

*inmutable divinidad no tuvo lucha, la fragilidad asumida tuvo su victoria.* Además de farragosa, la traducción se aparta del texto de Gil al leer *exhibuerit* en lugar de *ex[ib]uerit*, esto es, *exierit*. Por mi parte propondría con ciertas reservas: *quien, sin salir del cielo, por medio del sufrimiento de la condición humana adoptada, presentó a Tu piedad como botín de una ceremonia triunfal la ganancia de las generaciones presentes, y la debilidad que había asumido alcanzó la victoria, sin que la divinidad inmutable trabase combate.*

Por lo que toca a la transcripción del texto latino, me limitaré a señalar algunas erratas y omisiones, por ejemplo en III, p. 216: *per nos* (en realidad, *per uos*) VII,1, p. 243: *de Gehenne (de filio Gehenne)*; VII,3, p. 244: *relegenda (direxi relegenda)*; VII,4, p. 244: *famulo (famulo uestro)*.

En conclusión, la presente contribución, además de proporcionar a los lectores una traducción meritoria, aunque perfeccionable, de los difíciles textos de Elipando, ofrece una síntesis solvente de la historia de la controversia adopcionista y del estado de la cuestión en torno a ésta. A mi juicio, en el estudio únicamente se echa de menos un mayor desarrollo del apartado dedicado a la exposición del cuadro político y social en el que se enmarca la disputa, imprescindible para lograr una interpretación más ponderada de la misma.

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FERRANDO FRUTOS, Ignacio, *Introducción a la historia de la lengua árabe. Nuevas perspectivas* (Zaragoza, 2001), 269 pp.

The present volume is the outcome of a project to provide Spanish students of Arabic with a basic handbook introducing the history of the Arabic language. The author poses a few basic questions to which he intends to suggest answers: What is the history of Arabic? Which is the origin of Arabic? How has the language changed during centuries? Is Arabic one language or a variety subsumed under one label? What does it look like today and what can be said about its future? In order to clarify these questions the author has decided to give a strict chronological presentation of Arabic from its earliest attestations until today. He confesses, however, that he pays less attention to the modern dialects and the different features in the modern literary language, focussing on the main diachronical issues.

After an introductory chapter where he presents the aims and scope of the book together with a discussion about definitions of

Arabs and Arabic, there follows twelve chapters dealing with the main issues in the history of the language: I The Semitic languages and the position of Arabic among them; II Arabic, a southwestern Semitic language: South Arabian (sudarábigo) versus North Arabic (nordarábigo); III Protoarabic; IV The Arabic language before Islam: the different Arabic dialects; V The pre-Islamic koiné of the poets and the language of the Qur'ān; the pre-Islamic poetry, the pre-Islamic prose and the Qur'ān; VI The codification of standard or classical Arabic: structure and tendencies; VII The grammatical study of Arabic and its vision of the language; VIII The appearance of diglossia and the Neo-Arabic language type; IX Middle Arabic; X The genesis of the Neo-Arabic dialects: the case of Andalusian Arabic; XI Modern Standard Arabic: formation, structure and function; XII The present linguistic situation in the Arab world: definition and perspectives. Every chapter is concluded by a bibliographical survey. A full bibliography and an appendix with some short texts by modern and medieval Arabic authors dealing with matters linguistic concludes the book. The bibliography is very good, although (of course) not exhaustive. Especially worth noticing is the many references to modern Arab authors whose works are also often discussed in the main text of the book. Dr. Ferrando shows a familiarity with this literature which is not so common among western arabists as could be expected, and he is often able to show that these writers, in spite of their traditional approach to the matter frequently have interesting things to communicate.

The book contains many passages in Arabic transcribed with the traditional western system which implies some deviations from the Spanish standard. This is well motivated and makes the Spanish students familiar with the international system. Noteworthy is the rendering of *hamz* and 'ayn by ' and ʿ respectively by the author motivated by the aim to emphasize their status as phonemes on the same level as the others, an example that should be followed by other arabists as well. The transcription of texts gives all suffixes and short final vowels except in pausal position. A small flaw is the representation of *hamzat al-waṣl* in some positions where it should not be seen, e.g. *wa-l-'ihtijāj* on p. 19 n. 8 (cf. also *bi-l-'istiḡāq*, p. 20), but correctly in e.g. p. 14 l. 13: *taxtalifu xtilāfan* (so also 178, 179, 180 etc.). A hybrid occurs on p. 181: *l-istiqrār*, cf. e.g. *al-mā al-ḥijāziyya* (p. 86, cf. correctly e.g. *at-tā'u l-marbūṭa*, p. 91 and passim.). There is also a slight inconsistency in the transcription in not rendering initial

*hamzat al-qaṭ'* in the transcribed texts, e.g. *la-nā luġātun adabiyyatun fuṣṣḥā wa-uxrā...* etc. These small details show clearly once again how difficult it is even for a very competent arabist to disentangle himself from the systematic inconsistencies by which arabists are nourished as freshmen. A more irritating feature in Dr Ferrando's book is the high amount of misprints in the text which sometimes makes the reader at a loss whom to suspect, the editor or the author himself. Before a second edition a thorough proof-reading should be made.

The subtitle *Nuevas perspectivas* should perhaps not generate too exalted expectations. There are no dramatic new insights in this book simply because there are no such insights in the field in general. The debate about the classical issues is well known and does not seem to be possible to settle until dramatically new evidence comes up. What we get is a book with an up-dated bibliography and a good presentation of the problems discussed in Arabic studies with thorough references to the different opinions and the scholarly discussion until the beginning of this century. The author shows a sympathetic open-mindedness also for the latest thoughts and suggestions on crucial issues, not shrinking from stating his own opinions. As far as the main classical issue is concerned, i.e. the origin of the two linguistic types Old Arabic and Neo-Arabic, he leans towards the opinions of Diem, Corriente and others in assuming the existence of the latter, or at least a pre-stage of it, already in pre-Islamic times (pp. 137-39, 144-45, 159) even if he admits the likeliness of considerable changes in the spoken language in connection with the great conquests. It remains somewhat unclear to which extent he sees dialects of the Old Arabic type still alive in Arabia at the time of the Prophet. But he sees the Old Arabiyya of the Qur'ān and the poetry as 'un registro elevado', not representing spontaneous everyday speech in Arabia. (pp. 86, 140). The dialectal differences reported by the medieval grammarians are variations within this elevated register which might reflect influence from vernaculars of a Neo-Arabic type (? p. 140). The literary idiom, by Dr. Ferrando labelled *árabe clasico*, could well be called a supertribal koine used for poetry (p. 85) with regional variations. This koine has more eastern than western features; the language of the poetry does not show any regional variation at all, with eastern features more visible in the consonantism and western ones in the vocalism (pp. 77-78). The main difference between the two varieties is, according to Dr. Ferrando, a synthetic trend in the literary language versus an analytical trend in the (proto-)Neo-Arabic (p. 70).

As far as the question of Middle Arabic is concerned the author shows good judgement in emphasizing the continuation of the Middle Arabic phenomenon into modern times: the mixed forms existing today as the result of interference between 'árabe clasico' and the vernacular are of the same kind as those found in the medieval so-called Middle Arabic texts. He is also right in singling out the Judaeo-Arabic variety as a phenomenon on its own in spite of its sharing several features with Christian and Muslim Middle Arabic (p. 157).

Perhaps the most important chapter in the book is the one on Andalusian Arabic where Dr. Ferrando can base himself on the works by Spanish Arabists, including himself, giving a very useful summary of the results achieved by these scholars, often not so well known by their colleagues. The Arabic spoken in al-Andalus appears as a multifarious phenomenon, with a strong Yemeni stratum from the beginning followed by later Syrian, maghrebini and general *badawi*-elements. There were also dialectal differences within al-Andalus. The marked influence from Classical Arabic in later stages was due to increased literacy and influences from the religious institutions. The important conclusion is that there is no trace of a common koine-background, Arabiyya or proto-Neo-Arabic, and no indication of a common pidgin either. There is further no sign of 'corruption' of the 'pure' Arabic by the speakers of Romance (pp. 162-164). The linguistic variation discernible in al-Andalus is the continuation of variation already at hand in the east. Three of the classic attempts to explain the origins of Arabic vernaculars are thus disproved by the Andalusian material.

A crucial question is the definition of the object of study. What is Arabic? Dr. Ferrando tackles this problem in his Introducción (pp. 13-22). Emphasizing the linguistic complexity of Arabic with its two main linguistic poles interacting with each other during at least fourteen centuries the author characterizes Arabic as originally being the 'expresión verbal del pueblo o nación árabe' (p. 15). The designation of the language is thus derived from the people who used it. He then adheres to the definition of the Arab nation as a group of nomadic tribes known as Aribi or Arubu in cuneiform texts from the IX century BC onwards, in the Old Testament and from South Arabia from the 1st century AD onwards (the reference to Ch. Robin's statements in *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet* 1991-1993 (p. 72) should be compared with W. W. Müller's review in *BiOr* 51 [1994], p. 472 and S. Al-Said's analysis in *Arabia Felix. Festschrift*

*Walter Müller* [Wiesbaden, 1994] pp. 263-264). The problems with this are clearly visible (does the term Arab stand for a way of living or a social organisation, i.e. tribes?) and Dr. Ferrando admits its further complications when applied on present-day conditions where we can observe ‘un cierto abuso del término’ due to the interference of the modern nationalist movements in the Arabophone world, a definite understatement. The term Arabic then is only meaningful as a linguistic term. This might be true if we have the whole historical perspective but in that case one would like to see a purely linguistic definition of Arabic. It is remarkable that until now no such definition has been presented. The difficulties turn out to be perhaps unsurmountable. It is indeed extremely difficult to find even one linguistic feature, phonological, morphological, syntactical or even lexical which coincides with what is conventionally labelled as Arabic. Dr. Ferrando rightly emphasizes the linguistic complexity but one looks in vain for a clear statement of the core problem – even in his book. The fact is that Arabic as a linguistic term is based on cultural and political factors, not linguistic ones. Arabic has been used for widely differing linguistic varieties during the centuries both before and after the rise of Islam (cf. J. Retsö, “Das Arabische der vorislamischen Zeit bei klassischen und orientalischen Autoren”, in *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik* [Wiesbaden, 2002], pp. 139-146). The inclusion of the modern dialects in the term is probably quite recent, thus not self-evident. In the Qur’ān the term ‘*arabī*’ clearly stands for the ‘registro elevado’ of the Holy Book which refers to another register called ‘*aḡamī*’, ‘the crooked’, which most likely is a language that we today would call Arabic but which in the Qur’ān is contrasted with the *lisānun ‘arabiyyun mubīn* of the Revelation. Is ‘*aḡamī*’ the forebear of the modern vernaculars which could be heard in Ḥiḡāz around 600 AD?

The problems of definition and delimitation is evident in relation the other Semitic languages of Arabia in pre-Islamic times. Dr. Ferrando is aware of the complications and somewhat hesitantly classifies Lihyanic, Thamudic and Safaitic as ‘árabe’ or more precisely ‘nordarábigo’ (p. 19). It seems that there is an obscurity in the terminology here which perhaps is difficult to solve but one could suggest that the term ‘arábigo’ should be used referring to everything on the peninsula whereas ‘árabe’ would be reserved for what Dr. Ferrando calls ‘nordarábigo’. Spanish, as well as English and French seems to give the possibility to make such a distinction. As a matter of

fact, it is found, although somewhat undecidedly, in the work of Dr. Ferrando's teacher, F. Corriente, who in his *Introducción a la gramática comparada del semítico meridional* (Madrid, 1996) uses the term 'árabe' as an alternative to 'nordarábigo' whereas the languages in Yemen are called 'sudarábigo' (p. 12). For the classification of the pre-Islamic languages of Central and Northern Arabia one should now consult M. C. A. Macdonald: "Ancient North Arabian" in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 488-533. As far as South Arabia is concerned it seems more and more likely that the Modern South Arabian languages should be seen as a group separated from at least ancient Sabaean, Minean and Qatabanian, not representing the modern continuation of these languages (the status of epigraphic Ḥaḍramī remains somewhat uncertain due to the scanty evidence of this language). Dr. Ferrando seems to be of this opinion as well, thus deviating from that of F. Corriente who sees 'sudarábigo' as one complex including both the epigraphic and the modern South Arabian languages.

Dr. Ferrando is a good arabist which is evident from his book which thus definitely deserves to be read by many. He is less secure in other Semitic languages which appears in some doubtful statements. Thus it deserves to be stated that ejective consonants also exist in Modern South Arabian and probably also in some "Arabic" dialects in Yemen, not only in Ethiosemitic (pp. 29-30). The existence of ultra-short vowels in Hebrew and Syriac (pp. 35, 89) is extremely unlikely, at least that such phenomena should be marked in a writing system. Ultra-short vowels are unknown in modern phonology and the *ḥaḥufim* in Tiberian Hebrew indicate something else (morphonemic patterns). It is difficult to recognize what is meant by the statements on *melek/malk* in Hebrew (p. 35) even if the passage is marred by misprint (or bad proof-reading?). From a synchronic view-point *melex* is both absolute and construct state in Hebrew (but only singular!). The form *malk-* is found in the pronominal state (singular!), a distinct category in Hebrew. It is not true any longer that we do not know anything about the personal markers in the perfect tense in Epigraphic South Arabian (p. 37). It is well documented long since that they were k-dialects, just like many "Arabic" dialects in Yemen, which once again raises the problem of definitions. It is also highly questionable if the speakers of Modern South Arabian should be called 'Arabs' (p. 43). Finally, the author follows well established

tradition when distinguishing between laryngal (ʿ, h) and faryngal (ħ, ʕ) consonants (p. 29) in spite of the fact that it is clearly demonstrated now that all four are articulated in the larynx. One here misses references to the works on the subject by A. Denz (“Die phonetische Beschaffenheit der Laryngale und ihre phonologische Systematisierung”, *ZDMG* 114 (1964), pp. 232-238; cf. id., “Struktur des klassischen Arabisch”, in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie I*, [Wiesbaden, 1982], p. 60) and H. Kästner (*Phonetic und Phonologie des moderne Hocharabisch* [Leipzig, 1981]), and why not also S. al-Ani (*Arabic Phonology. An Acoustical and Physiological Investigation* [The Hague, 1970]). He also has difficulties in liberating himself from the idea that *tanwīn* in the Arabiyya is ‘una marca de indeterminación consistente’ (p. 101). The fact is that this morphological element is far from consistent even in the Arabiyya (see the paradigm in Retsö, “State, determination and definiteness in Arabic”, *Orientalia Suecana* 33-35 (1984-1986), pp. 341-346). Whatever it is it simply cannot be an indefinite article or the like since such a definition of the *tanwīn* encounters insurmountable typological and semantic problems. Connected with this is another traditional item in Dr. Ferrando’s picture of Arabic, viz. the absence of a central grammatical category which traditionally is called state (cf. p. 99). A semitist familiar with Akkadian and Aramaic immediately understands the issue. Arabists do not. In Arabic studies one encounters the term construct state which, however stands strangely isolated in the set of grammatical concepts in Arabic studies. Dr. Ferrando should not carry the whole burden of blame for this but it deserves to be pointed out that a central category of the nominal morphology in Arabic until this day is not understood by the scholars of the field, in spite of the fact that it is a fairly simple device which also has many parallels in other languages, Semitic and non-Semitic.

There is no doubt that the author has succeeded in giving the Spanish-speaking world a reliable, erudite and readable introduction to a subject which is of crucial importance for the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula interested in the history of their region. It is, however, well worth reading also by arabists in general and the Iberian perspective is a useful complement to the more general perspective on Arabic and its history as represented by e.g. K. Versteegh’s *The Arabic Language* (Edinburg, 2000). Through the works of Ferrando and Versteegh we now have two up-to-date presentations of the history of Arabic which complement each other

and Ferrando's book could well deserve a translation into English.

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FERRER, Joan, *Hebreu: llengua, literatura, gramàtica*, «Publicacions Docents» 27 (Girona: Universitat de Girona, 2002), 160 pp.

La finalidad docente, como lo indica la serie en la que se inserta, ha sido la guía, en todo momento, de este manual, con el objetivo de que sirvan de apoyo a las clases ofrecidas por el profesor. En síntesis, el libro contiene una breve síntesis de la historia de la lengua hebrea, un resumen de la producción escrita en lengua hebrea, así como una descripción de los tratados gramaticales más significativos de la lengua hebrea contemporánea.

1. El primer apartado, dedicado a la historia de la lengua hebrea (“La llengua hebrea”, pp. 13-16) incluye una clasificación de las lenguas semíticas a partir de E. Lipiński para ofrecer, a continuación, una breve síntesis histórica de la lengua hebrea, partiendo del periodo bíblico y llegando a la época actual con el hebreo moderno israelí.

2. El segundo apartado (“Panoràmica de la història de la literatura hebrea”, pp. 17-39) ofrece un compendio resumido de los principales hitos literarios generados en hebreo: desde el texto veterotestamentario de acuerdo con el canon judío, obviamente, hasta los actuales novelistas, dramaturgos y poetas, pasando por la literatura rabínica, la de los g<sup>e</sup>oním, la actividad generada en al-Andalus y en el norte cristiano, la producción centroeuropea, los textos del periodo de la Haskalah y los escritos sionistas.

3. El tercer apartado (“Gramàtica essencial de l’hebreu modern”, pp. 39-157) constituye el bloque esencial del manual, donde el autor vuelca sus excelentes conocimientos de la lengua hebrea para con ello ofrecer una brillante síntesis del hebreo moderno israelí. El objetivo es claramente visible: que los alumnos adquieran los rudimentos gramaticales necesarios para poder trabajar con materiales escritos: desde textos periodísticos hasta materiales literarios, pero también para propiciar la competencia lingüística oral mediante la comprensión de los paradigmas gramaticales, excelentemente explicados y ejemplificados en el texto.

El libro concluye con una bibliografía esencial (pp. 159-160), estructurada en tres secciones, las mismas en las que aparecen divididos los contenidos del manual.