

TAGDUDA TAMAGDAYT TAĠERFANT N LEZZAYER

AĠLIF N USELEMD UNNIG D UNADI USSNAN

TASDAWIT N WAKLI MUHAND ULHAĠ-TUBIRET

TAZEDDAYT N TSEKLIWIN D TUTLAYIN

AGEZDU N TUTLAYT D YIDLES AMAZII



AKATAY N MASTER

TAŶULT N TESNILEST D TESNALMUĐT

Adeg n tutlayt tamaziyt (taqbaylit) deg tmuyliwin n yinelmaden n uswir amenzu n tzeddayt n tsekliwin d tutlayin deg tesdawit n Tubiret

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Asnemmer

Asebded n umahil-agi yella-d s lemεawna n xirla n yimdanen iwumi ara nerr tajmilt wa ad nesnemmer s tusda.

Di tazwara ad nesnemmer massa berdus, taselwayt n unadi, i ay-iwehhan yer yiberdan iwulmen s yisallen d yiwellichen i ay-d-tettawi yal tikelt.

Tanemmirt, i yemdukal, i iqedcen yid-neɣ deg tsasant n wannar neɣ deg tagnatin-nniɗen.

Tanemmirt tameqrant i kra yellan d aselmad i ay-d-yefkan afus n tallelt deg lebni n umahil-a.

Tanemmirt tameqrant i wid yak i ay-yessarmen afud uzmir...

Abuddu

S tumert tameqrant ara buddey leqic-agi:

- I yimawlan-iw, d watmaten-iw i yettaden yid-i yal tikelt.**
- I yiεeggalen n twacult-iw mkul yiwen s yisem-is.**
- I yiselmaden-nney n ugezdu n tutlayt d yedles amaziy -Tubiret-akken ma llan.**

Sifaks

Abuddu

S lferh d ameqqran ad buddey axddim-a:

- ❖ **I Yimawlan-iw ezizen fell-i atas ad yessiżef Rebbi di lemer-nen, llan yid-i fkan-iyi afus n lemawna.**

- ❖ **I watmaten-iw ahsen d tmaziyt. D xwali, i yettaden yidi yal tikelt.**

- ❖ **Le3mum-iw d twacult-iw s umata.**

- ❖ **I yemdukkal-iw n temzi, d wid yeqqaren yid-i aladya Syphax, Samir, Ahmed d Eumar.**

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Tazwart tamatut

Amdan ur yezmir ara ad yidir wehd-s deg ugama, yesra i yemdanen-nniḍen, acku imdanen deg tdukli-nsen i ttafen tazmert iwulmen akken ad bedden mgal iṣewwiqen i yettqaraḍen tudert-nsen, yef waya i ttidiren deg tmetti.

Timettiyin ttemgaradent seg yiwet yer tayed seg tmurt yer tayed. Ttemgaradent ama deg wansayen, iḥulfan d tikiwin, ney iyiliyen i yesdukulen timuḥliwin-nsen. S umata d annect-a i tent-ibennun. Dayen imi, akk iṣeggalen n tmettiyin, seg temzi ara d-werṭen akken ma llan yiwen n umezruy, tutlayt, akked wummuy n wansayen idelsanen ara yeddsen amaḍal-nsen anmetti. Annect-agi akk nezmer ad d-nini fell-as, d timuḥliwin tinmettiyin tucrikin.

Ayen la d-yessebghanen tumanin-agi yeddsen timetti i d-nebder yakan, yezmer ad ilin, d adduden, ney d tikliwin-nni i tṭayen i tṭayen yimdanen, ney ahat d tutlayt-nsen imi tutlayt treffed kullec yerna teskanay-d akk ayen yezdin idles n yemdanen n yiwen wegraw. Abeddel n tutlayt seg yiwet yer tayed, ur d-igellu ara s ubeddel n wawalen kan, akk tillawin ney timuḥliwin yer umaḍal ttemgaradent. Mkul tutlayt amek i d-tessegzay amaḍal, yernu tetteḍdes-it ilmend n yidelsan i d-nḡḡeren iṣeggalen n tmetti.

Γef way-agi akk anida ugtent tutlayin, ad d-naf imsiwal lan tugniwin fell-asent, lhant ney diri-tent, annect-a ilmend n wamek i msefhamen deg tmetti. Tugniwin i xedmen yemdanen yef tutlayin awal-is amiḍran deg tesnilesmettit isem-is, [timuḥliwin tisnilesmettiyin](#). D asentel n uzraw iyef ttwaxedment aṭas n tezrawin deg taḥult-agi yerzan azraw n tutlayin deg tmetti. Azraw-nsent mačči d ayen i isehlen, acku timuḥliwin ur nesḍa ara yer-sent [tadfa](#), ḍerrunt-d deg lbal n umdan, ur d-ttbanent ara. Γef wannect-a azraw-nsent yettili-d s lmendad n wadduden, imi wigi yessenfali-ten-id umdan deg umeslay-is (deg yinaw).

Ggtent tarrayin ney allalen swayes nezmer ad nezrew tumant-agi, seg-sent ad d-nebder tarrayt n tesleḍt tuddist (méthode d'analyse combinée), ney tella dayen tarrayt n [umsiwel uffir](#) (méthode du locuteur masqué), tarrayt ara nessemres deg umahil-agi. Ssemrasen-tt yimnadiyen acku tessishil asebgan n tmuḥliwin tisnilesmettiyin i lan yimsiwal yef tutlayin seg wudem-ines uffir, s wawal-nniḍen segmi ara d-tili s ṭhila i yimsulya ara naweḍ yer yiswi n unadi «asebgan n tmuḥliwin tisnilesmettiyin ».

Afran n usentel

Nefren asentel-a, acku tagnit tasnilesmettit tazayrit twulem i wefrurex n tmuḥliwin, imi d-dduklent deg-s tutlayin yemgaraden. Ihi azraw n tumanin-agi d yiwen n ttawil ara

d-yesskeflen adduden, iyiliyen, d tektiwin tucrikin i yezdin timetti-agi nney yef tutlayin yellan deg ugama-is amutlay.

Afran n usentel-a ara d-yawin yef tmuyliwin tsnilesmettiyin s tarrayt n umsiwel uffir yettuyal yer waṭas n tmental.

Deg tazwara, acku tummant n tmuyliwin i yesṣan assay d usenqed, d tummant i ilan azal meqqren yur yemdanen, acku tetteawan-iten di lebni n yiman-nsen, d ayen imi ara tt-naf akk yur yemdanen, Ula d nekni gar-asen.

Tummant-a nettidir-itt. Meḥsub yal ass nzer amek nssenqad. Imdanen senqaden ula d tutlayin, am tutlayt tamaziyt i d-yezgan yal ass di nnican. Tummant-a tedda armi ula d imsiwal iqbayliyen uyalen sneqasen seg wazal n tutlayt-a i yellan d ayla-nsen. Ay-agi yettband, deg tmuyli-nney, di tsedawit n tubiret tigrat-agi, ugar n yinelmaden aladya iqbaylawalen, fernen almad n tutlayin-nniḍen (tiberaniyin). Gef wannect-a i nefren ad nexdem fell-as. Akken ad nzer deg tilawt d acu-t wazal n tutlayt tamaziyt yur-sen.

Syen akkin, ayen i ay-yeḡḡan ad nefren asentel-a, seg yiwet n tama, acku aniwel n usentel n tmuyliwin ur ttwaxedment ara fell-as aṭas tezrawin deg tsedawit n tubirett. Ihi leqdic-a, ad yettuneḥsab d asnerni usnan i tayult n tesnilesmettit deg wannar n tmuyliwin d wadduden isnilesmettiyen s tutlayt Tamaziyt. Seg tama-nniḍen, deg wayen yerzan tarrayt swayes ara t-nezrew, seg wudem-is usnan, igemmaḍ uyur tessawaḍ yezmer ad ilin ṣeḥḥan akter. Acku tarrayt-a d tarusridt, yerna tettawi-d isallen syur yimsulya war ma mmeslayen-d yef yiman-nsen ney yef tirmiyin-nsen.

Asentel n ukatay-a ihi d win yeqqnen yer tayult n tesnilesmettit, yerza timuyliwin d wadduden isnilsanen n yinelmaden n tesdawit n Tubiret seg yigezda yemgaraden yef tutlayin (tamaziyt, tafransist, taglizit d teerabt). Ihi, Asentel-agi d anadi yef wadeg n Tmaziyt deg tmuyliwin n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n tesdawit Akli Muḥend Ulḥaḡ ladya deg tzeddayt n tsekliwin d tutlayin. Akken ad nzer ay-a, nefka-d asteqsi agejdan n tmukrist:

D acu-t wadeg n tutlayt tamaziyt gar tutlayin: taerabt, tafransist d teglizit deg tmuyliwin n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n tzeddayt n tsekliwin d tutlayin?

Syen akkin, nessedfer-it-id s yesteqsiyen inaddayen i d-yefrurin seg tmukrist, seg-sen:

- Amek la ttwalin yinelmaden n tzeddayt n tsekliwin tutlayin-agi?

- D acu-tt tmuɣli-nsen yer tutlayt tamaziɣt?
- Ilmend-nsen, anta tutlayt i ẓerren tla azal ugar n tayed?

Ilmend n yisteqsiyen-a i d-nefka, d yinadiyen iẓrayanen i nexdem yef usentel n tmuɣliwin tsnilesmettiyin, turda tagejdant i nezmer ad sen-d-nessumer tezmer ad tili akka:

Ahat inelmaden lan timuɣliwin ur lhint ara yef tmaziɣt.

Acku deg temmrut tazɣayrit, Tamaziɣt tettuneḥsab d tutlayt [tamidrūt](#), adabu ur s-yerri ara azal. Ayen i yeḡḡan imdanen ula d nitni ur s-ttaran ara azal, tagi d tazɣit n tsertit tamutlayt i yessemres udabu yef (mgal) tamaziɣt. tasertit tamutlayt i yeḍfer udabu deg tegnit-agi, terra azal i nšib n tutlayt taerabt, d tutlayin tiberraniyin am tefransist d teglizit yef leḥsab n tutlayt tamaziɣt i ilan azref fell-asent.

Tixutert n uzraw n tmuɣliwin, tetteawan tigzi n [temwiwelt tanmettit](#) d [temwiwelt tamutlayt](#) i yerzan yiwet n tamnaḍt seg tmurt tazɣayrit, ay-agi d ayen yesean assay d wamek i tetteɣni tmetti d tutlayin i tt-yeddsen. Yernu [yessinif](#) iwaran imutlayen (discrimination linguistique).

Akken ad d-nerr yef yisteqsiyen i d-nessumer wa ad yili umahil-a yeddes akken iwata nebna-t yef sin n yihricen, yal aḥric yebḍa d ixɣawen. Aḥric amezwaru yerza tizri, imeyri ad t-yaf yebḍa yef 2 n yixɣawen. Ixf mezwaru yewwi-d yef tegnit tasnilesmettit n tmurt Tazɣayrit d tsertit tamutlayt swayes-s i yesselḥay udabu tutlayin i yeddsen agama amutlay agtutlay n tmurt-a. Syen akkin nesbadu-d kra n tummanin i tzerrew tesnilesmettit.

Deg yixf wis sin, nerna nesbadu-d kra n tnaktiwin i ilan assay d usentel n uzraw (timuɣliwin d wadduden isnilesmettiyen). Nemmeslay-d dayen s wudem amatu yef umazray n tnakti-a ney tayulin iseg i d-tenulfa (tnakti-a). Syen akkin nessenked-d tarrayt n (umsiwel uffir) tarrayt i yes-s i d-negmer igemmaḍ seg tsastant n wannar.

Aḥric wis sin seg umahil-a deg-s newwi-d yef tesnarrayt n tezrawt, imeyri ad t-yaf yebḍa yef kraḍ n yixɣawen. Deg yixef amezwaru nesbadu-d timiḍranin tsnarrayanin tigejdanin am tsastant n wannar, imsulya, adeg n wannar, tarrayt ara nessemres deg tesleḍt n wammud.

Deg yixf wis sin seg uḥric-a, nexdem afraz i wammud s wawalen. D aseɣzi i tfelwiyin n wammud ara yaf yimeyri yer taggara deg tmerna. Ixf wis kraḍ nerra deg-s tasleḍt i wammud i d-negmer seg wannar n unadi, nsegza-d timuɣliwin n yisedawanen yer tutlayin tamaziɣt,

taglizit, taṣrabt, d tefransist, s tarrayt taṣarant. Fer tagara, nessewzel-d igemmaḍ iyer nessawed deg teggrayt.

Deg wayen yerzan tasnarrayt n umahil-a nefren ad nexdem tasuqilt n tukkisin i nessemres weḥd-ney, yef way-a imeyri ad tent-yaf s tira imalen deg uḍris, ad ten-yaf dayen deg wadda n usebter s tutlayt tanaṣlit dixel n isetṭaf [...] nerna nerra-asant itran yer tazwara akken ad d-banent belli d tasuqilt.

Asegzi n wawalen imaynuten ad yili deg tmerna deg tfelwit n umawal, imeyri yezmer ad itekki yef wawalen yellan s yini azegzaw ad t-yawi yer tfelwit n unamek n wawal-nni. Ma yebya ad yuṣal yer usebter iseg iṣuḥ ad itekki yef wawal yellan s tmaziyt, ad d-yuṣal yer weḍris.

Afraz n wammud i d-negmer seg wannar n unadi, ad t-yaf yimeyri nessasmel-it ilmend n tutlayin, yal tutlayt, nerra-as aktazal i d-xedmen fell-as yinelmeden n yal agezdu.

Deg uḥric amezwaru n uktazal (aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked d tzemmar), afraz n tiriyin, nexdem-it d asegzi n tfelwiyyin n yigemmaḍ s wawalen, ama seg tama n ujerrid n timmadit, ney seg tama ujerrid n tzemmar. Deg wayen yerzan igemmaḍ i d-nexdem deg tfelwiyyin, imeyri ad d-yaf tiriyin yellan s uswir aelayan seant inni azegzaw, ma yella d tiriyin yellan s uswir n wadda ad tent-yaf yimeyri s yinni azeggay.

Tifelwiyyin n yigemmaḍ n uḥric-a nerra-tent yer tmerna, acku imeyri yezmer ad yeereq deg-sen. Tifelwiyyin-a n yigemmaḍ deg tmerna nessasmel-itent ilmend n usismel i nexdem deg yixf n ufraz n wammud. Imeyri yezmer ad yawed yer tfelwiyyin n yigemmaḍ, mi ara itekki yef (isem n tutlayt) awal yellan s yini azegzaw deg yixef n ufraz n wammud. Ma yebya ad yuṣal yer weḍris ad itekki yef wawal yellan d azegzaw (isem n tutlayt).

Ahric amezwaru Tizri

IXF Amezwaru: Deg tesnilesmettit

1. Tagnit tasnilestmettit n tmurt n Lezzayer

Tazwert

Tagnit tasnilestmettit tamirant n tmurt n Lezzayer d tin yellan d tamesbayurt seg tama, maca seg tama-nniḍen temcebbak yerna teččur d uguren. Acku agama amutlay n tmurt-a yemmug s tihawt n waṭas n tutlayin yemgaraden am Tmaziyt, Taerabt (taklasikit, tantalant), Taglizit, d Tefransist yef wannect-a, ilmend n Abdelhamid, S, *agama amutlay n tmurt n lezzayer ur yelli ara kan deg tagnit n tesnitlayt, acku ugar n snat n tutlayin i yettwassemrasen deg-s, d ayen i yeğğan agama amutlay n tmurt n Lezzayer ad yay tagnit tagtutlayt*.¹

Dya, asemres n ugar n yiwet n tutlayt deg tmurt n Lezzayer deg tizi n wass-a d aghemmuḍ n yimecwaren imhersanen i d-iæddan yef tmurt, yef ugdud-is anaşli d tutlayin-nen, am Ifiniqiyen, Iṛumaniyen, Iwandalen, Ibizantiyen, Aæraben d Iṛumiyen, akked temsertit tamutlayt i yessemres udabu send timument-ines seg yifassen n ucengu aṛumi, acku tiyerמיwin-a gğant-d later deg tuget n tayulin aladya deg tmeslayt.

Ihi ilmend n wannect-a ad negzu dakken tagnit tasnilestmettit n tmurt n lezzayer d [tagtutlayt](#) acku llant ugar n kraḍt n tutlayin yemgaraden deg tmurt n Lezzayer. Tutlayin i yellan deg tmurt-a: D taerabt [tamazdayt](#) (taklasikit), Taerabt tantalant, Tamaziyt d tantaliwin-is, Tefransist d Teglizit.

1.1. Tutlayt taerabt

S umata, tutlayt Taerabt deg tmurt n Lezzayer tebda yef snat n tmeskal, tamezwarut d “Taerabt tameddayt” tettuneḥsab d asafar unnig (variété haute), tesa azal d yisey, tettwaseqdec s waṭas deg tagnatin tunşibin. Tis snat “taerabt tantalant”, d asafar adday (variété basse), d tutlayt tayemmat n tuget n yimsiwal izzayriyen tettwaseqdec kan deg tagnatin n taywalt.

¹ Abdelhamid, Samir., « Pour une approche sociolinguistique de l'apprentissage de la prononciation du français langue étrangère chez les étudiants du département de français université de Batna », université de Batna, 2002, p.35.

*[Le problème qui se pose en Algérie ne se réduit pas à une situation de bilinguisme, mais peut être envisagé comme un phénomène de plurilinguisme].

1.1.1. Taerabt tamedzdayt

Taerabt tamedzdayt ney taklasikit, d yiwet seg tutlayin tiqburin deg umaḍal, tesɛa isey d wazal meqqren, acku d tutlayt n tneslemt d Leqran. Deg tmurt n Lezzayer, tutlayt-a tettuneḥsab d tutlayt tunṣibt tayelnawt seg timument-is deg useggas n 1962, d tutlayt n udabu, tesɛa azal meqqren, acku tettuseqdec deg yak tayulin, am uselmed, tadbelt akked d tsuddutin n uwanek s umata.

Γas akken tutlayt-a ur telli ara d tutlayt tayemmat n ugdud Azzayri, maca adabu yerra-as azal ameqqran, dya, yef wannect-a Durari. A yessebgen-d dakken, *Taerabt n Tefriqt Ugafa tekka-d seg tantaliwin i d-iwint teqbilin n Banu hilal deg tasut tis 11, acku d nitenti i yesɛerben amur ameqran n yimaziyen.*² Ilmend n wayen i d-yenna Camps, tutlayt-a ur telli ara tutlayt tayemmat n yimaziyen, maca tekcem-d yer tmurt Tazzayerit yef ufus n waeraben.

1.1.2. Taerabt tantalant

Taerabt tantalant deg tmurt n Lezzayer d tutlayt tumrist, texleq-d seg usemres n yimdanen, ur tessei ara tajerrumt d yilugan iseddasanen, yernu tla aṭas n yireṭṭalen i d-tewwi seg tutlayin tiberraniyin, tettuneḥsab d tutlayt tayemmat n uḥric ameqqran n yizzayriyen, ilmend n Legerlec.J, *Taerabt tantalant d tutlayt tayemmat n 72% n ugdud azzayri*³. Tantala-a d tutlayt timawit, seqqdacen-tt tuget n yimsiwal Izzayriyen deg tagnatin n taywalt, gar twaculin d yemdukak, deg uḏawan, amezgun, yerna deg yiseggasen-a ineggura Taerabt tantalant sseqdacen-tt ula deg temnaḍin n leqbayel am Tubiret, Tizi-uzzu, Bgayet. Γas akken Tantala-a d tutlayt tumrist ney d tutlyat n yal ass n ugdud azzayri, adabu Ur as-yerri ara azal, yerna ur tessei ara aḏayar, acku annect-a yekcem deg usenfar n useɛreb n tmurt Tazzayrit.

²- Dourari, Abderrezak., « Politique linguistique en Algérie : entre le monolinguisme de l'état et le plurilinguisme de la société », Alger, p.6.

**[Cet arabe maghrébin est issu de la langue bédouine introduit au XI siècle par les tribus Hilaliennes, car se sont-elles, en effet, qui ont véritablement arabisé une grande partie des Berbères]*

³- Leclercs, Serge., « Algérie dans l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde », Québec, TLFQ, université Laval. Cité par Harbi, S., Les représentations sociolinguistiques des langues (arabe, français) chez les étudiants en psychologie de l'université de Tizi-Ouzou, université de tizi-ouzou, 2011, p.21.

**[L'arabe dialectal est la langue maternelle de 72 % de la population algérienne].*

1.2. Tutlayt tamaziyt

Tutlayt-a tettuneḥsab seg tutlayin tiqburi deg Tefriqt Ugafa, sseqdacen-tt azal n 9 n tmura deg temnaḍt-a. Gef temsalt-a ad d-naf Mehrazi.M, yenna-d, *tutlayt Tamaziyt deg tizi n wass-a ssemrasen-tt azal n 9 tmura deg Tefriqt Ugafa: Tamuriṭanit, Lmerruk, Lezzayer, Tunes, Libya, Maṣer, Niđer, Burkina-faṣu*⁴.

Tutlayt Tamaziyt deg tmurt n Lezzayer teddes ney tebna s waṭas n tantaliwin, maca yal tantala ssemrasen-tt deg temnaḍin yemgaraden, Arezki.A yenna-d, *Tutlayt n Tmaziyt d tutlayt tayemmat n 17% yer 25% n ugdud Azzayri, s umata sseqdacen-t s waṭas deg temnaḍin n Leqbayel s tantala n Teqbaylit, ssemrasen-t dayen deg deg tmurt n Lurras s Tcawit, deg Yemazabiyen s Temzabit, d temnaḍin n ṣṣeḥra, akked d Tefriqt n ugafa*⁵, gar tantaliwin-a ad d-naf:

- **Taqbaylit:** Taqbaylit d tin yettusqedacen deg waṭas n temnaḍin n tmurt n Lezzayer am Tizi-uzzu, Tubiret, Bumerdas, Bgayet, Ġigel.
- **Tacawit:** D tantala n Tmaziyt, ssemrasen-tt s waṭas deg temnaḍt n yicawiyen i yellan deg temnaḍt n Lewras.
- **Tamzabit:** Tantala-a ttmeslayen-tt yemzabiyen i yellan deg ugafa n ṣṣeḥra Tazzayrit am Gerdaya.
- **Tatergit:** D tantala i ssemrasen Itergiyen deg tudert-nsen, maca tuget n Itergiyen ttilin deg ṣṣeḥra.

⁴ Mehrazi, Mouhand., « Tamaziyt face a son destin », Ed tira, p.15.

*[La langue berbère, langue maternelle d'une communauté importante de la population Algérien (17% à 25%), elle est principalement utilisée en Kabylie (dans sa variation la plus répandue d'ailleurs, le kabyle) dans les Aurès. (Le Chaouia) et dans le Mzab (le M'Zab), mais dans d'autres régions du Sahara, du Maghreb et de l'Afrique subsaharienne].

⁵Arezki, Abdennour., *Le role et la place du français dans le système éducatif algérien*, Université du Béjaia, p.23.

*[La langue berbère : langue maternelle d'une communauté importante de la population algérienne (17% à 25% de natifs berbérophones), elle est principalement utilisée en Kabylie (dans sa variante la plus répandue d'ailleurs, le kabyle), dans les Aurès (le chaoui) et dans le Mzab (le m'zab), mais aussi dans d'autres régions du Sahara, du Maghreb et de l'Afrique subsaharienne].

1.2.1. Ażayar n tutlayt Tmaziyt

Akken i d-nebder yakkan, timument n tmurt n Lezzayer deg useggas n 1962, tegla-d s waṭas n ubeddel deg tuget n tayulin, anida i d-yedra ubeddel ameqqran deg ugama asnilsan n tmurt n Lezzayer, timentelt n ubeddel-a d tasertit n useereb i yessemres udabu Azzayri, acku iswi-is agejdan d tiririt n tutlayt n Taerabt d tunṣibt deg tmurt-a, d uezal n tutlayin-niḍen i yellan deg tmurt gar-asent tutlayt Tamaziyt.

Seld timument n Lezzayer, tutlayt Tamaziyt ur tesēi ara aṣayar deg tmurt-a, yaṣ akken tettuseqdec deg waṭas n temnaḍin deg tmurt n Lezzayer, yerna ssemrasen-tt yimsiwal Imaziyen deg tudert-nsen n yal ass, tutlayt-a ur telli ara d tunṣibt, acku ur ttesseqdacen ara deg tayulin yellan deg tmurt am uselmed, tadbelt.

Aṣayar n tutlayt Tamaziyt ibeddel deg tmurt Lezzayer seld n yinedruyen i d-yellan seg tazwara n 1989, inedruyen-a llan-d s tufya n Leqbayel yer yiberdan deg temnaḍin yemgaraden deg tmurt am Tizi-Uzzu, Bgayet, Lezzayer tamanayt deg useggas n 1991, d uyunzu n uyerbaz i d-yellan deg temnaḍin Leqbayel seg useggas n 1994 yer 1995, d tefsut n yimaziyen deg useggas n 2001.

Ilmend n wannect-a i tessawed tutlayt Tamaziyt ad d-tḥelli adeg-is deg tmurt n Lezzayer. Maca, inedruyen-a glan-d:

- S uselmed n Tmaziyt deg tsedawiyin deg useggas n 1990.
- Asebded n usqamu unnig n timuzya (HCA) deg useggas n 1995.
- Anekcum n tutlayt-a yer uyerbaz Azzayri deg useggas n 1995 seld ayunzu n uyerbaz de useggas n 1994.
- Tmaziyt d tutlayt tayelnawt deg useggas n 2002.

Deg useggas n 2016 tutlayt n tmaziyt tuyal d tunṣibt yer tama n tutlayt n Taerabt.

1.3. Tutlayin tiberraniyin

1.3.1. Tutlayt Tafransist

Uqbel anekcum n temhersa Tafransist yer tmurt n Lezzayer, aselmed deg tmurt-a yella s tutlayt n Taerabt, sselmaden arrac Leqran d ddiin deg Lejwameε d zzawiyat. Tihawt n tutlayt Tafransist deg tmurt n Lezzayer tella-d i tikelt tamezwarut deg useggas n

1830 seld unekcum n ucengu aṛumi yer tmurt-a. Irumyen send unekcum-nsen yer tmurt n Lezzayer glan-d s ubeddel meqqren, maca bnan iyerbazen iwakken ad slemden arrac tutlayt Tafransist d wayen yerzan idles d ddin-nsen.

Gef wannect-a ad d-naf Chachou.I tebder-d dakken, *tutlayt Tafransist tuy [azayer](#) n tutlayt tunṣibt deg tmurt n Lezzayer seg tazwara n temhersa tafransist*⁶.

1.3.1.1. Azayar n tutlayt tafransist

Deg tallit n temhersa Tafransist, tutlayt tunṣibt deg tmurt n Lezzayer d tutlayt Tafransist, tella d tutlayt issemrasen deg uselmed, d tedbelt.

Send timument n Lezzayer azayar n tutlayt Tafransist ibeddel s waṭas, tuyal d tutlayt taberranit. Tafransist yas iruḥ-as umkan-is deg tmurt n lezzayer, maca mazal tessea amkan deg tmetti tazayrit, acku sseqdacen-tt deg tuget n tayulin, aselmed, tadbelt, tadamsa, yerna aṭas n yimsiwal Izzayriyen i tt-yessemrasen deg tudert-nsen n yal ass. Deg wayen yerzan aselmed, tutlayt Tafransist d tutlayt i ssemrasen i uselmed deg tsedawiyin, ma deg yesswiren-niden sselmaden-tt seg useggas wis kraḍ deg uyerbaz amenzu.⁷

1.3.2. Tutlayt Taglizit

Taglizit d tutlayt tagraylant, tessea isey d wazal meqqran deg umaḍal, acku, deg tizi n wass-a ugar n 118 n tmura i tt-yesseqdacen deg uselmed. Yernu, Tutlayt-a sseqdacen-tt deg waṭas n tayulin, am tsenselkimt, tamerrit, taywalt.

Deg tmurt n Lezzayer, Taglizit d tutlayt taberranit tis snat yer tama n Tefransist, tutlayt-a sselmaden-tt deg uyerbaz Azzayri seg useggas amezwaru deg uswir alemmas, seg useggas n 2022, adabu n tmurt n Lezzayer yessekcem tutlayt Taglizit yer uyerbaz amenzu yer tama n Tefransist.

1.4. Tasertit n useṛeb

Asemres n tutlayt Tafransist deg tmurt n Lezzayer yella-d seg unekcum n Irumyen yer tmurt-a deg useggas n 1830 almi d aseggas n 1962, Fransa teqqim azal n 130 iseggasen deg

⁶Chachou, Ibtissem., « La situation sociolinguistique de l'ALGERIE », Ed L'Harmattan, p.110.

*[En effet, le français a depuis le début de la colonisation française été considéré comme la langue officielle du pays et donc du pouvoir en place.]

⁷ Voir Harbi.Sonia, Les représentations sociolinguistiques des langues (arabe, français) chez les étudiants en psychologie de l'université de Tizi-ouzou, université de tizi-ouzou, 2011, p.22.

Lezzayer, imir-n, tutlayt Tafransist ala nettat i yellan d tutlayt tunşibt deg tamurt n Lezzayer, yerna tuget n tayulin ssemrasen tutlayt Tafransist am deg uselmed, tadbelt, tadamsa, d teydemt.

Send timument n tmurt n Lezzayer deg useggas n 1962, adabu Azzayri yessemres yiwet n tsertit tamutlayt iwumi qqaren "tasertit n useereb". Tasertit-a tella-d ilmend n waṭas n yiberdan, deg tazwara, adabu Azzayri yerra azal i tmagit Taerabt tineslmet, imi yerra tutlayt Taerabt d tutlayt tayelnawt, tunşibt n tmurt, d ufran n tneslemt d taşreḍt n ddula, d ugdud azzayri, yef leḥsab n Grandguillaume.G, *adabu Azzayri ira ad d-yessali tutlayt taerabt deg umkan n tutlayt tafransist, dacu kan, mačči taerabt tantalant maca d taerabt taklasikit i d-yellan d tutlayt n leqran*⁸.

Ɛef lsa-a yessaweḍ udabu Azzayri ad yessemres tasertit n useereb deg tmurt-a, imi yerra tuget n tayulin d tagnatin deg tmurt, am uselmed, tadbelt, taydemt. Ttwaseqdacen-t s tutlayt Taerabt. Tasertit-a ur tḥuz ara kan tisuddutin n uwanek, maca ayen yellan yakan yettwasemres s tutlayt Tafransist yuḡal s tutlayt Taerabt, am usemmi n yiberdan d tudrin yuḡal s tutlayt Taerabt, d ubeddel n tutlayt Tafransist s Taerabt deg tmeslayt n ugdud Azzayri. Tasertit n usereb mazal tettkemmil ar tizi n wass-a deg tmurt n Lezzayer, tegla-d s waṭas n ubeddel deg tuget n tayulin.

Tasertit tamutlayt n useereb deg tmurt Tazzayrit tædda-d yef 3 n tagnatin tigejdanin seg timmument ar ass-a. Tamezwarut tella-d send timument kan, ney seg 1962 yer 1980, anida adabu yettnadi ad yegzem assayen yellan gar-as d ucengu arumi. Ihi isebded tasertit n useereb akken ad d-yebnu tamagit (Taerabt) tamaynut i tmurt. Ɛef waya i tt-yefren ad tili d tutlayt tunşibt tamezwarut nettat d Tefransist i ilan aḡayer n tutlayt taberanit, s ttawil n tsertit n useereb. Tasertit deg tazwara ur telḥi ara mliḥ acku ur terzi ara tiddin n Taerabt deg tayulin yemgaraden am tedbelt, yerna ur tekcim ara ula yer uyerbaz, acku, imir-n Tafransist tekka-d nnig-s deg uḡayer.

Aḥettem n udabu i usnas n usaḡuf n useereb n tedbelt ur d-yelli ara armi d aseggas 1973. Iswi-is d asebyes n teynutlayt deg wudem ayelnaw deg yak tayulin. Dayen imi

⁸ Grandguillaume, Gilbert., « La francophonie en Algérie », Ed école des grandes études en sciences sociales, paris. 09-04-2008.

Cité par par Limam.Iman, Tigensas tsnilsanin n yinelmaden d yiselmaden yef uselmed n tmaziyt s tmaziyt deg tseddawit n Tubiret, université de bouira, 2016, p. 32.

*[Le gouvernement algérien voulait réaliser la face culturelle de l'indépendance en mettant à la place de la langue française la langue arabe, non pas la langue parlée, mais la langue arabe standard issue de l'arabe coranique].

tettunehsab tegnit-a d tallit ideg i d-iger udabu tutlayt Taerabt s lǧehd. Isekcem-itt yer uyerbaz, tadbelt, ineymassen. Akk annect-a, yef leh̄sab n tutlayin tumrisin yur wegduḍ Azzayri.

Tallit tis 2 tebda seg yiseggasen n 1980 yer tazwara 2000, d akemmel i umecwar i d-yebdan. Adabu deg tallit-a, yerna yesnegmay seg uselmed n tutlayt Taerabt am deg tesnawit d tsedawit. Yerna yeseqeed-itt mi s-yerra aseqqamu unnig i ilan iswi n usnegmu-is d useh̄biber fell-as. S umata deg tallit-a yal tikelt Adabu yesnulfuy-d iṣuḍaf imaynutin i nṣib n Taerabt d uqmaḍ n tutlayin-nniḍen, armi i d-kkrent tmesbaniyin n tefsut taberkant i d-yeglan s unekcum n Tmaziyt yer uyerbaz. Adabu ur d-yessuli ara seg uẓayer n Tmaziyt armi i d-glan inedruyen-a s leṛwaḥ n yeqbayliyen.

Tallit tis 3 seg 2000 ar ass-a, d tagnit ideg adabu iṣawed lebni n tsertit n usedwel, anida ibeddel tamuḡli-is yer tutlayin tiberraniyin, am Tefransit i d-yerra deg useggas 2004 d tutlayt taberranit tamezwarut, ara yettwaslemden seg uswir wis sin n uyerbaz amenzu. Adabu iṣawed tamuḡli-is acku taserti-a i d-yewwi ur d-tuḡal ara s lfayda.

Tasertit n useṣreb tettkemmil deg xirla n yiswiren ar ass-a, ayen yeḡḡan Tamaziyt ur tettejnerni ara yas ma yerra-tt udabu d tutlayt tunṣibt.

Leqrar aneggaru i yeddem uwanek azzayri, yerza asali n tutlayt Taglizit yer uswir n tutlayt taberrani ara yelmed Uzzayri seg uyerbaz amenzu. Lebyi-yis seg ufran n Teglizit mazal ur iban ara tura ameṣna d win ara d-isekfel wakud sya yer zdat.

2. Tasnilesmettit

Tasnilesmettit d yiwet n tusna n tutlayt i d-yefrurin seg tesnilest, tnulfa-d deg tazwara n useggas n 1960 deg tmurt n Marikan, gar ifassen n kra n yimusnilsen yef uqerru-nsen William Labov. Tusna-a tlul-d mgal kra n tektiwin n tesnilest n Ferdinand de Saussure i ilan *iswi n uzraw n tutlayt s yiman-is i yiman-is*⁹akken i t-id yenna deg udlis-is.

Imusnilsen n tesnilesmettit sneqden tasnilest tamatut n Saussure ladya tasinzla i d-yebnan asentel n uzraw n tesnilest (tutlayt). Ilmend n Boyer.H, *deg (tutlayt / asiwel) Saussure yebda, di tazwara gar wayen yellan d anmetti [tutlayt], d wayen yellan d anemdan [asiwel]*¹⁰. Annect-a d ayen yakk i d-yeseqren [amwexxer](#) gar tezriwin-a, i d-yellan seg tama n Saussure, deg umeslay-is yef umgired i yerra gar umeslay d tutlayt. Ilmend-is, akken i d-yenna Boyer.H, *ameslay d amertay, ma d tutlayt d tamsarit, yernu d tutlayt i la tzerrew tesnilest*¹¹. Ihi timsirin n tesnilest tamatut akken la nettwali ur rrint ara azal i wudem amertay n umeslay ideg tella [tmanawt](#) d [usmeskel](#).

William Labov mi yeered ad d-yesbadu tusna-a tamaynut deg tazwara, yenna-d dakken, *tasnilesmettit d yiwet nettat d tesnilest*¹². Ameena ayen i yerran amgired lqay gar-asent, d ayen i yeğgan tusna-agi ad tt-tzer tafat, wagi d azraw n umeslay deg tmetti. Maçci am wakken i yella lhal deg tesnilest n Saussure, tin la yzerwen tutlayt beřra n usatal anmetti. Yas akka Saussure yeeqel mi i d-yenna deg udlis-is timsirin n tesnilest tamatut, *tutlayt d aħric seg umeslay anmetti*,¹³ acku yef leħsab-is netta, tutlayt d tamunant yef wemdan, tekka-d sennig-s.

⁹De saussure,Ferdinand.,*cours de linguistique générale*, Ed Talantikit-bejaia, 2016, p.352.

*[La linguistique a pour unique et véritable objet la langue envisagée en elle-même et pour elle-même.]

¹⁰ Boyer, Henri., introduction à la sociolinguistique, Ed Dunod, 2017, p.11.

*[en séparant la langue de la parole, on sépare du même coup : ce qui est social [= la langue] de ce qui est individuel [= la parole]]

¹¹ De Saussure, Ferdinand., Cours de linguistique générale, Ed Payot critique préparée par T. de Mauro, Paris, 1974, pp. 38 39. Cité par Boyer, Henri., Op. Cit, p.11.

*[le langage est hétérogène, ... la langue est de nature homogène et ainsi « la linguistique proprement dite » est « celle dont la langue est l'unique objet [...].]

¹²Labov, William., *Le parler ordinaire. La langue dans les ghettos noirs des États-Unis*, Éditions de Minuit, 1978, Paris, Boyer, Henri., op. Cit, p.10.

*[Il s'agit tout simplement de linguistique.]

¹³De saussure,Ferdinand., op. Cit, p.28.

*[La langue est la partie sociale du langage.]

Ilmend n Boyer *tasnilesmettit tettara lwelha-is akk yer tumanin icudden yer umeslay n wemdan dixel n tmetti*¹⁴. Ma nra ad d-nesegezi tidmi-agi, ad d-nini, tusna-a tzerrew agemmud n umeslay n umdan dixel ney (ilmend) n *temyinawin* gar wassayen inemettiyen.

Ihi iswi agejdan seg tesnilesmettit ilmend n yimusnisen i tt-id-yesnulfan (Dell Hymes, Fishman, Gumperz, Labov, Ferguson, atg.). D tiririt yef yisteqsiyen-a, anwa i yettmeslayen, d acu i yettmeslay, amek i yettmeslay, anida, netta d anwa yettmeslay?

2.1. Tumanin i tzerrew tesnilesmettit

2.1.1. Anermis n tutlayin

Tasnilesmettit tzerrew atas n tumanin tutlayanin i la yderrun deg tmetti, tigi d tumanin i d-yettlalen seg tagnatin n *umyekcem gar tutlayin* ney ayen iwumi neqqar (anermis n *tutlayin*). Tamidranta yesseqdec-itt i tikelt tamezwarut umusniles Amarikani Weinreich deg useggas n 1953. Hamers, yenna deg wawal-is, *Anermis n tutlayin icudd yer tikli tasnilsimant n umdan yessnen ugar n yiwet n tutlayt*¹⁵. S wawal-nniḍen amyekcem gar tutlayin yerza akk tignatin anida, tilin n snat n tutlayin tettbeddil deg umeslay n umdan. Tumant-a tettuneḥsab d yiwet n tagnit anida ttemlilint ugar n yiwet n tutlayt, yef waya imdanen yettidiren deg tmurt i yellan d tagtutlayt, s umata ad ten-naf seqdacen iretḥalen, arwus, tamlilt tungilt, d temlilit gar tutlayin.

Tanelkemt n tumanin-a gar tutlayin i yellan ama d timyemert ney d tayemmurt mi ara d-dduklent, ilmend n Boyer, *tettak-d tameslayt tamaynut d timanit*¹⁶, d tamaynut gar yemdanen.

2.1.2. Tasertit tamutlayt

Akk deg tagnatin n umyekcem gar tutlayin, adabu yeggar-d iman-is akken ad yessemsawi gar-asant, ihi aseqdec n tesnilesmettit yufrar akin yer tayulin-nniḍen am tsertit.

¹⁴ Boyer, Henri. cité par cours 2^{ème} PES/PEM, CHPITRE 1 introduction a la sociolinguistique sociolinguistique, E.N.S Ourgla. http://univ.ency-education.com/uploads/1/3/1/0/13102001/ens2an_fr_lessons-sociolinguistique_intro.pdf

*[La sociolinguistique prend en compte tous les phénomènes liés à l'homme parlant au sein d'une société.]

¹⁵ Hamers Josian.F., « Contact des langues » in M.L Moreau, sociolinguistique : concepts de base, Ed Mardaga, Liège, 1997.

*[Le concept de contact des langues réfère au fonctionnement psycholinguistique de l'individu qui maîtrise plus d'une langue]

¹⁶ Boyer, Henri. op.cit, p 87.

*[donnant éventuellement naissance à une nouvelle parlure, relativement autonome.]

Awal-is amidran deg tayult n tesnilesmettit, d tasertit tamutlayt, d yiwet n tigawt yef lmendad-is yella udabu. Yetta-d iman-is akken ad iseddu leqdic n tutlayin gar yemdanen deg tmurt-is.

Tasertit tamutlayt teffey-d i tikelt tamezwarut seg temlilit n UCLA (Université de Californie à Los Angeles) i d-yedran gar kra n yimusnilsen deg 1964 di tmurt n Marikan, mi d-tban tesnilesmettit. Azar n wawal-a amidran yella-d syur *Einar Ingvald Haugen*, deg yinadiyen-is imezwura yef wannect-a di (1959), deg tazwara, isemma-as s Teglizit *language planning*, ney la *planification linguistique* deg tsuqilt-is yer Tefransist. Syen akin snernan-t yimusnilsen seg tmura yemgaraden i ixedmen tizrawin-nsen ilmend n tegnatin tisnilesmettiyen n tmura-nsen. Ilmend n Loubier *yer taggara n useggas n 1960 tanakti n langage planning teawed tban-d imi tenerna yer yak timkeččmin deg yiswi n tiffin n tifrat i yiyeban isnilesmettiyen (Rubin, Das Gupta, Jernudd, Fishman). Dya deg teẓri-a ara d-tban tnakti n tsertit tamutlayt*¹⁷. Mkul tama amek i s-temma, yella ihi ilmend n Boyer, *normalisation linguistique (Aracil, 1965, pour le domaine catalan-espagnol) et aménagement linguistique (Corbeil, 1980, pour le domaine québécois-francophone) Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi akked Louis Guespin ssumren-d irem-nniđen glottopolitique, imi nitni byan ad sweseen akter aseqdec-is, akken ad yeglem akk tumanin anida ameslay yelsa aberrus asertan.*¹⁸

Ilmend n Calvet¹⁹, tasertit tamutlayt tettuneḥsab d ummuy n leqrrat ney n tmuyliwin i yefren udabu i tutlayin n tmurt-is, ay-agi yerza amek ara ilint (ara yili useqdec-nsent) deg tmetti. Lant snat n tarrayin n useddu agtutlay, tigawt in vivo, terza aseqdec n tutlayin gar yemdanen, amek i ttmeslayen tutlayin d wamek i d-ttafen tifrat i wuguren i d-ttmagaren., d

¹⁷ Loubier. Christiane. « L'AMÉNAGEMENT LINGUISTIQUE fondements de l'aménagement linguistique », Office de la langue française, in banq. <https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/46238> consulté le 25/02/2023

*[À la fin des années 60, la notion de language planning est reprise et élargie à tout type d'intervention pour régler des problèmes sociolinguistiques (Rubin, Das Gupta, Jernudd, Fishman). Dans ce même courant, apparaît la notion de politique linguistique.]

¹⁸ Guespin Louis., Marcellesi Jean.-Baptiste., « Pour la glottopolitique », *Langages*, n° 83, p. 5-31, 1986 cité par Boyer, H., « Les politiques linguistiques », *Mots. Les langages du politique* [En ligne], 94 | 2010, mis en ligne le 06 novembre 2012, consulté le 27 mai 2023. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/mots/19891> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/mots.19891> , consulté le 20/02/2023.

*[normalisation linguistique (Aracil, 1965, pour le domaine catalan-espagnol) et aménagement linguistique (Corbeil, 1980, pour le domaine québécois-francophone). Enfin Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi et Louis Guespin proposent le terme glottopolitique avec, semble-t-il, le souhait d'élargir la qualification afin d'englober tous les faits de langage où l'action de la société revêt la forme du politique.]

¹⁹ Voir, Calvet, Louis.Jean., *La Sociolinguistique*, Ed Puf, Paris, 1993.

tigawt in vitro, terza srid adabu, wagi send ara d-yessufey leqrarat, ad yezwir ad yezrew iyeblan n tmeslayin-nni. Yenna-d dayen tigawin i yezmer ad yeddem zemrent kan ad ilint seg yiwet n tama ney i nšib n yiwet n tutlayt. Tigawt-a s timmad-is, tla sin n wudmawen yemgaraden, tamezwarut d tigawt yef tutlayt; annect-a yettban-d mi ara d-iger udabu akken ad yessehbiber yef kra n tutlayt tamidrust, iswi seg-s d asner-ni-yis seg tama n wammud, ney ayen yerzan tira (agemmay), d usizdeg n umawal. Tis snat d tigawt yef tutlayin, tigawt-a tettban-d deg tagnatin tigtutlayin, mi ara d-iger udabu akken ad yesseqeed tutlayin, yezmer ad yessali ney ahat ad yessader seg użayer n yiwet n tutlayt i yellan yakan d tunsibt ney meħquret. Calvet, ikemmel-d dakken, leqrarat yeddem udabu zemren ad d-glun s iyeblan ma ur rran ara tamawt i tigawt in vivo.

2.1.3. Tamyiftlayt

D tamidrant i d-yessegzayen tagnit ideg ttidirent atas n tutlayin, ama d tiberaniyin ney seg yiwet n twacult, ameena mgaradent deg użayer i lant. Yiwet ad tt-naf d tunigt, d tin yefren udabu d tunsibt yerra-yas azal, iħetem-itt i wegdu, ad tt-naf tettusemras deg tedbelt, taydemt, aymbaz... . Ma d tayed (tiyad) d taddayt, meħquret, tettusemras kan deg tagnatin tumrisin. Adabu ur as-yerra ara azal, ahat imi ur tla ara atas n yimsiwal.

Tajmilt n usnulfu n tmidrant-a tettuyal i Psichari mi yeered ad d-yeglem tagnit tasnilesmettit Tagrikit anida adabu yefren tutlayt tamaynut katarevoussa yef tutlayt la yettmeslay ugdu Démotiki. Gef leħsab n Psichari²⁰, *tamyiftlayt d tagnit anida ttusemrasent snat n tmeskal n yiwet n tutlayt ameena yiwet deg-sent tufrar yef tayed deg użayer*. Psichari yesbadu-d tamyiftlayt ilmend n yiwet n tagnit, tin n tmurt Tagrikit kan.

Syen akkin, tebeen-d imeskaren-nniħen, sbadun-tt-id ilmend n waddaden n tmuransen, ney n waddaden-nniħen, gar-asen yella: Fergusson, Fishman.

2.1.4. Tayellist d twaryellist tamutlayt

D yiwet n tummant i d-yettefruruxen deg tagnatin n umyekcem gar tutlayin. Tid iyef d-iger udabu afus-is akken ad tent-yeseqeed. Tayellist d twaryellist tamutlayt, d tamidrant i d-yesnulfa umusniles Amarikani Labove.W, mi yexdem tazrawt yef lmenteq n yimeslic "r" gar yemdanen seg yeswiren n temeddurt yemgaraden, deg temnaħt n New York.

²⁰ Boyer, Henri. op.cit, p.69.

*[Psichari d'efinit ainsi la diglossie comme une configuration linguistique dans laquelle deux variétés d'une même langue sont en usage, mais un usage décalé parce que l'une des variétés est valorisée par rapport à l'autre.]

Ter tagara n tzawt-is, yufa taweryellist tamutlayt tezga tella yur yemdanen seg tesmilt n igellilen, acku heqren tameslayt-nsen, ttmalen yer usemres n wawalen i sellen yur wid yellan d imerkantiyen sennig-sen. Ilmend n Labove.W, *asmeskel amutlay, d tiyersi seg usemres n tutlayt yur yiman-is, tamuylil n diri yer yinaw i yeseqdac, d tumanin mmalent-d tawaryellist tamutlayt lqayen yur umsiwel [...]*²¹.

Tettili-d tweryellist tamutlayt yur wemdan, deg tegnit anida, ur yetthulfu ara s yiman-is ney ur yettaf ara iman-is deg useqdec n kra n tutlayt, yef way-agi i d-yenna Darbelnet.J *dakken tawaryellist tamutlayt d [tamliit](#) seg usenfali yer wayed anida amdan ur yezri ara anta tutlayt ara yeseqdec ney yettagad ad yeyli deg tucda. D ayen ara d-yeslalen yur-s tikti n umgired gar useqdec-is d win n [tutlayt mm yisey](#)*²².

Ledegen.G, yemeslay-d deg usentel-agi, yef leh̄sab-is, *taweryellist d tikti-nni i d-yettlalen yur umsiwel tesemgirid gar tutlayt la yettmeslay (utlayman/utlaymetti) d tutlayt-nniḍen i iḥetteb tes̄ea isey*²³.

Imdanen ttaran azal i tutlayt-nniḍen axater di tazwara d timeymert yernu deg tmuyli-nsen, wid la tt-yesemrasen (am yimdebren) ttmeslayen-tt war uguren, zerren-tt yur-sen d tazedgant, yernu ur tli ara tamlellit. Ttwalin-tt d [tagnut](#). Ilmend n calvet, tettili tyellist tamutlayt deg tegnatin anida imsiwal ttaran azal i usiwel-nsen mi ara tili tmuyli-nsen yer tutlayt la semrasen d tagnut. Ma d tawaryellist tettili yur umsiwel mi ara yeh̄seb ameslay-is ur yesei ara azal, tella deg lbal-is tugna n tutlayt-nniḍen mm yisey, ameena ur la tt-yesemras ara.²⁴ Tawryellist

²¹(Labov, 1976, p.200), Medane, «analyse de la pluralité linguistique (in) sécurité linguistique, in SlidePlayer, université hassiba benbouali-chlef-(algérie), <https://slideplayer.fr/slide/1294819/>, consulté le 26/02/2023.

*[Les fluctuations stylistiques, l'hypersensibilité à des traits stigmatisés que l'on emploie soi-même, la perception erronée de son propre discours, tous ces phénomènes sont le signe d'une profonde insécurité linguistique chez les locuteurs de la petite bourgeoisie.]

²²Darbelnet, Jean., « Le bilinguisme », pp. 107-128, *Le français en France et hors de France II. Les français régionaux, le français en contact. Actes du colloque sur les ethnies francophones (Nice, 26-30 avril 1968)*, Nice, Institut d'études et de recherches interethniques et interculturelles 1970, Accès : www.persee.fr/doc/oeide_0549-1533_1970_act_12_1_872. Consulté le 20 oct. 2019. Cité par Messaudi, Leila., « insécurité linguistique », in *Punlictionnaire, Dictionnaire encyclopédique et critique des publics*. Mis en ligne le 04 mars 2020. Dernière modification le 21 janvier 2022, <http://publictionnaire.huma-num.fr/notice/insecurite-linguistique/>, consulté le 27/02/2023

*[l'insécurité linguistique, c'est le flottement, l'hésitation entre un mode d'expression et un autre.]

²³Ledegen.Gudrun., 2000, *Le Bon Français. Les étudiants et la norme linguistique*, Paris, Ed. L'Harmattan. Cité par, Messaudi, Leila., op. Cit,

*[l'insécurité linguistique [est] la prise de conscience, par les locuteurs, d'une distance entre leur idiolecte (ou sociolecte) et une langue qu'ils reconnaissent comme légitime.]

²⁴ Idem,

tamutlayt tla ccan d ameqran deg usnulfu n tmuɣliwin ɣur yemdanen. Am deg tegnit-nni, mi ara seun yemdanen tamuɣli n diri ɣef tutlayt-nsen, akken i t-id yessebgen Labov deg tezrawt-is i d-negmer yakan.

Ter taggara ad d-nini dakken, deg tegnit tagtutlayt, tasertit, tasnakti (idéologie), akked d twaryellist tamutlayt ttuneḥsabent d tiyawsiwin tigejdanin i d-yesnulfuyen timuɣliwin d wadduden isnilesmettiyen ɣur yemdanen.

*[On parle de sécurité linguistique lorsque, pour des raisons sociales variées, les locuteurs ne se sentent pas mis en question dans leur façon de parler, lorsqu'ils considèrent leur norme comme la norme. À l'inverse, il y a insécurité linguistique lorsque les locuteurs considèrent leur façon de parler comme peu valorisante et ont en tête un autre modèle, plus prestigieux, mais qu'ils ne pratiquent pas.]

Ixf Wis sin

Amazray n tnaktiwin tigejdanin n

Tmuyliwin d wadduden

TAZWART

Azraw n tmuyliwin d yiwen n usentel n unadi iwumi rran azal atas n yimeskar deg tayulin yemgaraden seg taggara n tsuta tis 19. Tazwara-is iban-d deg tesnamettit uqbel ara yay tayulin-nniḍen seg tusna n tmetti.

1. Tasnamettit

D yiwet n tayult i yellan seg teglest, ameena tuyalin-is d tusna ur d-telli ara armi d taggara n tasut tis 19 d tazwara n tis 20 gar ifasen n ufelsafi Emile Durkheime, mi s-yefka lqaleb n tusna. Talalit-is ur d-telli ara kan akka, tezga-d deg yiwen n usatal yesḥan azal meqqren, win i d-yeglan s ubeddel lqayen deg umaḍal, am yiyeblan gar wassayen inmettiyen, tagi d tagrawla tamgurant. Lebyi n Durkheime seg tusna-agi tamaynut, d azraw n tikliwin d tumanin akk i yerzan imdanen daxel n tmetti, iswi-yis amenzu seg-s d asehbiber yef tmetti tamzikit seg wefruri ney ma iṣeḥḥa wawal seg nnger²⁵. Akken ad tili *tigzi n twuri d yiferdisen n tudsa n tmetti*²⁶, deg usatal usnan (objectivement) yessefk yef tusna-agi tamaynut ad tesḥu asentel n unadi iferzen (objet d'étude) akked d tarrayt n uzraw. D tamentilt iwumi i d-yufa Durkheime ixef, ilmend-is asentel n unadi n tesnamettit, d tumanin tinmettiyin, yesbadu-tent-id am wakken d *timamkin n tikliwin n usiley, uḥulfu, i yellan berra i wemdan, ttarant tamara fell-as*²⁷, s wawal-nniḍen, amdan ur yezmir ara ad yili akken i s-yehwa daxel n tmetti, am zun deg tudert-is tella tmara i t-yerran ad yelḥu ilmend n wansayen iyef msefhamen iεeggalen n tmetti. Ma deg wayen yerzan tarrayt tusnant, swayes ara [yessami](#) asentel, yessumer-d deg yiwet n tefyirt tifat, yettwasnen deg tayult-agi idegi d-yenna, *yessefk ad neḥseb tumanin tinmettiyin am wakken d tiyawsiwin*²⁸, tekcem deg tarrayt yettwasnen deg tesnamettit s yisem n holisme, tasnarrayt i la d-yeqqaren dakken *timetti tezga-d nnig n yemdanen*²⁹. Akka i yerza Emile Durkheime asalu yer tusna n tmetti, i la yessawalen yer useqḥed n wassayen inmettiyen, s

²⁵ Voir, Biscay, Matt., Division du travail et lien social, in skyminds, 2007, <https://www.skyminds.net/division-du-travail-et-lien-social/>, consulté le 27/02/2023.

²⁶ Etienne, Jean., *Dictionnaire de sociologie*, Ed Hatier, Paris, 2004, p.182.

*[Expliquer la fonction et les facteurs de la cohésion sociale.]

²⁷ Idem,

*[manières d'agir, de penser et de sentir extérieures à l'individu, et qui sont douées d'un pouvoir de coercition en vertu duquel ils s'imposent à lui.]

²⁸ Etienne, Jean., op. Cit, p. ...

*[Il faut considérer les faits sociaux comme des choses.]

²⁹ Socio Consulte, le holisme et l'individualisme méthodologique en sociologie, You Tube, 0.55Mn, 2018, <https://youtu.be/NfIcX1cihbA>

*[la société s'impose à l'individu.]

wezraw n tumanin tinmettiyin ideg timuyliwin zgant am wakken d aferdis agejdan deg lebni-nsent.

2. Timuyliwin tinmettiyin

Timuyliwin d yiwet n tmiḍrant i d-ibanen i tikelt amezwarut yef yiles n Emile Durkheime deg tayult n tesnamettit. Ilmend n Gaymard.S tban-d asmi i yessemgared gar tmuyliwin tinemdanin d tmuyliwin timegra deg tezrawt-is yef tikliwin tinmettiyin deg wayen yerzan asentel n yesyanen d yimiyen i d-ibanen di « Revue de métaphysique et de morale»³⁰.

Ilmend n Durkheime, inagrawen n tmuyliwin imenza i yexdem umdan yef umaḍal d yiman-is kkan-d seg tesreḍt.³¹ Timuyliwin timegra yef leḥsab-is d ayen yecrek akk yiwen n wegraw anmetti, am ddiin, ad tent-naftt zḗant deg wallayen-nsen. Deg usemgired-ines gar tmuyliwin timegra d tnemdanin³², yessawed yer tekti i la d-yeqqaren belli timetti tezga-d nnig wemdan, yesseggra-d dayen, dakken iferdisen inmettiyen am: tmuyliwin tinmettiyin, kkan-d nnig iferdisen inemdanen. D ayen i d-tessebgen Medane³³ mi d-tenna dakken *timuyliwin tinmettiyin d yiwen n tawil i d-yemmalen tezwer n wudem anemetti yef wudem anemdan*. Ma d ayen yerzan timuyliwin tinemdanin ilmend n Gaymard.S³⁴, iḥseb-itent Durkheim d *ayen akk i yessemgaraden amdan yef wayeḍ, ney d tikliwin yerzan yiwen n wemdan*.

Seg tasut tis 20 tereḍ-d yer da, i d-tuḃal tnakti-agi n tmuyliwin timegra s lḡehd, s yisem n tmuyliwin tinmettiyin. Tajmilt n usnerni n tmiḍrant-agi tettuyal i umesniman Afransi Serge Moscovici i d-iger deg wedlis-is, "*La psychanalyse, son image et son public*" i yettuyalen yer useggas 1961³⁵. Send ara tennerni yer tayulin-nniḍen am: tasnalsa, amezruy, tasnilest, tasnimant.... . Tiktiwin i d-yewwi umeskar d akemmel i t-id yellan yakan, tid i d-

³⁰Gaymard.Sandrine., *les fondements des représentations sociales*, Ed Dunod, 2021, p.11.

³¹ Odile,M.; Sanchez,M., « CONCEPT DE REPRESENTATION SOCIALE », in serpsy, http://ancien.serpsy.org/formation_debat/mariodile_5.html, consulté le 23/02/2023.

*[Les premiers systèmes de représentations que l'homme s'est fait du monde et de lui-même sont d'origine religieuse.]

³² Représentations collectives et individuelle.

³³ Claudine.HERZLICH,³³in Serge. MOSCOVICI (1972), p.303. cité par, Medane, « pratiques et représentations langagières », in SlidePlayer, Université Hassiba Benbouali-Chlef- (Algérie), <https://slideplayer.fr/slide/3172106/>, consulté le 22/02/2023.

*[La représentation collective est l'un des moyens par lesquels s'affirme la primauté du social sur l'individuel.]

³⁴Gaymard,Sandrine., op. cit, pp.11,12.

*[Les représentations individuelles, [...] ont pour essence la conscience de chacun.]

³⁵ Carrel,Bisagni,L.C., Les représentations sociolinguistiques de l'irlandais et de son apprentissage: enquêtes dans des établissements, Thèse de doctorat, université Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3, 2013/2014, p. 61.

yebda Durkheime. Ihi akken i d-yenna Medane³⁶ deg tmuɣli-yis, *nekni s yemdanen nettidir deg yiwet n twennaɣ teccur d isallen. Amzun akken, tawennaɣ d yiwen n wadeg i yeddsen s waɣas n tyawsiwin ur ifehem ara wemdan, d ayen i tt-yeḡḡan ad s-tili temcebbak ur tban ara. Amdan akken ad yegzu wa ad yefk anamek i tudert-is, ihi yesishil-itt yef yiman-is, la yesmuqul kan zdat-s. Akken la yettwali Medane, nekni s yemdanen, nzer ilmend n tmuɣliwin-nney, n wazalen-nney, tikiwin-nney akked tmusniwin-nney.*³⁷

Tamuɣli ihi, d ayen i yegza wemdan, yef waya i d-neqqar yef tmuɣliwin dakken ttuneḥsabent d alsuddes n tilawt (reconstruction de la réalité). Amdan yettwali tiyawsiwin ilmend n tirmiyin i d-yeseedda deg tudert-is. D ayen iyef i d-yemesla Abric mi d-yenna *deg tudert ur telli ara yiwet n tilawt, akk tillawin ttwasugnent-d syur wemdan ney agraw, bennuntent deg wallayen-nsen.*³⁸ Ttwasemmant s tmuɣliwin tinmettiyin acku lebni-nsent yettili daxel n tmetti, imdanen yettidiren d igrawen, tettili lemeanda d temyinawin gar-asen, ayen ara yeḡḡen tmuɣliwin n yiεeggalen ad ilint ttemyakenanzint. D ayen imi i d-ijerred Moscovici akken i d-tenna Carrel-Bisagni, daken tmuɣliwin tinmettiyin cuddent yer wassayen yellan gar umdan d ugraw n yimdanen, ttwehint abrid i tikliwin-nsen. Yerna-d dayen Abric, *lant azal d ameqran deg usnerti n wassayen inmettiyen*³⁹, Acku seant 4 twuriwin iwulmen i wannect-a. Seg-sent:

Tawuri tusnant: terza timusniwin ur nelli ara d tusnanin, d tid yellan d tushilin i welmad n tilawt. Tawuri tamagant: tawuri-a tessebgan-d tamagit n yiwen wegraw anmetti yernu tettḥarab yef tmeddurt-is. Tawuri n uwehhi: ttwehint tikliwin n yemdanen. Tawuri tasebgant: tin i yes-s ara d-tbeggen tmetti ayer tefren kra n tmuɣli. Tamuɣli ur terza yara kan aglam d tigzi n tyawsiwin yemgaraden yeddsen tilawt. Tezmer dayen ad teseu tawuri n uktazal, tin swayes amdan ila azref n usenqed i tudert tanmettit. Ilmend n Carrel-Bisagni⁴⁰, Moliner

³⁶ Abric, Jean, Claud, L'étude expérimentale des représentations sociales, In. D.Jodelet., Les représentations sociales, 1989, p.80, cité par Medane., op. Cit, consulté le 29/02/2023.

*[Nous sommes toutes et tous plongés dans un environnement qui nous submerge d'informations.]

³⁷ Idem

*[se le représenter à notre façon, en fonction de nos propres valeurs, principes, idées et connaissances.]

³⁸ Abric, Jean.Claud., (1994), Pratiques sociales et représentations, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, coll. « Psychologie sociale » cité par Carrel-Bisagni.L.C, op. Cit, p.61.

*[il n'existe pas a priori de réalité objective, mais [...] toute réalité est représentée, c'est-à-dire appropriée par l'individu ou le groupe, reconstruite dans son système cognitif.]

³⁹Idem

*[Jouent un rôle fondamental dans la dynamique des relations sociale[...].]

⁴⁰ Voir, Carrel, Bisagni L.C., op. Cit, p.63.

yebder-d sin wannawen n lebni n tmuyliwin, tamezwarut d tuglimt, terza tigzi-nsent syur wemdan. Tis snat terza aktazal, anida amdan yettak-d tikti-is fell-aset, ma eejbent-as ney ala.

Tanakti n tmuyliwin tinmettiyin d tamesbayurt nezzeh (hrawet) yerna tekres, acku tħuza-d xirla n tayulin, dayen i yeğġan asbadu-yis ad yili yeweer. Akken ad tent-id yesbadu, Jodelet⁴¹, ilmend n Carrel-Bisagni, *ibder-d 5 n tulmisin tigejdanin n tmuyliwin tinmettiyin,* ara d-nesewzel akka:

1. D tamuyli i la d-yeskanen kra n tyawsa.
2. Tla tulumist n tugna deg usugen anmetti (imaginaire social).
3. Tla tulumist tazamulant tunmikt: deg tugna, amigaw la d-yessugun tayawsa ticki ara s-yefk anamek.
4. Tela tulumist n lebni n tilawt tanmettit: ilmend n abric, *deg tidet ur telli ara yiwet n tilawt ... akk tillawin ttwasugnent-d syur wemdan ney agraw, ttezun-tent deg wallayen-nsen.*⁴²
5. Tla tulumist timanit d tmeslalt: timuyliwin seant tigawt (influence) yef wadduden d tikliwin n yemdanen.

2.1. Irekti/Timuyliwin tukrifin

Llant dayen tnaktiwin-nniġen yer tama n tmuyliwin, mmalent-d qrib yiwet n tillawt, seant assay gar-aset, am irektiyeen, tigi d tiktiwin-nni i ixeddem wemdan yef kra n tyawsa (tutlayt) seg tmuyli tamezwarut, tugniwin-agi deg tuget n tegnatin ur seħħant ara zemrent ad ilint lhant ney diri-tent. Ilmend n Walter Lippman *deg Public Opinion (1922)*, *Irekti d Tazermuyli d tiktiwin ur nli ara tidet, ttuneħsabant d tugniwin-nni i nrefed s lebyi ney war lebyi-nney akken ad d-nesbadu amdan ney agraw n yimdanen.*⁴³

Deg umedyā, leqbayel ur la ttuzumen ara řemdan. Deg tidet irktiyeen am tmuyliwin, gezmen yef tillawt, ur la tt-id gelmen ara akken tella, seewajen-tt, ttruhun yer wallay n wemdan mačči

⁴¹ Boubakour, Samira., *Les représentations culturelles dans la formation de formateurs en lettres françaises*, Thèse de doctorat, université de batna, 2011, p. 30.

*[A décrit les cinq caractéristiques fondamentales d'une représentation sociale.]

⁴² Abric, Jean.Claude., (1994), *Pratiques sociales et représentations*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, coll. « Psychologie sociale ». Cité par Carrel, Bisagni L.C., op. Cit, p.61.

*[toute réalité est représentée, c'est-à-dire appropriée par l'individu ou le groupe, reconstruite dans son système cognitif, intégrée dans son système de valeurs dépendant de son histoire et du contexte social et idéologique qui l'environne.]

⁴³ Dortier, Jean, François., *Le Dictionnaire des sciences sociales*, Ed Sciences humaines, 2013, p.338 .

*[Walter Lippman qui dans *Public Opinion (1922)*, lui donne un sens nouveau : un stéréotype est un préjugé, une idée reçue, un cliché, une représentation sociale schématique que l'on applique machinalement pour décrire des personnes.]

d ummiden. Gef wayagi i d-yenna Vinsonneau fell-asant ilmend n Hadjarab, S⁴⁴, *la ttwelihen tikiwin d tikliwin n yemdanen*.

Irektiye lan [talemssa](#) i yiman-nsen, tin anida sdukkulen akk agraw n yemdanen ilmend n tulmist n yiwen wemdan ma sneqden-ten. Ney akken-nniḍen, amdan ma yekka-d seg yiwet n temyiwant ad t-srewsen wid i t-isneqden akken zerren timetti-nni iseg i d-yekka. Ula deg wayen yerzan tutlayin akka i t-ḍerru. Imdanen snulfuyen-d yef tutlayin ney timeskal-nsent ikliciye swayes ara smesxen ney ad cebbhen tugna-nsent. Ilmend n Calvet, *amezruy yeččur d tinfaliye ney d lemtul i d yesenfalin irektiye yef tutlayin, am lemtel-agi i d-yenna Tullio de Mauro di lqern wis 17, Alalmani la yettsuyu, Anglizi la yettru, Arumi la icennu, Aṭelyani la ixeddem tamellayt, ma d Aspanyuli la yettmeslay*⁴⁵. Irektiye ad ten-naf dayen cudden yer cbaḥa n wawal, am yimsiwal n kra n temnaḍin, la ten-ḥettben wiyad snen ad meslayen, ney akken-nniḍen i la ten-ttwalin. Meḥsub ula d irektiye ruhen deg webrid n tmuḥliwin i xedmen yemdanen yef tyawsiwin am tutlayin.

3. Timuḥliwin tsnilsanin

D anerni n tmiḍrant n tmuḥliwin tinmettiye deg tayult n tesnilemettit. Tayult i yettarran azal i wezraw n tutlayt deg tmetti, akken i d-yenna Boyer « Tasnilemettit d tasnilest n useddu n tutlayt (tutlayin) d tmuḥliwin yer-sent d useqdec anmetti n tutlayin-agi iyef msefhamen ney mgaraden, ihi la tettaerad ad tezrew isedduyen isnilsanen inmettiye. Timuḥliwin zgant-d di tlemmast n yisental i yerzan tasnilemettit, acku d yiwet n tumant i la iḍerrun deg tmetti, yef lmendad-is agraw n yimdanen, meḥsub d nitni i la tent-id yesnulfun. Gef waya, Boyer yettwali dakken, *timuḥliwin yef tutlayt d yiwet n taggayt seg taggayin n tmuḥliwin tinmettiye*⁴⁶. D timuḥliwin ney d tugniwin i d-yettunulfun yur yemdanen yef tutlayin-nsen ney yef useqdec n tutlayin-agi seg wemdan yer wayeḍ, ttneḥsabent d tumanin i d-yettlalen seg wassayen gar yimdanen.

⁴⁴(Vinsonneau, 1999 : 210) Hadjarab, Soraya., Les représentations sociales de la langue et leur effet sur l'apprentissage du français langue étrangère, Thèse de doctorat université El Hadj Lekhdhar-Batna, p.39.

*[guidant les jugements et l'action des sujets qui en sont porteurs.]

⁴⁵Calvet, Louis.Jean., op.cit, p.40.

*[L'Histoire est remplie de proverbes ou de formules toutes faites qui expriment les préjugés du temps sur les langues. On raconte que Charles Quint parlait aux hommes en français, en allemand à ses chevaux et en espagnol à Dieu. Tullio de Mauro cite un proverbe du xvii e siècle qui dit que « l'Allemand hurle, l'Anglais pleure, le Français chante, l'Italien joue la comédie et l'Espagnol parle.]

⁴⁶Medane, op. cit.

*[les représentations de la langue ne sont qu'une catégorie de représentations sociales.]

Ilmend n calvet timuyliwin, *D amek twalin yimsiwal umrisen, d wamek i d-ttilin yer yimsiwal-nniđen d umsiren -nniđen, d wamek twalin tutlayt-nsen sdat n tutlayin-nniđen.* ⁴⁷

Ayen la yesnernin timuyliwin yur yemdanen d [tisanaktiwin](#). Gef waya i tla tnakti n tmuyliwin assay akked d tesnakti, imi taneggarut-a syes-s i d-itthetim (adabu) win i tteyesemrasen tikiwin-is, yef waya i d-yesbadu Joseph Gabel,⁴⁸ *tasnakti am wakken d anagraw n tektiwin tezdi-tent tesnamettit yer yiwen n wegraw adamsan, asertan, ney yer yiwen n ljens...yernu ttwehint tikliwin n wegraw-nni.*

Iswi seg wezraw n tmuyliwin ilmend n Boubakour.S⁴⁹, *yebda yef sin, amezwaru, la d-yeqqar daken tugniwin-nni i lan yemdanen yef tutlayin ttunehsabent d inagan yef tegnatinsen tinmettiyin. Tayed la d-teqqar daken seg-sent nezmer ad negzu ayyer tutlayin ur la tternint ara, amek nesehbiber fell-asent, ney amek la ġellunt.*

4. Adduden

Addud d lebyi n wemdan akken ad yektazel azal n kra n tyawsa ama telha ney diri-tt deg twennaṭ i s-d-yezzin. Ilmend n Maisoneuve.J, *addud d amili (iferzen) n yiwen n umigaw (amdan, agraw) yef tyawsa (amdan, agraw, tagnit, azalen) la t-id senfalin iseknan ney inammalen (asiwel, tayect, tigawt [...]).*⁵⁰

Thurstone deg tayult n tesnimant, yesbadu-t-id, ilmend n Ait.Mimoune. O, amzun *d tamuyli-nni yelhan ney n diri yef tyawsa tusnamant. Meqbult ney ala. Addud yeddes d ummuy*

⁴⁷ CALVET, Jean. Louis., « Pour une écologie des langues du monde », Ed Plon, France, 1999, p.158. cité par Limam.I., Tigensas tsnilsanin n yinelmaden d yiselmaden yef uselmed n tmaziyt s tmaziyt deg tseddawit n Tubiret, Mémoire de Master, université Bouira,2015/2016, p.8.

*[Les représentations c'est la façon dont les locuteurs pensent les pratiques, comment ils se situent par rapport aux autres locuteurs, et aux autres pratiques comment ils situent leurs langues par rapport aux autres langues.]

⁴⁸ Joseph, Gabel., Article « idéologie », in : encyclopédie universalis, Paris, Encyclopédie universalis, 2002, p.795.

*[Un système d'idées liées sociologiquement à un groupement économique, politique, ethnique ou autre, exprimant sans réciprocité les intérêts plus ou moins conscients de ce groupe.]

⁴⁹ Boubakour,Samira., *op. cit*, p.46.

*[L'étude des représentations en sociolinguistique peut avoir deux objectifs : d'une part, les images associées aux langues se présentent comme des témoins de la manière dont sont perçues les situations sociales. Elles permettent d'autre part de mieux comprendre les soubassements et les enjeux de la non-diffusion des langues, de leur maintien ou de leur disparition.]

⁵⁰ Jean.Marie. Comiti, *Les Corses face à leurs langues*, Squadra di Finusella, Aiacciu, 1992, pp 1091 1092. Cité par Ait.Mimoune.Ourida., *op. cit*, p.17.

*[une position (plus au moins cristallisée) d'un agent (individuel ou collectif) envers un objet (personne, groupe, situation, valeurs), elle s'exprime plus au moins à travers des symptômes ou indicateurs (paroles, tons, gestes, choix ou leurs absences)]

*n tmuɣliwin d tikiwin, iyiliyen, iħulfan, yef kra n tyawsa.*⁵¹ Meħsub addud d akala i la d-iđerrun deg lbal n yemdanen, tumant-a ur yessi ara fell-as tigawt.

4.1. Adduden isnilsanen

Ilmend n Dubois.J: *Adduden imeslayanen rzan ummuy n turdiwin d tuffirin ney banent yef useqdec n kra n tutlayt.*⁵² S umata tamidrant adduden *isnilsanen* tettusemras deg tesnilesmettit am wakken d amegdawal n tmuɣliwin, mmalent-d tumanin i yerzan inaw [afutlay](#) i ilan assay d iħulfan i sean yimdanen yef tutlayt ney tutlayin i sen-id-yezzin. Tasnilesmettit tud tamidrant-agi yer [umyiwan amutlay](#), tagi akken tebyu tili meqret ney mezziyet, ad naf llan deg-s wadduden isnilsanen ama yer tutlayin nniđen ney yer tmeskal i ttmeslayen xirla n yiεeggalen n umyiwan.

5. Asemgired gar tmuɣliwin d wadduden isnilesmettiye

Deg tesnilesmettit timidranin “timuɣliwin”, “adduden” ttwasemrasen deg yiswi n uzraw n yihulfan d tikiwin i sean yemdanen yef tutlayin d tmeskal-nsent. Yas ma ttusemrasen d imegdawalen deg tayult-a ameena amgired gar-asen yella.

Tumant "adduden" terza aktazal n yihulfan n yimsiwal yef tutlayin ney timeskal, wigi zemren ad ilin lhan ney diri-ten. Tezmer dayen ad terzu aktazal n cbaħa ney n ucmat n kra n [usfir](#) i yettemgaraden seg twacult yer tayed ney seg wegraw yer wayed.

Timuɣliwin seg tama-nniđen, d yiwet n timidrant i yellan tekres nezzh, yernu ur tefriž ara. Acku tud yer tmetti (amezruy, tasertit, tamnađt d wadeg n tamnađt) akked, d tirmiyyin n wemdan. D yiwen n ukala i iđerrun deg wallay, tettili tmuɣli n wemdan yer tutlayt ilmend n yiyilliyen-is, yernu ur nezmir ara ad tt-nezrew nettat s yiman-is. Acku timuɣliwin rzant timetti. Ma d azraw d tigzi-nsent yetteli-d kan seg tama n wadduden.

⁵¹ Boudon. Raymond, « Attitude », in, Encyclopédie Universalis, E. U, Paris, », 1988. Cité par, Ait.Mimoune. Ourida, op. cit, p17

*[L'attitude se définit avant tout par la perception positive ou négative à l'égard d'un objet psychologique. Être favora Amazray n tnaktiwin ble ou défavorable, être pour ou contre. Elle serait donc constituée selon lui de la somme des sensations, des idées, des convictions, sentiments, relatifs à un objet déterminé [...].]

⁵² DUBOIS.Jean Paul et AL, « attitude », *Dictionnaire de la linguistique et des sciences du langage*, Larousse, Paris, 1994, p.57.

*[les attitudes langagières constituent l'ensemble des opinions explicites ou implicites sur l'usage d'une langue.]

6. Tarrayt n umsiwel uffir

6.1. Asenked n tarrayt n umsiwel uffir

Tarrayt n umsiwel uffir d yiwen n ttawil n tsastant n wannar i d-yesnulfa Wallace, L., deg useggas 1960 Deg temurt n kanada. Tban-d deg yiwen n umagrad iwumi isemma "Evaluational reactions to spoken language", d yiwen n unadi i yexdem akken ad izer timuyliwin tsnilsanin i sean yimsiwal ifransawalen d ineglizawalen yef tutlayin-agi (tafransist d teglizit). Tarrayt-a deg tazwara-is tennulfa-d deg tesnimant, tennerna atas deg tayult-a send ara d-teffey yer tayulin-nniđen am tesnilesmettit. Aseqdec n tarrayt-a deg tesnilesmettit yerza anadi yef tmuyliwin i lan yemdanen yef tutlayin i semrasen. Tettili-d s useklelas n yiwen wemdan ney ugar, ara d-yemmeslayen s tutlayin yemgaraden, win ara ktazlen imttekiyen yef kra n yisefran yerzan yal amdan am (tizemmar, timmadit....) s ttawil n usastan.⁵³

Ayen i yeğğan tarrayt-a ad tili d tamxalleft yef tiyađ, d udem-is arusrid, s wawal-nniđen tderru-d deg wannar yef yimttekiyen war ma zran win i d-yettmeslayen yakan, ad t-ktazlen seg tmesliwt-nsen i tutlayt n wina i d-yettmeslayen.

6.2. Amazray n tarrayt n umsiwel uffir

Akken i d-nebder yakkan, tarrayt n "umsiwel uffir" tettuseqdec i tikelt tamezwarut syur "Wallace Lambert" deg tmurt n "kanada". Ilmend n Lafontaine, D. tarrayt-agi tettusemres i tikelt tamezwarut, *s usekles n yiwen uđris syur rebea n yemsiwal isinutlayanen i d-yettmeslayn s tutlayin yemgaraden, maca yessefk yef yimttekiyen ad ktazlen imsiwal-a ilmend n 14 yisefran yef 6 n tseddarin. Tirmit-a tettusemres yef yimttekiyen-agi i wakken ad zren amek i zemren ad ktazlen imdanen ilmend n tayect-nsen.*⁵⁴

Ilmend n wayen i d-tenna Dominique, L. d tmusniwin i d-negmer yakkan seg tyuriwin i nexdem, negza belli "Wallace Lambert" yesseqdec tarrayt n umsiwel uffir i tikelt tamezwarut akka; tarrayt-a tella-d mi yefren rebea n yemsiwal isinutlayan, yessuter deg-sen ad skelsen

⁵³ Voir CALVET.Louis.Jean. « La sociolinguistique », Ed Puf, Paris, pp.42-43.

⁵⁴Lafontaine, Dominique., « L'attitude *linguistique* », www. Attitude_fichiers. tlfq.ulaval.ca. htm. Cité par Ait Mimoune.Ourida., op.cit, p25.

*[Un passage est lu dans les deux langues par quatre locuteurs parfaitement bilingues. À ces huit passages (4 x 2), sont ajoutées deux voix de remplissage et il est demandé aux sujets d'évaluer les différents locuteurs sur quatorze échelles à six degrés. L'expérience leur a été présentée comme une tentative pour objectiver dans quelle mesure on peut juger des personnes d'après leur voix. Durant l'expérience, les juges ont le texte du passage lu sous les yeux.]

yiwen uḍris s snat n tutlayin yemgaraden tafransist, d teglizit. Syen akkin, yessenked imsiwal-nni i 130 n yinelmaden, 64 deg-sen d ineglizawalen, 66 d ifransawalen iwakken ad slen i yemdanen-nni. Send timesliwt-nsen i yimsiwal-nni, Wallace L, yessuter deg yimttekiyen ad ktazlen yal amsiwel iwumi d-slan deg usestan i sen-d-iheyya. Aktazal n yemsiwal-a yella-d s tikci n tezmilt ara yilin ger "cwit" alma "aṭas" yef 14 n yisefran, ineggura-agi enan: lqed n umsiwel iwumi slan yimttekiyen, tigzi-is, tattkalt-is, assirem-is (ambition), tamella-is (bonté)⁵⁵.

Amnadi-a yessawed deg tezrawt-a ad yejmeɛ timuḥliwin tsnilsanin isehḥan n yimsiwal ifransawalen d ineglizawalen yef tutlayin-a (tafransist, d teglizit).

Tarrayt n umsiwel uffir tettwaseqdec deg waṭas n tezrawin yeenan timuḥliwin d wadduden isnilsanen, maca yal yiwen yessemres-itt ilmend n tezrawt-is. Gar yimusnisen i tt-yesqedcen ad d-naf:

Preston Deg useggas n 1963, yessemres tarrayt n umsiwel uffir (akken i tt-yexdem Wallace.L), deg yiwet n tezrawt i yexdem akken ad izer azal d tezrirt n "umeskil n tewsit" (tawsit n umsiwel, d tewsit n yimttekiyen) deg uktazal, dayen iswi-is seg tezrawt-a d agmar n tmuḥliwin n yemdanen yer tefransist n Lkibek, akked d tefransist n tmurt n fransa. Aktazal n tmuḥliwin-a, yella-d s [yisefran](#) i yessemres Wallace, L., deg tezrawt-is, maca Preston yabḍa-ten yef kraḍ n taggayin yemgaraden, am tzemmar, ma yella d amdan yettxalaḍen ney ala ...

Tella-d dayen yiwet n tezrawt i yexdem Giles deg useggas n 1971 akken ad yessebgen amgired yellan gar yesfired (lmenteq) n tutlayt taglizit. Iwakken ad yessiwed yer yiswi n tezrawt-a, Giles yessemres tarrayt n "umsiwel uffir", maca yessemres-itt s wudem yemgaraden yef Wallace, L, d Preston. Giles deg tezrawt-a yesseqdec kan sin n yimsiwal akken ad skelsen yiwen kan n uḍris s kraḍ n yesfired (lmenteq) n tutlayt taglizit. Deg wayen yerzan aktazal n yemsiwal-a, Giles yefren isefran n tzemmar, (attrait social, intégrité personel), d acu kan yerra i yal asefren 6 n yijerriden.

Comiti, J, M., ula d netta yesseqdec tarrayt n "umsiwel uffir" s wudem-nniḍen deg tezrawt i yexdem yef "les corses face a leurs langues". Comiti, yexdem asenfel ameqqran deg tarrayt-agi, anida deg uḥric n uktazal yessemres 8 yisefran, rebea rzan tizemmar, rebea-nniḍen

⁵⁵ Voir, Ait Mimoune, Ourida., op cit, pp.25-26.

rzan timmadit. Ayen i d-yerna Comiti i tarrayt-a, d tikci n twuri i yal amsiwel iwumi ara d slen yimttekiyen-nni, tiwuriwin-a tid iheggan yakan, ttusqeeden-t yef kraḍ n yeswiren:

- Aswir n wadda.
- Aswir alemmas.
- Aswir aelayan.

Tamawt

Asnas n tarrayt n umsiwel uffir deg umahil-a d yiwen n leqdic amaynut iyef ur ttwaxedment ara xirla n tezrawin deg wudem ayelnaw (azzayri), yef waya yezmer ad yili umahil-a yesea lexsas, igemmaḍ iyer nessawed ahat ur seqnaen ara. Ihi ammud i d-negmer seg wannar yezmer ad tetteweiwed fell-as tesleḍt syur umnadi-nniḍen.

7. Tizrawin yettwaxedmen yef tmuyliwin tsnilsanin

Tasnilesmettit d tin yerran azal i wezraw n tmuyliwin seg wasmi i d-tenulfa, gar imahilen i yettwaxedmen yef usentel-agi, nezmer ad d-naf tazrawt n Labov.W. i yerra yef twaryellist tamutlayt, i yellan deg, [tserkemt tanmettit talem mast](#) n yimdanen n temnadḍ n new york deg Marikan. Akked d ttestanin i yexdem yef wassayen i yellan gar tmagit d tmeskelt tamutlayt, deg temnadḍ n Martha's, yef lehṣab-is tawaryellist tla assay di lebni n tmuyliwin timutlayin deg lbal n yemdanen.

Tella dayen tezrawt i yexdem Wallace.L., iwumi isemma, "Evaluational reactions to spoken language" deg useggas n 1960 deg tmurt n Lkanada, iwakken ad d-isebgen adduden n yemsiwal ifransisen d ineglizawalen yef tutlayt n tefransist d tutlayt taglizit.

Joshua fishman d amusniles Amarikani, deg tezrawin-is yef tsertit tamutlayt ula d netta yewwi-d yef tmuyliwin. Ilmend-is mi ara d-teḍru tigawt syur udabu yef tutlayin yettidiren deg tama, yettili-d ubeddel fell-sent, win i d-igellun ula s ubeddel n tmuyliwin n yemsiwal yer tutlayin-nni.

Deg wedlis-is « Pour une écologie des langues du monde » Calvet L-J, yefka amur i tmuyliwin, yebder-d deg tezwart-is tin iwumi yefka azwel « Pratiques et représentations » iwakken ad d-yini daken tawuri n tutlayt mačči d taywalt kan, tutlayt dayen d allal n usenfali n tmuyliwin.

Ilmend n Anne Houdebine, M. deg wedlis-is "l'imaginaire linguistique», teered ad d-tesebgen assay gar tmuyliwin, d wadduden akked usugen amutlay, yef lehsab-is d imegdawalen.

Taggrayt

Seg tama n tesnilest akk tutlayin lant azal, acu kan deg wudem anmetti ney deg tilawt, d ayen-nniḍen maḍi, akk tutlayin ur seint ara yiwet n lqima wala yiwen n waddad, wala yiwen n uzayer. Ttemgaradent, acku deg tuget yal tamurt amek tetteddes tutlayin(s tsertit tamutlayt), yef waya la d-iḍerru fell-asent usismel, seg-s ttefyent-d tid ara yilin d timyemmar akked d tid ara yilin d tiyemmurin. Tagi tettunehsab d tagnit i d-teslal tsertit tamutlayt. Anida ala tutlayin timyemmar i yefren udabu ara yeseun azal, ama deg tayulin yemgaraden ; tadbelt, aymbaz, taydemt., ney ula yur yimdanen acku tuget n wegdud ad t-naf ula d netta tella-d fell-as [teziirt](#), ihi ad yefren ula d netta tutlayt-nni.

Dya d annect-a i yezddin si lqed-nsent alama rrant tili i t-id nniḍen.

Aħric Wis 2

Aħric n tesnnarayt

IXF amezwaru
tasnarayt

Tazwert

Tasnarrayt d l̄sas n unadi ussan, d yiwen n ttawil usrid yettwelihen anadi yer t̄f̄rat n wuguren n tmukrist d ugmar n tririyin, tiwsatin n tarrayt n unadi usnan gḡten-t, maca ttemgaradent seg unadi yer wayeḍ ney seg tayult yer tayed.

S umata, ixef-agi d asenked ney d aseḡzi n kra n tmiḍranin yerzan tasnarrayt n umahil-agi. Deg tazwara, ad d-nebder tarrayin n unadi i nefren i useddu n tezrawt-a, ad d-nesegzi amek i d-tella tarrayt-agi i tikelt tamezwarut, amek i ttesqedcen imusnilsen-niden. Syen akkin ad d-nebder adeg n tsastant n wannar, ara d-yilin deg t̄seddawit n Akli Muḡend Ulḡaḡ, yernu ad d-nessenked imsulya, d tarrayin n tesleḍt i wulmen i unadi-a.

1. Tarrayt n unadi

Tarrayin n unadi i yettwasqedcen s waḡas deg tezrawin n tmuḡliwin d wadduden isnilsanen, t̄tilin-t s tufya yer wannar, ney ilmend n tsastanin n wannar. S umata, ad tent-naf bḍan-t yef sin wannawen, tarrayin tusridin am udiwenni, asastan, akked d tarrayin tirusridin am umsiwel uffir. Tarrayin-a ṡṡawaden-t imnadiyen ad d-gemren issalen d inefkan iseḡḡan i tezrawin-n̄sen.

Akken ad nzer adeg n tutlayt Tamaziḡt deg tmuḡliwin d wadduden n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n tzeddayt n tsekliwin d tutlayin deg t̄seddawit n Akli Muḡend Ulḡaḡ, nefren ad nesseqdec tarrayt n umsiwel uffir, tarrayt-a d tin ara yilin s tufya yer wannar, ney ilmend n tsastant n wannar. Tarrayt-a tettuneḡsab seg tarrayin tirusridin, yerna tettwaseqdec s waḡas deg tayult n tesnilestmettit, aladya deg tezrawin yerzan timuḡliwin d wadduden isnilsanen.

2. Asnas n tarrayt n umsiwel uffir deg unadi-a

Aḡas n yemnadiyen i yessqedcen tarrayt n umsiwel uffir deg tezrawin yemgaraden am Preston, Giles, Comiti.J.M., yef waya tettwassen s waḡas n yiberdan. Yettegarad useqdec n tarrayt-a seg tezrawt yer tayed, dya yal amnadi yesseqdec-itt ilmend n tezrawt-is. Amgired yettilin deg usemres n tarrayt-agi yerza aḡric n uktazal s umata deg yisefran n uktazal, sellum n uktazal.

Gar wamek akk i tettwasexdem tarrayt n umsiwel uffir syur yimeskar i d-nebder yakkan, nefren tarrayt i yessexdem Jean-Marie Comiti deg tezrwet i d-yexdem yef “les langues corses et leurs langues” i useddu n tezrawt-a, maca ad neereḍ ad tt-nessemres ilmend

n wannar-nney , ihi ad ilin deg-s kra yibeddilen imectah am deg wayen yeenan isefran n uktazal d sellum n uktazal.

Ad nesseqdec tarrayt-agi deg tezrawt-nney akken i tt-yexdem Comiti.J.M, anida ara ad nessekles yiwen umdan ara d-yeyren yiwen udris s rebea n tutlayin yemgaraden, Tutlayt tamaziyt, Taerabt, Tafransist, Taglizit, syen akkin ad nessuter deg-sen ad slen i umdan-agi akken iwata, d acu kan, uqbel ara d-slen i umdan-agi, ilaq ad ten-qennee belli smehsisen i rebea n yemdanen yettmeslayen s tutlayin yemxallafen. Seld timesliwt n yinelmaden i umdan-nni ara ad d-nessekles, ad nessuter deg-sen ad t-ktazlen yef KraDET n yisefran s lmendad n usestan, isefran-a ad ilin yef timmadit, tizemmar, d tikci n twuri i yal amsiwel. Deg tezrawt-a ad d-nerr lwelha-neq yer uktazal n ukuz n tutlayin n uselmed i yellan deg tmurt n Lezzayer, Tutlayt tamaziyt, Taerabt, Tafransist, d Teglizit. Anida yal yiwet deg-sent yur-s azal-is deg tmurt-a, Tutlayt tamaziyt d tutlayt tayelnawt tunšibt tis snat, yernu d tutlayt tayemmat n tuget n yimezday n tmurt n Lezzayer, Taerabt taklasikit d tutlayt tayelnawt tunšibt tamezwarut, yerna d tutlayt n uselmed, Tafransist d Teglizit d tutlayin tiberraniyin. Ger tutlayin-agi, d tutlayt n tmaziyt i ay-iceyben deg unadi-a. Ad neeređ ad d-naf amkan n tutlayt-a ger tutlayin-agi deg tmuyliwin d wadduden n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru deg tzeddayt n tsekliwin d tutlayin n Akli Muħend Ulħadj.

2.1. Aglam n yisefran n uktazal

Aktazal deg unadi-a ad yili yebda yef sin n yehricen. Aħric amezwaru, d aktazal n umsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s rebea tutlayin yemgaraden yef sin n yisefran, *timmadit* akked d *tzemmar* yef 2 n [tseddarin](#) (échelle d'évaluation). Aħric wis sin, d tikci n twuri neq axeddim i yal amsiwel iwumi ara d-slen yinelmaden.

2.1.1. Aħric amezwaru

Deg uħric-a, inelmaden ad ktazalen amdan-nni yef 8 n [yijerriden](#), rebea rzan tizemmar, rebea-nniđen rzan timmadit.

1) [Timmadit](#)

Timmadit, teena tiyariwin tinmettiyin d tilsanin i yesea yiwen umdan, d tigi i yessemgiriden yal amdan yef wayeđ. Nefren i usefran-a 4 n ijerriden deg-sen: Yettxalađ, Yesterħib, Ĥnin, Aħeqqi.

2) Tizemmar

Tizemmar d agraw n [tezmar](#) i yettuyalen yer yal amdan, asefren-a nerra-as rebea n ijerriden: Yehrec, yessaram, yezmer i yiman-is, yettkel yef yiman-is.

2.1.2. Aḥric wis-sin

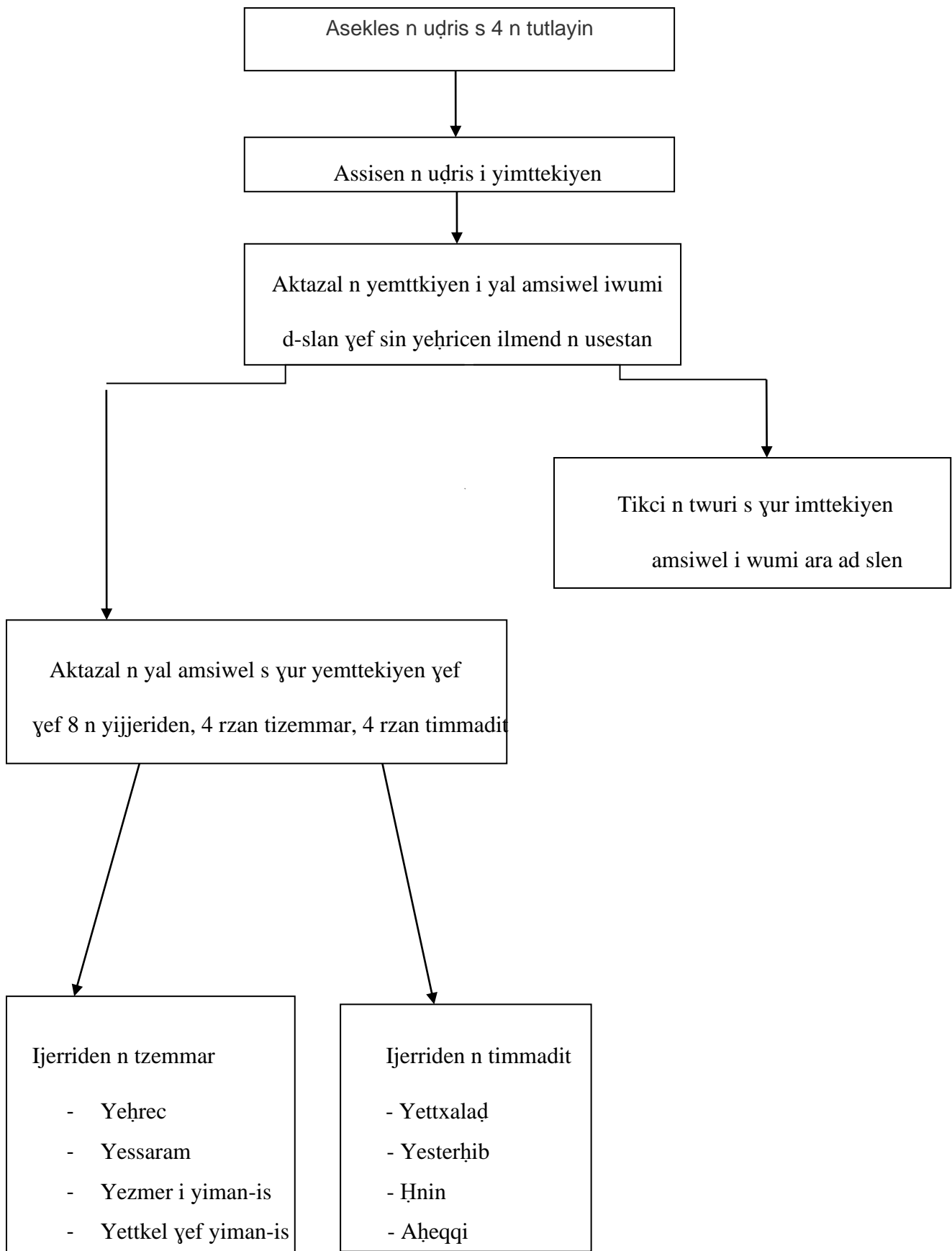
Aḥric-a d tikci n twuri ney axeddim i yal amsiwel iwumi ara ad d-slen yinelmaden. Akken ad nesishel tamsalt-a, ad neereḍ ad d-nefk kra n twuriwin. Tiwuriwin-a ad tent-nebḍu yef kraḍ n yeswiren inmetti-idmasanen⁵⁶ aswir n wadda, aswir alemmas, aswir ufella ney aelayan.

Ad d-nebder kra n twuriwin deg tfelwit-a:

Aswir n wadda	Aswir Alemmas	Aswir ufella(aelayan)
Aferraḍ	Amzenzu	Ṭbib
Aæssas	Afaktor	Agenyur
Afellaḥ	Afremlı	Jug
Amassut	Aselmad	Amnadi

⁵⁶ socio-économique

2.2. azenziy n tarrayt n umsiwel uffir



3. Afran n wadeg n tezrawt

Tazrawt-agi nefren ad tt-nexdem deg temnađt n Tubiret, i yellan deg tmurt n Lezzayer. Tamnađt-a tezga-d deg ugama asamar n tmurt n Lezzayer. Tebeed s wazal n 120 km yef Lezzayer tamanayt, nnig-s (agafa) tella temdint n tizi-uzzu d bumerdas, ma yella s wadda-is (sud) ad d-naf Tamnađt n Lmedeya, D Msila, ma seg usamar tella Bgayet, d temnađt n B.B.A, ma yella seg tama n umalu tella temnađt n Blida.

Tazrawt-a d tin ara ara d-yilin deg tseddawit n Akli Muđend Ulđadj i yeldin tiwwura-is i tikelt tamezwarut deg useggas n 2005. Deg tseddawit-a nefren igezduyen n tzeddayet n tsekliwin d tutlayin aswir amezwaru, iwakken ad d-nzer adeg n tutlayt tamaziyt gar tutlayt Tafransist, Taerabt, d Teglizit deg tmuylwin d wadduden n yinelmaden n uswir-a.

4. Tarrayin n tesleđt

Yal tazrewt ney yal anadi usnan yuđwađ taşleđt i yinefkan d yigemmađ i d-yettwagemren seg wannar. S umata, tasleđt n wammud tettili-d ilmend n snat tarrayin yemgaraden, tamezwarut d tasmektant, tasleđt n yigemmađ s tarrayt-agi ttwasenfalayen s talya n uşiden, (chiffre, statistique). Tis snat d [tayarant](#), deg tarrayt-a, tettili-d teşleđt n yigemmađ s usefhem, ney s usegzi s wawalen d tenfaliyin. Aseqdec n tarrayin-agi yettemgarad seg tezrawt yer tayed ney seg tayult yer tayed, maca afran n tarrayt n teşleđt icud yer temsalt n unadi akked usteqsi agejdan n tezrawt, yerza dayen tarrayt n unadi n tezrawt, d yissalen i d-yettwagemren seg wannar.

Deg wayen yerzan tasleđt n wammud ara d-negmer seg wannar, nefren ad nesseqdec kan tarrayt tayarant.

4.1. Tarrayt tayarant

Taşleđt tayarant d yiwet n tarrayt tansayt i yettwasmersen deg wađas n tayulin yemgaraden syur yimusnawen d wid iqedcen deg tayult n tusna, tarrayt-agi sseqdacen-tt deg wayen yerzan taşleđt n tezrawin ney n yissalen d yinefkan i d-yettwagemren seg wannar n unadi, am tumanin, d tikliwin n umdan. Tarrayt-a tettak tagnit i umsestan akken ad yeđsu iferdisen yesean assay yer wannar n unadi-is, tessawađ amnadi ad yeđsu amek yella wugur, acu d timental-is, d tiffin n tifat i wugur-agi. Gef temsalt-agi ad naf Touré, M, M.,

yenna-d dakken, *agmar n yissalen s tarrayt tayarant yettili-d s talya n talsa, tarrayt tayarant tettağga amsestan ad yegzu amek yella wugur akked tmental-is*⁵⁷.

Asseqdec n tarrayt tayarant deg tezwat-nney ad yili iwakken ad nessegzi igemmaḍ i d-negmer seg wannar s talya timseglemt.

5. Tasastant n wannar

Tasastant n wannar d yiwen n leqdic i ilan azal meqren deg unadai, acku fell-as i yebna, imi seg-s ara d-yeffey wammud ara yettwaseldən deg weħric i yewulmen i wannect-a. ilmend n Mallek.S., Tasastant n wannar *tettuneħsab d yiwet n tarrayt tusnant n unadi, swayes amusnaw yezmzer ad d-yegmer ammud ara yesleḍ*⁵⁸. Ilmend n Ghiglione, R et Matalon, B., *asebdeḍ n tsastant n wannar, d asteqsi n umḍan n yemḍanen deg yiswi n usmati*⁵⁹. S wawal-nniḍen, tasastant n wannar d tarrayt n wegmar n yisefka seg wannar s tihawt tusridt n umnadi deg wannar. Agmar n yisalen yettili yef kra n yemḍanen kan mi ara tili tsastant d tayarant, ihi imttekiyen iyef tettwaxdem ad ilin d [timekkest](#) kan, i seg ara d-nessufey isallen yef yemḍanen akken ma llan.

Tiddin n tsastant

Ḍerru n tsastant-agi yella-d si 28 seg waggur n yebrir almi d ass wis sin seg waggur n maggu aseggas 2023. Deg wass amezwaru n tsastant, nerza yer uagezdu n tutlayt d yidles amaziḡ, anida i nessaweḍ ad d-negmer issalen iwulmen i tezrawt-agi, s usemres n tarrayt n umsiwel uffir, i tikelt tamezwarut. Uqbel ad nebdu tasastant d yinelmaden, nesegza-asen-d iswi seg tsastant-agi akken iwata, syen akkin, nessuter deg-sen ad d-slen i yemḍanen i nessekles yakan, seld timesliwt-nsen i yemḍanen-agi, nessuter deg-sen ad ten-ktazlen s ttawil n usestan I d-nheyya yakan.

⁵⁷Touré.Mounir.M., « Introduction à la méthodologie de recherche », Ed L'Harmattan, France, 2009, p.74.

*[Les données qualitatives sont recueillies sous forme plus ou moins narrative. Elles permettent de déterminer la nature et les causes du problème et leurs conséquences].

⁵⁸Mallek, Samir., *Enquete de Terrain*, Département langue et culture amazigh bouira ,2019. p.5.

*[L'enquête de terrain est une méthode de recherche qui permet aux scientifiques de produire eux mêmes leurs données pour l'analyse.]

⁵⁹ Idem

*[Réalisé une enquête, c'est interroger un certain nombre d'individus en vue d'une généralisation].

5.1. Ttawilat n tsastant

5.1.1. Asestan

Asestan d allal swayes i yezmer umnadi ad d-yegmer ammud seg wannar, yettuneḥsab d ummuy n yesteqsiyen yettwafhamen, zmren ad ilin d usriden (tadiwennit) ney d irusriden (izen deg izeḍwan inmettiyen) ... isallen (isefka) ara d-yttwagemren ad ilin d inemḍanen ⁶⁰, d wid ara yettwaseldən syen akkin.

Asestan deg wayen yerzan anadi-agi, nheyya-t-id yakan deg n uselkim (ordinateur), nebna-t s tawil n Google Forms. Nefren tawil n Google Forms acku yesishil anadi imi d netta i d-yettaken igemmaḍ ifmiḍiyen yer tagara n tsastant s telqeyt.

5.2. Imsulya

Deg wayen yerzan tasastant n umahil-a, nefren ad tt-nexdem akken i d-nenna yakan, deg tseddawit n tubiret. Ma deg wayen yerzan imsulya, nefren inelmaden n uswir amezwaru n yigezda n tzeddayt n tsekliwin d tutlayin deg tseddawit-a. Deg wayen yerzan timekkest n yimsulya, nefren ad ilin azal n 56 n yinelmaden, 14 seg yal agezdu, 7 seg-sen d irgazen ma d 7 nniḍen d tilawin.

Tawsit	Amḍan	Afmiḍi
Argaz	29	51%
Tamettut	27	49%
Agemmud amatu	56	100%

Inelmaden-a i nefren tettemgarad tutlayt-nesen tayemmat, llan deg-sen iḥerbawalen d iqqbayelawalen, ameena tuget n yimsulya d iqqbayliyen, akken i t-id tessebgan tfelwit-agi ukessar.

⁶⁰Idem, p.11

*[Un questionnaire est constitué d'un ensemble de questions spécifiques, qui sont posées directement (entretien face-à-face, téléphonique, etc.) ou indirectement (courrier, email, etc.) aux individus.]

Tutlayt tayemmat	Amɗan	Afmiɗi
Taɛrabt	22	39%
Aqbayli	34	61%
Agemmud amatu	56	100%

5.3. Uguren i d-nemmuger deg wannar

Deg tirit n tsastant-a nemmuger-d achal n wuguren d yiɛwwiqen iwumi ur nerri ara azal gar-asen ad d-nebder:

- aktazal s tarrayt-agi itteteɗ akud, acku yal anelmad yessefk fell-as ad yektazel 4 n yemdanen yettmeslayen 4 n tutlayin yemgaraden, yernu send ara yektazel yal yiwen, yessefk ad ihesses I ukalas.
- Ugur n tegzi n tutlayin tiberaniyin am tefransist d teglizit, syur yinelmaden s umata, d teqbaylit syur iɛerbawalen.
- Ugur n unadi yef yinelmaden n weswir amezwaru deg yigezda yemgaraden.
- Ugur n lexsas n yinelmaden ara ixedmen yid-ney tasastant, ilan wid yettkukrun, wid ur yestufan ara...
- Ugur n kra n yinelmaden ur d-yettaran ara yef yisteqsiyen n usestan seg wulawen-nsen

Ixf Wis sin

Igemmađ

Ixef-a yerza afraz n wammud i d-negmer seg wannar n unadi (tasdawit n tubiret), s ttawil n usastan i d-nheyya di Google forms, Isefka i d-neddem syen nfrez-iten deg Excel. Nessufey-iten-id d tifelwiyin ara yaf yimeyri deg tmerna. Ad ten-yaf ddsen akken ddsen deg yixef-a ideg ara d-nesegzi igemmađ-nni s wawalen.

Syen akkin nexdem-as tasleđt

I) Afraz n wammud

1. Tutlayt taglizit

1.1. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n Teglizit

1.1.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

1.1.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

Ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tfelwiyin n yigemmad, inelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit, rran azal i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tutlayt taglizit, anida ara naf amur ameqqran deg-sen ktazlen s uswir aelayan tuget n yijerriden n usefren n timmadit, seg-sen ajerrid "Yettxalaq"s 79%, ajerrid "Yesterhib" 64%, akked ujerrid "Aheqqi" fkan-as afmiđi n 71%. Ayen i d-yeskanayan tugna-n sen yelhan yer tutlayt taglizit.

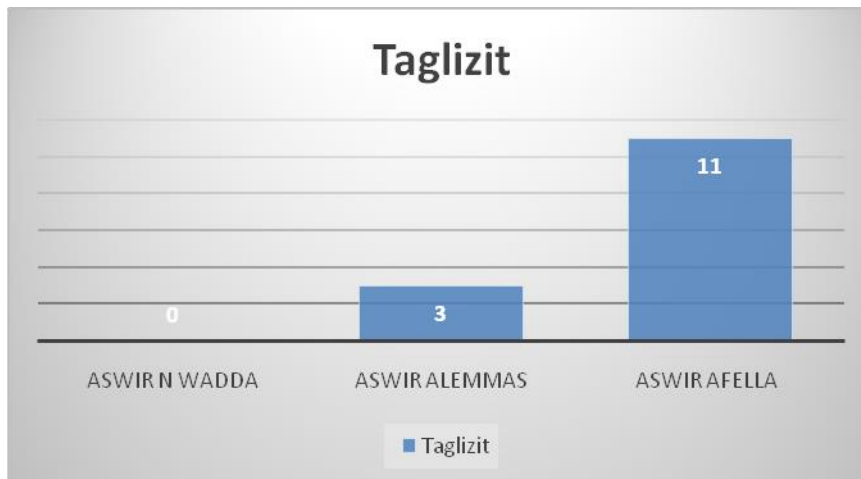
Seg tama-nniđen, drus n yinelmaden i yerran aswir n wadda i umsiwel-a deg usefren n timmadit, ad naf haca ajerrid «Hnin" i ktazlen s uswir n wadda.

1.1.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Deg wayen yerzan aktazal n umsiwel n tutlayt taglizit deg usefren n tzemmar, inelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit ktazlen akken ma llan s uswir aelayan deg tuget n yijerriden n usefren-a, am deg ujerrid "Yeħrec" rran-as 64%, "Yessaram" 64%, "Yezmer i yiman-is" 71%, ma yella d ajerrid "Yettkel yef yiman-is» fkan-as afmiđi n 79%.

1.1.2. Tikci n twuri i tutlayt taglizit

Amdan	Aswir wadda	Aswir n alemmas	Aswir afella
Taglizit	0	3	11



Aktazal n tutlayt taglizit deg uḥric wis sin n uktazal syur yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit, yella-d s wudem yelhan ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tugniwin-agi, anida tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu-agi ktazlen tutlayt taglizit s uswir aelayan (9), kraḍ deg-sen ktazlen s uswir alemmas (3), ma yella deg uswir n wadda ulac win yektazlen tutlayt-a deg uswir n wadda.

1.2. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Taerabt i tutlayt

1.2.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

1.2.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

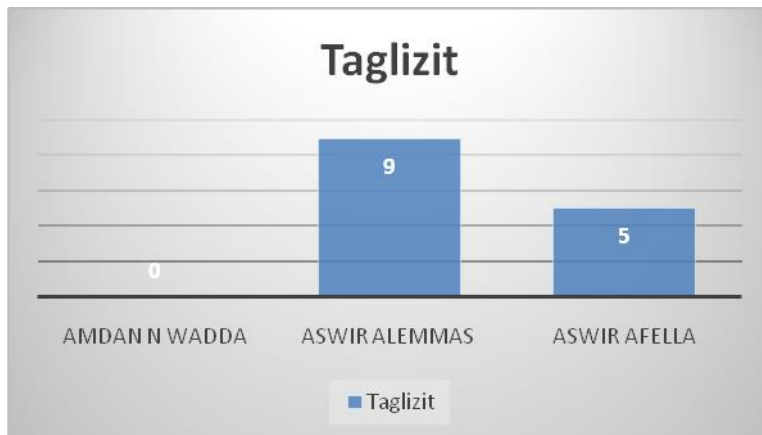
Aktazal n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt, i umsiwel i d-yemmeslyan s teglizit deg usefren n timmadit, yella-d s uswir aelayan deg sin yijerriden, "Yettxalaḍ" s 57%, "Aḥeqqi" s 64%. Ma d aktazal yerzan ajerrid "Yesterḥib" akked "Ḥnin" aktzal yella-d deg tlemmast

1.2.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Aktazal n umsiwel i d-yemmeslyen s tutlayt taerabt seg tama n ujerrid n tzemmar, inelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu-a, ktazlen amsiwel-a s uswir aelayan deg yijerriden n tzemmar akken ma llan, anida i rran afmiḍi n 79% i ujerrid "Yeḥrec", 86% i ujerrid "Yessaram", 79% i ujerrid "Yezmer i yiman-is", d 86% i ujerrid "Yettkel yef yiman-is".

1.2.2. Tikci n uxeddin i tutlayt taglizit

Amdan	Amdan wadda	n	Aswir alemmas	Aswir afella
Taglizit	0		9	5



Aktazal n tutlayt taglizit deg uḥric wis sin n uktazal syur yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt, ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tugniwin-agi, yella-d s tikci n tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu-agi aswir alemmas i tutlayt-agi (8), ayen i d-yeqqimen deg-sen ktazlen tutlayt-agi s uswir aelayan (3), ma yella deg uswir n wadda ulac win yektazlen tutlayt-a s uswir-agi.

1.3. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist

1.3.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

1.3.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

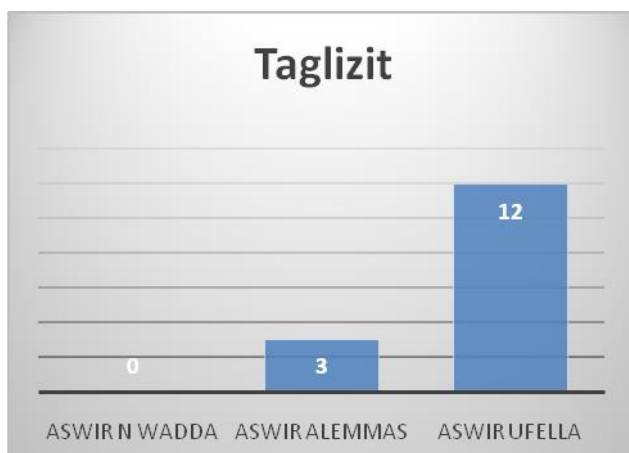
Deg uktazal n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt tafransist i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt taglizit seg tama n usefren n timmadit, ad naf inelmaden n ugezdu-a ktazlen sin kan n yijerriden s uswir aelayan deg usefren-a, gar-asen ajerrid n «Yettxalaḍ» s ufmiḍi n 64%, akked ujerrid «Aḥeqqi» s 93%. Ma yella deg yijerriden-nniḍen, ad naf inelmaden ktazlen-t s uswir n wadda, am deg ujerrid “Ḥnin”. Ma d ajerrid “Yesterḥib” aktazal yella deg tlemmast kan.

1.3.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama-nniḍen, deg wayen yerzan aktazal n yinelmaden i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt taglizit i usefren n tzemmar, akatzal yella-d s uswir aelayan deg yijerriden akken ma llan.

1.3.2. Tikci n uxeddim i tutlayt Taglizit

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	Aswir alemmas	Aswir Ufella
Taglizit	0	3	12



Deg weswir-agi wis n uktazal akken i t-id-sebganent tugniwin-agi, tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist ktazlen tutlayt Taglizit s weswir aelayan (12) ma d 3 i d-yegran rran-as aswir alemmas. ula d yiwen deg-sen ur s-yerra aswir n wadd

1.4. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tamaziyt

1.4.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

1.4.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

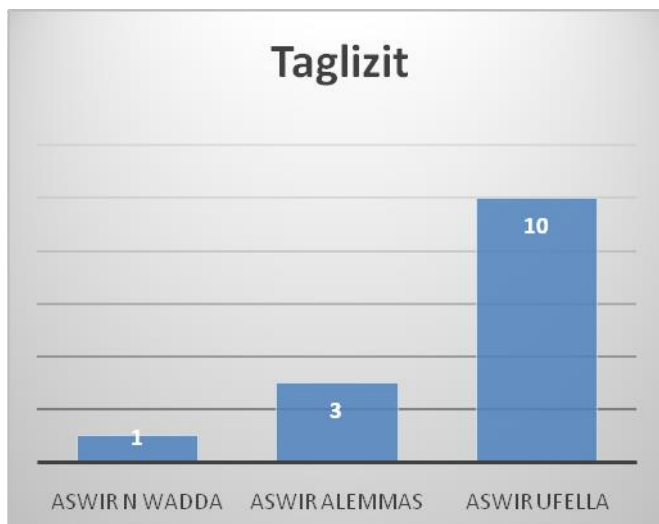
Ilmend n tfelwiyin n yigemmaḍ, Inelmaden n uswir amezwaru ugezdu n tutlayt tamaziyt ktazlen s weswir aelayan ijerriden, yesterhib (71%) ḥnin (71%), aḥeqqi (71%). Ala ajerrid yettxalaḍ i ktazlen deg tlemmast.

1.4.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Akken i d-sebganen yigemmaḍ, akk inelmaden n uswir amezwaru n tutlayt d yidles amaziyt ktazlen s weswir əlayen ansiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tutlayt taglizit deg ujerrid n tzemmar

1.4.2. Tikci n uxeddin i tutlayt Taglizit

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	Aswir alemmas	aswir Ufella
Taglizit	1	3	10



Deg weswir-agi wis sin n uktazal akken i t-id-sebganent tugniwi-agi, inelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tamaziyt ktazlen s weswir ufella tutlyt Taglizit mi s-fkan tiwuriwin n weswir wis 3 (AƏLAYAN)

2. Tutlayt Taerabt

2.1. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Taglizit

2.1.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

2.1.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

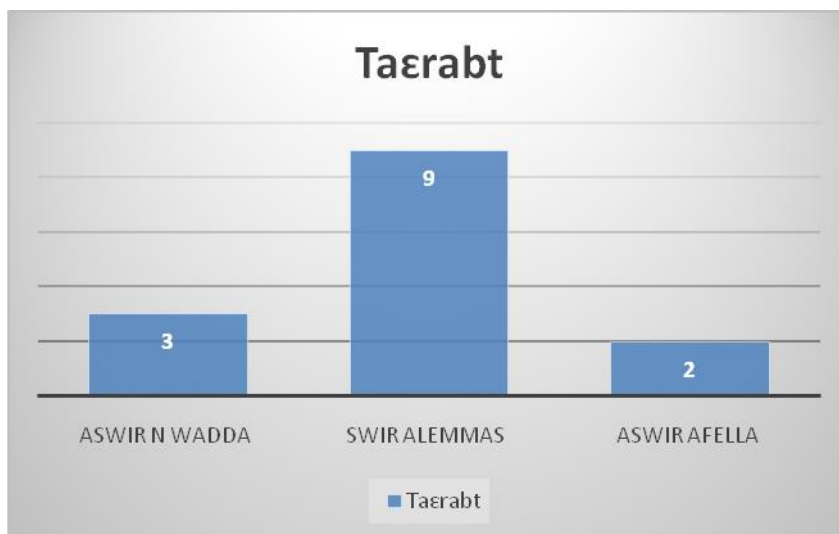
Aktazal n umsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tutlayt taerabt syur yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit ur yelli ara d win ifazen seg tama n usefren n « timmadit », acku tuget n yinelmaden ktazlen-t s uswir n wadda am deg ujerrid "Yesterhib" akked ujerrid "Aheqqi". Ma yella deg ujerrid "Yettxalađ" aktazal n yinelmaden yella-d deg tlemmast. Aktazal s uswir aelayan deg usefren n timmadit yella-d kan deg ujerrid "ħnin" s ufmiđi n 64%.

2.1.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama n ujerrid n tzemmar, aktazal n yinelmaden i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tutlayt taerabt deg usefren-a, yella-d s uswir aelayan deg ujerrid "Yeħrec" s 79%, akked ujerrid "Yettkel yef yiman-is" s 93%. Ma yella deg ujerrid "Yessaram", akked ujerrid "Yezmer i yiman-is", inelmaden ktazlen amsiwel-a s uswir n wadda.

2.1.2. Tikci n uxeddin i tutlayt taerabt

Amdan	Aswir wadda	Swir alemmas	Aswir afella
Taerabt	3	9	2



Aktazal n tutlayt taerabt deg uḥric wis sin n uktazal ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tugniwin-agi, tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit ktazlen tutlayt taerabt s uswir alemmas (9), kraḍ seg-sen rran tafrent-nsen deg uswir n wadda (3), sin n yinelmaden-nniḍen ktazlen tutlayt-a s uswir ufella (2).

2.2. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n Taɛrabt

2.2.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

2.2.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

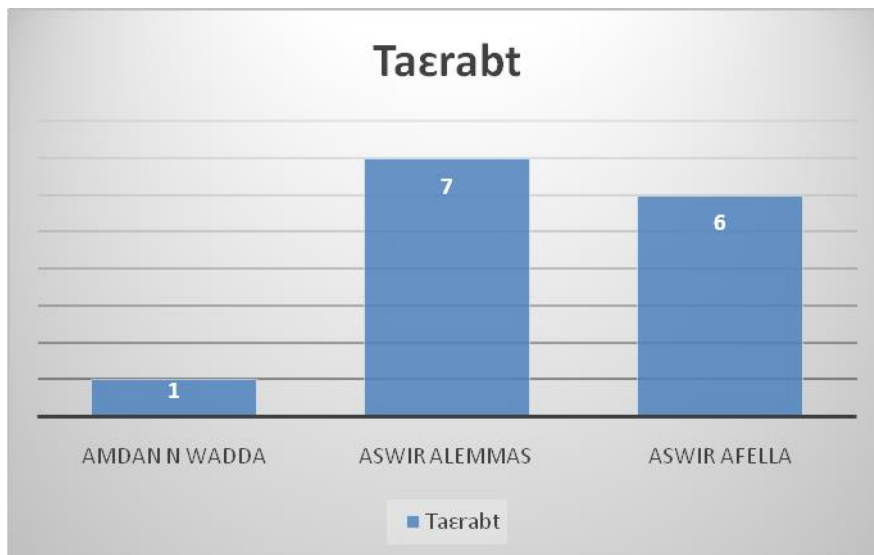
Deg uktazal n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt taɛrabt i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt taɛrabt deg usefren n timmadit, ad naf belli aḥric ameqqran n yinelmaden ktazlen s uswir aɛlayan tuget n yijerriden n usefren-a, seg-sen, ajerrid « yettxalaḍ » s 57%, ajerrid "Yesterḥib" s 57%, akked ujerrid "Aḥeqqi" s ufmiḍi n 57%, dacu kan llan drus n yinelmaden i yektazlen amsiwel-a s uswir n wadda deg ujerrid « Ḥnin ».

2.2.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama-nniḍen, deg wayen yerzan aktazal n yinelmaden i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt taɛrabt deg usefren n tzemmar, akatzal yella-d s tuget deg uswir aɛlayan (Yehrec57%, Yessaram 64%, Yettkel yef yiman-is 64%), ḥaca deg ujerrid "Yezmer i yimanis", aktazal yella-d deg tlemmast kan.

2.2.2. Tikci n uxeddin i tutlayt taerabt

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	Aswir alemmas	Aswir afella
Taerabt	1	7	6



Aktazal n tutlayt taerabt deg uḥric wis sin n uktazal syur yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt, ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tugniwin-agi, yella-d s tikci n ugar n yinelmaden n ugezdu-agi aswir alemmas i tutlayt-agi (7), kra n yinelmaden ktazlen tutlayt-agi s uswir aelayan (6), ma yella deg uswir n wadda yiwen unelmad i yerran tafrent-is i uswir-agi.

2.3. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt tafransist

2.3.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

2.3.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

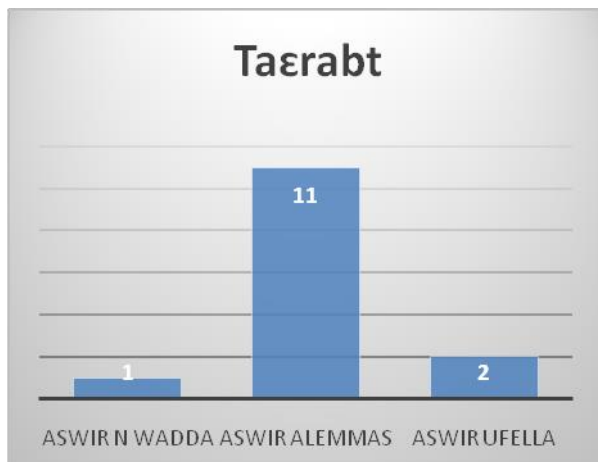
Aktazal n umsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt Taerabt syur yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist d win yellan ifaz deg usefren n timmadit, acku inelmaden n uswir-a ktazlen s uswir unnig tuget n yijerriden n usefren-a, ajerrid “Yesterhib” s 64%, “Hnin” 93%, ajerrid “Aheqii” s 71%, ma yella deg ujerrid “Yettxalaḍ” aktazal n umsiwel-a yella deg tlemmast kan.

2.3.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Aktazal n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist, i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt Taerabt seg tama n usefren n tzemmar, yettban-d ilmend n tugniwin n yigemmaḍ ur ifaz ara, acku inelmaden-a ktazlen kan deg sin n yijerriden s uswir aelayan, gar yijerriden-a, “Yessaram” s 64%, akked ujerrid “Yettkel yef yiman-is” s ufmiḍi n 57%. Ma yella deg ujerrid “Yezmer i yiman-is” aktazal d win i d-yellan d alemmas kan, ma deg ujerrid “Yeḥrec” aktazal yella-d s uswir n wadda.

2.3.2. Tikci n uxeddim i tutlayt taerabt

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	Aswir alemmas	Aswir Ufella
Taerabt	1	11	2



Deg weswir-agi wis n uktazal akken i t-id-sebganent tugniwi-agi, tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist ktazlen tutlayt Taerabt s weswir alemmas, sin deg-sen kan i s-yerran aswir aelayan ma d aswir n wadda yiwen n unelmad ara d-naf yerra tafrant n wadda.

2.4. Akatazal n yinelmaen n ugezdu n tutlayt Tamaziyt

2.4.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

2.4.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

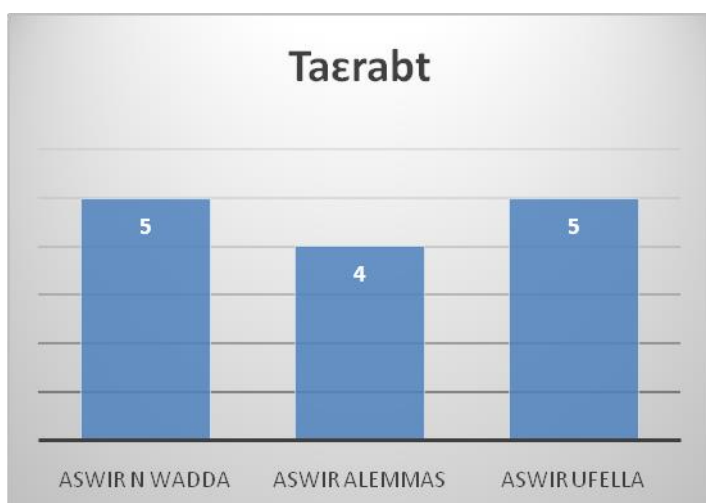
Aktazal n tutlayt taɛrabt ilmend n yinelmaden n tutlayt d yedles amaziɣ deg wayen yerzan asfren n timmadit ad t-naf yebḍa yef snat n taggayin (aswir aɛlayan, aswir n wadda), deg ujerrid «yettxalaḍ" akked "yesterḥib" wid yektazlen s weswir n wadda kkan-d nnig wid n taggayt-nniḍen. Ma d ijerriden "ḥnin (57%)" "aḥeqqi (57%)" ruḥen-d mgal sin ijerriden imezwura. Ugar n yinelmaden ktazlen-ten s weswir unnig akken i yella deg tfelwiyin.

2.4.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Ma deg usefren n tzemmar tugett n yinelmaden ktazlen s weswir n wadda ijerriden "yehrec", "yessaram». Deg wayen yerzan ajerrid "yettkel yef yiman-is(57%)", akked "Yezmer i yiman-is (64%)" ugar n yinelmaden ktazlen-t s weswir unnig.

2.4.2. Tikci n uxeddim I tutlayt taerabt

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	Aswir alemmas	Aswir Ufella
Taerabt	5	4	5



Deg weswir-agi wis sin n uktazal akken i t-id-sebganent tugniwi-agi, inelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tamaziyt ktazlen s yeswiren yemgaraden tutlayt taerabt, 5 ktazlen-tt s weswir n wadda 5 nniḍden s weswir aelayan, ma d 4 i d-yegran rran-as aswir alemmas.

3. Tutlayt Tafransist

3.1. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Taglizit

3.1.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

3.1.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

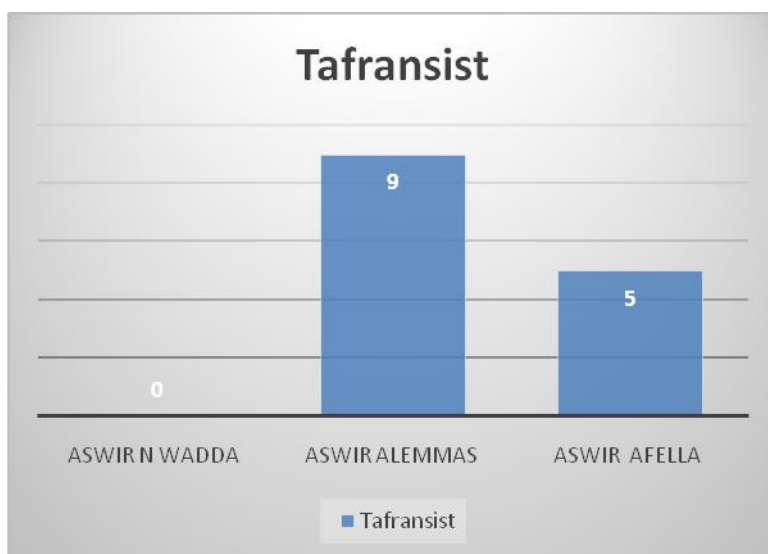
Ilmend n wayen i d-skanent tugniwin n yigemmađ, inelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit, ktazlen tutlayt tafransist s uswir aelayan deg tuget n yijerriden n usefren n timmadit, am "Yettxalađ" s 57%, "Yesterħib" s 64%, "Aħeqqi" s 71%. Dacu kan llan drus n yinelmaden ktazlen-t s uswir n wadda deg ujerrid "Hnin".

3.1.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama n ujerrid n tzemmar, aktazal n umsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tefransist syur yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit, yella-d s uswir aelayan deg yijerriden akken ma llan, ("Yeħrec s 79%", "Yessaram s 71%", "Yezmer i yiman-is 79%", "Yettkel i yiman-is 86%").

3.1.2. Tikci n uxeddim i tutlayt tafransist

Amdan	Aswir wadda	n	Aswir alemmas	Aswir afella
Tafransist	0		9	5



Aktazal n tutlayt tafransist deg uḥric wis sin n uktazal ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tugniwin-agi, tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit ktazlen tutlayt tafransist s uswir alemmas (9), 5 n yinelmaden-nniḍen ktazlen tutlayt tafransist s uswir ufella (5).

3.2. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Taerabt

3.2.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

3.2.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

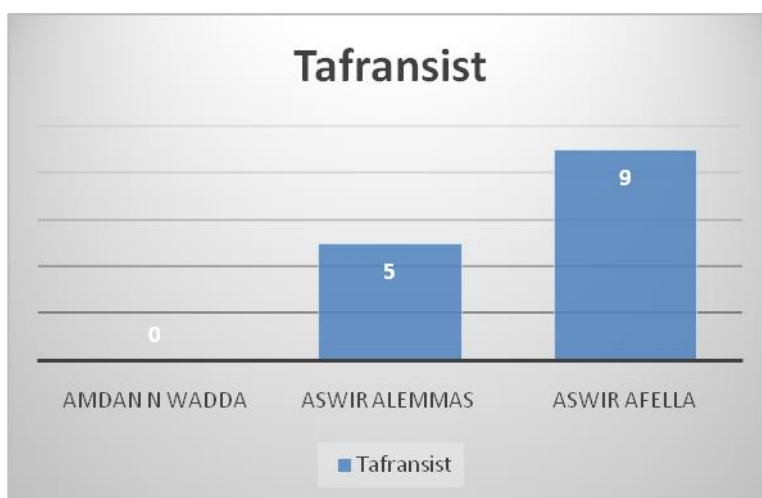
Ilmend n wayen i d-mmalent tririyin n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt, inelmaden ktazlen amsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tutlayt tafransist s uswir aelayan deg tuget n yijerriden n usefren n timmadit, rran 57% i ujerrid "Yettxalađ", 64% i ujerrid "Yesterhib", akked 71% i ujerrid " Aħeqqi". Ala ajerrid "Hnin" i ktazlen s weswir n wadda.

3.2.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Deg wayen yerzan ajerrid n tzemmar, inelmaden n uswir-a ktazlen amsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tutlayt tafransist s uswir aelayan deg yijerriden akken ma llan. ("Yeħrec 79%", "Yessaram 71%", "Yezmer i yiman-is", "Tettkel yef yiman-is 86 %").

3.2.2. Tikci n uxeddin i tutlayt tafransist

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	Aswir alemmas	Aswir afella
Tafransist	0	5	9



Aktazal n tutlayt tafransist deg uḥric wis sin n uktazal syur yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt, ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tugniwin-agi, yella-d s wudem yelhan, anida tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu-agi rran-t tafrent-n sen i uswir ufella n tutlayt-agi (9), 5 deg-sen ktazlen tutlayt-agi s uswir alemmas (6), ma yella deg uswir n wadda ulac win yerran tafrent-is i uswir-agi.

3.3. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist

3.3.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

3.3.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

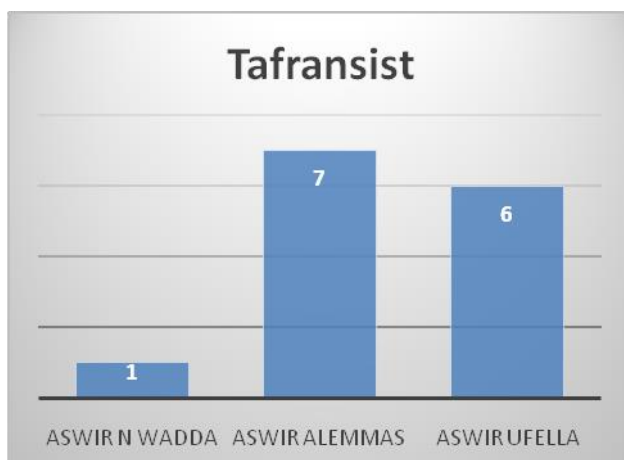
Ilmend n wayen i d-mmalent tfelwiyin n yigemmađ, inelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt tafransist, ktazlen s wudem yelhan amsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt tafransist deg usefren n timmadit, ktazlen-t s uswir aelayan deg krađ n yijerriden, am deg ujerrid “Yettxalađ (79%)”, “Yesterhib (71%)”, “Aheqqi”(86%). Drus n yinelmaden i yektazlen amsiwel-a s uswir alemmas s deg ujerrid “Ĥnin”.

3.3.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama-nniđen, aktazal n yinelmaden i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt tafransist deg ujerrid n tzemmar, akken i d-skanent tugniwin n yigemmađ, inelmaden ktazlen s uswir aelayan deg yijerriden akken ma llan. (“Yeħrec 79%”, “Yessaram 79%”, “Yezmer i yiman-is 64%”, “Yettkel yef yiman-is 93 %”).

3.3.2. Tikci n uxeddim I tutlayt Tafransist

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	aswir alemmas	aswir Ufella
Tafransist	1	7	6



Deg weswir-agi wis n uktazal akken i t-id-sebganent tugniwi-agi, tuget (7) n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist ktazlen tutlayt Tafransist s weswir alemmas, 6 n yinelmaden-nniḍen rran-as aswir ufella. Ma d aswir n wadda yiwen n unelmad ara d-naf yerra tafrant-a

3.4. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tamaziyt

3.4.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

3.4.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

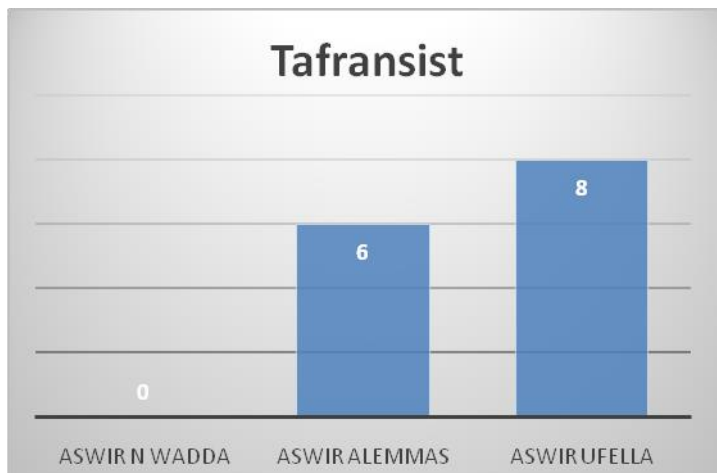
Aktazal n tutlayt tafransist syur yinelmaden n tutlayt d yedles amaziyt deg ujerrid n timmadit yesebgan-d dakken ugar n yijerriden ktazlen-ten yinelmaden s weswir unnig "yettxalaḍ 57%", "yesterhib 57%" d "aḥeqqi 71%". D acu kan deg ujerrid "ḥnin" ugar n yinelmaden ktazlen s weswir n wadda ney ur ḥnin ara.

3.4.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Deg usefren n tzemmar inelmaden ktazlen amsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tutlayt tafransist deg kraḍ n yijerriden s weswir aɛlayan (yehrec s 64%, yettkel yef yiman-is s 64%, yezmer i yiman-is s 79%) ma deg ujerrid-nniḍen ktazlen-t s weswir n wadda (yessaram).

3.4.2. Tikci n uxeddim I tutlayt tafransist

Amdan	aswir n wadda	aswir alemmas	aswir Ufella
Tafransist	0	6	8



Deg weswir-agi wis n uktazal akken i t-id-sebganent tugniwi-agi, inelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tamaziyt ktazlen tutlayt tafransist akken yelha neɣ s weswir alemmas (6) d uelayan (8), ma d aswir n wadda ur s-ririn ula d yiwen n uktazal (00).

4. Tutlayt Tamaziyt

4.1. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Taglizit

4.1.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

4.1.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

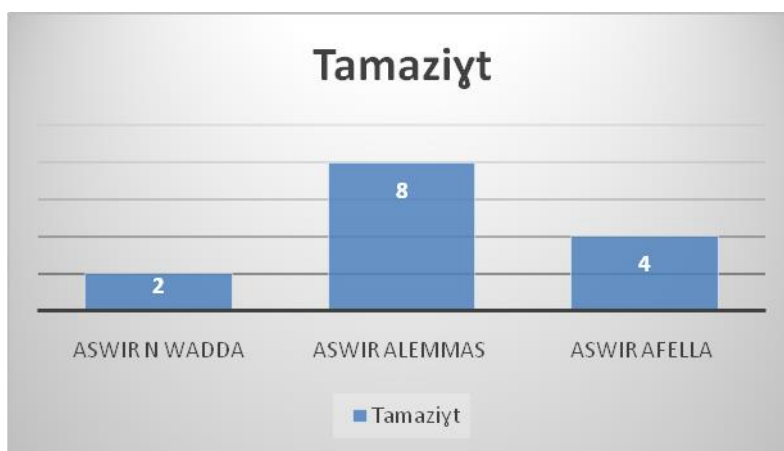
Deg wayen yerzan aktazal n umsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tmaziyt syur yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit, inelmaden ktazlen-t s uswir aelayan deg yak yijerriden n usefren n timmadit, deg ujerrid "Yettxalaḍ s 64% ", "Yesterhib s 86% ", "ħnin s 64%"," Aḥeqqi 86%".

4.1.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama n usefren n tzemmar, ilmend n wayen d-ssebganent tfelwiyin n yigemmaḍ, inelmaden n uswir-a akken ma llan ktazlen ijerriden n usefren-a s uswir aelayan. Yehrec (64%), Yessaram (79%), Yezmer i yiman-is (71%), Yettkel yef yiman-is (79%)

4.1.2. Tikci n uxeddin i tutlayt tamaziyt

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	Aswir alemmas	Aswir afella
Tamaziyt	2	8	4



Aktazal n tutlayt tamaziyt deg uḥric wis sin n uktazal ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tugniwin-agi, tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit ktazlen tutlayt tamaziyt s uswir alemmas (8), 4 deg-sen ktazlen tutlayt tamaziyt s uswir ufella(4), sin n yinelmaden ktazlen s uswir n wadda tutlayt tamaziyt(2) .

4.2. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Taerabt

4.2.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

4.2.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

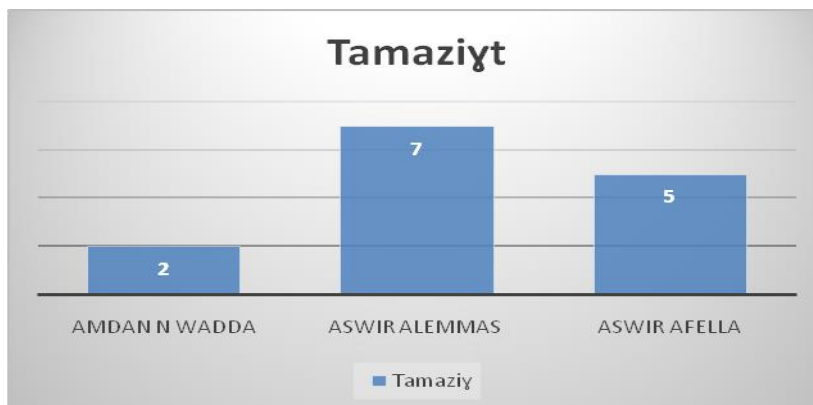
Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt i umsiwel i d-yemmeslayan s tutlayt tamaziyt seg tama n usefren n timmadit, yella-d s uswir aelayan deg yijerriden n usefren-a akken ma llan. Inelmaden rran 64% i ujerrid “Yettxalađ”, 64% i ujerrid “Hnin”, 86% i ujerrid” Aħeqqi” 86% i ujerrid Yesterħib.

4.2.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama n usefren n tzemmar inelmaden ktazlen akk ijerriden s uswir elayan. Yehrec (64%) Yessaram (79%) Yezmer i yiman-is (71%) Yettkel yef yiman-is (79%).

4.2.2. Tikci n uxeddin i tutlayt tamaziyt

Amdan	aswir n wadda	aswir alemmas	aswir afella
Tamaziyt	2	7	5



Aktazal n tutlayt tamaziyt deg uḥric wis sin n uktazal syur yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt, ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tugniwin-agi, tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu-agi rran-t tafrent-n sen i uswir alemmas (7), 5 deg-sen ktazlen tutlayt-agi s uswir alemmas (5), ma yella deg uswir n wadda sin n yinelmaden i yektazlen tutlayt tamaziyt s uswir-agi.

4.3. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist

4.3.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

4.3.1.1. Ijerriden n timmadit

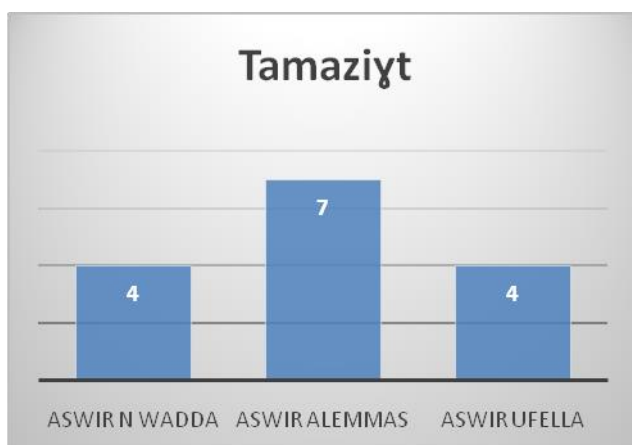
Aktazal n tutlayt tamaziyt syur yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru n ugezdu n tutlayt tafransist yella-d s wudem ifazen deg usefren n timmadit, acku inelmaden ktazlen tutlayt Tamaziyt s uswir unnig deg ak ijerriden n usefren-a, gar-asen “Yettxalaḍ 57%”, “Yesterḥib 57%”, “Aḥeqqi 71%”. Ma deg ujerrid “Ḥnin”, inelmaden ktazlen-t deg tlemmast kan.

4.3.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama ujerrid n tzemmar, inelmaden n uswir-a ktazlen amsiwel i d-yemmeslayen s tmaziyt s uswir unnig deg tuget n ijerriden n usefren n tzemmar. Inelmaden ktazlen-tt s weswir unnig deg yijerriden yemgaraden seg-sen ad d-nekkas (“yehrec 71%”, “yessaram 64%”, yettkel yef yiman-is 64%, yezmer i yiman-is 71%).

4.3.2. Tikci n uxeddim i tutlayt Tamaziyt

Amdan	Aswir n wadda	Aswir alemmas	Aswir Ufella
Tamaziyt	4	7	4



Deg weswir-agi wis n uktazal akken i t-id-sebganent tugniwi-agi, tuget (7) n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tafransist ktazlen tutlayt Tafransist s weswir alemmas, 4 n yinelmaden fernen-as aswir ufella. 4 n yinelmaden-nniḍen rran tafrant n wadda.

4.4. Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n Tmaziyt

4.4.1. Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

4.4.1.1. Ajerrid n timmadit

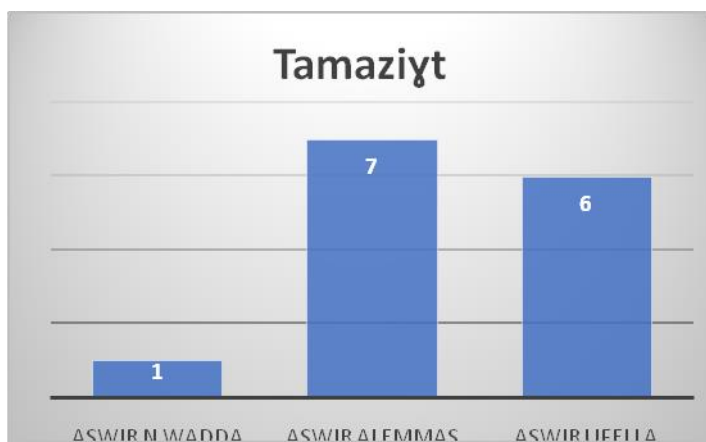
Deg wayen yerzan aktazal n tutlayt tamaziyt syur yinelmaden n tutlayt d yidles amaziɣ deg usfren n timmadit, tugett n yinelmaden ktazlen s weswir unnig ijerriden n usefren-a deg-sen (yettxalaḍ 64%, yesterḥib 57%, aḥeqqi 71%). Deg ujerrid "ḥnin" lketra ktazlen-t s uswir n wadda.

4.4.1.2. Ijerriden n tzemmar

Seg tama n usefren n tzemmar, inelmaden mgaraden deg uktazal, sin yijerriden ktazlen-ten s weswir unnig (yehrec 64%, yezmr i yiman-is 64%, yettkel yef yiman-is 79%) ma d sin nniḍen s weswir n wadda (yessaram,) akken t-id segzayent tfelwin-agi.

4.4.2. Tikci n uxeddin i tutlayt Tamaziyt

Amdan	aswir n wadda	aswir alemmas	aswir Ufella
Tamaziyt	1	7	6



Deg weswir-agi wis n uktazal akken i t-id-sebganent tugniwi-agi, tuget n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Tamaziyt ktazlen tutlayt Tamaziyt s weswir alemmas (7) d weswir aelayan (6), ma d aswir n wadda ur s-rrin ara haca yiwen n ufran.

II) Tasleḍt n wammud

1. Tutlayt taglizit (tutlayt n tusna tagraylant)

Ilmend n wayen i d-sebganent tririyin i d-negmer seg wannar n unadi, tuget n yinelmaden n weswir amezwaru n tzeddayt d tsekliwin seg yigezda yemgaraden, nufa-ten lan timuḍliwin yelhan yef tutlayt taglizit... deg tmuḍliwin-nsen tutlayt-agi tesseɛ azal imi tla adeg n tutlayt n taywalt tumrist tagraylant, yernu teṭṭef aḥric ameqran deg ufares n tusna acku yettli-d syes-s usnulfu usnan deg yal tayulin. Seg tririyin-nsen negza dakken taglizit tettuneḥsab d tutlayt n usnegmu anemdan d udamsan n tmurt. S wawal-nniḍen, tetteawan amdan ad yesnemi seg tmusniwin-is wa ad yali deg usmil anmetti Seg tama, ma seg tama-nniḍen, tesbuḥur tadamsa. Seg wayen i ten-yeḡḡan ad seun tugna yelhan fell-as, d leqrarat i yeddem udabu tigrat-agi i lfayda n tutlayt-agi taberranit. D tigawt i yeddem uwanek deg wayen yerzan tasertit tamutlayt n tmurt. Ihi yef waya afran n yemḍebren i tutlayt-agi, yegla-d s tezriɛt yef wegdu.

2. Tutlayt tafransist (tutlayt n tusna taberranit tamezwarut)

Seg tririyin i d-negmer seg wannar yef tmuḍliwin i seun yinelmaden n weswir amezwaru yer tutlayt tafransist nufa-d snat n tmuḍliwin tigejdanin, tamezwarut: ugar n yinelmaden lan timuḍliwin yelhan yef tutlayt-agi acku yef leḥsab n wegraw-agi amezwaru, tafransist d tutlayt n tusna i d-nḥer (nḥella) syur yirumyen seg wakud-nni n temhersa. Abrid-is d abrid n usnegmu, wid i tt-yettmeslayen ad seun lfayda ney ibayuren (inmettiyen, idamsanen) deg tmurt tazayrit, mačči am wid ur la tt-yettmeslayen ara, acku ula d nettat d tutlayt n udabu, d tutlayt i yessean azal deg tmurt tazayrit, d timeymert deg tsertit tamutlayt n tmurt

tazzayrit. Ayen la d-yeskanayen annect-a, d aseqdec-ines deg tedbelt, tayamsa, aḡerbaz.... Inelmaden fernen tutlayt-a acku deg wayen yerzan «tamyiftlay» ad negzu srid dakken adabu ila fell-asen tazrirt. Tazrirt ara d-yeglun ḡur yinelmaden s twaryellist tamutlayt. Acku tasertit-agi tamutlayt testixir-iten seg tutlayin-nsen tiyemmatin ama d taḡbaylit ney d taḡrabt tantalant

Aḡraw-nniḍen, d wid i ilan timuḡliwin n dir ḡef tutlayt n ucengu, wigi seg wid iwumi d-grant yir cfawat seg temhersa, deg tugett n tegnatin ad ten-naf d widak tḡuz tesnakta n useereb d tin n tesreḡt yesḡan assay d tsertit. Inelmaden ugmen-d tikta-agi seg twennaḡ-nsen (imawlan...). Annect-a ikeccem deg tmuḡliwin tucrikin. Budden akter taglizit, tagi di lbal-nsen xersum macci d taḡdawt. D acu kan d afran-agi nsen i teglizit i d-yeskeflen tihawt n twaryellist tamutlayt ḡur-sen.

3. Tutlayt tamaziḡt (tutlayt n tmagit n yimaziḡen)

Igemmaḍ n wammud uḡur nessawḡ seg tsastant sebganen-d dakken inelmaden n weswir amezwaru n yiḡezda n tzeddayt n tsekliwin d tutlayin, laḡya wid n ugezdu n tutlayt taḡrabt, d teglizit seḡan timuḡliwin ifazen ḡef tutlayt n tmaziḡt. Acku tamaziḡt deg yiseggasen-a ineggura tufrar-d deg ugama amutlay azzayri, tajmilt seg usnegmu-agi yettuḡal i yimeḡnasen i iqedcen fell-as. ḡas ma ḡef temsalt-a lan wid yefkan iman-nsen d asfel, ameḡna d nitni i yessawden ad bedlen tagnit. D tigawin-nsen i d-yeglan s ubeddel n tsertit tamutlayt. Tasertit i d-yewwin aḡayer n tmaziḡt tutlayt tunḡibt deg tmurt tazzayrit.

D acu kan tawaryellist tamutlayt ḡur kra n yinelmaden tezga teḡder, aladḡya ḡur yeḡbayelawalen. Deg tmuḡli-nsen tutlayin i yesḡan azal, d taglizit d tefransist, acku tuget n yimdanen i tent-yesemrasen, ney i d-ssiliḡent tutlayin-agi tiberaniyin ad ten-naf deg wesmil anmetti aḡlayan.

Aḡayer n tutlayt tamaziḡt deg tegnit-agi tezmer ad t-id tesegzi tmiḡrant «Tamyiftlayt» acku deg tilawt d tutlayt iwumi adabu ur yerra ara azal ḡas ma yerra-tt d tunḡibt, d ayen i nezmer ad n-confirmer seg lexsas n usamatu deg uselmed-ines.

4. Tutlayt taḡrabt (tutlayt n tesreḡt/ tutlayt n udabu)

Seld tasleḡt n yigemmaḍ n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru ḡer tutlayt taḡrabt, nufa-d belli timuḡliwin n yinelmaden-a bḡan-t ḡef snat n tagḡayin, tagḡayt tamezwarut, terza ammur

ameqqran n yinelmaden i yesean timuyliwin yelhan yer tutlayt-a. Tis snat, terza inelmaden n ilzn timuyliwin n dir yer tutlayt taerabt.

Ilmend n wayen i d-ssebganent tririyin-nsen, taggayt tamezwarut, terza ammur ameqqran n yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru i yesean timuyliwin tufirir yer tutlayt taerabt. Inelmaden-a lan timuyliwin yelhan yer tutlayt taerabt, acku gzan azal d tazayt i tessa tutlayt taerabt deg tmetti tazayrit, s wawal-nniḍen, annect-a yettuḡal yer wadeg tettef tutlayt taerabt deg tmurt Tazayrit, imi tutlayt-a tettuneḡsab d tutlayt n tersedt ney n dḍin n tneslemt i ycerken tuget n ugdud Azzayri.

Syen akkin, inelmaden zran adeg i tettef tutlayt-agi deg ugama asnilsan n tmurt tazayrit, ayen la d-yessebganen annect-a d asebded n tutlayt-agi d tutlayt n udabu seg useggas n 1962, d useqdec-is deg tuget n taḡulin. Fer taggara, inelmaden n taggayt-agi tamezwarut ḡur-sen timuyliwin yelhan yer tutlayt taerabt, acku yef leḡsab-nsen, tutlayt taerabt d tutlayt tayemmat (tantalant) n tuget n yinelmaden-agi, d tutlayt tayemmat n tuget n ugdud azzayri.

Seg tama-nniḍen, nufa-d taggayt-nniḍen seg yinelmaden n uswir amezwaru lan timuyliwin tibawin (négatif) yef tutlayt taerabt. Inelmaden-a lan timuyliwin n dir yer tutlayt taerabt, acku yef leḡsab-nsen tutlayt-agi tessa tilisa, s wawal-nniḍen tutlayt-agi ur telli ara d tutlayt yettwasemrasen s waḡas deg umaḡal, yerna ur tetteawan ara amdan deg usnerni n tmusniwin-is.

Taggrayt tamatut

Deg umahil-agi, nesegza-d lwaḥid dakken, timuḥliwin d wadduden, d tugniwin timezwura i d-yesnegmayen imdanen seg temzi. D tid i d-leqden d timezwura yef tyawsiwin yemgaraden am tutlayin. Tikwal d tid i d-werten syur yimdanen-nniḍen ney ahat syur wid yellan sennig-sen, am udabu deg wudem ayelnaw. Allal n udabu deg uḥraṣ (tezrirt) yef wegdud, d tasertit tamutlayt, d allal swayes itteddes, iseddu tutlayin i s-yehwan. Deg ugama amutlay agtutlay n tmurt tazayrit, i yettwaddesen s tihawt n xirla n yigrawen imutlayen (temyiwanin timutlayin), adabu akken ad tent-yebḍu, yessemras tasertit tamutlayt i yefyen fell-as. D tasertit-agi yellan tura i d-yewwi, seg timument ar ass-a, i d-yefkan agama amutlay amiran ukris. Seg-s nnulfan-d yiyeblan isnilesmettiyeen yecban; timuḥliwin tsnilesmettiyeen (yelhan, n dir), tayellist d twayellist tamutlayt, tamiyftlayt....

Ihi Deg leqdic-agi i d-yewwin yef umkan n tmaziyt gar tutlayin i s-d-yezzin, nra ad d-nesekfel timuḥliwin i lan yiseddawanen n tzeddayt d tsekliwin aswir amezwaru seg yigezda yemgaraden yef tutlayt-a, akken ad nzer amek la tt-zerren ass-a. ...

Tarrayt n unadi i d-newwi akken ad negzu tummant-a, d tarrayt n umsiwel uffir i yettwasemrasen i wezraw-nsent deg tesnilesmettit. Nefren ad nexdem yes-s acku igemmaḍ (tidfar) i yer tessawaḍ zemren (t) ahat ad d-awin tiririyeen iferzen yef usteqsi-nney akter n tarrayin-nniḍen.

Deg wayen yerzan tasleḍt-nney i wammud i d-negmer seg wannar, nufa timuḥliwin n yinelmaden ttemgaradent seg yiwen yer wayeḍ. Ilmend n tfelwiyeen n uḥraz, deg tuget n tegnatin inelmaden ktazlen (akk) tutlayin s weswir elayen. Ayen i d-yesebganen daken lan tugniwin yelhan fell-asent. Akken llan dayen wid i tent-yektazlen s weswir n wadda, asmil-a aneggaru yettuneḥsab d amur awezlan. Amgired yellan gar-asen ur lqay ara. Ihi seg tiririyeen-nsen, ad neereḍ ad neddes tutlayin seg tmezwarut yer tneggarut, seg tin yesḥan azal yer tin meḥquren.

Tafransist, d tutlayt taberranit i yesḥan azal akter yur yinelmaden. Inelmaden i tt-ifernen d wid i d-yufan iman-nsen d ifransawalen (à tendance francophone), wigi d wid i d-yufan iman-nsen kkren-d deg temyiwant tamutlayt ur nesḥi ara cceḥna yer irumiyeen, deg tuget n tegnatin d wid ur yellin ara d iḥerbawalen.

Taglizit, tutlayt taberranit n tusna, tutlayt n umaḍal. Tla ula d nettat azal yur tuget n yinelmaden. Ugar n Wid i s-yessulan deg wazal, ad ten-naf d iērbawalen, wid yesēan timuyliwin tinabawin yer tefransist...

Tamaziyt, tutlayt n tmagit d yedles n yiqbayliyen.tuget n yinelmaden seān timuyliwin yelhan yer tmaziyt. Ula d wid yellan d iērbawalen. Amur amezyan n iērbawalen ur nesei ara tugna yelhan fell-as, d wid la izerren iqbayliyen ur lan ara assay yer tneslemt.

Deg wayen yerzan timuyliwin n Taērabt, tutlayt n dḍin, tuget n inelmaden seān timuyliwin yelhan yer-s acku zerren-tt d tutlayt yefren rebbi. Wid i s-yerran azal akter d iērbawalen. Ma d wid ilan tugna tibawt fell-as zerren-tt d tutlayt n usehras (colonisateur). D tasertit tamutlayt n tmurt tazayrit i d-yesnulfan fell-as yir tamuyli, imi tt-id-ṭhettem fell-asen.

Ihi, deg tesleḍt-agi i tmuyliwin n yinelmaden n tzeddayt n tsekliwin d tutlayin yef tutlayin yeddsen agama amutlay azzayri, nufa-d agemmuḍ uḡur nessawed yekka-d mgal turda (...) i d-nessumer i tmukrist n umahil-a, acku, nufa-d tamaziyt tesa azal yur tuget n yinelmaden ula yur iērbawalen, tajmilt n walluy n tmaziyt yer tseddart iyer t-iwed ad tuḡal ass-a i tmeynest. D imeynasen i tt-irefdn, i ixedmen fell-as armi i d-tḡal yer tafat. Nufa-d dayen, wid ur as yerrin ara azal, seg tama, iqbaylawalen, wigi tella-d fell-asen twaryellist tamutlayt, ḡeqren iman-nseḡ d tutlayt-nseḡ. Seg wadduden-nseḡ la ttnadin tutlayin-nniḡen ideḡ ara afen iman-nseḡ, am tefransist i la zerren tuget n yeqbaylawalen d tutlayt mm yiseḡ. Seg tama-nniḡen llan, iērabawalen i ilan tugna tibawt yef tmaziyt, wigi tella-d fell-asen tezirrt n tsertit tamutlayt tasnaktant n useēreb i yesēan iswi n tmerziwt n tutlayt-a.

Ter tagara, ad d-nini dakken igemmaḍ iyer nessawed ur zmiren ara ad ilin d ismuta, acku tzrawt-a tettwaxdem s tarrayt tayarant yernu terza kan yiwen weswir seg tseddawit. Akken ad tili d tamatut ilaq ad tili d tasmektant, wa ad tetef aṡas n yimdanen.

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2.	Afutlay	épilinguistique	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.46.
3.	ljerrid	Trait	Asegzawal.wikiidot.com http://amawal.wikiidot.com/ssinef
4.	Alsuddes	reconstruction	
5.	Amertay	Hétérogène	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.55.
6.	Ameskil	Variable	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.109.
7.	Amsiwel uffir	Locuteur masqué	
8.	Amyiwan amutlay	communauté linguistique	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.29.
9.	Amwexxer	Divergence	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.292.
10.	Amsari	homogène	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.56.
11.	Anermis	Contact	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.242.
12.	Anezzarfu	Juge	Mamnsouri.H.A., Amawal n tmaziyt tatrart, Ed HCA, 2004, p.73.
13.	Asafar adday	Variété basse	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.25.
14.	Asafar ufella	Variété haute	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.56.

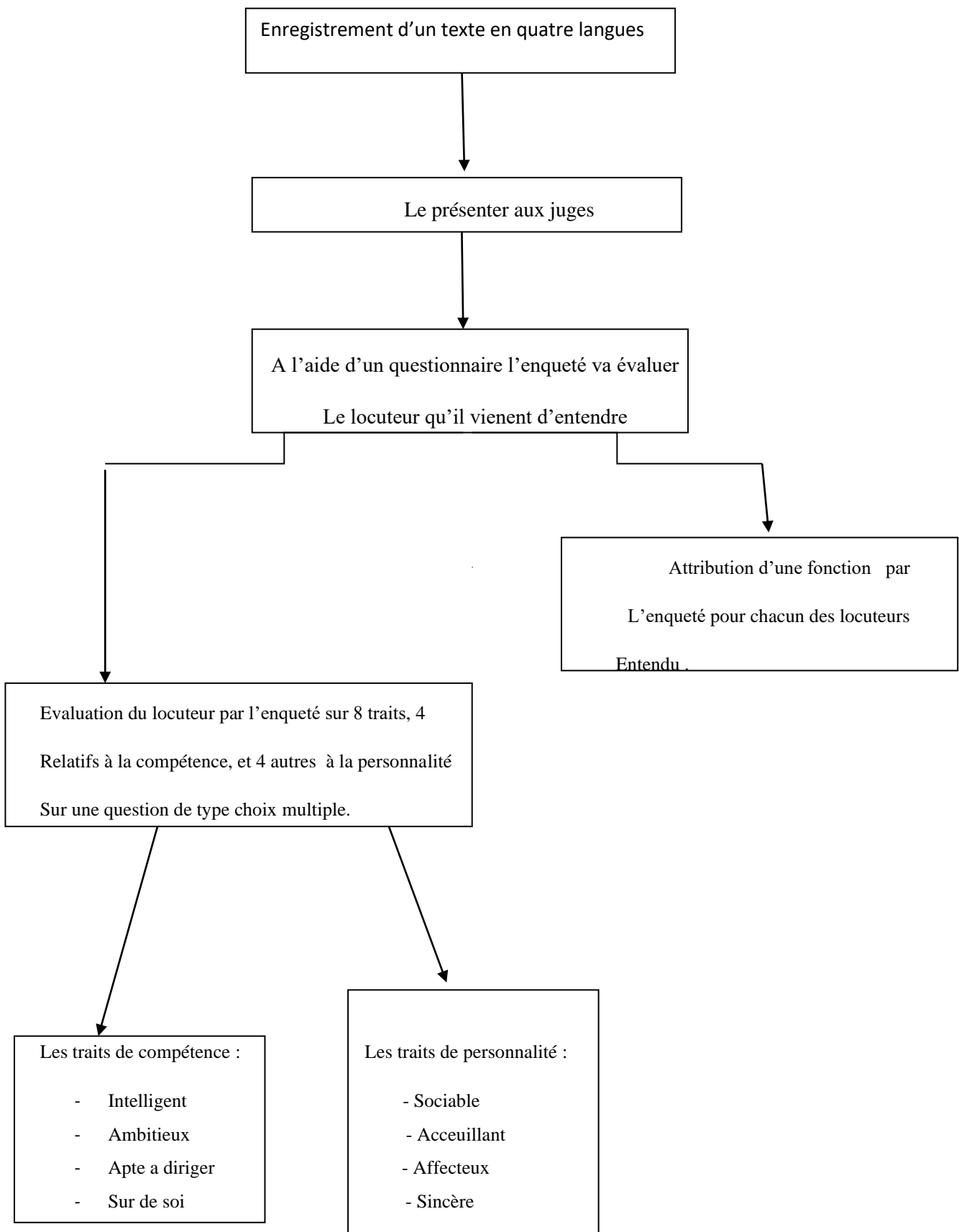
15.	Assami	L'approche	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.20.
16.	Asefren	Critère	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.34.
17.	Asehras	colonisateur	http://amawal.wikidot.com/asehras
18.	Asenked	présentation	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.98.
19.	Asekles	Enregistrement	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.44.
20.	Asfir	accent	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.14
21.	Asmeskel	variation	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.110.
22.	Asnas	Application	Mansouri, H. A., op cit, p.27.
23.	Imtteki	Participant	
24.	Azayer	Statut	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.100.
25.	Irkti	Stéréotype	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.101.
26.	Ssinef	éviter	Asezawal.wikiDot.com http://amawal.wikidot.com/ssinef
27.	Tadfa	Accès	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.13.
28.	Tagtutlayt	Plurilingue (uisme)	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.48.
29.	Tagnut	Norme	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.155.
30.	Talemsa	spécificité	http://amawal.wikidot.com/talemsa

31.	Tamanawt	diversité	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.40.
32.	Tamazdayt	Classique	
33.	Tamidrust	Minoritaire	
34.	Tamlilt	alternance	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.17.
35.	Tamyinawt	interaction	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.205.
36.	Tamyiftlayt	Diglossie	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.282.
37.	Temwiwelt tanmettit	Dynamique sociale	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.42.
38.	Temwiwelt tamutlayt	Dynamique linguistique	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.42
39.	Taserkemt tanmettit talemast	classe sociale moyenne	Mansouri, H. A., op cit, p.72.
40.	Tasertit tamutlayt	Politique linguistique	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.246
41.	Tasmektant	Quantitative	Mansouri, H. A., op cit, p.104.
42.	Tasnakti	Idéologie	Mansouri, H. A., op cit, p.50.
43.	Tasnitlayt	Blinguisme	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.25.
44.	Tatwilt	technique	Mansouri, H. A., op cit, p.51.
45.	Tazirt	Influence	Mansouri, H. A., op cit, p.69.

46.	Tayarant	Qualitative	Mansouri, H. A., op cit, p.104.
47.	Tayellist tamutlayt	Sécurité linguistique	
48.	Tayemmurt	Dominé	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.42.
49.	Taweryellist tamutlayt	Insécurité linguistique	
50.	Timyemmert	dominante	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.42.
51.	Timekkest	échantillon	http://amawal.wikidot.com/timekkest
52.	Timmadit	Personnalité	Mansouri, H. A., op cit, p.104.
53.	Timuyliwin tisnilesmettiwin	Représentation sociolinguistique	//
54.	Tiseddarin	degré	
55.	Tizmar	Compétence	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.306.
56.	Tutlayt mm yisey	La langue prestigieuse	Mahrazi, M., op cit, p.87.

Timerna

**Timerniwt 01: azenziy asnarrayan n umsiwel uffir s
tefransist**



Timerniwt 02 : Iḍrisen

Aḍris s tefransist

Quelques jours avant les résultats tant attendus, nous sommes allés entre copins à un concert pour décompresser. Le jour J, devant le lycée, la foule se presse et le stress monte. Les grilles s'ouvrent, chacun se rue sur les feuilles. Au bout de quelques minutes de recherche, mon meilleur ami tourne vers moi : « C'est bon ! Tu l'as avec la mention ! ».

Je voulais crier, chanter ma joie (et lui demander s'il était sûr que c'était bien mon nom qu'il avait vu), mais... extinction de voix totale ! J'avais trop crié pendant le concert et j'ai dû passer cette journée, l'une des plus marquantes de ma vie, en silence, muette comme une carpe. C'est ce même ami qui a dû appeler ma mère et lui annoncer la bonne nouvelle pour moi par téléphone.

Aḍris s teqbaylit

Kra n wussan send ara d-rren igemmaḍ n ukayad n l bak i nettraju aḥal aya, nruḥ nek d yemdukkal-iw yer yiwet n tmeyra akken ad nekkex lxiq n uraju. Ass ideg ara d-banen igemmaḍ, inelmaden ččurren tabburt n tesnnawit, s tigdi ḥaren ad zren ma ddan-d yismawen-nen gar wid irebḥen. Mi i d-ldin-t tebbura, inelmaden qessden s tazla ummuyen n igemmaḍ.

D amdakkel-iw dya i yuffan isem-iw, mi yi-d-yessawel yenna-d: "Dayen tiwwiḍ-t-id, tiwwiḍ-t-id yernu s tezmilt iffazen ". Si lferḥ byiy ad eegdey, wa ad s-iniy ma s tidet d isem-iw i yezra, ameena lliy bḥebḥey seg tmeyra-nni ieeddan. Sædday ass-nni yelhan s tsusmi, ula d imawlan-iw, d amdakkel-agi inu kan i sen-yessawḍen lexbar-agi issefrahèn .

Aḍris s taṛabt

بالتزامن مع إنتظارنا الحماسي لنتائج إمتحان البكالوريا، قررنا، أنا وأصدقائي حضور حفل موسيقي لأسترجاء قليلاً ونسيان ضغوط الأيام الأخيرة قبل الإعلان عن النتائج المصيرية. وفي اليوم الموعد، تجمهر الجميع أمام الثانوية وسمات القلق بادية على وجوههم، وعند افتتاح الباب الرئيسي للمؤسسة هرع كل واحد باتجاه القوائم المعلقة للإطلاع على النتائج وما مرث الا دقائق معدودات حتى التفتت إلي صديقي المقرب وبإبتسامة انتصارية قال لي: « لقد تحصلت عليه بجدارة »

في تلك اللحظة اردت الصياح من شدة السرور و اردت ان اقول له ان كان اسمي ظاهراً فعلاً على القائمة ولكن انقطع صوتي، لأنني كنت قد صرخت كثيراً خلال الحفلة الفارطة. لذا، اضطررت إلى قضاء اليوم الاجمل في حياتي في صمت وكان نفس الصديق هو الذي اتصل بأمي ليخبرها بهذا الخبر السعيد.

Adris s teglizit

I still remember that wonderful experience that I will never forget. A few days before the results being displayed, I went with some friends to a concert to get rid of stress. When the results displaying date arrived, I went to our secondary school. It was overcrowded. Everybody was stressed. It was difficult to reach the bulletin board. My best friend arrived first. He turned to me and said: " You got it with good mark."

I was so happy. I wanted to shout loudly to express my joy. But i could'nt since i had already lost all my voice while shouting at the concert but I was over the moon. And had spent a wonderful day. I lost my voice, so my friend called my mum to inform her about this good news.

Timerniwt 03: Asekles

Amdan i d-yemmeslayen s 4 tutlayin

Amdan i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt taglizit

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1rSCnDXkYQINSwjS3D0hh73bxa1GEZxMw/view?usp=share_link

Amdan i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt taerabt

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1qC14qZwFCrvi5cWwjboNjsDDvdar1J6e/view?usp=share_link

Amdan i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt tamaziyt

https://drive.google.com/file/d/15A8qC_PnwMVEKZ5yc4QCl1Qfohn4pPlb/view?usp=share_link

Amdan i d-yemmeslayen s tutlayt tafransist

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1HaEVoxVUMZPiK79XPnR9ESXprx17reZC/view?usp=share_link

Timerniwt 04: Asestan

17/05/2023 11:58

Évaluation des personnes

4. Quelle est votre langue d'usage quotidien ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

Kabyle

Arabe

5. Cette personne vous semble *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

Peu sociable

Très sociable

6. Cette personne vous semble *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

Peu accueillante

Très accueillante

7. Cette personne vous semble *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

Peu affectueuse

Très affectueuse

8. Cette personne vous semble *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

Peu sincère

Très sincère

17/05/2023 11:58

Évaluation des personnes

9. Cette personne vous semble *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- Peu intelligente
- Très intelligente

10. Cette personne vous semble *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- Peu ambitieuse
- Très ambitieuse

11. Cette personne vous semble *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- Pas apte a diriger
- Apte a diriger

12. Cette personne vous semble *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- Pas sur de soi
- Sur de soi

13. A votre avis cette personne à l'aire d'un :

Une seule réponse possible.

- Balayeur
- Concierge
- Fermier
- Manœuvre

Timerniwt 05: Igemmad

Tifelwiyin n yigemmad

Tutlayt taglizit

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n teglizit

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	3	ur yettxalađ ara	21%
Tameđtut	1	Tameđtut	7%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yettxalađ	11	Yettxalađ	79%
Tameđtut	6	Tameđtut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterhib ara	5	Ur yesterhib ara	36%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yesterhib	9	Yesterhib	64%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	8	Ur hnin ara	57%
Tameđtut	6	Tameđtut	43%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Hnin	6	Hnin	43%
Tameđtut	1	Tameđtut	7%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Maci d aħeqqi	4	Maci d aħeqqi	29%
Tamettut	1	Tamettut	7%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Aħeqqi	10	Aħeqqi	71%
Tamettut	6	Tamettut	43%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeħrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yeħric ara	5	ur yeħric ara	36%
Tamettut	2	Tamettut	14%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Yeħrec	9	Yeħrec	64%
Tamettut	5	Tamettut	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yessaram ara	5	Ur yessaram ara	36%
Tamettut	2	Tamettut	14%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Yessaram	9	Yessaram	64%
Tamettut	5	Tamettut	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	10	Yezmer i yiman-is	71%
Tameřtut	6	Tameřtut	43%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Ur Yezmir ara i yiman-is	4	Ur Yezmir ara i yiman-is	29%
Tameřtut	1	Tameřtut	7%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	3	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	21%
Tameřtut	1	Tameřtut	7%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yettkel yef yiman-is	11	Yettkel yef yiman-is	79%
Tameřtut	6	Tameřtut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettxalađ ara	6
Tameđtut	5
Argaz	1
Yettxalađ	8
Tameđtut	2
Argaz	6
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettxalađ ara	43%
Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	7%
Yettxalađ	57%
Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterhib ara	7
Tameđtut	4
Argaz	3
Yesterhib	7
Tameđtut	3
Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterhib ara	50%
Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	21%
Yesterhib	50%
Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	7
Tameđtut	3
Argaz	4
Hnin	7
Tameđtut	4
Argaz	3
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	50%
Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	29%
Hnin	50%
Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Mačči d aħeqqi	5	Mačči d aħeqqi	36%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Aħeqqi	9	Aħeqqi	64%
Tameṭṭut	7	Tameṭṭut	50%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeħrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yeħric ara	3	Ur yeħric ara	21%
Tameṭṭut	3	Tameṭṭut	21%
Yeħrec	11	Yeħrec	79%
Tameṭṭut	4	Argaz	
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yessaram ara	2	ur yessaram ara	14%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yessaram	12	Yessaram	86%
Tameṭṭut	7	Tameṭṭut	50%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	11	Yezmer i yiman-is	79%
Tameřtut	5	Tameřtut	36%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	3	ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	21%
Tameřtut	2	Tameřtut	14%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	2	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	14%
Tameřtut	2	Tameřtut	14%
Yettkel yef yiman-is	12	Yettkel yef yiman-is	86%
Tameřtut	5	Tameřtut	36%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt tafransist

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	5	ur yettxalađ ara	36%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yettxalađ	9	yettxalađ	64%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	7	ur yesterhib ara	50%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
yesterhib	7	yesterhib	50%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- ħnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur ħnin ara	8	ur ħnin ara	57%
Tameġġut	4	Tameġġut	29%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
ħnin	6	ħnin	43%
Tameġġut	3	Tameġġut	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aĥeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
maċċi d aĥeqqi	1	maċċi d aĥeqqi	7%
Tameġġut	1	Tameġġut	7%
d aĥeqqi	13	d aĥeqqi	93%
Tameġġut	6	Tameġġut	43%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeĥrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yeĥric ara	29%	ur yeĥric ara	4
Tameġġut	7%	Tameġġut	1
Argaz	21%	Argaz	3
yeĥrec	71%	yeĥrec	10
Tameġġut	43%	Tameġġut	6
Argaz	29%	Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	100%	Agemmuđ amatu	14

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	4
Tameřřut	1
Argaz	3
yessaram	10
Tameřřut	6
Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	29%
Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	21%
yessaram	71%
Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	71%
Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	29%
Ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	29%
Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	71%
Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	29%
Ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	29%
Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel f yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	1
Argaz	1
Yettkel yef yiman-is	13
Tameřřut	7
Argaz	6
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	7%
Argaz	7%
Yettkel yef yiman-is	93%
Tameřřut	50%
Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt tamaziyt

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	7
Tameđtut	4
Argaz	3
yettxalađ	7
Tameđtut	4
Argaz	3
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	50%
Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	21%
yettxalađ	50%
Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	4
Tameđtut	2
Argaz	2
yesterhib	10
Tameđtut	6
Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	29%
Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	14%
yesterhib	71%
Tameđtut	43%
Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- ħnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur ħnin ara	4
Tameđtut	2
Argaz	2
ħnin	10
Tameđtut	6
Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur ħnin ara	29%
Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	14%
ħnin	71%
Tameđtut	43%
Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
mačči d aħeqqi	4	mačči d aħeqqi	29%
Tameřřut	3	Tameřřut	21%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
d aħeqqi	10	d aħeqqi	71%
Tameřřut	5	Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeħrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yeħric ara	3	ur yeħric ara	21%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yeħrec	11	yeħrec	79%
Tameřřut	7	Tameřřut	50%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	5	Ur yessaram ara	36%
Tameřřut	4	Tameřřut	29%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
yessaram	9	yessaram	64%
Tameřřut	4	Tameřřut	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	11	Yezmer i yiman-is	79%
Tameđtut	6	Tameđtut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	3	Ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	21%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel f yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	3	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	21%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Yettkel yef yiman- is	11	Yettkel yef yiman- is	79%
Tameđtut	6	Tameđtut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Tutlayt Taerabt

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	7	ur yettxalađ ara	50%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Yettxalađ	7	Yettxalađ	50%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterhib ara	8	Ur yesterhib ara	57%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Yesterhib	6	Yesterhib	43%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	5	Ur hnin ara	36%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Homme	3	Homme	21%
Hnin	9	Hnin	64%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Mačči d aħeqqi	9	Mačči d aħeqqi	64%
Tamejtu	5	Tamejtu	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Aħeqqi	5	Aħeqqi	36%
Tamejtu	2	Tamejtu	14%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeħrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yeħric ara	3	Ur yeħric ara	21%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Yeħrec	11	Yeħrec	79%
Tamejtu	4	Tamejtu	29%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yessaram ara	8	Ur yessaram ara	57%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Yessaram	6	Yessaram	43%
Tamejtu	4	Tamejtu	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	6	Yezmer i yiman-is	43%
Tameřřut	5	Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Ur Yezmir ara i yiman-is	8	Ur Yezmir ara i yiman-is	57%
Tameřřut	2	Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	1	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	7%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Yettkel yef yiman-is	13	Yettkel yef yiman-is	93%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettxalađ ara	6	Ur yettxalađ ara	43%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Yettxalađ	8	Yettxalađ	57%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterhib ara	6	Ur yesterhib ara	43%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Yesterhib	8	Yesterhib	57%
Argaz	8	Argaz	57%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	10	Ur hnin ara	71%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Hnin	4	Hnin	29%
Tameđtut	1	Tameđtut	7%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Mačči d aħeqqi	6	Mačči d aħeqqi	43%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Aħeqqi	8	Aħeqqi	57%
Tamejtu	2	Tamejtu	14%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeħrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yeħric ara	6	Ur yeħric ara	43%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Yeħrec	8	Yeħrec	57%
Tamejtu	2	Tamejtu	14%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yessaram ara	5	ur yessaram ara	36%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yessaram	9	Yessaram	64%
Tamejtu	2	Tamejtu	14%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	7	Yezmer i yiman-is	50%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	7	ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	50%
Tameřřut	5	Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	5	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	36%
Tameřřut	3	Tameřřut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yettkel yef yiman-is	9	Yettkel yef yiman-is	64%
Tameřřut	2	Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt tafransist

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	7	ur yettxalađ ara	50%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
yettxalađ	7	yettxalađ	50%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	5	ur yesterhib ara	36%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
yesterhib	9	yesterhib	64%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- ħnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur ħnin ara	1	ur ħnin ara	7%
Tameġġut	1	Tameġġut	7%
ħnin	13	ħnin	93%
Tameġġut	6	Tameġġut	43%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aĥeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
maċċi d aĥeqqi	4	maċċi d aĥeqqi	29%
Tameġġut	3	Tameġġut	21%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
d aĥeqqi	10	d aĥeqqi	71%
Tameġġut	4	Tameġġut	29%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yehrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yehric ara	8	ur yehric ara	57%
Tameřtut	2	Tameřtut	14%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
yehrec	6	yehrec	43%
Tameřtut	5	Tameřtut	36%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	5	Ur yessaram ara	36%
Tameřtut	3	Tameřtut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yessaram	9	yessaram	64%
Tameřtut	4	Tameřtut	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	7	Yezmer i yiman-is	50%
Tameřtut	5	Tameřtut	36%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	7	Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	50%
Tameřtut	2	Tameřtut	14%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	6	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	43%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Yettkel yef yiman- is	8	Yettkel yef yiman- is	57%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Akatazal n yinelmaen n ugezdu n tutlayt tamaziyt

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	8	ur yettxalađ ara	57%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
yettxalađ	6	yettxalađ	43%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	9	ur yesterhib ara	64%
Tameřtut	6	Tameřtut	43%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
yesterhib	5	yesterhib	36%
Tameřtut	2	Tameřtut	14%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- ħnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur ħnin ara	6	ur ħnin ara	43%
Tameřtut	4	Tameřtut	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
ħnin	8	ħnin	57%
Tameřtut	4	Tameřtut	29%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
mačči d aħeqqi	6	mačči d aħeqqi	43%
Tameřtut	3	Tameřtut	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
d aħeqqi	8	d aħeqqi	57%
Tameřtut	5	Tameřtut	36%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yehrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yeħric ara	8	ur yeħric ara	57%
Tameġġut	4	Tameġġut	29%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
yeħrec	6	yeħrec	43%
Tameġġut	4	Tameġġut	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	8	Ur yessaram ara	57%
Tameġġut	4	Tameġġut	29%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Yessaram	6	yessaram	43%
Tameġġut	4	Tameġġut	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	9	Yezmer i yiman-is	64%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	5	Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	36%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	6	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	43%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Yettkel yef yiman- is	8	Yettkel yef yiman- is	57%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Tutlayt Tafransist

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taglizit

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	6	ur yettxalađ ara	43%
Tameţţut	4	Tameţţut	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yettxalađ	8	Yettxalađ	57%
Tameţţut	3	Tameţţut	21%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterhib ara	5	Ur yesterhib ara	36%
Tameţţut	3	Tameţţut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yesterhib	9	Yesterhib	64%
Tameţţut	4	Tameţţut	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	8	Ur hnin ara	57%
Tameţţut	4	Tameţţut	29%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Hnin	6	Hnin	43%
Tameţţut	3	Tameţţut	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Mačči d aħeqqi	4	Mačči d aħeqqi	29%
Tameṭṭut	2	Tameṭṭut	14%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Aħeqqi	10	Aħeqqi	71%
Tameṭṭut	5	Tameṭṭut	36%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeħrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yeħric ara	3	Ur yeħric ara	21%
Tameṭṭut	1	Tameṭṭut	7%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yeħrec	11	Yeħrec	79%
Tameṭṭut	6	Tameṭṭut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yessaram ara	4	Ur yessaram ara	29%
Tameṭṭut	2	Tameṭṭut	14%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yessaram	10	Yessaram	71%
Tameṭṭut	5	Tameṭṭut	36%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	11	Yezmer i yiman-is	79%
Tameřřut	5	Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Ur Yezmir ara i yiman-is	3	Ur Yezmir ara i yiman-is	21%
Tameřřut	2	Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	2	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	14%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Yettkel yef yiman-is	12	Yettkel yef yiman-is	86%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettxalađ ara	6	Ur yettxalađ ara	43%
Tameđđut	4	Tameđđut	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yettxalađ	8	Yettxalađ	57%
Tameđđut	3	Tameđđut	21%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterhib ara	5	Ur yesterhib ara	36%
Tameđđut	3	Tameđđut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yesterhib	9	Yesterhib	64%
Tameđđut	4	Tameđđut	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	8	Ur hnin ara	57%
Tameřřut	4	Tameřřut	29%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Hnin	6	Hnin	43%
Tameřřut	3	Tameřřut	21%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aheqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Mačči d aheqqi	4	Mačči d aheqqi	29%
Tameřřut	2	Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Aheqqi	10	Aheqqi	71%
Tameřřut	5	Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeřrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yeřric ara	3	Ur yeřric ara	21%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yeřrec	11	Yeřrec	79%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yessaram ara	4
Tameřřut	2
Argaz	2
Yessaram	10
Tameřřut	5
Argaz	5
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yessaram ara	29%
Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	14%
Yessaram	71%
Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	11
Tameřřut	5
Argaz	6
ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	3
Tameřřut	2
Argaz	1
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	79%
Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	43%
ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	21%
Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	7%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	2
Tameřřut	1
Argaz	1
Yettkel yef yiman-is	12
Tameřřut	6
Argaz	6
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	14%
Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	7%
Yettkel yef yiman-is	86%
Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt tafransist

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	3	ur yettxalađ ara	21%
Tameđtut	1	Tameđtut	7%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yettxalađ	11	yettxalađ	79%
Tameđtut	6	Tameđtut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	4	ur yesterhib ara	29%
Tameđtut	1	Tameđtut	7%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
yesterhib	10	yesterhib	71%
Tameđtut	6	Tameđtut	43%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Ħnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur ħnin ara	7
Tamejtu	2
Argaz	5
ħnin	7
Tamejtu	5
Argaz	2
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur ħnin ara	50%
Tamejtu	14%
Argaz	36%
ħnin	50%
Tamejtu	36%
Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
mačči d aħeqqi	2
Tamejtu	1
Argaz	1
d aħeqqi	12
Tamejtu	6
Argaz	6
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
mačči d aħeqqi	14%
Tamejtu	7%
Argaz	7%
d aħeqqi	86%
Tamejtu	43%
Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yehrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yehric ara	3	ur yehric ara	21%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yehrec	11	yehrec	79%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	3	Ur yessaram ara	21%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yessaram	11	yessaram	79%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	9	Yezmer i yiman-is	64%
Tameřřut	5	Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	5	Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	36%
Tameřřut	2	Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	1	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	7%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Yettkel yef yiman- is	13	Yettkel yef yiman- is	93%
Tameřtut	7	Tameřtut	50%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt tamaziyt

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- yettxalađ :

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	6
Tameđtut	3
Argaz	3
yettxalađ	8
Tameđtut	5
Argaz	3
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettxalađ	43%
Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	21%
yettxalađ	57%
Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	6
Tameđtut	4
Argaz	2
yesterhib	8
Tameđtut	4
Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	43%
Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	14%
yesterhib	57%
Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur hnin ara	9	ur hnin ara	64%
Tameřtut	7	Tameřtut	50%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
hnin	5	hnin	36%
Tameřtut	1	Tameřtut	7%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aheqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
mačči d aheqqi	4	mačči d aheqqi	29%
Tameřtut	2	Tameřtut	14%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
d aheqqi	10	d aheqqi	71%
Tameřtut	6	Tameřtut	43%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yehrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yehric ara	5	ur yehric ara	36%
Tameřtut	3	Tameřtut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yehrec	9	yehrec	64%
Tameřtut	5	Tameřtut	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	8	Ur yessaram ara	57%
Tameřtut	4	Tameřtut	29%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
yessaram	6	yessaram	43%
Tameřtut	4	Tameřtut	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	9
Tameřtut	4
Argaz	5
Ur yezmer ara I yiman-is	5
Tameřtut	4
Argaz	1
Total g3neral	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	64%
Tameřtut	29%
Argaz	36%
Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	36%
Tameřtut	29%
Argaz	7%
Total g3neral	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	3
Tameřtut	2
Argaz	1
Yettkel yef yiman- is	11
Tameřtut	6
Argaz	5
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	21%
Tameřtut	14%
Argaz	7%
Yettkel yef yiman- is	79%
Tameřtut	43%
Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Tutlayt Tamaziyt

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt Taglizit

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	5	ur yettxalađ ara	36%
Tameđđut	4	Tameđđut	29%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Yettxalađ	9	Yettxalađ	64%
Tameđđut	3	Tameđđut	21%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterđib

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterđib ara	2	Ur yesterđib ara	14%
Tameđđut	2	Tameđđut	14%
Yesterđib	12	Yesterđib	86%
Tameđđut	5	Tameđđut	36%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin :

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	5	Ur hnin ara	36%
Tameđđut	5	Tameđđut	36%
Hnin	9	Hnin	64%
Tameđđut	2	Tameđđut	14%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

• Aheqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Mačči d aheqqi	2	Mačči d aheqqi	14%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Aheqqi	12	Aheqqi	86%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

• Yehrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yehric ara	5	Ur yehric ara	36%
Tameřřut	3	Tameřřut	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yehrec	9	Yehrec	64%
Tameřřut	4	Tameřřut	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

• Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yessaram ara	3	Ur yessaram ara	21%
Tameřřut	3	Tameřřut	21%
Yessaram	11	Yessaram	79%
Tameřřut	4	Tameřřut	29%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

• Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	10	Yezmer i yiman-is	71%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Ur Yezmir ara i yiman-is	4	Ur Yezmir ara i yiman-is	29%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	3
Tameřřut	2
Argaz	1
Yettkel yef yiman-is	11
Tameřřut	5
Argaz	6
Agemmuđ amatu	4

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	21%
Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	7%
Yettkel yef yiman-is	79%
Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt taerabt

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettxalađ ara	5	Ur yettxalađ ara	36%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Yettxalađ	9	Yettxalađ	64%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yesterhib ara	2	Ur yesterhib ara	14%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Yesterhib	12	Yesterhib	86%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur hnin ara	5	Ur hnin ara	36%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Hnin	9	Hnin	64%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Mačči d aħeqqi	2	Mačči d aħeqqi	14%
Tamejtu	1	Tamejtu	7%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Aħeqqi	12	Aħeqqi	86%
Tamejtu	6	Tamejtu	43%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeħrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yeħric ara	5	Ur yeħric ara	36%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yeħrec	9	Yeħrec	64%
Tamejtu	4	Tamejtu	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
ur yessaram ara	3	ur yessaram ara	21%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Yessaram	11	Yessaram	79%
Tamejtu	4	Tamejtu	29%
Argaz	7	Argaz	50%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	10	Yezmer i yiman-is	71%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	4	ur yezmir ara i yiman-is	29%
Tameřřut	1	Tameřřut	7%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yemdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	3	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	21%
Tameřřut	2	Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Yezmer i yiman-is	11	Yezmer i yiman-is	79%
Tameřřut	5	Tameřřut	36%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt tafransist

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ijerriden n timmadit

- Yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	6	ur yettxalađ ara	43%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yettxalađ	8	yettxalađ	57%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	6	ur yesterhib ara	43%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yesterhib	8	yesterhib	57%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Hnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur hnin ara	7	ur hnin ara	50%
Tameđtut	3	Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
hnin	7	hnin	50%
Tameđtut	4	Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aħeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
mačči d aħeqqi	4	mačči d aħeqqi	29%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
d aħeqqi	10	d aħeqqi	71%
Femme	4	Femme	29%
Argaz	6	Argaz	43%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yeħrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yeħric ara	4	ur yeħric ara	29%
Tamejtu	1	Tamejtu	7%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
yeħrec	10	yeħrec	71%
Tamejtu	6	Tamejtu	43%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	5	Ur yessaram ara	36%
Tamejtu	3	Tamejtu	21%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
yessaram	9	yessaram	64%
Tamejtu	4	Tamejtu	29%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	9	Yezmer i yiman-is	64%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	5	Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	36%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	3	Argaz	21%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	4	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	29%
Tameđtut	2	Tameđtut	14%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
Yettkel yef yiman- is	10	Yettkel yef yiman- is	71%
Tameđtut	5	Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Aktazal n yinelmaden n ugezdu n tutlayt tamaziyt

Aktazal n ujerrid n timmadit akked ujerrid n tzemmar

Ajerrid n timmadit

- yettxalađ

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	5
Tameđtut	3
Argaz	2
yettxalađ	9
Tameđtut	5
Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yettxalađ ara	36%
Tameđtut	21%
Argaz	14%
yettxalađ	64%
Tameđtut	36%
Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yesterhib

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	6
Tameđtut	4
Argaz	2
yesterhib	8
Tameđtut	4
Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur yesterhib ara	43%
Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	14%
yesterhib	57%
Tameđtut	29%
Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- ħnin

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
ur ħnin ara	9	ur ħnin ara	64%
Tameġġut	7	Tameġġut	50%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
ħnin	5	ħnin	36%
Tameġġut	1	Tameġġut	7%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Aĥeqqi

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
mačči d aĥeqqi	4	mačči d aĥeqqi	29%
Tameġġut	2	Tameġġut	14%
Argaz	2	Argaz	14%
d aĥeqqi	10	d aĥeqqi	71%
Tameġġut	6	Tameġġut	43%
Argaz	4	Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%

Ijerriden n tzemmar

- Yehrec

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yeħric ara	5
Tameĥĥut	3
Argaz	2
Yeħrec	9
Tameĥĥut	5
Argaz	4
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yeħric ara	36%
Tameĥĥut	21%
Argaz	14%
Yeħrec	64%
Tameĥĥut	36%
Argaz	29%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yessaram:

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	8
Tameĥĥut	4
Argaz	4
yessaram	6
Tameĥĥut	4
Argaz	2
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yessaram ara	57%
Tameĥĥut	29%
Argaz	29%
yessaram	43%
Tameĥĥut	29%
Argaz	14%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yezmer i yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	9
Tameĥĥut	4
Argaz	5
Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	5
Tameĥĥut	4
Argaz	1
Agemmuđ amatu	14

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Yezmer i yiman-is	64%
Tameĥĥut	29%
Argaz	36%
Ur yezmer ara i yiman-is	36%
Tameĥĥut	29%
Argaz	7%
Agemmuđ amatu	100%

- Yettkel yef yiman-is

AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen	AJERRID	Amđan n yimdanen
Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	3	Ur yettkil ara yef yiman-is	21%
Tameřřut	2	Tameřřut	14%
Argaz	1	Argaz	7%
Yettkel yef yiman- is	11	Yettkel yef yiman- is	79%
Tameřřut	6	Tameřřut	43%
Argaz	5	Argaz	36%
Agemmuđ amatu	14	Agemmuđ amatu	100%