

## اللغة والهوية في اللافتات التجارية لمدينة بجاية.

Tutlayt d tmagit deg yigalisen n tnezzut deg temdint n Bgayet

Language and Identity in the Commercial Signs of the Béjaïa City.

Zidane Yacine \*

ORCID iD: 0009-0006-0703-8636

Imarazene Moussa \*

DOI:10.33705/1111-018.001.018: الرّقم التعريفي للمقال

Date d'acceptation: 15.03.2025

Date de soumission: 29.05.2025

Date de publication: Juin 2025

**Abstract:** This article explores the integration of symbolic Amazigh terms into French-language commercial signs in Béjaïa, analyzing their role as identity markers through a linguistic and socio-cultural lens. It examines historical place names, royal figures, and concepts of unity and pride, revealing a cultural revalorization effort against globalization. The study investigates the strategies behind this linguistic choice and its impact on Amazigh identity, using field observations, semiotic analysis, and interviews with shopkeepers and customers. It highlights how these signs reflect both a sense of belonging and commercial motives, showing that including Amazigh words is a deliberate act to preserve and promote cultural heritage in an urban setting.

**Keywords:** Identity; commercial signs; urban sociolinguistics; Béjaïa; Amazigh language.

**المخلص:** هذا المقال يتناول إدماج المصطلحات الأمازيغية ذات الحمولة الرمزية القوية في العبارات الفرنسية المستخدمة في الواجهات التجارية بمدينة بجاية. ومن خلال مقارنة لغوية وسوسيلوجية-ثقافية، نقوم بتحليل توظيف الأسماء الجغرافية التاريخية، وأسماء الشخصيات الملكية الأمازيغية، فضلاً عن المفاهيم التي تعكس الوحدة، والاعتزاز، والإرث المشترك للأمازيغ في الفضاء التجاري الحضري. ولا يقتصر اختيار هذه المفردات على وظيفة إعلامية فقط، بل يؤدي دوراً بارزاً كعلامات هوياتية تعبّر عن مسعى لإعادة التقدير والاسترجاع الثقافي. تسلّط دراستنا الضوء على الاستراتيجيات الكامنة وراء هذا التوظيف اللغوي، متسائلة عن

\* LAELA- Laboratoire d'Aménagement et d'Enseignement de la Langue Amazighe. Université Mouloud Mammeri de Tizi Ouzou, Algérie.

Email: yacine.zidane@ummtto.dz (Auteur correspondant).

\* Département de Langue et Culture Amazighes, Algérie.

Email: moussa. imarazene @ ummtto.dz.

كيفية إسهام هذه العناصر في بناء الهوية الأمازيغية ونقلها في سياق تهيمن عليه العولمة والتوحيد الثقافي. كما تهتم أيضًا برصد تصورات مختلف الفاعلين الاجتماعيين ومواقفهم تجاه هذه الواجهات التجارية.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الهوية؛ اللافتات التجارية؛ اللسانيات الاجتماعية الحضرية؛ المشهد اللغوي ببجاية؛ الأمازيغية.

**Tazwart:** Seg tallit tamezwarut n umezruy, imdanen ḥebren akken ad ḡḡen later-nsen deg tudert, daymi i d-ḡḡan kra n lḡerrat s talɣa n lebni, n usuney ney s yizamulen d wangulen i d-yeqqimen d inagan ar tallit tamirant mbeɛd mi d-zegren luluf n yiseggasen. Deg Bgayet, tiɣremt-a tamazrayt taqbaylit yebbuɣren s umezruy-ines d yidles-ines tettɛf deg wansay-a ansay imi tumant-a mazal tettbin-d deg wudem n tḥuna akken yebɣu yili wurmud-ines. Imi igalisen ur llin ara kan d tirawin n useɛlem, teskanay-d wi-ɣ-ılan, izuran-nney d umennuɣ uffir i yettilin gar tutlayin yal ass. Deg tegnit yecban ta, tiɣremt tecba asaram yeddren ideg ttemlilint teqbaylit, taɛrabt akked trumit, timlilit-a yezgan tikwal deg talwit tikwal-nniɛn deg ccwal. Imsenza, yellan deffir n usnulfu n tumant-a ttfarasen anezgum n tutlayin akken ma llant deg yiswi n tutṭfa deg yizuran n tjaddit, n useḥbiber ɣef tesreɛt ney tikwal d tullya ɣef umaɗal d tetrara ilmend n uskar n tirawin n yigalisen-nsen.

Deg Bgayet, annect-a merra yettawi initen yemgaraden. Igalisen-a, ur llin ara “kan” d imniren n yimsay; maca ttalsen-d ufrinen-nsen, imennuɣen-nsen akked tirga-nsen. Taqbaylit, asafar-a n tmaziɣt yettazzalen am yidammen deg yizuran n temnaɛt-a, tedder deg yigalisen s tmerniwt n wawalen am “Tilelli”, “Talwit” deg yiɛfsan yuran s tefransist, tutlayt n tatrara i d-yusan seg tama n ufella n yilel agrakal. Taɛrabt tuɣ amkan, tikwal s yiɣil, tikwal s talwit ilmend n urmud n tnezzut. Akken ma llant tutlayin-a ttqessirent deg rreḥba n usiher ideg temgarad tamlilt n yal yiwet : taqbaylit terfed zzux d uzbu, taɛrabt teɛna assay d truḥanit akked tdeyyanit, ma d tafransist teldi taṭwiqt i tatrara ɣef umaɗal. Aya maci d buɣehrun imi imsenza deffren tarrayin-a akken ad seknen ansi i d-usan s uqabel n yimal. Imsenza, inaɛn ney imɛebren n termišin, zgan meslen artay-a akken ad sunɣen tamagit i ten-yettcabin. Akken i t-id-yenna Kerboubi (2024 : 39) “Deg tidet, nettnadi ad nḥiweš abrid i usbeyyen, i usenfali zzɛaf-ines ney i usenfali ayen yezgan d arurag”<sup>1</sup>

S Imendad n yigalisen-nsen, yezga umennuɣ yal ass iwakken ad yili usteɛref s tektiwin, ad jebden imsenza d yimsebriden, s umata d leqbayel, deg temdint ideg tilin n tmagit tamaziɣt mazal yecba

acqirrew. S yisekkilen ilaṭiniyen ney wid n tfinay, awalen n tefransist ney n teqbaylit, tteiwiden asnulfu n tutlayt-nsen d tallunt-nsen. Bgayet ihi, tettuyal d adeg awḥid akken ad nmuqel amek i ttemqabalent tuyac-a yemgaraden, i d-yeskanayen tazmert, tarfudt d leḥnana. Amagrad-a ad inadi deg umaḍal-a n tirawin d talsawin, ideg yal agalis ur yesnuzuy ara “kan” ala afaris, maca yesmizḥiz ula d amezruy n teyremt, yettwarefden syur imdanen yettnadin s timmad-nsen anezgum n unamek d usteḥref.

**1. Tamukrist d turdiwin:** Amek i tmessel tutlayt tamagit deg tallunt timezgit am yigalisen n tnezzut ? Ayyer kra n wawalen n teqbaylit (tamaziḥt) ttmessidifen deg yigalisen yuran s tefransist ? Tella kra n tmara i usekcem n wawalen-a n tmaziḥt i uskan n tumast ?

Iswi n unadi-ya d asummer n unekmar agelman imesleḍ n useqden n wawalen (ismawen imazlayen, ismawen iwalnuten, uzzilen, ...) deg yigalisen n tnezzut yettwarun s tefransist deg teyremt n Bgayet, akken ad negzu, seg tama, tulumist n urtay-a asnilsan i irefden zzux s tmagit akked uzbu adelsan, seg tama-nniḍen, s tigzi n uqdic-a am tḥelyalt n umzruys unayel yer temḥiwant taqbaylit.

Ilmend n waya, nefren ad negmer ad nṣewwer igalisen-a n tnezzut deg leḥwami yemgaraden n Bgayet, tasewlaft deg yifassen, njab iberdan imeqranen n teyremt akken ad d-nagem tiwlaḥfin-a am tnefkiiyin n tirawin tiḥeqqaniyin.

**2. Tasnarrayt:** Anadi-ya yebna ḥef tesleḍt n yismawen imazlayen yettwasidfen deg yigalisen n tnezzut, yettuneḥsaben am yinagan isnilsanen n tmagit deg tallunt tazayzant n Bgayet. Ilmend n ugmar n tnefkiiyin, tasastant n wannar temmug-d, s uṣewwer yal tikkelt igalisen n tnezzut deg temnaḍt yettwasbadun am “temdint”. Anekmar-nney yezzi-d ḥef kra n yigalisen ilan tulumist n tira tafransist i d-yeskecmen awal s teqbaylit, am yismidgen (ismawen n wadeg), ismamdanen (ismawen n yimdanen) ney ula d iwalnuten. Tasnarrayt-a tesḥi iswi n usezrew n tihawt n tmaziḥt deg udemkal aḡerman, d unadi deg temlilt-ines deg uḥraz n tmagit taqbaylit deg wattal asnilesmetti yullemsen s kraḍ n tutlayin : taqbaylit, taḥrabt akked tefransist. Iswi maci kan d asiḍen n yigalisen-a maca d anadi deg yinumak ffren yimsenza deg-sen am uzbu adelsan, azuxxu s tmagit akked wassay d umezruy adigan.

I uɖman ugenses n tenfkiiyin, tukkist tarakalant tusssidit tettwafren : tiyremt n Bgayet. Afran-a n wannar n usezrew yebna yef yifukal i isehḥan, yeɛnan amezruy-is alqayan d usihar-ines asnilsi abayur.

Tiyremt-a, yettuneḥsaben d tamdint tameqrant tamazɣawalt deg tmurt n Lezzayer s wazal n 300 000 n yimezday, imi tuget tameqrant ttmeslayen taqbaylit, ayen i tt-yeḡḡan ad tili d rreḥba n Yimaziyen. Atug-a adimuɣrafi yessijhed tilmest n teqbaylit deg tudert tamnezzut n yal ass, ayen i yessurufen akatr n tezrawt i uslaɖ n tumanin tsnilesmettiyyin. Deg Bgayet, tagtutlayt : taqbaylit, taɛrabt, tafransist, taneglizit ttidirent deg tallunt ideg tutlayin terza-ten tikwal talwit yas akken yezga umennuɣ yef tihawt-nsen xersum s tizzumla deg yigalisen.

Tibbuɣert tasnilsit n Bgayet tella-d dayen s tezmert tagtutlayt n yimezday-ines. Tuget deg-sen ssnen xersum kraɖ (03) n tutlayin : taqbaylit am tutlayt tayemmat, taɛrabt am tutlayt tis snat n tmurt d tesreɖt akked tefransist, ttrika n umezruy amhersan am wakken i tt-yettwali Kateb Yacine “d lyella n tṭraɖ” (Kateb, Y 1966 : 127). Takrutlayt-a terna ljeɛd s yinig akked tedbelt, imi terna iri yer tenglizit akked tesbenyulit ii d-yettafken tanagit n tullɣa yef umaɖal. Akken i t-id-yura Calvet, “tutlayin deg tallunt tuyrimt ur llint ara kan d allalen n taywalt maca d izamulen n ucettel d tezmert” (Calvet, L-), 1993 :87). Deg Bgayet, tugta tutlayant tettbin-d deg yigalisen n tnezzut ideg tutlayt tamaziɣt tetṭef tasga yer yiri n tutlayin am taɛrabt akked tefransist ayen ara yanfen i uzrew n wassaɣen yellan gar tutlayt d tmagit. Sumata, azal n 50 n yigalisen i d-negmer deg temdint-a, amɖan-a yegda i usiteg n ssebbat yeffren deg useqdec n tutlayt tamaziɣt yer yiri n tirawin s tefransist. Afran-a asnarray yef tikti n temnaɖin ideg teqwa tnezzut, am ubrid agejdan n temdint, i d-yettbinen am tfayluyin ideg asemres asnilsan yegda d tseṭraṭijiiyin n tmagit n yimsenza.

Tazrawt-a tettnadi ad tessegzi amek i yettili useqdec n tmaziɣt deg yigalisen yettwarun s tefransist d wayen i d-yettwasuɣel umennuɣ yef tmagit tamaziɣt deg twennaɖt tagtutlayant. Iswi ur yelli d iswi n uslaɖ n tesnilest timyessit i yessemgaraden gar wunmak d wunmik, imi tazrawt-a tesseqdec snat n tarrayin n tesleɖt. Seg tama, terza tayult n tesnazmult akken ad tegmi deg unamek n yizumal yuran, amedya awalen am : “Masinisa” neɣ “Aɣar” i d-yemmalen awadem amazray neɣ amezruy yezdin. Seg tama-nniɖen, anekmar asnarmud yettnadin deg tesmigiiyin tinmettiyyin timnawin n

yimsenza, imi ufrinen-nsen isnilsanen skanayen-d ibeddi-nsen deg usiher akked umummi-nsen yer temyiwant. Tadukli-ya tessuref tizgi n yigalisen macci kan d tiyawsiwin yuran, maca am tallunin n yimtuwa idelsanen, inmagiyen deg yiwet n temdint ideg timeslayin ttemyikrasent yal ass.

**3. Iferdisen n tizri d tmiḍranin tigejdanin:** Tizgi n ucali asnilsan d tmagiwin deg yigalisen n tnezzut deg Bgayet yesra i usegzi n kra n tmiḍranin tizriyin iḡef ara treṣṣi tezrawt-a. Deg wattal aḡarim yettwaēeqlen s tekralsanit (taqbaylit, taērabt akked tefransist), tmiḍranin tixatarin ilaq-asent ad temmag tesleḡt fell-asent iwakken ad yettwasegzint tircawin gar tutlayin, tallunin akked tmettiyin. Ilmend n waya, kra n taktiwin d tisura yecban “tihawt tirant deg wadeg aḡerman”, “aḡalis n tnezzut”, “tasnilesmettit taḡarimt” yezgan deg leqdicat n uḡbalu, aḡen ara isurfen aseḡzi n timesḡiyin tsnilsanin mmeslent ademkal n temdint taqbaylit deg usenēet n yicqirriwen n tmagit.

**3.1 Tihawt tirant:** Tihawt tirant deg wammas n uḡarim yeēna taḡruma n yisiskilen, izumal d yiḡdirisen yettbinen deg tallunt tazayzant n tiḡremt, ama d iḡefsa, d iḡdalen neḡ d iḡalisen. Ilmend n Calvet (1994), tanakti-ya terza macci kan ala tiḡert n tirawin, maca ula d tawuri-ines tanmettit d tnazmulit deg useḡwes n tallunt taḡarimt. Deg udlis-ines *tisertiyyin tsnilsanin*, Calvet (1994 : 87) yesqar belli isunuḡen yuran cban “imaqqaden n tmagit d udabu” i d-yesbeyinen imyellal isnilsiyen akked yisuturen idelsanen. Deg Bgayet, tihawt n wawalen n teqbaylit deg yigalisen yettwarun s tefransist yessenēet-d yiwet n talḡa n uzbu ḡef tḡemla tasnilsant, s uberreḡ n umummi amaziḡ. Tamidrant-a tessuruf ad tnadi ḡef twalit n Tmaziḡt deg twennaḡt ideḡ taērabt akked tefransist syelbent ḡef yidgan unṣiben d wid n tnezzut.

**3.2 Aḡalis n tnezzut:** Tettwasbadu-d am wallal n twalit d tira i d-yettmaggan ḡer yimi n tḡanut i usbeyyen agama n tnezzut-is, ad yejbed imsay, d usenēet n tmagit tuzziḡt. Landragin (2011 : 134) yessumer-d anekmar asimyuti n tmiḡdrant-a, imi iḡlem-it-d am “uzmul yertin” i yesdukkulen tiwuriwin tinafiyyin (isalan) d tzamulin (amummi anmetti neḡ adelsan). Deg udlis-ines *Introduction à la sémiotique visuelle*, yessenēet-d belli iḡalisen ur qqimenn ara kan deg twuri tadamsant, maca yettikki deg lebni deg udemkal asnilsan i d-yeskanayen ufrinen n yimsiwal. Deg Bgayet iḡalisen i d-yessidifen awalen n tmaziḡt am “tafat” neḡ “Aḡar”, zegren akkin i temlilt-nsen n yisali almi i yuḡalen

d imerfad n zzux s tmagit d tkatut timezdit. Teqqen gar yisrayen n ssuq, ideg amur ameqran yezga-d i tefransist imi d-tettuneḥsab d tutlayt n tatrara d lebyi n useḥbiber yef tulmist tadelant n tmaziyt.

**3.3 Ademkal asnilsan:** “Ademkal asnilsan” yessegraw idrisen ittwazrayen deg wadeg azayzan, am yigalisen ney idefsan, i d-yessenɛaten tixutert n tutlayin d wassayen n tezmert. Landry akked Bourhis (1997 : 23) sbaduyen-t-id am unamal n ulɣud asnilsi deg temɣiwant. Deg Bgayet, yesqarray-d s tudert n tefransist (tanezzut) taɛrabt (tunṣibt) akked teqbaylit (tamagit), taneggarut-a tesbanay-d azbu adelsan. Tamidrart-a tettalel i ukti tawalit n tmaziyt akked temlilt-ines deg usbeyyen n tmaziyt mgal asmuḍel.

**3.4 Tasnasmult tayermant:** “Tasnasmult tayermant” tselled izmulen n teyremt, am yigalisen, s timmad-nsen d ireffaden n yinumak inmettiyen idelsanen. Barthes (1957 : 201) yettwali izumal-a am tesnumigin i d-yessenfalayen azalen uzdiyen. Deg Bgayet, agalis ideg yettseqdec wawalen n tmaziyt am “Tafsut” ney “Tilelli” yezger i usaka n twuri timesgit i uzmel n tmagit tamaziyt d tmektit tadigant. Deg wadeg ideg aseqdec n tutlayin n tefransist d teɛrabt tṭfen tasga, ufrinen-a yuran senɛaten-d nniya tazamulit, yessertin tanezzutd usuter adelsan.

**4. Tasleḍt:** Ilmend n tesleḍt n yigalisen-a, neḥsa belli tarrayt i iwulmen i tsekka-ya n tezrawin, d tarrayt tasimyutit. “tasimyutit, tennemgal [yef tesnilest], tla iswi n usezrew n yinagrawen n yizmulen akken ma llan, akken tebyu tili talɣa-ines, akken byunt ilint tilisa-nsent : ur teeni ara kan tutlyat, maca tezger akkin i wunuyen, i yiwellihen, i leswat, i tyawsiwin, akked talɣiwin i ikersen akken ma llant yecban ansayen, imgdiyen ney umyiten.” (Barthes, 1964 : 12).<sup>2</sup>

Nesmenyif ihi tasleḍt yerzan tazumlit n tira, akken ad nibeid yef yinekmaren n tesnilest tamyessit. Imi iswi d anadi amek i ttadfen wawalen n teqbaylit deg tirawin n tefransist ayen i d-yeskanayen tamagit tamaziyt deg wattal agtutlayan.

Djamal Kouloughli, yettwali “tagtutlayt deg Lezzayer d tilawt tayalast ideg yal tutlayt tetṭef tawuri tanmettit tuzzigt” (Kouloughli, 1994 : 23). Deg yigalisen, artay-a yettbin-d s useqdec d usidef n wawalen n teqbaylit deg tefyar n tefransist am “Café Akfadou” ney “Tazmert body-food”. Roland Barthes yesqar-d “tasnasmult iswi-s d arfad n yinagrawen n yizmulen akken ma tebyu tili talɣa-ines” (Brthes 1964 :11). Izmulen-a ur llin ara d ucriden : refden takatut timezdit, senɛaten-d timesgiyin

ideg imsenza sbeyyinen-d tamagit-nsen tamaziyt. Igalisen-a ur llin ara “kan” d idfesa ; deg tidet d amuren n umezruy, d idgan idegtutlayin ttayent akken ad jabent tallunt, idles, tamagit, da, deg tlemmast n tudert n yal ass deg Bgayet.

Tazrawt-a tzeddi gar tesnasmult, i yettnadin yef wazalen inazmulen n yisyal akked unekmar asnarmud, i izerwen timesgiyin tinmettiyin d tnawiyin n yimsenza. Asagem yesbeyyen-d tuget n yismawen imazlayen imi 30% d ismidgen (15 n yigalisen), deg tama-nniḍen ismawen imazlayen n yimdanen s 28% azal n (14 n yigalisen). 10% d awalen yerzan asentel n uzbu d umennuy (05 n yigalisen), 12% d iwalnuten i yettwasqedcen (06 n yigalisen), 20% d amawal uzzig (10 n yigalisen).

**4.1 Ismidgen : takatut timrakalt d uzbu:** 15 n yigalisen i d-yewwin yef tesmidegt enan tarakalt tamaziyt, agmar n yismawen n yidgan am yizamulen n umezruy d uzbu. *Café Akfadou*, ur yelli ara kan d adeg ideg tessen medden lqahwa, yeskanay-d tizgi yeqqnen Bgayet d Tizi-Wezzu, imi yettuneḥsab d rreḥba n lmujahidin, ladya imi Emiruc din i iga tiyeryert-ines deg ttraḍ ayelnaw (1954-1962). Afran-a yeskan-d timesgit tanmettit ideg amsenzi yesseḥbibir yef tkatut mgal tamhersa, seg tama n tesnasmult isem-a yessenæa-t tabyest d ugama. *Papeterie Soummam* yettuḡal yer wasif n Ssumam, adeg i yeqqnen yer umezruy n ugraw n Ssumam, yiwen n unedruy axatar n uzarug n Lezzayer.



Tugna 1: SNC Imprimerie Tamazgha



Tugna 2: Imagerie médicale Numidia



Tugna 3: Boucherie des Aures

Aseqdec-ines deg wayen yerzan tamkarḍit yesdukul tira d tmusni yer uzamul n tegrawla, am usuney ara yessijhiden asegni am ttrika n umennuy. *Boucherie des Aurès* yesmektay-d tanekra n tegrawla n 1954 deg temnaḍt-a, d asenfali n twizi gar temnaḍin-nney timaziyin. Pierre Achard iwala “Ismawen n yidgan deg tallunt tazayzant ttuḡalen d imiqqad n tmektit tagadudt” (Achard, 1993 : 145). Da, imsenzi yefka azal ameqran i urmud-ines deg zzux yezdin.”

Boulangerie et patisserie Tamazgha ney Imprimerie Tamazgha, ssuturen tadukli n Tefriqt n ugafa tamaziyt seg Siwa yer tegzirin Tiknariyin. S tesnasmult, isem-a yugar deg urnamek azal n usewwi i usen&et n tmagit tagraylant , ma s tama n tesnarmudt, yessen&at-d lebyi n usenefli n timmuzya deg tallunt tazayzant tagtutlayant. *Imagerie médicale Numidia* tewwi-d tikti-ines deg tgelda tamaziyt taqburt, yettrih-d urfud d tmusni tussnant. Afran n usmiddeg-a syur umazzag n tezmert yesbeyyin-d armud ideg amezruy amaziḡ yettak tbut i urmud amaynut. Salem Chaker yerra lbal deg 'useqdec n kra yismidgen n tmaziyt deg wadeg azayzan d talḡa n uste&ref s tmagit" (Chaker, 1998 : 112). Igalisen ttuḡalen d idgan n tkatut yessijhiden tawalit n timmuzya deg Bgayet.

**4.2. Ismawen n yimdanen : udmawen assaḡen:** Azal n 14 n yigalisen yerzan ismawen n yimdanen i d-nufa deg tsastant-nney, ismawen-a ur llin ara d menwala, maca d wid yes&ean assay akked umezruy alqayan n Tmazḡa, d tarrayt n tririt n ccan d wazal i yigelliden Imaziḡen n tallit taqburt akked tallit talemast. Bijouterie *Massinisa* yellan d agellid mmucca&en yettwassnen s usdukel n umenkud anumidi, ayen ara s-igen assay d tezmert d unefli. Deg tesnasmult, isem-a yeqqen yer terfudt; s tesnarmudt, yeskanay-d turrugza d ccan i ujbād n yimsay yetthulfun s ttrika-ya. Bijouterie Tinhinane i d-yessekfalen tagellidt tatergit, tayemmat n Yimaziḡen n tniri. Afran-a n wudem unti deg tnezzut n yisman yeskanay-d armud ideg asebd& n tmeṭṭut tamaziyt yuḡal-as ccan, ayen i d-yeskanayen deg ugalis-a lebyi n usdukel n tumast yer yiherqan i ibe&den n Tmazḡa. *Agence de voyage Aksil* yerra tajmilt i yiwen n ugellid amaziḡ n tallit talemast (tasut tis VII), azamul n uzbu d tlelli mgal tiwmiwin n wa&raben. Isem-a yerza yer unadi d umerreh yef tmura i ibe&den ayen ara yeqqnen tamerit d uzbu.



Tugna 4 Bijouterie Massinisa



Tugna 5 Bijouterie Tinhinane



Tugna 7 Agence de voyage Aksil



Tugna 6 Salle des fetes Matoub

Pâtisserie et Confiserie El Kahina yesmektay-d s Dihya, tagellidt-tagrawliwt n tasut tis VII. Deg tesnazmult, isem-a yezdi d ccbaħa d tezmert, deg tesnarmudt yessenĖat-d tikci n wazal i tlawin n yidles amaziġ, i nezga nrezzu ġer tenġi n usewwi. Crèche, Garderie et Préscolaire Damia yesmekta-d s tqeddact n Tin-Hinan i yelħan yid-s, i tt-ixedmen aħal d aseggas. Aya yessenĖa-t-d tamnilt d ssber. Afran-a n yisem deg uħric n usegmi d uselmed yesqar-d aħuddu, aħunnu d tallelt i uħric aleqqaq am warrac imezġanen. Salle des Fêtes Matoub yerra tajmilt i Lwennas, yiwen n wudem mmucaĖen maci kan ala deg ccna n tmaziġt maca ula deg umennuġ ġef tmagit sumata. Isem-a yettbeddil ula d talġa i wadeg n tmeyra ġer tkatut timezdit n yidles. J. L. Calvet yura-d "tutlayin deg yidgan iġermanen d allalen n taywalt, maca ttuneħsaben daġ d izumal n udabu d tmagit<sup>3</sup>" (Calvet, 1993 : 87).

**4.3 Azbu adelsan gar yizri d yimal:** Deg teġzi n 05 n yigalisen yesean assaġ d uzbu s useqdec n kra n yirman n teqbaylit yesean anamek alqayan akken ad ttwasenfalin yiħulfan-a n umennuġ yettkemmilen. Azar Machines i d-yeskanayen tuġġfa deg lasel amaziġ, s tesnazmult, isem-a yesqarray-d s urkad d unefli. Ma deg tesnarmudt yessenĖat-d lebġi n uzbu mgal aynuslaġ, s tmezdit n tmacinin i d-yerzan tatrara ġer wayen yerzan tigemmi tamensayt. Tinġi : Frommage, Dattes et terroir, awal tinġi ġas ulamma d awalnut deg teqbaylit, acu kan yesdukul tamusni n leqbayel d yimuhay deg wayen yerzan tanezzut. Amsenzu yefka azal i tdamsa-ines tadigant mebla ma yettu ad as-yeg assaġ n wagramaziġ deg usihar aduklan. Thabzimt Mercerie, aseqdec n usġun-a yesean tixuġert meqqren ġer Yimaziġen akken ma llan yettunefk-as wazal sġur umsenzi-ya mi t-yesseqdec deg ugallis-ines, ula d aseqdec n usekkil n "z" s tfinay deg tira n ugalis-a yerra azal i umennuġ s i yumen umsenzi am wakken yebġa ad d-yesken zzux-ines ġef tmagit tamaziġt s usenĖet n ccbaħa d tmusni n Yimaziġen deg yiselsa-nsen.



Tugna 8 Thabzimth Mercerie



Tugna 9 Azar machines

Mohand Tilmatin yessegzay-d belli "asilew n tmaziyt deg yidgan iɣermanen d tiririt ɣef ureyyef amazray" (Tilmatine, 2011 : 67). Igalisen-a ur llin ara kan d iɣefsan n tnezzut, maca d inagan i yettarran iberdan d annar n tmagit ɣef umezruy d yidles ma d aseqdec-n sen deg yirmuden n tnezzut (tismahalin, asečču, tazuri n tegnut) yeskanay-d tiḥeci n Yimaziyen deg useqdec n yiram-d-a deg wattalen atraren.

**4.4 Iwalnuten : Asmenyet d usitrer amaziɣ:** 06 n yigalisen i irefden awalen imaynuten ur nettwareqdec s waṭas deg tmeslayt taqbaylit tuzzilt, ayen ara imeslen tutlayt yer tilawin timiranin. *Ecole de formation professionnelle Tussna*. Awal-a yettafk azal i tmusni d usegmi. Deg tesnasmult, awal-a yessenɛa-t-d anefli n wallay, deg tesnarmudt, yemmal-d aselmed s wazalen n teqbaylit d tmagit tamaziyt yesqarwen tutlayin timeqranin i yesdakalen azalen-n sen deg tutlayt. *Thalwit Travels & Events* yemmal-d tarusi d lehna. Amsenzu yessumur-d tirit tamerrayt tushilt, asɣal n tatrara yettqadaren tigemmi tadigant. *Librairie et cosmétique Imru* yeqqen gar tira d usebdee yer urmud yertin. Afran-a yesmektay-d s wazal i fkan Yimaziyen i tira d usnulfu n unagraw n usiskel. Deg tidet d tiyri n umsenzi maci kan i yimsay maca i tmetti akken ma tella akken ad ten-yenced yer ubrid n tatrara d yimal s tikci n wazal i tutlayt tayemmat, ayen ara igen alɣud gar wansay d usmuḍel. Aseqdec-n sen deg uselmed, deg tmerrit akked tnedlist yesbeyyin-d lebɣi n urfad s tmagit tamaziyt yer tatrara.



Tugna 10 EFP Tusna



Tugna 11 Librairie cosmétique Imru

**4.5 Amawal uzzig : tudert tayalast:**10 n yigalisen i i refden irmawen seg umawal uzzig yettusqedcen deg tudert n yal ass, ayen i d-yeskanayen ihulfan n temdawit *Librairie papeterie Tamusni* tefka azal i tmusni deg wadeg adelsan. Deg tesnasmult, isem-a yessenεat-d tiherci deg wattal adelsan ma deg tesnarmudt yemmal-d amek ara neqqen tamusni d tmagit tadigant. *Quincaillerie Axxam brico* yesdukul asluffes d uxxam aqbayli, d asyal n usehbiber yef yifarisen i d-yettwaxdamen zik-nni deg ugni n uxxam aqbur. *Boutique Thafath* yessenεat-d ccbaħa d usirem, ayen ara imeslen tanezzut am wadeg yedwan i yimsay. *Hotel Thziri* yeslanay-d asteεfu deg umkan udyiz ideg amdan yezmer ad yesgunfu wad ifares ccbaħa i d-tettak tziri deg usunsu-ya. Agalis aneggaru d *Tazmert body-food* taħanut-a i yuzgen deg yisufar n yinaddalen ladya wid i irefden tazayt, yesseqdec awal n tezmert akken ad yeg deg wallay n yimsay tazmert i s seān zik leqbayel yettqabalen tudert mebla waṭas n waṭtanen i d-ṭhettem tudert tamirant. Bab n ṭhanut yerna yura asekkil n “z” s uzamul n Yimaziyen akken ad yessiweḍ izen s usdukkel n tezmert d umennuy yef tmagit tamaziyt.



Tugna 12 Tazmert body food

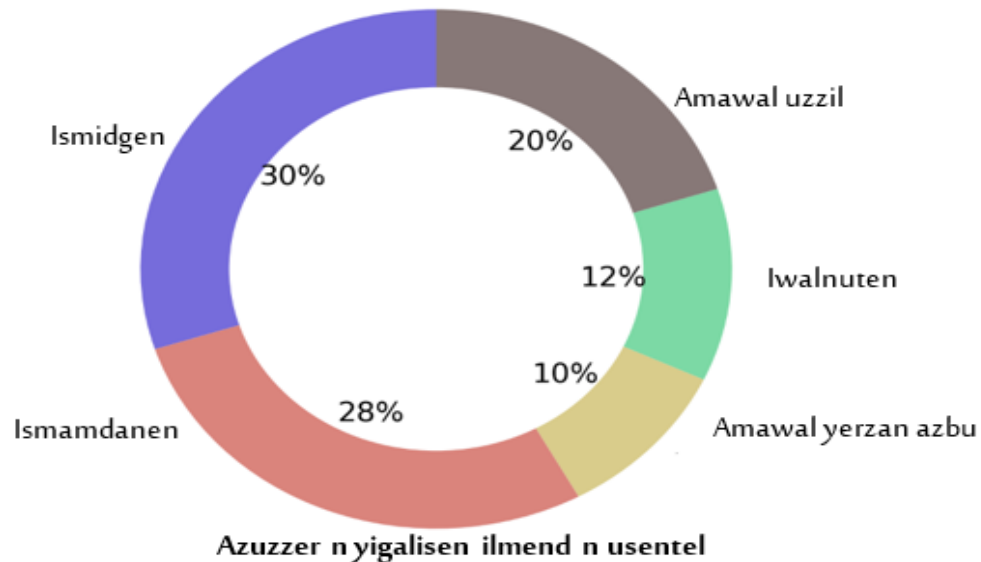


Tugna 13 Librairie papeterie Tamusni

**Taggrayt:** Tazrawt-a tnuda deg tihawt n wawalen n tmaziyt (taqbaylit) deg yigalisen n tnezzut yuran s tefransist deg temdint n Bgayet, i d-yesbeynen tamlilt-nsen deg teṣki n tmagit tamaziyt deg udemkal asnilsan agtutlayan. S ttawil n tesleḍt n 50 n yigalisen i d-negmer deg yiberdan imeqranen n temdint, tagmi-ya tefka-d tafat yef wassayen inamkanen i idemren imsenza akken ad gen anermis gar snat n tutlayin : tafransist d tmaziyt ideg inumak d wazalen ttemgiriden ilmend n yal yiwet deg-sent. Anekmar asnilesmetti i nesseqdec tezdi gar tesnasmult akked tesnarmudt, yessuref i uεeddi yef tyuri tagelmant taħerfit akken ad tawed yef unadi n wazal azamulan d yirmad inmettiyen yeqqnen yer yisfernan isnilsanen. Timiḍranin yecban ademkal asnilisi akked tesnasmult taħermant εawnen-

ay deg usbeddi n tizri i tigzi n tumant-a, ayen i ay-yeğğan ad negzu tarrayin n yimsenza deg umsal n yigalisen-nsen am yidgan n usilew adelsan d uzbu mgal taynuslayt tasnilsant.

Igmađ sbeyyinen-d asidef n tmaziyt deg yigalisen n tnezzut macci d afran aherfi asnarmud yerzan tanezzut, maca d aqdic metEmmed i d-yeskanayen zzux s tmagit d wassay yeqqnen yer umezruy n Yimaziyen. Deg usihar asnilsan ideg tafransist tettunehsab d tutlayt tameywalt s wayes-s i tessawađ izen n tmaziyt. Timesgit-a tessegzay-d yiwet n talxa n uzbu adelsan ideg imsiwal seftayen deg yidgan iyermanen akken ad jerden takatut-nsen timezdit. Yas akka, amđan amezyan n yigalisen-a, skanayen-d amur ameqran n yigalisen n tefransist yuxen tallunt meqqren deg temdint n Bgayet ayeni d-yeskarayen asewzu gar tutlayt d tmagit deg temdint ideg imsiwal tuget-nsen (ugar 99% d iqbayliyen).



Tazrawt-a day teldi-d igli i unadi s telqey deg usezrew n yidemkal isnilsanen deg tmurt n Lezzayer, ladxa deg temdinin timazyawalin ney tierabwalin, akken ad tettuserwsent tseřrařijiyin n tmagit deg usmel ayelnaw. Akken day i ay-tnecced ad nezrew azerrer n tsertiyin tsnilsanin timaynutin, am usenseb n tutlayt tamaziyt, yef tmesgiwin n tnezzut d tneyrimt. Deg taggara, nezmer ad d-nini belli igalisen deg temdint n Bgayet ur llin ara kan d iđefsa yuran imi yettunehsab d adiwenni yeddren gar tutlayin d tmagiyin i d-yeswerrayen amek tga tezmert n yimdanen deg umsal n twennađt-nsen deg watal agtutlayan yezgan yettmeskil.

### Umuy n yidlisen:

1. Achard, Pierre, 1993, Sociologie du langage, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
2. Barthes, Roland, 1964, Éléments de sémiologie, Paris, Éditions du Seuil.
3. Barthes R., 1957, Mythologies, Paris, Seuil.
4. Calvet, Louis-Jean, La sociolinguistique, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1993.
5. Calvet, Louis-Jean, 1994, Les politiques linguistiques, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
6. Chaker, Salem, 1998, Berbères aujourd'hui, Paris, L'Harmattan.
7. Dubois, Jean, 1962, Le vocabulaire politique et social en France, Paris, Larousse.
8. Grandguillaume, Gilbert, 1983, Arabisation et politique linguistique au Maghreb, Paris, Maisonneuve & Larose.
9. Kateb, Yacine, 1966, *Le Polygone étoilé*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil.
10. Kouloughli, Djamel, 1994, Le parler arabe d'Alger, Alger, Éditions ENAG.
11. Landragin, Frédéric, 2011, Introduction à la sémiotique visuelle, Paris, Dunod.
12. Tilmatine, Mohand, 2011, Les défis de la langue berbère, Alger, Éditions Barzakh.

### TisYunin :

1. Landry et Bourhis (1997) Journal of Language and Social Psychology, vol. 16, n° 1.
2. Landry, Rodrigue et Bourhis, Richard Y., 1997, Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality, Journal of Language and Social Psychology, vol. 16, n° 1

### Tijentad :

| U° | Awal n tmaziyt | tafransist     | Taerabt         |
|----|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 01 | Aḍefsu/iḍefsan | Fronton        | واجهة           |
| 02 | Tarfudt        | Prestige       | هيبة            |
| 03 | Tayelyalt      | Écho           | صدى             |
| 04 | Timesgit       | Pratique       | ممارسة          |
| 05 | Ademkal        | Paysage        | المشهد          |
| 06 | Amummi         | Appartenance   | إنتماء          |
| 07 | Alɣud          | Équilibre      | توازن           |
| 08 | Tesnumigin :   | Mythologie     | علم الأساطير    |
| 09 | umyi           | Mythe          | أسطورة          |
| 10 | Asɣal/isɣal    | Signe          | علامة           |
| 11 | Asilew         | Affirmation    | تأكيد           |
| 12 | Taynuslayt     | Uniformisation | التوحيد القياسي |

<sup>1</sup> « En effet, on cherche à prendre possession de la rue pour manifester, exprimer sa colère ou juste pour s'exprimer, ce qui n'est pas toujours permis ».

<sup>2</sup> La sémiologie, au contraire [de la linguistique], vise à prendre en charge tous les systèmes de signes, quelle que soit leur substance et quelles que soient leurs limites : elle ne se limite pas à la langue, mais s'étend aux images, aux gestes, aux sons, aux objets, et à toutes les formes complexes qui constituent les rituels, les comportements ou les mythes.

<sup>3</sup> « Les langues dans l'espace urbain sont des outils de communication, mais aussi des symboles de pouvoir et d'identité »