150 Years of Oriental Studies at Ca' Foscari

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The Importance of Being Diglottic Colloquial Arabic Teaching at Ca' Foscari

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Abstract Since the '70s Ca' Foscari teachers have been facing the challenge of diglossia that typin fies the Arab world where the oral use of Standard Arabic is reserved to specific situations, while colloquial varieties of the same language are used for ordinary conversations. Thus, learning Colloquial Arabic is a paramount need to communicate with native Arabic speakers. Moreover, diglottic proficiency is necessary to access several contemporary cultural outputs of the Arab world. This article describes the features of Arabic diglossia and instructional approaches meant to cope with the phenomenon. It then offers a brief account of Colloquial Arabic teaching at Ca' Foscari, which has been a European vanguard in the field.

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Keywords Colloquial Arabic, Diglossia, Learning needs, Teaching approaches, Ca' Foscari,

1 Introduction

The Department of Asian and North African Studies at Ca' Foscari UniD versity launched the official Colloquial Arabic Course in 2015, when this subject of study was not, however, a novelty at the Venetian academic institution, which has actually played a pioneering role in the field at both Italian (Kalati 2007, 289) and European level. In fact, the relatively recent establishing of the course is the result of a long list of instruction experiences carried out from the '70s onwards to face the challenge of diglossia that strongly characterises the Arab world. Being aware of the importance of knowing at least one Arabic dialect to communicate with native Arabic speakers, generations of Ca' Foscari teachers have tried to give their students the chance to fulfil this need. Moreover, since the '90s diglottic proficiency has become a paramount requirement for accessing online communications and various cultural outputs of the Arab world. This article describes the features of Arabic diglossia in order to explain learning needs stemming from such a sociolinguistic phenomenon and

instructional approaches tailored to cope with it. These clarifications introduce a brief account of Colloquial Arabic teaching at Ca' Foscari.

This contribute to an anthology celebrating the 150th anniversary of the founding of Ca' Foscari is partly based on my personal experience. As a matter of fact, I have been teaching Colloquial Arabic at the Venetian University since September 2013. In addition, I attended my first lesson at Ca' Foscari in November 1978, which makes 2018 the fortieth anniversary of the day I started to understand the multi-faceted meaning of learning Arabic as a living language.

2 Arabic Diglossia

Arabic is the official language of the twenty-two countries now forming the Arab League. Yet, the Arabophone world is linguistically very heterogeneous, being strongly characterised by diglossia that Ferguson ([1959) 1972) describes as a sociolinquistic situation in which educated speakers of a given speech community use two varieties of the same language, switching from one to the other according to the circumstances. They speak a high (H) standardised superposed learned variety to communicate with speakers from different dialect areas or o formal occasions; and a low (L) inherited colloquial variety for everyday conversations. Moreover, there are different models of diglossia that may arise and develop in various ways but it is never the mere stage of an evolutionary process (232-4). This kind of sociolinguistic situation is actually rather stable, for it "typically persists at least several centuries" and can even "last well over a thousand years" (240). Which is exactly the case of Arabic diglossia. In pre-Islamic (fifthsixth century AD) Arabia, poets resorted to a super-dialectal constructed acrolect for their oral poems, but used tribal dialects for ordinary communication (Durand 2014, 112). After the Quranic revelation - traditionally believed to have started in 610 AD - the Quran and a corpus of pre-Islamic poetry became the foundations for the codification of what Arabs call alfushà (the most eloquent language), a term translated as either 'Classical' or 'Literary' or 'Standard' Arabic. Alongside the propagation of the latter, the early Islamic conquests (seventh-eighth century) greatly contributed to the emergence of Neoarabic dialects (Blau 1977, 7) that partly developed through contacts with fushà, which still influences Arabic dialects today (Durand 2014, 159-62). The current geopolitical structure of the Arab world is largely the result of nineteenth and twentieth century European imperialism that also affected the sociolinguistic situation, which changed mostly in the territories under French domination: the Maghreb, Syria and Lebanon. As colonizers tried to exploit the dialect diversity of the area in order to divide it, ideologists of Arab nationalism rediscovered that the primary unifying identifying factor of the Arabs was language (Rodinson 1981, 6), i.e. $fush\grave{a}$, which therefore gained a new secular-ideological significance next to its traditional religious one. On the other hand, the encounter with Western culture gave an accelerating boost to the Arab Renaissance ($Nah\dot{q}a$) movement that pioneered the development of MSA (Modern Standard Arabic), which differs from Classical Arabic only in vocabulary and a few stylistic features. In fact, most Arabs do not distinguish the two forms, perceiving them both as H and dialects as L, i.e. vulgar.

The unique prestige of $fush\grave{a}$ has prevented colloquial varieties, or rather groups thereof, from reaching the rank of autonomous official neolanguages, once the Arab world regained its independence in the second half of the twentieth century. But, due to many other factors, various urban dialects, chiefly those of capital cities, have de facto achieved the status of prestigious national vernaculars, giving rise to triglossia (Durand 2014, 81-2). This means that, in contemporary Arab societies, code switching involves a third variety, i.e. a mixture of MSA and colloquial, mostly termed 'Educated Spoken Arabic'.¹

In this article, the term CA (Colloquial Arabic) is used to indicate national or regional vernaculars.

3 Coping with Arabic Diglossia: Learning Needs and Teaching Approaches

Ferguson argues that the specification of function for H and L is one of the most important features of diglossia and that therefore each variety is appropriate only for one specific set of situations. Using H in an informal activity sounds as ridiculous as using L on a formal occasion (Ferguson [1959] 1972, 235-6).

All the above means that to be able to communicate efficiently and appropriately with the native speakers of a diglottic community an outsider has to know both H and L. Yet, most students of AFL (Arabic as a Foreign Language) still have few chances of learning CA, although academic institutions started to handle Arabic diglossia already in post-World War 2 in the United States and in the second half of the twentieth century in Europe (Younes 2015). Triggered by the Arab world's political-economic importance, the renewal of teaching Arabic as a foreign language initially occurred by replacing Classical Arabic with MSA, whereas the introduction of CA began later. In Europe the latter change was partly linked to the large presence of Arab immigrant youth in European universities. Being

¹ Ryding (1991) has listed eleven other different terms used to indicate this mixed variety, e.g. 'Formal Spoken Arabic', 'inter-Arabic' and 'urban cultivated Arabic'. Moreover, Egyptian writer and playwright Tawfiq al-Ḥākīm (1898-1987) suggested the use of a 'Third Language' for theatre. Cf. Montaina 1973.

familiar with Arabic dialects, these students proved that MSA "was only part of the story" (Versteegh 2006, 10).

Interestingly, immigration from various origins was the main factor behind the drafting of the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) that provides the proficiency guidelines followed since 2001. The history of Arabic instruction in the West has varied from one country to another due to different state policies, linked to fluctuating social, political and economic interests. The historical notes provided in the previous chapter explain why teaching dialects is usually viewed negatively in the Arab world, where therefore only a few universities have included CA in the AFL program (Versteegh 2006, 10).

3.1 Learning Needs

The results of various surveys conducted in the United States show that over the last three decades university students have been studying Arabic chiefly for communicating with native Arabic speakers, traveling/living in the Arab world and understanding the literature, culture and mass media thereof (Younes 2015, 24-5). A similar trend has been witnessed in Europe and, of course, also at Ca' Foscari. The findings of a 1989 survey carried out at the Venetian University demonstrated that most respondents were "studying Arabic language and literature to discover various Arab cultures by communicating with Arabic mother-tongues and, secondarily, for job-searching concerns" (Kallas 1990, 15; 1991, 74). Some recent interviews prove that Ca' Foscari students still have the same goals. They mostly want to learn Arabic and acquire knowledge of Arab culture and history to understand the events occurring in the Arab world (Abd Alaziz 2017).

Today's students can focus more on mass media, thanks to the wide-spread changes brought by the digital revolution that has been reshaping global societies since the early '90s. From then on the Internet and mobile phones have caused an unprecedented porousness of the boundaries between CA and MSA reflecting the oral-written dichotomy. Several Arabs use CA to write emails, short-texts and social network communications. Concurrently, Arabic dialects are invading literature more than ever while preserving their usual omnipresence in cinema and predominance in radio and television entertainment. The same goes for pop music and video clips, especially after of the 2011 'Arab spring' (Al-Batal 2018a, 8). All of these recent developments have made the need to acquire diglottic proficiency more urgent than ever for AFL students.

3.2 Teaching Approaches

Western universities have experimented three different ways to cope with the diglottic situation of the Arab world: 1) starting with MSA before introducing a dialect; 2) starting with a dialect; 3) starting with both varieties at the same time. For almost three decades scholars of TAFL (Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language) have been debating over which of these approaches should be adopted as well as on the choice of the vernacular to be taught. In all cases the main difficulty faced by institutions planning to include CA in their curricula is the lack of teaching materials for many varieties (Versteegh 2006, 11).

3.2.1 Starting with MSA Before Introducing a Dialect

Most universities apply this method to introduce CA in the Arabic program. The usual choice is Egyptian, i.e. Cairene dialect, because of its wide circulation in the Arab world, its outstanding use in literature and online, and the profusion of teaching materials² for this variety that gives access to Arabic films and media much more than any other vernacular does (Versteegh 2006, 10-11; Woidich 2007, 83; Rosenbaum 2011). The second most frequent option is Levantine (\check{sami}), which includes features of Syrian, Lebanese, Jordanian and Palestinian. There are several teaching materials also for this regional CA,³ besides those created for each of the four varieties it englobes.

Promoters of this approach suggest that learning MSA first facilitates the subsequent acquisition of CA and avoids confusion caused by simultaneous exposure to the two varieties (Parkinson 1985, cited in Younes 2015, 25); moreover, it takes less time to learn a dialect than to gain proficiency in Standard Arabic, which requires studying a considerable amount of complex texts.

3.2.2 Starting with a Dialect

Some AFL programmes are based on this approach, which Woidich endorses arguing that learning a dialect first also facilitates the acquisition of any other variant of the same language and that switching from simple

² The American University in Cairo Press has published numerous Egyptian Arabic text-books, including a five-volume series, *Kallimni 'Arabi* (Speak Arabic to me) (2008-09), and a two-volume intensive course (Al-Tonsi, Al-Sawi, Massoud 2010-13).

³ Two recent textbooks for this regional CA are Al-Masri 2016 and Durand, Ventura 2017.

(colloquial) to more complex subjects and (standard) language structures is pedagogically more suitable (Woidich 2007, 79). He has been applying this model at the University of Amsterdam since the early 1990s, when he moreover published an Egyptian Arabic textbook (Woidich 1990)4 for part of the activities included in the curriculum. In the first year, CA is introduced in the first term, and MSA in the second term. The two modules are intertwined: MSA is taught in a contrastive manner with respect to the previously learned colloquial structures and lexicon, and through relexification, translexification and translation exercises. Both varieties are taught side by side, with each used for a specific set of tasks, throughout the second year that comprises a ten-week Arabic training (200 hours) at the Dutch-Flemish Institute in Cairo in the second term. The third year programme is carried out by listening to recordings of media broadcasts in CA and studying transcripts and classical texts (Woidich 2007, 81-2). The CEFR target level of the Bachelor's course is B1 (Threshold/Intermediate): students at University of Amsterdam are usually better in oral communication than those from other Dutch universities but they are less skilled in replicating activities, e.g. reading MSA aloud (91).

This order of teaching the two varieties aims at reflecting the real situation of the Arab world, where native speakers first learn a dialect and then $fush\grave{a}$ at school. Nicola, who promoted this naturalist approach for TALF, suggests that CA should always continue to be used for speaking in the classroom, once MSA is introduced as a written language (Nicola 1990, 42).

3.2.3 Starting with Both Varieties at the Same Time

This fully integrated approach aims at replicating in the classroom and in all teaching materials the diglottic situation as it is in the contemporary Arab world. Thus, a course should introduce MSA as a variety that is mainly written but also spoken in numerous situations, and a dialect mainly used for everyday conversations but also in artistic literary forms (Al-Batal 1992, 298). Moreover, the two varieties are treated as complementary and equally important, being the components of one linguistic system of communication (Younes 2015, 32). Cornell University provides an integrated program that introduces both Levantine and MSA in the first few hours of instruction, with each variety used in its functional domains. Oral communication in CA focuses on the familiar, concrete and informal; reading and writing activities in MSA cover areas of overlap between the

⁴ Woidich wrote the textbook *Ahlan Wa Sahlan* (Welcome) in German (Woidich 1990); later, a Dutch version *Kullu Tamām* (Everything is O.K.) by Woidich and Heinen-Nasr appeared (1995) and was also published in English (2004).

two varieties, e.g. geography of the Arab world. The Bachelor's degree course aims at developing the four language skills simultaneously and code switching ability along the speech continuum (33).

Brustad, Al-Batal and Al-Tonsi co-authored the most widely used text-book series designed for applying the fully integrated approach in a four-year period. The programme begins introducing basic reading, writing, listening and speaking skills in MSA and CA. Egyptian featured in the first two editions ([1995] 2004) of the series, but Levantine has been added in the third edition (2011) which therefore presents the three varieties.

Promoting the vision of Standard and Colloquial Arabic as 'one language' against the predominating vision of a 'firewall of separation' between the two, Al-Batal (2018a) describes the different models of integration of CA in the AFL programmes of five US universities. The description shows a significant common feature: the number of instruction hours devoted to MSA grows considerably with the rise of the level of the courses. The increase begins either in the first or second term of the first year or in the first term of the second year. Moreover, most curricula focus on one dialect only throughout the three years (14-18). A truly different model is applied at the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center - one of the first in the United States to adopt a fully integrated approach in the late '50s -, which provides instruction for sixty-four weeks with six to seven class hours per day. Students simultaneously learn to read and write in MSA, and to speak in MSA mixed with four dialects taught right from the beginning: Iraqi started in 2009; Levantine in 2011; Egyptian in 2013; Sudanese in 2015 (18).

Palmer published two surveys of AFL students in the United States. In his first article (2007), he denounces the general educational deficiency in coping with Arabic diglossia and strongly recommends the fully integrated approach. Yet, in his second essay (2008), he refers diverging views expressed by the students. They all deemed learning CA important and that it should be undertaken before traveling in the Arab world, but only 57% of them agreed on the approach. Two perceptions, i.e. confusion deriving from simultaneous exposure to the two varieties during the first year and the need of a basic understanding of MSA before studying CA, showed that learning a dialect may not be the absolute priority for beginners. MSA and CA could be taught separately in terms of timing or concurrently but in separate courses (87-9).

As to Arabic instruction in Europe, Giolfo and Salvaggio conducted a study (2018) focused on the CEFR, which conceives language proficiency as the ability to perform a set of socio-communicative tasks relating to real-life situations in various domains. This concept underlies the definition

of the six levels⁵ established for the assessment of language proficiency, involving listening/speaking and reading/writing skills. Giolfo and Salvagigio mapped out the association of each CEFR level with MSA and CA, respectively, according to native Arabic speakers' linguistic behaviour. The study shows that: A1 (Breakthrough) is almost only associated with CA; A2 (Waystage) mainly with CA; B1 (Threshold) equally with CA and MSA; B2 (Vantage) mainly with MSA; C1 (Effective Operational Proficiency) mainly with MSA but less than B2; and C2 (Mastery) equally with the two varieties (2018, 98-9). However, Giolfo and Salvaggio also note that Arabic mother-tongues progressively mix MSA and CA in using the four skills to perform the tasks related to the most advanced levels; thus, C1 is equally associated with CA and MSA, and C2 mainly with CA. The analysis shows that "both varieties are required to reach the goals envisaged by CEF [CEFR] for each level" (100).

In conclusion, although the on-going debate on how to integrate dialects in Arabic programmes leaves some issues open to discussion, there is wide agreement on the need for this integration.

4 Colloquial Arabic at Ca' Foscari: One of the Signs of a Long-Standing Avant-garde Bent

After Rome, Naples and Palermo, Venice chronologically became the fourth Italian centre for Arabic Studies, just one year after the founding (1868) of the Royal High School of Commerce (Regia Scuola Superiore di Commere cio di Venezia) housed at Ca' Foscari, where Abbot Raffaele Giarue (from Aleppo) taught Arabic from 1869 to 1889 (Nallino 1963, 120). Arabic was included in the curriculum of the consular career class and was recommended by the School's Board of Directors more than any other Oriental language (Notizie e dati 1871, 96). No one substituted Giarue at Ca' Fos6 cari for almost two decades. On 4 November 1912, the Dean of the School Enrico Castelnuovo informed the Academic Body that Arabic instruction was to be resumed and provided by Garabed Tsorbadjian, proposed by the director of the Armenian College (Verbali 1912-15, 8-9). Interestingly, in 1913, the Mariotti Scholarship for commerce practice abroad was destined to North Africa and small European allowances were established to finance part of the grant received by Simone Gentilli (26-27), who then sent the School a report on the commercial situation in Morocco (112). Tsorbadjian taught Arabic at Ca' Foscari until the course was suspended again in 1930 (Annuario 1913-30). Once the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Litera-

⁵ For a summary description of the six common reference levels, see Council of Europe 2001, 24.

ture was established in 1954, the official course of Arabic Language and Literature was launched in 1962, on the initiative of Maria Nallino (1908-1974) who became Full Professor in 1965, when Vincenzo Strika began to work with her as an Arabic language assistant. At the opening ceremony of academic year 1965-66, Rector Italo Siciliano announced "with particular satisfaction" the start of the degree course in Oriental Languages and Literature (*Annuario* 1964-66, 26). Thus, Ca' Foscari turned into one of the major centres of Oriental Studies in Italy shortly before becoming the 'University of Venice', in 1968 (Kalati 2007, 288).

The most significant facts to recall for the purposes of this discussion occurred in 1974, when Arabic dialects were introduced in the curriculum (Guida 1974-75, 9) and Giovanni Montaina taught Egyptian besides Standard Arabic. He was probably the first to teach an Arabic dialect at an Italian university, at a time when the shock of the 1973 oil crisis had just brought European academic institutions to realise that very few Arabists had diglottic proficiency, since most of them still treated Arabic as a dead language, as it had been studied since the sixteenth century (Woidich 2007, 75). This was definitely not the case of three of Nallino's former students who began to teach in 1974: Eros Baldissera, Giovanni Canova and Rosella Dorigo. Interest in contemporary Arab culture induced this new generation of Arabists, joined by Lidia Bettini in 1975, to focus on MSA, dialects, modern Arabic literature and mass media without totally abandoning Classical Studies. They also adopted the most recent AFL teaching methods and materials of those years, e.g. audiovisuals. Another important novelty was the presence of Arabic mother-tongue language assistants. All of these innovations turned Ca' Foscari into a vanguard of Arabic Studies in Italy (Kalati 2007, 289) as well as in the rest of Europe: many students from the University of Venice reported that they had a higher level of proficiency compared to students from other Italian and European universities taking Arabic courses in Tunis and Cairo.

Arabic native speakers' reluctance to teach a dialect was – and still is – one of the main difficulties faced by academic institutions planning to include CA in their programs. Thus, Baldissera, Bettini and Canova resorted to their diglottic proficiency to solve the problem. Starting from 1977, they tried in various ways to introduce CA (*Piani di studio* 1977-78, 115-16; 1979-80, 109-10; 1980-81, 109-11). Baldissera analysed modern Arabic literary texts partly written in Syrian. Besides teaching Cairene, Canova introduced Southern Egyptian dialect, showing a film he shot in Upper Egypt between 1978 and 1982 (Canova 1998, 2015). Bettini taught history of the Arabic language and dialects. The situation changed in Venice in 1980, when Lucy Ladikoff (from Gaza) started to teach Palestinian at the Interfaculty Language Centre (*Piani di studio* 1981-82, 107). A key change was brought by the application of a new approach in 1983: Samia Loueslati and Adnan al-Mussa respectively taught Tunisian and Syrian in

two separate courses that were compulsory in the first year; then students chose which variety to continue to learn in the second year and which until the fourth (*Piani di studio* 1983-84, 104). After this truly revolutionary experiment, which lasted until 1987-88, instruction in only one CA variety was offered (*Guida* 1989-90, 141). Once he defined the B1 threshold level as the final goal of the four-year course, Elie Kallas gradually created materials to teach Lebanese and eventually included them in a textbook (1990). Moreover, from the early '90s onwards, Dorigo taught modern and contemporary Arabic literature, often focusing on theatre, which entailed analysing texts in CA.

At the dawn of the 21st century, as Kallas left Venice and Italian Universities shifted to the new EU system, Colloquial Arabic teaching was suspended at Ca' Foscari. But Arabic dialectology continued to be provided by various teachers, including Canova and Baldissera. Antonella Ghersetti, who has been teaching at Ca' Foscari since 1996, taught this subject in 2004-05. Once she became the coordinator of Arabic Studies in 2010, each of the three years of the Bachelor's degree course was associated to a CEFR level (A1, A2 and B1, respectively) and a module of CA was included in the AFL program. Thus, in 2010-11, Dario Ornaghi provided an Egyptian Arabic course for third year students. But then the CA module was included in the second year programme. Massimo Khairallah taught Jordanian in 2012-13; and I began to teach Egyptian in 2013-14. Hoping to give students at A1 level in MSA the chance to attain A2 in CA after only thirty instructional hours, I gradually created materials to reach this goal and finally assembled them in a textbook (Zanelli 2016), also designed to possibly be used for a sixty-hour course aimed at achieving B1.

As already noted, the official Colloquial Arabic course, launched by the Department of Asian and North African Studies in 2015, is the latest result of the pioneering experiences carried out in Venice in the '70s. Hopefully, the study of Standard and Colloquial Arabic as one language will be enhanced at Ca' Foscari, in line with the best practices recommended by TAFL scholars.

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