A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO BERBER-TAMAZIGHT SOCIOCULTURAL REALITY: THE BIOCONCEPTUAL ORGANIZATION OF *IZRI* POETICS BY TARIFIT-SPEAKING RIFFIAN WOMEN

To all Riffian women that like Fatima have preserved the essence of our forgotten culture; to Maria del Carmen my beloved wife and mother of my girl Fadila; to Dr. Juani Guerra, scholar, lady and an all round good person.

PhD Work by

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Thanks to all Riffian women who taught me how to sing and dance with freedom and taught me about their pains, their joy, their desire for freedom, their perception of time, their silent revolution.

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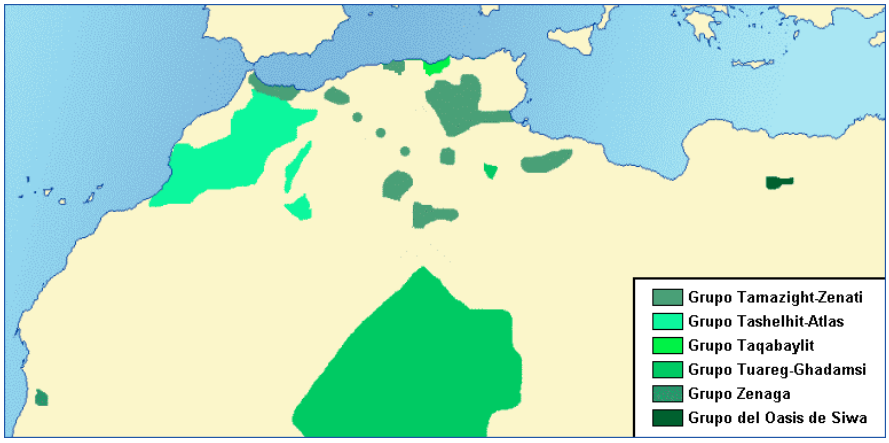
0. PREFACE

0.1. Sociocultural Berber network

Due to the complexity of the linguistic and cultural synergies that have designed its evolution throughout millennia, the world uniformly known as Berber is shaped in a unique heterogeneous way. "Berber", in the Tamazight milieu, is a term coined by other cultures with different philological and ontological history; it entered the Tarifit lexical form, 'Berber', from the Arabic language; originally it had come into this language from previous parallel constructions in Greek. In Arabic, the adjective means barbarous and uncivilized.

In this Thesis we explore Berber as a sociocultural system within a biological frame of human cognitive evolution for the first time. Moreover, this is the first international academic study on Izran as significant Berber data in the African history. Regarding human cognition as human action, we set off from the contemporary strong sociocultural need to open new spaces of interdisciplinary research on the way Berber's diversity construct knowledge, qualitatively and quantitatively. In a technical way, we regard Berber here as higher-level concept (Turner & Fauconnier 2002), of higher value (Dennet 1989, 1992) and of higher emotion (Damasio 1994); this complex construal refers to a cognitive organization of knowledge on a conceptual-linguistic basis. Our Thesis stems from a cognitive situation where Berber biocultural knowledge is enacted (Varela 1992) everyday by a human macrogroup of more than thirty million people distributed in about three hundred linguistic varieties as spoken in Africa. These

varieties are disseminated in the groups cited in the following map. We consider them here as "communities of practice" (Bourdieu 2005, Bernárdez 2008) organizing knowledge at various levels of biological and social complexity relative to their specific cultural (including geophysical) situations.



(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berber_languages#Ethnologue, May, 21. 2012)

The social (ethical & easthetical) reason that guides us in this project in the long term is that a new theoretical international space, advanced and innovative, is fundamental to elaborate a pragmatic description of the delicate human diversity of Berber that can be used to improve the everyday life of these human groups.

One of our foundational methodological aims is changing the general hermeneutical way of interpreting native Berber texts on a cultural and linguistic *visible experience* basis; this is normally done on integrating linguistic material that is given superficially to thought and awareness. This way assumes that when we interpret texts we don´t need abstract scientific theoretical principles, methods, and models such as those developed by recent Cognitive Sciences. We will use them here, particularly those

known as Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs, in Lakoff 1987) because we feel the need for an international theoretical space, crucially innovative and much more advanced, as essential to gain access to a substantially pragmatic description of the delicate human diversity of the Berber. Our vital discipline here is thus Cognitive Poetics which, as different from Hermeneutics, investigates the biocultural mechanisms making possible any specific attribution of meaning to Berber texts at all linguistic and non-linguistic levels.

In this line centered on processes of *poiesis* (construction), our main purpose is the activation of a new academic platform of both descriptive and empirical cognitive analysis of Berber-Tamazight sociocultural reality with the aim of founding a constructivist arena for a new period of social progress in all Berber communities. This first contribution is done by Amar El-Arbaoui Jelouli, native Philologist from the University Mohamed I, Oujda, Morocco) born in the Berber region of Kelaia, from the community of Mazzouja and the village of Izmaniyen. Amar is a polyglot person speaking native Tarifit (the three variants Tarifit, Tagarasht and Tashabdant), Darija Arabic, Fundamental Arabic, Spanish, French, English, German, and Dutch. This PhD work is here presented with the hope to inspire a global research of intercultural Berber reality directed to enhance this deprived millenary community living mostly in a harsh and hostile desert environment.

It is with aim in mind that we propose the above mention activation of an academic platform of Cognitive Studies of all Berber cultural and linguistic varieties which might essentially be a combination of empirical and descriptive approaches. The university platform that can make this social duty possible is envisioned here as

constructive foundations upon which we will improve social progress in the Amazigh and all other Berber communities.

On another level of study, and in line with current advances in Social Sciences like Cognitive Anthropology, the social basis of this project conceives all cultural evolution as biophysical to an important degree. From the theoretical and methodological approximation we have proposed here in the general framework of Cognitive Sciences, we can identify this work anthropologically as studies of cultural "biogenesis", of biogenetic processes from ensuing linguistic data here considered as living fossils (*mentils* in Guerra 2009); thus, cognitively describing the conceptual construct BERBER from linguistic mentils extracted from Tarifit Izran (improvised oral couplets sung by Riffian women) will be like scientifically classifying at a sociocultural level a new living species. To develop this kind of description it is a basic methodological condition to situate this complex construct taxonomically in the appropriate language family. This global aim will be framed in a wider international network of African studies. This will be a first typification of Tarifit Izran from Berber-Tamazight culture. This Thesis will consist of the first time they are approached as processes of creating standard (typical) social construction based on standard assumptions. Methodologically we will proceed on top-bottom bases analysing data from Izran as they reveal local morphodynamics of Berber-Tamazight sociocultural reality at a cognitive, bioconceptual organizational level.

To this end, this work presents a corpus with limited metaphorical expressions in izran from a selection of an extensive corpus of original linguistic data. This data was collected from fieldwork carried out by the author of this Thesis in the mountainous

areas of Rif in North Morocco. The Tarifit Izran were recorded in a number of celebrations, mostly wedding parties, during the summers of 2008 and 2010.

In the second analytical half of this work, we develop a case study of those cognitive mechanisms that activate metaphorical and other (pre)conceptual projections that could structure culture-specific forms of meaning relative to two abstract concepts that recur in these improvised songs sung by Amazigh Riffian women: TIME and LIFE. Specific dynamics prompting conceptual integration of LIGHT in the way Tarifit people understand "time" will focus our Thesis related to the existence of Tarifit-specific conceptualization of TIME and LIFE as foregrounded in processeses of embodied cognition situated in a desert environment like that of Rif Mountains.

The concepts of language and culture that we use in this research are part of what is called as Second-Generation Cognitive Revolution. Therefore, they reject those approaches that understand linguistic systems as static, without paying attention to the emergent nature of meaning inseparable to the community that manages them (Zlatev 2005: 30). This linguist proposes a hypothesis which is also in our project, that "language is a consciously supervised conventional representational system for communicative action and thought" (2005:11). Language is given to individuals to communicate senses (Esa Itkonen, 2003). For us, languages (in this case, the Tarifit variant of Berber-Tamazight) constitute the verbal representation of complex structures of shared knowledge that undergo transformations every time they are triggered. In this line, we intend to analyze the complex dynamics of knowledge structures specific to the Tamazight culture that have emerged from the cognitive entrenchment of the above

mentioned concepts.

Generally, theoretically and methodologically this case study is framed in a predominantly interdisciplinary mode in the latest advances of the Cognitive Science (Cogan, 2003). From one or other integrative perspective, these contributions have developed outstanding principles, methods and models to scrutinize many languages and cultures. In a context that we will name here as "the World of Knowledge", we will benefit from the continuous current interaction between Human Sciences, Natural Sciences and Technology. This is an international dynamics widely progressing today concerning new theoretical knowledge; moreover, it is making socially real the accomplishment of the highly demanded new alliance between Sciences and Humanities that Ilya Pregogine and Isabelle Stengers wisely presented in 1978 (cited in Guerra 1992). For the first time in history, this work tries to project all this advanced neurobiological, psychological, linguistic, anthropological, cognitive knowledge to the study of the *real* sociocultural dynamics of Rif's people. Our long-term aim is to contribute operative knowledge to the three far-reaching questions concerning human sociocognitive evolution.

0.2. The complex diversity of Berber

Berber regions constitute a singular variety of geophysical and sociocultural settings located in different Countries of Northern Africa and the sub-Saharan areas. Different linguistic varieties of the Tamazight are spoken all along the Southern borders of the

Mediterranean and in large extensions of the great Sahara. These varieties are numerous and share common features. This linguistic reality adds difficulties to our sociocultural research but does not make it impossible thanks to the new theoretical framework applied here. In this respect, and taking into account that there is still no work of this kind in the current international cognitive research, this work can be advantageous as a contribution to the broadly developed current investigations on processes of cultural and biological mechanisms that evolve in the form of language as vital for human communication.

One of the main conditions foregrounding this biocultural diversity, as projected in their linguistic accomplishments, is the harshness of the geophysical environment. The causes are diverse, like nomadic movements of livestock or territorial withdrawals of *force majeure* to escape invaders. The Amazigh communities of Rif live mainly in the waste desertic dunes and in the hardly accessible desertic mountains. Their language, natively known as Tamazight, and not as Berber, is only known in its diversity (see Bernárdez 2003 on language diversity). Tamazight integrates a huge number of varieties like *Tarifit, Tashelhit, Tashawit, Mzab, Gourara, Shenoua, Zenaga, Tasiwit, Tamasheq, Tayyart, Tawallmat, Tamajiq or Tazanatit* amongst many other varieties. Some varities are spoken together with Hausa in Niger. In this initial work, we do focus our attention on the Tarifit variety that is spoken in Rif.

It is precisely this rich diversity what makes this sociocognitive system complex. The sociological basis that underlies our work has thus much to do with a view of such social systems as complex adaptive systems. In this respect,we are close to the ideas originally elaborated by Luhmann (1984).

At the beginning of the 21st century, Tamazight-specific local cultures of different Rif's areas and their conceptual organization as revealed in the ensuing varied linguistic systems, constitute a complex network of combinations of conceptual categories (Rosch 1975, Lakoff 1987), of emotions (Damasio 1994), and of evaluations (Dennett 1989, 1992). These perceptual-cognitive components evolve enactivating conceptual organization of entities experienced by Berber people. This cognitive action accurs at a preconceptual and prelinguistic level of consciousness (Lakoff& Johnson 1987; Varela, Thompson & Rosch 1991), these are individual states socially dynamized Which are reflected at the end of the cognitive process in the resulting linguistic system, a self-organized system based in the instrumental use of the language in question (Bernardez 2000); in our case the Tarifit language. We are concerned with a philogenetic, an ontogenetic, and a cultural evolution of Tamazight varieties that are traditionally generated and aligned out of the various epistemological and phenomenological constituents of Islamic thought and of the Coranic texts, and that are eventually adapted to all biological and cultural levels that configurate Berber-specific *cognition* as Berber-specific *action* in the individuals following what Bernárdez (2003) calls "action for cognition". In this social network, Berber sociocultural lattices today interact with the international developments and the democratic cultural orientation of the West with a paradigmatic force. All this happens in spite of the general unavailability of modern economical and technological means.

Nowadays, the expansive complexity of Berber as open space of knowledge (complexity understood here in technical terms as wealth of information and

possibilities of a coherent biocultural evolution), turns the linguistic representations resulting from its evolved specific conceptual constructs into a very fertile field that allow scientists and humanists together to make important contributions to the social progress of those people living in a very harsh and hostile environment. The so-called *Arab Spring* is currently intensifying this situation of creative complexity in a unique way as regards the Berber macroculture. From a cognitive scientific view we have to wait so as to identify the real human dimension of its collective actions (Palmer 1996; Sharifian 2003, 2007; Bernárdez 2005, 2008).

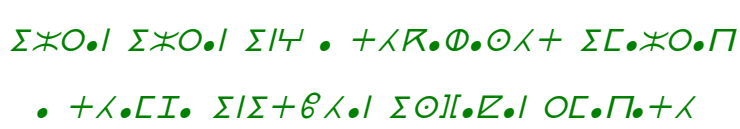
Again, one of the most objective evidence will be the way in which salient emergent concepts and salient new meanings are entrenched and lexicalized in the various and distinct cognitive systems. This test does not necessarily offset traditional humanistic approaches of hermeneutical tint (without scientific method); our hope is that they can complement the new poetics. Our foundational Cognitive Poetic question will coherently be: "What cognitive mechanisms enactivated during the prelinguistic and preconceptual phases, and in what interactive environments, make it possible that a Tarifit text, an izri, can produce Tamazight-specific meaning as evidenced in the resulting Tarifit language?

In the following section we will present an initial framework to support our decision to work with real time performed izran. This decision will be mentioned again in the introduction of chapter 2.

0.3. Our choice to use *Izran* as sociocognitive data

When I finished my doctorate courses on Cognitive Studies of Language, I thought that this new paradigm comprised a unique opportunity to trace and revive the lost history of Rif as it is conceptually instantiated and linguistically evidenced in modern *Izran*. I received advices and suggestions from my supervisor to treat aspects related to Rif`s Berber oral language. Then I came about the uniqueness of Rif´s women oral poems known as *Izran* (plural), *izri* (singular), and we decided that they constituted a body of data as that presented by Fauconnier (1994: xxvii) as a repository of future cognitive contribution to our universal knowledge of human cultural evolution. In his seminal study on *mental spaces*, Fauconnier enthusiastically put it in the following terms: "Once we start paying attention in everyday life, to instantiations of connectors, frames, induced schemas, conceptual connections, and metaphor, counterfactual mental spaces … the real world discloses far richer and more revealing configurations than our feeble efforts as linguists or philosophers have been able to produce. There is an abundance of such data that goes largely unnoticed despite its obviousness, mainly, it would seem, because it does not fit the observational categories of our established academic practice. 'Discovering' bodies of data that were staring us in the face, and yet were invisible to us (the black holes of science, the blind spots of the scientist) is a common feature of the evolution of scientific inquiry." We considered the possibilities to do field work in the Rif Mountains to record and transcribe these compositions as they were performed in real time by young women. Since then we have developed this idea and given it some shape within the general framework of Cognitive Poetics. In the beginning I was a bit unclear as to where this work would lead me. The scarcity of a written support added some difficulties. During the task of recollecting the corpus in the mountains, I found

assistance and collaboration from the informants which were most of the time optimal, though not exempt from some impediments. These informants were mostly women whose ages range between sixty and eighty years. Most of them were very knowledgeable in the art of producing *Izran*. They informed me about the contextual aspects of the production of most of the *Izran* I collected. They even enthusiastically instructed me in the art of changing a word in the short izri so as to adapt it to a special context. Now I recognize that from my early childhood I have been several times in direct contact with *Izran* but I never had the necessary awareness and the conscious interest in them that I have now, insistently enhanced by my supervisor. Fortunately, after my postgraduate studies in Cognition and Language at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, I acquired an intellectual and emotional appreciation of *Izran*'s deep-rooted cultural saliency and particularly of the importance of the biological and sociocultural context in the meaning construction of the situated concepts communicating the hidden inner life of these young Riffian women. Favorably, this is a cultural context that I have experienced in a direct way for many years as a native Riffian, Tarifit speaker. Promisingly, we soon figured out that this language is not found so far in the extensive research literature on Cognition, Culture and Language in the last decades; and barely scrutinized from other academic perspectives.



Izran izran inu a thkabasht imazray

A thamja initchan isfaqan rmayath

My Izran, oh Izran treasures of the desirous

Flute of the herdsmen that wake up the deceased

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The social position of the Riffian woman

The specific geopolitical and sociocultural situation that characterizes the African Riffian present society is a network of prime importance in the configuration and understanding of women´s social position; this position is crucial in this study because it substantiates their essential role in the transmission of language and culture. Structurally, a fundamental fact is that contemporary Riffian women live in a male dominant society. When a baby is born, her/his gender is the original mark of the position she/he will have in society. Girls are not socially considered as equal to boys; consequently, they do not enjoy the same rights as boys. It is just a few decades ago that girls were not allowed to go to school. Those girls living in small villages that could afford joining school were obliged to quit at round the age of twelve. It is clear that neither of them have received the same level of education as boys. Furthermore, they are introduced into the adult female world at an early age. This implies that still as kids they have to learn to wash the dishes, get water from the spring, wash clothes at the riverbank, gather firewood and cook food.

In these circumstances of human rights devaluation and low social position, Riffian women have traditionally evolved a very efficient mode to express their emotional and cognitive complex reality through small poetic improvised oral compositions known as *Izran* (singular, Izri). The original hypothesis of this Doctoral Thesis was that these conceptual compositions, elaborations and compressions

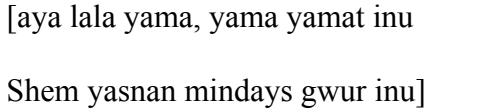
(Fauconnier & Turner 2002) could uncover hidden complexities of the millenary way Berber women thought and how they conceptualized this sociocultural and gender specific thoughts. So we started a search for the possibility of finding out important Berber cognitive sociocultural data out of linguistic elements that are presently starting to extinguish due to the arrival of new technology like TV in the area. We here attempt at collecting such grounding unknown basic data as a repository for future research from this and other disciplines like Cognitive Anthropology that can help Riffian culture to evolve and to contribute in the social development of a cross-continental better World.

If traditionally these compositions have been studied from the field of Literary Studies, we here approach them from an all-encompassing modern Cognitive Poetics and its theoretical interactions with other recent Cognitive Theories like Neurobiology or Cognitive Psychology, Linguistics or Semiotics, among others studying processes of thought and language that have recently bloomed up in the heart of a paradigmatic revolution centered on Cognition and Complexity (Guerra 2001, 2010). Basically, Cognitive Poetics explores the *complex dynamics,* the *how* of human creative mental processes (affective-critical-intellectual) and the vital assembly of its structures alive in an organism (human body, brain) in interaction with a specific environment (world, reality). Hermeneutics rather centers upon the *what* of a text from the introspective view of each theorist or observer, a view without a socioscientific method or model (Guerra 2011b). In Literary Studies, the *how* has been traditionally associated with the *form* and the *what* with the *content*; however, up to date Cognitive Sciences let us know that functionally, dynamically

or technically *online*, we cannot separate form and content as we cannot separate soul and body (Damasio, 1994) or body and mind (Johnson 1987). Presently, these structuring dynamics of meaning and emergent knowledge of the World are being investigated by new Natural-Human Sciences like Poetics, Semiotics or Linguistics along two cardinal lines exploring how conceptual projections and conceptualizations are produced in the form of structural couplings pairing form and meaning (Brandt 2006) in a complex adaptive way, and how are they grounded in a human body in interaction with an environment. These two lines are: 1) morphodynamics of material (linguistic) grounding, from the lexical to the discursive levels of each language; and 2) morpho-dynamics of non-material (conceptual) grounding in the processes of social configuration of intra- and inter-languages relations. As Guerra (1992) anticipated, these are the first methodological steps of a new *Enlightenment* centered on a trans-disciplinary scientific study of *texts* as living complex adaptive systems (See Bernárdez 1995, 2001).

We would like to start by considering a text about which nothing has been done before in the international scholarly community from any academic perspective. An oral poem improvised by women in celebration held in the Rif Mountains called *izri*. We are presenting it in its original Tarifit linguistic form. We will also add here the pronounciation transcription into brackets and its literal and non-literal translations into English and Spanish:

Original Tarifit



[aya lala yama, yama yamat inu

Shem yasnan mindays gwur inu]

Spanish literal translation

Querida madre, madre, madrecita mía

Tú sabes qué hay en corazón mío.

Spanish translation

¡Oh madre! Mamita tierna, mamita mía

Solo tú conoces la pena que hay en mi corazón.

English literal translation

Dear mother, mother, mom of mine

You know what is inside heart of mine

English translation

Oh mother! Tender mommy, dear mom

Only you know the pain in my heart.

From a hermeneutical view, what a native Berber listener understands is that the girl addresses her mother in order to elicit information, part of which she already knows. She addresses her to make sure she understands what she feels and implicitly requires a confirmation. The speaker does not ask a question but implicitly wants her mother to express herself and confirm her attitudes towards her. The mother understands her daughter, but cannot experience her reality in its fullness.

On the other hand, this izri exposes an emotion. This emotion is a metaphor because it has to do with imbalance in the mind. As a matter of a fact, emotions, unlike feelings that are private, these are public in the sense that they are manifested on the upper part of the skin, that is, we see some modifications on the physiological level. This body change is meaningful to the mother. The mother knows this emotion and now that her daughter has it she easily recognizes it. In fact, the emotive reactions that are psycho-physiological, that is to say, body and mind, show a clear synchronism when these reactions are produced (Damasio, 1995, 2000). For instance, there can be no anger at a mental level without a series of manifestations like sweating, body-heat, tension, or shaking. Culturally, the heart is thought of to fulfill some cognitive functions. Indeed, it constructs some Riffian cultural model for morality as is well illustrated in the following expressions:

1. *Ur damqran/da barshan/ da mazyan* (He/she has a big heart/ a black heart/a small heart)
2. *Ur inu yaqqar wah raaqar yaqqar la* (My heart says yes and my mind not)
3. *Arrahath dal maaisha g´wur*. (Peace and wealth are in the heart)

4. *Ur inu yrgab khas*. (My heart knows it)

1.2. Geographical and social situation

Rif is one of the poorest areas in Morocco. Overall, it is a mountainous area with little water reserves. Actually, there are two rivers, which are dry most time of the year. The land is very poor for agriculture. People cultivate barley and other vegetables that depend mainly on rainfalls. Riffian men already cultivate their land using hand tools and traditional animals like the donkey. The prosperous families possess small herds of goats and sheep. When the girls are grown up they take care of the flock, gather fresh herbs, take the animals to the well for water, and so on. At the age of twelve they start taking care of their small brothers, helping to prepare food, washing the clothes, taking water from the spring, collecting and taking care of chickens and rabbits that offer them the possibility to get some money.

At certain age between adolescence and maturity women are segregated from men. The only contact they have with males is limited to their nearest relatives. Historically, this segregation began as the result of an Islamic doctrine that was imposed on the Berbers with the Arab invasions during the seventh century. The adoption of the present identity is the result of a long process in which the construction and organization of the gender´s identity evolved as a result of the introduction of a new way of organizing the social and familiar environment. The construction of identity is not bioculturally the same for men and women, basically because the ontological and

epistemological differences rationally elaborated by the Islamic society do not provide both men and women with the same social value.

Islamic men seem to exert absolute power and control over women. This is mainly maintained by insistently reminding them of what they must not do. Hierarchically, men are given the highest esteem in the Riffian society and culture, while women are associated with less positive endowments. Furthermore, they are socially judged as negative human beings. Religion seems to be unfair and unjust with women. Culturally, God is represented as masculine. But the object of this study is one thing that has traditionally been salient concerning the real everyday life in Rif. This *realia* is that Riffian women have always been characterized after their capacity to use the power of the word in a very special way through the improvised *Izran*. Generally, women stuck to this unique opportunity that allows them to express themselves in the first person pronoun "I", and also express their agreement or disagreement with the main issues that affect them directly or indirectly. Thus, on performing an izri, they can overcome their fear to use the pronoun "I"; for they are not allowed to use it in the presence of men in everyday language. Though young women are less powerful than young men, they have radically evolved this method through which they can criticize others, defend themselves, or announce a new relationship. The following izri, for instance, is produced to criticize a girl that fell in love with a boy from a different tribe. Her parents rejected her marriage because he did not belong to their tribe.

Original Tarifit

ⵉⵎⵜⵜⴰⵡⴰⵏ ⵍⴰⴱ ⵉⵎⵜⵜⴰⵡⴰⵏ ⵏⵜⴰⵙⵔⵉⵜ

ⵉⵎⵜⵜⴰⵡⴰⵏ ⵜⵔⴰⵜⵓ ⵎⵉⵙ ⵎⵉⴷⴰⵏ ⵜⵅⴰⵅⵙⵉⵜ

[Imatawan alub imattawan n´tasrith

Imattawan thatru mis midan thakhsith]

Spanish literal translation

lágrimas de juego lágrimas de la novia

lágrimas llora, hijo de extraños quiere

Spanish translation

Lágrimas de cocodrilo, las lágrimas de la novia

Lágrimas llora cuando a un hijo de extraños quiere.

English translation

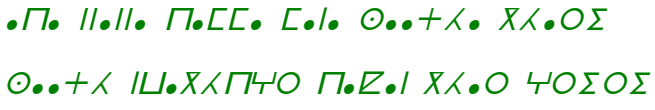
Tears of crocodile, tears of the bride

Tears she cries when a stranger she loves.

The expression “tear of crocodile” hints to her faked tears. The poet wants us to understand that her tears are not real.

In the following izri, the speaker is telling us about her luck.

Original Tarifit



[aya lala yama mana sa3tha ghari

Sa3th n´waghyur yaqan ghar uriri]

Spanish literal translation

Querida madre que suerte esta que tengo

La suerte de un burro atado a una adelfa.

Dear mother what luck this I have

Luck of a donkey tied to a rosebay.

Spanish translation

Madre de mi alma, menuda suerte tengo yo!

Tengo la suerte de un burro atado a una adelfa.

English translation

Dear mother! What a luck I have got!

I have the luck of a donkey tied to a rosebay.

At first sight, the reference to the mother can be figurative. It seems a mere stylistic resource the speaker uses to express something that torments her. She complains of her bad luck and misfortunes and compares her situation to that of a hungry donkey tied to a poisonous tree. The oleander tree symbolizes her bud luck.

But real understanding in terms of meaning construction (conceptual structures) and knowledge of the world construction (conceptualization processes) implies a cognitive representation of the world of the izri. This means that the listener understanding is not based on an introspective or intuitive interpretation of the events represented by words but also on his ability to make sense from the events that are imagined. Our hypothesis is that the relationship between words and events in the izri orally performed production may refer to something real in the outside world. It may also refer to an imagined or desired world (Semino 2003). We mentally construct few worlds such as:

1. The world of the poet
2. The world of the donkey
3. The real world
4. The desired world.

The desired world is contained in the cultural elements contained in the lexemes. The world of the poet is clearly understood as the world of an unlucky person (woman´s social position in Rif). The "world of the donkey" tied to a poisonous tree, is an image of the world of the poet that is fused with the world of her main character "I". A hungry donkey tied to a tree whose leaves are poisonous, is analogous to the poet´s complex situation, a situation from which she cannot free herself. The world of the donkey may

be fictitious but that of the woman is real. According to Semino (2003: 86), the "fictitious worlds are generally assumed to resemble the actual world in all respects." The desired world is understood as the opposite of the real world. It is an abstract world that is constructed mentally so as to establish a relation between the different imaginary worlds. This izri can be adapted to any unlucky situation.

1.3. Compositional aspect of *Izran*

Young girls are assigned new tasks according to their ages, and though their works are less intense than those exercised by men, are repeated day after day. As seen above, a girl´s daily routine consists of gathering wood, taking herbs for the domestic animals, taking water from the spring, taking care of her little brothers and helps prepare the food. This is the way in which she is initiated in the world of adult women. When they are doing their work, such as washing clothes or taking care of the flock they are always singing so as to master their language through this kind of mental training. Indeed, they train themselves memorizing the maximum number of *Izran*. This mental training strengthens their capacity for the mastery of language and consequently enables them in their capacity of improvisation. Memorizing *Izran* is then a way to master mental structures that improve the way they make use of different communicative situations; this learned creativity is enactivated when they utter an izri. Furthermore, these *Izran* are the only social means that allows them to defend themselves, announce a compromise, or attack others. Young girls are introduced in the world of the composition of *Izran* at the same time they are introduced in the world of cooking,

taking care of the flock or washing clothes at the river bank. The learning of *Izran* is a duty of all Riffian girls fundamentally because these pieces of oral production constitute their most powerful weapon used in the protection of their honor. The following izri is an attack on an adversary:

Original Tarifit

ⵉⵏⴰⵎ ⴰⵜⵣⴰⵔ ⵉⵏⵉⵅⵣ ⵍⴰⵔ ⵉⵜⴰⵇⴰⵙ ⵓⵣⴰⵔ
ⴰⵅⵣⴰⵔⵎⵏⵎ ⵏ ⵜⴰⵏⵉⵏⵜ ⵉⵙⵉⵍⴰ ⴰⵏⴰⵅⴰⵔ

[Inay atham inigh wam itaqas r´har

Aghambub n´tadjunt sifif anakhar.]

Spanish literal translation

Dime y te digo, pero no te ofendas

Cara del cedazo cribar salvado

English literal translation

Tell me I tell you, don´t feel offended

Face of the sieve, sift the barn

Spanish translation

Démonos dimes y diretes, pero procura no picarte,

La cara del cedazo sirve para cribar el salvado.

English translation

Bicker with me, but try not to be naughty

Face of a sieve that serves to sift the bran

The poet not only attacks but also defends herself and at the same time she indirectly makes us know that she is more beautiful than her adversary. Barley is a symbol of status and power, while bran is food for animals and the miserable.

At the age of eighteen, it is hardly possible to find a young woman in Rif that is not able to compose *Izran*. In fact they are all expected to be some kind of local bards or poets. In the beginning it takes time to compose new *Izran*, but they insist in challenging the old ones and improvise new *Izran* with the intention to compete with others, or to draw the attention of young males. When I set out to collect *Izran* that are sung in some wedding parties, I realized how important the context is for their full understanding. My informants, mainly very knowledgeable old women in the art of producing *Izran*, insisted about the importance of context. They taught me some compositional strategies, such as changing one word in order to change the meaning of the whole izri adequating it to one´s own emotions, desires and interests. Clearly, they are poetically aware that this small instrumental change in the lexical structure of the verse changes the sense of the izri, its conceptual organization, and trigger them whenever they can as prompts into their real life as social persons, something that is not allowed to them out of the frame of the izri. New field work in the region of Kelaia in Northern Morocco has permitted

me to gather a good number of *Izran* that we have explored under the biocultural lenses of cognitive analysis. Now that the cognitive paradigm provides with the adequate tools to understand the cognitive mechanisms involved in its production we have progressed in the application of its poetic and linguistic principles, methods and models in search of a contribution of the Berber *Izran* to the overall human evolution. In our view, the focus on human evolution from its roots makes it necessary to have a wider scope of languages and intercultural reflections which include cultural variations in any single existing language. In this study, Tarifit is the mostly unknown Berber language.

So as to be faithful to the conceptual construal of the izri, we have provided the non-Berber reader with literal and non-literal translations into Spanish and English, sometimes idiomatic ones when necessary. I acknowledge that I have found some *Izran* very difficult to translate because of the relational complexity of the words improvised during its performance, a defamiliarization, on the other hand, that other mostly Western modern artistic movements consciously force basically to open the text to new possibilities of meaning construction when enacted by a different agent (Varela, Francisco, Thompson, E. & Rosch, Eds., 1991)

The Riffian society in the area of Kelaia is fragmented in various sociological places such as Kebdana, Kelaia and Rif. The *Izran* produced in these areas are different from those produced in the south where Tashelhit is the language of communication. The Riffian izri, for instance, considers rhyming as a very important element in the art of composing, while in Tashelhit it is the coincidence of the meaning of the second verse with the first line. Probably the distance between the different tribes is responsible for

these differences. In Tashelhit, rhyming is not so important, while in Tarifit sometimes the poet enhances the meaning using rhyming as linguistic units.

When we speak about Riffian literature, we actually speak of oral literature as manifested in the most popular configurations of *Izran* and the tales. Moreover, until just a few decades ago, there has been no work about Tarifit except for some official documents written by some military personalities. Recently, students in Europe whose mother tongue is one of the varieties spoken in the Berber world have started to publish some works that are mainly descriptive (Mohamed Chacha in Holland 1997 and Ekram Hamu in Spain 2002). However, almost no practical research on Tarifit has been carried out. When this is done it proves to be very difficult because of the poverty of language. We say "poor" because it has never been written in an everyday basis so as to facilitate its creative evolution. Technically there is a total absence of a scientific production in Tarifit language. This emptiness is filled with Arabic or Spanish non-familiar concepts and expressions. Apart of the core words, most of the lexemes used in Tarifit (I venture to say more than thirty per cent) are of Arabic and Spanish origin. This reality can be seen in many *Izran*, though women have reported that they try to use only Tarifit words. At the same time, these still unfamiliar expressions are interestingly activated in current *Izran* to express socially veiled personal experiences. Inner experience is the basic ingredient that constructs this Rif's women oral poetry. On the contrary, interestingly, men's Taqsais are made out of outer experience. Moreover, when *Izran* are sung in weddings and other religious parties, the present audience judges their artistic value. This is because traditionally, *Izran* occupy the most privileged position in Rif´s Berber

culture. As we have seen, young girls are hard-pressed to memorize the maximum possible number of *Izran* for this mental exercise allows them to master their mother tongue. When they start performing them, they may already have their proper innovative style like the famous Mimunt n´Selouan, who dared to criticize God in one of her *Izran*:

Original Tarifit

ⴰⵢⴰ ⵙⵉⴷⵉ ⵔⴰⴱⵉ ⴰⵊⵎⴰ ⵉⵜⵀⴰⵔⵏ ⵏⵉⵛ
ⵜⵎⴰⵏⵢⴰⵜ ⵓ ⵍⵉⵎⴰⵏ ⵅⵉⵔ ⵙⵡⴰⵏⵣⴰⵔ ⵏⵉⵛ

[Aya sidi rabi ajma itharn nesh

Tmanyath u liman khir swanzar nesh]

Spanish literal translation

Oh señor! recógete pies tuyos

Dinero de Alemania mejor que lluvia tuya

English literal translation

Oh lord! Move feet yours

Money of Germany better tan rain yours

Spanish translation

Oh Dios aparta tus pies

El dinero de Alemania mejor que tu lluvia.

English translation

Oh God move your feet

German Money is better than your rain.

This izri was seen as a provocation to the religious men who considered her song as blasphemous and out of context. In the seventies, the immigrants that had been working in Germany were considered rich because they had enough money to cover all their necessities. Those who depended on local agriculture lived in abject poverty.

In what follows we would like to introduce a basic typology of *Izran* based on their subject matter. Our aim is to start framing the sociocultural contribution of *Izran* to universal literature.

1.4. Variety of *Izran* subjects

1.4.1. Romantic izri

ⵓⵛⵉⴷ ⴼⵓⵙ ⵏⵜⵄⵎ ⵉⵖⵔ ⵓⵛⵄⵔ ⵙⵉⵙⵅⵄ ⵓⵄⵄⵓⵔ

ⵓⵔ ⵙⵉⵡ ⵜⵄ ⵍⵍⵓⵉⵙ ⵉⵖⵔ ⵎⵓⵅⵄⵓ ⵜⵄⵓⵎⵓ ⵓⵛⵄⵓⵓⵔ

[ushayd fuss nem atham ingh sh´har

Ur inu th´wani nem yugha thays usha3ar]

Spanish literal translation

Dame mano tuya a ti digo cuanto

Corazón mío y el tuyo encender gran fuego

English literal translation

Give me hand yours tell me you how much

Heart mine and yours set big fire.

Spanish translation

Dame la mano y te diré cuánto

fuego arde en tu corazón y el mío

English translation

Give me your hands I tell you how

Your heart and mine are set on fire.

In this izri, the speaker expects the listener to understand the izri through the activation of relevant abstract knowledge (Gibbs 2003:28). For instance, the concept of "love" can be understood through different metaphors like, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS FIRE, LOVE IS INSANITY, (Lakoff& Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner 1989). When the listener hears the izri in a wedding ceremony, he presumably activates his knowledge of the activities normally associated to "love emotions". This kind of knowledge is called "script". It consists of well learned scenarios describing structured

situations in everyday life (Gibbs 2003:33). So as to understand the izri, the listener "must decide what "script" is relevant and how it should be modified to fit the situation at hand." (Gibbs 2003:33).

The script of the two lovers hand in hand, looking at each other is reconstructed mentally in accordance with the present context. That is, the interpreter understands the poem by simply creating a mental picture of two persons that are in love with each other. An experimented listener may use his/her previous experiences as the basis of the interpretation of romantic poems.

In the izri, the speaker asks his beloved to give him her hand so as to feel her and enter in a direct contact with her and tell her how much he loves her. He explicitly confirms his feelings towards her. The speaker that is fused with her main character is capable of contemplating an amorous scene. The language used in the izri helps us understand that the speaker in the izri is a man and the addressee is a woman. In Tarifit "ushayd fus nem", the sound /m/ is a reference to number and gender. If the speaker were a woman, she would have said "ushayd fus nesh", the sound /sh/ at the end of a word is a reference to the masculine.

The izri is composed as a kind of dialogue where only one character produces an utterance. The man is taking action, whereas the woman is simply supposed to give her hands to the speaker so as to confirm this love relation. The poem reveals the speaker´s innermost emotional sensations. He wants to assure his woman that their "hearts are set on fire". It seems that he is sure of the woman´s feelings towards him. He said "Your heart and mine are set on fire", this may seem a vague confirmation of the relationship that unites them. By understanding the metaphor LOVE IS FIRE, we get a perception of

the speaker placing himself closer to the woman. The woman by stretching her hands with him accepts the idea of allowing him to enter into her affections. The izri looks splendid in the way that, within a matter of two lines the poet moves from external to internal description using a very simple and emotive language. Our cognitive poetic approach and analysis sets out on the conviction that this interpretation is not at all exhaustive, that we could introspectively say much more about it in different situations. We will explore emotions, metaphor, or symbolism from the cognitive perspective. All this information could be brought to bear on new revelations about the human cultural evolution from these apparently simple poems.

1.4.2. Historical izri

Original Tarifit

ⵎⴰⵎⵎⵉ ⵖⵉⵏⵏⵉⵖⵉ ⴰⵖⴰⵏⵏⵉ ⵍⴰⵎⵎⵉ ⵔⵖⴰⵏⵏⵉ ⵎⵉⵖⵉⵖⴰ
ⵏⴰⵏⵏⴰ ⵜⵖⴰⵡⵎⴰⵜ ⵉⵏⵓ ⵖⵖⴰⵔⵔⴰⴱⴰ ⵜⵖⴰⵏⵢⴰ

[maymi gigh r´hanni maymi khafi yugha

Lala thawmat inu g´gharrabo thanya]

Spanish literal translation

Porque poner “henna” porque sobre mí brilla

Querido hermanito mío en barco subió.

English literal translation

Because put I “henna” why on me shine

Dear brother mine in the ship got up

Spanish translation

Porque he puesto la henna y porque se ha abrillantado

Mi querido hermano en el barco ha embarcado.

English translation

Because I put henna and because it shines on me

My dear brother on the ship has boarded.

This izri was produced as a result of the many thousands of young Riffian that were obliged to participate in the Spanish civil war. It is produced from the point of view of a first person singular and feminine pronoun. The speaker refers to herself as “I” and “me”, or using the possessive expression “my”. This indicates that the poet is involved as a direct participant. She adopts provisionally the character´s personality (Fludernik, 1993: 125). The impact is psychological and we as listeners give total freedom to our imagination to conceptualize what is going on in the speaker´s mind, and as Laing (1967) said, even if we can´t experience the speaker´s experiences we experience ourselves experiencing her experiences.

The reference to oneself as “me” is a special grammatical use that evokes in the subjects certain feelings of fear and responsibility. “I” and “me” converge in normal

speech. The viewpoint and the speaker are the same. But language has "the potential to split one from the other" (Frawley, 1997:179). Fauconnier in turn argued that ""Me" and "myself" refer back to two different people. But since they are both first person pronoun, they should both refer to the speaker." (Fauconnier, 1994: ix-x)

The metaphorical use of "ship" as a reference to Spain strengthens this human emotion. There is symmetry, a harmony, between the woman´s feelings and the actual situation of Rif. The metaphorical use of "henna" to suggest the enjoyment of life is turned out to be a bitter irony. This kind of emotion is spread over the whole scenery. There is something that can be felt though it cannot be perceived by the senses (Tsur 2007). This emotion generates an intense psychological atmosphere. The listener is aware of a kind of mental instability.

Moreover, the use of the word "henna" is a strategy to demonstrate who is talking to whom. The social process in which she was initiated, now serves her to play her role as a mature woman. It is also a strategy designed to give the listener more information about the gender of the speaker and the effects her information may produce in the listeners.

1.4.3. Political izri

Original Tarifit

ⵢⵓⵉ•ⵎⵏ ⵜⵢⵓ ⵏ÷ⵔ •ⵏⵅ••+ⵉ ⵅⵉ• ⵍ•+ⵉⵓ•ⵓ
+ⵉⵙⵏ ⵙⵅⵉ• ⵏ•ⵓⵉ•ⵓ ⵅⵉ• +ⵉⵢ+ⵉ•ⵓ ⵙⵔ•ⵏ•ⵏ +ⵉⵙⵜ•ⵔⵔ•ⵓ

[ushayd fus nem anga3ath gha wathrar

Thin igha nas´has gha thutharth iman3an thizammar]

Spanish literal translation

Dame mano tuya, nosotros subir a la montaña

Ahí escuchar nosotros a la vida que mantiene el poder.

English literal translation

Give me hand yours we go up to mountain

There we listen to the life that got power.

Spanish translation

Dame tus manos para subir a lo alto de la montaña

Allí donde podemos oír las vidas que tienen el poder.

English translation

Give me your hands, we climb up the mountain

There we can listen to the lives that got power.

This izri is historically situated shortly after the rebellion against the conquerors. Those that chose to join the uprising had to listen to the leaders instructions. These leaders used the mountains as a refuge so as to avoid being captured by the invaders.

Analyzing this izri, we see how pragmatics offers a powerful tool, due to the fact that it accounts for elements that are not present on the face of the utterance, but have to be inferred (Van Dijk 1978). Its evolving complexity could be first analyzed applying the now widespread metaphorical model initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Lakoff and Turner (1989). It would provide a qualitative analysis since it offers the possibility of scrutinizing some expressions. The poem as enunciation allows us to observe some levels of conceptualizations that are in accordance with Lakoff´s ideas. To start with, there is a realization of an ontological metaphor UP IS POWER, or UP IS GOOD. The image schema "up" is frequently linked to positive evaluations, while "down" is linked to negative evaluations (Johnson 1987). This example is also a case of image schema metaphor since the source domain has its experiential basis in our "climbing up the mountains". Our knowledge about mountains seems to encapsulate different messages about difficulties. The interpreter activates the efforts scenarios that undoubtedly led him to mention the discovery of some metaphorical expressions about difficulties or speak about different notions of representations like image schemas, scripts, frames and scenarios, which "… are all about abstract knowledge representations that model the conceptual structure of a piece of a particular knowledge." (Steen, 2003: 68).

Literally, the speaker asks another fellow citizen to join forces so as to overcome the difficulties of "climbing up the mountains". The speaker wants to confirm that he is not alone in this affair. Figuratively, the izri represents an observation of two subjects "me" and "you" that desire to join forces so as to defeat the difficulties on the way up. Metaphorically, life is full of difficulties and to achieve one´s goals one has to go

through many obstacles. The interpreter perceives a claim of desirability and a symbolic connection.

On a mental level, the interpreter presumably activates his knowledge of the activities normally associated to the act of facing difficulties in achieving a desire. This knowledge is called "Script" (Schank and Abelson 1977); the Cognitive Semantics abstract formalizations through which we can map it is known as Idealized Cognitive Model (Lakoff 1987). The script of two subjects joining forces so as to overcome some difficulties on the way "up" is reconstructed momentarily in accordance with the present situation (Steen 2003). Some listeners may adopt a different perspective to make sense of the actions described in the izri. The interpreter knows that the action of "climbing" is not used in its literal sense. In "To listen to the lives that got power" the speaker recognizes a kind of slow and deliberate process of becoming emotionally closer to his fellow citizens.

In a matter of two lines, the poet uses a very emotive idea so as to raise the listener´s curiosity about the main events that are about to take place. She motivates her audience raising in them a feeling of responsibility and love to Rif. Though many things are not mentioned linguistically, such as time or place, or specify the objects and characters that inhabit this world, we mentally feel able to place the izri in its real historical context. We understand the poet´s intention though she keeps herself behind the scene. We know the world of the izri and we know the real world to which the izri makes reference. Our background knowledge is brought into play in the izri processing. It is evident that the majority of the listeners are able to recognize the setting, the events the izri refers to, just on activating their cultural knowledge that is formed as a result of

a lifelong contact with both, traditional and contemporary interpretation of *Izran*.

1.4.4. Sarcastic izri

Original Tarifit

ⵍⵉⵙ ⵏⴰⵅⵉⵙⴰⵏ ⵏⴰⵍⵉⵙ ⵏⴰⵍⵉⵙ ⴰⵢⵏⴰⵅⵍⴰ

ⴰⵅⵉⴰⵜⵉⴰⵎⵜⵉ ⵍⴰⴰ ⵉⵅⵉⴰⵏⴰⵎ ⵉⴰⵏⵏⵢⵏⵢⵏ ⴰⴰⴰⵜⵉⴰ

[wi yakhsan yawi yawi, yawi bu rahwa

R´khathmath war ikhaddam, isfaruj aba3tha]

Spanish literal translation

Quien quiere casarse, casarse, casarse con cantante

Trabajo no trabaja, entretiene por lo menos.

English literal translation

She that wants, marry marry, marry a Singer

Work he works not, entertains at least.

Spanish translation

La que quiere casarse que se case con un trovador

Trabajo no trabaja, pero por lo menos entretiene.

Englsih translation

She that wants to marry, marry a troubadour

Work he likes not, but at least he entertains.

Women that are not married at an early age are always criticized or mocked at. The role of culture in the comprehension of the izri is evident. The imagery used in the izri is easily perceived. The poet wants us to understand only the most salient part of the utterance. There is a tendency of the listener to codify only the part that interests him. Indeed, it is up to him to realize a semantic transfer for an acceptable significance. His literary competence depends on his familiarity with the descriptive systems and the social methodologies to which he belongs.

1.4.5. Izri from the domain of witchcraft

Original Tarifit

[Qam atay, qam atay ag na3na3 thrus

Inas isus ni qa thayd thuthith gwfus]

Spanish literal translation

Mueve te mueve te pon yerba buena poco

Dile carcoma esa, pronto caer en manos mios.

English literal translation

Move tea, move tea put mint a Little

Tell worm that, soon fall in hands mine.

Spanish translation

Mueve la tetera, mueve la tetera y pon poquita yerba Buena

Dile a esa carcoma que pronto caerá en mis manos.

English translation

Shake the teapot, shake the teapot and put a Little of mint

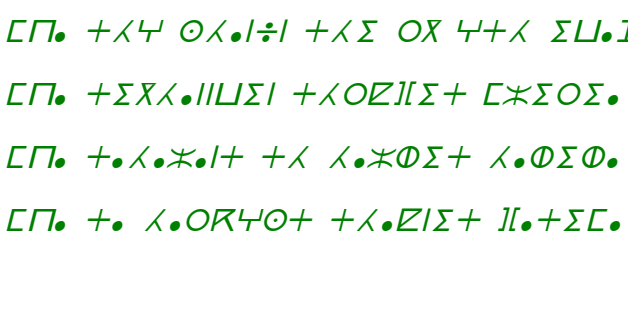
Tell that worm soon he will fall in my hands.

This izri is inspired in the use of witchcraft. It seems very interesting because it provides us with cultural cues that facilitate comprehension of Rif´s Berber idiosyncrasies. The use of magic power to submit another agent or event to one´s owns wishes has always been associated with evil doings. People use it to harm others, cause accidents, illness and bad luck; others use it for good causes, such as casting spells for love, health or wealth. When the belief in witchcraft becomes entrenched, people feel unable to free themselves from the magic conception of the universe. That is, people cannot make a realistic idea about the world around them and resist seeing things in their right place. (There are many reasons to recur to witchcraft so as to solve problems). In describing the witchcraft scenario, the Berber women in Rif express their most intimate feelings with the most simple and beautiful words language offers her.

To understand this izri, the listener activates the witchcraft scenario. The way the woman must prepare the tea models the conceptual structure of this particular piece of knowledge. And whether she uses magic for good or bad, it culturally expresses one emotion or another. This feeling is expressed in a kind of silent language. In our izri, the script of a woman preparing tea to bewitch someone is constructed mentally in accordance with the present context. Poetry as we see here stems from a modest mind. It is about life and is always meant to express an emotion or invoke a strong feeling.

1.4.6. Izri with four lines in the form of two couplets.

Original Tarifit



[mya thushanen thi rag3uth ithajna

Mya tagharmesh thraqfit mziria

Mya tahazzant th´hazbit Habiba

Mya taharkust thaqnit Fatima.]

Spanish literal translation

Cien lobos en las Colinas preparados

Cien ovejas sufren de miseria

Cien centurones poner Habiba

Cien zapatos vestir Fatima.

English literal translation

Hundred wolves on the hills ready

Hundred sheep suffer misery

Hundred belts wear Habiba

Hundred shoes wear Fatima.

Spanish translation

Cien lobos aguardan sigilosamente en las Colinas

Cien ovejas en las llanuras viven en la miseria

Cien cinturones vistió Habiba

Cien zapatos calzó Fátima.

English translation

Hundred wolves on the hills laying still

Hundred sheeps in the prairies living miserable

Hundred belts around Habiba´s waist

Hundred shoes in Fatima´s feet

When an izri is produced, we always wonder why the poet said what she said, and in terms of what she said we feel able to explain her intentions. We behave like psychologists who explain mental states on the basis of speaker´s observable actions (Gibbs 1994). On a mental level we have an image of wolves and another of sheeps, though both expressions are used metonymically to refer to the rebels and the conquerors; "hills" and "prairie" are used metaphorically to refer to resistance and weakness. The speaker knows about the kind of relation that holds between "wolves" and "sheeps". She intuits a complex state of mind triggered by a limited verbal description. In fact, there is an exposition of an emotional change as a consequence of the outside forces that produce this change. This change is specified in the third line.

Two things that any listener can speak about with some details are the emotional change and the psychological state of the characters of the world of the izri. Our perception gives way to our imagination. The linguistic level reveals what is happening at a conceptual level. In this izri we have various metaphors related to each other. We have wolves and hills, sheep and plains, Habiba and her belts and Fatima and her shoes. There is almost no plain simple and non-metaphorical language in the poem. The intense emotional atmosphere is generated by conceptual metaphor. In this izri there is a kind of contiguity between wolves and hills, sheep and prairies, Habiba and her belts and Fatima and her shoes. These objects combine into a coherent landscape that opens semantic possibilities to any potential observer. The linguistic expressions configure metaphors that construe the whole scene from what we know as the extended mind (Chalmers & Clark 1998). The conceptual construction of the landscape is thus contiguous, with the poet´s feelings. It prompts in harmony.

1.5. The way *Izran* are produced.

A wedding party is the most adequate event where women show their ability to compose, elaborate and comprise (Fauconnier & Turner 2002) *Izran*. The performance is taken ahead through two different methods:

1) The girls, mainly young and bachelors, sit on the floor forming a circle and using some instruments such as the "Bandir", a kind of tambourine played with the palms of the hands. They start with a chorus, that they repeat as many times as they wish and then a girl sings her izri; if the izri is judged to be good for the occasion the others applaud. Then the chorus starts again singing "Yara la yara yara la buya". Another girl sings another izri with the intention to produce a better one, and so on.

2) It can be performed in two groups forming two lines in parallel. When they start singing the chorus, one line of women moves a step back and the other in front, a step ahead, and immediately the movement is repeated in the opposite direction. When this is done one of the girls exhibiting her best dress and voice sings an izri. This time the audience can be formed by young males that can applaud the izri or not depending on the information she transmits. This is normally the best occasion for a young Riffian woman to advertise herself, point to the tribe she belongs to, criticize a pretender she rejects, or announce her relationship. This is the moment all of them have been waiting for. It is interesting to note that married women rarely collaborate in these choruses, only widows or unmarried women do. Those young girls that are engaged have to pay special attention about the *Izran* they sing; this is because they can offend the future

husband and this may signify their rupture. Others may criticize a rejected pretender as is expressed in the following izri.

Original Tarifit

ⵓⵡⵓⵙⵙⵓ, ⵓⵡⵓⵙⵙⵓ ⵓⵎⵓⵙⵙⵓ ⵏⵎⵓⴼⵓⵙⵙⵓⵙⵜⵉⵓⵏ
ⵎⵓⵔⵉⵙ ⵓⵜⵉⵎⵓⵏⵏⵢ ⵙⵓⵙⵉⵜⵉⵢ ⵓⵜⵉ ⵎⵓⵙⵉ ⵙⵜⵉⵙⵙⵓⵙⵜⵉⵓⵏ

Awassar awassar ayarri nyabririthan

Yakhs athyandu rashthu ath yash ithririthan

Spanish literal translation

Viejo, viejo montón de Dolores

Quiere saltar cama comer hojaldres.

English literal translation

Old man, old man heap of pains

Want jump bed eat pastry.

Spanish translation

Vaya con el viejo atajo de dolores y deslates

Quiere abalanzarse sobre la cama y comer los hojaldres.

English translation

Come on with the old man, collection of stupidity and pains

He wants to rush forward on the bed and eats the puff pastry.

The poet uses the lexemes “collection of pains and puff pastry” metaphorically to suggest that the old man wants to have a sexual contact with a tender young girl. As we see, even if the poem seems very simple it could have taken a long time for the Riffian girl to find the correct words to describe the situation and transmit her intentions through words. Food elements are used as a metaphor to refer to tenderness and youth. In the following izri natural elements are used metaphorically to transmit a specific intention.

Original Tarifit

ⵢⵏⵢⵓ ⵙⵅⵍⴰⵏ ⵙⵅⵍⴰⵏ ⴰⵎ ⵍⴰⵎⴰⵏ ⵜⵅⵙ ⵜⵅⴰⵓⴰ
ⴰⴹⴰⵎ ⴰⵎⵙⵅⴰⵏ ⵙⵏⵢ ⵎⴰⵏⵉ ⵙⵅⵙⵅ ⴰⵓⵙⵃⵅⴰ

[uyur shway shway am waman thi thara

Aqam amshan inu mani shigh arridha]

Spanish literal translation

Camina tu despacio como agua en el manantial

Este lugar mío donde comí “Arridha”

English literal translation

Walk you slowly like water in the spring

This place mine where eat me “Arridha”

Spanish translation

Camina despacio como agua del manantial

Este es mi lugar donde comí “Arridha”

English translation

Walk slowly like water in the spring

This is the place where I ate “Arridha”

The boy is remembering the girl to be patient, because he is not interested as much in marriage as in that feeling that invaded him when he knew her. He wants to keep that feeling alive, whenever he visits the place where they knew each other for the first time. “Arridha” is a plant of love. When someone falls in love, Tarifit people say “s/he ates Arridha” or “Bunarjuf”. Note the following izri:

Original Tarifit

ⴰⵎⴰ ⵍⵍⵉⵏⴰⵏⴰ ⵏⴰ ⵜⵉⵏⵉ ⴳⵍⵍⴰⵏⵉⵜⵜⵉⵏ

ⵍⴰⴳⵉⵏⵉ ⵜⵉⴰⵏⵜⵜⵉⵜ ⵍⴷⵅⵉ ⵎⴰⵅⴰ ⵜⵉⴰⵎⴳ ⴰⴰⵏⵜⵜⵉⵜ

[aya limania ma thini bunarjuf

Neshim thamurth nagh yaga thays rajruf]

Spanish literal translation

Tu alemania acaso hay "bunarjuf"

Nosotros tierra nuestra hace en ella montañas.

English literal translation

You Germany by the way there "bunarjuf"

We land ours make in it mountains.

Spanish translation

Dime tu Alemania, acaso tenéis "bunarjuf"

¡Oh nuestra generosa tierra donde se encuentra a raudales.

English translation

Tell me you Germany; by the way have you got "bunarjuf"

Oh of our generous land where it grows in abundance!

"Bunarjuf" and "Arritha" are two plants of love. It is believed that if one eats it one will be invaded by a strong feeling of love.

1.6. *Izran* as a social criticism

From Joseph T. B. (1980: 427) we learn that the "woman who performs her songs at

wedding uses them not only as a social criticism, but as a strategy to defend herself, attack others, encourage suitors, announce an engagement, remind young men of the tribe she is in love, shame or ridicule an unwanted swain, or justify her decision to break an engagement". In the Riffian society women have no effective means to address the community more a whole other than as *Izran*. Enhancing their social functions, *Izran* are a means that these women use to address the whole community. The freedom to criticize or praise the community is guaranteed in *Izran*. Men can´t address the whole community. They can only address their relatives, men or women. In the case of women, any young girl whatever her social standing is has the privilege and freedom to address the community. This opportunity is exploited by Riffian women to address men, criticize their mode of life and exert an influence on their decisions. The objects they criticize are so diverse that the young Berber woman has many alternatives depending on her wishes and interests. The socialization process in which they were initiated earlier in their lives serves them as a training for their future role as women. The following izri illustrates how men offer money to marry a girl:

Origin Tarifit

ⵓⵎⵓⵣⵓⵜ ⵓⵎⵓⵣⵓⵜ ⵜⵄⵍⵍⵏⵍⵍⵏⵙⵄⵜ ⵅⵓⵍⵎ ⵜⵄⵓⵅⵄⵅⵅⵉ
ⵣⵓⵜⵜⵓⵙ ⵜⵄⵉ ⵍⵍⵍⵉⵣ ⵍ÷ⵙⵄ ⵅⵓ ⵜⵓⵍⵎⵓⵜⵄ ⵙⵏ ⵕⵄⵓⵅⵉ

Ayaqat ayaqat thlulusht mani thaghmi

Qattar thi lwiz nesh ma tawyath su khami

Spanish literal translation

Ahí la tienes, ahí la tienes, flor donde crecer

Aumenta tu "lwiz" no te la llevas con mirarla

English literal translation

There she is, there she is, flower where grows

Rise your "lwiz", no take her with just looking at her.

Spanish translation

Ahí la tienes, ahí la tienes, como ha brotado la florecilla

Aumenta tu caudal, y no creas que te la llevas con solo mirarla.

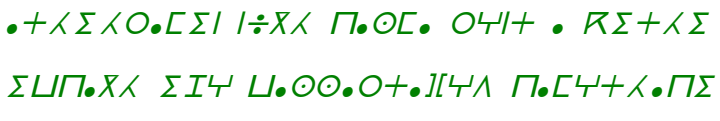
English translation

There you have her, there you have her and how the flower is sprouting

Augment your offer and don´t think that with just looking she will be yours.

Love songs are not composed solely for the sake of criticizing, but are also used as a strategy to defend herself, her dignity and her honor, to attack others, to remember any pretender of her tribe, to announce herself to be ready for a compromise, or to justify her separation from a pretender. The Riffian women´s social fight fundamentally consists of defending their freedom of marrying the man they prefer as a husband, normally expressed by her parent; of establishing new relationships through marriage;

or of breaking the wall that separates them from the males so as to have the opportunity to experiment positive or negative feelings towards a pretender (Joseph.T.B. 1980). Consider the following izri:



[a thihramine negh isma runt akithi

Iwyagh iju wassar tafud yamuthayi]

Spanish literal translation

Chicas nuestras, hermanas llorar conmigo

Casar yo un viejo amanecer muerto para mí.

English literal translation

Girls ours, sisters cry with me

Spoused I an old man at dawn dead for me

Spanish translation

Muchachas, hermanas mías venid a llorar conmigo

Tomé por esposo a un viejo que muerto me amaneció.

English translation

Oh girls! And sisters of mine come and cry with me

I took an old man for a spouse that at dawn was dead.

2. SELECTING AND APPLYING A CORPUS OF IZRAN

The following chapter will be devoted to the main reasons for choosing Tarifit *izran* as a long-term valuable body of data for an international research contribution on human cognition and culture using data from Berber-Tamazight worldly unknown social evolution.

2.1. Why *Izran*

When I finished my doctorate courses on Cognitive Studies of Language, I thought that this new paradigm comprised a unique opportunity to trace and revive the lost history of Rif as it is conceptually instantiated and linguistically evidenced in modern *Izran*. I received advices and suggestions from my supervisor to treat aspects related to Rif`s Berber oral language. Then I came about the uniqueness of Rif´s women oral poems known as *Izran* (plural), *izri* (singular), and we decided that they constituted a body of data as that presented by Fauconnier (1994:xxvii) as a repository of future cognitive contribution to our universal knowledge of human cultural evolution. In his seminal study on *mental spaces*, Fauconnier enthusiastically put it in the following terms: "Once we start paying attention in everyday life, to instantiations of connectors, frames, induced schemas, conceptual connections, and metaphor, counterfactual mental spaces … the real world discloses far richer and more revealing configurations than our feeble efforts as linguists or philosophers have been able to produce. There is an abundance of such data that goes largely unnoticed despite its obviousness, mainly, it would seem,

because it does not fit the observational categories of our established academic practice. 'Discovering' bodies of data that were staring us in the face, and yet were invisible to us (the black holes of science, the blind spots of the scientist) is a common feature of the evolution of scientific inquiry." We considered the possibilities to do field work in the Rif Mountains to record and transcribe these compositions as they were performed in real time by young women. Since then we have developed this idea and given it some shape within the general framework of Cognitive Poetics. In the beginning I was a bit unclear as to where this work would lead me. The scarcity of a written support added some difficulties. During the task of recollecting the corpus in the mountains, I found assistance and collaboration from the informants which were most of the time optimal, though not exempt from some impediments. These informants were mostly women whose ages range between sixty and eight years. Most of them were very knowledgeable in the art of producing *Izran*. They informed me about the contextual aspects of the production of most of the *Izran* I collected. They even enthusiastically instructed me in the art of changing a word in the short izri so as to adapt it to a special context. Now I recognize that from my early childhood I have been several times in direct contact with *Izran* but I never had the necessary awareness and the conscious interest in them that I have now, insistently enhanced by my supervisor. Fortunately, after my postgraduate studies in Cognition and Language at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, I acquired an intellectual and emotional appreciation of *Izran*'s deep-rooted cultural saliency and particularly of the importance of the biological and sociocultural context in the meaning construction of the situated concepts communicating the hidden inner life of these young Riffian women. Favorably, this is a

cultural context that I have experienced in a direct way for many years as a native Riffian, Tarifit speaker. Promisingly, we soon figured out that this language is not found so far in the extensive research literature on Cognition, Culture and Language in the last decades; and barely scrutinized from other academic perspectives.

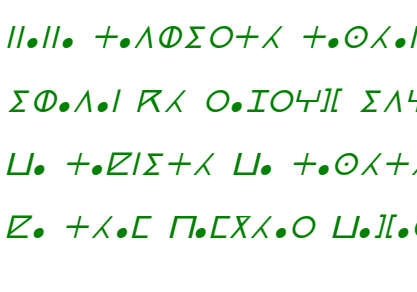
2.2. What is an *izri?*

Izran are oral poetic compositions characterized by their linguistic brevity and their economy of conceptual means; they are usually composed into two, three, or four lines. *Izran* with three and four lines exist, though they do not abound. Most of the *Izran* I collected are the most pervasive, composed of two lines. Most of these complex couplets are formed by twelve syllables, though some contain nine and others as much as fifteen in certain cases. This brevity operates at two distinct levels, in the form as well as in the content. Compositionally, this brevity contrasts with the frequent allusions they make to a wide range of events and aspects of inner reality. However, during their performance, from the material information expressed through few words, new meanings constantly emerge that change the way the whole izri makes sense. This adaptive meaning structure emerges as a result of a complex network of symbolical and metaphorical associations, which operate as a consequence of the complex dynamics of online spoken words. From this gestalt process the ultimate sense of the poetic discourse emerges reaching its symbolical value (Giacomo 2007).

During one of my sojourn in Kebdana, a very aged woman (Lalla Fadma) provided me with a few *Izran* consisting of four lines. These four-line *Izran* used to be

more productive in the past, when poetry occupied the most privileged and relevant place in Rif`s Berber poetry. Their antiquity is deduced from the subjects it deals with, like war, or freedom. Consider the following Izri:

Original Tarifit



[lala thathbirth thashamratsh

Ibeddan kh rajruf ithurar

Wa taqnith, wa tashthithih

Qa tham yamghar wafar]

Spanish literal translation

Querida paloma blanca

De pie encima altas rocas montañas

No aburrir tu no preocupar tu

Para ti crecerán alas.

English literal translation

Dear white dove

Stand up she on high rocks mountains

Do not be bored, not sad

For you will grow wings.

Spanish translation

Querida paloma blanca

Que está en lo alto de las rocas de la montaña

No te aburres ni te entristeces

Pronto te crecerán las plumas.

English translation

Precious White dove,

That stands on a high mountain rock

Don´t worry, don´t be sad

Soon your feathers will be grown.

A desire for freedom has traditionally been the source of inspiration for women since Northern Africa was invaded by the first Arab conquerors during the seventh century. In this izri, the descriptions the poet makes are not independent of that Riff´s sociocultural reality. On one side, we have a dove that is unable to fly; on the other, we

have the actual situation of Berber women in Rif. The lexicalizations, the language used in the izri, guide us to this process of imagination. This idea is lucidly illustrated by (Fauconnier, 1997:187): "When language occurs, meaning directly ensues, and therefore that meaning is straightforwardly contained in language". The production of a poem provides some complex information that sometimes is not contained in the lexicon used to guide us to the comprehension of the implicit meaning. The description of the dove standing on the top of the mountain ready but unable to fly, correspond to something real in the speaker´s imagination. The Cognitive semanticist, Turner (1991), lucidly explained that Science and art must converge so as to give us a full comprehensive view of the world, a world which is anticipated by schemas that do not delimit clearly the frontier between thought and emotion or between our mental and bodily actions.

These poetic versions are also known as "Ragnuj" (plural, songs), or "Aganij" (singular, song), as "Shdih" (plural, dances), or "Ashattih" (singular, dance). They are also known as "Awar n *Izran*", words of *Izran*, or language of *Izran*. As popular oral poems, they are frequently produced as songs and are accompanied by musical instruments and dance. When *Izran* are performed in weddings, they are very often introduced by a chorus that lingers as long as the singers wish singing the following lines:

Yarah- layara, yarah laboya

Yarah- layara, yarah laboya

There have been many popular inconsistencies about the meaning of these sound patterns. For some they are meaningless; for others there is a myth that relates how two lovely Riffian queens were assassinated by foreign conquerors. These queens were called "Yara" and "Boya". Whatever interpretation we accept, it does not change the fact that "Yarah layara- yarah laboya" has ever since been established as metric measure for any izri.

In Rif, *Izran* are considered as an exclusive production of women, though recently some groups formed by men called "Imediazen" (plural of troubadours, singular "Amediaz"), appeared on the social scene as a challenge for women. These troubadours are excellent poets and masters of the versified word. In view of the magnitude of the party they join, they form groups that range between four and eight persons. The group is formed by a leader called, "Amghar" or, "Boughanim" which means "the man with the flute", who plays a kind of Berber bagpipe (made of two tubes of bamboo with two horns at one end to make the sound louder), two drummers and a singer. Nowadays, the word "Amediaz" has negative connotations. Paradoxically, Riffian people enjoy their shows though they do not appreciate them as social persons. In fact, no one wants to be compared to an "Amediaz". The rationale of this dislike is because Riffian people believe that the art of singing is reserved to women. Being aware of this reality, these troubadours call themselves "Shiukh" (plural of "Sheikh"). The lexeme is an Arabic loan and it evokes in the subjects some respect. "Sheikh" means old, respectful and experimented. The following izri is a proof of the negative value of "Imediazen":

Original Tarifit

ⵜⵅⵔⴰⵅⴰⵓ ⵜⵅ÷ⴰⵍⴰⵙⵅ ⵜⵅⴰⵅⴰ ⵜⵅⵙⵛⵛⵙ ⵏ÷ⵓⵅⴰⵣ

ⵙⵜⵏⴰⵜⵅ ⵅⵙⵜ ⴰⵓⴰⴳⵙ ⵜⵅⵛⵢⵏ ⴰⵔ ⵢⵛ÷ⵍⵙⴰⵣ

“th`kahar th`sawash thaga thimi nargaz

Ifath`hit arabi thmun ak umediaz”

English literal translation

Blackened she eyes, smartened she mouth

Humiliated she god, got she with an amediaz

Spanish literal translation

Ennegrecer ella ojos, embellecer ella boca

Humillar a ella Dios, juntar ella con un amediaz

English literal translation

She smartened her eyes and lips and blackened her eyebrows.

God humiliated her and so she got together with an amediaz.

Spanish translation

Ennegreció las cejas y acicaló la boca

Dios la humilló y así se junto con un amediaz

2.3. Taqsais versus *Izran*. A case

During the last few decades, men have evolved a poetical composition called, "Taqsais". These poems are very long and structurally they have little similarity with *Izran*. The only similarity is confined to rhyming. We have noticed that when men in Rif are endowed with artistic qualities to produce oral poetry, they seem to be more dedicated to it in a rational and professional way. Nevertheless, on listening to "Taqsais" we have realized that *Izran* in many ways have become the source of inspiration for men, because on occasions we find a reproduced izri functioning as a link between the lines in a "Taqsais". On comparing both compositions, the first and most salient feature is that poetry produced by women is more synthetic and that produced by men tends to be more analytical. The following poem, which we will only reproduce or translate into English, is of the kind produced by men.

To my little brothers that eat bread kneaded with tears

That sleeps on bare ground, covered with the stars

The ship is ours, neither strangers nor enemies will ever steer it

The waters on which it floats are our tears

Its reddish colors the blood of our ancestors

A friend told me this Taqsais. We infer that the speaker is affected by a strong emotional feeling. It is his desire to lead the destiny of Rif that made him expose this emotion. The promise to take control of the "ship" makes us feel his anger and allows us to describe his emotional reaction. The language used in the composition of this poem gives us a perception of something sad and dramatic. The landscape described has explicit emotional content. We see how the descriptive lines relate to one another and constitute the description of the whole landscape. The listener is not a passive observer. He/She actually forms part of the world of the Taqsais. The first thing we notice on hearing this poem is its exquisite musicality, then its intense emotional quality and its intense atmosphere (Tsur 2007:3). The description of the landscape is not far from the social reality of Rif. This reality is presented in terms of "starving kids that sleep on bare ground covered with stars". The whole poem is pervasively metaphoric; we have various metaphors related to each other. We have a ship that floats on reddish water, kids eating bread kneaded with tears, kids covered with stars, and a whole see water made of tears. There are a series of metaphors that are connected one to the other in important ways. Almost in the poem there is no plain simple and non-metaphorical language. The intense emotional atmosphere is generated by metaphor. In the poem there is contiguity between "ship and water, sea water and salty tears, open landscape and stars, ship and controllers, kids and the ground, and so on". All these objects combine to a coherent landscape. And all the linguistic expressions are metaphors that describe the whole scene.

The listener admires the beauty of the content of the language used. The parallelism between "starving kids and the freezing ones or the way the speaker links himself to Rif´s cause through the promise to not to let anyone "control the ship" guides to a meaning that is linked to certain images that evoke past recalls. These memories evoke certain diffuse emotions. The speaker refers to his main characters as "little brothers", this is a special use of language that evokes in the speakers certain feelings of responsibility. The metaphorical use of "Reddish color" provides an image of death and suffering.

In the fourth line, the poet compares seawater to the Riffian´s tears. This image strengthens even more the emotional feeling. In a word, there is a kind of resemblance between the speaker´s feelings and nature. The description of the environment goes in harmony with the kids' inner feelings. After every line we perceive an increase of this emotion that provides a sinister and dramatic image.

In the first line, the poet uses the expression "bread kneaded with tears" metaphorically to refer to a kind of mental suffering. It would be a mistake to give the expression its literal meaning. The mental suffering would be the right interpretation because it suggests its human significance (Tsur 2007). There is no real bread, no material mass but some diffuse entity separated from its environment. There is a kind of death and suffering ingredients. We consider our interpretation legitimate because it relies on one of the most important literary competence as posed by Culler (1975: 115) as quoted in Tsur (2007: 8): "the primary convention is what might be called the rule of significance: read the poem as expressing a significant attitude to some problem concerning man and /or his relation to the universe".

This Taqsais is very rich in imagery that triggers some human significance. The link between people and their nation is visualized with no ambiguities. The device of emotional disorientation is presented by the image of "starving kids", or "the reddish color of the water". There is a diffuse image that confuses the literal with the pragmatic to which we will later refer as the dichotomy literal / figurative as it has been primarily reviewed in cognitive approaches by Giora, Turner, Coulson, Lewandowska and others. Guerra (2009) synthesizes our starting point: "Before Gilles Fauconnier, Mark Johnson (1987) had argumented in *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* about imagination as essential to the structure of rationality and not simply related to creative 'unreal' worlds, and had framed an interdisciplinary space for a comprehensive ontological, epistemological and philological view of the biocultural *figurative* (Giora, 1997, 1999, 2007) way human beings think that was further developed in the literary arena during the 90s with seminal studies like Turner's *The Literary Mind* (1996). Turner's groundbreaking Cognitive Rhetorics view was compressed a decade later when he wrote: "some products of thought and language feel literal while others feel figurative. We have reactions, and they are motivated, but these motivations do not come from fundamental differences in cognitive operations. 'Literal' and 'figurative' are labels that serve as efficient short-hand announcements of our integrated reactions to the products of thought and language; they do not refer to fundamentally different cognitive operations (Turner, 2005: 25)."

Our first conclusion was that the poem is derived from the repressive voice of the poet, from a man as a dispossessed speaker. The meaning is located in the global

understanding of the poem and not simply deduced from a comparison between the given verbal variants. The significance appears as praxis transformed by the listener. In the poem there is a feeling of frustration and impotence implicitly deciphered from the hypothetically sad tone of the poet. We understand the various words and linguistic items in general with reference to emotions, because we are able to understand some cultural and historical elements that are largely shared by people in Rif. This is the contexts described by sociocognitive theories of language as exemplified by Frank et al. 2008. The listener/interpreter constructs some mental images that one exploits in understanding the meanings that lay behind the words used in the poem. For instance, in the poem there is no reference to history, but the language used allows us to make all the possible connections with history, geography, psychology, sociology, linguistics or literature. The question that may pose itself is whether the poet is subjective or objective. The description he makes is not independent of the reality of the external world. There is a situation in which strangers on one side control "the ship" and on the other side we have the actual situation of Rif. We cannot perceive of Rif´s reality if we are not able to decode the various expressions used in the poem and the images they give perception to. For instance, the "ship" is used metaphorically with reference to "nation". We cannot give it a literal meaning. We have to see the verse as symbolic. It refers to something that is not a real "ship". The reference orients us to a hidden sense, a pragmatic one. There is no similarity at all between the word "ship" and the meaning "nation" to which it gives birth. The poet borrowed one domain so as to say that which he cannot say literally. The expressions used in the poem guide us to this sort of imagination. This confirms Fauconnier's (1997:187) idea as quoted above about

meaning directly ensuing when language occurs which confirms that meaning is straightforwardly contained in language.

2.4. Storage and transmission of *Izran*

Izran are produced orally and transmitted orally through hearsay from one generation to another and slightly modified by each individual in an adaptive experiential process. Thus, we consider their specificity as something relevant. This online language use as social performance will provide the theoretical guide in our search for their cultural specification.

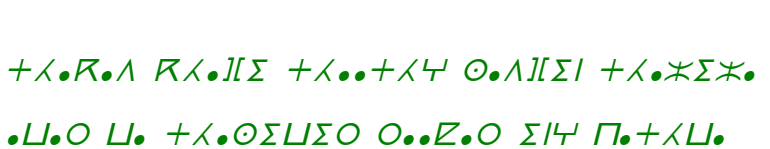
As different from other traditions mainly documented in the form of texts, Rif`s Berber art, as popular culture, is stored and saved in the collective memory of living Riffian. The contribution of women through time and in different contexts and situations, gives them the right to claim authority and monopoly of *Izran* as popular art production. A salient cognitive structural foundation of our thesis that will need more research from other disciplines like Cognitive Psychology or Cognitive Anthropology is that the capacity of improvisation of Rif`s women has much to say about culture, language and human capacity for symbolic thought in an illiterate environment. One of the main features that characterize Riffian women´s capacity to produce this popular art is the fact that, even if they are not instructed in the art of narration, or master the norms and conventions related to the act of producing oral poetry, they are crafted and innovative producers. The simple experiential mastery of their mother tongue Tarifit is a sufficient guarantee for the achievement of "Literature" which is conducted so as to learn the most

we can learn about the human condition. It is our main hypothesis in this work that their poetic productions, not only represent the Rif´s Berber vision of the world, but also function as a sociocultural mode of evolving and propagating Berber culture as a material linguistic and musical means to know about history, politics, literature, or other subject matters, such as romantic love, witchcraft, or personal experiences. Women use any situation or context as a source of inspiration. And when they are engaged in the artful-minded task of producing *Izran*, they do not bore their audience with easy poems that no one likes. The *Izran* dealing with witchcraft, war, resistance, romantic love or personal experiences, always inspires the curiosity of their audience. Indeed, these artistic productions have a double edge, (a) to maintain this art alive through generations and (b) to express their whishes and desires, or their agreements and disagreements with the main issues that affect them directly or indirectly with no hindrances. *Izran* set apart from Taqsais in that the former correspond to what traditional poetics frames as lyrical composition while the latter would fit the patterns of epics. This means that *Izran* are construed directly from inner reality, a narrative composition similar to Western Modernist *interior monologues* adapted to verse where the affective construction of the person behind the voice is crucial and where there is almost no description of outer events. Taqsais, on the contrary, are brought about from outer reality (the descriptive telling of actions and exemplar heroes as in medieval Western Literature). In this sense we have to remember that *Izran* are the only means through which Berber women are allowed to linguistically express themselves using the first person pronoun "I". Acting out using this grammatical prompt means that this is the only situation where they can attack others, defend themselves or express their

equality to men, exercise some influences on male decisions, and so forth. It's interesting how this sociocultural situation framed in a specific social hierarchy have reminiscences of the role of Clowns in Western Literature (Gombrich) in a radically different gender context: enactivated knowledge as the only space for social criticism.

From an artistic point of view, women in Rif seem to have a strong capacity to combine certain expressions to produce not only meaning, but also a music that stems from the coherent combinations of the lexemes. The rhyming that is meant to serve some aesthetic purposes (Tsur 2007), is finally serving some cognitive and social processes to which it was not initially devised. That is, from the tone of the speaker and the musicality that stems from the endings of the last words, the listener infers something meaningful that does not exist in the spoken words. This perceptive meaning produces some emotional effects. These effects have a name and therefore can be expressed linguistically, as is lucidly stated by Fludernik (1993: 339) in her proposition "Most poetic and literary effects can be indeed described literally." As pointed above, this fact can be directly inferred from the redefinition of the traditional dichotomy *literal / figurative* proposed by recent Cognitive Theories of Language. Consider the following izri:

Original Tarifit



[thakad khafi thaathu sadfin tha ziza

Awar wa thassiwir, raaqar inu yathwa]

English literal translation

Walked she over me, move away with dress blue

Talk not she talk, mind mine flew.

Spanish literal translation

Pasar ella sobre mí, mover lejos con vestido azul

Hablar, no ella hablar, mente mía voló.

English translation

She walked past me with her blue dress

She didn´t say a word and my mind flew.

Spanish translation

Pasó a mi lado con su vestido azul

Palabra no dijo y mi mente voló.

The listener instinctively perceives the difference between poetic language and that of its use in other literary genres. The scene is described through a male perception. The izri exposes an emotion that can be fully understood if we activate the love scenario. The characters, the scenario and the events are located inside a special frame. The use of "I" and "Me" is an indication of a shift of the personal pronoun. The poet seems to share the described world with her characters. She provisionally adopts the character´s personality. The reflexive "My" indicates a fusion of the poet and her characters into one. In the izri, the impact is psychological and we as observers, we give total freedom to our imagination to conceptualize what´s going on in the character´s mind. Though we cannot experience her experiences, we experience ourselves experiencing her experiences and in doing so our consciousness is involved (Laing 1967). Moreover, we have noticed that in the izri there is an abrupt change from the external description of the woman´s dress and attitudes to a more internal description as expressed in "My mind flew". This kind of change passes unnoticed in short descriptive elements. This poem may produce pain in some listeners, fear in others and even pleasure. Is it language itself that exercises these effects or some other hidden elements contained in the language of these popular poems? To understand the izri, and in some occasions, the listener tends to evaluate the information received in the poem, comparing it to previous experiences. The model of the world emanates from personal experiences. That is, the listener- interpreter creates a world that is modeled to fit his own experiences.

The production of *Izran* demands the presence of a speaker and a listener that will link the reality in the verse to the actual reality. The language used, the gestures and the

body movements may reflect the subjective experiences that individuals use to materialize their models used in the comprehension of the world. Though some *Izran* may seem very simple, when trying to conceptually map their language, they turn out to be very complex. But since an izri is always produced with the intention of telling us something about the human mind and its cultural evolution, any attempt at describing the way it is constructed with the tools of language is necessary. Today, Cognitive Sciences in general and Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics in particular, provide us with an advance field of interdisciplinary research that we consider the most adequate for our Berber-Tamazight investigations from Tarifit linguistic data.

2.5. Tarifit: The language of *Izran*

The production of *Izran* demands the use of a language which is different from that used in other literary genres. Though their linguistic architecture is characterized by simplicity, as in the Japanese *Haiku* they are in fact complex to analyze at a cognitive, conceptual level. Consider the following izri:

Original Tarifit

ⵅⵍⴰⵏⵉⵏⴰⵅⵍⵉⵔ ⴰⵏⴰ ⵅⵍⵉⵔⴰ ⴰⵔⴰⵍⴰⴷ ⴰ ⵉⵜⵍⵉⵏⴰⵏ

ⵅⴰⵏⵉⵡ ⵜⵍⴰ ⵏⵉⵣⴰⵔⵜⵍ ⵏⴰⴱⵍⵉⵏ ⵏⵉⵏⵉ: ⵎⴰⴱⵏⵅⴰ

[khalinakum ala khir rahbab ya ithuran

Kaniw tha nuqarth nashin duro ysfa]

Spanish literal translation

Dejamos a vos sobre el bien queridos suegros

Vosotros la plata nosotros moneda limpia

English literal translation

Let you over good dear fathers in law

You are silver we the clean coin.

Spanish translation

Sobre vosotros el bien, oh queridos parientes y suegros

Vosotros sois la plata, nosotros la brillante moneda.

English translation

The good be on you, oh dears and fathers in law

You're the silver and we the shining coin.

In Tarifit culture, fathers in law are associated with silver and here the speaker associates herself with gold.

The language used in the izri is very simple and its effects are based on the use of some key words, like "fathers in law, silver, or the shining coin (gold)", that prompts some feelings in the listeners. This simplicity does not mean that this text is simple as a communicative system and consequently we could explain it in simple terms. As posed in the introductory chapter, an important element that is always new when the izri is produced and that helps decipher the meaning is *context*. This context is a structural part of specific meaning construction. Indeed, it is fundamental for an appropriate approach to *Izran* since meaning emerges as a result of a combination of three elements, language, culture and context. Though counterintuitive, it is evident that most *Izran* dynamize figurative language as a tool to facilitate literal comprehension. It´s reasonable to find, upon a closer examination of these poems, many sounds, shapes, senses and situations that are selected and combined so well that the poet´s feelings and ideas can be effectively communicated. *Izran*, which are permeated with metaphor or are themselves cases of metaphor, are easily understood if we recognize the context as an integrative part of the meaning and knowledge of the World construction process. In this work we follow the developments of the Second Generation Cognitive Revolution starting in the late 1970s with Lakoff and Langacker as founding fathers; for them, formal semantics should be discarded as a mechanism of interpretation because it does not make use of inferences. Cognitive Semantics was originally proposed as a solution so as to see beyond that which is stated with words. That is meaning is intentional and it rises in the mental experience of the cognizer. This view helps perceive literature as a complex body of data that has a relation not only with the basic cognitive processes of human mind (Turner 1996) but also with the mechanisms of socialization that are based

on the same principles (Bernárdez 2008). Language is not only syntax (as Chomsky stated in 1957), it is an instrument that can be used as an introduction to the study of literature because it´s linked to some basic and mental cognitive processes (Lakoff & Turner 1989, Gibbs 1994). The idea is lucidly exposed in Turner (1991: 4) where he explains that to study literature is to study language and to study language is to study the human mind: "Literature lives within language and language within everyday life. The study of literature must live within the study of language and the study of language, within the study of the everyday mind."

As posed by Guerra (2011: 845),

> Basically, Cognitive Poetics focuses on what primarily rubs out this dualism *linguistic entity / encyclopedic entity* that foregrounded after 1980 the cognitive breakthrough in the studies of language from the computational (understood as in Chomsky) to the experiential line (Lakoff, Fillmore, Langacker, Talmy). Cognitive Poetics is then a constitutive part both of a Second Generation Cognitive Revolution and of the so-called Theories of Complexity. It explores (chaotic) cognitive activity socially experimented by a human being about a category expressed through a (deterministic) symbolic, iconic or indexical element of any semiotic system. In 1980, a text was published that clearly exposed for the first time figurative meaning constructions as a matter not of (each) language but of (human) thought i.e, as fundamental cognitive mechanism instead of as rhetorical ornament of a language.

For Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics, literature in its diverse manifestations is an embodiment of human daily experiences. This fact enables us to understand how the author and the interpreter´s resources have been modified over the years and with it our perception of the world. Cognitive Poetics, offers enough tools to understand the phenomenon of *Izran* with reference to some specific cognitive mechanisms as those

described by Cognitive Sciences in general. Guerra (2011*) shortly synthesizes this wide network: "Some of the most methodologically advanced cognitive principles today are *entrenchment, figure/ground, mental spaces/blends/frames,* or *conceptual metaphor/conceptual metonymy*. *Entrenchment* affords a self-replicating highly repeated experiential structure of meaning to become cognitively automatic (hidden, unconscious) in order to be activated with the least possible cognitive labour. The *figure/ground* alignment affords the organization of a distinction between a profiled element that first attracts the observer's attention (figure) and those elements that operate as additional information foregrounding the figure in order to comprehend it and situate it; i.e., (con)figuring the salient constituent. The principle of *mental spaces* is related to conceptual integration processes and to *blend*s (Fauconnier & Turner 2002) as emergent integrated spaces. Two or more mental spaces create possibilities for the emergence of a new one showing partial structure of these but new relations. Though we tend to think that the highest levels of complexity are found in artistic discourse, numerous apparently simple conceptual structurings are counterintuitively highly complex as for instance those projections and integrations found in an enunciation in use like "This surgeon is a butcher" (see Brandt & Brandt 2005). Thus, in the new Cognitive Poetics trivial things concerning language and thought are rigorous things. Last but not least, the *Metaphor and Metonymy* principle is widely known for its transferences to particular current social affairs like religion, health or politics (…). Very briefly put, partial conceptual structure of our knowledge of a given conceptual domain projects onto a different conceptual domain (metaphor) or into the same (metonymy), to endow it (at all instrumental linguistic-pragmatic levels like

grammatical, syntactical or discursive) with positive structure of meaning it lacks. They are known as source and target conceptual domains. Due to its phenomenal adaptive complexity, the natural lack of endogenous meaning structure is very usual in abstract concepts like *mind, life, reality, theory, love,* and so many others." Today, we have at our disposition various scientific disciplines joining forces in a new research alliance so as to explain language as well as the meanings that emerge from its use. We do not intend to limit ourselves just to the processing of words or the activation of image schemas. In fact, part of our comprehension contains images, feelings, emotions or social acts (Turner 1991). In our cognitive explorations of the *Izran*, we will basically search for the correspondences between the linguistic structures, body experiences and conceptual thinking (Gibbs 1994).

Since these countrywomen are not instructed in the art of narration, their language, which is produced for similar consumers, is characterized by clarity and simplicity. When they are inspired by the different daily social events that take place in their environment and produce *Izran* to express their feelings and desires or to immortalize an historical event, they communicate their "living" ideas through an efficient and simple language; this language enables the listeners comprehension not only of the language used, which has certain properties that go beyond sentence level structure (Emmott 2004), but of all possible inferences that can be made and that are the product of a shared social knowledge. This extended idea in the social advances from Cognitive Linguistics, Cognitive Semiotics, or Cognitive Anthropology is well summarized in Emmott (2004:4): "In mutual speech, the main factor is mutual knowledge, arising from shared prior experiences of speaker and listener." This means

that our interpretation of a poem is based on certain knowledge of social norms and social situations. Correspondly, our comprehension of an izri is not solely based on the comprehension of its individual words, but on the link our mind establishes between its events. *Izran* are a specific instance of this direct interactive discourse in which speaker and listener with the same language and culture converge on mutual understanding.

People in Rif process *Izran* almost along the same structural dynamics because they are produced in a collaborative manner. They are a community of practice in this sense. Actually, there arises a kind of cooperation between the speaker and the listener/interpreter. The speaker produces a language with the intention to mean something and the listener has to be able to process what is meant by what is said. There rises a kind of interaction between what is happening in the speaker´s mind, with the assessment of what is happening in the listener´s mind (Wallace 1994). The speaker produces a language at a certain level and the mind of both speaker and listener process different meanings at different levels. According to cognitive psychologists (Gibbs 1994), these representations play an important role in language processing.

Izran produced to immortalize historical events abound in Rif`s Berber poetry. But though they are inspired in real historical facts, women use a language in an innovative way mixing personal experiences, feelings and historical reality. They simply cannot free themselves from their ego and be subjective, because subjectivity produces emotional effects a most universal concern not only of poets but of every human being. Consider the following izri:

Original Tarifit

ⵓⵜⵉⵖⵏⵓⵅⵉ ⵓⵜⵉⵖⵏⵓⵅⵉ ⵉⵖⵎⵓ ⵏⵖⵉⵔⵓⵏ ⵖ ⵜⵉⵓⵔ

ⴰⵙⵜⵉⵙ ⵍⵍⵙⴰⵏ ⵙⵍⵖ ⵖⵎⵙ ⵅⵖⵙⵅⵉ ⴰ ⵔⵉⵓⵜⵉⵓⵔ

[a thuyagh a thuyagh huma yuhray uthar

Sithi lif inu umi guigh r´khathar]

Spanish literal translation

Caminar yo, caminar yo hasta cansar mío pie

Querido amor mío a quien complacer yo.

English literal translation

Walk me, walk me till tired mine foot

Dear love mine whom I pleased.

Spanish translation

Voy a caminar caminar hasta la extenuación de mis pies,

Ay¡ de mi Amor! Ay ¡a quien he complacido.

English translation

I keep walking and walking till my feet are tired

Wow of my beloved whom I pleased.

The poet relates how her beloved left her after she pleased him sexually. She felt very angry. This emotion concept was getting to a higher level. So as not to explode she had to walk till she is tired. The listener/interpreter perceives an emotion that is spread over the whole scenery. This emotion generates an intense psychological atmosphere. The listener is in certain ways aware of a kind of mental instability (Tsur 2007). There is no naming of an emotion, but the language used contains some hidden elements that allow us to perceive mentally something sad and dramatic. The landscape has an explicit emotional content (Tsur 2007:3). The listener sees how the two lines that are related to one another constitute the description of the scene. In Tsur terms (2007: 8), the abstraction the listener makes from the lines is that of "emotional decrease". This intense emotional quality is the first thing we notice on listening to this izri. It is a splendid occasion to see the natural function of language represented by the association of words. The izri is not a description of lifeless things; in fact it concerns human emotions (Tsur 2007:7). Once again we notice how the unity of art and science help us understand the world better (Turner 1991). Culturally speaking, the "foot" is used in the construction of some cultural models that, amazingly, reach the level of cognition in some cases. Consider the following Tarifit expressions:

1. *isinay idarn dinni* / my feet took me there (I don´t want to come but here I am)

2. *jarran ayi idarn dinni* / my foot pulled me there (inspite of me here I am)
3. *ghas idarn di zirarn* / he/she has long feet (though not invited she dared to come)
4. *ghas dar yafsus* / he/she has a light foot (she is always the first to be everywhere even when she is not invited)

2.6. The way history is narrated in *Izran*

In Rif, history is still narrated in rhymed verse because it is the easiest way to transmit it from generation to generation; its oral condition and its communicative effects enhance this. Nevertheless, in many *Izran*, we do not know where factuality ends and where legend begins. Women narrate invented facts, or facts distorted by the collective imagination, but they believe, or rather make us believe, that they are veridical. In Rif there is a tendency to exaggerate mixing myth and reality or tradition and truth, as is well illustrated in many religious oral texts that circulate between Riffians. Sometimes, the listener finds it very complex to make a distinction between reality and fiction. The frontier between history and literature or reality and fiction is fuzzy. It is reasonable to think of this matter as a special use to exercise some effect or trigger some feeling in the listener. Women are not specialist in reporting objectively historical records. But since poetry is the only means to immortalize historical events and due to its poetic effects that facilitate memorizing them, they feel obliged to mix fiction and reality so as to exert a real effect on the listener. Accepting these difficulties, we will try to demonstrate the uniqueness of *Izran* as a Rif`s Berber contribution to universal literature.

To interpret an izri, or produce it the speaker does not feel obliged to follow any rules. The freedom of producing historical *Izran* is not an impediment for the poet to distort reality by adding myth and traditions. Since the production of poetry is a matter of the successful use of imagination, the poet does not feel obliged to respect the historical truth. Since we are going to deal with *Izran* from the perspective of Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics, we want to emphasize that every izri is a unique text in itself, which needs to be explored, so as to discover what hidden complex knowledge lay behind the words making them new in every new relation. We know that every time an izri is produced, it is not new anymore; because once it is individually produced and socially distributed speaker and listener become responsible for its interpretation and the most common interpretation given is frequently a pragmatic one (Van Dijk 1978).

At a cognitive level, every izri can be considered as a world in itself, for it shows on-course enactment of Rif`s women knowledge of the world. Thus, it is our hypothesis that an izri can tell us much about human mind and culture. Popularly, of course, it can also entertain us, upset us, or make us cry. An izri can have a happy, or a gloomy atmosphere. It can deceive us, or make us stronger. It can also produce in us a feeling of resentment, anger, fear, disillusion, rejection, or indifference. As every other process in natural complex systems, this is a dynamics of action and reaction (Guerra 1992) very important here for the Cognitive Sciences we are applying in this thesis foundationally define human cognition as human action. Thus, understanding (action) an izri and experiencing its cognitive effects (reaction) in a specific context is what evokes in us such feelings and produces such emotions. Using the interdisciplinary research by the new cognitive paradigm, we think that for the first time in our epistemological and

ontological history we can start depicting and explaining those feelings that foreground our cultural life and our representations of an extremely rich hidden shared world. *Izran* that are considered as a form of art that represents the zenith of Riffian literature, should be seen as a torch that illuminates rather than as a mirror that shows a reflection (see Steen 2003). A hidden proof is that the listener assimilates what he/she hears, with what he/she already knows.

Anthropologically and historically, *Izran* were originated in religious rituals and other popular traditions. Performed as songs, they are an exclusive production of women meant to be a mode of instruction and a delight of relating history, literature, philosophy, or politics. But most outstandingly they are a mode of immortalizing Berber feelings and reasoning making them progress in a creative way. This Berber evolution is still up to date mostly hidden under the egotistical scrappy currents of other expansionist cultures or else, under the traditionally imposed supremacy of native men over women. We hope that this centrality of the human *being* to female *Izran*, together with their human inner reality constructions prioritized over outer reality constructions as in male Taqsais, make as advance in an all-encompassing shared history of human sociocultural evolution in the frame of Human Rights.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL, SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC SITUATION OF THE TARIFIT VARIETY

3. 1. Geography of Tarifit language

In the Moroccan geography we fing three major varieties of Berber language: Tarifit in the North, Tamazightt in the Middle and High Atlas and Tashelhit in the South. Tarifit, the subject language of this study, is spoken all along the Mediterranean coast, from Kebdana in the Eastern part, to Larache in the west, except in the communities of Ketama and Gomara that speak the variety spoken in the Middle Atlas. From North to South, Tarifit-speaking area occupies a stretch of land that is not wider than seventy kilometers. This distance is many times larger from East to West. The Western part of Rif is constituted by the tribes Ait ittaf and Ibeqqoyen; on the East the limits are established by the river Kis. The Eastern part is constituted by the tribes of Ait said, Iqeraien (Kelaia), Ait Oulishek, Ait Touzin and Igeznaien. In the extreme Eastern parts live the tribes of Ikebdanen, Iznasnen, Ait Bouyahyi and Metalsa. These classifications of Tarifit in different groups are based on ethnic and geographical criteria rather than linguistic.

3.2. Social context of Tarifit language

To get a clear view of all the peculiar characteristics of this work, we dedicate a paragraph to situate the reader, unfamiliar with *Izran*, in their actual geographical and sociocultural context and their literary value in Kelaia. Our field work of collecting *Izran* was effected in some rural areas located in three communities within the province of Nador: Ait Shikar, Mazzouja and Kebdana; the corpus was mainly urgently collected in areas where we thought modern technology is starting to lower the traditional means of propagating Berber culture through *Izran* and the tales. The new mass media may have a negative effect on the traditional way art is transmitted from generation to generation and these texts as vestiges of the past have hardly been well documented before us. We have completed this duty in the conviction that the present mode of transmitting this outstanding millenarian culture can be eradicated by this technology. Consider the following izri.

Original Tarifit

ⵍⵍ•ⵍⵍ ⵛⵢⵙ•ⵉ•ⵍⵍ• ⵍⵍ• +ⴷ•ⵎⵛ ⴼⵢ ⵙ•ⵛ•ⵍ

+ⴷ ⴷ•ⴼⵙ•+ⴷ •ⵍⵍ•ⵙ ⵜⵍⵢ +ⴷⵜⵍⵎ•+ ⵅⴷ•ⵙ ⵢⵍⵍⵜⵛ•ⵍ

[lala musajjala wa thaym bu raman

Th habsath awar inu thiwyat gha u liman]

English literal translation

Oh, cassette-recorder, in you no faith

Imprisoned you my speech, took you to Germany.

Spanish literal translation

Oh grabadora traidora, en ti no confianza

Encerrar tú mis palabras y llevar a Alemania.

English translation

Oh treacherous voice recorder, no faith in you.

You imprisoned my words and took them to Germany.

Spanish translation

Oh grabadora traidora, en ti no confío

Encerraste mis palabras, y te las llevaste a Alemania.

A cassette-recorder is presently used in Rif as a means to transmit live oral messages between immigrants and their families. Listening to the voices of relatives is the modern way to keep in touch. These voices are linked to souvenirs, which evoke certain feelings in the listener. Of outstanding importance for this thesis is the structural reasons why they use the voice recorder: (a) Rif`s Berber is not a written language (and even if it were, almost no one can write it) and (b) Arabic is a compulsory second language that nearly no one masters. I remember when I first joined school, my expectations were to learn Tarifit, but to my surprise I started learning a foreign language "Arabic". I remember how my teachers spoke of Arabic as our mother tongue. But amazingly, at home as well as when I was with my friends we used to speak Tarifit. After Arabic we started to learn French, then Spanish and English, but never our real mother tongue which is, Tarifit. I discovered later on that I was prepared to be whatever I wanted to be, except a Riffian. Since Arabic is the language of the Koran, Tarifit was considered as a folkloric language used in the touristic promotion.

In Cognitive Poetics, we know that our preferences for one object over the other simply ignite the flame of distinguishing between objects. This fact, converts it in the main pillar of "Categorization" (Rosch 1978). According to Lakoff (1987), all that we do in our daily life is categorizing. Cognition is categorization. Distinguishing between words, ideas, or objects is categorizing. Language is intimately linked to categorization. Humans use language to speak about a wide range of topics, and their ability to

distinguish between the various and different meanings is an act of categorization. Categorization is the most salient tool used in the comprehension of the world. Therefore, our knowledge is stored, accessed and manipulated in categories. Categorization is thus defined as a process in which experience and concepts are recognized and understood. It is a central issue in Cognitive Linguistics because it is essential for conceptual and linguistic organization. *Izran*, which are conceptually very rich, are produced in an area where there is no industrial presence and where the majority depend on agriculture and immigration to Western Europe. This area is one of the poorest parts of Morocco. Kelaia is located in a very strategic area, but little has been made to connect it with the rest of the Country. Geographically it is located in the North East region of Morocco, in the province of Nador. This area holds three macro-communities: Kelaia, Luta and Western Rif; the three communities are formed by a population estimated in a little more than four hundred thousand inhabitants (all Rif is estimated to have about five million inhabitants.)

The communities of Kelaia are formed by the following tribes of Mazzuja, Ait Shikar, Ait Sidel, Ait Buyafar, and Ait Buyafrur. The members of these tribes (Tiqabal u qabila) form small nuclei of inhabitants called "Dshur" (plural), "Dshar" (singular). The language spoken in this area is a variety of Tamazightt called Taqarasht, very similar to Tarifit except for some differences in intonation.

3.3. Naming Tamazight as Berber

Tamazight should be claimed as the mother tongue of all the other varieties that derive

from it. Paradoxically, the lexeme "Berber" is totally unknown to the majority of Imazighen people. *Imazighen* is a term that makes reference to the people that have as their mother tongue one of the diverse varieties of Tamazight. The word "Berber" was originally coined by the Greeks, to refer to the people that did not speak their same language. The Romans used the same word to refer to the inhabitant of North Africa. Correspondingly, the Arabs used the term "Barbary" with the same meaning as "Barbarous and uncivilized". Contrarily, the word Amazigh means "a free person." Bernárdez (2002) has described a general rule for the dynamics of naming cultures, languages and speakers that is confirmed by this 'berber' ocurrence. From now on we will be using Tamazight or Tarifit to refer to the same community of practice (Bourdieu 1980; Bernárdez, 2008); we mostly relate Tamazight to cultural organization and Tarifit to linguistic organization. When used to express something different, we will make this distinction clear.

3.4. Imazighen speakers and Tamazight language

Tamazight (similarly to Romance languages) is spoken in very vast areas, from Morocco in the West to Egypt in the East of Africa, and in all the Countries comprising the wide Sahara, like Mali, Mauritania, South of Algeria and North of Senegal. It is also spoken together with Hausa, in some Countries like Niger. It is estimated that there exist about three hundred varieties of Tamazight. These varieties show some similarities, but also relevant differences. When we try to examine the similarities between Tarifit, Taqbailit, Tashelhit, Tashawit or Gourara, with other varieties such as

Zenaga, Gadames, Tasiwit, Tayyart or Nafusi many difficulties arise. Full understanding is not assured, and in most cases impossible. These varieties have a common grammar and a common denominator in the production of sounds from the pharynx, larynx and the occlusive ovular. In grammar the common denominator is the use of /K/ and /m/ for the second person singular pronoun (Bassett 1935). There are a lot of traits that characterize the unity and the diversity of Tamazight. The differences between speakers can be perceived in different linguistic levels like phonology, morphology and syntax. This reality shows out, because of the diverse sociolinguistic situations. For instance, Tarifit and Tashelhit are not very far from each other, but comprehension is not guaranteed between them. The difference is not only true about phonology and syntax, even the common terms could be rendered unknown under the different forms in which they are presented. A basic lexical instance is that in Tashelhit "thanhurt" is used for "cow" and in Tarifit the same word means "porch". "Ijdi" in Tarifit means "sand" while the same linguistic form in Tashelhit means "dog".

The following list shows the distribution of some varieties in different Countries of North Africa.

1. Morocco: Tarifit, Tamazight and Tashelhit
2. Tunisia: Tashelhit
3. Algeria: Chenoua, Tashawit, Tashelhit, Tageregrent, Tamahaq, Tahaggart, Tamasight, Temacie, Tadekelt, Tarifit, Taqbailit, Tazanatit and Tumzabt
4. Libia: Awjilah, Ghadames, Nafusi, Sawknah, Tamahaq, Tahaggart
5. Mauritania: Zenaga

6. Mali: Tamajaq, Tawallamat and Tamashiq
7. Niger: Tamahaq, Tahaggart, Tamajaq, Tawallamat, Tamajeq and Tayyart
8. Burkina faso: Tamasheq
9. Egypt: Tasiwit

We see that there is a dissimilar distribution of Imazighen in all these Countries. The historical fact that these people have always been invaded by foreign powers has always obliged them to move and dwell in diverse geographical areas; either by being pushed there by the enemy or by willing movements that resulted from their nomadic life. Now most of the Amazigh communities are located in the wastelands of the desert and in the mountainous areas. Their mode of life is still today nomadic or semi-nomadic.

3.5. A brief historical review of Tamazight

The investigations taken ahead about the origin of Tamazightt have not brought about convincing results. Some linguists have related Tamazight to the old Egyptian, others (Fellmann and Green) to the Hamito- Semetic (known as Afro-Asiatic) and even others have tried to find a link between this language and the Basque. The French Berberist, Basset thought back in 1935 that there was not enough evidence to link Tamazight to any other family. He maintained that Tamazight should be considered as an isolated language. On the other hand, Cohen´s theory (1950) established that Tamazightt should belong to the Afro-Asiatic family on the basis that it is the only language that is spoken in both Continents. This theory became widely accepted.

Some recent comparative studies have come to the conclusion that these linguistic groups share some similarities, which lead us to think about one common origin. This resemblance is clearly manifested in the phonetic system, in the grammar and in the lexicology. The phonetic features that characterize the Afro-Asiatic group are the sounds produced from the pharynx, larynx and the plosive ovular (Basset 1935).

3.6. The complex origins of Tamazight

Rif area has been invaded by foreign powers for centuries; Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, French and Spanish, tried in the past to impose their culture and language on the population of this area. They monopolized politics, economy and also so-called noble domains such as literature and philosophy. For a long time, Tamazight has been demoted to the lower classes; those that wanted to climb up in the social ladder had to learn the language of the invader. In this humbled context, Tamazight survived thanks to the wide number of the population that lived a nomadic life. As a product of

geography and history, sociological diversification brought apart the communities of Imazighen. This initial diversity gave rise to the Tamazight varieties we know today. However, the question that may pose itself is whether there existed at any time a mother tongue from which all other varieties were derived. Though Tamazight is spoken in many areas, the fact that it is not a written language has deprived its people from a written record that could have provided us with the minimum information about its origin and formation. Two scientific disciplines lend themselves to hypothesize about its formation, archaeology and history. The archaeological findings allowed the historians to estimate the time of its carvings and opened a new door for the linguists to hypothesize about this language and its formation. Hence, the term "archaeolinguistics" was coined, to cover a series of works in archaeology and linguistics in order to reconstruct the old civilizations. Allati puts it this way: "Le terme archeolinguitique est utilise par plusieurs chercheurs pour designer un domain qui couvre tous les traveaux qui confrontent des elements archeologiques et linguistiques, et en general, tous les tipes d échange entre ces deux discipline pour la reconstruction des civilizations anciennes." (Allati, 2000:63)

Our chronological study of Tamazight is based on inferences made from some pre-historic studies as well as from some archaeological studies. These studies were meant to locate Afro-Asiatic as has been baptized by some scholars such as Greenberg, and its domain of activity without having convincing dates extracted from these domains, archaeology and linguistics. The relation that unites the Hamito-Semitic is estimated in ten thousand years BC. Even though, Allati has argued that "cette profondeur historique

contrast avec l indigence des documents qui relattent les stades anterieurs des branches du Chamito-semitique et des renseignements sur les periods anciennes de l Afrique du Nord." (Allati, 2000:64)

The real thing is that we know nothing about the oldest periods in the area. We have no information about the periods preceding the Phoenician expansion in North Africa, or about the historical period situated between the Roman occupation and the Arab penetration in the area. If we admit with Mcburney (1995) and Fellman (1993), that North Africa constitutes the nuclei of the Hamito-Semitic, only then we conceive of the past of this region, not only in the construction of the civilization of the Hamito-Semitic, but all the civilizations bordering the Mediterranean sea. Only under this view we can conclude that Tamazight constitutes the most archaic branch of the Hamito-Semitic branch (Fellman 1993).

It is almost impossible to locate an access to the former states of Tamazight. Our small windows are the Libico-Berber inscriptions found in many Berber areas. The other vital windows are the living linguistic elements, which are distributed in all Berber territories for millennia and whose exploration has just began. We are concerned here with those linguistic elements as alive in the present *Izran* that registers the history of Berber language/culture in its conceptualizations processes. It is in this sense that we approach local texts as living fossils called *mentils* by Guerra (2009) where the global history of the human biocultural evolution is inscribed. The inscriptions located in many Berber areas are live testimonies that facilitate the task for both linguists and historians, mainly now that these studies are interweaved with others such as archaeology. Some scholars have discovered that geographical names, place names and even proper names

(of saints), constitute a good way for the reconstruction of old languages. In fact, many scholars (Hart 1960) have managed to distinguish between different toponymic layers in relation to the languages of the people that have successively inhabited North Africa. This is the outstanding Allati`s view again:

> "On distingue plusieurs couches toponymiques en relation avec les langues des populations' qui sont succede en Afrique du Nort (Berber ancien et modern, phenicien, latine, arabes, francais et espagnol). La couche la plus profonde, celle qui est opaque et que ne peut etre explique que par les formes modernes du Berber ou par les autres langues connues dans cette región, est forme dans une strate linguistique sur lequelle on ne dispose aucun renseignement." (2000: 65)

The study of place names and the inscriptions located in different Berber territories have to some extent helped the reconstruction of the phonetic and the phonological system of old Tamazightt. We have also seen in the etiological recitations how originally Berber names remained intact, even after the imposition of other foreign languages. Archaeologists have found names in areas where Tamazightt is unknown to its inhabitants, because of the imposition of an official or national language of the invader. One vivid example is the one that evokes a possible existence of a Berber population in the Canary Islands before the exclusive use of the Spanish language at the beginning of the 15th century. At present it is the Arabic, French and Spanish, which intervene in the practice of Tamazightt.

4. FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES AND COGNITIVE METHODOLOGY

4. 1. Introduction to the way we research

Poetics today presents a remarkable diversity of methodologies we can use to make sense of our world, the world of the izri, or the various worlds an izri may show. Many distinct linguistic phenomena are interweaved with each other, as well as with human cognitive processes, because they are all motivated by the same force, that of making sense of our world in a communicative basis. As humans, we acquire knowledge and experiences in the environment and we name everything we know in a comprehensive language. This knowledge is grounded in perceptual inputs and determined by parameters of human embodied experience (Johnson 1987, Janda 2007). The fact that we understand our experiences entails our ability to express linguistically that non-linguistic, conceptual, understanding. At the same time we experience abstract thought, imagination, or emotions as rooted in the physical reality of our body and our environment. As we introduced in the first chapter, the comprehension of abstract concepts is realized via cognitive fundamental mechanisms like entrenchment, image schemas or metaphors. This cognitive tool when enacted online (Varela & Maturana 2003) helps grasp a whole complex of non-physical relations at once. (El conocimiento inactivo es el adquirido en la acción de un organismo en un entorno). But at the end of any explanation, there emerges always a question such as the one raised by founding fathers of Cognitive Linguistics like Lakoff (1980) or Johnson (1987), where they wonder how we can reason about abstract objects like love, time, justice, or emotions,

since our experiences in the world are physical. Actually, modern Cognitive Science has observed that human cognition, even in its most abstract and sophisticated form is deeply embodied, as seen in a huge amount of interdisciplinary works from Lakoff and Johnson (1980), like Varela, Thompson and Rosch (1991), Bernárdez (2002) or Ziemke (2003). It is deeply dependent on the human processes of representations underlying perception and motor-actions. Boroditsky (1990) wants us to think that we experience things out there in the world, but we do not know exactly what this world is really like. The main question she puts forth is whether abstract things are internal or external and wonders about the correlation between the inner and the outer world. As social beings these findings seem very important to us. Theoretically and methodologically, *Izran* will be dealt with from the perspective of Cognitive Science, mainly Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics, so as to extract from them, the structured underpinnings of their meaning construction (conceptual structure) and of their knowledge of the world construction (conceptualization processed). As is widely known, meanings are produced by linguistic expressions, which are injected a kind of life in them. These are morphemes, words, or phrases, none of which are semantically empty. The meanings contained in the lexemes, are considered, as the very energy that propels the motor of language (Janda, 2007:7). Language here is considered in Fauconnier´s terms (1997) not to carry meaning but to guide it. Thus metaphor, as a conceptual projection, does not go unnoticed in this work. This cognitive resource has been widely studied by scholars for centuries, more as a matter of language (ornament), than as a matter of thought. Its importance lies in the many attempts to explain it. It was first defined, as a figure of speech, then as ornamental, empty of any content. Towards the end of the twentieth

century, scholars like Lakoff, Johnson, Talmy, Jackendoff, Turner, Fauconnier, Sweetser and their collaborators defined it as the basis of human cognition. Nowadays, metaphor is considered as a cognitive mechanism, which allows us to conceptualize different domains based on experience. The treatment of metaphor in this work will be developed from the first turn of the screw, in Lakoff and Johnson´s classical theory (1980). We will show the importance of metaphor as evidenced in the oral language of *Izran*. Indeed, this PhD dissertation will cover many cultural aspects of their language use. We will discuss language production and comprehension, *Izran* processing, relationship between language and thought, or the importance of context in their comprehension. Additionally, we will touch on issues of perception, mental representations, such as schemas, frames and mappings as they are relevant to our discussion.

4.2. Objectives of the research

The present study focuses on a delineated area known as Kelaia, in Rif and the role played by *Izran* in the transmission of values and as a strategic power for Riffian women in an institutionalized structure of male society. The language used in these poems is very rich in imageries and semantic content. We have discovered that the cognitive paradigm helps understand the cognitive tools used in their conceptualization. The analysis of oral Riffian poetry has always been realized on the basis of a literal interpretation of the verses. We propose to go beyond this view and study them from the perspective of Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics adapting them to some specific

characteristics of Rif´s Berber variety. The cognitive paradigm provides us with enough materials and techniques for the comprehension of the cognitive mechanisms involved in the process of conceptualization. We will exploit the advances made in the field of Cognitive Poetics, so as to understand and describe the basic mental and emotive processes that underlie the making of engaging with fiction. The importance of metaphor in the language of *Izran* makes it obligatory to concentrate our attention on it, as a conceptual process and dive deeper into aspects related with the last contributions in the field of metaphor and other conceptual models such as, metonymy and image schema. This dissertation will make a special interdisciplinary emphasis on the analysis of *Izran*, using different academic disciplines such as Cognitive Poetics, Cognitive Linguistics, Cognitive Psychology, Cognitive Anthropology, or Cognitive Sociology. Our intention is to contribute to a more practical works about Imazighen and their culture. Hopefully we can bring some impulse from the poetic approach to Rif`s Berber *Izran*, so as to share some interest in Cognitive Poetics and Cognitive Linguistics. Through the present work, we will try to prove the urgent needs to discuss new approaches and insights that may lead to a better and richer understanding of the bio-cultural semantics or Rif`s *Izran* and thus to its social value.

4.3. Principles, methods and models. Cognitive Poetics and Cognitive Linguistics

For readers unfamiliar with *Izran*, we have given a detailed description of these oral poetic versions so as to enable them to understand some theoretical points of orientation. This work encapsulates a series of elements related to language and

thought, image schemas, metaphors, conceptual integration and domains as structuring emerging in cultural thought models. In the line of Cognitive Poetics as understood in the Cognitivecanary School (Guerra 2009, 2010, 2011) where the author has carried out his post-graduate career, this sociocultural analysis will try to make clear the link between the considered cognitive mechanisms and the distinctive cultural entities. Our starting point is the study of meaning emergence and how these generations are systematically aligned and adopted from sensory-motor perceptions to concepts and to linguistic tools, in a real time context that modifies meaning comprehension (Guerra 2012). We will also see how distinctive meanings are extended through the use of figurative language, mainly through the pervasive cognitive mechanism of metaphor. Our next step will be Lakoff and Johnson´s classical theory "Metaphors We Live By" (1980), and successive developments from Lakoff, Johnson, Turner, Fauconnier, Grady and others, known as conceptual metaphor, particularly those developments, known as, Blending Theory and Cognitive Semiotic Approach. The analysis will help understand how words come to have sense for us, or the importance of language in our daily life. The methodology is anchored in various Cognitive disciplines such as, Cognitive Linguistics, as is initiated by its early founders Lakoff, Langacker, Talmy, Jackendoff, or Johnson. Cognitive psychology, as is dealt with by Gibbs, socio-cognition as is dealt with by Bourdieu, Bernardez, Sharifian, or Tomasello. Comprehension of meaning, evoked by rhyming, is understood in the neurobiological light of Edelman and Damasios's works. In other words, the problem can be dealt with from various cognitive disciplines, but due to the vast range of theories at play, it would be impossible to say anything, without offending some theoretical scruples. Surely certain

views will receive less attention than others. Our strategy consists in presenting what we think, to be the main theories that provide a useful demarcation.

5. A GENERAL VISION OF THE COGNITIVE THEORIES OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

5.1. Introduction to the theoretical background

Turner (1991:4) made it clear that the analysis of any form of literary genre, either prose or poetry has undergone some evolution during the last few decades. Apparently, one of the most salient manifestations of this evolution is the cultural studies which treat literature as a common element in all cultures.

To understand an izri one must first understand the meaning of its constituent words and the context in which these words are produced. In this poetic view, the theory that states that words encapsulate meanings seems to be out of fashion. The methodological developments of Cognitive Semantics as a branch of Linguistics and Cognitive Science impose a reflection about the treatment to be given to *Izran*. The research on Cognitive Semantics is a research on conceptual content and its organization in language and on the nature of conceptual content and its organization in language (Talmy, 2000:4). This author also considers introspection as a legitimate to access conceptual content. This must be organized as an appropriate and arguably methodology in Cognitive Science together with the accepted methodologies (Talmy, 2000a: 6). He explained that in Cognitive Semantics, there are two things that are operative at the same time, "the conceptual content system and the conceptual structuring system (Talmy, 2000a: 6).

Both systems in combination, contribute to building up different aspects of our understanding of a scene. So the meanings that are associated to words are schematic, whereas those associated with the conceptual content system, are highly detailed. This mental representation is done in language, by the grammatical and lexical system (Talmy 2000). This work also studies different linguistic phenomena, at different theoretical levels. Armed with different Cognitive theories, the interpreter feels able to explore the ways we construct reality.

When we are engaged with the task of formulating a theory, in effect, we are activating the same cognitive mechanisms we pretend to inspect (See Cognitive Poetics as a fundamental theory of metacognition in Guerra (2011)). These mental phenomena are dynamic and ever changing and this reality demands the use of major efforts. Actually, when we are theorizing so as to explain the objectives of our study we also operate mentally setting off conceptual processes. That is to say, the means through which we construct hypothesis about the way we think are the same as those of the phenomena we are investigating. We are reflecting here about this fact because the dynamic nature of the processes of conceptualization may impose some meta-theoretical difficulties on our current analysis. Any work like this belonging to the new paradigm of Cognitive Theories may show up these difficulties sooner or later. To keep close to what has been best anchored in the general research we will start referring to some basic aspects of cognition that are of core interest for Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics: conceptual metaphor, image schema structure, conceptual organization and categorization.

5.2. Foregrounding paradigm: from *Objectivism* to *Experientialism*

What is Cognitive Linguistics? Lakoff exposes the philosophical basis of Cognitive Linguistics in "Women, Fire and Dangerous Things" (1987); he situates this discipline in the general frame of Experientialism referring to "Experientialist" paradigm in opposition to the former "Objectivism". This new focus brought about a new course in the study of language in relation to cognitive and experientialist aspects. Interestedly, the second generations of cognitivists, and mainly the founders of Cognitive Linguistics, were disciples of the Chomskian Generativism. For the generativists, the meaning is peripheral to the study of language. Their central objective in the study of language was syntax (the form) and thus meaning was overlooked. Indeed, the Cognitive Linguistic School arose as a reaction against formal approaches to language as that of Generative Grammar (Chomsky, 1957, 1965). What is straightforward in this theoretical transition is that for the generativists, the structures of language are governed by principles independent of meaning. Thus the semantic associated with the morphological and syntactical structures did not require investigations. The focus was on language-internal structural principles as explanatory constructs. This tendency was rejected by early founders of Cognitive Linguistics like Lakoff, Johnson, Langacker, Fillmore, or Turner. From then, mainly from the late1970s, a vast amount of international research has been generated under the name of Cognitive Linguistics, Cognitive Poetics, Cognitive Rhetoric, Cognitive Semiotics, Cognitive Literary Studies or Cognitive Stylistics, Cognitive Philology, Cognitive Philosophy, etc. This already fuzzy disciplinary taxonomy renders the real dynamics of the present open state of the

art of Cognitive Studies of Languages and texts in a period of transition still drawing on selection, discrimination and institutionalization. We see this state as positive in the sense that much work remains to be done in order to uncover the secrets of the evolution of human thoughts, as they appear registered in any language oral or written mentil. International research has focused mainly on English and Cognitive Lexical-Semantics, but there has also been significant research into other areas crucial to this thesis like Cognitive Anthropology or Cognitive Musicology (Croft & Cruse, 2004:1). More than a detailed description of Cognitive Linguistics, we will present here a general overview to methodologically foreground our all-encompassing Cognitive Poetics hypothesis with respect to the cognitive architecture of *Izran*.

Cognitive Linguistics is characterized by its innovative set of principles, models and methods to approach language from the complex dynamics of thought. This novelty is clearly summarized in Bernárdez (2002). Evans & Green point to it in accurate terms: "Language offers a window into cognitive functions, providing insight into the nature, structure and organization of our thoughts and ideas." (2006: 1). That is, language in use reflects some properties and features of the creative human mind. Apart from this reflection and externalization of our thoughts and other hidden aspects of our mind and experience, language is also an important tool in our daily life. It is the chief means by which human beings perform a series of functions like communication and other behaviors that require language use. Evans & Green further argue that "In all situations and contexts, one may find himself, language is present with him and allows to express himself effectively, providing the means of "encoding" and "transmitting", complex and subtle ideas. These notions of "encoding" and "transmitting" are important, since they

are related to two important functions associated with language, the "symbolic" function and the "interactive" function." (2006: 2-3).

Briefly, Cognitive Linguistics adopted a point of view which Lakoff and Johnson denominated "Experientialist" as opposed to "Objectivist" (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987). For the Experientialists, thinking is more than just manipulating abstract symbols. The cognitive processing depends on the global structure of the conceptual system and not on simple operations between isolated symbols. This thesis is clearly opposed to the objectivist´s view that sees thought as a mechanic manipulation of abstract symbols, which acquire meaning by direct correspondence with the outside world. According to this view, abstract thinking is independent of the human body and his perceptual and nervous system (Hilferty, 1999:15). The experientialist view however, proposes that the structures that constitute our conceptual system emerge from our embodied experience and make sense according to that experience. The peculiar nature of our bodies and brains, especially our sensory motor system, shapes our very possibilities for conceptualization and categorization (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:19-22). Thus, thought and language are seen as foregrounded on our experiences with the environment we inhabit. Consequently, the study of language is no more a simple study of syntax, phonology or morphology, but a matter that is concerned with patterns of conceptualization (Evans & Green, 2006:1). In a word, Cognitive Linguistics provides accounts of language, which mesh well with the current understanding of the human mind. The guiding principles behind this area of Linguistics are that language must be explained, with reference to the underlying mental processes (Gibbs 1994).

Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics are today two scientific disciplines that are inside a

wider range of disciplines, known as Cognitive Science. A series of scientific disciplines join forces, so as to explain language, the functions it serves, how it is produced and its relation to mind. In Cognitive Science, the study of language has become a fertile field for Neuroscience, Biology, Sociology, Psychology, Philosophy, or Linguistics. Whichever point of departure we may take, we always get to related conclusions. If we start by studying the mind, we finally get to language and if we start by studying language, we get to the mind. This is a remarkable feature that distinguishes Cognitive Linguistics, from other linguistic frameworks. Language cannot be studied by one, single discipline. To make the idea clear, let´s say that basically, language represents thought and this one is located in the mind and the mind is the result of the brain matter and the millions of neuronal interconnections. So, we need the intervention of Biology, to explain the composition of the brain matter, Neuroscience to explain how the neuronal interconnections are realized. We also need the intervention of Sociology, to explain the relation between language, mind and culture (Bernardez 2003; Sharifian 2003). The thought that is represented in the outside world, begs for the linguist´s and the psychologist´s explanation. It is this interdisciplinary study of language, which gave birth to Cognitive Science. This discipline is defined in accurate terms in the following quotation by Oatley: "Cognitive Science is about knowledge, conscious and unconscious, about how it´s represented, how it is used by the human mind and artificial mind and how it may be organized for particular purposes. It is interdisciplinary and multimethodological… it derives from psychology, linguistics and literary theory. Its field is literature, including texts that are read, movies that are seen, poetry that is heard." (Cited in Steen 2003: 161-163)

5.3. Meaning construction and Knowledge of the World construction (structures and processes)

Cognitive Semantics is a Linguistic Theory developed as a cognitively oriented and experience-based approach to meaning. In formal theories, meaning was seen as the link between the world and the words, completely separated from human cognition (Sweetser, 1990:4). In contrast, in a cognitive approach, the fundamental assumption of Cognitive Semantics is that language does not represent an isolated system with a separate cognitive status; rather, language is considered a cognitive ability, which interacts with other cognitive abilities within a common knowledge system, as in Geereart (2007). This implies, that any kind of knowledge structure that is associated to a particular word, potentially belongs to the semantic structure of the lexical item in which the concept is symbolized. To put it another way, meaning is a cognitive structure, which receives its value only against the background of a larger context of knowledge, understanding and beliefs. This conceptual view of meaning rejects the objectivist's view, which tried to make a distinction between the speaker´s general knowledge and his linguistic knowledge. In Cognitive Semantics, it is difficult to draw a line between what one knows through linguistic competence and what one knows through words. Turner (1991) as a Cognitive semanticist, argues that Cognitive Semantics adopts an experientialist perspective, that is, the external reality exists, but the way in which we mentally represent the world is a function of embodied experience. Turner explains the idea in the following terms: "Expressions do not mean they are a

prompt for us to construct meaning, by working with processes we already know. In no sense, is the meaning of /an/… utterance, "right there in the words", when we understand an utterance, we in no sense understand "just what the words say"; the words themselves say nothing independently of the rich, detailed knowledge and powerful cognitive processes we bring to bear." (Turner, 1991: 206)

Meaning and thought are characterized as experimentally grounded phenomena. This view regards our conceptual and hence semantic structure, as determined by fundamental human experiences, (nature of the body, our physical functioning in the world, our sensory abilities, or our sociocultural models). Consider the following izri:

Original Tarifit

ⵇⵔⵅⵅⵇⵔⵅ ⵜⵅⴰ ⵇⴰⵎⴰⵏ ⵎⵙⵅⴰⴱⴰⵙⵅⵏ ⵣⵉⵅⵅⵇⴰⵏ
ⵎⴰⵏⴰ ⵇⵔⵅⵅⵣⴰ ⵏⵜⴰⵡⵜⵅⴰⵏ ⵣⵏⴰⵅⴰ ⵜⵅⵣ ⵜⵅⵅⵇⴰⵏ

[R`khukh tha raman mshabbashen izuran

Mana r`khira nyawthan inagga thi thuran]

English literal translation

Peaches and pomegranates, grafted roots

What nice people we made fathers in law.

Spanish literal translation

Melocotón y granado, entrecruzar raíces

Qué buena gente hemos hecho suegros.

English translation:

Peaches and pomegranates grafted their roots

Noble people have we chosen, as fathers in law

Spanish Translation:

El melocotonero y el granado entrecruzaron sus raíces

Noble gente hemos elegido como consuegros.

The inferences generated are:

(1) Peaches and pomegranates are fruits

(2) Peaches and pomegranates have skin, are reddish, sweet and good to make juice.

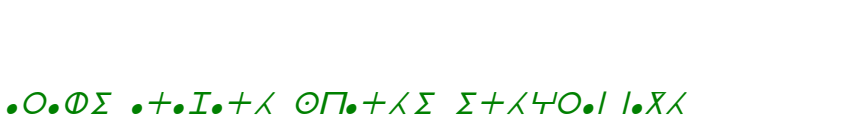
The projection in (1) is true, because of the semantic features that define the meaning of the lexeme "fruit", whereas the sense in the projection (2) comes from the purely linguistic meaning we have of "peaches and pomegranates" and the experiential representation we have of them. This is not a case of separation between the speaker´s general knowledge and the linguistic knowledge. Cognitively it is difficult to make a distinction, between what one knows as a result of the linguistic competence and what

one knows through words. So as to understand the metaphoric or metonymic use of "peaches and pomegranates", the listener must have acquired in his sociocultural environment, a good knowledge about these "fruits" and all the elements that distinguish them, or relate them to other fruits.

5.4. Dictionary meaning versus encyclopedic meaning.

Let us see this difference as it is rentabilized in the following izri:

Original Tarifit



[arabi atajath syathi ithuran nagh

Ushinangh thaskwarth yaqbar wayrath nagh]

English literal translation

Lord, keep sirs fathers in law ours

Give they us partridge accepted lion ours.

Spanish literal translation

Dios, guarde señores suegros nuestros

Dieron ellos a nosotros perdiz, acepto león nuestro.

English translation

God bless our sirs and fathers in law

They gave us a partridge and our lion accepted.

Spanish translation:

Dios bendice nuestros señores y suegros

Nos dieron una perdiz y nuestro león acepto.

1. Partridges are birds 2. Partridges have two legs, wings, lay eggs, do not bark and build nests. The function of the dictionary components is the study of Lexical Semantics, whereas the encyclopedic components fall within the field of Pragmatics (Kimmel 2004). The working difference lies in the division between the semantic meaning and the meaning that emerges in the text. From the Cognitive Semantics point of view, the existence of encyclopedic knowledge subsumes dictionary knowledge (Evans, Bergen and Zinken 2007). The meanings carried by words (by linguistic items, properly) and our knowledge of them is not a disorganized mess, but it is deeply structured. Different theoretical frameworks have framed the dynamics of conceptualization. Some theories concerning this biopoetic organization of meanings have been developed by scholars like Fillmore (1977) in his “Frame Semantics”, in

which he argues, that word meanings are organized in "Frames". Lakoff`s Idealized Cognitive Models are described as a kind of established mode of conceptualization. He established four types of, Idealized Cognitive Models, (Ruiz de Mendoza 2000).

1. Propositional models (knowledge is associated to one linguistic form)
2. Image schema (up-down, in-out, etc.)
3. Metaphorical models (understanding one thing in terms of another)
4. Metonymic models (correspondences within one domain and one of its subdomains)

For Lakoff, Langacker´s Cognitive Domains (1987) are similar to Fillmore´s Frame Semantics (1977, 1985), or else to Shank and Abelson Scripts (1977) which are described by Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 231) as "Structures that are particularly designed for frequently recurring event sequence." They are also known as *schemata, scene* and *scenario*. For instance, the concept of "mother", as posed by Lakoff, emerges from the combination of various domains. For example, we have "*my mother, or the woman that is married to my father and that conceived me, gave me birth and nurtured me. But we have also surrogate mother, step mother, genetic mother and an unmarried woman with a child."* This reality, of course, implies some problems and difficulties, related to categorization that emerges from the conjunction, between Idealized Cognitive Models and a more complex reality. This reality shows out in the relation between the semantic and the experiential reality (for instance, Don Juan, Casanova). In Langacker´s theory, "Domains are necessarily cognitive entities, mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts, or conceptual complexes."(Langacker, 1987: 147) The image schema, "in-out, up-down, right-left, etc" is understood, in different

structural cognitive domains. These are bound up in our cognitive conditions. Johnson´s (1987) Image Schema and metaphor and metonymy, that suppose a conceptual projection, between or within domains are dynamic and more complex than "Frames", or "Scripts" (Ruiz de Mendoza, 1996a). These models are a mixture of propositional models and image schemas. We illustrate this view by citing names of three different animals, lion, wolf and hyena. We can make a distinction between conventionalized domains of knowledge, which is similar to the folk´s model of knowledge. This knowledge that forms the domain of dictionary knowledge is not the only knowledge that one can offer. There exists also, a metaphorical projection of the domain of lions, wolves, or hyenas on the domain of leadership, intelligence and cowardliness.

Image Schema, appeared in the works of the early founders of Cognitive Linguistics, Talmy 1983; Lakoff 1987 and Johnson 1987. Image schema, is fundamental in Cognitive Linguistics, because they are imaginative, embodied and form part of the meaning, as is lucidly put forward by Johnson, "Understanding meaning involves image schema structures of imagination that are extended and figuratively elaborated, as abstract structures of meaning and patterns of thought." (Johnson, 1987: xxxvi)

But, understanding as he later states "…is the way our world presents itself to us and this is a result of the massive complex of culture, language, history and bodily mechanisms that blend to make our world what it is." (Johnson, 1987: 104)

Image schema help construct a good number of complex events and images. They are preconceptual and prelinguistic (Mandler 1992, 2004). They are not concrete images

that is, they do not have the specificity of rich mental pictures; according to Johnson, they operate at the level of generality and abstraction (1987: 23-24). These images help organize our experiences. According to Lakoff schemata are concepts, based on our perceptual system, that emerge from our interaction with the world. Amongst the followers of the early founders of Cognitive Linguistics that have dealt with *image schema* theory we find Beate Hampe, Joseph. E.Grady, Timothy. C. Clausner, Raymond Gibbs, Jean. M. Mandler, Tim Rohrer, Michael Kimmel and Jordan Zlatev (Hampe 2005). The various definitions and interpretations of Image Schemas are based on divergent specifications of selected criteria, pertaining to relational character of Image Schemas, their level of specificity, or the role of their perceptual information (Grady 2004; Kimmel 2004). In a word, an Image schema is a mental pattern that provides structured understanding, of various experiences and is available for use in metaphors, as a source domain to provide an understanding of yet other experiences (Kimmel 2004). Johnson (1987:126) made a long list of schemas such as: Container, balance, compulsion, blockage, counterforce, enablement, path, attraction, cycle, iteration, splitting, contact, link, center-periphery, merging, etc.

5.5. Cognitive schematizations. Image Schemas as responding to specific environmental perceptual stimuli

The followers of the early founders of Cognitive Linguistics tried to investigate the neurobiological basis of Image Schemas. Words evoke images in the mind, but before these images became linked to words, these have been generated in the mind. Now

some scholars like Rohrer (2005) analyze how the images created in the mind (preconceptual and prelinguistic), become associated with words and how these images trigger the use of words to represent them in the outside world. This guides us to thinking that in the same way that our cognition is in part cultural, the images that are linked to perception partly emerge from our sensory and bodily experiences in the environment. These images generated in the mind are dynamic due to the changing contexts but somewhere in our brain these static images are organized and stored. The question that poses itself is whether we can categorize in the absence of mental schemas, or to what extent are they similar to possible world. What about domains and mental spaces? Are they not by the way and to certain degree represented by images in the mind? These cognitive representations and the concepts that they are related to are achieved by ordinary human experiences. We consider briefly the following example:

1. In the eighties, the bold man, had long dark hair.

As humans, we feel able to distinguish between the different mental spaces. These images, as Lakoff 1987; Johnson 1987 and Lakoff and Turner 1989, argued, impose a conceptualization. They are a representation of specific embodied experiences. Image Schemas represent schematic patterns, arising from imagistic domains, such as containers, paths, forces, etc (see Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Talmy 1983), that recur in a variety of embodied domains and structure our bodily experiences. Rohrer (2005) investigating the dwelling place of images and how these have a neuronal basis, has stated that “the sensory motor cortices are crucial to the comprehension of bodily action terms and sentences.” (Rohrer, 2005:1)

6. THOUGHT, LANGUAGE AND MEANING CONSTRUCTION

6.1. Cognitive dynamics of oral language

What other means of communication are more effective than oral language in transmitting one´s thoughts and intentions. This communicative mode is the most effective and the most extended amongst human beings and surely will remain so forever in our daily interactions with our acquaintances. In fact, most cultures consider oral language as a high status form of art. This oral manifestation of our language possesses some qualities that distinguish it from any other communicative mode. However, though it has many advantages, it also imposes some limitations that as speaking individuals we can´t avoid. If in oral language the message is transmitted by hearsay from one generation to another, assuming all the risks of changes in the content, written language survives longer than the oral one, because in writing, we use a material support that gives it some durability. One of the main advantages of oral language is the facility to move from one subject to the other. This idea is well illustrated by the following quotation, which states that in oral language "we can shift from external to internal perspective, from one mind to the other, from thought to speech and perception" (Fludernik, 1993: 73). Sociologists consider oral tradition as a way for a society to transmit history, law, literature, science and other knowledge across generations. In Rif, due to the absence of a written support, it is through hearsay that people inherit the knowledge of those who have it and in turn add what themselves

know, or pass on what they have learned. In this society, it is the oral tradition that allowed the benefits of language, not only to be collected and passed back and forth within a generation, but to be passed on across generations. By communication, we mean the process of exchanging information by different means and that requires from the speakers the comprehension of a common language sign, though human beings at a certain time of evolution they developed different communicative tools. In a given cultural environment, people knowing the rules of their language communicate fluently in a process in which certain elements such as the social environment that constrain the use of words facilitate comprehension. These communicative interactions often take place in a situation where the speaker encodes a message using the same linguistic rules. That is, when people speak, they use a vocabulary in which words are associated to concepts that are used to draw the attention of the listener, towards a particular referent in a given context. Consider the following izri:

Original Tarifit

ⵢⵓⵢⵓ ⵙⵛⵡⵏⵎ ⵙⵛⵡⵏⵎ ⵏⵅ ⵡⵏⵅⵏ ⵜⵛⵉ ⵜⵛⵏⵙ

ⵏⴼⵏⵅ ⵏⵅⵙⵛⵏ ⵉⵢⵢ ⵅⵏⵉ ⵙⵛⵉⵣⵛ ⵏⵙⵉⵍⵏ

[uyur shway shway am waman thi thara

Aqam amshan inu mani shigh arridha]

English literal translation

Walk slowly, slowly like water in spring

This place mine where ate me "arridha"

Spanish literal translation

Camina despacio, despacio como agua en manantial

Aquí sitio mío donde comí "arridha".

English translation

Walk slowly, slowly like water in the spring

This is the place where I ate "arridha".

Spanish translation

Camina despacio, despacio como agua del manantial

Este es el lugar donde comí "arrida".

This izri belongs to the domain of romantic love. The poet describes two lovers that are on a visit to the place they fell in love with each other. The man is not interested in marriage but in the feeling the place evokes in him. "Arridha" is a plant of love. The place evokes in the subjects certain feelings and memories of the lovers first meetings.

The words in the izri, involve a semiotic triangle, there is a form, a concept associated to the meaning and an associated reference in a particular concept (Steen 2003). When words to describe a concept seem to fail we seek help through words which usually belong to another context. It is our hypothesis that *Izran* depend upon metaphor to achieve their success as an art of creation. In this case the poet uses a language from the domain of social experience to express that which is processed at a mental level because it attributes more precise meaning.

In our daily communicative interactions we use many and different words that are associated with different meanings and vice versa. That is, the entire population of a given culture and language seem to be coordinated towards the use of a single, conventional name. Hence, the association of words to concepts is progressively created as individuals interact with each other. It is believed that people access unconsciously the different senses of a word. Polysemy arises when people find themselves using a word that has many related senses. This fact does not bring about any problems for natural language speakers because they feel able to select the most salient meaning when several solutions are possible (Giora 2003; Gibbs 1994).

6.2. Language and Thought. Poetics and Linguistics

Traditionally, and particularly since Descartes, there has been a clear boundary between language and thought. Nowadays thought is broadly considered as a form of mental experience (Johnson 1972; quoted in Katz 1998). Language, in turn, has been conceptualized in terms of structures (phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, etc) and

rules that govern syntax. In Linguistics, this distinction between language and thought was essential in Saussure's theories (1857-1913). Chomsky (1965) also distinguished between Performance and Competence. Since these two thinkers, attention has been progressively driven to meaning as a matter of thought rather than of language in the biocultural context of human cognition as human action.

Basically, the main purpose of communication is to produce meaning structure that can be processed and understood, as is lucidly put forward by prominent linguists. As Jackendoff states: "Meaning, of course, is presumably the reason for there being such a thing as language at all, since the language faculty is, at bottom, a device for externalizing and communicating meaning." (Jackendoff, 1992:7)

Different views about the relation between language and thought have been manifested by a paradigmatic huge number of scholars in all disciplines scrutinizing the evolution of human knowledge. Some scholars have argued that thought is dependent upon language. This view gave rise to the question of whether all thoughts are adequately translated into speech. The view that thought depends on language is risky for the simple reason that it states that different people from different cultures and languages think differently (Katz 1998:14).This leads to the statement that different languages presuppose different conceptualizations. This idea was rejected by some scholars such as Hill (1988, cited in Katz 1998:14) who holds the view that people from the same language and culture have different world views. He argued that concepts are in the mind and that we as speakers create words for such concepts. This idea indicates clearly that concepts do not depend on their existence, on the preexistence of a word. Bickerton (1990, 1995), argued that most of what we consider human thought is based

on the principles underlying language. He finally concluded that the language of thought (Mentalese) is different from language of Language (as mentioned in Katz, 1998:19). Similarly, we read in Katz (1998) that Vygotsky position is that the child´s earliest attempt at problem solving, reflect thinking without language and the earliest speech, indicates that there language without thought. Fodor (1983) proposed that the mind contains a central cognitive system, as well as a set of specialized, autonomous modules (in Katz, 1998: 12). Whorf and Sapir argued that language shapes thought. From a cognitive point of view, concepts are prelinguistic because man, long before he developed language to communicate, improved tactics to avoid predators and techniques for survival and defending his properties. This ability requires the use of some sort of cognitive tool. In the anthropologically based view of language that will support our sociocognitive study of *Izran*, language is a fundamental mechanism through which we exteriorize our thoughts and its absence does not mean the absence of thought, because thought is far richer than language. In many *Izran* the poet uses figurative language such as metaphors or metonymies so as to facilitate comprehension and say clearly that which is not possible to say literally (Katz 1998). We actually, create words to name objects as is stated by Slobin in the following quotation "The activity of thinking takes on a particular quality when it is employed in the ability of speaking. In the evanescent time frame of constructing utterances in discourse, one fits one´s thoughts into available linguistic forms." (Slobin, 1987: 435) "Thinking for speaking"

The oral production of *Izran* obliges the poet to seek the appropriate words to recreate an emotional and evaluative view of the world.

6.3. Meaning *out of* context

Everything in this work is conducted in a specific context limited to a particular time and place. The interpreter forms part of this same context. Indeed, we are part of the people we seek to understand. Context, therefore, should be given full attention in carrying out our research.

At some point in time, human beings started to produce sounds, as representation of objects and ideas. These communicative sounds are intended to transmit some meaningful message. The processing of meaning becomes a vital and primary step to be taken to understand the text or the spoken discourse. To this end, many theories have been evolved and many techniques have been employed. In the course of exploring the ideas expressed in an izri, we will not be satisfied with just asking questions, but we will also try to provide some directions towards solutions. Though we know from a cognitivists perspective that language is not a code (Lema 2009), so as to understand the meaning that is being produced online when the izri is being produced, the listener/ interpreter has to be able to decode the language used and be fully aware of the context of its production.

When the izri is produced, the listener feels something occupying his/her mind. The first step to be taken is to find out what is personally thought of the izri. When she comes in contact with the izri she enjoys it, learns it by heart and recites it, but does not discuss its language. An advantage that is achieved through this interaction, which is achieved face to face through a collaborative work, provides an elementary example of

human social organization (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992: 22). The interaction between speaker and interpreter is a kind of social action. That is, the talk that is shaped by the social properties of its interactive environment sheds some light on the basic organization of language itself.

What then do we know when we hear an izri and what are the cognitive tools that intervene in its comprehension? To understand an izri is to understand the intended meaning through the use of words, which acquire different meanings in different situations. In fact, to understand an izri is not a very intricate matter. Apart from many other things, firstly this has to do with context. Context is of crucial importance to Cognitive Poetics. It is social and continuously changing according to time and circumstances. The following izri can be fully understood if we place it in its right context.

Original Tarifit

ⵏⵙⵉⵅⵍ ⵏⵉⵏⵉ ⵏⵉⵏ ⵜⵍⵓⵏⵓⵏⴷⵅⵍ ⵅⵍⴰ ⵎⵜⵍⵓⴰⵏ
ⵜⴰⵏⵉⵅⵍ ⵜⵍⵣⵉⴰⵉ ⵛⴰⵙⴰ ⵜⵍⵖⵅ ⴰⵜⵎⴰⵏ

I spent the night watching the stars
Waiting for the moon but it did not show up

If we freeze the moment people gathered in a huge plaza in Fez watching the stars on a dark starry night with the desire to see a plain and try to understand the social, historical

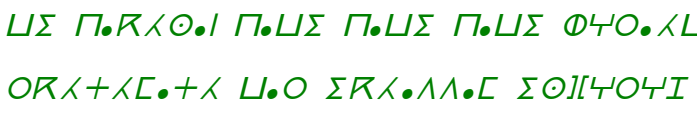
and cultural context in which the izri is produced, only then we can grasp the real meaning. The context forms part of the meaning and is not a thing we call up when bare semantic is not enough.

A listener ignoring the social background will probably activate a literal interpretation of the izri. But, if this literal explanation is accepted between many people, why should we disagree with them. What we understand, or why we understand what we process depends mainly on the context in which one gets in contact with the izri. For instance, a woman can think of her lover as the moon and of the rest of people as stars.

Methodologically, and thinking in terms of a metaphorical theory, we can say that a native Berber comprehension of an izri is not a matter of chance but she unconsciously has to follow certain rules that she uses as a framework. The interpreter must first understand the language of the speaker and share with her the rules used in the codification of meaning, if he/she wants to understand the speech language content. Context may trigger variation of meaning and provide substantial information to understand why a word varies in meaning when it is used in different contexts (Bernárdez 2005, 2007). A word in a given izri may denote one meaning amongst a series of meanings it inherently carries. This meaning is determined by the power of context. The meaning to be processed is easily identified once the context is identified. This of course is not the process through which the listeners understand *Izran*. The idea behind this argument is differentiate between understanding online and thinking in terms of a theory so as to understand what is said.

The environment one finds herself in at the moment of poetic production contains some elements that constrain the use of words and delimit the meaning to be

processed. This is at least the contextualists view (Sperber and Wilson (1985, 1986), Grice (1975), Searl (1993), Davidson (1983), or Carston (2000)). For Austin (1962), when we are engaged in the analysis of language, we do always turn to cultural and social conventions, which provide the interpretability of performative utterances, as in "I baptize you, or I declare you" uttered by a priest, changes the status of the surrounding framework of the social conventions. So what is there in a specific context that facilitates pragmatic comprehension of meaning? Consider the following izri:



[wi yakhsan yawi yawi, yawi burahwa

R`khathmath war ikhadam isfaruj abaatha]

English literal translation

Who want take take, take a troubadour

Work not work he, entertains he at least

Spanish literal translation

Quien querer llevar llevar, llevar un trovador

Trabajo no trabajar el, entretiene el por los menos

English translation

She that wants to marry, marry a troubadour

Work, he likes not, but at least he entertains

Spanish translation

Quien quiera casarse que se case con un trovador

Trabajar no trabaja, pero al menos entretiene.

This izri is very sarcastic. Traditionally, Berber women get married at an early age. Those that are old enough and not married are frequently criticized or mocked at. In this izri, and according to Berber thinking, the element we call sarcasm is not contained in any of the linguistic elements used in the izri. It is probably contained in the congruity between what we expect and what we are confronted with. In fact the listener does not construct meanings only from the given verbal variants; culture plays an important role in its comprehension. In reality there is no theory that can tell us how meaning is constructed in the mind of the conceptualizer. When a Berber woman understands a poem it does not mean that she knows or understands the cognitive processes involved in its codification.

Language cannot be analyzed as an encapsulated formal system that can be isolated from the rest of the society, culture and social organization (Goodwin &

Duranti 1992; Bernárdez 2008). The importance of context in the comprehension of meaning has been dealt with by many scholars; Goffman (1974:4) stated that context helps to account for aspects of meaning that go beyond the scope of semantics. Cognitive Linguistics frequently uses the term "context" as a reference to some mental phenomena. Searl (1979: 125) defined context as "a set of background assumptions that are necessary for an utterance to be intelligible." Langacker (1987: 147) defined the notion of "domain" as a "context". For De Mey (1989: 80) "context is a term that is easily invoked but rarely explained and even if it were a clear notion, one would still need a model of the way in which contexts interact and combine." According to Givon (1989: 2) "the meaning of an expression cannot be fully understood without understanding the context in which the expression is used." Vygotsky (1962, 1978) and his closest associates Luria (1979) and Leontèv (1981a, 1981b), as cited in Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 20), tried to place the genesis of thought and language within a context constituted through the dynamic processes of social interactions. According to Lyons, "The choice of words is determined by the internal context of the utterance constituted by all the factors which by virtue of their influence upon the participants in a language event systematically determine the form, and the meaning of an utterance." (Lyon, 1977:572) Context here refers to intentions, assumptions and presuppositions of speakers and listeners, which ensure that their discourse is perceived as coherent and therefore, makes sense for the participants in a situation of communication. A full account of how important *context* is in any communicative process is given in Bernárdez (2008). Consider the following izri:

ⵖⵓⴽⴰⵎⵏ ⵜⵍⵍⵖⵎⵉ ⴰⵜⴽ ⵜⵍⵍⵖⵎⵉⵙⵏⴽ ⵓⵔⴰⵓ

ⴰⵜⴽ ⵜⵍⵍⵖⵎⵉⵙⵏⴽ ⵍⵍⵉⵙ]ⵉ ⵡⴰⵓ ⵉⵜⵉⴽ ⵏⴽⴰ ⵎⴰⵎⴰⵓ

[ushayd pluma a th`plumigh r`kas

A th`plumigh lif war itih gha yamas]

Englsih literal translation

Give you me pen to scribble glass

Scribbles I beloved not go to mother of his

Spanish literal translation

Dar tú a mí pluma para plumear vaso

Plumear yo mi amante para no ir madre de él

English translation

Give me the pen to scribble the glass

I scribble to my beloved so he won´t visit his mother.

Spanish translation

Dame la pluma para plumear el vaso

Para plumear a mi amante y así no acuda a su madre.

From a neurobiological interpretation of signs, meanings exist only in the brain (Freeman 2000). When we contemplate some archaeological findings such as the Libico-Berber inscriptions found in different Berber areas and we do not understand what they mean, we will never know what happened in the mind of these people. Looking at the matter from this perspective, we deduce that writing contains no meanings (Freeman 2000; Fauconnier 1997; Turner 1991). To sum up, meanings are in the mind. To this end cognitive scientists developed the theory of cognitive semantics whose main preoccupation is the nature of meaning and how it is constructed. Cognitive semantics treats the meaning construction as the essential motor of human cognition. Indeed, the construction of meanings depends mainly on the social embodied experience, mental simulation and the extensions in abstract domains via analogies, metaphors and blending. In fact the cognitive paradigm evidences that our cognition is embodied, dynamic and situated. Our cognition depends largely on our embodiment and on our relations with other cognizers. When we speak of meanings we have to be clear about what we mean by "meaning". In our work, we do not refer to "meaning" as an entity in the world. To be in harmony with cognitive semantics, we think that meanings are intentional. They are constructed in the mental experience of the cognizer with a brain in a body in a social environment that interacts with other cognizers (Williams 2004). Our interactions with the shared world and with others play an important role in the meanings we construct.

The brain as a physical organ of the body is seen as a kind of controller adapted

for the embodied activity and as such it has developed together with the body to treat the demands of life in the physical world (Williams 2004). Conceptualization is dynamic and ever changing. The activities in the human brain are in a continuous motion. To understand an izri, an experimented interpreter has to follow certain rules; these rules discard the traditional view, which isolates pragmatics from semantics. The cognitive representation, which is not given importance in the traditional view, bases meaning on conceptualizations and makes an emphasis on the relation between language and mental representations (Lakoff 1987; Langacker 1986). That is, all organisms seem to have some subjective needs for knowledge. In fact, they do contain some inherent meanings (friendship, food, help, etc). The organism processes the information through the sensory-motor organs which help predict where the meaning occurs. These motives for knowledge are basically the same for all human beings. Another aspect that is not always clear in Cognitive Linguistics is the distinction between the system that represents the world around us to form a mental image, and other systems which represent an exception for these defaults. Some of the well known models are known under "Frame" (Minsky 1975), "Script" (Shank & Abelson 1977), "Domains" (Lakoff 1987; Langacker 1987) or "Idealized Cognitive Models" (Lakoff 1987); these latter serve to represent reality from a certain perspective.

These models have a lot to do with the organization of our knowledge. That is, the comprehension of *Izran* demands the activation of some cognitive tools. The dynamic sum of these tools forms the Idealized Cognitive Model or ICMs. These models are described as a kind of established mode of conceptualization. These structures configure our knowledge. Lakoff (1987), as we have mentioned before,

distinguishes four types of structuring principle for this kind of construct: propositional, image schematic, metaphoric and metonymic. In this context, metaphor and metonymy are described as conceptual mappings that differ only in the nature of the domains involved: in metaphor we find two domains (the source and the target), while in metonymy there is a domain-subdomain relationship. Furthermore, Image schemas are defined by Johnson (1987) as "A recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience … These patterns are embodied and give coherent, meaningful structure to our physical experience at a preconceptual level" (Johnson, 1987: xiv). Image schemas are crucial in initial phases of conceptualization processes because they help structure a good number of perceptions, images and more abstract and complex events. They are not propositional structures; they are physical phenomena that help organize our experiences into abstract thought. Lakoff (1987, 1989) initially defined image schema as a concept based on our perceptual system that emerges from our interaction with the world providing coherence and order to certain conceptual structures.

Our methodology may also induce to the discussion of the linguistic meaning, which is always connected to various central concepts in Cognitive Science, such as "induction", "inference" and "affordances". Of course, one of our objectives is to pave the way for a discussion of the linguistic meaning from the point of view of different scientific disciplines. In *Izran,* the language used serves the poet to tell her subjective experiences. As we have seen, language is not a predefined object that can be studied in isolation, or independently of the situation of its use. If we cannot see how mental representations are linked to our socio-cultural practices, then the link between language

and mental representation will be impossible to establish. Let us show in the following izri how language is related to non-linguistic actions.

Original Tarifit

ⵍⵍⴰⵍⴰ ⵎⵓⵙⴰⵊⴰⵍⴰ ⴱⵓ ⵔⴰⵎⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵜ ⵓⴰⵏⴰⵍ
ⵔⴰⵙⵉⵙⵔⴰ ⴰⴱⵓⵏ ⵙⵍⵉⵜ ⵔⴰⵙⴱⵓⵏⴰⵔ ⵅⴰⴰ ⵜ ⵍⵍⵙⵎⴰⵍ

[lala musajala wa thaym bu raman

Thisith awar inu thiwyat ghar w liman]

English literal translation

Lady voice-recorder, no in you faith

Taken talk mine and carried it to Germany.

Spanish literal translation

Doña grabadora, no en ti fe

Coger palabras mías y llevar a Alemania

English translation

You treacherous voice-recorder, no faith in you

You captured my words and took them to Germany

Spanish translation

Ay de la grabadora traicionera, no hay fe en ti;

Atrapaste mis palabras y te las llevaste a Alemania

Many things that are inherent are not said by the dictionary meaning of words. We deduce them from the mode of saying it, which is constrained by context. The context obliges the speaker to use words that depend crucially on cultural practices. For instance, the introduction of the cassette-recorder, in Rif´s Berber society, as a novel means of communication, caused a series of linguistic innovations for some time. The voice-recorder (the seventies) was used as a means of transmitting live oral messages between immigrants (in Europe) and their families in the mountainous areas of Rif. This apparatus, which permitted to hear the voice of the speaker, played an important role in bringing back memories of one´s youth, land and family. This apparatus served as an unbroken link between many people. From a Cognitive Poetics point of view, our preference for one object over the other ignites the flame of distinguishing between objects. This fact, converts it in the main pillar of "Linguistic Categorization" (Rosch 1976, Lakoff 1987). Consider the following izri

Original Tarifit

ⵕ•ⵛ •+•ⵗ ⵕ•ⵛ •+•ⵗ •ⵅ ⵊ••ⵊ•• +ⵚⵓⵏⵙ

ⵉⵊ• ⵉ ⵙⵏⵙ ⵊⵉ ⵕ• +ⵚ•ⵗⵍ +ⵚⵏ+ⵚⵉ+ⵚ ⵅⵡⵊⵚⵏⵙ

[qam atay qam atay ag naanaa thrus

Inas isus ni qa thay thuthith gwfus]

Englsih literal translation

Move tea, move tea put mint little

Tell worm that you`ll fall hand mine

Spanish literal translation

Mueve te, mueve te pon hierba buena un poco

Decirle gusano ese, caerás manos mías

English translation

Move the teapot, move the teapot and put in a little mint

Tell that worm that soon he will fall into my hands

Spanish translation

Mueve la tetera, mueve la tetera y ponle poquita hierba buena

Dile a ese gusano que pronto caerás en mis manos

The language used in the izri, allows us to speculate about the level of knowledge of others that take part in the ritual. If we introduce the cultural practices in our model of analysis, we can cope with non-linguistic actions, as something that stream along the language production. In Rif, it is widely believed that women are more experts in the use of language of gestures from the domain of witchcraft. In such situations they also use a language that is incomprehensible for men because it is not a shared knowledge. In the izri, the ritual where a woman asks another to "move the teapot and put little of mint" guides a meaning, a belief, which is fulfilled in case all the actions are taken with care and according to the common belief established about it.

So where do come the intersubjective cultural models that we share? Cultural models are related to cultural practices. According to Robert Frederick Williams in his PhD (2004) submitted for the partial satisfaction of the requirement for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy, members of cultural groups develop cultural models through their direct interactions with others in the course of an activity. They observe and interpret the behaviors of others that are engaged in certain activity or when they find representations for the thoughts and actions of others and the tales or histories that members of the groups tell each other. The richness of human communication generates a huge variety of mental experiences that go beyond of what a single individual can generate through a direct physical interaction with the environment. The social organization and human communication help in the formation of conceptual models.

Moreover, they make possible the distribution of cognitive and physical labor, meanwhile simultaneously they assure us that the most relevant and important cultural models are intersubjectively shared. Even though, the social organization is relatively invisible and communication ephemeral. Even when the social interaction helps form conceptual models, these also are relatively invisible and disappear once the members of the cultural group disappear. This is the reason why we have given a detailed description of the corpus and the sociological and geographical context. We offered this introduction so as to enable readers lacking some knowledge about the Riffian sociological situation and enable them to understand even briefly some theoretical points of orientation. Almost everything in this work is conducted from a cognitive-sociocultural perspective.

A simple view at the social environment occupied by human beings helps decipher the cultural values, social distinctions, nature of the activity that is reflected on the same social environment. To compare for instance Rif mountains, houses made of sun-dried brick, no electricity, scarcity of water resources, lack of infrastructures with Madrid and its high buildings, highways, shopping-centers, theatres etc. life in these two spaces is dominated by different values and different activities. We believe in views of known scholars like Bernárdez (2003) that the conceptual and the cultural are clearly related and probably interact in very complex ways. Together they make the cultural components of human cognition. A more comprehensive view of context account is lucidly explained in Bernárdez (2008).

6.4. Con/figuring *Literal* and *Figurative* language

One of the most amazing elements in the production of *Izran* is the ability of illiterate women to produce poems using dark words, unclear sometimes for the ear of a normal listener, even though the hidden significance announces its presence for both experts and non-experts along the words used. In many *Izran* poets construct something that is not mentioned directly by words. Thus natural invisibility of intense meanings acts poetically as in art production. Look at the following izri:

Original Tarifit

ⵔⵎⵔⵔ ⵔⵎⵔⵔ ⵜⵄⵍⵍⵓⵍⵍⵓⵄⵜ ⵅⵔⵍⵙ ⵜⵄⵔⵅⵄⵅⵙ

ⵕⵔⵜⵜⵔⵓ ⵜⵄⵙ ⵍⵍⵓⵙⵜ ⵍⴷⵓⵄ ⵅⵔ ⵜⵔⵍⵎⵔⵜⵄ ⵓⵓⵉⵕⵄⵔⵅⵙ

[Ayaqat ayaqat thlullusht mani thaghmi

Kattar thi Louis nesh ma tawyath su khammi]

Spanish literal translation

Ahí está, ahí está, flor donde florecer

Aumentar “Louis” tuyo, te la llevas con mirar?

Englsih literal translation

There she is, there she is, flower where flourish

Increase "Louis" yours, you she take with look.

Spanish translation

Ahí la tienes, ahí la tienes ¡como ha brotado la florecilla!

Aumenta tu caudal, no creas que con sólo mirarla va a ser tuya.

English translation

There you have her, there you have her, and how the flower has bloomed

Increase your offer; do not think that just with looking at her she will be yours

It is clear, that some insight is manifested out of this izri. The meaning is accessed by all the listeners, independently of their level of education or social status. What is there that facilitates the comprehension of both figurative and literal language? The borders between the literal and the figurative are fuzzy. Many investigations have been taken ahead, concerning the notion of literal and figurative in language (Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Panther and Radden 1999, Kovecses 1998, Coulson 2005, Turner 1998). According to Fauconnier (1994, 1997) and Talmy (2000), the linguistic meaning requires pragmatic enrichment.

However, the question that one keeps asking, is about the relation between literal and figurative meanings and why a word with multiple meanings (Gibbs 1994), has one

of its meanings chosen over the others. Once again, is it the context that decides the election of one meaning over the others? What about metaphors, metonymies and conceptual integration. Why all that is not perceptible has been debated as cognitive rather than linguistic? Whether a word is used literally or figuratively evokes a frame is it a question of framing?

A word may have many related senses and which one is processed when used in an izri depends on the situation and context. There are always some hidden and invisible elements in context, which make one meaning more salient than others. The more salient ones are the first to be processed (Giora 2003). For many contextualists like Recanati, Sperber and Wilson, or Davidson a word is judged to be literal, or figurative, by the power of context. For Gibbs (1994), whether a word is used literally or figuratively, is characterized in terms of the cognitive processes involved in utterance interpretation. As students of cognitive linguistics we had access to the methodology developed by the Praggljazz group, headed by Steen (2007), which evolved a new and simple methodology to identify words that are used figuratively. As we have seen so far, this relationship between the various meanings of a word is at the center of what has been progressively examined from different perspectives like Cognitive Poetics, Linguistics, Semantics, Pragmatics, Psycholinguistics, or Philosophy.

6.5. Realism revisited. Embodiment and situated cognition

Given the operational bodies we have, these bodies can be considered as the centre of all the information we can implicate and explicate (Guerra 2001). Our bodies are in

constant contact with different objects in the environment. The object we get in contact with exercises an influence on our bodies that is responded interactively to. Through these experiences in the environment we acquire knowledge. At first sight the world may seem chaotic and disordered, but by using our cognitive abilities, we even find sense in it. We categorize and manipulate objects changing the relationship between them. As a challenge to the outside world we not only improve strategies for survival but also try to shape this same world from which we acquire knowledge to our own wishes. These strategies need a cognitive apparatus of some sort (Janda 2007). Our experiences in the environment provide us with a wide range of knowledge which is explained in words which acquire meaning in the shared human experience of bodily existence (Zlatev 1991, Ziemke and Sharkey 2001, Tomasello 1999, Janda 2007). Social practices allow us to see how a wide range of concepts can only be understood by reference to our bodies (Ziemke 2003, Barsalou 1999, Varela et al. 1991). Even the image schemas "in-out, up-down, left-right", have the body as their experiential basis. During our early childhood we learn them by putting things in our mouths and spitting them, or getting in and out of the rooms. The adult erect posture itself, which is seen as an achievement of balance, dictates the position "up-down". "Count-mass and Figure-ground" derive from our sensory-motor apparatus like seeing, touching, smelling, tasting, or hearing. These examples are just a small sample of meanings attributed directly to body existence. Embodiment is of crucial importance to Cognitive Science and since the mid eighties the term has been used extensively in Artificial Intelligence, and Cognitive Science. In Ziemke (2001), we find references to "Embodied Mind" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Varela et.al), "Embodied Cognition" (Clark 1997),

"Embodied Cognitive Science" (Clark 1999, Pfeifer and Scheier 1999), "Embodied Intelligence" (Brooks 1991), "Embodied Action" (Varela et al., 1991), "Natural Embodiment" (Ziemke 1999), or "Social Embodiment" (Barsalou, Niedenthal, Barbey and Rupert). All these studies, hint to the importance of the concept of "Embodiment" in Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics. In a given social environment, the reference is not made to a single body but to the body of a special social group and now the environment becomes part of the cognitive system. So, to be embodied is just to be realized in some physical substrate as Chrisley and Ziemke (2001) or Bernárdez (2002, 2007, 2008) have shown in detail. Actually, all work in Cognitive Science is about embodied systems. Bernárdez (2003: 8) argues that the body can be seen as an individual or social reality. This author doesn´t question the existence of the body, but what this one does: what it does is outward bound, directed towards others, i.e., social. The idea of embodied collective cognition could even be the foundations of a Third Generation of Cognitive Revolution guided by Social Cognition in the new space of Social Sciences. This work on sociocultural evolution of Berber-Tamazight could be framed in this new social paradigm.

6.6. The social basis of Tamazight cultural life: Collective and Individual cognition

According to Edelman (1992), we live in a world that is previous to us and we acquire all that we know in this same world. This knowledge is in turn used to understand this same world better. So in a given culture, people tend to think approximately in similar ways, though we can speak of individual cognition as being unique to each person. In

spite of this fact, there are some unseen but felt powers that shape their thinking and characterize their actions. This is what makes us distinct from each other. According to Bernárdez (2004: 5) "If thinking is an individual affaire, activity is necessarily interactive." Tomasello states that "… all artifacts that enable and empower human cognition (…) are the joint product of many people working over many years, combining and accumulating skills and knowledge." (Tomasello, 2000a: 357-mentioned in Bernárdez 2004:10).

Tomasello makes an emphasis on the importance of the collectivity in the development of the individual cognition. This idea is very clear in the following quotation "The cognition of the individual participating in similar collective activities, will develop in similar directions." (Bernárdez, 2004: 10). Sharifian (2003: 190) maintains that "[At] the cultural level of cognition, meanings and conceptualizations appear to arise from the interaction between the members of a cultural group." *Izran* that are produced in weddings, or other rituals such as baptizing or religious rituals require at least a speaker and a group of listeners. The listeners process the izri in almost the same terms. What the participants know configurate the collective knowledge. The cultural conceptualizations developed through interactions between the members of a cultural group enable them to think approximately in one mind (Sharifian, 2003:190). The following schema on cultural conceptualizations represents a distributed model of cultural schema (Sharifian 2003: 191):

BCD BCDE ABDE ADE ABCD CD ACDE CDE

ABD BCE AE

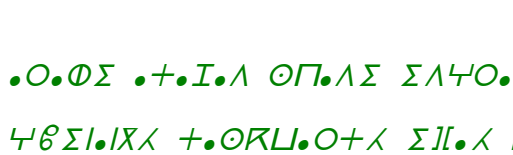
The figure represents how conceptualizations are represented in a distributed fashion across the minds in a cultural group. It is clear that the cultural elements represented by the letters (ABCDE), are not equally shared by the members of the social group. In Sharifian´s terms (2003: 192), "The knowledge embodied in these schemas, is distributed across the network of the minds in the group."

Izran that are produced in a collaborative way and whose basic ingredients are experiences in the environment are understood and processed by the audience in a collaborative way. That is, the construction of meaning as a distributive process depends on the interactions between individuals and the material world. Robert.F.W. (2004), in his comment on the distributive cognition reports that in Hutchins's and Palen´s terms (1997), language, gestures and space are combined in the construction of complex representations but none (by itself) singly is complete. The theory of the distributed cognition sees the construction of meaning as a cognitive distributed process that depend mainly on the interactions with the material world and other creators of meaning. The conceptualizer and the world are intimately linked to each other. The world has its structures but it takes the mental activity of the conceptualizer. What meanings may a poet of izran produce depends on the world she inhabits. The meaning construction process can change the internal structure of the conceptualizer and the conceptualizer can change the structure of the world (Williams 2004). This creative operation is at the center of the evolution of languages and cultures like Tarifit and Berber-Tamazight.

7. *IDEALIZED COGNITIVE MODELS* (ICMs): METAPHOR, METONYMY, AND IMAGE SCHEMA AS BASIC COGNITIVE MECHANISMS OF CONCEPTUALIZATION.

7.1. Metaphor and the cognitive act

> "The mind is inherently embodied. Thought is mostly unconscious. Abstract concepts are largely metaphorical."
>
> (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:3)



[arabi atajad syadi iduran nagh

Ushinangh thaskwarth yada wayrath nagh]

Spanish literal translation

Dios glorifica señores consuegros nuestros

Dieron a nosotros una perdiz aceptar león nuestro

English literal translation

God glorify sirs fathers in law ours

Gave they us a partridge lion ours accepted

English translation

Oh Lord! Glorify our sirs and fathers in law

They gave us a partridge and our lion accepted.

Spanish translation

Oh señor! Glorifica a nuestros señores consuegros

Nos han dado una perdiz y nuestro león ha aceptado.

Long before the publication of Reddy´s article "Conduit Metaphor" (1979) and Lakoff and Johnson´s seminal book "Metaphors we live By" (1980), foundational figures on thought, experience and language such as Aristotle, Quintilian, Vico, Coleridge, or Descartes and many others have continuously debated this topic through different ages. At these precognitivist periods before the Cognitive Sciences as we know them today, metaphor was mostly thought of to be ornamental, empty of any biologically based content. "As clothes were first invented to protect us against cold and afterwards began to be used for the sake of adornment and dignity, so the metaphorical employment of words began because of poverty, but was brought into common use for the sake of entertainment." (De oratore, 3.155, E.W. Sutton and H.Rackham-in Kittay, 1991: 1)

In Kittay we read that "Lock spoke of metaphor as a "Conduit." J. J. Rousseau, in his "Essay on the origin of language" (1781) saw that all languages originated in metaphor. Coleridge in his "Biographia Literaria", (1871 ch2), said, "The power, by which one image or feeling is made to modify many others, by a sort of fusion, to force many into one." He thought of metaphor as a realization of this unity." (Kittay, 1989:6) In the past, figures were linked to literature and they had just an ornamental or rhetorical function. This view changed as times went on. Towards the end of the first half of the twentieth century, scholars like Max Black and I. A. Richard, devoted thought to it. Donald Davidson, John Searle, Suzanne Langer, Kenneth Burke, Derrida, Hayden, Rorty, and Foucault, amongst many others have debated metaphor in their respective works on symbolic form, cultural criticism, and hermeneutics. In reality, metaphor is an issue that stands at the junction of many disciplines, including literary works, philosophy, psychology or anthropology (kimmel 2004:24). Metaphor is basic to the human mind and its ubiquity is not accidental. Most scholars studied it as part of our everyday thought as can be seen in outstanding works by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999); Lakoff (1987, 1993); Johnson (1987); Barcelona (2000); Ruiz de Mendoza (2002); Gibbs (1994, 2005, 2008); Gibbs and Steen (1997); Fauconnier (1994, 1997); Kittay (1989); Steen (2007), Bernárdez (2002), Lizcano (2006).

In this general context, source and the target concepts in metaphoric projections have been baptized with different names by different scholars taking part in the so-called 'cognitive revolution'. I. A. Richard named it *tenor* and *vehicle*; Max Black (1962) named the metaphorical sentence *frame* and the words used metaphorically *focus* as is expressed in the following example by Black: "This battle is a game of chess."

Others have even thought of it as a kind of *incongruity* on the basis that metaphor juxtaposes distinct and incongruent ideas.

After a long-term scrutiny of the collected recorded Izran, our first main hypothesis in this work is that the oral and improvised conceptualization of *Izran* is composed in a dynamics that is specifically metaphorical in many domains, particularly those of TIME and LIGHT as prototype categories, something that we have assessed as meaning extensions foregrounded in the desertic conditions of the Rif's environment; in this sense inner figurative projections occur in the collective online social production of izran that are anchored in this outer physical conditions. Our Thesis, as exposed in the following chapters, is based in the recurrent examples we have found in Tarifit izran as linguistic evidence of this schematic structuring of some radial categories in the periphery of LIGHT and TIME. One subsequent main inquiry is then, what is that thing that makes them as instances of one type of cognitive phenomenon? To answer this fundamental local question and to project it to a new biocultural view of the global situation of Berber-Tamazigh sociocultural reality, we will concentrate in only one selected izri to make sense of basic components of Tamazigh-specific conceptualizations of DAY and NIGHT in Tarifit language. Though we introduce it in this chapter in a more general way, chapters 8 and 9 will be devoted to a detailed cognitive analysis applying the different models that progressively schematize the evolution from Conceptual Metaphor Theory to the various versions of Blending Theory including the most recent descriptions. This methodological approach is based on a quantitative principle that qualitatively affects meaning construction: the more complex the conceptual construal the more complex the method, the model and the cognitive map.

This izri that we will explore in search of evidences of a Berber-Tamazight cuture-specific conceptualization of TIME, LIGHT and DAY is the following:

Go your way, do not look back

If from the day you are saved

The night towards you will come.

What is there that makes us identify such literal lexical items like, "go, way, saved, day, night" as being used metaphorically. They are probably used to give a better illustration of an idea that would otherwise be more opaque (Kimmel 2004). But what makes them instances of cognitive metaphor? Why are there only certain salient characteristics mapped onto the other domain? At a non-expert first sight, in this izri we have two worlds at least; one constructed through words and the other through concepts. The words used in the izri are not ornamental but objects are named as signs with reference to something distinct. The election of diction seems to be regulated by some traditional system and this same system defines the way we interpret the linguistic expressions. This kind of speech allows us to recognize and identify when an utterance is a metaphor, or when one domain is understood in terms of another (Lakoff& Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner1989). The elements that constitute the two domains have a conceptual relation. These elements are not taken haphazardly but have a correspondence between them. The metaphors we use in our daily communicative interactions are grounded in our experiences in the environment. In our daily conversations we use a huge number of metaphorical expressions without even being

aware of this fact. Why do Tarifit speakers say "she is biting her lips and pulling out her hair" or "she is hitting her knees" or "she is walking up and down"; all these metaphorical expressions are used by Tamazigh people to express different levels of anger. Why do they say "they gave us a partridge and our lion accepted, peaches and pomegranates grafted their roots," "the flower is sprouting," or "the destruction of the nights"? We have noticed that the most recurrent metaphors are those dealing with time, life, and path. Berber expressions like the following two instances abound in Tarifit that are entrenched though in different extents in everyday language: "I am an entity that came from the womb of time" or "I am a rosary of light that shone and departed." There are many concepts that are mainly expressed via metaphor. We will see them in the section dealing with different types of metaphors in *Izran*.

Consequently, we need to consider what cognitive functions are involved in metaphor comprehension? How they are related to cultural schemas? The nature of metaphor in this work will be discussed in the light of the seminal works of Lakoff, Fillmore, Langacker, Talmy and others that departed from Chomsky's theories in the late 1970s; those models initially mapped are those that we will be using in the initial analytical phase of our search for the *living poetics* of *Izran*. Unexpectedly, in the online research we have had to answer and also to leave unanswered many questions, as we progressed. The wellknown situation here is that there exist different kinds of metaphors in different cultures and that these are not just simple decorations of poetic compositions. But considering the biocultural organization of the natural components which make up the meaning of human expressions is always a tricky counterintuitive task. A fundamental

question arising is what is the common denominator between all these metaphors? Metaphor has a special status inside Cognitive Linguistics, as the mother of other models but also in itself, as stated in the following quotation "Metaphor is a major cognitive element that is experiencing a revitalized interest within Cognitive Linguistics. After centuries of neglect, metaphor now is given the primary status in the representation of human cognition. The growing fervor is curiously most pronounced amongst Linguists and Psychologists." (Kittay, 1989:2) A religious tone is even unconsciously elaborated by Kittay when she uses *fervor* as if Metaphor were the Virgin Mother. But let us go back to our main line of thought.

The basis of the selection of our theoretical framework was to advance in the knowledge of the thoroughly unknown Rif´s Berber-Tamazight culture from its mentilized structures, its linguistic fossils in the *Izran* lexicalized by Riffian women. Considering the scarce international knowledge about this cultural entity we could even consider it as a cultural nonentity. We could even envision a non-site frame in this respect, as in Marc Auge's crucial *non-site* theory applied to our contemporary world's reality. To start doing justice to the richness of Berber as a millenary widespread, inclusive cultural entity, we will scholarly start here by scrutinizing metaphor which is claimed for its cognitive contribution more than anything else.

What really matters for us is that metaphor works as cognitively meaningful (Kittay 1989). It is an instrument, that helps identify abstract meanings and perceive the world around us in its real (biocultural) social essence (Ibid, p: 2). Importantly, this is for us a primary requirement in regard to Berber culture in any of its varieties, though

we necessarily focus here in only one of them, the more extensive Tamazight.

7.2. Conceptual Metaphor

The Theory of Conceptual Metaphor as we know it today originated in Lakoff and Johnson´s seminal book "Metaphors we live by" (1980); they made clear that metaphor is cognitive rather than linguistic. It is described as a cognitive mechanism that helps conceptualize abstract domains in terms of more concrete ones. For instance, the metaphor MORE IS UP helps understand quantity in terms of verticality (high fever, high prices, high interests, etc). These construals are based on our daily experiences of filling up containers with liquid or other powder- like materials or piling up boxes where we see that the level goes higher. The metaphor is understood as a conceptual projection from the source domain to the target domain.

In his "Contemporary Theory of Metaphor" (1993), Lakoff made it clear that metaphorical mappings are not a mechanic process in which the correspondences are applied mathematically from one domain to the other, but these are made through a number of ontological correspondences that cannot be applied to the structure of the source domain. For instance in the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, conventional elements from the domain of walking, getting lost, be diverted from the right path, or having obstacles on the path, help understand the domain of life (Kovecses 2002; Lakoff and Johnson 1980). We don´t have to be experts to infer that when the speaker is saying A is B in reality he is saying that A is Y. Note that a conceptual metaphor should be distinguished from metaphorical linguistic expressions, which are words that come from

the terminology of the more concrete domain. All the expressions that have to do with life and that come from the domain of journeys are linguistic metaphorical expressions whereas the corresponding conceptual metaphor, that they make manifest is LIFE IS A JOURNEY, as is lucidly manifested in Kovecses (2002) or long before in Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Most scholars, including Lakoff and his collaborators, argued that our experiences with the physical world serve as a foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains. These domains are also known as mappings. Speakers that know what metaphor is also know the systematic mappings between the source and the target.

For instance, what constitutes the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is not a particular expression but the ontological mapping that crosses conceptual domains. Metaphor is not a matter of language but of thought and reasoning. The language is secondary and the mapping is primary. The mapping becomes important part of our cognitive and conceptual system. We can offer a lot of linguistic examples in which words or expressions from the domain of journey are prompted when we speak about "Life" as in "he had a head start in life"; "he has taken the wrong way" (Lakoff 1992), or as in our izri "Go your way do not look back". The same thing happens with "time" and "quantity". The concept of quantity is extended through metaphor as in More is Up and Less is Down as in "high prices", "high fever", "I m feeling down". With respect to time we speak about it in English in different manners: "the coming week", "we are in the midst of hard times", "we are getting nearer to summer holidays."

The last example is conceived like a space inside which we can move. As we see, the theory of conceptual metaphor is really interesting from whatever perspectives

we look at it. It explains a huge number of examples and manifests a bright connection between metaphor and cognition.

If we consider the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY we see that Lakoff makes an emphasis on three general characteristics of this metaphor:

1. systematicity of linguistic correspondences
2. The use of metaphor to govern the reasoning and the behavior that is based on such reasoning.
3. The possibility to understand novel extensions in terms of conventional correspondences.

If the conceptual domain of the source (in this case the JOURNEY) contains components, like movements towards an end, vehicles, obstacles, etc., then we feel able to use such components in our talk about the target domain (LIFE). We can recognize that some specific components like the kind of vehicle (car, train, ship, bike, etc.) are precisely allowed or sanctioned by metaphor or "conceptual mapping" but are not part of the source domain itself. They are easily interpreted through reference to target domain. These referential systems are frequently very conventional and regular in specific languages and cultures as we will see in the *Izran* to be scrutinized.

7.2.1. Types of conceptual metaphors

According to the nature of the source domain, various scholars (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Kovecses 2002) made a distinction between:

1. Structural metaphors

2. Ontological metaphors
3. Orientation metaphors
4. Image schema metaphors

7.2.1.1. Structural metaphors

Structural metaphors are those in which one domain lends its conceptual structure to another domain. In the metaphor ARGUMENT as WAR, there is a systematic relation between ARGUMENT and the domain of WAR. This allows us to conceptualize ARGUMENT as if it were a WAR. Concepts from the source domain WARFARE are transferred to the target domain, because physical conflict is ubiquitous in human life and therefore quite well structured and more readily understandable. The WAR metaphor is realized in the following schemata: ATTACK and DEFENCE as causes and WIN or LOSE as the result. The argument is a battlefield and speakers are warriors fighting each other, attacking and defending or winning and losing. Consider the following Izri:

Bicker with me but try not to be naughty

Face of a sieve that serves to sift the bran

7.2.1.2. Ontological Metaphors

Ontological Metaphors provide much less cognitive structuring for target concepts than structural ones do. Personification is perceived as a form of Ontological metaphor

because human qualities are given to some non-human entities, as in the following examples

1) Life has cheated me.

2) Inflation is eating up our profits.

Life and inflation are not human, but they are given qualities of human beings, such as cheating or eating.

7.2.1.3. Orientational Metaphors

Orientational metaphors are related to spatial concepts such as "Up-Down Left-Right, In-Out, Deep-Shallow"; upward orientation tends to go together with positive evaluation, while downward orientation with negative ones (Kovecses, 2002: 36). The idea can be illustrated in the following examples

1) I´ m feeling up today

2) I´ m feeling down

Human beings when they sleep they lay down and when they are sick they are physically down and they stand up when they awaken. Consider the following izri:

Give me your hand we climb up the mountains

There we can listen to the lives that got power.

7.3. Image schema metaphors

Image schema metaphors map relatively little from source to target. These are different from *image metaphors* which project mental image; the former are general structures like delimited spaces, paths as opposed to periphery (Lakoff and Turner, 1989: 99). As Lakoff states, "Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image schema structure of the source domain) in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain" (Lakoff, 1993:215)

7.4. Metonymy

Even if not so much attention has been given to metonymy, this one fulfills the same cognitive functions metaphors do. It is only during the last few decades, that some interest in the study of metonymy arose (Barcelona 1997, 2000; Gibbs 1994; Kovecses and Radden 1998; Ruiz de Mendoza 2000; Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal 2002). Metonymy as well as metaphor involves a kind of conceptual mapping. The entity target in metonymy arises within one domain. "We refer to one entity in a schema, by invoking another entity in the same schema." (Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal, 2002:26) Despite the differences, in the kind of mappings involved, both of metaphor and metonymy can be conventionalized, that is, made part of our everyday conceptual system (Gibbs, 1994:11). Consider the following izri:

ⵓⵔⵉⵖⵔⵉ ⵏ ⵓⵎⵎⵏ ⵎⵓⵏⵏⵓⴷⵓⵏ ⵙⴰⵖⵓ
ⵎⵏ ⵓⵔⵉⵙⵓ ⵏⵜⵍⵍⵏ ⵙⵏⵅ ⵏⵙ ⵏⵖⵓⵏ

R´khukh tha ramman m´shabashan izuran

Mana r´khira nyawthan inaga thi thuran

Peaches and pomegranates grafted their roots.

Noble people have we chosen as new families.

The izri was produced in a wedding ceremony as an expression of the grandeur and nobility of the two families, from different tribes, that are going to be linked through marriage. Peaches and pomegranates are two fruits that are more frequently used as a metaphor or metonymy to refer to beauty and nobility. In the izri, the reference is made to a marriage between a beautiful girl and a handsome boy. The link or marriage is seen as a kind of grafting between two fruits.

7.5. Classifying metonymies

Similar to metaphors, metonymic expressions come in large groups that are characterized by a particular relationship between one kind of entity and another kind of entity (Kovecses 2002). We have for instance

1. The producer for the product, as in (Freud is difficult to read)
2. The place for the event, as in (Spain invaded Rif)
3. The place for the institution, as in (Madrid and Rabat exchange information about terrorism).
4. The controller for the controlled, as in (Bush, bombed Baghdad)

In all of these examples, we can see how one entity stands for another kind of entity, within the same domain. The entity that directs attention, or provides mental access to another entity, is called the vehicle entity and the kind of entity to which attention or mental access is provided, the target entity (Kovecses, 2002: 145). Examples, like "Freud or Spain", would be the vehicle entity, whereas one of Freud´s works, or the Riffian population, would be the target entity. As far as we have seen, metonymy is mainly based on contiguity, because both domains belong to the same idealized cognitive domain (Lakoff 1987). In metonymy, the relation between the source entity and the target entity is based on contiguity. If in metaphor we use two idealized cognitive models (source and target) that are distant, metonymy uses a single domain. This is a feature that distinguishes metaphor from metonymy; moreover; if metaphor arises as an interaction between two concepts, metonymy can be produced by a more varied set of "things" like concepts, forms and referents (Kovecses, 2002:248).

Traditionally, linguists have distinguished between two types of metonymies, "source in target and target in source" (Ruiz de Mendoza, 1997b, 1999a). Example 1:

a. "The black wool "djellaba" left without signing his certificate."

In this example, the police officer intends to identify the person through his "djellaba". The djellaba is a subdomain of the domain of persons.

b. "The green "Kaftan" is asking for her bill"

The metonymic projection, in (b), is part for the whole. The two examples (a) and (b) look similar. We can consider (b) as a relation of a subdomain (green kaftan) with the domain of the client. In this way, the classical view of projections (were three: whole for part, part for whole and part for another part), can be reduced to two, one in which

the source domain constitutes a subdomain for the target and another where the target domain is a subdomain of the source as is illustrated by the following example "we have four mouths to feed".

7.6. Interaction between metaphor and metonymy.

Many conceptual metaphors derive from conceptual metonymies. The interaction between metaphor and metonymy has been studied by scholars such as Barcelona (1997, 2000c), Goossen (1990) and Ruiz de Mendoza (1997, 1999a, 2000). Goossen, considered four possibilities of interaction between metaphor and metonymy.

1. Metaphor proceeding of a metonymy
2. Metonymy in a metaphor
3. Metaphor in a metonymy
4. Demetonymization in a metaphor

Barcelona (2000c), speaks of two types of interactions:

1. Metonymic motivation of a metaphor
2. Metaphoric motivation of a metonymy

Ruiz de Mendoza (1999c) suggests that in all cases of interaction, the metaphorical frame is always the one that suits metonymy. For a metonymy to interact with a metaphor, this latter should not be of one correspondence. This author distinguishes between four possibilities of interactions.

1. Metonymic expansion of the source domain
2. Metonymic expansion of the target domain
3. Metonymic reduction of one of the mappings, of the source domain
4. Metonymic reduction of one of the mappings of the target domain

7.7. *Izran*. Figurative language understanding

We will here stem from a neurobiological and cultural fundamental of cognition: to comprehend figurative language human beings activate the same cognitive mechanisms used in the comprehension of literal language. Let´s see two examples:

1. Keep the wolf out of the door
2. Izri:

Peaches and pomegranates grafted their roots

Noble people have we chosen as new families

If we take the first line of the izri, there are undoubtedly two distinct interpretations; both the izri and the first example can be clearly categorized as literal and figurative. Which interpretation is the correct one depends on the context and the situation in which the utterances are produced. The difference between the literal and the figurative meaning lies in the fact that the literal interpretation demands less cognitive efforts than the figurative one. Literalness involves the interpretation of each word in the utterance in terms of its straightforward meaning. Example 1- requires knowledge of idioms, proverbs, sayings, and so on. This comprehension differs from the literal one. According to Bergen, in the figurative interpretation, the meaning is not extracted from

the individual lexical units (Bergen, 2008:1). In these kinds of utterances, the meaning of the whole is different from the meaning of the individual words included in the utterance (Gibbs 1994). In example 2- the first line can be interpreted as either literal or figurative. We tend first to give a literal interpretation, because this one is considered as an important element, in the first phases of comprehension.

In the domain of agriculture, it is frequent among farmers to graft different trees. This experience serves as the basis of our perception of marriage as a form of grafting. The lexeme "grafted" encodes both a figurative and a literal meaning. If we consider the first line in isolation, the literal meaning seems to be the most adequate one. However, the second line imposes a different interpretation. The second line emphasizes its figurative use. In Bergen´s terms "figurative meanings are not encoded in words, but rather generated by inferential and pragmatic processes."(Bergen, 2008: 2). Figurative language processing is not so complex to decode as is lucidly put by Gibbs "People do not find figurative language any more difficult to process than literal discourse, because both types of language arise from figurative schemes of thought, that are dominant part of our conceptual system." (Gibbs, 1994:85)

What is the cognitive model used in the online processing? The answer to this question must be found in the various and collaborative works of several scholars from different scientific disciplines such as Neuroscience, Psychology, Linguistics, Neurobiology, and Sociology. Our main inquiry here is how the cognitive theories of figurative language can implement our bio-cultural search for the basic conceptualization structurings of the Berber's mind as shown in *Izran*. Poetics, Anthropology, Linguistics, etc, are here structural theoretical fundamentals of an

approach that can be considered as part of the contemporary all-encompassing disciplines of social sciences.

7.8. Emotion expressions in *Izran*

One of the main features of poetic language is to communicate emotions from one person to another. This has been traditionally achieved through rhyming. This latter is a process of adding similar final sounds to the lines in the couplet. The musicality that emerges as a result of these constructions and exerts effects on the listeners is very important for the process of composing *Izran*. I found an izri where it is evident that the poet sacrificed the meaning in detriment of the rhyming as in the following Izri:

ⵄⵎⵄⵚⵉⵄ ⵅⵄⵡⵄⵓ ⵔⵅⵜ ⵚⵄⵚ
ⵣⵓⵚⵓⵚⵏⵏⵄ ⵏⵜⵚⵓ: ⵏ ⵡⵄⵚⵄⵏ

[ayamina hawar khu mam

prisila numro n waman]

Yamina tenga piedad de tu “hermano”

Plástico “numero” de agua

Yamina take pity on your “brother”

Plastic “number” of water

In the izri, “brother” is used to mean pretender from the same tribe and not a biological brother and “number” is used with the meaning “color” (color of the water, clear and transparent). For a native Riffian the content of the first line has nothing to do with the content of the second line but the rhyming invokes some relation at a mental level. The musicality is not simply ornamental but it serves some cognitive processes (Tsur 2007). The information inferenced from the melodic rhythm is to certain degree fuzzy and seems to be against the cognitive processes. According to Tsur (2007), emotions are the right devise in this orientation. This poetic quality begs for a definition of an emotion, how it manifests itself and whether it is social, cognitive, or both. See what kind of emotion is manifested in the following *Izran*:

ⵙⴰⴷⴰⵔ ⵍⴰⵢⵓⵏ ⵏⵓⵛ ⵡⵉⴷ ⴷⴰⵢⵉ ⴽⴰⵙⵉ
ⵅⵎⵉ ⴷⴰⵢⵉ ⵉⴽⴰⵙⵉ ⵉⵙⵙⴰⵔⴳⴰ ⵜⵀⴰⵢ ⵜⵉⵎⴰⵙⵙⵉ

[sadar layun nesh withid dayi kasi

Khmi dayi ikasi issargha thay thimassi]

Spanish literal translation:

Agacha ojos tuyos no levantes hacia mí

Cuando hacia mí levantar enciende en mi fuego

English literal translation

Bend eyes yours not raise them towards me

When in me raise them set in me, you, fire.

Spanish translation

Agacha tus ojos hacia mí no los levantes

Cuando hacia mi los levantes en mi enciendes la pasión.

English translation

Bend your eyes towards me do not raise them

When you do, in me you set the fire of passion

Original Tarifit

• ⵎ•ⵏⵓ•ⵓ ⵊⵎⵙⵓ•ⵍ •ⵎ• ⵓⵢⵓ ⵍ ⵎ•ⴽⵅⵓ•ⵍ

ⵢⵏⵏ][•ⵍ+ ⵙⵓⵢⵛⵙ÷ⵍ •ⵏⵉ•ⴼⵏ•ⵍ ⵜⵙ]ⵍⵙⵓ•ⵍ

[Ayadrar nyisan aya sus nyakhsan

Udfant irumien adjabdan zi firan]

Spanish literal translation

Oh monte Wixan oh carcoma de hueso

Lo penetraron irumien para sacar con hilos

English literal translation.

Oh Mount Wixan oh¡ worm of the bone

The irumien penetrated it to extract with linen cloth

Spanish translation

¡Oh el monte Wixan,¡ ay la carcoma de los huesos

Lo penetraron los cristianos para de él extraer con hilos

English translation

Oh mount Wixan! Oh worm of the bone

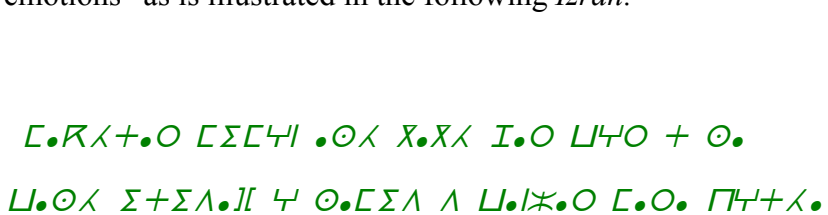
The Christians entered in it to extract with linen cloth.

The lexical unit "Emotion" is derived from the Latin "emovere" which means "remove, excite, or agitate". For some scholars, the concept EMOTION is equivalent to an affective reaction. According to the Oxford Dictionary, "emotion" is a strong feeling of sadness, fear, happiness, anger and worry. For most people when we speak about emotions there always come to our mind six universal emotions such as sadness, happiness, anger, joy, hate, or fear (Kovecses 1995). But to define the lexeme "emotion" is a very complex matter (Omondi, 1995:88).

Some behavior is related to the term "emotion" like "Jealousy, arrogance, or guilt". Emotions are also related to painful states, commodities, or failures. Antonio Damasio (1994) defines emotions as chemical and neuronal responses. They are about the life of a living organism, especially its body and their role is to assist this organism to maintain it alive. Emotions are determined biological processes that depend on

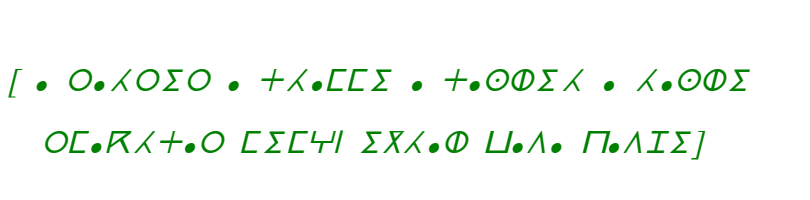
cerebral mechanisms located in the right hemisphere (the limbic system).

From a neuroscientific perspective, Damasio (1994, 1999) reveals how emotions affect the operative mode of various cerebral circuits. He explains that, when we say a person is tense, enthusiastic, or down, and the person affected did not say a word to translate these possible feelings or emotional states it means that we are detecting "background emotions" as is illustrated in the following *Izran:*



Mokhtar de Mimun I put you between the heart and the live

The wind will not catch up with you or the rain if it rains



The smooth silk is my son, oh the delicate rosary

Mokhatar de Mimun is absent he´s no more here.

In both *Izran*, the poet is describing a situation where an emotion is exposed to the listener.

7.9. The social and cognitive character of an emotion.

An emotion has an interactive character. It emerges as a result of an interaction between an individual and an object or a situation, or a group of individuals that belong to the same social group. It is not an entity. It is an event independent of the individual. Emotions have one common characteristic; they do not remain purely cerebral but have to be accompanied with some physiological modifications (Damasio 1994). Unlike feelings that are private mental experiences, emotions are public.

It has been shown by many scholars such as Lutz, Wierzbicka, Damasio, or Bernárdez, that emotion and cognition are social and inseparable. It is especially in the world of emotions where the relationship between body and mind is evident. The emotive reactions that are psycho-physiological, that is to say, body and mind, show a clear synchronism when these reactions are produced. For instance, and as we mentioned before, there cannot be anger at a mental level without a series of manifestations like sweating, tension, body-heat, or shaking.

Many scholars have brought about new developments of the culture-specific condition of cognition that we will consider together following Damasio (1994, 1999) and Kovecses (1995). Along this work we have tried to show how Tarifit expressions of conceptual configurations confirm these last theoretical perspectives centered on social cognition. We will frame it in what we call Sociocognitive Poetics (Guerra 2008).

[ath uyargh ath uyargh huma yuhray udar

A sithi lif inuumi gigh r´khathar]

English literal translation

Walk I walk I till tired me foot

Dear lover mine that I pleased

Spanish literal translation

Caminar yo caminar yo hasta cansar mi pie

Querido amor mio, yo complacido.

English translation

I walk to the extenuation of my feet

Oh dear, of my lover that I pleased.

Spanish translation

Voy a caminar hasta la extenuación de mis pies

Ay de mi amante ¡Ay!, a quién he complacido.

The “feet” are symbolically projected because they are the support of the body. In the izri, the woman declares that she is going to keep walking till her feet are tired. She feels disappointed with the man she loves. She is suggesting that her lover has lost interest in her once she pleased him. The only way to reduce the effect of the emotion is to get tired. The feet as the support of the body are of much importance in the life of Riffian people.

8. APPLYING COGNITIVE MODELS TO IRZAN CONCEPTUAL COMPLEXITIES

Go your way, do not look back

If from the day you are saved

The night towards you will come

8.1. Using Conceptual Metaphor models: Foregrounding Blending models as patterns of higher complexity in cognitive process.

Due to some specific sociological, historical, geographical, environmental and cultural elements that characterize the life of Riffian women, it is not uncommon to find some linguistic expressions in the *Izran* that might be regarded as semantic fossils (*mentils* in Guerra 2009) that can contribute valuable data to the most advanced theories in the field of Cognitive Sciences centred on language and culture. Disciplines like Cognitive Poetics, Cognitive Linguistics, Cognitive Semiotics, Cognitive Anthropology, or Cognitive Philosophy, among others, traditionally isolated as belonging to Human Sciences as different from Natural Sciences, are considered here as a vital part of a sociocultural New Alliance (Prigogine 1987, Guerra 1992) that is being catalyzed in the last decade as the new Social Sciences. For a non-native Tamazight, English or a Spanish speaker for instance, it is counterintuitive and anomalous to find expressions related to the "day" where this time-space entity is conceptualized as an ominous object that represents danger for the subject. In this chapter we will look for Tamazight-

specific conceptual mentils entrenched and lexicalized in apparently simple lexical items like “day”. Particularly, we are concerned here with a striking use of “day” for a non-speaker of Tarifit: *swass (day/light)* referring to an ominous object that represents danger for human beings. The enunciation “If from the day you are saved/ ⵅ•ⵓ• ⵜⵉⵍ•ⵉⵅ•ⵏ ⵙⵍ•ⵙⵙ” in the izri above is a clear example of this culture-specific conceptualization of day as a negative force to be challenged or overcome by the individual. From the all-encompassing interdisciplinary perspective of General Cognitive Sciences concerning the cognitive integration of the social environment and the invisibility of every automated cognitive activity, in the following pages we will describe, map and analyze the sociocognitive grounding of the concepts DAY and TIME in the Tarifit variety of the Tamazight culture as spoken in the Rif Mountains. Our primary aim is identifying the emergence of new self-organizing meaning structures which are culture-specific, so developing the theoretical trend initiated by Wierzbicka (1991) and scrutinized in so many good works known like those of Kovecses (2005); Sinha (2007); Bernárdez (2008); or Sharifian (2011). This will allow us to produce advance in the international research on the highly complex relations between cognition, language and culture in the different linguistic and cultural communities of the World. From a general sociocognitive perspective (Frank et al. 2008; Kristiansen 2008) that could contribute to the advance in our knowledge about the biocultural evolution of human beings in the general frame of these new Social Sciences and in the particular frame of Cognitive Poetics (Guerra 2009, 2010, 2011), a primary question to be investigated would be the following: What are the cognitive variables, embodied (Lakoff and Johnson 1987), situated (Zlatev 2002), distributed (Hutchins 2003),

synergic (Bernárdez 2007), or dissipative (Guerra 1992), and the conceptual mechanisms that make it possible that the reality we know as *day* can be naturally perceived and understood by Tamazight speakers as a dangerous entity?

Apart from the more complex (hidden) poetics of the izri we will scrutinize here, we have isolated other expressions from the more *simplex* (Guerra 2001), more visible, poetics of everyday life in Rif; this is the case of "kur ijen a thyawath n'har nes/ ⵕⵖⵓ ⵙⵉ÷ⵍ •+ⵅⵎ•ⵡ•ⵏ ⵍ ⵅ•ⵓ ⵍ÷ⵙ" (a todos nos llega el día) or "yiwad n'har nes/ⵎⵙⵡ•ⵏ ⵍ ⵅ•ⵓ ⵍ÷ⵙ" ("llegó su día", literally). In Spanish the expression used is *le llegó la hora*. In English this construction is expressed using *time*. In this case, the same sense of an ending of a person is conceptualized using a different construal in three languages (*swass-day* in tamazight, *hora-hour* in spanish, *time* in english); this threefold lexical representation for the same meaning in these languages is a typological difference that we will analyze in a different work under the lenses of recent Cognitive Contrastive Typology Theories.

Let us now come back to the exemplar izri in its original form as recorded two years ago in a celebration in Kelaia, and as transcribed and translated as well by the author of this work.

ⵖⵎⵖⵓ •ⴼⵓⵙⵏ ⵍ÷ⵇ ⵡ• ⵕⵅ•ⵜⵜ•ⵓ •ⵡ•ⵍ•ⵇ
ⵇ•ⵓ• +ⵅ'ⵍ•ⵉ•ⵇ+ⵅ ⵙⵡ•ⵙⵙ
ⵏⵉⵙⵓ+ⵅ +ⵅ•ⵅⵡ•ⵓⵏ ⵅⵅ•ⵇ

Uyur abrid nem wa khazzar awanam

Mara th'najamth swass

Djirth thagward gham

Go your way, do not look back

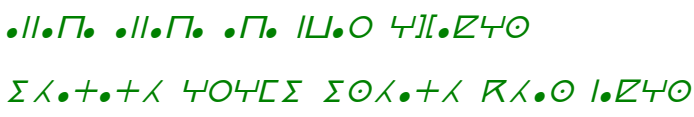
If from the day you are saved

The night towards you will come

The most salient *poietic* configuration of this izri is a striking one: *swass/*ⵙⵡⴰⵙⵙ (*day/light)* is negatively valued. A day is clearly not a positive entity in this semiotic space semantically contextualized by the enunciation *If from the day you are saved;/* ⵏⴰⵙ ⵜⵍⵍⴰⵏⵏⴰⵏ ⵙⵡⴰⵙⵙ, on the contrary, *swass/*ⵙⵡⴰⵙⵙ represents trouble and latent destruction; moreover, it announces something apparently universally entrenched ominous: the coming of the night (*The night towards you will come/* ⵏⵉⵣⵓⵜⵍ ⵜⵍⴰⵅⵡⴰⵏ ⵅⵍⴰⵏ). This concluding line opens a semantic parallelism between day and night in terms both of emotion (See Damasio (2004) on Spinoza) and of evaluation. Schematically, *do not look back* / ⵡⴰ ⵔⵍⴰⴳⴰⵙ ⴰⵡⴰⵍⴰⵏ spatially situates *swass/day/light* as a dangerous entity at the back of the person, a natural location for past in English or Spanish, or for future in Aymara as reported by Núñez 2004. Bernárdez (2012) "Metaphor as culture" presents an excellent up to date cognitive revision of these temporal constructions. In this Tamazight-specific framework, it was our initial hypothesis that "to be saved from the day" could reveal a different sociocognitive, culture-specific primary metaphoric use of TIME as a HUNTER in the Tamazight various linguistic expressions of 'day' as a threatening entity.

As context is crucial to the evolution of any complex system, in this case the Tarifit language, there have to be some sociological and historical elements that play a *poietic* role in such an intense emotional perception. In a dynamic approach like this, it is crucial to consider what is going on with the Tamazight women's perception of time in these mountainous areas and waste deserts of African Rif, and with the specific sociocultural way Tamazight women have to struggle day after day for the sake of survival. In Rif, as well as in many different cultures, "day" also construct meaning structure related life, light, knowledge, good, vision. A fundamental question in this work is: Why is it that in these *Izran*, like in some everyday expressions like the above cited "yiwad n'har nes / ⊓Σ⊔•Λ ǀ ⌿•O ǀ÷⊙", does *swass* represent danger for the subject? Apart from the semiotic context (mapped as semiotic mental space in Brandt & Brandt 2005) of *Izran* regarded as those improvised song-poems by women that we have introduced in previous chapters, we need to take into account its synergic context, its historical dynamics. This izri in particular was produced by a woman belonging to a dense structured, institutionalized and dominant male Amazight society; her intention was to warn acquaintances from the risks these men may confront during the day if they behave inadequately in the presence of the Spanish colonialist. The conqueror exerts a strict control on the Amazight population during daytime and the threats of the rebels are materialized during night-time. Silence and fear are imposed on these lonely spokeswomen of their society. The rebels attack during the night under the cover of darkness, and all those that are loyal to the colonialist run the risk of being killed. Another izri collected for this dissertation can be contextualized in this same situation:

Original Tarifit:



[alaya alay aya nwar u faqus

Ihattath urumi ishath khs naqus]

Spanish translation:

¡Vaya con el chivato! La flor del cohombro

El español lo protege y por él doblan las campanas

English translation

Come on with the informer, flower of the cucumber

The Spanish protects him, and for him the bell tolls

In order to determine the sociocultural richness of the Izri, we intend to go through different analytical steps using advanced conceptual models developed by recent Cognitive Psychology, Linguistics and Poetics. In particular, as stated in previous sections, we will apply basic models from the two most outstanding methodological

developments that are finally integrated in a general Sociocognitive view of Poetics as meaning construction complex dynamics (Guerra 2001, 2010). These two method are: 1) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the metaphorical cognitive model originally posed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and initially developed in Lakoff and Turner (1989); and 2) Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT), the so-called *Blending* urged by Fauconnier and Turner (1995, 2002), and its semiotic developments in terms of increasing interactive complexity between concept and real time enounciation in Brandt & Brandt's model (2005). The resulting conceptual maps will be viewed here in the Tamazight Community-dependent light of some fundamental sociocultural cognitive principles in the line of Frank, R. at al. (2007), Sinha (2002), Sharifian (2003), Bernárdez (2008) or Tomasello (2008). We comprehensively think that all these references are equally useful in a Cognitive Poetics analysis of *Izran* where Tamazight higher conceptualizations and entrenched meanings are cumulative and dense in cultural implications. An advantageous starting point is that there is no previous research on Tarifit language (less on *Izran*) conducted from the perspective of Cognitive Poetics, Cognitive Linguistics or any other discipline related to Cognition, Language, and Culture. Though the power of the Cognitive Linguistic approach to so-called poetic (literary) texts has been shown since Lakoff and Turner (1989), as has been lately summarized by M. Freeman (in Geraertz, ed. 2008), we understand Poetics in a wider sense, stemming from the Greek original meaning of *poiesis*, not necessarily restricted to what today is extensively known as 'Literature'. In this sense, we embrace the notion of Living Poetics in connection with self-organizing systems as developed by Guerra (1992, 2001, 2010, 2011), in the triadic frame of Biology-Physics-Poetics. As

summarized in Guerra (2011): "Cognitive Poetics is […] a constitutive part both of a Second Generation Cognitive Revolution and of the so-called Theories of Complexity. It explores (chaotic) cognitive activity socially experimented by a human being about a category expressed through a (deterministic) symbolic, iconic or indexical element of any semiotic system." (845). In this innovative interdisciplinary passageway towards an all-inclusive theory of socially integrated real science we posit Cognitive Poetics as a foundational theory of (meta) cognition implementing the making of human self-reflexive knowledge of biocultural life, mind and language. This large-scale theory in progress has already been applied in the first dissertation read in our Postgraduate Program at ULPGC by Maria Pilar Lema (2009) on Cognitive Poetics, Grammar and Translatology applied to the conceptualization of "equivalence" in a variety of texts and languages.

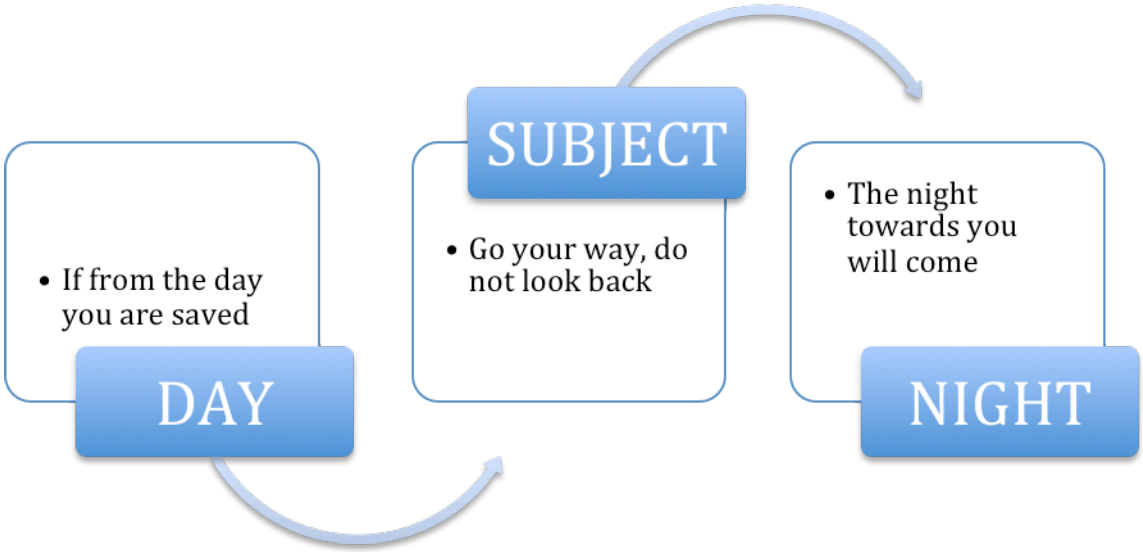
As all other traditional literary genres or modes of communication, *Izran* are considered here *fiction* understood as in Brandt (2002), this is, as oral song-poems that necessarily projects meaning structure from a specific dynamics of time, place, life, customs, an addressee, a speaker and other contextual components that delimits the language to be used and that enable the listener to connect the inner reality of women with an outer reality which is dominantly masculine. As we have seen in the introductory chapters, these poems are very brief and their meanings are cumulative and epiphanic, paralleling the artful impressionistic dynamics of some traditional written forms like the Japanese Haiku or the English Imagist poems of Ezra Pound. These are part of the oral transmission of Tamazight culture a variety of such a routed millenary community as that largely known under the Arabic epithet "Berber". It is important to

pinpoint here that orality plays a cognitive role with different neurobiological properties than written production (Fludernik 1993; Menary 2007). In this sense, sound, rhyming, is an outstanding component in the physical life of an oral izri. Basically, it does not only exert an effect on the listener but also triggers the use of imagination so as to process or see that which is not expressed in words (Fludernick 1993, Reuven Tsur 2008). This is vital in Tarifit because of the socially hidden life of Tamazight Muslim women.

As in the famous Monk's riddle (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) the improvised language in the izri we are exploring projects a travel sketch that is represented in the following diagram:

ⵙⵡⵙⵙ I'ⵏⵀⴰⵔ

SWASS N'HAR



Though the directionality shown in the diagram is the natural/entrenched in languages like English or Spanish, a sort of *tromp del'oil* effect in the izri enunciation is modifying this specific meaning trajectory centered on subject moving. A different biocultural conceptualization of time as space (as we activate our bodies ahead to start going back and draw a half circle instead of walking back) is configuring a possibility of meaning that would encounter a crisis in a non-Tarifit linguistic situation in the Prigoginian sense of complex system's non-equilibrium (Prigogine & Stengers 1987). This 'semantic crisis' (Guerra 1992, 2001) is a counterintuitive creative void at which the meaning trajectory bifurcates opening a new space for the emergence of a new structure of meaning similar to what has been lately posed in Cognitive Studies of Language as a "conceptual blend" (Fauconnier & Turner 2002).

The dynamic schema could be seen as follows: There is a trajectory, a subject moving ahead in relation to his position on the path and an object moving in the direction of the subject. There is a beginning and an end. The object "day" ends where the object "night" starts.

We will now see whether the interpretation we offer is able to prove the veracity of Cognitive Poetics in explaining a metaphorical structure of the izri. This explanation will be effected on two levels:

1. Where each poetic metaphorical expression is interpreted in terms of its image mapping.
2. Whether the whole izri is seen as a metaphor.

Our aim here is to see which of our three chosen models developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Fauconnier and Turner (1995, 2002), and Brandt (2005), provides more

effective tools for understanding the dynamics of Berber-Tamazight-Tarifit creativity as enacted in our izri.

Izran are very rich in traditional implications and their comprehension requires an understanding of the Rif´s Berber multifaceted reality to frame the ensuing Tamazight cultural production. Let us start then with a revision of those basic claims addressed by the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor that we mentioned in previous chapters (Lakoff and Johnson 1980); they can be summarized as follows:

1. In metaphor one set of concepts is understood in terms of another. The concept that serves as a model is called the 'source domain' and the concept to be understood is called the 'target domain'.
2. Each metaphor establishes a mapping or systematic correspondence between the two domains.
3. The mappings thus established make it possible to transfer knowledge about the source domain to the target.

Considering that most of the linguistic expressions used in this izri are metaphorical, because they are primarily conceptual rather than verbal we can use the MIP methodology developed by the Praggljazz Group headed by Gerard Steen we will follow its analytical steps (Steen, 2007:3):

1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse.

   (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text

(contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purpose, basic meaning tends to be:

- More concrete (what they evoke is more easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste);
- Related to bodily action;
- More precise (as opposed to vague);
- Historically older;

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic-current contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

(d) If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

As such, we have identified some words that are not used literally even when counterintuitively they look like very literal as basic concepts pervasively used in everyday language. These are uyur / ⵓⵢⵓⵔ / go, abrid / ⴰⴱⵔⵉⴷ / way, swass / ⵙⵡⴰⵙ / day, djirth / ⴷⵊⵉⵔⵜ / night, and gward / ⴳⵡⴰⵔⴷ / coming. What mostly surprised us at first sight was the inadequacy of the current methodology to determine the use of the lexeme ⵙⵡⴰⵙ / swass / day, as something that represents danger for

the subject. Why "swass / ⊙⊔•⊙ day" in the izri is judged to be negative? Why does it strike us as cognizers? Basically the most developed theories seem inadequate to offer an answer to this seemingly simple construction. Consequently, our aim at this point is to unveil this izri's conceptual architecture and try to map all the components that are at work in the way we understand it. We will start by making sense of LIFE in relation to TIME in order to give a biologically and socioculturally realistic view of the counterintuitive meaning construction of "swass" as it is enacted in the izri. After that, we will proceed in the same way but directly making sense of TIME.

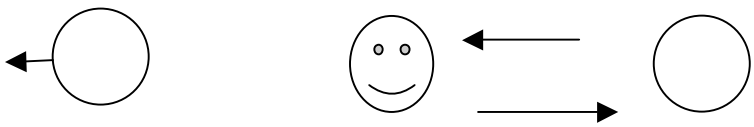
8.2. Analysis of an Izri

We have the impression that in trying to interpret the izri, we feel a kind of freedom to move from the external to the internal description in a matter of one line. We even feel liberated from some restrictions that are imposed on written poetry. But this does not mean that it is easy and simple for us to describe its language. The comprehension of *Izran* demands the activation of complex cognitive tools. Experience and culture are the basic ingredients that define these primary popular poems and when we are engaged in the task of analyzing them we also have to bear in mind other elements quoted above like tone, mood, or pitch as semantically driven. Due to the principle of economy in any human activity that is performed without intensity, these qualities are almost undetectable in other common modes of communication. That is, the analysis of an izri is not solely based on its linguistic representations but also on the link our mind establishes between its linguistic variants. The izri provides a panoramic view about the

speaker´s world, about the Tamazight woman world and her possible reactions to it. An exhaustive poetic scrutiny of this izri allows us to discover hidden situations so well selected and combined at a backstage cognition level that they make the poet´s feelings and ideas perfectly communicated. Our mind sees things and solves problems that language can´t utter or solve literally, though the literal processing is more widely spread than commonly assumed (Pinker, 1997: 212).

Let us see then how mapping mental spaces and other cognitive constructive tools like domains help shed some light on the issue at hand. If we split the izri into small lexical units and consider only the ones that are of interest to our work, we see how the use of such words like uyur / ⵢⵓⵢⵓ / go, s´ / ⵙ´ / from, Tgward / ⵜⵗⵓⴰ / come, gha / ⵖⴰ• / towards. The counterfactuals "mara / ⵎ•ⵓ• / If" or " ad/ •ⴰ / will" add complexity to the task at hand; let alone the lexical units "swass / ⵙⵡ•ⵙⵙ / Day" and "djirth / ⴰⵊⵉⵔⵜⴰ / Night.

1.Day/ swass / ⵙⵡ•ⵙⵙ 2.subject 3.night / djirth / ⴰⵊⵉⵔⵜⴰ



In the figure, 1. marks the day and the direction of the time, 2. situates the subject, his position and the direction of movement, and 3. shows the movement of the night and the more than probable crash between ego moving and time moving.

Dinamically, the prepositions "gha / ⵖⴰ• / towards" and "s´ / ⵙ´ / from" indicate a displacement from one locality to another. On a mental level, "towards / gha / ⵖⴰ•" evokes the image of an object moving in the direction of the subject. This object

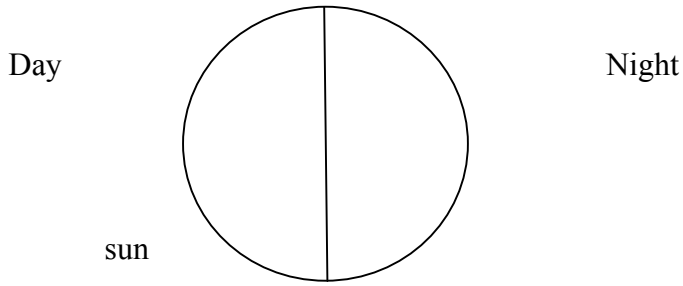
represents a danger for the subject on the path. "From / sa / ⊙•" (⊙´) indicates that the subject is getting away from the object. The object, more probably carries with it some implicit danger

In this izri we have a subject as a living agonistic entity placed between two antagonistic perceptions (Talmy 1980, 1981, 2000 Force dynamics) life and death, which are related to time. The movement of time make things change from strength to weakness and finally to destruction and disappearance. The cultural model is that life is fixed to a limited time on earth. In this temporal frame, a day is a cycle of time. In the Tarifit metaphoric expression "maisha d n´har / ⊏•ΣΘ⋌• ⋀´ǀ⋌•Ο" (literally "life is a day"), DAY as construal maps its components into the following alignments:

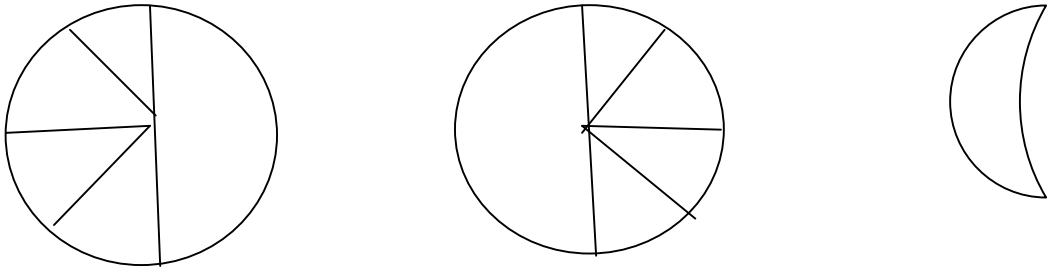
1. morning is birth,
2. midday is youth,
3. evening is old age,
4. night is death,

The following schema shows the different parts of the Yawm / day framed into twenty-four hours:

Yawm: day & night



Day and its parts



Night& its parts

day subject night

1 2 3

Time moving Time moving

The subject is caught between two entities day and night that represent some threat to his/her physical integrity. While the day is moving away towards the past the subject is moving towards the future in the direction of the night which is in turn moving in the direction of the subject. The conceptualizer expects a clash between the subject moving and the object moving towards him.

Night correlates the metaphor DARKNESS IS DEATH. From morning to night we can project imaginary event structure like: people grow up, get old, lose their beauty, and finally pass away. In these extensions we find a metaphor like TIME IS A DESTROYER, TIME IS A KILLER, TIME IS A CHANGER, AND TIME IS A THIEF. "Swass / Day" as a measure of time can then be as cruel as night because it distorts beauty. Life is a very precious possession that time steals and wastes. "Swass/ⵙⵡⴰⵙ" as a measure of time is an external agent that is stealing precious possessions of subjects such as life, youth and beauty. Time, indeed, is the agent that provokes the effect of event (time passing). It is common to all cultures that the passage of time brings with it changes on all levels. If we add by extension new information about the nature of the change provoked by time we may understand time personified in the figure of a thief, a destroyer. Nothing is safe from the "claws" of time. Everything that exists only does it in relation to time. Even when we think of eternal life, we actually think of time. We have collected other Izran where this negative effect of time is more universal and less culture-specific than in the izri under scrutiny. Consider for instance the following izri:

Original Tarifit

ⵉⵏⴰⵎ ⴰⴱⵏ ⴰⵎⵎⵉ ⵎⵜⵅⵙⴰⵜⵃⴰⴳⴰⵏ ⴰⵏⴰⵅⴰⵅ

ⵜⵃⴰⵎⵣⵉ ⵜⵃⴰⴰⵏⵜⵓⵎⵉ ⵣⵉⵏ ⵉⵔⵓⵃⴰⵢⵉ

[inay ben ami mintakhsath athaggagh

Thamzi thaatuyi, zine iruhayi]

Spanish translation:

Dime primo del alma, qué quieres que haga

La juventud se me fue y la belleza me abandonó

English translation

My cousin, my soul mate, what do you want me to do?

Youth has left me and beauty has abandoned me.

A universal way in which most developed civilizations think about life and beauty can be put in the following terms: life is brief and beauty is not eternal. The passing of time distorts beauty, wears out the individuals and extinguishes the light of life. Thus, a "day" perceived in terms of time, mentally correspond to the cyclical life of a person. We have a cycle, its end and the beginning of another, which correspond to human life, such as birth, growth, old age and death. When youth, strength and beauty start abandoning the subject, this phenomenon is perceived as an announcement of the nearing end. These precious possessions are taken away as a consequence of the passing time. This metaphor is coherent with the extension TIME IS A THIEF. Generally, the flowing of the human body's beauty and youth gives the sense of the passing time, as an external agent that is taking away most precious humans possessions as youth, beauty, and therefore life. In this sense, languages like English or Spanish (that are used in this

work as control languages) show up also the metaphoric projection TIME IS A CHANGER. These languages conceptualize time as the agent that provokes the effects of the event (time passing). Time is personified in the figure of a thief that steals these precious properties and makes them disappear.

In our izri, the poet does not need to give more information or details about the meaning of the lexeme "swass /ⵙⵡⴰⵙⵙ, day"; the listener understands that she refers to the effect of time on the life of subjects. Indeed, the whole izri is a metaphor of life and death in relation to time experienced as biologically and cultural complex system (Guerra 1992) and as such organized into cycles like day and night. Life and time seem to comprise all our cultural experiences. Life is an evolutionary accumulation of events, changes, purposes and destinations. To achieve one´s goals in life requires movement, change, or transformation. The path to success is full of obstacles. Either judged to be negative or positive, time is fundamental to be alive; technically, it is the main property of a living system, together with body and information. This is the ontological, filological and cultural reason (Guerra 2010) why human beings have always created plenty of artificial oxymoronic expressions to denote positive and negative values. Some basic examples in English are "win time", "save time", "control time", "invest time" (TIME IS MONEY) as positive; and negative attributions of meaning as in TIME IS A THIEF, TIME IS A DESTROYER, TIME IS A KILLER, TIME IS A DANGER, TIME IS A CRIMINAL. Some correlative expressions in Tarifit are the followings:

1- ⵉⵔⵔⴰⵏ ⵣⴰⵢⵙ ⵡⵓⵙⵙⴰⵏ/ irarn zays wussan/ literally: the days have played with him (it is said when the passage of time changes your luck from positive to negative).

2- ⵏⵙⵙⴰⵏ ⵙⵙⴰⴱⵃⴰⵏ/ussan isab´han/ literally (the days good) it is said when life smiles to you

3- ⵏⵙⵙⴰⵏ ⴷ´ⵍⵡⵉⵣ/ ussan d lwiz/ literally (days are gold) in the absence of a term to designate time in Tarifit we either borrow the Arabic term "waqt" or use "ussan" (days) to refer to time.

In each expression the speaker intends to inform us about distinct options of how to live one´s life. Fictionally, figuratively, time that can be saved, invested and spent can cause serious damage to our physical integrity and life itself. The vital conexion with our Tarifit-Tamazight culture is that it wears out and debilitates all forms of life. Time and life are necessarily basic concepts in Rif´s Berber-Tamazight culture. As such, these concepts are used in some *Izran* so as to give them a higher-level sense on the Muslim premises that women are not allowed to speak about time or life in everyday language.

8.3. The *Izri* cognitive architecture: Conceptual Metaphor Model (CM) and Conceptual Integration Model (CI)

The theory of conceptual metaphor originated in Lakoff (1980) assumes that the metaphorical linguistic expressions are possible for the simple reason that there are metaphorical concepts that correspond with the linguistic expressions. Coherently, we understand that metaphors are cognitive rather than linguistics. Actually, what we presently infer by metaphor is meaning and not linguistic expression. The concepts that emerge from our physical embodied experiences in the environment are the basis of the

metaphors we paradoxically use so as to say economically and clearly what proves impossible to say literally. As we have seen before under the lens of CMT, in the izri under scrutiny there are various expressions that are judged to be metaphorical and which can be schematized on conceptual mappings. We have also mentioned as evident that the poem as a whole can be read metaphorically.

But something in this poem overcomes the easy directionality of metaphoric projections, a highly counterintuitive sense of negativity attributed to "day" for a non-Tarifit speaker that needs more mental spaces to be considered, as well as more levels of projective analysis. It is assumed that life in the barren lands of the mountainous areas and the waste deserts is very harsh to any living creature. Summer is denominated "Kharif"/ ⵓⵖⵔⵉⵓⵙ" it is an Arabic loan and it means "the end of life". The heat of the sun in theses geographical and sociological areas produces certain alterations in the life of living creatures that dwell these areas. The Amazigh communities living in these areas for millennia could have evolved certain specific cultural constructions that are fossilized in the everyday speech and which are characteristic to their culture. Probably the perception of "ⵙⵍⵓⵙ" day as negative is mainly due to the hostility of this climatic change and other elements associated to a long process of acculturation. The "heat"(ⵓⵏⵉⵏ) is considered as an obstacle for many activities that in other sociological and geographical areas do not suppose any problem. The comprehension of some concepts expressed through language which are constructed as a result of these climatic effects demands from us a clear comprehension of the culture in question.

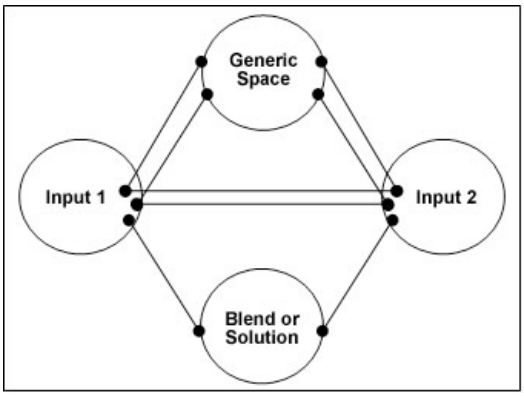
In search of the biocultural organization of that increased complexity we will use a more advanced methodology. The Blending Model proposed by Turner and Fauconnier

(2002), sets up a framework of conceptual mappings across four or various mental spaces rather than the two Lakoffian domains. But this model also includes phenomena like counterfactuals, conceptual metaphor, metonym, etc. (Turner and Fauconnier, 1995a: 183) as basic in the previous one. These authors have defined mental spaces as "small conceptual arrays put together for local purposes of action and understanding." (Ibid. 7) Also basic is that mental space constructions are cognitive in the sense that "[They] are not something that is being referred to, but rather something that itself can be used to refer to real and perhaps imaginary worlds." (Fauconnier, 1994: xxxvi) In a special case of this model and when this conceptual projection happens, two input mental spaces are created (source and target) on the bases of a metaphoric projection.

Input 1 A_____ B Input 2

Source _____ Target

For a conceptual blend to occur we extract information from both input spaces. Now we move from the unidirectionality in the metaphor model to a conceptual mapping that may move in either ways in input spaces



Now we have assigned a role to two middle spaces in addition to the two input spaces. The middle spaces are generic and contain structures that belong to both input spaces, and a blended space which integrates in partial fashion, specific structures from both input spaces (Fauconnier and Turner 1995a, 2002). In the present research work, the multiple space models can be useful for analyzing *Izran* for some fundamental poetic reasons like the importance given to the emergent structure, its effectiveness in providing semantic explanation and also because the many-space approach facilitates comprehension in a conceptualization process synergically advanced as that of millenary Berber.

Schematically, the izri we are analysing visually compose a woman travelling along a path. She is ordered to keep moving ahead towards the future in relation to her position on the path. In her displacement from one location to the other the periode of the daytime and the problems it unfolds seem to fade away in the past giving certain feeling of being saved from some unknown danger that it stands for. The night is advancing in the direction of the subject. The mental perception is that we expect a clash between the subject moving and the object moving in its direction. The clash between the subject and the "ⴰⵏⵙⵓⵏⴰⵏ" night is perceived as dangerous for the integrity of the subject. The listener detects some fear and sadness emphasized by the addressee's personal use of "you". In real time, the speaker warns the listener of something ominous that he/she could have avoided in an imaginary past but that surely will not in the future. Similar to the western thinking The "day/ⵉⵎⵍⵉⵏ" considered as a temporal dimension that is coming to its end, symbolizes life that is coming to its end. The "night/ⴰⵏⵙⵓⵏⴰⵏ",

that is approximating, immediately symbolizes death. The rest of the cognitive dynamics triggers content framed on spatial time: the distance we travel is the time we live and every second spent in moving ahead is a portion of time that absorbs a bit of our life. At this point, in just one complexly poetic, and as such very tricky, enunciation, we scholarly think from our western educated minds that we have detected various cognitive metaphors, such as: TIME IS CHANGE (based on the subject´s displacement on the path), LIFE IS A JOURNEY (based on the moving subject on the path); also, coherently, TIME IS A KILLER, TIME IS A DESTROYER (based on the effect of time on the life of the subject). May be very unreliably at this point, we have also detected the metaphor LIFE IS A DAY (based on the subject´s fear of the coming night) and DARKNESS IS DEATH (based on the danger that it represents for the subject). But all this work our minds have produced can be a false transference of our English and Spanish sociocultural conceptual endowments into a possibly different Tarifit conceptualization. Metacognitively, we notice that we are also affected at this point by the fact that all these metaphoric projections of time have been widely explored in present Cognitive Sciences of Language in general (Evans 2006; Lakoff&Johnson 1980, 1999; Nuñez 2003).

At this phase of our research we know that we need to refocus our search: Our fundamental question is about the cognitive biocultural mechanisms that trigger the conceptual projection of day as death. Coherently, our basic hypothesis is that a unique conceptualization of life as death is possibly culture-specific Tarifit-Tamazight-Berber. Our second hypothesis is that most probably this is related with LIGHT as it is experienced during the DAY in the deserts. But for matters of academic precision we

decide to further explore in detail in the rest of this chapter the temporal, more universal dimension of DAY.

Go your way, do not look back

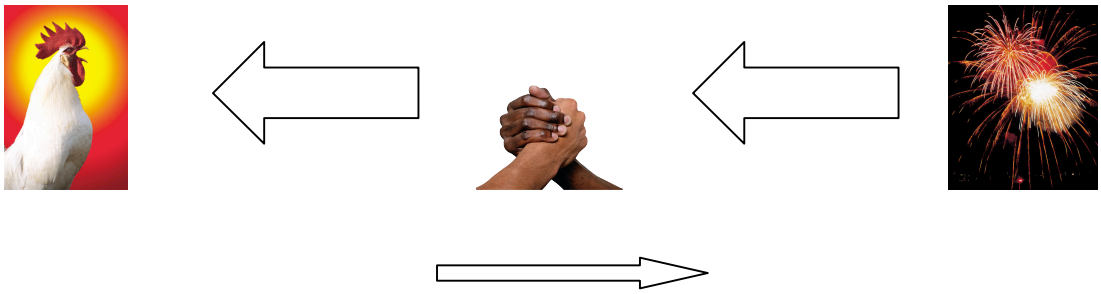
If from the day you are saved

The night towards you will come

This izri is conceptually very rich because it does not only give a description of a woman moving on a path but also refers to some speaker´s feelings that are implicitly represented in the effect of time on the life of subjects. Unless we link the temporal dimension "day" to the passage of time and its effect on the life of individuals, it will remain unclear and counterintuitive to think of it as a bad and dangerous entity. According to the standard source-target, "night" is mentally perceived as something destructive. But here "day" is also dangerous for the time it stands for. However, as the nature of the danger is not specified in the izri we all too easily assume that it refers to the effects produced by the passage of time. Indeed, as the whole poem is instantly understood as about life and danger, we sketchily see it in relation to the passing time. In the abstract generic space, we have frames for 'sadness', common to input spaces, action, or mental states of being sad or worried. The use of the passing "day" and the approximating "night" supports the notion of the two input spaces. The sensation of the passing time and the fact of being saved from its dangers do not impede the approximation of the night. Being saved from the "day" is the source input space, while the coming of the night is the target input space. Each of the input spaces further

constitutes a blended space of their own. We have a space where a subject is saved from the "day" or what it stands for and a hypothetical space where something ominous is going to happen to the subject. So far, these blends constitute a better understanding of the izri's real complexity. Gestaltically, holistically for a Tarifit listener the izri progressively integrates the feeling of fear as time goes on from the target input space and from the input source space; then we connect day and danger at a very abstract level.

The components that are real from a Tarifit-usage basis appear from the beginning: we see what we can regard as a conventional metaphor TIME MOVES (based on the coming night) and TIME IS CHANGE (based on the subject´s movement on the path). Here time is understood in terms of movement in space, with concrete space anchoring the abstract form of time meaning and eventually affecting the subject's state transforming it. The following is a schema of this dynamics:



1. Day 2. Subject 3. Night

A short explanation is presented in the following steps:

1. We mentally see a subject moving ahead according to his position on the path.
2. The subject is caught between two entities (day and night) that represent great danger.
3. The entity night (time/darkness) is moving in the direction of the subject and the entity "day" is moving away and into the past

The further the subject is from the point of departure, the more is the amount of time spent in the trajectory and the nearer from the end point (Peña 2003). The trajectory is formed by a series of points on the path that connect the beginning with the end. The transitivity is clear here (Langacker- Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999). If the subject moves from A to B and from B to C, we say that he/she moved from A to C and if she/he goes from point A straight to point C, we say that she/he moved also through point B. On the other hand we see the subject as a traveler that is moving from one location to the other on the path. He/she is continuously changing from one location to the other. This change of location is effected simultaneously with a progressive passage of time. We see the metaphor LIFE IS A DAY or LIFE IS A JOURNEY at work here. In the LIFE IS A DAY metaphor, we have the following conceptual mappings: morning is birth, the beginning of a new life, midday is youth, strength, beauty, illusions, evening is old age, experience, knowledge and night is darkness, blindness, death. The glories and the fears of the "day" fade with the meeting of the night. Again, we paradoxically find that these vital relations are transformed in Tarifit sociocultural conceptual. Regularly, the glories of the day fade out with the coming of the night, something that is deviated in this izri's conceptualization process.

8.4. Counterfactuality as conceptual elaboration.

The conditional counterfactual "if" "mara/ ⊏•○•" in the second line is significantly salient; it exercises an actual impact on reality and the shaping of events (Fauconnier, 1997:14). This conditional counterfactual gives birth to some new imaginary situations that differ from the real one. If we are saved from A then immediately we have X as a response to avoid being saved. X is an imaginary situation created by the counterfactual. Mentally we can build few spaces as a consequence of the counterfactual "if/ mara/⊏•○•". We construct different and imaginary worlds and hypothesize about the results of our predictions. "If/mara/⊏•○•" allow us to construct different mental situations, different realities, one real and the others imaginary and false. The lexeme "will" in the third line establishes a hypothetical reality. Now we see that the subject is in between two objects configurated as measures of time that represent equal danger for his/her existence. This reality gives us information about what could be changed and what not. We mentally construct alternative worlds that resemble the real one in many aspects and make predictions about what could happen to the subject as a consequence of the passage of time as objectively embodied in the expressions "swass/⊙⊔•⊙⊙ / day" and "dirjth / ∧⌶Σ○+⌿/ night". We construct different mental spaces linked to "day" and to "night" and try to link the imaginary situation to reality. Life is a temporal measure that affects subjects in many aspects and the reality more regularly mapped by "night" is triggered by the subject´s incapacity to avoid the hypothetical danger of darkness. The relation of the subject to "day" and "night" as they are presented in this

Tarifit izri is like a relation that holds between the "good" and the "evil" as culturally entrenched in the Tamazight and Berber communities in general. If the "day" as a temporal dimension wears out the subject, the "night" that is getting closer will be the cause of her/his destruction.

In brief, at this point we have elements that apparently show up that in Tarifit-Tamazight culture a specific vital relation exists between day/night and good/evil. The following figure presents the English and the Tarifit different evaluative extensions:

Norm	Tarifit deviation
DAY --- GOOD	DAY --- EVIL
NIGHT --- EVIL	NIGHT --- EVIL

Foregrounded in the universal experience of darkness, "dirjth/ⴰⵏⵙⵓⵜⵏ / night" also symbolizes destruction in Tarifit, as is illustrated by the following izri, but here we can also perceive a specific higher conceptualization of EVIL as framed by DAY that at first sight escapes a non-native Tarifit direct understanding

Origin Tarifit

ⴰⵍⴰⵏ ⵙⴷⴰⵏⴰⵏ ⵙⵍⵍⵓⴰⵏⴰⵏ ⵏⴰ ⴰⵏⵙⴰⵓⵙ

ⴰⴷⵏⴰ ⵅⵙⵏ ⵜⴰⴾⵏⵓⴰⵏ ⴰⵜⴰⵓⴹⵙⴰⵏ ⵓ ⴾⵏⴰⵍⵍⵙ

[awan ibanan iwsahtham nadjiari

bna min takhsath atarqith r´khawi]

Spanish translation

Tú que construyes para le destrucción de las noches

Construye lo que quieras, sólo tendrás ruinas

English translation:

You that build for the destruction of the nights

Build all you want to for you´ll have only ruins.

As we cannot introduce here a new analysis of the conceptual complexity exhibited by this last izri (for it would take another long chapter), let us go back to our considerations on counterfactuality related to the main izri under scrutiny.

"If", in the above cited Fauconnier sense (1994), holds that "if I am saved from the day/ ⵎ•ⵓ• ⵏ•ⵉⵎ•ⵅⵄ ⵙⵍ•ⵙⵙ", does not mean that there are no circumstances under which "day" as a measure of time cannot represent some danger for the subject. "Day" can be envisioned as representing something less dangerous than "night", but still dangerous. In the izri, we have a space in which the subject is saved and another space in which we predict that the subject is going to face some problems. Both of the lexical units "If" and "will", as produced in the izri, establish a hypothetical world.

These expressions allow us to construct alternatives in a mental space where we imagine a subject that is saved from something that "day" stands for and her inescapable and unavoidable confrontation with the coming "night". This imagined future time as factual constitutes an important human activity: prediction (Dancygier and Sweetser, 1996: 84). That is, we construct some possible scenarios where we take no decisions but are allowed to speculate about possible events. If we imagine that "day" wears out the subjects and "night" takes away their best possessions such as beauty and life, we can understand the effect of time on the subjects and why it is perceived as a danger. Actually, in the izri, the subject is trapped between two temporal measures "day" and "night". The subject that has hardly been liberated from the consequences of living the "day" is now worried about the coming of the "night". As interpreters, we try to understand the nature of the relation between the two concepts as mentioned in the izri. It is evident that the mental space evoked by the lexical unit "night" is more salient than the space "day". What "night" stands for has become an entrenched mental space that we can activate all at once. Our inquiry at this point is focused on those cultural specific conditions that foreground the cognitive mechanisms triggering the conceptual projection of day to evil or death as enacted and linguistically expressed, both in everyday expressions like the already mentioned "maisha d n´har/ⵎⴰⵢⵙⴰ ⴷ ⵏⵅⴰⵔ / life is a day" and in women's *Izran* in the Tarifit variety of Berber in this area of the Rif's Mountains of Northwestern Marocco.

8.5. Enunciation blends

The parameter of performativity is of central importance when we scrutinize any ensuing linguistic expression in search of the natural conditions of cognitive enaction. We will focus here on Line Brandt's concise view of an enunciation's creative significance: "Language, as we understand it now, has a variety of functions, one of which is to create new states of affairs. The creation happens by the very act of enunciation." (2000: 29)

In our izri we have a speaker and various listeners. The speaker produces an utterance and on the basis of what she says the audiences process what they consider to be the intended meanings. The first step we take is to identify the speaker´s identity or gender. For a Riffian it is clear that the addressee is a woman. We know this because in Tarifit we use the sounds /m/ or /k/ to distinguish between the gender and the number. The speaker said "abrith nam/ •ΦΟΣΛ Ι÷Ε" (your way), (awar nam/•ΙΙ•ΟΙ•Ε) (behind you) and "ghaam/ΧΛ•Ε" (towards you). The sound /m/Ε is unmistakably a reference to the feminine gender of the second person singular pronoun. The speaker and the addressee help construct at least two different spaces. One linked to the speaker and another one to the listener. We have two subjects present in a situation that is not safe from the effect of time. The speaker warns the listener of the negative effect of time and remembers her that if she is saved from the "day", "night" is still moving in her direction, which is not a good sign. The effect of time on the life of subjects is negatively valued.

Do we expect the speaker to be affected by the passage of time? We are unsure

because "you" is the focal attention in the izri (L. Brandt, 2000: 23) and is therefore the only one that is expected to have or confront some dangers. All along the izri, we are situated in the personal pronoun "you". This person is supposed to have some problem as a consequence of the passing time (change from day to night). These kinds of observations, actually, help understand new space-building works (Brandt 2000).

A clear insight of the izri allows us to speculate about what is going on in the speaker´s mind and as long as the addressee doesn´t say a word, we do not feel legitimate to judge her and speculate about that which is not possible to happen. We have the path space. We have a subject moving on this path. The more the subject is moving towards the end point the more time is spending and the nearer the "night" is getting to the subject. As we have seen, the approximation of the "night" evokes the end of the "day". But if the position of the listener is clearly situated on a path, that of the speaker is unclear. The speaker´s position is fuzzy because it is not reported semantically in the izri. So, even if we interpret the two temporal dimensions "day" and "night" as representing something dangerous or ominous, this representation can be located in the speaker´s mind but not in the listener´s mind. The listener did not pronounce a word so that we can say or hypothesize about possible spaces. Only on hearing an enunciation, we feel able to build imaginary worlds or spaces that allow us to see how the effect of time is real. In the izri we are left with some difficulties to distinguish between what is happening in the speaker´s mind and the listener´s mind. According to L. Brandt (2000:23) the "best solution is to define the spaces is manifested according to the persons populating them." This procedure can be achieved if we have an accurate idea of the relation between speaker and listener and the spaces each one of them facilitates (L. Brandt, 2000:23).

In the first line we have a space in which a woman is moving on a path. In line two, the woman is reported by the speaker to have been saved from the "day" or what it stands for; in the third line it is announced that "night", as an entity from which no one can escape, is advancing in the direction of the woman. The woman seems to be the reference point. We can say that we have a few spaces at the moment, exactly two, to make sense of this blend: (1) a space where a woman is supposed to have some problems as a consequence of the time passing and (2) a space where we do not know exactly to which degree time affects speaker and listener. What we think about speaker and listener and their possible relation is based on our understanding of the lexical units and the contextual situation. Consequently, we can construct two possible spaces which are connected. The izri is produced from the viewpoint of a speaker. This utterance involves two characters (speaker and listener). It also helps perform the adequate mappings between the two spaces, so that we can get an idea of the exact nature of the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. The two characters share the same language and social environment and also share some fear about their actual situation and the setting up of events. If the speaker is talking to the listener during his/her walk and this one hears clearly her utterance, then we can hypothetically situate the speaker on a path not far from the listener. But there are no implicit or explicit information that can lead us to make inferences about the nature of their relationship. It would have been more sensible if the relation between speaker and listener had been established in the utterance. We have indications that assure us that the speaker is actually more worried about the passing of time, but no indications about the listener´s point of view. Her silence can be interpreted as a confirmation of her agreement with the speaker. To spend

one´s life thinking about the passage of time is useless. To think about its effects on our life is a kind of punishment. At this time it is reasonable to deduce that there must be other biological source for this cultural conceptualization like the entity LIGHT as experienced in a desert. We also wonder about the extent that life could be entrenched as punishment triggered by the compulsory self-sacrifice implicit in religious (Muslin, but also Catholic) ontological and cultural everyday experience.

It is also evident that the speaker does not venture to dive deeper into the mind of the listener but remains at a distance. His/her utterance allows us to behave like psychologists that try to predict what is going on in the subject´s mind on the basis of what they say and how they say it.

It is at this point when we think we should advance methodologically into a more complex model that includes this space of source living communication as another mental space. To fulfill this we direct now our attention to analytically present the transition from less complex models of conceptual integration processes to the Semiotic Space Model developed by Brandt & Brandt as introducing more levels of mental complexity in the conceptual blending dynamics.

9. INITIAL SCHEMATIC CONDITIONS OF TARIFIT-SPECIFIC CONCEPTUAL CONSTRUCTION OF DAY/NIGHT FROM ITS USE IN AN IZRI. THE NEED FOR MORE COMPLEX CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION MODELS

As we have seen in the introduction, both nationally and internationally Izran constitute a very valuable document that describes the past of a millenary community: the Riffian society. This community used to be historically prosperous and culturally wealthy until modern times when it has been beaten by different foreign powers. A better biocultural understanding of these poetic versions is a means to help reconstruct and revive the original sociocultural endowments of this traditionally affluent community. This aim is crucially foregrounding the following analytical part in which we are considering the real cultural context as a focal element of the cognitive mapping; this is, as a schematic set in itself prompting specific conceptual integration. The state of the art in relation to this contextual organization of thought and its expression in the final linguistic output that we work as *mentil* is still unclear for the latest sociocognitive empirical and descriptive perspectives (See Frank et al. 2008). At the very base, it seems that Complexity Theory will have much to say about the environmental/temporal dynamics of a conceptual entity. For sure the international research is up to date trying very hard to synthesize these highly complex processes. In this theoretical and methodological frame we situate the more advanced work on Conceptual Integration Theory mentioned at the end of the previous chapter. In view of that, in an initial paleonthological work on Izran like this Thesis, it is mandatory to classify these mentils according to the historical

context out of which they were composed. Accordingly, a general survey will be provided.

Imazighen have been submitted to a process of acculturation by foreign powers for the last thousand and three hundred years. Surprisingly Tamazight survived as its speakers lived a nomadic life. Actually, some linguistic varieties are more contaminated than others because of the continuous contact with more expansive languages. In this Thesis, the basic cognitive goal of revealing the conceptual, emotional and evaluative emergences in this Berber language/culture from information adapted to certain historical events, guides our search for the living poetics of the human Berber-Tamazigh-Tarifit architecture. This essential goal is specifically substantiated in our search for lasting old Tarifit-Tamazight elements of reference, partitioning, mapping, structure, projection, and dynamic mental simulation. To work out the underspecification of the referential level by linguistic information we follow the original Fauconnier (1994) proposition that meaning construction relies on an elaborate system of backstage cognition. We proceed by describing blending processes of composition, elaboration, completion, and emergence as they configure specific-Tarifit meaning of the entities *life, time* and *light* as they appear foregrounding a culture-specific *mentilization* of the conceptual entity *day.* We will extract this cognitive evidence from data consisting of various enunciations including *izran*. We don´t distinguish between literary and non-literary data. Every naturally complex adaptive structure is considered here as everyday language, i.e. as all-encompassing human Poetics. In our view, revealing and seeing through Tamazight meaning constructions and conceptualization processes that have existed in the past can potentially produce a

worthly revival of a language/culture that has been too neglected for too many centuries.

9.1. Social and historical context of *irzan* in general and of our selected *izri* in particular.

> " (…) Culture consists of concepts, and concepts cannot be understood in terms of the associated linguistic code (…) Culture includes language, but consists of much more besides. Concepts are prior to language in so far as they consist for the most part of network of exemplary instances and practical routines connected with them - routines which include appropriate forms of utterance - but also mental imagery (…) Concepts do not come from language learning, but the experience and practice, and they are not codified as dictionary entries, or as checklists of features." Gell (1996:164)

ⵢⵏⵢⵓ ⴰⴱⵓⵙⵍ ⵏ÷ⵎ ⵍⴰ ⵅⴰⵅⴰⵓ ⴰⵍⴰⵏⵎ
ⵎⴰⵓ ⵜⵏⴰⵎⴰⵍ ⵙⵍⴰⵙ
ⵍⵉⵙⵓⵜ ⵜⴰⵅⵍⴰⵍ ⵅⴰⵎ

Uyur Abrid Nem Wa Khazar Awanam

Mara Tnajmad Swas

Djirth Thagward Gham

[Uyur abrith nem wakhazar awanam

Mara thnajmad swas

Djirth thagward gham]

Spanish literal translation

Caminar tu camino no mirar hacia atrás

Si del dia tu salvar

La noche camina hacia ti

English literal translation

Walk your path look not back

If from day you saved

The night walk towards you

Spanish translation

Camina tu camino, no mires hacia atrás

Si del día te salvaste

La noche hacia ti camina

English translation

Go your way do not look back

If from the day you are saved

The night towards you will come

The izri above will be scrutinized in the following pages as the main example of Berber-Tarifit specific conceptualization of day. It is a version sang by an old woman of a former one originally composed during a period when the Amazigh were compelled to settle in the barren lands of the desert or the hardly accessible mountains. Adaptations to these geographical and climatic environments and to the social circumstances are the initial conditions that lead the speakers of this millenarian language to construct expressions that are specific to their variety. Furthermore, as in Fauconnier (1994) view of these general processes, here Tamazight meaning construction is successful because Tarifit speakers enactivate background knowledge, general cognitive abilities, together with information from the direct discourse context. These alignments help Tarifit speakers decide when to partition incoming information and how to establish mappings among elements in different spaces.

Throughout the following paragraphs we will examine the conceptual construction of "swass" as it is imaginistically configured in the izri and the events related to its parts as cognitively organized by the Amazigh Bedouins (the people of the Rif desert).

9.2. Differences and similarities between metaphor and blending as focal points of

our analysis.

There are clear differences and similarities between conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending that can be of help at this point. These similarities and differences are currently accurately defined in many works by prominent researchers in the field such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980); Grady, Oakley and Coulson (1999); Coulson and Oakley (2000); Fauconnier and Turner (2002); Hutchins (2002); Gibbs (1994, 1999); Brandt and Brandt (2005) and many others. Guerra (1992, 2001, 2009, 2011) understands basic poetic dynamics in terms of increasing complexity, an approach from which our future cognitive investigations on Izran and Tamazigh cultural products in general will be carried out in more details. Meaning thus is fundamentally considered here as a living structuring guiding the system of language to communicative optimality (Guerra 2012). Correpondingly, as we have seen before, metaphor is a generative cognitive operation that makes structural semantic alignments possible and, in the long term, pragmatic adoptions known as emergence structure. So cognitive metaphorization for Guerra (2012) is a property of language systems that is basically autopoietic and that as such acts as highly inventive structuring initial condition of informal, creative meaning. Importantly, the main physical entities interacting in this neguentropic process of meaning constructions are the same as those interacting in real biological life: body, metabolism and information. With Guerra (2011), we understand information as the minimal unit of meaning. In this higly dynamic medium where counterintuitively non-equilibrium is a source of communicative order, linguistic units and their physical configuration in language-use are minimal semantic components.

We are concerned here with meaning as the main reason for the existence of Tarifit, this is, as a device for externalizing and communicating invisible hidden Tamazight sociocultural bioconceptual organization. This view has already been posed by Jackendoff in 1992. In this primary cognitive approach to Tarifit language we will start referring to words as full lexical items, as in Lexical Semantics where meaning is invisible for the agents and depends on the use of specific words that are not given much significance. In this frame we find that *metaphor* forces a compositional directionality on two domains, from the source to the target. Moreover, a primary *blend* depends on the activation of four mental spaces. As shown before, these structural patterns include two input spaces (similar to source and target in metaphor), a generic space representing conceptual structures shared by both input spaces, and the emergent blend space where materials from both inputs combine and interact (Oakley 1989: 2). We will proceed now to describe this course dynamics as it occurs in our main izri.

UYUR ABRID NEM WA XAZZAR AWANAM

MARA TNAJMAD SWAS

DJIRT TAGWAD GAM

Uyur Abrid Nem Wa Khazar Awanam

Mara Tnajmad Swas

Djirth Thagward Gham

Go your way do not look back

If from the day you are saved

The night towards you will come

A crucial preliminary difference in this enunciation in Tarifit concerns reversibility. That is to say, directionality in the blending process at work here can go either ways. What makes the conceptual structure of day/night look intriguingly simple here is the number of direct meanings to which it is connected. Berber-Tamazigh culture, Amazighen-Tarifit Rif inhabitants's bodily experiences, and the natural cognitive operations at work on-course are invisibly enacted in order to understand the mental image the izri invokes. Fundamentally, as a matter of situated evolution, the images it evokes are more complex than the words used.

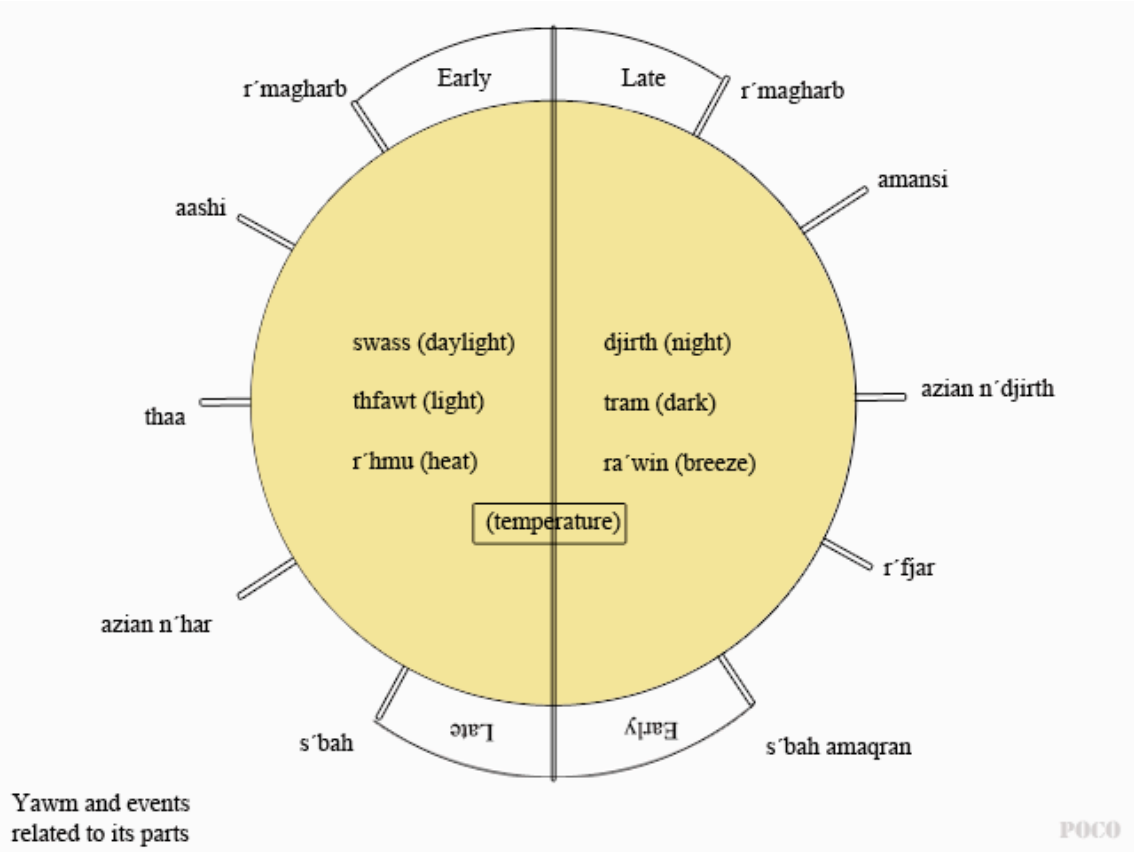
Theories of conceptualization such as blending or metaphor as contemplated here provide an advance illustration of the Tarifit people capacity for combining seemingly incompatible mental structures which do not belong in experience like "swass" (day) as both a symbol of light and of danger at the same time; this is in ur view a valid model to map the integration of positive and negative experience in the same mental space. Stemming from the approach that Lakoff (1987) denominated "experiential realism" (the mental World we construct derives from our embodied experience) meaning is anchored to the mental experience of the Tarifit cognizer. Furthermore, when we approach any *interpretation* of this izri from a Cognitive Poetics view, we are expected to unveil that hidden sociocultural entity that is waiting for us to be discovered and not so much what literary studies have done so far in terms of hermeneutical interpretation as mentioned in the introductory chapters. As we have to

respect the bioconceptual fundamental that all non-material meanings need an expressive space for their signification, the original Tarifit expression risks a translation loosing signification force (Guerra 2002). In fact, subjects start construing meanings on the basis of the utterances they produce. Sometimes there are no differences between what is said and what is meant. In the context of this izri what is said is totally different from what is meant. In this case the mind of the speaker and hearer converge on mutual understanding (Wallace 1994). We go back to this generalization here to add that naturally, the Berber-Tamazight sociocultural context provides cues to know what the izri is about. Crucially in this sense, the immediate context in which the izri is produced becomes the basis of the input space. The izri interactive poetic-linguistic-semiotic act here represents the situation of communication which is a prerequisite for Berber-Tamazight sociocultural meaning construction (Brandt, 2005: 20).

9.3. Difference between "swass/day" and "djirth/night" and the culture-specific concepts linked to the meaning of each entity.

A series of relations are constructed when trying to make a difference between "swass" (daylight) and "djirth" (absence of light). "Thfawt d´rahmu" (light and heat) are linked to "swass" while "tram d´raawin" (darkness and breeze) are linked to "djirth" (absence of light). A basic relation concerns *temperature* as fundamental in the life of the Amazigh Bedouins. Essentially, whether it is hot or mild it conditions the kind of life to lead. Substantially, heat is a wall that prevents people in the desert to live the regular life as it is lived in non-desertic areas.

In this cultural-specific Tamazigh context, the partition of the entity day, *swass*, triggered by the effects of light and temperature in the human beings, is subdivided into many parts that are linked to certain events. These events are located from sunrise to sunset. Inversely, from sunset to sunrise, the Berber amazigh Bedouins have invented different constructions that are also linked to certain events that only exist during the hours when the sun is absent. This absence of a word to describe the two parts of the day might be what impelled the Amazigh speakers to borrow the Arabic term "n´har" to mean "day". Surprisingly, "n´har" means exactly what the Tamazight term "swass" means. For the plural the Amazigh borrowed the term "yawm" to designate the two parts together (light and darkness). The "yawm" is divided into two equal parts whose length and temperature change according to seasons. These two parts are controlled one by the sun and the other by the constellation. The parts of each entity are connected to certain events. See the following diagram showing how the events related to daytime on Earth are fragmented (conceptually exist) from sunrise to sunset and how the events related to nighttime are fragmented (conceptually exist) from sunset and sunrise.



The figure shows the partition of "yawm" into two parts. One is characterized by light and consists of *r´fjar* (early mornig), *s´bah* (late mornig), *azian n´har* (midday), and *t´haa* (after lunchtime). *T'haa* is the warmest part of the day, *aashi* (afternoon) and *r´magharb* (late afternoon). The other is characterized by absence of light and consists of *r'magharb* (late evening), *amansi* (dinner time), *azian n'djirth* (midnight), *r'fjar* (dawn), and *s'bah amaqran* (early morning). Each of these parts has a special meaning and is linked to a special event in the mind of the Amazigh communities of practice. These events exist only from sunrise to sunset. The movement of the sun generates one event or another. At "r´fjar" the sun appears as arising from the earth and the shade of objects is larger. At "s´bah" the

position of the sun has moved up pointing to the middle of the sky. At "azian n´har" the sun seems to have moved a bit more and at "t´haa" the sun is straight above our head. This is the warmest part of the day. Cognitively, sensitivity to the events of the sun as harmful or harmless affects not just the physical bodies of the dwellers but also their extension into non-physical cultural reality. In the waste desert the light of the sun at "t´haa" is dreaded, basically it hurts the bodies but mainly for it is an obstacle for all human activities in the general context of social progress. In Arabic this interval is called "qailula" (literally, less shade and more heat). In the desert the sand gets too hot at this period of the day and all living creatures creep looking for shelter. During the phase of "Aashi", (afternoon) the position of the sun has advanced towards the East; this is the time to move and do whatever one has planned to do. At "R´magharb" (late afternoon, or the moments before the sunset, or early evening) the temperature is pleasant and the amazigh Bedouins prepare their camels to set out the business journey. The constellation guides them in their journey.

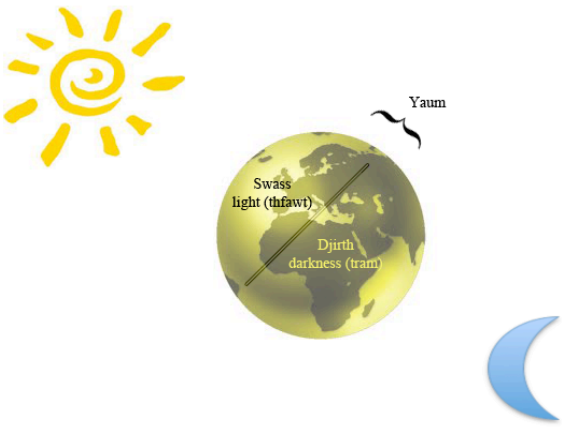


Diagram of yaum
(day/light & night/darness)

The figure above shows the division of *yaum* into two parts, "swass" (daylight) and "djirth" (night). These two parts are culturally divided into different subparts that are unidirectional. The phases of light are followed by the phases of darkness in a continuum framing 24 hours. When one is present the other is absent. These Berber-Tamazigh conceptual partitions are, as such, clear candidates to show up a culture-specific configuration that can contribute to the international research on the evolution of human mind, language and culture.

The above figure shows the day fragmented into several specific parts moving in the direction of the rotation of the Earth. The different parts of the day are signaled by the position of the sun in the sky. This partition of "swass" (daylight) into many equal subsections such as "dawn, morning, midday, afternoon", and the differing length of this daylight in summer or winter, together with the position of the sun in the sky, are sufficient indication that define the beginning, the middle, and the end of the day. The sunrise defines the beginning of the day and the end of the night; the sunset defines the end of the day and the beginning of the night. A vital specificity in Tamazight culture as revealed in the Tarifit linguistic instantiations it that there is no word at all to designate "day" meaning twenty-four hours, including daylight and night, as we find in languages like English or Spanish. In Tarifit, this concept is expressed with the Arabic term "yawm". Interestingly, this term was borrowed and evolved as used exclusively in the plural form. For the singular and for some unknown reasons to be studied later, Tarifit borrowed the lexeme "n´har". As we have seen before, in Arabic "n´har" means exactly what "swass" means in Tarifit Berber, i.e. daylight. To mean "many days" referring to

light-time native Riffians use the Tarifit term "ussan". The construal "yawm" is divided into two equal parts characterized by light and darkness and it is not used with the 24-hours sense we refer to 'one day' in other languages.

A metaphor PLACE FOR EVENT occurs in the Tarifit's lexicalization of the first day of the month; it is named integrating the event. "N´har amazwar n´sh´har / ⵏ ⵖⵓⵔ ⵓⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔ ⵏ ⵛⵖ ⵖⵓⵔ", translated "the first day of the month" integrates "yarzam n´har yakmar" / ⵢⴰⵔⵣⴰⵎ ⵏ ⵖⵓⵔ ⵢⴰⴽⵎⴰⵔ translated "open the whole day". In this Tarifit specific linguistic variety poietically organizing Tamazight specific culture, it is essential to understand the construal "day/swass / ⵙⵡⴰⵙⵙ" mainly substantiated in the environment of the waste Sahara desert. *Swass*, as seen above, is thought of by the Amazigh Bedouins as a wall that prevents all living creatures to carry ahead their activities. The light of the sun and its overheating effects project meaning related to the extinction of all forms of life. Here, as we have seen before, dynamic meaning structures specific categories (as from Rosch 1978) and also emotions (Damasio 1994).

Tarifit language like all other existing languages of the World developed complex repertoires of means to express some positive concepts that are (embodily, situatedly, distributedly, sinergically and dissipatively) given negative properties. Our central hypothesis in this work is that Tarifit Berber seems to widely develop this conceptual negativity where we don´t find it in other known languages; that is the reason why we are searching for main biocultural mechanisms originating and schematizing this negative conceptualization of day rentabilized as *swass* from its attribution of negativity in one izri mentil. Our intention here is to open a network of cognitive neurobiological,

anthropological and linguistic basic investigations on the human poetics of deserts. We present here the first proofs of everyday lexical constructions where day is sociocognitively given a negative property. Even when we will focus mainly in our exemplar izri, we should not forget that we consider this poetic dynamics as everyday language.

At this non*artful* (Turner 2008) level, we have found slight variations from western languages like English or Spanish in the conceptual architecture of non-izri oral regular expressions like "yiwad n'har nes", literally "his day arrived". This enunciation also means that the person to whom it makes reference has died. But, while in English the lexical item used in this linguistic context is "time" as in "his time has arrived", or "hour" in Spanish ("le llegó la hora"), in Tarifit we find "day/n'har." Though contrastive typologies are interesting enough here to include a detailed study of what causes this difference between Tarifit and English (and other languages), we will postpone it to concentrate on the cognitive poetic dinamics of our original Tarifit izri enunciation.

Another pertinent example from everyday Tarifit is "ammu igguin wussan / ⵓⵎⵏ ⵉⴳⴳⵉⵏ ⵡⵓⵙⵙⴰⵏ", literally meaning "such are the days" and mainly used to refer to the way a person becomes a victim of circumstances; an expression that can be correlated with "It is as it is" in English or "así es la vida" in Spanish, and with many other linguistic configurations of LIFE. In Tarifit, it intriguingly reveals culture-specific properties centered on a unique embodiment of the entity *daylight* as deviation from the more universal fact that not all days are characterized by light; some are black, for instance, when emotional states of the human body are projected. Here we will try to

answer the main question foregrounding this embodiment dynamics: How exactly does this entity work in a living language gestaltically embodied, situated, and distributed in a physical space characterized by the *desertic* configuration of land where the intensity of the properties of sunlight and sunheat works as initial conditions of all native living systems, as the cause of non-equilibrium, of neguentropic growing and, as such, as the core source of evolutionary creativity (Guerra 1992) *Light* and *heat* must then, evolutionarily (ontologenetically, filogenetically and culturally as in Rohrer 2005) affect both the macrostructural and the microstructural configuration of all repertories of means of the conceptualization of many lexical constructions rentabilizing LIFE / DEATH in the desert communities. Some basic anthropological focus originated in G. Clifford (1993) is related to the main search conducted in our long-term work in progress, here conceptually centered in the construal *swass* as negatively perceived/conceived in Tarifit.

At first sight, the construal *seasons* also seems to express negative specific meaning in Tarifit Berber; a swift reference burst into our minds to "black spring", where many Berbers from the tribe of Kabilia have been killed in 1970 in Algeria; we immediately associate it with other 20th –century historical events in very different communities and languages (Prague Spring, Arabic Spring…) and we look for negative connotations. Then "The black Thursday" and other negative enunciations come to our minds but not expressed with seasons at a culturally entrenched level. In the barren lands of the desert "summer" is called "Kharif", a term of Arabic origin. The term means "the end of life". After the recollection of harvest the land is unproductive because of the heat of "Kharif"

season that kills all kind of vegetal life. The Amazigh have invented different constructions linked to "Kharif". We find "Ikharraf" ("he is finished") when someone is very old and is on his/her deathbed.

The case of *month* is also revealing in Tarifit; linked to some specific events, months are also conceptualized as *black* because of tragic incidents that took place during that time segment, like "black July" referring to the genocide of the Tamil people by the government (1980). Interestingly from our contrastive typological view is the fact that the color "black" is not always used as a reference to negative concepts in Tamazight (and neither in Muslim cultures in general). For instance, like the King, the judge in a court wears black garment as a symbol of authority. For the Masai community, the color black is associated with clouds that bring about rain which is a symbol of life and prosperity. Also, the white color is not always a symbol of purity, in some cultures it is the symbol of sadness as well. Again, our understanding of these constructions is linked to biology, culture and language; none of these can be secluded.

The following figure shows the position of the Earth with one side facing the sunrays (Day) and another side (Night) being controlled by the constellation or the position of the moon. The limits between darkness and light are established with different positions of the sun during sunrise and sunset. The sun appears on the horizon always in the east part and moves up in the sky towards the west side of the globe. The position of the sun at different moments of the day is related to different events. The reference point of the sun position divides "swass" (daylight) into many equal parts. Day and

Night are seen as two distinct containers that frame different parts that we find metaphorically and metonymically projected in Tarifit. These parts are unidirectional and occur one after the other. Consider the following figure

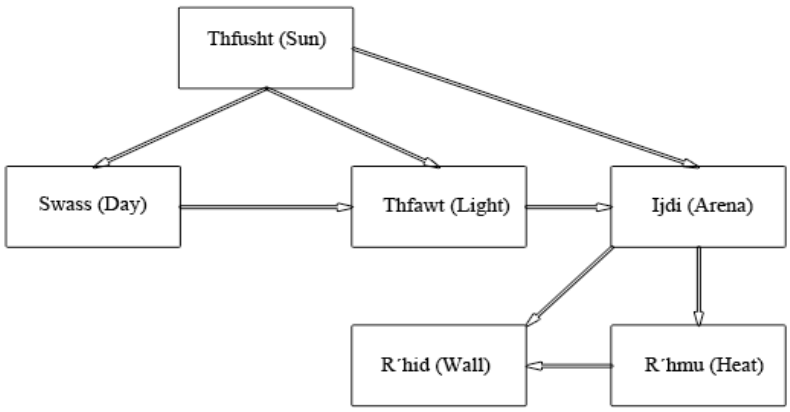


Diagram Swass: Sun and heat as a wall that impedes human activity POCO

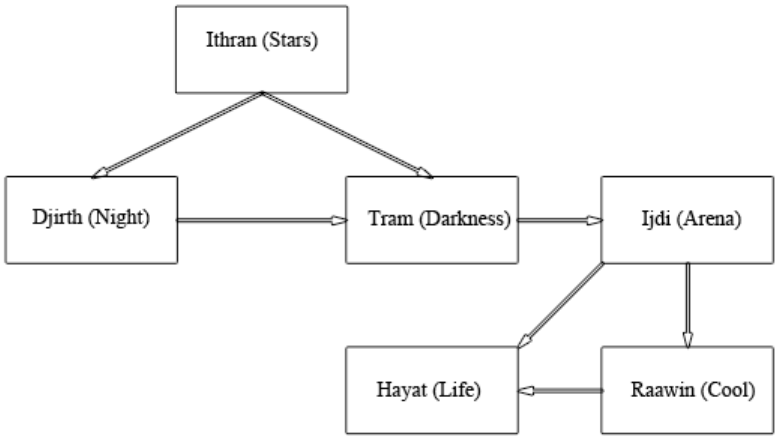


Diagram Djirth: Constelation and lack of heat as coolness is life POCO

9.4. CYCLIC "DAY & NIGHT" BLEND

The emergence of the concept "cycling day" relates to what Fauconnier and Turner (2002) call the "Cyclic Day Blend", a conceptual blend built on the analogy of one day to the next. That is, each input to the conceptual blend is a single "day". the alteration of "day" (swass) and "night" (djirth) generates what we know as "n´har, or yawm". That is, each time the "daylight" is renewed, it is a new event. Everyday looks similar to any other day, even if there are some differences between the different events that shape them. Amazingly, and despite the continuous changes that characterize them, our mind responds to such changing patterns of light. This means that we see a kind of analogy between the different events such as sunrise and sunset. As a matter of fact, we conceptually connect elements in the input space of previous days using analogy connectors to join sunrise to sunset and sunset to sunrise. In the blend the analogy connections are compressed into identity, producing the conceptualization of "days" as a single entity "day". the length and the shortness of "day" according to different seasons force the difference to be compressed into change. in other words, the difference in the amount of the daylight from one day to the other gets compressed in the blended space into a change in the duration of the single entity "day" (swass). the parts that are established between sunrise and sunset are repeated in every new day. these analogical parts are compressed into "identity" and their differences into "change".

if "days" are blended into "day", "nights" too are blended into one single "night". "swass" (day) and "djirth" (night) are two distinct conceptual entities, each with its

event structure. if "swass" (day) "is defined by the event structure of the sun moving along its path, the "djirth" (night) is defined by a different set of celestial events (stars and the moon)" (William. R.F. 2004:46). It is like a rolling wheel, the night follows the day and the day follows the night, each producing an infinite string of different experiences. The alternation moves in a straight line, each occurring when the other is absent. People in different cultures constructed concepts that are related to these two parts. One is characterized by light and the other by absence of light. This absence of light has given birth to some Tamazigh cultural concepts that are associated with darkness such as ignorance, evilness, destruction etc. For instance in English the example "I was kept in the dark" means that I was not informed. Darkness is an impediment to vision. Humans are afraid of the unseen and the unknown. But language and cultural ingredients in occasions produce constructions that may seem highly counterintuitive and, as it seems to be the case in Tarifit, integrate light and danger. This is precisely the origin of the emergence of cognitive constructions with novel meanings making the evolution of cultural diversity possible.

It is widely assumed that there are situations in which language refers directly to an object and others in which the object is referred to indirectly. Using ensuing data produced from our backstage cognition as a mechanism to unveil what hidden conceptual complexities lay behind the words used, demonstrates that we are creatures capable of producing and interpreting verbal messages in a realistic way in order to primarily avoid any kind of powerful manipulation of them. We basically know that the communicative aspect of language is embedded in culture (Tomasello 2008) and that much of culture is carried by language (Bernárdez 2008). These two adaptive systems

complexly influence each other thus opening a motivating interdisciplinary bridge between academic Linguistic and Cultural studies that will impulse a innovative era for Traditional Poetics (Guerra 2011). This is enough reason to suggest that certain events or actions can only be understood in the frame of the specific culture in which the on-course event or action occurs.

9.5. CHECKING THE COMMON FEATURES BETWEEN SOURCE AND TARGET SO AS TO DEFINE THE INTENDED MEANING

ⵢⵏⵢⵓ ⴰⴼⵓⵙⵍ ⵏ÷ⵔ ⵍⴰ ⵅⴰⵅⴰⵓ ⴰⵍⵏⴰⵔ
ⵔⴰⵓⴰ ⵜⵏⴰⵊⵔⴰⵍ ⵙⵍⴰⵙ
ⵍⵉⵙⵓⵜ ⵜⴰⵅⵍⴰⵍ ⵅⴰⵔ

Uyur Abrid Nem Wa Khazar Awanam

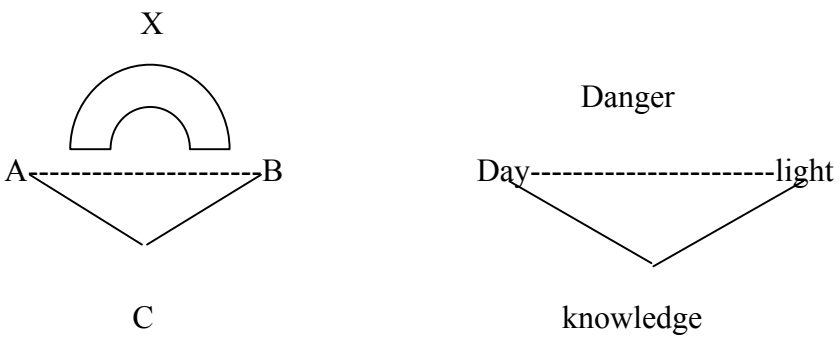
Mara Tnajmad Swass

Djirth Thagward Gham

Go your way do not look back

If from the day you are saved

The night towards you will come



The figure above shows the non-existence relation between elements in the source domain (A) and elements in the target domain (B). Rather that the expected element (C) metaphorically projecting knowledge, what we have is a projection (X) that opens a novel conceptual relation between source and target as danger.

If we scrutinize the close fittings between elements in the source domain SWASS and the possible features in the other space we can make a list of conventional meanings (Kovecses, 2002: 55) like life, time, knowledge, god, goodness, etc. In the case of "swass/day" being conceptualized as a dangerous object, this embodied term originates from natural light, that is, when vision is not hindered by darkness; "danger", on the contrary, originates from fear of the unknown and the unseen, two categories which are at first unlikely to be connected. In this sense, SWASS is given some properties that belong to DJIRTH.

In DAY IS HARMFUL and DAY IS HARMLESS the category in both examples is "light" but putting on a par the two examples of the same category apparently results in a semantic violation. An explanation may be that the features which distinguish both

examples are erroneously equalized by the suggestion of identity, thus making the distinction fail.

The use of the term SWASS in this context, meaning some unknown danger, obeys certain communicative and contextual situations. These situations permitted the construction of these structures as part of the lexical structure of the Tarifit variety. Its use is to certain degree very problematic for people from other cultures and languages because it gives emergence not only to a linguistic problem but also to a communicative one. The problem is that "swass" as "daylight" is given a meaning that belongs to a different class. That is to say, its meaning in this context violates the order of literality. However, the speakers of Tarifit understand the speaker´s intentions in using such a term in such a contextual situation. By no means is the Tarifit listener´s comprehension hindered. His/her capacity to understand the situation and context in which the expression is produced and his/her linguistic competence help detect the problem on which rests part of this investigation.

The complexities resulting from language use are conditioned by the situation and the action in which the acting subject finds himself. It is worth noting how the woman poet adjusts her izri, her language to the conditions and the necessities that are provided in the environment. As a Tarifit language user she bioculturally adapts the linguistic situation in the course of a definite action. The speaker is the person that places new energy in language and consequently modifies it as it reflects actual reality, the real sociocognitive structurings of its existence. When the izri-poet tries to construct language in a given poetic-linguistic-semiotic context, she seems naturally able to activate an invisible level understanding where context and situation influence the use

of diction and the sentences she emits. In apoetic dynamic of immediacy and finality, she marks the context out, that is, she knows how to adapt an enunciation in a given contextual situation so as to spontaneously express her intention. This dynamics prompts counterintuitive expectations: the person that is able to produce coherent and meaningful expressions is also able to interpret inadequate and ill formed sentences. As mentioned before, "swass" (day) is conceptualized as an ominous object. Originally "swass" originates from natural light, that is when vision is not hindered by darkness, and "danger" originates from the fear of the unseen and the unknown, two categories which are unlikely to be connected.

At this point we need to go on with our progressive search for an adequate cognitive model to resolve the conceptual complexity of our Izri. To do that, we will now pay attention to a developed blending model widely focused on the cultural perspective of the cognitive activity. It is more sophisticated because its primary aim is to include all the contextual elements of the communicative act. As such it is our hypothesis that it will help us reconstruct the meaning biocultural organization of Izran as transmitted orally performed enunciation partially improvised in Tarifit language by Tamazightt women from The Rif.

9.6. Conceptual Blending and Semiotic Spaces as a Model to Uncover the Biocultural Mechanisms in the Construction of Meaning in a performed Tarifit izri.

Following Brandt & Brandt (2005) our cognitive poetic analysis needs to be accounted for in semiotic terms as Izran's linguistic expressions are enunciated intersubjectively and privately as artful (oral performed poetry) which is essentially semiotic in nature. The social general aim of this investigation on how meaning emerges out of an assembly of structures in Tarifit is to offer a comprehensive view of the cognitive poetic natural process of sociocultural knowledge-of-the-world construction. These structures can show certain varieties that can enhance the international search for natural patterns of evolutionary cognition, as developed in the next part.

9.7. TARIFIT-BERBER MEANING AS CONCEPTUALIZATION

The lexeme "swass" (day) as a linguistic sign is not connected to a definite concept as is in the Saussaurian logic. We have embraced the alternative model initiated by Lakoff and his collaborators that makes an emphasis on how to organize concepts through language. Scientists like Bernardez (2003) assert the social impact on this kind of communication and how it can mainly be seen from the perspective of Cognitive Anthropology (DÁndrade 1995, Palmer 1996). The signs in our izri mean their referents but do not represent them.

Presently there is an agreement about the fact that different cultures differ in the natural way they organize concepts. From this overall dynamic perspective it is not a surprising that the concept "Swass/day" in our Izri is naturally produced attributing meaning to something ominous. It is probably an invention to organize a concept. For instance "darkness" in many cultures is related to doubts, ignorance, the unknown, the

unseen, death or evil but in others cultures it is a symbol of perfection and authority. For the Masai tribes in Kenya "dark clouds" are not a symbol of bad weather but of life and prosperity. In Tarifit exists the construction "djirth thaffar rafthayh nagh" ("the darkness of the night is a cover of embarrassing situations and shaming actions"). Darkness is positive as long as it prevents others to see or be aware of our embarrassing situations. A negative effect of the light can be illustrated through the following examples:

1. "Rakhbar wayahri maalik dayi jin di tram h´san s´thfawt" ("The news affected me, it would have been better if I were kept in the dark")
2. "Khsakht ashnaw tahjijjawt mash takhs ithran" ("My desire to her is like the desire of the moth to the star")
3. "Wa khsagh bu adirigh tshumát th´s´shana abrid iyawdan tghima di tram" ("I do not want to be like a candle lighting the way to other and keeping myself in the dark")

The meaning of "swass" (day) as it is used in the izri is grounded on the cultural specific Tamazight conceptualization of "swass/day" as foregrounded in the specific light "thfawt"/ heat "r´hamu" of the desert. That is, the conceptualizer is permanently building, connecting and integrating mental spaces structured by conceptual models and anchored in perceptual experience and action (Williams 2004). The theme of mental spaces provides representational models of how the conceptualizer creates concepts when expressing his/her ideas through language. This act is dynamic and invisible and it takes place in backstage cognition (Fauconnier 1994), below the threshold of conscious awareness (Williams 2004). According to Mandler (2004), as cited in Williams (2004:3), "conceptual structures derive initially from early sensorimotor experience

interacting with the world". These structures arise via conceptual operations like analogy, conceptual metaphor, blending, and the elaboration of mental simulations. In this case, the idea suggests that it is not clearly determined how the relevant aspects of the target determine how the source is constructed. What we find in the izri is not a linear case of metaphorical construction where the source has a fixed meaning stored in words. The term "swass/day" is given a meaning that traumatizes the non-Tarifit listeners because it has the categorical, evaluative and emotional properties of "night". Keeping in line with cognitive semantic fundamentals, we spring from the idea that meaning is constructed by the conceptualizer engaged with some activity, and that the surrounding cultural activities may contain a certain construal of that content. We begin our search of meaning from this perspective because the stability between the domains, in this case, is put into doubt by the counterintuitive use of the term "swass" (day). what is stable in language is that the conceptual structure from the source domain "day" is normally mapped onto "vision, knowledge, or life the feared object image that is semantically triggered by the specific use of "swass" (day), is understood once the context and situation of its use are understood. The speaker uses such term in this special context not only to express an intention but to make an empahasis on the meaning it pretends to transmit. The listener, that shares a common language and culture, understands immediately this specific use of the term "swass"; the power of the listener´s imagination is able to combine different elements in different frames and compose a new idea; as the mental space of "danger" is not present in the input spaces it emerges from the structuring of a blended space"; the Tarifit listener is then able to understand the intended meaning. The comprehension of "swass" (day) as something

dangerous is set out by the utterance being produced by the speaker in a specific context and situation, which is coherent with Zlatev´s seminal work about Situated Cognition (2002) and with Hutchin´s seminal book on Distributed Cognition (Cognition in the Wild, 2002).

The expression "swass" (day), as it is used in the izri, may be identified as metaphorical but not of the kind that is used in the Lakoffian sense. The woman´s speech expresses some fear that is originated in the social change arising from a gestalt set of experiences, social, cultural, historical and climatic. For instance, probably in this case it stems from one of these experiences, but this does not mean that the specific use of "swass" is simply conditioned by that situation. It is useful amongst the Amazigh of the waste deserts. The swass/day represents some danger for the amazigh of the desert because of its harshness. Metaphorically the poet sees herself like a container that is threatened by outside forces. These forces are understood in a specific culture that has been continuously dominated by foreign powers for the last thousand and three hundred years. That is from the seventh century up to now. And when a Riffian woman dares to speak openly about light and the negative effects it may suppose for our integrity, it is perceived as a prophecy. The warning is combined with the argument to convey the image of heroism. The historical and sociological reasons that pushed the amazigh communities to dwell in the barren and most hostile and cruelest waste lands such as deserts and the most difficult and inaccessible high mountains, are, from a linguistic point of view, the adequate conditions that are responsible for these specific constructions, as it is the case with the Aymara and the Mandarin perceptions about the future. The harshness of the desert and the nomadic character of the Amazigh of the

deserts in addition to the heat and the lack of water reserves and the scarce vegetal life, are enough elements to hypothesize about what “swass” represents in the mind of these Berber tribes of the big Sahara.

To solve the problem of the counterintuitive use of the term “day” in our izri, our mind has to go through a mental representation of the concept. “Swass/Day” and “Djirt/Night” seem to share some properties that are evoked by the term “saved”. The aim is to find out the reason elements linked to darkness share some features with the light of the “swass/day” and how these coincided in time and space. With such a representation we are creating a blend that combines elements proceeding from different cognitive structures. This is mentally seen as follows:

The subject described in the izri is located on a path walking ahead in relation to his spatial position and the flow of time generates the alternation of light and darkness. This alternation helps create different conceptual structures linked to light and darkness. In the blend these two entities are represented in the two input spaces. These two spaces share some common elements or structures that are represented in the generic space in form of image schemas. In the thought process, the image schema is projected to a new space. To this space new selected information proceeding from the 2 input spaces is projected: that is day and night are projected as two entities that share some common features “danger”. The selection of specific information enables the creation of the Emergent Structure. In this case “swass/day” and “djirth/night” share some properties in the blend. At some time the concept “day” acquired a property of the “night”.

In the third phase the image schema is projected on the blend, to which we add some specific information proceeding from the input spaces concluding in this way the composition phase.

Composition is followed by two more creative phases:

1- Completion, through which information in the blend is integrated together with other mental structures stored in long-term memory.
2- Elaboration, that consists in a formal representation of the final results of the blend.

In the izri, once the new space is formed through composition, a new space is created where the subject seems to be caught between two entities that represent some danger. This feeling actually activates cognitive domains and image schemas that form part of the input spaces. So as to solve the problem our mind creates a blend that can be updated formally through visualization of the two entities "swass/day" and "djirth/night" as creating some danger for the subject.

9.8. TAMAZIGHT CONTEXT IS PART OF THE TARIFIT-BERBER MEANING.

It is not a regular pattern that "day" stands for some unknown "danger". We have tried to check it using some techniques like the MIP methodology (Steen 2007), Miller and Leacock's schema of context (2000), or Gentner and Goldin (2003: 157-192); we can equally quote Slobin (1987:433) when he argues that when a person is engaged in the construction of an oral discourse s/he is in reality constructing forms that fit his/her

thinking. Slobin (1987:2) thinks that events cannot be fully represented in language. He argues that every utterance represents a selection of characteristics leaving it to the receiver to fill in details on the basis of ongoing context and background knowledge. The choice of diction depends on the situation of communication and on the expectation raised in the speaker and listener by that situation. As interpreters we can also use our intuition or this approach to the social context and we equally identify the term "swass" (day) as being given a new meaning that is neither the usual literal nor encyclopedic but a new one that emerges as a result of its specific cultural use which assigns it the present meaning (in this context and situation). As interpreters we believe and share the view that "context" is not only a key concept in the field of pragmatics but also in ethnographic oriented studies of language use.

The speaker produces an utterance using words that not only are meant to construct new meanings but are also basic for the construction of context. The izri is produced in the presence of a listener in a given situation. The terms used, whether they are coherent and meaningful or counterintuitive and ill formed, are understood or interpreted by both speaker and listener. In our example the lexeme "swass" (day), is not used in the sense that A is B but it is used as follows A is not only B but is also not C, A is X. (See figure above). If "day" were used in the Lakoffian sense then we say that A is not B but A is C.

What the izri means lies in exposing the conceptual process of interpretation. To interpret means to discover what hidden sense lay behind the terms used in the izri. Some external elements cannot be excluded when analyzing an izri. These elements are language, situation, culture and empathy. In fact, the poet produces the izri and requires

from her audience to recognize her intentions as an event of shared attention. In the izri the description of the subject as being present on the path has a pragmatic implication that is more probably derived from the source domain. The semantic elements clearly lead to this kind of reasoning. That is we construct a kind of mental schema (containment, a sun shining on the sand warming its crystalline grains) that contains a special scene (a Berber Bedouin moving through the warm dunes of the desert) and this scene contains elements (the harshness of the heat of light produced by the sun) that make the enunciation comprehensible. The pragmatic effect the utterance produced in the listener is to some extent embroidered by social dimensions. That is, the cultural and sociological knowledge is relevant for understanding and interpreting the utterance. The speaker knows what she wants to transmit to the audience and the listeners that are armed with a bank of social and cultural knowledge stored in their minds recognize what is meant by what is said in this specific context and situation.

The izri is intended to inform about the danger light represents for the subjects in this context. Once the izri is understood, the listener has grasped that the term "swass" is a predicate for "death". It indicates that "swass" has got the properties of "djirth". This level of comprehension simply requires our familiarity with the linguistic structures in the izri. How did we get to these conclusions? We simply relied on the power of our brain that is considered as one of the most complex objects of the universe and one of the most salient structures produced by evolution. This same brain is necessary for perceptions, emotions and thoughts (see Edelman & Tononi 2002).

To know what "swass" means in this context or the relationship between the subject and the "swass" and what they represent for the conceptualizer helps understand

how our imagination represents such intricate emotional meanings. In the mind of the Riffian the connections between history and geography is easily invoked by the language used. But how or when these lexemes became an indirect indication for something that is perceived mentally is a matter of constructing and connecting mental spaces. That is, their invention and success in our culture draws crucially on conceptual materials available from our experiences in the environment. The different frames provided in the izri provide the conceptualizer with a rich imagery which is the result of the cultural process that assigned these terms such conceptual senses in this specific izri. What we are doing now is providing explanations that are constituent with what we know about the human mind. That is when an izri is produced the speaker and her audience participate in meaning construction. The strategy is well designed so as to say clearly that which she cannot say literally. The use of the term "day" with negative connotation elucidates this position. On the other hand, the izri produces an emotion that does not complicate our comprehension of the speaker´s intentions. The emotion we try to conceptualize is not complex in itself and its causes are not diffuse.

Edelman and Tononi (2000), tried to answer the enigma of what is happening in our minds when we think and the importance of context, environment and situation. Though certain elements are clearly specified, they think, the doubts and uncertainty about the efficiency of the answer is still unclear. It poses that we are not sure about what is really happening in our mind when we think. We do not know why the different meanings produced by language are altered in different contexts or why, for instance, elements in the source are understood in the target. We speculate about many elements that can be responsible for the construction of certain specific cultural structures but

how our mind functions in this sense is still unclear. We do not know why in occasions A means B (literal) and in others A does not mean B but means X (metaphoric or figurative) and still in others A not only does not mean B but also does not mean X, it means now Y (anomalous or counterintuitive expressions).

Using the izri as an example we have tried to construct a hypothetical situation of what is happening in the Berber-Tamazigh mind. And according to Edelman and Tononi (2000:244), every mind encapsulates a subjective domain. That is, every person is characterized by subjectivity. Subjectivity forms part of the person interpreting a text. And when the interpretation is effected some parts of his past or his emotions are reflected in his interpretation. These neuroscientists have realized that in the human brain different processes are constantly produced such as perceptions, images, feelings, beliefs, or emotions. These processes are not easy to be confused with each other. What humans do is discriminate or categorize between these processes that are assisted by language. But if there are no linguistic expressions to designate or signal the intended meanings, we will surely fail to know what the mind hides if the thought is not expressed. Edelman and Tononi (2000:44), discriminate between these two aspects of the mind suggesting that we must clearly scrutinize the relations between the externalist (what exists outside the limits of the skull and is signaled to through one of the many ways of communication) and the internalist (what exists only inside the brain before it is externalized through some communicative sign) views of the mind. According to these neuroscientists the internal view sustains that, while we interact with the world so as to establish our beliefs, the content of these beliefs is determined by the particular types of cerebral activities that can be achieved through introspection. The external view

suggests that the mental life is a construction that depends fundamentally on the social and interpersonal relations based on language. According to this view the whole linguistic system is essential for thought. Moreover, it is the public aspect of language that gives thought its signification which is the basis of the mental content. This assertion does not mean that we cannot have thought in the absence of language. We simply want to corroborate that thoughts are based on the emergence of a mental life through language.

On the course of our interpretation of the term "day" we tried to see it as metaphorical. In this view the relation between the source and the target domain seemed absurd. We thought about the historical context so as to detect some levels of meanings as Beardsley (1982: 264) called them, a- the ordinary extension and b- the new intention. In the izri we perceived a change of meaning from one level to the other. This change is forced by the historical and cultural tensions. The new intention is probably, formed as a result of the actual sociological situation.

The meaning in this context has all the tint of figurativity. The listener is not shocked at the clash of meaning because he/she is aware of the historical, social, linguistic and cultural situation in which the izri was produced. The daylight is not always positive. In the izri the shift of one meaning to the other may be seen as a context effect of the target.

After having scrutinized the conceptual dynamics under the lenses of the more advanced models of Conceptual Integration, we have concluded that none of them reflects exactly the natural complexity of the Izri expression as bioculturally foregrounded. In the following closing pages we will present our thesis in terms of

experiential embodiment of the conditions of light as perceived- cognized in a desert community and as enacted in a language (Tarifit) and a culture (Tamazight). Some questions that must be developed from here, that will contribute extended knowledge on the evolution of social cognition, are: Is there only one facet that defines meaning? Can meaning on a semantic level be fruitfully built upon pragmatic meaning system? Is meaning based on linguistic or non-linguistic experiences? Is meaning social, cognitive or both? Is cognition partly constituted in terms of its relationship to the environment?

10. CONCLUSIONS

A scientific work must result in new ideas that can help synthesize our knowledge about that which is presented from any determined scientific discipline. In our case study of Tarifit *izran* from the vast domain of the oral popular Berber-Tamazight culture, we have tried to exploit the vast domain of Cognitive Science as a discipline that relies on a strong alliance between different humanistic and scientific disciplines that join forces so as to explain the strong link between Language, Culture and Mind. Cognitive Semantics engages with the ways meaning is constructed in the mind of the conceptualizer. We are interested in any theory that can tell us how meaning structure is organized in real time in the mind of the conceptualizer. We stem from the primary assumption, in the new cognitive paradigm, that many elements such as language, culture, context, or empathy combine together so as to provide access to the meanings we understand when we say anything at all.

To understand an *izri* one must understand the complex sociological and sociopolitical situation of Riffian women. These women live in an institutionalized structure of male dominant society. Acting out *izran*, they have evolved a very sophisticated means through which they can express their agreements and disagreements with the main issues that affect them directly or indirectly. Taking into consideration the ideas, emotions and values expressed in these oral couplets, the problem of their meaning construction has been implicitly or explicitly the object of this investigation not only from Cognitive Poetics and Cognitive Linguistics but in all other cognitive theoretical frameworks that have anything to do with the sociocognitive construction of meaning.

A collection of Rif's *izran* are approached from an all-encompassing modern Cognitive Poetics frame-in-progress and its theoretical interactions with other recent cognitive theories like Neurobiology or Cognitive psychology, among others studying processes of thought and language that have bloomed up in the heart of a paradigmatic revolution centered on an ongoing blending of *cognition* and *complexity* (Guerra 2001, 2010). We have basically tried to explore not so much the *what* as the *how* of Berber creative mental processes and the vital assembly of its structures alive in an organism in interaction with the Riffian specific environment. Hermeneutics rather centers upon the what of a text from the introspective view of each theorist or observer, a view without a scientific method or model (Guerra 2011b). A foundational perspective of the cognitive theories applied in this Thesis is that we cannot separate form and content as we cannot separate body and soul (Damasio, 1994), or body and mind (Johnson 1987).

Pragmatics on the other hand offers a powerful tool to analyze *izran* due to the fact that it accounts for elements that are not present on the face of an utterance. Its evolving complexity could be first analyzed applying the now widespread metaphorical model initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff and Turner (1989). It actually provided a quantitative analysis since it offered the possibility of scrutinizing some expressions as the one we found in the main *izri* subjected to analysis here in which the term "day" (swass) revealed a culture-specific meaning in Tarifit related to "danger" as opposed to many cultures which frame "day" positively as meaning vision, knowledge, life, awareness, good, or God.

As in any other part of our shared World though with different conceptual morphodynamics, in Rif when an *izri* is produced the listener feels able to explain the utterance on the basis of the enunciation, the language, the culture and the context. The poet creates a scene to which she brings her audience, an audience that share a specific language, culture, history and context, as if it was a biological species (Edelman 1992).

The first chapter is an introduction to the sociological and geographical situation of Riffian women, which is of prime importance in the configuration and understanding of their social position. This position has shown to be crucial in this study because it substantiates their role in the transmission of language and culture. Our search has substantiated some important Berber sociocultural data out of ensuing linguistic elements that are presently starting to extinguish as a result of the introduction of new technology like TV in the area. A significant experiential matter based on the sociocognitive triad mind-culture-language has been that Riffian women that are introduced into the adult world at an early age, are simultaneously introduced into the world of izran. This fact allows them to master their mother tongue, which they use afterwards successfully in the art of *izran* improvisation.

The main target of the recollection and selection of Tarifit *izran* as a fieldwork has been an attempt to trace and revive the lost history of Rif as it is conceptually instantiated and linguistically evidenced in these poetic versions. Our contact with studies in cognition, language and culture helped acquire an appreciation of their deep-rooted cultural saliency and particularly of the importance of the biological and sociocultural context in the meaning construction of the situated concepts communicating the hidden inner life

of young Riffian women. For those who have no contact with this millenarian culture we have provided a detailed description of *izran* and how these enunciations conceptually operate at the two distinct levels of the form and the content; and furthermore, how the meaning structure emerges as a result of a complex network of symbolical and metaphorical Tamazight sociocultural associations, that operate as a consequence of the complex dynamics of online Tarifit spoken words.

Moreover, we have showed how *izran* are stored in the collective memory and their transmission is effected orally. We have exposed how, though their language seems extremely simple, the real process of understanding their meanings, emotions and values turns out to be very complex.

To scrutinize this complex dynamics of culture-specific concept formation in Tarifit, we have tried to exploit some advances made in the field of Cognitive Science in general and in Cognitive Poetics and Linguistics in particular. All working together in a new alliance academic contexts, they present an open advance field of interdisciplinary research that we have considered the most adequate for our Berber investigations. Analytically, we have based our investigation on some of the most methodologically advanced cognitive principles today: entrenchment, figure/ground, spaces, blends, frames, or conceptual metaphor /conceptual metonymy.

The linguistic elements provided in *izran*, as also those that are shown scattered in many Berber regions as archaeological findings or inscriptions carved on stones in different geographical areas of Northern Africa, register the Berber language/culture in

its sociocognitive conceptualization process. This is enough reason for us to approach them as a reservoir of living fossils that we call *mentils* following Guerra (2009). Nowadays the above mentioned cognitive paradigm offers a diversity of methodologies we can use to make sense of the knowledge of the world organized in an *izri* and the specific meaning structurings it carries. In fact poetic, linguistic and cognitive processes are interwoven with each other motivated by a force dynamics that activates conceptual structures to make sense of our world in a communicative basis. Theoretically and methodologically *izran* are scrutinized here from this paradigmatic sociocognitive perspective to extract from them the structured underpinnings of their meaning construction and their knowledge of the world construction. This did not prevent us from touching on issues of perception, or mental representations such as schemas, frames, or mappings.

Our intentions have also concerned the development of Tarifit language as a tool of human communication used by millions of people. In this sense an important incentive has been to provide a practical work about Tarifit language from the real cultural role played by *izran* in the transmission of values and as a strategic power for Riffian women in an institutionalized structure of male dominant society.

Since we have a vast range of theories at hand, we have adopted a strategy that consists in presenting what we think to be the main theories that provide a useful demarcation. In an overall organization from the general to the particular, in the last two chapters we have offered a detailed analysis of chosen exemplar *izri*. Our search for the nature of its

conceptual content and its organization in language (Talmy 2004) and how these two systems in combination contribute to building up different aspects of our understanding of a culture-specific scene.

In Guerra (2011) it is lucidly stated that in fact when we are engaged with the task of formulating a theory we are activating the same cognitive mechanisms we pretend to inspect. We have concluded that any work belonging to the paradigm of cognitive theories may show up these difficulties sooner or later. The adoption of the experientialist view proposes that the structures that constitute our conceptual system emerge from our embodied experience and make sense according to that experience. That is, thought and language are seen as foregrounded on our experiences with the environment we inhabit. In this sense language must be explained with reference to the underlying mental processes.

Our thoughts are transmitted to others through the use of language. Traditionally there has been a boundary between language and thought (Descartes). Others like Johnson (1972) thought of it as a form of mental experience. Saussure made a distinction between language and thought even Chomsky made a distinction between competence and performance. The problem of whether thought depends on language has been dealt with by many thinkers like Bickerton, Vygotsky, or Worf-Sapir amongst many others. We concluded that Berber language is a fundamental mechanism through which Berbers exteriorize their thoughts and that its absence does not mean the absence of thought because, as a living system, Berber thought is far richer than Berber language.

The intentions that are transmitted through language are understood when we understand the language used, the culture of the speaker and the context of its production. Context is very important in meaning comprehension because it forms part of it and is not a thing we call up when bare semantics is not enough. This is at least the view of the contextualists like Sperber and Wilson, Bernárdez, Recanati, Goodwin, Grice, Davidson or Searl. Indeed context is of crucial importance to cognitive investigations as is demonstrated in chapter nine. Other elements we have taken into consideration through this research paper are the comprehension and treatment of the so called figurative language (Giora 1993; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Panther & Radden 1999; Kovecses 1998; Couulson 2005). We have also given prime consideration to the idea of embodied cognition (from Lakoff & Johnson 1980, or Varela, Thomson and Rosch 1991) which is the motto of the third generation cognitive linguistics. The importance of the collective and individual mind (Bernárdez, Sinha, Sharifian) or the distributed cognition (Hutchins) have been considered significant in our analysis but left in a way to further developments for its methodological variations.

The language of poetry is famously known by its use of metaphor and other uses of figurative language. Metaphor as a fundamental cognitive device is used in the comprehension of the world. It is an effective tool that helps identify abstract meanings. Thus, we have tried to see and classify some metaphors according to the nature of the source domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff and Turner 1989, Kovecses 2002). The device of metonymy, that involves a different kind of conceptual mapping, is briefly treated in this work. We have also thought about emotions as cognitive action

that exert communicative effects and provided a definition of an emotion framed in its cognitive and social character.

In chapters eight and nine we have focused on the cognitive meaning of "day" as it is produced in the exemplar *izri*. In our attempt to understand it and give a convincing explanation we have gone through different extensios in our analysis. The expression is shown as culture-specific in the sociocognitive and conceptual way it produces certain negative meaning effects. We have tried to solve the problem of this sociocultural conceptual difference linking the term to the conceptualization of time and its adaptive organization as shown in the real life of Berber individuals.

The deepest analysis is carried ahead in chapter nine trying to provide a satisfactory explanation of the intended meaning. The social and historical context of the *izri* is provided so as to enable the readers to understand the motivations of the use of the lexeme "day" expressing some negativity. We have used the most helpful schemes and diagrams in the field of meaning comprehension process such as those from Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Integration (Blending) Theory, so as to understand the different use of such term with such meaning. We have realized that the comprehension of this construction is culture-specific. We know that people have invented many structures linked to "day" and others to "night" but language and cultural ingredients in occasions produce constructions that may seem counterintuitive. We have also contributed new expert knowledge to the biological and cultural fact that certain events can only be understood in the frame of the culture in which the event occurs. It could be considered more universal that the conceptualization of "day" can only be

motivated from natural light and "danger" from non-light, the unknown or the unseen, and so, how these are in principle two categories which are unlikely to be connected. In day is light and day is danger, the category in both metaphoric projections is framed in light but putting on a par the two examples results in the *izri* in a semantic violation. The features which distinguish both examples are erroneously equalized by the suggestion of identity. The use of "day" with reference to "danger" obeys in Tarifit to certain communicative and contextual situations. Its use is problematic because it gives emergence not only to a linguistic problem but also to a communicative one. The intention of the poet by using the term "day" violates the order of literality because its actual meaning belongs to a different class. The speaker is invisibly aware of the morphological or semantic alteration. We have tried to give a comprehensive view of how meaning in this sense is constructed by the Riffian cognizer and how different cultures differ in the way they organize concepts.

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12. APPENDIX.

Collected *Izran*. Tarifit originals and Translations into English and Spanish

In the following pages we present the corpus of Izran scrutinized and selected for the purposes of this study. Every Izri has been collected, transcribed and translated by the author of this Thesis during the summers of 2008 and 2010 in the Rif Mountains of Kelaia (Marocco). The order in which each Izri will appear is the following: Original Tarifit / Phonetics / Spanish literal translation / English literal translation / Spanish translation / English translation.

IZRI 1

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵢⵏⵢⵓ ⴰⴼⵓⵙⴰ ⵏ⵷ⵎ ⵍⴰ ⵅⴰⵅⴰⵓ ⴰⵍⵏⴰⵎ
ⵎⴰⵓ ⵜⵏⴰⵊⵎⴰⵜ ⵙⵡⴰⵙ
ⴰⵊⵙⵓⵜ ⵜⴰⵅⵍⴰⵔ ⵅⴰⵎ

[Uyur abrid nem wa khazzar awanam
Mara thnajmath swas
djirth thaqward gham]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Camina camino tuyo, no mirar atrás de ti
Si salvas tu día, noche camina a ti

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Walk path yours, look not behind you
If saved you day, night walks to you

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Camina tu camino no mires hacia atrás
Si del día te salvaste la noche hacia ti camina.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Go your way do not look back
If from the day you are saved
The night towards you will come.

IZRI 2

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵙⵜⵉⵡ ⵙⵜⵉⵡ ⵎⴰⵏⴰ ⵍⵃⴰⵙⵙⵓ ⴱⴰⵔⵔⴰ
ⵜⴰⵣⵉⵔⵉ ⵢⴰⵛⵃⴰⵜⵀⴰⵏ ⴷⵉ ⵔⴰⵀⵢⵓⴷ ⵎⴱⴰⵔⵔⴰ

[Stiw stiw mana lhassu barra
Taziri yashathan di rahyud mbarra]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Silencio, silencio, qué ruido afuera
La luna golpea las paredes fuera.

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Silence, silence, what noise outside
The moon hits the walls outside.

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Silencio, silencio qué ruido es este afuera
Es la luz de luna que golpea las paredes por fuera

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Silence, silence what´s this noise outside
It is the moonlight that hits the outside walls.

IZRI 3

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵙⵏⵉⵖ ⵍⵍ ⵍⵍ ⵜⴰⵍⵍⴰⵖⵉ ⵖⴰ ⵢⴰⵜⵃⵔⴰⵏ
ⵜⵔⴰⵊⵉⵖ ⵜⵃⴰⵣⵉⵔⵉ ⵎⴰⵛⴰ ⵜⵀⵓⵖ ⴰⵜⴱⴰⵏ

[Nsigh lil lil t´hallalagh gha yathran
Trajigh thaziri masha thug atban]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Dormí noche noche mirando a estrellas
Esperar yo luna pero no quiere aparecer

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

I slept, night night looking at stars
Wait me moon but no wants appear

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Pasé toda la noche mirando las estrellas
Esperando por la luna pero esta no aparece.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I spent the whole night watching the stars
Waiting for the moon but it did not show up.

IZRI 4

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵍⵍ.ⵍⵍⵍⵍ. ⵙⵣ.ⵍⵎ. ⵖ÷ⵇ ⵜⵏⵎ.ⵉⵉⵜⵍ ⵙⵢⵙ
ⵅ.ⵏ ⵜⵙⵢⵅ.ⵙ ⵢⵏ.ⵙ ⵅ.ⵏ ⵜⵙⵢⵅ.ⵙ ⵢ][ⵢ

[Lalla spanya sham ityajjin sus
Had iruhas u dar had iruhas u fus]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Doña España tu dejar dolor
Alguno le fue pié alguno le fue la mano.

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Ms Spain, you left pains
Some lost foot, some lost hand

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Oh ¡España tú que has producido mucho dolor
Unos perdieron sus pies y otros las manos.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Oh¡ Spain you that produced so much pains
Some lost their feet and others their hands.

IZRI 5

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵓⵅⵖⵅ ⵏ ⵓⵎⵎⵍ ⵎⵖⵍⵓⵓⵍⵖⵍ ⵙⵜⵖⵓⵍ
ⵍⵓⵓⵙ ⵍⵜⵍⵏⵏⵏ ⵎⵍⵍ ⵓⵅⵙⵓ ⵙⵏⵖⵓⵍ

[Rkhukh da ramman amshabashan izuran
Nikhthar middan isab´han inagga di duran]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Melocotón y granado cruzan raíces
Eligir nosotros gente bueno hacer consuegros

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Peaches and pomegranates grafted roots
Elect we people nice fathers in law.

SPANISH TRANSLATION

El melocotonero y el granado entrecruzaron sus raíces
Noble gente hemos elegido como nuevos consuegros

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Peaches and pomegranates grafted their roots
Noble people have we chosen as new fathers in law

IZRI 6

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵔⵓⵔⴼⴼⵉ ⵔⵜⵔⵏⵔⴰ ⴱⵎⵔⴰⵉ ⵉⴰⵢⵓⵔ ⵏⵔⵅⴷ
ⵢⵖⵉⵏⵔⵅ ⵜⴷⴱⵍⵔⵓⵜⴷ ⵎⵔⴼⴼⵔⵓ ⵍⵔⵎⵓⵔⴰ ⵏⵔⵅⴷ

[Arabbi atajjad syadi iduran nagh
Ushinangh thaskwarth yaqbar wayrad nagh]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Dios deja señores consuegros nuestros
Dieron a nosotros perdiz aceptar león nuestro

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

God let sirs' fathers in law ours
Gave us partridge accepted lion ours

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Dios bendiga nuestros señores consuegros
Nos dieron una paloma y nuestro león aceptó.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION
God bless our sirs and fathers in law
They gave us a partridge and our lion accepted.

IZRI 7

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵙⵅ.++.ⵍⵍ. ⵏ.ⵏⵏⵜⴼ ⵙⵅ.++.ⵍⵍ.ⵏ ⵏ+.ⴰⴰⵙ+ⵉ
ⵙⵅ.++.ⵍⵍ.ⵏ +ⵉ.+ⴰⵜ ⵅⵙⴰ ⵅⵙⵏⵏ.ⵏ +ⵉ.ⵅⴰⵙ+ⵉ

[Imattawan nal ub imattawan n tasrith
Imattawan thatru miss middan thakhsith]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Lágrimas de novia, lágrimas de juego
Lágrimas ella llora hijo extraño quiere

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Tears of bride, tears of game
Tears she cries, stranger son loves.

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Lágrimas de la novia lágrimas de cocodrilo
Lágrimas llora cuando a un extraño quiere

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Tears of crocodile tears of the bride
Tears she cries when a stranger she loves.

IZRI 8

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵍⵍⴰⵍⵍⴰ ⵢⴰⵎⵎⴰ ⵢⴰⵎⵎⴰ ⵢⴰⵎⵎⴰⵜ ⵉⵏⵓ
ⵛⴰⵎ ⵉⵢⴰⵙⵏⴰⵏ ⵎⵉⴷⴰⵢⵙ ⴳⵡⵓⵔ ⵉⵏⵓ

Lalla yamma yamma yammat inu
Sham iyasnan mindays gwur inu

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Querida madre, madre, madrecita mía
Tú sabes que hay en corazón mío

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Dear mother, mother, little mommy
You know what is in heart mine

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Querida madre tierna madre, madrecita mía
Sólo tú sabes lo que hay en mi corazón

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Dear mother, mommy, tender mommy
You know what is there in my heart.

IZRI 9

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵕ•ⵓ+ⴷ •ⵎ•ⵎ•+ⴷⵅ• ⵅⵜ•ⵓⵅ ⵓⵅ•ⵅⵜ•ⵏ ⵅⵙⵏⵙ ⵎ•ⴰⵏ•
•ⵣ•+ⴷ ⴰⵙ ⵏⵏⴷⵟⵙⵅ• ⵅ÷ⵓ ⵙⴷ•ⴰⴰ•ⵅ ⵙⴼ•ⵏⵏ•

[Karth ayaythma khzarth rmakhzan mindi yadja
Aqath di l´husima ghir ihadam ibanna]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION
Despertad hermanos, mirar el “makhzen” en qué está
Está en Alhucema destruye y construye

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Wake up brothers, look the “makhzen” in what is
He is in Alhucema destroy and build

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Despertad hermanos y mirad en qué estado está el “makhzen”
Está en Alhucema destruyendo y construyendo de Nuevo

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Wake up brothers and look what the “makhzen” is doing
He is in Alhucema destroying and building anew.

IZRI 10

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵎ•ⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵅⵙⵅⴰ ⵓ ⴰ•ⵍⵍⵉⵙ ⵎ•ⵎⵎⵉⵙ ⵅ•ⵜⵜⵉⵙ ⵎⵏⵅⴰ•
ⵍⵍ•ⵍⵍⵍ• +ⴰ•ⵍⵍⵎ•+ ⵙⵏⵏ ⵅⵅⴰ•ⵓⵓ•ⴼⵏ +ⴰ•ⵏⵎ•

[Mayammi gigh r´hanni maymi khafi yugha
Sidi thawmat inu g´gharrabu thanya]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Porque poner yo “henna”, porque sobre mí alumbra
Querido hermanito en barco subido

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Why put I “henna”, why on me light
Dear brother in ship got up

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Porque he puesto la “henna” y porque se abrillantó
Me querido hermano en el barco ha subido

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Why did I put “henna”, and why did it shine on me
My dear brother on the ship has embarked.

IZRI 11

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵢⵖ•ⵎⵏ ⵊⵅⵢⵙⵙ ⵏ÷ⵇ •ⵏⵅ••ⵏ ⵅⵄ• ⵢⵏⵓ•ⵓ
•ⵏ•ⵙⵄ•ⵙⵙ ⵅⵄ• +ⵄⵢⵏ•ⵓ+ⵄ ⵅⵄ• ⵎ•ⵏⵉ• +ⵄⵉⵜ•ⵇⵇ•ⵓ

[Ushayd fuss nam angaad gha wadrar
Ans´hass gha thutharth gha yadja thizammar]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Dame mano tuya subir nos a montaña
Allí nosotros escuchar vivo que tiene poderes

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Give hand yours go we up mountain
There we listen alive that got powers

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Dame tus manos para subir a lo alto de la montaña
Allí donde podemos escuchar a las vidas que tienen el poder

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Give me your hands we climb up the top of the mountain
There we can listen to the lives that got power

IZRI 12

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵙⴰⵜⵄⴰⵏ ⵏⴰⵎⵜⵉⵏ ⵏⴰⵛ ⵍⵙⴰⵄⴷⵏ ⴰⵄⴰⵎⵙ ⴼⴰⵙⵙ
ⴼⴰ ⵅⴰⵛⵛⵙ ⴰⴰⵎⵙ ⵙⴼⴰⵙⵙ ⵎⴰⵙⵙⴰⵅⵄⴰ ⴰⴰⵎⵙ ⴰⵄⵙⵛⴰⵙⵙ

[Sathar layun nam withend dayi kassi
Khammi dayi ikassi yassargha day thimassi]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Agacha ojos tuyos no los coges en mí
Cuando los coges en mí, encender fuego

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Bend eyes yours not take them en mi
When you take in me, set fire

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Agacha tus ojos hacia mí no los levantes
Porque cuando lo haces en mí enciendes el fuego de la pasión

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Bend your eyes; towards me do not raise them
Because when you do, in me you set the fire of passion.

IZRI 13

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵜⴰⴷⴽⴰⵏ ⵅⴰⴼⵉ ⵜⴰⴷⴰⵏⵜ ⵙⴰ ⴰⵣⵉⵣⴰ
ⴰⵡⴰⵔ ⵡⴰ ⵜⴰⵙⵙⵉⵡⵉⵔ ⵔⴰⵇⵇⴰⵔ ⵉⵏⵓ ⵢⴰⴷⵡⴰ

[Thakkad khafi thaadu sádfin thaziza
Awar wa thassiwir raaqar inu yadwa]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Pasar ella sobre mí, adelantar con vestido azul
Habla no hablar ella, mente mía volar

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Walk she over me, pass with dress blue
Talk no talk she, mind of me fly

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Pasó a mi lado con su vestido azul
Palabra no dijo y mi mente voló

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

She walked past me with her blue dress
She didn´t say a word and my mind flew

IZRI 14

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

•ⵍⵓⵙⴰ ⵜⵉⵏⵜⵉ• •ⴰⵖ•ⵓⵣ•ⵅⵉ ⵜⵉⵙⵎⵜⵓ•
•ⴰ•ⵣⵣⵜⵅⵉ ⵙⵎ•ⵏⴰⵙ •ⵜ•ⵎⵅⵉ•ⵓ ⵊⵎ•ⵓⵙⵏ•

[Awid thjuja athshrzagh thimura
Athazzugh imandi atamghar farina]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Traer para arar yo tierras
Plantar yo cebada crecer trigo

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Bring couple plough me lands
Plant me barley grows wheat

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Traer un par para arar las tierras
Sembraré cebadas y crecerá trigo

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Bring in a pair to plough the lands
I will sow barley and wheat will grow

IZRI 15

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵍⵍⴰ•ⵅⴰⵢⵍⵍⵉⵍⵍⵍ•ⴰ ⵣ• ⵓ•ⴼⴼⵉ ⵜ• ⵙ•ⵏⵏ•ⵓⵜⴰ ⵍⵜⵉⵣⵍⵉ
ⵙ•ⵏⵏ•ⵓⵜⴰ ⵍ•ⵍⵍ ⴰⵢⵓⵓⵉⵣ• ⵉⴰ•ⵓⴹ•ⵍ ⵉⵜⴰⵉⵓⵉ

[Hamdu lillah ya rabbi khashajjarth n´tayni
Shajjarth nal´hurriya itharqan ithiri]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Gracias oh Dios por árbol de dátil
Árbol libertad extender ella sombra

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Thanks oh god for tree date palm
Tree freedom extend she shade

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Gracias a Dios por el árbol del dátil
Árbol de libertad que extiende la sombra

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thanks God for the date palm tree
Tree of freedom that extends shade

IZRI 16

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵔⵎⵔⵔⵜ ⵔⵎⵔⵔⵜ ⵜⵄⵍⵍⵓⵍⵍⵍⵓⵖⵜ ⵛⵔⵏⵙ ⵜⵄⵔⵔⴳⵄⵛⵛⵙ
ⵔⴽⵜⵔⵓ ⵜⵄⵙ ⵍⵍⵓⵙⵣ ⵏⴷⵖ ⵛⵔ ⵜⵔⵍⵎⵔⵜⵄ ⵙⵓ ⵅⵔⵛⵛⵙ

[Ayaqat ayaqat thlullusht mani thaghmi
Kattar thi Louis nesh ma tawyath su khammi]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Ahí está, ahí está, flor donde florecer
Aumentar “Louis” tuyo, te la llevas con mirar

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

There she is, there she is, flower where flourish
Increase “Louis” yours, you she take with look.

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Ahí la tienes, ahí la tienes ¡como ha brotado la florecilla!
Aumenta tu caudal, no creas que con sólo mirarla va a ser tuya

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

There you have her, there you have her, how the flower is sprouting
Increase your fortune and do not think that just looking at her she will be yours.

IZRI 17

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵣ•ⵅ •+•ⵎ ⵣ•ⵅ •+•ⵎ •ⵅ ⵏ••ⵏ•• ⴰⵓⵢⵙ
•ⵎ ⵏ•ⵙ ⵙ ⵙⵢⵙ ⵏⵙ •ⵣ•ⵎⵙ +ⵢ+ⴷ• ⵅ][ⵢⵙ

[Qam atay qam atay ag naanaa thruss
Inas issus ni aqayi tuthith qwfuss]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Mover te, mover te pon yerbabuena poco
Decir a carcoma esa, caer tú en manos mías.

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Shake tea, shake tea, and put mint little
Say to insect that you fell hands of mine

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Prepara el té, prepara el té, ponle poquita yerbabuena
Dile a esa carcoma que pronto se hallará bajo el influjo de mis hechizos

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Prepare the tea, prepare the tea and put little mint
Tell that insect that soon he will be under the influence of my magic spell.

IZRI 18

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

•ⵓ•ⵄⵓⵉⵓ • ⵅ•ⵇⵇⵉ • ⵜ•ⵙⴼⵉⵄ •ⵄ•ⵙⴼⵉ
• ⵇ:ⵄ•ⵇⵇ•ⵅ ⵉ ⵄ•ⵇⵇⵢ ⵉⵣⵄ•ⴼ ⵍ•ⵅ• ⵎ•ⵅⵏⵉ

[A rahrir a d ámmi a tasbih ahasbi
Mohammad a hammu ighab wada yadji]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Seda es mi hijo, el rosario suave
Mohamed de Hamu, ausentar aquí no estar

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Silk is my son, the rosary smooth
Mohamed Hamu, absent here no is

SPANISH TRANSLATION

¡Oh la fina seda es mi hijo!, oh el delicado rosario
¡Oh Mohamed de Hamu! Se ha ausentado aquí ya no está

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Oh, the delicate and tender silk is my son, oh the delicate rosary
Oh, Mohamed Hamu, he is absent, he is no more here

IZRI 19

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵜⴰⴽⵀⴰⵔ ⴰⵙⴰⵡⵡⴰⵙ ⴰⵜⴰⵖⴰⵎⵎⴰⵏ ⵏⴰⵔⴳⴰⵣ
ⵉⴼⴰⴷⵉⵜ ⴰⵔⴱⴱⵉ ⵜⵎⵓⵏ ⴰⴽ ⵓⵎⴰⴷⵉⴰⵣ

[Thkahhar athsawwash, thagga thimmi nargaz
Ifadhit arabbi thmun ak umadiaz]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Acicalar ella ojos, boca, cejas ennegrecer
Humillar Dios a ella juntar con amediaz

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Smartened she eyes, mouth, blackened eyebrows
Humiliate God she, together with amediaz

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Se acicaló ojos y boca, sus cejas agrandó y ennegreció;
Dios la humillo más y así fue como se juntó con un amediaz

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

She smartened he eyes and mouth and blackened her eyebrows
God humiliated her and so she got together with an amediaz.

IZRI 20

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵓⵜⵜⵓⵖⵉ ⵓⵜⵜⵓⵖⵉ ⵉⵜⵜⵓ ⵜⵜⵉⵏⵓ ⵜⵜⵏⵓⵖⵔ
ⴰⵙⵏⵙ ⵍⵙⵏⵏ ⵙⵍⵜ ⵜⵓⵙ ⵖⵙⵖⵉ ⴰⵖⵓⵏⵓ

[Athuyagh athuyagh huma yuhray uthar
A sidi lif inu umi gigh rkhathar]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION
Caminar yo, caminar yo, hasta cansar mío pié
Querido amor mío a quien yo complacer

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Walk me, walk me, till tired mine foot
Dear beloved mine, whom I pleased

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Voy a caminar, caminar hasta la extenuación de mis pies,
Ay de mi amante, ay a quién he complacido.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I am going to walk, walk till my feet are exhausted
Oh my beloved, oh, to whom I pleased

IZRI 21

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵢⵏⵢⵓ ⵖⵍ.ⵏ ⵖⵍ.ⵏ .ⵎ ⵍ.ⵎ.ⵏ ⵓⵙ +ⵄ.ⵓ.
.ⵥ.ⵎ .ⵎⵖ.ⵏ ⵙⵏⵢ ⵎ.ⵏⵙ ⵖⵙⵅⵄ .ⵓⵙⵓ.

[Uyur shway shway am waman di thara
Aqam amshan inu mani shigh arritha]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Camina poco poco como agua en manantial
Ahí sitio mío donde comer yo arrida

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Walk little, little, like water in spring water
Here is place mine where eat I arrida

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Camina despacito como agua en el manantial,
Aquí está mi sitio donde yo me enamoré

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Walk smoothly like water in the spring
Here is the place where I fell in love

IZRI 22

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵔⵓⵔⴰⴷⴷⵉ ⵎⵔⴰⴽⵉⵏⵉ ⵣⵉⵏ ⵍⵔ ⵣⵓⵅⵓⵉ
ⵉⵖⵔ ⵜⵏⵉⴰⵕⵉⵏⵉⵏⵉ ⵅⵉ ⵜⵏⴼⵜⵏⵉⵏⵉ ⵜⵅⵏⵉ

[Arabbi maskine isha min wa yazri
Isha thisakifine zi thaqthihine ughi]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Dios pobre comer lo que no veo
Comer sorbitos de cachorros de leche

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

God, poor eat what not he see
Eat sip from dish of milk

SPANISH TRANSLATION

¡Por Dios, pobrecito! Ha comido lo que no ha visto
Ha tomado sorbitos de los cacharros de leche

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

¡Oh, God! He has eaten what he has not seen
He drank sips of milk from the pot.

IZRI 23

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵛⵎ ⵜⵉⵢ ⵅⴰⵏⴰⵏ ⵜⵉⵙ ⵓⴰⵅ ⵢⵏⵍ ⵙⵍⴰⵔⵜⵉⴰⵏ
ⵛⵎ ⵜⴰⵅⵉⴰⵓⵛ⵰ⵖⵜ ⵜⵉⵓⴰⴼⵍⵍⵙⵜ ⵛⵜⵙⵓⵙⴰ
ⵛⵎ ⵜⴰⵉⴰⵜⵜⴰⵏⵜ ⵜⵉ ⵉⴰⵜⵜⴼⵙⵜ ⵉⴰⴼⵙⴼⴰ
ⵛⵎ ⵜⴰⵉⴰⵓⵕⵢⵓⵜ ⵜⵉⴰⴼⵏⵙⵜ ⵍⵍⴰⵜⵙⵛⴰ

[Mya thu shanen thi rag udi wajthan
Mya taghrmasht thraqfit mziria
Mya tahazzant th hazzbit Habiba
Mya ta harkust thaqnit Fatima]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Cien lobos en colinas preparados
Cien ovejas tienen miseria
Cien cinturones abrocharse Habiba
Cien zapatos vestir Fátima

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

One hundred wolves in hills prepared
One hundred sheeps have misery
One hundred belts fastened around Habiba's waist
One hundred shoes wear Fatima

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Cien lobos en las colinas aguardan sigilosamente

Cien ovejas viven miserablemente

Cien cinturones abrochados en las caderas de Habiba

Cien zapatos en las piernas de Fátima

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

One hundred wolves in the hills prepared secretly

One hundred sheeps living miserable

One hundred belts around Habiba`s waist

One hundred shoes in Fatima's feet

IZRI 24

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵍⵍ.ⵍⵍⵍⵍ. ⵜⵄ.ⵜⵄⴼⵙⵓⵜⵄ ⵜⵄ.ⴼ.ⵅⵓ.ⵜⴼ
ⵙⴼ.ⴰⴰ.ⵍ ⵅ ⵍⵍ.ⵉⵓⵢⵏⵅ ⵙⵜⵄⵢⵓ.ⵓ
ⵍⵍ. ⵜ.ⴼⵍⵙⵜⵄ ⵍⵍ. ⵜ.ⴼⵜⵄⵙⵜⵄⵙⵄ
ⴼ. ⵜⵄ.ⵅ ⵎ.ⵅⵅⵄ.ⵓ ⵍⵍ. ⵏⵅ.ⵓ

[Lalla thathbirth thashamratch
Ibaddan kh rajruf ithurar
Wa taqnith wa tashthithih
Qa tham yamghar wa far]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Señora paloma blanca
Posa tú sobre alto montañas
No aburrirse, no enfadarse
Ya a ti crecer alas

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Ms. dove White
Stand you there up mountains
No worry you, no angry you
Soon grow you wing

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Oh, preciosa paloma blanca

Que se posa en lo alto de las rocas de las montañas

No te aburras ni te enfades

Pronto te crecerán las alas

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Oh, precious White dove

That stands on high mountain rocks

Do not worry, do not anger

Soon your wings will be grown.

IZRI 25

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵢⵖ•ⵎⵏ][ⵢⵙⵙ ⵏ÷ⵉ •+ⵅ•ⵉ ⵣⵏⵣⵅⵅ ⵉ•ⵎ•ⵉⵉⵣ
ⵢⵙ ⵣⵏⵢ +ⵅ ⵍ•ⵏⵣ ⵏ÷ⵉ +ⵅ•ⵙⵅⵅ• +ⵅ•ⵎⵙ +ⵅⵣⵉ•ⵙⵙⵣ

[Ushayd fuss nem am inigh mayammi
Ur inu d wanni nem thargha thays thimassi]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Dame mano tuya decir yo a ti por qué
Corazón mío y el tuyo enciende en el fuego

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Give me hands yours tell I you why
Heart mine and that yours set in it fire

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Dejame ver tus manos para poderte decir
Cómo se incendian tu corazón y el mío

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Give me your hands so I can tell you how
Your heart and mine are set on fire.

IZRI 26

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵜⴰⵏ ⵢⴰⵅⵙⴰⵏ ⴰⵜⴰⵡⵉⵜ ⵜⴰⵎⵓⵜⵜⴰ ⴱⵓⵔⵃⴰⵡⴰ
ⵔⴽⵃⵎⵜⵃ ⵡⴰⵔ ⵉⴽⵃⴷⴷⴰⵎ ⵉⵙⴼⵓⵔⵓⵊ ⴰⴱⴰⵜⵃⴰ

[Than yakhsan atawi thiwi burhawa
Rkhathmath war ikhaddam isfuruj abatha]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Quien quiere ellas llevar, llevar trovador
Trabajo no trabajar, entretiene por lo menos

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Who want they take, take a troubadour
Work, work he not, entertain at least

SPANISH TRANSLATION

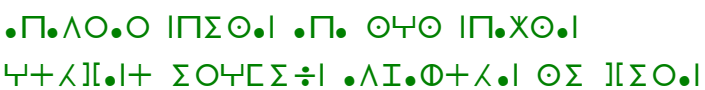
Quien desea casarse, cásese con un trovador
Trabajar no trabaja pero al menos entretiene

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

She who wants to marry, marry a troubadour
Work he likes not, but at least he amuses.

IZRI 27

ORIGINAL TARIFIT



Ayathrar nyisan aya sus nyaxsan
Uthfant irumien adjabthan si firane

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Oh montaña de caballo oh carcoma de huesos
Entrar en él españoles extraer con hilos

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Oh mountain of horse oh worm of bones
Enter in it Spanish extract with thread.

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Oh, Monte Caballos, oh carcoma de los huesos
Lo han penetrado los españoles para con hilos hacer las extracciones

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Oh, Horse Mountain. Oh, worm of the bones
The Spanish enter in it to mining with linen cloth.

IZRI 28

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵙⵉⴷⵉ ⵛⵄⵉⴱ ⴼⵓⵎⴻⵜⵜⴰⵃ ⵜⴰⵣⵔⵉ
ⵡⴰⵢⴰⴳⴳⵉ ⵓⵔⴰⵔ ⵡⴰⵢⴰⴳⴳⵉ ⴰⵔⵃⴰⵏⵏⵉ

Sidi shayb bumeftah yamuthan tha azri
Wayaggi urar wayaggi arhanni

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Santo Shayb de la Llave murió soltero
No hizo boda, no hizo la henna

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Saint Shayb of the key died bachelor
No make wedding, no make henna

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Sidi Shayb Bumeftah, murió soltero
Ni se casó ni lo disfrutó

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Sidi Shayb Bumeftah, bachelor he passed away
He neither married nor enjoyed it.

IZRI 29

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵙⵉⵏⵉ ⵙⴰⴷⵓⵎⵓ ⵓⵢⵏⴽ÷][+ⴰⴷ ⴰⵏⵖⵓⵅⴰⵖ +ⴰⴷⵜⵓⴼⴼⵓ
ⵓ++ⵓⵙⵅⴰⵖ ⵓ+ⴰⵓⵍⵎⵓⵅⴰ ⵓⵢ+ⴰⵉⵏⵏⵉ +ⴰⵓⵏⵙⵓⵙⴼⴼ

[Sidi Shaib bumeftah hanshaghash thazaqqa
Attaraghash athawyagh bu timmi thamsarqa]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Santo Shaib de la Llave, pinté a ti azotea
Pedir a ti llevar yo el de cejas juntas

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Saint Shaib of the Key, painted me for you roof
Asked me you to take he with eyebrow joint

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Sidi Shaib Bumeftah, te pinté la azotea
Te pido que me case con el de las cejas juntas

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Sidi Shaib bumeftah, I painted the roof for you
I beg you I marry the one with the joint eyebrow

IZRI 30

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵎⴰⵍⵉⴽ ⵡⴰⵔ ⴳⵡⵉⵜⵃⴰⴳ ⵙⵉⴷⵉ ⴱⴰⴱⴰ ⴰⵜⵉⵔⵓ
ⴰⵜⵃⴰⵇⵏⴰⴳ ⵜⵜⵓⴰⵡⵉⵏ ⴰⵜⵃⴰⵡⵜⵉⴳⵃ ⴳⵡⴰⵏⵓ

[Maalik war gwithagh sidi baba athiru
Athaqnagh thittawin athawthigh gwanu]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Si no tuviera miedo querido papá llora
Cerraré ojos caeré en pozo

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

If not were afraid I dear father cry
Close I eyes, fell I in in pit

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Si no temiera el llanto de mi querido padre
Los ojos cerraría y me tiraría al pozo

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

If I were not afraid of my dear father's tears
My eyes I would close and would jump into the pit

IZRI 31

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵎ••ⵍⵏⵔ ⵍ•ⵓ ⵅⵍⵏ+ⵄ•ⵅⵄ ⵏⵙⵎ ⵏⵍⵜ •+ⵄⵏ ⵍ•ⵃⵃ•ⵓ
•+ⵄ•ⴼⵍ•ⵅⵄ +ⵄⵏ ++•ⵍⵏⵍ •+ⵄ•ⵍ+ⵄⵏⵅⵄ +ⵄⵏ ⵓ•ⴱⵄ•ⵓ

[Maalik wa gwithagh ism inu a thiwaddar
Athaqnagh thittawin athawthigh thi rabhar]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Si no tuviera miedo nombre mío perderse
Cerrar yo ojos caer yo en mar

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

If not have fear name mine lose
Close I eyes fell I in sea

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Si no tuviera miedo de perder mi nombre
Cerraría los ojos y mi tiraría al mar

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

If I were not afraid to lose my name
I would close my eyes and jump into the sea

IZRI 32

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵢⵛ• ⵓ•ⵛⵙ ⵎⵢⵎⵢⵓ ⵍ• +ⵅ•ⵎ ⵎ•ⵏⵙ ⵍ•ⵏⵢ
ⵙ•ⵛⵛ•ⵓ +ⵅⵙ++•ⵍⵙⵏ ⵙⵙⵛ•++•ⵍ•ⵏ •ⴰⵙⵓⵢ

[Uma rami yuyur wathay yanni walu
Iammar thittawin si mattawn athiru]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION
Hermano cuando camino no a mí decir nada
Llenar ojos de lágrimas a llorar

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Brother when walk no for me say nothing
Fill eyes with tears to cry

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Mi hermano cuando se marchó no me dijo nada
Se emocionó y se le llenaron los ojos de lágrimas

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

My brother said nothing when he left
His eyes filled up with tears to cry

IZRI 33

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵛ••ⵍⵍⵉⵔ ⵜⵏⴰⵎⵉ ⵜⵏⴰⵍⵍⵉⵜⵏⴰ ⴰⵛⵛⵢ ⵜⴰⵅⵛⴰⵜⵍⴰⵙ
ⵢⵙ ⵍⴰⵙⴰⵏ ⵉⴰⵖⴰⵣ ⵙⵅⴰⵜⵏⴰⵙ ⵍⴰⵙⴰⵏ ⵉⵜⵏⴰⵏⵏⴰⵙ

[Maalik thay thannith ammu zag mazwar
Ur wash iashaq rkhathar wash ithaffar]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Si a mí tú decir así desde principio
Corazón no amar a ti alma no a ti seguir

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

If for me you say so from beginning
Heart not love you, my soul not you follow

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Si tú me hubieras dicho ésto desde el principio
Mi corazón no te hubiera jamás amado

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

If you had told me this from the beginning
My heart would have never loved you

IZRI 34

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵍⵍ•ⵍⵍⵍⵍ• ⵜⵄ•ⵙⵓⵙⵜⵄ ⵍ•ⵅⵄ ⵜⵄ•ⵇⵇ•ⵍⵜ ⵍⵓ•ⵄⵓⵜ
ⵅⵄ•ⵇ ⵙⴰⴰ• ⵍⵜⵙ• ⵅⵄ•ⵇ ⵙⴰⴰ• ⵍ••ⵜⵄⵜ

[Lalla thasrith nagh thammant nrahru
Gham idda nusa gham idda naathu]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Nuestra novia, miel dulce
Por ti aquí venir por ti reunir

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Our bride, honey sweet
For you here come, for you here meeting

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Nuestra novia tan pura como la miel natural
Hacia ti hemos venido, por ti nos hemos reunido

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Our bride so pure like natural honey
For you we have come, for you we have this meeting

IZRI 35

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵍⵍ.ⵍⵍⵍⵍ. ⵅ.ⵓⵙ. ⵜⵉ. ⵉⵜⵉⵚⵜⵉ ⵕⵢ ⵉⵚⵉ ⵚⵜⵉ.ⵙⵙ.
ⵅ.ⵍⵚ ⵚⵙⵢⵉ ⴼ.ⴼ ⵍ÷ⵅ ⵙ.ⵅⵚ ⵙⵉ.ⵅ ⵜⵉ. ⵎ.ⵉⵉ.

[Lalla mawsa thajthith khu jij itharsa
Mani iruh bab nem rami sham tha yajja]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Mauser nuevo sobre estante posar
Donde ir dueño tuyo ausente aquí no esta

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Máuser new on shelf lay
Where go owner yours absent here no is

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Magnífico y pulcro Máuser sobre el estante colocado
A dónde se ha marchado tu dueño que aquí te ha dejado

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Oh, wonderful and tidy Mauser placed on the shelf
Where did your owner go that he here has left you

IZRI 36

ORIGINAL TARIFIT

ⵉⵔⵓⵃ ⵣⵉⵏ ⵉⵖⴰⴱ ⵢⵓⵢⵔ ⵍⵍⴰ ⵡⵉⴽⴰⵜ ⵖⴰ ⵎⵓⵏⴰⵖ
ⵢⵓⵛⴰⵢ ⵍⴼⵔⴰⵇ ⴰ ⴼⴰⴷⵎⴰ ⵔⴰⵎⵉ ⴽⵉⵙ ⵏⵓⵎⴰⵖ

[ayruh zin ighab yuyur lalla wikath gha munagh
Yushay lafraq a fadma rami kis numagh]

SPANISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Se fue belleza ausentar se fue con quien yo juntar
Duele separación de Fadma cuando de ella acostumbrado

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

Gone beauty absent gone with whom I go
Hurts separate of Fadma when of her used to be

SPANISH TRANSLATION

Ay, de la belleza ausente, se ha marchado y a nadie tengo con quién ir
Dolió separarme de Fadma cuando a ella ya me había acostumbrado

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Oh, absent beauty, she has left and no one I have to be with
Fadma´s farewell hurt me when I was used to her.

ESTUDIO COGNITIVO DE LA REALIDAD SOCIOCULTURAL DEL BEREBER-TAMAZIGHT: ORGANIZACIÓN BIOPOÉTICA DEL *IZRI* DE LAS MUJERES DE HABLA TARIFIT DEL RIF (MARRUECOS)

RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL

(DOCTORADO EUROPEO)

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Directora

JUANA TERESA GUERRA DE LA TORRE

ULPGC

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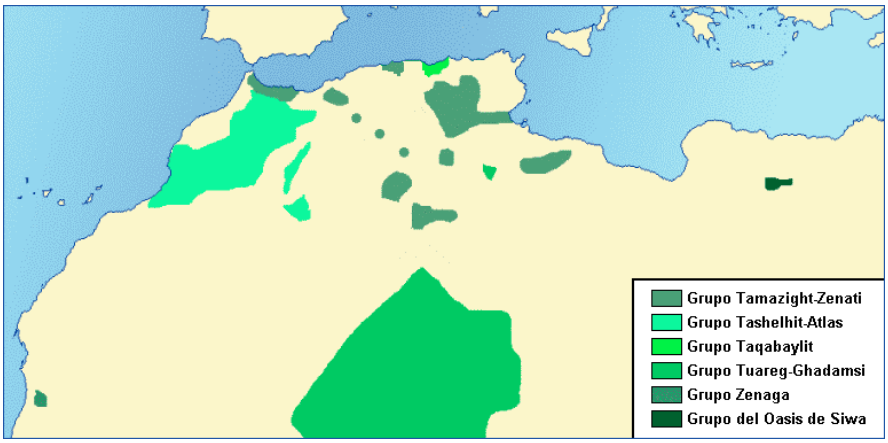
0. PREFACIO

0.1. RED SOCIOCULTURAL BEREBER

Debido a la complejidad de las sinergias culturales y lingüísticas que han configurado su evolución durante milenios, el mundo conocido en Occidente como "bereber" está configurado de modo extraordinariamente heterogéneo. "Bereber" en nuestro contexto es un término relativamente reciente creado por otra cultura con otra historia filológica y ontológica muy distinta, la árabe, desde construcciones paralelas anteriores del griego. El término árabe a su vez es un préstamo que significa "bárbaro". De modo realista, y por primera vez en la historia de los estudios sobre esta comunidad tan significativa en la historia de África, circunscribiremos aquí este sistema sociocultural en un marco biológico de evolución cognitiva humana. La razón fundamental es que en esta Tesis se parte de la necesidad sociocultural de abrir nuevos espacios de investigación interdisciplinaria dirigidos cuantitativa y cualitativamente a la intrincada tarea de entender "bereber" de modo realista biocultural; técnicamente partimos aquí de una consideración de ésta categoría, que construye comunicativamente la identidad de un grupo humano de más de 30 millones de personas, como un concepto de alto nivel (Turner y Fauconnier 2002), un constructo cognitivo que organiza conocimiento *enactivado* a diario por este macrogrupo humano en un conjunto de variedades lingüísticas habladas en África. La siguiente figura muestra estas variantes:



(Sitio: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berber_languages#Ethnologue, Mayo, 21. 2012)

Ésta razón ética social que nos guía en este proyecto a medio plazo es fundamental. No tratamos de seguir interpretando y concluyendo a partir de nuestra experiencia lingüística y cultural visible, aquella que nos es dada superficialmente al pensamiento sin necesidad de unos principios, unos métodos y unos modelos. Por ello hemos optado por empezar a aplicar, por primera vez en la historia de los estudios del bereber, los desarrollados por las recientes Ciencias Cognitivas. Estamos convencidos de que necesitamos urgentemente un espacio teórico internacional avanzado e innovador para acceder a una descripción pragmática de la delicada diversidad humana del bereber. En este sentido lo que nos proponemos en este primer trabajo es la activación de una plataforma académica de estudios cognitivos esencialmente empíricos y descriptivos en conjunto, destinados a sentar unas bases constructivistas sobre las que edificar progreso social en las comunidades bereberes. Ésta primera contribución por parte de D. Amar El-Arbaoui Jelouli, filólogo originario de la región bereber de Kelaia, se presenta aquí con la esperanza de estimular una investigación global innovadora de la realidad intercultural bereber para que a medio o largo plazo redunde en beneficio de esta

cultura/lengua milenaria, de esta extensa comunidad que hoy no está viviendo sus mejores días.

La plataforma sociocognitiva de este proyecto concibe toda evolución cultural como evolución biológica en una parte muy importante. Desde la aproximación teórica y metodológica que proponemos aquí a partir de las Ciencias Cognitivas, y que podríamos entender antropológica y bioéticamente como estudio de procesos de biogénesis cultural, describir el constructo conceptual "bereber" sería como clasificar de forma científica una nueva especie de ser vivo para su posterior estudio más empírico y descriptivo por parte de otras disciplinas. Para ello es condición básica situar al bereber taxonómicamente en la familia biocultural apropiada, tarea que llevará aún años de investigación desde el nuevo paradigma cognitivo. Con este objetivo global enmarcando una red innovadora de estudios cognitivos africanos de ámbito internacional iniciamos en esta primera tipificación de los Izaran, poemas improvisados orales en lengua Tarifit, de la cultura Tamazight, una búsqueda realista de abajo a arriba (*bottom-up*) de una de las numerosas morfodinámicas locales de la compleja red sociocultural de construcción cognitiva de significado vivo en el acto comunicativo bereber. Consideramos el *izri* como una microestructura que paulatinamente nos dará acceso a la realidad global del bereber desde una consideración dinamicista de los textos como la que en estos momentos se trabaja en el Centro de Semiótica Cognitiva de la Universidad de Aarhus, Dinamarca, en el que el autor de esta Tesis ha realizado una estancia de investigación tres meses. Para ello, en este trabajo se presenta un corpus limitado de expresiones metafóricas en los *izran* a partir de una selección de un extenso corpus de datos lingüísticos originales obtenidos en trabajo de campo llevado a cabo por el autor en el

Rif de Marruecos. A continuación desarrollamos un estudio de caso de los mecanismos cognitivos que activan proyecciones metafóricas diferentes del español o el inglés que podrían estructurar formas culturalmente específicas de significado relativo a dos conceptos abstractos que recurren en estas coplas improvisadas por las mujeres Tamazight: *tiempo* y *vida*. Teórica y metodológicamente, este estudio de caso se enmarca de forma predominantemente interdisciplinaria en los últimos progresos de las Ciencias Cognitivas (Cogan 2003) que desde una u otra perspectiva integradora han desarrollado principios, métodos y modelos de análisis de distintas lenguas/culturas humanas. En este ámbito tríadico nos beneficiaremos de la continua interacción actual entre las Ciencias Humanas, las Ciencias Naturales y la Tecnología. Es esta una dinámica internacional muy activa de nuevo conocimiento teórico que está haciendo realidad social la feliz realización de la tan necesaria *nueva alianza* entre las Ciencias y las Humanidades, de la que ya hablaban sabiamente Ilya Prigogine e Isabelle Stengers en 1978 (Citado en Guerra 1992). Este trabajo proyecta por primera vez todo este conocimiento avanzado al estudio de las dinámicas socioculturales complejas de las comunidades humanas del Rif.

0.2. LA COMPLEJA DIVERSIDAD DEL BEREBER

Las actuales regiones bereberes constituyen una singular variedad de marcos geográficos y socioculturales localizados en diferentes países del norte de África y la

zona subsahariana.[1] Variedades lingüísticas del bereber se hablan en las fronteras sur del Mediterráneo y en amplias extensiones del gran Sáhara. Estas variedades son numerosas y poseen muchos rasgos en común, lo que si bien es verdad que dificulta y ralentiza la tarea de la investigación real, no la hace imposible. En este sentido, y teniendo en cuenta que no existen aún trabajos de este tipo en la investigación cognitiva internacional actual, sólo podría ser ventajoso como contribución a los enormes avances actuales en los estudios de procesos y mecanismos biológicos y culturales que evolucionan en forma de lenguajes para la vital comunicación humana.

Uno de los motivos principales de esta diversidad biocultural, reflejada en sus realizaciones lingüísticas, es el contexto geofísico desfavorecedor. Por diversas razones de supervivencia como por ejemplo los traslados nómadas de base agrícola o los abandonos territoriales de fuerza mayor para huir de invasores, los bereberes habitan sobre todo zonas desérticas, tanto planicies como montañas. Su lengua mayoritaria, llamada *Tamazight* y no *bereber,* sólo se conoce en su diversidad, término que entendemos en el sentido que le da Bernárdez (2003). El *Tamazight* integra *Tarifit, Tashelhit, Tashawit, Mzab, Gourara, Zenaga, Tasiwit, Tuareg,* y otras variedades que conviven con el *Hausa* en Nigeria, Mali y otras áreas. En este trabajo inicial centramos nuestra atención en la variante Tarifit hablada en el Rif .

0.3. COMPLEJIDAD, COGNICIÓN Y COMUNIDADES DE PRÁCTICA BEREBER

Más arriba exponíamos una motivación principal de este estudio, la de contrarrestar la insuficiente atención que se ha prestado a estas zonas en la investigación internacional,

[1] Ver figura del mapa lingüístico bereber más arriba.

lo mismo en Ciencias Naturales que en Ciencias Humanas, hasta nuestros días. A ello añadimos ahora que los escasísimos estudios que se han realizado sobre esta red cultural de lo que concebiremos aquí sociocognitivamente como "comunidades de práctica" (Bordieu 1980 y 1994; Bernárdez 2005, 2008a, 2008b) son de carácter descriptivo, humanista tradicional, y en nada atienden a los avances en la investigación interdisciplinaria que hoy hacen progresar de manera realista el conocimiento sobre las sociedades y, en dinámicas de retroalimentación (Turing 1951, Luhmann 1984, Hayles 1991), a las sociedades mismas. De forma muy general, la base sociológica de nuestra visión de los sistemas sociales como sistemas complejos adaptativos es la elaborada originalmente por Luhman (1984). A principios del siglo XXI las culturas locales específicas de los bereberes de las diferentes zonas geográficas del Rif, tal y como aparecen materialmente reflejadas en sus ricas variedades expresivas, en este caso en sus variedades lingüísticas, representan una red de combinaciones específicas de categorías conceptuales (Lakoff 1987), de emociones (Damasio 2002, 2004, 2007) y de valores humanos (Tomasello 2003, 2008) en constante evolución desde estados corporeizados de conciencia preconceptual y prelingüística (Lakoff & Johnson 1987; Varela, Thompson & Rosch 1991). La forma de dinamizar estos estados sociales de conciencia individual/colectiva en curso, *on-line*, se refleja al final de un proceso a la vez biológico y cultural de construcción ontogenética, filogenética y cultural (Rohrer 2007) en el sistema lingüístico expresivo resultante que revela la morfología y la funcionalidad del uso instrumental de la lengua en cuestión (Bernárdez 2002). En esta evolución filogenética, ontogenética y cultural tradicionalmente generada y alineada en torno a los distintos componentes epistemológicos y fenomenológicos del Islam y del

texto del Corán, y adoptada a todos los niveles neurobiológicos y culturales que configuran la *cognición* como *acción* en el individuo (Dennet, Damasio, Bernárdez) que habita en el desierto del Rif, las mallas sociales bereberes interactúan hoy con fuerza paradigmática con los productos internacionales y la orientación cultural progresista de Occidente. Y ello a pesar de la escasez de medios tecnológicos y económicos en general. Actualmente, la complejidad expansiva del espacio abierto de conocimiento bereber (complejidad entendida aquí en términos técnicos como riqueza de información y posibilidades de evolución biocultural coherente) hace que las representaciones lingüísticas resultantes de sus constructos conceptuales específicos se conviertan en un terreno muy fértil para un progreso sociohumano muy necesitado en un entorno más hostil que favorecedor. La llamada "Primavera Árabe" intensifica esta situación de complejidad creativa de modo muy singular en el caso de la macrocultura bereber y, en este sentido, habrá que esperar para conocer la verdadera dimensión sociológica de sus acciones colectivas. De nuevo, una de las pruebas más objetivas será la forma en que los conceptos emergentes y los nuevos significados se afiancen, se lexicalicen, en los distintos sistemas cognitivos. Esta prueba no contrarresta necesariamente enfoques humanistas tradicionales de corte hermenéutico (sin método científico); nuestra visión es que son complementarios. Si bien los trabajos realizados hasta hoy sobre *cómo piensan* las comunidades bereberes se centran únicamente en *qué piensan* a partir de un enfoque tradicional hermenéutico basado en una respuesta introspectiva a la pregunta "¿Qué significa este texto?", nosotros abrimos aquí un estudio dentro del nuevo paradigma de la Poética y la Lingüística Cognitiva que parte de la pregunta: "¿Qué mecanismos cognitivos en los niveles preconceptual y prelingüístico, y qué entornos

interactivos naturales y artificiosos, hacen posible que este texto pueda construir significado Tamazight culturalmente específico evidenciado en la lengua Tarifit resultante?”

1. INTRODUCCIÓN AL ESTUDIO DE LOS *IZRAN*

Este proyecto surgió a raíz de la sugerencia de mi supervisora de tratar algún tema relacionado con la literatura oral bereber. En seguida pensé en los *izran* y, desde entonces, he tratado de desarrollar la idea y de darle forma. Al principio no tenía claro a dónde me iba a conducir esta investigación. Además, la escasez de material escrito añadía algunas dificultades. Pero encontré alivio en la ayuda que me ofrecían los informantes, que en la mayoría de los casos fue óptima aunque no exenta de algunas dificultades. Ellos me proporcionaron los más valiosos recursos para entender el fenómeno *izran* y la forma de adaptar cada *izri* a un contexto particular. Esta información hizo mi tarea menos ardua de lo que esperaba.

Aunque ahora me doy cuenta de que ya desde mi más tierna infancia había tenido en varias ocasiones contacto directo con los *izran,* nunca me había interesado en ellos como hasta ahora. Aprecio mucho mejor su lenguaje y sus riquezas conceptuales e, incluso, me he llegado a aprender un gran número de ellos de memoria.

Los *izran* (en plural) o *izri* (en singular) son composiciones poéticas cortas que se caracterizan, precisamente, por su brevedad. Normalmente están formados por dos versos de doce sílabas. Esta brevedad opera en dos niveles diferenciados: en la forma y en el contenido. Desde el punto de vista formal, la brevedad se manifiesta en el reducido número de palabras que se usa para transmitir contenidos que, con frecuencia, hacen referencia a un gran número de aspectos de la realidad. Sin embargo, a través de esta información adquirida mediante tan pocas palabras brota un nuevo significado que emerge de la totalidad del *izri*. De este significado global, resultado de una compleja red

de asociaciones simbólicas y metafóricas particulares, surge el sentido último del discurso poético que alcanza su valor simbólico general.

También existen *izran* que constan de tres o cuatro versos, aunque son muy difíciles de encontrar. Este tipo de *izran* parece ser que fueron más frecuentes en el pasado cuando la poesía ocupaba un lugar más relevante en la sociedad bereber del Rif. En esa época las personas tenían más tiempo para dedicarse al arte de producir poesía. En la actualidad, sin embargo, no abundan este tipo de composiciones. Su antigüedad se deduce a raíz del tema que tratan como, por ejemplo, la guerra o la libertad. Más adelante pondré algunos ejemplos que mostrarán la diferencia entre estos *izran* y los compuestos por dos versos.

En el Rif, a los *izran* se les conoce también como *ragnu*j ("canciones") o *aganij* ("una canción"). Así mismo se utilizan nombres como *shdid* ("bailes"), ashattih ("un baile") o como *awar n izran* que significa "palabras de los *izran*" o "lenguaje de los *izran"*. Los bereberes consideran que únicamente las mujeres pueden producir *izran*. Sin embargo, existe en el Rif una especie de trovadores llamados *imediazen* (plural) / *amediaz* (singular) que al parecer provienen del Atlas Medio. Cantan en grupos y producen mayoritariamente *izran* en forma de canciones acompañadas de música y danza. Esta palabra tiene actualmente connotaciones negativas y llega a ser un insulto. Nadie quiere que lo comparen con un *amediaz*. A los bereberes no les gustan los *imediazen* porque piensan que el arte de cantar está reservado a las mujeres. Sabedores de esto, los *imediazen* se llaman a sí mismo *shiukh* (pl.) o *sheikh* (sg.). Este lexema evoca en los oyentes significados tales como "viejo, experimentado y respetable". Por lo tanto, la palabra *sheikh*, préstamo del árabe, está reemplazando a la bereber *amediaz*.

El siguiente *izri* es una prueba del concepto negativo que la gente tiene de los *imediazen*:

> Ella se arregló los ojos y los labios, y se ennegreció las cejas
>
> Dios la humilló y así ella se juntó con un *amediaz*.

No obstante, en el Rif, en las últimas décadas los hombres han desarrollado un nuevo tipo de poesía llamada *taqsais*. Al contrario que los *izran*, los *taqsais* son poemas muy largos. Estructuralmente no tienen casi ninguna semejanza con los *izran*, exceptuando la rima. Los *taqsais* se caracterizan por su longitud, algunos poemas pueden tener más de cien versos. He observado que los hombres rifeños dotados de cualidades artísticas para producir poesía se dedican a ello de una forma más profesional. Ahora bien, al escuchar los *taqsais* salta a la vista que de muchas maneras los *izran* sirven de fuente de inspiración para los hombres, incluso, a veces, un *izri* puede llegar a funcionar como unión entre los versos de un *taqsais*.

Como la lengua bereber es principalmente una lengua oral, la mayoría de los *izran* que han llegado hasta nuestros días se han trasmitido de forma oral de generación en generación. Algunos se han perdido y otros muchos han sufrido cambios, puesto que las poetas cambian palabras en el *izri* para adaptarlo a un contexto concreto. Esta actividad de adaptación lleva, naturalmente, a un cambio en el significado.

El arte y la cultura popular de los bereberes del Rif están almacenados en la memoria colectiva desde tiempos milenarios. En el caso de los *izran*, la contribución de las mujeres a través del tiempo, en diferentes contextos y situaciones, les da el derecho a reclamar autoridad y monopolio en la producción de este tipo de arte popular. Las

mujeres no necesitan instrucción, ni dominar las normas y convenciones poéticas para componer *izran*. El dominio de su lengua materna les conduce a la creación de una de las mejores obras del ser humano, la literatura, y esta a su vez nos permite indagar con realismo y profundidad en la condición humana. Además, aunque estas mujeres no son profesionales, sus producciones poéticas no sólo representan la visión del mundo de los bereberes, sino que también cumplen la función de propagar la cultura bereber y son un medio para hablar de historia, política, literatura y otros temas como el amor romántico, la brujería o experiencias personales. Estas mujeres se caracterizan especialmente por su gran habilidad para hacer uso de cualquier situación o contexto como fuente de inspiración (tradición, religión, guerra, experiencias, etc.) A veces, cuando están enfrascadas en la tarea de producir *izran*, ellas no componen *izran* que nadie conozca y que vayan a aburrir a la audiencia, sino que crean *izran* que traten los problemas que les afectan a ellos directamente. Esto despierta la curiosidad del público, igual que ocurre con aquellos que tratan sobre brujería, guerra, resistencia, amor romántico o experiencias personales (Ekram, 2002).

Por otro lado, también se percibe esta creación artística como un método socialmente efectivo a través del cual las poetas pueden expresar oralmente sus anhelos y sus deseos o también su acuerdo o desacuerdo con los principales temas que les afectan directamente; es ésta la única ocasión en que lo pueden hacer sin impedimentos, sin prohibiciones impuestas por una u otra interpretación de los textos autoritativos tradicionales. Los *izran* en este sentido constituyen una forma de comunicación, una construcción lingüística y conceptual única, a través de la cual las mujeres se pueden expresar en primera persona sin miedo a represalias. Del mismo modo, constituyen una

ventana a través de la cuál éstas mujeres privadas de libertad conceptual en la expresión del "yo" pueden construir su identidad y establecer su igualdad con los hombres en todas las áreas de la vida, principalmente en aquellas que tradicionalmente se consideran subjetivas. Desde la línea sociocognitiva de estudio en esta Tesis, aspectos como éste son muy importantes por caracterizar rasgos conceptuales de una especificidad cultural en la construcción de significado, valor y emoción por parte de estas mujeres bereberes. Aunque no es éste el que mapeamos en este trabajo, ya lo estamos analizando en profundidad con modelos de esquematización desarrollados desde la Gramática Cognitiva de Langacker (2000).

Desde el punto de vista artístico, las mujeres del Rif parecen tener una gran capacidad para combinar varias expresiones, no sólo para producir significado sino también música, a raíz de una combinación coherente de lexemas. La música impacta en el oyente y produce un sentimiento sublime. La rima, que en un principio sirve a propósitos estéticos, se convierte en procesos cognitivos para los que inicialmente no fue concebida. En otras palabras, del tono de la hablante y de la musicalidad que emana del final de las palabras, el oyente infiere algo significativo que no existe ni en las formas de diccionario de las palabras habladas ni en las escritas.

Por otro lado, la creación de un *izran* exige un uso especial del lenguaje, diferente del que se usa en el lenguaje escrito. Por ejemplo, si analizamos varios *izran* de diferentes temas nos daremos cuenta de la simplicidad de su arquitectura y su lenguaje. A pesar de su figuratividad, el lenguaje de los *izran* es fundamentalmente directo. Los efectos que produce se basan en el uso de algunas palabras claves que generan en los oyentes diversos sentimientos y emociones. Pensamientos complejos se

expresan en un *izri* con extremada y sorprendente simplicidad. Además, para evitar malas interpretaciones se suele informar al oyente acerca del contexto y la situación en el que se produce el *izri*.

Además, en general las mujeres bereberes se caracterizan por hábitos de simplicidad y claridad expresiva. Cuando se inspiran en los diferentes acontecimientos sociales que tienen lugar en su entorno y crean un *izri* para expresar sus sentimientos, deseos, o sus puntos de vista, o cuando desean inmortalizar un hecho histórico, tienen la capacidad cognitiva y la habilidad lingüística necesaria para comunicar estos hechos mediante un lenguaje simple y eficiente que permite la compresión del oyente. Esta comunicación no sólo se hace efectiva a través del lenguaje usado que contiene ciertas propiedades que van más allá de la estructura del nivel oracional, sino también mediante todas las posibles inferencias que cada oyente pueda hacer, que bioculturalmente son el producto del conocimiento adquirido en interacción con su entorno social. En el discurso mutuo el factor fundamental es el conocimiento mutuo que surge de las experiencias anteriores compartidas por el hablante y el oyente (Emmott 2004:4).

Catherine Emmott quiere aquí hacernos entender que nuestra interpretación y comprensión de un constructo social, como para nosotros el *izri*, se basa en el conocimiento afianzado de normas y situaciones sociales compartidas. En nuestro estudio es esencial entender que la comprensión de un *izri* no sólo se basa en la comprensión de las palabras individuales sino en el nexo que nuestra mente establece entre los diferentes eventos del texto. De este modo surge un tipo cooperación entre el hablante y el oyente/intérprete. Nuestro estudio es el primero en la historia del bereber que propone un análisis constructivista desde los últimos avances interdisciplinarios en

cognición, lengua y sociedad (Frank et al. 2007, Sinha 2007, Tomasello 2008). El hablante produce un lenguaje que se ajusta a las necesidades del oyente y éste, a su vez, ha de ser capaz de procesar la información o las intenciones pretendidas por el hablante (C. Emmott 2004:7). Chafe Wallace (1994:278) habla de un tipo de interacción que tiene lugar entre lo que ocurre en la mente del hablante y la valoración de lo que ocurre en la mente del oyente: Entre los dos, hablante y oyente, surge un tipo de convergencia. El hablante produce un lenguaje en un determinado nivel y la mente de ambos, hablante y oyente, procesa diferentes cosas en diferentes niveles. Según los psicólogos cognitivos, estas representaciones juegan un papel fundamental en el procesamiento del lenguaje. Hoy son muchos los investigadores dedicados a la construcción cognitiva de dinámicas de coordinación en diálogos. Es decir, al análisis de los mecanismos que hacen posible la comunicación humana, algo que hoy por hoy es para nosotros una línea de investigación interdisciplinar prioritaria tanto a nivel global como local, en particular si se trata de una lengua/cultura que prácticamente no ha sido estudiada con profundidad académica hasta el momento. Éste trabajo parte de esa pregunta de cómo compartimos los mismos significados de palabras y enunciados y cómo los adaptamos a nuestro pensamiento individual. Superamos aquí consideraciones clásicas como ese idealismo platónico transcendental que compartimos independiente de la cognición individual y del uso del lenguaje (Frege 1948); o las relaciones lingüísticas inmanentes de Saussure (1959). Partimos aquí de la noción de estructuras corporeizadas de Lakoff & Johnson (1999) como fundamentación de aspectos invariantes de significado.

Como se verá más adelante, el lenguaje "poético" de los *izran* no dista mucho del de la prosa regular del bereber-tarifit. El poeta, que domina su lengua materna, no

necesita aprender artificios vanguardistas sobre cómo organizar las palabras para que produzcan musicalidad; podríamos decir que es un proceso vanguardista natural aún no valorado institucionalmente. Las construcciones lingüísticas y su organización prototípica, independientemente del tema tratado, dotan a las construcciones poéticas de una estética que puede explicarse en el nivel de la forma por medio de alguna rigurosa disciplina artística.

Aquí analizaremos alguno de los *izran* selectos en un intento de describir cómo el pareado tarifit utiliza los recursos de la imaginación, de la libertad y de la personalidad; no sólo la personalidad de una única mujer, sino la de un grupo sociocultural concreto. En este tipo de poemas populares cortos, la realidad se representa a través de la imaginación del poeta y su afectividad. El estatus general de la Literatura con mayúsculas entra aquí en juego. Como se verá más adelante, la literatura es libre, goza de libertad total para tratar y expresar cualquier tema. El poeta en principio no está limitado por la verdad histórica, ya que la literatura como muestra de procesos narrativos humanos y formas poiéticas, es la institucionalización de la imaginación relativa (Guerra 2012). El poeta expresa, a través de estas producciones poéticas, su visión del mundo, sus valores, creencias y sueños. Y, dado que se trata de un producto sociocultural de la imaginación, las composiciones poéticas expresan también cierta ideología. Ésta se encuentra difuminada en la dinámica conceptual del texto poético.

Teniendo en cuenta el hecho de que en este trabajo se van a tratar los *izran* desde una perspectiva cognitiva, me gustaría remarcar el hecho de que cada *izri* tarifit de la cultura

bereber-tamazight del Rif marroquí es un texto en sí mismo que necesita ser explorado con principios, métodos y modelos avanzados para poder descubrir lo que de conceptual se esconde detrás de las combinaciones de palabras y enunciados que lo conforman. Queremos descubrir cómo una vez producido el *izri* deja de ser autónomo y hablante y oyente son responsables de su interpretación. La interpretación más frecuente sería la pragmática, puesto que los mismos fenómenos que operan en el nivel semántico están presentes también en el pragmático (Teun Van Dijk, 1977).

Cada *izri* es un mundo. Nos habla sobre la mente y la cultura humanas desde el punto de vista de una mujer bereber. Nos proporciona información específica sobre algún tema. Puede entretener, preocupar o hacer llorar. Un *izri* puede producir una atmósfera alegre o lúgubre. Puede decepcionar o ilusionar. Además puede crear en los oyentes sentimientos de resentimiento, enfado, miedo, desilusión, rechazo o indiferencia. La comprensión del *izri* y sus reacciones ante él provocan en el oyente estos sentimientos y emociones. La pregunta que surge de este sistema complejo es la siguiente: ¿Hace referencia el *izri* a algo externo a sí mismo? Algunos investigadores como Bloom (1999) defienden la idea de que toda forma de arte describe el mundo interno de las emociones y aspiraciones humanas, donde ninguna videocámara puede penetrar. Otros como Abrams (1953) piensan que el texto puede hacer referencia tanto al mundo físico como al de los objetos mentales del lenguaje (citado en G. Steen, 2003:163). G. Steen (2003), por su parte, considera el arte como una lámpara que ilumina y no como un espejo que únicamente muestra un reflejo. Del mismo modo que una lámpara tiene su propia luz, el oyente/intérprete asimila lo que oye a través de lo que conoce. Uno de los tratado que más profundizan desde los avances cognitivos en la

mente artística es Turner, ed. (2008). En este compendio se muestran las distintas dinámicas de elevada complejidad que activa la enacción (Varela 1992) de lo que llamamos arte.

Hoy en día, la poética cognitiva (Guerra 2010) ofrece una gran variedad de metodologías que pueden usarse para dar sentido compartido a nuestro mundo en general y aquí al mundo del *izri* en particular. Muchos y diversos fenómenos lingüísticos se mezclan entre ellos y con gran variedad de otros fenómenos cognitivos de distintas modalidades; y todos ellos están impulsados por la misma fuerza: dar sentido común al mundo. Como humanos, las experiencias adquiridas en nuestro entorno las expresamos mediante un lenguaje comprensible. Este conocimiento lingüístico se basa en datos provenientes de los sentidos y está condicionado por parámetros de experiencia humana corpórea (Janda 2008). Entender nuestras experiencias nos otorga la capacidad de expresar lingüísticamente aquello que hemos entendido. Además de estas experiencias corpóreas, adquirimos otro tipo de experiencias a través del pensamiento abstracto, la imaginación o las emociones. La compresión de conceptos abstractos se realiza principalmente mediante la metáfora, por ejemplo: amor es fuego, el amor es un viaje, la vida es un viaje, el tiempo es dinero, etc. Esta herramienta cognitiva nos proporciona la capacidad de asimilar un sistema completo de relaciones a la vez.

Como se ha dicho anteriormente, vamos a tratar los *izran* desde la perspectiva de la lingüística cognitiva, concretamente desde la semántica cognitiva, de tal manera que podamos extraer de ellos los significados conceptuales o conceptos. Como bien es sabido, el significado se extrae de expresiones lingüísticas tales como frases, palabras o

morfemas. Al término lingüístico se le inyecta vida y esa vida es considerada como la energía que impulsa el motor del lenguaje (Janda, 2008:7), pero el significado no está en el termino lingüístico sino que surge de un cumulo de experiencias culturales además (Bernárdez 2002).

1.1. OBJETIVO DEL ESTUDIO.

El presente estudio se concentra en un área delimitada, conocida como Kelaia, en la zona del Rif Marroquí. Investiga el papel social de los *izran* en la transmisión de la cultura, el conocimiento, los valores y organización de la tribu y la familia. Como ya hemos apuntado, sólo los *izran* permiten a la mujer Rifeña, que vive en una sociedad dominada por el género masculino, criticar a la sociedad, influir en los hombres, hacerse conocer por otra tribu, anunciar un compromiso o rechazar un pretendiente sin ser castigada. Con los *izran*, la mujer rifeña encontró, puede que haga ahora milenios, un medio igualitario a través del cual puede defender su honor y decir en voz alta aquello que la inquieta. Éste hecho nos indujo a pensar que podrían revelar conceptualizaciones específicas de conceptos altamente abstractos. Por ello, además de buscar posibles expresiones que han existido en el pasado y que pueden estar fosilizadas en estos pareados orales, nos hemos propuesto estudiarlos desde la perspectiva de la Poética y la Lingüística Cognitiva como enunciados activados en un entorno popular. Aplicamos los avances realizados en estas disciplinas para entender y describir los motivos emotivos y mentales básicos que subyacen al hecho de ocuparse de la construcción de la ficción como parte fundamental de la evolución humana. Los desarrollos de las ciencias cognitivas nos proveen de suficiente material y técnicas para estudiar estas versiones poéticas desde la perspectivas biológicas y socioculturales de las ciencias cognitivas que contribuirán sin duda conocimiento esencial a otras perspectivas que están muy

establecidas como la psicolingüística o neo-historicismo. Aunque aún no se haya realizado ningún estudio de ningún producto de la cultura Tamazight en ninguna de sus variantes lingüísticas desde ninguno de estos enfoques, nuestro objetivo es tratar de demostrar que los *izran* pueden aportar datos conceptuales importantes no tanto a la poesía universal como a la organización biocultural del ser humano. Esta hipótesis metodológica viene avalado por el hecho de que el paradigma cognitivo nos provee desde los 1990s de suficiente material y técnicas para comprender los mecanismos cognitivos implicados en los procesos bioculturales de conceptualización. Nuestra intención es aportar datos prácticos desde el estudio del tarifit y su cultura bereber-tamazight. Intentamos demostrar la urgente necesidad de discutir nuevas aproximaciones y percepciones que nos puedan guiar hacia una comprensión mejor de la construcción triádica de categorías conceptuales (significado, emoción y valor) que desde los niveles preconceptual y prelingüístico se revela finalmente enunciada y expresada en los *izran*. Nos mueve académicamente y nos conmueve culturalmente la idea de poder descubrir en los *izran* un verdadero potencial generador de progreso de la rica aunque abatida sociedad bereber en todas sus variantes socioculturales.

1.2. METODOLOGIA.

Para aquellas personas que no están familiarizadas con los *izran*, hemos proporcionado una descripción muy detallada de estas versiones poéticas, para posibilitarles aunque brevemente, entender algunos puntos de orientación teórica. Los *izran* encapsulan una serie de elementos relacionados con el lenguaje y el pensamiento (esquemas de

imágenes, metáforas o marcos) en un modelo del pensamiento cultural. Este tipo de análisis resalta la relación entre lo cognitivo y lo cultural. La metodología esta anclada en varias disciplinas cognitivas. El problema puede ser tratado desde el punto de vista de varias disciplinas cognitivas, pero debido a este gran bagaje en juego, lo más productivo es no menospreciar otras teorías. Seguramente ciertos puntos de vista recibirán menos atención que otros. Nuestra estrategia consiste en presentar las principales teorías que proporcionan una información útil de base en nuestro objetivo de crear un espacio nuevo de conocimiento del bereber y sus posibilidades de desarrollo social.

1.3. POR QUÉ *IZRAN*

Cuando terminé mis cursos de doctorado sobre estudios cognitivos del lenguaje y la cultura, pensé que ésta era una oportunidad única de rehabilitar y dar a conocer la historia perdida del Rif tal y como aparece hoy por hoy conceptualmente organizada y lingüísticamente evidenciada en los *izran*. Ya entonces recibí consejos de mi profesora y supervisora la Doctora Guerra para tratar algunos aspectos relacionados con la cultura oral del Rif Bereber. Enseguida nos percatamos de la singularidad de los *izran* y desde entonces no hemos dejado de realizar algún tipo de investigación sobre ellos tratando de buscar datos - fósiles bioculturales en forma de lengua que en nuestro grupo de Poética Cognitiva de la ULPGC llamamos *méntiles* (Guerra 2009). En un principio estuve un poco indeciso sobre qué hacer, cómo hacerlo y hasta dónde podría contribuir este

trabajo a mi intención de iniciar una tendencia realmente pragmática de estudio del bereber. La escasez de soporte escrito supuso desde el principio serias dificultades. Por ello empezamos a recolectar un corpus en trabajo de campo realizado en Kelaia. Aparte de las grabaciones directas, la inestimable ayuda que encontré en mis informantes hizo que la tarea resultara mucho menos ardua de lo esperado. Mis informantes han sido variados: Mujeres de avanzada edad me informaron de formas antiguas y sobre el contexto de producción de los *izran*; algunas muchachas del entorno familiar, las más imaginativas y con buen conocimiento del tema me contaron sus experiencias. Sus visiones y artificios expresivos resultaron de gran valor para mí en particular cuando me mostraron el truco de cambiar una palabra en la estructura del *izri* para así cambiar su significado y poder adecuarlo a sus intereses y propósitos. Ahora me doy cuenta que siempre he estado en contacto con los *izran* sin advertir el interés humano real de los mismos y que desearía poner de manifiesto en este y en sucesivos trabajos. Su transcendencia antropológica y cultural será desvelada aquí analizando la construcción de su significado conceptual (corporeizado, situado, distribuido y sinérgico). Consideremos el siguiente *izri*:

> *Preciosa paloma blanca que estás en lo alto de las rocas de la montaña*
> *No te aburras ni te entristezcas, pronto te crecerán las alas.*

La primera propiedad sociocultural a notar es que ya no importa tanto averiguar si la poeta es objetiva o subjetiva, lo importante es que la descripción que hace no es independiente de la realidad externa. Por un lado tenemos el marco de una paloma que no puede volar y por el otro lado tenemos el de la actual situación de la mujer Rifeña. La terminología utilizada en el *izri* nos guía a este tipo de proyección de la imaginación. Como dice Fauconnier (1997:187) "[W]hen language occurs, meaning

directly ensues, and therefore that meaning is straightforwardly contained in language". Estos poemas populares se producen de forma cantada acompañados de música y danza. Cuando se producen en una boda, un grupo de mujeres empieza cantando a coro un estribillo que se repite varias veces antes de que una de ellas empiece su *izri*. Este peculiar estribillo precede a la improvisación del pareado.

Yarah- layara, yarah laboya

Yarah- layara, yarah laboya

Este estribillo está tan afianzado conceptualmente, tan automatizado en la memoria colectiva de la cultura Tamazight que existen muchas contradicciones sobre el significado de estos sonidos. Para algunos son insignificantes en el sentido literal, para otros se trata de un mito que habla de dos reinas Rifeñas llamadas Yara y Boya que fueron asesinadas por los primeros conquistadores. Sea cual sea la interpretación que aceptemos no cambia el hecho de que yara la yara- yara laboya (como lamento de una desaparición) se ha establecido como una medida rítmica para cualquier *izri*; si atendemos a las teorías poéticas cognitivas de Reuven Tsur (2000) esta propiedad fonética cognitivamente formaría parte de su construcción semántica.

1.4. POSICIÓN SOCIAL DE LA MUJER RIFEÑA

La situación social y geográfica que caracteriza la sociedad rifeña es de suma importancia en la comprensión de la posición social de la mujer y su rol en la transmisión del lenguaje y la cultura. En esta sociedad dominada por el género masculino, cuando una persona nace, su sexo es la marca de su posición social. Las

mujeres no sólo son distintas a los hombres fisiológicamente, sino que son consideradas inferiores. Hasta hace poco tiempo no se les permitía ir al colegio, introduciéndolas así en el mundo de la mujer adulta a una edad muy temprana. A partir de los 12 años, una niña tiene que aprender a lavar ropa, llevar el ganado al abrevadero, aprender a cocinar y a cuidar de los miembros más pequeños de la familia. Es precisamente a esta edad cuando las niñas empiezan a aprender *izran* como ejercicio mental para dominar el lenguaje, que más adelante utilizarán como un arma muy poderosa para expresar sus inquietudes, defender su honor y criticar a la sociedad.

A cierta edad, entre la adolescencia y la madurez, a las niñas se las separa de los hombres. El contacto con los hombres sólo es posible con miembros de la familia. Históricamente esta segregación empezó como resultado de la doctrina islámica impuesta por los árabes a partir del siglo séptimo. La adopción de la nueva identidad es el resultado de un largo proceso en el cuál la construcción y la organización de la identidad de los géneros fueron reconstruidas como resultado de la introducción de una nueva forma de organizar el entorno familiar y social. La construcción de la identidad no será en los sucesivo la misma para los hombres y las mujeres porque las diferencias elaboradas por la sociedad árabe no otorgan la misma consideración a los dos sexos. Esta Tesis intenta ser plataforma de lanzamiento investigador de cómo con el paso del tiempo la gente bereber empieza a adaptar sus comportamientos y sus identidades a los modelos creados por la sociedad árabe para los hombres y las mujeres. Socioculturalmente, ser mujer significará una realidad totalmente distinta a la de ser hombre, lo que podría considerarse cognitivamente en términos de *habitus* (Bordieu 1994, Bernárdez 2008) de esta comunidad habitada por la cultura árabe; a su vez podría

reflejarse en la práctica de cantar izaran de manera que estos podrían revelar procesos cognitivos profundos de enganche forma-significado (Brandt 1994). Nuestra hipótesis es que esta situación filológica, ontológica y cultural, puede haber intensificado en las mujeres rifeñas un rasgo expresivo de elocuencia. Siempre se han caracterizado por la capacidad de utilizar el poder de la palabra de una manera muy especial: a través de los *izran*, y aunque no disfruten de los mismos derechos que los hombres, parecen haber desarrollado una manera de decir todo aquello que les interesa en la prohibida primera persona y sin temor a represalias.

1.5. COMPONER IZRAN

A las jóvenes rifeñas les son asignadas nuevas tareas dependiendo de la edad. Generalmente una joven pasa el día entre las actividades de cuidar el ganado, lavar la ropa, ayudar a preparar la comida, o cuidar de sus gallinas cuyos huevos le pueden aportar algo de dinero. Mientras ejercen su labor suelen improvisar cantando para no aburrirse. Este aprendizaje constituye un arma muy poderosa que toda mujer utiliza en la defensa de su honor, de su dignidad, o para atacar a un adversario, criticar la sociedad o simplemente lanzar una idea y dejar que los demás la discutan y evalúen. A la edad adulta es casi imposible encontrar a una joven que no sepa componer o improvisar *izran* sobre la marcha. Más que un deber es una obligación componer *izran*. Los *izran* que aprenden en su juventud les sirven para desarrollarse y componer los suyos propios en procesos de intertextualidad natural que por su complejidad serán investigados en un

trabajo posterior a esta Tesis, lo mismo que la organización del género narrativo citada más arriba. Como hemos visto, las chicas son introducidas en el mundo de componer *izran* al mismo tiempo que se les introduce en el mundo de las mujeres adultas. Su dedicación a este arte es muy importante porque como ya hemos dicho es el único medio que más adelante puede utilizar para expresarse en primera persona y decir todo aquello que les esta prohibido decir de otras maneras. Esta realidad conceptual-lingüística ha hecho que el aprendizaje, producción y dominio de los *izran* se haya convertido en un deber sagrado de todas las mujeres Rifeñas. En este *izri* vemos como la poeta ataca a una adversaria.

Original Tarifit

Inay atham nigh r har wam itaqas

Aghambub n tadjunt isifif anakhar

"Inay atham inigh wam itaqas r´har

Aghambub n´tadjunt sifif anakhar."

Traducción literal al español:

Dime y te digo, pero no te ofendas

Cara del cedazo cribar salvado

Traducción literal al inglés:

Tell me I tell you, don´t feel offended

Face of the sieve, sift the barn

Traducción al español:

Démonos dimes y diretes, pero procura no picarte,

La cara del cedazo sirve para cribar el salvado.

Traducción al inglés:

Bicker with me, but try not to be naughty

The face of a sieve serves to sift the bran.

Al mismo tiempo que ataca a su adversaria, indirectamente nos confirma su belleza y su estatus social. Ésta indirectamente está relacionada con la cebada y su adversaria con el salvado.

Alcanzando la edad adulta, es casi imposible encontrar una joven que no sepa componer *izran*. La esperanza es que todas sean buenas poetas, quizás como salvaguarda auto-organizada de su condición de mujer en una sociedad que prioriza al hombre; en éste sentido podría ser un rasgo biocultural adaptativo que analizaremos en estudios posteriores. Aunque al principio suele ser difícil componer Izaran; insisten en almacenar y memorizar mucho y este entrenamiento mental les facilita producir sus propios poemas en procesos sociocognitivos y conceptuales adaptativos. La capacidad de significado emergente de estos poemas improvisados resultantes hace que los utilicen para competir, atraer la atención de un pretendiente, contar sus experiencias, criticar la sociedad y la tribu a la que pertenece, o simplemente lanzar una idea y dejar que los demás opinen y evalúen. Es decir, para comunicar aquellos aspectos más trascendentes de sus vidas como mujeres.

En este trabajo, para comunicar con mayor amplitud el contenido de un *izri*, hemos optado por ofrecer una traducción literal en español, otra en inglés y una traducción final al español y otra al inglés, además de una transcripción tarifit del *izri* en la variante tifina.

1.6. FORMA DE PRODUCIR *IZRAN*

En todo acto de *izri* existen dos colocaciones principales:

1. Las mujeres se sientan formando un círculo; utilizando las manos y unos tamborines empiezan a cantar el estribillo que se repite al principio de cada *izri*:

   Yara layara yara laboya
   Yara la yara yara laboya

   Después de este enunciado de gran intensidad fonética y musical (lo que hace que parezca cantado) una de las jóvenes al azar improvisa su *izri* con la intención de ser la mejor. Si el *izri* es juzgado como excelente las mujeres mayores, que a modo de tribunal se suelen sentar muy cerca, empiezan a ulular un sonido con la siguiente característica tonal "yu yu yu". Enseguida se repite el estribillo y otra joven espontáneamente crea otro *izri* con la intención de que sea el mejor y así sucesivamente.
2. Las jóvenes forman dos líneas paralelas de un número que depende de las asistentes a cada celebración. Cuando empiezan a cantar el estribillo, un grupo

> se mueve un paso hacia atrás y el que está de frente un paso hacia delante; inmediatamente después el movimiento se realiza en la dirección opuesta. Cuando este movimiento se ha efectuado una joven de uno de los grupos, luciendo su mejor vestimenta y su mejor voz, canta un *izri*, esta vez en presencia de varones. Si la audiencia valora bien el *izri* aplauden.

Esta es la ocasión que cada una de ellas ha estado esperando con ilusión. Es una buena ocasión para anunciar un compromiso o romper una relación, también es una oportunidad para decir todo aquello que la inquieta sin temor, como criticar a la tribu o su modo de vida. Pero también aquellas que están comprometidas tienen que tener mucho cuidado con los *izran* que cantan ya que pueden herir la sensibilidad de sus prometidos y fácilmente perderlos.

La mujer que canta *izran* en una boda, no lo hace con la única intención de divertirse; lo hace esencialmente como una construcción cultural social, una estrategia para defenderse o atacar a una persona adversaria. No hay otra forma más efectiva que los *izran* para dirigirse de modo sincero y abierto a la comunidad. La libertad de criticar, rechazar, aportar una idea, defenderse, atacar, anunciar un compromiso o rechazar un pretendiente esta garantizada en los *izran*. Todas las jóvenes independientemente de sus estatus social gozan de esta libertad de expresión mientras dure la fiesta. Es su mejor momento y su única oportunidad de hablar en primera persona y decir todo aquello que les plazca sin temor. El proceso socializador en el que se han iniciado ahora les sirve para cumplir su rol como mujeres adultas. Nuestra hipótesis desde el principio de esta

investigación fue que ésta realidad sociocultural del bereber de esta zona tendrá profundas implicaciones en las cuestiones claves de investigación sociocognitiva planteadas en el ensayo general de Bernárdez (2008), los dos ensayos claves de Tomasello (2003 y 2008), o por los artículos recogidos en Frank et al (2008), entre otros muchos hoy por hoy. Núñez & Sweetser (2006) las resumen de forma clara: "How fully shared are bodily grounded motivations for universal cognitive patterns, what makes a rare pattern emerge, and what are the cultural entailments of such patterns?"

Todas estas cuestiones constituyen la fundamentación de nuestro trabajo aquí y a largo plazo.

1.7. ALMACENAMIENTO Y TRANSMISIÓN DE LOS *IZRAN*

Este arte popular Rifeño está almacenado y salvaguardado en la memoria colectiva. La contribución de la mujer a través del tiempo y en diferentes contextos y situaciones le ha valido el derecho de proclamarse como autoridad monopolizadora de este arte popular. La capacidad de improvisación de estas mujeres rifeñas tiene mucho que decir sobre la cultura, el lenguaje, y la capacidad humana para el pensamiento simbólico en un entorno de elevada analfabetización. Una de las características específicas de estas mujeres es su capacidad de producir arte sin haber nunca estudiado el arte de narratología o dominar el pensamiento abstracto y las convenciones relacionadas al acto de producir poesía. El hecho de dominar su lengua materna es suficiente garantía para alcanzar una de las mejores creaciones humanas "la literatura", que no es otra cosa para este estudio sociocognitivo que construcciones de significado que nos permiten

aprender lo mejor de la conducta humana. Sus versiones poéticas no solo representan su visión del mundo; también funcionan como un modo de propagar la cultura bereber y una manera de hablar de política, literatura, filosofía u otros temas cotidianos como el amor romántico, la brujería, o experiencias personales.

Cuando están enfrascadas en la labor de producir *izran*, estas mujeres no suelen aburrir su audiencia con *izran* ya muy conocidos. De hecho estas producciones artísticas tienen un doble fin: (1) mantener este arte improvisador vivo para varias generaciones, (2) expresar sus deseos o sus acuerdos y desacuerdos con los asuntos que les afectan directa u indirectamente sin miedo alguno a represalias. Consideremos el siguiente *izri*:

Original Tarifit:

thakad khafi thaathu sadfine tha ziza

Awar wa thassiwir raaqar inu yathwa

“thakad khafi thaathu sadfin tha ziza

Awar wa thassiwir, raaqar inu yathwa”

Traducción literal al inglés:

Walked she over me move away with dress blue

Talk not she talks mind mine flew.

Traducción literal al español:

Pasar ella sobre mí mover lejos con azul vestido

Hablar no ella hablar, mente mía voló.

Traducción al inglés:

She walked past me with her blue dress

She didn´t say a word and my mind flew.

Traducción al español:

Pasó a mi lado con su vestido azul

Palabra no dijo, mi mente voló.

El oyente instintivamente percibe la diferencia entre el lenguaje poético y el utilizado en otros géneros narrativos. En el *izri*, la escena de dos amantes que se cruzan en la calle se describe desde el punto de vista del varón. Para una mejor comprensión el oyente activa mentalmente una escena de amor.

El uso de "yo" o "mi" es una indicación de un cambio de referencia personal. La poeta parece compartir el mundo de sus protagonistas y adopta provisionalmente la personalidad del protagonista. El pronombre reflexivo "mi" indica una integración del poeta con sus protagonistas mediante la voz poética. El impacto es psicológico y el oyente, como un observador independiente, da alas a su imaginación para imaginar y conceptualizar lo que esta pasando en la mente del protagonista. Aunque aquél no puede experimentar sus vivencias, cognitivamente se experimenta a sí mismo experimentando esa realidad de mujer bereber.

En el *izri* que estamos considerando en este apartado, se produce un cambio abrupto desde una descripción externa (como la ropa de la amante) y sus actitudes a

una descripción interna (mi mente voló). Este tipo de cambio pasa desapercibido en declaraciones descriptivas cortas. La emoción parece jugar un papel importante en los *izran*. Las emociones, como han demostrado neurobiólogos como Antonio Damasio y otros teóricos de la emoción como cognición, parecen poseer una influencia esencial sobre la conducta humana. Este poema, por ejemplo, puede producir alegría en algunos y pena en otros. La pregunta de partida aquí es: ¿Es el lenguaje lo que ejerce estos efecto o algún otro elemento escondido en el lenguaje de estos poemas populares del Rif?

Para comprender el *izri*, el oyente evalúa la información recibida en el poema comparándola con sus experiencias previas. Su modelo del mundo emana de sus experiencias personales en un proceso cognitivo adaptativo y biocultural. El intérprete crea un mundo que se ajusta a sus experiencias personales. Pensamos que un *izri* consiste básicamente en un mensaje enunciado, la exposición de una idea, o la descripción de una situación capaz de generar una emoción en la audiencia. Su autenticidad radica en el hecho de que un *izri* tiene que tener algo de verdad y comunicarla con autenticidad. La verdad y la credibilidad son elementos substanciales de un buen *izri*.

Así, la producción de un *izri* requiere la presencia de un oyente que va a relacionar la realidad del poema con la realidad actual. El lenguaje utilizado en su elaboración, los gestos del hablante y sus movimientos pueden reflejar la experiencia subjetiva del sujeto que en realidad determina su modelo general. Como en los poemas breves de las vanguardias europeas del s. XX, los *izran* pueden parecer muy simples pero cuando intentamos dilucidar su lenguaje (significado, emoción y valor) nos

resultan más complejos de lo esperado. Un *izri* siempre se produce también con la intención de decir algo intenso sobre la condición humana, por lo que todo intento por describir su lenguaje es necesario.

A continuación traemos a colación un ejemplo de que el lenguaje de un *izri* y su arquitectura son aparentemente muy simples pero muy complejos en la situación sociocultural en la que se enuncian:

Original Tarifit:

Khalinakum ala khir rahbab ya ithuran

Kaniw thanuqarth nashin duro yasfa

"khalinakum ala khir rahbab ya ithuran

Kaniw tha nuqarth nashin duro ysfa"

Traducción literal al español:

Dejamos a vos sobre el bien queridos suegros

Vosotros la plata nosotros moneda limpia

Traducción literal al inglés:

Let you over good dear fathers in law

You are silver we the clean coin.

Traducción al español:

Sobre vosotros el bien, oh queridos parientes y suegros

Vosotros sois la plata, nosotros la brillante moneda.

Traducción al inglés:

The good be on you, oh dears and fathers in law

You're the silver and we the shining coin.

El lenguaje utilizado en este *izri* es muy simple; sus efectos, considerados aquí como significados emergentes, se basan en el uso de algunas palabras claves como " plata, brillante moneda". Esta descripción metafórica del estatus y la belleza produce efectos emocionales en los oyentes.

Para la Poética Cognitiva actual en todas sus variantes teóricas (Freeman 2007), la literatura en sus diversas manifestaciones es una forma específica de conceptualización cognitiva adaptativa de las experiencias cotidianas de las personas. Este hecho nos permite comprender cómo las fuentes del intérprete se han modificado con el paso del tiempo y con ello nuestra percepción del mundo. La poética cognitiva ofrece abundante material para entender el fenómeno de los *izran* con referencia a procesos cognitivos. Hoy tenemos a nuestra disposición varias disciplinas científicas que unen esfuerzos para explicar el lenguaje, su función y los significados que emergen de su uso. Prácticamente todo lo que respecta a la realidad sociocultural de Rif es analizable desde el procesamiento de palabras a la activación de esquemas de imágenes, o todo lo relativo al hecho biocultural de que nuestra comprensión del mundo contiene imágenes, sentimientos, o actos sociales (Turner 1991).

Como las mujeres Rifeñas son analfabetas funcionales en su inmensa mayoría, su lenguaje tan simple pero tan cargado de significados conceptuales se produce para unos consumidores de las mismas características. Cuando están inspiradas y producen un *izri* para inmortalizar un evento o expresar un sentimiento, comunican sus ideas a través de un lenguaje simple y eficiente para facilitar a los oyentes la comprensión de un *izri*, no solamente basándose sobre el lenguaje utilizado y que contiene algunas propiedades que van mas allá del nivel estructural de la oración (Emmott 2004), sino también sobre todas las inferencias que se pueden hacer y que son el producto de un conocimiento cultural compartido (Tomasello 2008)

1.8. HISTORIA EN *IZRAN*

Aunque las mujeres Rifeñas se inspiran en hechos históricos, a la hora de inmortalizar un evento, utilizan un lenguaje donde mezclan sentimientos subjetivos con la realidad histórica. Simplemente no pueden librarse de su ego y ser objetivas; la subjetividad produce efectos emocionales, y este hecho es el principal asunto y el más universal de todos los poetas. Ver el siguiente *izri*:

Original Tarifit.

A thuyagh a thuyagh huma yuhray u thar

A sithi lif inu umi guigh r khathar

“a thuyagh a thuyagh huma yuhray uthar

Sithi lif inu umi guigh r´khathar”

Traducción literal al español:

Caminar yo, caminar yo hasta cansar mío pie

Querido amor mío a quien complacer yo.

Traducción literal al inglés:

Walk me, walk me till tired mine foot

Dear love mine whom I pleased.

Traducción al español:

Voy a caminar caminar hasta la extenuación de mis pies,

Ay de mi Amor. Ay, a quien he complacido.

Traducción al inglés:

I m going to walk, walk till my feet are tired

Oh my beloved. Oh to whom I pleased.

La emoción genera un ambiente psicológico muy intenso. El oyente es consciente de cierta inestabilidad emocional y mental. La intensidad de la emoción es lo primero que percibimos.

Como en la Edad Media, en la zona del Rif la historia vivida en propia carne se sigue contando hoy en forma de poesía oral, porque es la mejor y más fácil de las maneras de transmitirla de una generación a otra, por su oralidad y sus efectos comunicativos. Como ha ocurrido siempre, en muchos *izran* no sabemos dónde termina

la realidad fáctica, la tradicional objetividad, y dónde empieza la leyenda, la tradicional subjetividad. Esto los convierte en enunciados aún más interesantes para un estudio cognitivo. Las mujeres amazight a veces narran hechos inventados, o cuentan hechos distorsionados por la imaginación colectiva, pero creen o al menos quieren hacernos creer que son verídicos; de hecho lo son siempre en lo que tienen de construcción sociocultural del punto de vista de estas mujeres bereberes. Es difícil hacer una distinción entre hechos históricos y ficción. La frontera entre los dos es muy difusa. La simple comprensión de estos *izran* de una manera colaborativa hace de ellos una *comunidad de práctic*a en el sentido de Bourdieu (1994, citado en Bernárdez 2008).

1.9. ASPECTOS COMPOSITIVOS GENERALES DEL IZRI

A nivel cognitivo, cada *izri*, puede considerarse un mundo en si mismo, porque demuestra una representación de las mujeres rifeñas desde una producción comunicativa en tiempo real (online). De esta forma práctica, en la que semántica se equipara a pragmática, un *izri* puede contarnos algo nuevo sobre la mente humana en general, desde producciones locales de la vida y la cultura de esta comunidad. Emocionalmente, nos puede entretener, entristecer o hacernos llorar. Un *izri* puede tener un ambiente agradable o asfixiante. Un *izri* puede producir en nosotros un sentimiento de resentimiento, ira, miedo, desilusión, rechazo o indiferencia. Entender un *izri* y nuestras reacciones hacia éste es un proceso que evoca en nosotros estos sentimientos y emociones. Utilizando el paradigma cognitivo, nos sentimos capacitados

para describir y explicar ese sentimiento interno que representa ese mundo escondido del ser humano. En resumen, partimos de la distinción que hace Steen (2003) respecto al arte como una antorcha que ilumina localidades y no como un espejo que muestra una reflexión global.

1.10. LITERATURA ORAL DEL RIF: POEMAS Y RELATOS

Cuando hablamos de la literatura Rifeña, nos referimos a la literatura oral que se manifiesta en los *izran* y los cuentos contados por mujeres cuentacuentos. Recordamos que hasta el momento no ha habido mucho trabajo investigador sobre la variante del Tarifit su cultura y su gente y que los pocos trabajos realizados han sido hasta la fecha puramente descriptivos. Recientemente grupos de estudiantes en Europa cuya lengua madre es una de las variantes del Tamazight han empezado a publicar algunos trabajos de naturaleza práctica. Como nunca ha sido una lengua de soporte escrito este hecho no ha permitido su evolución académica. Ésta ausencia de un lenguaje científico deja un vacío que vienen a cubrir otras lenguas como el árabe o el español en forma de préstamos cada vez más cuantiosos. Esta realidad se puede percibir escuchando una conversación entre dos individuos bereberes. De cada diez palabras tres son de origen árabe o español.

Los *izran* ocupan un lugar privilegiado en la cultura oral del Rif. Las jóvenes, que empiezan por memorizar el máximo número posible de *izaran* ya producidos, parecen cada vez más preparadas para introducir variantes espontáneas y crear su propio

estilo como la famosa Mimunt N Selouan; esta poeta es famosa porque tuvo la valentía de criticar a "Dios" en un *izri*, lo que muchos consideraron una blasfemia.

Original tarifit:

Aya sidi rabi jma ithan nesh

Tmanyath u liman khir swanzar nesh

"Aya sidi rabi ajma itharn nesh

Tmanyath u liman khir swanzar nesh."

Traducción literal al español:

Oh señor! recógete pies tuyos

Dinero de Alemania mejor que lluvia tuya

Traducción literal al inglés:

Oh lord! Move feet yours

Money of Germany better tan rain yours

Traducción al español:

Oh Dios recógete tus pies

El dinero de Alemania mejor que tu lluvia.

Traducción al inglés:

Oh Lord! Move out your feet

German Money is better than your rain.

Cuando estos *izran* se cantan en bodas y otras fiestas, no se producen sólo con la intención de entretenimiento, sino también para informar, criticar o ejercer una influencia sobre las decisiones que tomen los hombres. Las fuentes de inspiración son tan diversas como los intereses que pretenden exponer. Consideremos a continuación algunos ejemplos con diferentes temas, con el propósito de demostrar una posible contribución de los *izran* a la literatura universal.

1.11. EJEMPLOS DE *IZRAN* DE TEMATICA VARIADA

Durante la celebración, en el acto poético, todo hablante espera que todo oyente entienda el *izri* a través de la activación de conocimiento abstracto muy relevante (Gibbs, 2003:28). Por ejemplo el concepto "amor" se entiende a través de diferentes metáforas como el amor es un viaje, el amor es fuego o el amor es locura (Lakoff y Johnson 1980). Cuando el oyente escucha un *izri* en una ceremonia de boda, presuntamente activa sus conocimientos de las actividades normalmente asociadas al concepto amor. A este tipo de conocimiento se le ha denominado *script* (*guión*). Este consiste en unos escenarios muy bien aprendidos que describen situaciones bien estructuradas de la vida diaria. Para entender un *izri* el oyente debe decidir qué guión es mas relevante y cómo se puede modificar para adecuarse a cada situación específica. En

Tarifit podemos encontrar izaran de temática variada como la que ejemplificamos a continuación:

1.11.1. *IZRI* ROMÁNTICO

Original tarifit:

Ushayd fus nem atham inigh sh´har

Ur inu thwani nem yugha thays usha3ar

"ushayd fuss nem atham ingh sh´har

Ur inu th´wani nem yugha thays usha3ar."

Traducción literal al español:

Dame mano tuya a ti digo cuanto

Corazón mío y el tuyo encender gran fuego

Traducción literal al inglés:

Give me hand yours tell me you how much

Heart mine and yours set big fire.

Traducción al español:

Dame tus manos para decirte cuán

Tu corazón y el mío arden en llamas.

Traducción al inglés:

Give me your hands to tell you how

Your heart and mine are set on fire.

En el marco de este *izri*, dos amantes se cogen de la mano mirándose uno al otro fijamente a los ojos; este marco se reconstruye mentalmente de acuerdo con el presente contexto. El oyente entiende el *izri* simplemente creando una imagen mental de dos personas que se aman; luego utilizará sus propias experiencias como base de una interpretación del *izri*. Aquí el varón le pide a su amada que le sujete la mano para sentirla y entrar en contacto directo con ella y así decirle cuanto la quiere. Explícitamente confirma sus sentimientos hacia su amada. El varón esta tomando la iniciativa, mientras la joven sólo se supone que tiene que estrechar su mano para confirmar esta relación. El *izri* expone una emoción muy profunda del hablante. Entendiendo la metáfora AMOR ES FUEGO tenemos la percepción de que el hablante se coloca a sí mismo muy cerca de su amada. La joven con darle la mano acepta la idea de

dejarle entrar en su afecto. Vemos cómo en dos líneas, la poeta pasa de una descripción externa a otra interna, utilizando un lenguaje muy emotivo y muy simple. Esta interpretación de un oyente estándar no es muy detallada; desde ella, podremos hablar de emociones, metáforas o simbolismo que proyecten realidades socioculturales específicas.

Los siguientes temas enuncian proyecciones formalmente similares de otras categorías conceptuales de significado bereber:

1.11.2. *IZRI* HISTÓRICO

Original tarifit:

Maymi gigh rhani maymi khafi yugha
Lala thawmat inu g gharabo thanya

"maymi gigh r´hanni maymi khafi yugha
Lala thawmat inu g´gharrabo thanya"

Traducción literal al español:
Porque poner "henna" porque sobre mí brilla
Querido hermanito mío en barco subió.

Traducción literal al inglés:

Because put I “henna” why on me shine

Dear brother mine in the ship got up

Traducción al español:

Porque he puesto la henna y porque se ha abrillantado

Mi querido hermano en el barco ha embarcado.

Traducción al inglés:

Because I put henna and because it shines on me

My dear brother on the ship has boarded.

1.11.3. *IZRI* POLÍTICO

Original Tarifit

Ushayd fus nem angaath gha wathrar

Thin igha nashas gha thuthar imanan thizammar

[ushayd fus nem anga3ath gha wathrar

Thin igha nas´has gha thutharth iman3an thizammar]

Traducción literal al español

Dame mano tuya, nosotros subir a la montaña

Ahí escuchar nosotros a la vida que mantiene el poder.

Traducción literal al inglés

Give me hand yours we go up to mountain

There we listen to the life that got power.

Traducción al español

Dame tus manos para subir a lo alto de la montaña

Allí donde podemos oír las vidas que tienen el poder.

Traducción al inglés

Give me your hands, we climb up the mountain

There we can listen to the lives that got power.

1.11.4. *IZRI* SARCÁSTICO

Original Tarifit

Wi yakhsan yawi yawi yawi burahwa

Rkhathamth war ikhadam isfuruj abaatha

[wi yakhsan yawi yawi, yawi bu rahwa

R´khathmath war ikhaddam, isfaruj aba3tha]

Traducción literal al español

Quien quiere casarse, casarse, casarse con cantante

Trabajo no trabaja, entretiene por lo menos.

Traducción literal al inglés

She that wants, marry marry, marry a Singer

Work he works not, entertains at least.

Traducción al español

La que quiere casarse que se case con un trovador

Trabajo no trabaja, pero por lo menos entretiene.

Traducción al inglés

She that wants to marry, marry a troubadour

Work he likes not, but at least he entertains.

1.11.5. *IZRI* DE BRUJERÍA

Original Tarifit

Qam atay qam atay ag naanaa thrus

Inas I sus ni qa thayd thuthith gwfus

[Qam atay, qam atay ag na3na3 thrus

Inas isus ni qa thayd thuthith gwfus]

Traducción literal al español

Mueve te mueve te pon yerba buena poco

Dile carcoma esa, pronto caer en manos mios.

Traducción literal al inglés

Move tea, move tea put mint a little

Tell worm that, soon fall in hands mine.

Traducción al español

Mueve la tetera, mueve la tetera y pon poquita yerba Buena

Dile a esa carcoma que pronto caerá en mis manos.

Traducción al inglés

Shake the teapot, shake the teapot and put a Little of mint

Tell that worm soon he will fall in my hands.

1.12. LOS *IZRAN* COMO CRITICA SOCIAL

"The woman who performs her songs at wedding uses them not only as a social criticism, but as a strategy to defend herself, attack others, encourage suitors, announce

an engagement, remind young men of the tribe she is in love, shame or ridicule an unwanted swain, or justify her decision to break an engagement" (Joseph, 1980:427).

Los *izran* son percibidos como una comunicación que es a la vez interna e externa producida en forma de versos rítmicos. Esta actividad humana es muy importante porque nos permite definir quiénes somos, además de jugar un papel importante en crear un sentido de nuestro entorno y de los eventos experimentados. Nuestra presencia en una boda nos da la sensación de poder evaluar estos poemas como un fenómeno interactivo, un intercambio de significado a través del canto. Cuando un grupo de mujeres están ocupadas con los procesos de producir *izran*, nos da la sensación de que estos poemas están siendo producidos conjuntamente por todas ellas; además, el acto comunicativo de alguna manera incluye su audiencia.

Al enunciar estos poemas, la mujer Rifeña tiende a ser más subjetiva que objetiva. Generalmente los *izran* que producen suelen estar situados en el pasado o en el presente pero raramente en el futuro. Como ya hemos observado, los *izran* implican una comunicación externa e interna. Implícitamente, una comunicación a través de un *izri* existe como un proceso con un sentido cultural; explícitamente existe como una estrategia de ataque y de defensa. Internamente, hasta los hombres utilizan *izran* en ciertas situaciones para transmitir ideas, reforzar la cultura, recordar a la tribu sus valores, aconsejarles sobre cómo permanecer unidos u organizar a la familia. Externamente, sirven para dar a conocer a la tribu, magnificar el honor de su tribu, su estatus social, sus virtudes, etc.

Los *izran* implican comunicación en forma de declaración con rima. La poeta nos dice algo sobre unas experiencias vitales que son el ingrediente básico de un *izri* en

el marco de una escena que inmortaliza un evento histórico. En los *izran*, la mujer rifeña expresa su opinión libremente, en particular sobre conceptos altamente abstractos como el tiempo o la vida, por ejemplo cómo el paso del tiempo les quita sus más preciosas posesiones, su juventud, su belleza y la vida misma; lo hacen con una voz y un tono que contribuye a definir el significado conceptual.

Por otra parte, los significados que los oyentes asignan a los *izran*, están basados en la activación cognitiva de las formas lingüísticas utilizadas, por la cultura del hablante y oyente, y por el contexto de producción. Los *izran* incluyen un punto de vista y un mensaje con referencia a declaraciones morales que sirven como tema del *izri* y suscitar una emoción y un juicio de valor en los oyentes. En cada *izri*, suele haber un cambio abrupto de una descripción externa a otra interna en cuestión de una línea. El conflicto entre lo externo y lo interno es progresivo y al final resulta en una evaluación negativa o positiva de la situación.

De la audiencia, se espera que codifiquen el mensaje del hablante. En este sentido, la existencia del contexto social, el lenguaje utilizado, y la relación entre la poeta y su audiencia y sus experiencias tiene que tomarse en consideración. Ningún elemento que participa en la composición puede ser excluido, como lo lingüístico, lo contextual, lo cultural, la subjetividad, la empatía, etc.

Comprender un *izri* no implica que el oyente sea experto en la materia para revelar percepciones interesantes y saber cómo elaborarlos. Todas las mujeres productoras de Izaran los producen creando una escena a la cuál atraen a su audiencia. La audiencia experimenta ciertas emociones. Esto quiere decir que los elementos del *izri* focalizan un

argumento racional y emocional, para que cumpla el propósito inicial de apelación a la mente y al corazón.

2. SELECCIÓN Y APLICACIÓN DEL CORPUS

La elección de estos *izran* como objeto de estudio ha sido realizada con el objeto de analizar cognitivamente algunas posibles expresiones que pudieran revelar conceptualizaciones específicas de esta lengua y cultura. Junto con mi supervisora hemos decidido que el corpus, recogido en las montañas del norte de Marruecos y traducido por el autor de este trabajo, constituye un conjunto de datos científicamente válidos como el anunciado por Fauconnier (1994: xxvii). Hemos traducido estas versiones poéticas al español e inglés y las hemos presentado en su versión original en la variante bereber *tifina* con una versión de sonido en caracteres latinos mas una traducción literal al español y al inglés.

La recogida de los *izran* no ha sido una tarea fácil ya que el contacto del autor con estas mujeres ha sido posible sólo a través de algunos familiares. Sus contactos directos han sido siempre con miembros del ámbito familiar. Además la escasez de soporte escrito ha añadido considerables dificultades. La única ventaja ha sido el tamaño de esta gran biblioteca al aire libre y la colaboración de muchos informantes. Estas mujeres nos informaron de los contextos de cada *izri*, y nos enseñaron cómo cambiar una palabra en un *izri* para adaptarla a los intereses del hablante.

2.1. FUNDAMENTOS TEÓRICOS

Lakoff (1987) expuso la base filosófica de la Lingüística Cognitiva situando esta disciplina innovadora en el marco general del experiencialismo. Desde un principio se desvió del generativismo Chomskiano con propuestas más cerca de una visión integradora de las culturas. Para los generativistas el significado es algo periférico al estudio del lenguaje. Su objetivo central en el estudio del lenguaje ha sido la sintaxis (la forma). Las estructuras del lenguaje están gobernadas por principios independientes del significado. Esta tendencia fue rechazada por los padres fundadores de la lingüística cognitiva (Lakoff, Langacker, Talmy, Johnson, Fillmore). A partir de los 1970s una amplísima búsqueda a nivel internacional ha evolucionado bajo la etiqueta de Lingüística Cognitiva, Poética Cognitiva, Sociología Cognitiva, Psicología Cognitiva, Neurociencia Cognitiva, etc. Todas ellas bajo el sol común de las Ciencias Cognitivas.

La lingüística cognitiva se caracteriza por su principio innovador, desarrollando modelos y métodos para tratar el lenguaje desde una dinámica compleja del pensamiento. Esta novedad esta lúcidamente descrita hoy en muchos tratados sobre la misma unos más teóricos y otros más prácticos. En español destacan por su realismo cultural las contribuciones de Bernárdez (2002, 2008). El punto de partida común es que el lenguaje refleja ciertas propiedades biofísicas (corporeizadas, situadas, distribuidas, sinérgicas, etc.) de la creatividad de la mente humana. Para aquellos que adoptaron la tendencia experiencial, pensar es más que manipular símbolos abstractos. El procesamiento cognitivo depende de la estructura global del sistema conceptual y no de operaciones muy simples entre símbolos aislados. Este trabajo se desliga de la tendencia

objetivista que ve el pensamiento como una manipulación mecánica de símbolos abstractos que adquieren significado por correspondencia directa con el mundo exterior. Según este punto de vista el pensamiento abstracto es independiente del cuerpo humano y su sistema nervioso y perceptual (Hilferty 1999). El movimiento experiencial propone que las estructuras que constituyen nuestro sistema conceptual emergen de nuestra experiencia corpórea y adquieren sentido según dicha experiencia. La peculiar naturaleza de nuestros cuerpos y cerebros, especialmente nuestro sistema sensorimotor trazan nuestras posibilidades para la conceptualización y la categorización (Lakoff& Johnson 1999). El estudio del lenguaje no es un simple estudio de la sintaxis, la fonología u la morfología sino es un asunto que implica pautas de conceptualización.

En el paradigma cognitivo una serie de disciplinas científicas forman una alianza para explicar el lenguaje, su función, cómo se produce y su relación con la mente. El estudio del lenguaje se ha convertido en un terreno fértil para la neurociencia, la lingüística, la biología, la sociología, la filosofía u la psicología entre otras disciplina científicas. Cualquier punto de partida que tomemos siempre llegamos a la misma conclusión. Si empezamos por estudiar el lenguaje llegamos a la mente y si empezamos por estudiar la mente llegamos al lenguaje. Esta es la característica que distingue la lingüística cognitiva de otras tendencias lingüísticas. Para clarificar esta idea, básicamente el lenguaje representa el pensamiento y este se localiza en la mente. La mente es el resultado de la función de la materia cerebral y las millones de interconexiones neuronales. Desde el punto de vista teórico, necesitamos la intervención de la biología para explicar de qué está compuesta la materia cerebral, la neurociencia para explicar cómo suceden las interconexiones neuronales, y la sociología para explicar la relación

entre lenguaje, mente y cultura (Bernárdez, 2004). El pensamiento que está representado en el mundo exterior por el lenguaje necesita una explicación lingüística y psicológica. Es este estudio interdisciplinar el que dio lugar a las ciencias cognitivas. Esta ciencia, en términos de Oatley, se define de la siguiente manera: "Cognitive science is about knowledge, conscious and unconscious, about how it is represented, how it is used by the human mind and artificial mind and how it may be organized for particular purposes. It is interdisciplinary and multimethodological … it derives from psychology, linguistics and literary theory. Its field is literature, including texts that are read, movies that are seen, poetry that is heard."(Citado en Steen, 2003: 161-163)

2.2. CONSTRUCCIÓN DEL SIGNIFICADO

De acuerdo con la semántica cognitiva el significado es intencional. El significado, según Williams (2004), se construye en la experiencia mental del conceptualizador con un cerebro en un cuerpo que interactúa con otros conceptualizadores. Nuestras interacciones con el mundo y con estos otros juegan un papel crucial en los significados que construimos. El mundo en sí mismo tiene estructura y proceso pero no significados. El significado emerge cuando el cerebro entra en contacto con el mundo. Aquí hablamos del significado como conceptualización, como experiencia corpórea del conceptualizador mientras está construyendo, conectando e integrando espacios mentales estructurados por modelos conceptuales y anclados en la experiencia perceptual. La conceptualización es un proceso biocultural. Las estructuras conceptuales inicialmente se derivan de nuestra temprana experiencia sensorial-motora al interactuar

con el mundo (Mandler 1991). En general, nuevas estructuras conceptuales pueden emerger vía operaciones conceptuales como la analogía, la metáfora conceptual, la integración conceptual, y la elaboración de simulaciones mentales. Para la semántica cognitiva el lenguaje no representa un sistema aislado con un estatus cognitivo separado; el lenguaje es considerado como habilidad cognitiva que interactúa con otras habilidades cognitivas dentro de un sistema de conocimiento común u compartido. Esto implica que cualquier estructura de conocimiento que se asocia a una palabra en particular, potencialmente pertenece a la estructura semántica del término léxico en el cual el concepto está simbolizado. El significado es una estructura cognitiva que adquiere su valor sólo en relación a un contexto más amplio de conocimiento y creencias. En la semántica cognitiva se hace muy difícil trazar una línea entre el conocimiento general del individuo y sus conocimientos lingüísticos. Esta idea es muy clara en la siguiente cita: "Expressions do not mean they are a prompt for us to construct meaning, by working with processes we already know. In no sense is the meaning of [an]… utterance, "right there in the word", when we understand an utterance, we in no sense understand "just what the words say"; the words themselves say nothing independently of the rich, detailed knowledge and powerful cognitive processes we bring to bear." (Turner, 1991:206)

2.3. SIGNIFICADO DE DICCIONARIO VERSUS SIGNIFICADO ENCICLOPÉDICO

La función de los componentes del diccionario se estudia en la semántica léxica mientras que los componentes enciclopédicos encajan dentro del terreno de la pragmática. La diferencia radica en la división entre el significado léxico-semántico y el significado que emerge del texto como estructura global. Desde el punto de vista de la semántica cognitiva la existencia del conocimiento enciclopédico supone el conocimiento del diccionario (Evans, Bergen y Zinken 2007). El significado que conllevan las palabras y nuestro conocimiento y uso de ellas no es un caos desorganizado sino al contrario, profundamente organizado. Algunas teorías han sido desarrolladas por estudiosos como Fillmore (1977) en su "Frame Semantics" (o Teoría del Marco Semántico), en la cuál describe la organización de significados en forma de marcos. Lakoff (1987) habló de Modelos Cognitivos Idealizados (Idealized Cognitive Models ICMs), un tipo de modelo de conceptualización establecido. Describió cuatro modelos establecidos:

1. Modelos proposicionales (conocimiento relacionado con una forma lingüística)
2. Esquema de Imágenes (conocimiento a partir de una localización espacial)
3. Modelos metafóricos (conocimiento analógico basado en la semejanza)
4. Modelos metonímicos (conocimiento analógico basado en la contigüidad)

Otros cognitivistas precursores desarrollaron modelos similares; nos interesan aquí sobre todo los Dominios Cognitivos de Langacker (1987), los Marcos Semánticos de Fillmore o nociones más locales como guiones, esquemas, escenas o escenarios. Estos modelos se conocen también con otro elenco de términos teóricos que han ido variando a medida que evolucionaban las teorías cognitivas del lenguaje y otros sistemas

semióticos. Un ejemplo de este indefinición léxica de los conceptos teóricos centrales de este paradigma lo tenemos en la siguiente descripción de dominio; en la teoría de Langacker (1987:147) leemos: "Domains are necessarily cognitive entities, mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts, or conceptual complexes."

Los esquemas de imagen, "arriba-abajo, derecha-izquierda, dentro-fuera", se entienden en diferentes dominios cognitivos estructurados. Estos modelos son una mezcla entre los modelos proposicionales y los esquemas de imagen. El concepto de esquema de imagen aparece en los primeros trabajos de pioneros del movimiento cognitivista como Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987 o Talmy 1983. Los esquemas de imagen son fundamentales en la Lingüística Cognitiva porque son imaginativos, corpóreos y forman parte del significado. "Understanding meaning involves image schema structures of imagination that are extended and figuratively elaborated as abstract structures of meaning and patterns of thought." (Johnson, 1987: xxxvi.) El esquema de imagen ayuda a construir un buen número de eventos e imágenes muy complejas. Las imágenes esquemáticas son pre-conceptuales y pre-lingüísticas (Mandler 1992, 2004). No son imágenes concretas y no tienen la especificidad de fotos imaginativas; según Johnson (1987, 23-24) operan en un nivel de abstracción y además ayudan a organizar nuestras experiencias. En resumen, la imagen esquemática es un patrón mental que provee estructuras de comprensión de muchas experiencias; así, es válida para su uso en la metáfora como dominio fuente, para proveer al conocedor de una comprensión de otras experiencias (Kimmel 2004). Johnson (1987:126) habla de una larga lista de esquemas no lingüísticos que estructuran nuestra organización conceptual y que se reflejan en la expresión lingüística final, como "container, balance, compulsion,

blockage, counterforce, enablement, path attraction, cycle, iteration, splitting, contact, link, etc."

2.4. LA DINÁMICA COGNITIVA DEL LENGUAJE ORAL

La forma más efectiva y la más extendida de la comunicación humana es la realizada oralmente. Esta forma de comunicación posee ciertas cualidades que la distinguen de otras formas de comunicación. Aunque tiene ciertas ventajas también impone ciertas limitaciones que como individuos no podemos evitar. La ventaja es clara en la siguiente cita de Fludernik (1993: 73) que atiende a la dinámica *online*: "We can shift from external to internal perspective, from one mind to the other, from thought to speech and perception". El inconveniente radica en el hecho de que en el lenguaje oral los mensajes corren el riesgo de ser modificados ya que no utiliza un suporte escrito que les otorgue cierta durabilidad.

Por comunicación entendemos el proceso de intercambiar ideas a través de diferentes medios que requieren del hablante y el oyente al menos compartir la lengua y la cultura, aunque los humanos han desarrollado varias formas de comunicación a lo largo de su historia social. En un mismo entorno cultural los individuos que conocen las reglas de su lengua materna se comunican fluidamente en un proceso en el cuál ciertos elementos sociales y culturales son importantes a la hora de codificar el significado. Estas interacciones comunicativas tienen lugar en situaciones donde el hablante descodifica el mensaje utilizando las mismas reglas lingüísticas del oyente. Esto quiere decir que cuando las personas hablan utiliza un gran abanico de palabras que son

asociadas a diferentes conceptos para atraer la atención del oyente hacia un referente particular en un contexto particular. Las palabras que utilizan encapsulan un triángulo semiótico, hay una forma, un concepto y un referente asociado a un concepto particular. Cuando las palabras no pueden describir fehacientemente una idea, los individuos recurren al uso del lenguaje figurativo para expresar con claridad sus intenciones. En este sentido, la economía es también una característica fundamental de los procesos comunicativos.

En nuestras comunicaciones cotidianas utilizamos diferentes palabras que son asociadas a diferentes conceptos. Una comunidad de hablantes entera parece coordinarse para utilizar un sólo nombre convencional. De esta manera la asociación de conceptos a palabras se crea progresivamente. La polisemia emerge cuando los hablantes se encuentran utilizando las mismas palabras para hacer referencia a diferentes conceptos. Este hecho no supone problemas porque los hablantes de una lengua determinada se sienten capaces de seleccionar el significado más sobresaliente cuando hay varias soluciones (Giora 2003; Gibbs 1994). Estos procesos de recursividad léxica son bien conocidos en las teorías cognitivas del lenguaje por sus propiedades emergentes que hacen de una lengua un sistema complejo intrínsecamente creativo (Guerra 1992). La oralidad no sería más que la marca más clara de la naturalidad del fenómeno. En nuestro estudio de los Izaran, esta oralidad incrementa la complejidad conceptual conduciendo al sistema Tarifit a ciertos tipos de proyección conceptual específica que veremos en capítulos posteriores.

2.5. LENGUAJE Y PENSAMIENTO. POETICA Y LINGÜÍSTICA

Tradicionalmente había una clara barrera entre el lenguaje y el pensamiento (Descartes). Johnson (1972) considera el lenguaje como una forma de experiencia mental. El lenguaje en cambio ha sido conceptualizado en términos de estructuras (morfemas, fonemas, palabras, frases, etc.) y reglas que gobiernan la sintaxis. Esta distinción entere lenguaje y pensamiento fue esencial en las teorías de Saussure (1857-1913). Chomsky hizo una distinción entre competencia y actuación ("performance and competence"). A partir de aquí la atención de los pensadores ha sido progresivamente dirigida hacia la comprensión y el estudio del significado y el lenguaje como asunto del pensamiento en el contexto biocultural de la cognición humana como acción.

Básicamente el objetivo de la comunicación es producir significados como lo atestigua Jackendoff (1992:7): "Meaning, of course, is presumably the reason for there being such a thing as language at all, since the language faculty is, at bottom, a device for externalizing and communicating meaning."

Existen diferentes visiones sobre la relación entre el pensamiento y el lenguaje. Algunos argumentan la dependencia del pensamiento sobre el lenguaje. Otros creen que incluso una persona de la misma lengua y cultura tiene diferentes puntos de vista sobre una forma. Hill (1988) argumenta que los conceptos están en la mente y nosotros como hablantes creamos palabras para nombrar estos conceptos. Esto demuestra que los conceptos no dependen de la pre-existencia de la palabra.

2.6. CONTEXTO COMO PARTE DEL SIGNIFICADO

En algún momento los humanos empezaron a producir sonidos como representación de objetos e ideas. Los sonidos utilizados en la comunicación son producidos con la intención de transmitir el mensaje. El procesamiento del significado se convierte en un paso vital para entender el mensaje. Para este fin se han desarrollado varias teorías y se han utilizado varias técnicas y metodologías. Por esta razón cuando estamos interpretando un *izri* intentamos señalar direcciones hacia algunas soluciones. Aunque sabemos desde una perspectiva cognitivista que el lenguaje no es un código, para entender el significado que se produce *online* cuando se produce un *izri*, el intérprete tiene que ser capaz de codificar el lenguaje utilizado y además ser consciente del contexto de su producción.

Sabemos que cuando un *izri* es producido, el oyente siente que algo invade su mente. Los primeros pasos que da es ver lo que elabora de dicho *izri*. Cuando entra en contacto con el *izri* lo disfruta, lo aprende de memoria, y lo recita pero no discute su lenguaje. Desde este punto de vista vemos cómo la interacción entre hablante y oyente es un tipo de acción social. Esto quiere decir que el habla como producto esta englobado por ciertas propiedades sociales y biofísicas de su entorno interactivo; así, este producto refleja cierta luz sobre la organización del lenguaje humano en sí mismo.

¿Qué es lo que sabemos cuando oímos un *izri* y cuáles son los mecanismos cognitivos que intervienen en su comprensión? Esta comprensión tiene mucho que ver con el contexto. Este contexto está considerado de vital importancia en la Poética Cognitiva, disciplina hoy abierta y aún indefinida que en este trabajo nos interesa de manera especial. Un intérprete que desconoce el contexto de la producción de un *izri*, es más

que probable que decida activar una interpretación literal. Metodológicamente y pensando en términos de la teoría de la metáfora, podemos decir que la comprensión de un *izri* por parte de un nativo del Rif no es cuestión de puro azar sino que éste debe seguir inconscientemente ciertas reglas que utilizará en una dinámica de marcos. El contexto puede generar un significado u otro dependiendo de las circunstancias y las situaciones. Una palabra puede expresar un significado específico entre los varios que inherentemente contiene. El significado que se procesa en este sentido es determinado por el poder del contexto. La idea detrás de este argumento es diferenciar entre entender *online* (proceso invisible) y pensar en términos de una teoría para entender lo que se dice (proceso más visible). La cuestión a dilucidar es la siguiente: ¿Qué es lo que hay en un contexto específico para que éste nos facilite una comprensión de tipo pragmático?

La importancia del contexto en el procesamiento del significado ha sido tratada por los contextualistas que afirman que el contexto es parte del significado. Entre muchos autores nombramos Searl, Grice, Sperber y Wilson, De Mey, Vygotsky y sus asociados Luria y Leontiev. La perspectiva sociocognitiva de estos procesos bioculturales queda clara en el compendio editado por Frank et al. (2008). Según Lyons (1977:572), "the choice of words is determined by the internal context of the utterance constituted by all the factors which by virtue of their influence upon the participants in a language event systematically determine the form and the meaning of an utterance." Por contexto se refiere a intenciones y presuposiciones de los hablantes y oyentes los cuales intentan asegurarse de que su discurso ha sido entendido y percibido como coherente y de que tiene sentido para los participantes en una situación comunicativa.

Según Freeman (2000), desde una interpretación neurobiológica de los signos, el significado sólo existe en la mente. Por ejemplo, cuando contemplamos las inscripciones líbico-bereberes encontradas en muchas zonas del mundo amazigh y no entendemos el significado, sólo sabremos lo que pasaba en la mente de esta gente mediante mapeos de los procesos (pre)conceptuales. En general los significados están en la mente; para este fin los científicos han desarrollado las teorías de del lenguaje y la cultura de índole cognitiva cuya preocupación central es la naturaleza del significado y su construcción.

2.7. CON/FIGURANDO EL LENGUAJE LITERAL Y FIGURADO

¿Qué componentes y qué propiedades tanto internas como externas facilitan la comprensión del lenguaje literal y más tarde figurado en los procesos conceptualizadores? Aunque la frontera entre lo literal y lo figurado es ambigua, los individuos procesan los dos tipos de lenguaje casi con la misma facilidad. La diferencia fundamental parece radicar en el hecho de que el procesamiento del lenguaje figurativo se realiza utilizando más tiempo, lo que tiene relación directa con ciertas propiedades dinamicistas de los sistemas complejos que observamos en este trabajo.

2.8. LA BASE SOCIAL DE LA VIDA CULTURAL DEL TAMAZIGHT: COGNICION INDIVIDUAL Y COGNICIÓN COLECTIVA

Según Edelman (1992), nacemos en un mundo que es previo a nuestra existencia y todo lo que sabemos lo hemos adquirido en este mundo. El conocimiento adquirido es utilizado para entender mejor este mismo mundo. Razón suficiente para pensar que las personas que hablan la misma lengua y pertenecen a la misma cultura piensan aproximadamente en términos similares aunque podamos hablar de la cognición individual como única para cada persona. En realidad existe una fuerza oculta que traza el pensamiento de cada persona y caracteriza sus acciones. Esto es lo que hace que cada persona sea distinta a otra. Según Bernárdez (2004:5-10) " If thinking is an individual affair, activity is necessarily interactive (…) the cognition of the individual participating in similar collective activities will develop in similar directions." Según Tomasello (2000a: 357), " …all artifacts that enable and empower human cognition (…) are the joint product of many people working over many years, combining and accumulating skills and knowledge" (citado en Bernárdez 2004:10). Esta idea demuestra claramente el énfasis en la importancia de la colectividad en el desarrollo de la cognición individual que se hace en este trabajo sobre el *izri* como estructura enunciativa reveladora de la realidad sociocultural del bereber-tamazight en lengua tarifit.

3. MÉTODOS Y MODELIZACIÓN COGNITIVA

3.1. MODELOS COGNITIVOS IDEALIZADOS: LA METÁFORA, LA METONIMIA Y LA IMAGEN ESQUEMÁTICA COMO MECANISMOS COGNITIVO BÁSICO DE CONCEPTUALIZACIÓN

Nuestra primera hipótesis en este trabajo es que la conceptualización de los *izran* improvisados está activada en una dinámica que es específicamente metafórica en dominios centrales para la vida diaria en el desierto montañoso, particularmente aquellos del TIEMPO y LUZ como categorías prototípicas; es algo que aquí entendemos y analizamos como una extensión de significado que se manifiesta en condiciones desérticas específicas del entorno biofísico del Rif. Hemos seleccionado a modo de ejemplo un *izri* que evidencia lingüísticamente una categorización específica en el marco conceptual de *luz* y *tiempo*. Nuestro objetivo es investigar qué es lo que lo convierte en un ejemplo de un tipo de fenómeno cognitivo diferenciado que aún no se ha descrito socioculturalmente en teorías cognitivas. Para responder a esta pregunta hemos concentrado nuestra atención en un sólo *izri* en uso para dar sentido a los componentes básicos de la especificidad de la conceptualización de *día* y *noche* en la lengua tarifit de la cultura tamazight. Para ello hemos comenzado centrando nuestra atención en la siguiente pregunta: ¿Qué es lo que nos hace identificar el uso de una expresión como literal o metafórica? La selección de las expresiones parece estar regulada por algún sistema tradicional. Este mismo sistema define la manera en que

vamos a interpretar las expresiones lingüísticas. Este tipo de interacción nos permite reconocer e identificar cuándo una expresión es metafórica o cuándo un dominio se entiende en términos de otro. Los elementos que componen los dos dominios mantienen cierta relación. Esta relación no esta ahí al azar sino que tiene su base en las experiencias de los habitantes de la zona en el entorno, a partir de la que se construye significado corporeizado (Lakoff 1987), situado (Zlatev 2002), distribuido (Hutchins 2003) y sinérgico (Bernárdez 2007).

Por lo tanto, lo que necesitamos es saber qué funciones cognitivas participan en la comprensión de una metáfora. Cómo están relacionadas con los esquemas culturales. La teoría general que nos ocupa sobre cognición humana dice que existen diferentes tipos de metáforas en diferentes culturas y que éstas no son una simple decoración del lenguaje. Investigar la organización biocultural de los componentes naturales que hacen significar las expresiones es una labor muy arriesgada y contra intuitiva. Una pregunta coherente de la que se puede partir es cuál es el denominador común de todas estas metáforas.

En este trabajo mencionamos cuatro tipos de metáforas conceptuales que pueden ayudarnos a clarificar este fenómeno cognitivo.

1. Metáforas estructurales
2. Metáforas ontológicas
3. Metáforas de orientaciones
4. Metáforas de esquema de imagen

Otro mecanismo cognitivo que hemos considerado es la metonimia. Al igual que la metáfora, la metonimia también se clasifica en varios grupos como:

1. El producto por el productor
2. El lugar por el evento
3. El lugar por la institución
4. El controlador por el controlado

3.2. INTERACCIÓN ENTRE METÁFORA Y METONIMIA

Muchas metáforas conceptuales se derivan de metonimias conceptuales. La interacción entre metáfora e metonimia ha sido estudiada por investigadores como Barcelona (1997, 2000c), Goossen (1990) o Ruiz De Mendoza (1997, 1999, 2000). Goossen consideró cuatro posibilidades de interacción entre metáfora e metonimia:

1. Metáfora procedente de una metonimia
2. Metonimia en la metáfora
3. Metáfora en la metonimia
4. Demetonimización en una metáfora

Barcelona (2000c) habló de dos tipos de interacciones:

1. Motivación metonímica de una metáfora
2. Motivación metafórica de una metonimia

Ruiz de Mendoza (1999c) distingue entre cuatro posibilidades de interacción:

1. Expansión metonímica del dominio fuente

2. Expansión metonímica del dominio meta

3. Reducción metonímica de uno de los mapeos del dominio fuente

4. Reducción metonímica de uno de los mapeos del dominio meta.

Todos estos tipos de interacción han sido considerados en el análisis de nuestro *izri* ejemplar.

3.3. COMPRENSIÓN DEL LENGUAJE FIGURADO DE LOS *IZRAN*

En la interpretación del lenguaje figurativo el significado no se extrae de las unidades léxicas individualmente (Bergen 2008:1). En este tipo de enunciados, el significado del todo difiere del significado de las unidades léxicas individualmente. Como reitera Bergen (2008:2) "figurative meanings are not encoded in words, but rather generated by inferential and pragmatic processes."

La pregunta que nos hemos hecho aquí es cuál es el mecanismo cognitivo básico utilizado en el proceso online de conceptualización de *tiempo* en este *izri*? La respuesta sólo se encuentra examinando los trabajos que se han hecho en forma colaborativa entre varios estudiosos en diferente disciplina científicas como la Neurociencia, la Lingüística, la Psicología, la Neurobiología, u la Sociología, tal y como se reflejan en los Modelos Cognitivos Idealizados desde la metáfora conceptual a los más avanzados de integración conceptual. Hasta donde hemos podido llegar, hemos

recorrido todas estas disciplinas bajo el sol abrasador de las nuevas Ciencias Cognitivas. Sabemos que la complejidad de este trabajo hace de él una tarea a largo plazo, aunque creemos que segura.

3.4. LOS IZRAN COMO EXPRESIONES EMOCIONALES

El rasgo más distintivo de la poesía es la comunicación emocional. Tradicionalmente ésta ha sido expresada a través de la rima. La musicalidad que emerge de la construcción poética rimada ha ejercido tradicionalmente ciertos efectos sobre el oyente y además es importante para la memoria en el proceso de composición. Esta musicalidad no es simplemente un ornamento sino que forma parte de ciertos procesos cognitivos (Tsur 2007). Consideremos algunos *izran*:

Oh Monte Wixan, ay¡ la carcoma de los huesos
Lo penetraron los cristianos para de el extraer con hilos.

Mokhatar de Mimun te voy a poner entre el corazón y el hígado
Así no te alcance el viento ni la lluvia si esta golpeara.

Primo del alma qué quieres que te diga
La juventud se me fue y la belleza me abandonó.

La emoción expuesta en estos pareados es de naturaleza sociocognitiva. En realidad emerge como resultado de una interacción entre un individuo y un objeto o una situación, o un grupo de individuos que pertenecen al mismo grupo social. La emoción es un evento independiente del individuo. Las emociones en general tienen una característica común y es que no son puramente cerebrales sino que tienen que estar acompañadas de ciertas modificaciones fisiológicas. Nos han interesado en este trabajo de forma especial porque es especialmente en el mundo de las emociones donde la relación entre el cuerpo y la mente es evidente. Las reacciones emotivas que son psicofisiológicas demuestran un claro sincronismo cuando se producen estas reacciones.

3.5. APLICACIÓN DE MODELOS COGNITIVOS A LA COMPLEJIDAD CONCEPTUAL DE LOS IZRAN

Debido a ciertos elementos sociológicos, históricos, lingüísticos, geográficos y culturales que caracterizan la vida de las mujeres Rifeñas, es común encontrar ciertas expresiones en *izran* que conceptualmente pueden considerarse como méntiles Guerra (2009), fósiles semánticos de una lengua/especie milenaria como la bereber. Nuestra hipótesis es que estas expresiones que están fosilizadas en el habla tifina cotidiana pueden contribuir, con evidencias de estructuras conceptuales aún no descritas, a las teorías más avanzadas en el terreno de las ciencias cognitivas del lenguaje y la cultura. Hemos querido mostrar una puerta abierta a un nuevo antiguo mundo bereber a disciplinas como la Psicología Cognitiva, Antropología Cognitiva, la Poética Cognitiva, la Lingüística Cognitiva, la Semiótica Cognitiva, o la Filosofía Cognitiva entre muchas

otras que hoy vemos crecer con rapidez debido a los avances humanistas, biológicos y tecnológicos sobre la evolución del conocimiento humano. Pensamos que a su vez estas teorías podrían beneficiar un progreso social muy necesitado por las culturas bereberes que hoy hablan alrededor de 30 millones de personas.

Para determinar la riqueza sociocultural de un *izri*, hemos desarrollado un análisis sociocognitivo utilizando los modelos conceptuales mas avanzados desarrollados por la Lingüística y Poética Cognitiva. Hemos utilizado modelos básicos de las dos metodologías más desarrolladas que son finalmente integradas en un punto de vista sociocognitivo de la Poética como construcción dinámica y compleja del significado (Guerra 2011). Estos métodos son: 1) la teoría de la metáfora conceptual, el modelo cognitivo originalmente propuesto por Lakoff y Johnson (1980) e inicialmente desarrollado en Lakoff y Turner (1989); y 2) la teoría de la Integración Conceptual, el llamado "Blending" detallado en Fauconnier y Turner (1995, 2002), y su evolución semiótica en términos de un crecimiento interactivo muy complejo entre concepto y tiempo real de la enunciación en el modelo de Brandt & Brandt (2005).

El objetivo principal ha sido identificar significados diferenciados que emergen como resultado de algún tipo de especificidad sociocultural, haciendo evolucionar así el camino iniciado por Wierzbicka (1991) y examinado en muchos trabajos de expertos como Kovecses (2005); Sinha (2007); Bernárdez (2008) o Sharifian (2011). Esto nos permite avanzar en una búsqueda internacional sobre relaciones más complejas entre cognición, lenguaje y cultura en las diferentes comunidades lingüísticas y culturales del mundo.

Hemos centrado nuestro análisis en un *izri* ejemplar, lo que nos ha permitido ir paso a paso utilizando los modelos cognitivos expuestos. Éstos han sido aplicados en busca de la forma en que el tarifit pudiera proyectar estructuras conceptuales de organización del *tiempo* con características socioculturales diferenciadas. Como cualquier género literario o cualquier modo de comunicación, los *izran* son considerados aquí bajo el prisma cognitivo general de "ficción"; en éste caso, siguiendo a Brandt (2002), ficción-como-poema-oral que proyecta estructuras del significado desde unas dinámicas especificas de tiempo, lugar, vida, costumbres, hablante, oyente y otros componentes contextuales que delimitan el lenguaje utilizado y que capacita a los oyentes para conectar la realidad interna de estas mujeres Rifeñas con la realidad externa.

En una evolución desde lo general a lo particular hemos centrado finalmente la investigación en el escrutinio de una singularidad, percibida desde lenguas como las anglosajonas o las románicas, en la arquitectura conceptual de día/noche en Tarifit. Desde esta diferencia *poética*, situada semióticamente en un *izri* y biodiscursivamente en la mujer tamazight hemos rastreado las posibles especificidades en la conceptualización de *tiempo*, a una mayor escala de abstracción y por tanto de complejidad, en un entorno desértico. Creemos haber encontrado una partición diferenciada coherente con la experiencia de la luz y la temperatura, del sol y sus efectos en las personas. Coherentemente, hemos descrito mecanismos cognitivos que pudieran desencadenar la proyección conceptual diferenciada en la metáfora DÍA ES MUERTE. Nuestra hipótesis básica es que una conceptualización única de la vida como muerte es posiblemente específica de la cultura Tamazight del Rif. Nuestra segunda hipótesis es que probablemente esté relacionada vitalmente con la luz experimentada

durante las distintas fases del día en el desierto. Hemos mapeado estas fases del día en busca de proyecciones hacia el dominio *muerte*.

ⵢⵏⵢⵓ ⴰⴱⵓⵙⴰ ⵏ÷ⵅ ⵍⴰ ⵅⴰⵜⵜⴰⵓ ⴰⵍⴰⵏⵅ

ⵅⴰⵓⴰ ⵜⵏⴰⵊⵅⴰⵏ ⵙⵍⴰⵙ ⴰⵊⵙⵓⵜ ⵜⴰⵅⵍⴰⵏ ⵅⴰⵅ

Uyur Abrid Nem Wa Khazar Awanam

Mara Tnajmad Swas djirth Thagward Gham

[Uyur abrith nem wakhazar awanam

Mara thnajmad swas djirth thagward gham]

Traducción literal al español

Caminar tu camino no mirar hacia atrás

Si del dia tu salvar la noche camina hacia ti

Traducción literal al inglés

Walk your path look not back

If from day you saved the night walk towards you

Traducción al español

Camina tu camino no mires hacia atrás

Si del día te salvaste la noche hacia ti camina

Traducción al inglés

Go your way do not look back

If from the day you are saved the night towards you will come

3.6. CONTRAFÁCTICO COMO ELABORACIÓN CONCEPTUAL

La condicional "si" en el segundo verso del *izri* es muy significativa; en realidad ejerce un impacto sobre la realidad y la conformación de eventos. Esta condición da lugar a una situación imaginaria que difiere mucho de la real. Si el sujeto se salva de A inmediatamente surge X como elemento que impide la salvación. X es una situación imaginativa creada por la condicional "si" en "si del día te salvaste". La expresión de futuro es una hipótesis ya que se construye a nivel mental. El sujeto esta localizado entre dos objetos conceptualizados como medida de tiempo que representan igualmente peligro para su integridad física e moral. Esta realidad nos informa sobre lo que se puede cambiar y lo que no se puede cambiar. A nivel mental construimos unos mundos paralelos muy parecidos al mundo real y hacemos predicciones sobre lo que puede pasar y lo que no puede pasar como consecuencia del paso del tiempo tal y como está objetivamente incorporado en las expresiones "día/swass" y "noche/djirth". Construimos diferentes espacios mentales relacionados con el "día" y otros con el concepto "noche" e intentamos relacionar la situación imaginaria con la realidad vital de esas fases temporales.

En Tarifit, la relación del sujeto con el "día" y la "noche" es semejante a la relación quizás universal entre lo bueno y lo malo, sólo que en este *izri* la relación se proyecta en una diferenciada, específica, entre lo malo y lo peor. Si el "día" representa algo malo, la "noche" representa algo peor.

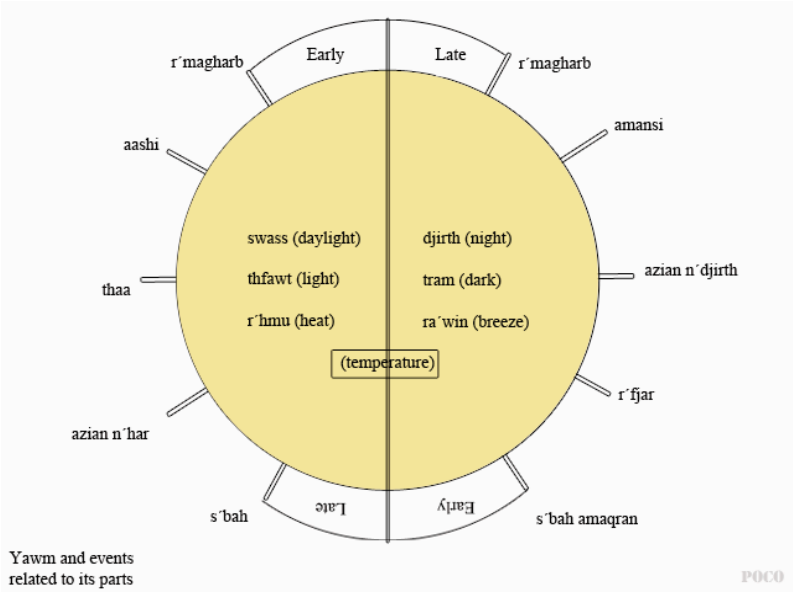
En "si del día te salvaste/ la noche hacia ti camina" vemos que no significa que es imposible que existan circunstancias en las cuales "día" como medida de tiempo no puede representar algún peligro para la integridad del sujeto. El "día" puede ser visto como representando algo menos peligroso que la "noche" pero aún así peligroso.

Es importante recordar aquí que la comprensión de un *izri* bereber, a pesar de la tradición elevadamente literalista tanto de sus variantes lingúísticas como de su uso de otras lenguas de mayor influencia como el árabe, no deriva de la comprensión de sus términos lingüísticos; al contrario, como cualquier otra lengua de nuestro común mundo, está basada sobre la práctica y la experiencia de los seres humanos en procesos conceptualizadores bioculturales y sociocognitivos. Según Gell (1996:164), "(…) [c]ulture consists of concepts, and concepts cannot be understood in terms of the associated linguistic code (…) Culture includes language, but consists of much more besides. Concepts are prior to language in so far as they consist for the most part of network of exemplary instances and practical routines connected with them- routines which include appropriate forms of utterance- but also mental imagery (…) Concepts do not come from language learning, but the experience and practice, and they are not codified as dictionary entries, or as checklists of features."

La mujer Rifeña parece capacitada para producir estructuras mentales incompatibles. "Día" puede ser símbolo de luz y simultáneamente de peligro; lo que se

proyecta conceptualmente y emocionalmente es una integración de una experiencia positiva y otra negativa en el mismo espacio mental. El mundo mental que construimos deriva de nuestra experiencia corpórea, lo que Lakoff llamó "realismo experiencial". En Tarifit partimos del hecho de que no todos los significados no materiales necesitan un espacio expresivo para significar. Es aquí donde radica la expresión original del Tarifit y el peligro de cualquier traducción literal que pueda debilitar la fuerza del significado (Guerra 2002). En realidad los individuos empiezan a construir significados sobre la base de las expresiones que producen. En general, para nosotros aquí es fundamental el hecho de que el acto interactivo del *izri* representa una situación comunicativa que es un requisito para la construcción de su significado.

En el *izri* seleccionado, los Rifeños, en ausencia de un término que exprese el tiempo han optado por el término "día". El día en esa cultura del desierto se divide en varias partes relacionadas con ciertos eventos específicos. Los habitantes del Rif marroquí, montañas y planicies, organizan sus actividades en relación directa con las características de luz y temperatura de esas partes. Los recuerdos del pasado se clasifican como posteriores o anteriores según la parte del día en que sucedieron y según la estación del año. En esta y otras variantes del bereber, sólo existen dos estaciones "anabdu" (estación seca) y "R´mashta" (estación de lluvia), un término de origen árabe. Los eventos correspondientes, como ya hemos dicho, se vehiculan conceptualmente desde las propiedades vitales de las partes del día y de la estación en que se producen. Los siguientes diagramas muestran esta partición específica del día ("yawm") en sus diferentes fases:



Yawm and events related to its parts

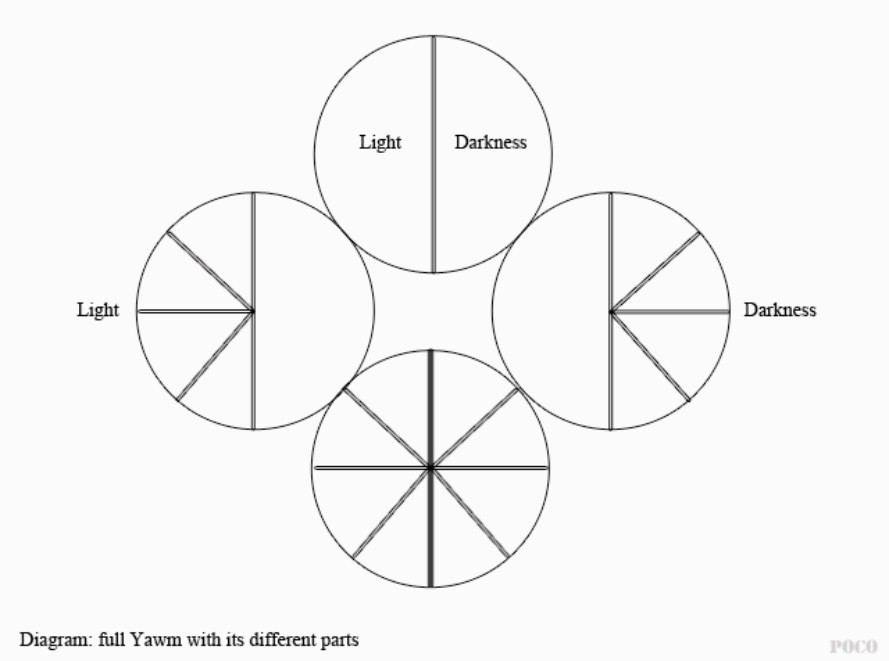


Diagram: full Yawm with its different parts

En Tarifit no existe un término para nombrar un día con sentido de veinte cuatro horas, que incluya el día y la noche como en español. Paradójicamente se utiliza el término "n´har" de origen árabe pero que en esta lengua tiene el mismo significado que el término "swass" (día) en Tarifit. Una particularidad quizás relevante es que "N´har" se

utiliza exclusivamente en la forma singular; para el plural, los rifeños utilizan el término "yawm" (singular) en su forma plural, "ayyam".

Nuestro objetivo ha sido desde el principio, y continúa siendo, localizar expresiones bereberes que pudieran ser culturalmente específicas para iniciar un renacimiento de esta lengua(s)/cultura(s) milenaria deteriorada; en este caso hemos localizado este uso diferenciado del término "día" fosilizado en un *izri* y que desarrolla un concepto negativo que no encontramos en otras lenguas. Por esta razón estamos investigando lo más rigurosamente posible los mecanismos bioculturales que esquematizan esta conceptualización negativa del "día" rentabilizado como "swass" desde su atribución de valor negativo en este y otros *izran*. También hemos encontrado apoyo a nuestro hallazgo en la lengua cotidiana fuera de los *izran*, lo que nos indica que no es lo que tradicionalmente se ha llamado una licencia poética en una composición literaria, no natural. Hay muchos otros ejemplos de valor negativo utilizados en las comunicaciones diarias en Tarifit, del tipo de "ammu iggin wussan" (así son los días), que nos recuerda al español "así es la vida". Pero en Tarifit, esta expresión hace referencia a cuando una persona es considerada víctima del paso del tiempo. Todos los días son caracterizados por la luz y aquí hay una desviación de una de las relaciones vitales más universal como lo es la luz, proyectada prototípicamente al conocimiento en los procesos conceptualizadores humanos: Existen "días negros" cuando los estados emocionales son malos. La pregunta que investigamos es cómo funciona exactamente esta entidad conceptual en la lengua viva Tarifit y cómo se compone dinámicamente de forma corpórea, situada, distribuida y sinérgica en un espacio físico caracterizado por la configuración desértica del entorno, donde las propiedades de intensidad (de la luz del

sol) y de fatiga (del calor del sol) funcionan como condición inicial para todos los sistemas vivos de los nativos, como causa de no-equilibrio, como fuente de la creatividad.

3.7. RASGOS COMUNES ENTRE DOMINIO FUENTE Y DOMINIO META

En el *izri* objeto de estudio, cuando intentamos buscar la relación entre los elementos del dominio fuente y el dominio meta en relación al termino "día", nuestra conceptualización proyecta un objeto peligroso que se contradice con su marco natural que es la luz. Por un lado el "día" se estructura en el dominio de la luz natural y por otro nuestro conocimiento rentabiliza el peligro como un efecto que emerge de lo desconocido y lo no visto, dos categorías que no se pueden conectar. En este sentido el "día" adquiere las mismas propiedades de la "noche". Poner los dos ejemplos juntos resultaría en principio en una violación semántica. Pero es probable que los rasgos que distinguen "día" y "noche" sean desviados y equiparados en el marco de la sugerencia de identidad en un proceso de significación que hace que esta distinción fracase. El uso del término "día" en este contexto con significado de peligro obedece a ciertas situaciones contextuales y comunicativas. Estas situaciones permiten la construcción de estas estructuras diferenciadas como parte de la organización léxico-semántica del Tarifit. Su uso hasta cierto grado es problemático para personas de otras culturas y lenguas, porque este hecho no sólo da lugar a un problema lingüístico sino a otro comunicativo más profundo por sus implicaciones socioculturales. El problema es que el término lingüístico "día" adquiere un significado que pertenece a otra categoría. O

sea el significado nuevo viola el orden de la literalidad. Aún así los Rifeños entienden el significado adverso que emerge como resultado del uso del término "día".

La complejidad de este *izri* emerge y crece desde el hecho de que el uso del término "día" (swass) parece tener las mismas propiedades categorizadoras, de significado, valor y emoción que el término "noche". El "día" (swass) representa un peligro similar a aquel representado por la "noche". Para su comprensión hemos activado y aplicado la teoría de los espacios mentales de Fauconnier (1994, 1997) y sus desarrollos en la llamada *Blending theory* en colaboración con Turner (2002). Esta teoría nos dice que el lenguaje no se interpreta en relación a modelos y situaciones, sino que se dinamiza adaptativamente en el acto interactivo de modelar escenas de eventos e entidades que están mezcladas y que crean estructuras emergentes.

Cuando la poeta del *izri* enuncia "Si del día te salvaste / la noche hacia ti camina", en realidad está rentabilizando un paralelismo entre las propiedades del "día" (swass) y las propiedades de la "noche" (djirth). Estos dos espacios son integrados para crear un nuevo espacio mental en el que la luz no es algo deseable. Este uso específico puede contribuir a describir cómo la cultura bereber-tamazight provee de un espacio genérico, de marcos y de estructuras de conocimiento propios. Todos estos elementos estarían organizados en el nivel del espacio genérico y ejercerían un impacto sobre la dinámica de integración de los dos espacios de entrada (inputs). La percepción y conceptualización del día" (swass) como algo negativo por individuos de una cultura que ha sido sometida a un proceso de aculturación durante trece siglos, hace de esta estructura fósil un dato muy atractivo para iniciar una descripción sistemática de la misma que ayude a su protección como patrimonio humano. El estudio cognitivo de

esta cultura sería fascinante si se centrara en el estudio de sus espacios genéricos, la dinámica de marcos, y las connotaciones culturales. Afortunadamente para nuestra la supervivencia de nuestra especie, lo que los humanos hacen sociocognitivamente con los espacios mentales difiere en contenido y creatividad cultural. ¿Qué puede significar " si del día te salvaste" para un inglés? Para un Rifeño la oración tiene sentido.

Ahora que estamos dotados de diferentes teorías cognitivas, desde la teoría original de la metáfora conceptual podemos clasificar los términos usados en el *izri* para organizarlos en base a una distinción inicial literal/figurado. La mayoría de los elementos lingüísticos son utilizados de una manera figurada. Se pueden leer en dos niveles diferentes; el primero abre una vía a discutir cómo podemos tratar una escena. En el segundo nivel el poema en su totalidad es una metáfora con la que los Rifeños son advertidos de un efecto singular relacionado con fases temporales y sus consecuencias sobre la vida de las personas. En este caso se produce una proyección en forma de oxímoron en la que día, luz y vida no se integran, en la que se produce una colocación entre día y muerte.

Hemos analizado ésta proyección de forma detallada y detectado también varias metáforas conceptuales que coinciden con usos lingüísticos del español o el inglés, tales como:

TIEMPO ES CAMBIO, basada en el desplazamiento del sujeto sobre el camino;

TIEMPO ES DESTRUCTOR, basada en el efecto que ejerce el paso del tiempo sobre la integridad física de los sujetos;

LA VIDA ES UN DIA, basada sobre el miedo de la llegada de la noche;

OSCURIDAD ES MUERTE, basada sobre la llegada de la noche y el miedo que representa.

En este trabajo hemos invertido mucho tiempo en evitar una falsa transferencia de estas lenguas a una conceptualización que es posiblemente diferente en Tarifit. La hipótesis que hemos desarrollado se ha centrado en los mecanismos bioculturales y cognitivos que desencadenan la proyección conceptual de "día" (swass) como peligro. La tesis es que es posible que sea una construcción cultural específica del constructo conceptual tiempo en su integración diferenciada de luz y calor en un entorno desértico.

Mientras no asumamos y relacionemos "día" (swass) con la dimensión temporal que representa y sus efectos sobre la vida de los sujetos *in situ*, es decir, con un realismo experiencial, su comprensión permanecerá ambigua, contraintuitiva y anómala; por ejemplo para un oído extranjero que no haya rentabilizado el término "día" (swass) como una expresión con connotaciones negativas. Vemos cómo el *izri* enunciado progresivamente integra el sentimiento y la categoría de miedo mientras el tiempo pasa. Debido a que el tiempo es percibido como una entidad que está corporeizada en la alternancia de "día" (swass) y "noche" (djirth), construimos los diferentes espacios mentales que hemos descrito en mayor detalle en la versión amplia de esta Tesis en lengua inglesa, unos relacionados al concepto "día" y otros al concepto "noche". Es así como los habitantes de habla tarifit del desierto del Rif organizan los eventos y particionan las fases del día y de la noche.

Esperamos haber contribuido con datos y conocimiento descriptivo efectivos al inicio de un nuevo espacio académico en el que la cultura y la sociedad bereber se vean beneficiadas, y sus gentes favorecidas. Este ha sido un trabajo con conciencia de "largo plazo" desde el comienzo, por lo que nuestra intención fundamental ha sido abrir una puerta real a este nuevo espacio.

BIBLIOGRAFÍA

* Ver el apartado BIBLIOGRAPHY en el texto original en lengua inglesa de esta Tesis.