



An Etymological and Lexicological Study of Borrowings into Modern Standard Arabic (MSA): The Case of Nesrin Chukri's translation of Mouloud Feraoun's *Le Fils du pauvre*

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Abstract

This study is based on a broad research question: How does the translation into Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) capture and convey the meanings embedded within languages belonging both inside and outside the sphere of the Arab world? To answer this question, a translation and literary study of borrowings, combining the methods of etymology and lexicology with in-depth content analysis and close reading, involving Nesrin Chukri's translation of Mouloud Feraoun's *Le Fils du pauvre* (*The Poor Man's Son*, 1950/1954) into MSA, was carried out. Feraoun's text hybridizes the French language by borrowings from many languages: Algerian Arabic, Kabyle and Old Arabic. The loan words, collected for the purpose of this study, offer relevant study examples to throw the light on MSA handling of vocabulary, which this study sought to understand. The analysis of Chukri's translation of Feraoun's loan words belonging to three languages (Algerian Arabic, Kabyle and Old Arabic) suggests that the translator does not favor newness; most of the time, Feraoun domesticated the Kabyle and Algerian Arabic loan vocabulary found in the source text, and systematically reinjected Old Arabic vocabulary. This practice poses the problem of the referentiality of MSA and its capacity to convey ethnic cultures, in our case Algerian Arabic and Kabyle. However, for this conclusion to be confirmed, larger, corpus-based translation studies extended to other Algerian francophone novels and also to the languages of other non-Arab ethnicities belonging to the Arab world are needed.

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Introduction

This article is a lexical and etymological study in Modern Standard Arabic's (MSA) translation of French borrowings from various languages it came in contact within its former colony, Algeria: Algerian Arabic (AA), Old Arabic (OA) and Kabyle (K, a variety of the Berber language). For translators and translation scholars, lexical borrowing is a well-known process, whereby words and expressions travel between languages and cultures, with more or less alterations in forms and/or meanings. In academia, the subject is sometimes felt

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to be dated and, at best, common place. Contrary to this point of view, we think that the semantic and cultural dynamics at the heart of the various processes of borrowing presents an intriguing research subject that combines old and new approaches to translation studies.

To illustrate the point and investigate the issue, we have selected as a case study an Arabic translation of Mouloud Feraoun's début novel *Le Fils du pauvre* (1954), or *The Poor Man's Son*, translated by Nesrin Chukri in 2014. The source French text is home to many loan words belonging to various languages spoken in Algeria. The presence within the source text of so many words belonging to various languages (three in this case) begs for a translation and literary study that ensures a unique perspective on the issue of loan words translation.

Feraoun's novel and Chukri's translation have been chosen advisedly to address the issue of this study in the lexicology and dynamics of borrowings. Mouloud Feraoun (1913-1962) was an Algerian francophone writer, born and raised in the Kabylie region, where one variety of Berber, the Kabyle, was widely spoken. Though he has been tagged by some critics to be an assimilationist writer, his novels participated in the postcolonial writing strategy of abrogation and appropriation (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2003; Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2021, 2022), whereby the French language was brought to bear on the author's quasi-insular culture in the high hills of the Kabylie (Adam, 1981). Feraoun infused ethnographic contents in his discourse (Feraoun, 2005), thanks to the use of a large number of loan words in his French text. A few of those untranslated items have their origin exclusively in K, whereas the majority of others have roots either in AA or OA.

In bringing into analysis Chukri's vocabulary, our research objective was to unveil the ways Chukri rendered her translation into MSA, particularly the K, AA and OA words, which had already travelled into the French language, together with those which had not. In their journey across languages, some of those words had acquired new meanings and connotations, which departed from their initial use in the original language. In other words, in studying Chukri's translation, the authors of the study intended to ask the following questions regarding her stance on foreignized lexis in Feraoun's text: How does Chukri transfer French loan words whose origins are in AA, K or OA? How does Chukri deal with the untranslated Kabyle words injected in the novel by the author, considering that Chukri was not cognizant with that language? How does Chukri's translation render the cultural connotations of local words used in her translation which she titled as *The Poor Man's Son*? The answers to these questions are likely to elucidate the semantic and cultural dynamics in language borrowings in a complex fashion, involving three languages (Arabic, Berber and French) in mutual influence in two broad and complex directions: from K, AA and/or OA to French (in Feraoun's case), and from K, AA, OA and/or French into MSA (in Chukri's case).

Literature Review

There is no dearth of studies which have dealt with loan words in their translated versions. For instance, Manal Ahmed El Badaoui Mohamed's (2005) Ph.D. thesis investigated the vocabulary of *La nuit sacrée*, 1987, a novel by Moroccan francophone writer Tahar Ben Jelloun. Two of its Arabic translations were published in Egypt in 1888 and 1993. El Badaoui (2005) situated her research within Antoine Berman's and Laurence Venuti's cultural approach, and called the alteration in sense and meaning of words as "the return effect." However, in her analysis, El Badaoui assumed that Moroccan Arabic was the same as Egyptian Arabic, and altogether sidelined Berber, the other language of Moroccans, and which had contributed a lot of words to French throughout history. Furthermore, lexicology and etymology did not find room in El Badaoui's study (2005) which, like most research in translation today, did not problematize the issue of borrowing. The latter had become such a common subject in translation that scholars barely questioned its dynamics and completely overlooked the proportions it had taken in postcolonial Europhone literatures (Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2021, 2022). For this reason, Feraoun's novel provides a good case study, as it offers a French text shot with borrowed lexis belonging to three different languages: AA, K, OA.

Borrowing is not a new research subject in the translation practice and translation studies. Translators like Vinay, Darbelnet, Sager, and Hamel (1995) regard borrowing as "to overcome a lacuna" and "create an element of style" in the target language. This procedure, as will be further explained, belongs to the direct method of translation, along with calque and literal translation. Ultimately, borrowings become integral parts of the target language (TL), albeit in a semantic, morphological and phonetic altered form. An example of French borrowing from Arabic today includes 'halal', a religious word which applies exclusively to the foods that are declared lawful in Islam, and which found a way into the English vocabulary as well. Sometimes, however, borrowing involved a transcription or a transliteration with the effect of adapting the word's pronunciation to native speech, but without necessarily altering the original lexis beyond recognition. This is the case, for example, of 'souk' (market), whose final sound in Arabic 'س' /q/ is replaced in French by 'k', because it does not exist in this language.

Contrary to borrowing, which picks up words and retains their senses, calque deals with both single and compound words, which are then literally transferred from the SL into TL. It consists of using a single or compound word to create a new lexeme while respecting the TL's structure. Thus, calques, such as Adam's apple (from the French *pomme d'Adam*) avoid direct borrowings, and imply syntactic, or structural,

adaptations to fit in the host language. When calques are integrated into the host language, their original language is sometimes difficult to recognize.

Literal translation is the third and last direct transfer process. It relies on a word for word rendering of texts, which remain grammatically and idiomatically correct in the TL. Literal translation is most effective between the languages which belong to the same family and exhibit affinities in both structure and culture.

The direct translation procedures defined above are not challenging when applied to ensure the transfer of elements of style and aspects of local color from a source language (SL) into a TL; they become so, however, when those elements and aspects are themselves problematic in the TL. In this case, the translator has to make choices as to the best way to keep the feel and register of the ST. Those choices are not always easy, because the elements of style and the aspects of local color cannot always be reproduced, and because they differ from one language to another, let alone from one culture to another.

If direct translation is a very convenient strategy and an easy choice for a translator, the encounter in the ST of borrowed or calqued lexical items in the form of loan words is often problematic. Baker (2018) explains that loan words pose problems to the translator, because it is not always easy to find words or expressions in the TL which convey the same stylistic effect and cover the extent of their meanings and associations. An example of effect in the French and English languages might be the adjective 'exotic', which conveys a whole range of meanings (remote, dangerous, strange, enchanted...) which are all absent from the Arabic equivalent /gharib/. The absence of meanings of such words ushers into a loss in translation which requires from the translator the use of translation strategies other than the direct ones.

In addition to the absence of equivalents in the TL, that match the depth and breadth of the loan words in the ST, the other problem which arises from the presence of directly translated materials, is linked to the change of meaning undergone by the loan word in its journey from the original language to the host one. The change results into the language phenomenon called "false friends", meaning one same word or expression having two different senses in two different languages. Baker (2018) writes: "once a word or expression is borrowed into a language, we cannot predict or control its development or the additional meanings it might or might not take on." (p.22). Examples of false friends between French and English include 'actuellement' (now) and 'actually' (in reality), which are often confused by unwary users.

The problem of loan words translation as explained by Baker (2018), however, is the only apparent tip of the iceberg. In the context of this study, Chukri's translation of *The Poor Man's Son* re-inscribes into MSA, the K and the AA vocabulary that Feraoun purposefully injected in his text to achieve specific effects linked to his ethnographic discourse. In other words, Feraoun re-appropriates from French the words belonging to his people and re-employs them creatively to speak of his culture. In so doing, he intends to assert his native culture and to produce a discourse that corrects the distortions of colonial discourse.

In using the French language in a specific manner, Feraoun's writing strategy finds home in the postcolonial mode of counter-discourse (Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2021, 2022). Ashcroft et al. (2003) call it 'abrogation' and 'appropriation, an attitude of "denial" involving the "refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage, and its assumption of a traditional and fixed meaning 'inscribed' in the words." Appropriation, on the other hand, is the taking hold of the colonial language, and using it for the purpose of asserting the native culture which suffered denial and denigration. Ashcroft et al. (2003) explain that abrogation reconstitutes the language of the center, within a "process" that 'captures' and 'remolds' the language to "new usages" that establish "a separation from the site of colonial privilege."

If such are Feraoun's writing strategies, akin to most post-colonial writers, it is important to carry out a study in the light of a few questions: What would be their effects on readers' understanding of his/their texts? How is meaning formed in Feraoun's post-colonial discourse? Does Chukri succeed to capture and transfer Feraoun's strategies of language abrogation and appropriation? The answer to these questions, particularly the last one, is likely to enlarge the understanding of loan words translation, thanks to the different sources of Feraoun's borrowings whose translations, in our best knowledge, have not yet received scholarly attention.

The answers to these questions also require some clarifications of the concepts used in this study, as well as the elucidation of some aspects which are relevant to the author's life and the translator's work. Of the concepts in question, Algeria's languages are of importance, because the country's linguistic map during the colonial period of the 1950s when Algerian francophone literature came of age was very complex, and was very different from what it is today (Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2022; Lazali, 2021).

- ***Feraoun's life, his languages and his fiction***

Mouloud Feraoun was born to a peasant family in 1913, in the Kabylie, a Berber speaking region in north-central Algeria. He completed his elementary education in his region, before he traveled to Algiers to complete a training as a primary school teacher in the *Ecole Normale* (Teacher Training School) in Bouzarea, at the outskirts of the city. In 1935, he returned to his native region to work as a schoolmaster teaching the French language at primary schools. His *The Poor Man's Son* was completed between 1939 and 1946, and published

in 1950 at the author's own expense, then in a revised form in 1954 by the Parisian publisher Le Seuil, who ensured it an instant success.

In the colonial period, Kabyle, just like the ancestral Berber (*Tamazight* in the native language), was an oral language, spoken exclusively by the Kabyles. In Algiers, where Feraoun completed his teacher training, lived a large Kabyle community, who were in permanent interaction with other native Algerian communities, and who spoke a variety of Arabic called Algerian Arabic. The latter was the language spoken by the majority of Algerians, including many diasporic Kabyles, during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Named "Darija", the origin of this language goes back to the advent of Islam in the Maghreb (North Africa) in the 7th century.

AA is an oral language that ought to be distinguished from OA. The latter was for centuries a written language used by the country's traditional educated elites in North Africa, whereas AA was, and still is, used by the laity in their everyday interactions and in popular music. In the colonial times, however, all the native languages (the regional varieties of Berber and AA) were excluded from officialdom, and French was imposed as the language of public administration, education, literature, and media (Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2021, 2022; Lazali, 2021).

Because he was an Algerian writer born Kabyle and educated/assimilated in/into French, Feraoun's identity was complex and hybrid. Thénault (1999) writes in this context: "Feraoun was an 'Algerian writer' of course, but of 'French language' and born in Kabylia. The complexity of his identity is based on these three closely intertwined components, the result of an exceptional journey that led the son of a poor Kabyle family to the profession of teaching and to literature. (1999: 65; my translation). Feraoun never saw the various components of his identity as sources of conflict. Déjeux (1973) observes: "we retain and observe in him not violence and revolt but understanding and the desire for dialogue. At the crossing point of those who work for the same fraternal humanism" (my translation).

Feraoun's inclination towards dialogue is reflected in his literary expression, which mixes local culture with the French language to produce an ethnographic and hybrid discourse (Sadouni, 2021). Such a discourse, in the context of this research, validates the etymological and lexicological study of Chukry's translation of Feraoun's novel, because the latter's text is a site wherein cultures (French and Algerian) and languages (French, AA and K) intersect with each other. Lexical borrowings are one important illustration of this meeting between cultures and languages, thanks to the propositional and expressive meanings inscribed within them, and which confer upon them the status of intertexts, traversing discourses to carry out additional semantic and cultural meanings.

- ***Nesrin Chukri and her translation***

Not much is known about Nesrin Chukri and the scope of her translations, except what she writes in the preface to her translation of the novel. Chukri worked for the Egyptian National Center for Translation (NCT), which had commissioned the translation of Feraoun's debut novel within a series titled "Creative Stories." Chukri seemed to have good firsthand knowledge of Feraoun's oeuvre, life and identity, as well as of Algerian francophone literature in general. In the preface, and in addition to a long biographical note and a historical sketch, she situated the author in the geographical and literary maps of Algeria, and underscored the Berber tongue of the Kabylie. She was keen to underline Feraoun's deep attachment to his region reflected in his regional mode of writing which, according to her, "triggers its esthetics from the Berber people's land and history." However, except this broad statement, she writes nothing more about the writer's language and how he took hold of French and manipulated it for the sake of expressing a different culture. This means that her translation offers a good sample for the etymological study of the translations of AA and K words into MSA via French.

MSA, or even Modern Written Arabic (MWA), it should be reminded, is the standardized language that gradually emerged in the 19th century in the Arab world, as a result of the increasing contact with Western powers and their sciences and technology. MSA is taught today at all school stages and is used in diplomacy, media, the judiciary and in the universities of the Arab region. It belongs to no particular Arab country, and is the official and formal language of all Arab states. What MSA reflects is the diglossic situation of the Arab world, wherein two varieties of Arabic, the formal MSA and vernacular varieties, have always existed side by side and are used according to the speakers' identity and context.

Methodology

- ***Etymology and lexicology***

The study of journeys of words between languages undertaken in this research falls under the scope of etymology and lexicology, two linguistic disciplines that best reflect the diachronic and synchronic forces that shape all languages. Merriam-Webster (n.d.-a) defines etymology as "the history of a linguistic form tracing its development since its earliest recorded occurrence in the language where it is found, by tracing its transmission from one language to another, by analyzing it into its component parts, by identifying its cognates in other languages, or by tracing it and its cognates to a common ancestral form in an ancestral language."

The interest in the history of words, however, would not distract us from the fact that their meanings are never fixed; they are always in constant change and movement, as subjects of history, society, groups, gender, etc. This is why this study is rounded off with lexicology, which is the “branch of linguistics concerned with the signification and application of words.” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b). As such, lexicology appears in this study to be a natural supplement to etymology in order to better render the rich meanings acquired by the borrowed materials or the semantic losses undergone by the lexical units in their journeys between and across languages.

In mobilizing the above-mentioned linguistic disciplines to study the meanings of Chukri’s translation of the borrowed items in Feraoun’s text, their various lexical meanings were discussed in the light of, in Baker’s parlance (2018), the “specific value” and “personality” acquired through their “usages” within their language systems. This aspect of lexical units prompts Baker (2018), based on Cruse (1986, 2014), to distinguish three types of lexical meaning, namely Propositional vs expressive meaning, Presupposed meaning, and Evoked meaning.

The Propositional vs expressive meaning refers to the denotative vs connotative meaning of words. In the context of the current research, it expresses the truth value of words (correct or incorrect); thus, in the discussion section, incorrect translations were labelled as ‘inaccurate’ or ‘mistranslation.’ Expressive meaning, on the other hand, conveys several lexical functions in terms of ‘feelings’, ‘attitudes’ and ‘degree’. These three functions are inferred by putting the lexical units in the context of the culture from which they emanated (Cruse, 2014). Thus, Feraoun’s choice of French words borrowed from AA or Berber were appreciated from the perspective of his Kabyle culture. As for Chukri’s translations, they were assessed on the basis of their expressiveness in MSA.

The category of Presupposed meaning lies outside the word, and relates to its proximity, or contiguity, to other words within the utterance (Cruse, 2014). Baker (2018) calls it “co-occurrence restrictions” that create lexical expectations, and distinguishes between “selectional restrictions”, which often follow the propositional meanings of words, and “collocational restrictions”, which is “the range of items with which [a word] is compatible.” (54) This type of meaning can sometimes prove salient in our analysis of specific items, because it helps draw a full picture of the process of meaning transfer from the language of Feraoun’s original text to that of Chukri’s translated one.

The Evoked meaning arises from a variation in “dialect” and “register” (Cruse, 2014). A dialect is linked to a speech community within a specific geographical area, a historical period or a social group. As for register, it expresses the appropriateness of lexical units to context. It varies along three parameters of discourse: the field (the speaker’s choice of words), tenor (the speakers’ interpersonal relationships) and mode (spoken or written). In the current study, AA and Kabyle are considered as the respective dialects of OA and Tamazight, a Berber language mainly spoken in Morocco and Algeria. They are spoken very sparsely and informally, but unlike French and MSA, these languages can be written and used in formal situations.

- **Data collection techniques**

The foregoing analysis goes over Feraoun’s text (1954) to collect all the loan words which have their origins in Algeria’s languages: AA, K and OA. The collected vocabulary was then classified into three categories: words belonging to K, words shared by K and AA, and words belonging to OA and borrowed by both AA and K. The reason which explains this three-partite division is to be found in the mutual influences between the three languages. Thus, K and AA borrowed a lot from OA. In addition, the two being oral languages, one cannot say which language borrowed from the other; this is why the current study would speak of words shared by the two languages.

- **Research design**

The foregoing analysis relies on the collection, classification and comparative analysis of Feraoun’s loan words and their translations. It explores the sense of each word, first in its original language (for example Kabyle), then its context of use in Feraoun’s text (1954). Next to this, Chukri’s translation strategy is analyzed comparatively by discussing its etymological and lexical meaning as well as its cultural connotation. A sum-total of all the translation strategies used to transfer all the loan words found in Feraoun’s text is then presented in order to situate the translator’s practice within the two trends of cultural translation: foreignization or domestication. The orientation of the translator towards one of these two approaches will reveal her attitude toward lexical borrowing in MSA translation and allow the trend in the latter to be deduced.

Results

Overall, the origin of the French loan words found in Feraoun’s novel can be grouped in three categories presented in Table 1:

Table 1: The origins of Feraoun's borrowed and loan words

Category	Examples	N
Words belonging in K only	<i>Akoufi</i> (pl. <i>ikoufan</i>); <i>effer</i> ; <i>karouba</i>	3
Words belonging in K and AA	<i>Baylek</i> ; <i>belboul</i> ; <i>chouari</i> ; <i>couscous</i> ; <i>fouta</i> ; <i>gandoura</i> ; <i>gourbi</i> ; <i>kanoun</i> ; <i>nana</i>	9
Words belonging in K, AA and OA	<i>Aïd</i> ; <i>ait</i> ; <i>amalen</i> ; <i>amin</i> ; <i>baraka</i> ; <i>bled</i> ; <i>burnous</i> ; <i>cadi</i> ; <i>caïd</i> ; <i>chechia</i> ; <i>cheikh</i> ; <i>çof</i> ; <i>debbous</i> ; <i>djema</i> ; <i>djenoun</i> ; <i>dokkars</i> ; <i>Fatiha</i> ; <i>fellah</i> ; <i>khalti</i> ; <i>kouba</i> ; <i>marabout</i> ; <i>muezzin</i> ; <i>roumis</i> ; <i>taleb</i> ; <i>tamens</i> ; <i>zaouias</i>	26
Total		38

Table 1 shows that the origins of Feraoun's borrowed and loan words can be grouped in three categories: one, which are exclusively from Kabyle; two, which are shared by K and AA; and three, which are shared by K, AA and OA. In the second group, it is difficult to predict the origin of the words because K and AA have been in contact with each other for many centuries, and both are oral languages. However, in the third category, one can say that all the words shared by K and AA with OA are borrowed from the latter. As previously mentioned, OA was and is still the language of Algeria's religious elite, and there is no wonder that its influence has extended through time to other segments of its society, including the popular layers.

The following sections single out each borrowed or loan word's origin and discusses its MSA translation in Chukri's text.

1- Borrowed words of Kabyle origin

Feraoun borrows a lot of Kabyle words in his text; most of those names are proper names. They include names of Persons e.g., Fouroulou, Boussad N'Amer; Towns e.g., Tizi-Ouzou, Menaiel; Villages e.g., Tizi, Agouni; River e.g., Sebaou; Month e.g., Tibrari, etc. Chukri retains them all in her translation, albeit sometimes in a modified form, because they help situate the narrative in time and space, as well in its ethnographical context.

As concerns other Kabyle words translated into MSA in Chukri's text, they can be grouped in three categories as presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Kabyle words in Feraoun's novel and their translations in Chukri's text

Feraoun's loan words	Chukri's translation	Back translation	Procedure
<i>Akoufi</i> (pl. <i>ikoufan</i>)	البناء الضخم إناء/أولاي للخبز أولاي للمؤن جرارة لاجرات	Big vessel Store vessel (s) Supply vessels Jar (s)	Literal Literal Literal Literal
<i>Effer</i>	أفير	Effear	Borrowing
<i>Karouba</i>	حي للكاروبا للحالات	Neighborhood Karouba Families	Literal Borrowing Literal

Feraoun's borrowings from K, presented in Table 2, are either glossed or simply kept untranslated. Glossing, along with the incorporation of untranslated texts, is a postcolonial strategy of appropriating and abrogating the former colonial language. A gloss, according to Ashcroft et al. (2003) is employed to use a word in the native language in the body of the text and to provide its sense, usually between brackets, in such a way as to suggest that "the view that the meaning of a word is its referent." (60) The purpose of glossing is similar to the practice which seeks to leave some words untranslated in the sense that both seek "lexical fidelity" to signify "the difference between cultures, [and to illustrate] the importance of discourse in interpreting cultural concepts." (Ashcroft et al.2003)

Akoufi is a glossed word in Feraoun's novel, whose sense is provided in an explanatory footnote as being a "grande jarre de terre non cuite mélangée à de la paille pour recevoir les céréales et les figues." (p.16) [large jar of uncooked earth mixed with straw to hold cereals and figs] Lacoste-Dujardin (2005) tells us that *akoufi* is the name given to a big grain jar in Kabyle, found inside traditional Kabyle houses, which can take various shapes (circular, square or rectangular). Its big size (1m³) makes it a symbol of wealth and fecundity in Kabyle culture. (Appendix 1)

Chukri uses four literal translations, including two expressions, to transfer *akoufi*, without ever retaining the original word. Even if the direct translations do not borrow the Kabyle name, however, they have the merit to render several of its aspects, such as its big size, its function, and its use. Therefore, one can say that the propositional meaning of the word is correct, but the literal translation domesticates the local color of this specific tool and its symbolism. In other words, in literally translating this culturally specific word, Chukri succeeds to transfer its sense at the price of sacrificing its cultural connotation.

The second Kabyle word glossed by Feraoun into French is *efer*, a verb meaning “hide”. Feraoun presents it to the reader in order to elucidate the meaning of the main character’s name, Fouroulou, and follows it by a parenthetical translation in French. Chukri imitates Feraoun’s practice by presenting the Kabyle verb followed by its MSA translation between parentheses. Her spelling of the verb, however, suffers from a mispronunciation, because it is correct to write /أفهر/ than /أفيري/.

Karouba is the last Kabyle lexeme borrowed by Feraoun into his French text. Unlike the first two, this one is kept untranslated, and its sense can only be inferred from the textual context. Lacoste-Dujardin (2005) tells us that this common noun in Berber culture means both “large family” and “district”. (Appendix 1) This means that Chukri’s explanatory footnote and her two literal translations are correct as far as the propositional meaning of the word is concerned. However, in order to avoid domesticating this culture specific word, Chukri borrows it in other contexts into MSA. In so doing, she foreignizes her translation to preserve the local color of Feraoun’s discourse.

2- Loan words shared by K and AA and their translations in Chukri’s text

K and AA existed for more than a millennium side by side, and exchanged between each other a large number of words to the extent that it is quite impossible to situate exactly the origin of some lexemes common to them. The presence in Feraoun’s text of words belonging to the two languages may be explained by the massive contacts between these two languages with French in the west Mediterranean, hence there are several French loan words of Berber and AA prominence. Another reason might be attributed to the author’s mastery of the two languages. Therefore, it comes no surprise that many words incorporated by Feraoun in his text were used by him without them being officially borrowed into French, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: K and AA words in Feraoun’s novel and their translations in Chukri’s text

Feraoun’s borrowed words	Chukri’s translation	Back translation	Procedure
<i>Baylek</i>	الدولة	The state	Literal
<i>Belboul</i>	للخبول	Belboul	Borrowing
<i>Chouari</i>	قفة	Basket	Superordinate
<i>Couscous</i>	للخفيس ي	Couscous	Borrowing
<i>Fouta</i>	طرحة	Headscarf	Literal
	فويل	Tissue	Mistranslation
<i>Gandoura</i>	لثسوة	Livery	Superordinate
	لجباب	Robe	Literal
<i>Gourbi</i>	لخنزل	House	Superordinate
	لأخص	Hut	Literal
<i>Kanoun</i>	لأوقد	Brazier	Literal
<i>Nana</i>	ننا	Nana	Borrowing

The words presented in Table 3 can be classified into two groups: those which have officially been incorporated into French, including: *Couscous*, *gandoura* and *gourbi*; and those which have not been borrowed, meaning all the rest. In the first category, *Couscous* is the name of a famous North African dish made of wheat. In our time, its name has traversed many languages, including English and French, and it comes as no surprise that Chukri retains it in her translation. Chukri also borrows ‘belboul’, the other Kabyle dish mentioned in Feraoun’s text even if this second Kabyle dish has not entered the French language. Chukri integrates it into MSA and explains, in a footnote, that it is a type of couscous but a cheaper one made of barley instead of wheat.

As for *gandoura* and *gourbi*, they are common nouns which refer to a type of Kabyle dress and a rural house, respectively. Chukri has recourse to two different procedures to render their meanings: the first is the use of a superordinate, which is a general word (in the two cases these are /qiswa/ and /manzil/ respectively), whereas the second is literal translation, as respectively in /jilbab/ and /khas/. The uses of superordinate in the two cases creates a loss of meaning because they are too general to convey the local color of the source words.

Literal translation is still at work, this time alone, in the translation of *baylek* and *kanoun*, meaning respectively ‘the state’ and ‘the brazier’. If the latter’s literal meaning poses no particular translation problem, this is not the case of the literal sense of *baylek*, which is a word of Turkish origin borrowed into both K and AA, probably during the time when Algeria was part of the Ottoman Empire between the early 16th and the 19th centuries. Egypt, too, like most of the Middle East, was part of the same empire. This means that the sense of *baylik* may be accessible to MSA users. However, in spite of this historical and linguistic proximity, Chukri does not deem it fit to borrow this word, which is still in use in AA and K, and provides its formal translation instead.

In the case of *chouar’*, Feraoun glosses it by the means of an explanatory footnote, whereas Chukri uses a superordinate to convey its sense. Again, the general word proves its limitation, since the generic word /qufa/, meaning ‘basket’, causes a loss of meaning, because in both K and AA the word does not mean the container used to carry or hold bought or stored items, but signifies the ‘pannier put on the donkey’s back to carry heavy loads’. As such, it also conveys the rural culture of the people and their daily struggle against the hardships of country life.

Contrary to the above translations, *fouta* offers a distinctive case study. In AA and K, it refers to a large, square textile that Kabyle and Algerian women wear casually around their waist and legs, above their everyday clothes to protect them and to serve as means to wipe out sweat from the head and dirt from the hands. This propositional meaning seems lost to Chukri, who uses /*turha*/ and /*mendil*/, two words which do not render the correct meaning of 'fouta'. *Almuejam alwasit* defines /*turha*/ as follows: "a garment that is thrown over the shoulder, and is now used in the sense of a covering that is thrown over the head and shoulders, and it includes the veil of the bride." (my translation)

As can be seen, this word refers to a fabric worn on the head and shoulders and not on the waist and legs. As such, its propositional meaning is different from *fouta*, and can be considered as a case of mistranslation. This is so because the fabric put on the head by Kabyle women is called *amendil*, that is the second word used by Chukri to translate *fouta*. *Almuejam alwasit* defines *mendil* as "a fabric of cotton, silk, or the like, with a square shape, on which sweat or water is wiped off." (my translation) This definition means that 'mendil' in MSA is a false friend to 'amendil' in K. In the former, it is a cheap tissue, whereas in the latter it is a colorful headscarf made of "cotton or silk" and "is worn during weddings and parties" as an ornamental clothing (Lacoste-Dujardin, 2005). (Appendix 1)

Contrary to the case of *fouta*, (mis)translated by two different words in Chukri's text, 'nana' is borrowed in her text. 'Nana' in Feraoun's novel is the main character's younger maternal aunt, Yamina. In Algerian society, it is a common family title used to refer to one's aunts as a sign of respect. Chukri integrates it in her text as it is, because its sense is explicit in the narrative context.

3- Borrowed words shared by K, AA and CA

The vocabulary of OA has deeply penetrated the local languages in Algeria since the first contact between the Berber natives and Arabs in the 7th century. A.D., much owed by the Islamization of the country and the teaching of Arabic to the people. This religious reason explains the large number of OA words in both AA and all the varieties of Berber. Feraoun's text counts many lexemes, whose origin is OA. Among these lexemes, the majority are French loan words, offering a good sample to study how sense and signification travel among languages, and how MST, as used in Chukri's translation, deals with Arabic borrowings into other languages. Table 4 lists all the French loan words shared by AA, OA and K and found in Feraoun's text.

- *The translation of French loan words borrowed from OA:*

The words marked with asterisk* in Table 5 include all the French loan words borrowed from OA. Two categories among them can be distinguished: those which have retained their original meaning in their journey into French, and those which have changed it. The words in the first category are 12 in number: *aid*, *baraka*, *burnous*, *cadi*, *chechia*, *cheikh*, *djenouns*, *Fatiha*, *fellah*, *muezzin*, *roumis*, *taleb* and *zaouias*. Chukri transfers them into MSA in the same form and retains more or less the same sense as the one they used to have in OA. Minor alterations can, however, be mentioned:

- '*Burnous*,' a men's upper dress name in Arabic, is most often retained; however, it is also translated into /*leaba'a*/, which is a superordinate word. This ambivalence in translating a single word concerns also '*chéchia*', which is sometimes transferred as '*fez*', which does not match the source word.
- Three lexemes are used to translate '*roumis*': 'westerners', 'the French' and 'the Turks'. The last one is clearly incorrect.
- The compound expression 'the ez-zaouaia region' which translates '*zaouias*' could have been shortened in '*zaouaia*' because the word retains its sense in the four languages: AA, OA, K and French.

The other French loan words borrowed from Arabic are: *bled*, *caïd*, *kouba* and *marabout*. Each of them offers a distinctive case study:

- '*Bled*' in French is a polysemic word, meaning, according to Robert (1990), both "the countryside" and "a remote" and "isolated village" with "little resources." (Appendix 2). In this sense, it fits perfectly Feraoun's narrator's description of his place of birth and education in the mountainous Kabylie, but does not suit at all the same word in OA, where it means "a limited place inhabited by groups, [... or] a big land called like a country." (*Almuejam alwasit*, my translation)

Chukri does not borrow it in her text and for a good reason. However, in using /*mintaqat*/ instead of /*albalda*/, a loss of meaning is suffered, because this word's sense does not convey the insularity and extreme poverty of the main character's origin.

- *Caïd* in French, as defined by Robert (1990), means "*un fonctionnaire musulman [en Afrique du nord] qui cumule les attributions de juge, d'administrateur, de chef de police.*" [a civil servant in North Africa who serves as a judge, administrator and commissioner.] (Appendix 2). This means that the Arabic word /*qayid*/, whose sense is /*leader*/ is a false friend to '*caïd*'. In this sense, Chukri is right not to borrow it. However, her translation, /*qadi*/, fulfills only one of the three senses of the word and is clearly insufficient to render its complex meaning. Furthermore, it conflicts with the translation of the other loan word '*cadi*', which refers to another character in the novel, and which means 'judge'.

- *Kouba* in French, according to Robert (1990), refers to a “shrine above a marabout’s tomb.” (Appendix 2). Literally in AA and K, it is a cupola. Therefore, in Feraoun’s text, it functions as a metonymy that represents the holy edifice. In her translation, Chukry rejects the cupola image in favor of *lalmaqaml*, literally ‘the seat’, which is the cultural equivalent of *kouba*.
- Contrary to *caïd* and *kouba*, transferred by one word each, many words translate ‘marabout’ in Chukry’s text. In French, this is a religious title in the Maghreb; it is defined as a “pious hermit, saint of Islam, whose shrine is a pilgrimage place.” (Robert, 1990). (my translation) In Kabyle and Algerian culture, *marabouts*, writes Lacoste-Dujardin (2005), refer to “persons of religious descent” who form “a kind of aristocracy,” and who mediate conflicts and perform “religious functions” and “healing.” (Appendix 1) This definition proves that all Chukry’s translations of the word are irrelevant. This is very surprising, because the root of this word is *lribat*, an OA lexeme meaning literally “binding,” but which has acquired a religious connotation in its pronominal form ‘*murabit*’ to mean ‘the guardian,’ who binds himself to protect the border of the country. In Kabyle culture, ‘*amrabad*’ is used to refer to the religious people who guard religion by the means of knowledge and good practice.

Table 4: Feraoun’s French words borrowed from AA, OA and K and Chukri’s translations

Feraoun’s loan words	Chukri’s translation	Back translation	Procedure
<i>Aïd*</i>	العيد	Eid	Borrowing
<i>Ait</i>	لميرة	Family (nuclear)	Literal
	عائلة	Family (extended)	Literal
<i>Amalen</i>	العمال	Workers	Literal
<i>Amin</i>	أمين	Amin	Borrowing
<i>Baraka*</i>	للبركة	Blessing	Borrowing
<i>Bled</i>	منطقة	Region	Adaptation
<i>Burnous*</i>	بن سبرنيس	Burnous	Borrowing
	عباءة	Cloak	Literal
<i>Cadi*</i>	القاضي	Judge	Borrowing
<i>Caïd*</i>	القاضي	The judge	Literal
	الوالي	The guardian / tutor	Literal
<i>Chechia*</i>	طوبوش	Fez	Mistranslation
	شاشية	Chechia	Borrowing
<i>Cheikh (s); Cheik*</i>	لشيخ	The old man /men	Borrowing
<i>Çof</i>	عشيرة	Clan	Literal
	معسكر	Camp	Literal
<i>Debbous</i>	مراوة	Club	Literal
<i>Djema (s) / Tadjemait</i>	مجلس لشيخوخ	The elderly council	Literal
	مجلس القرية	The village council	Literal
	المجلس	The council	Literal
	مجلس الامينة	The town’s council	Literal
	المجالس	Councils	Literal
	لتدج ايمت	Tadjemait	Borrowing
<i>Djenoun*</i>	جن	Demons	Borrowing
<i>Dokkars</i>	ذكور	The masculine	Literal
<i>Fatiha*</i>	فيلتحة	Fatiha (the first Surat of the Koran)	Borrowing
<i>Fellah*</i>	فلاح	Peasant	Borrowing
<i>Khalti</i>	خالتي	Maternal aunt	Borrowing
<i>Khaounis</i>	حلوي	Religious students	Mistranslation
<i>Kouba*</i>	القمام	Cupola	Literal
<i>Marabout</i>	مبوط	?	Mistranslation
	لادجلين	Charlatans	Mistranslation
	المرادة المبوطين	?	Mistranslation
	سحره من هورين	Notorious magicians	Mistranslation
<i>Muezzin*</i>	المؤذن	Muezzin	Borrowing
<i>Roumis*</i>	تورك	Turks	Mistranslation
	لفين سيون	The French	Literal
	الغربيون	The westerners	Literal
<i>Taleb*</i>	لشيخ	The old man	Literal
	الطالب	The student	Borrowing
	لتلميذ	The disciple	Literal
<i>Tamens</i>	لسادة	The masters	Superordinate
<i>Zaouias*</i>	منطقة لزوايا	The ez-zaouaia region	Literal

* French loan words borrowed from OA

- *Translation of Feraoun's loan words borrowed from Old Arabic*

Except 'amin', all other words of Old Arabic origin, and borrowed by AA and K but not French, are kept untranslated in Feraoun's text, and their sense is either glossed or inferred thanks to the narrative context. They include: *ait*, *amalen*, *çof*, *djema/tadjemait*, *dokkars*, *khalti*, *khaounis*, and *tamens*. Of these eight lexemes, three pose no problem to Chukri viz., *amalen*, *dokkars* and *khalti*, who simply replaces them by their original OA word, because their borrowed forms induce no change or alteration in signification. *Ait* in K is an adjective placed before proper names or a tribe name to designate them as being "the family of" or "the children of" Lacoste-Dujardin (2005) (Appendix 1). Its equivalent is *ben* and *ouled* in AA and OA. In Chukri's translation, it is rendered interchangeably by two lexemes, /usra/ and /eayila/, which are two cases of literal translations. An alternative translation could have been *beni* or *al*, but Chukri rejects these two options. The second of these two words is clearly the original word from which K borrowed *ait*. In this sense, *Ait Moussa* in the novel, for example, is no more than *Al Moussa*.

In the same category as *ait* is *djema*, literally translated into /majlis/. It is true that the latter is an exact equivalent; however, the root of the K lexeme is OA, as in the religious concept of /jamaea/. Nonetheless, Chukri does not favor this option to avoid the religious connotation. In lieu, she provides a number of other translations, including compound expressions, all based on the concept of /majlis/. 'Debbous' is the other word to have crossed AA, OA and K but not French. Glossed in Feraoun's text by a footnote, it is rejected by Chukri, who prefers /hirawa/ instead. The reason of her choice is not clear, because this time the source lexeme carries no religious connotation.

'Çof', too, belongs to AA, OA and K; however, in her text, Chukri does not retain it and prefers to use two literal translations instead. Had she retained Feraoun's word, her text would have been more faithful to the author's local culture. In her dictionary of Kabyle culture, Lacoste-Dujardin (2005) translates this form of village organization into "league" and "party" and explains that it represents the village men's union of solidarity along "binary divisions" motivated by "divergent political positions." This complex meaning is barely conveyed by Chukri's two literal translations, which are deprived of political sense. It demonstrates that the borrowing of Feraoun's word is a more judicious choice, because its origin is found in OA, although in a literal meaning.

In Kabyle culture, *tamens* are male adults who represent extended families in the village *djema* (council) to discuss community related issues (Lacoste-Dujardin, 2005) (Appendix 1). The origin of this word is to be found in OA, where it literally means 'guarantor'. Chukri translates it into /sada/, a superordinate, and therefore vague, word, whose social class connotation might be irrelevant to the K word in Feraoun's novel. Indeed, one literal meaning of /sada/ in OA is master, as opposed to 'slave' /abd/. In the novel, as well as in Kabyle culture, this connotation is simply irrelevant. Like is the case of *çof*, therefore, it would have been better had Chukri retained it as used in the novel.

Finally, unlike the above untranslated words, *amin* is explained in *Le fils du pauvre* by the means of a footnote, where the author tells the reader that it refers the village chief. Chukri does not gloss this word and borrows it into her text without any explanation. Her direct borrowing might confuse the reader but has the merit to convey the name distribution of power holders in the traditional Kabyle village.

4- Domestication and foreignization in Chukri's translation of AA, K and French Arabic loan words

The frequencies of various translation strategies and procedures mobilized by Chukri to transfer AA, OA and K words and French loan words of Arabic origin are presented in Table 5:

Table 5: The frequencies of Chukri's translation strategies and procedures

	K words	AA words	French loan words	Total	%
Adaptation	0	0	1	1	1.56%
Borrowing	2	3	14	19	29.68%
Literal translation	6	5	21	32	50%
Mistranslation	0	1	7	8	12.5%
Superordinate	0	3	1	4	6.25%
Total				64	

Table 5 reveals that literal translation is by far the most often used translation procedure in Chukri's text, accounting for the half of all the transferred lexemes. Next to it comes borrowing, which is used in about 30% of the cases. However, incorrect translations are deplored in 8 cases, representing 12.5% of the overall procedures. Finally, eight cases are rendered by general words, engendering losses in meaning. In the light of these figures, and except the cases of borrowings, a clear tendency to domesticate Feraoun's K, AA and OA words can be noticed in Chukri's text. To borrow Berman's (2004) and Venuti's (1995) respective parlance, Chukri does not exoticize the native lexis embedded in the ST, nor does she foreignize it either. She rather naturalizes it by assimilating it into MSA. In this way, she remains invisible in her text, offering the reader a smooth translation whose lexis rarely departs from common and ordinary vocabulary used in MSA.

Chukri's domestication tendency is also apparent in her suppression of all the glosses inserted by the author at the bottom of his text, and in her insertion of explanations of words and expressions of her own choice instead. Of her 12 explanatory footnotes, only four explain Feraoun's borrowed lexis: 'tadjemait', 'karouba', 'chéchia' and 'belboul', with the latter being incorrectly defined. This demonstrates that the translator is keen to efface differences and de-ethnicize her text in spite of its being deeply anchored in a local culture unknown to most readers of French literature.

Table 6 elucidates the language from which Chukri borrows most of her lexis:

Table 6: *The frequencies of borrowing/language*

	AA	OA	K	Total
Number of borrowings	3	14	2	19
%	15.78%	73.68%	10.52%	100%

Table 6 confirms Chukri's tendency to domesticate Feraoun's vocabulary, since more than 73% of her borrowings have their origin in OA. This means that her translation does not enrich MSA lexis as much as it recycles OA words, which she brings to modern uses.

Discussion

Of the foreign lexis included in *Le fils du pauvre* (*The Poor Man's Son*), the words of OA origin far outnumber the K and AA words, which constitute only a small portion of Feraoun's loan words. In spite of this relative dearth of AA and K words in the ST, Chukri does not deem it useful to retain them in her text, and prefers to provide their literal meanings instead. Her literal translations efface most of the native cultural differences embedded in the author's text, and tend to assimilate the village culture in the quasi insular Kabyle mountains into the culture of small Arab villages, say in Egypt, Syria or Jordan. Indeed, had it not been the characters' and places' names, the reader of Chukri's translation would never distinguish the specific culture of Feraoun's motherland from other ethnographic writings belonging in the Middle East.

At the lexicological level, most of AA and OA words borrowed into French and found in Feraoun's text retain their original meanings. This reason might explain Chukri's choice to reinject them into her MSA language. Those lexemes bear within them as many cross-cultural traces among OA, AA, K and French. This means that their significations have survived the journeys between languages without much semantic alterations.

Finally, the predominance of OA words in Chukri's translation suggests that she does not help in expanding MSA vocabulary. The limitation of her translation practice, furthermore, poses a serious issue as to the referential and connotative functions of old Arabic lexis. Indeed, how could a word belonging to past historical periods reflect contemporary meaning? In our view, this is the main issue raised by Chukri's practice and a host of other MSA translators.

Conclusion

This study has sought to examine the MSA vocabulary in Nesrin Chukri's translation of Mouloud Feraoun's debut novel *Le fils du pauvre*, *The Poor Man's Son*, 1950/1954. An Algerian francophone author of Kabyle origin, speaking in his novel of his native culture, Feraoun includes in his text a lot of K, AA and French loan words belonging to OA in order to convey the specificities of his culture and to distinguish his discourse from the discourse of the French novel in general. Chukri, in her preface, shows herself aware of this aspect of the author's fiction, as well as of his native K tongue. Her transfer of Feraoun's hybrid discourse retains most the OA vocabulary and a few cases of AA and K words. This means that her lexical preferences do not include loan words, even when those words belong to ethnicities of the Arab world.

Undoubtedly, such a practice has consequences on the referentiality of MSA, given the large geographic and cultural maps of the Arab world, as well as the capacity of this language to renew and enrich itself. However, given the limitations of this study, devoted to one novel by one author belonging to one ethnic group, this conclusion needs to be confronted against larger studies involving a bigger corpus belonging to various authors of different Arab backgrounds. For this, a corpus-based, area and cross-area study is recommended to confirm/infirm and refine the results found here and to throw more light on the cultural dimension in MSA.

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Appendix2: The meanings of French Loan words of Arab origin

Feraoun's loan words	Le Petit Robert's definitions (2014)
Aïd	Toute fête religieuse musulmane.
Baraka	Bénédiction, protection divine Chance
Bled	En Afrique du Nord, l'intérieur des terres, la campagne Village éloigné, isolé, offrant peu de ressources
Burnous	Grand manteau de laine à capuchon et sans manche (en usage dans les pays du Maghreb)
Cadi	Magistrat musulman qui remplit les fonctions civiles, judiciaires et religieuses
Caïd	« en Afrique du nord, fonctionnaire musulman qui cumule les attributions de juge, d'administrateur, de chef de police. »
Chechia	Coiffure en forme de calotte dans certains pays d'islam. Chez les Arabes, homme respecté pour son âge et ses connaissances
Cheikh (s)	Chef de tribu, de village ou de région dans certains pays musulmans
Cheik	Chef religieux musulman Chef d'orchestre
Djenoun	Djinn : esprit de l'air, bon génie ou démon dans les croyances arabes
Fatiha	Première sourate du Coran
Fellah	Paysan, petit propriétaire agricole
Kouba	Monument élevé sur la tombe d'un marabout
Marabout	Pieux ermite, saint de l'islam, dont le tombeau est un lieu de pèlerinage
Muezzin	Fonctionnaire religieux musulman attaché à une mosquée et dont la fonction consiste à appeler du minaret les fidèles à la prière
Roumis	Nom par lequel les musulmans désignent un chrétien, un Européen Etudiant en théologie musulmane.
Taleb	Guérisseur qui s'appuie sur sa connaissance, supposée ou réelle, du Coran. Lettré qui enseigne le Coran et qui, moyennant rétribution, psalmodie les versets du Coran lors de fêtes ou de manifestations religieuses
Zaouias	Etablissement religieux sous l'autorité d'une confrérie musulmane affecté à l'enseignement.