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► **To cite this version:**

Cherif Saadaoui. For an Ethnotextual Approach to Post-colonial Literature: The Example of Francophone Algerian Writing. The Poetics and Politics of Identity , Chief Editor: Chantal Zabus 2018. hal-02317066

HAL Id: hal-02317066

<https://hal-univ-paris13.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02317066>

Submitted on 4 Jan 2020

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For an Ethnotextual Approach to Post-colonial Literature: The Example of Francophone Algerian Writing

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Abstract

*The ethno-text (Zabus, 1991, 2007) is one of the most recent concepts that addresses the transcultural aspect of postcolonial literature. The present paper aims to demonstrate that the ethno-text and ethno-textuality can be applied to Algerian literature, as represented by a two novels and essays: Mouloud Mammeri's essay *Culture savante, culture vécue: études 1938–1989* (1991) and his novel *La traversée* (1982); Mouloud Feraoun's essay "La littérature algérienne" in *L'anniversaire* (1972) and his novel *Le fils du pauvre* (1950).*

Keywords: *The Ethno-text, Francophonie, Hybridity, Third Code, Transculture*

Introduction

Post-colonial literature has been extensively studied, using the following approaches: *bi-langue* (Khatibi, 1983), abrogation and appropriation (Ashcroft *et al.* 1989), hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), "writing with an accent" (Zabus 2014) and "ethno-text" (Zabus, 1991, 2007), postcolonial francophone theory (Moura, 2013). Mouloud Mammeri – one of the pillars of Algerian literature and undeniably a milestone in the revitalization of Berber – wrote *Culture savante, culture vécue: études 1938–1989* (1991). Mouloud Feraoun wrote, in his posthumous book *L'anniversaire* (1972), an essay "La littérature algérienne." Thus, the present paper examines these authors' rapport to the French language in their respective novels: *La traversée* (1982) for the former, *Le fils du pauvre* (1950) for the latter.

Furthermore, building on the notion of the ethno-text which consists of “the grafting of ethnicity [...] onto the European-language narrative, in an attempt to recapture traditional speech and atmosphere” (Zabus 148), this paper aims to demonstrate that ethno-textuality is a recurrent aspect of post-colonial francophone literature and identity politics.

Post-colonial literature has been a field of controversial debates right from its inception until nowadays and is likely to remain so forever. It has been a laboratory for labels, since it has been considered as a literature of assimilation, of the assimilated, ethnographic and mimetic authors. The main reason for these controversial etiquettes is language, as post-colonial authors have been writing in the language of their colonizer.

Thus, this paper addresses the following questions: how did these two authors perceive the French language both in their personal and intellectual life? What is the ethno-text? How does it account for these two authors’ perception and practice of the ‘colonial’ French language? And is it possible to extrapolate from the specific case of Algerian francophone literature to the broader body of post-colonial literature?

Post-colonial Literature and the Ethno-Text

The phrase “post-colonial literature” covers “all the cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day” (Ashcroft et al. *The Empire Writes Back* 2). One of the main aspects of post-colonial literature is its linguistic hybridity. Moreover, these authors contend that “[hybridity] commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural¹ forms within the contact zone produced by colonization” (Ashcroft et al. *Post-Colonial Studies* 108). Indeed, these authors identify

¹ Transcultural is the adjectival form of the noun transculture. The latter is according to Scott “the purposive and artful reproduction within one language of features from another language” (qtd. in Bamiro 2).

transculture as a direct result of what Pratt terms as the “Contact Zone.”

Furthermore, the same authors argue that: “[...] all post-colonial literatures are cross-cultural because they negotiate a gap between ‘worlds’, a gap in which the simultaneous processes of abrogation and appropriation continually strive to define and determine their practice” (Ashcroft et al., *The Empire Writes Back* 38). This cultural gap is constantly present in postcolonial literature, as it involves the culture of the colonized and the colonizer in the same space of expression. The practice which these authors refer to is linguistic reappropriation operated by the colonized authors over the language of their colonizer. Linguistic reappropriation is pithily expressed by the francophone Algerian novelist Kateb Yacine, who considers the French language as the spoils of war: “un butin de guerre.”

Many scholars introduced essential concepts to bear on the study of the transcultural aspect of post-colonial literature, among them: Khatibi’s *bi-langue*², *hétérolinguisme*³, Bhabha’s hybridity, Bakhtin’s dialogism and the carnivalesque. In addition to these, Zabus introduced another concept which she terms “the ethno-text.” Zabus defines the latter as “the grafting of [...] discursive elements ranging from rules of address, riddles, praise names and dirges to the use of proverbs” (Zabus 148). Thus, the ethno-text is a linguistic embedding of such elements in literary works, which makes of post-colonial literature a palimpsestic literature. Building on the metaphor of the palimpsest which Zabus defined as “a writing material, the original writing of which has been

² See Abdelkebir Khatibi, *Amour bilingue*, Montpellier, Fata Morgana, 1983.

³ Grutman (37) defines *hétérolinguisme* as “La présence dans un texte d’idiomes étrangers, sous quelque forme que ce soit, aussi bien que de variétés (sociales, régionales, ou chronologiques) de la langue principale” (qtd. in Moura 85).

effaced to make room for a second” (Zabus 3), ethnotextuality can be considered as an (ora)literature, in which the written text is underpinned with the author’s oral culture and literature.

Moreover, the ethno-text can be located in “[this] interstitial passage between fixed identifications [which] opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy” (Bhabha 5). Similar to Bhabha’s notion of hybridity, the ethno-text constitutes an interstitial zone, which merges two or more mutually exotic languages. This merging results in a new language, which is neither the first mother tongue of the author nor the second language of his / her writing. It is instead a third language, or what Zabus terms as “the third code”:

[...] the ‘Third World’ has become the site of the ‘third code.’ This new register of communication, which is neither the European target-language nor the indigenous source-language, functions as an ‘interlanguage’ or as a ‘third register’ [...]. Such a register results from the “minting,” to borrow Jahn’s numismatic phrase, the “re-cutting,” as Sartre contends in “Orphée noir,” or the “fashioning [out],” as Achebe would have put it, of a new European-based novelistic language wrung out of the African tongue (Zabus 113).

Although Zabus’s concept of ‘the third code’ is inspired from the post-Second World War geopolitical division of the world, in which the newly independent countries were grouped into a non-aligned entity, and which is no longer used in the current world geopolitics after the dissolution of the USSR, it is still useful in the Humanities, notably as an echo of Derridian deconstruction.

The significance of deconstruction in the study of post-colonial literature and the language-identity debate is crucial, in the sense that Deconstruction breaks with the structuralist dichotomic logic. Indeed, Deconstruction is considered, “as applied post-structuralism.” (Barry 68).

Furthermore, Zabus identifies relexification as the key textual technique in the formation of linguistic *métissage* in post-colonial literature. This mestizo linguistic space follows Derrida's concept of deconstruction, which is, according to Zabus, "functionally similar to literary decolonization in the third register" (Zabus 10).

The relevance of Deconstruction to literary decolonization resides in the relationship between language as the site of a binary schism between identity and otherness. Relexification follows the same deconstructive process as deconstruction. Indeed, the concept of relexification, which is a key strategy in the Africanization of European languages in African post-colonial literature, breaks down the settled borders between the self and the other in language. As Zabus contends, "When relexified, it is not 'metropolitan' English or French that appears on the page but an unfamiliar European language that constantly suggests another tongue" (Zabus, 113-114). Thus, this relexified use of European languages by non-European novelists makes of post-colonial literature an ethno-textual literature.

II. Feraoun, Mammeri, and the Question of the French Language and Identity

Both Mouloud Feraoun (1913-1962) and Mouloud Mammeri (1917-1989) studied and wrote in French. But, did they consider themselves as French? In his diary, Feraoun writes these lines that clearly show his disillusioned quest for identity:

Quand je dis que je suis français, je me donne une étiquette que tous les Français me refusent, je m'exprime en français, j'ai été formé à l'école française, j'en connais autant qu'un français moyen. Mais que suis-je Bon Dieu ? Se peut-il que tant qu'il existe des étiquettes, je n'aie pas la mienne ? Qu'on me dise que je suis ! (Feraoun. *Journal* 99-100).

This testimony clearly shows the despair of the author concerning the ambiguity of his identity, caused by the language of his writing. Being caught in between two antagonistic identities, the colonizing and the colonized, Feraoun writes in *L'anniversaire* (1972): “On s'étonne que nous n'écrivions pas en arabe alors que nous n'avons pas appris l'arabe” (Feraoun58). Even if he could write in Arabic, the Arabic language would not account for his primary identity, which is Berber, precisely Kabyle. In the letter “La source de nos communs malheurs,” he addressed to Albert Camus, Feraoun urges his addressee to read his letter as that of a Kabyle Arab: “Sachez pourtant que je suis instituteur ‘arabe’ [...] Le mot ‘arabe’ n’est d’ailleurs pas très exact [...] Mettons que vous recevez aujourd’hui une lettre arabe d’un kabyle et vous avez du même coup toutes les précisions désirables” (Feraoun, *L'anniversaire*58). The blurring of the two identities is mainly due to the fact that the whole indigenous Muslim population was referred to in the European mindset as the Arabs.

Besides the choice of the language of the writing, Feraoun explains his incentive for writing, in a letter he sent to an American Ph.D. student on 3 April 1956: “Je crois que c'est surtout ce désir de faire connaître notre réalité qui m'a poussé à écrire” (qtd. Déjeux 118) Thus, the focal motivation behind Feraoun's literature is to represent the humanity of his fellow citizens. Furthermore, in his essay “*La littérature algérienne*,” Feraoun admits that correcting the Europeans' biased and inaccurate representation of the ‘indigenous’ population is the reasons why he writes novels. Despite the effort of some French Algerians to depict native Algerians, Feraoun contends that the gulf remains there. To illustrate his point, Feraoun takes the case of the Algerians as depicted by Marcel Mousy: “les Algériens de Moussy, qu'on ne peut imaginer plus authentiques et plus proches de nous, nous coudoient continuellement sans nous voir, c'est que ni Moussy ni Camus ni presque tous les autres n'ont pu venir jusqu'à

nous pour suffisamment nous connaître” (Feraoun, *L’anniversaire* 55).

As far as Mouloud Mammeri is concerned, his attitude towards the French language is more open than Feraoun’s. This is evident in his interview with Tahar Djaout, which was published under the title *MouloudMammeri: entretien avec Tahar Djaout: La cité du soleil* (1987). When Tahar Djaout questions Mammeri about his nickname—“Il me semble avoir lu quelque part une appréciation qui faisait de toi ‘le plus français des écrivains algériens.’ Qu’est-ce que cela veut dire exactement ? Comment accueilles-tu un tel jugement?” (Mammeri, *entretien avec Tahar Djaout* 49)—, Mammeri answers:

(j’ai aussi fait du grec, du latin, de l’anglais...) alors j’en accepte l’augure et, contre l’idée communément reçue, en particulier chez nous, je considère que cette culture acquise- peut-être au risque d’une aliénation- m’a donné plus tard les moyens d’être au monde amplement, au lieu de m’enfermer dans les petits ghettos portatifs où des hommes s’enferment pour la vie sans même se plaindre, ni même quelquefois savoir l’étendue de leur manques. (Mammeri, *entretien avec Tahar Djaout* 51).

Mammeri’s openness to the French language as a means of knowledge and communication contrasts with Feraoun’s desperate position. The historical context may explain the divergence between these two authors’ attitude towards language and identity. Even though both of them lived under and suffered from colonialism, Feraoun did not survive the experience, as he was murdered by the *Organization Armée Secrète* (OAS), on 15 March 1962. Contrary to Feraoun, Mammeri outlived French colonialism. Besides being lucky as a survivor, Mammeri was an anthropologist and a linguist. So, his open attitude towards languages may be understood as that of a linguist’s position, instead of that of a post-colonial author *per se*.

III. The Ethno-Text in Feraoun's *The Poor Man's Son* (1950) and Mammeri's *La Traversée* (1982)

Both Mouloud Feraoun and Mouloud Mammeri are Kabyle authors, who wrote during colonial times for the former, and during both colonial and post-colonial times for the latter. However, neither Feraoun nor Mammeri could write their novels in Kabyle. This fact was due to two factors: the first one was the French colonization of Algeria spanning the period from 1830 to 1962. The second factor was the post-independence linguistic policy of Algeria, which favored monolingualism from 1962 to 2016. Thus, the Kabyle language and, by extension, the other Berber varieties were marginalized, both in colonial and post-colonial times.

Daniela Merolla affirms that the political alibi according to which monolingualism is an absolute condition for nationalism is prejudicial: "l'idée de l'unité entre langue et nation est que la production littéraire dans la langue nationale a été considérée la seule qui pouvait exprimer l'esprit et la culture du pays" (Merolla 68). This alibi was extremely harmful to the extent that the French specialist of Maghrebian literature, Jean Déjeux, wonders whether novels written in Kabyle could be considered as Algerian literature or not (Merolla, 68). According to Merolla, the reason behind such a question lies in the privileged status of writing in the nation-state politics, whereby writing belongs to the domain of the nation-state (Merolla, 68).

Therefore, being forced to write in another language rather than their mother tongue, both Feraoun and Mammeri decided to 'kabyalize' the French language, through inserting Kabyle language expressions and items in their texts written in French. In other words, both authors attempted to reappropriate the French language through the Kabyle ethno-text.

The following section will attempt to show how the ethno-text is used by these authors as a simultaneous

strategy of linguistic reappropriation and resistance, namely through inserting proverbs, rules of address, traditional songs, and cultural metaphors.

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

Mouloud Feraoun's novel is strewn with proverbs, which are, according to Zabus, "[...] repositories of communal wisdom, mnemonic devices for effective communication, and educational tools" (Zabus153). Proverbs constitute the most practiced intersection between orality and literacy, which is paradigmatic of post-colonial literature. Walter Ong considers proverbs as the most effective tool for saving the cultural heritage in oral cultures:

[...] thought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulaic expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly, the meal, the duel, the hero's 'helper', and so on), in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall, or in other mnemonic form. (Ong 34)

In *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (1990), John Anthony Cuddon defines a proverb as "[a] short pithy saying which embodies a general truth. It is related in form and content to the maxim and the aphorism" (Cuddon 706). The blending of proverbs, as the epitome of oral literature in written literature, results in what many postcolonial authors and intellectuals such as WaThiongo have termed "orature." Indeed, orature constitutes what can be referred to as an (ora)literature, straddling both the field of orality and that of literature.

I have selected three proverbs from Feraoun's autobiographical novel *The Poor Man's Son* (1950) to account for the ethno-textuality of this novel. Besides the original Kabyle proverb, which is rendered in French by Feraoun, McNair's English translation (2005) is also provided.

Ex.1: “[Menrad] vit « au milieu des aveugles” (Feraoun, *Le fils du pauvre* 7) // “lives among the blind”, (Feraoun, transl. McNair 3).

This opening proverb is widely used by Kabyle speakers to refer to the most privileged among the most unprivileged. It often denotes criticism of an undeserved position. However, in this context, Feraoun criticizes the French civilizing mission discretely, pretending that massive education was open to the majority of the autochthonous population, while in reality, those who went through the school system were a very tiny minority. Hence, Mouloud Feraoun uses the proverb of the one-eyed among the blind to denounce colonial injustice.

Ex.2: “S’il cherchait trop à planer comme un aigle, il ne ferait que patauger davantage comme un canard.” (Feraoun, *Le fils du pauvre* 7) // “if he tried too hard to soar like an eagle, he would only waddle in the mud like a duck” (Feraoun, transl. McNair, 3).

In this example, Mouloud Feraoun makes use of modulated translation, by lifting from the original Kabyle proverb the contrast between the ugly walk of the hen and the elegant one of partridge. The original proverb runs as follows: “He /She tried to imitate the walk of the partridge and forgot that of the hen.” This proverb is used as a criticism against a person trying to rise forcefully above his /her due and affordable condition.

Ex. 3: “Écurie de Menaël, extérieur rutilant, intérieur plein de crottins et de bêtes de somme.” (Feraoun, *Le fils du pauvre* 13) // “Menaiel’s stables: gleaming on the outside, but full of dung and donkeys on the inside” (Feraoun, transl. McNair 7).

This proverb may be the most challenging proverb to the non-initiated French reader and the francophone reader. This challenge is due to the name “Menaiel,” which is not translated in the text. “Menaiel” is the plural noun of the Berber noun for a knight, “Amnay,” whose plural is “Imnayen.” So, the Frenchification of the noun makes it

sound like a proper personal name, while it is the name of a function. In everyday Kabyle speech, this proverb criticizes the deceit inherent in the contradiction between too beautiful appearances hiding awful truths.

Rules of Address and Prayers

The protagonists of Mouloud Mammeri's novel *La traversée* (1982) are journalists representing the post-independence intelligentsia, speaking in highly academic French, punctuated with English and even German expressions such as "briefing," "blue jeans" (p. 54); "that is the question" (p. 10), "les public relations" (p. 11), "the happy few" (p. 9), "Achtung" (p. 46). In contrast to Mammeri's characters, most of the protagonists in Feraoun's novel are illiterate peasants, as Feraoun admits living "among the blind" (Feraoun, *Le fils du pauvre*³). Indeed, Feraoun's characters present in many instances typical Kabyle discussions akin to real Kabyle daily-life conversations. This similarity is noticeable in the rules of address and speech conventions they exchange in their dialogues. Bamiro argues that:

The modes of address not only reflect cultural norms but also symbolize a speaker's *social position* in relation to the people around him or her so that, by the use of one or the other of them, the status of the speaker to the person addressed is readily recognized. Like kinship terms, these modes of address thus emphasize social relationships and serve to evoke the response implied in the particular relationship so indicated (Bamiro 3).

In addition to the cultural norms identified above by Bamiro, modes of address in Feraoun's novel *The Poor Man's Son* (1950) are imbued with gender and ethnically bound metaphors, prayers, and insults. After the quarrel that broke out between the family of the protagonist Fouroulou and Boussad's, an *Amin* (chief of the village) and a marabout intervene to end the fight. Thus, the marabout utters the following invective:

Ex. 1: “Que la malédiction soit sur celui qui ajoutera un mot ou fera un geste” (Feraoun, *Le fils du pauvre* 38) // “May the next who adds a word or makes a move be cursed” (Feraoun, transl. Mc Nair 25).

This culturally bound invective is one of the most feared by Berber and, by extension, Muslim communities. A curse is so feared that people regulate their behavior in the fairest possible way so as not to undergo such a punishment. The most commonly feared curse is the one related to mistreating one’s parents. It is believed that the parent’s curse is the most devastating punishment a disobedient child can get. Cursing as a punishment reoccurs in the discussion between Fouroulou’s mother and her female neighbors, who come to congratulate her for getting independent from her sister-in-law Helima.

Ex. 2: “Fatma,” they said to my mother, “be happy, you have your own home, you can deal with any hardship, you can grow your own food. Come now, your mother was a pious woman who left no curses upon your head!” (Feraoun, transl. McNair, 47-48).

This belief in the presence or the absence of the parents’ curse is put forward in the Kabyle mindset to explain the failure or the success of the offspring.

Besides curses and invective rules of address in *The Poor Man’s Son* (1950), there are also prayers, calqued from their use in the Kabyle popular mindset. One of these is Fatma’s answer to her female neighbors, which shows a typical, female Kabyle way of speaking:

Ex. 3: “May God safeguard your loved ones and soon bring me to your home to celebrate a happy event” (Feraoun transl. McNair 48).

This way of addressing is typical of female conversation in Kabyle society. If a man speaks in this way, he is immediately considered effeminate.

***Ahellil* in Mouloud Mammeri's Novel *La Traversée* (1982)**

Besides being injected with Berber oral expressions and words, Mammeri's novel is *in esse* a novel about one of the oldest types of Berber oral literature, sung in the South of Algeria, called *Ahellil*. Beyond containing elements of Berber orality, Mammeri's novel is thematically concerned with orality, which makes of it a culturally committed novel. Mammeri defines *ahellil* thus : "unemanifestation à la fois musicale, littéraire et chorégraphique, célébrée comme spectacle profane en même temps qu'une cérémonie quasi religieuse, [qui] constitue le genre spécifique de gourara" (Mammeri, *Culture savante culture vécue* 59). Mammeri identifies two variations on this genre: *ahellil* and *tagerrabt*: "l'*ahellil* a un caractère plus solennel: il s'exécute debout, le plus souvent dans un lieu public, souvent à l'occasion de fêtes religieuses. La *tagerrabt*, plus intime, est célébrée à l'intérieur à l'occasion de fêtes domestiques. Les executants sont assis" (Mammeri, *Culture savante culture vécue* 59). The number of the *ahellils*, according to his informants, Mammeri says, is between 60 and 100. The language of the *ahellil* is "en général le zénète, mais des passages entiers sont en arabe: en ce cas il s'agit surtout de formules, pour ainsi dire, « conventionnelles » de la langue religieuse" (Mammeri, *Culture savante culture vécue* 59). In terms of their age Mammeri contends that if some *ahellils* are recent, others go back to 14th century (Mammeri, *Culture savante culture vécue* 60).

According to Mammeri, the name *Ahellil* spans the whole Chamito-Semitic language family: Berber, Arabic and Hebrew:

En berbère du Moyen Atlas, *ahellil* désigne une forme de poésie religieuse; de même en *tamashaq* où '*ahellil s mess inegh*' (*ahellil* au nom de Notre Seigneur) est en même temps le nom d'un genre (religieux) et d'un rythme poétique ; en kabyle « *ihellelen* » désigne les

groupes de jeunes qui, les soirs de ramadhan, se réunissent pour se divertir et chanter avant d'aller réveiller les dormeurs pour le repas de la nuit. En arabe classique le « *ttehlil* » consiste à répéter en litanie plusieurs fois la formule islamique de la confession de l'unité de Dieu (*la ilahila Allah*). En hébreu enfin, et ceci, nous allons le voir, n'est pas moins significatif, le terme *tehelim* sert à désigner les psaumes (sens premier : louange ; d'une racine, *hilel*=louer) (Mammeri, *Culture savante culture vécue* 60).

Beyond this theoretical presentation of the traditional song *ahellil*, Mouloud Mammeri embeds in his novel *La traverse* (1982) samples from the *ahellil*. The main protagonist of the novel Ba Salem is an abecniw (soloist), i.e., an *ahellil* singer. He is even addicted to *ahellil*, and makes of it his *raison d'être*. Ba Salem celebrates his marriage with Meryem, the sister of his dead wife Ouda, with a three-day-long *ahellil* : “ Meryem observa deux jours la réserve des jeunes mariées puis, le troisième, conduisit elle-même le chœur de la *tagerrabt*, qui est un *ahellil* plus intime” (Mammeri, *La traversée* 100).

In addition to the definition of *tagerrabt*, Mammeri slips two *ahellils* in the novel. Ba Salem sings the first one: “*Je mettrai des bracelets/Aux bras de Ouda*” (Mammeri, *La traverse* 99), which is extracted from the 9th *ahellil Sidi Djilali*, (lines 66-67, p. 97), taken from Mammeri's anthology, *L'ahellil de Gourara* (1984). The second one is sung by his wife Meryem: “*J'ai erré sur la terre/ De l'aube jusqu'au soir. / Le chœur enchaîna: De l'aube jusqu'au soir. / Et j'ai cherché l'ami/ Du soir jusqu'à l'aube*” (Mammeri, *La traversée* 112).

Cultural Metaphors

In addition to *ahellil*, *La traversée* (1982) showcases some metaphors which are hardly understandable to the non-

initiated French and Western readers. An example of this is the name of the protagonist's village named *Tasga* (the corner). The latter is an intratextual reference to the fictive village in Mouloud Mammeri's first novel *La colline oubliée* (1952): "Et de ce que disait la mère c'était cela qui ressortait: le village qu'elle contait ce n'était pas celui que Mourad avait connu, c'était un Tasga fantôme" (Mammeri, *La traversée* 45). *Tasga* is used in the Kabyle speech and mindset to refer to the corner of the ailing person. By naming *Tasga*, the village of his first novel, *La colline oubliée* (1952), Mouloud Mammeri criticizes the colonial condition implicitly. In addition to being the place of the ill, *Tasga* is alluded to in the suggestive title *La colline oubliée* (The forgotten hill). During the colonial period, this title and fictional topography metaphorically referred to a sick Kabylia, forgotten by the French ruler. Moreover, the coming back to *Tasga* in Mammeri's last novel in 1982, twenty years after Algeria gained its independence, refers, once again, to the neglect of Kabylia, which is an implicit mark of post-independence disillusionment.

Conclusion

To conclude, one can say that the language of Mouloud Feraoun and Mouloud Mammeri's novels is neither entirely French nor fully Kabyle. It is instead a mix of the two, which can be referred to as a 'Kabyle-French.' Moreover, through this "indigenization" (Zabus 3) of the French language, Mammeri and Feraoun managed to reappropriate it and make it express the Kabyle society and mindset.

Furthermore, one can easily extrapolate from the case of francophone Algerian literature since both colonialism and domination engendered cultural resistance and interaction, regardless of the time and place of their occurrence. Besides, numerous studies, monographs, and essays have been devoted to the 'transculture' inherent in postcolonial literature, such as Bill Ashcroft et al. *The*

Empire Writes Back (1989), Zabus's aforementioned *The African Palimpsest* (1991, 2007) and recently Vicki Briault Manus' *Emerging Traditions* (2011) on South African literature. These works and many others confirm that ethno-textuality can become an alternative approach to postcolonial literature.

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