

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 125 284

FL 007 775

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TITLE Language Treatment in Egypt.
INSTITUTION Ford Foundation, Cairo (Egypt).
PUB DATE 75
NOTE 139p.

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.83 HC-\$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Arabic; Bibliographies; Dialect Studies; Diglossia; Educational Planning; *Educational Policy; Foreign Language Periodicals; Higher Education; Language Instruction; Language of Instruction; *Language Planning; *Language Role; Languages for Special Purposes; *Language Standardization; Language Typology; Language Usage; *Language Variation; Linguistics; Official Languages; Onomastics; Sciences; Sociolinguistics; Standard Spoken Usage; Textbooks; Vocabulary

IDENTIFIERS *Egypt

ABSTRACT

This is a collection of eight essays dealing with various aspects of language treatment in Egypt. The first essay attempts a tentative typology characterizing the role of the Arabic language as a unifying or divisive force within and among the countries in which it is spoken as a native language. This essay also makes some initial reflections on Egypt's language policy in the educational system. The second essay reports on the structure and activities of the Arabic Language Academy. This is followed by: a review of numbers 28-32 of the Arabic Language Academy Journal; a brief report on the activities of the Arab Science Union; a report on the Franklin Book Programs, a plan to replace English by Arabic in university science texts; a bibliographic review of language and linguistics articles in Arabic periodicals; a report on the teaching of linguistics in Egypt; and a brief listing of useful books and articles on language in Egypt. (AM)

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LANGUAGE TREATMENT IN EGYPT

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by

Björn H. Jernudd and Gary L. Garrison

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FORD FOUNDATION
CAIRO FIELD OFFICE
1975

by Gary L. Garrison

INTRODUCTION

The increased recognition of language as a salient component of political, social, and educational issues has given rise to the study of the role of language by other than linguists - sociologists, economists, and political scientists.

(1) These scholars, as J.J. Gumperz states, "are interested in language data as they contribute to the solution of problems already posed by the academic dialogue in their own disciplines".

(2)

The present essay uses statements about the Arabic language made by a small portion of its speakers in order to construct a picture of the roles of Arabic within its speech area and of the issues connected to these roles which may have social consequences. It is an attempt to arrive at a tentative typology characterizing the role of the Arabic language as a unifying or divisive force within and among the countries in which it is spoken as a native language. (3) It will also try to describe the types of attachment individuals and groups have for the language. Both the kind of attachment people have for their language and the role which that language plays in uniting or dividing the population of a particular nation or group of nations are viewed herein as elements of knowledge necessary for persons investigating language use and policy within that state. Whether studying the history of past policy and use or planning policies

which will result in new uses of the language or in a new or changed language, both the subjective relationship between a language and those who speak it as well as a more objective assessment of the role of the language in a society are necessary components of the total situation.

To the extent that this analysis is a tentative classification which uses only written evidence from a small group of intellectuals it is incomplete. However, it is meant to form one segment of the beginning of the study of the language policy in the educational system of the Arab Republic of Egypt and as such is designed to generate hypotheses relevant to this planned investigation as well as to provide a descriptive background to it.

In studying characteristics of languages and their speakers which may have relevance for policy studies, attention has been focused on the distribution of languages among the populations of multilingual states and the status and power which accrues to an ethnic group by virtue of its knowledge of a particular language or languages. Groups who do not speak the privileged language may be excluded from the power and rewards either explicitly because of their membership in a certain ethnic-linguistic group or because they are discriminated against in access to education or jobs because they do not possess the requisite language skills (and they probably never will if

the discrimination continues). Thus the monolingual Quechua-speaking population of Peru are denied participation in the Spanish-speaking national culture of Peru because they do not speak Spanish (among other reasons). (4) The choice of a national language from among one of several indigenous tongues can be relatively well accepted, as in Tanzania, (5) or fiercely opposed for years, as in India. (6) Even where efforts are made to satisfy two or more ethnic-linguistic groups by making two languages the co-equal national languages of a country, lack of conflict over the language question is not assured, e.g., the Quebec separatist movement (only partially a language issue), or the resignation of a Belgian premier for his failure to find a solution to the French-Flemish language dispute.

All of the above situations have at least one overriding characteristic in common - within a country, the choice or use of a certain language or languages to the exclusion of others is important for the maintenance or creation of social, political, or linguistic unity or diversity within that country. Whichever of these goals is most desired in pursuit of a set of national goals, the consequences of the choice of languages to be employed within the country cannot be overlooked. If those who make the decision as to the choice of language to be used in the media, education, the civil service, or the armed forces or to be used in dealing with other states are to decide wisely, they must have estimates of the potential unity or diversity a particular policy choice will lead to.

In this paper the writer will be searching for elements of unity and diversity within a speech community which are created or supported by the use of a single language. By concentrating upon a single language rather than a single country in which there may be several language combinations contributing to unity or diversity a step can be made toward the description and analysis of a monolingual speech community using the same framework that is usually applied to a multilingual community. In addition, the unity-diversity model applied to a monolingual community will allow us to identify divisions within this community, divisions which have often been overlooked because it was assumed that a monolingual community was "unified". The assumption that monolingualism and political and social unity were correlated has been predicated by the belief on the part of sociolinguists that language was not an issue in a monolingual community, especially if the members of the community were all of one ethnic or religious group. The Arabs have been considered a single ethnic group united with respect to language, religion, culture and race by sociolinguists. (7) This oversimplification has ignored and obscured differences among Arabic speakers based on social class and economic and educational characteristics which can be phrased in terms of language differences. (8)

The statement about the role of Arabic (9) in the some 20 countries where the classical form is prescribed as the language of the media and the colloquial form used as the first spoken language of between 48% and 98% of the population in each country have been taken largely from a review of the writings of Arab intellectuals who have specifically dealt with the role or structure (10) of Arabic. We cannot claim that they represent the cross-section of public opinion on language issues in the Arab World, but we can attest to the fact that the issues they describe as salient with regard to the Arabic language are still alive today, whether the writings are 70 or 10 years old.

ARABIC AS A UNIFYING FORCE

Within this classification the form of Arabic which will be referred to is "classical" or "modern literary" Arabic - according to the prevailing norm the written and read form of the Arabic language which is a learned language not spoken spontaneously in its normatively prescribed pure form by anyone except perhaps religious scholars.

Arabic as a Sacred Tongue

The identification of the Arabic language with Islam is usually the first characteristic of the language to be mentioned by writers. The spread of Islam and of Arabic have been intimately connected because Arabic is the language of the first Muslims as well as of the Qur'an. The Umayyid dynasty spread Arabic while spreading Islam, "leaving the language to conquer the tongues of peoples as the religion conquered their hearts and souls". (11)

Islam and Arabic are probably more closely related than any other religion is to a single language in that all religious literature is written in Arabic, all religious ceremonies conducted in Arabic, and men of religion have traditionally been the protectors and transmitters of this purest form of the language. The Qur'an is the highest linguistic achievement of the Arabic language and is the final authority on the language. It is the direct work of God revealed through His Messenger Mohammad in the Arabic language in a style comparable to no other, a style which has formed the model for all writers to emulate. "It is still impossible for any Arab to write with no consideration for such grammatical, idiomatic, or stylistic requirements as are exemplified in the Qur'an without being denounced as an ignorant or stupid person, if not as an

impudent abuser of the integrity of Arabic as well as of the sacredness of the revealed word of God". (12) The most Arabic of all peoples were those whose Arabic most closely resembled that of the Qur'an. (13)

"The Qur'an has saved the Arabic language from disintegrating into a variety of local dialects, and thus has preserved the unity of thought and expression. In this sense Islam belongs not only to the Muslims but is the heritage of the Christian Arabs as well" (14) Few writers mention the status and use among Arab Christian groups and individuals of Arabic as a church language, but because it does not have the same status as in Islam, it is doubtful whether it functions as a symbol of unity in the same way. However, this fact does not mean that Arabic does not function as a symbol of unity for Christians to the extent that they identify both the language and Islam as parts of an Arab cultural heritage.

The inevitably mutual relationship among the Arabic language, Islam, and the practice of the religion within the culture prevents the neat classification of some characteristics of the language under a single heading of sacred or cultural. Thus, Sati' al-Husri, one of the most prolific writers on Arab

culture and nationalism in the twentieth century, gives an explanation of the role of Arabic in promoting unity among individuals which also suggests a very practical means by which Arabic could have been spread over such a wide area.

He says, "the recitation of the Qur'an was not entrusted to the imams and preachers of the mosques alone.... rather, this (recitation) was imposed upon every Muslim man and woman." (15)

The daily participation of Muslims in prayer was a religious duty which strengthened their attachment to the language of prayer and required that every Muslim, even if he were illiterate, know something of the pure language.

Arabic as a Cultural and Literary Tongue

There are a variety of opinions and observations included under the unifying role of Arabic as a cultural and literary tongue, ranging from broad statements about the emotional unity which it promotes to statements about the simplicity and obvious rationality of some aspects of its internal structure. Darwish al-Jundi assigns a cultural and intellectual role to Arabic: "The Arabic language is a record of Arab creativity, a symbol of their unity and the expression of their intellectual and technical achievements. The Arabic language has displayed a tremendous vitality in its meticulous structure, its wide

extension, and its flexibility, which has made it a good vehicle for the transmission of the arts and sciences". (16)

We have already mentioned the establishment of the Qur'an as the highest achievement of the literary art in Arabic and the intimate relationship among language, religion, and culture in the Arab World. It may have been this relationship as well as the role which Arabic intellectuals played in creating and preserving knowledge and transmitting it from the East to the West in the Middle Ages to which Edward Sapir referred when he stated that Arabic was among only five languages which have had "overwhelming significance as carriers of culture". (17) One early contemporary study of the role and influence of Arabic maintained a Whorfian-type view which went beyond even what Whorf himself would have asserted in that it asserted that the Arabic language had an effect upon the psychology of the Arabs as a whole, contributing to their extremes of emotion and lack of organization. (18)

The triliteral root system of Arabic with its methods of derivation of new forms resembling a mathematical formula is a characteristic of which Arab writers have justly been proud and which they are zealous to protect. The growth and evolution of the language are likened to the growth and evolution of a people or nation by one early Arab write. in

that the language formed itself out of its own elements by means of derivation and by assimilation of non-Arabic elements.
(19)

The presence of a population which reads one language allows for the dissemination of literary works and written and broadcast media over a wide area. Whatever their country of origin, Arab writers and broadcasters can be assured of a potential reading or listening audience in some 20 countries. Among mother tongues only Spanish is similar in the number of sovereign states which it encompasses. (20)

Arabic as a National Tongue

In our reference to Arabic as a national tongue the term "national" is not confined to that geo-political unity known as a nation-state but rather encompasses all speakers of Arabic - the Arab nation in its largest sense. The sharing of a common language brings peoples together insofar as it is a common instrument of communication. But it also serves as an emotional rallying point as one of the primordial sentiments which go to the very heart of defining what and who is an Arab and the Arab world, Arab unity, Arab brotherhood, and Arab nationalism.

The most succinct definition of who is an Arab is that he is someone who speaks Arabic and wants to be an Arab. (21) Granted that a person may not possess one or the other of these characteristics either by choice or by chance - for example a third generation emigrant may not speak Arabic even though he still thinks of himself as an Arab - but the point is here that the language was chosen as the objective and measurable common denominator, not some racial or religious characteristic or participation in a common cause and history. The strength of the idea of the wedding of Arabic and Arabism is such that a previously mentioned writer could intimately link the language with the psychology and personality of the Arabs. Another writer puts the relationship in even more extreme terms: "The important thing is that we utter the substance of our thinking in our Arabic tongue. This substance is the final meaning from which our human nature is composed. It is our very intellect and spirit.... There is no existence to a thought which has no language thus the form which we give to this thought substance effects this substance to a great extent. And from here, of course, man tends toward the nation which has established its language as his mother tongue". (22) The proof of such a series of statements may be hard to substantiate, but it is also hard to intuitively deny it. We can recognize the legitimacy of feeling a bond between ourselves and others like us in some respect and for the common origins which we all share and which have formed us in some way. If language effects the

thought processes of each individual in an area, it is a logical step to admit that common values and beliefs will be present among the population as a whole (although in the expression of Arab nationalism, the functions of the unity symbols are exaggerated, as in any nationalism). The Arabic language and its literary and artistic expressions have been said to have held the Arab countries together in the face of Turkish, French, and British occupations in a stronger and deeper union than could any political union. (23)

The above descriptions of the relationship between the individual and his language and among individuals who speak the same language is inexact and vague because it has not been measured and it may be an impossible task to do so. The unity of the language with time - that is, the changes which Arabic has undergone over time so as to be adequate to explain objects, actions, feelings, and relationships in domains which did not exist 1400 or even 50 years ago - is more easily measured.

Arabic as a Contemporary Tongue

Earlier in this paper it was noted that the Qur'an is considered to be the linguistic and literary ideal by which Arabic writing and speech has been measured. The sincerity of

this belief is not questioned. However, the agreement of that belief with the reality of the structure of Arabic today is questioned. No language can remain unchanged for 14 centuries and still be adequate for everyday use. Because of Arab expansion and foreign influences and the growth of cities, new words and styles did come into the language either by the formation of compound words, the method of derivation, and the assimilation or Arabization of foreign words, e.g., the use of tilīfūn for the word telephone. These changes were largely unplanned and pragmatic in the sense that they filled an immediate need for a word or phrase and no one questioned their authenticity. In the early part of this century some of these innovations began to be noted and questioned. At the same time conscious attempts were made to simplify Arabic grammar and add to its lexicon by the above means. Two language academies were established, in Damascus (1921) and Cairo (1932) with the purpose of protecting classical Arabic from the colloquial forms and from its own archaism, preserving the purity of the language (especially getting rid of borrowed foreign terms), and adapting the language to modern needs. (24) These academies have issued decisions regarding the use of words, styles, grammar, and spelling, concentrated primarily in scientific fields, where Arabic was seen to be weakest with regard to its power of description.

If decisions and word lists are a measure of change and adaptation to modern demands, then Arabic can be said to be making progress. However, the introduction of these decisions and words into practical usage has not come about both because of the impotence of the academies to enforce their plans and the refusal or reluctance of the public, the media, and the governments who set up the academies to accept and support the changes. The conflicts regarding the future structure and use of the Arabic language are probably the most lively and alive issues which divide Arabic speakers today and ones which effect the other, less linguistic divisions found in the Arab World.

ARABIC AS A DIVISIVE FORCE

Arabic as a divisive force is of interest to the planner on two levels - first, in terms of the internal structure of the language, and second, in terms of the sociolinguistics variables associated with Arabic in its milieu. Here, linguistic and sociolinguistic interests merge more explicitly in that questions of the reform of Arabic are not merely linguistic ones but social ones having wider importance than many Arab linguists are aware.

Strictly speaking, the form of Arabic referred to in this section is not the same as that of the previous section. Whereas we were speaking about classical Arabic as a unifying force, we will be speaking about several forms of Arabic as divisive forces. The classical is only one of them.

The three major divisions of the characterization of Arabic as a divisive force within the language and within the speech community with respect to the language concern 1) the question of how much the classical language should be reformed and what should be the bases of these reforms, 2) the dispute over the use of colloquial Arabic versus classical Arabic and 3) the question of which colloquial dialect is "best".

Traditional Versus Reform Classical Arabic

The proponents of classical Arabic are divided into two main groups - those who believe that the grammatical bases of the language which were established by the ancient linguists and by religious texts should not be tampered with but should remain as the yardstick by which any other changes are made in the language, and those who believe that these bases were appropriate as limits within which to organize the language in past times but that new bases are needed upon which to

organize and judge the language, bases which are appropriate to the modern world, not to some past epoch. (25) The commonly stated goal of both groups is usually phrased in terms of the adaptation of Arabic to the needs of the Arabs today. Both groups complain of the stagnation of the language and its corruption by non-Arabic elements and both say that new methods are needed to bring the language back to what it should be.

Although the traditionalists give lip service to new reforms they usually relapse into a standard conservative position when they come to defining their program. This plan consists of a selection of rules and examples from the Qur'an, the Prophetic Traditions, early Arabic prose, and pre-Islamic poetry, all of which are said to be unmarred by any corruption or deviation from these norms. (26)

The reformists are more selective and pragmatic in choosing and applying rules of reform. The problems which they define are those of simplification and modernization of the Arabic language - simplification of its grammar and spelling and modernization of its vocabulary, to include scientific and technical terms not now found in Arabic. Although they are more open to the use of new techniques for reform such as borrowing from other languages, the reformists, like the

traditionalists, reject any use of the colloquial languages as replacements for the classical and many refuse even to recognize them as Arabic, reserving this term exclusively for the classical language.

Among the reformists' aims is one of simplifying the grammar and spelling of Arabic in order to make the language easier to master for students as well as to enable the students to more easily use the language effectively in the study of other subjects. (27) It has been said that the goal of Arab students is not to read in order to understand but to understand in order to be able to read, so difficult is Arabic grammar. Ahmed Amin criticizes the continued use of one element of grammar, the i'rab, or system of case endings, saying that university graduates who have studied grammar for nine years in primary and secondary schools have failed to master the i'rab and can rarely write a page free of grammatical errors. He continues, "This being the case with broadly educated people who have read much by themselves and written much, how then can we aspire to attain any convincing results by spreading the instruction of the Arabic language in lower social media . . ." (28) He advocates doing away with case endings. Other more traditional reformers believe that a concerted effort to apply modern methods of linguistics and education could teach the habit of i'rab and thereby strengthen the language and its use.

Another reform position is that which combines a simplification of the classical grammar with the increased use of the classical language in its spoken form. (29) This suggestion would have the effect of promoting the classical while stamping out the colloquial dialects. There is a difficulty here, if according to this plan individuals would have to speak spontaneously to one another in a language they had learned and used only in school. However, combined with written materials in the same language and incentives from the school and home, this program could, in the long run, change language habits for a whole population. Indeed, there are indications that a type of change approximating this plan is taking place among the university-educated population of Arab countries.

Another goal of the reformers is to reform and expand the vocabulary of classical Arabic to include scientific and technical terms which have not previously existed in Arabic. For want of these terms, the reformers feel that Arabic and the Arabs are too dependent upon European languages in the areas of science, business, and education.

The reformers and the conservatives in the matter of change in the Arabic language are represented by two establishments in the Arab world - the language academies on the one

hand and the men of religion (Ulema') on the other. A member of the Cairo Language Academy, Dr. Taha Hussayn, makes it clear that the Ulema' should not be given a role in the reform of the classical language. He takes the view that since Arabic is not studied and taught solely as a religious language but also as a national and a literary language, it belongs to all the people who speak it regardless of their nation or race. He does not advocate however, that the people be allowed to change the language to suit their needs. In fact, his objection to the Ulema' is directed toward the monopoly on the teaching of Arabic held by Al-Azhar and its secondary and primary schools.

(30) These schools have held this monopoly to be theirs by divine right as protectors of the religious and linguistic standards associated with Islam. Dr. Hussayn believes the state should take over the teaching of Arabic so as to make clear that Arabic is a secular language whose reform is not to be blocked by religious arguments. He asks if the elite (in this case, Ulema') "secretly fear that the spread of knowledge will destroy their present monopoly, which is comparable to the position enjoyed by the ancient Egyptian priests". (31)

The men of religion are not the only ones who are a select group by the virtue of the knowledge of Arabic and, are not the only ones who represent vested interests which oppose

or wish to restrict the reform of Arabic for their reasons. The dispute concerning classical and colloquial Arabic - indeed, the very categorization of language use into these two opposing poles - provides an opportunity for us to identify some of these groups and their motives and methods.

Classical Versus Colloquial Arabic

The conflict between the two forms of Arabic is the point at which our two analytic categories of unity and diversity are most directly represented sociolinguistically. On the one hand there is a single language understood by persons in 20 countries and used as an international medium of communication among them and on the other hand there is a group of dialectal languages which resemble this classical language but which differ from country to country and even within single countries and which are linguistically unstandardized.

Phonetically, lexically, semantically and syntactically, classical and colloquial Arabic are similar, but this similarity is a halfway point from which emphasis can be placed on the elements in the two languages which are identical or those which are radically different. Theoretically, a person knowing one does not naturally know the other, although he would

be aided in learning and recognizing the form he did not know by the similarities between the two, and would encounter difficulties in learning because of the interference between these similarities. Practically, all Arabs know and use a colloquial form in everyday speech. The two forms are in a "diglossic" relationship - a relatively stable state - as Ferguson defines the term - in which there are two forms of a language, a "high" form used in written literature and on formal occasions and a "low" form used in everyday speech. The conflict between the classical and colloquial forms on the structural level concerns the "purity" of one form and the "corrupt" nature of the other, the pure form being free of the foreign borrowings in vocabulary, grammar, and style and the unstandardized grammar which are characteristic of the corrupt colloquial.

The colloquial form has shown itself to be more open to changes in vocabulary especially, because these changes enter through everyday speech and have to submit only to the criterion of utility in order to gain acceptance. The previous section has pointed out the traditions and prestige which surround the classical. The colloquial is pictured by the classical proponents as a corrupting force attacking the classical language. In order to repel this threat the pro-classical forces generally realize that they need to effect

reforms in the classical structure and broaden the teaching of it throughout the Arab states. Care must be taken during the reforms not to allow colloquial elements to creep back in and begin their corruption and division again. The language academies of Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Rabat are the rallying points for the defense and reform of classical Arabic. The Arab Academy of Damascus has banned the use of the colloquial (presumably in theory only, since they did not specify where it was banned), stating that it risks destroying the foundations of the pure Arabic language, the Qur'an and classical literature. "Although the colloquial is the language of the mass the concern for protecting a common patrimony pushed the Academy to ban it, considering that its disadvantages surpassed its advantages By tolerating it, schisms would be created in the heart of the Arabic language, thus giving birth to diverse national languages and relegating the (classical) Arabic language to the rank of a dead language as is Latin." (32) Official policy has typically exaggerated the threat of the colloquial to Arab nationalism while ignoring the divisions which the classical-colloquial controversy supports within each Arab country.

To the extent that proponents of classical Arabic deal with reforms in limited subjects (such as replacing Greek and Latin philosophical terms with ones derived from Arabic roots) or with preservation of the classical language in its "pure"

form, they are not directly concerned with spreading the knowledge of the language and thus they are aiding the creation of an elite which has access to a privileged knowledge. The difficulty of the grammar of classical Arabic is a barrier to its easy acquisition as has been noted. The methods by which it is taught are often not based on sound language teaching principles suited to the abilities of 6-or 7-year old children. An American writing about the classical-colloquial conflict notes that the child who comes to school fully equipped with the vocabulary of daily life and a knowledge of the structure of his dialect has difficulty with the complexities of the classical grammar and writing system which he must learn before he can proceed to the study of other subjects. (33) To this difficulty we would add the problem of interference between the colloquial and classical languages for the young student learning the latter. This student cannot avoid mistakes in using two languages which have many subtle differences and similarities and which he must use in separate domains - the one for speech outside of school and the other for speech in school and for all reading and writing. (34) Most students do make the adjustment, but we wonder how much easier this adjustment would be if there were no differences or very few between the two language forms. (35)

That most of the work done by the language academies is restricted in application to a small group is apparent when one looks at the pages upon pages of words in Arabic which would substitute for esoteric scientific terms of Greek and Latin origin. In spite of the detail and precision found in lists which include names for all individual plants and animals and their various parts as well as all superordinate and subordinate botanical and zoological classifications these lists are largely wasted. For, despite their attention to rules of derivation and creation of new words the academies have no power to require the adoption of these terms uniformly. Most writers who refer to these concepts still include an English or French translation in parentheses after the Arabic, if they employ the Arabic word at all.

The broadening of the Arabic lexicon and its implementation in practice - Arabization - would have a potential effect in some countries in that it would enable monolingual Arabic speakers - those who know only classical Arabic in addition to their particular colloquial dialect - to enter schools or occupations for which knowledge of a European language is now required. (Although Arabization would not directly aid the person who knows only a colloquial dialect). For example, in Tunisia and Morocco a person who knows only classical Arabic and not French could only get a job in the ministries of Justice or Religious Affairs. (36)

That Arabic is strangely insufficient for carrying out certain national and cultural policy aims of Arab countries is demonstrated by the argument (put forward for the continued use of English as a medium of instruction in medicine and engineering in Egyptian universities. (37) In addition to the lack of terminology in Arabic and the cost of reprinting textbooks, the argument against Arabic states that it cannot be used because Egypt admits many students from African countries to these faculties, most of whom speak English. The use of Arabic would drive these students to other countries for their education at a time when they are the best publicity for Egypt in their own countries after their return as university graduates. The argument is also made that Egyptian students who know only Arabic cannot participate in scientific missions to other countries and keep abreast of the latest developments in their fields.

The point to be made here is not so much the inadequacy of Arabic as perceived in Egypt but the preoccupation with the use of Arabic in higher education and in foreign programs for an elite. There is not a corresponding amount of energy and resources devoted to simplifying Arabic so that it can be learned easily and well in primary schools and eventually used in the sciences. Ironically, even those who wish to rid the Arab world of foreign influence and foreign languages. reject the best ally the classical language could have in doing so - the colloquial dialects.

Some writers do propose a merger of the two forms which would at the same time simplify the classical and raise the colloquial to the status of a codified language worthy of the name. (38) However, this position is not as neutral and free from controversy as one might at first suspect. Any departure from the rules of "pure" Arabic is condemned outright by the pro-classical forces (although some tolerance of colloquial and even concessions, imposed by necessity, are slowly beginning to appear). And each extreme criticizes the middle position for including too few elements of the form it champions and too many of its opponents'. Nevertheless, the "third language", as Tawfiq al-Hakim calls it, has several characteristics which support its adoption, as authorized norm, the strongest among them being the fact that it is already in use among most educated Arabs today. In effect, the third language is a "natural" phenomenon which has appeared gradually and spontaneously -although it has been created and promoted purposefully for many years by a few individuals such as Tawfiq al-Hakim in his plays and Ahmad Amin and Sati' al-Husri in their linguistic and nationalistic writings. The third language has simultaneously simplified the grammar of the classical, codified the grammar of the colloquial, and gotten rid of archaic and imprecise expressions in each. If education is assumed to be the causal factor in this outcome, then the reformers who hope to use expanded education as a means for revitalizing the classical

language may experience an unanticipated consequence in the rise of a third language which will replace the classical in all but its most traditional roles.

Conversely, one writer who favors this middle way hopes that its spread will facilitate the spread of education among all the people and will be a "suitable vehicle for literature as creative art in all the genres and classes". (39) This expanding of educational opportunity by the teaching and use of a simplified language is the second most frequently stated reason (after modernization of the structure) advanced by reformers of the classical language, whatever their plan of reform. The execution of such a plan in education, drawing on the changes which have already shown up in the third language, would seem to be an ideal cooperative effort for several groups of reformers. This goal is a more positive and concrete one than mere "modernization" which is a defensive reaction to a perceived threat from other languages and cultures and which is limited in its effect to scientific and technical fields with which only a relative few individuals in Arab society are associated. Pro-classical groups cannot refuse to see that even though the colloquial dialects divide one country from another to a certain extent, the classical-colloquial diglossia divides social classes within each country. Social divisions are not based on language divisions although to the

extent that social divisions determine access to schooling, where the classical language is learned, and to the extent that children of higher social class do better in school, then social divisions do support language divisions. And the difference between a person who knows classical Arabic and one who does not know it is the difference not only between a literate and an illiterate person but between one who protects and supports certain vested interests with regard to the language issues outlined here versus one who does not.

The late President Gamal Abdel Nasser aroused exclamations of surprise and praise for his use of the colloquial form in his speeches to the Egyptian people, but this was the only context in which he used the colloquial in public addresses. Whether this action had direct effect on the status of colloquial Arabic is not known, but if politicians continue to reserve the colloquial for addressing "the masses" and use the classical on all other public occasions, the colloquial will be just another tool used by skillful politicians to appease the people.

Colloquial Arabic Versus Colloquial Arabic

Laura Nader has said that the best way to find out where an Arabic speaking person is from without asking him directly is to ask him which Arabic colloquial dialect is closest to the classical language. Invariably he will answer that his own most resembles the classical and will probably proceed to give examples from his dialect and others to show why. (40) The prestige of the classical is such that every Arab wants his dialect to be the one closest to it and thus be the most perfect. If the possibility of a colloquial language replacing the classical were good, then the small-talk speculation about which dialect is truly closer to classical would become deadly serious with not only linguists but politicians trying to prove that the language they speak is the purest. The status divisions among the various colloquials are principally those of claimed status, for no one knows or has a scientific method for discovering which dialect is more like classical Arabic.

A more real division created by the plurality of colloquial languages is the difficulty the Arabic speaker experiences in comprehending another dialect and making himself understood when he travels to an Arab country not his own.

The degree of difficulty is debatable, however, and may be exaggerated by persons who favor the classical and wish to point out its universality. (41) Mutual comprehension among colloquial dialects is certainly not impossible as this writer can attest to on the basis of personal observation and experience. However, the ease of comprehension may be due to the nature of those who travel as much as to the degree of similarity of the languages. The traveller is most frequently an educated person and will have enough vocabulary and structural knowledge from classical to make himself understood and enough of a "language sense" that he can make the necessary adjustments in grammar. In the case of a traveller to Egypt, it is commonly assumed that he is aided in learning the Egyptian dialect of Cairo by the films and radio and television programs exported and broadcast from that country to his own. Egyptians thus tend to have a stronger argument for making their dialect the first among equals and one to be favored in any scheme of replacing the classical by a colloquial dialect. The differences among colloquial languages are more likely to diminish with the growth of a body of educated people in the Arab countries and the corresponding merging of the classical and colloquial languages.

THE END

The unifying characteristics of Arabic are not unalterably opposed to or negated by the divisive characteristics of the language. The two conceptions of the role of Arabic are on two levels of consciousness or reality. Classical Arabic as a unifying force is a historical reality and is true today as a practical reality for those who understand and use it. Its strength for the unity of all Arabs lies in the emotions it arouses and in the belief that there is some kind of organic unity between Arabism and the Arabic language.

The divisive nature of the language or forms of the language is one that has not been fully recognized and admitted because there was shame and weakness in doing so and because divisions posed no problem as long as the Arab world was colonized and no attention paid to the wishes of the people. With independence and the growth of public participation language differences began to pose a problem on the practical level. A solution to these differences such as the rise of the middle or third language seems to be in the making now. It is a solution which does not deny the religious and cultural heritage of the classical language or the claim that an Arab is one who speaks Arabic.

For the language planner, the problem is how to aid this natural development without contributing to social divisions and without denying the legitimacy of the classical Arabic tradition.

FOOTNOTES

1. See the following works for approaches to language use and language change which are interdisciplinary or non-linguistic: J.A. Fisman, C.A. Ferguson, and J. Das Gupta, eds., Language Problems of Developing Nations, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1968; Joan Rubin and Björn H. Jernudd, eds., Can Language Be Planned?, Honolulu, The University of Hawaii Press, 1971; J.J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, eds., Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972; W.H. Whiteley, ed., Language Use and Social Change, London, Oxford University Press, 1971. These four works are the most recent collections of articles treating language in society and all contain extensive bibliographies.
2. Gumperz, p. 5.
3. The limitation that the objects of study are those countries in which Arabic is spoken as a native language thus rules out those countries in which it is, in its capacity as the language of the Holy Qur'an, the sacred book of Islam, only a religious language, used by no one in everyday speech, e.g. Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Indonesia, and others. The form of Arabic used in everyday speech in the countries under examination here is colloquial or dialectal Arabic, not classical or modern literary Arabic. The differences between the two forms will be dealt with in the paper.
4. Donald H. Burns, "Bilingual Education in the Andes of Peru," in Fishman, et al., pp. 403-414.
5. W.H. Whiteley, "Ideal and Reality in National Language Policy; A Case Study from Tanzania," in Fishman, et al., pp. 327-344.
6. J. Das Gupta, "Language Politics and Group Process in India," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1966.

7. Citizens of the Arab countries from Morocco to Iraq to Yemen are not, in fact, homogeneous in religion, culture, or language, and these differences are usually divisive, e.g. Christian-Moslem differences in Lebanon, racial differences in the Sudan between the north and South (although these are based on emotional identification, cultural and religious differences and geographical location rather than physiological differences), language differences between the Kurds and Arabs in Iraq and the Berbers and Arabs in North Africa.

8. As it is initially conceptualized in our model, "unity" can refer to either a socio-cultural unity based on a common ethnic or national history, values, missions, behaviors, etc., or to a political-geographical unity based upon coexistence of individuals comprising a sovereign state within defined boundaries. (Cf. J.A. Fishman, "Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationalism", in Fishman, et al., pp.39-51.) These two types of unity have also been slightly redefined and relabeled "sentimental" and "instrumental" unity, respectively, by H.C. Kelman. (Cf. "Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System," in Rubin and Jernudd, pp.21-51). In both types of unity a common language is said to contribute to the strengthening of the actions and feelings which support unity within a nation-state.

Although sentimental and instrumental unity may be the minimum concepts necessary for analyzing the effect of language upon the unity of a country, they may not be sufficient to encompass all the empirically observable effects of a language within a country or among several countries. We will not attempt to classify the characteristics of Arabic within this dichotomy because it is felt that it imposes another predetermined manner of observing and classifying language phenomena over and above the unity-diversity dichotomy which we wish to emphasize in this paper. The sentimental-instrumental concept is mentioned here as a guide to the limits we have in mind when the term "unity" is used in the paper.

9. Throughout our discussion of Arabic as a unifying and divisive force, no assessment will be made as to the relative strength of these two forces as wholes although we will try to indicate which of the categories within each force are the strongest in promoting either unity or diversity.

10. The term "structure" is here used in a loose non-technical sense to refer to the traditional areas of concern in descriptive linguistics - phonetics, the lexicon, semantics, grammar, and syntax.
11. Ibrahim Anis, Language Between Nationalism and Internationalism, (In Arabic), Cairo, Dar al-Maaruf, 1970, p. 177. The Umayyids were the first Muslim dynasty, ruling from 632 to 743, under whose leadership the territory from Spain to the Indian sub-continent was made part of the Arab Empire.
12. E. Shouby, "The Influence of the Arabic Language on the Psychology of the Arabs", Middle East Journal, Summer, 1951, p. 285.
13. Abd al-Aziz al-Duri, "The Historical Roots of Arab Nationalism", in Kemal H. Karpat, Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East, New York, Praeger, 1968, p. 35.
14. From Nejla Izzeddin, The Arab World, Chicago, Henry Regnery Co., 1953, p. 315, paraphrased in Sania Hamady, The Temperament and Character of the Arabs, New York, Twayne, 1960, p. 20. We will have reason to doubt the interpretation that the Qur'an prevented the "disintegration" into many local dialects unless the emphasis here is on the word "local" signifying dialects on a sub-national level.
15. Language and Literature and Their Relationship to Nationalism, (In Arabic, Beirut, Dar al-Tali'a, 1966, pp. 75-76.
16. "The Foundations and Objectives of Arab Nationalism" in Karpat, p. 44.
17. Language, New York, Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1921, p. 194. The other tongues are classical Chinese, Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.
18. Shouby, passim.
19. J. Stetkevych, The Modern Arabic Literary Language, Chicago, The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970, pp. 2,6,7.
20. Though the emphasis here is on political units (countries) it is obvious that English covers a wider area if the unit of measurement is the individual.

21. Sati' al-Husri, "The Historical Factor in the Determination of Nationalism", in *Karpat*, p. 57.
22. Kamal al-Hadi, A Defense of the Arabic Language, Beirut, Oueidat, 1959, p. 65. (In Arabic).
23. Tawfiq al-Hakim, in a commentary on the language used in his play, "The Dilemma", (In Arabic), Cairo, The Model Press, n.d., p. 198.
24. Rachad Hamzaoui, L'Academie Arabe de Damas et le Problème de la Modernisation de la Langue Arabe, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965, p. 9.
25. Ismail Mazhar, The Reform of Arabic, (In Arabic), Cairo, Egyptian Renaissance Library, n.d., p. 4.
26. Stetkyvech, p. 83.
27. Taha Hussayn, The Future of Culture in Egypt, American Council of Learned Societies translation edition, Wash., D.C., 1954, p. 89.
28. "The Future of Arabic Literature", in Al-Thaqafah, year 6, no. 280 (1944), pp. 6-7, quoted in J. Stetkyvech, p. 86.
29. Anis, pp. 233-4.
30. Hussayn, p. 84. He is referring to Al-Azhar University in 1938 when it was an extremely powerful force in the teaching of Arabic and Arabic teachers and when attempts to interfere with the language or its teaching would bring a charge that one was interfering with religion.
31. Hussayn; pp. 88-89.
32. Hamzaoui, pp. 24-25.
33. Charles Gallagher, "North African Problems and Prospects: Language and Identity", in Fishman et al., p. 142.
34. Only one study of the difficulties of learning classical Arabic in the school was found in research for this paper, and it concentrated on mistakes in writing the classical, not mentioning the interference which the colloquial had on these mistakes. See A. Elayeb, "Contribution à l'étude des fautes d'arabe chez les élèves du secondaire en Tunisie", Revue Tunisienne de Sciences Sociales, 5th year, no. 13, March 1968, pp. 63-128.

35. Critics of the classical language have charged that the continued use of the language is one of the reasons for the lack of development in the Arab world. Salama Musa, an early proponent of the colloquial language in Egypt, stated that, "since our (classical) language lacks the vocabulary of modern culture, our nation is denied the benefits of modern life. We still use the language of agriculture and have not yet acquired industrial vocabulary. Therefore, our mentality is stagnant and anachronistic and looks always to the past." In Karpas, p.45.
36. Gallagher, p. 143.
37. "Al-Ahram" April 4, 1972.
38. See Stetkyvech, pp. 81-82, 86-87 and al-Hakim, pp. 189-199.
39. Ahmad Amin. in Stetkyvech, p. 86.
40. "Notes on Attitudes about Language", in J.A. Fishman, Readings in the Sociology of Language, The Hague, Mouton, 1968, p. 114.
41. E.g., Anis, p 234

A report by Gary L. Garrison:

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE ACADEMY

The Royal Academy of the Arabic Language was founded in 1932 by royal decree of King Fu'ad I, its major goal being to "preserve the integrity of the Arabic language and make its progress adequate to the demands of science and arts and generally appropriate to the needs of life at the present time." (Founding decree, Article II, paragraph 1) A journal, word lists, an etymological dictionary and the republication of ancient grammar and literary texts were to be organs by which this goal was to be accomplished. The Academy was also charged with studying aspects of Arabic which were assigned it by the Ministry of Education.

The Arabic Language Academy (as it is now called) is the descendant of several academies or associations formed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The bodies were interested in creating new terminology for Arabic, particularly in the fields of science and everyday life, and the present Academy has continued this emphasis, devoting, according to Dr. Ibrahim Madkour, 70% of its time to the question of new terms.

Rashad Hamzaoui, in his doctoral thesis (L'Academie de Langue Arabe du Caire: Histoire et Oeuvre, These du Doctorat

d'Etat, Faculte de Lettres de l'Universite de Paris, Tunis, (1972) describes the creation of the Academy by King Fu'ad as "a political act of compensation to earn a vain popularity" (p. 37) and as a move to gain cultural leadership of the Arab world over Iraq, disarm religious opposition to his rule, and get the jump on the Wafd party (pp. 37-8).

The work of the Academy did not begin until 1934, and the first two sessions, each one month in length, were primarily concerned with the laying down of the by-laws and bases for deciding linguistic questions.

Structure of the Academy

The original membership of the Academy was limited to twenty, chosen without regard to nationality. They were to meet once a year for a period of one month during which time they would review work undertaken since the previous session and take decisions regarding it. Committees, which met outside the regular session, were created to undertake specialized work, and they could be assisted by outside experts. A president and recording secretary were chosen from among the members. The original members were appointed by the King from among names presented by the Minister of Education; thereafter they were to be elected by a two-thirds majority of the

membership. Compensation for the members was fixed by the cabinet on the basis of meetings attended. The Academy's budget was provided and controlled by the Ministry of Education, of which the Academy was part. In theory, the Ministry was to execute the decisions taken by the Academy by disseminating them publically and by implementing language decisions in assigned textbooks and government offices, although from the beginning the Academy made decisions without regard for the possibility of their implementation. It was, and still is, interested more in the form rather than the practice of language and thus has in ivory-tower reputation, of which it is proud.

In 1940, the membership was expanded to a maximum of thirty, and the working body of the Academy divided into two organs, a council and a conference. The council, composed of only Egyptian members, meets throughout the period from October to the end of May and reviews and discusses the work of the specialized committees. The conference includes all members and meets annually for from two to six weeks to approve the work of the council and to hear lectures by the members. A permanent administrative bureau was also established in 1940 to oversee the budget and employees.

Subsequent laws regulating the Academy were promulgated in 1946, raising the number of members to forty; in 1955, making the Academy financially and administratively independent; and in 1960, merging it with the Syrian Academy and raising the membership to a maximum of fifty-five, including fifteen non-Egyptian Arab members (non-Arab members were no longer allowed as full members). In 1961 the Ministry of Higher Education was given charge of the Academy, although this was not accompanied by any change in its operation. Similarly, the transfer of the Academy to the Ministry of Culture in 1965 made no difference, save that its removal from the (nominal) field of education and inclusion in the cultural field indicated probably both a demotion, and an official recognition that the Academy has had little impact on education.

The Academy today has thirty committees, sixteen of them specialized in making terminology in a particular field. (A complete list of committees is included as an appendix to this report). On each committee there are one or two Academy members, three to four experts in the subject field, and one secretary - cum - editor who records the discussion over the terms and undertakes some bibliographic work. The experts

perform the work of choosing terms and discussing their suitability (although the criterion of "suitability" is not well defined), while the Academicians see to it that the Academy's rules and priorities in setting terms are followed and provide advice on language matters. Terms approved by committees are sent to the council of the Academy which discusses each term and approves, rejects, or sends it back to committee. Council-approved terms are put before the annual conference and those terms upon which Arab members have made comments are discussed; all others are considered approved without discussion. About 1500 terms per year can be approved and published in this fashion.

Of the non-terminological committees there are two which are influential in the matter of reform and standardization of Arabic grammar and usage. One is the Foundations Committee (Lajnat al-'Uṣūl) which decides on the acceptability of word forms used as the basis for new vocabulary. The derivative nature of Arabic makes this committee's decisions important for the speed and flexibility with which new words can be created. The Style Committee (Lajnat al-'Asālib) rules on grammatical and syntactical constructions in Arabic, also important for language change, particularly as the committee is often asked to approve phrases influenced by European languages or by Arabic dialects.

Three officers are elected by the Academy members, a president, vice-president, and secretary-general. In addition, there is a board of directors made up of these three officers and two members elected from the Academy at large. This board makes and supervises the financial and personnel policies and operations of the Academy which are executed by an employee called the comptroller (*āl-murāqib al-ām*). The president's functions are largely ceremonial, limited in the by-laws to presiding over the council sessions and issuing decisions which the members have approved. The vice-president performs the duties of the president in the latter's absence. The secretary-general is in charge of the Academy Bureau which supervises committee work, schedules, records, and publishes the conference and council minutes and decisions, prepares the budget, and communicates with other organizations in the name of the Academy. The person holding the post of secretary-general is thus in a position of potentially great influence in the Academy, and since the assumption of the position by Dr. Ibrahim Madkur in 1959, he has taken over virtual leadership of the Academy, especially since the two presidents under which he has served -- Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid and Dr. Taha Husayn -- were both advanced in age and often unable to actively participate in council work.

Membership of the Academy

Although the original Academy members were proposed publicly by al-Ahram newspaper (31 October 1932), the King had the final choice and packed the Academy with personal friends and Azharites who could be counted upon as conservative allies. The purely literary formation of these members influenced the early work of the Academy by guiding it into the composition of an etymological dictionary, concern with the revival of ancient Arabic literary heritage, and a reliance on ancient texts rather than contemporary usage for models in the creation of vocabulary and setting of word forms and grammar rules.

Hamzaoui distinguishes four groups among the original members: first, those politically loyal to the King, moderate, anti-Turkish and pro-British, with one exception they were technicians, administrators and had knowledge of another language and culture -- there were the modernists who formed the largest group (seven in all) but who, he says, were internally divided (he doesn't explain how); second, the religious group made up of three sheikhs from al-Azhar, presumably conservative in language matters; third, the five Arab members, and fourth, five European orientologists. This classification does not explain how the members formed coalitions on various issues and is superficial in that it groups non-Egyptian members on the basis of their nationality,

not their philosophical or political sympathies or attitudes toward language.

Public opinion and the intelligentsia in 1933 were opposed to the inclusion of orientalist in the Academy because this was seen as a reversal of trends toward self-rule and Arabization of personnel and language, a lively issue with regard to the judicial system at that time. In fact, one orientalist, A.G. Weinseck of the Netherlands, never took his seat on the Academy because of al-Azhar opposition to an article he had written which was interpreted as being anti-Islamic. The five Europeans never played a great role in the Academy since they could not devote much time to it and were often unable to attend sessions because of the time and cost involved in travel to Egypt.

The expansions of the membership in 1940 and 1946 brought to the Academy several men who would certainly have been eligible in 1933 but who were probably passed over for political reasons. Hamzaoui states that, in the case of the 1946 expansion, the new appointees were technicians and specialists more than literary or cultural leaders. They were more open to the twentieth century and were "distinguished in their attitude toward linguistic problems by a search for temporary compromises and violent criticism of ancient heritage or of certain decisions adopted by the Academy." (p. 103) Dr. Ibrahim Madkūr, the current president

of the Academy and former secretary-general, was among this group. After that date more specialists in the pure and applied sciences joined the Academy, almost all having previously been committee experts. While never in the majority, their participation has been noticeable in that they are more concerned with effecting practical compromises in the language -- such as the use of European terminology and the reliance on contemporary needs and usage in science rather than ancient texts -- in order to bring about implementation of Academy decisions. Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, a physician selected in 1952 and the self-proclaimed heretic of the Academy is the most radical of this group.

Arab members never numbered more than five until the 1961 expansion and are now fifteen, representing every major Arab country except Syria. For the most part, they are sheikhs, with the remainder being writers or grammarians; none are of the pure, applied or social sciences. For this reason, and because they undoubtedly feel outnumbered by Egyptians as well as outmaneuvered by the larger council (they only participate in the annual two week conference), they are liable to take a conservative stand on the council decisions passed to them for discussion. In the matter of terminology, for example, they tend to favor pure Arabic sources rather than adoption of a European term which is already in wide use.

As for the Egyptian members, they have various backgrounds, both educationally and professionally, and several groups can be defined on these bases, although whether similar alliances are formed vis-a-vis issues is not immediately clear. (See appendix at the of this report for biographical notes on each of the current members). Of the thirty-six current members, at least nine are graduates of Dar al-Ulūm (five were deans), four were educated or taught at al-Azhar, at least eighteen obtained some degree abroad (including some from the two previously mentioned groups), twelve are specialists in pure or applied sciences, eight studied grammar, philology, literature, or linguistics (only one), and ten are former ministers or university rectors. Of course, the sine qua non for membership in the Academy is a thorough knowledge of, and expertise in, the Arabic language, no matter what each man's professional interests, but in general they are specialists in their professions first and with the exception of the Dar al-Ulūm people, Dr. Madkūr, and Dr. Abd al-Halīm Muntasir, none are deeply involved in Arabic language treatment outside the Academy.

Dr. Muḥammad Mahdi Allām, in his book The Academicians, (Cairo, Government Press, 1963) gives a breakdown of the academic and occupational specialities of the Academy's one hundred members between 1933 and 1963. Because many of them, as is

often the case in Egypt, wear several hats, the total number of specializations is more than one hundred. No indication is given of the changing composition of the membership over this period.

The members are classified as follows:

Specializations in Language and Literature (Arabic),.....	31
Natural Scientists and Mathematicians.....	10
Physicians.....	8
Men with Modern Legal Training.....	10
Scholars of Islamic Law.....	20
Historians, Archeologists, Geographers.....	11
Poets.....	19
Journalists.....	18
Men with Philosophy and Psychology Training.....	11
Scholars of Oriental Languages.....	16

He also mentions that among these members are eight pioneers of story and theater, six who held the post of Shaykh al-Azhar, thirty-five university professors, deans, and rectors, eighteen former or current government ministers, five European Orientalists, and twenty non-Egyptian Arab members.

Criteria for choosing members are not made explicit except insofar as an expertise in Arabic is required. From time to time, beginning in 1949, requests have been made to allocate a specific number of seats to each academic and scientific field, based on

an estimation of what fields are needed to carry out the Academy's work, but no definite procedure has been adopted. The most common source of members in recent years has been the pool of experts on the Academy's various committees. A long period of service on a committee allows a potential nominee to become familiar with the work of the Academy and it with his work, and is an ideal position from which to lobby for nomination and election.

Activity of the Academy

In the book The Arabic Language Academy during Thirty Years, Vol. 1, Its Past and Present (Cairo, Government Press, 1964) Dr. Ibrāhīm Madkūr divides the work of the Academy into five areas: (p. 34)

- 1) Facilitation of the corpus and rules of the language and its writing and letters,
- 2) Making scientific terms and vocabulary of daily life,
- 3) Revision of language dictionaries and composition of an etymological dictionary of the Arabic language,
- 4) Encouraging literary production,
- 5) Reviving ancient works in Arabic literature.

The latter two areas have not seen much action, the first being limited to the awarding of monetary prizes for the best work entered in an annual contest in poetry, prose and literary criticism. These prizes have been awarded more or less regularly since 1942, being suspended occasionally when funds were

not available. The re-editing and publishing of ancient works has also been attended to only intermittently, subject to financial and administrative difficulties as well as doubt on the part of some members about whether this is the Academy's job.

The Foundations and Styles Committees are most concerned with changes in the body and rules of Arabic. Although generally conservative and usually justifying even liberal decisions by quoting classical texts, there is recognition on the part of both committees -- as expressed in their decisions and in discussions of them by council members -- that both the current usage and demands of contemporary knowledge of language have to be taken into account in treating Arabic. For example, the Rules Committee has allowed scientific terms to be derived from concrete nouns in order to extend the range of potential new vocabulary; in classical grammar (and in non-scientific subjects still) derivations were only permitted from verbs (First Session, 34th sitting, 1934). This committee has also limited the number of word forms which can be employed in the derivation of nouns of instrument, occupation, disease, exaggeration and other concepts (First Session, numerous sittings, 1934); ancient grammarians were often proud of the multiplicity of these forms, as they were also of the numerous synonyms for one referent in Arabic.

The Academy has tried to hold to the principle of one word - one meaning, especially in the creation of scientific terms (First Session, 33rd sitting, 1934). Syntactic or stylistic decisions which depart from classical Arabic rules are more difficult to describe since an appreciation of their newness depends on a knowledge of the language and of past and present usage. (See the Collection of Academic Decisions for the First to the Twenty-Eights Sessions, (in Arabic), Cairo; Government Press, 1963, and Kitāb fī usūl al-lughā, Cairo; Government Press, 1969 for lists and explanations of Academy decisions approved during its first thirty-four years). The limiting of synonyms and word forms is a streamlining of Arabic which the Academy supports in its conservative manner but which takes place daily in the press and communications media on a larger scale.

The heyday of Academy activity in the reform of the writing system now seems past. The period 1938-1947 saw a proposal by one member to adopt the Latin alphabet and a contest sponsored by the Academy to solicit suggestions for the best writing system. None of the over 200 projects submitted was chosen, and it was not until 1960, after only intermittent action, that a decision was made to reduce the number of printed characters from over 2,300 to 169. (See Roland Meynet, L'écriture arabe en questions: Les

projects de l'Academi de Langue Arabe du Caire, de 1938 a 1968.
Beirut: Dar El-Machreq, 1971).

Terminological creation is the major work of the Academy and its committees. There seems to be no explicit plan for the treatment of one academic or scientific field in preference to another; groups of terms are looked at as they are submitted to the council by the specialized committees. Almost annually, criticisms are voiced that terminology-making should be tied to what is needed in education, especially university science teaching, but no decision has been taken regarding this. The principal division concerning terminology among the members is whether already existing European terms should be adopted or equivalents in Arabic should be found, either from ancient or contemporary sources. As might be expected the members with scientific backgrounds tend to favor the writing of foreign terms in Arabic, while other members, especially those from other Arab countries, are more in favor of translation.

Like the French Academy on which it is patterned, the Arab Academy has, since its beginning, worked toward the compilation and publication of a comprehensive etymological dictionary of the language. Begun by Dr. August Fischer, a German member of the Academy, this project has gone through several reorganizations

and suspensions. Only one letter -- hamza -- has been published so far, although the second part is about finished and other letters are being gathered. The Intermediate Dictionary (al-Ju jam al-Wasit) is the most conspicuous product of the Academy thus far. Begun in 1940 at the suggestion of the Ministry of Education, it, too, went through several reorganizations and postponements before appearing in 1960. It is a dictionary of contemporary terms, roughly equivalent to Webster's in English or Larousse in French. A dictionary of Qur'anic phrases is the only other major dictionary thus far published. A small lexicon of nuclear physics and electronics terms appeared at the end of 1974, and other volumes are planned in scientific fields.

The record of the Academy with regard to production of its work is less than adequate, even according to its own members' admissions. The slowness of presentations of finished sections of dictionaries to the council led to a lack of continuity between parts and a feeling by the members each time that a reorganization must be undertaken. Financial troubles and difficulty in finding a publisher for the dictionaries have also postponed their publication.

Successes and Failures

A reading of the Academy's Journal and Minutes provides some

clues to how the members view their organization and its successes and failures. Of course, the dictionaries thus far published are viewed as successes, but the road toward their completion was not an easy one. Reference has already been made to the slowness with which work was completed and the lack of organization and money as difficulties of which members complained. The same complaints have been voiced with regard to the appearance of the Journal and Minutes, which did not appear regularly between 1939 and 1960.

In its mission to "preserve the Arabic language and make it appropriate to the needs of modern times," the Academy sees itself as successful, in spite of the conflicts among members over the sources of terms. At the present time the "modernists" have the upper hand and conservatives can only retard, not stop or reverse, the tendency to create terms on the basis of need and usage rather than taking them from literary or religious texts.

Several members to whom I have spoken are proud of the Academy's ivory-tower reputation and its lack of action in implementation of its terms, implying that the latter is work beneath that of such a body and is the responsibility of politicians. However, the complaint is also heard that the Academy has no power to compel usage of its terms or adoption of its

decisions on writing or grammar, especially in education and the news media. From time to time in its history committees have been formed to help organize contacts with groups who use the Academy's products -- teachers, journalists, broadcasters -- but none of these committees has been long-lived and none has established any permanent method of communicating with the public. Even the public lectures which were held on the occasion of the annual conference were vigorously opposed and finally dropped after only four years (1955 - 1958). The prestige of the Academy as a pan-Arab forum for the discussion and development of Arabic is its most distinguishing characteristic, and although some of its decisions may be made without regard for current socio-linguistic and linguistic realities, the Academy's authorization of language change is still held in high regard throughout the Arab world.

A P P E N D I X A

List of Committees of the Academy of the Arabic Language
(Divided according to Dr. Ibrāhīm Madkūr's classification in
Minutes of the Council in the Fortieth Session, 1973-74, pp.
771-3).

A. Administrative Committees

1. Financial and Administrative Affairs
2. Employee's Affairs
3. Recognition Prizes
4. Library

B. Literary Committees

1. Revival of Linguistic Heritage
2. Literature
3. Foundations
4. Styles
5. Dialects
6. Grand Dictionary - Letter "tā'" (No. 1)
7. Grand Dictionary - Letter "tā'" (No. 2)
8. Grand Dictionary - Letter "bā'"
9. Concise Dictionary preparation.
10. Facilitation of Arabic Writing

C. Scientific and Cultural Terms Committees

1. Biology and Agriculture
2. Economics

3. Contemporary Daily Life Terms
4. Petroleum
5. Modern and Contemporary History
6. Education and Psychology
7. Geography
8. Geology
9. Ancient and Medieval Civilizations
10. Mathematics
11. Philosophy and Social Sciences
12. Physics
13. Law
14. Chemistry and Pharmacy
15. Medicine
16. Engineering

A P P E N D I X B

Egyptian ALA members - March 1975

37 members

- Dr. Ibrahim Madkour - President - b 1902, ap 1946; Lit, Law
Liscence/ Ph.D. Phil at Sorbonne; Senator 15 years; Phil
Prof; ALA Sec-Gen 1959-74
- Dr. Zaki al Muhandis - Vice Pres - b. 1887, ap 1946; Dar el Ulum
1910; Diploma in Ed and Lit, Reading GB; Dean, Dar al Ulum
1945-7; Supervised Academy Journal VP 1964
- Abdel Hamid Hassan - Sec-Gen - b. 1889, ap 1961; Dar al Ulm
1911; Diploma in Ed and Eng. Lit., Exerter; Teacher's
College, Dar al Ulm, r. 1949, Acad. Sec Gen 1974
- Dr. Ibrahim al Demardash - b. 1906; el 1973; Diploma, Eng. School
1925; Dip Civil Eng, Zurich 1928, Ph. D. 1930. 1930-33
word in Europe; teacher, Egypt 1935-52, Dean Cairo U. Fac/
Engineering 1952; poet
- Dr. Ibrahim Anis - b. 1906, ap 1961; Diploma Dar al Ulum 1930;
BA, Ph. D. 1941, London University in Phonetics. Dean, Dar
al Ulum 1955-58; ALA expert 1948-61; only Western-trained
linguist in the Academy
- Ibrahim Abdel al Magid al Liban - b. 1895, ap 1961; Dipl Dar al
Ulum 1918; BA, MA, London Univer in psych (?); Prof of
Psych, Teacher's Col, Alex U., Dar al Ulum; Dean. 19..-55
- Dr. Ahmed Badawi - b. 1905; el. 1959; BA Cairo U. Arts
1930; Ph.D. Egyptology Berlin 1936; State Doctorate Gottinger
1938; rector Ain Shams 1956, Cairo U 1961
- Ahmed Hassan al-Baquiri - b. 1907, el. 1956; Assiut Rding Insti.
Special Diploma in Rhetoric and Lit 1936; 1952 and 1958-9
Min Awqaf; Rector Azhar U. 1964, now retired
- Dr. Ahmed Zaki - b. 1894, ap 1946; teacher and headmaster 1914-
19; Ph.D. Chemistry Liverpool U 1924; D. Sc. London U 1928;
Chem Prof, Min Soc Aff, rector Cairo U 1953-4
- Ahmed Abdu al-Shirbasi - b. 1899, el. 1964; Engin School 1924
Min/Pub/ Works 1953; Former Vice Premier for Azhar and
Awqaf and Min/Awqaf

- Dr. Ahmed Ezz al Din - b. , el 1974, lawyer, law
Prof. at Cairo U
- Dr. Ahmed Ammar - b. 1904, el 1951; first love was poetry but
family send him to Med/Sch; MD 192? Former Prof and Dean
Med Fac Ain Shams
- Dr. Ahmed Mohamed al Hufi - b. 1902, el 1973; Dar el ulum 1936
Ph.D. 1952, Dar al Ulum, Literature; Pre Islamic Classical
Lit
- Tawfiq al-Hakim - b 1902, el 1954; playwright, short story
writer; uses classical and colloquial in plays
- Dr. Hamid Abd al Fatah Guhar - b 1907, el 1973 BS Cairo, Science,
MA Animal Pysiology, Ph.D. Ocean biology, ALA expert.
- Abbas Jassam - b , el 1967; Azhar, Dar al Ulum, prof of
grammar D. U.; literary and poetry critic
- Dr. Abd al-Halim Montasir - b 1908, el 1958; Ph.D. Botany, Cairo
U 1938; founder and editor of Risalat el Ilm; Sec. Gen
Arab and Egypt. Sci. Unions
- Dr. Sheikh 'Abd al-Rahman Tag - b 1896, el 1963; Azhar 1922;
specialization Islamic law; Ph.D. Sorbonne, Philosophy
1942; Sheikh of Azhar 1954-8 deceased 15 April 1975
- 'Abd al-Salam Harun - b 1909, el 1971; Dar al Ulum diploma 1932;
prim sch teacher, 1945 - teacher in Fa/Arts, Alex U; prof
in Dar al Ulum; lang and lit specialist, grammar, lexicog.
- Dr. 'Abd al Aziz al-Sayyid - b 1907, el 1965; Math teacher 1928-
4; Ph.D., Ed Phil Math teaching, Ohio U 1948; rector Alex
U; Min/Higher Ed 1961-5; Dir Alesco 1971
- 'Abd al Aziz Mohamed Hassan - b 1899, el 1969; law grad 1922
lawyer 1922-29; judge 1929, judicial inspector 1942;
Appeals Advisor 1944; Dir Court Admin. 1952, Press Court
1954, ret 1959.
- Dr. 'Uthman Amin - b , el 1974; Prof of Philosophy, Cairo
U
- ('Ali 'Ali al-Sibai) deceased
- 'Ali al-Magdi Nasif - b , el 1974; lang and lit; former
dean Dar al Ulum
- 'Ali Mmd al-Khafif - b 1891, el 1969; 'Alim cert from Dar al-Qada'
1915; law teacher 1915-21; judge 1921-9; is lawyer Min/Awqaf
1929; is law prof 1939-51; Dir. Mosques to 1939- ret 1951
1967 Higher Council of Azhar

- Dr. Mmd Ahmed Solaiman - b. 1915, el. 1962; MD Cairo U 1937, Ph.D. 1943; vice rector Azhar 1962-5; vice rector Cairo U 1965--; ALA expert 1955-62
- Mmd Khalifalla Ahmed - b. 1904, el. 1959; Diploma Dar al-Ulum 1928; BA London Phil, 1934; MA Lit, London 1937; Dean, Dar al-Ulum 1951-61; Dir. Inst. of Arabic Studies, 1964-present
- Mmd Rif'at Ahmed - b. 18.., el. 1967; historian, Liverpool U Grad. Teacher's College Egypt; wrote Awakening of Modern Egypt
- Mmd Shawqi Amin - b. , el. 1974; former editor at ALA, head of Foundations Committee; very knowledgeable about Acad. work
- Dr. Mmd Kamal Hussein - b. 1901, el. 1952; MD Cairo U, Rector Ain Shams 1950; self-proclaimed heretic of the Acad.
- Dr. Mmd Mmd al-Fahham - b. 1894, el. 1971; Azhar, 1922; Ph.D. Lit, Paris, 1946; 10 years in France; Teacher, Alex U till 1954; Grand Imam of Azhar 1969
- Dr. Mmd Mursi Ahmed - b. 1908, el. 1962; BA Math, Cairo 1929; Ph.D. Math, Edinburgh, 1931; Cairo U Math Chair 15+ years; rector Cairo U 1958-61; Ain Shams 1961- , Sec Gen Assoc. of Univs 1970-pres
- Dr. Mmd Mahdi 'Allam - b.1900, ap. 1961; Dipl Dar al-Ulum 1922; Cert in Heb and Persian, London 1927; Ph.D. Manchester; Prof Arabic Lit, Manchester 1936-48; Dean Fac/Arts, Ain Shams 1954-61
- Dr. Mahmoud Tawfiq Hufnawi - b. 1894, el. 1962; Cert in Phys Sci Cambridge, 1924; specialized in botany and agr; Dean Fac Agr; Min Agr 1939-44
- (Dr. Murad Kamal - b. 1907, ap. 1961; BA Oriental lgs, Cairo 1930 Dipl. Latin, Greek, German, 1934; Ph.D. Phil, Tubingen U, 1935, 1938; Semitic lgs and Archeology, ALA Dict. expert 1948-61) died 16 Jan 1975
- Mustafa Mustafa Mar'i - b. , el. 1974; former member of Senate former minister (of Justice?), lawyer
- Dr. Mahmoud Mokhtar - b. , el. 1974; physicist, former prof and Dean in Fac/Sci, Cairo U; former Academy expert

Dr. Mmd Youssef Hassan - b. , el. 1974; geologist, now asst
Dean Fac/Science, al-Azhar U; former Acad. expert
Badr al Din Abu Ghazi - b. , el. 1974; artist ;
former Minister of Culture; Prof in Inst. of Arabic
Studies; former Academy expert

Three empty seats not yet filled.

Abbreviations:

b. born
el. elected
ap. appointed
r. retired

Arabic Language Academy

Arab Members - March 1975

15 Members

- Hamid al-Jasir - b. 1912, el. 1958; Saudi Arabia; Sheikh, teacher judge in Saudi Arabia; Director of Ed in Jeddah; Rector of Arabic Language and Islamic Law Fac; active in publishing
- Mmd al-Fasi - b. 1908, el. 1958; Morocco; sec/Sch in France, Licence from Sorbonne in Lit, dipl in Oriental Studies, rector of Qayruwan U; active nationalist
- Ahmed 'Ali 'Aqabat - b. 1908, ap. 1961; Yemen; dipl in Lit, lang hist 1936; official in Min/Ed
- Ishaq Musa el-Husseini - b. 1904, ap. 1961; Palestine; 1930, Cairo U BA in Lit; SOAS London BA 1932, Ph.D. 1934; teacher AUB & AUC
- Anis al-Magdisi - b. 1886, apl 1961; Lebanon; BA MA AUB; Chrm AUB Arabic Dept 25 years; corres. mem of Damascus Acad.
- 'Abd Allah al-Tayyib - b. 1921, ap. 1961; Sudan; Ph.D. SOAS London 1950; Chrm Arabic Dept Fac/Ed, Sudan; Khartoum U; Prof and Dean
- Abd Allah Kunun - b.1908, ap. 1961; Morocco; teacher, journalist mayor of Tangier to 1957; nationalist leader
- 'Ali al-Fagih - b. 1898, apl 1961; Libya; studies langs.Turkish, Italian, French; nationalist leader
- 'Umar Farukh - b. 1906, ap. 1961; Lebanon; 1928 BA in Arabic and History from AUB; Ph.D. Germany 1937 in Phil; prof in Iraq & Syria; on board of Beirut Arab U
- Mmd Bahgat al-Athri - b. 1904, ap. 1961; Iraq; Arabic lang tchr and inspector; Gen Dir of Relig Lands 1958; journalist
- Dr. 'Abd al-Razaq Muhi al-Din - b. , el. 1967; Iraq
- Ahmed Tawfiq al-Madani - b. , el. 1970; Tunisia; former Minister of Culture
- Dr. Mmd al-Habib Ben al-Khuja - b. , el. 1971; Tunisia; Sheikh
- Dr. Nasr al-Din al-Assas - b. , el. 1972; Jordan; Asst Dir Gen for Culture of ALECSO

each of which covers a particular field of work of the organization. It also has appendices containing the various founding and reorganization laws of the Academy and its internal by-laws. The first three chapters are a general historical view, and the first of these, a short description of the French Academy, makes explicit the model which the Arab Academy follows. The fourth chapter describes periodical publications of the Academy and chapter five comments on the body of the Arabic language and ways it has changed over time. Chapters six through twelve take up various concerns of the Academy and how it has treated them. They are, respectively; dialects, scientific and daily life terminology, dictionaries, facilitation of writing, facilitation of grammar, encouragement of literary production, and revival of Arabic heritage. This is the most useful single work on the Academy in Arabic, although the lack of footnotes makes pinpointing dates, names, and sources of information difficult.

Volume 2

The Academicians (1966) by Muhammad 'ahdi 'Allām.

Short biographical essays on the one hundred Academy members through 1964. Each essay includes the education, employment, literary or scientific production, and speeches or studies presented to the Academy by each member, although each of these categories is not necessarily complete. In the introduction 'Allām classifies the total membership according to their fields. Since the publication of this book about twenty-four new members have been elected, over one-half the total current membership. The volume does not include data on the corresponding members.

Volume 3

Collection of Academic Decisions from the First to the Twenty-Eighth Sessions (1963) collected and annotated by

Dr. Muhammad Khalifa'ah Ahmad, an Academy member, and Muhammad Shawi 'Amin Senior Editor of the Academy. It includes texts of all decisions from 1934 to 1962 (in the case of amended or revised decisions, the original is not

3. Studies and Lectures (Majmu^c at al-Buhuth wal-Muhadārāt)
A series begun in 1960 with the twenty-fifth conference session and running through the thirty-sixth session (1970). It includes the lectures and research papers presented at each annual conference and the comments on them. This was an interim series and has been superseded by the current effort to issue the full minutes of past conference sessions.

B. Dictionaries and Lexicons

1. Fisher's Dictionary or The Historical Linguistic Dictionary (Al-Mu^cjam al-Lughawī al-Tarīkhī)
Begun by Dr. August Fischer, a German member of the Academy. He brought his cards to Egypt for the Academy to help him in his plan to publish a historical dictionary of the classical and colloquial languages. World War II prevented him from returning to Egypt to complete his work, and he died in 1949 leaving the dictionary unfinished. The Academy has incorporated his work into its Grand Dictionary. The introduction and a small sample part of Fischer's dictionary were published in 1957
2. The Intermediate Dictionary (Al-Mu^cjam al-Wasīṭ)
This is a student dictionary equivalent to Webster's. Published in 1960 in two volumes and reprinted in 1971. It was begun in 1940 and went through many changes of personnel and methodology. It contains thirty thousand entries, one million words, and six hundred illustrations. Many of the scientific and daily life terms approved by the Academy are found here.
3. The Grand Dictionary (Al-Mu^cjam al-Kabīr)
This is the long range work of the Academy, taken up where work on Fischer's dictionary stopped. It is to include the historical and contemporary meanings of all words in the Arabic language. Only the first letter has so far been published, although the second letter was nearing completion in 1973.

organizations, researchers) and is also sold through Dar al-Ma'arif for twenty-five piasters an issue. Dr. Anis writes a short article for each issue under the heading "Preface" of which three in this sample were on the use of the computer in linguistic research, and the other two on terminology and grammar.

The remaining contents of the Journal are divided under the following section titles:

- Research(es) and Articles
(the bulk of the issue)
- On Linguistic Heritage
(usually one long article; not always a regular feature)
- Commentary and Criticism
(Book reviews; usually one or two; most by one man, Mr. Abd al-Ghani Hassan, a writer)
- Academy Personalities
(speeches on the occasion of the reception of new members or the deaths of members; several speeches on behalf of each person honored; usually include biographical information; from 5% to 25% of the issues reviewed)
- News of the Academy
(short, no more than four pages, on new members or experts, deaths, and contacts with other organizations)

To study the articles themselves, we first set up a classification scheme divided in four large groups:

- a) "modern" linguistics/language articles, including, articles on linguistic analyses, contemporary terminological and lexicographical work, methodology of linguistics studies, education and language, colloquial Arabic, and proverbs

each of which covers a particular field of work of the organization. It also has appendices containing the various founding and reorganization laws of the Academy and its internal by-laws. The first three chapters are a general historical view, and the first of these, a short description of the French Academy, makes explicit the model which the Arab Academy follows. The fourth chapter describes periodical publications of the Academy and chapter five comments on the body of the Arabic language and ways it has changed over time. Chapters six through twelve take up various concerns of the Academy and how it has treated them. They are, respectively: dialects, scientific and daily life terminology, dictionaries, facilitation of writing, facilitation of grammar, encouragement of literary production, and revival of Arabic heritage. This is the most useful single work on the Academy in Arabic, although the lack of footnotes makes pinpointing dates, names, and sources of information difficult.

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always included) with the dates on which each was approved, when discussions of the subject were held, dates of amendments and subsequent decisions on the same subject, and studies written by members and published by the Academy on the subject of the decision. The volume is divided into four sections, according to the subject of the decisions and within each section decisions are presented in chronological order (some sections are subdivided further). The sections and subsections are:

1. Linguistic Analogy and General Language Matters
 2. a. Translation
 - b. Arabization
 - c. Writing Foreign Names
 3. a. The Writing of Dictionaries
 - b. The setting of Terminology
 4. a. The Simplification of Grammar Rules and Morphology
 - b. The Simplification of Arabic Writing
2. Book of Foundations of Language (Kitāb 'Usūl al-Lughā) 1969
A collection of decisions approved by the Academy from the twenty-ninth to the thirty-fourth sessions. These decisions cover linguistic and stylistic matters and include references to the lectures and research papers published in the Academy's Journal concerning each decision. Collected, edited, and commented upon by Muhammad Khalifallah 'Ahmad and Muhammad Shawqī 'Amīn.

Review of contents of numbers 28 to 32 of
the Arabic Language Academy Journal

We have defined three purposes for this review
of the Academy's Journal

- 1) To note what types of articles the most prestigious language/linguistics Journal in Egypt contains.
- 2) To note emphases on one or more types of articles.
- 3) To note the frequency and subjects of these articles that we have defined as "modern linguistics" articles.

As a consequence of 1) it might also be concluded that the Academy itself is interested in these subjects, although to go further and try to weigh the strength of that interest in various subjects—would be to draw spurious conclusions.

First, a general description of the Journal and its subdivisions is appropriate. The magazine appears twice a year (since 1969), usually in March and November, although the latest issue (# 32) is dated November, 1973. The Editor-in-Chief, or supervisor of the Journal, is Dr. Ahmed Amin, a member of the Academy. The Managing Editor is Ibrahim Al-Tarzi, an employee of the Academy. The magazine is distributed free of charge to interested parties (professors,

organizations, researchers) and is also sold through Dar al-Ma'arif for twenty-five piasters an issue. Dr. Anis writes a short article for each issue under the heading "Preface" of which three in this sample were on the use of the computer in linguistic research, and the other two on terminology and grammar.

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(usually one long article; not always a regular feature)
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- a) "modern" linguistics/language articles, including, articles on linguistic analyses, contemporary terminological and lexicographical work, methodology of linguistics studies, education and language, colloquial Arabic, and proverbs

- b) articles on the activities of the Academy
- c) articles on literature, literature reviews, poetry, and Arabic in the Qur'an
- d) articles on Arabic grammar, history of grammar, history of Arabic, and the history of dictionaries.

All articles under the headings "Preface", "Researches and Articles", "On Linguistic Heritage", and "Commentary and Criticism" were classified. After classifying each article according to one of these categories, counting the number of articles in each category, and reading some of the articles we were not sure about, we made some amendments in the categories so that there are now three major categories:

- I. "Modern" linguistics articles (on contemporary subjects): linguistics and grammatical analyses (L), Arabic in Society (SL), terminologies and dictionaries (DT), methodology of linguistic research (M), education and language (E);
- II. Articles on literature or Qur'anic texts: reviews of literature (LR), poetry or reviews of poetry (P), Arabic in the Qur'an (AQ);
- III. Articles on historical subjects; history of grammar, or grammarians or grammatical analyses using historical texts and examples (G), history of Arabic (HA), history of dictionaries (HD), proverbs (PR).

A few articles on specific historical subjects were classified in two categories. We tried to err on the side of over-estimating the articles in group I, modern linguistics, since we anticipated that there would be very few if we were strict in our definition of this category. The breakdown of the number of

articles in each category is as follows (total net articles = 81; with doubling, 89):

- I. Modern Linguistics (27 total):
 - Linguistic and grammatical analyses (L) - 7 (one also in HA)
 - Arabic in society (SL) - 6 (two also in HA, one in SL)
 - Terminologies and Dictionaries (DT) - 9 (one also in HD)
 - Methodology (M) - 3
 - Education and Language (E) - 2
- II. Literature and Qur'anic texts (34 total):
 - Reviews of literature (LR) - 17 (two also in 6)
 - Poetry (P) - 8
 - Arabic in Qur'an (AQ) - 9
- III. Historical subjects (28 total):
 - Grammar (G) - 10 (two each also in LR & HA)
 - History of Arabic (HA) - 11 (two each also in SL & G, one also in L)
 - History of dictionaries (HD) - 4
 - Proverbs - 3 (one also in SL)

Historical and modern linguistics (I & II) occur at the same frequency, while literature/Qur'anic articles are well in the lead. If the groups II and III, all essentially historical in nature, we can see that by far the majority of articles (67 out 84 - not counting those in I twice) are concerned with ancient texts or times. This is not surprising considering the reverence in which ancient authority is held in Arabic grammatical studies and the tendency to

look upon certain times, particularly the Abassid Period, as the Golden Age of Arabic. Terminological and Dictionary studies, both contemporary and historical, account for a total of 13 articles; the coining and deriving of terms and the compiling of dictionaries has occupied most of the work time of the Academy. Modern linguistics articles, Group I, are varied in subject, and not all methodologically vigorous - many are narratives or opinion. In the remainder of this review we will give an idea of the subjects written about, the methodology (in gross terms), and some of the points of view expressed in these articles. .

No. 28, November 1971

Preface

1. "The Role of the Computer in Linguistic Research"
Dr. Ib. Anis, pp. 7-10 M

A positive opinion urging the use of the computer in linguistic analysis; give examples of letter combinations not existing in true Arabic words and says that the computer could be used to determine other patterns in Arabic; tells of discussing this with a physics professor, Dr. Ali Helmy Musa, at Kuwait University, and his carrying it out and publishing it there. ^

The use of the computer in language studies is decidedly "modern" but Anis makes reference to no other studies currently undertaken elsewhere using the computer. He does refer to a book by G.K. Zipf, Selected Studies on the Principle of Relative Frequency in Language, 1932, as perhaps the source of influence for the study of the frequency of use among Arabic scholars.

Studies and Articles

2. "The Grand Dictionary" 5

Dr. Ibrahim Madkour, Secretary general of ALA pp. 12-15 DT

A general article on the goals and history of the writing of the Academy's Grand Dictionary; given on the occasion of the completion of the first letter of the dictionary, to the Congress of Orientalists in Australia 1971.

3. "More than one"
Dr. Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Tag, pp. 16-22 G
4. "The Tearfulness of Youth"
Ali al-Gindi pp. 23-28 P
5. "Our Language in the Age of Decline"
Anis al-Mugaddsi, pp. 29-42 HA, SL

A largely historical article in which the author explains that the decline of Arabic occurred not with the fall of the Abassid Caliphate, but later during the Ottoman Period (16th to 20th centuries). He "shows this" by recounting the names of those who produced great works. He also gives the names of writers and works in the Ottoman Period to show that Arabic did not completely degenerate, literarily that is; no mention is made of the colloquial. We include this article in (SL), Arabic in society, because it gives some idea of the periods Arabs consider the high and low points of the language.

6. "On the History of Medicine in the Arab World"
Dr. Abd al-Halim Montasir, pp. 43-61 HA, SL
7. "Correction of 'Lisan al-Arab'"
Dr. Abd Al-Salam Kmd Harun, pp. 62-77 HD
8. "Philosephy and Art"
Dr. Kmd Aziz Al Hubabi, pp. 78-94
9. "The Rhymed Prose of the Qur'an is Matchless"
Dr. Ahmed al-Hufi, pp. 95-102 AQ

10. "Introduction to the Arabization of Technical Terms
in Telecommunications"

Eng. Salah Amar, pp. 103-107 DT

The role of the Arab Telecommunications Union in making and unifying terms in the communications field; short comments on sources and methods used; some examples.

11. "Grammatical Analysis"

Mmd Shawqi Amin, pp. 108-114 G

12. "On the Term, "Kan" plus the Past Without 'qad'"

Dr. Hassan Awn, pp. 115-124 L

Analysis of the origins of the construct

begins with the defining of the fields of linguistic study in general; a) styles of expression, b) system of these styles in their users, c) rhetorical styles; all have the goal of learning the language; then goes on to the study of these fields by Greeks, Latins, and Sibawa, then to example of the above construct as one in which there is difference of opinion on its correctness; quotes Qur'anic, poetic and linguistic texts to show that it did not occur in them, but that it has entered only recently, through a comparison with the French passé antérieur; considers this borrowing valid because language needs to grow and develop; no footnotes or bibliography.

13. "The Foundations of Easy Enjoyable Writing"

Dr. Fouad al-Bahai al-Sayed, pp. 125-141 E

Analysis of elements needed for ease in writing, perhaps most interesting by virtue of the fact that in the first element, words, he recognizes the need to use common words in learning writing; gives names of men who have compiled word lists during the past 30 years; bibliography.

Dr. al-Bahai outlines the elements needed to achieve ease in writing; he recognizes the need for research into and analysis of writing skills and subjecting these skills to measurement; his bibliography includes five works in English, all written in the 40's or before; his division of writing into several elements - words, sentences, paragraphs, thoughts, style, subject illustrations, and printing - seems to be taken from other works since it does not refer to Arabic.

14. "A Criticism of Criticism"

Mahmoud Ghannim, pp. 142-151P

15. "Our Linguistic Dictionaries Between Revival and Renewal"

Hassan Kamel al-Sirfi, pp. 152-160 DT, HD

statistics; historical, but he wants to make the point that new statistical studies are needed.

Researches and Lectures:

2. "The Language of Science (Knowledge) of Islam"
Dr. Ibrahim Madkour pp. 16-20 HA

3. "Added Letters (Words) and Allowing their Elimination in the Qur'an"
Dr. Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Tag, pp. 21-27 AQ

4. "Comment on Grammar"
Ali al-Gindi, pp. 28-32 G

5. "With Ibn Sina in his Book 'al-Shifa'"
Dr. Abd al-Halim Montassir, pp. 33-38 LR

6. "The Literature of Ibn Khaldoun"
Dr. Ahmed al-Hufi, pp. 39-55 LR

7. "The Unified Arabic-French Military Dictionary"
Gen. Mah. Shit Kittab, pp. 56-76 DT

The history and method of the Unified Military Dictionary on the occasion of its fourth and final part, Arabic-French; terminological unity the sole basis for military unity.

Dr: Ramdan Abd al-Tawab, pp. 238-252 HA

20. Reception Speeches - pp. 254-272

21. Eulogies - pp. 273-320

22. Academy News - pp. 273-320

#29, March 1972

Preface:

1. "The Linguist's Slide Rule"
Dr. Ib. Anis, pp. 7-12 M

Again on the computer, this time its use for studying transposition of letters in words, a term taken from Jespersen, Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin, 1922.

The phenomena of transposition of letters in Arabic and the need for statistics on it and call for use of computer in doing this.

Studies and Articles:

2. "The Language of Science in Islam"
Dr. Ibrahim Madkour, pp. 14-17 HA

3. "Comment on a Qur'anic Analysis of Mmd Abdu,"
Dr. Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Tag, pp. 18-28 AQ
4. "Discussion of the Plural of 'Words'"
Dr. Nasr al-Din al-Assad, pp. 29-39 G
5. "Defamatory Poems on Wives"
Ali al-Gindi, pp. 40p
6. "Ibn al-Awwam"
Dr. Abd al-Halim Montassir, pp. 50-56, LR
7. "The Rhyme in Arabic and English Poetry"
Dr. Ib. Anis, pp. 57-73 P
8. "Aristotilian Texts in 'Kitab al-Hiyawan' of al Sahiz"
Dr. Mmd Taha al-Hagri pp. 74-90 LR
9. "The Rhymed Prose of the Quran is Matchless"
Dr. Ahmed al-Thifi pp 91-96 AQ
10. "A Detailed Study of the Writing of Greek and Roman Names
in Arabic Letters"
Dr. Mmd Mahmoud al-Salamuni, pp. 97-146 DT

Very detailed study of rules for writing Greek and Latin names in Arabic letters; method of ancient writers and a suggested method with many comments and examples; bibliography.

Studies Academy's rules, then sets down his own; no reference to western studies but the precision of his method is worth remarking since it makes the article stand out among articles which are usually opinion or do not substantiate their statements by reference to other works.

11. "Words of Arabic Origin Borrowed into Rumanian Through Turkish"
Nicolae Dubrisan, pp. 147-72 DT

A study of borrowing into Rumanian from Arabic through Turkish; author is professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Bucharest; footnoted, with many examples.

Also well documented, he refers to many works published in Rumania, and particularly also one in French by Louis Deroy, L'Emprunt Linguistique, 1955.

12. "A study on Vowel Changes in the Middle Radical in Triliteral words in Classical Arabic and Its Dialects."

Dr. Ahmed Ilm al-Din, pp. 173-98 L

Largely historical study of the changes of vowelings of the middle radical, noted because it also treats dialects to some extent, although most of the examples are from literature.

13. "Colloquial Proverbs in the 9th and 14th Centuries A.H."

Umd Qndil al-Baqtī pp. 199-206 PR

Linguistic Heritage:

14. "Works of Manzur Ben Murthid al-Assad"

Dr. Ramadan Abd al-Tawwab pp. 208-27 LR

Book Notes and Criticism

15. "Course in General Linguistics" by Saussure and its Effect on Linguistics, a review.

Dr. Kamal M. Bishir, pp. 230-50 L

A lengthy review of Saussure's Course in General Linguistics 1916, and its influence on other European linguists; no mention of its influence on Arabic linguists.

The article appears to be an attempt to expose Arabic readers to Saussurian concepts.

16. Reception Speeches - pp. 252-68

17. Eulogies - pp. 269 - 302

18. Academy News - pp. 304-9

30, November 1972

Preface

1. "Return to Language Statistics"

Dr. Ib. Anis, pp. 7-13 M

Short examples of ancient linguists who used linguistic

statistics; historical, but he wants to make the point that new statistical studies are needed.

Researches and Lectures:

2. "The Language of Science (Knowledge) of Islam"
Dr. Ibrahim Madkour pp. 16-20 HA
3. "Added Letters (Words) and Allowing their Elimination in the Qur'an"
Dr. Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Tag, pp. 21-27 AQ
4. "Comment on Grammar"
Ali al-Gindi, pp. 28-32 G
5. "With Ibn Sina in his Book 'al-Shifa'"
Dr. Abd al-Halim Montassir, pp. 33-38 LR
6. "The Literature of Ibn Khaldoun"
Dr. Ahmed al-Hufi, pp. 39-55 LR
7. "The Unified Arabic-French Military Dictionary"
Gen. Mah. Shit Kittab, pp. 56-76 DT

The history and method of the Unified Military Dictionary on the occasion of its fourth and final part, Arabic-French; terminological unity the sole basis for military unity.

8. "Criticism of the Age of Mohi al-Din Arabi".

Dr. Mahmoud Qasim pp. 72-90 LR

9. "Language and Culture"

Dr. Mmd Aziz al-Hubabi pp. 91-99 SL

Meaning of the role of language in the cultural revolution; language has not been analyzed enough in the Arab world, especially language in society; language is the root of culture and the revolutions; language is the mirror of the development of every nation.

10. "The First Seeds of al-Bayani's Exegesis"

Dr. Mmd Ragib al-Baiyumi pp. 100-111 AQ

11. "The Relative Pronoun in the Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac Languages"

Dr. Zakia Mmd Rushdi, pp. 112-120 L

Comparative study of relative pronouns in Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac, examples from literature.

12. "Did Hindus Influence the Arabic Dictionary?"

Dr. Ahmed Mukhtar Umar pp. 121-127 DT

Review of several Hindi and Arabic dictionaries to see if the former influenced the order of words in the latter.

13. "Social Sciences in Al-Hariri's Rhymed Prose"

Dr. Mustafa al-Sawi al-Gowini pp. 128-137 P

14. "Our Climate . . . Through our Colloquial Proverbs"

Mmd Qaddil al-Gaqli pp. 138-46 PR

Review and explanation of origins and meanings of colloquial Egyptian proverbs concerning the weather set by ancient Egyptians; relationship of weather to society and agriculture.

Linguistic Heritage:

15. "Arabic Grammar Between Sign and Expression with an Analysis of the book 'Grammar of al-Qatub' by Us. Imam. Abd al-Qasim Abd al-Karim al-Gashifi al-Nisaburi"

Dr. Ahmed ilm al-Din al-Gindi pp. 148-180 G, LR

Book Notes and Criticism

16. "Diwan al-Sahib Sharf al-Din al-Ansari, by Dr. Umar Musa Pasha", a review.

Us. Mmd Abd al-Ghani Hassan pp. 182-201 LR

17. "Ghara'ib al-Tanbihat Ala-ib al-Tasbihat, by Ali Ben Thafir al-Azdi al-Misri", a Review

Dr. Ahmed al-Naggar, pp. 202-213 LR

18. Reception Speeches - pp. 216-243

19. Eulogies - pp. 244-271
20. Academy News - pp. 274 - 277

31, March 1973

Preface

1. "King, Kings, Angel, Angels"
Dr. Ib. Anis pp 7-14 HA

Studies and Articles

2. "Arabic Among the Great World Languages"
Dr. Ibrahim Madkur pp. 16-24 SL

Speech given at Beirut Arab University, on the greatness of Arabic among the languages of the world; outlines movements in dictionaries, grammar, and focuses on reform movements of writing systems, general comments.

3. "On 'Ba', Frequently Occurring in Arabic and in the Qur'an"
Dr. Sheikh Abd'al-Rahman Tag, pp. 25-35 AQ
4. "Poetry and the Poet"
Es. Ali al-Gindi pp. 33-44 P
5. "On Language Questions --- A Study "On Verbs Formed on other than Subjects"
Es. Sheikh Attiya al-Suwaili pp. 43-54 G

6. "The writings of Ibn Khaldoun" (2) His Poetry

Dr. Ahmed al-Hufi pp. 55-69 LR

7. "Quadrupling the Tri-literal Verb in Arabic and its Sister Semitic Languages"

Dr. Murad Kamel pp. 70-92 L

The Quadrilateral Verb in Arabic; its development forms, meanings, its use in classical and colloquial Arabic and other Semitic languages; many examples.

8. "Analysis of 'Lisan al-Arab'"

Us. Mmd. Shawqi Amin pp. 107-112 SL

Comments on various reform movements and reformers in the 19th and early 20th centuries; translations, creation of new terms, writings on 'correct' Arabic, use of new terms and styles; focuses on individual efforts before the creation of the Academy; good review.

10. "Social Scenes in al-Hariri's Rhymed Prose"

Dr. Mustafa al-Sawi al-Gawini pp. 113-121 P

11. "Studies on Grammar and Readings"

Dr. Ahmed Mekki al-Ansari pp. 122-136 G. HA

12. "The First to Name the Qur'anic Rhyme"

Us. Mmd al-Husnawi pp. 137-147 AQ

13. "The Art of Imitation"

Us. Qandil al-Baqli pp. 148-156 HA

Linguistic Heritage

14. "The Grammar of al-Qutub" Part II, A Review

Dr. Ahmed Ibn al-Din al-Gindi, pp. 158-200 LR

Book Notes and Criticism

15. "Selections from al-Zahari's 'Uyun al-Shicr', collected and analysed by Us. Abd al-Razaq al-Hilali," a Review

Us. Mmd Abd-Ghani Hassan pp. 202-216 LR

16. Eulogy - pp. 218-230

17. Academy News - pp. 232-3

32; November 1973

Preface

1. "Analysis of two forms of an ancient phrase"

Dr. Ib. Anis, pp. 7-12 G

Studies and Articles

2. "The Grammatical Term"

Dr. Ib. Madkour pp. 14-17 HA, G

3. "Sheikh Khalid al-Azhari"
Dr. Sheikh Mmad al-Fahham, pp. 18-24 G.LR
4. "The Scientific Movement in the Age of al-Mu'mun"
Dr. Abd al-Halim Muntasir pp. 25-29 HA
5. "What is the Meaning of 'Yaum al-Taghabun'?"
Dr. Ahmed al-Hufi, pp. 30-34 AQ
6. "Abu Umur al-Shaibani"
Dr. Murad Kamel pp. 35-39 LR
7. "Analysis of 'Lisan al-Arab', Part II of the Bulaq edition"
Us. Abd-al-Salam Harun pp. 40-54 HD
8. "Silent Literary Experiences"
Us. Ibrahim al-Libban pp. 55-61 LR
9. "Extracting Aristotelian Texts from 'Kitab al-Hiquwan' of al-Jahiz"
Dr. Taha al-Hagri Part II, pp. 62-80 LR
10. "The Integrated Method of Teaching Arabic"
Dr. Fuad al-Bahai al-Sayyid, pp. 81-95 E

Explanation of a new method for teaching Arabic, "the integrated method", comprising seven stages not based on grammatical analysis but on using the language to accomplish

Certain tasks ranked on a scale of complexity; the preparatory stage, names and thenominal sentence, verbs and the verbal sentences, thinking with language and training in self-expression, grammar rules and inflectional endings, and the alphabet and the shapes of letters; he calls for experiments to be carried out in schools to try this method; gives examples of the use of the method.

Like his previous articles, pedagogical in orientation; this one refers directly to a method for teaching Arabic and recognizes that a new method based on learning and employing skills is preferable to one in which the language is taught by analysis; method is used in Europe and America, but does not say by whom; no footnotes or bibliography.

11. " A New Opinion..from an Old One... " "The Feminine is like the Masculine in the Titles of Positions and Jobs"

Us. Mmd Shawqi Amin, pp 96-99L

Opinion on need for feminine form of job names; thinks it is not necessary; examples.

12. "The Geological Term"

Dr. Mmd Yusef Hassan, pp 100-104 DT

History of the word "geology" and the adoption of the

word in Arabic; creation of terms by Academy in geology during the past ten years.

13. "In the Qur'an and Arabic: A Study of the Word Forms 'Fa ala' and 'Af ala'"

Dr. Ahmed Ilm al-Din al-Gindi, pp 105-113 AQ

14. "Riddles in Arabic Poetry"

Us Mmd Qandil al-Baqly, pp 114-124 P

15. "Modern Arabic Thought Through the Biographies of Its Great Men, by Us. Yassef as ad Daghix" A Review,

Us Mmd Abd al-Ghani Hassan, pp 126-136 LR

16. Reception Speeches and Eulogies - pp 138-194

17. Academy News - pp 196-204

A P P E N D I X

Resume of article by Dr. Fu'ad al-Bahai entitled "Basic Language," In the Journal No. 27, February 1971, pp. 129-40.

This article, like the others of Dr. Bahai's reported on above is straight reporting on research. This article is concerned directly with Arabic.

He begins by saying that "basic language depends in its essence on basic words which are classified according to ease, clarity, and importance." Thus, knowing the foundations for choosing these words is important, and Dr. Bahai spends the next several pages outlining several methods, in both English and French: that of Ogden (1925-32) and as modified at Harvard, Thorndike (1921-43), and an unidentified French method. (pp. 129-33).

Turning then to word lists in Arabic, he describes the ones now in existence as being an "introductory step" which will lead to a project of basic words (in Arabic). These lists are based on various sources, all written, and were gathered on the basis of frequency of occurrence.

The lists are:

- 1) Brill list - based on daily press in several countries

- 2) Daily list - based on the press and weekly magazines in Egypt .
- 3) List of Fakhir Aqil - based on reading books of the first three years of primary school in Egypt
- 4) List of Dr. Qadri Lotfi - based on reading books of kindergartens and the first two primary grades in Egypt
- 5) List of Dr. Rushdi Khatir - based on the four above lists; to be used in literacy classes
- 6) List of Dr. Fu'ad al-Bahai - a list of common Moroccan words based on the newspaper, al-Manar.

He then discusses the appropriate scientific bases for choosing basic words: extent of repetition and fusion among sources and fields, "verbal fertility" (various meanings and relationship to other words), grammatical words (prepositions, qualifiers, etc), and typologies (of animals, plants, family relationships, days of week). The bases for excluding words are outlines; they are: synonyms, metaphorical words, words of cursing and insult, words similar in meaning and spelling, and long words.

The last section of the paper finally states the reasons why basic Arabic is important and the functions it would realize. The fields in which it can be employed are:

- a) literacy campaigns

- b) in books for new learners
- c) in daily broadcasting; for news, plays, and literacy lessons.
- d) in daily press; also mainly to combat illiteracy
- e) in government pronouncements
- f) in national health or social campaigns
- g) in religious sermons, to help religion realize its goals
- h) as an alternative to colloquial Arabic, both with regard to its ease and mutual intelligibility

The last paragraph makes the point that basic Arabic is not meant to be used instead of "non-basis Arabic," but is considered an introduction to it. Thus basic Arabic does not serve the functions of rhetoric and metaphor, which are literary functions.

The Arab Science Union

The Arab Science Union (ASU) was set up in 1956 with representatives from Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq as an umbrella organization for over 30 scientific organizations in these countries. It is under the auspices and financial control of the Arab League and primarily serves as a communication center.

From the beginning, one of the purposes of the ASU was to concern itself with the use of Arabic in scientific communication. According to its organization law it had the responsibility for publishing a scientific journal in Arabic and for establishing the means necessary to achieve unification of terminology in Arabic. With regard to terminology, the council of the ASU, meeting in 1956, agreed on the following plan:

- a) The identification of dictionaries and lists in foreign languages which enumerate terms for all meanings in each branch of science and which include the foreign term and a precise definition of it, so that the task of setting down an Arabic term and translating the definition to Arabic will be facilitated.

- b) The distribution of these terms to specialized translators, then to interested parties for review, then their printing in lists.
- c) The sending of these lists to the member organizations of the ASU so that specialists in each country can give their opinions on the terms.
- d) The providing of a single opinion on each term from each member organization.
- e) The establishing of a joint committee for each field, in which each country will have two representatives, to unify the terms and their definitions.
- f) The printing of terms in each field in a special dictionary and the sending of these dictionaries to Ministers of Education, scientific organizations, and language academies, and the requiring of their use.
- g) The accepting of suggestions from Arab scientists on the matter of the creation of terminology.

The subsequent history of the ASU's language efforts is not clear to me because there are no records other than vocabulary lists published in the proceedings of each Arab Science Conference. An effort was made after the 1956 conference to carry out the above plan. It included the engagement of a German UN expert in physics, Mr. Jumblat, to organize the collection, classification, and translation of terms in physics. The project was only partly completed and only a preliminary English-Arabic lexicon of several thousand words in two volumes was ever printed. Later science conferences have always called for the Arabization of science terminology and teaching and the unification of terms, but the ASU has only been able to publish lists of terms agreed upon and lists upon which there is disagreement, listing the different terms by country of use. It has no implementation power and its work has probably been eclipsed by the Arab League's Center for Coordination of Arabization in Rabat.

Dr. Abd al-Halim Montassir is the Secretary-General of the ASU, whose headquarters are in the Tager Building, First Floor (open 5-8 p.m.). He is the motivating force behind the ASU's concern with language, being a member of the Cairo Academy and founder of Risalat al-'Ilm, a journal whose aim is the Arabization of science. He has just completed (1974) the revising of the scientific lexicons published by the Rabat Center in preparation for their final publication after terms have been unified.

FRANKLIN BOOK PROGRAMS

A Report from Gary Garrison

INTRODUCTION:

The following report is compiled from data I have collected in the course of my dissertation research. It is, as you can see, incomplete or imprecise in some places. I have tried to place the description of the Franklin textbook translation project within the larger context of scientific and educational language policy at the beginning of the project in 1960. My own comments on the project are interspersed with data on Franklin.

The project, with regard to science books at least, was tied to a largely politically motivated 'plan' of the Egyptian government to replace English with Arabic in the first two years of university science teaching, a policy which failed for numerous reasons. Seen within this context Franklin perhaps comes off slightly tarnished by association with a policy which it did not -- and probably could not -- question. Franklin was probably never consulted, at least by the Egyptian government, about the wisdom of the over-all language policy or the methods taken for its implementation, nor did it offer its opinion, this being out of keeping with its status as a foreign organization. As a strictly technical organization not engaged in policy planning or evaluation, Franklin produced books which could have made a significant contribution toward the provision of Arabic-language teaching materials.

Franklin Book Programs' textbook translation began in 1960 as the result of an agreement between the U.S. Government and the Egyptian Ministry of Education. Franklin was engaged at the agreement of both parties to be responsible for carrying out the translation of textbooks or reference books for universities, higher technical and vocational training schools and teacher training institutes in Egypt. (See "Comprehensive Report"). The project was part of a movement to Arabicize university studies in the scientific, engineering, and medical faculties, a movement which, in its turn, was inspired by the union of Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic, and the desire of Egypt to follow Syria's lead in using Arabic in all its university faculties as the medium of instruction. The project, funded by PL 480 funds, was terminated following the break in diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Egypt in 1967, although books already in the process of being translated or published were carried through to completion, the last of 138 university and higher institute level books being published in 1972.

A "List of Books Published" gives a breakdown of the (1972:) 138 completed titles by institutional level and scientific or academic field. Teacher training and technical/vocational institutes, except for a few cases, are not defined as university education in Egypt; they are classified as post-secondary education and usually offer training of a more "practical" nature than that offered by the universities. As can be noted from the list, science, engineering and agriculture books made up the bulk of university level translations. (Since I have more information on these books than on those for the other two levels, I will limit the remainder of my comments and data to them).

The books initially recommended for translation were part of a plan of the Higher Science Council, a governmental body set up in 1956 to plan and coordinate science policy among all ministries and organizations in Egypt. In its 1960 Annual Report the Council's Committee for Scientific Publications recommended the translation of 10 titles of the "American Project" within its translation program -- which included 14 other translations and one original work commissioned directly by the Science Council. The Council stated that "this American series was considered to provide ample reference works for the fundamental sciences at the preliminary university level" (the first and second years). Nine of these original ten titles were eventually translated by Franklin and published between 1962 and 1969.

As stated in the "Comprehensive Report" (page 2-Supervision) an official of the Ministry of Education was to undertake over-all coordination of the project (he is now deceased) and an Internal Advisory Committee (IAC) was set up to supervise the translation process. The IAC, in cooperation with subject specialists, made the final choice of titles to be translated from among suggestions submitted by organizations and individuals. Most books were suggested by the Science Council, although after 1962 books were also suggested by individual teachers (who often undertook the translation of the titles they had proposed). No criteria for the choice of books was made explicit in the section on Procedures in the "Comprehensive Report"; "value" and "validity" of the books (paragraph 3) and "priority and need" (paragraph 4), as well as the selection criteria of the IAC (paragraph 5), are not made clear. I do not know the full composition of the IAC; Mr. Riad Abaza, then administrative director of Franklin, Dr. Hassan, under-secretary of State for Higher Education, Dr. Tawfiq Ramzy, a specialist in administration, and Dr. Saber Salim, a scientist, were four of the members.

Dr. Salim, the only member of the IAC with whom I have spoken, said that Franklin had a representative in New York whose job was to coordinate the textbook translation project there by obtaining three copies of each book suggested and sending them to

Cairo for evaluation by experts and the IAC. Dr. Salim praised the organization of the project, especially the lack of red tape. He said that there was no pressure to accept certain books over others, and that the IAC, universities, and Ministry of Education had the freedom to reject any book because of things in its content they found objectionable. This question of content applied principally to books in the social sciences and humanities. (See also para.9 under Procedures). Dr. Salim mentioned that some professors in the universities objected to certain books being translated because they would have replaced textbooks or printed lecture notes authored by them. In some cases Franklin tried to overcome their opposition by hiring them to translate or revise textbooks in the project, but this did not succeed according to Dr. Salim. Now in charge of science education in ALECSO, the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization, Dr. Salim said that the books chosen for translation were very comprehensive and up-to-date and were well suited for use in university teaching.

According to Mrs. Safwat, the Franklin employee who was working on the translation project in its last years, the books were originally to be used as classroom texts distributed to students each year. However, the cost of doing this was great and translation often took two years or more making it impossible to meet the Fall, 1961 deadline for implementing their use so that the books were designated reference works and were placed in university and school libraries by the Ministry of Education or sold in smaller quantities by the commercial publishing firms contracted by Franklin to publish them.

No university teacher with whom I have spoken had ever used the books personally, or heard of them being used, as classroom texts. They often cite the high cost of the books for students as one reason why they could not be used. For 30 books on which I have information, prices ranged from 40 to 422 piastres, with 76% of the books costing over one pound, a high price for texts in Egypt. The Ministry of Education was to distribute copies free of charge, although it is not clear to me whether these were to be for students or for reference only (both Mrs. Safwat and Dr. Salim said that the books were to be used by students as texts, but the Science Council statement quoted earlier and the "Comprehensive Report" suggest the opposite). If the books were to be distributed to students the cost problem could have been avoided. Opposition on the part of professors to the books could have been one reason they were not used; there is a lively market in class notes, published openly and for profit by teachers of many science courses. Another opposing view was expressed by a professor in an Al-Ahram article of 31 December 1961 discussing science and university policy. He criticized university teachers who "did translations of books for some organizations which served special interests";

he continued that the UAR had enough translations projects to keep translators busy and explicitly criticized the competition of Franklin-translated books.

In addition to copies printed for the Ministry of Education the publishers were allowed to print overruns and re-print additional copies for the commercial market both in Egypt and abroad; the number of copies was not fixed in advance by Franklin or the Ministry, Mrs. Safwat reported. I have no information concerning the sales of commercial copies, although I have visited two libraries of the Science Faculty at the University of Cairo and have seen copies of the Ministry's edition there. Neither of the libraries is open to undergraduates; from 30 to over 200 translated copies are on the shelves, making up the bulk of the libraries' Arabic language books, all others being in English. In the main science library I observed about 100 copies of one text stocked on top of an inaccessible 10-foot high shelf.

The "Instructions to Translators and Revisers" distributed by Franklin seems to be very brief, though I do not know how much one can make precise and explicit to an individual undertaking a translation. However, the fact that all translators and revisers were subject specialists in a scientific field (and not, as stated in the "Comprehensive Report" (page i, Scope) necessarily people "highly specialized in translation and revision") would seem to require that more detailed instructions be given. The lack of standardized and complete vocabularly lists for scientific and technical terminology made it necessary for the translators and revisers to create new Arabic equivalents, which were then used standardly within each title, though the translation of the same may have differed from book to book depending on the persons doing the work. (See also "Instructions", second section). An Arabic-English glossary-index is included at the end of each book.

The creation and unification of scientific terminology in Arabic and the writing of teaching materials using this terminology has been a long-standing goal of many organizations, e.g., the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo, the Arab Science Union, ALECSO, and the Arab League's Bureau for Coordination of Arabization in the Arab States in Rabat. Translators hired by Franklin could employ the terminological lists of the Cairo Academy, although they were not bound to do so. An attempt was made to compile a glossary of all Arabic scientific and technical terms used in the translations into a single volume which could be used by future translators, but little was accomplished before 1967. The Rabat Bureau now has extensive standardized lists covering several scientific fields which could be profitably employed in any future translations.

Translators were chosen from among university teachers specialized in the particular field which was the subject of each book. They were most often instructor or assistant professor level, all had studied abroad in either Great Britain or the United States, and all had Ph.D.'s. From one to eight persons translated each book. They were paid at the rate of 3 millemes per English word translated. (One milleme = 1/10 of a piastre, or about 3 ¢ at the exchange then prevailing -- 1 Egyptian Pound = \$2.80). This was and is the official government rate for translation which has remained unchanged for over 20 years.

A reviser, sometimes two, was also chosen by the IAC to review the translation once it was completed. He was paid one milleme per word and was usually a full professor, head of a department, or dean of a faculty. Many of the translators and reviewers worked on more than one book, and the reviewers often did translations.

Mrs. Safwat told me that the translators took various lengths of time to complete, depending not only on its length and difficulty, but also on how hard they worked at it and how much other work they had to do at the same time. She knows of persons who have knowingly accepted to be translators even though they could not have given it the time required, and who continually postponed submitting the manuscript because they were not finished. I do not know whether any translators were replaced because of non-compliance with a deadline or poor translations.

An over-all quantitative summary of the program through the first half of 1970 can be seen in the appended table from the 1970 Annual Report. It includes data on 124 books out of a final total of 138. At that time all the technical and vocational books had been completed (20), only three remained to be finished in the teacher training category, and eleven in the university category, eight of these in science or technology. Most science books are relatively long compared to textbooks usually employed in Egypt -- 300 pages or more -- while teacher training and technical/vocational books are shorter. Commercial copies for all three levels were less than Ministry copies, and copies for the teacher training level made up over three-fourths of the total copies printed. The ratio of commercial to Ministry copies is lowest at the university level, perhaps indicating the greater demand, or anticipated demand, for these books commercially by students who normally had access only to texts in English.

An attached table shows the rate at which books for all levels were published for the years 1966-72. The English editions from which translations were made were published at various times; for 18 books on which I have data, the dates of publication in English range from 1948 to 1962, with most in the 1950's and some being second editions of books first printed as early as 1937.

A Comprehensive Report
on the
Translated American Text and Reference Books Project

The Project

In 1960 a tripartite agreement was signed between the Ministry of Education, the American Embassy in Cairo, and Franklin Book Programs for the use of the legislation issued by the U.S.A. Government referred to as PL 480. This law allows the use of part of the payment received from the selling of foods by America to other nations, for cultural and educational purposes.

The agreement was to contribute to the translation and publication of any American school text or reference book recommended by interested bodies in the ARE. These translated books were to be given gratuitously to the interested bodies.

Franklin Book Programs was nominated by the American Government to carry out this project in accordance with the requirements of the ARE Government through the Ministry of Education.

Scope

From the Arab point of view, the aim of the project was to make the greatest possible use of the potentialities offered for rendering into Arabic the best American references. This was done by Arab people who were highly specialized in translation and revision.

The circulation of the books was to be on a scale capable of meeting the needs of professors, teachers, and students in the various levels and branches of learning, as well as the other educational and cultural organizations and institutes.

Project's Role

The advent of the project coincided with the state's new trend of arabicising studies in non-theoretical colleges which, along with all reference, have so far been done in foreign languages. The Project was, therefore, considered an effective contribution to the educational and cultural movement as well as to the conveying of scientific and intellectual trends into Arabic.

Since the project catered for different quarters and various branches of knowledge, it has been deemed necessary to establish a plan to coordinate the requests, of all benefiting parties. By doing so the services of the project were available to all quarters on the basis of assigning allocations for each party within the total budget of the project.

Supervision

To secure efficient and sound execution of the project especially with regards to the processes of co-ordination, equal distribution of benefits among the different organizations and the determination of priorities according to the scientific needs, His Excellency the Minister of Education had decided to assign to the Ministry of Education - represented then by Mr. Mohamed el Sayed Roha - all responsibility for undertaking all processes of communication that concern the translation of American scientific and cultural books into Arabic.

A committee was formed of representatives of the three parties of the agreement, as well as of Arab experts, to supervise the execution of the project. The committee was named the Internal Advisory Committee for Translated American Text and Reference Books. Its duty was to study, examine and decide on all the necessary procedures.

Procedures

In preparing the lists of books recommended for translation and then submitted to the Internal Advisory Committee, the organizations and institutions concerned adopted the following procedures:

- 1- To fill in a selection form on which should be stated the subject or branch of learning, the level, the standard of the students, the approximate number of recipient students and any other information required on this form.
- 2- The Internal Advisory Committee through Franklin Cairo contacted The Franklin Office in New York to supply copies of the books that conform to the specifications stated in the selection forms along with fact sheets on these and similar books.
- 3- On receiving the books and their fact sheets the IAC sent them to the interested institutions and organizations to have them examined by their experts to report on the value of the books. For further technical opinion on the validity of the books the IAC referred them to one or more of the Arab specialists for evaluation.
- 4- The different organizations then notified the IAC of the titles that have finally been selected along with the name of one or two substitutes for each title. The titles had to be arranged according to priority and need, stating the number of copies required, in order that the procedures of translation, printing and distribution may be carried out according to the required number of copies.

- 5- The IAC, after a careful study of the different opinions of the examiners informed Franklin Cairo of the title finally selected for translation and publication.
- 6- The Franklin Office in New York then contacted the American Publishers to secure the copyrights for translation.
- 7- On receiving the copyrights, the IAC selected the translators and revisors.
- 8- Franklin Cairo then contracted with the chosen translators and revisors.
- 9- Once the translation and revision of a book was completed; Franklin Cairo sent a typed copy of the translated manuscript to the Ministry of Education for legal examination to make sure that the book is free of all moral, religious and political blemishes or views that did not conform with the mores and traditions in the ARE. The manuscript was then sent to the press only when the Ministry of Education approved of its printing.
- 10- When a book was published, Franklin Cairo notified the IAC to determine the number of copies to be given to each interested party.

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FRANKLIN CAIRO'S TEXTBOOK PROGRAM
A Classified List Comprising all Titles Published
from July 1, 1960 to June 4, 1970

1. University Level

SUBJECT	No. of Titles Published	No. of Pages	No. of Minis- try Copies	No. of Commer- cial Copies
Chemistry	4	2,962	23,400	9,600
Physics	5	4,222	12,350	12,150
Mathematics	4	3,016	15,500	7,350
Biology	11	9,806	33,000	22,000
Agriculture	6	5,036	32,900	16,000
Geology	2	1,622	5,900	3,000
Engineering	5	4,022	27,000	13,500
The Arts	5	2,424	14,400	9,100
Administration	3	1,592	12,000	6,000
Economics	1	384	3,300	1,200
Sociology	2	1,328	3,000	3,000
TOTAL	48	36,414	182,750	102,900

2. Technical and Vocational Training Level

Agriculture	1	704	7,500	5,000
Woodworking	3	1,102	17,000	5,000
Metalworking	6	2,457	45,000	15,000
Automotive	4	2,315	27,500	9,500
Electricity and Electronics	4	1,662	19,000	9,500
Home Mangement	2	1,166	17,000	5,500
TOTAL	20	9,406	133,000	50,500

3. Teacher Training

SUBJECT	No. of Titles Published	No. of Pages	No. of Minis- try Copies	No. of Commer- cial Copies
Pedagogy-General	20	3,656	346,000	84,000
Pedagogy-Reading	3	268	112,800	12,000
Pedagogy-Soc Stud.	1	80	15,000	5,000
Pedagogy-Mathematics	2	148	30,000	10,000
Pedagogy-Science	6	2,390	92,000	23,000
Pedagogy-Phys. Ed & Recreation	6	2,889	60,000	18,000
Pedagogy-Agriculture	1	1,130	1,500	1,000
Pedagogy-Exceptional Children	6	960	178,000	30,000
Teacher-Parent Relations	3	548	89,000	15,000
Principal-Staff Relations	8	2,300	232,000	34,000
TOTAL	56	14,369	1,156,800	232,000
University Level	48	36,414	182,750	102,900
Technical & Vocational Training Level	20	9,406	133,000	50,500
Teacher Training	56	14,369	1,156,800	232,000
TOTAL	124	60,189	1,472,550	385,400

A P P E N D I X 2

Textbooks Published in Franklin Program, 1966-72

University, Technical/Vocational, and Teacher Training Levels

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>No. Editions</u>	<u>No. Copies</u>
1966	29 (1)	635,500
1967	14 (1)	151,505
1968	5 (1)	18,000
1969	10 (1)	46,000
1970	5 (2)	13,500
1971	11 (2)	32,000
1972	3 (2)	6,000+

Note: The cumulative total through fiscal year 1966 was 121 editions and 2,132,100 copies, including both first editions and reprints.

- (1) Includes first editions and reprints.
- (2) First editions only.

A bibliographic review of language and linguistics articles
in Arabic periodicals

Writings on language and linguistics in Egypt have covered a number of topics during the last forty years. On any single topic - diglossia, for example - there have been opinions ranging from the near-complete adoption of the colloquial language for all uses, to the refusal to recognize the existence of colloquial Arabic as a language. In order to get an idea of the range of topics written about, as well as the range of positions taken on language-related topics, a review of periodical literature has been undertaken, sampling selected magazines. Since some issues, e.g. the reform of the writing system or the Arabization of education, were relatively more directly discussed during certain periods and in certain journals, the sample has been deliberately chosen so as to yield a maximum number of articles on language topics. Because of this bias in coverage the review will not aim at enumerating articles with the purpose of drawing conclusions about the relative importance or visibility of certain topics at certain times or of individual's or group's positions on these topics; rather, the range of subjects and positions presented by writers is the principal aim.

Although our major interest is the articles written in the period since 1957 and by persons whom we can define as "Modern Linguists", we have also chosen to include the 1938-42

period in order to provide more historical perspective on language and linguistics discussion in Egypt, particularly regarding the Arabic language. Periodicals in the pre-1952 era are known to have been more independent in opinion as well as more specialized.

Time-periods and periodicals to be covered have been selected on the basis of 1) Garrison's previous reviews of periodical literature and 2) reference to journals and/or articles in publications on language, which helped identify certain periodicals as containing many articles on language and certain time-periods as those of greater language-related activity. Intuitively it is assumed that periodicals published by certain groups or directed to certain audiences would contain articles representative of their points of view. Therefore, some magazines were chosen even though they were not 'proven' sources of language articles.

The types of articles to be noted are those which by their titles indicate that they contain research or comments on some aspect of language, Arabic or non-Arabic. The form, history, use, teaching, and analysis of language by specialists or laymen and reports or comments on the language work of individuals or organizations are all subjects within the scope of this review. An article will be recorded even if the language relatedness of its contents are in doubt; a later examination

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can verify the exact subject.

Articles already collected from other periodicals covering other periods will be included in the sample. Some books may also be included in the sample, e.g. The Future of Culture in Egypt, by Taha Hussein, and Tarikh Al-Da'wa illa al-Amiya wa Atharuha fi Misr (History of the Call for the Use of Colloquial Arabic and its Effect in Egypt) by Nafissa Said. The Journal of the Arabic Language Academy will be given separate treatment in a short review essay on the contents of the last five issues (Numbers 28-32.)

Initially, only a single recording of the basic bibliographic information for each article was undertaken by a Research Assistant. We are indebted to Miss Monique Gabriel Shaker for this work. A second step was the classification of titles according to subject. The ultimate purpose of this operation was to identify a sub-sample of articles on topics which we wish to abstract and/or analyze in order to extract the major arguments presented.

(Tentatively, this sub-sample will consist of articles on scientific terminology in Arabic, the Arabization of the medium of instruction in science education, diglossia in Arabic, and the actions of linguistic or governmental organizations in which language or language use is the object of treatment.)

First stage-recording of bibliographic information

As noted above, certain years and periodicals have been chosen as sources because of the hypothesized greater frequency of language-linguistic articles. These years and sources are defined below and a short description given of each periodical; dates are inclusive.

1938-42:

1. Al-Risala: a biweekly literary and literary criticism journal founded in 1939 by Ahmed Hassan al-Zayyat (elected to the Academy in 1949); also includes news items of interest concerning language. Reviewed: 1938-42.

2. Al-Mugtataf: 10 issues/year; a current affairs journal which also popularized science subjects; founded in 1876 by Yacoub Sarruf and Dr. Faris Nimr (original Academy member, 1933) who called for language reform and made positive efforts to publish scientific terminology. Reviewed: 1938-52.

3. Majallat al-Tarbiyya al-Haditha (The Journal of Modern Education): quarterly since 1927; published by the American University in Cairo; articles in Arabic and English. Reviewed: 1938-74 (missing Dec. 1939).

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4. Risalat al-Ilm (The Message of Science): quarterly since 1934; founded and edited by Dr. Abd al-Halim Montassir, a botanist, Academy member since 1958, Secretary-General of the Arab Science Union; published by the Association of Graduates of Faculties of Science; each issue usually contains an article on Arabic and Science written by Dr. Montassir, an active proponent of the Arabization of science education; distributed free to members and interested parties; although probably not representative of the views of Egyptian scientists in general it is the only scientific magazine in Egypt which is entirely in Arabic and which regularly includes articles on language.
Reviewed: 1938-42 and 1956-73.

5. Al-Thaqafa: weekly, since 1939; published by the Committee for Authorship, Translation, and Publishing, Ahmed Amin, Chairman; not published 195 -62; re-issued under the same name, published by the Ministry of Culture, editor Mnd Farid Abou Hadid (Academy member) 1963 to present; culture, arts, sciences.
Reviewed: 1939-41 and 1963-65.

6. Majallat al-Azhar Reviewed: 1938-74 (missing nos. 7,8,9,10 of vol. 33; nos. 5,6,7,9,10 of vol. 40; all of vols. 41 and 42; nos. 2,4,5,6,7,8 of vol. 43; nos. 2,4,6,7,8,10 of vol. 44; nos. 1,2,3,5,6,8,9,10 of vol. 45; nos. 1,5,6,10 of vol. 46.)
1956-62:

The union of Egypt and Syria during this period and subsequent calls for Arabization of education provoked much discussion

and many projects during this period; for example the Higher Science Council textbook translation program, the Franklin books translation program, and the partial Arabization of university science education. The Arabic Academy held a long series of discussions on the writing system and solicited suggestions from interested parties. Periodicals surveyed from this period will include those from the previous period which are still published as well as two new ones:

1. Al-Majallah: monthly since 1957; founded and edited by Dr. M^{md} Awad Muhammad (Academy member); current affairs, literature, culture. Reviewed: 1957-74 (missing Nov., Dec., 1971 and Jan., Feb., of 1972-74)
2. Al-Katib: monthly since 1961; a literary and critical journal of good quality. Reviewed: 1961-74 (missing Dec., 1973, Jan., Feb., Aug., Oct., Nov., and Dec., 1974)
3. Majallat Kulliyat al-Adab (Cairo University Faculty of Arts Bulletin): published yearly since 1933; contains articles by teaching staff at the Faculty. Reviewed: 1956-67.
4. Sahifat al-Tarbiyyah: quarterly since 1948; published by the Association of Teacher Graduates in Egypt. Reviewed: 1955-73.

1968-74:

This period was chosen in order to get a sample of the latest articles on language, not because there were any known language-related activities or discussions during this time.

The periodicals reviewed are the same as for the 1956-62 period.

Second Stage: classifying articles according to subject

Articles are categorized on the basis of their titles. The bibliographic assistant noted sub-titles, other descriptive headings, and the presence of an abstract or summary which aided us in this operation. A list of categories has been drawn up. The categories are:

I. Arabic Sociolinguistic Studies

- a) Arabic in society
- b) Arabic and nationalism, Arab unity, Arabism
- c) Arabic and science
- d) Arabic in non-Arab countries
- e) Diglossia - the classical-colloquial conflict
- f) Colloquial Arabic
- g) Arabic dialects
- h) Specialized dictionaries and lexicons
- i) The Arabic Language Academy

II. Modern Linguistics and Arabic Language Studies

- a) Specialized dictionaries and lexicons
- b) Arabic dictionaries and encyclopedias - Methodology
- c) Bilingual dictionaries (review of)
- d) Foreign language influence in Arabic
- e) Reform of Arabic grammar
- f) Arabic writing system and reform of writing
- g) Reviews of 'modern' books on Arabic grammar;
Modern writers on the Arabic language

- h) Linguistic studies in general
- i) General articles on Arabic grammar, morphology, syntax
- j) Development of Arabic as a language
- k) Studies on foreign and Semitic languages
- l) Phonetics

III. The Teaching of Arabic and Other Languages

- a) Teaching of Arabic in Egyptian schools
- b) Teaching of language (unspecified as to language)
- c) Teaching of foreign languages (in Egypt)
- d) Arabization of instruction
- e) Education in general - history, philosophy, sociology
- f) Study of Arabic and Oriental studies outside the Arab world
- g) Translation

IV. Traditional Arabic Language Studies

- a) Difficulties/Mistakes/Corrections in Arabic
- b) Analysis of a particular construction in Arabic
- c) Analysis of a particular word or phrase in Arabic
- d) History of grammar; ancient grammarians and their works
- e) Comments on ancient Arabic dictionaries
- f) Arabic Rhetoric

V. The Arabic Language, the Qur'an and Islam; and Arabic Literature

- a) Arabic and the Qur'an
- b) Arabic, Islam, and Muslims

- c) Translation of the Qur'an
- d) Arabic literature in general
- e) Comments on literary works
- f) Comments on Arabic poetry
- g) Comments on the work: el-imta wal mu'aanasa
(subject of book unknown)
- h) Bibliographies of periodical publications

There are fortyone categories, grouped under five main headings - Arabic Sociolinguistic Studies; Modern Linguistics and Arabic Language Studies; the Teaching of Arabic and Other Languages; Traditional Arabic Language Studies; and the Arab Language, the Qur'an and Islam, and Arabic Literature.

Many topics overlap, of course, and the actual subject of many articles is unclear from the title. Our inclusion of articles under the heading "Modern Linguistics and Arabic Language Studies" was a great deal intuitive - based on the titles which we did not include in the traditional language category and on the names of authors who wrote during the past fifty years.

Observations on distribution of articles by category

Articles in modern linguistics, as defined in Europe and the Western hemisphere are few, mostly under the categories "Linguistics studies in general" and "Phonetics". Some of the persons who have taken degrees in linguistics have written articles that are in our sample. We have not made a systematic search for their articles; the ones we have found are listed below:

Partial List of Articles in the Sample Written by Linguists

(all articles are in Arabic unless otherwise noted)

1. Fatima Abd al-Hamid al-Zurqani (MA, Brown, 1965)
A Contrastive Study of Egyptian Cairene Arabic and English Verb Phrases. The Journal of Modern Education, Jan 1966, 39 (3) pp. 205-16
2. Muhammed Ghali, The Grammarian Linguists: Sapir and Bloomfield, (in English), Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, May-Dec 1966, 221(28), pp. 81-114
3. Salah al-Araby, Language Laboratories, Sahifat al-Tarbiya, March 1964, 16 (3), pp. 56-63
 - The Role of Modern Technology in Teaching Foreign Languages, Sahifat al-Tarbiya, Jan 1973, 25(2), pp.32-44
 - The Use of Audio-Visual Aids in Training Teachers, Sahifat al-Tarbiya, Jan 1974, 26 (1), pp. 50-6
4. Hanna Morcos Hanna, English Language Examinations in the light of the Oral-Aural Method, Sahifat al-Tarbiya, May 1968, 20 (4). pp. 24-31
 - An Analytic Study of the Teaching of the English Language, Sahifat al-Tarbiya, Jan 1967, 19 (2), pp. 32-9
 - The Preparation of English Language Teachers for the Preparatory Level, Sahifat al-Tarbiya, May 1967, 19 (4), pp. 40-9
 - The Role of the Arabic Language in Teaching English at the Preparatory Level, Sahifat al-Tarbiya, Nov 1967, 20(1), pp. 74-9 (resumé in English, pp. 91-2)

Academy Members' Articles

Many of the articles were written by members of the Arabic Language Academy, and the editors of five of the periodicals were at the same time members of the Academy. Although most of these authors were not linguists they did share a concern for the role of Arabic in society and its future development and most of their articles are about Arabic language issues in this century - education, colloquial Arabic, Arabic in society, efforts and hopes for the development of Arabic, and so forth. Relatively fewer Academy members wrote articles on traditional language subjects - ancient grammatical texts, literature, poetry, the Qur'an - although there are, of course, numerous articles in the sample on these topics. Even though their treatment of language issues may not follow what could be called modern linguistics, the fact that Academy members with diverse backgrounds are writing about Arabic in contemporary times is an encouraging sign, to us, that the Academy is not turned toward the past but that it is in touch with current realities.

The Third Stage: analysis of two categories of articles

The third stage of the review is the analysis of a group of articles in order to determine their definition of issues or problems concerning Arabic, solutions or action advocated, and the influence of modern linguistics on their analyses. Two topics were chosen: Arabic and nationalism, and Diglossia. Not all the articles in each category were reviewed, either because the journals were not easily available or because of a lack of time; there

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were nineteen articles read in the first category and nine in the second. Each topic will be treated separately below. Articles will be referred to by numbers written on the cards in the bibliographical card file and by abbreviated titles or the authors' names. The card file, incidentally, is located in Björn Jernudd's office in Cairo.

The Arabic Language and Nationalism, Unity and Arabism

Eight of the articles in this category form a series of discussions between Dr. Taha Hussein and Sati al-Husry on Arabism and Islamic unity. Also included are several letters from third parties commenting on the discussion (articles 8-15). Language is not a central point of the articles, although its importance for Arab unity is stated by al-Husry, who wants Arab unity (#8). Dr. Hussein, on the other hand, believes that Arab unity would not be beneficial to Egypt, and prefers what he calls 'cultural unity' which Egypt, as the best endowed country in the area, can help create (#9). (The remaining articles in this discussion sequence concern the difference between Arab and Islamic unity and the preference for one or the other. No mention of the role of language is made in these articles.)

Two of the other articles are also in the form of a discussion (#6 and #7) on Arabism. The first is a reply to an article not in the sample by Zaki Mubarak, entitled "On the road to Arab Unity". This reply, by al-Fatih al-Nur, stresses that the Sudanese

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are part of Arab unity because they are part of the Arab race. He says that race and language, not only language, are elements of Arabism. Mubarak in his answer again stresses the unifying role of language - his article is entitled "Arabism is Language, not Race".

The other nine articles in this category are all single articles with various emphases; we will review them briefly, one by one.

Dr. Kamal Bishr writes a very philosophical article on language as the basis of nationality (#1) in which he concentrates mainly on nationalism in Europe and in the writings of Herder, Fichte, and Arndt. He views language as the primary tool that preserves each society's personality and power and unites its goals and needs. The point of the article for Egypt is in his warning that the replacing of the national language by a foreign one means a destroying of customs and personality. Foreign languages should only be learned for instrumental purposes. The article was written in 1960, and probably influenced by the Arab unity discussion and calls for the Arabization prevalent at the time.

Article #2, by the late Mahmoud Sa'ran, is more about linguistic than Arab unity and should really be reclassified into the diglossia category. It treats by turn each of the factors which contribute to differences in classical Arabic among Arab countries - other language influence, imperialism, colloquial

influence, adoption of different classical synonyms. He calls for further research and the establishment of committees to plan language unity. He promises no magic transformation of Arab society as a result of language unity, but rather seems to want unity for instrumental reasons. We have been told that he was a linguist in Egypt, but have not confirmed this.

The article by Zohra (#3) is a fanatic defense of the classical language as the only language which has not changed in its essence and which has still been able to develop and grow. He attributes this to God's will, that Arabic be an eternal language, and to the timelessness of the Qur'an. All those persons who want to use colloquial Arabic are enemies of Islam.

Hatata's article (#5) on Arab and language unity (1941) calls for the unity of language in order to realize political unity. The number of dialects prevents unity and the solution is the unification of language in school books and the strengthening of classical Arabic.

An article on origins of the Egyptian people (#16) seems to try to make a case for similarities between the languages spoken in ancient Egypt, and Arabic.

The next article (#17) is a general one on the elements of unity and diversity in classical and colloquial varieties of Arabic. National and language unity are mutually beneficial and desirable

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and dialect unity can be accomplished by education, communications, economic cooperation.

The article "Arab Unity between Expansion and Ebb" (#18) is the second part of an article treating the elements of Arab unity. This part treats language in particular - the key to unity is language unity, Arabic has not succumbed as Latin did but has grown; the difference between the dialects is narrowing year by year as is the difference between classical and colloquial. An undistinguished article.

Article #19 is a review of a book which treats literary battles in poetry, prose, culture, language and nationalism. It is only a listing of the contents of other books by the same author.

The final article in this category is a review of writings of Sati al-Husry on Arab unity. He does not mention language.

In general, the articles in the category "Arabic and Nationalism" offer personal opinions, without much reference to writings of others or to linguistics. The first two, by Kamal Bishr on language as the basis of nationality and Mahmoud Sa'ran on linguistic unity are the best organized and least opinionated, and thus come nearest to what could be called scientific or academic analyses, although they, too, make no reference to linguistics.

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Diglossia. The Classical-Colloquial Conflict in Arabic

All but two of the nine articles reviewed on diglossia were written in 1961, 1962 or 1963, and all nine appeared in either al-Katib or al-Majallah and are thus oriented toward the use of language in literature and drama. There are ten other articles in this category which were not read, and they, with two exceptions, are in literary magazines. The treatment of diglossia in the articles in this category is not at all from a professional linguist's point of view. Of course, this does not rule out there being such a treatment in another article whose title caused us to place it in another category. Of the eight authors, we can only identify one, Aziz Abaza, with certainty. He was a poet and member of the Language Academy until his death in 1973. Two of the others, Dr. Mahmoud Mandour and Youssef al-Sharuni, we believe are also writers.

The first article, by Zaki Mustapha, is a half page opinion on the beauty of classical Arabic (CL) and its preferability to colloquial Arabic (CO) as a literary language because of its divine origin in the Qur'an.

The second article, by Mandour on CL and CO in the theater, is a pro-CO article on the use of CO in writing plays. He says that CO does not threaten nationalism or religion when used in popular literature, and that the contention that CL must be used in plays to allow understanding is disproven by the success of plays written

in CO. There are defined areas of expression of CL and CO-CL in science and philosophy and CO in daily life and emotions. Colloquial Arabic is no less capable than classical of expression of precise meanings and feelings. Both CO and CL should have their separate roles in society.

The third article is an answer to Mandour and the author says that all expressions in CO have equivalents in CL. Rather than claiming that CL is lacking in some respects, we should work toward refining it and filling out its cultural capital by finding living phrases near to the everyday language. This is clearly a "wishful" article rather than one which reflects a knowledge of things as they are.

Article #4, like the second, advocates the use of CO as the means to bring thought and literature to the people. It is very short and doesn't give any strategy for doing this.

The fifth article is a review of an article by Youssef al-Sharuni on "The Language of Conversation and Suggested Solutions," which is itself a review of the solutions proposed by five men for resolving the CL-CO problem. Only one page, it does little more than state that there is a problem in the difference between CL and CO vocabulary, pronunciation, and constructions, and advocates that a rapprochement between the two should take place on the basis of a) socialist policy (?), b) facilitation of Arabic grammar and writing, and c) eradication of illiteracy. Hardly an enlightening

review, although perhaps the full original article is more informative; it was published in the June 1963 issue of al-Adab (Beirut).

Article #6 is by Aziz Abaza and is philosophical in nature, being his application of the viewpoint expressed by Gilbert Ryle in Use, Usage and Meaning to the CL-CO situation. He says that language is from speech and is composed of the spoken word and the rules for putting these words together. The choice of words and the type of sentence constructed are left to the individual.

A short resumé of opinions given at a seminar on CL and CO at a literary club is the subject of the seventh article on diglossia. There is a consensus that authors have the right to use colloquial words in some types of literary expression. Rushdi Salah, the author of this article, recognizes that CL and CO have different functions and can coexist. An editor of the Language Academy is reported to say that the call for the cleansing of the language by some organizations does not mean a hardening of Arabic but rather an encouragement of a refined style. The whole article seems to be playing with words; no concepts are adequately or precisely identified and defined; each person uses his own definitions.

The eighth article is on the use of language in literary and translation movements. It is copiously footnoted with quotes from literature. The conclusion of the writer is that the CL-CO problem is basically a social one that can be solved by the elimi-

nation of illiteracy in the Arab world.

The final article is another review, this time of a book on Arabic and its dialects by a former teacher at Dar al-Ulum. A linguist, he recognizes that all languages are systems of sounds and expressions based on habit and that CO is also a system, no less complicated than CL. His name is Abd al-Rahman Ayoub. (A Sudanese, Jernudd says).

Although the above articles on the classical-colloquial conflict are not scientific studies from a linguistic point of view, we should not dismiss them all as naive observations. These men are describing the situation as they see it, and their opinions reflect what we know of others' comments on the subject. As we said several weeks ago, one may have some doubt that the concept of the "high" language in the diglossia theory is as artificial or as limited in function as the theory states, especially since students do learn and use it. Therefore, the defense of classical Arabic as a living or modern language may not be so fanatic or unrealistic as many Westerners believe. Probably neither side, Western linguists or Arab linguists and writers, is completely right and as we said, there is a clear need for down-to-earth empirical research and measurement of actual language use and teaching in the Arab world. Myths on both sides need to be destroyed by irrefutable evidence.

LINGUISTICS TEACHING IN EGYPT

We attempted to gather information on the teaching of Linguistics in Egypt during the spring 1975. Our detailed findings -- however sketchy -- are available in the Cairo Field Office of the Ford Foundation. We concentrated on "modern linguistics", i.e. contemporary international linguistics. A survey of linguistics in Egypt will not be complete without thorough attention to the study of Arabic. Since we intend to continue our fact-finding on Arabic during the coming year, we will limit ourselves here to an overview of findings so far.

Courses

A student cannot specialize in linguistics other than within Departments of English, or Arabic, or within the framework of a language teaching degree. Graduate programs that permit emphasis on linguistics by course-work are, to our knowledge, available at the following schools (no particular order):

Department of English, Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University

Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Menya

Faculty of Education, University at Assiut

Dar al-^CUlūm

Institute of Languages and Translation, al-Azhar University

Department of English, Cairo University

Department of English, Faculty of Education, Ain Shams University

English Language Institute and the Arabic Department, American University

These schools issue diplomas in language teaching (e.g. Assiut offers a Teaching English as a Foreign Language diploma since 1974), master's degrees in a language (e.g. in English) or master's degrees in TEFL (notably AUC) and TA(rabic)FL (also AUC). Courses are not

available for doctoral studies, although the degree can be awarded after submitting a thesis. (At least the Faculty of Education at Ain Shams and Dar al-^CUlūm have awarded PhDs on linguistics topics.)

Undergraduate programs with courses on linguistics topics are available at the above schools and also at the Higher School of Languages (affiliated to Ain Shams) and Department of Phonetics, Alexandria University and we believe also incipiently at the Universities in the Delta, as a part of their English programs, by virtue of their staffing by qualified professional linguists, albeit on a part-time basis.

The Department of Phonetics at Alexandria University holds particular promise, having been created only this year, as it has scheduled a four year curriculum on phonetic and general linguistic topics to be taught in Arabic and with an emphasis on research in Arabic. Uniquely Arabic-medium instruction in modern linguistics and with emphasis on Arabic is otherwise found only at Dar al-^CUlūm.

Most courses are phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax courses, in accumulative sequence. At Cairo University and at AUC there is also available a psycholinguistics course and at AUC a sociolinguistics course (as regular part of the TEFL MA program). (Incidentally, at AUC, the Anthropology Department offers an introductory Linguistics course, and a Language in Culture course.) At Dar al-^CUlūm the only general linguistics seminar in Egypt is scheduled, it appears. At that school there are also courses on semantics, and "modern linguistics and Arabic linguistic thought".

131 Our impression from interviewing professional linguists teaching English Departments is that the task of implanting English proficiency the student under overwhelming odds of overcrowded classrooms or

insufficient student knowledge of English severely hinders the teaching of general linguistic theory and method.

As a matter of fact, our distinct impression is that linguistics is seen as an aid to English language teaching and not as an independent field of study applicable to any language at most universities in Egypt. With few exceptions most linguistics obtained their advanced degrees abroad and returned to teach English. Because students in English Departments of universities barely know the language when they enter, courses taught by professional linguists concentrate on basic skills such as pronunciation and English grammar.

Yet, linguists may be gaining a certain independence particularly at the IOLT of al-Azhar, and at Cairo University (and therefore also at the closely related MA program at Ain Shams). Dar al-^CUlūm and the Phonetics Department at Alexandria University have the advantage of being Arabic-medium, and the latter as well as the American University do not suffer from the same pressure of circumstance.

The Middle East Institute of Linguistics met during the summers for its first three sessions on the campus of Cairo University (1973, 1974 and 1975) with an entirely general and applied linguistics curriculum. While it moves outside Egypt for the next few years, plans are already being made for summer workshops in general linguistics, phonetics and applied linguistics topics in Egypt.

Textbooks

There are no up-to-date general linguistics texts available in Arabic, to our knowledge. There are a few modern linguistics texts on Arabic topics in Arabic (notably by Dar al-^CUlūm staff --

Drs Sa^cid al-Badawy, ^cAbd al-Şabūr Shaheen and Kamal Bishr) but most of the textbook production appears to have been devoted to aiding the student in learning and understanding English and English structure. This production -- of printed texts and lecture notes -- is most impressive. We will, however, not discuss it here. There are some introductory general linguistics texts written by Egyptian professional linguists in English, and a most recent example is Dr. Mohsen Abou Seida's A University Course in Modern Linguistics (1973, al-Azhar). Books by (no order) Gleason, Fries, Lester, Ullman (in Kamal Bishr's translation into Arabic), Lyons, Potter, Slobin, Stageberg, Palmer, Langacker, Bolinger, Robins, and Hymes are some English language textbooks that we came across commonly or prominently in our search. This includes the texts used at the American University, where readings are set that are comparable to current US TEFL practice. The American University library also has a very decent reference collection. Egypt's foreign currency situation, high prices of imported books, and very poor supply of professional literature in general, conspire to make the use of foreign-printed linguistics texts difficult. The American University meets this difficulty by supplying textbooks ordered in advance by teachers through its own bookshop.

The Middle East Institute of Linguistics, and the British Council, have together helped to improve the library supply of linguistics books somewhat. Very few international linguistics and phonetics journals are available in full sets or regular subscriptions anywhere in Cairo. The best-supplied library is again to be found at the American University, but at e.g. Cairo University no foreign linguistics journals are reportedly currently received. The British

Council fortunately maintains subscriptions to Language and Speech and the Journal of Linguistics. To create a congenial student environment, this sadly wanting situation clearly must be corrected. (For journals in Arabic, see the other papers in this volume.)

Teachers

We are ourselves acquainted with about twenty Egyptians active as teachers at the above-mentioned schools who have PhDs in modern linguistics or phonetics from good foreign universities in Europe and America. Their training dates from the 50ies to the most recent years. We are directly aware of at least half a dozen students, with jobs waiting for them on return, now abroad to obtain PhDs in modern linguistics, so rejuvenation is assured. All the above-mentioned schools have highly qualified staff among their cadres. In addition, foreign linguistics specialists are teaching at the American University and applied linguistics specialists (although concerned with English) have been seconded by the British Council to Egypt.

The Dar al-^CUlūm faculty also hold foreign PhDs.

Despite the fact that so many of the professional linguists teach English (and English linguistics), their PhD theses predominantly dealt with Arabic (mostly spoken Arabic). Many of these theses have been published abroad for an international audience in English.

Except for the staff at the American University, salaries are low and workloads very high. Teachers of linguistics hold jobs at many schools to make ends meet, and appear often to teach language courses, to supplement their income. This leaves very little time for professional voluntary activities or research. Conditions of

appointment and considerations of job/social security make job-moves difficult, other than by temporary secondment (which can last many years, however). Travel grants for refresher study etc. are very scarce (again with the exception of the American University) and incomes do not allow self-financing of foreign travel of any duration or distance.

Some Personnel Problems

Most of the linguists who returned before the 70ies to whom we have spoken so far are as a matter of fact more interested in language teaching (and literature) -- especially English language teaching -- than in linguistics. Phonetics and grammar are what they seem to have retained and cultivated from their general linguistics studies for application to English. Given the fact that many of these linguists expected to study English stylistics when chosen to go abroad for doctoral studies (and that they had a literature background) -- according to our interviews -- and the type of system and employment opportunities waiting for them when they returned, plus all the problems of too few books, too many students, too big a work load, etc., we are not surprised that they do not turn out to be engaged in general linguistic study in the international (or western) sense. As we have seen, students and teachers are really almost all (with the exceptions noted, e.g. Dar al-^CUlūm) in Departments of English and engaged and often genuinely interested in language learning and teaching (more than in linguistics, if we may be so persnickety as to judge). As a consequence of being associated with English Departments, they are cut off -- willingly or unwillingly -- from research opportunities in Arabic, which in our opinion provides the most fertile ground for research on linguistic topics in Egypt. Of

course, lack of attention paid to research in Arabic is only part of a more general lack of opportunity to conduct research, perhaps lack of interest in some cases, probably due to the limited time available and the little encouragement they get from the educational environment here to carry out research, i.e. they don't have to "publish or perish" and, being in English teaching, they can continue "borrowing" or "adapting" what is produced abroad for use in teaching here. The more English is in demand, the more difficult it will be both for the individual and for the school to forego the teacher's (=professional linguist's) input into English in order for him to pursue "esoteric" linguistics teaching and research. For the individual, that would mean endangering his further career in terms of jobs and money in Egypt, and for the school it would be uneconomic not to deploy him where he is seen as being needed most.

Extracurricular Events

Organized and regularly scheduled professional, voluntary activities for linguists and students are few. There is no Egyptian linguistics society or Middle Eastern regional professional organization. There is, however, a Cairo circle which meets regularly under the name of the Linguistics Discussion Group on the American University campus during the academic year. The usual format is a lecture by a local or guest linguist with some discussion to follow. (Also at the American University there is a more closed TEFL discussion group.) The guest speakers have during recent years mostly been drawn from the official guests to the English Language Institute at the American University.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON LANGUAGE IN EGYPT
(especially since the Revolution)

Chejne, Anwar. The Arabic Language.
Its Role in History. University
of Minnesota Press 1969

Harrell, Richard S. "A Linguistic Analysis
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A., Ferguson, editor, Contributions to
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Press 1964

Hussein, Taha. The Future of Culture in
Egypt. English translation by Sidney
Glazer 1952

Stetkevych, Jaroslav. The Modern Arabic
Literary Language: Lexical and
Stylistic Developments, Chicago
1970

al-Toma, Salah. "Arabic Language Education
and the Role of the Academies", in
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Sebeok, editor, Vol. 6: Linguistics in
South West Asia and North Africa, 1970
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Vincent, Monteil. L'Arabe Moderne. Etudes
Arabes et Islamiques; Etudes et
Documents III. Klincksieck Paris
1960

سعيد ، نفوسة زكريا

تاريخ الدعوة الى العامية وأثرها في مصر

الاسكندرية ١٩٦٤

مذكور ، ابراهيم ، محمد خلف الله احمد ، وشوقي أمين

مجمع اللغة العربية في ثلاثين عاما ، ١٩٣٢ الى ١٩٦٢

الجزء الأول ، ماضيه وحاضره .

القاهرة مجمع اللغة العربية ١٩٦٤

الجندي ، أنور

نزعات التجديد في الأدب العربي المعاصر

من ثورة ١٩١٩ الى ثورة ١٩٥٢

القاهرة مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية القاهرة ١٩٥٧

الجندي ، أنور

اللغة العربية بين حمايتها وخصومها

مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية القاهرة

بدوى ، السعيد محمد

مستويات العربية المعاصرة في مصر .

دار المعارف القاهرة ١٩٧٤

اصدار يونية ١٩٦٦

المجلة .

تيمور ، محمود

القاهرة ١٩٥٦

مشكلات اللغة العربية .