The purpose of this report is to survey and evaluate the various facets of teaching of Arabic in the United States, and to give an appraisal of the state of the art. The objectives of Arabic language teaching, the special problems that Arabic presents to Americans, and the various components common to all foreign language teaching programs, namely methods, manpower, materials, and university resources are considered, and recommendations presented. Appended are (1) a selected list of materials used in Arabic instruction with brief descriptive and evaluative annotations, and (2) background information on the socio-linguistic profile of the area where Arabic is used today. (Author/AMM)
THE TEACHING OF ARABIC IN THE UNITED STATES: THE STATE OF THE ART

by PETER F. ABOUD
Foreword

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A. Hood Roberts, Director
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ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics is a part of the Educational Resources Information Center of the U.S. Office of Education.
The purpose of this report is to survey and evaluate the various facets of the teaching of Arabic in the United States and give an appraisal of the state of the art. To do this, the objectives of Arabic language teaching, the special problems that Arabic presents to Americans and the various components common to all foreign language teaching programs, namely methods, manpower, materials, and university resources are considered, and recommendations presented. The first appendix gives a selected list of materials used in Arabic instruction with brief descriptive and evaluative annotations. A second appendix provides background information on the socio-linguistic profile of the area where the language is used today.

1. **Objectives**

One of the fundamental questions related to the teaching of a foreign language has to do with a realistic and clear delineation of the objectives to be achieved. Since the needs, setups, and resources of the various institutions that are presently teaching Arabic are varied, and since it is only recently that these objectives have begun to be examined collectively, it is not possible to assume that these objectives are uniform or clearly defined. In this connection a distinction must be made between programs which cater for the specialized needs of groups and individuals and programs which fit into the general context and curriculum of a university. In the former belong on the one hand such special groups as the Peace Corps volunteers, business personnel, and scholars with specific goals such as handling manuscripts, and on the other, institutions such as the Defense Language Institute, where the student can devote full time to language learning. In these programs, objectives are more easily defined and pursued. It is, however, with
the latter, that is the regular programs at universities and colleges, that we will be mostly concerned.

Though there is no unanimity here, it is safe to say that with the increased recruiting of non-specialists into Arabic courses, mainly through the enrollment of undergraduates, there is a growing consensus that the objectives for the large number of them should be the attainment of basic competence in the language. This includes the ability to understand simple written material in the language as used today, to understand oral material, to converse with a native speaker on a range of subjects, and to write simple prose. To do this, the student will need to have a command of the basic grammatical structures of the language and a good pronunciation which a native speaker can understand. It will be noted that such competence cannot be achieved in a two-year sequence (it can hardly be claimed that such a sequence has produced students with basic competence in the more familiar foreign languages with all the experience and resources of these language professions) and that a three or even four-year sequence is needed. For the few who will hopefully want to join the ranks of Arabic specialists, more advanced competence will be needed and is best attained in graduate programs, preferably with a year or so of intensive study abroad. This will continue to be the case until such time as Arabic is introduced into the curriculum of high schools, at which time it will be possible to achieve advanced competence at the upper-class level at the university.

2. Problems that the Arabic language presents to Americans

2.1 The linguistic structure of Arabic

Here the difficulties include: (1) problems associated with learning a non-Latin alphabet. The Arabic alphabet goes from right to left, is quite unlike the Latin alphabet in the shape of its letters and the multiplicity of its graphemes, and offers the additional difficulty that short vowels are not normally written and have to be inferred from context. It is, however, an alphabet and does not present anywhere near the problems associated with Chinese characters,
for example; (2) a difficult sound system containing a whole set of sounds that are unfamiliar to native speakers of English and which require persistent practice to control; (3) an equally difficult morphological and syntactic structure, including the Semitic root-and-patterns, and complex inflectional endings; and (4) a vocabulary with almost no carry-over from English. Acquisition and retention of Arabic vocabulary is a tremendous problem.

2.2 The phenomenon of diglossia

As mentioned in the appendix, in addition to the everyday spoken language which varies considerably from one locality to another, there exists a superimposed standard language which is used all over the Arab World, in the press, on the radio, in the literature, and on formal occasions. This situation raises fundamental questions to any Arabic instruction program. Which form of the language is to be taught? The majority of institutions now seem to favor Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to the exclusion of the colloquials. A number, however, do offer a colloquial on a regular basis. Here three other questions are pertinent. Which dialect is to be taught? Should the student learn more than one dialect? Which is to be taught first, MSA or the colloquial? The answer is the first question has often been determined by such factors as the availability of teaching materials, the dialect of the instructor, or that of his assistant. Since Cairo Arabic is the closest we come on the Arab scene to a prestigious dialect used beyond its borders, more and more institutions seem to favor the teaching of Cairene. In view of the limitations of time and resources, the second question simply does not arise, and the working hypothesis continues to be that once the student has a firm control of one dialect, it should not prove too difficult for him, if he is given information about major dialect differences, to make the adjustment needed to communicate with speakers of another dialect. Some institutions have been known to rotate two or three colloquials on the basis of demand and availability of informants. As to whether the dialect or MSA is to be taught first, there has been a gradual change in the practice of the various institutions. Following the 40's when great emphasis was placed on the learner first speaking and
understanding and only later reading and writing, several institutions offered the colloquial first, some government agencies still do. This seems largely to have been abandoned; many now begin with MSA and only later, if at all, offer a colloquial. Either way, an inherent weakness in treating the two forms of Arabic as incompatible and in teaching them separately is the difficulty of maintaining the proficiency attained in one form when work on the second form requires all the concentration of the student. This is one of the reasons why, in their frustration over the waste of time, some institutions have given up the teaching of the colloquial. The solution of this dilemma may lie in the approach whereby the colloquial is part of a well integrated Arabic course, which to my knowledge has been attempted only in the Defense Language Institute. Some discussion has centered in recent years on the advisability of teaching the 'Middle Language' (see appendix), but due to lack of knowledge of this form of the language and the lack of materials, I know of no systematic attempt at teaching it.

What of Classical Arabic? Many people consider a year or two of MSA a good introduction to the Classical Language. It seems clear from the discussion of objectives above that Classical Arabic is for the specialist in literature, medieval history and paleography, etc., and could very well be taken by the interested student after he has attained some competence in MSA.

3. Methods

The methods and approaches used in teaching the colloquial differ considerably from those used in teaching MSA. The reasons for these differences are: (1) The nature of each form of Arabic. Since the colloquial is spoken, rarely written, the basic skills a student needs to acquire are speaking and understanding of oral material. For MSA, the basic skills are primarily reading and listening comprehension; (2) the materials used (see section 5). In Arabic instruction on the whole, materials dictate the methods used. (3) Staff. Programs where the colloquial is taught have been developed by linguists and people working with them who were not hampered by traditional methods of teaching and who had active research interests in the spoken language. Teachers
of MSA have different training, background and interests.

3.1 Teaching the Colloquials

In general the audio-lingual approach is used. Typically, it is a one-year course, which meets five to eight hours a week in class and a few hours in the language lab. Almost no institutions now offer a second year of the colloquial. For most courses, lab work is an integral part of the course.

Phonology. Generally students are exposed from the beginning to complete sentences which are presented in phonemic transcription with a side by side translation in English. Transcription is used throughout, but some teachers introduce Arabic orthography some time during the course. Difficult sounds are taught in special pronunciation drills, by means of minimal pair contrasts. In most cases, sounds and intonation patterns are taught through mimicry with only incidental attention to articulatory descriptions.

Grammar. Though most people use the inductive approach, it would probably be more accurate to say that a combination of the inductive and deductive approaches is used. The techniques basically consist of memorization of dialogues or conversations and intensive use of pattern drills.

Vocabulary. There is strong emphasis on large vocabulary acquisition as indicated by the unusually heavy vocabulary load even in elementary textbooks. Words are introduced in texts and in lists by association with English equivalents, i.e. by means of translation. The use of dictionaries does not seem to be encouraged.

3.2 Teaching MSA

There is a variety of approaches to teaching the standard language. The traditional patterns of teaching students to decipher older texts with no concern for pronunciation or more modern materials are almost but not altogether dead. In the majority of cases it is still the grammar-translation method but with greater emphasis on pronunciation; a large portion of the class time is devoted to reading aloud. The audio-lingual approach is not generally used. MSA courses consist of a two or three-year sequence with an average of four to five hours a week.
Phonology and Script. In many cases, Arabic phonology is taught simultaneously with the writing system. Pronunciation is taught primarily by the imitation of sounds. Generally speaking, the student is taught to read the printed letter and only later, if at all, cursive writing. Some teachers use a phonemic transcription. In addition, one of the transliteration systems is often taught to enable the student to use dictionaries and encyclopedias. Rarely if ever are special drills provided to teach the stress system or intonation patterns.

Grammar. There are various approaches to teaching grammar in the classroom ranging from lengthy expositions of rules, using traditional grammatical terminology (with the student expected to recognize and identify grammatical patterns, whether morphological or syntactic, to explain the occurrence of different case endings, to 'vocalize' i.e., to supply correct vowel endings and to recall rules when he makes mistakes) to a minimum of grammar, enough to help the student interpret the text of practicing a pattern. At more advanced levels the recognition and identification of grammatical patterns and structures continue to be important activities in the former approach while grammar as such is de-emphasized in the latter.

Vocabulary. Strong emphasis is placed on memorizing words in texts or in lists at all levels. Since students are continually being rewarded for correct translations, they spend hours, especially at more advanced levels, looking up words in dictionaries and trying to determine their exact meaning, a very painful and unrealistic procedure in view of the relatively low frequency of occurrence of the large majority of words.

4. Manpower

In this section, first some observations on who teaches Arabic and on recent attempts at facing the problem of competent staffing, then recommendations will be given.

4.1 The teachers of Arabic

They can be divided into five groups: (1) Linguists. These are language specialists, often with only peripheral interest in Arabic language teaching. Most have made linguistic analyses of Arabic and
have written dissertations on some aspect of its system. Some have done some work in applied linguistics. A few have had experience in the development of materials. Because of their primary interest in language, they are sometimes naively looked at by other teachers as 'miracle workers' who are able to teach language painlessly and with minimum effort. (2) Area specialists in disciplines related to the Middle East. These are specialists in history, political science, etc., who are 'drafted' into teaching Arabic as part of their initial appointment but who have no preparation for or interest in language teaching. Their asset is often the fact that they either are Arabic speaking or have had some Arabic while working on their Ph.D. in their field. (3) What we might call for lack of a better term the 'orientalists'. These are people whose interest spans the whole gamut of the field of Middle Eastern studies, both ancient and modern. Arabic language and philology have traditionally been areas of concern to them. (4) What have often been called 'informants'. These are native speakers who drifted to language teaching seeking gainful employment while pursuing various fields of study. They generally have little idea of how the language works and often have only a functional knowledge of MSA. (5) Teaching assistants and fellows. This is a small but potentially important group that has recently appeared on the scene and consists of graduate students in linguistics and other fields who, by serving apprenticeship with senior colleagues, get valuable training and can develop into first-rate teachers.

The following are some general observations on the teachers of Arabic.

(1) The Ph.D. is in many cases a prerequisite to teaching Arabic, though some institutions with less developed programs have been known to use people with no Ph.D. In a few institutions allowance is also made for people with years of experience in language teaching. In all too many cases the Ph.D. (in almost any field related to the Middle East) is the only qualification sought after.

(2) In each group, except for the 'informants', native and non-natives are well represented. For various reasons until recently this was not the case with group 5, who have been mostly native speakers, but this is now changing.
(3) Most teachers of Arabic have had no training in language pedagogy and do not have any competence in linguistics. Arabic language teaching skills are not taught anywhere, though of course teaching techniques for other languages are available. Further, with the possible exception of people in group 3, few teachers of Arabic have a sound knowledge of Arabic literature.

(4) Native speakers on the whole are not too quick to adjust to the facts of American education or to abandon their myths about the Arabic language. They fail to see the tremendous differences between their memory-oriented culture, which relies heavily on memorizing lists of vocabulary, paradigms, and tables, and that of their students, whose learning experience relies far less heavily on memory work. On the other hand, the non-native teachers tend to assimilate the cultural attitudes of the Arabs towards their language and to perpetrate their traditional methods of teaching, the very methods they themselves were taught in.

(5) In all the various groups of teachers, there is on the whole little pride in Arabic teaching as a profession, little feeling of professional involvement, and little desire for improvement, experimentation and refinement of methods. This is in no small measure due to attitudes in institutes of higher learning in general and to the field of Middle Eastern Studies in particular, where language teaching is traditionally the profession of second rate members of the academic community. Some reputable scholars in the field have been known to deride the attempts to improve teaching materials and methods as a waste of time, unworthy of intelligent and capable people.

(6) The question of the professional preparation of teachers of Arabic and the professionalization of the teaching of Arabic has begun to receive some attention in the last few years. The following two developments have already had some impact and will hopefully lead to a fuller realization of the need for professional quality and to an end of the period of professional isolation among Arabic teachers.
4.1.1 The Arabic Teachers' Workshops

At the initiation of the Subcommittee on the Teaching of Middle Eastern Languages of the ACLS-SSRC Joint Committee on Middle Eastern Languages and with support from the Inter-University Summer Program Committee, a series of two-week 'workshops' have been held every summer since 1965 to study various aspects of Arabic language instruction at American institutions of higher learning. The specific results achieved were as follows: (a) Opportunity was provided, in many cases for the first time, for a group of teachers of Arabic to meet together to exchange opinions on methods and materials used in teaching Arabic and to be brought in touch with modern principles of foreign language instruction and of testing. (b) There was substantial agreement among the conferees as to the content of both elementary and intermediate instruction. In view of the tremendous variety of courses in the country in terms of quality and scope, this is an important step. (c) Papers were prepared on content and methods of Arabic instruction and various related topics, including surveys of available instructional materials, and were given wide circulation among Arabic teachers. (d) Two publications, prepared cooperatively by teams of teachers of Arabic, have come as a result of the dialogue established at these workshops: Elementary Modern Standard Arabic and the Arabic Proficiency Test.

4.1.2 The American Association of Teachers of Arabic (AATA)

Starting with 1962 meetings of teachers of Arabic were held during the MLA sessions, and views on the desirability of a professional organization were expressed. This led to the formal establishment of AATA, whose purpose is 'to promote study, criticism, and research in the fields of Arabic language and literature, and to further the common interests of teachers of these subjects.' The membership at present counts some fifty people. At the annual meetings, which are held in conjunction with the MLA meetings, papers on various teaching problems are read and discussed. Recently a bulletin, an-Nashra, was established, giving news of the profession, articles of interest to Arabic teachers, notices about new materials whether they be books, dissertations, or
pamphlets, and information on various Arabic programs throughout the country.

4.2 Recommendations

(1) The success the Arabic workshops have achieved suggests the necessity and desirability of continuing such workshops on a regular basis every summer. To assure the continued effectiveness of these experiments, it is necessary to have each session very carefully planned, and equally necessary to have long-range planning. It is generally admitted that meetings of this kind are most effective when they are limited: (a) As to their goals. Some limited topics that need to be explored are the problems of teaching colloquial Arabic, functions of the language lab, principles of textbook preparation, grammatical terminology, usage of literary materials in textbooks, etc. (b) As to their timing. Two weeks in the summer seems to be ideal. And (c) as to the number of participants. A dozen people is probably the upper limit.

(2) Institutes of longer duration should be planned, possibly in conjunction with a linguistic institute or other summer programs. A number of courses in foreign language teaching methods, testing and measurement, Arabic literature, general linguistics, Arabic linguistics, etc., should be offered, allowing teachers to meet deficiencies in their training background. It is worth noting that a recent questionnaire on the desirability of holding such institutes was overwhelmingly approved by Arabic teachers. The need for these institutes is further emphasized the fact that many of the recent emigrants from the Arab world and more specifically from Egypt are academics who will almost certainly join the ranks of professionally untrained teachers of Arabic.

(3) The basic problem in Arabic language teaching seems to be the recruiting and keeping of competent staff. Administrators should insist on professional training on the part of their staff and should be expected to give credit to such training in the evaluation of an applicant for a job or promotion, with proper recognition given to the number of years invested in language preparation and to professional publications in the area of language teaching. Since future college teachers of Arabic will in most instances come from the ranks of graduate students in Departments
of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures (or their equivalent) it seems reasonable to expect these departments to require their students to broaden their training by doing work in education, applied linguistics, and language pedagogy.

(4) A concerted effort on the part of several institutions to pool their resources in order to provide teacher training programs should be made. It seems best that such a program be set up in one institution, preferably one with an existing strong program of training teachers of foreign languages. It could offer an M.A. degree in teaching of Arabic as a Foreign Language. The graduates of such a program would meet a dual need: they would teach Arabic at the high school level (one reason this has not been tried on a larger scale is the lack of trained teachers), and they could serve as teaching assistants in universities and colleges while working for their Ph.D.

(5) While every effort should be made to train Americans at a much larger scale than has been so far possible, we should continue to alleviate shortages by attracting talent from the Arabic-speaking countries, especially from among the more gifted people who are serving apprenticeship in the various Foreign Service Institute schools and in the programs sponsored by American institutions such as the Center for Arabic Studies Abroad (section 6.4.3).

(6) There is a shortage of specialists in Arabic Literature with sound training in western literary criticism. With the refinement of methods and materials more students with adequate language preparation will be ready to do serious work in literature. More institutions should be encouraged to develop imaginative programs in Arabic Literature.

(7) Though the situation has somewhat been improving in the last ten years, there is still great need for Arabic linguists to develop courses in Arabic linguistics, to conduct research on Arabic, to supervise teacher training programs, and to help develop teaching materials. (The fact that linguistics today is increasingly oriented towards theoretical and abstract considerations and away from specific languages, may oblige Language Departments rather than Departments of Linguistics to assume more of the burden of recruiting and supervising and training of Arabic Language
specialists). In the light of this development the problem of producing Arabic scholars (and for that matter specialists in other languages) with sound training in linguistics needs serious consideration.

5. Instructional Materials

5.1 General Comments

There has been a marked improvement in the instructional material situation in the last ten years, due to a large extent to support from the NDEA Language Development Program. For MSA, this period has witnessed the appearance of an excellent Arabic-English dictionary, useful materials for teaching the writing system, advanced readers, and improved beginning textbooks. For the colloquials, we now have good basic textbooks as well as short reference grammars and dictionaries for some of the major dialects. In spite of this improvement, however, there are still some weak spots and unsatisfactory areas. These are pointed out in the following paragraphs and suggestions for filling the important gaps that remain are then given.

(1) A study of content and objectives of the large majority of books used in teaching MSA will show that most of them cannot be used for oral work. The basic orientation seems to be towards achieving a reading knowledge of the language exclusively. The type of drill relied on most heavily is still translation (both ways). That comprehension of written material to the exclusion of the oral dimension is the basic objective of textbooks and hence of classroom methodology is clearly indicated by the fact that most students from all over the country invariably scored low on the section of the Arabic Proficiency Test dealing with oral comprehension. Current teaching activities are simply not geared to acquiring this skill.

(2) Few of the MSA materials now used in undergraduate work were designed for college instruction let alone undergraduate instruction. They either stem from traditional grammar translation materials which were geared to the initiated in the orientalist tradition, and which present grammar couched in terms and framework beyond the grasp of the undergraduate, or else are modified versions of materials designed for use by Foreign Service Institute personnel and hence are too condensed and
concentrated to be most useful to undergraduates.

(3) There is a bewildering variety of textbooks at various levels, none of which seem to be geared to prepare the student for the next level. Thus most beginning MSA textbooks assume that the student has already mastered the sound and writing systems of Arabic, presumably by working through one of the existing books, which, however, are in no way integrated with the beginning textbook (it must be stated here that recently attempts have been made to remedy the situation). Further, once the student has completed the beginning stage, he now has to struggle with a textbook with almost no carry over from the first and a whole set of new vocabulary with which he is not familiar. 3

(4) On the whole, the taped materials are not adequate for integrated class and lab use. It is more common now to obtain accompanying tapes, but the nature and content of these tapes are such as to make them quite ineffective. In many cases they are not carefully prepared, the harassed instructor or author has to mass produce them in a great hurry and is often contented with reading the materials in the book with no adequate time for student repetition or participation. People at various institutions have been known to prepare their own tapes, but these are often unuseable anywhere else, which makes for great waste. Further, it is only in very rare cases that the content of the tape challenges the student by including material designed to give him additional practice in the language, over and above the regular drone of familiar material.

(5) In spite of improvements of late, the subject matter and cultural content in the majority of MSA books leave much to be desired. Basic texts for the most part are grammar oriented; liveliness and naturalness are here sacrificed to simplicity of structure. The most widely used MSA texts deal almost exclusively with political topics, which for the most part are monotonous and unchallenging to all but a few.

(6) Important aids to language learning such as film strips, slides, etc., are completely missing. Given the fact that students are learning the foreign language away from the environment where it is used, such aids
are not only useful and stimulating but essential.

(7) With very few exceptions, textbooks do not have an accompanying teacher's manual in which the objectives of the book, the approach used, classroom procedures to be followed etc. are clearly explained. Even the most adequate book is ineffective unless the user understands its approach and implements its methodological requirements.

(8) None of the textbooks include regular periodic testing of the student's performance and achievement. With few exceptions the only type of test used is translation, a testing device with well known inadequacies.

(9) None of the presently available MSA textbooks meet the needs or desired objectives for intermediate instruction. Most materials that go by the name of intermediate are either a second volume sequence with all the hallmarks of an elementary textbook, that is, nothing but 'more of the same', or are advanced readers. For a student with a year or two of language learning experience, to plow through any of these is a gargantuan task.

5.2 Recommendations

5.2.1 Modern Standard Arabic

(1) The most pressing need is for properly constructed intermediate teaching materials, consisting of (a) graded intermediate textbook(s) which would concentrate on the more complex grammatical structures of the language and contain graded texts for intensive reading and other selections for extensive reading, and (b) a series of graded readers, for extensive reading, having abridged plays, stories, expository writings etc. designed to build the student's vocabulary while encouraging him to read for pleasure. The writing of these materials should be undertaken by team(s) of this country's competent Arabic teachers; the staff of the overseas language programs should also join in the effort.

(2) A good reference grammar of MSA is badly needed. Available grammars are mere adaptations of older books and do not present a clear and consistent picture of the structure of the language, unencumbered by traditional terminology, and, most importantly, consistent with modern usage of the language. This is a long range project, which should be undertaken by a team of Arabic linguists who, in view of the lack of published linguistic
studies, would have first to conduct basic research in the many areas where little information is available.

(3) Some of the better elementary materials now available could be revised and improved in a number of ways: their effectiveness can be greatly enhanced by the preparation of audio-visual aids, a series of achievement tests in all skills, and a teacher's manual.

(4) There is an ever increasing need for programmed materials. Experimentation in programmed instruction in writing, reading, and pronunciation should be encouraged, to be followed by other programmed materials.

5.2.2 The Colloquials

(1) The minimum requirements, by way of instructional materials, for teaching a colloquial effectively are a reference grammar, a basic course, readers, and dictionaries (English-Arabic and Arabic-English). Important gaps exist in the major dialects: in Cairo Arabic, a reference grammar readers, and dictionaries; in Peninsular Arabic, all types of materials; in Syrian and Iraqi, readers. A number of basic courses for various dialects have been prepared in the last few years for the Peace Corps and FSI. Though these cannot be used in their present form at the college level, it seems that the most economical approach is to commission the various authors to adapt them for college instruction.

(2) Most of the remarks given in (3) above on the improvement of elementary MSA materials apply to current beginning materials in the colloquials.

6. University Resources.


The past decade or two has witnessed an increase in library holdings in Arabic language and literature. An important source has been PL 480 which has enriched the libraries of participating institutions with a number of books, pamphlets, magazines, etc., including recent reprints of important older works that have long been unavailable. In general, institutions with a long tradition of acquisition of books in the fields
of Middle Eastern Studies have continued to strengthen their holdings and improve their facilities for students and faculty, while others, where Arabic studies are more recent, seem to continue to lag behind in spite of crash programs of purchasing. I know of no survey that assesses the quality and breadth of holdings in Arabic language and literature in the various libraries but in terms of numbers, they are large. The situation that exists is briefly as follows:

1. There is no question but that the combined resources of all these institutions, and hence, because of inter-loan and other sharing patterns among American libraries the potential resources at the disposal of the individual researcher, are impressive.

2. We are seriously undermanned as to competent and qualified librarians, bibliographers, and cataloguers. As is the case with teaching staff, library administrators and Centers for Middle East Studies have had no alternative but to have recourse to hiring unqualified native speakers. There is urgent need for trained librarians to handle the backlog of materials that have been accumulating for the last several years and put them into immediate use.

3. In planning for and expanding library holdings the research needs of faculty and students are of course given top priority. For the latter, who have presumably achieved a degree of proficiency in the language which enables them to do research using Arabic materials being in institutions where Arabic studies are recent imports and especially where such institutions are away from the centers having major Arabic collections can be a real handicap. Here trained librarians can be of immeasurable service. Further scholars need to have access to the sources of information and the available resources at their own and other institutions in this country and abroad. The services of trained librarians form the development of information retrieval techniques and detailed bibliographical information on the content of currently available materials cannot be overestimated.

4. While the function of the library as a research tool is well
known and accepted, its other function as a channel of language instruction and an adjunct to the classroom is little exploited. The truism about extensive reading being one of the best ways of increasing language proficiency is all too often neglected by teacher and student alike. The reasons for this are two-fold. (a) The precious little that an average student with limited language proficiency is able to handle is hidden amidst the forbidding mass of voluminous scholarly works. A fair number of materials coming out of the Arab world can provide hours of profitable reading to language students, but these are unfortunately poorly catalogued and practically unavailable. (b) The methods used in teaching students at intermediate and advanced levels -- and it is quite obviously these students who could greatly profit from use of the library -- do not encourage extensive reading and reading for pleasure (see section 3.2).

A solution to this problem seems to suggest itself: a reading room, which should contain in addition to dictionaries, grammars, textbooks, etc., all reading material in Arabic, including plays, magazines, newspapers, serials, that a student can use in reading. Here again a trained librarian can give valuable help.

6.2 The Language Lab

Unlike the library, the language lab is recognized by almost every teacher to be an important adjunct to the classroom. However, as has already been pointed out, the potential of the language lab is not fully realized because the place of the lab in language instruction and what it can and cannot do are not fully understood by the majority of teachers and also because quality tapes with challenging and meaningful content are hard to find.

6.3 National Language Programs

6.3.1 The Inter-University Summer Program was run by an inter-university committee which was organized in 1956-57 under a grant from the Ford Foundation and (since 1960) with additional support from the Office of Education to set up rotating summer programs. It consisted of five universities (Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, the University of Michigan, and Princeton), but when the original five-year grant ended and the program
was renewed for six more years, three new universities joined the Committee: UCLA, Georgetown University, and the University of Texas. The purposes of the program were to offer language instruction in the major languages of the area: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, to provide language courses not normally taught at universities and colleges in the country, and to help develop better teaching materials and more effective teaching methods. The last inter-university summer program was held in Princeton in 1967.6

The summer programs have made valuable contributions to Arabic language teaching. There can be no doubt but that they stimulated interest in the Middle East studies: student enrollment rose from a few dozen to several hundreds. Students took courses which for a variety of reasons they could not have had at their own universities and had the opportunity of studying languages and dialects which were not regularly offered elsewhere. They were also exposed to various teaching methods; in some cases, these were superior to anything they had experienced, and some were known to have spread the good word in their home universities and, in some cases, to have effected some changes. The very attempt at accommodating heterogeneous groups of students previously exposed to widely divergent methods, approaches, and materials raised important problems which could not have otherwise been made apparent, and drew people's attention to the unhappy and unsatisfactory state of Arabic instruction in the country. Efforts followed to find workable solutions to the problems of integrating summer work with the regular academic year, to upgrade the quality of both, to measure the students' language proficiency by means of standardized tests, and to arrive at some agreement on methods, materials, and objectives.

There were areas in the summer programs where success was far more limited, namely in the actual development of better methods and more effective materials and the training of assistants to become competent teachers of Arabic in their own right. The basic problem seems to have been one of coordination and continuity, a problem for which many university cooperative programs have as yet no solution.

6.3.2 Another program, administered by Princeton, makes it possible for undergraduates from various institutions with no prior knowledge of the language to spend a year at that university in semi-intensive work in Arabic
or other non-Western languages along with other courses. 7

6.4 Overseas Language Programs

6.4.1 The National Undergraduate Program for the Overseas Study of Arabic (NUPOSA) was an experimental inter-university program administered by Princeton which provided undergraduates who had had two years of Arabic with the opportunity of a year's study at the Middle East Center for Arabic Studies (MECAS) at Shemlan, Lebanon. The experiment was a success in that most students who participated in it and who as part of their training had to spend some time with a mono-lingual Arabic-speaking family returned with a good command of written Arabic and fluency in the Lebanese dialect. Since the Center is a language training school for British foreign officers, it was not possible for Arabic teachers in this country other than the directors of the program to observe, first-hand, methods and approach used. The program was terminated in 1966.

6.4.2 The Portland State College-American University in Cairo Summer Program is a project designed to give intensive training in standard Arabic and in Cairo Arabic to both graduates and undergraduates during the summer in Cairo, Egypt. It is administered in the US by Portland State College and held in cooperation with the American University in Cairo which provides the facilities and staff.

6.4.3 The Center for Arabic Studies Abroad (CASA) is an inter-university program administered by the University of California at Berkeley in cooperation with the American University in Cairo. It serves mostly graduates with definite commitment to one of the fields of Middle Eastern studies and provides the grantees the opportunity to study Arabic intensively for the period of one year in Cairo. It is now in its second year of operation and shows a good deal of promise.

The success of the last two programs will depend to a large extent on the professional competence in Arabic language teaching of the directors and their staff. A great deal is at stake: some of our most promising students, from among whom we hope to draw our scholars and language teachers in the future, should be guided in their foreign language experience in the area by nothing less than first-rate teachers; hence,
the necessity of thorough training of these locally recruited teachers in
the techniques of modern foreign language teaching.

6.5 Recommendations

6.5.1 Librarians

It is suggested that several institutions cooperate in setting up a
librarian training project to meet the growing need for librarians, cata-
loguers, and bibliographers. It seems best to house such a project in
an institution having a sound library science program and a good Near
Eastern collection.

6.5.2 Summer Programs

Since summer programs held on a cooperative basis will continue to be
meeting grounds where teachers of Arabic from various institutions come
together, definite steps should be taken by each host institution in close
cooperation with other member institutions to make these summers meaningful
to the teaching profession and to the staff: (a) Careful screening and
training of assistants or informants should take place, with people who
show promise and interest in Arabic given preference to people whose
interests obviously lie somewhere else. The practice of laying hold of any
native speaker who happens to be available is very unsatisfactory. (b)
Lectures and seminars on the problems of language teaching should become
part of every summer program with staff and students asked to participate.
(c) Experimentation on methods and materials should be encouraged.
(d) Since language teaching is the core of these summer programs, it is
essential that they be directed and planned by people with professional
involvement in language teaching.

6.5.3 Overseas Language Programs

(1) It is recommended that another overseas program modeled after the
Center for Arabic Studies Abroad be initiated in the near future in another
part of the Arabic speaking world, possibly Morocco or Tunisia. Each of
the two programs should then accommodate more undergraduates.

(2) In order to make these overseas experimental programs meaningful
to, and at the same time to help them draw on the growing expertise of,
the Arabic teaching profession in this country, opportunity for observation
and periodic evaluation by members of the profession is highly desirable. Reports on findings should be given wide distribution.
APPENDIX I
SELECTED LIST OF MATERIALS FOR ARABIC

This list contains bibliographical data with brief descriptive and evaluative annotations on some of the materials that have been used in teaching Arabic in the U.S. Only materials which are presently available (in published or mimeographed form) and which are designed for use by speakers of English have been included. The list is divided into teaching materials and 'tools of access', arranged for the colloquials (by dialect), MSA, and Classical Arabic, in this order. The teaching materials for the latter two are subdivided into textbooks and readers.

1. Teaching materials
1.1 Colloquial textbooks

**Egyptian and Sudanese**

Gairdner, W.H.T. *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.* 1st ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1917. [2nd ed., 1926. Rev. ed., Cairo, 1944.] (Its objectives are to teach the spoken language of Cairo with the help of a native speaker. It pioneered the application of newer methods to the teaching of Arabic colloquials and served generations of western students. Much of its subject matter is now outdated.)

Harrell, Richard S., Laila Y. Tewfik, and George D. Selim. *Lessons in Colloquial Egyptian Arabic.* (Georgetown Arabic Series, 2) Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1963. (Has some of the features of a beginning textbook such as description of sounds and pronunciation drills, but is unsuitable for a beginning course. It is useful for review purposes in a second year course.)

Hanna, Sami A. and Naguib Greis. *Beginning Arabic, A Linguistic Approach from Cultivated Cairene to Formal Literary Arabic.* Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Printing Service, 1965. (It is designed to teach Cairo Arabic as a stepping stone to MSA. The title is somewhat misleading, however, in that no MSA material is presented in the book. The grammar coverage is limited.)
Heyworth-Dunne, John, ed. *Spoken Egyptian Arabic.* Linguaphone

Course. New York, n.d.

(It is designed to teach Cairo Arabic by means of records. There are no drills, the basic teaching device being mastering the model conversation. It is useful as a supplement to other books and serves the purpose of providing additional material for an oral comprehension.)


(Designed for basic instruction in Cairo Arabic for college students, using the audio-lingual approach. The lessons consist of conversations, grammar sections, and extensive and varied drills. Recordings of the basic texts and of the key drills (the latter for private circulation only) are available. A useful basic text.)

Mitchell, T.F. *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.*


(Uses the grammar-translation approach, and is basically self-instructional. Other than the lessons it has dialogues, folktales, stories, etc., with English and Arabic parallel pages. Though basically geared to the employees of oil companies it can profitably be used by the beginning student who wants to work on his own. It is not suitable for classroom use: the drills are too few and exclusively of the translation type.)

Mitchell, T.F. *Colloquial Arabic: The Living Language of Egypt.*


(Designed to teach the elements of Cairo Arabic grammar and provide a series of expressions and sentences grouped under various topics of interest to the tourist. It is not divided into lessons and does not have drills. It is inadequate for classroom instruction but useful for reference purposes.)


(Designed to teach students to speak the urban dialect of Umdorman. It is similar in approach, format, and even order of presentation to Gairdner (see above). The author, however, lacks the latter's keen insight and acumen.)
Syrian (including Jordanian, Palestinian and Lebanese)

(Originally prepared for use in intensive courses at the Foreign Service Institute. Basic sentences, pronunciation analysis (morphological and syntactic), extensive and varied drills. Concentrated but useful.)

(The units consist of pattern sentences presenting conversational material, structure sentences, grammar notes, and drills. The book has been widely used. Pedagogically sound, but needs extensive supplementation.)

(The booklet and accompanying tape recordings are designed to teach the pronunciation of educated Palestinian Arabic. A large number of drills provide reading, dictation, listening and production practice. It is carefully done and provides the best guide so far to pronunciation for any dialect of Arabic.)

Iraqi

(The format of Volume I is that of the traditional grammar-translation methods. Volume II gives extensive texts. The Arabic is in transcription and in Arabic script. The book can be used for review; the texts provide good material for reading and discussion.)

(Contains dialogues, consisting of basic sentences (in transcription and in Arabic script in the first volume but only in transcription in the second), grammar notes, and a variety of drills. The lessons in the first volume are available on tape. Though old, it remains a useful and adequate learning tool.)
(Thoroughly grammar-translation. The texts are given in Arabic script and present a mixture of colloquial (representing the usage of various areas in Iraq) and the standard language. It has gone through many printings, but is of limited use.)

**North African**

(Consists of two parts: Lessons and Dialogues. The lessons consist of sentences illustrating grammatical features, grammar notes, exercise, and vocabulary. The dialogues provide conversational material. A good basic course.)

**Peninsular Arabic**

(This is a series of graded texts designed to teach the employees of Aramco the spoken Arabic of the eastern region of Saudi Arabia. The approach is audio-lingual. Though mainly designed for company employees, the lessons, especially those of the third and fourth volumes, can be adapted for classroom use.)

1.2 Modern Standard Arabic

1.2.1 Phonology and Script

(An introduction to the Arabic writing and sound system simultaneously.)
The student is exposed from the beginning to complete sentences. Some basic structures are also introduced. Reading, writing, and pronunciation drills. It first appeared in multilithed form and is geared to be used with *Modern Standard Arabic: Elementary Level* by the same authors. Carefully done and useful.)


(Designed to teach the Arabic writing and sound systems simultaneously. The drills are of various types: imitation, production, and writing and reading of both typescript and handwriting. Carefully done and useful.)


(An introduction to the writing and sound systems. There are repetition, writing, and recognition drills, the latter being the most useful feature of the book. Limited usefulness.)


(The book and an accompanying writing manual are designed to teach students to read and write cursive script. In addition to sounds and letters (given in Arabic script and in transcription using the Library of Congress system), a few grammatical features are also presented. Useful.)


(These are semi-programmed materials designed to teach the sound and writing systems of MSA. They are useful, well planned, and well coordinated, with clear and accurate descriptions. Their drawback is that the students at the end of a long course are not able to say or understand one meaningful utterance in Arabic.)
Mitchell, T.F. Writing Arabic, A Practical Introduction to the
(The various letters are presented in alphabetical order with similar
letters grouped together. Well illustrated notes describe the various
sounds and letters. The drills consist of reading and writing practice.
Useful, though the order of the presentation is questionable.)

Rice, Frank A. The Classical Arabic Writing System. Cambridge, Mass:
The Center of Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, 1964.
(Designed to teach the reading of Arabic handwritten script. One letter
is presented at a time (in Arabic script and transcription), in order of
difficulty of the sounds it represents, and is used in words which the
student learns to read.)

1.2.2 Textbooks

Abboud, Peter et al. Elementary Modern Standard Arabic. Ann Arbor,
Michigan: Inter-University Program Committee, 1968.
(An integrated course designed to teach the sound and writing systems and
the basic structures of MSA using the audio-lingual approach. A typical
lesson consists of a basic text, grammar notes and extensive and varied
drills. The last six lessons are based on actual selections from Arab writers.
Accompanying the book are a writing supplement and tape recordings. Useful
features: vocabulary control, carefully graded and complete coverage of basic
structures, texts and cultural content.)

Abdo, Daud Atiyeh. A Course in Modern Standard Arabic. Beirut:
(Designed to teach the student, who is assumed to have already learned
the sound and writing systems of Arabic, to read Arabic newspapers. The
approach is basically reading translation. A useful feature is the
careful control of the frequency of occurrence of vocabulary items. A
useful book, but its subject matter being almost totally political is
unchallenging and quickly outdated.)

Abdo, Daud A. and Salwa H. Abdo, Modern Standard Arabic: Elementary
(Designed to give the student a reading knowledge of MSA and is intended to follow *Arabic Writing and Sound Systems* by the same authors. Resembles the previous book in approach, subject matter and presentation. A great drawback is the lack of any grammar notes or drills.)


(Designed to teach Arabic grammar and a reading knowledge of MSA. The approach is strictly grammar-translation and traditional. There is heavy reliance on grammar per se and on vocabulary. Limited usefulness.)


(Designed to teach the grammatical structure of MSA and uses the grammar-translation approach. Each lesson consists of notes and paradigms, followed by drills, which are exclusively of the translation type. Its usefulness is limited to reference purposes.)


(Designed to teach the elements of MSA. Assumes the student has already been introduced to the writing system. The approach is quasi audio-lingual and presents one of the first attempts to depart from the grammar-translation method. The book is too condensed and very heavy on vocabulary. The grammar coverage is incomplete, a second part was planned but was never published.)


(Designed to give a reading knowledge of MSA and a knowledge of spoken Lebanese. The approach is one of reading-translation with a minimum of grammar. Needs extensive supplementation.)

(Designed to give instruction in MSA at the college level. Attempts to use the audio-lingual approach but is traditional in orientation, outlook, and terminology. The drills are few but varied. The grammatical coverage is skimpy: it concentrates on morphology and hardly touches on syntax. Limited success in its attempt at applying modern techniques.)


(Intended for second-year reading material and consists of texts, three short stories, and notes on some grammatical features. The texts make interesting reading and are useful in a second year course. However, the difference in levels of difficulty between them and the short stories is great and the shift far too abrupt.)

Kaplilwatsky, Jochanan. Arabic Language and Grammar. Jerusalem:

(Designed to give the students a reading knowledge of Arabic by means of a systematic coverage of the grammar: a lesson on grammar is followed by 2 or 3 reading lessons and translation drills. Widely used at one time. Unsuitable for class use.)


(Designed to introduce the student, who is assumed to have mastered the basic elements of MSA and some vocabulary, to the language of the press, using an oral approach. Heavy on vocabulary, but serves as a useful textbook of newspaper Arabic.)


(Designed to give oral practice in the use of MSA and uses the audio-lingual approach. There is an element of artificiality in that the MSA dialogues cover situations where normally the colloquial is used. The grammar coverage is limited. A second part was planned but did not appear.)
(A thorough-going attempt to teach spoken MSA at the high school level. Accompanied by tapes and a teacher's manual. See comments on the previous work.)

(Designed to teach the grammar of MSA. Thoroughly grammar-translation and traditional. Its usefulness is limited to reference purposes or grammar review.)

(A well coordinated and carefully prepared series designed to teach MSA using a normalized form of Iraqi Arabic as a stepping stone. The approach is audio-lingual. Being intended for use by members of the Army school who study Arabic intensively full time, it is difficult to use for instruction at the college level without major revision and adaptation.)

(Intended for use by students on a self-instructional basis and designed to teach newspaper Arabic. The approach is grammar-translation with heavy emphasis placed on the recognition of the various morphological patterns.)

(Designed for a reading knowledge of MSA using the grammar-translation approach. The grammar is condensed, and the drills are very limited in number and type. With supplementation, it is useful in courses that favor its approach.)

1.2.3 Readers  


(The glossary is provided in separate parts.)


(The reading selections are followed by useful summaries in Arabic and various drills: grammar, translation, vocabulary, statements based on the text, etc. Useful as an advanced reader.)

1.3 Classical Arabic

1.3.1 Textbooks


(A revision of Thatcher's Grammar (see next item) and designed to give a reading knowledge of both Classical and Modern Written Arabic. The approach is typical grammar-translation and is strictly traditional. A Key is available. Other than providing more modern material and better typography, it is inferior in every respect to Thatcher.)


(Designed to give a reading knowledge of pre-Modern Standard Arabic. Its approach is grammar-translation: grammar notes, vocabulary and exercises (translation both ways). It has the venerable tradition of having been
used by successive generations of Arabists.)


1.3.2 Readers


2. Tools of Access

2.1 ReferenceGrammars

2.1.1 Colloquials


2.1.2 Classical


(This is the basic reference grammar of Classical Arabic. It is designed for those who have had thorough initiation into orientalist grammatical tradition. It has occasional reference to later usage, but it does not meet the need for a modern reference grammar of MSA, which is yet to
be written.)

2.2 Dictionaries

2.2.1 Colloquials

Elias, E. E. *Practical Dictionary of the Colloquial Arabic of the Middle East*, English-Arabic. 2nd ed. Cairo, 1949. (This is a useful dictionary for Egyptian Arabic, but it contains items from other dialects which, unfortunately, are not so identified. The Arabic is in transcription form which is inconsistent and lacks linguistic sophistication.)


Sobelman, Harvey, and Richard S. Harrell. *A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: English-Arabic* (Georgetown Arabic Series 3) Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1963. (These six dictionaries are intended for use by native speakers of English who have basic knowledge of the structure of the colloquial in question. They present the core vocabulary of everyday usage. The Arabic is in a clear phonemic transcription. In the Arabic-English dictionaries, the Arabic is entered alphabetically by root.)
Necessary grammatical information such as the vowels of the imperfect for verbs and the plurals for nouns are provided. Following the entries, numerous illustrative examples are given and idiomatic usage indicated and illustrated. To these useful features add clear and neat typography and you have a very useful tool for the student. Similar dictionaries for other dialects are needed.

2.2.2 Classical and MSA


(These four 'Elias' dictionaries are somewhat dated and lack linguistic sophistication; still beginning students have found them quite useful.)


(This is a small but very useful dictionary for Classical Arabic.)


(An old dictionary, which is indispensable for philological and other scholarly work on Classical Arabic.)


(As the title indicates, it is a specialized dictionary of terms and
expressions peculiar to the language of diplomacy. The Arabic is given in conventional orthography.)


(This is an enlarged and improved translation of a German dictionary by the same author. It presents the vocabulary of MSA as used throughout the Arabic speaking world, based on attested usage. Arabic words are arranged alphabetically by root, followed by a transliteration. It is an excellent and widely used dictionary.)


2.3 Word Counts and Word Lists


Middle East Center for Arabic Studies. *A Selected Word List of Modern Literary Arabic.* Beirut: Khayat's, n.d.

2.4 Contrastive Analyses


2.5 Tests


*Arabic Proficiency Test*. 2nd ed. 1968.
APPENDIX II
THE ARABIC LANGUAGE: A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC PROFILE

1. General Remarks

1.1 Where Spoken

Arabic is spoken by some 100 million people in an area that includes: (1) in Africa, the countries of North Africa, Egypt, much of the Sudan, some of the sub-Saharan regions around Lake Chad, and Mauretania; (2) in Asia, the countries of the Fertile Crescent, Arabia, and the Central Asian SSR of Uzbekistan; (3) in Europe, Malta and previously in Spain and Sicily where Arabic was spoken until the 16th and 18th centuries respectively. Further, small Arabic speaking communities live in Cyprus, on the east coast of Africa, and in the countries of the Western Hemisphere, including the U.S. and Latin America, where a number of speakers of Arabic, mainly from Syria and Lebanon, have emigrated since the beginning of the century, and more recently Canada.

1.2 Linguistic Affiliation

Arabic belongs to the Semitic family of languages and shares with the other Semitic languages (many of which, like Akkadian, Phoenician and others are now dead, but others, like Amharic and the South Arabic languages, like Soqotri and Mehri, are still living) phonological, morphological, and syntactic features as well as a core vocabulary.

1.3 The Writing System

The Arabic writing system is alphabetic and like other Semitic alphabets similarly consonantal. Diacritics that represent short vowels exist but are regularly omitted in most written materials today. Various scripts are known. The Kufi and Thuluth scripts are only used nowadays for calligraphy and decorative purposes. The most commonly used scripts are the Nasx (for typescript and ruq'a (in handwriting); (they are used all over the Arab world,
with some minor differences in usage in North Africa.)

As will be explained below, the colloquials are not normally written. Two exceptions exist: the first, Maltese, which is used as the standard language and is developing a literature of its own, is written in an especially adapted Latin script; the other, Central Asian Arctic, is written in a Cyrillic-based orthography.

1.4 Foreign Languages

There is widespread knowledge of foreign languages among educated people in the Arabic speaking world. At least one language and often two are regularly taught in schools throughout the area. The particular language used is that of the country that occupied the country before independence. In North Africa a large number of the educated people are literate in French, sometimes to the exclusion of Arabic. In the countries of the Near East which the French controlled, i.e., Lebanon and Syria, French is used, though rarely, if ever, monolingually. In the other Arabic speaking countries, English has greater influence.

In addition to Arabic speakers, there exist in the Arab world minorities, many of whose members control Arabic as a second language. These include the Kurds, many of whom live in Iraq, Syriac-Aramaic speakers in Iraq and a few villages near Damascus, South Arabic speakers on the southern coast of Arabia, Armenians who are dispersed all over the Arab Near East, and Berbers mostly in Morocco and Algeria but also in Tunisia and Lybia.

1.5 The Importance of Arabic

Arabic is one of the major languages of the world today, because of its strategic, religious, and cultural importance. It derives its strategic importance from the fact that it is spoken by a large number of people who live in a highly important area of the world, which is the gate to the East and has traditionally been viewed as the bridge between East and West. Further, it is known to many more millions throughout the world as the language of the
Quran and Islamic law and jurisprudence. As such it is taught in schools of many of the Moslem states. Every faithful Moslem memorizes and recites full passages from the Quran in Arabic. Since Islam governs not only the religious but also the secular life of the Moslem community as well, a large number of words having to do with various aspects of communal and social life have been borrowed into the Muslim languages such as Persian and Urdu, so that Arabic has had an all-pervading influence on these languages. At one time, all major Muslim languages used the Arabic alphabet, and with the exception of Turkish, those in the Near East still do. Finally, the Arabic language has been the vehicle of one of the greatest literatures of the world, a literature that spans more than 1400 years. In the Middle Ages it was the literary lingua franca of the whole Arab-Muslim empire and was used by people of various linguistic backgrounds as the vehicle of civilization. Like Latin in Europe, it provided a common medium for the continued growth and dissemination of knowledge and culture.

2. Linguistic Diversity in the Arab World

2.1 Major Dialects

As might be expected in a language used for a long period of time in immense regions, spoken Arabic has a wide range of dialects and sub-dialects, which show differences in the sounds, grammar, and vocabulary. The major dialect differences which have been recognized are: (1) regional. The major cleavage is between Western and Eastern dialects separated by a line that runs roughly from the western borders of Egypt to Lake Chad. Dialect cleavage is very often not co-terminous with political boundaries, but it has been useful and common to subdivide Eastern dialects into Egyptian, Syrian (including the dialects of Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine), Iraqi, and Peninsular. To the western branch belong the closely related North African dialects (Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian, Libyan) and Maltese. Important regional differences of course exist within each area. (2) Socio-Economic. Running across
the whole Arabic-speaking region is another cleavage, between nomadic and sedentary dialects. Among the latter, important differences exist between the dialects of the major urban areas, which show remarkable similarities among themselves, and those of the adjoining rural areas. (3) Communal. In some of the urban areas, mainly in Iraq and North Africa a dialect cleavage of a different kind, based on differences attributable to religious affiliation, (Muslim, Christian and Jewish) is known to exist.

In spite of these variations, which can be quite marked and hinder mutual intelligibility at the extremities of the Arab world, the dialects on the whole show striking similarities and possess a common core which identifies them unmistakably as Arabic.

Powerful forces causing a great deal of leveling are at work in the region. These include the spread of education, mass media, pan-Arabism, and the greater mobility of segments of the population in search of better education and economic conditions. Within each country there is a tendency for the prestigious dialect of the capital or of the major cities to spread to the surrounding countryside. In the cities themselves wherever differences on the communal basis exist, the non-Moslems tend to conform their speech to that of the majority. Inter-regionally, two dialects seem to exert influence on others. The first, Egyptian (Cairo) Arabic, because of the tremendous prestige Egypt enjoys culturally, religiously and to varying degrees, politically, and because of the influence of radio, television, and movies (which are predominantly Egyptian), of Egyptian teachers, and of Egyptian-educated preachers and professionals, is the dialect a speaker of Arabic is most likely to be exposed to after his own. The second is urban Palestinian Arabic which has been carried to various parts of the Arabic world by the Palestinian 'diaspora'. In some areas the impact seems to have resulted in a Palestinian based koine of sorts.
2.2 The Standard Language

Probably the most important single factor which has lent an element of cohesiveness and unity to the Arabic speaking communities, and hence to the Arabic dialects, throughout the centuries, and which at present is partly responsible for the leveling that is taking place, is the existence side by side with the spoken dialect of a superimposed prestigious, written more or less uniform, standard language.

2.2.1 Modern Standard Arabic

The contemporary form of this standard language is known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). This is the language of the radio, the press, modern literature, speeches, and scientific and artistic writings. It is the official language of all the Arab states where it alone enjoys official recognition as the language of administration and diplomacy. It is probably the most important unifying factor among the Arabic speaking countries, a factor which transcends all political, cultural, and economic barriers.

From all this, it is clear that the Arabic speaking world faces a polarized linguistic situation, sometimes referred to as 'diglossia'. Every speaker of Arabic acquires in his childhood a dialect which he uses throughout his life in the home, in the market and in the streets, and with all members of the community on informal occasions; the use of any other form of Arabic on such occasions is most inappropriate and unacceptable. On the other hand, he has to have special training in another form of Arabic, MSA, which governs his social behavior on formal occasions. Without at least basic competence in MSA he cannot have access to education or culture or participate in the political, cultural, or artistic life of the nation. His participation in the intellectual life of the community is predicated on his acquisition of MSA for he is never trained to manipulate his dialect in order to express abstract thought or say something that is culturally significant or acceptable.
It is to be expected that with such intimate contact between the two forms of Arabic, there exists a good deal of interplay between one form or another in the verbal behavior of the speaker. The extent of this interplay is most clearly demonstrated in the oral use of formal Arabic, which is based on the colloquial with heavy borrowings in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary from MSA, or vice versa, depending to a great extent on the speaker's control of MSA, a control which even after many years of schooling may vary from excellent to poor, the proficiency of most speakers being somewhere in between. (Such a hybrid form of Arabic has often been referred to as the Middle Language). Further, the dialects often show up in written Arabic in dialogues and humorous anecdotes, especially when the situational context requires the use of colloquial for stronger artistic and stylistic effect. In their attempt to reach the masses, writers and literatuers have been known to use forms and constructions which are closer to the 'language of the people' than to the lofty norms of the standard language.

2.2.2 Classical Arabic

This term is applied to the pre-MSA form of standard Arabic. It's the language in which the pre-Islmaic poetry, Islamic writing and Arabic literature (down the ages and until the present century) were written. In many respects it is identical to MSA, and many people do not make a distinction between them, in fact, to the Arab there are only two forms of Arabic, the colloquial and the fusha or 'purest most eloquent, best' Arabic, which term is applied to the standard language throughout its history. However, there are enough important developments in the MSA to warrant distinction between it and the classical language. These developments have been prompted by the need felt by intellectuals to make an otherwise unwieldy classical language meet the needs of contemporary life, and to develop a mechanism for the creation of scientific and technical vocabulary. This has resulted in various simplifications of the
rules of grammar, in borrowing, either directly or indirectly by means of 'calques' from European languages, mainly English and French, and in various stylistic innovations.

Here again, the interrelation between MSA and Classical Arabic should be noted. The influence of Classical Arabic can be most clearly (and not unexpectedly) seen in the writings of modern Arabic authors who, mainly because of their education at religious institutions such as al-Azhar University, are so very well versed in the classical language and steeped in its literary traditions that they have easy and continued recourse to its styles, forms and expressions.

To summarize, then, every Arab learns in his childhood a dialect. During his adult life he may be exposed to another dialect, most probably Cairo, through movies or the radio. In order to participate in the cultural and intellectual life of his community, he has to be trained in MSA. He enters into his cultural heritage by being exposed to Classical Arabic. He further learns one foreign language or, in some cases, two.
Notes.

1 In terms of language competence, the following statistics taken from the Roster of Specialists in Linguistics and Related Fields: Arabic, prepared by the staff of the Center for Applied Linguistics, and published in Jan. 1966, are interesting, though incomplete. Of the 129 who answered the questionnaire, 35 native speakers and 46 non-natives indicated that they taught Arabic. Of the former, 19 indicated that in addition to knowing the language natively, they could read difficult material easily and were able to lecture in the language. Of the latter (i.e. the non-natives), 15 indicated that they were fluent in the language though not native (of these 15, 3 indicated that they were able to read difficult material easily and to lecture in the language), and 16 others indicated that their knowledge of the language was adequate for general conversation (of the 16, 11 indicated that, in addition, they could read Arabic adequately for research.)


3 A recent study conducted at the University of Michigan (which as far as I know has not yet been published) of the vocabulary of eleven most commonly used MSA books and readers shows that the number of items they all share is negligible; the vocabulary common to even as few as three of these books is remarkably small.

4 The Arabic Teachers' Workshop of 1966 reached this conclusion after studying all the available 'intermediate' books. See Abboud, pp. 23-33.

Summer programs are now held on a regional basis by consortia of universities. Two such consortia are in existence and rotate the programs among their members: the Western Consortium, Utah (1967), UCLA (1968), Berkeley (1969), Washington (1970), and Texas (1971), and the Eastern Consortium, NYU (1968), Pennsylvania (1969), and (presumably) Princeton (1970). A few other universities continue to offer summer programs on their own.

Since I do not have firsthand acquaintance with, and in the absence (to my knowledge) of a published study of, this program, it is obviously difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the measure of success it has enjoyed or the impact it has had.

For additional information on these and other materials see the preliminary bibliography prepared by the Center for Applied Linguistics.