

Renarrating the Berbers in Three Amazigh Translations of the Holy Quran: Paratextual and Framing Strategies

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Abstract

In the aftermath of the independence of Morocco and Algeria in the second half of the twentieth century, each sought to create one homogeneous nation-state, defining themselves as Arab, declaring Arabic language as the only official language and embarking on Arabisation campaign that attempted to eliminate any ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity. The Berber community which comprised 40% of the Moroccan population (Madani 2003, Silverstein and Crawford 2004, Maddy-Weitzman 2006) and 25% of the Algerian population (Ennaji 2009) appeared to be relegated to an inferior position and pushed back to the peripheries. This situation gave rise to what is generally referred to as 'the Berber question'; the Berbers became increasingly aware of their minority status and began to demand certain linguistic and cultural rights. Translation, most importantly the translation of the Holy Quran, became an important means of asserting these rights and the identity of the Berber as a distinct nation. Drawing on paratext theory as proposed by Genette (1997) and framing theory as put forward by Goffman (1974) and elaborated by others (e.g. Entman 1993, Snow and Benford 1988, 2000 and Asimakoulas 2009), the study investigated the role that three Berber translations of the Holy Quran have played in renegotiating the political landscape of Berber communities in the past eighteen years (1999-2017). Analysis of the three translations have shown that the translators, while being faithful to the text, managed to signal their difference, foreground their language and culture and question, challenge and even undermine widespread official claims, through subtle, counter-hegemonic moves, using framing strategies and a toolbox of paratextual devices.

Declaration

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ولم أكن بدعائك رب شقيا

And I have never been unblest in my invocation to You, O my Lord!

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Notes on Transliteration

Throughout my thesis, I have adopted *the International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES) transliteration system for transliterating Arabic terms, which uses diacritical marks and italicisation. In accordance with IJMES conventions, '[w]ords found in Merriam–Webster's [have been] spelled as they appear there and not treated as technical terms. They [have had] no diacritics, nor [have they been] italicized'¹. This applies to terms such as fatwa and mufti. However, there are some exceptions that preserve 'ayn and hamza, as in Qur'an, shari'a, 'ulama', which are all used in this thesis.²

However, I deviate from IJMES conventions in what follows. For names of Arabic newspapers, magazines and the translators under study, I have retained the English transliteration chosen by them as in *echorouk*, *Lhoucine* and *ittihad newspaper*. In addition, to enhance readability, I have chosen the most common English spelling for place names and names of political and high-profile figures. For the names of the Holy Cities of Makkah and Madinah, I have used the official transliteration chosen by the Saudi government.

Transliteration Symbols

Arabic Letter	Transcription Symbol	Arabic Letter	Transcription Symbol
ء	'	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	'
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l

¹ https://ijmes.chass.ncsu.edu/IJMES_Translation_and_Transliteration_Guide.htm.

² A full list of these terms are available online in the 'IJMES Word List', <https://ijmes.chass.ncsu.edu/docs/WordList.pdf>.

ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y
ة	a	ال	_ ³

For Long Vowels

ى	ā
و	ū
ي	ī

³ For the article, al- and -l-.

Chapter One: Introduction

In 1999, the UK-based *Economics* magazine ran an article about the publication of a Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an in Morocco. To many people in many parts of the world, this news might not have been particularly interesting and might even have passed unnoticed. However, this was not the case in Morocco. On the contrary, the article caused uproar and prompted the Moroccan government to ban the translation (see Chapter five, Section 5.2.2). The news article and the harsh response of the Moroccan government raised important questions about the Berber minority in Morocco and Algeria, the role of the translation of sacred texts (particularly the Qur'an) in negotiating political conflicts and the impact of paratexts, such as news articles, on such a negotiation.

Similar to the Bible⁴, the translation of the Qur'an has always been a very controversial issue. This is primarily because the Qur'an derives its significance from the fact that it contains the Word of God verbatim as revealed by the Angel Gabriel to the prophet Muhammad between 610 and 632 AD (Mustapha 2009: 225). The fact that it is considered inimitable has crucial consequences in terms of the permissibility and the authorised method of translation (ibid: 225).⁵

It is worth noting that the permissibility of the translation of the Qur'an was not an issue until Muslims came into close contact with non-Arabs after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. In particular, it was during the time of the Iraqi scholar Abu Hanīfa (699–767 A.D.), the founder

⁴ There was a great debate about the legitimacy of translating the Bible in the vernacular English in the 14th and 15th centuries. In 1408, Archbishop Arundel closed that debate by forbidding the translation of the Bible unless it was approved by the Church and done by a licensed translator (Stone 2010: 56). However, unlike the controversy that was around the translation of the Holy Qur'an, which was based primarily upon issues of translatability and inimitability, reservations against Bible translation demonstrated the power struggle between the church and the protestant reformers (ibid:7). With the invention of printing in the 15th century and the Reformation of the Church in the 16th century, the Bible was translated into many European vernaculars and became widely available (ibid: 59). The English Bible has had an impact on the English language, education and politics. In translation studies, the impact of Bible translation is demonstrated in developing a number of influential translation theories such as Nida's functional equivalence concept (Nida and Jan de Waard 1986) and the relevance theory by Gutt (2000).

⁵ For critical discussions of inimitability, see (Gould 2013 and Tibawi 1962).

of the Hanafi school of thought, that the translation of the Qur'an became the subject of heated controversy. This was when new Persian converts asked for permission to translate some passages of the Qur'an to recite in daily prayers. Abu Hanīfa's view was that it is possible to read in Persian in prayer. Except for his disciples, this view was strongly opposed by most Muslim jurists at the time, who unanimously agreed to prohibit reading a translation of the Qur'an, whether in prayer or otherwise (Al-Mulla 1989: 45). In their opinion, if the Qur'an were to be translated into any other language, it would cease to be the Word of God and therefore lose its distinctive character (Tibawi 1962: 12). In addition to its inimitability, both in terms of form and content⁶, and its inherently Arab character, prohibitions against translations of the Qur'an arose for two other reasons: because they might be used in prayer, and they might lead people to imagine that the words they were reading were the revealed words of God (Ibid: 15).

Despite religious misgivings, the translation of the Qur'an did occur, although in forms other than literal renderings. For instance, written *tafsīr* (commentary on the holy text) was very popular as early as the seventh century (Solihu 2015: 10). This was primarily because in *tafsīr* it is possible to express a wider range of the connotations conveyed by the Qur'an. Moreover, in *tafsīr*, the original text is preserved, while in translation it is replaced (Al-Mulla 1989:46). In addition, oral interpretations of the Qur'an were very common. The Islamic doctrine was imparted through the oral interpretive form of *tafsīr* to non-Arabic speaking societies. According to Solihu (2015: 10-11), 'oral periphrastic exegesis/translation of the Qur'an in local languages was well known to Muslims in West Africa for centuries, as it was in many other non-Arab[ic] speaking Muslim societies'. It was through these oral exegetical explanations that the main concepts, narratives and laws of Islam penetrated non-Arab Islamic societies.

Misgivings about the translation of the Qur'an remained at the beginning of the twentieth century. According to Wilson, 'at the dawn of the twentieth century, the vast majority of Muslim scholars considered Qur'an translations to be impossible, impermissible and even impious' (2014: 3). Objections against translating the Qur'an were no longer based only on

⁶ For example, the Arab author Al-jahiz (776– 868) expressed his reservations against the translation of religious books in his book *Kitaab al-hayawaan* (Al-jahiz 1965).

religious grounds but were also premised upon notions of nationalism and unity. Interestingly, this position has its roots in the early Arab nationalism that flourished during European colonialism in Egypt and other Arab countries by the end of the eighteenth century and through to the middle of the twentieth century, and marks a shift from prioritising conservative religious attitudes towards translation to giving primacy to political considerations concerning the same issue. The prominent Egyptian religious reformer Rashid Reda (1865-1935), for example, voiced his opposition to translating the Qur'an into the languages of non-Arab Muslims specifically. Reda (1926) viewed the Arabic language as a tool of unity in the face of attempts by European colonial powers to divide the Muslim *Umma* (nation). Instead of undermining the *Umma* by translating the Qur'an into the vernacular languages, Reda suggested spreading the Arabic language and the teachings of Islam through it in all Muslim schools (Wilson 2014: 120). Translation was thus viewed as an act of violence intended to undermine the Muslim *Umma* from within. Reda pioneered this conceptualisation of the potential political role of the translation of a sacred text. This study will argue that it was this notion of translation as a disruptive tool that informed the attitude of the Moroccan government at the turn of the twenty-first century, which we will explore later (Section 5.2.1).

Over the course of the twentieth century, religious and political reservations about translating the Qur'an gradually gave way to welcoming attitudes embraced by even the most conservative Islamic authorities. For instance, in 1936 after lengthy debate, the Azhar, one of the most important Islamic institutions, approved the translation of the meanings of the Qur'an under the following conditions, as described by Al-Mulla (1989: 61-62):

1. The *ma'ān[i]* [(meanings)] of the Qur'an should first be carefully considered by al-Azhar experts after consulting authoritative sources for *tafsīr*.
2. These experts should then produce a concise exegetical compendium.
3. Professional translators should undertake the task of translating this *tafsīr* into foreign languages.
4. Each translation should incorporate the original text and a statement that this is not a translation of the Qur'an itself and that it does not cover all the *ma'ān[i]* of the Qur'an.

While most Islamic jurists still view the Qur'an as inimitable, Wilson (2014: 9) claims that the *ulama* (clerics) 'gradually came to view renderings of the Qur'an as not only permissible but

also necessary and beneficial for modern Muslim societies'. This was especially the case after the emergence of a number of polemic translations of the Qur'an aiming to attack Islam and refute its principles. The first one appeared in Latin as early as 1143 and was penned by Robert of Retina and Hermann of Dalmatia at the request of the monastery of Cluny (Almulla 1989: 48-49). During the European colonial era in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a host of other polemical translations of the Qur'an were made into the local languages of colonised Muslims. This happened with the arrival of Christian missionaries to a number of Islamic regions such as East Africa, Yorubaland and China, where they translated the Qur'an into Swahili (Mazrui 2006: 292), Yoruba (Solihu 2015: 11) and Chinese (Israeli 1997: 86) in order to refute Islam. These translations rang alarm bells among Muslim clerics and may have played a significant role in motivating alternative translations by Muslims. Today, translations of the Qur'an are undertaken, primarily by Muslims, to make it accessible to non-Arabic speaking Muslims, to propagate Islam among non-Muslims and to defend Islam against polemic translations of its holy book.

In the twenty-first century, translations of the Qur'an began to be perceived as nation-building tools. Whereas Reda (1926) considered translations of the Qur'an as tools of disunity, the ruling Turkish government, for instance, used such translations as a means of nation-building, to appease the Kurdish minority and consolidate its own power. For example, during his presidential campaign in 2014, Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan brandished a copy of a Kurdish translation of the Qur'an published by the Turkish Religious Affairs Directorate as he attacked the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HDP), the chief rival of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey's mainly Kurdish southeast. He is reported to have said that '[t]hey [People's Democracy Party (HDP)] have nothing to do with religion. Look, the Religious Affairs Directorate [...] has printed the Qur'an in Kurdish for you' (Almonitor Website 2015). This prompted his opponents to accuse him of exploiting the Qur'an to achieve political gains.

Whereas this Turkish translation project adopts a top-down approach aiming to empower the state by appeasing a minority group, the Berber translational projects analysed in this study constitute bottom-up attempts by an under-represented ethnic group to construct a unified

Berber nation and reclaim its rights, despite repressive homogenising measures by the ruling authorities in Morocco and Algeria, though the three projects adopted different stances in relation to the Arab nation and/or the overall Islamic *umma*, as we shall see in Chapter 4 and 5. Although there was always a Berber-speaking Muslim minority in Morocco, no Berber translation of the Qur'an was produced until 1999. Although there was no written law prohibiting Berbers from translating the Qur'an, the fact that the Moroccan translator of the Qur'an, Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani, who is one of the translators included in this study, spent 12 years working on his translation in secrecy (as he mentioned in an interview) clearly indicates that there was an unwritten prohibition against translation into the Berber language. It suggests that Reda's objections to translating the Qur'an still echoed in Morocco in the 1990s, which perceived the production and publication of a Berber translation of the Qur'an in a presumed homogenous Arab nation-state as a threat to national unity.

1.1. The Holy Qur'an as a Nation-building Tool

Although there is an abundance of research on the Qur'an and its translations, only a few studies have ventured beyond examining the semantic, stylistic and linguistic features of translations. To the best of my knowledge, the role that the translation of the Qur'an plays in negotiating the political landscape remains under-researched, with the few exceptions of scholars located mostly outside translation studies, such as El-Marsafy (2009) and Wilson (2014). This study aims to go beyond existing research concerns in translation studies by exploring the significant role that the translation of the Qur'an plays in nation-building. It takes as a case study, three Berber translations of the Qur'an produced in Morocco and Algeria and examines their role in constructing an imagined Berber nation (imagined in the sense of Anderson 1983).

The Berbers are the indigenous people of North Africa. Their struggle to gain their rights and achieve equality with their Arab counterparts in North Africa started in the 1950s (Section 2.2) but has only recently gained momentum and begun to attract international attention. Their main demands have been to have the Berber language recognised as an official language alongside Arabic and to have the Berber community acknowledged as an integral part of the multicultural fabric of North Africa. To that end, they resorted, for the most part, to peaceful

means of resistance, which included writing in the Berber language, Tamazight⁷ (Aitel 2014:59).

To enrich Tamazight and prove its efficacy, translation as a form of rewriting became a resistance tool. Central among these translation efforts is the translation of the Qur'an. Although the Qur'an is translated into most languages of the world today, the Berber case was very unique in the Islamic world for several reasons. First, these were the first translations of the Qur'an published in what appeared to be, on the surface, homogenous Arab countries where Arabic is the only official language. All previous translations of the Qur'an were produced in non-Arab countries whose official language was not Arabic. When produced in Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, these translations were targeting non-Arab audience outside Arabic-speaking nation-states. Second, they represent the first attempts to use Muslims' sacred text as a tool to further a certain political struggle. Third, unlike mainstream translations of the Qur'an, the Berber translations of the Holy Book featured unique and diverse paratexts that were used creatively by the translators and third-party agents to advance their political demands, thus offering a rich basis for investigating the role of paratexts, as will be illustrated by my research questions. Fourth, these translations are distinctive in that they were written and read in a context characterised by a constant interplay between three cultures (the Arabo-Islamic, Western and Berber cultures), which provides an opportunity to study how such cultural influences are reflected in the choice of paratexts.

1.2. Research Questions

The main research question addressed in this study is:

What role have the Tamazight translations of the Holy Qur'an played in renegotiating the political landscape of the Berber communities over the past 18 years (1999–2017)?

Overall, this study traces the impact of three Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an in Morocco and Algeria, produced between 1999 and 2007, on foregrounding the Berber

⁷ According to *the Historical Dictionary of Algeria* (Naylor 2006: 422): Tamazight 'is Berber language. Occasionally, the term **Amazigh** is used in this context'.

language and heritage, advancing the rights of the Berber minority and destabilising the power hierarchy in North Africa, where the Arab majority is situated at the top of the hierarchy while the indigenous Berber minority is relegated to its bottom. The study traces this impact by tackling several secondary questions, detailed below.

To provide the analytical tools to investigate this overarching research question, this research draws primarily on Genette's (1997) theory of paratexts, but also on the concept of framing, as developed in the work of Goffman and others (see Chapter 3). In the context of this study, paratexts are not viewed merely as an auxiliary form of discourse that is subordinated to the service of the text proper, but rather as a set of reality-constructing elements that have a serious impact on people and the world we live in.

The secondary research questions, which are informed by paratext theory, are as follows:

To What extent do the peritexts as proposed by Genette (re)frame the issues of Berber identity, language and culture in each of the three translations under investigation?

Informed by Genette's typology of paratexts (1997), this question—dealt with in Chapter four—will investigate the nature of the peritexts (textual and non-textual elements that surround the text) used around the Berber translations of the Qur'an, comparing them with other peritexts of more mainstream versions of the Qur'an. It will also investigate to what extent the peritexts, originally proposed to examine literary texts, construe sufficient tools to examine sacred texts. In addition, the question will explore the role played by peritexts in constructing the emerging Berber community.

How have the Berber translators employed epitexts to respond to the arguments their translations have given rise to domestically and abroad?

As will be explored in depth in Chapter five, this question will examine epitexts (elements outside the text) used by the translators, including interviews, self-reviews and self-commentaries, and will trace their impact on the reception of the translated texts and the role they have played in limiting their interpretations.

How have third party agents shaped the reception of these translations?

Also dealt with in Chapter five, this question addresses the role played by agents other than the translators and book publishers; specifically third-party agents such as journalists, Berber activists and writers, whose interventions can dramatically influence the book's reception. These interventions can be effected by resorting to a number of epitextual devices outside the text, such as reviews, TV shows and awards.

How have the three translators used epitextual elements to enhance their cultural capital (in the Bourdieuan sense of the term) and position themselves vis-à-vis each other and within North Africa and the broader Islamic world?

In addition to using their translations to advance their political agenda and foreground their language and heritage, the translators, as Chapter five demonstrates, can use their their self-images. They may do so to achieve a degree of visibility, accumulate cultural capital and position themselves as cultural saviours and gate-keepers. This question traces the epitextual materials used by the translators to achieve these goals.

1.3. Research Data

Three Berber translations of the Qur'an in Morocco and Algeria, the impact of which is examined over a time span of 18 years (1999–2017), were selected:

1. Baomrani, Jouhadi Lhoucine (2003) ترجمة معاني القرآن الكريم [The Translation of the Meanings of the Holy Qur'an], Casablanca: Al-Najah Al-Jadeeda.
2. Tayeb, Hajj Mohanned (2007/2013) القرآن الكريم وترجمة معانيه إلى اللغة الأمازيغية [The Holy Qur'an and the Translation of its Meanings into Tamazight (Kabyle)]: Madina Munawara: King Fahad Complex for Printing the Glorious Qur'an.
3. Mensur, Remdan At (2006) Le Qwran s tmaziat [The Qur'an in Tamazight], Algeria: Dar Ziriyab.

These translations were chosen for several reasons. First, they were the only ones available at the time of conducting the research and happened to be published just before the issuing of many important decisions concerning the Berber question, such as the granting of official

status to Tamazight and the establishment of the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture in Morocco, which allowed the tracing of their impact. Second, they feature unique idiosyncratic paratextual materials not previously used in any approved translations of the Qur'an, which yielded an opportunity to study the significant role of paratexts in translation. Third, they were translated by Berber translators with different and sometimes opposing agendas, which offered an opportunity to study agency in translation and the role of the political affiliations of the translator in the use of paratexts.

Because of the vital role played by the translators as agents of change and as activists⁸, it is of great significance for this research to investigate their background, as it illuminates the relationship between agency in translation and the use of paratexts. The translators are as follows:

Professor Remdan Mensur, who produced one of the two translations of the Qur'an into Tamazight in Algeria. Unlike the other translation of the Qur'an by his fellow Kabyle translator Tayeb (2007), Mensur's translation represented a significant departure from mainstream translations of the Qur'an and created controversy among intellectuals for different reasons. One such reason is his deviation from agreed-upon conventions on Qur'an translation stipulated by Islamic clerics. For example, Mensur lacked the sort of religious education that could qualify him to translate the meanings of the Qur'an; also, his translation was not accompanied by the original Arabic text as required by traditional scholars. However, most importantly, it is the paratextual elements he used around his translation that are significantly different from those used in approved translations of the Qur'an. For many, his specific use of paratexts demonstrated an overt attempt on the part of the translator to distance the Berber nation from the Arabic language and culture and instead foreground the Berber language and heritage that shaped his translation project as a Berberist attempt to appropriate the Arabic Qur'an. Other factors that influenced the reception of his translation

⁸ As this research demonstrates, translation can be used as a form of activism (see Baker 2006 and 2007, Boéri 2008 and Dubbatia and Abudayeh 2018). All the translators under study see themselves, irrespective of their political affiliations, as activists on a mission to construct an imagined Berber nation.

were his secular⁹ Western education, his relatively modest command of Arabic, his reputation as a Berber activist and his efforts to revive Tamazight and Berber culture, as explained in the next few paragraphs.

Mensur was born on January 4, 1937 in Tizi Ouzou in the Kabylie¹⁰ region of Algeria. He came from a traditional rural and religious family. Early in life, he attended the *Kuttab*, i.e. a primary level Qur'anic school, where he stayed for a very short time. It was there that he was exposed to the wonders of the Qur'an. He then moved to the secular French *Jules Ferry School* where he completed his primary and secondary education. At secondary school, Mensur started to learn Arabic as a foreign language for the first time, but it was only in the 1970s and 1980s, at the zenith of the Arabisation policy, that he began to gain a good command of Arabic. Later, he went to the *Lycée Chaptal* in Paris and was awarded scholarship for two major French *Grandes Écoles*. He eventually chose to attend the *École Normale Supérieure* in Saint Cloud, France, where he obtained a BSc and a Higher Studies Diploma in Chemistry.

In 1964, Mensur passed the most prestigious civil service competitive examination for the public education system, the *agrégation*, in Chemistry and received a State Doctorate in 1970. Before retiring, Mensur held a number of academic and administrative positions, the most important of which were a professorship of Chemistry at the University of Algiers; the Associate Research Directorship at CNRS, University of Paris VI; and the Directorship of Human Resources, Energy and Information at the Islamic Foundation for Science, Technology and Development (IFSTAD) in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. This last position was a turning point for him. In Saudi Arabia he was able to visit the two holy cities of Islam and read the original Qur'an in Arabic and its translation in English. In addition, Mensur is a member of several scientific committees in Algiers and a corresponding member of the World Federation of Scientific Workers (London). He is the author or co-author of over 60 publications, including

⁹ According to Peter Berger (1967: 107) secularisation is 'a process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols'. This process entails the separation of the state and religion (Ibid: 107).

¹⁰ Kabylie, or Kabylia is a Berber region in Northern Algeria.

physical chemistry studies, solar chemistry and energy studies, reports and public conference papers, and he holds two patents on solar stills.

Upon retirement, Mensur devoted himself completely to the promotion of Berber culture and language through writing and translation. Among his works are *Amawal n yinzan n teqbaylit* (a dictionary of Amazigh proverbs) (2010) and *Isefra n at zik* (1998-2010), a compilation of ancient Kabyle poems published in Tamazight that has recently been translated into French. He also wrote two small volumes of poetry in Tamazight. However, the most important of his works is the translation of the Qur'an into Tamazight.

As an acknowledgement of his efforts to preserve the Berber language and culture, Mensur was honoured by the High Commission for Tamazight (2008) and was awarded the *Diplôme de reconnaissance* by the Mouvement Franco-Imazighen of Loir et Cher (2014).

With the exception of a polemic translation undertaken in the eighth century (Section 2.7.1), **Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani's** translation of the Holy Qur'an is the first ever Berber translation of the holy book. Being the first translation produced in Arab Morocco, a country that until recently stressed over and over again its Arabness at the expense of its Berber minority, Baomrani's translation ignited a heated debate among Arabs and Berbers from all walks of life and played a part in attracting attention to the Berber situation and the existence of the Berbers in North Africa. Despite his excellent command of Arabic and his religious education, Baomrani's involvement with the Berber identity movement and his efforts to revive Tamazight, about which he writes in the introduction to his translation and which are reflected in his use of paratexts, shaped his translational project as an attempt to challenge Arab authority in Morocco. This translation is the epitome of his life-long efforts to reclaim the rights of Berbers in the imagined Tamazgha land in North Africa.

Baomrani was born in 1942 in Casablanca, Morocco. In 1947, he started his early education at the *Kuttab* in Ayt Baomran in Souss, where he memorised the Qur'an. In 1963, he studied in the history department at the *École Normale Supérieure* in Morocco. For the subsequent 40 years, he worked as a high school history teacher in Casablanca. Aside from his work as a school teacher, Baomrani played an influential role in foregrounding the Berber cause. His efforts to promote the Berber culture began early, in 1967, when he co-founded the first

Berber association in Morocco, the Moroccan Society for Research and Cultural Exchange, which seeks first and foremost to preserve Berber heritage and develop a unified Berber language through research. He has also been an active member in other Berber cultural associations, such as the Agadir Summer University Association. In 1994, after King Hassan's throne speech in which he promised to integrate the Berber dialects in education, Baomrani took the initiative to teach Tamazight using Tifinagh script to a group of state employees at a government high school in Casablanca.

To draw attention to Berber culture and prove the efficacy of Tamazight, Baomrani resorted to writing as a form of cultural resistance, producing two poetry books in Tamazight. Realising the significant role of translation, he also translated many important Arabic religious reference books into Tamazight, such as Ibn Hisham's *Biography of the Prophet* (1995), *The Translation of the Divine Sayings (Hadiths Qudsi) into Tamazight* (2003) and *The Translation of [the Book of] AlBokhari into Tamazight* (2007). His most important contribution is the *Translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight*, to which he devoted 12 years of his life. This translation caused controversy and was a subject of a consequent ban when it first appeared in 1999. It was released again in 2003 following the political opening allowed by King Mohammed VI. In addition to his literary contributions, Baomrani wrote a historical book in Arabic, *The Moroccan Model of Resistance in Barghwata State* (2013), in which he renarrated from a Berberist perspective the founding of the Barghwata State in the eighth century, considered by mainstream Muslims as a counter-Islam project. Baomrani was awarded the order of Merit by King Hassan II and in 2005 received the national award for translation from the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture (IRCAM).

Se Hajj Mohammed Tayeb is known for his approved translation of the Qur'an that he undertook in cooperation with the King Fahad Complex for Printing the Glorious Qur'an in Saudi Arabia. Unlike his fellow translators, Tayeb aimed through his translation to narrate the Berbers as part of a pan-Islamic world and enhance their links with the Arabic language and heritage. As was also the case with his fellow Kabyle translator Remdan Mensur, Tayeb was born in Tizi Ouzou, Kabylie, in the 1930s — which means they both witnessed the Algerian war for liberation in the 1950s, and later the decolonisation of Algeria in 1962. Despite such

coincidences, they hold very different views on the Berbers and their relationship with their Arab counterparts and the larger Arab world. This was clearly spelled out in the paratextual tools they used in their translations and was further demonstrated by the publishing houses they cooperated with. In Tayeb's case, this difference regarding the Berber Question could be attributed to a number of factors, including his religious education and his active participation in the Algerian revolution in the 1950s, as explained in detail below.

Growing up in a religious family, Tayeb received his early education at *Kuttab* where he memorised the Qur'an, although he was completely ignorant of the Arabic language at the time. In 1948, he moved to a *zawiya*, i.e. an Islamic religious school, near Bejaia where he took Arabic language and grammar lessons. It was only then that he started to understand the meanings of the Qur'an. In 1953, he studied at Ben Badis Institute in Constantine, one of the free private schools set up by the Association of *Ulema* in 1947 to provide education in Arabic. These schools 'valued the teachings of Arabic, the revival of Islamic cultural identity and the Pan-Arab ideals' (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 45). In particular, the Ben Badis Institute was established to prepare potential teachers for the Association of Ulema's network of schools and those who wanted to pursue their education at Islamic universities in Al-Azhar in Egypt and Alzaituna in Tunis.

Tayeb joined the Algerian Revolution (1954–1962) and was assigned the task of raising morale. During the revolution, he was kidnapped by the French terrorist organisation La Main Rouge¹¹ and miraculously escaped execution. After independence, Tayeb was appointed an Arabic language teacher at a primary school. In 1966, he received his licentiate in Arabic Literature from the University of Algiers. In the same year, he was appointed an Arabic language high school teacher. During these years, Tayeb was a fierce proponent of the Arabisation policy and the teaching of Arabic language in schools. From 1985–1989 he was entrusted by the Algerian government with the task of overseeing the teaching of Arabic for Algerian expatriates in France. He retired in 1995 after 39 years spent in education.

¹¹ The organisation pursued the goal of eliminating the supporters of Algerian independence and the leading members of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) during the Algerian Revolution.

Tayeb's most important work is his translation of the Qur'an, in which he cooperated with the prestigious King Fahad Complex for Printing the Glorious Qur'an. Unlike the other two translators included in this study, who devoted their time to support the Berber language, Tayeb thought Arabic is the most important language and therefore promoted Arabic script. He published two other books: *مذكرات مترجم القرآن إلى الأمازيغية* [The Memoirs of the Translator of the Qur'an into Tamazight] and one containing a compilation of his lectures and writings. He was honoured by many institutions, such as the High Commission for Arabic Language in 2007, for his efforts in translating the Qur'an.

In addition to the translators, the publishers and the paratexts they use also play a significant role in shaping the reception of the text. For instance, the reputation and activities of the publishing houses can attract readers to a text or drive them away from it. In addition, the publisher can intervene in the text and influence the reader's perspective on it by making use of various paratextual tools, such as introductions and prefatory materials, footnotes and cover images. Therefore, considerable attention is devoted to the publishers of the two translations under study, the King Fahad Complex for Printing the Glorious Qur'an and the Zeryab Publishing House. The Moroccan translation by Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani was a self-published translation, as will be discussed in (Section 4.2).

The **King Fahad Complex for Printing the Glorious Qur'an**, which was established in 1984, is a leading Islamic establishment supervised by the Ministry for Islamic Affairs, Endowment, Dawa and Guidance in Saudi Arabia. Because of its high reputation and its meticulous attention to detail, as will be illustrated later, the Complex's publications, including its various translations of the Qur'an, are held in high esteem by a great number of Muslims. Therefore, its contribution to the production of one of the translations under study—Tayeb's translation of the Qur'an into Tamazight—enhanced its prestige and lent it a great deal of credibility. Most importantly, this sponsorship by such a prestigious publishing house amounted to political acknowledgment of the Berber minority and its language and narrated the Berbers as part of a pan-Islamic world, as will be explored later (Section 4.3).

This central position of the King Fahad Complex and the role it plays in shaping the reception of the text is primarily due to the great effort invested in the production of *Mushaf al-Madina*,

which is now one of the most prevalent *mushafs*, i.e. compiled, written pages of the Qur'an, worldwide. The production involves a number of stages, from choosing the calligraphers through to binding and printing. In addition to editing, scrutinising, verifying and printing the Qur'an, the Complex is home to a whole range of activities, such as translation, recording recitations of the Qur'an by *Qura'a* (readers), electronic publishing and researching. According to the Complex's website, it produces approximately 13 million copies of different publications annually. Since its establishment, it has produced 312,000,000 copies of different publications, ranging from *mushafs*, complete translations, partial translations, works on *Sunnah*¹² and *Sira*¹³ and recordings.

The Translation Centre at the King Fahad Complex deserves considerable attention. The *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* (1999: 66) argues that '[i]ts translation activities are likely to be of particular interest in the future, as scholars devote more attention to Qur'an translation as a field of study'. Since its establishment, it has translated the Qur'an into 37 Asian languages, 16 European languages and 18 African languages. Work is also underway to translate the Qur'an into 12 other languages. The striking feature about these translations is that many are in some of the world's least translated languages, such as Tamazight, Kurdish and Romani. Due to the status of the Qur'an as Muslims' sacred text and the idea of its inimitability, the complex devotes considerable attention to the translation process. As stated on the Complex website, each translation has to go through a number of steps before being approved by a specialised committee that speaks both Arabic and the target language, and has undisputed expertise in Islamic studies and Islamic doctrine (King Fahad Complex Website).

Unlike the prestigious King Fahad Complex, **Zeryab Publishing House** is a small independent Berberist press that was established in Algeria by Youcif Nacib, a Berber activist. This publisher aims first and foremost to promote Berber language and heritage. As a result, its involvement in the production of one of the translations under study, Mensur's translation of the Qur'an

¹² The traditional form of Muslim law based on the Prophet Muhammad's words or acts, accepted (together with the Qur'an) as authoritative by Muslims

¹³ Prophet Muhammad's biography.

into Tamazight, has shaped it as a Berberist project, as will be discussed in detail later (Section 4.4).

Third-party agents, including Berber activists, intellectuals, academics and writers, are also examined here and their paratextual participation, whether through reviews, interviews or introductory material, is analysed to determine their role in influencing readers' perspectives concerning not only the text but the Berber situation in North Africa as well.

Aside from exploring the role played by agents, peritextual elements—including prefatory materials, front and back covers, orthographical choices and script—are critically examined. Epitextual materials—including reviews, lectures, self-reviews and commentaries (whether by the translators or third-party agents)—are further analysed to trace their impact on the reception of the book and on framing the Berber situation.

1.4 Research outline

Apart from this introductory chapter, the study consists of five chapters, as follows.

Chapter Two, entitled 'The Contemporary Socio-political and Linguistic Context of the Berber Communities in Algeria and Morocco', explores the different colonial layers that shaped the Berber identity by providing an overview of the colonial experience of the Berbers, who were colonised first by the Arabs in the seventh century and later by the French at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The chapter sheds light on the role of the Berber nationalist movements that took shape in the 1960s and 1970s in both Morocco and Algeria. It then moves on to demonstrate how, among diverse manifestations of identity, Tamazight (the Berber language) has been the focus of ongoing efforts of standardisation and now functions as a site of resistance and identity assertion in the face of the Arabisation policies that were reinforced after the independence of the North African states.

Chapter Three, entitled '(Re)framing Narratives in Translation: A Framework for Analysis', outlines the theoretical framework used in this study. Informed by social theory, the chapter discusses the notion of framing as a site of resistance, activism and identity assertion and, drawing on Baker (2006) and other sources, applies it to the role of translation in negotiating

Berber identity in a postcolonial context. The chapter also explores the related concept of paratexts as explained by Genette (1997), which is used as both a theoretical framework and an analysis tool, and illustrates how the diverse paratextual devices discussed by Genette, and others he did not discuss, can be used to promote or challenge certain claims, discourses and narratives, with examples from a range of modern books to support the argument. The chapter then moves on to elaborate on the methodology of this thesis.

Chapter Four, 'Foregrounding the Berber Identity, Language and Culture through the Translations of the Holy Qur'an: Peritextual Aspects', is the first analytical chapter of this thesis and will explore how issues of identity, language and culture are negotiated in the Berber translations of the Qur'an. Taking into consideration the typology of paratexts put forward by Genette (1997), this chapter examines the first type (i.e. peritexts) that accompanied the three translations under study, including (i) cover images; (ii) prefatory materials and (iii) layout, and their role in (re)narrating the Berber history, promoting Tamazight and highlighting aspects of Berber culture and heritage. In addition to traditional peritexts, the chapter will introduce two new peritextual elements, script (in this case Arabic, Latin or Tifinagh) and language, and discuss the significant role they play in framing the translation projects under study.

Chapter Five, 'Renegotiating the Political and Social Landscape of Berber Communities through Translations of the Holy Qur'an: Epitextual Aspects', argues that the Berber translations of the Qur'an have played a crucial role in changing the political climate and social landscape in Morocco and Algeria in the past 18 years (1999–2017). To that end, the chapter will explore the debates that these translations have given rise to and how the translations have been received in the Arabophone and Anglophone worlds. Data for this chapter will be drawn from the epitextual devices employed in these debates, including (i) interviews given by the translators; (ii) reviews of the translations; (iii) self-reviews and auto-commentaries by the translators and (iv) the awards received by the translators.

Chapter Six is the concluding chapter and summarises the main findings, outlines original contributions, identifies research limitations and indicates avenues for future research.

Chapter Two: The Contemporary Socio-political and Linguistic Context of the Berber Communities in Algeria and Morocco

2.1 Introduction

In Mohammad Mohamed Akounad's Amazigh novel *Tawargit d Imik* [An Ululation in the Mosque] (2002), Sheikh Brahim Tacenyart, the novel's main protagonist, decides to deliver the Friday sermon in Berber for the first time, thus challenging the established practice of delivering sermons in Arabic. Whereas the ruling authorities are taken aback by this revolutionary action, the worshippers receive it enthusiastically. Ululations are heard from the women's section, expressing rejoice at having understood the sermon for the first time. This novel, which first came out in Tamazight in 2002 and was translated into French in 2014 (Najeeb 2014), addresses some of the issues at the heart of the Berber identity movement today, pertaining to language, agency and hegemony. In so doing, it exemplifies some of the resistance strategies employed by Berbers activists to preserve their language and culture, through both writing and translation.

This chapter explores the Berber Identity movement. It traces the roots of Berber consciousness, which was first awakened by *the white fathers* during the French colonisation of the region in the 19th and 20th centuries, and follows its evolution during anti-colonial nationalist struggles and early post-independence years until the emergence of the Berber Identity movement in the present day. To that end, the chapter highlights the narratives that have shaped this consciousness and draws attention to manifestations of that ethnic awareness. Moreover, it explores the counter-narratives produced by the Berbers to challenge and undermine the national narratives of the North African states, particularly, Morocco and Algeria. More importantly, it attempts to shed some light on the Berber struggle insofar as it focuses on preserving their language and culture through various practices of writing and translation.

2.2 Who are the Berbers?

The Berbers are the indigenous people of North Africa, who are dispersed over a wide area. Throughout their history, the Berbers were colonised by many nations, such as the

Phoenicians (900 B.C) and the Romans (146 B.C) (Mattingly and Hitchner 1995: 180). Later, they were colonised by the Arabs in the 7th century and French in the 19th and 20th centuries. It was these last two civilisations that left lasting effects on this nation.

The Berbers are found mostly in Morocco, where they form around 40% of the population, and in Algeria, where they represent 20% of the population. In addition, there are some Berber concentrations in Siwa, in the Western Desert of Egypt, in the Fezzan in Southern Libya, in Niger and in Mali. The lowest concentration of Berbers is found in Tunisia, where they form only 1% of the population (Brett and Fentress 1996: 1-3). In general, the Berbers are concentrated mostly in mountainous areas, since they took refuge in these mountains from the Arab conquerors in the Middle Ages (ibid: 1), while the Arabic-speaking population inhabits the plains. Chaker goes so far as to claim that the majority of the North African population is of Berber origin, and that the Arab-speaking groups in Maghrib are, in fact, Berbers who were *Arabised* at various times in history (Chaker 2004).

One interesting fact about the Berbers is that, as a collective, they were never, throughout their past history, unified under one banner. This could be due to the fact that they were geographically dispersed, and that they had been tribal people whose allegiance was to the tribe, and later to Islam. Due to this geographical dispersion, there has never been one unified Berber language. Today, there are three major Berber speaking groups concentrated in Morocco and Algeria; in addition to Tuaregs who are dispersed over many regions. In Morocco, for example, there are three Berber varieties spread over three mountainous areas: the Tarifit dialect in the Rif; the Tamazight dialect in the Mid-Atlas and part of the High-Atlas; and the Tachelhit in the High-Atlas and Anti-Atlas. In Algeria, similar to Morocco, there are three main Berber-speaking groups, the largest of which is concentrated in the densely populated Kabylie, where two-thirds of Algeria's Berber speakers are located. The other two groups are the Chaouias of the Aures region numbering around one million people and the people of the Mزاب, numbering between 150,000 and 200,000 (Chaker: 2004). As Brett and Fentress (1996: 1) put it, '[t]oday these areas are best described as mountainous islands in a vast sea of Arabic'. In addition to Berber speaking groups in Morocco and Algeria, the third largest group is the Tuaregs, totaling over one million, who are spread over many countries,

including Niger, Mali, Algeria, Libya, Burkina-Faso and even Nigeria (Chaker:2004). The Tuaregs speak Tamasheq dialect. These different dialects of Berber have always been collectively referred to by Arab historians as *al-lisan albarberi* (the Berber tongue) or *al-lisan al-gharbi* (the Western tongue), obscuring thus these dialectical differences (El Hour 2005:293) and indicating that these early Arabs regarded Berbers as both foreign and Barbarian.

The origin of the Berbers is highly contested, leading to its appropriation by the different colonial powers that ruled over the Berbers at various times in order to secure their alliance. Writing during the early decades of Arab colonisation, Al-Tha'alibi (961–1038), the well-known Arab writer, maintained that the origin of the North Africans was not only Semitic, but in fact Arab: they migrated from the Arabian Peninsula (Hannoum 1997: 95). During their colonisation of North Africa, which extended from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1960s, the French created the Berber myth, which claimed that the Berbers were of European origin (Pouessel 2012: 375) (Section 2.3.1). After independence, in an attempt to mend the breach between the Arabs and Berbers, many Arab nationalists insisted on the Arab origin of the Berbers. For instance, Madani, the Algerian salafi writer, claimed that the Berbers were Semitic, of Canaanite origin. According to him, they moved from the orient and settled for a long time in Egypt, where they adopted the Egyptian language and customs before moving on to North Africa (Madani, cited in Hannoum 1997: 89).

Just like the origin of the Berber people, the origin of the term *Berber* is highly disputed. According to the well-known historian Ibn-Khaldoun (1986: 464):

Their language is not only foreign but of a special kind, which is why they are called Berbers. It is said of Ifriqish son of Qays son of Sayfi, [...] that he encountered this strange race with its peculiar tongue and struck with amazement exclaimed 'What a berbera you have!' For this reason they were called Berbers.

The word *berbera*, in Arabic, refers to 'a combination of incomprehensible sounds' (Aitel 2014: 13). Another hypothesis is that Berbers were given that name by the Romans 'who believed them to be alien to Roman civilization and identified them as barbarians' (ibid: 13).

Today, the most distinctive feature of the Berbers is their language; therefore, they are defined, according to Brett and Fentress (1996: 4), as people speaking Berber languages. The

language sets them apart from the Arab population, who do not speak Berber – unlike the Berber, who speak both languages. Because Arabic is the language of power and prestige, there is little reason for a non-Berber (i.e. Arabs) to speak a Berber language.

2.3 French Colonisation: The Berbers Invented

In *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1978) wrote about one of the major undertakings of the European colonial power – its construction of the Orient as *the other*. According to Said (1978: 4), the Orient is not a ‘fact of nature’ but a ‘European invention’ (ibid: 2). The relationship between the coloniser and the colonised was based on a binary opposition in which the European was civilised, intelligent, hard-working and hence superior, whereas the non-European was backward, unintelligent, lazy and hence inferior. As a result, the Orient, to which an array of negative traits has been attached, ‘has helped to define the West as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience’ (ibid: 2). Intellectuals, be they scholars, writers or anthropologists, were instrumental in forming a European theory of the Orient. Their point of departure was always the above-mentioned presumed dichotomy between Europeans and non-Europeans. This system of binary opposition was used by the coloniser to justify colonisation. The image of the Orient was further used by the colonial powers as a reference point against which one could measure how far a particular nation stood from the bottom or top of the ladder of evolution, a position which then defined the attitude of the colonising authorities towards it. The attitude of the colonial British towards Ireland can be cited as an example. In an attempt to justify their colonisation of the region, the British referred to Ireland as *the Orient* of Europe. The Irish were conceptualised as Orientals and thus backward, hot-tempered and lazy (Tymoczko 1999: 20). In contrast, to serve their colonial purposes, the French distanced the Berbers from the Orient and alluded to them as Europeans in order to establish a dichotomy between the Berbers and the Arab (Pouessel 2012: 375), one that allowed them to consolidate their control over North Africa. This French narrative of the Berbers had important implications for the way in which their sense of identity developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The French perceived a potential ally in the Berber element of the North African population as they believed that the Berbers were more likely to be assimilated into the French

civilisation than the Arabs. Paul Marty, the colonial French administrator in North Africa who served the French Protectorate in Morocco for 11 years (1920–1931) and was behind the notorious Berber *dahir* (a repressive administrative edict: see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2), believed that in order for the '[French] position in Morocco [...] to become permanent, [France] must lean upon the Berber bloc, as transformed by French methods and nurtured on French ideas' (Shinar 2006: 51). The Berbers were thus favoured by the French authorities, who sought to transform them into French nationals, while the Arab element of the North African population was treated as an inferior race (Naylor 2006: 120). This stance clearly reveals the paradoxes of the so-called civilising mission, which presumably aimed to spread European civilisation among the less fortunate peoples of the world but which committed the most uncivilised, savage atrocities in the name of civilisation. In sharp contrast to the mission's declared principles, anyone who opposed it was subjected to highly repressive treatment. The massacres of 1945, which the French committed against Algerian civilians, is an apt illustration. In response to anti-French riots, they launched air and ground attacks against several Algerian cities, particularly Setif and Guelma, killing 45,000 innocent civilians (*Washington Post* 2005).

The French colonial writer Arthur Girault (1927: 68, cited in Lewis 1962: 133) summarised the mindset of the French intellectuals towards the colonised nations, which was one with that of the French colonial authorities:

If it is hoped to be able to inculcate them with our ideas and our customs, then one works zealously to make them into Frenchmen: they are educated, they are granted the right of suffrage, they are dressed in the European mode, our laws are substituted for their customs, and in a word, native assimilation is pursued. But if one despairs of arriving at this result, if they show themselves refractory toward our civilization, then, to prevent them from injecting a discordant note in the midst of the general uniformity, they are exterminated or pushed back.

From the beginning, under the pretext of preserving Berber particularity, the French sought to protect the Berbers from Arab contamination. They directed their attention to Berber culture, collected their oral heritage, wrote down the Berber language in a Latin script and recorded their traditions. In so doing, the French colonisers aimed to create a Berber consciousness through a process of identity reinvention. Creating *the other* was not a random process but a systematic endeavour in which power and knowledge worked hand in hand.

This process of constructing new, convenient identities of the colonised is not exclusive to the French. Throughout history, dominated cultures have been reinterpreted in the narratives of the cultures that ruled over them. Maddy-Weitzman (2001: 25) reminds us that 'it has been non-Berbers who have written the Berbers into the historical record as a collective, first the conquering Arabs in the seventh century, followed centuries later by Ibn Khaldun, who enshrined their history and social organisation, and then the French colonial administrators'. This collaboration between power (e.g. the conquering Arabs, the French administrators) and knowledge (e.g. Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), the French anthropologists) is an effective means of controlling nations, as Foucault (1980) has pointed out. According to Foucault (1980: 52), '[i]t is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power'. Knowledge is neither dispassionate nor impartial, and facts are not discovered but created. Power creates facts, while knowledge produced by intellectuals confirms and gives currency to these facts. In developing a new Berber identity, the French colonisers were aided by an army of scientists, anthropologists, missionaries and travel writers who facilitated the colonisation process by emphasising and disseminating the facts created by the French authorities.

2.3.1 The Berber Myth and the Language Issue

According to Layachi (2005: 200), '[t]he Berber question was in fact born under the French occupation, which lasted [in Algeria] from 1830 to 1962'. Before the advent of the French, there had been no manifest signs of Berber consciousness. Ernest Gellner (1972: 14) rightly noted that 'the striking thing about [...] signs [of Berber awareness] are not their occurrence, but their rarity'. Although many Berber Islamic states – such as the Almoravids in the 11th century, the Almohads in the 12th and 13th centuries, and the Marinids in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries – were founded in North Africa during early Arab rule, none of these Berber states 'acted in the name of an overarching 'Berber' identity, or even in the name of their own lineage' (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 30). This is not to deny the fact that several Berber identity movements had occurred from time to time and there had been attempts to preserve the Berber culture in the context of a dominant Arab society. The Barghawata revolution in the eleventh century is a case in point (Section 2.5). However, the Berber civilisation is different from others that fell under Muslim rule but retained a strong sense of identity. Gellner (1972)

contrasts the Berbers with Persians who were also conquered by Muslims but maintained a keen sense of Persian particularity. Although they embraced Islam, Persians were not fully assimilated into the dominant Arabic civilisation but endeavoured to protect and revive their own. According to Gellner (1972: 12), 'North Africans are not, as are the Persians for instance, a Muslim people who have embraced the Faith but retained a memory stretching beyond its coming, so their own cultural identity is not co-extensive with Islam. On the contrary, North African folk consciousness does not reach out beyond the limits of Islam'. To substantiate this claim, the translation movement that took place during the Abbasid reign (750-1258) may be cited. The Persian translators who were instrumental in this movement were anxious to restore their own culture by infusing the Arabic translations with elements of Persian heritage (Shamma 2009). There is no record of the Berbers playing any particular role in this movement or attempting to infuse areas of social or cultural life with their own culture.

The French administrators played *the Berber card* against the Arabs by creating what the *Historical Dictionary of Algeria* refers to as 'the Berber myth' and attributes to the French naval officer Robert Montagne. According to Naylor (2006: 120):

The Berber myth is a sociological French colonial concept. The 'Berber myth' particularly applied to Kabyles¹⁴. French ethnologists as well as administrators constructed a binary relationship between Berbers and Arabs. They concluded that Berbers were superior and qualified for assimilation. Although the myth was not supported by legislation, it affected policy. Its influence led to prejudice, stereotyping and racism – the good Kabyle and the bad Arab. The myth also exemplified a "divide-and-rule" colonial mentality and strategy.

The Berber myth was primarily fabricated to accentuate the difference between the Arabs and the Berbers and to ensure the latter's support for the colonial project. To forge a close relationship between the French and the Berbers, a new Berber identity had to be invented. Therefore, the French sought to instill in the Berbers the belief that they were originally European. Because the creation of facts was based on the element of exclusion, the new *European Berber* was invented at the expense of all Arabic-Islamic elements. Since religion was the most important common element between Arabs and Berbers, the French narrative

¹⁴ A Kabyle is a member of a Berber community living in the mountainous coastal area east of Algiers. The word was first used in 1738 and is derived from Arabic *qabā'il*, plural of *qabila*, meaning 'tribe'. Kabyle is also used to refer to the Berber language of the Kabyles (Merriam-Webster 2014: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/kabyle>).

described the Berbers as superficially Islamised because Islam had been imposed on them by the Arab invaders. According to the French colonisers, this surface veneer only had to be scratched to reveal the real Berber. Here again the collaboration between power and knowledge came into play. Once the French administrators decided to exploit the differences between Arabs and Berbers, French scholars set out to prove these differences. Their point of departure was a presumed distinction between Arabs and Berbers as distinct ethnic groups, which they sought to establish in their observations, writings and attempts to record the Berber oral heritage. In the case of the Berbers, most scientists and anthropologists agreed on two issues. First, they believed the French were a more elevated race than the colonised and therefore possessed an innate ability to observe other cultures, take notes about their way of life and make judgements about them. Second, they assumed that there was a difference between Arabs and Berbers.

In their effort to assimilate Berbers into the French culture, the French set up Berber schools in the Berber regions in Morocco and Algeria where French and to a lesser extent the Berber language were taught, while all Arabic and Islamic elements were excluded (Kadour 1972: 260–261; Pouessel 2012: 375–376). Writing in 1925, Paul Marty (1925: 252, cited in Shinar 2006: 53) asserted that '[t]hese Berber schools will be institutions of French policy and propaganda tools just as much as educational facilities. They will be part of our effort of peaceful penetration and moral conquest. The teacher will therefore be asked to regard himself as an agent and collaborator of the commanding officer of the area'. When they discovered that their efforts to assimilate the Berbers into French civilisation were of no avail and that the Berbers saw themselves as Muslims, like the Arabs, the French tried to isolate the Berbers from Arabic-Islamic influence by focusing on distancing them from the Arabic language (Burke III 1972: 198).

In an effort to highlight the distinction between Arabs and Berbers, then, the French seized upon the issue of linguistic difference between the two ethnic groups and worked to shake the linguistic hierarchy, and subsequently the racial one, in North Africa, where the Arabic language had ascendancy over the oral Berber dialects. This hierarchy had not been a source of concern for the Berbers until the French decided to make an issue out of it. As Gellner

(1972: 14) explains the situation up to that point, 'The Berber sees himself as a member of this or that tribe, within an Islamically-conceived and permeated world – and not as a member of a linguistically defined ethnic group, in a world in which Islam is one thing among others'. Although prior to independence the Arabs were not concerned with Arabisation and treated their language merely as a by-product of Islam, the French perceived the Arabic language as a central factor of Islamisation. Roger Gaudefroy-Demombynes, a semi-independent observer of the educational efforts of the colonial French in Morocco (Abi-Mershed 2010: 88), clearly outlined French policy in this respect: '[i]t is dangerous to allow the formation of a united phalanx of Moroccans having one language. We must utilize to our advantage the old dictum 'divide and rule' (Benmamoun 2001: 100). The presence of a Berber race is a useful instrument for counter-acting the Arab race; we must even use it against the *Makhzan*¹⁵ itself' (Kaddour 1972: 260). As the first coloniser's language, Arabic was dominant. By elevating the Berber language in relation to Arabic, and encouraging its teaching at schools, the French were seeking (among other things) to shift the language hierarchies in North Africa and subsequently marginalise Arabs and their language.

2.3.2 The Berber *Dahir* and French *Divide and Rule* Policy

As part of a divide and rule strategy, the French implemented different systems of administration and law in Berber regions (Brown 1973: 204–206; Pennell 2000: 115–116; Cornwell and Atia 2012: 259). For example, to create a dichotomy between Arabs and Berbers in Morocco, they encouraged Berbers to use their own customary laws at the expense of Islamic laws. These customary laws were previously infused with Islamic elements. Under the pretext of reform, the French aimed to eliminate all Islamic elements and substitute them with French laws.

According to Adam Guerin (2011: 361), 'The so-called reform of Berber customary law was rather an invention of a system that French administrators used to remove the Berber population from the influence of the Arab *Makhzan*, to marginalise religious law in favour of secular European values, and ultimately to fracture the network of social, cultural, and

¹⁵ Makhzan is the native Moroccan government; collectively: privileged peoples from whom Moroccan state officials are recruited (Merriam-Webster 2014: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/makhzan>, last accessed on 5 May 2015).

political relationships between the sultan and his people'. In 1930, the French went ahead with their plan and issued the Berber *dahir*, an edict that stipulated the replacement of Islamic law by Berber customary law (Maddy-Weitzman 2001: 29). This decision soon backfired: it led to the very outcome the French had intended to avoid and provoked demonstrations all over Morocco among both Arabs and Berbers, who interpreted the edict as an attempt to de-Islamise Berbers, isolate them from their Arab compatriots and weaken the sultan's authority (Shinar 2006: 34). This situation also encouraged Berbers to cooperate with Arabs against the colonial French powers (Maddy-Weitzman 2001: 29) and marked the beginning of the Moroccan nationalist movement (Shinar 2006: 34; Guerin 2011: 362). Moreover, it proved that the difference between Arabs and Berbers was not as significant as the French imagined (Rosen 1972: 156) and that religion was a more unifying element than ethnic bonds (Lauermann 2009: 43).

In dealing with the Berbers, France followed the same policy in both Algeria and Morocco. In Algeria, for example, the Kabyles of the greater Kabylie region were guaranteed favourable treatment (Layachi 2005: 210; Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 42–43). This policy included preferring the Berber language over Arabic and encouraging its teaching, offering the Kabyles more educational and professional opportunities than their Arab counterparts, facilitating their migration to France and imposing lower taxes on them (Layachi 2005: 210). The French also tried to convert Berbers to Christianity. However, in the end, the Berbers fought against the French (Layachi 2005: 210). When the French finally discovered that the Berbers saw themselves as Muslims like their Arab counterparts, they abandoned their attempts to assimilate them and tried instead to prevent them from being Arabised (Burke III 1972: 198).

Ironically, in their revolt against the homogenising policies of the French who tried to assimilate them into their culture, the Berbers joined the Arabs in their nationalist struggle against the French, only to be subjected after independence to the same homogenising policies they rebelled against.

2.4 States, Nations and Nationalist Discourses

The term nation is one of the most contested terms in nationalism studies (cf. Anderson 1991; Smith 1991; Connor 1967). Much of the recent research on nation and nationhood is based upon the assumption that a nation is a modern imagined or invented construct (Anderson 1991; Hobsbawm 1990 and Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Benedict Anderson, one of the most important proponents of the constructivist perception of nationalism, defines a nation as 'an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (Anderson 1991: 6). It is imagined because people in that community are connected to each other and belong to each other without necessarily knowing each other. In keeping with Anderson's constructivist view, Grotenhuis (2016: 26) defines a nation as 'a construct, built and altered by people to define the identity of a political community in ever-changing circumstances. This construct is a mixture of old and new, of traditional elements and new inventions necessary to build a contextual story of "we"'. This constructivist perspective of nation makes it possible for this research to trace and locate the framing strategies and paratextual manipulations employed by the three Berber translators under study in constructing the Berber nation.

By drawing on the constructivist approach, this thesis does not exclude other currents on nationalism studies such as the primordial school. For example, Anthony D. Smith defines the nation as 'a named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs' (2002: 15). Along the same lines, Julie Mostav defines nation as 'a group of people who recognize one another as sharing a common culture, history, and set of institutions and, according to some, the same language, ethnicity. And religion' (2015: 1). The difference between primordial and constructivist theorisation on nation lies in the historical roots of this term. For Smith, a national identity can be traced back to times before the formation of modern nation-states. For Anderson, it is a result of a process of construction and imagining, 'not the result of preserving something from the past into present and future' (Grotenhuis, 2016: 28). While these distinctions mentioned by the primordial approach allow us to point out and differentiate the different nations at play in this research (i.e. the Berber nation, the Arab nation and the French nation),

the constructivist approach makes it possible to trace their evolution over time and how they (or some of them) have come to imagine themselves currently.

Unlike nation, the term 'nation-state' is a less contested term. The nation-state is a recent phenomenon. It emerged after the break-up of the classic and medieval empires in the nineteenth century. Julie Mostav (2015: 1) defines the nation-state as 'a political entity with sovereignty over a defined territory'. The difference between a nation and a state lies in the fact that nations can exist without states, whereas a state presupposes a nation. As René Grotenhuis (2016: 30) contends, 'The nation is a reality that does not need a state to exist: The legitimacy of a nation lies in a shared identity of its people, distinct from other groups'. Hence, the term 'stateless nation' came into existence in 1983 by the political scientist Jacques Leruez in his book *L'Ecosse, une nation sans Etat* (1983). Montserrat Guibernau defines stateless nations, or what he refers to as 'nations without States', as:

Nations which, in spite of having their territories included within the boundaries of one or more states, by and large do not identify with them. The members of a nation lacking a State of their own regard the State containing them as alien, and maintain a separate sense of national identity generally based upon a common culture, history, attachment to a particular territory and the explicit wish to rule themselves. (Guibernau, 2004: 1254)

To consolidate their powers, states invest in a process of nation-building 'aimed at 'the forced assimilation of its citizens', which is not always a successful one (Guibernau, 2004: 1255). These attempts at homogenisation 'always fail to represent the diversity of the actual "national" community for which they purport to speak and, in practice, usually represent and consolidate the interests of the dominant power groups within any national formation' (Ashcroft, 2013: 167). As a result, ethno-nationalist movements within these nation-states spring up. These movements have two things in common: a desire to promote their culture and language and a demand to have a say in the institutions deciding their future (Guibernau, 2004: 1256). The linguistic aspect of nationalist movements is what Anderson (2001: 40) referred to as linguistic nationalism:

The underlying belief was that each true nation was marked off by its own peculiar language and literary culture, which together expressed that people's historical genius. Hence enormous energy came to be devoted to the construction of dictionaries for many languages which did not have them at that point—Czech, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Polish, Norwegian, and so on. Oral literary traditions were written down and disseminated through print as popular literacy slowly began to increase. These productions were used to fight against the domination of the big languages of the dynastic empires.

Anderson linked the rise of nations to the spread of print capitalism, along with mass education and literacy, assuming that national newspapers created and consolidated a sense of shared national experience. Print capitalism allowed 'rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways' (Anderson, 1991: 36).

As will be explained in (2.5), the Berbers are a case of an indigenous people who have managed to create an imagined community through print culture. From a primordial perspective, the Berbers possess all the elements that comprise a nation, such as a shared language, a historical territory, mutual descent and common laws and customs (Smith 2002: 15 and Mostav 2015: 1). However, the fact that they are dispersed throughout a number of nation-states where they have been rendered a minority made them a stateless nation. Through mass media, Berber nationalists have managed to reimagine the Berber nation. These Berbers would never make face-to-face contact with each other. Nevertheless, they share a strong sense of belonging and a 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 1991: 7). They speak of mutual heritage, ancestors, language and goals. They imagine a *Tamazgha* land that transcends the current nation-states that they live in. Linguistic nationalism as explained by Anderson was the most important form of Berber nationalism. This linguistic nationalism, as is explained in Section 2.6, is demonstrated in the Berbers' efforts to preserve their language, record their oral heritage and elevate its status through writing and translation.

2.5 An Imagined Nation

After the anti-colonial nationalist efforts dismantled the French colonial powers in North Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, a new challenge confronted the ruling elites, namely, consolidating their new nation-states. Maintaining hegemony over the newly independent states proved to be a difficult task in some respects, as arbitrarily drawn borders made many of these nation-states multi-ethnic (Hill 2006: 2; Layachi 2005: 200). According to Hill (2006: 2), 'these borders paid little regard to pre-existing political, cultural and ethnic groupings, leading to the creation of states with little historical precedent and populations that were "poly-ethnic"'.

Like nationalists in other newly independent states, the nationalists in post-independent North Africa, then, were confronted with the crucial task of nation building. As one of the main tasks in a new nation-state is to create a national identity (Hill 2006: 2), the Arab nationalists in North Africa, who constituted the dominant majority, were quick to define their newly independent states as both Arab and Muslim. This identity served to build connections with other Arab states with a similar history, geographical contiguity, religion, and a common language and shared culture (Layachi 2005: 202; Cornwell and Atia 2012:259). The Berbers, who had been instrumental in the anti-colonial movement and were thus expecting equal representation in the new nation-states, found themselves relegated to a minor position on the periphery (Marais 1972: 278). As Hill (2006: 2) has pointed out, this situation is not unique to North Africa as 'the sense of unity that underlay anti-colonial movements [in general] often dissipated once independence was achieved'. The alliances that are forged between different ethnic groups at wartime are often misinterpreted as a sign of national unity. These alliances are usually formed between otherwise hostile ethnic groups to face a mutually perceived enemy or achieve a mutual objective. In extreme cases, these once allied groups may turn against each other. One example is the alliance between the Hindus and Muslims in India. The two ethnic groups joined hands during the anti-colonial movements against the British colonial rule. Later, the relationship between the two groups degenerated into irreconcilable conflicts.

In the case of Morocco and Algeria, discourses of homogeneity underpinning the constructed post-independence national identity and promoted by Arab nationalists sought to unite all citizens under a single banner, i.e. Arab nationalism, but instead created disunity and accentuated ethnic differences. Islam is one of the few cultural elements shared by most North Africans, and while most Berbers are Muslim, they are not ethnically Arabs. Furthermore, the Berbers constitute a significant proportion of the population of North Africa. Cheated of their post-independence dreams, the Berbers, who consider themselves the indigenous people of North Africa, revolted against their unjust exclusion, demanding the inclusion of the Berber component in the national identity of their nation-states.

To complicate the situation, Arab nationalists in North Africa, like Western nationalists, imposed a policy of monolingualism in their newly independent states (Faiq 1999: 138). The notion of nation-states presumed that each nation-state has one ethnic group that speaks one language (ibid: 137). In the case of Morocco and Algeria, and in response to the colonisers' attempt to assimilate the North African population, particularly the Berbers, into French culture, the state engaged in a process of aggressive Arabisation as soon as the country gained independence. Adopting one national language was meant to allow the Berbers to be assimilated into one unified nation, consolidating the power of the newly created nation-states and demonstrating cohesion and unity with the other newly independent nations of North Africa (Aitel 2013: 64). Some Berberists, such as Fazia Aitel, argue that one of the objectives of Arabisation is to 'eradicate the Berber language and references to Algeria's pre-Islamic past' (ibid: 65). This is manifested in the erasure of Berber names in public places and street names and their replacement with Arabic names, as is the case in Algeria, which has also banned Berber names on birth certificates and restricted and censored Berber cultural activities (Aitel 2013; Aitel 2014; Lauermann 2009). In Morocco, banning Berber names on birth certificates was justified on the basis that they threatened and undermined the identity of Moroccans. Underlying the Arabisation policy was a tendency inherent in nationalist discourses to evoke a precolonial past, portrayed by many as a precolonial Eden (Burke III 2000: 23). In the Arab/Berber context, it is particularly relevant that the Arabs had been ruling North Africa for more than 1,300 years, and that the Islamic civilisation reached its height during that period. For many Arab nationalists seeking to overthrow French rule, securing a

glorious future — an objective that also figures in many postcolonial nationalist discourses (Hill 2006: 2) — depended on reviving the pre-colonial past, specifically Arabo-Islamic civilisation. The emphasis on Arabisation ultimately aggravated ethnic conflict. Hence, as Layachi explains (2005: 202), it is understandable that ‘the indigenous Berber populations accepted Islam more than they did the Arabic element’ of their North African heritage.

While the newly independent North African states were occupied with the task of nation-building and state-building, the Berber element of the population was engaged in a similar task: i.e. constructing an imagined Berber nation, to use Benedict Anderson’s term (Anderson 1983). This nation lives in an imagined geography in *Tamazgha*, a region that stretches from ‘Touareg lands in Niger to Siwa in Egypt to Kabylie in Algeria and, of course, to Morocco’ (Cornwell and Atia 2012: 256). In so doing, the Berber activists contested the dominant national narratives that their nation-states imposed upon them through one-size-fits-all national definitions (ibid: 256).

In this imagined Tamazgha land, the Berbers have chosen for themselves a new self-designation *Imazighen* (sing. ‘Amazigh’), which has replaced the derogatory label *Berber* since the 1960s, a label that was imposed upon them by various foreign invaders (Pouessel 2012: 376). According to Aitel (2013: 67), ‘The word ‘imazighen’ and what it conveys in terms of Berber awareness could not be ignored’. In adopting this new designation, which means *the free man*, the Berbers mean to shed the connotations of the term Berber, which conjures up negative characteristics such as *foreign*, *inarticulate* and *Barbarian* that narrate the Berbers as an inferior race.

In order to create that imagined nation, a proper Amazigh history had to be reconstructed — a history that demonstrates that the Berbers were the indigenous population who had lived in North Africa for thirty-three centuries before the advent of Islam and the Arabs (Cornwell and Atia 2012: 256). Here, the Berbers faced two serious dilemmas. For one thing, the Berber collective memory extended just as far back as Islamic rule. Maddy-Weitzman (2011: 21) argues that Islam permeated every aspect of the Berbers’ lives to the extent that ‘if there was a semblance of collective memory of the pre-Islamic epochs among the Berber populations, it disappeared’. In addition, to make things more difficult, the fact that Berber history was not

narrated by the Berbers themselves but by their conquerors, be they the Arabs or the French, meant that it was perceived as misrepresented and manipulated. The Berbers had no records of their own. For example, the national narrative in Morocco, which is taught in the history books of primary schools, asserts that the history of Morocco began with the advent of Islam and that the Berbers are originally Arabs (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 89).

Consequently, a crucial twofold challenge lay ahead of Berber activists: first, reconstructing a pre-Islamic history; and second, renarrating Berber history during the Islamic era from a Berberist perspective. To that end, the Berbers had to search history for any pre-Islamic historical figures, resurrect them from the past and renarrate them in a manner that supported the creation of the imagined nation. A good example is the disputed Berber queen, the Kahina, or, in other narratives, Dehia, the legendary figure who over time would come to be appropriated and contested by many groups, including the Arabs, the Jews, the French, and the Berbers. The Arabo-Islamic narrative had always presented the Kahina as an anti-heroine who resisted Arab conquerors and the universal message of Islam and laid waste to Berber lands in an attempt to obstruct the progress of the Muslim army. After the independence of North African states, a counter-narrative of the Kahina presented her from a new Berber perspective as a heroine who fought for her people. The Kahina's character became a central theme in novels, plays, and poetry. The Algerian Kateb Yacine's play *La Kahina* is one example of a Berber writer's efforts to politicise this historical figure and present her as a feminist symbol against the backdrop of the feminist movement in Algeria in the 1980s. Other mythical figures that were recovered from the past include Massinissa¹⁶ and Jugurtha¹⁷.

In their efforts to reconstruct their history, the Berbers used similar strategies to those used by other ethnic minorities, such as the Irish during their anti-colonial struggle against the

¹⁶ Masinissa, also spelled Massinissa (born c. 238 BC—died 148 BC), ruler of the North African kingdom of Numidia and an ally of Rome in the last years of the Second Punic War (218–201). His influence was lasting because the economic and political development that took place in Numidia under his rule provided the basis for later development of the region by the Romans (*The Encyclopedia Britannica* 2014: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/367882/Masinissa>, last accessed on 29/1/2018).

¹⁷ Jugurtha, (born c. 160 BC—died 104, Rome), King of Numidia from 118 to 105, who struggled to free his North African kingdom from Roman rule (*The Encyclopedia Britannica* 2014: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/307674/Jugurtha>, last accessed on 29/1/2018).

English. To challenge the English narrative that depicted them as fiery, passionate and irrational, the Irish had to resurrect from history the mythical figure of Cú Chulainn and renarrate him through translation as a heroic figure (Tymoczko 1999). Tymoczko observes that 'Although such images of the past – like those of the colonizers – are manipulation of the past, often simplified or essentialized or even fetishized structures, they are powerful means of drawing together oppressed people and giving them a consciousness of their own potential for self-determination' (Tymoczko 2000: 23).

Not only did the Berbers recover pre-Islamic Berber figures from the past and renarrate them from a new Berber perspective, but they also renarrated some of the major events that took place during Arab colonisation. The story of the Barghwata state can be cited here. According to the Islamic narrative, Salih ibn Tarif founded Barghwata during the Umayyad Caliphate to fight the Muslims in North Africa. In 744, he proclaimed himself a prophet of God, claiming that a Berber Quran had been revealed to him, and drew around him the Berber tribes living in his region (Maddy-Witzman 2011: 26). Ironically, the Barghwata state, which lasted for three hundred years, was crushed by another Berber state, Almoravids, in the eleventh century. Although information about Barghwata is scarce (Maddy-Witzman 2011), it has always been depicted in Islamic narratives as an example of a counter-Islamic project (for more information, see Section 2.7.1). Hence, some Islamists now brand secular Berberists as the new Barghwatas. Today, in an attempt to renarrate their history from a different perspective, the Berbers offer a new positive account of this state, as evident in a new book published in 2013 under the title نموذج المقاومة المغربية في دولة برغواطة الأمازيغية [The Moroccan Model of Resistance in Barghwata State], by the Moroccan translator of the Holy Quran into Berber, Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani. Baomrani (2013) renarrates the Barghwatas as heroes and symbols of resistance, thus challenging the Islamic narrative. As Maddy-Weitzman (2011: 27) explains, 'In their eyes [i.e. the Berbers], the Barghwata represent an authentic assertion of Berber identity like no other during the millennium of Islamic rule, a cultural reaction emanating from the desire for self-preservation'.

There are many reasons behind the emergence of an imagined Amazigh nation. First and foremost is the Berber consciousness instilled by the French colonisers (Section 2.3.1).

Second, globalisation¹⁸, previously thought of as a threat to ethnic minorities, has ironically strengthened ethnic bonds by making ethnic groups not only aware of people who are different from them but also, more importantly, aware of other groups who share the same ethnic bonds (Connor 1972: 329). Maddy-Weitzman (2011: 4) notes that '[t]he ever-accelerating processes of globalisation which some thinkers have heralded as the harbinger of a long-awaited post-national age are also generating an intensified 'politics of identity''. Along the same lines, Layachi (2005: 198) argues that although globalisation poses a threat to the distinct identities of ethnic communities, it also provides activist groups with the tools to appeal for support and help and to forge networks of solidarity at the international level.

As one aspect of globalisation, advances in mass media, transportation and the internet made it possible for members of the same ethnic group to communicate with each other, to collaborate, and to disseminate their message across the globe. In the Berber case, the Berberophones, who are scattered across North Africa, were able to communicate with different Berber groups both within North Africa and in the diaspora. Moreover, the Berbers were able to learn lessons from other ethnic groups' struggles toward recognition and achieving their rights, such as the Kurds, the Catalans, and the Bosnians. Connor argues that '[i]ntra-ethnic as well as inter-ethnic communications [....] play a major role in the creation of ethnic consciousness' (Connor 1972: 329). Thus mass media and transportation have overcome the obstacle that had long hindered communication between different Berber groups and the formation of a Berber nation, specifically 'the geographical fractionalization of Berber speech area across the map of North Africa' (Hart 1972: 27). Mass media has also served as an eye-opener to many ethnic groups. One ethnic group's success in obtaining its demands now becomes another ethnic group's starting point. Indeed, Maddy-Witzman points out that 'the Catalans serve as the ultimate exemplar for the Amazigh movement, and the Catalan government provides funding for the Amazigh activities' (2011: 8). A brief glance at Google output for *Amazigh*, *Imazighen* and *Berber* reveals the existence of many pages on Facebook and other social media outlets that are devoted to *the Berber question*. Berbers can

¹⁸ For more on globalisation and its effects on religion and religious identities, see Arjun Appadurai (2001).

now renegotiate their situation internationally in virtual space, with the Amazigh of the diaspora playing a particularly important role in shaping the Berber movement.

Third, the decline in the numbers of Berberophones and a fear of extinction and of losing their identity are additional factors that have given impetus to the Berber movement (Lauermann 2009: 43). The decline in numbers is concurrent with an increase in Berber ethnic awareness (Maddy-Witzman 2011: 66).

On the whole, therefore, Amazigh movements seek, through imagined geography, to counteract the homogenising narrative of nation-building states and are empowered to do so in the new century through increased access to a variety of communication channels. In terms of objectives or demands, the Berber movement, in general, is not a secessionist movement (Layachi 2005, Maddy-Witzman 2011). Except for a few Berber militant activists, mainly in Kabylie, who are demanding self-autonomy, Berber activists have two main demands: recognition of the Berber entity as an identifier of national identity alongside the Arab component of the population and recognition of Berber culture and language.

Currently, Berber activists are concentrated in Algeria and Morocco. There are no major differences between the Berber movement in Algeria and Morocco. The Berber movement in both countries demands cultural and linguistic recognition as well as the democratisation of their states. However, the Berber movement in Algeria is more politicised (Maddy-Witzman 2011) as will be explored in (Sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1).

2.6 Language as a Site of Resistance

In resisting the homogenising practices of their nation-states, and in the face of heavy-handed governments on the watch for any revolutionary political expressions, the Berbers found ways to promote their language and culture through peaceful means (alongside militant political movements). Thus, from the 1960s on, the Berbers were active in the literary, linguistic, and artistic spheres, which helped to solidify the ethnic identity of the younger generation of Berberophones.

In their efforts to differentiate themselves as an ethnic group, the Berbers seized upon the most tangible difference between them and their Arab counterparts — language. In choosing

to foreground the Berber language, Tamazight, the Berber movement is not different from other indigenous movements that are based mainly upon 'distinction from rather than relations with the wider world' (Castree 2004: 137–138, cited in Cornwell and Atia 2012: 266). The Ukrainians, in affirming their non-Russian identity (Connor 1972: 338), the Welsh, in asserting their non-Englishness (Deuchar and Davies 2009) and the Catalan (Ferrer 2000), in stressing their non-Spanish identity, launched campaigns to have their languages recognised officially by the ruling authorities of their countries. The Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o exemplifies one individual's effort to have his mother tongue (Gĩkũyũ) reinstated. In the late 1970s, the Kenyan writer, most known for his English works, renounced writing in English, the language of the former coloniser, to begin writing in his mother tongue. He did this despite the risk of losing his wide Anglophone readership. In a 2013 interview with BBC, wa Thiong'o stressed the role that languages play in the hierarchies of power. For him, writing in English contributed to the expansion of its power and increased dependence on it. Therefore, he explains, the only way to shed colonial residues is through writing in the native language (BBC 2013). Language is thus central to the identity of minorities, and asserting it is one crucial step towards national recognition. Kymlicka and Patten (2003: 5) rightly claims that '[f]or the minority language group, recognition of its language is often seen as a symbol of recognition of its nationhood'.

The threat facing the Berber language could be traced back to the Islamic conquests in the 7th and 8th centuries with the movement of many Arab tribes to North Africa. The Arab settlers who intermingled and intermarried with the indigenous population spread the language. Although Islamisation and Arabisation are not synonymous; nor are they concurrent processes, the Quranic schools, which were devoted to teaching the Quran and the principles of the new religion, contributed greatly to the spread of Arabic. Over time, many Berbers adopted Arabic as their first language. As some fled the Islamic conquests to take refuge in the mountainous areas, Arabic became the main spoken language in the coastal regions, while the Berber language was confined to the mountains and rural regions. The geographical isolation of those who lived in those areas helped maintain the Berber language (Ennaji 2005). Some estimate the percentage of Berberophones in the precolonial period, before the advent of the colonial French, at 70–80 percent of the population (Hart 1999).

Beginning with the French colonisation, there was a decrease in the number of Berberophones. The main reason behind this decline was the imposition of the French language, particularly in the Berber regions. In the post-independence years, this decline could be attributed to many factors. The most significant of these was the Arabisation policy instigated by the newly-independent North African states. Another reason behind the drop in the number of Berberophones was the one-way pattern of immigration from the Berber rural regions to the urban regions populated mostly by Arabophones (Ennaji 2005: 67–77).

In addition, Tamazight suffers from some inherent problems that should be addressed if it is to be reinstated. One of these problems is the absence of a single, unified Berber language and the proliferation of language variants. Gordon (2005, in Lauermaun 2009: 52) puts the number of these Berber variants at 26, with four extinct and nine with fewer than 10,000 speakers. To aggravate the situation further, many of these dialects are mutually unintelligible. Therefore, to enhance communication among the different Berber groups, one standard language could be created to reach out to the transnational Amazigh community (Pouessel 2012: 387). Another problem facing Tamazight is that it is not a written language 'nor the medium of a revealed religion' (Maddy-Weitzman 2001: 28). As a first step towards preserving and promoting the language, it needs to be used in writing and assigned a distinct script.

2.6.1 Towards a Standard Written Tamazight: The Issue of Script

Berber has been an oral language since time immemorial, its heritage handed down orally from one generation to the next. However, writing in Tamazight is not a new phenomenon, and written Berber reflects the different colonial stages the Berbers have gone through. Early texts written in Tamazight date back to the Islamic rule in North Africa in the seventh century. However, these texts do not demonstrate any signs of Berber particularity, such as Berber poetry, laws and customs and historical narratives. In fact, the primary culturo-ethnic signs in these texts demonstrate the impact of the Arabo-Islamic civilisation upon the Berbers, as they are predominantly religious texts written in the Arabic script and with Arabic titles, mainly concerned with propagating Islam and teaching the principles of this new religion (Pouessel 2012: 381; Aitel 2014: 59). Aitel (2014: 59) asserts that there were many Berber writers in the

precolonial era: '[i]t is not that Berbers did not write, but they wrote in languages other than their own'.

In the 19th century, with the advent of French colonisation, the Latin script was introduced in written Tamazight. This tradition of writing in Latin was started by the colonial French, specifically French administrators, anthropologists and missionaries, and later picked up and imitated by the Algerian Kabyles (Pouessel 2012: 376; Ennaji 2005: 89–90). In the 1960s, partly to claim a distinct Berber identity and culture and partly to free Tamazight from any colonial residues, the Berber Academy in Paris decided to revive the ancient Tifinagh script for writing Tamazight (Pouessel 2012: 380).

In Morocco, the year 2003 witnessed heated debates regarding the choice of the official script for Tamazight. Three scripts were suggested: the Arabic script, the Latin script and the ancient Tifinagh. To prevent clashes between the proponents of the Arabic script, such as the Islamists, and the advocates of the Latin script (i.e. the Berberists), King Mohammad VI issued a royal decree stipulating the use of Tifinagh. This decision was accepted by many Berberophones and Arabophones. Nevertheless, the issue of the script is far from resolved. The choice of Tifinagh remains controversial, and has both opponents and proponents. Opponents of Tifinagh argue that the purpose of choosing the script is 'to slow down the development of the Amazigh language' (Tamazgha Organization 2003). Some have been sceptical of the state's intentions (Cornwell and Atia 2012: 262), arguing that the choice is part of a 'state strategy to fence off the Berber language and confine it to an 'unreadable alphabet' for the rest of the world — or at least the Berber-speaking world' (Pouessel 2012: 381). Others, by contrast, have been less sceptical but still oppose Tifinagh on the grounds that learning the script demands much time and effort (Pouessel 2012: 380), as the Moroccans now have three scripts to learn. According to Ennaji, Tifinagh is 'pedagogically impractical because it has the huge drawback of being an obscure system and a third script for Moroccans to learn' (Ennaji 2005: 92). Opponents also argue that it is useless to codify Berber in a script that people do not know and may find difficult to grasp, and in which literature and written materials are lacking. Moreover, Tifinagh is an ancient script that has to be standardised, as there are about eight versions in existence (Tamazgha Organization

2003). By contrast, some Berbers feel emotionally empowered by simply using the ancient script (Salhi 2010: 88, cited in Aitel 2013: 67), and using Tifinagh instead of Arabic or Latin scripts is seen as one way to reverse the linguistic hierarchy in North Africa. Ennaji (2005: 92) thus argues that despite its drawbacks, 'Tifinagh is a good choice because it strengthens Berber identity, consolidates the language autonomy, and shows that Berber culture is one of the oldest in the region, as it goes back over two thousand years'.

Some advocate the use of Latin script because it ensures the circulation of the Berber cultural message to a wide readership in both North Africa and the outside world. On the other hand, those who prefer the Arabic script, mostly Islamists, argue that, as most of the Berbers are Muslims who are familiar with Arabic, they will face no difficulty in adopting the Arabic script in writing Tamazight (Ennaji 2005: 89–90).

2.6.2 Writing as a Tool of Identity Assertion

Writing about the Berber struggle to assert their identity, Pouessel rightly argues that '[w]riting in one's own language is a means of resistance and a way to take part in the identity struggle' (Pouessel 2012: 378). In their attempts to promote their language, Berber activists began to write in their own language, Tamazight. While early Berber writers were either French-educated Francophones who used to write in French or Arabophones who preferred Arabic for writing, the 1960s saw the beginnings of large-scale Berber cultural production, and some Amazigh activists in Morocco began writing Moroccan literature in Tamazight (Pouessel 2012:373). This literary production could be classified as one kind of 'small literature' that uses 'small languages' that are (or were) non-national, non-official and non-recognized' (ibid: 373). However, while the 1960s witnessed the flourishing of Berber resistance literature written in Tamazight (Afakir 2009), the tradition could be traced earlier to the advent of the European colonials in North Africa. Afakir suggests that early literary production, which was oral, could be classified as resistance literature, composed in the first place to arouse feelings of nationalism and patriotism among Berber fighters challenging the European colonisers. In addition, this resistance poetry played a major role in recording the historical events that took place during that crucial period. Berber poetry in Tamazight appeared in many Berber regions, such as the Rif region, where the national Berber leader,

Abdulkarim Elkhatabi, fought the Spanish colonisers, and in the Middle Atlas region as well (Afakir 2009).

With the emergence in the 1970s of awareness among the Berbers of the significance of preserving the Berber oral heritage, and the importance of language as a cultural marker, Berber literature moved from the oral to the written domain. Writing in Tamazight at that time was intended to revive the language. The Berber literary movement has gone through two phases, where the first phase involved preserving the oral Berber tradition by writing it down. Because Berber had been an oral language for a long time, poetry was the most important literary genre (Afakir 2009). This is not to deny the fact that there had been some prose, such as folk tales, myths and proverbs. Ironically, the first attempts to document this heritage by writing it down were made by the French colonisers. The year 1968 saw the first sustained attempt to write down this oral heritage by a Berber poet, Ahmad Amzal, who collected 72 well-known Berber poems in one volume, *Amnar* (Ayt Boud 2011). The 1970s saw the second phase of Berber literary production (i.e. creative works written in Tamazight), with the publishing of the poetry volume *Iskraf*, by Mohammad Mestawi in 1976 (Afakir 2009). Although poetry has the biggest share in the Berber literary production, with 129 poetry volumes produced between 1968-2010, Berber writers, according to *The Bibliography of Creative Berber Writings* (cited in Souss 2012) experimented between 1968 and 2010 with new literary genres such as short stories (65 volumes), novels (13 novels) and drama (8 plays). The novel is one of the most recent literary genres, appearing just before the second millennium (Akounad 2013). Nowadays, many organisations have been created to support Berber book production. One such organisation is Tirra, the Alliance of the Amazigh Book whose pronounced aims include encouraging writing in Tamazight. Since 2010, Tirra, has produced 49 books covering all kinds of genres, including children's books (Tirra website 2014).

Writing in Tamazight using the Arabic script was revived in the post-colonial era by some Arabic-educated Berber writers in the 1970s (Pouessel 2012: 381). However, until now, Tamazight has been mostly written in the Latin script. This could be attributed to literary writers' interest in reaching out to more readers in and outside North Africa (Pouessel 2012:

380). From time to time, some books written in Tifinagh are released in the book market. Most of these books are published by the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture in Morocco (ibid: 379).

Because of the difficulties still hampering the use of Tifinagh, writing in Tamazight could be a politically-charged action, as choosing any of the two more common scripts (Arabic or Latin) aligns the user with one or another party. To write in Arabic script suggests that one is an assimilationist aligned with Arabo-Islamic culture at the expense of Berber culture. On the other hand, using the Latin script could imply that the writer is westernised and sympathises with the previous coloniser (Pouessel 2012: 380). In short, the choice of script indicates the political tendencies of the user. As Ennaji (2005: 93) puts it, '[t]he competition between these scripts is tied to ideological and political orientations. While the Arabic script subjugates Berber to the Arabic language and culture, the Latin script ties it to a colonial past'.

Contemporary Berbers have learned from the mistakes of the past generations as they realised that one way of safeguarding their culture and identity is through preserving the language and writing it down. Today, writing in Tamazight is a political act aimed at propagating Berber culture and language. However, the picture is far from utopian, and the Berbers have a long way to go to achieve their goals. The Amazigh book in general does not have a wide readership. In Algeria, for example, there are many bookstores specialised in Amazigh books. Nevertheless, they complain of the low numbers of readership, which some attribute to disagreement about choosing the right script for Tamazight (djazair50 2014).

2.7 Translation and the Reconfiguration of Power Relations

One of the main objectives of the early Arab conquerors of North Africa was the Islamisation of the Berbers. Writing in the context of the Spanish conquests of the Philippines in the 16th and 17th centuries, Rafael (1998) observed that conquest and conversion go hand in hand; in between, translation comes as a middle term that facilitates the process of transformation. Translation is exploited by colonisers to achieve their own ends. First, the language/works of the colonisers are translated into the language of the colonised, and then the colonised themselves are translated into copies of the colonisers. Since they are mere translations, they are forever relegated to an inferior position. Thus, translation has a twofold impact on the

indigenous people: it changes the language of the colonised, and it transforms the colonised themselves.

2.7.1 Early Translations

In the Arab-Berber context, Muslim Arabs sought to convert the colonised Berbers through translations. The converted Berbers themselves played a vital role in converting their Berber fellows, as they themselves were instrumental in translating the principles of the new religion into Berber. Many Berber scholars who were educated in Arabic were instrumental in translating Arabic religious books into Berber; they include the scholar Mohammad Alhozali in the 11th and 12th centuries. The translation process followed a downward path from the language of the coloniser to the language of the colonised. However, while some Berbers employed translation to facilitate the process of transformation that was started by the coloniser, other Berbers employed that very medium for totally different purposes.

Berbers realised early on the importance of language in asserting identity. History records two early attempts to reverse the linguistic hierarchies in North Africa, which, in the aftermath of the Arab conquests, was transformed, and Arabic language, as the language of the coloniser, moved to the top of the hierarchy. The first attempt at appropriating the Holy Quran for political reasons was made by Salih ibn Tarif, the founder of the Barghwata State (744-1058 AD). Ibn Tarif, who proclaimed himself a prophet of God, promoted a pseudo-Islam using as a rallying point a Berber Quran that he proclaimed to have translated from the Arabic Qur'an. It seems that Ibn-Tarif came to realise that the Arabic language derived its importance, apart from being the language of the coloniser, from being the language of the Holy Quran and that the high esteem in which it is held is due to its link to the sacred book of Islam. Consequently, he attempted to appropriate its prestige by producing translations of the Holy Quran into Berber (Ennaji 2005: 90). In this sense, he used translation as a decolonising tool. He appropriated the Holy Quran, reframed it through translation, and re-presented it to his fellow Berbers. Through this so-called translation of the Holy Quran, which contained Ibn Tarif's laws and not the laws of Islam, Ibn Tarif managed to rally the Berbers of his region around him and rule them using his (mis)translation. Hence, Ibn Tarif did not seek to eradicate any traces of Islamic culture but to transform it and reframe it according to his

own views. This early Berber activist understood the role that sacred texts play in promoting languages and, consequently, in asserting national identities. By appropriating the Quran and writing a new Berber Quran, Ibn-Tarif was trying to usurp from the Arabs the one privilege they had over other ethnic groups: the Arabic Quran. In the end, Salih ibn Tarif was defeated at the hands of the Almoravids, a Berber dynasty, and the so-called Berber Quran was burned. Some remnants of this work can be found in European museums. Another attempt at appropriating the Quran is said to have taken place in 925, when Hamim al-Ghomari al-Motanabbi claimed that a Berber Quran was revealed to him by God (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 27). Unfortunately, there is not enough information available about this attempt to explore it meaningfully.

2.7.2 Translation as a tool for the accrual of cultural capital

In recent time, translation continues to be undertaken to promote the Berber language and culture. However, it has acquired more significance as it has become an important means for acquiring cultural capital. Reflecting their multidisciplinary nature, translation studies have been informed by social theory (Inghilleri: 2009). Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) is one of the important scholars who have influenced the sociological approach in translation studies. According to Moira Inghilleri (2005:125), ‘increased attention to Bourdieu is indicative of a paradigmatic shift within the discipline toward more sociologically and anthropologically informed approaches to the study of translation processes and products.’

Capital is a key concept that has informed translation studies. Bourdieu (1986) expanded the concept of capital beyond the ‘mercantile exchange’ proposed by economic theory (Bourdieu1986: 242). For Bourdieu, capital provides individuals with the means to act in different social contexts and determines one’s position in social life (Bourdieu1986: 241). Bourdieu divides capital into two types: economic and symbolic capital. He further divides symbolic capital into subcategories: linguistic, literary, social, cultural etc. These different forms of capital can be acquired, exchanged or converted into other forms.

Cultural capital can be ‘embodied’, i.e. manifested in the way an individual speaks or acts, ‘objectified’, i.e. manifested in cultural goods or ‘institutionalised’ (Bourdieu1986: 243), i.e. conferred with ‘a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture’

(ibid: 248). Fortunately, cultural capital can be acquired and accumulated, just like other forms of capital. In addition, cultural capital is sometimes more valuable than economic capital. In the case of translation, Anu Heino (2017: 61) maintains that many translators 'consider the accumulation of cultural and social capital a reward in itself and see monetary gain only secondary'.

The three Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an are a case in point. These translators desired acquisition of cultural capital through their translation of the Holy Qur'an more than obtaining monetary rewards. Because of the exclusiveness of the field of translating the Holy Qur'an and the high qualifications required of its translators, its translation—in and of itself—endowed the translator with cultural capital in the form of prestige and fame. In the context of the Berber Identity Movement, these translations acquired more significance because of the hardships involved in the process of translation, the repressive political climate in both Morocco and Algeria at the time of the translation and the influential role these translations played in advancing Berber rights. Hence, the three translators considered their translation projects as a mission or a vocation and thought of themselves as cultural revivors, linguistic gatekeepers and saviours. Their cultural capital was further increased by awards (Sections 5.2.2, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3) granted to the translators from official institutions, which constituted a kind of 'institutionalised' cultural capital. The Algerian translator Tayeb (Section 4.3.3) acquired a cultural capital that was 'derive[d] from association with a rare, prestigious group' (ibid: 249), i.e. the King Fahad Complex.

2.7.3 Translation as a means for the accumulation of literary capital

In addition to cultural capital, Pascale Casanova (2002) appropriated the concept of capital as elaborated by Bourdieu (1986) to demonstrate how dominant languages can elevate their status by acquiring literary capital through the translation of universal texts. In his seminal article "Consecration and Accumulation of Literary Capital: Translation as unequal exchange", Pascale Casanova (2002: 2) suggests the notion of a 'literary capital' of a language, i.e. the prestige attributed to a language due to the literary value attached to it. This prestige depends on many factors such as the language's age, the prestige of its poetry, the sophistication of

literary genres created in the language, and the literary influences associated, for example, with translations and their number etc.

Dominating languages are always characterised by the amount of their literary capital. Dominated languages, on the other hand, has little literary capital, little international recognition, and thus a small number of translators. In order to get an international attention, a language should *accumulate a capital*; i.e. try to import a capital by nationalising great universal texts (ibid: 5)¹⁹. In other words, by translating great universal texts into the national language, translators manage to elevate their languages and increase their prestige. The Berber language is a case in point. An oral language for a long time which has only recently been assigned a written script, Berber has little literary capital and, thus, little prestige and little international attention. In an effort to accumulate a capital, Berber language attempts to appropriate great universal texts through translation.

Today, the direction of translation is not only downward from the language of the coloniser (i.e. the dominating majority) into the language of the colonised (i.e. the dominated minority), but also from the language of the colonised into the language of the coloniser. In addition to translations undertaken into Tamazight, predominantly from the Arabic and French languages, several translations have gone in the other direction. These bottom-up translations can be explained as 'one of the principal means of consecration of authors and texts' (Casanova 2002: 2). In their efforts to have their language and culture recognised by the dominating majority, translations from Tamazight (i.e. the minority language) into Arabic (i.e., the majority language) can play an important role in promoting the Berber cause.

Legal texts were translated into Berber using the Latin scripts 'in order to incorporate the Berber issue into international questions relating to people's rights, human rights, minority rights, indigenous people's rights, and so on' (Pouessel 2012: 377). For example, the Berber association Tamaynut published translations of legal texts into Tamazight, including the first Amazigh translation of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1991; these used the Latin script rather than Arabic or Tifinagh.

¹⁹ Casanova (2002:5) uses the phrase 'universal texts' to refer to texts that are 'recognized as universal capital in the literary universe'. In this thesis, the meaning of this phrase is extended to describe sacred texts.

In an unprecedented step, the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture in Morocco produced a translation of the country's constitution into Tamazight in 2013, a significant undertaking that began in 2011. The process, which was the outcome of the collaboration of a number of linguistic researchers, aimed at enriching the terminology of the language and preparing it to be used as an official language alongside Arabic.

In both Morocco and Algeria, a keen interest is shown in translating international canonical literary works into Tamazight. One example is the well-known French novel, *The Little Prince*, which has been recently translated into Tamazight twice, by two Moroccan writers, Elhabib Fouad (Ircam Website 2009) and Elarabi Momaush (Al-alam 2008). In light of the limited vocabulary of Tamazight, the challenges involved in translating a book of this type are considerable. Elhabib Fouad had to borrow from Arabic, French and other languages to supplement the vocabulary of Tamazight. Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* is another international classic that has been translated recently into Tamazight by the Moroccan literary association Tirra (Tirra website 2014). In Algeria, the High Commission of Amazigh Culture commissioned the translation into Tamazight of seven books by famous Algerian writers, among them one Algerian author who write in Arabic, Ahlam Mestaghanmi (*Arabs today* 2014).

Of all the translations undertaken into Tamazight, the translation of the Holy Quran into the Berber language remains the most influential and a prime example of Berber efforts to accumulate a capital. Beginning in 1999, three translations of the Holy Quran appeared, generating heated debates in North Africa: *The Translation of the Meanings of the Holy Quran* by Moroccan translator Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani (1999/2003), *The Translation of the Holy Quran* by the Algerian scholar Si Hajj Mohnned Tayeb (2007/2013), and *The Translation of the Quran* by Algerian translator Remdan at Mensur (2006). These translations revived memories of the old mistranslations of the Holy Quran, leading to the new translators being branded as the new Barghwatas. According to Maddy-Weitzman (2001:30), '[t]ensions between Islamists and Berberists took a new turn in 1999, as plans went forward to publish a translation of the Quran into Tamazight, [and] Berber intellectuals were said to believe that it would shake up Islam the way translations into vernacular languages helped to undermine the hegemony of

the Catholic church in Medieval Europe'. The impact of these translations of the Holy Quran on the Berber identity movement is the focus of the current study and will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

2.8 Conclusion

Over the years, the Berber identity movement in Morocco and Algeria has succeeded in foregrounding the Berber issue and drawing attention to the Berber culture and language. It has managed to secure many achievements, the most important of which are the recognition of Tamazight as an official language in Morocco and Algeria in 2011 and 2016, respectively, and the acknowledgment of the Berbers as an integral part of the North African society (Chapter 5). Cultural activities including writing and translation have played a major role in achieving these goals.

However, the situation in North Africa is far from Utopian. The Berber populations in Morocco and Algeria are still so divided over a number of crucial issues including their relations with the surrounding Arab world, the transnational Berber community and the larger international world. There is still no unanimous agreement over other important issues; such as, a unified script and standard Tamazight. In addition, because of the French colonisers' crucial role in creating Berber consciousness among these indigenous people, the stigma of collaboration and lack of patriotism is still attached to Berbers today, and any signs of Berber particularity can be interpreted as harbouring separatist intentions. For example, in recent times, France has been accused of playing a major role in the Berber unrest in Algeria. Therefore, 'the [Amazigh Cultural] movement is looked down upon as not only antipatriotic and anti-Algerian, but also an instrument of French neocolonialism' (Layachi 2005: 208). One solution to eradicate this stigma is to construct positive Berber narratives that challenge past negative depictions of these communities. Practical and strategic approaches should be taken to face the other problems facing Berber communities including language and script; major projects that the Berber translators have already started as we will explore in chapter 4 and chapter 5.

Chapter Three: Paratexts as Framing Devices

3.1 Introduction

As social actors, translators can signal their narrative position and reinforce, question or undermine narratives encoded in the texts they translate by resorting to a wide range of framing strategies. Understood as ‘deliberate, discursive moves’, these framing processes are intended to guide the prospective reader’s interpretation of the text (Baker 2007: 156). Framing theory lends itself well to investigating translation as a social act, a view that this thesis subscribes to, in so far as it allows us to understand the choices made by translators, not merely as local linguistic decisions, but as embedded in larger narratives that take part in constituting the world around us.

Paratexts constitute a significant site of framing and Genette’s seminal work in this field will therefore provide the main theoretical framework for the current study. Among other reasons for the choice of paratext theory for the analysis of data in this thesis, there is the fact that it is especially designed to investigate books. More specifically, since the present study is not concerned with comparative textual analysis of a source and target text, but rather with processes of framing involving textual, visual and audiovisual elements surrounding the main text, paratextual theory as proposed by Genette (1997) and elaborated by others (e.g. Watts 2000, Kovala 1996 and Al-Herthani 2009) will inform the analysis in chapters four and five. This chapter will lay the groundwork for the subsequent analysis of data by exploring different definitions of frames and framing, as elaborated by researchers in different disciplines, their various functions and the significant role they play in translation (Section 3.2). It will then move on to investigate the theory of paratext and discuss the different types of paratexts outlined by Genette and others, and the role they play in reframing narratives (Section 3.3).

3.2 Frames and Framing

The notions of frames and framing have come to inform multiple disciplines such as sociology, psychology, linguistics, discourse analysis, mass communication and social movement theory.

Recently, the field of translation studies has drawn on the notion of framing to illustrate how narratives are repackaged in translation (Baker 2006).

Most of the research on the related notions of frames, frameworks and framing was inspired by the seminal work of the sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) on frame analysis. For Goffman, frames are 'schemata of interpretation' that facilitate understanding as they lend meaning to otherwise meaningless aspects of reality (Goffman 1974: 21). The terms *schema* and *schemata* refer to 'mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information' (Entman 1993: 53) and enable them to 'locate, perceive, identify, and label' occurrences around them and in the world at large (Goffman 1974: 21). Notwithstanding Goffman's crucial contribution to developing the concept of framing, his treatment largely restricts it to a static process (Baker 2006: 106). More recently, by incorporating human agency and assuming conscious intervention in the process of framing, the notion of frames has taken on a new, dynamic dimension. Entman, for instance, posits two central aspects of framing that entail human intervention to frame narratives and influence the audience's perspective regarding a particular situation: selection and salience. According to Entman, framing involves 'select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation' (1993: 52). He further argues that social actors can foreground a particular piece of Information – that is, make it salient – through choice of placement, by repetition, or by associating it with culturally familiar symbols (ibid: 53).

In social movement theory, the interpretive function of frames is understood to 'inspire' and 'legitimate' actions in ways that are 'intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists' (Snow and Benford 1988: 198, cited in Snow and Benford 2000: 614). Snow and Benford (1992: 137) view frames as 'an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the world out there by selectively punctuating and condensing' occurrences taking place in that world. Frames have therefore acquired a constructionist function. More important is the fact that social movement actors are not perceived as merely transmitters of existing meanings and ideas, but rather as

‘signifying agents’ who are dynamically involved in producing and maintaining meaning for citizens, opponents, and onlookers or observers (Snow and Benford 2000: 613).

The power of frames is evident in their ability to influence public opinion. A series of experiments undertaken by Nelson and Kinder (1996) concerning public opinion regarding social assistance, affirmative action, and AIDS policies found that people’s attitudes varied depending on the ways in which these policies were framed. For example, *blame the victims* frames, which focused on the moral shortcomings of the policies’ beneficiaries (for instance, homosexuals, in the case of AIDS policies) and implied that they were accountable for their dire conditions, determined to a great extent public attitudes toward these policies. In other words, people’s attitudes toward certain groups determined their attitudes toward related policies. Unfavorable attitudes towards homosexuals influenced negatively opinions regarding Aids spending policies. This opposition was intensified by *the blame the victim* frame. Nelson et al argue that framing differs from other conceptual processes, such as belief change, in that it does not present new information, but rather activates information already in the individual’s thinking system (1997: 225). They further assert that it is ‘how the individual weights that information’ that plays a decisive role in the shaping of public attitudes (ibid: 225).

Snow and Benford (2000: 615 – 617) identify three framing functions: diagnostic (identifying the problem as well as the causes of that problem), prognostic (proposing solutions to the problem), and motivational (providing a ‘call to arms’ or rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action or incentives for participation, be they material, status, solidarity, or moral inducements. Entman adds making moral judgements as a further function of framing (1993: 52). All four functions clearly entail the development of the ‘agency’ component (Gamson 1995, in Snow and Benford 2000: 617), hence developing the notion of framing beyond the largely static view implied in Goffman’s work.

Entman (1993: 52) offers the example of the ‘Cold War’ frame. This frame foregrounded certain world events such as Communist-fomented civil wars as the problem, and identified the source of that problem, i.e. Communists; offered moral judgements, i.e. aggression by atheistic powers; and suggested a course of action – U.S. support for anti-Communist forces.

Similarly, the conflict in the former Yugoslavia provides evidence of the crucial role that frames play in suggesting courses of action. That conflict was either framed as a 'genocidal war' (diagnosis) launched by a powerful, vicious invader (moral judgement) against a helpless neighbour, in which case, the solution entailed immediate and decisive international intervention (prognosis); or it was alternatively framed as a 'centuries-old ethnic and religious dispute' (diagnosis), in which case 'restraint' was advised (prognosis) (Nelson et al 1997: 222).

In addition to serving clear functions, Snow and Benford (2000) rightly argue that to be effective, frames should have cultural resonance, that is, they need to be articulated in a way that is in line with dominant themes in the cultural stock. Equally important, these frames need to be articulated by people who are both persuasive and credible (Snow and Benford 2000: 619-621). Drawing on Snow and Benford (2000: 616), Asimakoulas (2009) has shown how the different functions of frames (diagnostic, prognostic and motivational) as well as the particular feature of resonance were employed by Greek resistance movements to mobilise the public against the junta that controlled the Greek government from 1967 to 1974. In particular, Asimakoulas has drawn attention to the crucial role that (re)contextualised translations played in that context. The translation of Brecht's works in particular offers a prime example of the role that (re)contextualised translated works can play in reframing events, in terms of both Brecht's own context and that of Greece in the mid-sixties. In his political works, in which he attacked the Nazi regime, Brecht engaged the three framing tasks identified by Snow and Benford (2000: 615 – 617): identifying the Nazis as the source of the problem; suggesting means of resistance; and motivating people to move by asserting that there would be no relaxing of the Nazi grip in the future unless people resisted them actively. By translating the works of Brecht into Greek, translators and/or publishers seeking a change of government in Greece aimed to influence the Greek public by drawing parallels between the Nazis and the so-called Regime of the Colonels in Greece. In particular, the publication in 1971 of *Politika Keimena* [Political texts] by Stochastes Publications amounted to a political statement. The collection consists for the most part of essays that Brecht wrote during his period in exile (1933-1941); in it, he again attacked Nazism and called for resistance. These carefully selected and presented essays contained themes that struck a chord with the Greek

public, and they were instrumental in the Greek student movement that brought an end to the junta's rule.

In line with social movement theory, Baker (2007: 156) defines frames for the purposes of translation research as 'deliberate, discursive moves designed to anticipate and guide others' interpretation of and attitudes towards a set of events'. More importantly, she draws attention to the role that translational choices play in reframing narratives in translation. These narratives are 'the stories we tell ourselves and others about the world(s) in which we live, and it is our belief in these stories that guides our actions in the real world' (ibid: 156). Significantly, narratives, as elaborated in social and communication studies, constitute rather than merely represent reality (Bruner 1991: 5-6). Thus, narratives and narrativity construct social identities (Somers and Gibson 1994: 606), which suggests that translation, as a form of (re)narration, does not simply transfer narratives across cultures but rather contributes to construing those cultures and the realities in which they are embedded. Translators, as social actors, can signal their narrative position by reinforcing, questioning or challenging narratives encoded in the text. According to Baker (2007: 156):

The notion of framing is closely connected to the question of how narrative theory allows us to consider the immediate narrative elaborated in the text being translated or interpreted and the larger narratives in which the text is embedded, and how this in turn allows us to see translational choices not merely as local linguistic challenges but as contributing directly to the narratives that shape our social world.

An understanding of framing theory that acknowledges the agency of narrators allows us to make sense of the techniques translators employ in their role as renarrators. These techniques can draw on an open-ended list of linguistic and non-linguistic devices, be they paralinguistic, textual, visual or audiovisual. Moreover, as Baker (2006) explains in detail, these framing techniques can be deployed in many ways: first, in broad terms, by exploiting and manipulating the different features of narratives through temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation, labelling, and repositioning of participants; and second by the strategic use of paratexts. The resulting individual translational choices, which may be dismissed by some as unimportant when considered locally, can cumulatively play a significant role in (re)framing narratives in translation. Hence, for example, the choice

between two contested designations in translation may lead to politically charged narratives. In referring to the gulf that lies between Iran to the Northeast and the Arabian Peninsula to the Southwest, one may choose between two competing labels, each with its own crucial implications in the real world: the Arabian Gulf or, alternatively, the Persian Gulf. Translating or interpreting into Arabic using the first choice, which enjoys currency in the Arab world, asserts Arabs' right to that gulf. On the other hand, the second choice activates hostile narratives among Arabs of Iran's attempts to destabilise the Arabian Peninsula and control it. Each of these choices will have implications for legitimising one of the narratives, and positioning the narrator. Translators can either resort to a neutral term (e.g. simply the Gulf), or they can signal their narrative position by challenging or promoting the reference in the source text, or by using other framing devices at various sites in and around the text such as footnotes, prefaces, etc. It is the choices translators make within the space of the paratexts that will be of more interest in this study.

3.3 Paratexts

Paratexts are one of the most significant sites of framing. Most of the research on paratexts has been inspired by Gerard Genette's seminal book *Seuils* (1987), which was translated into English in 1997 under the title *Paratexts: The Threshold of Interpretation*. Genette drew attention to the influential role of paratexts in mediating texts for readers, describing the paratext as the 'threshold' that 'offers to anyone and everyone the possibility either of entering or of turning back' (Genette 1991: 261). He describes the functional aspect of the paratext as an 'auxiliary discourse', subsidiary to the text (ibid: 269) and suggests that paratexts have two macro-functions: to present the work, and to 'make it present' (ibid 1991: 261), or 'salient', to quote Entman's term (1993: 52). The paratext, he argues, is most helpful when dealing with historically and culturally remote texts. In such cases, the paratext brings the text across to the reader and diminishes the distance between the reader and the text.

Although Genette does not elaborate on its role in translation, the notion of the paratext as an 'instrument of adaptation' lends itself very well to an understanding of translation as a form of cultural crossover (Genette 1997: 408). His view of the text as 'immutable' further evokes notions of fidelity in translation; complemented by the idea that the paratext offers

translators a set of tools, be they textual, visual or audiovisual, which help them signal their own narrative position without intervening in the main text. Baker (2006) demonstrates how the notion of 'accurate' translation has been manipulated by some news agencies to reframe source texts for target audiences. The news agency MEMRI is a case in point. MEMRI, which claims to be very careful about rendering 'accurate' translations, reframes narratives by manipulating paratextual elements such as footnotes, titles, photographs and hyperlinks. For example, in one of its translated articles, MEMRI attempted to frame the article writer, the Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, by inserting two photos of him; a recent one in his traditional Saudi costume and an old one showing him holding a rifle and wearing a military uniform taken in Afghanistan as stated in the caption: *Khashoggi in Afghanistan in 1989*. By so doing, the news agency was evoking Khashoggi's past to suggest that he, as a representative of Saudi intellectual elite, not only supports *terrorism* but also participates in it (Hijjo 2017: 30-31).

Genette maintains that the text does not reach the reader in its raw state, but rather accompanied by a number of paratextual elements that play a major role in predisposing the potential reader to reading the text or distancing her/him from the experience altogether. Paratextual devices are 'the means by which a text makes a book of itself and proposes itself as such to its readers, and more generally to the public' (Genette 1991: 261). Genette goes so far as to assert that there has never been a text without paratext (ibid: 263). In his exploration of paratexts, he defines paratextual elements spatially, according to their position in relation to the text, temporally (according to the date of their appearance or disappearance), substantially (according to their mode of existence), pragmatically (according to the addresser and the addressee), and functionally (in terms of their purposes). It is the first, spatial categorisation that will be adopted here.

In terms of their placement in relation to the text, Genette (1997: 5) suggests two types of paratextual devices, peritexts and epitexts. Peritexts are paratextual elements around the text, including titles, prefaces, and introductions, cover images and typography, which this research will examine thoroughly. Other equally important peritextual elements include footnotes, endnotes and epigraphs (Chapter 4). Epitexts, on the other hand, are

presentational elements outside the text, such as conversations, correspondence, interviews and reviews; the last two will be part of the ground covered in this research (Chapter 5).

3.3.1 Peritexts

Genette distinguishes between the publisher's peritext and the authorial peritext. The former includes elements that are the direct responsibility of the publisher, such as the cover, the title page and related appendages (Genette 1997: 16). The latter refers to peritextual elements that are the responsibility of the author, such as footnotes and introductions written by the author.

Chief among publisher's peritexts is **the book cover**. Despite the metaphorical phrase that admonishes people not to do so, people *do* judge books by their covers, quite literally. As one of the first elements a potential reader encounters, book covers play a significant role in either enticing a reader to read a book or turning him or her away altogether. A quick glance at any book cover will usually provide the prospective reader with the name of the author, the title of the book and the name of the publishing house, all elements that have an impact on the way the reader approaches a given work. A cover also gives the reader an idea of the subject matter of the text, its genre, and the type of audience toward which it is directed. One can distinguish at a glance between books directed at children, young adults, or adults. One can further distinguish among the types of audience at which different versions of the same work are directed. Book covers can also play a unifying role if they visually designate books by the same author or those belonging to the same series.

Printed covers are a recent phenomenon. They first appeared at the beginning of the 19th century, a far cry from the leather bindings of the period that allowed only a short version of the title and sometimes the name of the author on the spine of a book (Genette 1997: 23). Printed covers have since played an influential role in the marketing of books (Matthews 2007: xi). By the 1950s, rather than displaying book spines, which had been the norm, book sellers were using covers as a display object, thus providing an 'entry point' to the book (ibid: xi). Over time, book covers came to mediate texts for readers, and scholars now recognise that 'the materiality of the book's cover – its fonts, illustrations and layout – generates a great deal of meaning' (ibid: xi). Genette refers to these elements as 'the material construction' of

the cover and argues that these ‘typographical choices may provide indirect commentary to the texts they affect’ (1997: 24). He divides book covers into four categories: the front cover, covers 2 and 3 (the inside front and inside back covers) and the back cover. For Genette, the cover includes three obligatory items: the name of the author, the title of the work, and the publisher’s emblem (ibid: 24). Other optional elements include the title of the author, indication of genre, the name of the translator(s) if applicable, and specific illustrations.

Amongst the elements that constitute **the front cover**, the work’s **title** is one of the first that greet the reader as he or she approaches the text. Genette points out three main functions of titles: identifying the work, pointing out its subject matter, and attracting the potential reader (1997: 76). More importantly, titles work in concert with other presentational elements to reframe the text, whether a source text or a translated one. Al-Herthani (2009) points out that ‘in translation, titles are often adopted to make them more coherent within the prevailing narratives of the receiving audience’. Along the same lines, Baker (2006: 129) argues that titles play crucial roles in reframing narratives in translation. They are informed by the narratives prevailing in the target culture, and constitute narratives in and of themselves.

One may cite the titles conferred upon different translations of the Qur’an for illustration. The medieval English theologian Robert of Ketton finished his first Latin translation of the Qur’an in 1143, and entitled it *Lex Mahumet Pseudoprophete* [*Law of Muhammad the False Prophet*]. By choosing this title, Ketton framed the text negatively. The title discloses something about the translator’s attitude toward the narratives elaborated in the translation – that the Qur’an is not a book of revealed scripture, but rather a mere book of laws *invented* by Muhammad, and that Muslims’ proclaimed prophet is a false prophet. Thus, within the limited space of the title, the translator managed to challenge two of the most prevalent Islamic narratives. Denying the divine origin of the text clearly also allows the translator more liberty to undermine it through textual and paratextual manipulations throughout the book.

In contrast to Ketton’s dismissive title, M. M. Pickthall, a Muslim British translator of the Qur’an, produced his 1930 translation under the title *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur’an*. Here, the Arabic term *Qur’an*, which is the accepted name of the sacred book of Islam, is

reproduced in the title. By transliterating the Arabic word *Qur'an*, which means *reading*, into English, Pickthall emphasises the otherness of the text without undermining it (given the use of *glorious*) and invites the reader to accept the text on its own terms. The qualifier *glorious* confers high value onto the text, which Genette maintains is one of the functions of a title (1997: 76), and frames the text positively. The reader is attracted to the text by two elements: its foreignness and its high quality.

Another revealing example of the role of the title of a translated work in reframing narratives elaborated in a source text is evident in the case of Egyptian writer Anis Mansour's translation (1990) of Michael H. Hart's seminal work *The One Hundred: A Ranking of History's most Influential Persons* (1978). Mansour translated the book as *الخالدون المائة: أعظمهم محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم* [*The One Hundred Immortals: The Greatest of Whom is Mohammad (PBUH)*] (Figure 3.3.1). Apart from the modifications he made to the source text, which he acknowledged in his introduction to the translation, Mansour managed to reframe the text by recasting the title extensively and especially by adding two crucial items: *greatest* and *Muhammad (PBUH)*. Among other things, this recasting encouraged Muslims, who form the majority of Arab readers, to read the text. Mansour thus engaged one of the most important functions of titles – attracting readers. He used the fact that Hart put Muhammad at the top of his list to foreground this piece of information in the title. Informed by prevalent Islamic narratives, Mansour chose a title that is a narrative in its own right, one focusing on the ascendancy of the prophet Muhammad and his centrality in world history. The title hints at the acknowledgement of Muhammad's greatness by Western intellectuals, since he is placed among the world's 100 most influential figures. By choosing this title, Anis Mansour managed to draw the reader to the text in just a few words. It is worth noting that Michael H. Hart (1978: xxvii) emphasised in his introduction that his was a list of the most *influential* people, not the *greatest* or *immortal* people:

I must emphasize that this is a list of the most influential persons in history, not a list of the greatest. For example, there is room in my list for an enormously influential, wicked, and heartless man like Stalin, but no place at all for the saintly Mother Cabrini.

Although Hart ranked Muhammad at number one on his list, he (1978: xxix) again stressed that this does not mean that he is the greatest person on the list, but rather the most influential:

A striking example of this is my ranking of Muhammad higher than Jesus, in large part because of my belief that Muhammad had a much greater personal influence in the formulation of the Moslem religion than Jesus in the formulation of the Christian religion. This does not imply, of course, that I think that Muhammad was a *greater* man than Jesus.²⁰

²⁰ Unsurprisingly, Anis Mansour did not translate Michael Hart's preface, but alluded to it in his own introduction to his translation. Employing what Entman (1993) referred to as framing by using features of salience and omission, Mansour summarised the parts of Hart's preface that reinforced his own narrative of the primacy of Muhammad and omitted those that undermined what he suggested in his own title.

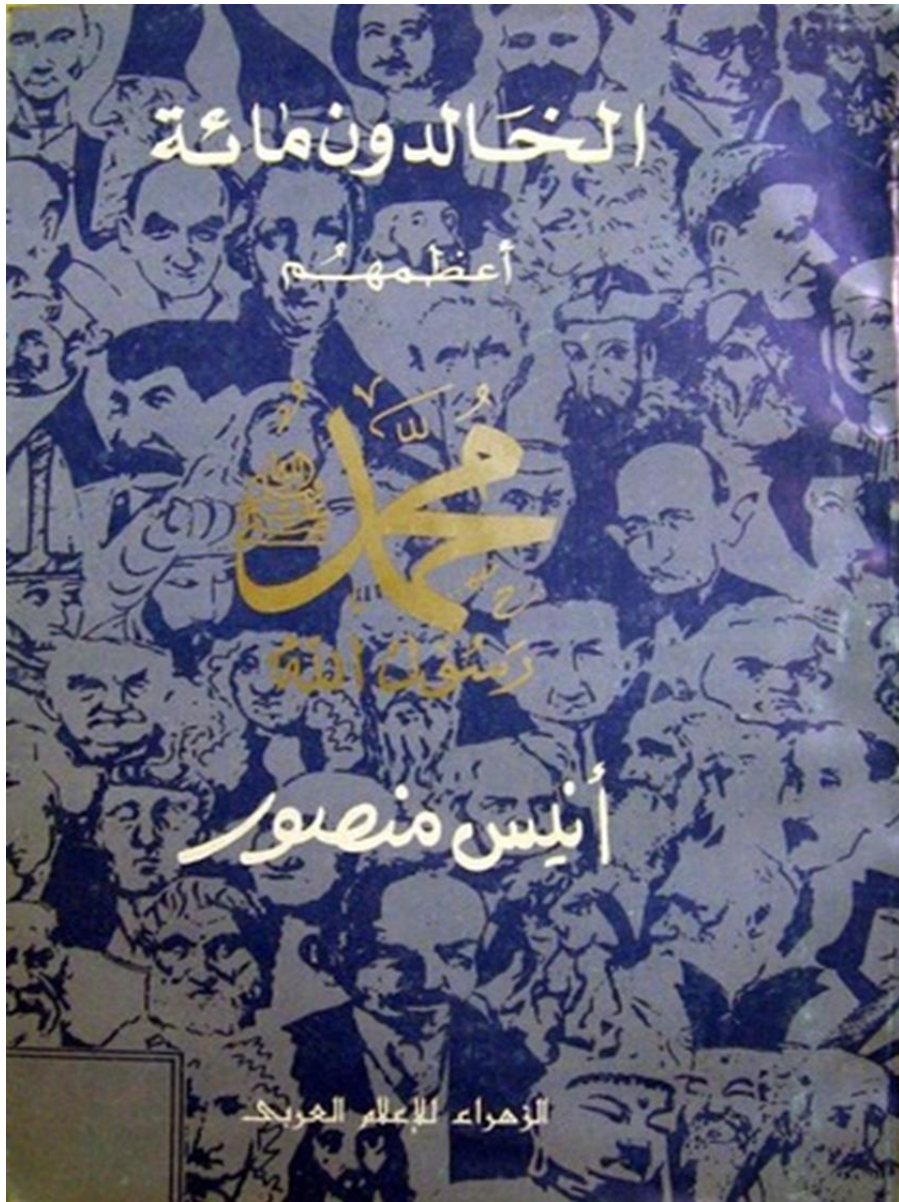


Figure 3.1: Front Cover of Anis Mansour's Book

Recently, Dubbati and Abudayeh (2017) have shown how the Palestinian translator Al-Bujairami managed, when translating Joe Sacco's book on Palestine, to reframe the Palestinian narrative as a long history of struggle by making changes to the title of the book. By changing the title from *Footnotes in Gaza* to غزة: تاريخ من النضال [Gaza: A Chronicle of National Struggle], he managed to produce 'an aura of patriotism and heroism that tempts Arab readers.' (2017:6).

The front cover features elements other than the title, including other textual material such as the author's name, as well as visual elements, such as images. Due to the fact that focus on visual paratexts is a recent phenomenon in contemporary publishing practices, Genette (1997) does not discuss the latter in any detail and instead comments briefly on **illustrations**, which is an element that pervades an entire work and is not restricted to the front cover. For Genette, these illustrations are the responsibility of the author, whether directly or indirectly, as the mere presence of them implies the author's consent (1997: 406). More importantly, the fact that some authors refuse illustrations in their works is an indication of their awareness of the influence of this paratextual element (ibid: 406). As is demonstrated in this research, it is important to engage with visual elements as they now: (1) constitute an extremely important dimension of published material on any platform – be it physical or virtual; and (2) play an important role, along with other non-verbal materials, as 'powerful shaper[s] of reactions and attitudes' (Pellatt 2013:1).

Inside the Kingdom (Figure 3.2) by Robert Lacey (2009) was translated into Arabic as *المملكة من الداخل* (Figure 3.3) in 2012 and published by Dubai-based Al-Mesbar Publishing House. What is most striking about the translation is the illustration on the cover, which differs from that on the original book. The front cover of the English original portrays the profile of an Arab man wearing a traditional headpiece, set against a sandy background that could be a desert. In contrast, the third edition of the Arabic translation features a woman and a man standing side-by-side and looking at a cloudy sky. The presence of a woman and a man together evokes discourses of equality and women's empowerment, which figured prominently during the reign of King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz (2005-2015). The sky conjures up the phrase *the sky is the limit*, suggesting that there is no limit to what Saudis can achieve. The cloudy sky also brings to mind Islamic narratives that hail the coming of rain, which is usually a sign of abundance and prosperity. By evoking narratives of equality, achievement and wealth, the illustration sought to influence readers' perspectives on the text and to elaborate a positive narrative of a changing Saudi Arabia. It is also worth noting that 'the struggle for Saudi Arabia' is dropped from the subtitle and what we have in Arabic instead is a subtitle that reads 'The contemporary history of Saudi Arabia: kings, the religious establishment, liberalists and

extremists', thus suppressing the implication in the original title of different groups struggling for the control of the Kingdom.

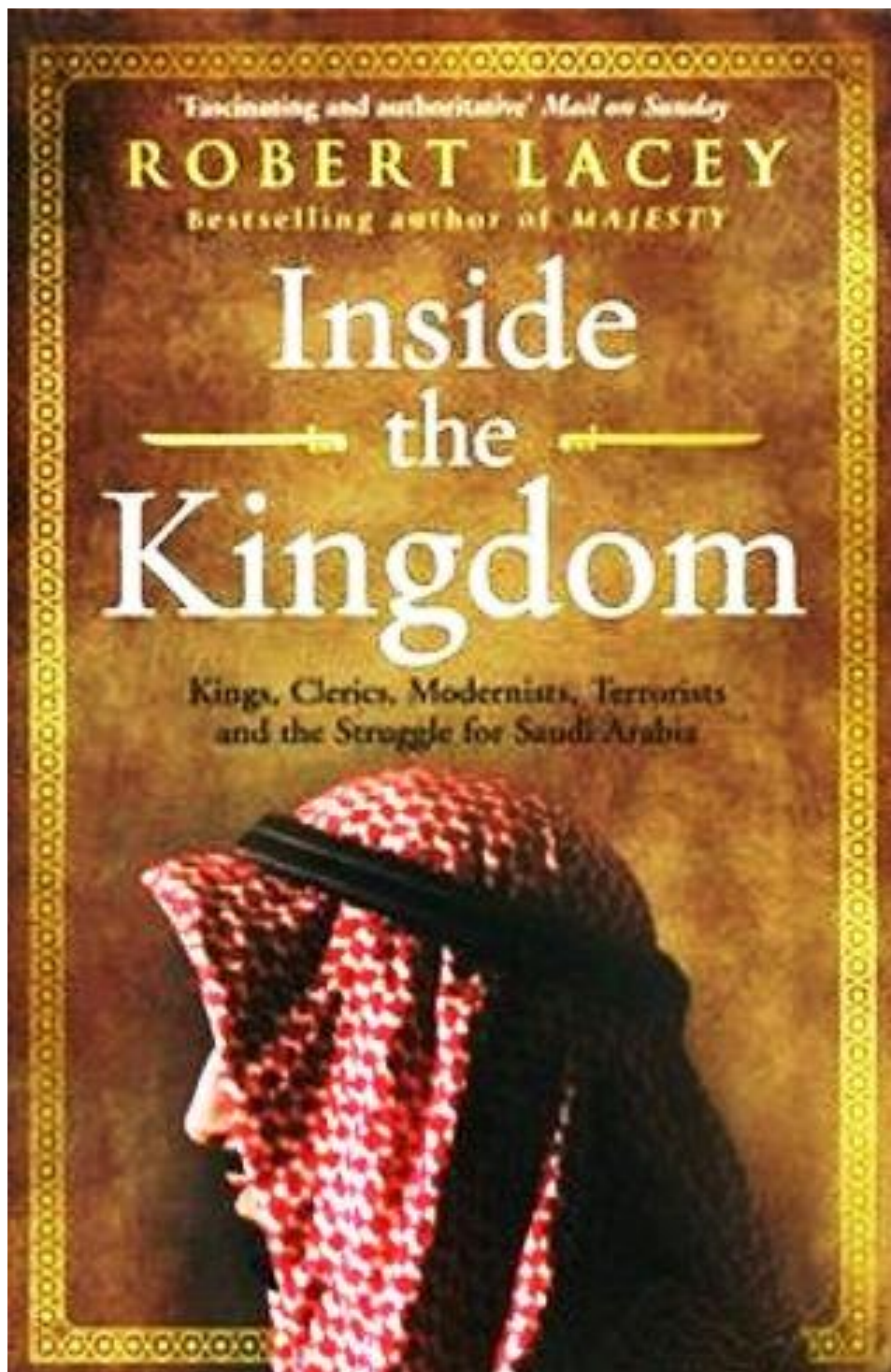


Figure 3.2: Front Cover of Robert Lacey's book *Inside the Kingdom*



Figure 3.3: Front Cover of the Arabic Translation of Lacey's book Inside the Kingdom

Another translation of Hart's book *The One Hundred: A Ranking of History's most Influential Persons* (1978), discussed above, was undertaken by Khalid Asad Eissa and Ahmad Sbano and published by Dar Qutaiba in 1984 (Figure 3.4). Unlike Anis Mansour's translation (1990), mentioned earlier, this translation bore the simple title المئة الأوائل [*The first one hundred*], which does not evoke a particular narrative. Instead, the nature of these pioneers is left to readers' imagination. Nevertheless, the mediators of the text still had the opportunity to reframe the translation through the illustration on the cover of the book. This consists of a painting containing a large square half-way down the cover that in turn contains a smaller square, in which the Arabic *Messenger of Allah* is written in old-fashioned calligraphy. The phrase *Messenger of Allah* flows beyond the frame, which may indicate the impossibility of portraying the character of the prophet Muhammad, even in written form. Under the large square are five smaller ones, each of which portrays a cultural symbol of the countries of some of the influential persons included in the list. The illustration thus reframes the text by evoking the Islamic narrative of the superiority of Muhammad, and hence appealing to the Muslim reader. Like Mansour's title, the illustration on the cover of this translation offers the reader an interpretation of the text that runs counter to what Hart, the author of the original, clearly stated in the preface to his book. As Lionett explains in her discussion of the potentially problematic role of paratexts, 'to judge [a] book by its cover may constitute a serious cultural and geographic misreading' of the text (1995: 56, cited in Watts 2000: 42).

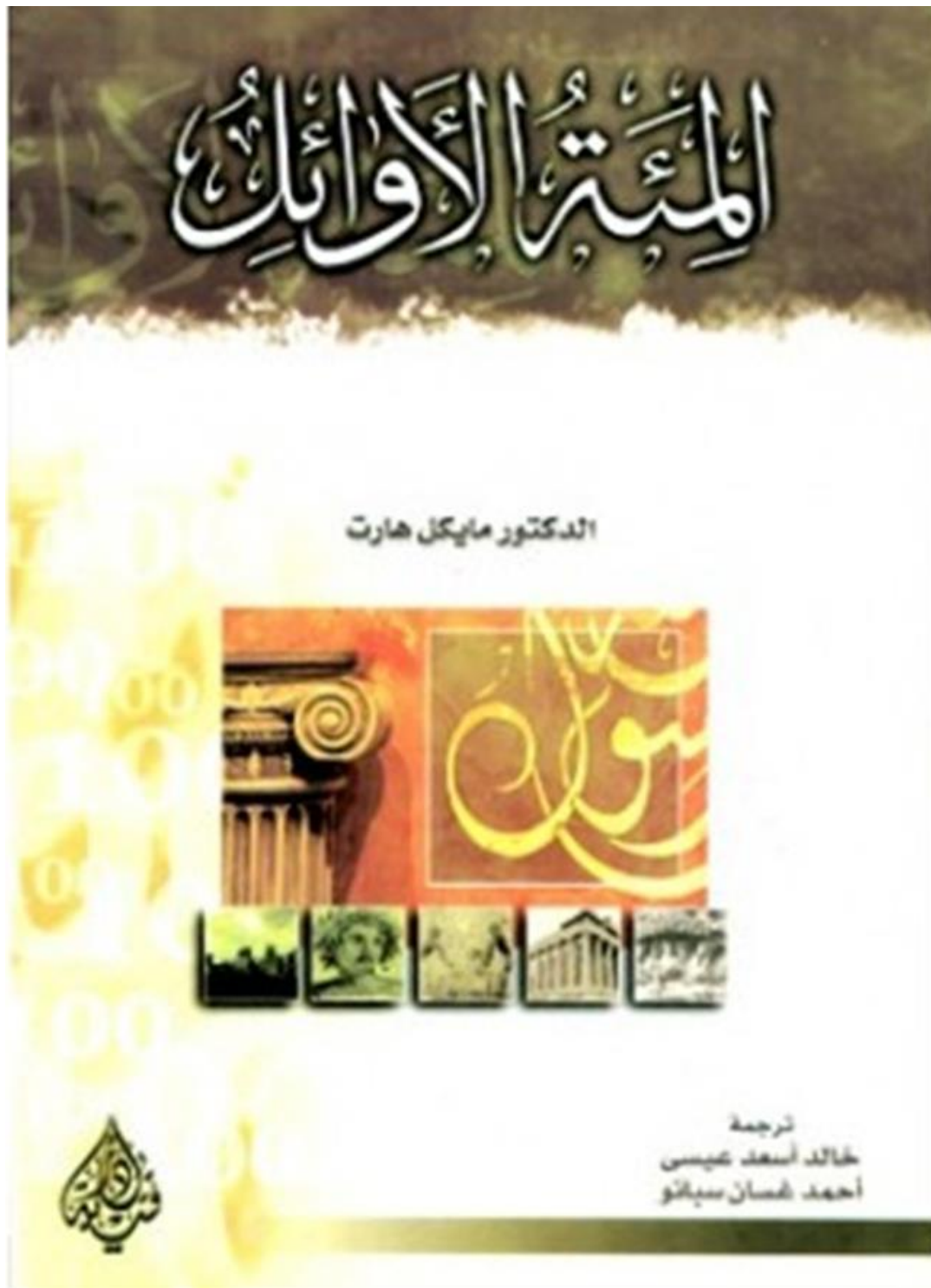


Figure 3.4: Front Cover of Eissa and Sbano's Translation of Hart's Book

Together with the title and the publisher's emblem, **the name of the author** normally appears on a book cover. Unlike the title, however, the appearance of the name of the author on the cover of a book is a relatively recent phenomenon, as this was deemed unnecessary in the medieval and the classical eras. The majority of ancient authors' names have been passed on to us by word-of-mouth and tradition. And while today an author's name appears on the cover and the title page of a book, in the past it either did not appear anywhere at all or was subsumed in the opening or closing sentences of a book. In the nineteenth century, an author's name, similar to other presentational elements, would come to be placed more prominently and influence the reception of books (Genette 1997: 44). Genette rightly argues that the name is not merely 'a straightforward statement of identity' but rather a way to put 'an identity, or rather a "personality," as the media calls it, at the service of the book' (1997: 40). The mere presence of an author's name can signal many items of information (e.g. gender, nationality, religion) that may influence a reader's perspective on the book (ibid: 40). This leads us to a significant paratextual category, which Genette refers to in passing as 'factual paratext' (ibid: 7). In contrast to textual, visual or audiovisual paratexts, factual paratexts consist of facts whose mere existence shapes the reception of the book in various ways. One of the contributions of this research is shedding light upon the framing potentiality of factual paratexts. These facts can frame texts by activating information already in the individual's thinking system (Nelson et al 1997: 225) (Section 3.2). According to Genette (ibid: 7) a factual paratext 'consists not of an explicit message (verbal or other) but of a fact whose existence alone, if known to the public, provides some commentary on the text and influences how the text is perceived'. The facts that are disclosed by the mere presence of the name of a familiar or famous author or translator, such as age, sex, religion, the receipt of a literary prize or a particular political affiliation, may bear on the reception of the text. Genette argues that 'in principle, every context serves as a paratext' (ibid: 8) and that these implicit contexts 'surround a work and, to a greater or lesser degree, clarify or modify its significance' (ibid: 7). Consequently, the narratives that are activated by the mere presence of an author's name and that play a significant role in readers' reception of a book may be referred to as 'the authorial context' (ibid: 7).

The name of the translator may fulfill the same function as the name of the original author, namely influencing the perspective of the reader. If one considers translation to be a form of 'rewriting' (Lefevere 1992) or 'renarration' (Baker 2006), two overlapping views to which the current study subscribes, it goes without saying that the translator him-/herself has to be considered in this context as a rewriter of the text. To clarify the point further, one may consider Lefevere's definition of rewriting as 'the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work' (1982: 4), which is one function that translators assume as social actors. In other words, translators who reframe narratives encoded in the texts they translate in order to influence potential readers' perceptions of a book or some aspect of reality by resorting to framing techniques such as paratextual elements may be considered as 'rewriters' of the text. Similar to the name of the original author, the name of the translator may suggest to the reader many significant facts, which may bear on the reader's perspective on the book. For instance, in foregrounding the name of Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall on the cover of his translation *The Meaning of the Glorious Quran* (1930), the publisher invites the reader to infer from the combination of the first name and surname that the translator is an English Muslim convert, a fact that could activate many narratives that may predispose the reader either to trust the translation or shun it.

Sometimes the translator has more *cultural capital* in the target culture than the original writer of the text. In these cases, the translator's name may appear on an equal footing with the name of the original writer; in extreme cases, it could even replace the original author's name altogether. On these occasions, it is the name of the translator that influences potential readers' perceptions of the book in the target culture. At the same time, the translation of a book by a figure prominent in the target culture carries an implicit recommendation of the source text. The 2010 translation of Eric Hoffer's *The True Believer* (1951) by the politician and well-known writer Ghazi Algosaibi is a case in point. The fact that the translation was done by a highly acclaimed Saudi politician, who happened to be also an established author, novelist and poet himself, influenced the reception of the book among the target culture readership and carried an implied message of endorsement that predisposed readers positively towards the book. Ghazi Algosaibi's name was enough to convince some to buy the

book and accept the message it conveyed at face value, as Saudi writer Saleh Al-Turaiqi's (2012, my translation) acknowledges in an article published in the daily newspaper *Okaz*:

وجدت بالمصادفة اسم الدكتور غازي القصيبي على كتاب المؤمن الصادق للمؤلف هوفر إيريك فبدأت
بتصفحه لثقتي بذائقة القصيبي -رحمه الله- فأنا لا أعرف إيريك

I found the name of Dr. Ghazi Algosaibi on the cover of a book entitled *The True Believer* by Eric Hoffer by chance. So I began browsing through the book at once because of my trust in Algosaibi's literary taste – may his soul rest in peace – since I do not know 'Eric'.

Referring to Algosaibi by his surname and to Hoffman by his first name, 'Eric', implicitly tells the reader that Algosaibi is held in high esteem in the target culture, in contrast to the author of the book, who is totally unknown, at least to Al-Turaiqi. Genette argues that knowing at least some facts about an author or a translator serves as paratext to his or her work (Genette 1997: 7), as evident in this account of Algosaibi's influence on Saleh Al-Turaiqi.

The cultural capital of a translator in the target context, then, may surpass that of the original author and play an important role in reframing the translated text – a fact that was not lost on the publishers in this case, who foregrounded Algosaibi's name to attract readers and increase sales. Sometimes the cultural capital of the translator is so significant that the original author's name can be dispensed with altogether. The well-known Egyptian writer Anis Mansour is a case in point. Mansour (1924-2011) was a prolific Arab writer and translator whose writings covered many fiction and non-fiction genres, including novels, plays, memoirs and philosophical books. He is also the recipient of many literary prizes, such as the Mubarak Prize in Literature in 2001, State Prize for Intellectual Production in 1981, and an honorary degree from the University of Mansoura. In Anis Mansour's translation of Michael Hart's book, discussed earlier in this section, only Mansour's name appears on the front cover of the book. There is not even a reference to the fact that the book is a translation, a clear indication of the stature of the translator (Figure 3.1).

The back cover of the book also features some items that work jointly with other paratextual elements to reframe the text, including genre indication, mention of other works by the same publishing house, price, number of reprintings and most important of all a **blurb**. The term blurb was coined by the American humourist Gelett Burgess, who defined it in *Burgess*

Unabridged: A New Dictionary of Words You Have Always Needed as a ‘flamboyant advertisement; an inspired testimonial’ (Burgess 1914: 7, in Cronin 2005: 18). As one of the first elements greeting the potential reader of any book, blurbs can exercise significant influence on readers’ perception of the book and its content. They use the cultural capital of one writer to increase that of another, as well as to boost book sales. The cultural capital of the *blurber* should be superior or at least equal to that of the writer of the book.

Genette (1997) refers to blurbs in passing as one of the items featuring on the back cover of a book, and describes them as a mere ‘promotional statement’ containing a ‘press quotation’ (i.e. an excerpt from a review), positive comments about earlier works by the same author, or such comments about a current work. Al-Herthani (2009: 66) provides a more detailed treatment of this element. He mentions three types of blurbs: the first is written by the publisher, with the intention of promoting the work; the second features excerpts of reviews by other writers about the author’s earlier works; and the third, obtained by the publisher, is a promotional statement about the book written by another writer. Earlier comments about the cultural capital of the blurber concern the last two types.

In Arabic, there are three main types of blurbs (Al-Herthani 2009: 133). The first type, again written by the publisher, is often the most common, and promotes the book to the reader; the second type consists of an extract taken from the text itself to give an indication of the contents of the book; and the third type usually offers selected biographical information about the author (ibid: 133). Notwithstanding the different types of blurbs, they all, as Cronin points out (2005: 17), signal the interplay between literary and commercial ambition in the field of cultural production.

Another significant peritextual element is the preface. Genette divides **the preface** into two types, each with its own specific functions: **the authorial preface**, written by the author him- or herself, and **the allographic preface**, written by someone other than the author. Whether a researcher regards a translator’s preface as authorial or allographic demonstrates his or her attitude towards translation and the translated text. If the translator is regarded as a dynamic agent capable of imbuing the translated text with his or her own views and able to reinforce, question or undermine the narratives elaborated in the source text, then it is more apt to

consider his or her preface as authorial. Alternatively, if the translator is viewed as a mere faithful renderer of the text, then it is more appropriate to consider the preface as allographic (Gürçaglar 2002: 52). All the prefaces written by translators and examined in this study are considered authorial.

The main function of **the authorial preface** is ‘to ensure that the text is read properly’ (Genette 1997: 197). Accordingly, in his or her preface, the author of the book directs the reader’s attention to the value of the text. At the same time, he or she guides the reader as to how the text should be read, and in this sense the preface could be described as a tool of persuasion (ibid: 198), expressing the author’s statement of intent and point of view. Drawing on Entman (1993: 53), one could argue that the preface frames the text in terms of the five framing functions – salience, defining problems, diagnosing situations, enabling moral judgements, and introducing remedies – or at least some of them. What accords the preface relatively more importance than other peritextual elements, which are usually afforded only limited space, is that it ‘offers the mediator a better opportunity to spell out his or her own narrative clearly, using as much space as he or she needs to promote [his or her] narrative and frame the translation in question by drawing on several framing functions’ (Al-Herthani 2009: 140).

In his preface to his translation of the Qur’an, M. M. Pickthall (1996: ix) writes:

It may be reasonably claimed that no religion’s holy text(s) can be presented fairly by one who does not believe in its inspirations and message. That is why this English translation – the first by an Englishman who is also a Muslim – is so important. Other translations include commentary that is offensive to Muslims, and almost all employ a style of language that Muslims do not consider either adequate or worthy.

By drawing the reader’s attention to the originality and novelty of the text as the first translation of the Qur’an to be done by a Muslim Englishman, M. M. Pickthall attempted to confer high value upon it. He identified other translations of the Qur’an as containing commentaries offensive to Muslims and a style that did not convey the elegance and eloquence of the Arabic style, which he attributed to the fact that all these translations were done by non-Muslims, and mostly for polemical purposes. To solve such problems, Pickthall proposed, the translation of the Qur’an in particular and holy texts in general should be undertaken by a believer in the text to be translated. Being a believer himself in the text in

question, Pickthall reassured the reader regarding the credibility of the translation. This characteristic of truthfulness that the preface-writer (and, in this case, also the author of the translation that the preface introduces) may attribute to him- or herself is another way of demonstrating the high value of the text (Genette 1997: 206). At the same time, Pickthall admits his inadequate treatment of the text, a practice not uncommon among preface writers of various types of translations (ibid: 206), and attributes his shortcomings to the essential untranslatability of the Qur'an, thus neutralising any criticism that might be levelled at him and his translation. According to Pickthall (1996: ix):

It is the belief of the traditional shaykhs and the present writer that the Qur'an cannot be translated. Although I have sought to represent an almost-literal and appropriate rendering worthy of the Arabic original, I cannot reproduce its inimitable symphony.

The functions of the **allographic preface** overlap with those of the authorial preface in some respects, as both of them aim to promote the work and guide the reader's reception. The main difference between the two resides in the senders of the message, as two different people cannot convey exactly the same thing (Genette 1997: 265).

Martin Luther was one of the most vehement advocates of the publication of a translation of the Qur'an. 'Know your enemy' was the motto that motivated him to lead efforts to publish a translation into Latin in 1543 (Elmarsafy 1988: 5). Luther believed that the public should read the Qur'an in order to know the true character of Islam (ibid: 4). In his allographic preface to the Bibliander's Edition of the Qur'an (1543), Martin Luther (Luther, in Henrich and Boyce 1996: 258) wrote:

Finally, I am publishing this book for yet another reason, in order to anticipate and prevent the scandal of the Muhammadans. Since we now have the Turk and his religion at our very doorstep, our people must be warned lest, either moved by the splendor of the Turkish religion and the external appearance of their customs, or offended by the meager display of our own faith or the deformity of our customs, they deny their Christ and follow Muhammad. Rather let them learn that the religion of Christ is something other than ceremonies and customs and that faith in Christ has absolutely nothing to do with discerning what ceremonies, customs, or laws are better or worse, but declares that all of them squeezed together into one mass are not enough for justification nor are they a work for them to perform. Unless we learn this, there is danger that many of our people will become Turks, disposed as they are to much less splendid errors.

Not only did Luther's preface present the text and inform the reader about the subject matter of the translation. In fact, it went further, situating the text culturally and charging it politically and ideologically. His preface situated the translation within the events of his time, producing a highly politically charged text and guiding the reader's reception of it. Most importantly, the Qur'an was referred to as 'the writings of Mohammad', thus stripping it of the characteristic of revelation and giving Luther liberty to attack it. This contrasts clearly with the preface by Pickthall to a translation of the same text and demonstrates that the preface can be used for very different purposes, depending on its author.

3.3.2 Epitexts

Epitext refers to any relevant or evoked material outside the main text. What distinguishes epitexts from peritexts is the former's 'lack of external limits' (Genette 1997: 346), especially in this age of digital media. Genette distinguishes between the publisher's epitext, which he dismisses as having solely a 'marketing and "promotional" function', and the authorial epitext, generated by the author him- or herself (ibid: 347). He further divides authorial epitext into two types, public and private (ibid: 351). Public epitext is 'directed at the public in general, even if it never actually reaches more than a limited portion of that public' (ibid: 352). Except for auto-reviews and public responses, both of which are rare, authorial epitext does not have to be autonomous or spontaneous, since it can be mediated by the initiative and intervention of a questioner or interlocutor, as is the case with interviews and conversations, the former of which will be examined closely in this thesis (Section 5.2.2).

Interviews are a recent phenomenon that appeared first in transcribed form in France in 1884, in *Le petit journal*. In the twentieth century it took on other audio and audiovisual formats (ibid: 359). Similar to other epitextual elements, interviews are directed at the general public, including non-readers. Genette defines interviews as 'a dialogue, generally short and conducted by a professional journalist, entered upon in the line of duty on the specific occasion of a book's publication and, in theory, bearing exclusively on that book' (ibid: 358). This type of epitext is doubly reframed or 'doubly mediated', to quote Genette (1997: 356), first by the type of questions directed to the author (which tend to elicit certain responses and evoke certain topics), and later by the process of transmission, which gives the

intermediary or any third party the liberty to reframe the author's answers by resorting to textual or paratextual devices, such as giving the interview a title with a particular focus or implications – not always to the liking of the interviewee – or omitting some text (ibid: 356). This explains why some authors are averse to the genre altogether. The francophone Czech writer Milan Kundera is a case in point. Since 1985, Kundera has refused to grant any interviews unless they are in written form and accompanied by copyright. According to him, '[a]n author, once quoted by a journalist, is no longer master of his word; he loses the author's right to what he says' (Oppenheim 1989). This indicates that at least some authors are aware of the framing ability of interviews. However, other authors with less access to alternative options, such as allographic reviews, find themselves compelled to participate in this form of epitextual framing (Genette 1997: 361). Notwithstanding the mediating role of the interlocutor and third parties, the author can still voice his or her opinion and reframe his or her text for readers. Depending on the format of the interview, whether written, recorded or live, both the author and the intermediary can resort to several framing techniques. In the case of the interviewed author, these framing methods may include wearing specific costumes for a televised or visually accessible interview (for instance, a minority traditional costume) and using a certain contested political reference (e.g. Arabian Gulf vs Persian Gulf). The interviewer, on the other hand, can frame the interview by adding certain images, captions and titles. Roland Barthes rightly viewed interviews as a 'social game' between writers on the one hand and the media on the other (ibid: 361) during which both parties attempt to promote their narratives. Given the intervening role of the interviewer, it is surprising that Genette refers to him as a 'nonperson' (1997: 357). Genette goes so far as to call the interlocutor a 'messenger' (ibid: 357), although his or her ability to reframe the interview implies that the interviewer is much more than a passive participant.

Genette relegates the role of interviews to a merely descriptive one as he argues that the "social game" of the interview proceeds more from a need for information than from a need for true commentary: a book has come out, one must make it known and make known what it consists of – for example, by talking about it with its author' (1997: 362). The role of the interview goes far beyond the informative function. It offers the author an opportunity to

defend his or her views and to provide a commentary on his or her work. It also helps contextualise the work for prospective readers.

Unlike other epitextual elements that are recent phenomena (such as interviews), book **reviews** are an ancient practice, having appeared first in Athens about 140 BC. The Paris-based *Journal des Scavans* was the first publication to specialise in book reviewing, starting in 1665. At the beginning, reviews would only introduce new books and give an 'accurate account' of them (Miranda 1996: 192). The nineteenth century saw a major shift in the functions of reviewing; besides their informative functions, reviews came to acquire an evaluative function that allowed the review writer to express his or her opinion freely. This is not to mention the commercial function of reviews, as a well-timed review could increase the sales of a book better than a paid advertisement or promotional mail (Bellardo 1985: 82). Another function of a good review today is to contextualise the work at hand either by situating it within its disciplinary background or within previously published work (Miranda 1996: 195). Reviews are a significant site for reframing narratives in translation. They play a crucial role in encouraging potential readers to read the reviewed work or discouraging them altogether. They also shape the attitudes of prospective readers towards the text. They offer the reader a guided tour through the book and its contents. Unlike other epitextual elements, reviews target not only potential readers, but also the author of the reviewed text, and its publisher. As Genette explains, it is allographic reviews that writers 'care more about than anything else' (1997: 360). As with prefaces, allographic reviews are an appropriate site for reshaping narratives, as they offer the reviewer more ample space than other epitextual devices in which to articulate an opinion about a certain book and engage in a critical evaluation.

The function of a book review now goes far beyond simply presenting a book; a review creates a 'psychological climate for examination, investigation, correction, modification, creation, and invention of ideas and theoretical constructs regarding current theoretical problems, professional practice, and policy statements' (Miranda 1996: 197). Miranda goes so far as to call reviews a 'change agent', as they encourage dialogue and critical thinking. Bellardo, on

the other hand, even describes reviews as ‘a forum for a discourse on the state of research in the field, the current schools of thought, or even a daring polemic’ (1985: 82).

Following the publication of M. M. Pickthall’s (1930) translation of the Qur’an, a review appeared in the *Saturday Review* on 13 December 1930 under the title ‘The meaning of the glorious Koran: An explanatory translation’, which hailed the translation as ‘something of an event’ (1930: 8):

Mr. Pickthall has always been at his best when writing of the Mohammedan East, and when he became a Moslem it was recognized as self-discovery rather than as conversion. Nearly all the translations of the Koran available for European readers have been made by non-Muslims, and in consequence are marred by misunderstandings of the Implications of the text. Some time ago we welcomed the translation by Mr. Muhammad Ali of Lahore; Mr. Pickthall’s version runs on much the same lines.

By comparing the Pickthall translation to other previously published translations of the Qur’an, the review situates the text within a larger disciplinary, cultural and religious context. The reviewer manages to distance the text from other translations undertaken by non-Muslims, and to draw close ties to the translation of Muhammad Ali. The review also frames the translation by addressing the framing functions proposed by Entman (1993: 52). Having been translated by a Muslim, the work is presented as a solution to the problem of distorted translations undertaken by non-Muslims. The reviewer concludes with a positive remark, stating that the translation ‘should be certainly part of every important library in the country’, thus fulfilling one of the functions of reviewing – evaluating the text in question, and in doing so framing the translation in negative or, as in this case, positive terms.

3.4. Methodology

This study carries out a comparative analysis of the three existing translations of the Qur’an into Tamazight. Against the backdrop of the Berber identity movement, the research traces the paratextual elements around the three Berber translations of the Qur’an and compares them (1) with each other and (2) with mainstream Qur’an translations to explore how, by strategically using these paratexts, the Berber translators and activists can signal their attitude towards the Berber situation in North Africa.

Three types of agents played an important part in the reception of the selected translations: the translators, the publishers and third-party agents, including Berber activists such as writers and religious scholars. In this study, the political affiliation of each agent, place of birth, early upbringing, education and career are scrutinised and studied against the backdrop of the Berber Identity Movement and the broader Islamic world to trace the interplay between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic moves in translation and their impact upon the choice of paratexts.

Textual and audio-visual materials in the form of newspaper reviews, published and televised interviews, autobiographies, books, and published commentaries were obtained either from the internet or through direct contact with the translators. Arabic material was translated into English by me. During the translation process, I sought to preserve the meaning of the original texts while using natural forms of the target language. Having said that, subjectivity resulting from personal traits, ideological position and educational background may have unconsciously crept in the translated texts. French material was translated with the help of two freelance translators: Ashley Hansen and Oliver Beaumont. Their translations were useful in so far as they provided a general idea of the meaning of the translated texts. This, however, does not preclude the possibility of the existence of some errors and possible deviations in the translated materials.

3.5 Conclusion

The framework presented here serves to provide a foundation on which to base the data analysis for this study. It enables us to understand better how the different mediators of translations can effect change and (re)frame texts by using diverse paratextual devices. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the significance of his seminal work, Genette's approach to paratexts is a synchronic one, a shortcoming that he acknowledges towards the end of his article 'An introduction to the paratext' (1991: 270). Genette presupposes a cultural universal reader 'out of time and place' who shares with the text a common cultural code (Watts 2000: 31), even though he concedes that the 'ways and means of the paratext are modified unceasingly according to periods, cultures, genres, authors, works, [and] editions of the same work' (Genette 1991: 262). A 'media-dominated' period, for example, tends to create around

texts a type of discourse unfamiliar in earlier periods (ibid: 262). But if paratexts, as Genette himself argues, are the most socialised aspect of literary practice, then they must be subject to changes in ideology and political and sociocultural climate, hence the importance of looking at them diachronically rather than merely synchronically.²¹ Partly, in an attempt to address this limitation in Genette's work, this study will show how the different paratexts of the various Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an have been employed by the different mediators of the three translations of the Holy Qur'an into Berber to address a national issue, the Berber identity movement, at a certain time and a certain place, rather than focus on their structural and literary make up as such.

²¹ Pursuing a diachronic approach, Watts (2000: 42) investigates the evolution of the paratextual elements of the different editions of Aimé Césaire's *Cahier* in order to show how this culturally unfamiliar text has been rendered across time and place, and how its paratextual elements have been modified accordingly. In particular, Watts addresses the question of how, over the years, the different paratexts of this work have influenced the public's reading of it. According to Watts (2000: 42), 'the paratext is compelling ... for the story it tells about how cultural gaps were crossed, if not bridged, at certain historical moments.'

Chapter Four: Foregrounding the Berber Identity, Language and Culture through the Translations of the Holy Quran: Peritextual Aspects

4.1 Introduction

Of the paratextual devices that play a key role in guiding the reception of texts, peritexts are among the most important. As elaborated earlier (Section 3.3), peritexts designate all the paratextual elements ‘within the same volume’ of a certain text; they include titles, cover design, footnotes and prefatory materials (Genette 1997: 4).

As an emerging nation with one of the least translated languages in the world, the Berber nation is constructed differently in the three translations of the Holy Qur’an. This is achieved partly through translator prefaces, dedications, choice of script and other peritextual material, and partly through the publisher’s peritexts such as front and back covers. As will be shown in the analysis, the publisher may play an even more important role in framing the text than the translator. Indeed, the mere presence of a peritextual element such as the publishing house’s emblem can influence the reception of the text in important ways. Moreover, the roles of publisher and translator can sometimes overlap: in one of the translations under discussion, the publisher is also the translator.

This chapter traces how each of the three translators, i.e. Jouhadi Baomrani (Section 4.2), Se Hajj Mohannad Tayeb (Section 4.3) and Remdan Mensur (Section 4.4), together with their publishers, have employed the peritextual elements in their translations²² to bring to the fore their own views regarding the Berbers. The analysis of each translation commences by examining **the front cover** of the translations, the title pages, and the preliminary material. Components of the cover, such as the title, cover design, name of the translator and the publisher’s emblem will also be discussed. The analysis moves on to examine **the back cover** which, similar to the front cover, mediates the text for readers and offers them specific information that guides their interpretation of it.

²² Some of the data analysed in this chapter has been obtained directly from the translators. Other data, however, has been accessed via Internet.

This is followed by an analysis of **the prefatory material**, which, as one of the most significant sites of framing, plays an important role in mediating the text for the reader. Indeed, the preface is one of a few sites where the translator can be visible and his voice can be heard. Unlike footnotes and other paratextual devices that can also be exploited by the translator to frame a text, the preface provides a generous space to engage in a discursive dialogue with the reader, allowing the translator to (re)frame the translated text and reshape its reception. Therefore, it is in the preface that the influence of the translator, as an agent of change, is most tangible.

When analysing prefatory material, the point of departure is Genette's definition of the preface as 'every type of introductory (preludial or postludial) text, authorial or allographic, consisting of a discourse produced on the subject of the text that follows or precedes it' (1997:161). Although Genette acknowledged the existence of various types of prefatory materials, he did not make clear-cut distinctions between them. Rather, he reduced these introductory designations to mere parasynonyms, which, according to him, 'reflect changing fashions and innovations' (1997:161). The only distinction Genette makes is when two or more prefatory texts appear together. In this case, the preface 'takes on a function simultaneously more formal and more circumstantial, preceding an introduction that is tied more closely to the subject of the text' (1997:161). However, when there is only one prefatory element, he prefers the term preface, because it is, as he admits, the term most often used in French, ignoring the diverse prefatory traditions in other languages, such as Arabic. Because of the absence of clear-cut distinctions between the different prefatory elements, I will draw on the prefatory functions proposed by Genette (1997) when dealing with the various designatory terms bestowed upon these texts by the translators, observing how they conform to, or deviate from, these functions. Of particular significance to my research, and tied to Genette's prefatory functions, is the information presented in these prefaces and the role they play in framing the text.

According to Genette, '[t]he way to get a proper reading is [...] to put the (definitely assumed) reader in possession of information the author considers necessary for this proper reading' (1997:209). In the Berber context, informational elements necessary for a proper reading

include the claims concerning Berber identity and language that each translator promotes, enhances or challenges through his prefatory material, even though some may not be related to the subject of the text. The activist translator thus takes advantage of the preface to relate to his reader his own narrative about the Berbers, and while this digression diverts the translator's prefatory elements from the main functions of the authorial preface, as proposed by Genette, it also brings them closer to the allographic preface. According to Genette, the allographic preface is where the preface-writer takes advantage of the prefatory space to promote a cause unrelated to the subject of the text under discussion (1997: 271).

All translators under examination here make use of the prefatory texts to frame their respective translations, varying, however, in the designations they use for each of such prefatory elements. More specifically, Baomrani (2003) introduces his translation with a four-page مقدمة (Introduction). Tayeb (2013), on the other hand, introduces his with one allographic prefatory text and three short authorial prefatory elements: مقدمة المترجم (The Translator's Introduction), كلمة المترجم (A Word from the Translator), and خطة العمل المتبعة في الترجمة (The Translation Work Plan). In contrast, Mensur (2006) writes one untitled prefatory text.

Apart from the content of the preface, **the choice of language** is also highly significant. As is shown in Section (4.2.3, 4.3.3 and 4.4.2), a first original contributions of this research is revealing the role that language plays as a paratextual device in and of itself. Although many researchers have studied the role of the preface as a framing device, none have tackled the issue of language choice. This is mainly because a preface, along with the translated text, is usually directed at target readers, and thus written in the language of those readers. the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an are an exceptional case in that none feature prefatory elements written in Tamazight, the language of the receiving culture. In two of the translations – Baomrani's *The Translations of the Meanings of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight* (2003) and Tayeb's *The Translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight* (2007/2013) – Arabic is used. In the third translation, Mensur's *The Translation of the Qur'an into Tamazight* (2006), the preface is written in French. This draws attention to the centrality of the language issue in the Berber consciousness and reflects the tension regarding the languages used in North Africa. Years after the decolonisation of North Africa, the language issue remains unresolved.

Each linguistic choice can be linked to the translator's background, political stance, his need for larger audience and, most importantly, his attitude towards existing language hierarchies. It also reveals the multi-linguistic nature of North Africa, the languages striving for attention there and the different cultures involved in constructing the Berber identity.

Closely related to the language choice is the issue of **script**. The current research further expands the scope of Genette's work by examining the choice of script, identifying how it can be considered a paratextual tool per se, which contributes to construing the Berber identity and positioning the Tamazight language within a particular political and national landscape. Indeed, in their battle against Arabisation policies, the Berbers, in line with many ethnic minorities, have employed script as an instrument of identity assertion. Since the advent of Islam in the 7th century, Tamazight has been written in Arabic script, despite the fact that it was not officially recognised. During the French colonisation, the French, as part of their attempt to Frenchify the Berbers, encoded Tamazight in Latin script. In the aftermath of independence, the ancient Tifinagh script was introduced as the native Berber script. Today, Tamazight can be written in three scripts: Arabic, Latin and Tifinagh. Each script signals specific political, religious and cultural affiliations. Over time, the choice of script has become a significant marker of identity. For instance, the Arabic script has always linked the Berbers to the Arabo-Islamic culture and enhanced claims pertaining to their shared history and heritage. Alternatively, non-Arabic scripts, whether Latin or Tifinagh, have been used to distinguish the Berbers from the Arab populations in North Africa, question the Berbers' identification with Islamic culture, alienate them from their old religious heritage (which was written in Arabic script), and distance them from their adjacent Arab nation states. Embracing a non-Arabic script also enables the Berbers to draw the borders of their imaginary *Tamazgha* and establish cultural boundaries between them and their Arab neighbours. The importance of the choice of script in encoding Tamazight supports Soulaïmani's (2015:2) view that scripts are not merely visible signs, but rather 'entities with multiple social and cultural values' (Section 2.6.1).

Both the language choice and the script can be considered important sites of framing in so far as they activate information already stored in the individual's mind (Nelson et al 1997: 225)

(Section 3.2). Both of them can stimulate diverse interpretations of the text, such as promoting cultural assimilation, resistance or compromise. Moreover, both of them construct the Berbers differently, such as, pro-Arab, anti-Arab or Westernised. The script choice, in particular, draws upon the two important aspects of framing, i.e. selection and salience as proposed by Entman (1993: 52) (Section 3.2).

This chapter explores the role of script as a crucial peritextual device employed by the three translators of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight to shape the reception of their translations. Baomrani (2003) and Tayeb (2013) use Arabic script in their translations. Mensur (2006), on the other hand, employs two scripts: Latin and Tifinagh. The choice of script can be interpreted against each translator's background and political affiliations and reflects the way each positions himself in relation to the question of national identity.

4.2. Baomrani's Translation

As mentioned in (Section 1.3), Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani was born in 1942 in Casablanca, Morocco. His efforts to foreground the Berber culture began early, in 1967, when he co-founded the first Berber association in Morocco, the Moroccan Society for Research and Cultural Exchange, which seeks first and foremost to preserve Berber heritage and develop a unified Berber language through research. Through his writings and translations, Baomrani has sought to reposition the Berbers and renarrate their history from a new Berber perspective, challenging widespread historical narratives and official discourses that have always relegated the Berbers to a minor position. Despite his life-long struggle to have Tamazight recognised as an official language and the Berber community as an integral part of Morocco's population, Baomrani, unlike many Berber activists, adopts a moderate²³ stance regarding the Berber-Arab relationships in North Africa and promotes a discourse of co-existence and partnership between the diverse languages and cultures within Morocco. Realising the significant role of translation in foregrounding minority languages, he translated many important Arabic religious reference books into Tamazight. Of all his works, the

²³ The moderate current of the Berber Identity Movement proposes removing the aura of sacredness from Arabic language and placing it in its communicative context (Rubin 2011: 560).

translation of the Holy Quran into Tamazight is the most significant²⁴. Being the first Berber translation of Islam's scripture, the translation ignited heated debates across Morocco and North Africa and was consequently banned in Morocco in 1999. It had to wait four more years to see the light again in 2003 during the reign of King Mohammed VI (Section 5.2.1).

4.2.1 The Front Cover, the Title Page and Preliminary Material

Baomrani's is an unusual case in that he is both the translator as well as the publisher, which gives him more control over the entire production process. Among the framing sites that make Baomrani's translation stand out from other translations of the Holy Qur'an is **the front cover**. Through using the framing aspects proposed by Entman (1993: 52) (Section 3.2), i.e. selection and salience, Baomrani's choice of the cover colors, script, font type and size offered the readers a new reading of the Berber struggle in North Africa and the relationship between the Berbers and their Arab counterparts. The cover features three textual elements; the title, the subtitle and the name of the translator, all appearing in Arabic, except for the subtitle, which is written in both Arabic and Tamazight, the latter in Tifinagh script. In addition to the textual elements, the front cover employs colour to guide the reader's reception of the text. In stark contrast to the traditional design of front covers of the Holy Qur'an, which are usually designed in a single colour background (typically green) and adorned with gold or silver calligraphy and ornamentations, Baomrani's front cover makes striking use of five colours: green (the traditional colour of the background), white, red, blue and yellow. The choice of these specific colours is not accidental. These are the colours of the Amazigh flag²⁵ (Figure 4.2), which has been adopted by the Berbers in North Africa and the diaspora to signal pan-Berberism and Berber unity, principles that Baomrani calls for. Explicit use of the flag is not welcomed by the ruling governments in North Africa, which view it suspiciously as symbolising

²⁴ Biographical information was supplied by the translator via personal correspondence.

²⁵ The first Berber flag was proposed in the 1970s by the Berber Academy in Paris. In 1998 the World Amazigh Congress chose the same design for the official Berber flag representing Berbers in their imagined *Tamazgha* land. The flag is composed of blue, green, and yellow horizontal bands of the same height, with the Tifinagh letter *yaz* or *aza* in red at the centre. Each colour represents an aspect of Tamazgha: blue represents the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean; green represents nature and the green mountains; and yellow represents the sands of the Sahara Desert. The *yaz* symbolizes *the free man*, which is the meaning of the Berber word *amazigh*, the Berbers' own name for themselves. It appears in red, the colour of life, and also the colour of resistance. The Berber flag is thus an international cultural symbol that represents Berbers everywhere (Asid 2012).

a separatist agenda. Baomrani (as the publisher) manages to subtly challenge the ruling powers by using the very prominent space of the front cover of the Muslims' most sacred text as a site for displaying the Amazigh flag, without explicitly marking it as a flag. This subtle move draws on two important strategies of framing, namely *selection* and *salience*: choosing the particular colours of the Amazigh flag and making them highly *salient* by placing them on the front cover of the Holy Qur'an associates them with a culturally familiar symbol and allows the activist translator to foreground a cause other than that normally associated with translating the Holy Qur'an into any language: namely, promoting Islam and making its teachings available to new audiences.

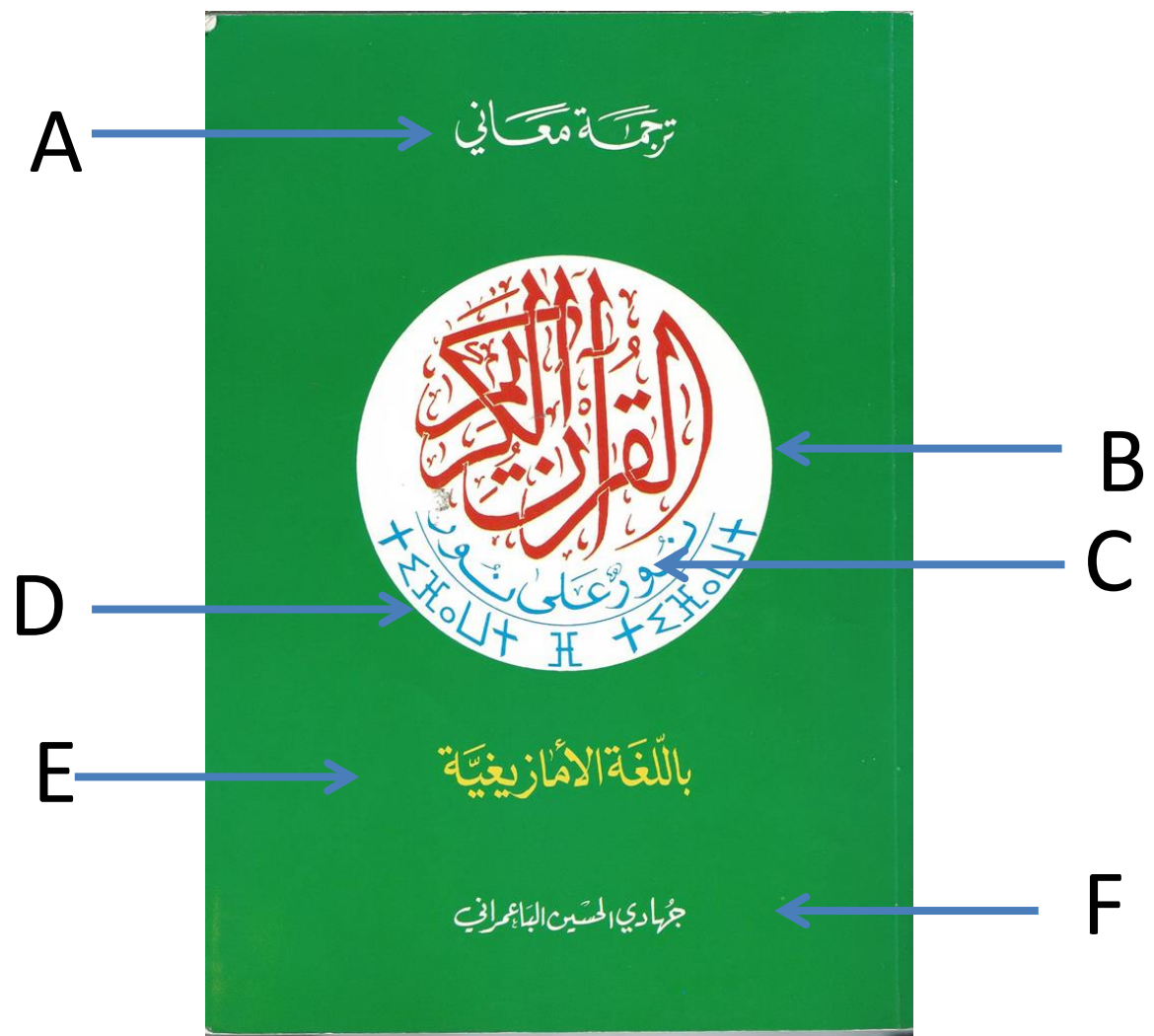


Figure 4.1: Baomrani's Front Cover

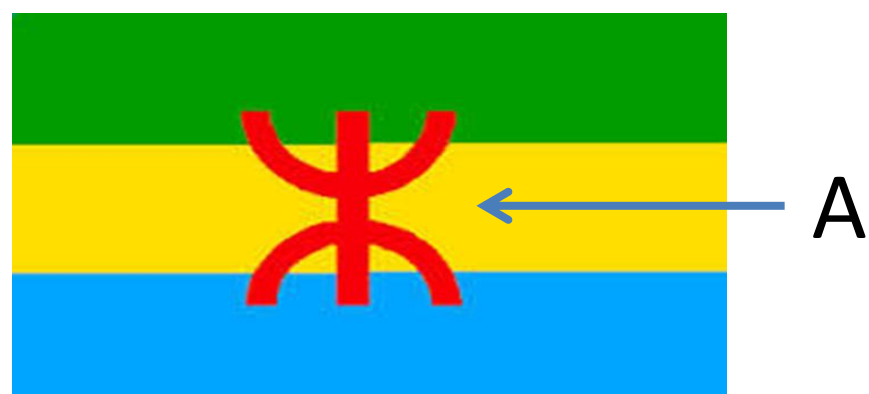


Figure 4.2: The Berber Flag

The top part of the cover features the phrase *ترجمة معاني* (a translation of the meanings [of the Holy Qur'an]) (item A on Figure 4.1), which is a standard part of the title of any translation of the Qur'an, and required in approved translations (Mustapha 2009:228). Three textual elements appear towards the middle of the cover: the main part of the title *القرآن الكريم* (the Holy Qur'an) appears in Arabic calligraphy (item B in Figure 4.1); the subtitle is written in both Arabic and Tamazight, the latter in Tifinagh script, and placed inside a white circle that sets both versions of the subtitle apart from other textual elements on the cover (items C and D in Figure 4.1). The circle serves to focus the reader's attention on two significant visual elements placed within it: the imposing Arabic, Islamic calligraphy and the small-font of the ancient Tifinagh script. The selection of these two markers of identity and their placement within a bounded circle enhance their salience and bring to the fore a centuries-old conception of a whole-part relationship between the Arabo-Islamic culture and the Berber culture: i.e. the idea that Berber culture is part and parcel of Islamic culture. This is further highlighted by the choice of the colour red for the title [the Holy Qur'an] and its placement in a central position, both of which create a visual correspondence between it and *Aza*, or the letter z, in the Berber flag (item A in Figure 4.2), this being the symbol of freedom for Berbers.²⁶ This cultural association frames the translation of the Holy Qur'an as a tool of decolonisation in the Berber struggle to achieve freedom. At the same time, the central positioning of the title *القرآن الكريم* [The Holy Qur'an] and the use of Arabic calligraphy make up for the atypical cover design and bring the text closer to the Arabo-Islamic context (section highlighted as B in Figure 4.1). The choice of the particular Qur'anic verse *نور على نور* (light upon light), which appears in both Arabic and Tamazight as explained earlier (items C and D in Figure 4.1), as a subtitle further aligns the translation with the mainstream translations of the Holy Qur'an and positions the translator within that culture and simultaneously within the Berber culture given the translation of the phrase/subtitle into Tamazight and its appearance in Tifinagh script. Indeed, the use of Tamazight and Tifinagh frame the translation further by using it as a vehicle for foregrounding the Berber struggle and the Berber cause. In terms of visual presentation, the use of the Tifinagh script for the only Tamazight textual

²⁶ The colour red of the letter *Aza* symbolises the blood of the martyrs who have died calling for freedom for the Berbers (Almasude 2014: 147).

element to appear on the cover is highly symbolic: encountering this single foreign element in an all-Arabic cover is striking and serves to attract the reader's attention to the phrase and by association to the Berber language and culture. The dominance of the Arabic language on the front cover mirrors its dominance in real life in North Africa. Nonetheless, as an ethnic minority, the presence of the Berbers among the Arab majority is made highly salient. Their heritage, represented by the ancient Tifinagh script, persists even under the hegemony of the Arabic language and heritage.

The phrase *باللغة الامازيغية* (in Tamazight), appears in yellow, just beneath the white circle, written in Arabic (item E in Figure 4.1). This reinforces the status of Tamazight as subordinate to Arabic.

Interestingly, Baomrani refers to Tamazight as a unified standard language, and refrains from specifying the dialect of Tamazight he chose to use. This is in line with his attempt to construct a pan-Berber²⁷ identity, with one unified language, as discussed later in the section on prefatory material (Section 4.2.3). The name of the translator جهادي الحسين الباعمراني appears in white at the bottom of the cover, in the centre (highlighted as F in Figure 4.1), unaccompanied by any other phrase such as *translated by* or a title such as the *translator*. In light of the absence of any established commissioning agent or well-known publishing house, the translator foregrounds his own name, which may stimulate certain readings of the translation, pertaining to Berber language and heritage, for those readers who regard him as a moderate Berber activist and one of the first to call for recognising the rights of Berbers in Morocco (Section 1.3). Such known facts about an author (or in this case a translator) are what Genette (1997: 7) calls *factual paratexts* 'whose existence alone, if known to the public, provides some commentary on the text and influences how the text is received'.

Moving on to **the title page**, this reproduces the entire front cover, but in black and white. It is followed by **another page** which features eight textual elements: the title of the book, the name of the translator, the edition number and date of publication, the copyrights, the name of the publisher, the printer and the ISBN. It is at this point that the reader realises that the translator is also the publisher of the translation, an unusual situation given that translations

²⁷ A pan-Berber identity includes all the Berber communities in the Maghreb and the diaspora.

of canonical books, especially the Holy Qur'an, are normally sponsored or commissioned by highly recognised institutions or well-known publishing houses. As the first translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, the lack of any sponsor or commissioning agent raises many questions regarding the context of this undertaking. Antara (2004) argues in the Arabic *al-ḥewār* newspaper that the presentation of this translation as 'a solo-project, not produced by a scientific institution' has had a negative influence on its reception.

The dedication appears on page 3 (Baomrani 2003: 3, my translation), as follows:

إلى عائلة جهادي الكبيرة
وإلى روح أساتذتي
وإلى كل مغربي متشبث بوطنيته ومقدساته
إلى هؤلاء جميعا، أهدي هذا العمل النبيل

To the grand Jouhadi family

To the souls of my teachers

To every Moroccan who is holding tight to his homeland and whatever is sacred to him

To all those, I dedicate this noble work

Of the three translators of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, only Baomrani writes a dedication. As a peritextual device, a dedication gives the translator the opportunity to orient the readers' interpretation of the whole text from the very beginning. Baomrani dedicates this translation to three groups: first, to his own extended family, the *Jouhadis*; then to the souls of his teachers; and finally, to Moroccans at large. He thus moves gradually from private to public affiliations; from his narrow ethnic loyalties to his broader Moroccan ones. This indirectly assures the reader that being a Berber does not negate the fact that he is a Moroccan, but rather complements it, and allows Baomrani to present the Berbers as an integral part of Moroccan society and challenge discourses that question their loyalty. By dedicating the book to every Moroccan 'who is holding tight to his homeland and whatever is sacred to him', Baomrani implies that this translation is both a national and a religious project, in an attempt to guide its reception as a significant contribution to both the Berber and Moroccan communities.

It is worthy to note that the original Arabic text, which is present in approved translations of the Holy Qur'an, is missing from Baomrani's translation. Rather than being interpreted as a move against Arabic language, Baomrani attributed the reason for not including the Arabic text for shortage of financial resources (Elshoquori 2005).

To conclude, Baomrani uses textual and non-textual elements on the front cover of his translation and the dedication to call attention to the Berber language and culture and promote his view of co-existence and partnership between the Berbers and their Arab counterparts. He does not however attempt to mask or challenge the asymmetrical relationship between Arabic and Tamazight, but instead reinforces it through the positioning of the two scripts and other choices he makes, as explained above. In this respect, he situates his translation somewhere between the more conformist project of Tayeb and the more radical one of Mensur, as I attempt to demonstrate in the following sections (Sections 4.3 and 4.4).

4.2.2 The Back Cover

Being the publisher as well as translator, Baomrani has the advantage of being able to construct his own image for the reader. Whereas his name is displayed on the front cover without any clue about his identity, the back cover (Figures 4.3 and 4.4) features two peritextual elements, other than the price of the book, that foreground the translator and enforce his presence for the reader: a photograph and a biographical note.

As a visual element, the translator's photograph might be the first thing to attract the attention of readers. In addition to being an eye-catcher, putting a face to a name offers readers certain information about the writer/translator that may influence the way they approach the text. Given the significance of photographs, it is surprising that Genette refers to them only in passing, as one of the items to be found on the cover (1997: 24). Certain features such as the age of the translator, his attire and his facial hair (whether he is bearded or clean-shaven) can draw the readers towards or away from the text. Watts (2005:32) argues that 'even in the case of unknown authors, the photograph can still transmit potentially relevant information: namely, the author's race, via the semiotics of 'national' dress, class and cultural affiliations'. In the Islamic context, the writer/translator of a religious text is usually

expected to wear all or one of the following; a long gown, robe, beard and a head cover. As writer Rawaa Younis (2007) explains in an article in the Arabic newspaper *al-ittihād*, ‘when we see [religious scholars] in their beautiful pious Arab attire – the thobe, the robe and the head cover – we all feel that this is the attire of piety and worship, which reflects knowledge and wisdom’ (Younis 2007, my translation). These expectations vary, however, according to the socio-cultural context of the audience. According to the Moroccan Islamic researcher Mohammad Abulqasim (cited in Younis 2007, my translation); ‘the religious men in the Arab Maghreb’s countries wear a white small head cover and the famous traditional Moroccan gown. A few of them, however, wear the small red *ṭarbūsh*’. In contrast to such traditional images of religious men, who are likely to have more credibility as translators of the Holy Qur’an for certain audiences, such as the Algerian translator understudy Se Hajj Mohannad Tayeb (Figure 4.10), Baomrani’s photo is of a clean-shaven, middle aged man wearing Western attire, an image that may deviate from the expectations of traditional audiences. The non-traditional appearance of Baomrani, combined with other paratextual devices, depicts him as an atypical translator of the Holy Qur’an, and may arouse curiosity in some readers and doubts in others. Interestingly, this is the same photo that appears on all books authored by Baomrani, which means that it might be understood as a logo and can function to situate the text in the Berber context. By contrast, when Baomrani appeared in a televised interview in the Arabic *Aljazeera Channel*, he chose to wear the traditional Moroccan attire, appeasing the Arab audience by presenting himself as a conformist translator of the Holy Qur’an (Section 5.2.2).

In addition to the photo, Baomrani’s biography offers the reader information about his place and date of birth, Casablanca, 1942; religious education, profession as a history teacher for more than forty years; status as an author of books in both Arabic and Tamazight, and his role as a translator of the Holy Qur’an (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). This selection of facts highlights two things: Baomrani’s religious background and his linguistic competence in both Arabic and Tifinagh, both of which enhance his overall reputation as a translator. Specifically, mention of the fact that he has memorised the Holy Qur’an and has presented religious episodes (in Tamazight) on the radio are very significant as they assure the reader that the translator is eminently knowledgeable about his subject matter. His volumes of poetry in both Tamazight

and Arabic also testify to his linguistic competence. More importantly, we are told that Baomrani was awarded the order of merit by King Hassan II. This kind of *factual paratext* is very important, as being presented with an award by the highest authority in Morocco creates cultural capital for the translator. In addition, in the light of the controversy that this particular translation has aroused (because of its foregrounding of Tamazight, see chapter five, Section 5.2.1), mention of the award diffuses some suspicions about Baomrani's loyalty to the Moroccan nation as a Berber and construes the Berbers as an integral part of Morocco.



Figure 4.3: Baomrani's Back Cover

	<p>The author:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in 1942 in Casablanca. • Memorised the Holy Qur'an in many recitations • Has a degree in history. • Worked as a teacher for forty years. • A researcher who has contributed to the encyclopedia موسوعة معلمة المغرب [the Greater Maghreb encyclopedia]. - Published two volumes of poetry in Tamazight: <i>Tāghārāst n 'uraqqās n rabbī</i> and <i>Timātārīn</i>, in addition to a poetry volume in Arabic. - Published articles in many national magazines and newspapers, and presented religious episodes in Tamazight in Ramadan (30 episodes). - Translated the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. - He was awarded the order of Merit by King Hassan II.
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Figure 4.4: Translation of Baomrani's Back Cover

4.2.3 The Prefatory Material

The prefatory materials provide Baomrani with a very interesting site of framing. Drawing upon the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational functions of framing as proposed by Snow and Benford (2000: 615 – 617) (Section 3.2), Baomrani attempts to offer through his preface an interpretation of the Berber situation as a marginalised native people with legitimate demands for constitutional reforms.

Baomrani introduces his translation with a four-page مقدمة (introduction) in which he draws his readers' attention to the importance of Tamazight, discusses the legitimacy of translating the Holy Qur'an in general and into Tamazight in particular, details the resources he used in his translation and demonstrates its religious usefulness. Throughout this introduction/preface, Baomrani strives to construct a pan-Berber identity and promote a unified Berber language. To that end, he sets out to dispute claims circulating in the official discourse that marginalise the Berbers and their language, and to promote, instead, counteracting claims that foreground the Berber cause and reposition the Berbers and their language.

Baomrani begins his preface with a widely-cited verse from the Holy Qur'an, which underlines the two main themes he discusses in his prefatory material: language and identity. According to this verse (30:22, Al-Hilali and Khan 1419 AH [1998 or 1999]:544):

"وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ خَلْقُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَاخْتِلَافُ أَلْسِنَتِكُمْ وَأَلْوَانِكُمْ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّلْعَالَمِينَ"

And among His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the difference of your languages and colours; verily, in that are indeed signs for men of sound knowledge.

In invoking this verse, Baomrani uses Islamic discourse, which has always preached equality and celebrated heterogeneity, to undermine the mainstream official discourses in North Africa in general and in Morocco in particular. The official discourses in North Africa have always sought to homogenise the region's populations, ignoring their ethnic diversity. These unifying practices are most apparent in identifying Moroccans and Algerians as both Arab and Muslim, thus disregarding the Berber constituent of the population (Section 2.4). Baomrani summons a widely cited verse of the Holy Qur'an to promote his Berber cause and legitimise the Berber demands, the most important of which are the inclusion of the Berber entity as one of the definers of the Moroccan identity and Tamazight as an official language alongside Arabic. This example demonstrates an interesting strategy in which the activist translator exploits the source text itself, or stretches of it, to promote his own national cause. It allows Baomrani to achieve two things: first, he legitimises the demands of the Berbers by situating them within the Qur'anic discourse, and second, he wards off any scepticism regarding his intentions by situating himself within the mainstream Islamic culture.

Baomrani exploits the source text further by claiming it as a model of the very cause he is committed to promoting. According to Baomrani (Baomrani 2003: 1, my translation):

وقد ضرب القرآن الكريم مثلاً يدعو الأمم إلى تبادل الحضارات، وذلك المثل هو اشتغال القرآن الكريم المنزل
بلسان عربي مبين، على ألفاظ أعجمية، كلها أخذت من الأمم المجاورة لموطن العرب، كالألفاظ فارسية ورومانية
وحبشية.

The Holy Qur'an provides a model that calls upon nations to engage in cultural exchange. This model is evident in the fact that the Holy Qur'an, which is revealed in an eloquent Arabic tongue, includes non-Arabic words taken from nations neighbouring the Arabs' homeland, such as the Persians, Romans and Abyssinians.

This discourse of co-existence, which is best exemplified in the inclusion of foreign linguistic elements in the Arabic Holy Qur'an, is one that Baomrani calls for in connection with the Berbers. He does not endorse a separatist discourse, but rather an inclusive one where the diverse ethnic elements of the population can co-exist peacefully and are equally represented in all sectors of social and political life.

The prefatory material also highlights the translator's vacillation between two positions, both supporting and challenging the assertions of the source text, which elaborates a positive narrative of the Islamic conquests. As Baomrani states (Baomrani 2003:1, my translation):

فالأمازيغية من أقدم لغات العالم، يقدم أمتها في وطنها شمال أفريقيا. ورغم ما تعرض لها وطنها من غزو أجنبي، ومن تهمة عبر القرون، فإنها لم تمت كما ماتت لغات أخرى ومع ذلك يجب أن تتفتح على العالم، وتأخذ من المصطلحات العلمية شأنها في ذلك شأن اللغات الحية المتطورة.

Tamazight is among the oldest languages in the world, as old as the Berber nation in its North African homeland. Despite all the foreign invasions of its homeland and centuries of marginalisation, Tamazight has not died out like other languages. [...] And yet it must [now] open up to the world and borrow scientific terms like other living, developing languages.

Not only does Baomrani challenge the assertions of his translated text, he also challenges the primary claims circulating in the mainstream official media, according to which the history of North Africa begins with the advent of Islam. According to Baomrani, North African history extends back to ancient times, pre-dating the Arabo-Islamic غزو (invasion) of North Africa, when the Berbers were the native people. Those legitimate dwellers of North Africa were exposed to foreign invasions over the centuries, and were as a result relegated to the peripheries. The choice of the terms أجنبي (foreign) and غزو (invasion) is highly meaningful. The Holy Qur'an and the Islamic narratives have always described this *invasion* as الفتوحات²⁸ (Islamic openings), implying that Arabo-Islamic colonisation brought salvation and prosperity to the indigenous people. By referring to the Islamic conquests of North Africa as غزو أجنبي (foreign invasion), Baomrani challenges one of the main Islamic claims in the very text he translates, relegating the Muslim Arab conquerors to the position of mere *invaders*.

²⁸ In the Islamic context, the Islamic conquests are referred to as *futūḥāt*, the literal meaning of which is 'openings'. According to Hendawi (2013:3), "[i]n the military context, [the verb] *fataḥa* ['open'] is usually applied only to the actions of the Muslims in bringing Islamic rule to other lands. They opened those lands to Islam, inviting but not forcing the native people to join Islam. But when other powers conquered other nations, they did not open them, and another verb in Arabic is used for their conquests".

This labelling technique commonly features in Berberist discourses, where many Berber activists prefer to signal their attitudes by employing challenging terminological choices. Terms such as the *Maghreb Union*²⁹, the *Aramaic script*,³⁰ and, most importantly the *Arab invasions* have been used to challenge the official mainstream claims in North Africa. Against this background, Baomrani's use of the term الغزو الأجنبي (foreign invasion) signals his narrative position. The writer Abdulmajid Alhamdawi explains the implications of each term in the Electronic Hespress Newspaper (Alhamdawi 2012: my translation):

ببساطة لأن التسمية تعكس بالضرورة موقفنا القناعي (الإيديولوجي) من مسألة دخول المسلمين شمال أفريقيا .
اختيارك لمقولة من المقولتين يحدد موقفك من انتشار الإسلام واستمراره في شمال أفريقيا والمغرب الأقصى
كنموذج. إما أن تكون من المسرورين المبتهجين بإسلامية المغرب ومن الراغبين في إدامته وترسيخه في كل
طيات المجتمع، أو أنت من الرافضين الأشداء لذلك والداعين لنظام علماني محض

Simply this labelling definitely reflects our ideological stance regarding the Muslims' entrance to North Africa. Choosing one of the two labels [opening or invasion] determines your attitude towards the spread of Islam and its continuity in, for example, North Africa and the far Maghreb. You are either one of those happy and optimistic about the Islamisation of Morocco, who wants it to continue and penetrate all aspects of society, or you are one of the fierce opponents of this [Islamisation] and proponents of an absolute secular discourse.

The word *foreign* carries further connotations, as it implies *us* against *others*, thus distinguishing the Berber nation from a collective Arab identity that North African states have imposed on their populations. This *otherness*, as Aital observes, has always been 'an intrinsic part of the Berber experience' (2014:55).

To assert his claims of a distinct Berber identity, Baomrani foregrounds Tamazight as one of its most distinguishing elements, using it to achieve two aims: first, to reposition the Berbers in relation to the Islamo-Arabic culture; and second, to create a pan-Berber identity by unifying the Berbers under one language. For Baomrani, the fact that Tamazight is still spoken today, despite the constant marginalisation it has undergone over the centuries, demonstrates the ability of the Berber identity to survive in the face of dire circumstances.

²⁹ To undermine the claims of the Arabic origin of North Africans, many Berber activists prefer to use the phrase *the Maghreb Union*, instead of *the Arab Maghreb Union*.

³⁰ To challenge the claims of the supremacy of Arab culture in North Africa, Berber activists refer to the Arabic letters as the *Aramaic letters*, pointing out an alternative origin for the script.

Baomrani claims that Tamazight's importance stems from two facts. The first is its contribution to economic and social development in Morocco (Baomrani 2003: 1, my translation):

مع العلم أنها لغة مرنة قابلة لتطور سريع، ساهمت وتساهم في التنمية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية في مجتمعها، وهي قادرة على التكيف مع الحداثة على أحسن وجه.

It should be mentioned that [Tamazight] is a living and versatile language, which is able to develop quickly, and which has contributed to economic and social development in its society and is able to adjust very effectively to modernity.

The second concerns the influential role it has played in propagating Islam (Baomrani 2003: 2, my translation):

ومعلوم أن اللغة الأمازيغية قد ساهمت وقامت بتبليغ العقيدة الإسلامية إلى من جاورها من الأمم.

It is well known that Tamazight has contributed to propagating the religion of Islam to neighbouring nations.

Both reasons can be summed up under the theme of partnership between the Arabs and Berbers, a theme that is prevalent in what is considered *moderate* Berberist discourse. By employing this discourse of partnership, Baomrani attempts to reorganise the linguistic hierarchies in North Africa, repositioning Tamazight alongside rather than beneath the Arabic language, and, by extension moving the Berbers, the speakers of the language, from the periphery to the centre. In contrast to mainstream discourses that have always depicted the Berbers as mere beneficiaries of the Islamic conquests, Baomrani repositions the Berbers as partners in establishing Islamic culture rather than merely converts on the receiving end of the Islamic civilisation.

In addition to repositioning the Berbers along these lines, Baomrani uses Tamazight to unify the Berbers and create a pan-Berber identity, hence his reference to it throughout his preface as one unified language. In doing so, he downplays the various dialects that the Berber language is divided into, some of which are not mutually intelligible. For instance, in Morocco, where Baomrani's translation originated, there are three dialects: the Tarifit dialect in the Rif; the Tamazight dialect in the Mid-Atlas and part of the High-Atlas; and the Tachelhit dialect in the High-Atlas and Anti-Atlas, not to mention the dialect varieties in Algeria and other North African countries (Section 2.2). This raises questions regarding the dialect he has chosen to

use in his translation – questions he does not engage with or address. In downplaying the existence of diverse Tamazight dialects, Baomrani aims to create a sense of one unified homogenous nation that has one unified language. This clearly indicates that he is engaged in a national project and that he aims to create a text that unifies the Berbers all over the world.

The project of promoting a one-size-fits-all translation is not without its detractors. Baomrani is aware of opposing views and attempts to ward off criticism of his stance. As he states below (Baomrani 2003: 3, my translation):

وقد يقول البعض: إنني لا أفهم كثيراً من الأمازيغية التي كتبت بها، وأنا أمازيغي، من الجواب: أن ليس كل من يتكلم العربية مثلاً يفهم القرآن الذي نزل عربياً غير ذي عوج. ولا تنس أبها القاريء الكريم: أن الطفل يبذل جهداً كبيراً في تعلم لغة أمه تدريجياً، فلماذا إذا تريد أنت أن تعرف الأمازيغية الفصيحة دفعة واحدة؟ وهي لغة قائمة بذاتها، لها جميع مقومات اللغة الحية.

Some may say: I do not understand much of the Tamazight in which I have written although I am a Berber! The answer is that not everyone who speaks Arabic, for example, understands the Qur'an, which came down in flawless Arabic tongue. Remember, dear reader, that a child spends much effort in gradually learning his mother tongue, so why should you expect to know literary Tamazight in a single go? It is an independent language with all the elements of a living language.

By questioning the Arabs' own ability to understand their most cherished book, the Qur'an, Baomrani attempts to undermine the linguistic hierarchy in North Africa, where the Arabic language occupies top place. At the same time, he implies that his translation is intended to contribute to developing a standard language that can be learned, recalling Venuti's claim that '[a] translation strategy may ... be affiliated with a national discourse because it employs a dialect that has gained acceptance as the standard dialect or the national language' (2013: 119).

Having demonstrated to the reader the influential role that Tamazight has played throughout history, Baomrani devotes a considerable part of his preface to arguing for the legitimacy of translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, thus pre-empting any attack against his translation. This argument can be read against the backdrop of the heated debates that occurred in the aftermath of the initial release of Baomrani's translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight in 1999 and the consequent official ban of it in the same year. According to Ben Layashi, the translation 'and its temporary publication ban, opened up old wounds' (Ben

Layashi 2007:165). Berber activists from different ideological and political currents, including secular ones, lined up to argue for the legitimacy of the translation of the Holy Qur'an. Given that the Holy Qur'an has been translated into all languages, they asked, why should it not be translated into Tamazight? According to Berber activists, denying the Berbers the right to translate the Holy Qur'an meant denying them one of their linguistic rights. In line with these arguments, and to enhance the legitimacy of his translation, Baomrani (2003: 2, my translation) invokes history:

ومن المشاع أن المغاربة قد قاموا بترجمة القرآن منذ القرن الثاني الهجري، كما نصت الوثائق التاريخية أن الشيخ الحسن بن مسعود اليوسي، المتوفى سنة 1102 هجرية قد أفتى لعالم سوسي بجواز ترجمة القرآن الكريم باللغة الأمازيغية وذلك في عهد السلطان الأعظم مولاي إسماعيل العلوي، المتوفى سنة 1139 هجرية.

It is well known that the Moroccans have been translating the Qur'an since 2nd century AH (c. 8th century AD). In addition, historical documents state that during the reign of the great sultan Moulay Isma'il Al-Alawi (d. 1139 AH / c.1726 CE), Sheikh Al-Hasan bin Mas'ud Al-Yusi (d. 1102 AH / c.1690 CE) issued a *fatwa* [Islamic legal ruling] to a Sousi scholar permitting him to translate the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight.

The translation in question was done by Saleh bin Tarif, the founder of the Barghwata state, who proclaimed himself a prophet of God in the eighth century. Bin Tarif's notorious translation was deemed heretical by Muslims and was consequently burnt (Section 2.7.1). His was the first Berberist attempt to use translation as a decolonising tool, usurping the Arabic Qur'an to reclaim the glories of the Berber nation. By foregrounding Saleh bin Tarif's translation, Baomrani reminds the reader of the Barghwata revolution, one of the first attempts to preserve the Berber identity in the face of sweeping assimilationist Islamic conquests. Baomrani thus takes advantage of the preface to renarrate the Berber history from a Berberist perspective, challenging Islamic claims that have always referred to the Barghwata state as a counter-Islamic project and to bin Tarif's translation as heretical.

Interestingly, too, this extract from the preface reveals another attempt to legitimise Baomrani's translation, in light of the absence of any established body to *consecrate* it, by recalling an old *fatwa*, i.e. a ruling on an issue by an Islamic authority, approving the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. What is significant about this *fatwa* is that it was issued during the reign of the Moroccan Alawi King, Moulay Isma'il al-Alawi, an ancestor of the current King Mohammed VI. Hence, Baomrani indirectly challenges possible claims that translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight is an attempt to dethrone the current monarchy,

by referring to the fact that it was not conceived of as a threat to the Alawi monarchy in the 18th century, and hence should not be conceived of as such by the current monarchy. Baomrani (2003:2: my translation) goes on to ask a question raised by many Berber activists:

أما بالنسبة للأمم الأخرى فقد ترجمت معاني القرآن الكريم إلى أكثر من ستمئة لغة في العالم ، ومن الغريب جدا أن تستفيد الأمم المسلمة وغير المسلمة من معاني القرآن الكريم ، بينما تقاعست وبدون موجب بعض الشعوب بالقيام بهذا العمل المفيد، ولا سيما إذا كانت الدولة أمة مسلمة.

As for other nations, the meanings of the Holy Qur'an have been translated into more than 600 languages throughout the world. It is very surprising that while many Muslim and non-Muslim nations benefit from the meanings of the Holy Qur'an, other nations, especially Muslim ones, have neglected the undertaking of this beneficial work without any reason.

As can be seen in this extract, although Baomrani rejects the imposition of an Arab identity upon the Berbers, he asserts the Islamic constituent of that identity by referring to the Berbers as a Muslim nation, thus reflecting a tendency among moderate Berber activists to identify themselves as Muslims, in contrast to radical Berber activists.

In addition to past attempts to translate the Holy Qur'an, Baomrani (2003: 2, my translation) also draws attention to the present by pointing to the recommendation of the Council of Muslim Scholars to translate the Holy Qur'an into all languages, thus legitimising his translation by situating it within the current mainstream Islamic discourse and presenting it as a positive response to it:

ومما أثلج صدري وقوى إيماني ، ما قرره مجلس علماء الإسلام بالقاهرة: ألا وهو أن يترجم القرآن الكريم بجميع لغات الشعوب، وقد حضر في ذلك المؤتمر علماء من المغرب.

وتلبية لذلك النداء من جهة، والقيام ببعض الواجب من جهة ثانية، واقتداء باجدادنا الذين ترجموا الأمهات الفقهية بالأمازيغية .

واقترعت الله تعالى، واقترحت هذا الموضوع، الذي هو ترجمة معاني القرآن الكريم بالأمازيغية .

My heart was gladdened and my faith strengthened by the decision of the Council of Muslim Scholars in Cairo, at a conference attended by Moroccan scholars, to translate the Holy Qur'an into all languages.

Partly in response to that appeal, and partly out of duty, and following in the footsteps of our ancestors who translated sources of *fiqh* [Islamic jurisprudence] into Tamazight.

In emulation of those scholars, I sought the best guidance from Allah Almighty and embarked on this translation of the meanings of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight.

To further situate the translation as an Islamic project and emphasise its value, Baomrani (2003:3, my translation) draws the reader's attention to the religious usefulness of the text:

لماذا الترجمة بالأمازيغية؟ من الجواب: أن القرآن الكريم نزل رحمة للناس كافة، ومن حق كل شخص بل من الواجب عليه، أن يقرأ ما تيسر من القرآن ويفهمه، ومن المفيد للإسلام أن يترجم ويبلغ للعالم أجمع. وأتمنى أن تساعد هذه الترجمة على فهم مباشر لمن لا يعرف سوى الأمازيغية. وقد تفيد من لم يتخصص في العلوم الدينية، وكذلك من توقف عن الدراسة مبكراً

Why translate into Tamazight? For one thing, the Holy Qur'an was revealed as a mercy to all of mankind and it is the right of every person—indeed his duty—to read from it what is easy for him and understand it. In addition, it is beneficial for Islam that the Qur'an is translated and transmitted to the whole world.

I hope that this translation facilitates a direct understanding for those who know only Tamazight and that it may benefit those who are not specialised in the religious sciences, as well as those who stopped studying at an early age.

To enhance the value of his text and further situate it in the mainstream Islamic discourse, Baomrani reveals the resources he used in the translation (2003: 2, my translation):

اعتمدت في هذا العمل رواية ورش بن نافع، مستعيناً بطريقة الترجمات من بعض اللغات، ومركزاً على التفسير المشهورة، وعلى أمهات مراجع اللغة العربية. مع الاعتماد على تفسير القرآن، بالقرآن، وبالأحاديث الصحيحة وقول الصحابي.

I have based this work on the *riwāyah* 'transmission' of Warsh ibn Nafi', benefitting from translations of the Holy Qur'an into other languages and concentrating on the well-known commentaries and Arabic language reference books. In addition, in my translation I depended on interpreting the Qur'an, using the Qur'an itself, attested *ḥadīth* 'Prophet's sayings' and the sayings of the *ṣahāba* (disciples).

These discursive moves on the part of Baomrani demonstrate that while he seeks to undermine some of the widespread claims about the Berbers in North Africa, he is careful to situate himself and his translation within respected, mainstream Islamic discourses and to align himself with a widely accepted national and Islamic agenda. He is also careful not to arouse the anger of the ruling authorities in Morocco, and other extracts demonstrate that he is keen to offer gestures of appreciation of King Mohammad VI's partial acknowledgement of Berber culture and language. According to Baomrani (2003:2, my translation):

ومن بشارات مستقبل اللغة الأمازيغية في مغربنا الديمقراطي الحالي: تأسيس المعهد الملكي للثقافة الأمازيغية من طرف جلالة الملك محمد السادس نصره الله، ومعه الشعب المغربي بكامله.

In our current democratic Morocco, the establishment of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture by His Majesty King Mohammed VI, may Allah grant him victory, along with the whole Moroccan people, is good news for the future of Tamazight.

Baomrani refers to Morocco as *our current democratic Morocco*, acknowledging the recent reforms initiated during the reign of King Mohammad VI. Using the pronoun *our* to modify the proper noun *Morocco* enhances his discourse of inclusiveness and positions the Berbers as partners of the Arabs in Morocco.

Turning to his **choice of language**, there is some contradiction between what Baomrani claims in his nationalist discourse and the language he uses to articulate this discourse. Against the general norms of translated books, Baomrani writes his preface in Arabic, the language of the source text (rather than the presumed target audience), and the language of the dominant Arabo-Islamic community. This suggests an acceptance on his part of the fact that Berbers cannot escape their Arabo-Islamic heritage. The preface is thus an important site where the complex relationship between the Arabs and the Berbers is most clearly revealed. Attempts to undermine the hierarchical relationship between the two languages are paradoxically undercut by practices that further entrench the Arabic language as the dominant mode of expression in the region. Another explanation for writing an Arabic preface is that Baomrani could be targeting an Arab Audience in North Africa and the Arab world in an attempt to draw their attention to the Berber state.

4.2.4 The Script

Baomrani's choice of script can be accounted for in terms of the socio-political context of the translation, which was initially published in 1999, prior to the official adoption of the Tifinagh script by Morocco in 2003. Baomrani's decision to encode his translation using the Arabic script constitutes a framing strategy which entails both a *selection* (i.e. Arabic script) and *deselection* (i.e. Tifinagh and Latin scripts).

By adopting the Arabic script, Baomrani signals to the government, and the conservative reader, that he is a moderate Berber activist with a non-radical stance towards the Arabic language and culture. In doing so, he attempts to legitimise his translation as a mainstream one and garner moral support for it from the government and the conservative elite. As Mostafa Antara (Antara 2004, my translation) argues in *al-ḥewār* newspaper, 'it is likely that Jouhadi [Baomrani] has chosen the Arabic script to avoid clashing with Tamazight opponents in the government [...] and the academic field'. Conversely, by *deselecting* the Latin script, the

translator distances himself from widely spread discourses in North Africa that regard the endorsers of the Latin script as proponents of Western assimilative agendas. As Baomrani himself notes in presenting the rationale for this deselection, if he used the Latin script, he 'might be accused of sympathising with the [French] colonisation' (Baomrani, cited in Antara 2004).

More importantly, selecting the Arabic script to encode the Tamazight language enhances those discourses that articulate and draw attention to the partnership between the Arabs and the Berbers. Baomrani, in line with moderate Berber activists, promotes these discourses in his preface and other parts of his translation, and highlights the centuries-long collaboration between the two cultures in promoting Islam and establishing the Islamic culture.

Aside from the translator's motives, the choice of script in the translation clearly demonstrates the role of translation in maintaining asymmetrical relationships between languages. In Baomrani's translation, the choice of Arabic script reflects Arabic language hegemony in the socio-cultural context in Morocco, a hegemony that this translation inadvertently sustains.

Baomrani demonstrates how the translator, in his quest for freedom and a distinct identity, can use as a means for achieving his goals the most sacred texts, without risking his credibility or that of the text. This could be achieved through his innovative and unconventional use of peritextual elements around the text, which, in addition to promoting Berber language and culture, managed to attract attention to the Berber community in the first place. For example, peritextual elements on both the front and back covers were a far cry from rigid mainstream covers of the Holy Qur'an, featuring unconventional choice of colours, untraditional layout and Tifinagh characters. By breaking away from traditional Qur'an covers, Baomrani was in fact rebelling against then-existing homogenising practices in Morocco and calling for all-embracing new policies where Berbers are an integral part of the Moroccan community. In addition, Baomrani used prefatory space to challenge widely circulated discourses about the Berbers and the Arabs conquerors, introducing instead his own narrative of the Berbers and renarrating their own history from a new Berberist perspective. However, the Arab domination in North Africa was so entrenched that it was not

easy to shatter in one go or one translational project. This is why Baomrani had, deliberately or inadvertently, to succumb to this dominance. Again, it was through peritexts that such interplay between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices was most revealed.

4.3 Tayeb's Translation

Se Hajj Mohannad Tayeb is one of the two Algerian translators of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. He was born in 1934 in Tizi Ouzou in Kabylie region in Algeria (Section 1.3). His religious education as well as his participation in the Algerian war of independence has influenced his perception of the Berber community in North Africa and its relations with the surrounding Arab majority. Similar to many Berber Islamists, Tayeb believes in the primacy of the Arabic language and heritage and that the Berbers are part of a pan-Islamic world, dismissing increasing calls from Berber activists to sever their links with the Arabic language and heritage. His translation of the Holy Qur'an is the epitome of his efforts to narrate the Berbers as part of the Arab-Islamic culture and strengthen their ties with it.

4.3.1 The Front Cover, the Title Page and Preliminary Material

Tayeb's front cover can be considered a framing tool in so far as it stimulates the reader, through choosing paratextual materials typical of the front covers of the mainstream copies of the Holy Qur'an (e.g. calligraphy, colour and floral ornaments), to associate his translation with mainstream and approved translation of the Holy Qur'an. In addition, this association with approved translations constructs the Berber as part of the Islamic world. In contrast to Baomrani's translation, readers of Tayeb's translation will immediately recognise from **the front cover** that what they are holding in their hands is a copy of the Holy Qur'an. This bears the title *القرآن الكريم وترجمة معانيه إلى اللغة الأمازيغية (اللهجة القبائلية)* [The Holy Qur'an and the translation of its meanings into Tamazight (The Kabyle Dialect)] (2013), and features two further textual elements: a subtitle and a declaration of sponsorship, all in Arabic. It also features two non-textual elements: Arabic Islamic calligraphy and gold floral ornaments, typical of traditional covers of the Holy Qur'an (Figure 4.5). More specifically, the cover of the book is the standard front cover of the King Fahad Complex, which is evocative of both the subject matter of the book and the publication house (with its all associations), thus aligning the translation with the mainstream institutional setting of Qur'an translations. As in

Baomrani's version, the title القرآن الكريم (The Holy Qur'an) (item A in Figure 4.5) is written in Ottoman font³¹ and placed in the middle of the cover, here inside an ornamented gold circle, in large font. Beneath the title, in the same circle, the subtitle, written in small font, reads وترجمة معانيه إلى اللغة الأمازيغية

(اللهجة القبايلية) (and the Translation of its Meanings into Tamazight (The Kabyle Dialect)) (item B in Figure 4.5). Not only does the front cover foreground Tamazight as a fully-fledged language, but it also recognises the existence of Tamazight dialects, with the Kabyle dialect being foregrounded.

At the bottom of the front cover, there is a declaration of sponsorship, which reads

وقف لله تعالى من خادم الحرمين الشريفين الملك عبدالله بن عبدالعزيز آل سعود , i.e. An endowment for the sake of Allah by the Custodian of the two Holy Mosques King Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz Al-Saud (item C in Figure 4.5). This situates the text temporally (i.e. we know the translation was undertaken during the reign of King Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz) and spatially (i.e. in Saudi Arabia), thus inviting certain readings of it, varying from trustworthy and mainstream to extremist and exclusionist, depending on the reader's view of Saudi Arabia and the brand of Islam it propagates. Because of the significance of the *endowment* in Islam, this declaration of sponsorship also lends weight to the translation. Therefore, not only does Tayeb's translated text derive a great deal of its legitimacy from being an endowment, but also from the political capital of the endower, King Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz, the former king of Saudi Arabia.

The all-Arabic front cover is the standard cover for all the translations done under the auspices of the King Fahad Complex, a practice that reflects a belief in the supremacy of the Arabic language as the language of the Qur'an – irrespective of the language into which the Qur'an is translated.

³¹ Ottoman script owes its name to the Muslim Caliph Othman Bin Affan because it was used for the first time during his reign.

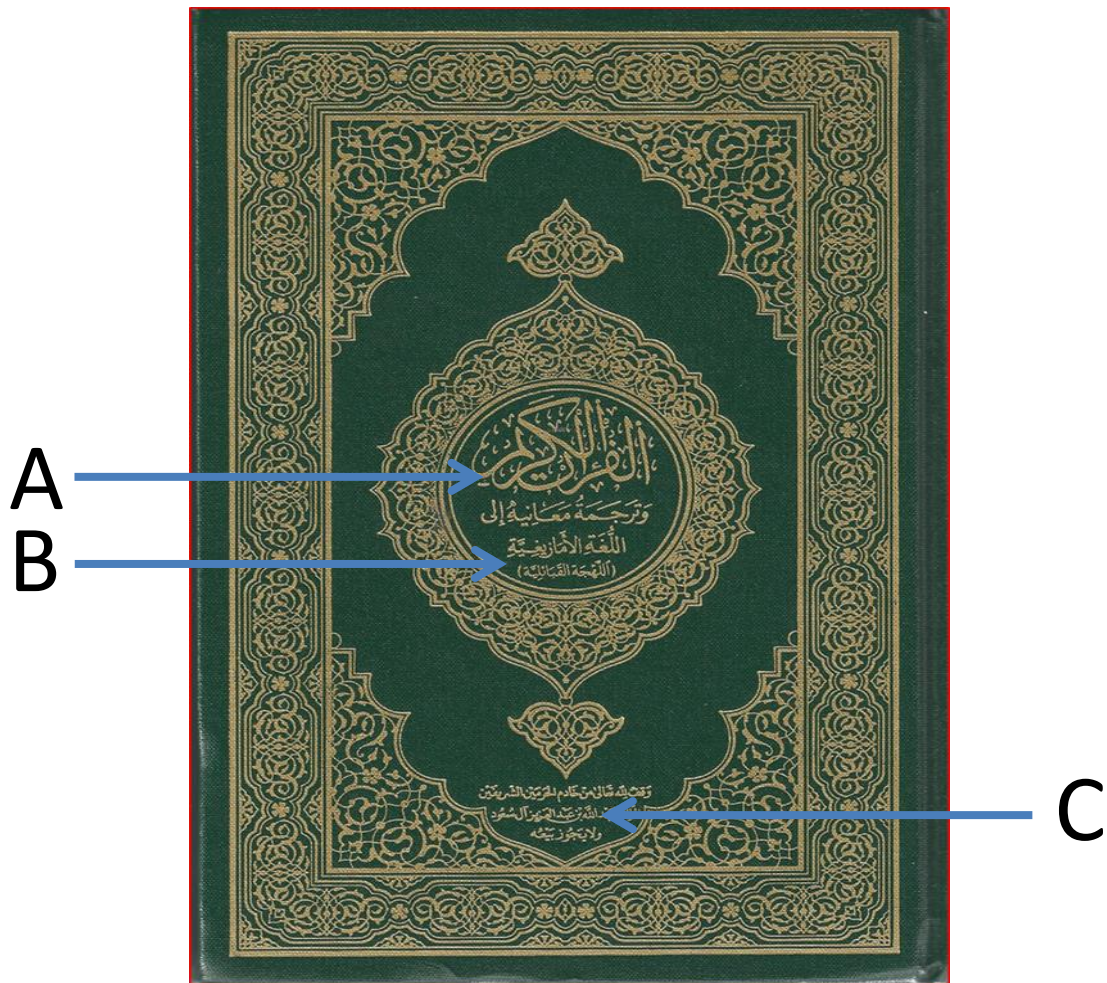


Figure 4.5: Tayeb's Front Cover

Page 3, **the half title page**, features two verses from the Qur'an that refer to the Holy Book itself (Figure 4.6 - A and B), both heavily ornamented in typical Islamic design and calligraphy. Tamazight makes its first appearance at the bottom of the page, with the sponsor/commissioner statement '[t]he Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz Al-Saud, the King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, is honoured to order the printing of this Noble Qur'an with a translation of its meanings', written in Tamazight in Arabic script (the section highlighted as C in Figure 4.6). The same wording is reproduced in Arabic further down, at the bottom of the page, where it is embedded in an ornamented frame, thus further foregrounding the Arabic language as the main reference point (Figure 4.6, section D).

Reference to King Abdullah as *the King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Custodian of the Two Holy mosques*, which is the norm in all King Fahad Complex's translations, lends the translation both political and religious weight.

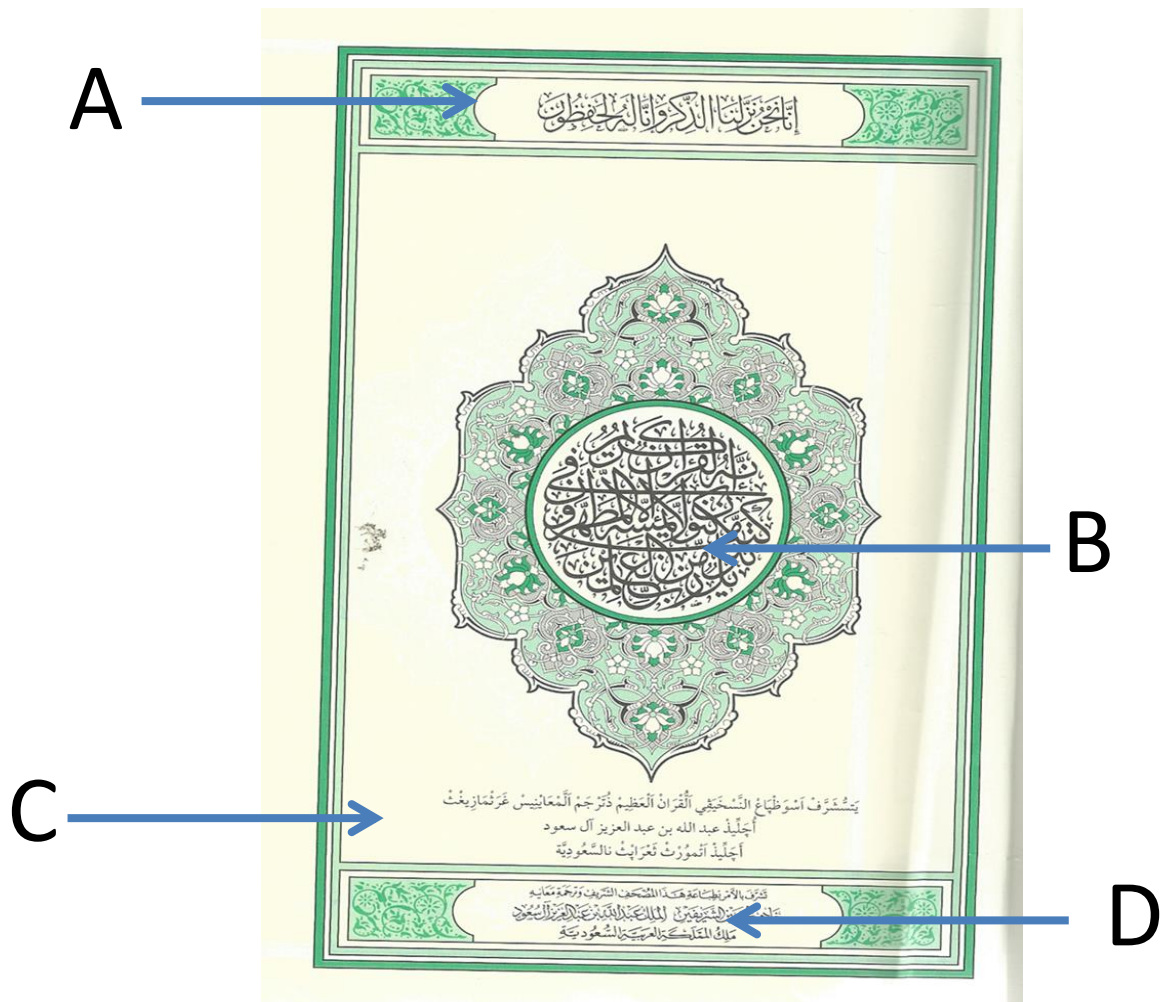
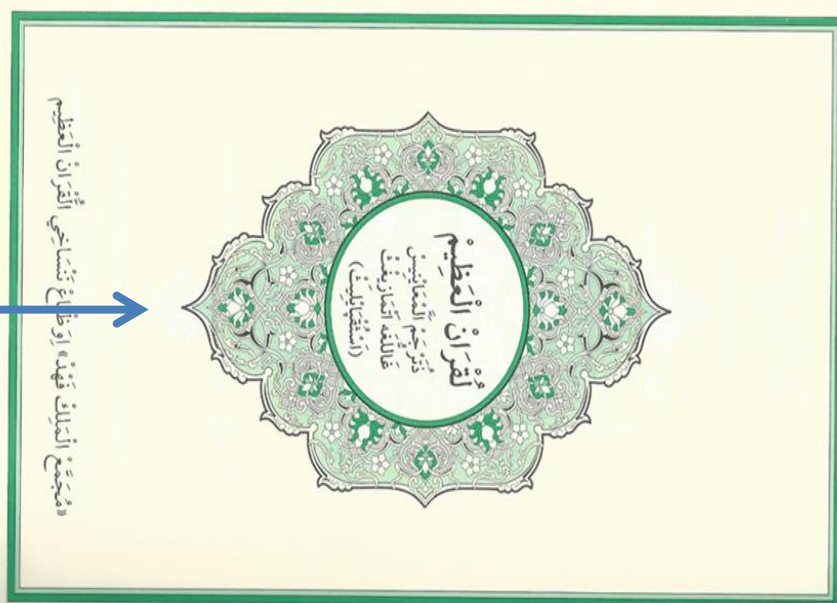


Figure 4.6: Tayeb's Half Title Page

The following two pages (Figure 4.7) are **title pages** which feature the same textual and non-textual elements, once in Arabic (item A on Figure 4.7) and once in Tamazight (item B). In addition to the typical Islamic ornamentation, both pages feature the title of the book and the name of the publishing house, King Fahad Complex for the Printing of the Glorious Qur'an, which is introduced to the reader for the first time. This official religious Saudi institution, which was launched in 1985, has come to be one of the most recognised and prestigious centres for the translation of the Holy Qur'an. According to the complex's website, it has translated the Holy Qur'an into sixty-three languages: thirty-three Asian, fifteen European and the remaining fifteen African (Section 1.3). As a leading institution for printing and translating the Holy Qur'an, the mention of King Fahad Complex further raises the status of the translation and aligns it with mainstream perspectives on the Qur'an, and the supremacy of the Arabic language.

B



A



Figure 4.7: Tayeb's Title pages

Page six reproduces, in addition to the Islamic ornaments at the top of the page, the declaration of sponsorship on the front cover, here emphasised with the phrase *يوزع مجاناً* 'distributed freely'. At the bottom of the page, the two phrases are translated into Tamazight.

In contrast to Baomrani's translation, which displays his name on the front cover, the name of the translator is not revealed to the reader until **page 7** (Figure 4.8, item C); other elements featured on this page include the title (item A), the subtitle of the book (item B), and the name of the publishing house (item D). The delay in introducing the name of the translator in this case may be explained by the prestige of the publishing house and the political and religious associations evoked by foregrounding it, which give it more weight than Tayeb's name. It is worth noting, however, that Tayeb's name is preceded and enhanced by the title *Shaykh*³², which implies religious knowledge and piety and hence lends weight to both the translation and the translator, as it denotes that the translator has sufficient religious expertise to enable him to undertake a translation of the Holy Qur'an. Tayeb is thus officially endorsed twice: by the title bestowed upon him, and more importantly, by the fact that he produced his translation in collaboration with a highly prestigious institution.

³² Also *Shaikh* or *Sheikh*, is a form of address that is bestowed upon a man in an Arab society – one who is important or wealthy or respected for his piety or religious learning.

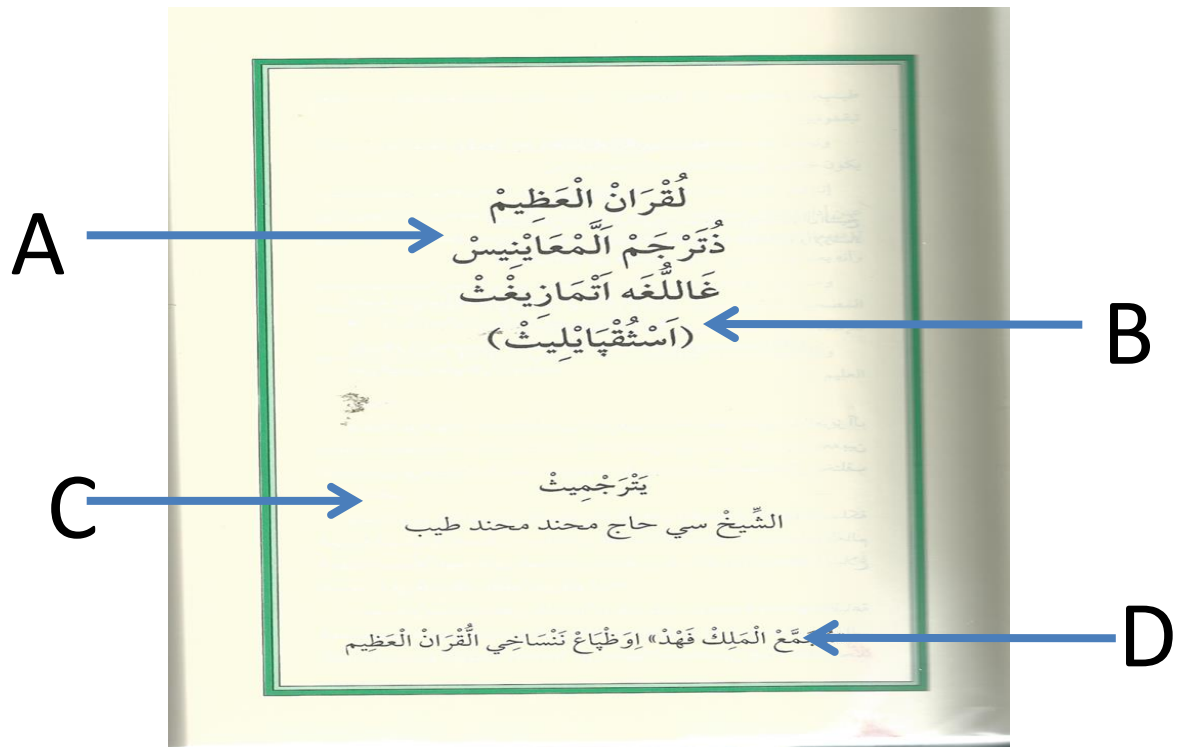


Figure 4.8: Page 7 in Tayeb's Translation

It is worthy to note that Tayeb's translation, conforming to one of the conditions proposed by the ulama of the Al-Azhar for translating the Holy Qur'an (Chapter One), which stipulates incorporating the original text in the translation, features in the body text of the translation the Arabic original text of the Holy Qur'an facing a parallel Berber translation.

In summary, a number of peritextual devices on the front cover, the title page, and subsequent preliminary material explicitly frame Tayeb's translation as reliable and authorised. Most importantly, the fact that the translation is presented as an endowment by King Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz, the highest political and religious authority in Saudi Arabia, and the involvement of a prestigious, mainstream publishing house, i.e. the King Fahad Complex, in printing and revising the translation both embed the text within established Arabo-Islamic culture. The design of the front cover, with its Islamic ornaments and Arabic calligraphy, and the title Shaykh that precedes the translator's name similarly place the translation within an Arabo-Islamic context and endow both the translator and the translation with religious and cultural capital. While the paratexts nevertheless bring the Berber language and nation to the attention of a wide readership, they do so within an Islamic framework, aligning the Berbers

and their culture with the mainstream, pan-Islamic culture as well as maintaining or reinforcing, perhaps to the disappointment of Berber activists, the asymmetrical relationship between Arabic language and Tamazight.

4.3.2 The back cover

Unlike Baomrani, Tayeb is unlikely to have a say on the back cover components since these elements are the responsibility of the publisher, which in this instance is not Tayeb. Consequently, these epitextual elements are more likely to reflect the views of the publisher, King Fahad Complex in Saudi Arabia. Tayeb's back cover (Figure 4.9) consists of a translation of the Arabic front cover into Tamazight. As observed earlier (Section 4.2.2), pushing the language of the target culture to the back cover is not limited to the Tamazight translation of the Holy Qur'an, but is consistent with an approach that is applied to all translations completed by King Fahad Complex. This apparently arises from a belief on the part of those supervising the King Fahad complex translations in the primacy of Arabic language as the language of the Holy Qur'an. Ironically, although this established Saudi institution has recognised the existence of Berbers and their language, it has done so while retaining a hierarchical linguistic structure that maintains the superiority of the Arabic language. This linguistic asymmetry is part of what Berber activists seek to eliminate, and demonstrates how translation can sometimes assert rather than challenge existing linguistic hierarchies.

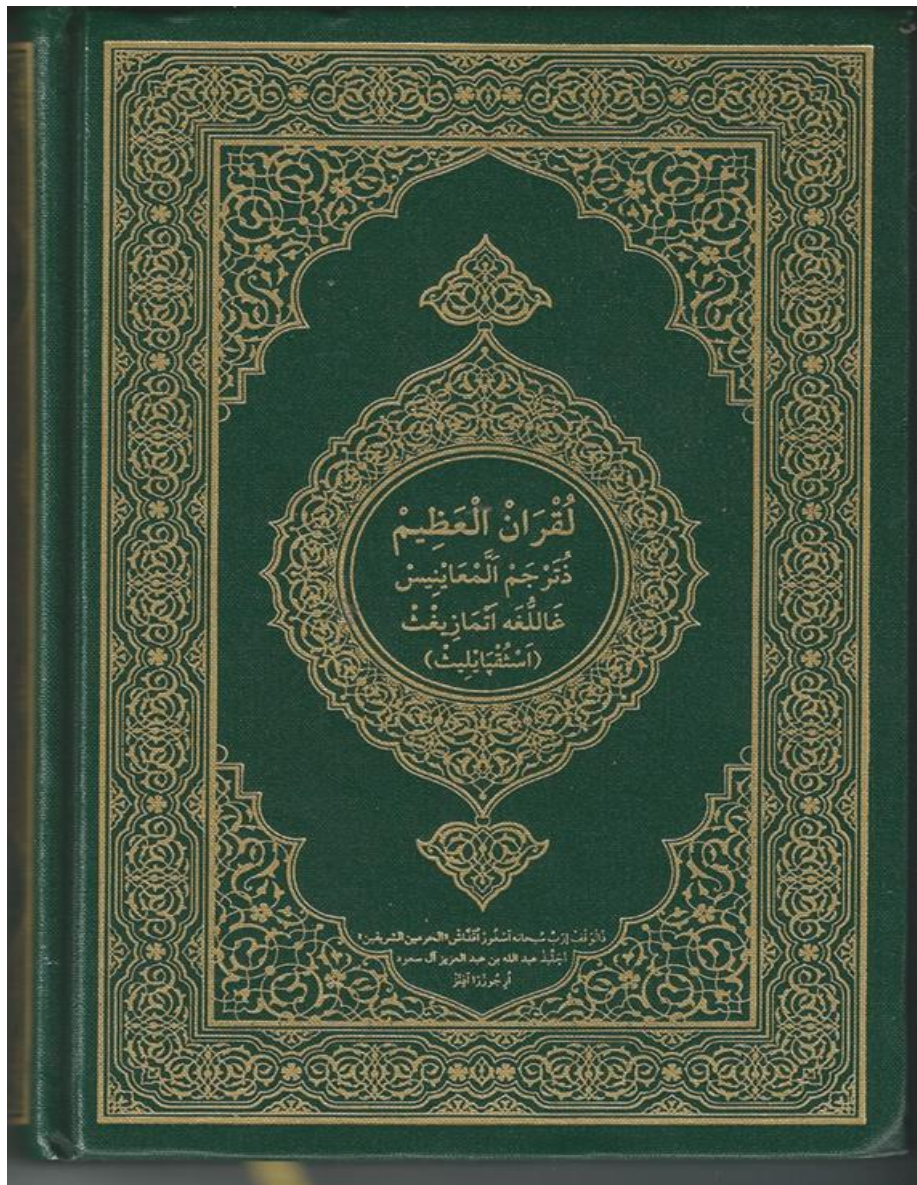


Figure 4.9: The Back Cover of Tayeb's translation



Figure 4.10: A picture of Tayeb showing him wearing the traditional attire of religious scholars.

4.3.3 The Prefatory Material

Similar to Baomrani, Tayeb's prefatory material to his translation of the Holy Qur'an addresses the Berber question, though in a strikingly different way. What first strikes the reader about Tayeb's translation is the four prefatory items that precede it: an allographic preface, written by the Saudi Minister of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance, Shaikh Saleh ibn Abdulaziz ibn Muhammad Al al-Shaikh, who also happens to be the General Supervisor and the Head of King Fahd Complex's High Commission; and three short authorial prefaces written by the translator—مقدمة المترجم (The Translator's Introduction), كلمة المترجم (A Word from the Translator), and خطة العمل المتبعة في الترجمة (The Translation Work Plan).

In his *Translator's Introduction*, Tayeb draws the reader's attention to the value of his translation by demonstrating the various stages of review and examination it has gone through, foregrounding the role of the King Fahd Complex for Printing the Glorious Qur'an. In his second prefatory element, *A Word from the Translator*, Tayeb draws the reader's attention to his credentials as a translator of the holy text by highlighting his linguistic skills and religious background. He then moves on to outline the steps he followed during the translation. In his third prefatory element, *Translation Work Plan*, Tayeb writes in detail about his method of translation. He also discusses the restrictions he observed during the translation process and explains to the reader how to read the Berber translation in Arabic script. On the whole, the three prefatory elements written by the translator seek to emphasise the importance of the translation and the translator. They will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of the allographic preface.

The Translator's Introduction

The first few lines of مقدمة المترجم *The Translator's Introduction* fulfil the prefatory function of value enhancement, pointing out to readers that the material in their hands is rather special. According to Tayeb (2013, my translation):

قبل أن توضع الترجمة للطباعة بين أيدي الفنين خضعت الترجمة لتصحيح نخبة من العلماء، بمجمع الملك فهد لطباعة المصحف الشريف، الذين سخروا كفاءتهم العالية، وجهدهم الجاد، ووقتهم الثمين، من أجل إخراج الترجمة على أكمل وجه ممكن..وبالفعل فإن كل ذلك جعلنا نثق تمام الثقة ، وبكل اطمئنان أن الترجمة تتوافق- في حدود إمكانيات القدرة البشرية- مع ما ورد من قواعد وأحكام في كلام الله العزيز

Before the translation was handed over to the typographers, it was corrected by a select group of scholars at the King Fahd Complex for Printing the Glorious Qur'an, who contributed their great skill, serious effort and valuable time to make this translation as perfect as possible. Indeed, all this has given us complete confidence that the translation is consistent—as much as is humanly possible—with the principles and rulings mentioned in the word of Almighty Allah.

Tayeb draws the reader's attention to the fact that this translation, in contrast to Baomrani's solo project, has been approved and produced by the most prestigious authority of our time, dedicated to the service of the Holy Qur'an, namely, the King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Glorious Qur'an. Needless to say, the involvement of the King Fahd Complex enhances the value of the translation in two primary ways: firstly, it *consecrates* the translator and bestows literary capital on him; and secondly, it confers legitimacy upon the translation. Tayeb (2013, my translation) further emphasises this role by expressing his gratitude to the Complex and its scholars:

وإننا لندين لهم بكل عبارات الامتنان، ومشاعر التبجيل والشكر والعرفان، فأجزل الله لهم الجزاء عن خدمة
الإسلام ولغة القرآن

We owe them a deep debt of gratitude and greatest respect. May Allah reward them generously for their service to Islam and the language of the Qur'an.

Such expressions of thanks, whether to institutions or individuals, are included by preface writers to enhance the value of their work; the more recognised the individuals and institutions, the higher the value of the work in question (Genette 1997: 211).

Aside from value enhancement, foregrounding the role of the King Fahad Complex situates both the translator and his work within a pan-Islamic frame that goes beyond the limited Berber nationalist frame associated with a translation into a minority language such as Tamazight. This is due to the socio-cultural associations that a Saudi religious institute such as the King Fahd Complex inevitably activate in the reader's mind. Occupying a very central position in the Arab and Islamic world, Saudi Arabia obtains its primacy partly because it has the two holiest Islamic cities (Makkah and Madinah) within its borders, and partly from being one of the world's wealthiest countries. Gallarotti and Al-Filali (2014:1) observe that 'Saudi Arabian power is grounded in both the hard power of its oil wealth and the soft power of its cultural importance', which 'inheres in a Kingdom that is both the capital of the Muslim and Arab worlds'. Saudi Arabia also propagates a brand of Islam that is viewed by some as

orthodox and by others as extremist. Hence, choosing to work with the King Fahd Complex, which is supervised by the highest religious authorities in Saudi Arabia, signals the religious and political affiliations of the translator and casts him as a pan-Islamist. It is important to note here that this religious affiliation with Saudi Arabia does not hold currency among some Berber activists, such as Baomrani, who has launched a fierce attack on Saudi religious contributions in one of his translations, *ترجمة الحديث القدسي إلى الأمازيغية* [The Translation of the Qudsi Hadiths into Tamazight], referring to them as *petro-dollar* initiatives (Baomrani 2003).

A Word from the Translator

In his second prefatory element, *A Word from the Translator*, Tayeb (2013, my translation) further legitimises his translation by presenting his own credentials as a translator:

نشأت في بيئة لا تتحدث سوى القبايلية وحدها، وهذا ما سمح لي بالإلمام بها إلماماً كافياً أو يكاد، وقد ختمت القرآن الكريم وأعدت (18) حزبا وأنا في القرية لا أعرف ولا كلمة واحدة من العربية ولو بالعامية. وليس سرا إن أعلنت أنني أحفظ الكثير من الشعر القبائلي، العاطفي منه والديني والحكمي، ومن أمثاله وأغازه، بل أزعج أنني أقرض شعرا بالقبايلية. ومعنى هذا، وبكل تواضع، أن ما أتيت لي للإلمام بالقبايلية، قد لا يتاح للجميع. ولعل ذلك ما شجعني على الإقدام على خوض غمار هذه الترجمة المحفوفة بالمزالق والعراقيل، وفي مقدمتها انعدام أي نوع من المراجع مهما كان للاستعانة بها، ولم يبق سوى الاعتماد التام على ما اقتحم الذاكرة من الألفاظ التي تسربت إليها، من خلال المعاملة اليومية العادية وفي بيئة بسيطة.

I was raised in a society where only Kabyle was spoken and this has allowed me to master it almost fully. While in my village, I finished memorising the Holy Qur'an and reread 18 sections of it, while not knowing a single word of classical (or even colloquial) Arabic. It is no secret that I memorise a great deal of Kabyle poetry on romance, religion and wisdom, as well as proverbs and riddles, and I also write Kabyle poetry. This means, with all humility, that what is possible for me to understand in Kabyle may not be possible for everyone. Perhaps that is what encouraged me to embark on this challenging work, which is full of pitfalls and obstacles, foremost of which was the absence of any sources to draw on. I had to rely completely on the recollection of words and phrases picked up through day-to-day dealings in a simple environment.

Tayeb confers a high value upon his translation by claiming himself as an authority in Kabyle, which makes him the best candidate for translating the Qur'an into this dialect, and hence provides the reader with an incentive to read his translation. This runs counter to Genette's claim that while writers of authorial prefaces seek to confer a high value upon the text, they refrain from 'antagonising the reader by too immodestly or simply too obviously, putting a high value on the text author' (1997:198).

Foregrounding the translator's Kabyle origin takes us to issues of identity and language. Kabylie, a region which boasts the largest Berber concentration in Algeria, has always resisted the various colonial powers that came to rule North Africa. Its geographical location, an isolated mountainous area away from the plains where Arab settlers have always dwelt, has helped preserve its language and heritage. Under colonisation, the French made enormous efforts to *Frenchify* the Kabyles and strove to safeguard the region from being *contaminated* by the Arabic language (Section 2.3.1). This explains Tayeb's initial ignorance of the Arabic language. The region, however, was a thorn in the side of French colonisers and later played the same role against the post-independence Algerian ruling government. According to Maddy-Witzman, not only was Kabylie 'the source of both considerable resistance to the French colonization and the focus of French desires to remake the country as a whole through the transformation of Kabyle Berbers into Junior partners denuded of their Islamic coating', but it 'has also been the center of a well-defined force in opposition to Algeria's predominant Arab-Islamic self-definition' (2011: 204).

Kabylie has also been the source of Kabyle-centred pan-Berberism calls that situate Kabylie as the centre of the Berber movement. As a result, adopting the Kabyle dialect as a medium of translation can give rise to diverse contradicting socio-cultural associations. On the one hand, it activates the narratives of Kabyle Berbers' role in fighting against the French colonisers, alongside their Arab counterparts, and thus situates Kabyle Berbers within the mainstream Islamic discourse. On the other hand, it stimulates narratives of resistance to post-independence sociocultural hegemonic practices and Arabisation policies. It also echoes efforts to foreground Berber language and culture, seen by some as *separatist*.

That being said, paratextual devices do not work in a vacuum, but rather in collaboration with each other. In order to determine what claims the preface writer subscribes to and attempts to circulate, we have to explore other authorial paratextual devices, including factual paratexts, such as the preface writer's background, the script he uses, the footnotes he inserts. In Tayeb's case, the choice of Kabyle as the medium of translation does not seem to rest on claims relating to the efficiency of Tamazight in general or Kabyle in particular. Rather, it is grounded in practical reasons (i.e. his competence in Kabyle), which he presents in detail

as already discussed. In fact, the *Arabised* Tayeb is one of the fiercest defenders of the Arabic language in Algeria (Section 1.3). Nevertheless, choosing a particular dialect in which to translate the Holy Qur'an plays a major role in enhancing that dialect, notwithstanding the translator's intentions.

The translator's treatment of the issue of Tamazight constitutes one of the major differences between his translations and the other two translations under discussion. These differences are tied to the activist translator's agenda. Both Baomrani and Mensur, as we will see later (Section 4.4), seek to bring the Berber language and heritage to the fore, though each on his own terms. To that end, Baomrani, for instance, refrains from discussing the limitations of Tamazight, and even takes pain in emphasising its importance. Mensur, on the other hand, discusses these limitations in order to dismiss them, implicitly offering his translation as an example of his efforts to standardise the language. Tayeb, however, does not attempt to foreground the importance of Tamazight as such. He even refers to Tamazight as a language with a very limited vocabulary, telling the reader (Tayeb 2013, my translation):

إن الإشكال ليس في فهم معنى الآية ولكن العثور على ما يناسب معناها في اللغة الأمازيغية المحدودة جدا

it is not understanding the meaning of a verse from Qur'an that poses difficulties for me, but rather finding its equivalent in the very limited Tamazight.

The Translation Work Plan

Tayeb goes on to explain his translational process in the third prefatory element, listing in detail the steps he followed in his translation. He then offers guidelines for future translators. Apart from enhancing his own capital as a translator, this paratextual element does not play a role in situating the translation or the translator within the Berber and Islamic contexts specifically, and is thus of limited interest in the current discussion.

In terms of choice of language, Tayeb – like Baomrani – writes his three prefatory elements in Arabic. This further demonstrates the intertwined relationship between the Arabic language and Islam and between the Arabo-Islamic and Berber cultures. In Tayeb's case, however, the choice of Arabic is not unpredictable, as Tayeb is one of the proponents of the

Arabic language in Algeria, as mentioned previously (Section 1.3). The choice signals the type of audience Tayeb targets in his translation: Arabic-speaking Berbers with strong affiliations with the Arabic language and culture. It also reaffirms the hierarchical positions of languages in North Africa, where the Arabic language remains dominant.

Al-Shaikh's Allographic Preface

The allographic preface written by the Saudi minister of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance, Shaikh Saleh ibn Abdulaziz ibn Muhammad Al Al-Shaikh, accompanies all the translations published by the King Fahad Complex. Having a translation prefaced by someone who enjoys cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) helps *consecrate* both the translator and the translation. Hence, Tayeb is *consecrated* twice: first by the fact that this translation is sponsored by the King Fahd Complex, and second, by having his translation introduced by a scholar with cultural capital.

In addition to the function of *recommending* implicit in allographic prefaces, these prefaces play a major role in shaping the reception of the text in question. In the case of Tayeb's translation, having it introduced by a Saudi religious scholar situates the translation within a pan-Islamic framework, which targets Muslims all over the world, thus accomplishing one of the main functions of the allographic preface, i.e. situating the text within 'the broader context of a genre or the literature of a period' (Genette: 1997: 198), as evident in the following extract written by Al-Shaikh (Al-Shaikh in Tayeb 2013, my translation):

وإيماناً من وزارة الشؤون الإسلامية والأوقاف والدعوة والإرشاد بالمملكة العربية السعودية بأهمية ترجمة معاني القرآن الكريم إلى جميع لغات العالم المهمة تسهيلاً لفهمه على المسلمين الناطقين بغير العربية.

In the firm belief of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the importance of translating the meanings of the Glorious Qur'an into all the important languages of the world, to enable non-Arabic-speaking Muslims to understand it.

Not only does the allographic preface situate the text, it also situates the Berbers within the wider context. Al-Shaikh (Al-Shaikh in Tayeb 2013, my translation) refers to the Berbers as our إخواننا الناطقين بالأمازيغية (Tamazight-speaking brethren), re-narrating them as part of a pan-Islamic society, and goes further by foregrounding the Kabyle dialect and legitimising it:

خدمة لإخواننا الناطقين باللغة الأمازيغية يطيب لمجمع الملك فهد لطباعة المصنف الشريف بالمدينة المنورة أن يقدم للقارئ الكريم هذه الترجمة إلى اللغة الأمازيغية (اللهجة القبايلية) التي قام بها الأستاذ سي حاج محمد محمد طيب، وراجعها من قبل المجمع الدكتور رضا بو شامة، والشيخ محمد طاهر تيقمونين.

As a service to our Tamazight-speaking brethren, the King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Qur'an in al-Madinah al-Munawwarah has the pleasure to present the reader with this translation into Tamazight (Kabyle dialect) by Mr. Ce Hajj Mohammad Mohammad Tayeb, which has been revised on behalf of the Complex by Dr. Redha Bu Shamah and Shaikh Mohammad Tahir Tigmonin.

Notwithstanding the translator's or the sponsoring institution's intentions, the fact that this translation has been produced by a well-recognised Saudi institute and the explicit mention of Tamazight and Kabyle here draws attention to the Berber and their language. The allographic preface may also be read as a political statement that acknowledges the existence of the Berber nation and legitimises their language in general and the Kabyle dialect in particular.

It is worth noting that among the prefatory material of Tayeb's translation, only Al-Shaikh's preface is translated into Tamazight, which may be due to the fact that his influence and cultural capital are stronger than those of the translator, or that his prefaces – which accompany all translations produced by the Complex – are always translated into the target language.

4.3.4 The Script

Similar to Baomrani, Tayeb chooses to encode his translation in the Arabic script, though for what would appear to be different motives. Tayeb, a religious scholar, aligns himself with the Berber Islamists in Algeria, who promote the Arabo-culture assimilative discourse, and hence construct the Berbers as part of the Arabo-Islamic heritage. In particular, Tayeb is one of the fiercest defenders of Arabisation policies (Section 1.3).

In contrast to secular Berbers, Berber Islamists voted for the adoption of the Arabic script to write Tamazight, as it foregrounds the Islamic identity of the Berbers. Due to this religious dimension, the Arabic script situates the translation within the pan-Islamic frame that the translator endorses throughout his translation. Tayeb's choice of script, in sum, can be read as a statement of allegiance to the Arabo-Islamic culture.

Contrary to Baomrani who practised, being the publisher of his own work, a complete control of the peritextual elements around his text, Tayeb's peritextual elements were, except for the preface, the sole responsibility of the publisher, the King Fahad Complex. While this might seem to have reduced the agency of the translator, it influenced the reception of the translation positively, due to the prestigious position of the publishing house. For example, despite the fact that the peritextual elements on the front and back covers of the translation were conventional and compliant with the King Fahad Complex's layout of the Holy Qur'an, with its floral ornaments, Arabic calligraphy and the green covers, the display of Tamazight language on the back cover was a significant endorsement to the Amazigh cause and an acknowledgement of the Amazigh nation within the larger Islamic world. In addition, the highly recognisable cover lends credibility to both the translation and the translator. This indicates that the publisher's position and visibility can be far more important than that of the translator. In this case, the translator can sacrifice his visibility to that of the publisher as the latter's reputation can contribute significantly to the success of his translational project and help him achieve his goals. The allographic preface written by the Saudi minister of Islamic affairs, Endowments, Call and Guidance reclaimed the Berbers to the larger Islamic *Umma* in face of calls to detach them from their Arabo-Islamic heritage. Despite the predominance of the publisher's peritexts, Tayeb was entrusted to write the translator's preface, where he was given the opportunity to assert the Islamic belonging of the Berber community, promote the Arabic script and boast the virtues of his translation.

4.4 Remdan Mensur's Translation

As mentioned in Section 1.3, despite sharing with his fellow Algerian translator Tayeb the same birthplace, Kabylie, and witnessing the same Algerian historical events, the translator Remdan Mensur parts ways with the latter on their perspective regarding the Berber community in North Africa. Indeed, in his Westernised outlook, his biased stance against Arabic language and heritage and his zeal for promoting Tamazight and preserving the Berber heritage, Mensur shares much in common with secular Berber activists³³. In addition, of the

³³ The Berber Identity Movement is, to a great extent, a secular movement (Almasude 2014 and Ben-Layashi 2007). According to Eden Almasude (2014:143), to many Berber activists, 'secularism means far more than a divide between religion and state to allow for traditional Amazigh pluralism: it is an ideology that can be used

three Berber translators under study, the French educated chemistry professor Remdan At Mensur (also known by his Kabyle name Remdane Ouahes), seems to be the least qualified to translate the Holy Qur'an. For he does not have the same linguistic skills and religious knowledge that his fellow translators (i.e. Tayeb and Baomrani) boast about; a fact that he was apologetic about later in the aftermath of the publication of his translation (Section 5.3.3). However, his zeal for preserving and promoting the Berber language drove him to undertake this massive project, i.e. the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Berber, through which he attempted to reconstruct the Berber community as will be explored in the following.

4.4.1 The Front Cover, the Title Page and Preliminary Material³⁴

Remdan Mensur's translation presents a very different case from the other two translations discussed above, as all the peritextual elements accompanying it are, except for the preface, written in Tamazight, in two scripts: Tifinagh and Latin. Arabic is thus highly conspicuous by its absence in this translation.

The front cover features three paratextual elements (Figure 4.11): a title (items A and C), a subtitle (items B and D) and the name of the publishing house (item E), which – along with the front cover's design – foreground significant issues regarding the Berber language and heritage, such as the script and the Arab-Berber relations. As a front cover of the Holy Qur'an, the Muslims' most sacred text, the design strikes the reader as unusual, because, unlike the typical ornamental design, Mensur's front cover is very plain, with no ornamentation and no Arabic calligraphy. This choice of design distances the text from its Arabo-Islamic context – more so than in the case of Baomrani's front cover, where the presence of Arabic calligraphy compensates for the lack of Islamic ornamentation and brings the text closer to the Arabo-Islamic context. In addition, the colour red of the cover, coupled with the translator's Berberist affiliations, aroused a great deal of suspicion, to the degree that some of the observers considered it a *red alert* (Chachoua 2010).

as a tool to overthrow Arab-Islamic hegemony in North Africa and restore Amazigh cultural and linguistic pride'.

³⁴ Access to a printed copy of this volume was not possible.

The title of the text, [The Qur'an], is written at the top of the front cover, in large Tifinagh script, with the subtitle [in Tamazight] appearing below it, in smaller Tifinagh script. As a crucial marker of identity, the Tifinagh script signals to readers that what they are holding in their hands is, above all, a Berber text. In this respect, Mensur's translation makes it clear that the main addressee is a Berber audience, an audience that can derive pride from seeing the title of Islam's scripture presented in their own unique script. The Berber claim to the most sacred book of Islam is further reinforced with a repetition, again in Tamazight, of the same title and subtitle further down the cover, this time in Latin script. Two of the three available scripts for writing Tamazight are therefore selected and made salient by placing them on the cover of the Holy Qur'an. The third available script, Arabic, is deselected. Indeed, Arabic is absent from the entire cover as well as other parts of the translation, signalling the translator's and publisher's attempt to distance the work from the dominant Arabic language and heritage. An investment in a new Berber identity is signalled through the foregrounding of the Tifinagh and Latin scripts at the expense of Arabic: this asserts the position of the Berber language and heritage, represented in Tifinagh script, while simultaneously embracing the values of Western civilisation. Another element of interest on the front cover, and one that further distances the work from mainstream Arabo-Islamic culture, is the choice of the main title: [The Qur'an]. In Islamic literature and culture, it is rare to find unqualified references to the Qur'an: mention of this sacred book is almost always preceded by an adjective such as *the holy* or *noble*, signalling respect and veneration. By omitting such adjectives, Mensur distances himself from the text and signals to the reader his narrative position as a secular translator of the Holy Qur'an.

As in the case of Baomrani, Mensur refers to the language of his translation in the subtitle (labelled as B and D in Figure 4.11) as Tamazight, without specifying the dialect he used, i.e. Kabyle, though he does so later, in the preface. This may be interpreted as an attempt to attract the broadest Berber audience possible since mentioning the Kabyle dialect on the front cover may limit his audience to Kabyle speakers. More importantly, referring to Tamazight as a single unified language creates a sense of one unified nation.

The emblem of the publishing house, Zyriab (item E on Figure 4.11), appears at the bottom of the front cover and further foregrounds the Berber language and culture. Zyriab is directed by the Berber activist Youssef Nacib; it is known for supporting the Berber cause and for publishing works that focus on Berber culture and heritage (Section 1.3).

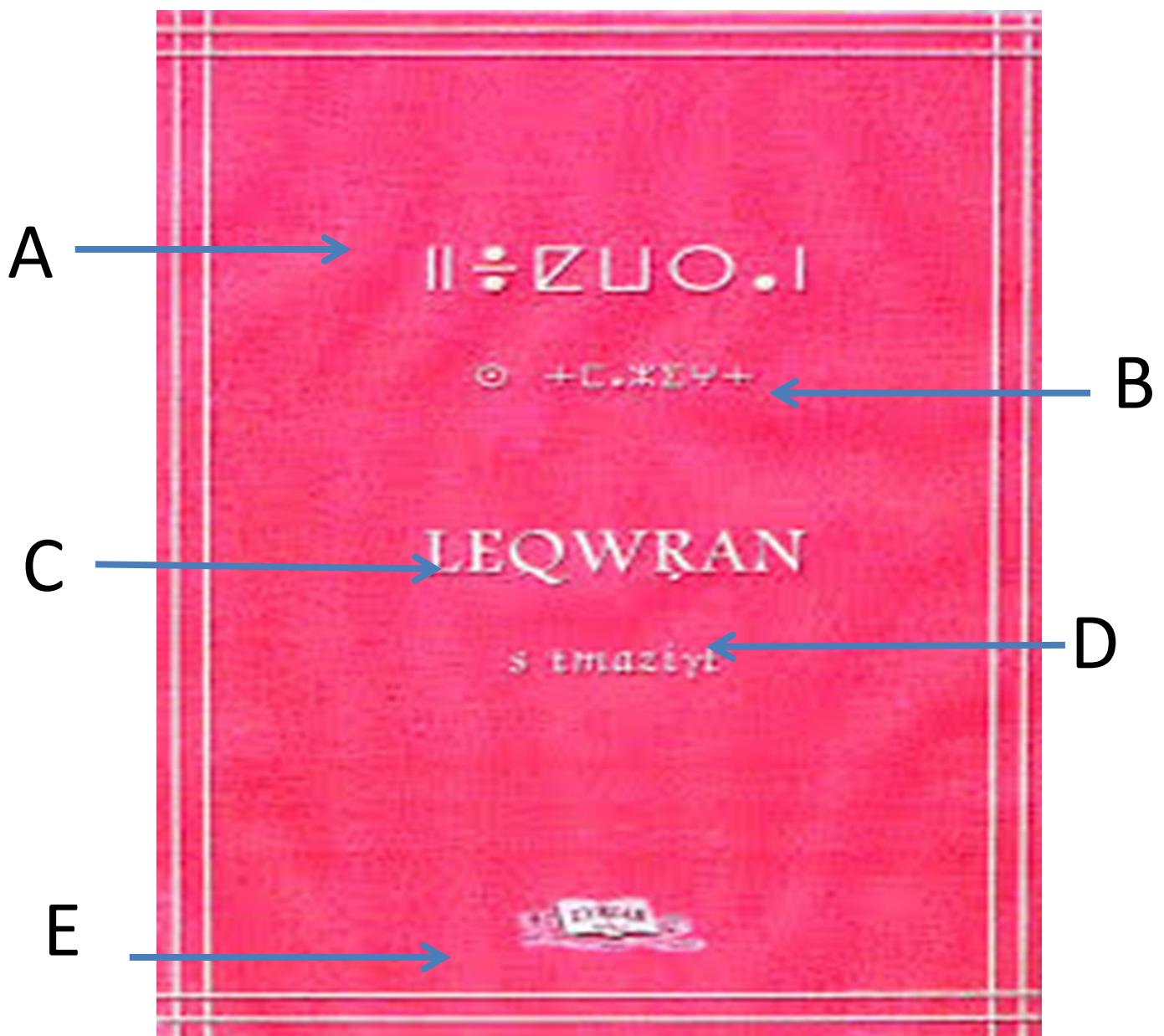


Figure 4.11: Mensur's Front Cover

The title page (Figure 4.12), carries three textual elements: the title of the book (items A and D), the name of the translator (items B and E) and the edition number (items C and F), all in both Tifinagh and Latin characters. The name of the translator, Remdan At Mensur, appears for the first time, beneath the title, preceded by the phrase *translated by*. Mensur is a professor of chemistry, but neither this nor any other title precedes his name. This may be explained by the fact that professional titles unrelated to the field of Islamic studies do not add to the value of a translation of the Qur'an. If anything, they may even undermine the credibility of the translator and the translation. Moreover, a brief glance at other books authored by Mensur and focusing on his own professional field reveals that he normally refers to himself as Remdane Ouahes. In other books authored by him and relating to the Berbers and their heritage, however, he identifies himself as Remdan At Mensur, the same name he uses in his translation of the Qur'an. At Mensur is the name of a Berber tribe and thus explicitly aligns the text with Berber culture and language.

The edition number is one of the publisher's peritexts that is usually included for marketing purposes. In the case of the current translation, foregrounding the edition number (i.e. the second) is significant as it suggests to the reader that the translation is successful enough to be printed a second time.

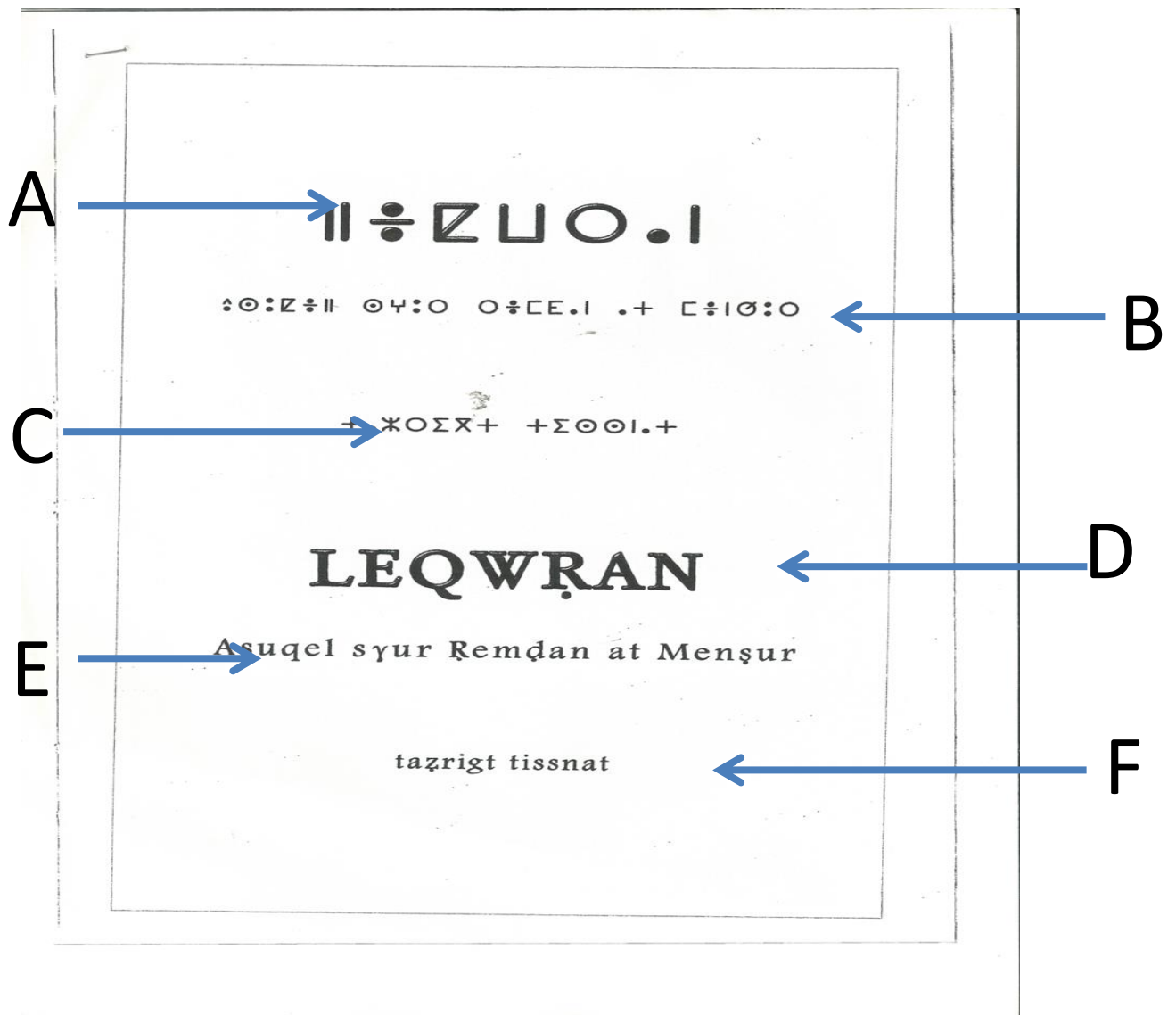


Figure 4.12: Mensur's Title Page

On the whole, Mensur and his publisher use paratextual spaces to signal resistance to the hegemony of the Arabic language and culture by diverging from some of the norms that govern the design of the front cover of the Holy Qur'an, such as featuring Arabo-Islamic ornamentation and Arabic calligraphy. Unlike the other two translations of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, where Arabic features prominently on the cover, Arabic is conspicuous by its absence from Mensur's front cover, clearly expressing his and his publisher's attitude towards it. Foregrounding the Tifinagh script as the main script for writing Tamazight, followed by the Latin script, allows them to construct an independent Berber identity with Western affiliations.

4.4.2 The Prefatory Material

Remdan at Mensur introduces his translation with a short prefatory text, which he prefers to leave untitled. According to Genette, 'an introductory text does not have to be labelled' as 'many a modern preface is distinguished as such by the use of roman numerals for page numbers' (1997: 162). The spatial position of this text and the functions it fulfils situate it among the prefatory material of Mensur's translation.

In this preface, in line with the other two translators, Mensur discusses the macro-linguistic issues pertaining to Tamazight in general, as well as the micro ones related to his translation in particular, such as his attempts to standardise the language and his choice of script, as well as his method of translation.

Like Tayeb, Mensur (2006: v³⁵) chooses Kabyle as the medium for his translation, though for different reasons:

Elle utilise le vocabulaire Amazigh vivant de Kabylie. Pratiquement, tous les mots du texte se retrouvent dans les dictionnaires ou les livres se rapportant au Kabyle. La traduction devrait être comprise par tous, y compris dans les régions amazighophones où Tamazight est proche du Kabyle.

[The translation] employs the modern Amazigh vocabulary from Kabylie. Practically all terms in the text can be found in dictionaries and books on the Kabyle language. The translation is designed to be comprehensible to all readers, including those from Tamazight-speaking regions where Tamazight is similar to Kabyle.

As explained in Section 1.3, Mensur is a Berber activist who has made numerous efforts to promote Kabyle and the Kabyle culture. Kabyle activists usually adopt a Kabyle-centred form of pan-Berberism, which foregrounds Kabylie as the metropole of the Berber collective. Maddy-Witzman observes that 'Kabyle-Berberists have played a leading role in fashioning the grand pan-Berber narrative and in promulgating it in the Berber diaspora and in the international arena, while also privileging their 'Kabyle-ness' and forging only minimal links with other Algerian Berber communities' (2011: 204). Using Kabyle as a vehicle for translation foregrounds Kabylie and its dialect at the expense of other Berber tribes and dialects, repositioning this region as the centre of Amazigh culture.

³⁵ The translation of Mensur's preface was done with the help of Oliver Beaumont.

Although Tayeb, as mentioned previously, chose Kabyle as the vehicle of his translation, his religious background, his commissioning institution and his known efforts to defend the Arabic language situate his translation as a conformist project. Mensur's choice, on the other hand, in addition to what is known about his background as a Berber activist and his efforts to promote and preserve the Kabyle dialect, clearly signal his intention to promote the Berber language in general and the Kabyle dialect in particular as part of a pan-Berber project. Both Baomrani and Mensur seek to construct a pan-Berber identity, but they do so by different means. Baomrani aims to unify Berbers by ignoring linguistic differences among them. Mensur, on the other hand, seeks to unify Berbers by proposing one Berber dialect as the unifying standard language. Mensur's efforts to standardise the language through the medium of Kabyle signifies his efforts to promote a specific narrative of the Berber nation, with Kabylie at its centre. Baomrani, on the other hand, remains vague about the reasons for his choice of dialect. He may be committed to blurring the borders that separate the Berbers, both in North Africa and the diaspora. Hence, Baomrani projects a pan-Berber nation in their imagined *Tamazgha* homeland, which extends from the Siwa Oasis to the Canary Islands. In order for the Berber to accomplish their demands, they need to rally behind one banner and disregard their differences.

In terms of his linguistic resources, Mensur (2006: v) has this to say:

Il existe parfois de légères différences entre villages, dans le vocabulaire et dans la prononciation. Dans un souci de normalisation, nous nous sommes référés, autant que faire se peut, au dictionnaire Dallet, pour le sens et l'orthographe des mots. Dans la conjugaison des verbes, contrairement au Dallet, nous avons retenu l'usage du «i» au lieu du «ye», écriture plus simple, privilégiée en particulier par Mouloud Mammeri. La voyelle «e» considérée comme neutre, ne s'impose pas ici pour faciliter la lecture.

Vocabulary and pronunciation can occasionally vary between villages. In an effort to standardise the text, we have made use of the Dallet dictionary for the meaning and spelling of relevant terms. Unlike the Dallet dictionary, however, for verb conjugation we have opted for the more simple use of 'i', rather than 'ye', a method preferred namely by Mouloud Mammeri. The vowel 'e', which is considered neutral, is not used here to improve readability.

Unlike the other two translators, Mensur only mentions his Berber linguistic resources and does not reveal the references he used to interpret the meanings of the Holy Qur'an, be they Arabic language or religious references. This further suggests that his project of translating

the Qur'an is a national Berberist one, where he seeks first and foremost to draw attention to the Berber language and culture.

Mensur (2006: v) further presents us with a literal translation and refrains from offering any interpretations, asking readers, instead, to work hard at arriving at their own interpretations:

Dans la traduction, nous nous sommes efforcés de restituer fidèlement le texte original sans ajouts ni commentaires exégétiques. La compréhension de certains versets exige du lecteur un effort d'analyse et de réflexion, attitude à laquelle il est maintes fois invité par le Message lui-même. Cette démarche est facilitée, mais non sans risque d'être parfois biaisée, par les traductions commentées.

In this translation, we worked towards a faithful representation of the original text, refraining from any additional clauses or explanatory comments. Cognitive and analytical efforts will be required to fully understand certain verses—an effort towards which the Message itself often beckons the reader. Said effort is made easier in commented versions, yet they run the risk of being biased.

By urging the reader to make considerable effort to engage with the text and use his or her own cognitive and analytical skills to understand it, the translator distances the Holy Qur'an from its traditional mainstream interpretations and clearly points to his secular Berberist outlook. Mensur also demonstrates an awareness of the framing power of footnotes and commentaries, suggesting that a translation which does not feature these elements is *unbiased*, which is not always the case as the translator can still produce a biased translation by manipulating other paratextual devices.

In terms of **choice of language**, Mensur – like Baomrani and Tayeb – writes the preface in a language other than the language of the target text, i.e. Tamazight. However, while Baomrani and Tayeb use the language of the source text, Mensur uses French, which is neither the language of the source text nor that of the target audience. The choice of French is not neutral, of course: it signals the political and socio-cultural affiliations of the translator and mirrors the conflict taking place among the opponents of each of the various languages in North Africa: primarily Arabic, Tamazight and French. Along with other peritextual elements in Mensur's translation, such as the choice of Latin and Tifinagh script and other aspects of the cover design, the French preface distances the source text from the Arabic language and its religious connotations and challenges its position as the dominant language in North Africa and as the medium of religion and literature. Indeed, many Amazigh activists are part of a

francophone movement that seeks to promote French political and language ideologies within the country (Soulaïmani 2015: 11). Regardless of the translator's socio-political affiliations, the choice of French could be attributed to the fact that he was born and raised in the Kabylie area, to which the French colonisers paid particular attention, as explained earlier (Section 2.3.1). They established French schools in Kabylie, for example, with the objective of assimilating the Kabyle people into the French civilisation. At the same time, they attempted to distance the Kabyle people from Arab and Islamic culture. Hence, the early Kabyle elite were French-educated. Therefore, Mensur's choice of French comes as no surprise. Depending on their religious and socio-political affiliations, the French preface will either attract the readers towards the translation or move them away from it.

In addition, the French preface has the advantage of broadening the scope of the translator's audience. It enables him to reach Berbers in the diaspora, many of whom do not speak Tamazight, and a multi-national audience that extends beyond the Berbers themselves, thus foregrounding the Berber cause in the international arena.

4.4.3 The Script

Unlike the two previous translations, Mensur's features two different scripts (i.e. Tifinagh and Latin), which he justifies in his preface as follows (Mensur 2006: v):

Nous avons travaillé avec la transcription de tamazight en caractères latins, laquelle est actuellement répandue et documentée. Mais, de même que pour l'usage des caractères arabes, il ne s'agit que d'une transcription dans cette étape transitoire, puisque tamazight a sa propre écriture: le tifinagh. Nous avons disposé le tifinagh en vis à vis de la transcription latine. En attendant sa standardisation, nous en donnons une version simple en utilisant une fonte proposée par l'association «Afus Deg Wfus».

We worked with the transcription of Tamazight into Latin characters, which is currently wide-spread and documented. As with Arabic characters, however, this is only a transcription in this transitory phase, as Tamazight has its own writing system, called Tifinagh. The Tifinagh version is presented opposite the Latin transcription. Until the language is standardised, we offer a simple version using a font proposed by the association "Afus Deg Wfus".

Mensur implicitly presents his translation here as a solution to the script controversy in North Africa. He begins by informing his readership that he has chosen to transcribe his translation in two scripts, Latin and Tifinagh, and foreground the former, which he refers to as *wide-spread* and *documented*. Selecting Latin and Tifinagh entails *deselecting* the Arabic script,

demoting it to a merely *transitory* one, thus dismissing the long history of encoding Tamazight into Arabic which long preceded the efforts to Latinise the language. He further legitimises his choice of Latin script and provides the readers with two incentives to use it: *merit* and *utility*, suggesting, by implication, that the Arabic script lacks such features. This evokes a discourse of erasure directed at the Arabic language that is common in Berberist circles. It also evokes the controversy which erupted between the proponents of each of the three scripts prior to the royal decision of the Moroccan King Mohammed VI in 2003 to use Tifinagh as the official writing system for Tamazight. Most Berber activists then dismissed the Arabic script. Soulaïmani (2015: 5) argues that ‘although linguistic and socioeconomic factors would seem to make it a highly practical choice, the Arabic script was dismissed by most Amazigh activists’, who rejected it ‘due to their priority of differentiating Amazigh culture from the surrounding Arabic society’. This explains why many Berber activists, while rejecting the use of the Arabic script as a medium for writing Tamazight, do not mind the use of the Latin script alongside Tifinagh, or even in place of Tifinagh. Playing up the efficiency discourse, and suggesting that the Arabic script is not as efficient as the Latin script, is one of the strategies that Berberists have relied on to undermine the dominant place of the Arabic language in North Africa. By referring to the *temporary* nature of the Arabic script, Mensur might be implying that the Arabo-Islamic culture is a mere transitory phase in Berber history.

Mensur draws the reader’s attention to the fact that Tamazight has its own writing system (i.e. the Tifinagh script) with a high symbolic value for Berber activists who attempt to reconstruct their imagined *Tamazgha* and re-narrate their history. By adopting Tifinagh, and presenting it as an ancient Berber script, the Berbers seek to revive their pre-Islamic heritage and undermine the assertions which have always reduced the Berber language to, at best, a mere oral language acting as a medium for the transmission of low literature, folklore and mythology. The ancient Tifinagh script re-narrates the Berbers as the founders of an ancient Berber civilisation, which long preceded the Arabo-Islamic one, and hence, brings the Berbers to the fore as the indigenous people of North Africa, while re-narrating the Arabs as the *foreign invaders* of the Berber homeland. And while the Tifinagh script has yet to be standardised, as Mensur states in his preface, the activist translator still chooses to encode Islam’s holiest text in it.

It is reasonable to argue that, by *deselecting* the Arabic script, Mensur envisages a Berber future where both Western and ancient Berber cultures co-construct the new Berber identity at the expense of the Arabic culture. The invisibility of the Arabic script, throughout the translation, illustrates a tactic of erasure which attempts to remove the Arabic language and, implicitly, the Arabic culture from the Berber political and cultural scene. In contrast, the Latin script, due to its association with French language, plays an important role in foregrounding Tamazight as a modern, civilised language. This is because the French language, as a medium of higher scientific education in North Africa, has always connoted modernity³⁶. Since the way language is perceived changes when encoded in a particular script, encoding the translation in Latin enhances its potential to appeal to educated people in general, and university students in particular. More importantly, it places the struggle in the international arena by attracting a large audience of readers. Both the Latin and Tifinagh scripts embody a secular discourse associated with, and promoted by, the Berber identity movement. Secularism has always been one of the tenets of the Berber cultural movement. It is promoted by both the moderate and radical currents of that movement.

The prominence of the Arabic language is partly due to it being the medium of Islam's holiest book. In order to undermine its dominance in North Africa, secular Berber activists attempted to remove this *aura of holiness* from Arabic (Boukous, in Ben-Layashi 2007: 153). The translation of the Qur'an into Tamazight can be regarded as one of these attempts to desacralise the Arabic language. The exclusion of the Arabic script from the translation of the Qur'an can be interpreted within this context. At the same time, and equally important, is the fact that using a non-Arabic script creates a barrier between the Berbers and a considerable part of their heritage, which is written in the Arabic script.

Of the three translators of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, Mensur is arguably the most revolutionary. Interestingly, without much verbal explanation, he managed to spell out his

³⁶ In the social sciences, modernity refers both to historical periods and cultural phenomena. According to Marshall Berman (1982:16-17) modernity has three phases: early modernity (1500-1789), classical modernity (1789-1900) and late modernity (1900-1989). Modernity is marked by a number of developments such as questioning tradition, a belief in scientific and technological progress, giving precedence to individualism, freedom and equality, secularisation, democracy and the development of nation-state (Foucault 1977: 170-177).

opinions towards a number of controversial issues including the relationship between Arabs and Berbers, the supremacy of the European culture, and the right of the Berbers to the land through deliberate choice of peritexts, the most important of which are script and language. More importantly, in his use of peritexts, he resorted to an innovative method of inclusion and exclusion, i.e. including unfamiliar peritextual elements around his texts while excluding conventional ones. This was most obvious in his deliberate exclusion of the Islamic floral ornaments, the Arabic calligraphy and Arabic script on his book cover, the prefatory materials and the text itself, where the original Arabic text is usually printed alongside the translated text, which could be interpreted as a straightforward attempt to erode the dominance of Arabic language and culture and to challenge claims of the sacredness of this language. On the other hand, through foregrounding both Tifinagh and Latin scripts on his book cover and in his text and using French to write his preface, Mensur was promoting Berber language and culture and simultaneously stressing the importance of the relationship between the Berbers and the European. In spite of his attempts to break away from the hegemony of Arabic, it seems that Mensur fell into the trap of another hegemony, i.e. the European one with its colonial legacy, which might influence the reception of the text in diverse ways.

4.5 Conclusions

Drawing on Genette's theory of paratexts, this chapter has attempted to explore how the three translators of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, together with their publishers, have employed the peritextual elements around the text (e.g. front and back covers, prefatory elements, script and language choice) to serve various, very different ends, specifically negotiating a subject other than that of the text they set out to translate. By employing peritextual elements, the translators could address controversial issues regarding the current Berber situation in North Africa, such as script choice, language hierarchies and Arab-Berber relations.

Analysing the peritexts of the three translations has revealed differences in the attitudes of the three translators towards the Berber cause and the ways in which they contribute to the construction of the Berber identity. For example, both Baomrani and Mensur attempt to construct a pan-Berber identity with one unified language. While Baomrani seeks to overlook

regional differences, Mensur asserts these differences by proposing a Kabyle-centred pan-Berber identity. Furthermore, whereas Baomrani expresses moderate attitudes towards the Arabic language and culture and endorses a discourse of partnership and co-existence between the Arabs and the Berbers, Mensur seeks to distance the Berbers from Arabic language and culture. Tayeb, on the other hand, attempts, jointly with the publishing house, King Fahad complex, to create a pan-Islamic Berber identity and retain the primacy of the Arabic language and culture.

Chapter Five: Renegotiating the Political and Social Landscape of Berber Communities through Translations of the Holy Qur'an: Epitextual Aspects

5.1. Introduction

As mentioned previously in (Section 1.3), three Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an currently exist. The first was published by the Moroccan translator Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani in 1999. This was followed by two Algerian translations: Remdan Mensur (2006) and Se Hajj Mohannad Tayeb (2007). Interestingly, these translations were received differently in their respective countries for different reasons. Firstly, the Moroccan translation is the first ever complete published translation of the Holy Book into Berber, which means that it was, for some time, the focus of undivided attention. Accordingly, it created heated debates among diverse sections of the societies of North African states (Section 5.2.1). Secondly, the socio-political contexts of Morocco and Algeria, while overlapping in many respects in regards to the question of Berber ethnicity, diverge in considerable ways, as will be explained later (Sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1). Thirdly, the strained relationship between the two countries over the issue of the Sahara Desert has led each of them to play *the Berber card* to project a more tolerant image of itself over the other (Section 5.3.2). Looking more closely at the socio-political context of each particular translation and the controversies they ignited allows us to trace the socio-political shifts in Morocco and Algeria toward the two countries' Berber minority prior to, and in the aftermath of, their publication.

In order to trace these discursive moves, epitextual devices as proposed by Genette (1997) are used as analytical tools. As will be explored in detail in this chapter, all three translators of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight have made use of epitexts to promote their translations, articulate their stances and bring the Berber question to the attention of a broader audience beyond Tamazight-speaking groups. Public authorial performances enabled by the use of epitexts, whether autonomous or mediated, have become an integral part of the book industry. According to Taylor (2007: 74), 'the contemporary author not only writes the text but also speaks it through media interviews, talk show appearances, reviews, news features, and personal appearances at literary events and public readings'. This chapter analyses

authorial public epitexts employed by the translators under discussion, including interviews, conversations, reviews, auto-reviews, auto-commentaries, and awards – understood here as factual paratexts.

As my analysis has shown, these epitextual tools have drawn upon the diverse functions of framing, such as problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluation and treatment recommendations (Section 3.2) to guide the authorities as well as the audience's interpretations of certain translations, to legitimate Berber demands and to mobilise the public into action. For example, review writers addressing the three translations under study have attempted to guide the reception of these translations by using causal interpretation, implying that they either enforce or undermine national unity, which is one of the main principles of the North African nation-states. In addition, translators sought, through their interviews, auto-reviews and auto-commentary, to identify the Berbers' problems by highlighting some aspects of the Berber situation such as their marginalisation or their sense of inferiority, suggesting that their translations were the recommended treatment to these problems.

Interviews and conversations play an important role in mediating the text and framing it for readers. Neither form constitutes an autonomous authorial device; rather, both involve an interlocutor and third-party mediators who in one way or another contribute to framing the texts in question. Genette distinguishes between the two forms, suggesting that interviews designate 'a dialogue, generally short and conducted by a professional journalist, entered upon in the line of duty on the specific occasion of a book's publication and, in theory, bearing exclusively on that book' (1997: 358). Conversations, on the other hand, constitute 'a dialogue that is generally more wide-ranging, taking place after a longer period of time, without any particular occasion' and 'conducted by an intermediary who is less interchangeable, more "personalised", more specifically interested in the oeuvre in question' (1997: 358). Genette's distinction is problematic and does not map precisely onto the two forms of dialogue: in practice, the differences are sometimes blurred, with both forms overlapping in many respects (Section 5.2.2). Nevertheless, these two epitextual devices provide a vast wealth of information on a wide range of issues, be they biographical, generic or socio-political. In

particular, Genette (1997: 358) argues that interviews ‘may function as an advantageous substitute for a preface’, allowing the author to use this extra-textual space to (re)assert issues already discussed in the preface and/or other peritextual elements or introduce new issues that may have come up after the publication of the book.

Genette (1997: 360) argues that at least some interviewees adopt a passive role, claiming that the author who does not ‘expect much more from [the interview] than some free publicity goes along rather passively, and apparently without the underpinnings of a strong intellectual motivation’. But while the desire for free publicity drives some authors to seek interviews, Genette argues that it does not appear to be the only motivation. Indeed, *intellectual motivation* seems to be present in many author interviews which reveal manifest attempts to promote, undercut and challenge socio-political discourses, especially when the author has a political agenda. In such cases, authors take every advantage of whatever airtime or newspaper space is given to them to express their political views. This holds true for the three translators under study here: they all make use of this epitextual apparatus to discuss significant issues relating to identity, script and language.

Genette (1997) offers a very brief discussion of the role of the interviewer, to whom he refers as ‘intermediary’, relegating him or her to a merely passive interlocutor playing an automated role and whose main objective is to get the interview over and done with. For him, the interviewer is simply a ‘messenger’ who does no more than transmit questions from the audience to the author. While this may be true in some cases, there are also many exceptions. For instance, Genette does not discuss how the cultural and political agendas of the interviewer can frame texts in significant ways. Equally important, Genette does not shed light on the vital role that the cultural capital of the interviewer plays in influencing the audience and in shaping the book’s reception. He also seems to be oblivious to the cultural capital and the socio-political agendas of the media outlet, be it a newspaper, a TV channel or a specialised magazine, and the extent to which these can influence the reception of the text in important ways. In the following sections, for reasons that will be presented below, I will focus on the interviews given by one of the translators of the Holy Qur’an, i.e. Baomrani, to trace the attempts of translators as agents of change to construct the Berber identity and

revive Tamazight (Section 5.2.2). Special attention is given to the role played by both the interviewers and the media outlets in which these interviews appeared. Between the three parties (interviewer, interviewee and media outlet), many issues are deconstructed and reconstructed.

Colloquia or discussions set the scene for many public performances by authors. Genette (1997: 365) distinguishes between two types. The first of these is a *stimulated performance*, where ‘an author is induced to “dialogue” not with one interlocutor but with an audience of several dozen people, with or without taping and planned publication’; in the second type, statements delivered by authors at these colloquia ‘have the obvious advantage of autonomy, which shields them from the constraints and hazards of dialogue: here the author firmly takes the initiative and retains control of his commentary’ (Genette 1997: 369). Of particular interest to the current research is the latter phenomenon, referred to by Genette as *delayed auto-commentary* (Genette 1997: 367), which provides authors with an opportunity to intervene in the reception of the text, speak back, present counter-interpretations, and construct their self-image. More importantly, these opportunities provide authors with the means to present their own narrative of certain issues. According to Roberta Ricci (2003:123), ‘[t]he main function of self-commentary is not simply aesthetic, but pragmatic and functional, since it provides guidelines for the interpretation of literature’.

Unlike the epitextual elements discussed above, where the author is involved in one way or another, **reviews** are allographic public epitexts, written exclusively by a third party other than the writer or the publisher, whether an academic critic or a reviewer. The illocutionary force of these reviews cannot be underestimated: they can play a crucial role in guiding public interpretations of the text, stimulating certain discourses, and even mobilising authorities into action. The ensuing sections will shed light on the impact of reviews upon the reception of the three translations of the Holy Qur’an into Tamazight. Interestingly, while reviews are the exclusive responsibility of third parties in most cases, certain authors, for diverse reasons, take over that responsibility and engage in assessing their own texts. These **auto-reviews** are written variants of spoken auto-commentaries: both represent an attempt on the part of the author to intervene directly in shaping the reception of his or her text.

Awards are one of the most important paratextual tools. One of the contributions of the current research is elaborating on the different paratextual roles of awards and their framing potentiality. As is shown in (5.2.2, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3) awards contribute significantly to shaping the reception of a text, constructing an image of the author and promoting the publication. Equally importantly, when studied against the backdrop of certain issues they can record changes in socio-political contexts. Awards are also important in what they reveal about the socio-political assumptions of the awarding organisations. The following sections explore how awards bestowed upon the three translators of the Holy Qur'an contribute to conferring a certain type of capital on each translator and are indicative of changes in the socio-political context of each translation.

Sections 5.2 and 5.3 will put to the test the peritextual functions proposed by Genette (1997) by examining their role in relation to the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an in Morocco and Algeria.

5.2. Epitextuality and its Role in Shaping the Berber Translation of the Holy Qur'an in Morocco

5.2.1 The Socio-political Context of the Berber Translation of the Holy Qur'an in Morocco

Shortly after its independence in 1957, Morocco, in line with other North African states, sought to homogenise its populations ethnically, culturally and linguistically. Constitutionally, it referred to itself as both Arab and Muslim, provocatively ignoring the indigenous Berber ethnicity. The Arabic language was declared the official language of the Kingdom, at the expense of the Berber language, which was assigned little value, hence 'carrying with it a political, academic and institutional stigma' (Idir 2014). State institutions, with the aid of mass media, wove a new narrative of homogenous Morocco with Arabo-Islamic culture at its centre, overlooking the native Berber culture. To accelerate the process of harmonisation, Arabisation campaigns were fiercely launched in the 1970s and 1980s.

Over many years, the Berber language was subjected to 'linguistic terrorism' (Idir 2014). According to A. Almasude (1999: 118), it was considered illegitimate and students were forbidden to speak it in schools. Similarly, E. Almasude (2014: 142) maintains that many

‘activists have publicly and privately described the experience of being shamed for speaking their language [Tamazight] and being beaten when a teacher overheard’.

In addition to demoting Tamazight, the native Berber culture was pushed back to the peripheries. The ethnic division in Morocco was set along the binary oppositions of the *backward* and *rural* Berbers vis-à-vis the *civilised* and *urban* Arabs. At best, the Berber culture was presented as folklore and relegated to a tourism commodity. Years of marginalisation tarnished the Berbers’ image of themselves. In 1987, an American missionary, living in the province of Fes, observed that the Berbers in the urban areas were often ‘apologetic’ about their Berberness, in contrast to those living in the rural areas (Gill 1987: 3, quoted in A. Almasude 1999:3).

These homogenising measures, which targeted the Berber language and culture in particular, alarmed the Moroccan Berber minority. As a result, Amazigh activism in Morocco started early in the 1960s with the establishment of the Moroccan Association of Research and Cultural Exchange (AMREC) in 1967, which primarily aimed to promote Berber language and culture. Soon afterwards, other Berber cultural institutions sprang up demanding national recognition of the Berbers and their language, including the Université d’Eté d’Agadir (1979) and Tamaynut (1978). It is worth noting that, unlike the political militancy of the Berbers in the neighbouring Algeria, the Moroccan Berbers resorted, for the most part, to cultural forms of resistance. In fact, while political activism was gaining momentum in Algeria in the 1980s, the Berber political militancy was largely suppressed by the Moroccan authorities during the 1980s and 1990s (Silverstein 2012).

In the mid-1990s, the first political opening towards the Berbers occurred. This initial shift took place after increasing international pressure upon Morocco following the arrest of seven teachers in 1994. These teachers were arrested for carrying banners written in Tifinagh letters during a May Day parade. Three of them were sentenced to prison terms and received large fines. To divert international attention and appease his Berber population, King Hassan II of Morocco acknowledged, in his throne speech in 1994, for the first time, the existence of the Berbers as an integral part of the Moroccan identity. He then declared that Amazigh ‘dialects’ were ‘one of the components of the authenticity of our history’, and thus, marked a significant

change in the Moroccan political discourse towards the Berbers (ibid: 131). Beyond the façade of political reform, however, many issues were still far from resolved, as we will see later.

During the late 1980s, the Berber rights activist Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani started his pioneering translational project. This project lasted for twelve years, and was conducted in complete secrecy, as Baomrani was aware that he might be crossing a minefield (Benzine 2016). An advocate of Berber language and heritage, Baomrani, who was also a co-founder of the Moroccan Association of Research and Cultural Exchange (AMREC), lamented the absence of a Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an. This absence led him to question the issues of the legitimacy of translating the Holy Qur'an into other languages, in general, and Tamazight, in particular, the sacredness of Arabic language and the relationship between language and power.

Following the example of other Muslim countries that had translated the Holy Qur'an into their languages (e.g. Turkey), Baomrani went ahead with his project. Five years after King Hassan II's remarkable throne speech, in a presumably more tolerant political climate, Baomrani released his first Berber translation of the Holy Quran in Morocco. His translation faced a huge uproar, culminating in an official ban on his work (Ben-Layashi 2007: 165, Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 126).

This institutional ban on the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight might be explained as an attempt on the part of post-colonial Morocco to protect its image of one homogenised Arab state. The existence of a Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an in a self-declared homogenous Arab country may undermine the claims of homogeneity and unity. It may also open the door to acknowledging the existence of other ethnic entities. Here, the act of translation is perceived negatively as a tool of division and rupture bound to set up cultural and linguistic boundaries. Venuti (2013:116) argues that '[t]ranslation can be described as an act of violence against a nation only because nationalist thinking tends to be premised on a metaphysical concept of identity as a homogeneous essence, usually given a biological grounding in an ethnicity or race and seen as manifested in a particular language and culture'. In this case, institutionalised censorship, which is 'set up to prevent circulation of material that is felt to threaten official ideology', is assumed to be the solution to any attempts at

disrupting this unity (Durate 2000: 97). This ‘conflation of Arabic language, Islamic legitimacy and Arab ethnicity has nonetheless proved to be an enduring feature of Moroccan consciousness’ (Silverstein and Crawford 2004: 44), and was exploited by the authorities and Arab nationalists to legitimise the state policies that imposed Arab identity upon the multi-ethnic population of Morocco.

It took four years and the enthronement of a new king for Baomrani’s translation to re-emerge. This occurred during the aftermath of a massive political opening toward the Berber minority that began in 2001 with a royal edict that allowed the teaching of Tamazight alongside Arabic in Moroccan schools and culminated in the establishment of the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture (Hoffman and Miller 2010: 86). King Mohammed VI is quoted as saying that ‘the promotion of the Amazigh is a national responsibility, for no national culture can renounce its historical root’ (Crawford 2002: 54). The IRCAM seeks, among other things, to promote Amazigh culture and language, standardise Tamazight, create a writing script, and produce translations into and out of Tamazight. However, many Berbers view this Institute suspiciously, as a way of co-opting the movement from within. By establishing such institutions, while pretending to adopt the demands of the Berbers, the state shrewdly manages to control, watch closely, and monitor the activities of the Amazigh movement (Pouessel 2012). In fact, the Royal Institute may be seen by some as a modern Panopticon³⁷ through which the state keeps an eye on the Berberists without being watched, managing thus to internalise discipline among the Berberists and prevent them from undertaking any anti-authority practices.

In what follows, I explore to what extent the epitextual apparatus, in the form of diverse media outlets, has influenced the readings of this translation in Morocco and how the translator has made use of these very epitextual elements to control these readings and circulate his Berber narrative. By looking closely at the socio-political context of this particular translation and the controversies it ignited, researchers can trace the socio-political shifts in

³⁷ The Panopticon is a type of institutional building designed by the English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century. The concept of the design is to allow a single watchman to observe (-opticon) all (pan-) inmates of an institution without the inmates being able to tell whether or not they are being watched.

Morocco towards the country's Berber ethnicity prior to, and in the aftermath of, its initial release in 1999 and its second appearance in 2003.

5.2.2 Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani

Reviews

Reviews about Baomrani's translation have attempted to frame the latter by drawing upon one of the main functions of framing, i.e. causal interpretation (Section 3.2), implying that his translation is either enforcing or disturbing one of the main principles of the nation state: national unity. Surprisingly, the first response to Baomrani's translation came from outside Morocco and indeed the entire Arab world. Following its publication, the London-based newspaper *The Economist* published an article in 1999 provocatively titled 'The Berbers Come Fighting Back', suggesting that the translator is a 'threat' to the 'North African Muslim orthodoxy' and that his translation is bound to 'shake the Moroccan establishment' (*The Economist* 1999)³⁸. The article politicises the translation in several ways. Firstly: it constructs Baomrani in this review as a Muslim 'Martin Luther' whose Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an, similar to the vernacular translations of the Bible, will shake the fundamentals of Islam and produce a new 'protestant Islam' (ibid.). Secondly, it associates Baomrani's translation with an early notorious Berber (mis)translation of the Holy Qur'an, done in the seventh century by the founder of the resistant Barghwata state, Saleh Ibn Tarif, who aimed, through his (mis)translation to divert people from the real Arab Qur'an and ultimately cut off their links with the Arabo-Islamic civilisation (Section 2.7.1). Thirdly, it contextualises Baomrani's translation within recent attempts by Berber activists to resist what the article refers to as the current 'Arab colonisation' (ibid.). These attempts include cultural forms of resistance aiming at (re)narrating the Berber history, reviving Berber language and culture and fighting Arabisation policies. Hence, Baomrani's translation is constructed as a resistance tool, in a battle against the ruling authorities in Morocco, which aims to shake Morocco's linguistic hierarchy and undermine the monarchy's Islamic legitimacy. To support its presumption, the article cites the secular Berber activist Ahmed Assid's³⁹ comment on current

³⁸ <http://www.economist.com/node/185976> (Last accessed 21/1/2018).

³⁹ Born in 1961, Assid is a Moroccan Berber intellectual, poet and activist. A committed secularist, Assid is known for his controversial and sometimes hostile views regarding Islam and its message (*Aljazeera* 2014).

Berbers' cultural means of resistance: 'the battle has just begun' (ibid.), indicating the powerful impact of these non-violent tactics of protest. Unsurprisingly, the article, which was widely circulated and translated into Arabic and French⁴⁰, set off alarm bells in Morocco, leading King Hassan II to issue a ban on the translation, to the discontent of Berber activists of all walks of life (Ben-Layashi 2007: 165). The reaction prompted by this article demonstrates what Genette (1997: 10) refers to as the 'illocutionary force of the message' that such an epitextual element can convey.

With the exception of the controversial review that appeared in *The Economist* in 1999, it appears that the majority of reviews were written in 2003, after the second release of the translation. The political climate at that point had become more tolerant towards the Berbers and their demands for recognition.

The following section focuses on only two of the many reviews published in the aftermath of the second reprint of Baomrani's translation. This is done in an attempt to trace the different readings of the translation and to identify how each review attempted to influence its reception. These reviews were written by two Berber intellectuals, each representing a distinct strand of political thought and affiliation. Elyazid Erradi⁴¹ belongs to the Islamic current, whereas Mostafa Antara is a Moroccan journalist with a particular interest in the Berber claim.

It is worth noting that Baomrani's reputation as a Berber activist seems to be the point of departure for both reviews. This demonstrates the illocutionary force of what Genette (1997:

Available online:

<http://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/icons/2014/11/6/%D8%A3%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%AF-%D8%B9%D8%B5%D9%8A%D8%AF> (last accessed 29/1/2018).

⁴⁰ The article was translated into French and published by the *Courrier International* (No. 435, March 1999) under a provocative title: 'Le Coran berbe`re fait peur au pouvoir' ['The Berber Qur'an Scares the Regime'].

⁴¹ Born in 1950 in the Berber city of Taroudant, Elyazid Erradi memorised the Holy Qur'an at an early age. In 1962, he moved to the Islamic institute in Taroudant where he studied for two years. He holds a PhD in Arabic literature, has written many books and has published a volume of poetry. He is currently the head of the local religious council in Taroudant (assarag24, 2015). Available online:

<http://assarag24.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A9-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%82%D9%8A%D9%87-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%83%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B6/> (last accessed 29/1/2018).

7) refers to as *factual paratexts*. It would appear that this foregrounding of the translator's political positioning obscures Baomrani's other significant qualifications as a translator.

Elyazid Erradi is a renowned Moroccan Berber religious scholar. His review was published on his blog⁴² in 2009 under the title *ملاحظات حول ترجمة معاني القرآن الكريم إلى اللغة الأمازيغية* [Some Notes on the Translation of the Meanings of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight]⁴³. The importance of Erradi's review stems from the fact that it is written by an academic with an impressive religious background as well as excellent command of Arabic and of Tamazight. As a scholar who unequivocally champions the importance of translating the Holy Quran into all languages, especially into the languages of non-Arab Muslims such as Berbers, Erradi does not take Baomrani's first ever-complete Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an at face value. The fact that Baomrani is one of the advocates of the Berber cause seems to bear considerably upon Erradi's reading of the translation, for the writer repeatedly links Baomrani's translational technique to his Berberist agenda. Indeed, Erradi's article is very important in that, in tracing the characteristics of Baomrani's resistant translation, it is possible for researchers to tease out translational tendencies typical in the work of activist translators. Some of these tendencies are shared by the other two Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an under study, i.e. Hajj Mohannad Tayeb (Section 5.3.2) and Remdan Mensur (Section 5.3.3).

The first translational strategy attracting Erradi's attention is Baomrani's failure to specify the dialect used in his translation. Baomrani borrows terms from different Berber dialects which, Erradi argues, is likely to create confusion in the reader and constitute an obstacle to understanding, as the latter cannot tell which dialects these words come from and where to look them up. According to Erradi (2009, my translation), this is one of the major shortcomings of Baomrani's translation, given that at least three different dialects of Tamazight exist in Morocco.

وبدون هذا التحديد، لا يستطيع القارئ أن يتأكد من سلامة الترجمة، لأنه إذا وقف على كلمة أو عبارة لا يفهمها، ولا تتداول في لهجته، سيواجه بأنها في لهجة أمازيغية أخرى

⁴² The article would appear to have been published earlier in the Moroccan print newspaper *Tilwah*, headed by the Berber Ibrahim Boghoden. Despite being a Berber activist himself, Boghoden has many published articles attacking other Berber activists in the Berber Culture Movement for their extreme hostile views regarding Islamic culture.

⁴³ http://elyaziderradi.blogspot.co.uk/2009/10/blog-post_08.html (Last accessed 30/1/2018).

Without specifying [the dialect], the reader cannot assess the accuracy of the translation, because if he [comes] across a word or a phrase he does not understand, and is not used in his dialect, he would discover that it exists in another Amazigh dialect.

Notwithstanding Erradi's critique, Baomrani's approach to the Berber language fragmentation can be explained against the backdrop of the Berber Identity Movement as an activist translator's attempt to (re)imagine one Berber nation with one shared language.

Erradi also points out that Baomrani avoids Arabic-derived lexicon and tends to replace it with original Amazigh lexicon in what appears to be an attempt to rid his translation and, by extension Tamazight, of the linguistic dominance of Arabic. He argues that this strategy undercuts opportunities for enriching Tamazight and deprives it of an important source of expansion. Erradi explains the translator's efforts to painstakingly find an Amazigh equivalent for every Arabic word as a case of over-sensitivity towards the Arabic language and a marked bias for Tamazight. Erradi (2009, my translation) goes so far as to say that:

وبذلك تتحول الترجمة من هدفها الرئيسي الذي هو الإفهام والتقريب والتيسير، إلى هدف آخر، هو إثبات غنى الأمازيغية، واكتفائها الذاتي، وعدم حاجتها إلى الاستعارة من لغات أخرى.

The translation thus steers away from its main goal of explaining, approximating [meaning] and making the text accessible to another goal, which is proving that Tamazight is a rich, self-sufficient language that does not need to borrow from other languages.

In his ambitious endeavour to standardise Tamazight, Erradi contends, Baomrani seems to have moved away from the main objective of translating the Holy Book into Tamazight and focused instead on advocating for the language. Focusing the reader's attention on Baomrani's Berberist agenda, especially his attempt to promote Tamazight as a self-sufficient language and purge it of all traces of Arabic, Erradi creates an impression of Baomrani's translation as a tool of schism that aims to distance Berbers from the Arabic language and culture.

By contrast, Mostafa Antara (2004) contends in his article جهادي الحسين الباعمراني ينجز ترجمة [Jouhadi Lhoucine Baomrani accomplishes the Translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight in Morocco] لمعاني القرآن باللغة الأمازيغية بالمغرب that Baomrani's translation is a tool of unity and solidarity, which will consolidate the relations between Arabs and Berbers. Like Erradi (2009),

Antara's assessment of Baomrani's translation is influenced by the latter's positioning in relation to the Berber Identity Movement. Indeed, Antara introduces Baomrani as one of the active members in the Amazigh Cultural Movement and a board member of the Moroccan Association for Research and Cultural Exchange⁴⁴ (Antara 2004), highlighting the fact that he does not belong to the Islamic current. Interestingly, the article was published in *Alhewar Almotammaden* newspaper, which describes itself as 'the first daily independent electronic leftist-secular newspaper in the Arab world' (Alhewar.com). The fact that a translation of a religious text into a minority language receives the attention of a secular newspaper demonstrates the extent to which the value of that translation has transcended its primary religious significations to acquire other ethno-cultural implications.

Antara maintains that Baomrani's translation is a tool of unity that is likely to enhance coexistence between the Arab and Amazigh cultures. He even attempts to persuade the ruling elite to adopt the translation by implying that it can help mitigate serious problems such as the terrorist attacks that took place in Casablanca in 2003. According to Antara (2004, my translation):

تأتي هذه المبادرة أيضا في سياق أقدم فيه الحكم على اتخاذ تدابير هامة تسير في اتجاه تحصين الجانب العقدي وضمان الأمن الروحي للمملكة بعد الأحداث الإرهابية التي عاشها المغرب في منتصف شهر ماي من السنة الماضية، ذلك أن "ترجمة معاني القرآن الكريم باللغة الأمازيغية" من شأنها أن تساهم في ترسيخ التعايش المطلوب بين الثقافة العربية وشقيقتها الأمازيغية وفي تصالح المغاربة مع ذواتهم في ظل هذا السياق السوسيو-ثقافي المتميز بالانفتاح وبالتالي في تعميق الاستقرار السياسي.

This initiative [the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight] takes place in the context of the efforts of the ruling government to strengthen the religious aspect and guarantee the spiritual security of the kingdom following the terrorist attacks witnessed by Morocco in mid-May last year. This is because the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight can contribute to reinforcing the desired coexistence between Arabic culture and its Amazigh counterpart and the reconciliation of Moroccans in this open socio-cultural context and consequently ensuring political stability.

Antara (2004, my translation) further attempts to legitimise Baomrani's translation by using the Islamic discourse that enhances principles of co-existence between diverse multi-ethnic

⁴⁴ The Moroccan Association for Cultural Research and Exchange was created in 1967, and sought to promote Berber language and culture through research.

and multi-lingual groups, suggesting that this translation is a means of achieving these very principles:

معلوم أن الإسلام تواصل مع العديد من اللغات، كما أن موقف الإسلام من مسألة التعدد الثقافي واللغوي واضح وتؤكد العديد من الآيات القرآنية.

It is well-known that Islam communicated with many languages, and that the stance of Islam towards multilingualism and multiculturalism is clear and confirmed by many verses of the Holy Qur'an.

Antara identifies five important reasons for the intolerance the ruling members of the elite have shown towards the translation. These include i) the aura of sacredness that surrounds the Arabic language, ii) the political affiliation of the translator, iii) the status of Tamazight as an unofficial language, iv) the silence of the religious institutions towards the translation and v) the centrality of religion in the Moroccan political system. In particular, Antara recognises how the political affiliation of Baomrani, specifically his involvement in the Berber Identity Movement, shapes the reception of his translation considerably by obscuring his other qualifications as a translator, such as his thorough knowledge of the Islamic sciences, his memorisation of the Holy Qur'an, his translation of Prophet Mohammad's Biography and his mastery of the Arabic language. All this gives rise to an impression of the translation as a Berberist project. Antara therefore attempts to (re)shape the reception of Baomrani's translation by foregrounding his other qualifications:

كما أنه ليس معروفاً بتخصصه في العلوم الشرعية، لكن الذين يعرفونه عن قرب يؤكدون أنه متضلع وعلى (معرفة) واسعة بأمور الدين وأنه من حفظة القرآن بعدة روايات وقام بكتابة السيرة النبوية بالأمازيغية (تكلفت وزارة الثقافة زمن عبد الله الأزمانى بطبعها)، وترجم الحديث القدسي باللغة الأمازيغية

He is not known as a specialist in the religious sciences, but those who know him closely emphasise that he is highly knowledgeable about religious affairs and that he memorised the Qur'an in many recitations, and wrote a biography of the prophet in Tamazight (The Ministry of culture published it during the reign of Abdullah Alazmani). He also translated the *Divine Hadiths* into Tamazight (Antara 2004, my translation).

Following the analysis of the two reviews, it can be concluded that each of them presents a different perspective on the translation, attempting to influence its reception in its own way. In the first review, Erradi presents Baomrani's translations as biased towards Tamazight and projecting it as linguistically pure by expunging it of Arabic. This is believed to be aimed at

creating a schism between Arabs and Berbers. Antara, on the other hand, presents an opposite reading of the translation, framing it as a tool of unity in the face of potential threats to Morocco's security and a means of strengthening co-existence between different ethnic groups in the country.

Interviews

Following the second release of his translation in 2003, Baomrani gave several published interviews and made a number of TV appearances, the most important of which are a short appearance on the renowned Doha-based Arabic satellite channel *Aljazeera* (2004), an interview with the Moroccan Amazigh channel *Tamazight* (2012) and a published interview with *Alhewar Almotammaden* Website (2004). Here, Baomrani was provided with further opportunities to defend his translation, construct the imagined Berber identity and promote the Berber cause. Indeed, the functions of the epitextual device of interviews overlap in important ways with that of the preface (Section 3.3.1), as we will see in the next few paragraphs.

In 2004, Baomrani appeared on one of *Aljazeera's* programmes, *Aljazeera Correspondent*, which was hosted by *Aljazeera's* Moroccan correspondent Abdussalam Abdurrazizq⁴⁵. Given *Aljazeera's* prominence as one of the most influential channels in the Arab world, with an audience of 40 million viewers according to its website (*Aljazeera.net*), and given the significant role it plays in shaping the politics of the region, branded by some as the '*Aljazeera effect*' (Ricchiardi, 2011), being featured on one of its programmes provides an exceptional opportunity to engage in a dialogue with an Arab audience, the majority of whom cannot read Baomrani's translation. In the weekly show *Aljazeera Correspondent*, which highlights events taking place in the Arab world in each episode, the occasion of translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight was allocated seven minutes.

In addition to the translator's understandable attempts to take advantage of his short appearance to promote his cause, *Aljazeera* itself, represented by its correspondent, can be seen to adopt a supportive stance towards the Berber minority and the Berber translation of

⁴⁵ Abdussalam Abdurrazizq was later stripped of his journalistic license by the Moroccan authorities in 2005, in the aftermath of his interview with one of the Sahara Desert's separatists (*Aljazeera.net*).

the Holy Qur'an, thus promoting the Berber cause and shaping the reception of the translation in three significant ways. Firstly, it introduces the Berber question to the Arab world by selecting an otherwise familiar act of translation and politicising it. Secondly, it enhances its perspective regarding the translation by carefully selecting representatives of diverse political currents who support this translation. Thirdly, it gives the translator airtime to address the larger Arab audience as well as defend his translation and explain his motives.

To politicise the Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an, the channel highlights three facts. It states that the translation was a result of the Moroccan political opening toward previously *taboo* issues, implying that the translation itself was a taboo. It uses the Arabic verb أقدم *Aqdam* (to venture), which implies taking risk to describe the otherwise normal translational act. It draws attention to the translator's continuous attempts to justify what the channel refers to as a 'pragmatic response' to the needs of the Muslim Berbers. Interestingly, to consolidate its assumptions, the channel puts the number of Berbers in Morocco at 60% of the population, elevating their status from a minority to a majority, in contrast to academic statistics, which put them at only 40% (Madani 2003, Silverstein and Crawford 2004, Maddy-Weitzman 2006).

بموازاة التعاطي الجديد للسلطة المغربية مع الملفات الكبرى خاصة الحقوقية والدستورية وقانون الأحوال الشخصية والتي كان في السابق من المحرمات أقدم الحسين جهادي أحد المناضلين الداعين لرد الاعتبار للمكون الأمازيغي في الثقافة المغربية على ترجمة معاني القرآن الكريم إلى اللغة الأمازيغية وعلى الرغم من أن فعل الترجمة يبدو أمرا بديهيا تقتضيه شروط الاستجابة لحاجة أكثر من 60% من المغاربة من أصل أمازيغي فإن جهادي الذي أخذ منه هذا العمل اثنتي عشرة سنة لا يكل من التأكيد على أن ما قام به مجرد مجهود فردي تحكمه غايات علمية ودينية صرفة

In line with the new stance of the Moroccan authorities in relation to a number of major issues, in particular, human rights, constitutional reforms and personal status law, which were considered taboo in the past, Jouhadi Lhoucine, one of the advocates of reinstating the Amazigh constituent as an integral part of the Moroccan culture, ventured to translate the meanings of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. Although the act of translation is a pragmatic response to the needs of 60% of the Moroccans of Amazigh origin, Jouhadi, who took twelve years to complete this work, does not tire of emphasising that what he did is an individual effort [that is] purely scientifically and religiously motivated (*Aljazeera Correspondent* 2004, my translation).

After this introductory statement, the translator appears clad in traditional attire. Baomrani addresses Arab viewers, many of whom are unaware of the Berber situation in North Africa,

by presenting himself as conforming to mainstream Islamic conventions, in this case through elements such as the semiotics of dress. In contrast to the photograph featured on the back cover of his translation, which shows him dressed in Western attire (Figure 4.3), he wears traditional Moroccan attire (Figure 5.1) in his interview, constructing himself, and by extension the Berbers, as an integral part of Moroccan culture and simultaneously warding off allegations of sponsoring Western agendas that exploit the Berber question. The interview is filmed in Baomrani's library, where the camera takes a long shot showing a broad view of the large numbers of volumes lining the shelves, suggesting to the viewers that Baomrani is sufficiently knowledgeable to undertake this significant task (i.e. the translation of the Holy Qur'an).

Central to the Berber identity movement, language figures prominently in Baomrani's interview. Here, Baomrani attempts to (re)position Tamazight as a tool in the service of Islam. At the same time, he contextualises his own translation within a tradition of Berber religious translations undertaken by Berber scholars in the nineteenth century to propagate Islamic teachings among the Berber masses, framing his translation as a service to Islam and not, as perceived by some, a blow to orthodox Islam. According to Baomrani (in *Aljazeera Correspondent*, 2004, my translation):

الأمازيغيون لم يضيعوا لغتهم الأمازيغية بجانب العربية فإذا رجعنا إلى علمائنا في القرن التاسع عشر وكذا ومؤلفاتهم موجودة عندي أنا عدد كبير عندي من المخطوطات هنا أكثر من 22 ولا 23 كلها بالأمازيغية ترجموا الشيخ خليل إلى الأمازيغية ترجموا البردة ترجموا السيرة النبوية ترجموا... إلى آخره ترجموا عدد كبير في نفس الوقت كلهم أمازيغ لماذا لكي يُبلغوا لإخوانهم هذه المعاني وهذه الأهمية الإسلامية.

The Amazigh people have always preserved their language alongside the Arabic language. If we go back to our [Amazigh] scholars in the nineteenth century and their writings, I have a lot of them here, more than 22 or 23 manuscripts, all of them are in Tamazight. They translated *Sheikh khalil*, *Alburda* and *Prophet Muhammad's Biography* and a lot of other books in order to transfer to their brethren the meanings of the Islamic reference books.



Figure 5.1: Baomrani in a traditional Moroccan attire

As a result of the harsh attack that his translation received when it first appeared, Baomrani's interview serves the prefatory function of defending the text and warding off any criticism against it. Therefore, he asserts that his translation conforms to the mainstream conventions of translations of the Holy Qur'an by stating that it is, as demonstrated in the title, not a translation of the Qur'an itself but of its meanings. Another site of contestation is that of the dialect he used in his translation. In response to questions on this matter, Baomrani (in *Aljazeera Correspondent* 2004, my translation) replies that he used a generalised form of Tamazight under which all other Tamazight dialects are incorporated:

أنا أقول ترجمة معاني القرآن وليس ترجمة القرآن كما جرت بها العادة ثانياً باللغة الأمازيغية معناها أن جميع اللهجات تدخل في اللغة الأم اللغة الأمازيغية ولا أقول لهجة.

I say the translation of the meanings of the Qur'an and not the Qur'an, as is the custom [in conventional translations of the Holy Qur'an]. Second, [the translation is] into Tamazight, which means that all the dialects are incorporated in the original mother tongue.

Baomrani (in *Aljazeera Correspondent* 2004, my translation) reassures those who are afraid that the translation will replace the original text when performing rituals by stating:

مذهبنا يقول لا بد من قراءة الفاتحة كما نزلت

Our *Mazhab*⁴⁶ ['school of thought', Maliki] stipulates that we should read *Surat Alfatiha*⁴⁷ as it was revealed [in Arabic].

What is interesting here is Baomrani's use of the pronoun 'our' to situate himself and the Berber community within the national polity, Morocco, which follows the Islamic school of thought known as Maliki, thus avoiding any suggestions of a separatist agenda.

Aljazeera further influences the audience's perspective on the translation by featuring representatives of diverse political currents in Morocco endorsing Baomrani's translation, such as Sa'ad Addeen Alothmani⁴⁸ from the moderate Islamic party *Justice and Development*⁴⁹ and the activist Ahmad Assid from the secular current of the Berber movement. Indeed, the translation of a canonical text such as the Holy Qur'an gives even the most secular of Berbers a sense of the importance of renewing demands for recognising the language in the constitution. Tamazight has proved that it is a fully-fledged language via this translation of the Holy Book, which makes it eligible to be considered an official language. According to Ahmad Assid (in *Aljazeera Correspondent*, 2004, my translation):

مطلب دسترة الأمازيغية هو من المطالب الرئيسية للحركة الأمازيغية حالياً منذ التسعينات إلى الآن باعتبار ألا يمكن لمسؤولي الدولة المغربية أن يحترموا الأمازيغية لغة وثقافة إلا بسند قانوني لا بد من سند قانوني يحمي الهوية واللغة والثقافة الأمازيغية.

The demand for constitutionalising Tamazight is one of the main demands of the Berber movement since the 90s [of the past century], as the officials in Morocco would not respect the Amazigh culture and language unless there was a legal edict. There should be a legal edict that respects the Amazigh identity, language and culture.

Over the span of seven minutes, then, *Aljazeera* channel collaborated through the medium of the interview with the translator and other Berber activists to construct a message targeted at the Arab audience to shape the reception of the translation, reconstruct the Berbers and voice their demands.

⁴⁶ There are four schools of thought in Islam. In Morocco, the Maliki school of thought is followed by the majority of the Moroccan population.

⁴⁷ The first chapter of the Qur'an.

⁴⁸ A Berber Moroccan politician and psychiatrist who served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Morocco from 2012 to 2013.

⁴⁹ <http://www.britannica.com/place/Morocco/Independent-Morocco#ref1127303> (Last accessed 21/1/2018).

The 2012 appearance of Baomrani on the Tamazight channel does not easily lend itself to Genette's (1997) taxonomy. Unlike Genette's definition of an interview as a short dialogue 'on the specific occasion of a book's publication' (Genette 1997: 358), this interview is a lengthy exchange conducted nine years after the publication of the translation in 2003. It further covers wide-ranging topics on the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, which makes it closer to Genette's description of a conversation. However, different from a conversation, the intermediary's motivation here is not personal, as we will see later. The show, entitled *Amazigh Affairs*, airs on the Tamazight channel (Channel 8), which was launched for the first time on 6 January 2010 as part of the National Radio and Television Company (SNRT) in Morocco. The channel broadcasts 80% of its programmes in the three Berber dialects of Morocco, and most of these programmes are subtitled into Arabic; the remaining 20% are aired in Arabic and French, suggesting that it targets, in addition to Berbers, a broader multi-ethnic audience, particularly Moroccan Arabs. *Amazigh Affairs* is one of the few Arabic programmes on the channel, and aims to shape the perspectives of the Moroccan Arab majority as well as Arabic-speaking Berbers. The programme is intended to enable the channel to play its role in introducing the non-Tamazight speakers to the different aspects of the Amazigh cause (Boukdir 2012).

In the episode under study, the role of the interviewer, the Berber activist Ahmad Assid, is as important as that of the interviewee. A Berber rights campaigner and a member of the board of the Royal Institute for Amazigh Language and Culture (IRCAM), Assid is a writer and TV presenter who addresses issues related to the Berber Question. As a committed secularist, he proposes secularism as an alternative to Islamism (E. Almasude 2014: 141). His Berberist ideology is evident in his attempts to formulate the Berber question and the role of the Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an in the exchange under discussion. Indeed, both the interviewer and the translator are jointly engaged in what Genette (1997: 357) refers to as 'the construction of a message' targeted at the Moroccan audience, in particular, the Arab audience.

The interview discusses significant issues such as the asymmetrical relations between languages, the relationship between language and power, the legitimacy of translating the

Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, the sacredness of Arabic language, and the role that translation into Tamazight has played in shaping the socio-political context of the Berber.

The title of the episode, *Tamazight and Islam*, evokes a recurring theme in the Berberist literature, where Tamazight is (re)constructed as a tool in the service of Islam, a resource that has contributed in distinct ways to promoting Islam and its teachings to the Berber masses. Indeed, the title of the episode is arguably an attempt to challenge the linguistic hierarchy in North Africa, where Arabic features at the top of the pyramid, by unhinging the long-established exclusive link between Arabic and Islam, undermining claims of its sacredness and bringing to the fore the role played by Tamazight.

When introducing the translator, Assid refers to him solely as the translator of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, signalling the cultural capital that the translation of canonical texts such as the Holy Qur'an can bestow upon the translator as well as the role that such translation plays in promoting minority languages and causes and reshaping their socio-political context. It is worth noting here that the translation is still being discussed nine years after its second release, which testifies to the central role it has played in negotiating the political climate in Morocco and the status it seems to have attained as a classic Berber text.

Both the interviewer and the translator bring to light the role that the Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an has played in negotiating the Berber socio-political context by tracing shifts in attitudes toward the translation over the past decade. Assid draws attention to how this controversial translation, which came under fire when it first appeared, has come to be accepted regionally, nationally and abroad, highlighting how central religious institutions in the Arab world, such as Al-Azhar in Egypt and King Fahad Complex in Saudi Arabia, came to recognise and approve of Baomrani's translation (*Amazigh Affairs* 2012, my translation):

هذه الترجمة تقريبا بدأ الحديث عليها عام 1999. في ذلك الوقت جرت بعض النقاشات المحتدمة. ثم فيما بعد اعترض عليها بعض الناس في السلطة أو المجتمع أو التيار الإسلامي في ذلك الوقت والذي اعتبروه تميع للترجمة، تميع النص القرآني. ولكن فيما بعد أصبحت مصداقية عند هذه الترجمة وأخذتم تنويها من وزير الأوقاف والشؤون الإسلامية وكمات تنويه من بعض الفاعلين الإسلاميين الرئيسيين كالـدكتور سعد الدين العثماني الذي كتب ينوه بالترجمة ثم بعد ذلك أخذتم التنويه من جامعة الأزهر في القاهرة وكذلك السعودية لما وصلت النسخة ديالك من القرآن إلى متحف الترجمات في السعودية. لماذا فكرتم في ترجمة القرآن إلى الأمازيغية.

This translation began to attract attention around 1999. During that time, it provoked some heated debates and later some elements in government, society or the Islamic current at the time objected to it, perceiving it as distorting [the role/meaning of] translation and the Qur'anic text. Later, however, the translation acquired credibility and you were praised by the Minister of Islamic Affairs as well as significant Islamists such as Dr Sa'ad Addeen Alothmani, who wrote in praise of the translation. You were then praised by Alazhar University in Cairo and by Saudi Arabia when you sent a copy of your translation to the museum of translations [referring to the King Fahad Complex for Printing the Holy Qur'an]. So, what made you think of undertaking this translation?

The translator, supporting Assid's point, traces the initial responses to his translation and the dramatic shifts its reception underwent over the course of a decade. According to Baomrani (in *Amazigh Affairs*, 2012, my translation), some of the early responses were too extreme, in some cases amounting to death threats:

عندما وقعت المسألة (ترجمة القرآن) كان علماء سوس أرسلوا إلي بالترحيب والتشجيع والمراسلات وكذا إلى آخره، بينما بعض علماء المغرب أقاموا الدنيا وأقعدوها. قالوا دنستم القرآن باللغة الأمازيغية. (.....) أحد العلماء قال "أيها السوسيون قوموا لأخيك جهادي افهموه أو اسكتوه أو اضربوه أو اقتلوه". بهذه العبارات. هذا إرهاب.

When I translated the Holy Qur'an, scholars of [the Moroccan Berber region] Souss sent me letters welcoming [my translation] and encouraging me, while some scholars from Morocco caused uproar and said you *dannastom* [sullied] the Qur'an by translating it into Tamazight. [...]. One scholar said: 'you people of Souss stand up to your brother Jouhadi, talk some sense into him, silence him, beat him or kill him'. These very words. This is terrorism.

Here, translation was portrayed as a desecrating tool that not only distorted the Holy Book but also made it profane. The Arabic verb *dannas* (to sully), has extremely negative and, specifically, religious connotations. In this context, it means defiling the Qur'an, to make it impure. It is worth noting that these radical⁵⁰ responses to the translation were evidenced in 1999, at a time when translations of the Holy Qur'an were being undertaken by high profile religious institutions in highly conservative countries such as Saudi Arabia. The incitement to kill the translator, which Baomrani describes as terrorism, echoes the violent reaction of the Church in the 16th century (Stone 2012:107) toward early translations of the Bible into the

⁵⁰ According to Ben-Layashi, the radical current of the Berber activists is divided between those who completely reject Islam, and those who propose the fusion between the Berber customary law and the Sharia (Ben-Layashi 2007:159).

European vernaculars, and until recently unheard of in Islam (Wilson 2014: 18). This may indicate that the reasons for the controversy surrounding the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an were not religious and not inherent in traditional Islamic literature, but, rather, embedded into nationalist thinking, which perceives acts of translation as tarnishing national identity and threatening the official language. Baomrani asserts this view by saying (in *Amazigh Affairs* 2012, my translation):

المغاربة مسلمون عارفون ولكن التخوف من هنا جاء: يقولون أن العربية في خطر. خطر
من ماذا

The Moroccans are knowledgeable Muslims. The source of concern is Arabic, which, as [Arab nationalists] say, is in danger. What danger?

Surprisingly, these extremist responses later gave way to positive reaction. People began to see this translation in a new light as a source of national pride. People whom Baomrani refers to as having been brainwashed by decades of official political discourse began to acknowledge their Berber ancestry. This might be attributed to the symbolic value that a particular translation accrues over time and bestows upon a particular language and its speakers. The feasibility of translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, long considered an oral language used only for low literature, is described as having boosted the confidence of Tamazight speakers. As Baomrani states here (in *Amazigh Affairs* 2012, my translation):

الناس رجعوا إلى الصواب. حتى الذين كنا نعرفهم مستلبين يقولون: "أنا كانت جدتي أمازيغية: فأقول له: "كيف تثبت بأن أباك ليس أمازيغيا؟"

Now people have come to their senses. Even those who were brainwashed now say: 'My grandmother was Amazigh'. I say: 'How do you prove that you father is not Amazigh?'.

Another positive impact of the Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an is the recognition of the Berbers and their language by other countries. Baomrani (in *Amazigh Affairs* 2012, my translation) maintains that the free circulation of the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight in other Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia amounts to an acknowledgement of the Tamazight language, implying the potential role of translation in promoting minority languages:

لذلك يعجبني أن هناك مفكرون في الشرق يعترفون باللغات كلها. وأصبحت ترجمة القرآن تصل إلى السعودية وإلى مناطق أخرى وماكانتش مشكلة. وهي ظهرت في الجزائر. وقد تظهر في الأماكن الأخرى. وهذا هو المهم.

I am glad that there are intellectuals in the East [other Arab countries] who acknowledge the existence of all other languages and that the translation of the Holy Qur'an reaches now Saudi Arabia and other areas without any problems. It appeared now in Algeria and it may appear in other areas. And this is what matters.

Another important topic that Baomrani raises in his interview is the legitimacy of his translation, a topic that is widely recurrent in the literature produced by the Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an, as we will see later in the case of Remdan Mensur, one of the Algerian translators of the Holy Qur'an (Section 5.3.3). This insistence to assert their right to translate the Holy Book is highly indicative of the socio-political context of their translations, which differs vastly from that of the other translations of the Holy Qur'an into other languages (*Amazigh Affairs*, 2012, my translation):

أنا تخصصي هو التاريخ وقرأنا الكثير فوجدنا أن القرآن مترجم إلى جميع اللغات. فقلت لماذا لم يترجم بالأمازيغية. ثانيا أن نحن عندما كنا نقرأ القرآن في سوس كان دائما جميع الأوقاف في كل حزب تترجم لنا بالأمازيغية (...) يعني هذه المسألة عادية. ولكن الغريب في الأمر أنه عندما ثارت هذه الضجة وذهبت إلى مصر وألقيت فيه عرضا وجدت قالوا أن كان المجلس العلمي في الأزهر أفتى أن يترجم القرآن للبربر في شمال أفريقيا. هذا عام 1912. واستغربت أنا أنه السنة التي احتل فيها المغرب. الاستعمار. عقد الحماية.

I majored in history and I read a lot. I found out that the Qur'an had been translated into all languages, so I wondered why it was never translated into Tamazight. Secondly: When we used to read [the Qur'an] in Souss, all the stoppings in each section would be translated to us into Tamazight [...] so this was something normal. The strange thing is that when this controversy arose, I went to Egypt and made a speech; there I found out that the Scientific Council in Al-Azhar issued a *fatwa* for translating the Qur'an into Berber in North Africa in 1912. And I was surprised to know that [the *fatwa*] was issued in the same year that Morocco was colonised: the colonisation, the protectorate.

Baomrani advocates translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight on the grounds that the Holy Qur'an has been translated into every other language. More importantly, he attempts to dissociate his translation from accusations of harbouring Berberist intentions by drawing attention to two facts. First, that the act of translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight is not a recent phenomenon; indeed, earlier forms of the translation of the Holy Book were found in the Berber Souss region, where the religious scholar would read verses of the Qur'an and

pause to translate them for listeners, a method of translation common among non-Arab Muslims (Chapter 1), challenging claims that the translation into Tamazight was only done in recent times to sever the relationship between the Berbers and Arabic. Secondly, he points out that the idea of translating the Holy Qur'an into Berber was not initially promoted by Berber activists. Indeed, this idea came from outside Morocco and North Africa; it was proposed by the most prestigious religious authority at the time, Al-Azhar, when the body of *Ulama*, fearful of attempts by the Church to evangelise the Berbers issued a *fatwa* authorising the translation of the Holy Qur'an in 1912⁵¹, the very year that the French colonised Morocco. In the face of the French *civilising mission* that targeted mainly the Berbers, Al-Azhar saw in the translation of the Holy Qur'an a tool of resistance in the service of Islam.

The interview also sheds light upon how different translations of the same text can be perceived differently. Here, Assid distinguishes between the self-sponsored translation by Baomrani (2003), on the one hand, and the Algerian translation by Tayeb (2007/2013), which was sponsored by Saudi Arabia, on the other hand. While the one produced in Morocco (Baomrani's) may be considered a tool of identity assertion, he argues, the translation distributed in Algeria seems to be intended to resist the potential spread of Christianity at the expense of Islam. The Algerian translation was financed by Saudi Arabia, Assid (in *Amazigh Affairs* 2012, my translation) claims, to counteract attempts by the Church to convert the Berbers of Algeria, thus complicating Baomrani's positive account of translation as a form of recognition:

غريبة لم تظهر ترجمة القرآن في الجزائر إلا بعد أن أصبحت بعض المدن في الشرق متخوفة من انتشار المسيحية. لأن ترجمة القرآن في الجزائر دعمتها السعودية ماليا لمقاومة التبشير المسيحي. بمعنى لا يعترف بلغة القوم إلا عندما يكون هناك تهديد آخر. ربما أيضا مصدر الفتوى الأزهر لأن عام 1912 هو السنة التي استعمر فيها المغرب. ربما كانت الفتوى في إطار مواجهة الاستعمار.

The strange thing is that the translation of the Holy Qur'an did not appear in Algeria until some countries in the East were alerted to the spread of Christianity, because the translation of the Qur'an in Algeria was financially sponsored by Saudi Arabia to resist evangelisation, which means that the language of a given people is only acknowledged when there is another threat to be faced. The source of this *fatwa* may also be traced back to Al-Azhar, because 1912 was

⁵¹ There is no record of a Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an produced after issuing the Al-Azhar fatwa in 1912.

the year when Morocco was colonised. Maybe this *fatwa* was issued in the context of resisting colonisation.

Assid's perception of the different translations of the Holy Qur'an demonstrates how translations of the same texts can be constructed differently, and how their reception is shaped accordingly.

The third interview, this time published rather than aired on television, was published on the occasion of the release of the translation in 2004 on the website *Alhewar Almotammaden*. The interview was entitled جهادي الحسين الباعمراني مترجم معاني القرآن إلى الأمازيغية يتحدث عن قصة مؤلفه [Jouhadi Lahoucine Baomrani, the Translator of *The Meanings of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight* Talks about the Story of His Book] (Antara 2004)⁵² and conducted by Mostafa Antara, a Berber researcher interested in the Berber cause.

Throughout the interview, Baomrani makes use of the space given to him to challenge the nationalist discourses of Morocco, which have for a long time ignored the Berbers and placed them at the bottom of the socio-political hierarchy, to redefine the North African states, for long considered Arab countries, and to prove the legitimacy of translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight.

Repositioning the Berbers, Baomrani asserts that they contributed actively to preserving the Arabic language, framing them as benefactors rather than beneficiaries. At the same time, Baomrani (in Antara 2004, my translation) disputes claims that his translation attempts to hijack the Arabic language:

وقد شاع أن بعض الدول الشرقية راسلت المغرب رسمياً لمنع ترجمة القرآن الكريم إلى اللغة الأمازيغية بدعوى أن ذلك فيه خطرٌ على اللغة العربية بشمال إفريقيا، وهذا طبعاً غير صحيح، مع العلم بأن الذين ألفوا بالعربية ونظموا أعمالاً مثل ألفية النحوي بن معطي وغيرها كلهم أمازيغيون. فإذا كان الفرس قد قننوا اللغة العربية، فإن الأمازيغيين نظموا لتحتفظ.

It is rumoured that some of the countries in the East asked Morocco to officially ban the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, claiming that it posed a threat to the Arabic language in North Africa. This is of course not true. The composers [of classical reference books] in Arabic such as Ibn Mua'ati, who composed *Alfiya Al-Nahawwi* [a rhymed book of Arabic grammar], are all Amazigh. So, if the Persians wrote down the rules of the Arabic language, it is the

⁵² <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=16907> (Last accessed 21/1/2018).

Amazigh who converted them into a poetic form so that they can be memorised.

In addition to his attempts to reposition the Berbers, Baomrani (in Antara 2004, my translation) seeks to redefine the North African states vis-à-vis other Arab countries:

فنحن نعتز بالمذهب المالكي المعمول به في بلادنا، لكونه وضع حدا فاصلا بين المغرب الإسلامي والشرق العربي من حيث بعض الأحاديث والأقوال المشكوك في صحتها، ذلك أن علماءنا بالمغرب كانوا يقتصرون على صحيح البخاري ومسلم.

We [the Moroccans] are proud of the Maliki School that we follow in our country because it separates the Islamic Maghreb and the Arab East when it comes to doubtful *hadiths* [the Prophet's sayings], as our scholars in the Maghreb would use only [the sound *hadiths*] of *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*.

Notably, throughout the interview, Baomrani refers to the North African states and the other Arab states respectively as the *Islamic Maghreb* and the *Arab East*. This labelling technique represents one of the discursive moves adopted by the activist translator to (re)construct not only the Berber identity but also to (re)imagine the North African states and separate them from the larger Arab world by stressing their Islamic constituent while downplaying the Arab one.

Baomrani goes so far as to claim that there are two different kinds of Islam. This differentiating strategy might be explained in the context of the Berber activists' attempts to challenge the homogenising discourses of their nation states and deconstruct the Maghreb, long-referred to as Arab, and reconstruct it as solely Muslim (in Antara 2004, my translation):

إنني أحترم الشرقيين ماداموا يحترمون إسلام المغرب ومقدساته.. فالشرق شرق والغرب غرب. صحيح أن أشياء كثيرة تربط بيننا كالإسلام واللغة العربية... لكن عندما يتم التدخل في إسلامنا فهذا لا نقبله، فالمغاربة وصلوا إلى الشرق وبنوا القاهرة، كما وصلوا إلى مكة والمدينة

I respect the Easterners as long as they respect the Islam of the Maghreb and its sacred tenets. The East is East and the West is West. It is true that we have a lot of things in common, such as Islam and the Arabic language. What we do not accept is interfering in our Islam. The Moroccans reached the East and built Cairo, they even reached Makkah and Madinah.

In addition to his attempts to deconstruct the *Maghreb* by dismissing the Arab constituent, Baomrani asserts, in line with his other interview on the *Tamazight* channel, that it is the Arab nationalists who opposed his translation; their objections against it are grounded upon

national considerations of the supremacy of one culture and one language, in this case, Arabic, while other cultures and languages are dismissed as inferior. The translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight refuted such assumptions by foregrounding Tamazight as a fully-fledged language.

ظهرت تخوفات لدى بعض القوميين العرب من ترجمة القرآن إلى الأمازيغية، فهم كما تعلمون لا يعترفون بوجود مقومات الأمازيغية ولا بوجودها كلغة قائمة الذات. لكن الأكيد أن هذا العمل استطاع أن يبرز أموراً كثيرة من معاني القرآن الكريم بمصطلحات منبتقة من اللغة الأمازيغية وليس من اللهجات

Some Arab nationalists felt suspicious about the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. As you know, they never acknowledge Tamazight as a qualified or even fully-fledged language. But what is certain is that this translation managed to foreground many meanings of the Holy Qur'an in original Amazigh terms derived from Tamazight and not its dialects (Antara 2004, my translation).

While identifying Arab nationalists and Arab nationalism as the source of the hostility towards his translation, Baomrani (in Antara 2004, my translation) once again distinguishes between Arab nationalists and Islamists, asserting that the latter, by contrast, welcomed his translation:

لم أصطدم في حياتي بأي إسلامي، أكن لهم كل الإحترام والتقدير بالرغم من الاختلافات التي يمكن أن تكون بيننا في الرؤى، بل أكثر من ذلك أن عملي هذا خلق أصداء إيجابية لدى مجموعة من الإسلاميين والعلماء الذين رحبوا بهذه الترجمة واعتزوا بها.

I have never clashed with any Islamists. I owe them a great deal of respect and admiration despite the differences between us in some aspects. Indeed, my work has been received positively by a group of Islamists and scholars who welcomed it and took pride in it.

Baomrani cites the tolerance that Morocco and other North African states showed toward the translation of the Bible into Tamazight as evidence of the national linguistic considerations at work. This is partly because the Bible, unlike the Holy Qur'an, is not a rallying point for the North African people. More importantly, it is not originally written in the national language of the North African states, i.e. Arabic, hence, the latter is not at stake. Equally important, it is not translated by the Berbers themselves, and hence, does not represent a move on the part of the Berber to foreground their culture and language. In contrast, translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight by the Berbers themselves would empower them by giving them direct access to it. Therefore, to deny the Berbers the right to translate the Holy Qur'an would

sustain the Berbers' dependence on Arabic and, by extension, Arabic culture. According to Baomrani (in Antara 2004, my translation):

وما استغربه هو كيف يسمح للمسيحية أن تنتشر الإنجيل بجميع اللغات بما فيها الأمازيغية
ولا يسمح أن يترجم القرآن باللغة الأمازيغية

What astonishes me is how the translation of the Bible into all languages, including Tamazight, is allowed while the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight is not.

To conclude this section, it is clear that via the epitextual tool of interviews, Baomrani attempted, in collaboration with the interviewers and other third-party participants, to question and challenge a number of long-standing official claims in Morocco. These include the *Arabness* of North Africa, the superiority of the Arabs vis-à-vis the backwardness of the Berbers, and the sacredness of Arabic language versus the paganism of Tamazight⁵³. In so doing, Baomrani sought to reclaim the *Berberness* of North Africa, assert the vital role played by Berbers in building Arabo-Islamic civilisation and ultimately gain recognition for Berber language and culture. Through tracing changes in responses towards his translation since its first release in 1999, Baomrani also managed to draw attention to the crucial role played by translation in general and his translation in particular in advancing minorities' rights, winning recognition for them and boosting their confidence. In addition to Baomrani, interviewers, and other third party participants, who seemed to adopt a supportive stance towards Baomrani's translation, played a vital role in endorsing the latter's views, introducing his translation and, by extension, the Berber case, to the Arab audience and ultimately shaping its reception in a positive way.

Awards

In his brief discussion of factual paratexts, which he does not elaborate upon, Genette includes literary prizes as playing an important role in circulating books and influencing readerships (Genette 1997: 7). Prizes in general provide the author/translator with a vital means of image construction on the one hand and opportunities for marketing his or her

⁵³ Errihani (2007: 252) argues that for Arab nationalists, 'Tamazight is a pagan language, indeed not even a language but simply a cluster of closely related dialects with no standard form, no grammar, no literature, and no functional or symbolic value'.

literary output on the other. Gillian Roberts (2011: 5) argues that literary prizes are ‘not merely incidental to the texts they celebrate’, and that they ‘signify on their own terms and in relation to the texts whose circulation and readership they function to increase’. Likewise, according to a report titled *Alice Munro, At Home and Abroad: How the Nobel Prize in Literature Affects Book Sales* (BookNet Canada, 2013), the week in which Munro’s award was announced witnessed an increase in sales from 94 units to a height of 6,345 units for all of her titles, which represents approximately a 6650% increase.

In addition to their direct functions of attracting readership and increasing book sales, prizes and accolades reflect shifting political climates and socio-political changes. Baomrani’s translation is a case in point. Baomrani’s translation was initially severely attacked and banned by the Moroccan authorities when it first came out in 1999. However, with the shifting political climate a few years later, Baomrani won the 2004 National Prize of Amazigh Culture, an annual award bestowed in a number of categories by the state-sponsored Royal Institute of Amazigh Language and Culture. The award recognises the giant leaps forward that the Berbers have made in promoting their cultural and linguistic rights. In particular, Baomrani’s 2004 award reflects how the translation came to negotiate and traverse difficulties through the political landscape in Morocco, thereby demonstrating significant socio-political changes since 1999. Being the subject of an official ban in 1999, enjoying a limited political opening with its second release in 2003, and finally winning a state award in 2004, Baomrani’s work points to the significant role played by translation in winning recognition for minority groups.

5.3. The Role of Epitextuality in Shaping the Berber Translations of the Holy Qur’an in Algeria

5.3.1 The Socio-political Context of the Two Berber Translations of the Holy Qur’an in Algeria

Like Morocco, Algeria is still grappling with the turbulent Berber question. In fact, Algeria has always had issues with its Berber minority, with the first *Berberist crisis* taking place in 1949 during the anti-colonial nationalist struggles (Fois 2016: 207). In the aftermath of independence, as explored in more detail earlier (Section 2.4), the imposition of a

homogenous Arabo-Islamic identity upon the newly-emergent multi-ethnic state provoked the indigenous Berber component of the population. The situation was aggravated by the intensification of the Arabisation campaign in the 1970s and 1980s, during which the use of literary Tamazight was outlawed, university courses on Berber language and culture were eliminated (Lauermann 2009: 43) and Berber students (Kabyle, in particular) were beaten when overheard speaking Berber at school (Goodman 2004: 67).

It was not long before these imposed homogenising measures started to backfire. The initial reaction came mostly from the Berber Kabylie area in Algeria. Indeed, Kabylie has always been 'strong in its manifestations of language-based particularism' and hence in its opposition to Arabisation policies (Fois 2016: 206). Although voices were raised at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s calling for constitutional amendments and the reinstatement of the Berber identity and language, these were repressed by the government – which had always perceived Berberism as 'a possible threat to the state and suspected [it] of being linked to a Western view of state building' (ibid: 208). For decades, Kabylie was the scene of many uprisings demanding recognition for the Berber language and culture – the most influential of these demonstrations being *the Berber Spring*, which designates the first mass movement held in 1980. The immediate cause of that famous upsurge was the cancellation of a lecture by the Berber activist Mouloud Mammeri (Aitel 2013, Maddy-Witzman 2011) on the role of poetry in traditional Kabyle society. However, that upsurge was only the tip of the iceberg, as feelings of frustration and anger had been simmering for some time as a result of the intensification of the Arabisation campaign in 1979, along with the termination of a Kabyle-language radio programme (Maddy-Witzman 2011: 73-75). Kabyle students went on demonstrations to protest cultural repression by the government. And although these demonstrations were crushed harshly by the Algerian authorities (Layachi 2005), their impact is still felt today.

It was not until the mid-1990s, however, that the Algerian government started to relax its grip upon the Kabylie area. Following a period of student unrest that culminated in a region-wide boycott of public schools in Kabylie in 1994-1995, the government conceded some of the demands of the Berbers. Among other concessions, they agreed to create in 1995 the High

Council of Amazigh⁵⁴, which played a significant role in promoting the teaching of Tamazight in Algerian schools (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 193). Following the 2001 Black Spring, a new outbreak of Berber unrest during which a Kabyle student was killed while in detention, the government promised some constitutional reforms. In 2002, for the first time, it declared Tamazight a national language alongside Arabic, the latter being both a national and official language (Fois 2016: 208). This victory, i.e. the declaration of Tamazight as a national language by the Algerian authorities, marks the first milestone on the pathway of acknowledging the Berber sections of Algerian society.

Language has always been a crucial aspect of the Berber Identity Movement. Efforts to preserve, revive and officialise Tamazight alongside Arabic have been at the top of Berber activists' agendas. But what could be more striking than appropriating the country's most sacred book and the prime source of Arab pride, the Holy Qur'an, to enrich, aggrandise and legitimise Berber language and culture? Yet, as is the case with neighbouring Morocco, it took a long time for the first Berber translation of the Qur'an to appear in Algeria although even the most secular of the Kabyle activists had been demanding it for some time. Political and linguistic considerations may have played a vital role in hindering such a translation. Encouraging a Berber Qur'an in a self-defined homogenous Arab country would surely undermine claims of its *Arabness*, a claim that Algeria strove passionately to reinforce through decades of an intensive Arabisation policy. The situation was exacerbated as Arab nationalists instrumentalised the relationship between the Arabic language and the Holy Qur'an to postulate the sacredness of the former. By articulating this discourse, Arab nationalists were able to perpetuate an asymmetric linguistic relationship between Arabic and Tamazight. At the same time, this strategy allowed them to create a psychological barrier that prevented

⁵⁴ The High Council of Amazigh was created by the Algerian government in 1995 after a year-long boycott of schools in Kabylie in 1994–1995. The development of Tamazight and its integration into education and the social and media spheres were the Council's main objectives. Shortly after its establishment, the High Council introduced the teaching of Tamazight in a limited number of Kabyle schools. During the next twenty years, the organisation managed to integrate the teaching of Tamazight into elementary and secondary education in sixteen provinces, established a bachelor's degree programme in the Berber language, facilitated broadcasting news in Tamazight on Algerian TV and published more than 150 books on Berber language and heritage. In addition to its efforts to promote the study of Tamazight, the organisation runs numerous Berber cultural events and holds frequent celebrations to honour Berber cultural figures who have contributed to elevating the Berber language and culture. In 2016, the organisation translated the Algerian constitution into Tamazight for the first time using Latin script, thus confirming its position regarding the script controversy in Algeria.

Muslim Berbers from challenging *the language of God*. Arguably, this could account for the passiveness that the Algerian government showed towards the existence of numerous Berber Bible translations carried out by foreign missionary agencies targeting the Kabylie area.⁵⁵ Aware of the government's ploy to maintain the hegemony of the Arabic language, conflate Arabic and the Muslim faith, and stop efforts opposing the *Arabisation* launched by Arab nationalists (Lounes 2007), Kabyle secularists were the first to call for the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. To remove this aura of sacredness around Arabic language and to prove *the linguistic autonomy* of Tamazight, two Kabyle activists carried out two timid attempts to translate the Holy Qur'an.⁵⁶

Indeed, it was not long before Islamic voices demanded the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight for a different reason: resisting the Christianising campaigns in Kabylie. Aware of the spiritual void created by the lack of a Berber translation, Christian missionaries jumped in to fill it by translating the Bible into Kabyle and broadcasting Christian programmes on Kabyle radio. Kabyle people soon showed their appreciation of this new opportunity to see their language in print and hear it on the air, and numerous cases of Kabyle conversions to Christianity were reported⁵⁷. Referring to the vital role played by translation in influencing marginalised Kabyle Berbers, a contributor to the evangelistic *St. Francis Magazine* writing under the pseudonym Abu Banaat (2006: 5) noted that '[w]hen these [minority] groups are

⁵⁵ The first Kabyle translation of the Old Testament dates back to 1833 and was carried out by the British and Foreign Bible Society (Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with Extracts of Correspondence: Volume 10). Many Bible translations appeared in the 1980s and 1990s: Injil n ssid-ennagh Yasu` Lmasih s ghur Matta [Evangile de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, selon Matthieu] (1987), Injil s ghur Luqa [L'Evangile selon Saint Luc] (1987), Injil syur Marqus. [L'Evangile selon St Marc] (1988) and Injil n Ssid-enne` Yasu` Lmasih (1991) (Centre de recherche berbère website).

⁵⁶ One translation was by the militant Kabyle Mohamed Haroun; this has never seen the light of day. The second was a partial translation by Kamal Nait Zerrad, which appeared in 1998 under the title *Lexique religieux berbère et néologie: un essai de traduction partielle du Coran*. According to Lameen Souag (Souag 2007), '[t]his work is primarily an effort to design a 'purist' Berber religious vocabulary, one drawing on native lexical resources rather than Arabic borrowings, with a translation of a selection of 'suras' added essentially as a proof of feasibility'. This goal of creating *linguistic autonomy* in relation to the other languages used in Algeria was a common one among this language-centred generation (Chachoua 2010). Zerrad's translation was not published in Algeria, but rather in France, which might be attributed to the strained relationship between Kabyle intellectuals and the Algerian state at the time.

⁵⁷ According to the website *Pray Way*, 'eight mission agencies are currently targeting the Kabyle of Algeria. Nevertheless, of the 1.7 million Kabyle in this region, less than 1% have converted to Christianity'.

addressed in a manner that shows appreciation for their language and culture, that is their identity, they are more likely to be open to the Christian message than other groups’.

However, there was a compelling reason that most likely induced the Algerian government to open the door to the Berber translations of the Holy Qur’an at the turn of the twenty-first century: the heated debates that emerged in Morocco following the publication of the first Berber translation of the Holy Qur’an in that country, discussed in the previous section. This reason, coupled with the government’s softening stance on the Berber issue after the 2001 Berber unrest, paved the way for the publication in Algeria of two Berber translations of the Holy Qur’an in Tamazight. Unfortunately, both translations have proved divisive and disturbing to Berbers and Arabs alike (Chachoua: 2010), ultimately shattering the external mask of Kabyle Berber homogeneity.

It was the Algerian government, represented by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which discreetly launched the initiative to translate the Holy Qur’an into Berber by encouraging a Kabyle religious scholar and Arabic language inspector, Hajj Mohannad Tayeb, to undertake the task. One might argue that Tayeb was deliberately chosen for reasons other than his translation capabilities. In addition to his religious education and linguistic proficiency, Tayeb was a strong proponent of Arabisation policies and an opponent of Berber ethnic movements, which made him a perfect choice for the government. Notwithstanding the subtle government involvement, Tayeb seemed to be driven by a more passionate motive. For him, translation was a tool for reclaiming the Berber Islamic heritage and resituating the Berbers within the Arabo-Islamic world, after being isolated within the latter for so long by what he regarded as the politically created *Kabyle myth*⁵⁸. His position on the issue is evident in his choice of the Arabic script (Section 4.3.4) to link the Berber language and heritage with the Arabo-Islamic civilisation. The image of the translator as a *saviour* embarked on a holy mission is overwhelmingly recurrent in Tayeb’s representations of himself, as we will see later (Section 5.3.2). The long-awaited translation, which was highly welcomed by the Arabophone media and many Berber intellectuals, was not without its detractors. Rather than being celebrated as the epitome of cultural efforts to foreground Tamazight, Tayeb’s translation evoked

⁵⁸ Also known as the *Berber myth* (Section 2.3.1).

controversial issues among some Berber activists regarding the choice of script, i.e. Arabic, the use of Arabic words (amounting to 50% of the translation) and the involvement of an outside contributor, i.e. Saudi Arabia, in the translation process (Section 4.3.3). Ultimately, Berber activists regarded the translation as an attempt by the Algerian government to proselytise the Kabyle Berbers and commit ethnocide against them (Chachoua 2010).

The second Berber translation was a solo project of a chemistry professor and Berber activist, Remdan Mensur, who held no translation qualifications other than mastery of Kabyle and a motivation to revive his native tongue. Mensur, who strived hard through his translation to achieve the *linguistic autonomy* of Tamazight by distancing the Arabic language completely from his project (Section 4.4.3), sought to abate criticism from Arabists and Islamists by emphatically situating the Berbers as devout Muslims and framing his translation as a form of resistance against evangelising campaigns – although to a less passionate degree than the more Arabised and Islamised Tayeb. Despite Mensur’s apparent limitations, which led many Arabophone Berber intellectuals to question the accuracy of his translation, it was celebrated by the secular Francophone media, which highlighted in particular the translator’s use of the Latin and Tifinagh scripts.

Tayeb and Mensur’s translations were particularly interesting because the debates they generated illuminate much of the socio-political context of the Kabyle experience in Algeria. The analysis of the epitextual apparatus surrounding the two translations, including the debates about both texts that took place in the mediasphere and the translators’ own responses, sheds light upon vital issues pertaining to the Berber Identity Movement. These issues include Arabisation and the sacredness of the Arabic language, the choice of script, the Berbers’ positions vis-à-vis Arabo-Islamic culture and *the Kabyle myth*. Within these national concerns, we can trace discreet attempts by the translators to construct their self-image and to position themselves vis-à-vis each other.

5.3.2 Se Hajj Mohannad Tayeb

Auto-Reviews

Of the three translators, only Tayeb exploits the rare phenomenon of auto-reviews, defined by Genette (1997: 353) in passing as 'a text fully acknowledged by the author, without the participation of an intermediary'. Tayeb uses this epitextual tool to achieve numerous purposes. Firstly, to position himself vis-à-vis the other translators and evaluate his own translation against other Algerian translations of the Holy Quran into Tamazight, namely Remdan Mensur's and Mohannad Amzian Busetta's unpublished partial translation, ultimately presenting himself as a judge and arbiter. Secondly, and more importantly, he uses his auto-reviews to resituate the Berbers within Arabo-Islamic culture, challenging the decades-long, politically circulated Kabyle myth. Thirdly, in keeping with the previous goal of reclaiming the Berbers' Arabo-Islamic heritage, Tayeb approaches the controversial issue of script, passionately promoting Arabic script as the most suitable option among the three most debated scripts suggested for writing Tamazight, i.e. Arabic, Latin and Tifinagh. Fourthly, in addition to presenting his translation as a tool in the service of Islam, he emphatically asserts the role it plays in reviving Tamazight and Berber culture. Apart from Tayeb's national concerns, researchers can read between the lines attempts at self-promotion and image-construction shared by the three translators under study.

The following section examines two auto-reviews written by Tayeb and published in two of his books and other publications. As will become clear in the discussion, a great deal of the information presented in them is not new, and is largely derived from Tayeb's three introductions to his translation (2013; Section 4.3). This is interesting in that it demonstrates the mobility of paratextual elements, which can continually shift back and forth between the different spaces of peritexts and epitexts. It is also worth noting that Tayeb's self-reviews take over the functions of several peritextual devices, such as the preface and the blurb, in addition to the main epitextual function of an allographic review, pointing not only to the mobility but also the interchangeability of different paratextual devices.

In a self-review titled *ترجمات في الميزان حيرة بين البوح والكتمان* [Translations in the Balance: Hesitation between disclosure and silence], Tayeb (in press) assumes the task of assessing

three Algerian Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an carried out by Remdan Mensur (2006), Mohannad Amzian Busetta,⁵⁹ and himself (2007/2013). As the title of his review suggests, Tayeb adopts an apologetic tone and justifies his action as an ethical attempt to reveal the truth about these translations. The lack of specialist reviews offering an informed appraisal of his translation and of the other translations of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight may have motivated his decision to take on this task himself. Whatever the motivation, and despite emphatically denying any attempt to foreground his translation at the expense of the other two, his auto-reviews do conclude that it is the most reliable translation of the three. Underlying this ethical claim, however, are attempts at self-promotion and prestige attainment to influence the reception of his translations.

Of particular importance is how Tayeb positions himself vis-à-vis the Arabo-Islamic culture, placing himself as a gate-keeper of it. Therefore, he takes issue with Remdan Mensur's translation (2006), the first ever complete published Algerian translation of the Holy Qur'an into Berber, on many grounds. These include the script chosen by Mensur (i.e. Latin and Tifinagh), the absence of a parallel Arabic text in his translation,⁶⁰ and the fact that the translation was not revised by any recognised scientific committee. In particular, the choice of script seems to be of symbolic importance for Tayeb, who uses his auto-review to debate this controversial issue, offering a brief comparison of the three available scripts for writing Tamazight (i.e. Arabic, Latin and Tifinagh), and expressing a preference for the Arabic. According to Tayeb, Tamazight is more readily and efficiently transcribed into Arabic script than any other script for two reasons. First, the Berber sounds are very close to the Arabic ones. Secondly, more than 70% of the Berber words are of Arabic origin (Tayeb, in press).

Having aligned himself with the Arabo-Islamic culture, Tayeb (in press, my translation) does not distance himself from his Berber roots, stating that one of his objectives is reviving Tamazight by having his translation taught in schools:

⁵⁹ Unpublished partial translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight carried out by the Algerian Kabyle translator Mohannad Amzian Busetta (1931-2006).

⁶⁰ Usually the translations of the Holy Qur'an come with a parallel original Arabic text.

كما أن الهدف من وراء هذا الجهد المتواضع- رغم أنه مضمّن وشاق- هو أولاً: تحفيز القاريء على مواصلة القراءة. ثانياً: إعداد هذه النصوص لاحتلال مكانة الصدارة إن شاء الله، في تعليم الأمازيغية- عند تعميمها- لأن النصوص الأدبية بالأمازيغية منعدمة أو تكاد

Likewise, the aim of this humble endeavour – exhausting and laborious though it is – is: firstly: to motivate readers to keep reading. Secondly: to produce these texts to occupy the prime place, God willing, in the teaching of Tamazight – when they are made accessible to all – because literary texts in Tamazight are non-existent or virtually so.

In order to sound more convincing, Tayeb employs *factual paratexts* to forge not only his own image, but also images of his fellow translators. When translating highly sacred texts such as the Holy Qur'an, translators capitalise upon their religious background and linguistic skills to demonstrate their credibility and circulate their translations. Here, Tayeb manipulates certain paratextual facts concerning himself and the other two translators discussed in his review to shape the reception of the three translations. To achieve this, he casts doubts upon both Mensur and Busetta's qualifications by drawing the readers' attention to their lack of professional expertise.

Tayeb, who admits that he has not examined Mensur's translation thoroughly, hints that his fellow translator Mensur's background in chemistry means he may lack the linguistic and religious qualifications required to translate the Holy Qur'an (Tayeb, in press, my translation):

أرجو ألا يكون أخونا المترجم الفاضل،-وهو المتخصص في الكيمياء حسب مصدر موثوق-قد عانى كثيراً- كما عانيت أنا- من صعوبة الإحاطة بأسرار اللغة العربية ودقائقها، التي بلغت ذروة الاستعمال في القرآن الكريم، من ذلك مثلاً: استعمال "ال" (.....) أو الإحاطة مثلاً بمعاني الحرف "أنى" الذي يستعمل فيما يزيد عن عشرة معان

إضافة إلى صعوبات أخرى حقيقية في ترجمة معاني بعض الآيات، إذا اعتمد على الفهم اللغوي وحده، دون دراستها في الفقه. لأن هذا لا يضمن الاطمئنان إلى دقة الترجمة. ولقد سألت الدكتور "حوية" أثناء تصحيح ترجمتي بمجمع الملك فهد لطباعة المصحف الشريف في السعودية: "كيف يمكن مثلاً أن تترجم آية صلاة الخوف أو آيات الميراث ممن لم يدرسها في الفقه؟" فأجاب بشيء غير قليل من الانزعاج وقال: "إنها جراءة.. إنها جراءة"

I hope that our dear translator friend – and he is a specialist in chemistry, according to a reliable source – did not suffer greatly – as I have suffered myself – in trying to grasp the secrets of the Arabic language and its intricacies, which reach their zenith of usage in the Holy Qur'an – this is the case, for example, with the use of "ال" [...] – or of getting to grips with, for example, the literal meaning of the word "أنى", which has over a dozen meanings.

Let alone other real difficulties in translating the meaning of certain verses if one relies on linguistic understanding alone, without having studied them in the context of Islamic jurisprudence, because this does not instil confidence in the accuracy of the translation. I asked Dr Hoyah, while he was proofreading my translation at the King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Quran in Saudi Arabia, 'How, for example, can the verse about the prayer of fear or the verses about inheritance be translated by someone who has not studied them in Islamic jurisprudence?' And he replied, more than a little annoyed, 'It's an audacity, it's an audacity'

Tayeb (in press, my translation) also speculates about Busetta's specialisation:

أما تخصص الشيخ بوسنة المرحوم فلا علم لي به، وإن الذي أعلمه أنه كان قبل الاستقلال معلماً بالمدرسة الحرة. ولا أدري...! لعله واصل دراسته الجامعية بعد الاستقلال كما فعل معظمنا.

I am not familiar with the specialisation of the deceased Sheikh Busetta. As far as I know he was a teacher in the Free School before independence. I do not know. He may have pursued his studies after independence as most of us did.

Having aroused the reader's suspicions about the qualifications of Mensur and Busetta, Tayeb presents himself to the reader as the most qualified to undertake the significant task of translating the Holy Qur'an. Factual paratexts in the form of carefully selected biographical information are used to emphasise his qualifications as a translator, bringing to the fore his religious education and linguistic skills, and implying that he has a profound knowledge of both the source and target cultures.

Another important strategy used by Tayeb to construct his self-image involves stressing the extensive effort required to produce his translations, a strategy he shares with his fellow translator Mensur, as we will see later (Section 5.2.3). Foregrounding the challenges he faced and accentuating the difficulties of his translation project can play an important role in neutralising critics, who may then be more inclined to applaud and praise the translator for overcoming such obstacles and accomplishing the task. In addition, highlighting these difficulties and stressing the importance of his work contribute significantly to constructing the translator's self-image, endowing him with symbolic capital and presenting him to the public as an intellectual with a great sense of duty, and influential role in constructing his culture.

To demonstrate the difficulties of his task, Tayeb (in press, my translation) quotes one of his friends' words upon learning of his translation project:

"كيف تقدم على ترجمة معاني القرآن بالأمازيغية الضيقة إلى أبعد الحدود، في حين عجزت اللغات المتطورة عن ذلك؟ وهل أنت مدرك لهذه الورطة التي أقحمت بها نفسك؟ إنك تحاول أن تنقل هذا الجبل ليس بالمسحاة، بل بملعقة القهوة؟"

'How can you undertake the translation of the meanings of the Holy Qur'an into the extremely limited Tamazight, when even more sophisticated languages could not achieve it? Are you aware of the predicament you have thrown yourself into? You are trying to transfer this mountain, not with a shovel, but rather with a coffee spoon'.

Tayeb's self-review further takes on the paratextual function of the blurb, as he quotes what other intellectual figures have said about him and his translation. This may be explained by the customary absence of a publisher's blurb on the standard back cover of the King Fahad Complex publications, leading Tayeb to compensate for this by employing other paratextual elements to take over what would have been the functions of the publishers' blurb.

The most striking aspect about Tayeb's self-review is that, unlike the authorial performances of the two other translators under study (i.e. Baomrani and Mensur), he makes no attempt to defend himself or justify his act of translation. This can be attributed to the support Tayeb was given by two important cultural institutions, the King Fahad Complex for Printing the Holy Qur'an and the Algerian Ministry of Religious Affairs. In particular, his cooperation with the high profile translation centre and publishing house, the King Fahad Complex, from which he evidently derived a great deal of symbolic capital, allowed Tayeb to adopt an elitist orthodox stance regarding the other translators of the Holy Qur'an, testifying to the significant role that publishing houses play in creating the translator's persona.

In addition to the self-review discussed above, Tayeb devotes a whole section of his autobiography *منكرات مترجم القرآن الى الامازيغية* [The Memoirs of the Translator of the Holy Quran into Tamazight] (Tayeb, in press) to self-reviewing his own translation, describing it as his 'most important achievement' (Tayeb, in press). He uses the first paratextual element that appears to the reader – the title – to foreground his role as a translator of the Holy Quran into Tamazight, which highlights the cultural capital that such a translation bestows upon the translator as well as the central role it came to play in the self-narration of the Berber.

Tayeb repeats much of what has been already written in the three introductions of the translation (Tayeb 2013), which indicates that he aims to market his book to a wider audience than the readers of his translation. As was also the case with the previously discussed auto-review, this one takes over the function of the blurb, albeit in a different way. It enhances the value of his translation and makes it appealing to its audience by foregrounding several awards bestowed upon the translator in the aftermath of the text's publication.

The image of the translator as a *saviour*, a man with a mission is overwhelmingly present in his self-review. For him, this translation project was a way of *himaya* (protecting) his Berber culture and restoring it to its Arabo-Islamic roots; a goal that makes him stand out from the other Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an, who sought through their translations to create linguistic autonomy and sever the links between Tamazight and the Arabic language. Aware of the vital role of the peritextual element of script, Tayeb (in press, my translation) uses the Arabic script to maintain a link between the Berbers and the Arabo-Islamic civilisation:

أما الهدف البعيد فهو حماية الأمازيغية من الاستحواذ عليها وتغريبها وإبعادها عن الدين
لذا اخترت الحرف العربي لكتابتها.

The long-term goal is to protect Tamazight so that it is not appropriated, alienated or distanced from [Muslim] religion. For this reason I chose Arabic script.

But what makes Tayeb strikingly different from the other translators is the sense of affinity he develops with the text. Apart from providing translators with material gains and enhancing their status, translations may play an important role in shaping self-perception and achieving personal satisfaction. In his autobiography, Tayeb (in press, my translation) writes a spiritual literary piece describing his feelings upon finishing his translational project in mystical terms:

أحسست كأنني داخل في ما يشبه غيبوبة... ساهيا عما حولي من الكائنات .. قضيت وقتا
على هذه الحال، لا أدري أقصير هو أم طويل! فلما عاد الوعي إلي، قمت فصليت ركعتين
شكرا لله تعالى، غمرتني بعدها نشوة (...) إنها لحظة إشراق.

I felt as if I was in some sort of daze [...] oblivious to the world around me [...] I spent some time in this state, I don't know how long! So when I regained consciousness, I got down on my knees and prayed, thanking Almighty God, after which a feeling of rapture engulfed me [...] it was a moment of radiance.

This passionate relationship the translator develops with his text may play an important role in shaping the reception of the latter as it suggests to the audience that the translator has a special understanding of his text – and hence is the best person to render it into the target language.

Reviews

Most of the reviews available online are Arabic newspaper pieces hailing the publication of Tayeb's translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. It is interesting that some of these reviews employ Tayeb's translation as part of a propaganda battle between two rivalling countries, Algeria and Morocco. Despite their shared anti-colonial history and other significant commonalities, not least in terms of language and religion, their relations since gaining independence have been marked by mutual suspicion and resentment over controversial issues. The most important of these is the Sahara conflict, which led to the closure of the borders between the two countries in 1994. Ironically, the *Berber card* has been used to settle scores between the two countries, with each of them claiming to have a more tolerant attitude towards the Berbers than their neighbour.⁶¹ In their attempts to assert Algeria's political claim of taking the lead in attending to the Berber demands, Algerian newspapers used Tayeb's translation as an example, referring to it in their headlines as the first Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an, despite the fact that it was preceded by the Moroccan Berber translation by Baomrani (1999/2003)⁶². The failure by Algerian media to mention Baomrani's Moroccan Berber translation could be attributed to the Algerian government's attempts to claim precedence in promoting the rights of the Berbers and attending to their demands. In turn, the Moroccan *Alalam* newspaper, produced by the monarchist conservative *Alistiqlal* party, wrote a review of Tayeb's translation in 2010, significantly titled *الجزائر تستعد لاستقبال ترجمة القرآن إلى الأمازيغية: المغرب سبق إلى ذلك منذ سنوات* [Algeria is Getting Ready to Receive the Translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight: Morocco Preceded [it] Many Years Ago]. The review emphasises two facts: the involvement

⁶¹ In 2015, in what looked like Morocco's response to the Algerian interference in the Sahara issue, the second representative of the Moroccan delegation to the United Nations raised the topic of the Kabyle Berbers' right to *self-determination*, which Morocco had been discreetly supporting for some time (Dieseldorff 2015).

⁶² For example, *Ennahar Online* (2014) published an interview with Tayeb with the headline *أول مترجم للقرآن للأمازيغية يتحدث للنها* [The First Translator of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight [speaks] to *Ennahar*].

of an external commissioner, Saudi Arabia, in Tayeb's translation, and the fact that the Moroccan translation preceded its Algerian counterpart. More surprisingly, the photo attached to the review is not of Tayeb's book, but rather of Baomrani's, in what seems to be an attempt to promote the latter. The introductory paragraph demonstrates clearly this sense of rivalry (*Alalam* 2010, my translation):

إذا كانت الجزائر تستعد حالياً لاستقبال ترجمة معاني القرآن، فقد عرف المغرب مثل هذا العمل منذ سنوات بحيث اشتغل الحسين الجهادي الباعمراني على هذه الترجمة لمدة فاقت الاثنتي عشر سنة.

Algeria is currently preparing to receive the translation of the meanings of the Holy Qur'an [into Tamazight], but Morocco accomplished this task years ago, as Jouhadi Lahoucine Baomrani worked on this translation for twelve years.

Ironically, the review only refers in passing to its actual subject matter, Tayeb's translation. This indicates how translations of Holy texts can turn into propaganda wars between rival countries trying to make political gains. Foregrounding the Moroccan Berber translation as the first Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an presents a tolerant image of Morocco to the world, as a country that attended to Berber demands earlier than Algeria. Aside from being part of a propaganda campaign, despite the initial intolerant Moroccan reaction to Baomrani's translation, this review demonstrates that the socio-political powers later came to perceive the translation in a positive light.

Not to paint too rosy a picture within the Algerian context, Tayeb's translation had its own opponents. In contrast to the passionate celebratory rhetoric that characterises the Arabophone media, numerous Algerian Francophone newspapers adopted a sceptical attitude towards it. In an article carrying the title *Grave ingérence wahhabite* [Serious Wahhabi Interference] (Belghiche 2009), the Francophone *El Watan* newspaper launched a fierce attack on Saudi Arabia, which sponsored this translation, for interfering in the internal affairs of Algeria – an accusation that the Saudi embassy in Algiers denied emphatically. Bringing to the fore notions of translation as a means of colonisation, the author of the article, Tayeb Belghiche, accused the Saudis of treating Algeria as some sort of laboratory from which the Wahhabi ultraconservative ideology could spread throughout the Mediterranean basin. Adopting war-related metaphors, the writer even goes so far as to consider this mere act of

translating the Holy Qur'an as one more relentless attack carried out by the Saudis on their Algerian prey. Ironically, in foregrounding the role of the commissioner, the writer disregards completely the role of the translator, presenting him as a mere passive message transmitter.

In a follow-up article published by the same newspaper, entitled *Le coran distribué en Kabylie sur initiative saoudienne: Dérive, laisser-aller et complicités* [Saudi initiative to distribute the Qur'an in Kabylie: Excess, carelessness and complicity] (*El Watan* 2009), the anonymous writer presents Saudi Arabia's contribution to the Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an as a form of violence. From the author's perspective, the translation was bound to create a schism among the Kabyle Berbers. Spreading the so-called Wahhabi ideology could, in the author's view, wreak havoc within the religious community, thereby generating conflict within previously united mosques (*El Watan* 2009). This metaphorical conceptualisation of translation as a divisive instrument negatively frames the translation by invoking a theme that has cultural resonance (Section 3.2) among the Algerians, i.e. schism, bringing to the mind memories of the catastrophic conflict between the Algerian government and Islamic rebel groups during the Algerian civil war (1991-2004). Ironically, the francophone media's association of Tayeb's translation with conflict, violence and schism contrasts sharply with the perspective of the Arabophone media, which repeatedly referred to Tayeb's translation as a tool for unification and integration that would reclaim the Arabo-Islamic heritage of the Berbers and consolidate the relationship between them and their Arab counterparts, as will be discussed later in this section.

Awards

As stated earlier (Section 5.2.2), awards play a central role in enhancing the value and, consequently, influencing the audience's consideration of a particular work. Upon publishing his translation, Tayeb received many awards acknowledging his significant contribution to both the Arabo-Islamic and Berber cultures. Among these awards was a 2009 celebratory event held by the Algerian *Echorouk* newspaper (*Echoroukonline*, 2009)⁶³ and attended by numerous Algerian intellectual figures (Figure 5.2). The report written by this newspaper is particularly important, as it situates the translation as a unifying national act that further

⁶³ <http://www.echoroukonline.com/ara/articles/37386.html> (Last accessed 21/1/2018).

consolidates the relationship between Arabs and Berbers, as well as a tool of resistance against attempts to disenfranchise the Berbers from the broader pan-Islamic nations. According to the newspaper (*Echorouk* 2009, my translation):

جاء هذا التكريم لأحد أعلام منطقة القبائل للتعبير عن رمزية كبيرة تكشف عمق العلاقة بين منطقة القبائل من جهة والحضارة العربية والإسلامية من جهة أخرى.

This tribute was made to one of the distinguished people of the Kabyle region to express a great symbolism that reveals the depth of the relationship between the Kabyle region on the one hand and Arab and Islamic civilisation on the other.

The newspaper goes so far as to reconstruct Kabylie region as one of the *strongholds* of Arabo-Islamic culture, shattering the Kabyle myth and undermining claims that portrayed Kabyle people as adopting hostile attitudes towards Islam and the Arabic language. The newspaper supports this narrative by bringing to light biographical information about the translator, and invites some Algerian intellectuals to comment on the role of Tayeb's translation in enhancing community integration.

Among the guests invited by the newspaper was Mohammad Arzqi Furad, a writer and history researcher at the University of Algiers with a particular interest in Kabylie region. In accordance with the newspaper's angle, Furad attempts to contextualise the translation as one of a concerted series of Berber efforts to serve Islam and the Arabic language, bringing to attention the patriotic struggles of various Kabyle Berbers such as Fatima Nsumer, a leading nineteenth-century female Algerian figure who played an important role in the fight against French colonisers. He also reminds his audience of the pioneering role of the Kabyle people in promoting Islam and the Arabic language, with the first Qur'anic school in Kabylie dating back to the thirteenth century. Furad's views are repeated in different ways by other attendees such as the Mayor of Tizi Ouzou, who declares that the translation presents an accurate image of the region and refers to its role in constructing a new narrative of the Kabyle as an integral part of the Arabo-Islamic culture.



Figure 5.2: Tayeb is honoured by Echorouk

Surprisingly, the other significant award received by Tayeb was presented in 2011 by the High Council of Arabic Language, an Algerian governmental institution created to foster the development of Arabic language and heritage (Tayeb, in press and *El Massa*, 2011)⁶⁴. In contrast to the intolerant reception of Baomrani's translation by Arab nationalists in Morocco, who perceived it as a threat to the Arabic language, Tayeb's translation was viewed in Algeria as evidence of the interdependence of the two languages. The celebration, which was attended by four Algerian government ministers, was presided over by Dr Mohammad Elarabi Wald Khalifa, the Head of the Council. Dr Elarabi stated that with his translation Tayeb had contributed to reinforcing the three foundational pillars of Algeria: Islam, Arabic and Tamazight. By placing the latter language on an equal footing with Arabic, he signalled the changing attitudes towards the Berbers and their language following the declaration of Tamazight as a national language. The minister, who discussed the issue of script and explored the three options available to write Tamazight, supported the translator's choice of the Arabic script. In the minister's opinion, the Arabic script used in the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an contributed significantly to maintaining a strong link between the Arabic language and Tamazight.

These awards shed light on how an act of translation of the same text into the same language can be perceived differently by two neighbouring countries. Whereas the Moroccan Berber

⁶⁴ <http://www.djazairess.com/elmassa/42919> [Last accessed 21/1/201].

translation was initially viewed as an act of violence intended, first and foremost, to create division between Arabs and Berbers, Tayeb's translation is constructed as an act of assimilation aiming to incorporate Berbers further into the broader Arabo-Islamic culture; and, at the same time, as a tool of resistance against Christian missionary efforts in Kabylie.

5.3.3 Remdan At Mensur

Reviews

Of the three translators under study, the Algerian Berber translator Remdan Mensur seems to have received the least attention, particularly in the Arabic mediasphere. Although his complete translation (2006) was released before Tayeb's (2007/2013), the latter received much more publicity and was celebrated more enthusiastically by the Arabophone media – to the extent that, on several occasions, it was presented as the first Berber translation ever. This might have been because several circumstances discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2 worked in Tayeb's favour.

Specifically, three facts were played up by the Algerian Arabophone media and highlighted in the numerous headlines hailing Tayeb's translation. These include the green light given to Tayeb by the Algerian Ministry of Religious Affairs, the involvement of the prestigious King Fahad Complex in the publication of Tayeb's translation, and the use of the Arabic script (Section 5.3.2). By contrast, Mensur's translation was a self-initiated project, published by a low-profile Berber publishing house, Zeryab, owned by the Berber activist Yousef Nacib, and printed in Latin and Tifinagh scripts. These factors may have been responsible for the limited circulation of the translation. The peritextual element of script may have played an important part in alienating Mensur's translation from the Arabo-Islamic socio-political context, and, by extension, Arabophone media.

While reviews of Baomrani's and Tayeb's translations came mostly from the Arabophone media, most of the reviews of Mensur's translation appeared in the Algerian Francophone press. One of the very few reviews written in Arabic of Mensur's translation is an article by the writer Mohammad Arzaqi Furad in the newspaper *Echorouk* (Furad 2006),⁶⁵ bearing the

⁶⁵ <http://www.djazairess.com/echorouk/8782> [Last accessed 21/1/2018].

title [A Reading of the Translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight], which represents the perspective of the Arabophone intellectuals in Algeria and North Africa more generally.

The first issue that Furad mentions regarding Mensur's translation is his use of Latin and Tifinagh scripts at the expense of Arabic script – which, according to the reviewer, had been used in the ancient Islamic Berber writings (Furad 2006, my translation):

وإذا عدنا إلى منطقة القبائل بالجزائر، فإن ما وصل إلينا من تراث الأمازيغية قد دُون بالحرف العربي، ولعل ما يؤكد ذلك أن ما جمعه الضابط الفرنسي هانوتو المكلف بدراسة عادات وتقاليد وأشعار القبائل قد سلم له مدونا بالحروف العربية

In terms of the Kabylie region in Algeria, what has reached us of the legacy of Tamazight was recorded in the Arabic script. What confirms this is that the material collected by the French officer Hanoteau, who was tasked with studying the customs, traditions and poetry of the Kabyle people, was passed to him in Arabic script.

The script is indeed one of the significant points of contention among Arabists and Islamists, on the one hand, and Berberists, on the other. This confrontation might be traced back to how each group narrates the history of the Berbers. Whereas the former regard the arrival of Muslim conquerors as the beginning of Berber history, hence advocating the use of Arabic script, Berberists look back further to pre-Islamic eras, and thus promote Tifinagh. To prove the feasibility of using Arabic letters for the purposes of translation into Tamazight, Furad draws attention to the other two translations of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, i.e. Baomrani's translation (2003) and Tayeb's partial translation (2003), both written in Arabic script.

Another issue that Furad (2006, my translation) raises in relation to Mensur's translation is the fact that it is a solo project, not reviewed by any recognised institution as stipulated by orthodox religious scholars (Chapter One):

غير أن ترجمة القرآن ليست بالمهمة اليسيرة، فهي تتطلب تضافر جهود أطراف عديدة من علماء التفسير والفقه واللغة والأدب والتاريخ، لأن العبرة في روح النص وليس في حرفيته. ولا شك أن هذه الجهود لا تتوفر إلا في المؤسسات العلمية والجامعية

However, the translation of the Qur'an is not an easy task, for it requires the joint efforts of numerous parties: scholars of exegesis, Islamic jurisprudence, language, literature and history, because the message resides in the spirit of the text and not in its literal meaning.

These efforts [skills] clearly only exist in scientific and academic institutions.

Significantly, the criticisms that Furad raises in relation to Mensur's translation are the same as those expressed by Tayeb in his self-review (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2). The fact that Tayeb criticised Mensur for similar reasons may indicate that this is a perspective shared by many Arabophone intellectuals.

By contrast, reviews in the Francophone media celebrated Mensur's translation, focusing on its cultural and linguistic aspects and overlooking concerns expressed in the Arabophone media regarding the accuracy of the translation and the translator's qualifications. Partly because it was the first complete translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight in Algeria, and partly because of the significant role such a translation plays in promoting the Berber language and culture, Francophone Berber writers tended to accentuate the value of Mensur's translation and gloss over his limitations as a translator of Islam's most sacred text. At this critical stage of nation-building, the reviewers may have felt, the accuracy of the translation could be sacrificed for its linguistic and cultural contributions. For instance, the Berber writer Boumediene (2007) wrote an article celebrating Mensur's translation in *La Nouvelle Republique*, where he plays the role of an allographic preface writer who strives to ward off critics. To that end, he stresses the difficulty of translating the Holy Qur'an, citing the hardships that the two highly acclaimed scholars Denise Masson and Jacques Berque encountered when they attempted to translate it into French. The inimitability of the Holy Qur'an makes translation into the unstandardised Tamazight language even more difficult. According to Boumediene (2007, Ashley Hansen⁶⁶'s translation):

La traduction du Coran est en elle-même une œuvre de longue haleine tant le livre sacré est d'une écriture arabe inimitable par son lexique et sa grammaire parfaite. Il n'est pas donné à tout le monde de réécrire le texte dans une autre langue, fût-elle la plus abordable.

The translation of the Qur'an is a very involved undertaking as the text, in terms of grammar and style, is Arabic writing of the most perfect and inimitable degree. It is not an obvious task to translate this book into another language, no matter how accessible the choice.

⁶⁶ French into English translation was done with the help of Ashley Hansen, a freelance translator.

Having addressed the positive features of Mensur's translation, Boumediene (Boumediene 2007, Ashley Hansen's translation) gently touches upon its shortcomings, such as the presence of a great number of unfamiliar Berber words, which he attributes to the existence of various Berber dialects that are not unified by a written form:

Pour les habitués des textes en tamazight, la lecture se fait sans ambages. Les non initiés devraient faire preuve d'efforts soutenus pour se familiariser avec des mots non usités partout; tel est l'inconvénient des variantes d'une même langue restée sans support écrit pendant des siècles.

For those familiar with Tamazight writing, the writing is completely accessible. Those less familiar must dedicate some serious study to the reading as there are words that are not universally used in Tamazight; this is a consequence of all its variants existing over the years without the benefit of a unified written system.

Boumediene even seems apologetic about suggesting that Mensur should have made his translation more accessible to his readership. Boumediene (2007, Ashley Hansen's translation) makes it clear that he is not criticising or belittling Mensur's work:

Naturellement, ce ne sont là que des suggestions et non des critiques, le travail de Remdane Ath Mensour, connu pour sa rigueur, étant indiscutablement bon.

Obviously, these are just suggestions and not serious criticisms. Ramdane Ait Mansour's work, known for its rigor, is of an undeniably high quality.

Diverting from the text, Boumediene uses Mensur's translation as a platform to deconstruct the widely circulated claim that the Berbers played a marginal role as Muslims. According to Boumediene (2007, Ashley Hansen's translation), the translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight is not a novel event. Indeed, this transfer had been taking place for a long time prior to the publication of Mensur's translation, though in an oral form:

Se référer à des sourates du Coran ou les traduire en tamazight n'est pas quelque chose de nouveau. Avec Remdane At Mensour, nous avons pour la première fois toutes les sourates du Coran sous forme écrite.

Referring to the suras of the Qur'an or translating them into Tamazight is nothing new, but with Remdane At Mansour we have the written form of all the suras for the first time.

Boumediene (2007, Ashley Hansen's translation) even refers to the Qur'anic schools opened by the Berbers:

Il ne faut pas oublier que les régions berbérophones sont celles qui, dans le passé, ont ouvert le plus d'écoles coraniques et de zaouïas, bien avant l'occupation coloniale.

We must keep in mind that it was in the Berber-speaking regions where the most Qur'anic schools and zawiya were opened up, and this was long before colonial occupation.

By stressing the Berbers' role in establishing the Qur'anic schools, Boumediene attempts to resist the official discourse in North Africa that has always portrayed the Berbers as mere beneficiaries of Islam, instead emphasising their role as partners with the Arabs in spreading it. At the same time, he undermines the French colonialists' claim that the Berbers' Islam was superficial. This tendency to present the Berbers as devout Muslims is shared by many Berber activists, such as the Moroccan translator Baomrani, who devoted the preface of his translation to discussing the role that the Berbers played in promoting Islam.

Along similar lines, the online Berber journal *Amazigh World* (2009) published an anonymous article heralding Mensur's work as the first translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. Against the grain of several Arabophone writers who criticised Mensur for his lack of specialised knowledge of Islamic theology, the article writer considers Mensur's expertise in chemistry and reputation as an academic scholar to be his major qualifications as a translator of the Holy Qur'an, given the close connection between religion and science in Islam. According to the journal (*Amazigh World* 2009, Ashley Hansen's translation):

En plus de sa très haute érudition logique et rationnelle, il est versé dans le spiritualisme, démontrant la continuité et le lien étroit existant entre la rationalité scientifique et la création divine.

Beyond his very logical and rational academic capacities, he is well-versed in spiritualism, demonstrating the continuity and close link that exists between scientific rationality and divine creation.

In his attempts to promote Mensur's translation, the reviewer goes so far as to reduce Tayeb's rival translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight to a mere 'series of cassettes with recitations of the 60 chapters of the Holy Qur'an in Tamazight'. Thus, the reviewer strips Tayeb's work of its status as a translation while elevating Mensur's by pointing out that it is the first translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. This method of framing by labelling plays a crucial role in attracting audience to Mensur's work while diverting readers from Tayeb's.

But while this celebration of Mensur's translation by the Francophone media may paint him as a guardian of Berber language and heritage, it also contributed to a negative shaping of the reception of the text. The colonial associations of Francophone media framed Mensur's translational project as that of a Berberist attempting to alienate Berbers from their Arab heritage. As discussed later in this section, this is a claim that Mensur rejected.

Auto-commentaries

Some factual paratexts may have shaped the reception of Mensur's text in several ways. These include his political agenda, his training in chemistry and the involvement of a Berberist publishing house in the production of his work. Upon the publication of his translation, some previously discussed Arabophone reviews questioned his qualifications to translate the Holy Qur'an and the accuracy of his translation. In the face of such speculation, Mensur stepped in to intervene in the reception process, in what looks like an attempt to 'challenge particular public commentary in which the work/s bearing [his] signature [has] been purportedly misrepresented' (Taylor 2007: 76).

In a speech entitled *Leqran n teqbaylit*,⁶⁷ delivered at the Institute for Research and Studies of the Arab and Muslim World (IREMAM/CNRS) in Aix-en-Provence in 2007, Mensur addressed multiple issues regarding his translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight. Being offered a chance to deliver a speech in an established academic institute such as IREMAM empowered the translator; helped him to construct his self-image; and gave weight to both his speech and, by extension, his translation. More importantly, to attract the attention of such a prestigious institute is highly indicative of the significance of Mensur's translational project and its impact on the Berber diaspora. However, it should not go unnoticed that the language of Mensur's preface (i.e. French) as well as the scripts used in the translation (i.e. Latin and Tifinagh) may have played an important role in introducing his translation to the French-speaking elite, and hence facilitated his participation in IREMAM. An edited transcript of his speech appeared later in the Berber journal *Ayamun* (Ayamun 2015) – a fact that, as noted earlier (Section 5.3.2), testifies to the movable nature of paratextual elements.

⁶⁷ <http://www.ayamun.com/Novembre2015.htm#Contribution> (last accessed 21/1/2018).

The goals that Mensur sought to achieve through his speech are manifold. Of great importance are his efforts to legitimise his translation, which occupied a considerable part of his speech, introduce the Berber struggle to an international audience and deconstruct a few widely-held claims about the Berbers. In addition, there are timid attempts to construct a positive image of himself as a cultural reviver and national warrior. Above all, in his speech, Mensur offers interesting insights into the significant role that sacred texts play in terms of empowering minority nations. What is interesting about this speech is that it expands on some of the peritextual functions of the preface, including that of warding off criticism, enhancing the value of translation and shedding some light on its genesis (Genette 1997).

Considering the diverse and polarising readings of recent Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an by the media, Mensur's public authorial performance represents a serious effort to circumscribe the public interpretations of his own translation and to respond to the criticism targeting it. To that end, he uses this self-commentary as a 'lightning rod', to borrow Genette's expression (1997: 208), seeking to mitigate expected criticism about the fact that he set out to translate a text as canonical as the Holy Qur'an. For this reason, Mensur emphasises the unsurmountable difficulties of translating the latter, citing the opinions of highly acclaimed critics, such as Mohammed Arkoun (1982) and Jacques Berque (2002). He even appears very apologetic about his relatively modest qualifications as a translator of the Holy Qur'an, these having been already questioned by several Arabophone critics, as discussed in Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3. Ironically, this 'plea of incapacity' was not a concession made by the translator to his critics, though it was indeed the surest way to ward them off (Genette 1997: 208):

On peut légitimement me questionner sur mes compétences dans un domaine aussi complexe et aussi controversé de l'interprétation du Livre saint. Il est vrai que de par ma formation en Sciences Exactes, mon background de professeur de chimie à l'université et d'auteur de livres dans ce domaine, je n'étais pas, a priori, préparé à cette œuvre qui relève avant tout des Sciences Sociales. Mais, un ensemble de circonstances m'y ont amené, irrésistiblement.

There is legitimate reason to question my competence in a task as complicated as the translation of the Holy text. It is true that my background as a university chemistry professor and author of related books and my training in natural science did not necessarily prepare

me for this work, which pertains above all to the social sciences (Mensur 2015, Ashley Hansen's translation).

Having apologised for his limitations as a translator of the Holy Qur'an, Mensur seeks to draw his audience's attention to his other qualifications that make up for whatever shortcomings he may have and to reassure the public that he is qualified to undertake the difficult task of translating Islam's Holy Scripture. In so doing, he draws upon another of Genette's prefatory functions, i.e. informing the reader about the genesis of his work (1997: 210) and giving some insights into the formative context of his translation. Therefore, he makes salient certain biographical facts about his religious, linguistic and educational background. These facts include, for example, references to his short stay at a Qur'anic school in Kabylie, which resulted in a fascination with the Qur'an's poetic style, his efforts to learn Arabic in the 1970s and '80s at the height of the Arabisation campaign, and his experience of working in Saudi Arabia for a year. There, he could sharpen his skills in Arabic, visit the Holy places of Islam and read the Arabic Qur'an and its interpretations at his leisure. These factual paratexts, which must have been chosen deliberately, play an important role in constructing the translator as qualified and well prepared to undertake that formidable translation task.

Deviating from the original functions of the paratexts, i.e. influencing the reception of the text and intervening in its interpretation, the activist translator Mensur (2015, Ashley Hansen's translation) takes advantage of the opportunity to present at IREMAM/CNRS and draws the audience's attention to the Berbers' situation in Algeria, mentioning the isolation, repression and the marginalisation they have experienced:

En premier lieu, comme beaucoup d'intellectuels berbérophones de ma génération, j'ai très mal vécu la mise à l'écart, voire la répression, de notre culture plusieurs fois millénaire. Par réaction, j'ai toujours eu comme activité parallèle, parfois clandestine, le recensement de tout ce qui pourrait sauver la culture de nos ancêtres.

[L]ike many Berber language-speaking intellectuals of my generation, I had a difficult time with the isolation, the repression even, of our rich and ancient culture. As a reaction, I have always worked in parallel, sometimes in secret, to identify anything that could help save the culture of our ancestors.

Upon introducing the Berbers' plight and the centuries-long marginalisation of their language and culture, and to shape the reception of his text, Mensur (2015, Ashley Hansen's

translation) frames his translational project as the perfect solution, one that is bound to move the Berber minority from the periphery to the centre:

Comment, en effet, contribuer à la promotion de tamazight, si ce n'est par la vulgarisation et une large diffusion d'un ouvrage susceptible de susciter la curiosité, sinon l'engouement d'un grand nombre de lecteurs?

It seemed the best way to contribute to the promotion of Tamazight was through the popularization and wide distribution of a work such as this, likely to arouse curiosity, if not passion, in many readers.

Implicit in the lines above are his attempts to construe himself as a language reviver and cultural guardian. Here, translation takes on another function that transcends proclaimed linguistic and national goals; it is its ability to endow the activist translator with prestige and glory. In addition to promoting his translation and his national goals, Mensur takes advantage of this self-commentary to introduce himself to the reader as a national champion, enumerating the various linguistic contributions he has made to Berber culture; ranging from translation, collecting ancient Berber poems and proverbs to writing poetry and stories, including such efforts as an attempt *à la renaissance de notre culture*.

Like his fellow Moroccan translator Baomrani (Section 5.2.2), Mensur devotes a considerable part of his speech to argue for the legitimacy of translating the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, which demonstrates similarities in the socio-political context of their two translations of the latter and raises many questions about the Berbers' situation in North Africa, given that Qur'anic translations had been available in most languages before the publication of its Berber translations. Here, Mensur laments the absence of a translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight, which renders the Berbers, from his standpoint, *orphelin de langue*, i.e. language orphans, vulnerable and inferior to other communities. This indicates the centrality of translation in nation-building and its ability to empower linguistic communities. It was through the absence of their most sacred text that the Berbers began to question their situation in North Africa. Mensur even describes the feelings of pride at translating a sacred text into a minority language, citing as evidence the sense of pride that Bengalis felt on having the Holy Qur'an translated into their own language.

To prove his point, Mensur (2015, Ashley Hansen's translation) highlights the vital role that the translation of the Bible into Tamazight has played in revitalising this minority language and empowering Berber communities:

Seul l'Évangile existait déjà en kabyle. Je me suis mis à l'ouvrage et j'ai retrouvé cette remarquable adhésion de la langue amazighe au discours mystique. J'ai apprécié, à la lecture de l'Évangile en kabyle, la beauté du verbe amazigh dans le domaine religieux. Ce n'est pas « une voix hideuse et discordante qui nous écorche les oreilles » comme l'écrivait un ouléma kabyle complexé en 1948.

Only the New Testament had been translated into Kabyle. I set about the work and I discovered a remarkable capacity of Amazigh for mystical discourse. I could appreciate, from my reading of the New Testament in Kabyle, the beauty of the Amazigh language in a religious context. There was nothing of the 'hideous and discordant voice tormenting our ears' described by a disturbed Kabyle Ulema in 1948.

It may come as no surprise that it was the translation of the Bible into Tamazight that initially motivated Mensur to translate the Holy Qur'an. However, it was not the Bible as a threat to Islam, but rather as a source of inspiration and a tool of empowerment, which stimulated Mensur to engage in his translation project. The mere fact that these pioneer Bible translations had been attempted into an oral, unstandardised and unofficial minority language, i.e. Tamazight, was what opened the translator's eyes to the potential of the latter. Aside from being primarily done to evangelise the Berber community of North Africa, these Bible translations inadvertently demonstrated the potential power of Tamazight to express profound religious notions and convey a highly elevated mystical discourse. In addition, Mensur was even able to rediscover the beauty of his language, long considered by the Arab elite to be 'hideous', with ear-piercing sounds. This discourse of Tamazight inferiority versus Arabic supremacy has played a crucial role in maintaining asymmetrical power relations in North Africa and has tarnished the Berbers' image of their language and culture. On top of official restrictions, the chauvinistic Arab attitudes and accepted inherent insufficiency of Tamazight may have hampered any attempt to translate the Holy Qur'an into the latter in Algeria. Interestingly, this very attitude was also prevalent in neighbouring Morocco, where the Moroccan translator Baomrani was attacked by some scholars for *sully*ing the Holy Qur'an by translating it into Tamazight (Section 5.2.2).

Not only did these Bible translations have a tremendous impact upon Mensur, who saw his language in a new positive light, but also on a considerable sector of the Berber community. According to Mensur (2015, Ashley Hansen's translation):

D'ailleurs des versions audio du Nouveau Testament et même un film sur la vie du Christ, ont été largement diffusés en kabyle. Il semble bien que ces vulgarisations dans la langue du peuple, aient joué un grand rôle dans la récente conversion de certains Kabyles au christianisme.

Audio versions of the New Testament and even a film on the life of Christ were widely distributed in Kabylie. It seems that these popular releases in the language of the people played a large role in recent conversions of Kabyles to Christianity.

Mensur speaks here about how audio-visual translations of the Bible and a Tamazight-dubbed movie on the life of Christ have had a transformative impact upon the lives of many Berbers. Long deprived of seeing their language encode sacred texts or hearing it transmit canonical wisdom, the joy that the Kabyles felt was immense, leading some to mistake the missionary message for a gesture of cultural acknowledgment, thus converted to Christianity. This impact of Biblical translations on the Berber minority was treated earlier by the Moroccan researcher Amar Almasude (1991), who revealed how the aforementioned dubbed Christian movie was initially received enthusiastically by the Berbers in Morocco, who were thrilled to hear their language and perceived it as 'a discourse in Amazigh identity'. In their Euphoria, 'the evangelistic message of the movie was overlooked in the need for representation through media' (Almasude 1991). Once the initial euphoria subsided, the Moroccan Berbers realised that the movie was not dubbed as acknowledgement of Berber identity, but for merely evangelistic purposes that promoted a version of Jesus Christ story, not consistent with the Islamic one, leading them to change their attitudes toward the former drastically. This demonstrates, as I mentioned earlier in (Section 5.3.1), how minority communities, under repressive homogenising governments, perceives translation as a form of acknowledgement, legitimisation and consecration of their languages and cultures, leading them in certain cases to fail to notice the content of the translated message. The role of translation transcends its traditional function of transmitting meaning to that of speaking for under-represented minorities. The Bible translation is a case in point. Aside from its evangelistic purposes, it enabled the Berbers to restore their faith in their own language, identity and culture.

Among the reasons that hindered the translation of the Holy Qur'an is the myth of the sacredness of the Arabic language, this being done by Arab nationalists in North Africa to maintain the linguistic hierarchy there and enforce Arabisation policies. It is only through refuting that claim that the Berbers could challenge the dominance of Arabic. Mensur (2015, Ashley Hansen's translation) used verses from the Qur'an itself to refute that claim:

J'y ai décelé des versets qui lèvent toute ambiguïté sur la question de la langue, à savoir que Dieu s'adresse à chaque peuple dans sa langue. On lit dans la sourate 14, verset 4: « Nous n'envoyons un prophète, que dans la langue de son peuple, pour l'éclairer ».

I discovered verses that resolved the mystery of the language question, specifically that God speaks to all people in their own language. In sura 14, verse 4, we read: 'And We sent not a Messenger except with the language of his people, in order that he might make (the Message) clear for them' (al-Hilali and Khan 1985: 328).

But rather than confine the value of his translation to reviving Tamazight and bringing Berber culture to the fore, Mensur seized this opportunity to legitimise his translation by circulating a new reading of it. The latter highlights its contribution to Islamic culture and presents it as an instrument in the service of Islam, thus appealing to a broader audience and mobilising another image of himself as a guardian of Islamic culture. In his self-commentary, Mensur (2015, Ashley Hansen's translation) emphasises his Islamic credentials:

J'étais d'une famille paysanne traditionnellement pieuse, et dont plusieurs ancêtres ont effectué leurs pèlerinages à La Mecque, à l'époque où ce rite exigeait une longue marche, et la traversée du désert de Libye, performance physique se déroulant sur plusieurs mois. Mes parents pratiquaient avec innocence, récitaient approximativement les deux sourates apprises pour prier, tout en se vouant comme tout le monde, au culte des saints⁶⁸.

I came from a traditionally rural and religious family. We had several relatives who had completed their pilgrimage to Makkah at a time when that entailed an extremely long and physically arduous trek across the Libyan Desert, lasting several months. My parents worshipped naively, reciting an approximation of the two *suras* that had been taught as prayers while devoting themselves, along with everyone else, to the holy worship.

⁶⁸ The phrase 'culte des saints' was rendered by the translator as 'the holy worship'. The accurate translation is 'the worship of the saints', which is a common practice in North Africa and other Islamic regions, although it is rejected by orthodox Islam.

In asserting his Islamic faith, Mensur not only seeks to dispel suspicions about the credibility of his translational project, but also to resituate the Kabyle Berbers within Islamic culture. Here, Mensur stresses the Berbers' close relationship with Islam, but not Arabic. He therefore distances himself from Tayeb, who strives to maintain the Berbers' link with the latter.

Apart from his self-presentation and justification efforts, Mensur's auto-commentary provides the audience with details about the creative process underpinning his work, such as the references he relied upon, his translation strategies and the obstacles he overcame while translating. Such information provides researchers with significant insights into the tactical moves of activist translators to promote, challenge or undermine certain causes. An activist translator translating into a minority language has an advantage over other translators into major languages; it is the opportunity for intentional linguistic changes. Here, Mensur, in his attempt to prove the sufficiency of Tamazight and end its dependence upon Arabic and, by extension, Arab culture, strives hard to purge Tamazight of any words of Arabic origin, using only authentic Berber words, a feature he, unsurprisingly, shares with his fellow Moroccan translator Baomrani. He even went so far as to replace Islamic terms that have long been an integral part of the Berber lexicon with rarely used authentic Berber words. This feature led to using several unfamiliar Berber words which might hinder understanding the translation. Not only did he exclude lexicon of Arabic origin, but he also attempted to privilege Kabyle terminology over other Berber terms, a trend copied by other Kabyle activists who think of Kabylie region as the centre of Berber activism (Section 4.4.3). However, as tempting as this method of linguistic purism may be, it has severe shortcomings. Here, the translator practises the same chauvinism that he has been attacking and suffering from under Arab domination. In addition, the favouring of Kabyle lexicon runs the risk of distancing other Berber tribes. Aside from the word choice, the Berber context, where there is still some tension over script choice, provides the translator with an opportunity to promote a script over other scripts. Here, Mensur uses his self-commentary to promote the two scripts he used to encode his own text, i.e. Latin and Tifinagh, claiming that the former is the one most used when writing Berber literature, while the latter – which is currently undergoing a process of standardisation – is a symbol of Berber identity.

Awards

While Tayeb was honoured by institutions with Arabo-Islamic associations, Mensur's awards of recognition came from two Berber institutions: the High Council of Amazigh in Algeria in 2008, two years after the publication of his translation, and the Franco-Amazigh movement at Loir-et-Cher in 2013 (Figure 5.3), a low profile Berber association based in France. Both organisations are secular in orientation, which clearly points to the political dimension of encouraging this translation. Given the circumstances that led to the establishment of the High Council of Amazigh and the vital role it has played ever since in advancing the linguistic and cultural rights of the Berbers, the awards it presents are the most prestigious form of Berber recognition in Algeria. This is not to underestimate the value of the award granted by the Franco-Amazigh movement which, although not as significant as the former's, demonstrates the far-reaching impact of Mensur's works – notably his translation of the Qur'an – upon the Berber diaspora. Mensur's choice of script (i.e. Latin and Tifinagh), and the language of his preface (i.e. French), might have played an important role in appealing to both organisations, which strongly promote the use of the Latin script.



Figure 5.3: Mensur at Loir-et-Cher

5.4. Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to shed light on the diverse authorial performances, whether autonomous or mediated, conducted by the three Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an under study. It has also addressed the role these translators have played in negotiating the socio-political context of the Berber communities in Algeria and Morocco, and moving the Berber debate to a broader national and international space. My analysis suggests that epitextual elements have given the translators an ample space to (re)construct the Berber identity, (re)position Tamazight as a tool in the service of Islam, and historicise their translations. They have further allowed the translators to intervene in the reception of their texts, shape public readings of them and present their counter-interpretations. Integral to these public performances are the three translators' self-presentation and self-defence strategies.

Each of the three translators employed one or more epitextual elements. For example, Baomrani made extensive use of the epitextual devices of interviews and conversation to achieve multiple goals. Politically, he sought to circulate his own version of the Berber narrative, subverting officially disseminated discourses that position the Berbers at the bottom of the social ladder and as mere beneficiaries of the Arabo-Islamic culture, and (re)constructing them as partners with their Arab counterparts in building that culture. He further identified Arab nationalism as the reason for ignoring Berber ethnicity and pushing it back to the peripheries. His solution to this was to deconstruct the *Arab Maghreb* and construct instead a new *Islamic Maghreb*, dismissing the Arab constituent while emphasising the Islamic one as the country's unifying element. Beyond this political agenda, Baomrani's interviews fulfilled the prefatory function of enhancing the value of the translation, warding off criticism and explaining his translational strategies. They also enhanced his credibility as a translator by providing considerable biographical information that highlighted his upbringing and education, particularly his Arabic and religious education.

Tayeb employed self-reviews, taking over the responsibility of the critic or reviewer to enhance the value of his translation and influence the audience's perspective on it. In this way, he managed to present his translation as the best available option among the three

Algerian translations of the Holy Qur'an. He did so by discussing the flaws of the other translations, as well as by drawing the reader's attention to the positive features of his translation. Tayeb also made use of factual paratexts by carefully selecting biographical information that signals his high degree of expertise as a translator, as well as his awards, as a way to promote his translation among his readers.

Mensur, through his public authorial performance of self-commentary, managed to extend his translated text to address multiple issues. Of particular importance are his attempts to construct his own self-image, provide a certain reading of his translation in the face of polarising readings common in turbulent socio-political contexts, and draw attention to his hard work during the translation process. Equally important are his efforts to bring forward issues related to Berber language and heritage such as the issue of script, the legitimacy of translating the Holy Qur'an, and the importance of preserving the Berber heritage.

In addition, this chapter has shed light on the role of third-party agents, including interviewers, critics and media outlets (e.g. satellite channels) in relation to the Berber translations. These agents, I argued, used epitextual elements to construct the Berber communities, frame the translations and shape their reception.

Factual paratexts in the form of awards also played a significant part in stimulating a particular discourse around the three translators, constructing their image and mediating the reception of their work. The awards they received reflect significant changes in the socio-political context of the translations and their reception.

Another important function of peritexts which this chapter has revealed is their role as tools of propaganda. Both Algeria and Morocco, whose relationship has been characterised by tension and mistrust because of their divergent views regarding the Western Sahara conflict, exploited the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an to score political gains. Using the genre of review, both countries claimed to have encouraged the first Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an to boast to the world more tolerant attitudes towards the Berbers than the other.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The year 1980 saw the first large-scale Kabyle Berbers' uprising in Algeria, during which many Kabyle young people, who had been demanding the recognition of their language and culture, lost their lives in bloody confrontations with the Algerian authorities. Since then, the annual commemorations of the 1980 events, now known as *the Berber Spring*, have become an integral part of the Berber identity movement worldwide. In April of 2016, however, the 36th anniversary ceremonies were different. With men wrapped in the Amazigh flag and women wearing colourful traditional dresses, the Algerian Berbers celebrated the realisation of the demand that the youth of the 1980 Berber Spring had fought for. Following a number of constitutional amendments in 2016, Tamazight was declared an official language alongside Arabic. This significant linguistic victory was the culmination of decades-long struggles of Berber activists to foreground the Berber language and heritage.

These efforts to preserve the Berber culture, represented by the Berber Identity Movement, have attracted growing academic interest in various aspects of that movement (e.g. Maddy-Weitzman 2011, Hoffman and Miller 2010, Aitel 2014 and Goodman 2005). Against this background, the originality of this research lies in two main areas. First, it is the first attempt to investigate the role of translation in relation to the Berber Identity Movement. Second, it is the first study of the role that the translation of the Holy Qur'an into a minority language plays as a form of resistance against hegemony. The Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an offered an interesting case study in which three Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an managed to traverse territorial borders and bypass official restrictions against Berber cultural productions to negotiate issues of Berber identity, language and culture in a context of Arab domination.

6.1. Summary of Findings

Framing theory, as put forward by Goffman (1974) and elaborated by others (e.g. Entman 1993, Snow and Benford 1988 and 2000 and Asimakoulas 2009); and paratext theory, as proposed by Genette (1997), have shed light upon three crucial issues pertaining to the three Berber translations included in my data set: (a) the strategies of resistance used by the three

translators to undermine, question or reinforce certain claims in relation to the Berbers' identity; (b) the translators' attempts to accumulate cultural capital, construct and enhance their self-images, and position themselves within the Islamic world and against each other; and (c) the role played by the translators, the publishers and third party agents such as Berber activists, journalists, reviewers and TV presenters in shaping the reception of translations. The core question driving this research has been the following:

What role have the Berber translations of the Holy Quran played in renegotiating the political landscape of the Berber communities over the past eighteen years (1999-2017)?

Attesting to the significant role that translation plays in constructing reality, the three Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an, as this study has revealed, have contributed significantly to reshaping the political sphere in Morocco and Algeria since the turn of the century. Against the backdrop of the homogenising policies of post-colonial North Africa, the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an were used as a tool for self-definition. Indeed, the very emergence of the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an in the supposedly homogenous Arab North African states was, in and of itself, a revolutionary act that challenged the official discourses of collective identity and proclaimed the existence of the Berbers as a distinct ethnicity with a distinctive language and heritage.

Another significant contribution of these Berber translations is that they challenged the position of Arabic language as the only official language in North Africa. Apart from its inherent religious significance as the language of the Holy Qur'an, Arabic is a language with an established literary heritage and an advanced writing system that have guaranteed its position at the top of the linguistic hierarchy. On the other hand, Tamazight, due to its status as an oral language with no standardised writing system and its association with a minority ethnic group, has been traditionally perceived as insignificant and incapable of expressing elevated wisdom. The existence of a translation of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight showcased the language as an efficient vehicle for communication for the first time and elevated its position to a written language with great potential to be standardised, which consolidated the Berber demands for the official recognition of their language along with Arabic language. Tamazight was finally granted that position in Morocco in 2011 and in Algeria in 2016.

In addition to the acknowledgement of the Berber identity and language, these translations have, as will be elaborated in (Section 6.2.2), vastly contributed to renegotiating major socio-political issues concerning the Berber community – including, the construction of the hyphenated Berber- Muslim identity, the conflation between Islam and Arabic language and the ensuing conflation between anti-Islam and Berberism. Resolving these controversial issues gave the Berbers from all walks of life a sense of pride and allowed them to express their demands more openly. After being *apologetic* about their Berberness during the past century (Section 5.2.1), even the most Arabised Berbers were, according to Baomrani regaining their ethnic confidence and even boasting having a Berber ancestor (Section 5.2.2). This testifies to the significant role of translation in constructing identities and preserving languages. As Cronin (1995:88) puts it, ‘the continued existence of the language and the self-perception and self-confidence of its speakers are intimately bound up with translation effects’.

6.2 Questions of Agency

The current research has shed light upon the interventionist role of the translators, the publishers and third-party agents in the political scene of Morocco and Algeria. As this study has shown, more than merely linguistic mediators, the translators, as agents of change, sought through their translations to construct the Berber community, (re)narrate their history and promote their language and heritage. Although they were careful not to undermine their credibility by intervening in the translated text, i.e. the Holy Qur’an, they could still exercise their agency and make major mediations in sensitive political issues, together with the publishers and third-party agents, through resorting to peritextual and epitextual manipulations around the text, as elaborated in the following sections.

6.2.1 Peritextual Intervention

Chapter four of this thesis investigated the peritexts to answer the following question:

To what extent do the peritexts (re)frame the issues of the Berber identity, language and culture in each of the three translations under investigation?

Genette's seminal work on paratexts has informed translation studies to a great extent. Considerable research has emerged recently examining the role of paratexts in translation (e.g. Kovala 1996, Hijjo 2017 and Gürcaglar 2002). It is worthy to note, however, that although Genette has developed diverse textual and non-textual paratextual tools, his paratextual theory is primarily designed to investigate literary texts. As a result, to examine a sacred text, a new set of paratextual tools had to be developed. In addition, since Genette's theory does not address political and socio-cultural dimensions of texts, other sociological theoretical and conceptual frameworks, i.e. Goffman's framing theory, Anderson's concept of imagined nation and Bourdieu's notion of capital, have been employed to examine issues of agency, activism and capital accumulation in the three Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an.

Informed by the above-mentioned theories, a number of original contributions have emerged. A first original contribution of this research is recognising that language, rather than being merely a vehicle for paratexts, has a potential for developing as a paratextual tool per se. In translation studies, no scholarly attention has been paid to the language used in writing textual paratexts. This oversight has most likely occurred because in normal translational contexts the language of the paratexts has always been the same as the language of the target text which they seek to introduce and whose reception they want to shape. Ironically, the languages of the paratextual devices of the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an (i.e. Arabic and French) do not correspond to the language of the target text (i.e. Tamazight).

This situation raised a very important question. If translation into Tamazight was intended to empower the Berber communities, to shake hierarchical linguistic relations in North Africa, and to provide evidence of the ability of Tamazight to independently transmit knowledge, why did the paratextual tools surrounding the target text use Arabic and French as a medium? In other words, why did translators use the dominant languages imposed on the Berber community and from which Tamazight was attempting to break away? This question indicates that using indigenous languages to write paratextual material is not always the default choice in minority contexts. However, as has been shown in my analysis (Sections 4.2.3, 4.3.3 and 4.4.2), this should not be always misinterpreted as a sign of cultural subjugation or submission to hegemonic linguistic policies. On the contrary, this use of dominant languages facilitates

the Berber activist translators' ingenious attempt to overcome linguistic, political and cultural barriers that were specific to the Berber context. As explained in (Section 2.6), Tamazight, which had been an oral language until very recently, has almost no written heritage and is fragmented into a multitude of dialects – some of which are mutually unintelligible, which rendered writing a Berber text for a Berber audience a very difficult task. Additionally, due to the profound socio-cultural and linguistic influence of both the Arabo-Islamic and French cultures, a considerable number of Berbers, especially those living in the diaspora, are either completely Arabised or Frenchified. Consequently, the Berber translators tactically used hegemonic languages to facilitate access to the target text and, most importantly, to introduce the Berber Question to the widest possible audience.

Moreover, the homogenising Arabisation policies in North Africa, that deprived Tamazight of official status and, at one point, even outlawed its use, politicised Berber writings and made writing in Tamazight a political act that might incur the wrath of the authorities (Section 2.4). As a result, the official language of the country was used as a way to bypass official restrictions, appease authorities and signal neutral political stances as has been shown in the case of Baomrani, the Moroccan translator (Section 4.2.3). Apart from linguistic and political hurdles, using Arabic, as was the case with Tayeb (Section 4.3.3), or French, in Mensur's case (Section 4.4.2), has been shown to signal the translator's stance towards these civilisations and revealed attempts to interpellate the Berbers as belonging to one linguaculture or another.

A second original contribution of this study is that it, informed by notions of frames and framing, has expanded Genette's paratextual theory by drawing attention to the paratextual potential of **script**. As explained in Sections 4.2.4, 4.3.4 and 4.4.3, scripts are not neutral symbols, as they evoke a network of religious and socio-political associations. The manipulation of script is not a recent phenomenon. Christian missionaries to a number of non-Arab Muslim communities, including China (Henning 2015) and West Africa (Warren-Rothlin 2009) soon realised the symbolic power of script and reportedly used Arabic script, seen by many Muslims as signifying Islam, to propagate Christian content. The implications of script were not lost upon the Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an who used it to achieve

multifarious purposes. Hence, translations of the Holy Qur'an into Tamazight appeared in three different scripts (i.e. Arabic, French and Tifinagh). As discussed in detail in Sections 4.2.4, 4.3.4 and 4.4.3, through the script choices they made in their translations, translators evoked mental associations that resonate with each script, and hence managed to move the audience through different historical epochs including the French colonisation, the early Islamic openings and even further back in time to the ancient pre-Islamic era. Script choices allowed them to align the Berber community with specific cultures; assert or reject certain claims to ethnicity; and narrate the Berber history as beginning at one specific point in time.

Due to its inherent religious significance as the language of the Holy Qur'an, Arabic script, in particular, was heavily deployed by the three translators through the dualities of presence /absence. In two translations, the Arabic script was exclusively present for very diverse reasons. On the one hand, the Arabic script was employed to align the Berbers with the Arabo-Islamic culture and forge an eternal link between Tamazight and Arabic language (e.g. Tayeb's translation discussed in Section 4.3.4). On the other hand, it was used as camouflage to shape the reception of the text and control its interpretations by appeasing the ruling authorities and implying (semi-) alignment with the hegemonic Arabic culture (e.g. Baomrani's translation in Section 4.2.4). Ironically, this very script was even more visible when absent than when present. The unexpected absence of Arabic script in Mensur's translation (Section 4.4.3) was filled with a number of implications. It marked an attempt to extricate Islam from the Arabic language. Stripping the Arabic language of this privilege was meant to challenge its dominant position in North Africa, derived primarily from its connection to the Holy Qur'an, and to open the door to other languages. Moreover, replacing Arabic script with the ancient Tifinagh script was a counter-hegemonic movement intended to reclaim Islam for the Berbers, foreground the Berber ethnicity and distance it from Arabic culture. This dismissal of Arabic culture was compounded by an attempt to forge an alliance with the European culture through the use of Latin script, which is currently associated with technology and modernity.

In terms of **Prefaces** and other introductory materials, which normally herald the text they precede, their original functions, according to Genette (1997), were to shape the reception of the text and guide its interpretation. However, my analysis of the Berber translations of the

Holy Qur'an has revealed that prefatory materials may serve political and socio-cultural purposes. Unlike other prefatory materials, which are primarily dedicated to introducing the translated text and illuminating various aspects regarding its value, its characteristics and its translational methods, the prefaces of the three translations under study deviated from these traditional text-related issues to address others pertaining to the wider Berber Identity Movement, raising many questions about the real functions of a preface by an activist translator in a hegemonic political context. As I elaborated in Sections 4.2.3, 4.3.3 and 4.4.2, these prefaces did not celebrate translating the Holy Qur'an *per se* but rather the linguistic, social and political dimensions of its translation. Hence, various prefatory passages were dedicated to acclaim the efficiency of Tamazight, renegotiate the Berbers' position within both their nation states and the larger Islamic world, and demonstrate the usefulness of the translation for the Berber community. In addition, at this critical stage of nation building, prefatory material provided the translators with a golden opportunity to rewrite the history of the Berbers, previously narrated in the first instance by the Arabs conquerors, and later, the French colonisers, and to reimagine a Berber nation on their own terms. To those ends, official historical narratives (e.g. Islamic openings versus Arab invasion) were deconstructed, scrutinised and reconstructed again; widely circulated claims (e.g. the sacredness of Arabic language) were examined, questioned and undermined; and linguistic issues (e.g. the choice of a unified script for Tamazight) were brought to the fore and discussed.

The typographical aspects of the front and back covers merit considerable attention as their mobilising potential cannot be underestimated. This study has expanded Genette's notion of typographical elements by investigating them in what is probably the holy book with the most rigid conventions, i.e. the Holy Qur'an, and exploring how the Berber translators could challenge/reinforce hegemony by manipulating/maintaining these fixed front and back cover elements.

Although choices on these aspects are usually the responsibility of the publisher, the activist translator can sometimes have a say in them. As my analysis has shown (Sections 4.2.1, 4.3.1 and 4.4.1), typographical choices including colour, script, calligraphy, font size and type, ornaments and cover image, were used to activate a network of associations in the readers'

minds. Through manipulating these semiotic elements, the Berber translators, depending upon their political stances, sought to weave their own versions of the Berbers' story. These visual elements were used to foreground the Berber identity (e.g. colours of the Berber flag), promote Tamazight (e.g. the Tifinagh script) and assert alliances with other dominant cultures (e.g. Arabic and Latin scripts). In addition, the co-existence of some of these typographical elements clearly reflected the interplay between hegemony and resistance. For instance, the hegemonic presence of Arabic culture on Baomrani's front cover through Arabic script and Arabic calligraphy was subtly resisted through timid attempts to insert the Tifinagh script (Section 4.2.1). Interestingly, some of these elements were even more conspicuous when absent, stimulating the readers to investigate the reasons behind their loss and prompting them to explore other, long neglected, alternatives. For example, typical elements on the covers of the Holy Qur'an including the Arabic script, the Arabic calligraphy and the floral ornaments were withdrawn by one of the translators (i.e. Mensur) in an attempt to sabotage the then existing asymmetrical linguistic relationships in North Africa, where Arabic was the only official language; and to break away from the dominance of the Arabic culture, long considered by the Arab majority as superior to the Berber one (Section 4.4.1). Likewise, the addition of a blurb on the back cover of the Holy Qur'an, which is usually blank, except for some floral ornaments, was, until recently, unheard of. As I have shown in my analysis (Section 4.2.2), one of the translators, i.e. Baomrani, broke with the Qur'an tradition by adding a blurb featuring a photo as well as some biographical information of his, in an attempt to enhance his reputation and visibility within his profession and shape the reception of his translation.

Drawing on framing theory, a third original contribution of this research is to put to the test **factual paratexts**. This project has attempted to provide valuable insights into the nature of this paratextual element and its crucial role in the context of translation. As my analysis has revealed, the significance of factual paratexts lies in the fact that each single fact can engender a multitude of narratives and invoke a host of associations around the text and its translator, which, in turn, vastly contribute to shaping the reception of the former and constructing the image of the latter. Another significant aspect about factual paratexts that this research has illuminated is that, whether they are authorial or contextual, factual

paratexts elude spatial categorisation and hence are diffused throughout the peritexts and the epitexts, as is the case with the Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an. In many cases, they even lack textual or verbal basis as their 'existence alone, if known to the public' can influence the reception of the text (Genette 1997: 7). As my analysis has shown, all the Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an as well as the publishers and third-party agents manipulated factual paratexts, in both the peritexts and the epitexts to promote diverse purposes, be they national, text-related or even personal. However, since they appeared for the most part in the epitexts, we will defer the discussion of factual paratexts for the time being.

6.2.2 Epitextual Manipulations

Chapter five has attempted to gain a better understanding of the role that epitexts play concerning various Berber-related issues by addressing a number of questions. Of particular importance is the following:

How have Berber translators employed epitexts to respond to the arguments their translations have given rise to, domestically and abroad?

This study identified significant text-shaping tools, including mode of dress (Section 4.2.2 and Section 5.2.2) and awards (Sections 5.2.2, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3); expanded the notion of auto-reviews, defined by Genette (1997: 352) as 'a review, in a newspaper or magazine, produced by the author himself' to include memoirs and autobiographies (Section 5.3.2); and recognised the mobilising potentiality of the epitextual tools. As discussed in chapter five, after the publication of the three Berber translations there were heated debates which questioned the translators' intentions; doubted their translational qualifications; and even framed their translations as political attempts to overthrow the existing Arab ruling authorities, create a schism between Arab and Berbers and resurrect pre-Islamic past. In this context, the translators sought to intervene in the reception process by resorting to the use of epitexts – such as interviews, self-commentaries and self-reviews – to keep the polarising interpretations of their texts within certain bounds. They stepped in to present their qualifications as translators, defend themselves against critics and explain the rationale behind their translational choices.

Apart from yielding better insights into the general functions of epitexts (e.g. shaping the reception of the text), this study, drawing upon framing theory, revealed how epitexts were turned into platforms to introduce the Berber situation, discuss vital issues pertaining to the Berber Identity Movement and reach out to a broad audience beyond readers interested in the book – including many constituencies that were not even aware of the existence of a Berber community in the overwhelmingly Arab North Africa. Hence, most of these epitextual outlets were either non-Berber (e.g. the Arabic *Aljazeera* Channel, the Arabic *Alhewar* newspaper and the French conference in Aix-en-Provence) or were targeting a non-Berber audience (e.g. the Berber channel *Tamazight* conducted an interview with one of the translators in Arabic). The fact that segments of this multi-national audience were not even likely to read the Berber translations indicated that there is more to these translational projects than merely making the Holy Qur'an accessible to a Berber audience. In this case, the translation of the sacred book was used as a medium that allowed the Berbers, among other things, to position themselves as a self-standing community within the otherwise homogenous North African states and raise the world's awareness of their situation.

Apart from introducing the Berber community, the translators attempted, through the deployment of epitexts, to negotiate a number of controversial issues (Sections 5.2.2, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). One of these issues was the sacredness of Arabic language. This attempt to decouple Arabic from Islam was intended to dethrone Arabic from its position at the top of the linguistic hierarchy in North Africa and relegate it to a secondary position; pave the way to declare Tamazight as an official language on an equal footing with Arabic; and empower the Berbers by giving them the means to break away from the control of the Arab nationalists. Another issue that the translators attempted to reinforce was the hyphenated Berber-Islamic identity as non-hyphenated Berber identity had always evoked to the Arab nationalists in North Africa narratives of anti-Islam, rebellion and attempts of disintegration from the broader Islamic world. To disentangle Berbers from the Arabic linguaculture and, at the same time, assert their Islamic belonging, the Berber translators attempted to foreground their Berber-Islamic identity. To do so, they stressed their role in serving the Islamic culture, negotiated their position within the Islamic world, and drew attention to Islamic aspects of the Berber culture. In resolving the conflation between language and religion and asserting

their Islamic identity, the translators also attempted to refute the conflation between anti-Islam and Berberism, which was employed by the North African authorities as well as the Arab elite to distance the Berbers from their ethnic heritage.

In addition to the textual and verbal aspects of the epitexts, this study moved Genette's theory further by disclosing one of the material aspects of the paratexts, i.e. the mode of dress. As my analysis has shown (Section 4.2.2 and Section 5.2.2), the Berber translators used the semiotics of dress with all of their socio-political associations to construct their self-image, to influence the audience's attitudes regarding their translations and to signal their socio-cultural affiliations. Baomrani was a case in point. Following the harsh criticisms he received after the publication of his translation, Baomrani, who had appeared wearing Western attire in a photo on the blurb of his translation, chose to wear the traditional Moroccan attire during his interview in the Arabic *Aljazeera channel*, in an attempt to align his translation with mainstream translations of the Holy Qur'an and construct the Berbers as an integral part of the Moroccan society. On the other hand, Tayeb's traditional attire played a significant role in presenting him as a religious pious scholar who held the qualifications required to undertake the translation of the Holy Qur'an.

In addition to the role played by the translators, chapter five sheds light upon the role played by third party agents by answering the following question:

How have third party agents shaped the reception of these translations?

As have been illustrated in Sections 5.2.2, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, intellectuals, academics and Berber activists of all walks of life, intervened in the reception process in diverse ways – e.g. by employing different epitextual tools (e.g. reviews, interviews and awards) and using diverse media outlets (e.g. TV channels, newspapers and blogs). Drawing upon Goffman's theory of framing and Bourdieu's concept of capital, this research has attempted to elaborate on the role played by awards, not only in influencing the audience's perception of a given text, but also in illuminating certain aspects concerning the socio-political context of North Africa, such as the political shifts towards the Berber minority and the ideological diversity of the Berbers. In terms of the epitextual role of awards, as argued in Sections 5.2.2, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, all three translators received awards as an acknowledgement of their work in their translations. The

timing and the nature of these awards revealed significant historical shifts in the attitudes towards the Berber minority in North Africa, as well as diversities in the ideological construction of the Berbers. The 2004 translation award granted to Baomrani by the Moroccan Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture is a significant example of how translation plays a role in negotiating the socio-political context. From being banned in 1999 by the Moroccan government to being honoured in 2004 by the same authorities, Baomrani's translation clearly reflected the political opening towards the Berbers at the outset of the 2000s. In addition, the different political orientation of the awarding bodies (e.g. the pro-Arab *Echorouq* newspaper and the Berberist High Commission for Amazigh) played a significant role in framing these translations and shaping their receptions. While Tayeb was honoured by institutes with an Arabo-Islamic orientation that framed his translation as a project to reclaim the Berbers' Arabo-Islamic heritage, Mensur was honoured by Berberist institutions that presented his translation as an initiative to advance the Berber culture and heritage. In addition, these awards represented an important source of cultural capital.

Turning to **reviews** (Sections 5.2.2, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3), this research has shown that how they, rather than being 'mere promotional article[s]' (Genette 1997: 247), were turned into influential framing tools that attempted to influence the audience's perspectives regarding the three translations. As I have previously elaborated, in addition to critiquing linguistic, literary and translational aspects of the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an, most of the reviewers viewed these translations in relation to the role they played in constructing the Berber identity. Therefore, rather than being unanimously celebrated as an incarnation of the Berbers' efforts to foreground their language and heritage, attitudes towards these translation greatly varied depending upon the political agendas of the reviewers and their perspectives regarding the controversial Berber situation in North Africa. Hence, the translations were framed differently by individual reviewers.

Reviewers in North African states tried to influence the reception of the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an by the authorities in these nations, by using different frames of reference, such as, *national unity*, *terrorism*, or *victimisation*. For instance, reviewers attempted to expose the extent to which these translations reinforced or challenged national unity – a key

principle in the political organization of these countries. In other words, reviews presented these translations as either tools of national schism or unity. On the one hand, a number of these reviews attempted to pit the state institutes against these translations by framing the latter as a tool of disruption that sought to separate the Berbers from their Arab counterparts, to create division among the Berber community or to import a different strand of Islam upon the Moroccan Muslims. To that end, they resorted to a number of framing techniques such as framing by labelling, by positioning and by invoking past events. For example, some of the reviewers metaphorically referred to some of these translations as a form of *colonisation*, external *attack*, and a tool for spreading an outer strand of Islam upon the targeted Berber *prey*, hence positioning the Berbers as victims (Section 5.3.2). Other reviewers attempted to incite authorities into action by invoking other revolutionary past events such as the translation of the Bible in Medieval Europe, the rebellious Barghwata State's (mis)translation of the Holy Qur'an in the tenth century, and the divide-and-rule policy of the French colonisation, thus highlighting the potential danger that such translations represented for the national unity. On the other hand, supporters of such translations went so far as to frame these translations as a tool of unifications by asserting their importance as a solution to some of the North African states' problems, including terrorism, and as a tool that reinforced the relationship between the Berbers and their Arab counterparts. In addition, these reviewers employed these translations to reposition the long marginalised Berbers, and bring them to the fore as Muslim subjects who had participated in building the Arabo-Islamic culture.

Ethno-national considerations were at work when examining linguistic aspects of the translations included in my study, such as word choice and script, thus demonstrating their centrality to constructing the Berber ethnic identity. Critics' opinions towards the choice of script and the linguistic choices varied considerably. Attempts to use the Latin script, the Tifinagh script or the Arabic script were viewed by critics as either attempts to forge alliances with/break away from one of the cultures symbolised by these scripts. Similarly, the etymological choices of the translators were scrutinised by the reviewers. For example, the translators' decision to import words of Arabic origin was interpreted by the critics as an attempt to maintain the subordination of the Berbers to the hegemony of the Arabs and their language. On the other hand, using words of Berber origin exposed the translator to 'the

charge of "purism", of the "ethnic cleansing" of language, of a commitment to atavistic, originary essentialism' (Cronin 1995: 90).

In addition, factual paratexts were used by reviewers to influence the reception of the Berber translations and the perspective of the audience regarding a number of controversial Berber issues. A range of aspects pertaining to the context of the published translations – e.g. clashing claims to having produced the first Berber translations, and the involvement of a specific country or a publisher in the publications of the translations – were exploited to engender a network of conflicting associations. For example, the involvement of the King Fahad Complex in publishing one of the Berber translations was interpreted differently by different commentators. On the one hand, it was invoked by Francophone reviewers to frame these translations as advocating strict Islam, Wahhabism and schism among the Berbers. On the other hand, it was brought up by pro-Arab reviewers to frame that translation as being prestigious, credible and trustworthy (Section 5.3.2). Likewise, authorial facts – including the translators' ethnicity, their political affiliations and their educational backgrounds – were invoked by third-party agents to frame these translations in certain ways. For instance, the fact that the three translators under study are Berber has had a profound effect upon the way their texts were received. By encouraging the audience to read them as Berber translators and ignore who they are (e.g. Moroccan/ Algerian, Muslims, researchers and intellectuals), reviewers could stimulate different discourses around these translations.

In term of their impact, some of the reviews proved to have a powerful impact. As I have discussed in Sections 5.2.2, 5.3.2, one of these reviews prompted the Moroccan government to issue a ban on one of the translations. Two other reviews pushed the Algerian Ministry of religious affairs and the Saudi Embassy in Algeria to step forward and issue a public statement denying allegations of external intervention. As discussed in Section 5.3.2, my analysis of reviews showed how Algeria and Morocco used the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an as part of a propaganda campaign. By using paratextual elements around the reviews, such as pictures and font size, and highlighting/obscuring specific incidents and actions, each country claimed to have the first Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an ever to demonstrate that they had more tolerant attitudes towards the Berbers than the other.

Turning to **interviews** (Section 5.2.2), rather than being merely an ‘intermediary’ (1997: 356), a ‘non-person’ (1997: 357) and a ‘messenger’ (1997: 357) whose job was to ask questions, the interviewer, as the current study has shown, along with his political affiliation and the set of notions and beliefs he subscribes to in regard to the Berber Identity Movement, was influential in framing the Berber translations under study. As this research has shown (Section 5.2.2), through highly-politicised introductions and the choice of their questions, the interviewers managed to weave their own narrative of the Berber story. In addition, this study has expanded Genette’s theory by disclosing three new factors that interfere in the mediation process, previously limited by Genette to the situation of interlocution and the process of transmission. Those factors are the outlet of the interview, its timing and its audience, which collectively can collaborate in ‘constructing the message’.

As this study has demonstrated, the outlet where Baomrani’s first interview was broadcast, i.e. the Arabic widely-watched Aljazeera channel, considerably boosted his chances of reaching out to an Arab audience far beyond the North African states of Morocco and Algeria, and consolidated the validity of his claims, given the influential role of this channel branded by some as ‘Aljazeera’s effect’ (Ricchiardi, 2011) (Section 5.2.2). On the other hand, his Arabic interview in the Moroccan Berber Tamazight channel, nine years after the occasion of the second publication of the translation, was well-timed. The interview was aired following the 20 February Movement in 2012, in the aftermath of the Arab Spring-inspired protests that resulted in the recognition of Tamazight as an official language in 2011. It used the Berber translation as a pretext to renew other social and economic demands of the Berbers of all walks of life and push the authorities for more concessions.

In addition to introducing the Berbers’ situation to the Arab world, all the three interviewers under study attempted to accentuate the plight of the Berbers and bring to the fore their demands. To that end, the three interviewers under scrutiny in this thesis resorted to narratives, either by including them in their questions or asking questions that elicited narratives. One prime example of this framing technique was evoking the event of banning the translation of the Holy Qur’an in Morocco in 1999, which was used by the three interlocutors to construct the Berbers as a suppressed minority deprived of their basic

religious rights. Another event was the threat of demonstrating that pro-Arab activists in Morocco made if non-Arabic script was chosen for writing Tamazight back at the turn of this century. In addition, the socio-political hurdles that the translator went through were another popular topic that was brought up by the interviewers. Other common issues invoked in these interviews were the legitimacy of translating the Holy Qur'an, the reasons for not previously having a Berber translation of the Holy Qur'an and the sacredness of Arabic language, which were previously featured in many paratextual locations, and which were brought to the audience's attention to demonstrate the suppression of the Berbers under Arab authorities.

The introductions of the interviews were used by the interviewers to contextualise Baomrani's translation. For example, *Aljazeera channel's* interview described the translational act with politically charged words depicting the translation as a *taboo* that the translator *ventured* to challenge in order to have the Berbers *re-acknowledged* by the ruling authorities, implying the risk the translator had taken to have his translation done. On the other hand, the introduction of the program Amazigh Affairs on *Tamazight channel* portrayed the translation as an extension of the Berber efforts to serve Islam, in an attempt to reposition the Berbers and place them on an equal footing with their Arab counterparts.

How have the three translators used epitextual elements to enhance their cultural capital (in the Bourdieuan sense of the term) and position themselves vis-à-vis each other and within North Africa and the broader Islamic world?

As shown in my analysis (Sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.2 and Section 5.3.3), the three Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an used **factual paratexts** dispersed in several epitextual locations, including interviews, self-reviews and self-commentaries to pursue their personal agendas, to position themselves within the Berber community, in relation to the broader Islamic world and against the other Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an and to accumulate cultural capital.

Drawing on framing strategies, they selected aspects of their biographies that they wanted to foreground to strengthen their status as translators of the Qur'an. These aspects included elements of their educational backgrounds (e.g. their capacity to memorise the Holy Qur'an in the *Kuttab*), their capacity to intervene in public debates on religious issues through their writing, and the social recognition they received in the form of institutional awards (e.g.

Baomrani's National Award for Translation in Morocco). They also tried to draw attention to a range of contextual facts – such as the reputation of the publishers supporting their translations (e.g. King Fahad Complex in Tayeb's case), and the cultural capital derived from the countries they worked in (e.g. Saudi Arabia in Tayeb and Mensur's case) – to reinforce their credentials, defend themselves against criticisms of their translational abilities, and enhance the perceived value of their translations.

These factual manipulations were used by the translators to position themselves within the Berber community. Through stressing the difficulties they had faced during the translation of the Holy Qur'an, foregrounding their contributions to the Berber culture and presenting their translations as solutions to the Berbers' ordeal in North Africa, the translators attempted to present themselves as cultural revivers, language gatekeepers and influential intellectual figures. Apart from this, the translators used factual paratexts to position themselves against the other translators of the Holy Qur'an. For example, through the rare genre of the **self-review** (Section 5.3.2), Tayeb capitalised on the cultural capital bestowed upon him for cooperating with the prestigious King Fahad Complex to appoint himself as a judge of other Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an (i.e. Mensur and Abusetta); and ultimately foregrounded his translation as the most competent and credible of the three. Baomrani, on the other hand, opted for the genre of **interview** (Section 5.2.2) to highlight that he was the first Berber translator of the Holy Qur'an, and hence to position himself as a pioneering translator who paved the way for the other Berber translators of the Holy Qur'an.

In addition, this study has revealed that the publishers' reputation can function as factual paratexts per se as they can stimulate certain socio-political associations around the texts and their translators and, ultimately, increase or decrease the translator's cultural capital. For example, Tayeb repeatedly invoked his cooperation with the King Fahad Complex in Saudi Arabia to signal that his translation is approved and mainstream, and to position himself and, by extension, the Berber community within the Pan-Islamic World. On the other hand, Mensur brought up his collaboration with the Berberist Zeryab Publishing House to position his translation within the Berber cultural heritage and to align himself with the Berber Identity Movement. It is worth noting again, however, that Mensur found it necessary to draw

attention explicitly to the period he spent working in Saudi Arabia, and the religious implications of that experience in a context dominated by mainstream Islam, to circumvent the criticisms that had been levelled at his translation for constituting a threat to orthodox forms of Islam (Section 5.3.3). By contrast, Baomrani, being the publisher of his own work, managed to position himself not only as an autonomous translator, but as a gatekeeper of external forms of Islam seeking to influence Morocco's own tradition. This was evidenced by a number of his interviews, where he expressed his aversion to what he called exterior interventions in Morocco's tradition of Islam and declared his association with the Malki School of religious law, which is predominant in Morocco (Section 5.2.2). It is worth noting, however, that Baomrani, in his assertion of the peculiarity of Morocco, was attempting to dissociate the whole of the Arab Maghreb from the broader Arab world, and hence pave the way for the emergence of a new Maghreb that does not revolve primarily around the Arab identity.

6.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

Upon declaring Tamazight as an official language in 2016, Algeria has begun the process of producing a new translation of the Holy Qur'an as part of a joint collaboration between two government institutions: the Algerian Ministry of Religion and Endowments and the High Commission of the Amazigh Language. This project is another milestone in Algeria's recent experience of political opening. After decades of persecuting Berber activists and frowning upon any display of Berber particularities, Berberism is no longer perceived as a threat to Islam and the Arab-centred North African Unity. Indeed, Algeria is now showing its willingness to acknowledge its Berber minority as an integral part of its community, which contributes alongside their Arab counterparts to the country's prosperity and development.

In addition to being indicative of the long way that Berbers have come in terms of realising their demands, this new translation may allow researchers to overcome a number of the challenges encountered while conducting this research. First, my data set was limited to the paratextual elements of the three Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an in Morocco and Algeria as these were the only available translations at the time that this research project began. This new translation will serve as a new source of data alongside my current three

translations. Second, one of the many obstacles faced during this research project was the lack of access to research data. Due to the status of Berber as a minority language with no commercial channels of distribution, no powerful publishing infrastructure and no strong presence online, the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an understudy were, except for Tayeb's translation, difficult to secure. The involvement of a government institution in such a project will ensure more robust marketing and wider circulation. Third, significant research data, including reviews, lectures and interviews could not be obtained due to the lack of cooperation from the translators and other Berber writers, which could be attributed to the strained political circumstances during which these translations were produced as well as the complexity/sensitivity of the Berber question. Aside from this, other limitations faced during this research include the paucity of academic work on Berbers, both in Arabic and English, which could be attributed to their minority status, which resulted in their meagre social and political representation. In addition, the fact that the researcher does not speak Tamazight was another significant limitation, as it precluded textual analysis of the translated texts and limited the data set to Arabic, English and French materials.

In addition to overcoming the limitations of this research, the initiative of the Algerian government opens the door for future researchers to conduct more research in other aspects of the Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an. The evolving digital culture will pave the way for the emergence of new digital paratexts, which will offer a great engagement opportunity for researchers. Another significant focus of research would be the political affiliations of the translators who the Algerian government has chosen to translate the Holy Qur'an and the kind of paratexts used in such cases.

My research findings may be tested by examining other Berber translations of the Holy Qur'an. This is important insofar as new patterns of resistance or compliance may emerge from paratextual comparisons of the three Berber translations under study as well as future Berber translations. In addition, the research findings could be further scrutinised by analysing the same data set over a longer time span to trace historical shifts in the Berber context. Due to the flexible nature of the paratextual apparatus, the use of some paratextual aspects in the context of the Berber translations, such as hegemonic languages, scripts and

typographical elements, is susceptible to change in accordance with corresponding changes in the political climate of North Africa. Aside from the Berber context, the theoretical framework of the research might be extended to investigate resistance modes in other translations of the Holy Qur'an conducted by minorities in asymmetrical power contexts, such as the Kurdish context. Apart from the asymmetric two-sided relations, the theoretical framework can be applied to translations of the Holy Qur'an in other multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic contexts such as Indonesia – which, for instance, comprises hundreds of distinct native ethnic and linguistic groups, most of which are Muslim – to disclose how such a translation was used to foreground one particular national language, propagate one religious sect and forge a shared identity.

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