

Ayred Theatrical Performance in Beni Snous: Perceptions of Cultural Heritage Through Linguistic Expressions

Fatma KHERBACHE¹

¹ Department of English, Faculty of Letters and Languages, FLPATP Lab, University of Tlemcen.

fatima.kherbache@univ-tlemcen.dz

Received: 30/07/2024

Accepted: 08/10/2024

Abstract	Article info
<i>The research explores Ayred, a cultural tradition in Beni Snous, Algeria, rooted in Berber heritage. Ayred includes a theatrical performance with costumes, masks, and traditional songs. The study aims to unveil current performers' understanding of the linguistic content of these songs and their conveyed historical and cultural significance. Questionnaires and interviews gathered qualitative and quantitative data from locals. Results indicate that while young participants lack precise knowledge of Ayred's historical, social, and cultural dimensions, they perceive its songs positively. Moreover, they believe the festival preserves the valley's cultural and historical heritage.</i>	<i>Received</i> 30/07/2024 <i>Accepted</i> 08/10/2024 <i>Publishing</i> 19/12/2024 <u>Keyword:</u> ✓ Ayred ✓ Linguistic content ✓ Cultural significance

1. Introduction

In the region of Tlemcen, particularly in Beni Snous, it is customary to celebrate Yennayer through the Ayrad theatrical performance. Yennayer is celebrated every 12th of January each year, not only in this area but throughout the Berberophone regions of Algeria. Unfortunately, the ancestors of this region did not leave any records or evidence of how these events were practiced. The only remaining evidence consists of a few descriptions of their former practices.

In the early twentieth century, Edmond Destaing (1907) was among the French orientalist specialists in Berber and Arabic studies. He described the Yennayer celebration, which used to last for seven days, highlighting its importance in the lives of the indigenous people of the area and

Ayred Theatrical Performance in Beni Snous: Perceptions of Cultural Heritage Through Linguistic Expressions

showing how this tradition reflected the values, beliefs, and identity of the Berber people living at that time.

As mentioned earlier, the festivity of the Amazigh New Year, which coincides with January 12th each year, is an opportunity for the inhabitants of the Beni Snous valley to perpetuate and valorize their ancestral customs, particularly through the organization of the Ayred theatrical performance. This theatrical performance has been performed from that time to the present, taking the form of a theatrical performance where a group of indigenous people dress and disguise themselves as animals. They celebrate the Amazigh (Berber) New Year, “Yennayer,” by nightfall, singing and reciting traditional verses. However, these events were approached from cultural and social perspectives without any reference to the linguistic aspects. Therefore, it is crucial to discover whether the current generation performing the theatrical performance truly comprehends the significance and meaning of the songs and recitations. The following research questions have been formulated to explore this issue:

1. Do current performers of the Ayred theatrical performance understand the historical, social, and cultural significance conveyed through its linguistic content?
2. How do the performers learn and understand the meaning and significance of the songs and verses used in the Ayred theatrical performance?
3. How does the current generation perceive the historical, social, and cultural significance embedded in the linguistic content of these performances?

On the basis of the research questions above, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. Age as a social variable among the current performers plays a role in understanding the historical, social, and cultural significance conveyed through Ayred theatrical performance.
2. A variety of methods are available for these performers to learn and understand the meaning and significance of the songs and verses used in the Ayred theatrical performance.
3. The current generation perceives the historical, social, and cultural significance embedded in the linguistic content of these performances positively.

Throughout these questions, the main aim and objective of this study is to investigate the methods of transmission of the Ayred's songs and verses and the extent to which these performers understand and interpret their linguistic content historically and culturally. It also provides perceptions and insights into how to preserve the continuity of this cultural heritage of Beni Snous.

2. Beni Snous: History and Origins

What is the origin of the Beni Snous? On this question, some French ethnographers, sociologists, and teachers of the twentieth century avowed that little information was available. Ibn Khaldoun, in his 'History of the Berbers,' mentions them. He states that 'the tribe of the Beni Snous, a branch of the Koumis, had formed a friendship with the Beni Goummi (a group from which Abd-El Moumen, founder of the Almohad Empire, emerged). When this tribe of Beni Goummi emigrated to Maghrib

El Aqsa (present-day Morocco) in the 12th century, the Beni Snous, instead of following them, remained in the country and later became associated with the Yaghmoracen family (13th century). One of them, Yahia ben Moussa es Senoussi, was, in 1327, one of the great generals of the Sultan of Tlemcen.

Thirteen small Berber villages spread on a surface of 37,000 hectares on the Algero-Moroccan confines in the extreme west of Algeria (about 600 km from Algiers, the capital). These humble hamlets make up le Pays des Beni Snous and share the same heritage embodied in one origin and a sole history of the population of this valley. This isolated area, well-known by its former Berber name 'Es-Snouss' or 'Ath-Snus', cuddles the following tribes: Tafessera, Tlata, Zahra, Beni Bahdel, Qeddara, Beni Hammou, Khemis, Ouled Moussa, Ouled Arbi, Beni Achir, Beni Zidaz, Ajdir Sidi Larbi, and Mazzer.

Being a former Berberophone area, Beni Snous is now an Arabic-speaking community. It is situated near Tlemcen in the north-west of Algeria. This valley, as is the case for most parts of Algeria, is characterized by three main periods in its linguistic history: the existence of a Berber variety from the early pre-Islamic era; the Arab conquests during the mid-7th century, which introduced the Arabic language while bringing the message of Islam; and later, the French colonialism, which imposed its language that continues to be used in spite of the Arabicization process started right after independence. Thus, Beni Snous speech has a language structure and vocabulary rooted mostly in Arabic, in addition to a considerable number of loan words from French but also from Berber, whose traces can be found in today's speech. The variety spoken in Beni Snous in the pre-Islamic era was Zenati Berber, but Arabic progressively spread over the region along with the new religion. Though they speak Arabic today, Beni Snous inhabitants have retained a good number of words of Berber origin for a long time.

3. Ayred in Beni Snous

The history of Ayred, which is famous in the city of Beni Snous and its 12 surrounding areas, dates back to 1250 BC (Bel, 1920). According to Laoust (1920), Ayred, which signifies lion in Berber and symbolizes strength, is typically related to a legend, more particularly a Berber warrior named Chachnaq who was supposed to defeat an Egyptian Pharaoh called Ramses (emperor Juba III) on the mountain that bears his name in Beni Achir (Pharaoh Mountain) and returned home back through the Ait Snous valley accompanied with lions. From then on, the Berbers started celebrating this victory by designating this date as the first day of the new Amazigh calendar, coinciding with January 12th every year.

On this day, the 12th of January each year, the inhabitants of the valley make the necessary preparations for the celebration of the Amazigh New Year and the farewell to the previous one. Yennayer is celebrated through the organisation of the Ayred festival, where a group of disguised people wearing handmade masks participate in the performance of the play with the presence of almost all the inhabitants who come from different hamlets to watch and enjoy it. By nightfall, they gather at one of the well-known temples, 'Sidi Salah' or 'Sidi Ahmed'. Before the celebration begins, the residents

Ayred Theatrical Performance in Beni Snous: Perceptions of Cultural Heritage Through Linguistic Expressions

of the valley, led by a respected figure known in the Ayred performance as “lemqeddām”¹ (the presenter), begin by reciting “Sourat al-Fatiha” and some Quranic verses. They then proceed to bid farewell to the past year and welcome the new year, expressing hopes for prosperity and abundant harvests in the year ahead. At the end, they ask Allah to bless their days and their loved ones, to have mercy on their deceased, to heal their sick, and similar supplications. The Ayred troupe then proceeds to the public space and starts dancing and repeating the slogan: Ayred! Ayred! The slogans and songs are accompanied by rhythms of musical instruments such as the flute and drums of ‘ddara players’ (circle players).

Under the chants, songs, and folk music, the Ayred performers make their way through the alleys and backstreets, knocking on the doors of houses one by one, chanting the phrase, “Open your doors, we have come.” The householders respond by offering provisions to the participants, symbolizing social exchange and cultural closeness within the community. At the end of the theatrical play, the presenter “lemqeddām”, as usual, signals with his hand to the ‘ddara players’ to stop playing, then he prays for the well-being of the household that hosted the celebration. He asks God Almighty to heal their sick and to make the new agricultural year one of goodness and blessings. The prayer concludes with the customary (Amen). Finally, the members of the group share the offerings received from the houses and distribute a portion of them to the poor and needy.

The celebration of Yennayer, along with the Ayred festival, has long been neglected by both local and higher authorities. Years ago, it was believed, based on the testimony of trusted local inhabitants, that Ayred only survived as folklore shown on television during special occasions. However, today, the situation has changed dramatically. Since 1999, the Ayred festival has undergone a significant revival, marked by the organization of meetings, festivals, and participation in cultural and artistic events, as well as cultural weeks both domestically and internationally (Benaissa, 2019). People from surrounding areas, villages, towns, and cities have shown growing interest in celebrating the Amazigh New Year, flocking annually to attend this cultural and historical event.



Figure 1. Examples of Ayred Celebration in Beni Snous

4. Dimensions of the Ayred Performance through Its Linguistic Content

Lasting for several days, the theatrical performance of Ayred (as named by Benaissa, 2019) consists of dramatic representations that involve disguising behind handmade masks and parading through the

¹ The spiritual character in the theatrical performance (Benaissa, 2019, p. 37).

village streets, singing ritornellos, knocking on doors, and asking for food. The Ayred Statement² (2019, cited in Berkani, 2023, p. 48), gives a comprehensive definition of the Ayred festival, stating that:

It is a form of traditional Snoussi expressive art passed down from generation to generation. These are theatrical performances where practitioners wear masks representing various animal and human characters of different shapes and colours, made from local materials. These performances are held in the alleys and houses of Beni Snous on the occasion of Yennayer, from January 9th to 13th each year. The manner of practice, the number of characters involved, their nature, and the repeated slogans vary across the different villages of Beni Snous.

Understanding how Ayred was performed and how it evolved over time-linguistically, socially, historically, and culturally-requires exploring the distant past when the inhabitants of the Beni Snous valley were originally Berbers before undergoing Arabization. The paucity of records from ancient times adds to the challenge of this exploration. Moreover, determining whether the different villages celebrated Ayred collectively or separately, and if so, in similar or different ways, poses another challenge. Therefore, as affirmed by Benaissa (2019), the songs and verses interspersed throughout the celebration address multiple historical, social, and intellectual themes. Consequently, this study will concentrate on the contemporary Ayred festival celebrations, with a particular emphasis on its linguistic content, which is widely shared across nearly all villages in the valley.

We selected certain linguistic elements that are interspersed as ritornellos during the Ayred theatrical performance, exploring their significance as described by researchers from the region. Below, these selected linguistic items are transcribed phonetically and translated into English, based on the availability of comprehensive interpretations of their literal and pragmatic meanings. They are accompanied by exact explanations and the various dimensions they refer to, drawn from the research of specialists who have studied this subject matter.

Table 1. Selected Linguistic Elements in Ayred Theatrical Performance

² Original text in Arabic.

Ayred Theatrical Performance in Beni Snous: Perceptions of Cultural Heritage Through Linguistic Expressions

Item from Ayred Ritual	Phonetic Transcription	English Gloss
1. Ayred! Ayred!	[ʔeired ʔeired]	Lion! lion!
2. A moulay Jerwane! Jarr wa' kèle!	[ʔamouleɪ ʒerwan ʒarr w ʕkəl]	My patron Jerwane! Turn and dance!
3. Chabriya lm' alka moulat ddar lmtalka	[ʔəʃʃabrija ləmʕallqa, mulat ddar ləmtʕallqa]	Hanging water clay jug! Housewife divorced!
4. A teffaha lli fljbal ali a khouti w bni a'mmi hawdouhali	[ʔa tteffaha lli feʒbel ʕali ʔa xxuti wə bni ʕammi həwduhali]	Oh, apple on the high mountain, my brothers and cousins, drop it down for me!
5. Lkourma! A bouya djajti w sabtha	[Lqurma! ʔa buja dʒaʒti w sʕabtha]	Lkourma! My father, I found my chicken.

Ayred: It is a Berber word meaning the lion. It is the principal role in the theatrical performance, symbolizing governance, leadership, and authority, which is the first force in the dramatic conflict for which the desired good is sought (Benaissa, 2019).

2. A moulay Jerwane! Jarr wa' kèle: Benaissa (2019) indicates that 'Jerwane' was a king who ruled the Kingdom of Tafessera (in Beni Snous valley) in the third century BC. His brother, known as 'Feroûân', was the king of the region of Khemis, which is named after him in one of the places in the village of Ouled Moussa in the municipality of Khemis. According to Saridj (2017), this song evokes a commotion in its philological and rhythmic context and therefore incites the symbolic characters to dance. He further claims that the population must be ready to warmly welcome the show with its ups and downs.

3. Chabriya lm' alka moulat ddar lmtalka: A number of researchers in the field-Saridj (2001; 2017), Benaissa (2019), and Berkani (2023)- agree that this song represents those families who refuse to open their doors to Ayred. This is symbolized through the act of breaking the 'Shabriya', which is a clay jug that contains water, leading to the divorce of the homeowner's wife. Benaissa (2019) further asserts that this act results in the collapse of the marital relationship. According to him, water here symbolizes goodness, blessings, and sustenance, with the act of wasting it signifying the loss of life.

4. A teffaha lli fljbal ali a khouti w bni a'mmi hawdouhali: In an extremely artistic way, Benaissa explains the apple song, stating that it expresses emotional feelings and concerns of the villager. He further states that it is accompanied by a wonderful mimique performance³ by one of the masked performers. The individual understands that his goal (which is the apple in this song) is out of reach

³ Mimique performance refers to a performance that relies on mime which is a form of theatrical expression where the performer relies on body movements, gestures, and facial expressions instead of words to convey his message to the audience.

(represented in the high mountain) and asks for the help of the community because he is unable to pick it alone. This fruit represents the spirit of collective cooperation and high ideals, (Benaissa, 2019)

5. Lkourma! A bouya djajti w sabtha: Benaissa (2019) says that this song refers to an incident that occurred during the Ayred celebration itself, as part of the ritual. When the performers of Ayred step into the house of a woman named 'Al-Qourma,' she searched for her chicken in the courtyard but couldn't find it. So, she cried out: 'My father, my chicken!' As the crowd headed towards the neighbouring house, she found her chicken under a pile of hay. She exclaimed loudly, 'w sobtha!' meaning she found it. Since then, this phrase has been repeated in the form of a song.

5. Methodology

5.1 Participants

The purposive sampling technique was used to select the participants based on specific criteria to fulfill the study's aims. The study was conducted in the valley of Beni Snous, focusing on the inhabitants who participate annually in the celebration of Ayred. A sample of forty male informants, ranging in age from 20 to 70 years old, was carefully selected to fit the research objectives both quantitatively. The participants were evenly divided into four age categories, with ten participants in each:

1. 20-30 years old.
2. 31- 40 years old.
3. 41-50 years old.
4. 51-70 years old.

In addition to the questionnaire, structured interviews were conducted with six elder participants to gather qualitative data.

5.2 Instruments of Data Collection

The primary objective of this research is to analyse the Ayred theatrical performance in relation to its performers' understanding and perception of its historical and cultural significance. To investigate these understandings and perceptions, the study utilized a mixed-methods approach to seek quantitative and qualitative data. In this study, a questionnaire and interviews were used. The questionnaire was chosen to collect data from people who are in reality Ayred male performers about their understandings and perceptions of Ayred theatrical performance. However, the interviews aimed at gathering data from six elderly participants to get in-depth insights into the linguistic, historical, social, and cultural development of the Ayred performance. Both the questionnaire and the interview were conducted in Arabic, with the questionnaire in Standard Arabic and the interview in dialectal Arabic.

Ayred Theatrical Performance in Beni Snous: Perceptions of Cultural Heritage Through Linguistic Expressions

6. Data Analysis

Because the current investigation was built on a mixed-methods approach, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used for collecting data. To answer the formerly stated research questions, the two research instruments used to collect data are to be analysed: the Ayred performers' questionnaire and the local elders' interviews.

6.1. Ayred Performers' Questionnaire

Participants were asked to indicate their level of understanding of the historical, social, and cultural significance conveyed through the songs and verses they recite in Ayred using a Likert scale of 1 to 5 (Very Poor -Poor -Average - Good -Excellent). The results in Table 1 revealed that the highest proportions of participants fall within Likert scale ratings of Average and Good (32.5%), followed by the ratings of Poor and Excellent (15%), and finally, very poor (5%).

Table 2. Distribution of Understanding Ratings for Ayred Theatrical Performance

Likert Scale	Number of Participants	Percentage
1 Very Poor	2	5%
2 Poor	6	15%
3 Average	13	32.5%
4 Good	13	32.5%
5 Excellent	6	15%

The second question was closely related to the previous one, as participants were asked to explain the linguistic content of the ritornellos they typically repeat during Ayred performances. A list of linguistic items was presented to participants to gauge their understanding of the various dimensions conveyed in these recitations. The results, displayed in the table below, show that all participants (100%) understood the meaning of the first item and provided at least one response explaining it. For the second item, only 12 participants (30%) could provide the exact answer. The third item was understood by the majority of participants (67.5%). The fourth and fifth items were understood to a lesser extent, with proportions of 47.5% and 42.5%, respectively.

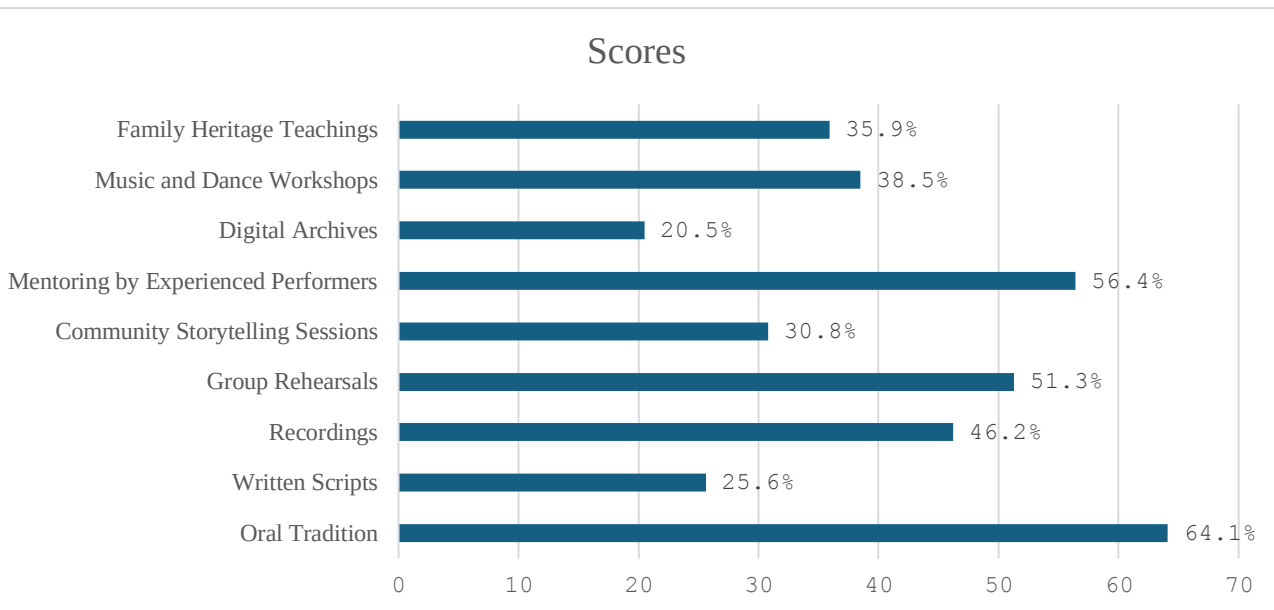
Table 3. Dimensions of the Linguistic Items

Item from Ayred Ritual	Number of participants	Percentage
1. Ayred! Ayred!	40	100%
2. A moulay Jerwane! Jarr wa' kèle!	12	30%
3. Chabriya lm'alca moulat ddar lmtalka	27	67,5%

4. A teffaha lli fljbal ali a khouti w bni a'mmi hawdouhali	19	47,5%
5. Lkourma! A bouya djajti w sabtha	17	42,5%

In another question, participants were asked to list the methods used to learn the songs and verses for Ayred. They provided a variety of answers, revealing the methods used to learn the linguistic content of the Ayred theatrical performance. As depicted in Figure 1 below, the majority of respondents opted for four major options: “oral tradition” (64.1%), “mentoring by experienced performers” (56.4%), “group rehearsals” (51.3%), and “recordings” (46.2%). The second range of preferences includes “music and dance workshops” (38.9%), “family heritage teachings” (35.9%), and “community storytelling sessions” (30.8%). The third range was reserved for “written scripts” (25.6%) and “digital archives” (20.5%).

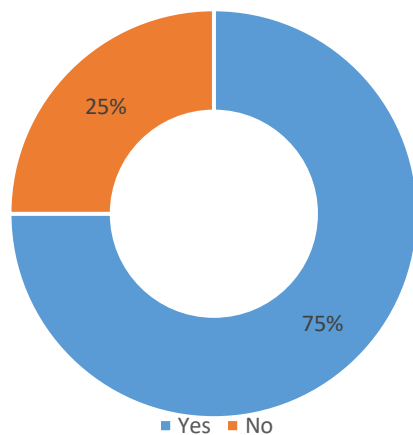
Figure 2. Methods Used by Performers to learn Ayred Songs and Verses



In order to know whether the performers believe Ayred performances effectively preserve cultural heritage for future generations, they were asked to respond with either “Yes” or “No”. The results shown in Figure 2 indicate that the majority of the performers agree that performing the Ayred theatrical performance effectively preserves their unique cultural heritage for upcoming generations. In contrast, only a few of them stated that they do not see performing the Ayred play as a powerful means of preserving cultural heritage for future generations.

Figure 3. Performers' Belief in Ayred Performances Preserving Cultural Heritage

Ayred Theatrical Performance in Beni Snous: Perceptions of Cultural Heritage Through Linguistic Expressions



6.2 Local Elders' Interviews

The results obtained from the first question asked to the elders of the valley revealed a consensus that the Ayred festival has deep roots in ancient Berber traditions, as the Beni Snous region has been traditionally Berberophone for centuries. They described Ayred as a ritual event that marks the Amazigh calendar, symbolizing the end of one year and the beginning of another. However, they lacked evidence to suggest that the linguistic content of the festival has changed over time. Regarding the second question, they indicated that the festival has undergone notable changes in its organization in modern times, with the current generation showing great enthusiasm by incorporating masks and disguises into their performances. When asked about the impact of these changes on the valley, they reported a positive influence on the local social environment. Finally, in response to the last question, they affirmed that the festival authentically reflects their cultural identity. To ensure its enduring presence, these elders pledge to always support the new generation, instilling in them a deep connection to their heritage through practices like Ayred. They have worked tirelessly and continue to do so, nurturing a generation that loves their homeland and embraces all aspects of its linguistic, social, and cultural.

7. Interpretation and Discussion of the Findings

Through a designed questionnaire for current performers of the Ayred play and structured interviews with six elderly individuals from the valley, we obtained findings addressing the research questions. These questions aimed to explore whether the linguistic content of the Ayred theatrical performance is understood within historical and cultural contexts by performers of the Ayred play. Moreover, the research sought to uncover the methods used to learn and interpret this linguistic content, as well as the perceptions of the current generation. The main results are discussed here in relation to the previously formulated hypotheses.

The first hypothesis posits that age as a social variable among current performers influences their understanding of the historical, social, and cultural significance conveyed through the Ayred theatrical

performance. Therefore, based on the performers' questionnaire responses, it is evident that they exhibit varying degrees of understanding of the linguistic content of the Ayred theatrical performance and the diverse dimensions it conveys. Breaking down the performers' responses into age categories, the results indicate that performers in the age groups of 41-50 and 51-70 years old demonstrated a good understanding of the linguistic content of the theatrical play and interpreted its distinct historical, social, and cultural dimensions. The elders' interviews corroborated the questionnaire findings, demonstrating through interview sessions their comprehensive understanding of the linguistic content of the Ayred play and the various themes it explores through the performed songs and ritornellos.

The second hypothesis assumes there are many methods to learn and understand the meaning and significance of the songs and verses used in the Ayred theatrical performance. Thus, the results of the questionnaire responses indicate that Ayred performers, especially the younger generation, employ various methods to learn and grasp the dimensions of the Ayred festival. Concurrently, the elders' interviews confirm this commitment, emphasizing their dedication to transmitting this tradition to future generations. They aim to cultivate a robust sense of identity through practices like Ayred, with ongoing efforts directed towards fostering affection for their homeland and promoting an appreciation of its linguistic, social, and cultural dimensions.

The third hypothesis suggests that the current generation views the historical, social, and cultural significance conveyed through the linguistic content of these performances positively. The responses from the performers' questionnaire clearly support this hypothesis, indicating positive attitudes towards the diverse content that the Ayred festival embodies. Based on these results, all three hypotheses are confirmed and validated.

The elders of the Beni Snous community affirm their dedication to preserving this cultural tradition until their last breath, echoing the sentiment: "If our ancestors had not performed Ayred over time, this rich cultural and historical heritage would not have survived to this day." These local elders also note shifts in lexical choices, often influenced by societal changes and interactions with neighbouring cultures. Further explaining, they state that originally, Ayred was a ritualistic event marking the Berber agricultural calendar, symbolizing the end of winter and the beginning of a new planting season. Over the years, the festival has evolved, incorporating elements of Islamic traditions and adapting to modern influences. However, the core aspects, such as the theatrical performances and communal feasts, have remained consistent, preserving the essence of the original celebrations. Through Ayred, the community not only celebrates its past but also reinforces its cultural resilience in the face of modern challenges. In this respect, Benaissa (2019, p. 49), states:

Ayred today represents the bond of identity and uniqueness in every Snoussi and Algerian village in the face of globalization, which seeks to erase cultural specificities and impose its own visions, values, and interests. Developing the national and local specificity of art and popular culture is one of the most important weapons to counter this dominance and to protect and support cultural diversity.

Ayred Theatrical Performance in Beni Snous: Perceptions of Cultural Heritage Through Linguistic Expressions

Both instruments of data collection served to go deeper into the people's way of perceiving this festival, and the findings revealed that the Ayred festival serves as a significant social event that brings together members of the Beni Snous community, fostering a sense of unity and shared identity. It provides an opportunity for elders to pass down traditions, stories, and customs to younger generations, ensuring the preservation of their cultural heritage. The activities, such as feasts and collaborative preparations, strengthen social bonds and reinforce communal values in the valley. In an interview with the playwright and theatre researcher, Ali Abdoune from Tlemcen, he states that: "Ayred is a complete theatrical system that includes, in addition to elements of spectacle, songs, dances, and stage play, social, moral, and economic values."

8. Conclusion

The research explored Ayred, a cultural tradition in Beni Snous, Algeria, rooted in Berber heritage. Ayred includes a theatrical performance with costumes, masks, and traditional songs. Thus, as an ancient theatrical form that generates popular joy through a blend of various rituals and traditions, Ayred in Beni Snous is unique and warrants thorough investigation. It is a centuries-old tradition perpetuated from generation to generation, preserving the customs, traditions, and culture of this ex-Berberophone area, 'Ath Snous'. Thus, this study aimed to uncover the linguistic content of one of Algeria's oldest festivals, with a particular focus on the Beni Snous valley. Moreover, it aimed to explore the Ayred performers' perceptions of its linguistic content and what it conveys to the community. Indeed, the linguistic content covers a variety of messages, including social values, economic prosperity, and cultural identity. The inhabitants of the valley, who are performers of this festival, are truly aware of the content it carries with its varying dimensions.

9. Bibliography List

- Bel, A. (1920) Beni Snous et ses Mosquées au Début du 20^{ème} siècle. Translated to Arabic by Hamdaoui, M. M (2001/03). Oran: Dar El-Gharb.
- Destaing, E. (1907) Etude sur le Dialecte Berbère des Beni Snous. Publications de L'école des Lettres D'Alger. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Ibn Khaldoun. History of the Berbers. Completed in 1377.
- INALCO. File: Berbères en Algérie occidentale. svg. Web source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Berb%C3%A8res_en_Alg%C3%A9rie_occidentale.svg (12 February, 2024)
- Kherbache, F. (2010) Aspects of Sociolinguistic Variation in an Algerian Context: The Speech Community of Beni Hammou. (Magister thesis). University of Abou Bekr Belkaid. Tlemcen.
- Laoust, E (1920). Mots et Choses Berbères : notes de linguistiques et d'ethnographie, dialectes du Maroc. Editions A, Chalamet, Paris

- Saridj, M. (2001) Verveine Fanée: Coutumes et Traditions du Pays des Béni-Snous. Oran: Editions Dar El Gharb.
- Saridj, M. (2017) Ayred des Beni-Snous : Apologie Historique, Ethnologique et Sociologique d'Ayred. Konouz Editions-Algérie

-عبد الكريم بن عيسى، فعل التآريد والممارسات التراثية في منطقة تلمسان، مجلة النص المجلد الرابع للعدد الخامس جوان 2019.

- عمر بركاني، ايراد بني سنوس والاحتفالات التنكرية في الحوض الغربي للمتوسط، دار خيال للنشر والترجمة، الجزائر 2023.