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# Decolonizing the Church/Decolonizing Language: Postcolonial Christianity, Language Ideologies, and the Morality of Teaching Vernacular Arabic (Darija) in Algeria

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**ABSTRACT**

In the mid-20th century, as the global colonial order collapsed, language and education were two of the most affectively, politically, and economically challenging domains of decolonization efforts. *Parler Algérien* (Speak Algerian), an experimental method for the teaching and learning of Darija (Algerian vernacular Arabic), created by Catholic clergymen and women in the early 1970s, provides an illustration of an attempt to decolonize language learning in postcolonial Algeria. The Catholic creators of *Parler Algérien* assumed a stance of solidarity with the independent nation, an alignment that translated into the entextualization of a number of linguistic and non-linguistic features in the textbook. This ethnography of a *Darija* classroom examines the shifting language ideologies that mediate the text's interpretation in the 21st century. I argue that the interdiscursive residues of *Parler Algérien*'s postcolonial context of production shape its uptake in the 21st century classroom, but not in the ways that the authors intended.

**KEYWORDS**
Algeria; Christianity; decolonization; language ideologies; language textbooks; stance

The mid-20th century witnessed the crumbling of the global colonial order as country after country in Asia and Africa gained its independence. In the decades that followed, fierce debates and conflicts ensued over the nature and form of decolonization. In such efforts, perhaps no domains of social life were more emotionally, politically, and materially loaded than those of language and education (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997). During the colonial period, language was often a weapon of domination, mobilized for the purposes of reinforcing colonial hierarchies and power structures. Christian missionary linguists described and codified the world's vast linguistic diversity, categorizing languages into families, and rendering them legible for consumption in "colonial infrastructures that enabled their circulation between peripheries and European centers" (Errington, 2001, p. 20). This linguistic work aided in the mapping of colonial peoples into seemingly coherent religious and ethnic groupings, legitimizing otherwise arbitrary political divisions (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Some of the resulting texts—dictionaries, primers, grammars, and language manuals, to name a few—found their way into colonial schools, where local, indigenous idioms were sometimes taught as "foreign" languages, useful for the day-to-day administration of colonial subordination. However, in most cases, European languages were elevated above all others, promoted as the embodiment of civilization, higher learning, symbolic capital, and power. As the Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1994) wrote of his colonial education, "Language was the most important vehicle through which … power fascinated and held the soul prisoner. The bullet was the means of physical subjugation. Language was the means of spiritual subjugation" (p. 9).

Under these circumstances, the decolonization of language and education naturally became a priority for many newly independent nations. While some postcolonial countries maintained the colonial language as the national language, other decolonization efforts attempted to make non-European languages the medium of education and, more generally, of the public sphere. This proved immensely challenging, not least because

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many newly independent nations had not one, but several possible "native" languages to perform this role. In addition, some former subjects had appropriated the colonial language as their own, even using it to subvert the colonial order.

This article analyzes one such attempt at decolonizing language in postcolonial Algeria. It tracks the (dis) continuities between the production of a postcolonial language manual in the 1970s, which I call *Parler Algérien* (a pseudonym),[1] and its uptake in the 21st century classroom. *Parler Algérien* is an experimental method for the teaching and learning of Darija (Algerian vernacular Arabic) created by a cadre of Catholic clergymen and women (some of whom were also linguists and language teachers) and their native-speaking collaborators in the decade following the end of the Algerian War of Liberation (1954-1962). *Le méthode* (as instructors sometimes refer to *Parler Algérien*) was first created largely in response to a surge of interest in the learning of Darija in the immediate postcolonial era, when radically-minded Christian missionaries and secular *coopérants*, mostly European teachers, engineers, doctors, agriculturalists, and other professionals, arrived in Algeria to help the independent nation get on its feet. In an attempt to fully break with the Church's role in the colonial project and pursue a new "Christian vocation in Algeria" (Fontaine, 2015, p. 109), the Catholic authors of *Parler Algérien* aligned themselves in solidarity with the postcolonial state and society, a stance that shaped both the form and content of their pedagogical method. Not only were the characters of *Parler Algérien* modeled off of a vision of the "new Algerian" of the 1960s and 70s postcolonial and socialist era, but the authors' stance also informed the orthographic choices they made, the dialogic structure of the lessons, and the purging of French from the text. During ethnographic fieldwork in Algeria in 2016 and 2018, I found *Parler Algérien* still in use at the A. School (also a pseudonym), a Catholic language school and research center in a coastal city of Algeria. However, 21st century mostly foreign students have been socialized in a very different historical moment, where the teaching of Arabic has been entangled in discourses of national security, the "war on terror," and anti-immigrant Islamophobia in the West. In this context, I found that the stance of solidarity, so central to the production of *Parler Algérien* in the 1970s, was conspicuously absent from the 21st century classroom.

This article explores how and to what effect "moral or epistemological positions" (Jaffe, 2007, p. 56), or stances, get folded into the content and form of language-teaching materials. A speaker's stance "instructs interlocutors on the nature of the relationship the speaker wishes to project with respect to the form and content of his or her utterance" (p. 56). In multilingual contexts like Algeria, the speaking of one linguistic variety over another may both presuppose and entail certain stances, which, in turn, "may link speakers to particular types of selves, with all attendant beliefs, desires, and personal attributes" (Cavanaugh, 2012, pp. 74-75). Language varieties get linked to specific stances and types of people through the processes of *enregisterment*, "whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users" (Agha, 2005, p. 38). The production of language textbooks for classroom use involves a particular type of enregisterment, in which pedagogical, cultural, and (often implicitly) political considerations and compromises come together in the presentations of a language as a knowable object of study in the classroom. The stance of solidarity of *Parler Algérien*'s authors was embedded in a particular language ideology in which the speaking of Darija by Catholics, and more broadly by Europeans, became "part of the process of distinctively moral self-formation" (Keane, 2011, p. 167).

However, stance can become sedimented into a text. The divergent temporalities of a text's life cycle—its production may occur long before it is recontextualized in the classroom, for example—can complicate any straightforward indexical link between an entextualized stance and its interpretation. Certain political and moral stances (and their accompanied linguistic forms) may have been easily recognized as significant and meaningful at the time of a text's production. Yet when these sedimented stances are recontextualized in a different time and space, they may linger only as interdiscursive residues, i.e., traces of past contextualization cues that remain in a text, even when they no longer frame or guide its interpretation in the present, or at least not as initially intended. Interdiscursivity refers to "the indexical relationships between a stretch of discourse that is actually experienced in the here and now and some other discourse, or feature of discourse, to which the current discursive event indexically points" (Agha, 2005, p. 2). But by privileging continuities,

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contiguities, and linkages between two discourses, we tend to ignore the ruptures, silences, misinterpretations, and gaps that often occur when an older text is taken up in the present.

Attention to "knots and tears in the interdiscursive fabric" (Irvine, 2005, p. 72) sheds light onto the challenges of decolonizing language teaching in at least three ways. First, it foregrounds the Catholic Church's paradoxical position in the postcolonial world, in which the Church's continual presence in Algeria depended on its full break with the colonial past. How was this rupture achieved and what role did it play in the creation of *Parler Algérien*? Second, the gaps between *Parler Algérien*'s conditions of production and its 21st century uptake reminds us that political and moral representations and normative statements about the structures and functions of language in the world—or *language ideologies* (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994)—are always multiple and sometimes clash, even within the same person (Keane, 2011). In Algeria, the postcolonial Algerian nation-state and the decolonizing Catholic Church developed radically different visions of the role of language in emerging political and social forms. These contrasting language ideologies, I argue, led to telling compromises in the linguistic and non-linguistic features of *Parler Algérien*. Finally, while anthropology has long privileged cultural continuity as our basic unit of analysis, recent anthropological scholarship on Christianity has foregrounded "rupture" as a foundational concept in Christian narratives of conversion, repentance, forgiveness, and resurrection (Robbins, 2007). I suggest that this notion of discontinuity should extend to our understanding of language ideologies of "global Christianities," which scholars have argued share a "family resemblance," such as a "recurrent constellation of features, chief of which are a marked predilection for sincerity, interiority, intimacy, intentionality, and immediacy as an ethics of speech, and a privileging of the referential aspects of language" (Bialecki & Hoenes del Pinal, 2011, pp. 579-80). The conflicting language ideologies that came together in *Parler Algérien* provide an ethnographic example of how Christians live in often complex, heterogeneous communities of practice, made up of actors with diverse moral-political commitments and socio-economic interests in addition to their religious identities, beliefs, and practices. Research on language teaching in Christian institutions, therefore, should always be keenly aware of the work of cultural and political multiplicity and historical discontinuities in how Christians come to ideologically represent and understand language in the world.

## Ethnography at the A. School

In the summer of 2016 (and returning in the winter and spring of 2018), I began the first stages of my ongoing doctoral research on language and postcolonial transformation in Algeria. Like many foreign researchers in Algeria, I was proficient in Standard Arabic, but had had limited previous exposure to Darija, and, therefore, began my sojourn in Algeria at the A. School. On the first day of class in 2016, the instructor, Miriam, stated in French as she introduced herself to a new group of European and North American students, "Darija is learned on the street; it's not studied" *(On apprends Daridja dans la rue; on ne peut pas l'étudier à l'école)*. For some foreign students in her classroom, new to the Algerian linguistic context, Miriam's comment appeared odd considering the task at hand: We were, in fact, studying Darija, not on the street, but in the formal classroom. Continuing her introduction, Miriam added, "Darija is not a written language" (*Daridja n'est pas une langue écrite*). Yet minutes later, she was at the whiteboard, diagramming verbal conjugations using a phonetic script, based on Latin characters with simple diacritics to represent the sounds of Arabic not present in French, a system the A. School had created for its own purposes. I soon learned that these contradictions between what was said about Darija, on the one hand, and what was done with it, on the other, were a central feature of language teaching and learning at the A. School.

For novice language learners in the postcolonial and multilingual country of Algeria, one of the most challenging tasks is slowly coming to understand the contexts in which different language varieties overlap and mix, when they are kept separate, and the attendant language ideologies that mitigate these relationships. This challenge is only compounded by Algeria's historical debates and sometimes violent conflicts around its complex sociolinguistic soundscape. Darija is the everyday vernacular of the majority of Algerians, though Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the medium of education. Defined by its vast regional and ever-shifting generational variation, Darija (like all Arabic "dialects") reflects centuries of contact with other languages, including several Amazigh (Berber) varieties, Standard Arabic, and French. For many

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Algerians, French continues to be a highly valued language, not least because it remains the primary language of many intellectual and elite networks and contexts throughout the country. It was in this complex sociolinguistic situation that, during my fieldwork, I often heard Darija described as a chaotic, mish-mash of a language, a fusion of French words and Arabic grammatical forms. Some of these same Algerians would suggest to me that these qualities of their language are emblematic of Algerians themselves, as they struggle to achieve an elusive postcolonial national identity and unity. Often I registered surprise or even confusion on people's faces when I told them I was studying Darija, and some people would ask: "Why would you study Darija?" Or, "what do you mean, you study Darija?"

The A. School is one of the few formal educational institutions in which Darija is taught in Algeria. It is housed in an impressive gated complex, perched on top of a hill, overlooking the glistening Mediterranean Sea, couched between the city center and an upscale neighborhood. A part of the Roman Catholic Dioceses of Algeria, the school furnishes one of the best research libraries in the city, along with a residence for visiting scholars, students, and journalists, and spaces for cultural events and meetings. The language school is open to all, but mostly caters to foreign adults—though not exclusively—who are university researchers, Christian missionaries or volunteers, or workers at multinational companies, embassies, and other Christian churches. A small number of the students are children of Algerian emigrants, who have a variety of different backgrounds in the language. There are language courses throughout the year, but in the summer, they offer an intensive course in beginning and intermediate Darija.

The main body of this ethnography was conducted in the summer of 2016, when I participated in and observed the intermediate course, collecting detailed field notes, and conducting a number of informal interviews with teachers, former students, and two individuals affiliated with the production of *Parler Algérien*. During this time, there were twenty students spread across the introductory and intermediate levels. The students of both courses were Western Europeans and North Americans (with the exception of one Algerian-French woman who briefly joined the course, but left after a few sessions). In the intermediate class in which I studied and observed, three of the four students (including this author) were young scholars and professionals who had studied Standard Arabic in-depth in the past; the other was a French woman who was working at the center. The course was led by an Algerian instructor, Miriam, a Muslim Kabyle (Amazigh) woman in her mid-40s who grew up in Algiers and studied medical communication at university. Educated in Arabized schools, speaking Kabyle with her family and French with her colleagues at the A. School, and teaching Darija to foreigners, Miriam's linguistic practices can be seen as a typical representation of Algeria's complex linguistic ecology. In the winter and spring of 2018, I returned to Algeria, at which time, I systematically analyzed the A. School's teaching materials with two different interlocutors: (a) a local woman in her 50s with 20 years of experience teaching Darija to foreigners; and (b) a young Algerian in his late 20s who majored in Arabic linguistics at university. Their sometimes-contrasting interpretations of *Parler Algérien* signaled to me that the textbook was politically and ideologically saturated in particularly complex ways.

This research, at all stages of data collection, analysis and interpretation, was no doubt informed by my identity as a young, female American graduate student researcher and non-Muslim language learner, two categories embedded in broader structures of historical meanings in Algeria. European foreigners are, for the most part, seen as French-speakers in Algeria. This meant that, despite initiating conversations in Darija, most of my interlocutors would respond to me in French. Also important was my prior language training in MSA, often funded by the US Department of State with its post-9/11 "critical" language teaching policy. Yet, I had minimal experience with Algerian Arabic. Because of my linguistic background, I was sometimes spoken to in a register heavily inflected by Standard Arabic, when I was spoken to in Arabic at all. How my interlocutors perceived my religion also appeared to be an important aspect in this dynamic. For example, at the Central Library of Oran—the former neo-Moorish Catholic Cathedral, which was converted into a library in the 1980s—a security guard laughed at my attempt to pay for a library card and, turning to my husband, he stated: "She is a (Christian) foreigner, this place belongs to them" (*hiyya gouria, hadi nta'hum*). I had not opened my mouth, but the immediate assumption was that I was not "from here" and, therefore, could not speak Darija. But, perhaps more interestingly, I still had a right to the library as a space belonging to "my people." My race, (perceived) religion, and language were conflated into a single category

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of the "European/Christian" foreigner, a *gouria*. While I do not self-identify as a Christian, the local perception of my religion signaled to me early on in my fieldwork that the category of "Christian" was not exclusively linked to the colonial experience. There appeared to be a postcolonial space for Christians in Algeria as well.

## *Parler Algérien*: Conditions of production

Five months into my fieldwork in 2018, I began collecting a stack of colonial-era Darija textbooks. It started with my Darija tutor who brought me a number of books that she had salvaged from a Church library when it purged itself of old, unused materials. Slated for the dumpster, these books were browned with age and loosely bound, some being more than 100 years old. Prior to discovering these nearly-discarded texts, I had not known that Darija was a language taught during the colonial period. I later learned that, after independence, the new government prohibited these texts, no doubt because of their association with the colonial endeavor. Their very existence posed a threat to the state's linguistic vision of itself, whereas Standard Arabic was seen as a language of great literary, civilizational and religious tradition fitting for a nation-state, and Darija merely a bastardization of "proper" Arabic (Elinson, 2013; Gafaiti, 2002; Haeri, 2003). This reflected a common nationalist language ideology of continuity, "where standardized language is taken as the sign of what the nation holds in common and has inherited from its past, (and) language's variability must seem to signal a potentially perilous mutability" (Irvine, 2004, p. 99).

In one such colonial-era text, Auguste Mouliéras, a missionary, anthropologist, and professor of Arabic born in French Algeria in the mid 19$^{th}$ century, described France's *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) as noble and moral in character. In his introduction to the textbook *L'Arabe a L'Ecole Primaire (*E. Viala & E. Jacquard, 1903), he reminded primary-school students of their future role in guiding "our barbarous brothers" towards a "respect for property and the liberty of others, respect for science and, above all, for human life, and, finally, love for work."[2] Speaking Algerian Arabic was a central part of this task. Mouliéras wrote in French:

> In the light of this high mission that you will later fulfill, what better preparation could you have than to study the language that will permit you to penetrate the intimate thoughts of those who you would like to civilize? Through the Arabic language alone, difficult but useful, you will become, I answer you, the listened-to counselors, the sincere friends, the genuine directors and protectors of our unfortunate brothers of Islam.[3] (All translations are my own).

Despite the subscript on the book's front cover, which reads, "when we speak the same language, we are well prepared to understand one another,"[4] the condescension and allusion to violence in Mouliéras' commentary was self-evident. Underlining his vision of language teaching was also a salient modern Christian language ideology that served the colonial project: Language was seen as a transparent reflection of and a means to directly access the interiority of the dominated *other* (Errington, 2001), whom Mouliéras dubbed "our unfortunate brothers of Islam."

As a settler colony with nearly a million *pieds noirs* (literally meaning "black feet," a category of mostly Christian, European settlers and "naturalized" North African Jews), Algeria was ideologically constructed as an integral and inalienable part of France until it won its independence in 1962. During the 132 years of French rule, the Catholic Church played a central role in both the administration and rationalization of colonialism. Spreading the Catholic religion and the French language, with its perceived sophistication, clarity, precision and beauty, was a central justification of the *mission civilisatrice*. Yet for future bureaucrats, army officials, and functionaries of the colonial state, Algerian Arabic was important for communicating with *les indigènes* ("the natives"). For this purpose, colonial linguists produced dozens of manuals for teaching Darija in colonial schools and other institutions of learning. In one extreme example, a military manual from 1830 included the Darija-French translation of: "I will cut off your head if you behave badly, if you betray us, if you try to escape" (Vincent cited in Larzul, 2013, p. 60).[5] Other manuals obscured the violence of the colonial project, emphasizing what the authors saw as the morality of their mission. In the same 1903 textbook cited above, Professor Mouliéras enthusiastically encouraged students to study "the language, customs and institutions of the Arabs to be able to make them quickly understand that in Europe

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there is a glorious Republic … which only forms but one big family, the FRENCH FAMILY OF THE GREATER AFRICAN FRANCE" (original emphasis).[6]

Some of the authors of these textbooks, as part of missionary, colonial and orientalist linguistics projects, represented spoken Arabic (i.e., Darija) as having strayed from a more pure past, which served as evidence of how far Arabic speakers had supposedly moved from civilization. For instance, Joseph Desparmet, the author of numerous texts on Algerian Arabic and oral literature, in his book *Enseignement de L'Arabe Dialectal d'Après la Méthode Directe*, explained his decision to include short vowel diacritics in his text because of the significant differences between what he calls *l'arabe régulier* (formal Arabic) and *les dialectes maghrébins*. He wrote: "*Les indigènes* are still far from the time when as a people they reflected on their language and proceeded scientifically in this line of thought" (1907, p. viii). This perception of Darija speakers as lacking the self-reflective practices of modern, scientific linguistics was, for these authors, part and parcel of the language ideologies that buttressed France's civilizing mission. As these colonial texts show, during the colonial period (1830-1962), the teaching of Algerian Arabic was inseparable from the project of domination.

This political and ideological terrain began to dramatically shift during and after the War of Liberation (1954-1962). The mid-20th century proved to be a pivotal moment of theological, moral, and political crisis for the Catholic Church in this changing world. At the highest level, the Vatican watched the unfolding war in Algeria as an important test case for the future of Catholic missions in the postcolonial world (Fontaine, 2015). During the war, a small part of Algeria's Catholic clergy and parishioners "realized that whatever moral authority they had left depended upon distancing themselves from the colonial power and demonstrating solidarity with the Algerians" (Fontaine, 2011, p. 3). While the majority of Algeria's Catholics supported the status quo of *l'Algérie française*, a smaller number of Catholics assisted or fought alongside the Algerians and some were even imprisoned and tortured for their support of the anti-colonial movement. The end of the war resulted in a paradigm shift for Catholics in Algeria. Whereas only between 20-30% of the nearly one million settlers remained in Algeria in the months following independence in 1962, the vast majority of Catholic and Jewish *pieds noirs* fled the country (Fontaine, 2015). Among those who remained were thousands of Catholics (and others who arrived in Algeria soon after independence) who shared in the nation's postcolonial vision, and saw this as a moment to "decolonize the Church" (ibid). In general, the decolonized Church sought to do "God's work," not by actively trying to convert Muslims or exclusively serving European Catholics in Algeria, but instead by broadening its charity work, engaging in dialogue with Muslims, and supporting the newly independent nation. Language, in the broadest sense of the word, played a role in this ideological shift, in which the new "Christian vocation" in Algeria was:

> The announcement of the gospel, which could only be undertaken after a much more profound understanding of both Islam and Christianity, and in a "new language" that could be communicated through lifestyles, ways of thinking, intellectual frameworks and dialogue; service to others, which must necessarily be selfless and not serve one's own interests, and not discriminate towards anyone regardless of their political or social position; and participation in building the state. (Fontaine, 2015, p. 109-10)

The "new language" of the Catholic Church and its stance of solidarity with the independent nation would later become a model for Vatican II reforms and even liberation theology as it developed elsewhere in the world. It was also the ideological terrain upon which *Parler Algérien* was created. Heeding this call to speak to "the people" in their own tongue, several hundred secular *coopérants* and Catholic missionaries attended Darija language courses at what would become the A. School in the decades following independence. The linking of vernacular Arabic with the Church's postcolonial work signaled a radical break with pre-Vatican II language ideologies in which Latin was privileged as the sacred tongue.

However, at the same time, the newly independent Algerian state opted for *Arabization*, embracing Standard Arabic as the official language of the country in alignment with the goals of pan-Arabism, and, as a result, sidelining Darija. The new constitution declared Islam to be the state religion (article 2) and Arabic to be the national language (article 3). Schooling was to be conducted exclusively in Standard Arabic, a language that few Algerians spoke in their day-to-day lives (Benrabah, 2007). In any case, the Algerian government did not object to *Parler Algérien* and the teaching of Darija at the A. School, as it focused its

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pedagogical efforts on foreigners. However, the government did resist an attempt by one of the same postcolonial missionary linguists (a nun of the White Sisters order) to publish *Le petit prince* in Algerian Arabic for school age children. The Catholic Church's teaching of Darija to foreigners, on the one hand, and the government's attempt to ban Darija from Algerian schools, on the other, foregrounds how language ideologies always exist in a complex moral ecology rife with contradictions and conflicts (Schieffelin & Woolard, 1994). As a linguist who has worked closely with the A. School stated to me in an interview, *Parler Algérien* reflects a "great compromise" between these competing visions of language in Algerian society. Despite these differences, the authors of *Parler Algérien* erred on the side of solidarity with the goals of the independent nation, an alignment that shaped both the form and content of the resulting text.

*Parler Algérien* is simply structured. Each lesson occupies two adjoining pages and consists of a short dialogue transcribed into two different scripts: First, in the Arabic script on the right-hand page, and second, on the adjoining, left-hand page, in a transliterated Latin-based script. In the appendix, one finds short lists of new vocabulary words, grammatical forms, and conjugation grids that accompany each lesson. In the introductory materials, the authors stated that their goal was to guide students to "speak Arabic by thinking in Arabic" *(on veut faire parler l'arabe en pensant en arabe*). This meant, as one of the authors explained to me in an interview, that Darija should be the only medium of instruction, avoiding French as an "intermediary" in the language learning process. In fact, throughout the text, there are no French translations of dialogues, vocabulary lists or grammar; only the introduction to the instructors' and students' text is in French, whereas the rest is in Darija, either in the Arabic or Latin-based scripts. At the time of its production, this textual displacement of French was certainly not a neutral choice; instead it fit into the broader postcolonial attempt to reorder linguistic hierarchies of Algeria, not unlike the government's attempt at *Arabization*. Considering this radical context of production, one must ask: How do students and instructors in the 21st century classroom grapple with, negotiate, or ignore traces of the authors' postcolonial stance of solidarity? In what ways do the authors' linguistic and non-linguistic choices—rooted in the radical re-envisioning of postcolonial society—shape how language is approached as an object of study in the 21st century classroom?

## The "authentic language" of the "Algerian people"

*Parler Algérien*'s historical conditions of production framed how Darija speakers were represented in the text. The dialogues implicitly exhibit the radical idealism, optimism and challenges of the immediate post-colonial era. In colonial Darija textbooks, Algerians were commonly referred to as *les Arabes, les indigènes*, or *les Français musulmans*. They were not referred to as *les Algériens*, because the term implied ceding territorial rights to what the French colonists claimed to be *l'Algérie française*. In contrast, the characters of *Parler Algérien* represent the "new" Algerians of Boumédiène-era socialism (1965-1976), embodying the optimism and promises of the era. In fact, there are no "foreign" characters in the text at all, just sovereign Algerians in their recently independent nation.

The story told in *Parler Algérien* begins with Yusef, an Algerian emigrant, who returns to Algeria after six years abroad, surprised at and pleased by the progress his country has made in his absence. We then encounter Yusef's brother Kamal (the main character of the story), an elementary school teacher, and Kamal's wife, Fadila, who works at a hospital. Fadila, a mother of four children (Nabil, Latifa, Zineb, and Mubarak), represents the aspirations for revolutionary women in the era, who both work and raise a family in relative comfort. Kamal's family is originally from Sétif, an interior city about 270 km from the capital city, Algiers. Their residence in Algiers recalls the massive rural-to-urban migration of this period. Despite their origin outside the capital, Kamal and his family speak Darija characteristic of the 1970s Algiers' Casbah, a valued dialect and accent because of its origin in the country's capital city as well as its prestige as the center of anti-colonial resistance.

The dialogue in Figure 1—"Look at how our country is improving" (*cu:f ki bla:dna ra:hi tetqeddem*)—highlights how the authors' stance of solidarity entered into the textbook. Algeria is claimed as "our country" (bla:dna), i.e., Algeria for Algerians. The dialogue begins with Yusef, who approaches two unnamed Algerians at a café, who invite him for a coffee. One of the men asks Yusef if he has seen how much their

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country has improved since he has been away. Yusef responds that he's seen the new market and heard about the new laws against littering. The men then discuss and joke about the challenges that lay ahead for the country, as the situation with the dry well illustrates, but nevertheless they exude optimism for the future.

During my fieldwork, the re-enactment of this particular dialogue in Miriam's 21st century classroom proceeded in the same way that all the lessons did. Miriam first played an audio-recording of the dialogue in Darija, while from a projector, a video of still, hand-sketched images displayed pictures of a café, market, trash basket, water tower, which accompanied the voices of Algerian actors. After replaying the video, Miriam began her usual exegesis of the text exclusively in Darija, combing through each line, pointing to the images as she spoke. Miriam provided numerous examples of the lesson's new vocabulary in other contexts. Next, we diagrammed verbal conjugations from the dialogue. After working with this single dialogue for the entirety of the six-hour session, we parted ways.

Because of the apolitical manner in which we engaged with "Look at how our country is improving," I left the classroom unaware of the rich historical meaning embedded in this text. In fact, *Parler Algérien*'s post-colonial context of production was entirely ignored throughout the course. It was only after my fieldwork, upon researching the Catholic Church in postcolonial Algeria and talking with historians familiar with *le méthode*, that I acquired the requisite historical knowledge to be able to make the indexical links between

| **Look at how our country is improving** | **cu:f ki bla:dna ṛa:hi tetqeddem** | **شُفت كِبلادنا راهي تتقدم** |
|---|---|---|
| Yusef: Hey good people, why are you happy? | Yu:sef ya ğma:ɛet elxi:ṛ, wa:c bikum ferḥa:ni:n? | يوسف يا جماعة الخير، واش بكم فرحانين؟ |
| Guy: Come and have a coffee with us | fla:n eṛwa:ḥ, tecṛeb mɛa:na qehwa | فلان ارواح تشرب معنا قهوة |
| Man: Look at how our country is improving. | ṛa:ğel cu:f ki bla:dna ṛa:hi tetqeddem | رجل شُف كِبلادنا راهي تتقدّم |
| Y: Yes, I saw the market that was built! | Y: nɛam, ṛa:ni ceft essu:q kifa:c bna:weh! | يو. نعم، راني شفت السوق كيفاش بنّوه |
| Guy: They also passed a new law concerning trash! | fl: xerrğu:nna ta:ni qa:nu:n ɛl ezzbel! | ف. خرّجوا لنا ثاني قانون على الزبل |
| Y: Some people are used to littering everywhere! | Y: ka:ye:n na:s elli mwa:lfi:n ilu:ḥu zzbel beṛṛa! | يو. كاين ناس الي موالفين يلوحوا الزبل برّا |
| Guy: From now on, it is forbidden! | fl: menna w ğa:yy memnu:ɛ! | ف. منّا و جاي ممنوع |
| Man: And we discussed the water because the faucets went dry! | ṛ: w etca:weṛna ɛl elma! ɛla xa:ṭeṛ lɛi:n necfet! | رجل. و تشاورنا على الما على خاطر العين نشفت |
| Y: Were you really lacking water this summer? | Y: kuntu mexṣu:ṣi:n fi ha:d eṣṣi:f? | يو. كُنتو مخصوصين في هذا الصيف؟ |
| Man: It was such a bad situation, we nearly died! | ṛ: wa:ḥed elḥa:la! qṛi:b metna! | رجل واحد الحالة قريب متنا |
| Y: And the local government, what did they do for you? | Y: w elbaladiyya wa:c da:ret lkum? | يو. و البلدية واش دارت لكم؟ |
| Guy: They helped us build a water tower! | fl: ɛa:wnetna ba:c nebnu xezna nta:ɛ elma! | ف. عاونتنا باش نبنوا خزنة متاع الما |
| Man: When we have water, I'll pay for your coffee!!! | ṛ: ki iğï lma, nxelleṣ lek qehwa!!! | رجل كِيجي الما نخلّص لك قهوة. |

**Figure 1.** A lesson from *Parler Algérien*, entitled "Look at how our country is improving."

*Note*: I added the left column in English, but in the original version, there were no translations provided, either in English or in French.

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the dialogue's immediate context and its broader socio-political meanings. Why were these traces of past indexical meanings entirely ignored in the 21st century classroom?

It might be justifiably argued that Miriam's omission was necessary, reflecting the seemingly impassable gulf between the idealism of the postcolonial era and the disillusionment of 21st century Algeria. Especially since the 1990s civil war that devastated the country, the optimism of the dialogue appears tragically, even comically (in the darkest of ways) out of touch with Algeria today. Even with its vast oil wealth, I heard throughout my fieldwork a consistent pessimism for the state of affairs in Algeria. However, even this pessimism remained unaddressed in the classroom. Such complex discussions may have appeared to be beyond the scope of the task at hand, that is, learning Darija. In any case, the textbook authors' 1970s stance of solidarity and optimism for a better future was but an interdiscursive residue of a bygone era in the 21st century classroom, no longer a contextualization cue that shapes the text's interpretation in the classroom. These types of ruptures between past and present interpretations of the text appeared to be a central feature of language learning at the A. School. In fact, attending to how a textbook's content and form are ignored in the classroom may be as telling as how they are actively addressed and discussed, a point to which I turn in the next section.

## Writing Darija using standard conventions

For the creators of *Parler Algérien*, the choice to inscribe Darija using the conventions of Standard Arabic was deliberate. Their stated goal in the text's introduction was to "respect as much as possible the traditional orthography of Standard Arabic" (*on respectera le plus possible l'orthographe traditionnelle de l'arabe littéral*) while also acknowledging the difficulty of adapting oral language into a writing system.

Figure 2 highlights some of these challenges. As one of only two lessons that diverge from the dialogue structure, the fable tells the story of *Gha*, a famous folk-character who plays the role of a cunning man, who is often treated as if he were stupid. In this particular fable, *Gha* was invited to the Sultan's palace to celebrate his son's circumcision. Upon arriving, *Gha* realized that the guards had put him in a room with all the other poor people. He then had an idea. Leaving the party, he bought a new suit and cleaned himself up and upon re-entering the party, the guards put him with the rich people. As *Gha* ate the exquisite meal reserved only for the rich, he began to stuff food down his sleeves, saying, "Eat, my sleeves, eat." When asked what he was doing, he stated, "When I came here dirty, you gave me no importance! And when I changed and came well-dressed, you received me well." The story concludes with the moral that prestige is not embedded in people *per se*, but in how they appear. While the referential content of the fable indexes a certain egalitarian sensibility of the socialist moment of its production, certain textual features also reflect such a stance of solidarity.

In this fable, *Parler Algérien* moves fluidly between the morpho-syntax and lexical variants of Standard Arabic and Darija, reflecting a "middle Arabic." In the below text, I have bolded four cases in which the syntax of Standard Arabic is used, while I have left other examples of Darija syntax unmarked. In the first stanza of figure 2, for example, *Gha ka:n* (*Gha* was) is written in the syntax of Darija. In the next line, however, we find *ra:h Gha* (*Gha* went), reflecting the verb-subject syntax of Standard Arabic. The underlined text represents phonetic differences between what is written in the Arabic and Latin-based phonetic scripts. For example, in the first line of the fable—*yu:m mel l'ayya:m*/**يوم من الأيام** (once upon a time)—contains one such phonological difference. In Standard Arabic, this phrase would be pronounced "(fi:) yu:min men al-ayya:m" (**فِي يَوْمِ مِنْ الأَيَام**). In Darija, speakers omit the final *kasra* ("in") case marking suffix in "yu:min" (**يَوْمْ**), drop the final ن (*nuun*) in the preposition "men" (**مِنْ**), and fuse it with the initial "a" sound in "al-ayya:m" to make "yu:m mel l'ayya:m." Yet, in the Arabic script, this difference in pronunciation is not marked (it only lack the initial "*fi:*/**فِي**").

Another example of differences between the Arabic and Latin-based phonetic script is how vowel sounds are represented. For instance, the first syllable of Darija words is often pronounced with a glottal stop (*sukuun*), whereas in Standard Arabic it would contain a vowel sound. While the Latin-based phonetic text of this fable represents this tendency, the Arabic version does not mark this glottal stop at all. In fact, throughout *Parler Algérien*, the Arabic script includes very few of the diacritic vowel markers (known as

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Help me enter, my sleeves.** | **dexxlu:ni ya kma:ymi** | **دخّلوني يا كمايمي** |
| Once upon a time, Ğḥa was<br>invited to the Sultan's for his son's<br>circumcision. | yu:m mel l'ayya:m  Ğḥa ka:n<br>meɛṛu:ḍ ɛend eṣṣulṭa:n elli iṭehheṛ<br>wli:du | **يوم من الأيّام** ,حجا كان<br>معروض عند السُلطان الّي يطهّر<br>وليده |
| Ğḥa went in disheveled and dirty<br>clothes. | ṛ**a:**ḥ Ğḥ**a** fi lebsa mqeṭṭɛa u<br>mwessxa . | **راح جحا** في لبسة مقطّعة و<br>موسّخة |
| When he arrived at the door, the<br>guardian put him with the poor<br>people like him | ki wṣel ɛend elba:b, elɛessa:s da:ru<br>mɛa nna:s lfuqaṛa lli metlu | كوصل عند الباب , العسّاس داره<br>مع الناس الفقرا الّي مثله |
| And the people who were clean and<br>well-dressed, i.e. the rich,<br>were put into a different room ! | w enna:s elli nqeyyi:n u la:bsi:n<br>mli:ḥ, yeɛni mreffhi:n ,<br>da:rhum fi bi:t waḥedhum ! | و الناس الّي نقيّين و لابسين<br>مليح , يعني مرفّهين<br>دارهم في بيت وحدهم |
| Ğḥa got upset and left.... | **tɣeccec** Ğḥ**a** u xreğ … | **تغشّش جحا** و خرج |
| He bought new clothes and went to<br>the hairdresser to cut his hair.<br>He visited the Turkish bath to bathe,<br>he became handsome and returned<br>to the Sultan's house. | cra ḥwa:yeğ jded u mca ɛend<br>elḥeffa:f ḥeffef<br>ğa:z lelḥemma:m tḥemmem, tḥef<br>ru:ḥu w erğeɛ lda:ṛ eṣṣulṭa:n . | شرى حوايج جدد و مشى عند<br>الحفاف حفّف<br>جاز للحمّام تحمّم , تحف روحه و<br>رجع لدار السّلطان |
| When the guardian saw (Ğḥa), he<br>welcome him and this time he put<br>him with the rich people. | ki ca:fu lɛessa:s fṛeḥ bi:h u ha:d<br>elxeṭṛa da:ru mɛa lmreffhi:n | كشافه العسّاس فرح به و هذا الخطرة<br>داره مع المرفهّين |
| After awhile they brought them<br>couscous with meat and they started<br>eating (lit: In the name of God) ! | beɛd **qli:l** ğa:bu: lhum eṭṭɛa:m<br>bellḥem u bda:w besm ella:h ! | بعد **قليل** جابوا لهم الطعام باللحم و<br>بداوا بسم الله |
| But Ğḥa took the couscous and<br>stuffed it into his sleeves.<br>And he said: Eat, my sleeves, eat ! | wala:kin Ğḥa yerfed elkseksu w<br>idi:ru f elkma:yem dya:lu<br>w iqu:l : ku:lu ya kma:ymi, ku:lu ! | ولاكن جحا يرفد الكسكسو ويديره في<br>الكمايم ديا له<br>و يقول : كولوا يا كمايمي كولوا |
| And he also put in his tarbush (fez)<br>and said: Eat, my tarbush, eat! | w idi:r ta:ni fi ṭeṛbu:ctu w iqu:l :<br>ku:li ya ṭeṛbu:cti ku:li ! | : ويدير ثاني في طربشوته ويقول<br>كولي يا طربشوتي كولي |
| The guardians noticed him and said<br>to him: what are you doing, Ğḥa? | **ntebhu:lu lɛessa:si:n** u qa:lu lu :<br>wa:c ṛa:k twa:si ya Ğḥa ? | **انتبهوا له العسّاسين** وقالوا له:<br>واش راك تواسي يا جحا ؟ |
| He answered them: when I came<br>here dirty, you gave me no<br>importance !<br>And when I changed and came<br>well-dressed, you received me well.<br>Moral of the story: Food wasn't for<br>me, it was for my clothes. | ğa:webhum : ki ği:t kum mwessex<br>ma dertu li:c qi:ma !<br><br>u ki beddelt w elbest mli:ḥ fṛeḥtu<br>**biyya** !<br>meɛna:ha : lma:kla ma hi:c **liyya** ,<br>ṛa:hi leḥwa:yği! | وجاوبهم : كجيتكم موسّخ<br>ما درتوا لي شى قيمة ,<br><br>كِبدلت و لبست مليح فرحتوا **بيّ**<br><br>معناها : الماكلة ما هي شى **ليّ** , راهي<br>لحوايجي |

Figure 2. The fable: "Help me enter, my sleeves."

Note on transcription: Bolded words and phrases represent either a morpho-syntactic or lexical variant of Standard Arabic, while underlined words and phrases have been written differently in the Arabic versus the Latin-based phonetic script.

"short vowels," and represented by *sukuun, fatHa, Dhamma*, or *kasra*). While this omission is common in everyday writing in Arabic, these "short vowels" are often included in pedagogical materials for young children learning how to read as well as in the Qur'an itself. In contexts in which being able to orally

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pronounce the words correctly are emphasized, these diacritics ("short vowels") are included, indeed they are necessary. Their omission, hence, in *Parler Algérien* indexes that the Arabic text may not be intended to aid in pronunciation. If the Latin-based phonetic script contains all requisite vowel sounds and the Arabic-script text does not, why is the Arabic script there at all?

An answer to this question may be linked to how the Arabic script was engaged with in the 21st century classroom, that is, very rarely. Miriam almost exclusively wrote Darija on the whiteboard using the Latin-based phonetic script, which implicitly encouraged students to ignore the Arabic-script text altogether. Even students with Standard Arabic backgrounds struggled to pronounce the language written in the Arabic script because it contained no "short vowels." This neglect of the Arabic script was only reinforced by Miriam's concentration on "proper" pronunciation over communicative content. Miriam would spend considerable time modeling the sounds of Darija for students, often exaggerating their pronunciation to emphasize differences between Darija and Standard Arabic. A significant portion of class was devoted to the repetitions of minimal pairs, new vocabulary words, or sometimes entire phrases directly from the dialogues. Seeing as three of the four students had backgrounds in Standard Arabic, Miriam would often correct phonological "errors" in student's speech, even when these "errors" were, in fact, bivalent terms shared between Darija and Standard Arabic. The performance of dialogues, therefore, took the form of a classroom read-aloud, which is always an ideological exercise. By providing students with the "correct" variant, Miriam made implicit commentary on the relationship between Standard Arabic and Darija, i.e., that signs of interference from Standard Arabic in Darija were inauthentic.

Miriam's stark division between Standard Arabic and Darija does not appear to reflect the intentions of the authors of *Parler Algérien* in placing the Arabic script at the center and removing French from the text. The authors' choice to render the Arabic script as close as possible to Standard Arabic and omit "short vowels" aligned with the nationalist language ideology of Arabization, which privileged Standard Arabic above all other linguistic varieties, even ironically, in the teaching of Darija. In the 1970s, the mere presence of the Arabic script (alongside the removal of French) in the text may have been a powerful indexical sign of the author's commitment to postcolonial goals. But in the 21st century classroom, the "illegibility" of the Arabic-script text for the practical pedagogical purposes of the classroom, in turn, implicitly enregistered Darija as an oral language, foreclosing on the acquisition of literacy in Darija via the Arabic script. The Arabic script, as a result, remained more symbolic than pragmatic in function, an interdiscursive residue of the authors' stance of solidarity with the independent state. This residue shaped 21st century classroom practice in that it encouraged Miriam and her students to largely ignore the Arabic-script altogether.

## Purging French, re-inscribing French

On a hot and humid day at the beginning of July 2016, Miriam began class with the dialogue entitled: "My cousin Murad fasted today." It was one of the last days of Ramadan before the Eid al-Fitr holiday. Miriam had been fasting for the whole month, while simultaneously teaching the intensive course from 9 am to 3 pm, five days a week. The small conference room in which the course took place had no air-conditioning or fan, so the only air that came into the room was from a French door facing the garden. Miriam seemed a bit tired, but otherwise unfazed by the heat or her fasting. For her students who were guzzling water, her fasting seemed particularly difficult, especially since a spread of tea, coffee and cookies were awaiting us in the courtyard for our upcoming break.

In the dialogue, "My cousin Murad fasted today," Kamal and Fadila's young son, Salim, is getting anxious to join the grown-ups in Ramadan's ritual fasting. He wants his mother to wake him up for the last meal just before sunrise. Fadila agrees to wake him up, but tells Salim that he is not going to fast this year even if his older cousin Murad is fasting. Kamal explains that little children only fast one day of the month. Such dialogues fuse linguistic and cultural goals—introducing a number of new lexical items while also instructing students on the rituals of Ramadan in Algeria.

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In the middle of this particular lesson, Miriam went off script. Lecturing the students in French, she began pacing back and forth in front of the class, explaining to us that Ramadan is essentially a health practice, serving to cleanse the body of toxins. She cited recent research as evidence of her hypothesis. She added basic information on Algeria's rituals and customs, such as when fasting begins and ends, how Algerians break their fast, and what children do during the month-long holiday. During her detailed, 20-minute long explanation, she positioned Ramadan as a logical, modern and scientific practice. In contrast to the rote repetitions of the dialogues, which focused mostly on correctly pronouncing the pre-formed dialogues in Darija, Miriam's off-script lecture was conducted exclusively in French. The use of French here is not secondary, but instead it appeared to signal that for Miriam the communicative content of her utterance was its most important function.

Like most of her metapragmatic commentaries in the classroom, from explanations of grammar and basic Algerian history to what she considered to be the proper contexts of Darija use, Miriam uttered them almost always in French, with little code-mixing or switching. The contrast between the recitation of the dialogue, "My cousin Murad fasted today" (entirely in Darija) and Miriam's metapragmatic commentary (entirely in French) points to the complex interplay of the structure of the pedagogical materials, on the one hand, and the on-going stance-taking in the classroom, on the other. Whereas Darija use in *Parler Algérien* was almost exclusively linked to familial, familiar, and everyday contexts, French became linked to "higher-level" discourses. This separation of French and Darija on the part of Miriam provides an example of how the interdiscursive residue of the authors' stance of solidarity nevertheless shape classroom language practice, just not necessarily in the ways that the authors intended. With the goals of guiding students to "speak Arabic by thinking in Arabic," *Parler Algérien* effectively strips Darija of any French influence, purifying it from the colonial language. This did not, however, keep French out of the classroom, instead it enregistered French as distinct from Darija, and indeed, as a higher-status linguistic variety whose position in the domain of education went unquestioned, while the teaching and learning of Darija still, even in the Darija classroom, needed to be justified. This serves as another example of the discontinuities between the textbook authors' extextualized stance and how it was interpreted in the classroom.

## Discussion and conclusions

Language textbooks are by nature amalgamations of complex and sometimes contradictory metapragmatic commentaries, "a wide range of reflexive social practices of language use" (Inoue, 2006, p. 18). While any given language is characterized by potentially infinite variation, authors of language textbooks must make a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic decisions regarding how to represent language as an object of study. During the colonial era, these linguistic decisions often doubled as justifications for political divisions, socio-economic domination, and hierarchies. In postcolonial contexts, as this article aimed to document, textbook authors' social-political interests and moral stances vis-à-vis decolonization efforts shaped how language was represented in pedagogical materials. Through the lens of the postcolonial Darija manual, *Parler Algérien*, I aimed to explore how "moral or epistemological positions" (Jaffe, 2007, p. 56), or stances, not only shape the interpretation of discourse in face-to-face classroom instruction, but also how stances can get entextualized (and sedimented) into the content and form of textbooks with various effects. This question is of particular concern in the teaching of undervalued and sometimes stigmatized "dialects," like Darija, which can engender moral dilemmas for all actors involved, including textbook authors, instructors and students. Particularly in contexts of contested multilingualism, orthographic choices—decisions regarding how to render an "oral language" into writing—are never neutral, and therefore, are compelling sites for investigating competing nationalist discourses and identity politics (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1994). The same is true for the cultural content that textbooks propose as "authentic." The story of Kamal and his family in *Parler Algérien*, for instance, both presupposed and entailed an indexical link between the 1970s idealism of the postcolonial era and the speaking of Darija. However, I found during my fieldwork that such optimism

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for the country's progress no longer rang true for 21st century students and instructors, and indeed, the story fell flat in the classroom.

Such "storytelling" (and its reception in the here-and-now of language teaching) is a relatively common feature of language-teaching materials. Other Arabic language textbooks, most notably the widely used *Al-Kitaab fii Ta'allum al-'Arabiyya* (*Al-Kitaab* for short, Brustad, Al-Batal & Al-Tunisi, 2011), has also incorporated a common story line across lessons, which, in this case, indexes the textbook's intended audience: Students getting ready for careers in diplomacy or "national security" (for example, one of the first vocabulary words presented in *Al-Kitaab* is "United Nations," long before basic words such as "to sleep" are introduced). What I intend to suggest through this brief comparison is that language textbooks are ideological loaded artifacts, which scholars of language education should not take for granted as transparent representations of language; instead, textbooks are embedded in (though implicitly so) forms of hegemonic discourses as well as being potential springboards for critical reflection and social action.

In conclusion, through an analysis of the postcolonial conditions of production and 21st century uptake of *Parler Algérien*, this article suggests the need for a more variegated understanding of "Christian language ideologies" as existing within complex, multifarious, and sometimes discontinuous moral, political and socio-economic ecologies. The case of the A. School pushes scholars to reflect upon the diverse interests and commitments of Christians and their institutions—such as involvement in radical left-wing politics and decolonization efforts—that may lead them to theological and political compromises and concessions, shaping and potentially transforming how Christians understand the role of language in their social worlds. This attention to the multiplicity of interests and commitments of Christians as actors in the world may help to situate research on language learning in religious institutions within broader socio-economic, historical and political concerns and contexts (Han, 2018). Moreover, these concerns and contexts should not only look for potentially universal or generalizable features of "global Christian" language ideologies, but we must also consider the potential constitutive roles of ruptures, breaks, and gaps at the intersection between religion, society and language.

## Notes

1. The school, participants, and the name of the textbook are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of all participants.
2. «nos frères barbares … le respect de la propriété et de la liberté d'autrui, le respect de la science et surtout de la vie humaine, et enfin l'amour du travail. »
3. « Mais en vue de la haute mission que vous remplirez plus tard, quelle meilleure préparation pouvez-vous avoir que l'étude d'un idiome qui vous permettra de pénétrer dans les pensées intimes de ceux que vous voudrez civiliser? Par la seule langue arabe, si difficile mais si utile, vous deviendrez, je vous en réponds, les conseillers écoutés, les amis sincères, les véritables directeurs et protecteurs de nos malheureux frères de l'Islam chez lesquels se cachent des trésors d'endurance, de courage et de dévoûment dont un jour la France pourra bénéficier si vous savez accomplir dignement le rôle important qu'elle attend de votre reconnaissance »
4. « Quand on parle la même langue, one est bien près de s'entendre »
5. In *Vocabulaire français-arabe, suivi de dialogues à l'usage de l'armée d'expédition d'Afrique*: « Je vous ferai couper la tête si vous vous conduisez mal, si vous nous trahissez, si vous cherchez à nous échapper» or in Arabic « Ida ma touesselnach melihh aou taghder ouilla tehreb nektaā raçak »
6. « Etudiez, chers enfants, étudiez le langage, les mœurs et les institutions des Arabes pour être à même de leur faire comprendre bientôt qu'il y a en Europe une glorieuse République qui …ne forment plus qu'une seule et grande famille, la FAMILLE FRANÇAISE DE LA PLUS GRANDE FRANCE AFRICAINE. »

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