	T&Bm [1]
<i>ybrk^o</i>	
T&Bm [3]	1.4 $\emptyset yt$ / $yt\emptyset$
	1.4.1 <i>šm^c</i> & <i>y-brk</i>

šm^ɔ ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ

T&Bm [1]

1.4.2 *šm^c & t-brk*

šm^c ql^ɔ tbrk^ɔ

T&Bm [3]

Bm [1]

1.4.3 *y-šm^c & brk*

yšm^c ql^ɔ brk^ɔ

T&Bf [1]

m [1]

1.4.4 *t-šm^c & brk*

tšm^c ql^ɔ brk^ɔ

T&Bm [2]

B&Tm [10]

B&Tf [1]

Bm [21]

Bf [1]

1.4.5 *t-brk & šm^c*

tbrk^ɔ šm^ɔ [ql^ɔ]

T&Bm [1]

1.4.6 *t-šm^c & w-brk*

tšm^ɔ ql^ɔ wbrk^ɔ

B&Tm [1]

Bm [1]

1.5 *yt yt*

1.5.1 *y-šm^c & y-brk*

yšm^c ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ

T&Bm [4]

T&Bf [1]

T&B[] [1]

[]&Bm [1]

[S]m [1]

1.5.2 *t-šm^c & y-brk*

tšm^ɔ ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ

T&Bm [2]

T&Bf [1]

[]m [1]

1.5.3 *t-šm^c & t-brk*

tšm^c ql^ɔ tbrk^ɔ

T&Bm [13]

T&Bf [1]

Bm [1]

[]m [2]

1.5.4 *t-ḥnn & t-brk*

tḥn^ɔ tbrk^ɔ

[] [1]

1.5.5 *y-šm^c & w-y-brk*

yšm^c ql^ɔ wybrky

[]m [1]

1.5.6 *t-šm^c & w-t-brk*

tšm^ɔ ql^ɔ wtbrk^ɔ

[] [1]

1.5.7 *y-brk & w-y-šm^c*

ybrky wyšm^c ql^ɔ c^d c^{lm}

BTBBm [1]

2 w-Intro

2.2 w-yt ty

2.2.1 *w-y-šm^c & y-brk*

wyšm^ɔ ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ

T&Bm [1]

3.3 <i>k yt</i>	[] [5]
3.3.1 <i>k šm^c & y-brk</i>	3.3.3 <i>k šm^c & w-y-brk</i>
<i>k šm^c ql^o ybrk^o</i>	<i>k šm^c ql^o wybrk^o</i>
T&Bm [32]	Bm 1
T&Bf [6]	
T&Bm+f [1]	3.3.4 <i>k brk & w-t-šm^c</i>
[]&Bm [1]	<i>k brk^o wtšm^c ql^o</i>
Mm&m [2]	Bm [1]
Bm [2]	m [1]
[]m [9]	
[] [1]	4 <i>øk</i>
3.3.2 <i>k šm^c & t-brk</i>	4.1 <i>yt k ø</i>
<i>k šm^c ql^o tbrk^o</i>	4.1.1 <i>t-brk & k šm^c</i>
T&Bm [26]	<i>tbrkn k šm^c qln</i>
T&Bf [4]	T&Bm [1]
[]&Bm [2]	5 <i>l-Intro</i>
Tm [1]	5.2 <i>l yt ø</i>
Sm [1]	5.2.1 <i>l y-šm^c & brk</i>
[]m [5]	<i>lyšm^o qlš brk^o</i>
	Bm [1]]

The number of attestations of the different types as related to the dedicatees may be represented as follows (F = female deity, M = male deity), see figure 1.

Before proceeding to the prefix-conjugation examples proper, we want to stress that it is interesting to note that in this collection the conjunction *k* is always followed by a form of the suffix-conjugation. Sub 3.1 and 3.2 the formulae combined with *k* only exhibiting suffixconjugation forms are listed, and sub 3.3 those where the verb not directly following the conjunction *k* has the form of a prefixconjugation. Under 3.3 we have collected 100 instances of this construction, while the combination of *k* with only suffixconjugation forms is attested 423 times. We are convinced that this cannot be by chance, therefore we conclude that *k* introduces a clause giving a reason based on what has happened: *k šm^c ql^o* = because he / she has listened to his voice. When variation between prefix- and suffixconjugation without

dedicatee	fm	FM	MF	MF	FM	F	M	M	ø	FM	[M	[F	[]	[]	[]	
dedicant	m	f	m	f	mf	m	m	f	m	[]	m	m	m	f	[]	total
yšm ^c	2												1			3
tšm ^c	15	2	1				3				1		1		2	25
ybrk	3										1	1	1			6
tbrk	4	3	1			1					2		2	1		14
tħnn	1															1
šm ^c ybrk	1															1
šm ^c tbrk	3						1									4
yšm ^c brk		1							1							2
tšm ^c brk	2		10	1			21	1								35
tbrk šm ^c	1															1
tšm ^c wbrk			1				1									2
yšm ^c ybrk	4	1					1			1	1					8
tšm ^c ybrk	2	1											1			4
tšm ^c tbrk	13	1					1						1			16
tħnn tbrk															1	1
yšm ^c wybrk													1			1
tšm ^c wtbrk															1	1
ybrk wyšm ^c			1													1
wyšm ^c ybrk	1															1
kšm ^c ybrk	32	6			1		4						9		1	53
kšm ^c tbrk	26	4				1	1				2		5		5	44
kšm ^c wybrk							1									1
kbrk wšm ^c							1		1							2
tbrk kšm ^c	1															1
lyšm ^c brk							1									1
total	111	19	14	1	1	2	36	1	2	1	7	1	22	1	10	229

figure 1.

difference of meaning were possible in Punic one would expect constructions of the type *ktø* / *ktwø* / *kyø* / *kywø*. This means that we may add the attestations of *t*- and *y*- forms in the combinations *kø(w)t* and *kø(w)y* to the *t* and *y* groups. We now make abstraction of the dedicants and leave those attestations where the dedicatees are not known. At the same time we combine several other types, *t* and *y* in these combinations indicating resp. a verbal form with prefixed element *t* or *y*, *ø* indicating a verbal form without prefixed element, see fig. 2.

As we then suppose that the examples of the types *tø*, *twø*, *øt*, *yø*, *øy* are also to be explained as the indication of something that has happened (the

$\emptyset$ -forms) and something else, we may add these instances to the t - and y -forms.

	M	F	F&M	M&F	total
y	2		45	1	48
t	5	2	62	2	71
$\emptyset y$			1		1
$\emptyset t$	1		3		4
$y\emptyset$			1		1
$t\emptyset$	23		3	12	38
yy	1		7	1	9
ty			3		3
tt	1		14		15
total	33	2	139	16	190

figure 2

We also combine t and tt , resp y and yy , and leave the three ty examples as being too small a number to draw conclusions from. This results in the following division, fig. 3:

	M	F	F&M	M&F	total
y	3		54	2	59
t	30	2	82	14	128
total	33	2	136	16	187

figure 3

In percentages this gives the following picture, according to the dedicatee(s), fig. 4, and according to the prefixed element fig. 5:

	M	F	F&M	M&F
y	9		39.7	12.5
t	90.9	100	60.3	87.5
total	100	100	100	100

figure 4

	M	F	F&M	M&F	total
y	5.1		91.5	3.4	100
t	23.3	1.6	64.1	11	100

figure 5

We note the following. The number of inscriptions only invoking a female deity is too small to draw conclusions from. Further, in inscriptions in which only a male deity is invoked, the number of t -prefix-conjugation forms

is so high that it seems impossible not to explain these forms as second person singular of the imperfect, as there are no indications elsewhere in Phoenician and Punic linguistic material that a third person masculine of the prefix-conjugation may be introduced by *t*-. This conclusion leads us to the supposition that also in those instances where both a male and a female deity are invoked, the male deity prior to the female one, *t*-forms point to a second person. We are left then with the problem of those texts in which the first dedicatee mentioned is the female deity. The percentage of *t*-forms in this situation (60%) is much lower than the percentage of *t*-forms for dedications to a male deity only (90%), that it seems highly improbable that many of these forms are originally meant to be 3d person sg. fem. The *y*-forms in these texts (the F + M group), are best explained as the well-known use of a masculine form for a subject encompassing both male and female. The variation between 2d and 3d person forms is probably best explained as a regional variation. Some other variations are also regionally determined. We may mention that most of the FM inscriptions are from Carthage, and that the 23 texts in which only a male deity is mentioned and the concluding formula is of the *t*-type are all from Constantine.

Several of the *t*-forms have been explained as 3d person singular feminine, thus DNWSI s.v. *šm^c* for the following forms:

tšm^c ql^p

T&Bm CIS i 252

[]m CIS i 506, 2775;

tšm^c ql^p tbrk^p

T&Bm CIS i 1109;

tšm^p ql^p

T&Bm CIS i 411 (thus also FR p. 61.), 2075;

tšm ql

[]m CIS i 1144;

tšm ql^p

T&Bf CIS i 4664;

and ibidem s.v. *brk*:

šm^c ql tbrk

T&Bm CIS i 2521;

tbrk

[]m CIS i 3797;

tšm l^p tbrk

T&Bm CIS i 5597;

k šm^c ql dbrm tbrk

[]Bm CIS i 5688;

k šm^c ql^o tbrk

T&Bm CIS i 5714;

tbrk^o

T&Bm CIS i 3785 = KAI 79, 5507;

k šm^o ql^o tbrk^o

T&Bm CIS i 180;

k šm^c ql^o tbrk^o

T&Bm CIS i 327, 3712, 5518;

T&Bf CIS i 4771;

Tm CIS i 3777;

tšm^c ql^o tbrk^o

T&Bm CIS i 5657;

tšm^o ql^o tbrk^o

T&Bm CIS i 5709;

k šm^c ql tbrk^o

Šm Antas 8.

Both constructions with *t-* and *y-* are found among this number:

tšm^o ql^o ybrk^o

T&Bm CIS i 4320;

tšm^o ʔyl qlm ybrk^o

T&Bm CIS i 3604.

It remains possible that some of these forms are indeed fem. forms of the 3d person sg. but the chance that they represent 2d person formations is much greater. Whether in some instances these forms should be considered 2d person sg. fem. is difficult to say for those cases where a male and a female dedicatee are mentioned. When only a female dedicatee is mentioned this explanation seems rather probable, of course. The two last mentioned texts present an extra difficulty. Is it possible that the dedicant invokes Tinnit to hear and Bal to bless? It seems less probable in view of the rest of the texts. Note also that the two texts only invoking a female deity have *t-*forms of the root *brk* in their concluding formula (CIS i 3793: *tbrk^o* and CIS i 3777: *k šm^c ql^o tbrk^o*). On the other hand a switch from the 2d to the 3rd p. is also not very attractive: may you hear his voice and may they (or he) bless him. We opt for the latter solution, however.

3. The representation of suffixed personal pronouns.

The most normal form of the suffix, as found in these formulae, is *-^o*, indicating a suffix of the 3d person sg. masc. or fem. This form of the suffix is used both with nouns and verbs, cf. e.g. sub 1.1 and 1.2: *šm^c ql^o* and *šmc ql^o brk^o* (attested passim). The other possibilities are:

	<i>ql</i>			<i>brk</i>			<i>ybrk</i>			<i>tbrk</i>			verb	total
suffix	m	f	?	m	f	?	m	f	?	m	f	?		
- ^o	615	50	35	317	15	18	44	2	2	43	6	6	453	1153
-y	3	1	1	3	1		4						8	13
-y ^o		1		3			3	2	1				9	10
- ^o y		1								1	1		2	3
- ^c	2	1												3
- ^c ^o	1	1												2
- ^o ^c	1													1
-h	1													1
-m	7			2			4			1			7	14
-n	1			1									1	2

y (attested following *ql*: 5 times, following a verb in perfect *brk*: 4 times, in imperfect *ybrk*: 4 times)

y^o (attested following *ql*: once, following a verb in perfect *brk*: 3 times, in imperfect *ybrk*: 6 times)

^oy (attested following *ql*: once, in imperfect *tbrk*: 2 times)

^c (attested following *ql*: 3 times)

^c^o (attested following *ql*: 2 times)

^o^c (attested following *ql*: once)

h (attested following *ql*: once)

m, indicating the suffix 3d p. sg. masc.¹ (attested following *ql*: 7 times; following a verb in perfect *brk*: twice, in imperfect five times, following *ybrk* four times and *tbrk* once)

n (attested following *ql*: once; following a verb in imperfect *tbrk*: once).

Several of these spellings are easily explained. From the Punic text in Greek script found in Constantine (KAI 174) we know that *ql^o* and *šm^c* rhymed: *κουλω* / *σαμω*. As these two words occurred next to each other in most of the forms of the concluding formulae it is not surprising that the spelling of the form of *šm^c* influenced the spelling of *ql^o*. The correct historical spelling of the verb followed by the suffix -^o is of course ending in -^c^o. This spelling may have been reinterpreted sometimes as an indication of /ō/, and used as such following the noun *ql*. *šm^c^o* is attested 3 times, *yšm^c^o* 2 times and

¹The instances in which -m indicates the suffix of the 3d. p. pl. were left out of consideration, as are the two forms of the plural suffix -n, in *šm^o qln brkn*, which might be explained as the suffix of the 1st. p. pl., but the subject *b^cl^o hmkt^crm* in this text (H. Maktar N 110) and the parallels with the same subject and the suffix -m rather point to an explanation as suffix of the 3d. p. plur.

tšm^c once. One of the two attestations of *ql^c* occurs in a text which also contains one of the examples of *yšm^c*. The spellings with *-^c* and *-^{2c}* which, like *-^c*, only occur with *ql*, may be explained in the same way, as analogous with spellings of *šm^c*.

The spelling with *-h* is best explained as an example of the use of *h* for */š/*, as influence of forms of *šm^c* is less probable. *šmh* is attested six times, *tšmh* once, all attestations from Constantine, while in Dougga *š²mh* is found once, but *šmh* does not seem to exist.

Interesting are the forms with *-y*, *-y²*, *-^{2y}*, to be explained as result of a development **-i-hū > *-iyū²*. If this is correct the spelling *-^{2y}* is a lapsus for *-y²* and the low number of attestations does support this line of reasoning. As there is no reason to suppose a double development in the same dialect the forms with *y* must represent a dialect less succesful than the dialect using *-š* for the suffix 3 sg. m. and f. Another possible explanation may be that *-y* was used to indicate the suffix purely as a historical spelling, while it was realised as */š/*. In that case both *-y²* and *-^{2y}* can be explained as the historical spelling *y* combined with a phonetic complement ² representing */š/*. As the distribution of these *y*-forms does not indicate a special area for this use, the texts with these forms originate from Carthage, Constantine, Guelma, Sousse and Lepcis Magna, we opt for the second solution. Note also that twice the suffix *-y* with occurs both in combination with *ql* and with *brk*: *qly brky* in CIS i 4620 and *ql^{2y} tbrk^{2y}* in CIS i 4635. Also CIS i 3709 *yšm^c ql^c ybrky²* may be adduced to support the second solution.

The existence of a suffix of the 3d. p. sg. masc. *-m* is so well established that it does not require any discussion. Note, however, that all the examples are masculine.

In some instances the representation of the suffix is *ø*, cf.:

šm^c ql brk²

Bm Constantine 18.

šm² ql brk²

Bm Constantine 58, 68

brk² šm^c q²l

B&Tm Constantine 67.

tšm ql

[]m CIS i 1144.

šm^c ql tbrk

T&Bm CIS i 2521.

tšm^c ql brk²

B&Tf Constantine 103.

tšm^c ql brk

T&Bm CIS i 3962.

yšm^c ql ybrk

[]Bm CIS i 2723.

tšm^c ql tbrk²

T&Bm CIS i 4893.

tšm^c ql tbrk

T&Bm CIS i 4872.

²See PPG3, p. 66.

k šm^c ql

T&Bm CIS i 726, 890, 2457, 4066, 4520.

[]Bm CIS i 974, 2447.

[]m CIS i 2124.

k šm^c ql dbrw

T&Bm CIS i 3784 (for this interpretation cf. e.g. Jouon, *Museon*, 1924 p. 158 :: CIS a.l.: l. .. dbr w, combining w with the first lines.)

k šm^c ql brk²

T&Bm CIS i 638, 1077, 4307, 4777, 5705.

k šm^c ql brkm

[]m Sousse 20.

k^cn k^cn brk² šm² ql

Bf Tunisia OU N 7.

k šm^c ql ybrk²

[]Bm CIS i 2394.

k šm^c ql ybrk.

T&Bm CIS i 2642.

k šm^c ql tbrk²

Sm Antas 8

k šm^c ql tbrk

T&Bm CIS i 4234, 5717.

k šm ql tbrk

[]Bm CIS i 2096 (ed.: *k* = last sign of PN *brk*)

cf. also

k šm²²

Bm Arseu N 1.

In many instances this will be due to an oversight of scribe or stonemason, but in some cases this might be an example of archaic orthography.

4. The spelling of *šm^c*.

By far the most attested form is the regular historical spelling *šm^c*, which occurs 436 times³. From the number of times where the dedicatee is Bal (Ammun), or Bal (Ammun) together with Tinnit, it is clear that in this spelling at least there is no differentiation between singular and plural. It is, of course, clear that this spelling does not give any information on the pronunciation of this verbal form. The second best in numbers of occurrence is *šm²*, where the ² at the end indicates the pronunciation /šamō/. Also in this case singular and plural do not seem to be differentiated⁴. This spelling which may be called regular but a-historical, occurs 166 times.

Another spelling, which also may be called regular but a-historical is *šcm²*, where also the first vowel is indicated. This spelling only occurs nine times⁵. Less regular in the indication of the second vowel, supposing this to be /ō/, is the spelling *šmh*. This may be explained as an indication of the realisation /šama/. However, this spelling only occurs five times⁶. The spelling *š^cmh⁷*, where /a/ is indicated by ^c in the first syllable, makes this solution less

³Dedicatee: B 131, TB 189, BT 36, T 2, YB 2, A 1, E 1, M 2, S 1, ? 71.

⁴Dedicatee: B 40, TB 94, BT 5, Y 1, ? 26.

⁵Dedicatee: B 2, BT 2, YB 1, Y 2, ? 2.

⁶Dedicatee: B 4, BT 1.

⁷Dedicatee: B 1.

probable. Perhaps an explanation as an incorrect historical spelling (*h* instead of *c*) is the best solution.

Interesting is the spelling *šm^c*, only occurring three times⁸. The most probable explanation is to suppose that the first three signs are meant as the historical spelling of the word /*šamō*/, whereas the following ^c is used as a phonetic complement to indicate the realisation of the vowel /*ō*/ in the second syllable. Twice the spelling *šm^c* occurs⁹, which may be explained in the same way, supposing that the person who used this spelling thought that the spelling *šm^c* represented the historical orthography.

Although it is with some reservations, we are inclined to suppose the spelling *šm*, occurring fourteen times¹⁰, is a rigorous vowelless indication of /*šamō*/.

The following spellings are most probably misspellings for *šm^c*: *šmd* (? 1), *m^c* (B 1), *šc* (B 1, TB 2, ? 1) and *š^cm* (TB 3). We are inclined to explain *šmn* (? 1), *šk^c* (TB 1) and *š^c* (BT 1) as misspellings of *šm^c*. The three attestations of *šbc* (B 2, TB 1) have been adduced as proof of the realisation of the original labial stop *b* as a labial fricative. The number of other misspellings makes the explanation as lapsus at least as acceptable if not more so. The spelling *ym^c* (BT 1) is, of course also a lapsus for *šm^c*.

The spellings of *šm^c* following *w*, occurring only thirteen times, show comparable variation: *wšm^c* (B 3, ? 1), *wšm^c* (B 3, BD 1, ? 1), *wšmh* (B 1), *wš^cm^c* (B 2), apart from *wšmw* (B 1), in which *w* is used to indicate /*ō*/.

The far less frequent forms of the prefix-conjugation also exhibit the same variation. The historical spellings *yšm^c*¹¹ and *tšm^c*¹² are the most frequent again, occurring 68 times.

The spelling indicating a vowel /*ō*/ in the second syllable, *tšm^c*, occurs twelve times¹³, and there are three forms ending in ^c, where ^c is used as a phonetic complement, *yšm^c* (TB 2) and *tšm^c* (TB 1). Lack of any vowel indication four times, in *tšm* (TB 3, ? 1). For the spelling *tšmh* (B 1), cf. our remarks on *šmh*, supra.

Enigmatic are the two instances of *tš^cm^c* (B 2), which seem to point to a realisation /*tāšamō*/ . Most probably this is either a lapsus for *tšm^c* or a misspelling as the result of a confusion of the prefix- and suffixconjugation.

⁸Dedicatee: TB 1, Y 1, M 1.

⁹Dedicatee: B 1, ? 1.

¹⁰Dedicatee: B 2, TB 8, BT 1, ? 3.

¹¹Dedicatee: TB 5, ? 4.

¹²Dedicatee: B 15, TB 27, BT 10, ? 7.

¹³Dedicatee: B 7, TB 2, BT 3.

Preceded by *w* only historical orthography is attested: *wyšmc* (BTBB 1, TB 1), *wišmc* (B 1), while in the formations preceded by the precativ particle only the formation in ² is found: *lšm²* (B 1), *lyšm²* (B 1). Once the vowel following *š* is indicated: *lšcm²* (B 1).

5. The spelling of *brk²*.

The spelling of the different forms of *brk* are more interesting in view of the representation of the suffix pronoun, for which v. supra, than otherwise. Regular formations, with different suffix pronouns, are *brk²¹⁴*, *brkm¹⁵*, *brky¹⁶*, *brky²¹⁷*, *brkn¹⁸*, *wbrk²¹⁹*, *ybrk²²⁰*, *ybrky²¹*, *ybrky²²²*, *ybrkm²³*, *wybrk²²⁴*, *wybrky²⁵*, *tbrk²²⁶*, *tbrky²²⁷*, *tbrkm²⁸*, *tbrkn²⁹*, *wtbrk²³⁰*. Without any vowel indication occur *brk³¹*, *ybrk³²* and *tbrk³³*.

Only in a few instances vowels in the verbal form are indicated. *b^crk²³⁴*, *wb^crk²³⁵* and *b^hrk²³⁶* point to a vowel, probably /a/ following *b*, as is corroborated by the Greek representation βαραχω³⁷, while *br^ck²³⁸* indicates a vowel /a/ following *r*.

In several instances we find spelling problems which are due to the scribe or the stonemason. Sometimes characters have been interchanged: *bdk²³⁹*

¹⁴B 166, TB 66, BT 46, BD 1, E 1, YB 1, M 1, ? 33.

¹⁵B 8, BT 2, ? 1.

¹⁶TB 3.

¹⁷BT 2, ŠM 1.

¹⁸B 1.

¹⁹B 4, TB 1, BT 1, YB 1, ? 1.

²⁰TB 37, B 2, Š 1, ? 9.

²¹BTBB 1, ? 2.

²²TB 5, ? 1.

²³TB 2, M 2.

²⁴B 1.

²⁵? 1.

²⁶TB 35, BT 1, T 2, Š 1, ? 11.

²⁷TB 1, ? 1.

²⁸B 1.

²⁹TB 1.

³⁰? 1.

³¹BT 1, TB 8.

³²TB 4, ? 3.

³³TB 5, ? 3.

³⁴B 2, ? 3.

³⁵YB 1.

³⁶B 1.

³⁷KAI 175.

³⁸B 1.

³⁹B 1; or has the text been misread by the editor?

or *brn*⁴⁰ for *brk*² and *tpr*⁴¹ for *tbrk*². Sometimes one or more signs are inadvertently missing: *br*⁴², *bk*⁴³ for *brk*² and *ybr*⁴⁴ for *ybrk*², *tbr*⁴⁵ for *tbrk*².

Very strange, of course, is the expression *k šm ql² rb*, which is supposed to be a corruption of *k šm[²] ql² brk[²]*, or something similar. Elsewhere in this text, CIS i 4821, the expression *hrb* occurs, which may have triggered the confusion.

⁴⁰? 1; also *k* and *n* are sometimes difficult to distinguish.

⁴¹TB 1; A fresh examination of the stone might bring to light that *p* should be read as *b* and the second *r* as *k*. In both cases the signs are not always easily differentiated.

⁴²B 1, ? 1.

⁴³B 2.

⁴⁴? 1.

⁴⁵TB 1.

Catalogue

1 Formulae without introduction

1.1 One verbal form without prefixed element

1.1.1 verbal form of $\check{s}m^c$

$\check{s}m^c$

Bm EH 234.

$\check{s}m^c ql^p$

T^lBm CIS i 3028, 3608.

T^lBf CIS i 2593.

B^lTm CIS i 4943.

Bm Constantine 13, EH 18, 42, 114, Constantine N 23, 81.

m Constantine N 45.

[]*m* Constantine N 63.

$\check{s}m^c ql^p$

T^lBm CIS i 4548.

Bf CIS i 5939.

$\check{s}m^c ql^p$

[] CIS i 3903.

[$\check{s}$]*m^c ql^p*

T^lBm CIS i 3772.

$\check{s}m^c ql^p$

T^lBm CIS i 3547.

$\check{s}m^c ql^p$

T^lBm CIS i 3585.

$\check{s}m^p ql^p$

Bm EH 41, 63.

T^lBm CIS i 914, 2870, 3598, 4850.

T^lBf CIS i 2051, 4718.

B^lTm Tirekbine N 1.

Ym Teboursouk N 11.

$\check{s}m^p ql^p$

T^lBf CIS i 1939.

$\check{s}m^p ql^p$

m Teboursouk N 12.

$\check{s}m^{c\omega} ql^p$

Ym Teboursouk N 6.

$\check{s}m^{\omega\omega} ql^p$

m Arseu N 2.

$\check{s}mn ql^p$

[]*m* CIS i 5268.

$\check{s}m ql^p$

Bm EH 121.

$\check{s}m^c ql$

[] CIS i 2435.

$\check{s}^cm^p \omega_t ql^p$

Ym Teboursouk N 8.

$\check{s}m^c \omega_t qlm$

Bm EH 103.

$\check{s}m^p \omega_t ql^p$

B^lTm Constantine 3.

$\check{s}^cm^p ql^p$

T^lBm CIS i 5718.

[$\check{s}$] $\check{s}^cm^p qly$

B[] EH 200.

$\check{s}^cm^p qlm$

Ym Teboursouk N 5.

1.1.2 Verbal form of $\check{s}m^c$ introduced by *w*.

wš^cm[ʔ] ʔt qwl^ʔ

Bm Guelma N 28.

[w]šm^c ql^ʔ

Bm Guelma N 33.

1.1.3 verbal form of *brk*

brk^ʔ

TšBm CIS i 570, 4300.

TšBf CIS i 4740, 4746.

Bm Hr. Meded N 11.

brk

BšTm EH 22.

brk[ʔ]

TšBm CIS i 3263.

Bm EH 250.

br[k^ʔ]

TšBf CIS i 3325.

1.2 Two verbal forms without prefixed elements

1.2.1 containing verbal forms of *šm^c* and *brk*, with extensions

šm^c ql^ʔ brk^ʔ

TšBm CIS i 238, 5706.

BšTm Constantine 51, 90, EH 85, 106, 184, 215, Constantine N 39, 44.

Bm Hr. Maktar N 1, 40, Hr. Meded N 20, Tunisia OU N 9, Constantine 78, 88, EH 1, 40, 45, 86, 88, 102, 134, 144, 148, 165, Constantine N 6, 7, 8, 15, 28, 32, 36, 47, 65, 74, Oudjel N 1.

Bf Tunisia OU N 14.

B[EH 31, 218.

[]m Constantine 65, EH 59, Constantine N 9.

[]B[Constantine 114.

š[m]^c ql^ʔ brk^ʔ

Bm Constantine N 1, 20.

[šm]^c ql^ʔ brk^ʔ

[]m CIS i 714.

[] Constantine N 1.

šm^c [ql]^ʔ brk^ʔ

TšBm CIS i 4438.

[šm^c] ql^ʔ brk^ʔ

TšBm CIS i 714, 1825.

šm^c ql^ʔ b[rk^ʔ]

Bm Constantine 101.

Bf Tunisia OU N 10.

šm^c qlm brkm

BšTf+m Constantine 112, Constantine N 56 (or

f ?).

šm^ʔ qlm brkm

Bp Hr. Meded N 21.

šm^c qln brkn

Bp Hr. Maktar N 110.

šm^ʔ ql^ʔ brk^ʔ

TšBm CIS i 640, 3770.

Bm Hr. Maktar N 12, Constantine 57, 72, 91, EH 34, 35, 50, 53, 117, 140, 189, Tunisia OU N 5.

[]B[] CIS i 3246

[]m Constantine 113, EH 33.

[š]m^ʔ ql^ʔ br[k^ʔ]

[]m Hr. Meded N 19.

šmh ql^ʔ brk^ʔ

Bm Constantine 26, EH 141.

[š]^cmḥ qlm brk[m]

Bp Dougga N 2.

šb^c ql^o brk^o

Bm Constantine 29.

š^c ql^o brk^o

Bm Constantine N 30.

šm^c ql^c brk^o

Bm EH 151.

[š]m^c ql^c brk^o

Bm EH 136.

š^cm^o ql^o brk^o

Bf CIS i 3244 (NP).

šm^c ql brk^o

Bm Constantine 18.

šm^o ql brk^o

Bm Constantine 58, 68.

šmḥ lq^o brk^o

BḪTm Constantine N 33.

šm^o ʔt qlm brk^o

Bm EH 142.

š^cm^o ʔt qwl^o b^crk^o

Bm Hr. Maktar N 9.

š[m^c ʔt] ql^o br[k^o]

Bm Tunisia OU N 16.

š^cm^o qwl^o b^cr[k^o]

[]m Hr. Maktar N 74.

šm^o ql^o b^crk^o

[] Tunisia OU N 6.

šm^o ql^o brk ʔt^o.

TḪBf CIS i 580.

šm^c qly^o brn^o

[]f CIS i 5010.

šm^o ql^o bk^o

Bm EH 78.

šm ql^o br[k^o]

Bm EH 20.

1.2.2 containing a verbal form of šm^c, and a verbal form of brk preceded by w

šm^c ql^o wbrk^o

Bm Dougga N 1.

[]m EH 265.

šm^c ʔt ql^o wbrk^o

YBm TebourSouk N 10.

š^cm^o ʔt ql^o wb^crk^o

YBm Ksiba Mraou N 7.

1.2.3 verbal form of brk followed by a form of šm^c

brk^o šm^c ql^o

BḪTm Constantine 67.

Bm Constantine 74.

[] Constantine N 38.

brk^o šm^o ql^o

TḪBm CIS i 1342.

Bm Constantine N 17.

brk^o šm^c ql

[] Constantine 52.

1.2.4 containing a verbal form of brk, and a verbal form of šm^c preceded by w

brk^o wšm^c ql^o

Bm Constantine N 25.

[brk]^o wšm^c ql^o

[]m Constantine N 2.

br^ck^o wšmw ql^o

Bm Guelma N 31. [] CIS i 5211.
 brk² wšm² ʔt ql² tšm[^c ql²]

BšDm Constantine N 55. TšBm CIS i 237.
 bhrk² wšmh ql² tšm ql²

Bm Constantine 62. TšBf CIS i 4664.
 tšm ql[²]

1.3 One verbal form with prefixed element
 TšBm CIS i 4938.

1.3.1 verbal form of šm^c (with prefixed personal element y-)
 tšm^c qlm
 m CIS i 3921.

yšm^c ql² tšm ql
 TšBm CIS i 391. []m CIS i 1144.

[y]šm^c ʔlm ql²
 []m CIS i 193.

yšm^{c2} ql[²] TšBm CIS i 4358.

1.3.2 verbal form of šm^c (with prefixed personal element t-)
 ybrk
 TšBm CIS i 4022.

tšm^c ql² []m CIS i 2098.

TšBm CIS i 252, 1180, 3745, y]brk
 4527, 4886, 4924, 5708, 5722, TšBm CIS i 540.
 Sousse 3.

[]m CIS i 506, 2775, 5146.

Bm EH 107, 245. []Tm CIS i 4949.

tšm² ql² ybrky
 TšBm CIS i 411, 2075, 4477.

BšTm Constantine N 82.
 [] EH 83.

tšm² q[l]² TšBf CIS i 4726.

tšm[^c] q[l]² TšBm CIS i 4268.

tš[m^c] ql² []Bm CIS i 3619, 5151.

1.3.3 verbal form of brk (with prefixed personal element y-)

ybrk²
 TšBm CIS i 4559.

ybrk
 TšBm CIS i 4022.

[]m CIS i 2098.

y]brk
 TšBm CIS i 540.

ybrky
 []Bm CIS i 3737.

[]Tm CIS i 4949.

1.3.4 verbal form of brk (with prefixed element t-)

tbrk²
 TšBm CIS i 3785, 5507.

TšBf CIS i 4734, 5924.

BšTm EH 172⁴⁶.

Tm CIS i 3793.

[]Bm CIS i 3619, 5151.

⁴⁶ Röllig's proposal to read *brk tbrk²*, *brk* being an inf. absolute seems highly improbable.

[]m CIS i 2487.

tb[rk²]

T&Bm CIS i 381.

tjbrk²

T&Bf CIS i 280.

tbrk

[]m CIS i 3797.

Jtbrk

[]f CIS i 1427.

tpr²

T&Bm CIS i 4469.

1.3.5 verbal form of *hnn* (with prefixed element *t-*)

thn²

T&Bm CIS i 196.

1.4 Two verbal forms, one with prefixed element

1.4.1 containing a verbal form of *šm^c* and *brk* (with prefixed personal element *y-*)

šm² ql² ybrk²

T&Bm CIS i 3911.

1.4.2 containing a verbal form of *šm^c* and *brk* (with prefixed personal element *t-*)

šm^c ql² tbrk²

T&Bm CIS i 4429.

[šm]^c ql² tb[rk]

T&Bm CIS i 3048.

šm^c ql tbrk

T&Bm CIS i 2521.

šm^c ql² t[

Bm Constantine 76.

1.4.3 verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *y-*) followed by a verbal form of *brk*

yšm^c ql² brk²

m EH 65.

yšm^c qly brky or yšm^c ql ybrky ?

T&Bf CIS i 4620.

1.4.4 verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *t-*) followed by a verbal form of *brk*

tšm^c ql² brk²

T&Bm CIS i 4024.

B&Tm Constantine 66, 73, 81, EH 3, 130, 133, 180.

Bm Constantine 80, 110, 117, EH 5, 125, 126, 127, 139, 146, 162, Constantine N 52, 61, 72.

tšm^c ql^c brk²

B&Tm EH 4.

tšm^c ql brk²

B&Tf Constantine 103.

tšm^c ql brk

T&Bm CIS i 3962.

tšm² ql² brk²

B&Tm EH 2, 231.

Bm EH 46, 47, 119, 145, 232.

Bf EH 67.

tšm^h ql² brk²

Bm Constantine 24.

tšm^c ql² bk²

Bm EH 70.

1.4.5 verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *t-*) followed by verbal form of *šm^c*

tbrk^o šm^o [ql^o]

TšBm CIS i 1577

1.4.6 verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *t-*) followed by a verbal form of *brk* preceded by *w-*

tšm^o ql^o wbrk^o

BšTm EH 80

tšc^m ql^o wb^crk^o

Bm EH 161.

1.5 Two verbal forms with prefixed elements

1.5.1 verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *y-*) followed by a verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *y-*)

yšm^c ql^o ybrk^o

TšB[] CIS i 195.

[S]m Antas 2.

yšm^[c] ql^o ybrk^o

TšBm CIS i 1115.

[y]šm^[c] ql^o ybrk^o

TšBm CIS i 4417.

yšm^c [ql^o yb]r[k^o]

TšBm CIS i 380.

yšm^c ql^o ybrk

TšBf CIS i 3822.

yšm^c ql ybrk

[]Bm CIS i 2723.

yšm^{co} ql^{co} ybrky^o

TšBm CIS i 3709.

1.5.2 verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *t-*), followed by a verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *y-*)

tšm^o ql^o ybrk^o

TšBm CIS i 4320.

[]m CIS i 4835.

tš[m^c] ql^o ybrk^o

TšBf CIS i 3226

tšm^{co} ʔyt qlm ybrky^o

TšBm CIS i 3604.

1.5.3 verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *t-*), followed by a verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *t-*)

tšm^c ql^o tbrk^o

TšBm CIS i 1109, 4372, 4398, 4579, 4839, 5657.

[]m CIS i 178.

TšBf CIS i 4642.

tšm^c ql^o tbr[k^o]

TšBm CIS i 3976.

tšm^c ql^o tb[rk^o]

TšBm CIS i 4045.

tšm^c ql tbrk^o

TšBm CIS i 4893.

tšm^c ql^o t[b]rk

[]m CIS i 3759.

tšm^c ql tbrk

TšBm CIS i 4872.

tšm^o ql^o tbrk^o

TšBm CIS i 5709.

tšm^o ql^o tbrkm

Bm Tunisia OU 5.

tšm^o q[l tbrk]

TšBm CIS i 2944.

tšm l^o tbrk

TšBm CIS i 5597.

1.5.4 verbal form of *hnn* (with prefixed element *t-*) followed by verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *t-*)

thn^o tbrk^o

[] CIS i 5891.

1.5.5 verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *y-*) followed by a verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *y-*) preceded by *w-*

yšm^c ql^o wybrky

[] *m* CIS i 5226.

1.5.6 verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *t-*) followed by a verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *t-*) preceded by *w-*

tšm^o ql^o wtbrk^o

[] CIS i 5483.

1.5.7 verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *y-*) followed by verbal form of *šm^c* (with prefixed element *y-*) preceded by *w-*

ybrky wyšm^c ql^c d^c lm

BTBBm CIS i 3778.

2 Formulae introduced by *w-*

2.1 One verbal form without prefixed element

2.1.1 verbal form of *šm^c*

wšm^c ql^o

Bm EH 79.

wšm^o ql^o

B[] EH 264.

Bm Guelma N 32.

wšm^o qly

Bm Guelma N 22.

wš^cm^o qwl^o

Bm Guelma N 20.

wšm^o ʔ_t ql^o

Bm Guelma N 34.

wš^cm^o ʔ_t qwl^o

Bm Guelma N 19, 25, 26.

2.2 Two verbal forms with prefixed elements

2.2.1 containing verbal forms of *šm^c* and *brk* (both with prefixed personal element *y-*)

wyšm^o ql^o ybrk^o

TšBm CIS i 5690.

3 Formulae introduced by the particle *k* (and related forms)

3.1 One verbal form without prefixed elements

3.1.1 Verbal form of *šm^c*

k šm^c

BšTm EH 75.

[k š]m^o

TšBm CIS i 2848.

k šm^o

<i>Bm</i>	Arseu N 1.	<i>T&Bf</i>	CIS i 1453.
<i>k šm^c ql^p</i>		<i>k š[m^c] ql^p</i>	
<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 185, 194, 331, 338, 450, 516, 799, 806, 835, 899, 1359, 1393, 1461, 2001, 2016, 2068, 2147, 2198, 2617, 2684, 2688, 2724, 2915, 2971, 3529, 3764, 3935, 4010, 4050, 4104, 4118, 4146, 4187, 4212, 4218, 4265, 4298, 4328, 4381, 4415, 4418, 4431, 4473, 4508, 4519, 4803, 4842, 4846, 5522, 5596, 5721, 5723.	[] <i>m</i>	CIS i 5616.
		<i>k š[m^c] ql^p</i>	
		[]	CIS i 5205.
		<i>k šm[^c ql]^p</i>	
		<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 1255.
		<i>k š[m^c q]l^p</i>	
		<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 1405.
		<i>k šm[^c ql]^p</i>	
		<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 2872.
<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 253, 712.	[<i>k</i>] <i>šm^c ql^p</i>	
<i>T&Bf</i>	CIS i 371, 600, 675, 770, 4773, 5014.	<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 1859.
		[] <i>m</i>	CIS i 5157, 5857.
[] <i>Bm</i>	CIS i 1508, 1537.	[<i>k š</i>] <i>m^c ql^p</i>	
[] <i>m</i>	CIS i 1016, 1550, 1800, 1845, 4999, 5192, 5216, 5885.	<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 328, 1327, 3558.
[] <i>f</i>	CIS i 3824.	[] <i>f</i>	CIS i 5012.
<i>B&Tm</i>	Constantine 36, 59, Constantine N 76.	<i>k šm^c [ql]^p</i>	
<i>Bm</i>	Constantine 92, EH 235.	<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 2039.
[]	CIS i 526, 5479, 5480, 5482, EH 61, 62.	<i>k šm[^c ql]^p</i>	
<i>k šm^c ql[^p]</i>		<i>T&B[]</i>	CIS i 1007.
<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 247, 449, 904, 3278.	[] <i>m</i>	CIS i 5236.
<i>k šm^c [q]l[^p]</i>		<i>k [šm^c ql]^p</i>	
<i>Bm</i>	EH 68.	<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 2711.
<i>k šm^c q[^p]</i>		<i>k šmd ql^p</i>	
<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 2108 (= 549).	[] <i>m</i>	CIS i 2867.
<i>T&Bf</i>	CIS i 3638.	<i>k šm^c qlh</i>	
[] <i>m</i>	CIS i 3618.	<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 5608.
<i>k šm^c [ql]^p</i>		<i>k šm^c ql</i>	
<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 3588.	<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 726, 890, 2457, 4066, 4520.
		[] <i>Bm</i>	CIS i 974, 2447.
		[] <i>m</i>	CIS i 2124.

k šm^c [ql]

TšBm CIS i 2974 (= 568).

m šm^c [ql^o]

TšBm CIS i 4440.

k šm^o ql^o

TšBm CIS i 213, 363, 673, 674, 782, 962, 2109, 2159, 2271, 2432, 2494, 2859, 3050, 3679, 4027, 4060, 4063, 4138, 4149, 4264, 4325, 4342, 4355, 4371, 4426, 4485, 4487, 4556, 4797, 4834, 4870, 4871, 5606, 5637, 5660, 5707, 5720.

TšBf CIS i 624, 2646, 3557, 3906, 4614, 4629, 4701, 4724, 4767, 4808, 4816.

[]Bm CIS i 480

[]m CIS i 373, 2844, 2866, 5215, 5224.

[]f CIS i 1490, 4646.

[] CIS i 1869, 5508.

k šm^o [ql^o]

TšBm CIS i 4345, 4439.

k [š]m^o ql^o

[] CIS i 5198.

k šm^o ql^o]

TšBm CIS i 5719.

k šm^o q[^o]

TšBm CIS i 4260, 5903.

k^o šm^o [ql^o]

TšBm CIS i 2595.

b šm^o ql^o

TšBm CIS i 616.

k šm^{co} ql^o

TšBm CIS i 953.

k šm ql^o

TšBm CIS i 973, 3771, 4012.

TšBf CIS i 3829.

k š[m] ql^o

[] CIS i 2448.

[k] šm ql^o

TšBm CIS i 2672.

k šm ql

TšBm CIS i 3399.

k š^c ql^c

TšBf CIS i 2005.

k šm^c ql dbry

Bm ICO Malta 4, Sard 39, Motya 23, 24.

k šm^c ql dbrw

TšBm CIS i 3784.

k šm^c ql db[r]nm

Amšm ICO Spa 16.

k šm^c ql^o ^cd p^cmt brbm

[]š[]m ICO Sard 34.

3.1.2 containing a verbal form of *brk*

k brk^o

Bm EH 108.

3.2 Two verbal forms without prefixed elements

3.2.1 containing verbal forms of *šm^c* and *brk*.

k šm^c ql^o brk^o

TšBm CIS i 182, 242, 275, 670, 671, 680, 702, 800, 809, 873, 1217, 1261, 2015, 2183, 2377, 2438, 2618, 3601, 4002, 4191, 4404,

- 4504, 5582, EH 120.
BḪTm Constantine 71, 98, 105, EH 123, 131, 132, Constantine N 42, 75
TḪBf CIS i 677, 810.
 []*m* CIS i 996, 5188, 5715, Constantine 11, EH 266.
 [] CIS i 1758.
Bm Constantine 12, 14, 31, 53, 63, 75, 77, EH 15, 44, 56, 76, 94, 128, 158, Constantine N 31, 34, 62, 80, Hr. Maktar N 104.
Em Lepcis IPT 18.
YBm Constantine 15.
 [k] *šm^c ql^o brk^o*
TḪBm CIS i 2977.
k šm^c ql^o brk^o
 []*Bm* CIS i 3245.
 [k *š*]*m^c ql^o brk^o*
TḪBm CIS i 545, EH 81.
k šm^c ql^o [brk^o]
 []*m* CIS i 991.
k šm^c ql^o br[k^o]
TḪBm CIS i 2517, 4069.
TḪBf CIS i 4706.
 []*m* CIS i 1936.
k šm^c ql^o b]rk^o
Bm EH 8.
k šm^c ql^o [brk^o]
TḪBf CIS i 395. *k šm^c ql^o brk^o]*
TḪBm CIS i 274.
k [šm^c ql^o] brk^o
B[] EH 236.
 [k *š*]*m^c ql^o brk^o*
- TḪBm* CIS i 1046.
 [k *šm^c ql^o] brk^o*
TḪBf CIS i 321.
 [k] *šm^c ql^o b^crk^o*
 []*m* CIS i 3135.
k šb^c ql^o brk^o
Bm Constantine 37.
k^o šm^c ql^o brk^o
BḪTm Constantine 61, EH 37, 49, 116, 137, 143, 152.
Bm Constantine 1, 19, 28, Constantine N 10, 57, 59, 60, 77.
 [] EH 51.
 [k]^o *šm^c ql^o brk^o*
BḪTm EH 109.
kḫ šm^c ql^o brk^o
Bm Tunisia OU N 8, EH 251, Constantine 83, Hr. Maktar N 10.
kḫ [šm^c [q]l^o] brk^o
Mf Hr. Maktar N 2.
k^c šm^c ql^o brk^o
BḪTm Constantine 99, EH 182.
Bm Hr. Maktar N 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 108, Tunisia OU N 1, 2, Constantine N 69.
 []*m* Hr. Maktar N 88.
k^c šm^c qlm brkm
Bp Hr. Maktar N 105, 112.
 [k^c] *šm^c ql^o [brk^o]*
Bm Hr. Maktar N 97.
k šm^o ql^o brk^o

- T&Bm* CIS i 2000, 2455, 4044, 4051, 4129, 4154, 4186, 4592.
T&Bf CIS i 1362, 2411.
[]m CIS i 2590, EH 74, 113.
[] CIS i 538.
Bm Tunisia OU N 15, Constantine 21, 34, 40, 102, EH 87, 147, 149, Constantine N 16, 58.
[k] šm^o ql^o brk^o
T&Bm CIS i 2256.
k šm^o ql^o b[rk]^o
[]m CIS i 319.
k šm^o [q]l^o brk^o
[]m Constantine 89.
k šm^o ql^o br[k^o]
T&Bm CIS i 258, 1501.
[k šm]^o ql^o brk^o]
T&Bm CIS i 1995.
[k š]m^o ql^o brk^o]
T&Bm CIS i 4394.
k šm^o ql^o br[k]^o]
T&Bm CIS i 3564.
k^o šm^o ql^o brk^o
B&Tm EH 138, Constantine N 79.
Bm EH 28, 58, 82.
[]m Constantine 33.
k^o [š]m^o ql^o brk^o
Bm Constantine 85.
k^c šm^o ql^o brk^o
Bm Constantine 111.
k^c šm^o qlm brkm
Bm EH 160.
k š^cm ql brk^o]
- T&Bm* CIS i 5654.
k šm ql^o brk^o
B&Tm EH 183.
k š^cm^o ql^o brk^o
B&Tm EH 69.
k^o šmh ql^o brk^o
Bm Constantine 70.
k ym^c ql^o brk^o
B&T[] EH 60.
k š^c ql^o brk^o
T&Bm CIS i 2212.
[]m Constantine 109.
k^o š^o ql^o brk^o
B&Tm EH 135.
k m^c ql^o brk^o
Bm Constantine 32.
khn khn šm^c ql^o brk^o
Bm Hr. Maktar N 8.
khn khn šm^c ml^o bdk^o
Bm Hr. Maktar N 5.
p^cn k^cn šm^c ql^o [b]rk^o
Bm Hr. Maktar N 7.
k^o šm^c qlm brkm
Bp H. Medeine N 1.
k^c šm^c qlm brkm
Bp Hr. Maktar N 11, 39, 77.
k šm^c ql brk^o
T&Bm CIS i 638, 1077, 4307, 4777, 5705.
k [šm]^c ql brk^o
T&Bm CIS i 2649.
k š[m^c q]l [brk^o]
T&Bm CIS i 2934.

k šm^c qly brk^o

TĖBm CIS i 3941.

Bm Sousse 9.

k šm^c ql^o brky

TĖBm CIS i 4575, Sousse 25.

k šm^c ql^o br[k]y

[]*m* CIS i 5716.

k šm^c ql^o brky^o

BĖTm Constantine 16; EH 177.

k šm^c ql^o brky^o

ŠĖMp Lepcis IPT 31.

k šb^c ql^c brk^o

TĖBf CIS i 3599.

k^o šm ql^c brk^o

TĖBm CIS i 3390.

[*k š*]*m^h qlk brkm*

Bm+m Hr. Medeine 1.

k šm^c ql^o brk

TĖBm CIS i 511, 678, 2041, 3985.

k šm[^c] ql brk

TĖBm CIS i 2787.

k š^cm ql brk

TĖBm CIS i 4831.

k šm^c ql brkm

[]*m* Sousse 20.

k šm^c ql^o br^o

[]*m* CIS i 488;

Bm EH 179.

3.2.2 containing a verbal form of *šm^c*, and a verbal form of *brk* preceded by *w*

k šm^c ql^o wbrk^o

TĖBm CIS i 4193.

Bm EH 92.

k šm^o ql^o wbrk^o

Bm Constantine N 29.

k^o šm^o ql^o wbrk^o

Bm Constantine N 48.

k šm ql^o rb (lapsus for *brk^o* ?, elsewhere in this text *hrb* occurs)

TĖBm CIS i 4821.

3.2.3 containing a verbal form of *brk* followed by a form of *šm^c*, with extensions

k brk^o šm^c ql^o

Bm EH 188.

k^o brk^o šm^c ql^o

Bm Constantine 23; EH 227.

k^o brk^o šm^c q[l]^o

Bm EH 176.

k^cn k^cn brk^o šm^o ql

Bf Tunisia OU N 7.

3.3 Two verbal forms, one with prefixed element

3.3.1 containing a verbal form of *šm^c* and *brk* (with prefixed personal element *y-*)

k šm^c ql^o ybrk^o

TĖBm CIS i 181, 330, 998, 1387, 1420, 2112, 3001, 4150, 4344, 4434, 4538, 4838, 5704, Sousse 26.

[]*Bm* CIS i 2670.

Bm ICO Sic 5, 10.

[]*m* CIS i 5231, 5255, 5919.

k š[m^c] ql^o ybrk^o

- TʕBm* CIS i 2184.
[k š]m^c ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
TʕBm CIS i 271.
[k šm]^c ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
TʕBm CIS i 4467.
k šm^c [q]l^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
TʕBm CIS i 4117.
k šm^c ql^ɔ [y]brk^ɔ
[]m CIS i 2704.
k šm^c ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
[]m CIS i 5680.
k šm^c ql^ɔ yb[rk^ɔ]
TʕBm CIS i 1471.
TʕBf CIS i 815.
[k šm^c q]l^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
TʕBm CIS i 4283.
k šm^c ql^ɔ yrk^ɔ
TʕBm CIS i 3522.
k šm^ɔ ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
TʕBm CIS i 1021, 2811, 3937,
 4483, 4490, 5917.
TʕBf CIS i 1885, 4628.
[]Bm CIS i 3950.
k šm^ɔ [q]l^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
[]m CIS i 329.
k [šm]^ɔ ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
TʕBm RSF iii, p. 51.
k šm^ɔ ql^ɔ ybrk
[]m CIS i 5851.
k šm ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
[]m CIS i 4807, 5187.
k šk^ɔ ql^ɔ ybrk^ɔ
TʕBm CIS i 2443.

- k šm^c ql^ɔ ybr^ɔ*
[]m CIS i 277.
k šm^c ql^ɔ ybrky^ɔ
TʕBm CIS i 4503.
TʕBf CIS i 4665, 4742.
[] CIS i 4963.
k šm^c ql ybrk^ɔ
[]Bm CIS i 2394.
k šm^c ql ybrk
TʕBm CIS i 2642.
[k] šm^c ql ybrk
TʕBf CIS i 887.
k šm^c qlm ybrkm
TʕBm+f CIS i 5702.
Mmʕm ICO Malta 1, 1bis.
k šm^c ql ybrkm
TʕBm CIS i 197.

3.3.2 containing a verbal form of *šm^c* and *brk*(with prefixed personal element *t-*)

- k šm^c ql^ɔ tbrk^ɔ*
TʕBm CIS i 327, 497, 653, 920,
 2135, 3712, 3961, 4165, 4343,
 4458, 4512, 5518, 5740.
TʕBf CIS i 4771.
Tm CIS i 3777.
[]m CIS i 508, 1100, 5206.
[] CIS i 4894, 5575, 5633.
k šm^c ql^ɔ tbrk^ɔ
[] CIS i 5125bis.
k šm^c ql^ɔ t[b]rk^ɔ
[]m CIS i 4927.
[k š]m^c ql^ɔ tbrk^ɔ

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 4529.

k šm^c ql^o tbr[k²]

*T*ℰ*Bf* CIS i 2933.

k š[m^c] ql^o tb[r]k²

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 3627.

[k šm]^c ql^o tbr[k²]

[] CIS i 2277.

k šm^c] ql^o tbr[k²]

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 3231.

k [šm^c q]l^o tb[rk²]

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 2887.

k šm² ql^o tbrk²

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 180, 4571.

*T*ℰ*Bf* CIS i 4717.

[k šm]² ql^o tbr[k²]

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 852.

k š^cm ql^o t[b]rk²

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 5712.

k šm^c qly tbrk²

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 4464.

k šm^c ql^o tbrk²y

[]m CIS i 5194.

k šm^c ql²y tbrk²y

*T*ℰ*Bf* CIS i 4635.

k šm^c ql^o tbrk

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 5714.

k šm^c ql tbrk²

Sm Antas 8

k šm^c ql tbrk

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 4234, 5717.

k šm ql tbrk

[]Bm CIS i 2096.

k šm^c [q]l^o tbr

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 4069.

k šm^c ql dbrm tbrk

[]Bm CIS i 5688.

3.3.3 containing a verbal form of *šm^c* and of *brk* (with prefixed personal element *y-*) preceded by *w*

k šm^c ql^o wybrk²

Bm Sousse 23.

3.3.4 containing a verbal form of *brk* and *šm^c* (with prefixed personal element *t-*)

k brk² wtšm^c ql^o

Bm EH 129.

k br[k² wšm²] ql^o

m EH 246.

4 Formulae in which the second element is introduced by *k*

4.1 verbal forms with prefixed elements

4.1.1 verbal form of *brk* (with prefixed element *t-*), followed by a verbal form of *šm^c* introduced by *k*

tbrkn k šm^c qln

*T*ℰ*Bm* CIS i 418.

5 Formulae introduced by *l-*

5.1 forms without prefixed elements

5.1.1 containing a verbal form of *šm^c*

lš^cm² 2_t q²l^o

Bm Guelma N 18 (Berthier-Charlier, EH sub 121: $\check{s}^c m$ pro $\check{s} m^c$ in NP 15 (=Guelma N 18), according to FR 31b)

5.1.2 Containing a verbal form of $\check{s} m^c$ and *brk*

$\check{l} \check{s} m^{\circ} q l^{\circ} b r k^{\circ}$

Bm EH 216.

5.2 forms with prefixed elements

5.2.1 containing a verbal form of $\check{s} m^c$ (with prefixed element *y-*) and a verbal form of *brk*

$\check{l} y \check{s} m^{\circ} q l \check{s} b r k^{\circ}$

Bm EH 32.

6 Formula introduced by $\check{s}$

6.1 forms without prefixed elements

6.1.1 containing verbal forms of *brk* and $\check{s} m^c$

$\check{s} b^c r k^{\circ} \check{s} m^{\circ} q l^{\circ}$

Bm Hr. Meded N 23.

7 Incomplete formulae which cannot be attributed to one of the constructions mentioned before.

$\check{s} m^{\circ} t y t [$

Bm EH 181.

$\check{s} m^{\circ} [$

B $\check{E}$ Tm EH 19.

$\check{s}^c m^{\circ} [$

B $\check{E}$ Tm EH 153.

$\check{s} m [$

Bm EH 105, 186.

$t \check{s} [j r k^{\circ}$

T $\check{E}$ Bm CIS i 2466.

$k \check{s} m^c [q l^{\circ} b r] k^{\circ}$

B $\check{E}$ Tm Constantine 48.

$k \check{s} m^c q l^{\circ} [b r k^{\circ}]$

B $\check{E}$ Tm EH 178.

$k \check{s} m^c [q l^{\circ} b r k] ^{\circ}$

$[] m$ Constantine N 40.

$k \check{s} m^c q [$

$[]$ CIS i 5481.

$k \check{s} m [^c q l] ^{\circ} b [$

T $\check{E}$ Bm CIS i 4997.

$k^c \check{s}^c [$

B[] Hr. Maktar N 91.

$k \check{s} m^c q l [$

Bm EH 38.

Tm Sousse 21.

$k \check{s} m^{\circ} q l [$

B $\check{E}$ Tm EH 159.

$k \check{s} m^c [$

T $\check{E}$ Bm CIS i 4495, 4942.

B $\check{E}$ Tm EH 155.

Bm EH 48.

$[] m$ CIS i 4962.

$] k \check{s} m^c [$

T $\check{E}$ Bm CIS i 5574.

$k \check{s} m [j ^{\circ}$

T $\check{E}$ Bm CIS i 4481.

$[]$ CIS i 5506.

$k \check{s} m [$

T $\check{E}$ Bm CIS i 1581, 5693.

B $\check{E}$ Tm EH 154.

<i>k š[m^c ql²]</i>		<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 3107.
<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 1320.	<i>š^c[</i>	
<i>k š[m^c ql²]</i>		<i>Bm</i>	Guelma N 21.
<i>Bf</i>	Constantine 49.	<i>š^c ql²</i>	
<i>k š[m^c ql²] brk²</i>		<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 1136.
<i>Bm</i>	Constantine 86.	<i>T²Bf</i>	CIS i 5541.
<i>k š[</i>		<i>B²Tm</i>	EH 226.
<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 567, 1364.	<i>š^c ql² br[</i>	
<i>B²Tm</i>	EH 185.	<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 1523.
<i>[]m</i>	CIS i 5500.	<i>š² ql²</i>	
<i>k^c[]k²</i>		<i>Bm</i>	CIS i 1328.
<i>B[]</i>	Hr. Maktar N 98.	<i>[]f</i>	CIS i 5015.
<i>š^cm^c ql²</i>		<i>[]</i>	CIS i 2292.
<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 4433, 4904.	<i>š² brk²</i>	
<i>T²Bf</i>	CIS i 3465.	<i>B²Tm</i>	EH 217.
<i>Bm</i>	EH 164.	<i>š^cql² brk²</i>	
<i>š^cm^c ʔt ql²</i>		<i>B[]</i>	Hr. Maktar N 92.
<i>[]</i>	Constantine N 22.	<i>š^cql yb[</i>	
<i>š^cm^c ql</i>		<i>[]m</i>	CIS i 5230.
<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 5494.	<i>š^cql²</i>	
<i>š^cm^h ql²</i>		<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 1728, 5147.
<i>Bm</i>	Constantine N 27.	<i>T²Bf</i>	CIS i 4735.
<i>š^cm^c ql²</i>		<i>B[]</i>	Constantine 39.
<i>[]</i>	Constantine N 35.	<i>[]</i>	CIS i 1633, 5485.
<i>š^cm^c ql² brk²</i>		<i>š^cqlm</i>	
<i>[]</i>	EH 225.	<i>Bm</i>	EH 221.
<i>š^cm^c ql² []brk</i>		<i>š^cql²[</i>	
<i>[]</i>	CIS i 4881.	<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 4301.
<i>š^cm² ql² br[</i>		<i>[]</i>	CIS i 3904.
<i>B²Tm</i>	EH 222.	<i>š²[</i>	
<i>[š^c] ql² brk²</i>		<i>Bf</i>	EH 187.
<i>B²T[]</i>	Constantine 60.	<i>š²</i>	
<i>š^cm^c[</i>		<i>T²Bm</i>	CIS i 514, 5535.

[]	CIS i 2436, 5486, 5627.	<i>Jtbrk[</i>	
<i>m</i>	Teboursouk N 7.	<i>T&B[]</i>	CIS i 2543.
<i>Jl^o brk^o</i>		<i>Jbrk^o</i>	
<i>T&Bm</i>	CIS i 2325.	<i>B&T[]</i>	EH 201.
<i>Jl^o ybrk^o</i>		<i>BYTm</i>	EH 224.
[]	CIS i 3596.	[] <i>m</i>	EH 93.
<i>Jl^o brk^o</i>		...[<i>br</i>]...	
[]	CIS i 1651.	<i>T&B[]</i>	CIS i 2957.
<i>Jtbrk^o</i>		<i>Jrk^o</i>	
<i>T&Bf</i>	CIS i 4626.	[]	CIS i 1782, 5484.

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