"DHAR OBARRAN". A TRANSLATION AND POSTCOLONIAL READING OF A RIFI POEM

Omayma El Achak

The Multidisciplinary Faculty of Nador
Mohammed First University
Oujda, MOROCCO

omayma.elachak@ump.ac.ma

Abstract: This study translates and analyses *Dhar Obarran* from a postcolonial perspective. The poem was composed and sung during the Moroccan Rif War (1921-1926), fought by Spain and later France against the Rifis in northern Morocco. Dhar Obarran, a mountain in that region, witnessed one of the most remarkable battles of the conflict. It ended with the victory of the Rifis, leading to the expulsion of Spanish colonisers. Alongside translating from Tarifit into English, the paper discusses the poem's binarism through a postcolonial lens, focusing on the interplay of life and death as a means of expressing resistance to oppression. It also highlights the roles of nature and religion in shaping this vision, showing how Rifis turned to faith as a final refuge to renew their courage, belief, and hope.

Keywords: Rif, Spaniards, Dhar Obarran, colonialism, binarism, life, death, religion, nature

INTRODUCTION

This paper reads *Dhar Obarran* from a postcolonial perspective and examines how it expresses resistance to Spanish colonisers while preserving the indigenous culture and history of the Rif people. Postcolonial theory explains how colonialism influences people, cultures, and societies. It sheds light on the voices and experiences of those who were colonised, showing how colonisers have shaped their stories and identities.

Dhar Obarran is an oral epic poem from the Rif region in Morocco, deeply rooted in the history of the Rif War (1921-1926). It was produced right after the Rifis' victory in the battle named Dhar Obarran, which took place on the mountain of Dhar Obarran in 1921. The poem belongs to the tradition of Izlan specifically, and to Amazigh resistance literature generally (Tirawinino 2017, 12).

Despite the extensive literature in French and Spanish, little is said in English. Hence, this paper serves two main objectives. The first is to translate it from Tarifit (the Moroccan variant used by the Rifis) into English, as translation plays a pivotal role in revitalising indigenous languages and cultures (El Guabli 2024, 35). The second objective is to deconstruct its meanings. Thus, the article is also a call for Tamazgha researchers to produce further studies, translate, and analyse other anti-colonial poems and songs.

Literature Review

Analysing *Dhar Obarran* from a postcolonial perspective raises a range of interrelated questions. The poem is part of Amazigh resistance literature; it was composed and sung in an indigenous language, engaging with issues of identity, land, and minority status. Translating it is of paramount importance as it is a step forward not only to revive the Amazigh Rifi language and culture, but also to convey Rifi folk literature to Anglophone readers.

This theoretical framework moves from general to specific key issues. It is divided into three main axes, beginning with oral literature, which addresses fundamental challenges such as the absence of written records and the difficulty of accessing dispersed or lost sources. The second axis, Amazigh literature, examines its key challenges, including resistance, and questions whether it qualifies as minor literature, as well as the problem of translating Amazigh works into dominant languages like French and English. The third axis, Amazigh poetry, defines and contextualises *Dhar Obarran*.

Oral Literature

It is an oral genre, spoken or sung, that is produced in collective societies, where it reflects identity and culture while conveying history and traditions more through speech than writing. This is how oral literature is passed from one generation to the next. In those cultures, the local language serves as a tool for transmitting cultural knowledge (Finnegan 2012, 54).

Challenges of Oral Literature

Folk literature often lacks written records, which complicates scholarly analysis. Studying this genre is difficult because its creators often remain anonymous. As a result, these artistic products stand alone during examination, detached from their makers. In addition, there is the rapid growth of globalisation and socio-economic changes. Hence, these two factors place pressure on smaller communities responsible for their production (Finnegan 2012, 29). The absence of written documents threatens cultural communities, especially local ones that are not accustomed to recording their heritage in writing. This makes the study and analysis of folk literature even more challenging. Finnegan (2012, 24) claims that researchers who write about oral literature face many challenges due to the lack of accessible sources in this field. This discipline needs further investigation because most of the works are unpublished, and much of the material is difficult to find. Besides that, there is little treatment of contemporary forms, which makes oral literature perceived as dead, outdated, and primitive. Hence, this artistic genre receives far less scholarly attention (Finnegan 2012, 24).

AMAZIGH LITERATURE

Orality in Amazigh literature

Scholars across sociology, folklore, ethnography, and linguistics claim that this literature originates in verbal transmission. Even though the majority of Amazigh literature is rooted in folk

tradition, it should not be limited to it. The Amazigh have their own alphabetic script, known as Tifinagh, which dates back to ancient times and continues to be used today, particularly in Morocco, Algeria, and among the Touareg communities. This serves as strong evidence that Amazigh literature has also existed in written forms; however, many written records have been lost over time (Chafii 2015, 03). Furthermore, since the twentieth century, a significant number of written works in Tamazight have emerged, including poetry, tales, fables, novels, plays, and novellas, though novellas are less common. This development shows that Amazigh literature is undergoing a pivotal transitional period, shifting from an oral tradition to a written one. Amazigh poetry is categorised into classical and modern forms. Classical poetry is traditional and has specific rhythmic structures. On the other hand, modern Amazigh poetry is characterised by its free verse, not controlled by the rhythmic rules of classical poetry. Traditional poetry remains popular, spontaneous, proverbial, and orally transmitted across generations by anonymous poets, and it is performed orally at cultural and social gatherings (Chafii 2015, 04).

Amazigh Resistance Literature

Merolla (2020, 27) discusses the situation of Imazighen/Berbers in North African literature. She investigates Berber literature and "literary space" by examining the construction of identity and the discourses of minority and majority. Indeed, the marginalisation of Amazigh languages and communities is rooted in both colonial and postcolonial periods, linked to the formation of nation-states (Merolla 2020, 29). In response to this, many professionals, semi-professionals, and amateurs started learning and teaching Berber writing while collecting, transcribing, translating, and republishing oral poetry and stories in written form. This led to the emergence of local Berber identities (Merolla 2020, 30). Thus, the minorisation of Amazigh culture gave rise to Amazigh resistance literature.

Minorisation

Some Amazigh writers do not consider Amazigh literature part of minor literature, which is a concept theorised by Deleuze and Guattari in 1975 (Medjedoub 2024, 204). Minor literature does not refer to the textual products published in a minority language, but rather to the textual products written in the dominant language by authors who belong to minority groups (Merolla 2020, 32). In addition to that, Amazigh writers define minor literature as marginality or inferiority, and they always attempt to emphasise Amazigh literature as a form of affirmation of their identity, so instead of being part of 'minor literature', they want to be categorised alongside the dominant one. However, this genre remains defined as the literature that is produced by a group of people who belong to the minority group but do not reside in a geographical space where the minority language is spoken (Medjedoub 2024, 204).

Amazigh literature is historically marginalised. Imazighen have experienced a severe identity crisis, located in a fragile space, between existence and disappearance, between the present and the past, and between forgetting and remembrance (Medjedoub 2024, 204). Not only is the literature regarded as inferior, but the language of Tamazight itself, compared to Arabic, reflects a failure to recognise the existence of its identity (Medjedoub 2024, 206). The rise of Amazigh literature has helped young Berbers become conscious of their identity. In the post-independence period, Imazighen experienced linguistic and cultural underestimation; consequently, their oral artistic products became crucial because they helped to connect with their identity and homeland, Tamazgha (Medjedoub 2024, 206).

Challenges

El Guabli (2024, 19) argues that the problem of Amazigh studies is that many writers produce works in dominant languages such as English or French, rather than in their indigenous language. On the other hand, writing in Tamazight not only revitalises it as a literary

language but also enriches its vocabulary. Otherwise, if the textual product tackles themes of Tamazgha in a dominant language, the Amazigh language itself remains underdeveloped. Hence, language choice remains one of the main contemporary issues in Amazigh studies (Medjedoub 2024, 206).

Translating Amazigh Literary Products

Many researchers avoid the word "indigenous" because it is associated with colonial times, during which natives were oppressed and treated unfairly. However, after 1993, "indigeneity" became crucial to Amazigh activists and researchers when they called Imazighen the natives or the first people of North Africa. Amazigh literature has fostered a sense of Amazigh identity as the original inhabitants of North Africa. Consequently, this has helped Amazigh researchers and activists to use literature and translation to revive not only their language but also their culture. Many researchers nowadays are producing translated books from Tamazight into English (Medjedoub 2024, 206). El Guabli says:

> While these translations convey the state of Amazigh creative writing to Anglophone readers, they also draw attention to the importance of translation as a revitalising force for Indigenous languages. Indeed, as the rich theory produced in the field of translation studies demonstrates, translation scholars have long grappled with untranslatables, furnished approaches to translation (choosing to domesticate or foreignise a text, for example), and examined the multidirectional impact translation has on both the source and target languages (Medjedoub 2024, 206).

El Guabli believes that although these translations introduce Anglophone readers to the current state of Amazigh creative writing, they also shed light on the pivotal role translation plays in revitalising indigenous languages. Translation studies have played an important role in exploring challenges such as untranslatability, developing different translation strategies, including the choice to domesticate or foreignise a text, and analysing how translation influences both the original and the target languages in multiple directions (Medjedoub 2024, 206). El Guabli (2024, 206) says: "One

could say that to be translated is to be given a chance to sustain a language and culture that dominant languages could phagocytose and potentially replace". Hence, translation plays a revitalising role in indigenous languages, such as Tamazight.

Amazigh language and culture were nearly silenced and on the verge of disappearing, but now they are growing and becoming popular. There is a wide range of poems and stories translated from Tamazight into English, and these texts are considered part of many efforts to revitalise this language. For the Amazigh people, composing poems is not just an art, but also a way to present their identity, express their emotions, and share their struggles with the world. Thus, translating these textual works brings the Amazigh voices to global audiences (Medjedoub 2024, 206).

Amazigh Poetry

The overlap between music and literature in Africa has great significance, although much less is being said about folk literature as a whole (Finnegan 2012, 512). In fact, the use of music is widespread, and the Moroccan Rif region's literature is an example. In the Moroccan Rif, which is a region located in northern Africa, people used to compose short poems that are called "Izlan". Composed orally by Moroccan Rifi women accompanied by drums, these verses are usually sung at special occasions such as weddings and ceremonies. Indeed, using musical instruments helps create a rhythm and a melody (Radouani and Chafyq 2024, 45). Therefore, music in folk literature constitutes a fundamental characteristic.

In the Rif region, poetry has different names, and it comes in various poetic forms. For example, the term "Lavnuj" (in Tarifit) is the local equivalent for poetry; this heritage is distinguished by a variety of poetic types, with multiple artistic and aesthetic qualities. The poetic forms found in this region include Izran, Tiqsisin, Tamdyazt, and Izran n Rbyuz. Similarly, in the Middle

and High Atlas Mountains, another region, Amazigh poetry is rich in cultural sub-genres, each with its own various characteristics, such as: Tamawayt, Izli, Tayffart, and Tivuniwin. In the Southeast region, Amazigh poetry is expressed through different sub-genres and forms, depending on social and cultural situations. This region is divided into five major tribal confederations: Ait Atta, Ait Yafelman, Ait Tdght, Ait Sddrat, and Imghran (Chafii 2015, 05). Therefore, every Berber region has its own poetic characteristics.

"Dhar Obarran": The Battle and the Poem

Many anthropological studies on the Maghreb shed light on how various social groups express their worldviews through oral traditions. One of the earliest works was done by René Basset in 1892, in which he recorded poems composed during the 1871 Kabylie uprising in Algeria. A similar phenomenon occurred in Morocco, where tribal resistance, often framed as Jihad, became part of the oral historical record. In the Rif region, the most famous form was the Izran songs, performed by unmarried girls or Imdyazan (professional musicians). In both the Rif and Jebala regions in Morocco, women were the primary creators of these oral genres, playing a pivotal role in shaping collective memory. These oral traditions reflect resistance and colonial dynamics. During the Rif War, Abd al-Krim recognised the power of oral literature and employed rhymed epic poems to promote his cause and recruit fighters (Chtatou 1991, 28). By the 20th century, these oral traditions had evolved, and they became part of wedding ceremonies. In the 1970s and 1980s, Rifi singer-songwriters emerged, pioneering the protest song genre (Dieste 2021, 05).

David Hart documented the battle songs in the central Rif during his fieldwork in the Ait Waryaghal land. However, he notes that the *Dhar Obarran* song remained largely unnoticed until several years after independence. During the Spanish protectorate period, these songs were censored by local judges (Cadis) and

influential figures aligned with Spain because they celebrated a Rifi victory over the Spanish forces (Hart 1976, 374). According to Hart, who transcribed the lyrics, the song is considered an Izran, and it praises the courage of the Rifi fighters who defeated the Spanish army (Dieste 2021, 12-13). Indeed, there are many versions of this song, such as *Dhar Obarran*'s version sung by Bouarfa Ayawar, which has been used in video montages with historical images of the colonial war. Besides that, there is also the one created by the group Agraf. Similarly, the singer-songwriter Walid Mimoun composed a song commemorating this battle (Dieste 2021, 13). Indeed, Dhar Obarran is a mountain in the northern Moroccan Rif region, which witnessed one of the most remarkable battles in the history of the Rif War between the Spanish colonisers and the Rifian warriors. This conflict, named Dhar Obarran, occurred before the Annual disaster and ended with the victory of the Rifis, who succeeded in expelling the Spanish colonisers. Therefore, Dhar Obarran is a significant place that demonstrates the Rifis' commitment to their identity (Ter Laan 2023, 12).

Opinions vary on whether *Dhar Obarran* is a poem (Izri), a song (Aghnij), or a short story (Taqsist). Generally speaking, the work is part of the resistance literature in Rifi culture, and it is a historical document that addresses the concerns of the Rifi resistance. Additionally, the poem was not composed by one individual but collectively by many Rifis. However, the individuals who composed it are anonymous. Hence, we can say that this epic belongs to all the Rifis, who are loyal to their land and ready to defend their freedom and fight against any oppression. Another aspect to consider is that the actual number of lines is unknown. In fact, there have been several attempts to collect and analyse the lines of this work, but researchers still claim that there might be other lines that have been lost or forgotten over time. This is a limitation that hinders its study and analysis. Therefore, *Dhar Obarran* is a poem that expresses the collective identity of the Rifis and their connection to their land (De Madariage 1990, 50).

TRANSLATING THE POEM

The poem in Tarifit (the Moroccan Rifi variant)

Aya Dhar Obarran, Aya sous nyekhsan
Wizik igharren, azzayes ighar zman
Amenghar ziwromi, youdef gha Thamsaman
Thamsaman ma thehwan
Matghirach dbenaaman
Magharrench thibrighin ibissn sifiran
Amighar ogharrabo khwaarar nwaman
Qimen dayes iromiyyen, temradazen amimoyan
Iqim slah nsen khwaman amighonam
Arbbi mamech ghagegh ikhdduj aammi
Khmi dayi ghaterqa
Khmi dayi ghathini
Muuh mani ykka
Muuh amjahed Thangith harraka
Rabbi mamech ghagekh iwaban abarchan
Atbehded somatta

Translation in English

Oh, Dhar Obarran, Oh my murderer!
He who trapped you, may time trap him too
As it trapped the coloniser, who entered Thamsaman
Do you think that Thamsaman is easily colonisable?
Do you think that Thamsaman is furnished with the poppy anemone?
Or you were seduced by the girls, girded with fine threads?
As it seduced the ship on the water
Where the colonisers stayed, butting heads like goats
Their weapons were left on the water, just like sugar cane
Oh God! What shall I do with my cousin Khedduj?
Once she will meet me

She will ask me
Where is Mouh?
Mouh, the fighter! was killed by the incendiary bombs!
Oh God! what shall I do!
Black eyes welled up with tears
The tears of my mother shed on my knees.

Limitations of Translation

The aim behind this translation is to convey the meaning and emotional resonance of the original poem. However, due to linguistic, cultural, and stylistic differences, some wordplays and phonetic effects were hard to translate into the target language. Starting with the original poem's rhythm, the musicality of the original version of the poem is not maintained in the translated version, so this cadence is almost lost in the translated poem. The rhythm is represented in the phoneme /n/, such as in the words: *nyekhsan, zman, Thamsaman, thehwan, dbenaaman, sifiran, nwaman,* and *amimoyan*, and the phoneme /a/ with words like: *ghaterka, ykka, harraka,* and *somatta*. This rhythm creates musicality in the poem, but it is not maintained in the translated text. Another limitation is syntax differences. Sentence structure differs from one language to another, so changing the sentence structure in the target language changes the poem's flow. Hence, these rhythmic and syntactic limitations must be acknowledged.

POSTCOLONIAL READING

In this section, the paper analyses the poem from a postcolonial perspective. Readers will observe both in the translated and the original versions that the poem portrays a struggle between the colonisers and the colonised (the Spaniards and the Rifis). This struggle is manifested in the chosen words, which form a binary. Hence, to understand this poem profoundly, this analysis starts

with a brief introduction into binarism in postcolonial theory, to examine the duality between the Rifis and the Spaniards, and then it will shed light on the vocabulary used, by dividing the poem's vocabulary into themes. Therefore, this reading introduces themes of life and death, nature, religion, and Jihad, and their relation to oral literature and resistance.

Binarism in Post-Colonial Theory

Binarism refers to the combination of two things, a pair, or duality. It is a term widely used in several fields, particularly in post-colonial theory. The term was first established by the French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, who argued that signs derive meaning from their opposition to other signs, and not by a simple reference to real objects. While signs are defined and realised according to their difference from other signs, the binary opposition is the most extreme form of difference, for example: man/woman, life/death, and black/white. Indeed, these contrasts are very common in the cultural constructions of reality (Ashcroft 2003, 31).

In post-structuralism and feminism, these binary opposites create unfair systems where there is always a privileged side (men, life, white) and a marginalised side (women, death, black). These binary opposites are imperialist in nature. For example, dividing the world into the centre and the margin, the coloniser and the colonised, and the civilised and the primitive (Ashcroft 2003, 32). This anti-colonial poem, *Dhar Obarran,* challenges this imperial relationship between colonisers and colonised, which is unidirectional (the colonisers controlling the colonised) (Ashcroft 2003, 34). In this poem, it is not the Spaniards who are controlling the Rifis, but the relationship is now more of a two-way interaction. In the battle of Dhar Obarran, the Spaniards started the fight, but the Rifis ended it by fighting back, winning, and making history. This subversion of the binaristic structure allows the colonies to affect and leave an impact on the colonisers.

VOCABULARY

Life and Death

Colonial literature often explores the theme of death as a reflection of the brutal impacts of imperialism on the colonised people. In colonial lands, the inhabitants' aim is to survive, and their enemy's aim is death. Hence, life and death become intrinsically linked to identity and belonging because the struggle for survival is the main reason for resistance against colonial intervention.

The poem's vocabulary reveals deeper meanings through its word choices. An analysis of these linguistic choices suggests that the vocabulary is divided into two different categories: the vocabulary of life and the vocabulary of death.

Vocabulary of Life	Vocabulary of Death
• *Dbenaaman:* poppy anemon • *Thibrighin ibissn sifiran:* girded with fine threads. • *Nwaman:* water • *Amjahed:* fighter	• *Sous nyekhsan*: the murderer • *Wizik igharren:* trapped you • *Slah:* weapon • *Thangith:* killed

The vocabulary of death is associated with the colonisers, while the vocabulary of life is associated with the colonised. This is the breaking down of the binaristic structure. The Rifi fighters, who belong to the margin and who are perceived as powerless and primitive, are associated with the vocabulary of life. In contrast, the Spaniards who belong to the centre and are supposed to be powerful and civilised are associated with the vocabulary of death. This binary opposition between the vocabulary of life and death is very significant. The colonisers spread death on the colonised land, while the colonised people strive for survival. They refuse to die, so they are defending their identity and belonging. Therefore, life and death are two intrinsic elements, even if they are opposed.

Despite the Rifis' struggle and proximity to death, they still desire to survive and triumph over the Spaniards. For instance, even though *"Mouh, the fighter! Was killed by the incendiary bombs!"* they still want to survive, live, and defeat the Spaniards, as shown in the lines: *"Do you think that Thamsaman is easily colonisable? Do you think that Thamsaman is furnished with the poppy anemone?"* Additionally, whenever the Rifis or Rifi places are mentioned, the vocabulary of life is also invoked. This illustrates the Rifis' devotion to their land and people, and how much they are attached to their homeland. This admiration fills them with hope, prompting them to use the vocabulary of life. Furthermore, the Rifis present themselves not only as patriotic inhabitants who adore their land and are ready to sacrifice themselves for it but also as people who detest the colonisers and have a strong determination to defeat them: *"As it trapped the coloniser, who entered Thamsaman"*. Therefore, the vocabulary of life and death in this poem is highly significant.

Nature

Nature is another theme included in the vocabulary of life. It is also associated with the Rifis and their land. Examples include words such as poppy anemone, water, sugar cane, and goats. The vocabulary of nature is employed whenever the poem addresses the Rif land, such as *Thamsaman* (a village in the Rif region), for instance: *"Do you think that Thamsaman is easily colonisable? Do you think that Thamsaman is furnished with the poppy anemone?"* The poet threatens the Spaniards and warns them not to try to access *Thamsaman*, because it is not furnished with the poppy anemone, meaning that the coloniser will not find it easy to colonise the land. Most of the words that connote nature are conveyed through similes. For instance: *"butting heads like goats"* and *"their weapons were left on water just like sugar cane"*. In these two examples, the poet describes the situation of the colonisers after their loss: their heads were butting each other like goats, and they died, leaving weapons on water just like sugar cane. Indeed, nature is widely used in

Izlan. The use of nature in Izlan reflects its role in constructing Rifian identity and the Rifis' connection to their land.

Jihad, Resistance, and Music

Jihad is the fighting approach of the Rifis during the Rif War (1921-1926). The Rifis believed that Jihad is their only way to lead the region into liberation. That was the belief of Pennell as well: *"Jihad would lead to the liberation not only of the Rif but of the whole of Morocco and beyond"* (Pennell 1986, 208). In the poem, the anonymous poets highlighted Jihad. Within the verses, the Rifis were described as "*Amjahed*", which means the fighters, instead of soldiers or another name. For example, *"Muuh amjahed"* (Muuh the fighter) is a character in this poem, and he is a fighter/ Mujahid who fought during the Dhar Obarran battle. The poem shows that Muuh was killed at the end by the incendiary bombs, leaving his cousin Kheddouj, who was likely to be his wife, because it was common practice in Rifi society at that time to marry cousins. The mention of incendiary bombs is a reminder of the brutality and the cruelty of Spanish colonisers, although it was universally prohibited. Indeed, the poem shows the extent to which Jihad holds a special place in the Rifis' lives.

In addition to that, the refrain of this poem is of a religious nature. A refrain is defined as a line, a phrase, or a group of lines that are repeated throughout a poem or a song. The refrain of this poem is *"Oh God, what shall I do!"* In this verse, the poet expresses his helplessness to God and asks for divine guidance. This refrain shows that despite the fact that the Rifis are strong and they succeeded at defeating the colonisers, they still show their helplessness and humility to God. Religion for the Rifis is a source of power. They resort to God to recharge their power and hope. Religion became a tool for the Rifis to resist the Spaniards and colonial intervention. Indeed, the Rifis extensively mention religion in their poems, so religion and poetry became interrelated. Poetry is a tool for the Rifis to reaffirm their identity, and part of it is religion. Hence, this poem has allowed us to see how important religion is to them.

CONCLUSION

In honouring *Dhar Obarran*'s memory, we are reminded of the Moroccan Rifi history of resistance and endurance, which is a legacy that is characterised by courage against adversity. This poem, as part of this legacy, teaches us the importance of preserving our Amazigh cultural identity and continuing the struggle for justice. The poem not only reminds us of our history of glory and dignity, but it also inspires us to carry forward the spirit of hope and resilience.

REFERENCES

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. 2003. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures*. London and New York: Routledge.

Chafii, Hamza. 2015. "A Linguistic Investigation of the Main Concepts of Amazigh Poetry in Morocco and Algeria." *Transnational Literature* 8 (1):1-10. November 2015. http://fhrc.flinders.edu.au/transnational/home.html

Chtatou, Mohamed. 1991. "Syllable Structure in Tarifit Berber." *Revue Langues et Littératures* 9: 27-60. DOI: https://doi.org/10.34874/PRSM.r2l-v9.37264

De Madariaga, Maria Rose. 1999. *España y el Rif*. Melilla: Centro Asociado de Melilla.

Dieste, Josep Lluís Mateo. 2021. "'Rifolution': Songs of the Hirak of the Rif Against the Repression of the Makhzen (2017–2021)." *Afriche e Orienti* (1): 39-62. https://ddd.uab.cat/record/274469

El Guabli, Brahim. 2024. "Translation and Rehabilitation: An Introduction to Indigenous Amazigh Literary Output." *Words Without Border*, November 19.

Finnegan, Ruth. 2012. *Oral Literature in Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers.

Gaylard, Gerald. 2008. "The Postcolonial Gothic: Time and Death in Southern African Literature." *Journal of Literary Studies* 24 (4): 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/02564710802220861

Hart, David Montgomery. 1976. *The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Medjedoub, Kamal. 2024. "« Littérature Mineure » et Symbolique de l'Affirmation dans un Roman d'Expression Amazighe, « Ass-nni » de Amar Mezdad." *Revue Algérienne des Lettres* (8) 3: 202-211. https://journals.univ-temouchent.edu.dz/index.php/RAL/article/view/465

Merolla, Daniela. 2020. "Amazigh/Berber Literature and 'Literary Space'. A Contested Minority Situation in (North) African Literature." *Routledge Handbook of Minority Discourses in African Literature, 03:* 27-47. DOI: 10.4324/9780429354229-5

Pennell, Richard. 1986. *A Country with a Government and a Flag: The Rif War in Morocco, 1921-1926*. England: Middle East and North African Studies Press.

Radouani, Jaouad, and Fatima Chafyq. 2024. "Unearthing Amazigh/Rifi Female Identity through Oral Poetry in Colonial Morocco: An Examination of Izlan." In *Culture and Identity Studies: Proceedings of the Annual Conference on "Language, Literature, and Media"*, edited by Radouani, Jaouad, Ahlam Lamjahdi and Fatima Chafyq. Mohamed First University.

Ter Laan, Nina. 2023. "Oh, Mountain of Obarran! Oh, cemetery filled with bones! Anticolonial songs as vehicles for contemporary sounds of contestation in the Rif, Morocco." *African Futures*. June 02. https://nomadit.co.uk/conference/ecas2023/p/12635

Tirawinino. 2017. "L'épopée De Dhar Ubarran: Une Poésie De Résistance Rifaine," *Tirawinino*, August 17. https://tirawinino.wordpress.com/2016/04/16/226/.

Woolman, S., David. 1968. *Rebels in the Rif, Abd-el-Krim and the Rif Rebellion*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wolf, K., Richard. 2021. "The Musical Poetry of Endangered Languages: Kota and Wakhi Poem-songs in South and Central Asia." *Oral Tradition* 35 (1): 103-66. https://oraltradition.org/wp-content/uploads/OT-Volume-35-Wolf-2021.pdf

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was conducted with the support of the Centre National pour la Recherche Scientifique et Technique (CNRST), through the PhD-Associate Scholarship (PASS) program (2023–2026).