

SOME SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF FOLK STORIES IN THE REGION OF ERRACHIDIA, MOROCCO.

Moulay Sadik Maliki,

Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Hassan II University of Casablanca

Hamid Housni,

Ecole National de Commerce et de Gestion, Abdelmalek Essaadi University, Tanger

ABSTRACT

The term folklore is composed of two words, namely “folk” and “lore”; which mean “people” and “wisdom”, respectively’. It is the wisdom, beliefs and ‘oral history” (Clayton, 2016) associated with the common people of a specific community. Folklore also includes the traditions, customs, beliefs, music, rituals, myths, legends, folk songs and folk stories/tales which are transmitted from one generation to another and kept active by active tradition bearers, give a sense to people’s lives and reveal the hidden part of human genius (Utley 1968: 12). The present article examines folk stories in the region of Errachidia (Morocco) from a socio- cultural and anthropological point of view. To be more precise, it tries to get insights into how these artistic creations, (i.e. folk stories) reveal the complex cultural values and linguistic systems in this semi-rural area and how people use these stories to create and maintain socio-cultural constructs.

Keywords: Culture, construct, Sahraoui community, Folklore, linguistic, artistic creations, values system.

1. INTRODUCTION

The term folklore is composed of two words, namely “folk” and “lore”, which indicate’ people’ and ‘wisdom’, respectively. It is the wisdom, beliefs and ‘oral history” (Clayton, 2016) associated with the common people of a specific community. Folklore also includes the traditions, customs, beliefs, music, rituals, myths, legends, folk songs and folk stories/tales which are transmitted from one generation to another and kept active by active tradition bearers, give a sense to people’s lives and reveal the hidden part of human genius (Utley 1968: 12).

Folklore, it should be noted, aims at re-establishing the history of the intellect of human beings, not as it is portrayed by great writers and intellectuals, but as it is shown through ordinary people's voices and expressions which, though often repressed, appear to be more accurate, faithful and informative of those people's real conditions and grievances. Folklore, then, is concerned primarily with ordinary and unlettered peoples' verbal as well as non-verbal traditions and behavior, including, among other things, various genres of popular arts, namely proverbs, ritual utterances, artifacts, folk songs and folk stories.

Folk stories, the subject matter of this paper, can be defined as popular creations, constituting part of people's oral traditions and cultural heritage (Guibbert 1985: 23-4) and reflecting their imaginations and beliefs. Brunvand (1959:15) defines folk stories are strictly fictional “traditional prose narratives” which are told primarily for entertainment and which portray

fantastical events in a realistic way. A face-to-face interaction, according to Hudson (1980: 106), is a situation where one person talks to another whom they can see and who is close enough to hear them. Storytelling is, therefore, a kind of face-to-face interaction in which the storyteller tries to transmit linguistically a set of extra-linguistic experiences in the form of discursive acts (Boukous 1977: 295).

In the present article, we examine folk stories in the region of Errachidia (Morocco) from a socio-cultural and anthropological point of view. We try to uncover and elucidate how people in this small semi-rural community use their artistic creations to communicate within their speech community to build and maintain socio-cultural constructs and values and how these creations reflect the social and linguistic systems of the Sahraoui community in the region of Errachidia.

Popular oral literature, of which folk stories are a basic part, are agonizing and vanishing, for they are being over-shadowed by a more formal and sophisticated kind of literature, and the more sophisticated media and technology. Such a reality appears to be the result of the introduction of the modern means of education which the colonizer somehow imposed to help convince local people that their culture and values were primitive and useless on the one hand, and the emergence of modern information and communication technologies (ICTS) on the other hand, a fact which has resulted in peoples' losing faith, as it were, in their folklore and ultimately calling its relevance into question.

The choice of this particular topic particularly in the region of Errachidia is attributable to subjective and objective reasons. Concerning the subjective reasons, the region under study is our home town and it incarnates our childhood with its ups and downs, its heights and depths and in-betweens; and researchers, it is said, are usually tempted to go back to their origin and try to probe and uncover some of the issues that 'captivated' their childhood and for which they could not account at the time. As children, we remember the family gatherings around a big fire during which our parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts told stories while dinner, if any, was being cooked. It was not until we started our investigation of these stories that we got to understand that the storytelling was not an end in itself but a means to an end. In other words, the telling of folk tales per se was just a 'psychological outlet', as it were, or a means to make us forget about the difficult economic and climatic conditions and also to cope with life despite all its pricks, such as hunger, cold and other hardships. We, moreover, believe that belonging to this region will certainly make our task relatively easier to better understand people, given that we are familiar with it and we speak more or less the same variety with all that this entails.

As for the objective reason, this region hosts a relatively traditional community and consists of small, closely related villages in which people are less exposed to modern cities and are ultimately less liable to experience cultural change rapidly, especially knowing that folklore flourishes and thrives most widely in rural areas. However, this does by no means imply that folklore is exclusively rural; instead, it possesses a "remarkable vitality even among urban dwellers, who are experiencing rapid cultural change" (Encyclopedia Americana VI: 65). These stories are being challenged by the modern means of entertainment, mass media and modern information technologies and are, therefore, doomed to extinction. This very fact is one of the main concerns of anthropologists and sociologists. This work, we believe, is also important

because it combines two aspects of life in the south east of Morocco, namely the ‘oasis and Ksour environments, a feature that can’t be but enriching and inspiring.

2. METHODOLOGY

Folk stories cannot lend themselves to one single approach; instead, they should be examined from an interdisciplinary perspective. In fact, such studies fall within the realms of anthropology, sociology, linguistics, among others. This being the case, the present study makes use of the tools of anthropology, or more particularly anthropological linguistics and linguistic anthropology to approach these stories, the language used and the social constructs, i.e., the ideas and concepts collectively created, cultivated and maintained by members of the community to counter the inherently and naturally existing facts. These social constructs are related to class distinction, ethnicity, gender differences, linguistic distribution and a plethora of other social and natural phenomena, as we will see in some of the folk tales.

We have drawn the inspiration, as it were, for this piece of work mainly from field work, our experience, our career path and our childhood spent in such a place full of intriguing things that only Chinwa Achebe’s rich descriptions of African villages in his novels can match. The region is part of what the French, “with fine colonial candor, used to call le ‘Maroc inutile’ [i.e., useless Morocco], the forts and oases of the pre-Sahara, the walled-in rivers and pocket plateaus of the High Atlas (Geertz, 1968:5). The work of an anthropologist, as Geertz (1968) has rightly stated, is but an expression of their experience or how they have been impacted by their research. Living and growing up in such an area proved to be very formative (intellectually and personally). Most insights, explanations and interpretations of events in the collected stories grew out of field work and more precisely through the contact and/or interaction with the respondents, i.e., the storytellers, especially the elderly.

The collection of the data to carry out this research was not without its problems. To be able to record stories and interview people freely required getting the permission from both local authorities and storytellers alike. Permission from the authorities to prove that the study did not have any political dimensions and that it was being carried out for the sake of academic research and only research. The permission from the storytellers ties in with the ethical practices of doing research. The storytellers were told that the recorded and/ or collected stories were going to be used for research work. Face to this, we confined ourselves to some respondents who were willing to cooperate, namely members of our own families, relatives, neighbors and friends’ families.

However, some of these respondents, females in particular, showed a great deal of reluctance to tell stories at first, pretending that folk stories were outdated and were not worth being the subject matter of academic or scientific research studies. After having explained everything to them, they eventually accepted to narrate stories provided that they were not recorded. Others, on the other hand, were willing to tell stories regardless of whether they were recorded or not. We, therefore, managed to record twenty stories and write down some others as they were being recounted when recording was not possible. It should be clear that the stories under study were recorded between 1985 and 1986.

3. ANTHROPOLOGY, LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS.

As part of the social sciences, anthropology is often defined as the study of human groups and cultures. It is a unique field of study, for it sets for itself the task or project to investigate the claims and contentions put forward with regard to nature, cultures and humans and all this is done based on a 'four-field approach' (Scrupin & DeCourse, 2017). Anthropology, it should be noted, falls into four major subfields, i.e., linguistic anthropology, socio-cultural anthropology (sometimes called ethnology), archaeology, and physical anthropology. Each of these subfields approaches human and linguistic phenomena from a different angle; however, if these subfields are combined, they provide a global and holistic view on the phenomena under study (Scrupin & DeCourse, 2017).

The main and distinguishing characteristic of anthropological studies is the investigation and research of the subtleties and slippery aspects of human culture. The method of study that is adopted by anthropologists and that makes anthropology different from other researchers is ethnography, i.e., the qualitative and in-depth analysis of why and how given aspects of culture, including verbal and non-verbal behaviors occur (Goldman & Borkan, 2013). The use of an ethnographic method enables researchers to lay bare the insights arrived at by analyzing specific phenomena from different points of view. To achieve all this, ethnography has recourse to different data collection methods, namely observation, interviews, focus groups and textual analysis in a bid to build a global view on the phenomena being studied and formulate general concepts and constructs about them. The reliability of such methods stems from the fact that they combine information as to people's thoughts and attitudes (i.e., beliefs) and that arising from observation of what these very people do in their recurring interactions (i.e., behavior) (D'Andrade, 1995; Duranti, 2003)

As has already been stated, each of the sub-fields of anthropology is concerned with or studies a specific field. For the purposes of the present study, we will confine ourselves to linguistic anthropology and cultural anthropology. Linguistic anthropology is more concerned with the development of human language, and the issues pertaining to the relationships between language and culture. They try to investigate how language, the uniquely human feature, is used among communities to communicate. Social and/or cultural anthropology, on the other hand, delves into the study of the cultural and value systems that help distinguish societies and cultures from each other, particularly the organization patterns prevailing in these societies (Tuttle et al, 2019).

In linguistic anthropology, it is argued, the production of discourse by human beings via the uniquely human endowment, i.e., language, is one of the fundamental tools that help these humans create culture and social life (Tuttle et al, 2019; Scherzer, 1987). Through observing and investigating recorded, naturally and socially occurring speech exchanges to identify how different communities construe different speech acts, such as complimenting, criticizing, ordering and expressing politeness and how their interpretation of these speech acts can and do affect research carried out on such communities. A key issue that linguistic anthropology tries to address is whether and how language, and ultimately, cultural differences impact the way users of those languages perceive and understand the world; in other words, it investigates how

language determines the modes of communication and modes of thought, forms of social identity, common cultural ideology and representations of natural and social phenomena. (Whorf, 1956; Kira & Bucholtz, 1995; Duranti, 2003; Bauman, 1977; Taylor, 1973;).

In linguistic anthropology, there is a distinction between “anthropological linguistics” and “linguistic anthropology”. While the former is concerned with language documentation, the latter addresses theoretical issues of language use in context (Duranti, 2003). A third sub-field of linguistic anthropology focuses on the study of cultures using linguistic tools and laying emphasis on issues, such as personal and social identities, shared ideologies and common sense as well as narratives taking place during interactions between individuals and social groups sharing the same cultures and modes of communication (Rings, 1987; Kaihara, 1974; Parker, 1976).

4. THE CULTURAL ASPECTS OF FOLK STORIES

4. 1. Culture: A Definition

Culture is defined as the knowledge which someone has by virtue of their being a member of a particular society” (Lyons 1981: 302). Such knowledge is acquired by the individual through their interactions with other members of their speech community. According to Rivers (1981), there is a major distinction from which the other definitions evolve. This distinction is made between ‘Large C’ and ‘Small C’ cultures. In view of the former, culture is used in a restricted sense to indicate what people often regard as civilization, in which case it is presumed to include technological, geographical, economic and political aspects of a society as well as sophisticated tastes in the fields of literature and art in general. This view of culture can be clear from the following statement by Rivers (1981:316), who argues that culture is seen as a “training which tends to develop the higher faculties, the imagination, the sense of beauty and intellectual comprehension.” In a similar way, Pei (1956:206) states that culture, for the layman, is taken to designate “a mark of superior literary or artistic achievement or even superior breeding.” Implicit in these two statements is the assumption that culture is an asset that only civilized societies as opposed to, say, primitive ones, can have access to or can be described as having.

Contrastively, the term culture, as used by sociologists and anthropologists (Kaihara, 1974; Harms, 1973; Ting-Toomey, 1985; Romney et al, 1986; Moreman, 1988) has a more or less broad significance and can be described as an “omnibus definition’ or view (Spradley, 1972), in the sense that it considers culture as almost everything belonging to a group of human beings (i.e. a speech community). It is by no means something reserved solely to developed or civilized societies, as it were, but something that every aggregation or group of people, however underdeveloped or primitive they may seem to be, possess. Culture, in this sense, refers to the entire body of behavior, traditions, beliefs and ways of living that are learned through and via the process of socialization (Robertson, 1987; Taylor, 1973). In this respect, Spradley (1972:8-9), citing Good enough, states that a “society’s culture consists of whatever one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members and to do so in any role they accept for any of themselves.”

Robinson (1985) holds that culture should be regarded in terms of a series of diverse categories. The first category (i.e., that of ideas) comprises beliefs, values and institutions. The second category (i.e., that of behaviors) includes verbal and non-verbal language, customs, habits, rituals. Finally, the category of products consists of artefacts, folklore and other artistic creations. These categories differ in their level of abstractness and observability. Unlike the last two categories (i.e., behaviors and products) which reflect culture as observable phenomena, the category of ideas reflect culture as something internal that can be explicitly described through inference.

In principle, it is ideas that give birth to norms or actions, be they verbal or non-verbal, and not the reverse. Underlying any external, observable behavior or phenomenon, there lies an internal force, or what Spradley (1972) calls an “ideal form”. An utterance taunting somebody for violating a certain taboo is necessarily induced by an underlying principle that forbids overt violation of that taboo. Taylor (1973:28), has rightly explained that it is important to remember that “given utterances, actions or artefacts cannot occur or exist except as the result of counterpart forces or conditions internal to a specific person. A mother will not utter a reprimand to her child for not kissing her grandfather’s hand unless she has the idea that the child should do this and that it is proper to reprimand a child for not performing according to expectations.

To the extent that culture is mainly constituted of internal forces and ideal forms residing inside the cultural actor, it is reasonable to ask the following question: how do we manage to arrive to cultural elements for analysis? The answer is simple: to the abstract, general aspects of culture – values and principles – there are empirical clues, cues or indicators that represent the lower part of the hierarchical network or structure.

Too often, empirical indicators are the observable behavioral patterns of people, such as, for instance, their utterances. Language is a vehicle via which the other cultural aspects are conveyed. It is, thus, with the help of these empirical indicators that social scientists, sociologists, anthropologists and sociolinguists try to bring to the fore the underlying cultural assumptions and norms. Here, we would like to stress that a prerequisite of these empirical indicators is that they must be shared by almost all the members of the cultural group or speech community in question; they must be typical of the core cultural body of that group. If some behavioral patterns are unique and particular to individuals, they would be no more than personality traits. Culture is a collectively created system of meanings, a system that is shared among the members who contribute to social action on a regular basis (Feldman, 1986).

We should, however, be cautious not to believe that finding out the underlying cultural principles is not without its problems. First of all, the same empirical indicator may be interpreted differently and may receive as many interpretations as there are observers. Second, one can hardly find a one-to-one correspondence between cultural principles and empirical cues. In addition to there being cultural patterns that can be easily inferred from observable behavior, there are others which often prove to be difficult, in so far as it is not at all certain whether or not they correspond to assumptions within members of the culture. The discrepancy between what is usually called ideal and real/actual cultural values is also worthy of mention here. An ideal cultural value is one which people strive for, but do not achieve; it is one which people adhere to in principle. They are traits and characteristics shown in language as what a society’s members

do, believe or should do or believe, but which often appear to contradict what these people actually believe and do (Taylor, 1973:35).

What people actually do, believe and adhere to in practice represents what is usually referred to as “real culture” (Harms, 1973; Robertson, 1987). The real/ideal culture dichotomy does not mean that ideal cultural values are less than genuine cultural phenomena and, therefore, have no influence on the individual’s behavior. It is important to remember that many individual ideas expressed in utterances about actions that are intended or supposed are as certainly integral parts of a society’s repertoire of learned and shared customs just as the ideas that are actually manifested in behavior (Parker, 1976). Ideal cultural principles, it must be stressed, do in effect have a degree of influence on people’s actions. Moreover, they can be, at least partly, reliable to account for the occurrence of some phenomena manifested by members of a given culture.

Although culture comprises many components, one should be wary of considering it as something other than a coherent and systematic whole. Cultural values together with their empirical indicators represent an organismic integration made up of systematically patterned, intricately related and interdependent parts which supplement each other (Stewart, 1972; Condon and Saito, 19974; Stern, 1983; Ting-Toomey, 1985).

4.2. Language and Culture: What relation

A society’s language, it is important to note, constitutes part of its culture and is a means whereby this culture is conveyed and expressed (Hudson 1980: 83). Although important efforts have been expended to give a satisfactory and exhaustive account of the relationship prevailing between language and culture, one is still faced with big controversies induced by the different accounts which represent contrasting theoretical perspectives. One of the ‘classical’ attempts to characterize the language-culture relationship is that put forward by Whorf (1956), known as the ‘Sapir-Whorf hypothesis’. It is associated with the theory of relativity which argues that language determines a person’s thought and world view, and that culture and thought are, therefore, dependent on language (Stern, 1983:202). In other words, Whorf (1956) claims that language does not serve as a means whereby communication is carried out and information given, but constitutes the means with which individuals think because it conditions cultural thought and perception. As Whorf (1956:212) himself points out, it is “the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual’s mental reality”. He further notes that the different ways in which a specific language categorizes reality, impose on the mind ways of organizing knowledge, which, as Stern (1983:204) observes, makes the diversity of language not one of sounds and signs, but one of world view.

Another view regarding the relationship between language and culture argues that language does not determine its speakers’ cultural thought, but simply modifies it. When language, an aspect of its culture, is used, the other aspects of the particular culture crop up (Bentahila, 1983). In this respect, Gladstone (1972) clearly states that language and culture are inextricably intertwined, for language is both an outcome of the culture and a vehicle whereby the other facets of that culture are shaped and communicated. The language we acquire as children gives us a system of communication, and, more importantly, indicates the type and form of communication we make. Language and culture, then, are interwoven such that one cannot separate them without losing

the significance of either language or culture. Although cultures tend to be similar in their general categories because human beings have the same biological and psychological characteristics and needs (Fiske et al, 2007), every culture is unique. This uniqueness can be explained in terms of the fact that each culture is created through the interaction of the members of a specific society over time; even the so-called cultural universals are subject to cross-cultural variability and their content and implications vary from one culture to another. Like all societies, the Sahrawi society has got an inherited set of values and properties which make the body of its culture and which are reflected in people's speech and artistic creations. The storyteller, a member of this speech community, reflects the Sahrawi traditions and beliefs in their stories.

5. SOME GENERAL ASPECT OF FOLK STORIES IN THE REGION OF ERRACHIDIA

Folk stories have been very close to man since old times because they represented the chief means for recording and preserving history, especially in illiterate societies. According to Maugham, cited in Swanwick (2012), "the desire to listen to stories appears to be as deeply rooted in the human animal as the sense of property. From the beginning of history, men have gathered round the campfire or in a group in the market place, to listen to the telling of a story". These stories were a basic part of man's traditional literature because "for centuries, most people-adults as well as children- received their literature by ear" (Encyclopedia Americana, V17: 560). People used folk stories to express their ideas, feelings and voice any grievance they had as to their everyday life and relations with others in the community, especially when direct expression of these grievances was not possible for social or political reasons.

Like all other communities, Morocco, a country where the traditional educational systems and Koranic primary schools (Bentahila, 1983; Zine-Dine & Maliki, 2020), were predominant and served as the place where people received both their religious instruction and their cultural values orally, knew folk stories since early times. Even nowadays, though modern means of education, entertainment and technology are available and easily accessible, folk stories seem to continue to survive. They reflect the expressions of the human spirit and convey what lies deep in man; written literature alone is not enough to help people discover the underlying nature of the individual and the springs of their unconscious side, for humans also need to lay bare "the unconscious realms and souls" (Utley, 1968:14) in order to explain some natural phenomena using their own logic and understanding, limited as they may be.

In Robins' (1978:377) view, in small communities, certain people are charged to store these stories in their minds. These people are usually parents and grandparents or, at times, professional story tellers who have played the crucial role of tradition bearers. In Morocco, storytellers can be divided into two categories, i.e., professional storytellers who use storytelling as a means of subsistence and a way to earn their living and who are usually found in public and market places in circles called /lhalqa/. Most of the time, these were wandering storytellers who collected old stories and polished, broidered and updated them for retelling in village and market places (Encyclopedia Americana V17: 560). Parents and grandparents represent the other category of story tellers. They tell their children stories they had heard as children or new ones

they have created from their own experiences to entertain them, educate them and subsequently to introduce them to the most intricate side of their language and cultural values system.

Before talking about Sahrawi folk tales, it is important to give brief account about the area in which they circulate, which will, undoubtedly, be of great help in the understanding of the present analysis. Errachidia is a small -to -medium town located in the south east of Morocco. It was formerly known as "Ksar Es Souk" (i.e., Kasbah and market place), and was renamed 'Errachidia' around 1975 in honor of the second son of late king Hassan II. It is characterized by its hot, desert climate, creating hot, arid, conditions with intense sunshine. In this region, it is generally hot, sunny and dry almost all the year. During winter periods, night-time temperatures can drop to freezing levels or below. There is not much rain because it is isolated by a chain of mountains (Fezza & Maliki, 2020). Added to this is the scarcity of fertile land. There are only small fields or agricultural land plots in the oasis stretching along the ZIZ Valley. Therefore, there is meager agriculture. The predominating crops are food or subsistence crops, such as date palm trees, olive trees, small-scale cereal crops, vegetables and some others crops, such as Lucerne or alfalfa, intended mainly for cattle raising (Lhourti 1983).

People in the region of Errachidia, moreover, lead a traditional tribe-like life in small habitations called "ksours" or "Ksars". These are a series of attached adobe houses together with other structures like mosques, public baths and souks (market places). Ksours are most of the time located in mountain areas and are entirely within a single, continuous wall to make their protection easier. They are unified by social institutions, such as family, marriage and other patterns of kinship. In other words, in the Sahrawi society, extended family members live in the same house, and the males, though married and have children, share the same roof with their parents; the phenomenon of cohabitation is astonishing, and in most houses the number of people is large, and the authority of the father is omnipresent and never failing (Maliki, 1991). Besides, in such small rural communities, as Mahjoub (1986.:3-4) puts it, people live in isolation from other areas; therefore, they are less exposed to other cultures and are ultimately less likely to experience rapid cultural change and modernization.

5.1. Place and Time of Narration of Folk Stories.

In the Sahrawi community, folk tales are usually narrated during the night, for night-time is perhaps the time when all members of the (extended) family are together. The narration of stories at night is also related to a superstitious belief that people hold, and according to which people who tell stories during day-time run the risk of having bald children. In fact, this superstition aimed to prevent laziness, indolence and idleness and to have people spend their day-time working in their houses and fields or studying in Mosques and Koranic schools. A third reason is that, as Brouilly (1932: 49) states, night-time is, in fact, the domain of supernatural creatures and of the djinn, especially knowing that most folk tales revolve around or are somehow related to these creatures. However, people do not always confine themselves to a specific time.

The nature of some stories is such that they can be recounted at any time; therefore, people tell them, when they return from afternoon prayer or when they gather at tasks of weaving, sowing, planting, harvesting and threshing or at public spaces when in it comes to professional storytellers. (Johnson et al, 1970: 119, Bouquest, 1974:87). In winter, stories are usually narrated

when family members, including parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren, are gathered around a big hearth or fire place called */lkanun/*, trying to get warm. During the dry season, people choose to tell stories in the open air. They gather around the '*ksar*' gate, where mud benches called */dukkana/* where the elderly and the jobless spend most of their time waiting for the muezzin to call for prayer. Folk stories are also likely to be recounted on farming plots and threshing floors to help labourers put up with hard work at scorching temperatures.

Storytelling is usually associated with old people – grandparents, who represent a reservoir of the cultural heritage of their speech community. In this respect, Zeggaf (1983:142) rightly states that the death of an old man amounts to the burning or destruction of a library. Storytelling is linked to the elderly for psychological reasons; after retirement or due to the inability to continue work on farming plots or elsewhere, old people take upon themselves to tell stories to their children and grandchildren; storytelling, for them, is a way to assert themselves and prove that they are still useful. Old people, moreover, believe that storytelling will enable them to transmit the old, real cultural, religious and moral values to the younger generations, values which, they think, are being challenged and jeopardized by foreign ones.

Storytelling is also associated with women. In the Sahrawi community, like most rural areas, the place which is thought to be proper to women is the home. They are expected to be just housewives and, according to them, telling stories to their children is part of their role of socialization and education. Besides, women do not move widely and are not exposed to impacts from other foreign cultures; thus, women, contrary to men who often move in search of work and who are likely to be influenced by dint of their contact with other cultures, keep their original and unchanged traditions.

5.2. Objectives of Narration of Folk Stories.

Folk stories are usually used to serve many functions within the speech community which endows them with life. In the Sahrawi community, this genre of oral literature is meant to provide amusement, to educate the young and to provide a psychological outlet or a compensation face to traumas or periods of deprivation (Encyclopedia Americana VI: 274). In other words, the importance of folk tales in the Sahrawi community lies in their contribution to the "framing and preserving memory and identity", and triggering nostalgia and collectivity (Aboubakr AL Khammash, 2014)

In addition to providing entertainment, these stories have an educative role. They are moralizing to children. Parents and grandparents use some humorous and sometimes magic stories to direct children and show them rules for good behavior. In this respect, it is argued that "often a terse statement of proper behavior is appended to a folk story in order to emphasize its moral implications" (Encyclopedia Americana VI: 274). This is clear from the statement below by Johnson et al (1970: 97), who argue that "*Because children refuse and shun direct moralizing, parents have recourse to stories and tales to inculcate moral and cultural values to their kids and show what they want them to learn. La Fontaine states that "Fables in sooth are not what they appear; our moralists are mice, and such deer; we yawn at sermons, but we gladly turn to moral tales, and so amused, we learn"*. Children, therefore, are drawn indirectly to learn through

these stories which usually move toward the expected end when good comes to glory and joy, and evil is punished and reprehended.

Folk stories are also said to represent a psychological outlet and a sort of 'wish-fulfillment' for the people of the community that produced them. According to Freud, cited in Susan (2007), wish fulfillment occurs when unconscious desires and aspirations are repressed by the ego and superego due to guilt or taboos imposed by society or in whatever way. Wish- fulfillment is the satisfaction of a desire through an involuntary thought process. It can occur in dreams or in daydreams. This satisfaction is often indirect and requires interpretation to recognize. The same holds true for folk tales. According to one of my informants, a 70-year old man, people used to tell stories to soothe and comfort themselves and their children face to the difficult economic and climatic conditions in which they lived. Put in different terms, their homes or houses were not well furnished and with no comfort at all and there was not enough food, if any at all, to feed themselves and their children; therefore, they resorted to stories to lull their children as well as themselves to sleep despite those conditions (cold, hunger, etc...).

People are also somehow psychologically relieved through the actions of the characters in general, and the hero in particular. In most stories, this hero challenges and rescinds the social restrictions and "functions as a release value for all the anti-social desires repressed by the men who tell and listen to stories" (Abrahams 1968: 195). The heroes of these stories behave as the members of the society would behave were there no constraints of fear. This may be shown by the actions of the young hero in story (17) who steals the king's gold and money and is never caught despite the king's various attempts. The hero's actions must normally be social condemned, for they are destructive and illegal; however, they seem to be admired and enjoyed by the teller and the listener alike because the hero is sort of acting on their behalf and take their revenge vicariously or by proxy.

In the Sahrawi community, it is widely held that women seem to use a particular type of stories, i.e., fairy tales. In this respect, Bourrilly (1932: 48) states that fairy tales, like animal tales which transport us to unreal worlds, are usually told by women. women, it is important to remember, tend to comply with the children's wishes since, as was mentioned earlier, children admire and enjoy marvelous and beast stories. Besides, because of the social division of roles, women are mostly housewives and their main activity is taking care of their kids and doing the housework while their husbands work outside the house. We have here a public/private division, where indoors work is for women and outdoors work is for men (Maliki & Khtira, 2019).

This being the case, women are confined to a limited domain- home; therefore, they try to free themselves and go beyond this constrained environment in stories and roam freely in an imaginary world, hence the notion of 'wish-fulfillment', mentioned earlier. Since they were not allowed to leave the home in real life, they tried to do that through recounting fairy tales, of which the plots, settings and characters enable them to travel to distant worlds. The stories recounted by women, moreover, give interesting insights and clues about their psyche, in so far as they appear to usually concentrate on physical appearance, garments and jewelry of the characters in their stories, which, in turn, reflects their oppressed desires, aspirations and yearnings. It also shows that, as Belarbi (1979: 91) states, the "importance of a woman is not

perceived in terms of her work or activity, but in terms of her physical beauty," and ability to give birth to children. For example, in story 18, a female storyteller, describing a girl, says:

**/zzin lli3taha llah maj tsabji/
(she has incomparable beauty)**

Contrasting this girl to her neighbor's girls, she also states:

**/kant hdahum wahad zzara gandha sbag bnat ji gwaz w ji mfalqam, jinin/
(Her neighbors have seven daughters who are all ugly and plain)**

In story 8, the storyteller says that the princess's hair was so long that she used it to cover seven girls. Here again, we see the importance of hair in a woman's physical appearance and beauty, which is considered a sine qua non for her getting married.

**/sbag gatzbat yattat hum bfarha/
(Seven girls that she covered with her hair)**

In addition to the physical beauty, women also tend to focus on garments, ornaments and jewelry. For example, in story 18, the female storyteller says:

**/wxarrzt manhum lkaswa w ssbabit wddhab/
(and she got clothes, shoes and gold from them)**

Besides, in story 25, the young storyteller, describing a woman who received beautiful clothes as a reward for her good deeds, says:

**/malabis rrfiga wazawahir/
(Seven beautiful dresses and jewelry)**

This is clearly shown in stories (26, 27, 28). In story 27, the storyteller says:

**/wahad rrazal mawwaz wahad lamra waldat mгах sabga/
(a man married a woman and she gave birth to seven children)**

In the same story, the storyteller says that after his first wife's death, the man married another one who happened to be sterile.

**/tawwaz wahad lamra xra w ma waldatji mгах /
(A man married a sterile woman and she gave birth to seven children)**

In story 28, the storyteller says:

**/ wahad rrazal magammru ma wald mгахa, w kajtlab llah jaxtih ji wldat /
(A man has no children, and he invokes and prays God to give him children)**

The above examples imply that people in the Sahrawi society, like in most Arab societies, give more importance to child bearing. They relate the increase in the number of children to the prolongation of the family and to success in agricultural work and other craftsmanship jobs. It is, therefore, necessary for a woman to give birth to children to be useful; otherwise, she will be of no significance to her husband, her in-laws and society in general. This stresses the suffering and "tragedy of sterile women, whose role is restricted within the family and society as well" (Belarbi 1979: p 94). Through the medium of these stories, then, women seem to be denouncing a serious problem that a female is doomed to encounter if she happens to be barren. Thus, they seem to be attacking and, to a certain extent, revolting against, these unjust social norms.

In male stories, women are most of the time described in terms of negative qualities. They are often referred to as deceiving and resorting to tricks to justify and hide their misdeeds (Leguil 1984: 24). In other words, the common behavior that is proper to women is the superstitious practices. Not only are they illiterate and socially limited, but they also do things that are thought

of as absurd and irrational. The stories convey a negative image of female Moroccan society. The place where these superstitious and black magic practices take place is the home of *chouafa* (fortune teller) *or lafkih* (religious cleric) who were believed to possess a spiritual power whereby they can expel the evil forces by performing certain rituals, which, in turn, can be explained by peoples' "desperate search for aid from the unknown" (Maliki & Khtira, 2019:5).

For instance, in story 7, the storyteller shows how a woman pretended to be ill to make her husband call the religious cleric */lafkih/*, with whom she had a love affair. Moreover, women are depicted as obstinate and hard-headed, as in story 24, in which the storyteller says that a man's wife was so obstinate that her husband, having heard that she had drowned in the river, swam upstream and against the current rather than swimming downstream, thus showing that she would be hard-headed even with the river and even while drowning.

The religious cleric, in turn, is depicted as deceiving in Sahrawi folk tales. He is referred to as someone who is vicious, lustful and who misuses his knowledge to achieve his ignoble goals. For example, in story 7, the storyteller shows how the religious pretended to want to cure the possessed woman when in fact he was interested in the woman herself. The storyteller may, to some extent, stand for society's negative attitudes vis-à-vis the type of religion as embodied by vicious religious clerics.

6. SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF FOLK STORIES

6.1. Adult- child communication

Folk stories usually have a communicative role within the community which produces them; that is, a community uses these artistic creations, together with other genres, to communicate something and inculcate values to the younger generation. Folklore makes use of speech which is an instrument of socialization, that is, as Hudson (1980: 99) defines it, the process whereby children, and foreigners become competent members of their community and enculturation. Ochs and Schieffelin (1990) state that the two processes, i.e., socialization and enculturation do not occur apart from the process of language acquisition; instead, children acquire language and culture together in what appears to be an integrated process.

In the Sahrawi community, the family has always been the first school the child contacts. It has some specific characteristics which influence the child's mental and intellectual growth (Guesssous 1983: 52). The child acquires their first knowledge of their environment through every day conversations and interactions with their parents, for, according to Ouzzi (1982: 63), childhood is a decisive period and is of great importance in the individual's life and has a great impact on the shaping of their personality. Folk stories are, therefore, a kind of interaction by dint of which parents teach their children various things. For instance, they teach them lessons on good and proper behavior and prepare them to accept a common system of values and attitudes vis-à-vis what right conduct is and what its goals are, by recounting to them stories in which good leads to victory and success, whereas evil results in defeat and failure.

Through stories, old people try to inform the youth of the social organization, roles and relationships prevailing within the society (Belarbi 1979:88). In other words, they try to make them understand the social roles that every member of a cooperative group, i.e., a family or a speech community, must have. For example, the story teller uses several characters each of

whom is assigned a role and is expected to accomplish a given task in view of achieving the same goal. The cat drank the milk of a man called /bbamħiməd/ who cut its tail. Then, the cat had to bring him his milk back to get its tail back. Thus, all the characters of the story had to take part in this matter by giving something of their own in order for the cat to get its tail back (cf story 12). This story, we suppose, aims at making the child aware of the fact that one cannot get what they want without anything in return; there should be an exchange of things. It also shows that there is a kind of interdependence between the members of society and each of them has a role to play in order for society to survive.

Besides, the older generation uses stories to inform young people of their ancestors and their glories. As Utley (1968:7) puts it, they are "preoccupied with returning to an appreciation of the culture of their parents and grandparents". Through these stories, they tell their children of the bravery and courage of their parents to stress the purity of their origin. The insistence on the glorious past of their ancestors results from their desire to foster and promote conformity to cultural norms and respect of agreed-upon institutions. Traditional stories are useful in so far as they suggest "new structures, new techniques and new styles that transcend the fixed patterns imposed by the European colonizers and which resulted in the replacement of a culture based on respect, love, honor and brotherhood by another whose basic principles are individualism, hatred and violence (Boukous, 1977: 317).

To define reality to young children seems to be a mammoth task; therefore, parents have recourse to stories to give their children a view of the world of which they are part. For example, through stories, children learn about the threat of evil in the world, such as the presence of demons and jinn, which are stronger creatures and may be cruel to humans (Aljirari, in Usri Shkir, 1978: 9). They also learn about the evil in man himself and his lust, wrongdoings and unreliability, as is shown in stories (10, 22). This is of great importance to children because "to read of horror may even fulfill some need, to know symbolically what the threat may be, to hear it brings it closer to reality, but to see it in pictures, is to define it too clearly and to shut off the protection of only half knowing (Johnson et al, 1970 :123).

It is, moreover, said that "the vital functions of speech are acquired in interaction with adults" (Hymes, 1962:125). This implies that the child is made competent in their native language owing to listening to stories, in which the storyteller uses eloquently their linguistic ability and skills, thus showing to the child the flexibility of language. The child's task to master their spoken as well as written language is made easier since " the structure and style of the tales accustom [them] to the art of writing and speaking] at its best for there is economy of language ..., there is imagery, there are flashes of poetic insight and the clear echoes of spoken words and individual ways of saying things" (Johnson et al, 1970: 123).

Besides mastery over their native language, listening to stories, as (Johnson et al, 1970: 123) argue, helps the child gain the habit of wonder and the power to thrust their imagination beyond the limits of their surroundings. The child's imagination is in effect sharpened by the storytelling because, when listening to a story, they are supposed to conjure up and build the scenes with their own eye based on what they hear and are also "aligned, as it were, with the past, better able, therefore to understand the present and to sense the future (Johnson et al, 1970: 114).

According to Goffman (1965: 65), talk is socially organized, not merely in terms of who speaks, to whom and in what language, but also as a system of “mutually ratified and ritually governed face-to-face action, a social interaction”. Storytelling is no exception. In the Sahrawi community, the audience of storytelling consists mainly of children. However, this is not always the case; adults, men and women, are still hungry and impatient to listen to folk stories.

6.2. Adult– Adult Communication

We have seen that adults have recourse to folktales to communicate many things to young children. The question that comes to the fore here is what function do stories have in adult- adult communication. Some of the storytellers we talked to claimed that adults use folk stories as a means of recreation and entertainment. They also use them as a frame of reference in their description of a certain situation. For instance, when the topic of an interaction is the weakness or cowardice of a person, the interlocutors may refer to a story to make their arguments seem persuasive and convincing. As an illustration, one of the interactants may say:

/hadak raʒəl dajər bhal dik nnaʒʒa mʒa ddib.../

(that person is like the ewe (female sheep) with the wolf)

This shows that the ewe (female sheep) is no longer just an animal character in folk stories, but a symbol of cowardice and weakness. It is usually the victim and prey of the wolf in stories as well as in reality and is "held in some contempt among old storytellers" (Johnson et al, 1970: 125). In addition to this, when someone is talking about a strong, haughty and naive man who is easily duped and defeated by a humble and modest man, they have recourse to a story to support what they say, as is clear from the example below:

/hadak dhalu bhal dakffī lli dha lssbəʒ mʒa lganfud/

(what happened to him is just like what happened to the lion with the hedgehog).

Folk stories are also used by adults as a means to boast and show their witticism by telling stories including messages of which the ingenuity and verbal skill have the power to evoke humor, laughter and satire. They also try to show their cleverness in perception and choice of words. In this connection, they engage in some competition-like conversations by telling stories containing riddles and encodings that should be deciphered. Here, the storyteller tries to display both their wit and ability to play on words and at the same time tries to challenge the listeners to see how sharp their wit and intelligence are.

Hudson (1980) claims that speech is skilled work in which people's abilities and skills may vary. Storytellers are well at narrating, a skill that not everybody can have and thanks to which they endow the style of their storytelling with astonishing persuasion techniques and aesthetic qualities, resorting to figures of speech, metaphors, hyperboles, among other things (Leech, 1962).

Old people in the Sahrawi society, moreover, use folk stories as a criticism of their society. They resort to humorous stories displaying characters' meanness, weird and strange behavior; in fact, this is somehow a sort of self-criticism because, as Boukous (1977: 313) has rightly stated, "l'oeil critique qui accompagne le rire sur soi, en effet, ressemble fort a une auto-critique, car une communauté qui se reconnaît dans une oeuvre culturelle en s'observant, sans condescendance ni

chargne, se débarasse de la gangue qui l'étouffe et du sommeil léthargique dont on l'accable, elle devient vivante de cette vie qui permet de se remettre en cause de mesurer objectivement l'étendue du handicap historique contracté et même de le relativiser avec sérénité"

A close look at the stories will clearly confirm that while the storyteller entertains the listeners, they depict societies defects, flaws and imperfections and ultimately incites them the audience to change their manners and act in a proper way; otherwise, they will be subject to derision and ridicule.

This ties in with the idea that most of what is communicated via language is unsaid (Traugot & Pratt, 1980); people understand each other not only because they speak the same language, but also because they share the same schemata (Reynolds et al, 1981; An, 2013, Choudhury, 2014, Seymour, 2017, Maliki et al, 2019), i.e., the same cultural background and cultural value systems. Unfamiliarity with the schemata of the storyteller may affect the audience's understanding and appreciation of the stories being narrated and may result in distortions and misunderstanding.

All the efforts made by the storytellers are, to a large extent, motivated by the objectives they intend to achieve and the message(s) they plan to convey. They may want to influence the thoughts of their audience and not give them the opportunity to question the realistic quality of their stories, which ties in with the contention that language is not only a means of sharing information. Instead, it is a means of power to influence the hearers and make them adopt the same position. In this connection, Bourdieu (1977:20) argues that linguistic competence is also « la capacité de se faire écouter. La langue n'est pas seulement un instrument de communication ou même de connaissance, mais aussi un instrument de pouvoir. On ne cherche pas seulement à être compris mais aussi à être cru, obéi ».

Old people also use folk stories as a tool to explain and understand some of the natural phenomena surrounding them. As an illustration, one of the storytellers says that the products of the date palms increased because of the miraculous cures of a saint.

/ʒa lwali wsalla bihum wadakkər lhum nnxəl wdak lʒam ʒta llaħ lxir/

(The saint came and prayed for them and pollinated their date palm trees; and there was a significant increase in production that year).

This fact is in keeping with storytellers' tendency to glorify the ancestry and subsequently to validate rituals and beliefs. Therefore, they unconsciously contribute to the religious reinforcement, legitimization and perpetuation of the established social constructs, i.e., social and family bonds by presenting these legends as facts, of which the truth cannot be called into question. Through telling folk stories, storytellers reveal the burdens of life that men have and their distress because they are aware of the tragic end that await them. This is clearly shown in story (20) in which the storyteller tries to account for why men live longer than animals. He links this to the fact that God gave the camel, the dog and the cat forty years to live, but they invoked and prayed Him to reduce it to only twenty and give the rest to man. Therefore, men have to live a longer and more painful life. He also compares each phase or period of man's life to an animal; when man is young, he is like the camel, known for its strength, endurance and hard work;

however, when he exceeds forty years of age, he becomes like an old camel that is unable to work any longer.

/hit kajbda j3if 3frin djal 33mäl kajhäs blä3ja w kat wä33u sähtu bhal fi 3mäl mählu/
(when he lives the twenty years of the camel, he gets tired and his body aches as that of an old exhausted camel).

When a man reaches eighty years of age, he becomes like an unwanted dog which is always worried and victim of stones thrown at him and by people's kicks:

/faf katäbda 3äfrin djal lkälb kajthäs blmut qärrbat wkaj3if ddänja kajä3ri w jänbäh bhal lkälb lahäqqaf kajfuf nnas kajdiru ffär/
(when the twenty years of the dog begins, he feels that death approaches and he hates his life. He starts running and barking like a dog, for he feels that people are doing nothing but wrong things)

Finally, when he reaches one hundred years of age, he becomes just like a cat which is fully aware of the evil and wrongdoings of other people and can do nothing but keep mewling.

/hit katäwsäl 3äfrin dajal lmäff kajäg3ad ffräkna ma kajthärräkfi kajfuf dakffi lli kajä3ra gbaltu w ma jgäd jdir walu dik ssa3 yir kajändär/
(when he reaches the twenty years of the cat, he sits in a corner without moving. He sees what happens before him and cannot do anything; he keeps moaning and groaning)

Besides, when telling folk stories, adults distort reality through using what Leech (1969:167) calls "tropes" and 'honest deceptions', particularly hyperboles. This takes place when the story teller uses overstated things that are not incredible not only in the given situation but in any situation simply because they are outside the bounds of possibility. The following statements taken from stories (30, 31) can serve to illustrate this. In story (30), the storyteller says:

/ssuq fssma/ (the market is in the sky).
/dllaha gäd 3bäl/ (a watermelon as huge as a mountain).
/flit w ana nfuf 3ämmti nnamusa katäsläx f 3mälha.../, (I peered and saw the mosquito trying to skin off its camel/
/3a rakäb 3la ddik wa 3arr 33mäl/
(he came on the cock's back dragging the camel)
/3at rrih wätawwzat dak ssabi wäst lwärgijja..... wlqawäh fqälb lwärgijja/
(the wind blew and the boy was lost into a kind of arugula or watercress)

All the examples above can fall within 'logical absurdities' (Leech, 1969) because in view of our knowledge of the world, they are not and can never be believable. According to leech (1969:166), "we must bear in mind that if we say hyperbole distorts reality, we mean it bellies the state of affairs we actually understand to exist either in the real world or in the imaginary, fictional world" created by the storyteller. This implies that the storyteller uses overstatements to communicate people's insufficiencies and their yearning to achieve these things in stories, for they cannot achieve them in real life. In this case, distortions of reality in folktales represent a kind of wish-fulfillment, as we have already mentioned. This very fact can also be explained in terms of the fact that storytellers, and through them the whole community, resort to irony which

takes the form of implying the opposite of what one feels is reality (Leech 1969: 166). No wonder, then, that folk stories have a communicative function for adults as well as for children.

6.3. Cultural Values As Portrayed in Stories.

Artistic creations, be they oral or written, are revealing of at least some part of the cultural value system of the people who produce them (Robins, 1978. Language-based artistic creations are usually culturally-loaded; they are symbolic projections of the author's or teller's culturally and socially determined world view (Tuttle et al, 2019; Scherzer, 1987; Guerin et al, 1979; Smith, 1987). The Sahrawi folk stories are no exception to this. They contain important information that lay bare people's traditions, rituals and beliefs; while narrating their stories, the storyteller makes constant references and allusions to daily activities, ceremonies, famous characters or figures and, above all, the shared bodies of commonsense.

Sahrawi folktales give us insights into people's activities in that area. They inform us that the area is a traditional agricultural society, in which people rely almost exclusively on food-producing agriculture for their living and subsistence. In the early morning, people, males and females, are expected to go and gather grass to feed their cattle, as is shown in story (1), in which the storyteller uses the following words:

/jhəffu/ (to mow)

/mhəffa/ (a kind of small scythe)

/lfəssa/ (Lucerne, alfalfa)

The above terms show that people in the Sahrawi society rely primarily on small-scale cattle raising. The area is known for not having fertile enough lands to enable them to grow other crops and in sufficient quantities, so they can move to market farming. This is clear from the farming words used in stories, such as */lbhira/* and */lgəmmun/* in (story 31). These words indicate small land plots used to grow vegetables and other food crops, as opposed to the word */lfirma/* (farm) found in other regions of Morocco where the lands are more fertile and the rainfall more important.

In story (29), moreover, the storyteller informs us that people in this region used to take some locally produced crops to exchange them for others for which nor the lands nor the climate of that area are well suited and which they needed more. For instance, they used to take dates and maize to get wheat and barley in return, as might be illustrated by the following statements:

/wfdik lwqita kanu mnas kajtbadlu lyəllat/ (at that time people used to exchange crops)

/kajəddiw drijjat wtmirat jbəddluhum bəffzir wl lgəmh/

(He used to take some maize and dates to exchange them for barley and wheat)

Stories also inform us of some of the jobs and occupations that were, and are still practiced by people in the Sahrawi society. While reading these tales, we can come across words like */lhəddad/* (the blacksmith) who serves to make some iron tools that people need to work in their fields. Moreover, we find */lbrad3i/* (saddle maker) who makes saddles for donkeys, the main means of transportation to and from the fields. Finally, we find */lhəssad/* (the harvester), */lxərrəf/* (olive harvester), */lhəttab/* (woodcutter) who gathers wood and sells it to people who make use of it for getting warm and, most of the time, for cooking since they lacked modern and more sophisticated household appliances as well as */fix lyəbæ/*, a person whom the community

entrusts with keeping watch on people's ripening crops, such as dates, olives and other crops pending harvest and collection in return for a fee either in cash or in kind.

During narration, storytellers make constant allusions to some ceremonies and performances that are peculiar to the Sahrawi society in particular, and to some extent, to Moroccan society as a whole. Marriage ceremonies are cases in point. These narrated stories reveal the traditional way of celebrating marriages, with the celebrations lasting for a long time. In story (18), for example, it is said that the marriage ceremonies lasted for three weeks:

/sbə3 jjam sbə3 jjam fsbə3 jjam/

(three weeks, and three weeks and three weeks)

During the three-week period, several rituals are performed to accomplish the marriage. First the marriage certificate is drawn by the notaries of Islamic law */lə3dul/*, who authorized by the judge of family matters to perform and document civil marriages in the presence of witnesses, as the following might suggest:

/3əqdu wdaru fshud/ (they wrote the marriage certificate and invited witnesses)

The introduction of the documentation of marriage through the establishment of a written marriage certificate as a practice is something new and it aims to preserve the right of the woman in case of the husband's death. Common-law- marriages and those performed in the presence of twelve witnesses were the common practice, for the aim was to make the marriage religiously acceptable and legitimate. The bridegroom, then, has to be taken to her husband's home in a kind of a sedan chair like camel litter called */lqəbba/* carried on the back of a camel or a horse, which have nowadays been replaced by cars. Before the arrival of the bridegroom, the bride, on the other hand, has to be taken to the river on horseback, where the horse's legs are dipped and immersed into water. After that, the bride is brought back home with special religious chants and songs. This process is called */nnsir* (to make someone triumph). During this ritual, according to many storytellers, the bride is rendered victorious and is given support and strength to start his new life and assume his responsibility of a husband and father. This can be exemplified in story (19), where the storyteller says:

/darulu lmuqsira w hənnawəh w xərrʒuh jətnsər/

(they had a party, played music, put henna to him and took him out to make him victorious).

Stories also inform us of the celebration of the naming ceremony called */ssbu3/*, the seventh day after birth when the newborn is given a name. Usually, the grandfather or both parents choose an appropriate, Islamic name with a positive meaning or connotation. The naming ceremony or */ssbu3/* takes place on the seventh day and involves the slaughter of a sheep or many sheep as sacrifice to God; the meat of the sacrifice is given to relatives and neighbors in the form of meals or given to poor and needy people of the "Ksar". The relatives and neighbors are, in turn, expected to bring some goods, as presents and gifts, with them, usually sugar. Then, the new baby's grandfather or the religious cleric whispers */æðæn/* (Islamic call to prayers) into the newborn baby's right ear and then cites the selected name three times. This ritual is common in all religions and is more or less the Islamic equivalent to the Christian baptism ceremony. This is clear in story (2):

It is often claimed that storytelling is the outcome of a feeling of nostalgia. John-Hughes (2006), for example, states that modern societies are under constant threat; people live in a state of anxiety and there is a need to escape from the constantly changing technology surrounding them. Therefore, there is this feeling of nostalgia for the traditional, modest and thrifty ways of life of grandparents as well as their 'make do and mend' mentality. In this connection, Sahrawi storytellers make allusions to the past to show some aspects of the old Sahrawi society, be it positive or negative. In stories (9) and (29), for example, the storytellers talk about the bravery of their ancestors and how they bravely fought */lqatta3/* (bandits and road robbers) who used to attack caravans bringing goods from other regions or even the 'Ksars' themselves, especially during the times of */ssiba/*, a pre-colonial period characterized by the absence of administration and by the law of the jungle" (Lhourti 1983). This can be shown in the example below:

/wfdik/ lwəqt kænu lqatta3 kajt3ərrdu lgaflat wkajddiw lhum ssə3a/

(At that time, road robbers and bandits used to attack caravans and stole their goods)

A striking thing is that Sahrawi storytellers make use of certain characters which, except for the supernatural creatures, are familiar to the Sahrawi society. However, we will confine ourselves to some of them which appeared in the majority of the collected stories. These are the snake, the Jew and the old woman.

According to Naillon (n.d.), snakes and serpents are among the most common symbols in modern literature and have different symbolic representations. Because they resemble phallic symbols, snakes and serpents stand for fertility, rain, water and holes in the ground. The snake is also a common symbol in Sahrawi folktales and is assigned different roles in each of them. Sometimes, it is the punisher of the wrongdoers, while at other times, it is the wrongdoer and source of harm itself. The presence of the snake in Sahrawi folktales may possibly be linked to the properties of the climate and terrain of the region; it is a hot place located in a semi-desert region, in which snakes can easily be seen and in large numbers. An alternative explanation is that snakes and serpents are an almost daily threat to Sahrawi people and their children; therefore, they are usually present in their imagination and subconscious minds.

The Jew (Jewish person) is another character which often appears in Sahrawi traditional or folk stories. The Jew is usually associated with gold jewelry making, money and other highly lucrative jobs or activities, such as tailor, blacksmith, and lending money to people with interest (usury). In story (8), the storytellers say:

/mfali ttəhlil lihudi lli dəg dak jdəg wahəd xir mənnu/

(I have lost my golden ornament... the Jew who made it will make another better one).

The Jew is also associated with knowledge of magic as in story (2). According to one of my informants, the association of the Jews with such things can be ascribed to their dominance and control of highly lucrative and profitable fields, i.e., they were wholesale traders, goldsmiths, tailors, saddlers. However, most of the time, the Jew is associated with cheating and betrayal as in stories (14), (17), (21). This can perhaps be, as Boukous (1977: 327) puts it, ascribed to racism against Jews and contempt for non-Muslims, xenophobia towards any person that is not well integrated in the tribal community. The type of education that most people received, the mental

environment and intellectual environment that prevailed can also account for this phenomenon. As Housni et al (2018) and Zine-Dine and Maliki (2020) argue, throughout the history of the Arab world, the rulers struggled to spread ignorance among successive generations. They stuffed school curricula with teaching methods and materials that ran counter to reason, knowledge and development. The prevailing discourse sought to push people to trivialize others and their achievements as a way to compensate for and justify failure and inability.

The old woman is also a prominent character omnipresent in Sahrawi folk stories; she is referred to as */mma 3gajza /* and is associated with knowledge, which she sometimes uses to trap people, as is shown in story (17), when she goes asking people to give her some fat of the she – camel pretending to want to cure the king, when in fact she wants to discover where the king's stolen she-camel is.

/bdat kaddur dar bdar galtlum fskun lli 3andu fwi ffehma nta3 nnaga rah sidna mrid/
(she knocked on door after door and asked people if they had some fat of the she-camel because the king was ill).

7. SAHRAOUI COMMUNITY BELIEFS AS PORTRAYED IN FOLK STORIES.

As we have already stated earlier, culture includes three categories, namely ideas (beliefs, values and institutions), behaviors (verbal and non-verbal language, customs, habits, rituals) and products (artefacts, folklore and other artistic creations). Just as folk stories in the Sahrawi society reflect people's traditions, they also reflect people's beliefs and mentality, for they seem to be the expression of the conscious and unconscious (Jean 1981:83). Therefore, a close look at these folk stories reveals the Sahrawi people's superstitious and religious mentality. They in the irrational and superstitions. For example, in story (12), the storyteller says that the cat was asked by the spring of water to bring dancers to it in order to get some water:

/galttha l3in siri 3ibili fffahat/, (the spring asked the cat to bring women dancers to it)

This can probably be linked to people's belief that the spring of water will flourish if they bring the dancers to it, which is perhaps related to the many rituals old societies used to perform to make something take place, such as rituals performed to bring rain. It is said that in old Egypt people used to offer sacrifices to the Nile in order to make it overflow in the right time.

Another example of this is that found in story (7) in which the storyteller says that when the snake coiled itself round the body of the prince, the king ordered that */3isawa/* _ a group of singers who are believed to possess a spiritual power whereby they can expel the evil forces_ perform their rituals to make the snake release the prince. This of course shows people's desperate search for help from the unknown (Johnson et al, 1970). In story (29), for instance, the storyteller says that whenever a woman happens to be barren, she goes to a shrine or a holy man's grave and passes her belt over it.

/kant lamra jla makatwaldchi katamfi lrruda wkatadawwaz hzamha 3la qabru/

(if woman happens to be sterile, she goes to the cemetery and passes her belt over his grave)

Also, in story (18), the storyteller says that the she-camel refused to move in protest against the father who forgot to bring the seven pomegranates he had promised to his unwanted daughter:

/bajerkab fnnaga whija mabyatfi tamfilu/, (The she-camel refused to move)

In this respect, Hand (1968: 243) states that superstition always thrives and prospers in people, of whom the mental horizon is low and reasoning power limited. This also shows that the uncertainties and hazards of life and the different unexplained facts that people encounter push them to look for modes of thought that are inevitably based on the irrational which underlies superstition.

Besides, Sahrawi folk stories show Sahrawi people's constant use of supernatural and imaginary creatures as characters in their stories. An illustration of this is the extensive use of the /*lyul/* (*ogre*) or /*lyula/* (*ogress*), the many-headed dragon /*pasaf mula sbə3 rus/* (seven headed dragon) as well as the use of Jinni and demons, which are believed to take different shapes, as is shown in story (1):

/wahəd ʒʒən tməθəl fsift hənf/, (a jinni which transforms itself into a snake)

These examples, as Hand (1968:243) has pointed out, clearly show people's concern and worries about the large number of invisible forces that lie behind the visible world, and which arouse in them feelings of wonder and overwhelming fear.

Apart from their superstitions beliefs, Sahrawi people have an unfailing religious mentality. When recounting stories, storytellers never fail to mention the word /*əttah/* (God) and the name of prophet Mohammed (PPBU). God is, for them, the founder of the universe and all creatures in it, whom every Moslem should worship. The prophet is the God's messenger who revealed His message to humanity. This shows that the Islamic religion is deeply rooted in them. In this connection, Parker (1976:97) puts forward that any attempt to define Arab culture "must recognize Islam as its foundation. Even those who no longer observe all its tenets remain loyal to its basic concepts and give Islam its proper respect". Most Moroccans are no exception to this. They profess the religion of Islam; their verbal, nonverbal behavior and, subsequently their thought patterns derive from the Islamic doctrine and the Holy Koran, and a systematic explanation of the majority of their cultural values can be provided by Islam. As an illustration, let us to consider the opening expressions with which every story begins:

/hada wahəd rraʒəl ma raʒəl yir lli yərʒa əttah/

(there was a man, none is a man but those who believe in God and expect His grace and compassion)

/ʒətti ʒlə nnbi/ (pray for the prophet)

Storytellers also use certain expressions through they intend to confirm the never-failing power of God; for a thing to happen, there should be God's consent or will, as is shown by the following:

/nəynih yir jla maynah əttah /, (I will make him rich except if God does not want it to happen)

/nʃəttah/ (if God wills).

The frequent use of the word /*nʃəttah/* (if God wills) may be explained by people's desire to abide by God's directions in in Surah Al-Kahf (the verse of the cave) in which God says: "**And never say of anything, "Indeed, I will do that tomorrow," except [when adding], "If Allah wills." And remember your Lord when you forget [it] and say, "Perhaps my Lord will guide me to what is nearer than this to right conduct."** (The Koran, Surah Al-Kahf).

Some of the folk tales in the Sahrawi community, like other artistic creations, such as drama, novel and poetry, appear to have religious origin" (Dermenghen, 1983: 139). That is, they share plots with and have similar themes as some verses of the holy Koran. For example, story (2) is about a girl who became pregnant only because she picked up a leaf from a tree and ate it. She was accused by her parents and other members of the family of having had sexual intercourses outside wedlock and, therefore, the baby in her womb is illegitimate. When she gave birth to a child, the latter confessed to people that his mother was innocent. This story is similar to the story of Mary, the virgin, who, according to the Koran, gave birth to Jesus Christ without having had any sexual intercourse with any man. In the Koran, God says, "**we sent her Our spirit in the semblance of a full grown man... I am the messenger of your Lord", he replied, "and have come to give you a holy son". "How shall I bear a child, "when I am a virgin untouched by man?"**" (Dawood 1956:33).

CONCLUSION

The present work is an attempt to investigate and analysis of folk stories in the region of Errachidia from a sociolinguistic perspective. It falls into two main parts. In the first part, we have seen that these stories are told by old men and women to their children and that they are meant to serve different functions. First of all, they were used as a means of entertainment and a pass time given the absence of sophisticated means. Second, they were destined to educate the young and show them good behavior and its benefits. This was done through the narration of stories which end in rewards for good deeds and punishment for evil deeds. Third, they were meant to provide a psychological release and serve as a kind of 'wish-fulfillment' for people who produced them. Through telling stories, they, for example, tried to achieve their desired goals and aspirations which they could not achieve in reality.

Besides, this part examined the variations that occur in stories according to the age and gender of the hearer and the teller. It has shown that stories told to children are most of the time fictitious and straightforward stories in which the story teller focuses on some stylistic features to make them vivid. Adult stories, on the other hand, are somehow complex and require efforts to be understood. It has also discussed the different types of stories told by men and women and tried to analyze their variations at the level of language. For instance, it has made it clear that female narrators adopt other varieties which are seen in terms of social prestige and that they, young ones in particular, shift to classical Arabic and French to display their education and social status. Male narrators, however, tend to stick to their variety, use taboo words, euphemistic expressions and shift to classical Arabic whenever the subject matter of their stories is religious.

In the second part, the focus was on the social and communicative role of folk stories. For instance, it has shown how old people intend to give children a view of the world of which they are part, to accustom them to the common problems and make them fully competent members of their society. It has also revealed how they intend to glorify their ancestry in a bid to reestablish and revive the old values which are being challenged. Apart from this, the second part tried to shed light on how different traditions and beliefs are reflected in folk stories of the Sahrawi community. There are, for instance allusions to some daily activities and ceremonies. Concerning people's beliefs, this part focused on their superstitious mentality through the

interpretation of many natural phenomena in terms of their legendary knowledge as well as on their religious mentality shown through their constant reference to God, the prophet and the Koran. The last section of part two was devoted to the current status of folk stories in the region of Errachidia and how their disappearing face to the rapid social and cultural change, the intrusion of sophisticated means of entertainment, the emergence of the modern information and communication technologies.

In conclusion, we believe that the present work is far from being exhaustive. We, therefore, hope, that further investigations will be carried out to shed more light on these folk stories.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Zahra, N. (1988): "The Rain Ritual as rites of Spiritual passage". *International Journal of the Middle East Studies*, 20, pp. 507-529.
- Albee, E. (1966): *The American Dream*. New American drama, Penguin books.
- Aldersen, C, and Urquhart, A. (1984): *Reading in a Foreign Language*. Longman Group Ltd, London.
- Allen, E. and Guy, R. (1974): *Conversation Analysis: The Sociology of talk*. Mouton. The Hague. Paris.
- Allen, H. (1985): Review Article of *Cross-cultural encounters: Communication and Miscommunication* (ed) by J. Pride: *Language Learning*, 36, N°3, PP. 387-392.
- Altena, M. (1976): *Notes on Stephen Crane's: The Red Badge of Courage*. Methuen notes. Methuen paperbacks Ltd.
- Althowadi, M. (1986): "almazzu lluyawijju kasulu: kun luyawijjun lilinsani almayribijji almaylubi. *The Arab Journal of the Humanities*, 22, PP. 36-66.
- Ameka, F. (1987): "A comparative Analysis of Linguistic Routines in two Languages: English and Ewe" *Journal of pragmatics*, II, PP. 299-326.
- Austin, J. (1962): *How to Do Things with Words*, Oxford, Clevedon Press.
- Bauman, R. (1977). "Verbal Art as Performance." *American Anthropologist* 77:290–311. doi:10.1525/aa.1975.77.2.02a00030.
- Beardmore, H. (1982): *Bilingualism: Basic Principles*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, Avon.
- Bellow, S. (1956): *Seize The Day*. Wilkins Press, London.
- Bentahila, A. (1983): "Language Attitudes Among Moroccan Arabic-French Bilinguals in Morocco. *Multilingual Matters Ltd, Clevedon, Avon*".
- Bentahila, A. and Davie, E. (1989): "Culture and Language Use: A problem For Foreign Language Teaching. *IRAL*, XXXVII 2, PP. 99-III.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1986): "Indirectness and Politeness in Requests: Same or Different. *Journal of Pragmatics*, II, PP.131-146.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977): 'L'Economie des Echanges linguistiques', in *Lingue Française*, N34, Larousse, Paris.
- Bowles, P. (1969): *MHASHISH*. City lights Books, San Francisco.
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S. (1978): "Universals in Language usage: Politeness Phenomena" in E. Goody (ed.): *Questions and Politeness Strategies in Social Interaction*. Cambridge

- University Press, Cambridge.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4–5), 585–614.
- Canale, M. (1983): "From Communicative Competence to Language Pedagogy" in J. Richards and R. Schmidt (eds).
- Carell, P and Devine, J. (1988): *Interactive Approaches To Second Language Reading*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Chaika, E. (1982): *Language: The Social Mirror*. Newbury, House Publishers.
- Chaika, E. (1987): Review Article of Coherence in Written and Spoken Language. (ed.) by D. Tannen (1984), *Journal of Pragmatics*, II, PP .249-270.
- Chomsky, N. (1965): *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. MIT Press, Massachusetts.
- Chuang, S. (1985): "L'importance de la Compétence Psycho-socio-culturelle dans l'enseignement du français à des apprenants Chinois « Dialogues et Cultures: pratiques Interculturelles et Enseignement du Français. 27, PP 110-115.
- Cole, M, Gay, J., Glick, J. and Sharp, D. (1971): *The Cultural Context of Learning and Thinking: An Exploration in Experimental Psychology* Methuen, Co.Ltd, London.
- Condon, J. and Saito, M. (1974) (eds.): *Intercultural Encounters with Japan: Communication in contact and Conflict*. The Simile Press Inco. Tokyo.
- Condon, J: (1980): "The Values Approach to Cultural Patterns of Communication" in J. Condon and M. Saite (eds.).
- Condon, J. (1980): "So near the United States" In M. Valdes (ed.).
- Cook, J. (1985): "Language Functions, Social Factors, and Second Language Learning" *IRAL*, XXIII /3, PP. 177 - 198.
- Cooley, R. and Reach, D. (1984): "A Conceptual Framework" in R. Bostrom (ed.): *Competence in Communication: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Sage Publications, Cambridge.
- Crane, S. (1952): *The Red Badge of Courage*. Alfred, A. Knopf, Inco, New York.
- Croft, K. (1980): *Readings on English as a Second Language*. Winthrop Publishers, Cambridge.
- Andrade, Roy. (2009). "The Development of Cognitive Anthropology." 1995 92. 10 Mar 2009 <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=2QCWe2r-pvwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR12&dq=taxonomic+analysis+anthropology&ots=Vwe01uBe3l&sig=2EfRTfVyeZZyfOoIRHQwxase2K0#PPP1,M1>
- Davies, E. (1987): A Contrastive Approach to the Analysis of politeness Formulas "Applied Linguistics", 8, N°II, PP.
- Devine, J. (1988): "A Case Study of Two Readers: Models of Reading and Reading Performance" in P .Carell and J. Devine (eds.).
- Dodderidge, S. and Simonot, M. (1984): "Language and Culture in Interethnic Communication: Some Guidelines for Analysis " in A. Luzion and Auer (eds.): *Interactive Sociolinguistics*. Gunter Narr Verlag Tubingen.
- Downes, W. (1984): *Language and Society*. Fontana Paper backs, London.
- Duda, R. and Parpette, C. (1985). "La Perception Culturelle Chez Les Stagiaires Etrangers en France". In *Dialogues et Cultures*, PP. 20-30.
- Durant, A. (1990): *The Languages of Communication*. Lecture given' at the Faculty of letters 1,

University Hassan II, Casablanca.

- Duranti, A. (2003). Language as Culture in U.S. Anthropology: Three Paradigms. *Current Anthropology* 44(3) :323–348.
- Duranti, A. (2015). *Husserl, inter-subjectivity and anthropology* University of California, Los Angeles, USA, 2015. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1463499610370517>
- Eaton, R. (1988): "Children and Sarcasm: A Psycholinguistic Study" *Journal of Literary Semantics*, XVII/2, PP. 122-148.
- ^ Alessandro Duranti, *Husserl, inter-subjectivity and anthropology* University of California, Los Angeles, USA, 2015. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1463499610370517>
- Edwards, J. (1985): *Language, society and Identity*. Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford.
- Eisenstein, M. and Bodman, J. (1986): "I very appreciate: Expression of Gratitude by Native and Non-native Speakers of American English" *Applied Linguistics*, 7, N°2, PP.167-185.
- Enninger, W. (1987): "What Do Interactants DO with Non-talk Across Cultures" In K.Knapp (ed.).
- Feldman, S. (1986): "Culture, Charismo and The C.E.O.: An Essay on the meaning of High Office" *Ruman Relatins*, 39, N°3, PP. 211-228.
- Fernea, E. (1975): *A Street in Marrackech*. Anchor Press, New York.
- Fezza, J.& Maliki, M. S. (2019). *The Mountain Paradigm: The Role of the Atlas Mountains in Shaping the Life of Moroccan Mountain Inhabitants. - Economic and Social Development: Book of proceedings*, pp. 488-496.
- Fillmore, C. (1984): "Remarks On Contrastive Pragmatics " in J .Fisiak (ed.).
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Glick, P. (2007). Universal dimensions of social cognition: Warmth and competence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 11(2), 77-83. doi:10.1016/j.tics.2006.11.005
- Floyd, P. and Carell, p. (1987): Effects on ESL Reading of Teaching Cultural Content Schemata." *Language learning*, 37, N°1. PP. 89-107.
- Gardner, R. (1979): "Social Psychological Aspects of Second Language Acquisition" in H. Giles and R. St Clair (eds.): *Language and Social Psychology*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Geertz, C. (1968). *Islam Observed. Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. The Chicago University Press, Chicago
- Giacomi, A. and De Héréda, C. (1985): "Réussites et Echecs dans La Communication Linguistique Entre Locuteurs Francophones et Locuteurs Immigrés" *language*, 84, PP. 9-24.
- Gladstone, J. (1972): "language and Culture "in B.Allen and N. Campbell (eds.): *Teaching English as a Second Language*. Second Edition, Mc.Grow-Hill Inc. New York.

- Goffman, E. (1967): *Interactional Ritual: Essays on face- to- face Behaviour*. Double day, New York.
- Goldman, R.E.& Borkan, J. (2013). *Anthropological Approaches: Uncovering Unexpected Insights about the Implementation and Outcomes of Patient-Centered Medical Home Models*. Rockville, MD: Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality. February 2013. AHRQ Publication No. 13-0022-EF.
- Gregersen (ed.): *Papers from the Fourth Scandinavian conference of Linguistics*. Odence University Press. Odence.
- Grice, P. (1975): "Logic in Conversation» in P. Cole and J.Morgan (eds.): *Syntax and Semantics, 3, Speech acts*. Academic Press, New York.
- Grimshaw, A. (1982): « *Comprehensive Discourse Analysis: An Instance of Professional Peer Interaction* » *Lang. Soc.*, II, 15-47;
- Grimshaw, A. (1990): *Conflict Talk: "Sociolinguistic Investigation of Argument in Conversations*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Gripper, C. and Widdowson, H. (1975): "Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching" In J. Allen and S. Corder (eds.): *The Edinburgh Course in Applied linguistics*. Vol. 2, Oxford University Press. London.
- Guerin, W., Labor, E. and Morgan. L. (1979): *A Handbook of Critical approaches to Literature*. Second Edltion. Harper and Row Publishers inc., London.
- Gumperz, J. (1982): *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge University Press Cambridge.
- Hackman, D. (1978):"Irony in Speech Acts Involving Foreigners" in K.
- Halliday, M. (1979): *Language as a social semiotic: the Social interpretation of language and Meaning*. Edward Arnold Ltd, London.
- Harder, P. (1978): "Language in Action: Some Arguments against the Concept 'Illocutionary' «In Gregersen (ed.).
- Harms, L. (1973): *Intercultural Communication*. Harper and Row, Publisher.
- Hassan, R. (1984): "Ways of Saying, Ways of Meaning" in P. Faucet et al (eds.): *The Semiotics of Culture and language*. Vol. I, Francis Publishers. London.
- Herrmann, T. (1982): "Language and Situation: The Pars Pro To principle" in C. Sharer and K. Sharer (eds.): *Advances in the Social Psychology of Language*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Humphrey-Jones, C. (1987): "The Structure of Misunderstanding" in R. Reilly (ed.).
- Hymes, D. (1981). *Breakthrough into Performance*. In *In Vain I Tried to Tell You: Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. D. Hymes, ed. Pp. 79–141. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hwang, J. (1990): "Deference versus Politeness in Korean Speech" *International Journal of The Sociology Of Language*. 82, PP.41-55.
- Iser, W. (1989): «Interaction between Text and Reader» In J. Corner and. J. Hawthorn(ed): *Communication Studies: An Introductory Reader*, Third Edition, Edward Arnold.

- James, C. (1980): Contrastive Analysis. Longman Croup Ltd, London.
- Jensen, M. (1984): "Teaching Interpersonal Communication through Novels Plays and Fllms." In S. Thomas (ed.): Communication Theory and Interpersonal Interaction. Albex Publishing Corporation, New Jersey.
- Jone, T. (1984): "Intercultural Communication Research: A Burke's View" in S. Thomas (ed.). Communication theory and international interaction.
- Kachru, B. (1980): "The Pragmatics of Non-native Varieties of English" in E. Smith (ed.): English for Cross-Cultural Communication. The Mc Millan Press, Ltd, Hong Kong.
- Kaihara, M. (1974): "A comparative Study of Communication Patterns and Values in Costa Rica and Japan" in J. Condon and M. Saito. (eds.).
- Kaplan, R (1980):" Cultural thought Patterns in Intercultural Education" in K. Croft.
- Kilby, D. (I 984): Descriptive Syntax and the English verb. Croom. Helm, London.
- Kira, H.& Bucholtz, M. (1995). Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self. New York: Routledge.
- Knapp, K. and Knapp, A. (1987): "Instated of an Introduction: Conceptual" Issues in Analyzing Intercultural Communication "in K. Knapp (ed.).
- Knapp, K. (1987) (ed.): Analyzing Intercultural Communication. Mouton de Gruyter, New York.
- Kreitler, S. and Kreitler, A. (1988): "Meaning, Culture and Communication» Journal of pragmatics, 12, PP. 725-742.
- Kulick, D. (1992). Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction: Socialization, Self and Syncretism in a Papua New Guinea Village. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, W. and Fansbel, D. (1977): Therapeutic Discourse: w Psychotherapy as Conversation. New York, Academic Press.
- Lado, R. (1964): Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach. TATA Mc Grow-Hill Publishing co. Ltd, New Delhi.
- La Forge, G. (1983): Counseling and Culture in Second Language Acquisition. Pergamon Press, Oxford.
- Lambert, W. (1977): "Culture and Language as Factors in Learning and Education' in R. Eckman (ed.): Current Themes in Linguistics, Washington Hemisphere.
- Leech, G. (1983): Principles of Pragmatics. Longman Group Ltd, London.
- Levinson, S. (1983): pragmatics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Lind, C. (1988): (1988): "The Quantitative Study of Communicative Success: politeness and Accidents in Aviation Discourse" Lang. Soc, 17, PP.375- 399.
- Loveday, L. (1982): The Sociolinguistics of Learning and Using a Non-native Language. Pergamon Press, Oxford.
- Lyons, J. (1977): Semantics. Vol.2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Maliki, M.S. (1991). The Role of culture in communication Failure: The Case of Moroccan Arabic and English Native speakers.Unpublished MA Thesis, Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Ain Chock, Hassan II University of Casablanca, Casablanca.

- Maliki, M. S. & Khtira, M. (2019). Gender and Textbooks: First Year Baccalaureate Syllabus. Economic and Social Development: Book of Proceedings, 109-115
- Maliki, M. S., Housni, H. & Biad, T. (2019). The Impact of Cultural Value Systems on Cross-Cultural Communication Success or Failure. *International Journal of Innovation and Research in Educational Sciences* 6 (3), pp. 459-473.
- Markham, P. and Latham, M. (1987): "The Influence of Religion Specific Background Knowledge on The Listening Comprehension of Adult Second – Language Students. » *Language Learning*, 37, N°2, pp. 157-170.
- Matsumoto, Y. (1988): "Reexamination of the Universality of Face: Politeness Phenomena in Japanese." *Journal of Pragmatics*, 12, PP.403-426.
- McHoul, A. (1987): "An Initial Investigation of Fictional Conversations for Doing Conversation Analysis." *Semiotica*, 67, 1/2, PP.83-104.
- McLeod, B. (1980): "The relevance of Anthropology to The Teaching of Culture". In K. Kroft.
- McTears, M. (1987) "Communication Failure: A Development Perspective" In R.Reilly.
- Miller, J. (1983): *Bilingualism, Culture and Education*. Routledge and Keegan Paul, London.
- Moerman, M. (1988): *Talking Culture Ethnography and Conversation Analysis*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Morain, G. (1978): "Kinesics and Cross-Cultural Understanding" In M. Valdes(ed).
- Morris, B. (1931): *Behind Moroccan Walls*. Library's Press, New York.
- Morris, H. (1985): "The Remedial Episode as a Negotiation of Rules" in R. Street and N. Cappella (ed.): *Sequence and Pattern in Communicative Behaviour*." Edward Arnold.
- Nadler, B. Nadler, M. and Broome, B. (1985): "Culture and The Management of Conflict Situation" In
- Nuguchi, R. (1987): "The Dynamics of Rule Conflict in English and Japanese Conversations." *IRA*, XXV/ I, PP.15-23.
- Okabe, R. (1984): "Cultural Assumptions of East and West: Japan and The United States" in R.Gudykumet (ed.): *Intercultural Theory: Current Perspectives*. VO1. VII, Sage Publications, London.
- Parker, D. (1976): "Cultural Clues to the Middle Eastern Student" in M. Valdes(ed.).
- Patterson, R. (1987): *A World Outside: The Fiction of Paul Bowles*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Pei, M. (1956): *Language for Everybody*. Signet, New York.
- Phelan, N. (1982): *Morocco is a Lion*. Quartet Books, London.
- Povey, J. (1972): "Literature in TES Programs: The Language and The Culture." In B. Allen and R. Campbell (eds.).
- Psathas, G and Anderson, T. (1990): "The 'Practices' of Transcription in Conversation Analysis". *Semiotica*, 78, 1/2, PP.75-99.
- Raffler-Engel, V. (1980): "The Unconscious Element in Intercultural Communication" In St Clair and H. Giles (eds.).
- Reilly, R. (1987) (ed.): *Communication Failure in Dialogue and Discourse*. Elsevier Science Publishers, B.V.

- Richards, C. and Tay, M. (1980): "Norms and Variability in Language Use and Language Learning." » in Smith (ed.).
- Richards, C. and Schmidt, R. (1983): *Language in Communication*. Longman Group Ltd, London.
- Rings, L. (1987). "Krimhilt Face Work: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Social Behaviour in The Nibelungenlied." » *Semiotica*, 65, 3/4, PP.317-325.
- Rivers, W. (1981): *Teaching Foreign Language Skills*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Robertson, I (1987): *Sociology*. Third Edition, Worth Publishers Inco., New York.
- Robinson, G. (1985): *Cross-Cultural Understanding: Processes and Approaches for foreign Language, English as a Second Language and Bilingual Education*. Pergamon Press, Oxford.
- Rokeach, M. (1985): *The Nature of Human Values: The free Press*, McMillan Publishing Co., Inco., New York.
- Romney, K., Weller, S. and Batchlder, W. (1986): "Culture as Consensus: A Theory of Culture and Informant Accuracy." » *American Anthropologist*, 88, PP. II3-I38.
- Saleemi, A. (1985): "English in Non-native Use: A Second Language View." » *FORUM*, XXIII, N°2.
- Saville-Troike, M. (1982): *The Ethnography of Communication*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Schegloff, E. and Sacks, H. (1973): "Opening Up Closings" in R. Turner (ed.) *Ethnomethodology: Selected Readings*. Penguin, Hamondsworth.
- Schegloff, E. (1987): "Some Sources of Misunderstanding in Talk-in-Interaction" *Linguistics*, 25, PP. 20I-2I8.
- Scherzer, J. (1987): "A Discourse-centered Approach to Language and Culture" *American Anthropologist*, 89, PP. 295-309.
- Schisgal, M. (1966): *Typists New American Drama*, Penguin Plays.
- Scollon, R. and Scollon, B. (1983): "Face in interethnic communication" in C. Richards and R. Schmidt (eds.).
- Scupin, R. & DeCorse, C. R. (2016). *Anthropology: A Global Perspective*. 8th edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill University Libraries, E-Research by Discipline, Subject: Anthropology. Accessed 12 June 2019. <http://guides.lib.unc.edu/az.php?s=1107>
- Searle, J. (1969): *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Silverstein, M. (1976). Shifters, Linguistic Categories, and Cultural Description. In *Meaning in Anthropology*. K. Basso and H.A. Selby, eds. Pp. 11–56.
- Singh, R., Lele, J. and Marrohadjono, G. (1988): "Communication in a Multi-lingual Society: Some missed Opportunities" *Lang. Soc.*, 17, PP .43-59.
- Smith, L. (1987): "Introduction: Discourse Strategies and Cross-cultural Communication" in L.

- Smith (ed.).
- Smith, L. (1987): *Discourse Across Cultures: Strategies in World Englishes*. Prentice Hall International Ltd.
- Song-Chu, W. and Stephens, H. (1991): "Bicultural to be Bilingual" *FORUM*, XXIX, N°2. PP.29-31.
- Spears, A. K. (1999). *Race and Ideology: Language, Symbolism, and Popular Culture*. Wayne State University Press.
- Spradley, J. (1972): "Foundations of Cultural Knowledge." In J. Spradley (ed.): *Culture and Cognition: Rules, Maps and Plans*. Chandler Publishing Company, London.
- St Clair, N. Giles, H. (1980) (eds.): *The Social and Psychological Context of Language*. Edward Arnold.
- Steffensen, M. and Joag-Dev, C. (1984): "Cultural Knowledge and Reading" in J. Alderson and A. Urquhart (eds.).
- Steffensen, M. (1986): "Register, Cohesion and Cross-Cultural Reading Comprehension". *Applied Linguistics*, 7, no.1, PP. 71 -85.
- Stern, H. (1983): *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching* Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Stern, L. (1987): "Expanded Dimensions to Literature in ESL / EFL: An Integrated Approach" *FORUM*, XXV, N°4. PP. 2-9.
- Stevens, P. (1987): "Cultural Barriers to Language Learning" in L. Smith (ed.).
- Stubbs, M. (1983): *Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Tannen, D. (1985): "Cross-Cultural Communication" in T. Van Dijk (ed.).
- Taylor, R. (1973): *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Thomas, J. (1983): "Cross-Cultural Pragmatic Failure" *Applied linguistics*, 4, N° 2, PP. 91-112.
- Thomas, J. (1984): "Cross-Cultural Discourse as 'unequal Encounter': Toward A Pragmatic Analysis." *Applied Linguistics*, 5/3 PP....
- Ting-Toomey, S. (1985): "Toward a Theory of Conflict and Culture" in W. Gudykunst et al (eds.).
- Traugott, E. C. & Pratt, M. L. (1980). *Linguistics for Students of Literature*. HBJ Publishers, New York.
- Trivonovitch, M. (1980): "Cultural Barriers" in K. Croft.
- Tuttle, R. H. et al. (2019). *Anthropology*. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Encyclopaedia Britannica, inc. URL: <https://www.britannica.com/science/anthropology>. Access Date: April 07, 2020
- Valdes, M. (1987): "Culture in -Literature: " In M. Valdes (ed.).
- Valdes, M. (1987): *Culture Bound*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- VanDijk, T. (1985): *Handbook of discourse analysis. Vol.4, Discourse Analysis in Society*. Academic Press, London.
- Varonis, N. and Gass, M. (1985): "Miscommunication in Native/non-native "Conversation" *Lang. Soc.*, 14, PP. 327-343.

- Verschueren, J. (1984): "Linguistics and Cross-cultural Communication (Review Article)". *Lang. Soc.*, 13, 489 -509.
- Wetzel, P. (1988): "Are 'Powerless' Communication Strategies: The Japanese Norm?" *Lang. Soc.*, 17, PP. 555-564.
- Westermarck, E. (1930): *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco; A Study of Native Proverbs*. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London.
- White, S. (1988): "Back, channels Across-Cultures: A Study of American and Japanese" *Lang. Soc.*, 18, PP.59-76.
- Whorf, B. (1956): *Language, Thought and Reality*. (ed.) By Careel, MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1985a): "Different Cultures, Different Languages, Different Speech Acts" *Journal of Pragmatics*.9, pp.145-178.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1985): "A Semantic Metalanguage for a Cross-comparison of Speech Acts and Speech Genres" *Lang. Soc.*, 14, PP .491-514.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1989): "Human Emotions: Universal or Culture-Specific". *American Anthropologist*, 88, PP. 484-593.
- Wolfson, N. (1981): «Compliments in Cross-Cultural Perspective" in M. Valdes(ed.).
- Zine-Dine, S. & **Maliki, M.S. (2020)**. "Religious Educational Reforms and the Shaping of Moroccan Identity: Islamic Education Textbooks as a Case Study. "Book of proceedings of the 52nd International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social Development. Porto, 16-17 April, 2020.