Towards a Translatlantic Ethnotext : algerian Kabyle; Moroccan Rifian and Maghrebi; and US Choctaw and Canadian Mi'kmaq in Autobiographical Writings from North Africa and North America

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Towards a Translatlantic Ethnotext: Algerian Kabyle; Moroccan Rifian and Maghrebi; and US Choctaw and Canadian Mi'kmaq in Autobiographical Writings from North Africa and North America

Présentée et soutenue publiquement par

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FOR THE RADIANT SMILE OF MY GRANDMOTHER

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to all activists struggling for the recognition of their cultural identity, those who fight against erasure, living or dead.

I also dedicate this work to my family, namely Yaya and Da Yusuf.

My special gratitude goes to Nanna, who used to advise me during my high school years: "To learn French start reading Mouloud Feraoun and Mouloud Mammeri; they write in Kabyle-French." I hope after writing this dissertation, I proved to you that I have listened to your advice, Nanna.

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Introduction

Post(-)colonial literature is one of the most studied literatures of the last two centuries worldwide. The present dissertation adopts Chantal Zabus's (2015,1) inclusive understanding of the term postcolonial as "moved from a hyphenated to[a] graphically whole status, and from a periodizing term to a textual philosophy, [which] remains both a way of reading and a critical method anticipating a future beyond colonialism in all its forms." That is to say, this study privileges uses of the term beyond "the problematic prefix 'post,' [and] the equally problematic hyphen" (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 171) to encompass the phenomenon in its various historical manifestations, including both the European colonial imperialism of the fifteenth to the nineteenth century and its predecessor, the Arabo-Islamic conquests that go back to the seventh century.

Postcoloniality has been tackled from several standpoints, ranging from literary to psychological to philosophical studies and approaches. Though the term "postcolonial studies" may seem coterminous with theoretical developments such as psychoanalysis (Fanon 1961, Memmi 1957), orientalism (Said 1978, 1993), hybridity (Bhabha 1994), and subalternity (Spivak 1985, 1988), these studies deal with postcolonialism without referring to it explicitly. According to Ashcroft, "the actual term 'post-colonial' was not employed in these early studies" (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 168). Ashcroft illustrates this tendency with the case of Gayatry Spivak, who "[f]irst used the term 'post-colonial' in the collection of interviews and recollections published in 1990 called *The Post-Colonial Critic*" (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 168).

In addition to these classics, this dissertation follows, hopefully, in the wake of four main books: Chantal Zabus's *The African Palimpsest: Indigenization of Language in the West African Europhone Novel* (2007),Vicki Briault Manus's *Emerging Traditions: Toward a*

Postcolonial Stylistics of Black South African Fiction in English (2011), Peter Vakunta's *Indigenization of Language in the African Francophone Novel: A New Literary Canon* (2011), and Daria Tunca's *Stylistic Approaches to Nigerian Fiction* (2014). In addition to these continental approaches to indigenization centered around the African continent, this study also relies on other insightful studies of postcolonial literature such as Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffins's *The Empire Writes Back* (1989) and Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994).

The North African region fell out of the purview of the studies of the indigenization[1] of language in African literature cited above. This study aims to fill this gap by extending the study of indigenization to include Algerian and Moroccan literatures. Beyond this geographical extension, this study will also test the validity of linguistic indigenization in the case of the Arabic language in the Arabic version Mohamed Choukri's novel *For Bread Alone* (*El khoubz El hafi,* 1973). Like European hegemonic languages such as English and French, Arabic is also a power-driven language[2]. Indeed, the late Algerian linguist Mohamed Benrabah devoted one of his books (*Devenir langue dominante mondiale: Un défi pour*

[1]Peter Vakunta defines indigenization as "the African writer's attempt at negotiating linguistic and cultural spaces in a bid to infuse literary works with the worldview, imagination, and sensibilities of indigenous cultures" (2011,2).

[2] Wail Hassan concludes in his paper "Postcolonial Theory and Modern Arabic Literature: Horizons of Application" (2002) that "[p]ostcolonial studies and Arabic literary studies have much to offer each other. Postcolonial studies can add valuable dimensions to Arabic literary scholarship, interdisciplinary inquiry, theoretical sophistication, and historical contextualization ..." (59). Our hypothesis of extending linguistic indigenization to the case of Arabic fits Hassan's affirmation. However, some of his other arguments need to be evaluated cautiously, for example, when he states that "Arabic literature of French expression by *Maghrebian* and Levantine writers is routinely incorporated in Francophone studies, housed as it is on the margin of the French curriculum (and is therefore part of "postcolonialism"), rather than in Arabic or Middle Eastern Studies, where literature by their *Arabophone compatriots* is studied, often with little attention to colonial history" (45, my emphasis). Indeed, our study proposes applying the denomination *arabophone* to North African authors writing in Arabic in the same way those writing in French are referred to as francophone writers.

l'arabe, 2009) entirely to the will to power and international hegemony of the Arabic language.[3]

The present work approaches postcolonial literature from the angle of the linguistic *méttissage* that results from the Arab and European colonialist encounters with Algeria and Morocco. In other words, it studies the colonial experience from the perspective of cultural conquest by powerful countries of their weak counterparts and the resulting cultural contacts between them: Algeria in relation to France, on the one hand, and Morocco in relation to France, Spain and to the oldest Arabo-Islamic assimilation, on the other hand. Studying the linguistic *métissage* resulting from these circumstances of domination is motivated by the current sociolinguistic conditions of these two countries, as paradigmatic of other "young" nation-states that won their independence after the Second World War.

In order to carry out this study, a corpus of two representative autobiographical novels was selected: one from Algerian francophone literature, Mouloud Feraoun's *The Poor Man's Son* (1950), the other from Moroccan arabophone literature, Mohamed Choukri's *For Bread Alone* (1973). While the former responds to French colonialism (1830–1962) and linguistic domination, the latter emerges from a threefold linguistic domination resulting from the Spanish and French protectorates (1912–1956), preceded by the Arabo-Islamic ideological assimilation that began as early as the 7 th century.

The choice of two novels as a primary corpus for this study has been motivated by the fact that "[…] the europhone African novel is best described as a hybrid product which is looking 'inward' into African orature and literature and 'outward' into imported literary traditions" (Zabus 2007, 5). What Zabus confirms about the sub-Saharan African novel, written mostly in English or French, will be extended, in the course of this study, to

[3] Mohamed Ben Rabeh draws on the global linguistic environment to explore whether Arabic could benefit from the threat of extinction that half of the world's languages currently face.

francophone and arabophone novels from the North African Region, specifically Algeria and Morocco.

The rationale underpinning this study of linguistic indigenization is not fortuitous. Beyond the stylistic interest, this dissertation is devoted to the predicament of indigenous languages that have been severely hurt under various types of domination that have brought about a relationship of "glottophagia" between languages, to use the term Zabus takes from Louis-Jean Calvet (Calvet 1974, 10 in Zabus 2007, 18). A UNESCO report of 2003 and the work of many scholars (eg., Claude Hagège 2000, Zabus 2015) warn against the devastating effects of linguistic endangerment already at work[4]. All their estimations converge on the possible death of half of the world's languages in the coming decades[5].

Worse than the cultural loss, massive linguistic extinction will worsen the dire ecological situation. The UNESCO report (2003) affirms that indigenous languages and cultures are precious for the protection of the environment. Indeed, the most ecological methods of agriculture, hunting, urbanization, and so forth are those set up by indigenous populations from the dawn of human civilization (6). Thus, the death of these indigenous languages would be a twofold disaster both for human civilization and the natural habitat.

Berber languages are not the only threatened languages: Gaelic in Ireland and Scotland, Breton in France, the Basque language in Spain, and thousands of other languages around the globe are struggling to survive. In order to illustrate the extent of the damage, this

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[4] According to Tasaku Tsunoda, "[i]n almost every part of the world, minority peoples' languages are disappearing, and this is taking place at an alarming speed. Also, a great many languages have already become extinct" (2006, 1).

[5] In addition to cultural loss, language extinction also affects basic human rights, as evidenced by the growing interest of scholars in the debate around language rights. In "The Failed Promise of Language Rights: A Critique of the International Language Rights Regime," Moria Paz analyses "133 cases that have come before the European Court of Human Rights, the U.N. Human Rights Committee, and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights dealing with language issues as they arise in (i) education, (ii) court proceedings, and (iii) communications with the government" (2013, 157).

study will attempt a highly promising comparison of the situation of the Berber languages (Kabyle in Algeria, Rifian in Morocco) to that of two Amerindian languages (Choctaw in Oklahoma in the United States and Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia, Canada). The Berber-Amerindian parallel was first analyzed by Commandant Cauvet in his *Les Berbères en Amérique: Essai d'ethnocinésie préhistorique* (1930). Cauvet starts his essay with a somewhat surprising affirmation:

> In looking for the origins of the Tuareg, I found that some names of Berber peoples were also borne by Indian tribes of America so that I had to consider under what conditions this interesting fact could have occurred. Had there been migrations from Africa to America, or the opposite? Or had there been simultaneous arrivals from two directions of peoples originating from Asia?[6]

Cauvet's study is the first one, as far as I know, that argued for a transatlantic parallel between Berbers and Amerindians from the angle of onomastics.[7]

Furthermore, the Berber-Amerindian parallel fits in the current appeal for inter-indigenous studies and criticism. Chadwick Allen (2014) takes up Spivak's critique of comparative literature's failure to account for indigenous languages and cultures in her book *Death of a Discipline* (2003).There, Spivak stated regretfully that "I will remain caught in the scandal of comparative literature, unable to access First Nation orality. I mention my shortcoming in hope" (Spivak 2003, 81 qtd in Chadwick 2014, 380). In order to remedy this deficiency, Chadwick proposes "taking up methodologies that are *trans-Indigenous*, a broad set of emerging practices designed explicitly to privilege reading *across*, *through*, and *beyond*

[6]The original reads: "En recherchant les origines des Touareg, j'ai constaté que certains noms de peuples Berbères étaient portés par des tribus indiennes d'Amérique de sorte que j'ai du examiner dans quelles conditions ce fait intéressant avait pu se produire. Y a- t-il eu des migrations d'Afrique en Amérique ou est-ce l'inverse? Ou bien y a-t-il eu arrivée simultanée des deux côtés de peuples provenant de l'Asie? » (9).

[7] Though onomastics is crucial for the sudy of the ethnotext, for practical reasons, this aspect will fall out of the present work's purview.

tribally and nationally specific Indigenous texts and contexts” (378, italics in original). Although Chadwick recognizes the necessity of a transindigineous model and provides a host of already existing models, anthologies, and journals devoted to this issue, the extant literature on transindigeneity ignores the case of Berber. The present study aims to make the necessary leap by bridging indigenous North Africa to indigenous North America using Choctaw and Mi’kmaq as test case studies. The former will be illustrated through an examination of Rilla Askew’s novel *The Mercy Seat* (1997), the latter through Rita Joe’s autobiographical novel *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi’kmaq Poet* (1996). We will study how these two authors embed their texts, written in English, with Amerindian orality, Choctaw in the case of Askew and Mi’kmaq in the case of Rita Joe. In so doing, we will demonstrate the reliability of the Berber-Amerindian parallel and explore to what extent the comparison ushers in a transatlantic dimension of the ethnotext.

The answers to these hypotheses unfold in five chapters. The first chapter will provide some elements of context with regard to the issue of language in postcolonial literature, focusing on francophone literature from Algeria and arabophone literature from Morocco. Although the issue of language in francophone literature from North African countries has made a lot of ink flow, the counterpart phenomenon in arabophone literature has not received nearly as much attention. This dearth of scholarship around the topic of linguistic encounters and clashes in the arabophone literature of these Islamized countries is due to the fact that they officially define themselves as Arab countries.

The second chapter constitutes the theoretical backbone of this study, which is the ethnotext. This chapter defines the concept of the ethnotext and confronts it with the most prevalent theoretical concepts of postcolonial literature, such as the metonymic gap, the third code, indigenization, and hybridity. This chapter will also juxtapose the ethnotext to the often

contested discipline of ethnography and investigate the link between the ethnotext on the one hand and orature and paremiology on the other.

The third chapter presents our first case study of the ethnotext. The discussion is conducted from the perspective of Kabyle indigenization of the French language through proverbs in Mouloud Feraoun's autobiographical novel *Le fils du pauvre* (1950). The fourth chapter centers on the twofold indigenization (riffianization and moroccanization) of Arabic in the autobiographical novel of Mohamed Choukri *El khoubz el hafi* (1973) through the use of the technique of transliteration.

The fifth chapter will then test the validity of transposing our findings about Kabyle, Rifian, and Moroccan indigenization to the case of Amerindian indigenization of the English language. This chapter is divided into two sections: the first explores Choctaw indigenization of English in Askew's *The Mercy Seat* (1997) and investigates the extent to which Choctaw nomenclature for religious and spiritual beliefs and practices indigenizes the English language in the novel. The second section is devoted to Mi'kmaq indigenization of English in *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet* (1996) and considers how the ethnotext operates through cushioning and contextualization techniques, as elaborated by Zabus in *The African Palimpsest* (2007).

Chapter I: Postcolonial Literature: Language from the Margins

Postcolonial literature has been extensively studied, especially since the 1990s. Before diving into the intricacies of the topic, it will be useful to provide a brief history of the term by answering these questions: When did the term *postcolonial literature* come into use? What did and does *postcolonial literature* mean?

I.1.Postcolonial Literature and Postcolonial Studies: A Brief Overview

Defining *postcolonial* is a tricky task, as the concept holds several meanings. Peter Childs and Patrick Williams devoted the introduction of their book *An Introduction to Postcolonial Theory* (1997) to a discussion of the term *postcolonial* from different perspectives: temporality, place, and subject. Finding clear-cut definitions of postcolonialism, even under these categories, remains difficult, as scholars and critics diverge widely on these issues. According to the Childs and Williams, "[t]he obvious implication of the term post-colonial is that it refers to a period coming after the end of colonialism ... but that sense of an ending, of the completion of one period of history and the emergence of another, is ... hard to maintain in any simple or unproblematic fashion" (1). Thus, the temporal delimitation is problematic because postcoloniality is not limited to the twentieth-century wave of independence from European domination. If *postcolonial* refers to the end of colonization, as Childs and Williams ask,

> after whose colonialism? after the end of which colonial empire? Isn't it unacceptably Anglocentric or Eurocentric to be foregrounding the mid-twentieth century and the end particularly of the British and French empires? What about, for example, early nineteenth-century Latin America and the end of Spanish and Portuguese control? or the late eighteenth century and the independence of the United States of America? (1).

This transhistorical vision of postcoloniality is a bone of contention among critics. Some, such as Elleke Boehmer (2005), agree with it, while others, such as Aijaz Ahmad oppose it. Elleke Boehmer corroborates the transhistorical vision of postcoloniality:

> Historically, [postcoloniality] extends back five hundred years or so to the days of European mercantile expansion, Columbus's landing in America, and the exploration of the coast of Africa past the Cape of Good Hope. But some might feel that even this wide definition of the colonial is too constricting. Marlow at the beginning of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, for example, draws attention to the similarities between the British colonization of Africa and the conquering of Britain by imperial Rome many centuries before. According to this view, *Beowulf* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* could be read as postcolonial texts (Boehmer 2005, 1).

According to Boehmer, then, postcolonial literature is far from being limited to modern colonial history. In this view, postcoloniality can be said to span much of human history, burdened as it has been with conquests and colonizations brought about by the human will to power and to resist power.

Contrary to Boehmer, Ahmad warns against such a vision, arguing that it causes colonialism to become "a trans-historical thing, always present and always in process of dissolution in one part of the world or another, so that everyone gets the privilege, sooner or later, at one time or another, of being coloniser, colonised, and post-colonial—sometimes all at once, in the case of Australia, for example" (qtd in Childs and Williams 2). The reason behind Ahmad's resistance towards a transhistorical span of the term is the risk of "render[ing] the term analytically useless" (ibid).

Beyond the issue of temporality, we are interested here in the cultural outcomes of colonialism, specifically on those who underwent colonialism in North Africa and North America. For the African context, the focus will be on the nineteenth-century French

colonization of Algeria and the earlier Arabization of Morocco brought about by the seventh-century Islamic conquest and the linguistic policy followed by Morocco during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, after independence from the dual French and Spanish protectorate in 1956. Thus, the definition that best fits our scope of study is the one provided by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin in *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (2002). They "use the term 'post-colonial' […] to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression" (2). Thus, beyond the material impact on the colonies, what interests us is the cultural one. As it is well known, colonization was not conducted by military force alone; it was backed by ideological weapons such as religion and language in order to achieve a thorough assimilation of territories and their populations[8]. Language will be the focal point of our study, as will become evident.

As a field of study, postcolonial studies is a twentieth-century phenomenon. Ato Quayson, for example, links the emergence of postcolonial studies to a 1910 essay by T.W. Allen in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* "with reference to minor poets of the pre-Homeric era" (Quayson 2012, 343). Nevertheless, as Quayson affirms, despite the vast temporal reach of the phenomenon, the maturity of postcolonial studies as an autonomous field of study,

[8] The correlation between culture and colonial practices has been explored and denounced by a number of important scholars and thinkers such as Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, and many others. In *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), Fanon exposes the insane motivations behind the colonialist pretense of bringing civilization to the people the colonizers sought to dominate: "colonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country. Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of a perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. ... [T]he total result looked for by colonial domination was indeed to convince the natives that colonialism came to lighten their darkness" (210–211). Culture, civilization, progress, and religion are the beautiful masks used by colonizing countries to justify their aggression against others'territories. In *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), Said notes that "the connection between imperial politics and culture is astonishingly direct" (7) and affirms, even in the title of the book, the intimate link between culture and imperial domination.

known and renowned all over the world, came only with the 1990s after the publication in 1989 of *The Empire Writes Back* by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. This seminal work has provoked constant and fertile debates worldwide over issues related to colonialism and its aftermath. Quayson notes that

> [i]n all published usages before 1990, postcolonialism served as a temporal marker for a period after colonialism, whether in the pre-Homeric era, postindependence America, or various parts of the world in the mid-twentieth century after empire...the period from the 1990s on, after *The Empire Writes Back*, saw a decisive shift of usage from the merely temporal to the more discursive and theoretical when Robert Young, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Aijaz Ahmad, Bart Moore Gilbert, Ania Loomba, Elleke Boehmer, and Achille Mbembe, among others, provided key parameters for debating the field. (Quayson 2012, 343, Italics in the original)

Thus, *The Empire Writes Back* can be said to be a stone thrown into a pond, whose results have been a cultural clash and transformation of the colonial place into what Pratt terms a "contact zone."

Of the emergence of the field of Commonwealth literature in the 1960s, Aamer Hussein asks "what on earth do I have in common with […] Canadians and Australians [who] are settler colonials […and] bring with them the burden of their Irishness or Scottishness or their whiteness" (qtd. in Zabus 2015, 3). The answer to this question flows, perhaps, from the intellectual consequences of the contact zone. As Pratt, who originated the concept, explains, a contact zone happens when "disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of dominance and subordination like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today"(Pratt 1992, 4; qtd. in Ashcroft et al 2007, 48). These contact zone contexts include actual colonies and their corollaries, such as protectorates and mandates, religious conquests such as have occurred

through Christianization and Islamization, economic groupings such as the EU, globalization. All these kinds of often coercive relationships share one characteristic: the assimilation of the weaker by the more powerful. Thus, they incarnate "social Darwinism" at various levels and are driven in common by a will to power and domination.

Contact zones are, therefore, interrelated and similar to one another. Ashcroft et al. contend that issues related to postcolonial studies are intertwined with those of globalization:

> [T]he theoretical issues raised by post-colonial theory: questions of resistance, power, ethnicity, nationality, language and culture and the transformation of dominant discourses by ordinary people, provide important models for understanding the place of the local in an increasingly globalized world (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 222).

In other words, postcolonialism and globalization are alternative names for the same thing. Following this logic, other mega communities, such as the League of Arab States, replicate the same policy in terms of linguistic hegemony.

Many of these "coercive" groupings have been harshly criticized while others are rarely or never criticized. Western colonialism and imperialism, forced Christianization, slavery, and globalization are all widely criticized, whereas "eastern" expansionism in the name of religious hegemony fostered and expanded through the frame of pan-Arabism and Islamization are not. This calls to mind the Orwellian phrase, "ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS" (capitals in original; Orwell, 2003, 97). All hegemonies may be questionable, but some are less questionable than others. This double standard has resulted in a massive criticism of one side's abuses, and a kind of *omerta* on the abuses of the other. It is a commonplace, for example, to criticize the sly use of Christianization for purposes of colonization. As Jomo Kenyatta famously said: "When the missionaries arrived, the Africans had the land and the missionaries had the Bible.

They taught us how to pray with our eyes closed. When we opened them, they had the land, and we had the Bible” (qtd. in Dagnini 2008, 203). However, should it not also be possible to say the same with regard to the ideological use of Islam as a tool for cultural domination and ethnocidal practices?

Globalization, if not literally colonialist, also has its dark side. Despite its celebrated advantages, such as the free circulation of money and goods, globalization contributes to the ongoing extinction of ethnicities, languages, and cultures. In the introduction to his *Halte à la mort des langues* (2000, 9), Claude Hagège foresees a devastating erosion of humanity's linguistic heritage due to globalization. The French linguist estimates, that if nothing is done, half of the world’s 5,000 languages will die by the end of the century. This estimation is confirmed by in a UNESCO report (2003) on the problematic issue of endangered languages.

> About 97% of the world’s people speak about 4% of the world’s languages; and conversely, about 96% of the world’s languages are spoken by about 3% of the world’s people (Bernard 1996: 142). Most of the world’s language heterogeneity, then, is under the stewardship of a very small number of people.
>
> Even languages with many thousands of speakers are no longer being acquired by children; at least 50% of the world’s more than six thousand languages are losing speakers. We estimate that, in most world regions, about 90% of the languages may be replaced by dominant languages by the end of the 21st century. (UNESCO 2003, 2)

The figures presented in the UNESCO report show the disparity between majority and minority in terms of the number of speakers of languages. This imbalance forms a crossover in which the majority speaks a minority of languages, and, conversely, a majority of languages are spoken by a tiny minority of speakers. This imbalance ushers in another dichotomy, that of dominant vs. dominated languages.

Domination engenders social, class, and cultural schisms wherever and whenever it occurs. The linguistic schisms are the focus of the present study. Thus, to answer Aamer Hussein's question, the common point among Commonwealth authors, which applies to postcolonial as well as post-globalization authors, is the fact that they write from cultural and linguistic battlefields. Within the frame of these literatures, the authors of "vernacular" languages[9] express themselves in their language of domination. However, their recourse to the dominant language is far from being passive. Indeed, these authors use the conquering language in rebellious ways, bending it to fit in their linguistic and cultural frame.

Therefore, the common point between the Kabyle Mouloud Feraoun, who wrote in French, the Rifian Mohamed Choukri[10], who wrote in Arabic, the M'ikmaq Rita Joe, the Choctaw Rilla Askew, the Igbo Chinua Achebe, the Indian British Rushdie who all wrote in English, is the double transfer they make from their mother tongue, which is the language of their emotions and inspiration, into the other tongue, which is the target language of their expression. The authors of *The Empire Writes Back* illustrate this split through the work of Raja Rao and Chinua Achebe "[who] write from their own place and so have not suffered a literal geographical displacement, they have to overcome an imposed gap resulting from the linguistic displacement of the pre-colonial language by English" (Ashcroft et al.2012, 10).

One product of this gap between the language of inspiration and that of expression is what Ashcroft et al. call the "*metonymic gap*,"[11] which they define as "that cultural gap formed when appropriations of a colonial language insert unglossed words, phrases or passages from a first language, or concepts, allusions or references that may be unknown to

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[9] According to Dante in *De vulgari eloquentia* (ca. 1305), "[a] vernacular language is that which we learn without any formal instruction, by imitating our nurses" (translated Steven Botterill, 1).

[10] The author will be referred to in this study as Mohamed Choukri, as most of the data I found about him uses Choukri instead of Shukri.

[11] My Emphasis

the reader" (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 122–123). Besides its stylistic function, this linguistic fusion marks a certain commitment inherent in these literary writings produced in contexts of colonial and cultural domination. In other words, when colonized or dominated authors decide to express themselves in the colonial/dominant language, they write with their accent, as Zabus contends:

> When "the Empire writes back to the centre," it does this not so much with a vengeance as 'with an accent', by using a language that topples discourse conventions of the so-called "centre" and by inscribing postcolonial language variants from 'the margin' or 'the periphery' in the text. (*The Palimpsest*, xv)

Thus, these indigenous words and expressions tagged onto the postcolonial text are markers of resistance to cultural colonialism.This commitment to self-affirmation through the language of the other is pithily articulated by KatebYacine: "I write in French to tell the French that I am not French."[12]The effect of the metonymic gap is twofold: it alienates the "metropolitan" (native) reader of the colonial language and, at the same time, gives the colonized author a certain power over that reader, as Vicki Briault contends in *The Future of Postcolonial Studies* (2015)[13] and the French critic Jacqueline Arnaud confirms when she describes her alienation on reading KatebYacine's *Nedjma*[14](1956).

In order to turn the colonial language of assimilation into a language of self-affirmation, these authors reappropriate the dominant language after its abrogation. Abrogation implies, in

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[12] My translation, the original runs:" J'écris en français pour dire aux français que je ne suis pas français."(France Culture, 2017, accessed 28/08/2019 at 22:49).

[13] Vicki Briault contends that "Many contemporary works of postcolonial fiction incorporating local languages, language varieties or creoles into the text through a range of narrative or textual strategies, also present a challenge to the monoglot"(2015,62).

[14] Jaqueline Arnaud conceds in the introduction to her monopgraphe entitled *La littérature maghrébine de langue française* 1986 "Je me sentais incapable, devant une bonne part de ce qui s'inscrivait en cette œuvre, de distinguer entre l'imaginaire et le réel. Les critiques saluaient le livre, ou se renfrognaient devant ce discours « barbare », mais ne voyaient guère plus clair que moi dans ces histoires de tribu. Ce langage n'avait rien de didactique : luxuriant, un peu hautain avec une pointe d'humour, il ne livrait pas facilement ses secrets" (10-11).

the words of Ashcroft et al. (2002),"a refusal of the categories of imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage, and its assumption of a traditional and fixed meaning 'inscribed' in the words" (37). In other words, this stylistic rebellion is symptomatic of the divide between accepting and resisting the colonial language. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu describes this rebellion as the "Odyssey of Reappropriation" (Bourdieu 1998). Like Bourdieu, Zabus (2007) also highlights the ambiguity of postcolonial authors towards the colonial language. She qualifies such an attitude as "a struggle waged *against*, yet *via*, the foreign language (2; italics in original). This attitude means that colonized authors appropriate the colonial language intelligently rather than as assimilated automatons.

As a consequence of this metonymic gap, postcolonial literature is considered a site of transcultural literary production made up of "reciprocal influences of modes of representation and cultural practices of various kinds in colonies and metropoles" (Ashcroft et al.2007*,* 213). Thus, as Ashcroft et al. argue, "all post-colonial literatures are cross-cultural because they negotiate a gap between 'worlds', a gap in which the simultaneous processes of abrogation and appropriation continually strive to define and determine their practice" (Ashcroft et al. 2002*,*38). Being cross-cultural and transcultural, postcolonial literature straddles different, often conflicting worlds, mindsets, and modes of expression.

Ashcroft et al. quote from Rao's foreword to *Kanthapura* to illustrate the psychological conflict intrinsic to literary production in a colonial language:

> The telling has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word "alien," yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up—like Sanskrit or Persian was before—but not of our emotional make-up. We

> are all instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it. (2003, 296)

Rao's dichotomic opposition between intellectual and emotional make up renders more succinctly what I earlier termed an opposition between the language of inspiration and the language of expression. This opposition imposes additional difficulties for colonized authors, from rhetorical and stylistic perspectives, due to divergences between culturally specific repertoires. In other words, using a foreign language to express one's worldview[15] is not always an easy process, especially in domains of the humanities such as literature, in which authors strive to express the most profound aspects of their sociocultural sensibility. The difficulty of an adequate rendering of one's sensibility in a foreign language is due to the fact that some aspects of human experience and their perception are endogenous. Thus, self-expression in such contexts entails self-translation. This process engenders, as Rao predicted eighty years ago, regional variations of the colonial languages, such as Indian English and Algerian French. Indeed, literary "dialects" have become a reality, as labels such as Commonwealth literature, anglophone literature, francophone literature, lusophone literature, italophone literature, and arabophone literature testify. All these coinages on the suffix-*phone*[16] denote regional variations of the metropolitan literature.

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[15] According to James Underhill, "[t]he worldview of a language is bound up in the myths and stories that give coherence to a community's sense of its self, its world, and its place within that world" (2009, 38).

[16] Though these suffixes provide certain recognition of the vernacular literary expression; they remain tainted with a kind of hierarchical classification, which may be considered segregationist. This is in some sort what makes Djebar refute the label *francophone* in her Ph.D. dissertation, where she qualifies her writing as francographe, rather than francophone, as we will see further in this study.

I.2. Postcolonial Literature from the Arab-Berber Perspective

Like imperialist European languages, Arabic is a language of power (Ben Rabah 2009), and like them, it has, in Zabus'sterms,"a threefold power: (1) it is a written language and therefore a modern language; [...] (2) it has a literary tradition articulated around the concept of authorship; and (3) it is a textualised or chirographically controlled language: that is, a language tied to a text" (Zabus 2007, 15).Thus, whether faced with Western colonizers such as the Romans (146 BC) and the French (1830-1962), or with the Eastern colonizers such as the Muslim conquerors (7th C) and the Turks (16th C), the Berbers found themselves and their language shifting only from one state of inferiority and subjection to another. Thus, according to Zabus's concept of a threefold power, codification through writing gave rise to textualization and a literary tradition in Western and Arabic languages.

While Zabus speaks of the threefold power of imperial languages, the Berber linguist Salem Chaker speaks of the "manifold weakness" of Berber languages:

> The Arabic/Berber relationship was imbalanced right from the beginning, because of the consubstantial link of Islam to the Arabic language. In Berbery as well as in the rest of the non-Arab Muslim world, there has thus always been a marked promotion of Arabic, the language of the Sacred, the language of God, but also, the language of Writing and of legitimate Knowledge, the language of Power and of the City. In the Maghreb, this superiority soon engendered a real inferiority complex of the Berbers toward the Arabs and their language, since Berber did not have a written tradition and had never been a vector of a widely disseminated culture. In the Mediterranean area, where writing is extremely valued and even sacred in the Islamic tradition, Berber could only be perceived, when faced with the Arabic language, as a barbaric and imperfect idiom;

hence a strong and old tendency to resort to Arabic for any elaborate expression, aiming at recognition.[17]

As a result of the "imbalance" Chaker describes, the Berbers and their language have always been marginalized. The link between language, religion, and the state is part of the historical argument that has always been used by the rulers to justify Tamazight's inferiority as a language. All the colonial waves that swept over North Africa were resisted and defeated by the Berbers except the Arabs, who have been unchallenged since the seventh century of the Christian era, mainly due, on the one hand to their efficient use of religion as "the opium of the people," as Marx would have it, and on the other hand, to intermarriage with the indigenous populations.[18]

Language plays a decisive role in colonization. As Zabus reminds us, it is, in the words of Antonio de Nebrija, fifteenth-century Bishop of Avila, "the perfect instrument of empire" (Zabus 2002, 36). It is so cunningly pervasive that its harm is detected only after it is too late. Language draws its pervasiveness from its implication in two pivotal dimensions of colonization: religion and schooling. Through these two efficient instruments, language trickles down into the depths of the minds of the colonized until it confounds their sense of

[17] The original reads:"[…] le rapport arabe/berbère a été, très tôt, une relation déséquilibrée en raison du lien consubstantiel de l'Islam à la langue arabe. En Berbérie comme dans tout le monde musulman non arabe, il y a toujours eu de ce fait valorisation marquée de l'arabe, langue du Sacré, langue de Dieu, mais aussi langue de l'Ecrit et du Savoir légitime, langue du Pouvoir et de la Ville. Au Maghreb, cette prééminence a vite engendré un véritable complexe d'infériorité des Berbères vis-à-vis des Arabes et de leur langue. Car le berbère était sans tradition écrite et n'avait jamais été le vecteur d'une culture à rayonnement large. Dans l'aire méditerranéenne où l'écrit est valorisé à l'extrême, sacralisé même dans la tradition islamique, le berbère ne pouvait être perçu, face à la langue arabe, que comme un idiome barbare et imparfait : d'où une forte et ancienne tendance à recourir à l'arabe pour toute expression élaborée, visant à la reconnaissance" (Chaker 1989, 1–2).

[18] Interracial marriage between the Arab conquerors and the autochthonous Berber population, has been enough to end the distinction between the two populations, according to Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi : "Avancer par exemple que la population algérienne se compose d'Arabes et de Berbères, est historiquement faux. Les premiers Arabes installés en Algérie au VIIe siècle, épousèrent des femmes autochtones et le sang s'est mêlé. (La religion et la langue qu'ils ont répandues, eux et leurs descendants, allaient devenir un ciment, un ferment et un rempart). Par conséquent l'Algérie, sur le plan ethnique, n'est pas une juxtaposition d'Arabes et de Berbères (comme on l'entend dire si souvent), mais un mélange arabo-berbère qui, embrassant la même foi et adhérant au même système de valeurs, est animé par l'amour de la même terre" (qtd in Souriau 1975).

identity. It becomes "The Prison House of Language," (qtd. in Zabus 2002, 36), one from which the colonized cannot escape because it frames their thoughts and alters their sense of self. It becomes a prison because it is intimately linked to identity, as Ashcroft argues in the introduction to *Caliban's Voice: The Transformation of English in Postcolonial Literatures* (2009).

> The unshakable link between 'our' language and *us* has made language not only the most emotional site for cultural identity but also one of the most critical techniques of colonization and of the subsequent transformation of colonial influence by post-colonized societies. The control over language by the imperial 'centre'—whether by displacing native languages, by installing the imperial language" as a 'standard' against other variants denigrated as 'impurities', or by planting the language of empire in a new place—remains a potent instrument of cultural control. (italics in original,1)

When the colonized are severed from their native language and compelled to espouse the colonizer's at the expense of their own tongue, they are associated with betrayal and assimilation in their own eyes as well as in the eyes of their community. This dual sense of betrayal is confirmed by Nacib in his account of the role Feraoun played in Algeria during the time of French colonization as a kind of ambassador between the indigenous population and the colonizer.

In postcolonial literature, language belongs to what Said refers to as "overlapping territories" (61) in the first chapter of *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), whereby it is difficult to distinguish oneself from the other. Feraoun acknowledged this deep confusion in himself introduced through language into the psychology of the colonized:

> When I say that I am French, I give myself a label that each French person refuses me. I speak French, and I got my education in a French school. I have learned as much as the

> average Frenchman. What am I then, dear God? Is it possible that as long as there are labels there is not one for me? Which one is mine? Can somebody tell me what I am! (Feraoun 2000, 65-66)

Feraoun's testimony shows clearly the confusing impact of the colonizer's language on the psychology of the colonized. So why does he—and almost all postcolonial authors—resort to the language of their domination? Zabus's answer is that "[t]he postcolonial writer's ambivalence towards the European language is symptomatic of his [/her] desire to be both truly local and universal, to reclaim and rehabilitate the indigenous languages, while seeking international viability" (Zabus 2007, 1). This "ambivalence" is worsened by the existing enmity between the postcolonial author's language and the colonizer's language, which constitutes a duality between mother and other tongues, to use Zabus's dichotomy (Zabus 2007, 1).

However, is this Manichean division between one's own language and that of the other language irreversible? Postcolonial authors are torn between the need to affirm their agency as human beings and the need to cry out their suffocation to the world. Thus, their writing strategy cannot but be "glottopolical—that is, tied to language politics" (Zabus 2007, 17). The pragmatic rationale behind the choice is explicitly stated by South African novelist Es'kia Mphahlele: "We must seize the instruments of power from the hands of the whites. We need written expression and the sophistication that goes with it. We must speak the language that everyone understands: English" (qtd in Briault 2011, xviii). Similar rationales are expressed by Maghrebian authors such as Feraoun, KatebYacine, Assia Djebar, Jean Amrouche, Malek Ouary, Malek Haddad and other francophone writers from Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

Yacine considers the French language as a "butin de guerre"[19] (spoils of war). Indeed, postcolonial authors' effort to express the colony in the language of the colonial metropolis is a frontal questioning of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which, in Zabus's words,

> […] used to stand for the interdependence of language, culture and identity. […] This hypothesis, which Edward Sapir further elaborated, holds that one's world view depends on one's linguistic frame of reference and that the world is organized by the linguistic system in our minds. (Zabus 2007, xi-xii)

Importing an exotic language to express one's place and experience is what Ashcroft et al call "linguistic displacement" (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 10) and results in a gap between the language and the sociocultural reality it refers to. Thus, the cultural references challenge the imported language's capacity for expression: "The gap which opens between the experience of place and the language available to describe it forms a classic and all-pervasive feature of post-colonial texts" (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 9). This gap is what Ashcroft et al. term the metonymic gap in the second edition of *The Empire Writes Back* (2002), "the metonymic function" in the first edition (1989).

It is evident that the essentialist view binding a specific language to a specific place finds itself subverted and questioned in the case of postcolonial literature. The language / place dichotomy is deconstructed when the European language is ousted from what Achebe terms "its ancestral home" (qtd. in Zabus 2014, 34). In his tribute to Mouloud Mammeri, Pierre Bourdieu qualifies the author's journey back to his mother tongue, as an "odyssey of reappropriation," whereby Mammeri, and by extension all postcolonial authors and

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[19] In *L'Algérie et la langue française ou l'altérité en partage* (2015), Rabeh Sebaa affirms that "[p]lus qu'un *butin de guerre*, selon la formule consacrée, la langue française était *un instrument de guerre* au service des Algériens, et beaucoup de Français d'origine chrétienne ou juive sont tombés au champ d'honneur en qualité de combattants anticoloniaux pour l'indépendance de l'Algérie" (italics in original ; 10).

intellectuals using a colonial language, go to the foreign language and culture for pragmatic reasons, which in most cases was a matter of finding their place within the colonial space. For some colonized subjects, Mammeri for one, the acquisition of the colonizer's knowledge and language was not an end in itself; but rather a starting point towards rehabilitating their native culture, as Pierre Bourdieu maintains: "What makes the journey towards reconciliation with the self difficult is that the instruments that allow reappropriation of the denied culture are provided by the same culture that imposed the denial."[20]

Furthermore, beyond the mere appropriation of language by the colonized, Ashcroft reminds us that "the appropriation which has had the most profound significance in post-colonial discourse is that of writing itself" (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 77). In North Africa, this was due to the introduction of the European school system as an alternative to the existing religious schools, the "medersas."[21] In colonial Algeria and Morocco, teaching in the medersas was centered on learning the Scriptures by heart. All the pioneers of postcolonial Algerian literature, Mouloud Feraoun, Malek Ouary, Assia Djebar, and others, admit having been faced with this choice between the religious school and the colonial one. While the former offered spirituality and the promise of an afterlife, the latter guaranteed a future job and integration into the colonial system.

[20]My translation. The original reads: "Ce qui fait toute la difficulté du cheminement vers la réconciliation avec soi, c'est que les instruments qui permettent de se réapproprier la culture reniée sont fournis par la culture qui a imposé le reniement" (Bourdieu 1998, 6).

[21]*Medersas* is the plural form of the Arabic word *maderassa*, referring to any type of school but often taken to mean an Islamic religious school. Kamal Kateb describes the precolonial teaching provided by such religious schools as follows: "Le premier degré de l'enseignement consiste à apprendre et à écrire sur des planchettes les lettres de l'alphabet et quelques textes du livre sacré (le Coran) nécessaires à la prière. Cet apprentissage dure de cinq à six ans sous la direction d'un *maallam* ou *mouaddeb* (répétiteur jouant le rôle d'instituteur formé dans une des *zaouïas* ou dans les *madrasas*); Par la force de la répétition, les enfants apprenaient plus ou moins à lire et à écrire. L'apprentissage de la langue arabe se faisait par le biais de l'apprentissage du Coran ; les notions de grammaire et de calcul étaient pratiquement absentes de cet enseignement. Les cours se déroulent en général dans une salle (peu équipée) attenante à une mosquée ; dans ces écoles, dénommées *mcids* en Algérie, *kouttabs* en Tunisie, la classe regroupait des enfants de différents niveaux d'apprentissage. Ils étaient généralement assis par terre ou sur une paillasse autour de l'enseignant qui tenait une longue baguette. Ils répétaient seuls ou collectivement les versets du Coran ; ils devaient les apprendre par cœur, souvent sans en comprendre le sens. La dichotomie entre la langue d'enseignement (arabe littéraire) et la langue parlée (l'arabe dialectal ou le berbère) conduisait probablement les enfants qui ne dépassaient pas le premier degré à une connaissance rudimentaire de la lecture et de l'écriture. Les châtiments corporels étaient une composante de cet enseignement" (Kateb, 2012).

Arabization in postcolonial Algeria

This Arab "nation" is an "imagined community," to use Anderson's term. It is imaginary in the sense that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 2006, 6). That is to say, arabophone literature is not related to any geographically specific country, but rather to a Middle Eastern cluster of countries that define themselves as Arab nations despite plentiful historical evidence pertaining to their non-Arabic origins.

The Algerian islamologist Mohamed Arkoun argues that:

> Le monde arabe, le nationalisme arabe, l'unité du monde arabe étaient le cœur de la politique de Nasser. Abd El-Nasser, en Egypte, qui est arrivé au pouvoir avec ce qu'on appelait les officiers libres, en 1952, et aussi le Baath qui, lui, est parti de Syrie et d'Irak, avec Michel Aflak. Les deux ont développé une sorte de concurrence, de convergence. Convergence vers la proclamation de l'unité de la Nation arabe, avec un N majuscule – Al Oumma Al Aarbiya (…) cette grande nation arabe qui va inclure tout le monde arabe depuis l'Euphrate, l'Irak, jusqu'au Maroc. Cela aussi, c'est une étendue totalement idéologique, c'est une construction abstraite de nouveau, qui ne correspond absolument à rien et qui va nier les réalités culturelles, va nier les mémoires collectives et les mémoires historiques … (Arkoun 0 :19-1 : 34).

Such countries include North African nation states from Egypt to Mauritania including the Spanish Canary Islands and Ceuta and thus includes states from the Mediterranean coast such as Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, to sub-Saharan Africa such as Nigeria, Niger, and Mali whose deepest origins, now repressed, are Amazigh. These countries have engulfed themselves in a deep well of self-denial and self-hatred by inventing an alternative identity for

themselves, by willing to be more Arab than the Arabs.[22] They have managed to blur the lines between "language and race" (Ashcroft 2001) through the propagandistic use of religion to enlarge the circle of an imposed Arab identity.

The coercive imposition of Arabic even spurred the Algerian government into imprisoning Berbers for speaking their own language in Algiers, especially during Houari Boumediene's presidency in the 1970s. Bachir el Ibrahimi's discourse, discussed in page 71 of this study, illustrates how hegemonic this ideology can be. Even former Algerian president (1999-2019) Abdelaziz Bouteflika confirmed this in a speech in Tizi-Ouzou in 1999, when he said, "We are Amazigh, but arabized by Islam." This play on the spiritual chord is the most efficient tool used by Ba'ath ideologists preaching a return to Islamic glory days.[23]

The Ba'ath ideology originated in Iraq and Iran in the mid-twentieth century before moving to Egypt under the regime of Abdel Nasser and then playing a major role in the Algerian independence struggle. Before independence, the Ba'athist ideology's nest in Algeria was the Algerian Association of Muslim intelligentsia. Abdelhamid Ben Badis and Mohamed Bachir El Ibrahimi were the association's most famous leaders and the most fervent proponents of the arabization of Algerian society. Ben Badis is the author of many famous poems and essays preaching the Arab identity of the Algerian population. One of his most assimilationist poems, still taught and celebrated in the Algerian school curriculum, asserts: "People of Algeria are Muslim and of Arabic descent; whoever says that he turned away from his origin is a liar"[24] (Ben Badis 1937). This poem, which all pupils in postindependence Algerian primary schools have had to learn by heart, is reminiscent of the famous French acculturating history lesson about the *Gaulois* origins of French Algeria during colonial times

[22] This is an echo to the conclusion "More english than English" (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 220-222).
[23] This will to domination is embodied in the 21st century's jihadist groups such as El Kaida and ISIS, who are trying to impose Islam at the World scale with the most violent means of terror.
[24] The original reads: "شَعْبُالجزائرِمُسْلِموَإلىالعُروبةِيَنتَسِبْ
مَنْقَالَحَادَعَنْأصْلِهِأَوْقَالَمَاتَفَقَدْكَذبْ"

(1830-1962). Both of these origin myths targeted primary school children in order to instill the belief at the earliest possible age.

According to Ben Badis, opponents of his ahistorical affirmation are liars, but the pretense comes from him. His poem on the Arab ethnicity of the Algerian population contradicts the plain historical evidence. Although the official statistics relegate the Amazigh part of the population to minority status, this minoritization is hard to confirm. Moreover, the fact of speaking Arabic does not imply Arabic descent. If an Algerian speaking German, English, Spanish, or another language does not necessarily imply German, English, or Spanish descent or identity, why would the case of Amazigh people speaking Arabic denote Arabic descent and identity?

In any case, adherence to the Muslim community is purely ideological. Even early Islam, during the time of the Prophet, recognized the existence of both Arabs and *Ajami* (Muslims of foreign origin) in the community. One of the most famous sayings of the Prophet confirms this: "There is no difference between an Arab and *Ajami,* except faith."[25]This means that to God what matters is only sincere faith and conduct in accordance with it, regardless of ethnicity or race. Many Westerners now adhere to Islam. Should they renounce their German, French, English, or other Western origins in order to be accepted into the faith? In fact, these European and American Muslims are encouraged to remain German, French, or English Muslims and so on precisely in order to demonstrate the universal appeal of the Islamic community. Furthermore, regarding Arabic as a *sine qua non condition* for being Muslim does not correspond even to the reality of the Muslim world. Turkey and Indonesia do not

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[25]The original read: " وروى أحمد (22978) عَنْ أَبِي نَضْرَةَ : " حَدَّثَنِي مَنْ سَمِعَ خُطْبَةَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي وَسَطِ أَيَّامِ التَّشْرِيقِ فَقَالَ : (يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ أَلَا إِنَّ رَبَّكُمْ وَاحِدٌ وَإِنَّ أَبَاكُمْ وَاحِدٌ ، أَلَا لَا فَضْلَ لِعَرَبِيٍّ عَلَى أَعْجَمِيٍّ وَلَا لِعَجَمِيٍّ عَلَى عَرَبِيٍّ وَلَا لِأَحْمَرَ عَلَى أَسْوَدَ وَلَا أَسْوَدَ عَلَى أَحْمَرَ إِلَّا بِالتَّقْوَى ، أَبَلَّغْتُ ؟) قَالُوا : بَلَّغَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ "

define themselves as Arabic countries, while Lebanon, which is part of the Arabic world, is by no means entirely Muslim.

Chapter II: The Ethnotext

II. 1. 1.Etymological Definition

The compound term *ethnotext* is composed of two elements, ethno and text, and can therefore be understood simply as “ethnic text.” However, the prefix *ethno-* is a subject of controversy. According to Jerzy Bartmiński,

> … the Greek element *ethno*-is semantically very capacious and allows for both a wide and a narrow understanding. It embraces the notions of a nation, society, social group, a people or tribe […] In western circles, the component *ethno*-may have negative connotations, being associated with nationalist or even racist ideology (Bartmiński 2009, 7; italics in original).

The precise significance of *ethno-* therefore depends on one’s subjective tendency as well as one’s intellectual awareness, and, thus, the adjectival form *ethnic* is variously understood as well. James Underhill links the scholarly neglect from which ethnolinguistics suffers to the paradoxes inherent in the negative connotations and collocations attached to the prefix:

> The adjective “ethnic” […] seems to be highly active in contemporary speech and writing in American English. The term collocates most commonly with “group,” a fact which tends to show that “ethnic peoples” are most commonly considered to be minorities. […] The other collocations for “ethnic” (background, *race, origin*, encounter**,** *identity*, codes, *traditions,* distinctions, affinities, niche, enclaves, *cleansing*, separatism, cleavages, homeland, body *art*, gender, *origin*) […] And of those “groups” referred to, the most common ones were “*minority ethnic groups,”* “immigrant ethnic

group," who were supposed to achieve successful *"integration"* to various degrees (Underhill 2012, 19; my emphasis).

What is striking about Underhill's argument on this web of negativity surrounding *ethnic* and related terms is that the denigration occurs on various levels, meaning that everything coming from "ethnic" groups, whether language, literature, art, or culture, cannot attain the majority's standards of worth, value, or maturity. Thus, both Bartmiński and Underhill agree on the marginality of ethnicity in the public mind. As a result, a detour through ethnolinguistics and cognitive ethnolinguistics is crucial for understanding the ethnotext, as we will see later.

Furthermore, the French noun *ethnie* has been fraught with racism from the moment of its inception. *Le dictionaire culturel* traces the term back to a racist anthropologist, Georges Vacher de Lapouge, who once declared that "the only dangerous competitor of the Aryan, at present, is the Jew. […] If *Europaeus* is an effective zoological race, the Jews are rather an ethnographic race".[26] This racism has been embedded in the word "ethnie" since its birth and explains the ambiguous connotations that every ethnicity-related study tends to be burdened with. Some scholars, such as Daniela Merolla (2006, 2009) and Hend Sadi (2014), have therefore resisted the concept of ethnicity altogether, seeing in it only a "pseudo scientific" expression of Western disdain for non-Western scientific and cultural expression.

The second element of the compound word is no less problematic, though for very different reasons. Bartmiński, for example, contends that, contrary to mainstream linguists who privilege small units of language to build their theories and assumptions,

[26] My translation, the original runs: "[…] Le seul concurrent dangereux de l'Aryen, dans le présent, c'est le Juif […] Si Europaeus est bien une race zoologique, les Juifs sont plutôt une race ethnographique" (Dictionnaire le Robert, 2005, 707)

> [t]he recognition of the importance of *text in linguistic research* has been anything but unproblematic. However, it is now accepted with little resistance that text (not a word or sentence) is the basic unit of communication and must, accordingly, be the first and fundamental object of linguistic description. Smaller units, such as sentences, words, morphemes or phonemes, are isolated from text, which is a larger, integrated whole (cf. Humboldt 1836 and Malinowski 1965 [1935]). Linguistic descriptions which do not go beyond the level of a sentence omit to address a host of vital problems (Bartmiński 2009, 13-14; my emphasis).

According to Bartmiński, studying language from the perspective of text allows for a more comprehensive linguistic study. That is to say, text-based linguistic studies are more insightful and more concrete than more minimalist linguistic studies since starting from the idea of text allows for a study of language in its concrete and complex functions. Thus, following Bartmiński's lead, the concept of text, in the sense of a larger unit of linguistic analysis, will be used throughout this dissertation for the study of the "ethnotext" as a literary strategy in North African and North American postcolonial literature.

II.1.2. Emergence

The ethnotext[27] came into being thanks to the conflation of three types of conditions and circumstances: scientific, ideological and aesthetic. According to Jean-Noël Pellen, the notion of the ethnotext "came to light during the seventies in the conjunction of interest which historians, ethnologists and linguists directed at that time to oral discourse [...] as a source for humanities" (Pelen 1991, 709). Later on, he explains the rationale behind the interest of these scientific fields in the ethnotext. To start with history, Pelen writes that it became interested in oral history during the 1970s, under the influence of historians in the United States who found

[27] According to Jean-Claude Bouvier (1997, 36), the emergence of the ethnotext goes back to 1975.

in ethnotexts a rich source for historians to enrich and carry out their studies. In this regard, Pellen quotes Philip Joutard's exhortation to his fellow French historians: "Historiens, à vos micros!" (Pelen 1991, 711).

In addition to historians, dialectologists also became interested in the potential of the ethnotext to illuminate their study of dialects and linguistic variation. For example, as a "national vehicular language,"

> […] the French language entered de facto in combination with the vernacular languages within the scope of diglossic practices, whose study was of great value in perceiving the place of dialects in cultural representations and offered spatial, socio-or ethnolinguistic variations that made these regional variants of French a dish of choice for the dialectologists (ibid. 712).[28]

On a political level, the seventies corresponded with the end of colonization in virtually all the remaining European colonies, which nevertheless built their reconstruction on the ashes of their colonial histories. The emergent postcolonial intelligentsia of the period were naturally interested in collecting and safeguarding their national cultures and memories, since they considered the most effective form of decolonization to be that of "the mind,"to use Ngũgĩ waThiong'o's image (1986). At the same time, on the aesthetic and philosophical levels, the immediate postcolonial period corresponded with the emergence of postmodernism (Lyotard: 1984) and poststructuralism, with their emphasis on decentering and deconstruction respectively.

[28] The original runs:"Celui- ci [le français] langue "nationale" véhiculaire, entrait de facto en combinaison avec les langues vernaculaires dans le cadre de pratiques diglossiques dont l'étude était d'un grand intérêt pour percevoir la place des dialectes dans les représentations culturelles, et offrait de plus en lui-même une variation spatiale, socio ou ethnolinguistique qui en faisait un mets de choix pour les dialectologues : le ou les "français régionaux" (Pelen 1991, 712).

By1991, the notion of the ethnotext had become sufficiently established that Pellen, from the University of Aix en Provence in southern France, was able to publish a retrospective article, "La recherche sur les ethnotextes: notes sur un cheminement," which critically assessed the work around the notion. In his assessment, Pellen surveys a plethora of interesting material, including "Projet de recherche interdisciplinaire sur les ethnotextes du Sud de la France" by Jean-Claude Bouvier and Xavier Ravier from 1976, a year later, Charles Joisten's "La mort, Dieu et le diable dans un ethnotexte du Haut-Embrunais," a collection of oral texts, Bouvier's "Tradition orale et identité culturelle-problèmes et méthodes" in 1980 and the CNRS's panel discussion "La recherche sur les ethnotextes-réflexions pour un programme" in 1984. Bouvier, the French pioneer of the ethnotext, assembled the sum of his 1976–1977 survey into a monograph entitled *La mémoire partagée-Lus-La-Croix-Haute* (1980).[29]

II.1.3. The Ethnotext as a Concept

Beyond the etymological definitions discussed above, the ethnotext is a concept that appeared first in southern France during the 1970s in the work of the French ethnographer Bouvier concerning the fading Occitan cultural heritage of that region. Bouvier defines the ethnotext in broad terms:

> By ethnotext, one understands first and foremost oral texts, literary or not, dialectical or French, providing ethnological, historical and linguistic information. However, the

[29] In addition to these studies of the ethnotext, centered on the dialects of southern France, Gilbert Puech published a study of the Maltese ethnotext, *Ethnotextes maltais*, in 1994.

> notion of the ethnotext applies, also, to possible written sources, for example, pads of songs, books of recipes, secrets, commonplace books, correspondence.[30]

In Bouvier's definition, the ethnotext is fundamentally, though not exclusively, oral, and what makes it of scholarly interest is the ethnographic information it contains. The written examples he provides are utilitarian texts not normally destined for wide audiences such as books of recipes, secrets, songs, letters, "private" items in other words.

Thus, Bouvier's definition of the ethnotext combines two levels of minoritization. First, when Bouvier describes ethnotexts as "mainly oral texts," he implicitly opposes oral to written texts and, in doing so, reduces the power of the concept by limiting its scope to orality. Second, Bouvier's research was limited to a culturally and demographically minoritized segment of the southern French population, i.e., the Occitan people. Bouvier's ethnotext is, accordingly, more about a minoritized culture glimpsed through a minoritized medium (orality).

A second definition of the ethnotext is provided in English by Zabus in *The African Palimpsest* (2007). Zabus identifies the ethnotext as a literary technique used by postcolonial authors to express their different identity in the language of their colonizers. In Zabus's view, the ethnotext is made of "discursive elements ranging from rules of address, riddles, praise names and dirges to the use of proverbs. These constitute the ethnotext which is grafted onto the European-language narrative, in an attempt to recapture traditional speech and atmosphere" (Zabus 2007, 148). In her discussion of sub-Saharan texts, Zabus situates the ethnotext as one of the techniques, along with relexification, calques, creolization, cushioning, glossing, etc., that are used by formerly colonized authors to "indigenize" the language of

[30]The original reads: "*Par ethnotexte il faut entendre avant tout des textes oraux, littéraires ou non, dialectaux ou français, ayant une valeur d'information ethnologique, historique, linguistique. Mais la notion d'ethnotextes s'applique aussi aux sources écrites éventuelles : par exemple, carnets de chansons, cahiers de recettes, de secrets, livres de raison, correspondance …* " (Bouvier and Ravier 1976, 207; Italics in the original).

their oppressors. The ethnotext is embedded in postcolonial writing in a form Zabus likens to a palimpsest, which she defines as "a writing material, the original writing of which has been effaced to make room for a second." Thus, in postcolonial African texts,

> behind the scriptural authority of the European language, the earlier, imperfectly erased remnants of the African language can still be perceived. When deciphering the palimpsest, what is recovered is the trace in filigree of such African (source-) languages as Wolof, Ndût, Mandinka, Fanti, Yoruba, Igbo and Ijo (Zabus 2007, 3).

The ethnotext functions in a palimpsestic way in postcolonial African literature, merging elements of the original African oral languages into the written European languages. This merging of African orality into European literacy produces a linguistically and culturally hybrid literature, or what Zabus terms as "writing with an accent" (Zabus 2007, xv), a written equivalent of non-native speakers of a foreign language speaking it with an accent.

From a historical point of view, the hybridity of postcolonial literature corresponds to the emergence of what, after decolonization, was generally known as the third world. Zabus matches the concept of the third world with that of "the third code," which refers to the literature produced in this erstwhile colonized space and former colonial contact zone. She contends that

> the third world has become the site of *the third code* […] which is neither the European target-language nor the indigenous source-language, [but] functions as an '*interlanguage'*. […] When *relexified*, it is not 'metropolitan' English or French that appears on the page but an unfamiliar European language that constantly suggests another tongue (Zabus 2007, 113–114; my emphasis).

By placing the ethnotext at the heart of postcolonial writing, Zabus makes the notion much more flexible. First, writing itself is a more powerful medium than orality. As Ashcroft et al.

observe, “the appropriation which has had the most profound significance in post-colonial discourse is that of writing itself” (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 77). Second, at a transnational and cross-linguistic level, Zabus’s insight places the ethnotext at the pivotal center between the European means of communication and the African mindset and culture, its content and source of inspiration.

II.2. The Ethnotext at the Crossroads of Postcolonial Concepts

II.2.1. The Metonymic Gap

Appropriating the imported foreign language to express an exotic place is not unproblematic. The superposition engenders a gap between the language and the sociocultural reality it is “forced” to express, since, as Ashcroft et al. point out, “all post-colonial literatures are cross-cultural because they negotiate a gap between ‘worlds’”(Ashcroft et al. 2002, 38). They also negotiate a gap between cultures and human subjectivity or mindsets. This gap is what Ashcroft et al. identify as “the metonymic gap”:

> [t]he inserted language ‘stands for’ the colonized culture in a metonymic way, and its very resistance to interpretation constructs a “gap” between the writer’s culture and the colonial culture. The local writer is thus able to represent his or her world to the colonizer (and others) in the metropolitan language, and at the same time to signal and emphasize a difference from it (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 123).

Taking up the colonizer's language to express a different identity does not, therefore, mean acquiescing in the colonizer’s assimilationist project. Instead, it can be “the most subtle form of abrogation” (ibid., 122) through which the formerly colonized authors reject being

associated with the identity of the colonizers by shrewdly using the colonizers' language as a device to make their difference clear, as in the case of Malek Haddad, who says: "We write in French but not as French" (qtd in Déjeux 1984, 123).

This metonymic gap is evident in the titles of two of the novels of our corpus, MouloudFeraoun's *Le fils du pauvre* (1950) and Mohamed Choukri's *Le pain nu* (1973). Feraoun inserts his difference by means of a title referring to pre-colonial Kabyle onomastics, whereby a person is named according to his or her genealogy. For example, in my case, despite the fact that I have a patronymic name, I am referred to in my village as Cherif, the son of Ahcene, son of Amer, son of Kaci. This ancestral practice of patriarchal naming reveals a quintessential element of the Kabyle culture and way of life, its community-oriented and patriarchal filiation.

Choukri's metaphorical title is a literal translation by the author of the Berber metaphor for poverty, *Aghrum Aherfi*. This title was, in turn, semantically translated by Paul Bowles as *For Bread Alone* in (1973) and into French, more literally, as *Le Pain nu* by Tahar Ben Jelloun in (1980). If this cultural metaphor is not explained and contextualized, it will remain mute even for Middle Eastern Arab readers. The incomprehension derives ultimately from the fact that Arabic is as exotic in the Maghreb as any of the other languages that have come to North Africa from elsewhere and whose use over the centuries has become relexified and steeped in the region's local cultures. Bread, nude or dressed, does not convey the Berber meaning to uninitiated readers from either the European or Middle Eastern linguistic centers.

II.2.2. The Third Code

Bridging the gap between the European language and the Other it aims to decipher results in a *mestizo* language that is neither wholly European nor Other, which Zabus calls the third code. By identifying the third world as the site of the third code, Zabus draws a parallel between the geopolitical non-alignment of the newly independent countries and their non-linguistic alignment with the former colonial powers. Furthermore, bridging this gap, in Ashcroft's terms, requires a constant interplay between "*abrogation* and *appropriation* (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 37; my emphasis). While abrogation refers to "rejection of the metropolitan power over the means of communication," (37), appropriation involves a "reconstitution of the language of the centre [… a] process of capturing and *remoulding the language to new usages*, [and] marks a separation from the site of colonial privilege" (37). The reappropriated form of the European language corresponds to Zabus's concept of the third code.

Some alternative names for the same linguistic phenomenon include *interlanguage* (Nemser 1971 and Selinker 1972), *bi-langue* (Khatibi1983) and *heterolingualism* (Grutman1997). According to Ashcroft et al. Interlanguage is "a term coined by William Nemser (1971) and Larry Selinker (1972) […] that reveals that the utterances of a second-language learner are not deviant forms or mistakes, but rather are part of a separate but genuine linguistic system" (Ashcroft *et al* 2002, 66). This concept, which seems at first glance to be more about the didactics of second-language learning, is directly linked to what we may call second-language writing, since it relates to postcolonial authors who write in their second or even third language in polyglossic countries such as Algeria. The mistakes of language learners that result from using elements of their mother tongue when speaking the new language parallel those made by postcolonial authors writing in a colonial language except

that the “mistakes” of the latter are made on purpose to voice a cultural difference and as an act of postcolonial defiance.

Thus, admitting the validity of interlanguage, which requires ceding space for creative variety within a language, means leaving behind linguistic purism and allowing for the encounter between the different cultures affected by the shared language. Given the fact that postcolonial literature is inescapably polyphonic, due to the multilingualism of its authors, interlanguage “may be seen as paradigmatic of all *cross-cultural* writing, … in which the cultural distinctiveness can be simultaneously overridden-overwritten” (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 67; my emphasis). This positive perspective on interlanguage invites cooperation between the author's language of inspiration and that of his or her expression. The prefixes *–inter* and *–cross* are suggestive of the need to go beyond the divergence and find, at least in fiction, elements of dialogue and convergence. This concept relates to that of the ethnotext in the sense that both celebrate interlinguistic coexistence in literature.

The third alternative term, *heterolingualism*, is defined by Rainier Grutman as “[t]he presence in a text of foreign idioms, in any form whatsoever, as well as (social, regional or chronological) variations of the main language”[31]. Like interlanguage, heterolingualism can be linked to the ethnotext in terms of the linguistic polyphony that results.

[31] The original reads: “La présence dans un texte d’idiomes étrangers, sous quelque forme que ce soit, aussi bien que de variétés (sociales, régionales ou chronologiques) de la langue principale” (qtd. in Moura 2013, 85).

II.2.3.Indigenization

The three elements, third code, interlanguage, and heterolingualism, are all about giving a home to a European language in a foreign territory it sought to own and alter by force. In other words, they are about a process of indigenization, which Zabus defines as "decolonization in the *third register*" (Zabus 2007, 9; my emphasis). She refers to it as third "because it is neither the one nor the other [… and] inexorably marks the ruptured postcolonial text as the site of the pull between mother tongue and other tongue" (ibid.) The extant crack in postcolonial literature reflects its intrinsic transculture, that is, its combination of at least two cultural layers, and forms, accordingly, a literature in palimpsest, in which the mother tongue is "inscribed in white ink" (ibid. 175). This transcultural or palimpsestic literature is, thus, an inescapable reality of postcolonial literature, whose authors necessarily navigate circularly from the self to the other, to borrow from the Ricoeurian dialectic of sameness and otherness, in which " […] the selfhood of oneself implies otherness to such an intimate degree that one cannot be thought of without the other […]" (Ricoeur 1992,3).

II.2.4. Hybridity

The result of the encounter between the colonizer's language and that of the colonized leads to a form of hybridized literature. Literary criticism has yielded a vast array of concepts and theories around the hybridity of postcolonial literature, which is central to Homi Bhabha's seminal *The Location of Culture* (1994). Ashcroft et al. define hybridity as "the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization" (Ashcroft et al 2007, 108; bold in oiginal).This definition echoes Zabus's definition of relexification. Hence, hybridity is the result of a mixing of two elements, be they language or skin color, that brings

about a third state. This is what Bhabha refers to as the "third space of enunciation"[32] (Ashcroft et al 2007, 108) and Zabus as "third code."

Relying on Renée Green's metaphor of the stairwell, Bhabha locates hybridity in a "liminal space":

> The stairwell as liminal space, in-between the designations of identity, becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white. The hither and thither of the stairwell, the temporal movement and passage that it allows, prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities. This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy. (Bhabha 2004, 5)

By locating hybridity as a middle space between polarities, Bhabha points to the myth of purism and, against all the arbitrary connotations used by the powerful against the weak, asserts the complete interdependence of identities. Examples of these arbitrary dichotomies include prejudicial labels related to race (white/non-white), gender (masculine/feminine); and language (mother/other tongue; orality/literacy). Since dichotomies about language are the pivotal point of this study, we focus in what follows on the relation between ethnotextuality

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[32]Bhabha (2008) argues that "[t]he intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code. Such an intervention quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People" (54).

and Bhabha's concept of cultural hybridity[33] and ask how the two concepts inform each other with reference to postcolonial literature?

II.3. The Ethnotext at the Crossroads of Scientific Disciplines

From *ethnography* through *ethnographical* to *ethnicity* and on to *ethnotext*, the lexical field remains the same, though the implications of each term differ slightly. Thus, it is relevant to examine how these labels relate to each other and whether they share the same reception and conditions of meaning. How can their apparent negativity be circumvented in order to better use the terms for more neutral, scientific purposes? How, as we ask later, can we go from *ethnotext* to *ethnotextuality* as a way of suggesting a new approach for postcolonial literature[34] and even for post-global literature?

The Ethnotext and Ethnography

From what we have said so far about the ethnotext, which, to reiterate, can be defined as "the grafting of ethnicity onto writing in a major language,"[35] the ethnotext is about embedding a minoritized culture in the mold of expression of its dominant counterpart, which carries it. Ethnography[36] as a scientific discipline is defined by Merriam-Webster as "the

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[33]Marwan Kraidy argues that "[s]ince hybridity involves the fusion of two hitherto relatively distinct forms, styles, or identities, cross-cultural contact, which often occurs across national borders as well as across cultural boundaries, is a requisite for hybridity" (2005,5). For a discussion of the limits of hybridity, see Pnina Werbner, "The Limits of Cultural Hybridity: On Ritual Monsters, Poetic Licence and Contested Postcolonial Purifications" (2001).

[34]I explored this issue in "For an Ethnotextual Approach to Post-colonial Literature: The Example of Francophone Algerian Writing" (2018).

[35] I owe this definition to Professor Chantal Zabus during one of our discussions.

[36] According to James Clifford, "[e]thnography is actively situated *between* powerful systems of meaning. It poses its questions at the boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders. Ethnography decodes and recodes, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion. It describes processes of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of these processes" (1986, 2–3; italics in original).

study and systematic recording of human cultures; also: a descriptive work produced from such research" (Ethnography). This standard definition is flat and neutral. It does not take into consideration the connotations that have grown up around the discipline.

The adjectival form *ethnographical* derives from the name of the discipline and correlates with the adjective *descriptive*. This correlation sets these two adjectives on the side of external, allegedly "factual" descriptions. An ethnographer purports simply to describe what he or she has seen or witnessed and to do so with a certain detachment as a prerequisite for achieving a scientific picture of the object of study. Merolla writes about Algerian students in the French school system who, when encouraged to write about their village and community as objective observers "would write in terms of 'the villagers,' 'the old man' and 'the woman of the household' even when describing their own village and family members" (Merolla 2003, 137). As Merolla's example illustrates, separating subjectivity and emotion from the object of study constitutes the essence of ethnographical work, even when this requires the objectification of one's own family and community.

Behind this supposed quest of distancing for the sake of scientific objectivity lies a more somber aim, which consists, to stay with Merolla's example, in severing these students from their culture and identity in order to serve the colonizer's need for "cultural mediators, that is, acculturated elites that could mediate between colonisers and colonised" (137). Drawing on the work of the French-Algerian sociologist and anthropologist Fanny Colonna, Merolla explains the underlying motivation of the colonizer's teaching methods: "[O]ne of the tasks of the colonial school between 1900 and 1930 became the education of a few colonised as ethnographers of their own villages" (ibid.). In other words, the colonial system needed a thorough knowledge of Algerian society in order to dominate it efficiently while, at the same

time, creating an indigenous intellectual layer separated from their own society. Thus, as Merolla notes, students "were stimulated to look at their culture as being archaic and in need of being substituted by the 'superior' and 'modern' dominant culture acquired at school" (137).

Ethnographical writing has, therefore, come to be associated with writing about "inferior" cultures, and restricted to trivialities and folklore. This contrast establishes a dichotomy between "minor literature" using a "major language," to use Deleuze and Guattari's terminology with regard to Kafka's literature. According to Deleuze and Guattari, "[a]minor literature doesn't come from a minor language; it is rather that which a minority constructs within a major language. But the first characteristic of minor literature in any case is that in it language is affected with a high coefficient of deterritorialization" (Deleuze and Guattari 1986, 16). Indeed, Kafka's deterritorialization of German is paradigmatic to all postcolonial authors who use the colonizer's language as a medium of expression for their native culture and literature.

Denigration and racism, which always originate from the dominant towards the dominated and never the reverse, are thus inherent in the adjective *ethnographical*. This has been the case right from the emergence of the term *ethnographie* in the writings of de Lapouge on the superiority of the Aryan "race" over the Jews, whom he considered an "ethnographical race."This primal racism must cause us to distrust the term even when we encounter it a century later in another context. The context in question, the judgment of Feraoun's writing by the French specialist in Algerian literature Christiane Chaulet Achour, constituted the first spark for this study and will be discussed in Chapter III.

II.4. The Ethnotext and Orality: Orature

We have seen so far that the ethnotext may consist of "[…] discursive elements ranging from rules of address, riddles, praise names and dirges to the use of proverbs" (Zabus 2007, 148). These five elements are more likely to occur in oral than in written discourse since they designate speech acts in popular culture. They also denote a certain intimacy or at least a certain acquaintance between speakers and audience. Moreover, rules of address, riddles, praise names, dirges and proverbs are ethnically and culturally bound. What can be a riddle, a proverb, or a form of praise in a given culture may not function as such in another. Examples of misunderstandings due to cultural differences abound. To give a personal example, when I once offered to help my supervisor carry her luggage, she answered, "Don't worry, I can carry them. I am as strong as a donkey," punning on the more common expression "strong as a horse." The metaphor, which simply suggests physical strength in western culture, is interpreted very differently in Maghrebian cultures. Comparing someone to a donkey is one of the harshest and most insulting idions in Kabyle society, as well as in other societies in North Africa. Indeed, the name of the donkey is so negative in the Arab-Berber mindset that, in uttering it, one should either precede or follow it with the ritual expression "with all due respect to you." Not using this expression (*hasha wid id issellen* in Kabyle, *hassha sam3ines* in Arabic) would be received as extremely impolite.

In any case, including the ethnotext in writing blurs the line between literacy and what Walter Ong terms "orality" and brings "orature" into literature. According to Vicki Briault Manus, "orature is recognized as the oldest and most perennial form of literature, which proliferates around the world to this very day and greatly contributes, as it always has done, to the wealth of written literature" (Briault 2011, 6). This is due to the historical pre-eminence of orality over writing. The advent of the latter goes back to perhaps 300 BC, which is recent

compared to the former, which has accompanied humanity since the advent of language. Moreover, as the oldest form of imaginative expression, orature reaches back into a time far earlier than that of modern European colonization. The pull between the "vulgar" (i.e., the vernacular) and the elite (the vehicular) is not synonymous with modern colonial contexts. To cite just one famous example, Dante's essay on behalf of the dignity of Italian, *De vulgare eloquentia* is as early as 1303-1304.

The neologism *orature*,[37]which condenses the compound *oral literature*, rehabilitates orality. As Ashcroft et al. explain, through the concept of orature,

> [t]he study of 'oral performance art' was rescued from such limiting labels as 'traditional' or even 'primitive', and given equal status as a rich, sophisticated artistic tradition. The emergence of terms such as the contradictory "oral literature" or the later "orature" were signs of this change in consciousness (Ashcroft et al 2002, 126–127).

In the context of postcolonial literature, which is the focal point of our study, the blending of orality and literacy is an outcome of the textualized transfer from a European language into a non-European language. This shift makes postcolonial literature linguistically and culturally hybrid, since it is the outcome of the blending of two elements, the author's native language and his or her "intellectual" language. In her Ph.D. thesis on Assia Djebar's novels and films, Fatma-Zohra Imelhayen portrays Djebar as a representative of Maghrebian francophone literature, who at some point affirmed that "[a]s a writer in the French language, I certainly practice a "FRANCOGRAPHY" (Imelhayen 1999, 60). That is to say, the role of the French

[37]The concept of orature was pioneered in postcolonial literature by, among others, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. Edward Glissant succinctly distinguishes oral and written literature as follows: "The book is the tool of forced poetics;orality is the instrument of natural poetics..." (1989, 244–245). Here, Glissant also introduces the concept of "oraliture" (245) to account for the blending of the two linguistic registers.

language in Maghrebian literature consists in *saving* the Arabo-Berber culture of North African author(s) from disappearance.

However, the encounter between "orality"and "literacy" (Ong 2005) is not limited to those cases of bilingualism or multilingualism in which both the oral and written languages are mutually exotic. Neither is it limited to what Ashcroft et al. refer to as "linguistic displacement" (Ashcroft et al 2002, 10) between location and language. Mutual exoticism is not a *sine qua non condition* for the existence of the ethnotext, since it can be observed also in cases of monolingualism. The autobiography of Mohamed Choukri, our second case study, illustrates this point. Although Choukri's novel is usually classified as belonging to Arab literature from Morocco, and the language of the novel is Arabic, the demotic Arabic of Morocco known as Moghrebi, is used to a significant extent in the novel. Unlike such cases of monolingualism and "peaceful" linguistic contacts in which incorporating ethnicity into writing does not constitute any commitment beyond providing local color, in cases of colonization and domination, language becomes a battlefield for both colonizer and colonized. While the colonizer imposes assimilation on the colonized, the latter imposes assimilation over the instrument of assimilation itself, that is, the language of assimilation. Thus, instead of becoming French, Algerian authors, for instance, make the French language Algerian. In Algeria (1830–1962), France attempted forceful assimilation of the indigenous population through a school system that imposed the French language on Algerian students. Feraoun and other students who later became authors, such as Mouloud Mammeri, KatebYacine, Mohamed Dib, and others, reacted by making the French language carry their autochthonous mindset and culture. In so doing, they achieved what Feraoun calls "reversed assimilation,"(1972, 39-40) whereby the colonizers' language is forced to assimilate itself to the indigenous culture. Zabus calls this process of reversed assimilation indigenization or nativization, which she argues "are themselves part of larger, conscious strategies of

decolonization" (Zabus 2007, xvi). Thus, by inseminating the imperial language with the indigenous language, postcolonial authors achieve what Bourdieu calls "the odyssey of reappropriation," (Bourdieu, op. Cit.) through which the colonized "returns" the assimilating tool, i.e. the colonial language, and uses it against itself.

II.4.1. Orature and Literature

Orality predates literacy, as Ong observed. Thus, orature is undeniably the first form of literature created by human civilization. This was asserted by modern linguistics as early as the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, who "called attention to the primacy of oral speech, which underpins all verbal communication" (Ong 2005, 5). Moreover, we concur with Ong that the primacy of speech over writing is a demonstrable fact of language acquisition. Every human being starts learning language through speech, as "language is nested in sound" (Ong 2005, 7).

More significantly, as Ong makes clear, although human communication involves all the human senses, spoken language has a special improtance:

> Human beings communicate in countless ways, making use of all their senses, touch, taste, smell, and especially sight, as well as hearing. […] Yet in a deep sense language, articulated sound, is paramount. Not only communication, but thought itself relates in an altogether special way to sound (Ong 2005, 6).

This leads Ong to conclude that spoken language shapes thought, and that thought is shaped in turn by sound. This makes speech—articulated and heard sound—the most concrete manifestation of language. In addition to this, not only does orality shape language, but language can also forgo writing so that "of all the many thousands of languages—possibly tens of thousands—spoken in the course of human history, only around 106 have ever been committed to writing to a degree sufficient to have produced literature, and most have never

been written at all" (Ong 2005, 7). The case of Berber, which survived for twenty centuries without having a strong writing tradition, illustrates the potential for a language to survive without the need for writing[38].

Furthermore, even when a text is written, reading it is a form of conversion back to the oral essence of language. Ong observes that

> [r]eading a text means converting it to sound, aloud or in the imagination, syllable by syllable in slow reading or sketchily in the rapid reading common to high-technology cultures. Writing can never dispense with orality […] Oral expression can exist and mostly has existed without any writing at all, writing never without orality (Ong 2005, 8).

Feraoun's *The Poor Man's Son* (1950) highlights the importance of orality in several ways. One of these ways is the characterization of Lounis, Fouroulou's uncle, who gets a respectful position in the tajmaith (village assembly) on the strength of his oral eloquence. His word is respected, and he becomes a representative in the village assembly. Oral competency is one of the keys to getting social recognition in the Kabyle society. Eloquent persons, namely males, are referred to as "ahedad n bwawal," literally meaning "a blacksmith of the word." Beyond having a seat in the village assembly, these blacksmiths of the word function also as tamens, the wise men of the village. They intervene in solving the community's troubles. In Feroun's text, the tamens are asked to solve the bloody quarrel between Fouroulou's family and another

[38]Aït Messaoud et al. have confirmed the extraordinary capacity of berber to resist its emposed erasure throughout history: "Depuis la fin de l'ère Massinissa, la langue, l'identité et la culture amazighes ont été aux marges des institutions, de l'Histoire a-t-on pu écrire. Cela est si vrai que les historiens s'interrogent sur la singularité amazighe. Mais leur étonnement ne vient pas de ce que cette culture ait cédé du terrain, qu'elle ait reculé, se soit dispersée dans le désert, retranchée sur les montagnes, abandonnant la majorité de ses enfants aux cultures des conquérants ; non, leur incompréhensions vient de sa survie, de sa persistance, de son refus de mourir quand tout la condamnait à disparaitre " (2016,7). It is this stubbornness to survive that makes Assia Djebar qualify Berber language as a language of irreducibility "Langue, dirais-je, de l'irréductibilité" (2000, 2).

after an incident in which a basket artisan injures Fouroulou. After the quarrel becomes violent, with people injured on both sides, the two parties resort to the wise men of the village: the *amin*[39], *tamens*[40], and two marabouts to end up the quarrel[41] (Feraoun 2005, 28), as a means to avoid "the French judiciary, which would examine [them] under a fine-tooth comb" (Feraoun, 2005, 30).

II.4.2. Orature through Relexification

We have seen that ethnotextuality and orature are recurrent features of postcolonial literature. Some of the roles of ethnotextuality will be illustrated in our first case study, which concerns the use of proverbs in Mouloud Feraoun's francophone novel *The Poor Man's Son* (1950), and in the second case study, which concerns the use of transliteration in Mohamed Choukri's autobiographical novel *El khubz el hafi* (1973). We will then extend this approach to two test case studies.The first will be devoted to the role of Choctaw spirituality in blending American literature with Choctaw orality in Rilla Askew's novel *The Mercy Seat* (1997); the second will be devoted to the role of Mi'kmaq orality and poetry in the relexification of English in the Canadian Rita Joe's autobiographical novel *Song Of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet* (1996).

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[39]"Village leader and representative of the law. Named by the prefect on the advice of the *quaid*, who choses whoever offers the most" (Feraoun 2005, 151).

[40] "a well-off person with great influence in a village. In Tamazight, the term means "to vouch." The leader of each neighborhood or *karouba* is called *tamen*. The *tamens* are chosen by the people in the village. They are almost always the elders" (Feraoun 2005, 153).

[41]Such traditional justice is known in French as *le droit coutumier* or *le qanoun de kabylie*. According to Younes Adli, "le droit Kabyle repose sur deux sources. La première est *Llâda*, qui est la coutume transmise oralement. La seconde source est *Taârfit*, qui est l'adaptation de *Llâda* par les djemaaâ de village. Ce sont ces deux sources qui ont été affublées du vocable de *qanoun*, notamment à l'arrivée des français. *Llâda* et *Taârfit*sont à la fois des règles précises, édictées par l'assemblée villageoise, et des usages communément admis par tous. Les deux sont fondamentalement basées sur l'égalité des droits et des devoirs de l'ensemble des citoyens du village" (2016, 181).

In the following section, we first examine how ethnotextuality and orature are achieved through relexification, and how relexification relates to the postcolonial nexus of linguistic hybridity, transculture, third code, and deconstruction. Then we turn to the question of how relexification is achieved through proverbs and examine the use of proverbs through the lenses of paremiology and translation.

II.4.3. Relexification through Proverbs

Following on from Loreto Todd's definition of pidgins as resulting from "the relexification of one's mother tongue, using English vocabulary but indigenous structures and rhythms," (Zabus 2007, 112), Zabus relocates relexification outside pidgin studies and defines it more broadly as "the making of a new register of communication out of an alien lexicon" (ibid.). In other words, relexification is any mixing of two linguistic mediums. In the case of postcolonial literature, this process implies what Zabus calls "Africanization" and "indigenization" to "refer to larger strategies of cultural decolonization [...] which are to be understood against the general background of African and 'Third-World' economic de-linkage from Western supremacy" (Zabus 2007,113). Thus, Africanization and indigenization form an additional layer in the independist momentum of formerly colonized countries by completing the political independence with an intellectual one[42].

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[42]Ngũgĩ waThiong'o initiated this idea of self-determination through intellectual and cultural independence in his famous *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986). He opens the book with a clear-cut argument in favor of self-affirmation through language: "The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe" (1986, 4).

The mixing of two mediums of communication in postcolonial literature ushers in a linguistically hybrid literature. In this context, relexification and indigenization are both ways of reappropriating the colonial language, of claiming the colonial language as "butin de guerre" (spoils of war), as the Algerian francophone author KatebYacine (1929-1989) did, referring to the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962). This converts the French language from an instrument of oppression into a positive, anticolonial tool with which to counter the brutal colonization of Algeria that lasted more than a century.

In this section, we are going to study how relexification can be achieved through the use of proverbs, which are constituent elements of the ethnotext. Proverbs can be seen as a microcosm of what literature is about, which is to say, imaginative representation. In the words of Hriztalina Hriztova-Gotthard and Melita AleskaVarga, proverbs "summarize everyday experiences and common observations in a concise and figurative way" (Hritzova and Varga 2014, 1). The concision of proverbs enables them to make pithy representations of the socio-cultural contexts that inspired them. Moreover, through proverbs, we get a glimpse of the collective as well as the individual thought of the proverb user, whether he or she is a speaker or a writer. As a result, proverbs are key elements in understanding a given collective or individual mindset; they express its moral values, customs, beliefs, superstitions, hopes, fears, and so on.

One only needs to create a simple thread of words, subject, verb, and complement, to form a meaningful sentence. However, what makes literary expression literary is the extent to which it transcends such basic syntactic construction. In addition to syntactic complexity, enriching one's text with elements of imagery such as similes and metaphors gives rhythm

and life to one's discourse in the same way adding proverbs does[43]. Thus, Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* (1958) likens proverbs to "the palm-oil with which words are eaten" (qtd in Zabus 2007, 162). They make words easy to swallow and richer in meaning. They intensify meaning and expression. In addition to their stylistic properties, however, proverbs help clarify the opinions and views of the speaker. As Zabus observes, they "have been described as repositories of communal wisdom, mnemonic devices for effective communication, and educational tools" (Zabus 2007, 153). In oral cultures, especially, proverbial rhetoric is a marker of wisdom, maturity, and even of good upbringing and refinement. In Kabyle society, the word is what makes the person. It is said, in this regard, that *Argaz yetwattaf seg illes* (a man is taken from his tongue). In the following section, we discuss multiple definitions of proverbs, ranging from dictionary definitions to popular ones, to scientific and proverbial ones. As we will see, defining a proverb is a tricky task.

II.4.4. What is a Proverb?

The OED defines a proverb as any "short pithy saying in common and recognized use; a concise sentence, often metaphorical or alliterative in form, which is held to express some truth ascertained by experience or observation and familiar to all; an adage, a wise saw." (OED 1989:712). Although this standard dictionary definition may seem clear-cut and straightforward, proverbs remain challenging to pin down. According to paremiologists such as Neal R. Norrick, the challenge comes from the difficulty of distinguishing proverbs from related speech acts such as proverbial phrases, idioms, proverbial comparisons or similes, maxims, clichés, slogans, "winged" words, binominals, and "wellerisms."

[43]Beyond the stylistic function, proverbs have also an important narrative role in literature. Emmanuel Obiechina contends that "[o]ne major aspect of this interplay of the oral and literary traditions in the African novel is the phenomenon of the-story-within-the-story, or the *narrative proverb*" (italics in original; 1992, 199).

To manage this ambiguity, we are going to attempt to study the proverb from two different perspectives, theoretical and practical. According to paremiologist Wolfgang Mieder, the study of proverbs is a two-sided coin, made of paremiology on one side and paremiography on the other. The latter is simply the "collect[ing] of proverbs" (Mieder 2004, xii), while the former attempts a thorough and scientific study of "the definition, form, structure, style, content, function, meaning, and value of proverbs" (Mieder 2004, xii). Thus, paremiographers provide the corpus that paremiologists then analyze. Moreover, the paremiologist's task is not limited to studying a given proverb or a set of proverbs. As Mieder explains, paremiologists also analyze proverbs typologically:

> They [paremiologists] also differentiate among the proverbial subgenres that include proverbs as such, as well as proverbial expressions ("to bite the *dust*"), proverbial comparisons ("as *busy* as a bee"), proverbial interrogatives ("Does a *chicken* have lips?"), twin formulas ("*give* and take"), and wellerisms ("'Each to his *own,*' as the farmer said when he kissed his cow"). There are other related short and often formulaic verbal genres such as sententious remarks, literary quotations, maxims, slogans, and graffiti, but they usually lack the traditional currency of the proverbial genres. (Mieder 2004, xii-xiii; italics in the original)

The complexity exposed here by Mieder is twofold. Its first layer concerns the slippery frontiers between the proverb as a genre and its subgenres, its second the issue of " traditional currency," which means that in order to be regarded as a proverb in a given linguistic community, a "proverbial expression" should gain the status of a speech currency within a given community through an intergenerational heritage. That is to say, an expression should span several generations. Though one can object to such a prerequisite, it can be said to have some logic to it. As we will see in Chapter 3, Feraoun gives credence to the wise old people

for the wisdom of the sayings they left as a legacy for the community, since these expressions have proven themselves through time and generations.

However, determining the age of a proverbial expression is difficult because proverbs according to Mieder, go back to "preliterate times" (Mieder 2004, xi). Indeed, Mieder points out that "[t]he earliest proverb collections stem from the third millennium B.C. and were inscribed on Sumerian cuneiform tablets as commonsensical codes of conduct and everyday observations of human nature" (Mieder 2004, xii). Therefore, establishing a multimillennial age as a condition for an expression to become a proverb is very hard to fulfill. In contrast to the multimillennial existence of proverbs, their scientific study, called paremiology emerged as recently as the mid-nineteenth century with the publication of Richard Chenevix Trench's *On the Lessons in Proverbs* in 1853. *The Proverb* (1931) by Archer Taylor constitutes a second foundational book.To these two central books, we may now add the recently published collection of essays *Introduction to Paremiology: A Comprehensive Guide to Proverb Studies* (2014) edited by Hriztova-Gotthardt and Varga.

In the following pages, we are going to attempt to reach a reliable definition of the concept of the proverb by comparing the definitions given in the works mentioned above and examining their similarities and differences. In the process, we will demonstrate how the proverb, as a concept, constitutes a tool for what Zabus calls "indigenization," that is, "the writer's attempt at textualizing linguistic differentiation and conveying [for example] African concepts, thought-patterns, and linguistic features through the ex-colonizer's language" (Zabus 2007, 3). Before attempting a stable definition of the proverb, in the wake of Norrick's findings, we first have to distinguish the proverb from what it is not. Once the proverb is differentiated from the other concepts surrounding it, it can be defined from several points of view and in relation to several domains including linguistics, literature, folklore, and lexicography. After settling on a comprehensive definition, we will demonstrate the relevance

of proverbs to the study of postcolonial literature[44] in general and then show how they contribute to the shaping of the ethnotext and ethnotextuality.

Norrick defines the proverb in similar terms to the OED definition given above:

> What we generally call proverbs are traditional, pithy, often formulaic and/or figurative, fairly stable and generally recognizable units. Proverbs are characteristically used to form a complete utterance.[…] This differentiates them from non-sentential items like proverbial phrases, idioms, binomials, etc. Proverbs make apodictic (expressed as undeniable truth) statements like *Money talks* or they evoke a scenario applicable to a range of analogous situations, as in *Little strokes fell great oaks.* (Norrick 2014, 7)

Similarly, the entry for *proverb* in J.A. Cuddon's *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (1999) reads: "[a] short pithy saying which embodies a general truth. It is related in form and content to the maxim and the aphorism. Common to most nations and peoples, it is a form of expression of great antiquity" (Cuddon 706).

On a stylistic level, proverbs synthesize many of the essential characteristics of orality as defined by Walter Ong: "In a primary oral culture, to solve effectively the problem of retaining and retrieving carefully articulated thought, you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready oral recurrence" (Ong 2005, 34). The absence of writing constitutes a severe threat to what Ong calls "[s]ustained thought in an oral culture," (ibid.) which is achieved with great effort by the community's most gifted members. Thus, losing

[44] What creates the proverbialization in postcolonial literature, in comparison with the western literary tradition? In other words, is proverbialization specific to postcolonial literature despite the fact that the western tradition has proverbs in its most celebrated works of literature, such as Shakespearean plays, as makde clear by Norrick (1985). In my view, what makes proverbs and postcolonial literature correlate is probably the recent access of these erstwhile colonized societies to literacy, whereas the western literary tradition has been settled as early as the Middle Ages, and even before. Moreover, the western literary tradition builds most often on advances in sciences rather than in folklore and ethnic heritage.

their knowledge constitutes a devastating waste. As the adage states: "every old person who dies is a library which burns."[45]

The anxiety hovering over a possible loss of ancestral knowledge, wisdom, and *savoir-faire* is what spurs preliterary societies to mold their thoughts into formulaic patterns. As Ong points out, "[their] thought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulary expressions, in standard thematic settings […]" (Ong 2005,34). For Ong, proverbs are a key part of these mnemonic strategies or "*aides mémoire*" (ibid.; italics in original). According to Ong, shaping thought "in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall or in other mnemonic form" (34) is the only way to preserve and pass on the *savoir-faire* and *savoir-vivre* of oral communities[46]. Thus, the proverb was designed right from the beginning as a "ready-made coin" constantly used in a given oral community and passed down intergenerationally. Therefore, the use of proverbs has always been tied to memorization, which is made easier by the internal poetics of proverbs, akin to poetry. Nevertheless, the advent of written literature has not erased proverbs but rather tended to include them as residues. Thus, proverbs straddle two media of literary expression, literacy and orality, to use Ong's dichotomy.

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[45]The original expression is: « Chaque vieillard qui meurt est une bibliothèque qui brûle ».

[46]Like Ong, Mohand Akli Haddadou argues that proverbs help preserve the traditional sociocultural heritage : "Même si on les utilise toujours de nos jours, les proverbes sont bien souvent les témoins d'un monde révolu : celui des villages de la Kabylie d'antan, avec ses artisans, sa djamma, l'Assemblée, mais aussi sa faune et sa flore, certainement plus riches que celle d'aujourd'hui. C'est aussi une langue aux tournures vieillis et aux mots archaïques qui, s'ils sont encore connus aujourd'hui, c'est bien grâce au proverbe. Mais si les proverbes demeurent, en dépit de leur désuétude, c'est avant tout grâce aux verités qu'ils perpétuent, à cette sagesse que le temps n'a pas fait vieillir, parce que expression du bon sens ou de la fatalité. Du coup, l'usager ne fait pas beaucoup attention aux références à la société traditionnelle : peu de gens connaissent la signification du mot *axerraz*, bourrelier, mais on retient qu'un bourrelier a tué par maladresse son fils et qu'il faut faire attention quand on manipule des instruments dangereux ! La morale, elle, est celle de la société paysanne traditionnelle : elle ne s'est pas entièrement conservée mais ses principes fondamentaux sont encore enseignés : sens de l'honneur, solidarité agnatique, respect dû aux aînés… " (italics in original; 52).

On the Berber side, Abdellah Bounfour (2004) points out that the lack of interest of scholars in Berber proverbs as a genre hampers a serious and thorough study of the proverb and its role in Berber literature and culture. Bounfour attempts to remedy this lacuna by proposing a typology of the proverb. The table below summarizes the terminologies in different Berber languages—Chleuh, Kabyle, Rifian, Tamazight— that would enhance a Berber paremiology.

Dialectes Aspect visé du proverbe	Chleuh	Kabyle	Rifain	Tamazight
Rhétorique: 1. Analogie 2. Sens codé	lemtel, lamtel lmeɛna	mtel, inzan	mter	mtel
Forme rythmique			lanḍum	
Contenu: 1. Sagesse 2. Morale	Awal ismeɛnan	Tamɛayt		
Historicité	awal n imezwura		Awar imezwura	

-Table 1: (Bounfour 2004, 184; italics in original)

Bounfour remarks that the most common aspect of the proverb shared by these four Berber dialects is the rhetorical category of comparison in contrast to the content category (wisdom and morality) which is less shared. With regard to Kabyle paremiology, what interests us here is what Bounfour identifies as *inzan* and *mtel*. These two names are plural forms; *inzan* comes from the singular *inzi*, *mtel* from Arabic word *mithal*. Beyond the issue of terminology, what interests us is the issue of translation, as Feraoun's autobiography is a case of self-translation. So, in the following, we will study the issue of the translation of these culturally bound figures of speech, that is, proverbs. To do so, we will rely mainly on the findings of the Berber linguist Abdelaziz Berkai.

II.4.5. Proverbs and the Issue of Interlinguistic Translation

In the original versions of both *Le fils du pauvre* and *El khoubz el hafi*, Algerian Mouloud Feraoun and Moroccan Mohamed Choukri both resort to self-translation, as they wrote in languages that are a far cry from their mother tongues. As we will see in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively, Feraoun's text bridges two diametrically distinct languages, from Berber-Kabyle, a Chamito-Semitic language, to French, a Romance language, while Choukri's bridges the lesser gulf that separates another Semitic language (Arabic) from a Chamito-Semitic variety of Berber, the Rifian language. Both authors had to translate themselves into their learned language, French for Feraoun and Arabic for Choukri. In the process, some features of the indigenous culture they set out to depict passed through the sieve of translation, while others resisted the sifting process and, accordingly, constitute what linguists call the untranslatable[47].

In "The Paremiological Translation French-Berber: What Solution by Proverbial Equivalence?" (2015), Abdelaziz Berkai proposes four types of proverbial equivalence: perfect heteronomy, simple heteronomy, partial heteronomy, and unheteronomy (absence of heteronomy).[48] He argues that, in the same way that words can have their synonyms and equivalents in translation, proverbs can also have their heteronyms, a term he borrows from Roman Jacobson (1981:149) and defines as an "interlinguistic synonym." This means that a proverb in a given language can have a proverbial synonym in language b, c, d…etc. As the four types listed above suggest, these interlinguistic equivalences vary in degree, from perfect, to simple, to partial, and then to inexistent.

[47] Teresa Baluk Ulewiczowa illustrates this point with the example of Noel Clark's English translation of Stanisław Wyspiański's Polish play *Wesele* (1973). She contends that Clark does not manage to convey faithfully the linguistic and cultural subtleties of the original, such as its Polish proverbs (2000, 178).

[48]The original reads : "a) L'hétéronymie parfaite, b) L'hétéronymie simple, c) L'hétéronymie partielle, d) L'anéthéronymie," (Berkai 2015, pp 28–30).

According to Berkai, the first type, perfect heteronomy, is rare and unlikely to occur in linguistic contexts where languages belong to distant sociolinguistic spheres, such as Berber and French. It is more likely to occur between languages that have evolved together, such as Berber and the Algerian Daridja, (Berkai 2015, 28) since the two proverbs in a relationship of perfect heteronomy need to share what Berkai terms their "themes, actants and processes" (ibid.). The second type, simple heteronymy, is characterized by "an occurrence of thematic and actantial equivalence, and lack of equivalence of process or thematic equivalence and of trial and absence of actantial equivalence".[49]To illustrate this, he gives two examples. The first example involves a confusion of two things of varying importance:

> *Ilaq ad nefreq gar userkem d useḥmu* « littéralement : on doit distinguer entre chauffer/réchauffer et faire bouillir »/« Il ne faut pas mélanger torchons et serviettes » : même thème et même procès, mais différence d'actants. (29)

In this example, the theme is confusion, and the process is prohibition: one should not confuse a with b. However, the two proverbs are made of different actants: the Kabyle proverb is made of "asserkem" and "assehmu" (boiling and heating), which refer to food and water. The French equivalent uses other actants: "torchons et serviettes," that is, floor cloth and towels. The former suggests "floor cleaner" whereas the latter refers to a cloth to dry the human body.

[49] The original reads:"il y a en l'occurrence équivalence thématique et actancielle, et absence d'équivalence de procès ou équivalence thématique et de procès et absence d'équivalence actancielle" (Berkai, 29).

In the second example, the theme is divine protection:

> *Win ur iɛus Rebbi ula ay s-d-gen at Rebbi*“ litt. Celui que Dieu ne protège pas n’a rien à espérer des saints »[50] // Il vaut mieux avoir affaire à Dieu qu’à ses Saints : identité du thème et d’actants et différence de procès. (29)

In this example, the theme is the same in both the Kabyle proverb and its French equivalent. Both express the idea that “the one whom God does not protect has nothing to expect from His saints,”[51] but the linguistic processes the two languages use to express the idea differ. While the Kabyle uses negation, the French expresses a positive wish: “Il vaut mieux” (It is better).

The third type, partial heteronymy, meets only the requirements of thematic equivalency (Berkai 2015, 29). According to Berkai, who gives fourteen examples, this kind of equivalence is the most likely one to happen. One of the examples is the following :

> *Zuɣer acifuḍ ad tafeḍ arkas*“ litt. traîne des sandales et tu auras des chaussures”/ Tout vient à point à qui sait attendre (patience).

This proverb highlights the importance and fruitfulness of patience. However, the French translation that Berkai provides is faulty in the sense that Kabyle people actually say “use sandals until you find shoes.” That is, in Berkai's translation, using the available “sandals” leads systematically to finding shoes, which is not exactly how it is expressed in the original Kabyle proverb. The Kabyle proverb advises using the sandals *until* one finds shoes. Furthermore, the Kabyle-French translation is only thematic, using different actants: sandals / shoes vs. everything / wait.

[50] The one whom God does not protect has nothing to expect from His saints, (my translation).
[51]My translation

Berkai's final type, unheteronymy, refers to the absence of interlinguistic proverbial equivalence:

> [H]ere examples abound because many situations and experiences can be proverbialized by one community, but not necessarily by another. Some proverbs also include social, cultural, religious, and cultural experiences that can be specific to a specific human community.[52]

To illustrate unheteronymy, Berkai gives the example of a proverb that uses the *Kaaba:* "*Ttif taḥbult m lefwar, wala Lkeɛba m leswar*" (Une galette fumante est préférable à la Kaaba aux remparts" (Berkai 2015, 30; italics in original) which refers to one of the central images of the Islamic faith, and thus to Muslims. Berkai also provides another example that contrasts the image of the sun's heat to that of "northern cold." It is well known that geographical variation entails different mindsets and ways of perceiving the world, for example the myriad expressions and names referring to snow in arctic cultures and to the sun and heat in sub-Saharan African countries. Thus, this category of proverbs is endemic.

Based on the typology elaborated by Berkai and Bounfour, in the following section we will examine the interlinguistic transfer of Kabyle proverbs into French, the language of Feraoun's novel. We will also look at how some specifically French proverbs are indigenized by the author.

[52]The original reads "[I]ci les exemples sont nombreux, car il existe beaucoup de situations et d'expériences qui peuvent être proverbialisées par une communauté, sans l'être nécessairement par une autre. Des proverbes aussi intègrent des expériences sociales, culturelles, religieuses, cultuelles … qui peuvent être propre à une communauté humaine (Berkai 2015, 30; my translation).

Chapter III: The Kabyle Ethnotext in Mouloud Feraoun's Autobiography *The Poor Man's Son* (1950)

This chapter is our first case study of Kabyle ethnotext in its Algerian dimension. It is devoted to the case of Algerian francophone literature as embodied by Mouloud Feraoun's autobiographical novel *The Poor Man's Son* (1950). The chapter is divided into three sections. The first describes the contexts of writing and language in Algeria during both colonial and post-colonial times, focusing on the status of Berber during the two periods and on Feraoun's decision to write in French, the language of the Other, rather than in his own language. The second section is devoted to the reception of the novel. It attempts to shed some light on the knotty issue limiting the novel's outreach to ethnicity by answering the question of whether *The Poor Man's Son* is an ethnographic or an ethnotextual novel. The third and the last section discusses Feraoun's indigenization of the French language through the use of characteristically Berber proverbs and metaphors.

III.1. Berber in the Algerian Sociolinguistic Landscape

The history of the Berber language is one of transhistorical subalternity. From Saint Augustine's and Apuleius' times, until recently, Berber has always been relegated to the status of a language of everyday interaction only rather than one of official or literary use. Though the Berbers had one of the oldest writing systems, they restricted its use to primary purposes. Like Berber intellectuals and writers under Roman colonialism, their counterparts under French colonialism reproduced the same paradigm. They used the colonizer's language to express "serious" ideas, which may also suggest that they resorted to writing as a mode of reaction instead of action.

III.1.1. Berber during French Colonization

During French rule in Algeria (1830-1962), the language debate crystallized over the question of whether French or Arabic should be the language of instruction in schools. Berber did not figure in the debate. It was neither the language of religion and spirituality, mostly relayed by Arabic in the *medersas*, nor that of modern scientific knowledge, which was the preserve of French. Berber was confined to the private sphere of daily life, and thus to orality. When public education was introduced in 1830s, the system was bilingual to begin with. As Abdelkarim Chami observes, “From 1830 to 1880, the French …introduced Arabic schools where both Arabic and French were taught simultaneously to some of the French and Algerian children [...]” (Chami 2009, 393–394). However, this egalitarian language policy did not last long: “after 1880, the French administration closed all these [bilingual] schools and changed them into French ones” (Chami 2009, 394). Since neither Arabic nor French were their mother tongues, Berber students found themselves alienated whether they were educated in either the mixed or the exclusively French system.

This exclusion of Berber from school curricula during French colonization deeply affected Berber students. Those who later became intellectuals, such as Kateb Yacine, Mouloud Feraoun, Malek Ouary, and many others, testified to the psychological suffering produced by this assimilationist policy. One of these francophone intellectuals, Malek Ouary, describes his experience in the French school system as a double-edged sword that forced him learn the culture of the Other at the expense of his own: “Mon entrée à l'école a revêtu pour moi un caractèresingulier: On m’y envoyait en quelque sorte pour y désapprendre ma langue afin de m’initier à une autre” (qtd. in Merolla and Abrous 2013, 5959). Thus, the Berbers were estranged in their education whether it was francophone or arabophone.

III.1.2. Berber in Post-independence Algeria: From Prohibition to Recognition

In January 2016, after 54 years of Algerian independence, Tamazight gained official status in the new constitution for the first time in Algeria, finally giving the language its proper place as Algeria's indigenous tongue. However, this was the culmination of a very long and strenuous journey, full of sacrifice, violence (including murder), exile, censorship, and depersonalization. Post-independence Algeria has largely been a "copy/paste" of French Algeria, especially with regard to linguistic and cultural identity issues. From Gallicization to Arabization, what changed was the players only, but the game remained the same.

Arabization was the priority of the nationalist movement and was driven mainly by the Algerian Muslim Ulemas Association (AMUA), which emphasized the importance of building a unified country. Linguistic diversity, according (AMUA), was a threat to national cohesion and unity. Bachir Al-Ibrahimi, one of the association's most influential leaders, published *Arabic in Algeria: A Free Woman Admitting No Rival* in 1948, the rhetoric of which is strikingly Arabocentric. The following extract, translated from Mohamed Tilmatine's French translation (1997), is typical of Al Ibrahimi's Arab ethnocentrism and hostility to the Berber component of the nation:

> The Arabic language is the official language of Islam and it has from this point of view two indisputable rights on the Algerian nation: a right derived from the fact that Arabic is the language of a nation and this nation is a Muslim one and a right that results from the fact that Arabic is the language of a nation and this nation is racially Arab. The protection of the Arab nation is, thus, a question of preserving the race and the religion at the same time.[53]

[53] Tilmatine's translation reads " La langue arabe est la langue offcielle de l'islam et elle a de ce point de vue deux droits indiscutables sur la nation algérienne […] Un droit du fait que l'arabe est la langue de la religion

Such exclusivist discourse sowed the first seeds of Algerian division. Indubitably, the impact of such discourse led to the 1949 Berber crisis[54]. In blurring the lines between religion, language, nationalism, and race, this rhetoric managed to divide Algerians against themselves. It left no room for tolerance or diversity, whether cultural, linguistic, or religious.

Once Algeria gained its independence in 1962, and especially after the 1965 coup, the leaders of AMUA were given a free rein to implement their Arab-Islamist ideology and assimilate the nation to their pan-Arabic vision. According to Mohamed Benrabah:

> The impossibility to dissociate language from religion leads Algerian leaders to equate the "Arabization" of society with its "Islamization." This view is largely held by members of the movement whose ideology has served the regime since independence: the Ulemas, a religio-conservative movement which has become actively involved in the process of Arabization after the military overthrow in June 1965. After this coup d'etat [sic], the authorities had to work harder to find instruments of legitimacy. The Ulemas offered their help. Since then, they have been granted a third of government positions (ministries). They were in charge of the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Information, and, most important of all, the Ministry of Education (Benrabah 2004, 63).

The Ulemas targeted the spinal core of Algerian society. Holding the keys to the education system gave them the opportunity to carry out their ideologically driven plan to deny, against all historical evidence, the Berber character of Algeria as well as, by extension, that of the other newly independent North African nations. The enforced Arabization of Algeria contradicted abundant historical evidence and even the testimony of the first great Arab historian, Ibn Khaldoun. The implicit aim of the Ulemas'plan was to eradicate, first, Berber

d'une nation et que cette nation est musulmane ; et un droit qui résulte du fait que l'arabe est la langue d'une nation est que cette nation est de race arabe. La sauvegarde de la langue arabe est donc une question de conseravtion de la race et de la religion en même temps […]. » (Tilmatine 1997,83)

[54] For further information see Abdennour Ali Yahia's *La crise Berbère de 1949 : Portrait de deux militants : Ouali Bennaï et Amar Ould-Hamouda Quelle identité pour l'Algérie ?* (2013).

and then French. It is a well-known fact that their children do not go to public schools, but are sent either to French private schools or to foreign countries for their studies.

During the post-independence period, Berber thus became the government's main enemy to be eradicated at all costs. Relying Greffou (1989), Mohamed Benrabah notes the Algerian school system's will for acculturation as framed within the 1971 national pedagogic institution, which aimed to "correct through the child the language of his [sic] family. As the child is under the influence of his [sic] family, he [sic] will influence it in turn" (Benrabah 2004, 68). Thus, acculturating children in order to instill unintelligibility between parents and their offspring and prevent intergenerational language transmission was a deliberate strategy to promote linguistic assimilation and erase the Berber language. Sowing the seeds of programmed unintelligibility at the intimate level of the family demonstrates the government's determination to implement a linguicidal education policy reminiscent of the Roman strategy *of divide et impera*. In addition to weakening Berber language and culture, by dividing Algerians against themselves, the policy ensured the government's supremacy over the country and its population.

III.1.3. Arabic and Berber in the Algerian Constitution

The post-independence Algerian constitutions of 1963, 1976, and 1989 stipulate in Article 2 that "Islam is the religion of the state."[55]Article 3 states that "Arabic is the national and official language."[56] In combination, these articles erase the existence of the Berber language and identity. Until the constitution of 2016, successive Algerian governments have always tried to convince the people, against all historical and demographic evidence, that they are Arabs, thus promoting a culture of self-denial and self-hatred.

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[55] The original runs as: "L'islamest la religion de l'état" (Jean).

[56] The original runs:"l'arabe est la langue nationale et officielle," (ibid).

On 2 September 1999, the Algerian President, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, came to the stronghold of the Berber cause, Tizi-Ouzou, to tell the Kabyles, who had already paid a heavy price for this cause, that "[t]here is no Amazigh flag anymore and I came here to pinpoint your misunderstanding. If, I do say if, Tamazight should become a national language, it would never be official. It would never be official. I maintain, if it had to become a national language, it would be by way of a referendum."[57]Bouteflika delivered this speech one year after the murder in 1998 of the activist singer Matoub Lounes, the most famous defender of Berber language and identity against political marginalization and Arab-Islamist hatred. Bouteflika's negationist stance, underscored by his use of rhetorical redundancies, was an additional stab into the historic wounds of the Kabyle region, clearly designed to quench any hope for recognition. When he nevertheless hinted that official language status might be possible, but only after a national ballot, he intended, in reality, to stifle Kabyles' claim to cultural and racial distinctiveness. A referendum would have been demagogic, a mirage meant to silence Berber opposition while maintaining a pretense of democracy, especially for an international audience.

Under intense popular pressure after the uprising of 2001, when the riots in Kabylia alone cost 126 lives, Bouteflika finally extended the third article of the constitution to include the statement that "Tamazight is also a national language,"[58] but this inclusion falls well short of resolving the problem, as it relegates Berber to a secondary position after Arabic. The problem also goes beyond the issue of hierarchy. Not only does Berber come after Arabic, but its status as a national language is void. That is to say, the official status "granted" to Berber states that the language exists only as a linguistic variety, and, at the level of effective

[57] The original runs:" […] Il n'y a plus de drapeau Amazigh et je suis venu ici cerner votre malentendu. Si, je dis bien si le Tamazight devrait devenir une langue nationale elle ne serait jamais officielle. Elle ne serait jamais officielle. Je tiens à le dire si elle devait devenir langue nationale ce serait par voie référendaire […]" (Bouteflika 00:01:20).

[58] The original runs:"Le Tamazight est également langue nationale." (Jean).

language use, Berber remains neither a language of the state, nor of the schools, nor of the economy. In short, even while giving Berber nominal national status, the government clearly intends to sabotage the use and further development of Berber in the long term while pretending to have the consent of its speakers.

After 54 years of independence, the 2016 constitution finally recognized the national and official status of Berber, but the specifics of its status are limiting, as table 3.1 below shows.[59]The discrepancies between the two supposedly equal state languages are clear. While Arabic is recognized as the functional language of the state, Berber is also a national and official language of the state. This implied secondary status is only another proof of the government's double speak, which consists of superficial evenhandedness undermined by inherent injustice. That is to say; the government persists in a monolingual policy under the mask of bilingualism. In practice, Arabic remains the only official language of the state. Furthermore, clause 178 of the constitution[60]does not include Berber among the "sacred" constituents of national identity as it does Arabic, Islam, and republicanism. In other words, under another president, Berber could run the risk of being eradicated from the constitution again.

[59] For further details see www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie-3Politique_ling.htm.
[60] This corresponds to article 212 of the original source, *i.e* The Algerian Constitution 2016.

Article 3	Article 3 bis[61]	Article 178[62]
L'arabe est la langue nationale et officielle.	[Le] tamazight est également langue nationale et officielle.	Toute révision constitutionnelle ne peut porter atteinte : […](4) à l'arabe, comme langue nationale et officielle.
L'arabe demeure la langue officielle de l'État.	L'État œuvre à sa promotion et à son développement dans toutes ses variétés linguistiques en usage sur le territoire national.	

III.1.4. Arabization and Berber Resistance

As we have seen above, the Algerian Government recognized the official and national status of Berber in the 2016 constitution. This recognition was not a gift but instead the outcome of 67 years of Berber struggle, starting in 1949 with the Berber Crisis and continuing even after independence in 1962. Indeed, the struggle for Berber identity persisted through two pivotal moments in Algerian history: first, the Berber crisis in 1949 and, second, the Berber Spring in 1980. Thus, this struggle straddles both colonial and independent Algeria.

In the postindependence era, the main trigger was the Berber Spring that began in March, 1980, when governmental forces intervened to forbid a conference on Berber oral poetry organized by the Kabyle writer Mouloud Mammeri at Hasnaoua University in Tizi-

[61]This corresponds to article 4 in the original source, *i.e* the Algerian Constitution 2016.
[62] This corresponds to article 212 of the original source, *i.e* The Algerian Constitution 2016.

Ouzou[63]. The resulting protests cost around thirty lives, mostly of students in one of Tizi-Ouzou's campus residences (Oued-Aissi). From that point on, Kabylia as a whole has commemorated the event with massive demonstrations in the four corners of the region every 20th of April. Since the Black Spring of 2001, the commemorations have been combined in order to pay tribute to all the victims of the Berber cause and remind the central government that Algeria is still faithful to its Amazigh identity.

On the twenty-first anniversary of the Berber Spring, in 2001, police killed a young high school student, Massinissa Guermah. The murder prompted mass protests that were brutally repressed by the police. Around 120 civilians were killed and a hundred injured. These bloody events gave rise to a spontaneous popular organization named the Arches that gathered and structured the widespread protests and formulated a list of claims named El Kseur that demanded the right to cultural and linguistic diversity and political democracy. The Arches organization gathered the population in a historic protest on 14 June 2001, where millions of demonstrators gathered in Algiers to express their anger and demand their rights. The Black Spring led to the creation of a political party Mouvement pour l'autonomie de la Kabylie (MAK), which has gained considerable influence and international visibility. In 2010, it established a provisional government based in Paris under the presidency of the political activist and singer Ferhat Mhenni.

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[63]The memory of the Berber Spring events 1980 was popularized by Matoub Lounes in his song *Yeḥzen Lwad Aɛisi* (1981). Moreover, in her book *Berber Culture on the World Stage* (2005) Jane E Goodman documents the outbreak of Berber Spring that "[began on] March 10, 1980, when Kabyle scholar and activist Mouloud Mammeri (1917–1989) was to give a public lecture on the role of poetry in traditional Kabyle society, the subject of his newly published book *Poèmes kabyles anciens* (Old Kabyle Poems). The talk was to take place at Hasnaoua University in the city of Tizi Ouzou, the intellectual and commercial center of the Kabyle Berber region. A crowd of more than one thousand had gathered, but Mammeri never arrived. He was stopped at a police roadblock, brought before the region's governor (*wali*), and informed that the event had been canceled. The reason: "risk of disturbing the public order." The cancellation sparked demonstrations and strikes at schools, universities, and businesses that would rock the Kabyle region for more than two months. Matters came to a head on April 20 when, at 4:15 in the morning, riot police stormed university dormitories, a factory, and the local hospital" (italics in original, 29-30).

Even before the Berber Spring, the Berber Culturalist Movement (Mouvement Culturel Berbère, MCB), under the presidency of Ferhat Mhenni, had called on students in Kabylia to boycott classes to demand Berber language instruction. During the 1994–1995 academic year, students responded by shutting down educational institutions ranging from primary schools to high schools and university campuses throughout Kabylia. Under the slogan "No school without Tamazight," the boycott was maintained despite government pressures and manipulations. To end the boycott, Liamine Zeroual's government was forced to create Le Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité (HCA) to promote the use of Berber, especially in the school system. The progress has since been made in Berber language education has been achieved mainly thanks to this institution. Since the creation of the HCA, Berber has been introduced in schools in several regions of the country, degree programs in Berber language and literature are now taught at a number of universities, including universities in Tizi-Ouzou, Béjaïa, Bouira, and other regions of the country. The Berber cause has also gained both national and international attention thanks to intellectuals and writers such as Mouloud Feraoun, Tahar Djaout, Assia Djebar, KatebYacine, and Mouloud Mammeri, and popular singers such as Lounes Matoub, Ferhat Imazighen Imoula, Lounis Ait Menguellet, and Idir (Hamid Cheriet).

III.2. Mouloud Feraoun: The Author and his Context

Mouloud Feraoun was born on 8 March 1913 in Tizi Hibel in the department of Tizi-Ouzou. In 1920, his father sent him to school. The child's brilliance earned him a fellowship and later won him a place in the prestigious *école normale superieure* of Bouzarea. After graduating he worked as a teacher in several village schools and, in 1960, became an inspector in the social centers in Algiers. In 1962, he was assassinated by the Organisation de l'Armée Secrete (OAS)[64] along with five other colleagues working in the social center.

Feraoun left an important intellectual legacy ranging from fiction, including five novels: *Le fils du pauvre* (1950), *La terre et le sang* (1953), *Les chemins qui montent* (1957), *L'anniversaire* (written in1962 and published in 1972), *La cité des roses* (written in 1958 and published in 2007) ; and four book-length works of non-fiction: *Jours de Kabylie* (1954), *Les poèmes de Si Mohand* (1960), *Journal 1955-1962* (1962), and *Lettres à ses amis* (1969). In addition to these books, Feraoun wrote more than forty articles for various newspapers and magazines[65].

Feraoun's success as a writer is linked to the introduction of the French school system in Algeria, on the one hand, and to the subsequent emergence of a new literary field, Algerian literature, first pioneered by European travel writers and novelists such as Isabelle Eberhardt (1877-1904). In the second chapter of *The Poor Man's Son* (1950), Feraoun sets the tone and announces the aim of the novel when he critiques the romanticized representations of Kabylia produced by some European intellectuals. Without being named, Albert Camus and his report *Misère de Kabylie* (1939) are the targets of Feraoun's criticism.

[64] For further details about the OAS oragnisation, see Alain Ruscio *Nostalgérie: l'interminable histoire de l'OAS*, La Découverte, 2015.

[65]For further details, see José Lenzini, *Mouloud Feraoun: un écrivain engagé*. Casbah Editions, 2016, p.369.

> The tourist who dares penetrate the heart of Kabylia admires, out of a sense of conviction or duty, the sites, which he finds marvelous, the landscapes, which he thinks resonate with poetry, and always he feels an indulgent sympathy for the customs of its inhabitants. […] My apologies to all tourists, past and future. You find such wonder and poetry in nature because you pass through as tourists. Your dream ends when you return home and find banality on your doorstep (Feraoun 2005, 5).

Feraoun began writing the novel during the Easter school holidays in 1939. At that time, Algeria was witnessing the advent of a new school of literature, Les Algérianistes (the Algerian School), "composed of some European novelists who have been organizing themselves under this label since the 1920s in order to distinguish themselves from the other North African writers"[66]. Robert Randau, one of the leading figures of the Algerian school, welcomes Louis Bertrand's work, which "has rendered us the service of ridding the novel of the clutter of false orientalism, of easy exoticism, of the agreed, the fake." [67]

The 1920s and 1930s mark two historical moments: the centennial of the French colonization of Algeria (1830-1930) and the interval between the two world wars. The first event, the centennial of colonization, indicated that Europeans were a settled population in Algeria; many had been born and had grown up in a country they considered theirs. Known as the *pieds noirs*, they regarded themselves as French Algerians and were sensitive to western Orientalism, correctly seeing it as full of clichés and stereotypes. Correcting these orientalist fantasies was the aim of many *pied noir* writers and intellectuals such as Robert Randau. They consider themselves to be the authentic voice of Algeria. However, this claim to originality

[66] The original runs:"Il ya d'abord les *Algérianistes.* Ce sont quelques romanciers européens qui depuis 1920 se sont regroupés sous cette bannière pour se distinguer des autres écrivains nor-africains," (Lenzini 2016, 138 ; Italics in the original).

[67] The original reads:"[le travail de Louis Bertrand] nous a rendu le service de débarrasser le roman de l'encombre du faux orientalism, de exotism facile, du convenu, du factice" (qtd in Lenzini 2016, 139).

and truth was flawed. The *pied noir* intellectuals, and the French Algerians in general, were remote from the core of Algerian society, the silenced autochthonous population. In this context, Feraoun's *The Poor Man's Son* (1950) was an autochthonous *cri de Coeur* in response to both western orientalists and the *pied noir* intellectuals of his time and beyond.

***The Poor Man's Son* (1950): An Ethnographical / Ethnotextual Novel?**

The reception of Feraoun's autobiographical novel *The Poor Man's Son* (1950) has been varied but, at the same time, often highly polemical. While some have celebrated it as the birth of the indigenous Algerian novel, others have denounced it as an assimilated, regionalist, ethnocentric, ethnographical novel. In this section, I survey the arguments on both sides, focusing on issues of ethnicity and assimilation. First, I discuss whether *The Poor Man's Son* should be considered an ethnographic novel or an ethnotextual one. Then I examine the accusations of "assimilationism" that have dogged both the novel and its author.

Feraoun's oeuvre and that of other Kabyle francophone writers, even that of Mouloud Mammeri, has been labeled "ethnographic" literature by nationalist critics of post-independence Algerian writing such as Mostefa Lacheraf, Youcef Nacib, and the French critic Christiane Chaulet Achour. The latter has been the most polemical. Her Ph.D. dissertation, *Abécedaire en devenir – langue française et colonialism en Algérie* (1985), and her subsequent book *Mouloud Feraoun, une voix en contrepoint* (1986) continue to be widely discussed. Before diving into the specifics of ethnographic allegations and their counterarguments, it will be useful to define *ethnography* and its implications for literary analysis.

Daniela Merolla concedes that the dictionary definition of *ethnography* is simply a "descriptive study of ethnic groups"[68] but, at the same time, emphasizes the need to understand the implications of the term. She argues that it does a good deal more than just name a scientific field of study: "It is necessary to understand here the meaning of the word *ethnography* both because this definition often takes on an accusing tone and also because [doing so] will help us understand the meaning of the definition of regionalism"[69] Thus, for Merolla, the problem of the label *ethnography* and its adjectival form *ethnographic* lies in the correlation between ethnicity and regionalism, which creates conflicts over legitimacy and importance.

Furthermore, the autobiographical nature of Feraoun's novel emphasizes its personal dimension. The author himself admits that in writing the novel, he aimed at self-depiction. This is clear from Feraoun's account in his autobiography *The Poor Man's Son: Menrad, Kabyle Schoolteacher* (2005) of what impelled him to become a writer:

> He believed he could write. Ah! Neither poetry nor a psychological study, nor even an adventure novel, since he has no imagination. But he has read Montaigne and Rousseau, he has read Daudet and Dickens (in translation). He quite simply wanted, like those great men, to tell his own story. I told you he was humble! Far be it from him to compare himself to geniuses; he intended only to borrow from them the idea, the simple idea, of portraying himself. (Feraoun 2005, 3)

In making this "confession", Feraoun both gives credit to his detractors and exonerates his novel of literariness, affirming that it is neither poetry nor an adventure novel. Worse still, he even denies himself the ability to deal or engage with philosophical debates.

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[68] The original reads : "Une définition abstraite du mot ethnographie, tel qu'on le trouve dans les dictionnaires, est « étude descriptive des ethnies" (Merolla 2006, 158).

[69] The original reads:"Il faut comprendre ici le sens du mot ethnographie à la fois parce que cette définition assume souvent le ton d'une accusation et parce qu'il nous aidera à comprendre aussi le sens de la définition de régionalisme" (ibid).

In his study of Feraoun and his work, the Algerian critic Youcef Nacib identifies the whole of Feraoun's oeuvre as ethnography and anthropology calling it "an introduction to the Kabyle Man".[70] In other words, he considers Feraoun's word essentially a window on Kabylia and its inhabitants. According to Nacib, "[t]he ethnographical novels, *The Poor Man's Son*, *The Land and the Blood,* and *The Rising Pathways,* constitute a dense fresco of life in the Djudjura of the 1950s. It is indubitable that these three novels depict Kabyle life better than all the colonial literature manuals"[71] For Nacib, Feraoun's novels are more faithful depictions of Kabyle society than any colonialist ethnological study. The trilogy is an ethnographic text in the sense that it introduces the reader to Kabyle sociocultural life.

Nacib also suggests that Feraoun unwittingly follows British anthropologist Malinowski's method of participative ethnography:

> Feraoun unknowingly practices, in his novels, Malinowski's participative ethnography, with this critical difference that the school teacher, who happens to be an anthropologist as it turns out , has no precautions to take in order to bridge the distance separating him from his informants, being himself an informant. (Nacib 1982, 25)[72]

Nacib explains the ethnographic quality of Feraoun's work by the socio-historical context, which is that of French colonization. In such a context,

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[70] The original reads: " Introduction à l'homme kabyle, tel pourrait être le titre commun des romans de Feraoun." (Nacib 1982, 25).

[71] The original reads:"Romans ethnographiques, *Le Fils Du Pauvre*, la *Terre et le Sang*, et *Les chemins qui montent* constituent une fresque dense de la vie dans le Djurdjura des années 50. Il ne fait pas de doute que ces trois œuvres à elles seules peignent beaucoup mieux la vie kabyle que tous les manuels de la littérature ethnographique coloniale" (ibid).

[72] The original reads:"Feraoun pratique dans ses romans, et, à son insu, l'ethnographie participante de Malinowski, à cette importante différence près que l'instituteur, anthropologue en l'occurrence, n'a pas de précautions à prendre pour franchir la distance qui le sépare de ses informateurs. Lui-même est informateur" (ibid).

> [t]he novelist-teacher plays then his double role as an ambassador. He is a spokesman for "the natives" to the colonizers, while as a teacher, he presents French culture to his people. However, at the same time and despite himself, he will appear as a (super) native in the eyes of the colonial authorities as well as running the risk of being taken for a fake native by the "Muslims."[73]

Due to the colonial context, the Algerian population was divided into the French colonizers on the one side and the autochthonous Algerian population on the other. Such a contentious context complicated the role of Feraoun, who found himself torn between two opposing allegiances: that of his oppressed indigenous population and that of its oppressor counterpart. Thus, the author's role was necessary to enhance dialogue between the two populations.

Feraoun was deeply concerned about the ignorance about each other of the two populations. Feraoun laments the absence of an effective acquaintance between the autochthonous and European parts of the Algerian population and seems determined to provide an alternative representation, that of an insider: "the Algerians of Moussy, whom we cannot imagine more authentic and closer to us, come into contact constantly without seeing us. This is because neither Moussy nor Camus nor almost all the others were able to come to us to know each other enough."[74] This is why Christiane Achour describes his œuvre as a "text of rectification and not of questioning."[75] In other words, Feraoun fails to question the colonial situation, limiting his contribution to "correcting" the biased colonial representation. This is the context in which Feraoun critiques, for example, Marcel Moussy's representation of autochthonous Algerians:

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[73]The original reads: "L'écrivain-instituteur joue alors son double rôle d'ambassadeur. Présentateur des « Indigènes » aux colonisateurs, il présente en l'enseignant la culture française aux siens. Mais du même coup et malgré lui, il apparaîtra comme un sur-indigène aux autorités coloniales en prenant le risque d'être vu comme un faux indigène par les « musulmans »" (Nacib 1982, 23-24).

[74]My translation. The original reads:« […] les algériens de Moussy, qu'on ne peut imaginer plus authentiques et plus proches de nous, nous coudoient continuellement sans nous voir, c'est que ni Moussy ni Camus ni presque tous les autres n'ont pu venir jusqu'à nous pour suffisamment nous connaître » (Feraoun 1972, 55).

[75] The original reads: "un texte de la rectification et non de la remise en cause," (qtd in Merolla 2006, 158).

> The traditions, the mores, the customs, the beliefs and superstitions, the individual and collective morality, in short, the complete life movie, it is this film of which the writer Moussy tried to scrupulously write the script, which he wanted to screen in his books. However, for those who chose the overwhelming role of the defender, the objective observation was not enough, no matter how meticulous it was.[76]

An external depiction, which is the essence of ethnography, remains insufficient to represent the autochthonous Algerian population, Feraoun argues, regardless of how detailed and accurate it may be. In Feraoun's assessment, the documentary quality of such depictions focuses on differences rather than similarities. They fail to unite the separated populations and thus exacerbate their mutual isolation:

> The documentary side of [Moussy's] oeuvre is in his eyes of the highest importance; he devotes all his attention to it because he knows, alas, that the observer who has studied Muslim society from the outside has never understood it correctly and always has a tendency to focus on what distinguishes rather than on what brings together.[77]

In addition to shallowness, ethnography connotes regionalism and local color, which limits a given work to the perimeter of the population it intends to represent. Thus, Khatibi's qualification of Feraoun's oeuvre as "an ethnographic portarait of kabylia"[78] just does not hold water. Feraoun cannot criticize Moussy and other French authors for their descriptive works so that he can provide an additional descriptive one.

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[76] The original reads : "Les traditions, les mœurs, les coutumes, les croyances et les superstitions, la morale individuelle et collective, en somme le film complet de la vie, c'est le film, dont l'écrivain Moussy a essayé de monter scrupuleusement le scénario, qu'il eût aimé faire dérouler dans ses livres […] Mais pour ceux qui ont choisi le rôle écrasant de l'avocat, l'observation objective ne suffisait pas, si minutieuse fût-elle." (Feraoun 1972, 57).

[77] The original reads : "Le côté documentaire de son œuvre garde à ses yeux la plus grande importance, il lui consacre toute son attention parce qu'il sait, hélas, que l'observateur qui a étudié la société musulmane de l'extérieur ne l'a jamais bien comprise et qu'il a toujours tendance à s'arrêter sur ce qui distingue plutôt que sur ce qui rapproche" (Feraoun 1972, 57).

[78]« A vrai dire, la densité dramatique passe au second plan dans les romans de Feraoun qui sont essentiellement un portrait ethnographique de la Kabylie » (Khatibi 1979, 50-51).

Besides shallowness, Daniela Merolla opposes the ethnographic etiquette repeatedly attached to Feraoun's oeuvre, namely *The Poor Man's Son*. According to Merolla:

> Si les descriptions réalistes font toujours de la description ethnographique, et ensuite si l'implication du narrateur (c'est-à-dire, la présentation de l'intérieur) implique toujours le passage de l'autobiographie à l'auto-ethnographie. Si l'on considère ces deux questions, l'on voit par exemple que les historiens, les sociologues, les romanciers et les autobiographes anglais, français, italiens et espagnoles de l'époque coloniale ne sont pas considérés comme des (auto)ethnographes bien qu'ils écrivent usuellement dans un style réaliste. (Merolla 2006, 161)

Thus, the double standard treatment of Feraoun in comparison to western realist authors is not ethical[79]. If all realist authors were considered as ethnographers, the ethnographic etiquette would be acceptable. However, the fact that it is partially applied, mainly to colonized author(s), proves that it is more a matter of ideology than literary or intellectual criticism.

Merolla deconstructs the authorial distancing, which presupposes the ethnographic quality of Feraoun's work. She argues that double narration in the novel is what made Achour consider Feraoun an ethnographic writer.

> [E]n analysant *Le fils du pauvre*, Achour se réfère à la personne grammaticale de l'énonciateur. Dans le première partie du roman on retrouve l'utilisation de la première personne pour se référer aux Kabyles, et l'énonciateur dit « nous, les Kabyles » ; tandis que dans la deuxième partie on retrouve le passage à une narrattion de l'exterieur où le personnage de Fouroulou Menrad et les Kabyles sont présentés par la troisème personne

[79] In her PhD dissertation, Nadia Naar asserts that the motif behind Feraoun's use of realist descriptions is motivated by the author's will "to criticize colonialism … to make the injustices of colonialism transparently evident" (2014, 104).

> « il/ils/eux ». Et c'est ce passage de 'nous' à 'ils' qui fait dire à Achour qu'on est dans le cadre d'une ethno-autobiographie ou atuto-ethnographie : le récit présente à la fois un narrateur externe et un narrateur interne, qui parle donc à la première personne, et tous les deux donnent une description réaliste de la Kabylie. Il ya donc la distance, celle demandée par la perspective de l'école coloniale, qui est associée à l'implication de l'énonciateur dans la partie autobiographique (Merolla 2006,163).

Thus, by relying on Feraoun's mutiple narration to qualify him as an ethnographer, Achour takes a shortcut. Indeed, multiple narrations are not limited to realist literature but are also a characteristic of internationally acclaimed literary works, such as the modernist works of Joseph Conrad, Virginia Woolf, and many others. Furthermore, multiple or distanced narration, in the case of Feraoun, should not be taken for granted. Merolla continues her assessement of Achour's interpretation of Feraoun's text as follows:

> The passage from the use in the text of me/us to them (in relation to Kabyles) is 'mediated' by an external narrator who speaks in the prologue of the first part and the second part and which qualifies as being very close to the narrator / Kabyle character who tells me/us.[80]

Accordingly, we concur with Merolla's critique of Achour's ethnographist assessment of Feraoun's work. Indeed, the alleged distanced narration in Feraoun's autobiography is hard to prove both from the narratological and sociological perspectives. The narratological shift from first to third narration is less radical than Ashour assumes. Merolla is right in contradicting this argument by referring to explicitly mediated narration in the novel's first and second parts prologues.

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[80] My translation. The original reads : "Le passage entre l'usage dans le texte du moi/ nous à ils / eux (par rapport aux Kabyles) est 'médiatisé' par un narrateur externe qui parle dans le prologue de la première partie et de la deuxième partie et qui se qualifie comme étant très proche du narrateur/ personnage kabyle qui dit moi/ nous" (Merolla 2006,163).

In addition to narratological complexity, Feraoun belongs to a communitarian society. Contrary to western individualist societies, Kabylia and Maghrebian society as a whole, have a complicated rapport to individuality, namely when it comes to artistic expression. Merolla adds in a footnote:

> It must also be considered that such distancing can still be linked to the refusal of the explicit disclosure of the self in classic autobiography. This refusal is not specific to the ethnographic approach, but it is due to the sense of modesty, respect of the writer for his parents and his family and which is particularly felt in the pre-independence Maghrebian literature.[81]

Indeed, the exacerbated modesty of many artists of the region, such as Assia Djebar and the singers Idir and Takfarinas spurred them to choose pseudonyms to author their works. Thus, Feraoun's distance from his tale is not, and should not, be used to limit his oeuvre between the brackets of ethnography at any cost.

Furthermore, Achour considers Feraoun an assimilated author, confined to his own community: "The assimilated always speaks of his group by naming it by its regional characteristic, the Kabyle, diallobes, rarely by its national characteristic."[82] As essentially an ethnographer, Feraoun, according to Achour, is a local author, unable to speak for the whole of the nation's people and concerns. Indeed, Achour is so convinced of the regionalism of Feraoun'sœuvre that she wonders how it can be included in the postindependence Algerian school curricula: "How can this work, written in French from a mainly regional and a pseudo-

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[81]My translation. The original reads : "Il faut aussi considérer qu'un tel dédoublement peut encore être lié au refus du dévoilement explicite du soi dans l'autobiographie classique. Ce refus n'est pas spécifique de l'approche ethnographique, mais il est dû au sens de la pudeur, du respect de l'écrivain pour ses parents et sa famille et qui est particulièrement ressenti dans la littérature maghrébine pré-indépendence (Merolla 2006,163).

[82] The original reads : « l'assimilé parle toujours de son groupe en le nommant par sa caractéristique régionale, les kabyles, les diallobés … rarement par sa caractéristique nationale » (qtd in Saadi 2014, 104).

activist perspective, and in a tone strongly influenced by the secularism of the Third Republic, maintain its 'national' recognition?"[83]

However, underestimating Feraoun's nationalism and his importance to the nationalist cause is a mistake. Despite his pacifist tone, Feraoun's contributions to the nationalist cause cannot be brushed aside. First of all, the Feraounian nationalist conception goes beyond the frontiers of Algeria as a country. In his letter to Camus, published in *L'anniversaire* (1972) under the suggestive title "The Source of our Common Misfortune,"

> To do things properly, on the contrary, the suit had to give way to the *gandoura* and the *seroual*, so that the whole of the Algerian people wearing burnooses could have regained the unity it had maintained for centuries in spite of internecine divisions and a multitude of languages and ways of life. This unity, imposed by the climate, the milieu and the necessity of living together on this "island of the west," really existed, and neither the Phoenicians nor the Romans, Vandals or the Arabs were able to disrupt it.[84]

Feraoun outlines his conceptions of assimilation and nationhood, which consist, in the assimilation of the French by the autochthonous Algerians. Feraoun's vision of the Algerian people encompasses much more than just his Kabyle community. His vision is interracial, cross-cultural, and transhistorical, since for him, what makes the "Algerianness" of the people is their bond to the whole North African region. The alleged localism of Feraoun is thus a fallacy driven more by ideology than objective analysis of his texts.

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[83]The original reads:"comment cette œuvre écrite en français, dans une perspective essentiellement régionale et peu engagée et sur un ton fortement influencé par la laïcité de la troisième République, maintient-elle sa reconnaissance 'nationale' ?" (qtd in Merolla 2006, 160).

[84]My translation.The original reads : « Pour bien faire, il eût fallu, au contraire, que le costume disparût pour laisser place à la gandoura et au séroual et le peuple algérien, tout entier en burnous, eût à coup sûr retrouvé son unité : celle qu'il avait eu au long des siècles, en dépit des divisions intestines, de la multitude des langages et de la diversité des genres de vie. Car il y avait bien cette unité nord-africaine imposée au moins par le climat, le milieu, la nécessité de vivre ensemble dans cette « île de l'Occident », et que ni les Phéniciens, ni les Romains, ni les Vandales, ni les Arabes ne réussirent à disloquer (Feraoun 1972, 39-40).

Moreover, the inclusion of Feraoun's oeuvre in the post-independence Algerian school curricula is proof that, beyond Kabylia, all Algerians, including Arabic-speaking Algerians, can identify with *The Poor Man's Son* (1950). Furthermore, its purported regionalist limitations are belied by the numerous translations of the novel. It has been translated into Arabic, Kabyle, Russian, German, English, and recently Japanese. The Japanese translation, by Etsuko Aoyagi, was followed with an international colloquium on Feraoun in Tokyo in March 2017. The international visibility of *The Poor Man's Son* shows clearly that what might happen in Kabylia speaks not only to the rest of Algeria but also to the rest of the world, a reality that even Achour finally acknowledged fifteen years after her doctoral thesis:

> Mouloud Feraoun is one of the most renowned Algerian authors both in his country and abroad. He received in his lifetime two literary prizes; he was and still is translated in several languages, in particular, his first novel. Classical as much by its reception as its place in education and its style, it is one of the "essential" francophone classics.[85]

Feraoun was also no apologist for colonialism. In his *Journal 1955-1962*, for example, he makes clear his commitment to the defense of Algerians' civil rights and invites French intellectuals, specifically Albert Camus and Emmanuel Robles, to defend this cause and abandon their ambiguous stand:

> I could say the same thing to Camus and to Roblès. I feel a lot of admiration for the first and brotherly affection for the other. But they are wrong to talk to us when we are waiting for generous hearts if there are any; they are wrong to talk to us when they cannot express their thoughts completely. It is a hundred times better that they remain quiet. Because, in the end, this country is indeed called Algeria and its inhabitants are

[85]My translation.The original reads: « Mouloud Feraoun est un des écrivains algériens les plus (re)connus dans son pays et à l'étranger. Il a reçu de son vivant deux prix littéraires; il a été et est encore traduit dans de nombreuses langues, en particulier son premier roman. Classique autant par la réception qui est la sienne et sa place dans les cursus de formation que par son écriture, il est un des « incontournables » des classiques francophones » (Achour 2010, 183).

> called Algerians. Why sidestep the evidence? Are you Algerians, my friends? You must stand with those who fight. Tell the French that this country does not belong to them, that they took it over by force, and that they intend to remain here by force. Anything else is a lie and in bad faith. (Feraoun 2000, 71)

Feraoun's oeuvre abounds with criticism of the colonial situation, and at a time when freedom of speech was nonexistent under colonialist repression. As Malika Fatima Boukhelou argues,

> […] it is also necessary to stress the fact that if Feraoun writes to depict his society and bring it to the world, he does so above all to denounce a colonial scandal: immense poverty and the hardships it entails, malnutrition, injustice, and contempt, endured by a whole people for more than a century of French presence in Algeria.[86]

Indeed, *The Poor Man's* Son resounds with anticolonialist criticism. Many passages clearly link the misery of Kabyle society to the colonial condition. Some of the most striking images of this misery are of the "hunger queues" before the *bureau des docs* where the utter poverty and destitution of the population are painstakingly depicted. In addition to material deprivations, the vast majority of the Kabyles in *The Poor Man's Son* are revealed to be illiterate. On the very first page of the novel, the author refers to himself as "living among the blind." His academic success is far from being widely shared among the indigenous population. Significantly, the proverbial Kabyle expression "living among the blind" recalls the French aphorism "au pays des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois," allusively calling into question the alleged *mission civilisatrice* with which the French justified their colonialism.

[86] The original reads: "[…] Mais il faut aussi souligner que si Feraoun écrit pour décrire sa société et la faire advenir au monde, il le fait surtout pour dénoncer un scandale colonial : l'immense misère et son cortège de souffrances ; la malnutrition, l'injustice et le mépris vécus par tout un peuple depuis plus d'un siècle de présence française en Algérie" (Boukhelou 2012, 29).

Thus, Feraoun dares to criticize, through an autobiographical novel, what the French Algerian Camus criticized in his articles on the "Misère de Kabylie"[87] in June 1939, which elicited violent waves of indignation from French Algerians, especially after their republication in Camus's collection of Algerian chronicles, *Actuelles III,* in the febrile atmosphere of 1958[88]. In his letter to Camus, Feraoun congratulates his fellow writer for his cooperation in the struggle for justice and condemns the refusal to face reality on the part of the French. The atmosphere at this time was so opaque that no criticism was welcome, regardless of its provenance, whether indigenous or French. Do not the French say "Some truths are better left unsaid?"[89]

Furthermore, the censorship which *The Poor Man's Son* underwent before its publication, curtailing it by 100 pages, together with numerous editorial interventions at the lexical level, substantially altered the tone of Feraoun's manuscript. Twenty-five years after her initial suspicions about Feraoun's nationalism, Achour recognized how this censorship had obscured the author's true intentions: "Robles gives him a prestigious position in his collection "Méditerranée" from Seuil Editions, not without truncating a part of it."[90] The expurgated material consists of two entire sections, the first entitled "The War" and the second "The Prologue." These are the most explicitly anticolonial sections of the novel, and their suppression, Achour concedes, is the reason why she originally called the novel an "oeuvre atone" (qtd in Sadi 2014, 103) or "toneless work," thus denying it any critical tone or anti-colonial credibility.

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[87] Albert Camus republished these articles in *Actuelles III* (1958).

[88] Feraoun opens his letter « La source de nos communs malheurs » to Alber Camus by reassuring him of his support. Indeed, Camus's Atuelles III (1958) was badly received by the French Algerians and proponents of a French Algeria. Feraoun begins his letter with the following words: " Je suis, peut-être moins surpris que vous-même du silence qui entoure votre dernier livre et finira par l'étouffer " (Feraoun 1972, 35).

[89] The original reads: « Toute vérité n'est pas bonne à dire. »

[90] My translation. The original reads: « […] Roblès lui donne une tribune prestigieuse dans sa collection « Méditerranée » au seuil, non sans en tronquer une partie » (Achour 2010, 181).

Feraoun's son, Ali Feraoun, informed me about this editorial alteration during the interview which I carried out with him on 4 April 2017 at the Etourar Hotel in Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria. He told me that this intervention changed *The Poor Man's Son* from a novel condemning the colonial school system to one praising it. I also learned from Ali that a team of Japanese scholars headed by Aoyagi are working on the implications of this censorship. In addition to this, Boudjema Aziri (2014) devoted some parts of his Ph.D. dissertation on translations of *The Poor Man's Son* to these editorial interventions, contrasting the first version of the novel published in 1950 by *Les Cahiers Du Nouvel Humanisme* and the 1954 version published by Le Seuil Editions in Paris

After deconstructing the ideological assessments—ethnographist, assimilationist, regionalist—of Feraoun's autobiographical novel *The Poor Man's Son*, which have made a lot of ink flow*,* we propose to examine the novel from another perspective to account for its ambivalent position. How can we account for its polyphonic resonances, using the language of the Other to express one's conquered self and mindset? In the following subsection, we will argue that Feraoun's use of French language is far from being unwittingly mimetic, it is rather strategicly used. So, the following section will study how Feraoun indigenizes the French language through inseminating his text with Kabyle proverbs and achieves an ethnotextual novel rather than the polemical ethnographic one.

III.3. Proverbs in *The Poor Man's Son* (1950)

In this section, I examine Feraoun's use of proverbs in *The Poor Man's Son* (1950). I attempt a descriptive study in order to clarify the narrative import of proverbs in the novel and, in particular, how they are used as literary tropes to embue the novel with the cultural subtleties of Kabyle society. I have identified a total of seventeen proverbs and proverbial expressions in *The Poor Man's Son* (1950). These fall into two categories: Kabyle proverbs and French proverbs. The French proverbs are sometimes inserted into the text in their original form and at other times manipulated to suit the Kabyle narrative context. I discuss the proverbs on three levels: the first involves explaining the proverbs of Kabyle origin and the second explaining the French proverbs. The third level requires analyzing the translation of these proverbs in the English translation by McNair (2005) and the Kabyle translation by Mussa At Taleb (2005).

III.3.1. Proverbs of Kabyle Origin

Proverb 1

Menrad …" vit au milieu des aveugles" (Feraoun 1950, 7)[91].

Though this proverb is truncated, its full form will be easily recalled by a Kabyle reader, as Kabyles frequently use the expression in daily conversation. It is used mainly to refer to arrogance and undeserved status. Taoes Amrouche provides the full form of the proverb in *Le grain magique* (2009), a collection of Kabyle proverbs, poems, and tales: "Au pays des

[91] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Yettidir "ger ideryalen" (2005, 11). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "[he] lives "among the blind" (2005, 3).

aveugles Le chassieux est appelé l'homme aux yeux clairs" (104). This proverb is very close in both meaning and form to a French one, a common variant of which runs "Le borgne au milieu des aveugles est roi." However, the fact that Feraoun truncates the proverb and uses only its second half makes its provenance here ambiguous. Does he have in mind the Kabyle or the French version? Moreover, this proverb is also widely used in English-speaking areas as "In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king." The dissemination of this proverb in Anglo-Saxon countries is also helped by its use as a title of a story by H. G.Wells, "In the Country of the Blind."[92] Thus, the existence of this proverb in Kabyle, English, and French is a clear indication that the local and global are not separated entities and strengthens the glocal dimension of *The Poor Man's Son*.

Feraoun's use of the proverb indicates that the hero of the novel, Fouroulou,[93] is conscious of the privilege he has and perhaps worries that it is undeserved. In other words, he is aware that his luck in attending school and succeeding in his studies, which has given him an unhoped-for social status compared to the "unlucky" illiterate majority, is far from being widely shared in his colonized society. Being humble, however, he does not want to show off his status among his neighbors and indigenous fellow citizens who have not had the same opportunity.

[92] Profesor John Gilmore's feedback after my follow-up committee 26 June 2018.
[93] Fouroulou Menrad is the name of the central character in *The Poor Man's Son* (1950). The name of this character is an anagram of the first and last names of the author: Mouloud Feraoun. When the letters of the character's first and last name: FOUROULOU MENRAD are rearranged, the result is Mouloud Feraoun.

Proverb 2

"Il comprenait, le malheureux, que s'il cherchait trop à planer comme un aigle, il ne ferait que patauger comme un canard "[94] (7).

This proverb shows Fouroulou's deep awareness. That is to say; the educated Fouroulou knows full well that, even if his education gives him a status above that of his "uneducated"' fellow citizens, it cannot elevate him to the same level as the French or the pieds noirs. He realizes that, in order to stay true to himself, he must not try to imitate the French because, by so doing, he would never acquire their status but would run the risk of losing his original status. He would be alien in the French and Kabyle communities alike. He then makes the choice of standing his ground, even with his education, among his own people. This proverb is used in everyday Kabyle conversation to speak of someone who tries to rise above his condition and achieve another condition that, in reality is distant and inaccessible. The awkward splashing of the duck in the proverb symbolizes the situation of someone who neither belongs in his original social milieu nor in the targeted one.

Feraoun has been inspired here by a Kabyle proverb comparing the walk of the partridge and that of a hen, which is given in *Le grain magique* as "Elle voulait imiter la démarche de la perdrix, Et elle n'a plus su retrouver celle de la poule" (Amrouche 2009, 116). In his novel, Feraoun modulates the proverb to make its imagery more comprehensible to the francophone reader. He uses two birds, the eagle and the duck, whose modes of propulsion contrast even more starkly than the partridge and hen of the Kabyle version, where the partridge is associated with elegance and refinement and the hen with disorder and frivolity.

[94] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Yeẓra, meskin, limmer ad inadi ɣef wecrured n tsekkurt yezmer lḥal a s-taɛreq tikli n tyaziṭ" (2005, 11). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "He understood, poor man, that if he tried too hard to soar like an eagle, he would only waddle in the mud like a duck" (2005, 3).

In the process of adaptation, the proverb is altered at the gender level as well. The Kabyle uses female birds and compares a beautiful gait with an ugly one. In the adapted proverb, Feraoun opts for male birds ("l'aigle" and "le canard") and shifts the focus from esthetics to power, the mighty soaring of the eagle vs. the weak, dull waddling of the duck.

Furthermore, the choice of a hen and partridge denotes a given cultural mindset. Animals are often used to express ethnically bound metaphors, as each community endows its flora and fauna with metaphorical dimensions that express its specific mindset. In the Kabyle mindset, the partridge is interchangeable with female beauty. If one wants to compliment a young girl or a woman, one likens her to a partridge, and everything is said. While female beauty is measured with birds (partridges and hens), male strength is associated with the lion, not the eagle, which is a western, mainly American, metaphor for strength.

Proverb 3

> "[…] le chef d'œuvre avorté gît aujourd'hui, oublié, entre un cahier de roulement et des fiches de préparation, comme le cinquième œuf de la fauvette que l'oiseau et ses petits laissent dédaigneusement dans le nid inutile, [sic] "[95](8–9).

This proverb can be challenging for the French reader, as the cultural metaphor it uses is typically Kabyle. The proverb is about uselessness. The metaphor of the warbler's egg does not self-evidently convey uselessness, but Kabyles use the expression "tamellalt n laɛchour" to mean the alms egg that they put aside for charity. By using the ordinal "fifth," Feraoun

[95] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Yeččur yiwet n tkarnitt tameqrant yeğğa-tt… Attan ger leḥwal-is n uselmed am imsebred n lɛec ğğan watmaten-is asmi ufgen" (2005, 12). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: " In one of these drawers, the aborted masterpiece lies today, forgotten, between a spiral notebook and exam notes, like the warbler's fifth egg, which the bird and its brood disdainfully leave behind in the useless nest" (2005, 4).

adapts the proverb, which originally refers to the “achoura egg”. *Achoura* derives from the Islamic tradition of consigning a tenth of one’s fortune as alms. In Feraoun’s adaptation, the fifth egg of the warbler signifies the last egg of the bird, which is thought likely to produce a weak ling that the adult warblers abandon.

The proverb also invokes a profoundly superstitious belief in the Kabyle mindset, fear of the evil eye. An alms egg refers to a useless, unsuccessful or even failed member of the family but who is accepted by the family for the sake of a protection against the evil eye that is likely to affect successful members of the family. From this superstitious perspective, in specifying the “fifth egg,” Feraoun merges two superstitions: that of the scarified egg and the number five, also referred to by the name of Fatima’s hand (khamsa), which is worn as a token of protection against the evil eye.

Proverb 4

> “Quelques habitations prétentieuses ont été construites récemment grâce à l’argent rapporté de France […] Elles méritent le dédaigneux dicton qu’on leur applique : « Écurie de Menaël, extérieur rutilant, intérieur plein de crottins et de bêtes de somme.” (13–14)[96].

In this proverb, Feraoun confirms the proverbial quality of the expression, by identifying it as a dictum. The proverb can be easily understood through separating its key elements: "extérieur rutilant" vs. "intérieur plein de crottins." The parallel conveys the idea of a beautiful surface hiding something ugly inside. One wonders why Feraoun did not use the

[96] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: “Kra n tnezduɣin ulint-ed melmi kan s lmend n uṣurdi d-yettwaḥellan di Fṛansa… Neẓra zdaxel gant am tidak akk nniḍen. Uklalent aɛekki: “Adaynin n Mnayel sufella mellul d acebḥan, zdaxel yeččuṛ d leɣber d iserdyan” (2005, 15). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: “A few pretentious houses have recently been constructed thanks to the money brought back from France… They deserve the scornful epithet we give them: “Menaiel’s stables: gleaming on the outside, but full of dung and donkeys on the inside” (2005, 6-7).

French proverbial expression directly: “les apparences sont trompeuses” (appearances are deceitful).

Furthermore, if Feraoun was an assimilated author as he was often called, he could have used the Christian equivalent of this saying, which is widely known and used in western and Christian societies. The saying in question here derives from the biblical passage where Jesus compares the scribes and Pharisees to “whited sepulchers, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men’s bones, and of all uncleanness” (Mathew xxiii, 27). Once again this indicates Feraoun’s desire to make the French language express the Kabyle mindset at a deep level. The image of Menaiel's stable comes from the plural noun *amnayen*, which means “horsemen.” Thus, whatever the external beauty of the stable, its interior is full only of beasts of burden and dung. By using the proverb to refer to the outward beauty of supposedly rich houses, the author wants to suggest that most Kabyle houses are more or less economically equal, despite the deceptive outward façades or fake opulence of some. A famous Kabyle singer, Slimane Azem, in one of his songs provides another variant of this proverbial expression: “a win yellan d lfahem sfehm-iy id amek akka, dacu d sebba inighem, sufella yecbeh yerqem, daxel mi teldi-d yerka” (0:31-0:45) (Oh wise man, tell me, what made a pretty fig rotten on the inside). Azem is known for his original use of symbolism, and in this song, he addresses deep existential questions by modulating this proverbial expression that reflects on hypocritical human behavior.

Proverb 5

> "'Nous sommes voisins pour le paradis et non pour la contrariété.' Voilà le plus sympathique de nos proverbes" (14)[97].

Here again, Feraoun attests to the proverbiality of an expression. In this case, however, he explicitly praises this one as the "nicest" of our proverbs. This proverb is based on the original Kabyle proverb "d ldjiren I rehmamachi I neqma," whose meaning depends on the context. In peaceful contexts, it indicates they are praying to God to give their neighborhood blessings rather than quarrels and curses. In the context of a quarrel, on the other hand, it denotes someone complaining about the abuses of a neighbor. The second meaning of the proverb is common to both Kabyle as well as arabophone sayings: "before buying a house buy a neighbor." Of course, the phrase "buy a neighbor" is metaphorical, meaning "before choosing a house choose a neighbor." As good neighbors can make of hell a paradise, in the same way, bad ones can make a hell of a paradise. The paramount importance of neighborliness is addressed in several Berber as well as arabophone proverbs. Again, having published his novel first in 1950 and then in 1954, Feraoun could have used a French version of the proverb "L'Enfer, c'est les autres" that was popularized in John Paul Sartre's play *Huis Clos* (1944)[98]. The fact that Feraoun uses the specifically Kabyle version of the proverb without referring to Sartre's version adds another stone to Feraoun's French-indigenization edifice.

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[97] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Neqqar: "D lǧiran i rreḥma mačči i nneqma" (2005, 15). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "We are neighbors for the purpose of sharing bliss, not vexation." "This is our most congenial proverb" (2005, 7)

[98] Profesor John Gilmore's feedback after my follow-up committee 26 June 2018.

Proverb 6

"Chacun de nous, ici-bas, doit connaître la pauvreté et la richesse. On ne finit jamais comme on débute, assurent les vieux. Ils en savent quelque chose!" (p.18)[99]

This proverb refers to the Kabyle perception that human life is divided into a life on earth and an afterlife. According to Kabyle elders, earthly life begins with birth and ends with death in the same way that the day starts with the dawn and ends with the night. Earthly life adheres to the same binary opposition. Someone who begins life in opulence will taste poverty in the end and vice versa. By the same logic, there is a proverbial Kabyle expression that it is better to experience misfortune at the beginning of one's life than at the end: "Axir win iwumi zwarent, wala win iwumi grant."

Feraoun's adaptation of the proverb concerns the usury of the money lender Said, for whom people predict a terrible end as punishment for his greed. The author synthesizes the situation by ascribing the proverb to the elders' firm belief, "assurent les vieux" (the elderly affirm). This expression is often used in Kabyle speech acts when quoting an ancestral saying because elders' affirmations are taken as uncompromised truths harvested as a result of a long life experience. Feraoun's use of the introductory formula "assurent les vieux" is frequent in Berber oral tradition. Bounfour affirms this: "These kinds of introductory formulas are common and diverse in the Berber speaking area" (Bounfour 2004, 185). Bounfour provides six Kabyle alternative introductory formulas: "*yella deg gawal* (on dit) et *yella di lemtel* (Comme dit le proverbe), *awal jjant-id imezwura* (Paroles d'Anciens), *akken s yenna winna n zzman* (Il a été dit autrefois), yenna-yas (On dit) ; and "pour un conte tiré d'un conte animalier *yenna* (a dit) +le nom de l'animal" (Bounfour 2004, 185 ; italics in original.). Based on

[99] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Yiwen ur yettfakka akken yebda i d-qarren imezwura. Ssnen, ẓran, jeṛben" (2005, 19). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "Each of us here below shall experience poverty and wealth. You never end up as you started, the elders assure us" (2005, 10).

Bounfour's affirmations, we can say that Feraoun follows the oral tradition while writing his novel. Furthermore, the proverbial expression "Chacun de nous, ici-bas…" echoes a poem by the American writer Henry Wadsworth Longfellow which was originally published in 1842, and has the line "Into each life some rain must fall", which has almost become a proverbial expression in English, probably helped by its use in a song by Ella Fitzgerald (1944)"[100] Thus, the parallel with Wadsworth's poem strengthens *The Poor Man's Son*'s glocal dimension and establishes the first step to the transatlantic dimension of our comparative study entitled Towards the Transatlantic Ethnotext.

Proverb 7

"Sa rancune est un feu de paille" (19)[101].

The collocation of fire and straw is used to refer to rapid and thorough devastation. In this example, Fouroulou describes the wrath of his seemingly gentle and handsome uncle Lounis as a fire of straw. Lounis is said to be a wise man who has earned his place in the village council, the *tadjmait*. He is even said to be clumsy in menial work, which is typically associated with male strength and violence, attributes unexpected from the gentle and soft-spoken Lounis. However, the truth about Lounis is revealed when the basketmaker Chabane hurts Fouroulou. The shift in Lounis's temperament from calmness to fury is so surprising and devastating that it is compared to a fire of straw. The comparison stems from the proverbial expression "fire under straw," which denotes unsuspected devastation. The proverb is also used to refer to someone's hypocrisy. Thus, when provoked, Lounis's anger is unpredictable and devastating. Professor Gilmore informed me that this proverb is also frequently used in Barbados: "If you say that someone's anger is like a trash fire— the trash

[100] Profesor John Gilmore's feedback after my follow-up committee 26 June 2018.

[101] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "taḥsift-is am weclim yeddem waḍu" (2005, 20). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "He is quick to form grudges" (2005, 11).

being the dried leaves of the sugar-cane, left on the ground after harvesting—you mean it blazes up quickly, but dies down just as rapidly, and is therefore not to be taken seriously.” [102]

Proverb 8

“La coutume a consacré les vertus du maître ou de la maîtresse de maison. Des proverbes indiscutables rendent justice à leur mérite” (25)[103].

To convey his respect for the masters or mistresses of a house, Feraoun also relies on the power of proverbs. In this case, he does not use a specific proverb, but gives the Kabyle reader freedom of interpretation. However, this easy understanding is denied to the non-Kabyle reader. In this way, Feraoun exercises his power over the language and the non-initiated reader, as Briault Manus contends in a South African context. In order to appreciate this kind of cultural intricacy, one needs an in-depth knowledge of the culture that inspired the novel. Mouloud Mammeri's *Culture savante, culture vécue* (1991)[104] addresses this issue, where the understanding of words alone is not sufficient to penetrate the cultural frontier of the Other.

Feraoun's detractors accuse him of targeting French readers only, but if this criticism were valid, Feraoun would not confront the reader with such endemic cultural elements. In fact, by using French as the vehicle for his depictions of Kabyle life, Feraoun reveals his concern with the preservation of the Kabyle culture. He wanted to fix this oral culture and its literature using the “reliable medium” that French books and language provided, to give a

[102] Profesor John Gilmore's feedback after my follow-up committee 26 June 2018.
[103] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: “ Yuli ccan n win neɣ tin a yilin d aqarru ɣef wexxam-is. Imeslayen lqayen d isefra d-ttawin fellas rran-as nnṣib.” (2005, 25). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: “Custom has made the virtues of the master or mistress of the house sacred. Many indisputable proverbs acknowledge their merit” (2005, 15).

[104] Mouloud Mammeri argues in this regard: “Si les mots n'étaient que ce qu'ils veulent dire, ce serait la fin de toute littérature, en particulier la fin des littératures orales, dans lesquelles certains termes ont un rapport charnel (ou magique) avec ce qu'ils évoquent plus qu'ils ne désignent ” (1991,188).

concrete body to this culture that had been passed on intergenerationally through orality alone. Thus, these proverbial elements are not inserted incidentally in the text but on purpose to make a bridge between the borrowed French language and literary tradition and Faroun's own cultural heritage as "content" which he puts in to give it its form. To safeguard the culture through French is Feraoun's motivation in writing both novels and non-fiction works such as *Poèmes de Si Mohand* (1960), his anthology of poems by the famous Kabyle troubadour.

Proverb 10

> "Mon père, de son côté, a jugé la situation: il sait que lorsqu'on a goûté chez quelqu'un son pain et son sel, il est difficile de le trahir" (43)[105].

Even though this citation does not constitute a proverb, the collocation of "salt" and "bread" has gained a proverbial status thanks to its recurrence in Kabyle daily speech acts, which translates a particular mind and worldview. In fact, in Kabyle society, sharing food with someone is considered one of the most bonding acts that people can perform. Moreover, when someone invites you to eat, you are expected to turn down the invitation unless the host insists and only then accept the invitation out of politeness. This convention arose due to the general poverty of the Kabyle region, where most people barely eke out a living.

Indeed, poverty is the pivotal element in *The Poor Man's Son* from beginning to end. The idea of poverty is not, alas, a merely fictional element either at that time or at present in mountainous Kabylia. This is why sharing precious salt and bread binds you to the person with whom you share it. When a person opens the door to you and invites you to eat from the

[105] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Baba di tmuɣli ines, iwala tamsalt s wudem nniḍen: yeẓra ma teččiḍ taggella d lmelh akked yiwen, yewɛer akken a k-yexdeɛ" (2005, 39). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "My father, on his side, has judged the situation: he knows that once you have eaten bread and salt in someone's home, it is hard to betray them" (2005, 29).

same big dish as the family; you are given access to that family's privacy. This is also why Kabyle people swear in the name of salt and bread, especially when they are betrayed by someone to whom they have offered it. The proverbial oath is: 'May the salt and bread [that they ate with us] betray them [in the same way that they betrayed us]."

The traditional aphorism "faithful to bread and salt" also brings to mind the Christian Eucharistic ritual. The common point between the Christian ritual and the Kabyle popular belief is the sacredness of food as a bond in human relations. As the "blood and body" of Christ, represented by wine and bread, bind the Christian believer to the sacrifice of Jesus, salt and bread bind Kabyle guests to the generosity of their poor hosts. This proximity between Kabyle popular belief and Christian belief can be explained by the fact that North Africa was Christian before the Islamic conquest. In either case, bread and salt, or wine and bread can be said to be cultural metaphors for faith and betrayal. These two collocations are so recurrent in their respective cultural communities that they can be said to be proverbial. The evocation of one or the other is sufficient to conjure up a storehouse of images[106] of cultural, religious, and social heritage and conditions.

Furthermore, the centrality of salt in Kabyle culture is reminiscent of Chinua Achebe's palm oil metaphor in *Things Fall Apart* (1958). When Kabyles refer to something undesirable or dull, they say "It is like eating unsalted food." Similarly, Achebe points out that, in Igbo culture, proverbs are "'the palm-oil' with which words are eaten" (qtd in Zabus 2007, 162). Here, by eating, we are meant to understand "swallowed" by people's intellect: proverbs "lubricate" (Zabus 2007, 164) communication and understanding between community

[106] According to Kamal Naït Zerad, salt is a polysemic word, which evokes several figurative images beyond the literal meaning. Some of these metaphors are: "mləḥ « être beau »; mǝlləḥ « saler; être salé / embellir »;amǝlḥan « salé / joli, gracieux, agréable, mignon »; umliḥ « gracieux, agréable », etc. et bien sûr: ləmləḥ « sel »" (2018, 152).

members. In *The Poor Man's Son*, we can say that, even if Feraoun does not include an actual proverb constructed around salt, his novel is well seasoned with other proverbs.

III.3.2.The French Proverbs

The Poor Man's Son contains at least seven originally French proverbs, which the author adapts to fit the aims of his story. Some are embellished, others truncated or inverted. In this section, I explore some of these French proverbs and examine how they are molded by the Kabyle sociocultural contexts depicted in the novel.

Proverb 1

> "Seule dans la famille, ma petite sœur Titi fêta l'événement en s'octroyant la casserole de couscous au lait. Elle marqua cette journée d'une pierre blanche, tant il est vrai que le bonheur des uns provient du malheur …mais ne médisons pas trop de l'école" (60)[107].

On the first day of Fouroulou's schooling, his mother prepares a copious breakfast for him. However, he is surprised when his father urges her to get the boy ready for his first school day more rapidly. The father's excitement and hurry make Fouroulou miss this unexpectedly generous treat of couscous and milk. In order to convey the depth of the boy's disappointment for missing this feast, which then benefits his little sister Titi, Fouroulou uses a version of the French proverb "Le malheur des uns fait le bonheur des autres," meaning that the misfortunes of some people cause the joy of others. However, Feraoun alters the proverb's

[107] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Deg wexxam, weltma tamectuḥt, titi, ad taf iman-is; weḥdes a tessewlellef tifedṛeqt nni n seksu d uyefki. Ass am ass-a ad as tecfu. D tawenza-s i s-t-yefkan" (2005, 53). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "Alone at home, my little sister Titi celebrated the event by treating herself to the casserole of couscous and milk. She noted this day with a white pebble, proving once again that some reap their happiness from the misfortune of … but we should not speak too badly of school" (2005, 41-42).

syntax while retaining its semantic content. As Figure 1 shows, the syntactic order of the original proverb is inverted in the novel. In Feraoun's version, the subject of the proverb (le Malheur) becomes the object, and the object (le bonheur) becomes the subject.

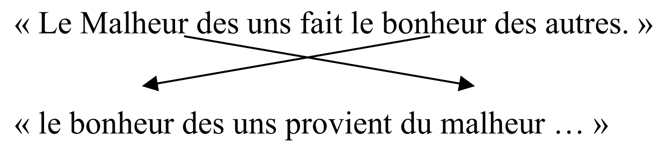

Figure 1.

However, despite the syntactic inversion, the semantic content of the proverb remains the same thanks to a lexical intervention by the author, who changes the verb *fait*" (makes) to *provient* (comes from). Through the syntactic displacement, Feraoun wields a certain power over this proverb and its language, which is part of its rhetorical heritage. The authorial intervention is another small brick in the fabric of the linguistic reappropriation Feraoun accomplishes and foregrounds in the novel.

Proverb 2

"D'autres disaient à la louange de la mort qu'elle était le vrai pilier de la maison" (68)[108].

After the death of Fouroulou's grandmother, the family, like a house, loses its "cement" and crumbles. However, it is only after this tragic loss that the family realizes the value of the grandmother, whom they previously criticized and envied for her position of authority. In order to express the regret resulting from this loss, Feraoun uses the metaphor of the pillar,

[108] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "qqaren-d akk d nettat i d lsas, i d tigejdit n wexxam" (2005, 58). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "During the eulogy for the dead woman, others said she was the true pillar of the house" (2005, 46).

which is a direct calque from the Kabyle expression *assalas n wexam* (the central pillar of the household). The expression does not constitute a proverb, due to its lack of two fundamental elements: a conventional proverbial form and a referent. That is to say, the expression is not a fixed, complete, and meaningful sentence, as the majority of proverbs are. In addition to this formal defect, it is not preceded either in Kabyle daily conversation or in Feraoun's text by the conventional attribution to the old or the first [wise men]. However, acknowledging that someone has been the central pillar of the household is a cultural metaphor that the Kabyle use to attribute centrality to a member of one's family. Even though it does not constitute a proverb, properly speaking, we can say that this expression has gained proverbial status as a result of its recurrent circularity in Kabyle speech acts.

There is a similar Kabyle expression, "aqaru n wexam," meaning literally "head of the household," which could have been used by the author. Feraoun's use of the pillar metaphor is more expressive than simply saying "elle est à la tête de la maison," with its connotations of a professional position such as the head of a company or institution. The choice of *pillar of the house* is more expressive of home and family and points to the domestic responsibilities of family leadership and the esteem that he attaches to this.

Proverb 3

> "[Le père de Fouroulou] lui-même ne tarda pas à la prendre [Helima] la main dans le sac. Le sac, en l'occurrence, était une jarre dans laquelle nous renfermions la viande sèche de l'Aïd" (p.68).[109]

After the death of the grandmother, the family nominates Helima, the wife of Lounis, as the new matriarch of the family, but the poverty of the family and Helima's greed drive her to robbery. Despite complaints from Fouroulou's mother, his father, Remdane, prefers to give Helima a chance to change her ways, until one day he catches her red-handed. Feraoun uses the metaphorical French expression "prendre la main dans le sac," which is often used to refer to someone caught in the act of stealing. The expression is synonymous with "prendre en flagrant délit." Both expressions mean catching someone red-handed. However, Feraoun's aim is not simply to draw as needed from the French rhetorical repertoire but rather to make the European language utter a specifically Kabyle story, to make it reflect a Kabyle reality and mindset. It is an act of reappropriation of the colonial language and its rhetoric. Thus, he gives the French metaphorical expression an additional layer of accuracy: "Le sac, en l'occurrence, était une jarre" (The sac, in this case, was a jar). Through this twist he grafts the Kabyle utensil onto the proverbial French expression and makes a characteristically French idiom express an unmistakably Kabyle specificity, thus fusing his local sociocultural specificity with the metropolitan mode of expression, which, in this case, is the French language.

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[109] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Cwiṭ kan akka yeṭṭef-itt s ucedluḥ n lɛid deg-ufus-is. Acedluḥ nni ɣer beṛṛa i yeteddu maččі ɣer tasilt nneɣ" (2005, 58). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "He soon caught my aunt with her hand in the sack. The sack, in this case, was a jar in which we stored the dried meat from the Aïd" (2005, 47).

Proverb 4

> "Maintenant que l'irréparable est consommé, on dirait que tous le regrettent un peu. Mais ils ne le regrettent que dans la mesure où c'est justement irréparable. « Je te pardonne à la charge que tu mourras « , dit Géronte à Scapin. [sic]" (70)[110].

After the confirmation of Helima's mischief, the family is forced to split in two. Ramdane and Lounis go their separate ways, with various adverse consequences. In order to illustrate this point of no return, Feraoun quotes Molière's character Géronte, in *Les fourberies de Scapin*.[111] The use of this humorous retort expresses the absurdity of the familial situation, but the insertion of humor, which is the essence of the play, into a sad, deplorable situation, turns the episode into a tragicomedy. In the field of paremiology, this kind of tonal shift is referred to by Norrick (2014) as Wellerism (see Chapter 2):

> The wellerism, which derives its name from the character Sam Weller in Charles Dickens's novel *The Pickwick Papers*, is another traditional item which extends a proverb or a cliché, playfully assigning it to a speaker as in "It won't be long now, as the monkey said when he backed his tail into a fan." (8-9)

Feraoun's allusion to *Les fourberies de Scapin* meets the criteria of Wellerism as defined by Norrick. According to the paremiologist, authors make use of Wellerisms to spare their readers or audiences the boredom of excessive didacticism. Thus, instead of tendentiously condemning the separation of father and uncle, Feraoun injects a humorous allusion to make the sad moment digestible.

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[110] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "Tura mi tewweḍ ɣer wanda ur d-tettuɣal ndemmen watmaten deg wayen xedmen … yella deg wawal: tismin n tnuḍin… " (2005, 59). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "Now that the irreparable is done, everyone seems to regret it a little. But they regret it only because it is just that, irreparable. As Géronte says to Scapin, "I forgive you on condition that you die" (2005, 48).

[111] Molière, *Les fourberies de Scapin*, acte III, scène xiv.

Proverb 5

"On en arrive à se dire 'chacun pour soi'" (82)[112].

This is one of the most commonly used French proverbs, particularly in oral performance. In this case, Feraoun uses only the first phrase of the proverb and leaves its second one: "et Dieu pour tous". He associates it with the neutral personal pronoun "on" instead of the "nous." mainly that of the Chekov quote at beginning: "*We shall work for others until we are old, and when our time comes, we shall die without a murmur and we shall say in the other world that we have suffered, we have wept, we have lived long years of bitterness. And God will take pity on us*" (original italics; Feraoun 2005, 1). Moreover, the use of this French proverb does not subvert the communitarian ethos of the novel even though the proverb, in origin, can be considered the most illustrative metaphor for individualist Western society. Instead, Feraoun uses it to express the weariness that takes hold of the crumbling family. Both Ramdane and Lounis are overwhelmed by the weight of responsibility of their respective households.

Proverb 6

"Avec l'argent, dit sentencieusement Ramdane, on vient à bout de toutes les difficultés." (119)

Determined to school his only son, Ramdane instinctively jeopardizes his own future by borrowing money from the most ruthless usurer of the village, Saïd. As a result, Ramdane sinks little by little into an abyss of debt. However, his determination to spare his son the

[112] Musa At Taleb translated this proverb in Kabyle as: "A k-tessiweḍ tegnitt alama tenniḍ-as: "Darani, yal yiwen i yman-is" (2005, 70). Lucy McNair translates it in English as: "In time they learn to say, "each man for himself" (2005, 57).

hardships he has endured through lack of education makes him willing to sacrifice everything to secure a better destiny for Fouroulou.

Although, the expression "avec l'argent […] on vient à bout de toutes les difficultés" (119) does not feature among French proverbs in the dictionaries I have consulted so far, Feraoun's use of *sententieusement* gives the statement the force of a proverbial expression. This is only the second time in the novel that Feraoun ascribes a specific rhetorical category to an expression. The sentence, in fact, qualifies as what Norrick calls a maxim, which he argues shares some characteristics of a proverb without being one in the full sense:

> The *maxim* and the *cliché* are like the proverb in forming a complete utterance, but they lack its traditionality and imagery: Whereas the maxim states a rule for conduct as in *Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today*, the cliché expresses a trite observation as in *When you're hot, you're hot*. " (Norick 2014, 8)

This distinction thus makes it clear that the wise saying in which Ramdane believes is meant to stick to hope and to go ahead. Furthermore, this French proverbial expression is also prevalent in other linguistic areas, such as Jamaica and Brazil. In the Jamaican context, the proverb says "Money mekcocobay man shake gubna hand" (If he has money, even a lepper can shake the governor's hand)."[113] In the Brazilian context, the proverb expresses the power of money using a racial dichotomy: "O dinheirofazbranco" (Money whitens, in other word, if they are rich enough, black people can be accepted in a racist society).[114]

Feraoun uses the colonizer's language to express his colonized self and culture. His use of Kabyle proverbs and his interventions to adapt French proverbs to fit the Kabyle culture and mindset confirm that Feraoun makes an indigenized use of French language rather than an

[113] Profesor John Gilmore's feedback after my follow-up committee 26 June 2018.
[114] ibid.

assimilated and mimetic use. In this regard, we can affirm that his novel can be considered, against ethnographist and assimilationist considerations, an ethnotextual rather than an ethnograohic text. Its richness in Kabyle proverbs and metaphors are a smart strategy to inscribe the cultural self in the language of the other. Furthermore, the range of the universal comparisons referred to above, bridges the local with the global. Kabyle culture has been relegated to ethnicity and minority by both colonial and postindependence Algerian policies. Thanks to authors such as Feraoun, who was the one of the first Algerian authors to introduce the Kabyle language into literacy, even in a piecemeal fashion, a Kabyle literature is now thriving and moving, in a slow but sure way, towards an independent Kabyle literature, written in Kabyle by Kabyle authors for Kabyle readers.

However, is saving Kabyle language and culture through the indigenized use of French enough to save Berber languages as a whole? As we know, Kabyle is only one variety of Berber, and French colonization is far from being the only power to dominate the Maghrebian sphere. In the following chapter, we will study how another Berber language, Rifian, has fared against another type of cultural homogenization, Arabization, in another post-independence North African country, Morocco. In this second case study, we will examine how Mohamed Choukri indigenizes Arabic, the dominant language of his country, through the use of transliteration techniques in his autobiographical novel *El Khubz el hafi* (1973).

Chapter IV: Mohamed Choukri's *For Bread Alone* (1973)

Our first case study concerned the francophone Algerian author Mouloud Feraoun, who wrote in French during French colonization, thus in a context of colonial linguistic domination. The present chapter, our second case study, is devoted to an arabophone Rifian author, Mohamed Choukri, from Morocco. Although Choukri wrote in postindependence Morocco, his situation remains similar to Feraoun's in that, while Feraoun wrote under colonialist cultural hegemony, Choukri wrote in a situation of religious and cultural hegemony imposed on the western states of the Islamic world by the eastern states.

This chapter discusses the linguistic balance of power in Choukri's autobiographical novel *El khoubz el hafi*, and its English and French translations. It examines, in particular, how Choukri's text gives voice to his indigenous, but silenced language, Rifian, in a text written in Arabic and then translated into two European *lingua francas*. We will see that Rifian resists its muzzling in the three versions of the text thanks to transliteration.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is devoted to the background of the author and his autobiographical novel. We will see that both Choukri and his text followed a typically tough path towards daylight. The second section is devoted to the theoretical aspect; it defines transliteration and explains its implications for the shaping of the novel's ethnotextuality. The third section discusses our findings in regard to transliterated orality in the autobiography in its three versions: the Arabic original and the English and French translations

IV.1.1.The Author and his Novel: Mohamed Choukri: A Life of Challenges

Mohamed Choukri (1935–2013) was born in the Rifian region of Morocco in the village of Beni Chiker, hence his family name Choukri. From early childhood to the age of twenty, Choukri suffered severely from extreme poverty and his father's tyranny. Thus, his life was one of multifold challenges, ranging from the challenge of biological survival to that of intellectual emancipation. This chapter is concerned with ethnotextuality in Mohamed Choukri's autobiographical novel *El Kouhbz el hafi* and its subsequent English and French translations, but before diving into that issue, some discussion of Choukri's three crucial life challenges—biological survival, literacy, and writing—is necessary. In order to retrace the author's difficult path, we rely on the testimonies in the first volume of his autobiography, along with other evidence scattered in some of his interviews and in his translators' introductions and personal testimonies.

The first challenge that faced Mohamed Choukri was extreme hunger in a country stricken by famine: "Later on I began to see that many people cried. That was at the time of the great exodus from the Rif. There had been no rain, and as a result, there was nothing to eat" (Bowles 2006, 9). Many people died during their exodus from the Rif to Oran, a major town on the border between Morocco and Algeria. Choukri painstakingly describes the awful impact of this famine both on him and his family. One of the most vivid depictions is found in the second paragraph of the autobiography: "One afternoon I could not stop crying. I was hungry. I had sucked my fingers so much that the idea of doing it again made me sick to my stomach" (Bowles 2006, 9).

In fact, painful experiences of hunger are a recurrent aspect of Choukri's childhood and adolescence. At one point, hunger even makes him jump into the sea to pick up a piece of bread thrown away by a fisherman: "I looked at him [the fisherman] and at the bitten piece of bread. Lumps of shit floated all around me in the water" (Bowles 2006, 93). This shameful and failed attempt to get the bread then leads him to eat a dead fish thrown on the pavement:

> I picked up one of the small, *dry* fish. *Dry*. It had a *worse stench than the first one. Worse than the first*. I began to vomit yellow water again. *That was what I wanted. I wanted it*. I *vomited* and *vomited*, until *only the sound* came out. *Only the sound*, *the tight sound* of retching. *That was what I wanted*. I walked towards the beach, feeling empty, weak. Now and then it seemed that I was about to fall and not get up again (Bowles 2006, 95; my italics).

This poignant depiction shows the abjection to which Choukri was reduced by hunger. The use of redundancy, here emphasized by italics, underscores the pain left by this experience despite the long lapse of time separating the experience from its evocation in the novel.

Hunger not only threatens Choukri's physical survival, but it takes away his little brother's life as well. At one point, with the family lacking anything to eat, Mohamed and his brother Abdelqader are crying for bread. Their enraged father reacts by throttling the smaller boy:

> My little brother cries as he squirms on the bed. He sobs and calls for bread. I see my father walking towards the bed, a wild light in his eyes. No one can run away from the craziness in his eyes or get out of the way of his octopus hands. He twists the small head furiously. Blood pours out of the mouth. I run outdoors and hear him stopping my mother's screams with kicks in the face (Bowles 2006, 12).

After witnessing his father's crime, Mohamed is scared for his life, and despite his mother's attempts to reassure and convince him to come back home, he refuses: "No, He'll kill me. He killed Abdelqader" (Bowles 2006, 13). His father's extreme violence leads Mohamed to hate him and fantasize about taking revenge. The hatred is so anchored in Mohamed's mind that it constitutes a leitmotiv in his story. Choukri emphasizes that "[i]f there's anybody in the world I wish would die before his hour comes, it's my father" (Bowles 2006, 79).

However, being caught in the grip of a twofold violence, of a ruthless father and dire socioeconomic conditions, is not the end of challenges for Choukri. In fact, his challenges are not limited to preserving his physical integrity. As he grows up, he also has to overcome intellectual challenges. Here the issue is not self-preservation but raising himself from wretchedness and abjection to success and respect as a human being. Thus, Choukri's second challenge is to shift from illiteracy to literacy. The challenge of literacy arises only after Choukri becomes aware of the importance of knowledge at the age of twenty. His family's poor finances have not permitted him to be sent to school. Thus, when the father of his mistress, Mrs. Segundi, asks him why he cannot read or write, he answers him frankly: "Because my father never thought of sending me" (Bowles 2006, 59).

When he is jailed, along with some of his friends, for alleged prostitution and alcoholism, Choukri is unable even to read the police report about him, yet he is obliged to sign it before being released:

> [The policemen] had me put my thumb-print on another sheet of paper covered with words. I told them my name and they gave me back my money, belt and shoelaces. I wondered what they had written about me on this piece of paper. They can write

> whatever they want, since I have no idea what the ink marks mean. Nor do I dare ask them to bring someone who will read it to me before I sign it (Bowles 2006, 187).

This episode at least alerts Choukri to the concrete dangers of illiteracy. Before getting out of prison, he shares a cell with Hamid Zailachi, an independence activist, who transcribes on the wall a famous resistance poem by the Tunisian poet Abou el Kacem Chabbi. Zailachi teaches Choukri to read a few basic words and encourages him to start studying despite his age. After the prison episode, Choukri looks up Zailachi's brother Abdelmalek, who is considered at the Café Moh as "[t]he most important habitué of the café. He reads the Arabic periodicals to us in a strong, clear voice" (Bowles 2006, 203). However, this café lecturer is far from being humble: "Sometimes he would stand up, lay aside the magazine or newspaper, and launch into a speech, merely to show off his learning" (Bowles 2006, 203). Despite Abdelmalek's arrogance, Choukri's feelings towards the boastful reader are mixed. He is both "very proud to appear in public with him" (Bowles 2006, 204) and jealous of his respected position at the café. When Abdelmalek and his cronies exclude Choukri from a discussion for being drunk, he responds to the humiliation by calling into question the reliability of Abdelmalek's knowledge: "You talk about Mohamed Neguib and Gamal Abd el Nasser as if you had a conference with them every day" (Bowles 2006, 206). To defend his reputation, Abdelmalek denigrates Choukri for illiteracy: "[S]hut up! Illiterate! [...] You want to talk about politics, you, when you can't even write your name?" (Bowles 2006, 206). Choukri answers back: "I'm illiterate and ignorant. […] But you're a liar. I'd rather be what I am than a liar like you" (Bowles 2006, 206).This exchange demonstrates Choukri's innate eagerness for knowledge despite his illiteracy.

After a while, Abdelmalek's friends force the rivals to reconcile, but the next morning, Choukri goes to a bookshop in Oued el Ahardan and buys "a book that explained the essentials of writing and reading Arabic" (Bowles 2006, 212). Back at the Café Moh, he

meets Abdelmalek and his brother Hassan and apologizes for the quarrel (212). Then he shows them the book he has just bought and says:“‘I’ve got to learn to read and write, […] Your brother Hamid showed me a few letters while we were in the Comisaria [using the Spanish term for police station] together. He said I could learn easily.’Abdelmalek answers ‘Why not?’ and Hamid asks ‘Would you like to go to school in Larache?’” (212–213). Choukri is surprised by such a proposal: “School? Me? I said surprised. It’s impossible. I’m twenty years old and I can’t read a word” (213). However, Hassan reassures him, and even offers to help him with a letter to the head of the school, assuring Choukri that the head will accept him, as he “has a soft spot for out-of-towners who want to study” (213).

Among all the previous challenges that Choukri met, challenging his socially imposed illiteracy and the humiliation it causes is in many ways the most courageous struggle. Paul Bowles’s comment underlines the immensity of the triumph: “To have passed in the space of five years from learning the letters of the alphabet to writing poems and stories is even more unexpected” (Bowles 2006, 6). But if literacy was the second big challenge, writing was the third challenge that Choukri had to overcome. Why did writing constitute such a challenge for Choukri? The next section explores this question.

IV.1.2. *El Khubz Al Hafi*: An Autobiography Born out of Illiteracy and Marginality

Writing the autobiography was an additional challenge in a life that consisted of a series of challenges. However, what is striking in this novel is that it was born out of illiteracy and stubbornness. Although Choukri managed to attain literacy, he remained, in the eyes of Paul Bowles, illiterate in a deeper sense due to his late education. Yet, for Bowles, this was an advantage:

> It seems almost a stroke of good luck that Choukri's encounter with the written word should have come so late, for by then his habits of thought were already fully formed; the educative process did not modify them. As a writer, he is [thus] in an enviable position, even though he paid a high price for it in suffering (Bowles 2006, 5).

The late access to school, according to Paul Bowles, helped keep Choukri's mind free from the limitations instilled by school conventions. As a result, Choukri's expression could not but be raw, pure, and sincere. According to Tanukhi, Bowles's presentation of Choukri as "possess[ing] an illiterate imagination" is linked to the translator's postmodernist ideology. Bowles's interest in illiteracy is coupled with his interest in orality as reflected in his important work in helping to preserve traditional Moroccan songs.

In this connection, it is significant that, despite the availability of an original manuscript, Bowles translated the novel from Choukri's dictation rather than from the Arabic manuscript. Thus, the translation process was also an exercise in ethnography. Bowles could not read Arabic, and to complicate things further, Choukri lied to him about the availability of the manuscript and its readiness for translation. In fact, the original manuscript and the translation were created simultaneously. Choukri himself admits that the preexistence of the manuscript was a lie that he made up in order to seize Paul Bowles's offer of publication:

> To tell you the truth, I wanted to publish my first book at any price to prove to myself that I was a writer. When Paul Bowles asked me to write my autobiography, I immediately replied, "But it's already written. I have had it at home for some time." Needless to say, I hadn't put down a word on paper but it was all there in my mind […] And, since all my life has been a response to one challenge after the other, I went to Bowles on the following evening with my first chapter written in classical Arabic […] It

took us, Paul Bowles and I, two or more days to translate one chapter into English. Meanwhile, I would finish the following chapter. (qtd in Tanukhi 2003, 133)

This simultaneous writing-translating process complicated the author-translator collaboration, namely for their respective divergent expectations that are "postmodernism" for Bowles and "social realism" for Choukri (Tanukhi 2003, 129). Bowles expressed regret, Tanoukhi continues, "in his introduction to *Five Eyes*, a collection of short stories by five Moroccan storytellers, among whom Choukri" (ibid.).

However, the difficulty of the collaboration was also due to linguistic factors. As Choukri's account of the process cited above acknowledges, the manuscript was written in classical Arabic. Bowles confirms this in his introduction to the translation: "*For Bread Alone* is a manuscript, written in classical Arabic, a language I do not know. The author had to reduce it first to Moroccan Arabic for me. Then we used Spanish and French for ascertaining shades of meaning" (Bowles 2006, 5). Thus, the collaboration between the two was a polyglottic experience, which is also noticeable in the outcome of their effort, a translinguistic novel, translated in English and echoeing the polyglossic Morccoan society.

Nevertheless, calling the language of the novel classical Arabic is not completely accurate, and the declarations of both the author and his translator are paradoxical. In a footnote on page 22 of the Arabic version, Choukri admits distorting some words and sentences, which should be written in a particular way in classical Arabic, in order to bring them closer to the Moroccan dialect, also known as *Darija* or sometimes as "Moghrebi (the Arabic dialect of Morocco)"(Rountree 1986, 389). Furthermore, the recourse to French and Spanish for clarifications is still present in the final Arabic and English versions of the novel, which gives the novel a polyphonic dimension. Thus, instead of looking at the language of *For Bread Alone*, it would be more accurate to look for its languages. The pertinent question

is: how are these different languages put together to create a unified work of literature when these languages do not even share the same alphabet?

IV.2.Transliteration

Even a superficial skimming of the novel in its three versions—the original Arabic and two subsequent translations, English by Paul Bowles (1973) and French by Tahar Ben Jelloun (1980)—shows clearly that *For Bread Alone* is a polyglossic novel. In fact, Choukri's text in all three versions is made up of five languages: classical Arabic, demotic Arabic, Rifian, Spanish, and French. These are rendered using both the Arabic and Latin alphabets in the original version, and only the Latin alphabet in Bowles's and Ben Jelloun's translations. As we will see later, despite Ben Jelloun's efforts at sanitizing the text from its Arabic and Berber residues, his translation still contains some Arabic and Rifian elements. As a result, all three versions of the text display a stylistic polyphony, shifting from one language register to another and, using transliteration, from one linguistic script to another.

The following sections examine the use of transliteration as an inter-linguistic bridge and a strategy for linguistic indigenization. The discussion proceeds in four steps: first, defining transliteration and pursuing its implications for the novel's ethnotextuality; second, focusing on the transliteration of Rifian in the Arabic version of the novel; third, turning to the transliterations of Rifian and Arabic (in both its classical and demotic variants) in the English translation; and, finally, looking at the transliterations of Rifian and of classical and demotic Arabic in the French translation.

IV.2.1. Definition of Transliteration

Transliteration implies its definition in its name: “a blend[ing] of *translation* and *literal*” (Onwuemene 1999, 1057). In Onwuemene’s definition, we have two components: transliteration and translation. Similarly, Krishna Regmi et al. define transliteration in the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (2005) by comparing it to translation: “*translation* is the process of changing something that is written or spoken into another language, whereas *transliteration* is to write or describe words or letters using letters of a different alphabet or language” (Regmi et al 2010, 17; italics in original). Thus, whereas translation operates a transfer of meaning from one language to another, transliteration operates a graphical transfer from one language to another.

Though the advent of the concept of transliteration as a strategy for literary production goes back to the 1960s, the practice of transliteration has existed for centuries. Given the context of postcolonial African literature, and of postcolonial literature as a whole, imbued as these are with violence and enmity, novelists from such areas found themselves facing a twofold dilemma: either to write in the colonizer’s language to fight for their freedom and agency or to remain silent and die in the shadow of the master. The 1962 Conference of African Writers in Makerere University in Uganda resolved that “it is better for an African writer to think and feel in his own language and then look for an English translation approximating the original” (qtd in Zabus 2007, 39). However, this division of the self into an emotional and a creative self creates a kind of schizophrenia within postcolonial writers, who are then obliged to live and feel in one language and express their emotions into another. The

Kabyle Francophone intellectual Jean Amrouche articulated the suffering due to this divide when he declared: “I think and write in French, but I cry in Kabyle.”[115]

Moreover, the resolution of the 1962 African writers’ conference does not indicate how writers can reach this targeted approximation of the original. Chinua Achebe in “The African Writer and the English Language” (1964) synthesizes the ambivalence of this predicament and provides an interesting response to it:

> [The African Anglophone writer] often finds himself describing situations and modes of thought which have no direct equivalent in the English way of life. Caught in that situation he can do one of two things. He can try and contain what he wants to say within the limits of conventional English or he can try to push back those limits to accommodate those ideas. The first method produces competent, uninspired and flat work. The second can produce something new and valuable to the English language as well as to the material he is trying to put over. (qtd. in Zabus 2007, 38-39)

What Achebe is pointing to here is the limit of language, as expressed mainly by the “Whorfian triad *Language, Thought, Reality,*” (Zabus 2007, xi; italics in original) whereby one language is believed to express only one worldview. According to Achebe, accepting such an essentialist perception of language capacity produces an unnatural literary outcome. Therefore, he recommends rebelling against linguistic essentialism in order to produce more profound and fruitful literary outcomes that benefit both the essence of literature and its imported medium. In other words, pushing the limits of the imported language provides a solution for literary expression using a European language instead of an indigenous language that may not yet be adequate for such a purpose.

[115] Jean Amrouche “ Je pense et j’écris en français mais je pleure en kabyle.”

Transliteration is one of these approximation techniques. However, even though it provides a bridge between the content (the essence of literature) and the medium (the European language as a tool of expression), the method has been contested, notably by Obiajunwa Wali in his seminal paper "The Dead End of African Literature?" (1963). Wali considers transliteration to be "unwise [and] unacceptable," for "the 'original' which is spoken of here, is the real stuff of literature and the imagination, and must not be discarded in favour of a *copy* which [...] is merely an approximation" (qtd in Zabus 2007, 39; italics in original). However, Wali's criticism is not entirely fair, as writing in another language is better than not writing at all. At the time of the publication of his article in 1963, most former colonies had only recently gained political independence from their colonizers. Their independence was only nascent. Besides the political dimension, on the cultural level, time has proved the usefulness of the copy as a transitional phase towards making original literature in indigenous languages. It is thanks to the existence of the copy that many previously dominated countries have managed to build their literary heritage.

Furthermore, transliteration as a practice existed well before the emergence of the theoretical concept in the 1960s. Indeed, in the case of Berber literature, the practice of transliteration goes back perhaps as far as the first century of the Christian era and certainly at least the seventh century. Stephane Ipert, for example, links the emergence of Berber textuality to the Arab conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries:

> From the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th century AD, the Arabs extended their domination to all of North Africa, bringing with them the use of the Arabic alphabet, which imposed itself on the Berber populations present for centuries and which allowed very quickly to transcribe the multiple regional variants of the Berber language. The system of writing used until then, the Tifinagh, inherited from the Libyan-Berber writings and little used during the arrival of the Arabs, except by

> the Tuareg populations, could not lend itself, for many reasons, to the elaboration, copying and transmitting of universally usable handwritten sources.[116]

Indeed, the Muslim conquest of North Africa was twofold, simultaneously religious and linguistic. The religious conversion of the indigenous Berber populations required their systematic recourse to Arabic in order to practice the new religion. However, the use of the newly imported language could not be limited to religion. It subsumed other domains of daily life, mainly through the elaboration of a writing tradition that produced a lot of transliterated Berber texts, now known collectively as the Berber manuscripts. These manuscripts were not confined to the religious domain, as Dahbia Abrous points out: "These manuscripts— for those who are known and described— present diverse contents: religious texts, jurisprudence, notarial deeds, poetry, in particular edifying and hagiographic poetry, correspondence, etc."[117]

However, the Berber texts were not limited to the Arabic script, as Ipert affirms: "It will be remembered that this language was also transcribed in Hebrew [...] because of the seniority of the settlement of Jewish populations, in Morocco in particular, from the first century AD." [118] Indeed, transliteration was the oldest graphical solution used to write ancient Berber texts. The recourse to transliteration was necessitated by the absence of a codified language to answer the needs of the times, despite the availability of the Berber alphabet Tifinagh. The

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[116]The original reads : "Dès la fin du VII siècle et au début du VIII siècle ap. J-C, les Arabes étendirent leur domination à l'ensemble de l'Afrique du Nord, apportant avec eux l'usage de l'alphabet arabe, qui s'imposa aux populations berbères présentes depuis des siècles et qui permit très rapidement de transcrire les multiples variantes régionales de la langue berbère. Le système d'écriture utilisé jusqu'alors, le *Tifinagh*, hérité des écritures libyco-berbères et peu usité lors de l'arrivée des arabes, sauf par les populations touarègues, ne pouvait se prêter, pour de multiples raisons, à l'élaboration, à la copie et à la transmission de sources manuscrites universellement utilisables" (Ipert 2007, 9).

[117] The original reads: "Ces manuscrits - pour ceux qui sont connus et décrits - présentent des contenus diversifiés: textes religieux, de jurisprudence, actes notariés, poésie, en particulier poésie édifiante et hagiographique, correspondance, etc" (Abrous 2007, 57).

[118]Theoriginal reads : "on retiendra que cette langue a été également transcrite en hébreu […] en raison de l'ancienneté de l'installation des populations juives, au Maroc en particulier, dès le I er siècle ap. J-C," (Ipert 2007, 9).

first linguistic studies to provide a suitable codification of the language came only after French colonization in the nineteenth century in studies by René Basset, André Basset, Si Ahmed Boulifa, and Mouloud Mammeri.The latter provided Berber with strong foundations to stand as a language with the same linguistic capacities as other written languages, to take it out of the museum of humanity's dead linguistic relics and release it from its confinement to orality.

Although Berber is gradually becoming a language of literacy and science thanks to numerous publications spanning scientific as well as literary disciplines, transliteration is now being misused ideologically by both the Algerian and Moroccan governments as a way of slowing down the progress of Berber. This ideological sabotage through the transliteration of Berber in Arabic script is intended to bind Berber to Arabic and forever maintain it under the hegemony of the "sacred" language. Beyond the ideological implications of this practice, this section aims to study the import of transliteration for the indigenization of the dominant language as a means of resistance against the endangerment of linguistic identity. This endangerment arises from the historical context in which Choukri's novel was written. The 1970s were years of authoritarian repression in the Rifian region under the rule of Hassan II. During this period, Kabyles were put in prison simply for being caught red-handed (or "red-tongued") speaking Kabyle in Algiers. Indeed, the 1970s crystallized around a forceful Arabization and minoritization of Berbers both in Morocco and Algeria under Hassan II and Houari Boumediene respectively.

IV.2.2. Types of Transliteration

Transliteration as a noun comes from the verb "to transliterate," which is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as 'to write words or letters in or as the letters of a different alphabet.' (1271) In the context of Choukri's novel, transliteration refers to the use of the Arabic,

English, or French scripts in the three versions of the novel to convey, also, Rifian, Spanish, or French speech acts. As with translation, there are two types of transliteration: literal and semantic. Onwuemene divides the outcomes of transliteration into three categories:

> 1) Target-language expressions cast in the formal mold of source-language counterparts; 2) Source-language loanwords introduced into the target-language text by means of transliteration; 3) Source-language idioms and tropes (and sometimes source-language lexical collocational norms) introduced into the target-language text by means of transliteration. (Onwuemene 1999, 1059).

Onwuemene explains that the first category is the least challenging to readers unfamiliar with the text's source language, as the author proceeds on the basis of equivalence in the target language. The second type uses foreign words, which are either explained in parentheses, footnotes, or a glossary. This type of transliteration corresponds to Zabus's concept of cushioning, which is "the fact of tagging a European-language explanation onto an African word" (Zabus 2007, 7). The third type corresponds to calqued translation, which involves "phrasal transplants, some of which may be considered delightfully bizarre and poetically charged coinages" (Zabus 2007, 126). The third type of transliteration can therefore be the most challenging to uninitiated readers, as it attempts to express in their language an unfamiliar mindset or worldview. In such cases, readers may understand the words of a text without understanding the worldview expressed by them.

On the stylistic front, transliteration contributes to what Pandey calls "deep indigenization—a form of deliberate and active relexification in which morpho-syntactic choices occur as calques" (Pandey 2016, 110). The result of which is relexification, that is, "an attempt at simulating the indigenous tongue" (Zabus 2014, 34). Zabus explains that such simulation is achieved through strategies in which expressions are "calqued or transliterated

verbatim" (Zabus 2014, 34). This inigenization involves the use of "'cushioning' and 'contextualization' which, along with the glossary, antedate relexification" (Zabus 2014, 34). Thus, transliteration constitutes what Pandey refers to as "shallow multilingual strategies" (Pandey 2016, 110). This shallowness is due to the visibility of multilingualism to the reader. Pandey points out that the aim of multilingual authors, for example, postcolonial authors, is usually to weave their indigenous language into the canvas of the European language they choose, or feel compelled, to write in. While inserting bits of their indigenous language, these authors have to "ensure that they never lose their readers. In and through such strategies, authors manage to minimize semantic incomprehensibility for monolingual audiences" (Pandey 2016, 110) Accordingly, postcolonial and post-global authors, using transliteration, achieve a twofold aim: reaching large audiences without self-denial.

In the following section, we explore the working and impact of transliteration in Mohamed Choukri's novel in its original version in Arabic, as well as in its English and French translations. Thus, this section will attempt to answer the following questions: How does Mohamed Choukri use transliteration to capture the polyglossic reality of the Moroccan society of his time? How does the American novelist Paul Bowles manage to render Moroccan Daridja and Rifian in his English translation of the novel? Last but not least, how does transliteration render the multilingualism of Moroccan society through the French language in Ben Jelloun's translation of the novel?

IV.3.Transliteration in Mohamed Choukri's Autobiography *El khoubz El hafi*

The original version is written in classical Arabic tattooed, so to speak, with a patchwork of Moroccan idioms drawn from Rifian, Moroccan Arabic (Daridja), Spanish and French. This section lists and comments on these various linguistic occurrences and their impact on the general body of the text written in Arabic. First, we will examine the Rifian

occurrences transliterated into Arabic script. At what points in the text do they appear? Why? How are these textual “tattoos” grafted onto the main text? Second, we will look at the Daridja occurrences, and at why and how they are included in a text mainly written in classical Arabic. Finally, we will turn to the occasional passages in Spanish and French, also transliterated into Arabic script, which give the text as a whole a certain “latinized” flavor.

IV.3.1. Rifian Transliterations

In writing his autobiographical novel, Mohamed Choukri endeavored in various ways to make the representation of his life as real seeming as possible. Stylistically, one of the elements that creates the feeling of realism is Choukri’s use of his native language. Rifian is showcased mainly in the first chapter of the novel, devoted to the childhood years of the first-person narrator. There are a total of seventeen transliterated Rifian expressions in the novel, eleven of which are found in the first chapter. The use of Rifian reflects Choukri’s determination to paint this stage of his life as faithfully as possible, as he experienced it with his family and relatives in abject poverty and illiteracy. The author was not schooled until the age of twenty. His parents and relatives could neither attend school themselves nor afford to send their children. Depicting himself and his family speaking in classical Arabic, the language of literacy and learning, would compromise the verisimilitude of the autobiography. Thus, Rifian intervenes in the texture of the tale much more frequently during this stage of the narrator’s life story, and mainly in dialogues between the child-narrator and his mother. Rifian is transliterated in three conversations between Choukri and his mother. The first example occurs on the opening page.

Arabic/ Original version	- خم أو ماش (*أنظر أخاك*)نتاويترشا(*أنه لايبكي*).إِشِكْثْثْرونْ(*وأنت تبكي*) (1) . (Choukri 2011, 9 ; myitalics)
English translation	"Look at your little brother, she told me. See how he is. Why can't you be like him?" (Bowles 2006, 9-10).
French translation	" Regarde ton frère Abdelkader, lui, il ne pleure pas" (Ben Jelloun 1980, 11).

In this first occurrence, the mother tries to silence the child Mohamed, who cannot stop crying for bread. She tries to shame him by comparing him to his younger, frailer brother, who is braver than him. The transliterated sentences are translated in parentheses with their equivalent in classical Arabic, emphasized above in italics. In this dialogue, Choukri provides the Rifian expression first, and then follows it with the Arabic translation. In what Zabus calls a strategy of "cushioning," he makes the arabophone reader encounter the Rifian text first, then immediately provides a classical Arabic translation. In their English and French translations, neither Bowles nor Ben Jelloun include the Rifian text although, as we will see, Bowles provides Rifian equivalents in places when even Choukri does not include them.

The second occurrence of Rifian in the Arabic original comes in the second conversation between Mohamed and his mother. In this dialogue, Choukri places Rifian expressions before each part of speech of the Arabic sentence. The explanations are given after each phrase instead of putting them at the end of the statement. This choice therefore

breaks up the Arabic sentence, producing what Anjali Pandey calls an “interruptive transliteration” (Pandey 2016,).

Arabic/ Original version	(2)- محمد، محمد اينو (*محمدي*). أراحد(*تعال*).لاتخف. أراحد. [...] قلت لها: (3)-*أقابيذانيتا* (*هاأنا هنا*). (4)-*أراحد*. (5) لا أذاي ينغ(*سيقتلني*) أَمِشْ(*مثلما*)ينغا(*قتل*) أوما إينو(*أخي*) . (Choukri 2011 ,12-13 ; Myitalics).
Englishtranslation	Mohamed come here! Come here! There’s nothing to be afraid of. Come here. After a while I said: Here I am. Come here. No. He’ll kill me. He killed Abdelqader (Bowles 2006, 13).
French translation	—Mohamed, mon Mohamed ! Viens ! N’aie pas peur ! [...] —Je suis là, mère. —Viens! —Non! Il va me tuer comme il vient de tuer mon frère (Ben Jelloun 1980, 14).

Moreover, when the family buries Mohamed's little brother, murdered by his own father and the imam asks Mohamed why his foot is bleeding, Choukri recaptures the dialogue in its bilingual dimension through the use of transliteration.

ـأنتبه الشيخ،لدىخروجنامنالمقبرة،لبناني الدامية. ***سألني بالريفية***

(6)- مانا الذم ما؟(*ما هذا الدم؟*)

(7)- عفسغ خ الزجاج(*عفست على الزجاج*).

(8)قال أبي:

- لا يعرف حتَّى كيف يمشي.*ذابو هاري*(*أبله*)

(Choukri 2011, 13)

This dialogue is translated by Bowles as follows:

> On the way back home the old man noticed the blood coming up between my toes, and *spoke to me in Riffian* [sic]. *What's that* ?
>
> He stepped on some glass, said my father. He doesn't even know how to walk. *He's an idiot*. (Bowles 2006, 13; my italics)

Examples (6) and (7) are preceded with a metalinguistic comment specifying the Imam's language, but in example (8), the father's answer, the transliteration is presented without any metalinguistic comment; it is shown rather than told.

Metalinguistic commentary (indicated in bold below) is also used in the next two instances of Rifian in the novel, when a policeman chases the narrator.

- هَوَى شرطي على مؤخرتي بهراوته.قفزت في الهواء ***صارخاً بالريفية***: *أيمانوا! أيمانوا* !

- (Choukri 2011, 16) (9)
- ***قالت بآلريفية*.**
- (10) (Choukri 2011, 18) . - آشْفاَشْ،أَتِشْدْإِخْفِنِشْ(كفاك، لتأكل نفسك)

Example (9) is translated by Bowles as “I leapt into the air, **crying out in Riffian**: *Ay mainou! Ay mainou!”* (Bowles 2006, 16). Example (10) is translated by Bowles as “She seized the plate from which I was eating and took it away, **saying in Riffian**: Eat yourself up (Bowles 2006, 18). In example (9), both Choukri and Bowles place the Rifian text after a metalinguistic comment that informs the reader that the next part of the sentence is in Rifian. This type of indigenization operates on two levels: it is both commented on and shown. The reader is alerted to the coming change in the language and then provided with a translation in a footnote, a strategy that allows the author to be faithful to his language of inspiration and keep the reader’s attention.

In contrast, example (10) showcases Rifian by putting it at the beginning of the mother’s speech act before the Arabic translation, which is given in parentheses at the end of the sentence. In his translation, Paul Bowles does not transliterate the Rifian part of the speech act. Instead, he provides a semantic translation preceded by a metalinguistic comment specifying the language of the mother’s statement. Pandey calls this strategy “linguistic exhibitionism of the shallowest kind—told rather than shown” (Pandey 2016, 145). However, the curse “Eat yourself up” is exotic to the Anglophone ear when translated literally. Such cursing is endogenous and highly specific to Arabo-Berber Maghrebian communities. As a result, Bowles’s translation is more than merely semantic; it is calqued directly from Rifian into English.

حين ضربته بعنق الزجاجة على يديه اللتين يحمي بهما وجهه صرخ مثل حيوان:

(myitalics) (11)-*أيما* وجهي! *أيما* وجهي! يلعن دينك!

I used the broken neck of the bottle on the two hands that were spread over his face. He was bellowing like a beast. My face! My neck! (Bowles 2006, 169).

What is surprising in example (11) is that it involves uncommented and unexplained Rifian transliteration. The word *ayema* is explained in its first occurrence in example (9), so the non-arabophone reader's comprehension is taken for granted by Choukri. In Bowles's translation, the Rifian element in this example is sifted. Indeed, the American translator modulates his translation by intervening in the original version, in which "my face" is repeated. In this way, Bowles's translation attempts to reproduce the Rifian emphasis in English through a redundancy that may sound odd to the Anglophone reader and thus stand out.

(12) (Choukri 2011, 209)- إنها الآن نوبتك.

In example (12), Choukri calques the sentence from Rifian. Instead of using the Arabic idiom to express "now it is your turn," he blends Arabic and Rifian in one expression. The word *نوبتك*, meaning "your turn" is Rifian. Its equivalent in Arabic is *dawrouka*.

IV.3.2. Daridja Transliterations

The second type of transliteration in the Arabic version of the autobiography involves Moroccan Arabic, usually called Daridja to refer to national dialects of classical Arabic, which also includes Algerian and Tunisian varieties. Moroccan Daridja occurs more than twenty-one times in *El Khoubz El Hafi*. Many of these occurrences are repeated several times in several lexical forms ranging from nouns to adjectives and verbs.

Example 1

(1)- هوريفي. جا من بلاد الجوع و القتالة (القتلة) .

(Choukri 2011, 19)

This example is translated by Bowles as:

He's a Riffian.

They're starving to death. They're all criminals (1) (Bowles 2006, 19).

The term *criminals* in the English translation does not reflect the specificity of the Arabic *qatala,* which means "killers." This distinction is clear in the Arabic version, as Choukri juxtaposes the classical Arabic equivalent to the Daridja word 'El qatãla' (the killers). Even if Arabic-speaking readers do not run the risk of being alienated by the long third syllable, the author provides its classical Arabic equivalent.

Example 2

In a footnote to the second occurrence of a similar "Morrocanization" of Arabic, Choukri explains what he is trying to achieve through the technique:

"الأصح هو هل ستطيح بالاجاص. تعمدت حذف الباء لتقريب التركيب من الدارجة كما سيرد في تراكيب أخرى." (22).

In this footnote Choukri explains that "I omitted the letter *bi*, so as to make the structure come as close as possible to Daridja [demotic Arabic], which I will, also do, in other occurrences."). The example in question is the following:

هل ستطيح الإجاص بالقصبة مرة أخرى من شجرة بستاننا -

"Are you going to knock the pears off our tree" (Bowles 2006, 22).

Although Choukri considers this structure to be different from classical Arabic, its indigenizing impact is very subtle and, as Zabus would say, “less daring” (Zabus 2014, 37). This is because, even if it reappropriates Arabic to give it a Moroccan flavor, it remains very close to the classical Arabic equivalent. However, as we will see in the following examples, Choukri indigenizes Arabic in more daring and riskier ways as well. Indeed, his indigenization of Arabic sometimes goes beyond syllabic interventions to the point of profaning the “sacred language.”

Example 3

After the migration of the family to Tangiers, the narrator, still a boy, is excluded by the children of the city. They perceive him through their clichés about Rifians and mountain people and ridicule him for not speaking Arabic. The importance of speaking Arabic as proof of belonging to the Muslim *umma* (community) follows Mohamed througout his adulthood, even when he visits brothels.

ـماكيعرفش يتكلم العربية.‘

إذا ماتت لهم بقرة أو غنمة أو عنزة كياكلوها.كياكلو حتيَّ الجيفة.

(الريفي خداع و الجبلي نيّة))(Choukri 2011, 19)

Example 3 is translated by Paul Bowles as follows:

He can’t even speak Arabic.
[…] Rotten people eat rotten meat.
If one of their cows or sheep or goats dies, they eat it instead of throwing it out. They eat everything […]
In general the Djibli is considered an oaf. ‘The treacherous Riffian [sic] and the gullible Djibli.’ I had heard people say it (Bowles 2006, 19).

Indeed, the boy's inability to speak Arabic draws all sorts of fantasized accusations of evil down upon him. When, as an adult, Choukri invites his Turkish friend Kamal to a brothel, the prostitutes rebuff Kamal for not speaking Arabic. In the Moroccan mindset, this implies not being Muslim. Thus, even in order to engage in illicit sexual relationships, which in any case are forbidden in Islam, a person needs to be Arabic-speaking and Muslim.

IV.3.3. Explicit Morrocanization of Arabic

This section examines the most syntactically "Morrocanized" Arabic structures in *El Koubz El Hafi.* The previous section focused on examples of "shallow" indigenization. These examples are considered shallow because they are aesthetical. That is, they blend classical Arabic vocabulary with the syntax of Moroccan Arabic, also known as Maghrebi. Now we come to a deeper type of indigenization using complete Maghrebi sentences and phrases. These are examples of a true reappropriation of classical Arabic, as the uninitiated eastern lay reader cannot understand their meaning without help. The passage below is representative of this deeper type of indigenization and reflects Choukri's desire to bring his text closer to the real-life linguistic practice of his time and place.

صاعداً الدرج إلى السقيفة اصطدمت بسكير. امتدت يده إلى وجهي ملاطفًا و قال:

(1) ـ آ، الغزال! فأين ماشي أهذاَ الغزال؟

أبعدت يده بعنف. قفزت درجتين صاعداً بخوف.أَطْلَقَقهقهات:

استنني. غادي نمشي نعمر هاد القريعة ونرجع دابا. .ـ*كتظربياكالعايلْ إكتنفر*!(يمسك في يده زجاجة نبيذ خاوية) (2)*عندك تمشي*.

هبط مقهقهًا وصعدت خاءفاً. سمعته يقول:

[...] قال له أحدهم:(3)ـ*جابك الله هاد الليلة*. يا لطيف! أنا راجع *دابا*. و الله ما تفلت من يدي هاد الليلة

- ماشي دابا. خلي العايل عليك. من بعد، من بعد أعمل معه اللي بغيتي. هذي هي البسالة. *أتقول عمرك ما شفت العواول* (4).

حينما إستدرت لكي أهبط سمعت شخصا يناديني

(5) - أيه! *أديك الغزال.* زيارتنا بركة. *أجي* تشرب *شيكاس* معانا، *أجي*، آشعاءدك؟ *ما غاديشيناكلوك*

(Choukri 2011, 110–111).

This passage illustrates five typical Moroccan expressions that can be misleading for an initiated arabophone reader, yet Choukri does not provide any clue for the potentially disoriented reader. The italicized lines are typically Moroccan.

(1) - آ، الغزال! فأين ماشي أهذاَ الغزال؟

"Aha, gazelle! Where are you off to, beautiful?"[119]

The image of a gazelle is a North African metaphor for beauty and is often used of to seduce a female. In this context the man uses gazelle, a female metaphor for beauty, to make Choukri, who is male, effeminate for the purpose of having homosexual intercourse. Bowles's translation also hints to this nuance by using the adjective beautiful instead of handsome.

Furthermore, when the sexual abuser asks Choukri where he is going, the structure is also proper to the demotic Moroccan variety of Arabic.

استنني. غادي نمشي نعمر هاد القريعة ونرجعدابا. - كتظربياكالعايلْ! كتنفر!(يمسك في يده زجاجة نبيذ خاوية) (2)عندك تمشي.

"What are you so nervous about? Afraid of me?

In his hand he held an empty bottle. I'm going to fill up this bottle, he said. I'll be back" (Bowles 2006, 103).[120]

In this example, the words the abuser uses for *boy* (العايلْ'), *to wait* (*استنني*), *I will*(غادي), and *now(دابا),*daba, were unknown to Middle Eastern Arabic speakers during Choukri's time before the Internet and the various audiovisual mass commodities of our time had spread cultural influences from western to eastern Muslim communities.

*- ماشي **دابا**. خلي**العايل** عليك. من بعد، من بعد أعمل معه **اللي بغيتي**. هذي هي **البسالة**. أتقول عمرك **ما***

***شفتالعواول**.*(4)

In the fourth instance, a neighbor intervenes not to defend the boy but to ask the abuser to defer his sexual assault. "Not now," he says, "Leave the boy for after and do with him whatever you want. You conduct yourself as if it were your first time to see boys.'[121] The words in bold in the citation above are characteristically Moroccan. Again the author provides no translations either for cushioning or for contextualizing.

Using the vernacular Morrocan syntax and lexicon and refusing to help the non-Morrocan reader is a way for Choukri to push readers to fend for themselves in coming to understand the material. The strategy resembles what Pandey, speaking of Buchi Emecheta's will to "[let] the Igbo language take over" in her writing" (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock 1992:85 qtd. in Pandey 2016, 96), whose aim is "deep appropriation at the discoursal and pragmatic level" (Pandey 2016, 96). By adopting such a strategy, postcolonial authors not only impose their authorial voice, but also make their texts glocal.

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[121] My translation. I made a literal translation to make it come as close as possible to the original Maghrebi expression.

IV.3.4. Profanation of Arabic: Use of Vulgar Slang

Not only does Choukri merge vulgar slang with classical Arabic, he also subverts the “sacredness” of the classical language by making it a site for expression of the crudest speech acts. One of these “profanations” involves the multiple uses of raw sexual insults constructed mainly around the word *kahba* (whore). This insult is not only used to convey the recurrent insults used in Choukri’s milieu, but it is lexicalized by the author as well. *Kahba* has several lexical functions in Choukri’s text. First, we are going to study these occurrences, their syntactic function, and lexical meaning. Second, we are going to study other alternative expressions used by the author, namely insults derived from the classical Arabic lexis. We will study the implication of the author’s tendency to overuse the raw slang register rather than the classical one, to express these insults.

The first use of an insult deriving from *kahba* is adjectival and substantive. This function recurs ten times in the text.

The Insult	English Translation	Syntactic function
سأهجركيابنة القحبة [...] (أنت قحبة بنت قحبة) (Choukri,2011, 12) **(1)**	I will leave you whore’s daughter […][122]	Noun/Singular.

[122]My translation

لعبت **القحبة بنت القحبة** دورها معي. **أخذتمعها كل ماهو** مهم: راديو ترانزستور، **المنبه، خمس ساعات يد و دزينة من القداحات** **(2).** (Choukri, 2011, 213).	This insult means literally whore and daughter of a whore. It is translated by Paul Bowles as "Bitch. Rotten whore" (Bowles 2006, 12).	Noun/Singular.
(3) - لست صبياً. أعرف جيداً **هؤلاء أولادالقحاب.** (Choukri 2011 ,122).	I was born a long time ago, he said. I know what the sons of bitches want (Bowles 2006, 113).	Noun/Plural.
- لقد أفلت **ولد القحبة.** **(4**). (Choukri 2011 ,180).	"He's gone" (Bowles 2006, 171)	Noun/Singular.
ما هو مؤكد هو أنها [سلافة] غادرت طنجة. هكذا تنتهي دائما العشرةمع **القحاب** **(5) .** (Choukri 2011, 173).	It always ends that way if you let a whore in your life (Bowles 2006, 165).	Noun / Plural (5).
أولاد القحاب. إصطادوناكماتصطا القطط الفئران. **(6).** **- هل تعتقد أنهم سيحاكموننا**	The sons of whores! he said. They caught us the way a cat catches a mouse. (6) Do you think it will be a	Noun / Plural (i.e., more than two) (6).

بتهمة الفساد؟ - لا أعتقد. إننا لم نقم بأية فوضىَ. لقد وجدونا نسكر فقط مع قحبتين. **(7).** (Choukri 2011,187).	morals charge? I asked [Zailachi]. I don’t believe so. We weren’t making any trouble. They found us drinking with two whores, that’s all. (Bowles 2006, 178).	Noun / plural (dual) (7).
- أنت أحمق. إنها مثل بقية اللواتي عرفتهن **(8)** القحاب **(9)** . لم أخلق لأتزوج قحبة. (Choukri 2011,189).	Are you out of your mind? She’s like every other whore I ever knew. I didn’t come into this world to marry a whore (Bowles 2006, 179).	Plural (i.e., more than two) (8). Singular (9).
- ولد القحبة! أتحسبنفسك أنك هنا ستعاملني **(10)** كما فعلت معي في الزورق بالمجداف. هنا ستخرأ كل ما أكلته **(10)** (Choukri 2011,211).	Come here, you son of a whore! he bellowed. Do you think you’re going to catch me off my guard now? Like you did in the boat? Come on! (Bowles 2006, 200-201).	Noun/Singular (10)

In examples (1) and (2), Choukri uses a twofold insult, “kahba bent kahba” (whore and daughter of a whore). Bowles interprets the dualism as intensification and thus translates it as

"rotten whore." In Arabic, it is the severest insult a woman can receive. Choukri uses it because of its frequency not just in Moroccan society but in other Maghrebian societies as well. Its use articulates the prevalence of the language of the gutter in the narrator's destitute milieu. More than just a matter of indigenization, such insults are a way of jolting the sacred language by inseminating it with the crudest register of language use. Choukri does not use the classical Arabic register of insults, but instead the demotic Moroccan one in order to convey the rude violence of the particular social context of his characters. The author's choice of crude language is meant to unveil their social hypocrisy. This act of stripping away pretension brings us back to the title *El khubz el hafi*, which literally means 'unclothed bread,' and points to the utter poverty suffered by the author, and his society as a whole, during the dual colonization of the country under the French and Spanish protectorates. Choosing the classical Arabic equivalent of these insults would have weakened the tone of the novel and compromised its realism. People in the Moroccan streets do not insult prostitutes with *aahira*, the formal term for prostitute. Indeed, *kahba* is more than just an insult; it also conveys all the harsh social violence surrounding the insulted person. Moreover, as can be seen in example (7), Choukri lexicalizes the noun *kahba* by giving it the classical Arabic dual plural form *kahbataini* (two whores). He also puts the noun into the irregular plural form *kehab* in examples (3), (5), (6) and (8) and, in so doing, indigenizes the Arabic language by using the vernacular Moroccan lexicon within classical Arabic syntax.

The second level of lexicalization of the noun *kahba* is a verb formation, also using the rules of classical Arabic syntax.

The verbform	The English translation
قال له أبي : ـ حياتنا هناك في المدن الشمالية بائسة. العمل قاس في الأوراش والأجور هزيلة،**التقحبن** في كل مكان،لكن الريفيين لايسمحون لبناتهم أن يدخلن البورديل (1) (Choukri 2011,54).	My father told him: Our life in the northern towns there is bad. Working in factories is hard and poorly paid, **whoring** is everywhere, but Rifians do not let their daughters go into brothels.[123]
عبدالسلام يتفاهم مع أمه لجلب ثلاث فتيات جميلات من خارج الدار. هناك فتيات كثيرات **لا يقحبن** علانية**(2)** **يقحبن** في منازلهن رهن طلب **القوادات**. **(3)** (Choukri 2011,78).	Abdel Salem agrees with his mother to bring three beautiful girls from their houses. There are many girls who **do not whore** openly. **They whore** in their houses under the orders of other bastard females[124].
أذلك العجوز يجد في مص **أزباب** الناس نفس اللذة التي أجدها في مص صدور النساء؟ ... هكذا **يقحب** الناس إذن **(4).** (Choukri 2011,107).	Does that old man enjoy sucking other people's **dicks** as I enjoy sucking other women's breasts? … This is the way **people whore[125].**

[123]My translation.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.

The expressions above clearly show a process of indigenization of classical Arabic by deriving colloquial verb forms from the informal vulgar substantive *kahba*. In the first example, the verb form refers literally to engaging in prostitution. The second and third examples are conjugations of this neologistic verb with plural feminine personal pronouns equivalent to *they* in English, gendered female. Although example (2) is put in the negative form and example (3) in the positive form, both constructions follow the classical Arabic conjugation rule for plural feminine personal pronouns. In the fourth example, *whoring* (*takahboun*) is conjugated with the third-person plural pronoun to refer to people in general. In the fifth example, the verb *to whore* is conjugated in the second-person feminine singular form: "You whore at this early age." Again the author follows the rules of classical Arabic conjugation, but the conjugated verb is exogenous to classical Arabic.

In addition to (word) lexicalization of slangy insults around the noun *whore*, Choukri adds another type of lexicalization around the noun *zeb*, meaning "penis" in vernacular Arabic. It occurs for the first time in the following example.

Arabic version	Bowles's English translation
قفزت فوق الحاجز إلى الخارج. قلت للكبداني: أتأتي أم لا؟ تردد ثم قفز. قال له أحد اللاعبين الخاسرين: إرجعإلي مكانك. لا تهتم لما يقوله **وجه الزب.** قلت لشاتمي: **وجه الزب** هو وجه أمك.[...]	The fuckface is your mother, I told him (Bowles 2006, 113).

(Choukri 2011,121).	

When Choukri summons his friend El Kabdani to leave the game, one of the losing adversaries prevents El Kabdani from leaving and insults Choukri by calling him a "dickface." Choukri answers back with an even stronger insult: "The fuckface is your mother" (113). Besides the vulgarity of the insult, such expressions around *zeb* constitute a grafting of ethnicity onto Choukri's text via this slangy orality. Insults based on *zeb* are specific to Moroccan and Maghrebian societies. The classical Arabic word for penis, *qadhīb* (قضيب), would be false and out of place in this context.

IV.3.5. Transliterated Latinization: Spanish and French in Arabic Script

The second type of transliteration in the Arabic text consists of Latinized passages and expressions from French and Spanish. Latinization in *El Khoubz El Hafi* is of two kinds: transliteration of Spanish and transliteration of French using the Arabic script. Besides transliteration, the Arabic script of *El Khoubz El Hafi* is interrupted in some cases by Spanish passages and expressions in their original script, i.e., the Roman alphabet. In the following section, we examine this phenomenon in Choukri's text as a device to mirror Moroccan society's multilingualism, or what linguists refer to as "the language market" (Boukous 2011, 23).

IV.3.5.1. Spanish

Spanish is foregrounded in Choukri's text via two strategies of linguistic exhibitionism, as elaborated by Pandey and already referred to above: shown and told transliteration. Shown transliteration occurs three times in the text. The first occurrence is the title of the Spanish newspaper *Diario de Africa,* which Choukri sells in the streets.

> تركت حرفة مسح الأحذية وصرت أبيع صحيفة **دياريو دي آفريكا** **(Diario de Africa)** (1)
>
> (Choukri 2011, 40).
>
> I stopped shining shoes and, like [the newsboy], began to hawk the daily paper *El Diario de Africa* (Bowles 2006, 41).

The author juxtaposes the Spanish title in Latin script and its transliterated equivalent (indicated in bold) in Arabic script. This strategy is also used by the author in the second occurrence, in which he captures the words of a Spanish prostitute when she congratulates Choukri on his sexual performance, telling him "Eres Fuerte" (you are strong), and in the fourth example, where an old homosexual man congratulates Choukri on his virility.

Arabic version	English translation
قالت باسمة: **إيرس فويرتي،هي! Eres Fuerte Eh! (2)** (Choukri 2011, 48).	She smiled, and I smiled back at her. *Eres fuerte*, *eh?* She laughed (Bowles 2006, 48).

ماتشو(4) برافو!برافو! (3) ! Macho (Choukri 2011, 106).	*Bravo!* He was saying. *Macho bravo!* (Bowles 2006, 99).

Examples (2) and (4) put the Arabic language, the primary language of the text, into contact with other languages spoken in Morocco. This type of transliteration belongs to the category of "shallow multilingualism" as defined by Pandey. It also constitutes a case of visible indigenization in the framework of Zabus's theory of indigenization. It represents a visible point of language contact in which the indigenization of Arabic is accomplished through lexical interruptions composed of transliterated passages in other languages placed in front of their equivalents in the source language, *i.e.*, Spanish.

Besides "shown" transliteration, Choukri's text abounds in examples of "told" transliteration in which he identifies the language of characters as other but provides the content of their speech in translated form. There are five examples of this "told" transliteration in which the author identifies Spanish as the language of the protagonists' speech acts but without using actual examples of the language.

Toldtransliteration	**English Translation**
زرت **سيدي بلعباس** مع مخدوميَّ [...] أعجبني شارعها الرئيسي والكاتدرائية. **سمعت في الشوارع إسبانيين يتحدثون بلغتهم**(1) (Choukri 2011, 60).	I went to Sidi bel Abbès with my employers… I liked the main avenue and the cathedral. I heard a lot of Spanish being spoken in the streets (Bowles 2006, 59).(1)

عجوز يشير لي أن أقترب منه. اقتربت (2)من السيارة. فتح الباب و**قال بالإسبانية:** **- اركب!** **(3) قلت له بالإسبانية :** **- إلى أين نحن ذاهبان؟** (Choukri 2011, 105).	He opened the door and said to me in Spanish: Get in…(2) *Alónde vamos?* I asked him (3) (Bowles 2006, 98).
دخل شرطي سري و تكلم مع المصور المغربي. تارة يتكلمان بالفرنسية و تارة بالإسبانية. حين انتهى ألقى نظرة على ورقة مكتوبة و سألني إن كنت أعرف كيف أوقع اسمي. أجبته بالنفي. (4) **قال الشرطي السري بالإسبانية:** - كيف تطلب منه ذلك! إنه مثل معظم المغاربة. (5)**قال له المصور بالإسبانية:** - هذا طبيعي (Choukri 2011, 196).	A secret policeman entered and began to speak in French and Spanish with the photographer, who was a Moroccan. When the work was finished, the photographer ran his eyes over the paper and asked me if I knew how to sign it. I said no. Most of them are like that, said the policeman. Of course, the photographer said (Bowles, 2006, 186).
سألني الشرطي السري بالإسبانية عن العمل الذي **(6)** أمارسه	Then the secret policeman, speaking in Spanish, asked me what kind of work I did. I

. قلت له بالإسبانية: (7)-نادا (لا شيء) (Choukri 2011, 197).	told him I had no work (Bowles, 2006, 186–187).

In example (1) above, the narrator remarks that, while visiting Sidi Bel Abbès in Algeria, he heard some Spanish passersby speaking in their language. Though he does not provide any examples of these overheard Spanish conversations, he contextualizes what he has heard by explaining in a footnote that many Spanish opponents of the Franco dictatorship had taken refuge in Sidi Bel Abbès at that time. In Examples (2), (3), (4), and (5), Chroukri reproduces in Arabic some conversations in which he had to speak Spanish. In example (3), when an undercover police officer asks him in Spanish whether he can sign his name, Choukri replies in the negative. The photographer asks the policeman why he bothers asking such a question. For the photographer, the illiteracy of a Moroccan goes without saying. Since he expects most Moroccans to be illiterate, he is not surprised that Choukri's knowledge of Spanish is limited to speaking.

A third type of Arabic–Spanish juxtaposition consists of the inclusion of Spanish words, and even short passages, untranslated in the text. Pandey's affirmations about Salman Rushdie's use of transliteration for both Persian and Italian in his novel *The Enchantress of Florence* (2008), in which Rushdie translates the Persian expressions but leaves the Italian ones untranslated, can also be applied to Choukri's novel. According to Pandey, Rushdie's "untranslated Italian in its juxtaposition against meticulously translated Persian, signals vehicularity, indeed, a ubiquity of use for Italian" (Pandey 2016, 91). Pandey's assessment of Rushdie's strategy of translating the Persian passages but not the Italian ones is also valid in Choukri's case. Choukri provides readers with translations, cushionings, and

contextualizations of Rifian passages in his text but leaves untranslated some Spanish passages. He takes his readers comprehension of Spanish for granted. One of the most illustrative examples of untranslated Spanish is the following passage:

Vamos a tirar la casa por la ventana !

Quien llega tarde no come carne!

Debalde! Debalde vendo Hoy

(Choukri 2011, 41; italics in original).

IV.3.5.2. French

In addition to Spanish, Choukri's text foregrounds another European language widely spoken in Morocco, that is, French, which was brought to Morocco along with the French protectorate (1912-1956). Choukri's experiences as a servant put him into contact with French employers, such as Monsieur Segundi and his wife, which gave him a good command of the language. As with Spanish, both shown transliterations and told transliterations of French are used in *El Kubz El Hafi*, as the examples below indicate.

Arabictransliteration	English translation

قال لي زوج خالتي : غداً لن تذهب إلى الحقل .إن زوجة مراقب المزرعة، **الميسيوسيجوندي**،تريد أن تراك[126]. يشاركني،في وحدتي الليلية ،كلب خالتي الضخم **((تيجري))** (1) (Tigre) (Choukri 2011, 56).	One evening my aunt's husband told me: Tomorrow you won't be going to the vineyard. Madame Segundi, the foreman's wife, wants to see you. … The only one to witness my nocturnal pleasures was Tigre, the dog (Bowles 2006, 56).
عندما اقتربنا من الباخرة صاح جندي بالفرنسية: **ايه، ماذا عندكما للبيع؟** [...] قلت للسنغالي بالفرنسية: (2)**اربط الحبل جيداً** (Choukri 2011, 201).	As we drew near the side of the ship a Frenchman in uniform called down to us: *Hé! Qu'est-ce que tu as là-dedans?...* Boussouf tossed up the coil with force, and a black soldier caught it. Tie it tight! I called to him in French (Bowles 2006, 191–192).
صاح بعض الجنود: هيا، اطلع. بدأت أتسلق الحبل بخفة. كانت بعض الأصوات تصيح:	Come on. Climb up! cried several soldiers. I started to climb up the rope, hand over hand. That's right! Keep it up! *Bravo!*

[126] I use bold in the Arabic original and its equivalent English translation to showcase the precise part of the expression which is studied.

ألي، كوراج،برافو!(3) (Choukri 2011, 201-202).	Good! Shouted the voices (Bowles 2006, 192).

The first example involves a transliteration of the French social title *Monsieur* and the name of the dog, *Tigre*, but only the latter is tagged, in brackets, with a French equivalent. The second and fourth examples are cases of told transliteration in which Choukri merely indicates the language of the conversation, while the third example uses transliterated French expressions: "Allez, bravo, courage!"

IV.4. Transliteration in Paul Bowles's Translation of *For Bread Alone* (1973)

For this study, French and Spanish transliterations will not be considered, as they share the same writing alphabet as English. Paul Bowles (1910-1999), a prolific American author, critic, and music composer, lived as an expatriate in Tangiers, Morocco, from 1947 until his death. During his time in Morocco, the American expatriate, according to Hibbard, "translated no fewer than fifteen volumes of fictional work by local Moroccan storytellers … including Ahmed Yacoubi, Larbi Layachi, Mohamed Mrabet, and Mohamed Choukri. All, except for Choukri, worked solely in the oral tradition" (Hibbard 2018, 20). Bowles's focus mainly on oral storytellers suggests a preference for orality that is confirmed in the preface to his translation of Choukri, where Bowles makes it clear that he considers illiteracy a far more fertile source of inspiration in the literature he translates:

> I'm inclined to believe that illiteracy is a prerequisite. The readers and writers I've tested have lost the necessary immediacy of contact with the material. They seem less in touch with both their memory and their imagination than the illiterates (qtd. in Rountree 1986, 389).

Bowles's interest in illiteracy and the orality it entails was preceded by his interest in Moroccan indigenous music from the northern and Rifian region. He had already released a number of works on Moroccan music: *Music of Morocco: Recorded by Paul Bowles* (1959), "The Rif, to Music"*in Their heads are Green and Their Hands are Blue* (1957), *The Pool KIII* (2013). Although Choukri was not among the illiterate storytellers translated by Bowles, the American's poor knowledge of classical Arabic and Choukri's illiteracy in English forced the two to collaborate through the dialectical Arabic known as Maghrebi, a mix of classical Arabic, street slang, the Rifian dialect of Berber, French, and Spanish. In his preface to the translation, Paul Bowles explains the collaboration as follows:

> Because I have translated several books from the Arabic I want to make a clear differentiation between the earlier volumes and the present work. The other books were spoken onto tape and the words were in the colloquial Arabic called Maghrebi. *For Bread Alone* is a manuscript, *written in classical Arabic*, a language I do not know. *The author had to reduce it first to Moroccan Arabic for me*. Then we used Spanish and French for ascertaining shades of meaning. Although exact, *the translation is far from literal.* (my italics; Bowles 2006, 5)

This complicated translation process from classical Arabic to Maghrebi is clear evidence that the latter was used by the author and his translator as a source language to reach the targeted English version. Moreover, by noting that, as a result, his translation is "far from literal," Bowles intimates that the translation is semantic. In this section, we are going to test the

validity of this statement. Since the translation was done mainly using the demotic languages, the mediums of everyday Moroccan life, we need to examine the traces of Maghrebi/ Darija in the English translation as a form of transliteration.

Bowles follows his introduction to the novel with a 29-word glossary of the most frequent Maghrebi words he uses in his translation instead of using the classical technique of providing translations and explanations in footnotes. Zabus calls the former method "contextualization"and the latter "cushioning."Bowles's glossing of these exotic words shows that the novel adheres to the ethnotextual poetics of blurring two language registers, the oral and the written. In addition to this, the exotic words are transcribed in the Latin alphabet. Thus, Bowles transliterates these words using literal transliteration. In this section, we examine Bowles's transliterations of five categories of speech: 1) prayers, insults, and curses; 2) religious diglossia; 3) secular diglossia; 4) popular expression; and 5) vulgar expressions.

IV.4.1. Prayers, Insults, and Curses

Prayers

For Bread Alone (1973) reproduces seven different prayers. The four following are literally transliterated in the English text:

1) *Bismillah. Allahou akbar* (Bowles 2006, 11; italics in original).
2) He's dead. *Allah irhamou*. May Allah see to it that we all die as Moslems (Bowles 2006, 163; italics in original).
3) I cannot tonight. Some other time, *insha'Allah.* (Bowles 2006, 161; italics in original).

4) From time to time one of those who has finished eating emits a loud belch, followed by a drawn-out exclamation: *El hamdoul'illah!* (Bowles 2006, 100; italics in original).

This first category of prayers belongs to the *Allah* expressions. Although the deity is explicitly invoked in all these prayers, reflecting the monotheistic faith of the communities depicted in the novel, the meaning and context of the prayers differ from one prayer to another. The first prayer is invoked by someone about to sacrifice an animal according to Muslim ritual. This person positions both himself and the animal facing east, towards Mecca, which is also the direction adopted for the five daily prayers, and then utters the ritual expression "*Bismillah. Allahou akbar*" three times in order to make the sacrifice acceptable to God. It is this ritual that distinguishes *halal* meat from ordinary meat. The second expression, "*Allah irhamou"* is used to wish a dead person a peaceful repose in the next world. It literally means "May God rest his/her soul in peace." The correct spelling when transliterating this expression in the Latin alphabet is "*Allah Ira hmou*"; Bowles misplaces the "a" in this second prayer. The third prayer, "*insha'Allah"* is probably the prayerful Islamic expression best known to non-Muslims. It is certainly the most frequently used expression of this sort by Muslims. It literally means "if God wills" and shows the believer's submission to His will. The fourth of these prayers, "*El hamdoul'illah!"* is used to thank God for food after a meal, which should have begun with another ritual expression "*Bismi Allah*," meaning "in the name of God."

Bowles's translation also includes three semantically transliterated prayers.

5) a) May Allah forgive you and us both, he said.

b) Some of us answered: *Amin (*Bowles 2006, 181; italics in original).

6) May Allah be kind to you this morning (Bowles 2006,190)

Example 5 is divided into two segments. In the first line, which is semantically transliterated, the prison vigilante asks God to forgive the sins and errors of the convicted young men, as well as their sins and mistakes. The prayer (5a) is calqued from the classical Arabic prayer, *"Afa Allah alyna wa alaykoum."* The second segment of the prayer (5 b) includes the common ritual response "*Amin*." This response is common to Christians as well, with only the transposition of "e" and "i" indicating the Muslim/Arabic provenance here. The sixth prayer is calqued from the Maghrebi Arabic expression "Allah i3awnek," which means "may Allah help you." Here the transliteration is semantic, although the focus shifts from help to the less specific idea of kindness.

Insults and Curses

Bowles's translation also contains three curses constructed around the classical Arabic noun for curse, "la3na." All three examples use the verb *yel3ane* in its demotic form "*inaal."*

1) Ow! My hand! *Inaal dinhoum!* (Bowles 2006, 196; italics in original).

2) *Inaal dinek!* (Bowles 2006, 117; italics in original).

3) *Allah inaalik!* (Bowles 2006, 23; italics in original).

The first and second examples are used to abuse someone by cursing his or her religion. This curse can also be used as an insult by combining the verb "*inaal*" and another complement, usually referring to parents: "*inaal din mok/ babak*." The first example above is directed at some soldiers and is conjugated in the third person plural, while the second example is directed at Choukri's colleague Boussaf and is conjugated in the second person singular. The third example also uses the second person singular. A man harasses Choukri's mother while she is out walking with her child while her husband is in jail and, unable to push him away physically, Choukri resorts to cursing him. Unlike the first and second instances, in

which the religion of the person(s) is cursed, in the third instance, the object of the curse is the addressee himself: “May God curse you/ May the curse of God fall on you.

IV.4.2. Religious Diglossia

Besides these prayers, Bowles’s translation involves nine diglossic instances that revolve around the theme of religion. Some of them use words that reflect specific religious beliefs; others refer to Quranic exegesis:

1) I promised some of my friends here in the café I’d chant some *surat* today.

2) I will go with you, I said. Would you be able to chant a *surah* at my brother’s grave? (Bowles 2006, 213; italics in original).

3) He intoned: *Ya sin oual Qoran el Hakim* …while I laid the flowers on several nearby graves (Bowles 2006, 215; talics in original).

4) Inside [the cemetery] we found a few *tolba* chanting (Bowles 2006, 214; talics in original).

5) *Ana Muslim*, Kemal told the two women. *Allah oua Mohamed rassoul illah* (Bowles 2006, 209; talics in original).

6) But you threw away bread, *en neama d’Allah!* (Bowles 2006, 183; italics in original).

7) This will be the first time I shall have gone to bed with a woman at the hour of the *fjer* (Bowles 2006, 151; talics in original).

8) Both the older and the younger ones knew all about *djenoun* (Bowles 2006, 40; talics in original).

9) It could have been a *djinn* pretending to be a cat for all I cared (Bowles 2006, 39; italics in original).

In the first example, Bowles reports the words of Abdelmalek, who has promised his friends that he will recite some qur'anic texts on their relatives' graves, as he is the only literate person in the group. The spelling used by Bowles in the second example (*surah*) indicates the singular form and differentiates it from the occurrence in the first example. Abdelmalek promises to read some *surat* texts, while in the second example Choukri asks him to recite one specific *surah* text at his brother's grave.

The third example goes beyond the generic term *surah*/ *surat* to quote the beginning of a specific surah known as Yassine. This *surah* is usually read for the dead or dying. The beginning of the surah "*Ya sin oual Qoran el Hakim* …" is literally transliterated, and operates as an intertextual bridge between the novel and the Qurãn , but by including the first line of the text, Bowles goes beyond Choukri, who does not cite it, nor does Ben Jelloun in his French translation. Here, not only does Bowles augment the original text, he also combines transliteration and intertextuality.

In the fourth example, Abdelmalek and Mohamed encounter a group of men in the cemetery reciting the Qurãn over the graves as a form of prayer and requiem. Such groups are known as *tolba*, which derives from classical Arabic singular *talib*, meaning student, whose plural form is *tolab*. In choosing the informal rather than the formal variant of the word, Bowles affirms once more the novel's anchor in orality.

The fifth example consists of two sentences. The first, "*Ana Muslim*, Kemal told the two women" starts in Arabic and finishes in English. In the Arabic part of the sentence, Kemal, Choukri's Turkish friend, presents himself as Muslim (I am Muslim). The second sentence, "*Allah oua Mohamed rassoul illah,"* is Kemal's abbreviated version of the Islamic profession of faith (*shahada*), through which the believer affirms his or her belief in Allah as the only God and Mohammed as His Prophet. However, Kemal abridges his profession of faith to its

key elements only. He says, “Allah and Mohamed His Prophet,” whereas the full profession of faith is *Ashadou ana la Ilah illa Allah, wa ashhadou ana Mouhamadoun Rasosoul Allah* (I profess that there is no God, only Allah, and Mohammed is His prophet). The apparent reason for this shortfall is Kemal’s partial mastery of Arabic. He has to prove he is Muslim in order to have sex with prostitutes, who are refusing to sleep with him unless he can do so. Due to his poor Arabic, Kemal is even assaulted in one Bencharqi brothel: “They took me for a Christian. They wouldn’t believe I was a Moslem. They said how could I be a Moslem if I didn’t speak Arabic?” (Bowles 2006, 208-209). In order to get him accepted in another brothel, Choukri is obliged to explain to the manager, Seoudiya el Kahala, that “there were other countries where the people were Moslems but spoke other languages” (Bowles 2006, 209).

Indeed, the language–religion correlation is often confused, as most people take it for granted that being Arab entails being Muslim and that being Christian entails not being Arab. Amin Maalouf discusses this confusion in *Les identities meutrières* (1998), translated by Barbara Bray as *In the Name of Identity* (2000):“The fact of simultaneously being Christian and having as my mother tongue Arabic, the holy language of Islam, is one of the basic paradoxes that have shaped my own identity” (Maalouf 2000, 16–17). What is deconstructed here by Maalouf is a coercive and essentialist bond between the Arabic language as a marker of faith and the Muslim faith as a marker of linguistic affiliation.

Moreover, Maalouf goes even further in affirming the depth of the damage created by this forceful labeling of individuals: “being at once an Arab and a Christian puts one in a very special situation: it makes you a member of minority- a situation not always easy to accept. It marks a person deeply and permanently” (Maalouf 2000, 17). Integration and acceptance are not always easily acquired, and they tend to be more complicated for persons trapped in paradoxical affiliations. While Maalouf wrote a widely acclaimed book to denounce the

dangers of essentialist views of identity, Choukri makes the same argument in fiction through irony and satire. Kemal is rejected and assaulted in a whorehouse for not being Muslim by those who believe that in order to enjoy Muslim prostitutes one needs to be a member of the Muslim community, yet prostitution is one of the unforgivable sins in Islam.

In the sixth example, the prisoners blame their mentally deranged inmate for throwing his bread into the toilet. Ben Jelloun modulates the translation by using God's property, Bowles uses the Arabic expression "*en neama d'Allah!*," but introduces the French preposition "de"(contracted before a vowel) instead of writing *en neama* of *Allah*.

In the seventh example, Bowles uses the Arabic word *fjer* (the dawn prayer) to bring the expression closer to an authentic context. The eighth and ninth examples also use elements of Arabic vocabulary to introduce Anglophone readers to the Moroccan mindset, specifically its belief in magic and superstition. The singular term *djin* and its plural form *djnoun* introduce the reader to the *Islamic* concept of devils.

IV.5. Transliteration in *Le pain nu* (1980)

In 1980, *El khoubz el hafi* was translated into French as *Le pain nu* by Choukri's francophone compatriot Tahar Ben Jelloun, the second translation of the novel into a European language after Bowles's1973 English translation. Ben Jelloun wrote a three-page preface to his translation, entitled *Le texte nu* (the bare text) as a way of affirming the "bareness" of Choukri's text, that is its plain and shocking truth-telling: "Telle est cette vie sans pain, sans tendresse. Un texte nu" (Ben Jelloun 1980, 9). The novel, as Ben Jelloun notes

in his preface, denounces two types of poverty, one economic, the other psychological. Both are painful, and both transpire between the lines of the text.

The following section examines transliteration in Ben Jelloun'stranslation of the novel. We have already seen that Ben Jelloun sanitized the Rifian expressions that constitute the core ethnotextual elements in the original version of the novel. However, is Ben Jelloun's translation empty of any of the indigenous traces present in the novel? An affirmative answer to this question would mean that Ben Jelloun's text was adapted, not translated. In the following discussion, we examine to what extent transliteration resists the sifting strategy of the translator. For purposes of clarity, transliterated Spanish elements in the Arabic version are not considered, since both French and Spanish use the same Latin script. Thus, the transliterated elements of interest to us here are Rifian, classical Arabic, and demotic Arabic.

To examine the issue of transliteration in Ben Jelloun's translation *Le pain nu* (1980), we will divide transliteration into two types: literal transliteration and graphical transliteration. The former is a case of semantic transliteration, as it approximates the original semantically. The latter is graphical, as it scripturally approximates the original, in which the letters and the sounds, or words belong to mutually unintelligible languages.

IV.5.1. Scriptural Transliteration

In Ben Jelloun's translation, the instances of scriptural transliteration, that is, writing the words of one language using another language's script, are not numerous, but a small number of Arabic words appear, transliterated in the Latin script. As the novel reveals, Choukri is illiterate until the age of 20 and only begins to learn to read and write in jail where he shares a cell with his literate friend Hamid. Morocco is under French and Spanish rule, and the prison is home not only to criminals but anticolonial dissidents as well. Even though Hamid is not

openly rebellious, he is fascinated by revolutionary ideology and writes a very famous resistance poem by Abou El Qassim El Chabi on the wall of the cell. When he then reads the poem aloud, Choukri is fascinated but cannot decipher a word of the text, so Hamid offers to help him learn the Arabic alphabet.

> Il [Hamid] écrivit quelque chose sur le mur et me demanda de lire en soulignant les lettres avec le crayon :
>
> —Je ne sais pas.
>
> —Ça, c'est *Alef.* Et ca, c'est quoi ?
>
> —Je ne sais pas non plus.
>
> —C'est un *Ba*. Et celui-là ?
>
> —*Ta.*
>
> —Comment ? Tu sais ?
>
> —Parce que j'ai toujours entendu les gens dire *Alef, Ba, Ta*…
>
> —Tu as raison.
>
> —De ces trois lettres on peut sortir certains mots connus, par exemple : *AB* (père), *BAB* (porte), *BAT* (passer la nuit), etc." (Ben Jelloun1980, 137; my italics).

In this dialogue, Ben Jelloun cannot avoid transliteration, as the three first letters of the alphabet, the only ones Choukri knows, have to be illustrated with some simple words: *ab* (father), *bab* (door) and the verb *bat* (spend the night).

In addition to this introduction to Arabic script, Ben Jelloun's translation provides two further instances of transliteration. The first is "Al Djihad!"(Ben Jelloun1980, 94), which he

translates in parentheses as “La guerre sainte!” The second is the term *hadiths*, also followed by a parenthetical translation (dires du Prophète)” (Ben Jelloun 1980, 152). In these two examples, Ben Jelloun uses a strategy Zabus calls “cushioning” (Zabus 2007, 7). In another instance of Arabic transliteration, however, Ben Jelloun provides an explanation of the Arabic word, in this case *sebsi*, in a footnote: “Pipe marocaine à long tuyau et petit fourneau, utilisée pour fumer le kif (NdE)” (Ben Jelloun1980, 112). This is a strategy Zabus calls “contextualization” (Zabus 175–180).

IV.5.2. Semantic Transliteration

Ben Jelloun uses semantic transliteration to translate various typical Moroccan idiomatic expressions and collocations into French, mostly prayers, insults, curses, and “[r]ules of address” (Zabus 2007, 149).

IV.5.2.1. Insults and Prayers

Insults and prayers are often culturally bound. In the case of Choukri’s text, we have already referred to its subversive content, but in this section, we will now see how these subversive elements, typically North African in general, and specifically Moroccan, are translated. First, we will deal with sexual insults, which are frequent in the text. Second, we will turn to the other side of the coin, that is, prayers.

Mother/ Daughter Whore Insults

Mothers and sisters belong to the private sphere in North African societies. Thus, the mere mention of a mother or sister, especially in quarrels, can easily be considered as an

insult and spark a fight between people. Choukri spent a rough childhood in the streets and was therefore exposed not only to severe living conditions, but to the social codes, language, and behavior of the streets as well. The violence of this sad childhood habituated him to vulgar language, first at home, as a little boy undergoing his father's violence, and then as a teenager and young adult in the streets of Tangiers, Tetouan, and Oran.

The first time in the novel that we see Choukri being exposed to a mother/ daughter whore insult is when his father insults him along with his mother. In the Arabic version of the text, the narrator does not use the classical Arabic word for a prostitute but instead the North African slang term القحبة (qahba), which is harsher than the classical Arabic equivalent *ahira*. This is appropriate for the brutality of the context. Using the classical term would smack of euphemism and soften the insult, as the word *ahira* is not common in Moroccan daily life. In his French translation, Ben Jelloun does not use either, the noun *pute* (female prostitute, but instead uses putain twice, to calque the original Maghrebi insult قحبة بنت قحبة (*qahba bent qahba*), which is a twofold insult, involving the mother and the daughter. This redundant insult is not usual in the French language or mindset; it is a verbatim calqued translation from Maghrebi Arabic. Paul Bowles's translation is less literal than Ben Jelloun's. He converts the typical Maghrebi insult into a typical English one:

Bowles—"Bitch. Rotten whore" (12).

Ben Jelloun—"Tu es une putain et une fille de putain" (13).

Choukri—((أنت قحبة بنت قحبة)) [...] سأهجرك ياإبنة القحبة (12).

The same insult recurs near the end of the novel after Choukri, now a young man, has acquired a girlfriend, Naima. After coming back from a risky day of work as a salesman at sea with his friend Boussaf, he discovers that Naima has left him and taken many of his hard-won

belongings with her. Enraged, he denounces her in the same way his father used to denounce his mother: “La putain, fille de putain” (Ben Jelloun151).

When it comes to mother-related insults, the Moroccan social context, as reflected in Choukri’s novel and captured in Ben Jelloun’s translation, is creative:

Choukri — إمشِ أمامي يا هذا الخواف. إمشِلتاً كل أمك القحبة. (53)

Ben Jelloun— Avance, froussard! Avance, que tu dévores la chair de ta putain de mère! (49).

Bowles—Go on ahead, you coward, damn you! (53)

Eating one’s own body or head, or one’s relatives’ bodies or body parts, is a culturally bound insult. In the French translation, Ben Jelloun uses a slightly modulated expression by specifying that is the mother’s flesh (*chair*) that is to be eaten, whereas the original only refers to “your whore mother” without specifying her flesh or any body part. In Arabic, imperative expressions using “eat” are usually intended for cursing someone. Thus, when Mohamed brings his mother some rosemary to use for cooking and reveals that the source of the delicious herb is the Bou Arqia cemetery, she demands he stop eating because a human being “[is] not supposed to eat anything that grows in a cemetery?” (Bowles 2006, 17–18). When the hungry boy refuses to stop eating, she snatches the plate from him and curses him in Rifian: “Eat yourself up” (Bowles 2006, 18). This kind of curse is untranslatable both in French and in English. Bowles tries to approximate the original expression, but Ben Jelloun uses the common French expression “Ça suffit!” (Ben Jelloun1980, 19).

The second mother-related insult is harsher and even stranger to French or English ears. In this case, it is not the mother as a person who is invoked but also her vagina, making the insult sound far more serious as well as vulgar. The original (transliterated) reads:

“تفو على فرج أمك !” (Choukri 2011, 122).

Ben Jelloun translates this more or less literally as “Je crache sur le vagin de ta mère!” (95). In another recurrence of this mother-related insult, Ben Jelloun modulates his translation in a typical Moroccan way from spitting on the mother’s vagina into cursing it “Maudit soit le vagin qui t’a mis au monde!” (84), that is, “Cursed be the vagina that brought you into the world!”[127] This type of cursing is typical of North African and Muslim Arab communities in general, reflecting a worldview soaked in a belief in the power of curses and fear of curses. North Africans believe not only in God’s power to curse but also in the power of parents’ curses, children’s curses, and so on.

Religion-Related Insults

The next type of insult is also endemic to the North African region in general as well as to Moroccan society in particular. The novel includes four instances of cursing an adversary’s religion. Examples of cursing someone’s religion can be found three times in the text. The first instance occurs when Bousaf gets angry with Mohamed about his share of the bargain they have just made with some soldiers and exclaims “جبان ! يلعن دينك” (Choukri 208). Ben Jelloun translates this literally as “Lâche! Que Dieu maudisse ta religion (147) and Bowles as “You damned coward!” (197).

“*Inaal dinhoum!”* (Bowles 196).

“يلعن دينهم !”(Choukri 206).

The second occurrence of this type of insult does not differ very much. The only significant difference is the formulation; in both the Arabic and English versions, the insult is

[127] My translation.

directed at an absent addressee, but in the French translation, it is directed at people who are present (again, soldiers):

> Choukri—! أيما وجهي ! أيما وجهي ! يلعن دينك (178).
>
> Bowles—He was bellowing like a beast. My face! My neck! (169).
>
> Ben Jelloun—Mon visage! Ô ma mère ! Mon visage ! Que Dieu maudisse ta religion! (128).

The third occurrence of the insult*"Inaal din*" is directed at Choukri himself and is translated literally only by Ben Jelloun. Bowles does not provide a full translation. Besides insulting someone's religion, the text records another use of the phrase "Inaal din,"one of the most common insults in North African societies. In this instance it is used to insult both the religion of life and those who love life: "Maudite soit la religion de la vie et maudit celui qui l'aime "(Ben Jelloun130), which in the original reads "يلعن دين الحياة و الذي يحبها." (Choukri182).

Prayers

In contrast to its sparing use of insults, the novel is strewn with prayers. The most common invoke God, which of course is not specific to Muslim communities. For instance, when Mohamed leaves for work very early in the morning, the night watchman of his hostel opens the gate and bids him good day with "Que Dieu t'aide" (Ben Jelloun141), which in Bowles is "May Allah be kind to you this morning" (190). The original reads simply " الله يعاونك" (Choukri199). "May God help you/him/someone" is a common prayer in many monotheistic societies' cultures, but many of the variations on this are culturally bound. Another Allah prayer is invoked when Choukri is in jail with his friends. One of the staff of the prison, angry at the arbitrary imprisonment of his compatriots and unhappy with their role, prays to God to end both his own and the young men's predicament. Choukri depicts him

saying, “الله يعفو عليكم و علينا.” (190), which Ben Jelloun translates as “Que Dieu nous dispense de ce boulot et vous d’être là!” (135) and Bowles as “May Allah forgive you and us both” (Bowles 181).

Another typical Muslim prayer involves asking God to let one die Muslim. The person prays that he or she will still be a Muslim when death knocks at the door. Ben Jelloun expresses this as “ Que Dieu nous fasse mourir tous en musulmans! ” (124) and Bowles as “May Allah see to it that we all die as Moslems” (163). Both Bowles and Ben Jelloun provide a semantic transliteration while translating the prayer, which is not included in the Arabic version of the novel. The correspondence between the French and the English versions makes one suspect that Ben Jelloun relied on the English translation at this point.

When Choukri meets his friend Tafersti, who is sad because of the murder-suicide committed by his uncle, who has killed his starving wife and children and then himself, he prays to God to have mercy on their souls with the invocation “يرحمهم الله” (Choukri42), which Ben Jelloun translates as “Que la miséricorde de Dieu soit sur eux!” (40). Instead of using the typical equivalent French expression *Que Dieu ait leur âme*, Ben Jelloun calques the Arabic phrase in another case of semantic transliteration.

Once in Tangiers, Choukri, tired and homeless, sleeps in a park. In the morning, he is prodded awake by a child and when he informs the boy that he has been robbed of 60 pesetas, the boy prays that God will “refund” him. Choukri writes “ يخلفها الله ” (97), which Ben Jelloun translates as “Que Dieu te les rende! Tu as de la chance” (Ben Jelloun 80).This prayer comes from the demotic Arabic, in which the subject-verb order is inverted. In classical Arabic, the subject precedes the verb: *Allah yekhlef* (May God refund you).

To remain in the religious semantic field Tahar Ben Jelloun resorts to semantic transliteration, using the frequent invocation of God that Muslims often pronounce whenever

they start doing something:“Au nom d’Allah le Clément, le Miséricordieux!”(64) This prayer is normally translated in English as “in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.” Bowles, however, transliterates the prayer graphically as “*Bismillah rahman er rahim*!” (Bowles 71; italics in original).

In addition to this invocation, Ben Jelloun translates another prayer, that of a man whose offer of help has been violently turned down by Choukri, whom he has found sleeping in the street. The man asks God to save him and his community from the insolence of the young of these times: “Qu’Allah nous préserve des enfants de cette époque!” (Ben Jelloun 64). It is a prayer or invocation frequently pronounced by old people suffering from misunderstandings caused by the generation gap.

IV.5.2.2. Proverbs

Although Choukri’s novel is not as rich in proverbs as Feraoun’s, it contains one proverb that is semantically transliterated in Ben Jelloun’s version as follows: “[u]n proverbe dit: On entre à Oran pressé et on la quitte en s’enfuyant (Ben Jelloun 61). This literal transliteration is due to the lack of a French equivalent, as the proverb is constructed around the Algerian town of Oran. However, unlike Ben Jelloun, Bowles transliterates the proverb both semantically and scripturally:

“*Ed dakhel en Oueheran zerbanne,*

Ou el harej menha harbanne [sic]” (Bowles 68; italics in original).

His transliteration is nearer to the original version of the novel than Ben Jelloun’s. The Arabic version is a rhymed stanza with two lines ending in the rhyme “ane.” Thus, semantic transliteration in this case fails to render the poetic form of the proverb that a scriptural transliteration manages to convey.

IV.5.2.3. Metaphorical Verb Use

After the birth of his sister Rhimou, young Mohamed is entrusted with the task of taking care of her when his mother is out. Mosquitoes are a constant problem, and in his translation, Ben Jelloun describes the child's face as being "eaten" by the pests: "son petit visage mangé par les moustiques" (Ben Jelloun 24). However, the verb "manger" is used here to mean something more like "devastated." Bowles translates the image as "her face, already irritated by mosquito bites" (Bowles 24).

IV.5.2.3. Irony

As we have seen, little Mohamed suffers terribly from the violence of his father, who ruthlessly beats both him and his mother and, in his rage, even strangles Mohamed's younger brother, Abdelkader. The father is so violent that Mohamed wishes him dead or at least away from home in prison. He does not dare confront the monstrous tyrant when he is ordered to obey him, and only him—"Tu dois m'obéir tant que je suis en vie. Tu m'entends ?—but he answers secretly in his imagination: " Oui je t'entends, héritier de Dieu sur cette terre dominée par les pères" (Ben Jelloun 77). Bowles translates this as "I hear you perfectly, O Khalifa of Allah on earth" (83). Ben Jelloun's phrase meaning "heir of God" comes from the Arabic expression "خليفة الله في الأرض " which Bowles translates more literally. The aim of the image is ironic. Indeed, Mohamed can no longer bear the "God-like" tyranny of his father, who dominates and mistreats everyone in the family. This irony is semantically transliterated in Ben Jelloun's transliteration, but semantically and scripturally in Bowles's translation.

Conclusion

This study of transliteration in Mohamed Choukri's autobiographical *El Koubz el hafi* leads to three major conclusions. The first concerns the success of both the author and his novel at forcing their way into being. Choukri barely survived as a little boy, and as a young adult only managed to eke out a living in the condition of utter poverty imposed on the indigenous population by the two-fold French and Spanish protectorate. The second concerns the novel, which followed a similarly challenging path towards eventual publication. It was written in Arabic in 1972, but first published in europhone translations, in English by Paul Bowles in 1973 and in French by Tahar Ben Jelloun in 1980. Due to the novel's "subversive" content, especially its frank sexuality, the translations were banned in most Arab countries, and the original Arabic manuscript was finally published in 1982, ten years after its writing. However, it was prohibited in Morocco until 2000.

The third conclusion concerns the novel's polyphonic capacity both in its original version and its translations. Based on the findings discussed above, it can be seen that classical Arabic, as well as English and French, are far from being the only languages of the three versions of the novel. These three vehicular languages are, instead, receptacles of two Moroccan vernacular languages, Rifian and Maghrebi (Darija). Thus, Choukri's classification of his novel as "social-realist" is relevant: "When I said that my autobiographical novel *Al-Khubz Al-Hafi* is more of a social document than a work of art I meant that I actually attempted a semi-documentary endeavor about a social group that included myself and my family" (qtd. in Tanoukhi 2003, 131). Choukri's testimony applies also to the novel's representation of the Moroccan sociolinguistic reality.

Chapter V: Towards a Transatlantic Ethnotext: The Choctaw (USA) and the Mi'kmaq (Canada) Ethnotext

We have seen in Chapter 2 that the ethnotext results from the blending of orality and literacy in a given text. In our first case study in Chaper 3, centered on Mouloud Feraoun, we studied how the ethnotext is achieved through the use of Kabyle proverbs in *Le fils du pauvre* (1950). In our second case study in Chapter 4, we focused on transliteration as a technique to blend "orality"and "literacy"in Mohamed Choukri's novel *El khoubz el hafi* (1973).These two case studies are in line with what has been written about African literature of English and French expression, especially by Zabus (2007), Vakunta (2011), Tunca (2014), and Briault (2015). After extending the ethnotext to North African Francophone and Arabophone literature, this chapter will attempt to extend the study of the ethnotext to a broader field, crossing the Atlantic Ocean and validating the title of the thesis "Towards a Transatlantic Ethnotext."

In addition to the continental studies centered around African literature, the project of expanding the ethnotext across the Atlantic Ocean fits into the currently emerging interest in oceanic studies, as evidenced, for example, by Hsinya Huang's "Toward Transpacific Ecopoetics: Three Indigenous Texts" (2013). In this paper, Huang proposes the Pacific Ocean "as a contact zone, method, and concept with which to examine the dynamic, shifting relationship between land and sea that allows indigenous literature in the transpacific context to engage all of its ecopoetic complexity" (120). Like Huang, we will examine the

applicability of an oceanic dimension for the comparative study of indigenous[128]literatures, in our case, those of North African and North American autochthonous authors.

Ashcroft et al. assume that all postcolonial literatures are transcultural and thus cross-cultural. By expanding the scope of the comparison, this chapter will attempt to establish a new ethnotextual paradigm, that of a trans[129]-indigenous ethnotext, by comparing the case of the Berbers (Kabyle in Algeria and Rifian in Morocco) of North Africa to that of two Amerindian nations (the Choctaw in the United States and the Mi'kmaq in Canada) in North America. Like the oceanic dimension, the trans-indigenous parallel is an emerging concept in literary criticism. Inter-autochthonous comparisons have increasingly been proposed in studies such as Allen Chadwick's "A Transnational Native American Studies? Why Not Studies That Are Trans-Indigenous?" (2012) and "Decolonizing Comparison: Toward a Trans-Indigenous Literary Studies" (2014). While, in the 2012 article, Chadwick asks for the possibility of a trans-indigenous dimension for Native American literature at the national level, he goes further two years later by proposing a "literary scholarship that is Indigenous-centered on a global scale" (378).

The present chapter will test the relevance of geographical transatlanticism and cultural trans-indigeneity for our study of the ethnotext. In order to delineate the transatlantic ethnotextual bridge between the Berber (Kabyle and Rifian) and Amerindian (Choctaw and Mi'kmaq) ethnotexts, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first examines how

[128] Indigeneity is here to be understood in terms of Jeff Corntassel and Taiaiake Alfred who define it as: "INDIGENOUSNESS IS AN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTED, SHAPED AND LIVED in the politicized context of contemporary colonialism. The communities, clans, nations and tribes we call Indigenous peoples are just that: Indigenous to the lands they inhabit, in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies and states that have spread out from Europe and other centres of empire. It is this oppositional, place-based existence, along with the consciousness of being in struggle against the dispossessing and demeaning fact of colonization by foreign peoples, that fundamentally distinguishes Indigenous peoples from other peoples of the world" (2005,579).

[129] The prefix ″trans″ is here to be understood as defined by Chadwick "Trans-, yes, in the sense of across, beyond, and through, but not limited to national borders, and certainly not limited to the national borders of contemporary (settler) nation-states" (2012,3).

ethnotextuality is achieved in American novelist Rilla Askew's *The Mercy Seat* (1997) through the blending of Choctaw spirituality and Christianity. In other words, we will study how spiritual *métissage* contributes to ethnotextuality in the novel.[130]The second section is devoted to the Mi'kmaq ethnotext in Canadian Mi'kmaq poet Rita Joe's autobiography *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet* (1996).

V.1: The Choctaw Ethnotext in Rilla Askew's *The Mercy Seat* (1997)

Despite the importance of Christian and Choctaw spirituality in *The Mercy Seat*, reference to religion in the present chapter is secondary, in which Choctaw terminology for religion and spirituality forms an ethnotext in the novel. This chapter will tackle the distinctive ethnotextuality of *The Mercy Seat* in three parts, first, introducing the author and her novel; second, providing a brief overview of the sociolinguistic situation of Amerindian languages in the USA, with specific reference to the Choctaw language in Oklahoma; and third, examining the ethnotextual strategies used by the author to express Choctaw orality in her novel.

V.1.1. The Author and Her Novel

V.1.1.1. Rilla Askew in American and American Indigenous Literature

Rilla Askew (1951–) is an American novelist born and raised in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, a state that has not only shaped her personality but her artistic fiction as well. As she writes in the bio section of her personal website,

[130] We did not study the role of spirituality and religion in the first two case studies. For the feasibility of this work, we decided to study one aspect of orality for every novel: Proverbs for *The Poor Man's Son*, transliteration of orality for *El khoubz el hafi*, and orality through spirituality for *The Mercy Seat*.

> I grew up in the little city of Bartlesville at the edge of the tallgrass prairie country in northeastern Oklahoma. […] In Bartlesville I received my education in the magic of books, the borders of race, the forces of money, oil, societal opinion. Growing up in a company town accounts for the timbre of social conscience in my work, my interest in exploring the American story of class and race (Askew 2019). [131]

The class-race stratification of Oklahoman society caught the author's interest early in her life, but this socioeconomic consciousness was sharpened in her twenties when she lived in the city of Tahlequah in Cherokee County, Oklahoma, an experience that alerted her to her possible Choctaw ancestry and led her to look into the Choctaw people's predicament.

> In my twenties I lived on the banks of the Illinois River near Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation. […]. As a child I'd always been told we were part Cherokee on my father's side, part Choctaw on my mother's (or "Black Dutch" as some preferred to call it)—bloodlines never traced, so far as I know—but it was my years in Tahlequah that gave me my first deep connection to Indian people, a force and source integrated throughout my fiction (ibid).

Here Askew confesses her interest in Choctaw people, culture, and issues, but remains silent about whether she is or is not a Choctaw. In a later interview, however, she admits being half Choctaw. The question of her actual ancestry has been raised by her family and on the internet as well as by her readers and critics.

Whether she is Choctaw or not, Askew considers Oklahoma to be a source of inspiration for any aspect of the human condition of her fellow citizens:

[131] All further references to this website come from the same URL: www.rillaaskew.com/bio.htm, accessed on 14/07/2019 at 08:02.

> Oklahoma's brief, violent history is a microcosm of all that's taken place on the North American continent for the past five hundred years—turned inside out, foreshortened, intensified. From the tragedy of the Trail of Tears to the frenzy of the white land runs, from the hope in the all-black towns that sprang up in Oklahoma when it was still the free "Injun Territory" toward which Huck Finn sets out at the end of his Adventures, to the ultimate devastation of the Tulsa Race Riot in 1921, the drama of the three races has dominated Oklahoma's story—as it has dominated America's story (Askew 2019).

Thus, Oklahoma represents, for Askew, a condensed version of American history in general, with all its glories and tragedies. Despite being inspired by her place of birth and upbringing, Askew is critical of her home state. As a compact representation of the tumult of American history as a whole, Oklahoma provides Askew with a critical awareness of issues of living together, of self and otherness.

> Most of my fiction is set in Oklahoma, but I don't consider myself a regional writer. America is my subject, Oklahoma the canvas. As a novelist, what I'm interested in is demythologizing, de-romanticizing America's master narrative, the half-truth comfort stories we tell ourselves (ibid).

Askew's interest in both the bright and somber aspects of her state has nourished an uncompromising literary oeuvre. Her commitment to denouncing the injustices of her state towards "minorities" such as the Choctaws, African Americans, and Hispanics runs through all her fiction and non-fiction. Her concern with the predicament of the Choctaw people, in particular, is constant in her writing, especially in the short story collection *Strange Business* (1992), the novels *The Mercy Seat* (1997) and *Harpsong* (2007), and the collection of essays *Most American: Notes from a Wounded Place* (2017). Despite her steady interest in Choctaws, Rilla Askew remains largely silent on her possible Choctaw origins, unlike

Mouloud Feraoun, Mohamed Choukri, and Rita Joe, who, by contrast, all claim their indigenous origins and are proud to present their respective communities and cultures to the world.

Askew is committed to the rights of African Americans in her state. She has denounced the massacre of African American Oklahomans in the Tulsa "race riot" of 1921, which remained largely untold for a long time in the American history, and which she addressed in her novel *Fire in Beulah* (2001). In addition to issues of concern to African Americans, Askew is also interested in the predicament of the Hispanic populations forced by economic hardship to immigrate to the United States, where they have faced considerable hostility. In her latest novel, *Kind of Kin* (2013), Askew turns her attention to the new category of persecuted incomers known as undocumented immigrants. Despite her constant concern for, and commitment to the rights of, her country's minority groups, Askew is not generally considered a major American writer. She is referenced in neither American nor indigenous American literary anthologies and criticism. *The Oxford Handbook of Indigenous American Literature* (2014), for instance, does not mention Rilla Askew as either an American or an indigenous American author.

V.1.1.2. *The Mercy Seat*: Rewriting Histories

The Mercy Seat (1997) is Askew's first novel and her second published work after *Strange Business* (1992). The novel won the Western Heritage Award for Best Novel of 1997 and the Oklahoma Book Award. It was also nominated for the PEN/Faulkner Award for Fiction and the Mountains and Plains Award for Fiction. *The Mercy Seat* was translated into German by Marion Balkenhol under the title *Meines Bruders Hüter* (1999); it is Askew's only translated novel.

In contrast to Feraoun's and Choukri's novels, which are thoroughly autobiographical, *The Mercy Seat* is only semi-autobiographical. It is based on Askew's grandparents' history. This, while Feraoun and Choukri draw inspiration from their personal lives, Askew draws inspiration from the distant past of her family. The incentive that spurred Askew to write the novel was the racial violence of the riot "that began on May 31, 1921, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and was one of the most severe incidents of racial violence in U.S. history. Lasting for two days, the riot left somewhere between 30 and 300 people dead, mostly African Americans" (Britannica). Horrible as it was, this massacre, largely of blacks, was ignored in history books until recently. Askew's novel breaks the silence surrounding this bloody episode. However, she realized that the evil of American racism is far from being only a twentieth-century phenomenon. Thus, she decided to go back to her own family history and use it to represent the country's history. In her interview with Nathan Leslie in 2006, Askew explained how she was inspired to write *The Mercy Seat*:

> I wanted to write about the Tulsa Race Riot, and I did begin that work, which eventually became my novel *Fire in Beulah*, but as I was researching the horrors of the riot I realized I had to go farther back in Oklahoma's history to understand how such volatile and violent racial attitudes—attitudes that would lead to the worst racial conflagration in our Nation's history—could have been carried into this place. So I went back in my own family's history, and I learned that in 1887 three brothers named Askew left Kentucky in the middle of the night with their families in wagons and headed to I.T.—Indian Territory. One of the brothers went down into Texas, and we lost track of him, but the other two brothers came on into the Territory, into what was then the Choctaw Nation (Askew 2019).

This history of Askew's family in Oklahoma is part of the overall American East-West movement. Indeed, *The Mercy Seat* resonates with three histories: first, her own family's move from Kentucky to Oklahoma; second, the biblical history of Cain and Abel; third, the Chatah and Chickasah's journey from Mississippi to Oklahoma.

Although *The Mercy Seat* is inspired by Askew's family history, the novel is not thoroughly autobiographical. Askew uses the westward movement of her own family to symbolize the national legend of the westward quest, thus addressing the general through the specific.

> Most of the rest of [*The Mercy Seat*], and certainly all the characters, come from imaginings. In particular I want to note that I created the deadly enmity between the Lodi brothers, which was never a part of my family's real story, and I did that not only to create conflict for the novel but also because I felt a need to come to some comprehension about brother-upon-brother violence before I could understand the nature of man's violence against the Other, as racial violence is (Askew 2019).

Rilla Askew uses family in her novel as a synecdoche, as a family is the core of both nation and humanity. Thus, in order to understand the social turmoil of her country in terms of racism and racial domination, the author digs more deeply into American history, back to the origin of racism. The author's familial history echoes the Chickasaws' history, which is documented by Byrd as "a migration story":

> [I]n search of a new homeland, twin brothers, Chikasah and Chatah, were charged with leading the people as they traveled across the land… [T]he brothers and the people traveled for years, always following the direction of the pole. Until one morning at sunrise, the brothers awoke to find the pole standing almost straight upright. Chatah insisted that the pole confirmed that their travels were done, but

> Chikasah disagreed and argued that the pole still leaned, that there was still further to go. After continued debate, the question was put to the people—those who agreed with Chatah would stay and make a life there as Choctaws, in the lands that would become central Mississippi, and those who sided with Chikasah would travel further east to finally live in what is now northern Mississippi. (Byrd 2011, xvi)

The similarities between the two family and national histories are apparent, as Amerindians were the first to occupy the American continent. This return to the origins was necessary for Askew in her quest for the roots of the racism that undermines her country. Indeed, she begins her novel with another story of origins, that of the Indian removal:

> When the Choctaw people knew white soldiers were coming to force them from their homes in Mississippi, up the Great River and over the face of the earth to this unknown land in the west, the people walked for the last time in their forests and touched their hands to the trees, the rocks and healing plants, to say goodbye. (Askew 1997, 1)

The Choctaws and other Indian populations were forced to leave their lands after the Indian Removal Act of 1830 was passed by Congress and signed by President Andrew Jackson. This act "… authorized the President to negotiate removal treaties with Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi River. The goal was to remove all Native Americans living in existing states and territories and send them to unsettled land in the west" (National Archives and Records Administration). The removals were conducted neither fairly nor humanely. Not only were the Amerindians dispossessed from their original homes by the white men, but they were also repeatedly chased from their new homes in a continuous westward movement to satisfy the insatiable white settlers' greed for land and power.

The autochthonous populations were mistreated. They paid the high price of American “civilization” and “the American dream” with their lives. According to Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz,

> A few contingents of Cherokees settled in Arkansas and what became Indian Territory as early as 1817. There was a larger migration in 1832, which came after the Indian Removal Act. The 1838 forced march of the Cherokee Nation, now known as the Trail of Tears, was an arduous journey from remaining Cherokee homelands in Georgia and Alabama to what would later become northeastern Oklahoma […] Half of the sixteen thousand Cherokee men, women, and children who were rounded up and force-marched in the dead of winter out of their country perished on the journey. The Muskogees and Seminoles suffered similar death rates in their forced transfer, while the Chickasaws and Choctaws lost around 15 percent of their people en route (Ortiz 2014, 112–13).

For the umpteenth time, Amerindians found themselves slaughtered by Whites both on their land, through expropriation, and in their souls, through mistreatment and forced removal. Such cruel conditions led to a massacre of the native population.

V.1.1.3.The Choctaw Language in the United States

The Choctaw language belongs to the Muskogean branch of the Amerindian languages. George Aaron Broadwell distinguishes "four main groups of Choctaw speakers: Mississippi Choctaws, Oklahoma Choctaws, Louisiana Choctaws, and Mississippi Choctaws of Oklahoma" (2006, 1). Despite this seemingly wide dissemination of the language, Choctaw remains on the list of endangered languages. The number of speakers is continuously decreasing. Broadwell estimated the overall Choctaw speaking community in 2006 to be "between 9,000 and 11,000." Ethnologue, a website dedicated to world languages, estimates the Choctaw population to be around 9640 speakers. According to the website, Choctaw is a language on death row. Indeed, Choctaw is ranked 6b, which is a severe degree of endangerment. Not only the number of its population is small, but according to an Ethnologue estimate, Choctaw is the first language of only five to ten percent of the Choctaw population, though the second language of 75to100 percent.

Despite the alarming figures, many scholars and linguists have been struggling against the extinction of the Choctaw language. Cyrus Byington can be considered the grandfather of Choctaw revitalization. He produced the first *Grammar of the Choctaw Language* as early as 1870 and *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* in 1915. In 2001, Marcia Haag and Henry Willis published *Choctaw Language and Culture: Chahta Anumpa.* The book is divided into two parts, the first devoted to linguistic aspects of the Choctaw language and designed for learners of the language, the second devoted to a study of the Choctaw culture and lifestyle. George Broadwell's *A Choctaw Reference Grammar* (2006) is an exhaustive study of Choctaw grammar book and provides deep insights on the modern Choctaw language.

In addition to these language-oriented books, Choctaw translations of the Bible have also participated in the revitalization of the language through biblical exegesis. Although this role may seem to contradict the assimilationist aims behind the evangelization of Indian

tribes, the missionaries believed that the use of the vernacular was the key to reaching the Choctaws and succeeding in their conversion. Jenny Davis, for example, informs us that

> [t]he missionaries believed that without direct engagement with the texts, the Chickasaw people could not be saved. Many texts, such as the Bible, were translated into Choctaw by the Protestant missionaries who sought to convert the much larger, neighboring Choctaw tribe given that the Choctaw and Chickasaw languages are often considered to be mutually intelligible. (Davis 2015, 1098)

Regardless of its assimilationist intentions, evangelization brought literacy into these oral languages. As we will see in the following section, Askew's novel abounds with biblical passages mainly quoted from the King James Version, although some verses are quoted from Cyrus Byington's Choctaw translation of the Bible (1868).[132]Thus, the role of Christianity has been twofold, assimilation of the people on the one hand and revitalization of their language on the other. As Davis concludes,

> the products of both religious practices and language revitalization are often connected. On the one hand, texts and genres incorporated into language revitalization efforts carry not just the primary function of language learning, but also underlying themes of religious (and cultural) beliefs and practices. On the other, religious activities and writings conducted in endangered languages can carry the secondary effect of encouraging language revitalization. (1100)

The topic of entanglement between Amerindian religions and Christianity has made a lot of ink flow, especially on the part of Native American authors, but our discussion will be limited to the overall impact of religious terminology on the Choctaw ethnotext in *The Mercy Seat.*

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[132] For further information see Louis Coleman: www.choctawnation.com/cyrus-byington

V.1.2. Religion / Spirituality and Ethnotextual Stylistics in *The Mercy Seat* (1997)

Askew's novel straddles the Christian religion and Choctaw-Creek spirituality. While the former is international and written, the latter is local and oral. Thus, this section will study the orature that results from such "glocal" spirituality, that is, the blending of a conventional, self-styled "universal" religion with a local, pagan spirituality in *The Mercy Seat.* Using ethnotextual stylistics, we will also discuss the role of such a syncretic vision of spirituality in Choctaw language revitalization. To address these issues, we will first examine elements of the Bible in the novel and then turn our attention to elements of Choctaw spirituality.

V.1.2.1. Religion and Literacy

To begin with Christianity and the Bible, it is clear that *The Mercy Seat* is heavily influenced by the King James Version of the Christian Bible. The novel consists of six parts, with the first and sixth parts functioning as prologue and epilogue. Askew does not quote the Bible in these two sections. However, the remaining parts of the novel all open with a biblical epigraph.

The first section, "Carapace," starts with this quotation from Isaiah 54:16: "*Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work; and I have created the waster to destroy*" (Askew 5; italics in the original). The novel's first biblical epigraph hints at the crux of the novel, which centers around blacksmithing, the profession that divides the brothers and ultimately brings about their tragedy. In addition, the fratricidal outcome inevitably echoes the biblical myth of the origin of human violence, the conflict between Cain and Abel. The second section begins with an epigraph from Exodus 25:20: "*And the cherubim shall stretch forth their wings on high, covering* ***the mercy seat*** *with their wings, and their faces shall look one to another; toward*

***the mercy seat** shall the faces of the cherubim be*” (Askew 101; italics in the original, emphasis mine). By identifying the novel’s title with the biblical image, Askew makes an additional bond between the novel as a fiction book and the Bible as a sacred text.

For the third section of her novel, Askew uses Corinthians 14:10—“*There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification”* (Askew 271; italics in original)—as the epigraph. This section features five characters telling the story of the brothers John and Lafayette Lodi, the novel’s main protagonists. Its title is “Plain Chant,” and the polyphonic vision this suggests justifies the author’s choice of epigraph. The verse is about varieties of truth and the possible ramifications and varying degrees of veracity. Although “truths” may differ; each one of them still has a certain degree of veracity. The fourth section is entitled “Revelation,” which seems to promise a disclosure of the novel’s mystery. Askew chooses Leviticus 16:15 as the epigraph: “*Then shall he kill the goat of the sin-offering, that is for the people, and bring his blood within the vail, and do with that blood as he did with the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it upon the mercy seat…*” (Askew 343). This verse explicitly addresses the issue of sacrifice, which is common in all three monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and originates in the near-sacrifice by Abraham of his son, Isaac, and the substitution of a ram in Isaac’s place. The relationship between the verse and the novel is the fratricide that recalls humanity’s oldest fratricide, that of Abel by Cain.

These epigraphs, along with many other biblical elements and allusions, confirm that *The Mercy Seat* is rooted in the Christian tradition right from its title to the use of biblical verses as epigraphs to mark the story’s progression. However important they are, these elements do not account for the Choctaw ethnotext. So how is the new religion bent to fit in the traditional spiritual mold to form the Choctaw ethnotext? The next section will attempt to answer this question.

V.1.2.2. Oral Spirituality/ Bi-Spirituality in *The Mercy Seat*

Ethnotextuality is inscribed in the first sentence of the novel: "There are voices in the earth here, telling truth in old stories. Go down in the hidden places by the waters, listen: you will hear them, buried in the sand and clay" (Askew 1). "Voices" and "old stories" refer to orality as if Askew is inviting the reader to hear the stories while reading the novel. Thus, the orature of the novel blends two registers of communication—written and spoken—and two modes of reception—listening and reading. This blending converts literacy into orality and reading into listening. Indeed, inviting the reader to listen to old stories rather than reading them sets the novel's tone, which straddles orality (voices and listening that are going to be the substance of the written story) through literacy (writing and reading):

> One story they tell is about longing, for this is a place of homesickness. The land has become home now, and so the very core of this land is sorrow. You can hear it longing for the old dream of itself. Like this continent. This country. *Oklahoma*. The very sound of it is home. (Askew 1; italics in original)

In addition to this nostalgic reference to the origins of the country, this section will elaborate another parallel in reminiscence of the spiritual origins of the Choctaw community in Oklahoma in the light of the Choctaw-Creek protagonist Thula Henry. So who is Thula Henry? How do her "dual" spiritual belongings contribute to the ethnotext in the novel?

V.1.2.3. Thula Henry

It is only on Thula Henry's second appearance that Askew presents the Amerindian protagonist in detail. So who is Thula Henry? Besides healing the heroine, Martha Ruth, what is her role in the novel? How does she implement the novel's dialectics of spiritual and linguistic resistance and revival? In the following section, we will examine Thula's racial, linguistic, and spiritual *métissage* in relation to the novel's ethnotextuality.

To begin with the racial *métissage* of Thula, Askew goes back to the character's parents, who are both Amerindians:

> Her father had been a Creek man, a Muskogee man, who'd come down into the Choctaw Nation after the Removals and settled there, taking a Choctaw woman, Thula's mother, to wife. He had fathered Thula, whom he called Tooske, in the winter of 1837 and lived with them nine years, tacking up Choctaw ways, farming. (Askew 229)

This passage establishes Thula's biological origins: the Creek background of her father and the Choctaw background of her mother, both deriving from the Muskogeean branch. Besides this, Thula's Amerindian last name is Tooske and her date of birth 1837. Significantly, the 1830s were the years of removal of the Choctaws.

Besides her racial *métissage*, Thula is linguistically "mixed," with a good mastery of both English and Choctaw:

> The white woman [Jessie] was right about Thula Henry's ability to speak English. She could speak it precisely as well as she chose to—had learned not only to speak it but to read it and write it at the Wheelock Academy down by Broken Bow—but she preferred her father's brand of English, and she used that when she had to speak the

distasteful language at all. Thula Henry was Choctaw, yes, for her mother was Choctaw, and she spoke Choctaw predominantly, lived with her mother's people near the Indian Church at Yonubby. (Askew 228)

Thula prefers her father's brand of English to the kind of English she learned at school. In other words, she chooses an indigenized variety of English. Since her father was Creek, we may assume that this English is Creek-inflected, and as we will see, the relexification or indigenization of English, to use Zabus's concepts, is apparent in Thula's speech. Her unorthodox use of English upsets her employer, Jessie, when she brings Thula to clean her brother-in-law's house and take care of his sick children. The following dialogue between the two protagonists clearly shows the divide between their respective use of English:

The woman said, "Me think you hire me him for to clean'im up."

Jessie nearly exploded in disgust. "Oh, for Pete's sake. Yes, Me hire you to clean him up. Talk English. Here!" (Askew 228)

From the perspective of "standard" English, Thula's English is ungrammatical, but it is clear that she distorts English syntax on purpose to adjust it to the linguistic structures and thought patterns of her father's Creek language. This kind of indigenization is subtler than glossing and cushioning, as it subverts the core elements of the dominant language by modifying its syntax. In so doing, Thula reverses the assimilation process. Instead of fully embracing the imposed language, Thula bends this tool of assimilation to fit her native language and express her native mindset. This technique of reversed assimilation has already been analyzed in the chapter devoted to Mouloud Feraoun's use of French, described by Bourdieu as the genius of reappropriation.

However, when Thula speaks to Martha Ruth, she uses correct English because Martha is only a sick little girl. Thus, when Thula decides to take Martha's brothers to attend

a religious meeting, Askew tells us: “She did, however, tell the girl Matt. In English she told her—not the broken English of Thula’s Creek father, but the form as she had learned it from the Presbyterian missionaries at Wheelock Academy forty years before” (Askew 235). This confirms what the omniscient narrator has told us earlier about Thula’s mastery of English. Thus, Thula’s “misuse” of the English language is intentional, not a result of linguistic incompetence. When Thula addresses Martha, she tells her “We’re going to church now […] Won’t be back till day after tomorrow […] You come go with us” (Askew 235). We can surmise that Askew thinks of Thula Henry as her spokesperson, since both the author and the protagonist master both English and Choctaw. The fact that both of them shift from one language to another means that they are linguistically hybrid.

Thus, Thula’s racial *metissage* entails a linguistic *metissage* combining Creek influence from her father’s side and Choctaw influence from her mother’s side. To these influences, Thula’s education adds a third linguistic layer. However, her multilingualism is not the only reason for her indigenization of the English language. Her religious affiliation also plays a significant role. Like the Choctaw community of her mother, Thula is Christian; like her father’s community, she is still faithful to Creek spirituality. In the following section, we will see how these antagonistic faith systems contribute to the protagonist’s spiritual syncretism, in other words, how Askew manages to indigenize English, the dominant language in the novel, to showcase another minoritized language, Thula’s Choctaw mother tongue.

V.1.3. Choctaw Christianity: Ethnotextuality through Bi-spirituality

Besides racial and linguistic hybridity, Thula Henry is also a spiritually hybrid character. How does her bi-spirituality constitute a site for linguistic revival and resistance against the imposed Anglo-Saxon assimilation? We will attempt to answer these questions in the following section with reference to three key points: the Choctaw perception of Christianity, Choctaw beliefs as represented in *The Mercy Seat,* and the ethnotextual techniques, namely cushioning and contextualization, that Askew uses to foreground these Choctaw elements.

The Choctaw Perception of Christianity

We can say that Thula has inherited her religious orientation from her parents. Thus, to the extent that she follows her mother, she is Christian, but she has also inherited Creek spirituality from her father and his people:

> From her mother she had one kind of mind and thought and being, for *her mother's people had received the Christian faith early, had embraced it from the first teachings brought by white missionaries to Mississippi and carried it with them into the new Nation.* There was something in Christianity that spoke to the understanding in her mother's people, and now they were Baptists, for it was the Baptists who'd sought out hardest and tended fiercest their souls to keep them from hellfire damnation, and *Thula was Baptist,* and she brought her children and grandchildren to the all-day camp meetings at Yonubby, and they were each baptized and took the Lord's Supper when it was offered, and it was *through her mother's faith that Thula understood the Holy Trinity, how the Creator and the Son and the Spirit were one*—but it was *from her father, or, more truly, from her father's people, that she understood the Sacred Four.*

> *Thula Henry knew that the number Three left the sacred hoop broken; it was not whole in the ways formed by the Creator: the Four Directions,* the four seasons, the completeness echoed in the four brush arbors built for Green Corn ceremony on the sacred stomp grounds. Thula Henry's Creek soul recognized the Fourth Part, the portion left out by white men and Christians in their search for the Spirit—and yet this knowledge did not divide her. There was no conflict between stomp dance and baptism in her Spirit, but only, as she understood it, the marriage of two spirits within her, and it was right in her eyes. (Askew 229–230)

Contrary to the cynical Christians, who consider the Choctaw, Creek, and other Amerindian belief systems as wrong paths, Thula, her mother's Choctaw people and her fathers' Creek people openly welcome the white man's religion, considering it complementary to their own. This openness towards others' religious beliefs and practices stems from the distinction the Choctaw and Creek make between religion and spirituality. Kimberly Blaeser draws on James Moffet's distinction between religion and spirituality in his article "Censorship and Spiritual Education" (1989). According to Moffet, religion "partakes of a certain civilization, functions through human institutions and is, therefore, culturally biased" (113). As for spirituality, Moffet contends that it is made of "the perception of the oneness behind the plurality of things, people and other forms" (113). Thus, Thula's syncretic spirituality, combining Christianity and Choctaw / Creek spirituality, fits Moffet's definition of both religion and spirituality.

Being of Choctaw and Creek descent, Thula synthesizes both her parents'religious traditions with the Christian one. However, what is more important is her reception and perception of these two religious belongings. Instead of being torn apart, her soul reconciles the potentially antagonistic systems:

> Thula Henry lived in two worlds simultaneously—not just Creek and Choctaw, Christian and medicine, church and stomp grounds—but in the presence of the Unseen in every movement, more real, as her heart knew, than the Seen. She understood that all had been formed balanced by the Creator from the beginning, that it was only humans who tipped and unsettled the balance, that *Chihowa'*s gift of grace allowed for even that. She walked toward the square of the brush arbor as reverently as she had stood outside the sacred circle of swept leaves and dirt at Green Corn forty-three years before; this was not duality in her but union, because she believed it had been given to her to see all things not as separate, but as one. (Askew 236-237)

Thus, Thula's spirituality embodies unity behind diversity and combines both religious and racial syncretism. The Sacred Four completes the Sacred Three, the Trinity. Thula believes that the Trinity confines spirituality in the abstract, while the might of the Creator must also be seen in his creation, that is, in the concrete. Furthermore, the synergy between the Trinity and the Sacred Four is symbolized in the forty-three years, which span the time between the first moment Thula stood in the square of the brush arbor and the sacred circle at Green Corn. Again the two numbers, four and three, are set side by side to denote the complementarity of the two belief systems.

Furthermore, the belief in the Sacred Four guides Thula's actions throughout the novel. Indeed, the number four recurs in her actions so often that it becomes a central motif in the novel. Thus, Thula learns her Creek medicine skills in four months of internship in her father's community:

> [S]he stayed four months with her father's people, and it was during those four months that she had listened to the drum, the singing, the *saka-saka* of the turtle shells strapped to the shell-shakers' legs as they danced in a circle around the sacred fire;

> only one summer did she drink *osofki*, dance the ribbon dance at Green Corn, take medicine—but she'd held the truth of it inside her spirit all her life. (Askew 229)

Besides the four-month duration of this internship, what interests us here are the Creek words —saka-saka and osofki—that Askew inserts into her English text without explaining them to the reader. Through these words, Askew gives us a glimpse into what makes up Creek spirituality, such as the dance around the sacred fire and the ribbon dance performed during the Green Corn ceremony. The latter is, in the words of Iti Fabussa of the Choctaw Nation Website,

> the most important social and spiritual event in the traditional seasonal round of the Choctaw and other Tribes that are Indigenous to what is now the Southeastern United States. Held at the ripening of the corn crop in late July, it was and is a time of community-building, rekindling friendships, reconciliation, purification, restoring balance, making new beginnings, and giving praise and thanksgiving to God (2010).

The Green Corn Ceremony is the Choctaw equivalent of the Anglo-Saxon Thanksgiving ceremony. It is a ceremony of reunion and purification of self.

In addition to the Green Corn Ceremony, fire is sacred to the Choctaws. They worship it because they associate it with the sun, which is considered a deity. In her book *Choctaws and Missionaries in Mississippi, 1818–1918*, Clara Sue Kidwell explains the reasoning that underpins the Choctaws' fire worship:

> The Sun was the supreme being, and fire, its mate, gave the sun information about human activities. The sun guided warriors on the successful warpath. It had the power of life and death, which explains its importance in the funeral customs of the

> Choctaws. A dead body was exposed to the rays of the Sun on a raised platform and allowed to decay, thus giving itself back to the supreme power. (Kidwell 7)

Askew refers to these Choctaw spiritual practices without explaining them to the uninitiated reader. However, in other instances, the author changes her strategy through cushioning and contextualization techniques.

A case in point is when Thula initiates herself during a four-month internship in her father's Creek community to learn shamanism. After failing to bring her father back, since he was killed, Thula decides to learn his craft and do what he could not do, that is, become a healer for her community: "Thula did not grieve him, for she understood it was because he was supposed to be, in his language, *hilishaya*, or medicine man, that he had to die like that" (Askew 229). In this instance, the author translates the Creek term *hilishaya,* which makes it easier for the reader to understand the role of Thula's father. However, the type of medicine practiced by the Creek people is not Western "scientific" medicine learned at universities and practiced in hospitals. Instead, it is the most common type of medicine in all Amerindian communities, collectively known as shamanism. The narrator tells us that Thula learned Creek shamanism from her father in early childhood, though only "the everyday forms of healing—not spirit healing, not the songs, and powerful medicine, but how to use the slippery-elm bark for cleansing, the uses of blackroot and chiggerweed, how to smoke the sick person or make a sweat" (Askew 229). Although this passage does not use Creek terminology, by contextualizing and providing the reader with an insight into Creek shamanism, Askew contributes to the revival of the Creek oral tradition.

Furthermore, Thula's father could not fulfill his mission as a *hilishaya*, because he lost faith in himself and could not see himself worthy of such a vital function as a healer curing the sick, as he was ill. The reason for his illness was his alcohol addiction.

> But her father had told her early on, from the time she was little, that he was a bad man who did not do as he was supposed to do. He had never worked bad medicine, did not use the gift that way, but he'd let the white man's fire demon take him when he was a young man, and it had thiefed his soul. (Askew 229)

The metaphorical reference to alcoholism hindering the Indian man from self-realization as a *hilishaya* corresponds to what was, in American history, the Code of Indian Offenses (1883) whose aim was according to Native Voices

> to prosecute Indians who participate in traditional ceremonies such as the Sun Dance. The U.S. seeks to replace these ancient spiritual practices with Christianity. The court is one of various methods that the U.S. employs to try to restrict the cultural identity of American Indian tribes. Many political, cultural, and spiritual leaders are imprisoned (2019).

The Code considered Indian customs obstacles to effective assimilation. *Hilishaya*, or traditional medicine, was on the list of the "evil practices" it proscribed.

In addition to the Creek language, Askew inseminates her text with another Amerindian language, Choctaw, Thula's mother tongue. Like the Moroccan Choukri, Askew uses cushioning and transliteration to foreground the Choctaw language and place it alongside English, creating an inter-linguistic dialogism in the novel, either in small units, glossing individual Choctaw words, or in more extended units using Choctaw passages from the Bible. To begin with word glossing, Thula often uses Choctaw words, and even reads the Bible in Choctaw: the Choctaw Testament.[133] When Martha Ruth falls into a coma, Thula prays for her in both English and Choctaw:

[133] The full Choctaw translation of the Bible is available at https://archive.org/details/newtestamentour00amer/page/n7.

> *Mihma Chisvs ash osh chi yimma hinla hok ma, na-yimmi hokvno nana akluha kvt ai i yumohma hinla hoke, im achi tok. Mihma vlla ya iki yash ot mih makinli no nishkin okchi mihinti hosh chitolit, Chotokaka ma! sai yimmishke; nan-isht ik a sai yimmo ya is svm apelvchaske, achi tok* ("Jesus said unto him, If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth. And straightway the father of the child cried out and said with tears, Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief. (Askew 1997, 255)

In this passage, Askew quotes Mark 23:25 in Choctaw and then gives the English translation. After her Choctaw prayers and traditional healing fail to save Martha, Thula concludes that her prayers have not been answered because Martha is white. She therefore resorts to combine reading the Bible, which represents Martha's religion, and the Choctaw language, which is the language of the *hilishaya.*

In addition to glossing Biblical passages, Askew glosses individual Choctaw words referring to Christianity, as shown in the following passage:

> Thula had sat beside the pallet entirely balanced in her faith, as she always had been: patient, praying, believing that ***Chihowa*** would reveal to her what she must do. But **the Creator** had revealed nothing, and at some instant—she didn't know when—the uneasiness had found that small chink in her faith, and crept in. It was like ***Impashilup*****,** she thought. **The Soul Eater**, the ancient one who would find a little nick in a person's soul, left there by bad thoughts or too much sadness, and *Impashilup* would creep in through that tiny hole and eat that person's soul. Thula did not feel her soul eaten, gone, destroyed, but unbalanced, struggling in this place of doubt. Not that she doubted the hand of the Creator over all, or ***Chisvs*** **as Son and Savior**, or the Son's power to heal, cast out devils, make one who was dead to rise up and walk; she

> didn't doubt that ***Shilombish Holitopa*****, the Holy Spirit**, dwelt now upon the earth as Comforter in the hearts and minds of Christians. But Thula Henry knew this was not all of the Unseen. (Askew 256; italics in original, emphasis mine)

The author thus provides the reader with Choctaw vocabulary for Christian nomenclature: *Chihowa* for the Creator or God; *Chisvs* for the Savior, or Jesus Christ; *Shilombish Holitopa* for the Holy Spirit. In addition to the Trinity vocabulary, Rilla Askew adds *Impashilup*, for the Soul Eater, which accounts for the Fourth spiritual element that we have discussed above.

The examples discussed above show how Askew partially indigenizes the English language in her novel, compared to Choukri's indigenization of Arabic and Feraoun's indigenization of French in their respective autobiographies. The fact of highlighting Choctaw traditional medicine and ways of life in the text disseminates the Choctaw culture through a powerful language, and hopefully will raise awareness of the dangerous situation of this minoritized language and help revitalize it. In order to prove the validity of our hypothesis of a transatlantic dimension to the ethnotext, we need to test our findings with another case study. For this purpose, we selected *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet* (1996), the autobiography of Canadian Mi'kmaq author Rita Joe.

V.2: Rita Joe: *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet* (1996)

Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet is our second test case study of the ethnotext in its transatlantic dimension. The following section examines how the Canadian Mi'kmaq author fits into our nexus of ethnotextuality and how she indigenizes the English of her autobiography to achieve a Mi'kmaq-English *métissage* in the same way that Feraoun creates a Kabyle-French, Choukri a Rifian-Maghrebi-Arabic, and Askew a Creek / Choctaw-English ethnotext.To address this issue, we will first introduce the author and her autobiography and discuss the socio-historical background that inspired her work and the linguistic playfulness that characterizes her autobiography.

The Song of Rita Joe is replete with references to traditional Mi'kmaq orality. Numerous Mi'kmaq words and expressions refer to the author's native culture and kinship system, as well as its spiritual and religious beliefs. In some cases, Joe uses cushioning, which, in Zabus's terms, refers to "the fact of tagging a European-language explanation onto an … [indigenous] word" (Zabus 2007, 7). Often Joe explains the Mi'kmaq words and expressions in parentheses. These explanations are reiterated in the glossary at the end of the novel. In addition to cushioning, Rita Joe uses the technique of contextualization, defined by Zabus as "the fact of providing areas of immediate context so as to make the … [indigenous] word intelligible without resorting to translation" (Zabus 2007, 7–8). As we will see, some Mi'kmaq cultural references are left untranslated or unexplained; the reader understands them thanks to contextualization. Despite her willingness to insert Mi'kmaq words in her text, Rita Joe suggests her language without using it. This is what we referred to, in the case study of Choukri, as indirect transliteration.

In order to account for the ethnotextual poetics of Rita Joe's autobiography, this section will examine the Mi'kmaq ethnotext in three steps. First, we will introduce the author and her novel, then, we will examine the ethnotextual elements embedded in three poems included in the novel, and finally we will study the ethnotext in the prose text of the novel. The ethnotextual elements to be covered in this section include Mi'kmaq lexis and expressions related to kinship, religion and spirituality, dirges, prayers, and insults.

V.2.1. The Author and her Novel

Rita Joe is a Canadian Mi'kmaq poet. She "was born in Whycocomagh, Cape Breton, in the eastern part of Canada, on March 15, 1932" (Joe 1996,17), the last child of a low-income family living on a First Nations reserve. Her autobiography *The Song of Rita Joe* was published in 1996. Its text is translinguistic, as it mixes two languages, Mi'kmaq and English. It is also transgeneric in the sense that it mixes poetry and prose.

V.2.2. The Mi'kmaq Ethnotext in Rita Joe's Autobiography *Song of Rita Joe*

Rita Joe's autobiography is written in English but, like the previous texts we have discussed, the main language of the novel carries in it remnants of another language, the author's mother tongue, in this case, the Mi'kmaq language. Joe admits in her autobiography that her incentive to write was to bear witness not only to her personal concerns but also to her community's language and culture. After the death of her mother in 1937, Rita Joe was placed in a series of foster homes, where she was mistreated in one way or another. Her father used to take her back home when he learned that his daughter was not in good hands, and in 1941–1942, she spent an entire year with her own family under the care of her impoverished father together with her brothers and a sister. She writes about this year that it "was the happiest" (Joe 35). Later on, she adds that, besides the experience of family closeness, that

year was also a year of new linguistic awareness for her. It was the first time that she came into contact with the Mi'kmaq alphabet:

> One of the things I remember from that year of living with my dad was that he would open a book full of hieroglyphic symbols, and I would look at it with him. He would read from the symbols—any page at all—and he would read them in Mi'kmaq. Later on, when I did my own writing, I came across histories saying that we, the Mi'kmaq, left no word. That would make me so mad. I know there were Mi'kmaq symbols and I know people wrote to each other in Mi'kmaq; my own sister used to receive letters written in Mi'kmaq. (36)

Thus, thanks to this year spent with her family, Rita Joe became aware that her people's language also has a written form, a fact that non-natives—white Canadians—had tried to obscure. This lie upsets Rita, who then decides to restore the truth: "The non-Natives recorded things as if they saw the truth, but they did not always see the truth. In this way, I always try to reason out my own history from what I know of both sides" (36). Thus, writing her autobiography is spurred by the need both to give her personal testimony about the mistreatment of herself and other indigenous children in the infamous boarding schools, and to restore the image of her people that had been destroyed by the racially biased representations of white settlers.

The author follows this testimony with a long poem in praise of her people's language "Micmac Hieroglyphics," originally published in her earlier work *Song of Eskasoni: More Poems of Rita Joe* (1988). "Micmac Hieroglyphics" is worth quoting in full:

> "I noticed children
>
> Making marks with charcoal on the ground,"
>
> Said Le Clerq.

“This made me see

That in form would create a memory

Of learning more quickly

The prayers I teach.

“I was not mistaken,

The characters produced

The effect I needed.

For on birchbark they saw

These familiar figures

Signifying a word,

Sometimes two together.

The understanding came quickly

On leaflets

They called *kekin a'matin kewe'l*

Tools for learning.

“The preservation of written word

Was in so much care.

They kept them neatly in little cases

Of birchbark

Beautified with wampum

Of beadwork and quills.”

These were the Micmac hieroglyphics

The written word of the Indian

That the world chooses to deny.[134] (37)

Rita Joe praises the beauty of her mother tongue’s alphabet, which she compares with one of the most ancient writing systems, Egyptian hieroglyphics. These Mi’kmaq symbols gave a form and shape to the orality of the language. Besides the importance of the alphabet, Joe, like Feraoun, Choukri, and Askew, uses transliteration and cushioning in lines 17 and 18 of the poem: “They called *kekin a'matin kewe’l /*Tools for learning.” The author transliterates the Mi’kmaq expression *kekin a'matin kewe’l* and then translates it literally in English. The translation is literal since, instead of using the common English word *alphabet*, she uses an English expression that translates literally the Mi’kmaq name for a writing system.

Besides “Micmac Hieroglyphics,” the author’s desire to represent herself and her culture to the non-native Other runs throughout her autobiography. Indeed, other poems included in the text convey this desire right from their suggestive titles, such as “I Lost My Talk” (55), “Indian Talk” (103), and “Old Stories” (105). Through these poems, Rita Joe affirms her will to revitalize her minoritized language and culture. Joe inserts a total of 79 poems in *The Song of Rita Joe.* They are taken from her published books of poems*: Poems of Rita Joe* (1978), *Song of Eskasoni: More Poems of Rita Joe* (1988), and *Lnu and Indians We’re Called* (1991). Twenty-two of the 79 poems include at least one Mi’kmaq line, expression or word, which are then translated in an appendix to the autobiography. Indeed, Mi’kmaq words and expressions are not limited to the quoted poems but are also scattered in the rest of the novel. The appendix, which constitutes the novel’s glossary, lists 106 Mi’kmaq words and expressions used by the author in her novel. While the third appendix lists the poems in the order of their appearance in the novel, the second appendix lists the Mi'kmaq vocabulary in the alphabetical order. In the following section, we will examine some of these ethnotextual elements in both the prose and verse parts of the autobiography.

[134] Our study of Rita Joe’s poems will be limited to issues of linguistic indigenization in order to shed light on the author’s use of ethnotextual strategies in her novel. Elements of prosody thus will not be studied here.

V.2.2.1. The Ethnotext in Poetry

As we noted above, *The Song of Rita Joe* contains 79 poems the author quotes from her previous published works. Below we discuss three poems that are especially rich in ethnotextual elements.

Poem 1:

The first poem in Joe's autobiography functions as a sort of epigraph. Joe quotes it from her collection *Song of Eskasoni: More Poems of Rita Joe* (1988). The poem reads as follows:

The winding old road is all that remains

The church and grounds

Where my forefathers lay

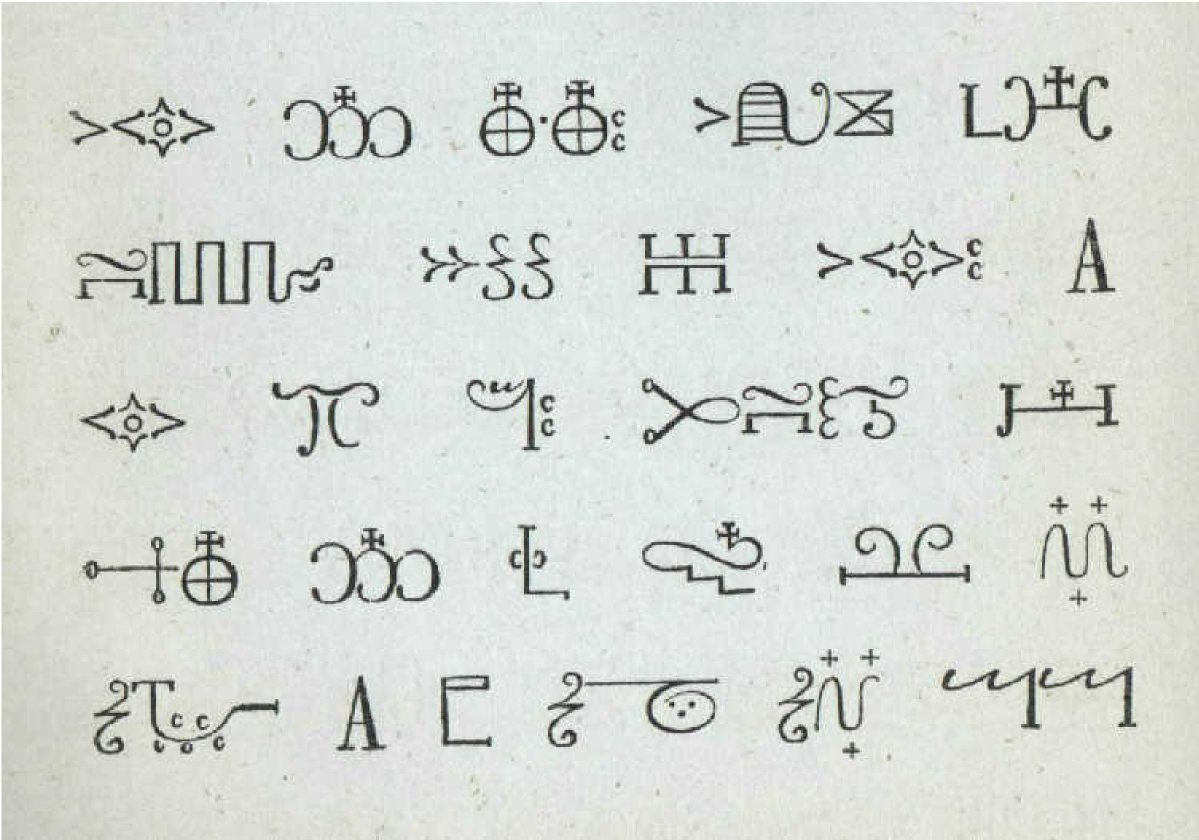
Whycocomagh, *We'kopa'q*

The end of water,

and I, Rita Joe, am one of the children. (17)

In this poem, Rita Joe pays tribute to her birthplace, Whycocomagh, in Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. It is a logical starting point for a memoir that is, in part, about a return to the author's roots and her ancestral home. In this poem, Rita Joe glosses the Mi'kmaq name *We'kopa'q* in the next line that follows its occurrence in the poem and in the second appendix, in which the entry *We'kopa'q* translates the Mi'kmaq toponym into English as Whycocomagh and, as in the poem itself, explains its meaning to the reader as "the end of water." However, this translation does not inform the reader about the implication of such naming: does it refer to the genealogical origins of the author, Whycocomagh, meaning that she comes from this place?

The Mi'kmaq people as we have seen had their own alphabet, which appears to have predated European colonization: "Mi'kmaq is written alphabetically today, but in the past it was written in pictographs. Though these pictographs were modified by Jesuit missionaries, who used them to teach Christian prayers to Micmac people, they probably predated European contact" (Native Languages 1998). In this respect, the Mi'kmaq people are similar to the Berbers, who also had a pictographic writing system, Tifinagh, but after colonization and religious conquests, both Christian and Muslim, abandoned their own script and adopted the conquerors' languages and writing systems.



(Mcgee).

This picture from the *Canadian Encyclopedia* illustrates the Mi′kmaq ancient ″alphabet″.

Poem 2:

Ma 'lta elasnl Se'susil

Saqamaw, wula I' mu'sipn,

Mu pa npisoqq wijikitiekaq,

Skatu kejitu nike',

Kisu'lk iknimultal msit ta'ntel-tamjil.

(Martha said to Jesus:

Lord, if you had been here

My brother would not have died,

But I know that even now

God will give you whatever you ask of him.) (23)

This poem is a dirge. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, dirges are one of the elements of the ethnotext. This dirge is linguistically hybrid. It implores Jesus in Mi'kmaq, even though Christianity is not the original religion of the Mi'kmaq people.

As Joe informs us, "Christianity was brought to [us] in 1610, when the Grand Chief *Mouipeltu* (Membertou) was baptized along with others" (153). Moreover, this dirge was sung when Rita Joe's mother passed away in 1937. In her recollection, Joe not only tells us the story of her mother's death but also provides us with sociological information regarding death and funerary rituals specific to her people: "When a Mi'kmaq person dies, immediate supplications for the dead are recited by the nearest relative. Then a three-day wake is held, at which Native prayers and hymns are sung, and food and comfort are given freely" (23).

If the death ceremony follows native ways, it does not exclude Christian ones, which are also respected by the Mi'kmaq. Joe continues: "The Mass for the Dead is sung by the

priest, and we answer with prayers in Mi'kmaq. The hymns we hear in our own tongue often move us to tears, for they are more beautiful to us in our own language" (23). Thus, despite the coexistence of Mi'kmaq and Christian traditions, the native Mi'kmaq expression of grief and spirituality is closer to Joe's people. In saying that Mi'kmaq prayers are more poignant than Christian ones, Joe is credible. As perceptions of grief and death are culturally bound, even after embracing a new religion, in this case Christianity, many pagan rituals and beliefs still linger. However precise the Christian lamentations, they remain distant from the deepest corners of the Mi'kmaq soul. In order to reach those deeper corners of grief, a person needs to cry, pray, and implore in the mother tongue.[135]

Poem 3

This poem "Indian Talk" is also from *Song of Eskasoni*. Here the author follows an interruptive strategy for cushioning Mi′kmaq words and expressions. She follows each Mi′kmaq line with a line or two of English translation.

> *Jiktek*
>
> All is still.
>
> Silence reigns.
>
> *Tepknuset*
>
> The moon
>
> A month
>
> *Nemi'k*
>
> I see.

[135] I draw this argument from my personal experience. Although I am Muslim and learned the prayers in Arabic, I do not feel relaxed until I pray or implore God in Kabyle, as prayers in Arabic seem distant to my soul. Maybe, this situation is brought about by the antagonism between Arabic and Berber that I lived with strong feelings, namely in the 1990s with the political murders of Kabyle activists, such as Tahar Djaout, Matoub Lounes, and many others. If so is the reason, my situation as a Kabyle willing to pray in Kabyle can also explain the case of the Mi′kmaq person willing to pray in Mi′kmaq, rather than in the dominant language.

So long ago.

Nmis

My sister.

Maja'sit

She go.

Nmis, my sister

Nutaq, I hear

Wena, who?

Nekm, her,him, them

So long ago.

Api, a bow

Teken, which?

Ji'nmnemi'k

Man I see.

Kwitn, a canoe

App kinu'tmui, teach me again

Lnui'simk, Indian talk.

So long ago (103–104).

The cushioning strategy followed here differs from the one Joe uses in the dirge discussed above. While she provides the full dirge in Mi'kmaq and follows with the English translation in parentheses, in "Indian Talk" Joe makes the reader's eye alternate between Mi'kmaq and

English. This interplay highlights her determination to showcase her mother tongue even if that means disrupting the text's fluidity.

V.2.2.2. The Ethnotext in Prose

The prose part of Rita Joe's autobiography also contains recurrent Mi'kmaq expressions and lexis. We can classify these occurrences into three thematic categories: kinship lexis, religious and spiritual lexis, and daily life expressions.

V.2.2.2.1. Kinship Lexis

In her autobiography, Joe presents her family using Mi'kmaq lexis for family relationships. We have identified five kinship terms in the autobiography. The first is *Kiju'* ("mother"). In a reminiscence of childhood, Rita Joe recounts an argument between her parents and how, when she tried to defend her mother against her father's abuse, she used the Mi'kmaq word for mother: "Suddenly, I hear *Kiju'* (Mother) and my father argue. My mother is weeping as she sits on the floor beside me. I encircle her neck with my arms. 'Don't be mean to *Kiju'*,' I say. My father smiles and my mother is softly laughing" (Joe, 20).The second use of a Mi'kmaq kinship term is *Kijinu* ("grandmother"). When her mother is dying, her father decides to take Rita away: "'You must take Rita to *Kijinu* (Grandmother),' my dad told Soln" (21).The third kinship term is *kujinu* ("grandfather"): "We ran over to my grandmother's house, which was near the school. My *kujinu* (grandfather) was already there" (21). The fourth kinship term is *wkwejij,* meaning "sister": "I liked being Susie's *wkwejij* (sister), but her husband was mean" (26). Although Rita uses the term *wkwejij* Susie is actually her stepsister in her first foster home in Membertou First Nation. The fifth and last kinship term in *The Song of Rita Joe* is *Su'kwis* ("auntie"), used by the community to refer to

Rita in her old age. “Even older people call me *Su’kwis* (Auntie)” (169). Here *Su’kwis* denotes a title of respect rather than denoting a real family relationship. This show of respect for older people is also common in Berber communities in the use of *Dada* (“uncle”) and *Nanna* (“aunt”). The reason for such extensions of family terminology to people outside the family is the communitarian ethos of both Mi’kmaq and Berber communities. As Joe says, “Native communities are like extended family” (26).

V.2.2.2.2. Religious and Spiritual Lexis

Besides language, Rita Joe expresses her Mi’kmaq cultural identity by providing readers with further insights into her worldview through Mi’kmaq religious terminology, practices, rituals, and beliefs. Like Askew, who glosses Choctaw terminology to account for Choctaw spirituality, Joe inseminates her English text with references to Mi’kmaq spirituality and religion. In the following section, we will examine how these Mi’kmaq interventions indigenize the dominant language of Joe’s autobiography.

Joe emphasizes her people’s spirituality and constantly reminds the reader that the Mi’kmaq people had their own spirituality before conversion to Christianity. In this way, the author strives to deconstruct the clichés of the colonizers about bringing religion and civilization to the “indigenous savages.” In a speech to a group of lay and religious people in Baddeck, Nova Scotia, Joe publicly questioned this historical lie:

> Do not sit there and assume we had no spiritual communication with our Creator before the Europeans came. Because, since the dawn of time, since human life was on earth, there have been Native people. And there have been shamans—people who can have a spiritual communication with all life forms. I know people in my own community who see things that other people don’t see. (155)

In this speech, Joe deconstructs the civilizing pretense and invites non-natives to open their minds beyond the cynicism nurtured by official, degrading representations of everything native that promote only the white European frame of thought and conduct. In order to deconstruct this derogatory image, Joe needs to restore her people's own spiritual image. To do so, she uses the same ethnotextual strategies as Askew and Choukri.

To start with contextualization, Joe showcases one of her people's religious ceremonies, the St. Ann Celebration:

> St. Ann is the grandmother saint of the Mi'kmaq, and her feast is held each year on July 26. On the Sunday following that date, there is the "*Tewa'lud* (Taken Out)"—the ceremony where a statue of St. Ann is taken to the rock where Abbe Maillard, the Apostle of the Mi'kmaq, used to teach. Our people have kept this feast alive since the 1600s. The celebrations are held in different parts of the Maritime provinces where Mi'kmaq are found, but the spot that draws the most people is on Chapel Island in Cape Breton (33–34).

In addition to this ethnographical information about the ceremony, Joe uses cushioning to foreground her Mi'kmaq language by inserting the term *Tewa'lud* followed by the parenthetical English translation "Taken Out." The fact that this ritual is culturally specific prevents the translation from conveying its reality to the non-native reader, so Joe specified that it is "the ceremony where a statue of St. Ann is taken to the rock where Abbe Maillard, the Apostle of the Mi'kmaq, used to teach."

Throughout the autobiography, Joe embeds terminology pertaining to both Christian and native divinity in the text, notably *Kisulkw* and *Niskam.* Concerning the former, she writes: "The Native part of me I am sure of; I honour it whole, and respect all other cultures. *Kisulkw* (the Great Spirit) looks after the rest" (18). Of the latter she comments: "Whatever

happened to me, whatever problems I had, I would talk to my creator in Mi'kmaq. I would converse with *Niskam* (God) when I was alone, just as if I was talking to an individual. 'Do you think I'm doing the right thing?' I would ask. 'Please give me a sign'" (151). Although the English translation makes *Niskam* intelligible to the non-native reader, *Kisulkw* remains unintelligible even after translation because of the specifically Mi'kmaq perception of divinity it expresses. According to Joanna Kordus,

> the religious frames that the word *Kisulkw* evokes are culturally incompatible with their English language counterparts, although a translation in English is possible. [...T]he cultural concept of the Great Spirit is not known or active in mainstream Canadian culture and…its presence is, therefore, significant in that the word represents Joe's unique spiritual and cultural experience and identity. The word needs to be presented in its original form in order for the writer to stay true to the correct representation of her Mi'kmaq spiritual tradition. The presence of *Kisulkw*, of a unique Mi'kmaq spiritual entity, encourages the Canadian reader to understand that there are multiple and equally valuable interpretations of the spiritual world and experiences, besides the dominant one (for instance, the Christian world view). (Kordus 2008, 53)

Thus, Joe not only provides a readymade brochure of exotic terms for the reader to take away. She embraces the religion brought by the Christians but invites them to open their minds so that they can understand the syncretic religious frame of her own people.

V.2.2.2.3. Mi'kmaq Expressions

The Mi'kmaq expressions used by Joe in *The Song of Rita Joe* fall into two categories: necessary expressions and optional expressions. While the former are required to articulate certain situations linked to the Mi'kmaq mindset and worldview, the latter is an authorial choice to foreground the Mi'kmaq language and its presence in the text. In the following

section, we will examine these expressions and their impact on the novel's ethnotextual canvas.

To begin with essential Mi'kmaq expressions, we have identified four typically Mi'kmaq expressions in the text. They are specific to the Mi'kmaq language and mindset, and the English translations are literal, but even so, the expressed idea remains "awkward" for a non-native or non-initiated reader. The first of these expressions concerns Joe's brother Matt, whom she informs us the local Whycocomagh people call *Moqnja' tu' wi*', meaning "putting sugar on things." He is also called *Misekn*, that is, rags,"at the Shubenacadie School" (19). Joe could have easily used a standard English epithet such as "sweet," "cute," "charming," and the like to compliment her brother, but in order to bring the description closer to the reality of her community's cultural and linguistic register, she used the actual Mi'kmaq expression meaning someone who puts sugar on things, that is, whose company is pleasing. This way of complimenting a person is also used in Kabyle society. Kabyle speakers might say of a pleasant person that he or she "is sugar."

The second expression refers to Joe's foster mother in Millbrook First Nation. Although she treats Joe tenderly, her husband severely mistreats and abuses the little girl. When Joe cannot bear the abuse any longer, she tells her secret to another girl, a scandal ensues, and the foster mother accuses Joe of being ungrateful. Joe comments:

> It broke my heart when my foster mother blamed me for what happened, although I was only seven years old. I expressed my love for her, but she shut me out with an angry burst of words: "*Mu wela'luksiwun* (You have no gratitude)." I cried and wondered if I should have kept my mouth shut. I missed her love more than anything else. (31)

Again, the English translation of the Mi'kmaq statement is literal. Joe could easily have used the English adjective "ungrateful" but chooses instead to use the Mi'kmaq expression, which conveys the idea more poignantly.

The third expression is a Mi'kmaq insult. Joe describes how she was invited to a literary award ceremony in Halifax to be awarded a poetry prize. She knew that a famous female writer of bestsellers would be present, and she wanted to meet her and get advice on writing. However, the writer takes advantage of the ceremony to dance with Rita's husband, Frank and later asks Rita whether she is not angry that she danced with her husband without permission. Rita answers with what she calls a Mi'kmaq insult—*Mussy mon eta*! (115)—but leaves its meaning unexplained. Insults, like prayers, are also part of the ethnotext, as they are usually culturally bound and belong to the register of orality.

The fourth expression helps describe Joe's satisfaction with her tumultuous life: "I am glad to be here, to know that my words might have helped somebody, no matter what their culture. *Keskowle'ap, nikay ila'si* (My load was heavy, but now I feel good)" (167). Instead of expressing her feelings with a standard English idiomatic expression for bearing one's share of suffering, Joe uses the Mi'kmaq metaphor of a heavy weight on her shoulders. This recalls a song by the Kabyle poet Lounis Ait Menguellet, known for his eloquent symbolism. In the song, a woman asks the singer, "Why are your shoulders curved?" He answers: "Because they have carried much suffering."(cf. the French idiom "porter un fardeau sur ses épaules").

Besides these necessary Mi'kmaq-informed expressions, we have identified a significant number of optional expressions. We will limit our discussion to four of these, although *The Song of Rita Joe* includes an abundance of such expressions.The first is a prayer in which Joe implores God to ease her husband's death as follows: "Oh my *Niskam* (God), you have heard my prayer for Frank. If the real Frank is ready to be tested, the day will be

his" (124). The author could have easily used only the English word, but, as she tells us later when describing her bilingual spiritual rituals, "Often I wake up early in the morning. This is my best time for creating. If the sun is out, I do the early morning sunrise ceremony; if it isn't out, I say a prayer in English. The turnaround comes easy for me; *Kisulkip* (the One who created us) hears, no matter what language we use" (166). This bilingual practice of religion is crucial. I still wonder whether a Berber Muslim could perform the five daily prayers in Berber since the Koran is translated into Berber.

The second expression involves Mi'kmaq onomastics. Twice in the novel, Joe refers to some of her relatives using their Mi'kmaq names. The first occurrence concerns her grandfather Francis, who is addressed by her grandmother using his Mi'kmaq name: "My grandmother was standing at the door of the house. When Annabel and I reached her, she said to my grandfather, "*Pla'n* (Francis), there must be something going on" (21). The second occurrence concerns an uncle: "I remember one incident when Wallace's uncle, *A'wi* (Louis), held a bag of candy out to us and told us [Rita and her cousin Wallace Bernard]: 'The one *mejukat* (who defecates) the fastest will get the candy!'" (26). Both the grandfather and the uncle have European names, but by using their indigenous names, Joes gives readers a glimpse into her community's double naming practices. The same practice was also prevalent in Algeria during French colonization for family names that were changed by the French administration.

The third occurrence is an expression of anger. When Rita's mother dies, her grandmother blames her for the death: "Grandma got up. She pointed a finger at me. Sixty years later, I still see that pointy finger. '*Ki'l ktla taqn!* (It is your fault!)' she said" (22). Again Joe could easily have used only the English expression but chooses instead to bring the text as close as possible to her actual experience. At the moment of hearing the bad news, the

grandmother is not a state of mind to look for English words with which to express her anger and shock.

The fourth Mi'kmaq expression relates to the delicate condition of orphans, a condition Joe experiences after the death of her mother: "I went into a succession of foster homes. *'Sitnaqn na'* (She is an orphan).' I heard those words often from the age of five until I was twelve … Natives believe that if you are kind to *sitnaqn* (orphans), goodness will be returned to you" (24-–25). Joe could have used only the common English word but instead foregrounds the Mi'kmaq *Sitnaqn* in order to highlight her people's tenderness towards orphans, especially those who have lost their mothers. The delicate situation of such orphans is universal; in Kabyle community people say that "the orphan who loses the father is not deprived, but the one who loses the mother has nothing left." Joe's insertion of her people's indigenous affection for orphans emphasizes her desire to address the universal from the local perspective.

V.2.2.2.4. Indirect Transliteration

Besides direct transliteration, cushioning, and contextualization, Joe, like Choukri, inserts her native tongue into the text through indirect transliteration. Three examples of indirect transliteration in *The Song of Rita Joe* can illustrate how the author uses the technique.

The first example occurs during an interrogation of their sad, scared father by Rita, her sister Annabel, and her mother: "'What's wrong, Dad?' Annabel and I both asked at the same time, in Mi'kmaq" (21). In this case, Joe indicates that she and her sister asked their father in Mi'kmaq but does not provide the actual Mi'kmaq words they used. The second is an answer Joe gives to a man hired by her mother-in-law to take her by car to Eskasni. The man asks Joe in Mi'kmaq, "So, how do you like it here?"(79), and Joe remembers how "just as I was trying

to think of something else to say, a bunch of noisy crows flew by. So I said, 'Everything's okay except those crows!' I used the Mi'kmaq word for 'crow.'" The third and last indirect transliteration in Rita Joe's text occurs when she is invited to deliver a speech at a university: "I remember, one time, when I spoke to a University of New Brunswick class in Eskasoni. I shook like a leaf. 'You guys scare me, I said, in Mi'kmaq" (118). These indirect transliterations refer to the language of the speech acts as Joe experienced them, but she probably chooses not to overload her text with Mi'kmaq out of consideration for the non-native reader.

Conclusion

Although Rita Joe's autobiography is rich in terms of ethnotextuality, many aspects of the Mi'kmaq ethnotext in the novel remain to be studied. However, if we had to add something to what has been discussed above, it would concern how the novel's layout enhances the Mi'kmaq ethnotext. Indeed, the layout of the novel also enhances the author's native language, since Rita Joe entitles each of the chapters of her autobiography in Mi'kmaq. The first chapter is entitled "*Epitejij*," meaning "girl." In this chapter, Rita Joe recounts her childhood years between 1932 and 1950. The second chapter is entitled "*Epite's*," meaning "young woman," and relates the author's youth from 1950 to 1968. The third chapter,"*Epit*," meaning "middle-aged woman," tells the story of the adult Rita Joe's life from 1969 to1989. The fourth and last chapter is called "*Ntapekiaqn*," meaning "my song." It relates the last part of Rita Joe's life.

I wonder why the author uses "song" instead of "life" in the main title of her autobiography. It would seem that the title *The Song of Rita Joe* must refer to the life of Rita Joe, but it could also refer more specifically to her gift of poetry. Does she consider her life as a whole to have been a kind of song which, once sung, leaves the melody after it is gone? In the context of our study, I suppose that the abundance of Mi'kmaq words, expressions, songs, prayers, and insults justify the title of the autobiography, in which Mi'kmaq orality fuses with English literacy.

In her autobiography, Joe makes meticulous efforts to express the specificity of her people to the Other, which demonstrates her courtesy. Joe introduces readers to her own culture without submerging them in it and creating incomprehension that would turn readers off. As Joanna Kordus notes, "Joe's translations are meant to connect and communicate with rather than divide the Mi'kmaq and Canadian cultural worlds" (54). In addition to

translinguistic stylistics, Joe bridges two distinct literary modes, prose and poetry, in *Song of Rita Joe*. By including in her autobiography some of her previously published poems—written in English but showcasing the Mi'kmaq language and culture—Joe combines ethnotextuality and intertextuality by including previous work that echoes her native people's oral culture.

General Conclusion

In the light of what has been discussed above, we can draw some insightful conclusions about the ethnotext. The first is the relevance of the ethnotext for the study of Maghrebian francophone and arabophone literature, as illustrated by Mouloud Feraoun's autobiographical novel *Le fils du pauvre* (1950) and Mohamed Choukri's *El khoubz el hafi* (1973). We have demonstrated that, contrary to his infamous labeling as an ethnographic author, Feraoun created an ethnotextual rather than an ethnographic novel in *Le fils du pauvre*. The distinction between ethnotext and ethnography is interesting, in the sense that identifying a work as ethnotextual implies nothing disparaging. Contrary to the adjective *ethnographic*, the adjective *ethnotextual* accounts naturally for the orature inherent in the work in question. Walter Ong, in his famous study *Orality and Literacy*, brilliantly analyzed the intimate relationship between these two aspects of language and concluded that text and literacy could not dispense with orality, as even after being written, a text can be converted into orality by the simple fact of reading it out loud. In this respect, the ethnotext is universal instead of local; all literacies are liable to be oralities, and thus ethnotextualities.

The second conclusion concerns indigenization of Arabic, which has been little studied, as the Arabic belonging of Morocco, and indeed all the Maghrebian countries, is taken for granted. The fallen Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika once affirmed in a speech in Tizi-Ouzou that "We are Amazigh Arabized by Islam." This assertion was a demagogical way to silence Kabyle protest and satisfy the proponents of Algerian Arabization inside and outside the country. Turkey defines itself as a Muslim country without being Arab, and Lebanon defines itself as an Arab country without being entirely Muslim. Amin Maalouf brilliantly deconstructs the coercively essentialist link between Islam and language in his essay "*Les identités meurtières"* (1998). In our study of Choukri's novel, we concluded that

the author jolts “the sacred language”, not only by making it bear the Moroccan and Rifian mindset, but also by making it express the vulgar idiom of prostitutes and the destitute.

Extending the validity of the ethnotext and the linguistic indigenization of North African literature completes the circle already begun by Zabus, Brialut, Vakunta, and Tunca. Thus, ethnotext and ethnotextuality can be alternative concepts for the study of pan-African postcolonial literature. Since the ethnotext’s relevance to African literature is due to the inherent orality of its expression of literacy, we decided to broaden the scope of the concept beyond the African continent. In order to do so, we made a conceptual leap across the Atlantic Ocean from North Africa to North America and from French to English. We chose two autobiographical texts in English by indigenous North Amerian authors, Rilla Askew’s *The Mercy Seat* (1997) and Rita Joe’s *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi’kmaq Poet* (1996). The former accounts for Choctaw indigenization and the latter for Mi’kmaq indigenization. These two case studies confirm the validity of the ethnotext and ethnotextuality for the study of Amerindian-inflected Anglophone literature and validate the transatlantic dimension of the ethnotext, thus justifying the title of this dissertation “Towards the Transatlantic Ethnotext.” Thus, the ethnotext is both transatlantic and transindigenous in the sense that it bridges the two sides of the Atlantic and initiates an inter-indigenous dialogue between Berber and Amerindian expressions of literature.

However, the present study of the transatlantic ethnotext is far from being exhaustive. Many aspects of the ethnotext escaped its purview for reasons of feasibility. These limitations include the range of examples studied. For instance, we could have studied rules of address in Feraoun’s novel or autochthonous onomastics and topography in all four novels of the study. These aspects of the ethnotext will be relevant for further research projects.

Furthermore, the study of ethnotextuality can be extended to post-global literatures in an age of constant movement of persons and cultures. There is a growing interest in intercultural communication and cultural linguistics. The ethnotext can be of vital importance to studies of cultural expression from the perspective of cognitive linguistics as well. Last, but not least, the study of ethnotextuality is also a nod to the centrality of ethnic cultures and their role in the preservation of the ecological environment, which is more threatened than ever.

Annex

The Algerian Constitution:[136]

TITRE PREMIER
DES PRINCIPES GENERAUX REGISSANT LA SOCIETE ALGERIENNE

Chapitre I
De l'Algérie

Article 1er - L'Algérie est une République Démocratique et Populaire. Elle est une et indivisible.

Art. 2 - L'Islam est la religion de l'Etat.

Art. 3 - L'Arabe est la langue nationale et officielle.

L'Arabe demeure la langue officielle de l'Etat. De l'Algérie

Il est créé auprès du Président de la République, un Haut Conseil de la Langue Arabe.

Le Haut Conseil est chargé notamment d'œuvrer à l'épanouissement de la langue arabe et à la généralisation de son utilisation dans les domaines scientifiques et technologiques, ainsi qu'à l'encouragement de la traduction vers l'Arabe à cette fin.

Art. 4- Tamazight est également langue nationale et officielle.

L'Etat œuvre à sa promotion et à son développement dans toutes ses variétés linguistiques en usage sur le territoire national.

Il est créé une Académie algérienne de la langue Amazighe, placée auprès du Président de la République.

L'Académie qui s'appuie sur les travaux des experts, est chargée de réunir les conditions de la promotion de Tamazight en vue de concrétiser, à terme, son statut de langue officielle.

Les modalités d'application de cet article sont fixées par une loi organique.

Art. 5 : La capitale de la République est ALGER.

Art. 6 - L'emblème national et l'hymne national sont des conquêtes de la Révolution du 1er novembre 1954. Ils sont immuables.

Ces deux symboles de la Révolution, devenus ceux de la République, se caractérisent comme suit :

[136] Source : http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.dz/index.php/fr/constitution-de-2016

1. L’emblème national est vert et blanc frappé en son milieu d’une étoile et d’un croissant rouges.

2. L’hymne national est « Qassaman » dans l’intégralité de ses couplets.

Le sceau de l’Etat est fixé par la loi.

TITRE QUATRIEME
DE LA REVISION CONSTITUTIONNELLE

Art. 208 - La révision constitutionnelle est décidée à l’initiative du Président de la République. Elle est votée en termes identiques par l’Assemblée Populaire Nationale et le Conseil de la Nation dans les mêmes conditions qu’un texte législatif.

Elle est soumise par référendum à l’approbation du peuple dans les cinquante (50) jours qui suivent son adoption.

La révision constitutionnelle, approuvée par le peuple, est promulguée par le Président de la République.

Art. 209 - La loi portant projet de révision constitutionnelle repoussée par le peuple, devient caduque.

Elle ne peut être à nouveau soumise au peuple durant la même législature.

Art. 210- Lorsque de l’avis motivé du Conseil Constitutionnel, un projet de révision constitutionnelle ne porte aucunement atteinte aux principes généraux régissant la société algérienne, aux droits et libertés de l’homme et du citoyen, ni n’affecte d’aucune manière les équilibres fondamentaux des pouvoirs et des institutions, le Président de la République peut directement promulguer la loi portant révision constitutionnelle sans la soumettre à référendum populaire si elle obtient les trois-quarts (¾) des voix des membres des deux chambres du Parlement.

Art. 211- Les trois-quarts (3/4) des membres des deux chambres du Parlement réunis ensemble, peuvent proposer une révision constitutionnelle et la présenter au Président de la République qui peut la soumettre à référendum.

Si son approbation est obtenue, elle est promulguée.

Art. 212 - Toute révision constitutionnelle ne peut porter atteinte :

1- au caractère républicain de l’Etat ;

2- à l’ordre démocratique, basé sur le multipartisme ;

3- à l’Islam, en tant que religion de l’Etat ;

4- à l’Arabe, comme langue nationale et officielle ;

5- aux libertés fondamentales, aux droits de l’homme et du citoyen ;

6- à l’intégrité et à l’unité du territoire national ;

7- à l’emblème national et à l’hymne national en tant que symboles de la Révolution et de la République.

8- à la rééligibilité une seule fois du Président de la République.

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Towards a Translatlantic Ethnotext: Algerian Kabyle; Moroccan Rifian and Maghrebi; and US Choctaw and Canadian Mi'kmaq in Autobiographical Writings from North Africa and North America

Abstract:

This thesis explores the notion of the ethnotext as a way of resistance to linguistic domination. This notion will be studied in relation to three forms of linguistic domination: French colonialism in Algeria and Morocco; postcolonial linguistic policies applied by these two new nation states; European settlement in Canada and the United States of America and the neocolonial linguistic policies affecting Amerindian languages such as Mi'kmaq and Choctaw. The study will be illustrated with a corpus of four autobiographies: Mouloud Feraoun's *The Poor Man's Son* (1950) [Kabyle in Algeria]; Mohamed Choukri's *For Bread Alone* (1973) [Rifian from Morocco]; Rilla Askew's *The Mercy Seat* (1997), [Choctaw from the U.S.A] and Rita Joe's *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet* (1996) [in Canada]. This comparison aims at contrasting these four cases of linguistic resistance to seek their common points, resistance strategies and cultural resemblance in order to establish the ethnotext's transatlantic dimension.

Key Words: Ethnotext, Relexification, Transatlantic, Proverbs, Transliteration.

Vers un ethnotext transatlantique : Kabyle algérien ; Rifain et Maghrebi marocains ; Choctaw américain et M'kmaq canadien dans les écrits autobiographiques d'Afrique du Nord et d'Amérique du Nord.

Résumé:

Cette thèse explore la notion de l'ethnotext comme stratégie de résistance à la domination linguistique. Cette notion sera étudiée en relation avec trois formes de domination linguistique: la colonisation française en Algérie (1830-1962) et le protectorat français et espagnole au Maroc (1912-1956) ; les politiques linguistiques postindépendances appliquées par ces deux Etats nation ; l'installation européenne au Canada et aux Etats Unis D'Amérique et les conséquences de ses politiques linguistiques néocoloniales sur les langues amérindiennes telles que le M'ikmaq (au Canada) et le Choctaw (USA). L'étude sera menée en s'appuyant sur un corpus de quatre romans autobiographiques, représentatifs des cultures berbères (kabyle et rifain) ainsi qu'amérindiennes (M'ikmaq et Choctaw). L'ethnotext kabyle sera étudié dans le roman de Mouloud Feraoun *Le fils du pauvre* (1950) ; le Rifian sera étudié dans le roman de Mohamed Choukri *Le pain nu* (1973) ; le M'ikmaq sera étudié dans le roman de Rita Joe : *Song of Rita Joe : Autobiography of a M'ikmaq Poet* (1996) et le Choctaw sera étudié dans le roman de Rilla Askew *The Mercy Seat* (1997). Cette étude comparative a pour objectif de comparer ces quatre cas de resitance linguistique pour chercher leurs points communs, leur ressemblances stratégiques et culturelles afin d'établir la dimension transatlantique de l'ethnotext.

Mots-Cles : **Ethnotext, Relexification, Transatalntique, Proverbes, Transliteration.**

Discipline : Etudes Anglophones

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