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Revitalizing Zenet through School in Timimoun

Revitaliser le dialecte zénète à travers l'école à Timimoun

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Abstract:

In Timimoun, south of Algeria, two official language varieties are available for use to the Zenet speech community, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Tamazight. MSA is taught at school, used by the mass media and for all official correspondences. Tamazight, however, is still confronting some challenges at the formal level, particularly that the local variety is Zenet/Taznatit. Actual descriptive paper provides an up-to-date overview of the changes underway in Timimoun after the implementation of Tamazight at school. Assessing the evolution of Taznatit in public institutions necessitated the use of quantitative data and a methodology mostly based on statistics and percentages. Information was supplied by the National Academy of Education, Illiteracy Eradication schools, and the Office for National Statistics. Findings are that the number of public schools teaching Tamazight increased exponentially. One can deduce that Zenet is not an endangered language variety, since there are more and more schools teaching Tamazight.

Keywords: Algeria-endangered language-ethnolinguistic vitality-Timimoun-Zenet

Résumé :

À Timimoun, dans le sud de l'Algérie, l'arabe standard moderne est enseigné à l'école, utilisé par les médias et pour toutes les correspondances officielles. Le tamazight, en revanche, rencontre encore des difficultés au niveau formel, notamment parce que la variété locale est le zénète. Le présent document descriptif offre un aperçu actualisé des changements en cours à Timimoun suite à l'introduction du tamazight à l'école. L'évaluation du tamazight dans les écoles a nécessité le recours à des données quantitatives et à une méthodologie basée sur des statistiques et des pourcentages. Les informations proviennent de l'Académie nationale de l'éducation, des écoles d'éradication de l'illettrisme et de l'Office national des statistiques. Il ressort de cette étude que le nombre d'écoles publiques enseignant le tamazight a connu une augmentation exponentielle. On peut en déduire que le zénète n'est pas en danger, puisqu'il y a de plus en plus d'écoles qui enseignent le tamazight.

Mots-clés : Algérie-langue en danger-vitalité ethnolinguistique-Timimoun-Zénète

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Introduction

In the 1990s, Joshua Fishman proposed a theory referred to as *Reversing Language Shift* (RLS, 1991), to revitalize endangered languages through a structured approach centred on intergenerational transmission and the societal functions of language. Fishman stated that an endangered language risks losing all its native speakers if revitalization efforts are not made in time to give it more ethno-/sociolinguistic vitality.

According to the UNESCO's (2003) classification, a language is categorised as *moribund* or as *severely endangered* if its only users belong to the 'grandparent generation' but not to the youngest ones. In the case in point, the local Tamazight language variety, Zenet, could be classified as moribund and as a severely endangered language variety (Simons and Lewis, 2013).

In *Reversing Language Shift* (1991), Fishman proposed the 8-level *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GIDS) thanks to which languages can be tested regarding their vitality. The GIDS has since remained the most important evaluative framework for researchers interested in language endangerment and revitalization. The UNESCO, on the other hand, proposed a 6-level scale of language endangerment, while *Ethnologue* has set five other categories to measure language vitality (see Lewis and Simons, 2010).

UNESCO's measures are: 1) Intergenerational language transmission; 2) Absolute number of speakers; 3) Proportion of speakers within the total population; 4) Shifts in domains of language use; 5) Response to new domains and media; and 6) Availability of materials for language education and literacy (UNESCO, *Language Vitality and Endangerment*, 2003, p:7). The UNESCO's ad hoc experts note that none of the above criteria can stand alone, for if any one scores high, it is imperative to check the others.

Based on Fishman's GIDS and the UNESCO's 6-level scale, Lewis and Simons (2010) proposed the E(xpanded) GIDS consisting of 5-categories: a) Identity function, b) Vehicularity, c) State of intergenerational language transmission, d) Literacy acquisition, and e) Societal profile of generational language use. EGIDS's 13 levels allow to scale and measure any language vitality. According to the researchers, any languages, even if without any speakers, can be evaluated and categorized. The authors assert that, with minor modifications, EGIDS applies to languages being revitalized. As such, *language maintenance* (LM, see Pauwels 2004), or *language retention* and *language survival*, can also be gauged against UNESCO's (2003) and Lewis and Simon's (2010) criteria.

Authors like Pauwels (2004), Mesthrie (2011), and Baker (2011) argue that LM portrays the challenges that minority language varieties encounter politically, socially, economically and regionally in opposition to more powerful dominant languages. LM necessitates that the native speakers use their mother-tongue persistently for all walks of life disregarding the overwhelming presence of other language varieties (see Pauwels, 2004).

Language maintenance can be acknowledged through basic criteria, which are a) the period of continued use of a minority language since the initial contact, b) the extent to which it is the exclusive language in use in any given context, and c) the number of spheres of usage (i.e., domains) in which it is resorted to either exclusively or in conjunction with another linguistic variety (Saou, 2025).

Consistent with the sociolinguistic revitalization theory and language maintenance, this paper argues that on the educational level, the implementation of Tamazight in Timimoun's primary, middle and secondary schools signals profound changes in scholastic ideology and indicates a governmental willingness to revitalize the language.

In the next sections, we present a very short historical glimpse on the Zenet speech community, its origins and evolution through time. A tentative description of their mother-tongue is also necessary to help situate the speech community within the Algerian Saharan context. It is followed by the objective factors used during the study of the sociolinguistic situation of Zenet in Timimoun.

1. Zenet and Zenets

Ibn-Khaldoun (1978 and 2001), conceded that the term 'Zenata' is derived from the name 'Jana' which refers to Jana Ibn Yahia. The name also refers to the dialect spoken by the Berbers of the Gurara region in southwestern Algeria. The Zenets settled in the oases of the Sahara, and lived among the Arab populations. They thrived thanks to the palm trees which constituted the core of their trade with the sub-Saharan territories. Zenet is a member of the Tamazight language family consisting of Chaoui, Chelha, Kabylian, Mzabi, Tamachek, and many others (Touati, 2025).

1.1 Zenet, the Ethnolect

Zenet is a Tamazight/Berber language variety. By definition, it is a particular language associated with a specific group of people. Its characteristic grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary are firmly linked with the group's identity, cultural heritage, traditions and folklore. In other words, an ethnolect is a powerful identity marker that allows for the social identification of its users, the ethnonyms, and that sets them off from other groups. The *endonym*, or local denomination, that the speakers themselves prefer is Taznatit; at the reverse, the *exonym*, or outside the area denomination, is habitually Zenet or Znatiya.

The geo-localisation of Zenet is a bit arduous, for that Tamazight dialect is scattered around a wide region of what was known as the Tuat-Tidikelt-Gurara (Bouhania, 2014; Tuat, 2025). Generally, Zenet/Taznatit is spoken by the original inhabitants of the Gurara, the *igharmawen* who live in the north-west of Timimoun. It is also found in Tamentit, more than two hundred kilometres to the south east, where the dialect is believed to have disappeared in the 1970s (see Mammeri, 1991) because of the proximity of Arabic Tuatia of actual Adrar. Touati (2025) asserts that, at least two people still use Zenet in Tamentit as their dormant mother-tongue.

Oftentimes, an ethnolect is found next to a dominant language variety. Tensions of power and prestige between minority and majority language varieties lead the ethnonyms to emphasise, promote and sustain their mother-tongue. In the case of Zenet, the ethnolect is in competition with not only Arabic, the majority language, but also with other ethnolects of the Tamazight family like Tagchourt which is used in Tit (Tuat, 2025) next to Tamashek which is usually found in Aoulef and In-Salah in the Tidikelt (Bouhania, 2012 and 2014).

1.2 The Zenet Ethnonyms

The Zenet ethnonyms are the language's native speakers who call themselves 'Zenata'. The greater part of Zenet ethnonyms is found in and around Timimoun. The inhabitants of Ajdir, Aougrout, Charouine, Metarfa, Ouled Aissa, Ouled Mahmoud, Ouled-Said, Tahtait, Talmine, and Taoursit are full Zenet speakers, although their language variety is mixed with Arabic. Like the igharmawen, they compose the Zenet speech community which widely spreads throughout

the Tuat-Tidikelt-Gurara area. Their linguistic boundaries are not easily identified since they do not correspond to clear-cut geographical borders (Bouhania, 2012).

Two other important characteristics typify the Zenet speech community, identity and identification. The Zenets identify themselves as members of the Zenet speech community and not to the Berbers because of historical, social and economic reasons. They define themselves as part of the larger social community (the Algerians), but also as part and parcel of the minor social/speech community (the Zenets).

The Zenets can be identified and recognised through some particular external characteristics like their language (Taznatit) and their ethnic group cultural membership (the Ahellil, for example). Their language variety is structurally and functionally different from other Tamazight varieties, and stands as the most salient feature of group affiliation.

Timimoun young adult Zenets use *Communication and Information technology* means, like Facebook, vlogs and blogs, to spread Zenet particularly to the younger generations (Salamou and Yakoub, 2025). Many cultural associations try promoting Taznatit through Facebook pages and groups dedicated to its teaching and promotion.

The section below tackles the objective sociolinguistic factors, which allow us to assess the importance and vitality of this variety of Berber in southern Algeria. This research was carried out trusting objective data obtained from the syllabus of national public schools and informal illiteracy eradication institutions.

2. Objective factors

It is essential to note that in 2019, the wilaya (administrative department, province) of Adrar had three distinctive zones including Gurara (actual Timimoun, in the north), Tuat (present Adrar, in the centre) and Tidikelt (Aoulef, in the south). The administrative status of Timimoun changed from that of delegated wilaya (2015) to full wilaya in 2021. It is also useful to highlight that actual study compares results obtained in 2019 (Bouhania, 2019) to others obtained in 2025. The former study evaluated the level of education of Adrar males and females, as well as the dissemination of Tamazight in the Great South of Algeria. The comparison of the 2019 data to those of 2025 focuses on the evolution of Tamazight in Timimoun, particularly at school.

2.1 Demographic Data

Demographic variables picture the numerical strength of a given group. Geographical distribution and spread across the territory, birth rate and rate of mixed-marriages, and the degree of migration to other places play a central role in consolidating or weakening the group. They are essential aspects in the maintenance or disappearance of a language and its native speakers as well.

a) Intermarriages

The numerical demographic strength of a group is a privileged and legitimate means for its empowerment through institutional support. It also allows its members to assert themselves as a collective entity in interethnic situations. In addition to the concentration and geographical spread which favour the preservation of the language (Al-Khatib and Alzoubi, 2009), exogamous marriages are the weak link for preserving the identity of an ethnic group and its mother tongue. Conversely, endogamous marriages are more advantageous in terms of language and identity.

b) National Census data

According to Moseley (2010), 40.000 Zenets inhabited the Gurara (actual Timimoun) in the first decade of the 21st century. In 2019, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) at Adrar did not provide the researcher with the real number of Zenets in the Gurara. Their argument was that the national census does not ask for any racial or linguistic affiliations of the people, in general.
The institutional support is a decisive factor for the vitality of a language. The use of a language variety by official government institutions, the schools, local media, religious services and the economic sector is a booster whose effects on the social and societal planes are unexpected. Hence, assessing the officialization of Tamazight in Timimoun, necessitates analysing its effects and impacts on the local educational system.

2.2 National Education

Tamazight became an official language in Algeria during the 1990s. Since then, it has continued to be promoted at the institutional level: the founding of the High Commission for Amazighity (Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité, June 1995), the official use of Tamazight by the mass media (2006), its gradual implementation in official and non-official schools, and the creation of the Academy of Tamazight (2018) represent major achievements for its social, societal, and formal promotion.
In 2019, the Academy of National Education at Adrar stated that eleven (n=11) primary schools taught Tamazight in Timimoun (Gurara), Adrar (Middle-Tuat) and Aoulef (Tidikelt). Those public schools were allocated as follows: five in Timimoun and its surroundings (Aougrout and Charouine), two schools in Middle-Tuat (Reggane and Sali) and four in Tidikelt (Bord-Badji Mokhtar). None was established in Adrar-city.
As for intermediate education, seven (n=07) establishments encouraged the learning of Tamazight. Their number differed from that of the primary schools. For example, there were three middle schools in Middle-Tuat, three in Gurara, and only one in Tidikelt.
A remarkable evolution can be noted in the teaching of Tamazight in Timimoun in 2025. Specifically, the number of primary schools increased from five to eleven, i.e.: 220% of augment! The schools are scattered around as follows: four in Talmine, two in Ouled Aissa, one in Ajdir, Taoursit, Metarfa, Charouine, and Ouled Mahmoud.
The middle cycle witnessed a modest improvement; the number of intermediate schools where Tamazight is taught increased from three to five institutions. These schools are located in Ajdir, Charouine, Metarfa, Ouled Mahmoud, and Taoursit. Tables n°1 and n°2 show the geographical distribution of primary and intermediate schools in Timimoun.

Primary schools	2019	2025
Zakhlalou Ahmed-Taoursit	1	1
Ben Nana Derbal-Metarfa	1	1
Sbi7i Larbi-Charouine	1	1
Belharma Ahmida-Talmine	1	4
Ahmed El Khodeir-Ouled Aissa	1	2
Ouled Mahmoud	0	1
Ajdir	0	1
Total	5	11

Table n° 1: Primary schools teaching Tamazight in the Wilaya of Timimoun (Source; Academy of Education-Adrar, 2019-2025)

a) Tamazight Teaching

Because of the reduced number of classes in 2019, Tamazight teachers had to work in both primary and middle schools so as to fulfil their weekly timetables. Tamazight was taught 3 hours per week to primary and intermediate school pupils. In the three middle schools, and for a total of eighteen classes, 54 hours/week was the total volume of hours dedicated to learning Tamazight.

Today, the sessions are still three hours/week. Yet, a noticeable fact is that Tamazight has become a mandatory subject in all five middle schools. However, the number of classes per level and school is currently unknown, since the Academy of National Education did not provide us with any data about those variables.

Middle schools	2019	2025
Kebbal Ahmed-Taoursit	1	1
Ben Nana -Metarfa	1	1
Ali Mellah-Charouine	1	1
Ouled Mahmoud	0	1
Ajdir	0	1
Total	3	5

Table n°2: Middle schools teaching Tamazight in the Wilaya of Timimoun (Source: Academy of Education-Adrar, 2019-2025)

b) Tamazight Teachers

In 2019, ten teachers represented the total Tamazight teaching staff throughout the whole wilaya of Adrar. They taught in primary and middle schools in the three regions, Gurara, Tuat, and Tidikelt. In 2025, after Timimoun has become administratively independent from Adrar, the Academy of National Education reports a total of eleven Tamazight teachers in Timimoun only. They deliver Tamazight in the various towns and villages of the region.

The following section reports the research on Tamazight teaching in *Iqraa'* informal schools. Raw data were made available by the director of Adrar Illiteracy Eradication Center for both Adrar and Timimoun, since the latter's centre is still an annex of Adrar's.

2.3 Informal Schools (Iqraa')

Tamazight is one of the official languages of the Illiteracy Eradication Centres at national and local levels. The following lines deal with the teaching of Tamazight in the schools for illiteracy eradication (known as *Iqra'*, 'read') of Adrar and Timimoun.

a) Tamazight in Illiteracy Eradication Programs

The Algerian National Office for Eradication of Illiteracy (ONAEA) and the High Commission for Amazighity (HCA) signed an agreement on the generalization of the teaching of Tamazight at the national level in 2018. The illiteracy eradication schools base their Tamazight programs on those of the 4th year formal primary education; the latter subdivide into three stages, and the courses are adapted to the level of adult learners.

In 2024, the HCA published a collective anthology titled *Pedagogy of Teaching Tamazight in Literacy Classes and to Adults*. The works, written in Arabic, Amazigh and French, were

produced by pedagogues and education professionals to attract a readership devoted to the preservation of the ancestral language and identity of the Berbers (Algérie Presse Service, 10/01/2024).

This year, the person in charge of Timimoun Illiteracy Eradication Centre affirms that no Tamazight variety is taught in their school! This, according to him, is not quite surprising since the locals prefer their ethnolect rather than any other Tamazight language variety even if the latter is the sole codified Tamazight language variety implemented at school.

b) Tamazight Learners

In the wilaya of Adrar, Tamazight started being taught in informal schools in 2006. Adrar Illiteracy Eradication Centre reported that, in 2019, more than 1,736 learners registered in Tamazight classes at the primary level. Among these, 40.72% were women (Bouhania, 2019). Aoulef centre (in the Tidikelt) enumerated more than 428 women in Tamazight classes; while Timimoun recorded 212 for the same year.

Admission to intermediate-level Tamazight classes was typically higher for levels 1 and 2; yet, it was quite low at levels 3 and 4. However, in 2019 Adrar illiteracy eradication centre conveyed the figure of 1,194 students of which 44.22% were women. These numbers give a positive image of the Zenets' desire to upkeep their ancestral language.

2.4 Publications on Zenet

a) At the university level

Since its founding in 2001, the University of Adrar encourages students of the humanities and social sciences to write and defend dissertations, doctoral theses, or research articles on the Zenets, their language and speech community. It is worth pointing out that, so far, the University of Adrar does not have a Department of Tamazight language and culture, or a Department of Translation which undertakes the translation of Tamazight-written texts into Arabic, English and French and vice-versa.

Students at the Department of English have submitted several undergraduate (classical) and Master (LMD system) dissertations and memoirs on the theme of Zenet. Appendix 1 offers a few titles of BA and Master's memoirs. This small number of memoirs is found in the d-space repository of final-year projects available at the library of the University of Adrar. Those reported on the appendix were supervised or examined by actual researcher; others may not figure on the list for the d-space platform was not accessible at the moment of writing this paper.

We can notice that one student had two memoirs; one for his BA graduation, the other for his MA completion. Although both dealt with the Zenet dialect, the MA final-year project concerned the endangerment of the student's own mother-tongue in Aougrout, south of Timimoun. A few years later, two other memoirs tackled the risks of language attrition, endangerment, and disappearance of Zenet in Timimoun.

In 2025, two MA students working in pair submitted their memoir on Zenet. They used the *Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire* (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, 1977; See also Bouhania, 2010) to study the young Zenet native-speakers' perceptions and attitudes towards their mother-tongue, especially its strengths and sustainability. The results of their research bring to the fore the native speakers' diverse and conflictual attitudes towards their mother-tongue; some are in favour of proudly reviving Zenet while others do not consider it useful for their careers. According to the novice researchers, these reactions are consequential to external

pressures due to the proximity of Arabic speaking fellow countrymen, and also because the young Zenet speakers would like to get rid of stereotypes linked to their ethnolect as a local and not a national language.

Other memoirs offer a range of topics; for instance, they discuss the sociocultural changes underway in the speech community of Timimoun under the impact of internal migration of north-Algerians looking for better life opportunities. It is also due to mixed-marriages, for many couples consist of local men married to northern women. From Tuat Arabic-Zenet codeswitching and borrowing to Arabic-French-Zenet codeswitching, we come across two memoirs which deal with language variation. The two dissertations described the changes happening to Zenet in Charouine, Talmine and Ouled-Said.

At the department of English of the University of Adrar, a few researchers committed themselves to research, write and publish about the Zenet people and their ancestral mother-tongue. In the other departments like Anthropology, Arabic, French, History, and Social Sciences of the same university and in other Algerian universities, a certain number of researchers published on the theme of Zenet. Their papers tackled ethnographic, heritage, religious, poetic and folkloric, and social subjects.

A number of seminars and conferences took place in Adrar concerning the theme of Zenet. For instance, the seminar on *Learning from Local Knowledge: Tradition and Innovation* was held at Adrar city-hall in February 2005. Its main subject was the restoration and the revival of local heritage through maintenance and use. Two other conferences are noteworthy to report; these are the international conference *Sahara, Creuset des Civilizations Amazighes* (Sahara: Melting-pot of Amazigh Civilisations), organized by the High Commission for Amazighity (HCA) and the Wilaya of Adrar in Decembre 2012. The national conference *La Carte Linguistique de Tamazight en Algérie* (The linguistic map of Tamazight in Algeria) was held by the HCA and the University of Adrar on Octobre 2021. The most important recommendation of the conference stated the establishment of a department of Tamazight language and culture at the University of Adrar.

b) Other publications

After the independence of Algeria in 1962, many national and international authors issued papers and books on the Algerian Sahara, the ethnology and history of its people, their dialects, customs, traditions and folklore. The HCA had the lion's share in matter of Tamazight publications, and its most important journals are *Timmuzgha* (1999) and *Tamazight Tura* (2009). A short overview of scientific articles and books on the Zenet dialect and its speakers in Gurara-Tuat-Tidikelt is given in Appendix 2.

Conclusion

The sections above illustrate that both official and non-official schools help the Algerian government to support and promote the spread of Tamazight in the country. In Timimoun, however, it is done at the detriment of Taznatit. This last is not taught at school because of lack of codification and standardization (Dourari, 1990 and 1994). Codification of Zenet necessitates that grammarians and linguists set the language's grammar, syntax, phonetics-phonology and vocabulary. In other words, it needs an academy. The academy of Tamazight, which exists since 2018 (presidential decree of December 23rd, 2018), is not functional. Standardisation, on the other hand, encompasses serious conditions like implementation at school. Elaboration is the level where authors start writing and publishing in newspapers, magazines, books, novels, and journals in the codified language.

In light of what has been said above, a lot remains to be done to teach Zenet at school. Its codification is quite challenging both to local and national grammarians, scholars and syllabus designers dealing with Tamazight language varieties.

One significant drawback to the present research is the lack of verifiable data. As a newly appointed wilaya, Timimoun is still establishing its administrative services, among which that of national statistics. This last could not provide the researcher with the number of recognised native Zenet speakers. Moreover, the academy of national education did not offer any figures concerning the learners, the teachers or the schools. The researcher contacted local teachers and educational inspectors to ask for information and details about the teaching/learning of Tamazight in Timimoun in 2025.

In conclusion, this paper shows that considerable efforts are made to encourage the teaching of Tamazight in Timimoun. Yet, this is achieved through the only available Tamazight language variety, Kabylian, since the latter is codified. As such, local Zenet speech community needs to double the efforts to implement its local ethnolect. It needs to codify it, elaborate it, and then take it to school for a larger dissemination.

This research informs the scientific community and those interested in protecting and promoting the language that Zenet is *still* a minor language variety in Timimoun. It not only requires official support, but above all it needs social endorsement through the maintenance of its verbal repertoire.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Titles and authors of dissertations on Zenet at the University of Adrar

University of Adrar/ cycles	Titres	Auteurs	Années académiques
1. BA (Classical system)	n/a	Dihmane Mohamed	n/a
2. BA	Codeswitching and Borrowing between Zenet and Tuat Arabic	Kerroum Ibrahim	2008
3. BA	Bilingual education of the Zenet speech community	Nadjmi Khedoudja	2010
4. Master	Language loss in Aougrout	Dihman Mohamed	2014

5. Master	Multilingualism in Algeria: The case of the Tuareg community in the Tuat	Charef Oum-saad	2015
6. Master	The sociocultural development of the Zenet community in Tuat and Gurara	Kerthiou Kaouthar	2015
7. Master	Sociolinguistic variation in Zenet speech community: A comparative study	Bagui Fatima	2015
8. Master	Language shift and language endangerment: Zenet as a case study	Soussou Mabrouka	2017
9. Master	Codeswitching in a bilingual society: The Zenet speech community of Timimoun	Lichti Mabrouka	2018
10. Master	The Zenet varieties in Gurara, with a special reference to Charouin, Talmin and Ouled Said	Bagui Mebarka	2018
11. Master	Understanding youth attitudes towards Zenet	Salamou Abdelkrim & Yakoub Redouan	2025

Appendix 2: Some titles and publications on Zenete in Gurara-Tuat-Tidikelt

Titles	Authors	Publication Type	References
Histoire des Berbères	Ibn-khaldun	Book	Translated by William Mac-Guckin De Slane. Berti editions, Algiers. 2001.
Notes de lexicographie berbère, IV. Vocabulaire du Tuat et du Gourara, argot du Mzab, dialecte des Touaregs	René Basset	Article	*Journal Asiatique, 8 série, t.X, pp.365-464. 1887*

Aoulimmiden			
Le Sahara de l'ouest	Coyne, A.	Article	*Revue Africaine, n°33.1889.*
Sahara Algérien	Gautier, E.F.	Book	*Librairie Armand Colin : Paris.1908.*
L'eau dans les oasis Sahariennes : organisation hydraulique-régime juridique,	Moulias D.	Thèse	*Université d'Alger.1927.*
Les Ksours berbérophones du Gourara	André Basset	Article	*Revue Africaine, n°81. 1937*
Le Statut Territorial des Territoires du Sud	-Lehuraux, (Capitaine)		*Revue Africaine, n°81.1937.*
La Population des Territoires du Sud	Capot-Rey, R.	Article	*Revue Africaine, n°84.1940.*
La langue Berbère dans les territoires du sud	André Basset	Article	*Revue Africaine, n°85.1941*
La salida de los almorávides des desierto y el reinado de Yusuf b. Tashfin	Huici M.A,	Book	Hésperis.1959.
A History of Islam in West Africa	Trimingham J.S.	Book	*Glasgow University Publications, UK.1962*
La Polyrythmie dans les musiques du Sahara	Phillipe Augier	Article	*Libyca XIX. 1971*
Gourara : éléments d'étude anthropologique	Cambuzat, P.L.	Article	*Libyca XXI.1973.*

The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretive Essay	Abdallah Laroui	Book	*Translated by R. Manheim, Princeton University Press: Princeton, USA.1977.*
Les manifestations religieuses et populaires lors de le fête du Mawlid au Gourara, leur sens et leur portée	Ougouag-Kezzal, G.	Article	Libyca XXVI-XXVII.1978-1979.
Langue et écriture Berbères au Sahara.	Salem Chaker	Article	*Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée 32.1981-82.*
L'Ahellil du Gourara.	Mouloud Mammeri,	Book	*Les Editions de la MSH : Paris.1984*
Ahellil, Encyclopédie Berbère	Phillipe Augier	Article	*1986, Document A109,* *Mis En Ligne Le 01 Décembre 2012.*
Les Juifs au Sahara: Le Tuat au Moyen-Âge.	Jacob Oliel	Book	*CNRS-Histoire, France.1994.*
L'Imaginaire historiographique entre conjectures et réalités, ou le problème des sources: à propos de l'établissement humain en milieu Saharien'.	Nadir Maarouf	Article	*Insanyat* 2.*1997.*
Mutations sociales et adaptation d'une paysannerie Ksourienne du	Bendjelid, A. et al.	Article	*Insaniyyat, n°7 (III-1).1999.*

Tuat : Ouled Hadj Mamoun (wilaya d'Adrar, Algérie)'.			
Les Zénètes du Gourara, leurs Saints et l'Ahellil	Bellil Rachid	Article	*Insaniyyat 4(2), 30-08-2000 https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/42290*
Agents Religieux Du Gourara Et Ahellil à Travers Quelques Récits	Bellil Rachid	Article	*Insaniyyat 4(3), 31-12-2000 https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/42427*
Les Chorfa Algériens, Histoire et Identité: pour une anthropologie de la Cherifianité'.	Taibi, M.	Article	*Al-Dafatir 1, Alger, Algérie.2000*
Lexical Borrowing in Adrar Arabic.	Bouhania Bachir	Book	*Google books https://books.google.dz/books?id=-A3LjwEACAAJ 2002*
Nation et Nomination : l'Algérie par l'histoire de ses noms propres	Benramdane Farid	Book	*Haut-commissariat à l'Amazighité. Alger, Algérie ; 2004*
Learning from Local Knowledge: Tradition and Innovation	Université d'Adrar	Seminar:	*Université d'Adrar, 4-6 Février 2005.*
Some remarks on the Topography of the Tuat Area.	Bouhania Bachir	Article	*Al-Hakika 7(1), 30/06/2008. https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/71741*
Assessing the	Bouhania	Article	*Cahiers de linguistique et didactique 3(1), 30-*

Ethno-/socio-linguistic Vitality of Arabic, French, and Zenet in The Tuat	Bachir		*06-2010. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/149318*
Le Tuat : Communauté Pluriglossique ou Plurilingue ? Approche Sociolinguistique	Bouhania Bachir	Article	*Cahiers de linguistique et didactique 4(1), 30-06-2011. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/149439*
Zenet, an endangered language variety in southern Algeria.	Bouhania Bachir	Conference	*Conférence Internationale Sahara, creuset des civilizations Amazighes.* Organizeé par le Haut-Commissariat à l'Amazighité et la Wilaya d'Adrar, 08-09 Décembre 2012
Les Dialectes Arabes Du Tuat –approche Sociolinguistique	Bouhania Bachir	Article	*Al-hakika 11(1), 30-03-2012*
Tuat Spoken Arabic: Dialectology and Sociolinguistics,	Bouhania Bachir	Book	*Dar Ebn Batota-Amman, Jordanie. ISBN 978-9957-517-82-3. 2012*
Les Celtes Sont-Ils des Ibéro-Berbères ?	Benatia, Abderrahman	Book	Editions Houma, Alger, Algérie. 2013
Mise En Texte D'un Désert En Péril Dans La Traversée De Mouloud Mammeri : L'école Et L'ahellil	Chebbah-Bakhouche chérifa	Article	*Human Sciences Review 15(2), 31-12-2015. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/88287*
Zenet: An endangered language variety in southern Algeria.	Bouhania Bachir	Article	*International Journal of language and Linguistics. Special issue 2(6-2). DOI: 10.11648/s.2014020602.13.*

L'espace, Le Mouvement Et La Mémoire : Approche Anthropologiq ue De L'ahellil Du Gourara De Mouloud Mammeri	Ait Challal Salah	Article	*Iles d Imesli 10(1), 31-12-2018. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/148352*
Le Zénète : Une variété de langue Tamazight en danger.	Bouhania Bachir	Book	*Editions Universitaires Européennes (EUE). Lettonie. ISBN 978-613-9-53345-9 2019*
Men and women's education and illiteracy in Adrar speech community.	Bouhania Bachir	Article	*Journal of college of education for women (JCEW) 30(3). DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.36231/coedw/vol30no3.12 Septembre 2019.*
L'ethnologie De M. Mammeri : Pratiques Ethnographiqu es Et Méthodologies	Hamitouch e Fatah	Article	*Iles d Imesli 11(1), 02-06-2019. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/93727*
Linguistic Coexistence in the Southwest of Algeria: Taznatit and Arabic in the Region of Gurara as a Model	Abbou Tahar	Article	*Rufuf 11(2), 30-09-2020. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/128656*
A propos de quelques Toponymes du Gourara-Tuat-Tidikelt dans la Wilaya d'Adrar.	Bouhania Bachir	Article	*Langues & Cultures 2(2), 25/06/2021. https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/159121*
Culture And Sustainable Development in	Abbou Tahar	Article	*Assiyaq Review, 6(2), 12-10-2021. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/188844*

the Region of Gurara with a Special Reference to Ahellil			
Models from Amazigh literature in Taznatit in the region of Gurara	Abbou Tahar	Article	*Rufuf 10(1), 25/01/2022. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/178312*
A View in Ahellil Heritage and its Dimensions in Maintaining Identity in The Region of Gurara in The South Of Algeria	Belmir Khadidja; Boukemiche Laala	Article	*Rufuf 10(2), 14-07-2022. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/197645*
Religion, musique, danse et poésie dans le folklore d'Al-Ahellil : une approche anthropologique culturelle	Bencherif Naima ; Saadi Ibrahim	Article	*El-Khitab17(2), 01-06/2022. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/189843*
Revitalizing Endangered Tamazight dialects: The case of Zenet and Tamashek in Southwestern Algeria.	Bouhania Bachir	Acts	*La Carte Linguistique de Tamazight en Algérie. HCA-Université d'Adrar. 23-25 Octobre 2021 ISBN: 978-9947-865-99-6*
The impact of Socialization on Teaching and Learning Arabic Among Zenet Speakers (Ouled Aissa Municipality in	Abbadi Abderrazak	Article	*Rufuf 11(2), 13-07-2023. https://asjp.cerist.dz/en/article/229062*

Charouine District as a Model)			
A History of Gurara Berber (Taznatit)	Abbou Tahar	Article	*Journal of African Languages and Literatures* *No 4 , 18-05-2023.* *DOI: https://doi.org/10.6093/jalalit.v4i4.10035*
Atlas de Tamazight en Algérie à la lumière de l'AML de l'UNESCO	Touati Ramdane	Book	*Haut-commissariat à l'Amazighité. Alger, Algérie ; 2025*