

ARABIC VARIETIES: FAR AND WIDE

**Proceedings of the
11th International Conference of AIDA
Bucharest, 2015**



editors
GEORGE GRIGORE
GABRIEL BIȚUNĂ

Arabic Varieties: Far and Wide
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**George Grigore
Gabriel Bitună**

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LE PETIT PRINCE IN ALGERIAN ARABIC: A LEXICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is the lexical analysis of the Arabic Algerian (AA) version of the novella *Le petit prince*, by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, signed by Talbi and Brousse. In order to make the readers grasp the outstanding pioneering role of this work, I decided to put it in the context of the complex linguistic map of Algeria and the on-going battle for/against the so-called *darija*, in the ideological framework of the campaign of arabization, since independence to nowadays.

Le petit prince, apart from its several versions into Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), was translated into the three main varieties of Maghrebi Arabic.

Through the analysis of a collection of lexical data, I try to underline which strategies the translators used to re-write and renegotiate the source text (ST) in a totally different cultural context, by means of the intelligent domestication of idioms and figurative expressions. I discuss cases of translation choices that sometimes make the target text (TT) closer to a MSA register, rather than to AA, and search for ideological or mere stylistic justifications. It seems also useful to compare it with the Tunisian (TA) and the Moroccan (MA) ones, and sometimes with two MSA translations. Each of the Maghrebi versions shows that the so long despised *darija* has all of the elements that enable it to be a flexible language for a creative literature, and represents an important step towards the break-down of the traditional label stating that MSA is only written and not spoken, whereas *darija* is only spoken and not written.

Keywords: *Algeria, arabization, darija, domestication, idiom, sociolinguistics.*

1. Introduction

In this paper I provide a lexical perspective of the Arabic Algerian (AA) version of *Le petit prince*, by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. It was signed by Talbi and Brousse¹, in 2008, more than a decade after the publication of the Tunisian Arabic (TA) version, and one year before the Moroccan Arabic (MA) one². This novella counts several translations in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)³, among which I analyze two, to make comparisons.

My levels of investigation do not touch the grammatical categories (morphology and syntax) nor the orthographic and phonological components⁴: even if they are important to evaluate the text, their analysis will bring me too far, in the chaos of reading and spelling processes. I collected lexical items (words, phrases and expressions), chosen more often according to a qualitative criterion than a numerical one (ex. number of occurrences), and analyze them and their suitability in the context of the sentence. While grammatical choices are limited by a closed set of options, the latter ones are made from open-ended sets and are largely optional. I am aware that lexicon is not the only parameter to evaluate a translation, but the word is the first unit to be taken into consideration by the translator, and to find a direct equivalent is the first issue that a translator has to face (Baker 1992: 39). The notion of

¹ Zahiya Talbi (Zāhiya Ṭālbī) has been teaching colloquial Arabic for more than twenty years. Lucienne Brousse is a specialist of linguistics and audio-visual methods in language teaching. I found superficial reference to their work in the Algerian online press. Among the most accurate ones I quote Bouredji 2008.

² Both the TA and MA translations were signed by two well-known researchers and supporters of their national mother-tongues, respectively Hedi Balegh (Hādī al-Bālīg), in 1997, and Abderrahim Youssi ('Abd al-rahīm al-Yūsī, in 2009). A Lebanese Arabic version was realized by the renowned poet and writer Maurice 'Awwād, in 1986.

³ As for the two MSA translations, one was published, without date, by the Lebanese Yūsuf Ḍaṣūb, and will be referred to as MSA1. The other one was realized in 2011, by the Moroccan al-Tihāmī al-'Ammārī, hereafter MSA2.

⁴ The issues related to orthography conventions are analyzed by Mion 2007 and 2013

equivalence is undoubtedly one of the most problematic and controversial areas in the field of translation theory.

It is obvious that by avoiding grammatical categories, I also chose to avoid an analysis of formal equivalence that binds to find reasonably equivalent words and phrases while following the forms of the source language as closely as possible. I justify this choice, considering the morphological and syntactic difference between the French ST and the Arabic TT.

The most important factor I chose to evaluate is if the TT is able to produce “in the receptor language an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the reader of the original message” (Nida & Taber 1969: 12), to make certain that he/she understands accurately the message carried by the ST. But by simplifying the language of the ST the great risk is to reduce its literary value.

I will discuss how figurative images in the ST are transformed, and, no matter how varied the ways of expression of languages are, if they keep the same or similar functions in the translated text. Then, I will consider if translators chose expressions that sound “natural” to the receptor, or if they keep “foreignness”. In this sense, I believe that a balance is the right solution between the choice to respect the original context, explaining metaphors, on the one side, and the cultural elements of the ST language, on the other side: summing up, “a translation should be read like a translation”(Savory 1968: 50).

2. Sociolinguistic situation of Algeria

The context in which *Le petit prince* has been translated and published in Algeria is useful to understand the pioneering role of this initiative, especially if we consider that in this country, according to Benrabah, language conflict has always been a marker of political conflict caused by a cultural “top-down” policy, that ignores the different ethnic and linguistic groups (1999: 21). Since the first years of independence, the arabization policy chosen by Ahmed Ben Bella and his successor, Houari Boumedienne, was conceived to contrast French and local languages, such as colloquial Arabic and Tamazight, so to create a monolingual nation with an Arab-Islamic identity, independent from all western and internal influence. Even before independence, Messali Hadj, pioneer of Algerian nationalism used to consider AA (together with Berber languages) instruments of French colonialism to divide the Algerian people: in any case, a dialect, not a language, contaminated by too many foreign words, a *charabia*, unable to “vehiculer une culture supérieure” (ivi: 124).

2.1 AA in schools?

The same politics were adopted by the FLN and the following governments. Arabization in Algeria and all the laws to apply it turned up to complicate the social scenario (Grandguillaume 1995). The Algerian educative system was so severely damaged: at school the usage of AA was forbidden, and that created a complex of linguistic guilt in the young generations. According to some, the unforgivable crime that teachers committed was to vilify the verbal repertory of students, expressed in AA⁵ (Benrabah 1999: 151).

A recent plan to introduce the teaching of local varieties of Arabic in primary schools was among the proposals issued in the *Conférence nationale sur l'évaluation du système éducatif algérien*, held in summer 2015. The Algerian minister of education Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun declared that the aim was “to not shock pupils at this early stage of education”⁶ and to make it easy learning all

⁵ In the sixties, because of its severe lack in educational staff, Algeria called thousands of teachers from the Middle East, and among them there were many Islamists and Islamic Brotherhood members.

⁶ www.arabeyemedia.org.uk/social-media/2015/7/31/language-conflict-flares-in-algeria. Among some courageous attempts in this direction, we mention that in 1969, as a reaction to the law on arabization, a group of teachers asked, in an open letter published by *Jeune Afrique*, the usage of Algerian Arabic in the schools (quoted by Benrabah 1999: 56).

subjects⁷. She found, moreover, that the contents of the textbooks left a “poor” place granted to national heritage, including popular poetry.

The proposal has reignited language conflict in Algeria: a violent campaign led by members of parliament of conservative and islamist parties and associations condemned it, asking for her resignation, in Arabic media and social networks. They considered it “a dangerous precedent in the history of the Algerian education system, a violation of the constitution and the laws of the republic, and a threat to national unity and social harmony”⁸.

2.2 Publishing in AA

Throughout her interesting essay *Les mots du bled*, Caubet underlines the “almost impossibility” of publishing in AA (2004)⁹: theatre is one of the cultural fields where the fight between MSA and AA has been going on since its first steps in 1920s. In the sixties, along with the policy of arabization the conflict became stronger (Bencharif-Khadda 2003: 114). The playwright Abdelkader Alloula was successful in bridging the gap between the two varieties, even though the cultural establishment was not yet ready to accept it (ivi: 115). But when it comes to written texts, that is the most important focus in my article, he was a pioneer in publishing them in their original language, *darija*, since they were usually available in a translation/ adaptation in French, realized by the same playwright. But that has been a unique case in the Algerian intellectual panorama, if we consider that, for example, the masterpieces of Kateb Yacine have never been published in AA, neither in a bilingual version.

In the literary field, some attempts were realized by Benhadouga’s (Bin Haddūqa) novel *Rīh al-ğanūb* (“The wind of the south”, 1970); MSA is dominant there, but for cultural elements such as proverbs, popular songs he uses AA, “in order to be faithful to the context so that to keep the original words of characters and to set up speech boundaries between them according to their social and educational levels”, according to the analytical study of Benhaddi (2012:46).

In the eighties the writer al-Sā’ih shocked the cultural establishment with his novel, *Zaman Nimrūd*, (“Times of Nimrud”, 1986), not only because of the subject (he denounces the corruption of the *nomenklatura* in his hometown Saida), but also of his choice of extensive AA throughout the text. Obviously, it was censured by government and its copies were burned.

Many intellectuals have stressed the necessity to give an official status to AA. Among them, Amine Zaoui, a famous Algerian writer, declares: “La *darija* (...) est la langue de nos meilleures pièces théâtrales, (...) de Alloula, de Medjoubi, de Kateb Yacine, de Ould Kaki... (...), de nos meilleurs poètes Benkhlof, Benkriyou, Benghitoune, El Khaldi, Ould Zine”(2015).

Kamel Daoud, a prominent writer, winner of Goncourt prize, has recently written his manifesto for what he calls the “Algerian language” (not including the adjective “Arabic”):

Ceux qui vous disent que l’algérien comme langue n’existe pas, vous disent simplement que vous n’existez pas (...). Aujourd’hui en Algérie deux castes parlent arabe, langue morte, aux Algériens, peuple vivant: les élites politiques et les élites religieuses. (...). Ceux qui disent que l’arabe est une langue morte, menacent la domination de la caste et ses intérêts (2013).

He adds that died languages considered themselves pure, while living languages thrive because of the exchange among other languages (ivi).

Outside Algeria, and particularly in Europe, the first work to be published in Maghrebi Arabic is a translation of some of the renowned novellas written by the duo Sempé-Goscinny, *Le petit Nicholas*, with the title: *Nicolas ṣ-sghir beddarija. Lughat França*. This Arabic has been recognized as one of the languages of France, since 1999, when this country signed the European charter of regional and

⁷ www.echoroukonline.com/ara/mobile/articles/250626.html.

⁸ www.elkhabar.com/press/article/86494.

⁹ The last two years witnessed the publication of some dictionaries, or the re-print of old ones: Ben Sedira, 2015, Beaussieur & Bencheneb 2015, Madouni-Lapeyre 2014, Birrashid 2013, Aziri 2012. Moreover, in spring 2015, the catholic centre Les Glycines organized a big conference about AA, see Bouchakour 2015.

minority languages in the Europe Council. So it has been translated into the three main varieties found in Maghreb area¹⁰.

3. Translation choices

3.1 The title of the novella

AA	AA (blog) ¹¹	MA	TA
الأمير الصغير	<i>Sliten</i>	الأمير الصغير	الأمير الصغير

The MA and TA versions opted for a diminutive form of the adjective of the title “petit”, while the AA version of an anonymous translator, available on a blog in the Internet, presents the term *Sliten*, that is the diminutive form of the Arabic term “sultān”: it seems culturally closer and more suitable to the Arab collective imagery, and able to recreate a fairy tale atmosphere. It is interesting to note that it is only written in Latin characters, has no determinative article, and presents a capital first letter as if it were a name of person.

3.2 Primary and secondary choices

This is the unique chart based over quantitative data. The two translators swing between two or more AA terms for only one found in ST, no doubt to express the fertile varieties of AA, but sometimes according to unknown rules. AA1 designates the primary translation choice, that's the most frequent term. AA2 stands for the second or third choice.

The Egyptian intellectual Salāma Mūsā, in the sixties, in his famous essays invited writers and intellectuals to purify MSA from about over-abundance of synonyms or near-synonyms, “which are so characteristic of Arabic” (quoted in Suleiman 2003: 185).

ST item	AA1	AA2
adorer	مات على	عزيز على
ami	صاحب	حبيب
avoir besoin	لازم	خاص بالسيف علينا
beaucoup	بالزاف	كثير
chose	حاجة	شيء
croire	ظن	على حساب
de	متابع	ديال
donner	اعطى	مد
du tout	كامل	قانع
encore	زاد	عاود
enfant	ولد	دري
fatigue	عيما	تعب
fois	مرة	خطرة
gens	ناس	عباد
il paraît	بيان لـ	يظهر لـ

¹⁰ It contains 9 histories, 3 in MA, 3 in AA and 3 in TA. Each of them presents double form: Arabic characters and Latin character transcription, based on phonetics. They were translated by: Jihane Madouni-Lapeyre, Amine Hamma, Abdelwahid Fayala, under the direction of Dominique Caubet. Numbers are used to stand for some consonants, such as 7 for ح, 3 for ع, and 9 for ق. Almost all names of characters have been readapted to an Arab context. For example, Alceste and Rufus became Hamīd and Ziyād. Sometimes names of places have been substituted with Maghrebi famous ones, like Hammamet.

¹¹ Translations are available for only chapters I, X and XI, in a blog: <https://slitendz.wordpress.com/>.

		جاب لي ربى
il y a	كайн	موجود جاي
mais	بالصح	لكن
manteaux	برنسوس ¹²	لباس
oisif	كسلان كسول	فنيان
ouvrir	حل	فتح
parler	هدر	تكلم
peut-être	ممکن	وقيل بالاك توالم
place	مضرب	موضع بلاصلة
pouvoir	نجم	قدر
quelques	كاش	شي
regarder	خرز	شاف
roi	سلطان	ملك
s'asseoir	جلس	قعد
savoir	على بال	عرف
si (hypothetical clause)	لو كان	الا اذا
toujours	دائماً	ديما
trouver	لقمي	صاب
vieux	شارف	شاب
comme	كيف	بحال كما
vouloir	حابت	ماذا بي

4. Classicisms

When AA, like many other spoken languages, presents a deficiency in terminology, translators may use loanwords from MSA, or circumlocutions, if they want to avoid the first solution. We find in our text many classicisms that translate common and widespread terms that have a precise AA equivalent. So, it is not easy to understand why the translators decided to swing between AA terms and MSA ones, to translate the same French term. Here is a list of some examples:

ST item	MSA	AA
arbre	شجرة	سجرة
au monde	في العالم	في الدنيا
comprendre la vie	فهم معنى الحياة	فهم الدنيا
retourner	رجع	ولي
se passer	صار	صرا
soleil	شمس	سمش
soulever	رفع	رفرد
village	قرية	دوار

¹² فقطان is the localizing term used in MA translation, see Nicosia 2013.

4.1 Purifying Algerian Arabic?

Throughout the text, it is clear that translators aim at avoiding some very popular and widespread terms found in AA, especially French (often arabized) loanwords. The ideological principle that underlies the translation choices is to create an Algerian linguistic corpus that could be the expression of the conscience of a national identity, and to reach this aim they considered important to purify the AA from any foreign terms, substituting them with MSA equivalents.

In the opposite direction, the MA and TA translations integrated several foreign terms, absorbing and naturalizing loanwords especially from French, without any complex of guilt. Sometimes the MSA equivalents sound somehow heavy and surely not found in everyday speech. I suggest in the second column the terms that everyone should have expected to find in an AA text.

MSA lexical item	Suggested AA equivalent
على اليمنى	عاليـيـنـى
على اليسرى	عـالـيـسـرـى
قال في نفسه	قالـفـيـرـوـحـهـا
(طرح (أسئلة	سـقـصـىـبـالـزـافـ
كثير	بـالـزـافـ
على الدوام	ديـمـا
قطار	ترـانـ
محرك	موـتـورـ
رباطات العنق	كرـافـاتـاتـ
هدية	كـادـو
قلم	كريـبـيونـ،ـسـتـيلـوـ
في الخلاء	فيـالـصـحـراءـ
جمعة	سيـمـانـةـ
يسلب العقل	شـابـبـالـزـافـ
هدية	كـادـو
¹³ تعطيل	بانـ(panne)
من فضلك	صحـ
متتحقق	متـاكـدـ

4.2 Comparing AA and MA translations

As I stated before, MA translation, as well as TA, has adopted many French arabized loanwords. Here are some examples, but I remind that there are some cases where MA text follows a MSA translation:

ST item	AA	MA
à carreaux	مرـبـعـاتـ	ضـاماـ
boulon	لـوـلـبـ	بـولـونـ
chapeau	مـظـلـ	شـابـوـ
cheminée	مـدـخـنـةـ	شـومـينـيـ
cravates	ربـاطـاتـالـعـنـقـ	كرـافـاتـاتـ
rhume	نزلـةـ	روـاحـ
stylographe	قـلـمـ	ستـيلـوـ

¹³ Elsewhere, to translate the expression “tomber en panne”, the translators use the verb جبس.

5. Algerianity found in translation?

Brousse and Talbi showed a good amount of originality and creativity, offering solutions where one can savour the taste of typical AA constructs or expressions.

The emphasis on quantity (in French “très”) is so realized by the repetition of the same term, or sometimes, like in the last two example of the list below, with the rhetorical device of consonance.

تفسير و تفسير	besoin d'explications
سو سوا	exact
تم تم	brusquement, aussitôt
قبالة قبالة	droit
صغر صغير	très petit
صح صح	vraiment
كيف كيف	le même
ساير داير	autour
ساهلة ماهلة	très facile

In the following two expressions, AA touch imposes itself and seems more effective than MSA solutions.

- “N'est-ce pas?” is translated with ياك, an AA and also MA kind of emphatic interrogative particle, similar to the English “Isn't it”?

- “Je vous en prie” is domesticated as بيرحم والديك, literally “(God) have mercy of your parents”, a typical Maghrebi expression used to express a strong request, with respect and kindness.

6. Denominations

To translate some denominations, the translators chose circumlocutions, that sometimes seem very heavy and long. For example, it is interesting to compare the translation of the term “allumeur de réverbères” in the three main Maghrebi varieties. The TA translation presents only one choice throughout the chapter, where the term is repeated many times, while the MA translation offers many terms. Among them I chose to record only two: the first one seems periphrastic and explicative, whereas the second one is constructed by مول (literally “master”), that is used mainly in Morocco.

AA	MA	TA
شعال الفنار	دبّال الشعيل مستخدم	قتادي
فنارجي	مول الشعيل	

- “Roi” is translated sometimes as ملك and sometimes سلطان. The latter seems, as I stated before, while discussing about the title of the novella and elsewhere in the text¹⁴, more connotative and suggestive than the former, much more neutral.

- “Village” becomes قرية, very literal and denotative, or دوار, more connotative, that indicates a typical village in the Maghreb area¹⁵.

- “Astronome”: نجّام or فلكي. The latter term means “astrologer” in MSA.

- “Vaniteux” is rendered with three terms. The first one to be introduced is مخلوق بروحه, then followed, after just a few lines, by زواخ and at last we find the MSA متکبر, that creates a semantic shift towards a more negative meaning.

¹⁴ Such as the case of the expression “plus puissant que le doigt d'un roi”, where roi is translated as “sultan”.

¹⁵ Under French colonialism it designated an administrative division of the Algerian countryside.

7. Arabo-Islamic idioms and domestication

Baker (1992: 20) argues that the TT language has no direct equivalent for a word which occurs in the ST. By “closest”, she means the most ideal one. Nida particularly stresses that “a natural rendering must fit the receptor language and culture as a whole: the context of the particular message and the receptor-language audience” (1964: 167). The translator finds himself/herself in a big dilemma: how to recreate the author's intentions, without making them clash with the culture and the *Weltanschauung* of the TT reader. So, to make it understood clearly, it is necessary to change the perspective of the ST, by means of a domestication process, as I will argue in some of the following examples:

- “Quand le mystère est trop impressionnant”. Here the difference between the AA and the TA translations is so impressive. The latter seems to domesticate the expression in an Arab-Islamic fairy tale atmosphere, made up of *jinns*, preceded by a strong exclamation, *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*, literally a part of the Islamic profession of faith, or *shahāda*.

AA	ك يكون السر عجيب بالزاف
TA	لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ! قَدْمَانِي إِنْسٌ وَلَا جَنٌ

- “Rien n'est parfait”.

Only the MA offers the shortest and most effective translation, even though it introduces the new concept of “the perfection of God”, that is not found in the ST, or in the other four analyzed translations. All of them try to get closer to the original, adding only the term “world” or “cosmos”.

AA	حتى شيء ما راه كما لازم يكون
MA	الكمال لله
TA	الكماليات مش م العالم هذا
MSA1	ليس من شيء كامل في الكون

- “Tant bien que mal” is translated as الله غالب, (literally “God is powerful”), an idiomatic expression which shows lack of responsibility for the results of a performed action. The journalist Belabbès denounces the misuse of that expression in the Algerian society: “Allah Ghaleb signifie que ‘ce n'est pas ma faute’. (...), c'est la faute de personne, en même temps (...), un argument pour diluer les responsabilités: derrière les effets, il y a la Cause. Dieu est le dernier mot” (2015).

تصاور الى يشبهوا له ان ”J'essaierai, bien sûr, de faire” شاء الله

- “Tâche d'être heureux”: أن شاء الله تكون سعيد

The French imperative “tâche” expresses an invitation to make some efforts to be happy, whereas the Arabic translation, using *inšā'Allāh* (God willing) creates a more passive and indeterminate perspective.

- “Je me crois”. جاب لي الله

Starting from the literal translation “God brought me (knowledge or feeling)”, it stands in AA for: “It seems to me”, “I guess”.

- “Au hazard” becomes على باب الله, and the similar expression “au tout hazard”, is object of a rare case of consonance between two different languages such as Arabic and French, since the term “hazard” etymologically comes from the MSA زهر (dice), that in all the Maghrebi varieties stands for “chance”.

- “des arbres grands comme des églises”

The AA version substitutes “églises” with مساجد (mosques), together with the MA one, that uses the more specific term صمعة “minaret” that in Morocco stands for “minaret”. So the image of the church is deleted, and I argue, not to make the local reader understand better, since they are supposedly familiar with churches, but to eliminate a foreign culture and religion symbol¹⁶. The TA translation, together with the two accessed MSA ones, leaves the image unchanged, opting for a faithful reproduction of the ST symbolic charge.

AA	راهو سجور طوال كما المساجد
MA	هاما شجار طوال قد الصمعة
TA	(...) شجره كانها كنيسيه اكبيره
MSA1	يعادل حجم الواحدة منها حجم الكنيسة
MSA2	شجر ضخم بطول الكنائس

- “La musique de la messe de minuit”.

It is another clear example that shows the trend of the translators to delete a Christian imagery, to recreate *ex-novo* a local Arab-Islamic one. In both the AA and TA versions, the term “messe” is transformed into صلاة “”, that stands for the canonical Islamic prayer, while the MA one chooses to shift the concept towards the place where prayer is performed, the church, and no longer a mosque, as in the previous example.

AA	الموسيقى متاع صلاة نص الليل
MA	الموسيقى في الكنيسة
TA	الموسيقى امتع صلاة نص الليل

- “L’arbre de Noel”. The AA version is extremely literal, whereas the TA translator is sure that his readers know the French term “Noël”. The MA text shifts from the concept of Christmas towards the character of Santa Claus, as it happens elsewhere, so that it becomes حفلت بابا نوبل (sic).

AA	سجرة عيد ميلاد المسيح
MA	شجرة بابا نوبل
TA	شجره نوال

• “Habiller mon cœur”, translated as ثبس قلي , is not easy to understand for any Arabic mother tongue reader, since it is a calque from French. We also found the same translation in the TA, but in that case it turns up to be more easily understood, since the concept of “habiller” (to dress something or someone) is contextualized with the expression بدلة العيد (the dress of the feast). In this case I believe that a sort of awkwardness in translation is acceptable, and may enrich Arabic language.

8. Conclusions

In the introduction to the translation of *Le petit Nicholas*, Caubet states: “Nous faisons ainsi le choix de l’authenticité, sans chercher à fabriquer une langue médiane maghrébine artificielle dans laquelle personne ne se reconnaîtrait”. (2013: 13). The AA translation of *Le petit prince* seems very accurate and coherent, in spite of some inconsistencies, and moreover brings in itself a big civilisation project: to build a language that welcomes a great number of linguistic variables, because of the big dimension of the country, to give voice and written space to an Algerian national identity, but purified from French and other foreign languages loans. My opinion is that closing the permeability of AA to other non Arabic influences is not a wise philosophy, because it adopts the same principles of exclusion and

¹⁶ The MA translation goes further, substituting the neutral salutation form “Bonjour” with the Islamic “as-salām ‘alaykum”. See Nicosia 2013.

discrimination that inspired the arabization process of Algeria. In any case, the two translators were able to prove that the so long time despised *darija* is a flexible language for a creative literature, not only oral/spoken, but also written. It never happened in the history of the Arab world that a language may be at the same time written and spoken (apart from religious and official circles). The AA can be launched to satisfy the need of a unified and unifying language, both written and spoken, in a country where it has always been an instrument of political power, to divide the Algerian people and make them slave of an imposed language and mentality.

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