**Tazwart**

Tasnilesmettit d yiwet n tussna seg tussniwin n umeslay. William Labov yettuneḥsab d ababat n tanga-a. Netta yettwali « *tasnilestmetti d tasnilest »[[1]](#footnote-1)*. S tmuɣli-a, yussa-d mgal imusnilsen yeṭṭafaren tamsirt n tesnilest tamatut n Ferdinaud De Saussure. Imusnilsiyen-a segzayen-d tumanin tisnilsanin s tumanin tisnilsanin imi ugin asegzi yebnan Ɣef yinefkan iqqnen ɣer tmetti (comportement social).

 Maca tasnilestmetti *« tzerrew akk tumanin iccuden ɣer umdan yettmeslayen deg tmetti » [[2]](#footnote-2)*; nezmer ad d-nini asebded n tlisa n tenga-a ya tella-d ɛlaḥsab n uzɣan n yiwellihen (orientations) iẓrayanen d yisnarrayanen (orientations théoriques et méthodologiques) n tesnilest taɣessant.

1. **Tilisa gar tesnilest d tesnilesmettit**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Tasnilest** | **Tasnilesmetti** |
| Tgellem tutlayt am unagraw afulman /asiman (système autonome)  Terza ladɣa aglam n unagraw n tutlayt, d umhaz yettilin daxel n tutlayt (système interne) | Tutlayt tettuneḥsab d afares inmetti/ acte social  Telha-d d tnezzarit gar tmetti (s wudem amatu) akked yifuras utlayanen (les productions linguistiques)   * Tzerrew tisertitin tutlayanin (les politiques linguistiques) * assaɣen gar tutlayt d tumast * assaɣen inmettiyen s kra n tezrawin yellan ɣef tegnut (la norme) * tazrawt n usmeskel * timental n usmeskel atg. |

Tnulfa-d tesnilest tatrart sɣur Saussure F., (1857-1913). Iwakken ad tili d tussna tamezwarut i izerwen tutlayt. Deg temsirt i d-yesbedd Saussure F.,(*Tamsirt n tesnilest tamatut),* iga yiwet n tmuγli taẓrayant ɣef yiswi n umeslay akked tarrayt s i nezmer ad t-nezrew. Tasnilest tamatut, tettnadi ad d-teglem akked ad d-tessegzi amek tebna tutlayt, mačči ad tesluggen tutlayt (grammaire normative). Tasnilest γur-s yiwen n yiswi aḥeqqani d *« tutlayt ara tzerrew iman-is i yiman-is* ».

1. **Tinmegliwin n Saussure (les dichotomies de Saussure)**

* **Tutlayt ~ tameslayt**

Tutlayt d agraw n yimsaḍiyen/ yilugan (conventions) i tefren (teddem) yiwet n tmetti. Temmal-d  *« Aḥric inmetti n umeslay, yezdi akk imdanen n yiwet n temγiwent tamutlayt, ma d tameslayt d aḥric yeqqnen ɣer umdan (individuel), yemmugen s waṭas n tsebganin d tuddsiwin n umdan war ma nettfiq* ».

Ihi, tutlayt d aḥric inmetti n umeslay ma yella d tameslayt d aḥric n umdan n umeslay. Deg temsirt-a yerna-d daγen : « *Tutlayt d anagraw yellan i yiman-is* », (…)». Tasnilest γur-s yiwen n yiswi aḥeqqani « *D tutlayt ara tezrew iman-is i yiman-is ».*

Ihi d tutlay i d iswi aḥeqqani n tesnilest mačči d tameslayt, acku γer Saussure, ilaq ad nezrew ayen yezdin akk imsiwal mačči d ayen i icudden ɣer umdan.

* **Ayenkud ~ azgerkud**

Tasnilest timyenkudt d tazrawt n tutlayt deg yiwen wakud (tallit).

Tasnilest timezgerkudt d tazrawt n umhaz n tutlayt seg tallit γer tayeḍ (amezruy).

* **Asɣal asnilsan (le signe linguistique)**

Tutlayt d anagraw n yisγal d yilugan yezdin yakk yiwet n temγiwent (naγ agraw inmetti) yersen γef yimsaḍiyen teddem tmetti iwakken ad tettusemres tazmert n umeslay.

Deg unagraw-a kullec iteddu s yilugan, yal aferdis yettwasbadu, mačči s yiman-is, maca s wassaγ-is γer yiferdisen-nniḍen. Akken ad d-yessegzi tikti-ya, Saussure, yefka-d amedya tugna n tiddas (jeu d’échec). Yal taḥjurt n turart s unamek-is, dacu kan, azal n yal taḥjurt n turart yettubggan-d s wadeg i teṭṭef gar tiyaḍ deg ddamma-nni (tiddest). Yal tasikelt n teḥjurt deg ddamma yettawi-d abeddel i tiyaḍ deg wazal.

Γer Saussure F., iḥricen yakk n unagraw-a ilaq ad tturefden deg tuqqna gar-asen deg uyenkud, yeεni deg yiwen n waddad n tutlayt. Acku, γur-s, asbadu n yimir n tezrawt n uferdis n tutlayt yeskanay-d addad n yiferdisen-nniḍen.

Saussure ur yeqqim ara kan deg tudsa tatiknikit n tutlayt, yesnerni daγen deg temsirt n tesnilest tamatut tudsa tinmettit. Netta γur-s, tutlayt d « tasudut tinmettit », « d afaris n tezmert tinmettit »

Saussure F., yeɛreḍ ad d-yefk i tesnilest udem ussnan. Γer Saussure F, d yimusnilsen yettkin ɣer uɣerbaz aɣessan (école structurale) tutlayt ttuneḥsab « *D anagraw n yisγal d yilugan yezdin akk yiwet n temγiwant (naγ d agraw inmetti) yersen γef yimsaḍiyen (conventions) tefren (teddem) tmetti iwakken ad tettusemres tezmert n umeslay. Deg unagraw-a iferdisen yettilin daxel (tamsislit, amawal, taseddast, tasnamka…) leḥḥun s yilugan, yal aferdis yettwasbadu, mačči s yiman-is, maca s wassaγ-is γer yiferdisen-nniḍen* ».[[3]](#footnote-3)

Maca tutlayin ur ttilint ara war imdanen i tent-yettmeslayen. Amezwaru igan azɣan i temsirt n Saussure F d anelmad –is Antoine Meillet., ɣer Meillet, assaɣ yeqqnen tutlayt d tmetti qerben alami yuɣal yuɛer ad nezrew tutlayt war ma nga assaɣ, ɣer tmetti i tt-yettsemrasen. Γur-s, tutlayt d tmetti skanayen-d yiwen n wudem, acku tutlayt d lemri n tilawt tinmettit.

William Labov, yella gar widak igan daɣen, azɣan i temsirt n Saussure F, yerra daɣen tajmilt i umesniles Arumi Antoine Meillet, netta ɣur-s, abeddel akk n tutlayt, ilaq ad yettwazrew deg usatal inmetti. ɣur-s, ur nezmir ad d-nessegzi kra n tmesbaniyin/ tumanin tisnilsanin (faits ou phénomènes linguistiques) s tesnilest ilaq ad tent-nessegzi ilmend n usatel inmetti. Deg useggas 1966, yessuffeɣ, -d yiwen n udlis iwimi ysemma (***The Social Stratification of English in New York City (La Stratification sociale de l'anglais à New York).***

Leqdicat n Labov skanayen-d asmeskel yellan deg tutlayt n tneglizit, llan waṭas n wudmawen i izemren ad meslayen taglizit”.

Tikti-a tnulfa-d deg yiseggasen n 60, deg tallit n uzɣan n tesnilest tamzerɣessit/taɣessant (ayen yettwassnen s trumit s (la crise de la linguistique structurale).

**2- Amezruy n tesnilesmetti**

Tasnilesmetti tban-d deg yiseggasen n 60 deg tmurt n Marikan s lmendad n kra n yimnuda-ya : (Dell Hymes, Fishman J, Gumperz J, Labov W, Ferguson Ch, atg.), tarrayt-nsen tebna akka : «***Dacu i yettmeslay umdan, amek, anda akked i menhu* »[[4]](#footnote-4)**.

**2.1. Timlilit tamezwarut tunsibt Ɣef tesnilestmetti**

Deg useggas n 1964, William Bright, yessewjed-d yiwen n usarag ɣef tesnilesmetti deg temdint n Los Angeles ideg mlalen 25 n yimnuda : John Gumperz, William Labov, Dell Hymes, J Fishman, Charles Ferguson, … Wwin-d ɣef waṭas n yisental : Asγiwes amutlay, (politique linguistique), Tasenɣreft n ubeddel amutlay (l’ethnologie du changement linguistique), Tutlayin timeywalin (les langues véhiculaires, Asnerni n yinagrawen n tira (le développement du système d’écriture) …

William Bright, seld timlilit-a, yeɛreḍ ad yesdukkel akk tiywalin n temlilit-a deg yiwen n udlis.

Yenna-d deg tazwara n udlis-a, « *ur yeshil ara ad nesbadu tisnilestmetti s wudem usdid*». Yenna-d daɣen tizrawin-is lhant-d kan deg wassaɣen yellan gar tutlaytd tmetti, maca tabadut-a wessiɛet nezzeh. Yessefhem-d daɣen tawuri tagejdant n tesnilesmetti. Yenna-d d askan n usmeskel naɣ lxilaf yettilin deg tmeslayt n yimdanen.

Tasnilesmetti d asdukkel gar tesnilest d tesnalast (la sociologie), iswi-ines d tazrawt n wassaɣen gar tutlayt d tmetti, tecɣel-d deg wayen yesɛnan tutlayt d uɣmad inmetti, ayen akk i yellan deg tutlayt.

Seg yiseggasen n 60 d asawen, tasnilestmetti tuɣal d taɣult s wazal-is ,i d-yewwin aṭas n umaynut i tesnilest.

Tutlayt ur teqqim d anagraw imezgi (akken i tt-yettwali Saussure) maca tuɣal d anagraw i yettbeddilen (système variables).

Maca tanga-ya tuɣal tebḍa ɣef waṭas n taɣulin-nniḍen, gar yigran n tesnilestmetti ass-a ad d-naf :

* leqdicat i d-yewwin ɣef tesnalest n tutlayt (la sociologie du langage) ideg lwelha terra i yigrawen inmettiyen akked d tsertiyin tisnilsanin
* tasnilest tasmeskalt (la linguistique variationniste) n W Labov ideg i d-ymeslay ɣef usmeksel (variation)
* tasnilesmetti taɣermant (la sociolinguistique) i d-yufraren ilmend n leqdicat n Jean-Louis Calvet
* Tasnilesmetti tanezzarit i izerrwen igan n tmeslayt ama deg timawit ama deg tira (les actes discurifs oraux et écrits)

Tasnilestmetti tzerrew aṭas n tumanin yemgaraden :

* tiwuriwin d yisemras n tmeslayt deg tmetti,
* aḍaf n tmeslayt (langage),
* tasleḍt n yinnan,
* tigensas n yimsiwal Ɣef tutlayt-ines/tutlayin-nsen

**2.2. Kra n tbadutin i yettunefken i tesnilesmetti**

Tasnilesmetti d aḥric ameqqran deg tesnilest, i d-ibanen deg yiseggasen n 60, akken i d-nnan kra n yimusnilsiyen am Siouffi S. d Rammdonk, D-V “Tasnilesmetti fkan-as udem ussan deg yiseggasen n 60 deg Marikan.

Amedya imahilen n LABOV, W. i d-yellan ɣef tutlayt n tneglizit i d-yesknen d akken llan waṭas n wudmawen s nezmer ad nmeslay taneglizit [[5]](#footnote-5)

Tasnilesmetti teggar tamawt i umgirred yellan daxel n tutlayin ilmend n uwtay (leɛmer), tuzuft d uswir inemtti…. Am wakken i d-telha d wayen akk i izemren ad ibeddel deg tutlayt.

Tasnilesmetti *« Terza aṭas n tumanin yemgaraden, gar-asent : tiwuriwin n tmeslayt akked useqdec-ines deg tmetti, aḍḍaf n tutlayt, tasleḍt n yinaw, azaraf i d-ttawint temɣiwan tutlayanin ɣef tutlayt-nsent, asɣiwes akked uslugen utlayan… Tawuri-ines deg tazwara d aglam n tantaliwin yemgaraden i yellan deg yiwet n temɣiwent tutlayant d wassaɣ i yellan gar-asent akked temṣukin tinmettiyin*»[[6]](#footnote-6).

Deg tama-nniḍen tasnilesmetti tzerrew asismel n yiferdisen deg teywalt, am wakken i d-nnan imusnilsen Siouffi S. d Rammdonk, D-V « *Tanila- nniḍen n tesnilestmetti* […] *telha-d d tuddsa n yiferdisen n tmutlayt deg tlisa ubeddel n wamek ara d-nexdem asatal n taywalt. Asemres n uferdis n umawal […]. Akked tibḍi n tseddast, am wakken i tezmer ad tesɛu alnamek uzzig daxel n yisemrasen n tutlayt n kra n ugraw*[[7]](#footnote-7)

Γer Fishman F., tasnesmettit *« D tussna i yekkaten akken ad d-tessebyen anwa i yettmeslayen s kra n tutlayt, ɣef kra n tɣawsa akked anwa-t win iwumi i nettmeslay* ».[[8]](#footnote-8)

2.2.1. **Tarrayin n tesnilesmetti**

Deg unnar n tsnilesmetti, ttwasemrasent aṭas n tarrayin deg unadi am : “ tannayt tusridt (l’observation directe), asastan (questionnaire), adiwenni (l’entretien).

Iwakken ad tili tesastant deg unnar n tesnilesmetti, yewwi-d ɣef umnadi :

Ad yili yessen tarrayin n tsastant.

Ad yili yesɛa tamussni i iqerben ɣer unagraw n tmeslayt i yebɣa ad izrew.

Ad yili yettwaqbel sɣur temɣiwant tutlayant

**2.3. Snat n tirmtin yettwasnen deg unnar n tesnilestmetti**

**2.3.1. Tirmit n Basil Bernstein**,

**Basil Bernstein**, d amazzag Agnizi n tsenmetti d usegmi, d amezwaru iqedcen Ɣef yifuras utlayanen iḥeqqaniyen (les productions linguistiques réelles) akked waddaden inmettiyen n yimsiwal (la situation sociologique des locuteurs). Yessaweḍ Ɣer yiwet n tmuƔli iga Ɣef warraw n yixeddamen ideg yella watug n ubrir aƔurbiz (un taux d’échec) yugar win n warraw imesbaƔuren. Yesleḍ ifuras imutlayen n warrac-nni, syin yessufeƔ-d sin n yingalen (tutlayin) (deux codes) : angal (tutlayt) uzqim (code restreint), yuget Ɣer warraw igellilen), akk d ungal (tutlayt) ukmil (code élaboré), yuget Ɣer warraw n yimesbaƔuren.

**Tirmit**

Tirmit d aglam n yiwet n tesfift tagugamt n wunnuƔen.

- Arrac d-yekkan seg twaculin tigellilen, xeddmen-d iḍrisen war anamek war tugniwin (tturaren ddabex, iɛella-t, yerẓa tajjajt, atg.),

- Arrac d-yekkan seg twaculin yesɛan, bnan-d i ḍrisen d imesbaƔuren (arrac tturaren ddabex, yiwen deg-sen, iɛella-t yekcem seg ṭṭaq yerẓa-yas ddjaj, atg.)

**2.3.2.** **Tirmit n W Labov**

Deg taɣult n temsislit i iga **W Labov** kra n yinadiyen ilan azal d ameqqran deg tesnilestmetti. **W Labov** itekka ɣer tesnilestmetti tasemsklant (sociolinguistique variationniste).

Yiwet seg tirmitin n Labow tella-d ɣef wamek i yettbeddil u susru n yimeslic n « R » deg tḥuna timeqqranin n New York (les magasins de New York).

**Tirmit**

Iwakken ad yexdem tirmit-is, Labov yefren kraḍ n tḥuna deg temdint n New York (Saks Fifth Avenue, Macy's et Klein), i d-yeskanyen kraḍ n tneƔriyin tinmettiyin (les classes sociales) i yettwassnen deg yinadiyen n tsenmetti (tussna n tmetti) (wid yesɛan (classe supérieure), wid yellan d ilemmasen (classe moyenne), d wid ur nesɛi (classe inférieure). Labov yesbed-d yiwet n turda i d-yeqqaren « kra ad nettali deg sellum inmetti (hiérarchie sociale), kra afares n *R* yettili (yettƔimi), kra nettsebbu deg sellum, afares n *R* yettruḥ.Tasastant tesknay-d tineɣriyin tinmettiyn tunigin ssusruyen-d *R* ugar n wid-nniḍen. ***(La Stratification sociale de l'anglais à New York).***

1. LABOV W., 1976, *Sociolinguistique,* Minuit, Paris, 1976, p. 259. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. BOYER H., 1996, *Eléments de sociolinguistique : Langue, communication et société,* Dunod (2° édition) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. SAUSSURE F., 1990, *Cours de linguistique générale.* Alger ; ENAG, Asb.31 [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. FISHMAN J., 1971*, Sociolinguistique*, Ed. NATHAN-Labor, Paris Bruxelles, asb. 35 [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Siouffi S. et Rammdonck D.V, 2007 « *100 fiches pour comprendre la linguistique* », Ed. Bréal, Paris, asb. 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. (Baylon, 1991: 35). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. « Une autre direction de la sociolinguistique, […]. S’intéresse, à la manière dont les éléments linguistiques s’organisent dans le cadre d’un échange de manière à créer un contexte de communication. L’emploi de tels éléments de lexique […]. De tel segment de syntaxe, peut avoir une signification particulière à l’intérieur des pratiques de langage d’un groupe donnée. » [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Joshua Fishman., bdr-ya, asb.55 [↑](#footnote-ref-8)