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**The Linguistic Manifestation of Believability and  
Deception about the Illusion of Emancipation and  
Freedom among Amazigh Women  
A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis Approach**

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctorate in Gender Studies, Languages and Sociolinguistic diversity.

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## DEDICATIONS

*I dedicate this humble work*

*To my beloved parents*

*I cannot thank you enough for all your efforts, your unconditional support and love and your sacrifices.*

*That you find in me the source of your pride*

*I owe you everything*

*To my very dear husband Slimane,*

*Your sacrifices, your moral and material support helped me complete this work, thank you for always seeing the best in me and encouraging me do my best to make this long-awaited dream come true*

*. To my lucky charm and the sunshine of my life, my little baby girl Ania*

*To my dear brothers and my sister*

*To my supportive family-in-law*

*I dedicate this work to you all with my best wishes for prosperity and happiness.*

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## II

### ABSTRACT

This research focuses on gender representations in the Berber feminine oral literature and it particularly examines the poetry and folktales of Kabyles who constitute the largest Berber community in Algeria. The two genres studied are different in structure, form, and content, as well as in terms of their purpose. The aim of this study is to see whether women use their oral literature to challenge the gender norms and expectations or to maintain them, through highlighting and analysing the various gender-related themes and the recurrent representations of males and females in both genres. The researcher also analyses the discourse that was employed by women in their poems and folk stories in order to compare them and to see whether the two genres are conveying different or same messages. As the literary productions are considered as discourses, and folk literature, in general, embed the socio-cultural practices, values, and beliefs on the one hand, and as questions are raised on how the social actors mainly females are represented, the researcher based her investigation on feminist critical discourse analysis along with Bourdieu's sociological concepts such as the habitus and the different types of capitals. The results reveal that the analysed poems and tales are different both in content and significance. Popular expectations of the social roles of males and females are maintained in the tales in addition to some specificities of the Kabyle values that are perpetuated. On the other hand, poems are more diversified in themes and portray different types of males and females. They reveal the awareness of women about gender inequalities imposed by the socio-cultural beliefs and patriarchy. Notwithstanding, this research offers recommendations for using folk literature as a pedagogical tool in the EFL classrooms to introduce civic education with a special regard for gender and gender equality among the values to be taught to the students and future citizens

**Keywords:** gender representations, feminine oral productions, Kabyle literature, Kabyle women, FCDA, gender bias

III  
LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

C.C: Cultural Capital

C.D.A: Critical Discourse Analysis

C.E: Civic Education

D.A: Discourse Analysis

E.C: Economic Capital

F.C.D.A: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

F.O.P: Feminine Oral Productions

G.S: Gender Studies

K.L: Kabyle Literature

S.C: Social Capital

Sy.C: Symbolic Capital

#### IV

#### THE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION OF SOME KABYLE SOUNDS

- Aa or ʕ : ع / ʕ/ , the voiced pharyngeal fricative, it has no English equivalent sound
- q: ق / q/ ,the voiceless uvular stop or voiceless uvular plosive , no equivalent
- ɖ: ظ / ɖ/ , the emphatic /ð/, no equivalent
- x or xx : خ / x/ The voiceless velar fricative
- ħ : ح / ħ/ The voiceless pharyngeal fricative, no equivalent
- c : ش / ʃ/
- gh or ɣ : غ / ɣ/ The voiced velar fricative
- č: /tʃ/
- ǰ / dʒ/
- ɟ : ط / tʰ/ emphatic /t/
- tt /ts/
- ʂ : ص /sʰ/ emphatic /s/

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Kabyle people are Berbers among others who live in Algeria, mainly in the central and eastern parts. They constitute the largest Berber community in the country.

The imaginary is what nourishes and revitalizes the Kabyle culture that withstood time and circumstances thanks to its different oral literary genres. Those literary productions stand as a repertoire or a screen that portrays the Kabyle society and life aesthetically all by conveying realistic scenes.

The agenda of a storyteller or a poetess involves not only the concrete but also the abstract, the tangible and the intangible. The themes often treat the fundamental norms and rules that sculpt the behaviours and attitudes of a Kabyle woman or man to fit into the mould of society. The images used are borrowed from nature, as Kabyles settle their tribes in the mountains. The mountain has always been a place of habitat, life and also of struggle since the earliest Antiquity. This strong pre-eminence of an element of nature in folk literature is of no doubt not a matter of coincidence. The Kabyle Mountain as an imaginary physical frame, and the receptacle of authentic values and the founding myths is viewed as an enchanted place; home of wild animals, furious winds, tricky rivers' water, and supernatural or mythical creatures that haunt the open spaces. To offer good models of conduct to others, at the end of a narrative, the devilish and mischievous creatures are sometimes tamed and others punished when threatening others' lives, or the society's safety and continuity. These models and morals are disguised in the form of tales and songs.

It is admitted not only by the laypersons but also by the specialists - as we are going to see in the following chapters- that the oral productions, especially sung poetry and storytelling are generally the domains of women because those latter are more affected by the social events as they have grown in a phallogocentric society where women are the cynosure of men and the victims of the patriarchal culture that gives men an intoxicating feeling of domination. They are also more sensitive to what happens to their groups, families and beloved ones and respond to that through songs and tales as they are, most of the time, deprived of the power to speak up and change things around them.



Furthermore, the Kabyle woman occupies a cardinal place in the protection and reproduction of the Amazigh culture. She was able to perpetuate this culture through time, despite the difficult situations she confronted. She had to fight for both the identity of her society and her own identity and status as a woman. Yet, this puts her in a real dilemma; for, the laws and traditions that shape the identity of her society and which she has to protect are the same laws and traditions that diminish her status as a woman and violate her rights.

The large number and the diversity of topics and themes in the Kabyle feminine productions make them so rich and deep that no one can deny that those women, who are confronting different life conditions, reached a high level of maturity and wisdom. Those works are of great significance to be analysed and studied as they are not only an important patrimony or an element of the Kabyle culture as mentioned previously but because they are also tools of influence in society and weapons of freedom and emancipation.

This thesis is premised on the idea that the Kabyles and even non-Kabyles attached to Kabyle women some stereotypical images that portray them as one entity and one prototype, as if they are all the reincarnations of *Tin-Hinan* the ancestral queen of Touaregs, *Dihya*, the Berber queen and military leader who fought with her army the Arab expansion in North Africa, or *Lalla Fadhma n'Soumer* the famous Kabyle figure who fought the French colonialism in the mounts of Djurdjura.

The perpetuated stereotypical images view Kabyle women as the embodiment of struggle and resistance on the one hand, and as the personification of faithfulness and docility on the other; they are said to be obedient and submissive but at the same time respected, valued, and well-considered by their males and society. They are also thought to be freer and more independent than the rest of Algerian women. These illusions and paradoxical prejudices are what inspired the researcher to undertake this research.

This study aims to identify and decipher the gender hierarchies, and social divisions based on gender from discourses born and created within the Kabyle culture and by the actors of tradition themselves. That is to say, from the folktales and poems that are created and produced by women and grandmothers in order not only to entertain their children and their entourage but also to convey messages and express themselves. The purpose of the analyses is to shed

light on how gender is constructed, and mainly how females are considered and conditioned in the Kabyle society.

To reach the purpose of this work and to figure out how gender is constructed in the Kabyle society, some recurrent themes, characters, symbols, and images be they implicit or explicit- in either the folktales or the poems - will be spotted and decorticated from a gender perspective.

As the aims of the study impose it, the researcher will base her work on Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, and Bourdieu's sociological work that involves gender and feminism. This is to examine the folkloric productions that are a system of symbols created within the Kabyle socio-cultural milieu and shaped by the different social dimensions related to honour, customary laws, traditions and religion that constitute the different capitals. Those discourses are framed by the embodied gender constructions and are, at the same time, repeating them.

The folktales are symbolic and to a certain extent, ideological discourses made of signs and images, and they will be analysed as such. All by taking into consideration how the female storytellers conceive, convey, and maybe unconsciously repeat the embedded gender hierarchies. The storytellers seem to be passive agents who only describe and transmit the social codes which are decrypted by the listeners without necessary involving their emotions and points of view when knitting and telling those tales.

Poems, on the other hand, are productions that, most of the time, do not take into consideration the socio-cultural teaching part, but emphasize mostly the feelings, thoughts, and reflections of the performer: in this case, female performers. Accordingly, poems will be analysed to see the Kabyle social life from a female-centred perspective. Through poems, she allows herself not to only focus on socializing and teaching her surroundings the socio-cultural norms and rules which may not necessarily suit her as a female- but also to be an active agent who expresses her rage, discontent, dissatisfaction, desires, and struggles for power and space. She may sometimes use pomes to send implicit messages to her relatives or inform her counterparts about her intimate and personal life, or social conditions. These poems tell the unsaid dreams and fantasies, the chains that control the woman from the inside and outside her body.

The corpus of this study is a collection of 23 oral folktales and a bouquet of 50 poems produced by Kabyle women of different ages and living in the village of Ath Ali Ouharzoun in

Tizi Ouzou. Since this research is concerned with the overall images and situations of Kabyle women, it is not emphasized on a specific category of Kabyle women. In other words, the parameters taken into account for this investigation are gender; ethnicity and the area of residence of the informants.

The corpus was recorded by the researcher before it was transcribed, numbered and coded. The oral literary productions at hand treat different topics amongst which we find exile, marriage, maternity, love and the body. Accordingly, the English versions of each folktale and poem will be found in the appendix.

As widely mentioned above, the aim of this study is twofold. First, it aims at uncovering gender-related themes that the ordinary Kabyle people derive from their folk literature. And at defining the power relations that are promoted through gender roles and which manifest themselves in the oral productions. This aim is achieved through the examination of social role divisions and tensions in society and how they are contextualized in the oral literature of Kabylia. Under the same umbrella, the researcher will attempt to determine at what levels of folktales and poems gender bias is manifested and this by identifying the characters, images, representations, and symbols that reveal "maleness" or "femaleness". The second aim is to contrast the findings and the discourses of the tales and the poems in order to understand the aims of women when producing and performing each genre. It is suggested that their possible aims are related to males' and females' empowerment or disempowerment, to expressing revolt against the society or to showing obedience.

The paradigm of this research is defined by the following questions:

How are women and men depicted in the various tales and poems?

Do the storytellers and poetesses link their oral productions to the gender perspective constructed in real life?

How are the messages and topics tackled in the poems different from the ones tackled in the tales?

Do the tale or the poems insinuate the dichotomies society-centred/female-centred, revolt/obedience, conservative/liberate empowerment/disempowerment, revolt/consent?

Based on the above research questions, the researcher suggests the following hypotheses:

The way women and men are portrayed in tales is different from the way they are depicted in poems.

The informants knit their oral production by linking them to the gender perspective constructed in real life and the different socio-cultural dimensions of the Kabyle community.

The themes in the folktales respect and reproduce the social norms whereas the topics of the poems deal with personal concerns.

Tale/poem dichotomies are respectively: society-centred/female-centred, conservative/liberate, consent/revolt, male empowering/female-empowering.

This work will be divided into five chapters dealing with interrelated themes and goals. The first chapter is a frame of reference, it reviews the social life organization in Kabylia and how traditions, customs, and religion govern Kabyle women's lives, roles, duties, and rights. In the second chapter, the literature about language and gender will be reviewed along with Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. A considerable part of this chapter deals with the works of Pierre Bourdieu on language and domination, the different types of capital and the habitus. His highly valuable works will be reviewed for two major reasons. First and most importantly because he is considered as the founder of gender studies in France, and his entire work tries to show how hierarchies are rooted in our brains, and how the structures of domination are most of the time reproduced without our knowledge, with implacable logic. The second reason is that Pierre Bourdieu's early work focused on gender and matrimonial strategies in Kabylia.

The third chapter will be analytical, and will respectively deal with the analysis of the different messages and images in the folktales and poems. In the fourth chapter, a questionnaire that has been given to Kabyle female informants will be analysed. The informants express their points of view and reaction to folktales and poems, to their symbols, influence, and roles. The questionnaire targeted a population of Kabyle female respondents of different age groups. In this same chapter an analysis of the overall results will be made.

The fifth chapter discusses the shift from the oral tradition in Kabylia to the written literature with a particular emphasis on the modern written literature of Kabyle women and how it may be different from the oral narratives in terms of the tackled topic, the gender dimension, and the language used. It offers some suggested recommendations for the implication of folk literature as a tool for civic education and gender education in the Algerian EFL classrooms.

## Chapter One

### A Frame of Reference: The Social Life Organization in Kabylia

#### 1.1 Introduction

The present chapter is an endeavour to shed light on the Kabyle society and how it is organized. First, the researcher presents and discusses the stratifications of Kabylia from a socio-cultural perspective. Then, she inspects the problems that face Kabyle women and tries to portray their reality according to their different status and the challenges they face. Second, she tries to bring the reader to learn about the different processes of socialization and types of initiation that both Kabyle men and women have to go through from their childhood to their advanced age in order to integrate the society appropriately. Through the different sections, the reader will travel around the masculine and the feminine worlds that are imposed on the individuals. In the final section, the researcher tries to review some of the mutations of the old Kabyle society that constitute today's modern one.

#### 1.2 The Social Structure of the Kabyle Society

##### 1.2.1 Kabyles and Marabouts

In Kabyle villages, the society is divided into two main communities or let's say, two different classes, the criterion that differentiates those two classes is not the economic situations of their members or their aristocracy. It is, in fact, belonging to a religious lineage. Those two communities are respectively the Kabyles and the Marabouts. The Marabouts are Kabyles just like the others but there are different hypotheses and stories about their origins. Camille Lacoste Dujardin who worked a lot on the Kabyle society, its culture, and literature mentions in her *Disctionnaire de la Culture Berbere en Kabylie* (2005) that around the fifteenth and the sixteenth century some men who called themselves *Imrabden* (Marabouts in Kabyle) came to settle in Kabylia, most of them are said to come from *Saquiet El Hamra* in the south of Morocco and are supposed to be the descendants of the prophet Mohamed peace be upon him.

Other common hypotheses say that the Marabouts are the descendants of some Kabyle men who went to study religious and Islamic sciences in the city of Rabat in Morocco and spent some years there, and after their return to Kabylia people started to call them *Imrabden* or Marabouts referring to the city Rabat.

The *Imrabden* speak the Kabyle language variety. However, some of them use Arabic for religious addresses, prayers, and rituals. Their literacy and knowledge, especially in religious matters, gave them a certain kind of superiority and. In most villages, there is cohabitation between Marabouts and non-Marabouts while some are fully inhabited by Marabouts. They constitute the unofficial authority in the village and they are heads of *Tajmaat* (see the following pages). They are the ones who educate and teach kids in the mosques. They are also given the care to conduct the rituals of birth, death, and marriage as it is believed that they have some supernatural powers for healing, protecting and even cursing and have the ability to make prophylactic amulets (Michell, 1903; Dujardin, *ibid*). It is thanks to the Marabouts most of whom belong to brotherhoods such as *Errahmania*<sup>1</sup> that Kabyles -who were of oral culture only- learnt religion and Arabic. Nevertheless, the oral literature is full of many legendary stories whose themes exist in the Quran such as the legend of Joseph and the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, this latter is told to have happened in an area near to a Kabyle village called *Azeffun* during the era of the Roman emperor Decius. (Mouliéras, 1893)

In the past, as Marabouts were considered to be the nobles of the Kabyles, the quality or the title of Marabout was transmitted from father to children. To be a Marabout one, one must be born to a Marabout man. Men and women were respectively called *Sidi*<sup>2</sup> and *Lella*, and this latter was served by the non-Marabouts Kabyle women. As far as women conditions are concerned, most of the Marabouts, especially in the past and in the villages do not allow their women and daughters to get outside of the house. However, when they go out for special purposes or on special occasions they must be accompanied by a tutor like the father, the brother, the son or the husband and so on. They wear a veil or a scarf in a stranger's presence and, they were not allowed to work in the fields or to bring water or wood, this was taken care of by non-Marabout Kabyle women. It is only lately (about like seven decades) that Marabout women started studying, working, travelling alone and even hanging out without a veil, in contrast to Non-Marabout Kabyle women who were at a certain extent more independent, they were introduced to schools earlier and some of them had the privilege to be taught by the missionaries of Africa also known as the white fathers (*Les Peres Blancs*) and get in touch with

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<sup>1</sup> the most important brotherhood in Kabylia which led the resistance to colonization, this brotherhood has got some religious establishments such as zaouia (religious school) where pupils and future Taleb or imam learn and study religion

<sup>2</sup>Sidi is the equivalent of sir or master

French nuns who taught them sewing, embroidery and some other handicrafts and modern life hacks especially in the villages of *Ath Yenni* and *Larbaa Nath Irathen* (Dujardin, *ibid*).

### **1.2.2 Community**

Kabyle people give great importance and consideration to the community they live in. The community may extend from the family, the village, the tribe (*Aarch*), to all the area where the same Kabyle variety is spoken. In such organizations, communities define the individuals, that is to say, one is not defined by who s/he is as a separate subject, s/he is referred to by the family, the village or the tribe s/he comes from. The collective values must be respected and the collective interest is prioritized over the personal one.

Nevertheless, the individuals who wish to be different, or try to impose themselves or their ideas on the group will be perceived negatively as their attitude may affect the cohesion and the unity of the group, those individuals may be punished or even excluded from the group if their behaviours are judged as threatening.

### **1.2.3 Family/ *Tawacult***

It is considered the stem cell of humanity. Traditionally, the Kabyle family starts with an endogamous marriage with the availability of a house or *axxam* as Kabyles call it, this *axxam* shelters under its roof three generations: the grandparents, the parents, and their children. A group of extended families descending from one same grandfather is called *Taxerrubth* in Kabyle, it is like a faction. Each faction or family owns an area of land in the village where its members build their houses and cultivate their gardens and fields (Bourdieu, 1958; Dujardin, *ibid*).

The organization of the extended family and the decisions in a patriarchal system are made by unanimity. In other words, all the members of the family must respect the will and the decisions of the patriarch (the oldest male) (Dujardin, *ibid*). Bourdieu (1958) observed in his analysis of the Kabyle family that the individual is nested in the extended family and his options regulate both his actions and his thoughts, howbeit, the individuals today seek more freedom, and the couples seek more intimacy and space which threatens the persistence of the extended family that is disappearing both in cities and in rural areas. This started with the people's movements towards the cities looking for better work and education opportunities

#### **1.2.4 Village/ *Taddarth***

It is a group of factions which means that the people who belong to the same village are likely to descend from one same ancestor whom they call *Jeddi Amuqran* “great grandfather”. The village generally bears the name of this latter. Kabyle villages are built in the mountains and on the peak of hills, the ancient houses are made of stone and clay and their architecture is typical of Kabylia.

#### **1.2.5 Tribe/ *Aarsh* and Confederation/ *Taqbilt***

It is a group of villages, according to Durkheim (1937), the tribes are groups that rely on a kind of clan solidarity, each village has its own organization and freedom but whenever there is an external threat the villages gather together as one man to protect the shared land and interests. The different *aarshes* can also unite together to make a bigger bloc called confederation or *Taqbilt*, this happens for special purposes such as wars against a common enemy or exterior invasions.

### **1.3 Society Pillars and the Social Codes**

Given that most of the following words are cultural terms special to the Kabyle society and its language, the English translation used by the researcher is approximative as she could not find faithful or official translations.

**1.3.1 Kabylity/*Taqvaylit*** is a feminine word that means “Kabyle” and it refers to both language and origin, but most importantly to Kabyle values and honour. Its essence is the mountaineer’s virtues such as pride, courage, bravery, honesty, and respect of one’s word. It is also the esteem of honour, friendship, hospitality and gratefulness, the below codes are gathered under the umbrella of *taqvaylit*.

**1.3.2 Uprightness/*Lewqam*** refers to rectitude, it is an idealized quality, and a person who respects this is called *arguez laali* (*arguez*=man,*laali*=high/good) which means a “man of virtue”. It also means to be ready to do what needs to be done and to make the necessary in a particular situation, no matter what.

**1.3.3 Knowledge /*Tamusni*** refers to both scientific knowledge and wisdom acquired through life experiences, an *Amusnaw* (a knowledgeable person) may also be a person who is good at poetry or of good word mastery.



**1.3.4 Honour/*nnif*** Kabylia is known for its sacralisation of honour, many researchers especially the sociologists have investigated the different areas and meanings of the Kabyle honour, Lacoste Dujardin (2005) following Bourdieu's ideas defines the Kabyle honour under two forms one is active and the other is passive:

*Nnif*: or the active honour refers to the manly pride. In certain villages, the midwife pulls the nose of the newborn baby to heighten his sense of honour. *Nnif* is the point of personal honour and virility which is solitarily and jointly assumed by the members of the family or even the members of the village. It is also the readiness to respond to offences, revenge, or a challenge and the imposition of the so-called passive honour.

The passive honour which is *lhorma*<sup>3</sup> as it is properly called in Kabyle and Algerian Arabic refers to the prohibitions, and it is mainly concerned with all that is feminine such as the sacred virginity of women, her reputation and the family honour. The elderly are the guardians of this honour.

Honour under all its forms is imposed, it prunes the behaviours, and it is closely linked to all the forms of life values.

**1.3.5 Decency/*lehia*** refers to modesty and bashfulness. It is an imperative rule of conduct that everyone must respect and follow. It is shame, modesty, decency, and discretion. It is also restraints that impede the expression of all that is suspicious to shock or offend a person or a group that should normally be respected, both in speech and action. These rules are more constraining among opposite sexes, that is to say, in the presence of men, women's words, expressions, gesture, and behaviours must be watched and vice versa.

**1.3.6 Protection/*Laanaya***<sup>4</sup> refers to protection and safeguards. The Kabyle community is characterized by this sociological trait. Anyone can afford *laanaya* no matter the gender or the age of the person who wants to give his/her *Laanaya*. It is both a right and a duty. The principle of *laanaya* as it was practised in the Kabyle society had above all the role of protecting the individual from physical violence and murder in a society where it was legitimate to take their revenge under the law of retaliation. *Laanaya* is irrevocable and its violation may lead to the

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<sup>3</sup> Derives from the Arabic word *haram* which means forbidden and/or sacred

<sup>4</sup>In the name of/for someone's sake

death of the offender, the destruction of his house, and the confiscation of his properties. This Kabyle customary particularity is a kind of mutual assistance and social solidarity which allowed and controlled the movement of strangers in the Kabyles lands for example. Another instance of *Laanaya* can refer to the right to asylum in the case when a village or one of its inhabitants decides to shelter or protect a refugee coming from another village. This latter is protected from his enemies as long as he is under the roof of the persons who gave their *laanaya* to him no matter the seriousness of his crime. This person is spared, not because he is hidden or because the people who gave him their *laanaya* are powerful, it is because his enemies are obliged to respect the principle of *laanaya* that is very sacred.

*Laanaya* can also be defined as the celebration or the sacralisation of someone or something. *Laanaya N tmettut* (the celebration/sacralisation of the woman) is very famous in Kabylia. It can be given to a man (to spare him death or punishment) by one person or by the members of the village thanks to the respect given to his wife, mother or daughter. In other words, if a man violates the rules of the village, commits a crime or gets into trouble with someone, he will not be punished by the village assembly thanks to *laanaya n tmettout*. It is a kind of mercy given to him because of the presence of a respected and respectful woman in his life. Women can use their *laanaya* to interfere in some matters or to solve disputes by using the expression “*di laanaya inu*” (in the name of my value/for me). “*di laanaya n tamart-ik*” (In the name of your beard) is the expression that can be used to beg an old man or to have his mercy referring to his beard as a means of *laanaya* as it alludes to his wisdom, manhood and virility.

**1.3.7 Prohibition /Edda<sup>5</sup>** refers to all that is forbidden and prohibited by the ancestors. *Edda* is the prohibition of a particular ritual, a practice or even a daily activity. *Edda* is special to each tribe or family. That is to say that the prohibitions differ from one tribe to another. Some of the prohibitions are of Islamic origins such as the consumption of pork, and others are based on superstitions. *Edda* can be defined as the curse of an ancestor in case of the violation of a prohibition he imposed for one reason or another. For instance, in the village of Ait Ali Ouharzoun, endogamous marriage is prohibited so cousins cannot marry one another, and women are not allowed to dye their hair. If one does not respect those prohibitions a tragedy is believed to happen such as death, sterility, divorce and so on.

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<sup>5</sup> goes with/along and it means applied on every generation

### 1.3.8 Patriarchy

The Kabyle society is patriarchal, power is held by men and more particularly by the head of the household. Authority is very hierarchical; the patriarch dominates all the members of the family. In his absence, his sons control the family, according to their age that is from the eldest to the youngest. Men have authority over women; whereas the power relationship between a woman and a man depends on other parameters: the mother of the house dominates her sons, her daughters-in-law, and her daughters (Dujardin, *ibid*, Bourdieu, *ibid*).

The patriarchal system is inherited from the ancient Mediterranean cultural funds, and which Islam indorsed. Power is based on patrilineality, according to which, filiation is established from father to son, from a man to another man excluding women, these latter are integrated into a family by marriage. Marriage is also a matter of males' strategy; this guardianship of women by men, be it their father or their husband, is endorsed by the family code of 1984 and the matrimonial tutelage renewed in 2005.

### 1.3.9 Marriage

As is the case in all the Maghreb region, the Kabyle society is defined by paternal relationships that are considered as "*the principles of structuration of the social world*" (Bourdieu, 1972, p. 92), the rules in this system contribute to maintaining the genealogic lineage through biological reproduction. As mentioned previously, the extended family stands for an embryo of the group in the Kabyle society, so marriage concerns the entire group. In the past, forced or arranged marriage was the norm in the Kabyle community, some couples met for the first time the night of their marriage. Even though women and girls married at a very young age represented the biggest number of arranged marriage victims, men were also victims but, to a lower extent. This is men were able to remarry or even leave their wives if they did not like them: a solution that was not afforded to women. As the patriarchal spirit dictates, blood and affiliation are transmitted from father to child, and not from mother to child, hence the endogamous marriage is more welcomed.

- **Endogamy**

In Kabylia, even though it is not an absolute rule, endogamous marriages are preferred and are more appreciated than exogamous marriages; people prefer to marry off their children to the children of their brothers and sisters. The most preferred alliance is the one with the daughter of the groom's paternal uncle, as it reinforces the relationship between brothers, keeps the girl

along with her share of heritage within her family (Lévi-Strauss, 1967). Tillion adds that endogamous marriage is a strategy “*to fight against the scattering of land that the Islamic inheritance system imposes on each generation*” (Tillion, 1966, p. 133). If an appropriate match is not available within the same family (boys are younger than girls or matches of the opposite sex are already married), another type of endogamy appears, and it is not blood-related but region or belonging-related. That is to say, the marriage of two people belonging to the same faction, or village, or who share the same very first grandfather<sup>6</sup>, are married.

The endogamy of marriage is a practice that is often arbitrarily practised against the Kabyle woman (Tillion, *ibid*). This kind of marriage is organized by a promise made to a parent, even before the birth of the two subjects concerned.

Thus, women in traditional Kabyle society do not have the right to refuse the decisive arrangements established in the kinship, and particularly, concerning their marriage, since the negotiations of the marriage are a man's affair performed in accordance with the interests of the lineage (Bourdieu, 1980; Tillion, *ibid*).

Finally, the marriage between cousins is by no means a standard that can be generalized in all kinship circles. However, it is favoured by the Kabyle family because it contributes to the extent of relationships between members of the same kinship (Tillion, *Ibid*).

- **Exogamy** In contrast to endogamous marriage, exogamous marriage was not very well-considered, and the tolerance varies according to the type of exogamy, for instance, the union of two individuals belonging to two neighbouring Kabyle villages, or the marriages of Marabouts to Marabouts, and non-Marabouts to non-Marabouts were more tolerated than the ones of Kabyles to Arabs or foreigners, or the marriages of Marabouts to non-Marabouts.

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<sup>6</sup> In most cases, he is the first man who settled in a given area, his children and grandchildren lived in that area and so did all his descendants, after several generations, they could constitute a tribe in that same area and they gave it his name, the name of that first man, through time the new generations share fewer members descending from the same lineage, and as their number extends to hundreds it is obvious that they won't know each other and they will become strangers, especially those who move somewhere else, but these people are identified once they utter the name of their tribe or the name of their first grandfather, because as mentioned before, this is the way people define themselves in the Kabyle community

Exogamy in the past had some political and economic ideologies also, the strong or powerful tribes married off their children to other powerful tribes to make alliances and strengthen their positions. If a member of a powerful tribe married a woman from a less powerful tribe this latter would conventionally be under the protection of the other tribe. (Tillion, *ibid*; Dujardin, *ibid*).

Nowadays, exogamous marriage is winning more ground, because people are aware of the bad consequences of consanguine marriages which may lead to abnormal or handicapped children, and because individuals can choose their partners. Parents and the elderly on the other hand, still prefer endogamous marriage especially for matters related to inheritance and transmission of material goods. “When a girl marries a man, who is not her cousin in the paternal line, the children born of this marriage legally belong to the family of their father and are therefore strangers to the lineage of their maternal grandfather” (Tillion, *ibid*, p.26)

- **Polygamy**

Even though both religion and the customary law allow and legalize polygamy, Kabyles rarely marry more than one woman at once. However, Kabyles are more likely to repudiate their wives and remarry for a second or a third time which is also not very common. The rare cases of polygamous marriages are generally bigamous marriages. Nevertheless, the reasons behind divorce and polygamy in Kabylia in the past were mainly sterility or giving birth to a baby girl, in other words, if a woman doesn't give birth during her first year of marriage or if her first baby is a girl she is considered as sterile and her husband either repudiates her or remarries for the second time, whether under the pressure of his parents or with his own will to preserve the lineage (Mrabet, 1983). The other reasons were socio-political as Bourdieu confirms it “... a simple reproduction, that is to say biological, but whose function is a reproduction of the social and ideological relations in which and by which is accomplished and legitimized the activity of production”<sup>7</sup>(Bourdieu, 1980, p.313). As an example, when some problems occur between the families of a husband and wife, the marriage is broken, and the wife is repudiated.

- **The Levirate**

It is when a widow is wedded to her dead husband's brother. In the past, it was very frequent in Kabylia because it was the most suitable solution to protect the rights and the future of the

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<sup>7</sup> Trans mine

orphans who, thanks to the union of their mother with their paternal uncle, won't be separated from their mother if she decides to remarry a stranger nor would they be brought up without a father. This type of marriage did not disappear in nowadays society but it is very rare for people are more aware of their religion and the family code that give the right to women to keep their children and raise them- no matter what their in-law-families think- as long as those women can afford their children a stable life especially financially speaking.

The other way around is possible too and a widower can marry his dead wife's sister if this latter and her family approve of this union. This is again for the sake of protecting the orphans because the maternal aunt is believed to be as warm, loving and protective as a mother.

### **1.3.10 Inheritance**

If today, according to the Islamic and the Algerian family laws, most women inherit half of the legacy of a man, it was not the case in the Kabyle customary law which used to deprive them of their legacy. Back in 1748, Kabyles started to exhort women (Gahlouz, 2011) for the Kabyle populations lived essentially from agriculture and land was sacralised and had to remain within the patriarchal lineage (Mahé, 2006; Gahlouz, 2011). The father attributes the lands to his sons and the male descendants of his sons while his daughters are disinherited. The purpose is to keep the patrimony in the family and the genealogical order (Bourdieu, 1980).

Old people tell many stories and historical events which may be the reason behind depriving women of inheritance. (Gahlouz, *ibid*) reports that one of these stories says that it is until the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the customary law deprived women of inheritance, this is when a considerable number of Kabyle men were captured by the Spanish and were thought to be dead after many years of absence, so their widows inherited their money and lands and remarried. When those men returned home after their release- thanks to the Dey of Algiers- neither their lands nor their wives belonged to them anymore. So, to avoid such problems in the future, the customary law has been changed in 1827 and women no more inherited lands and other properties.

Another historical event is told to be the reason behind the non-inheritance of women. It started with the Ottoman invasion of Algeria: after many trials, the Ottoman could not access and integrate the Kabyle lands to the Ottoman state, so desperate; they decided to marry Kabyle women to take their inherited fields and lands. Kabyles who were highly xenophobic and refused to marry off their daughters to non-Kabyles thought of a solution to stop the ottomans

from both marrying their daughters and taking their lands. They decided to deny women their right to inheritance, so the Turkish would not have any reason or gain from marrying a Kabyle woman who does not own anything. In exogamous marriage-as far as owning an area of land that belongs to his in-laws is concerned- the son in law is considered as a stranger, because; he does not belong to the lineage. Hence, the daughter is deprived of her share of inheritance for fear that her husband becomes one of the heirs. That's why disinheritance is tightly linked to exogamy, which also explains why Kabyles prefer endogamy.

So, accordingly, in order not to leave women without any material support, another option was adopted, which is called the *habous*<sup>8</sup>. The usufruct of land can be attributed to the owner's daughter, or widow till her death or her return to her family's household (due to divorce or widowhood). This allows women to benefit from the goods of the family gardens and fields without necessarily owning them. The code of honour imposes on men to take charge and care of their widowed or orphan female relatives that are in need (Mahé, 2006).

#### **1.4 The Gender-Based Social Division**

Sex division is based on two principles: a principle of separation between the two sexes at the levels of space and activities, and a principle of hierarchy. The division of tasks reminds consistently, both explicitly and implicitly, the foundations of the supremacy of men over women (Yacine, 1999). In the Kabyle society, it is within the household that the sex division of space and labour is imposed. The tasks are achieved by males or females according to their productive or symbolic nature; and space is divided into the "inside" that represents the feminine universe and the house, and the "outside" that represents the male universe and the public world (Dujardin, 2002). This means that the division of tasks is done according to the spatial order. All the tasks which are incumbent upon the woman are of domestic order; they are fulfilled only in the private space, far from the eyes of men. This sex-based division of space and work has contributed to the confinement of women in the inside space.

Accordingly, it is worth mentioning that the sex-based division of labour is far from being complimentary and harmonious, Tabet (1998) assumes that this division "is not neutral, but

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<sup>8</sup> Also **houbous**, is an Islamic term related to land property legislation in the Muslim world. It can neither be sold nor exchanged. The founder profits from the usufruct of the lasting real estate his life: its economic right is preserved intact within the family to which it belongs. source: Wikipedia

oriented and asymmetrical [...] it is a relationship not of reciprocity or complementarity but domination". (p. 10).

Anthropologists and sociologists link the origins of the sex-based division of space to different backgrounds such as nature, Androcentrism, and patriarchy. Messaoudi (1995) estimates that all the options structuring the Kabyle social order are spontaneous and not calculated. In nature, males provide food and protection because they are biologically stronger and females take care of the offspring and their nurturing as they are biologically more affectionate. It is then up to the man to provide food for his home, while the woman is only seen in the house to keep the Kabyle values and ensure biological reproduction. Per contra, the females' role is limited by the male conception of honour that may be defiled. And it is in this perspective that the sexual division of labour is established. If Bourdieu (1998/2001) in his book 'Masculine Domination' affirms that.

"The division between the sexes appears to be 'in the order of things', as people sometimes say to refer to what is normal, natural, to the point of being inevitable: it is present both -in the objectified state-in things (in the house, for example, every part of which is 'sexed'), in the whole social world, and the embodied state in the habitus of the agents, functioning as systems of schemes of perception, thought and action".(p. 8)

He is far from approving Messaoudi's (ibid.) ideas on the "natural" roots of sex division. Bourdieu (ibid.) by those words insinuates that people's minds and behaviours are conditioned to the extent that sex division has been nurtured. Bourdieu (ibid.) believes that behind the sex division in Kabylia, there is an androcentric vision, and which is the basis of the structuring of the Kabyle social world. According to this same author (ibid), this principle is incorporated in the body and the brain and is the cause of the existence of the sexual division of labour and space. Bourdieu maintains the idea that this vision of the androcentric principle contributes to separation and a hierarchy of the two sexes. This same author also says that this vision of the androcentric principle enacts corporal behaviour, because as he has noticed, this principle is enshrined in *Habitus* and the body *hexis* and therefore according to him, it is reproduced by definition (ibid).

Other authors have identified the origin of the sexual division of labour and space by referring directly to patriarchy as Delphy (1998) who observes that it is a system of gender. The patriarchal logic refers to and defines sexual division as a natural way of structuring the relations



between the sexes. Nevertheless, Delphy (2001, p. 146) defined it as a socio-political and economic system whose dynamics “permeate and structure all human, collective and individual activities”.

#### **1.4.1 The Social Division of Space**

The division of space reflects the social division based on gender, the position and the roles of men and women: women generally occupy the interior sides away from sights and men the outer open sides

*“The opposition between the inside and the outside...is expressed concretely in the sharp division between the women’s space-the house and its garden...a closed, secret, protected space, away from intrusions and the public gaze-and the men’s space-the place of assembly, the mosque, the café, the fields and the market”*  
(Bourdieu, 1979 qtd. as cited by Peter R Knauss,1987, p.5).

In many societies, women are considered to be physically and mentally weaker than men and in need of protection. Men are entrusted with the most important decisions. In traditional Kabylia, women live in a very confined circle of house and family; their contacts aside from the family members are limited to other women only. Men, on the other hand, have a much broader sphere, which includes the mosque, the streets, the marketplaces, and coffee shops.

##### **1.4.1.1 Home/ Axxam:**

Pouillon (2017) describes the Kabyle house, according to a code that is gradually revealed to us. While the males’ space is a room located north of the house, the animals and women spaces are located south. Food and utensils are classified in opposite categories too; in the north, all that has masculine appellation like the grains and the hearth near which visitors are welcomed; and to the south, all that is feminine and moist such legumes, figs and flour.

These oppositions are crossed by those which control the relations between

- the east, the front of the house, the threshold: masculine, and,
- the west and the back door of the house with the loom: feminine.

To this symbolic projection on the house are to add others: the main beam considered masculine, it supports the roof and connects the space of the men (north) to that of the women (south). It is marked by the forked vertical post that supports the horizontal beam. This meeting of the two supports: the fork of the post on which the beam rests, shows refers to the sexual act, fertility, and reproduction.

### 1.4.1.2 The Assembly/*Tajmaat*<sup>9</sup>

It represents the village council and in Bourdieu's words it is "the incarnation of public opinion" Bourdieu (ibid, p.11), it is also called the house of men as all its members are males.

"The *djemaa* was an exclusively male institution; there has been no record of women participating as members of a tribal or clan assembly. The council was composed of the older males of the tribe, owing to the fact that its members were the heads of the agnatic lineages" (Knauss, ibid, p.11).

The assembly members are the Imam or the Marabout, the head of each family or *Taxroubth*, the elderly of the village and some other village members. Sometimes, children are welcomed to listen and thus learn the laws, customs, and traditions of the village from the elderly.

"Although the council was usually the exclusive preserve of elder males of the tribe or clan, the principle of the collegial rule was the *modus operandi*. There was, in principle, no one chief to whom one paid homage or owed fealty. There were many chiefs who, in principle, shared power equally. While they ruled without any formal check or accountability on the part of those whom they ruled, and their sharing of collective power among themselves suggested rough equality among the male leaders or patriarchs of the tribe." (ibid, p.11)

The place where the village assembly meets is situated just near the principal door or entrance of the village or somewhere close to the limits of the village. It is an open room of a simple structure made of stones and tiles and it is humbly decorated with stone benches. *Tajmaat* can extend from a simple village assembly to a tribe, clan or *arch* assembly.

*Tajmaat* members regularly meet in the evenings even when there is not a special matter to be discussed. However, some monthly and annual meetings are scheduled, for instance, "Each year, at the time of the first autumn rains, the tribal *Djemaa* and the *Djemaa* of the clans allotted the lands that were to be cultivated in accordance with the capacities and needs of each family" (ibid, p. 10)

Bourdieu listed the duties and functions of the Kabyle tribal council as follows:

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<sup>9</sup>It is the Kabyle feminine diminutive of the Arabic word *jamaa* which means group or meeting

- “The council administers, governs, legislates and arbitrates; it has the duty of defending the collective honour; it must see that its decisions are duly executed and have at its disposal a much-feared means of coercion, the ostracism or banishment of the offender” (Bourdieu, 1979 qtd. as cited by Peter R Knauss, 1987, p.11)
- Tajmaat « was egalitarian in the sense that its method of achieving consensus was based on lengthy discussion and deliberation among relative equals of the tribe in which all points of view were presumably considered. It was collegial in the sense the *djemaa* members were committed to the requirement of collective responsibility once decisions were made” (Knauss. ibid)

Tajmaat duties consist also of organizing events such as *Timecret*<sup>10</sup> and *twiza*<sup>11</sup>, scheduling wedding dates, and settling disputes and so on.

It “settles many matters of rights to property, inheritance, according to tribal custom, which in other Muslim communities are arranged according to the Qur’an. [...] This does not spring from indifference in religion. All the Berbers are remarkably fervent, but practice their religious duties in different fashions of their own.” (Michell, 1903, p. 180).

This social form disappeared in the urban areas due to modernity. However, it persists in rural areas and the mountains of Kabylia.

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<sup>10</sup> The social and community stake of this rite is important for Kabyle society. It is practised on many occasions: during the cycles of the Amazigh festivals of Yennayer and Tafsut, or the Muslim feasts of Eid, Taachourt and The Mouloud, marriages or collective circumcisions. It is also an occasion to honour the saints. The ritual also is said to intervene to face the misfortunes, in particular the drought. It consists of sacrificing cattle, to allow all the inhabitants of the village to share the same meal, whatever the social rank. This festival of the division of the property is also known under the name of Tiwizi, or Qessam I Larzaq in the valley of Soummam and Akfado

<sup>11</sup> is a practice known throughout the Algerian and Maghrebian territory. The word Twiza is derived from the Berber root wiz or lwaz meaning 'help'. Thus, the Twiza means to help each and to support each other. It is a "voluntary chore" imposed by the members of a group of a community, to help each other in certain occasions, such as harvesting, picking olives and dates, depicting, coating a house, the construction and maintenance of places of worship, the environment (sand removal), etc. There are two types of Twiza: The Twiza of collective interest and the Twiza of individual interest.

### 1.4.1.3 The Fountain/*Thala*

The fountain is the women's space par excellence and it is for them what the assembly or the mosque is for men, the latter are prohibited to go to the fountain when women are there.

Women and girls of all ages go there for supplying water, get their laundry done, and wash. Yet, the fountain also is a space for gossip, networking, and socialization; women exchange all kinds of news regarding harvest, marriage insights, envisaged births and so on. Other personal matters are tackled too such as their living conditions and problems; marital disagreement and intimate life issues. In fact, by this water source, women "exchanged news and gossip on intimate matters that men could not talk about amongst themselves without dishonour and that they only learned about through their wives" (Knauss, *ibid*, p. 5).

Furthermore, many mythical events and stories on the origins of humanity are said to have happened in or near the fountain, this gave a kind of sacrality to the fountain and its waters

"Thala is the crucible of social practices that mystical connotation allotted to it the statute of holy place just like the cemetery or the mosque of the village [...] thala is visited as well as other sacred places where one implores the Most Powerful [Allah] with offerings and chants. a few days before and after the celebration of a marriage, the new bride should visit Thala of the village to make a Waâda (an offering) so that the marriage takes place under the best conditions as possible, there, she shall fill with water small pottery (jar), containing beans as a sign of fertility" (Boukhalifa, 2011, P. 519).

All those events, practices and chores that take place by the fountain are accompanied by songs; it is the place where many poems and songs were produced.

As it was mentioned above, men and women should not meet in *Thala*, neither should they meet on the way to it. The women's path to the fountain avoids the domains of men. Despite the leisure time women spend in *Thala*, walking the distance to and back from it - carrying the heavily filled jars and wet clothes- was tiresome because it is located outside the village.

In the present days, and especially since the black decade<sup>12</sup>, women no more go to the pond or the fountain as regularly as they used to in the past because the area is not safe anymore and many strangers are perceived there from time to time. In spring and summertime, *thala* finds its ambience of the past and becomes very crowded, as many tourists and Kabyles who settled

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<sup>12</sup> the 90's bloody period in Algeria

abroad come and go down the river or the fountain to admire its beauty, drink fresh water and enjoy its fresh air. In addition to that, women no more wash themselves and their clothes there, since people have built bathrooms at theirs and because modern houses have running water.

#### 1.4.1.4 The Weekly Market/*Suq*<sup>13</sup>

In Kabylia and many other regions of Algeria, the traditional *suq* is not open all week long. It is open weekly on a particular permanent day special to each village. Each *Suq* bears the name of that day, for instance, Thursday's *Souq*, it can also bear the name of the village such as the famous *suq* of the *Ath Menguellet* which is the most frequented traditional market of the region of Djurdjura; we have chosen this *Suq* as an example because it is scheduled according to gender: Sundays are for women's market and it is called *Ssuq el had*, and Saturdays and Thursdays are for men's. The organization of the *souk* of women and men is different and so are the products sold there.

The first one, the ladies' market, is where women's and children's clothes, bed linen, kitchen supplies and cosmetic products are sold. Most of the saleswomen who exhibit their products in this market are old women or widows who want to support their children; they are either from the village where the market takes place or from the surrounding villages. Those women sell handicrafts such as Carpets, jewellery, and products extracted from their vegetable gardens. Each saleswoman reserves a place that she ends up appropriating. They sit next to each other, on small stools or fabrics on which they display their products.

The second one is where men go to buy the supplies for the week, such as vegetables, fruits, and cereals. Animals and birds are also sold in this *Suq*. Men meet there to socialize and discuss some business too.

Although traditionally and in the past, women did not have the right to go to the men's *Suq* and vice versa, nowadays, we can cross some women in the *Suq* of men as we can perceive some men in the *Suq* of women.

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<sup>13</sup> Alternative spelling Souk, souq: Traditional Markets in the Arab and Maghreb countries

### 1.4.1.5 Parties and Celebrations

Traditional Kabyle parties take place in the courtyard of the house where women sing and dance, while men stay outside the house. Sometimes, the courtyard is divided into two parts by a curtain or a large sheet to create two separate spaces, one for women and the other for men.

During the *henna* ceremony<sup>14</sup>, the closest relatives attend such as grandparents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and their children. They all sit, sing and dance together in the same space since there are no strangers. If many guests are invited to a wedding party, a party room can be rented, and the wedding takes place there. Yet, party rooms or halls are only available in the cities, and whether the opposite sexes attend in the same room or not depends on the degree of openness of mind of the groom and bride's families. Nevertheless, most parties are unisex parties - especially among Marabouts-the only men who may attend for a few minutes or come in to take photos with the new couple are their closest relatives.

### 1.4.2 The Social Division of Labour

As explained earlier in this section, in traditional Kabyle society the space of the woman is the house, she must dwell in the inside, whereas the space of the man is the outside, in the fields, in the *Tajmaat* (the assembly) (Mahé, 2006). "This sexual division of space has created an imbalance of power in favour of the man" (Mouzaia, 2006, p. 176) because the social relations between men and women are organized according to the structuring of the tasks and also according to the dichotomy of space.

In this community, the most important economic activities are agriculture and animal husbandry, both male and women participate in these two fields but each with different duties. In other words, women help and cooperate economically. However, this complementarily does not mean that women are equal to men (Tabet, 1998). Especially since the sexual division of tasks does not give women the same powers that men hold. As Godelier (1973) has confirmed: "the ability of men to embody and defend more than women the interests of the group and thus

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<sup>14</sup>It is a ceremony which takes place at the wedding eve or some days before, the *henna* is applied to both the bride and the groom when they are still in their parents houses ,the *henna* noun is close the Arabic word *hanan* which means warmth and tenderness, and the fact of applying it on the palm is said to bring these two qualities to the home and life of the new couple.

the capacity to dominate women politically, culturally and symbolically is based on this division of tasks.” (p.372)<sup>15</sup>.

Lacoste Dujardin (2005) adds that the division of labour reminds us of the implicit and explicit foundations of masculine supremacy. That is to say, men, are the breadwinners and are attributed tasks outside the house while women are attributed tasks that serve men’s needs and that condemn them to be dependent on men who are their only money provider and their guides out of the households which, according to H eritier (1996), means that female tasks are devaluated.

In addition to agriculture, some other chores are gendered. In addition to housekeeping; taking care of the children and the animals, some women do the weaving work to make carpets and woollen clothes using the loom. Mouloud Feraoun in his novel *Le Fils Du Pauvre* (The Son of the Poor Man), describes his aunt’s movements and perseverance while using the loom, he says “So, we hear nothing but the harmonious shock of Nana's comb, We're sure she's doing a good job[...]Nana often stays up to finish her work, by the pale light of an oil lamp, smoky and smelly”<sup>16</sup> (1954, p. 68) Yet, men are good at the weaving of palm leaves and halfah grass into baskets, ropes, and nets; some of them are skilled in copper and silver work, they make jewellery by hammering and transforming the metals into artistic patterns. The gathering, collection, and sorting of olives is a women’s speciality while making olive oil is done whether by men or by both men and women. Women are potters too (not all of them) they make dishes, jars and water battles which they ornament with some Berber drawings and paintings that are almost the same all over the Maghreb region.

This is not the only artistic work of Kabyle women, many of them, especially in the past, were in charge of coating and decorating the house walls and sealing the roof with clay and other materials. In her autobiographical Novel, Fadhma Ath Mansour draws an image of the coated interior ground, “The soil was made of lime putty, in thick layers, smoothed with pebbles; for days, women had rubbed the floor so that there remains no roughness; it was so bright that we could see our reflection”<sup>17</sup>(1968, p57). Women are also in charge of bringing water from the

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<sup>15</sup>Trans.mine

<sup>16</sup>Trans.mine

<sup>17</sup>Trans.mine

fountains or rivers “That day, happily, we went to the fountain and the water jars were filled to the edges, and the jugs kept full” (Fadhma Ath Mansour, *ibid*, p. 61). Collecting firewood, however, is often the share of old women because they are more or less allowed to leave the house alone and get into isolated areas. In nowadays Kabylia, we still perceive some old women coming back home late in the morning or in the evening carrying wood on their curved backs with the face towards the ground, while their husbands or sons play dominos in the cafe!

In her writings, Makilam (1996) lists the daily and seasonal activities of Kabyle women and describes most of the rituals that accompany every single task fulfilled according to the Kabyle agrarian calendar, in accordance with the state and shape of the moon, the succession of the seasons and the growth of vegetation. It is believed that when a woman respects the rituals, the year will be fruitful for her household especially on the levels of human reproduction (rate of births) and harvest.

In present-day Kabylia, men are not the only breadwinners, for women have the opportunity to work in different sectors too, and they have more spare time thanks to the availability of home appliance that is affordable for most families, and the availability of clothes, carpets, and dishes in the different markets which spare women from making them themselves.

### **1.5.1 Traditions**

Traditions are one among the different peculiarities that define a given culture, they not only refer to collective memory but are also bound up to it. Unlike rules and laws, culture and traditions are not institutionalized. Yet, they withstand time that could not hinder their existence and perpetuation from one generation to another. The persistence of a tradition is secured by its guardians, they are all the individuals of a given culture who practice it, transmit it and most importantly embody it for they believe that culture and traditions unfold both moral and emotional values in addition to identity features. Giddens summed it up by saying that “The integrity of tradition derives not from the simple fact of persistence over time but from the continuous ‘work’ of interpretation that is carried out to identify the strands which bind present to past” (Giddens, 1994, p. 64).

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Despite all the magic that surrounds the countless worldwide cultures and traditions with their peculiarities, singularities and also oddities, they have their weight on particular individuals or groups. Yet, in the scope of the Kabyle society and gender, the instances of females marginalization and subordination are striking, they are the result of traditional prescriptions; Kabyle customary law invokes the imposition and incorporation of cultural practices of the code of honour and kinship manifested by collective values and symbolic and corporal boundaries, this imposition is both on the family and community levels. They are structures that command the gender socialization process which “connects macho strength and heroism to males and associates the traditional roles of wife and mother to females” (Fonchingong, 2006, p.139). This socializes women to be man’s inferiors, Women internalize the values and in particular the limits that have been incorporated into those values. Yet, this interiorization of limits and the deep setting of those practices in their memories often make of them the reproducers of the social order. Some of them do not even bother learning how to defend themselves socially and emotionally; they believe that the presence of men saves and values their own; being the mother, the wife, the daughter or the sister of this or that man defines who a woman is, and to what extent she will be respected and considered in the society. Kabyle women are not identified or respected for who they are, but according to which family they belong to, and this is how they define themselves too! They play so faithfully their roles learned through the socialization process that they may not even notice the injustice that all those traditions and social conventions nourish.

The heavyweight of tradition is perceivable in many situations and social institutions such as marriage, Newton and Rosenfelt (1985) call it ‘the intersection of multiple oppressions. Women are considered as child-bearers and should give birth to as many children (males preferably) as they can in order to be valued in this phallogocentric society, they are expected to see to their husbands’ needs, take care of the kids and cultivate the garden. Speaking about childbearing, parentheses are to be opened here to add some sweetness to the bitter reality expressed earlier. In Kabyle villages, there are some cases when pregnant Kabyle women are spared from abiding by some traditional rules that are imposed on both males and females.

Youcef Alloui (2009) in his book *La Sagesse De L’olivier* (The Wisdom of the Olive Tree), tells us that in ancient Kabyle society, there was a ban on figs (*Tamuqint*). To allow reaping in sufficient quantities, the inhabitants of the village were prohibited from eating figs until all the fig trees of the village had their fruits ripe. Because of (or thanks to) their cravings, pregnant

women escaped the rule. Moreover, if their figs weren't ripe yet, there was a custom called "awḍar" which allowed them to pick figs from the neighbour's trees provided that, the day when the women's fruits would be ripe, the same quantity of figs taken will be given back to the neighbour. The same rules are applied to grapes eating. The fig season is called "women's season" because of the freedom given to pregnant women throughout the season. The verb which designates the reaping of the fig is (llwu / *alway*) that has the same root as the word *llwi* which means "relaxation" "to relax", "letting go", and "freedom". According to Alliou's mother, her grandmother used to say; "D *llwi n tmettut is ilaqen i tmurt!*" (*It's the freedom of the woman that is needed in the country*), insinuating that the freedom of eating figs was not the kind of freedom women needed; they wanted their own freedom and emancipation.

In the process of growing up, females are taught how to cook and do all the domestic duties; they learn from their mothers and grandmother the codes of conduct, good manners and proper behaviours vis-a-vis the opposite sex be him a father, a brother, a husband, a father-in-law, an uncle or a stranger. In this perspective, the Kabyle woman is subject to a moral system, which is the Code of Honour. This type of regulation is at the origins of a lifestyle based on the sense of honour and are manifested by a fear of shame and an obligation to conform to the customary norms imposed by the patriarchal system. In addition to those instances, it is worth reminding the reader of the dichotomies of the inside/outside and the private/public that were discussed earlier in this chapter, and which reflect the patriarchal-based traditional categorizations of gender.

Yet, in order to exonerate the Kabyle society, culture, and traditions, many Kabyles accuse Islam and Sharia law of being the only responsible for those facts related to the demeaning of women, denying that they already existed and Islam just moulded them.

### **1.5.2 Religion**

With the Islamization of the Berber tribes, some new Islamic values and morals coexisted with the Berber ones. Nevertheless, sedentary Berber tribes such as the Kabyles have been able to protect the ancestral rules and the ancient structure, like the endogamy of marriage, to resist changes (Tillion, op. cit, 1966).

Bourdieu enumerated the different Islamic laws that are applied in the Algerian and Kabyle political culture and which are:

“the condemnation of cupidity and the love of wealth; the encouragement given to the virtues of hospitality, mutual aid, and politeness (abad); and the feeling of belonging to a religious fraternity that is of an economic or social basis” (Bourdieu, n.d qtd. as cited in Knauss, *ibid*, p. 13)

Keddi and Elhibri as cited by Knauss (*ibid*), believe that Islam brought positive and negative changes. According to Keddi (n.d), it made some societies better and others worse. As long as gender is concerned, Elhibri (n.d) says that Islam offered a “patriarchal compromise” as the quranic rules afforded women some rights all by imposing and legitimizing the masculine domination in the societies. Nevertheless, Bourdieu (*ibid*) asserts that Islam played a role in the oppression of women, he argues that the Islamic regulations and laws concerning marriage, repudiation, and inheritance (women have the right to half the share of men) contribute to maintaining the inferior status of women.

Tillion (*op. cit*, 1966) ideas do not agree with the ones of Elhibri and Bourdieu, as he maintains that the imposed supremacy of men over women has existed way before Islam, as most societies (especially around the Mediterranean basin including Kabyles) were patriarchal and the human relations including marriage were arranged to suit men interests such as the endogamy of marriage which guaranteed that wealth and fields remain within the patrilineal circle. He adds that Islam afforded to women the right to survive and have a legal identity as full human beings, it gave them the right the inherit property and have a dowry (this right existed before Islam but it was codified by Sharia laws).

Grandguillaume (1983) sees that Islam has been readjusted and interpreted following the personal requirements of men in power, who see a need to resort to *Fiqh*, which is the jurisprudence under which the rules of the Quran are interpreted, M'rabet (1983) follows the same thoughts and adds that because it was issued in a traditional context different from the current context, this interpretation is a reflection of men, it often reflects an emerging patriarchal ideology of male power. In other words, religious streams and nationalists have created a confusion between the *Fiqh* and the Quran and the history of the institutions shows that this confusion between human right and divine law is a common process, and not only in Muslim countries, when one seeks to legitimize a political or legal system (Pruvost, 2002).

Bourdieu (1998/2001) believes that there is an impact of fundamentalism on the status of women, explaining that there is political exploitation of the condition of women; she becomes

the victim of a religious fanatic. In spite of this instrumentalization of Islam, the Islamic veil imposed on Arab women is not imposed on the majority of Kabyle women, because due to their bitterness for Arabity<sup>18</sup>, masculine power denies all that is imposed by the Arabs, either on the family or the identity levels.

Maghrebi women in general and Kabyles, in particular, will not sit idly and away from women's emancipation, which tends to be global. But in terms of the work opportunities outside the house and the division of chores inside it, one thing is clear: serious tensions appeared between men and women and of which both sides suffer. This tension may create a climate of violence. Yet it appears that women suffer more because men draw their strength from the Quran and the interpretation of the Islamic laws mentioned earlier that reinforce the persistence of patriarchal ideologies.

### **1.5.3 The Family Code**

The Algerian institutions and laws including the family code are applied all over the Algerian territory including Kabylia. However, in this area, its applicability is contingent upon the customary law and traditions of each family, tribe or village.

## **1.6 Family Hierarchy and Kinship**

It is imperative to explain how the Kabyle family net is weaved and how this imposes different relationships of domination, affection, respect, indulgence, and so on. It will make it easy for both the researcher and the reader to understand the different issues in the tales and poems that make up our corpus.

In Kabylia, the extended family is the basic social cell “It is not reduced to the group of spouses and their direct descendants, but brings together all agnates, so that it unites, under one head, several generations in an association and intimate communion”<sup>19</sup> (Bourdieu, 1958, p. 34).

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<sup>18</sup> The Berbers of the Maghreb such as the Kabyles feel victims of Arabity and accuse the Arabs of having falsified the history of this region after conquering it under the flag of Islam and Islamic conquests. The first inhabitants of Algeria were Amazigh Berbers (Kabyle, Chaoui, Mozabit ...) Arab-Islamism deprived the Berber people of the knowledge they had of themselves, their language, their past culture. This led to the fact that many Algerians today know nothing or little of their past culture.

<sup>19</sup> Trans mine

The cohesion of the members of the family is reinforced by the unity of the habitat which is still preserved today in most households of Kabylia and also in big cities but to a lesser extent compared to the past. In Kabyle, this type of homes is called *Axxam*<sup>20</sup> *n'laayal* or *Axxam n' Wacul* (house of a big family) where generally many individuals live. Single or married, the individual is always linked to the agnatic group and subject to the same paternal authority. The purpose of this kind of organizations is to give the group the greatest possible strength.

As Dujardin (2002) demonstrated, Kabyle social structures are organized in Kabylia in a sense that gives recognition to the superiority of age and, to the male sex. In other words, within the family sphere, the position of any member obeys a double hierarchy:

- A hierarchy based on age that imposes that the youngest shall obey and respect the eldest;
- A hierarchy based on sex; in this case, men dominate and rule women's lives as it is a patriarchal system.

The typical Kabyle family is composed of the parents, their sons, their daughters-in-law and their grandsons. In recent years, the number of these large, extended families is more and more reduced especially in the cities. Some young couples prefer to have their own independent houses to have more privacy or to avoid some conflicts with the other members of the family, and other couples are forced to move away because of some socioeconomic conditions or occupational and educational enquiries.

### 1.6.1 The Grand Parents

Both grandparents are supposed to be well cherished and loved because they are considered as the *Baraka*<sup>21</sup> of the house and each member seeks their benediction and prayers.

#### 1.6.1.1 The Grandfather/ Father-in-Law

All the members of the family are under the direction of the master of the house, the eldest man called *Amyar* (meaning the old man or the woman's father-in-law). He is the one who represents his family in the different village meetings, in *Tajmaat* or special events. Even if -due to his age- he is no more the breadwinner, all the members of the family have to respect him, respect

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<sup>20</sup> X= خ / x/ The voiceless velar fricative

<sup>21</sup>Bless

his decisions and take his opinions and advice into consideration. This is imposed by the Kabyle customary law and by tradition.

In literature, there is often a particular character called “*Amyar Azemni*<sup>22</sup>” known for his wisdom, and who is introduced to the supernatural world’s secrets and who advises and helps the heroes to fulfil their adventures. In real life, an intelligent and cunning boy may be sarcastically nicknamed *Amyar Azemni* because he surpasses his age or because he meddles in the adults’ business.

When *Amyar* is no more able to fulfil his roles because of his advanced age or serious sickness, the eldest son takes over and replaces his father. On the other hand, the eldest unmarried daughter or the eldest daughter-in-law takes things in hand when *Tamghart* (the feminine form of *Amyar*) is unable to rule the feminine world.

#### 1.6.1.2 The Grandmother/Mother-in-Law

The Husband’s mother rules the feminine sphere composed of her daughters and daughters-in-law and sometimes of her granddaughters too.

“Often, women (especially mothers-in-law), whose advanced age makes it possible for them to have a certain ascendancy over the youngest and who often abuse of the status of “tutors” become a relay of male domination, and are overwhelmed with reproach by the youngest”<sup>23</sup>. (Tabti Koudri, 2009, p. 222).

The word “*Tamghart*”<sup>24</sup> has two different connotations based on the gender of the user; it is negative when used by a woman and positive when used by a man. When used by a woman, this term may highlight “the disadvantages of a social relationship compromised by the authoritarianism often shown by older women against the youngest” (ibid, p. 225), especially when it comes to their daughters-in-law. For men, on the other hand, the same term evokes kindness and maternal tenderness and refers to the one who, in their absence, protects their interests and ensures that their honour is not violated by their wives (ibid).

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<sup>22</sup> Wise, knowledgeable and witty man

<sup>23</sup> Trans.mine

<sup>24</sup>The old woman, or the mother in-law

The grandchildren, depending on the region in Kabylia, call their grandmother *Setti*, *ğida*, *Yaya*, *heppou* or even *Yemma*<sup>25</sup>. The Kabyle Grandmother enjoys an important social status vis-à-vis her grandchildren. She is the counsellor and the protector as much as the mother; she is sometimes entrusted with secrets that one would not dare to share with her/his mother.

*Tamgharth* may be considered as a true domestic or family priestess when it comes to accomplishing the different rituals and traditions; she is also considered by the Kabyle community as a good luck charm that's why she attends deliveries and she is the one who mixes and applies the *henna* on the bride's palm.

Being *Tamghart* 'an old woman' frees her from the weight of traditions and customary laws that are imposed on younger women and girls, Yacine (1992) argues that even though old women are not watched despite the freedom that has been attributed to them, they are accustomed to certain incorporated practices that they embraced through cultural socialization, and which would be very difficult for them to break.

### 1.6.2 The Parents

Kabyle children are brought up and taught to respect their parents and the Kabyle code *Taqvaylit*. It is generally the mother who takes care of raising and teaching her children because they are with her at home, whereas men are also recognized for their roles as fathers, even though they are not always there to fulfil their duties towards their children as long as education is concerned, for they may be absent all day long or all over the week because of their occupations and jobs outside the house.

The mother is the sole responsible for the child in the first years of his life until becoming mature. This latter is surrounded by the constant attention of her/his mother. The mother assumes the education of her boys until puberty, and that of her daughters until their marriage. Maternity thus is not reduced to the nurturing role of women since it always involves an education that is as rigid for boys as it is for girls. Numerous songs and lullabies produced by mothers illustrate the maternal love and the spiritual education a woman gives to her kids. A Kabyle proverb says "*taqcict ateqim taqcict alma temmuth, aqcic adyeqim d aqcic alma yezwej*" that literally means that a daughter remains a kid until her death, and a son remains a kid until his marriage; this is a double entendre that might mean that a woman is considered as

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<sup>25</sup> All those appellations are the equivalent of grandma and granny

an eternal immature or minor individual who needs her parents' advice and guidance throughout her life as it may also mean that parents due to the customary law of honour keep looking after their daughter and her needs regardless her age and status.

The mother plays the role of a mediator between her kids and their father. Notions like respect create a distance between the father and his sons (little boys and young men too), and it is the mother who transmits to the father his sons' thoughts and requests without necessarily intervening or giving her point of view. Yet, the social organization of the family creates another kind of relationship between the mother and the son, different from the one between the son and his father; sons indeed respect their mothers too; however, women can use their sons and manipulate them to inverse the social order or reproduce it according to her needs. (See some instances in the corpus). This mother tries to gain authority over the manipulation of her children, which allows her, for instance, to dominate and manage the life of the daughter-in-law by her own will. Reproduced injunctions are ensured at the same time as the system of domination is exercised by male power, as Lacoste Dujardin has confirmed: «social reproduction is ensured, at the same time as male domination, by the fact that women accept subservience in motherhood where they benefit by taking advantage, as mothers, of the system»<sup>26</sup>(Lacoste-Dujardin, 1985, p. 134).

As already mentioned, maternity is the primary and eminent recognized function of women in patriarchal Kabylia and more particularly when they give birth to boys; and the relationship between the mother and her child, especially a son, is sung in many poems. Each woman during her lifetime, especially those living in the villages and still abide by the patriarchy and which are unfortunately of a significant number, wait for the moment they give birth to a baby boy, which allows them to acquire the status of “mother of the boy”.

### **1.6.3 The Siblings**

Kabyles highly value children and consider them as a blessing and as gifts from God and they are considered as family wealth. Howbeit, as is the case in many societies, for many Kabyles the values of male and female offspring are not the same and so is the way they are brought up and taught.

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<sup>26</sup> Trans .mine



### 1.6.3.1 Girls

Throughout our readings and all that has been said earlier about the social organization of the traditional family which is based on the age and gender parameters, there is no doubt the daughters are the weakest members of the line. They are raised to be hard workers, serious, and sober inside the household, and more importantly to be submissive to their fathers and brothers. They are also encouraged to be patients and learn how to bear problems and domination,

“The mother, therefore, makes sure to put her daughter in the school of submission, to force her, to tame her personality, to break all inclinations for independence. She also works to convince this girl that she is in danger, that she, herself, is a danger, that she must therefore distrust herself, that she is a being marked by a fundamental disability, different from men, inferior to men, and forced to live under their protection. In this agnatic society which stifles personalities, where individuals have to forget their own desires to slip into roles which they must assume for the greater glory of the patrilineage, the little girl, then the young girl is the weakest element, liable to compromise at any time and most seriously the group”<sup>27</sup> (Dujardin, 1985, p. 67).

The life of young Kabyle women and girls is a series of prohibitions, with which they must cope or juggle to satisfy their desires to live and love. Lies and manipulation are often the only remaining solution to the girls, the use of these methods and solutions may complicate their lives, put them at risk and create sensitive concerns of consciousness vis-a-vis the people they care about.

Girls were taught the rules of politeness and decency, be it in their speech or behaviours, the knowledge they learnt used to be all related to housekeeping and cooking while their brothers used to go to schools or mosques to learn about life and sciences. Yet, recently, from the independence of Algeria on, Kabyle girls started to go to schools gradually. The girls of Marabouts constituted the greatest majority of the girls who were not introduced to schools, and the lucky ones who had the chance to study were obliged to let down once at the age of marriage. This is what explains that non-Marabout women hold much more positions at the workplace compared to the Marabouts, not only that, but most of the working Marabout women belong to the young generation while many non-Marabout working women are aged, this is a

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<sup>27</sup> Trans. mine

result of the fact that Kabyle women were introduced to schools many years before the Marabouts started to introduce them to schools.

Despite the craving of women to have a son, the daughter is considered as her mother's partner, as they share each other's concerns and secrets, and support one another mutually.

### **1.6.3.2 Boys**

The principal virtues seem to be given to boys since they are the ones who guarantee the continuity and persistence of the lineage because they hold the name of the ancestors and transmits it to their descendants.

They are brought up to be dominant, virile and brave because they have to gain the respect of their compatriots and other men; for, the position of a man influences and reflects the position of his family among the other families of the village. Nevertheless, even though boys have the privilege of being outside of the house they are constantly watched by their adult relatives or neighbours.

Boys are taught to keep a certain distance when dealing with women and girls, and their relationship with their mothers differs from the one a mother has with her daughter. Once an adult, some distance is created between the son and his mother, as he integrates the world of men, she keeps being the mediator between him and his father in some matters. However, he learns to be less attached to her otherwise he will be seen as weak and fragile and lacks manhood.

## **1.7 The Impact of Marital Status on Women's life**

It is instrumental to define the different social statuses of the Kabyle woman - as she is the user and producer of our corpus- in order to understand her implication in the creation of different meanings found in the corpus especially in the body of poems.

### **1.7.1 Being a Single Woman**

In the Kabyle customary law, women (girls actually) were wedded at early ages, between twelve and fourteen. It was a strategy to ensure that honour and pride are protected. As in Messaoudi's (1995) words, in ancient Kabylia single woman or unmarried girls were considered as time bombs, for it is considered that their bodies were subject to different types of harassment, and

thus shame and dishonour. From this perspective, the imposition of a marriage on the girl was the solution. Yet, according to Saadi (1991), the precocity of marriage which was thirteen years old for those who lived under customary law changed. The marriage age was raised to seventeen and eighteen for women who lived under the formal and customary law of the '60s and '70s. This is justified by the acquisition of women of a certain level of education thanks to schooling that is reinforced by the central Algerian authorities, which has enabled all women of all backgrounds to get free education. From the '90s to the present day, the visions have changed and early age marriage is no more accepted by both customary and formal laws.

Additionally, even though there are no official statistics, there is an important number of unmarried women and many social and racial factors are behind this high rate of celibacy among Kabyle women. Some causes are listed below:

- Celibacy was accentuated due to women's confinement at home especially for those who did not exercise any activity. Those women used to see the outside only on very distinct occasions. The chances of having a suitor were then few.
- Many Kabyle families stick to the notion of purity of lineage and refuse to marry off their daughters to non-Kabyles because their descendants will belong to the non-Kabyle community. Others dare not marry off their daughters to non-Kabyles because they believe that the traditions and values are not the same, which might put the two families into conflicts and negatively influence the couple due to a possible clash of cultures.
- Most Marabouts, who still think that they are the nobility of Kabyles, strictly refuse to marry off their daughters to non-Marabouts even if they are Kabyles.
- Other intriguing reasons which may cause some women not to marry are related to the norms of beauty. Beauty in Kabylia is mainly synonymous with the whiteness of the skin in particular and blondness in general. Though this criterion may be of no importance when it is a love marriage, when women are in charge of finding a suitable wife for their sons, the first thing they insist on -after asking about her family, her reputation and education- is her skin complexion. Nevertheless, many single Kabyle brunettes who are very pretty and charming, educated and decent have difficulty getting married just because they have an excess of melanin in their skin which made of them unsuitable candidates especially when it is an arranged marriage.

The other common reasons behind this high number of bachelorettes are universal, some women stay single by choice for they prefer to celebrate their freedom, others are fully devoted to their jobs and careers, let alone those who believe in love and prefer to wait for it rather than getting hitched through an arranged marriage.

The misfortune of unmarried aged women is expressed through the feeling of exclusion and marginalization especially on the social level. Because, as it was mentioned over and over through the different sections of this chapter, Kabyles venerate marriage and childbirth. Furthermore, women who never get married and who make a career and good social relationships or who have spare time and money to take care of themselves are envied by married women who devote themselves to take care of their children, keep the house, and bear the injustice in their couples. Therefore, those feelings of jealousy and envy create a kind of rivalry between the two categories and the single successful woman becomes unpopular in her entourage.

The immediate family of this never married and aged woman will also be virulent, will make her feel guilty and blame her for not being able to find a husband or for missing good opportunities. They may blame her for wasting her time on making a career and so on. Despite the fact that things are changing -especially in the urban areas, and that it is very common to cross unmarried women who are successful, run their lives and support their families better than their brothers do-, whenever the family members gather, she is reminded of her celibacy and talked to as if she had failed and missed her life just because one reason or another be it by choice or not made of her a spinster.

### **1.7.2 Being a Married Woman**

She seconds her husband in the management of provisions and ensures custody and parsimonious distribution. Yet, even when married, the young girl will not find the independence and freedom of which her family somehow deprived her; as Bourdieu (1958, p. 14) puts it “Marriage releases the woman from the absolute authority of her father only to deliver her to the complete domination of her husband or, more exactly, of her husband's group, and especially of her mother-in-law, she owes obedience and fidelity”.

The girls are transitional elements of the family and before they join the husband's family they need to be prepared for their “future state of young brides in the house that will receive them

and where they will have to serve all, to bend to another female domination, much worse: that of their mothers-in-law” (Lacoste-Dujardin 1985, p. 68).

The conflicting relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is well known in traditional Kabyle society, and even at the universal level. In the Kabyle family, the mother-in-law holds the authority to marry off her son with the girl of her choice, and this latter owes her obedience and absolute respect.

Once married, she will set her schedule according to her husband and children’s needs; she must obey her husband and behave according to his wishes. The oppression of women in this chapter of life is ensured by her husband if not by interfering in her decisions, moves, and discourses, it would be by reminding her that her role is to take care of the children and the household and that she depends on him because he is the breadwinner. Even though things changed, and men start rethinking the position and roles of women, and Kabyle women have invaded the universities and the different workplaces, whenever labour division topic is tackled, men bring up the idea that the primary role of a woman is motherhood and the devotion to her husband and that her professional success and contribution in the expenses are just optional and secondary.

Nowadays, many Kabyle men encourage feminist movements and women who seek their independence and who have their fates between their hands, but when it comes to their own wives, mothers, sisters or daughters, some of those men change their positions and the hidden macho submerges into the surface because what fits the others do not fit their own women.

### **1.7.2.1 Being the Wife of an Emigrant**

In the past, Kabyle men used to leave the village for long weeks or months to look for work opportunities outside Kabylia; and during their absence, their wives and children remained with the extended family where they were taken care of and supported. During the time of the French occupation of Algeria and even after the independence, some Kabyle men migrated to France (and to some other neighbouring European countries) in the quest for better opportunities. In the meanwhile, their wives suffered a lot and were disheartened because of doubts and despair.

In some cases, the woman was abandoned for more than five or 10 years, and despite that, she remained faithful and sacrificed her youth and her life waiting without knowing how this would end. There have been many sad instances where the women discovered or learned about the

unfaithfulness of her husband during his stay abroad, and regardless of what she endured as suffering, pain, and disappointment, she protected her honour and her husband's by remaining silent. Women whose husband left for many years without giving any news are called "widows without death".

After the independence of Algeria, the Kabyle society experienced two types of emigration: a selective emigration which is exclusively for men and which existed way before, and a global and massive emigration which concerns the emigration of entire families and which exists nowadays.

Among men, it is the youngest that often leave. Initially, it is planned to be a temporary emigration, then it extends to retirement. Most of them work abroad for eleven or twelve months and return to the homeland to stay for one month. During their absence, the family waits for them to celebrate certain events such as marriage, and circumcisions; and the "male" matters are left pending until their arrival. During their absence, letters were sent back and forth, they are also used to send money regularly.

Exile and emigration inspired the emigrants, their parents, and their wives, and some heart-breaking poems were produced. On the one hand, the emigrant externalized his deprivation of his family and the hard conditions he went through. Forced to be far from his beloved wife, the man is also obliged to resign himself and waits to meet up with his wife again. On the other hand, his wife who remained in the country expressed her feelings as she and her children were deprived of his presence. Women voices and songs are testimonies to their heartbreak; they recount the story of emigration and the possible presence of a European woman in their husbands' lives. Despite that, those women keep waiting for their husbands. To put it in a nutshell, emigrant men who lived as exiled experimented that physically, however, women suffered from the exile psychologically too.

### **1.7.3 Being a Widow**

As in most societies, in Kabylia, widowhood is hard to bear; however, the situation is different according to sexes. A widower is prompt to remarry because it is considered that a man cannot stand without an active wife, often a young one, to take care of him, his needs and his house. In contrast, women, who are usually younger than their husbands are, not only more exposed to widowhood, but they are also not easily remarried because men prefer to marry a maiden, and sometimes it is their mothers who insist on that. In the traditional Kabylia, the widow may

be excluded from the marriage market by her status as a mother who has to raise the child of her husband, especially if he is a boy.

A widow has to cope with many social and economic challenges, she either moves to live with her parents and brothers or stays at her in-laws' as -after her husband's death- she is said to be released from masculine domination and control, which permits her to create disorder and mess around her.

The widowed woman in Kabylia always kept the right to leave or stay in the conjugal house. Howbeit, she may also find herself with no funds and resources. In addition to that, in some Kabyle regions and households, if a widow decides to leave her husband's house and join her parents, she has to leave her children at their father's family, because it is not bearable for them that their descendants and heirs will be brought up by strangers. Yet, to avoid those issues the Kabyles adopted the levirate marriage<sup>28</sup> of which the researcher's grandfather is a fruit. In some cases, a widow finds herself alone with her children in her husband's house, especially when her family or family-in-law or both live somewhere else. Herein, in order to survive, the widow has to work. In Kabylia, a widow who does not own a permanent job usually earns money through knitting, embroidery, and babysitting. She can harvest and cultivate others' gardens and fields, and her children may be employed as shepherds.

However, from a gender perspective, it is important to note that the relationship between the sons and their single mother is in most cases much stronger and tighter than any other mother-son relationship, that is why generally a widow's or a divorced woman's son is not a potential husband.

Widowhood in Kabylia played an important role in boosting the consciousness and the will of women to be autonomous and to have their own careers. The war of Algeria against the French occupation left many widows in the region, and even though the Algerian government afforded those women with alimony, most of them worked to be financially independent. They run their lives and had their fates between their hands, all by being respected by the members of the village as they were the widows of the men who freed the country and they were both the woman and the man to their children. So, in this respect, these windows were the astonishing modal that awakened women and raised their consciousness to rethink their lives and realize

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<sup>28</sup> See the preceding pages

that, in fact, it is possible for a woman to survive without a man, to be independent and autonomous.

#### 1.7.4 Being a Divorced Woman

Marriage cannot be broken unless the husband decides so. However, the Algerian law recognized women the possibility to ask for separation or divorce. In Kabylia, this remains very badly seen and frowned upon and it is not very common, as fathers and brothers do not encourage their daughters and sisters to ask for a divorce in tribunals and courts that are considered places of humiliation. First, because of the judge's comments and then, because of the miserable pension of food for a divorced woman with her child that's symbolic and not enough. the honour and dignity of the Kabyle family encourage and favours the kind of divorce by mutual consent and away from courts.

The Causes of divorce or repudiation are due to a strong disharmony and misunderstandings, or supposed female's sterility because in Kabylia as in many other societies it is still difficult for men and their mothers to recognize that it may be him who is sterile.

Disharmony and misunderstandings may occur when the wife and husband do not choose each other (an arranged marriage) or when a third person get involved in the matters of the couple and cause misunderstandings and nonsense quarrels between the wife and her husband.

If Kabyles rarely get married to more than one woman at once, it is not rare that a couple would not stay tight for the whole life. In the past, repudiation was an easy decision, especially when a wife doesn't give birth in the first year of her marriage or when she gives birth to a baby girl.

In Kabylia, when a woman realizes that her marital relationship is auto-destructive, she has the right to leave her husband's house, it is somewhat a "right to rebel", and in this case, she is called *tamnafeqt* (the insurgent). In the past when a woman was married to a man she did not want, she could leave him, this could happen anytime, sometimes, right after the wedding day (the researcher's paternal grandmother did it twice, she left the day after the wedding night and her two marriages were not even consumed). She can also leave because of disagreements with the mother-in-law. The conflict can be resolved and a solution for *Tamnafeqt* can be found through an arrangement between the two families, sometimes requiring the intervention of a third person. This might lead to the dissolution of the marriage too.



The woman can also ask for a divorce, but then, many forms of oppression appear. First of all, she may be legally oppressed, for, despite the fact that the family law gives her the right to ask for a divorce, this won't be possible unless a legally admissible cause is given. The family law in 2006 makes it possible for women to ask for a divorce without evoking any cause through *khol'â*, which could be done by giving an amount of money to the husband, though.

Nevertheless, a divorced woman has to face and cope with some socio-economic oppression. If she is freed from marital oppression, both society and family may practice other forms of oppression on her to control this liberation or to make her feel guilty. If she returns to her family's household, she and her children would be treated as a burden, and she might be blamed even if it is her husband who divorced her. In traditional Kabylia, it was not acceptable or even thinkable that a divorcee takes a house apart and raises her children by herself without the presence of a male tutor. With time things have changed (especially in the cities) and the divorcee can have her own house and live alone with her children, especially if she is capable of supporting her children financially and cope with some possible intrusive derogatory and offensive comments around her.

According to the customary law, children belong to their paternal family, and in the case of repudiation or widowhood, women were obliged to leave their children at their father's house, unless if the child is still being breastfed. The Algerian family code grants widowed or divorced women the right to keep their children until a non-given age. In Kabylia this varies from one family to another and according to their traditions or according to the mother's marital or financial situations. That is why it is difficult to find out how child care is truly regulated in Kabylia.

### **1.8 The Gender-Based Celebrations and Children-Related Rituals**

The cultural stock of a population which is created by man and is part of his identity is transmitted through generations. However, in the era of globalization and advanced technology, specific cultures and thus, rituals, practices and celebrations are threatened.

Rituals represent a set of specific, established practices and beliefs; magical or religious. They are also collective procedures regulated by established rules, in order to control some events and phenomena, they may be steps believed to be necessary for achieving a certain goal.

The Kabyle culture has many manifestations or rituals transmitted by the ancestors, such as the rite of the harvest and the cherry festival.

During the lifetime of a Kabyle, three types of rituals are identified: the rituals of passage, the rituals of separation and the rituals of institution). Those different types of rituals are practised according to age, gender and specific stages in the individual's life. They are complementary and they sometimes overlap, for instance, the rituals of separation may include some rituals of the institution which themselves may include rituals of passage and vice versa.

- The rites of separation are symbolic constructions of borders between males and females, mothers and sons and so on. They are based on the body.

“it is brought about and culminates in a profound and durable transformation of bodies (and minds), that is to say, in and through a process of practical construction imposing a **differentiated definition** of the legitimate uses of the body, in particular, sexual ones, which tends to exclude from the universe of the feasible and thinkable everything that marks membership of the other gender -and in particular all the potentialities biologically implied in the 'polymorphous perversity', as Freud puts it, of every infant -to produce the social artefact of the manly man or the womanly woman” (Bourdieu 1998/2001, p. 23).

- The rite of passage is a concept developed by A. Van Gennep (1909)<sup>29</sup>; it is qualified as statutory because, through it, the person reaches a specific social position. In fact, the rites of passage, allow a social transition from one social status to another, they ensure the institution and the legitimization of the social statuses and thus assign social oppositions (Woman/ man, single/married, sterile/ fertile...).
- The rites of institution according to Bourdieu (ibid) “occupy a place apart, by virtue of their solemn and extraordinary character” (p. 24) because according to this same author:

“they aim to set up, in the name of the whole assembled community, a sacralising separation not only, as is suggested by the notion of the rite of passage, between those who have *already* received the *distinctive mark* and those who have *not yet* received it, because they are too young, but also and more importantly between

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<sup>29</sup> (Cited in Mary Luce Gelard ,2003)

those who are socially worthy to receive it and those who are *forever excluded* from it” (Bourdieu op. cit. p. 24)

For instance, girls are excluded from the rite of circumcision and males are excluded from the rite of pregnancy. Rites of institution are teachings and directives that one shall learn according to his status, gender, and age.

What matters to us in social rites is not what is done, or what is said during the ceremony, but how they treat men and women. Those rites which are sex-based, in type and practice, highlight the difference between the sexes. Below, some instances of gender-specific rites are defined.

### **1.8.1 Boys-Specific Rituals**

The male-specific rituals aim to ensure the masculinisation of the boy and mark the transition to the male’s world progressively from birth to adulthood. Some of them are practised just to celebrate the male’s presence.

#### **1.8.1.1 Birth**

Traditionally, when a baby boy is born, a dish called *barkukes*<sup>30</sup> is prepared, in the hope of having more and more baby boys which will be as numerous as the particles of the *barkukes dish*. On the seventh day, a ceremony is made and chickens, sheep, or oxen –depending on the financial situation of the family–are slaughtered, and relatives and neighbours are invited to the meal. In some regions, some makeup is applied to the baby’s face so that he looks like a girl. This rite’s purpose is to avoid the bad eye of the guests who will see him.

#### **1.8.1.2 Separation from the Mother**

Countless rites aim to separate the boy from his mother as she represents femaleness. Those rites are performed using objects made with fire or of bladed shapes to symbolize cutting which refers to male sexuality such as a knife, or a dagger. For instance, Kabyles in some regions used to put a carding comb, a large knife, or other male objects to separate between a mother and her newborn baby. Those rites of separation are, in Bourdieu's words

“[practised] in order to break free of their quasi-symbiosis with their mother and to assert their own sexuality, are expressly and explicitly accompanied and even organized by the group, which, in the whole series of sexual rites of institution oriented towards virilisation” (Bourdieu. op.cit, p. 25).

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<sup>30</sup> It resembles to couscous but his particles are of a larger diameter.

### 1.8.1.3 The first Haircut

It is one of the rites that are considered of both passage and the separation. Generally, at *Yennayer*'s<sup>31</sup> eve (the night from the eleventh to the twelfth of January), the young boy gets his first haircut. His father or his grandfather perform the inaugural cut using a male instrument such as scissors or razors, and often the mother keeps the cut tuft of hair as a souvenir. This moment is called *el-aazla g ennayer* which literally means the separation of *Yennayer*. As, long hair refers to femaleness, the importance of the rite of the first cut is to separate the boy from the world of women and of females in general (separation), and to introduce him symbolically to the world of men (passage).

### 1.8.1.4 The First Visit to the Market

It is one of the rites of passage, institution, and separation. It is performed on two different occasions according to the region and the age of the boy. In some regions, it takes place on *Yennayer* day (the twelfth of January) which is the day after the haircut ceremony. If the boy is too young (less than 5 years old), the market rituals are postponed for the following years. In other regions, this ritual takes place on *Tassewiqt*'s<sup>32</sup> day.

The entry to the market which was men-exclusive in the past meant the separation from the word of women (the house) and the passage to men's.

Before the boy leaves the house, he is handed a mirror, a dagger, and a padlock. His mother after dressing him in new clothes puts an egg in his *Burnous*'s<sup>33</sup> hood or his pocket.

At the gate of the market, the boy breaks the egg and opens the padlock (those two acts refer to manly acts of defloration). After that, he looks at himself in the mirror "which, like the threshold, is an operator of reversal" (Bourdieu op. cit). Then, he is introduced to the other men,

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<sup>31</sup>The 12 of January coincides with the first day of the first month of the year in the Berber calendar, this month is called *Yennayer* and at its eve Berbers make different celebrations and practice different rituals. In 2018, the Algerian institution declared the 12/January as a national holiday for the Berber (Amazigh) culture is part of the national identity

<sup>32</sup> Derives from the word *Suq* and it means to go to the market the day before the second annual Muslim's feast called *aid El Adha* (on this feast day a sheep is slaughtered in recognition of Abraham's prophecy). On *Tassewiqt* day men go to the *Suq* to buy the necessary supplies and the tools needed for *aid El Adha* celebrations.

<sup>33</sup> From the Berber *abernus*. A long cloak of coarse woollen fabric with a hood, usually white in colour, worn by the Berbers and other Maghrebis. In the Maghreb, the colour of the *Burnous* is white, beige, or dark brown. The white *burnous* is worn during important events and by people with high positions: retrieved from Wikipedia

and on the way back home, his father or grandfather or both take him to buy an ox's head. This ritual determines the position of the would-be men among the heads of his tribe, so the boy is asked to choose one and the bigger is the chosen head the better it is. An ox is a phallic symbol and its horns symbolize virility and *nnif*. Being in the market, choosing an ox's head and watching the father while buying and bargaining teach the boy during this visit about the different deals which makes of the market ritual a ritual of the institution.

#### **1.8.1.5 The Circumcision**

It is the ritual of masculinisation par excellence. The boy is symbolically torn from the maternal and female world by circumcision. This ceremony and practices from which women are excluded have the function of integrating the boy into the world of men. It is considered as a second birth. In the past, it was performed on boys aged between five and six, but in present times, it is performed at very early ages. Those who follow the *Sunnah* have their baby boys circumcised the seventh day after their births.

Before circumcision, the mother directs the first rites called in Kabyle "purification". She washes her son and gets him dressed. After that, she puts the *henna* on his hands (in some region it is the grandmother or the grandfather who applies *the henna*). Accompanied by gunshots, music, and women's songs, those rites and celebrations emphasize the analogy between circumcision and the marriage ceremony.

#### **1.8.1.6 Marriage**

Marriage is the union of the masculine and the feminine, and during the rituals, most of the practices are done in pairs such as the slaughtering of two oxen or two sheep, or the fire shots in an even number. In some regions, a pot of legumes is placed under the couple's bed as legumes represent fertility; in other regions, a lamp is kept glowing all over the wedding night as it symbolizes men's virility. The wedding night confirms or invalidates the sexual virility of the man. Impotence emasculates man, and because of this, he loses his male domination as "sterility leads to the disappearance of the lineage, the break of indivision, and undoubtedly, constitute the main factors of the transformations of the economic and social hierarchy"<sup>34</sup> (Makilam, 1999, p. 314).

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<sup>34</sup> Trans. mine

## 1.8.2 Girls-Specific Rituals

According to Makilam (1996), women's activities are done according to a succession of four phases that reproduce the annual cycle of the seasons (solar cycle), and the four phases of the moon: appearance, growth, decrease, disappearance (lunar cycle). This relationship with the moon and solar cycles characterized the magical spirit of Kabyle women. The rites of birth and death that marked the beginning and end of a woman's life are compared to seasons. In other words, the woman through the different stages of her life (from birth to death) changes like the seasons, in this respect, she adopts the rhythms of the year to the annual rituals of her activities, in the sense that the rites that mark the stages of this cycle of femininity are magically found through the practical ritual of traditional activities. For instance, the woman is a potter, she makes clay jars and gives them shapes but she is also a potter of humanity (in her womb, a new human being “made out of clay too”<sup>35</sup> is created and given shape); she is a weaver who makes carpets and clothes by linking one thread to another, but she is a weaver of human bonds too, she makes sure that a good relationship is maintained in her family.

### 1.8.2.1 The First Menstruation

In the Kabyle logic, it is not through marriage or the loss of virginity that a girl acquires the status of a woman; actually, she becomes a woman the day of her first menstruation. To celebrate this occasion, a special meal used to be prepared and the girl was offered a red belt by her mother. The belt symbolizes female genitals and virginity; this latter is considered as the most precious symbolic capital<sup>36</sup> of a Kabyle woman.

### 1.8.2.2 Marriage

Marriage is a ritual of passage as it allows the passage to the sexual act for the man and the woman in a legitimate framework. This act and is not only disapproved and forbidden but also demonized outside this framework. Makilam (ibid) believes that the fertility of humans is renewed by the woman according to the lunar phases, which according to him, explains why the Kabyle weddings used to take place on a full moon day.

The wedding night is a crucial rite of passage for the woman. Her status changes from single to married, and a would-be mother. Her virginity (her symbolic capital) is the proof of her

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<sup>35</sup>Islamic beliefs: « Man We did create from a quintessence (of clay)” Surah Al-Mumenoon (The Believers)

<sup>36</sup> See chapter two

resistance to the temptation of the "male" and for that; she gets solid recognition and respect. If a woman loses her virginity before marriage, she will cause dishonour to herself and her family and this will lead to her repudiation. Those women are, according to Bourdieu, "failures in the social management of desire" (Bourdieu, n.d. qtd. as cited in Yacine, 1988, p. 12)

Among the marriage rituals, there are two which show to what extent society is gender-biased:

- The bride is not allowed to hold little girls on her lap during the week of the wedding ceremonies because they believe that this might lead her to give birth to girls.
- Once out of her parent's house, she is prohibited from looking behind her, because this may lead to her return to her parents' house, in other words, repudiation.

### **1.8.2.3 Pregnancy and Giving Birth**

The second phase of women's lives is pregnancy; women's wombs are compared to such as Cucurbitaceae, pomegranates, watermelon, melon, pumpkins, and cucumber as the number of the grains in those fruits and vegetables is associated with her ovules and thus fertility. Cucurbitaceae in a pregnant woman's garden used to be watched, it was believed that the more swollen they are, the better it is for her pregnancy and the baby's health inside her womb. The pregnant woman had to watch her flowers, once they grew up, she had to untie her belt secretly and silently in her garden, and otherwise, the development of the baby inside her womb would stop. Nevertheless, we have explained the metaphor of the potter and in this respect, a pregnant woman is forbidden from touching the clay or being close to someone doing that because modelling clay is associated with modelling or transforming the life of the child negatively. (Makilam, *ibid*)

After the delivery, the new mother and her child shall respect some rituals for a period of forty days, in association with the lunar star lifecycle (Makilam, *ibid*). During the three first days, neither the mother nor the newborn baby shall leave the bed or the house, and apart from the husband, it is traditionally forbidden to visit them or see the baby's face; that is why the baby's cradle is covered with a piece of fabric. During those three days, it is said that the mother and her child have a foot on earth and another in the grave which means that they are very sensitive to any external agents that may harm their health and lead to death. Like the moon that reappears after three nights of darkness, the woman and her child could appear and could be visited by close relatives after the third day. By the tenth day, the mother could cross the threshold of the house to go to the courtyard. Howbeit, she has to do it, armed with a lot of precautions, thanks

to magical rites. However, she could not leave the house before the fortieth day, this ends after a ritual outing to the fountain or by visiting a shrine. It was only (Makilam, *ibid*).

In Kabyle beliefs, a woman has never been sterile; she is fertile by nature, that's why some evil supernatural powers are believed to be the cause of the inability to conceive children. Makilam (*ibid*) explains to us that the impossibility or difficulty of becoming a mother is fought with magical rites that involve Mother Nature (as women and their wombs are always associated with nature). One among those rituals is the ritual of the water streams that run in caves and which can give back to the woman the power to become a mother again, for, the caves symbolize the womb and the waters that run inside them represent the vital liquids present inside the womb.

### **1.9 The Present Days Kabyle Society: Between Mutation and Resistance**

The causes of change are various such as terrorism and poverty that were behind the progressive emptiness of the villages from their inhabitants. On the other hand, the realm of modernization and globalization leaves no place for traditions that are less and less practised. The present-day Kabyle villages and lifestyle are in a continuous rupture with the ancient model that we were qualifying as "traditional" throughout this chapter. We are going to briefly display the mutations that took place on the different architectural, social, and economic levels even though we pointed to some of them earlier. We find it convenient to start with the rituals as they were the last point discussed here and this will make it easier for the reader to link the ideas.

Traditions and rituals are the fruit of the relationship of the Kabyles with nature, and their persistence depends on the persistence of this magical relationship. Undoubtedly, the rural exodus modified the vision of Kabyles to life; and the introduction of machines cut the cord that tied peasants with their fields. Nevertheless, the relationship between men and soil has changed. It led to indifference and unfortunately to acculturation in most villages. Indeed, the successive withdrawal of the agrarian rituals followed the abandonment of land, soil, and nature that are considered as the soul and spirit that keep the rituals alive. Besides, Kabyles adopted and adapted to other rituals and traditions through the unavoidable absorbance of the Islamic and religious rituals and the interaction with the Arabic culture. According to Pruvost (2002) and Bourdieu (1958), Islamic teachings have corrected or readjusted the vision of Kabyles to the agrarian rituals and lead to the relegation of some of them. The incorporation of Arab-



Islamic cultural capital<sup>37</sup> (values and morals) according to Chaker (1989a) is not the fruit of rural exodus and the omnipresence with non-Kabyles. He says that it wormed its way to the deepest corners of the Kabyle homes and villages through schools that impose the learning of Arabic and Islamic sciences and through the increased diffusion of the Arab-Islamic culture in the media.

To put it in a nutshell, the Kabyle society of today is torn culturally and socially between **the traditional values and traditions** that distinguished the Berber and their identity from others, **modernity** and its new values that contradict with the traditional ones and, the **Islamic teachings** that agree neither with the agrarian tradition nor with modernity.

Culturally, Tamazight or Berber culture has been wrapped up by the French and Arab-Islamic cultural capitals through a legitimized and imposed socialization, which according to Tassadit Yacine is “often experienced as a forced mutation” (Yacine, 2006, p.1).

One of the domains that show the readers an instance of cultural hybridity is the domain of fashion. In the streets of Kabylia, some women are perceived dressed in modern outfits such as skirts or jeans, but their legs and the middle section of their bodies are wrapped with a *fouða*<sup>38</sup>, this *fouða* is also used as a pinafore to protect women clothes while doing different activities. Everywhere in the world, Kabyle women are easily identified by the Kabyle jewellery made of silver and red coral and which is wearable with any type of outfits and for any occasion. Wearing this typical jewellery is a manner of claiming and screaming the Berber identity. Some brides switch the white wedding dress with the Kabyle dress made of silk fabric and colourful woollen zigzags as a sign back to tradition. The wearing of the Islamic veil was traditionally unknown in Kabylia, and despite the Islamization of the region, there is a timid promotion of the Islamic veil among Kabyle women and men because, first, they consider that the Kabyle outfit<sup>39</sup> represents them, in addition to the fact that it is already a very decent one; and second and more importantly because they relate the Islamic veil to Arab and middle eastern style that

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<sup>37</sup> For more details on cultural capital, See chapter two

<sup>38</sup> A traditional strapped orange and yellow piece of fabric worn on the Kabyle dress that it covers from belly to legs

<sup>39</sup> Mainly a long dress, ornamented with thin colourful straps called “zigzag” or with embroidery. The dress is covered by the *fouða*, and the head by a piece of fabric called *amendil* that covers the hair

is meant to cover the female bodies as a means of male oppression and which has nothing to do with Islamic dressing prescriptions.

Socially, there is a lot to say starting from the structure of the whole village to the organizations of families and individuals' lives.

At first sight, the most apparent change in the village is its physical and architectural structure. Many transformations are perceivable in the villages. Some of them are almost deserted because of emigration and the rural exodus; others are overpopulated thanks to their strategic position such as Tawrirt Mengellet. Inside the villages, there is an amalgam of modern and traditional architecture. Some ancient houses were razed and modern ones are built with reinforced concrete, tiles and paint following the occidental style, with more than one floor. The ancient ones that resist modernization and which are built with stone and clay have the same Kabyle architecture of the interior space like *asqif* (the front wall) and the interior courtyard around which are built the rooms that make up the house. However, with the growth of the family, some extra rooms are usually added around the courtyard. In the overpopulated villages, the narrowness of space obliged the inhabitants to build extra rooms above the ancient ones and in some houses; the courtyard is transformed into a room (often a living room). The *adaynin* (animal's hover) also has changed position, the inhabitants no more leave their cattle in the interior of the house; they are built outside the village, in the fields. When the space or the state of the ancient traditional house is not suitable for building extra rooms, new couples build their own either next to their parents' houses or in the borders of the village where they own a parcel of land. This phenomenon is behind the spreading of the village outside its traditional space and the fragmentation of the extended family which marks the first forms of autonomy. In the borders of some villages, some collective housings and buildings are noticed; they announce the beginning of the urbanization of the Kabyle villages. The transformation of the physical structure of the village has an impact on the social relations between the inhabitants.

*Tajmaat* membership and its schedules for instance witness a shift, because the fragmentation of the extended family and the settlements outside the village deprived *Tajmaat* of its symbolic value and authority, for, due to the distance and modern life commitment the members are less and less allegiant and engaged to meet regularly. The only members who remain faithful to *Tajmaat* are the elderly who try to preserve this ancestral institution as it bears many symbolic values. However, to preserve stability and order within the village, the inhabitants especially

the youth introduced a new form of the assembly called the “village committee”. It is a modern form of *Tajmaat* but it is quite more innovative in its modes of management and organization as it is coordinated by younger and more dynamic members without excluding the elderly of course. Each member has his roles and duties, the main permanent ones are the president, the vice president, the secretary, the treasurer, the accountant, the guardian of the sanctuary, and the owners of the bank account. This village committee is not yet widespread in all the Kabyle villages where *Tajmaat* still reigns.

As long as the family organization is concerned, the extended family prototype still exists in Kabylia, and it predominates in the villages. Despite the emergence of the nuclear family which is justified by demographic growth, and economic scarcity we cannot speak about social group destruction. It is true that the members of the new nuclear families move outside the extended family household to settle somewhere else in Kabylia or the different parts of Algeria or the world, and adapted to modern and urban modes of life, those members have not modified the internal structures of their families, the social and relational unit of the Kabyle community is not broken, because the traditional structure remains present in collective memories. In other words, the emergence of the nuclear family is not a rupture with the collective values and interests and the assignment of individuals to collective norms and community values remain essential such as patriarchy. Yet, some values have changed at the level of both the extended family and the nuclear one such as the rate of birth which keeps decreasing, Dujardin (2008) reports that in 1986, the fertility rate of Algerian women was around 9 children per woman, it fell to 7.7 in 1992 and to 2.5 in 2005, which means that twenty years have been enough for Algerian women to accomplish what French women have accomplished over two centuries. Parents-children relationships have also changed, there is more complicity wrapped by a veil of respect, obedience and *ḥacuma* (decency and bashfulness). Ergo, some old mothers, especially old ones are frustrated because traditionally, as it was explained, the individual belonged to the group and the decisions regarding his life were taken by that group according to what suits the stability of all, and mothers had a special relationship with their sons whom they manipulated and they used to take over and control the daughters and daughters-in-law. Women were considered to know more than their sons about the stability of the household and their sons used to abide by and so did their wives. However, the men of today no more want to be just the sons of their mothers, they want to be true husbands to their wives, that is to say, take over the control of the couple without getting their mothers involved. This means that the mothers are doubly frustrated: of a life of a couple according to the new ideology of autonomy,

and of the relationship with their children that is changing and which attenuates the symbolism of “mother of a son” that used to make women so proud.

Dujardin wrote a book in 1985 entitled *Des Mères Contre Les Femmes: Maternité et Patriarcat au Maghreb* that can be translated as Mothers Against Women: Maternity and Patriarchy in the Maghreb, this book speaks about the lives of women in the patriarchal oppressive societies but through some lines, Dujardin shows us that back in 1985 Maghrebi women in general and Kabyles in particular, were aware of the changes that shall occur at the levels of family, marriage and wife/ husband relationships to positively change the society. She reports,

“Mrs Laali and her daughter agreed that women should be educated, that they should have an occupation, choose the husband with whom they would share their life as a couple, and that they should decide about the number and the opportunities of their children” (Lacoste-Dujardin, 1985, p. 17)

Kabyle women have made Mrs Laali’s dream come true, they are studying, working, choosing their husbands and decide about their maternity and conception plans. The Kabyle woman has changed and this change has been progressing for two or three generations. The movements of the Kabyle population and the relationship with the West through emigration or media have transformed the Kabyle society. Looking at our grandmothers, I reckon that we will never be like them, they are unique, touching, brave and courageous for they have suffered from patriarchy, masculine domination and societal oppressive values on the one hand and the hostile mountainous environment on the other, which made their lives a routine of the difficult tasks of everyday life. Most Women in rural Kabylia now are liberated from the domestic harsh conditions with the availability of tap water and the installation of gas in some villages that spared them the chores of bringing and lifting the battles of gas and water for long distances.

The modern Kabyle woman is no longer the Kabyle woman of the past. Nowadays, she has changed thanks to her studies and paid work that helped in her emancipation, she imposes a different image and status. Some enter politics or hold key positions in large groups.

However, this is not the reality of all Kabyle women, some could fulfil half the dream of Mrs Laali, they could study for instance but they were not allowed to work or have an occupation, especially after getting married, and another category is still struggling to change their entourage for they live according to the medieval ages-like system, especially in rural areas.

Even though the conditions of Kabyle women are nuanced and differ from one family to another and from one area to another, there is something that gives us hope for a better future: most Kabyle men and women are aware that the relationships between the sexes and the divisions of space and labour that used to somehow suit the former Kabyle society's system are unsuitable in the new context and to the nowadays living conditions. Many things are called into question such as the distribution of respective roles between men and women in the society, the modalities of their relations, the terms of their agreements and the objectives of their lives together as couples.

Yet, what about the ancestral values, the customary law and the codes of honour? Have modernization changed the status of women and girls within the new nuclear families? The answer is that young girls and young women are still considered as the ones who threaten the family honour based on their behaviours, one single mistake might deprive the woman or the girl of her rights to study or work. As Gahlouz explains it:

“... by their sexual integrity which must be preserved and by the value attached to their purity, women are enveloped with a sacred character which is expressed through the concept of haram (prohibited),... translated by particularly severe requirements in the qanun-s (laws) set up with a founder principle: the defence of the honour” (Gahlouz, n.d. qtd. as cited in Boukhalifa, 2011, p. 517).

This means that Gender relations remain in the grip of the symbolism of collective norms, despite the modifications mentioned above and which have not touched the gender relations and the community's imaginary that reveres masculine supremacy, and reduces women to vulnerable but nefarious bodies. “In no way, the relations between men and women are radically different from what they were in the past” (Tassadit-Yacine, 2006, p. 1).

### **1.10 Conclusion**

The present chapter intended to provide the readers with an overall image of the situation of Kabyle women and how it is shaped by tradition, customs, laws, and religion. Before shedding the light on the portrayal of women; it was important to have a look at the socio-cultural landscape of the area to understand how the community has priority over the individual, the elder over the younger and the masculine over the feminine.

This chapter is a frame of reference and a repertoire that guides the reader to get into the swing of things so that to keep up with the contents of this research which deal with a Berber society.

The chapter also provided information on the objectives, the type, and approach of this research, it gave us a hint on the tools used and the corpus analysed in chapter three.

**Chapter Two: Literature review**  
**FCDA in Its Relation to the Social, Linguistic and Gender Factors in the Kabyle**  
**Feminine Literary Productions**

## **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter is a combination of four different sections, each of which tackles one of the main aspects upon which the current work is premised, in a move intended to provide the readers with the needed theoretical background knowledge to follow the present research as it develops. The first section addresses sociolinguistics and the linguistic market as defined by Bourdieu in general, and the negotiations of power through language use in particular, by spotting the light on the importance of language in the Kabyle society and how the right to speak is a matter of social status and gender. It also gives a spotlight on the language strategies used by women. The second section is dedicated to reviewing some of Bourdieu's concepts such as the habitus as exploring these constructs should help the researcher better interpret the behaviours and the processes of socialization that are expressed in the data the researcher gathers. This section presents a definition of the terms, reviews their principles, and functions, and addresses their effect on individuals; and how they can be used to study some learned gendered behaviours. The third section reviews the literature on critical discourse analysis and feminist critical discourse analysis and how the latter can be used to analyse the gender ideologies and stances in feminine works. Meanwhile, the last and fourth section is an attempt to help the readers explore the relationship between feminine oral productions, the expression of identity and the need for gaining space.

## **2.2 Language, Power and Gender**

### **2.2.1 Language**

Language is broadly defined as a means of communication, it is the expression of the mind's thoughts through words and utterances, as Aristotle put it ages ago "Spoken words are the symbols of mental experience, and written words are the symbols of spoken words"<sup>40</sup>. In ancient times, language was the equivalent of the official, legal documents, and contracts we are using now. In ancient Greece, people used to make deals and decisions such as voting through speech.

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<sup>40</sup> As cited in Richard McKeon (1941)

In fact, for a long time ago, language was quite enough as a skill in the political field not only in ancient Greece but also in the *Tajmaat* of Kabylia, where decisions are made and conflicts are solved orally. In other words, those who mastered the skill of speaking could influence and lead the group.

Language is a fascinating human faculty that is why it has always been a topic of debates and a rich field of research. The science of language is called linguistics. Its purpose is to give an image as accurate as possible of all aspects of the language or languages studied without favouring anyone. The method that linguistics follows is to consider language as an object of scientific knowledge, that is to say, that it analyses it during a rigorous intellectual process. Yet, researchers and scholars in the field saw that other points related to language must be highlighted and other parameters added, this gave birth to a number of subfields among which are modern linguistics, structuralism, pragmatics, and psycholinguistics.

Language is a social process that makes human interactions happen, that is why it is important to observe the language, the context, the environment and the users. Sociolinguists indeed are interested in studying the effect of social aspects on language use and form, such as cultural norms, class, gender, age, ethnicity, and status.

### **2.2.2 Language Value in Kabylia**

Oral tradition governed all the social, cultural and political activities in Kabylia for a very long time. Nevertheless, even with the presence of Marabout who mastered the writing and reading skills which they taught to men and the little boys in the *Zaouia* (Koranic school), the oral skill remained at the heart of the social activities and deals. In addition to that, the social order is not governed by written laws but by a spoken language, considered sacred because it is transmitted by the ancestors, that is to say, that an important value is given to discourse and the different forms of enunciation by the Kabyle social and cultural Code (Tabti-Kouidri, 2009). Following this line of thought, Mammeri argues that speech is so powerful in Kabylia that it is the master in the assemblies where people fight for and by words and sometimes one sentence is enough to solve a difficult situation (Mammeri, 1980b).

A Kabyle proverb says *bab awal medden yek ines* (he who has eloquence has everyone to him) which means that the one who masters the speaking skill (*bab awal*) can manipulate others



and win their respect and admiration and is often the one who holds power and decision making in the group.

Men occupy different positions in the social scale and this is determined by the degree of their mastery of the language. *Imusnawen*<sup>41</sup> (both knowledgeable and wise) stand at the top of the pyramid, after them, there are *Ifṣiḥen*, the poets that master the art of *Isefra* (poems wherein the expressions are loosened, unravelled, and elucidated). Among poets, we also distinguish the *meddah* and the *berrah* respectively the travelling poet and the Herald. (Bourdieu, 1980; Mammeri and Bourdieu, 1978).

As the possession of language codes is particularly valued, in some areas of Kabylia, it was common to send the eldest son to learn the art of speech from masters known as the blacksmiths of the language (*aḥeddad bbwawal*) (Yacine, 2011).

In Kabylia, the different individuals are so aware of the importance of language use and the manipulation of words and their meanings that they adopt different speech genres and strategies such as the direct and the indirect address. This varies according to the groups they belong to and which are mainly determined by age and gender.

The judicious choice between the speech strategies, especially the direct address and the indirect one, is of paramount importance in our language exchanges because a faux pas may lead to misunderstandings, frictions or conflicts. The direct address is self-evident and does not need to be defined, however, it is important to explain what is meant by the indirect act or address in our context. Actually, it has nothing to do with the reported speech; it is called indirect because it is based on the implicit and the unspoken (Yacine, 2011). It is best known as “*lamaun*” in Kabylia and the other parts of the Maghreb, this word derives from the Arabic word “*el-maana*” which means “meaning, significance”. This implies that rather than naming something, the speaker uses another word or expression that refers to it indirectly and implicitly. In other words, the meaning of the sentence is part of the meaning of the enunciation, the speaker says what he says but he wants, moreover, to insinuate/mean something else. Yacine (ibid) defines the indirect address as a way of showing that all thought is not “sayable” and that there is a language code that goes beyond the language and a meaning that transcends the supposed meaning.

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<sup>41</sup> Singulair form: *Amusnaw*

Everyday conversations and poems are full of instances of indirect address. The more a poem contains language games the more the poet is praised because it shows the richness and diversity of his/her cultural luggage which is not reducible to words alone or their original meaning. Moreover, the indirect address has many purposes and this depends on the intentions of the user. As mentioned before, it can be used to create a hierarchy of power among the speakers. Those who want to control the group or eliminate some members in a discussion are likely to use language games among themselves; and the ones who fail to understand the unsaid meanings are likely to stay in the margin, keep silent or quit the debate. It may also have a social function which is quite fundamental; the issuer in some situations uses indirect acts in conventional forms that do not correspond to its actual communicative intent in order not to offend his interlocutor especially when the issue is considered sensitive or personal (Yacine, *ibid*).

All in all, the indirect address which is based on the unsaid through the use of metaphors, imagery, idioms, irony, or humour reveals the linguistic and cultural competence of the issuer and the cognitive intelligence or wittiness of the receiver; this is prized but it is also feared because it contains pitfalls that may trap, mislead or belittle the interlocutors who fail to understand and thus respond appropriately.

### **2.2.2.1 Gender and the Right to Speak**

Speaking is one of the activities that abide by some rules and codes of honour and conduct. The interlocutor's age and gender determine his or her position in a group and thus her or his speech act spectrums. The institutions (society, traditions, and cultural codes) give individuals different status and consequently different forms of power. Only those who have the power, in fact, can have the effectiveness of their speech recognized and can be sure to succeed in their speech act. The more powerful the speaker is, the more s/he is listened to and the more his/her speech act is considered valid and accurate. Yet, if the status of the issuer gives him/her more rights to speak and determines the quality of his/her address, the reverse is correct; that is to say that those individuals hold this power because they are placed in institutions that guarantee them the recognition of their speech act<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup>*Langage et action : intentions, circonstances et conventions, à partir de J. L. Austin.* (2012). (cours de Master 2 No. 11). Université de Picardie

In patriarchal societies like Kabylia, the supremacy of men over women can be noticed on different occasions and at different levels. Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* states that men are considered as ‘the transcendent subject’ and women are nothing but the other’, she adds, that “She [woman] is defined and differentiated with reference to men and not with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute — she is the “other” (Beauvoir, 1949/2011, p. xxii)”. Observing language, speaking strategies and turn takings in a mixed-gender group conversation makes it, as Yacine (ibid) suggests, possible to understand the balance of power and the underlying cultural rooting. The customary law and its codes promote male domination and, in this respect, women are deprived of power and this deprives them of speech. Tabti-Kouidri (2009) adds that the Maghrebi society is in general extremely stratified as regards public speech: men have primacy over women and seniors over younger ones. Traditionally, women and children are deprived of speech and power because their saying is considered by men “at best as useless verbiage, without consistency, and without consequence, and at worst as an irresponsible and subversive word that threatens the balance of the group” (Tabti-Kouidri, 2009, P. 211) that is why it must be excluded from the public space and decision making centres such as *Tajmaat*.

Women are stereotypically portrayed as more psychologically unstable than men are because they are the subjects of their emotions and drives much more than men. This perception is behind ‘the male speech of yore’, which is unfortunately sometimes used by women themselves. It is a speech and expressions that belittle women’s mental capacities and, devalue their language and ideas. (Laib, 2011).

There are many collocations of the words man and language in Kabyle expressions, and this shows that in this region language is considered as a male prerogative. Among those expressions, we find "*argaz d awal mači d aserwal*" (It is by his word that a man is measured, not by his pair of trousers/accoutrement). This means that *argaz* (man) of honour must use language appropriately and if he gives his word to somebody, he must keep his promises. "*Argaz yettqabel*" (a man confronts, or looks straight at his interlocutor’s eyes while talking) is another expression that insinuates that a man must face his opponents and never hesitate if he wants to be socially recognized by his peers. Men are also compared to scissors, or the scythe

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because they are said ‘to slice their words’, in other words, they know what to say and when to say it, and can decrypt or decode an utterance loaded with allusions, parables, metaphors, and unspoken words (Yacine op. cit).

Women on the other hand, although considered as ‘culture makers’ through their poems and tales, they are silenced when it comes to serious matters and decision making. The women who can enjoy some verbal recognition and power are *timgharin* (old women especially grandmothers and mothers-in-law). The code of honour imposes on young women and girls to lower their voices in the presence of men, to never contradict them (husband, father, uncle, brother ...), or argue with them especially in public. However, women must not remain voiceless; expressing themselves enables them to be socially visible and allows them to become ‘subjects’ rather than ‘objects’ (Hooks, 1989). Kabyle women sometimes succeed to transform silence into language and thus into change, all by making sure not to transgress the codes of honour imposed on them and which directs their acts.

#### **2.2.2.2 Language Used by Kabyle Women**

The objective of discussing the specificities of women’s language is that it is one of the dimensions that facilitate the understanding of their oral literary productions’ discourse.

The social restrictions and rules imposed on Kabyle women regarding language use are behind the adoption of some speech strategies. Nevertheless, some women show some signs of linguistic insecurity. The linguistic insecurity we are talking about in this context has nothing to do with foreign-language speakers or public speaking anxiety; it is caused by asymmetrical social relations between men and women. Women suffering from linguistic insecurity think that their gender identity (females) makes them linguistically deficient, and their position as dominated makes them illegitimate speakers which negatively influence their psychological state and thus their speaking competencies. Mebtouch Nedjai explains that linguistic insecurity creates “feelings of discomfort and a fear of transgressing the rules of a speech prescribed by the social norms of good usage, compared to what is correct/incorrect, valued/devalued” (Nedjai-Mebtouche, 2011, p. 8). The fear of committing a linguistic or conversational mistake rises in front of those who represent the dominant model (males mainly), the most common signs of linguistic insecurity are hesitation. Some women unconsciously show their lack of self-assurance in different manners such as adding useless details and explanations; and in worst cases of linguistic insecurity, women avoid speaking and opt for silence to avoid putting

themselves in trouble, exclusion or humiliation. Silence in this case is considered as another strategy. Fortunately, not all women suffer from this insecurity, yet; to express their thoughts they opt for some conversational strategies among which is the indirect address. Yacine (op. cit) asserts that long-ago women were experts in this type of speech as they had no right to any other mode of expression. In fact, it was a good strategy for circumventing social and religious rules that constrain women's speech (Tabti-Kouidri, op. cit). Those rules define *tameṭut laali* (women of virtue) as a respectful and polite woman whose voice is rarely heard and who does not create problems around her (with her stepmother, sisters, sisters-in-law, neighbours....). Because a house where women engage in regular battles is very badly perceived by the inhabitants of the village or in the neighbourhood. In this respect, using the indirect address is considered a form of politeness, especially when making requests or talking about taboo topics. Women also use the indirect address to complain, to confront or reply to an offence all without sounding rude or openly transgressing the rules of good conduct. They strike without moving a limb or using a stick, they are said to strike with their tongues, innuendoes and metaphors. The most skilled ones were able to produce impressive poems that are worth a dozen of daggers.

To put it in a nutshell both men and women use the indirect address but for different purposes. Men use it to show their cognitive, cultural and linguistic capacities or to overpower the other men during debates; women, on the other hand, use the indirect address as a means of survival as they are aware that language is a double-bladed sword: if it does not help gain power, it becomes a cause of trouble.

The core question that shall be asked here is whether today's Kabyle women use the same speech strategies their mothers and grandmothers use or do they adopt other modes of expression. Before trying to answer this question, it is important to remind that today's Kabyle society is not homogeneous in terms of modes of life and norms. In fact, the traditional modal has not totally faded out and the modern one has not entirely dominated the scene. That is to say that Kabyle women of 2020 kind of live in two eras at the same time. A woman in her thirties has parents and grandparents who belong to the traditional category and she is married to a man, has brothers and sister and kids who belong to the modern one. The truth is that today's Kabyle women succeed to cope with both categories; they accommodate their speech according to the social norms their addressees are used to. When talking to the first category of the elderly (parents and grandparents), she adopts the speaking strategies imposed on women in traditional Kabylia which means that she takes into account the gender identity (mainly male)

and the age of the addressee that dictate the communicative modalities and features<sup>43</sup> in order not to be judged as impolite or disrespectful. And when dealing with the second category (peers, brothers and sisters) who belong to her generation she adopts speech strategies that she sees suitable for a given situation or given context rather than focus on the criteria of gender. In other words, our mothers and grandmothers used speech strategies such as the indirect address, lowered their voices or even kept silent because they were mostly “seeking social acceptance’ in communities based on patriarchy and male’s dominance rather than focus on “seeking communication effectiveness’ which enables them in some occasions to rip some rights or achieve some objectives. Today’s women, however, especially the educated ones, are not “seeking social acceptance’ because it is at certain extent already acquired and gained for most of them, they are rather “seeking communication effectiveness’ to negotiate, solve a problem, impose a point a view or themselves.

## **2.2.4 Language as a Means for Sociocultural and Self Expression**

### **2.2.3.1 Social and Cultural Expression**

Before talking about language as a means of social and cultural expressions, it is important to put in mind that as art reflects nature, culture reflects society and sometimes it is impossible to differentiate social practices from cultural ones especially when they are complementary, that is why we saw that it would be less confusing to talk about social expressions and cultural expressions together in one section.

Fairclough (2015) asserts that language and culture are cited in Tissot,2011 cannot be separated from one another because linguistic practices are social practices. Bakhtin (as cited in Tissot, 2011) also affirms that enunciation is social because it is not born from scratch, which explains why a single word may have different meanings for different cultural or social groups. When a group of people who share the same socio-cultural backgrounds use specific words and expressions for particular objects, we understand that those words and expressions belong to the entire society rather than to a particular individual. Yet, using the same words by all is not enough to say that language is culture. Interpretation also is an important criterion that shows the tight relationship between language and its socio-cultural milieu, if an image or a piece of

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<sup>43</sup> For more details on communication accommodation theory and strategies read (Howard Giles1973; Giles and Powesland 1975)

art produces different meanings in different cultures so does language, in other words, language can be interpreted in several ways because of the socio-cultural differences (Jörninge, 2014).

Language, cultural activities and social groups and practices are so connected that language determines the affiliation of the individuals to a particular culture, society or institution; and it also ensures the continuity of the socio-cultural activities (Gee, 2011). Language reveals the cultural values, the social structures, the changes that occur, and the modes of life of a people too (Fribourg, 1981). This language is to be analysed in their cultural and literary productions such as poetry, songs, stories, legends and even idioms and proverbs, especially when they are born from the oral tradition that is perpetuated from one generation to another. This means that a people's social and cultural expressions that are transmitted by the means of language are preserved in the collective memory rather than piled up in books and folders that could be forgotten on the shelves of libraries.

If one masters a people's language, it will be easy for him or her to discover their culture. For instance, learning about the perpetuated myths is a manner for knowing history and origins; listening to folk songs allows understanding how people associate the cycles of nature with the course of life such as the ritual songs of harbour and rain, the songs that accompany some rituals of birth, marriage, and death; those songs bear both cultural traits and social messages. The narratives invest in informing and educating the upcoming generations as they are discourses that bear sociocultural messages and expressions which allows the receptors to whom they are addressed to recognize their fundamental values.

Simpson and Mayr (2010) assert that discourses encourage the readers and the listeners to see the world from a particular perspective because according to them, the meanings used in literary productions are "mediated through forms of language which present as 'natural' or 'common sense'" (p. 2). In this line of thought, Fairclough adds that "the values of textual features only become real, socially operative, if they are embedded in social interaction" (2001, p.69). In other words, literary works and discourses need a soul which is the socio-cultural milieu they are born in and to which they refer at the same time.

Nevertheless, language is one of the strategies used to replace one culture with another or to reshape society. If one looks at the nowadays Kabyle region, it will be easy to notice that not only do the youth speak fluent Algerian Arabic but it is very common to hear it in shops and streets. The Arabic language has been imposed on Kabyles at schools mainly, and it brought

with it another cultural scene and social behaviours that were strange to the region before the policy of Arabisation<sup>44</sup>. Some intellectuals and artists rang the alarm of an Arabic sociocultural invasion that is very likely to replace an entire system and thus substitute the cultural heritage transmitted by the ancestors to produce entire populations that ignore their origins.

Among the first who started to react against this change are those living abroad especially in France. The Kabyle emigrants feel nostalgia for their culture and traditions that they can't find elsewhere but in Kabylia (Chaker, 2004). So, around the 1960s and 1970s narratives and songs emerged, expressing cultural loss and uprooting on the one hand and trying to revive the traditions and the customs on the other. Some intellectuals belonging to the Kabyle diaspora felt the urge to standardizing the Berber variety (Tamazight) especially on the level of its modes of transcriptions; others recorded and /or wrote the Kabyle oral heritage that constitutes of folktales, poetry, and proverbs to protect them from oblivion. Some singers were politically engaged and have transformed both poems and folktales into songs and some of them reached international ears such as the famous song of Idir entitled "*Vava Inuva*" which is originally a popular folk story. Poets like Ben Mohamed also produced songs full of imagery and which describe the Kabyle village, the mountains and the household life in a quite idealistic and magical form like in the song "*Assendu*" of Idir that tells the story of women making traditional butter (*udhi n t waract*) out of beaten bovine milk. This kind of songs has the purpose of preserving the Kabyle sociocultural heritage and restoring the pieces that have been lost or damaged during the French colonisation and after the independence with the Arabisation policy mentioned shortly before. (Goodman, 2015, 2016)

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<sup>44</sup> The Arabization policy in Algeria is linked to the process of decolonization, and to Algerian nationalism. It is a policy that is gaining momentum after more than 130 years of colonization. During the period when Algeria was French, the Arabic language was not taught in any official primary school, although it remained important in its spoken form. With the independence of Algeria, the Arabization policy was initiated in the 1960s by President Ben Bella. Literal Arabic is proclaimed the only national language. Likewise, for President Houari Boumediene, Arabization is one of the fundamental objectives. However, the government initially rejects the idea of equalizing the Berber and Arabic languages. One of the arguments put forward is that this could encourage Kabyle nationalism and separatism and indirectly favour France. To extend Algerian Arabization, an education policy is gradually being put in place as well as a practical method of organizing Arabization in all educational fields and levels. However, this Arabization policy has its limits. On the other hand, this Arabization took place to the detriment of the Berber culture and language, which led to several questionings and revolts. Source: <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabisation>



### 2.2.3.2 Self-Expression /Women's Self-Expression

Even though women have an effective role within the family and in society, they are up to now stuck in the frame of the dominated and the disempowered. Yet, is that really what women are? Are they really weak and submissive or are they just forced to go with the flow and adhere to society's expectations and pretend that their power is overshadowed by that of men?

Women self-expression through language and different forms of discourse may reveal to us whether this power is inexistent inhibited or just disguised and practised through different practices using different strategies. The complex processes of socialization, women experiences and their femininity may make their power expression different from the one of men's.

First, if the right to speech is considered as something 'naturally' acquired by men, and which symbolizes a seizure of power it is not always the case for women. In fact, using speech as a means of feminine expressions means to women a symbolic inversion of the order and thus, an inversion of the balance of power and meaning (Laib, 2011) and this is what Baxter (2003), Sunderland (2004) and Cameron (2005) have come with, they consider language as a bridge between gender and power as it is a crucial means in the issues of power struggles related to gender.

Women manage to be heard and express themselves, and their language finds refuge in different linguistic sites, the most privileged ones are songs and poetry in addition to tales, the epic and the *Boqala*<sup>45</sup> (Tabti-Kouidri, 2009; Laib, 2011). Those modes of expression are considered as sites where language, gender, power, and culture are discussed and the sociocultural influence understood (Wambura, 2016); and most importantly, gender roles and expectations challenged.

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<sup>45</sup> Alt: *bouqala/boukala*. it originates from Algeria and mainly from Algiers, the capital. Formerly, Algerian women animated their evenings by meeting around an old lady who led the mysterious game of *Bouqala*. A secret and playful ceremony during which they practiced a ritual supposed to predict the future (related to a person or a project the women thinks about before and during the time the *bouqala* is being read). In a *bouqala* 'jar "are put short poems written on pieces of paper and whose interpretation will provide good or bad omens. Each of the women takes one at random and the old woman will read it to her. women must tie a knot in their dress or scarf, think of someone or something specific before listening to what their *bouqala* says. Nowadays, the *bouqala* is practiced all over Algeria, especially at the *Mawlid's* eve

Songs are the most popular means of expression of dominated groups (women of colour used poetry throughout their struggles and they succeeded in being heard). Songs also offer an arena where taboos, for instance; can be circumvented through a set of vocal and bodily strategies. Yet, Lorde (2007) raises our attention to an important point regarding women and poetry; he assumes that even though this literary genre is considered as a noble prestigious art, to women, it is considered as a vital necessity rather than a luxury. For, it is wherewithal for a change, and for defeating the fear of the unknown.

## **2.3 Kabyle Literary Genres and Feminine Literature**

### **2.3.1 Orality**

To study some world literature like the African or the Berber ones, the printed data seem to be not enough sufficient as one needs to dig into the oral heritage that is more relevant, authentic as far the sociocultural and historical levels are concerned. For this, Orality has become the favoured object of reflection in many academic disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology, ethnology and history. Despite modernity and the availability of printed and recorded materials, Orality has the lion's share in the scenic and musical art of societies of oral culture.

Ong (1982) and Zumthor (1983) divided orality into two categories. The first is 'primary' or 'pure' orality, it characterizes the use of speech without writing which alone allows the transmission of all cultural traditions. And the second comes from several transformations of oral speech as soon as it is the object of fixation by writing for instance.

### **2.3.2 Kabyle Oral Literary Genres and Subgenres**

In his famous book *History of the Berbers and Muslim Dynasties of Northern Africa* translated from Arabic into different languages, Ibn Khaldoun writes that the Berbers tell so many stories that one could fill entire books with them. Berber tales, legends, myths, fables as well as poems, proverbs, riddles are oral literary genres par excellence and they are multidisciplinary because they endowed with substances that relate to all subjects. Oral narratives are, in fact, old and ancient wisdom and its spiritual heirs know how to perpetuate it (Rabia, 2004). This cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation by men and women who, in oral civilizations, are indeed the most complete archives "[those] talking archives whose memory recounts the vicissitudes of a sum of souls from the same socio-cultural source - one of the most ancient cultures in the entire Mediterranean basin." (Rabia, *ibid*, p. 9).

It is thanks to this collective memory that the popular genius and wisdom have been preserved with all their linguistic treasure despite time and various socio-political obstacles. Nevertheless, human memory seems insufficient compared to the supremacy of technology which must be put at the service of human memory.

In this thesis, the focus is on two specific categories of the Kabyle oral literature that are respectively tales and poems.

**2.3.2.1 Kabyle Tales /*Timucuha*:** They are in fact folktales since they have their origins in the oral tradition, that is to say, the tales were passed from one person to another or from one generation to another orally by the storytellers. Folktales or folk stories are educative and instructive, they tell the listeners - not only young ones- about some behaviour, especially social, and their negative or positive consequences to teach them about the social expectations and rules. As they are transmitted from one storyteller to another, those tales may have something omitted or added to their form and content for each storyteller has her/his own way of narrating all by keeping the same spirit, meaning, characters and instructive goals.

Kabyle folktales are formula tales as the flow of events follows a particular structure and order in all tales. In addition to that, some ideas and sentences are repetitive which helps the listener memorise the tales and transmit them to others.

Lacoste Dujardin (1982), Bounfour (1986, 1994), Laoust (1949) and Merolla (1994) questioned the originality of the Berber tale within the Maghreb and the Mediterranean countries and succinctly analysed its most characteristic features in terms of structure, thematic and style. Tissot (2011) summed up their works, she reports that from a genetic and origin point of view, for Laoust (1949), one can doubt the specificity of the Berber tale. However, for a question of expression, there is no need to distinguish the Arab folklore from the Berber one; this latter develops in the Berber language with common themes specific to the North African folkloric area whose Eastern sources are no less questionable than the Mediterranean reminiscences of the Greek-Latin world. In fact, the convergences of characters and themes with other Mediterranean traditions are numerous. Greek mythology and tales resembling the Arabian Nights are also present in the Berbere folktales. On the other hand, Tissot (ibid) reports that Lacoste-Dujardin (1982) in her study devoted to the Kabyle tale, attempts to show its originality. She evokes original combinations, both in relation to European tales and the rest of North Africa; and gives examples of standard tales or series of sequences listed in the

international classification, which are characterized by their fixity in the whole Kabyle world. Additionally, she notes differences in style and content between Berber tales and others, and in particular in the Kabyle version of a tale of The Arabian Nights. The Kabyle version is recounted in a more 'rough' style where poverty is the original trigger of adventures and actions, and the landscapes are less pleasant, the luxury less refined, the whole setting seems "simpler, more rural and takes place in a more restricted social context where family relationships occupy the first place" (Dujardin, 1982, p. 35).

Bounfour (ibid) as cited by Tissot (ibid), also recognizes certain thematic, narrative and ethical specificities but considers that Berber originality is not "in the singularity of its themes but in its supreme value that is performance [and] the know-how, that is the essence of all Berber speech especially when it invests the coded forms of society "(Bounfour 1994, p. 2082). The three authors, Bounfour, Dujardin and Laoust highlight the recurrence of a certain number of characters such as the jackal, the hedgehog and the ogress. They also highlight the importance of the forms of beginning and epilogues that allow the passage to a narrative space and time different from everyday ones; they are respectively a generally undetermined past and a space that does not require specification.

### **2.3.2.1.1 The Types of Kabyle Tales**

In the Kabyle literary repertoire, there are different types of folktales that the majority of Kabyle speakers call *Timucuha* (sing. *tamacahut*). They are tales of magic and those *timucuha* are usually translated as marvellous tales, they are one of the best-documented among the other Berber oral literary genres. However, there are some other linguistic variants of *Timucuha* like *Tihkayin* (sing. *tahkayt*) and *Timzayine* (sing. *tameayt*). *Tahkayt* is a term borrowed from Arabic that means story. In common language, *tameayt* refers to tales and stories that are generally realistic and moralizing. According to Youcef Alloui (2012), the word *tam3ayt* derives from the word *masna* which refers to meaning and wisdom; he says that *timzayin* are sometimes funny stories, anecdotes, proverbs, and misadventures that convey morals and realistic teachings.

According to Haddadou (2009), the relationship of the word *tamacahut* with the tales and their origin is somehow ambiguous. Is it a word formed from a verb borrowed from Arabic, *hawa* "to desire", that refers to the tale as being conceived like an object that one desires. The same word *tamacahut* may also refer to the introductory formula of Kabyle tales: "*Macahu. Ahu,*

*Rebbi at yesselhu, attizdel am usaru!*" (A tale, may God make it pleasant and make it look like a braid!), this formula that starts with *Macahu* or *Amacahu* is used by the storyteller to show his/her intention to start the story, and to which the listener responds with *ahu!* If *Amacahu* has the form of the names of Berber agents in *am-*, *ahu*, it seems to be an interjection, of the kind *aha!* "Go ahead" by which communication is established between the storyteller and the listener. *Ahu* can be related to a word of childish speech origin and that it was a denomination of the tale before being used as a basis for the formation of *tamacahut*. In fact, in some languages, the word *macahu* is also used to designate the tale. Dallet (1982) suggests translating '*amacahu, macahu*' into 'here is a wonderful story' and *tamacahut* into 'story, tale, marvellous story'. Those translations have no etymological basis but correspond well to the function of the story to captivate, seduce, and fascinate.

Many tend to define *timucuha* as essentially feminine productions but various collections include *timucuha* told by both men and women. In this regard, several researchers like Lacoste Dujardin (1970) and Tassadit Yacine (1982) believe that the specialization of women has only been verified recently. The traditional and conventional atmosphere wherein the narrations take place is that of an evening by the fireplace. Women and children gather to listen to the art of storytelling by a woman that is usually old.

The *tamacahut* genre has a stylistic mark made of standardized introductory and concluding expressions such as the ones present in our corpus: "*Macahu. Rebbi at yesselhu, attizdel am usaru!*" (A tale, may God make it pleasant, and that he makes it look like a braid!) and "*Tamacahut-iw Iwad Iwad, ħkiytt-id i-warraw l-lejwad . Nekkini ay-d yaafu Rebbi; uccan, a tenyeqqed Rebbi!*" (My story followed the bed of the Wadi, I told it to the sons of lords. May God forgive me, as for the jackals, that he burns them!). As mentioned previously, the space-time in which the *timucuha* introduce the listeners is above all an undetermined past, and a space which does not require specification. When the storyteller says *taddart* (village) or *tamurt* (country), s/he means the village and its inhabitants or the country and its people, and herein, it is Kabylia par excellence. The main characters, whether men or women, are characterized by the differentiation of family roles and economic activities.

In the Kabyle tradition, folktales or *timucuha* are classified into subgenres, such classifications are spontaneously made by storytellers who can offer their listeners the choice of the type of

story they want to hear or by the listeners themselves (Haddadou, *ibid*). Among those folktales, there are those for adults and others for kids. The most popular subgenres are:

- **Animal Tales/*Tidyanin*** are described by Laoust (1990) as "traditions on animals which provide an etiological explanation of the world" (p. 113). Some tales are typically animal tales and others are stories on men and animals together. For Delarue (1957) and Teneze (2002), many tales that we would spontaneously qualify as animal tales do not deserve this qualification, according to those authors, to speak of animal tales, the latter must be actors in the full sense of the term, which means that tales in which animals intervene as characters subordinate to the action of human protagonists are not integrated into this category.

In the Berber domain, the main protagonist of animal tales is the jackal. He<sup>46</sup> has certain features of the fox from European tales, but he is stronger and more ferocious. So, he keeps his characteristic of both the fox and the wolf, he is in turn "*misleading and deceived, cunning and ridiculous, astute and flouted*" (Basset, 1920). There is also another popular animal figure, the hedgehog (El Aouani, 2000), he is the victorious adversary of the jackal. According to Basset (*ibid*), animal tales are different from marvellous tales by the simplicity of their structure and the evidence of the morality they teach, which facilitates their transmission and dissemination. *Tidyanin* or Kabyle animal tales are close enough to the fables.

- **Hagiographic Tales/*Tiqsidin* or *Timucuha n ddiin*** are religious/ tales, told in verse. They are tales of local Islamic heroes or heroes of classical history (Mammeri 1980). They convey morals like that of God rewards and punishes, and truth ends up coming to light. Religious tales are generally "the place of oral literature where popular representations of the beyond are expressed" (BRU, 1999. n. p). In the Berber domain, they relate the life of saints, sometimes in parodical mode. The hagiographic narratives are currently studied by Berber historians as documents shedding light not only on the social imagination but also on the historical facts. Hagiography, therefore, tends to find "its autonomy outside of storytelling since it concerns historical characters and what is called hagiographic tale is, in reality, a biography involved in a traditional and coded scriptural context" (Bounfour, 1994, p. 2082). Nonetheless, the latter highlights the

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<sup>46</sup> As it is a speaking animal in the tales, we allow ourselves to call it "he" as it is personified

difficulty of defining the border between the marvellous of tales and the miraculous. In everyday speech, however, Kabyle people call *tiqšidine* all that's an anecdote or a strange event that happened to them during the day or sometimes before.

- **Tales of the Ogre /*Tamacahut n wayzen***: Tales of the ogre are stories about the deals between Men and the ogre or ogress. Those supernatural creatures are omnipresent in Kabyle folktales and they are children's favourite. In the majority of the takes the ogre or the ogress attempt to kill the hero but despite their size physical strength they end up frightened or intimidated by the main characters especially witty children. Those stories are morals on men who sell their soul to the Devil because of their greed. (El Aouani, 2000; Haddadou, 2009)
- **Facetious Tales /*Tamacahut n tasda***: in contrast with the other subgenres, facetious tales do not obey the same prohibitions related to the setting of recounting and could be told at any time of the day. (Basset, *ibid*). Most facetious tales are said to belong to male repertoires are more current than the other subgenres. They refer to varied themes and stage familiar characters or rather their caricatures: the cunning of women through the character of the mother-in-law, the stupidity and gullibility of deceived husbands, the greed of women, and the misadventures of the *fqih* (master of the Koranic school, etc.). It is in those tales that the stereotypes associated with men and women are best expressed, stereotypes which change sides depending on whether the enunciators are men or women. (El Aouani, *ibid*).

### 2.3.2.2 Poems

Among the genres of Berber literature, there is poetry that bears a very important place in the Berber literary heritage and daily life. A significant part of those poetic productions was born in villages, and its producers/poets were anonymous. Poems bore the name of a group, a tribe or a village but this poetry could also be the work of recognized poets called *Ifšihen* (*sing. Afših*)<sup>47</sup>. Besides those creative poets, there were transmitting poets called *imeddahen* (*sing. ameddah*); they are itinerant poets who circulated poems they had memorized from village to village and from tribe to tribe. (Mammeri, 1978; Bourdieu, 1980; Yacine, 2011).

The most common and used appellation of Kabyle poems is *Asefru* (*pl-Isefra*) as emphasized in Mouloud Mammeri in a discussion with Pierre Bourdieu. He says that "One of the names of

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<sup>47</sup> Derives from the Arabic word *faših* which means eloquent, fluent, well spoken

poetry in Kabyle (it is somewhat different in the other Berber dialects) is *Asefru* (plural: *Isefra*)”, (Mammeri and Bourdieu, 2004, p. 38). The notion and meaning of *Asefru* were thoroughly defined by Mammeri who added that the word *Asefru*

“comes from FRU: to elucidate, to shed light on something obscure. That, I think, is a very ancient meaning. In Latin, the poem is *carmen*, which meant the spell, the effective formula, that which opens doors. That is the very meaning of *Asefru*, and perhaps this congruence is no accident, among these Mediterranean for whom the word is firstly an instrument of elucidation, which opens up things to our reason” (ibid)

In the same discussion, Bourdieu added that “*Fru* is also to sort grain. And so, the poet would be the one who can distinguish and make distinct, which, through his discernment, effects a diacrisis, separates things that are normally confused?” (Mammeri and Bourdieu, 2004, p. 38)

In the same vein, Mohand Akli Salhi says that the word *Asefru* “designates the poem whether sung, recited or declaimed” (Salhi. n. d. p. 7) and Youcef Allioui adds that *Asefru* “above all designates the poem or a rhymed composition charged with an esotericism for the attention of sagacious spirits, *Ssefru* means "to poeticize", "to explain", "to elucidate", and /or "to unravel" (Allioui, 2012, p. 18).

On the form and different types of *Isefra*, Salhi says that they can be long or short; and the distinction of these *Isefra* in love poems *Izlan* (sing. *Izli*), and *aḥiḥa* (pl. *Iḥiḥayen*), religious poems *Taqsidt* (pl. *Tiqsidin*) or melancholic poem *Acewwiq* (pl. *Icewwiqen*), etc. is based on demarcations linked to the content and the mode of poetic performance. Formal and metric boundaries may be relevant for distinguishing between *Isefra*. From his point of view, the term *Asefru* (*Isefra*) functions as a hyperonym encompassing all of the particular manifestations of poems, such as *Izlan*, *Tiqsidin*, *Tijririn*...etc. (ibid).

### 2.3.2.2.1 The Types of Kabyle Poems

Within this dominant literary genre, we could distinguish the following as they are put by Salhi (ibid), Allioui (2012), Tabti Kouidri (2009), Yacine (1999, 1988,).

#### 1. Religious poetry

- *Tiqsidin* (sing. *taqṣit*) are said to be masculine in production and performance (Salhi, ibid). They include a very old repertoire of long poems evoking biblical characters like Abraham, Moses, Joseph...and Islamic ones like the prophet Mohamed and Ali (Mammeri, 1980b;



Salhi, *ibid*). According to Yacine (n. d), they belong to the category of what is called ‘the poetry of value’.

- *Adkker*: to this repertoire is added a vein of poems called *Adkker*. This word derives from the Arabic work *dikr* that means reminder or remembrance and it refers to the "evocation of the name of God" (Salhi, *ibid*). While *Tiqsidine* are said to be typically masculine productions, *Adkker* is produced by both women and men and it is sung during funerals (Ameziane, 2010). The feminine one is more sentimental in the expression of sadness and serves more like a relief as it helps to cry and exteriorise the pain. It is generally performed in the morning before the body is buried. On the other hand, the *Adekker* produced by men and it performed at the funeral wake and it is moralistic and didactic (Salhi, *ibid*).
2. *Izli* (pl. *Izlan*) is a short-sung poem that often consists of two couplets generally known as love poetry that young lovers exchange (Yacine, 2011). These poems are sung by women during parties, weddings, and circumcision; and this often takes place in a women restricted circle. According to Yacine (2011, 1988), *Izlan* is par excellence a room to speak about social taboos and prohibitions like love and sexuality; they express deprivation, frustration and suffering; and *Izlan* on happy love and happy endings are rare, if not non-existent. In other words, *Izli* refers to the kind of expression of love that is tabooed and prohibited by the social order because this poetic expression sometimes challenges religious prohibitions, rules of decency and honour all by using innuendo and metaphors. According to Mammeri, one refers to this essentially feminine poetry in order to identify the discourse that speaks of man through a feminine vision, emotion and imagination, freed from social constraints. It is a counter-discourse of a discourse conforming to the established order, such as that held by proverbs (Mammeri, 1991 qtd. as cited in Benabbes, 2014). For Tassadit Yacine, *Izlan* is a form of "a socially accepted deviance" (Yacine, 1988, p. 1). Nowadays, songs are recorded and marketed and this allowed *Izli* to leave its circumscribed spaces like *Urar lxalat* (feminine parties), *lexlawi* (the fields), and *Tala* (the fountain) ... towards a public space (Ameziane, 2010).
  3. *Amjadel* is a poem that is generally declaimed and performed in the form of a poetic joust between two protagonists. According to Salhi (*ibid*), this term is derived from the Arabic word *mujādala* which means conversation or argumentation and controversy. The Kabyle word *Amjadel* used to designate a practice made of poetic exchanges,

sometimes polemical, between two poets. In English, “poetic jousting or joust” or “poetic competition” is used to convey this notion of *amjadel*. According to this same author, there are two types of *Amjadel*. The first is an exchange between two poets who somehow compete with words. The second is created by a single poet who imagines a contest or conversation between two persons. The poets can also symbolically personify an element of nature such as the river, the mountain, winter, and life (*ddunit*). *Amjadel* was a very popular practice among men in the past and was a kind of test for poets to measure their level of mastery of their art. The feminine equivalent of *Amjadel* is called *Amzezber*, it is a poetic joust between two women especially the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, this pleasant and amusing word contest takes place during weddings and parties and it is sometimes accompanied with dances and applauds.

4. ***Acewwiq*** (pl. *icewwiqen*) are poems sung by women to express their pain related to a failed marriage, widowhood, no male offspring, and also to their situation as marginalized within the family. The performance of this type is done with a melancholic voice enveloped in a very slow rhythm. And traditionally without any male presence. According to Salhi, the word “*Acewwiq* derives from the root *cwq* that conveys the idea of singing a very slow and sad rhythm, this denomination designates both the sung poem and the atmosphere that serves as its support (Salhi, *ibid.* p. 10).
5. ***Ahiha*** is a feminine poetic type expressing the feelings of love that is sometimes confused with *Izli*. However, ***Ahiha*** is marked by a naughty touch and tackles erotic and sexual topics. Salhi says that women “by decency, do not admit this poetic type as part of their own repertoire, due to all the social reprobation it meets and all the censorship of which it was and still is the object” (*ibid.* p. 10). The masculine equivalent of *ahiha* is *Aquli*. According to Amrouche as quoted by Rabia, *ahiha* is nothing but labour songs, he reports: “The *Ahiha* style, with marked rhythmic impulses, is specific to the songs of work and the millstone.” (Amrouche, n.d qtd. as cited in Rabia, 2004, p.29).
6. ***Acekker and Tibuxarine*** Those two genres are based on the poetic exchange between two female poets (performers) representing the groom's family and the bride's family respectively, the practice of *Tibuxarin* was highly codified. It consisted, in poetic jousting, in praising the merits and qualities of the members of each family (the man and the woman to be married, their parents and all the members of their respective

tribes) while opposing them one against the other (Goodman, 2005, 2016; Salhi, *ibid*). The poets (or the executives) take important language precautions in order not to involve the members of the two families in their poetically symbolic confrontation.

In addition to marriage, *Acekker* and *Tiburarin* are performed in two other circumstances: the birth of the baby boy and during his circumcision. (Goodman, 2002) According to Salhi, the word *Acekker* is of Arabic origin, its root is CKR which conveys the meaning of "to thank" in the original language. However, the Berberisation of this word seems to convey the meaning of "to praise". *Asburer*, on the other hand, has the same meaning as *acekker*, but it is an archaic term and seems to be of an Amazigh origin and it is out of use in several regions (Salhi, *ibid*).

7. ***Aşerqes* and *Azuzn***: those two sung poetries are used by the mother when with her baby. The first derives from the root *RQS* which means "to dance". This derived verb covers the meaning of making someone or something dance in Kabyle, it is a sung poem used when the mother makes her young child play between her arms in up and down motions. The operative voice is joyful and lively wherein she wishes the child health, foresight and vigour. The second is a song used to lull the baby and make it fall asleep. The voice is generally very soft, the rhythm is very slow and the topics vary according to the mother's mood.
8. **Rituals' poetry** is produced and sung in specific circumstances. Special words and sentences are used to accompany the different steps of the rituals of marriage, passage, harvesting, circumcision and even the prayers for rainfalls in drought periods and fields' fertility.
9. **Labour poetry** accompanies the hard work accomplished collectively, such as ploughing, collecting crops and olives, grain sorting and grinding, and during the chores of wood and water, etc

## 2.4 Bourdieu's Sociology and His Contribution to Gender Studies

### 2.4.1 Bourdieu's works

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) is a French sociologist born in Béarn, Dengu. Bourdieu's sociological work is dominated by an analysis of the reproduction mechanisms of social hierarchies. He highlights the importance of cultural and symbolic factors in the acts of social life. After obtaining the aggregation of philosophy from the *École normale supérieure*, he

escaped military service in Algeria between 1958 and 1960 and taught philosophy at the Faculty of Letters in Algiers. It was there that he decided to pursue a career in sociology and carried out various ethnological works. In 1964, Pierre Bourdieu became the director of studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. He made himself known by founding the journal "Acts of research in social sciences" and was appointed professor at the Collège de France in 1981. In his very varied work, he analyses the different areas of society using concepts such as **the field**, the social space with its struggles for the appropriation of goods or domination; **the habitus**, dispositions acquired by socialization, that is to say, the internalized history of the body with its system of perceptions and actions; **capital**, whether economic, cultural, social or symbolic; and the **legitimacy**. He developed theories like the theory of class distinction, the theory of power and practice, the theory of action and the theory about media and cultural productions. His research is accompanied by militant action (for the independence of Algeria, for the social movement, support for undocumented migrants, opposition to neoliberalism ...) and political commitments. He is internationally recognized as one of the masters of contemporary sociology; Pierre Bourdieu was one of the few committed humanist intellectuals of the late 20th century. Source: (Mart Clemence, n.d, la toupie<sup>48</sup>, De Lagasnerie, 2014).

It is difficult to review all the work and the fields Bourdieu was committed to explore and analyse, however, what interest us the most in this thesis are the insights he brought to gender studies.

#### 2.4.2 Bourdieu and Gender Studies

Bourdieu is an intellectual who, in the second half of the twentieth century, influenced gender politics and the theory of sexuality. Yet, his name does not appear as often as other thinkers such as Michel Foucault or Simone de Beauvoir. Bourdieu is a thinker of immobility, of perpetuating inequalities. All of his work is devoted to showing how deeply rooted hierarchies are in our brains, how the structures of domination are most of the time reproduced, and without our knowledge, with relentless logic. Subverting the system that governs the sexes and sexualities is an infinitely more difficult task than one spontaneously imagines. ( De Lagasnerie,2014).

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<sup>48</sup> <http://www.toupie.org/Biographies/Bourdieu.htm>

Although many believe that Bourdieu's sociological work did not really include gender before the 90's that is to say until he published *Masculine domination* in 1998<sup>49</sup>; his early works deal with gender, kinship relationships and marital strategies in his native Béarn and Kabylia. The major texts of this period are the "Three Studies of Kabyle Ethnology", collected in 1972 in a volume entitled "*Esquisse d'une Théorie de la Pratique*" (a Sketch of a Theory of Practice). These pioneering analyses will mark the theory that he will later develop in some forty books and which will be internationally recognized as one of the most influential of the 20th century. Bourdieu rejects the idea that the question of gender and sexuality represents a secondary question concerning dimensions that are frequently defined as more central, such as economic realities. Bourdieu insists on showing how the social order is saturated with sexual meanings.

Bourdieu was haunted by the problem of the division between the "masculine" and the "feminine". According to him, the worlds of work, family, religion, school, and so on are structured by sexual logics. They keep instituting the legitimate ways of being a (real) man or a (real) woman. Bourdieu says that gender and sexuality also play a decisive role in the construction of our identities, in our ways of seeing, thinking, posing ourselves in relation to each other, and defining ourselves. In short, these are all our categories of thought, all our 'historical unconscious' which are organized around sexually connoted polarities, with what is supposed to arise from one side of the active and the other of the passive, the dominant or dominated, public or private.

Bourdieu's great strength is that he quickly realized that gender and sexuality are not only decisive areas of investigation. He turned them into real keys of interpretation, and analytical tools allowing a better understanding of the functioning of the social world and the forms of domination as a whole. From all these analyses, Bourdieu draws an observation that calls for a renewal of political action. This observation is that male domination constitutes one of the most strongly anchored realities in current societies. More importantly, it goes unnoticed: he says that the division between the sexes seems to be in the order of things, as we sometimes say about what is normal, natural, to the point of being inevitable, it is present both in things, in the whole social world, and, in an incorporated state, in bodies. Bourdieu adds that despite the great conquests of feminism, despite the changes in the situation of women, the structures of male

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<sup>49</sup>From a call for papers: "*Gender and Bourdieu, Is doing gender unavoidable?*" School of Law and Social Science, University of East London (2012)

domination remain almost unchanged. Hence the problem posed in his 1998 book “Masculine Domination” is how to explain that while everything has changed, nothing has actually changed? Why have the transformations of the female condition not affected the traditional model of domination? As an answer, he finds that it is because the great institutions, family, church, school, state, are constantly working to reinstitute -in the brains- the principles of the males' order (Bourdieu, 1998).

As far as feminists' views and response to the works of Bourdieu are concerned, their positions are divided between those who are “for” and those who are “against” his sociological work and ideas regarding gender (Adkins and Skeggs, 2004). This division between feminists relies on the fact that those who are “for” use his texts and theories faithfully to further their research on the issues of feminism and gender; those feminists are called ‘the Bourdieu Scholars’. On the other hand, those who are against do totally reject his work. Those scholars use Bourdieu's work along with others for the sake of comparison and so on, they also tend to reformulate them as Bourdieu argued that his theories are flexible and scholars are invited to use them according to the different contexts (Adkins and Skeggs, *ibid*).

The feminists who are Bourdieu Scholars say that one of Bourdieu’s most important insights is that gender is present in all social relationships. In addition to that, his work is valuable to feminist approaches because theoretical frameworks and political programmes are always embedded in social relations.<sup>50</sup>

Mottier, 2002 and McLeod, 2005 notice that Bourdieu's most used key concepts are the habitus, the field, and the symbolic power. They are used in different fields by feminists like Kraus (1993), McCall (1992), McNay (1999, 2000) and Moi (1991); Fowler (1996); Skeggs (1997); Reay (1998); Butler (1999); Lawler (1999); McNay (1999); Lovell (2000); McLeod (2000); McNay (2000); Adkins (2002a) especially in the ones of education.

In contrast, some feminist scholars find that Bourdieu's work on gender relationships does not rely on feminist theory (Adkins and Skeggs, 2004). This argument is behind Bourdieu's rejection by those scholars. Nevertheless, according to De Lagasnerie (2014) the fact that the

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<sup>50</sup> from a call for papers: *Gender and Bourdieu, “Is doing gender unavoidable?”* School of Law and Social Science, University of East London

sociologist's contribution to gender analysis is frequently downplayed, or even denied, owes nothing to chance. There is hostility from certain currents of feminist studies towards it. Because Bourdieu's teaching is hitting hard the feelings of those who like to consider themselves as radicals, as destabilizing the sexual order or the social order. De Lagasnerie adds that whenever a reference is made to Pierre Bourdieu's work on gender and his book *Masculine Domination*, malicious comments are made repeating untruths. However, in this book, almost all pages cite or discuss the work of a woman at least. And admittedly, those cited women are not all French and Bourdieu thus confronts international feminist theory. Bourdieu's work on this question of gender dates from the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, that is well before the women, feminists and scholars whom he is accused of not citing were known and published.

### **2.4.3 The Habitus**

In the process of growing up, we acquire not only language but also habits, ways of perception, thought and reactions that are shaped and sculpted by the different social and cultural predispositions. That is to say that individuals are socially and culturally conditioned from early childhood. The acquired behaviours and attitudes are likely to persist and then to be reproduced by the different individuals belonging to the same social or cultural group (Bourdieu 1979, Andres 1994). Bourdieu, as cited by Grenfell and James (1998), explains that social and cultural realities can be noticed in the things that surround us and they are embedded in our mind that is why we reproduce them because they are considered as norms and their perpetuation is seen as 'natural'. Following this line of thought, Bourdieu calls a 'Habitus' the series of behaviours, attitudes, tastes, values, reactions, habits, way of beings and comporting oneself.

Summarising Bourdieu's thoughts, Mart (n. d) defines the habitus as the product of learning and unconscious apprenticeship that becomes a kind of second nature or natural aptitude to integrate and evolve in a given environment. Webb et al (2002) as cited by McLeod (2005) add that the Habitus expresses and explains how a particular person becomes who s/he is and the ways s/he engages in practices.

The concept of habitus – even though Reay (1995) prefers to consider it as both theory and method- refers to a compilation of dispositions and schemes of perception and appreciation induced in a person in a particular milieu and period (Bourdieu, 1979; 1986)

The habitus according to Bourdieu is expressed and manifested through long-lasting habits, or one's physical demeanour such as "standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking" (Reay, *ibid*, Dumais 2002).

In the following paragraphs, the researcher finds it necessary to speak about the consequences, the effects and the characteristics of the habitus as well as the variables that may affect it rather than listing the enumerable definitions of this concept.

As it was broadly mentioned earlier the habitus is produced in interaction with the fields and one's experience. According to Dumais (*ibid*), Bourdieu says that each specific habitus is shaped by the individual's particular position in the environment (social position, conditions of life, entourage and social relations). The individual then "comes to determine what is possible and what is not possible for one's life and develops aspirations and practices accordingly." (Dumais, 2002, p. 46).

For Bourdieu (1977), the habitus "is history turned into nature" (p. 78). That is to say that it is the product of history (the process of socialisation from early childhood and the dispositions habitus is affected by such as the individual's experience and trajectory). habitus become 'nature' thanks to the preceding generations that influence or shape the cognitive structures of their children, grandchildren, students, apprentices and so forth and those latter embody them. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992)

Bourdieu notes that among the characteristics of the habitus is the flexibility it affords to the subjects, as according to Bourdieu, the habitus is a "strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). In addition to that, despite the fact that it is durable it is not eternal, it is "creative, inventive, but within the limits of its structures" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *ibid*, p. 19) that is why it can be modified or transformed due or via some factors among which we mention the below ones read in Bourdieu (2000) and (1977) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992):

- The effects of certain social trajectories.
- The awakening of an individual's consciousness and "self-work" help the subject to deal with his or her dispositions.
- coping with the field that Bourdieu calls "learning the rules of the game"
- Acquisition of new experiences.
- The revision of dispositions through time and generation not, those dispositions actually know variation but they have a degree of constancy: they are radically changed.



The consequences of the evolvment of the habitus are numerous and it has many effects on several levels. First, it produces expressions, actions, thoughts and perceptions, which are considered as “a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.18). Yet, those dispositions are produced through a controlled, conditioned and conditional freedom and it engenders reasonable common-sense behaviours and excludes all "follies" of conduct. Bourdieu on the relationship between habitus and social life considers that it is the incarnation of the structure of social relationships and of the material and objective determinations that gives birth to individual choices, likes and dislikes related to practice and actions, that is to say, that habitus is a mediator between the embodied ‘social logic’ and practice and actions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *ibid*).

Nevertheless, Bourdieu asserts that the reproduction of social orders and structures emanates from the habitus of individuals who re-enact and recreate those social structures and orders, for instance, people develop ideas about their limits and capacities according to the environments they were brought up in, those belonging to the high class tend to believe that they will remain the high class and those belonging to the working one are likely to believe they will remain there and their actions reflect those beliefs, those people will then unconsciously contribute to maintaining this social order, or power imbalances between two groups, this is again to say that people’s actions are the result of their habitus within a particular field. Notwithstanding, given the very structures of production and reproduction of the field, the agents are not equally endowed with these dispositions to evolve within it and find themselves in differentiated social positions, which are the subject of struggles for position and ranking. This sort of social warfare, inherent in the field, is mainly symbolic and generates two products, symbolic power, and symbolic violence. Destined to ensure the symbolic position of the dominant, they are exercised partly through official speeches and institutions to produce an effect of distinction for the benefit of its holders (Mart, n.d).

#### **2.4.3.1 The Habitus and Gender**

Bourdieu in *Masculine Domination* devotes chapters on sex-based divisions, gender and habitus, wherein he defines gender “as a sexually characterized habitus” (Bourdieu, 1998/2001, p. 3). Differentiations go beyond the processes of naming and clothing that represent the

opposite genders; it is a construction that is primarily based on biological differences and the representations of bodies. The differentiation starts when particular views on the body contribute to the transformation of the minds and the behaviours of the individuals through imposed processes of construction and socialization that dictate what is feasible and appropriate to mark membership to female or male genders. Bodies, on the other hand, define the characteristics of the environments they are present in. The relationship between the body and the environment is reversible; and sometimes, it is difficult to say what influences or affects the other as the gender norms and perceptions are embedded in peoples' minds and are considered as nature, Bourdieu explained this reality by saying that

“The biological appearances and the very real effects that have been produced in bodies and minds by a long collective labour of socialization of the biological and biologicization of the social combine to reverse the relationship between causes and effects and to make a naturalized social construction” (Bourdieu, *ibid*, p. 3).

Society defines what a manly man and womanly woman shall be and the differences seem to be so normal, natural and automatic that they become inevitable and embodied: they become a habitus and this habitus is reproduced as it is as mentioned before, a system or set of schemes of perception, thought and action. For instance, the females' education that Dujardin compares to 'a dressage' reminds the girl or the woman of her position as seen by society. Everything around a little girl contributes to anchoring her subjective, symbolic and imaginary structures: it is her habitus, the conviction of her inferiority, her fragility and the dangers she poses to her family. This inevitably leads her to internalize the need to be under protection, and worse, to be dominated, because everything and everyone from her birth teach her to be so. Those women who have internalized their dominated position, continue to be attached to the valued and rewarding image of men (Dujardin, 1985).

Julie McLeod (2005) suggests that studying and understanding habitus can be useful in two ways. First, in theorizing gender identity formation, and second, in feminist analysis through combining it with the field as a variant to study the transformations in gender. Some feminists assert that Bourdieu's habitus and gender go hand in hand because of the imbalance of power relations, the inequalities in social positions, and the distribution of the different types of capital structure and affect both habitus and gender and those latter are both embodied and inherited ways of being. Yet, Reay (1955) sees that habitus shall not be considered as a concept, she recommends that it shall be used as a theory and method to study how the advantages and

disadvantages, the dominant and the dominated represent different norms of cultural superiority or inferiority breed in their bones and rooted in their habitus. Those representations are affected by gender, race, and class. (Reay, *ibid*).

#### **2.4.4 The Types of Capital**

The second salient concept developed by Bourdieu and which is one of the key concepts in our investigation is that of capital(s). Broadly speaking capital is the already produced or collected goods, factors, and money that one may use in a particular project. Therefore, in Bourdieuan sociology, capital refers to “the forms of power held by social agents” (Labesge, 1995, p. 134) and by social agents, Bourdieu means the different individuals with their different status, roles, gender and positions. The capital is thus the different forms of power one may gain with (money, class, age...), this capital determines the positions and the distributions of the individuals in the social pyramid, and determine their relational spaces and scopes. (Bourdieu, 2011).

Different types of capital are identified by Bourdieu; they are mainly the social capital, the economic capital, the cultural capital and the symbolic capital. The social and economic capitals appear to be the two most interesting capitals for constructing and studying different fields related to political and economic studies. Yet, as far as this research is concerned and if we consider the sociocultural scenery of Kabylia as a field, the social, and cultural capitals and of course the symbolic one are of paramount usefulness to understand the attitudes and the positions of the different social agents (women and men in this case) in the society and to analyse adequately the contents and the meanings in the corpus at hand.

##### **2.4.4.1 Cultural Capital**

The cultural capital is the most used among the concepts coined by Bourdieu especially by those working on sociology and the sociology of education. Therefore, this concept can be defined in different ways depending on how it is operationalized.

One of the simplest definitions of this concept is given by Lamont and Lareau, they say that it is “widely shared, high-status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviours) used for social and cultural exclusion” (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p. 156). Cultural capital, therefore, is a set of societal resources, and the cultural knowledge one accumulates such as the conventionally appropriate ways of speaking and dressing. It is all the shared

cultural resources and conventions that bind the members of a community to one another so that they accomplish and attain the same goals (Stolle and Lewis, 2002). For both the individual and the groups and communities, it is a means and a power resource that enables them to confer or gain social status and power; or to maintain those (Dumais, 2002).

Even though Bourdieu left the definition of cultural capital flexible and open, depending on the fields or domains this concept could be used in, he distinguished the following three forms of it: objectified cultural capital, institutionalized cultural capital, and embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). It is important to define the embodied cultural capital as it is the one that fits the paradigm of this research. According to Bourdieu (1986, 1997), embodied cultural capital is the anchored dispositions of both the mind and the ability to enjoy and understand cultural goods. In other words, embodied cultural capital is all the knowledge and information about culture and traditions that one learns and acquires through the process of socialisation. It is not something one can transmit or give the other in a direct way; it is a long-term acquisition. It is sculptured in the individual's habitus and reflected in his way of thinking, speaking and self-presentation (Bourdieu, 1997).

As for the relationship between gender and cultural capital, it is assumed that the dispositions of the body and mind which the individual acquires through the socialisation with culture and traditions include the gender-specific dispositions acquired by males and females. In other words, gender dispositions are part of one's or group's cultural capital and are among the other components of cultural capital that confer social status and power. Moreover, Bourdieu (1979/1984) asserts that cultural capital in some societies is useful for women to have husbands if they use their body and minds dispositions according to the cultural expectations of the community; and secondly in enabling their children to efficiently integrate the society in terms of recognition and status through transmitting them that same society's cultural capital. As for men, Bourdieu says that in some societies, men make use of cultural capital for educational and economic purposes, as according to him using and manipulating cultural dispositions is a way to get jobs and educational qualifications.

#### **2.4.4.2 Social Capital**

Social capital refers to the social ties and relations and their importance to achieve certain goals and reach certain positions in society. Bourdieu defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less

institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—in other words, to membership in a group” (Bourdieu 1986 p. 248). This means that social capital is all about the interactions between the individuals, and the qualities, durations, types and nature of those interactions that lead to mutual or personal benefits. According to Bourdieu, social capital is but networks of relationships that are created thanks to shared norms that give birth to trust among the members of that network. Social capital is the social relations that play a role in giving power to the people belonging to the network. To possess social capital, one needs to tie relationships with others because they will be the actors of his/her success and play for his or her favour. In other words, possessing social capital means that a person can get what s/he wants, or do or achieve something easier, as it will be done for him/her or made easy by others belonging to his network. Social capital, according to Alejandro Portes (1998) is “the positive consequences of sociability” (p.1) and it replaces monetary forms that can be used “as a source of power and influence “(p. 2).

Women around the world use social capital and female networks to challenge gender structures and power imbalances. According to Bruegel (2005), social capital can afford women some power by knitting bonds of unity. This author says that feminists can use the concept of social capital in their analysis and which they define “as a part of a system of competing interests and values within a multidimensional space of difference, framed by large inequalities of power” (Bruegel, 2005, p. 14).

Men, as well, can use social capital in their favour. In patriarchal societies, for instance, men use social capital to maintain male domination and female subordination. Yet, in some of those societies like the Kabyle one, social capital is called women’s capital par excellence as they use their roles in making family ties and this gives them the opportunity to widen their networks and thus strengthen their positions (Bourdieu, 1986/2002). As it was noted before, social networks can have the same effects as money and economic capital in the process of gaining power. In Kabylia, most women are deprived of the right to inherit property and they are not paid for fieldwork so some of them manage to gain small amounts of money if they afford to make and sell their handicrafts. This means that their economic capital is so low and so is their position. Yet, they can succeed to gain some power by, for instance, allying with their mothers-in-law as this latter is respected and valued by her sons. The mother-in-law can convince her son to do things he refused to his wife. If a woman belongs to a family that is socially recognized and esteemed, she can use her father, brother or even uncle to manipulate or intimidate her

husband so that she gets what she wants (Anaris, 2016). Nevertheless, the ‘mothers of sons’ (women who give birth to many male children) are the ones who generally own the best and most influential social capital among the other women. Offspring is an important social capital to women vis a vis their husbands.

#### **2.4.4.3 Symbolic Capital**

Symbolic capital is the compilation of the cultural, economic and social capitals of an individual or a group. The value of the symbolic capital depends on the value of the other capitals that constitute it. Symbolic capital is called as such because one same symbolic capital can have different values according to the value of the other symbolic capitals that exist in the same field. In other words, “It exists and grows only in intersubjective reflection and can be recognized only there. Economic and cultural capital have their own modes of existence (money, shares; examinations and diplomas); whereas symbolic capital exists only in the ‘eyes of the others’” (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 13). Based on Bourdieu’s definition, symbolic capital can take different forms according to how the other capitals are valued and distributed among the different members of a community (Bourdieu 1986; 1987; 1998).

In Kabylia, one of the examples of symbolic capital is women chastity, purity and virginity. Women are considered as properties that must be well preserved from any kind of offence that can affect her honour and thus the honour of her group. Women are the cornerstones in the exchanges of the groups, the qualities of a woman (her symbolic capital) define the quality of the alliances such as marriages. The wedding night constitutes a crucial passage for a woman. Losing her virginity (symbolic capital) after the marriage gives her solid social recognition for her resistance to male temptations. By proving her virginity she wins the respect of the social order (Bourdieu, 1986).

### **2.5 FCDA**

Language is a social practice and power negotiations within social groups are observed in and made by words. FCDA, as well as CDA, are implied in the analysis of those words. Following this line of thought, this research brings feminist critical discourse analysis as a tool and approach to guide the investigation, examine the discourses and interpret the results. Ergo, FCDA along with Bourdieuan sociology are manoeuvred to examine gender in female’s poems and tales.

### 2.5.1 Discourse

Language has a central role in both keeping and changing the social and political state of things. The significance of how we decipher language has long been studied within linguistics and its subfields, bringing about various hypotheses, approaches and theories. Discourse is at the front line of these theories. It is depicted as a concept which “works above the level of grammar and semantics to capture what happens when [...] language forms are played out in different social, political and cultural arenas.” (Simpson and Mayr, 2010, p. 5). Discourse is a means of communication mirroring the world and it “both affects and is affected by social structures” (Barer, 2013, p. 38). Connected to control and power, “it is a social practice impacting social actors; it can be used in the service of legitimation for the existing social order” (ibid).

Fairclough and Wodak, contend that discourse not just "helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, [it also] contributes to transforming it." (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). They also argue that as discourse is so significant from a social point of view,

“discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the way in which they represent things and position people.” (ibid)

Those same authors add that, the extra-textual factors give a spirit to a discourse, connect it to other texts or change them, change the way we respond to it.

Van Dijk defines discourse as "complex communicative events" expressed by words and texts (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 356). Discourse builds social characters and identities and it legitimates them to create accepted practices and behaviours called social norms.

Since discourse theorists are so divided on the issue of power, different types of analyses have arisen which, in turn, advocate different means by which power relations can be portrayed in language, but also how they should be changed. This includes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA).

### 2.5.2 Critical discourse analysis

Discourse analysis, in general, is the examination of how sentences in oral speeches or written texts structure and compose significant units like paragraphs, discussions, interviews, and so on. A deep reading of a particular text, for instance, can uncover the strategies used by the author to convey specific messages, images, or impressions.

Norman Fairclough is considered the father of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This approach gathered a network of scholars in the 1990s such as G. Kress, T. Leeuwen, T. V. Dijk and R. Wodak. Yet, they had different approaches that showed many contrasts rather than similarities (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). Then, Fairclough formed his ‘three-tiered model’ to examine discourse, considering it as text, written or spoken, as discourse practice and as a social practice (Dremel and Matic, 2014). This implies that he observes and examines the content, and afterwards, he identifies how it was written or delivered and the way this content may be deciphered as far as social settings are concerned.

Discourse analysts may have different views on the points that are the most critical to investigate in a document or a speech for instance. They insist that any discourse can be analysed in several different manners and therefore, various results and conclusions can be made by the discourse analysts with respect to the significance behind the analysed content. Even though there is seemingly a limit with regards to the number of the potential interpretations regarding a text, “different understandings of the text result from different combinations of the interpreter”(Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999 qtd. as cited in Jörnige, 2014, p. 6). Additionally, Fairclough insists on taking into consideration the social features related to discourse and this is what is called intertextual analysis: “intertextual properties of a text are realized in its linguistic features” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 189).

Critical linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis are frequently used or perceived as one, however; in recent years the term CDA is more used by researchers and scholars to refer to what was in the past critical linguistics. CDA considers 'language as social practise' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), and gives importance to the settings of the language used. In addition to that, the matters of language and power and the relationship between them are what specify CDA. CDA is, in fact, a tool that spotlights the "impact of the systematic choices of particular language items or grammatical construction within a text" (Mills, 2004, p. 119).

### **2.5.2.1 CDA and Social Orders**

According to Wodak and Meyer (2001), CDA in a general sense is interested in shedding light and examining the different levels of power relationships and their forms such as discrimination, dominance, and manipulation expressed in language. As such, CDA attempts at exploring social imbalance and inequality as it is “expressed, signalled, constituted, and legitimized by language use (or in discourse)” (Wodak, 2001, p. 2).



Fairclough (1995) asserts that language, which is ordinarily seen as neutral and clear, has a social and ideological role in changing or maintaining social structures, orders and actors. He recognizes such role of language in revealing what is beyond what seems to be naïve words like the "redefinition of social connections among experts and publics, the reconstitution of social personalities and types of self, or the reconstitution of information and philosophy" (ibid, p. 209). On the same line of reasoning, Barer (2013) following Fairclough and Wodak (1997) says that "The ideological effects of discursive practices may help produce and reproduce unequal power relations through the representation of actors and events and allow assumptions to go unaddressed as mere common sense." (Barer, 2013, p. 30).

According to Van Dijk (2001), people or institutions that detain power "control the acts and minds" (p.355) of those who are deprived of power.

Language has a significant and noteworthy function in the game of social power. Johnstone, 2003 (as cited by Ramesh and Talif, 2010), states that while studying a story or a novel, to analyse females' or males' identities, for example, some conscious or unconscious linguistic choices are made when the analyst faces the question of who said what: the character him/herself or the narrator who has heard or experienced that somewhere before?.

By observing and analysing the social interactions made through discourse, CDA not only tries to unveil or understand the power inequalities perpetuated through it but also sheds light on the discourses of resistance of abused groups. The study of power within texts from a CDA perspective aims to be done from "the perspective of those who suffer", as it is those in a dominant position who are not just "responsible for the existence of inequalities [but...] also have the means and the opportunity to improve conditions." (Weiss and Wodak, 2003 qtd. as cited in Jörninge, 2014, p. 7).

### **2.5.3 FCDA Introduction and definition**

Critical discourse analysis branched and developed a recent approach that questions power hierarchies in society from a feminist perspective, this approach is baptized Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) or Feminist Critical Discourse studies. As a whole, FCDA is defined as an interdisciplinary approach that is concerned with the relationships between discourse, ideology, society and gender, that is to say, it looks at language as a social-communicative practice that establishes and perpetuates societal gender expectations (Wodak, 2005; Lehtonen, 2007; Lazar, 2005).

The combination of feminism and critical discourse analysis produces a powerful tool of analysis and more importantly of action as observed by Lazar (2005, *ibid*). This is because FCDA reunites researchers and scholars in sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and feminism, as they all agree that “the meaning of words is not fixed but fluid [and] Linguistic meanings are socially constructed, contextually variable and continually subject to negotiation and modification in interaction” (Speer, 2005, p. 4). Those words and thus discourses reinforce some ideas and beliefs related to power and power relations in society in a very subtle way that they become not only conventional but anchored in people’s minds as being natural and innate. Feminist CD analysts examine those discourses and see how they contribute to maintaining social orders especially the gendered ones.

It is important to note that it is only from the 1970s that a scientific connection of language and gender has been made and researchers began to tackling gender more palpably and systematically; and this marriage of linguistic studies with gender gave birth to the field of ‘language and gender studies’(Simpson and Mayr, 2010).

Another reason for FCDA scholars to insist on implying a feminist perspective in the analysis of language and discourse is that many disciplines that tackle them have for so long been male-stream ones. (Gordon, 1986 *qtd.* as cited in Lazar, 2007).

### **2.5.3.1 Aims and Role of FCDA**

FCDA is interested in treating many issues and probe many taken for granted social and political orders. Yet, its fundamental aim is to challenge and question the discourses that support patriarchy and patriarchal social order that advantages and empowers men over women (Lazar 2005, Lazar, 2007).

The Unequal and unfair [gendered] social orders and the social injustice that the oppressed groups especially women suffer from are what feminist critique focus on. They try to make a social transformation in favour of women and their emancipation. That is why many consider that FCDA is ‘an emancipatory social science’ that aims at establishing justice by pointing to and critiquing the discourses that bear and transmit discrimination and power ideologies in addition to patriarchal ones that are against women’s privilege (Lazar, 2007; Speer, 2005). FCD analysts’ study “how women as individuals and as members of groups negotiate relations of

power. Recent feminist work has moved away from viewing women as simply an oppressed group, as victims of male domination” (Mills, 1997, p. 78). Moreover, they attempt to figure out how the struggle against power and domination can be possible and fruitful especially that women are forced to or used to accept on the one hand the status quo imposed by hierarchical systems and on the other the common view of females as being inferior to men-their superiors (ibid). In this respect, feminist research also spotlights women’s work on emancipation and resistance and their negotiation of power as full individuals and members of a community (ibid).

We cannot speak about the aims of feminist discourse analysis that are tightly related to social power, and social orders without speaking about the cornerstone of those analyses that is gender. For feminist discourse analyst, gender is not considered as something produced through discourse; it rather depends on the context. Gender representations and gendered power divisions differ from one social setting to another (Lazar, 2005). Gender, thus, is not constant worldwide, it varies according to “ethnicity, age, class, sexual identity – and with power relations.” (Lehtonen, 2007, p. 5). The triggers to feminist studies as far as gender is concerned are first, the taken for granted gender assumptions and stereotypes and the fact of considering all women as identical, constituting one homogeneous social group.

### **2.5.3.2 The Principles of FCDA**

Wodak (2005) in his lecture *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: New Perspectives for Interdisciplinary Gender Studies* suggested some of FCDA principles that can be considered as aims too. The suggested list is as follows:

- 1) Breaking up dichotomies!
- 2) Differentiating the range of gendered identities!
- 3) Relating gender to other identities, such as ethnicity, social class, profession, culture, political affiliation, etc.! Interdisciplinarity necessary!
- 4) Analysing gender in socio-political, situative, interactive and historical contexts! (Gender functions as one interpretative category in all contexts; gender enters as a social relation into all contexts)
- 5) Theorizing and analysing the particularly insidious and oppressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social practices (in the interplay with 4).
- 6) Raising as problematic the notion of scientific neutrality (all knowledge is socially constructed!)
- 7) Viewing gender as ideological structure.

- 8) Deconstructing the hegemony and symbolic violence of gender in our societies! (i. e. focusing on the latent, covert mechanisms of discrimination; patriarchal gender ideology is structural, similar and to and combined with other discriminatory practices in our societies).
- 9) Contesting the prevailing gender ideology by making it transparent;
- 10) Viewing gender not only as discursively constructed but having a material base as well (different salaries for the same job for men and women, for example);
- 11) Reflecting one's own research activities critically.

### **2.5.3.3 FCDA and Text Analysis**

Texts have a critical impact on individuals, actions and reflections, social interactions, and ways of seeing the world. The choices of text discourses influence our view or position towards some life realities just as the duties made to different certainties by uprightness of decisions in wording (Fairclough, 2003).

Feminists see that FCDA is appropriate as a tool or methodology for textual analysis since it takes into consideration “the constitutive nature of language and experience for the subject with a particular focus on gender and sexuality, as well as social class and ethnicity.” (Barer, 2013, p. 40).

Back in 1970, researchers began investigating written materials like textbooks and novels from the viewpoint of feminists (IbrarUllah, 2018). They insisted that the negative depiction of females in textbooks can have negative effects. As textbooks content are discourses, each discourse has a genuine aim and has genuine implications and effects. Gender-related writings have a considerable function in the spread, transmission and safeguarding of the traditional and conventional gender ideologies in a specific region. The reading material additionally influences the minds of the readers /students about their perception of men and women and thus masculinities and femininities (IbrarUllah, *ibid*).

With regards to fictional texts and their conventional contents, Talbot, 1995 (as cited by Lehtonen, 2007) asserts that fiction as a social, discursive practice is empowering and disempowering, that is to say, the recent texts especially in children's books not only bear forms of oppression but also forms of resistance and empowerment.

As far as gender and gender bias in texts are concerned, FCDA offers a deeper comprehension of gender. It investigates the gender biases in the discourses of texts from a critical feminist perspective and analyses the portrayal of women and men in texts and how they are spoken about. FCDA aims to determine what gender beliefs and ideologies are behind the text's discourses. Additionally, it points to unequal gender-based relationships and tries to explore their causes and consequences (IbrarUllah, 2018). On the impacts of books gendered representations on people and students, Fairclough observes that the characters are dressed in the philosophical and political stances certain discourses bear. Along these lines, any present gender biases in textbooks will undoubtedly influence the minds and convictions of readers and learners. Ergo, it is vital to investigate and analyse the content of the texts as many studies have shown that textbooks, for instance, have gender-biased representations and messages (Fairclough, 1992). And this is exactly what is done with the corpus of this thesis.

Even though the aim of FCDA in analysing texts' contents is to make associations between gendered discourses and portrayals in the text and the sociocultural setting, FCDA doesn't seek nor assert to predict the response or the reaction of the consumers/readers nor does it decide what the author's aims are. As a book or any type of text does not only bear a message, different readings by the same or different analysts are not only possible but in fact, preferred. This implies that one content, for example, a children's book, may have different voices calling various gender suppositions and expectations, some of them may be possibly oppositional (Sunderland 2004; Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002; Mills 1994; Jorgensen and Phillips 2004 qtd. as cited by IbrarUllah, 2018).

#### **2.5.3.4 Methods of FCDA Analysis**

Based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model stated earlier in this chapter, most researchers and FCD analysts believe that a text can never be perceived or dissected in isolation, it needs to be analysed according to other related texts and to the social setting. However, there is a handful of methodologies that are also adopted. FCDA basically relies on linguistic approaches and according to Lehtonen (2007), some analysts like Lazar rely in their analysis on "lexis, clauses/sentences/utterances, conversational turns, structures of argument, genre and interactions between discourses" (p. 7) while others like Sunderland or Litosseliti focus "on analysis of lexical choices" (p. 7).

Taking into account those various options, it is important to bear in mind that as far as gender is concerned not everything in the writings is essentially pertinent, and that each book shows a

particular way of conveying gendered discourses. Consequently, as it is the case in translation studies, it is apt to the researcher to choose, to be analysed, the most appropriate linguistic features and parts of the content that refer to gender., then he can pick from the different “reference materials in feminist studies of gender and language.” (ibid).

## **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has been an attempt to review the literature on language use in general and its particularities related to gender in Kabylia. Throughout this chapter, the researcher presented the literature on the approaches and concepts that will be used as guidelines in her sample analysis.

## **Chapter Three**

### **The Expression of the Dichotomies: Society-centred /Women-centred, Conservative/Liberate, Empowerment/Disempowerment, Consent /Revolt**

#### **In Poems**

#### **In tales**

### **3.4 Introduction**

The third chapter provides the analyses of the discourse of the collected poems and folktales.

Data analyses are arranged in terms of each sample category. That is to say, folktales' data analysis and poems' data analysis. Each part is divided into a number of subsections depending on the investigated aspects. Each analysis among the two is followed by an in-depth discussion that attempts to interpret the findings, relate them to what has been discussed earlier in the previous chapters.

### **3.2 Methodology and Data Collection**

#### **3.2.1 The Corpus of Tales and Poems**

The corpus of this research is a bouquet of 24 tales and 50 poems that were collected between 2015 and 2018.

To collect the data, the researcher met Kabyle women aged between 35 and 82 and living in the village of Ath Ali Ouharzoun in the city of Tizi Ouzou. Most of the informants were born and married in that same village and a few of them were born in the neighbouring villages but got married in the village of Ath Ali Ouharzoun and have spent their whole lives there.

Since this research is concerned broadly with the representation of Kabyle women by Kabyle women, the corpus used here was recorded from the mouths of women of different ages and status in order not to focus on a specific category of women. This is to have an overall idea of the situation of the Kabyle women of the area.

**Table 3.2.1:*****The Informants' Details***

<b>The informant's names</b>	<b>age</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Region</b>
Nna Saadia	82	housewife	Ath Ali Ouharzoun (Tizi Ouzou)
Nna Tassadit	78	housewife	Ath Ali Ouharzoun (Tizi Ouzou)
Nna Aldjia	81	housewife	From Tazmalt married in Ath Ali Ouharzoun
Nna Ldjohar	75	Housewife	Ath Ali Ouharzoun (Tizi Ouzou)
Nna Fazia	76	Housewife	Ath Ali Ouharzoun (Tizi Ouzou)
Nna Djidjiga	69	Housewife	From the neighbouring village Tala n Tazart, married in Ath Ali Ouharzoun (Tizi Ouzou)
Dalila	39	Lab assistant	Ath ali Ouharzoun (Tizi Ouzou)
Djamila	43	Teacher of Mathematics	From the neighbouring village Bouadnane, married in Ath Ali Ouharzoun (Tizi Ouzou)
Nina	35	teacher of natural sciences	Ath Ali Ouharzoun (Tizi Ouzou)

Before analysing the corpus, the researcher went through different stages:

**-Recording:** Audio recordings were used for most of the poems and tales. Yet, Mrs. Djamila offered to transcribe the songs that were sung by women at a Kabyle wedding the researcher attended. The songs were not recorded as the researcher did not take any recording material with her for it was not expected that the relatives of the bride bring *abendir*<sup>51</sup> with them to sing traditional wedding songs.

The informants were asked to tell stories and sing poems of their choice according to their preferences and mood. The researcher did not tell the informants that she was going to analyse the themes and the representations of women so that she does not influence the informant's choices. Some informants like the researcher's aunt felt so shy and did not want to sing

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<sup>51</sup> a traditional Kabyle tambourine



pretending not to know any song, however, she gave her some songs' titles that she loves to sing when she is by herself and which are sang by some famous Kabyle singers like Zohra and Nouara. The researcher did not want to insist to make the aunt sing against her will but fortunately, she found the lyrics of those songs on the internet and included them in her corpus.

**-The transcriptions:** after the researcher had recorded the poems and the tales, she started the transcription journey. Transcriptions were a tough task because it needed listening over and over to the sequences, the sentences, and the unclear words. In addition to that, the researcher was not used to writing in Kabyle and she had to learn that (using Roman alphabet). The transcriptions period was too long (around 13 months). A teacher of Tamazight in Bejaia city and a member of Numidia Association in Oran city helped the researcher with the transcription of some long tales; and with the revision of the texts she transcribed by herself.

**-The translations into English:** it was another tough and time-consuming task as the researcher had to translate over than 110 pages. The researcher tried to remain as faithful as possible to the original Kabyle texts, and in some cases word for word translations were necessary. One of the difficulties that were encountered is the diversity of the vocabulary in the different Kabyle varieties. The researcher had to contact the informants from time to time so that they explain to her the meanings of some particular terms and words. The translation period lasted around five months.

**-Numbering and coding:** After the transcriptions and the translations were made, the researcher coded the tales with C's and the poems with P's, and then she numbered them. The 24 tales are coded and numbered as follows:

**Table 3.2.1a:*****The List of Tales and Their Codes***

<b>Tales' titles</b>	<b>The codes of the tales</b>
<i>Aeeqqa Yessawalen/</i> The Grain That Calls	<b>c1</b>
<i>Tamyart D Teslit-Is</i> The Old Woman and Her Daughter-In-Law	<b>c2</b>
<i>Tamacahut N Tfunast Igujilen</i> The Cow of The Orphans	<b>c3</b>
Ticyerbel / The Tale of The Sieves	<b>c4</b>
<i>Tahdayt Yebghan Aeeqqa N Čina</i> The Little Girl Who Wanted an Orange	<b>c5</b>
Tassa N U Qalmun/ The Lever of The Hood	<b>c6</b>
Tasaft N Uwayezniw: Baba Inu Ba. The Oak of The Ogre "My Papa Pa."	<b>c7</b>
<i>Dda Yehya Azrem/</i> Sir Yahia The Serpent	<b>c8</b>
<i>Tehriruch/</i> Tehrirush	<b>c9</b>
<i>Aberkan N Uqerru/</i> The Black-Headed Man	<b>c10</b>
<i>Ifer N Tzizwit/</i> The Wing of The Bee	<b>c11</b>
<i>Arbib D Gma-S/</i> The Stepson and His Brother	<b>c12</b>
<i>Ekker Ekker, Ay Anekkar N Leh̄san Am Bab-Is</i> Get Up! Ungrateful, Like His Owner...	<b>c13</b>
<i>Tin N Rabbi/</i> Charity	<b>c14</b>
<i>Tin N Rabbi (2)/</i> Charity (2)	<b>c14'</b>
<i>Tinegmatin, Sut N Tmellin N Yizrem</i> The Sisters-In-Law and The Snake's Eggs	<b>c15</b>
<i>Lunġa N Teryell</i> Lundja The Daughter of The Ogress <i>Teryel</i>	<b>c16</b>
<i>Sin Imdukkal/</i> The Two Friends	<b>c17</b>
<i>Friylus/</i> Frighlous	<b>c18</b>
<i>Ṭir Lemyenni/</i> The Singing Bird	<b>c19</b>
<i>Tawenza N Wurey (Dhebb)</i>	<b>c20</b>

The Golden Forehead	
<i>BeleuğiD/</i> Belludjid	<b>c21</b>
<i>Eica M-Tiydimt/</i> Aisha, The Girl with Ashes	<b>c22</b>
<i>Zelgum /Zelgum</i>	<b>c23</b>

As for the 50 poems, they were not only coded and numbered, but they were also classified by theme as follows:

**Table 3.2.1b**

*The List of Poems and Their Codes*

Theme	Poems' codes
<b>marriage</b>	
*Forced marriage	P1 P2 P49
*Spinsters	P38
*Choosing a spouse	P39
Pain /torments /complaints	P3 P36 P48
Love and separation	P4 P9 P20 P46
Child's ingratitude	P5
Brother's ingratitude	P11
In-law relationships	P6 p17 p17' p17'' p25

	p26 p29 p44
Drunkard	P7
Circumcision	P8
Exile and emigration	P10 P13 P30 P46 P50
<b>Wedding songs</b>	P28
For the Bride	P12 P21 P41 P42
For the Groom	p24 p27
Importance of family/ origins	p14
Divorce and repudiation /polygamy	P15
Widowhood	P43
Unhappy/unsuccessful marriage	P16 P19 P40
Criticizing the spouse	P38 P45 P50
<b>Lullabies</b>	
For Boys	P18 P22 P33'
For Girls	P32

	P33 P34
Dance songs	P23
Complements/praising	P35

Coding and numbering the corpus serve to refer to the poems or tales without writing their titles in Kabyle and English each time they are mentioned in the analyses.

### 3.2.2 Difficulties and Limitation

- Some informants felt too shy and others did not feel comfortable when they knew that their voices were going to be recorded. Each time the researcher asked an informant to lend her voice, she had to explain to her that there is no harm in that. Some of them refused and others hesitated a lot before accepting.
- Some women like the researcher's aunt are a true living library. However, they were too shy to tell the stories or sing out of context.
- The old informants refused to tell the stories before nightfall as in the Kabyle tradition it is forbidden to tell the stories before sunset. It is believed that calamities or problems will occur in the house of the storyteller that broke the rule; or to her relatives.
- The transcriptions and the translations were time and effort consuming.
- The old informants sometimes hesitated or stopped while telling the stories because it happened that they forgot the flow of the stories or some details from time to time.
- Some words and passages were not clear in the recordings because the informants have sometimes a difficulty to because of their ages or when they are tired. It also happens that they articulate quickly and unclearly when they feel uncomfortable with the recording in order to finish their tales or songs quickly so that the recording session gets to an end.
- Even though the researcher has collected a considerable number of tales and poems, one must confess that it is just a drop in the sea of the Kabyle literary heritage. In addition to that, the larger the analysed material is, the better it is in terms of results validity and their closeness to objectivity.

### 3.3 Findings

#### 3.3.1 Tales Analysis

##### 3.3.1.1. The Importance of Family

###### C1

- Get higher; O rock, That I see my father's and my mother's country (the girls said)
- The brothers, the sister and their parents lived the rest of their lives in peace and tranquillity...

###### C7

There used to be an old man, living in a shack inside a forest. He was paralyzed and could not move. It was his granddaughter who regularly brought him the Kabyle bread

###### C15

One day, she told them:

- "When we will be having dinner, say to your father: "Let us go and see our uncles". He will say to you: "your mother has no parents!" And I will say to you, "Is there anyone born from the ground !? »

--if she has relatives, I will not deprive you of them; Go visit them, said the man.

##### 3.3.1.2 Brother/Sister Relationship

###### C1

So they agreed on a decision they took immediately: "We swear by you, Great God, that if our mother gives birth to a girl, we will hold **shafts** and we will sing and party but if it will be a boy, we will also take **shafts** and we will evade right away."

- The maid disguised as a white woman and told the brothers that she was their sister ... They cheered up and made of her the mistress of the house.

-Her brothers recognized her as she resembles their mother; they then knew that she was their true sister. They rejoiced.

###### P3

The kid asked again "aunt, I would like to drink", but the fountain refused and despite that he drank. He immediately became a goat. His sister put a collar around his neck, took him and she went away.

###### C5

They said to each other: "we will bring our sister back "

**C15**

She took the child, she walked for a long time, as long as she was applying their mother 's marrow on his body, he was growing up.

She returned to her parental home and raised her brother there.

- Then he took her (his sister) to the tree of wild animals and attached her to it.

**C19**

She went to knock on the door of the girl (who had grown up) and said:

- Your brother! does he love you?

- He loves me!

The above sequences picked from the different parts of tales show how important family is to its different members, it shows how parents and grandparents are loved and cared for by their children and grandchildren, the importance of family is something universal but these sequence show something particular, especially that we are dealing with a Kabyle patriarchal family. The sequence taken from the **tale C7** shows us the commitment towards the old grandfathers, and the one taken from **c15** shows how daughters, even married with children still care about their parents and find time to go visit them, the same sequence suggests that husbands respect their in-laws and do not deny their wives from visiting their parents.

The passages in **table 3.3.1.2** also show the tight bound between brothers and sisters, and how brothers and sisters love and care for one another.

It is obvious that the authors of those tales are trying to reinforce brother-sister relationships. On the other hand, girls, daughters and sisters are given mother like roles, they care for, and worry about their fathers, brothers, and grandfathers, they always think about their family members and ready to make sacrifices to please them and protect them. This kind of sequences promote a culture of gender equality in a household as far as love, respect and caring among siblings and between children and parents are concerned ,all by giving a particular emphasis on how girls act and deport themselves towards the rest of their family members, especially the males: girls are attributed motherly characteristics.

Howbeit, if most of the tales show the positive relationship among the family members, a sequence taken from the tale **C1 in table 3.3.1.2** suggests that there might be jealousy between brothers, yet, it is only one tale among the 23 analysed. The sequence taken from **c15 in the same table** also shows how a girl is negatively treated by her brother who attached her to a tree. This behaviour will be explained below.

The passage taken from **C1** wherein the mother is inducing her sons to speak to their father so that he let them go see her family. The mother is in fact using her children and the fact that her husband would accept to do anything to please his little boys. Herein, the children constitute the **social capital** of the woman and she makes use of it by manipulating her sons to get what she wants from her husband.

### 3.3.1.3 The Importance of Marriage

#### **C3**

- Fate wanted this woman to die and one of his daughters too. He buried her beside her mother, and he married another woman,  
-He married her, he had her in his house

#### **C13**

Until the day when the sultan wanted to marry off his son:

#### **C15**

Once he became a man, she (his sister) married him off.  
-The man brought the Imam from the mosque, he read them "the Fatiha"<sup>52</sup>, the man married the woman (he saved) and he had two boys with her.

#### **C11**

He married her, they made a wedding party of seven days and seven nights, and they lived in happiness.

#### **C16**

His father had said to him:  
- Son, let me marry you off

#### **C22**

He married the girl and made a great wedding party

#### **C23**

As for the prince, he went to his mother and said to her:  
- I would like to get married...  
-It's been a long time since we asked you to...  
- "So, prepare for the wedding party" ... he asked her ...

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<sup>52</sup> The religious marriage ritual



### 3.3.1.4 Choosing a Partner

#### C3

She got tired after all that long walk, but god sent her a man who took her, sheltered her and she stayed at his. she asked him: “would you take my goat too?”

- "I would like to marry you," he said.

- “If you accept my goat, and never put it in the barn...”

-“I agree” ... he said.

#### C8

The serpent stood and said to the woman, "I would like to marry you!" The woman accepted

#### C11

She informed the whole population that whoever heals her father; she will marry him and she will make of him king of the kingdom.

- Days passed and love was born \* between this young man and the king's daughter. He married her

#### C13

He then saw his father and said:

-the marriage is cancelled; the bride will not come...

- No, my son!

- Father, it's cancelled!

- Why not get married, my son?

- Impossible, I want to marry the girl of the old woman!

- No, my son, a poor woman's daughter!?

-That's the one I'll marry.

#### C16

His father had said to him: “Son, let me marry you off...”

-“I, I will marry the black servant!!!”

- “Son, people would speak ill of me! A prince marrying a slave!”

- “It is a slave that I will marry!”

he did not tell his father who that slave really was...

You want to marry a slave, so marry a slave! His father said to him.

#### C18

He returned home, settled with the woman he had brought before, called the Imam of the mosque who testified for his marriage with that woman

**C20**

So This is what I will ask you: give me the middle-aged daughter among her sisters; I had dreamed of her and the Lord made me meet her ... give her to me and I would enrich you if that is the will of the Lord.[...] The father gave him his daughter and made a wedding of seven days and seven nights

**C22**

One of these days, the Sultan saw her and he wanted to marry her ... to have her in his house. He sent someone to her, to let her know.

She replied, "I am Aisha, the girl with ashes, as people call me ... a poor girl. You are a sultan; you will marry a woman like you."

- Even if you're Aisha, the girl in ashes, it does not matter to me, it's you that I want...

He asked if her father was at home so that he could go and ask her hand. For that, he sent a messenger; He asked if her parents were at home.

**C23**

-Is it that hair which is doing that to my horse? I swear to the Great Lord that wherever its owner is, I will find her and she will be inscribed in my destiny (my wife), even if I roamed seventy-seven countries to find her! "

-He returned home and spoke to his father, saying, «gather all the girls of the village, and I will choose one as my spouse. »

- He (the prince) married Zelgum (after he saved her), and he made a feast of seven days and seven nights.

- But this monarch replied, "I will not return her to you, she is my wife I had found her in the woods, I took her and I married her. »

Marriage is frequently tackled, in fact, it is one of the most recurrent topics in the tales, for as it is mentioned in chapter one, marriage has a central importance in the Kabyle society. The fragments show that parents crave to see their children married. The king in the tale **C16** made a concession because his son threatened him to remain single if he did not marry the poor woman he has chosen. Marriage also leads to the stability and happiness of both men and women and it is part of the happy endings in the in-hand tales. However, the sequences show that in addition to feelings, men get married because they need a wife to take care of them and of their needs, sometimes to take care of the children born from previous marriages (C3). As for female characters, they often get married for the sake of having a better life condition. In some tales, it was mentioned that women married the hero who saved their lives or the passers-

by who gave them shelter. This shows that women in this context seek protection and stability more than love or attraction.

Furthermore, the second table shows that in most cases, male characters choose their brides or the women they want to spend their lives with; the choice of the wife is sometimes nothing but a challenge (C23). Nevertheless, the same table shows that if in most cases, males choose their own spouses, females don't, they are married to the one their parent choose, or they are given as prizes to men. A Woman or a girl is given to a man as his wife without even being asked whether she accepts him or not. No sequence has shown that the woman has been consulted by her father or brother. In addition, whenever a male character proposes to a female one, she accepts! The sequence taken from the tale (C3) shows that the woman makes a condition to her would be husband: she demands that he takes care of her goat (her brother turned into a goat), and the princess in (C 11) promises to accept as a husband whoever saves her father. Those two instances again, show us the motherly, protective, and loving characteristic of sisters and daughters.

the second table shows us that parents give importance to some details. The would-be daughter-in-law needs to be of an honourable family or honourable reputation in order not to bring shame and abashment to her family in-law, as honour is sacred in that society and it constitutes the symbolic capital of families in general and men in particular, this symbolic capital insures respect and value among peers or in the village in general.

### 3.3.1.5 Husband-Wife Relationships

**C2**

Both the man and his wife "felt warmth in their hearts", one for the other, but in discretion.

**C8**

She went home and said to her husband:

-wake up, man! Let's go, that man is an Ogre, he wants to devour us.

He replied:

-Go away from here; May God makes you sick! Here, you eat to your heart's content and now you tell me nonsense. \*\*\*\*\*

- The man replied: " I will say that I was caught by the \*\*\*, start by my head that did not listen to the woman's advice. »

The ogre again said to him: "From where will I start eating you"

- "I will say that I was caught by the \*\*\*, Start by my feet that did not accompany the woman." the man replied.

### **C10**

The old man resumed digging in his garden till he felt tired, then he went back home and told his adventure to his old wife. He told her, "I found a pit, and that's what happened." He told her about what he found and what he pulled out.

- For it was this old woman who hid what the "beings" of the pit gave to her husband. She gave him some hair and he put it in the hearth of fire.

### **C15**

There was once a hunter, who caught a partridge but it flew away...

The next day he caught another one. He threatened his wife: "beware, if you make it flee away!!!"

- "Is it true that you allow me to (to go see her parents)?" She asked him.

- "I let you to," he (the husband) replied.

### **C18**

The man and the woman consulted each other:

- we will prepare our bedding; we will place him next to us facing the shore; I'll tell you to push yourself aside and you'll tell me the same thing ... until we throw him to the sea!

### **C22**

The king guessed that these judgments are his wife's and went to scold her:

- "It is because of you that I often change my judgments; it is you who deliberate at the end ... you will be sent out of here and in the immediate future; take all what you think is valuable and get out of here

What is of value to me? Here it is: to have a meal with you, which I would have prepared myself...

- "You will have that", he replied.

Once there, the Sultan woke up and asked her: "What had brought me here?"

- You told me to take all that is dear to me ... Now; there is nothing dearer to me than you... Your judgments were wrong, while I was right ... In truth; could a mule have a small cub?! Could the fish also come out of the water to graze in a field of beans?! Think hard..."

The king, realized what was obvious, and regretted his decision and told her: "Come then woman, let's go home. And I swear to you before the Great Lord that henceforth it will only

be after consulting you that I would make my judgments; you are "the king" and I a minister under your tutelage..."

### **C23**

one day, Zalgoum, the princess said to her husband: "I would like to visit my parents, see someone...". "I'll take you there," he said.

"you shall not take me there \*\*\*\*\* bring me old clothes, a turban, a cane and a carrycot."

He accompanied her to the middle of the road and said: "Tomorrow when you come back, you will find me here. »

The above sequences tackle the relationship between the spouses, some instances show positive interaction and behaviours, and positive feeling of love, care, and harmony. The spouse is there as a provider and a protector, while the wife is there as an advisor, a loving partner and the one who takes care of him. Howbeit, the man in **C8** did not take into consideration his wife's warnings and he insulted her, and it was too late when he realized that she was trying to save his life, (**C15**) shows that the woman asks her husband's permission to go and see her parents, and **C22** shows that even though the king married Aisha for her intelligence he did not accept that she surpasses him or that she interferes in his decisions. Those instances show the supremacy of husbands (men) over their wives (women) and the impact of patriarchy on the husband-wife relationship.

### **3.3.1.6 Infertility**

#### **C19**

There was also a sultan, who had no children

One day they were fishing fish and among it, there was a small box in the net.

The sultan saw that they were two children, and he did not have any...

They were raised, the old ones died (sultan and his wife), and the children remained in the palace with the servants.

Progeny is crucial for the preservation of the human race, infertility, however, is considered as a misfortune, or even a curse especially in the patriarchal societies like Kabylia, both man and woman fear infertility as it affects men virility and women's femininity.

The issue of infertility is implicitly tackled in one single tale. The king in this tale is a secondary character.

### 3.3.1.7 The Offspring and Their Gender

#### C1

There was a man who had seven boys. His wife was pregnant and she was about to give birth.

#### C3

It was so until the day when she (stepmother) had a daughter, and a little later she had a second daughter.

- Hassan and Hocine in my lap

#### C4

There was once a woman who had two daughters, one of whom was her stepdaughter, the daughter of her husband

#### C5

There was once a man who had seven boys, and the eighth child was a girl.

#### C8

The man went back to the ogre's house with his wife and his two sons.

-she found Sir Yahiya the serpent whose wife had just died, leaving him with a son.

-but she started to hate the child she had with the first man.

#### C11

There was once a king whose wife died and had only one daughter

- There used to be two children and a woman. One was her son, the other was her stepson.

#### C13

There was an old man, who had a boy.

- It turned out that this ogre had seven daughters.

#### C14

She left ...One of her sons on her back, and the two others before her,

#### C15

This woman was pregnant. She took her daughter on her back and then she left

- a man married the woman and he had two boys with her.

#### C18

There was a man who had two boys that he was raising and a third one, his nephew,

#### C20

Once upon a time, there was a father who had seven daughters, they were orphans.

In The eleven tales wherein the number and the gender of the children is mentioned, male offspring outnumber female offspring and this may be related to the fact that male offspring are more desired and preferable in the patriarchal Kabyle society as they are considered as the protectors of honour and they ensure the continuity of the lineage and the persistence of the family and its name. Yet in no tale, it was shown that female offspring were not welcome, and in no instance, it was mentioned that there is a preference for sons over daughters. Throughout the tales, sons and daughters were equally loved and protected by their parents.

### 3.3.1.8 Polygamy and Repudiation

#### **C19**

He then married them all three...

#### **C22**

The king guessed that these judgments are his wife's and went to scold her: "It is because of you that I often change my judgments; it is you who deliberate at the end ... you will be sent out of here and in the immediate future; take all what you think is valuable and get out of here"

### 3.3.1.9 Widow/Widower

#### **C14**

One day, there was a widow who used to live in the countryside

The occurrence of the sequences where repudiation and polygamy are mentioned is negligible. The male character who has more than one spouse in **C19** is a king. The female character who was repudiated in **C22** is a woman who broke her promise to her husband, and who intervened in his decisions and who unconsciously proved him wrong before his subjects.

As for widowhood and remarriage, in the tales **C3** and **C8** the widowed men got remarried, and the widowed woman in **C14** remained alone to take care of her children.

The storytellers here do not deny the fact that polygamy and repudiation exist in their society. However, they try to make it balanced and fair. As they cannot avoid it, they find excuses to it: repudiation is portrayed as a punishment that awaits women who show disrespect to their husbands or who belittle them before others (this way, the storytellers are implicitly teaching girl to be obedient and decent, and showing boys that repudiation is not something one can decide to do without having a reason to). As for polygamy, they view it as something permitted but only affordable to kings.

### 3.3.1.10 Incestuous Relationships

#### C23

-“Your brother is you whom he will marry! He found your hair in the pond when he had his horse drink water; and there, he swore by The Great Lord that he would marry the girl with that hair even if she happened to be his own sister”.

- “He brought clothes, which he measured their sizes according to yours, saying «The one I will marry is like you.” It is you he will marry!”

The incestuous marriage or relationship appeared in one story among the 23 analysed, the brother decides to marry the woman to whom belonged a hair he had found in the pond without him knowing that she was his own sister. Yet, even though he figured it out who the girl was he did not change his decision and intended to marry her because he had sworn before the great lord to marry the woman who had that hair. And because of that, a nail sank into his leg and he remained immobile in a corner for long years: this was his sister’s curse. It is undoubtedly thanks to a great vigilance and especially to this kind of stories that the Kabyle mothers managed to ward off the demons of incest. The Ancient Kabyles were convinced that incest was drying up the fountain of the village which threatened the villagers’ lives and condemned them to abandon this one, and to look for another source. Another popular belief is that incest is to be punished by the waters: if this act were to be committed, the fountain of the village immediately turned its water into an undrinkable liquid or blood: which endangered the whole city. Then, Islam came, and it forbade incest for once and for all.

### 3.3.1.11 In-Law Relationships

#### C2

This old woman and her daughter-in-law were like dogs and cats. In ancient Kabylia, the first would like to be the mistress of the house and make of the second her slave.

- Divorce his wife, to satisfy his mother? Or say to his mother: "you are wrong, mother”  
He knew she was denigrating his wife, and the bad she wanted to make to her.

#### C6

The old woman and her daughter-in-law did not get along; if one of them said that something is white, the other will tell her that it is black

- One day, the old woman and the wife started a fight; and the woman told her husband:



-There will be no peace in this house until you get rid of your mother.

**C14**

The young man's sister prepared real ones, while his wife prepared snake's eggs.

When the sister had eaten them, snakes hatched in her belly

**C18**

He saw an old man advancing towards him; he was taking his daughter-in-law to visit her parents.

**C20**

And the prince changed to the best the life conditions of his parents-in-law...

Two tales dealt with the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law quarrels and mutual hatred, (C2) is told in a humorous manner and the man could wisely settle the dispute between his wife and his mother. The second tale C6 portrayed the daughter-in-law as an evil character who pushed her husband to kill his mother, C14 too portrays the man's wife as evil and witty, as she accuses her husband's sister of sin so that he kills her. Those two tales portray the man's wife as the one who causes harm to her in-laws.

C18 is a common scene in ancient Kabylia when the father-in-law used to take his daughter-in-law to her parents' house for a visit and bring her back whenever her husband was busy or abroad. The relationship with fathers-in-law is generally based on respect as he is the patriarch and the head of the house.

### 3.3.1.12 Stepparent/Stepchildren Relationships

**C3**

-and he married another woman, who hated her stepchildren, she hated both the boy and the girl.

- The second woman hated her stepchildren, she deprived them of food, and hurt them;

**C4**

There was once a woman who had two daughters, one of whom was her stepdaughter, the daughter of her husband). They went every day to the fountain to bring water.

To her daughter, she gave a skin and to the stepdaughter, she gave a sieve.

**C11**

The woman used to give a quarter of durum wheat bread to her son and a quarter wheat bark bread to the second.

-The stepson then said to his half-brother: "I do not know why your mother hates me ...!"  
 -the stepson then said to his brother: "Do you see how my crumb has risen to the surface?  
 This is how you appear in the eyes of your mother; she sees only you, in her heart"

The stepmother character appeared in 4 stories out of 23 analysed, while the characters of the stepdaughter and half-sister appeared in two stories (C3) (C4) and the characters of stepson and half-brothers also appeared twice (C8) (C12). Stepmothers play a chief role in negatively changing the flow of the story and the fate of the other characters (their stepchildren mainly). In the present tales, the stepmother manipulates her daughter to annoy and hurt her half-brothers and half-sisters. Howbeit, the half-brothers have very tight brotherhood and the stepmother fails in breaking it. The negative representation of the stepmother and the half-sister seems to fit the stereotypes perpetuated in most cultures and worldwide folktales.

Besides, there is a rapport between food and love, an opposition between abundance/own children and scarcity/stepchildren. The stepmother's selfishness and hatred are noticed in the way she deprives her stepchildren of food. This particular image reminds us of the nurturing role of the biological mother that the stepmother refuses to accomplish.

### 3.3.1.13 The Division of Space and Daily Activities

#### C1

-One day, while on her way to the fountain to fetch water  
 - The mother thought her daughter was crying because she wanted the broth... and began to prepare it.  
 - the girl took with her the grain, a dromedary, and a maid. She went to look for her brothers and swore before the Great Lord not to return home without her brothers!  
 She set off, crossed several mountains and hills

#### C2

so, on a market day, the man of the house went shopping early in the morning.

#### C3

The father slaughtered the cow

#### C4

-...had two daughters, [...] They went every day to the fountain to bring water.  
 - She walked and walked until she found a shepherd whom she asked:  
 "Did you see where my sieve went?"

“bring my herd back and I'll tell you.”

**C5**

He went to the market, bought all the necessary

- Then, the boys were preparing themselves, they learned to perform feats; one learned how to take silk out of the bush of the jujube tree, the other to open the earth with a sledgehammer; one became a "listener" and another an archer.

- He (the ogre) prepared dinner for them,

**C6**

The next morning, he went to the forest with his mother and both cut wood.

**C7**

It was his granddaughter who regularly brought him the Kabyle bread

**C8**

There was a man, a beggar, who was looking for work.

The woman did the housework and the chores of water;

- she heard the ogre say to her son: "la ... la ... la ... la ... My son, your mother is my lunch, your father will be my supper and you will be the "delight" of the heart.

- She said to the snake “my son is now playing the ball by the river

**C9**

One spring day, as usual, he went to graze his flock of lambs in the field. Like all boys of his age, Tehriruch was playing, running, laughing, and having fun to chase butterflies.

**C10**

There was an old man who had a small piece of land, which he pickaxed to sow a little of cereal

- When he was digging,

The old man sowed the field and at the end of the night, the wild boar brought all his brothers, and they turned the ground over... the summer arrived, he made the sheaves, and the harvest was good...

- When his mother went to lift him (the baby) as he woke up,

**C11**

One day, the stepson said to his brother, "Let's go for a walk."

**C12**

He rode a horse, and then he left.

**C13**

And here he sets up a market in front of his door

- The son said: [...] I will travel, to look for work.

-the ogre mixed chickpeas, wheat, barley, some grains that give stems and other that give flowers, and he told him: “each variety of grain must be put in its cluster!”

He began sorting, but it is difficult, he can never finish the task

- At lunchtime, when the ogre's wife was preparing her husband's food, she called her daughter to take the meal to the boy.

#### **C14**

I had prepared bread for my children (the widow said)

she came with her children and she started singing:

#### **c14'**

- wife will wash **taɛbant\*\*\***, she will spread it on the roof;

Then the sultan called his wife: “Wife, get some water for the mare, so that it drinks it in the barn!”

#### **C15**

There was once a hunter, who caught a partridge

- The next day she prepared *Tighrifin*<sup>53</sup>,

- Mother, tell us a story!

#### **C16**

One day, he went to a forest

He said to himself, "Today I will hunt there.”

- When night fell, the ogress told her:

bring me all the dishes so that I coat them with henna.

- She soaked henna in the water,

#### **C17**

the old woman said: “Wait a minute; I go in to dance”

#### **C18**

He made of him a shepherd, who was keeping a pair of oxen belonging to his uncle and a third left by his dead father to him.

---

<sup>53</sup>Pancakes prepared by flour or semolina or both, they are riddled and circular in shape. People in the Maghreb region serve them at breakfast or tea time with honey, raisins or sugar. In Kabylia they are also soaked with olive oil or staffed with onions and herbs to be served at lunch

- Frighlous took the hide to the market and started shouting: "Who would like to buy a beef-hide...? Who would like to buy a beef-hide...?"

### **C18**

at nightfall, Frighlous returned to his uncle's house, leading a flock of sheep

- She made Lesfenj<sup>54</sup>

- do you see all that oil that is leaking from the sacks! I would fill a little in a container, to apply it to my hair.

### **C19**

Three women passed by, one of them exclaimed: "If I married the owner of this field, with a grain of wheat, I will fill a pot!"

The second to say: "if I married such a man, with a" piece "of wool, I will weave him a burnous!"

- One day they (sultan and his servants) were fishing fish.

### **C20**

a woman passed by, and saw them (the seven girls) all "active ", they all do the housework.

### **C21**

he was shouting and calling to sell better: "Belludjid's fig tree is ripe and fleshy"

### **C22**

Her father left to irrigate the garden; her brother went to prevent killings from taking place; her mother left to cut the umbilical cord of a newborn; and she is inside a loom, weaving"

..

- she prepared a meal for them: from couscous to meat, which she buttered; she put the meat under the couscous and she poured the sauce on it; she also brought a carafe of water which she placed on a bench.

### **C23**

One day his daughter went out with her servant for a walk; she sat down by a pond where the horses usually drink water. [...] then she returned home as she went out secretly.

- In the town, the tailor was sewing, the woman that rolls the couscous was rolling; each and every one participated in those preparations.

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<sup>54</sup> Maghrebi fritters or Donuts

- The woman who was washing the wheat and the chickpeas was sitting near Zelgoume, in the yard of the house.

The table shows the numerous tasks males and females fulfil and where the activities take place. The daily activities and the different spaces found in the tales are true cultural markers. The fountain, the pond, the field, the forest, the hills, and the mountains constitute settings that enable the readers who do not know a lot about Kabylia to guess that Kabyle villages are built in the mountains where there are a lot of fountains, ponds, and green spaces that could be turned into fields and gardens. The daily activities such as grazing the herds and cattle, harvesting ,irrigating ,digging, sowing grains, preparing bread out of the moulded serials , weaving and washing wool show the reader that the Kabyle society relies a lot on agriculture and bovines' meat to feed , and on wool to knit clothes and weave carpets.

Those folktales convey two main messages on Kabyle cultural practices. The first is that a good wife or woman must be at the service of her husband (and of her family) and satisfy their food needs. In this society, where labour division is sex based, the woman (in her roles of wife, mother, daughter and sister) finds that it is her own responsibility to cater well for the husband's, father's, brother's and children's food needs, even beyond the financial means of the family. The wife is ready to sacrifice herself to satisfy the husband's (and their children's) needs. For instance, in case of shortage or of hardships, she is the one to starve. Failing to act in this way would mean not being a good wife, daughter, or mother. In other words, not being a prototypical woman. She has been socialized into such cultural values through a range of means, including in this case, folklore. The below table recapitulates the above sequences.

**Table 3.3.1.13:***The Division of Space, Labour and Activities Based on Gender (in the tales)*

<b>Males</b>		<b>Females</b>	
activity	space	activity	Space
<b>C2,</b> Shopping/buying provisions	<b>c5</b> Market	<b>C1, c4, c8</b> Fetch/bring water	fountain
<b>C3</b> slaughter the cow		<b>C1</b> Prepare the broth	home
<b>C4, c18</b> Shepherd	Open green spaces	<b>C1</b> Lookin for brothers	Cross mountains and hills (accompanied by the maid and the calling grain)
<b>C8</b> Look for work		<b>C7</b> Take food to the grandfather	From home to shack
<b>C8</b> play the ball	By the River	<b>C8, c20</b> do housework	At home
<b>C9</b> graze his flock of lambs	Field/ Open green spaces	<b>C10</b> hold/lift the baby	At home
<b>C9</b> running, laughing and having fun to chase butterflies	Outside the house	<b>C13, c22</b> prepare food <b>C14</b> prepare bread <b>C15</b> prepare <i>tighrifine</i> <b>C18</b> prepare <i>Lesfendj</i> <b>C23</b> rolling couscous	At home
<b>C10</b> pickaxe, sow dig	A piece of land /field	<b>C14</b> singing <b>C17</b> dance	At home/party
<b>C11</b> go for a walk."		<b>C14'</b> wash wool	home
<b>C12</b> ride a horse		<b>C15</b> Telling stories	home
<b>C13</b> travel		<b>C16</b> coat dishes with henna (ogress)	home

<b>C13 mix grains (ogre)</b> <b>Sorting the grains (ogre orders)</b>	home	<b>C18</b> Apply olive oil on hair	home
<b>C14', c16</b> hunting	Forest	<b>C19, c22 weaving</b>	home
<b>C18, c3, c 21</b> Shout and sell	Market	<b>C21</b> cut the umbilical cord of a newborn	home
<b>C19</b> fishing	River/see	<b>C23</b> go for a walk (secretly)	pond
<b>C22</b> irrigate the garden	garden	<b>C23</b> wash wheat and chickpeas	Yard of the house
<b>C23</b> sewing	In town		
<b>C5 –Archer</b> - The one who opens the earth with a sledgehammer;”			

The male characters are described as hunters, shepherds, archers, and fisherman and women are portrayed as cooks, weavers, and midwives. Male characters, go to the market, graze the flock of lambs in the open spaces, play, run, ride horses, go for walks and try travel while female characters do activities such as cooking, washing, weaving and taking care of the kids. Those different tasks and activities of males and females keep women enclosed at home, and men outside it with larger scopes. Women are the ones who bring water from the fountain yet, in **C23** the female main character goes for a walk secretly, this suggests that the domains of females are limited to the house and the fountain.

In **C3** and **C13**, the ogre does the so-called feminine chores like sewing and sorting the grains. This may be an implicit way to encourage males' help their wives, mothers, sisters or daughters by showing the males that there is no harm in doing that. However, this representation may just be inspired from the Kabyle mythology and has nothing to do with a gendered teaching. In Kabyle mythology, the worlds of humans and ogres are inversed, when it is day in our world, it is night in theirs, and the rules are also inversed. The ogress, contrary to the human female, eats her children or is just sterile. This opposition of the two worlds might be the reason behind putting the ogre in those settings.



### 3.3.1.14 Honour, Pride, Decency

#### C10

oh, old man<sup>55</sup>, as you- old man - are no more able to dig (the woman said to her husband)  
 - The old man stole your jewels ... those of the women at the party: your guests!!... What you're looking for ... this old man brought it to me...

#### C13

-His father saw the gold and he rejoiced for he saw that his son behaved like a man in his absence  
 - Father and Mother are sleeping right now, let's escape! She (the ogre's daughter) added:  
 - Let's run away otherwise, my father will be well aware of what I did to you!  
 They ran away.

#### C15

- Your sister is pregnant; she will give birth!  
 - I do not believe you!  
 - If you do not believe me, ask her to look for lice in your hair and you will see if a baby will not move inside her belly!  
 - All right, he said.  
 He then addressed his sister: "Sister, check my hair, please"  
 When she did, he felt something moving in her belly...  
 - do You believe me now? His wife Asked.  
 - I believe you, and, I'll kill her!

#### C16

She (the daughter of the ogress) threw him her braids and she lifted him up. He entered the house; then when the mother returned, the hunter hid.  
 - She threw her braids again and she lifted him up. He stayed there a moment, and then he went down again  
 - The girl woke the young man up and said, "Let's go, we're leaving. »  
 Before leaving, she spat in the corner, on the floor, on the door, she spat while walking, until she made seven spits.

<sup>55</sup> *Amyar* in Kabylia means the old man, the father in-law or the husband. the codes of honour and decency imply that the spouses do not call each other with their names or even say 'my husband, my wife' especially in the presence of others. That's why they use "*amyar* and *tamyarth*

She went out of the house, but the pestle kept hammering: "pan, pan, pan the girl is taken by the young man. "

And Teryel to call, "Loundja!" And a piece of saliva to answer her: "Yes, mother!"

### **C19**

The wicked old woman heard of what happened, as well as the other two co-wives. She went to the girl and questioned her: "Your brother, did he bring «The Singing Bird"?

- "Yes, he brought it!" She answered...

But she did not tell her that it was her who brought it, in person...

The sequence taken from the tale **C10** shows that the woman does not call her husband by his name, as the codes of honour and decency in Kabylia imply that the spouses do not call each other by their names, it is not even convenient to say 'my husband, my wife' or use nicknames especially in the presence of others.

The sequence from **C19** shows that the girl lied to the old woman about the magical singing bird that she tamed and that she brought home. Her brother had been sent to bring it but he was trapped and turned into stone by that same bird. The girl lied in order not to belittle her brother and in order not to put him in a shameful situation and protect his manly honour (protect his symbolic capital).

The passage from **C13** shows a scene of pride and manhood, the father is proud of his son who knew how to control the expenses in his father's long absence. By Keeping the chest of money full, the son showed to his father that he became a truly wise man.

The ogress's daughter in the second passage taken from **C16** lets the stranger in, in her mother's absence, and then she escapes with him at night. The ogre's daughter did the same in **C13**, she helped the stranger then she escaped with him when her parents were sleeping. Both daughters left with their beloved strangers and betrayed their parents without them caring about their honour, pride, or emotions.

Honour issues are also tackled in **C15**, the wife accuses her sister-in-law of sin and the brother decides to kill her when he thought she was pregnant. In the Kabyle society, relationships out of marriage are considered as sinful, and a woman who gets pregnant with the child of a man who is not her husband is considered as impure, sinful and without honour. Purity and virginity constitute one of the symbolic capitals of a woman and her family.

### 3.3.1.15 Men Saving Women

#### C3

She got tired after all that long walk, but god sent her a man who took her, sheltered her and she stayed at his.

- He pulled the woman and her two twins Hacene and Hocine out of the well, then he took them home,

#### C5

They released the girl (their sister) and then, they went home

#### C15

A man riding a horse passed by and asked her: "Why are you like that woman?"

- "It's my brother who tied me here!"

- "why then?"

She told him the full story and he believed her...He took her to his house

#### C20

She walked for a long time, and then, she met a man. He found her crying.

- Why are you crying like that?

She told him all her adventure...

- "Come I will take you at ours" ... he said.

He took her and the maids helped her wash and change her clothes. The next day he took her home.

### 3.3.1.16 Women Saving Men

#### C6

When they got very close to him, the liver<sup>56</sup> bounced towards the ground, moving... trembling... it then told them: "be careful! do not kill him, he did not give birth to me but I did give birth to him"

- He wandered, talking to himself: "Even if I had killed my mother, it was her "liver" that saved me

#### C10

It happened that she wanted to talk to him (her husband) about the serpent's scale ... She said to him:

<sup>56</sup> Centre of love and emotions in the Kabyle and Maghrebi imaginary,

Will the snake's scale save you from the fire?<sup>57</sup>

**C13**

She (ogre's daughter) took it to him; she was doing this to save him...

She went to him, and found him in trouble; turned the ring in her finger and the wells filled up ... she saved him.

**C19**

She returned home with her brother (who was turned into a stone before she saves him), and «the singing bird» which she put in a cage

**C23**

Quietly, she went to her brother without being noticed, and then she pulled the thorn out of his knee.

There are as many instances of women saving men and as instances of men saving women. However, the first table portrays men as heroes and savers and women as weak and depend on men to get out of trouble. Women in most cases are saved by strangers who offer them shelter too (only two passages in the same table (**C5**, **C15**) show an instance of husband saving his wife and sons and an instance of brothers saving their sister). In most cases, women are found lost in the forest waiting for someone to get them out of there. This situation reminds us that the domains of woman are limited to the house and the fountain, being lost in forest shows that they are not used to get into wild or open spaces, unlike men.

The second table show instances of women saving men, but not any men they are all their relatives: brothers, husband, and son. The only female character that saved a stranger is the daughter of the ogress. Women instances and ways of saving men are different from the ways men save women: in **C6** it is a symbolic representation of a mother that no matter what she protects her children: despite the fact that she was dead, her liver saved her son. In **C10**, it is an advice the woman gave to her husband for she knew that the serpent's scale would save him but instead of saying it directly she pretended to ask him a question: an indirect address to tell her husband what he shall do without offending him (see feminine indirect address strategies in chapter two). The woman in **C23** is able to save her brother by removing the thorn because it was her who cursed him to have it stuck in his knee and that only her hand could remove it (she cursed him after he ruined her life). In **C13**, the ogre's daughter saves the hero using her father's ring. All those passages portray women as savers but not heroines for they have been helped by

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<sup>57</sup> Indirect address

something else. The only female character that is portrayed as a savior and a heroine is the main character of **C19**.

### 3.3.1.17 Men Empowering Women, Advising Them or Causing Stability in Their Lives

#### **C4**

but I recommend you: if she asks you, «do you want me to help you in through the door or through the drain of the sewer? "Answer her:" by the hole of the sewer. ". And if she asks you "I prepare you a bed of silk or a bed of jujube? »

You will say to her, "Jujube." If she asks you again, "you want that I fill your sieve with Louis d'Or or scorpions?" You say, "Scorpions. » (the shepherd said)

#### **C15**

. A man riding a horse passed by and asked her: "Why are you like that woman?"

- It's my brother who tied me here!

- why then?

She told him the full story and he believed her...He took her to his house

#### **C9**

- Go to that given mountain you will sit under the tree on which sings the «Singing Bird", he will sing without stopping then he will ask you: "does this language please you?". You will not say a word until he reaches ninety-nine languages ... There, it will fall to your legs and there you will be able to speak. After that, he will have given you his word...You will say to him, "I will not let go until you blow on those stones that you will transform into human beings again» the old wise man said

#### **C22**

The king, realized what was obvious, and regretted his decision and told her: "Come then woman, let's go home. And I swear to you before the Great Lord that henceforth it will only be after consulting you that I would make my judgments; you are "the king" and I a minister under your tutelage."

The female character is advised by a shepherd in tale **C4** and by the old wise man in the tale **C9**, they helped her not only to avoid the evildoings of the ogress and the singing bird but also to benefit from them and manipulate them. In **C9**, the man not only believed the story of the female character and believed in her chastity and purity after her sister-in-law accused her of sin, but he also untied her and saved her.

The last instance taken from the tale **C22**, shows that the king accepted with difficulty that his wife could make better decisions and judgments than he did, then he took the decision of consulting her and follow her advice. In three instances out of four (C22, C9, C15), the instability in the females' lives was caused by male characters in the first place (singing bird, king, brother), then other male characters helped her

### 3.3.1.18 Women Empowering Men, Advising Them or Causing Stability in Their Lives

#### **C3:**

He immediately became a goat. His sister put a collar around his neck, took him and she went away

- The orphan took with her her two children and Ali Zarzar her brother, whom she took back with her at hers

#### **C7**

There used to be an old man, living in a shack inside a forest. He was paralyzed and could not move. It was his granddaughter who regularly brought him the Kabyle bread

#### **C8**

The man replied: " I will say that I was caught by the \*\*\*, start by my head that did not listen to the woman's advice. »

The ogre again said to him: "From whence will I start eating you"

I will say that I was caught by the \*\*\*, Start by my feet that did not accompany the woman." the man replied

#### **C10**

So old man<sup>58</sup>, as you, old man, are no more able to dig, and if you can, burn some boar's hair to make him come and they (the boars) will turn over the soil of this field. It is useless to do it yourself...

- The old woman said: "The grains abound, why not call the wild boar to show us for the rest..."

-His old wife passed by and told the guards: "Let me give him something to warm him up a little, he dies of cold ... By the time you burn him, he will warm up a little ..."

<sup>58</sup> Amyar , in Kabylia means old man, father in-law or husband: the codes of honour and decency imply that the spouses do not call each other with their names or even say 'my husband, my wife' especially in the presence of others. That's why they use "amyar and tamyarth

**C11**

One day the king fell ill and his daughter brought him all the doctors

**C13**

She joined the young man whom she found crying so she said to him: “eat...!”

“eat? I eat!? Your father mixed me piles of grain so that I separate the various varieties, each in its heap...” he said to her.

- “go eat, this is my business!”. She turned the ring in her finger. Ants came and sorted the grains, each in its heap. In addition, she recommended him: “beware! Do not say a word to my father!”

**C15**

She took the child, she walked for a long time, as long as she was applying their mother’s marrow on his body, he was growing up.

She returned to her parental home and raised her brother there.

**C16**

The young man spoke: “Let's separate them (the eagles!)”

- “no! What did my mother advise us?!”, the girl exclaimed.

**C17**

One day, they remembered an old dispute and one of them had said to his wife: “That person, I will kill him”

- “But, man, you are friends, you have eaten from each other's hands; The Great Lord does not like this as a cause of wars; how to kill him? And this will unearth the ancestral conflicts!”

**C22**

She asked him: “What is this problem that is so distressing you?”

He told her all that happened to him. So, she told him: “Return to the king and tell him: "they say he refused and she refused", the sea does not accept surplus, the apostate \*\*\* refuses to "testify"; the mule does not accept offspring. Then, he'll give you back your foal.”

He went to the Sultan and told him those words...

- “That is true, my son; replied the king”. He called the owner of the mule and ordered him to return the foal to his owner.

**C23**

As for the princess's mother, she announced the following: Whoever heals him, she would enrich him, with the will of the Great Lord!

The above passages show that female characters play a positive role in men's lives. Yet, once more, those men are but their relatives: brother, husband, grandfather, father, and son. In addition to that, the troubles, the danger, or the instability that men face before the interference of females were not caused by females (unlike females' instability that is caused by males). This males' instability is caused by their imprudence, fate, or by other male characters. Nevertheless, In addition to the different contexts in which female characters are given the tasks of cleaning and cooking to their fathers, brothers or husbands, the female characters are also there to help the male heroes or male characters get stronger, survive or achieve their goals. In the story of *The Sisters-in-Law and the Snake's Eggs* (C15), even though the brother betrayed and sent his sister to death thinking that she committed a sin, and that she was pregnant out of an illegal relationship, this latter saved him when the ground pulled him down and got almost buried under it.

### 3.3.1.19 Men Disempowering Women or Causing Instability in Their Lives

#### C5

If you want me to give you the orange, you'd have to give her to me, that girl ... the Ogre said: "I'll give her to you," said the man".

#### C6

-He waited for his mother to bend down, he then hit her on the head and he killed her. He dragged her to a hole where he hid her, he ripped her liver and put it in his hood.

#### C15

She was afraid of her father, she escaped and her mother followed her.

- Then he took her (his sister) to the tree of wild animals and attached her to it.

#### C23

he exclaimed: "This one is Zalgoum, my sister!" For she had already told him before: "No one will remove it unless it is my hand! »

He ordered the valets: "be her my sister or a beggar, you will pursue her! »

#### C23

It is you he (the brother) will marry!



The girl was silent, she did not say a word; all amazed; in the midst of tumultuous noises, the reasoning drum, and the strident sound of clarinets ... she was devastated!

As it was observed obviously through the tales and the analysis of the different separate passages, most female characters are loved and cared of by their brothers (c1, c3, c5), parents (c5, c3), sons (c3, c19) or husbands (c23, c10). However, the above **table** shows that this is not always valid, male characters cease being the guardian angels of female characters when their own interest and honour are at stake. The passages show that women are disempowered by their brothers, fathers, and sons who also cause instability in their lives. For instance, the king expelled his beloved queen when she made better decisions and judgments than him, the son killed his mother to get some peace in his household, the brother left his sister in the dangerous woods when he thought she committed a sin, and the brother of Zalgoum decided to marry her off without even telling her despite the fact that it is a forbidden bound (incest).

### 3.3.1.20 Women Disempowering Men or Causing Instability in Their Lives

**C6**

He, if he sided with his mother, his wife would then take all her trousseau and tell him: "I'm leaving". If he sided with his wife, his mother would get upset and would curse him too.

In the tales, women cause some kind of instability inside the household, in addition to the example of **C6**, the stepmothers also fill their husbands' heads and bother them with the jealousy they feel towards their stepsons. Yet, this negative role women play in men's lives in our corpus of tales is nothing compared to the negative roles some men play in women's lives. At least, females' characters never act selfishly with their beloved brothers, parents, or husbands. In **C8**, the woman acted selfishly towards her son after she remarried, she wanted to get rid of him, and then after her second husband died, she wanted to get rid of her stepson instead of her own child. At the end of the story she died which is not the same end for the male characters that hurt the females. No one died or was punished.

### 3.3.1.21 Positive Personality Traits of Female Characters

#### -C2

The mother had promised her before the Lord that she will satisfy her request, she could not refuse.

#### C3

The girl is virtuous,

#### C7

Then she called out, "Open the door, please my Papa Pa," He (ogre) answered, but in a thin voice. She pretended to go in, but once she reached the door; she closed it from the outside and then escaped.

She ran to the village and told them what was happening

#### C8

"I'll go get some water ... "and she went away.

Pretending to fetch water, she took her son on her back and fled

#### C13

- Her daughter (ogre's daughter) knew everything because she was wearing her father's ring; she pretended to refuse the task so that her mother would use her authority over her and oblige her to. That's what she was seeking.

#### C14

-an old and blind man came to her, she had just prepared a round bread; the beggar asked her for alms, in the pouring rain. She told him heartily: "with pleasure!"

- And now the monarch stood in front of her: "Did you give alms?"

- I did it, a beggar asked me, it was raining, I had prepared bread for my children and I gave it to him; for him to eat...

#### C20

-Then the girl lit a fire, took the coals and stuffed the mouth of the ogress who woke up, she was struggling on the floor and screaming.

- But the woman falsified their way, arrived near her husband, took off her disguise, rode her horse, took her maid and went away...

### 3.3.1.22 Positive Personality Traits of Male Characters

#### C2

- He did not know what to do, till he consulted the old sage; then he found the key to the problem.

- They went to see the wise old. They said, "old father show us what to do, our father is going to slaughter our cow! »

The old sage answered them: "Go, my little ones, ask your father to give you the guts of the cow that you will put on your mother's grave; there, the great Lord will act for your good."

#### C8

The serpent's son divined things;

- The son of the serpent warned the others of the danger and said to those who played with him, -"Throw stones on my brother Mehdouk's Djellaba. "

They killed the snake

- He divided this and asked her, "Give me something to drink". Then he changed the dish's position, she ate the venom and died

#### C11

A young went to see the old sage who told him: Go to the Mountain of the Ogress, you will find a wing of bee, that, would be the remedy"

- Early in the morning, the young man went to the mountain of the Ogress "Teryel", he waited until nightfall. He had waited until she fell asleep and took the wing of the bee that was between her legs. He took it to the king, who ate it and recovered.

#### C12

When the Ogress came out of her house, to help him dismount, the horse struck her at the temple and killed her there and then.

Then he got off the horse and tore her up, he took out his brother and his horse.

In the meanwhile, he found the inhabitants almost dead from cold; he took them with him and said to them: "Go bring wood, Teryel is dead! »

People were surprised that he was safe, and not only that, he killed the ogress too

#### C13

-He went to see the old sage to help him find the solution to his problem

- My father, before going on pilgrimage advised me to feed only with butter and honey and to set up a market in front of the door<sup>59</sup>.

**C14'**

The sultan joined her and said: "be careful! Do not cut the bread, give it all to the beggar!"

**C15**

and then he went to consult the old sage to help him save the poor woman.

He said to him: "buy beef\*\*\*\*\*, salt it, and give it to her to eat; and deprive her of water. Place a container full of water on the ground, and hang her to the ceiling from her feet, then make her head over the container, shake this water and the snake will come out of her"

**C16**

Having heard that the old man went to consult the old sage: "advise me, please. That's what happened."

-the young man is your son that an eagle took. Slaughter a cow \*\*\*; and prepare seven large containers of couscous that you will put when the Eagles come; your son will fall to the ground; prepare a bedding on the ground, so that your son does not get hurt.

The next day he brought the cow the old sage prescribed, couscous, and a bedding that would receive the young man

**C19**

He went to consult the "wise old man," and said to him: "guide me, in what my sister demanded, she wants the singing bird"

- She too went to consult the "old sage..."

**C21**

A few days passed, she put her hand inside the silo to see if he had gained any weight.

He then gave her a wooden stick...

She grabbed that rod and said to him: "oh no! Not meaty yet!"

- "not yet, Yemma Ğida, not yet, put me in a wheat silo...". She put him there...

He ate, nibbled...

A few days later, she checked him again...This time too, he showed her a wooden stick.

Then he said to her, "Put me in a silo of dried figs. "

<sup>59</sup> Indirect address :C13 : Feed only with honey and butter, means to eat only when you feel hungry, so that you can savour all what you take, may they be pebbles or clods of earth; as for the market in front of the door, it was a question of having a mule, a mount for your transport and your travels. You did only what you heard...

A few days later and again, she (let herself go near him) and once more he showed her a rod of wood. She then said to him: “oh! No, today you will be devoured as a dinner ... I lose patience.”

### 3.3.1.23 Negative Personality Traits of Female Characters

#### C1

Settout<sup>60</sup> heard the news and went to find the seven brothers to tell them about what she heard.

- Settout heard of their decision, so in the evening of the day of delivery of their mother she went to see them, each separately: “You there, your mother had a boy, again!”
- Settout answered her in a rude way to annoy her: “Go! You who drove away from home her seven brothers!”
- Meanwhile, on their way, the black servant stole the grain from her mistress.
- They did so, which made all the Settout(s) stop doing such evil and nuisance.

#### C3

The woman (stepmother) is more and more astonished, for they are still all healthy, radiant; their skin is all white and red even though she deprived them of the cow...!

- The woman then took a knife, cut the tubes which grew again. Then she dug the grave of the first wife and chased the two orphans out of the house
- But the day came when the half-sister threw the orphan into a well, after that she pretended to be the orphaned girl, she took her place, lived with her husband and stayed with him for some days.

#### C4

The stepdaughter, once back home, told them how she had brought so many golden coins, the woman, and her daughter were so jealous

#### C6

There will be no peace in this house until you get rid of your mother. Tomorrow, tell her to go with you to the forest to bring some wood. When she bends down to pick up the pieces of wood, you give her an ax blow to the head ... and also, I want you to bring me her liver.

"

#### C8

but she started to hate the child she had with the first man.

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<sup>60</sup> A wicked old woman

- The woman then said to the serpent: "Go into the jar of whey, when he is about to drink it, bite him and he will die.

- The woman then said: "Since it is so, go into the silo of dried figs, I will tell my son -when he is angry- to go and take some figs from there and you will bite him. »

- she put the venom on the serpent's son side of the plate; it was no longer her son that the Ogre raised that she wanted to kill; it's the serpent's son that she wanted to poison.

### **C15**

The young man's sister prepared real ones, while his wife prepared snake's eggs.

When the sister had eaten them, snakes hatched in her belly

### **C16**

- "I smell a stranger!" said the mother ogress.

- No mother, it was a hunter who passed by, shot a bird that fell here, I took it and I ate it.

Her mother believed her...

- What is this smell of a stranger? That I feel here! (the ogress said)

- No mother, it was a bird, yesterday, a hunter shot it and it fell by here, I seized it and I ate it.

- What smells like that?

- Nothing at all, mother...

The mother did not leave her any choices but to lie

### **C19**

The other two co-wives were jealous of her.

- The two women brought a midwife and gave her instructions.

The midwife agreed and said "well"

She carved a small box for the children, and put them inside; then she brought two little dogs, which she covered, and she put them near to the woman who had given birth.

When the man came, they said to him: "The one who was to give you two golden foreheads, gave you puppies!

### **C20**

she (old woman) wanted a trick them ... we do not know whether it is the Ogress Teryel who sent her to them ... she told them: "Come; let's go somewhere, to see something."

### 3.3.1.24 Negative Personality Traits of Male Characters

#### C1

- "Such man will have another boy and he already has seven! And those seven boys don't want it, they are jealous!

The men the assembly about him with a feeling of scorn and jealousy.

- Those seven children did not even want to check whether the information was true or false, they packed up and left their parents.

- The poor mother cried a river for her sons who abandoned her. Then she ended up accepting her faith.

#### C5

The ogre stood, looked up at the sky and saw an eagle, who asked him, "What are you doing?"

The ogre told him what happened and **the eagle** answered him: "Easy thing! When I see her, I'll bring her back through the air"

#### C6

He waited for his mother to bend down, he then hit her on the head and he killed her.

He dragged her to a hole where he hid her, he ripped her liver and put it in his hood.

- When they saw the hood, they thought that money was in it so they wanted to dispossess him.

#### C7

The ogre then went to see a sorcerer who told him: "Go and eat honey, you drop **telmat\*\*\*** in the sun and let the **tburga\*\*\*** of ants go back and forth in your throat until your voice turns as soft as that of the girl. When you go to the old man's house, take a chain with you so that the old man takes it for bracelets."

#### C8

The man replied: " I will say that I was caught by the \*\*\*, start by my head that did not listen to the woman's advice. »

The ogre again said to him: "From whence will I start eating you"

I will say that I was caught by the \*\*\*, Start by my feet that did not accompany the woman." the man replied.

#### C10

The old man brought all the jewels and the black-headed man took it and warned the Sultan:  
“The old man stole your jewels ... those of the women at the party: your guests!!... What  
you're looking for ... this old man brought it to me...”

**C12**

She said to him, "what part of you will I eat first?"

He said to her, "start with my head, it did not listen to the old man's advice."

**C17**

Next Tuesday, I will make a party, when the drum will be beaten and the place will be  
crowded, he will be invited and I will kill him in the attic.



**Table 3.3.1.24***A Comparison Between Males' and Females' Personality Traits*

Personality traits	Male	Female
<b>Positive</b>		
bravery Courage	C11 c12	C14 C20
Helpfulness	C15	
Honesty		C14
generosity	C14'	C14
wisdom	C2 c11 c13 c15 c16n c 19	
Intelligence	C8	+C7 C8 C13
Faithfulness	C8	
Keeping promises		C1
Wittiness	C12, c21	C23
<b>Negative</b>		
jealousy		C3, c4 stepmother
Evil/malevolence	C5, C7, C13, C17 C6	C1 C13 C6 C8 C15
stupidity	C13	C21 ogress
lying		C16 ogress daughter
Selfishness		
ingratitude	C10	
Betrayal	C6	C8
Stealing	C6	C1
Arrogance	C8	
Imprudence	C12	

The tables show that when characters need advice, they consult wise persons, and in our tales the wise persons are always men. One woman was explicitly portrayed as intelligent (C22), the other male and female characters acted and reacted intelligently to avoid some troubles. Apart from wisdom, positive traits like bravery and generosity were equally distributed among male and female characters. As far as the negative personality traits, more female characters were portrayed as jealous, those female characters are the stepmothers. Evil and malevolence were distributed equally on female and male characters. Yet, some other male characters were

portrayed as arrogant and imprudent. It is important to mention that –as it is noticeable in the sequences- the storytellers used implicit discourses to refer to most of the positive and negative personality traits. And it seems that they are perpetuating the stereotypical images of the jealous stepmothers, the wise old man “*amghar azemni*”, the imprudent young men and the witty women who despite their positions in the society manage to escape troubles.

### 3.3.1.25 *Teryel the Ogress and Waghzen the Ogre*

#### C4

\*Once she arrived at the ogress's, she asked her: "You'll enter through the door or through the sewer?"

- "From the sewer."

She made her in through the door.

- "I prepare you a bed of silk or jujube?"

- "Jujube."

-the Ogress prepared a silk bedding to her, and then they slept. The next morning: "you want me to fill your sieve with golden coins or with scorpions?"

- "Scorpions"

The ogress Teryel filled her sieve with golden coins.

\* She ran to the **field**, arrived to her house at night, and entered.

" I make you a bed of silk or jujube?"

- Oh, prepare me a bed of silk.

The Ogress prepared her a bed of jujube that scratched her skin!

The next morning:

«I fill your sieve with golden coins or with scorpions?»

- With golden coins!

And the Ogress filled her sieve with scorpions!

"You want me to help you out through the door or the hole of the sewer?"

- The Door!

The Ogress made her pass through the hole of the sewer and so she died...

#### C5

He met the Ogre, who was carrying a bag of oranges on his back so he begged him: "Sell me an orange, for goodness sake ..."

- there is no way that I sell it to you and to whom will you take it? Said the Ogre.

- I bought something for each of my children, and I do not know how I had forgotten the girl. I cannot go home empty-handed, without taking her the orange.

- If you want me to give you the orange, you'd have to give her to me, that girl ... the Ogre said.

- The ogre returned and told them: "the stable for the brothers-in-law and the interior for the owners". They answered him: "the stable for the owners of the house and the interior for the brothers-in-law. »

-he prepared food for them

. He had chased them but in vain.

### C7

One day the Ogre spied on them and heard how they called each other.

The next day, before the girl reached the shack, the ogre went by the door and said:

"Open the door, please, my papa pa ..."

But he has a stentorian voice; the old man scolded him, saying: «Go away from her!"

-"shake your bracelets my daughter Ghariba", The Ogre grabbed the chain and made it ring. The old man opened the door; the Ogre went in and devoured him.

- The villagers then went with bundles of wood, of which they surrounded the house and then they set a fire that burned the Ogre.

### C8

That ogre said to him: "come and work at my place when the time of cultivations comes.

- the ogre, he took care of one of the man's sons. He was **surrounded by silk\***<sup>61</sup> and never went out

- she heard the ogre say to her son: "la ... la ... la ... la ...my son, your mother is my lunch, your father will be my supper and you will be the "delight" of the heart.

### C8

The ogre grabbed him and said to him: "From where will I start eating you? you unstated!"

### C12

why old father? The West is so vast, why do you say that there is no wood!"

The old man explained: «nobody puts his foot there; because the ogress Teryel lives there and she eats a lot of people. »

- The ogress heard him coming and said, "I smell a strange smell here." The young man said:

<sup>61</sup>Spoiled and tenderly taken care of

- "It's me, mother-grandmother, I'm visiting you today."

- "Welcome, my son, come into my house," she said.

\*The young man in the company of the Ogress did not know what was waiting for him. And when the night fell, she said to him, "what part of you will I eat first?"

- She devoured him with his horse.

- The ogress then said: "Who is it? »

"It's me ... old mother," he said;

"come in for dinner!" She said to him.

### C13

- Now; the solution is that you go to a given place to see the Ogre. It will only be him who can help you.

He went to the ogre's house and told him about his troubles...

The ogre then gave him seven "pieces" of gold and told him: "in each crate, you will put one; but when your father comes, if his return takes place in the morning, you will come to see me in the afternoon; otherwise, you will come the next morning if your father returns in the afternoon."

- It turned out that this ogre had seven daughters.

- What the ogre did then! He mixed chickpeas, wheat, barley, some grains that give stems and other that give flowers, and he told him: "That each variety of grain will be put in its cluster!". He began sorting, but it is difficult, he can never finish the task

- On the fourth day, he went back to the ogre's house, this latter said to him: "I want you to plant fig trees, that they grow, and that I eat figs. Today!"

- Having gone down, the pieces (of the ogre's daughter body) became **a human being** again

- She (the ogre's daughter) became a garden of melons, their mullet a house, as for him (the man) a seller of melons.

### C16

the girl told him: "Go away from here, my mother is the Ogress, she will devour you!"

- "I smell a stranger!" said the mother ogress.

- She soaked *henna* in the water, and then called all those dishes: "come, let me apply you henna ..." All the dishes came

- the ogress applied henna on all the dishes Yet, she forgot the pestle. \*\*

- As soon as her mother the ogress fell asleep, all the animals in her belly stirred, growled, and called.

- The Ogress moved back, to avoid drowning, but despite that (her daughter fled with a man), she worried about her daughter, and advised her from afar, by calls: “Loundja, you'll find two eagles fighting each other, scouring each other, hurting each other, make sure not to separate them!”

### **C20**

found herself under a tree where an ogre lived.

### **C21**

“*Yemma Ġida!*”<sup>62</sup>, the ogress heard him, approached him and said: “Give me **Amendeguer**\*\*\* of Yennayer.”

- “Do you want me to throw them from above?”

- “No, give them to me with your dear hand...”. She intended to catch him and devour him.

-A few days passed, she put her hand inside the silo to see if he had gained any weight.

He then gave her a wooden stick...

-She grabbed that rod and said to him: “oh no! Not meaty yet!”

-“not yet, *Yemma Ġida*, not yet, put me in a wheat silo...”. She put him there...

He ate, nibbled...

A few days later, she checked him again... This time too, he showed her a wooden stick.

Then he said to her, "Put me in a silo of dried figs. "

A few days later and again, she (let herself go near him) and once more he showed her a rod of wood. She then said to him: “oh! No, today you will be devoured as a dinner ... I lose patience.”

### **C21**

She had strong remorse: she devoured the flesh of her own daughter ... because she was greedy and wanted to eat Belladjout's

In the Kabyle folklore and mythology ogresses are more present than ogres. These ogresses that are called *Teryel*<sup>63</sup> are said to be wild, untamed and dangerous women. A Kabyle myth attributes to one of them the maternity of all the ogres she would have given birth to by having consumed the golden leaves of an extraordinary tree. More than that, the ogres seem subordinate

<sup>62</sup> Mother-grandma, it is a Kabyle nickname given by grandchildren to their beloved grandmothers

<sup>63</sup> Var. *Terial*, *Tseriel*. plu. *teryalin*

to the ogresses and those latter are the mistresses of the wilderness where they act in reverse of everything that happens in the civilized world.

In the Kabyle tales, the ogre called *Waghzen* and the ogress called *Teryel* are monstrous figures. They are giant wild beings physically strong, and are great hunter. They are also very rich and possess magical objects (C13), able of metamorphosis (C13); and they sometimes prove cunning (C7, C12). However, they are relatively very easily tricked (C21), they like to annoy and tick people off (C4, C5). The ogre and the ogress live each by himself in the heart of the forest (C20) and hardly ever form a couple. Those two figures are sometimes described as sterile and other times as parents of girls (C13, C16) among whom *Lundja or Ghundja*<sup>64</sup> known for her unequal beauty.

As already mentioned, the world of ogres and ogresses is the reverse of our world and so are their behaviours and mode of life. In the rare tales where the ogre is imagined as the head of a household with *Teryel*, he is often described as a husband with a slow mind that's controlled by his wife. In addition to sterility (C8) or lack of male offspring, the character of the ogre lacks virility as it is defined in the Kabyle context. The ogres in most tales prefer lonely life to social life; they live alone in hidden castles in the forest as they avoid meeting people face to face, except when they are disguised to hunt humans (C8). They also prefer the abduction of unprotected women to an honourable marriage (C5). *Waghzen*, in Kabyle folktales, appears as a figure intended to be the anti-male of the real world. As for *Teryel*, with her huge and long breasts thrown and crossed on her back, she is independent and without a male. The analyses show that she is the opposite of all what a woman is because she refuses fertility and motherhood. She fails in imitating women in taking care of their beauty and femininity, her dishevelled hair provides a quite illustrative example of her total ignorance of feminine beauty conventions that dictate that a woman shall keep her hair brushed, plaited, and covered by *Amendil*<sup>65</sup>. Her infringement of the aesthetic criteria is often derided in folktales' scenes (see the folktale of the widow and *Teryel*). This folktale shows *Teryel's* intrusion into the house of a Kabyle woman who was grooming herself. In these scenes, *Teryel* tries to imitate the women's gestures but she fails; she does a fatal error by mistakenly using a bush from the fireplace instead of the comb, thus setting fire to her dishevelled hair. The tales from the corpus also show that *Teryel* is unfit for feminine functions/roles (C16) and incapable of making cooked food, she feeds on raw food, and animals which during her sleep wake up to make a pandemonium inside

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<sup>64</sup> In MAMMERI's book of tales *Conte Berbere de Kabylie*, the beautiful daughter of *Teryel* is called *Vetellis*

<sup>65</sup> A black silk shawl or scarf that traditionally covers the hair of Kabyle women

her belly. She also devours young boys and men, her favourite prey (**12, C16, C21**). At home she has no cooked food to offer but a 'dish of ashes' as she is always outside her house hunting. Those analyses show that the character of the ogress who devours young men and boys is created to scare young children, especially boys, and incite them not to approach or trust strange old women and may be incite them to stay away from females (as evil beings) in general. The character of the ogre, on the other hand, is created to scare girls and show them that walking alone in the forest, with no protection may cause them to be attacked or abducted by strange men.

### 3.3.1.26 The Metaphors of Fruits, Animals, Plants, nature, and objects

#### C3

On the grave of the dead mother and daughter, two "**Igedman\*\*\***" plants grew, one on the mother's tomb, and the other on the girl's, their leaves joined in the air,

When the daughter of the second woman died, on her grave, a jujube tree grew

- I promised my first wife to take care of her children; this **cow is their mother\*...**

- Their father loved them, so he gave them the guts that they poured on the tomb of their mother and then four **stems** grew. Two of butter and two of honey. Once the two kids felt hungry, they went to their mother's tomb to suck honey and butter.

- The daughter of the second wife also went to feed there, yet, the tubes gave her nothing but pus and coagulated blood.

- A viper over my head (half-sister)

#### C6

When they got very close to him, the liver<sup>66</sup> bounced towards the ground, moving... trembling... it then told them: "be careful! do not kill him, he did not give birth to me but I did give birth to him"

#### C10

... she was on earth like the moon is in the sky.

#### C12

I'm going to plant **urkil** \*\*\*... if you see it green, say to yourself: "My brother is still alive" if you see it yellow, it means that I'm sick if you see it dry, it means that I am dead. "

#### C16

a black woman who had become as beautiful as the moon

<sup>66</sup> Centre of love and emotions in the Kabyle imaginary,

**C19**

would give him two golden foreheads

**C23**

saw the image of a girl who shone like the moon;

There are many fables and tales that depict allegorical animals and plants too. The examples reported here illustrate the incredible profusion of animal subjects and pieces from nature that give a special flavour to our oral traditions. Here, as in all fables of the world, animals speak and act like humans and symbolize their virtues and faults. The choice of allegorical actors is not limited to the species given here... each animal character, a tree or a fruit refers to a trait of humans. An objective observation of their behaviour and actions leads to a better knowledge of the Kabyle society.

Plants in the tales refer to people and constitute their extension after their death. The jujube tree, for instance, refers to all that's bad, unwanted or evil in various tales. In **C3**, it grew on the evil stepsister's tomb while two other nice leafy trees grew on the tomb of the mother and her daughter, and their leaves joined despite the fact that the step wife's daughter was buried between them to separate them forever. In the same tale, after the stepmother managed to get rid of their stepchildren's cow that was left by their dead mother to feed them with its milk, four stems full of butter and milk grew on the dead mother's tomb to feed the children. Those stems represent the nurturing functions of the mother. Plants are also used to know about the health conditions and the well-being of the people they are linked to: in **C12**, the state of *Urkil*<sup>67</sup> plant informs the awaiting brother about his absent brother's state. Other natural symbols are also used, like the *moon* (**C10, C16, and C23**) to refer to a beautiful girl; and the viper in **C3** to refer to the evil half-sister.

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<sup>67</sup> The English equivalent and the description of this plant is unknown by the researcher and her entourage



### 3.3.1.27 The Significance of Physical Features

#### C1

The black servant

#### C3

the other two, the boy and his sister, grew up, well, "all white and very red"

- they are still all healthy, radiant, their skin is all white and red

#### C11

had only one daughter of extreme beauty

#### C16

After that, a young girl glanced out the window,

- "the grace of the Lord! Who created her, and gave her that beauty and that hair! » he said to himself?

- "Ah! For your beauty, I accept everything", the man said.

- She threw him her braids

-the black servant

- her long and beautiful hair, as those in legends, they are as those of the daughter of Teryel, they reach the ankles!

#### C20

-It happened that she had a sister with a silver and gold forehead, like a queen.

-Her sister with the golden forehead was so beautiful; she was of an unequal beauty...

#### C22

There was a poor girl, [...] she was not obsessed with her appearance, but she was very smart

The existence of just a few instances where the physical appearance was mentioned shows that the storytellers did not really care about those details especially if compared with the instances wherein personality traits were mentioned. Yet, those few instances show that females were often described as beautiful with long hair. The criteria of whiteness and blondness appears to be the most appreciated as the storytellers often describe both males and females using metaphors of gold and silver. This is not astonishing as fairness and blondness are desired and celebrated beauty criteria in Kabylia especially for a will-be wife. And "blackness" is reserved to servants and maids.

### 3.3.1.28 the Significance of Names and Nicknames

#### C1

The main characters had neither names nor surnames they were called according to the context (brother, sister, daughter, son)

The maid was called “the black servant”

The wicked woman was called “Settout” (the evil, the witty)

#### C2

- **The man of the house**, the son of this old woman, did not know what to do

The old sage: *amghar azemni*

The wife is called: wife, loyal

The mother: *tamgharth*, mother

#### C3

The only character that was given a name is the orphan boy by the end of the story, and the newborn twins Hassen and Hocine

The man that gave advice to the kids is nicknamed “the wise man”

As for the female characters, they were called according to the context (mother, stepmother, daughter, girls, sister, half-sister)

The imam of the mosque

#### C4

no names were given to the characters

#### C5

No proper names were given to both female and male characters however the main female character was called “the girl” by her father and brothers instead of being called daughter or sister except once by the brothers.

The brothers were called with nicknames referring to the feats each one performs or masters:

listener: *Has a ya hessas*,

archer: *Lqaf lqaf*

The one who can take silk out of the bush of the jujube

The one who opens the earth with a sledgehammer;”

#### C6

No proper names were used

#### C7

The female main character was given the name of *Ghriba*

The ogre is called *ouaghzen* as it is known in Kabylia

The grandfather was called *vava inu va*, *vava* means father,

### **C8**

No name was given to the only female character in the story

The two main male characters were called *dda Yahiya* and *Mahdiuq*

The male antagonists are the ogre and it was so called, and the evil man was called “he blue-eyed man” in the Kabyle imaginary, the blue-eyed men are said to be the descendants of the ogres or the ogres themselves disguised as humans

### **C14**

The female main character was called ‘*tamexloqt*’ (the creature)

### **C14’**

The man calls his wife ‘*tamețut*’ women, meaning wife

### **C16**

Youcef, Loundja

### **C18**

Frighlous

### **C19**

The female main character called the old sage: *baba Hacen*

Zhutt ddunnit, the singing bird

### **C20**

The master of the house

### **C21**

Belludjid

Yemma Ğida the ogress

### **C22**

Aisha

### **C23**

Zelgoum

The sequences show that there is an imbalance between females’ and males’ identification, only a few female characters are given names or nicknames to be identified with compared to males. In addition to that, some female characters are pejoratively called “that creature” by the male characters of the story. In contrast, some male characters are called “the man of the house”

or “the head of the house”. This shows that honour and decency norms imposed on Kabyle women and which dictate that she shall be decent and unperceived are embedded in the storytellers’ minds. That’s why, they had the tendency to keep the identity of the female characters somewhat hidden.

### 3.3.2 Poems’ Analysis

#### 3.3.2.1 The Importance of Family

##### P8

Qqarbed a æmmi-s

Come closer, you, his uncle,

A gma-s n baba-s

the brother of his father

Ad teṭṭfẹṭ aqcic

To hold the little boy,

D afrux uyillas.

He is a bird, a leopard

Qqarbed a xali-s

Come closer, you maternal uncle,

A gma-s n yemmas

Brother of his mother

Ad serseṭ adrim

To put a coin

Ad yixten fell-as

He will be circumcised on it

##### P11

- A gma eziz rweḥ yuri

- Come to me, my dear brother\*

I wudem n Rebbi ad nemzer

for God's sake, that we see each other,

- A gma eziz rweḥ yuri

- Dear brother, come to visit me,

Ala keč i d-teḡḡa yemma

It's only you that my mother left me

- A gma eziz rweḥ yuri

- Brother, come to me!

Ala keč i seiḡ d amwanes

It's only you I have as a companion

- a gma eziz rweḥ yuri

- Dear brother come to visit me,

d keč i d rriḡa n imawlan

You are a piece of my parents\*

-a gma eziz rweḥ yuri

-Dear brother, come to me

d keč i d rriḡa n lwali

You are a piece of Lwali<sup>68\*</sup>

-a gma n baba d yemma

- Brother, son of my father and mother

iyya ad neqqim kra

Come let us sit a little together

##### P14

I recommend you, my dear son

<sup>68</sup> Gardian , tutor,father

-Ak wessiy a mmi Ezizen	That it is a disgrace to deny one's origins
D elEib ma tettud lasel-ik	I do not want you to be irritated
-Ur byiy ara ad terfuđ	If I talk to you about the ancestors
Ma hedrey-aged yef lejdud-ik	I'll remind you if you forget
Esmektay-k id ma tettud	Letting down may have negative effects
Ahat ak yeyder ides-ik	I advise you to remember
Ettwessiy d gek ad tecfuđ (2)	To pass on to your friend
Ad tteħkuđ i weħbib-ik	You will tell it to each newborn
-Win id ilulen as teħkuđ (2)	So that he knows who he is
Akken ad yissin wit ilan	
<b>P33'</b>	My happiness, my dear little son
Nnigh lfarh-iw a mmi	Is when I see you among your peers
As mara k-waligh ger warrac	those who will survive will tell me:
A wi yeddren ar d-id yinni	your dear son brought a wife*
Win 3zizen yebbid tameřut	and he Assembled/sheltered his sisters
Negh a yejmez yesma-s	when he comes in the house,
A d yekcem ghef tebburt	his mother will rejoice for him
Yemma-s s t-efreh	Even if she is buried under the ground
Yas ma tella s ddaw temurt	

The above sequences taken from the poems show that Kabyle women give a great importance to brotherhood, family ties and the name and origin of the lineage. They teach their children about the centrality of the family and how its value defines one's own value and status. Women in those poems show how important the family, its history and name are to each individual because they constitute his/her social capital among the peers.

### 3.3.2.2 The Importance of Marriage

<b>P4</b>	
Ačhal arđiy lesnin d lechur	I waited for years and months
War zwiđey ar ass-agi	And I am still unmarried
Qaren-as medden tvur	People say I am a spinster,
Ney si tidak wer neswi	or I am immodest

**P33'**

Nnigh lfarh-iw a mmi  
 As mara k-waligh ger warrac  
 A wi yeddren ar d-id yinni  
 Win 3zizen yebbid tameṭut

My happiness, my dear little son  
 Is when I see you among your peers  
 those who will survive will tell me:  
 your dear son brought a wife\*

**p38**

A lmesbeh urqim !  
 Ers ed, a neqqim.  
 Tamejtuht tejwej,  
 Tameqrant teqqim.

O decorated lantern!  
 Come down and sit by my side!  
 The young one is married,  
 Her elder sister is a spinster

**P42**

*Mi ara teddu d tislit :*

*When the bride is about to go to her  
 husband's house:*

Susmat ay at n wurar  
 La yekkat udfel  
 A yemma nek ad ruḥey,  
 Tikli-w s leḡqel  
 Ay yecbeḥ lbarud  
 \*\*\*D tazla ruḥen \*\*\*  
 Susmat ay at n wurar,  
 La tekkat lehwa...  
 A yemma nek ad ruḥey  
 Tikli-w s lyana...  
 Ay yecbeḥ wurar,  
 \*\*\*Leḥbab \*\*\*N tmeyra

O Celebrators, be quiet\*  
 The snow is falling  
 Mother, I'm leaving  
 I'm Walking slowly  
 How beautiful the shotgun blast sound is  
 \*\*\* left fast \*\*\*  
 Celebrators, shut up \*  
 It is raining  
 Mother, I'm leaving  
 I walk gracefully  
 How beautiful the party is  
 Relatives and friends \*\*\*of the party

Many songs celebrate weddings and marriage. Howbeit, the singers express their desires to get married and their frustration if they do not. They also complain about the way the society looks at a spinster and the negative labels they give her. The singers use the personal pronoun “I” which shows that they are active agents, and that the poems they sing are meant to express their own feelings.

## 3.3.2.3 Choosing a Partner

**P 16****Tmegger tettru****F asm'i d-dda tislit****-Tenza deg lexla am taklit****P38**

Acu hemlent tehdain ?

hemlent jjwaj ilemzi.

Mi d ikka, deg imi n tebburt,

Tacerrabt a ttelleghwi

Acu hemlent tehdain?

hemlent jjwaj ilmezyen.

Mi d kkan, deg imi n tebburt,

A d bdun tqessiren.

**P39**

Iyya a yelli; ad kem-fkey i umyar...

Ala a baba! aman di tebburt, \*

ad nay ilemzi, ad nezdey atemmu\*,

ad d-yass unebdu, ad neqqel ad nebnu

**P45**

- A trajugh afrux n lbaz.

Texdaâ yi yir tsetta,

Ur d n gir ara.

Ay weqâagh deg yir rgaz!

**P2**

AYemma yemma,

uy ay aeqquc\*\*\*

ad dduy d tislit

s axxam n emiruc

sqan-d imensi

yeyli-d uberquc\*\*\*

She was harvesting and lamenting

The day of her wedding,

She was sold as a slave

**P38**

Young girls, what is their desire?

They like to have a young man for a husband. When, at the door, he appears,

The container brims\*

Girls, what is they like?

They like to marry young men.

When, at the door, they stand,

they start chatting with them

Come my daughter, that I marry you off to an old man

No, father! The water is at the door \*

I'll marry a young man, we will live in a thatched hut

in the summer, we will build a house

It's a hawk I was waiting for.

But a bad bough fooled me

I am not rootless,

To be stuck with such a bad husband

Mother, oh mother

I'll have *aequc* \*\*\* as a husband,

I am getting married\*

At the Amirouches

they served dinner

*Aberquc*\*\*\* fell there

ečč kan a xuya	Eat, eat ... Brother
d afrux n leεcuc	It's a bird from the nests
keč i yebyan	That's what you wanted,
tebeεd abernus	You followed the burnous* <sup>69</sup>
- A yemma yemma	Mother, oh mother
Ad dduy d tislit	I will be the bride
S axxam n Ourida	of Ourida's family
Sqan-d imensi	They served dinner
Yeyli-d uyerda	A rat fell there*
Ečč kan a xuya	Eat ... Eat brother
D afrux n ţyada	It is a hunted bird
Keč i yebyan	You wanted so
Tdefređ seaya	You sought the wealth
b. A yemma yemma	b-Mother, oh mother
Ay-iyi amendil	Buy me a scarf
Ad dduy d tislit	To be wedded
S axxam n igellil	In the home of a poor man
Sqan-d imensi	they served dinner
Nečča-t s teđša	That we took in joy
S ufella n ugertil	On a mat
c. Ma kečči yewwi-k tmeε	c-As for you, you were driven by your greediness
Tegguleđ di ultma-k	You forced your sister
Tuy amerkanti	To marry a rich man
Tyilleđ ad teččeđ yur-sen	You thought you'll benefit from
<b>P41</b>	
Lεeslama-m a tislit...	Welcome to you, bride
Amyar ***deg imezzuyen...	The old *** to the ears
Yextar-am baba-m axxam...	Your father chose you a household*/husband
Yefka-kem i lbaz mezziyen...	He has given you to a young eagle

<sup>69</sup> in this context, a good quality Burnus is a metaphor that refers to a wealthy man



A rebbi ħrez amyar-im, yerna ussan  
ezizen...

A yemma ruḥey, ruḥey,  
ḍilley di tizi n lexmis...  
sliy i ṭbell la yekkat...  
d lyaḍa tettedwiwis...  
ay amezuz ay aqcic  
ay ajabub n ugris...

**P49**

Mi i truḥ temyart yer llisi, ad d-texḍeb.

Tufa-n taqcict yef ukursi, Tenna-as :  
-d acu akka ad txedmeḍ ?

..\*\*\*\*\*yef ukursi...i mmi-m d acu akka  
ixeddem ?

La inehher aṭaksi...

-mi i d-usiy s axxam, la yettgalla baba deg-  
i...yenna-i baba ad tzewjeḍ, aqcic nnig-s ur  
yelli...

-asmi i d-usiy s axxam, baba yettgalla deg-  
i...yenna-i baba ad tzewjeḍ, aqcic nnig-s ur  
yelli, axaṭer yesea aṭaksi,

asmi i eeddan sebca iyyam, atan yusa-d  
lḥenni, tenna i temyart : « anida aṭaksi ? » ;  
terra-as-d : « iruḥ ad d-yawi « lpermi » !

Eeddan ihi sebca ayyam, ula d ayyul ur  
yelli !!!

**P1**

May God protect your father-in-law; that  
he sees other happy days ...

Mother, I'm leaving, I'm leaving

I crossed the "*lekhmis*" pass

I heard the drum beating

And the sound of the clarinet.

You, dear groom

You are an Ice stem\*

When the woman went to the lycée, to look  
for a bride for her sun

She found the girl on a school seat. She said  
to her: "What are you doing?

-my seat is the school chair<sup>70</sup>... And your  
son what does he do?

- He drives a taxi car ...

When I returned home, my father  
threatened me. He told me that I must  
marry; the young man, there is no better  
than him ...

when I returned home, my father  
threatened me. He told me that I must  
marry; the young man, there is no better  
than him because he has a taxi

After seven days, came *henna* ceremony,  
and the girl asked the mother-in-law:

"Where is the car? --She replied: the  
husband went to bring the driver's license!

Other seven days had passed, and it was  
revealed that doesn't even own a donkey!

I will not forgive my father

<sup>70</sup> This is where I belong to

Ur ttsamaḥey i baba	Who married me off without my knowledge*
I yi-yefkan ur εlimey	

The sequences of those poems convey multiple messages. First, women complain about the fact that they are forced to marry men they do not want; men who are old, or rude. They complain about the fact that they are somehow sold- by their fathers or brothers- to a rich man with whom they are unhappy (**P16, P2**). They also cry the fact that they were promised or married without them knowing about that (**P41**). Second, they speak about their broken hearts, and their lost love (**P45**). Third, they openly admit that they wish to have young, fresh men as husbands rather than marrying old unattractive ones (**P38, P39**).

The women about whom our informants sing in their poems feel suffocated within these domestic prisons, and are desperate to create a role for themselves outside the dominating misogynist role. They express a wish to change, to go to schools, study and succeed rather than be just wives to be (**P49**). Unfortunately, the girl in (**P49**) has been forced to leave school and get married to a man for he had a car. Her father has been fooled by the in-laws as he realised at the end that his son in law did not even own a donkey to ride. And the only loser was the girl who neither finished her studies nor got a respectful marriage. (**P2**) is a song where two sisters speak, the first one has been forced by her brother to marry a rich man so that he benefits from his wealth, and the second has been married to the man she wanted but who is not rich. The first is unhappy because there are always fights and problems in that house (the falling rat is a metaphor to problems); the second one, however, has a stable life with her in-laws even though they were too poor to have a dinner table.

### 3.3.2.4 Women Empowering Men or Causing Stability in Their Lives

<b>P5</b>	
Ttmektayeyd yella ḍ agrud	I remember when he was a child
Asmi yettmurud	When he was crawling
Taqrist ni i cebbaḥen imi	***that adorns the mouth
Yečča yeswa dayefud	He ate and drank at his thirst
Ur yettrus seg fud	Always held in my arms
Alarmi yebda tikli	Till the day he started walking
	We had raised him until he grew up

Nrebbat armi muqqar	We thought he would be a good man
Nyil ad yaemar	That would bring us good things*/happiness
Di lxir alaydittawi	
<b>P11</b>	Brother, bud of orange
-A gma axalaf n ččina	I made him a channel of water, he drank
Rriy-as targa yeswa	Brother, bud of pear
- A gma axalaf n ifires	I brought him a channel of water, just for
Rriy-as targa uhd-s	him
	Brother, pomegranates' bud
- A gma axalaf n remman	I lead the channel of water to him
Rriy-as targa n waman	

### 3.3.2.5 Men Disempowering Women or Causing Instability in Their Lives

<b>P5 ingratitude of son</b>	
Win i drebbay yerwel fell-i	He whom I had raised, abandoned me
Am lebraq ad-ineḥwaş	as lightening, he is looked for
Anef iliyid ad yas	we may pity him so that he comes,
Nay dayen ur dat nettwali	or, is it over and we'll not see him anymore?
- Ziḡ yezweḡ yerra leqrar	Instead, he got married and put limits*
Abbuh a Lexar	such bad news!
Iyi d'yebden idelli	That reached me yesterday
Ula di leid ur d ittyafar	Even in Eids, he doesn't show up to greet us
Yufa amḍebbar	He found a counsellor
Ma d yemma-s ula wumi	No need to his mother!
<b>P9 ingratitude of lover</b>	
Iruḥ wayen ḥesbey inu	The one I thought was mine, left
Yeedem temzi-inu	He Wasted my youthness*
Yeḡḡa-yi-d deg yir ḥala	Abandoned me in a pitiful state,
Leḥsan i as-xedmey, yettu	Forgetting the good I did to him
Yesseḥder-d beṭtu	He decided to break up

**P11 Ingratitude of brother**

-i xedmey n lxir iruḥ !	All good I did, is gone with the wind
a gma buddey-ak buddey-ak	Brother, I wish you...! I wish you...!
a gma buddey-ak buddey-ak	Brother, I wish you,
ma d lmut ḥafiḍ fell-ak	Anything but death!
ma d lmut ḥafiḍ fell-ak	That God protects you from death!
buddey-ak ad tesseuḍ taqcict	But I wish you to have a daughter
aha-t ad d-tiḥnin tasa-ak	Maybe your lever* <sup>71</sup> will soften
buddey-ak ad tesseuḍ taqcict	I wish you to have a daughter
aha-t ad d-tiḥnin tasa-k	That would make you more affectionate
i xedmey n lxir iruḥ !	All good I did, is gone with the wind!
- kečč d gma nek d ultma-k	You are my brother and I your sister
ula anda tarewla	There is nowhere to flee
i xedmey n lxir iruḥ !	All good I did, is gone with the wind!
beddey-as di-n yer tewwurt	I stood at his door,
nny-as ay-iyi-d aqendur	asking him to buy me a dress
awal ur t-yettay ara	He no more considers my advice
awal atan yer tmeṭṭut	The decisions are taken by his wife
i xedmey n lxir iruḥ !	All good I did, is gone with the wind!
mugrey-t-id d lexmis	I met him in lekhemis <sup>72</sup> "
yezra-i-d yebra i wallen-is	When he saw me, he lowered his eyes,
mačči d akrah i yi-yekreh	It's not that he hates me
d lehḍur n tmeṭṭut-is	But it's what his wife tells him.

In the first table, women sing about their positive contributions in their men's lives and the second table's sequences show women's disappointment and how their males contributed negatively in the flow of their lives. (P5) is a poem wherein the mother remembers how she raised her beloved son, took care of him, and the hopes she had for him when he grows up. At the end of the poem, she expresses the bitterness of being abandoned by that son when he became a man and after he settled elsewhere. Sequences from (P11) are present both in the first and the second table and they recounts the same bitterness. It is an orphaned sister who tenderly

<sup>71</sup> Centre of emotions, love in the Kabyle imaginary

<sup>72</sup> An Algerian city, or a week day: Thursday

raised her little brother that she used to liken to buds of oranges, pears and pomegranates. She did her best to afford him all that he needed using the metaphor of controlling the channel's flow so that her brother drinks water from it. The second part describes the deception of this sister, who despite all, does not want any bad to happen to him. She is disappointed because he let her down, stopped visiting her and offering her dresses (traditionally, brothers and fathers visit their daughters and sisters during special occasions and offer them clothes, mainly dresses, to show to the in-laws that this woman has men that have her back and care for her). The woman in the song loses her social capital by being abandoned by the brother she made a man. Both women in (P11) and (P5) blame their brother/son of turning against them to please their wives. In (P9), the woman cries the man she loves and who let her down for no reason after she stood by his side and wasted her youth for him. Tables 1 and 2 show that in the recorded poems women create stability in men's lives and empower them. However, men not only are ungrateful but they also cause instability in women's lives. The researcher did not find any instance, in the in-hand poems, where women affect men's lives or cause their instability or disempowerment.

### 3.3.2.6 The Importance of Offspring and Their Gender

<b>-P5</b>	
Ferhay yernad yer wegdud	I was happy, his birth extended the family
D aggur ellaeyud	The moon of Eids <sup>73</sup>
Aydyefk tafat anwali	That will give us light to see
<b>P15</b>	
argaz-im ha-t-n ixetṭeb	Your husband is looking for a wife
ad d-yawi am uqcic	He will bring the one that'll give him a Babyboy
tin ad d-yawi ad tt-yehjeb	That one, he will keep her at home
kem i lehçic	You, good for the fields
- Nek ur ttruḥuy ara	I will not leave
Ad rebbiy tullas	I will raise my girls
Nekkini yuri yessi	To me, my daughters
D sebea warrac	Are worth seven boys
<b>p17'</b>	
Ccah ccah a tamyard	-serves you right, mother in-law!
Aæbbuḍ-aki d aqcic	This belly* is a baby boy

<sup>73</sup> The Muslims' two annual feasts

Nekkini ad ččey timellalin	I will eat eggs
<b>P17''</b>	
Cah cah a tamyarat	Serves you right, mother in law
Azebbuđ agi d ssebza	I'm in my seventh month of pregnancy
Ad ččey timelalin	I will eat eggs
A d-yeddu cedluh tayma	and salted meat in quantity
A d-qqim-ed yef tebburt	By the door you will stand
Am-inn-iy rrez a hebba	I will tell you go away dog*
Cceh cceh a tamyarat	serves you right, old
Azebbud agui d-aqcic	This belly will give birth to a boy
Ad ccey timellalin	Of egg I will gorge myself
Akanaf ad yeswecwic	In addition to the freshly grilled meat
A s-qqim-ed yur lkanun	When near the hearth, you will sit
Am inni-γ šeb a y amcic	I will tell you go away cat
<b>P18</b>	
Rs-d rs-d ay iđeş	Oh, sleep, that you come
Ma d mmi yebya ad yetteş	My son would like to sleep
A lmalayek tiħbibin	O beloved angels
Rsemt-iyi-d yer dduħ	Come down by the cradle
Awimt-iyi-d tasetta	Bring me a <b>branch*</b>
şşebyan mazal-t mejtuħ	The baby boy is still small
Uhhh Al-Lahu !!!	Allah, Allah, Allah ...
<b>P32</b>	
Nniy-am kemm ay yelli	I tell you, my daughter
A tin 3zizen fell-i	You are dear to my heart
A taxatemt n lfetta uđaq	O ring of silver
Grey deg udad alemmas	I Put in my left finger
Rebbi ad kem-ihrez ad kem-isun	May god protect you
Yernu-d tayuga n watma-m	And may he add you a pair of brothers
<b>P33</b>	
Yerna yur-i kra llatbar	I just gave birth to progeniture
Ur-fella-s ttamney ljar	Of the neighbours I will beware
Ur yes tqqabaley ikufar	And the enemies, I cannot face their attacks

Nniy-as kem a yelli	O you my daughter
A tizerzert u kercan	Prairie gazelle
A yelli ferħay yissem	I am pleased to have you
D rebbi-kem imefcan	God has given you to me
Ixir kemmini	Better you
Wala irebbi yexlan	than an empty lap
Nniy as kem a yelli	O you my daughter
A tin id-yefka u xellaq	The creator gave you to me
A kem rebbiy a t-imyur-ed	I will raise you; you'll grow up
I wul-iw a d yekkes lxiq	From my heart the worries will fly away
- Nniy-as keč a mmi	-I told my little son
Asaru abarqaqac	You are a Multi-coloured belt
Nniy-as assmi d –luled	The day of your birth
Ferhen-iyi ula d lazrec	Even the tribes rejoiced with me
<b>P34</b>	
Nniy-am kemm ay yelli	I tell you, my daughter
A taxabact (taxellalt) n uzanzu	O bud of trees
Ay yelli asmi tluledh	When you were born, my daughter
Yers lxiq akked uyunzu	sadness and hostility reigned
Asmi ara timyuredh	When you'll grow up
Ad necredh adrim s usaku	we will demand a bag of money*/ (dowry)
Ma d tura mi tmectuhedh	but now, you are still young
Deg dduh ad kem-nessedhu	In the cradle, we will lull you
<b>P36</b>	
Luley-d ħeqren-iyi -	They despised me when I was born
Amzun nekk mači d amdan	As if I were not a human being
Di teymert ġen-iyi	In the corner they left me
Fell-i ur d-nudan	And they did not ask about me
<b>P1</b>	
gulley telzem-iyi tkuffart	I swear and will do penance
taxxamt-is ur tt-emirey	Not to fill his house*

The number of poems dealing with births show how important the offspring are to the Kabyle society. However, the ways the mothers as singers speak about sons and daughters is different in terms of value and in terms of the expectations of their entourage that seems to be boys-positive and girls-negative. **P18, 5, 17, 17'** are songs and lullabies that celebrate the birth of a baby boy. In **p5**, the mother expresses her happiness for having a male-born that she and the entourage expect to extend the family especially when he gets old. **P17 and p17'** are two versions of the same song wherein the would-be mother is proud and brags about her pregnancy. She tells her mother-in-law that she is expecting a baby boy to annoy and threaten her as being the mother of a son will give her power in the household to face and dominate her mother-in-law. The birth of a son will enlarge the mother's social capital in the household and the community. **P18** is a lullaby the mother sings when she lulls her son to sleep. In fact, most of the Kabyle lullabies in-hand address baby boys. Even when the baby is a female, women rarely change the gender of the third person's personal pronouns, nicknames, adjectives and so on to address the girl. In **P33** and **P32**, both the boys and the girls are sung about. In **P33**, the mother tells her son and daughter about the atmosphere that reigned when each one of them was born. She tells her son that his birth brought happiness and pride whereas the birth of the "progeniture" i.e. the girl brought anger, sadness and put the woman in a fragile situation. She became vulnerable to the attacks of the people who do not love her as she had not had a son yet. In **p32**, despite the fact that the mother praises her daughter, she prays that god gives her other male children. In both poems the woman, as a mother, feels fulfilled and happy with her daughters, however, the weight of the patriarchal phallogocentric society pushes her to long for having sons rather than girls. **P34** bears the same feelings as **P33** regarding the birth of girls. The woman describes how her daughter was unwanted by the society and the family, and how this negatively impacted their behaviour towards the mother that was blamed. Yet, the mother recomforts herself with hopes for a better future that is waiting for her daughter and herself, especially, when a dowry will be given on the wedding day of the girl, and from which the family will benefit. In **P33**, despite the fact that the mother feels threatened by the entourage and the enemies for not having a son, she recomforts herself knowing that having a baby girl is better than being childless. **P36** is a cry of a woman, a woman complaining about how she was disdained, scorned and neglected in her childhood by her family because she was an unwanted baby: she was a female!



### 3.3.2.7 Polygamy/ Repudiation/Divorce

<b>P15</b>	
Ma tebyiḍ ad am-neggal	If you want that we swear,
ḥeqq Ibehlal	by the <i>Ibehlal</i>
argaz-im ha-t ixetṭeb	Your husband is looking for another wife,
tin ara ad d-yawi	That he'll bring home.
kem i lmal	You, good for the cattle
Argaz-im deg « Lpari »	Your husband is in Paris,
Ileḥḥu d m-userwal	In the company of a woman in trousers
Tin ara ad d-yawi ad tt-yehjeb	That one he'll bring, he'll keep her inside the house
Kemmini i lmal	And you, good to graze the cattle
<b>P16</b>	
<b>A sselah awid nettzuzu</b>	Saints that we cherish
<b>Tedzum ad tebru</b>	Pray for her to divorce

The first poem narrates a situation many Kabyle women had experienced during the French colonisation and the early years of independence. Kabylia was, due to its geography and the French policy, a very poor area and people died of hunger. So, men were immigrating to France to work and send money to their families (see chapter one). However, as it is sung in the poem, some men remarried in France and abandoned their Kabyle wives who remained faithful to them despite the fact that they never returned to the country. Other men, have remarried and brought the French wife to the village as a second wife. The woman singing the poem says that even though he would bring a new wife that wears trousers and that will be spoiled by her husband, she will not leave the household and accept to graze the cattle as a maid in order to stay with her daughters.

In the second poem, the friends of an unhappily married woman pray that she gets divorced. This poem challenges social expectations, as women are raised and taught to be patient and emotionally strong, and to make sacrifices to keep her marriage for the growth and stability of the family.

### 3.3.2.8 Widow /Widower

#### P43

IYađiyi rrehn iw, ahlil!	A widow, I am in disarray.
Mezziyey, uržad i s newwid.	I'm young, it's early for me.
Llebsa inu d abeħnuq,	I dress in rags.
Agus inu d acettid	My belt is a piece of an old cloth

**P43** is a song that draws a very sad image of the widow. The widow in question cries her wasted youth that she spent not only in sadness and sorrow but in poverty too. Unfortunately, it was the case of many widows in ancient Kabylia. When a woman's husband dies, she can neither remain at her in-laws neither return at her parents as the families were poor and each supplementary member was a supplementary charge. To go unnoticed at her in-law or her parents, the widow did the housework, grazed the cattle, or worked in the fields to help the family.

### 3.3.2.9 In-Law Relationships

<b>P11</b> mugrey-t-id d lexmis	I met him in lekhemis <sup>74*</sup> ,
yezra-i-d yebra i wallen-is	when he saw me, he lowered his eyes,
mačči d akrah i yi-yekreh	it's not that he hates me,
d lehđur n tmeṭtut-is	But it's what his wife tells him ...
<b>P17</b>	
-Ccah ccah a tamıart	Serves you right, mother in-law!
mmi-m yefka-i idrimen	Your son gave me money
ad ten-id awiy d ameslux	I will buy a big bracelet
ad ttzuxxuı ger medden	To brag in front of people
kemmini tettbeddađ yer tebburt	While you stand at the door
d acu i am-d-yeqqimen !!!	Nothing is left for you
-A tislit-iw taeggunt	- poor you! My idiot daughter in-law
mmi yinig s aėraben	My son travelled to the Arab lands
atan yenher akamyun	He drives a truck
ad am-t-id-yeččar d illisen	That he will fill with wool
iıyl ad as-teggeđ ibidi	Believing that you will weave him a coat,

<sup>74</sup> An Algerian city, or a week day: Thursday

ad yecbeḡ ger yergazen	To look his best among men
ad as-ternuḡ iḡuyak	And also blankets,
i warraw-im ad yummen	That will cover your children
Win i kem-innalen	Who even considers you?
Imi tettzuxxuḡ s umeslux	You are <b>boasting with</b> a bracelet
D aḡeddad i t-ixedmen	That the blacksmith made (not you)
<b>P17'</b>	
-Ccah ccah a tamyarḡ	-serves you right, mother-in-law!
Aæebbuḡ-aki d aqcic	This belly is a son
Nekkini ad ččey timellalin	I will eat eggs
-Asmi i trebbu temyarḡ-im	- when your mother-in-law used to give birth
Sey-d irgazen d iserdan	I had men and mules
Wwin-d acedluḡ d tayma	They brought salted meat and a leg of lamb
Cčiy fkiy i lḡiran	I had eaten and given to the neighbours
Amyar-iw d temyarḡ-iw,	my parents-in-law,
kul wa yečča ayen i as-yehwan	Each one had eaten what s/he wanted
Iwḡey tameddit n wass	By the evening
nnejmaæen-d ilewsan	my brothers-in-law gathered
yewwi-t-id baba d yemma	My father and my mother brought that meat
d winna i d lxir yeqwan	This is the great pleasure
ur d-yekcim ara s axxam	It had not been brought home
armi i d-yekka si lmizan	Only after it had been weighed
lukan ad izad ugram	If one gram exceeded,
*****ččan-t yeqjan	***dogs would eat it
<b>P23</b>	
Ahya iha	Ahya iha
Ahya delweḡ delweḡ	Come on Jig jig
Ah iha wi kmi karhan ad i-qlilah	All those who hate you will be inflamed*
Iha iha ssambiwel tuyatim	<i>Iha iha</i> move your shoulders
D nnaqma n tnudin-im	To annoy the wives of your brothers-in-law
<b>P25</b>	
Nni-Y-ak a 3ezrayen	I told you, angel Gabriel
A tittucin bbwmcic	The eyes of a cat

A ttan a t-mmet Tamyart	Let death take the mother-in-law
A t innawi-n deg kalic	she will be transported in a carriage
A d-uyal teslit-im s axxam	Her daughter-in-law will return home
A t-af abrid ur tazriect	And finds the way to the attic <sup>75</sup> .
<b>P26</b>	
Tamyart-iw m idararen izuranen	My mother-in-law with obese legs
A d-yekcem wuday n mmi-s	When her betraying son comes in
Terra imanis d lmumen	She Acts like a saint
Mig yeffay wuday n mmis	As soon as her betraying son leaves
Tesserwat deg zeggalen	To the whole family, she does evil
<b>P29</b>	
Tislit-iw m cuca	My daughter-in-law with a fringe
Tehka-y-as i mmi lezca	told my son everything during the night
D idrmen-iw i d ihramen	It's my money that's cursed
Wwin-iyi d lmusiba	it brought me this calamity
<b>p17''</b>	
Cah cah a tamyard	Serves you right, mother-in-law
Azebbed agi d ssebza	I'm in my seventh month of pregnancy
Ad ccey timelalin	I will stuff myself with eggs and salted meat in quantity
A d-yeddu cedluh tayma	By the door, you will stand
A d-qqim-ed yef tebburt	I will tell you go away dog*
Am-inn-iy rrez a hebba	serves you right, old
Cceh cceh a tamyard	This belly will give a boy
Azebbed agui d-aqcic	Of egg I will gorge myself
Ad cceY timellalin	In addition to the freshly grilled meat
Akanaf ad yeswecwic	When near the fireplace, you will sit
A s-qqim-ed yur lkanun	I will tell you go away cat
Am inni-y şeb a y amcic	
<b>P41</b>	
Yefka-kem i lbaz mezziyen...	He has given you to a young eagle

<sup>75</sup> The attic where the provisions are stocked, finding the way to taarict means **to finally manage the property and the goods**

A rebbi ħrez amyār-im, yerna ussan ezizen...	May God protect your father-in-law; that he sees other happy days ...
---	--

**P44**

A wi yufan tamyart	If only the mother-in-law
D aeqqa n uzemmur	were an olive,
Ad tt-yawi yer tessirt	To take her to the mill
Ad tt-yezđ umutur	So that the engine smashes her
A wi yufan tamyart	If only the mother-in-law
D ayaziđ yewwan	Were a chicken
Ad t-yerr yer lfur	That would be put in the oven
Ad as-yernu lubyan	With some beans over it

The poems that deal with in-law relationship are generally humorous ones especially the ones wherein the mother in law talks about her daughter in law and vice versa. Some of those poems are poetic jousts (P17, P17'), and others are sung by one group only (mothers-in-law or daughters-in-law) and they take place during wedding parties to entertain the guests and to have some fun (P 29, P17, P17', P29, P25, P26, P44). However, because of their contents, they are inconceivable outside parties and celebrations (one scolds or mocks the other). This tacit agreement, which grants a sort of temporary immunity to women's speech, allows them to make the most subversive remarks without having to suffer the consequences, thus taking advantage of the situation to have fun. P23 and P11 speak about jealousy between sister-in-law.

### 3.3.2.10 Space and Labour Division

**- p16****UfiY taqcict tmegger****I met a girl harvesting****P17**

-mmi yinig s aeraben	My son travelled to the Arab lands
atan yenher akamyun	He drives a truck
ad am-t-id-yeččar d illisen	That he will fill with wool
iyil ad as-tegged ibidi	Believing that you will weave him a coat,
ad yecbeḡ ger yergazen	to look his best among men
ad as-ternuđ iḡuyak	and also blankets,
i warraw-im ad yummen	for your children to warm them up

**P23**

M leçyal iebwajen

Woman whose work is well done

Ihya iha

*Ihya iha*

**P36**

Di tusna hermen-iyi

Of knowledge they have deprived me

Ur ssiney d acu yelhan

I do not know what is right

Mi frey hwagen-iyi

When I'm not around, they look for me

Akken ad asen- ġeç iyerman

To prepare them bread

**p45**

- zziy leġnan di Mlawa,

In a garden of Mlawa, I planted

Lekwremb, u cclasa,

Cabbages and chicory,

Lxux, u remman, ifaz.

Peach trees and superb grenadiers.

Rriy as targa, merra,

I irrigated it all

**P48**

netqay-d tennam-d ss

I spoke. You said: silence

Is inem d nwal

You only have cooking

The space and labour divisions in poems are the same as in tales. However, in P36 the girl or the woman is blaming her family/parents of not letting her study in order for her to stay home, cook and clean. She is aware that studying allows her to know her rights and what is good for her or not.

**3.3.2.11 Honour, Pride, Decency****P13**

Ur tettu nekk d zwaġ-ik, nekk

Do not forget, I am your wife

d zwaġ-ik

I am your wife,

εecrin di leemer εeddan

and twenty years passed

Açhal εusey yef nnif-ik,

I have always preserved your honour,

**P23**

Ihya iha

*Ihya iha*

Nif-im win ylayen

Your honour of an invaluable value

Yelli-s Imaziyen

Descendant of Imazighen

Wet-t-as amendayer	Hit the tambourines for her to dance
Tagi d yelli-s n ldzayer	This is the daughter of Algeria
<b>P43</b>	
Lemmer ur hezbey i lasel iw, Tefna yi, trewla, deg id.	If I didn't care about my reputation/name, It is an escape in the night that would relieve me.
<b>P48</b>	
Ma fyey fell-i d l3essa	If I go out, you watch me
Ahat ad iyi-tbez wawal	For fear of the words of others

P48, P43 and P13 show that women are aware of their duty to preserving men's honour through behaving according the sociocultural codes. This means that women, their behaviours and their bodies belong to men. In P 43 the singer is not happy with her situation and wished to leave or escape. Yet, she does not escape in order not to bring shame to her family. This show that women are taught self-surveillance and self-control to preserve's the others honour.

### 3.3.2.12 Love and Separation

<b>P4</b>	
Hemlay-k aezized fell-i	I love you and you are dear to me
Wid yusmen nnan dirik	The jealous ones are slandering you
Aya jeġġig n tayri-w	Flower of my love
Ter yuri hed ma yifik	To me you're the best of all
<b>P9</b>	
Yessehder-d beṭṭu	He Decided to break up
Izri-w yettazzal d tala	My tears run like a fountain
Ur yuggad si deewessu	He didn't fear malediction
Ur ihezzeb i taggara	Or think of the consequences
Anwi as-yennan ad nemfaraq	Who would think we would leave each other
Seg lemhibba i ay-d-yezdin	For love bounds us
Lwerd-nni nezza yehreq	The roses that we planted faded
Xerben-ay lumur di sin	Both of us got messed up
Debeey lemhibba-w fell-ak	I had put all my love in you*
zzyi-tt d ttejra temyi	I planted it as a tree that grew

iferrawen-is d lhedra-k	Its leaves are your words,
fell-i ttarran tili	that shaded me
lfakya-s tecba ssifa-k	And its fruits resemble you
ma ččiy deg-s ffad yekkes-yi	Eating them chased thirst away
ma d kečč tebniđ-tt yef uzekka-k	But you planned your own future
Taggara tbedleđ fell-i	You turned your back to me at the end
<b>P10</b>	
Ugadey imlal d-řay-is	I'm afraid he's in trouble because of his bad decision,
Ahat ula d-nek yettu-iyi	and that he forgot me, too
Wissen ma liy deg-ul-is	I do not know if I'm still in his heart
Di leħrir am zik ni	As tender as before
Ney ass-a mi beedy a fallen-is	Or, as today, I am far from his eye sight,
S-kra nesecdda ur s-icfi	he forgot all what we had together
Kawent w-allen-iw seg imetři	crying dried up my eyes
Urđiyt ifat-iyi lħal	I waited for him till it was too late
Nem-eahad yaf ass-agi	We made a promise for today,
An-ger axxam n leħlal	to make a family
Ney tayed tezwar-iyi	maybe another woman had preceded me
Nek-ini ar d-dduy s-akal	me, I'll be wedded to my grave

In those instances, love is sung about openly as if it were not a taboo. talking explicitly about love and using words and expressions related to love affairs, separation, longing, and sacrifice shows that women consider those poems as theirs rather than the society's, they are self-narratives wherein the social restrictions have no place.

### 3.3.2.13 Speaking About the Spouse

<b>P16</b>	
<b>Mi ttuy kra n bururu</b>	<b>Because she married such an owl*</b>
<b>Tectaq attezhu</b>	She misses being joyful
<b>P26</b>	
Tamyart-iw m idararen izuranen	My mother-in-law with obese legs
A d-yekcem wuday n mmi-s	When her betraying son comes in



Terra imanis d Imumen	She acts like a saint
Mig yeffay wuday <sup>76</sup> n mmis	As soon as her betraying son leaves
Tesserwat deg zeggalen	To the whole family, she does evil
<b>P38</b>	
Tacerrabt a ttelleywi.	The container brims*.
Mači am nek, iuyen Nafaâ,	It's not like me, married to Nafaa,
D ahercaw am inisi.	As coarse as a Hedgehog
<b>P50</b>	
A yessetma ad awent-ħkuy	my sisters that I tell you
İtjij mi ara ad yebru i wallen-is	The sun when it does not shine
D asigna i t-id-iyummen	It's clouds that hides it
Tekker-iyi lehwa n lexla	The desert rain fell on me
Ulac leafya	There is no peace
Armi i demsey deg uflisen	desperate, I expected help from the ruined
I win i zelgen yiwen n wass	Whoever slips once
Dayen « adieu » fell-as	It's over and goodbye to him
Ma mazal ad iseggem	He will not redress again
Nnan-iyi medden iqebba	I am told that he gained weight
yur-i d ccmata	He is but ugliness/coward for me
ur d-yefki d ametrah	He could not even afford bedding
ad nečc ad nerbeħ	That we eat and that we succeed
aɛdaw-nney ad iħekker	And our enemy abase us
*****	*****
Yif-it wulac	A nothing is better than him
*****i ħeħren i lear	***** who witnessed shame

The rules of good conduct, decency, and honour imply on women to keep secret their conjugal problems and the flaws or the physical defects of their husbands. In the poems, the women who are unhappy in their marriage or with their husbands allow themselves to not only speak ill of their husbands but also to liken them to ugly animals like owls **P16**, or hedgehogs p **38**.

<sup>76</sup> Refers to non-Muslim people especially Jews, it derives from the Arabic word « aaduw » which means enemy, when a close person is called *udew*, it means that s/he is acting against the speakers favour , betraying , or showing disobedience

### 3.3.2.14 Exile and Emigration

#### P10

Tenyat lyiba ur t-nezri	Absence took him, we no more see him,
Nsel kan s-tmucuha-s	we only hear of his stories
Kkul yiwen acc-id yett-awwi	And each one tells a version
Ma hedren medden fell-as	When people talk about him
Kra qarən-as d-imenfi	Some, call him exiled
Dayen irruḥ ur d itt-uyal	It's over, he left with no return
Yibbas fell-ad yes-teqsi	One day he will ask about me
Tidett yid-es ar nemlal	Truth is to be uncovered
Ixef-iw i-ḥzen ur yexsi	My mind is sad but keeps hope
Ata yugad lmuḥal	it fears the irreparable

#### P13

-A win i rujay aṭṭas, i rujay aṭṭas ugadey zman ak iyur	You, whom I waited for so long, I fear time will seduce you, fear time will mislead you
Aqli ḥesbey id d was, id d was melmi ara ferzen lumur	I am counting days and nights, for the day things will get clearer
Aṛwiḥ yezga di lweswas, aṛwiḥ yezga di lweswas	My soul remains in doubts, my soul remains in doubts
Şebrey qerḥen-iyi lehdur, şebrey qerḥen- iyi lehdur	I endured, the gossip hurt me, I endured, the gossip hurt me
Ma şebrey fhem iman-ik, fhem iman-ik lamaena ḥesbey ussan	I waited, consider that, and do something; and I am counting the days
Ur tettü nekk d zwağ-ik, nekk d zwağ-ik eecrin di leḥmer eeddan	Do not forget, I am your wife, I am your wife, and twenty years passed
Açhal eusey yef nnif-ik, açhal eusey yef nnif-ik	I have always preserved your honour; I have always preserved your honour
Terḥa-yi lhedra n lğiran, terḥa-yi lhedra n lğiran	The gossips of neighbours hurt me so much It is you whom I cherish much; I cherish much
- D kečč i euzay aṭṭas, i euzay aṭṭas cfu şber yesca lhed-is	but remember: Patience has limits
Rğiy ad rzud yibbas, ad rzud yibbas	

barka ides yef yiwen idis	I waited for you to come one day, to come one
Mi nniy i medden efıy-as, mi nniy i	day, enough sleeping on one side* <sup>77</sup>
medden efıy-as	I told others that I have forgiven you, I told
Nekk ul-iw yerğa lehq-is, nekk ul-iw	others that I have forgiven you
yerğa lehq-is	My heart had waited as much as it could
- Mektid widak teğğid, mektid widak	Remember those whom you left; Remember
teğğid	those whom you left
Deg-sen tdelbed smaḥ, deg-sen tdelbed	And ask them to forgive you, and ask them to
smaḥ	forgive you
<b>P30</b>	
A Fransa budey-am times -	O France, I wish you a fire to devour you
Zzenqa-m ad ten hewwes	And in your alleys, we will search
A wi ddan yid-m a rruplan	I wish one can travel with you, O plane
yer mmi-s ad t-id-yehwes	To look for his son
<b>P46</b>	
A lbabur ruḥ fi laman	Oh Boat, go under the protection of god
A lbabur ruḥ fi laman	Oh Boat, go saafely
A win i yeččerrigen aman	You, who splits the waters
Siweḍ-as slam i uqcic	Transmit my greetings to the boy*/young man
Ma d nek aql-i deg yir texmam	As for me, bad thoughts overwhelm me
Aah anef-as, anef-as*****	Ah, let him, let him
Aah ad yerwu rray n yemma-s.	Let's see where his mother's
	recommendations would lead him

The previous poems talk about the sufferings of women when their husbands, beloved ones or sons leave to settle abroad, mainly in France. The wives and girlfriends are afraid of being forgotten or cheated on (P46, P13), and mothers are concerned about the wellbeing of their sons (P30 P10).

<sup>77</sup>Wake up from your deep sleep

### 3.3.2.15 Expressing Pain and Complaint

#### P3

A yemma lukan ufiy	Mother, if I could
Deg yirebbi-im ar d am-yliy	I would fall in your lap*
Ahat ad akem-yiḍey ass-a	Maybe i'll pity you today
Sdaxel n wul-iw riyi	Inside my heart, I am burning*
Ula d ddwa ur tt-ufiy	Even a cure I don't find
Annay a yemma tassa	Mother, my beloved <sup>78</sup>
-A yemma, wi kem-yufan	Oh Mother, if only you were close
Ad am-ḥkuy lbaḍna	To tell you my secrets,
Deg yirebbi-m am llufan	in your lap, like a child
Yelli-m tuḥwaj leḥnana	Your daughter needs tenderness
Nyan-iyi, lxiq d wurfan	Bruised by boredom and ire
Deg wul ur seiḡ ṭṭmana	Without internal insurance
-Ammer tezriḍ akken uyaḡey	If you knew how I became
Nekk i trebbaḍ s lefcuc	Me, that you used to spoil
Yemma taḥnint ugadey	My tender mother, I'm afraid
Banen-iyi-d medden am lewḥuc	People seem to me like monsters
Ddunit-a ur as-zmirey	I cannot bear this life
S kra wi ṭṭhubbeḍ, ad akem-iyuc	Those we love betray us

#### P23

Kkes aYilif i wul-im	From your heart erase your concern
Yelha ccedh-im	Your dance is more than pretty
Cbaha n tezygiwin-im	The prettiest among your peers
A seqqi bu rwayah	Sauce full of aromas
Akenni im-eqqaray	Do as I say to you
Ccdaḥ nek ad-kkatey	Dance under my applause

#### P48

Netqay-d tennam-d ss	I spoke. You said: silence
Is inem d nwal	You only have cooking
Ṭṭesbem-iyi am tyawsa	You considered me as an object
Ney terram-iyi am lmal	Or as cattle

<sup>78</sup> Tassa (lever): the centre of emotions in the Kabyle and Algerian imaginary,

Ma fyey fell-i d l3essa	If I go out, you watch me
Ahat ad iyi-tbez wawal	For fear of the words of others

P3 is a poem that is perhaps used as a means of communication between the daughter and her mother. In the past, when there were no means of communication available and married women wanted to vent to their mothers or send them messages, they produced poems to sing them in weddings so that they reach the mothers. P23 is a reply of a mother to her daughter. During the wedding party, the woman encourages her daughter and makes compliments to her so that she feels confident and forget her pain. In P48, the singer pinpoints her pain, she complains as it does not please her to be looked at as an eternal minor that has to be watched, or an individual who is nothing but a machine that cooks, and does home work.

### 3.3.2.16 the Significance of Metaphors

**Table 3.3.2.16**

*Gender and the Significance of Metaphors in poems (nature related)*

N song /poem	sequence	Markers Of nature	The referent	Significance/associated theme	Positive/ negative
P4	Fell-ak a yitij n nnur Σamdey ad iy-ifat kulci For you, illuminating sun I accept to miss everything	sun	Belove d man	Sunshine, illuminating	+
P5	Ferḥay yernad yer wegdud D aggur ellaeyud Aḡdyefk tafat anwali I was happy, his birth extended the family	moon	son	Illuminating, filling their life with joy	+

	The moon of Eids <sup>79</sup> That will give us light to see					
P12	Kemmini a tislit a yithri n t hor You bride, the star of noon	Star	Bride/w oman	Beauty	+	
	Kemmini a tislit a yithri l3ica You bride, star of the evening	Star			+	
	Kemmini a tislit a yithri n sbah You bride, the morning star	Star			+	
	A ya jejig ttefah Oh you, apple blossom	<b>Apple flower</b>			Youth/beauty	+
23	tameqqunt n nezne3 Bouquet of mint	Mint leaves	Daught er/wom an	Freshness/beauty/youth (green colour)	+	
	Tameqqunt l-lehbeq Bouquet of basil	Basil leaves			Freshness/beauty/youth (green colour)	+
	A y aggur-w amectuh Tiziri mara t-ruh A y aggur-iw amqqwran	Moon Star			Illuminating, bringing joy	+

<sup>79</sup> The two Muslims' annual feasts

	<p>Ihya iha  O my little moon  Star at sunrise  O my huge moon  A moonlight  illuminating in a good  way</p> <p>Athalams-th i-guenni  Center of the sky</p>	sky		importance/value /unreachable	
P35	<p>Tassaâdit, adrar n nnur  !</p> <p>A yitri, i itbaâ waggur.  You are a mountain of  light, O Tassadit!  O star that the moon  pursues!</p>	<p>Mount of  light</p> <p>Star  moon</p>	<p>Women</p> <p>Woman  men</p>	<p>Whiteness /pleasing</p> <p>Beautiful woman  pursued /loved by a  handsome man</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p>
P35	<p>A yaggur n lâid  tameqrant, I issayen,  tiziri, i yid.  The moon the of Eid  al- Adha  that illuminates the sky  at night.</p>	Full moon	woman	<p>The full moon refers to  beauty.  The moon of the Eid is  the moon that every  Muslim awaits as the  Eid is a feast that brings  happiness and joy</p>	+

Table 3.3.2.16a

*Gender and the Significance of the Metaphors of Birds and Animals in Poems*

N song/ poem	sequence	Name of birds/animal	The referent	Significance/associated theme	Positive/ negative
P8	Ad teṭfeṭ aqcic D afrux uyillas To hold the boy, he is a bird, a leopard	leopard	Boy	Strength, bravery, nobility, intelligence	+
p11	a gma axalaf n imilwi di leḡnan yerra tili Brother, young turtledove Made shade in the garden	turtledove	Brother /man	Loving, adorable, peaceful, faithful, fragile	+
P12	Kemmini a tislit thikli tsekurt yar waxam You, bride, with the walk of the partridge toward the house	Partridge	Bride/w oman	Beauty gracefulness	+
P16	<b>Mi tuy kra n bururu</b> <b>Married such an owl</b>	owl	Husban d/man	Ugliness / banshee hoodoo harbinger of doom	-
P17''	A s-qqim-ed yur lkanun Am inni-γ seb a y amcic When near the fireplace, you will sit, I will tell you go away cat	cat	Mother in low/mo an	Greediness /uselessness/passivity /laziness	-



P19	<b>Azger ma yugi ad yekrez</b> <b>When the ox is reluctant to plough</b>	ox	Husband/man	The Ox refers to male strength and sexual power. Here it refers to impotence	-
P20	<b>A tanina tasahlit</b> <b>Tanina<sup>80</sup>of flat lands</b>	<b>Tanina<sup>81</sup></b>	woman	Exceptional beauty, freedom, nobility, majestic/mysterious	+
P21	Mecdemt-as amzur arqaq – I druz n tsedda  Win tuy d lbaz aremmaq The one she married is an eagle	<b>Lioness</b>    <b>Eagle</b>	Bride/Woman   Groom/man	Bravery, power, having control over things/nobility/grandeur /imposing  Freedom/majestic /intelligent /imposant	+   +
P23	Tafunast u markanti Cow of a rich man  Taqamumt t sakourth Perdridge mouth	<b>Meaty cow</b>   <b>Partridge</b>	Wife/woman  Daughter/woman	Healthy, spoiled Generous (milk), Hard working (cow in the field)  Having a small mouth: a beauty standard in Kabylia	+   +

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<sup>80</sup> A mythical female bird of exceptional beauty often confused with the Phoenix or the female eagle.

<sup>81</sup> See 86

p24	A bab n tmeyra A lbaz amekyus O groom O falcon	<b>Falcon</b>	Groom/ man	Freedom/majestic/imposing/intelligent	+
P27	I cekrey d izem sbez buzzenda I praised the groom, a lion with a rifle	<b>Lion</b>	Groom/ man	Bravery, power, having control over things/nobility/ grandeur	+
P28	Zwirem a syadi Abrid ad t-nebdu Acrured n tsekkurt Yukren asudu Nedda d yizmawen Lferh ad t-nebdu Precede us, my masters We'll start walking The partridge Walk Who stole air* We are accompanied by lions We'll start the happy event	<b>Partridges</b>  lions	Women  men	Quick and graceful walk (in the Kabyle customary law women shall not clump in the street  Protection /guardians (of honour)	+
P38	D ahercaw am inisi. As coarse as a Hedgehog	Hedgehog	Husband/man	An old man whose skin is not soft anymore /a rough rude person	-

**Table 3.3.2.16b*****Gender and the Significance of the Metaphors of Food and Fruits in Poems***

N ong/p oem	sequence	Name of food and fruits	The referent	Significance/associated theme	Positive/ negative
P11	<p>A gma aærjun n ttterr Brother, branch of dates</p> <p>A gma axalaf n ččina Brother, bud of orange</p> <p>A gma axalaf n ifires Brother, bud of pear</p> <p>oh, Brother, pomegranates' bud</p>	<p><b>Dates</b></p> <p><b>Bud of oranges</b></p> <p><b>Bud of pear</b></p> <p><b>pomegrana te bud</b></p>	<p>Brother</p> <p>Brother</p> <p>Brother</p> <p>brother</p>		<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p>
P23	<p>Tacekkart n lqahwa bag of coffee</p> <p>Saaya n muhd u sliman Am lheb n ruman Wealth of Moh u Sliman Like the grains of pomegranates</p>	<p>Coffee</p> <p>Pomegranat e grains</p>	<p>Daught er/wom an</p> <p>man</p>	<p>Good scents /freshness</p> <p>Rich and wealthy,</p> <p>Full of money/ richness</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p>
P35	<p>Kemmini, a Fatima ! A taremmant l-lqares. O you, Fatima! Sour Pomegranate,</p>	<p>Sour Pomegranat e</p>	<p>woman</p>	<p>Fertility (In the Kabyle imaginary the grains refer to the ova and the fruit that contains them represents the uterus or the womb</p>	

Table 3.3.2.16c

*Gender and the Significances of the Metaphors of Objects in Poems*

N song/ poem	sequence	Name of object	The referent	Significance/associated theme	Positive/ negative
P12	Kem tasarots asendoq twizthin You are the key of the chest of Louis d'or <sup>82</sup>	Golden coins chest 's key	Bride/ woman	Mistress of the house/ /has control /manages the expenses	+
	Kem tasaruts u sanduq yel tmar You, the key of the crate of all the fruits	Chest of dates' key	Bride/ woman	Mistress of the house/ /has control /manages the goods and provisions	+
P22	Keč a mimmi A ddehb irucen You, my son You are sprinkled gold	gold	Baby boy/male	Nobility, virtue	+
23	Tamacint n leyna Win ik-mi*ksben yeyna Fihel ma yugew nnezma machine of wealth Whoever has you is satisfied No need for wheat harvest	Machine of wealth	Daughter/ woman	Lucky charm, source of happiness	+

<sup>82</sup> French golden coins introduced by Louis XIII

	<p>A ya berrad n latay A t-isew lqayed n tirwal O! beautiful teapot That the Caid of Tirwel will drink from</p>	Full tea pot	Daught er/wom an	Generosity /sexual generosity/ shape (body)	curved + + +
	<p>A tecemmat deg bakiyen M tnac imelyunen Candle in package Worth twelve million</p>	Candle sticks	Daught er/wom an	Whiteness; /beauty	purity + +
	<p>Aya <i>xelxal</i> bu tsarut An anklet with a key</p>	Jewel/A large heavy anklet	Daught er/wom an	Great value, nobility/virginity	+ +
	<p>A ay <i>avzim</i> azemmari O beautifully ornamented fibula</p>	Jewel/fibula		Great value, nobility/beauty	+ +
P17''	<p>A d-qqim-ed yef tebburt Am-inn-iy rrez a hebba By the door you will stand I will tell you go away dog* (mother-in-law)</p>	dog	Mother in- law/wo man	Annoying, irritating, bothersome/unwelcom, always nagging	-
P33	<p>Nniy-as keč a mmi Asaru abarqaqac</p>	Kabyle woollen belt	Son/ma n	Pleasing/handsome	+

	I told my little son You are a multi- coloured belt			It also refers to protection and honour (see chapter 1 p...)	
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### 3.3.2.17 The Significance of Physical Features

<b>P12</b>	Awid afus-im awit-id yecveh	bring your hand closer, it is nice/white
<b>P16</b>	<b>Ufiy taqcict s-usaru</b>	I met a girl with along braid
<b>P20</b>	<b>Tazerqaqt n tatucin</b>	<b>with blue eyes</b>
<b>P21</b>	Mecdemt-as amzur arqaq –	Comb her straight/thin* hair
<b>P22</b>	Aqcic Annect n yilef U r nezmir ad t-nherrek	The boy as big as a wild boar We cannot move him
<b>P23</b>	Adar-im d amellal Fell-as nejma w hlal M sser yettudumen M icebbuben iwrayen A m imezran ar agous	in the whiteness of your leg, the star and the crescent shine (jewellery) You, of a brimming charm with a blond hair with the braids to the belt
<b>P33</b>	Mara d zeddi deg tajmayt Tenni-d I wemsur dleq Lahbab n baba-m ferhan will be A3daw-is ad ifellaq Nniy-as kem a yelli Am tqejirt tagrazat Amzur yedlah yef tuyat Idudan d leqlamat	When you will pass by Tajmaat Your beautiful hair you will untie Your father's friends very happy they  His enemies will be too jealous O you my daughter Your legs are well sculpted Your long hair on the shoulders Fingers as thin as pencils

<b>P35</b>	Kemmini, a Fatima! Ay zeggwayed, melluled !	O you, Fatima How pink and white your complexion is!
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From the above extracts, the songs' producers predominantly construct women as objects of beauty worth looking at by both men and women. They are defined by their beauty and appearance, their beautiful skin, hair and eyes. They are also said to be attractive like necklaces and bracelets. Women, therefore, are there to be seen, admired, and consequently, owned. The lexicon is used to praise their beauty and to legitimate her description as an object of admiration.

**Table 3.3.2.17**

*Direct References to Masculine /Feminine Body Parts in Poems*

N of songs/ poems	sequence	The referent	Body part	Significance	Posi/nega
P6	Anay a Muhend a mmi Tamaṭotik taverkant Are you aware Mohand my son? That your wife is too dark  - Anay a Muhend a mmi Tamaṭotik tsisegnit Are you aware Mohand my Son? That your wife is as skinny as a needle?	Wife/daughte r- in-law /woman	Skin/compl exion  shape	Ugliness / not fitting the beauty standards of Kabylia  Skinny // not fitting the beauty standards of Kabylia	-       -
P12	Awid afus-im awit-id yecveh Bring your hand closer, it is nice/white	Bride/woman	hand	Whiteness/b eauty	+

P16	<b>Ufiy taqcict s-usaru</b> I met the girl with a long braid	girl	Hair	Long braided hair	+
P20	<b>Tazerqaqt tatucin</b>  <b>With blue eyes</b>	woman	Eyes	Blue eyes /nice eyes	+
P21	Mecdemt-as amzur arqaq – Comb her thin hair	Bride/woman	Hair	Straight hair	+
P22	Aqcic Annect n yilef U r nezmir ad t-nherrek The boy as big as a wild boar We cannot move him*	Boy/man	/body	Corpulence/ healthy/strong	+
P23	Adar-im d amellal Fell-as nejma w hlal In the whiteness of your leg, The star and the crescent shine (jewelry)  M icebbuben iwrayen With a blond hair  A m imezran ar agous You whose braids to the belt	woman	Legs      Hair  hair	Whiteness      Blond  long	+        +  +
P29	Tislit-iw m cuca My daughter-in-law with a fringe	Daughter-in-law/woman	Fringe	Young woman /modern woman	-



				/superficial/ not conforming to traditional look.	
P33	<p>Nniy-as kem a yelli Am tqejirt tagrarazt Amzur yedlah yef tuyat Idudan d leqlamat</p> <p>O you, my daughter Your legs are well sculpted With long hair on the shoulders Fingers as thin as pencils</p>	Daughter/woman	<p>Legs</p> <p>Hair</p> <p>fingers</p>	<p>Fleshy/ plump ankle*</p> <p>Long hair</p> <p>Thin and long</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p>
P35	<p>Kemmini, a Fatima! Ay zeggwayed, melluled ! O you Fatima How pink and white your complexion is!</p>	Woman	Complexion	Whiteness / Rosy complexion	+
P38	<p>Mači am nek, i-yuyen Nafaâ, Tuli takwent iniyem It's not like me, married to Nafa, Skin withered of a dry fig*</p>	Husband/man	Testicles	old, wrinkled, unpleasing,	-

## 3.3.2.18 Social Influence and Capitals

**P1**

Takuffart n sut Udris

*I swear by the women of the Oudris's***P12**

Athan atteqen yellis n ldjoud      henna will be applied to her palm, the daughter of the generous,  
 Athan atteqen yellis nldjid ak mencekker      the daughter of the valorous will put henna, we  
 will praise you

Ad yerno jeddi mansor athan yefrah

My grandfather Mansour is delighted,too

**P14**

Ulac wara k iħesben

No one will consider you

Ma ur tessineđ imawlan-ik

If you do not know your family\*

**P23**

Tumubil n lkettan

Carriage coated with muslin

Tahanut n sliman

Slimane's shop

Kirag at w abdslam

Garage of Ait Abdeslam

Ihya iha

Tisfifine tjdidine

New *tisfifine*

Amendil bu titbirin

Your scarf is made of *titvirine*

Wig byan rruba tella

there is a dress for everyone

Mummuh at wadela

Moumouh of at wadella

Ataksi mi-d-iyewwes

the taxi coming purring

Yebbi-d aragaz-im wehdes

brought your husband\*

Ataksi mi-d iyewar

the taxi in full speed coming

Yebwi-d lqahwa d skwar

carrying Coffee and sugar

- Saaya n muhd u sliman

Wealth of Moh u Sliman

Am lheb n ruman

the grains of pomegranates,

Yettef u rumi di legnan

That the French keeps in the garden

Tafunast u markanti

the cow of a rich man

Am thinnna u rumi

resembles the one of the French man

Tin-idlhay d kem-ini

I'm talking about you woman

El khir n'south ath wagnous

the wealth of the Wagnouses

A m imezran ar agous

with the braids to the belt

**P35**

Imma m, p-pabuâajbant,	Your mother is adorable .
Baba m, d lqayed n Tunes.	Your father is Caïd of Tunisia

The social influence on women's life is a set of capitals: social, symbolic, or economic. In P 35, the girl is praised as her father is a Caid, and in P12, the girl is praised for her parents are famous for their generosity. For the girls that are sung about in the poems, the positive qualities of their parents constitute their capital: a symbolic capital (pride and honour) and a social capital (having a parent that is known in the region). In P1, the singer swears by a group of women that are probably valued in their region. Swearing by women rather than A God or a saint that is generally a male means that she has great respect for them and that she knows that they will be by her side whenever she needs them, those women constitute the social capital of the singer. P14 defines the family as a symbolic capital (not being rootless) and a social capital (having siblings and parents in the group). The rest of the poems constitute economic capitals.

### 3.3.2.19 Taboos

P6	
Anay a Muhend a mmi	-Oh my poor son Mohand
Ur tessin iberkukes	She does not know how to make Berkukes
Anfes anfes a yemma	- Let her alone mother
Deg rebbiw I texnunes	it's because she got all crumpled in my arms
Anay a Muhend a mmi	-Oh my poor son Mohand
Ur tesin ara i seksu	She does not know how to make couscous
Anfes anfes a yemma	- Let her alone mother
Telha ila'b b wusu	She is an expert in bed play*
P8	
Ixfif a şşanee	Be fast, Doer*/specialist
Uzal d lqaţeε	Make the cut quickly,
F uqcic	on the boy
M ulac ad yixleε	Otherwise he will be traumatised
P19	
A tacita tazlayant	oh, high branch
yef kkatēn ideflawen	on which the snows fall
Azger ma yugi'ad yekrez	When the ox is reluctant to plough

D lma3un i-gezzayen	It means that heavy is the load
Taqcict ma tebr'i-walen-is	a girl, when her eyes are downcast
D zzwadj-is i-gmehquren	It means, her marriage is miserable*
P23	
Akeni a seb3a lesrar	That's how to, woman with seven charms
Wis tmannya d abarar	Secret is the eighth
P35	
A l3ir im, a Tassaâdit !	O happy you Tassadit!
Xas hder tafentazit,	It sweets you to speak with pride about your fantasies
Deffir ucbayli n zzit	Behind the jar of oil
P38	
Acu hemlent tehdayin ?	Young girls, what is their desire?
hemlent jjwaj ilemzi.	They like to have a young man for a husband
-Mi d ikka, deg imi n tebburt,	When, at the door, he appears,
Tacerrabt a ttelleywi.	The container brims*
-Mači am nek, iuyen	it's not like me, married to Nafaa,
Tuli takiwent iniyem	Skin withered of a dry fig*
P40	
A yir jjwaj, a yemma !	A bad marriage, O mom!
Irennu, i wul, iyweblan.	Increases the torments of the heart
Am win ipbibbin tiza,	It's like carving rubble,
Ma mmugran t id, isiwan.	And having to face wrinkles.
Am itetten, ur as nehwi.	It's like feeding on what you do not like.
Yir lqut, ur issawan	A bad meal is not satiating*

In those poems, the singers used crude language and expression that alluded de sexuality. The expression in P40 “It's like feeding on what you do not like, A bad meal is not satiated” alludes to a bad sexual life with an unwanted husband. “Skin withered of a dry fig\*” in p 38, alludes to the male organs of an old men. In p23, “secret is the eighth” alludes to her virginity. in P19, “When the ox is reluctant to plough” alludes to impotence. P6 is a poetic joust between a mother and her son. The mother keeps complaining about her daughter-in-law that she finds ugly and lazy, but her son defends his wife as she is good in the intimate matters. The original song did not contain expressions that allude to sexuality, but during wedding parties, the women who reproduce the song add other verses among which the ones in our corpus.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter was devoted to the analysis of the discourses in poems and tales. The sequences that were taken from the texts were selected according to the different themes they tackled and according to the linguistic items in them. A first interpretation of the results shows that the tales and poems in hand tackle many common topics in addition to some poems-specific and tales-specific topics. Yet, an in-depth interpretation of the results will be done in chapter four.

## Chapter Four

### Questionnaire Analysis and Discussion of the Overall Results

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the analysis and the interpretation of the data gathered through the questionnaire. Additionally, the chapter is concluded with a section that aims at connecting and contrasting the global findings to answer the research questions upon which the current work is premised. This chapter is an endeavour that aims at sorting out research findings in a way that facilitates addressing some of the issues the present study aspires to tackle.

#### 4.2 Questionnaire Data Analysis

The questionnaire consisted of a number of questions designed to investigate different aspects of the present research and help answer the previously listed research questions. These aspects are classified into four parts as follows:

**Part one:** The background of the informants.

**Part two:** Their attitudes toward the folktales.

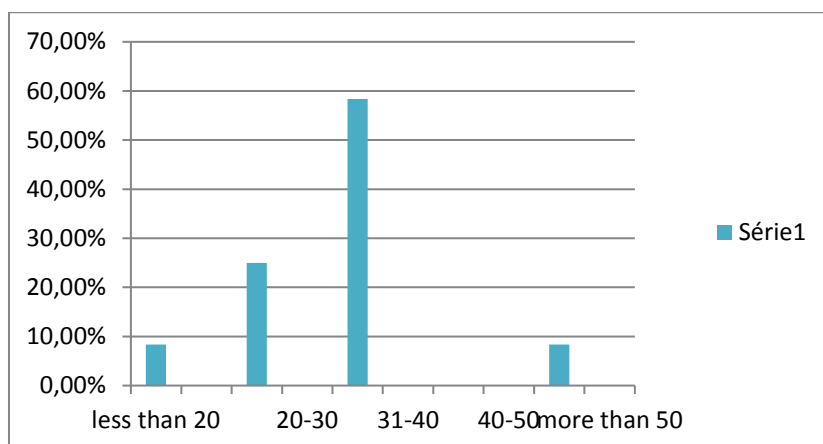
**Part three:** Their attitudes toward the poems.

**Part four:** Their awareness or not of the gender ideologies in poems and folktales.

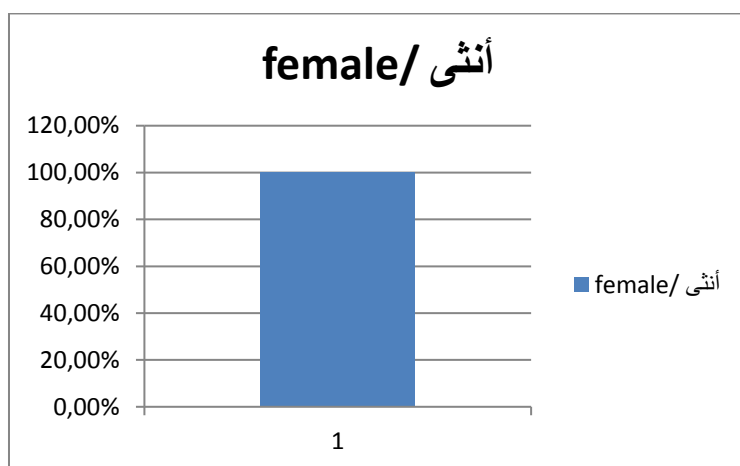
The questionnaire was designed using the “Survey Monkey” software as it affords automatic analysis and diagrams. The link to the Survey Monkey designed questionnaire can be copied and sent to the different informants who use smart phones or computers. In addition to the hard copy, this soft copy of the survey was sent to the informants when it was impossible or difficult to hand them the printed copy and this is due to distance issues.

83 Kabyle women of different ages were asked the below questions in French and Arabic languages each, only 71 women responded and gave back their filled questionnaires.

## 1 Age

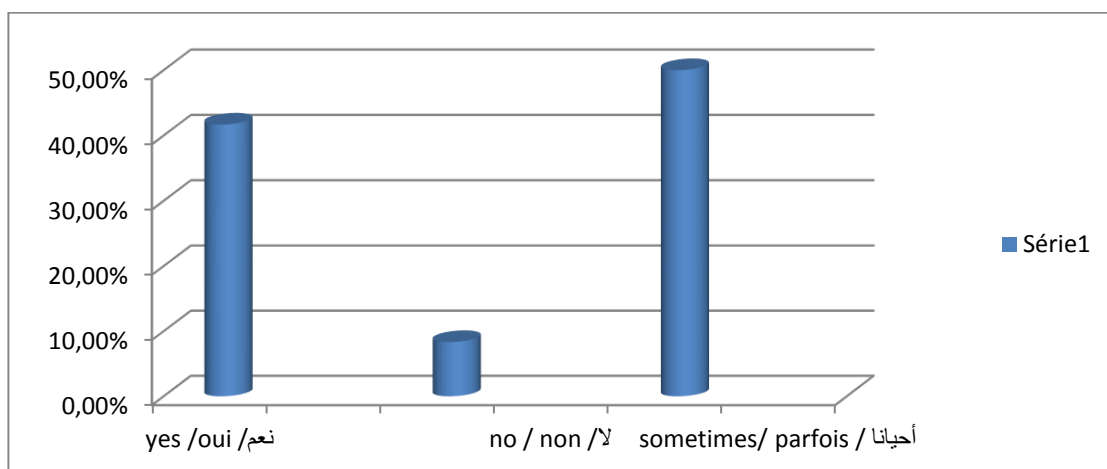


## 2 gender

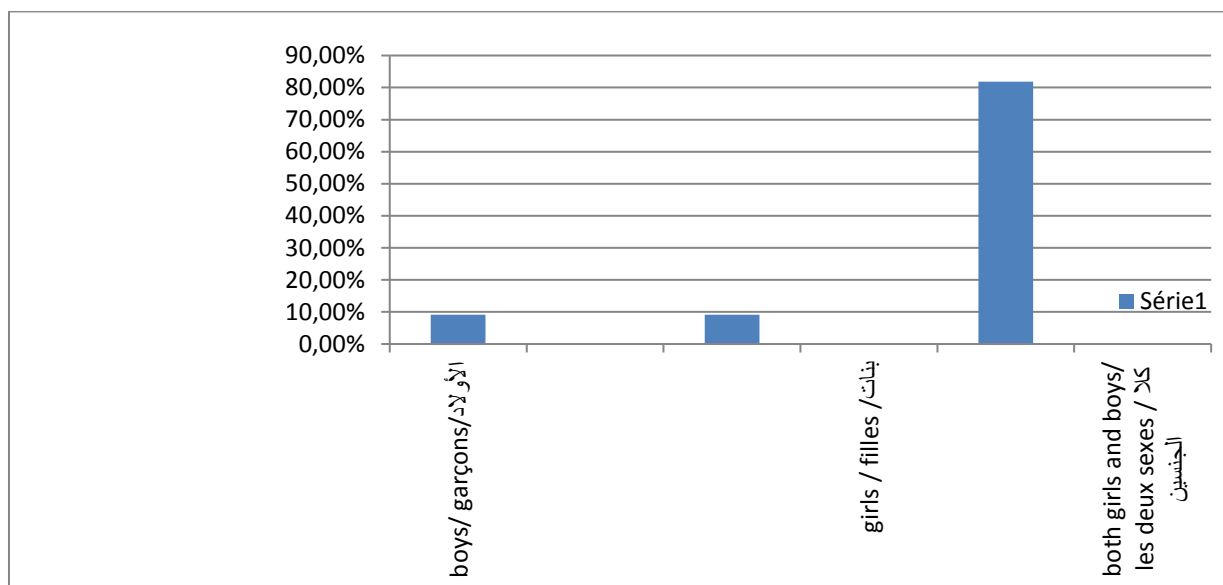


These two questions were asked in order to know the age and the gender of the population of respondents, as the bar graphs show all the respondents are females, the population's age which was more active is between 20 and 40 years old

### 3-Do you tell Kabyle folk stories to children?

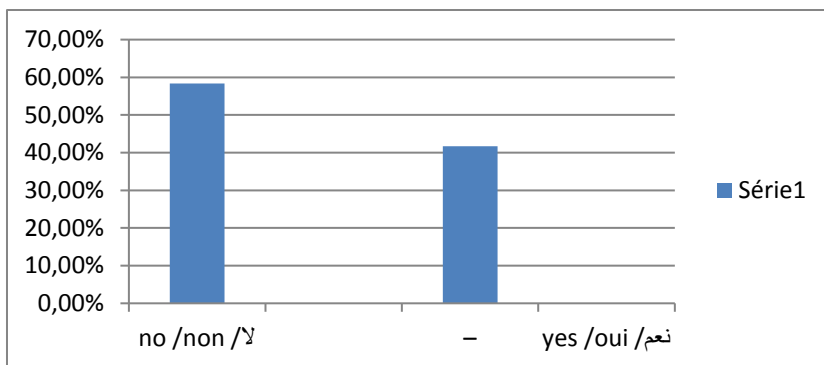


### 4-Do you tell them to



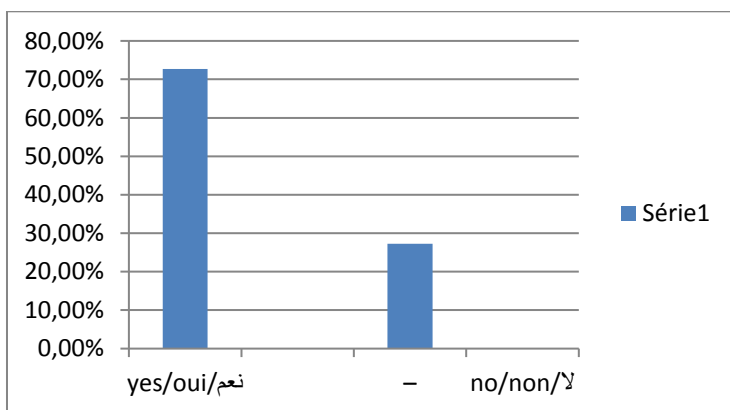
### 5-Do you select the themes of the tales according to the gender (male/female) of the audience?



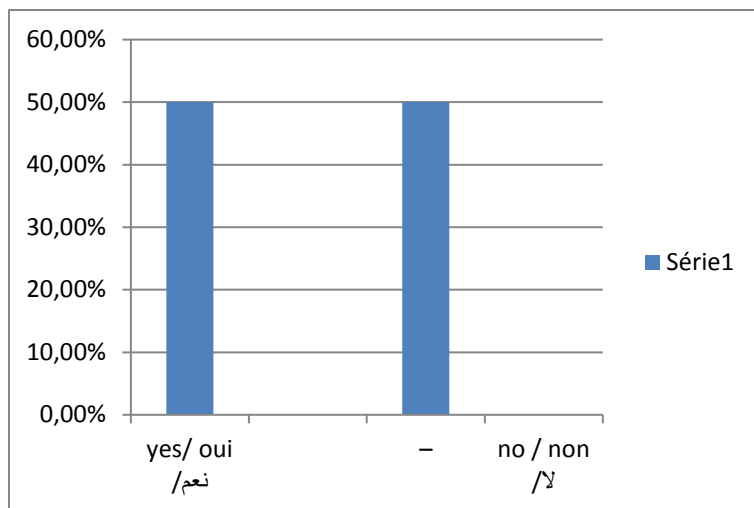


Question 3 ,4,5 shows that 10% only do not tell stories to children which means that this oral tradition is still preserved and promoted among the Kabyles, 80% of those who tell stories tell them to both boys and girls, and 58% of the respondents do not choose the topics according to gender

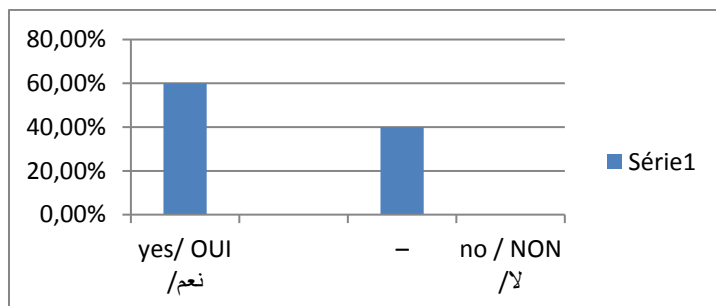
**6-Have the Kabyle folktales told to you in your childhood influenced your perception of the division of gender roles in life?**



**7-Have the Kabyle folktales told to you influenced your perception of gender hierarchies?**

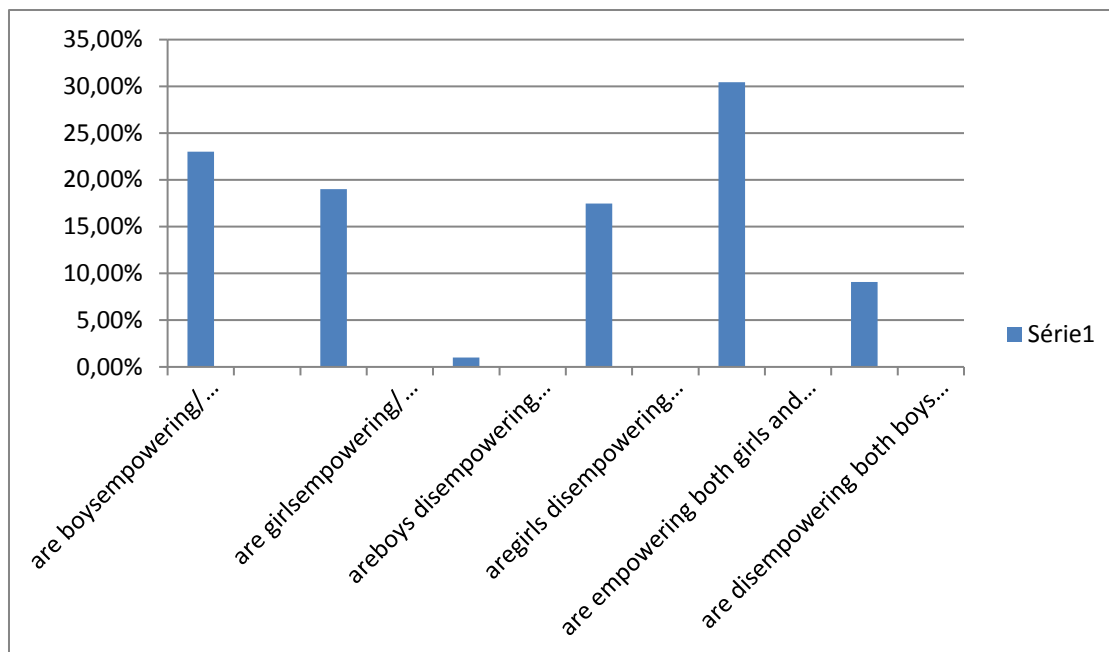


**8-Have the Kabyle folktales you were told influenced your behaviours towards the opposite sex?**



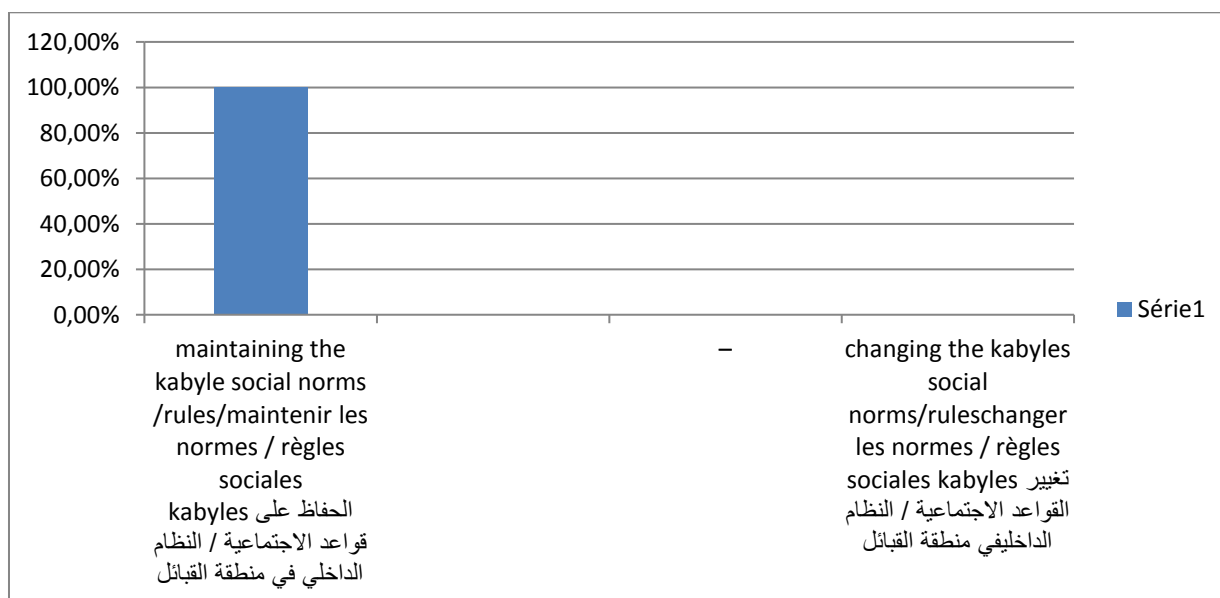
Questions 6,7,8 deal with gender roles ,gender hierarchies ,and the behaviours towards the opposite sex ;72% say that folktales raised their awareness about the different gender roles ;60% say it taught them how to behave with the opposite sex ,while half of the respondents say folktales influenced their perception of gender hierarchies and the other half say they did not

**9-In general, do you think the teachings in the Kabyle folktales**



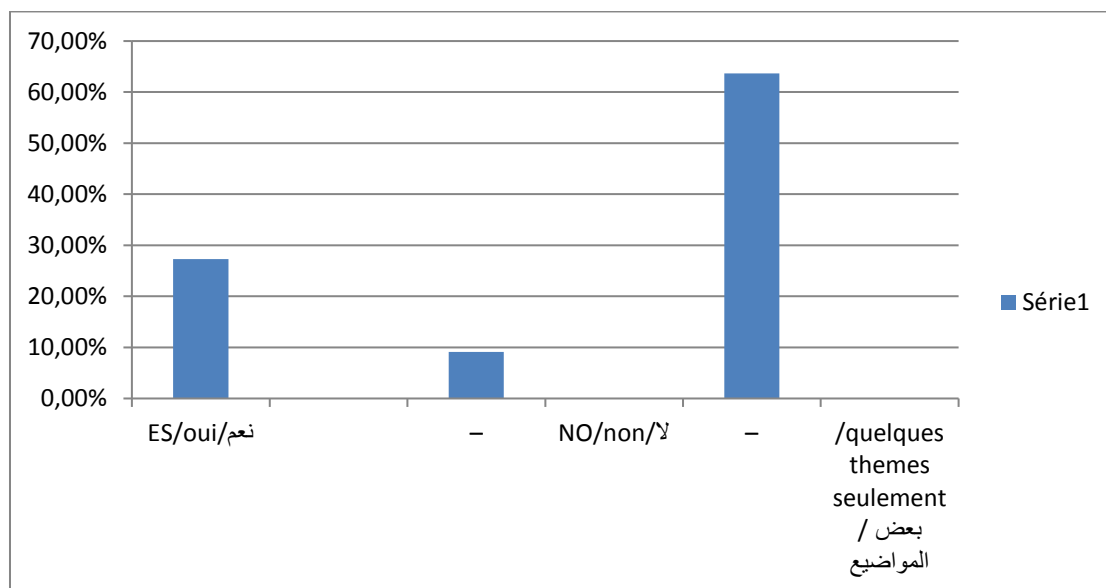
The ninth question shows that 30.45% of the respondents assume folktales empower both girls and boys, 30% assume it empowers only boys and 19% only girls, 1% only say that tales are boys disempowering while 17.46% say tales are girls disempowering, which means that there is a great assumption that tales are often more boys empowering than empowering girls.

**10-Do you think the Kabyle tales help in هل تعتقد أن**



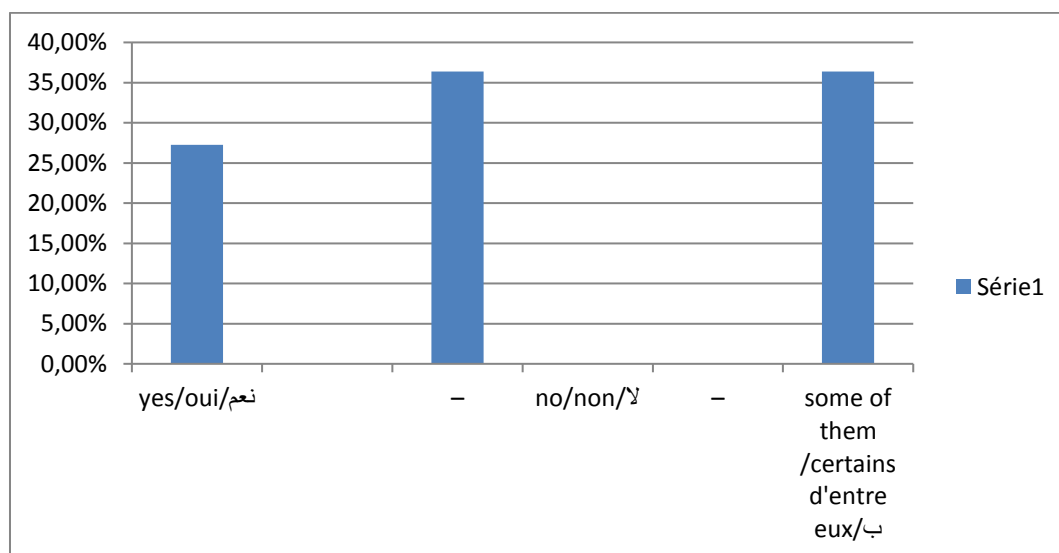
All the respondents agree that the folktales help maintaining the social norms

**11-Are the themes of the tales that Kabyle women produce similar to the themes of the songs?**



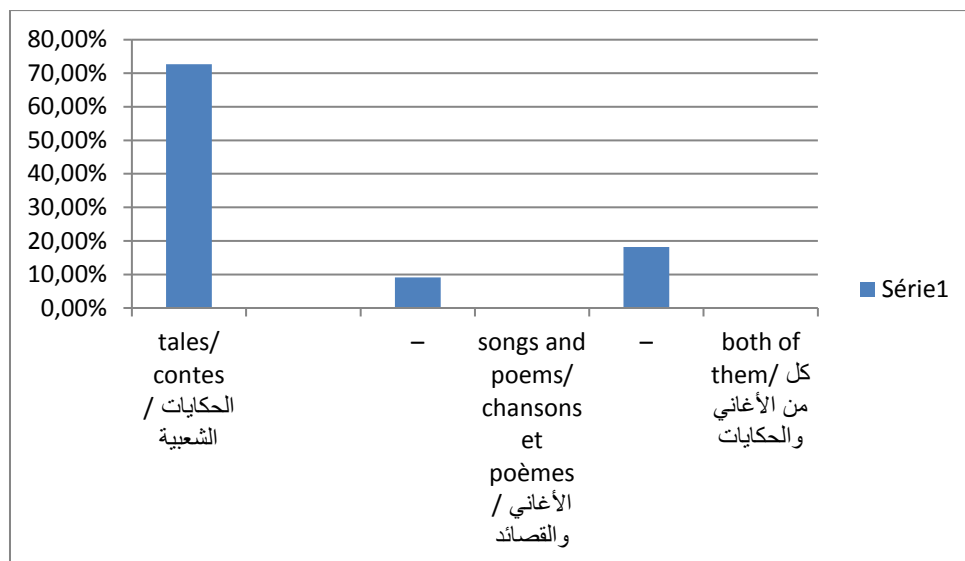
Less than 10% of the respondents say the topic the tales and the poems deal with are different, while 62 % say that some themes are different are others are similar

**12-Are the aims of the tales and the songs similar?**

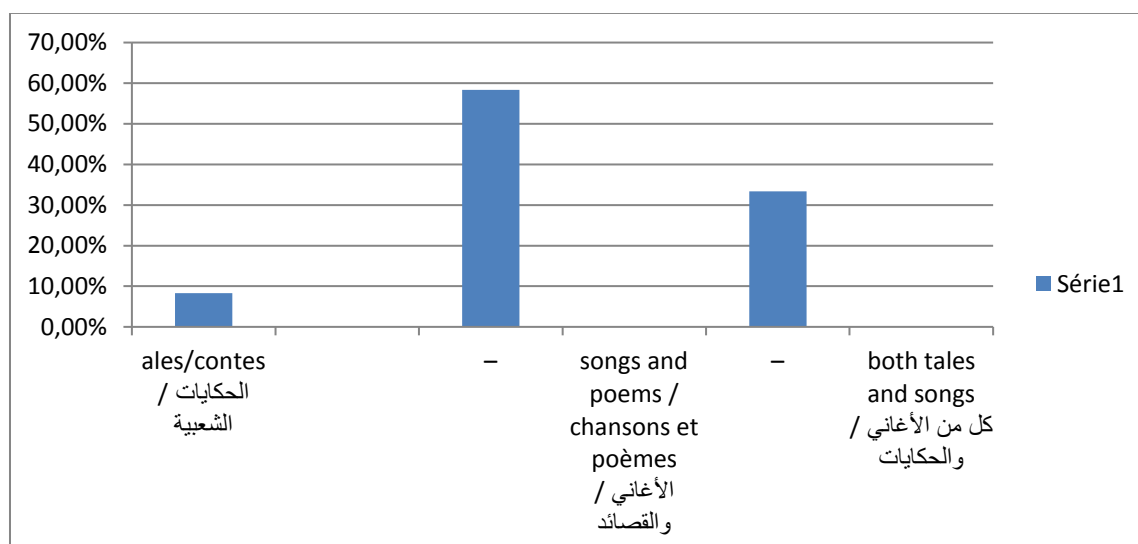


Only 27.27 % say the aims of the tales and the poems are the same while 36.36 % say they are the aims are different and the remaining respondents say that some aims are similar and other are different

### 13--In which genre do you think the Kabyle social norms and rules should be respected?



### 14-In which genre do you think one is free to express her ideas and feelings?



72.73% think that the folk stories themes shall respect the social norms and rules and 58% say that women are freer in expressing their ideas and feeling in poems

To sum up, the results of the questionnaires show that the respondents tell stories to both girls and boys without really giving an importance the type of the tale, however, these tales, in general, shall maintain and respect the social norms, they shall give equal opportunities to both men and women, even though some of the respondents admit that some tales may be women-disempowering. On the other hand, according to the respondents the poems are the genre through which women can freely express themselves and their ideas ; without being limited or forced to respect the social norms, moreover , the respondents assume that even though the

aims and stances of the two oral productions are different, there are some similar purposes and teachings conveyed through both stories and poems.

### 4.3 Discussion of results

#### 4.3.1 Discussion of Tales' Results

- By superposing the contents of the tales and the data present in the frame of reference (chapter one), it appears that the female storytellers are largely influenced by their culture, and the socio-economic, geographical and historical conditions of their community.
- The folktales are therefore created out of the women's observation, assessment, criticism, celebration and subversion of their socio-cultural milieu. In most cases, the tales seem to be the mirror image of the Kabyle society.
- The feminist analysis of the gender representations in the collected texts, made it clear that power relations are embedded in those tales. The texts support patriarchal meaning-making. In the contents of the texts, there is a reference to male and female occupations or activities that are the same in the Kabyle patriarchal society. Besides, the portrayal of the woman reflects how she is perceived in the real life by Kabyles, which means that the female storytellers did not dare draw another picture of themselves even though the production of the story is based on imagination and everything is allowed in imagination. In other words, through the analysis of the linguistic items such as words, phrases and representative sentences, it has been found out that the traditional norms of the society related to gender identities, role and space divisions are perpetuated through the discourse.
- even though issues like infertility, repudiation, divorce, love and incest are present in the tales, they were tackled in a very implicit and subtle ways.
- Male offspring outnumber female offspring, but there is no shocking discrimination in treatment, love, and care.

- The storytellers did not deny polygamy and repudiation but gave arguments to that, arguments that teach girls to respect their husbands and teach the boys that polygamy is not affordable or something common.
- The ogress is depicted in the tales as a strong female character who defies the social order and set male goals to herself like hunting and roaming the open spaces. *Teryel* also transgresses societal and patriarchal norms like her refusal of femininity and giving birth, and her capacity to living alone in her own house in the forest. In addition, that, she is depicted as the one who has the control of the household and over the ogre in the case where they make a couple. Those images may be interpreted by the readers in two ways. First, it makes it possible to raise the threat of "rebellion of the mothers" to remind that the woman holds a supreme power, that of allowing the reproduction of the society and the conservation of the lineage. It reminds that if a woman rebels, the world will be upside down as it is the case in the world of the ogres.
- The presence of the ogress in women's mind as a semiotic discourse makes them project the female with a new perspective on society with the desire to change it. Second, and contrary to the first possibility, the images of the ogress may be a threat to women themselves and their stability if they ever think to rebel like her or to imitate her. Among those images are the ones of the lonely ogress that is tricked by men or sometimes half men like *Belaajut* and *M'kidesh* who end up by defeating and killing her, or by the other male characters who succeed in stealing her treasures or stealing her beautiful daughter to marry her against the will of this ogress. Those images show that a woman's life, her goods and children are not secure in the absence of the man. Other images related to the absence of femininity, show that the ogress's clumsiness leads her to hurt herself at the end, by burning her hair instead of brushing it, blinding herself instead of putting the kohl and so on. In addition to becoming the mockery of her young antagonists because of her appearance. All those images may be a message to women to remain in the feminine mould made by society

#### 4.3.2 Discussion of Poem's Results

- Oral poetry allowed the woman to express her tabooed feelings in ancient Kabyle society, and to question a community structure based on male domination,

- In order to express her own feelings that they are noble or perverse, the woman diverts the social habitus in her favour to externalize her feelings.
- Most of her thoughts and feeling were expressed in an explicit way because she is aware that poems are a means of self-expression. She says the unspoken even though she sometimes uses insinuations and figurations. A few poems abound with innuendo and are full of symbols.
- The woman answering to a suitor that she does not want to marry because in love with another, and the woman that rejects another because she wants to finish her studies and a woman who roams space of men are so many instances of the transgression of the social rules and expectation
- Female oral poetry does not fail to denounce unhappy marriages by attacking the man who does not know how to love his wife and who is treated with different names, or compared to repulsive objects or animals.
- Some poetic texts are assumed to be real cries the lack of love and affection.
- Taboos like sexuality and impotence are also addressed in women's poetry, but for these topics that are proscribed, women sometimes find themselves obliged to resort to insinuation or use metaphoric expressions.
- As women are aware that the poems are a means of self-expression, the poetess gives herself the right to use the "I" in her verses even though she used to hide behind the group and be identified by it
- The women have made of the poems a personal space which is, for them, a liberation and an exaltation of the self, a realization of a fantasy, a denunciation of an abuse of power, or an expression of a need of domination and empowerment.
- it was shown in the sequences that social hierarchies do not only operate between dominant and oppressed groups (male/females in our case) but can also occur among the members of a marginalized group who fight one another to dominate in this group.



Women of all ages are implicated in systems of oppressions and they come to know and perform themselves in ways that replicate social hierarchies

#### 4.4 Reflexions and a Comparison Between Tales' Contents and Poems' Contents

The analysis reveal that the tales and poems differ not only in their forms (prose and verse), their way of transmission ( narrating / singing),and their audiences, they are also different in terms of their contents, the discourse used, and the way some issues and topics, present in both them, are treated. Some of the differences in the content are as follows:

- Woman in the tales do not call their husbands by their names but they do in the poems.
- Apart from some characters (Lundja Zelgum and Aicha), female characters are rarely given names in tales, they are called “the girl, the woman, the old woman, *tamghart*<sup>83</sup>, that one, the daughter of. In poems, not only do the singer use proper names to praise a given woman or to tease one another, they also use detailed physical descriptions. This **challenges** the sociocultural norms on women and their visibility.
- Expect for the ogress, in the tale there is an **invisibility** of women’s power within their entourage as the characters use the indirect address, advise indirectly their husbands, have recourse to prayers and curse when they feel helpless, talk behind a wall window, and manipulate their little children to convince their husbands. In the poems, however, there is a **visibility** of women’s power, thoughts, ideas, and desires which show their revolts and discontents regarding the moulds of passive, silent individuals.
- An implicit reference to beauty standards was observed in the tales compared to the explicit and redundant ones in poems. In addition, there is a little emphasise on physical traits in tales compared to poems.

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<sup>83</sup> Old woman or wife

- In the tales, daughter-in-law/mother-in-law disputes and quarrels are settled by the husband or the son, and the daughter-in-law does not confront the mother-in-law directly. In the poems, there is a direct confrontation between the two, disguised in humorous songs and poetic jousts.
- The poems are full of metaphors of animals, birds, flowers, the moon and the sun that refer to women's or men's qualities of faults. Contrary to the tales wherein the animals are personified to teach morals only.
- It was observed that the folktale performer is largely influenced and defined by her culture and the socio-economic, geographic and historical conditions of her community. The folktales are therefore created out of the performer's observation, assessment criticism, celebration and subversion of her social cultural milieu. The tales are, in this sense, the mirror image of the producing society, reflecting the moral ambiguities and the hidden desires and aspirations of the people. In other words, the tales are **society-centred**.
- In poems, however, women's voices are liberated, the song also release their bodies that have been long empoisoned by the codes of decency and shame. Poems offer women the opportunity to put themselves on stage and thus to give themselves a sense and a priority. Women's poems are **liberative**, they give them the opportunity to speak up, to exist in the eyes of others, to express sensuality, seduction, love, pleasure, contempt, anger, refusal,
- The song thus seems to hold this exceptional power of presenting itself as a space of expression, of communication, a place where exchanges are favoured and where certain conflicts seem to diminish. They are a space that allow the reconciliation of the woman as an individual with the group and mainly with the masculine power.
- Poems are also a means of resistance to loneliness, uncertainties and fear.

The put in in nutshell, tales/ poems dichotomies are respectively society-centred/women-centred, conservative/liberate, males empowering ( with some exceptions where the tales proved neutral)/ females empowering, protest/consent rather than revolt/consent as the women

in the poems even though unhappy with the patriarchal social order , they did not show a real will to revolt against it.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the informants' responds to the questionnaire were analysed, and it turned out that women consider the tales as teaching tools for girls and boys and poems as an exodus to women. What they think about the contents and the goals of the two genres in terms of gender corresponds to the findings of the analysis of those two genres. This explains the storytellers' tendency to stay passive agents that only perpetuate the social norms and expectations in their tales on the one hand. And on the other hand, their being active agents that not only celebrate the female, her body and her anti patriarchal and anti-masculine thoughts but also consider the poems as a means of self-expression that give women, during the time a of song, new voices.

## **Chapter Five**

### **The Shifts in The Kabyle Feminine Literature: From Orality to Writing and its Teachability**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

Orality is one of the characteristics of the literary and expressive art of Maghrebian and Mediterranean women and which makes it unique. The oral texts by women address a wide range of issues but they particularly address women's concerns in a subtle way. Kabyle feminine literature has been analysed and discussed throughout this thesis. However, it is judicious to not wrap up this work before having a glance at the written feminine literature of this same community and compare it to the oral one at the levels of form, content and themes to see whether there is a continuum, and whether the oral heritage contributes in knitting the written works and how.

Accordingly, this chapter crosses three areas of discussion: the relationship between orality and literacy, a sketch of different published literary works and genres by Kabyle women, and a comparison between old and new feminine literature with a special emphasis on gender representations. Finally, this chapter offers some humble recommendations to teachers to include folk literature as a teaching tool in cultural studies classes, civic education, and gender education.

#### **5.2 A Comparison Between the Oral and the New Written Literature**

Contemporary Kabyle literature comes in two forms: oral literature and written literature. The latter can be defined by two types:

First, a written Kabyle literature that is, in fact; the collection of oral patrimony in books. This collected oral literature is either transcribed in Kabyle language varieties using the Roman alphabet or translated into other languages such as French or Arabic. The second type of Kabyle written literature is new in its plots, themes, scenes, and frames; some works may stem from the oral one, and abides by its form, structure, images, and spirit.

According to Ameziane (2010), orality as it was known in ancient Kabylia, has been changing since the end of the nineteenth century. Before that and most importantly before the colonial era in Kabylia, literature such as poems and tales existed in their traditional oral form and their transmission was only from mouth to ear. This oral mechanism remained for a long time the means to the safeguarding of their tales. By the end of the nineteenth century,

traditional orality has witnessed two major cultural phenomena that altered its configuration. First, the transition to writing initiated by a wave of Kabyle writers and elites such as Boulifa who had been enrolled in the French schools at the time of the French colonisation of Algeria, and who showed a will to pass to the transcription of the Kabyle oral tales. It was, therefore, the beginning of the transition from oral to written for Kabyle oral literature, in general, and the traditional oral tale in particular (Ameziane, 2010).

Second, the mediatization of the Kabyle songs by Kabyles living in France, in addition to the opening of the first Kabyle channel on the radio of Algiers in the 1920s (ibid).

Nevertheless, the passage from the oral literature to the written one witnesses not only various stages and steps, but also different periods: before, during, and after the French colonization of Algeria.

The Algerian society before the French invasion in 1830 was still a traditional one and the population was mostly illiterate so the available written Berber and Kabyle literature that dates back then was collected by foreigners. An American diplomat and linguist called William Brown Hodgson had been charged with a mission in North Africa by Clay, the Secretary of State, under US President John Quincy (Ould-braham, 2000). Hodgson was fascinated by the Berbers and their languages and culture. In 1829 he published his collection of Kabyle songs and tales entitled *Collection of Berber Songs and Tales, With Their Literal Translation*. The original manuscript is at the library of the Asian society in Paris (ibid). During the French colonisation that started in 1830, several potential collections have been produced by Europeans in general and by the French in particular to make successful and full colonisation of the Algerian lands and minds. That is to say that the French coupled the military mission with the anthropological and social sciences and research as they wanted to control the country and the people. Those scientists and specialists experienced the negative impact of industrialization on European culture and lifestyle and they were aware that the presence of France in Algeria would bring modernization to it and thus a modification or the destruction of its cultural heritage, and the folkloric heritage would be lost if not preserved in material supports such as books. (ibid).

According to Savignac (1978), it is the French soldiers who were the first to be interested in Berber folklore and Baron Henri Aucapitaine was the first French soldier to collect and publish Berber stories. His book entitled *Military Tales of Great Kabylia* was published in Paris

in 1857. The year after, in 1858, Adolphe Hanoteau, published in his turn a storybook. The military did not spend much time on this work of collection; it was probably just a curiosity that was quickly satisfied. Besides, they considered that the collected tales are without any great interest; Savignac (ibid) found them: "simple, naive, and of little interest" (P.202). But French missionaries and researchers take quickly relay, it's the father Joseph Riviere, a missionary in Kabylia who begins by publishing his translated collection entitled *Contes Populaire De La Kabylie Du Djurdjura* (Kabyle Popular tales of Djurdjura) in 1882 (Haddadou, 2009). Then, the anthropologist and linguist René Basset who had travelled several regions of Algeria began his publications with a Kabyle tale entitled *Salomon et le Dragon* (Solomon and the dragon) published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaines*, followed by several collections of popular tales: *Contes Populaires Berbères* (Berber Tales), *Nouveaux Contes Berbères* (New Berber Tales), and *Contes populairesd'Afrique* ( Popular Tales of Africa) (Meghari,2008).

During the French colonization, a limited number of Algerian intellectuals have produced texts; or have collected, transcribed and translated the oral patrimony. This is not because they did not care about it or because they were not aware of its importance. The reason behind the lack of tangible concern is that the Algerian and Berber intellectuals during the French presence of Algeria were preoccupied with another cause that is war. The literate elite could not fight with weapons so they fought with their writings. Among those Algerian Berber men of letters who were active during the period of the French colonization, we mention Boulifa and Ben Cheneb who have been succeeded by others like Saadeddine Bencheneb, Mouloud Feraoun, and Malek Ouary (Chemakh, 2010; Goodman, 2005). In 1946, Father Dallet founded *le centre des etudes Berberes* (The Center of Berber Studies) in Fort-National (the present-day *Arbaa of the Aith Irathen*) and a huge number of Berber literary collections and translations have been published by this same centre under the name of *Fichier de documentation Berbere* (the Berber Documentation File) (Maghari, 2008).

After the independence of Algeria, both the Algerian elite and amateurs engaged in making research and collecting the oral patrimony, especially tales and poems, for they worried about the Algerian sociocultural scenery and the folkloric patrimony that was threatened of disappearing as the French during their presence in the country tried to make of Algeria a second France with its culture, language and habits. This process was called a 'civilizing mission' by the French and it threatened the indigenous socio-cultural heritage.

As far as the Berber literature was concerned, the lack of a conventional writing system was among the dilemmas that the writers and collectors faced to safeguard and share the oral patrimony. The Latin characters were used to transcribe the oral literature and translations into French imposed themselves as during the colonisation and after the independence, the literate population was formed in the French schools (Haddadou, 2009; Maghari, 2008). Among the pillars of Berber research are the well-known Said Boulifa and Mouloud Mammeri who worked on both Kabyle linguistics and literature as they were convinced that it was necessary to save what was left of their cultural heritage and that it was crucial to design Berber Kabyle grammar and lexicon books (Bounfour and Merolla, 1994). Nevertheless, it is important to note that Mammeri was also interested in Tuaregs; he studied their idioms, grammar and lexicon. It is thanks to those two researchers and others like Rabdi Larbi who contributed to the transition from oral to written, and who laid the foundations and defined the method of transcription of the Berber language by proposing a Latin alphabet, a grammar and a conjugation, that the Berber language and culture are more and more known in the world. They left several books that are truly reliable references (Megharbi, *ibid*).

As it was mentioned before, moving from oral to written had been progressive. It started with transcriptions and adaptations, then to translations from Berber to other languages; and finally, to creating and writing new literature.

Paul Delarue regrets, moreover, the social function of the tale which is gradually disappearing. He says that “The tale of oral tradition has almost completely lost its aesthetic and social function, which was to recreate the assemblies of peasants and artisans during the long winter evenings “(Delarue, 1957 qtd. as cited in Hollemaert, 2013, p. 4).

### **5.2.1 Transcription and Adaptation**

A glance at the two concepts used in this section which are transcription and adaptation reveals that it concerns not only the relationship between the oral texts and the written ones but it also reveals that there was a shift from orality to writing. The Kabyle literary space includes the oral and the written texts in addition to the audio-visual ones, the two latter constitute the continuity of the first one (Merolla, 1996).

The transcription of the oral patrimony of poems, idioms, riddles, tales and so on allows to fix and thus to save and preserve them from oblivion. Writing down the oral literature and

productions in books and journals not only makes it immortal but has also contributed to some sociocultural changes. Establishing a writing system for Berber - regardless of the controversies on the characters and codes used for that- has played a crucial role in the growth of what is called ‘the Berber consciousnesses especially among Kabyles. It has been the cornerstone in the process of changing the status of Berber in Algeria. (Merolla, *ibid*).

Yet, the passage from orality to writing is not an easy task for there are some aspects that are lost and others added. If we take the case of storytelling as an instance, its main forms are repetition, voice, body and gestures as means of transmission, as well as the rhythms, the intonation, the pauses and the setting. In addition to that, the transmission is not deferred; it goes directly from the mouth of the narrator to the ears of the audience. The process of transferring the tale into written literary works brings with it difficulties, not only in taking notes and keeping up with the flow of the event but also in the way repetitions, pausing, rhythm, intonation and the other dimensions of orality could be respected, kept alive and felt in the written text. As M.A. Haddadou puts it, “repetitions or digressions that, in the oral sense, have their flavour, become embarrassing to the written word. That's why they are erased in books. The tale gains conciseness and consistency but loses much of its heat”<sup>84</sup> (Hadadou, 2009). The same author says that it is possible to save the oral literature in discs and CDs through videotaping and recording so that one can hear the storyteller's voice and can see the expressions on his/her face. But this will be deferred in addition to the fact that the receptor will be deprived of the physical presence of the narrator (*ibid*). As for the language and styles used for the transcription, Hadadou assumes that they are often modified for some practical reasons.

Nevertheless, this seems to be a universal problem, and although some ethnologists and collectors recommend being faithful to the oral version in form and content during the transcription of the tales, the majority of the researchers demand fidelity to the popular matter, and the necessity of a literal transcription of all aspects, even hums, hesitations and pausing as it is the case of Arnold Van Gennep who recommends the following: “write everything in full, without involving a literary, emotional or moral criticism, or evaluate what is popular by means of artificially constructed meters ”<sup>85</sup>. The Grimm brothers for instance, even though claim to have been stylistically faithful to the collected tales, they admit having adopted their own style and have added details, and Henry Pourrat (1948-1962) a collector of French folktales suggests

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<sup>84</sup> Trans. mine

<sup>85</sup> Arnold Van Gennep( as cited in Hadadou 2009)



adaptation as a means of perpetuating the oral literature especially the tales as long as one respects their setting and socio-cultural markers (ibid).

For an accurate transcription of the oral production, one not only has to master some conventional transcription technique but s/he also has to master the language and why not have a good knowledge of the different dialects and varieties in order to understand the meaning of the words to be transcribed. Among the transcription techniques that the Berber ethnologists and specialists have agreed upon are:

- The insertion of the points of suspension indicating the breaks, and
- Parentheses or hooks relating the comments of the narrator or his audience.

Camille Lacoste Dujardin (1982) pointed to all these aspects in detail in her ethnological study on the wonderful Kabyle tale. Djaouti (1991) in her article on performance in the oral literature notes that turn-taking in the oral dialogues of worldwide literature is highlighted by dashes in the scripts. As for the Kabyle dialogues, the dash not only highlights turn-taking but also replaces both the reporting verb and the name or the pronoun that refers to the speaker.

Poetry is the second Berber oral literary genre that has been largely collected and transcribed after the tales. This is the case of Kabyle poetry, the Chleuh's and other Amazigh ethnic groups. As far as Kabyle poetry is concerned, a lot of collections have been published during the French colonisation by some European and French ethnologists mentioned earlier in this chapter. After independence, poems were collected by Algerian Berber researchers like Boulifa, Youcef Oukaci, Ali Ouyoucef, Sidi Kala, Mouloud Ferraoun, Kamel Bouamara and Mouloud Mammeri and some of the collections include translated versions of the poems (Haddadou, 2009). The well-known Mammeri published many books in the field, among which we mention *Les Isefra de Si Mohand* (The Poems of Sir Mohand) in 1968 and *Yenna-yas Ccix Muḥend* (Sir Mohand Said) in 1989. Those two works of an inestimable value are accompanied by a translation and a detailed study of the poetry of *Si Mohand U Mḥand*. Another collection he published is entitled *Poèmes Kabyles Anciens* (Ancient Kabyle Poems) in 1980. Through this long-term research, Mammeri puts in the hands of all the lovers of the old Kabyle poetry, collectors, and researchers a significant number of poems that were doomed to loss and oblivion. (Haddadou, ibid).

Nevertheless, the oral patrimony of poetry has benefited from another means of safeguard: the recorded discs and CDs. According to Chaker (1989b), the conditions of diffusing and saving oral poetry have undergone major changes since 1930 and the discs have gradually replaced the travelling bards and poets; and a new form of orality called neo-orality appeared. This is neo-orality is the modern songs recorded and mediated by modern technological means. The reception of the new recorded songs is deferred and ceases to be immediate, and the ways it is performed has changed, as traditionally, it was performed collectively celebrating different occasions and had its own rituals while the modern one is done solo by the means of an individual voice (Chaker, *ibid*).

Notwithstanding, the passage from oral to writing and recorded tapes is not without problems. As it was mentioned earlier, the transition from speech to scripts erases some characteristics special to orality such as the intonation, the rhythm, and the pauses. The oral flow is turned into inert written fragments especially with the exclusion of body expressions and gestures that give the oral expression its vitality. If the shift to writing had a purpose to preserve the oral literature, it is somehow contributing to the modification of this latter and to its gradual loss too because today, the traditional oral heritage continues to exist in printed books and through time orality will become secondary. Those interested in poetry and folktales nowadays content themselves with reading the different collections rather than listening to storytelling in its traditional context, around the fireplace, with the grandmothers magically knitting them as if it were a sacred activity. In addition to that, and what is worse is that the present-day storytellers or poets who continue to perpetuate the oral traditional way of transmission (in theatres, workshops, and different events dedicated to that) draw their knowledge and collections from the books instead of learning them from mouth to ear. That is to say that the written versions are not only replacing the oral ones, but they are modifying them too.

Eventually, even though the transcribed oral literature and the recorded one are different in their modes of transmission, they constitute and enrich the Berber and the Kabyle literary space and contribute to preserving it.

### **5.2.2. Translation**

The early collections of the oral heritages transcribed by the European and the French missionaries or by the Algerian specialists went hand-in-hand with the process of translation,

and most of the existing printed books or journals are bilingual written in Berber<sup>86</sup>-French for the majority or in Berber-Arabic for a few of them. Providing a parallel translation of the oral literature in a foreign language is a necessity rather than a luxury as the non-Berber collectors needed the translations in order to understand the poems, the tales and thus understand the socio-cultural specificities of the different Berber indigenous communities they have been in contact with to facilitate their invasion, manipulation; and why not eradication by the French. On the other hand, the Algerians who translated Berber literature into other languages did so to perpetuate their literature worldwide, satisfy the Berber Diasporas and the individuals who were born and raised outside their Berber communities and who do not master their ancestral language. Translating and using French or Arabic was also a means for Algerian authors to publish their works as after the independence of Algeria and for some political reasons, Arabic was imposed at the expense of Berber. This latter was not only marginalized but excluded from all the official organizations to the extent that the productions written in Berber were forbidden from being printed on the Algerian ground which led the writers to print them abroad, in France mainly.

Another purpose of translation is that it saved from oblivion some subgenres such as the poetry of love, as Yacine Tassadit (2011) puts it “The poetry of love - out of the traditional channels of transmission - was saved from oblivion thanks to this formidable medium that was the French translation” (P. 9). According to her and to the female researchers she interviewed, the French language somehow attenuated the erotic load expressed in the mother tongue that is to say that while transmitting this kind of poems to the audience, one can use French to say what he cannot say in his/her mother tongue. In other words, a foreign language is the veil one stands behind to say the unsayable without shocking a particular category of interlocutors (Yacine, *ibid*).

Yet, the translators may find themselves in a dilemma; shall they translate this millennial oral literature with the sole objective of conservation and opt for faithful translation? Or shall they take into account the aesthetics and give it the spirit of the language it is translated into which gives birth to *‘Les belles infideles’* translations?

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<sup>86</sup> refers to the different Berber language varieties and dialects depending on the region of collection

Apart from the problem of finding the accurate translations of the metaphors, the cultural markers (names of objects, rituals, celebrations...) and the idiomatic expressions; or finding their equivalents in the repertoire of the language of translation; Medjadi (2012) highlights another problem related to form, she says that the traditional Kabyle tale is characterized by its sobriety, simplicity and its direct style and translators often find it difficult to convey these characteristics in the translated text. Medjadi (ibid) and Dujardin (1982) add that when a translated version's characteristics are compared to the characteristics of the original text in Berber, one will notice that the translated version is 'far' from the original version. This might not pose a problem when the translations are published apart, but in a book that contains both versions, the two versions may seem divergent and the translated version inaccurate.

### 5.2.3 Rewriting

It is the process of transforming a full text or some parts of it or making some changes in it. Durvyé (2001) defines rewriting as follows:

“Rewriting can, of course, take very different forms of themes and structures, from one era to another, from a country to another, from one register to another. It shrinks or develops, it admires, it decries, it explains, it plays, it perfects, it ensures the survival of a text or an earlier work.”<sup>87</sup> (p. 134)

One shall put in mind that rewriting differs from writing, correcting, or summarising. It is, however, a form of innovation and one can even go so far as to think that all creation proceeds from a rewriting.

### 5.2.4 Creation and Production

The Berber literature, in general, has witnessed some revival with the introduction of new genres such as the novel and the play, and the Kabyle literature seems to take the lion's share as far as the number of productions and published works is concerned. One of the pioneers of the Kabyle new literature is Belaid Ait Ali who composed a series of tales and short stories under the title of *Le Cahier De Belaid* (the notebook of Belaid) in 1963. With the new themes he narrates and his flexible and harmonious style, he gave birth to new writings adapted to modern life. After him, came all those writers we broadly call the novelists. Another aspect of the difference between traditional oral literature and neo-written literature is the visibility of the author or the narrator. Most of the Berber and Kabyle oral narratives are anonymous; they have

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<sup>87</sup> Trans.mine

been transmitted from one generation to another by means of oral transmission and collective memory. The original authors are in most cases unknown, and in the best cases- as it is the case of some pieces of poetry-the productions are region-labelled. that is to say that they are village-specific, tribe-specific or family-specific, and they are defined as such without necessarily referring to the person that produced them. The written literary creations, on the other hand, are identified by the authors' names. In other words, the title of a work and the name of its author are linked together as the two faces of the same coin. Furthermore, the signature of the author becomes mandatory and it gives him or her a specific literary identity and imprint; and by the same token, the authors need to be innovative in terms of themes or forms rather than follow one narrative style or associate their pieces of work to the same culture-specific flavours as it is the case of the oral folk literature. Besides, while the written literature is individualized, oral patrimony is inherited from one generation to another and it belongs to the whole group or the whole community as it is part of their common heritage.

Most of the texts written in Berber in general and Kabyle in particular are published outside Algeria, and it is important to note that some authors found themselves obliged to finance their own productions. Yet, fortunately, the Office of the High Commissionship for the Amazigh (HCA) has taken over the publication of several texts, including the recent translation of Mouloud Faraoun's *Le Fils du Pauvre* (the Son of the Poor Man) as long as the publication of the works of Djamel Djamel, Mohand-Akli Salhi and Kamal Bouamara (Haddadou, *ibid*).

### **5.3 Gender Representations in the Oral Literature**

The analysis results of this thesis' corpus which was a collection of oral narratives and poems told by some Kabyle women showed that male and female characters are given specific and recurrent social positions and roles based on the social conventions of the community. However, despite the fact that some recurrent female characters in the stories and poems are viewed as wicked and wrongdoing such as *Settout* the old witch, *Teryel* the ogress, and the mothers-in-law, this negativity is linked to old women only. Though, through the representation of some female characters with positive qualifications like intelligence, wittiness, and beauty, the storytellers somehow abated some unfair and harsh realities such as male superiority over women and all its consequences. Women in their oral productions allow themselves certain autonomy, an autonomy that respects the cultural logic and the social conventions of the community, especially in the tales. In the poems, more space of expression is permitted wherein personal interests take over group interests.

Nonetheless, according to Merolla, in the oral narratives told by men, female characters are demonized, Merolla says that “a very form of 'misogyny' takes place: the infidelity of women is asserted through the sequences of actions and is overly manifested in the final moral of a narrative declaiming that women are worse than demons” (Merolla, 1996. p. 157).

#### **5.4 The Written Literature of Kabyle Women**

The shift of Berber literature from oral to written in Algeria remains painstaking and a cumbersome process. It started with male productions such as Bélaïd At Ali (1909-1950) in the field of written prose following the path of Bensdira and Boulifa. Then, appeared the Amazigh novel in the 1980s and the main productions were those of Rachid Aliche (*Asfel*-1981), Said Sadi (*Askuti*-1983), Amar Mezdad (*Id d wass*- 1990), and Salem Zenia (*Tafrara*-1995). As For poetry, we can cite Mouloud Mammeri's *Poemes Kabyles Anciens* (Old Kabyle poems-1980), there was also the theatre with Mohya, and the lyrical song that from then on, reinforces the development of the Amazigh literature which has known a relative acceleration since then (Chaker, 1992; Haddadou, 2009).

Admittedly, Algerian women in general and Kabyle ones in particular, came late to writing compared to their male peers because - due to their gender - males in this conservative phallogocentric society had access to schooling way earlier than females. Women's literacy and their progressive mastery of writing lead to the birth of Berber feminine literature pioneered by mother and daughter Fadhma and Taos Amrouche. Later on, many Berber and Kabyle women writers have joined the written literary field and most of them have been deployed mainly in the novelistic and fictional genre as well as poetry. From the admirable palette of female writers and poets, we cite Djaber Nadia, Khalfa Drifa, Aït Ferroukh Farida, Fettouma Touati, Laura Mouzaia, Ouiza Ait Gherbi, Ferroudja Kessas, Fatiha Merabti, Fatima Ait Hamlet, Zehira Berfas Houfani, Dihya Lwiz (Louiza Aouzellag), Kaysa Khalifi, and Lynda Koudache. Howbeit, it is true that in this chapter we are speaking mainly about the shift from the oral tradition to the written one, traditional sung poetry shifted into recorded one and the traditional songs that used to be anonymous with no known source and that used to be transmitted from mouth to ear in weddings, funerals, and other events shifted into recorded songs. The traditional

sung poetry was related to a group or the village, and the recorded one is directly related to the women that lend their voices to sing them.<sup>88</sup>

### 5.4.1 Themes Tackled

For women, writing is not just a means to produce works to be published and prized, as Yacine puts it “writing is [primarily] an escape, a confession that allows women to speak about themselves without betraying themselves because they are in the universe of the other, in his space, in his cultural codes” (Yacine, 2011, p. 10). That is to say that women are no more written by men, they write their own selves. Passages in Kabyle feminine productions allowed us to somehow read in their minds and hearts, the themes they tackle, however, are not always female-centred; those writers speak about peace and war, community, emigration, identity and other issues that matter for each one of us, male or female, as an individual or as a group. The written productions in-hand will not be separately reviewed in this chapter as the focus is rather on the topics they deal with. Those main topics are discussed below.

#### 5.4.1.1 Female Concerns

##### 5.4.1.1.1 Sterility and Female Births

Sterility may be a node among others in a knitted story, nevertheless, Kaissa Khalifa wrote a whole novel dealing with this issue and its impact on a couple’s life in general and the destiny of the wife/woman in particular. *Ihulfan* (emotions) is a novel that narrates with great details and emotions the sufferings of a sterile couple that dreams of holding their children in their arms. After ten years of waiting and expectations, the desire of having children becomes more intense and persistent in Mebarak's heart. He is afraid of dying without leaving an heir to perpetuate his name, especially after a renowned doctor has diagnosed his wife with sterility. The wife, on the other hand, has not only to deal with the bitterness of her infertility and her childless lap but also with its impact on her couple’s stability as the husband’s friends and parents regularly try to convince him to repudiate his wife or take a second one. The fate of the helpless woman depends on whether her husband resists or not the pressure of his entourage and his ego.

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<sup>88</sup> For more details on the world of sung poetry and the issues of recording read Goodman, Jane E. “Stealing Our Heritage?": Women's Folksongs, Copyright Law, and the Public Domain in Algeria.” *Africa Today*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2002, pp. 85–97. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/4187481](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4187481).

If women are unfairly blamed for being born infertile, it seems that still in patriarchal Kabylia; women are blamed for being born females instead of being male offspring. Three authors belonging to different generations (Fadhma Ath Mansour Amrouche born in 1883, Djura 1949 and Lynda Koudache in 1975) tell us the same stories about gender discrimination in Kabylia, and females as undesired children. The first and the second authors, in their autobiographies, recount the conditions of their birth and upbringing; and their female sex that made worse their growing conditions. In one of the passages of Fadhma Amrouche's *Histoire De Ma Vie* ( Story of My Life) she says: "In the autumn, the Caid called my mother and said to her:" the presence of Your daughter Fadhma annoys you, take her to Fort-National where we just opened a school for girls, she will be happy and well-treated". This shows that the presence of the girl Fadhma seemed to make worse the situation for her single mother who was already suffering from other issues. Djura, in her moving book *Le voile du silence* (The Veil of Silence) published in 1990 discusses what was the life of a Kabyle girl in Algeria, then that of a girl who emigrated to France, with, in the background, an amalgam of ghettos, racism, the inevitability of Islam, the pride of the Arabs and most importantly the condition of the woman who begins with that of the girl who is rejected from birth for the sole reason that she is not a boy. It is a revolting story in terms of the place of the woman and of the behaviour that her mother will have towards her. For a mother, it is very disappointing not to love her daughter and very outrageous to stand against her, her own daughter in the name of unfair conservative traditions and to satisfy the expectations of her husband and sons who did not seem to hesitate to make an end to Djura's life after she left the family household to start a new peaceful and successful life.

The third one, in her novel *Tamacahut Taneggarut* (The Last Tale) published in 2016, takes us to track the dramatic fate of Shabha Nat Bannen. As she was unwanted at birth, her mother gave her the name of her worst enemy: her mother-in-law. Shabha stumbles over the weight of a society where everything is tabooed and everything is forbidden for a woman. This Situation led her to depression and Shabha ended in a psychiatric hospital.

#### **5.4.1.1.2 Female Struggles**

Lynda Koudache devotes her two collections of poems entitled *l'aube Vierge* (The Virgin Dawn) (2003) and *Lliy uqvel adiliy* (I existed before being seen) (2005) to the woman and her struggles. In 2009, she published her novel *Aëcciw n'Tmes*, this production is a typical universe



of female struggles such as jealousies, intrigues, conspiracies, and alliances used to survive in males' dominance and why not to somehow rule the lives of men. In the novel of Laura Mouzaia (1997) entitled *La fille Berger* (the daughter of the shepherd), the events and the characters are so close to reality that we could think that it is an autobiography, it is a mirror route where everyone can find his tracks. The hard life in a patriarchal society with rough mores, where women are only bits of stories, tossed according to the moods of male or female power. She evokes patriarchy, matriarchy, power within and outside, the power of the dominant and the dominated, and also the one of the army and resistance. All the powers are evoked but also denounced in turn, through the voice of a woman with an inner child who constantly rebels. Another author, Hafsa Djenadi, published a novel entitled *Les Misereuses Insoumises* (the destitute rebels) in 2013 that denounces the suffering of women who still live their pain in silence, fearing reprisals from a society that does not forgive. She breaks this silence that diminishes the woman and leaves her in the shadows. In her novel, she insists that it is time to denounce this fear that is haunting our women and immobilizing them. It is necessary to uncover the unfair society which knows only harassment and perfidy.

Dihya Lwiz's novel *Gar igenni d tmurt* (in between sky and earth) (2016) is not just a story of a brave female combatant who fought the French colonialism of Algeria, it is also that of her social condition as a female in the region of Kabylia. Faḍma Ibeleiden, a woman who-side by side with men- stood fiercely against the French to free her country Algeria. Unfortunately, she lives in the shadows and has fallen into a form of social oblivion since the independence of Algeria, the country she fought for, her country! Another female character in this story is Zahra, her life experience adds some black spots to the scenery of female conditions in this traditional society. Zahra had been married by her uncle, this latter did not ask her whether she accepts or not the union with a man she did not even know. She carries on her life alone after being abandoned first by her husband then by her son who was angry with her because she had become a maid in Algiers to provide for their needs.

In *L'histoire De Ma Vie* of Fadhma Ath Mansour (ibid), Fadhma paints the struggles of the Kabyle woman of the twentieth century, her place in Kabylia, and the confusion of choosing between her language and the language of the colonial empire. She blames the customs that excluded her socially and punished her even before her birth. This Kabyle society imposed many constraints on her, and more particularly on her religion though practised discreetly. It also forced her to go abroad and live exiled. Djura in her autobiography *Le Voile Du Silence*

(ibid), speaks about the predominance of the man, whether he is a father, a brother or a husband, this man who in the Maghreb society has all the rights over the woman. Djura describes the Kabyle woman as malleable, easily modelled, exploitable, reduced to the condition of the slave, humiliated, and suffocated by the family unit, all with the complicity of the mother. She is supervised, beaten, repudiated, sometimes murdered, married against her will, because; the tradition dictates that we have respect only for the man while the woman serves to perpetuate the family.

#### **5.4.1.1.3 Calls to Women's Emancipation**

The Kabyle singer and writer Djura published a novel that bears a title with a deep symbolism: *la Saison Des Narcisses* (The Season of Narcissus) (1993). This symbolism is related to spring and the Kabyle countryside where narcissus flourishes. It is the season Algerian women associate with their wishes for harmony. The time of narcissus as called here by the author is the time emigrant women of Muslim culture could live according to their choice, between a tolerant Islam and a West freed from fear. Djura reports the testimony of other women of her country, who approached her to confide in their secrets, their difficulties and their dramas. All are not, as we could believe too quickly, uniformly veiled and subjected. Some are trying to resist fundamentalism; they are Muslims who find in the Koran the justification for female emancipation. They are Maghrebines of France placed at the point of conflict between two cultures: they are numerous to wait, they too, the time of Narcissus. Three years earlier, in her autobiography, Djura affirms that she has chosen to denounce the customs and her revolt is commensurate with her commitment. She says that she was willing to leave, despite the difficulties, the taboos and the prohibitions in that hostile world, and within her own family. She also analyses her openness to French culture, the discovery of her personality, her originality, her life as a woman, her value, and her generosity too (as despite all, she had chosen to help all the members of her family who were her tormentors). This book is a step towards the emancipation of the Algerian woman and her recognition as a human being.

In 2001, Laura Mouzaia published her novel *la Terre pietinée* (The trodden land) that is an image that refers to "the woman", the heroine who does not concede lies and stupidity. With her extraordinary lucidity, she raises her head and faces all obstacles. She snatches anything she wants. This novel is also a journey between the two shores: here and there. Plans and milestones of a woman because Fatiha the heroine knows what she wants. Between the community of origin and the society of the future, she passes everything as through a tiny comb.

Through her tears, her cries of despair, Fatiha knows that emancipation comes from knowledge. This liberating knowledge will allow her to thwart the manipulations and inconsistencies of the two different societies. She asks herself this burning question: "Why?" Fatiha refuses the "duty / to undergo", she claims the "power / to act", and in this hollow, the ancestral order and the desire of a modern woman clash.

Five years later, the same author published a book entitled *le féminin Pluriel Dans l'intégration. Trois générations de femmes Kabyles* (the plural feminine in integration. Three generations of Kabyle women) that she dedicates to three generations of Kabyle women who were born in the twentieth century. To understand their journey through emigration, she begins by reminding us of the characteristics of the traditional Kabyle society, with the predominant place of men and the set of rules and customs that set women home. In contact with French society, through school and professional life, women have gradually acquired their emancipation, even if the failings of the Republic or the blockages of civil society have not always facilitated the situation.

Another instance of Kabyle feminine productions that call for women's emancipation is the short story of Sonia Amori *La Petite Kabyle* (the Little Kabyle Girl), this book is destined for children, the idea behind it was to promote the Amazigh culture known as Berber culture, and to break the stereotypes about Maghrebi women who are most of the time locked up either in the moulds of submissive women or of aggressive individuals. That's why; the author puts on stage a fearless, courageous, adventurous and feminist girl, who positively represents her very rich culture and sharing.

Dihya Lwiz in two of her novels evokes themes of women's emancipation and empowerment. In *djasaddun yaskoununi* (a body lives in me), she retraces the life of Farida, a woman divided between the ambition of freedom and a society that never stops pointing at her. She speaks about her forced marriage to a man she does not want. She gives birth to a child whom she abandons to be able to continue her path full of ambitions and projects. Years later, fate made the mother and her child meet without recognizing each other. This reunion triggered repressed memories in the depths of a woman who tries to move forward by suppressing her past.

In *Ger Igenni Dtmurth* (in between sky and earth) the author speaks about the history and writing in order to introduce her story, its stance and its central theme that's "memory". Writing

as a skill and a tool is what the author speaks about at the beginning of her story, all by making reflections and asking questions. It is this writing that allows old Zahra to play the role of a historian. As a woman, Zahra is the "memory" of the group in traditional society. She met Samia, the daughter of the couple she works for as a maid. Zahra and Samia become friends and this latter taught her to read and write even though Zahra was already an adult. It is writing that will allow her to bequeath to posterity a part of the story of her life.

#### **5.4.1.1.4 Love, Heartbreak and Divorce**

If Ouiza Aït Gherbi transforms into verses, sentiments and emotions of grief, love and hope in her collections of poems inspired by her experience and which are entitled *Tighri N'Tassa* (the cry of the heart) composed of 38 poems, and *Chwami* (the scars) composed of 50 poems; and Kayssa Khalifi in her novel *Ihulfan* (feelings) writes with a feminine breath full of emotions that plunges us into the abyss of the soul by putting us in front of a simple question: what can one do in front of the choices of the heart and what can the heart do in front of two loves? Other authors write about the other side where the grass is not greener, Dihya Lwiz (2013) and Hafssa Djenadi (2013) in their novels which are respectively *Berru* (divorce) and *Les Misereuses Insoumises* (The Destitute Rebels) speak about divorce and repudiation. Djenadi's novel *Les Misereuses Insoumises* is inspired by a true story that took place in the author's hometown. It is the story of a divorced woman delivered to a society that rejects this status, especially in the 1990s. Mira is a woman who has struggled to give her son a better education, all by confronting family and social compression. A woman who has known beautiful and exciting love, in the beginning, then hideous and hurtful at the end.

Tassadit Yacine (1988) in *L'Izli, ou l'amour chanté en Kabyle* (the *Izli*, or Love Sung in Kabyle) speaks about how love is tabooed in Kabylia; she says that a tenacious legend made that love in traditional Kabyle society does not exist. The language has no word to express it, it has no signifier. The ordinary speech does not include topics about it, it is eradicated and the major themes of the poetry of the region are reserved for religion or war, love is dealt with metaphorically and with distant allusions. This book uncovers the hypocrisies in this traditional, conservative society that buried love. The author thus fills an important gap in the overall image, she shows the place that love occupied in Kabyle society, a feeling that has given rise to all the variations of abundant literature and often of great value. She describes the *Izlan* (love poems) as a naked Eros, or a sublimated passion, the *Izlan* sing on all the tones, they say all the unspoken that the legitimate speech eludes.

#### 5.4.1.2 The War of Independence and Post-Independence Crises in Algeria

Both Dihya Lwiz in *Sa aqḍifou nafssi amamaka* (I will throw myself in front of you) 2013 written in Arabic, and Sarah Haidar in *La morsure du coquelicot* (The Bite of the Poppy) 2016 have been inspired by popular revolutions like the Berber Spring that took place in Kabylia in 2001 and on which the story of grief and contestation of Dihya Lwiz relies. Haidar's novel features women and men who resist the central authoritarian and police power and take the street, the prison or the mountains (place of resistance) as in front of a criminal and repressive state, the armed struggle has become a necessity. According to her the figures, the earth itself and the living rise and claim absolute freedom.

In 2016, Dihya Lwiz published another book entitled *Gar igenni d tmurt* (between sky and earth), it is a manuscript that highlights a female character: a maquisard<sup>89</sup>, tortured by the French colonizer, it also tackles matters like the conditions of women, memory, resistance, revolution, and identity. The main character, Faḍma Ibeleiden, a heroine of the village, a fighter who was arrested by the colonial army for her participation in the war of liberation; she is thrown alive from a helicopter, which leads to her death. The narrator uses the expression *Gar igenni d tmurt* (Between sky and earth) as the title of the novel to refer to the way Fadhma was killed. This barbaric procedure was frequently used by the French colonial army during the Algerian war to terrorize the combatants. The story is also a reminder of the events of May 1981 in Bejaia (which is a kind of replica of the Berber spring of 1980) or those of the black spring of 2001. It is to this last event (the black spring of 2001) that Yuba, another character participates, as the overwhelming majority of young Kabyles. He explains to Dihya why he does not like the Arabic language, he tells her what he had endured during his arrest by the national gendarmes: he had been raped in the gendarmerie barracks by one of them to punish him for his participation in the revolt and to humiliate him.

The novel *La honte se vit seule* of Zehira Berfas Houfani (2016) is also a social drama that comes in small stanzas; it speaks about Algeria, the country that -according to the author- has stopped offering horizons to its children. This committed author has also written about the Algerian crises related to Islamism; and social and political failures in *Les pirates du désert* (the pirates of the desert) (1986) and *L'incomprise* (the misunderstood) (1989).

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<sup>89</sup> Resistants who join the mountains to hide and prepare attacks against the state or the colonizers

*Le Destin De Narimane* (The destiny of Narimane) by Katia Hacène<sup>90</sup> is a novel published in 2007; its events take place during the black decade which explains the state of curfew, murders and mysterious disappearance that are talked about in this novelistic plot. One day, Rachid, the husband of Narimane the heroine of this story disappears and after several weeks, the police announced his death. She also loses her parents; and then starts the series of conspiracies and happy and sad coincidences that make Nariman's journey. In the end, she discovers the truth behind the disappearance of her husband.

Another novel that was published during the black decade in Algeria, tells the story of one of the many journalists that were murdered by terrorists for the only reason that they were making investigations, or reporting the massacres, the rapes, and bombings that were threatening Algerian lives. Samira Guebli the author of this novel entitled *Une balle en tete* (a bullet in the head) tries through the lines of her story to recall the impact of this decade on everyone's memory. She chooses a male character as a hero called Ghozlane, a journalist born in the Casbah of Algiers. He is targeted by a terrorist, but not any terrorist, this latter turns to be his childhood friend who has been influenced and brainwashed by religious extremists. Ghozlane escapes death miraculously but his body bears the scars of the attack. Years later, even if he started a new life, the bullet that remained inside his head always reminds him of the black decade, and the exile accentuates his distress. He wants to have answers and fight against social amnesia. He wants to understand, to relieve his own pain and his fellow citizens' too. In his desperate quest to find the truth of the instability and crises in Algeria, all he reads seemed blurred: the history of Algeria, its colonial past, its independence, the martyrs, the revolt of October 88, terrorism and Harragas.

Other authors knitted their stories based on the daily life in deep Algeria. Among those authors, we cite Sarah Haidar (2013) in *Virgule en tombe* (Crazy Breaks). In this novel, Haidar tries to speak about special and particular cases of individuals, and groups of people. Her novel is a mixture of tales and destinies that are intertwined with each other. It unveils the social life in Algeria and exposes the contradictions and the "immoral" society that lives in schizophrenia.

#### **5.4.1.3 The Socioeconomic Inequalities and Racism**

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<sup>90</sup> was a journalist in the Algerian capital. Founding member of the daily newspaper "Le soir d'Algérie", she has also published a collection of poems "La vie comme elle vient" with Aparis Editions.

Sarah Haidar (2016) in *la morsure des coquelicots* (The Bite of Poppies), alludes to the fragility of the so-called National Unity and its predisposition to burst. According to her, the National Unity, which is constantly being rehearsed, is fictitious in Algeria. It is paradoxical to decolonization, and importation of the French Jacobin system. She invites her readers to travel around the country to become aware of the inanity of such a model that exists practically nowhere. The immensity of the Algerian territory, its cultural and ethnic wealth have become a threat to the power of the ruling group. It is impossible to be welded and united, as one man, especially in Algeria where there are virulent racism and extraordinary regionalism. National unity, according to Haidar is fictitious and limited to the centrality of power and physical boundaries. We suffer from a lack of openness to the other and contempt for differences.

As for Zehira Berfas Houfani (2002), in her *Lettre D'une Musulmane aux Nord-Américaines* (a letter from a Muslim woman to North American ones) responds to the anti-Muslim hate and racism policy born after the attacks of September 11, 2001. Besides, the author wants to make North American women in particular and Westerners, in general, more aware of the violence policy practised by the administration against the Arab, Muslim and Southern countries of the world. Berfas Houfani claims that behind the speeches of understanding and accepting differences, the West continues to overwhelm us with lies and the systematic denigration of our values. And, it is in this logic, that the West throws the bombs with one hand and the sacks of flour with the other. It is in this logic too that the bombings create refugees, and humanitarian workers build the misery camps to welcome them; the powers decree embargos that destroy peoples and delegate the UN to negotiate their survival. This is a 'brave' book that dares to call atrocities by their names. The author also regrets her Algeria that she had to leave because of violence and the civil war were untenable, and dares to see her host country, Canada, as it is, more and more distant from its reputation and what it pretends to be. But for this committed woman who took part in the World March of Women against Poverty and Violence in October 2000, we must not despair, we shall talk, organize and work together, and women's and men's goodwill will succeed in restoring respect, equality, peace, democracy, tolerance and solidarity.

#### **5.4.1.4 Emigration and Exile**

When speaking about emigration and exile, the first female authors that come to our minds are undoubtedly Taos Amrouche and her mother Fadhma Ath Mansour who beautifully transformed their own bittersweet experiences of exile and emigration into autobiographical

novels. Yet, other authors like Tassadit Yacine, Laura Mouzaia and Hafsa Djenadi also made exile and emigrations the main topics of their novels by recounting the stories of women and students whose destiny has taken them abroad.

*Jacinthe Noire* (1945) (Black Hyacinth) by Taos Amrouche is a grandiose revelation of the uprooting and the conflict between the desire for integration and the marshes of assimilation, it tells the uprooting of Reine, the heroine. *Jacinthe Noire* is the story of a girl who cannot adapt to the social environment in which she lives despite her will. Her innumerable attempts prove futile because she is confronted with cruelty, hatred and the intolerance of the other. Reine's fictional story reminds us of the life of its author Taos Amrouche, the first French-speaking Algerian novelist. Amrouche too had to face many obstacles when she arrived in France. She may have found relief by inventing a possible life in the Parisian cold through the characters of her novel, among whom, Reine's friend who had an exalting youth and adolescence that the author herself may have dreamt to have since her adolescence was dull.

Through Amena, the main character of Taos Amrouche's third novel *L'amant imaginaire* (the imaginary lover), we recognize the voice of Taos Amrouche who reveals in this novel the tormented love affair she maintained with a very famous writer and the meeting with her husband, the painter André Bourdil. The Imaginary Lover appeared in 1975, a year before the death of Taos Amrouche. The heroine of this novel (which is, in fact, a disguised autobiography) is not from here. She carries within her the torment, the dissatisfaction and the feeling of an irremediable exile. Taos describes her character Amena as a transplant, an inadequate one whose roots are naked and who intends to cry out her origins.

Fadhma Ath Mansour in her autobiography (op. cite) speaks about two types of exile. She experienced the first one in her own village which normally should be considered as home, this non-physical exile is due to the fact that she was socially excluded and marginalized by the inhabitants of her village because she was an illegitimate child and because of the Christian religion she embraced. Her husband and she decided to leave Kabylia and move to Tunisia than to France where they were more welcomed socially and religiously. However, Fadhma the women, always felt she was Kabyle, neither French nor Tunisian, even though she was Christian she celebrated Muslim religious feasts, just like her Muslim mother and grandmother, as for HER they are not religious ceremonies as such, but part of her ancestral traditional practices. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the Kabyle society and moors imposed many



constraints on her, she never gave up her Berber culture, and it is her folk songs that had helped her to endure the exile and to heal her pains.

Djura's already mentioned autobiography is also a story about emigration and exile. It evokes what was the life of a Kabyle girl in Algeria, then that of a young girl who immigrated to France. Djura takes us from the mountains of Kabylia to emergency cities for immigrants, in a world where cultural uprooting goes hand in hand with an incredible archaism of the female condition.

*Piège ou le combat d'une femme algérienne* (a Trap or the Fight of an Algerian Woman) is an essay about the life of Nouara, an Algerian woman born in 1939 in Kabylia but living abroad., this story is traced by Tassadit Yacine (1995) a sociologist, anthropologist and specialist of the Berber culture who recorded the speech and the poems of this exiled woman. This document is a real investigation of the struggle of a woman who had neither the weapons of education nor those of a privileged background to free herself from the patriarchal society. By reading this essay, one could discover a hidden part of the Algerian feminine creation and the multiform resistance of the women of this country.

The already mentioned books of Laura Mouzaia, *la fille du Berger* (The Shepherd's daughter) published in 1997, and *Le féminin Pluriel dans l'intégration. Trois générations de femmes Kabyles* (the plural feminine in integration. Three generations of Kabyle women) published in 2006 deal with the status of women and the problems of emigration.

Hafsa Djenadi in *Au Delà De Nos Rêves* (Beyond Our Dreams) published in 2005, illustrates the difficult path of foreign students in France; and in *la honte se vit seule* (shame is a personal experience) (2016), she tells a story that begins in Algeria and ends in Canada, it's a story of "harga"<sup>91</sup>

#### **5.4.1.5 Identity and Belonging**

Marguerite Taos Amrouche was confronted with the double Berber-French culture. In her four strongly autobiographical novels, it is palpable that the teenager and the adult she was, was torn between two cultures, desperately seeks her roots. Her feverish novels evoke the singular

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<sup>91</sup> Trans: burning. It somehow means to break the law. It is an illegal emigration from Algeria to another country, generally without a visa or other travel permission papers. Most of the Harraga leave Algeria in groups on ships to join the French or the Spanish shores.

adventure of her family that never really integrated anywhere. Taos and also her brother Jean Amrouche wanted to preserve the most acute consciousness of their double Maghrebi and French affiliation, and she endeavoured to play a mediating role between the two cultures.

From adolescence to middle age, from *Jacinth Noire* to *Solitude, ma mere* (solitude, my mother), the novels of Taos Amrouche put under a variety of names a woman who lives in all her fibers what she calls 'her hybridity'. She was conscious of her mission of preserving cultural heritage through singing. However, her writings represented her and only her, the person who was torn between her different identities. Her novels were full of sequences that seem useless in the story but important to her via which she was screaming her identity and cultural belonging.

Her mother in her autobiography (ibid) declares "*I always felt that I was only Kabyle... Raised in an Arab country, bathed in French culture, I have never been able to bind myself intimately with either Frenchmen or Arabs.*" (p. 6)

In *La Rue des Tambourines* (The Street of Tambourines), Marguerite Amrouche speaks about her cultural and religious belonging, a novel in which she told us a lot about her grandmother, who made her life difficult by her demands, her wounding words when speaking with strong connotations of the Muslim cemetery and the Christian cemetery separated by a border.

"[...] and here, you see, it's my mother's grave [...] And there, a little further, it's my brother Khaled's grave ... You, it is on the other side that you will be buried: on the hill of olive trees of the White Sisters. We here and you there. Us on this side and you on the other. And she insisted once again ... - us, on this side, and you, on the other.

... I had just felt that we were driven out of our own country, separated from our brothers ... Uprooted that is what we were." (1960, p. 76).

Taos was then a little girl who did not need to know that her grandmother and the others did not accept her and her parents for they have chosen Christianity over Islam. There is also another passage in which she says:

*"I had as my companions, little Muslim women with whom I played dinette or hide-and-seek. Everything went without drama as long as there was not a party [..] I should be insulted on the day of Eid or Mouloud? They separated me from my friends with whom I was allowed to amuse myself, the rest of the time. I felt like I was being*

*punished without deserving it. [...] Why did not they let me take part in these rejoicings like all the children in the neighbourhood?"* (1960, p.105).

#### 5.4.1.6 Taboos and Sexuality

The oldest female Kabyle author, Fadhma Ath Mansour, does not find any shame or restrictions to speak about tabooed topics even though she belonged to a generation and society of restrictions and strict moors. In her autobiography, she unveils not only her life journey but also the things that shall not be said by the woman, the mother, the daughter, and the Kabyle she is. As a background story, she speaks about her mother's life before she gives birth to her:

“My mother lost her husband at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three. She was left alone with two children, the oldest of whom was five or six, and the youngest three. She was very beautiful; she courageously went to work. [...]But she was young and imprudent, in the yard of her house lived a young man, a relative of her dead old husband. He loved her. She loved him. And what was to happen happened. She got pregnant [...]” (1968, p. 19)

Even though Fadhma admits that her mother had an affair with that man, which is something forbidden and shameful in conservative Muslim Kabylia, it is clear that Fadhma Ath Mansour was a proud daughter. Through the lines of her book, it is Cristal clear that she was very proud of her mother, of her sacrifices and fights to raise her children despite the pressure of society and the family. Nevertheless, speaking about a secret love affair between a widow and a man is not the only taboo in the autobiography. Fadhma Ath Mansour also speaks about the birth of an illegitimate child. Her mother was pregnant with her lover's child whom she decides to keep and give life despite the persecutions and the threats of both her family and her dead husband's family. Fadhma Ath Mansour, this brave respected woman, mother hen and the author did not fear to speak up another truth; she goes on and declares that the illegitimate child was her. Fadhma was born and her father did not admit that she was his child.

Lynda Koudache (2006) has made her *Tamacahut Teneggarut* (the last tale) a complex and long story. It's a female character who will talk about the taboos of society; she has suffered so much in her life. Throughout her adventures, affairs, and her encounters, she gets wiser and becomes a philosopher (Bedrici, 2018).

Zehira Berfas Houfani *La Honte Se Vit Seule* (op. cite) speaks about a particular category of aggression that is unfortunately tabooed, and the victims are silenced whether by fear and shame or by their families. This aggression is a sexual one: rape.

*Au dela de nos reves* (2015) by Hafsa Djenadi is a story of a young girl, Selma, engaged to a doctor, who immigrates to Canada to seek a better life for both of them but never returns to marry her. Selma is trapped between a conservative family, society and neighbourhood (which forces her to wear the veil) and the desire for a free and liberated life. Much worse, she is raped by the thug of the neighbourhood, a rape that will remain ignored by everyone and under blackmail. Fortunately, she has a faithful friend, Radia, also a student but who lives her life as she sees it fits her ambitions and desires. She will do everything to help Selma leave the country to join her fiancée in Montreal.

Religion is also tabooed, or to be more precise, any other religion than Islam is tabooed. Lwiz's character in *Gar igenni dtmurt*, at the end of her life, remembers what seems to have been one of the few happy but ephemeral episodes in her life: the innocent and friendly love she had for Mary, the nurse who had cared for her in Bejaia's Hospital while she was fifteen years old. But this kind of love is secret, and yes, it is taboo. As for everyone in this society, embracing a religion other than Islam, or having relationships with non-Muslims especially Christians is forbidden because it is the religion of the colonizer.

Djura (op. cit), on the other hand, is a young Kabyle sentenced to death by her family because she dared to have a French lover with whom she conceived a child. This is happening in Paris in 1987 and the victim is none other than the author of this autobiography *le voile du silence* (The veil of silence), and the founder of the well-known musical group Djurdjura. After having fought against her condition as a woman, she discovered, thanks to life in France, the common-law couple and cohabitation, which is unthinkable for an Algerian.

#### **5.4.1.7 Detective Stories**

With Zahira Houfani Berfas, a Kabyle journalist and writer from Mkira a small Kabyle village, the feminine Kabyle literary space gets richer with her crime novels and crime stories: *Le Portrait du disparu* (The Portrait of the missing man) in 1984 and *Les pirates du désert* (The Pirates of the desert) in 1986. The latter is the story of a political representative of the Algerian government called Omrane; he fights illegal trading and criminal activities in Tamnasset. The

core of the story is the mysterious disappearance or death of the agents that Omrane sends to track the gangs who rule the parallel market in the area and threaten its inhabitants. Omrane, Salem and detective Taibi take things in charge and their journey to find the gangs and dissolve their operations starts.

#### 5.4.2 The Kabyle Cultural Imprints in the Written Productions

Daniella Merolla (1996) analysed two novels, *Le Printemps désespéré* (the Desperate spring) by Fettouma Touati (1984), and *la fille du Berger* (The daughter of the Shepherd) by Laura Mouzaia (1990). The analysis of the used vocabulary, the settings, the characters and their names and the geographical context revealed that the Kabyle culture is omnipresent in those two works. Some Kabyle words are found in the sentences without any translations, those words refer to objects, clothing, utensils, plants and celebrations specific to the Kabyle region and community. Some expressions and sentences, although written in French are distant from the French language as they are Kabyle expressions translated into French. Their word for word translation is used in order to keep their Kabyle spirit or to preserve the cultural meaning they bear. The names of the characters such as Sekoura and Ferroudja also transport us to Kabylia.

Born Kabyle, Fadhma Ath Mansour Amrouche mixed the Kabyle cultural markers with the French language in her book *L'Histoire de ma vie*. The author inserts in the narrative words and speeches reported from the Kabyle language. They are scattered here and there, like speaking points of the mother tongue "*tabouqalt*", "*dhada*" "*mekfoul*", "*akhoufi*", "*abissar*", "*ihehcoulén*", "*aeggoun*" .... Some of those words are summoned into a kind of hybrid form, with the introduction of affixes, articles or marks that belong to the French language: for instance the determinants "le, la, L'" as in the following words denoting varieties of figs: "L'Aboussecour' (on the partridge neck), L'Abouremen' (as a grenade), L'Ajendjer'. And the plural marker 's' in '*ikhoufanes*', "*kabkabs*". Those words, even though they embraced French language markers, are not lexical loans from Kabyle to French since they have no entry in the dictionaries of the French language. The author also accurately reports sentences in her native language and adds their French translation between brackets: "Ma ne der!" (If we lived!) ", "*Ldi titim*" open your eyes! "*Efkas ats'sguerouah!* Give it to her, let her make some noise! ", "*khoulef loumour i bhabhim*. Abandon yourself to the will of your master ". This way, the character-author, Fadhma Ath Mansour, expresses an attachment to her mother tongue. And since language conveys culture, it introduces at the same time cultural references to reinforce this umbilical link with the culture of origin and to communicate anthropological specificities and

a specific cultural reality. As a result, we find in the story several Kabyle proverbs and also legends. The author smoothly swings between the two languages that are distinguished by their different socio-cultural levels, one North African, the other Western.

#### **5.4.3 Authors' Positions Vis-à-vis the Kabyle/Algerian Society and its Specificities**

As an introduction to the book of Fadhma Ath Mansour *Histoire de Ma Vie*, Kateb Yacine writes:

“The book of Fadhma bears the call of the tribe, a tribe like mine, I should say, a plural and yet singular tribe, exposed to all currents and yet irreducible, where the East and the West clash constantly, Algeria and France, the Cross and the Crescent, the Arab and the Berber, the mountain and the Sahara, the Maghreb and Africa, and many other things: the tribe of Rimbaud and Si Mohand Ou m'hand, Hannibal, Ibn Khaldoun and Saint Augustine, a tree of youth unknown to the civilized, poor connoisseurs of all kinds who are all stitched by this prickly pear, the Amrouche family.” (1968, p.11).

Yet, even though we have seen how much Fadhma Ath Mansour cares about her Kabylia, she also speaks about the dark side of it, especially for a woman. This Kabyle society imposed many constraints on her and her religion though practised discreetly. A society that excluded her and forced her to live in exile.

Laura Mouzaia and Djura join Ath Mansour's point of view in their novels *la fille du Berger* (op. cit) and *le voile du silence* (op. cite). They describe Kabylia as a patriarchal society with rough manners, where women are only bits of stories, tossed according to the moods of male or female power.

Sarah Haidar during an interview with Mediapart<sup>92</sup> where she was discussing the content of her book *la morsure du coquelicot* (op. cit), explained why she makes allusions to the social, and political situation in Algeria by comparing it to the Kabyle tribes, she said:

“The tribe is fundamental and yet taken in a bad way (see the adjective "tribal"), especially in Algeria where the nation-state, fruit of independence, is glorified - all that is tribal is considered as backlogged. On the contrary, the tribal dimension seems totally

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beautiful and totally frees, especially in Kabylia, which has functioned for centuries according to direct, collegial democracy, without a leader.” Sarah Haidar: *La littérature doit désarçonner* (Perraud, 2018).

To explain, she adds that the subject of her novel, which revolves around radical freedom - hence anarchism - is based on a panoply of Algerian history and that “Kabyle libertarian legacy, often considered as off-season folklore is, On the contrary, a universal concept in its foundations that has existed and structured the Kabyle society.”

Zehira Berfas to “Le Quotidien” while speaking about her book *la honte se vit seule*, summarizes the stance by saying

"You must love your country to make it beautiful in the eyes of others... But at home: Algeria, we do the opposite, we are taught to hate it. Small gestures need to converge from everywhere to show the greatness of a nation, of Algeria”. *L’Algerie au coeur* (Djaballah, 2016)

*L’autre versant* (the other side) of Laifa Ait Boudaoud (2009) is a mixture of fiction and biography where she reports the confessions of an old man to his grandson. In those confessions, he speaks about what Algeria was like; he narrates Algeria, in all its moments, its torments and its joys, and its secrets.

#### **5.4.4 The Choice of the Language Variety of the Writings**

The languages used to write and publish the Kabyle female productions that constitute the corpus of this chapter are French for most of them, Tamazight (Kabyle variety), and Arabic.

French is used mainly by the older generation of authors because they were schooled during the periods of French colonialism or in early post-independence, and during those periods, the language of schools in Algeria was French. It is the colonial educational institution that has established this linguistic bridge and opened the passage from a Kabyle oral expression to another French written expression. The authors and writers of the colonial and postcolonial period underwent the policy of monolingualism for which the French educational institution was the instrument.

Other authors were writing in French by choice for many reasons. Among those reasons, is the need to transmit their messages of rebellion and national and political awareness to their

French colonizers. Also, the need to speak up taboos, and to liberate themselves from the conservative society, as according to Tassadit Yacine (2011), the female authors use the French language as an indirect address, as an instrument to express themselves and express the taboos of their social world. It is a substitute for their own words, a forbidden expression that goes through foreign codes like French to finally return to the culture of origin, Kabyle. The poetry of love, outside the traditional channels of transmission, has been saved from oblivion thanks to this medium that is the French language (Yacine, *ibid*). She adds that “the French language somewhat attenuated the ‘erotic’ load of which the mother tongue was invested” (*ibid*, p. 8). What the female writers could not say in their mother tongue, they said it in French, they spoke indirectly to theirs. If for men, using French is a matter of undertaking a struggle at the political level, for women, it is a struggle for an identity and a sexual affirmation. Writing functions as an indirect address, because it allows women to describe and denounce oppressive practices emanating from their own society.

Taos Amrouche is one of the first women to have dared to lift the veil of intimacy through writing in the French language. Talking about intimacy is a topic that was certainly forbidden by her mother tongue. According to Yacine (*ibid*), the language of the other allowed the very first generation to leave the family bosom and, as a result, the feminine universe; a universe where, in the minds of the little colonized girls, everything was perceived negatively because of the imposition of schemas of vision implying a division of the world and its practice.

Editing opportunities may also be behind the choice of writing in French, most of these women writers have managed to make themselves known thanks to the French publishing houses. First, because of the editorial strategies that see the interest of making Algerian women speak, considered as the oppressed of yesterday and today. France has always been somehow sensitive in defending humanitarian principles, especially if these principles correspond to an orientalist discourse that no longer admits to having been internalized. Even if the stories are not ethnographic - and they are rarely - the ability to recover is thus made possible, favoured on the other hand by the writing language (Kassoul, 1999).

Other authors have chosen to write in two languages, like Dihya Lwiz who writes in both Kabyle variety and Arabic, Sarah Haidar who writes in Arabic and French and Lynda Koudache who writes in French and Kabyle.



For Dihya Lwiz there is not any ideology in choosing between Arabic and Kabyle. She sails between the city and the countryside just as she sails between Arabic and Berber. Dihya Lwiz represents a new generation of writers who unashamedly seized the Arabic language to defend their Berber culture. It is in Arabic that she speaks of her Kabylia and her Kabylity. However, for some readers and writers, it is almost antithetical, she testifies: "Sometimes, it is difficult to be accepted because it is considered that someone who defends Tamazight has nothing to do with Arabic."<sup>93</sup>

Sarah Haidar declared to *Mediapart* (ibid) that she has been, from her childhood, imbued with the beauties of Arabic poetry, from the pre-Islamic age to the contemporaries including the Abbasids. She was following her brother who is fond of such literature but who was forced to study finance. As for her, she had the freedom to explore such a field. Her first three novels in Arabic are marked by formal questioning and aesthetic research. She wanted to be freer and less sketchy, so she wrote outside the box and the codes. Then, she was afraid that her style and ideas, even though new, would shrink and become standard, so she wrote her fourth book in French in order not to repeat herself. She migrated to other aesthetics, other literary possibilities using French which she mastered since childhood. During the same interview, Sarah Haider added

"I reject this idea of freedom that one language would grant rather than another. Arabic has allowed me to face all possible taboos: it is already a question of sex or religion in my first three novels. The two languages, French as well as Arabic, grant extraordinary freedoms. Arabic is poetic, erotic, and essentially sensual."

Lynda Koudache says that writing in Kabyle or French is hardly a choice. It is something that comes spontaneously. She started writing in French then in Tamazight too. For her, it is not a conversion, nor is it any feeling of cultural duality, as the two languages coexist in her in complete harmony. Besides, the Berber language has always been a language of openness that respects other languages (Kherbouche, 2016). Koudache switched from French to Kabyle because she feels that there are things that she cannot say and write in another language. She has published some short stories and poems in French and then, she moved on to her mother tongue. Her desire to enrich the Berber language inspired her to write in the Kabyle variety

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<sup>93</sup> Djamel, A. (2014, July 4). Dihya Louiz : Deux langues pour une passion. *El-Watan*

rather than Tamazight. And so, *AËcciw n tmes* published by Tasekla was born and Koudache becomes the first woman to write a novel in the Kabyle variety.

#### 5.4.5 Edition and Places of Publication

Before talking about the feminine Kabyle productions, it is convenient to have a general idea about the evolution of the publication of the books written in Tamazight.

Going to neighbourhood bookshops, or the national or international book fairs held in Algeria is an opportunity to make a stop and observe the reality of the books written in the Amazigh language in terms of quantity and availability. Unfortunately, the farther we go from the cities of Bejaia, and Tizi Ouzou the lesser are those books available in the bookshops and libraries. But fortunately, at the book fairs, there are rich stands that sell books written in Tamazight. In addition to that, the Office of the High Commission of Amazighity organizes book fairs dedicated exclusively to those books.

We are in 2020; twenty-five years after the introduction of the Amazigh language into the educational system and 18 years after its recognition as a national language and Tamazight has a somehow respectable and hopeful bibliography. For example, books with the content of ancient Kabyle poems, tales, or proverbs are as much in demand by readers as books on grammar and lexis. The novels written in Tamazight also have a respectable share in the book market. According to Mohellebi (2010), other books are selling well enough too like the Tamazight translation of the book of the mujahid Sherif Ould El Hocine *Gul Umenugh* translated and published by the editions "le Savoir". The same publishing house has published books in Tamazight that have broken all records in terms of sales, such as the works of Larab Mohand Ouramdane on Si Mohand U M'hand and the poet El Hadj Arezki Ouhaouache. "Le Savoir" editions, created in 2004, have published no less than twenty books written in Tamazight, more than 50% of their production. This is also the case with the "Tira" editions of Béjaïa, which had to their credit more than 16 books, published in Tamazight in 2010 (ibid). According to Mohellebi (ibid), other publishers are increasingly interested in the Amazigh book, such as "l'odissée" and "El Amel" which have published dozens. The publishing houses like "Baghdadi", "Casbah Editions" and many others also contributed to the promotion of the Amazigh book. The Office of the High Commission for Amazighity has published since its creation more than 200 books in Tamazight. It is currently impossible to give the exact number of books published in the second national language of Algeria but one thing is undeniable, the process is initiated and the Amazigh book is unavoidable.

As far as the feminine productions are particularly concerned in this research, the 2 tables below show that more than the majority is published abroad, mainly in France. Those tables, however, only include the sample books that have been analysed throughout this chapter, as we could not have a document that contains all the publications by Kabyle women. The second table shows that the publications in Algeria flourished nearly in the 2000' which coincides with the political changes in Algeria concerning the status of Tamazight and the appearance of new publishing houses especially in Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia. Since mid-1900, Algerians and writers in Kabyle have been and are still published in France by houses of edition like Karthala, L'harmattan, Joëlle Losfeld, and François Maspero. The section below shows some of the reasons the novels are mostly published abroad.

**Table 5.4.5**

*Feminine Literature Edited and Printed Abroad*

<b>Books title</b>	<b>Edition</b>	<b>Place of publication</b>	<b>year</b>
Le printemps desesperé by Fettouma Touati	L'harmattan	France	1984/85
Jacinthe noire by Taos Amrouche	éditions Charlot	France	1947
la rue des tambourins by Taos Amrouche	La Table Ronde	France	1960
Le grain magique by Taos Amrouche	Edition François maspero	France	1966
L'histoire de ma vie by Fadhma Ath Mansour Amrouche	Francois maspero	Paris, France	1968
L'amant imaginaire Taos Amrouche	éditions Robert Morel	France	1975
Le voile du silence by Djouhra Abouda Lacroix,(djura )	Librairie generale francaise	France	1990
La saison des narcisses	LGF livre de poche	France	1993
Solitude, ma mere Taos Amrouche	éditions Joëlle Losfeld,	France	Postmortem 1995

La fille du berger by Laura Mouzaia	L'harmattan	France	1997
La terre pietiné by Laura Mouzaia	L'harmattan	France	2001
Comme une forêt de mots dits by Lynda Koudache	Le petit pavé	France	2002
Lettre d'une musulmane aux Nord-Américaines by Zehira Berfas Houfani	Éditions Écosociété	Montreal/canada	2002
Le féminin pluriel dans l'intégration. Trois générations de femmes kabyles by Laura Mouzaia	Karthala	France	2006
Jenan, la condamnée d'Al-Mansour by zehira houfani berfas	lux	Montreal/canada	2008
Les misereuses insoumises by Hafssa Djenadi	publibook	France	2013
Au dela de nos reves by Hafssa Djenadi	Elilivre	France	2015
La morsure des coquelicots by Sarah Haidar	Blas editions	France	2016
Les larmes eloquentes Dalila Medjahed	Edition du panthéon	France	2017
La petite kabyle Sonia Amouri	la petite Kabyle	France	2017
Une kabyle by Fatima Ait Yahia	Les Lettres mouchetées	France	2017
L'enfer diabolique by Laura Mouzaia	Editions Sydney Laurent	France	2018

**Table 5.4.5b*****Feminine Literature Edited and Printed in Algeria***

Books title	Edition	Country	year
Afrique, reveille toi Zehira Berfas Houfani	ENal	Algeria	70'6
Le portrait du disparu by Houfani Berfas	ENAL	Algeria	1986
Les pirates du désert by zehira Berfas Houfani	ENAL	Algeria	1986
L'incomprise by Zehira Berfas Houfani	ENAL	Algeria	1989
L'aube Vierge by Lynda Koudache	at the author's expense	Algeria	2003
[Zanadeka] by Sarah Haidar	منشورات الاختلاف	Algeria	2004
La salive de l'ancier by Sarah Haidar	،للعلوم العربية لدار ومنشورات بيروت الجزائر،الاختلاف	Algeria Lebanon	2006
Chahkat el farass by Sarah Haidar	،الدار العربية للعلوم بيروت ومنشورات الاختلاف، الجزائر	Algeria Lebanon	2007
Aëcciw n'Tmes by Lynda Koudache	Tasekla	Tizi ouzou Algeria	2009
Une balle en tete by Samira Guebli	Casbah	Algeria	2011
- Djassadoun yaskounouni »by Dihya Lwiz	Tira	Bejaia	2012
-Berru divorce by Dihya Lwiz			2013
Sa akdifou nafsi ammamaka by Dihya Lwiz	”صفاف”و”الاختلاف	Algeria	2013
Virgule en tombe by Sarah Haider	Apic	Algiers Alegria	2013
Tamacahut taneggarut by Lynda Koudache	Edition rout nah com	Tizi Ouzou Algeria	2016

Gar igenni d tmurt by Dihya Lwiz	Frantz Fanon	Tizi ouzou Algeria	2016
La honte se vit seule by Zehira Berfas Houfani	Frantz Fanon	Tizi ouzou Algeria	2016

#### 5.4.6 Problems Faced

The novels written in Tamazight are of recent creation. This linguistic variant of the Algerian novelistic writing has emerged in particular historical, sociological and sociolinguistic conditions. Written in a predominantly oral language whose national status is only granted in 2003, and produced by individuals who have not received a formal education in Tamazight. Not only that, they write for a readership trained in Arabic and/or in French and who have no tradition of reading this type of text. This latter is then confronted with multiple and real dilemmas at the level of its creation. Moreover, it takes place in a literary field having already its own editorial logic, its commercial channels and its criteria of legitimation. In this chapter, we also investigate the conditions and the facilities of publication of the Algerian authors, Kabyle female authors in particular, in terms of the language of their productions, the topics they tackled and their conditions as females.

The authors may confront refusals or rejections due to the demands of editors, their doubts concerning the impact that a book can have on the readers that will affect the selling, and sometimes the unavailability of funds. So, in order not to leave their works in the drawers, those authors found themselves obliged to pay the publication expenses themselves. It is the case of Lynda Koudache whose collection of poems *l'aube vierge* has been published at her expense. Other authors find themselves obliged to publish their books fragment by fragment or chapter after chapter in newspapers or journals, and this is the case of Fatima Merabti's novel *Yir Tagmat* (Bad Brotherhood). The two first chapters of the book were published separately in 1997 and 1998 by a journal called Tizir. However, the full manuscript had never been published.

It is also unfortunate that novels of good-quality content have not benefited from a good edition; this is the case of Dihya Lwiz' book *ger igenni d tmurt*, it is obvious that the book was not even verified before it was printed. A better edition would have ensured a satisfactory distribution of the product so that the readership of the Kabyle novel can easily access it.

As the tables above have shown, more than half of the productions are published abroad because there are more and better facilities. Hafsa Djenadi wished to publish *La Miséreuse insoumise* in Algeria, in 2007 but due to a problem of editorial boards, this project did not succeed. She published it in France in 2013 (Portrait de l'écrivaine et scénariste Kabyle: Hafsa Djenadi, 2014, July 27).

Kabyle female authors may face another issue related, this time, to their private lives. Ouiza Ait Gherbi who was a familiar figure on the local cultural scene took part in the Lounès-Matoub Poetry Festival for the last time in September 1999. Her marriage that took place a while after, kept her away from the word of poetry and festivals. Her husband having refused her public performances and appearances did not succeed in preventing her from continuing to write poems and to give her inspiration a free run. "He helped me by listening to or reading what I was writing. Poetry was part of me, and it still lives there", she declared to "horizons", and eventually, her husband ended up letting her meet other poets and artists and also participate with her poems in Arezki Louizini's latest *Thasawen* and with the group *Acharchar* (Hammoutène, 2016).

#### **5.4.7 The Gender Dimension in the Written Literature of Kabyle Women**

In oral literature, most of the female characters are not given the main roles, they are rather helpers. The female heroines in different roles are there to help the male hero fulfil his quests and goals. However, in the sample written novels, we have analysed, most of the female characters are the main characters and heroines of the stories. In addition to that, contrary to the stereotypical portrayal of females in the oral productions, and which are stuck in the social modals of housewives, sisters or mothers who do the traditional chores like cooking, fetching water from the fountain, knitting and caring for the need of the males or the family; most of the female characters in the written literature are either educated, emancipated, brave or adventurous. They do the jobs that are stereotypically males', they travel, make revolutions and changes in their socio-economic and political environment. The women, who are portrayed in the traditional models in the written novels, are instances to scream the injustice of the traditional, conservative society. The female authors who have written their autobiographies belong to the first generation of Kabyle writers, they spoke about themselves, their life stories, their own concerns, their own heroines contrary to the stories of the oral tradition that only speak about the community and females' roles in it.

Nevertheless, if one compares the published works of females, it will be observed that the construction of female gender changes from the first generation of writers like Fadhma Ath Mansour, Djura and Taos Amrouche to the last generation of Sarah Haidar, Dihya Lwiz and Lynda Koudache. That is to say, in the works published between 1947 and 1975, female roles and male/female relationships are seen as a consequence of the individuals' personalities and their individual life story with the description of the society they live in. Yet, without direct criticism of this society or a call to changing it. In the most recent texts published after 1984, the condition of women is consciously represented as socially constructed and the Kabyle society stigmatized with a criticism of the sexual construction of the community.

Another important point is the themes tackled in those written works, some of them follow the trend of the oral tradition and deal with social problems of the community and the family and some female concerns, and the other ones are calling to women's emancipation, to her participation in the political and socio-economic spheres. The topics that are encouraging her to defend herself as an individual and as a woman, to break the silence whenever she is confronting any type of harassment or threat, to speak about taboos and make them banal for a world full of peace and justice.

### **5.5 Using Folk Literature as A Tool for Civic Education in EFL Classrooms**

As it was broadly mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, this section suggests including civic education in language classes using folk literature as a channel that transmits civic values including gender equality. The chapter suggests some recommendations on how to implement the folk literature in EFL classrooms, select the appropriate supports and determines teachers' students' role to best fulfil the goals of building responsible and civilized citizens.

The researcher tries to suggest practical methods and materials that involve the students as future citizens, and to raise their awareness about the importance of every single person in building a democratic, tolerant, productive, civilized and independent community -small or big-, not only on the political and the economic levels but also and most importantly on the educational, cultural and social levels.

Furthermore, with the growing number of pupils and students at schools and universities, teachers and instructors and even parents are witnessing aggressive, violent and disrespectful



behaviours towards one another, one's ideas and differences and people are living in what is called a "daily incivility". That is why civic education is important in education. Schools and universities shall be committed to training the future citizens for a more humane society where tolerance and respect reign, as schools and universities are meant to both teach and co-educate with the family. The role of schools and universities is therefore not to afford or impose courses dealing with civic education for it is not a discipline to teach in isolation, but its fundamental principles must permeate all the activities and modules such as literature which can be an effective tool for conducting this civic teaching.

The purpose of this chapter is to design lessons using folk literature as teaching support. Popular tales and poems from Algeria and other worldwide cultures can be used. It is important to note that the present-day textbooks include very few literary texts, that is why it is suggested to incorporate more tales and poems into the curriculum.

### **5.5.1 The Importance of Literature and Folklore for Young Learners**

Popular tales are undoubtedly the most universal and oldest literary genres, and no culture or language does not have its own and particular tales, besides, of course, poems, idioms, and riddles. A special interest is given to tales in this chapter because stories have long been a vehicle and home for myths and beliefs on the one hand, and a means for educating, and teaching laws and rules on the other. The tale also is a diary wherein people's most significant events in their history are recorded.

Indeed, a considerable number of scholars and researchers suggest that folk literature - especially the collected tales and stories that belong to the oral patrimonies in most cases- constitute delightful reading support for young people and children (Goforth and Spillman, 1994; Young, 2004). Furthermore, those scholars among who are the specialists in literature, the ethnologists, the psychologists, the psychoanalysts and others specialized in the fields of social sciences and education assert that both the form and the content of ancient stories and folktales are used in teaching as the popular tales are steeped in the supernatural, and the succession of the events is but morals to be learned and truths to be discovered. They are also ancient texts with old and authentic expressions that are attached to specific language communities and which the lovers of the '*belles paroles*' use in their modern writings and

speeches. They are identity markers and proofs of glories that the minority communities like to remember and tell the others (Hadadou, 2009).

Although adults have their share of novels and adults' tales, they often resort to the so-called children's folktales for their highly entertaining aspect and all the aphorisms and maxims they comprise. The teaching of the tale seems, at first sight, obsolete, with its morality which divides the world into good and evil; and the heroes and the monsters hide symbols and archetypes (Hadadou, *ibid*). Folktales contribute to the processes of initiation as they take the children and the teenagers to the adults' world through the acquisition of some knowledge, know-how, sanctions, and the discovery of some mysteries and the deciphering of symbols through making oppositions between life and death, big and small, rich and poor, bad and good, wise and unwise, and also between punishment and reward to better integrate the society and to respect the rules so as not to break the logic and equilibrium of the community life or life as such. Those values and their opposites, present in the texts, can be the occasion of more general reflections between the pupils, and it is again, through discussion that these reflections will lead them "to progress in their capacity to control their emotions; their actions, as well as to better manage those of others" (Seilhan, 2005, p. 18). In most folktales, the good, kind characters are often if not always victorious and the wicked are punished. Good deeds, courage and loyalty are glorified, and the heroes, disadvantaged at first, are rewarded to teach the audience patience and perseverance.

Once again, the importance of folk literature in general and the folktales in particular as educative tools is recognized worldwide for, they instruct and moralize. According to Hourani "Children's literature is a mixture of the fanciful overlaid with glimpses of morality, through teachings that may portray traditions, customs, social and civic values. Though children may not be intrigued with the moral, cultural values in stories, they unconsciously assimilate to these values by means of narration and role-playing" (Hourani, 2015, n.p). The multidimensional aspects and prospects of the tales inspired many teachers and mentors to implement them in the curricula.

### **5.5.2 Children's Literature in Education**

the creation and the development of storytelling are parallel to the appearance and development of the different societies and cultures; and at the time when no schools existed and teaching materials such as books were not available, both children and adults learnt about their history,

human relationships' rules, the different social roles divisions, and the oppositions between what is good, appropriate, and what is evil and inappropriate from the narratives. This learning from and teaching with tales was provided by mothers and grandmothers within the family sphere or by the old wise men who entertained the entire tribes who had the storytelling as part of their routine. Yet, in modern life with the availability of books, computers, videos and specialized teachers, people have somehow withdrawn the use of folk literature as a means of learning, and for some, they are nothing but entertaining materials. However, according to (Zavan, 2010), the teachers admit the far-reaching and crucial role of popular stories and folktales in the construction of knowledge. The same author adds that since education also involves the teaching of different life values, storytelling seems to be the appropriate method for that, notably in language classrooms. In addition to that, it undoubtedly encourages communication as it is mainly transmitted orally or through role-taking which enhances the relationship among the students themselves and the students and their teachers (Zavan, *ibid*). Following the same line of thought, Hanlon (2000) adds that the use of storytelling is not only fun but it is also engaging.

On the human and social level, storytelling, and in general narratives, help the children and adolescents to become acquainted with human and social problems such as the problem of hunger, the status of the widow or that of the orphans. It is through tales that they are also aware of some of the impulses that agitate them and that they learn to control, and shape them into behaviours and reactions socially and morally acceptable. Psychologically, it is not surprising to see in tales for young children, characters that are as scary as the giants or the ogres who represent terrifying opponents for the heroes. The child identifies with the heroes and the scary characters symbolize, in fact, the obstacles and the constraints that one must overcome to succeed and go on. Culturally, the implementation of folk literature helps, according to Jenkins (2002), to know the different local cultures as this author reminds us that the urge to preserve, record, and transcribe folk literature stemmed from the idea of saving histories, cultures, and nations from vanishing and losing their identities. By the same token, offering pupils and students the opportunity of reading literary works coming from the different corners of the world enables them to discover the different cultures and peoples; and most importantly, understand them and understand their behaviours and values too. This leads to a generation that is more understanding and ready to co-exist with people of various backgrounds, especially that we are in an era of globalization. Newton (1990), adds that "Children need to learn that a different culture may not be as strange and foreign as they originally believed. People fear the unknown. Fear often turns to violence" (p. 16). This author explains that educating children

from an early age about racial and socio-cultural difference helps avoid or at least lessen communication and interaction tensions. Thus, understanding what values are, and how they can manifest themselves, is one of the goals of civic education. Literature, which contains many values, seems to be a good tool to introduce this through the behaviour of the different characters that it puts in the scene.

Finally, apart from the different values, we discussed, reading folk literature can be beneficial on the linguistic and literacy levels too.

On the choice of the classes and stories, Alexander (1988) as cited by Newton (ibid), says that the choice of the tales and their length depends on the grades of the learners. This is essential in the training of the citizen since it allows students to learn to express themselves, orally and in writing. Indeed, communication is a necessary skill for the citizen, without which it would be impossible for him/her to participate in the life of the community. Besides, the literature will enable students to acquire the means for a critical reading, which is also essential for reasoned and free decision-making.

### **5.5.3 Using Stories for Building a Personality**

Stories and their protagonist and antagonist characters that the children and young people read about have a profound effect on them and influence their behaviours and personalities as much as real people they cross or meet influence them. This is because people tend to imitate and recreate the achievements and behaviours of the people, and fictive characters they idealize. Stories and tales may be used implicitly in correcting young people's behaviours and moulding them.

In reality, both educators and parents use punishment and reward strategies to remedy, correct and redress young people's habits, attitudes, and manner of conducting themselves. Unfortunately, even though intervening directly to stop a behaviour or to encourage it, produces dull individuals who do not reflect on their own behaviour and its impacts on them and others. Punish and reward strategies do not give room for self-correction (Maffini, 2010; Blaik Hourani, 2012). It is believed that indirect behavioural corrections have better results and this through a gradual process of shaping and modelling. One of the suggested methods for doing that is once more reading and storytelling through which the perception of what is desirable as a character is achieved.

Working on behaviours and building personalities is the linchpin of civic education. In addition to that, bringing up or teaching a young person or child to be responsible and good persons have other forgotten yet very beneficial outcomes. Ryan (1999) argues that education based on character development improved learners' skills on both the academic and the communicative levels and boosted their self-assurance and their sense of independence.

#### 5.5.4 Civic Education

Civic education is meant to train the citizens, and it is commonly known as a set of values and teachings that empower the citizen and ameliorate human relationships and co-existence. It can take different forms and it can be taught in different manners whether by implementing it in schools as a discipline or by indirectly introducing it into the different classes. It can also take the form of training or a set of workshops organized by both public and private institutions. Both the youth and the adults living in the different spots of the world are called to learn civic education.

Etymologically, the word 'civic' is derived from the Latin word *civis* which means 'citizen'. Thus, to understand what civic education is about, one must first explain the terms 'civic' and 'citizenship' that are two terms that have evolved over time and which may make the definition of this discipline obscure. The word civic refers to "the principles, mechanisms, and processes of decision making, participation, governance, and legislative control that exist in these communities" (Schulz et al, 2010, p.14). In this context, the authors define the community as a group of people sharing connections as an extended family.

Citizenship, on the other hand, means to be legally belonging to a community all by enjoying rights, respecting the laws and doing one's duties. According to Shon and Hillman (2015) and Levinson (2011), civic education is defined by three different aspects: knowledge, skill, and dispositions.

- Civic knowledge is the citizens' overall knowledge of how their states functions, and the political system and the set of duties and rights they have.
- Civic skills are the citizen's ability to use the civic knowledge and make oneself and the community benefit as much as possible or avoid problems and conflicts through evaluating, reflecting, analysing and weighing the pros and the cons

- Civic dispositions are the citizens' qualities mandatory for a good democracy such as tolerance, civility, and good communication skills such as listening, negotiating, and compromising.

If the child is only recently considered as an effective citizen, he has nevertheless been considered since antiquity as a would-be, and an 'in the making' citizen, and a being to be trained and educated, that is to say, that, the citizen needs to be guided in his/her journey from childhood towards adulthood, the age when s/he fulfils his duties as a citizen.

In this chapter, the researcher focuses on the teaching and learning of the civic dispositions, that is to say, on the different values rather than focus on civic knowledge related to state and political matters. The human side, interactions, the senses of community and the 'living together, the different moral and maxims are what will be taught using the folk literature, especially the tales as an educative tool. As for the political matters and all that regards the legal rights and duties, the sense of patriotism and so on, they might be taught using another folk literary genre that is epic or historical poetry.

#### **5.5.4.1 Why Is Civic Education Compulsory?**

As long as civic education's primary objectives are the promotion of the senses of mutual respect, prosperity, and the culture of living together based on good communication, cooperation, and collaboration for building a solid community on the different levels; it goes beyond reading and learning the different official and institutional texts, or attending classes about human rights, religious studies and so on. Therefore, the educators and teachers willing to prepare their students and pupils to be full, autonomous, responsible, and conscious individuals are invited to design their lessons in concordance with those objectives. The EFL classes are suitable for this kind of training for their flexibility and richness in terms of curriculum, syllabus and also because pupils and students attending EFL classes are often more open to the world, open-minded, keen on learning culture and on opening up to 'the other' and making changes in their environment.

Following this line of thought, the qualities of EFL students and teachers' personalities, the atmosphere of classes and the contents of the lessons seem to be suitable for the incorporation of civic education into the syllabus both implicitly or explicitly for they meet the criteria of civic education set by Tourney-Purta, Schwille and Amadeo (1990) which they described as

follows: “cross-disciplinary, participative, interactive, related to life, conducted in a flexible non-authoritarian environment, cognizant of the challenges of social diversity, and co-constructed with parents and the community and (non-government organizations) as well as the school” (p. 30).

Thus, if civic education shall have its place in schools and universities, it is because the young learners (pupils and students) are the citizen of tomorrow and the teachers shall ask many didactic and pedagogical questions on how to build good citizens. Additionally, it is necessary to question the objectives of civic education in the different cycles of schools and universities.

Civic education implies more than simple and precise knowledge, behaviours and attitudes; this depends on the age of the learners. The different elements that are taken into consideration shall cover three characteristics of civic education: civility, civism, and citizenship (Seilhan, 2005)

- Civility, or respect for others. By civic education, we often mean political education based on the concepts of laws, rights, duties, and knowledge of institutions and their functioning. But civic education is not limited to that. Indeed, it also concerns the rules of social life, and the relations between individuals, this is what is called civility. This term should not be confused with that of ‘politeness’ which would be too restrictive. Civility is above all respect for the other, and this means the adoption -by each of us - of the good manners and unwritten codes of mutual respect (ibid). Knowing how to greet people or how to apologize is not enough, we must respect the other, by taking him/her into consideration, listening to him/her, helping him/her or simply by refusing any form of violence, be it physical or verbal.
- Civism is one of the other concepts included within civic education, it is a responsibility and a state of mind. The notion of civism occupies an intermediate position between those of civility and Civism. It is also about public affairs, keeping informed about them, paying attention to them, and forming reasonable and enlightened convictions. It is, therefore, in this dimension of civic education that is civism that lays the awareness of its role in the city or the community in general. This requires a sense of responsibility that asserts itself in the learning cycle. Responsibility can be functional when it comes to being responsible for painting, watering plants, protecting the environment, but it can also be moral when one can make decisions freely, to be autonomous, and when our concerns go beyond the horizon of the group when one can help the other knowingly (ibid. Civism is, then, a responsibility towards other citizens, which can be worked in

cycle two (middle school), then in cycle three (high school), but this notion may be introduced in kindergartens too.

- Citizenship is the last stage of civic education, and it can be taught from middle school till university. It is the making of the citizen through more political implementations, such as voting, the election of delegates, the setting up of debates ... Indeed; the individual can take important decisions concerning the school life and college life. Just as the political citizen can vote to elect his/her representatives (class delegates), s/he can also participate in the drafting of laws, which are nothing but the collective rules of life ...

The school and the university are thus micro-societies with their own citizens. Also, the teacher will ensure the evaluative judgment of the students and make sure that those students can make their decisions with full knowledge of the facts. For this, the teacher can propose reflections on particular cases related to the life of the school, or a novel, a folktale, a poem. Then, bring the students to a wider reflection during which new values will be constructed, until being shared by all.

#### **5.5.4.2 Steps to Implement that**

Important questions on civic teaching and learning strategies and methods are asked especially when it is considered as a discipline. In this respect, not only goals should be set but also the content and more importantly the pedagogy. Those two latter are selected based on their relevancy, accuracy and the extents of getting students engaged. Yet, even though it is suggested throughout this chapter to include civic education into EFL curricula, it shall be introduced smoothly in the different classes and courses using folk literature as a medium. As far as middle and high school EFL lessons are concerned, there is only one book for both teachers and learners and this book includes different lessons on grammar, vocabulary, writing and other skills smoothly linked, and designed as worksheets. Each worksheet includes a text that can deal with culture, literature, technology, education, history or sciences depending on the topic of the weekly or the monthly units or projects. This makes it easy for teachers to include folk literary texts as supports such as local or worldwide folktales. As for the university level, each discipline or skill is taught apart in different classes, that is why it is suggested to include popular literature as a teaching tool in the classes of drama, African literature, American literature, British literature, translation studies, and cultural studies. The teachers of written expression and oral expression can



manage to use folk literature as supports that could be discussed orally or by writing, from a civic education perspective.

#### **5.5.4.2.1 Citizen's Identity Shaping**

Despite globalization, the present-day world is somehow divided into sub-worlds, there are developed, developing and underdeveloped countries, some of them are socialists and others are capitalists. The political and economic principles or systems of the country dictate the way a citizen shall be educated and formed. In this respect, each country has particular ways, priorities, and planning to raise young people as future citizens; and the national educational systems are the keystones in citizens building processes. Some countries like Algeria afford equal learning opportunities to learners coming from the different strata of the society with nationwide unified programs and a common school system. Pupils and students of different social, ethnic, and cultural communities are assimilated under the same roof as the state tries to promote a culture of egalitarianism among the citizens on the one hand, and seeks to create a unified community on the other. Other countries, especially the capitalists, have different forms of educational systems, schools, and programs based on the social status of the students and pupils; and this is based on the socioeconomic stratifications of the community. This form of the educational system may exclude certain categories from economic and political spheres and give opportunities to others. Ergo, the educational system and policies play a crucial role in carving the individuals' identities and thus the citizens'. Nevertheless, the selection of a system of schooling and education dictates the selection of the taught values.

#### **5.5.4.2.2 Selection of Values**

The careful selection of the values to be transmitted depends once more on the objectives and goals of the state and the type of model citizens needed. Some newly independent countries which suffered from colonization focus on anchoring values related to patriotism and nationalism by emphasizing the national symbols. Other countries like the socialists give the priority to teaching values related to social collectivity, and equality and the shared interests and goal. The liberal or the capitalists, on the other hand, focus on building truly independent and creative citizens, so at schools and universities, there is a special emphasis on the development of the potentials of the individual (Heater, 1990). However, a country like Algeria belongs to the two first categories, but with the shift in the economic and political principles of the country that is getting more and closer to capitalism, the values taught need to shift or at least, be diversified to make a balance between social and personal development.

### 5.5.4.2.3 Tools

First of all, it seems necessary to talk about the researcher's choice to teach civic education in a broad sense through literature. While EFL lessons advocate interdisciplinary, the two main thrusts of these programs will be language proficiency and civic education.

In EFL classrooms, the educational contents and materials are as important as the competency of the teacher, especially when it comes to conveying rather than teaching. Some values and topics such as gender inequalities, racism, and cultural diversities are not just ABC's that the teacher may dictate and the students learn by heart, they are in fact topics open to discussion, negotiation, and reflections. Literature, poems, and tales are tools to introduce those topics and make the students discover how things are around them, in their country or on the other side of the world. Actually, bringing students to know about the other does not only promote a culture of tolerance but also makes the students value their own culture and their differences.

### 5.5.4.2.4 Selection of Tales

The following questions are suggested to be asked by the teacher when choosing the appropriate texts from the rich worldwide folk literature heritage:

- Does the text deal with human relations?
- Does the content of the text introduce diversities and cultural experiences?
- Does the text deal with some values?
- Does the text contain morals?
- Does the text give an instance of model characters?
- Is the text translated into the language the students understand? (English for EFL classes)

Other criteria may be added according to the purposes of the lessons and the targeted civic values.

Below is a suggested table dealing with some different values and lessons learned from a random tale present in the corpus of the Kabyle tales the researcher has collected.

**Table 5.5.4.2.4*****Working Sheet 1: Values and Lessons in Tales***

<b>The tale</b>	<b>Situation</b>	<b>Values /emotions</b>
the two sisters-in-law and the snake's eggs	-The monsters devoured the mother -The hare saves the baby boy and gives it to his sister -The sister feeds him and takes care of him	Overcoming fear/ sacrifice  Kindness  Generosity /responsibility

**5.5.4.2.5 Teachers' Roles**

During the classroom discussions, the teacher shall play the role of a chaperone and the guarantor of the good flow of the course rather than be just a traditional teacher because s/he does not have to impose his/her opinion on the values but to bring the students to a critical judgment from which students will construct their own definition of values.

Patrick (2003) states that a democratic atmosphere inside the classroom that the teacher manages to offer his students is one of the core elements for succeeding in doing civic education. It is not enough to select a topic and choose a relevant text to introduce that topic. The teacher shall prepare an environment that is “conducive to and supportive of a free exchange of information and ideas, and where there is mutual tolerance for diverse opinions.” (Patrick, 2003, p. 7)

**5.5.4.3 Challenges**

Among the challenges that the educators may face are the following:

- The commitment of the ministry of education to afford materials and tools for introducing civic education courses in the EFL classrooms.
- The availability of translated folktales into English.
- Establishing objective criteria for text selection
- Type of assessment: as civic education in the EFL classrooms will not be taught as a course apart, the teacher needs to think about an assessment other than grades and exams.

## 5.6 Conclusion

The written works by Kabyle female authors are an interesting corpus to study, as, although they are produced by authors of the same gender and the same community, they are heterogeneous in terms of the topic they tackle, the language of their expression which is not necessary Kabyle (French, Arabic too), and their faithfulness or not to the oral modes of creation.

The written feminine writings show a specific interest in the importance of education for Kabyle women living in Algeria or abroad and no matter whether the style of narration constitutes a continuity or not to the oral one. The need for changing gendered construction in this community is expressed as an urge. It is palpable that the authors have evolved in their writings. If in the beginning, they stayed in the old track that touches only the Kabyle society, I think now they are moving to universal writing. For this, writers must be aware of the world around them. We should produce literature that touches on universal themes. The novels or poems that are produced should talk to the young readers who have interests elsewhere, outside the socio-cultural borders of Algeria and whose minds are fleeing to other horizons.

Until the state and the ministry of education together decide to incorporate civic education skills and dispositions into the EFL classrooms and why not the classes of cultural studies rather than teaching it as a discipline, it is the task of the teachers to combine civic education with the other skills using literary texts such as folktales and popular poetry as educational tools. Language teachers efforts and attempts to applying civic education values and principle can be successful if the teachers act as facilitators and mentors and select carefully their teaching supports, method and activities in order to ensure student's participation in the different activities, and create student-teacher discussions of topics related to culture, ethics, *Savoir Vivre*, rules of conducts and community life to encourage communication and help the students develop strategies for successful oral expression and exchanges. Engaging the students in the different activities and talks and introducing them to different socio-cultural environments and values through literary texts creates an EFL environment suitable for motivating students and teaching them skills for becoming active citizens who have senses of collaboration, tolerance and most importantly have the ability to integrate the world and understand "the other" especially that we are living in a global village.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

The current research has attempted to spotlight the Berber society's organization in terms of gender. The Berber community that has been selected for this study is Kabylia. The researcher was specifically interested in women's perspective as unlike most of the research that has been undertaken before and which focused on how women are represented by others and which considered them as passive agents, this investigation considers them as active agents and to fulfil this criterion she has analysed the feminine oral literature to understand the situation and status of Kabyle women in their society. For this purpose, a collection of 24 folktales and 50 poems had been recorded from different women's mouths, and then they have been transcribed and translated into English. Yet for the accuracy of the analysis of the various items in the corpus, especially the linguistic ones, the Kabyle versions only were taken into consideration for the analysis.

This study aimed at examining whether there is a difference or not between the contents and the aims of the folktales and poems. In other words, the researcher had tried to see whether there is a noticeable difference in the portrayal of males and females in the two genres and how the interactions and power relations based on gender are described. Additionally, this research tried to check whether topics on gender inequality are prevalent or not and whether women use their oral literature to perpetuate the socio-cultural values they have been brought up with or to contest them especially in what regards patriarchy and women's status. This required taking into account the effects of socialization, religion, and traditions.

This study followed two theoretical approaches based on the goals and the perspective of this research. Feminist critical discourse analysis and Bourdieu's work on feminism and gender studies were combined to analyse the corpus as to explore not only the discourse but also the sociocultural effects on gender identity construction and power relations that are embodied in forms of habitus and utilized by the individual as social, cultural and symbolic capital and which the researcher used as extra-textual dimensions for corpus analysis.

The current work is premised upon four research questions that aim at 1) finding out whether the storytellers and poetesses link their oral productions with the gender perspective constructed in real life, 2) mapping the primary female and male concerns, 3) uncovering the meanings of the messages, the images, the symbols and the topics present in the poems, 4) pinpointing women concerns and attitudes expressed in poems and tales and see whether they manifest the dichotomies: society-centred/female-centred, revolt/consent, conservative/liberate, empowerment/disempowerment.

The investigation carried out throughout this research led to a number of findings at different levels. First, the analysis showed that the two feminine oral genres are not only different in form but also in contents and most importantly in the language used and the topics treated. Additionally, the informants' poems are rooms where taboo topics and feminine concerns are sung subtly. Second, one of the overarching aims of the present work is investigating women's attitudes towards gender construction and the overall content of the tales seemed to fit in the social conventions related to gender such as role and space divisions, however, there was not an apparent appreciation for one gender over the other. Moreover, some female characters have been given some features and qualities that are stereotypically attributed to males such as physical strength, wittiness and intelligence, wisdom, boldness and daring. Yet, an in-depth analysis showed that those instances appeared in two or three tales only, in addition to that most of the females' characters that showed strength, wittiness, daring and which defy male/female power imbalances are supernatural characters such as the ogress and her daughter. On the other hand, the contents of the poems showed an eye-catching referral to men and women with bare descriptions of their qualities and flaws and physical appearances, a lot of metaphors from nature were also used to evoke positive or negative attitudes towards women or men.

Third, the analyses of data gathered through the different tools resulted in highlighting several topics deemed to be the primary concerns of women such as marriage, offspring, and family that were recurrent topics in both the tales and the poems despite the different ways of approaching them. Nevertheless, the chief concern of the informants as storytellers was to convey messages, teach social values and morals throughout the tales whereas their chief concern as singers was to pay attribute to the women they are, they are actively involved personally and emotionally. The topics they raised were related to them, their own relatives, their own villages, their own feelings and experiences. They spoke about diversified topics such

as divorce, repudiation, taboos, love affairs, sexuality, sons' or brothers' ingratitude, restrictions, attitudes toward the value and the positions of male and female offspring. The underlined issues were categorized in terms of external factors such as religious restrictions and sociocultural aspects related to symbolic capital like honour, cultural capital like traditions and rites; and social capitals like relationships and family status in the village. The aforementioned external factors affect women's position, status, and liberation.

As far as the first hypothesis is concerned, the results of the investigation confirmed that the portrayal of males and females differs in the tales and the poems. Whereas for the second hypothesis the main concerns are not only about family, marriage, dominance, and freedom as in the tales there is the concern of teaching human values to the audience and in the poems, there are other main concerns related to woman/ man, husband/ wife, mother/son, sister/brother, bride/mother-in-law, woman/ society, women/capitals relationships.

Meanwhile, unlike what the researcher expected, the tales turned out to have almost the same apparent attitudes towards males and females apart from some exceptions explained, and the poems were not exclusively females' empowering, in fact, it turned out that women despite the gender inequalities they experience as women, they do not try to deny the importance of men in their lives. The last hypothesis related to the dichotomies in tales and poems was approved: the tales are society centred and most poems are female-centred, the topics and themes convey a conservative attitude whether in poems women were more liberated in terms of thoughts and expression. Howbeit, the dichotomy revolt/obedience turned out to be rather protest/consent as the results showed that even though women in poems showed their awareness of the gender inequalities and the socio-cultural and religious pressure that hamper their rights of doing things and living as they wish to, their poems are only means of protest and not of revolt; and in some poems, the reasons that impede this revolt are mentioned among which we cite the family honour. Meanwhile, the language and content of the tales are far from insinuating the informants' obedience to patriarchy and male dominance –the character of the ogress is an instance of turning upset down the gender-related dominance and power relations. Yet maintaining the gendered divisions of social roles and space in the tales denotes the informants' consensus.

Ergo, the new feminine printed literature especially the tales and novels reveal that they are getting more and more unchained from the ancestral socio-cultural laws and traditions that

promote patriarchy and men's dominance over women. Women find their voices not only in poetry but in the other literary genres too. Their novels are printed and they are addressing a wide population of male and female readers to whom they are not ashamed of talking about taboos and pent-up feelings and desires. On the one hand, they scream their will to change women's perspectives and attitudes towards themselves to revolt and impose gender equality in a society that has long been mistakenly perceived as egalitarian.

The universities in Algeria do not have departments of folklore studies, civic studies, and gender studies. Yet, the latter is taught in a few universities like the one of Mostaganem. Those disciplines are considered by the researcher as influential and vital to training young adults to be effective and aware members in their societies and also in their families. Providing young learners with lessons that encompass folk literature, civic and gender education together are critical to helping them cope with changes from one sociocultural community to another, learn values and rethink power relations and gender inequalities. Moreover, in the last chapter, the researcher recommends to implement civic education and gender education in EFL classrooms by using folk literature as a pedagogical tool.

The current work has been a real journey of change that altered the researcher's views and enlightened her mind about several aspects. As the investigation progressed and more specialized literature was covered, the researcher came to realize that FCDA and Bourdieu's concepts are, like any other tool, purely instrumental, when embedded in a cogent methodology.

Finally, in the light of the findings of the current work, it is possible to suggest some directions for future research in folk literature in general and oral feminine literature in particular from a gender or feminist perspective. One could collect a larger sample of tales and poems by region and compare the nuances at the different levels of form and content which would tell a lot about the possible differences in the status and position of women in the different villages. Also, various versions of one typical tale belonging to different periods that could be found in the different printed collections from 1829 to the present day could be collected and analysed diachronically to see whether there is an apparent change in language use and gender constructions and portrayals. Nevertheless, a possible investigation could be made to compare female and male versions of a sample tale. Here, the discourses used by male



and female narrators could be analysed to see whether there is a difference in telling the events and describing the male and female characters in a particular selected story.

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**APPENDICES**

**Appendix one**  
**Kabyle- English Poems**

**\*\*\*: Unclear Words**

**\*: word for word translation**

**The informants' Comments and explanations are written in italics**

**P1**

*Tuyal yer baba-s tenna-as :*

Takuffart n sut Udris

Ur uɣaley yer uɛwij di rray-is

Siwa ma yuzen-d yemma-s

Ney yiweɗ-iyi-d s uɗar-is

Gulley telzem-iyi tkuffart

Takuffart n sut-Yanni

Ur uɣaley ad i yi-n-yawi

Siwa ma yuzen-d yemma-s

Ney yernu-i-d akursi

Gulley telzem-iyi tkuffart

Takeffart n sut udris

Ur uɣaley

yer uɛwij di rray-is

siwa ma yuzen-d yemma-s

ney yiweɗ-iyi-d s uɗar-is

*Yemma-s-nni teweer...*

Gulley telzem-iyi tkuffart

Takuffart n sut-Yanni

Ur uɣaley yer winna

Ur i yi-nehwi

Siwa ma yuzen-d yemma-s

Ney yernu-iyi-d akursi

Ur ttsamaɥey i baba

I yi-yefkan ur elimey

Asmi i kfan Lfatiha

Deg uznig ttmeɥsisey

Gulley telzem-iyi tkuffart

Taxxamt-is ur tt-emirey

*She returned\* to her father and said to him:*

I swear by the *Oudris* women

That I will not return to the crooked in his choices/decisions\*

Unless he sends me his mother

Or that he comes himself

I swear and will do penance

That of *Ath Yani* women

That I will not go back with him

Unless he brings his mother

Or that he offers me a chair\*

I swear and I promise to do penance

That of the *Oudris* women

That I will not return

with that man that takes bad decisions

Unless he sends me his mother

Or he comes to me in person

*The mother-in-law is tough ...*

I swear, and I will do penance

That of *Ath Yani* women

To not return to that man

Who displeases me/that I don't want\*

Unless he sends me his mother

Or offers me a chair

I will not forgive my father

Who married me off without my knowledge\*

When they finished the *Fatiha*<sup>94\*</sup>

I was outside, listening

I swear and will do penance

Not to fill his house\*.(give him children

<sup>94</sup> In muslim religious weddings, the *Fatiha* must be read by men to make the union religiously official



## P2

*Yiwen ad yebyu ultma-s ad tay amerkanti, ad yeḍmeε ad yečč dinna, yiwet ad tebyu yiwen n igellil. Win iwimi fkan ultma-s i umerkanti, ad iruḥ yur-s, ad yečč dinna imensi, ultma-s ad as-d tehḍer s lmeena. D wid i yesean cci, texdem teεya, tsebb...Mi i d-yers ciṭ n lqut, ur ttett ara alamma s imenyi, cci-nni ad d-yeffey deg-s, imiren ad as-d-tehḍer i gma-s :*

*One would like his sister to marry a rich man, hoping to enjoy opulence, another, would rather opt for a man of modest means ... Whoever would have chosen a rich, would go to feast well at meals. Among the rich, she would be exhausted working ... Cooking. When the table is set, she will eat only in an atmosphere of quarrels; (the price paid in return for wealth); and then she will answer her brother:*

Yemma yemma,	Mother, oh mother
ay ay aεequc***	I'll have aεequc *** as a husband
ad dduy d tislit	I am getting married
s axxam n emiruc	At the Amirouches
sqan-d imensi	they served dinner
yeyli-d uberquc***	Aberquc*** fell there
ečč kan a xuya	Eat, eat ... Brother
d afrux n leεcuc	It's a bird from the nests
keč i yebyan	That's what you wanted
tebeεd abernus	You followed the burnous*

*Mi i tfuk / Once the meal finished*

A yemma yemma	Mother, oh mother
Ad dduy d tislit	I will be the bride
S axxam n Ourida	Of Ourida's family
Sqan-d imensi	They served dinner
Yeyli-d uyerda	A rat fell there*
Ečč kan a xuya	Eat ... Eat brother
D afrux n syada	It is a hunted bird
Keč i yebyan	You wanted so
Tḍefreḍ seaya	You sought the wealth
Lameena a gma,,...In-as i yemma	But brother ..., tell my mother

*-A ultma, ur fhimey ara ! /sister, I do not understand anything*

*-Nniy-ak-n..... in-as i yemma ,/ I told you...,tell my mother!*

*Ad yaweđ yer yemma-s ad as-d-tessefhem d acu-t.,Dinna, iruđ yer tin i yuyen yiwen n igellil, acku ur as-tefki ara awal asmi i t-tuy ...*

*Once at his mother's house, she explains the meaning of his sister's poems to him.*

*Then he went to visit his sister who chose a poor husband, this one did not give her brother the floor to impose a husband of his choice on her*

Sewwen-d imensi	They prepared dinner
Cčan-t s teđša	Ate in cheerfulness
S leeqel-nsen	And tranquillity

*Mi i cčan, tinna tebya ad tceyyee yer yemma-s:*

*Once the meal taken, she wanted to send (her brother) to her mother*

A yemma yemma	Mother, oh mother
Ay-iyi amendil	Buy me a scarf
Ad dduy d tislit	To be wedded
S axxam n igellil	In the home of a poor man
Sqan-d imensi	they served dinner
Nečča-t s teđša	That we took in the joy
S ufella n ugertil	On a mat

*Lameena a gma, aweđ, ħku-as i yemma ! / But brother, tell my mother:*

A yemma yemma	Mother, oh mother
Ay-iyi lfuđa	Buy me a <i>fouda</i> *
Ad dduy d tislit	For my marriage
yer win ur nesei ara	With the one who owns nothing
sqan-d imensi	We served dinner
nečča-t s teđša	We took it in cheerfulness

*Lameena a gma, ħku-as i yemma.../ But brother, tell my mother:*

*Netta ur yefhim ara, yiweđ yer yemma-s, ma yehka-as.../*

*Not having grasped (the meaning), once at his mother's, she told him...*

Ma kečči yewwi-k tmeε

Tyilled ad teččed yur-sen

As for you, you were driven by your greediness

Tegguled di ultma-k

You forced your sister

Tuy amerkanti

To marry a rich man

You thought you'll benefit from that

*Tin akken ur ak-nuy ara awal, ha-t-n truḥed yur-sen tethennaḍ !*

*Ayerda-nni i d-yeylin, mačči d ayerda n tidett, yer terbuyt-nni : d imenyi.*

*Ultma-k, tceyyee-ik s wawal n lmeena...*

*The one who did not obey you, when you went to visit her, you found tranquillity there.*

*The rat that fell into the (soup) in your other sister's home, was not a real one, but disputes, battles, and quarrels. Your sister sent you an innuendo.*

## P3

A yemma lukan ufiy  
 Deg yirebbi-im ar d am-ɣliy  
 Ahat ad akem-ɣidey ass-a  
 Sdaxel n wul-iw rɣiy  
 Ula d ddwa ur tt-ufiy  
 Annay a yemma tassa  
 A yemma, wi kem-yufan  
 Ad am-ħkuy lbaɗna  
 Deg yirebbi-m am llufan  
 Yelli-m tuħwaj leħnana  
 Nyān-iyi, lxiq d wurfan  
 Deg wul ur seiɣ tṭmana  
 A yemma lukan ufiy  
 Deg yirebbi-im ar d am-ɣliy  
 Ahat ad akem-ɣidey ass-a  
 Sdaxel n wul-iw rɣiy  
 Ula d ddwa ur tt-ufiy  
 Annay a yemma tassa  
 Ammer tezriɗ akken uɣaley  
 Nekk i trebbaɗ s lefcuc  
 Yemma taħnint ugadey  
 Banen-iyi-d medden am lewħuc  
 Ddunit-a ur as-zmirey  
 S kra wi tħubbeɗ, ad akem-iyucc  
 Annay a yemma tasa  
 A yemma lukan ufiy  
 Deg yirebbi-im ar d am-ɣliy  
 Ahat ad akem-ɣidey ass-a  
 Sdaxel n wul-iw rɣiy  
 Ula d ddwa ur tt-ufiy  
 Annay a yemma tassa  
 Ziy bnaɗem ul-is d azru  
 Berrick am tṭlam n yiɗ  
 Yettbeddil u yettyurru  
 S tsusmi ur yettæyyiɗ  
 Ul-iw aleqqaq yettru  
 D ameybun la yettmeggid  
 Annay a yemma tasa

Oh mother, if I could  
 I would fall in your lap\*  
 Maybe I'll pity you today  
 Inside my hear, I am burning\*  
 Even a cure, I don't find  
 Oh mother, my beloved  
 Oh mother, if only you were close  
 To tell you my secrets  
 In your lap, like a child  
 Your daughter needs tenderness  
 Bruised by boredom and ire  
 Without internal insurance  
 Mother, I would like  
 To rest in your lap  
 Maybe I'll pity you  
 I am burning inside  
 Even a cure, I don't find  
 Oh mother, my beloved  
 If you knew\* how I became  
 Me, that you used to spoil  
 My tender Mother, I'm afraid  
 People seem to me like monsters  
 I cannot bear this life  
 Those we love betray us  
 Oh mother, my beloved  
 Mother, I would like  
 To rest in your lap  
 Maybe i'll pity you today  
 I burn inside  
 Even a cure I don't find  
 Mother, my beloved<sup>95</sup>  
 It seems like human's heart is but stone  
 As dark as night  
 Changes and lures  
 Silently and secretly  
 My tender heart cries  
 Unhappy and overflowing with tears  
 Oh, my tender mother

## P4

Açal arġiy lesnin d lechur  
 War zwiġeġ ar ass-agi  
 Qaren-as medden tbur  
 Ney si tidak wer neswi  
 Fell-ak a yitij n nnur  
 Σamdey ad iy-ifat kulci  
 Hēmlay-k aezized felli  
 Wid yusmen ennane dirik  
 Aya jeġġig n tayri-w  
 Γer yuri hed ma yifik  
 Felli d fellak hedren medden  
 Arranay deg imi g iđan  
 Ma yella kra garasen  
 Adsluyen aman yeşfan  
 Assa am uzekka d atmaten  
 Lehlak iwidak yerhan  
 Assa am uzekka d atmaten  
 Lehlak iwidak yerhan  
 War eḥsesisey i lehdur  
 Mi zriy abrid-iw yeşfa  
 War iyi tecqi lhedra laerur  
 Ayen hedren degsen tella  
 Lekdeb yer yursen yeččur  
 Yarnu war tentari tmara  
 Lekdeb yer yursen yeččur  
 Yarnu war tentari tmara  
 Hēmlay-k aezized felli  
 Wid yusmen ennane dirik  
 Aya jeġġig n tayri-w  
 Γer yuri hed ma yifik  
 Lukan iken yehdi rebbi  
 Mkul yiwen adizer iman-is  
 Γas muqqar iseedda temzi  
 Ay ččan medden aksum-is  
 Imi lbatel yetnarni  
 Mkul yiwen yesēa arraw-is  
 Imi lbatel yetnarni  
 Mkul yiwen yesēa arraw-is  
 Hēmlay-k aezized felli  
 Wid yusmen ennane dirik  
 Aya jeġġig n tayri-w  
 Γer yuri hed ma yifik

I waited for years and months  
 And I am still unmarried  
 People say I am a spinster;  
 or I am immodest  
 For you, illuminating sun  
 I accept to miss everything  
 I love you and you are dear to me  
 The jealous ones are slandering you  
 You, flower of my love\*  
 To me, you're the best of all  
 People gossip about us  
 They put us at the mercy of dogs\*  
 If there is something they share,  
 It is to disturb the pure water\*  
 Brothers today as tomorrow  
 Pain for the envious  
 Brothers today as tomorrow  
 Sickness for the envious\*  
 Do not listen to the nattering  
 I know myself pure  
 I don't care about the sayings of the rascals  
 What they say about us, their own flaw  
 They say lies,  
 Without being forced to  
 They say lies  
 Without being forced to  
 I love you and you are dear to me  
 The jealous ones are slandering you  
 Flower of my love  
 To me, you're the best of all  
 If God had led you on the right path,  
 Each one would mind his own business  
 Even and old with a lifetime experience,  
 People would slander him  
 But the injustice grows  
 And everyone has children  
 But the injustice continues to grow  
 And everyone has children  
 I love you and you are dear to me  
 The jealous ones are slandering you  
 Flower of my love  
 To me you're the best of all

## P5

Kfan wussan di leamr-iw  
 Mi gekna lqedd-iw  
 Ezzay ufud i tikli  
 Ttamyart i sædday temz-iw  
 Sædday temz-iw  
 Win i drebbay yerwel fell-i  
 Yebiyit zhu n tullas  
 Nek ttruy fell-as  
 Baba-s di tegnitt yayli  
 Mennay-as targit yibwas  
 Ma thuddit si Isas  
 Ahat a day dimekti  
 Amlebraq adineḥwas  
 Anef iliyid ad yas  
 Nay dayen ur dat nettwali  
 Amlebraq adineḥwas  
 Anef iliyid ad yas  
 Nay dayen ur dat nettwali  
 Kfan wussan di leamr-iw  
 Mi gekna lqedd-iw  
 Ezzay ufud i tikli  
 Ttamyart i sædday temzi-w  
 Sædday temzi-w  
 Win i drebbay yerwel fell-i  
 Ttmektayeyd yella d agrud  
 Asmi yettmurud  
 Taqrist ni i cebbaḥen imi  
 Yečča yeswa dayefud  
 Ur yettrus seg fud  
 Alarmi yebda tikli  
 Ferḥay yernad yer wegud  
 D aggur ellaeyud  
 Aydyefk tafat anwali  
 Ferḥay yernad yer wegud  
 D aggur ellaeyud  
 Aydyefk tafat anwali  
 Kfan wussan di leamr-iw  
 Mi gekna lqedd-iw  
 Ezzay ufud i tikli

At the end of my days  
 With my spine curved  
 Heavy in my walk  
 Old, my youth is over  
 My youthfulness is over  
 He whom I had raised, abandoned me  
 Carried away by the charms of girls  
 I am crying him,  
 and his father is weakened  
 I wish him to see in a dream,  
 himself annihilated  
 So that he may remember us  
 Quickly as lightening, he will be seized  
 And that the ire overwhelms,  
 Or will we no more see him  
 as lightening, he is looked for  
 we may pity him so that he comes,  
 or, is it over and we'll not see him anymore?  
 At the end of my days  
 With my spine curved  
 Heavy in my walk  
 Old, my youth is over  
 My youth is over  
 The one I had raised left me  
 I remember when he was a child  
 When he was crawling  
 \*\*\*that adorns the mouth  
 He ate and drank at his thirst  
 Always held in my arms  
 Till the day he started walking  
 I was happy, his birth extended the family  
 The moon of Eids<sup>96</sup>  
 That will give us light to see  
 I was happy his birth extended the family  
 The moon of Eids<sup>97</sup>  
 That will give us light to see  
 At the end of my days  
 With my spine curved  
 Heavy in my walk

<sup>96</sup> The two Muslims' annual feasts

<sup>97</sup> The two Muslims' annual feasts

Ttamyart i sædday temziw  
 Win i drebbay yerwel fell-i  
 Nrebbat armi muqqar  
 Nyil ad yaëmar  
 Di lxir alaydittawi  
 Ziy yezweğ yerra leqrar  
 Abbuh a lexbar  
 Iyi d'yebden idelli  
 Ula di læid ur d ittyafar  
 Yufa amdebbbar  
 Ma d yemma-s ula wumi  
 Ula di læid ur d ittyafar  
 Yufa amdebbbar  
 Ma d yemma-s ula wumi  
 Kfan wussan di læamr-iw  
 Mi gekna lqedd-iw  
 Ezzay ufud i tikli  
 Ttamyart i sædday temzi-w  
 Sædday temzi-w  
 Win i drebbay yerwel fell-i

## P6

-Anay a Muhend a mmi  
 Tamaṭotik taverkant  
 -Enfas, enfas a yemma  
 Nek γuri tamarikanit  
 Anay a Muhend a mmi  
 Ur tessin iberkukes  
 Anfes anfes a yemma  
 Deg rebbiw I texnunes  
 Anay a Muhend a mmi  
 Tamaṭotik tsisegnit  
 Enfas, enfas a yemma  
 Nek γuri tecba tislit  
 Anay a Muhend a mmi  
 Ur tesin ara i seksu  
 Anfes anfes a yemma  
 Telha ila'b b wusu

Sædday temziw  
 Old, my youth is over  
 My youth is over  
 He whom I had raised abandoned me  
 We had raised him until he grew up  
 We thought he would be a good man  
 That would bring us good things\*/happiness  
 Instead, he got married and **put limits\***  
 Such bad news!  
 That reached me yesterday!  
 Even in Eids, he doesn't show up to greet us  
 He found a counsellor  
 No need for his mother!  
 Even in Eids, he doesn't show up to greet us  
 He found a counsellor  
 No need for his mother!  
 At the end of my days  
 With my spine curved  
 Heavy in my walk  
 Old, my youth is over  
 My youth is over  
 He whom I had raised abandoned me

-Are you aware Mohand my son?  
 That your wife is too dark  
 -Let her alone mother  
 to me, she's as beautiful as an American girl  
 -Oh, my poor son Mohand  
 She does not know how to make Berkukes  
 -Let her alone mother  
 it's because she got all crumpled in my arms\*  
 -Are you aware Mohand my Son?  
 That your wife is as skinny as a needle?  
 -Let her alone mother  
 For me, she's like a fresh bride!  
 -Oh, my poor son Mohand  
 She does not know how to make couscous  
 -Let her alone mother  
 She is an expert in bed play\*.

**P7**

Ad wtey deg yergazen  
 Widak isekren  
 S tyimit di tberna...  
 Mi i d-ħellen ašurdi ad t-swen  
 Ad twardamen  
 Am yemqerqar di temda  
 Ad d-fyēn ad ttnešwajen  
 Ad ttnejbaden  
 Am ijirmeđ di lqaēa  
 Tameṭṭut meskint  
 Teḥšel d acu ara tecyel  
 Ula d tibšelt  
 Ur tt-tesea'ra  
 Arraw-is nšan i ccer  
 Imensi ur t-ččin ara  
 D Ddewla i asen-iserħen  
 I asen-iēemden  
 Teššerwa-asen lbirra  
 Mešħen-aḡ merra iħran  
 Wid i d-yettawin lyella  
 A wi i d-yetfen aēekkazAd ten-yerz seg  
 Wammas,  
 Ad ten-iđegger yer berra

I incriminate men,  
 Those who get drunk  
 Seated in the tavern  
 When they earn money, they drink it\*  
 They\*\*\*  
 Like frogs in a pond  
 When they come out, they are spinning  
 Stretching,  
 As earthworms on the ground  
 The poor wife,  
 Does not know what to do  
 Even an onion,  
 She does have it!  
 Her children spent the night in hunger\*  
 They did not have dinner.  
 It's the state that frees them (the drunkards),  
 that permits them to drink,  
 It satisfies them with beer  
 All lands are wasted  
 Those who take the yield,  
 if only a stick could be seized,  
 to break their backs,  
 and throw them out!



**P8**

Besmellah anebdu  
 Anebdu deg lxir  
 Qqarbed a æemmi-s  
 A gma-s n baba-s  
 Ad teṭfeṭ aqcic  
 D afrux uyillas.  
 Qqarbed a xali-s  
 A gma-s n yemmas  
 Ad serseṭ adrim  
 Ad yixten fell-as  
 Ixfif a şşanee  
 Uzal d lqatec  
 F uqcic  
 M ulac ad yixlee

In the name of God, we begin  
 We start in happiness  
 Come closer, you, his uncle,  
 the brother of his father  
 To hold the little boy,  
 he is a bird, a leopard  
 Come closer, you, maternal uncle,  
 Brother of his mother  
 To put a coin  
 He will be circumcised on it.  
 Be fast, Doer! \*/ specialist  
 Make the cut quickly,  
 on the boy  
 Otherwise he will be traumatized

## P9

Iruh wayen hesbey inu  
 Yeedem temzi-inu  
 Yeğga-yi-d deg yir ħala  
 Leħsan i as-xedmey, yettu  
 Yesseħder-d beħtu  
 Izri-w yettazzal d tala  
 Ur yuggad si deewessu  
 Ur iħezzeb i taggara  
 Anwi as-yennan ad nemfaraq  
 Seg lemħibba i ay-d-yezdin  
 Lwerd-nni nezza yehreq  
 Xerben-ay lumur di sin  
 Debeey lemħibba-w fell-ak  
 zziy-tt d ttejra temyi  
 iferrawen-is d lhedra-k  
 fell-i ttarran tili  
 Ifakya-s tecba ssifa-k  
 ma ččiy deg-s ffad yekkes-yi  
 ma d kečč tebniđ-tt yef uzekka-k  
 Taggara tbedleđ fell-i  
 Anwi as-yennan ad nemfaraq  
 Seg lemħibba i ay-d-yezdin  
 Lwerd-nni nezza yehreq  
 Xerben-ay lumur di sin  
 Yas akka tbedleđ fell-i  
 Nekk mazal ssamey  
 Yas akka teğğid-iyi  
 Tayri-k deg yidammen-iw tezdey  
 Ttrajuy ad d-zziđ yur-i  
 ad yi-tsemħeđ, ad ak-samħey  
 ad neiwed swadda i kulci  
 d tidet, ad tt-nerr gar-aney  
 Anwi as-yennan ad nemfaraq  
 Seg lemħibba i ay-d-yezdin  
 Lwerd-nni nezza yehreq  
 Xerben-ay lumur di sin  
 Ayyer mazal-ik ayyer  
 Ul-ik yeqqur am uzru  
 Nekk yiley ad yi-tgeđ leqrar  
 Ad nkemmel ddunit s zzh  
 Ziyen tebyiđ-iyi i leqher  
 S allen-iw teddmeđ asafu

The one, I thought was mine, left  
 He wasted my youth\*,  
 Abandoned me in a pitiful state  
 Forgetting the good I did to him  
 He decided to break up  
 My tears run like a fountain  
 He didn't fear malediction,  
 or think of the consequences  
 Who'd think we would leave each other  
 For, love bound us  
 The roses that we planted faded  
 Both of us got messed up  
 I had put all my love in you  
 I planted it as a tree and it grew  
 Its leaves are your words  
 That give me shade  
 And its fruits resemble you  
 Eating them chases thirst away  
 But you planned your own future  
 You turned your back to me at the end  
 Who'd think we would leave each other  
 For love bounds us  
 The roses that we planted faded  
 Both of us got messed up  
 Even though you changed towards me,  
 I still have hope  
 Even though you abandoned me,  
 Your love flows in my veins  
 I'm waiting for you to come back  
 So that you forgive me, and I forgive you  
 And start all over again  
 That sincerity be established between us  
 Who'd think we would leave each other  
 For love bound us  
 The roses that we planted faded  
 Both of us got messed up  
 Why are you still like that?  
 With a heart like stone  
 I thought you would take care of me,  
 and our life would go on happily,  
 But you intended to hurt me  
 From my eyes you took the light

Mmekti-d weħd-k stejfer  
 yef lħub tenyid wissen ma ad ak-yeefu  
 Anwi as-yennan ad nemfaraq  
 Seg lemħibba i ay-d-yezdin  
 Lwerd-nni nezza yehreq  
 Xerben-ay lumur di sin

Remember by yourself and ask forgiveness  
 from God,  
 For the love you killed, who knows if he'll  
 forgive you  
 Who'd think we would leave each other  
 For love bound us  
 The roses that planted faded  
 Both of us got messed up

### P10

Tenyat lyiba ur t-nezri  
 Nsel kan s-tmucuha-s  
 Kkul yiwen acc-id yett-awwi  
 Ma hedren medden fell-as  
 Kra qaren-as d-imenfi  
 Dayen irruħ ur d itt-uyal  
 Yiwwas fell-i-ad yesteqsi  
 Tidett yid-es ar nemlal  
 Ixef-iw i-hzen ur yexsi  
 Atan yugad lmuħal  
 Ugadey imlal d-řay-is  
 Ahat ula d-nek yettu-iyi  
 Wissen ma liy deg-ul-is  
 ma daħnin am zik nni  
 Ney ass-a mi beedy a fallen-is  
 S-kra neseedda ur s-icfi  
 Kawent w-allen-iw seg imetři  
 Urđiyt ifat-iyi lħal  
 Nem-εahad yaf ass-agi  
 An-ger axxam n leħlal  
 Ney tayed tezwar-iyi  
 Nek-ini ar d-dduy s-akal

Absence took him, we no more see him  
 we only hear of his stories,  
 and each one tells a version  
 When people talk about him,  
 some call him the exiled  
 It's over, he left with no return  
 One day, he will ask about me  
 Truth is to be uncovered  
 My mind is sad but keeps hope  
 And it fears the irreparable  
 I'm afraid he's in trouble because of his bad  
 decisions,  
 and that he forgot me, too  
 I wonder if I'm still in his heart,  
 As tender as before  
 Or, as I am far from his eyesight today,  
 he forgot all that we had together  
 crying dried up my eyes  
 I waited for him till it was too late  
 We made a promise for today,  
 to make a family  
 maybe another woman had preceded me  
 me, I'll be wedded to my grave\*

## P11

I xedmey n lxir iruḥ !  
 A gma aærjun n ttterr  
 A gma aærjun n ttterr  
 Ger ixulaf inewwer  
 Ger ixulaf inewwer  
 A gma eziz rweḥ yuri  
 I wudem n Rebbi ad nemẓer  
 A gma eziz rweḥ yuri  
 I wudem n Rebbi ad nemẓer  
 I xedmey n lxir iruḥ !  
 A gma axalaf n ččina  
 A gma axalaf n ččina  
 Rriy-as targa yeswa  
 Rriy-as targa yeswa  
 A gma eziz rweḥ yuri  
 Ala keč i d-teğğa yemma  
 A gma eziz rweḥ yuri  
 Ala keč i d-teğğa yemma  
 I xedmey n lxir iruḥ  
 A gma axalaf n ifires  
 Rriy-as targa uḥd-s  
 A gma eziz rweḥ yuri  
 Ala keč i seiḥ d amwanes  
 A gma eziz rweḥ yuri  
 Ala keč i seiḥ d amwanes  
 I xedmey n lxir iruḥ !  
 I xedmey n lxir iruḥ !  
 A gma axalaf n remman  
 Rriy-as targa n waman  
 A gma axalaf n remman  
 rriy-as targa n waman  
 a gma eziz rweḥ yuri  
 d keč i d rriḥa n imawlan  
 a gma eziz rweḥ yuri  
 d keč i d rriḥa n imawlan  
 i xedmey n lxir iruḥ !  
 i xedmey n lxir iruḥ !  
 a gma axalaf n imilwi  
 a gma axalaf n imilwi  
 di leḡnan yerra tili  
 di leḡnan yerra tili

All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 Brother, branch of dates  
 Brother, branch of dates,  
 That blooms among buds  
 Blooms among buds  
 Come to me\*, my dear brother,  
 for God's sake, that we see each other,  
 Come visit me, my dear brother  
 for God's sake, that we see each other!  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 Brother, bud of orange  
 Brother, bud of orange  
 I made him a channel of water, so he drank  
 I made him a channel of water, so he drank  
 Dear brother come to me,  
 It's only you that my mother left me  
 Dear brother come to me,  
 It's only you that my mother left me  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 Brother, bud of pear  
 I made him a channel of water, just for him  
 Brother, come to me!  
 It's only you, I have as a companion  
 Brother, come to me!  
 You're my only companion  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 Brother, pomegranates' bud  
 I lead the channel of water to him  
 Brother, pomegranate bud  
 I lead the channel of water to him  
 Dear brother, come to me,  
 You're all that remained from our parents  
 Dear brother, come to me,  
 You remind me of my parents  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 Brother, young turtledove  
 Brother, young turtledove  
 Made shade in the garden  
 Made shade in the garden

d keč i d rriħa n lwali  
 a gma eziz rweħ yuri  
 d keč i d rriħa n lwali  
 i xedmey n lxir iruħ !  
 a gma buddey-ak buddey-ak  
 a gma buddey-ak buddey-ak  
 ma d lmut ħafiđ fell-ak  
 ma d lmut ħafiđ fell-ak  
 buddey-ak ad tesseuđ taqciect  
 aha-t ad d-tiħnin tasa-ak  
 buddey-ak ad tesseuđ taqciect  
 aha-t ad d-tiħnin tasa-k  
 i xedmey n lxir iruħ !  
 a gma n baba d yemma  
 a gma n baba d yemma  
 iyya ad neqqim kra  
 iyya ad neqqim kra  
 keč d gma nek d ultma-k  
 ula anda tarewla  
 keč d gma nek d ultma-k  
 ula anda tarewla  
 i xedmey n lxir iruħ !  
 beddey-as di-n yer tewwurt  
 nniy-as ay-iyi-d aqendur  
 awal ur t-yettay ara  
 awal atan yer tmeṭṭut  
 i xedmey n lxir iruħ !  
 mugrey-t-id d lexmis  
 yeẓra-i-d yebra i wallen-is  
 mačči d akrah i yi-yekreh  
 d lehđur n tmeṭṭut-is  
 mačči d akrah i yi-yekreh  
 d lehđur n tmeṭṭut-is  
 i xedmey n lxir iruħ !!!

You are a piece of Lwali\*<sup>98</sup>  
 Dear brother, come to me  
 You remind me of *Lwali*  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 Brother, I wish you...! I wish you...!  
 Brother, I wish you ...,  
 anything but death!  
 That God protects you from death!  
 But I wish you to have a daughter,  
 maybe your lever\*<sup>99</sup>/ will soften  
 I wish you to have a daughter,  
 That would make you more affectionate  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 Brother, son of my father and mother  
 Brother, son of my father and mother  
 Come, let us sit a little together\*  
 Come, let us spend some time together  
 You are my brother and I am your sister  
 There is nowhere to flee  
 You are my brother and I, your sister  
 There is nowhere to flee  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 I stood at his door,  
 asking him to buy me a dress  
 He no more considers my advice,  
 the decisions are taken by his wife  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!  
 I met him in *lekhemis*<sup>100\*</sup>  
 When he saw me, he lowered his eyes,  
 It's not that he hates me,  
 But it's his wife's words...  
 It's not that he hates me  
 But it's the effect of his wife's words ...  
 All good I did, is gone with the wind!

<sup>98</sup> Guardian, tutor, father

<sup>99</sup> Center of emotions, love in the Kabyle imaginary

<sup>100</sup> An Algerian city, or a week day: Thursday

**P12**

Awid thayerbelt , thayerbelt tečur  
 Kemmini a tislit a yithri n t hor  
 Atteqen elhanni a bab lomor

Awid thayerbelt, thayerbelt telha  
 Kemmini a tislit a yithri l3ica  
 Atteqen lhanni a rabbi s lehna

Awid afus-im awit-id yecveh  
 Kemmini a tislit a yithri n sbah  
 Atteqen lhenni a fellas atterbeh

Ad sallay af nnbi a ywanes

A dersent lmolouk yer sidisis  
 I lhenni n yellis s toyzi l3amris

Athan atteqen yellis n ldjoud amnini:

Kem tasarots asendoq twizthin  
 Rray g fus-im winyenhan a dhiwali

Athan atteqen yellis nldjid ak mencekker

Kem tasaruts u sanduq yel tmar  
 Rray g fus-im win yanhan a dh iwaxar

Kemmini a tislit thikli tsekurt yar waxam

A ya jejjig ttefah  
 Jeddi Mansor uula d nnta yefrah

Bring the sieve, the sieve is full\*  
 You bride, star of noon  
*Henna* will be applied to her palm, o master  
 of events<sup>101</sup>

Bring the sieve, this sieve is good  
 You bride, the evening star  
*Henna* will be applied to her palm, oh God  
 with bliss

Bring your nice/white hand closer  
 You bride, the morning star  
*Henna* will be applied to her palm, it will  
 bring her luck

I'll make a prayer for the Prophet, so he  
 keeps me company

That the angels be in each of her sides\*  
 For the "henna" of her daughter, long life to  
 her

*Henna* will be applied to her palm, the  
 daughter of the generous, we say to you:  
 You are the key of the chest of Louis d'or\*<sup>102</sup>  
 Decisions are in your hand, the one who  
 objects will be punished

The daughter of the valorous will put *henna*,  
 we will praise you

You, the key of the crate of all the fruits\*  
 Decisions are in your hand, that the one who  
 objects go away

You, bride, with the walk of the partridge  
 toward the house

Oh you, apple blossom  
 My grandfather Mansour is delighted, too

<sup>101</sup> God

<sup>102</sup> French golden coins first introduced by Louis

## P 13

A win i rujay aṭṭas, i rujay aṭṭas ugadey zman ak  
 iyur  
 Aqli ḥesbey id d was, id d was melmi ara ferzen  
 lumur  
 Aṙwiḥ yezga di lweswas, aṙwiḥ yezga di lweswas

Şebrey qerḥen-iyi lehdur, şebrey qerḥen-iyi lehdur

Ma şebrey fhem iman-ik, fhem iman-ik lamaena  
 ḥesbey ussan  
 Ur tettü nekk d zwağ-ik, nekk d zwağ-ik eecrin di  
 leemer eeddan  
 Açal eusey yef nnif-ik, açal eusey yef nnif-ik

Terḥa-yi lhedra n lğiran, terḥa-yi lhedra n lğiran  
 A win i rujay aṭṭas, i rujay aṭṭas ugadey zman ak  
 iyur  
 Aqli ḥesbey id d was, id d was melmi ara ferzen  
 lumur  
 Aṙwiḥ yezga di lweswas, aṙwiḥ yezga di lweswas

Şebrey qerḥen-iyi lehdur, şebrey qerḥen-iyi lehdur

D kečč i euzay aṭṭas, i euzay aṭṭas cfu şber yesea  
 lḥed-is  
 Rğiṙ ad rzud yibbas, ad rzud yibbas barka ides yef  
 yiwen idis  
 Mi nniṙ i medden efiṙ-as, mi nniṙ i medden efiṙ-as  
 Nekk ul-iw yerğa leḥq-is, nekk ul-iw yerğa leḥq-is

You, whom I waited for so long, I fear time would  
 deceive you  
 I count days and nights, for the day things will get  
 clearer  
 My soul remains in doubts, my soul remains in  
 doubts  
 I endured, the gossip hurt me, I endured, the gossip  
 hurt me  
 I waited, consider that and do something, I am  
 counting the days  
 Do not forget, I am your wife, I am your wife, and  
 twenty years passed  
 I have always preserved your honour, I have always  
 preserved your honour  
 The gossips of neighbours hurt me so much  
 You; whom I waited for so long, I fear life will  
 seduce you,  
 I count days and nights, for the day things get  
 clearer  
 My soul remains in doubts, my soul remains in  
 doubts\*  
 I endured, the gossip hurt me, I endured, the gossip  
 hurt me  
 It is you whom I cherish much; I cherish much but  
 remember, Patience has limits  
 I waited for you to come one day, to come one day,  
 enough sleeping on one side\*<sup>103</sup>  
 I told people that I have forgiven you  
 My heart has waited as much as it could

---

<sup>103</sup> Sleeping on one side means to sleep deeply

## P14

Ak wessiḡ a mmi Ẽzizen  
 D elẼib ma tettud lasel-ik  
 Ulac wara k iḡesben  
 Ma ur tessineḡ imawlan-ik  
 Ḥader ak iyur wi ijahen  
 Ad ttruḡeḡ ur d teḡḡiḡ later-ik

Ur byiy ara ad terfuḡ  
 Ma hedrey-aged yef lejduḡ-ik  
 Esmektay-k id ma tettud  
 Ahat ak yeyder iḡes-ik  
 Ettwessiḡ d gek ad tecfuḡ  
 Ad tteḡkuḡ i weḡbib-ik  
 Arfed leqlam ad ttarud  
 Ad ttezreḡ d acu ig Ẽeddan  
 Maci d ayen ara temḡuḡ  
 Maci d ayen yettfakan  
 Win id ilulen as teḡkuḡ  
 Akken ad yissin wit ilan  
 Ḥader ak yawi waḡu  
 Lahdur ik nniḡ ad ruḡen  
 D agerruj wur nettfuku  
 Uqemasen amkan zeddiḡen  
 Yef elssas iḡeḡḡan ebnu  
 Ma ulac eddarya ixesmen

I recommend you, my dear son  
 That it is a disgrace to deny one's origins  
 No one will consider you,  
 If you do not know your family  
 Do not let the misguided\* lure you  
 Otherwise, you'll die without leaving your  
 imprint

I do not want you to get irritated,  
 when I talk to you about your ancestors  
 I am reminding you if you forget  
 Letting down may have negative effects  
 I advise you to remember,  
 To pass on to your friend  
 Take the pen and write\*  
 You will know the story  
 It is something that cannot be erased  
 As it has no end  
 You will tell it to each newborn  
 So that he knows who he is  
 Do not get carried away by the currents  
 Your words will be lost  
 They are an invaluable treasure  
 Keep them in a good place  
 And build on solid foundations  
 To not have a faulty progenitor



**P15**

Ma tebyiḍ ad am-neggal  
 ḥeqq Ibehlal  
 argaz-im ha-t ixetṭeb  
 tin ara ad d-yawi  
 kem i lmal  
 ma tebyiḍ ad am-neggal  
 ḥeqq Sidi-Ëic  
 argaz-im ha-t-n ixetṭeb  
 ad d-yawi am uqcic  
 tin ad d-yawi ad tt-yehjeb  
 kem i leḥcic  
 debber ney ruḥ  
 ma tebyiḍ ad am-neggal  
 a ḥeqq tiqerrabin  
 argaz-im la ixetṭeb  
 s mya teryalin  
 tin ara ad d-yawi ad tt-yehjeb  
 kemmini i tzemrin  
 debber ney ruḥ  
*tinna terna-as :*  
 Ma tebyiḍ ad am-neggal  
 A ḥeqq Sidi-Şafi  
 Nek ur ttruḥuy ara  
 Ad rebbiy yessi  
 Siwa Rebbi i d i yi-yellan  
 Ad i yi-d-iwali  
 Ma tebyiḍ ad am neggal  
 A ḥeqq At-Ëebbas  
 Nek ur ttruḥuy ara  
 Ad rebbiy tullas  
 Nekkini yuri yessi  
 D sebea warrac  
 Anşib-iw yer Rebbi i yella  
 Am wass-a ad d-yas

If you want that we swear,  
 by the *Ibehlal*  
 Your husband is looking for another wife,  
 That he'll bring home.  
 You, good for the cattle  
 If you want us to swear  
 By Sidi-Aich  
 Your husband is looking for a wife  
 He will bring the one that'll give him a Babyboy  
 That one, he will keep her at home  
 You, good for the fields  
 Get by (alone) or leave  
 If you want us to swear  
 By the piles of stones\*  
 Your husband is trying to remarry  
 With one hundred Riyals  
 The one he brings; he will preserve\* her at home  
 You, good for the olive trees  
 Get by, or leave  
***The wife replies***  
 If you want us to swear  
 By Sidi-Safi  
 I will not leave  
 I will raise my daughters  
 God exists  
 he sees me  
 If you want us to swear  
 By the Ait-Abbas  
 I will not leave  
 I will raise my girls  
 To me, my daughters  
 Are worth seven boys  
 My share is appointed by God  
 And I'll receive it one day

*Ta d tirrit i as-terra i urgaz-is. Ma d Hnifa, tyenna-tt, terra-tt yef lyerba. Ta d tirrit i as-terra i urgaz-is. Ad yili yiwen di Franşa ad iẓer ayaki, ad yehku i tmeṭṭut-is i yellan di tmurt. Ad as-yini :*

*-This is the message she sent to her husband. Hanifa (a singer), made a case related to emigration in France. There are also cases where a man only has girls; so, he flees to France, gets married and has a boy. Someone who would have witnessed this, could tell it to the wife that is still living in the native country:*

Argaz-im di « Lpari »	Your husband is in Paris
Yettrebbi aqic	He raises a little boy
Tin ad d-yawi ad tt-yehjeb,	The one he'll bring; he will keep her at home
kem i leħcic	You, good for the fields/grass*

*Nettat ad as-terr : « nek ad rebbiy yessi, ur ttmedrant ara yer leemum, yer medden ; ad tebrek yefyessi-s... Netta, ad d-yegri di ndama, aqic-nni ur as-d-yettṣah ara...*

*Yessi-s, ad tent-tefk ad debnent, nutenti i iemren tamurt. Mi ad yeyli, d nutenti ara ad t-irefdn d tmeṭtut-nni mi i tesca nnif ; lemmer ur tt-tesei, ad tent-teğğ !*

*She will answer him: "I will raise my daughters, they will not be left with the paternal uncles, or with others". She will stay to take care of them...*

*The man will regret what he had done, and the son he had, will never belong to him (son of a French woman). His daughters, their mother will marry them off; "they will animate the country\*". But When life will knock him down, it will be his daughters and the wife he left who will have his back and support him because that woman "has honour\*"; otherwise, she would abandon him.*

*Tenna-as :*

*She (a singer) says:*

Argaz-im deg « Lpari »	Your husband is in Paris,
Ileħħu d m-userwal	In the company of a woman in trousers
Tin ara ad d-yawi ad tt-yehjeb	That one he'll bring; he'll keep her inside the house
Kemmini i lmal	And you, good to keep the cattle

*Nettat day, ad teeyyec yessi-s s lmal, ad tent-id tesker, ad tent-id trebbi, mačči d yiwet ney d snat si tlawin-a. Ṙas cnan yef yiwet kan, aṣṣ n tlawin iwimi i teḍra akenni...deg wanda,*

irgazen-a ad jaħen di l'yerba, tilawin-nsen ad t'fent iman-nsent . Yuɣ lħal wid akken i ttrebbin di Franša, ur ten-yettnadi unegrar ! ur ten-ttafen di taggara !

*Ad uyalen, ad d-grin yer tmeṭṭut-nni n tmurt ; lemmer d tid ur nseεeu nnif, ur ten-jemeent ara...ney d tislatin day, i yettarfaden imɣaren-nsent., Lemmer mačči d tamsalt n nnif, aha-t segmi i tent-bedlen s tiyid, ur ten-ttarfadent ara...*

*The abandoned woman will not care about all that, she will feed her daughters and win money from that cattle, she will raise them, and educate them, and there are many cases like that in Kabylia.*

*Even though we sang about one case, many women experienced this situation; cases where men go astray abroad and their first wives become the masters of their own destiny.*

*It happened that the children men had and raised in France; would not want them! Their fathers do not find them by their sides at the end. And those men end up by the side of the wives they left in the home country. Those women, if they were deprived of honour\*, would not welcome those men ... Nor would their daughters-in-law, who also help their fathers-in-law.*

*If it were not a matter of honour, those women would not have agreed to help their husbands because those latter changed then by other women;*

#### **P16**

Ufiy taqcict s-usaru

I met a girl with a long braid

Tmegger tettru

She was harvesting and lamenting,

F asm'i d-dda tislit

on the day of her wedding

Mi tuy kra n bururu

Because she married such an owl

Tectaq attezhu

She misses being joyful

Tenza deg lexla am taklit

She was sold as a slave

Asselah awid nettzuzu

Saints, whom we cherish

Tedzum attebru

Pray that she divorces

Attay argaz bu ddunit

And marry a man that will satisfy her

**P17**

-Ccah ccah a tamyart  
 mmi-m yefka-i idrimen  
 ad ten-id awiy d ameclux  
 ad ttzuxxuy ger medden  
 kemmini tettbeddaḍ yer tebburt  
 d acu i am-d-yeqqimen!!!  
 -A tislit-iw taeggunt  
 mmi yinig s aɛraben  
 atan yenher akamyun  
 ad am-t-id-yeččar d illisen  
 iyil ad as-teggeḍ ibidi  
 ad yecbeḥ ger yergazen  
 ad as-ternuḍ ihuyak  
 i warraw-im ad yummen  
 Win i kem-innalen  
 Imi tettzuxxuḍ s umeclux  
 D aḥeddad i t-ixedmen

-Serves you right, mother-in-law!  
 Your son gave me money  
 I will buy a big bracelet  
 To brag in front of people  
 While you stand at the door,  
 Nothing is left for you  
 - poor you! My idiot daughter-in-law  
 My son travelled to the Arab lands  
 He drives a truck  
 That he will fill with wool  
 Believing that you will weave him a coat,  
 to look his best among men  
 and also blankets,  
 for your children to warm them up  
 Who even considers you?  
 You are boasting about a bracelet  
 That the blacksmith made (not you)

17'

-Ccah ccah a tamɣart  
 Aɛbbuɖ-aki d aqcic  
 Nekkini ad ččey timellalin  
 -Asmi i trebbu temɣart-im  
  
 Seiɣ-d irgazen d iserdan  
 Wwin-d acedluḥ d tayma  
 Cčiy fkiy I lğiran  
 Amyar-iw d temɣart-iw,  
 kul wa yečča ayen i as-yehwan  
 Iwɖey tameddit n wass  
 nnejmaɛen-d ilewsan  
 yewwi-t-id baba d yemma

d winna i d lxir yeqwan  
 ur d-yekcim ara s axxam  
 armi i d-yekka si lmizan  
 lukan ad izad ugram  
 \*\*\*ččan-t yeqjan

p17''

Cah cah a tamɣart  
 Aɛbbud agi d ssebza  
 Ad ccey timellalin  
 A d-yeddu cedluḥ tayma  
 A d-qqim-ed yef tebburt  
 Am-inn-iy rrez a hebba  
 Cceh cceh a tamɣart  
 Aɛbbud agui d-aqcic  
 Ad ccey timellalin  
 Akanaf ad yeswecwic  
 A s-qqim-ed yur lkanun  
 Am inni-ɣ seb a y amcic

-serves you right, mother-in-law!  
 This belly is a baby boy\*  
 I will eat eggs\*  
 when your mother-in-law used to give birth  
 I had men and mules  
 They brought salted meat and a leg of lamb  
 I had eaten and given to the neighbours  
 my parents-in-law,  
 Each one had eaten what s/he wanted  
 By the evening,  
 my brothers-in-law gathered  
 My father and my mother brought that meat  
 This is the greatest pleasure  
 It(meat) had not been brought home,  
 Only after it had been weighed  
 If one gram exceeded  
 \*\*\*dogs would eat too

Serves you right, mother in law  
 I'm in my seventh month of pregnancy  
 I will stuff myself with eggs  
 And salted meat in quantity  
 By the door, you will stand  
 I will tell you go away, dog  
 Serves you right, old woman  
 This belly will give a boy  
 I will eat eggs,  
 In addition to the freshly grilled meat  
 When near the hearth, you will sit  
 I will tell you go away, cat

## p18

Rs-d rs-d ay iğes  
 Ma d mmi yebya ad yettes  
 Ma d mmi yebya ad yettes  
 A lmalayek tiħbibin  
 Rsemt-iyi-d yer dduħ  
 Awimt-iyi-d tasetta  
 şşebyan mazal-t mejtuħ  
 Uhhh Al-Lahu !!!  
 A Ceix Muħend Ulħusin  
 Byiy ad d-tased ad tħdred  
 Ad tilid d inigi  
 Deg ubrid ad i yi-teassed  
 Lawliya nedhey yeswen  
 Ad i yi-teğgem d lwali  
 Uhhhhh... Al-Lahu !!!  
 I nniy i ixaq wul-iw,  
 yebya ad d-izur lawliya  
 ad iruħ yer wadis  
 di-n i teqwa El-Fatiħa  
 Lawliya nedhey yes-wen  
 ħerzet imeezuzen ad d-\*\*\*  
 uhhhhh...Al-Lahu !!!  
 i nniy ayen i ixaq wul-iw  
 yebya ad d-izur lawliya  
 ad izur At-Urja  
 i d-yeftin Lfatiħa  
 ad tt-id yefk i yeyriben  
 widak ezizen\*\*\*\*\*  
 zyara i byiy ad d-zurey  
  
 \*\*\*\*\*ad yeddu yid-i  
 I byiy lemwanasa  
 Win ad yi-yawin ur yi-yecqi  
 Ad ruħey yer lawliya  
 Ad i yi-dēun s lxir  
 Lawliya nedhey yes-wen  
 Fell-ay ferzet lumur

Oh Sleep, that you come  
 My son would like to sleep  
 My son would like to sleep  
 O beloved angels  
 Come down by the cradle  
 Bring me a **branch**\*  
 The baby boy is still small  
 Allah, Allah, Allah ...  
 Sheikh Mohand Oulhoussin  
 I would like you to come, to be present,  
 To be witness  
 On my way, you'll watch over me  
 The holy saints, I am calling you  
 To leave me in the company of the saint  
 Allah, Allah, Allah ...  
 Oh, I say, my heart is sad  
 it wants to visit the holy saints  
 to go there,  
 where the "El-Fatiha" is omnipresent  
 saints, I solicit your help  
 Take care of those who are dear to us\*\*\*  
 Allah, Allah, Allah ...  
 Oh, I say, why my heart is sad,  
 it wants to visit the saints,  
 See the Ait-Ourdja,  
 Those who understand/interpret El- Fatiha  
 That they pray for the emigrants  
 Those dear to \*\*\*\*\*  
 It's a visit to the "temples/pilgrimage" I want to  
 make  
 That \*\*\*\*\* accompanies me  
 I am longing for a company  
 May the one who takes me there never suffer  
 I will go to the holy saints,  
 They will pray for me  
 The holy saints, I ask your help  
 To Solve our problems

**P19**

A tacita tazlayant  
 yef kkatén ideflawen  
 Azger ma yug'ad yekrez  
 D lma3un i-gezzayen  
 Taqcict ma tebr'i-walen-is  
 D zzwadj-is i-gmehquren

Oh, high branch,  
 On which the snows fall  
 When the ox is reluctant to plough\*  
 It means that heavy is the load  
 a girl, when her eyes are downcast  
 It means, her marriage is miserable\*

**P20**

Lazslama-m a taqcict  
 A lalla-s n teqcicin  
 A tanina tasahlit  
 Tazerqaqt n tatucin  
 G-gudem sebrey  
 S wul-iw hed ur ye3lim

Welcome, girl,  
 of all the girls the most beautiful  
*oh, Tanina<sup>104</sup>* of flat lands,  
 With blue eyes  
 My face feigns indifference,  
 But nobody knows what's in my heart

**P22**

Ttuha ad timyured  
 \*\*\*ad t-tezzuyured  
 Yelli-s n lǧih ??? Ad t-tayed  
 Tin ur ak-neǧib ad tt-terred  
 Ad tt-id-tayed d lǧuher  
 Mezzuytin ad tt-teqned  
 Rebbi birik birik  
 Aqcic ??? Annect n yilef  
 U r nezmir ad t-nǧerrek  
 \*\*\*aǧdaw\*\*\* Mbarek

**Akka ?**

Ay imeksawen-inna  
 Mitwalam uccen  
 Keč a mimmi  
 A ddehb irucen  
 Ssss

Ttuha ttuha Rebbi yella  
 \*\*\*\*\*dima yella  
 D zzit i d lyella  
 Ula deg yecbula  
 Ɛwzizet yer Lleh Mulana  
 Imeksawen-inna  
 Mi twalam uccen  
 Keč a mmi  
 Ddehb irucen  
 Rebbi birek birek  
 Tefkemt i limliyik  
 Aqcic annect n yilef  
 Ur nezmir ad t-nǧerrek  
 \*\*\*Umbarek  
 A lxir inu  
 Ttuha ttuha

<sup>104</sup> A mythical female bird of exceptional beauty often confused with the Phoenix or the female eagle.

Rebbi yella

\*\*\*

D zzi t i d lyella

Ula deg yecbula

\*\*\*\*\*Llah mulana

Jelleb tijellibin

Tsebħeđ-d di tebhirin

*Ttuha*, you will grow up

\*\*\* you will be stronger

*Ttuha* you will marry a woman of a good family

You'll send back the one that displeases you\*

You will buy pearls

You will put, on her ears

god bless, bless

A boy, as big as a boar\*

That we cannot move

\*\*\*The enemy\*\*\* Mbarek \*\*\*

*Like that?*

You, shepherd,

You are watching the jackal

You, my dear little son,

Are sprinkled gold

*Shut*

Ad trebbiđ tikesmitin

Ad tlaebeđ d bu tzemriwin

Ttuha Rebbi yella

\*\*\*\*\*dima yella

D zzi t i d lyella

Ula deg ???Deg yecbula

ħrez-itt a Llah mulana

Ttuha Rebbi yella

## P 21

Mecdemt-as amzur arqaq –

I druz n tsedda

Amer ad txaq

Win tuy d lbaz aremmaq

*Ttuha ttuha* God is omnipresent

\*\*\*always present/exists \*\*\*

Oil is the wealth,

in jars

Dear to our Master Allah

You, shepherds there,

you saw the jackal

You, my son

You are sprinkled gold

God, bless him

You gave it to angels

The boy as big as a wild boar

We cannot move him

\*\*\* Ali Mbarek

My joy/my wealth

Ttuha ttuha

God exists

\*\*\*

Oil is wealth

In the jars

\*\*\*\*\*Allah, our Master

Jump multiple jumps

Early in the morning, be in thegardens

Ttuha you will gain weight

Play with the shepherd

Ttuha, God the ubiquitous

\*\*\*\*\*always here

Oil is the wealth

In\*\*\*\*\*In jars

Protect it Allah, our Master

Ttuha God the ubiquitous

Comb her straight/thin\* hair

On her shoulders, the lioness

Otherwise, she will get upset

The one she married is an eagle



**P23**

Tameqqunt n nezne3  
 Ccedh i mass-a iwena3  
 Tameqqunt l-lehbeq  
 Ccedh im ass-a yehdeq  
 Ihya ihya  
 Tacekkart n lqahwa  
 Tamacint n leyna  
 Win ik-mi\*ksben yeyna  
 Fihel ma yugew nmezma  
 Kkes ayilif i wul-im  
 Yelha ccedh-im  
 Cbaha n tezyiwin-im  
 Ihya iha  
 Tin awzen amden  
 Lbabur mara yerhel  
 Ihya iha  
 Akenni delweh delweh  
 A seqqi bu rwayah  
 Akenni im-eqqaray  
 Ccdah nek ad-kkatey  
 Ihya iha  
 Ihya ihya  
 Tumubil n lkettan  
 Tahanut n sliman  
 Kirag at w abdslam  
 Taquettunt n zenzan  
 Ihya iha  
 Adar-im d amellal  
 Fell-as nejma w hlal  
 A ya berrad n latay  
 A t-isew lqayed n tirwal  
 Ihya iha  
 A tecemmat deg bakiyen

Oh you, bouquet of mint,  
 Your dance is fascinating.  
 Bouquet of basil,  
 Your dance is decent today\*  
 Ihya ihya  
 You, coffee bag,  
 A wealth machine,  
 Whoever has you gets rich,  
 No need for wheat harvest  
 Free your heart from concerns  
 Your dance is more than pretty  
 The prettiest among your peers  
 Ihya iha  
 You, the cause of people's insomnia  
 Like a departing ship  
 Ihya iha  
 Come on, jig jig  
 You, Sauce full of aromas  
 Do as I say to you  
 Dance under my applause  
 Ihya iha  
 Ihya iha  
 Carriage coated with muslin  
 Slimane's shop  
 Garage of Ait Abdeslam  
 Golden edge  
 Ihya iha  
 In the whiteness of your ankles,  
 The star and the crescent shine (jewellery)  
 O! Beautiful teapot  
 That the Caid of *Tirwel* will drink from  
 Ihya iha  
 You, candle in the package

M tnac imelyunen  
 M sser yettudumen  
 M icebbuben iwrayen  
 M lecyal iebwajen  
 Ihya iha  
 Zin-m win ifaze  
 Ihya iha  
 Nif-im win ylayen  
 Yelli-s imaziyen  
 Wet-t-as amendayer  
 Tagi d yelli-s n ldzayer  
 Ihya iha  
 Tisfifine tjdidine  
 Amendil bu titbirin  
 Wig byan rruba tella  
 Mummuh at wadela

Aya xelxal bu tsarut  
 Argaz-im yer tzemurt  
 Igenni yedlen tamurt  
 Akken a lburg alayen  
 Ihya iha  
 Ataksi mi-d-iyewwes  
 Yebbi-d aragaz-im wehdes  
 Ataksi mi-d iyewar  
 Yebwi-d lqahwa d skwar  
 Ihya iha  
 Ihya iha  
 Saya n Muhd u Sliman  
 Am lheb n ruman  
 Yettef u rumi di legnan  
 Tafunast u markanti  
 Tin-idlhay d kem-ini  
 Kkes a yilif i wul-im  
 Ihy iha  
 Argaz-im i d aberrah  
 Akken i d a meqqarey  
 Ihya iha

Worth twelve million  
 You of a brimming charm\*  
 With blond hair  
 The woman whose work is well done  
 Ihya iha  
 Your beauty is resplendent  
 Ihya iha  
 Your honour, of an invaluable value  
 Descendant of Imazighen  
 Hit the tambourines for her to dance  
 This is the daughter of Algeria  
 Ihya iha  
 New *tisfifine*  
 Your scarf is made of *titvirine*  
 There is a dress for everyone  
 Moumouh of at wadella

An anklet with a key<sup>105</sup>  
 Your husband, by the olive tree  
 sky that covers the earth  
 like that, perched fort  
 Ihya iha  
 The taxi coming purring  
 Brought your husband  
 The taxi in full speed coming  
 Carrying Coffee and sugar  
 Ihya iha  
 Ihya iha  
 The wealth of Moh u Sliman  
 As the grains of pomegranates  
 That the French man keeps in the garden  
 The cow of a rich man  
 I'm talking about you woman  
 Free your heart from its concerns  
 Ihy iha  
 Your husband is a herald  
 Do as I say to you

---

<sup>105</sup> A large heavy anklet a great value

Cettah nek s-dkkatey  
 Ihya iha  
 Akeni a sebza lesrar  
 Wis tmannya d abarar  
 A y agguri-w amectuh  
 Tiziri mara t-ruh  
 A y aggur-iw amqqwrar  
 Ihya iha  
 a ay avzim aze mmari  
 Iha iha  
 Athalams-th i-guenni  
 Ahya iha  
 Ahya delweh delweh  
 Ah iha w ikmi karhan ad i-qlilah  
 Iha iha assambwil thoyathim  
 Ahya iha  
 Dhenaqma n tnodhin-im  
 Ahya iha  
 Taqamumt t sakourth  
 Wi kmi karhan adife-k tagourth  
 Iha iha  
 El khir n'south ath wagnous  
 A m imezran ar agous  
 ahya iha

**P24**

ttfey-d lmesbeg deg ufus ayeffus –  
 Zziy-d i lhara  
 guoggen lezruc  
 A bab n tmeyra  
 A lbaz amekyus

Dance under my applause  
 Ihya iha  
 woman with seven charms  
 Secret is the eighth  
 O my little moon,  
 Star at sunrise  
 O my huge moon  
 Ihya iha  
 O beautifully ornamented fibula  
 Ihya iha  
 Centre of the sky  
 Ahya iha  
 Come on, jig jig  
 All those who hate you will be inflamed  
 Iha iha move your shoulders  
 Ahya iha  
 To annoy the wives of your brothers-in-law  
 Ahya iha  
 Partridge's mouth/face  
 Those who hate you close the door  
 Iha iha  
 The wealth of the *Wagnouses*  
 With the braids to the belt  
 Ahya iha

I carried a lamp in my right hand  
 I roamed the house  
 The tribes extended  
 O groom  
 O falcon

**P25**

Nni-γ-ak a zezrayen  
 A tittucin bbwmcic  
 A ttan a t-mmet Tamγart  
 A t innawi-n deg kalic  
 A d-uγal teslit-im s axxam  
 A t-af abrid ur tazriect

I told you, angle Gabriel  
 The eyes of a cat  
 Let death takes the mother-in-law  
 she will be transported in a carriage  
 Her daughter-in-law will return home  
 finds the way to the attic\*

**P26**

Tamγart-iw m idararen izuranen  
 A d-yekcem wuday n mmi-s  
 Terra imanis d lmumen  
 Mig yeffay wuday n mmis  
 Tesserwat deg zeggalen

My mother-in-law with obese legs  
 When her betraying son comes in  
 She Acts like a saint  
 As soon as her betraying son leaves  
 To the whole family, she does evil

**P27**

Bdiy ccekran akka nla giha -  
 I cekrey d izem sbez bu zzenda  
 Cekrey-k a Rebbi ulac tihila  
 Iccer n lka3ba bnan-as taqubbet  
 Ad tkemmlen lferh  
 I bab n tmeyra

I started to praise everyone  
 I praised the groom, a lion with a rifle  
 Thank you, my God, with all sincerity  
 A dome has been built to the Kaaba  
 Let joy goes on\*  
 For the wedding host

**P28**

Zwirem a syadi  
 Abrid ad t-nebdu  
 Acrured n tsekkurt  
 Yukren asudu  
 Nedda d yizmawen  
 Lferh ad t-nebdu

Precede us, my masters  
 We'll start walking  
 With the partridge's walk  
 gracefully  
 We are accompanied by lions  
 We'll start the happy event

**P29**

Tislit-iw m cuca  
 Tehka-y-as i mmi lezca  
 D idrmen-iw i d ihramen  
 Bbwin-iyi d lmusiba

My daughter-in-law with a fringe,  
 told my son everything during the night  
 It's my money that's cursed,  
 it brought me this calamity

**p30**

A Fransa budey-am times -  
 Zzenqa-m ad ten hewwes  
 A wi ddan yid-m a rruplan  
 yer mmi-s ad t-id-yehwes

O France, I wish you a fire to devour you  
 your alleys, we will search  
 I wish one can travel with you, O plane  
 To look for his son

**P32**

Nniy-am kemm ay yelli  
 A tin 3zizen fell-i  
 A taxatemt n lfetta udad  
 Grey deg udad alemmas  
 Rebbi ad kem-ihrez ad kem-isun  
 Yernu-d tayuga n watma-m

I tell you, my daughter  
 You are dear to my heart  
 O ring of silver  
 I Put in my middle finger  
 May God protect you  
 And may he add you a pair of brothers\*

**P33**

Yerna yur-i kra llatbar  
 Ur-fella-s ttamney ljar  
 Ur yes tqqabaley ikufar  
 Nniy-as kem a yelli  
 A tizerzert u kercan  
 A yelli ferhay yissem  
 D rebbi-kem imefcan  
 Ixir kemmini  
 Wala irebbi yexlan  
 Nniy as kem a yelli  
 A tin id-yefka u xellaq  
 A kem rebbiy a t-imyur-ed  
 I wul-iw a d yekkes lxiq  
 Mara d zeddi deg tajmayt  
 Tenni-d I wemsur dleq  
 Lahbab n baba-m ferhan  
 Azdaw-is ad ifellaq  
 Nniy-as kem a yelli  
 Am tqejirt tagrarazt  
 Amzur yedlah yef tuyat  
 Idudan d leqlamat  
 I wexxam a kem-yawin  
 Ass-nni-is teban tafat

I gave birth to such a progeniture\*  
 of the neighbours, I will beware  
 and the enemies, I cannot face their attacks  
 O you, my daughter,  
 Prairie gazelle,  
 I am pleased to have you,  
 God has given you to me  
 Better you,  
 than an empty lap  
 O you, my daughter  
 The creator gave you to me  
 I will raise you; you'll grow up  
 From my heart, the worries will be removed\*  
 When you will pass by *tajmaat*  
 Your beautiful hair, you will untie  
 Your father's friends, very happy they'll be  
 His enemies, will be too jealous  
 O you, my daughter  
 Your legs are well sculpted,  
 with long hair on the shoulders  
 Fingers as thin as pencils  
 The household you'll be wedded to  
 You'll light it up,

**P33'**

Nniy-as kec a mmi  
 Asaru abarqaqac  
 Nniy-as assmi d –luled  
 Ferhen-iyi ula d lazrec  
 Nniy lfarh-iw a mmi  
 As mara k-waliy ger warrac  
 A wi yeddren ar d-id yinni  
 Win 3zizen yebbid tameṭut  
 Ney a yejmez yesma-s  
 A d yekcem yef tebburt  
 Yemma-s s t-efreh  
 yas ma tella s ddaw temurt

I told my little son  
 You are a multi-coloured belt  
 The day of your birth,  
 Even the tribes rejoiced with me  
 My happiness, my dear little son,  
 Is when I see you among your peers  
 those who will survive will tell me:  
 your dear son brought a wife\*,  
 and assembled/sheltered his sisters  
 when he comes into the house,  
 his mother will rejoice for him  
 Even if she is buried under the ground

**P34**

Nniy-am kemm ay yelli  
 A taxellaft n uzanzu  
 Ay yelli asmi tluledh  
 Yers lxiq akked uyunzu  
 Asmi ara timyuredh  
 Ad necredh adrim s usaku  
 Ma d tura mi tmectuhedh  
 Deg dduh ad kem-nessedhu

I tell you, my daughter  
 O bud of trees  
 When you were born, my daughter,  
 sadness and hostility reigned  
 When you'll grow up  
 we will demand a bag of money\*  
 but now, you are still young,  
 in the cradle, we will lull you

**P35**

Kemmini, a Fatima!  
 A taremmant l-lqares.  
 Ay zeggwayed, melluled !  
 Tecbid ajajig t-tmes.  
 Imma m, t-abuâajbant,  
 Baba m, d lqayed n Tunes.  
 Tassaâdit, adrar n nnur !  
 A yitri, i itbaâ waggur.  
 rebbi iherz am arraw im !  
 Ifk am, lxir, s uâammur.  
 A lxir im, a Tassaâdit !  
 Xas hder tafentazit,

Deffir ucbayli n zzit.  
 Nniy am, kem, a ynima !  
 A tacraft i idduri lhid.  
 A yaggur n lâid tameqrant,  
 I issayen, tiziri, i yid.  
 Ilaq a nizwiq, nimlul,  
 A ynima, imi d kem tellid.

**P36**

Luley-d heqren-iyi -  
 Amzun nekk mačči d amdan  
 Di teymert ggen-iyi  
 Fell-i ur d-nudan  
 Di tusna hermen-iyi  
 Ur ssiney d acu yelhan  
 Mi frey hwagen-iyi  
 Akken ad asen-ggey iyerman

O you, Fatima!  
 Sour Pomegranate,  
 How white and red your complexion is!  
 With the flame you are confused.  
 Your mother is adorable.  
 Your father is the Caïd of Tunisia.  
 O Tassadit, you are a mountain of light,  
 O star, that the moon pursues!  
 may God protect your kids  
 and give you plenty of good things.  
 O happy you, Tassadit,  
 It sweets you to speak with pride about your  
 fantasies  
 Behind the jar of oil.  
 I told you, O you, Ghnima!  
 corner that the wall protects\*!  
 you are the moon of Eid al-Adha  
 that illuminates the sky at night  
 we shall become whiter and our cheeks redder  
 Since you, Ranima, are here.

They despised me when I was born,  
 As if I were not a human being,  
 In the corner, they left me,  
 And they did not ask about me  
 Of knowledge, they have deprived me,  
 I do not know what is right  
 When I'm not around, they look for me,  
 to prepare them bread



**P38**

A lmesbeh urqim !  
 Ers ed, a neqqim.  
 Tamejtutt tejwej,  
 Tameqrant teqqim.  
 Acu hemlent tehdain ?  
 hemlent jjwaj ilemzi.

Mi d ikka, deg imi n tebburt,  
 Tacerrabt a ttelleywi.  
 Mačči am nek, iuyen Nafaâ,  
 D ahercaw am inisi.  
 Acu hemlent tehdain ?  
 hemlent jjwaj ilmezyen.  
 Mi d kkan, deg imi n tebburt,  
 A d bdun tqessiren.  
 Mačči am nek, iuyen Nafaâ,  
 Tuli takwent iniyem.

**P39**

Ṭṭerf-ṭṭerf n lebherr,  
 wtey-t s umenqar yenqerr.  
 Ffey-ffey-d a cmicqerr,  
 iyya a yelli; ad kem-fkey i umyar...

Ala a baba! aman di tebburt,  
 \*\*\*ad nay ilemzi, ad nezdey atemmu,  
 ad d-yass unebdu, ad neqqel ad nebnu!

O decorated lantern!  
 Come down and sit by my side!  
 The young one is married,  
 her elder sister is a spinster  
 Young girls, what is their desire?  
 They like to have a young man for a  
 husband.

When, at the door, he appears,  
 The container brims\*  
 It's not like me, married to Nafaa,  
 As coarse as a Hedgehog  
 Girls, what is they like?  
 They like to marry young men.  
 When, at the door, they stand,  
 they are already chatting with them  
 It's not like me, married to Nafaa,  
 Skin withered of a dry fig\*

the edge of the sea,  
 I had struck it with a chisel.  
 Come out, come out, \*\*\*  
 come, my daughter, that I marry you off to  
 an old man.  
 No, father! The water is at the door\*  
 \*\*\*I will marry a young man, we will live  
 in a thatched hut,  
 in the summer, we will build a house

**P40**

A yir jjwaj, a yimma !  
 Irennu, i wul, iyweblan.  
 Am win ipbibbin tiza,  
 Ma mmugran t id, isiwani.  
 Am itetten, ur as nehwi.  
 Yir lqut, ur issawan  
 - jewgey, jjwaj amessas.

dsant, akw, tezzyiwin iw.

A lemmer d yiwen wass,  
 Ad afey, ssebi, i wul iw.  
 Imi, di lhemm, zgiy kul ass,  
 rebbi, tilid di lâawen iw  
 - Jewoey jjwaj, a yimma !  
 Ur aâniy wi ithessisen.  
 Bbwin id tabniqt d umendil,  
 Rnan iyi d imeqyasen.  
 Aql iyi, am wi iddem wasif. Ijufar is llexsen

A bad marriage, O mom  
 Increases the torments of the heart  
 It's like carving rubble,  
 and having to face wrinkles.  
 It's like feeding on what you do not like.  
 A bad meal is not satiating  
 I got married, but what a tasteless marriage!  
 For Girls of my age, I became a  
 laughingstock.  
 If it lasted just one day,  
 I would persuade my heart to bear.  
 But I live in pain every day,  
 O God! lend me your assistance!  
 O, mother! What a marriage I contracted!  
 may those who listen be spared!  
*Amendil* and a scarf, they brought to me,  
 As well as bracelets.  
 I am as if swept away by a river,  
 My skirts are soaked/wet

**P41**

A yemma ruḥey, ruḥey...  
 ḍilley di tizi n lexmis...  
 sliy i ṭbell la yekkat, d lyida tettedwiwis..

\*\*\*ay ameezuz ay isli ;  
 \*\*\*Ay agabub bu ugris\*\*\*  
 Leeslama-m a tislit...  
 Amyar \*\*\*deg imezzuyen...  
 Yextar-am baba-m axxam...

Yefka-kem i lbaz mezziyen...  
 A rebbi ḥrez amyār-im, yerna ussan  
 ezizen...  
 A yemma ruḥey, ruḥey,  
 ḍilley di tizi n lexmis...  
 sliy i ṭbell la yekkat...  
 d lyida tettedwiwis...  
 ay ameezuz ay aqcic  
 ay ajabub n ugris...

oh Mother, I am leaving  
 I had a look at *Tizi n lekhemis*  
 I heard the drum beating and the sound of  
 the trumpet.  
 \*\*\*\*\* you groom, dear  
 \*\*\* you are an ice stem \*\*\*  
 Welcome to you, bride  
 ... The old \*\*\* to the ears  
 Your father chose you a  
 household\*/husband  
 He has given you to a young eagle  
 May God protect your father-in-law; that he  
 sees other happy days ...  
 Mother, I'm leaving, I'm leaving  
 I crossed the "*lekhemis*" pass  
 I heard the drum beating  
 And the sound of the clarinet.  
 You, dear groom  
 You are an Ice stem\*

**P42**

*Mi ara teddu d tislit:*

Susmat ay at n wurar  
 La yekkat udfel  
 A yemma nek ad ruḥey,  
 Tikli-w s leeqel  
 Ay yecbeḥ lbarud  
 \*\*\*D tazla ruḥen \*\*\*  
 Susmat ay at n wurar,  
 La tekkat lehwa...  
 A yemma nek ad ruḥey  
*ad truḥ d tayribt*

Tikli-w s lyana...  
 Ay yecbeḥ wurar,  
 \*\*\*Leḥbab \*\*\*N tmeyra

**P43**

Iyad iyi rrehn iw, ahlil !  
 Mezziyey, urâad i s nebwid.  
 Llebsa inu d abehnuq,  
 Agus inu d acettid.  
 Lemmer ur hezbey i lasel iw,  
 Tefna yi, trewla, deg id.

**P44**

A wi yufan tamyard  
 D aeeqqa n uzemmur  
 Ad tt-yawi yer tessirt  
 Ad tt-yezḍ umutur  
 A wi yufan tamyard  
 D ayaziḍ yewwan  
 Ad t-yerr yer lfur  
 Ad as-yernu lubyan

*When the bride is on her way to her  
 husband's house:*

O Celebrators, be quiet \*  
 The snow is falling  
 Mother, I'm leaving  
 I'm walking slowly  
 How beautiful the shotgun blast sound is  
 \*\*\* left fast \*\*\*  
 Celebrators, shut up \*  
 It is raining  
 Mother, I'm leaving  
*She goes very far away/to a foreign country:*

I walk gracefully  
 How beautiful the wedding party is  
 Relatives and friends \*\*\*of the party

A widow, I am in disarray.  
 I'm young, it's early for me.  
 my clothes are rags,  
 my belt is a piece of an old cloth.  
 If I didn't care about my reputation/name,  
 it is an escape in the night that would relieve  
 me

If only the mother-in-law,  
 were an olive  
 To take her to the mill  
 So that the engine smashes her  
 If only the mother-in-law,  
 were a chicken,  
 That would be put in the oven  
 with some beans over it

**P45**

zziy lejnan di Mlawwa,  
 Lekwremb, u cclasa,  
 Lxux, u remman, ifaz.  
 Rriy as targa, merra,  
 Lbir di tnasfa,  
 A trajuy afrux n lbaz.  
 Texdaâ yi yir tsetta,  
 Ur d n gir ara.  
 Ay weqâay deg yir rgaz !

In a garden of *Mlawwa*, I planted  
 Cabbages and chicory,  
 Peach trees and superb grenadiers.  
 I irrigated it all  
 I made a well in the centre  
 it's a hawk I was waiting for,  
 But a bad bough fooled me,  
 I am not rootless.  
 To be stuck with such a bad husband

**P46**

A lbabur ruḥ fi laman...  
 A lbabur ruḥ fi laman...  
 A win i yeččerrigen aman  
 A win yeččerrigen aman  
 Siweḍ-as slam i uqcic  
  
 Ma d nek aql-i deg yir texmam  
 Aah anef-as, anef-as\*\*\*  
 Aah ad yerwu rray n yemma-s.

Boat, go under the protection of God  
 Boat, go under the protection of God  
 You, who splits the waters\*  
 You, who splits the waters\*  
 transmit my greetings to the boy/young man  
 As for me, bad thoughts overwhelm me  
 Ah, let him, let him \*\*\*  
 Let's see where his mother's  
 recommendations would lead him

## P47

A tasekurt n tmadayt a tawinayt

I d tawrayt i d tazeggayt

Mi i tecmumeḥ am waggur

Cubay wi i tt-yewten s umur

Cubay win i tt-yewten tekfen

Teyli tekfen

Teğğa mmi-s deg iyilifen

Teğğa mmi-s deg mulika\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*am tilyatin

Izem yura tibratin

\*\*\*Izem yuran nnac-nnac ayenras ???

Yebges tibgest i Uæbbas

Netta d gma-s

\*\*\*yef yiri n wasif yesqedlilif

Neqqen-t waman n lexrif

Neqqen-t waman n unebdu

Ticci n ubandu

Ay ayanim agawa

Melmi i d-tezziḍ ad neddu

Ibecri-d s lecdawa

Ibecri-d si kul lhemm

Yettru yendem

Taklit tuyal i usexdem

Taklit tuyal i zenbul

Ay amehbul

serreḥ-iyi iwimi i lliy deg wul

nek ad dduy s ttebul.

Oh, Partridge of the maquis, with light eyes

So yellow and so red\*

When she smiles, she resembles the moon

She looks like she's hit at \*\*\*

She looks like she's hit at \*\*\*

She fell down, put in the shroud

Leaving her son in trouble

Leaving her son in \*\*\*

Like the \*\*\*

The lion wrote letters

\*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\*

girdles with the belt like the Ait-Abbas do

He and his brother

On the edge of a Wadi, he worries/trembles

The waters of autumn make him sick

And those of the summer too

The shadow\* of an easement

Reed stem of Agawa

We will accompany you on your return

\*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\*

\*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\*

Crying in regrets

The naigress is designated to serve

The naigress designated to \*\*\*\*\*

You, crazy one

Free me for the one who loves me

I will go in the procession (during the wedding party) in fanfares

**P48**

Netqay-d tennam-d ss	I spoke. You said: silence
Is inem d nwal	You only have cooking
Thesbem-iyi am tyawsa	You considered me as an object
Ney terram-iyi am lmal	Or as cattle
Ma fyey fell-i d l3essa	If I go out, you watch me
Ahat ad iyi-tbe3 wawal	Fearing the words of others

**P49**

*Asmi akken i truḥ temyart ad d-texḍeb, tufa taqcict ad teqqar... Tenna-as teqcict-nni :*

*-When the old woman went to ask a girl's hand for marriage, she found her studying.*

*The girl said to her:*

*-Acu i kem-id-yewwin yer daki ?/ What is it bringing you her, e old woman?*

*Ad kem ayey i mmi...tenna temyart-nni./"I'm asking your hand for my son," said the old woman.*

*-Nek ur zegjey ara ! ad yrey axir-iyi...i mmi-m, d acu akka ixeddem ?*

*- I will not get married! It is better for me to study, what's the job of your son?*

*-Inehher aṭaksi.../- He's a taxi driver ...*

\*\*\*\*\*

*Nek ur zegjey, ad i yi-ifat lbak*

*- I will not get married now, otherwise, it would be too late for me for the baccalaureate.*

*Mi i d-tusa s axxam, yettgalla baba-s deg-s./When she returned, her father threatened her.*

*ay aṭaksi, ad kem-yay- \*\*\* marry the "taxi"<sup>106</sup>, it's you he'll marry \*\*\**

**The song:**

*Mi i truḥ temyart yer llisi, ad d-texḍeb.*

*Tufa-n taqcict yef ukursi, Tenna-as :*

*d acu akka ad txedmed ?*

*\*\*\*\*\*yef ukursi...i mmi-m d acu akka ixeddem ?*

---

<sup>106</sup> Marry the man for the car he owns (greediness )

La inehher aṭaksi...

mi i d-usiy s axxam, la yettgalla baba deg-i...yenna-i baba ad tzewjeḍ, aqcic nnig-s ur yelli...  
 asmi i d-usiy s axxam, baba yettgalla deg-i...yenna-i baba ad tzewjeḍ, aqcic nnig-s ur yelli,  
 axaṭer yesēa aṭaksi, asmi i ēddan sebēa iyyam, atan yusa-d lḥenni, tenna i temyart : « anida  
 aṭaksi ? » ; terra-as-d : « iruḥ ad d-yawi « lpermi » !

Ēddan ihi sebēa ayyam, ula d ayyul ur yelli !!!

(ihi wagi d zwaḡ n lxde3)

When the woman went to the lycée, to look for a bride for her sun

She found the girl on a school seat, she said to her: "What are you doing?

-my seat is the school chair <sup>107</sup>... And your son, what does he do?

- He drives a taxi car ...

When I returned home, my father threatened me. He told me that I must marry the young man,  
 there is no better than him ... When I returned home, my father threatened me. He told me that  
 I must marry the young man, there is no better than him ...because he has a taxi

After seven days, came the *henna* ceremony, and the girl asked the mother-in-law: "Where is  
 the car? --She replied: my son went to bring the driver's license!

other seven days had passed, and it was revealed that he does not even own a donkey!

*(I'd say that it was only a "marriage of lure")*

---

<sup>107</sup> This is where I belong to



## P50

Yekker-iyi-d « ugađi » n csetwa

Tfuk nneema

axxam yeqqim d amsari

\*\*\*\*\*la ttenququmen

Yerwa læedb deg-i ayezzi

Yerra-d yur-i « lekmanda »

Tusa-d lkarta

Tura i iyi-wđen yer ucanti

Ccah i yi-yegga rray-iw

\*\*\*dhu d yiman-im

\*\*\*tettuđ tugdayt fell-i

Nek d ayenni mazal awal

\*\*\*\*\*

Ur d-yefki hedd ur t-yufi

A yessetma ad awent-ħkuy

Itij mi ara ad yebru i wallen-is

D asigna i t-id-iyummen

Tekker-iyi lehwa n lexla

Ulac leafya

Armi i demæey deg uflisen

I win i zelgen yiwen n wass

Dayen « adieu » fell-as

Ma mazal ad iseggem

Nnan-iyi medden iqebba

yur-i d ccmata

ur d-yefki d ametraħ

ad nečc ad nerbeħ

aedaw-nney ad iħekker

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

Yif-it wulac

\*\*\*\*\*i hედren i lear

Yessetma ad awent-ħkuy

Obliged to move in the middle of winter

We ran off grains (wheat, barley)

The house remained "silent"

\*\*\* are waiting for you

People do not spare me

They command me

A card is sent to me

They will reach me at the worksite,

I deserve it, it's the result of my choices

\*\*\* mind your own business

\*\*\* forgets \* hypocrisy towards me

I too, have what to say

\*\*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*\*

You can't give what you do not have

my sisters, that I tell you

The sun, when it does not shine

It's clouds that hide it

The desert's rain fell on me

There is no peace

desperate, I expected help from the ruined

Whoever slips once

It's over for him

He will not redress again\*

I am told that he gained weight

He is but ugliness/coward for me

He could not even afford bedding

That we eat and that we succeed

And our enemy abase us

\*\*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*\*

A nothing is better than him

\*\*\*\*\* witnesses shame

My sisters that I tell you

Wi ttayen seg yemyerqen  
 Itij mi ad d-yebbru i wallen-is  
 D asigna i t-id-iyummen  
 Tekker-iyi lehwa n leqya\*  
 Ulac leafya  
 Armi i demæey deg ???wafersen??  
 I win izelgen yenqes  
 Nniy « adieu » fell-as  
 Ma mazal ad iseggem

Those who marry a stray/emigrant  
 The sun, when it does not shine  
 It's clouds that hide it  
 I tasted the bitterness  
 There is no peace,  
 Too desperate to ask help from the ruined  
 Whoever slips once  
 It's over for him  
 He will not redress again

## Appendix two

### Kabyle-English Tales

\*\*\*: unclear words

\*: word for word translation

#### C1. Aæeqqa Yessawalen

##### *Macahu!*

##### *Ad yeg Rēbbi ad tt-yesselhu ad tt-yeg amzun d asaru!*

Yella yiwen yesēa sebēa warrac. Teddem tmeṭṭut-is tadist, yeḥdeṛ-d ad d-tarew. Hedḍren medden di tejmæṭ, nnan-as:

-Leflani ad yernu ḡur-s weqciṭ, yerna atmaten-is di sebēa usmen, ur t-byin ara.

Harden fell-as s tismine , haqrent .

Mi tesla Sstut i medden hedḍren akka lehduṛ-agi, teddem tessawed-iten-id i warraw n wergaz-nni. Msefhamen di sebēa yid-sen, ggullen, nnan-as: «Neuhed-ik a Rēbbi ar ma tesēa-d yemma-tney taqciṭ, ad neddem isudaf ad nḡenni, ma tesēa-d aqciṭ, ad neddem isudaf ad nennejli. ».

Lmeēna-s, ma tesēa-d yemma-tsen taqciṭ ad kkren s urar d ccnawi, ma tesēa-d aqciṭ, ad refden ifassen-nsen d yiḍarren-nsen ad kken tawwurt, ad nnejlin. Tesla-yasen Sstut mi ttgallan akka, tṛuḥ tqusem-asen tameddit n wass i deg d-turew yemma-tsen, teqqar-asen yiwen, yiwen:

– Ay a leflani, yemma-k terna-d aqciṭ!

Ihi, ur nudan ara ula d anadi ad tṛeḡqen ma d tidett, ddmn isudaf, nnejlan. Yemma-tsen d taqciṭ i d-tesēa mačči d aqciṭ. Nitni nnejlan, ḡḡan imawlan-nsen. Tru yemma-tsen armi teḡya, tuḡal teṣber s tmara. Armi d asmi tewweḍ teqciṭ d tamazzalt.

Ass-n deg wussan n Rēbbi, tṛuḥ teqciṭ ḡer tala. **Tqusem-as dayen Sstut, tawi yid-s**

**tayeddiṭ n uyerda, ternu tayerbalt, tessendi-ten s amizab ad ččareṇ.** Taqciṭ, tuḡa,

tuḡa, tuḡa armi twala tugi ad as-teg Sstut nnuba ad teččar, tuḡal tenna-yas:

-Ttxil-m a yemma tamḡart, eḡḡ-iyi ad ččareḡ.

Tenna-yas Sstut s ttiha d ulaqeb :

-Rūḥ a timnejlit n sebēa watma-s!

Tuḡal-d teqciṭ sakin s axxam tettru. Tetṛhellil-itt yemma-as ad as-d-tini d acu tt-yuḡen: ulac.

Taqciṭ tegguma. Armi d yiwen webrid, tuḡal tenna-yas:

-A yemma, bḡiy askaf.

Tenna-yas yemma-s : -Yirbeḥ!

Tɣil fell-as i tettru, tekker tmeṭṭut s askaf. Armi tebda amsal, tekkes-d snat ar tlata n tcufftin, teddem turez-as yelli-s afus-is ɣer daxel n teṛbut-nni. Tameṭṭut tettsuyu, tetthellil yelli-s ad ttessukes si teṛbut yeryan. Taqcict-nni teqqar-as:

-Alamma teuhdeḍ-iyi ar kra ad am-ssutrey ad iyi-t-txedmed.

Tenna-yas yemma-s: -Ssukkes-iyi-n kan seg wurɣu, εahdeɣ-kem, εahdeɣ Rebbi ar d am-xedmey kra n wayen tebyid.

Tebra-yas sakin i ufus-is, yeccelex, yettnezluluf. Armi ččan imensi, tuɣal-ed ɣur-s tenna-yas: -Mel-iyi tura acuyer i yi-txedmed akka?

Tenna-yas yelli-s: -Ad iyi-tayeḍ aεeqqa yessawalen! Ad iyi-ternuḍ alyem d taklitt!

Yemma-s teuhed Rebbi, tedda-yas di lebyi. Tuɣ-as aεeqqa issawalen, terna-yas alyem d taklitt.

Taqcict teddem-iten, tuy abrid-is, tṛuḥ ad tnadi ɣef watmaten-is. Teggul, tenna-yas: «εahdeɣ-k, a Rebbi, ur d-nṭiqey alamma d asmi ara d-nnulfun watmaten-iw».

Tṛuḥ, tiyilt umi tfel ɣas ta, tiyilt umi tfel ɣas ta. Armi qrib ad taweḍ, taf-n yiwet n tala n taklatin.

Yuy lhal, txutel-itt deg webrid taklit, taker-as aεeqqa-nni yessawalen. Mi tfaq teqcict-nni, yaf-d lhal ur tezmir ara ad as-tsiwel imi teuhed Rebbi ur d-tentiq alamma nnulfan-d watma-s. Mi wwḍent ɣer tala n taklatin, tenṭeq ɣur-s taklit tenna-yas: «Sired tura dagi». Taklitt tezra d acu i d lmeena-s. Teddem teqcict tessared di tala-nni, dya tuɣal d taklit taberkant ula d nettat. Ddant, ddant, ddant... armi wwḍent ɣer tala n tḥerriyin, teddem talkit-nni aεeqqa-nni yessawalen, tessared yes-s din, dya tuɣal taklitt d tacebḥant. Mi d-kkrent ad kemmlent abrid, tettun aεeqqa-nni yessawalen di tala.

Armi wwḍent ɣer watmaten-is, taklit-nni terra iman-is d nettat i d wletma-tsen. Feṛḥen yes-s, rran-tt d tamṛayt n wexxam. Ma d wletma-tsen rran-tt d taklitt, tkess-asen ileyman. Ttaken-as taḥbult n uqecquc. Kul sṣbeḥ, ad teddem taḥbult-nni, ad tenheṛ tajlibt-nni n yileyman ɣer teyzut ad ksen. Mi tewweḍ ɣer din, ad tali sufella n yiwen wezru, ad tcennu:

« εlay! εlay! εlay!

Ay azru!

Ay azru!

Ad waliy tamurt n baba d yemma!

Ad waliy baba d yemma!

Taklit rran-tt i wexxam!

Wletma-tsen rran-tt i yileyman!

Rut ay yileyman ma ad trum! »

Dya ileyman-nni msakit ad ttrun, ala yiwen, d aεezzug. Akken, akken, akken armi d yiwen wass, yenna-yasen yiwen deg watmaten-is :

-Ileyman-inna-nney simmal deeffen. D acu ten-yuyen akka?

Wayed, yenna-yasen:

-Wissen acu i sen-tettak eni taklit-nni?

Ihi, nnan-as ad tt-neass. Rğan-tt armi truh, tebeen-itt sdeffir, ffren-as. Truh yer teyzut anda tkess lmal, slan-as amek i la tcennu. Nnan-as:

-Ndeëëa-kem s Rabbi ar d ay-d-tinið d acu-kem a lxelq-agi ?

Teħka-yasen-d tamacahut si tazwara am wakka i tt-id-nessawel. Yiwen deg-sen ur tt-yumin ara, yenna:

-Efka-ay-d tbut belli d wletma-tney ay tellið maci d taklit.

Tessawel i ueeqqa yessawalen, yawed-itt-id imir-n. Ddan yid-s sakin armi d tala-nni n therriyin, tessared yes-s, tuyal-ed am zik-is. eeqlen-tt akk watmaten-is deg wudem-is, tcuba yemma-tsen, dya umnen, ferhen yakk yes-s. Ddmen kkren-as s teyrit i taklitt-nni armi tettefuħu, uyalen-d sakin d wletma-tsen s axxam. Mi d-wwden, imawlan-nsen, ula anda ad k-gen a lferħ, gan tameyra n sebëa wussan d sebëa waðan. Armi ieedda lħal, zzuyren-d Sstut-nni seg ucebbub-is, nnan-as i wletma-tsen:

-D acu ara m-yeqqden tasa?

Tenna-yasen: -Sukket-tt-id i sebëa tzegwa n yiwayezniwen d sebëa temqebri ar temmet.

Afus-is ad tteemmirev yes-s iyiyden, ađar-is ad t-gey d tamezzirt ad ssukkuyey yes-s leybar si tzuliyt, ma d aqerru-s ad t-gey d inyen.

Ddmen xedmen-as akken i Sstut. Uyalent akk Sstutat ceefent. Ma d nitni yegra-yasen-d liser, ddren di lehna armi mmuten. Hatan wamek tella tmacahut n ueeqqa yessawalen.

*Tamacahut-iw lwad lwad! sawley-tt-id i warraw n leğwad! Uccanen ad ten-yeqqed Rabbi! Ma d nekni ad ay-yeəfu Rabbi!*

*Ad nettc irden n ukufi! Ma d wid n teylut ur ten-nufi!*

## C1. The Grain that Calls

*A tale ...May God embellish it like a colourful belt of wool.*

There was a man who had seven boys. His wife was pregnant and she was about to give birth. He was talked about in the assembly of the village, where they said:

- "Such man will have another boy and he already has seven! And those seven boys don't want it, they are jealous!

The men at the assembly were talking about him with feelings of scorn and jealousy.

Settout heard the news and went to find the seven brothers to tell them about what she heard.

So, they agreed on a decision they took immediately: "We swear by you, Great God, that if our mother gives birth to a girl, we will hold **shafts\*** and we will sing and party but if it will be a boy, we will also take **shafts\*** and we will evade right away." This means that if their mother gives birth to a girl, they will celebrate and dance but if she gives birth to a boy, they will leave the village for good.

Settout heard of their decision. So, in the evening, right after their mother gave birth, Settout went to see the brothers, each separately:

- "You, there! your mother had a boy, again!"

Those seven children did not even want to check whether the information was true or false, they packed up and left their parents. The poor mother cried a river for her children who abandoned her. Then, she ended up accepting her faith.

The girl who was born grew up quickly.

One day, while on her way to the fountain to fetch water, Settout preceded her, took with her a bota bag made of rat's skin, and a sieve, then, she placed them in the water to fill them.

The girl waited a long time for her turn. She saw that the old woman did not seem to want to let her take water.

She told her:

- please grandma, let me fill some water...

Settout answered her rudely to annoy her:

-Go! You who drove away from home her seven brothers!

The girl went home crying. The mother begged her to tell her what made her cry like that, but in vain... until when the daughter said to her mother,

- Mother, I'd want a broth/soup...

-with pleasure ...

The mother thought her daughter was crying because she wanted the broth... and began to prepare it.

The mother was about to take two or three *Ticuftin*<sup>108</sup> to give her daughter, at that moment, the girl grabbed one of her mother's hands and plunged it into the hot pot full of broth, the mother screamed and begged her daughter to stop the torture, but the girl demanded:

---

<sup>108</sup> Derives from the Kabyle verb "icuf " /jjuf/ which means to puff up or inflate . A pastry that is made very thin until almost translucent, it has a wide circular shape. A few minutes before they are served, the raw thin circular *ticuftin* are plunged into the broth, all by making sure not to crumple them so that they keep their

- You have to promise me that you will do whatever I'll ask you to!

- Ask and I will acquiesce, it is promised before the Great Lord.

The girl withdrew her mother's hand full of burns.

Once dinner was taken, the mother asked her daughter:

- Explain to me now the reasons behind this painful torture which you made me undergo

-I want you to buy me a calling grain<sup>109</sup>, a camel, and a maid.

The mother had promised her before the Lord that she will satisfy her request, she could not refuse ...And then, the girl took with her the grain, a dromedary and a maid. She went to look for her brothers and swore before the Great Lord not to return home without her brothers!

She set off, crossed several mountains and hills then stopped at a fountain called "The Fountain of black women"<sup>110</sup>.

Meanwhile, on their way, the black servant stole the grain from her mistress.

It was in vain that the girl could ask the help of this grain to continue her search. In addition to that, she had sworn not to talk to any human until she sees her brothers again!

Once at the fountain, the maid pointed to the water, meaning:" Wash here!"

The girl understood the meaning of the gesture; she washed there and became black as her maid, Then they went on again and walked for a long time till they arrived at another fountain, that of the "free women/ the mistresses/ the white women".

The black servant took the grain, washed with the water of this fountain and became all white. But when they were about to leave, the maid forgot the grain at that fountain.

They finally arrived at the village where the girl's brothers lived. The maid disguised as a white woman and told the brothers that she was their sister ... They cheered up and made her the mistress of the house.

As for their true sister, who is now black, they made her their slave, to keep the camels.

Every morning, they give her a galette of "kernels of grain", she takes it and leads the herd of camels to an alluvial plain to graze.

She then climbs on a big rock to hum:

Get higher

---

circular shape, once cooked they puff up and immerge into the surface, they are immediately served with olive oil .

<sup>109</sup> The storyteller forgot to add that the calling grain is a magical grain that allows the girl to call her parents and hear their recommendation when she is very far away.

<sup>110</sup> At that time black women were slaves and maids

Get higher

Get higher

O rock

O rock

That I see my father's and my mother's country

The country of my father and my mother!

The black servant is appointed mistress of the house!

Their sister is to keep camels!

Cry camels, Cry if you want to!

And they start crying, except one of them, a deaf camel.

And it was so until the day when one of the brothers said to the others,

- Our dromedaries are losing more and more weight, what would they be suffering from?!

- What could the maid be giving them to eat? One of them said.

So, they decided to spy on her. They followed her to the plain, hid there and they heard the words she was humming. They questioned her then:

- For the love of the Lord tell us who you are.

She told them about her journey from the beginning, but one of them did not want to believe her:

- Give us a proof that you are our true sister!!!

She called the magical grain that came to her. Then they accompanied her to the fountain of the "mistresses", she washed there, and she became as she was before: a white woman.

Her brothers recognized her as she resembles their mother; they then knew that she was their true sister. They rejoiced.

They chastised then the true servant, the black woman, then returned to the residence of their parents in joy and cheerfulness.

They celebrated the event for seven days and seven nights.

Sometime later, they dragged Settout by the hair and asked their sister:

- What would extinguish the fire that is in your heart?

- pull her on the ground to death, through seven ogre forests and seven cemeteries, make with her hands a shovel to pick up ashes, with her feet a utensil to clean the dirt of the sewer and with her head a stone for the Forehearth.

They did so, which made all the Settout(s) stop doing such evil and nuisance.

The brothers, the sister and their parents lived the rest of their lives in peace and tranquillity...



*My story, along a Wadi, I had told it to the children of the brave men.*

## **C2. Tamɣart d teslit-is.**

Qqaren-d yella yiwen n uxxam zik-nni, deg-s tamɣart d mmi-s d teslit-is. Tamɣart-nni d teslit-is am umcic d uyerda neɣ, ugar, am temɣart d teslit...di Tmurt n Leqbayel n zik-nni : a wufan tamezwarut d Lalla, tislit-is d taklit kan.

Dya ulac d acu ur (d)as-tesbubb temɣart i teslit-is d ihwah, akken kan ad as-yebɛru mmi-s. Yal tameddit n wass, ad d-tcellef fell-as leɛgeb, ad as-d-ales i mmi-s ayen tga d wayen ur tgi, ayen d-tenna d wayen ur d-tenni.

Argaz n uxxam, mmi-s n temɣart, iɛewweq d acu ara yeg, d acu ara d-yini ? Ad as-yebɛru i tmeɣtut-is, akken ad tellez yemma-s? Ad as-yini i yemma-s “Tecceɗ a yemma !”? Yezra d acellef i d-tettcellif yemma-s yef leɣyal-is, d yihwaw i tebɣa ad as-teɗlu, meɛna seg tama-nniɛen d yemm-as netta, rnu ahat ulac ccekk yella “leḥmu n wulawen” gar urgaz d tmeɣtut-is,ulammas tuffra kan.

Açhal i iɛeddan d ussan, d uɗan, d ayyuren, d ... ugur yezga d win kan, ameslay d yiwen kan. Ur nezri amek iga –ahat icawer Amyar azemni (?)– armi d-yufa tifat i wugur.

Ihi yiwen n wass, ass n ssuq, yekker urgaz n uxxam ad isewweq, ssbeḥ zik yer tafrara. Mi yekker ad yeffey, tesla-d tyemmat i mmi-s, tenna-yas :

–Anida itewweɗ akka, a mmi ?

–Ad ruḥey ad sewwqey, a yemma...

– D acu ara d-tayɛɗ, a mmi ?...

Yenna-yas :

–Ad d-ayey itbir, a yemma...

–Amek ara as-tsemmiɗ ?

–Ad as-semmiy“*Nezra neffer !*”....

Tekker-d teslit tenna-yas :

–Ihi ula d nekki, rnu-yi-d wayɛɗ ...

–I kemmi amek ara tsemmiɗ ? i as-yenna urgaz i yemma-s.

Tenna-yas:

–Nekki ad as-semmiy “*Necceɗ nwexxer !*”

Tamɣart tesla-d tefhem, ihi tenna :

–Ula d nekki,a mmi, rnu-yi-d wayɛɗ ...

–Amek ara as-tsemmiɗ, kemmi a yemma ?....

Tenna-yas:

–Nekki, a mmi, ad as-semmiy “*Rebbi iæffu iyeffe !*”

## **C2. The old Woman and Her Daughter-in-Law**

It is said that there was once a house where lived an old woman, her son and her daughter-in-law.

This old woman and her daughter-in-law were like dogs and cats. In ancient Kabylia, the first would like to be the mistress of the house and make of the second her slave.

Then there were no faults that the old woman had not put on her daughter-in-law so that her son divorces her. Every night, she accused her of making unbelievable mistakes; she would tell her son of what she did as a "crime" and of what she refused to do. What she said and what she did not say.

The man of the house, the son of this old woman, did not know what to do, or what to say...

Would he divorce his wife to satisfy his mother? Or say to his mother: "you are wrong, mother"?

He knew she was denigrating his wife and the bad she wanted to make to her.

But on the one hand, she is his mother, and on the other, both the man and his wife “felt warmth in their hearts” \*, one for the other, but discreetly.

So, many days, nights, and months passed, and the problem remained the same, the same palaver. He did not know what to do, till he consulted the old sage. Then, he found the key to the problem.

So, on a market day, the man of the house went shopping early in the morning. And When he was about to go out, the mother heard her son; so, she said to him:

-Where are you going, my son?

- I'll go to the market, mother...

- What do you plan to buy, my son? ...

He told her:I'll buy a pigeon, mother...

- How will you call it?

- I will call it "we saw and we hid! ..."

The daughter-in-law heard him and said:

- So, bring one for me too...

- And you, what will you call it? He asked his wife.

She told him: I will call it: "we slipped and we stepped aside" \* (made a mistake and went backwards)

The old woman heard, understood, and then said:

- Me too, bring me one

- How will you call it, Mother?

She said to him: I, my son, I will call it: "God forgives! »

### **C3. Tamacahut n tfunast igujilen**

*Amaaacahu...*

*Tamacahut-iw atlehu, at iyezif am usaru, am tiziri unebdu, ipij mi ad iteddu.*

Ad nawi assa-gi tamcahut n tfunast igujilen.

Illa yiwen isea tameṭut tesca telata igurdan, asmi as ikteb rebbi i temattut-ni temut, terna yiwet n yiell-is temut, imevelit al rif-is, irenad tameṭut, tameṭut-ni tekreh irbiben-is, tekreh taqcict-ni, tekreh aqcic-ni, akeni almi tebev tesead taqcict ula d nettat, acu miden cituh, teqel ternad taqcict niven, temut-as ziy teqcict-ni, taqcict-ni diyen temut-as, tenay-as iw-rggaz-is at netlat gar yemas ak d yelis-ni n tmettut-ni, takna-ni ines imuten tamezwarut, tanayas at mevlat garasen

Meyaned sin igevman, temllilen akagi, agetum-ni n yelis-ni ak d ugetum-ni n yemas-ni dinna deg zekka, sufell-as temllilin-ed akagi, asmi temut tinna t mavlit, temyid t zegart garasen, tinna imir meskint mi idiruḥ uyedu-ni n yellis d uyedu-ni ines netat ur temllilin-ara, ulamek, d azegar-ni , as tini imas-ni meskin:

*igevmani gemamaven*

*geman ur mesawaven*

*ula ayem xedmay*

*ula ay t xedmat*

*ikad uzegar garaney*

ulamek ala ad mesawaven igevman-ni axater tekkad tzzegart-ni garasen.

Tinna tkerhiten, asmi tewhem, t teksasen lequt, t xedem felasen lbatel, nuhni sean tafunast, tafunast-ni mi beven ar lexla at teven mi beven s axam ččan rewan, illis ni tetak-as lerbah,tugi at imyur, widak-ni llah-ibarek meqrit zehurit d izggayen d imellalen, taqcict-ni ak d uqcic-ni, akni akni .....almi d yiwen n wass tenna-yas i yellis-ni at ruḥat at ddut anda ččan at ččet, anda qiman at qimat, truh tedda yidsen, kessan kessan ..... almi eeyan, laeben almi eeyan ruḥan tevenad deg tefunast-ni, tinna imaren mi iteēda ula d netat at ruḥ at tettev, aken teruḥ at ttev tewthitid s lejer, s uvaris aka ar defir, lejer isqaren meden, tewthitid s ljer t zdrylas tittis, aken mi tebev s axam tehkayasid i yemm-as, t seqsatid yemmas:

- tenayas : acu am ixemen aka?
- tenay-as: imi ruħen w atmaten-iw ttevn-ed deg tfunast, ruħay ad teveyula d nekini tewti-yed s ljer t zdrayliyi.

Tzedda tena-yas iwegaz-is :

- taħrem al atawit tafunast at senzet
- a tameřut, nir euhday tameřut-iw, inayas euhdayt ur t senzay, tagi n w arraw-iw
- tenay-as: taħrem ar d at senzet.

almi ahi tayleb, iwit ar suq, aken at yebe ar suq, ruħen tebeent w arraw-is, aken beven ar din tesawament meden at ařen, tejbiten tfunast, aya acekit d tamelħant, widak imal teviēen teģiven , qarnas : “tafunast igujilen ur tetnuz ur trehen”.

Imiren leyaci waxren af tfunast-ni ugin at ařen, almi d tamedit yeratid, aken at idyera

- tenay-as : acu ayef at ideritt
- Inay-as : ugin at ařen meden
- Tenay-as : ihi tura ma tebeyit at eawdet at senzet, at zeluv
- Inay-as : awlidi ak myahdu rebbi a tameřut, euhdey tamttut-iw af arraw-is, tagi d yemat-sen
- Tenay-as: tura at zeluđ at zeluđ.

Widak terun, ruħan al yematsen, al uzekka-ni, ruħan al umyar azemni, nanas a vava amyar tura ay temlav amek ala nexdem, tura vava ad yezlu tafunast.

Inayasen : ruħat awladi telebmas akerciw-ni awen tyefk nyest af uēebuv n yemat-wen, sufel uzekka-nimiren awen dig rebbi tawil, iēeda izela tafunast-ni, vavat-sen, aken mi at izela nanas : a vav fekařed akerciw-ni

- Inaya-sen: acu ala as txemem awladi?
- Nana-s : fekařtid kan a vava n ħewajit
- Inayas : yerbaħ

Axater vava-tsen iħamliten, ifekayasen akerciw-ni, ineyliten f uzekka-ni n yemat-sen, meřanted din tejařbubin, rebza tejařbubin, senat budi senat d tament, ad qiman alma luzan, ad ruħan al uzekka-ni yemat-sen ad teven, yiwen ad ittev tajařbubt n budi ak d tamemt, wayet tajařbubt n budi ak d tamemt : aken diřen tewhem, d acut ray-agi, atan qelen d izgayřen d imelalen yerna tafunast teksasent.

- tenay-as i yellis-ni anda ruħan at n tebzet anda ččan at čet anda sewan at sewav. A teruħ t tebaiten .

Laɓben almi ɓeyan ruhen tteven deg tejabubin-ni almi, alammi ula d netat tɓedda tettved (ħaca wi sellan) tefkayas-ed imiren-ni aresev ak d tberdament (taberdament d idamen izuranen, arsev-ni d azegaɣ, illa wersav d amellal), akenni mi itettev taberdament ak d warsev tuɣal tahekayas iyemas.

- tennay-as : d acu ččan assa
- tennay-as : d tijaɓubun id tteven, nuhni mi ad ttevan tteven-ed udi ak d tamemet, neki mi ad ttevey, ttevy-ed arsev d teberdament.

Tɓeda tewi lemus teruħ tegzem tijaɓubun-ni, aken tegzem tijaɓubun-ni, xelfanted, a teqal diyen tuɣal teruħ tenqec ak azekka-ni, akeni tenqec azekka-ni, tɓeda t sufɣiten deg uxam, tesufay aqcic-ni, tesufay taqcic-ni, ruhant mesakit, laħun laħun.....; beven ar yiwet n tala, tala-ni n iqelwacen

- inay-as : a nanna fuday ad sway
- tenay-as : ala agema, tugiyas

leħan leħan.....; dayen ufan tala

- inay-as : fuday ad seway, leħan dayen ufan tina n iqelwacen  
 - inay-as : ananna fuday ad seway, tugiyas, izeda iswa, aken mi iswa, iqeled d aqlwac, aken mi iqel d aqlwac, uletmas teqnas t aqlat , tebit, telħa telħa .... acu telħa; ifekays-ed rebbi yiwen ijemzit, akni mi at ijemaɓ, teqim yuras,

- tenay-as: lamaɓna ay tqeblat aqelwac-iw
- inayas: ak mayey
- tenay-as: agma at qeblat aqelwac-inu, yerna maci deg udaynin ala ay teqan
- inany-as: yerbah

Iɓeda yuyit, isɓat deg uxam-is , aqelwac-ni tecrev fell-as, tweqmas-ed kan amkan aka nig n teburt, iganned dinn ur iggan-ara deg udaynin, t tezici netat d yides, taqcic d taqcic lɓali, terfed s tadist, tina tesla yiss, tesla yerna anda tella, tɓeda teruħ t tebeɓit t ceɣɓit yemm-as diyen, tceɣɓit tebev al yuras, tevya at qim dinna yuras, almi d yiwen n wass tɓeda t daqrit ar ar lebir t daqert taqcic-ni ar lebir, netat tɓeda tuy argaz-ni n uletmas, teqim aken kera n wussan

- tenay-as: tura ay tezlut aqlawac-inna, neta aqcic-ni ismis ɓali zerzar (aqelwac)
- amek zikenit cerved felli ud ggan-ara deg udaynin, tura at zeluy !!!

wina meskin iruħ ar lebir-ni la yetru , as yesawal i nanas, inay-as:

*uɣalen semsaden tfergin*  
*ar azli zerzar meskin a nanna*

tina as der zedaxel n lebir, as tini:

*ħessen d lħussin deg rebb-iw*  
*talafsa d nig yexf-iw*

*d acu al ak xemay agema*

almi d azeka-ni, sebaḥ zik ikred cix ad yedden, isela i lahdur, isela iw qelwac-ni ad as yesawel iw letmas al dixel n lebir, as yini:

*uyalen semsaden tfergin*

*ar azli zerzar miskin a nanna*

netat as der as tini:

*ḥessen d lḥussin deg rebb-iw*

*talafsa d nig yexf-iw*

*d acu al ak xemay agema*

iḥeda imeren cix-ni iruḥ iluza argaz-ni inay-as:

- izmer lebir-ina yenek, acu illan deg lebir-ina yenek

- inay-as: ud zeriḡ-ara , iruḥ-ed, aken ad iruḥ, yeslla, isemaḥsis yeslla, isla neta , isela cix-ni i lahdur-ni, yerza ar zat, aken yerza iwefa aqelwac-ni ihedar, iwfa diyeni tina dixel n lebir, iḥeda inay-as :

- deziyek s rebbi mu ay denit d acuk

- inay-as: neki d azli zerzar, nek mači d aqelwac, iḥeda iḥka-yas, inay-as tihinna d wletma, taniven d yelis n vava , i diruḥan t daqrit ar dixel n lebir.

iḥeda irefeded tameṭut-ni, tesza sin n wakniwen sin n warac, ḥesen d lḥusin, irefdit-id iren-ad igurdan-ni iwitid s axam yern-ad aqcic-ni, iḥeda iḥekay-as, iwit ar tala-ni anida ad icucef, izawded ucaf yesarded dina, izawded yeswa aman iḥeriyen, i cucefed y tala iḥeriyen, yuḡaled d aqcic, iḥeda iḥekaya, iwegaz-ni, aken mi as yeḥka iwegaz-ni, inay-as amek ala as nexdem i tagi, tina iszan ikunan irefdit-id iwit-id s axam-is, taniven iqenit ar dayer uzuḡiw, kera yeka w ass at yezuyur, iwid aqruy-ni yanas, qedrent irkel, sewent, wint teruḥ tarzef taqcict-ni, tewi taqedart n w aksum tayet n lesfanj, tebiyast imir i yemas, t tenadi illis anda tella, tenay-as:

- attan yell-im , attan tervivt-im

tina lah ibarek tewi sin n warac, terna azli zerzar terzaf kan tuḡal-ed teratid, tinna t sersast tina beksum tenay-as

- hattan yell-im tečiṭ niḡ aken am yehwa xem-as.

Attan tfunast igujilen ur tetnuz ur trahen

Yuzer lebatel

***Tamacahut-iw lwad lwad ḥekiyet iwaraw lejwad***

### C3. The Cow of the Orphans

#### *A Tale*

**That my tale beautifies, be as long as the colourful woollen belt, and looks like the moonlight or the rising sun.**

We will tell you today the story of the cow of the orphans.

There was a man who had a wife and three children. Fate wanted this woman to die and one of his daughters too. He buried her beside her mother; and he married another woman who hated her stepchildren, she hated both the boy and the girl.

It was so until the day when she had a daughter, and a little later she had a second daughter.

The second daughter died and the woman told her husband to bury her between the first woman and her daughter. (to separate them)

On the graves of the dead mother and daughter, two **Igedman\*\*\*** plants grew: one on the mother's tomb, and the other on the girl's, their leaves joined in the air. But, when the daughter of the second woman died, a jujube tree grew on her grave. The two plants could not touch again because of the presence of the jujube

The poor mother to say:

The buds that grew

Grow without reaching each other

I cannot do anything

You cannot do anything

There is the jujube between us

The two plants could not join each other because of the jujube that grew in the middle.

The second woman hated her stepchildren, she deprived them of food, and she used to hurt them; but they had a cow from which they sucked milk each time they went to the fields, and once at home, they were already satiated.

The stepmother gave all sorts of food and goods to her daughter, but she remained puny, the other two, the boy and his sister, grew up well, "all white and very red"\*

And it was so until the day when she said to her daughter: "go with them to the fields: where they eat, you eat, where they drink, you drink, where they sit you sit down". She went with them while they were keeping their cow...

Once tired, they went to the cow and fed of its milk. When the half-sister approached the cow to suck its milk, it knocked her down with a paw and it hurt her eye.

When she arrived at home, the mother questioned her:

-who did you that?

She answered her:

- After my two siblings had sucked, I approached to suck milk too but it gave me a paw in the face that blinded me in an eye\*.

She said to her husband:

- "I swear"\* that you take the cow and that you sell it!

-Woman, I have promised my dead wife not to sell it; it belongs to the orphans ...

- I swore, you'll sell it! She maintained.

She got the upper hand; the man took the cow to the market and the two orphans followed him.

At the market, buyers came to haggle for its price; the cow is healthy and pleasing, but the two children cried out, "It's the cow of orphans; it can be neither sold nor pledged."

People then backtracked; they did not want to buy it anymore. In the evening, the man returned the cow home.

-why did you return it? She asked him

- The buyers did not want it! He replied.

-Now, if you do not want to take it back to the market, slaughter it! She demanded.

- woman! May the Great Lord show you the right way\* ... I promised my first wife to take care of her children, this **cow is their mother\***...

- You will slaughter it, you will slaughter it! She insisted.

The children who owned the cow started crying. They went to their mother's grave then they went to see the wise old man. They said, "old father show us what to do, our father is going to slaughter our cow! »

The old sage answered them:

-"Go, my little ones, ask your father to give you the guts of the cow that you will put on your mother's grave; there, the great Lord will act for your good ...

The father slaughtered the cow and the two children asked him:

- Father, give us its guts...

- What for? my kids.

- We need it, they replied.

- Ok ..., he agreed.



Their father loved them, so, he gave them the guts that they poured on the tomb of their mother, and then, four **stems\*** grew. Two of butter, and two of honey. Each time the two kids felt hungry, they went to their mother's tomb to suck honey and butter...

The woman is more and more astonished for they are still all healthy and radiant, their skin is all white and red even though she deprived them of the cow...!

She then said to her daughter:

- Follow them, where they eat you eat, where they drink you drink!

They played until fatigued, then, they went to lick the tubes of butter and honey.

The daughter of the second wife also went to feed there. Yet, the tubes gave her nothing but pus and coagulated blood.

Having had the two vile liquids, the girl went to inform her mother

- What did they take today? Asked the mother

- They are sucking tubes; when they suck, they have butter and honey ... Me, when I suck, it is pus and coagulated blood...

The woman then took a knife, cut the tubes which grew again. Then, she dug the grave of the first wife and chased the two orphans out of the house. They left... Walked, walked, till they found a fountain.

The boy addressed the fountain:

- Aunt, I'm thirsty, I'd like to drink...

- No brother! She (the fountain) refused.

They went on and they found another fountain.

He asked:

-I would like to drink...

No answer

They walked and walked and walked ...and they found another fountain, the fountain of the goats.

The kid asked again "aunt, I would like to drink", but the fountain refused and despite that he drank. He immediately became a goat. His sister put a collar around his neck, took him and she went away.

She got tired after all that long walk, but God sent her a man who took her, sheltered her and she stayed at his. she asked him

- would you take my goat too?

- "I would like to marry you," he said.

- If you accept my goat, and never put it in the barn...

-I agree ... he said.

He married her, he had her in his house and she insisted that the goat takes a place just by the door. He was sleeping there not in the stable and he lived by her side. The girl is virtuous, she became pregnant and her mother-in-law knew where she was. She sent her daughter who wanted to stay with her. But the day came, when the half-sister threw the orphan into a well, after that she pretended to be the orphaned girl, she took her place, lived with her husband and stayed with him for some days.

One day the half-sister said to the husband:

- slaughter this goat! (The goat is the orphan boy called "Ali Zarzar")

- how come?! To marry me, you made me the condition of not putting it in the stable and now you want me to slaughter it!

The poor goat (orphan) went to the well and called his sister:

We then began to sharpen *ifenjin*\*\*\*

To slaughter Ali Zarzar, the poor, oh sister

The other, from the bottom of the well, answered him:

Hassan and Hocine are in my lap

A viper is over my head

What can I do for you, my brother!

The next morning, the Imam of the mosque woke up to call for the prayer, he heard the words of the goat when he was calling his sister who was in the well, saying:

They started to sharpen *ifenjin*\*\*\*

To get rid of Ali Zarzar, the poor, oh my sister

She answered him saying:

Hassan and Hocine in my lap

A viper over my head

What can I do for you, brother?

The imam went to see the man and told him:

- Your well is haunted, what's inside it?

"I do not know!" he replied.

Then he and the Imam of the mosque went by the well, he heard and listened, he then stepped forward and found the goat talking to the girl who was inside the well. He said to him:

- For goodness sake! Tell me who you are...

The goat answered:

- I'm Ali Zarzar, I'm not a goat...

And he told him the whole story; he also showed him his sister and told him about his half-sister who threw his sister into the well.

He pulled the woman and her two twins Hacene and Hocine out of the well. Then, he took them home. and the orphan (the goat) recounted the miseries that he had been through. The man then took him to the fountain where he had to wash. He drank pure water from the fountain of "men", and became a young man again; then told his full story to the man.

The husband punished the wicked girl; she was tied to a horse that dragged her on the ground all day. Then, they cut her head that they grilled.

Then, the wife was sent to visit her parents' house; she took with her a container full of meat and another full of Lesfendj<sup>111</sup> that she gave to her stepmother who was looking for her daughter.

The orphan replied:

- Here is your daughter and here is your stepdaughter...

The orphan took with her her two children and Ali Zarzar her brother whom she took back with her at hers. As she put down the container of meat, she said:

- Here is your daughter, eat her or make what you want of her.

And there you go; the cow of the orphans can be neither sold nor pledged.

Hard is injustice!

*My story, along a wadi, I had told it to the children of the valorous.*

#### **C4. Tamacahut: ticyerbel**

*Amacahu,*

Zik-nni, tella yiwet n tmettut tesaã snat n teqcicin. Yiwet deg-sent d tarbibt-is. Yal ass ttruhunt yer tala ttagment-d. Yelli-s tettak-as tazeeluqt, ma yella d tarbibt-is tettak-as ayerbal. Yal ma

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<sup>111</sup> Kabyle fried fritters that have donuts -like shape

teččar aɣerbal d aman, ttenɣalen-d. almi d yiwen n wass, tefqee, tdegger aɣerbal-nni. Tuggad ad as-tini yemma-s anida yella uɣerbal. Dɣa, tettbee abrid yettef uɣerbal-nni. Tetteddu tetteddu almi d-tufa yiwen n umeksa, testeɣsa-t.

Tarbibt : Ay ameksa, ur tezriɗ ara anida i iɛedda uɣerbal ?

Ameksa : Err-iyi-d qbel lmal-iw, ad akem-d-iniy anid iɛedda.

Tarbibt truḥ terra-yas-ten-d.

Ameksa : ihi, iɛedda ɣer wexxam n tterysel, maca ad akem-weɣɣiy, ma yella tenna-yam-d « ad akem-ssukkey seg tewwurt ney s tzuliyt ? », ini-yas « s tzuliyt ». Ma yella tenna-yam-d « ad akem-d-ssuy lehrir ney tazeggart ? », ini-yas « tazeggart ». Ma yella tenna-yam-d « ad akem-d-ččarey aɣerbal-im d tiwiztin ney d tiyredmiwin », ini-yas « d tiyredmiwin ».

Imi tewweɗ ɣer wexxam n tterysel, tterysel testeɣsa-tt.

Tterysel : ad akem ssukkey s tewwurt ney s tzuliyt ?

Tarbibt : S tzuliyt.

Tterysel tessukk tarbibt-nni s tewwurt.

Tterysel : ad akem-d-ssuy lehrir ney tazeggart ?

Tarbibt : S tzeggart.

Tterysel tessa-yas-d lehrir, dɣa ṭtsent.

Azekkuya tifawt (taɣebhit) :

Tterysel : ad akem-d-ččarey aɣerbal-im d tiwiztin ney tiyredmiwin?

Tarbibt : D tiyredmiwin.

Tterysel teččur-as-d aɣerbal-is d tiwiztin.

Imi tewweɗ tarbibt ɣer wexxam, teḥka-yasen-d amek i d-tewwi annect-nni n twiztin. Tameṭtut d yelli-s usment.

Tameṭtut i yelli-s : A llah a llah ! tarbibt-iw teččur-d aɣerbal d lwiz, kemmi ur d-tewwiɗ kra !

Yelli-s n tmeṭtut tefey s lefqaeat, deg wufus-is aɣerbal. Deg tala, tdegger aɣerbal war ma tezra anida yerra. Tetteddu tetteddu almi i tufa ameksa-nni i tufa akken terbibt-is, tseɣsa-t.

Taqcict : Ay ameksa, ur tezriɗ ara anida i iɛedda uɣerbal ?

Ameksa : Err-iyi-d qbel lmal-iw, ad akem-d-iniy anid iɛedda.

Taqcict : S tudert ur k-ten-d-riy.

Ameksa ur s-d-yenni-yara anida yerra uɣerbal.

Teqqim teqcict iman-is tetteɣemmim amek ara d-taf tifat. Temmekta-d belli tarbibt temmeslay-as-d ɣef wexxam n tterysel. Tuzzel imiren yakkan ɣer dinna. Tewweɗ deg id, tekcem ɣer wexxam n tterysel.

Tteryel : ad akem-d-ssuy leħrir ney tazeggart ?

Taqcict : Uhu ! Nekk ssu-yi-d leħrir .

Tteryel tessa-yas-d tazeggart, dya aglim-is yakk yettwacrew.

Azekkuya tifawt (taşebhit) :

Tteryel : ad akem-d-ččarey ayerbal-im d tiwiztin ney tiyredmiwin?

Taqcict : D tiwiztin.

Tteryel teččur-as-d ayerbal-is d tiyredmiwin.

Tteryel : ad akem ssukkey s tewwurt ney s tzuliyt ?

Taqcict : S tewwurt.

Tteryel tessuk-itt-id s tzuliyt. Dya taqcit temmut

#### **C4. The Tale Of the Sieves**

##### *A tale,*

There was once a woman who had two daughters, one of whom was her stepdaughter, the daughter of her husband. They went every day to the fountain to bring water.

To her daughter, she gave a skin and to the stepdaughter, she gave a sieve.

Each time she filled this sieve, it emptied. Then, one day, she got angry and threw it away.

She was afraid that her stepmother would ask about it so she followed the path the sieve took.

She walked and walked until she found a shepherd whom she asked:

- Did you see where my sieve went?

-bring my herd back and I'll tell you.

She went to fetch it.

- it went to the house of *Teryel*, the ogress. But I advise you: if she asks you: "Do you want me to help you in through the door or through the drain of the sewer?" Answer her: "by the hole of the sewer.". And if she asks you "I prepare you a bed of silk or a bed of jujube?"

You will say to her, "Jujube." If she asks you again, "do you want me to fill your sieve with Louis d'OR or scorpions?" You say, "Scorpions. »

Once she arrived at the ogress's, she asked her:

-"You'll enter through the door or the sewer?"

-From the sewer.

She made her in through the door.

-I prepare you a bed of silk or of jujube?

- Jujube.

-the Ogress prepared a silk bedding for her, and then they slept.

The next morning:

-you want me to fill your sieve with golden coins or with scorpions?

- Scorpions

The ogress *Teryel* filled her sieve with golden coins.

The stepdaughter, once back home, told them how she had brought so many golden coins. The woman and her daughter were so jealous.

The woman to her daughter: “what a joy! The stepdaughter had filled a sieve with golden coins, and you, with nothing at all!”

The daughter of this woman rushed out holding a sieve in her hand. At the fountain, she did not know where she had thrown it; she then began to walk until she met the shepherd whom her half-sister had met;

"shepherd, don't you know where the sieve went?

- bring my herd back and I will tell you where it went.

- I swear on my life that I will not bring it to you!

And the shepherd did not tell her where the sieve went.

The girl then began to think of a solution. She remembered that her half-sister had told her about the Ogress's home. She ran to **the field**, arrived at her house at night, and entered.

" I make you a bed of silk or jujube?

- Oh, prepare me a bed of silk.

The Ogress prepared her a bed of jujube that scratched her skin!

The next morning:

«I fill your sieve with golden coins or scorpions?

- With golden coins!

And the Ogress filled her sieve with scorpions!

"You want me to help you out through the door or the hole of the sewer?

- The Door!

The Ogress made her pass through the hole of the sewer, and so she died...

### **C5. Tahdayt yebghan aeqqa n čina**

Yella yiwen zik yesea seba n warra-is. Tahdayt tis tmanya.

Yewwed-d leid. Yenna-asen: “acu awen-d-ayey?” Kul yiwen acu i s-d-yenna as-d-yaḡ,

Wa d aserwal, wa d asebbav, wa d akka, kul yiwen d acu yevleb! Tahdayt-nni tevlabas aeqqa n čina. Iruḡ yer ssuq, yeqva-d. Ass mi d-yuḡal, tahdayt-nni yettu-tt.

Iḡewwes akk acu i d-yettu deg ubrid. Yufa d tahdayt-nni i d-yettu. D čina-nni i dtevlab

i d-yettu! Imuger-d wayzen, ibuv-d acekka n čina. Yenna-as: “əuhdey-k s Rebbi mu ma ur iy-iyi-d-tezzenéed ara əseqqa n čina!”, Yenna-as: “awah! muhal akd-zenzey, i wumi ad tt-tawid?” Yenna-as: “arrac qdiy-asen-d akk, ma d tahdayt-ai, ur zriy amek i ttettuy!” Yenna-as:” ulamek kecmey s ifassen-inu, ur as-tt-awiy ara əseqqaz. Yenna-as wayzen-nni: “ ma tebyid ak-muddey əseqqa, ilaq ad iyi-tt-tmudev tehdajt-agi”. Yenna-as: “ad ak-tt-muddey”. Yenna-as wayzen-nni: “ ass mi ara d-asey ad tt-awiy, ad yili ugeffur, areud, azayav”.

Asen,yeqqim acu yeqqim. Yiwev-d wass-nni n ugeffur. Ibed-asen-d yiwen yer tebburt.. Ihi, yilen d tin nRebbi i ibud. Iwin-as abiduh-nni , n lmakla. Yssers abiduh nni, yerfed tahdayt-nni iruh. Nnan warrac-nni : « tahdayt-nni ur d-tuyal ara a baba ! » Yenna-asen : « ooem-tt ». Yenna-asen : « d wayzen i tt-yiwin ». Nnan-as: “amek akka d wayzen?” Yenna-asen: “ ass mi i d-iwiyy əseqqa-nni n čina, i d-yenna ad d-sey ad tt-awiy, muddey-as-tt, tura yiwi-tt, dayen”. Ihi, bdan warrac-nni la d-tt-heyyin iman nsen. Kul yiwen d acu iheffev. Yiwen yelmed i tekkes-d lehrir seg tzeggart., Wayev ireffed adebbuz , ad yewwet ad tefteḥ tmurt, Wayev yaqqar : “ḥess a yaḥessas”, Wayev lqaf, lqaf. Kul yiwen dacu yelmed ad t-yexdem, Ihi nnan-as:” ad tt-id-nawi wetma-tney-agi” . Ruḥen, lehḥun, lehḥun. Ar mi i ufan Axxam n wayzen-nni. Kecmen yur-s. Yekcem-d yufa-ten-id. Yenna-asen: “addaynin i yivulan, agens i yimawlan”. Nnan-as: “addaynin i yimawlan, agens i yivulan”Iga-asen imensi čan. Ruḥen ṡsen.

Ass mi yettes wayzen-nni, yettef ceer n tehdajt-nni . Yennev-it deg tuymas-is. Ma yella meḥsub ad teqləe ad d-yaki.,Nitni msefhamen. Nnan-as: “ḥess a ya ḥessas” Yenna-as : “ ata la ysxerxur” Nnan-as: “kker a win iferrun lehrir seg tzeggart” Iruh, yekkes-d akk ineév, ineév seg yimi n wayzen-nni, iserreḥ-as-d i tehdajt-nni”.Nnan-as: “fteḥ tamurt i win yekaten adebbuz” Yewwet tfeḥ tmurt, fye-d, ruḥen-d. Qqaren-as: “ḥess ya ḥessas!”. Yenna-asen:”mazalt yettes”. Nnan-as: “ ḥess ya ḥessas!”. Yennaasen: ha-t-an yuki-d” . Nnan-as: “ḥess ya ḥessas!” Yenna-asen: “ ha-t-an la idewwir di lḥara”. Nitni mazal a lehḥun. Lehun, lehun

Umbaed nnan-as : « ḥess ya ḥessas » Yenna-asen: “ha-t-an d abrid i d-nuy i d-yuy, ula d netta” ivfer-iten-d, qrib ad ten-d-yelheq.Yenna-asen: “qrib ad ay-d-yelheq” Yewwet wadin adebbuz, teldi-d tmurt. Kecmen, imiren ddaw n tmurt Netta iḥewwes, iḥewwes ulac. Ihi, ibed wayzen, imuqel yer yigenni Icedda-d igider. Yenna-as: “acu txedmev akka”. Yenna-as: “I yellan, i yellan! Yenna-as igider-nni: “ihi d ayen i sehlen, mi ten-ériy ad ak-tt-id-refdey. Ihi, mi i ten-iwala, yebbelqes yer tehdajt-nni yelqev-ittid.

Nnan-as i wadin yekkatén imechab: lqaf, lqaf". Yuta imechab-nni, yessayli-d igidernni,  
 ṭ̣fen-d taḥdayt-nni.

uyalen-d yer uxxam-nsen

### **C5. The Girl Who Wanted an Orange**

There was once a man who had seven boys, and the eighth child was a girl.

When the Eid day approached, he said to them, "What do you want me to buy you?" And each of them had asked for what he wanted. For one of them, it was a pair of trousers, and shoes for another, each wanted this or that; the girl asked him to get her an orange.

He went to the market, bought all the necessary but forgot about the girl.

On his road back home, he was thinking: whom of his children he had forgotten his purchase and found that it was the girl: the orange she had asked for.

He met the Ogre who was carrying a bag of oranges on his back, so, he begged him: "Sell me an orange, for goodness sake ..."

- there is no way that I sell it to you and to whom will you take it? Said the Ogre.

- I bought something for each of my children, and I do not know how I had forgotten the girl. I cannot go home empty-handed, without taking her the orange.

- If you want me to give you the orange, you'd have to give her to me, that girl ... the Ogre said.

- "I'll give her to you," said the man.

- The day I will come to take her, there will be rain, thunder, and wind...

The ogre waited for a while, and the rainy day came. A man stood at the door, they thought it was a beggar asking for alms; A dish of food was taken to him by the girl, but he put it on the ground, took the girl, and left.

The children then said to their father:

- The girl did not come back...

"The Ogre took her," he said.

- How come? The Ogre?!

- It was the day I brought an orange that he had told me he would come and take her. I gave her to him, now he took her, it's over.

Then, the boys were preparing themselves, they learned to perform feats; one learned how to take the silk out of the bush of the jujube tree, the other to open the earth with a sledgehammer; one became a "listener" and another an archer.



They said to each other: "we will bring our sister back ". They left, they walked and walked until they found the house of the Ogre. They entered. The ogre returned home and told them: "the stable for the brothers-in-law and the interior for the owners". They answered him: "the stable for the owners of the house and the interior for the brothers-in-law. »

He prepared dinner for them, they took it, and then they slept.

That night, when he slept, he put the girl's hair between his teeth, if she ever gets up, he will wake up. And the brothers consulted one another, and said,

- Listen, you "listener" ...

- "He's snoring," he replied.

- "To you now", they said to the one that extracts silk from the thorns of the jujube tree ...

He removed all the hair of his sister from the ogre's teeth, and then he freed the girl.

They said to the third:

- Open the floor to us, you, who claps the sledgehammer.

He hit, the floor opened and they went out.

They asked the listener again:

- Listen, listener! ...

"He's still sleeping," he said.

- Listen again, listener...

He said to them: -He woke up.

- Listen, listener ... again!

- He roams his house...

They walked and walked ...

They said again:

- Listen, listener...

- He took our way...

He pursued them and little left for him to catch them up.

The sledgehammer guy opened the ground and they entered into it. He had chased them but in vain. The ogre stood, looked up at the sky and saw an eagle who asked him: "What are you doing?"

The ogre told him what happened and the eagle answered him:

- Easy thing! When I see her, I'll bring her back through the air

And when he saw them, he pricked them and took the girl.

They said to the archer: "shoot him! Shoot him!"

He shot an arrow from the bow, made the eagle fall; they released the girl and then, they went home.

## C6. Tassa n u qalmun

### *Amacahu,Rebbi ad tt-yesselhu ad tighzif amzun d asaru*

Zik-nni, yella yiwen urgaz yettidir netta d yemma-s akked tmeṭṭut-is. Tamɣart d teslit ur d-myezgent ara; ma tenna-d yiwet d amellal, tayev ad tini d aberkan. Netta, ma yedda d yemma-s, tamettut-is ad teddem akk lqecc-is ad as-tini: “ad ruḥey ”. Ma yedda d tmeṭṭut-is, yemma-s ad teččeh, trennu-as yir ddeewat.

Yiwen wass, tamɣart d teslit myegzarent d a tenna-yas tmeṭṭut i urgaz-is: “Ur nettaf ara talwit alamma tenyid yemma-k. Azekka, ini-yas ad teddu er teégi ad d-tezdemem. Mi tekna er yes aren, wwet-itt s tqabact s aqerru, yerna hwaḡey ad iyi-d-tawid tasa-s”.

Azekka-nni ssbeh, iruh akked yemma-s. wwden er teégi, rran-tt i wejmee n use ru. Yerḡa armi tekna yemma-s, iwwet-itt s tqabact s aqerru, yenya-tt. Izuyer-itt er yiwen n udarnu, iferret-itt, ikkes-as-id tasa-s, yerra-tt-id deg uqelmun. Iyawel imdel tafekka-nni n yemma-s. mi d-yuḡal s axxam, imlal-d sin n yimakaren, mi walan aqelmun icuff-d, ḡilen d idrimen, byan ad t-eerrin. Maca mi wwden ḡur-s, tneggez-d tasa-nni er lqaea, tettefriwis. Tenteq er yimakaren: “ ḡUrwe-t, ur iyi-yuriw, ay iedawen ur t-neqqet!” d a rewlen yimakaren-nni.

Gas akken yegra-d netta d tmeṭṭut-is kan, yendem ur tt-yufi, rhagit fell-as wussan. Ilehhu, yeqqar: “Gas akka nyiy yemma, d tasa ines iyi-ihudden”.

### *Tamacahut-iw tefra am uâeqqa di tferka.*

## C6. The Lever of the Hood

### *A tale, that the Great Lord beautifies, and that it extends like the colourful belt of wool.*

There was once a man who lived with his wife and his mother. The old woman and her daughter-in-law did not get along; if one of them said that something is white, the other will tell her that

it is black. He, if he sided with his mother, his wife would then take all her trousseau and tell him: "I'm leaving". If he sided with his wife, his mother would get upset and would curse him too.

One day, the old woman and the wife started a fight; and the woman told her husband:

-There will be no peace in this house until you get rid of your mother. Tomorrow, tell her to go with you to the forest to bring some wood. When she bends down to pick up the pieces of wood, give her an ax blow to the head ... and also, I want you to bring me her liver. "

The next morning, he went to the forest with his mother and both cut wood.

He waited for his mother to bend down, he then hit her on the head and he killed her.

He dragged her to a hole where he hid her, ripped her liver, and put it in his hood.

He quickly buried her body, and on his way home, he met two thieves.

When they saw the hood, they thought that money was in it. So, they wanted to dispossess him.

When they got very close to him, the liver<sup>112</sup> bounced towards the ground, moving... trembling... it then told them: "be careful! do not kill him, he did not give birth to me but I did give birth to him"

Then those thieves fled.

Even if the man ended up alone with his wife, He regretted it a lot, but it was too late; the days became bitter.

He wandered, talking to himself: "Even though I had killed my mother, it was her liver that saved me.

*My story is as clear as grains in a field*

## **C 7. Tasaft n uwayezniw: Baba Inu Ba.**

*Amacahu! Rebbi ad tt-isselhu, ad tiyzif amzun d asaru.*

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<sup>112</sup> Center of love and emotions in the kabyle imaginary ,

Zik-nni, yella yiwen umyar, yezdey di tæcciwat, tezga-d deg teẓgi, yekref, ur yettembiwil ara. Yal ass tettawi-as yelli-s n mmi-s tagella. Mi tuweḍ ad as-tini: «Ttxil-k ldi-yi-n tawwurt a baba inu ba...», netta yetara-as-id: «Sçençen tizebgatin-im a yelli Ẓriba».

Yiwen n wass, iεuss-iten-id uwayezniw, yesla-asen amek i ttemsawalen. Azekka-nni, uqbel ad d-tawid teqcict, iruḥ yer tæcciwat, yenna-as: «Ttxil-k ldi-yi-n tawwurt a baba inu ba...», maca netta tayect-is d tazurant, yukez-it-id umyar-nni, yenna-as-id: «Rrez-iyi syin!» Amek ara yexdem? Iruḥ yer yiwen n useḥḥar; yenna-as-id: «Ruḥ ečč tamemt, ḍleq di **telmat** i yitij, anef i **tburga** n uweṭṭuf ad tettawi ad tettarra id tayect-ik alamma tuyal am tin teqcict-nni. Mi ara truḥeḍ yer tæcciwat n umyar awi yid-k snesla akken ad iyil d tizebgatin». Yexdem akken i as-yenna useḥḥar-nni. Azekka-nni, kra n wakud uqbel ad d-taweḍ teqcict, iruḥ yer tæcciwat n umyar, yenna-as: «Ttxil-k ldi-yi-n tawwurt a baba inu ba... ».

Amyar ur d-yeeqil ara tayect-is, yerra-as-id: « Sçençen tizebgatin-im a yelli Ẓriba». Aweyazniw yeddem-d snesla yesçençen-itt. Amyar yeldi-d tawwurt; yekcem uwayezniw, yečča-t. Yeqqim dinna yettraḡu taqcict-nni. Mi d-tuweḍ, twala idammen ffyen-d ddaw n tewwurt. Tessawel: « Ttxil-k ldi-yi-n tawwurt a baba inu ba...». Yerra-as-id, s tayect-is d tareqqaqt. Terra iman-is truḥ ad tekcem, mi tuweḍ yer tewwurt, tsekkwer-itt yer berra, terwel. Tuzzel yer taddart tenna-asen ayen yeḍran. Usan-d wat-taddart d tirni, uwin-d yid-sen tizedmin, zzin-as-tent i tecciwat-nni, mekknen-as times, terya, yerya uwayezniw yid-s.

Yezri useggas, temyi-d tasaft anda akken yerya uwayezniw, ssawalen-as tasaft n uwayezniw. Tekfa tuggdi n uwayezniw yef medden, d isem-is kan akked tedyant-is i d-yegran.

### **C7 The Oak of the Ogre "My Papa Pa."**

*May God beautifies this story, and that it may be as long as the colourful woollen belt.*

There used to be an old man living in a shack inside a forest. He was paralyzed and could not move. It was his granddaughter who regularly brought him the bread. Once at the door, she used to say to him, "My Papa Pa, open the door, please ..."

And he replied: «daughter Ghariba shake your bracelets so that they ring. »

One day the Ogre spied on them and heard how they called each other.

The next day, before the girl reached the shack, the ogre went by the door and said:

"Open the door, please, my papa pa ..."

But he has a stentorian voice and the old man scolded him saying: «Go away from her!"

How to do it? The ogre then went to see a sorcerer who told him:

-Go and eat honey, you drop *telmat*\*\*\* in the sun and let the *tburga*\*\*\* of ants go back and forth in your throat until your voice turns as soft as that of the girl. When you go to the old man's house, take a chain with you so that the old man takes it for bracelets.

He did as the sorcerer had recommended. The next day, sometime before the arrival of the girl, he went to the old man's house and said, "Open the door, please, my Papa, Pa ..."

The old man did not recognize his voice and replied:

"shake your bracelets my daughter Ghariba", The Ogre grabbed the chain and made it ring. The old man opened the door; the Ogre went in and devoured him.

Then he stayed there waiting for the girl. When she arrived, she saw blood going out under the door. Then she called out: "Open the door, please my Papa Pa," He answered, but in a thin voice. She pretended to go in, but once she reached the door; she closed it from the outside and then escaped.

She ran to the village and told them what was happening. The villagers then, went with bundles of wood, of which they surrounded the house and then they set a fire that burned the Ogre.

A year passed, and an oak tree grew where the Ogre had been burned, and since then it is called the Oak of the Ogre".

No more fear of the Ogre, only his name, and his story survived.

### **C8. Dda Yehya Azrem**

Yella yiwen nurgaz d amattar, la yetnadi axedim. Iלהּהּ, ileהּהּ ar mi yiweđ ar uxxam n wayzen. Mi yekcem, yenna-as wayzen-nni: "rwađ ad txedmeđ yur-i, mi d-yiweđ lweqt n tfellaht terwaheđ". Ihi, yeččur-as-d ađellae n lxedra, iruđ. Mi d lweqt n tfelaht, yiwi-d tameťut-is d sin warraw-is. Tameťut-nni txeddem-as lecyel deg uxxam, tettagem-d. Ma d wayzen yettrebbi-as yiwen seg warraw-nni nes. Wayzen-nni, yettili dixel n uđrir, ur diteffey ara.

Yiwen wass, truđ ad d-tagem, tesla-as yeqqar i mmi-s-nni: "ttuh, ttuha i mmi, yemma-k d imekli-inu, baba-k d imensi-inu, keč d asfađ n wul-inu". Tuđal yer uxxam, tenna i urgaz-is: kker a yargaz ad nruđ, wagi d wayzen yebya ay-yeč!. Yenna-as: "ruđ akkin, kemini, am yefk Rebbi rađo ad akem-yewwet! Terwiđ učan, terwiđ aya, tura kem ad tefyeđ fell-I". Tenna-as: "ad ruheý ad d-awiy aman. Tekker fell-as tmetut nni akken ad truđ ad d-tagem aman, terfed aqrur-nni af uzagur-is, terwel.

Tleהּהּ, tufa lyar n yizrem. Tenna-as: "fteהּ, fteהּ a lyar n yizrem, argaz-iw d wayzen

ad iyi-yeč!”Yenna-as: “kcem a lalt n sseed-im yeqwa”Tenna-as: “aql-I usiy-d a win yuran di twenza”. Yeldi-d lyar-nni, tekcem.Tufa Dda yehya izrem-nni, temmut-as tmetut, tedja-as-d aqrur.Ar mi d tameddit n wass-nni, yerja, yerja urgaz-nni, ad dtuy al tmetut-nni, ur d-tuyal ara.Iruh yer uxxam n wayzen-nni, yetef-itYenna-as “ansi ad ak-bduy, a win ur nebdi?” Yenna-as: “as-iniy yiwi-t widi, bdu-iyi seg uqerru ur nuyi rray n tmetut”.Yenna-as: “ansi ad ak-bduy a win ur nebdi?” Yenna-as: “ as-iniy yiwi-t widi, bdu-yi seg yivaren ur neddi akked tmetut. Teqqim tmetut-nni daxel n lyar n yizrem-nni. Yebren taxatemt-nni n leεob, ibed-d yef tjeħnivit-is. Yenna-as yizrem-nni: “ad kem ayeç!” Teqbel-it tmetut-nni.Umbaed tekreh aqrur-nni i d-tiwi ar urgaz-nni. Tenna-as i yizrem-nni: “ruh ihi, mi tiwvev kcem-as i teqbuct iyi, mi iruh ad isew, teqsev-t-id ad yemmet”.mmi-s-nni n yizrem yeskacafIhi, yezwar-as, as yini:” uh a bab, acu la tetteggeç dagi a baba?” As-yinni:” la tteaniy ciħteh n win **yetretren** ad t-swey!” Tenna-as: “seg mi akka ruh ihi kcem-as deg tukufit-ina yehbuben, as-iniy ma ad yid-yini ad čey, ruh ad tekseç, teqsev-t”.Ad yezwir aru mmi-s-nni, as yini: “acu la tetteggeç dagi a baba?”As-yini: “neck d amyar la tteaniy aεeqqa n win leggayen ad tčey”. Akken, akken, tenna-as: “seg mi akka ur teçi ara, akayi!”.Tenna-as: “ha-tentura la tllaεaben takurt deg wassif, kcem-as di tjellabt, dya mi iruh ad tt-yels, teqsev-it”. Ifaq-as mmi-s-nni yenna-assen i wid-akyettlaεaben akked-s: “ddeqt, ddeqt i tjellabt n dda Meħduq”.Nnyan izrem-nni.Ass mi i d-uusan ar uxxam, tenna-assen : “ i baba-twen a tarwa!”. Yenna-as: “ur ériy ara, uffiy-d izrem i tjellabt n dada; neny-at”.Tenna-assen: “εedit werrim-iyi-t-id”. Truh, tqelleb-it tekkes-as-d sem-nni”.Ass-nnitesseb-assen berkukec, imiren tga-t i mmi-s-nni n yizrem, tuyal maçi i mmi-s-nni irebba wayzen, akken ad-tenney-it”.Ifaq-as, yenna-as: “awi-d ad swey”.Tekker, idewwer tabaqit-ni, teča sem-nni, temmut. Qqimen di sin, d iguilen.

Yenna-as dda yehya-nni izrem : “tura ad neħtef ad nqaveε, lameεna ħader azrareq n tuħtuçuin, azraraq n tuħtuçin balak ad tqaveεç yur-s”.

Ass-ni, anda yedda wadin as-yezwir, anda yedda as-yezwir wadin.

Dya yenna-as: “ah! Anda ddiy d azrreq n teħtuçuin, tebra ad qaçεey kan ».

Iquveε, ass mi Iquveε, yuyal la yettbaba tamyart si sbaħ ar mi d tameddit, taquciyv iqeccuven, ad yeks lmal-nni, taqrist akked tiydit, seba n tejqiwi, ad ten-id-yetħef”.

Ar mi d ass-nni, mlalen, dda yehya iεqel-it, ma d wadin ur t-yeεqil ara.

Yenħeq yur-s, yenna-as: “amek i tettliv a leflani?” Yenna-as: “amek ad iliy, taquciyv iqeccuven, ad ħfey seba n tejqiwin, taleqqimi akked d tidit”. Yenna-as: “ha-tta tidit, ruh ad ak-tawi ar mi d axxam, Ak-iniy acu ad t-xedmev mi tleħqed, qqen actal-agi, tefkevasen

lqut, amiren, truḥeḍ ad d-tagmev, d ayagi i d ccyel neck, ma d nekkini, adawiy actal-agi n wigi”. Yerra yer wasif yelqeḍ-d tiqurejmiwin, yettef tamyert-nni ar mi tecfee di Rebbi, taquciwt-nni ur tt-id yiwi ara.

Ass mi d-yelḥeq taqrist tidit, utan taqrist-nni yer yigenni, ma iḥuz-att netta ad tteč, ma ulac ad tt-teč tidit-nni Yenna-as: “neck mači d aydi, akken ad čey taqristagiakked tidit, fket-iyi-d imensi, ayen tessebbem!”. Nna-as: “ihi, ayyer ur d-tiwid ara taquciwt iqeccuḍen?”. Yenna-asen: “eyiy”. Nnan-as: “I temyert-agi ayyer akka?” Yenna-asen : “ad telḥu yef yidaren-is, eyiy ula d nekini”. Akken, akken, ar mi d ass wis teltiyam, isegrireb amyār-nni, yerna tamyart-nni; yiwi lmal-nni, iruḥ. Iga taēccet akked d gma-as. Sacen imiren di lehna

### **C8 Sir Yahia the Serpent**

There was a man, a beggar, who was looking for work. He walked and walked until he arrived at the Ogre’s house. That ogre said to him: "come and work at my place when the time of cultivations comes." He filled him a basket of vegetables and then the man left. When the cultivations season came, the man went back to the ogre’s house with his wife and his two sons. The woman did the housework and the chores of water. As for the ogre, he took care of one of the man’s sons. He was **surrounded by silk\***<sup>113</sup> and never went out.

One day, when the woman was about to go to the fountain, she heard the ogre say to her son: "la ... la ... la ... la ... my son, your mother is my lunch, your father will be my supper and you will be the "delight" of the heart."

She went home and said to her husband:

-wake up man! let’s go, that man is an Ogre, he wants to devour us.

He replied:

-Go away from here; may God make you sick! Here, in the ogre’s house, you eat to your heart's content and now you tell me nonsense. \*\*\*\*\*

She then answered:

- “I’ll go get some water ... "and she went away.

Pretending to fetch water, she took her son on her back and fled.

She walked till she found a serpent’s hole, she said:

-Open, serpent’s hole, my husband is with the Ogre, who wants to eat me"!

He replied,

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<sup>113</sup>Spoiled and tenderly taken care of

-Come in, woman of good destiny.

She said:

"I come in; you are written in my destiny\* ".

The cave opened and she entered, there, she found Sir Yahiya the serpent whose wife had just died, leaving him with a son.

The man at the ogre's waited for the return of his wife but in vain.

The ogre grabbed him and said to him: "From where will I start eating you? You, *unstarted*"

The man replied: " I will say that I was caught by the \*\*\*, start by my head that did not listen to the woman's advice. »

The ogre again said to him: "From whence will I start eating you"

- I will say that I was caught by the \*\*\*, Start by my feet that did not accompany the woman." the man replied.

The woman remained in the cave of the serpent. He turned a magical ring and he, the serpent, stood and said to the woman, "I would like to marry you!" The woman accepted, but she started to hate the child she had with the first man.

The woman then said to the serpent: "Go into the jar of whey, when he is about to drink it, bite him and he will die.

The serpent's son divined things; he went before the woman's son and said to his father: "Oh, father...what are you doing there, father?" The serpent answered: "I'm struggling like a\*\*\*\*\* to drink it ..."

The woman then said: "Since it is so, go into the silo of dried figs, I will tell my son -when he is angry- to go and take some figs from there and you will bite him. »

The snake's son went ahead of him again and said, "What are you doing here father?" he replied, "I am old now, and I am looking for a tender fig to eat it. ».

Then she said to herself: "since it's so, it does not work that way ...». She said to the snake: "my son is now playing the ball by the river, you go into his djellaba<sup>114</sup>, when he wears it, you'll bite him. "

The son of the serpent warned the others of the danger and said to those who played with him, -"Throw stones on my brother Mehdouk's Djellaba. "

They killed the snake. When they returned home, she said to them:

- "And your father, children...?"



The son of the serpent replied:

- "I do not know; I found a snake in the Djellaba of big brother and we killed it"

She replied, "Come and show it to me. "

She then turned the dead snake upset down and took its venom. On that day, she prepared them "Berkoukes."<sup>115</sup>, she put the venom on the serpent's son side of the plate; it was no longer her son that the Ogre raised that she wanted to kill; it's the serpent's son that she wanted to poison. He divined this and asked her, "Give me something to drink". Then he changed the dish's position, she ate the venom and died. Both children became orphans.

Then the son of the serpent told his brother: " now it is time to say goodbye ... but beware of blue-eyed men; do not approach them»

Each day, wherever he was going to, a man with blue eyes was ahead of him then he said to himself: "Then, I will go to a man with blue eyes, and that's it!"

He engaged with him; then he found himself carrying an old woman from morning till night; as he must cut a bundle of wood and carry it; keep the herd; share \*\*\*\*\*with a dog, catch seven\*\*\*\*\*.

On the day they met again, the son of the serpent had not recognized his brother but this latter did.

He spoke to him and said, "How are you doing"? He replied: "How am I going? \*\*\*\* a bundle of wood, take seven \*\*\*\*\*and share some crumbs with a dog". And here is the dog, she will take you to the house. I'll tell you what you'll do when you arrive, you tie this \*\*\*\*\*and you give it to eat, you will go get water, it will be your job, as for me, I will bring back the \*\*\*\*\*of those. He went to the river, picked up pieces of solid wood; he took the old one to the point where it imploded forgiveness with God and he did not take the fagot.

When it arrives, we will throw \*\*\*\*\*If the dog catches it, it will eat it, otherwise, it will not eat it. He says: "I am not a dog to eat this *taqrist* and this *tidit*; serve me dinner, including what you had prepared. They said, "Why didn't you bring a bundle of wood? he replied: "I am tired." They answered him: "And this old woman, why so ...?"

They told them, "Let her walk on her legs, I'm tired too."

And so it was, until the third day, he rolled the old woman and the old man in a ravine, took the herd, left and built \*\*\* a dwelling and he lived with his brother in peace.

## C9. Tehriruch

Tehriruc d isem n yiwen weqcici. Ass deg-wussan n tefsut, iruh ad yeks akraren deg lexla. Am icawraren, Tehriruc itsurar, itsazal, itsadhsa, ittafar ifertetta. yer tmeddit inher lmal-is yer wexxam. Ur izri, akraren-is yezzan tineqwlin, babas irfa, iwwet-it.

Tehriruc itsru, iggul ur itcci imensi, yemmas tenna :

- Tehriruc a mmi, rwah atseccedh imensi, imensi semmedh.

Inna-yas : A yemma anef iyi. Ur tetsay ara imensi.

Yemmas tenteq s aâekkaz : Ay aâekkaz, wwet Tehriruc, yugi ad yetcc imensi, imensi semmedh. Aâekkaz yug iad yewwet Tehriruc.

Tenteq yer tmes : A times etcc aâekkaz, aâekkaz yugi ad iwwet Tehriruc, Tehriruc yugi ad yetcc imensi, imensi semmedh. Times tugi.

Tentaq s aman : Ay aman senset times, times tugi atsetcc aâekkaz, aâekkaz yugi ad iwwet Tehriruc, Tehriruc yugi ad yetcc imensi, imensi semmedh. Aman ugin ad sensen times.

-Tentaq s azgar tenna-yas : Ay azger sew aman, aman ugin ad sensen times, times tugi atsecc aâekkaz, aâekkaz yugi ad iwwet Tehriruc, Tehriruc yugi ad yetcc imensi, imensi semmedh.

Azger yugi ad yisew aman.

-Yemmas n Tehriruc tenteq s ajenwi : Ay ajenwi, zlu azger, azger yugi ad yessew aman, aman ugin ad sensen times, times tugi atsetcc aâekkaz, aâekkaz yugi ad yewwet Tehriruc, Tehriruc yugi ad yetcc imensi, imensi semmedh. Ajenwi yugi.

-Tenteq ar tafruyt : A tafruyt arz ajenwi, ajenwi yugi ad yezlu azger, azger yugi ad yessew aman, aman ugin ad sensen times, times tugi atsetcc aâekkaz, aâekkaz yugi ad yewwet Tehriruc, Tehriruc yugi ad yetcc imensi, imensi semmedh. Tafruyt tugi.

-Tezzi tmettut s aÿerda, tenna-yas : Ay aÿerda, yezza tafruyt, tafruyt tugi ad terz ajenwi, ajenwi yugi ad yezlu azger, azger yugi ad yessew aman, aman ugin ad sensen times, times tugi atsetcc aâekkaz, aâekkaz yugi ad yewwet Tehriruc, Tehriruc yugi ad yetcc imensi, imensi semmedh. Aÿerda yugi.

Tameÿtut tamcumt ur tezri d acu yellan, amcici ismiâu, ineggez-ed seg taâriçt, dÿa tenna-yas : Ay amcic etcc aÿerda, aÿerda yugi ad iÿezza tafruyt, tafruyt tugi ad terz ajenwi, ajenwi yugi ad yezlu azger, azger yugi ad yessew aman, aman ugin ad sensen times, times tugi atsetcc aâekkaz, aâekkaz yugi ad yewwet Tehriruc, Tehriruc yugi ad yetcc imensi, imensi semmedh.

Amcic ismiâu inna : A rrbeh a bab inu.

Igenni yuÿal tsamurt.

-Aÿerda inna : Awi-d tafruyt atsyezzay.

-Tafruyt tenna : Ad gezmey ajenwi.

-Ajenwi inna : Ad zluÿ azger.

-Azger inna : Ad swey aman.

-Aman nnan : An sens times.

-Times tenna : Ad tceey aâekkaz.

-Aâekkaz inna : Ad wwtey Tehriruc.

-Tehriruc inna : Ad tceey imensi.

At wexxam tterdhqen tsadhsa, ijeqdhuren marra ylin-d, idda-d ugazi n tsmar a t-netcc akken nehder.

## **C9. Tehrirush**

Tehriruch is the name of a little boy. One spring day, as usual, he went to graze his flock of lambs in the field. Like all boys of his age, Tehriruch was playing, running, laughing, and having fun chasing butterflies. In the evening, when he was driving his flock home, he noticed that while he was having fun, his lambs had been eating the fig leaves of their property without him paying attention to that.

His father immediately learned about that, so; he punished him with a good spanking.

Tehriruch cried and swore not to dine but his mother called him:

- Tehriruch, my son, come to dine, the dinner is cooling up.

He answered her:

- Mother! leave me alone. I will not have dinner.

His mother addressed the objects and said to them:

- Stick, beat Tehriruch, he refuses to take his dinner, and dinner begins to cool. The stick refused to beat Tehriruch.

She addressed the fire:

- Fire! Consume the stick, the stick refuses to beat Tehriruch, Tehriruch refuses to take his dinner, dinner begins to cool. The fire refused.

She turned to the water:

- Water! Extinguish the fire, the fire refuses to consume the stick, the stick refuses to beat Tehriruch, Tehriruch refuses to take his dinner, dinner begins to cool. The water refused to extinguish the fire.

She addressed the ox and said to him:

- ox, drink the water, the water refuses to extinguish the fire, the fire refuses to consume the stick, the stick refuses to beat Tehriruch, Tehriruch refuses to take his dinner, dinner begins to cool. The ox refused to drink the water.

Tehriruch's mother called the sword:

- sword, slaughter the ox, the ox refuses to drink the water, the water refuses to extinguish the fire, the fire refuses to consume the stick, the stick refuses to beat Tehriruch, Tehriruch refuses to take his dinner, the dinner starts to cool. The sword refused.

She addresses *Tafruyt*<sup>116</sup>:

- *Tafruyt*, break the sword, the sword refuses to slaughter the ox, the ox refuses to drink the water, the water refuses to extinguish the fire, the fire refuses to consume the stick, the stick refuses to beat Tehriruch, Tehriruch refuses to take his dinner, dinner begins to cool. *Tafruyt* refused.

The woman turned to the mouse and said:

- Mouse, nibble *Tafruyt*, *Tafruyt* refuses to break the sword, the sword refuses to slaughter the ox, the ox refuses to drink the water, the water refuses to extinguish the fire, the fire refuses to consume the stick, the stick refuses to beat Tehriruch, Tehriruch refuses to take his dinner, dinner begins to cool. The mouse refused.

The poor woman did not know where to turn. At that moment, the cat-while meowing- jumped from the granary and the woman asked her:

- cat, devour the mouse, the mouse refuses to nibble *Tafruyt*, *Tafruyt* refuses to break the sword, the sword refuses to slaughter the ox, the ox refuses to drink the water, the water refuses to extinguish the fire, the fire refuses to consume the stick, the stick refuses to beat Tehriruch, Tehriruch refuses to take his dinner, dinner begins to cool.

The cat meowed and said:

- With pleasure mistress.

There, a turnaround of the situation.

The mouse retracts and says:

- Give me *Tafruyt* I'll nibble it.

*Tafruyt* says: "I'm going to break the sword."

The sword to pursue: "I'm going to slaughter the ox."

And to the ox to say: "I'm going to drink the water."

Followed by the water that says: "I'm going to extinguish the fire."

And the fire says: "I'm going to burn the stick."

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<sup>116</sup> An ancient tool used by Kabyle blacksmiths: the researcher could not find its equivalent in English or even French, it resembles a knife

The stick: "I'll beat Tehriruch"

And Tehriruch said: "I'll have dinner."

All the members of the house laughed out loud, and all the utensils fell down, in addition to a branch full of dates that we'll all share.

### **C10. Aberkan n uqerru**

*Macahu... qedlahu, tameayt-iw ad tecbeḥ ad tecbu asaru, ad timyur annect n ujgu,  
tamacahutt n « Uberkan n Uqerru ».*

Yella yiwen n umyar yesea yiwet n texriqt, iruḥ yenqec-itt iwakken ad yezree deg-s cwiṭ n nneema, zik ttidiren medden ala di nneema...Nneqcen tiḥriqin-nsen, izuḡar-nsen...

Mi i yella ineqqec, yufa yiwet n tesraft...di tesraft-a day, yufa deg-s yiwen n umdan d aberkan n uqerruy, yiwen n yizrem d yiwen n yilef day...

Yekker yilef-nni yenna-as-d i umyar-a :

- A baba amyar, sali-iyi-n...rfed-iyi-d si tesraft-a...
- Ugadey-k ! yerra-as umyar-a...gadey ad ak-id-refdey, ad i yi-tesxelēd
- Udey-k s lemehda n Rebbi fi lemehda n Rebbi, ur ak-xelēy ur ak-ččiḡ, ur ak-sxelēy ur ak-ččiḡ ur tufiḍ d acu ad ak-t-xedmey...rfed-iyi ad ak-ehdey ad ak-nefēy...

Icedda yerfed-it-id umyar-nni.

Mi i t-id-yerfed, yekker yekkes-d cwiṭ seg ucebbub-is, yenna-as : « ax a baba amyar, ass deg i yi-teḡwaḡeḍ, gerr cituḡ yer lkanun, ad ak-id-awḡey...melmi i yi-teḡwaḡeḍ...ur ttaggaḍ, aqli ad ruḡey.

Yenna-as umyar-nni : « ruḡ a mmi ad isehhel Rebbi... »

Iruḡ...

Yekker yizrem-nni day : « sufey-iyi-d ula d nek si tesraft-a. »

Yerra-as umyar-nni :

- ggadey ad i yi-teqseḍ...
- udey s Rebbi d lemehda n Rebbi ur ak-qqisey, ur ak-cuffey, ur tessiḍ d acu ad ak-xedmey, yerna aha-t ad i yi-teḡwiḡeḍ, yer lxir...

Icedda yessuli-t-id yerfed-it-id.

Yekker yizrem-nni yefka-as-d « ccegeṭ-is ».

Ireggec « cegget-nni », yenna-as :

- Ax a baba amyar, melmi i tedrured teḥwaḡeṭ-iyi, gerr ciṭuḥ n tceggeṭ-nni yer lkanun, ad ak-d-rrey lxiṛ i yi-txeḍmeḍ ass-a, ad ak-id-awḍey...
- Yerbeḥ a mmi, ruḥ ad isehhel Rebbi, yenna-as umyar-nni.

Yegra-d uberkan-nni n uqerru, d amdan, yenna-as day, am wiyiḍ : « Sali-yi-d a baba amyar ».

- Gadey-k !
- Amek !? izrem ur t-teggadeḍ ara, ilef ur t-teggadeḍ ara, nek teggadeḍ-iyi ?!
- Gadey-k, cabek-iyi- s Rebbi ma ulac d acu ad i yi-txeḍmeḍ...yerra-as umyar-nni.

Icubek-it s Rebbi, yerna yenna-as : « ma nyiy-k ma yella d acu ad ak-xedmey ».

Yerfed-it-id si tesraft-nni, iruḥ uberkan n uqerru-nni.

Ma d amyar-nni, yenqec armi yeeya, yuḡal-d s axxam, yeḥka acu i yeḍran i temyart-is. Yenna-as : « ufiy yiwet n tasraft, ha-t d acu i yeḍran, ha-t d acu i yeḍran... », yeḥka-as-d yeḥ wacu i yufa di tesraft-nni yerfed-iten-id.

Tenna-as temyart-nni :

- Ihi ay amyar, imi ay amyar, aqla-k-id ur tezmired ara ad tneqceḍ, lukan ad as-tegreḍ cwiṭ n ucebbub-nni i yilef ad d-iruḥ, ad ak-feglen taḥriqt-nni inek, fiḥel ma tneqceḍ keččini...
- Awi-d fk-iyi-d ihi cwiṭ n ucebbub-nni...

Acku d tamyart-nni i ijemeen ayen i as-d-ḡḡan wid akken i tuḡ di tesraft...

Truḥ temyart tefka-as-d cwiṭ seg ucebbub-nni iger-it di lkanun.

Atan yiweḍ-d yilef-nni, yenna-as :

- D acu i tebyiḍ a baba amyar ?
- A mmi, taḥriqt deg i yi-d-tufiḍ neqcey, aqli ur as-zmirey ara, lemmer ad iyi-tt-id-tneqceḍ, ad tt-id-tfegleḍ, ad ṭuḡḡeḍ...
- Zree-itt, d irden ney d timzin, ney d acu ad txeḍmeḍ, mi i d-yeḡli yiḍ ad ak-id-awḍey...

Yekker yezreε-itt tameddit n wass, deg yiḍ, yewwi-d akk atmaten-is yilef-nni, ifeggel-itt ...mi i d-yiweḍ unebdu yesserwet-d ; yella-d lxiṛ.

Tekker tenṭeq-d temyart-nni tenna :

- Nneema attan teum, lemmer ad tazned i yilef-nni, ad ak-d-yini amek ara ad nexdem...

Yekker yeşşery cwiţ seg uceebbub-nni, yiweđ-d yilef-nni yenna-as :

- D acu i teħwağed a baba amyar ?
- Twalađ taħriqt-nni i tfeglem ? twalađ azal n nneema i d-yuğalen ? maca, xuşşey deg umeşruf, ur seiğ ara idrimen...

Ilef-nni yenna-as ihi : « ass n leflani, ad tili tmeğra deg uxxam n sselţan, ad n-truğed u ad tayeđ tterf ; mi ara ad yekker ubendir, ad qwun lğaci, ad yekker day uhewir ; tilawin ad ilint ksant akk isyunen-nsent ; da, ad eeddiğ nek, ad srewley tilawin ; irgazen ad d-azlen deffir-i. Keç, di thağayt-a, ad tekred ad teemred azref-nni akk, ad teççared taylut-ik.

Yerna yenna yilef-nni i umyar-a day : « aberkan-nni n uqerru, yuğal d aheddad n uzref...Win ukd i ağ d-teksed si tesraft. »

Yexdem akenni umyar-nni, agellid yewwi-d tislit, tilawin zwant ad ferğent deg ubendir...Amyar-a iruğ yeççur-d taylut-is...Yuğal-d s axxam...

Yerra yer uberkan n uqerru-nni, yenna-as :

- Ay aberkan n uqerru, ad i yi-tessefsiđ azref, ad i yi-t-terred d idrimen...
- Awi-yi-t-id...i as-d-yerra

Yewwi-as umyar-nni azref-nni akk, yejmeē-it, iruğ yesseēlem sselţan yef unedruy-a :

- Amyar « flan » yuker-ak azref-ik...Win n sut n wurar, inebgawen-ik...Win yef i tettnadiđ...Atan yewwi-t-id umyar...

Yekker sselţan-nni, yuzen ieessasen, wwin-d amyar-nni. Yenna-asen ad as-d-tezzim s yeşşaren, ad t-teşşeryem...

Teedda temyart-is, tenna-asen

- Ğğet-iyi ad as-fkey ad yesseħmu ciğ, atan yenya-t usemmiđ...Si-a ad t-teşşeryem, ad yesseħmu ciğ...

Nettat, yuy-itt lğal tebya ad as-temmesli yef « tcerbeğ »-nni n yizrem...Tenna-as :

- Ticerbeğ n yizrem ad ak-temnee si temmest ?

Yeğtef-itt ihi, iger-itt yer temmest, tamyart-nni tuğal yer uxxam.

Yusa-d yizrem-nni, yer temyart-nni, yenna-as : « d acu i tebyiđ a yemma tamyart ? »

Terra-as :

- Aħeddad n uzref yezzenz amyār-nni i ššetān, atan wwin-t ; zzin-as s temmest iwakken ad t-ššeryen...
- Ad t-sseryen ! wa d ccyell-iw...

Ššetān-nni yella yesea mmi-s di dduħ...

Iruħ yizrem yenneḍ i temgerṭ n ulqaq-a. Akken truħ yemma-s ad t-id-terfed, yuki, tufa izrem-nni annect n yillat, yezzi-as i temgerṭ-is. Tēeggeḍ, tenna i urgaz-is :

- Ay argaz, txedēeḍ-iyi, deewessu n umyār-inna s way-s i yenneḍ yizrem i mmi ! Brut i umyār ad iruħ, ma ulac mmi ad yemmet !

Usan-d yer yizrem-nni, ħiwten-t s Rebbi, nnan-as :

- Ad tersed seg ulqaq-nni...
- Ur d-ttrusuy ara !!! i asen-d-yerra...

Nnan-as ad t-wten s tmegħelt...Ma wten-t, aqcic-nni ad yemmet.

Rnan ħiwten-t s Rebbi day, ad d-yini kan acu i yebya...

Yenna-asen :

-awit-d aħeddad n uzref, ad as-teksem aqerru-is, ad beçey axecxac-is...Ma ur walay ara aqerru-s ifelleq, ad beçey...Yerna amyār-inna ad t-terrem yer uxxam-is.

Wwin-d aħeddad n uzref, felqen aqerru-is, yebceħ yizrem-nni akken i d-yenna.

Yeqqel-d yer ššetān-nni, a Sid Ššetān : « amyār-nni, ad as-tekkeḍ ad yidir arma i yemmut, ma ulac, ad qley arma d mmi-k-aki.

Yeqbel ššetān-nni ccerṭ-nni, yefka leehd i umyār-nni...

*Tamacahutt-iw lwad-lwad, ħkiy-tt-id i warraw n leğwad ; tfuk tmacahutt-iw, ur ifuk warezg-  
iw...*

## **C10. The Black-Headed Man**

### *Macahu ...A Tale*

There was an old man who had a small piece of land which he pickaxed to sow a little cereal.

*In the past, we lived only on cereals... We sowed the gardens, the fields...*

When he was digging, he found a pit ... in which he found a man with a black head, a serpent, and a boar.

The boar told this old man:



- Old father, lift me, pull me out of this pit.

-"I fear you," replied the old man; "I fear that you devour me once you are pulled out."

- I promise you, the Great Lord testifies\* that you will be neither devoured nor shredded; neither now nor after. I will not hurt you; pull me out from here and you will be rewarded...

And the old man took him out of there.

Once pulled, he (the boar) took off some of his bristle and said:

-Take old father, the day you will be in need, put it in the hearth of fire and I will reach you whenever you will need me ... have no fear, I will come.

The old man answered him: "go (my son) that the great lord comes to your help ..."\*

He went away...

The serpent, too: "pull me out of this pit. "

The old man answered him:

- I'm afraid that you bite me...

- I promise you in front of The Great Lord not to bite you, that I will do you no harm and you will need me in good\*.

He pulled him out.

And the serpent gave him a little of his scales, and told him:

-Take old father, whenever you have troubles or need me, burn some of it in the fire, and I will return the favour, that of today. I will come to you ...

- "Well, (my son), May the great Lord come to your help," said the old man.

Remained the black-headed man, who did like the others:

-Pull me out, old father

-I am afraid of you!

- How come! you did not fear the serpent and the wild boar and you fear me?

- Promise me in front of The Great Lord that you will not do anything to me.

He swore by the great Lord and said to him: "I will not kill you, neither will I hurt you"

He pulled him out of the pit, and the black-headed man went away.

The old man resumed digging in his garden till he felt tired, then, he went back home and told his adventure to his old wife. He told her: "I found a pit, and that's what happened..." He told her about what he found and what he pulled out.

The old woman suggested:

- So old man<sup>117</sup>, as you, old man, are no more able to dig, if you can, burn some boar's hair to make him come and they (the boars) will turn over the soil of this field. It is useless to do it yourself...

- Give me some of his bristle...

For it was this old woman who hid what the "beings" of the pit gave to her husband.

She gave him some hair and he put it in the hearth of fire.

And here that the boar comes and asked him:

- What would you like old father?

- This piece of land where you found me digging, I cannot pickaxe it anymore and if you turn over the soil, you will do me a favour.

- Sow it with wheat or barley or whatever you want to grow; at nightfall, I'll join you...

The old man sowed the field and at the end of the night, the wild boar brought all his brothers, and they turned over the ground ... the summer arrived, he made the sheaves, the harvest was good...

The old woman said:

- The grains abound, why not call the wild boar to show us for the rest...

He burned some of the hair; the wild boar arrived and said:

- What do you need old father?

"Do you see the field of which you had turned over the soil and the quantity of grain harvested?

But I do not have money to go further ...!

The boar then replied:" There will be a wedding party in the palace of the Sultan, you will go there and you will stand in a corner. When we beat the drums there will be many people and disorder too; the women will have removed all their jewels; there, I will go and make these women flee and the men will follow me. You, in that mess, you will take all the jewels and you will fill your skin.

The boar also told the old man: "The black-headed man has become a jeweller ... the one you pulled from the pit with us."

So did the old man, the Sultan brought the bride, the women went to see the drum ... The old man went and filled his bag ... and then, he went back home...

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<sup>117</sup> Amghar, in Kabylia means old man, father in-law or husband, the codes of honour and decency imply that the spouses do not call one another with their names or even say 'my husband, my wife' especially in the presence of others

He joined the black-headed man and said:

- Black-headed man! would you melt the jewels and make me coins...?

- "Bring it to me" ... he answered

The old man brought all the jewels and the black-headed man took it and warned the Sultan:

"The old man stole your jewels ... those of the women at the party: your guests!!... What you're looking for this old man brought it to me...

The sultan sent his guards, they took the old man. Then, he told them: "Surround him with wood and burn him!"

His old wife passed by and told the guards:

- Let me give him something to warm him up a little, he is cold... By the time you'll burn him, he will warm up a little ...

It happened that she wanted to talk to him about the serpent's scale ... She said to him:

- Will the snake's scale save you from the fire?

He took it, burn it and the old woman went home.

The serpent came to the old woman and said: "What do you want old woman? »

-The jeweller betrayed my husband, he told the sultan everything....they took him; he is surrounded by wood to burn him.

- they'll burn him...!? That's my business...

The sultan had a baby in his cradle...

The snake went and wrapped the baby's neck. When his mother went to lift him as he woke up, she found a huge snake around his neck.

She yelled to her husband:

"Man, it's because of the old man's curse that the serpent wraps my son!" Let the old man leave, otherwise, my son will die!

They came by the serpent, implored him by God and begged him:

- let go of the baby...

- I will not let go!!! He replied...

It was said that they would shoot him... but if they did so, the child would die.

He was implored by the great Lord to say what he desires...

He replied:

- bring the jeweller, decapitate him so that I lick his brain ... beware, if I do not see his shattered skull that I will lick,.....! Moreover, you will let the old man go home again.

The jeweller was brought, his skull smashed, and the snake did what he said.

He told the Sultan: "your Majesty, you will give the old man enough to live until his death, otherwise I will return to your son."

The Sultan accepted the condition and made a promise to the old man.

*My tale, along a Wadi, I had told it to the children of the valorous; my tale came to its end  
but not my luck.*

### **C11. Ifer n tzizwit**

*Amacahu! Rebbi ad tt-yesselhu, ad tiyzif amzun d asaru.*

Zik-nni, yella yiwen n ugellid temmut-as tmeṭṭut-is, yesæa kan yiwet n teqciet, tzad di tfulki, ayyur deg yigenni nettat di lqaea. Yiwen wass, yehlek ugellid, yeḥli-d fell-as waṭṭan. Tnuda-d akk yelli-s imsujjiyen n tmurt ur d-tufi win i as-yufan ixef-is. Tsegrew-d at tmurt-is, treggem-asen; win ara isejjin baba-s ad tt-yay yernu ad terr-it d agellid. Yetṭef yiwen yilemzi abrid-is yer umyar azemni yenna-as-id: "Ruḥ yer udrar n tteryel ad tafed ifer n tzizwit ad yili d asafar ara t-isejjin" Tanezzayt, yekker yilemzi iruh yer udrar n tteryel, ieuss-itt ass kamel armi i d-yeḥli yid. Yeḡḡa-tt armi tettes, iruh yeddem-d ifer-nni n tzizwit i yellan deg urebbi-is. Yuwi-t-id i ugellid, fkan-as yečča seg-s, dya, yeffey-it waṭṭan.

Eddan wussan, tlul-d tayri gar yilemzi d yelli-s n ugellid. Yuwel yid-s, gan tameyra n sebaa n wussan d sebaa n wuḍan. Ddren di tumert.

### **C11 The Wing of the Bee**

*A tale, that The Great Lord embellishes, and that it gets as long as a colourful belt of wool.*

There was once a king whose wife died and who had only one daughter of extreme beauty ... she was on earth like the moon is in the sky\*.

One day, the king fell ill and his daughter brought him all the doctors without them finding the cure. She informed the whole population that whoever heals her father; she will marry him and she will make him king of the kingdom.

A young man went to see the old sage who told him:

-Go to the Mount of the Ogress, you will find a wing of a bee, that, would be the remedy.

Early in the morning, the young man went to the mountain of the Ogress *Teryel*, he waited until nightfall. He had waited until she fell asleep and took the wing of the bee that was between her legs. He took it to the king who ate it and recovered.

Days passed and love was born \* between this young man and the king's daughter.  
He married her, they made a wedding party of seven days and seven nights, and they lived in happiness.

### **C12. *Arbib d gma-s***

Llan zik sin warrac akked tmeṭṭut. Yiwen d mmi-s, wayev d arbib. Ass-nni yenna-as urbib-nni i gma-s: “iya ad nruḥ ad nḥewwes”. Ruḥen, ar mi iwven yer rrif n wassif, Nettat, yemma-tsen-nni, mmi-s-nni n sseh, tettmudu-as tarebæet n uyrum n smid.

Ma d arbib-nni, tettmudu-as tarebæet n uyrum n ugercal. Umbaæ arrac-nni qqimen la ttqessiren. Yebda-d urbib-nni ad d-iḥekku i gma-s-nni as-yeqqar : “ a medra ayyer yemma-k tekreh-iyi?”. Yenteq gma-s-nni wayev, yenna-s: “lala a xuya, ur ak-tekrih ara! Annect neck, annect-inu, Rabbi yiwen”. Yenteq urbib-nni yenna-as: “ihi, iya ad neç imekli”. Ass mi i t-id kse, yenna-as: “keç degger taleqqimt ar waman, nekk ad derḡey tayed”.

Ass mi vegren, ta-din n urbib-nni tufrar-d, ma d tayeve n mmi-s-nni tezder.

Yenteq urbib-nni, yenna-as : « tezriḍ a xuya amek i d-tufrar tleqqimt-nni-inu ! akken I d-ttufrarey deg ul n yemma-k. Yenna-as : « ihi a xuya, ass-agi ad nemfaraq, bessah uqbel ad ak-d-ooey, ad ak zzuy urkil, mi i d-tezriḍ-t mazal-t d azegzaw, ini-as xuya mazalit yedder”. Yenna-as: “ ma tezriḍ-t yuḡal d awraḡ, ini-as gma yehlek ». Yennaas : « ma tezrit teqqur, ini-as gma yemmut. »

Umbaæd mmi-s-nni n tmeṭṭut, yebda la s-yeqqar i gma-s-nni : « Ala a gma, ur ttruḥu ara, qqim ad tæacev akked-I, yemma-ina ad tt-selmey, ad neac ijmiε”.

Inṭeq urbib-nni, yenna-as: “ ala a gma, keç ur k-tettuy ara, nekkini ad ruḡey, ma uḡaley-d ad eacev akid-k, ma mmutey dayan”. Umbaæd yerkeb ḡef uæawdiw iruḥ. Ala mi yiwev yer ṭerf n umalu. Yufa yiwen n umyar, yemmut seg usemmiv.

Yenteq uḡday-nni yenna-as: “acuyer akka a baba amyar?”

Yenteq umyar-ni, yenna-as: “a mmi, ḡunorey, bessah ulac isyer ad necæel timest”.

Umbaæd yenna-as: “acuter a baba amyar? Amalu anect n wagi ad teqqarev ulac asyer!”.

Umbaæd yenna-as umyar-nni: “ ala a mmi amalu-ina yiwen ur tyekcim ara, laxaṭer deg-s teryel, xila i teça n yimdanen”. Umbaæd aḡday-nni yesyifel amyar-nni iruḥ ad yekcem yer umalu-nni

Umbaæd, tesla-as kan teryel, tenna-as: “la tetraḡ riḡa taberranit”. Yenteq uḡday-nni, yenna-as: “ d neck a ḡ ida, viley-kem-d ass-agi”.

Tenna-as: “æslama neck a mmi, kcem-d yer uxxam-inu” Umbaæd, gma-s-nni wyev yekker-d sbeḡ, iruḥ ad isessu urkil-nni. Yufa-t yuḡal d awraḡ. Umbaæd yenna deg wul nes: “gma yehlek”.

Umbaæd, aḥḍay-nni meskin yellan akken akked teryel, ur ifaq ara I wayen i t-ittraoun. Ar mi d yiv, tenna-as: “ansa ad ak-bduy?” .Yenna-as: “bdu-iyi seg uqerru ur nettay rray n umyar” Umbaæd teĉa-t s netta s uæawdiw nes. Yekker-d gmas- nni wayev, iruḥ ad isessu urkil-nni. Yufat yeqqur. Umbaæd, yenna-as: “aḥlil gma yemmut”. Umbaæd, yekeb yef uuawdiw nes iruḥ. La ileḥu, la ileḥu, ar mi yiwev qrib yer umalu-nni. Yebda yesteqsay medden, ma ur iḥeqqa ara lxelq s yaki yef uæawdiw.

Nnan-as: “iædda bessah yerra qbala yer umalu-ina n teryel”. Ikemmel la ileḥu, yufa amyar la yettru. Yesteqsa-t : « acuyer akka a baba amyar la tettruv? ».

Yenteq umyar-nni, yenna-as: “ eoo kan a mmi, yusa-d yur-I yiwen n uḥday, yufa-yid, yenna-yi-d: “ ad ruḥey ad d-awiy isyaren ak celey timest”.

Nniy-as: “balak ad truḥevyer umalu-ina, deg-s teryel ak-teĉ, ass mi yi-isyifel iruḥ, tura teĉa-t, iyav-iyi”. Umbaæd yekcem gma-s-nni. Yufa-tt tettes, tcum-d rriḥa tenna-s: “ anwa waki ccumeḡ rriḥa taberranit!”. Netta aæawdiw nes yefhem.yenna-as: “ mi dtusa ayeṅ-teĉ, suk-itt-id yer aver”. Umbaæd, tenna-as: “anwa waki,”. Yenna-as: “d neck a jidda”.Tenna-as: “kcem-d ad teĉd imensi!”

Umbaæd, yenna-as: “awah! A jidda arwaP sers-iyi-d yef uæawdiw-agi, ur zmirey ara , nekk d aækruf”.Umbaæd, ass mi i d-teffey teryel-nni; Akken truḥḥ ad t-id-tessers, aæawdiw-nni yutat-t-id s sek ar naver temmut..Umbaæd, years-d s ufella n uæawdiwnni.

Icellaḥḥ-as aelliv.Yekkes-d gma-s aked uæawdiw-nni. Bessah yufa-ten duben.Yiwi-ten-d akked-s.Yenna-sen: “ruḥet ad d-tawim isyaren, teryel temmut”.

Umbaæd, xelæen amek yemneæ, yernu yenya-tt. Netta ikemmel abrid s gma-s-nni.

Ar mi d-yiwev yer uxxam.Yessared-as irkel, iġa-t di leqten.

Umbaæd, iḥemmu-as-d ala aksum. Ar mi i d-yuḡal akken n zik.Ruḥen sufren, eacen ijmiæ.

## **C 12. The Stepson and His Brother**

There used to be two children and a woman. One was her son, the other was her stepson.

One day, the stepson said to his brother: "Let's go for a walk."

They left.... And they arrived at the edge of a river.

The woman used to give a quarter of durum wheat bread to her son and a quarter of wheat bark bread to the second.

The two children, then, began to talk. The stepson then said to his half-brother: "I do not know why your mother hates me ...!?", the other replied: "No, my brother, she does not hate you, we are absolutely equal; there is one God\*". The stepson said:" Let's have lunch... "

When they took their food, the stepson said: «throw a crumb into the water and I will throw another."

When they threw them, that of the stepson floated on the water and that of the other sank. The stepson then said to his brother:

-Do you see how my crumb has risen to the surface? This is how you appear\* in the eyes of your mother; she sees only you...in her heart\*. So brother, we say goodbye today; but before leaving you; I'm going to plant *urkil* ... if you see it green, say to yourself: "My brother is still alive" if you see it yellow, it means that I'm sick, if you see it dry, it means that I am dead. "

The woman's son implored him not to leave: "stay with me, my mother, I will leave her, and we will live together." The stepson replied: "no brother, but I will not forget you; I am leaving; and if I come back, we will live together but if I die, there will be nothing to do. »

He rode a horse and he left. He reached the edge of the West and met an old man who was feeling cold. He spoke to him and said: "Why are you so, old father?"

The old man answered him: "I am cold because there is no wood to set a fire."

The young man then said to him: "why old father? The West is so vast why do you say that there is no wood!"

The old man explained: «nobody puts his foot there because the ogress *Teryel* lives there and she eats a lot of people. »

Then, the young man took advantage of a moment of inattention of the old man and tried to enter there. The ogress heard him coming and said: "I smell a strange smell here".

The young man said: "It's me, mother-grandmother, I'm visiting you today."

-"Welcome, my son, come into my house," she said.

His brother got up in the morning and went to water the *urkil* and saw that it turned all yellow, so, he said: "my brother is sick."

The young man in the company of the Ogress did not know what was awaiting him. And when the night fell, she said to him: "what part of you will I eat first?"

He said to her: "start with my head, it did not listen to the old man's advice."

She devoured him with his horse. When his brother went to water the plant, he found it all dry and then, he said to himself: " my poor brother, he died ...!"

Then, he rode his horse and left. When he had almost arrived at the western country, he asked people if a young man had not been there. He was told: "He passed by, but directly to the West of the Ogress. »

He continued his walk and found an old man crying so he questioned him: "Why are you crying, old father?"

The old man said to him:

-Let me alone my son! a young man came to me, I was cold so he told me that he would go to bring me some wood to set the fire. I said to him: "do not go to that 'West', there is the Ogress ... and she will devour you". He took advantage of a moment of inattention and he went away, and now she has already eaten him and I am affected»

Then, this young man went there, he found her asleep but she smelled like a stranger's smell and she said to him, "Who is it? I smell a strange odour. "

His horse had understood the scene and the man said to it: "When she comes to devour us, give her a paw. »

The ogress then, said: "Who is it? »

- "It's me ... old mother," he said;

- "come in for dinner! "She said to him.

- Come, my old mother, help me dismount, I cannot, I am disabled.

When the Ogress came out of her house to help him dismount, the horse struck her at the temple and killed her there and then.

Then, he got off the horse and tore her up, he took out his brother and his horse.

In the meanwhile, he found the inhabitants almost dead from cold; he took them with him and said to them: "Go bring wood, Teryel is dead! »

People were surprised that he was safe, and not only that, he killed the ogress too!

He went on his way with his brother. He washed him and covered him with cotton. He then began to feed him with nothing but hot meat, then the man became as healthy as before. They resumed their life as in the good old days.

### **C13. Ekker ekker, ay anekkar n lehsan Am bab-is**

#### *Macahu*

#### *Tameayt-iw ad tecbeḥ am usaru, am yiṭij mi i d-iteddu, d tziri n unebdu...*

Yella yiwen n umyar, yesea mmi-s, yekker ad iruḥ yer lḥiḡ.

Mi iruḥ, yeḡḡa-as-d sebḥa (sa) isnedyaq n lwiz, yerna iwaṣṣa-t :

- tett s wudi d tamment, ternuḍ wqem ssuq sdat n tebburt...

-yerbeḥ a ba...

Yekker mmi-s yegga yiwen n ssuq sdat n tebburt ; yerna itett ala udi d tamment.

Zik-nni, ttruḥun ttuḡalen-d si Lḥiḡ yef uḍar, yettæeddi useggas iwakken ad iḥiḡ yiwen.



Mi i d-yuḡal, yuy lḡal isnedyaq-nni n lwiz fukken. Amek ara yexdem sdat n baba-s ?!

Iruḡ yer umḡar azemni iwakken ad as-d-yaf tifat i uybel-a, yenna-as :

-baba ngum ad yezwu yer lḡiḡ, iweṣṣa-i, yenna-i : « tett ala s wudi d tamment, tweqmeḡ ssuq sdat n tewwurt. Xedmey akenni, yeḡḡa-i-d sa (sebɛa) isnedyaq n lwiz, tura fukkey-ten...

Yerra-as-d :

- Tett ala s wudi d tamment, anamek-is : ur tett arma i telluḡeḡ, iwakken ad yiziḡ kullec deg yimi-k d adḡay neḡ d akal ; ma d ssuq sdat n tewwurt : anamek-is, aḡ-d aserdun iwakken ad tedduḡ fell-as. Keč txedmeḡ kan ayen iwmi i tesliḡ...

Tura tifat-k tella deg umkan n « flan » yer yiwen n uwayezniw, d netta kan ara ad k-iselken !

Iruḡ ḡur-s, yeḡka-as, ha ma ṣar...ha ma ṣar...

Yekker uwayezniw-nni yefka-as-d sa (sebɛa) iḡeḡman n wureḡ (dhebb), yerna yenna-as :

-kul asenduḡ err ḡur-s yiwen n uḡeṡṡum ; maca, mi id-yusa baba-k, ma di tnezzayit (taṣebḡit), tameddit as-d ḡur-i ; ma yusa-d di tmeddit, azekka-nni di tnezzayit ad d-taseḡ ḡur-i !

Yewwi iḡeḡman-nni, yerra-ten yer isnedyaq-nni, yerra-asen tiwwura-nsen.

Mi I d-yiweḡ baba-s, yefka-as tasarutt-nsen, yenna-as :

-ax a baba, isnedyaq-nni, akken i ten-id-teḡḡiḡ i ten-id-tufiḡ.

Baba-as-a, iwala lwiz-nni, yefreḡ, segmi d argaz i d-yeḡḡa deffir-s.

Akken i as-yefka tisura, yenna i baba-s :

-nek seiḡ ccḡell, ad ruḡey ad inigeḡ...

-aha a mmi...yenna-as baba-as.

-ad ruḡey ad inigeḡ ad nadiḡ lxedma.

Iruḡ, yuḡal s awayezniw-nni, yenna-as :

-aqli, iwḡey-k-id tura...

Awayezniw-nni yella yezɛa sa (sebɛa) n teḡdayin...

Amek ara ad yexdem, yekker yexleḡ-as tirac n lḡemmez d tid n yirden d tid n temzin d tid n yimḡan i d-yettaken abeɛquq deg ujeḡḡiḡ. Yenna-as :

-byiḡ yal aeeqqa di tirect-is !

Yebda iferru, iferru, maca mačči d ayen ara ad yefru, yeqqel yettru, yettru, yettru...

Amek ara ad yexdem ?

Di lweqt n lfatur, deg ad tefk tmeṡṡut n uwayezniw-nni i urgaz-is ad yečč ; tessiwel i yelli-s iwakken ad tawi učči i uqcic-nni.

D tamejtuht iwimi i tessiwel, tugi ad as-tay awal...Tenna-as :

-d kem ihi ara ad as-yawin ad yečč !!!

Yelli-s teħša s kullec, acku taxademt n baba-s deg ufus-is ; terra iman-is d tin yugin iwakken yemma-s ad tt-ħettem ad as-tawi; nettat d ayen I tettnadi!

Truħ, tufa-t la yettru, tenna-as:

-ad teččeđ lqut..

-yefna-i-d ad ččey lqut...yessers-iyi-d baba-m tirectin iwakken ad tent-fruğ, yenna.

-ruħ ad teččeđ, ma d wa, d aybel-iw!

Tebren taxademt deg ufus-is, usant-d tweđfin...frant akk ibruyen-nni, yal wa di tarect-is.

Terna twešša-t:

-ħader ad I yi-d-tkecfed I baba!

Tameddit-nni iruħ s axxam...

Yiweđ-d uwayezniw-nni, yesteqsa yelli-s:

-yefra-tent?

-ih...

Azekka-nni di tnezzayit (tašebħit) mi i yuğal yer uwayezniw-nni, yefka-as-d amahil (axeddim) wis sin : yešsexleđ-as aman d yiği, yenna-as :

-byiğ aman ad ilin uħd-nsen, iği uħd-s!!!

Yewħel day amek ara ad yexdem...

Di tallit n imekli, tessiwel day tmettut n uwayezniw-nni i yelli-s tamazuzt iwakken ad as-tawi I uqcic-nni ad yečc; terra iman-is d tin yugin; teğra yemma-s ad tt-n-ħettem.

-ur as-ttawiy ara!d nek I t-isewwen!

-ad as-tawiđ!

Tewwi-as.

Txeddem akken iwakken a d t-tsellek...

Truħ yur-s, tenna-as:

-eeddi ad tfedređ...

-yefna-i-d ad fetrey...

-eeddi kan, aybel deg-i!

Tebren taxademt n baba-s deg uđad-is, fran waman d yiği.

Tameddit yuğal s axxam; azekka-nni, wis krad, yefka-as uwayezniw-nni yiwen n ubelyun,yenna-as:

-ad teččaređ sin n lebyur ilmawen seg wis krad (tlata) yeččuren!

Yekker yal tikelt mi ad d-iemmer abelyun wis sin, amezwaru ad t-yaf yekkaw!

Di lawan n imekli day, taqcict-nni tugi day (s wudem n berra) ad as-tawi ad yečč, iwakken ad tt-ṭhettem yemma-s am di yal n tikelt...

-ad as-tawid!

Truḥ, tufa-t yehšel, tebren taxademt deg ufus-is, čuren wanuten-nni (lebyur), tsellek-it... tekcem s axxam, netta, day.

Ass wis kuḥ (rebea), di tnezzayit, yuḥal day, yenna-as-d uwayezniw-nni:

-byiy ad tezzuḍ tineqlin ass-a, ad d-myint ass-a, ad ččey taqecwalt n tbexsisin ass-a!

Amek ara ad yexdem?

Iruḥ yeqqim...

Di lawan n imekli, tessiwel tmeṭṭut n uwayezniw-nni I yelli-s iwakken ad tawi imekli I uqcic-nni.

-ur as-ttawiy ara!d nekki kan?!

-ihi, d kem ara ad as-yawin!

Truḥ, tewwi-as lqut, tufa-t-n yeqqim...

Tekker tebren taxademt deg ufus-is, myint-d tneqlin, grent-d aqerquc, wwant-d tbexsisin; tuyal s axxam...

I tikelt tayed, yumer-as uwayezniw-nni: “ad truḥeḍ yer umkan n “flan”, tella-n yiwet tejra ur nesei tasetṭa, ur nesei afurk, ur nesei...

ad I yi-d-tekseḍ timellalin n lbaz, sufella n tejra-a!

Yeereḍ ad yali, ur yufi amek... Yekker yenna-as: “ ass-a ad as-fkey iman-iw, ma yebya ad I yi-yečč ad I yi-yečč!”

Di tallit n imekli, tædda-d yemma-s n teqcict-nni, tenna-as ad as-tawi imekli, tugi, teggul deg-s.

Truḥ teqcict-nni, tewwi yid-s taqeræett n waman, tenna-as:

-ad I yi-tgezmeḍ akk d iftaten, mi ara ad taliḍ yef useklut-nni, yal aftat ara ad as-tweqmeḍ, amkan-nni ad d-yemyi deg-s ufurk; maca, mi ara ad d-tuḥaled, ḥader ad tettud yiwen n uftat.

Yegzem-itt ihi yakk d iftaten...

Yal tacriḥt ara ad yessenteḍ yiwen n uftat yef useklu-nni, ad d-yemyi yiwen n ufurk, ad yali fell-as.

Yiwed yer tcebbubt, yekkes-d timellalin, yettader-d, itekkes-d tiqettidin-nni n uksum, teqqim yiwet: tin n teffdent!

Akken I d-yers, teqqel-d d amdan, tenna-as:

-ad nerwel, ma ulac, ad I yi-ifaq baba!

Iwden-d s axxam, yenna-as:

-amek ad qley ad kem-ttaeqaley tura?

- s tefdent I tettuy! U mi I tšen baba d yemma, ad nruḥ ad nerwel!

Kren rewlen.

Mi I d-ukin imawlan-is nettat, ufan-d ilmezyen-nni rewlen!

Baba-s yedfer-itt\*\*\*\*\*d tamellalt...

Nettat tuyal d tibhirt n ufeqqus, aserdun-nsen d yiwet n texxamt; netta yeznuzu afeqqus.

Baba-s yiwed-d yer di-n, yesteqsa-t:

-ur twalaḍ ara sin eeddan-d si-a?

-ah? Afeqqus? I as-yerra uqcic-nni I yennebdalen.

-ruḥ, ruḥ, nek hedrey-as yef yiwen, nettat yef ufeqqus!

Yuyal uwayezniw-nni yer deffir... Testeqsa-t tmettut-is:

-tufiy-ten ney ur ten-tufid ara?

-ufiy tibhirt n ufeqqus, yiwet n texxamt d yiwen yeznuzu deg ufeqqus-nni!

Nniy-as ma eeddan sin n yelmezyen si-a, yeqqar-iyi-d : “afeqqus?”

Terra-as:

-tibhirt-nni d yelli-k, amdan-nni d win it-yewwin, taxxamt-nni d aserdun I wwin, ad tuyaled ihi.

Yekker yuyal...

Taqcict-nni tfaq, tenna I uqcic-nni:

-atan yetbee-ay-d baba\*\*\*\*\*d tacebhant\*\*\*\*\*

-amek ara ad nexdem? Yesteqsa-tt.

-aserdun-a ad yeqqel d lgamee, nek d taḥsirt, keč d ccix ad tzallaḍ...

Awayezniw-nni yuyal-d yer deffir, yer tmettut-is, terna testeqsa-t:

-acu I tufid?

-ufiy yiwen n lgamee, yiwet n teḥsirt d ccix yettzalla.

-lgamee-nni d aserdun-nni, taḥsirt-nni d yelli-k, ccix-nni d ilemzi akd I

tedda.

Teqqel terna-as:

-ad ruḥey nekkini!

Akken I d-teqleē, twala teqcict-nni \*\*\*\*\*d taberkant, tenna I urgaz-nni:

-ay argaz, tura d yemma I ay-itebeēn, amek ara ad nexdem: keč uyał d islem, nek d lmuja, aserdun-a d lebħerr (d ill)  
Mi I truħ, tewwi yid-s taxademt, qrib I tt-ttun...

Tekker tenna-as:

-ħader ad tt-teqneđ, ma ulac ad I yi-tettuđ! Ma qney-tt nek ad ak-ttuy.  
Yekker yewqem taxademt-nni, yettu taqcict-nni. Netta iteddu, nettat tettafar-it-id, armi I yiweđ yer taddart-nsen, yekcem s axxam n baba-s.

Taqcict-a ur tufi sani ad terr, tezra yiwet n teyart d tigellilt, tesa yiwet n tayat, tenna-as:

-a yemma tamyart, ma ad dduy yid-m s axxam-im?  
-ma tebyiđ ad ak-m-awiy, nek ur sei y ara lqut...  
-ur ttebbir la I lqut, ney d usu ney day d taguni...jmeē-iyi kan!

Nettat taxademt-nni n baba-s tella deg ufus-is, mi I tt-tebren, ad d-yers lqut, ad tečč nettat d temyart-nni.

Tayat-nni tewqem-as yiwet n talmatt, ad teks deg uxxam kan.

Armi d yiwen n wass, šselšan n tmurt-nni yebya ad yedben( ad as-yezwej) I mmi-s, aqcic-a amdakel n yelli-s n uwayezniw.

Yuy-d sa (sebea) n yezgaren ad ten yefreq I wat n taddart, ad ten-rebbin, ad ten-ksen arma I d-yiweđ wass n tmeyra.

Tekker tenna teqcict-a I temyart-a:

-lukan ad truħeđ yer šselšan, lemmer ad ay-d-yefk yiwen n uzger ad t-nrebbi!

- a yelli, nek aqli ħeşley di tayat-iw, ad uhmen deg-I, ad d-awiy aejmi ad t-rebbiy!

-awi-t-id kan, aybel deg-i!

Texdem akenni...tessuter yiwen n ueejmi I ugellid-nni; maca, iqeddacen-is, ugin, nnan-as: “ur as-ttak ara!”

Maca, šselšan yeqbel ad as-yefk yiwen...

Fkan-as yiwen, maca lmeħqur ger iiejmiyen, yemmut ney yedder, yursen kif-kif. Tewwi-t.  
Tetrebbi-t teqcict-nni, ad tebren taxademt, ad d-yemyi leħcic, ad temyi day talmatt, ad d-yeččar ubasan n waman, ad isew.

Yeqqim ueejmi-a yekkerker..

Ass n tidett, mi id-tiwed tmeyra; iwin-d akk ieejmiyen-nni, ma d tamɣart-nni, ur ruḥen ara ad d-awin win I yellan ɣur-s.

Tekker tweṣṣa-tt teqcict I yellan ɣur-s:

-ad truḥed ad asen-tiniḍ ad d-asen ad awin aejmi-nsen.

Truḥ...

Nnan-as-d:

-nekni nettwali-t yemmut, ur tt-nettwali ara tessufuy-it-id...

- nek ur t-ssufuyey ara, deg uxxam I t-nettrebbi.

Taqcict-nni truḥ tweṣṣa azger-nni tenna-as:

-ḥader ad tekred, ḥaca ma yusa-d yisli, yerna day, ḥaca ma wtey-d di tayett-ik, ad ak-d-iniy: “ ekker ekker ay anekkar n leḥsan n bab-is.”

Usan-d ad awin aejmi-a, eerden ad t-zuyren, yugi.

Nnan-as: “awit-d isli, lemmer ad as-yay awal. Iwin-t-id, yeered ad t-id-yesker, yugi.

Taqcict-nni truḥ, tenna-as:

-Ekker, ekker, ay anekkar n leḥsan n bab-is!

\*\*\*\*\*yekker ueejmi-nni, yewwi-t yisli iruḥ.

Tameddit-nni, tenna yelli-s n uwayezniw-nni I temɣart-nni:

-lemmer ad nruḥ yer wurar n tmeyra...!

-ur d-nciden ara fell-ay!

-yas akka, aejmi nrebba-t...ur nettruḥu ara...ad nruḥ.

Yerna\*\*\*\*\*ad tecdeḥ ad susment; yelli ad tecdeḥ, ad I yi-d-tawi itbir.

Tewwi-as-t-id, ruḥent yer wurar, qiment.

Nnant-as:

-in-as I yelli-m ad tecdeḥ!

- yelli ad tecdeḥ, yerna s ccerṭ, nettat d yitbir-is.

-yerbeḥ, nnant.

Tessusem.

\*\*\*\*\* Yerna ilaq ad \*\*\*\*\*as yeqqim yef tyimit

wiyid qaren-as taerust

wiyid tiyimit \*\*\*\*\*

tinna yella nnig n lmedwed \*\*\*\*\*

rif n tbezzalt swadda d lmedwed

d axel n udaynin d lmal \*\*\*\*\*

tella tin iwimi I neqqar tiyimit iruḥ-d \*\*\*\*\*yeqqim dinna, tinna tceṭṭeḥ.

Teqqar-as :”ma tettuđ ay itbir tettuđ, asmi I yexleđ baba nneema,\*\*\*\*\*

mi I ak-tt-id friy...\*\*\*\*\*

tettuđ ay itbir tettuđ mi I ak-yexleđ baba aman d yiđi.\*\*\*\*\*

Tebder-as-d akk ayen I as-texdem n lıxir; terna tenna-as: “tettuđ ay itbir  
\*\*\*\*tettuđ\*\*\*\*taxademt

qrib ur tt-tteqqen,

ma ulac ad I yi-tettuđ...\*\*\*\*\*

Winna yettmekti-d, yexzer s afus-is\*\*\*\*\*yessusa-d taxademt-nni, yemmekta-tt-id, iruđ, yeena  
baba-s; yenna ad tebđel tislit, ur tetteđdu ara...\*\*\*\*\*

-aha a mmi!

-a baba tebđel!

-Amek a mmi?!

- d lmuđal, nek ad ayeđ yelli-s n temyart-in!

-aha a mmi, yelli-s n tgellilt!?

-d tinna ara ad ayeđ.

Ieđda yerra-tt yer uxxam n temyart-nni, sakin yewwi-tt-id s axxam-is, yeđka I baba-s taqsiđ-is;  
ieđell tameyra n sa n wussan d sa n wađan.

*Tamacahutt-iw lwad-lwad, mliđ-tt I warraw n leđwad*

### **C 13. Get Up! Ungrateful, Like his Owner...**

*A tale...*

*that my tale be as beautiful as a colourful woollen belt, the rising sun and the moonlight of  
summer.*

There was an old man who had a son. This man decided to go to Mecca for pilgrimage.

On his leaving, he left his son seven chests of golden coins and recommended him:

- Eat just butter and honey, and open a market in front of the door\*

-Alright, father...

And here he sets up a market in front of their home’s door, and he only feeds on honey and  
butter...

*Formerly, we went to the pilgrimage on foot and the trip back and forth took a year.*

Once back home, it turned out that the crates were exhausted. What will the son do to justify  
himself to his father?

He went to see the old sage to help him find the solution to his problem, he said:

- My father, before going on pilgrimage, advised me to eat butter and honey and to set up a market in front of the door.

The old wise man answered him:

- Feed on honey and butte only, means to eat only when you feel hungry, so that you can savour all that you take, may they be pebbles or clods of soil. As for the market in front of the door, it was a question of having a mule for your transport and your travels. You did only what you heard...Now; the solution is that you go to a given place to see the Ogre. It is only him who can help you.

He went to the ogre's house and told him about his troubles...

The ogre then gave him seven golden coins and told him:

- in each crate, you will put one; but when your father comes back, if his return takes place in the morning, come to see me in the afternoon; otherwise, come in the morning after your fathers return if he arrives in the afternoon.

He took the golden coins and put one in each crate.

When his father returned, he handed him the keys and said:

- Father, you will find these crates just as you left them.

His father saw the gold and he rejoiced for he saw that his son behaved like a man in his absence.

As soon as he gave the keys to his father, the son said: "I have some business, I need to travel..."

- "no, my son," his father refused

- "I will travel to look for work."

He returned to the ogre and said:

- Here I am back...

It turned out that this ogre had seven daughters.

*What did the ogre do, then!?*, He mixed chickpeas, wheat, barley, and some grains that give stems and others that give flowers, and he told him: "sort those grains so that each variety will be put in its cluster!"

He began sorting but it is difficult, he can never finish the task ... Then, he started crying and crying and crying\*... *What will he do?*

At lunchtime, when the ogre's wife was preparing her husband's food, she called her daughter to take the meal to the boy. She called the youngest among her sisters who did not want to obey



her. The mother said to her: “since you behaved so, it will be you and only you that will take him food!!!”

Her daughter knew everything because she was wearing her father's ring. She pretended to refuse the task so that her mother would use her authority over her and oblige her to. That's what she was seeking.

She joined the young man whom she found crying. So, she said to him: “eat...!”

- “eat? I eat? Your father mixed piles of grain so that I sort them, each in its heap...” he said to her.

- “go eat, this is my business!”

She turned the ring in her finger, and ants came and sorted the grains, each in its heap.

Besides, she recommended him: “beware! Do not say a word to my father!”

In the evening, he went home.

The ogre returned home and he questioned his daughter:

- “Did he sort the grains?”

- “Yes, he did”

The next morning, the man returned to the ogre's house, this latter gave him a second task: he mixed water and whey and told him: “I want water and whey separated from each other!”

He did not know what to do...

At lunchtime, the ogre's wife called her youngest daughter to take the meal to the young man.

She pretended to refuse, knowing that after that, her mother will force her to do so.

-I will not take it to him, for it was I who prepared it!

- You will give it to him!

She took it to him, she was doing this to save him...

She joined him and said:

-go eat...

- Me, eat ...!?

- Go, this is my business!

She turned her father's ring in her finger and the water and the whey were separated.

In the evening, he went home; and the next day: the third day, the ogre gave him a bucket and said to him,

- You will fill two empty wells from a third full.

So, every time he moved to the next well, the first one went dry.

At lunchtime, the girl pretended not to want to serve the young man his meal to get an order from her mother, as every time...

- You'll take it to him...

She went to him, she found him in trouble; turned the ring in her finger and the wells filled up ... she saved him...

Then, she went back home as well as him.

On the fourth day, he went back to the ogre's house, this latter said to him:

- I want you to plant fig trees, that they grow, and that I eat figs. Today!

*How will he do it?*

He sat down...

At lunchtime, the ogre's wife, again, called her daughter to take the meal to the young man

- I will not take it to him! Why only me?

- Then, it will be you!!!

She went to find him, she found him sitting

She turned the ring in her finger, fig-trees grew, flowers bloomed, and figs ripened. Then, she went back home.

Once again, the ogre ordered him: "you will go to a given place ... there is a tree without branches, you will bring me eagle's eggs from that tree!

He went there, tried to climb that tree, but he could not and said to himself: "I only have to surrender and that he devours me if he wants to ..."

At lunchtime, the ogre's wife ordered her daughter to feed the young man again.

The girl joined him, brought him a bottle of water and said:

- You will cut me into pieces. To climb the tree, you will stick to it these pieces and each time you put a piece, a branch will appear to support you while climbing. While going down, be careful not to forget to take back these pieces.

He cut her into pieces...

With each piece he puts on the tree, appears a branch, which will serve as a support

He reached the top of the tree and took the eggs. While going down, he took the pieces again, but he forgot the one of the toe.

Having gone down, the pieces became **human being** again

When they got back to the house, he said:

- How can I recognize you now?

- With the toe you had forgotten! Father and Mother are sleeping right now, let's escape!

She added:

- Let's run away, otherwise, my father will be well aware of what I did to you!

They ran away.

When they woke up, her two parents found that the two young left.

Her father had followed her \*\*\* white...

She became a garden of melons and their mullet became a house, as for him (the man), he became a seller of melons.

When the father ogre arrived at the place, he asked him:

- have you seen two young people passing by?
- "O! Melons?" the young man metamorphosed into a seller replied.
- "I am asking him about someone, and he talks about melons...!" the ogre whispered

The ogre returned home and his wife asked him:

- have you found them or not?
- I had found a garden of melons, a house, and a guy selling those melons! I asked that seller if he had seen two young people pass by, he told me the word "melon" ...!

She answered him:

- The garden is your daughter; the seller is the man who took her and the house is the mullet!

He went back to that place...

The girl found out, and said to the young man:

- My father is chasing us \*\*\* white.
- The mule will turn into a mosque, me into a carpet and you into the Imam of the mosque.

The ogre returned home to his wife, who questioned him:

- What did you find?
- I had found a mosque, a carpet, and the Imam.
- The mosque is the mule; the carpet is your daughter and the Imam is the young man.

Then she added:

- This time, I will go myself

On leaving, the girl saw \*\*\* all black and said to the young man:

- man, now it is my mother who is pursuing us,
- What to do!
- You'll turn into a \*\*\* , me into a wave and the mullet into a sea.

When the girl left their house, she had the ring on her.

She said to him:

- do not wear it, otherwise, you will forget me! And if I wear it, I'll forget you too.

But he put on the ring, forgot the girl, and as he walked, she followed him until he went into his house.

The girl did not find where to go, she saw a poor old woman who had a goat. She said to her:

- Old mother, can I come with you to your house?

- if you want to, I will take you with me but I have no food.

- do not worry about food and bedding ... just take me!

She had her father's ring in her hand, she turned it, food appeared and she and the old woman ate.

And the goat, she put it a *talmatt* \* it was grazing there, at her place.

Until the day when the sultan wanted to marry off his son: this son is the friend of the daughter of the ogress, the boy she saved from the ogre.

He bought seven calves which he distributed among the inhabitants of the city. (so that they graze them for the wedding day)

The girl told the old woman:

- Why not go see the Sultan so that he gives us a calf to raise it...?

- My daughter, I cannot take care of my goat and you want to add me a calf?!

-just bring it, I take care of the rest...

She did so: she asked the Sultan to give her a calf; the servants refused and suggested the Sultan not to give her any. But the monarch accepted her request...

She has been offered one, but it was the least meaty, a sickly one.

The girl, with the help of the ring, grew grass, *talmatt* \*\*\*, and made a basin of water from which the calf drank.

And the calf grew up...

The day of truth, the day of the wedding party, the servants went to take back all the oxen, except the one given to the old woman and the girl: the puny calf.

The girl asked the old woman:

- go to the palace and tell them to come to take the calf.

She went there...

They told her:

- We saw it dying, we do not see how you could bring it back to life...

- We raised it at home, we did not take it out.

The girl went to the ox and told him:

- do not get up unless the groom comes, and unless I give you a pat on the shoulder to tell you:  
"stand up, ungrateful like his owner. »

They came to take the ox, they tried to drag it out, but it did not want to leave.

People were saying: «Bring the groom, maybe it'll listen to him»

The groom was brought; he tried to but in vain.

The girl was there and said to the ox:

- stand up, ungrateful like his owner!

The ox got up and was taken by the groom who went away.

In the evening, the ogre's daughter spoke to the old woman:

- And what if we went to the party...!

- We were not invited!

- Even though we raised their calf, we will not attend? We will attend!

-And then, \*\*\* she will dance and they will be silent. My daughter will dance, she will bring me a pigeon.

She brought her one, and then they went to the party and sat down

The other women told the old woman:

- tell your daughter to dance!

- my daughter will dance, but on one condition: with her pigeon.

-"Alright," they said.

She kept silence

And then, we must \*\*\*\*\* he will sit \*\*\*\*\* the others called him said \*\*\*\*\* **taerust**\*\*  
others the rest \*\*\*\*\* it is above the manger \*\*\*\*\* next to **tabezzalt** downstairs is the manger  
\*\*\*\*\* in the barn, there are the cattle \*\*\*\*\* there is what is called: the place to sit \*\*\*\*\*  
\*\* he came and sat there the other danced.

She said to him: "Did you forget, pigeon, when my father mixed the grains, and when I sorted them up? Did you forget pigeon when my father mixed you water and whey?"

She reminded him of all the benefits she did to him and then added: "did you forget pigeon  
\*\*\*\*\* the ring, when I told you not to wear it, otherwise you'd forget me ...

The man remembered her, looked at her hand \*\*\*\*\* he **yessusa-d** \*\*\*\*\* the ring; he remembered her then he left. He then saw his father and said:

-the marriage is cancelled; the bride will not come...

- No, my son!

- Father, it's cancelled!

- Why not to get married, my son?
- Impossible, I want to marry the girl of the old woman!
- No, my son, a poor girl's daughter!?
- That's the one I'll marry.

*My tale along a Wadi, I told it to the children of the valorous*

**C14. Tin n rabbi**

Yella zik yiwen n ugellid yessufey-d yiwen n uzaraf (lqanun ) i d-yeqqaren : « win ara ad yefken tin n Rabbi, ad as-ttwigezmen ifassen ».

Yiwen n wass, yiwet n tağğalt tezdey di rrif, ha-t yusa-tt-id yiwen n umyar d aderyal...

Nettat tella ttegg yiwet n teħbult n uyrum ; ssayel-a, yetter-itt-id, ageffur la yekkat d icercaren...

Tenna-as s tin n wul : « yerbeħ ».

Yeżra-tt yiwen seg iqeddacen n şşeltan yeşşiwed-as asalu (lexbar » : « tin akken i zedyen uħd-s, tefka yiwet n teħbult i yiwen n ssayel...şşbeħ-a »

Ibedd-d yur-s şşeltan-a :

-tefkid tin n Rabbi !

- fkiy-tt, yesteqsa-d, d ageffur, ggiy yiwet n teħbult i warraw-iw, ruħey nubey-as, ad tt-yečč...

- sers ihi ifassen-im yef tqejmurt !!!

Yessers-as-ten, yegzem-as-ten...

Yiwen n uqrur tbub-it yef uzagur-is, sin tezwar-iten sdat-s, truħ...

Tignawt tesseqseq-d, igenni yefka-d i yur-s ; tiwed yer yiri n yiwen n wasif tettes ; temmey-d lħemla, tewwi sin n warraw-is...win i tbub yeqqim, tuyal yer tguni i nes.

Yewwet-d « uekkaz » deg igenni, inegger-d yitij, tufa-d ifassen-is xelfen-d, sin n warrac-nni nnig n uqerru-is. Tendeh i warraw-is : « kkert a tarwa ! kkert ad nruħet !

Mi i tebbeđ, s axxam-is, kren nnan i şşeltan : « ur as -tegzimeđ ara ifassen-is i tmexluqt-nni ! »

Yerra-asen :

- Azekka ad d-jemeey taddart, ad ten-id awiy di tcekkart !

Azekka-nni yendeh i taddart, nnejmaen-d lyaci, yewwi-ten-id...

Rnan ceggen yer temyart-nni, tusa-d nettat d warraw-is, tecna-d :

Ufiy-n tağğalt tuđeift

Tanezduyt-is di rrifan

Tefka taḥbult ur nebdi  
 I ssayel  
 Yettqedrurufen  
 Ttub arraw-is truḥ  
 Tqetteε deg isurrifen  
 Tetteş yef yiri n wasif  
 D tlufa i yesnaddamen  
 Wid\*\*\*\*\*yeddem-it wasif  
 Wid i ttub i d-yetwelfen  
 \*\*\*\*\*s isaffen  
 Ha-ten aya ulin-d lwafen  
 Ha-t-a tessiked s ifassen-is  
 Tufa-ten am zik xelfen  
 Ad ḥemdey Baba Rebbi  
 S kra n wid i ak-yetfen.

Awal-a wwin-t-id yef nniya, d wamek i qqaren day : « taḥbult m-lefwar, tif Lkeεba m-leswar.

Şşelṭan-nni yuy-it lḥal yečča allay n wuccen, yessexdem deg-s.

#### C 14. Charity

There was once a king who promulgated a law that stipulated that "he who would give alms, would see his hands cut off! »

There was a widow who used to live in the countryside, and one day, an old and blind man came to her. That day, she had prepared the traditional Kabyle bread and the old beggar asked her for alms, in the pouring rain.

She told him heartily: "with pleasure!"

But the Sultan's servants saw her and they reported the news: "The one who lives alone gave bread to a beggar this morning!"

And now the monarch stood in front of her:

-Did you give alms?

- I did it, a beggar asked me, it was raining. I had prepared bread for my children and I gave it to him; for him to eat...

- Then put your hands on a "trunk section!!!

And he cut them off

She left ...One of her sons on her back and the two others before her,  
 There were storms, the sky was pouring heavy rains. She arrived at the edge of a river and she  
 fell asleep. The river overflowed and carried off two of her children ... the one she was carrying  
 remained safe. Then she went to sleep again!

A flash of light illuminated the sky, the sun rose, she found that her two hands have grown  
 again and her two children were standing by her head.

She told them, "Let's go, we're leaving!"

As soon as she arrived at her house, the Sultan's servants told him with astonishment: "you did  
 not cut off the hands of that **creature** (a woman!)"

He answered them:

- Tomorrow, I will gather the whole village and I will bring them in a bag!

The next day, he called the whole village that gathered and he brought both hands.

The old woman was summoned too; she came with her children and she started singing:

I had found a weak widow

Living in the countryside

She gave a bread not started \*\*\*\*

To a beggar

Who was wandering...

She held her children and left

Walking a thousand steps

Fell asleep by a Wadi

it's troubles that made her sleep

Those \*\*\*\* washed away by a flood

Those she carried \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\* To wadis

Here came snakes

Now, she shows her hands

That she found growing again, as before

I thank the Lord

And all those who command you



*These words are said about the innocence and goodwill... and it is also said that a "steaming bread" given to a hungry person is better than the Kaaba and its walls. » meaning that feeding a poor person is better than doing pilgrimage*

#### 14'. Tin n rabbi (2)

Deg wass-nni, yessiwel yiwen n wuccen I wayed, yenna-as:

- Azekka, ad d-teffey tegmart n şşelţan ad teyli ad terrez, ad tt-nečč!

Wis sin yenteq-d:

- Tameţţut-is ad tessired **taebant**, ad tt-id-tefser yef uxxam, ad teyli ad temmet.

Yenteq-d wis tlata:

- Ma tefka tin n Rabbi: tettif taĥbult m-lefwar Lkeeba m-leşwar.

Teqqim tmeţţut-nni, yessawel-as:

- A tameţţut!
- Aneam...
- Agem-d I tegmart ad tsew deg udaynin!
- Yerbeĥ...
- Ur ssirid ara arma I teggid imekli!
- Yerbeĥ...

Truĥ...

Yesteqsa-d ssayel...

Yentad-d yur-s yenna-as:

-yur-m ad tebduĥ taĥbult-nni, fk-as-tt akken!

Tefka-as-tt, iruĥ...

Tameddit, yessawel-as-d:

- A leflani!
- Aneam!
- Tennid-d azekka ad d-teffey tegmart n şşelţan, ad teyli ad terrez, ad tt-nečč! Tennid-iyi-d ad tessired tmeţţut-is taebant, ad tt-id tefser yef uxxam, ad teyli ad temmet!

Ay a leqda yerna-t leĥder ; ttif taĥbult m-lufar, Lkeeba m-leşwar.

Waquila, tin n Rabbi trennu ula di leemer...

#### C 14'. Charity (2)

One day, a jackal called another jackal and he said to him:

- Tomorrow, the sultan's mare will come out, will fall, and “will break” and we would devour it

The second said:

- His wife will wash **taɛbant\*\*\***, she will spread it on the roof; she will fall and die!

The third said:

- If one gives alms ... a hot steaming bread, it is better than "the Kaaba and its walls "

Then, the sultan called his wife:

- Wife...

- Yes...

- Get some water for the mare, so that it drinks it in the barn!

- Alright...

- Do not wash what you have to wash until you have prepared lunch...

- Alright ...

Then she went away...

A beggar came...

The sultan joined her and said:

- be careful! Do not cut the bread, give it all to the beggar!

She gave it to him, and then the sultan went away...

In the evening, one of the jackals reminded his friend:

-hey you!

-yes? ...

- "You said that the sultan's mare will come out tomorrow, will fall, and will break its leg , and we will devour it; you have said that the wife of the Sultan will wash a \*\*\*\*\*, and spread it on the roof of his palace, then she will fall and die.

One of the jackals said:

-Well, what is predestined is annihilated by the good attention,

Hot bread would be better than the Kaâba and its walls (good deeds are preventive and protective)

*It seems that alms would lengthen even the ages...*

### **C15. Tinegmatin, sut n tmellin n yizrem**

Yella zik yiwen n uşeggad yewwi-d yiwet n tsekkurt tufeg-as...truh...

Azekka-nni, yewwi-d tayed, yenna-as i tmettut-is :

-lameena, i lukan ad truh !!!

Iruḥ iger-itt ddaw uyerbal, tædda yelli-s terfed ayerbal-nni, tufeg truḥ day...

Teqqel teggad si baba-s, terwel; yemma-s teḍfer-itt...

Tameṭṭut-nni tella s tadist

Tger yelli-s yef uerur-is, teffey terwel...

Tedda tedda, tiweḍ yer tsetta n lewḥuc, yettef-itt yid dinna, tekker tenna i yelli-s :

-ad nali sufella inna

Tessali yelli-s d tamezwarut, terna nettat ; ddaw n tsetta-nni, llan lewḥuc...

Deg yid tebya ad tebzed, tenna teqcict-nni i yemma-s :

-amek ara ad xedmey ?

-a yelli, ax bzed deg umezzuy-iw...

Akken i tewqem, ylin-t-d kra n tmiqwa yer yidis n yizem ; yuki-d yenna-as

-tasetta-nney teemer !

Nnan-as ad nceyyee win ara ad yalin ; ceyeen tawettuft, tuli, temḥeq-itt tmeṭṭut-nni s uḍar-is temmut..

Yekker yizrem, yenna-as :

- Ad aliy nek !

Yufa-n tameṭṭut-nni, yeqqes-itt, teyli-d yer tmurt. Taqcict-nni teqqim sufella n useklu-nni.

Qbel ad tt-ččen, tenteq-d tewtult, tenna-asen :

-ayen ara ad tafem dixel-is, i nek, acku ur seiḡ ara tuḡmas ; ma d iysan-is nettat, ad ten-terrem yer yidis, kenwi, eččet, nek ad ččey s leeqel-iw kan amur-iw...

Sakin, kren lewḥuc-nni ruḥen ad şḍaden ; aqrur i yufan deg ueddis n tmeṭṭut-nni, tettef-it tewtult-nni ; taqcict-nni ters-d, tettel gma-s, terna tezwi akk adif-nni n yeysan n yemma-s.

Tekker terra-t yer yiwet n tjeebubt ; zik d iccew n uzger neḡ n umaēiz i ttarran d tijeēbubin.

Teččur tewtult-nni tajeēbubt-nni s wadif n yemma-s, tenna-as :

-ruḥ...mi i tefyed i tizi\*\*\*\*\*dhen-it s wadif-a

Tewwi aqcic-nni, tleḥḥu tleḥḥu, tdehhen aqcic-nni, netta yettimyur.

Teqqel s axxam n baba-s, trebba gma-s.

Asmi i meqquer tezwej-as.

Yiwen n wass tenteq-d tmeṭṭut-nni :

-iyya ad nemseč lerbah !

D acu-ten lerbah-nni ?!

D timellalin...

Ultma-s n urgaz-nni, tsew-as-d timellalin i yettmaččan...ma d tameṭṭut-nni, d tid n yizrem !

Mi i ten-tečča, kren izerman deg uæeddis-is.

Tekker tenna tmeṭṭut-nni i urgaz-is :

-ultma-k attan s tadist, ad terbu !

- ur kem-uminey ara !

- ma ur d i yi-tumineḍ, in-as nadi-iyi-d, ad twaliḍ ! ma ur yettḥerrik ara deg uæebbuḍ-is yiwen n ulufan !

-Yerbeḥ, yenna-as.

Yerra yer ultma-s :

- A ultma, εani-iyi-d deg uqerru-iw kan...

Akken i as-d-tetteani, yehḥulfa i kra ileḥḥu deg uæebbuḍ-is...

- Tura, tumneḍ ? testeḡsa-t tmeṭṭut-is.

- Umney, yerna, ad tt-nyeḡ !

Yekker yewwi-tt yer tsetṭa n lewhuc ; yeqqen-itt-n.

Iædda-d yiwen n urgaz yef ugmar (æudiw), yesteḡsa-tt :

-d acu i kem-yuyen akka a tameṭṭut ?

- d gma i yi-yeqnen da !

-ayyer ?

Tehka-as tamacahutt amek i tella, yumen-itt...

Yuyal yewwi-tt s axxam-is, yerra yer umyar azemni iwakken ad t-yesteḡsi yef wamek ara ad tt-iaawen.

Yenna-as-d :

-awi-d aksum n tfunast\*\*\*\*\*melleḥ-as-t, fk-as-t ad t-tečč arma i terwa ; kkes-as aman, sers lḡefna n waman day di tmurt, æelleq-as iḍarren-is yer ujgu alemmas ney yer tasara, wqem aqerru-s yer lḡefna-nni, sḍelbic deg waman-nni, ad d-yeffeḡ yizrem-nni. Yewqem akenni...

Mi i d-yeffeḡ yizrem-nni, tenna-as :

-ad t-iyi-d-tefkeḍ...

-Yerbeḥ, i d as-yerra...

Tetṭef-it, tmelleḥ-it,tesyer-it.

Winna yewwi-d ccix, yeyra-as-d “Lfatiḥa”, ieell-as tameyra, yuy-itt, tesæa-d yid-s sin n warrac.

Yiwen n wass, tenna-asen:

-mi I nečča imensi, init I babat-wen, serreḥ-ay ad nruḥ yer lexwal-nney. Ad awen-d-yini, yemmat-nwen ur tesei ara imawlan! Nek ad d-iniy: “eni yella win I d-teḡḡa lqæa?”

Yekcem-d tameddit-nni, ččan imensi,, ttqešširen yer yiri n lkanun, kren yeqrar-nni nnan I ubabat-nsen:

-serreḥ-ay d yemmat-nney ad nruḥ yer lexwal-nney...

-yemmat-nwen, ur tesēi imawlan! Ewwiy-tt-id seg useklu(tejra) n lewḥuc (iwayezniwen) !

Tenteq-d yemmat-nsen !

-eni yella win i d-teḡḡa lqaea!?

-ma tesēa imawlan, ur awen-ten-tteksey ara; ruḥ ad trezfed, yenna urgaz-nni.

- d tidett ad I yi-tserḥed? testeḡsa-t.

-serḥey-am, I as-yerra.

Azekka-nni tsebb-d aqetṭar n lesfenḡ, izrem-nni, terra-t yer daxel n yiwet n tcullitt, tewwi-t yid-s.

Akken I tiwed s axxam n baba-s, terra iman-is d tamattart (timesteereft), nettat d warraw-is, tessuter :

-senset-iyi I wudem n Rebbi...

Yeqbel urgaz-nni ad tt-sensen yiwen n yid.

Terna tenna-asen:

-ulayyer ad I yi-d-tefkem imensi, ewwiḡ-d yid-I cwiyya n lesfenḡ...

Yuy lḥal, twešša arraw-is, tenna-asen:

-mi I neqqim yer yiri n lkanun, ad I yi-d-tinim : “ a yemma, ḥku-ay-d yiwet n tmacahutt!”; ad awen-n-iniy: “\*\*\*\*\*timucuha. Ad teqlēm ad tettrum, ad d-tinim s wallus : “ awi-ay-d yiwet n tmacahutt!”.

Qimen akk yer yiri n lkanun, argaz-nni, tameṭṭut-is, tamattart-nni d warraw-is.

Ččan imensi, ttrun warraw-is:

-a yemma, awi-ay-d yiwet n tmacahutt!

-ula d nek, aqli d tamacahutt deg yiman-iw...

Rnan yeqrar-nni alsen-d:

-a yemma , ḥku-ay-d yiwet n tmacahutt!

Yenteq-d urgaz-nni:

-awi-asen-d yiwet n tmacahutt, ayyer ala!?

Tekker tenna-asen-d yiwet...

Tewwi-d tin ines: teḥka-d yef yemma-s I ččan lewhuc, gma-s I tessemneḥ, I d-trebba, armi I meqqr, tezwej-as.

Ṭḥekku-d, nettat tessufuy-d deg yizrem-nni; tamurt tesseblaḥ gma-s d tmeṭṭut-is, ta terna tessed-itt yer daxel n tmurt; gma-s yeqqel yettru yettru, yeqqar-as: “ I yi-texdem tmeṭṭut-iw!”

Nettat tuyaḥ s axxam-is, gma-s tales-as zwaj wayeḍ (adben wayeḍ), tewqem-as leqrar...

*Tamacahutt-iw lwad-lwad, ḥkiy-tt I warraw n leḡwad.*

**C15. The Sisters-in-Law and the Snake's Eggs**

There was once a hunter who caught a partridge but it flew away...

The next day, he caught another one so warned his wife: “beware, if you make it flee away...\*”

He put the partridge under a sieve. His daughter came, lifted the sieve and the partridge flew away... She was afraid of her father, she escaped and her mother followed her.

This woman was pregnant. She took her daughter on her back and then she left.

She walked for a long time until she stopped by a tree, the tree of the wild animals. When the night fell, she said to her daughter:

-we will climb this tree...

She lifted her daughter first, and then she climbed it. Under this tree, wild animals swarmed.

At night, the girl wanted to urinate. She said to her mother:

- How will I urinate?

- My daughter, just do it in my ear...

As soon as she did, a few drops fell beside the lion. He woke up and said: “Our tree is inhabited by strangers!”

They decided to send someone up, so, an ant climbed. As soon as she arrived at the top, the woman crushed her with her foot.

The snake then said: “I'll go up!”

He found the woman there, he bit her, and she fell to the ground. The girl stayed on the tree.

Before they devoured the woman, the "hare" told them:

-what you find inside her will be my share for I have no teeth. As for her bones, you will put them aside. Eat! As for me, I have plenty of time to eat later.

Then, the animals went hunting. The baby that was inside the woman, the "hare" kept it alive.

The girl came down and the hare wrapped the brother of the girl \*\*\*, and she extracted all the marrow from the mother's bones.

Then, she put it in containers: in the old days oxen's horns or goats' were used as containers.

Once the containers were full, the "hare" said:

- go! Once you have passed this area, \*\*\*\*\* coat him with all this marrow ...

She took the child, she walked for a long time, as long as she was applying their mother's marrow on his body, he was growing up.

She returned to her parental home and raised her brother there.

Once he became a man, she married him off.

Once, the sister-in-law said to the girl:

- let's taste our good foods, one treats the other!

-What are these treats?!

-Eggs...

The young man's sister prepared real ones\*, while his wife prepared snake's eggs.

When the sister had eaten them, snakes hatched in her belly.

The wife then told her husband:

- Your sister is pregnant; she will give birth!

- I do not believe you!

- If you do not believe me, ask her to look for lice in your hair and you will see if a baby will not move inside her belly!

- "All right," he said.

He then, addressed his sister:

- Sister, check my hair, please

When she did, he felt something moving in her belly...

- "do You believe me now?" His wife asked.

- I believe you, and, I'll kill her!

So, he took her to the tree of wild animals and attached her to it.

A man riding a horse passed by and asked her:

-Why are you like that woman?

- It's my brother who tied me here!

- why then?

She told him the full story and he believed her...

He took her to his house, and then, he went to consult the old sage to help him save the poor woman.

He said to him: “buy beef, salt it very well and give it to her to eat, and deprive her of water. Place a container full of water on the ground and hang her to the ceiling from her feet. Then, make her head over the container, shake this water and the snake will come out of her.

He did so...

When the snakes got out of her mouth, she told the man: “give it to me...”

“Alright”, he replied...

She salted the snake and dried it.

The man brought the Imam from the mosque, he read them “the Fatiha”<sup>118</sup>. The man married the woman and he had two boys with her.

One day, she told them: “When we will be having dinner, say to your father: “Let us go and see our uncles”. He will say to you: “your mother has no parents!” And I will say to you, “Is there anyone born from the ground !? »”

The father came in the evening and the family had dinner. They were talking around the hearth of fire when the children said to their father: “let us go with our mother, visit our uncles...”

- “Your mother has no parents! I had brought her from the tree of wild animals!”

The mother exclaimed: “is there ever someone born from the ground?!”

- “If she has relatives, I will not deprive you of them. Go visit them”, said the man.

- “Is it true that you allow me to?” She asked him.

- “I let you to”, he replied.

The next day, she prepared *Tighrifin*<sup>119</sup>, put the dried snake in a small bag and took it with her. As soon as she arrived at her father's house, she played the beggar, she and her children:

- host me for Heaven's sake...

The man agreed to host her for one night.

She added: “No need to serve dinner, I have some *Tighrifin* with me...”

Before they arrived, she had given constructions to her children: “When we will be sitting by the edge of the hearth of fire, say to me: “Mother, tell us a story:” and I will tell you: “\*\*\*\*\*no stories”. You will start crying and you will keep saying, “mother, tell us a story ...”

They sat by the fire: the man, his wife, the beggar and her children.

Once dinner was taken, the children began to cry: “Mother, tell us a story!”

- “I am a story myself...”.

The children repeated again: “Mother, tell us a story!”

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<sup>118</sup> The religious marriage

<sup>119</sup> Kabyle fritters or donuts



And the man exclaimed: “Tell them a story, why don’t you want to?!”

She told them one: hers. She told them about her mother who was devoured by wild animals, about her brother that she saved and of whom she took care till he became a man, and when she married him off. She recounted everything. When she started drawing the snake out of her luggage, the ground engulfed her brother and his wife whom she pushed deeper into the ground. Her brother did not stop crying and saying: «What did my wife do to me! »\*

Then, the young woman joined her husband, looked for a wife for her brother, and saw to his good future...

*My story, along a Wadi, I had told it to the children of the valorous.*

### **C16. Lunğa n Teryell**

Yella yiwen n uşeggad yettşeggid. Yiwen n wass iruḥ yer yiwet n teẓgi, deg-s yiwen n lburğ annect n yillat. Yenna-as : « ass-a, ad d-şegdey dihin.

Işegged armi i yeeya, yuḡal isenned yer uyrab (lḥid) n tiyremt-nni.

Cwiyya kan, tḍil-d yiwet n teqcict, « şebḡan Allah i tt-yencan », amma di şşifa, amma deg imezran ! »

Argaz-a iwala-tt, tekker tenna-as-d :

-ruḥ si-n, yemma d Teryell, ma ulac ad ak-tečč !

-aha ! yef wudem-im ad emdey i kulci ; ad n-alij, ad n-kecmey s axxam yur-  
m !

-ruḥ a wlidi, ur tezmireḡ ara, yemma d Teryell ad ak-tečč !

-yef wudem-im, emdey i lmut, emdey i kullec !

Tekker day tḡegger-as-d imezran-is, terfed-it. Yekcem s axxam, di-n Teryell-nni terna tekcem-  
d, yekker yeffer.

-sfuḡey rriḡa n uberrani da !

-ala a yemma, ieedda-d uşeggad, yewwet-d yiwen n ufrux, yeḡli-d yer da,  
sewwey-t, ččiy-t...

Tumen-itt yemma-s...

Azekka-nni, dayenni yuḡal.

Terna tenna-as teqcict-nni :

-ruḥ a waki, yemma d Teryell, ad ak-tečč !

-yef wudem-im, ad emdey i kulci...

Terna tḡegger-as-d imezran-is, terfed-it.

Yeqqim-n cwiyya, tessers-it-id.

Akken i d-tekcem yemma-as, terna tenna-as :

-acu n rriħa n « uədali » i sraħey akka ?

-aha a yemma, d afrux day am yidelli, yewwet-it-d yiwən n uşeggad, yeyli-d yuri, sewwey-t, ččiy-t.

Azekka-nni, ass wis krad, yuƷal day Ʒer uyrab(lħiđ)-nni, terna-as-d teqcict-nni :

-ruħ day si-a, yemma d Teryell, ad ak-tečč...

-qarey-am-n, Ʒef wudem-im əmdey i kulci...

Terna terfed-it.

Urəd i t-tessers, yemma-s tiweđ-d. Nutni, səan « lberka », leqđen deg-s azemmur, terra-t Ʒer ugensu (daxel) ines., terra day fell-as yiwet n lğefna n usƷar, teffer-it-n.

Dayen tiweđ-d yemma-s tenna-as :

- D acu ara ad d-yettraħen akka ?

- Ur yelli kra a yemma...

Təħreş-itt...

Mi i d-yiweđ yid, tenna-as :

-sers-iyi-d akk « irwajen » ad asen-qney lħenni...

-ih a yemma...i as-terra yelli-s.

Tesseħluli-t-id, tessawal i yigerwajen akk : « iyyaw ad awen qney lħenni... »

Usan-d akk, teqqim ala lğefna-nni, Ʒef i as-tenna yelli-s :

-a yemma, lğefna inna useet, kem d tamƷart, awi-d ad as-qney ciħuħ dihinna.

Acku, ma terfed-itt-id, ad d-iban uqcic-nni i tyum.

-yerbeħ a yelli.

Teqbel yemma-s.

Tefka-as teqqen-as lħenni, igerwijen akk teqqen-asen, tettu amehraz.

Akken i tetteş yemma-s, sawalen akk lewħuc deg uəddis-is.

Taqcict-nni, tessaki-d aqcic-nni, tenna-as : « kker tura ad nruħ ».

Mi i tekker ad truħ, tessusef di tyeryart, d tewwurt, tleħħu akken tessusuf, armi d sebəa (sa) n tikwal.

Teffey-d, maca, amehraz-nni yezga la yesqerwiħ : « qerweħ-qerweħ deg umehraz, tanujja yewwi-tt urgaz !

Teryell ad tessiwel : « a Lunğa ! », yiwet n tsuseft ad as-d-terr awal :

-aneam a yemma !

Yelli-s ad telhu, ad telhu, ad d-yekker umehraz-nni, ad yesqerwiḥ : « qerweḥ-qerweḥ deg umehraz, ma d Lunġa yewwi-tt urgaz ! »

Yemma-s ad as-tessiwel :

-a Lunġa !

Tasuseft ad as-d-terr awal :

-aneam a yemma...

Akka, armi i fukkent sebċa n tsusaf-nni ; tiririt n wawal tuyal truḥ.

Asmi Teryell tuyal ur tselli i tirrit n wawal n yelli-s, teḍfer-itt.

Tufa sdat-s yiwen n wasif, iwakken ad t-tezger, tewwi-as-d yiwet n teqjunt, teqqar-as :

-mceḥ-mceḥ a taqjunt n wuydayen...

Temceḥ, temceḥ teqjunt-nni, maca, mačči d ayen ara tfak. Temceḥ ihi armi i tebredeε, teqqel temmut.

Teryell-a tuyal yer deffir, seg wasif-nni.

Yaş akka, tyad-itt yelli-s, tettweşsi-tt s tiyri :

-a Lunġa, ad tafed sin n igudar ttnayen, ad ttmegezaren, ad myeqlen akk d idammen, ḥader ad ten-tefruḥ !

Ma tefriḍ-ten, ad yettwarfed yiwen segwen !

Yelli-s-a tesla-as-d.

Teddun, teddun, mlalen d igudar-a ttemceččawen, ttemyejraḥen.

Yenteq yur-s uqcic-nni :

-ad nruḥ ad ten-nefru !

-xaṭi ! d acu yef i ay-d-tweşša yemma ?!

Rnan teddun, teddun, zwaren yer sdat igudar-nni.

Lḥan aṭaş, igudar-nni dima la asen-zeggiren yer sdat, ttemyextasen.

Yiwen n ubrid, ieedda uqcic-nni ad ten-yefru, yiwen n igider yerfed-it deg yigenni., yewwi-t deg yiffer-is, taqcict-nni ur tezri sani ad terr !

Yekker iluea-tt-id :

-ad truḥed yer tala n « flan », ad teqqimed yer rrif-is, ad tass taklitt n baba ad tagem.

Yerna yefka-as yakk lewşayef-is, ad teddu yid-s yiwet n teqjunt, ad as-tekseḍ aglim-is, sakin ruḥ dferr-itt, anda i tekcem kcem.

Texdem akenni.

Taqjunt-a tekcem yer yiwen n uxxam, teḍfer-itt, ayeddid i tewwi yid-s, ur tezri anda ad t-telleq, d aglim n teqjunt-a.

-anda ara ad eelqey lgerba a lalla ?

-acu i kem-id yebdan akka a taklitt, eni ur tzerred ara, atan useffud dinna !

Tælleq ageddid-nni yer tagust.

Atan yiweḍ-d lmal, truḥ ad t-teqqen deg udaynin, teqqen-it akk seg uḍar aneggaru, ur tessin ara amek.

- Acu i tt-id-yebdan taklitt ass-a ?

Taqcict-nni, mi id-yiweḍ yid, ur tufi d acu ad tessu, ma d taklitt-nni teggan yef tmurt, aklan n zik ur swin ara.

Tetteṣ ihi yef tmurt, yef wudem n tnezzayt (ṣṣbeḥ), ha-ten æddan-d igudar-nni, i yewwin aqcic-nni, wa yessiwel-d :

-a Lunḡa, amek i tellid ?

-usu inu d tamurt, asummet inu d yiwen n yini, taduli inu d igenni ; tyurred-iyi-d a wlidi !

Ad d-yalles :

-a Lunḡa, amek i tellid ?

-usu inu d tamurt, taduli inu d sqeff ; tyurred-iyi-d a Yusef !

Aqcic-a isem-is Yusef.

Akenni kan, yiwet n tikelt, ccix n lḡameε yesla i Yusef-a mi i yella ihedder i teqcict-nni, nettat tettarra-as ;

Yekker yessiwel i baba-s n uqcic-a.

-a Leflani, sliy i ṣṣewt deg uxxam-ik ! aqcic ad as-yini akka, taqcict ad as-tini akka.

-εass, azekka mi asen-teslid, saki-iyi-d, yenna urgaz-nni.

Azekka-nni, mi i asen-yesla, iruḥ yessaki-d amyār-nni yekker-d.

Yebda la isel :

-amek i tellid a lunḡa ?

-usu inu d tamurt, asummet inu d ini, taduli inu d igenni, tyurred-iyi-d a wlidi !

Yerna-as :

-amek i tellid a Lunḡa ?

-usu inu d tamurt, taduli inu d sqeff, tyurred-iyi-d a Yusef !

Mi i slan akenni, yekker amyār-a iruḥ ad iẓer amyār azemni :

-debber felli, ha-t ma ṣar, ha-t ma ṣar...

-winna d mmi-k, d igider i t-yewwin, ad truḥeḍ ad tezuḍ tafunast « tamezguṭ ulḡenniriw », ad ternuḍ sebɛa n leḡfun n seksu, ad ten-tessersed di lweqt deg ara ad d-yass, ad d-yeyli, heggi usa yef tmurt, iwakken ur yettender ara.

Azekka-nni yewwi-d tafunast-nni, yerna seksu, yerna ihegga-d usu yur ad d-yeyli mmi-s nni. Ass i d-yernan, usan-d igudar-nni ad ččen ; akken yiwen yebra i yiferriwen-is, aqcic-nni yeyli-d, amyar-nni yerfed mmi-s, igudar-nni nyan-ten.

Mmi-s nni yeqqel am ugrud, ma d taklitt-nni tettyma kan dixel n uxxam.

Lunḡa mzerren nettat d Yusef. Yeqqel yehla, yeqqel day am zik-is.

Yekker yenna-as baba-s :

- A mmi, ad ak-zewḡey...

-nek ad ayey taklitt !!!

- a mmi, ad hedren felli ! mmi-s n šselṭan yuy taklitt !

-nek d taklitt ara ad ayey !

Deg wanda ur as-yehki ara i baba-s d anta-tt taklitt-nni...

Tebyiḍ ad tayed taklitt, ay taklitt !

Ass n lḡenni, yewwi taklitt-nni yer lḡemmam, tessired, tekkes aqlim-nni n taklitt, telsa-d lqecc-is, telsa-d lqaḍ, terna-d aquṭan ur icerreg lemqeš, ur tefli tsegnit.

Akken i d-teffey, uhmen medden, taklitt tuyal s ššifa n tziri, amzur-is yella deg wawal : amzur n Lunḡa, yelli-s n Teryell, yiweḍ yer iwerzan.

Yewqem tameyra, n sebɛa (sa) n wussan d sebɛa n waḍan.

Yeqqel yekker-d gma-s amejuṭ n Yusef, yenna :

-segmi gma yuy yiwet n taklitt tuyal akka, ula d nek ad ayey taqjunt-a nney !

-a mmi, d taqjunt, ad ak-teny, ad ak-tečč ! yenna baba-s...

-gma yuy taklitt, teqqel d tamelḡant, ula d nek, ad ayey taqjunt !

Baba-s nni meskin yuy-as awal, yuy-iit, uqmen tameyra.

Di tnezzayt-nni i d-yezzin, truḥ taklitt-nni ad asen-tawi lqehwa, tufa tenya-t, teqqim yef uɛebbuḍ-is, ttett deg ižerman-is.

Texlee, tessiwel i yimawlan n uqcic-nni, tenna

-a Stidi a Lalla ! Sidi d ayraš teskender fell-as ; lḡut ad twalim !

Ufan mmi-s-ten yemmut, taqjunt-nni ttett deg uɛebbuḍ-is.

Baba-s yenna :

-zik i ak-nniy ad ak-teny !

Kren ruḡen meḍlen-t.

Yuyal Yusef-nni yehka-asen-d tamacahutt, yalles-itt-id am akken i tedra yid-s ; taqcict-nni d Lunğa n Teryell, mačči d taklitt.

*Tamacahut-**iw** lwad-lwad, mliy-**tt** i warraw n leğwad.*

### **C16. Lundja, the Daughter of the Ogress Teryel**

There was once, a hunter hunting.

One day, he went to a forest where there was a huge castle.

He said to himself: "Today, I will hunt there."

He hunted until he got fatigued so he leaned against that castle's wall.

A young girl glanced out the window

- "The grace of the Lord! who created her and gave her that beauty and that hair! » he said to himself.

When the man had seen her, the girl told him: "Go away from here, my mother is the Ogress, she will devour you."

- "O! for your beauty, I accept everything. I will come up and join you at your place!"

- "Go away, you, poor. You cannot do that, my mother is the Ogress, she will devour you."

- "For you, I accept everything, even to die!"

She threw him her braids and she lifted him. He entered the house, and when the mother returned, the hunter hid.

- "I smell a stranger!" said the mother.

- "No mother, it was a hunter who passed by, he shot a bird that fell here. I took it, and I ate it."

Her mother believed her...

The next day he returned.

The girl told him again: "Go, my mother is the Ogress, she will eat you!"

- "For you, I'll accept everything"

She threw her braids again and she lifted him.

He stayed there a moment, and then he went down again.

Her mother returned and said again: "What is this smell of a stranger that I sense here"

- "No mother, it was a bird. Yesterday, a hunter shot it and it fell by here, I seized it and I ate it."

On the third day, the hunter came again near the wall of the enclosure, and the girl said to him:

- "get away from here, otherwise, my mother the Ogress will catch you and swallow you..."

- "I told you that for you, I'm ready for anything!"

She lifted him again to the fortress.

She barely put him on the ground that her mother arrived. There, they own a container where they put their olives. The girl put him inside it, covered him with a large wooden dish and hid him there

Her mother came again and said to her daughter: “What smells like that?”

- “Nothing at all, mother.” The mother did not leave her any choices but to lie

When night fell, the ogress told her: “bring me all the dishes so that I coat them with *henna*<sup>120</sup>.”

-“alright mother”, said the girl.

She soaked the *henna* in some water, and then called for all those dishes: "come, let me coat you with henna ..." All the dishes came except the large wooden dish about which the girl had said: “mother, that dish is big and you're old. Give me some *henna*, I will coat it where it is.”

*Because if the dish were to be moved, everything would appear.*

- “Well, my daughter.” Her mother nodded.

So, the ogress applied *henna* to all the dishes but she forgot the pestle.

As soon as the mother ogress fell asleep, all the animals in her belly stirred, growled, and called.

The girl woke the young man up and said: "Let's go, we're leaving. »

Before leaving, she spat in the corner, on the floor, on the door, she spat while walking until she made seven spits.

She went out of the house but the pestle kept hammering: "pan, pan, pan the girl is taken by the young man. "

And Teryel to call, "Loundja!", and a piece of saliva to answer her: “Yes, mother!”

Her daughter was walking away and the pestle was manifesting: "pan, pan, as for the girl, she is taken by the young man! »

And her mother to call her: “Loundja!”, and a piece of saliva to answer: “yes, mother...” until the seven little saliva spots had all answered so the answers stopped.

And when the Ogress no longer heard the answers to her calls, she went after her.

She found before her a river. To cross it, she brought a dog and said to it: “Lick...lick, dog of the enemies\*<sup>121</sup>”

It licked and licked but it could not swallow all the water of the river. It had drunk until it died.

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<sup>120</sup> An orange or reddish semi-permanent dye used by oriental women to decorate or colour the hands, the palms, the feet or the hair. it is made out of the dried leaves of a specific green plant called vernacularly the henna tree

<sup>121</sup> Jews. It is an insult used to show anger or disrespect

The Ogress moved back to avoid drowning, but despite that, she worried about her daughter so she advised her from afar by calls: “Loundja, you'll find two eagles fighting each other, scouring each other, hurting each other. Make sure not to separate them!”

Her daughter heard her.

The girl and the hunter continued their walk and met these two carnivorous birds who were fighting each other and injuring each other.

The young man spoke: “Let's separate them!”

- “No! What did my mother advise us?!\*”

The two young persons continued their walk and the two birds preceded them and stood before them. They walked for a long time while the two carnivores continued to fight in front of them.

Then, the young man went to separate them. So, one of the eagles lifted him, he was stuck under its wing...the eagle flew away, taking him in the air.... The girl did not know where to go!

He told her: “go to a given fountain, you will sit by it. The black servant of my father will come there to fill some water.”

He described all her physical features and he added: “A dog will accompany her, you will tear off her skin (the servant), then, follow the dog, where it enters, you enter.”

She did so.

The dog entered a house and she followed it. As for the skin of water that she had brought with her, she did not know where she should hang it.

- “Where shall I hang this?” She said.

- “what’s wrong with you servant, you do not see, there is a stake there!”

She hung the skin on the stake.

Then, a flock of sheep arrived, she went to tie the animals in the stable. She tied them all from their back feet...she did not know what to do.

- “What is going on with this servant?”

When the night fell, the girl did not find a bed as the black woman used to sleep on the floor *blacks were not considered at all in the past.*

She slept on the floor. In the early morning, eagles were flying over the village, even the one which had taken the young man. This latter called: “Loundja, how are you?”

- “My bed is the floor, my pillow is a hearthstone, my blanket is the sky. You fooled me my friend!”

He repeated: “Loundja, how are you?”

- “My bed is the floor; my blanket is the roof. You fooled me, my friend!”

The boy's name was Yousef



And it was so until the day the Imam of the mosque heard Yousef talking to the girl who was answering him. So, he went to call the father of that young man: “I heard voices in your house!, a young man said this and that and a girl answered him by this and that

- “look! Tomorrow when you hear them, wake me up,” said the father.

The next day, when he heard them, he went to wake the old man up.

He heard:

- How are you Loundja?

- My bed is the ground, my pillow is a fire hearthstone, my blanket is the sky, you fooled me, my Yousef!

Having heard that the old man went to consult the old sage: “advise me, please. That’s what happened...”

- “the young man is your son that an eagle took. Slaughter a cow \*\*\*; and prepare seven large containers of couscous that you will put in the yard when the Eagles come. Your son will fall to the ground.... prepare bedding on the ground so that your son does not get hurt.”

The next day, he brought the cow the old sage prescribed, couscous, and the bedding.

The next day, the eagles came to eat. And as soon as one loosened its wings that the young man fell and the old man -his father- seized him. Both eagles were killed.

The young man became as thin and weak as a kid. As for the girl disguised as a black servant, she remained at home. Loundja and the young man were seeing each other. He recovered and he became as he was before.

His father had said to him: “Son, let me marry you off...”

-I, I will marry the black servant

- Son, people would speak ill of me! A prince marrying a slave!

- It is a slave that I will marry!

he did not tell his father who that slave really was...

- “You want to marry a slave, so marry a slave!” His father said to him.

The day before the wedding day (*henna* day), he took the bride to bath. She washed there and removed the skin of the slave. Then, she put on clothes...she put on \*\*\* and a Kaftan<sup>122</sup> that no pair of scissors had touched or a needle had pierced!.

As soon as they came out, people were surprised: a black woman who had become as beautiful as the moon! Her long and beautiful hair... as that in legends. It is like that of the daughter of Teryel! it reaches the ankles!

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<sup>122</sup> a long velvet dress or vest embroidered with golden threads

He made a wedding party of seven days and seven nights.

Yousef's little brother said to his father: "Since my brother married a black woman who became so, I too, will marry our dog!"

- "My son, she's a dog, she'll kill you ... she'll devour you!"

- My brother married a black woman who turned into a beauty. So, I too, will marry... a dog!"

The poor father agreed, the young man married the dog and made a party.

The next morning, the maid went to serve them coffee. She found that the dog had killed him, she was sitting on his stomach and devouring his intestines.

Terrified, she called her masters and said: "Sir, Madam! Mister is an **"ayras\*\*\*"**, the dog sits on him", come to see!"

They found their son dead and the dog was swallowing his guts.

The father said: "I told him that she would kill him!"

Then, they went to bury him.

After that, Yousef told them the story. He faithfully repeated what he had seen and endured.

The girl in question is truly Loundja, the daughter of Teryel, she was not a slave.

*My story, along a Wadi, I had told it to the children of the valourous*

### **C 17. Sin imdukkal**

« Llan zik sin n yemdukkal, ala ayen ara ad iherrem Rebbi ara ad ten-iferqen. Maca urten-d timegraḍ si lejdud-nsen.

Mektan-d yiwen n wass aybel-a, yekker yenna-as yiwen segsen i tmeṭṭut-is :

- Leflani ar ad t-nyey !
- Tura ay argaz, d iḥbiben i nella nemsečč tagulla d tasselt (Imelḥ) ; d ayen i yekreh Rebbi yef ara nemfaraq, amek ara ad t-tenyeḍ ; ad ay-d-terreḍ lḡadda s wadda !? i as-tenna tmeṭṭut-is...
- Ur zmirey ara...

Tekcem-d yiwet n teḥbibt-is nettat, tameṭṭut-nni tettezzem deg waḍu.

Yerna-d urgaz-nni :

-ass n tlata, ad uqmeḡ tameyṛa, mi i yendeh ubendir, teemerr rreḥba, ad yili eerdex-t-id, ad t-nyey di teerict.

Tmaṭṭut-is meskint tezga dima tettarew deg waḍu...terra-as-d :

- Ad d-terreḍ day lḡadda s wadda day, ad t-tenyeḍ di teerict... !
- A tameṭṭut, d ayenni kan...

Tekcem-d ihi yiwet si temdukkal-is, tehka-as :

- A tamejtu, ha-t ma şar... ha-t ma şar...yeqqar-d : ad nyey leflani di teerict, ad d-rrey ttar n jeddi...
- Ma yenya-am-t di teerict-a, ulayyer ad ternuđ ad ttekleđ felli !

Azekka-nni, tekker rreħba n wurar, yerra amdakel-is yer teerict...yenna-as :

- Win i yerwan seg ufus-ik, win i yellužen seg ufus-ik !

Argaz-nni iqeddec...

Di lawan i kfan aseççi, teemerr rreħba n wurar, tenna-as temyart :

- Rğut tura ad d-rsey ad ceđhey cwit, tekker terna-d :

A tıir azegza yeyman,  
yef “tumman” n udrar yeyyed,  
azetta i tegređ yened,  
yetti ufeggag yef wayeđ,  
win i yettalasen i gma muxaf,  
yas ad bedlen leslaf.

Ur yefhim ara, yuyal-d...

Terna tenna :

-rğumt ad n-rnuy ciđtaħ...

\*\*\*\*\*narif

.....  
Ad ak-xelşen

.....  
Sufella I ak ggan leđyaf

Tiyersi s wadda i tt-kersen

Ad ak-d-yefk ugudu lexrif

\*\*\*\*\*terfen\*\*\*\*\*

Yenna urgaz-nni \*\*\*\*\*

- Rğu...

Yers-d imiren yenna-as :

- Ay aħbib sani ?
- Ad fyey yer berra ad d-uıyaley...

Winna yeđfer-it, iruħ ad t-iney :

Wayeđ yerna deg wawal-is :

- Teweer tgulla d lmelħ

Tiṭ mi ara ad temẓer  
 Tayeḍnin teweer  
 Xelli-k ma temceččeḍ  
 Tagulla d lmelḥ...

*Tura tettun medden ayaki, mačči am zik-nni, amzun ur yetteeddi wacemma.  
 Ibeddel zzman...*

### **C17. The two friends**

There used to be two friends and it was only sin that could separate them\*. But their ancestors were enemies.

One day, they remembered an old dispute so one of them said to his wife: “That person, I will kill him”

- “But, man, you are friends, you have eaten from each other's hands. The Great Lord does not like this, it is a cause of wars. How are you going to kill him while you know that this will unearth the ancestral conflicts!”
- “I can do nothing about it”

The husband added

- Next Tuesday, I will make a party. When the drum will be beaten and the place will be crowded, he will be invited and I will kill him in the attic

- You will dig up evil and you will kill him in the attic ...?!
- - Woman, that's it, I cannot do anything ...

And one of her friends entered, she recounted the fact to her: “Woman, that's what happens ... he says he wants to kill that person in the attic to avenge his grandfather!”

- If he kills him, do not count on me as a friend of yours!!!

The next day, the party was in full swing; he sent his friend to the attic and told him “Those who are satisfied and those who are not, at lunch, it will depend on your services / your hands\*)”.

That man was serving food

Once the meals were taken, the songs began. an old woman said:

- Wait a minute; I go in to dance;

Then she started singing:

- Dark blue bird

on the mountain\*\*\* shouted? Sang? rose?

The web you wove kinked up

\*\*\* fell on another

Whoever wants my brother dead is dangerous

the ancestors must be changed

the poor man did not understand. He returned

She said again:

- wait until I add a little.\*\*\*

we will pay you\*\*\*

Above

We kinked it up from below

The discharge gives you figs \*\*\*

The man said:

-hold on

He went down and said

-Where are you going?

- I am going out and I will come back later

The other followed him, wanting to kill him

The other one said:

- Shared meals are so important when the views intersect

One shall be so attentive. Do not talk about shared meals, bread and salt\*

*Today, people forget these traditions; it's not like in the old days;*

*Nothing happens (we do not forget; we do not forgive)*

*The times have changed.*

## **C18. Friylus**

*Macahu...*

*Tamacahutt-iw ad telhu, ad tiyzif am usaru, ad tecbeḥ am tziri n unebdu ney am yiṭij mi i  
d-iteddu.*

Yella yiwen n urgaz yesea sin n warrac yettrebbiten, nutni d mmi-s n gma-s d agujil.

Agujil-a, yerra-t d ameksa, ikess yiwet n tyuga n eemm-s d uzger i as-d-yeḡḡa baba-s.

Tayuga-nni, ad as-tebru yer yiman-is, ma d azger-is netta, yettawi-t yer wanda i tella aṭas n tuga.

Yuyal uzger-is netta yewwi-d iman-is, ma d tayuga-nni, tuyal teḍeef.

yIwen n wass yekker εemm-s-a yenna-as :

-ayyer tayuga inu teqqur, ma d azger-ik, iṣeḥḥa ?

-anda i zriy nek a εemmi, akken i kessen akk !

-azger-ik, ihi, yelha iwakken ad t-zluy...

-aha a εemmi, ala aya i yi-d-yeḡḡa baba, tura, ad t-tezluḍ !

-ad t-zluy ! i as-d-yegzem εemm-s.

Friylus iru armi i yeeya, yuyal yessusem ; yenna i εemm-s :

-ihi a εemmi, mi i t-tezliḍ, ad i yi-d-tefkeḍ aglim-nni ad t-awiy ad t-zenzey...

Yezla-t, yefka-as aglim-nni.

Yewwi Friylus aglim-nni yer ssuq yessawal :

-d anwa ara ad yayen aglim ? d anwa ara ad yayen aglim ?

Ulac win i t-id-siwmen, armi d tameddit, yuy-as-t yiwen...yenna : « a Ulleh, ar ad tawiy, ar ad t-xedmey d icifaḍ.. ! »

Yuy-it, yefka-as-d « ṭṭmen » yeflan, iεelleq-it yer yiwen n lxiḍ d azeggay.

Iteddu, yetturar yes-s, yeččelqaf-it yer igenni, armi i yiweḍ yer rrif n ssuq anda i mfaraqen imestuḡḡar.

Yiwen n ugraw n wid izenzen lmal-nsen, qimen uḥd-sen.

Nnejmaεen ad ferqen idrimen-nsen, Friylus yeqqim yer iqerra-nsen.

Mi i llan la ḥesben, netta yettef « ṭṭmen »-nni, iḍegger-it yer daxel n yedrimen-nsen, yer lwiz-nni.

Zik, d lwiz d uzref s way-s i ttsewwiqen medden.

Cwiṭ akka, iger ifassen-is deg imezzay-is iεeggeḡ :

-a rwaḥut a lmumnin, ha-ten ksen-iyi agerruj n baba d jeddi.

Kren lyaci, nnejmaεen-d fell-as d ugraw-nni, yenna-asen :

-ḥeqren-iyi !

Kren lyaci-nni, steqsan agraw-nni :

-ayyer i t-ṭheqrem ? teksem-as agerruj-is...

Widak-nni, nnan-as :

-d lmal-nney i nezzenz, nekker ad nεeddi ad nefreq idrimen.

Yenteq-d Friylus :

-ma ur tuminem ara ad tafem degsen, yiwen n « ṭmen » yeflan, iεelleq yer yiwen n lxiḍ d azeggay !

Kren nudan, nudan, ufan « ṭṭmen »-nni yeflan.

Iger Friylus idrimen-nni deg uqelmun, iruḥ yewwi-ten !

Yiweḍ s axxam, yessiwel :

-a eemmi !

Yeldi-as-d eemm-s tawurt, yesteqsa-t :

-amek i d-tewwiḍ akk annect-a ?

- d aglim-nni i yiwiḡ, zenzey-t !

-lemmer ula d nek ad n-awiḡ igelman n yezgaren-iw ?

-keč segmi sin n yezgaren, mačči d aya ad d-tawiḍ ! lemmer ad tekred ad ten-tezluḍ, yerna eḡḡ-iten arma i fuḥen mliḥ ! lemmer i ten-ḡḡiy fuḥen, i ken-sfuḥey, aha-t ad d-awiḡ ktarr !

Yekker eemm-s yezla izgaren-nni ines, yeḡḡa igelman-nni armi i yekker deg-sen uwekkiw...

Yewwi-ten yer ssuq, yessawal :

-d anwa ara ad yaḡen igelman ! d anwa ara ad yaḡen igelman !

Yiwen ad as-yefk abqa, wayeḍ ad t-yessusef...

Si ššbeḥ armi d tameddit, yerwa tiyitiwin ; yuḡal-d s axxam s igelman-nni.

Yerra yer mmi-s n gma-s yenna-as :

-tkelxeḍ-iyi !

- ur ak-kelxey ara...

-teḥrem ar azekka, ad ak-ḍegrey yer lebḥerr !

Azekka-nni kren-d, ddan, ddan, ufan yiwen n umeksa.

Ameksa-a, yuḡal-d uḡd-s yer Friylus, yenna-as :

-ayyer la tettruḍ ay aqcic ?

-acku, yenna-i-d baba ad ak-zewjeḡ, nek ugiḡ...

-tugiḍ ?

-ur bḡiy ara ad zewjeḡ...

-ad ruḥey deg umkan-ik...deg ubdir-ik...

-ruḥ, nek ad ak-εasseḡ lmal-a ; lameena, anda i ak-yenna bedd, bedd ;

dinna ad ak-d-yexḍeb...

Yekker uqcic-nni iruḥ...

Ileḥḥu, iwḍen yer yiri n lebḥerr, yenna-as urgaz-nni : « bedd » !

Ibedd, iḍegger eemm-s n Friylus aqcic-nni yer lebḥerr, yečča-t...

Tameddit, mi I d-yeyli yiḍ, yuḡal-d Friylus s axxam n eemm-s, yenher-d lmal-nni, yessawel :

-a eemmi !

-tuḡaleḍ-d ay amcum ? ur temmudeḍ ara ?

-uyaley-d, muqel annecten uqliben n wacciwen !

Yessekcem s axxam akraren-nni, n sebæa n iseggasen...

-ansi i d-tewwiḍ yakk annect-a ?

-si lebherr yer i yi-tdegred !

-lemmer ad n-ḡegrey arraw-iw, aha-t ad d-awin !?

-arraw-ik ? lmal mačči d aya kan i yellan, nek d aya kan iwimi i zemrey, i

d-ḡelliy...ad d-awin sin n imuren seg wa !

Azekka-nni, yewwi sin n warraw-is yer lebherr, iḡeqqer-iten-n...

Yeqqim yettraḡu deg yiḍ, ulac...

Yenna-as :

-amek ara ad as-xedmey I wa? Ad ruḡey ad t-qney yer tsetta m-lewḡuc...

Yewwi-t-n.

Yeqqim-n ass akk di-n, si kra win I d-iæddan, ad as-yini bru-i-d si-a, ad yagi.

Qaren-as: “ d baba-s I t-yeqnen di-n, ad yili d acu I yexdem...”

Tameddit, iwala iteddu-d yiwen n umyar, yewwi-d tislit-is I terzeft.

Friylus yenna-as:

-yeqqen-iyi baba da d amyar, tura qlay d ilemzi !

Yuz umyar-nni yur-s:

-acu ara ad d-teqqared, yeqqen-ik-n baba-k d amyar, tura teqled-n d ilemzi?

-yeqqen-iyi baba d amyar kter-ik, tura qlay-d d ilemzi!

-lemmer ad n-ttwiqney, ad d-uyaley d ilemzi?

- ad t-tuyled!

-ihi, qqen-iyi-n!

-bru-iyi-d si-a!

Yebra-as-d umyar-nni si-n, si tsetta m-lewḡuc...yurez-n amyar-nni.

Yewwi tislit-nni, yuḡal s axxam n æemm-s, yessawel-as :

A æemmi, ldi-iyi-d tawurt !

Tuyled-d a lhemm ?

Uyaley-d !

Yessekcem tislit-nni, yenna-as :

-ewwiḍ-d tislit...

Yekker æemm-s, yenna i tmeṡtut-is :

-heggi-d æwin, ad nekker ad nerwel, ma ulac, ad yeglu s iqerra-nney !

Tseww-d lesfenḡ, teččur acwari.



Zik ttawin icwariten.

Friylus, iruḥ yezwar yer lqae n ucwari-a, yerra-d lesfenġ-nni sufella-s, rran kullec yef tserdunt.

Teddun, teddun, Friylus yebra-d i waman n tasa.

Tameṭṭut-nni twala akenni, tenna-as :

-ay argaz, twalaḍ i d-yeččercuren n zzit !, meqqar ad neččar cwit seg-s. Ad dehney taqerruyt-iw.

Yenteq-d Friylus :

D nek a eemmi !

Teddiḍ-d ?!

Ih ddiy-d !

Ihi, tura ad nruḥ, yenna eemm-s.

Ruḥen, teddun, teddun, teddun, iwḍen yer yiri n lebherr.

Yemcawar netta d tmeṭṭut-is :

-ad d-nessu, ad t-id-nesgen d aqerni, yer rrif n waman, nek ad am-n-qarey az akkin, kem day ad i yi-d-tiniy az akkin... arma i t-nḍegger yer lebherr !

Ssan-d, yeġġa-ten armi i tšen, yetteş deg yidis nniden ; mačči win i d-isuman aman.

Ukin-d, argaz-nni yeqqar : « az akkin », tameṭṭut-nni teqqar-d day « az akkin ! » ; netta dayen ad ten-iḍeqqir, armi i ten-ewwin waman.

Yegla s eemm-s d tmeṭṭut-is...

Yuḡal-d s axxam, yeqqim-n netta d tmeṭṭut-nni, yewwi-d yiwen n ccix yesnefk-itt.

Yesea-d yid-s iqrar...

*Tfuk tmacahutt inu, awer ifuk warezg-iw.*

## **C18. Frighlous**

*A tale...*

*That my story pleases, gets as long as the colourful woollen belt, and embellishes like the moonlight or the rising sun.*

There was a man who had two sons that he was raising, and a third one- his nephew- a fatherless boy. He made of him a shepherd. He was keeping a pair of oxen belonging to his uncle and a third one left by his dead father to him.

The child left his uncle's pair of oxen to feed on their own, while he took his ox to feed in the fields where the grass is abundant. His ox was doing well then, but his uncle's pair, which he neglected, became skinny.

One day, his uncle exclaimed: "why is my pair of oxen so lean while yours is well meaty?"

- I do not know, uncle, they graze together.

- Your ox looks so good and meaty; I will slaughter it...

- No uncle. It's the only thing my father had left me, and you want to slaughter it!

- "I will slaughter it!" his uncle Insisted.

Frighlous cried a lot, then ceased dropping his tears, and said to his uncle: "Well,uncle, once you have slaughtered it, give me its hide so that I sell it"

The uncle killed the animal and gave the hide to his nephew.

Frighlous took the hide to the market and started shouting:

- Who would like to buy a beef-hide...? Who would like to buy a beef-hide...?

Nobody made him an offer. By the end of the afternoon, someone bought it, saying to himself: «I will buy it to make of it something for my feet (a shoe)»

So, he bought it. Yet, instead of money, he gave the child and empty pouch with a hole which he hunged with a red thread.

While walking, he played with it, tossing it in the air and catching it again until he reached the edge of the market where the merchants began to disperse.

A group of cattle merchants was standing apart. They assembled to share the money between them, Frighlous stood at their heads. By the time the vendors were counting their money, Frighlus took pouch and threw it into the vendors' money- Formerly, it was silver, metal and pearls that were used as currency- After that, he plugged his ears with his hands and began to shout:

- come to my rescue faithful believers, here, they are stealing the treasure of my ancestors.

A crowd of people gathered around him and the group of the merchants. Frighlous complained:

- They attacked me!

The crowd questioned the group: Why are you attacking him? You stole his treasure from him."

The vendors said: "We sold our cattle and we were dividing our money."

Frighlous said: "If you do not believe me, you will find a pouch wih a red thread among the money!

The crowd searched into the sum of money and found the pouch with a hole

Frighlous put the money in his hood and left.

When he arrived home, he called: "Uncle!"

His uncle opened the door and asked him: "How did you bring all this money!?"

- It was the hide that I took and that I sold!

- And if I too sold the skins of my oxen?

- As you have two oxen, it is not only that amount that you could earn! Especially if you slaughter them and leave the skins in the air until they stink! If I had let my skin stink and smell, I would have earned more than that!

Then, the uncle slaughtered his two oxen and waited for worms to develop in those skins. He took them to the market and shouted: "Who would like to buy skins! Who wants to buy skins! Passers-by, one gives him a blow, and the other spits on him..."

From morning till night, he only received blows. He then returned home with his skins.

He went to see his nephew and said: "You fooled me!"

- "I did not fool you"

- I would have sinned if tomorrow I would not throw you into the sea!

The next day, he walked a long time before meeting a shepherd. The latter took Frighlous aside and asked him: "Why are you crying, young man?"

- "My father wants to marry me off, but I do not want to..."

- "I'll go in your place..."

- "Go, I'll keep your flock for you. You must stop where my father asks you to, it will be there where he will ask the hand of your would-be wife ..."

And the shepherd left...

They walked (the shepherd and the uncle of Frighlous) till they arrived at the edge of the sea. The man said to the shepherd: "stand up here!"

He stood up and Frighlous's uncle threw him into the sea, and he drowned.

In the evening, at nightfall, Frighlous returned to his uncle's house, leading a flock of sheep and called: "Uncle!"

- You came back, devil? Are you not dead?

- yes, I came back! Look at these sheep with curved horns!

He brought in the sheep, seven years old each...

-Where did you get all that?

- From the sea where you had thrown me!

- And if I threw my children, would they bring all that?

- Your children?! There is not only that to bring, but it's all I could ... they would bring twice as much.

The next day, he took his two children to the sea and threw them there...

He waited all night..., no news...

He said to himself: "What could I do to that one now? I'm going to tie him to the tree of monsters."

He took him.

He remained there all day, and all the passers-by whom he asked to detach him refused.

They said to each other: "It was his father who attached him there, he must have committed some wrongdoing."

In the evening, he saw an old man walking towards him. He was taking his daughter-in-law to visit her parents.

Frighlous told him: "When my father tied me, I was an old man and here I turned young again!"

The old man approached him: "What are you saying?! Your father tied you there old and you're young again?"

- "when he attached me here, I was older than you, and I rejuvenated here!"

- "And if I get attached to it, would I become young again?"

- "You will become young again"

- "Then, tie me there"

- "detach me first!"

The old man detached him from the tree of monsters ... and Frighlous tied him up there.

Frighlous took the woman, and he went to his uncle and called him:

- Uncle, open the door!

-you are back, devil!

-I am back!

He invited in the woman and said to his uncle:

- I brought a fiancée...

Then the uncle said to his wife: "prepare provisions, we will save ourselves, otherwise, he will have our heads!"

She made Lesfenj<sup>123</sup> and filled a donkey's load.

*At the time, we were loading «twin baskets" carried by a donkey ...*

Frighlous preceded his uncle towards the mount and jumped inside one of the sacks, and covered himself with Lesfendj.

In the meanwhile, Frighlous urinated in the basket

His wife saw that and said to her husband:

- Man, do you see all that oil that is leaking from the sacks! I would fill a little in a container, to apply it to my hair.

Frighlous exclaimed:

---

<sup>123</sup>fried fritters of the Maghreb region, they are called Bambaloni in Tunisia

- It's me, uncle!

- Did you join us?

-Yes, I did!

-Then let's go, said the uncle.

They walked till they arrived by the seaside.

The man and the woman consulted each other:

- we will prepare our bedding; we will place him next to us facing the shore; I'll tell you to push yourself aside and you'll tell me the same thing ... until we throw him to the sea!

They installed the bed. Frighlous waited until they were asleep and took the side that is not facing the sea.

The couple woke up in the middle of the night and the man was telling his wife to push aside; the woman also told him to do the same thing; while Frighlous pushed them towards the water until they were swallowed by the sea.

He got rid of his uncle and his wife.

He returned home, settled with the woman he had brought before, called the Imam of the mosque who testified for his marriage with that woman. Then, he celebrated the event with a party. He had children with her.

*My story is over, but hopefully not my luck...*

### **C19. Țir lemyenni**

*Macahu, qedlahu, tameayt-iw ad telhu, ad timyur annect n ujgu ; ad tecbeḥ ad tecbu asaru ; tameayt n Țir « Lemyenni ».*

Yella zik yiwen n urgaz, yesæa yiwen n yiger n yirden, ney qaren-as day afeddan n yirden.

Ɛeddant-d krad n tlawin, tenṭeq-d yiwet segsent tenna-as : « lemmer ad ayeḡ bab n yiger-a, s uæeqqa n yired, ad as-ččarey lmetred ! »

Tis snat tenna-as : « lemmer ad ayeḡ argaz-a, s yiwen n yillis n taḍuṭ, ad as-ksey abernus ! »

Tis krad (tlata), terna-d : « lemmer ad ayeḡ bab n ufeddan-a,

\*\*\*\*\*

Wadin, bab n yiger-a, yella di-n ; yesken-d iman-is, yenṭeq-d :

-tin ara ad i yi-ččaren lmetred, nek ad as-fkey uraw !

-wa d aqeşşer kan i d-qeşşey, i as-d-terra tmezwarut-nni.

-tin n m-yillis, nek ad as-fkey sin segsen !

-d aqeşşer kan i lliy ttqeşşirey ! i as-d-terra tis snat-nni.

Tis krad (tlata), tenna-as :

\_\*\*\*\*\*\*ma yefka-ten-id Sidi Rebbi !

Yekker yuy-itent i tlata...

Yiwet terfed.

\*\*\*\*\*

Tin iwimi i yefka uraw, tenna-as : « d lekdeb, uraw ad d-yeččar lmetred, yak nniy-k-d d aqeşşer kan !

Iruḥ yefka-as rrabea n yirden, teččur-as-d lmetred n seksu.

Tis snat yenna-as :

-ad am-d-awiy sin n yillisen n bernus !

-drus, winna d aqeşşer kan i lliy ttqeşşirey !

Tin n twinzatin n wurey\*\*\*\*\*yefka-d Rebbi

\*\*\*\*\*

Takniwin-nni, usment seg-s.

Nnant-as : « ad ay-teggeḍ tawil ! »

Iwakken ur iẓer ara urgaz-nni\*\*\*\*\*tweenziwin n wurey\*\*\*\*\*

Snat-a, ewwint-d yiwet n lqibla, uşşant-tt...

Lqibla-nni, teqbel, tenna : « yerbeḥ ».

Tekker tenġer i yigurdan-nni yiwet n tsenduqt, terra-ten yer daxel; sakin tewwi-d day sin n ikerhunen\*\*\*\*\* (sin n yeqjan), tettel-iten, tessers-iten I tin I d-yerban akken.

Mi I d-yusa urgaz-nni, nnant-as: “tin akken ad ak-d-yesεun tiwenziwin n wurey tesεa-ak-d iqjan!”

Aqcic-nni, ihi, terra-ten lqibla-nni yer daxel n yiwet n tsenduqt tdeqper-iten yer yill (lebḥerr).

Yella day yiwen n şşelṭan ur yesεi ara dderya; u llan yur-s ixeddamen d iḥewwatan.

Yiwen n wass, şegden-d iselman, tedda-d tsenduqt-nni di tecbekt, kren ewwin-tt I şşelṭan-a.

Yufa-n d iqrar, yefreḥ yes-sen, acku, ur ten-yesεi ara...

Rebban-d-ten-id, mmuten yemyaren-nni; iqrar-a qimen di lburġ-nni d iqeddacen-nni.

Yuy lḥal, yemmat-nsen, I iyil d tidett tesεa-d iqjan, yeqqen-itt yer tebburt n udaynin...

Takniwin-nni, ur tt-ḥsibent ara, kra ineɣlen ad t-smirent fell-as...mi I d-tesεa iqjan!?

Snat n tlawin-a d sin n warrac-nni, aqrur d teqrurt, ur mmuten ara...

Krent snat n tlawin-a, ruḥent yer lqibla-nni, nnant-as: “debber fell-ay, atan yennulfa-d yef wakken sin n ilufanen-nni ur mmuten ara...”

-wa d ccyell-iw! I asent-is-terra.

Tekker truḥ tesqerbeb yer tebburt n teqcict-nni (tuḡal muqert), tenna-as:

-iḥemmel-ikem gma-m?

-iḥemmel-iyi!

-ma iḥemmel-ikem, in-as ad am-d-yawi “Ṭṭir Lemyenni” s tesəa u tessein n tmeslayin; err iman-im tuḡned!

Yusa-d gma-s, tesssuter-as “ṭṭir lemyenni-a...”

Netta, yekker iruḥ ad iḡer amyar azemni, yenna-as:

-debber fell-I, ultma I yi-d-teḡleb...I yi-d-teḡleb...

-ruḥ a mmi, ultma-k kecmen-tt medden, byan ad ak-fken yer “tizi-n-leədem”

Ad truḡeḡ yer udrar n “flan” yef uəawdiw.

Ad n-tawḡeḡ, ad n-tafəḡ yiwen n ṭir yettyenni. Ad n-tafəḡ day aṡas n yedyayen d sṡur; idyayen-a, akk d leibad...ad ak-d-yecnu, ur iḡebbes ara, ad ak-id-yesteqsi :”ma teeḡeb-ik tutlayt-a?”; keḡ susem. Mi iwḡent tesəa u tessein n tutlayin, ad d-yeyli deg urebbi-k!; imiren day, ad d-tneṡeḡ! Izra n sṡur n yedyayen-nni ad uyalen d leibad!

-yerbeḥ, I as-yerra.

Iruḥ, yiweḡ yer udrar n “Ṭir Lemyenni”-a, yeqqim ddaw n useklu (tejra) yef I as-d-yemmesla.

Yeqqim ṭṭir-nni icennu, sakin yesteqsa-t-id:

-teeḡeb-ik tutlayt-a ?

Yerna-as-d :

-teeḡeb-ik tutlayt-a?

Yenṡeq-d!:

-teeḡeb-iyi...

Yekker iṡuḡ deg-s yuḡal d adyay, ittekka deg uyrab-nni...

Ultma-s teqqim tettraḡu ad d-yuḡal, ur d-yuḡal...

Tekker ula d nettat, truḥ ad tḡerr amyar azemni:

-a Baba Ḥasen , debber fell-i!, iruḥ gma, ur d-yuḡal ara!

-iruḥ a yelli, kecmen-kem medden, tefkiḡ gma-m I leədem!

-amek ara ad xedmey?

-ad truḡeḡ yer udrar n “flan”, ad n-teqqimeḡ ddaw n useklu (tejra) I yef I yettyenni “Ṭṭir-Lemyenni”, ad iyenni, ad iyenni, sakin ad kem-id- yesteqsi: “ ma teeḡeb-ikem tutlayt-a...” kem ur d-netṡeq ara; arma I yiwḡent tesəa u tessein n tutlayin...

Imiren, ad d-yeyli deg irebbi-m, da ad tzemreḡ ad d-tneṡeḡ mi ad kem-ieahed...

Ad as-tiniḡ: “ur ak-ttserriḡey ara arma I tṡuḡeḡ deg yedyayen-a, ad ten-id-terreḡ akk d imdanen.

Tenna I umyar-a: “yerbeḥ...”

Thelles I ugmar-is, truḥ, texdem akenni, texdem akken I tt-iweṣṣa umyar-nni azemni...yeṣṣuḥed-itt “Ṭtir-Lemyenni-nni”, yenna-as: “ad am-xedmey ayen I am-yehwan, tenna-as:

-ad tṣuḍeḍ deg yedyayen-a akk!

Isuḍ

Uyalen-d akk d lēibad.

Tuyal, tuyal-d s axxam nettat d gma-s, d “Ṭtir-Lemyenni”-nni, tēlleq-it deg yiwen n lqefṣ.

Tamyart-nni tamcumt ziy tesla, nettat d snat n takniwin-nni! Tekker truḥ yer teqcict-nni, testeḡsa-tt:

-yewwi-am-d gma-m “Ṭtir-Lemyenni”?

-ih, yewwi-t-id! I as-terra...

Maca, ur as-tenni ara yef wakken d nettat I t-id-yewwin s timad-is...

Terna temyart-nni, terna-as :” ma iḥemmel-ikem gma-m, ad yernu ad am-d-yawi “ Zhutt-Ddunit”; err iman-im tuḍned!

Tayawsa-a, tella di tmurt n “leēdem », anda i tella lmut !

Tameddit-nni, deg uxxam, tcid aqerru-s, terra iman-is tuḍen.

Yusa-d gma-s, yesteḡsa-tt:

-d acu I kem-yuyen a ultma?

-uḍney, awi-i-d “Zhutt-Ddunit”...

-ansi ara tt-id-awiy?

Iēdda yer umyar azemni, day, yenna-as :

-debber fell-i, ultma tuḍen, tessuter-iyi-d « Zhutt-Ddunit »

-ultma-k-a, tebya ad ak-tefk yer “leēdem”! am deg ubrid amezwaru...

Ruḥ ihi, ad tafed Sa (sebea) n idurar, ad asen-tēddid, ad tafed titbirin cucufent, ad tafed sersent tijellabin nsent yer yiri n yiwen n umdun; ad teṣnuḍ tajellabt tamejtuḥt, ad tt-id-tedmed, ad tt-tefred; susem, ur d-qqar awal!

Ad ak-I d-testeqsi: “ d anwa I yi-yefren tajellabt-iw? D anwa? Keč ur d-netteq ara akk arma i ak-tēuḥed, imiren ad as-tefkeḍ tajellabt-is.

Iruḥ ihi, yemmuqel yer tjellabin-nni yufa-n sa (sebea).

Yexdem akken, yeddem-d, yeffer tamejtuḥt...

Fyent-d tetbirin-nni, lsant tijellabin nsent, txuṣ yiwet, llalt-is tessuter-itt-id : « a lxelq-a, fk-iyi-d tajellabt-iw... a lxelq-a fk-iyi-d tajellabt-iw...

Netta yezga yessusem...

Tekker teṣṣuḥed-it:



-a lxelq-a, lemmer ad iyi-tt-id terred, ayen I tebyid ad ak-t-id fkey, alukan d rruh-iw!

Yesken-d iman-is, yefka-as-tt, telsa-tt, terna tenna-as:

-d acu u tebyid ad ak-t-id-xedmey?

-byiy ad kem-awiy! Ad kem-seuy deg uxxam-iw!

-yerbeh...I as-d-terra.

Yewwi-tt s axxam, "Zhutt-Ddunit"-a, nettat tesea taxademt tettkacaf; mi ara ad tt-tebren, ayen I as-yehwan ad t-id-tessers.

Tesla day temyart-nni, truḥ yer snat n tlawin-nni tenna-asant:

-tura debremt iqerra-nkent amek ad txedmemt, nek ccyell-ik ifuk..!

Snat n takniwin-nni krent yer urgaz-nsent nnant-as: "ad d-tæerded mmi-s n şşeltan d ultma-s, ad asen-d-txedmed lmakma..."

Ma d netta, ur yezri ara yef wakken byant ad ten-rehjent s lmakla...

Yuy lhal, "Zhutt-Ddunit", kulci tettwali-t, yerna ad teddu yer unæruḥ-nni; tekker tweşsa aqcic-nni d teqcic-nni: "mi ara ad tawdem, ad awen-d-ssunt tizerbiyin, ad tent-deqrem yer rrif, ad asent-tinim: "tiki d æzir-nney I tent-itessun! Lehḥun fell-asant".

Terna tenna-asen: "mi ara ad tazem yer sdat, ad d-yass umcic, ad as-tefkem ad yečč, yerna ad twalim yiwet n tmeṭṭut teqqim deg udaynin, ad asen-tinim: "arma I d-truḥ tmeṭṭut-inna seg udaynin, u ad twalim d acu ara ad awen-grent".

Kren ruḥen;"Zhutt-Ddunit", tedda yidsen.

Iwḍen, degren tizerbiyin-nni, rnan nnan-asant: "tiki d æzir-nney I tent-itessun".

Uzen yer sdat, sersen-d lmakla, yeqreb-d ubabat-nsen, nnan-as:

-Ur ntett ara, arma I d-tuli tinna I yellan deg udaynin!

-tin I d-yesean iqjan! Ad tt-rrey yer tyeryart!

-ad d-tali, ias-cerḍen.

-ur tt-id-ssalayey ara...

Iædda-d umcic, akken I as-fkan ad yečč yiwen n telqimt yeqli...yebreeder yemmut.

-qerbet-d... yenna urgaz-nni,

-lqut-a yesæa ssem!

Kren ssilin-d tameṭṭut-nni seg udaynin.

Ksen ticucay netta d ultma-s, iban-d waggur di twenziwin-nsen; yenteq-d uqcic-nni:

-keč d babat-nney, tinna d tayemmatt-nney, tin I teqnem deg udaynin!

Ḥkan-as taqşit, silin-d tameṭṭut-nni, sirden-as; rnan nnan:

-amek ara ad nexdem I tida?

-ad d-tawiḍ snat-a, d lqibla-nni, ad d-tawiḍ iqerra-nsent ad ten-nexdem d iniyen, iḍarren-nsent d tafala, ifassen-nsent d lmesḥa.

Tafala d yiwen n wallal ssufuyen yes-s leybar si tzulixt, zik. Lmesḥa, tteemmiren yes-s day leybar-nni.

Yekker yiwen n ugmar ass akk la tent-yezzuyur, qlen xedmen yes-sent iniyen, tafala d lmesḥa. Yemmat-nsen sirden-as akk, tuyal-d yer tesga, “Zhutt-Ddunit” tesdukkel ababat d tyemmatt n warrac-nni.

D wamek I tḍerru I wid d tid ixedmen uhuḍ (ccer).

*Tameɣyt-iw lwad-lwad, ḥkiy-tt I warraw n leḡwad.*

### C19. The Singing Bird

*A tale,*

*that my tale is good, and grows, as long as a trunk; that it embellishes and resembles the colourful woollen belt: the story of "the singing bird."*

There used to be a man who had a wheat field...

Three women passed by, one of them exclaimed: "If I get married to the owner of this field, with a grain of wheat, I will fill a pot!"

The second to say: "if I get married to such a man, with a piece of wool, I will weave him a burnous!"

The third to say: "If I get married to such a man, I will give him two golden foreheads (give him two blond kids)

The man in question was there, showed himself and exclaimed:

- The one who will fill me a pot, I will give her two handles!

- "I only joked," replied the woman.

- That of a piece of wool, I will give her two!

- "I only joked!" The second Answered.

The third one told him: "I will give you two golden foreheads if the great lord gave them!"

He then married them all three...

The third got pregnant.

\*\*\*\*\*

The one to whom he gave two handles of grains told him: "It is not true that two handles would fill a pot, I told you that I only joked!"

He gave her a quarter, she filled him a pot of couscous.

To the second, he said: "I'll bring you two pieces of wool!"

- it's not enough, I only joked!

The one who said "if the great Lord gave them", had given birth to two golden foreheads.

The other two cowives were jealous of her.

They said to him: "You will endow us with goods!"

So that the man does not know that his third wife gave birth to two children with blond hair, the two women brought a midwife and gave her instructions.

The midwife agreed and said "well". She carved a small box for the children, and put them inside. Then, she brought two little dogs which she covered, and she put them near to the woman who had given birth.

When the man came, they said to him: "The one who was to give you two golden foreheads, gave you puppies!"

They put the two newborns in a small chest and threw them into the sea.

There was also a sultan, who had no children. His people were fishermen. One day, they were fishing and among the fish there was a small chest in the net. They took it to the sultan, and when he opened it, he found the two babies with the golden foreheads. He rejoiced and decided to keep them. The two babies were raised by him and his wife. A while after, the old ones died (sultan and his wife) and the children remained in the palace with the servants.

Their mother, who was believed to have had two puppies, was attached to the door of the stable. The other two wives had no consideration for her, they poured garbage on her because she had puppies ...And those two women remained alive, as well as the two children.

When the twins grew up, people started talking about their extraordinary golden foreheads until the news reached the two cowives.

The two wives went to see the midwife and said:

- "show us what to do, it seems that the two children are still alive ..."

- "This is my business!" She replied

She went to knock on the door of the girl (who had grown up) and said:

- Your brother, does he love you?

- He loves me!

-If he really loves you, tell him to bring you "The Singing Bird". For that, pretend to be sick! when her brother came, she demanded the "singing bird." He went to consult the old wise man, and said to him: "guide me to achieve what my sister demanded, she wants the singing bird"

-My son, somebody is filling your sister's head. they want to send you to "a horizon of nothingness". You will go to the mountain of a "given person" on the horse. When you will arrive, you will find a singing bird and many stones on a wall, those stones are all humans...He

will sing to you, without stopping, then he will ask you: "Does that tongue please you?" You will remain silent, and once he has reached ninety-nine songs, he will fall to your knees! Then, you will be able to express yourself! The stones of the wall will then become human beings again!

- "I got it", he replied.

He left and he arrived at the mountain of "The Singing Bird", then he sat under a tree that the old sage talked to him about.

The bird was singing, and then he questioned him:

- do you like this language?

He repeated: "do you like this language?"

The man exclaimed: "I like it..."

The bird blew on him and he became a stone, encrusted on the wall...

His sister was waiting for his return but in vain...

She, too, went to consult the old sage...

- Baba Hacene, guide me, my brother left and he did not come back!

- He is gone my daughter, you are under the influence of others, you have sent your brother to the unknown! Go to that given mountain you will sit under the tree on which sings the «Singing Bird", he will sing without stopping then he will ask you: "does this language please you?". You will not say a word until he reaches ninety-nine languages ... There, it will fall to your legs and there you will be able to speak. After he will have given you his word... You will say to him, "I will not let you go until you blow on those stones that you will transform into human beings again."

She said to the old man: "got it ..."

She prepared her horse and did what the old sage told her...

"The Singing Bird" then told her: "I'll do whatever you want. »

The girl said to him:

-blow on all these stones!

He blew.

They all became human beings.

She returned home with her brother, and «the singing bird" which she put in a cage

The wicked old woman heard of what happened, as well as the other two wives. She went to the girl and questioned her:

- Your brother, did he bring The Singing Bird?

- Yes, he brought it! She answered... But she did not tell her that it was her who brought it, in person...

The old woman added: "If your brother loves you, he will bring you *Zhutt-Ddunit* (joy of life) too, just pretend to be sick! "

This thing is in the land of "nothingness" where death exists.

In the evening, she wrapped her head, acting as if she were sick. Her brother came and asked her:

- What's wrong with you my sister?

- Bring me *Zhutt-Ddunit*

- Where can I bring it from !!?

He went to the old wise man again and said to him,

- show me what to do! My sister is sick and she asked me to bring her *Zhutt-Ddunit*!

- Your sister wants to send you to your death! As at the first time...Go, then, you will find seven mountains, that you will cross and you will find hen pigeons bathing. You will find that they had put their dresses \* at the edge of a pond, you will be interested in the smallest, You will take it and you will hide it, and you must remain silent, do not say a word!

She will ask you: "Who hid my dress? Who?"

You will not say anything until she promises you. You'll give it to her then.

He went there, looked at those dresses and saw seven.

So, he did as the old sage told him, he took and hid the smallest...

The hen pigeons came out of the water, put on their dresses, but one was missing.

Its owner asked: "oh creature, give me back my dress ... creature, give me back my dress ..."

He remained silent...

She made an oath to him:

- creature, if you give it back to me, I will give you everything you want; even my life!

He showed himself, gave it to her, she put it on. Then, she added:

- What would you like me to do to you?

- I want to take you and have you at home!

- As you wish! She said to him.

He took *Zhutt-Ddunit* with him at home, she had a ring that shows the future; when she turns it, it brings everything she wants.

The old woman heard about what happened so she went to see the two wives and told them:

- Now, do what you want to do by yourselves, I'm done...!

The two wives addressed their husband and said to him: "invite the son of the Sultan and his sister and make them a meal ..."

But he did not know that they wanted to poison them...

But Zhutt-Ddunit foresees everything and will accompany them. she gave instructions to the young man and his sister: "once there, they will lay carpets for you, you will put them aside and say: "Those carpets, it is our "dear "who lays them on his bed we shall not walk on them". She added: "When you go forward, a cat will come, you will feed it before you taste your food, and then you will see a woman sitting in a stable, you will tell them: "we'll start eating once that woman comes, and then you'll see what they'll put you. "

They left and Zzhutt-Ddunit was with them.

They arrived, and the carpets were laid. The twins said: "These, it is our "dear" who spreads them on his bed »

They went forward, food was served. Their father joined them, and they said to him:

- We wouldn't eat unless that woman has joined us!
- The one who gave me puppies!?! I put her in the corner!
- "That she comes upstairs," they demanded.
- I will not make her come upstairs...

A cat passed, as soon as a crumb was thrown to it, it ate it and it died.

- "look" said the young man, "this food is poisoned!"

The woman was brought from the barn.

The young man and his sister took off the hoods and something like a moonlight shined on their forehead. The young man exclaimed:

- You are our father and the other woman is our mother: the one you keep in the stable!

They told him the whole story. Then, they brought the woman from the barn, and they made her take a bath and then, they asked the mother: "What will we do to these two?"

- "bring those two and the midwife. You will cut their heads, we will make of them stones for the "hearth of fire", and of their feet a tafala<sup>124</sup> and of their hands, shovels." She said.

A horse was dragging them on the ground. Then, they made of their heads, stones for the hearth of fire, and of their limbs, they made brooms and shovels.

Their mother, all washed, joined the great room of the house. Zhutt-Ddunit could gather the father, his wife, and their two children. As for those who cause harm, this is what happens to them

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<sup>124</sup> is a tool that cleans cattle rubbish from the sewer.

*My story, along a Wadi, I had told it to the children of the valorous.*

## C 20. Tawenza N Wurey (Dhebb)

*Macahu, tellemcahu, Rebbi ad tt-yeedell am usaru.*

Yella yiwet n tkilelt, yiwen n ubabat, yesea sa (sebea) n tullas, yettrebbitent, d tigujiilin...

Tullas-a, bdant la ttimyurent, yiwen n wass, teedda-d yiwet n tmettut, tufa-tent-id hercent akk, xedment akk, tenna-asant :

-Tura, kennemti...d acu ara txedmemt akkagi?!

Nettat tebya ad tent-ikellex...wissen ma d Teryell i tt-id-yuznen (icegeen), tekker tenna-asant :

-Iyyamt ad nezwt(ad nruhat) yer yiwen n umkan, ad nzerr yiwet n tyawsa...

-Nekkenti, ur nettruhu ara,ma ulac ababat-nney ad ay-iney...

Tella yiwet n teqcict garasant, tenna-asant : « nek ad dduy yid-s, ad zrey... »

Tekker tamettut-nni tewwi-tt...tewwi-tt s axxam n Teryell, tenna-as :

-Ha-t ewwiy-am-d imensi...

Teryell-a, tefreh, la tesliliw, yas akken i d-tekcem si lexla, tenna :

-D acu la yettfuhun akka da ?

Taqcict-nni, meskint, teffer kan deffir n tewwurt...ney deg udaynin, ney di teerict...teqqim kan la tettergigi.

Tenteq-d Teryell, tenna :

-Ass-aki, ewwiy-d d acu ara ad ccey, tinna anef-as ar azekka.

Tecca imensi, tettes, teldi aqemmuc-is, la tjexxer, tezzel...

Tekker teqcict-nni, tsiy-d timest, tettef tirgin tgerr-iten deg uxenfuc n Teryell-a tuki-d, txebed iman-is yef tmurt, tettsuyu.

Taqcict-nni, tettef abris-is terwel.

Tiweđ yer yiwet n tezgi, tufa-d iman-is ddaw n yiwen useklu anda i yella Wayzen.

Yekker Wayzen-a, yenna-as :

-mmm, cummey rriha n uberrani da ! waqila nesaa inebgawen !!!

Yusa-d day wuccen, yewwi-d yid-s yiwet n tayat, yenna-as : “ass-a, nesaa imensi, ad nanef i tberranit-a i uzekka...”

Tekker teqcict-a, tuli sufella n yiwen n useklu, tettes di-n.

Azekka-nni di tafrara, tekker-d terwel...

Telha, telha, deg ubrid temlal d yiwen n urgaz, yufa-tt-in la tettru.

Ayyer la tettruđ akka ?

Ha ma kan...ha ma kan...teħka-as kullec...amek i as-teđra.

Iyya-d ad-kem-awiy s axxam-nney...

Yewwi-tt, sirdent-as txeddamin n din, bedlent-as lqecc-is

Azekka-nni, yewwi-tt s axxam-nsen...

Nettat tesa yiwet n ultma-s, tesa yiwet n twenza n uzref d wurey (lfetđa d dhebb), am yiwet n tyellit.

Nnant-as yessetma-s :

nekenti, nezga nettru fell-am...

tkellex-iyi temettut-nni...

Ultma-s-nni m-twenzan n wurey d uzref, d yiwet n thuskit, armi d ayenni-kan...

Yenęeq-d mmi-s n sşeltan-nni, yenna-as : « urgay ad d-mliley d yiwet d tacebħant ataş...tesea tawenza n wurey deg wudem-is, anda-t ubabat-nwent ? yesteqsa-tent...

Nnant-as : « ababat-nney, atan di lexla... »

Yerđa-t, yusa-d.

Yenęeq-d bab n uxxam-a, yesteqsa-t :

d acu i ak-id-yewwin yer da ?

ufiy yelli-k la tettru di lexla, la tettru, tewħec, teggad, atan ewwi-y-ak-tt-id...

suter-iyi-d ayen i tebyid, ad ak-ynuy ma yeyna-k Rebbi...

d nek ara ad ak-yeynun...amek i tettağğad yessi-k, la asen-ttkellixen medden ? d acu ara ak-n-cerđey : ad iyi-d-tefkeđ taqcict-inna talemast ger yessi-k, urgay-tt di tnaffa, Rebbi yessemli-iyi-d akk yid-s...Ad iyi-tt-tefkeđ, ad ak-ynuy, ula d nek, ma yeyna-k Rebbi...

Tin akken i d-yemlal deg ubrid tusem , tenna-as :

amek, d nek i d-templaled deg ubrid, amek ur i yi-tettayed ara nekkini ?!

mačči d kem i d lmektub-iw, i as-terra...

d kem ney d ultma-m...ma d kem ad am-d-afey win ara ad am-ilaqen...

Yefka-as taqcict-nni, yewqem yiwet n tmeyra n Sa (sebea) n wussan d sa n wađan, mi i tt-yuy ; yerna iseggem akk addad (liħala) n idulan-is...

Yewwi-ten akk yer tiyremt-is (leqşer), tin i d-yemlal deg ubrid, yedben-as (izewwej-as) d yiwen seg ineylafen-is (lwuzara), tiyid d ixeddamen n sşeltan (baba-s)...

Targit n mmi-s n ugellid-nni, teffey, yuy tin i yewwurga...

***Tamacahutt-iw tẓwiṭ-tẓwiṭ.....ma ur neskiddeb ara ....., ma neskiddeb ad ay-yexdes Rebbi.***



*Amdan, ur as-yewwilen ad yeskerkes (yeskiddeb) mi ara ad d-yehku targit-is, ney d yiwet n tmacahutt...*

## **C20. The Golden Forehead**

### *A Tale... that the Lord embellishes like the colourful woollen belt*

Once upon a time, there was a father who had seven daughters, they were orphans.

They grew up, and one day, a woman passed by and saw them all "active ", they were cleaning the house. So, she told them: "Now, what are you doing here?"

She wanted a trick them. *We do not know whether it is the Ogress Teryel who sent her to them.* she told them: "Come, let's go somewhere, to see something..."

- "We will go nowhere, our father would kill us..."

One of them said: "I'll accompany her ... to see ..."

The woman took her to the house of the Ogress and she told this latter: "Well, I brought you dinner..."

Teryel rejoiced and released some youyou's. She did not know that the woman brought her a girl as dinner. When Teryel entered her house, she said: "What is this smell?"

The poor girl was hiding behind the door ... or in the barn, or the loft ... She was shaking (in fear).

Teryel said: "Today, I brought something to eat, that one (the dinner that was brought by the woman), I will leave it for tomorrow..."

She took her supper, fell asleep and opened her mouth, she was snoring... Fully lying down.

Then, the girl lit a fire, took coal and stuffed the mouth of the ogress who woke up. She was struggling on the floor and screaming as she was burning and could not stand up.

The girl ran away. She arrived at a forest \*\*\* and she found herself under a tree where an ogre lived.

This monster then said: "Hum! I sense a stranger's smell here! It seems to me that we have guests."

After that, the jackal came, he brought with him a goat and said: "Tonight we have dinner, the stranger, we'll leave her for tomorrow ..."

The girl then climbed a tree and fell asleep.

The next day at dawn, she fled...

She walked for a long time, and then she met a man. He found her crying: "Why are you crying like that?"

She told him all her adventure...

- "Come I will take you at ours", he said.

He took her and the maids helped her wash and change her clothes.

The next day, he took her home.

It happened that she had a sister with a silver and gold forehead, like a queen.

Her sisters told her: "We were crying you..."

- "That woman tricked me!"

Her sister with the golden forehead was so beautiful. She was of an unequal beauty...

The Sultan's son exclaimed: "I dreamed of meeting a superb beauty ... with a golden forehead",  
"where is your father?" He asked them.

They replied: "He went out into the fields."

He waited for him, and the father returned.

The master of the house questioned him: "What brought you here?"

- I found your daughter outside, crying in fear and I brought her back to you.

- ask me anything you want; I will enrich you if that is the will of the Great Lord...

- It's rather \*\*\*\* me who would enrich you as I am the son of the sultan ... How do you allow that your daughters get fooled by others? So, this is what I will ask you: give me the middle-aged daughter among her sisters. I had dreamed of her beauty and the Lord made me meet her ... give her to me and I will enrich you if that is the will of the Lord.

The one he met on his way was jealous \*\*\*\*\* and said to him: "How come? It was me you met on your way, why wouldn't you marry me?!"

- "It is not you who is written to me," he replied." You and your sisters, I'll find you the ones that suit you."

The father gave him his daughter and he made a wedding of seven days and seven nights. And the prince changed to the best the life conditions of his in-laws

He took them all to the palace. The one whom he met on the way; he married her off with one of his ministers, and the others with the valets of his father the Sultan.

And the dream of the prince came true; he married the one he saw in his sleep ...

***My story \*\*\*\*\* if we had not lied. \*\*\*\*\*and if we did (if we had lied), may God***

***punish us***

*one should not lie when he tells his dream or a folktale...*

## **C21. BeluğiD**

***Macahu, ???qellemcahu??? Tamacahutt-iw ad telhu, ad tegg asaru...***

Yiwen isem-is Beluğid, yesæa yiwet n tneqlett.....Ass-nni, la yettberriḥ iwakken ad nzent  
tbexsisin-is: Taneqlett n Beluğid, tebba ?????terfi????

Tesla-as-d Yemma Ġida, tqerreb yur-s, tenna-as: Fk-iyi-d amendeḡger n yennayer

-Ad am-n-deḡrey?

-Ala, fk-iyi-d s tfettust-ik...taezizt...

Nettat di niyya-as, ad tetṭef ad tečč...

Yesseqrab-as-tent-d...

Tetṭef-it seg ufus, terra-t yer tcekkart, tbub-it, tewwi-t s axxam-is.

Deg ubrid, yeqqar-as: A Yemma Ġida, d acu ara ad teččeḡ deg-i ? ala aglim d yiyes ! ney ma  
ulac, err-iyi s akufi n temzin, ad jemæy ccwiṭ n aksum, ad tafed d acu ara teččeḡ...

Terra-t s akufi, netta itett.

Ėddan kra n wussan, tmekken lewh-is s akufi-nni iwakken ad t-twali, ma yella kra i yejmeæ...

Netta yekker imekken-as-d yiwen n asyar...

Tetṭef asyar-nni, tenna-as: -awwah, mazal!

mazal a Yemma Ġida, mazal, err-iyi s akufi n yirden...

Terra-t-n...

Itett-n yesxuxud...

Ėddan kra n wussan, tessefqed yur-s...

Tikelt-a, yesken-as-d day yiwen n usyar.

Yuḡal yenna-as, err-iyi s akufi n iniyman...

Kra n wussan day, tebra iman-is yur-s, yerna day yesken-as yiwen n usyar...

Tekker tenna-as: Awwah, ass-aki, ad tmeččeḡ d imensi...ifuk ššberr

Twæšša yelli-s, tenna-as: Iḡ-aki, ad t-id-afey d imensi!

Iwala-tt teffey, yerra yer yelli-s, yezla-tt, isew-itt d imensi...

Netta yelsa aglim-is.

Mi i d-tusa Yemma Ġida, tufa-d imensi yers-d.

Ttett, netta yeqqim-as yef umnar n tewwurt, la as-icennu: Yemma Ġida « utellis », i yeččan  
aksum n yelli-s... »

Tuḡal                      teḡbes                      tuččit,                      la                      t-txezzer...

Mi i tefhem d acu-t, tuzzel deffir-s, tetṭef-it-id seg uḡar.

Yekker yecna-as: Yemma tetṭef aḡar, tyil d aḡar!

Yenser-as yerwel.

Nettat teqqim di ndama, tečča aksum n yelli-s...imi i teḡmeæ deg uksum-is netta.

***Tmacahutt-iw lwad-lwad, ḡkiy-tt-id i warrac n leḡwad.***

*Uccanen ad ten-yexdeε Rebbi, ma d nekni, ad ay-yeεfu Rebbi.*

## C21. Belludjid

*A tale.....*

*that my story embellishes such as the colourful woollen belt*

There was someone called Belludjid who owned a fig tree...

That day, he climbed his tree and started shouting and calling to sell better: “Belludjid’s fig tree is ripe and fleshy”

*Yemma Ğida* the ogress heard him, approached him, and said: “Give me **Amendeguer**\*\*\*of Yennayer.”<sup>125</sup>

- Do you want me to throw them from above?

- No, give them to me with your dear\* hand...

She intended to catch him and devour him.

He brought them closer. At that moment, she grabbed him from his hand, put him in a bag, and carried him on her back to take him home.

On the way, he said to her: “*Yemma Ğida*, what are you going to eat in me!? I am only skin and bones! Put me in a silo of barley, I'll gain some weight, and you'll find what to eat...”

She put him in a silo, where he was only eating.

A few days passed, she put her hand inside the silo to see if he had gained any weight.

He then gave her a wooden stick instead of his arm.

She grabbed that rod and said to him: “oh no! Not meaty yet!”

- “not yet, *Yemma Ğida*, not yet. put me in a wheat silo...”

She put him there...

He ate, nibbled...

A few days later, she checked him again...

This time too, he showed her a wooden stick. Then, he said to her: "Put me in a silo of dried figs. "

A few days later and again, she let herself go near him\*, and once more, he showed her a rod of wood.

She then said to him:“oh! No, today you will be devoured as dinner ... I lose patience.”

She looked for her daughter and said: “Tonight, I want him turned into an evening meal!

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<sup>125</sup> Resembles halloween’s trick or treating

Belloudjid saw Yemma Ġida leaving. So, he went toward her daughter, slaughtered her and made dinner ...Then, he put on her skin.

When Yemma Ġida came back, she found dinner ready.

While she was eating, Belloudjid was standing at the doorway and singing to her:

- Blind Yemma Ġida, she ate the flesh of her daughter.

She stopped eating and stared at him...

She understood what was happening, she ran behind him and grabbed his foot.

He then sang to her: “Yemma Ġida grabbed a root believing it is a foot!”

She let go of his foot and he fled away

She had strong remorse: she devoured the flesh of her own daughter because she was greedy and wanted to eat Belladjout's

*My story, along a Wadi, I had told it to the children of the valorous, that the Great Lord punishes jackals; and forgives us.*

## C22. Eica M-Tiydimt

*Macahu, ad tt-yesselhu Rebbi am usaru, ney d tiziri n unebdu, ney d itij mi i d-iteddu  
Uccanen, ad ten-yexzu Rebbi, ma d nekni, ad ay-yefu Rebbi.*

Tella yiwet n tgellilt, baba-s d igellil tettidir kan di tiydimt, tettsami iyed, ur teclie deg yiman-is ; maca, teħrec...

Yiwen n wass, yezra-tt Şşelṭan, yebya ad tt-yay...ad tt-yesu deg uxxam-is.

Yekker yuzen yur-s, yenna-as-t.

Terra-as-d : « nek d Eica m-tiydimt, i yi-qqaren medden...d tigellilt. Keč d Şşelṭan, ad tayed, tamtilt-ik”.

-Ala, eas d Eica m-tiydimin, d kem ay byiy.

Yesteqsa ma yella baba-s deg uxxam, iwakken ad tt-id-yexdeb.

Yuzen yur-s yiwen n umazan, iruħ, yessawel-as, yesteqsa-tt ma llan imawlan-is deg uxxam.

Terra-as-d : “Baba iruħ ad yerr aman i waman ; yemma truħ ad tzerr lxelq, urġin ur t-tezri ; gma, dayen iruħ ad yeny ad t-nyen ; ma d nekkini, aqli ger lħid d wayed.”

Şşelṭan-nni yessegza-d imeslayen-a : “Baba-s, iruħ ad isew tibhirt ; gma-s, iruħ ad yefru timegrađ, yemma-s truħ ad tegzem i ubegrud i win ara ad d-yilin ; nettat, dixel n uzeṭṭa, la tzeṭṭ.”

Şşelṭan-nni yerra-asen : “Ad tuyalem arma d yur-s”.

Yerna yuzen-as lqedyan ; nettat, thegga-asen-d lmakla : seksu s uksum, i tedhen s wudi ; aksum-nni tewqem-it ddaw n seksu, tesqa-t-id ; terna-d yiwen n ubuqal n waman i tessers sufella n udekkan.

Tenna--d : “Win yebyan ?abeħri abeqri ??, ad yader s azayar, adfel yekkat deg idurar, ssem-is di swaħel, win i yebyan aman, ad yali s adrar.”

Ma d nutni, ur zrin d acu i asen-d-tenna.

Ma d lqedyan-nni, ukren-as-t : wa yewwi tafulart, wa yewwi lfuda, wa yewwi amendil...

Mi i kren ad ruħen, twešša-ten ad as-inin i Ššelšan : « ma yella ħur-k waggur d lkamel, nek ħur-i d nnaqeš. »

Uyalen yer Ššelšan, nnan-as : “D tinna ara ad tayed ? ur tfehhem ur tessefham !”

-“D acu i awen-d-tenna ?” yesteqsa-ten Ššelšan-nni.

-“Akken i aħ-d-tessers seksu s uksum, tenna-aħ-d : « adfel deg idurar, ssem-is di swaħel ; win yebyan abeħri ??abeqri ????, ad iħub s azayar ; win i yebyan aman, ad yali s adrar”. Mi i nekker ad d-nass, twešša-aħ-d ad ak-d-nini : « ma yella ħur-k waggur d lkamel, nek ħur-i d nnaqeš. »

-“Iħi d acu i as-tukrem ? ad i yi-d-tinim d acu i as-tukrem !”

Qirren-d d acu i as-ukren...

Yeħħuqeb-iten...

Yuy taqcict-a, mi i yewqem yiwet n tmeyra annectillatt...

Yiwen n wass, yella yiwen n urgaz yesea yiwet n tserdunt, yiwen day yesea yiwet n tegmart d mmi-s, ajħiħ...

Yefka-ten Rebbi, nsan deg yiwet n tejmaet.

Waki i yesaan taserdunt yexdem lħerz i ujħiħ-nni, yeqqel yeħferr taserdunt-nni, yeğğa yemma-s.

Mi i kren ad mfaragen, bab n ujħiħ-nni yessuter i bab n tserdunt-nni ad as-d-yerr ajħiħ-is

Yugi.

Bedden ye Ššelšan ad mcaræen, yef taluft-a, yal yiwen segsen, yeqqar-as d ajħiħ-iw...

Yenteq-d Ššelšan : “Serħet-asen, tin i yeħfer ujħiħ-a, d nettat i d yemma-as !”

Yekker yeħferr taserdunt-nni.

Fħen-d seg uxxam n teħdemt, bab n ujħiħ-nni, yeqqim la yettru yef fell-as... Yella itekka yer uyrab n tiyremt n Ššelšan ; tezra-t-id Eica m-te”ħdimin...mi i d-tħil si tħaq.

Testeqsa-t : “d acu n uybel i ak-yerwin akka ?

Yeħka-as : « ha-t ha-t ma šar, ha-t ma šar... »

Tenna-as-d : “uyal yer Ššelšan, in-as : qaren-as yugi tugi, lebherr yugi zyada,arumi yugi cchada, taserdunt tugi tarwa...imiren ad ak-d-yefk ajħiħ-ik... »

Iruḥ yer Şşelṭan-nni, yenna-as imeslayan-a...

-“d tidett a mmi,” i as-d-yerra ugellid-a.

Yessawel i bab n tserdunt-nni, yenna-as ad as-yerr ajḥiḥ-is, i bab-is.

Yiwen day, yezree ibawen yer yiri n lebherr, quren-as akk, wissen d acu i asen-ten-yezzen...

Yella wayeḍ d aḥewwat ; yekker bab n ibawen-a, yenna i uḥewwat-a :

-iselman-ik, ulin-d, ččan-iyi akk ibawen-iw ! ad i yi-ten txelṣeḍ !

-ur ak-ten-ttxelliṣey ara...

-ad nruḥ ad nemcarae ihi, ad nzerr ma ur ten-tettxelliṣeḍ ara.

Ruḥen yer Şşelṭan, yenteq-d bab n ibawen-nni : “aneam a Sidi Şşelṭan, yuri yiwet n teyzut n ibawen yer yiri n lebherr, usan-d iselman n waki, ččan-iyi-ten.”

-“Ad asen-txelṣeḍ !” yenna ugellid-nni.

Yeffey-d uḥewwat-nni, la yettru, yeqqar-as : « amek iselman ad ččen ibawen !? »

Tezra-t-id Eica m-teydimin, testeḡsa-t-id : “Acu i ak-yuḡen akka, ay aterras-aki ?”

-“Xelṣey ibawen, iselman-iw ur ten-ččin ara.”

-“Uḡal yer Sidi Şşelṭan, maca, ur as-qqar ara d nek i ak-id-yuznen, in-as : a Sidi Şşelṭan, ma yeffey-d yislem i waman, ad yemmet ! amek ara ad yečč ibawen !????”

Iruḥ yer Şşelṭan-nni, yenna-as imeslayan-a, yefka-as lḥeqq : “Ruḥ a mmi, ur ten-ttxelliṣ ara...”

Yekker ugellid-a, ifaq deg wakken d ameyyez n tmeṡṡut-is, iruḥ yeggul deg-s : “D kem, di yal tikelt i yettruḡun aha-t : awal-iw, teḥrem ar ad truḥeḍ, d kem i iferrun ddiwan-a...tura, ad ttwirefdeḍ, rfeḍ ayen akk i ezizen fell-am, ddem-it, truḥeḍ !”

-“Ayen i ezizen fell-i, ha-t : ad ččey yid-k tiremt, ad tt-id-sewwey, ad tt-nečč...”

-“Yerbeḥ, i d as-yerra.”

Tekker tuzen yer yiwen n uneḡḡar ad as-d-yexdem yiwen n usenduq. Tečča yid-s tiremt, anda i as-textdem ṣṣikran deg učči n ugellid-a.

Mi i yečča, yenneṣrae, terfed-it, tgerr-it deg usenduq-nni, terra-as tadimt, tewwi-t s axxam-nsen...

Tiweḍ-n, agellid-a yeqqel yuki-d, yenna-as : “D acu i yi-d-yewwin yer da ?”

“Yak tenniḍ-d rfeḍ ayen akk i ezizen fell-am awi-t...tura ulac akk ayen i ezizen fell-i annect-ik...ewwiy-k-id...”

“Telliḍ tḥekmeḍ s lbatel, nek s lḥeqq...Tidett : taserdunt ad tesεu mmi-s ? ttefyen-d iselman yer berra iwakken ad ččen...ibawen ?Muḡel mliḥ...”

Yeqqel ugellid-a, yezra akenni, yendem di rray-is, yenna-as : “Lḥu ihi a tameṡṡut, ad nuḡal s axxam-nney...Yerna ad kem-eaḥdey s lemeahda s Rebbi, si si-a yer sdat, arma i kem-ciwrey-

kem-id d wamek ara fruy ddiwan-iw ; kem d aqlakem d Şşelṭan, nek d aneylaf (wazir) ddaw-am...kem ad i yi-d-tferuḍ tilufa, nek ad şşiwḍey tifrat-im, i wid i yettemxallafen garasen, ad slen-yes-sent medden...”

*Tfuk tmacahutt-iw, awer ifuk warezg-iw...Hkiy-tt-id lwad-lwad, i warraw n leḡwad*

## C 22 Aisha, The Girl with Ashes

*A tale,*

*That the Great Lord embellishes it like the colourful woollen belt, or as a summer moonlight or as the rising sun.*

*Jackals, May the Great Lord punish them, but may he forgive us.*

There was a poor girl, and her father too\*. She was always sitting close to fire and ash. She was not obsessed with her appearance but she was very smart.

One of those days, the Sultan saw her and he wanted to marry her, to have her in his house\*

He sent someone to her to let her know.

She replied: "I am Aisha, the girl with the ashes, as people call me. A poor girl. You are a Sultan; you will marry a woman like you."

- "Even if you're Aisha, the girl in ashes, it does not matter to me. It's you that I want..."

He asked if her father was at home so that he could go and ask her hand. For that, he sent a messenger who asked if her parents were at home.

She answered him: "My father went to put water in the water; my mother went to see a being she had never seen; my brother has gone to kill and to be killed, and I am between two walls."

The sultan explained the meaning of these words to his messenger:

- "Her father left to irrigate the garden; her brother went to prevent killings from taking place; her mother went to cut the umbilical cord of a newborn; and she is inside a loom, weaving ..."

The sultan told his servants: "You'll go back to her."

He also sent her presents. She prepared a meal for them: from couscous to meat\* which she buttered. She put the meat beneath the couscous and she poured the broth on it. She also brought a carafe of water which she placed on a bench.

She said: "He who desires the breeze, let him descend to the plain; the snow falls on the mountains and its cold stings in the lowlands (riparian); whoever wants water let him go to the mountains."

The messengers had not grasped or understood anything of what she had told them.

As for the gifts the sultan sent, they stole some pieces from them: one took a scarf, one took *Lfoudha*, and another took *Amendil*.



Before leaving, she asked them to inform the Sultan of those words: "If for you the moon is complete, for me it is incomplete. »

They returned to the Sultan and said to him: "The one you want to marry can neither understand nor be understood!"

- "What did she say to you?" The Sultan questioned them.

- "When she served couscous and meat, she said to us: "The snow is on the mountains, and its cold stings on the plains; whoever wants the breeze... he who wants water, goes up to the mountains. » Before leaving, she asked us to say to you: "if for you the moon is a complete disk, for me, it is incomplete. »

- "So, what did you steal from her? tell me what you stole from her!"

They confessed and he punished them...

He married the girl and made a great wedding party...

One day, there was a man who had a mule and another who had a mare and its cub a foal.

Chance made them meet one night and they spend it together in one group.

The one who had the mule wrote an amulet for the foal so that it follows him, leaving its mother the mare.

At the moment of their separation, the foal owner asked the mule's owner to give him back his foal. He refused.

They then presented themselves before the Sultan to settle the dispute, and each of them claimed to own the foal.

The sultan exclaimed: "untie them all (the animals), the one that the foal will follow will be its mother.

The foal followed the mule.

They went out of the king's court and the owner of the foal began to cry. He was leaning against the wall of the king's court and his wife Aisha saw him when she looked out of the window.

She asked him: "What is this problem that is so distressing you?"

He told her all that happened to him

She told him: "Return to the king and tell him: "they say he refused and she refused, the sea does not accept surplus, the apostate \*\*\* refuses to testify; the mule does not accept offspring" ... Then, he'll give you back your foal"

He went to the Sultan and told him those words...

- "That is true, my son"; replied the king.

He called the owner of the mule and ordered him to return the foal to his owner.

Another man had planted beans by the seaside, and those beans dried up. The origin of this calamity was unknown. There was also a fisherman. The owner of the beans' field said to the fisherman: "Your fish went up to the field and ate all my beans! You have to compensate me!"

- "I will not pay you", the fisherman replied.

- "We will go to the court then, and we will see if you will not pay them."

They presented themselves before the king, and the owner of the beans spoke: "Yes, your majesty, I have a small field of beans at the seaside, and then the fish of this individual came and ate them all."

- "You'll pay them!" The sultan said to the fisherman

The fisherman went out of the court crying and saying: "How can fish eat beans! »

Aisha, the ash girl saw him and asked him: "What have you, you, there?"

- "I paid beans that fish had eaten."

- "Go back to the king but do not tell him it's under my command! And tell him: "your Majesty, if a fish came out of the water, it would die, how it would eat beans then?"

He went to the king, repeated those words to him, and the monarch proved him right: "Go, my son, you will not pay them"

The king guessed that these judgments are his wife's and went to scold her: "It is because of you that I often change my judgments. It is you who deliberates at the end ... you will be sent out of here and in the immediate future... Take all what you think is valuable and get out of here!"

- "What is of value to me? Here it is: to have a meal with you, which I would have prepared myself."

- "You will have that", he replied.

She then charged a carpenter to make her a large chest.

After that, she took the meal with her husband. She had put sleeping drops in the food of the monarch who fell asleep. She then put him in the chest which she closed and transported to her parental home.

Once there, the Sultan woke up and asked her: "What had brought me here?"

- "You told me to take all that is dear to me ... Now, there is nothing dearer to me than you. Your judgments were wrong while I was right ... In truth, could a mule have a small cub?! Could the fish also come out of the water to graze in a field of beans?! Think hard..."

The king realized what was obvious\*, and regretted his decision and told her:

- "Come then woman, let's go home. And I swear to you before the Great Lord that henceforth it will only be after consulting you that I would make my judgments; you are "the king" and I a minister under your tutelage..."

*My story ends but not my chances ... Along a Wadi, I had told it to the children of the valorous*

### C23. Zelgum

Yella yiwen n şşelṭan yesēa sin n warraw-is. Yiwen n wass teffey yelli-s, tewwi-tt taklitt yer lexla ; teqqim yer yiri n yiwen n umdun anda i seswayen igmar(iēawdiwen).

Mi i n-teqqim, ylin di-n kra n inezḍan n ucebbub-is. Sakin, tuyal-d s axxam, mi i n-teffey s tuffra.

Tesea gma-s, iruḥ ad n-yessisew agmar-is seg umdun-a yiwen n wass.

Maca, agmar-nni yezga la yettsekkik, yugi ad yaz ad isew seg waman-nni.

Mmi-s n şşelṭan-a, yewhem, yenna d yiman-is : « amek akka, si zik i t-tesseswayey da... »

Yeddem-d aēkkaz, iḥerrek deg waman-nni, yedda-d yiwen n yinezd, yenna-as : « d inezd-a ayezfan i ixedmen akka ? Euhdey Rebbi anda i tedda llalt-is ad tt-id-jebdey, u d nettat ara ad yilin d lmektub-iw, yas ad d-kkey seba u sebein n tmura (sa n tmerwin d sa) !

Yuyal s axxam, yehka yakk ayaki i baba-s, yerna yenna-as : « ad d-tjemēd akk tullas n taddart, ad ferney (ad xtirey).

Nutenti, yal yiwet segsent d ageldun-a i as-yellan d asirem i udben... Byant akk ad t-ayent...

Ttēeddint-d akk, cebḥent-d akk iman-nsent, netta yettqissi deg icebbab-nsent, wa izad, wa yenqes...

Attan tēdda-d ultma-s, iqis-as acebbub-is, yusa-d d netta.

Yuyal iruḥ s axxam, yessusem, steqsan-t :

-d anta ?

-umbeed ad awen-d-iniy

Netta ihegga-d i tmeyra n sa (7) n wussan d sa (7) n waḍan...

Di temdint, win i igennun (yettxiḍin) igennu, tin ifetlen tfettel ; yal yiwen d yiwet iger-d iman-is i uheggi n tmeyra.

Yerna, win ara ad as-yawin acetṭiḍ, ad iqis yef ultma-s, nettat ad t-testeqsi, netta ad as-yerr : « ad ayey yiwen am kemmini. »

Ma d tin i yessiriden irden d lḥemmez, teqqim yur-s di lḥewc.

Tekker tedda-d yiwet n tgarfa, tenna :

-εaq-εaq ! fk-iyi-d sin n iεeqqayen n yirden, ad am-d-iniy tin ara ad yay gma-m...

-gma...iban ubrid-is...ad as-terr.

Ma d tageldunt-a, ur tezri ara belli d nettat !

Truḥ tgarfa-nni tdewwer tuyal-d :

-εaq-εaq, fk-iyi-d sin n iεeqqayen n yirden ad am-d-iniy tin ara ad yay gma-m !

-ruḥ akkin, qimey ad cumsey i yiṭij, kem la...

Abrid wis tlata, truḥ tesbuher-d, ters-d armi d yur-s, teqqim-as deg urebbi.

-εaq-εaq, fk-iyi-d sin n iεeqqayen n yirden, ad am-d-iniy tin ara ad yay gma-m !

Tekker-d taklitt-nni, tenna-as :

-degger-as ciṭ n yirden ! yif ma teqqim akka...

Tdegger-as ciṭ n yirden, tečča-ten, tenna-as :

-ihi, gma-m, d kem ara ad yay !yufa inezdan-im deg umdun, yessisew-n agmar-is, di-n yeεεuhed Rebbi, yenna-as d ta ara ad ayeṭ, alukan ad tili d ultma.

-acu ?

-yettawi-d icetṭiden, yettqissi-ten fell-am, yeqqar-am-d : « tin ara ad ayeṭ, tesa lqedd-im. D kem ara ad yay !

Taqcict tessusem, ur d-tenni kra ; tebbehba ; rnan-d zhir n iḍebbalen, win n tmeyra, lyaḍa...tebbehwer !

Di taddart, demeen akk nnesba n ugellid ; qaren-as : « wissen d anta ara ad yay !

Demeen akkit...

Iḍ-nni, telsa icetṭiden-is, terna kra d yiwen n umemmus, d ciṭ n lmakla, teddem-iten truḥ.

Yuy lḥal tenna i taklitt-nni : « ddu-d yidi ad ruḥey ad ḥewsey... »

Di tebḥirt-nsen, sdat n yiwet n tezdayt, teqqar-as : « elay-elay a tazdayt, ad waliy baba d yemma, taklitt taberkant, ad d-teqqar : ad kem-yay gma-m kemmini ! »

Terna tenna i tezdayt-nni : « sub-d a tazdayt ! »

Tṣub-d, tuli fell-as ; ma d taklitt-nni, tweṣṣa-tt tgeldunt-a, tenna-as : « eḡḡ-iyi da uḥd-i, sakin uyal-d yuri. »

Teqqim sufella n tezdayt, s wayen i tewwi yid-s n uεwin d lqecc.

Tuyal-d taklitt-nni yur-s, tufa-tt-in ulac-itt.

Tuyal yer ṣṣeltan, tenna-as : « Zelgum truḥ ! tenna-i-d eḡḡ-iyi da, uyal-d yuri, uyaley yur-s, ufiy-tt-n ulac-itt, tura attan truḥ... »

Ma d ixeddamen n sşeltan tfen igmar-nsen, ttin-d akk tuddar, ur tt-ufin ara.

Nettat, mi i d-yeyli yiḍ ad d-tader, mi i d-yuli wass ad n-tali, ad tečč ad teqqim.

Ma d ixeddamen-nni, ttnadin, ulac lmaras.

Yiwen n wass, tuder-d, tleḥḥu deg ubrid, iædda-d yiwen n ugeldun yef umdun-nni anda i ylin kra ineẓḍan n ucebbub-is. Yezra yiwet n tili dixel n waman ; yerna ugmar-nni, yettsekkik.

Yenna-as ugeldun-a : « d acu-t waki ? »

Yerna yemmuqel, yezra tugna n yiwet n teqcict tettfeḡḡig am waggur ; yenteq yur-s :

-d anta taki ? Euhdey-kem s Rebbi d Nnbi, ma ur i yi-d-tenniḍ d anta-kem ! ma ur d-tşubbeḍ, ur kem-yetthaz ula d asennan ! Ader-d, ini-d d anta-kem...d acu i kem-yessilin yer di-n. Hku-d, nek ad kem-selkey si...

« Şub a tazdayt... ! »

Tşub tezdayt-nni...

Yenna-as : « hku-iyi-d », teḥka-as taqşit n ucebbub-nni d gma-s: « yettay-d icettiden yetqissiten fell-i, yeqqar-iyi-d ad ayey yiwet am kemmini... »

Teḥka-as yef tgarfa-nni, tarewla-s armi i d-tufa iman-is sufella n tezdayt-nni deg i tt-yettwali akka tura. Yerna iædda-d baba-s ur tt-n-yezri di-n yef tezdayt-nni...

Yekker ugeldun-a iruḥ yewwi-tt.

Yuy-itt lḥal tedæa-as s ddeawat n wuhuḍ i gma-s, tenna-as : « ruḥ a gma, fkiy-ak ameşmar di tgecrert-ik, ur ak-t-itekkes la baba-k la yemma-k, ala ma yekkes-ak-t-id ufettus-iw ! » acku, yella yettafar-itt yef ineẓḍan i teḡḡa di tala !? armi i yuḡal di teymert !

Yewwi-tt ugeldun-an yerra-tt yer yiwet n texxamt, yettweşşi di taklitt-is :

-awi-i-d lqut d snat n tyenḡawin d sin n yeftaten n uksum.

Snat, sin...

Tewhem taklitt-nni ! Testeqsa-t :

-ayyer ?

Ma d netta, yerra yer yemma-s, yenna-as :

-byiy ad debney (ad zewjey)...

-si zik mi ak-t-id neqqar... !

-ihi, heggi-d i tmeyra...yessuter-as...

Yuy-itt, s yiwet n tmeyra n sa (sebea) n wussan d sa n waḍan.

Tesla yef wakken gma-s di teymert i yella.

Ma d yemma-s n tgeldunt-a, tessufey yiwen n wawal : « win ara ad yesseḥlun mmi, ad t-ynuy ma yeyna-t Rebbi ! »

Tageldunt-a, teqqim yiwen n wass, tenna i urgaz-is :

-byiy ad ruhey ad d-zrey axxam-nney...ad d-zrey yiwen...

-ad kem-awiy nekkini, yenna-as.

-ur ilaq ara ad iyi-tawid...ad i yi-d-tawid ijerbuben, taemamt, taekkazt

d udellae.

Yerna-as taklitt, tedda yid-s.

Yeşsiwed-itt yer tlemmast n ubrid yenna-as : « azekka, mi ad tuyaled, ad iyi-d-tafed da.

Truh yer temdint anda i tella twacult-is, terra iman-is tessutur di tin n Rebbi ; terra armi d tabburt n ugellid, di tallit n tallast(ɥlam), tessutur : « tin n Rebbi ay atmaten, ma ad i yi-tessensem.. »

Ixeddamen-nni ugin-as akk, tenɥeq-d tmeɥtut n ugellid-nni : « yezmer lhal ad nerbeḥ fell-as, yef ta, ad yehlu mmi...ad yeddu yef idarren-is...

Mi i tečča imensi, tger tamawt yef umkan anda i yella gma-s.

Teqqim nnig n lkanun tenna-as : « daki kan ara ad qimey, ad n-ɥsey... »

Taklitt-nni tensa di tesga.

Di tafrara, mi i d-yedden lefjer, tekker-d, tesker-d taklitt-nni ines ; truh s leeql kan, teḥḥulfa ldin-d tawurt n berra, terra yer gma-s tejbed-as-d asennan-nni.

Ma d yemma-s n umuḍin-nni, tessuter i tmattart-a iwakken ad teslef i mmi-s, aha-t ad yehlu... Taklitt-nni yuy-itt lhal tezwā.

Tebda tmattart-a tlettef deg uḍar n umuḍin-a.

Akken i as-d-tekkes asennan-nni, amuḍin-a isuy-d : « ta d Zelgum, ultma !!!acku, yuy-itt lhal tenna-i-d deg wussan ieddān : « yiwen ur ak-t-id itekkes, ala afettus inu ! »

Yumer ixeddāmen-nni : « ta d ultma, ney d inebgiwt n Rebbi, ad tt-ḍefrem, ad tezwem d antatt ! »

Ma d netta, tesseereq abrid-is, tiwed yer urgaz-is, tekkes akk iselsa s way-s i tesseereq iman-is, terkeb yef ugmar, tesserkeb taklitt truh...

Gma-s nni inuda tamdint anda i tella ultma-s, armi i tt-yufa.

Yerra yer ugellid-nni, yenna-as ad as-d-yerr ultma-s.

Ma d agellid-a yerra-as-d : « ur ak-tt-id-ttarray, d tameɥtut-iw, ufiy-tt di lexla, jemeey-tt-id, debney yid-s.

### **C23. Zelgum**

There was a Sultan who had two children. One day, his daughter went out with her servant for a walk. She sat down by a pond where the horses usually drink water.

As she sat down, some of her hair fell into the water. Then, she returned home quickly as she went out secretly.

She had a brother. One day, he took his horse to drink water from that pond. But the horse dithered, it did not want to approach the water. The son of the Sultan was astonished and said to himself: "What is going on? I am used to watering it here since a long time ...»

He then took a stick, shook the water, and a hair wrapped the stick, so he said to himself:

-Is it that hair that is doing that to my horse? I swear that wherever its owner is, I will find her and she will be inscribed in my destiny\* (I will marry her), even if I roamed seventy-seven countries to find her! "

He returned home and spoke to his father, he said to him «gather all the girls of the village and I will choose one as my spouse. »

The girls, each of them, hopes to be wedded to a prince ... They all wanted to marry him...

They all passed in the parade, and they had made themselves beautiful. He measured the length of their hair; some were longer, and others shorter...

And then his sister passed by, he called her and measured the length of her hair ... it had the same length.

He returned home, remained silent, and then they asked him: "Whom have you chosen?"

- "I will tell you later."

He prepared for a wedding of seven days and seven nights.

In the town, the tailor was sewing, the one that rolls the couscous was rolling; each and everyone participated in those preparations.

Moreover, every time someone brought him a dress, he measured it at the size of his sister who wondered why, and each time, he replied: "I'll marry a girl like you ..."

The woman who was washing the wheat and the chickpeas was sitting near Zelgoume in the courtyard of the house.

A raven passed and said: "oak ... oak! Give me two grains of wheat and I'll tell you whom your brother will marry..."

- "everything is clear for my brother" ... she answered...

But this princess did not know that it was her the would-be bride!

The raven hovered around and came back: "Oak ... oak ... give me two grains of wheat and I'll tell you whom your brother will marry!"

-go away, I am taking a sunbath and you, you \*\*\*\*\*

A third time, she hovered in a distance, then she came back and rested on the legs of Princess Zalgoum: "Oak! Oak! Give me two grains of wheat and I'll tell you whom your brother will marry!"

Her black servant intervened, and said to her: "throw her some wheat! Otherwise, she will keep bothering you"

She threw her a handful of wheat which she pecked and then she told her: "Your brother, it is you whom he will marry! He found your hair in the pond when he had his horse drink water; and there, he swore by The Great Lord that he would marry the girl with that hair even if she happened to be his own sister."

- "What!!!?"

- "He brought clothes and he adjusted their sizes according to yours, saying «The one I will marry is like you." It is you he will marry!"

The girl was silent, she did not say a word. She was all amazed amid tumultuous noises, the reasoning drum, and the strident sound of clarinets ... she was devastated!

In the village, everyone wanted a marriage bond with the Sultan. we wondered: "whom had the prince chosen!!! »

We remained in hopes...

The same night, the princess dressed, took some other clothes and provisions, packed up and she left. But before that, she had told the black maid to accompany her outside: "Come with me, I want to take a walk"

In their vast garden, there was a big palm tree to which she said: "go higher, oh palm tree that I see my father and my mother. The black maid says to me: "Your brother will marry you! "

She also said to the tree: "Go down, O palm tree!"

The tree bowed, she climbed it. But before, she had ordered the maid: "leave me alone here; you will come back later ..."

She remained on the tree with all the provisions she had.

The servant went back to her but did not find her there.

She joined the Sultan and said: "Zalgoum is gone! She asked me to leave her alone in the big garden, then I returned back to her; I did not find her when I returned, she's gone now ...»

The servants of the palace, on their horses, looked for her but in vain.

The princess, at dusk, comes down from the tree to eat and rest, and she climbs back at dawn, As for the king's valets, they found no trace of her.



One day, she went down again and she was walking on a small path. A princely cavalryman passed near the pond where Zalgoum had dropped some of her hair. He then saw a shadow reflected in the water. In addition, the horse made signs of apprehension of the place.

The prince was astonished: "what is this ...?"

He looked more closely, saw the silhouette of a girl who shone like the moon. He then asked her: "Who is this\*? For the sake of the Great Lord, tell me who are you? Come down and no harm will be done to you, even that of a thorn! Tell me who you are, and who made you climb this palm tree? I'll help you if..."

- "Go down palm tree"

The tree started getting lower...

He told her: "Tell me your story". She told him the story from her hair fallen in the pond to her brother who was buying clothes to her size telling her that he would marry a girl who looked like her ...She told him about the raven, her escape and when she found herself on a palm tree. She also told him about her father who used to pass by the palm tree without seeing her.

The prince took her with him.

Previously, she made imprecations to her brother: "brother, that a nail sinks into your knee. That neither your father nor your mother could remove until my hand does it! ». She did this because he was following her for the hair that she had dropped into a pond!

The prince took her, put her in a room and recommended his servants: "bring food, two spoons and two slices of meat, two of each dish"

The astonished servant wondered why!

As for the prince, he went to his mother and said to her: "I would like to get married."

- "It's been a long time that we're asking you to."

- "So, prepare for the wedding party" ... he asked her ...

He married Zalgoum, and he made a feast of seven days and seven nights.

She heard that her brother couldn't walk anymore.

As for the princess's mother, she announced the following: "Whoever heals him, she would enrich him, with the will of the Great Lord!"

One day, Zalgoum the princess said to her husband: "I would like to visit my parents"

- "I'll take you there," he said.

- "you should not take me there \*\*\*\*\*, bring me old clothes, a turban, a cane and a carrycot."

A black servant went with her.

He accompanied her to the middle of the road and said: "Tomorrow when you come back, you will find me here. »

She went to the town where her family was. She pretended to be a beggar and she approached the door of the Sultan's house by nightfall asking for alms: "alms for the love of God, my brothers, let me spend the night here ..."

The valets refused the help but the queen had said to them: "she might bring us a good luck, and my son heals ... that he gets back on his legs ..."

After she took dinner, she saw where her brother was. She sat next to the hearth of the fire and said: "I'll sit here, and I'll sleep here ..."

As for the maid, she slept in the great hall.

At dawn, she got up, woke up her maid who checked the main door of the palace that was opened. Then, quietly, she approached her brother without being noticed, and then, she pulled the thorn out of his knee.

Previously, the queen had asked the beggar to give the patient a massage in the hope that he recovers. So, the beggar (Zelgoum) started massaging her brother's knee with her hands. As soon as he realized that she took off the thorn, he exclaimed: "This one is Zalgoum, my sister!" She told him once: "No one will remove it unless it is my hand! "

He ordered the valets: "be her my sister or a beggar, you will pursue her! »

But the woman misleads them and managed to flee. She joined her husband, took off her disguise, rode her horse, took her maid and went away...

Her brother had managed to find the city where his sister was...

He went to that Sultan to ask him to "return" his sister...

But this monarch replied: "I will not return her to you, she is my wife. I had found her in the woods, I took her and I married her. »

*My story, along a Wadi, I had told it to the children of valorous*

### Appendix Three The Questionnaire

Age:

Gender:

Region:

#### Part one: on tales

1 Do you tell stories to your children and grandchildren    yes        no        sometimes

2 Do you tell them to            boys            girls            both

3 Do you select the type of the tale according to the gender of the children?    Yes        no

4 If yes, Why

.....

5 What are the tales you find convenient to be told to girls? Give some titles

.....

6 What kind of tales do you find convenient to be told to boys? Give some titles

.....

7 Have folktales told to you in your childhood influenced your perception of gender roles?

Yes        no

8 Have folktales told to you influenced your perception of gender hierarchies

Yes        no

9 Have folktales told to you influenced your behaviours towards the opposite sex

Yes        no

If yes How? give examples

.....

10 From whom did you learn your tales

.....

11 What are the folktales supposed to teach girls?

.....

12 WHAT are folktales supposed to teach boys

.....

13 Do you agree with these teachings?

Agree                      disagree

14 Do you think these teachings empower /disempower boys?

15 How?

.....

16Do you think these teaching empower/disempower girls?

17How?

.....

Do you think the tales help in changing the social norms, rules maintaining the social norms /rules?

**Part two on songs and poems**

**1Do you sing /produces poems from time to time? YES NO**

**If yes**

**2 Do you sing at**

Home

Weddings

Parties

Funerals

**3 Do you sing when you are?**

By yourself

With other female counterparts

With males

In cross-gendered groups

**5 Do you sing**

Only To entertain yourself

To entertain others

To Transmit messages to others

To express your feelings of joy

To express your sadness

To complain about a situation

**5 How do other females counterparts react to your songs**

.....

**7How do males react to your songs**

.....

**What are the topics that young/ single women sing about?**

.....

**What are the topics that old and /or married women sing about?**

.....

Have your songs helped you reach your goals YES NO SOMETIMES

give some example?

.....

Have your songs helped you change your situation /position yes no sometimes

Give some examples

.....

Do you think the songs help to make a change in society? Yes no

How?

.....

Do you think males take your songs into consideration? YES NO

Tales vs. poems

Are the themes of the songs and the tales similar? YES NO

If no, how are they different?

.....

Are the aims of the tales and songs similar YES NO

If no, give some examples

.....

Through which genre do you think you have to respect the social norms and rules?

poems tales

Why

.....

Through which genre do you think you are free to express your own ideas and feelings?

poems tales

why

.....

