



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Vulgar and Literary Arabic in Nineteenth-century Egypt

*A Study of Three Textbooks*

Zack, L.

**Publication date**

2017

**Document Version**

Final published version

**Published in**

Philologists in the World

[Link to publication](#)

**Citation for published version (APA):**

Zack, L. (2017). Vulgar and Literary Arabic in Nineteenth-century Egypt: A Study of Three Textbooks. In N. S. Eggen, & R. Issa (Eds.), *Philologists in the World: A Festschrift in Honour of Gunvor Mejdell* (pp. 233-260). (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. -Serie B; Vol. 168). Novus Press.

**General rights**

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

**Disclaimer/Complaints regulations**

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

# Vulgar and Literary Arabic in Nineteenth-century Egypt: A Study of Three Textbooks<sup>1</sup>

Liesbeth Zack  
University of Amsterdam

## Introduction

This paper describes the use of colloquial Egyptian Arabic, Classical Arabic and mixed/Middle Arabic in textbooks written in the second half of the nineteenth century by native speakers of Egyptian Arabic. These textbooks were written in a period of increasing contact between Egypt and the West and were aimed at teaching foreigners Egyptian Arabic, which would be useful for them while travelling or doing business in Egypt. The books were meant to be used as conversational tools, focusing on practical information presented in word lists, useful sentences, and dialogues, and sometimes also containing a section on grammar. Some also focus on more formal language, such as used in letter writing. The Arabic in these works is written either in transcription, in Arabic script, or both.

Many of the more well-known textbooks of Egyptian Arabic from the nineteenth century were written by orientalists such as Spitta (1880), Vollers (1890), Haggenmacher (1892), and others. However, these always raise the question of how good (or bad!) their Arabic was, who their teachers and their informants were, how they collected their materials, and other issues. It was not

---

1 This article is a revised version of a paper presented at AIMA 5 in Strasbourg, March 2017. It is part of a research project titled “The making of a capital dialect: Language change in 19th-century Cairo”, which is funded with a VENI grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research.

uncommon for such orientalists to have learned Arabic in Europe from Maronite teachers before travelling to Egypt, and therefore influences from Levantine Arabic cannot be excluded.<sup>2</sup> These issues can be minimized by looking at books written by native speakers of Egyptian Arabic, and doing so will help to arrive at a picture of what the Arabic language looked like as it was used by the Egyptians themselves. For this study, three textbooks were selected, in chronological (and alphabetical) order: Cadri (1868), Hassan (1869), and Nakhlah (1874).<sup>3</sup> The selection was made on the basis that all three books were written by native speakers, within less than ten years of each other, with the purpose of teaching colloquial Arabic to foreigners, and that they all contain extensive dialogues, making them easy to compare.<sup>4</sup> The books were geared towards a French, German, and English speaking readership, respectively.

In these three books one can detect a clear interference from Classical Arabic in the colloquial Arabic, and vice versa. This paper looks into how the authors themselves qualified the language they used in their books, looking at the terminology they used to describe different varieties of Arabic. The paper also investigates how colloquial Arabic and Classical Arabic are used in the books, how they interfere with each other, and how this results in mixed

---

2 See also the discussion in Manfred Woidich and Liesbeth Zack, “The g/ġ-question in Egyptian Arabic Revisited,” in *Arabic Dialectology in Honour of Clive Holes on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by Enam Al-Wer and Rudolf de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 47–49.

3 Mohamed Cadri/Muḥammad Qadrī, *Nouveau guide de conversation française et arabe, ouvrage élémentaire [sic] et classique, contenant une nouvelle méthode très-facile pour apprendre aux Indigènes à parler le français et aux Européens à parler l’arabe en peu de temps*. = *al-Durr al-naḥs fī luġatay al-‘arab wa-l-faransī*. Cairo: Imprimerie de P. Cumbo, 1868.

A. Hassan, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der vulgär-arabischen Sprache mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den ägyptischen Dialekt* = *Aḥsan al-nuḥab fī ma‘rifat lisān al-‘arab*. Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1869.

Yacoub Nakhlah/Ya‘qūb Naḥla, *New Manual of English and Arabic Conversation* = *al-Tuḥfa al-murḍiya fī ta‘allum al-luġa al-ingilīziyya*. Cairo: The Khēdivē’s Press, 1874.

4 The books of Cadri and Nakhla were also intended to teach Egyptians a foreign language, see Liesbeth Zack, “Nineteenth-century Cairo Arabic as Described by Qadrī and Naḥla,” in *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA, Bucharest, 2015*, edited by G. Grigore and G. Biṭună (Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2016), 557–567.

language varieties. This mixing is demonstrated in a small case study that investigates the use of modal verbs in combination with syndetic and asyndetic clauses.

## 1. The Authors and Their Books

The following paragraphs will give a short biography of each author, as well as an overview of the contents of the books. The transcription methods that were used by the authors will be explained as well, as this will facilitate the reading of the sample phrases.

### 1.1 Mohamed Cadri/Muḥammad Qadrī Pasha

(1821–1888) was born in the province of al-Minyā.<sup>5</sup> He studied English, Italian, French, Turkish, and Persian at the famous *Mad-rasat al-alsun* (‘School of Languages’) in Cairo, as well as Arabic and Islamic law at al-Azhar University. He was an important figure in Egyptian society, holding the posts of Minister of Public Instruction (*wazīr al-ma‘ārif*) and Minister of Justice (*wazīr al-ḥaqqāniyya*). Cadri wrote several works on law, as well as several Arabic conversation books.<sup>6</sup>

In this paper, his *Nouveau guide de conversation française et arabe* (published in 1868) will be discussed. The preface starts with a long introduction on the history of Egypt and ends by stating the purpose of the book: to make it easier for Europeans to learn Arabic, and for Arabic speakers to learn French.<sup>7</sup> The book consists of more than 800 pages, published in two volumes. Volume one is a vocabulary divided into categories such as “Des

5 The first name is the one given on the title page of the book, while the second is the transcription of the Arabic version of the name. The same also holds for the other authors.

6 See Ḥayr al-Dīn b. Maḥmūd al-Ziriklī, *Al-A‘lām: qāmūs tarāḡim li-aṣḥar al-riḡāl wa-l-nisā’ min al-‘arab wa-l-musta‘ribīn wa-l-mustaṣriqīn*. Vol. 8, 15th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-‘ilm li-l-malāyīn, 2002), 10, and Agostino Cilardo, “Muhammad Qadri Pasha al-Hanafi,” in *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History*, edited by Stanley N. Katz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). For the other titles see Émile Galtier, “Sur une forme verbale de l’arabe d’Égypte,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’Archéologie Orientale* 4 (1905): 33–34, nos 7–8, 19. These were unfortunately not at my disposal.

7 See Cadri, *Nouveau guide*, xiv.

fruits”, “Des meubles”, “Des domestiques”, “Maladies et accidents”, and many others. This is followed by a section titled “Exercices pratiques sur la conjugaison des verbes avoir et être”, which contains sample sentences rather than exercises. The second volume, which constitutes the largest part of the book (pp. 218–839) is entitled “Phrases familières et conversations sur les verbes”. It contains sixty chapters with phrases in the form of dialogues, which all revolve around a verb, such as “Répondre”, “Demander”, “Donner”, and “Acheter”.<sup>8</sup>

Note on the transcription: For ġ, Qadrī often uses the transcription *dj*, for instance in *al djism* ‘le corps’,<sup>9</sup> but sometimes he uses *g*, e.g. *al fagr* ‘l’aurore’.<sup>10</sup> This raises the question whether this is a reflection of Classical Arabic, or of another dialect, such as Cadri’s rural dialect from the Minyā region or Levantine Arabic. He writes *q/* with *c*, *ck*, or *k*, e.g. *wact* ‘temps’<sup>11</sup> and *dakik* ‘exact’.<sup>12</sup> For *s*, he uses both *s* and *ç*, for *ḥ* he uses *kh* and for *š* he uses *ch*, based on the pronunciation of these letters in French, the language in which the book is written.<sup>13</sup>

## 1.2 Anton Hassan

(1819–1876) was born Muḥammad Hasan in Cairo, where he studied at the Polytechnic School. In the mid-1830s he travelled to Austria with four other Egyptian students as a member of one of Muḥammad ‘Alī’s educational missions. He first did his preparatory studies for four years in Graz, and from 1843 he studied metallurgy and mining in the small village of Vordernberg. The purpose of the mission was for these students to return to their homeland after graduating to assist Egypt in mining metals. Hassan, however, did not finish his studies and decided not to return to Egypt but rather to stay in Austria. His first employment was as a proofreader at the Staatsdruckerei in Vienna. He was baptized Anton Hassan in 1849 and married an Austrian woman in 1854. He worked as an Arabic teacher at the Polytechnic Institute in Vienna starting in

8 See also Zack, “Nineteenth-century Cairo Arabic,” 558.

9 Cadri, *Nouveau guide*, 1.

10 Ibid., 16.

11 Ibid., 300.

12 Ibid., 76.

13 See Zack, “Nineteenth-century Cairo Arabic,” 559, 561.

1851 and was appointed professor of colloquial Arabic at the Oriental Institute in Vienna in 1861. He died in Vienna in 1876.<sup>14</sup> The work under discussion here is the *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der vulgär-arabischen Sprache mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den ägyptischen Dialekt*, published in 1869. It contains a grammar (136 pages), exercises (37 pages), dialogues (65 pages), and reading texts (20 pages); the latter are in Classical Arabic rather than the dialect. The topics of the dialogues are “Begrüßungs-Formen und Erkundigungen um den Gesundheitszustand”, “Vom Wetter”, “Von der Zeit”, “Vom Alter”, “Vom Sprechen”, “Vom Lehren und Lernen”, “Vom Wissen”, “Vom Kennen und Erkennen”, “Vom Sagen”, and “Vom Haben und Sein”. As Hassan confesses in the preface, the first part of his book containing the grammar is based on earlier works by Caussin de Perceval,<sup>15</sup> al-Ṭanṭāwī,<sup>16</sup> Wahr-  
mund,<sup>17</sup> and Wolff.<sup>18</sup> He was criticized for this by Spitta,<sup>19</sup> who notes that only the dialogues contain new, original material. There-

- 
- 14 See Marcel Chahrour, “‘Vom Morgenhauch aufstrebender Cultur durch-  
weht’. Ägyptische Studenten in Österreich 1830–1945,” in *Von Soliman  
zu Omofuma. Afrikanische Diaspora in Österreich, 17. bis 20. Jahrhun-  
dert*, edited by Walter Sauer (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2007), 134–135,  
Lieselotte Jontes, “Ägyptische Studenten in der Berg- und Hüttenmänni-  
sche Lehranstalt in Vordernberg, Steiermark,” *Austria-Forum* (2011),  
Wilhelm Anton Neumann, *Über die orientalischen Sprachstudien seit  
dem XIII. Jahrhunderte mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Wien. Inaugurati-  
onsrede gehalten am 17. October 1899 (...)* (Vienna: Selbstverl. d.  
Univ.), 96, Anton Mayer, *Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte, 1482–1882*.  
Vol. 2: 1682–1882 (Vienna: Verlag des Comité zur Feier der vierhun-  
dertj[ährigen] Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst in Wien, 1887), 176,  
and Anonymous, “Personal- und Schulnotizen,” *Zeitschrift für die öster-  
reichischen Gymnasien* 12 (1861): 413.
- 15 Armand-Pierre Caussin de Perceval, *Grammaire arabe-vulgaire suivie de  
dialogues, lettres, actes etc., à l’usage des élèves de l’Ecole Royale et  
Spéciale, des langues orientales vivantes*. Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1824.
- 16 Mouhammad Ayyad El-Tantavy/Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī, *Traité  
de la langue arabe vulgaire* = *Aḥsan al-nuḥab fī ma’rifat lisān al-‘arab*.  
Leipzig: Guillaume Vogel Fils, 1848.
- 17 Adolf Wahrmond, *Praktisches Handbuch der neu-arabischen Sprache*. I:  
*Praktische Grammatik*. II: *Gespräche und Wortsammlung*. III: *Lesebuch*.  
Giessen: Ricker, 1861.
- 18 Philipp Wolff, *Arabischer Dragoman: Grammatik, Phrasensammlung  
und Wörterbuch der neu-arabischen Sprache. Ein Vademecum für Rei-  
sende in Ägypten, Palästina und Syrien, sowie zum Gebrauch für den Un-  
terricht*. Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1857.
- 19 Wilhelm Spitta-Bey, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von  
Aegypten* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1880), vii.

fore, this paper will only focus on the dialogues and not on the grammar section of the book.

Note on the transcription: Hassan's transcription method is influenced by the German spelling, with *ḥ* transcribed as *ch* and *š* as *sch*. The spelling *ç* is used for both *s* and *ṣ*. Hassan is the only one of the three authors who uses a consistent system of transcription, and he is also the only one who consistently transcribes 'ayn (with ').

### 1.3 Yacoub Nakhlah/Ya'qūb Naḥla Rūfayla Bey

(1847–1905 or 1908) was a Copt from Cairo. He was a teacher of English and Italian at the Coptic School and was later appointed director of the school. He founded the newspaper *al-Waṭan* and established several schools in Cairo and the Fayyūm. His most famous publication is *Tārīḥ al-'umma al-qibṭiyya* ("The History of the Coptic Community"), while he also wrote several books on language.<sup>20</sup> The book under discussion here is his *New Manual of English and Arabic Conversation*, published in 1874. Nakhlah's *New Manual* was intended both for foreigners who wanted to learn Arabic and for Egyptians who wanted to learn English. Nakhlah provides a preface in both English and Arabic. The book caters more to the needs of learners of Arabic than to learners of English, as it starts with a grammar of Egyptian Arabic (42 pages), while no grammar of English is given. The second part of the work is an English–Arabic vocabulary. The vocabulary is not divided into subjects like Cadri's, but is arranged alphabetically. The third part contains "Familiar Phrases and Conversations", which cover such topics as "Meeting", "Blame", "The Laundress", and "In a Shop". The book consists of 277 pages.<sup>21</sup>

Note on the transcription: Nakhlah's transcription system is based on English, with *ḥ* transcribed as *kh*, *š* transcribed as *sh*, *oo* for *ū*, and *ee* for *ī*. Another peculiarity is the doubling of some letters: *hh* for *ḥ*, *tt* for *t*, *dd* for *d*, and *ss* for *ṣ* (but not consistently; they are also transcribed with a single *h*, *t*, etc.).<sup>22</sup>

---

20 See Zack, "Nineteenth-century Cairo Arabic," 558.

21 Ibid., 560.

22 Ibid., 561.

## 2. Terminology

The following paragraphs discuss how the authors themselves described Arabic and its different varieties (dialect, Classical Arabic, mixed Arabic).

### 2.1 Dialect, Vulgar Arabic, Literary Arabic

The term ‘dialect’ is found only with Hassan, both in the title: *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der vulgär-arabischen Sprache mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den ägyptischen Dialekt* and in the preface.<sup>23</sup> The other two works do not use this term. In another nineteenth-century textbook of Egyptian Arabic, al-Ṭantāwī’s *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*, the author writes: “Je crois devoir dire ici quelques mots sur la différence des deux dialectes”.<sup>24</sup> However, he does not refer to two different dialects here, but rather to the two varieties of spoken colloquial Arabic and written Classical Arabic, as becomes clear from the exposition on the differences between those two that follows.

The phrase generally used for colloquial or dialect in textbooks from this period is ‘vulgar Arabic’. This term has a long history, going back to the grammars written in the seventeenth century by missionaries linked to Italian missions, such as Domenicus Germanus de Silesia’s (1588–1670) *Fabrica overo Dittionario della lingua volgare arabica* (1636) and Antonius ab Aquila’s (d. 1679) *Arabicae linguae novae et methodicae institutiones* [...].<sup>25</sup> The term was used in analogy with the situation of Latin and Italian, the latter being called ‘lingua volgare’.<sup>26</sup> However, Girard argues that the ‘vulgar Arabic’ of these seventeenth-century missionary

---

23 Hassan, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 1.

24 Al-Ṭantāwī, *Traité*, vi.

25 See Pierre Larcher, “Diglossie arabisante et *fuṣḥā* vs ‘*āmmiyya* arabes: essai d’histoire parallèle,” in *History of Linguistics 1999: Selected Papers from the Eighth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences, 14–19 September 1999, Fontenay-St. Cloud*, edited by Jocelyne Arpin, Sylvain Auroux, Elisabeth Lazcano, and Jacqueline Léon (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), 52–53, and Pierre Larcher, “Al-lughā al-fuṣḥā : archéologie d’un concept « idéolinguistique »,” *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 124 (2008).

26 See Larcher, “Al-lughā al-fuṣḥā”.



grammars is not the equivalent of what modern researchers would call ‘dialectal Arabic’, but rather

[...] pourrait correspondre à une langue hybride mêlant un arabe littéraire ou standard à des caractéristiques propres aux dialectes proche-orientaux. Il s’agirait en substance du moyen arabe qui circulait au Proche-Orient avant la *Nahḍa*.<sup>27</sup>

Doss agrees with this and states in her study of Savary’s *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littéraire*<sup>28</sup> that the same is true for grammars and glossaries from the nineteenth century and that the ‘langue arabe vulgaire’ mentioned in Savary’s title is not pure dialect, but rather a language variety in which dialect, Standard Arabic and substandard Arabic (i.e. Middle Arabic) are mixed:

Je voudrais suggérer que c’est à cet arabe mélangé, mixte ou moyen arabe que font référence les auteurs de grammaires et de glossaires du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (J.-F. Ruphy, J.-J. Marcel, Caussin de Perceval et d’autres) lorsqu’ils parlent d’« arabe vulgaire ». Cette forme d’arabe est présentée par ces auteurs comme modèle, étant donné que c’est à elle qu’ils sont confrontés dans la pratique journalière de la langue. Ils en observent sans doute l’usage dans les écrits ordinaires. S’y mêlent le dialectal, le standard normé et le standard sous-normé.<sup>29</sup>

She concludes:

Le concept d’arabe vulgaire recouvre une réalité complexe. Il ne s’agit pas d’une forme d’arabe dialectal, mais plutôt d’une forme

---

27 A. Girard, “Les manuels de langue arabe en usage en France à la fin de l’Ancien Régime,” in *Manuels d’arabe d’hier et d’aujourd’hui : France-Maghreb, XIX<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited by Sylvette Larzul and Alain Messaoudi, (Paris: Éditions de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013).

28 C.E. Savary, *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littéraire*. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1813.

29 Madiha Doss, “L’arabe vulgaire et la grammaire de Claude-Étienne Savary. Discussion de l’intervention d’Aurélien Girard,” in *Manuels d’arabe d’hier et d’aujourd’hui : France-Maghreb, XIX<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited by Sylvette Larzul and Alain Messaoudi (Paris: Éditions de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013).

d'arabe mixte, comme nous pouvons l'observer à travers les grammaires et les glossaires produits au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>30</sup>

Although Doss speaks of nineteenth-century grammars, Savary's book was actually written in the 1770s and published posthumously in 1813. It therefore predates Cadri, Hassan, and Nakhlah's books by almost one hundred years. This begs the question as to whether the same claim can be made of the vulgar Arabic used in these three books.

Nakhlah uses the term 'vulgar conversational Arabic',<sup>31</sup> while Cadri writes of 'l'idiome vulgaire' as well as 'langage usuel'.<sup>32</sup> Doss raises the valid question whether 'langage usuel' means the dialect or Middle Arabic.<sup>33</sup> While Cadri and Nakhlah are rather vague in their description of the type of Arabic they use, Hassan discusses this topic extensively.<sup>34</sup> He makes a distinction between three varieties: 'vulgäre Umgangssprache', 'vulgäre Schriftsprache', and 'grammatische Sprache'. The first term refers to 'zahlreiche Mundarten oder Volksdialekte'. The third term, the 'grammatical language', is also called 'Koransprache' by Hassan and coincides with Classical Arabic. However, Hassan indicates that his book uses the 'vulgäre Schriftsprache' or vulgar/colloquial written language. He describes this as "einen gewissen veredelten Dialekt", which is used "[im] feineren gesellschaftlichen Umgang". He defines it as follows:

---

30 Ibid.

31 Nakhlah, *New Manual*, i. Also in other textbooks not discussed here: 'langue arabe vulgaire' in Michel Bey Saleh Chagavat, *Vocabulaire français-italien-arabe, contenant les mots en français, en italien et en arabe, la prononciation figurée et les phrases les plus usitées de la conversation* = *Mu'ğam luğa faransāwī wa-ṭṭālī wa-'arabī* (Cairo: Emin Hindié, n.d.) and al-Ṭaṭṭāwī, *Traité*, 'vulgar Arabic' in Gabriel Sacroug, *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter or Arabic without a Teacher for English Travellers Visiting Egypt* (Cairo: P. Cumbo, 1874).

32 Cadri, *Nouveau guide*, xv. Al-Ṭaṭṭāwī, *Traité*, v uses the term 'langue usuelle'.

33 Madiha Doss, "Une tradition didactique appliquée à l'arabe: les dialogues Pétis de La Croix-Savary," in *Autour de la langue arabe. Études présentées à Jacques Grand'Henry à l'occasion de son 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, edited by Johannes den Heijer, Paolo La Spisa, and Laurence Tuerlinckx (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 2012), 195.

34 Hassan, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 1.

Die vulgäre Schriftsprache besteht aus Wörtern und Ausdrücken, welche den untersten Volksclassen theils bekannt, theils aber auch unbekannt oder doch minder geläufig sind. Sie unterscheidet sich von der Umgangssprache nur durch diese bei den niederen Volksclassen, wie schon oben erwähnt, weniger oder gar nicht vorkommenden Wörter, Ausdrücke und Redensarten. Übrigens wird sie ohne Vocalzeichen geschrieben, und beim Sprechen hört man die kurzen Endvocale oder die grammatischen Endungen, selbst wenn ein Suffix folgt, fast nie; dadurch unterscheidet sie sich vorzüglich von der grammatischen oder Koransprache, in welcher fast jeder Consonant ein Vocalzeichen oder ein diakritisches Zeichen hat, und wo jeder Vocal nach bestimmten Regeln ausgesprochen wird. Daher kommt es, dass Wörter, die auch in der Vulgärsprache üblich sind, nach der grammatischen Aussprache oft ganz verschieden lauten.<sup>35</sup>

He adds that this language variety is used in the gospels and catechisms printed in Rome, as well as in modern prose works. From his description, it appears that the ‘vulgäre Schriftsprache’ is a rather ambiguous matter: it is distinguished from the colloquial by its use of vocabulary and expressions from Classical Arabic, while at the same time it is distinguished from Classical Arabic by the lack of case endings. However, ‘colloquial Arabic with Classical Arabic expressions’ and ‘Classical Arabic without case endings’ are two different things, two distinct varieties on the continuum between pure colloquial and pure Classical Arabic, one of them closer to the former and the other closer to the latter, so it is unclear what exactly Hassan meant. Using Badawī’s five language levels,<sup>36</sup> the first variety would coincide with the *‘āmmiyyat al-mutaqqafīn*, while the second would be closer to *fuṣḥā al-‘aṣr*, with the difference that Hassan explicitly refers to a written variety.

The term Classical Arabic is not used in the three books. As shown above, Hassan speaks of the ‘grammatical language’ or the ‘language of the Koran’. However, in Western terminology, the usual term for the written language at that time was ‘*literary Arabic*’ (see for instance Cadri’s preface: “J’ai traduit chaque phrase

---

35 Ibid.

36 Al-Sa‘īd Badawī, *Mustawayāt al-‘arabiyya al-mu‘āṣira fī Miṣr* (Cairo: Dār al-ma‘ārif, 1973), 89.

littéralement et vulgairement”<sup>37</sup>).<sup>38</sup> This was also of a mixed variety in the nineteenth-century grammars and textbooks, as will be shown below.<sup>39</sup> When considering that both vulgar and literary Arabic are mixed varieties, this then raises the question as to how these two varieties of Arabic related to each other in these textbooks.

## 2.2 The Arabic Terminology

The three books each have an Arabic title, as well as a title in the foreign language. Hassan’s work is titled *Aḥsan al-nuḥab fī maʾrifat lisān al-ʿarab* (“The Best Selected Pieces for Learning the Arabic Language”), which is also the Arabic title (of course not incidentally) of al-Ṭanṭāwī’s *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*. Cadri’s book is titled *al-Durr al-naḥs fī luḡatay al-ʿarab wa-l-faransī* (“The Precious Pearls Concerning the Languages of the Arabs and the French”). In these two titles, no reference is made to colloquial Arabic, only to *lisān al-ʿarab* and *luḡat al-ʿarab* ‘the language of the Arabs’. Nakhlah’s title *al-Tuḥfa al-murḍiya fī taʾallum al-luḡa al-ingilīziyya* (“The Pleasing Treasure for Learning the English Language”) does not refer to the Arabic language at all, but was clearly intended to appeal to Arabic speakers who wanted to learn English.

Only Nakhlah’s textbook contains a preface in Arabic, but this is not very enlightening, as he also only refers to *al-luḡa al-ʿarabiyya* in general terms without reference to distinctive varieties. Again, this preface was intended for the Arabic-speaking readers who were not interested in learning Arabic, but in learning English, so it was not necessary to make the distinction.<sup>40</sup> There is

37 Cadri, *Nouveau guide*, xv.

38 See also Larcher, “Diglossie arabisante”, 53, who traces the first attestation of this term back to Francisco Canes’ (1730–1795) *Gramatica arabigo-espanola, vulgar y literal* (1775).

39 See Zack, “Nineteenth-century Cairo Arabic,” 559–561.

40 For an overview of the Arabic terminology for the colloquial and Classical Arabic and its history, see Larcher, “Diglossie arabisante” and “Al-luḡa al-fuṣḥā”. According to Larcher, the terms *luḡa ʿāmmiyya* and *luḡa fuṣḥā* did not appear until the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century (see Larcher, “Diglossie arabisante”, 58). Mejdell places the coining of the term *ʿāmmiyya* in the context of the *Nahḍa*, see Gunvor Mejdell, “From *kalām ahl Miṣr*, to *al-ʿāmmiyya*, *lahḡa miṣriyya* and *luḡhat al-ʿumm* – What’s In a (Metalinguistic) Concept?” Lecture given

no other terminology related to the Arabic language found in the main text of the three books.

### 3. The Three Books: Varieties of Arabic and Language Mixing

The following paragraphs will analyse the language varieties used in the three books. The focus point will be on the dialogues, as this is the only section the three books have in common.

#### 3.1 Cadri

Cadri divides the dialogues into four columns, with French in the first column, transcribed Egyptian Arabic in the second column, Egyptian Arabic in Arabic script in the third column, and what Cadri calls literary Arabic in the fourth column. However, the interesting thing is that the transcribed Egyptian Arabic is not always identical to the Egyptian Arabic in Arabic script, as can be seen in these examples.<sup>41</sup>

1	A quelle heure reçoit le ministre des affaires étrangères.	Nazir il khàrid-jiih ystacbil innas emteh	فى أى ساعه ناظر الخارجية يستقبل الناس	فى أى ساعه يستقبل وزير الخارجية الناس
2	Il reçoit tous les vendredis à quatre heures.	Biystacbilhoum is sà'a arba'a yòm il djoum'ah	هو يستقبل الساعة أربعة فى يوم الجمعة	انه يستقبل الناس فى الساعة الرابعة من يوم الجمعة

The difference between the transcribed Egyptian Arabic and the Egyptian Arabic in Arabic script is the use of *emteh* in the former and *فى أى ساعه* ('at what time') in the latter. Also, in the former, the *bi*-imperfect is used in *biystacbilhoum*, while the latter has *يستقبل* without the *bi*-imperfect. The only difference between the Egyptian Arabic in Arabic script and the literary Arabic (columns 3 and

at the workshop "Language Change in the Arab World", University of Amsterdam, 15 December 2015.

41 Cadri, *Nouveau guide*, 576–577.

4) is in the word order (SVO in the former, VSO in the latter); there is no difference in the lexicon, except for the use of the Classical Arabic *انه* in example 2.

The following shows even more variation in the Arabic phrases:<sup>42</sup>

3	Où avez-vous couché hier?	Enta bitt fèn embàreh	أنت بت فين امبارح	أين بت أمس
4	J'ai couché chez un de mes amis? <sup>43</sup>	Ana bitt and wàhid sàhbi	أنا بت عند واحد من اصحابي	بت عند بعض احبتي

In example 4, we see the very colloquial Egyptian Arabic expression *wàhid sàhbi* in transcription,<sup>44</sup> the more classical expression *واحد من اصحابي* (which, however, can also be used in Egyptian Arabic), and the purely Classical Arabic expression *بعض احبتي*.

The last example to show the difference between Egyptian Arabic in transcription and Arabic script:<sup>45</sup>

5	Votre père vit-il encore?	Howa aboutk lessa thaïb	يا ترى أبوك لسه حي - طيب	هل أبوك على قيد الحياة الى الآن
---	---------------------------	-------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

The translation in transcription (*lessa thaïb* 'still all right') is not a literal translation of the French 'vit-il encore'. The Egyptian Arabic in Arabic script gives as an alternative the more literal translation *لسه حي* 'still alive'.<sup>46</sup> Also, the two phrases use a different in-

42 Ibid., 642–643.

43 Sic, with question mark.

44 See Manfred Woidich, *Das Kairenisch-Arabishe: eine Grammatik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 213 for this use of *wàhid* followed by a limited number of words meaning 'friend', 'colleague', 'relative', etc.

45 Cadri, *Nouveau guide*, 784–785.

46 The word *ṭayyib* is used today with the meaning of 'good of character', as in e.g. *da rāgil ṭayyib* 'he's a good man', as an adverb/interjection meaning 'all right, ok', and in the expression *kulle sana w-inta ṭayyib* 'may you be well every year'. However, in the nineteenth century, the word *ṭayyib* used to have the meaning of 'good' in general and could be used as an adjective or an adverb, e.g. *انا طيب كثير مع الوزير* 'I'm on very good terms with the vizir' (Al-Ṭanṭāwī, *Traité*, 50), in *kunna katabna el-gawāb ennahar-da kân ṭajjib* 'if we had written the letter today, it would have been good' (Spitta, *Grammatik*, 184). It cannot be used with this

terrogrative: *howa* in transcription, and يا ترى in Arabic script; both are used in Egyptian Arabic,<sup>47</sup> but only يا ترى can be used in Classical Arabic. It is unclear why the author chose to use two options, as he does not comment on this, but it could be in order to teach the learner two vocabulary items. The fourth column gives the Classical Arabic expression على قيد الحياة for ‘vit-il’. From these examples, we can conclude that the Egyptian Arabic written in Arabic script is sometimes less colloquial than the transcribed Egyptian Arabic. However, this is not a rule, and often the two are in fact identical.

Many of the supposedly colloquial phrases contain some Classical Arabic, such as the use of *abi* (instead of the Egyptian equivalent *abūya*) and *yourīd an* in the following example.<sup>48</sup>

6	Mon père veut que je sois mé- decin.	<i>abi yourīd an</i> <i>akoun hakīm</i>	أبي يريد أن أكون حكيم	ان أبي يود أن أكون طبيباً
---	--	--	--------------------------	------------------------------

This is especially the case in the first part of the book containing the sample sentences with ‘être’ and ‘avoir’. In the second part, the colloquial contains fewer literary Arabic features.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.2 Hassan

Hassan’s approach is completely different from Cadri’s: his dialogues are given in German and Arabic, the latter in both transcription and Arabic script. The content of the Arabic in transcription and Arabic script is exactly the same, as is shown in the following examples:<sup>50</sup>

---

meaning in modern Egyptian Arabic, and has been replaced with *kuway-yīs*.

47 See Woidich, *Das Kairenisch-Arabische*, 361–362.

48 Cadri, *Nouveau guide*, 208–209. *yirīd* still existed in the dialect of Cairo of that time, although today it has been completely substituted by ‘āwiz/‘āyiz, the present participle of the verb *yi’ūz* (see Woidich, *Das Kairenisch-Arabische*, 317–318, who does not mention *yirīd* as one of the verbs with the meaning ‘to want’). However, the prefix *you-* in combination with *an* in this example indicates that it is Classical Arabic rather than Egyptian Arabic.

49 See also Zack, “Nineteenth-century Cairo Arabic,” 559.

50 Hassan, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 194–195.

7	من منذ زمن طويل	<i>min munz zāman thawīl</i>	Seit sehr langer Zeit.
8	من مدّة قليلة	<i>min mūdde qalīle</i>	Seit kurzer Zeit.
9	ما هوش من زمان	<i>mā hūsch min zamān</i>	Es ist noch nicht lange her.
10	ما يعرفشى قيمة الوقت	<i>mā jā 'rīfschi (ji 'rafschi) qīmat el-waqt</i>	Er kennt nicht den Werth der Zeit.
11	لا يعرف ازي يصرف الوقت	<i>lā jā 'rif ezājī jācrīf el-waqt</i>	Er versteht nicht mit der Zeit haushalten.
12	يلزم تدبير الزمن وتوفيره	<i>jālzam tadbīr ez-zāman wa taufīru</i>	Man muss mit der Zeit gut haushalten.
13	هذا يحتاج لمدّة طويلة	<i>hāzā jahtāg limūdde thawīle</i>	Das erfordert viel Zeit.
14	هذا الشغل ياخذ له منى زمناً كثيراً	<i>hāzā esch-schughl jāchud lu mīnni zāmanān ketīrān</i>	Diese Arbeit wird mir viel Zeit wegnehmen.
15	الشغل ده اخذ منى وقت كثير	<i>esch-schughl deh āchad mīnni waqt ketīr.</i>	Diese Arbeit hat mir viel Zeit weggenommen.
16	بيفوت اوقاته فى الفراغ	<i>bijufāwwit auqātu fi ' l-fārigh</i>	Er bringt seine Zeit mit Nichtsthun zu.
17	احنا فاضيين = عندنا وقت	<i>éhnā fādhiyīn = 'ādnā waqt</i>	Wir haben Zeit.

18	لسا ما تزوجتش	<i>lissā mā tazaw-wāgtisch</i>	Ich bin noch nicht verheiratet <sup>51</sup>
----	---------------	--------------------------------	--

19	ما يعرفشى يجاوب لما حد يكلمه	<i>mā ji 'rafschi jugāwib lāmmā ḥadd jukāllimu</i>	Er weiss nicht zu antworten, wenn man mit ihm spricht <sup>52</sup>
----	------------------------------	--	---

51 Ibid., 203.

52 Ibid., 227.



One of the defining characteristics Hassan mentions of vulgar written Arabic is the absence of case endings (see part 2.1, above). It is very fortunate that Hassan provided the transcription of the Arabic phrases, so the reader can get an idea of how he intended them to be pronounced. For instance, in *min munz zāman thawīl* in example 7 there are no case endings. However, omitting these creates the problem of three consecutive consonants in *munz za-man*, which is not possible in Cairene Arabic. The same problem occurs in *ʿandnā* in example 17, which would have the suffix *-ina* in Cairene Arabic in order to avoid the cluster of three consonants. It is therefore unlikely that this reflects the actual pronunciation of the time.<sup>53</sup> It is also interesting that the two Arabic columns contain the same information, while a more colloquial or more Classical pronunciation is sometimes indicated in the middle column, such as in example 10, which gives for ما يعرفشى the colloquial pronunciation *mā ji ʿrafschi* as an alternative for the more classicizing *mā jā ʿrifschi*. The latter has the dialectal negation *mā-...sch*, thereby creating a mixed form. This is also the case in example 18, which has the Classical Arabic prefix *ta-* for form V rather than the Cairene prefix *it-*, but the negation *mā-...sch*.

This mixing of Classical and colloquial morphological features is very common in Hassan's dialogues. Also, some phrases display a clear tendency to use Classical Arabic vocabulary and morphology with Egyptian Arabic pronunciation, such as example 7: *munz* with the Egyptian pronunciation of the *ḍ* as *z*, and example 8: *qal-īle* instead of colloquial *ʿulayyile*, but with the colloquial pausal *ʿimāla -e*.<sup>54</sup> Switching is also found on the sentence level, such as in example 11: *lā jā ʿrif ezājj*, with the Classical Arabic negation *lā jā ʿrif* in combination with the Egyptian Arabic vocabulary item *ezājj* 'how'. It is interesting how in examples 10 and 11 three options are given for saying 'he doesn't know': *mā jā ʿrifschi*, *mā ji ʿrafschi*, and *lā jā ʿrif*, without any explanation. A similar situation is found in examples 14 and 15, which in meaning are almost identical except for the tense, but example 14 has the Classical

53 See for instance Spitta, *Grammatik*, 152, who states that a vowel needs to be inserted between a noun ending with two consonants and a following possessive suffix beginning with a consonant.

54 This was still in use in that era, although slowly disappearing; see Haim Blanc, "La perte d'une forme pausale dans le parler arabe du Caire," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 48 (1973–1974).

Arabic demonstrative *hâzā* and the accusative case ending *-an* in the object *zāmanān ketîrān*,<sup>55</sup> while example 15 has the Egyptian Arabic postposed demonstrative *deh* and no accusative ending. In the grammar section of the book, the demonstratives are given as هذا *hâzā*, هذه *hâzi* and هؤلاء [sic] *haulâi*, but the author added the observation that in the ‘Vulgärsprache’ these are ده/دا *dā/deh*, دى/ذى *dî*, and دول *dôl*.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, this must have been confusing for somebody trying to learn the language.

In the following examples, the Classical Arabic prefixes *ju-* and *ja-* are used in phrases that otherwise contain colloquial Arabic morphology and syntax, such as the negation with *mâ-...sch* in example 20, the *bi-*imperfect in example 21, and the object suffix *-ak* in example 22.<sup>57</sup>

20	ما عنديش وقت اضيعه	<i>mâ ‘andîsch waqt udhâjji ‘u</i>	Ich habe keine Zeit zu verlieren.
21	بيصرف وقته فيما يفيد	<i>bijâçrif wâqtu fîmâ jufîd</i>	Er macht von der Zeit einen guten Gebrauch.
22	ما عنديش وقت اكلمك	<i>mâ ‘andîsch waqt ukállimak</i>	Ich habe keine Zeit, mit Ihnen zu sprechen.

### 3.3 Nakhlah

Nakhlah gives the phrases in three columns, with the English phrases in the first column, Egyptian Arabic in transcription in the second, and mixed Arabic in Arabic script in the third, as shown in these examples which are taken from a dialogue called “The Laundry”.<sup>58</sup>

55 Apparently, the dash on *ā* does not indicate vowel length, but only that it is written with an *alif*.

56 Hassan, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 86–87. Another interesting observation is that *hâza el* is, according to Hassan, contracted to *hal*. This was clearly not the case in Cairene Arabic, but it is a feature of Levantine Arabic (see, e.g., Samia Naïm, “Beirut Arabic,” in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, online edition, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2011) for the dialect of Beirut). Hassan failed to mention this.

57 Hassan, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 194–195.

58 Nakhlah, *New Manual*, 251.

23	I have some linen to wash.	andi hha-wâyig bid-di aghsilhom	عندى ثياب أريد أن تغسلهم
24	When will you bring it back?	tegibeehom aymta	متى ترجعهم
25	Next week.	al goma-ah al-gây-yah – al goma-ah al tânyah	الجمعة القابلة
26	I shall want it in three days.	ana âwiz-hom bâd talât-tiyâm	انى اعوزهم بعد ثلاثة ايام
27	I'll try.	lamma ashooof	اجرب * اشوف

In Nakhlah's textbook the Egyptian Arabic in general shows very few influences from Classical Arabic. However, the Arabic written in Arabic script contains a good deal of dialectal vocabulary. Examples from the phrases above are the use of the verbs اعوز (example 26) and اشوف (example 27), as well as *-hum* (referring to non-animate *tiyāb*) in examples 23, 24, and 26.

In some cases, two options are given, one of which is more classicizing and the other more colloquial, e.g. in example 28, in which the Classical Arabic يوجد is given beside the colloquial فيه for 'is there':<sup>59</sup>

28	Is there any news to-day?	<i>feeh akhbâr al nehâr deh</i>	هل يوجد شئ من الاخبار اليوم * هل فيه اخبار اليوم
----	---------------------------	---------------------------------	--

In the following example, the colloquial حازه is given as an alternative for شيننا:<sup>60</sup>

29	I am thinking of one thing.	<i>ana mefteker hhâgah</i>	انا أفكر شيننا * انا افكر حازه
----	-----------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------------

On a syntax level, there are many influences of the dialect as well, e.g. in the word order SV in example 30:<sup>61</sup>

30	Is the post come?	<i>al bosta gât</i>	هل البوستة اتت
----	-------------------	---------------------	----------------

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 231.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 229.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 260.

In example 31, the modal verb *نقدر* is not followed by *أن*, but by an asyndetic clause:<sup>62</sup>

31	Now; we can go. – Let us go.	<i>yalla bina baka</i>	لنذهب الآن * الآن نقدر نذهب أو نروح
----	---------------------------------	------------------------	--

This last example illustrates a feature that is found very frequently in Nakhlah's book and that will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

#### 4. Case Study: Modal Verbs with Subordinate Clauses

The following is a small case study, which will discuss in more detail how one specific feature – modal verbs followed by a subordinate clause – is attested in the three books. Modal verbs are verbs expressing concepts such as 'to be necessary', 'to want or wish', 'to hope', and 'to be possible'. In Classical Arabic, these modal verbs can either be followed by *'an* + an imperfect verb in the subjunctive or by a *maṣḍar*. I will focus only on the first type. In Egyptian Arabic, modal verbs are followed by an asyndetic sentence with an imperfect verb, e.g. *'āwiz yirūh* 'he wants to go' or *ti'dar tištaḡal* 'she can work'.<sup>63</sup> Using a modal verb with an asyndetic sentence in so-called 'literary Arabic' therefore indicates influence from the dialect. This is a very common feature in Middle Arabic. Blau states that "[s]ubordinate asyndetic clauses are very frequent [...] and especially object clauses: *تَسْتَطِيعُونَ تَسْهَرُونَ* 'you can spend the night awake'."<sup>64</sup> Studies of Egyptian papyri from the first millennium indicate that already at that time, asyndetic modal clauses were used very frequently.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 250.

<sup>63</sup> See Spitta, *Grammatik*, 349 for the nineteenth century, and Woidich, *Das Kairenisch-Arabisches*, 311–312 for modern Egyptian Arabic.

<sup>64</sup> Joshua Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* (Jerusalem: The Max Schloessinger Memorial Foundation; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002), 52.

<sup>65</sup> See Eva Mira Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus: Form and Function, Content and Context* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 131 and Simon Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Ar-*

#### 4.1 Cadri

In Cadri's book, the results are very straightforward: 100 % of the modal clauses in the literary Arabic phrases are syndetic. Some examples:<sup>66</sup>

Où vos amis veulent-ils aller? <sup>67</sup>	إلى اين احبابك يريدون أن يذهبوا
Je veux bien retourner dans mon pays, mais je n'en ai pas les moyens. <sup>68</sup>	انى اود أن اعود الى بلدى لكن لا سبيل الى ذلك لخلو يدى
Je ne puis pas entrer. <sup>69</sup>	لا يمكننى أن أدخل
Je n'ai pas pu faire ce que vous m'avez dit. <sup>70</sup>	لم يمكننى أن أفعل ما أمرتنى به
J'aime faire un tour de promenade, après avoir déjeuné. <sup>71</sup>	احب أن أترىض قليلا بعد أن أفطر
Il m'est impossible de manger davantage. <sup>72</sup>	لا أستطيع أن أستزيد شينا

#### 4.2 Nakhlah

In Nakhlah's book, the results are quite different: 47 % of the modal verbs are followed by 'an, while 53 % are followed by an asyndetic clause. The following are examples of syndetic clauses:<sup>73</sup>

You must know. <sup>74</sup>	يلزمك ان تعرف
You must not do so any more. <sup>75</sup>	يلزم ان لا تفعل هكذا ثانيا
I wish to go. <sup>76</sup>	اريد ان اروح
I cannot stay. <sup>77</sup>	لا أقدر ان أتأخر

*abic: Based upon Papyri Datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 229–232.

66 The two columns containing Egyptian Arabic have been intentionally omitted here.

67 Cadri, *Nouveau guide*, 260–261.

68 Ibid., 310–311.

69 Ibid., 328–329.

70 Ibid., 394–395.

71 Ibid., 404–405.

72 Ibid., 442–443.

73 The column of transcribed Egyptian Arabic has been omitted.

74 Nakhlah, *New Manual*, 220.

75 Ibid., 227.

76 Ibid., 245.

Where do you wish to go? <sup>78</sup>	الى اين تريد أن تذهب
--	----------------------

The following are examples of asyndetic clauses:

I can't go now. <sup>79</sup>	لا أقدر أروح الآن
This is what I can assure you. <sup>80</sup>	يمكننى أوكد لك هذا
Can you tell me what o'clock it is? <sup>81</sup>	هل تقدر تقول لى كم الساعة
I do not like to go to bed late. <sup>82</sup>	لا احب أنام وخرى
I wish to go to the citadel. <sup>83</sup>	اريد اتوجه الى القلعة
I cannot play with you. <sup>84</sup>	لا أقدر ألعب معك

The most frequently used verbs in this category are *yirid*, *yiqdr*, and *ylzm*. Of these three, *yirid* is followed by a syndetic clause in 55 % of the cases, *yiqdr* in only 11 % of the cases, and *ylzm* in 100 % of the cases. The fact that *ylzm* is always used in combination with a syndetic clause is not surprising, as this is the only one of these verbs that was not used in Egyptian Arabic. In contrast, both *yirid* and *yiqdr* had Egyptian Arabic equivalents *yirīd* and *yi'dar*.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising to see a more frequent occurrence of asyndetic clauses with these two verbs, as this could be due to the influence of Egyptian Arabic. It is also interesting that *yimkn*, which occurs twice, is both times followed by the suffix *-nī*, which is not possible in today's Egyptian Arabic, but is nevertheless followed by an asyndetic clause: "يمكننى أوكد لك هذا" "that I can assure you".<sup>86</sup> Mejdell notes that in her corpus of spoken mixed Arabic in modern Egypt, either *yumkin* + 'an or *yumkin* + *maṣdar* is used, or *yimkin* is used as an adverbial modifier, but only marginally as a modal verb.<sup>87</sup>

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., 258.

79 Ibid., 207.

80 Ibid., 218.

81 Ibid., 235.

82 Ibid., 254.

83 Ibid., 258.

84 Ibid., 275.

85 See Spiro, *Grammatik*, 213, 478.

86 Nakhlah, *New Manual*, 218.

87 Gunvor Mejdell, "Playing the Same Game? Notes on Comparing Spoken Contemporary Mixed Arabic and (Pre)Modern Written Middle Arabic," in *Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic: Diachrony and Synchrony*, edited by Liesbeth Zack and Arie Schippers (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 243.

She does not mention a construction like the one used by Nakhlah, with *يمكن* followed by an object suffix and an imperfect verb, for her data on modern mixed Arabic.

#### 4.3 Hassan

Of all the modal clauses in Hassan's dialogues, 18 % are syndetic and 71 % asyndetic. The remaining 11 % consist of the conjunction *'anna* (which is pronounced *'inn* in Egyptian Arabic) after *لازم* *lāzim* 'to have to' and *بَدَّ* *bidd* 'to want', e.g. *لازم ان الانسان يوزن كلامه* 'Man muss seine Worte abwägen'<sup>88</sup> and *ما بدّيش اتّنى اعرفه* 'Ich will nichts davon wissen'.<sup>89</sup>

It should be noted that the number of modal clauses followed by *'an* + an imperfect is low. Hassan seems to favour the construction with a *maṣdar* (e.g. *يلزم مطاوعة الزمن* 'Man muss der Zeit nachgeben').<sup>90</sup> The following are examples of syndetic clauses:

معها الحمّى ولم تقدر أن تنام طول الليل	<i>mā 'hā el-ḥúmma wa lam táqdir ann tanâm thûl el-lêl</i>	Sie hat das Fieber und kann die ganze Nacht hindurch nicht schla- fen. <sup>91</sup>
لا يقدر الانسان أن يطلع برّا	<i>lâ jáqdir el-insân ann játhla ' bárrā</i>	Man kann nicht ausge- hen. <sup>92</sup>
لا يمكنك أن تفعل شيئاً	<i>lâ júmkinak ann táf'al schájjān</i>	Sie vermögen gar nichts zu thun. <sup>93</sup>
ما هذا الذى اردت ان اقول	<i>mâ hâzā el-lāzi arádt ann aqûl</i>	Das ist nicht dasjenige, was ich habe sagen wollen. <sup>94</sup>

88 Hassan, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 213.

89 Ibid., 224.

90 Ibid., 196.

91 Ibid., 184.

92 Ibid., 189.

93 Ibid., 227.

94 Ibid., 235.

Examples of asyndetic clauses:

لازم تعاشر الجمعيات الطيبة	<i>lâzim tu 'âschir el- gam 'ijjât eth- thajjibe</i>	Besuchen Sie die guten Gesellschaften. <sup>95</sup>
يعرف يعاشر الناس طيب	<i>ji 'raf ju 'âschir en- nâs thajjib</i>	Er kennt die Welt gut. <sup>96</sup>
انا اقدر احمى نفسى	<i>âna âqdar (âqdir) âhmi náfsi</i>	Ich werde mich wohl zu vertheidigen wissen. <sup>97</sup>
لا بدّ يبقى يعرفنى	<i>lā-budd jābqa jī 'rafni</i>	Er wird mich kennen lernen. <sup>98</sup>
ادى غاية ما يقدر يقوله الانسان	<i>âdi ghâjat mâ jâqdar jaqûlu el- insân.</i>	Das ist Alles, was man sagen kann. <sup>99</sup>
أيمكنك تسمع درسك	<i>a jûmkinak tusámmi ' dârsak</i>	Können Sie Ihre Lection aufsagen? <sup>100</sup>

The dialect item يعرف (with the meaning of 'to know how to do something') is always followed by an asyndetic clause. This is not surprising, as it cannot be used with this meaning in Classical Arabic, where it has the meaning of 'to know', 'to recognize', and so forth and where it is followed by 'anna'. The other dialect items, and لا and بدّ, are either followed by an asyndetic clause or by 'anna', as mentioned above. The item يريد, which can either be Classical Arabic *yurīd* or dialect *yirīd*, occurs twice, both followed by a syndetic clause. In both cases, the verb forms are Classical Arabic: تريد <sup>101</sup>*turīd* and اردت <sup>102</sup>*arādt*. The results for يمكن are comparable to those of Nakhlah: it is used as a verb rather than the modern-day adverb and is followed by an object suffix and an asyndetic clause.

95 Ibid., 206.

96 Ibid., 227.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid., 231.

99 Ibid., 235.

100 Ibid., 238.

101 Ibid., 208.

102 Ibid., 235.



## Conclusion

The authors of the three textbooks discussed in this paper had the intention of providing foreign learners of Arabic with samples of both spoken and written Arabic. However, they approached this in different ways, which gives us clues to how people thought about the different registers of Arabic in the nineteenth century. The main difference lies in the fact that Cadri translated each phrase into three varieties of Arabic, Nakhlah into two varieties, and Hassan into only one. This approach enabled Cadri and Nakhlah to make a distinction between vulgar Arabic on the one hand and literary Arabic on the other. The literary Arabic used by Nakhlah is much more influenced by the colloquial than Cadri's, as demonstrated in the case study of the asyndetic modal clauses, which are common in Nakhlah's text, while they are absent in Cadri's. On the other hand, Cadri's Egyptian Arabic shows more traces of literary Arabic than Nakhlah's. Hassan chose to use only one variety, which he called 'vulgäre Schiftsprache' ('vulgar written language'). In the Arabic he uses, colloquial and Classical morphology and vocabulary are mixed. Although Hassan called it a written language, from his description and the types of dialogues presented in the book it appears that he intended it to be spoken rather than written. The language displays the three characteristics that Ryding uses to describe Educated Arabic: "A higher, more formal register than the colloquial of primary discourses of familiarity among family and acquaintances; a mix of literary and colloquial lexical items; absence of *'i'rāb*, the markers of desinential inflection (case and mood)." <sup>103</sup> While Hassan himself characterized the variety of Arabic he used both as colloquial Arabic with Classical Arabic expressions and as Classical Arabic without case endings, studying the language reveals that it is much closer to the first description, which coincides with what is generally known today as Educated Spoken Arabic, or Badawī's *'āmmiyyat al-muṭaqqafīn*. <sup>104</sup>

---

103 Karin C. Ryding, "Educated Arabic," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics, online edition*, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

104 Badawī, *Mustawayāt*.

## References

- Anonymous. "Personal- und Schulnotizen." *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 12 (1861): 413.
- Badawī, al-Sa'īd. *Mustawayāt al-'arabiyya al-mu'āšira fī Miṣr*. Cairo: Dār al-ma'ārif, 1973.
- Blanc, Haim. "La perte d'une forme pausale dans le parler arabe du Caire." *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 48 (1973–1974): 375–390.
- Blau, Joshua. *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*. Jerusalem: The Max Schloessinger Memorial Foundation; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002.
- Cadri, Mohamed/Qadrī, Muḥammad. *Nouveau guide de conversation française et arabe, ouvrage élémentaire [sic] et classique, contenant une nouvelle méthode très-facile pour apprendre aux Indigènes à parler le français et aux Européens à parler l'arabe en peu de temps*. = *al-Durr al-naḥs fī luḡatay al-'arab wa-l-faransī*s. Cairo: Imprimerie de P. Cumbo, 1868.
- Caussin de Perceval, Armand-Pierre. *Grammaire arabe-vulgaire suivie de dialogues, lettres, actes etc., à l'usage des élèves de l'Ecole Royale et Spéciale, des langues orientales vivantes*. Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1824.
- Chagavat, Michel Bey Saleh/Šaḡawāt, Naḥla Bēh Šālīḥ. *Vocabulaire français-italien-arabe, contenant les mots en français, en italien et en arabe, la prononciation figurée et les phrases les plus usitées de la conversation* = *Mu'ḡam luḡa faransāwī wa-'iṭālī wa-'arabī*. Cairo: Emin Hindī, n.d.
- Chahrour, Marcel. "'Vom Morgenhauch aufstrebender Cultur durchweht'. Ägyptische Studenten in Österreich 1830–1945." In *Von Soliman zu Omofuma. Afrikanische Diaspora in Österreich, 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Walter Sauer, 131–149. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2007.
- Cilardo, Agostino. "Muhammad Qadri Pasha al-Hanafi." In *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History*, edited by Stanley N. Katz. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Doss, Madiha. "Une tradition didactique appliquée à l'arabe : les dialogues Pétis de La Croix-Savary." In *Autour de la langue arabe. Études présentées à Jacques Grand'Henry à l'occasion de son 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, edited by Johannes den Heijer, Paolo La Spisa, and Laurence Tuerlinckx, 189–206. Louvain-la-

- Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 2012.
- Doss, Madiha. "L'arabe vulgaire et la grammaire de Claude-Étienne Savary. Discussion de l'intervention d'Aurélien Girard". In *Manuels d'arabe d'hier et d'aujourd'hui : France-Maghreb, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited by Sylvette Larzul and Alain Messaoudi, 27–30. Paris: Éditions de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013.  
<http://books.openedition.org/editionsbnf/237>.
- Galtier, Émile. "Sur une forme verbale de l'arabe d'Égypte." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale* 4 (1905): 31–38.
- Girard, A. "Les manuels de langue arabe en usage en France à la fin de l'Ancien Régime." In *Manuels d'arabe d'hier et d'aujourd'hui : France-Maghreb, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited by Sylvette Larzul and Alain Messaoudi, 12–26. Paris: Éditions de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013.  
<http://books.openedition.org/editionsbnf/259>.
- Grob, Eva Mira. *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus: Form and Function, Content and Context*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.
- Haggenmacher, Karl. *Grammatik des ägyptisch-arabischen Vulgärdialektes*. Cairo: Boehme & Anderer, 1892.
- Hassan, A. *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der vulgär-arabischen Sprache mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den ägyptischen Dialekt = Aḥsan al-nuḥab fī ma'rifat lisān al-'arab*. Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1869.
- Hopkins, Simon. *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic: Based upon Papyri Datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Jontes, Lieselotte. "Ägyptische Studenten in der Berg- und Hüttenmännische Lehranstalt in Vordernberg, Steiermark." *Austria-Forum* (2011).  
[https://austria-forum.org/af/Wissenssammlungen/Essays/Geographie/%C3%84gyptische\\_Studenten\\_in\\_der\\_Lehranstalt\\_in\\_Vordernberg](https://austria-forum.org/af/Wissenssammlungen/Essays/Geographie/%C3%84gyptische_Studenten_in_der_Lehranstalt_in_Vordernberg).
- Larcher, Pierre. "Diglossie arabisante et *fuṣḥā* vs 'āmmiyya arabes: essai d'histoire parallèle." In *History of Linguistics 1999: Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences, 14–19 September 1999*,

- Fontenay-St. Cloud*, edited by Jocelyne Arpin, Sylvain Auroux, Elisabeth Lazcano, and Jacqueline Léon, 47–61. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003.
- Larcher, Pierre. “Al-lugha al-fuṣḥâ : archéologie d’un concept « idéolinguistique ».” *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 124 (2008): 263–278.  
<https://remmm.revues.org/6035>.
- Mayer, Anton. *Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte, 1482–1882*. Vol. 2: 1682–1882. Vienna: Verlag des Comitès zur Feier der vierhundertj[ährigen] Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst in Wien, 1887.
- Mejdell, Gunvor. “Playing the Same Game? Notes on Comparing Spoken Contemporary Mixed Arabic and (Pre)Modern Written Middle Arabic.” In *Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic: Diachrony and Synchrony*, edited by Liesbeth Zack and Arie Schippers, 235–245. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Mejdell, Gunvor. “From *kalām ahl Miṣr*, to *al-‘āmmiyya*, *lahga miṣriyya* and *luḡat al-‘umm* – What’s in a (Metalinguistic) Concept?” Lecture given at the workshop “Language Change in the Arab World”, University of Amsterdam, 15 December 2015.
- Naïm, Samia. “Beirut Arabic.” In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, online edition, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Nakhlah, Yacoub/Naḥla, Ya‘qūb. *New Manual of English and Arabic Conversation = al-Tuḥfa al-murḍiya fī ta‘allum al-luḡa al-ingilīziyya*. Cairo: The Khēdive’s [sic] Press, 1874.
- Neumann, Wilhelm Anton. *Über die orientalischen Sprachstudien seit dem XIII. Jahrhunderte mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Wien. Inaugurationsrede gehalten am 17. October 1899 (...)*. Vienna: Selbstverl. d. Univ.
- Ryding, Karin C. “Educated Arabic.” In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, online edition, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong. Leiden: Brill 2011.
- Sacroug, Gabriel. *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter or Arabic without a Teacher for English Travellers Visiting Egypt*. Cairo: P. Cumbo, 1874.
- Savary, C.E. *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littéraire*. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1813.

- Spiro, Socrates. *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*. Cairo: Al-Mokattam Printing Office / London: Bernard Quaritch, 1895.
- Spitta-Bey, Wilhelm. *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1880.
- Tantavy, Mouhammad Ayyad El-/Ṭanṭāwī, Muḥammad 'Ayyād al-. *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire = Aḥsan al-nuḥab fī ma'rifat lisān al-'arab*. Leipzig: Guillaume Vogel Fils, 1848.
- Vollers, K. *Lehrbuch der aegypto-arabischen Umgangssprache, mit Uebungen und einem Glossar*. Cairo: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1890.
- Wahrmund, Adolf. *Praktisches Handbuch der neu-arabischen Sprache*. I: *Praktische Grammatik*. II: *Gespräche und Wortsammlung*. III: *Lesebuch*. Giessen: Ricker, 1861.
- Woidich, Manfred. *Das Kairenisch-Arabische: eine Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.
- Woidich, Manfred, and Liesbeth Zack. "The g/ġ-question in Egyptian Arabic Revisited." In *Arabic Dialectology in Honour of Clive Holes on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by Enam Al-Wer and Rudolf de Jong, 41–60. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Wolff, Philipp. *Arabischer Dragoman: Grammatik, Phrasensammlung und Wörterbuch der neu-arabischen Sprache. Ein Vademecum für Reisende in Ägypten, Palästina und Syrien, sowie zum Gebrauch für den Unterricht*. Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1857.
- Zack, Liesbeth. "Nineteenth-century Cairo Arabic as Described by Qadrī and Naḥla." In *Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide. Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA, Bucharest, 2015*, edited by G. Grigore and G. Biṭună, 557–567. Bucharest: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2016.
- Ziriklī, Ḥayr al-Dīn b. Maḥmūd al-. *Al-A'lām: qāmūs tarāḡīm li-aṣḥar al-riḡāl wa-l-nisā' min al-'arab wa-l-musta'ribīn wa-l-mustašriqīn*. Vol. 8, 15th ed. Beirut: Dār al-'ilm li-l-malāyīn, 2002.