



**SPECIAL FOCUS ON AMAZIGH LITERATURE: CRITICAL AND CLOSE  
READING APPROACHES**

## The Onomastics of Characters in the Kabyle *Tullist* Genre

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### Abstract

This article highlights, through a poetic approach, the onomastics of the character in a genre called *tullist* in the Amazigh language. The article works through the first ten collections of texts designated by the terms *Tullizt* / *Tullist* that mark the beginnings of this genre (1998–2008). An in-depth analysis then reveals the different naming processes that Kabyle writers use in assigning names to their characters. The article concludes by offering a brief sociological discussion on the semantics of the assigned names.

**Keywords:** tullist (short story); onomastics; character; genre; name

This article is a study of the use of character names in short stories produced by the Berber-speaking Kabyle people in northern Algeria. The short story genre is called *tullist* in Berber. This article examines the stylistic choices of Kabyle authors of the *tullist* genre in naming their characters. A character analysis isn't possible without first addressing the choice of character names. As Philippe Hamon explains: "The name of the character enables the critique of the narrative."<sup>1</sup> The corpus of *tullisin* (books written in the *tullist* genre) that comprises the subject matter of this study consists of 64 works included in ten collections of short stories. Specifically, the study analyzes 20 names of different characters of different stories, each of whose name is featured in the title of the work (out of the total of 64 stories), which speaks to the importance

<sup>1</sup> Philippe Hamon, *Le personnel du roman* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1998), 108.



of character names in the presentation of the narrative. Since the name is typically the first aspect to be learned about a character, it is the first element of a character's characterization.

The present study takes a poetic approach to its subject. It is an inductive approach based on the analysis of a corpus of selected *tullisin* texts. This corpus consists of ten collections, with the selection being limited to collections published in the first decade of the publication of collections of this genre, namely the decade between 1998 and 2008.

The examination of the corpus has provided us with a set of data that has made it possible to develop the onomastic character analysis around two main axes. The first axis involves identifying the various processes that authors of the *tullist* genre employ to name their characters. The second axis addresses the non-naming of anonymous characters.

The corpus analyzed in this study comprises ten collections of *tullisin*, or 64 texts, at a rate of one collection per author, except for the case of Mohand Ait Ighil, who has three collections: *Allen n tayri* (1999), *Atlanta* (2001)<sup>2</sup> and *Tchekhov s teqbaylit* (2003). The other titles include *Nekkni d wiyid: Tullizin* by Kamal Bouamara (1998),<sup>3</sup> *Tuyalin d tullizin niḍen* by Amar Mezdad (2003), *Lǧerrat: Tullisin* by Brahim Tazaghart (2003), *Akli unġif* by Ouslimani Remdane (2004), *Tikli: Tullisin* by Mourad Zimu (2005), *Timsirin n yid: Tullisin* by Malek Houd (2008), and *Gar zik d tura: Tullisin d yiḍrisen nniḍen* by Said Chamakh (2008).

### Named Characters

As David Lodge writes, “The naming of characters is always an important part of creating them.”<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, Hamon insists on the value of the “label” represented by the name, which is a “social and institutionalized label” signifying information about the character's social and civil status.<sup>5</sup> Based on the nomenclature of character names examined for this study, we have noted similarities and differences in the attribution of names. We have organized these into three categories. The first category includes appellations that derive from Kabyle society, consisting either of a single word, generally a first name, or of compound or hyphenated names. The second category groups together the few character names that are unknown or foreign to the Kabyle region. The third category involves nicknamed characters, which are fewer in number.

### Commitment to Names Hailing from the Kabyle Region

While reading the list of characters' names,<sup>6</sup> we noted the strong presence of names from the Kabyle region, including Amara, Houria, Djouher, Boussaad,

<sup>2</sup> This collection was not included in this study due to a lack of availability.

<sup>3</sup> This collection marks the beginning of the publication of the *tullist* genre in the form of collections.

<sup>4</sup> Michel Erman, *Poétique du personnage de roman* (Paris: Editions Ellipses, 2006), 37, quoting David Lodge, *The Art of Fiction*.

<sup>5</sup> Hamon, *Le personnel*, 148.

<sup>6</sup> We have attempted to translate into French the excerpts from the *tullisin* used in this study ourselves, with the exception of the passages by Amer Mezdad, for which the author provided

Hemmama, Chabha, Ouali, Hamid, Lexder, Dehbia, Sliman, Zouina, Sekkoura, Bélaid, Mélaaz, Mennad, Lmouloud, Werdia, Tawes, Djedjiga, Chabane, Kaci, M'hand, Mohand, etc. We counted 97 first names (for primary and secondary characters). As a result of this survey, we were curious to see how frequently these first names were used in the texts of our corpus. This frequency varies from a single instance to a frequency of ten uses per name.

Moreover, based on this list of first names, we noticed that some Kabyle writers (e.g., Mohand Ait Ighil and Said Chemakh) designated their characters by using novel first names that are not common in (traditional) Kabyle society and borrowed from neighboring languages (e.g., Selma, Madjer, Anissa, Jamil, Litisia, Lynda, and Yanis) or from ancient Berber names (e.g., Tiziri, Tanina, Amnay, and Chachnaq).

These first names are also attributed to other characters in other forms, either by combining them with kinship relations, as is the case with Baba-s n Selma (Salma's father), Yemma-s n Âziz (Aziz's mother), atmaten n Wakli (Akli's brothers), mmi-s n Yidir (Yidir's son), tamețțut n Dda Arezqi (Dda Arezki's wife), xalti-s n Jeğğiga, (Jedjiga's aunt), Jeddi Lhasen (my grandfather L'hacene), eemmi Mekran (my uncle Mokrane), etc.; or by preceding them with terms of respect or honorifics, such as "Dda," "Nna," "Zizi," or "Lalla." It is a Kabyle societal practice to use these terms before first names. The Kabyle social code requires using these words when addressing people for whom one feels respect and in particular for the elderly. In this regard, the significant presence of this naming process in this corpus is notable, with some examples being: Dda Meqran, Dda Qasi, Nna Malħa, Nna Ĕini, Zizi Beleid, Zizi Arezqi, and Lalla Fațima. Moreover, it is interesting to expand on the name of a character in a text by Malek Houd, Zizi Beleid, whose name also serves as the title of this text. For this author, he is the only example where we have noted irony in the naming and description of the character. As mentioned above, the qualifier "Zizi" is used to show respect, employed in particular in Kabyle society by marabouts as a synonym of "Dadda" or "Dda." However, this character's actions do not reflect the meaning of Zizi. Helplessly attracted to women, his character has the reputation of being a "skirt chaser," which explains the nickname of "Acacfal yețțallayen" (the great gawker) that the narrator gives him, as shown in this passage.

The great gawker is a nickname that f'ts Zi'i Be "aid" ike a glove because he can't help but ogle the girls who were coming back from the fountain to go home, carrying jugs.<sup>7</sup>

The naming of characters in *tullist* also appears as the combination of a Kabyle first name with a patronymic. The use of patronymics in naming characters has

French translations himself. These are from his book *The Return and Other Stories* (*Le retour et autres nouvelles*), published in 2016 by Ayamun Publishing. The purpose of these French translations is to interpret the meaning of the text for possible non-native readers of Kabyle. The translation is therefore far from being literary but rather literal.

<sup>7</sup> Malek Houd, *Timsirin n yiđ: Tullisin* (Béjaia: Tira, 2008), 74. Translated text: "Acacfal yețțallayen" *d isem i d-yezgan akken iwata i Zizi Beleid acku tațțucin-is, ur yezmir ara ad tent-yeșșub mi ara d-eeddint tallas i d-yettuyalen seg tala, teddunt s ixxamen-nsent refident-d isugam.*"

two functions. On the one hand, it plays a classificatory role. In this regard, Michel Erman specifies that “names (patronymic names) thus play the role of ‘class indicators’ by making it possible to differentiate individuals based on the family, clan, or tribe to which they belong.”<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, a name that is composed of a first name and a patronymic makes a character seem more realistic. The patronymic defines and anchors the protagonist in reality.

In this regard, two types of names with patronymics have been noted. The first takes on the form of a first name plus a noun, as is the case for Wediya Selman, Dda Σacur Uciban, Akli lħeddaden, etc. The second, meanwhile, is generated according to the pattern: first name plus “At” plus last name. Within the corpus, this is the most common case, e.g., Caeban At Mezyan, Nna Ṭawes At Wulmu, Yidir At Wakli, Fađma At Eli, etc.

In Kabyle, the patronymic formed with “At” represents either the name of a family (*Tawacult*) or a clan (*adrum*), or the name of a village (*taddart*), or a tribe (*læerc*). Within this corpus of character names, we found about ten patronymics that are used in the text. In other words, in addition to being associated with a character, they are also mentioned alone, in reference to a family, village, tribe, etc., as with At yiyil, At Lqalu, At Tewrirt, At Zeyyan, At Sliman, etc.

Some of these patronyms are composed on the basis of a place name, such as At Wakal ameqran, At Yiger, At Waman, At Yiyil, At Uwrir, At Tewrirt, etc., and others, on the basis of family names, such as At Sliman, At Zeyyan, At Wakli, At Yidir, At Meqran, etc.

Other patronymics are designated by their initials, such as At C., which refers to Ezuzu’s family and At Y., which also refers to Eziz’s family in the text “Taqsiṭ n Eziz d Ezuzu” by Kamal Bouamara, as well as the Adrum At U. in the text “Yerra-tt yiman-i” by Malek Houd. These truncated patronymic s produce a heightened effect of reality in the story, particularly by creating a kind of suspense around the place and setting of these stories.

The names of marabouts, who occupy a higher place in Kabyle society, are always preceded by the terms of respect Si, Lħağ, and Ccix. The qualifier “Si” is a diminutive derived from the Arabic word *sayyid*, which roughly translates to “sir.” In Kamal Bouamara’s text “Kra yella kra yerna,” there are four characters who bear this qualifier: Si Muħ, Si Crif, Si Flan, and Si Warisem. Although the narrator’s ironic tone colors these four characters, it is even more apparent in the naming of the latter two protagonists, Si Flan and Si Warisem.

Si Flan, as the narrator explains parenthetically, refuses to reveal his true identity, i.e., his real name. He is described as a “smuggler/contrabandist, street vendor.” The verb *senz*, which is a polysemic verb in the Kabyle language, perfectly translates this character’s actions. Some examples of this polysemy include *yessenz*, which has at least three meanings: “to sell” (e.g., *yessenz ayrum*) as well as “to sacrifice oneself” (e.g., *Yessenz aqerru-s*) as well as “to denounce and betray” (e.g., *yessenz atmaten-is i Uřumi*). As for the character Si Flan, who is “a contrabandist, “his actions do in fact translate the different

<sup>8</sup> Erman, *Poétique du personnage*, 40.

meanings of the verb *senz*. Indeed, Si Flansold the Qur'an in front of mosques, and he also handed over Berber militants to the gendarmerie, etc. The following passage is illustrative in this regard:

The fourth is Si such-and-such (he refused to give his name). He is a street vendor. He sells all sorts of odds and ends, the things people create for the most famous of kings. He sold volumes of the Qur'an and *djabadours* at the threshold of mosques. He sold cassettes of the Qur'an. He sold the green book in France. He sold his motherto the gendarmes, for free. He sold the Amazighs, secretly... But he never sold the Amazigh language (It's not that he wasn't aware of it ....), he didn't sell Tamazight because it's a different story.<sup>9</sup>

As for the character Si Warisem, the irony is demonstrated from the outset in the name itself, in that it combines the qualifier "Si" with "Warisem" meaning "the one who has no name." "Si Warisem's behavior confirms this ironic register. He is a journalist who attempts to glorify the work of political leaders while making viewers laugh with his Kabyle accent: "There is Si no-name, from the television of the republic. His job is to praise, glorify, and boast of his superiors, making the viewers laugh with his Kabyle accent."<sup>10</sup>

The qualifier "Lḥağ" also is sometimes found preceding a character name. It is a loan word from Arabic, intended to address any person who has performed the pilgrimage, and it appears thrice in our corpus: first, in the name with Lḥağ Qasi, a character from Said Chemakh's *tullist* "Tuḡalin"; second, in the combination of "Lḥağ" and "Si" to refer to a secondary character in the text "Taninna neḡ tudert n tlemzīt taqbaylit" by Said Chemakh; and third, to designate a murderous character in the text "Iḍ amcum" by Kamal Bouamara. This character named Lḥağ and Ucaeban is part of a gang of assassins whom Lḥusin had commissioned to kill Ssaeid:

Below the vegetable gardens, Lḥağ and his group were keeping watch, their guns loaded. . . After having contemplated the matter, Ucaeban was already condemned. Indeed, they were paid to kill.<sup>11</sup>

Another ironic use of the name "Lḥağ" is provided for a character in Mourad Zimu's text "Tikli." The narrator shows that this character's walk is special

<sup>9</sup> Kamal Bouamara, *Nekkni d wiyiḍ, tullisin* (Algiers: HCA, 1998), 78. Translated text: "Wis ukuz d Si Flan (netta, yugi ad d-yefk tanekwa), d 'aṭrabandist' Yezzenz kra yellan, kra i d-snulfan medden d ugellid ameqqran; yezzenz nnesxat d yičaduren, zdat n tewwura n leğwamee; yezzenz tisfin n wawal-n-Rebbi; yezzenz adlis azegzaw, di Fransa, yezzenz yemma-s, baṭel, ɣer yiğadarmiyen; yezzenz imaziyen s tuffra. . . . Maca, werğin yezzenz tamaziyt (mačči d afaqi ur ifaq ara, acku d Ajaddiwl), ur yessağğew ara tamaziyt, acku d laetab-is akter-is."

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 79. Translated text: "Yella Si Warisem n tilibizyu n Tegduda. Netta, lḥirfa-s d ameddeḥ, d acuffu n uqendur, d acekker deg yiçemqumen; yessedsayen imferjen s 'l'accent kabyle'."

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 8. Translated text: "Seddaw n tebḥirin-nni, Lḥağd terbaet-is d Ucaeban qqimen eussen; ibeckidən eemmren. . . . Lḥağ, mi imeyyez, yaf yezref Ucaeban. D tidet, nutni ttwaxellašen iwakken ad nɣen tameğret."

in that for each step he takes in the direction of the mosque, the good lord provides him with a reward: “*ḥasanat*.” The irony is located in the profile of this character:

Lḥağ owns stores, gold, real estate. And he also likes to walk. But I don't want to cast the eye upon him, he is not like you, the mosque is his only direction. When he walks, the angels are happy, every step is a good deed.<sup>12</sup>

The noun “Ccix” is borrowed from Arabic and designates a sort of individual with knowledge that he shares with his disciples. Used in Kabyle society to designate an Imam of the mosque, it has also been extended to designate a teacher. We have identified three characters whose names are preceded by this qualifier. These are Ccix H̄end and Ccix M̄hend, both of whom are village imams, and Ccix Ssæid, a teacher in Malek Houd's “*Temzi n Caëban*.”

We would also like to note another unique example in this category of naming, preceded by the term “Mass.” In his text “*Kra yella kra yerna*,” Kamal Bouamara provides the playful appellation “*Mass il faut*.” From the outset, the irony in the naming of this character is apparent, with the combination of a neologism *Mass*, which means “*Sir*,” and “*il faut*,” a borrowing from the French language that is a verbal form and does not refer to any name or surname. The character is designated by this expression because, as a Berber activist defending his Amazigh language, he still has recourse to the French language when he speaks, as illustrated by the following excerpt:

They all passed by, with the last one being mister “*il faut*.” As soon as he began to speak, his mouth was filled with froth. He spoke in “*Tamazight*,” the “*national*” language of the Amazighs educated in French (and before starting he even apologized for speaking in “*Tamazight*”), not in Kabyle. This is what he had heard, and what Masine remembered: we must decolonize the mindset!<sup>13</sup>

We can identify two remarkable trends in this inventory of character names. The first trend concerns writers who choose to name almost all of their characters. These include Malek Houd, Said Chemakh, Mourad Zimu, and Kamal Bouamara. The writings of Malek Houd serve as an illustrative example: Of the 23 characters in the *tullist* “*Temzi n Caëban*,” 18 characters have first names. Of the 12 characters in the text “*Tadukli*,” 10 are named. In the case of Kamal Bouamara, one example is provided by his text “*Iḍ amcum*,” in

<sup>12</sup> Mourad Zimu, *Tikli d tullizin nniḍen* (Algiers: HCA, 2005), 60. Translated text: “Lḥağ tihuna dheb ixxamen, ula d netta, iḥemmel tikli. D acu kan ur t-tettaḡet ara s tiḡ, netta mačči am kenwi: tikli-s yer lḡamee, netta, mi ara ileḥḥu, ferḥent lmalayekkat, yal lqedma s lḥasana.”

<sup>13</sup> Bouamara, *Nekkni*, 79–80. Translated text: “eeddan-d akk; aneggaru d Mass ‘we must.’ Alken kan i d-yebda ameslay, tikkufta ččurent-d imi-s; netta yemmeslay-d s ‘Tmaziyt’, tutlayt ‘tayelnawt’ n yimaziḡen yeyran tafrañsis (rnu uqbel ad yebdu, yessuter deg-sen ssmah, yenna-yasen ad d-mmelayeḡs ‘Tmaziyt’), mačči s teqbaylit, hatan wayen iwumi i yesla, i wumi i yecfa Masin: We need to decolonize the mindset!”

which all his characters (there are 12 total) are named. The text “Taninna ney tudert n temzīt taqbaylit” has 15 characters, all of whom have first names. In Mourad Zimu’s “Tazebbujt n tafat,” all the characters are named.

The second trend concerns authors for whom the naming of characters is less frequent. This is the case for Mohand Ait Ighil, Ouslimani Remdane, Amar Mezdad, and Brahim Tazaghart. Almost all their characters are designated by their profession, attribute, or some other qualifier. This is the second category (“Unnamed characters”) for our analysis, and we will develop this later.

### Non-societal or Specific Name

In this corpus of *tullisin*, there is another type of designation used to refer to the protagonists. This involves designations that are unfamiliar or even unknown within Kabyle society. They reflect the appellations specific to the wonder tale: Mqidec and Lunğa. The choice of such designations is certainly not arbitrary. In Kamal Bouamara’s “Tirgara,” the actions of the character Mqidec clearly justify this author’s use of the appellation. In the tale, the character of Mqidec is known for his cunning and different strategies he uses to reach his goal. In the text “Tirgara,” Mqidec is Akli’s enemy. He harbors a deep hatred towards Akli because the latter is better than him. Mqidec had feelings for Akli’s wife. With the support of the At Lqalus, he manages to undo Akli’s success and ingratiate himself with his wife, who helps him carry out this plan. This character’s actions thus justify the choice of naming him “Mqidec.” Meanwhile, it is in Brahim Tazaghart’s text “Lexmis” that we encounter the name Lunğa, which in the tale is the name of the ogress’s daughter. Nevertheless, this character does not take on any similarities with the character from the tale.

Other examples of unknown appellations attributed to the *tullist* characters are: Yerraq (Gherrak), Taxnanast (Takhnanast), àuččan (Chouchan), Merlot, and Giyyu (Guillaume). The first designation is attributed by Mohand Ait Ighil to a character who is a prosecutor in his text, “Tamacahut-nni n wučči.” This term is still currently used in dialectal Arabic to designate a prosecutor because the latter always tries to trap the accused. Mohand Ait Ighil also creates the second, Taxnanast, which is in his text “Agellid n yimelḥanen.” It is a derivative of the verb “xnunes” (to get dirty). This choice of first name perfectly reflects the story’s plot. It is given to a girl of rare beauty when she is born, for fear that she will be murdered by the king, who hates beautiful people. She is named Taxnanast, literally “the ugly one,” so as not to attract the king’s attention. In this same text by Mohand Ait Ighil, the author gives the king the first name of Gulu. This particular name may have a foreign origin: King Gulu is a character in the fairy tales and nursery rhymes of French literature.

The third name is Chouchan, which is also an unfamiliar name and has no explanation in the text. Said Chemakh attributes it to a character in the text “Èecrin duṛu.” Dda Čučanis is a name given to the janitor of the building.

Two foreign-looking names are attributed to two other characters: the first is “Merlot,” the name of a French colonizer in the text “Temzi n Caëban.”

During the colonial period, this character possessed all the olive lands. After independence, his name remained even after he left and was used to designate all the lands he'd held:

At the time of French colonization, Merlot, the colonizer, had in his possession all the land cultivated with olive trees that surrounded Tazerrajt. Who ever could observe Tazerrajt from the heights saw what looked like an island in the middle of an ocean of olive trees. The colonizer Merlot has left, and only the name remains.<sup>14</sup>

The second of these names is Giyyu, which appears in Amar Mezdad's text "Yerra-tt i yiman-is." This constitutes another name for which the meaning is, in our opinion, unknown. Nevertheless, in the French version of this text, the author explains that this name is that of a Germanic emperor.

Asmi imed cwiṭ i tekker tmes yessay Walman d Uṛumi, tinna iwumi qqaren "ṭṭrad n Lḥaġ Giyyu Bu-cclayem iwrayen."<sup>15</sup>

Makhlouf was just out of adolescence when the conflict broke out between Germany and France, which was called "the war of Hadj-Guillaume, with the blond moustache," named after the Germanic emperor.<sup>16</sup>

## Nicknamed Characters

We observed a significant presence of nicknamed characters among the texts in this corpus. Generally speaking, the characters who are described the most are the ones who have nicknames. In other words, in addition to being named, they also have nicknames. The nickname provides a protagonist with a certain specificity in the sense that it makes him or her unique; this stands in contrast with a name, which can refer to several characters. In this regard, Michel Erman finds that the nick name "has a stronger characterizing value than a simple name, because it designates a character while referring to a speaker who sees him- or herself as a guarantor of the truth value. . . . The nickname thus plays the role of a metalinguistic commentary that explains the character while singling them out."<sup>17</sup>

We have chosen to discuss three examples of nicknames. The first example is mm-anzaren n lbaṭaṭa, the nickname for Ddayxa, the main character of in the eponymous "Ddayxa" by Malek Houd. The second example, is Acacfal yeṭṭallayen, the nickname for Zizi Beleidin the story "Zizi Beleid" also by Malek Houd. The third example includes the various nicknames referring to Akli, the main character of Kamal Bouamara's "Tirgara."

<sup>14</sup> Malek Houd, *Timsirin*, 19. "Deg lawan-nni n temhersa tafransist, Merlot d yiwen n umhares i yettayloren akk akal yezzan d tizemmrin i d-izzin yef Tzerrajt. Win tt-id-iwalan s usawen, Tzerrajt tettban-d d tigzirt deg tlemmast n yilel n uzemmur. Amhares Merlot iruḥ, i d-yeqqimen d isem-is."

<sup>15</sup> Amar Mezdad, *Tuyalin d tullizin nniḍen* (Béjaïa: Editions Ayamun, 2003), 77.

<sup>16</sup> Amar Mezdad, *Le retour et autres nouvelles* (Béjaïa: Editions Ayamun, 2016), 103.

<sup>17</sup> Erman, *Poétique du personnage*, 43.



Let's begin with Ddayxa. In addition to the comprehensive description spanning the length of the text, this character also has a derogatory nickname that focuses on her nose, a part of her face that is utilized to represent her. This nickname is *mm-anzaren n lbaṭaṭa* (she of the potato nose). In fact, Ddayxa's nose is a central element of the story. The expression "*anzaren n lbaṭaṭa*" (the potato nose) is repeated several times in the text. On two occasions, it surfaces in the form of "*Anzaren-ihin*" (thatnose), and "*mm-wanzaren*" (she of the big nose). There is also a sentence that refers to the same nickname: *lbaṭaṭa-nni inem* (your potato).<sup>18</sup>

Regarding the nickname "*Acacfal yetṭallayen*," the narrator explains that this is what all the villagers called Zizi Belēid. He explains the meaning of each word in detail. "*Acacfal*" is attributed to Zizi Belēid thanks to his great height; though he is skinny, he is tall. The second term is "*yetṭallayen*" (the one who looks), and in this configuration it refers to the character who ogled the women passing by. Zizi Belaid takes pleasure in contemplating women and cannot help it, as evidenced in the following passage:

The great gawker cannot lower his gaze, it's beyond him, he can't help it. It's as if there were an invisible force pushing him to ogle women. . . . He can't stop himself from ogling dresses with red or yellow floral motifs and their underwear to be at peace. It's clear that he's sick. The malady of the gaze.<sup>19</sup>

The nickname *Acacfal yetṭalayan* is repeated in the text nine times. On two occasions, the narrator uses only the shortened nickname *Acacfal*. There is also a long phrase that serves as a nickname for this character: *Zizi n twayit bu wudem azuran* (Zizi the fat-faced disaster).<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to the previous two examples, the characters Zizi Belēid and Ddayxa have many nicknames. Akli, the main character in the story "*Tirgara*," has about ten nicknames, specifically: *Ssellum n yiedawen*<sup>21</sup> because he sacrificed the village of At Lqalus to the At Tewrirt, allowing the latter to take revenge on their enemy village, Lqalus. Akli *aḥeddad*<sup>22</sup> is referred to in this text on several occasions to refer to his profession as a blacksmith. He is likewise addressed using several qualifiers, mainly by the two characters, Σini and Mqidec (e.g., "*D Akli, d akli, dimneṭri, d amsebrid, d inebgi n Rebbi, d axennab, d amsah*."<sup>23</sup> This character has also been presented as: *d anebbac* (the stinger), *d akli* (the slave), *d agezzar* (the butcher), *d amattar* (the beggar),

<sup>18</sup> Houd, *Timsirin*, 112.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 74–76. Translated text: "*Acacfal yetṭallayen ur yezmir ara ad tent-iwwet [allen] yer lqaea, mačči deg ufus-is, ur yuksan ara. yetṭhulfu amzun d yiwen n wafud udrig i t-yettdeggiren ad iṭil tameṭṭut. . . . Ilaq ad iwali tiqedyar n ujeḡḡig azeggay ney awray akked tid yellan daxel-nsent ma ulac ur yetteli bxiir. D tidet yuḍen, yuḍen aṭan n tmuyli.*"

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>21</sup> Bouamara, *Nekkni*, 109.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

bu tergin/wagi (the man with ashes), ieiqer (the sterile one), and d aberṛrani (the foreigner).<sup>24</sup>

### Anonymous Characters

An author may refrain from naming the characters in a text and designate them by generic names, such as tameṭṭut (woman), argaz (man), or aqic (boy), or by their profession or other means of classification. In this case, the central character will have a separate value or estimation: “the personality as well as the psychological and social reality of the protagonist play a very small role, which affects the image that the story offers of the character.”<sup>25</sup> By examining the corpus of character names that we made for the 59 *tullis* being analyzed, we were able to classify the characters who did not have names according to the criterion of their profession, status, gender, or age.

### Designating a character based on profession and status

Designating characters based on their profession or status is one of the most common ways to designate anonymous characters. For this purpose, we offer the following examples: Afellaḥ /Ifellaḥen (farmer), Anehhar (driver), Asekri (military man), ṭṭbib (doctor), Tafermasyant (pharmacist), Inezzurfa (lawyers), and Amedyaz (poet), etc. The attribution of names based on profession differs from one author to another, and sometimes even within work by the same author. There are those who use neological approaches, as is the case with Amejjay<sup>26</sup> for Brahim Tazaghart and Amer Mezdad, while others opt for borrowing, e.g., ṭṭbib in Mohand Ait Ighil’s work. Almost all the first names we have mentioned are borrowings from Arabic or French. Most have been identified in Mohand Ait Ighil’s texts. This author also sometimes uses neologisms, as with Inezzurafa and Anezzarfu.

Names based on “status of the characters” means referring to them by their identity or attributes, as is the case, for example with Talmat (German) and Taqbaylit (Kabyle), or physical condition, as is the case with Aciban (person with grey hair). We also mention, by way of example, the status of a character who is a prisoner, as is the case with Aneḥbas (prisoner), or passenger, as with the example of Amsebrid (truck driver).

### Designating characters by using the combination of gender and age

The variables of the character’s gender and age constitute another method the authors of Kabyle *tullist* employed to designate their characters. In the manner of fairy tales, several characters are designated only by their gender, as with: argaz/tameṭṭut (man/woman), amḡar/tamḡart (old (f.)/old (m.)), or with reference to their age: argaz/amḡar (man/old man), *tameṭṭut/timḡarin*

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 119–20.

<sup>25</sup> Andrée-Marie Harmat, Yves Lehl, Jean Nimis and Nathalie Vincent-Arnaud, *La nouvelle en Europe. Destins Croisés d’un genre au XXe siècle* (Bordeaux: Presse Universitaire de Bordeaux, 2014), 221.

<sup>26</sup> In Béjaïa, the verb *yejji* (“he is cured”) is attested and common in everyday language, but it seems to us that the agent noun “amejjay” is a neologism created from this verb.

(woman/old woman). Examples found in this corpus include: Argaz (the man) (which occurs in five different texts), Amyar (old man), Tameṭṭut (the woman), tamyard (old woman), Aqcic (boy), Ilmezyen (young people), and Tiḥdayin (girls).

### Designating animal and fantastical characters

A minimal number of animal characters are depicted by the authors of our corpus, those being: Aserdun (horse), Aqjun (dog), taserdunt (mare), Ayyul (donkey), tayaṭ (goat), aqelwac (billy goat) and tagerfa (raven). The only animal character with a name is Mḥend's dog Damkain Mohand Ait Ighil's text "Ajewwaq."

As for the naming of fantastical or surreal characters, the only character of this type that we have noted in this corpus is a star. This star does not have a name, and Mohand Ait Ighil refers to it as "Itri." It is the character who has fulfilled Tiziri's dream of visiting his village.

As for unnamed/anonymous characters, Kabyle authors resort to compound descriptions based on profession, status, gender, or age as with Yiwen n umezday, Yiwen n urgaz, Tameṭṭut tamezwarut, yiwen seg wuḥricen-nni, etc.; or from combining a noun complement, such as Argaz n tfermasyant (husband of the pharmacist), imyaren n taddart (old men of the village), Anemhal n lḥebs (warden of the prison), Bab n ṭḥanut (storekeeper or owner of the store) etc.; or from adding an adjective, as with Aesekri awessar (fat military man), Anezṛarf u afeylasuf (eloquent lawyer), or Tamsiwt tameqrant (tall maiden).

Certain results and observations can be made about the naming of characters within the *tullist* genre. While there is no rule for naming *tullist* character (s), this does not mean that characters are named in an arbitrary way. Instead, two trends are clearly discernible. The first relates to writers who name all of their characters (Houd, Chemakh, Zimu, and Bouamara). The second involves writers who rarely name their protagonists (Mezdad, Tazaghart, Ouslimani, and Ait Ighil). However, these tendencies do not necessarily define an author one way or the other because it differs from one text to another, even for the same author. In addition, the primary or secondary status of the character in the text does not influence the naming: there are primary characters without names and secondary characters with names. The opposite is also true.

Generally speaking, characters' names in *tullist* serve to heighten the sense of reality. Indeed, Kabyle authors use many Kabyle first names for their characters. Almost one hundred characters in the corpus (approximately one-third) were designated simply by appellations consisting solely of a first name (Akli, Meqrant, Ṭawes Jeḡḡiga, etc.), a combination of first names and patronyms (Yidir At Wakli, Faḍma At Eli, etc.), or by titles that precede the given names, namely the signifying appellatives: Si, Lḥaḡ, Ccix, and Mass, as well as Ddda, Nna. In addition to these procedures, authors of Kabyle *tullist* address their protagonists distinctly via kinship names (or by prefacing a character's first name by a kinship relation, as with Yemma-s n Lexḍer, Tameṭṭut n Dda ARezqi, and Mmi-s n Ba-Mexluf, etc.). The use of nicknames and pseudonyms

is the least substantive naming procedure among Kabyle writers, given its scarcity in the literature reviewed.

Moreover, there are other ways intervene in the addressing of unnamed characters. The most recurrent are the designation, in the manner of a tale, either by the character's sex (Argaz, tameṭṭut, ilmezyen, tamɣart, etc.), profession (Tafermasyant, amejjay, inezzurfa, etc.), or status (Aneḥbus, talmant, amsebrid, etc.). In addition, characters are sometimes named via compound designations, combining one of the preceding processes with number nouns, noun complements, and adjectives (e.g., Tameṭṭut tamezwarut, yiwen urgaz, Anezzarfuf afeylasuf, Aeseḳri ilemezi, lall n ṭhanut, anemhal n uyerbaz, etc.).