



Notes and discussions

A history of Gurara Berber (Taznatit)

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1. Introduction

Taznatit is a variant of Tamazight, which belongs to the Afro-Asiatic family. It is one of the many Berber varieties spoken in Algeria.¹ It represents the major component of the identity of the inhabitants of the region of Gurara, in the south west of Algeria. The paper sheds light on this Berber variety from its early history to present day. The research will focus on three main distinct phases in the history of Taznatit in the region of Gurara. The first deals with the early history of Taznatit in the pre-colonial period, that is, from the settlement of the Berbers in Gurara to the arrival of the French by the early 1900. The second phase extends from the arrival of the French to the independence. The last phase examines the situation of Taznatit in the post-independence period within the context of the language policy in Algeria. This last phase is divided into two distinct sub-phases; the first covers the pre-Berber Spring period while the second is devoted to the changes introduced by the Algerian authority in dealing with the Berber identity issue as a reaction to the pressure of the Berber Cultural Movement.

2. Location and Origins of Gurara, People and Language

The region of Gurara is approximately located around the point 29° 15' latitude north and 0° 13' longitude east, at about 1,200 Km to the south of Algiers. It is

¹ The Berber varieties spoken in Algeria are: Taqbaylit, Tashawit, Tamashaq, Taznatit, Tashelhit n Bousseghoun, Tabeldite or Tashelhit n Ouad Saoura, Taguergarent, Tasaḥlit, Tamzabit, Tamazight n Mitidja (Atlas of Blida), Tamazight n Tipaza (Shenwa), Ngussa, Kutama, among others. The Tamazight n At Snus is most likely not spoken anymore.

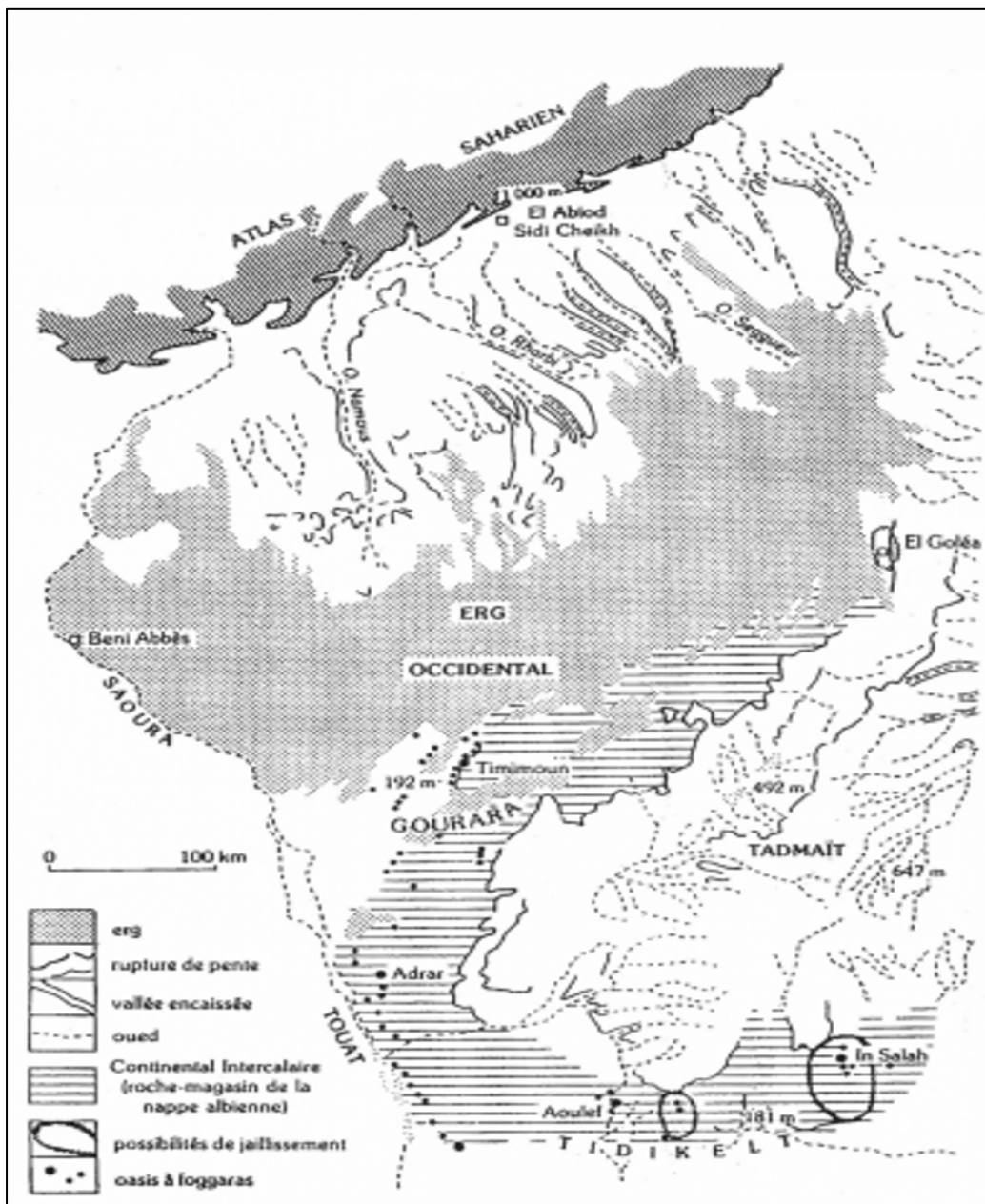




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limited by the Saharan Atlas in the north, the massive of Tadmaït to the east and the Western Erg to the west, lying on over 86,000 square kilometers (see Map 1).



Map 1 - Le Gourara, Croquis de situation (Bisson 1999)



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2.1 The origins of Gurara

According to J. Bisson, the etymology of the word Gurara comes from the Arabic *qarara* “settlement” (BISSESON 1999: 3190). Other sources indicate that Gurara comes from *grara*, the singular form of *grayer*, a location in the Sahara of Mauritania, and it refers to a hollow (basin) where water is gathered and land is green throughout the year (CAPOT-REY 1963). Leo Africanus and Ibn Khaldun used the Berber term *Tegurarin* (IBN KHALDUN 2001: 25, L’AFRICAIN 1981: 7) تگورارين to refer to the region of Gurara together with T’sabit and Tam-n-ṭit, which were used to be departure points for the caravans involved in the Trans-Saharan trade with Sudan² centuries ago (BISSESON 1999: 3188).

Recently, Mouloud Mammeri argued that there is a relationship between *Tegurarin* and the Berber word *tigurarin*, a feminine plural form of *agrur* meaning ‘camp’. This hypothesis is close to the idea developed by Philippe MARÇAIS (1954) in his investigation in the region of M’zab, who argues that the term *Gurara* is derived from the Arabic word *qarara*. Another hypothesis indicates that *tigurarin* is the plural form of *tagrart*, a Berber word meaning ‘camp’. This hypothesis agrees with the idea of Ibn Khaldun who says that the Zenata were nomadic people who through time became sedentary.

2.2 The Origins of the people of Gurara

It is hard to give a precise date as to the arrival of the first settlers in the region of Gurara because of the lack of archaeological evidence (GUILLERMOU 1993: 121-138). The absence of written tradition and the relative isolation of the region from the rest of the world generated controversial versions and hypotheses about the origins of the people of Gurara.

According to Alfred Georges Paul MARTIN (1908: 75-85), the region of Gurara would have been inhabited by black people in small scattered *qsour* (plural of *qsar*, a word used in the local dialect with the meaning of ‘village’) dominated by nomadic Berbers. Then two groups of migrants came to the region; the first, from Tingitania³ came shortly before the Common Era; the second group came from Cyrenaica between the second and the fourth centuries.

A recent study by BELLIL (2003), who spent a few years in the region investigating in the origins of the people of Gurara, relying on the oral tradition (folk tales),

² Sudan refers mainly to sub-Saharan West Africa, i.e. the area known as ‘Bilad e-Takrur’ and not corresponding with present-day Sudan.

³ A Roman province located in northwestern Africa, in present-day Morocco.



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concluded the following: “The first settlers in the region were black people, then a Berber group known as the Gaetuli who arrived since antiquity, followed in the second century A.D. by the Jews who altogether constituted the Zenata tribes later”. By the seventh century, a second wave of migrants of Jews arrived in the region (BELLIL 2000: 15-16). Then during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Gurara witnessed the arrival of the Arab tribes of Banu Sulaym and Banu Hilal (FAGE 1978: 166) who Arabized the Berber communities in the Sahara. Most of the northern and southern parts of Gurara were completely Arabized, particularly around present-day Aougrou. However, the *qsour* around Timimoun, the capital of Gurara, resisted to the changes brought by these Arab tribes.

According to Louise BRIGGS (1995), when the Muslim conquerors defeated the Queen of the Aures, Kahina by the end of the seventh century, some of her men joined the conquerors (converted into Islam), whereas the remaining part fled westwards to settle around the mountains of what is modern Oran. Because of the endless series of inter-tribal conflicts, the vanquished fled southward seeking peace and security to settle in the Sahara and establish the first Zenata settlement. The last wave of migrants to Gurara came by the early twentieth century with the establishment of the French colonial administration in the region. It included families from the north, which represented the native educated elite who worked as interpreters for the French administration and in education. Besides, families from tribes such as Šeanba, Zwa, Dwi Mniae and Ulad ġrir coming respectively from Metlili, El Bayyadh and Saoura settled in the region. It is worth noting that all the settlers who came by the early twentieth century onward were Arabic-speaking people, which had significant linguistic influence on the region of Gurara. In fact, the evolution of Gurara Berber went through three distinct phases; the pre-colonial period, the colonial period and the post-colonial period.

3. The precolonial period

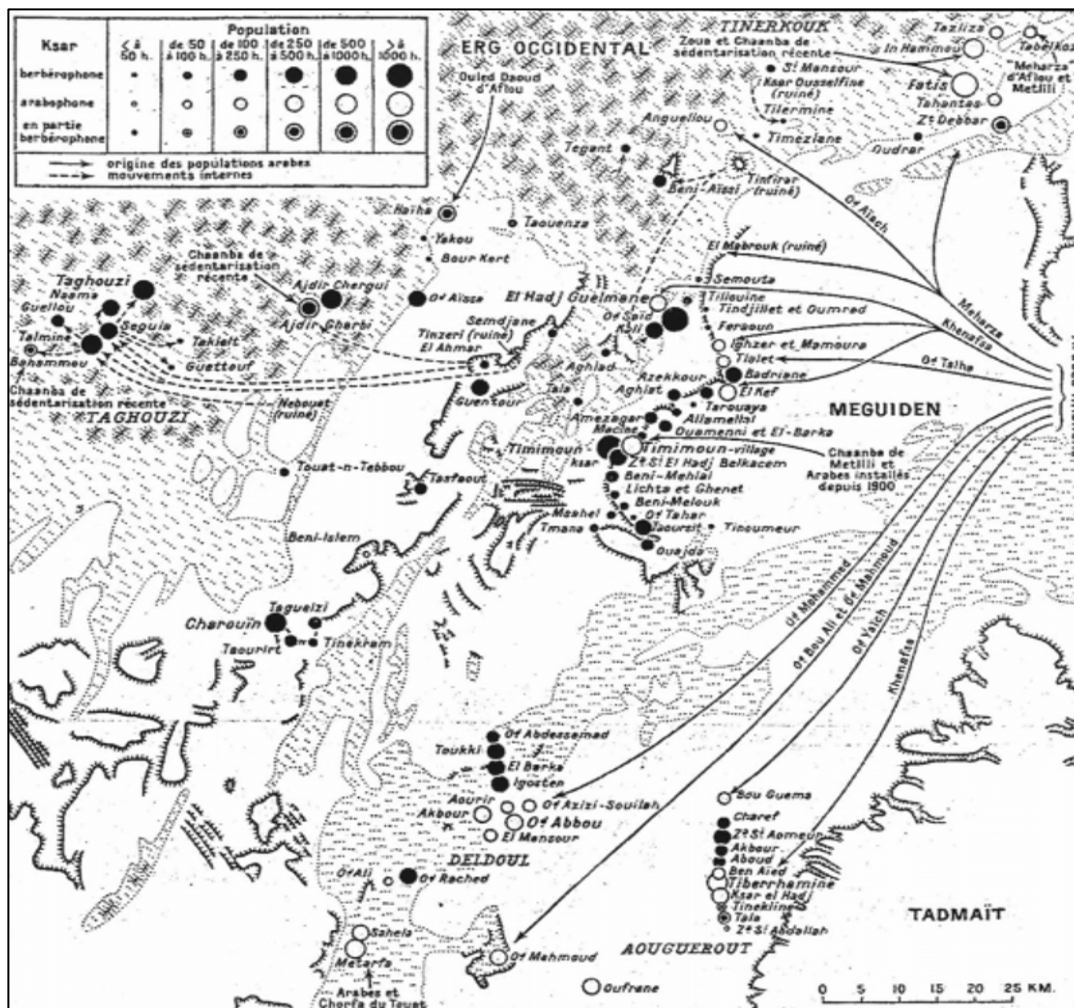
A detailed study by A.G.P. MARTIN (1908) shows the successive settlements of Arab tribes in the regions of Gurara and Tuat between 1053 and 1137. The Arab tribes Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym who settled first in the area around Amguiden (about 150 kilometers to the north of Timimoun, then moved to the *qsour* inhabited by the Berbers (see Map 2). Subsequently, the peaceful conversion of the Berbers into Islam had a great impact on the local language. In fact, being the language of the Quran, Arabic was immediately adopted, and subsequent cultural integration followed through peaceful coexistence of Berbers and Arabs though predominant Arabic can be traced through the Ahellil lyrics which include about fifty percent of



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Arabic words. To conclude, it can be said that the pre-colonial period was characterized by a peaceful coexistence between Gurara Berber and Arabic.



Map 2 – Distribution of Arabic-speaking and Berber-speaking *qsour* in Gurara (Bisson 1957)

4. The colonial period

Coexistence between Arabs and Berbers continued despite the intrusion of French colonizing soldiers in the area whose preference to Berber and Darija at the expense of Arabic Fusha was well documented by Abul Qassim SAADALLAH (1998), who believed that French Administration’s discriminatory attitudes towards classical Arabic (Fusha) was intended to lessen the latter’s importance and usage



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and eventually eradicate it while encouraging local vernacular languages. He wrote:

”حين سيطر الفرنسيون على الوضع في الجزائر بعد 1850 شجعوا اللهجات العربية و البربرية و الدارجة لإماتة الفصحى“ (SAADALLAH 1998: 20)

[“When the French dominated Algeria in 1850, they encouraged Arabic dialects, Berber and vernacular Arabic to eliminate standard Arabic (fusha)” (translation by the author)]

From a socio-linguistic perspective, it was evident that the increase in the Berber population as indicated in the table below (following BISSON 1985) would sustain the colonizing intended objectives and colonial language policy. In the region of Gurara, the population knew a steady increase throughout the third quarter of the twentieth century.

YEAR	POPULATION
1952	25,177
1966	40,185
1977	50,933

Table 1 – Statistics on the population of Gurara (BISSON 1985)

Linguistically, the inhabitants of Gurara were predominantly Berber-speaking people from Zenata tribes. According to the census of 1950 – 1952 (MAMMERI et al. 1973), 15,402 were Berber-speaking people, which represents almost more than 61%. The percentage of Berber speakers was even higher in some remote villages like Taghouzi and Talmine. Taznatit, a type of Western Maghrib Berber (KOSSMANN 2020: 2-3), was obviously the predominant local language. Evidence of such prevailing language can be sustained by the toponymy of Gurara *qsour*.

The toponymy of the *qsour*⁴ in Gurara is a sound argument of the Berber domination in this region for centuries. For example, in the north of Gurara most of the villages still keep Berber names: Tabelkoza, Tazliza, Taantas, Wadghagh, Tilaghmine, Timezlane, Tinjellet, T'gant, etc. Similarly, around Timimoun, there are: Aala-mellal, Am'zeggagh, Aghiat, Azekkour, Ighzer, At Said, Aghled, Tala,

⁴ Most of these names start with the prefixes *ta-* (feminine prefix) or *tin* expressing possession, i.e., 'belongs to'. The name of the capital of Gurara, Timimoun, is derived from Tin Mimoun: the area where Timimoun was founded belongs to a saint known as Mimoun. In the folk tales, it is said that Mimoun is the name of the Jewish saint who founded the capital of Gurara and therefore the city belongs to him.



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Taoursit, T'mana, Tasfaout, etc. In the west of Gurara, there are: Ajdir, Taguelzi, Tink'ram, Taghouzi, Talmine, etc. In the south of Gurara, there are: Akbour, Ig'stan, Aourir, Toukki, Tiberghamine, Tinqline, etc. (see Map 2 above). Even the districts of ancient Timimoun bring Berber name such as: Tazeggaght, Tahattayt, Aħarrash, Akhbou-n-T'ghoni, al-Manjour, Tadmait, Tam'sloħt, Arr'ħ oubat, Ifli-n-bara, etc.

5. The post-colonial period

The post-colonial period is divided into two distinct phases. The first covers the two first decades after the independence of Algeria (1962-1980) during which official language policy put emphasis on the extensive use of Arabic to the detriment of Berber. The second phase began with the Berber Spring in 1980 and goes up to present time, during which officials had to reconsider language policy and culture.

5.1 The early post-colonial period (1962-1980)

Berber culture in the Gurara region in general was dictated by political and economic factors that caused its gradual decline until it almost disappeared, as it was the case in the area of Tuat where it has become extinct. Tamentit, Tittaf, Bufaddi, Ighil, Ikis and Ghermiannu stand as examples where only the toponymy of these villages remains a witness of their Berber origin.

Since the Algerian constitution of 1963 clearly defined the inherent founding principles of Algerian identity, Arabic and Islam, subsequently Berber and its cultural heritage were not considered important; no signs of promoting them had been officially initiated.

There is no doubt that this policy had serious consequences on the future of Berber in the region of Gurara as well as in the other Berber-speaking regions of Algeria. Furthermore, it can be argued that the negative attitude of the Berbers themselves towards Gurara Berber contributed to its decline. That is to say, the rate of using Berber among the family members as well as in public space was constantly decreasing. The local people justified this attitude towards their mother language by purely socio-economic factors. They believed that Arabic-speaking children could achieve better results at school. In other words, children from Arabic speaking families come to school with the advantage of speaking Arabic they acquired at home while those coming from Berber speaking families do not, which causes them delay compared to their classmates.



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Consequently, Arab speakers could have more and better access to employment opportunities than Berber speakers. Thus, Berbers did not see any benefits in learning their language. This situation continued until the 1980s which was marked as a turning point in the policy of the Algerian authority vis-à-vis the Berber culture in general and Tamazight in particular. After the Amazigh Spring known as *tafsut taberkant* (the Black Spring) in the Kabylie region in 1980, which had an impact on the Berber varieties throughout the country, the authority realized that it is time to reconsider their doctrine and policy with regard to Algerian identity. It should be noted that the great merit for this change in the authority's position on the issue of the Amazigh identity goes to Mouloud Mammeri who was the cause of the outbreak of the Amazigh Spring events.

5.1.1 The contribution of Mouloud Mammeri to Saving the Berber Culture in Gurara

Mouloud Mammeri is considered as one of the pillars of the Berber culture who left clear imprints in the field of academic research in several areas such as human studies, linguistics, literature and poetry. His efforts were not limited to the Kabylia region in northern Algeria, but rather to include other regions of the homeland that are rich with an ancient Berber heritage in particular. Gurara, which represents the geographical area of this research is one of these regions. Mouloud Mammeri's contributions in the resurrection and revival of the Berber heritage in Gurara were significant. His interest in Gurara Berber culture goes back to the early 1970s, when a British researcher came to Algeria to work on the *Bedwi* (nomadic) music in the Algerian Sahara. She asked Mouloud Mammeri, then Director of C.N.R.P.A.H. (*Centre National de Recherche Préhistorique, Anthropologique et Historique*) to help her collect some musical recordings from Saharan regions such as M'zab and Gurara. The Algerian authorities put at the disposal of the British researcher a driver guide and the musicologist Pierre Augier, a close friend of Mouloud Mammeri, to carry out her work. The driver put on some music, Ahellil chants from the region of Gurara, the music fascinated Pierre Augier who decided to take the tape to Mouloud Mammeri. The latter was amazed as the lyrics of the songs contained Berber vocabulary with unique music. He asked Pierre Augier to return to Gurara to record more of that music. When the latter returned to Algiers with the recordings, Mouloud Mammeri listened to them, became curious to know more about this music, and then he decided to go himself to the region to closely examine this heritage.

The first trip of Mouloud Mammeri to Gurara was in 1971. When he arrived in Timimoun, he met Moulay Slimane Timmi, who became his guide and close friend



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during the seven years he spent there. Mouloud Mammeri undertook many researches on the Berber heritage in Gurara; one of the most outstanding of his works is the book *l'Ahellil du Gourara* that was published in Paris in 1984. The book comprises 50 poems in Gurara Berber, which he collected from the elders, from mouth to ear, during his visits to Gurara. It should be noted that Mouloud Maamri was pioneer in collecting, writing and codifying Ahellil poems. He estimated that a third of this heritage was lost, and that was, according to him, due to “rapid and decisive transformations in Algerian society that would have decisive effects on Ahellil” (MAMMERI 2003: 7-41).

As the poems were transmitted orally from one generation to another, they were subject to distortion and loss. Consequently, differences in the same poem can be found from one region to another. One wonders whether the orally transmitted Ahellil could have survived without Mammeri’s achievements.

Mammeri was determined to recover remaining Ahellil heritage because it represented a firmly-rooted Berber identity in the Gurara region. His efforts were not fruitless for they pressed Algerian officials to reconsider the issue of Algerian identity.

5.2 The late post-colonial period

It should be noted that during the period from independence to the mid 1990s little had been done with respect to Berber identity at the official level. However, from the mid-nineties onwards, the Algerian authorities took several measures in order to restore respect to Berber culture and promote Tamazight in all its varieties. In this context, for purely political reasons, by 1995 onwards local Berber languages had gradually been introduced in the mass media particularly the local radios throughout the country including that of Adrar, which covers the region of Gurara. Algeria was then passing through a critical period characterized by a violent wave of attacks by terrorists who called for the boycott of the presidential elections of November 16th, 1995; the authorities therefore resorted to Berber varieties in radio announcements for election purposes. In the Wilaya of Adrar, two Berber varieties, Taznatit and Tamashaq had been introduced in the local radio through programmes essentially destined to convince the Berber speaking-people to participate in the electoral process. However, after the presidential elections, programmes in Taznatit and Tamashaq were omitted therefrom. In 2005, the two Berber varieties were gradually reintroduced therein with a view to meeting the needs of the Berber-speaking communities in terms of news, culture and entertainment, etc.



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At the central level, a number of measures has been taken to preserve and promote Tamazight in Algeria, among which: the creation of the High Commission of Tamazight (H.C.A),⁵ the establishment of a yearly festival of Ahellil in Timimoun, the classification of Ahellil as a world heritage for humanity by the UNESCO, the recognition of Tamazight as a national language and then an official language, the creation of the national centre for pedagogy and linguistics to teaching Tamazight, the establishment of the Algerian Academy of Tamazight, the orientation law on national education and the declaration of the Amazigh New Year's Day as a national holiday.

First, an academic institution (H.C.A) was officially created on May 27th, 1995 (J.O. RADP N°29 1995: 4-5)⁶ whose main objectives are to protect the Berber identity and to promote teaching Tamazight in schools. Second, since 2006, a yearly festival of Ahellil has been organized in Timimoun to protect and promote this cultural heritage (J.O. RADP N°23 1995: 25). This step came after that Ahellil of Gurara had officially been classified by the UNESCO as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in Paris in November 25th, 2005. This recognition was followed by a heritage safeguarding campaign⁷ aiming at:

- Ensuring the viability of the Ahellil of Gurara through activities including the establishment of a "Committee for the Safeguarding of the Ahellil of Gurara" (CSAG) to implement the plan;
- Encouraging transmission to younger generations by initiating them to Ahellil in Gurara schools and colleges;
- Organizing training workshops on Ahellil music, poetry and choreography; identifying Ahellil bearers and collecting their corpus;
- Organizing an annual festival (with a Jury and Awards) to promote the Ahellil;
- Creating a website and newsletter on Ahellil,⁸ supported by production.

⁵ HCA: Le Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité.

⁶ J.O. RADP refers to Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire, meaning : the official journal of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

⁷ <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php>

⁸ The Committee of Ahellil has an official page on Facebook:
<https://www.facebook.com/festivalahellil/>



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Third, the Algerian authority recognized Tamazight as a national language in 2002 and as an official language in 2016. In the Constitution of 2016, Article 4 states:

“Tamazight est également langue national et officielle. L’Etat œuvre à sa promotion et à son développement dans toutes ses variétés linguistiques en usage sur le territoire national.” (*Constitution de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire*, art. 4)

Fourth, in conformity with the preceding decisions it became obviously necessary to establish a national centre for pedagogy and linguistics to teaching Tamazight in 2003 (J.O. RADP N°76 2003: 5) whose missions are:

- a) To design organizational devices and psycho-pedagogical strategies for the promotion and development of the teaching of Tamazight in all levels of the educational system.
- b) To carry out any research or study in Tamazight in its linguistic varieties and their evaluations.
- c) To participate in research initiated by national structures concerned, relating to Tamazight in its linguistic varieties.
- d) To participate in the development of teacher training programs and their implementation by specialized institutions in the sectors concerned.

Fifth, Law 18-17 dated September 2nd, 2018 allows the establishment of the Algerian Academy of Tamazight (J.O. RADP N°54 2018: 14), composed of forty members including experts in linguistics and dialectology. Article 6 of the Law states:

“In order to achieve the status of Tamazight as an official language, the Academy is responsible for meeting the necessary conditions. For this, it is responsible in particular for:

- collecting the national corpus of Tamazight in all its linguistic varieties;
- establishing a standardization of Tamazight at all levels of description and linguistic analysis;
- establishing lists of neologisms and specialized lexicons by favouring convergence;
- undertaking research work on Tamazight and to participate in the national research programme in its field of competence;
- guaranteeing the accuracy of the interpretation and translation of notions and concepts in the specialized fields;



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- developing and editing a referential dictionary of Tamazight;
- contributing to the preservation of Amazigh intangible heritage, in particular through its digitization;
- encouraging any research and translation into Tamazight aiming at enriching and preserving the heritage related to the national memory;
- publishing the results of the work of the Academy in periodical reviews and publications and ensure their dissemination.

Sixth, the authority enacted law number 08-04 of January 23rd, 2008 on the orientation law on national education. Its Article 34 states that: “The teaching of Tamazight is introduced into the educational system to meet the demand expressed on the national territory.” (J.O. RADP N°4 2008: 11) In the region of Gurara, teaching Tamazight in schools, which is optional like in the other regions in the country, started in 2015, in 11 primary schools with a total number of pupils estimated at 407 supervised by 6 teachers. This number rose in 2019 to 1766 pupils in primary schools and 2417 pupils in middle schools, all supervised by 8 teachers. (ABBOU 2020: 185) Although the statistics of Tamazight learners are trending upwards, teaching Tamazight in Gurara is facing two major obstacles. First, the school books are written in Taqbaylit but not in Taznatit and this generated discontent amongst the parents of the pupils. They argued that teaching Taqbaylit would result in the long term in the extinction of Taznatit and therefore the loss of the identity of the Berbers of Gurara. Second, the teachers of Tamazight use the Latin script and this makes learning Tamazight more difficult particularly among pupils in primary schools who are not familiar with the Latin script.

Seventh, the authority declared the Amazigh New Year’s Day, *Amenzu n Yennayer* which corresponds to January 12th in the Gregorian calendar, a national holiday, in 2018. (J.O. RADP N°46 2018: 38) This decision has a positive impact on promoting the Berber culture, it strengthens cohesion amongst Berbers in the various regions of the homeland by showing similarities in the aspects of celebrating this event.

The previous national and international decisions and measures gave an impulse to Berber culture in general and to the Berber language varieties in particular. In the region of Gurara for instance, the Berbers became proud of their identity, and the use of Gurara Berber has been increasing among its speakers after most of them were reluctant to speak it. Furthermore, groups of Ahellil are now frequently invited to give concerts in wedding parties and in different celebrations. Also, Ahellil is now regularly broadcast on the local radio to satisfy the Berber-speaking



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people's demands. Moreover, this traditional music has recently been a centre of interest for many researchers, for instance, MAMMERI (1973, 1984, 2003, 2008), BELLIL (2000), and BOUTERFA (2007). Finally, it should be noted that at the University of Adrar, some students from Gurara have recently begun to work on linguistic topics related to Gurara Berber, which will certainly help to promote it.

The events of the Kabylie region mentioned in 5.1 were not only an attempt to demand recognition of the Amazigh identity and its preservation from assimilation into the Arab-Islamic identity that the authority was betting on to preserve the unity of the Algerian people, but it was also a response to the winds of globalization that were working to obliterate identities and fuse the tongues, customs and traditions that distinguish peoples in a single form representing the Western identity. Nevertheless, the Berber Spring came mainly as a response to the authority's marginalization of the Berber culture and the attempt to obliterate the Berber identity.

As for the impact of Mouloud Mammeri's efforts on reviving and resurrecting the heritage of Ahellil in particular, and Berber culture in the Gurara region in general, it can be argued that the man who is nicknamed by the Gurari inhabitants as *dda l Mouloud*,⁹ the savior of Ahellil, achieved the most important work ever done for the benefit of the Berber culture in Gurara. He came at the last moment and collected the poems of Ahellil by recording audio tapes from its masters as a first step, preserving it thus from being lost as it perishes and dies with the death of the elders. This achievement was the first of its kind as no poems of Ahellil were found in a written form except what was written on clay and wooden tablets for the sake of learning them by heart. This work formed the general framework for its subsequent registration as an immaterial world cultural heritage by the UNESCO. Furthermore, many schools of Ahellil are proud to teach children and the rising generations this authentic folk heritage.

6. Conclusion

It can be concluded that the contribution of Mouloud Mammeri to the Berber culture in the Gurara region was of great importance, and that the beginning of the seventies of the twentieth century was decisive for the fate of the Gurara Berber culture. The scientific field trips he made to the *qsour* of the region of Gurara was a turning point in the survival of Ahellil to our generation and its continuation for the future generations. Since Gurara Berber cannot be dissociated from this

⁹ *Dda* is a Berber word, meaning an old wise man.



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heritage, the Berber-speaking people in Gurara regained the sense of pride of their identity. These developments in addition to the events that took place in the Kabylia region known as the Amazigh Spring pressed the authority to review its policy towards the issue of the Amazigh identity. Consequently, decisions and laws have been introduced to restore respect for Amazigh culture and to promote its language in all its varieties. Perhaps, the most important of which are the inclusion of Tamazight in school curricula and its use in the visual, audio and written media. The region of Gurara has its share in that; Gurara Berber (Taznatit) is used in radio Adrar to broadcast programmes to meet the demands of the Berber-speaking people in Gurara. In the field of education, teaching Tamazight in the schools of Gurara had also been introduced, which is a significant achievement towards promoting it. However, it should be reminded that this process is facing a major problem that may lead to the reluctance of pupils to learn it, and thus to stop teaching it. The problem is that pupils are taught the Berber variety spoken in the Kabylia (Taqbaylit) but not Gurara Berber (Taznatit), which is rejected by the committees of the parents of pupils as they see it as a blurring of Gurara Berber. In my opinion, the solution lies in either teaching Tamazight in the local variety in each Berber-speaking region, and this requires important human and material means represented in preparing textbooks in the Berber variety of each region as well as training teachers in each Berber variety, or waiting for a standardized Berber with unified vocabulary and grammar on the part of the Algerian Academy of Tamazight, and this, in my opinion, will not happen in the near future.



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