d'une manière moins directe: au folio 110vo, il cite des récriminations en vers adressées au sâhib par un certain Abû l-Hasan al-Tabîb: 

\[
abyāl yâšūf fisāhā wa-ta'ahhu urzaqih.
\]


Comme al-Taʿalibi est né en 350/961 (Ṣaḏarût al-ḏahâb, III, 264, s.a. 430, notice plus développée que celle de Ilbar fi l-Jabar man gabar d’al-ḏahâbî, III, Kuwait, 1961, p. 172), il n’y a pas de difficulté chronologique à ce qu’il ait eu des relations personnelles ou épistolaires avec le sâhib; d’autre part, l’ouvrage qui nous a occupé rentre parfaitement dans le cadre de ses activités connues par ailleurs. L’attribution qui n’a pour autorité, nous l’avons vu, que la page de titre du manuscrit peut donc ne pas être fausse, mais dans l’état déficient de notre information, nous préférons suspendre notre jugement, en laissant à de plus compétents l’étude approfondie du document quelque peu décapé des erreurs bibliographiques qui le recouvrèrent.

G. VAJDA

THE 3D PERS. SING. FEM. OF THE PERFECT OF ROOTS III y/w IN ARABIC

W. Wright, Arabic Grammar, I, § 25 (p. 26) gives the following rule:

“The vowel of a syllable that terminates in a consonant, which we call a shurt or compound syllable, is almost always short; as qul, not qūl (Heb. qūl). Generally speaking, it is only in pause, where the final vowels are suppressed, that the ancient Arabic admits of such syllables as in, in, an, etc.” In a Remark to this passage, Wright states: “Before a double consonant a long vowel is however not infrequent . . .” (he refers to dabbat-, etc.). Ibid., § 166, Rem., on the basis of the rule quoted above, Wright gives the following explanation of the 3d pers. sing. fem. of the perfect of the Arabic roots III y/w: “. . . the masc. forms [are] gazd, and not being able to say gazât and ramât (§ 25), they substituted gazât and ramât.”

In agreement with Wright’s rule (l.c., I, § 25, see above), Brockelmann, Grundriss, I, § 41 k, β (p. 63) states: „Da bei jedem länger angehaltenen Vokal die Schallfülle allmählich abnimmt, so duldet das Semit. in geschlossener Silbe ursprünglich nur kurze Vokale.” And again in agreement with Wright, he applies (ibid., § 271, d; p. 619), this rule to the 3d pers. sing. fem. of the perfect of roots III y/w in Arabic.

Long vowels in Semitic (and Arabic) may of course easily be shortened before a sequence of two consonants, although there are numerous instances in which a long vowel in this position remains preserved. On the other hand, it is hard to understand why there should be any phonetic difficulty to pronounce a long vowel followed by a single consonant. And precisely Arabic pause-forms like ad-dâll/ina (beside the context-form ad-dâllâ/lâna) are clear enough examples of the pronounceability of a long vowel followed by (a simple) consonant, and clearly prove that such combinations have existed in ancient Arabic. In modern Arabic dialects, such combinations (long vowel plus consonant in terminal position) are of course extremely frequent.

In the forms of the 3d pers. sing. fem. of the perfect of roots III w/y
in Arabic, we indeed observe a short vowel before the terminal \( t \), e.g., \( \text{gadat} \), \( \text{ramat} \), although we would expect a long vowel in view of the fact that these forms appear to be based on the corresponding masc.-forms, i.e., \( \text{gadā} \) and \( \text{ramā} \).

We must however pay attention to the specific character of the terminal vowel in forms like \( \text{gadā} \), \( \text{ramā} \), etc. The terminal vowel \( ā \) as it appears in these verb forms, or also in nouns like \( \text{dunyā} \), \( \text{fatā} \) (with nunation \( \text{fatan} \), with a short \( a \)), or in the preposition \( \text{ilā} \), etc., represents, according to indigenous grammatical terminology, a so-called \( \text{alif maqsūrah} \), i.e., \( ā \) (n originally) long vowel \( ā \) that can be shortened (in contradistinction to the so-called \( \text{alif mamdūdah} \) which is « protected » by the \( \text{hamzah} \), the glottal-stop sound, as, e.g., \( \text{hamɔn} \), etc.; see, e.g., Wright, l.c., § 7, Rem. b). The frequent shortening of long terminal vowels is also documented by certain forms appearing in poetry as well as by traditions concerning certain Qurʾānic readings (see Brockelmann, l.c., § 42 h).

Moreover, the possible shortening of long terminal vowels is not only characteristic of Arabic, but it represents an early Semitic feature. Proto-Semitic long terminal vowels are considered as « anceps »: one assumes that they could not only appear long (in agreement with their basic quantity), but that they could be easily shortened. We refer with respect to this specific character of proto-Semitic long terminal vowels to Brockelmann, l.c., § 42 g (p. 74).

In view of the facts described above, it can not be doubted that forms of the 3d pers. sing. masc. of the perfect of roots III \( w̱ḻy \), as \( \text{gadā} \) and \( \text{ramā} \) were frequently pronounced \( \text{gada} \) and \( \text{rama} \) with a short terminal \( a \)-vowel. And such forms like \( \text{gadā} \) and \( \text{ramā} \), with a short terminal \( a \)-vowel, could have served as basis for the corresponding fem.-forms no less than the masc.-forms characterized by the original long terminal vowel, i.e., \( \text{gadā} \) and \( \text{ramā} \).

Consequently, it may be assumed that in early times the 3d pers. sing. fem. of the perfect of roots III \( w̱ḻy \) in Arabic could appear in two variations. On the one hand, in agreement with the masc.-forms ending in \( ā \), like \( \text{gadā} \), \( \text{ramā} \), there may have existed fem.-forms of the type * \( \text{gadāt} \), * \( \text{ramāt} \) (which agree with the corresponding forms of Aramaic, as \( \text{ṟmāt} \), fem. to \( \text{ṟmā} \), and have also analogies in certain modern North-African Arabic dialects). On the other hand, it may be assumed that a second type of fem.-forms of roots III \( w̱ḻy \) developed. This type was based on masc.-forms characterized by a shortened terminal vowel \( a \). In other words: masc.-forms like \( \text{gadā} \), \( \text{ramā} \) produced fem.-forms of the type \( \text{gadat} \), \( \text{ramat} \). It is perfectly clear that only one of the originally coexisting two types could survive, and that was the type with a shortened vowel: \( \text{gadat} \), \( \text{ramat} \).

The same explanation applies of course to certain nominal forms of the same type of roots, which, when provided with nunation, display a short vowel instead of the long vowel of the imperative to be expected, as, e.g., \( \text{futan} \) (\( \text{futan-n} \)), beside \( \text{al-futā} \) and \( \text{fatānu} \), etc.

Other well-known instances of the alleged rule of the shortening of long vowels in closed syllables in Arabic are the imperatives as well as the jussive-forms of roots II \( w̱ḻy \) in Arabic, like the imperatives \( \text{qum} \) (with affix: \( \text{qüm} \), etc.), \( \text{bin} \) (with affix: \( \text{bīn} \), etc.), and the jussive-forms \( \text{yaqum} \), \( \text{yabin} \) (with affixes: \( \text{yaqīnū} \), \( \text{yabinū} \), etc.). It is remarkable that \( \text{yaqum} \), etc., is also reflected in Hebrew \( \text{yq̱m̱} \) (\( <\text{yaqun} \)), etc., whereas the Hebrew correspondence to Arabic \( \text{qum} \) is \( \text{q̱m} \), with a long vowel.

The short vowels of these forms of the imperative and jussive, i.e., forms