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The Symbolism of Algerian Traditional Silver Jewelry and its Communicative Meaning -A semiotic approach – Thayzimth as an example

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Abstract:

In our study, we dealt with one of the non-verbal communication methods adopted by humans throughout the ages, namely jewelry, as we relied on the semiotic approach in analyzing the study sample with the aim of highlighting its deep communicative dimension and translating the meanings and connotations that have always been expressed by our ancestors.

We highlighted that ornaments go beyond the decorative and aesthetic aspect assigned to them, as all the shapes and colors they carry express coded messages that require the control of scientific keys to decipher them and dive into their deep and rooted meanings in the history of humanity.

Keywords: Non-verbal communication, codification, symbolism, ritual, language of objects, semiotic approach

I. INTRODUCTION

Adorned with profound symbolic significance, jewelry serves as a powerful medium of communication. It conveys a wealth of information about the wearer, including their gender and social status, through both its inherent characteristics and the encoded messages embedded within its decorative elements. Researchers have aptly noted that "these symbols constituting the decorative art in all oral societies go beyond being a plastic language to being considered a code for pictorial writing" (Vivier Marie-France, 2003).

Jewelry, therefore, permeates human creations on two levels:

- 1. **Aesthetic Level:** It evokes an immediate emotional response in the individual during its creation (Philippe Labourthe&Tolra Jean Warnier, 1993).
- 2. **Semiological Level:** It signifies meaning, purpose, and the value ascribed to it by its designer (Philippe Labourthe&Tolra Jean Warnier, 1993).

Our study aims to transcend the superficial aesthetic realm and delve into the deeper, collective meaning embedded within jewelry. By examining the symbols and standardized depictions of objects, we seek to uncover the language of culture, reaffirming its value and elevating objects from mere functionality to expressions of collective thought (Mourad Khireddine&Autres, 1998). To this end, we have selected Thavzimthjewelry, a traditional silver adornment worn by women in the Beni Yenni region (A mountainous region located high in the Djergera Mountains, 35 km from TiziOuzou, which is characterized by a great position in the field of traditional silver jewelry inside and outside the country), as a vehicle for exploring profound communicative messages.

The central research question that guides our inquiry is: What is the content of the communicative messages conveyed by women through Thavzimthjewelry in the Beni Yenni region?

This overarching question spawns a series of sub-questions

- 1. What type of nonverbal communication does jewelry fall under?
- 2. What are the nature and characteristics of the shapes and decorations found in Beni Yenni jewelry, and what are their symbolic meanings?
- 3. What communicative messages do women convey through their use of traditional silver jewelry?
- 4. To what extent does the communicative process employed by women through the studied jewelry align with the elements of the general communication process?

1. Study Objectives:

- To examine a form of non-verbal communication (language of objects).
- To investigate the possibility of applying the semiological approach to analyze the communicative meanings of traditional silver jewelry.
- To identify the meanings of the shapes and colors of the jewelry under study.
- To highlight the communicative dimension of traditional silver jewelryin order to transcend the superficial and aesthetic view that characterizes it.
- To encourage researchers interested in semiology and communication anthropology to study such topics to discover the communicative messages emanating from the depths of human history.

2. Methodology:

In order to study the communicative significance of the traditional silver jewelry under study, we adopted the semiological approach. According to Roland Barthes (1964), this approach represents a form of in-depth research into the deep levels of iconic or linguistic messages, in which the researcher maintains neutrality towards the message on the one hand, and strives to achieve integration on the other hand by addressing its other aspects and supporting the analysis. Judith Lazar (1991) considers it "a means of uncovering the deep meaning of the message and its true significance, as well as revealing the intentions of the designers of the 'senders' of that message."

To follow the steps of this method, we relied on the approaches of both Roland Barthes (Roland Barthes) and Roman Jakobson (Roman Jakobson).

Roland Barthes (Roland Barthes) speaks of two levels of meaning reading:

- Level of received, accepted meanings, dictionary meanings, which are called denotative meanings.
- The level of intrusive meanings, which are often implicit and are called connotative meanings (Dalila Morsli and others, 1995).

Roman Jakobson's (Roman Jakobson) method involves applying a scheme containing six functions of language (Guillaume Nicaise, 2015), which he designed based on the six essential and necessary elements for every linguistic communication process.

Accordingly, he placed each element of the communication process and its corresponding function of language as follows:

- The referential function, which corresponds to the context.
- The expressive function, which corresponds to the sender.
- The phatic function, which is centered on the receiver or addressee.
- The conative or communicative function, which is represented by the channel or contact
- The poetic or aesthetic function, which is centered on the message.
- The meta-linguistic function, which is centered on the code (the "coded" one). (Louis Hébert, 2020)

Jakobson arranged the elements of his scheme as follows:

- Referential function
- Expressive function
- Phatic function
- Conative or communicative function
- Poetic or aesthetic function
- Meta-linguistic function (Louis Hébert, 2024)

It is worth noting that we relied on Roland Barthes' approach to decode the different forms and elements of the jewelry under study, while we adopted Roman Jakobson's approach to reach the non-verbal communicative messages that women in the Beni Yenni region have long transmitted.

- The first level, 'denotative', provides the meaning that is understood by all people, while the second level, 'connotative', goes beyond what the first level represents, as it relates to the human aspect related to the impact that the sign generates when it meets the reader's feelings and emotions.
- A mountainous area located in the high mountains of Djurdjura, 35 km from the wilaya of TiziOuzou, and is distinguished by its great position in the field of traditional silver jewelry manufacturing both inside and outside the country.

3. Data Collection Methods:

In order to gather information about the study topic, we relied heavily on the interview and observation tools, due to the lack of references related to the communicative dimension of jewelry in Algerian society.

Interviews:

The interview is a technique that aims to search for information and investigate the truth (Amer and Qandeelji, 2008). According to Hamed Al-Rafaei, it is "a professional, social, dynamic means that takes place between an interviewer and a respondent. It is a science and an art that requires the use of special skills to use it" (Al-Rafaei and Jabbar Al-Abidi, 1996). Benoit Gautier defines it as "that verbal interaction between a group of people who voluntarily participate in such a relationship, with the aim of exchanging knowledge and experiences." (Benoit Gautier, 2004).

We conducted a series of open-ended interviews due to the nature of the topic and the characteristics of the respondents who did not respond to standardized interviews.

Observation:

We used the observation tool to interpret and decode the messages carried by the jewelry of the region. Observation is "the process of collecting information through careful and purposeful observation of a particular behavior or phenomenon" (Hussein and Farhan Ramzi, 1995). We relied on participatory observation, which is a cornerstone of cultural anthropology

that involves observing the social, material, and civilizational conditions of the respondents, participating in their daily activities, and learning about their beliefs and attitudes. (Imad Abdelghani, 2007).

This type of observation allowed us to collect some information about the ways in which women in the region wear their jewelry and the non-verbal messages they convey through it on various occasions that we experienced with them. This tool also helped us to identify the various details and forms that make up the jewelry while sharing some of the important moments in its production with the artisans.

Sampling:

In order to study this topic, we selected a purposive sample from the jewelry collection of the Beni Yenni region. Ahmed Ben Morsli defines it as "the sample in which the researcher selects its elements in a controlled manner where there is no room for chance, but he personally selects the elements that represent more than others what he is looking for from information and data" (Ahmed Ben Morsli, 2010).

This type of sample is the most commonly used in qualitative research ... and it is often not chosen in advance, but rather is formed or composed, that is, it is structured gradually through the various stages of the data collection process (Delioufodil, 2022).

Due to the region's rich heritage of jewelry, we chose the **Thavzimth**jewelry for its symbolic value among the women of the region and to enable us to collect some data about it.

Sample Characteristics:

The sample included several categories of people: craft families, women of the region and the elderly as a living memory, and a group of jewelry exhibitors at the National Salon of Traditional Crafts at the Algiers Pine Forest Exhibition in March 2006, and the Silver Jewelry Festival in the Beni Yenni region in July 2006, as well as some researchers in this field from the officials of the jewelry departments in the museums of "Bardo, the National Museum of Traditional and Popular Arts Khodja El-Amia, the National Museum of Antiquities" in Algiers.

Defining the Concepts:

Non-Verbal Communication:

Non-verbal communication is the transmission of messages or signals through non-verbal means. It encompasses a variety of communication types that provide a range of methods for achieving communication between individuals, excluding the verbal linguistic system (Corraze, 1996). This type of communication is considered much older than verbal communication, as humans gradually employed numerous non-linguistic forms of communication... until they eventually discovered words and language with meaning or interpreted sound with verbal outputs (Chaibachedouan, 2005).

The Language of Objects (Le Language Des Objets):

Appearance is one of the primary elements that shapes our first impressions of others. Our appearance and clothing convey a range of information to others, as researcher Gibbins confirmed through his study that people judge each other based on clothing (E. Gail Myers, 1990). The language of objects extends beyond clothing to encompass all non-verbal messages conveyed by everything we own, from hairstyles, perfume, furniture, and décor... to jewelry, which can speak volumes about our taste, social class, standard of living, cultural affiliation, and other significant meanings.

Symbol:

A symbol is an object that represents something else. It derives its meaning and primary function from the consensus of the group that uses it on specific meanings. In other words, it is the social expressions within the group that determine the objects and meanings represented by the symbols used within the group (Nasr thouraya, 1998).

Coding:

Coding is the system of converting a message from one form to another (Codage). It occurs at the sender's level, while decoding or deciphering occurs at the receiver's level (Decoder)

Context(BaylonChristian, XavierMignot, 1994).

Sender Message Receiver

Code

When an individual is exposed to the multiple messages in their daily lives, also expressed through codes or symbols, they begin to convert them into meanings to understand and respond to these messages (Mohamed Abdel Hamid, 2004). For the coded or encrypted message sent by the sender to be understood by the receiver, the code used must be the same.

Myth:

A myth is an essential element of human civilization; it regulates social life and establishes principles and models for behavior, in search of satisfying the deep-seated need for survival and the continuity of humans who wish to know and immortalize their ancestors (Marian Belis, 1988). We have adopted the concept of myth for our study because of its close relationship to our subject matter, as it "carries messages from the depths of history."

Rituals:

According to Leach, "there are a large number of non-verbal communications that derive their reference not only from the current reality between individuals but also from abstract metaphysical conceptions." Rituals are gestures and symbols that form a comprehensive system that seems easier than language in its grammatical structure but more complex in terms of its multiple communication channels (Jacques Corraze, 1996). Therefore, MarianeBelis believes that "myth has the power to express what comes to us from the depths of history" (MarianeBelise, 1988).

4. Communicative Significance of Traditional Silver Jewelry: Thavzimthas an Example

The current form of Algerian jewelry was not the first to characterize it since ancient times. It has passed through several stages, each bearing the mark of a historical period experienced by this society and by humanity as a whole.

Studies have shown that the earliest forms of tattoos were the first ornaments worn by humans on their bodies, using their skin as a primary material before exploiting the various metals they later discovered (Tatiana Ben Foughal, 1997). They were considered the first writing of humans and the oldest form of symbolic expression (Catherine Grognard, 1992).

Then, they gradually moved on to using a set of elements that they extracted from their bodies, represented by amulets (elements used by humans in the early periods of the appearance of jewelry, taken from nature and placed on their bodies to benefit from their therapeutic and protective benefits. They have evolved over time to take on forms made of different metals, with dangling parts added to some types of jewelry, either for their aesthetic or therapeutic value.) and talismans "charms" that were carefully chosen until they discovered their aesthetic function that came to complement their protective role (Henriette Camps Fabrer, 1960).

Through our study, we aim to highlight the communicative role of traditional silver jewelry from two perspectives:

- 1. The shape of the ornament and the way it is worn by women.
- 2. The coded communicative meanings of the different shapes, decorations, and colors of the jewelry, which are considered a secret language for women, speaking silently to those who see them. (Marie-France Vivier, 2003).

ThavzimthJewelry:

It is a round silver piece with a hole in the center with a diameter ranging from 1 cm to 2 cm to facilitate the passage of the tongue and secure the ornament to the clothing (Henriette Camps Fabrer, 1970).



• This is a special bath taken by the bride in this region, accompanied by a set of ritual practices. She uses certain materials (wax, salt, eggs, and a mirror) during it, which were anciently attributed to fertility and warding off harm and the evil eye.

Authentic **Thavzimth**(a specific piece of Thavzimthowned by the researcher (SafiaKasimi) given to her by her mother upon the birth of her son based on the agreed-upon tradition in her village)

As the image shows, its authenticity stems not only from its prominent composition featuring five coral beads and the pristine blue, yellow, and green enamel, but also from the meticulous craftsmanship of the artisan on the back of this ornament, where he carefully extends it with segmented enamel, a technique unique to the region's artisans in the making of silver jewelry and which has aroused the curiosity and questions of many researchers. (Henriette Camps Fabrer, Les Bijoux De Grande Kabylie, 1970)



Image representing the back of Thavzimth

Origin of the piece

According to Paul Eudel, this piece was first worn by women to express their joy at the victory of the Kingdom of Kuko over the Bani Abbas Kingdom. At that time, it was a large medal-like ornament. (WassilaTamzali, 1984)

This ornament was and still is used in some rituals specific to the Kabylia region, where it is placed in the container in which the bride takes her ritual bath (a bath that the bride in this region takes in a special way, accompanied by a set of ritual practices, as she uses during it certain materials (candle, salt, egg, mirror, etc.) which were attributed to it in ancient times and according to their beliefs, the powers of fertility and warding off harm and the evil eye). It is then placed in the henna with which she dyes her hands.

We also note the presence of a smaller **Thavzimth**also recorded on the occasion of the circumcision of the child, where it is placed on his clothes at the level of his chest to be kept for

a whole month, but this time fixed on his clothes but on the back (Germaine LaoustChantreaux, 1990)

Denotation and Connotation in Roland Barthes' Thayzimth

• Denotation:

Thavzimthis a large, circular silver plate featuring four coral studs surrounding a central one. From this central stud emanate eight silver beads, each with radiating lines in different directions. The ends of the ornament bear floral and heart-shaped motifs, from which hang numerous pendants of the types Aqzubzaram ("snake head"), Aegisauocus ("melon seed"), and Thabu-hamasth. The ornament's beauty is further enhanced by the enamel colors that convey the fertilizing significance of this part. (Interview with Mr. Ali Sayad, research associate at the Center for Anthropology and Prehistory, on September 10, 2006, at 10:00 AM, at the House of Crafts in TiziOuzou Province.)

• Connotation:

• **Tongue and Ring:** A semiological symbol representing the union of the male and female reproductive organs ('fertilization'). (Frances Ramirez Christian Rolot, 2002)

The concept of fertilization has always accompanied human existence on Earth. Though it bears various names among Berbers, it often symbolizes both women and fertile land, both of which contribute to the continuity of life. (Among the manifestations of our ancestors' veneration in the past, the cult of the goddess Tanit in Algeria, we find the ritual of "Anzar" practiced by Berbers as a whole in ancient times to induce rainfall. It truly expresses the extent of their attachment to the idea of fertility. The most beautiful and happiest woman was chosen and walked over the barren fields to bring about the union of her powers with those of the water god "Anzar", who would then provide them with the fertilizing rain for the drought-stricken lands.)

• Central Coral Stud Surrounded by Eight Silver Beads: Symbol of the sun disk. 'The god Amun'

The ancient Berbers revered the sun god Amun, whose worship was widespread in Egypt, particularly in the Siwa Oasis, which was named after him, the Oasis of Amun 'the Oasis of the Sun God'. He was represented as a ram bearing a circle on its head representing the sun disk (Mohamed Saghir Ghanem, 2003). The Berbers revered him because they believed he provided them with his celestial power and helped protect their livestock, seeking fertility (AkliHaddadou: SD).

- Eight Radiating Lines: A semiological symbol representing the sun's rays.
- Sun-like Floral Shapes: Semiological symbols representing the fertilizing heat of the sun.
- **Heart Shapes:** Symbols of the quail bird "Thaskorth" (the quail bird symbolizing the beautiful woman and her ability to procreate and perpetuate the lineage).
 - Aigis auocus Pendants: Symbols of melon seeds, symbolizing fertilization.
 - Thabuhamasth Pendants: Semiological symbols representing chickpeas.
- Number of Coral Studs (Five): Semiological symbol representing the fingers of the hand (againstcharm').
- Blue Color: Semiological symbol representing protection and eternity. This color was known in ancient times for its protective properties and is prominent on the silver jewelry of the Beni Yenni region, where it is known as Azqazaw, while its green and yellow colors are also known. In our search for the meaning of this color among the ancient Berbers, we were surprised to discover its ancient name, which was "the Nile" (Henriette Camps Fabrer, Les Bijoux De Grande Kabylie, 1970), leading us to make a direct connection between this name and the famous Nile River, which for the pharaohs symbolized eternity and immortality in its blue color. (Interview with Mr. Attaallah Al-Kholy, researcher in Egyptian history and tourist guide, on August 7, 2006, at 10:00 AM, at the Giza Pyramids, Egypt.) This connotation once again embodies a form of Berber influence from ancient Egyptian civilization.

Green: A semiological symbol representing the earth and fertility. This concept of fertilization was expressed by the Berbers in various forms, including animal, plant, geometric, and color motifs.

Yellow: A semiological symbol representing the sun, the god Amun.

Red: A semiological symbol representing blood. The use of this color was common among the ancient Berbers, who considered it a magical force. It symbolized life, as blood was believed to give vitality and strength. It was also used to ward off evil spirits from the dead. For this purpose, a liquid called "funeral red" was used to paint tombs and funeral furniture, and to sprinkle the bones of the dead, especially the head. In some tombs, pottery vessels containing this pigment were found, indicating the Berber belief that the deceased could paint themselves. An example of this is the tomb of Tin Hinan, where a vessel filled with red ocher was found on her left shoulder (Lahcen, Rabah, 2004).

The ThavzimthPendant: This pendant carries deep and significant symbolic meanings. Its shapes and elements depict various phenomena, with the large disk-like circle as the main field. The coral nail in the center, surrounded by eight silver beads, represents the sun disk, which is likened in the region's thinking to a mother surrounded by her children who draw their happiness from her. This coral nail, or "sun," emits radiating lines towards the edges of the pendant, where they meet the triangles ("earth") and heart-shaped figures ("woman"). The sun's fertilizing heat is conveyed to these elements, which in turn produce their fruits, represented by the prominent yellow flower shapes surrounded by blue enamel. This ensures the continuity of life throughout the green space. In this way, both the earth and the woman are fertilized, ensuring the continuation of life and the abundance of blessings represented by the hanging pendants of Thabou-hmasth, Ighsou-foqous, and others.

Protection of Fertility Symbols: To safeguard the symbolic meanings of earth's fertility and woman's fertilization, our ancestors placed protective charms, represented by the five red coral nails and the snake head pendants ("AqaruBzram"). These pendants were believed to possess the power to ward off harm that might befall what Thavzimthcarries (Interview with Mr. MohandMezdad, heritage enthusiast of the Beni Yenni region, December 22, 2006, at 14:00, ThawrirtheMougran, Larbaa Nath Irathen municipality, TiziOuzou province).

The Hidden Meanings of Thavzimth: The authenticity of Thavzimthextends to the symbolic meanings it carries on its back. While the front of the pendant, rich in the elements mentioned above, expresses to the people of the region the woman's aspirations for fertility and the happiness that follows in her marital home, the back of the pendant, attached to the woman's clothing and distinguished by the absence of coral nails and the scarcity of enamel colors, symbolizes the hidden side of married life, which only the woman who wears it can fully comprehend. Over time in her marital home, she discovers her share of the hopes and aspirations that she carried on the back of Thavzimth(Interview with Mr. Slim Achab, craftsman from the Beni Yenni region, February 24, 2007, at 10:00 AM, at the House of Crafts, TiziOuzou province).

Analysis of Thavzimth's Meanings According to Roman Jakobson's Functions

1. Referential Function:

This pendant has a strong connection to the historical context we mentioned earlier, which dates back to the wars experienced by the Kuku Kingdom. After their victory, the women of the kingdom were adorned with a circular silver pendant resembling a medal, which was later called Thavzimth. This pendant was initially worn to express joy and victory over the enemy. Over time, it came to be worn by women who gave birth to a male child. In the Beni Yenni tribe, women wear this pendant to signify the birth of a male child, equating the woman's giving birth to a boy with the tribe's victory over the enemy in war, as agreed upon by all members of the region (Paul Eudel, 1902).

2. Expressive Function:

Wearing Thavzimthon the woman's forehead signifies the birth of a male child. In this case, the woman's relationship to her message is characterized by the joy and pride she displays, on the one hand, and the respect she receives from her husband, mother-in-law, and all members of the family she lives with, on the other hand. This respect extends to her entire tribe. As soon

as she puts on this pendant, she is considered, in their way of thinking, a woman of high value and status for what she has achieved: a victory and a guarantee of the continuity of the family name carried by this child.

3. Conative Function:

The recipients of this message are the members of her family, her husband's family, and all members of the tribe who receive its content with respect, appreciation, and gifts, unlike some women who have not achieved this victory (giving birth to a boy).

4. Poetic Function:

Thavzimth, as we mentioned earlier, consists of a large disk adorned with five coral nails, from which eight radiating lines and eight silver beads branch off to meet the edges of the pendant with some triangular and heart-shaped figures. The distinguishing feature of this pendant is the hanging pendants from below and its richness in enamel paint colors. By virtue of the eloquence of the meanings it carries around the concept of the mother and the fertile land, it serves as a reward for the woman who has given birth to a male child for what she has achieved in victory and for her ability to fertilize and bear children.

5. Phatic Function:

The owner of Thavzimthtakes care to maintain and emphasize the connection from the time her son grows up. She always takes it with her to all events related to him, such as his circumcision ceremony, engagement, and wedding. However, after his "marriage," she cuts off the connection by removing it and keeping it aside until she becomes a grandmother and, in turn, rewards her sons with it if they achieve the same feat: the birth of a male child.

There is a smaller version of Thavzimththat is worn by the mother after her daughter's wedding night. This signifies a victory of another kind: the good upbringing of her daughter, who followed her advice and preserved her honor and the honor of the family until her wedding day (Interview with Mr. Salim Achab, mentioned above). To win the crown of virginity after her wedding (On the morning of her wedding, the mother of the bride places the small Thavzimthon her chest to express her joy for her daughter who did not disappoint her hopes in carrying her honor and the honor of the whole family. The mother's relationship to this message is reflected in the ululations and the expressions of pride and admiration that accompany her, which leave no room for tarnishing her daughter's reputation).

The mother maintains the connection throughout the wedding period, which in this region is known as the first seven days that follow it. She emphasizes this connection and does not sever it until after this period has passed, during which its content has been received by everyone (Interview with Ms. LouizaKaraine, on September 26, 2006, at 10:00 AM, at the headquarters of the Information and Documentation Center on Children's and Women's Rights. CIDDEF, Algeria).

Study Results

After presenting the different parts of the study and the semiological approach that included its sample, we reached a set of results that we summarize as follows:

- Non-verbal communication is distinguished by many types, including the language of
 objects, which traditional Algerian silver jewelry represents a part of. It conveys a set of
 messages to us through the meanings of its constituent elements and the meanings that
 women translate through the way they wear it on their bodies.
- Traditional Algerian silver jewelry represents a part of the traditional art that was known in all Berber countries, which made it a cultural heritage influenced by the different historical periods and cultures that this region has witnessed.
- The components of traditional Algerian silver jewelry carry a set of semiological symbols. Determining their true and deep meanings required placing them in their context and the different stages they have known.
- It became clear from the semiological analysis that included the study sample that everything that distinguishes it from the materials used in its manufacture ("silver, coral, enamel, glass beads, horns and organic materials") and shapes ("animal, plant,

- geometric") is characterized by a religious dimension like other arts. This is through carrying meanings specific to the beliefs and worships that the Berbers knew.
- Our study showed a decline in the communicative role of traditional silver jewelry in the Beni Yenni region of Kabylia. This was confirmed by the interviews we conducted with the research participants, which showed that some were unaware of it and others were surprised by this role that they had never heard of before.
- Through our analysis and decoding of the codes of traditional silver jewelry, we reached the communicative role that is distinguished by myths and rituals, which we used to reach the first meanings that our ancestors agreed upon.
- After the semiological analysis that included the study sample, it became clear to us that this method is not limited to advertising posters, caricatures, films, etc., but includes all types of signs, including signs of traditional silver jewelry.

Conclusion

Non-verbal communication is a part of our daily lives. Although we may not perceive it in the same way as verbal communication, we are surrounded by a set of non-linguistic signs that are emitted by everything around us, as well as our bodies and what they include of perfume, clothes, hairstyles, etc.

Through this study, we have tried to highlight the communicative role of traditional silver jewelry in the Beni Yenni region. The results showed that the nature of the environment that prevailed at that time is what prompted the genius of women to use such alternative systems to verbal language. This was to meet their urgent need for communication to convey messages with highly significant communicative content to members of the group in which they live according to an agreed-upon code between them.

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