

Anthropological Structures in the Intangible Folk Culture of Southwestern Algeria

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Received: 18/05/2025 Accepted: 30/06/2026 Published: 07/08/2026

Introduction

Intangible folk heritage constitutes a fundamental field of interest in cultural anthropology, as it encompasses symbolic systems that reflect patterns of collective thought and frame individual behavior within society. This heritage should not be regarded merely as folkloric expressions or forms of entertainment; rather, it represents a profound semantic structure in which social, religious, and symbolic dimensions intersect, making it an essential approach to understanding culture in its entirety.

¹In the Algerian context, the significance of this heritage lies in its capacity to preserve the collective memory of the community and to serve as a means of reproducing values and norms, particularly in regions that continue to maintain traditional ways of life, as is the case in the Touat region.

Structure as an Approach to Understanding Folk Culture

Structure is regarded as a central concept in anthropological analysis, referring to the underlying system that organizes the relationships among cultural elements and endows them with meaning within the broader cultural framework. Folk practices, such as songs and dances, cannot be understood in isolation; rather, they must be analyzed within a network of symbolic relationships that connects them to the social context in which they emerge.²

From this perspective, the study of Algeria's intangible folk heritage requires moving beyond its apparent description to an analysis of the underlying structures that shape it, thereby contributing to the identification of the meanings embedded within these practices.

Folk Heritage as a Cultural Text

Folk heritage may be approached as a cultural text open to interpretation, in which everyday practices are transformed into symbols carrying multiple meanings. A folk song, for example, is not merely a set of words accompanied by a melody; rather, it is a discourse that reflects the representations and values of society, as illustrated in one of the folk songs commonly performed in the Touat region:

O bride,
Forgive your father and forgive your mother,
And may God lead you safely to your new home.

Here, the bride is celebrated within a festive discourse that endows her with a symbolic significance extending beyond her individual identity.³

In the name of God, and with God's blessing, and prayers be upon the Messenger.

The lady has departed; with her, all goodness has gone.

Fortunate is the one whom she has reached, fortunate is the home she has entered.

This song reflects a cultural perception that views marriage as a collective event, one that extends beyond the individual to encompass the entire community. It thus reveals a social structure founded on solidarity and shared celebration. Likewise, the use of the term Lalla ("Lady") carries a symbolic connotation that elevates the bride's status within the ritual.

Symbolism in Folk Practices

Folk culture is grounded in a rich symbolic system in which ordinary objects become vehicles of meaning. For example, the egg broken during wedding rituals is not understood in its literal sense but symbolizes fertility and a new beginning, while henna signifies purification and protection.

This symbolism also appears in songs associated with agricultural work, as illustrated by the following verses chanted in the Touat region during farming:

O Muhammad, our Prophet,

O Messenger of God, our Master.

This is our harvest, O Master,

The harvest of our Prophet, O Master.

This is Farārah, O Master,

Cumin in Farārah, O Master.

And they have begun gathering it, O Master,

The hoe is scattering it, O Master.⁴

In this context, agricultural labor is transformed into a practice imbued with religious significance, reflecting the interweaving of the sacred and the secular within the popular imagination.

Accordingly, it becomes evident that Algeria's intangible folk heritage constitutes an integrated anthropological structure that can only be understood through an analysis of the symbolic relationships that shape it. Within this structure, social and religious dimensions are intertwined, forming a semantic system that reflects the identity of the community.

Anthropological Structures in Folk Rituals

Folk rituals constitute one of the principal approaches to understanding the anthropological structure of society, as they represent symbolic acts intended to regulate the relationship between human beings and the world, whether that world is natural, social, or supernatural. In this context, rituals are not understood merely as traditional practices, but rather as semantic systems that reproduce the social order and provide individuals with a sense of belonging and stability.⁵

Wedding Rituals as a Structural Model

Wedding rituals are among the richest rituals in terms of symbolic significance, as they comprise a set of practices intended to facilitate the bride's transition from one social status to another. In the Touat region, these rituals are accompanied by collective songs such as:

In the name of God, may nothing harm you, O young bride.

With every step, say, "In the name of God," O young bride.

She has left her father and mother; may God protect her.

This song reveals an emotional structure that reflects the moment of separation, expressing both sorrow and hope simultaneously. Moreover, the repetition of expressions of forgiveness reflects the importance of family relationships and emphasizes that marriage is understood not as a rupture, but as a transition within the same social order.

Ritual Dances and Their Symbolism

Folk dances are regarded as an extension of ritual practices, in which bodily movements become a symbolic language expressing the collective perceptions of the community. In the Baroud (gunpowder) dance, performed during weddings and on the return of pilgrims from the Hajj, participants fire their rifles collectively while chanting rhythmic verses such as:

Whoever has gone and visited the Kaaba, may God fulfill his wishes.

Praise be to God for his safe return to his homeland.⁶

This performance reflects a symbolic representation of strength and belonging, whereby the body becomes an instrument for expressing collective identity. The coordinated movements of the participants likewise express a social structure founded on discipline and cohesion. Numerous versions of these chants exist, including:

Where are all the men? O Basmala, protect me.

Between his teeth, the light is manifest peace and blessings be upon him.⁷

The Ishu dance, performed during Ashura, incorporates masks and unconventional movements, reflecting the presence of the popular imagination, in which strange beings are represented within a festive setting. This enables the community to symbolically release its fears.⁸ The performers customarily begin their poetic recitations by saying:

Ya Dānī Dān Dān Dānī,

Ya Dānī Dān Dān Dānī.

They then perform the poem, and conclude by saying:

May God send His blessings upon the Chosen One, our Master Muhammad; we seek his intercession.

Among the poems recited are the following:

Ishu has come, an old figure clothed in worn-out rags.

Night has fallen where shall we spend the night? Among Banī 'Ashīr we shall pass it.⁹

Healing Rituals and the Songs Associated with Them

In certain cases, rituals assume a therapeutic function, with singing being used as a means of psychological influence. This is reflected in children's songs such as:

Dādūsh learned to walk; Dādūsh has grown into a little ram.

Here, the emotional dimension is intertwined with supplication, reflecting a perception that regards words as a force capable of influencing reality. The song thus becomes a form of symbolic healing, demonstrating the role of the popular imagination in confronting illness.

It is therefore evident that folk rituals in Algeria constitute a complex anthropological structure in which symbolic and social dimensions are intertwined. Songs and dances function as mediums for producing meaning and reorganizing relationships within the community.

Folk Song as an Anthropological Text

The folk song is one of the most significant components of intangible cultural heritage. Its function is not limited to artistic expression or entertainment; rather, it constitutes a cultural text imbued with anthropological significance, reflecting the representations of society and its patterns of collective thought. In the folk context, a song is not merely a set of words accompanied by a melody, but a symbolic discourse in which religious, social, and psychological dimensions intersect. It plays a fundamental role in preserving the collective memory and transmitting values across generations.¹⁰

From this perspective, the analysis of folk songs makes it possible to uncover the underlying structures that shape Algerian folk culture, particularly in the southwestern regions such as Touat, where these forms of expression remain vibrant and widely practiced.

First: The Religious Structure in Folk Songs

The religious structure of folk songs is manifested through the frequent presence of religious symbols, such as invoking blessings upon the Prophet, supplication, and seeking divine assistance, reflecting the central role of religion in shaping the collective consciousness. In many folk songs, the performance begins with expressions such as "In the name of God" and "Prayers and blessings be upon the Prophet." These expressions serve not only a linguistic function but also constitute ritual acts intended to invoke blessing and protection.¹¹

An illustrative example drawn from the Touat corpus is the agricultural chant:

"In the name of the Most Merciful, invoke blessings upon our Master Muhammad."

Here, agricultural work is preceded by a religious invocation that imbues it with a sacred character, as though economic activity were inseparable from the spiritual dimension.

¹²This indicates that everyday activities, such as plowing or planting, are transformed into practices imbued with religious significance, reflecting the interweaving of the sacred and the secular:

In the name of the Most Merciful, invoke blessings upon our Master Muhammad.

Our Prophet Muhammad may blessings and peace be upon him.

My thoughts remain with Lālā Tāzah.

The date fruit has ripened for us, and the fodder has become abundant.

Bless it, O our Lord. We have remembered You in remembrance.

And all perfection belongs to our Lord.¹³

This religious structure is also manifested in the songs associated with Qur'anic memorization. Sulūk refers to the student's completion of memorizing the Holy Qur'an in ascending order, that is, from the last surah of the Qur'an to Surat al-Baqarah. Ḥufūz, on the other hand, refers to

completing the memorization of the Qur'an both in ascending and descending order, after which the student recites it from memory before the teacher. In colloquial terminology, the student holds a wooden writing tablet (*lawḥ*), a reed pen, and an inkpot.

The student's family celebrates the *ḥāfiẓ* (one who has memorized the Qur'an) or the *sālik* in recognition of his completion of the Qur'an and as an expression of their joy and happiness. The *sālik* is dressed in distinctive attire consisting of white trousers, a white shirt, a white cloak, a white turban placed on the head, and a pair of white Saharan sandals, so that the memorizer may be distinguished from others. In some ksour (fortified villages), the *ḥāfiẓ* is additionally dressed in a white burnous and a piece of embroidered fabric hung near his neck. At the same time, dishes of dates and milk are prepared for the celebration.

After these ceremonies are completed, the *sālikūn* and the *ḥuffāẓ* proceed together to the mosque, accompanied by a group of men and boys. The student sits at the front, and the wooden tablets are brought out bearing the inscription of the "eighth of the *ḥizb*" (thumn al-*ḥizb*). For those who have completed memorization, the recitation begins with "Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds" (al-Fātiḥah), followed by the first eighth of Surat al-Baqarah.

When the recitation is completed, they recite the Opening Chapter (al-Fātiḥah) and offer supplications. Finally, dishes of dates and milk are distributed to those in attendance. Thereafter, the *ḥuffāẓ* and the *sālikūn* make their way through the streets of the town while chanting:

An egg, an egg for God, so that I may adorn my tablet;

And my tablet is with the student.

The student is in Paradise, and Paradise stands open our Lord has opened its gates.

Our Lord, our Lord, O You who hear our supplication,

Do not disappoint our hope, for the sake of Muhammad.¹⁴

Second: The Social Structure in Folk Songs

Folk songs reflect the social organization of the community, as they are used to express social relationships, whether within the family or the wider community. In the context of weddings, for example, songs portray the bride's relationship with her family, as expressed in the verse:

"Forgive your mother; forgive your father."

This expression carries an emotional dimension that conveys the moment of separation from the natal family.¹⁵

These texts reveal a social structure founded upon:

- The centrality of the family.
- The importance of kinship ties.
- The collective nature of social occasions.

Moreover, these songs are performed collectively, reinforcing the sense of belonging and emphasizing that the individual does not express himself or herself in isolation from the community, but rather through it. Thus, the folk song serves as a means of reproducing and reinforcing social values.

Third: The Psychological and Emotional Structure in Folk Songs

Folk songs carry a powerful emotional charge, as they are used to express joy, sorrow, fear, and hope, making them a means of collective emotional release. In mourning songs, for example, grief is expressed in a socially structured manner, as in the songs performed during a woman's mourning period, in which women chant verses that convey sorrow and the experience of transition.¹⁶

This psychological and emotional structure is also evident in children's songs, as in a mother's chant:

Dādūsh learned to walk.

This is a discourse that combines tenderness with hope, reflecting the mother's concern for her child and her wish for his recovery.¹⁷

Here, the song becomes a means of psychological healing, not only for the child but also for the mother, as it alleviates her anxiety and gives her a sense of symbolic control over the situation.

Fourth: The Symbolic Structure in the Language of Folk Songs

Folk songs are characterized by a high degree of symbolism, employing simple words that carry profound meanings. Symbols such as the egg, henna, the road, and the home are not understood solely in their literal sense; rather, they convey cultural meanings associated with fertility, protection, and stability.¹⁸

For example, the expression "Yā Lalla al-‘Arūsa" ("O Lady Bride") in wedding songs does not refer merely to the bride herself; rather, it endows her with a symbolic status that elevates her to a special ceremonial position, making her the focal point of the ritual. Likewise, the repetition of words and rhythmic expressions such as "Yā Dānī Dān" serves a rhythmic function intended to create collective harmony rather than merely providing linguistic ornamentation.¹⁹

Fifth: The Folk Song as a Mechanism for the Transmission of Traditional Knowledge

Folk songs also perform an educational function, serving as a means of transmitting knowledge and values from one generation to another. In agricultural songs, for example, information concerning planting and harvesting seasons is incorporated into the lyrics, as reflected in the sayings associated with the months of January and September.²⁰

An example of such agricultural songs is the following:

O Muhammad, our Prophet, O Messenger of God, our Master.

This is our harvest, O Master, the harvest of our Prophet, O Master.

This is Farārah, O Master; cumin in Farārah, O Master.

And they have begun gathering coriander, O Master; the hoe has scattered it, O Master.²¹

Folk songs are also used to teach social behavior, such as respect for elders and adherence to religious values, making them an indirect means of socialization. Thus, the folk song not only transmits knowledge but also contributes to the formation of the collective consciousness.

Sixth: The Temporal and Ritual Structure of Folk Songs

Folk songs are associated with specific occasions and are performed at particular times, such as:

- Weddings.

- Circumcision ceremonies.
- Harvest seasons.
- Ashura.

This temporal association gives them a ritual character, making them an integral part of the cycle of social life. A folk song is therefore not performed randomly, but within a specific context that gives it its full meaning.²²

An example of this is the songs performed during Ashura, which are linked to a religious and historical memory, reflecting the intersection of sacred time and social time.

The Popular Imagination and Belief in Algerian Intangible Heritage

The popular imagination is considered one of the most significant anthropological structures that frame human understanding of the world. It constitutes a symbolic system that enables the interpretation of natural and social phenomena that scientific or empirical reason cannot directly perceive. In this context, the popular imagination is not understood as merely a collection of myths or primitive beliefs, but rather as an independent cognitive system that produces meanings and significations contributing to the organization of human experience within society.²³

In the Algerian environment, particularly in the southwestern regions such as Touat, this popular imagination is manifested in various forms, ranging from beliefs in supernatural forces to therapeutic rituals and protective practices, in which religious, magical, and social dimensions are intertwined.

First: Representations of Illness in the Popular Imagination

Illness in the Algerian popular imagination is associated with an interpretive system that goes beyond the biological dimension, as it is often viewed as the result of the intervention of invisible forces, such as jinn, the evil eye, or envy. This perception makes illness a socio-cultural phenomenon as much as it is a physical condition.

An applied example drawn from the Touat region relates to the practice of al-Ḥadra, in which some women enter a state of jadhb (spiritual trance) or unconsciousness. This state is interpreted as the result of spiritual possession rather than merely a psychological condition.²⁴

This is accompanied by the use of incense and perfumes, which are considered within the popular imagination as means of expelling evil spirits and restoring balance.

We also find in children's songs, such as "Dādūsh learned to walk", a symbolic therapeutic dimension, as the song is used as a means of calming the sick child. This reflects an implicit belief in the ability of sound and rhythm to influence the body²⁵. Thus, the song becomes a therapeutic tool with both psychological and spiritual dimensions.

Second: The Evil Eye and Envy as an Interpretive Mechanism

The evil eye and envy are among the most widespread beliefs in the popular imagination, as it is believed that the gaze of an envious person may cause physical or psychological harm to others. Anthropologically, this belief is interpreted as a mechanism for regulating social relations, particularly in societies based on symbolic balance among individuals.²⁶

In some areas of Touat, families, including parents, take the child to the cemetery, place him in a basket, and leave him beside one of the graves. The mother then recites:

Dādūsh learned to walk,
Dādūsh has grown, O little ram.
O his aunts and maternal aunts,
Release his little legs,
So that he may walk on his own.²⁷

Rituals and Songs

In Touat wedding rituals, expressions such as "Bismillah 'alayk yā al-bniyya" ("In the name of God, may you be protected, O young bride") are recited. This formula is a protective expression intended to safeguard the bride from the evil eye²⁸. Henna and incense are also used, as they are elements carrying purifying and symbolic meanings.

In some women's songs, an indirect discourse appears that warns against envy, through suggesting the necessity of concealment and avoiding the display of blessings. This reflects a collective awareness of the danger of the "evil eye" as an invisible force.

Third: Protective and Therapeutic Rituals

Protective rituals constitute an essential part of folk practices, as they are used to confront invisible dangers that threaten the individual or the community.

In the Ishu dance performed during Ashura, masks are worn and strange beings are represented. Anthropologically, this can be interpreted as an attempt to tame the fear of the unknown through its symbolic representation²⁹. The mask here does not merely conceal identity; rather, it enables the individual to embody the "Other" (the frightening one) and gain control over it.

We also find in the ritual of "Daq al-Mismar" (hammering the nail) during the bride's entrance into the marital home, a symbolic act intended to establish stability and prevent the infiltration of evil forces³⁰. This act is often accompanied by collective songs that give it a festive character, thereby reinforcing its symbolic effectiveness.

In some dances, such as the "Sara" dance, which involves striking sticks, the purifying dimension of the body appears, as pain is used as a means of expelling evil forces. This reflects a perception of the body as a carrier of negative energies that can be released through ritual.³¹

Fourth: The Interplay between the Religious and the Magical:

The Algerian popular imagination is characterized by a clear interweaving between the religious and the magical, as they are not strictly separated but rather perceived as part of a single system for interpreting the world.

In ḥaḍrāt (spiritual gatherings), for example, religious invocations are recited, while at the same time rhythmic and bodily techniques are employed, leading to states of ecstasy (wajd). This places this practice in an intermediate space between worship and the Sufi experience with its bodily dimension.³²

The use of incense, although present in religious traditions, also carries magical connotations, as it is believed to have the ability to expel spirits. This interconnection reflects the nature of the popular imagination, which is not based on separation, but rather on the integration of different modes of thought.

Fifth: Dance as a Representation of the Popular Imagination

Folk dances are among the most significant mediums through which the imagination is manifested, as bodily movements are transformed into a symbolic language expressing the perceptions of the community.

In the Baroud dance, rifles are fired collectively and in a coordinated manner, reflecting a symbolic representation of the memory of war and resistance³³. This dance is not performed merely for entertainment; rather, it evokes a collective past associated with strength and courage.

The Ishu dance, on the other hand, embodies mythical creatures, reflecting the presence of the legend within the popular imagination. Through it, fear is transformed into a collective performance practiced within a festive framework, which contributes to controlling it and reproducing it in a socially accepted manner.

Sixth: The Popular Imagination as a Mechanism for Social Regulation

The role of the popular imagination is not limited to interpreting the world; it also extends to organizing social relations, as beliefs are used as a means of regulating behavior. For example, belief in envy encourages individuals to avoid boasting, thereby contributing to the preservation of social balance. Likewise, fear of supernatural forces encourages adherence to religious values, making the popular imagination an indirect tool of social regulation.³⁴

Folk Heritage as a Mirror of Social Structure:

Intangible folk heritage cannot be understood independently from the social structure within which it is formed, as this heritage represents a living reflection of the organization of society, including its relationships, roles, values, and behavioral systems. Folk practices, whether rituals, songs, or dances, are not performed spontaneously; rather, they are governed by a precise social logic that determines who performs the act, how it is performed, and within what context. This makes them an essential approach to understanding the social structure of Algerian society.

In this context, the southwestern regions, particularly Touat, represent a rich model for studying this structure, as traditional forms of social organization remain strongly present within everyday cultural practices.

First: Twiza as a Solidarity Structure

Twiza is considered one of the most prominent manifestations reflecting the solidarity-based social structure of traditional Algerian society. It is based on voluntary collective work in fields such as agriculture and construction, without direct material compensation, but rather within a framework of symbolic exchange founded on cooperation and mutual support.³⁵

In Touat, Twiza is practiced during harvest seasons, when members of the community gather to work on one person's land. This work is accompanied by collective singing that organizes the rhythm and alleviates the hardship of the effort. Singing here is not merely a means of entertainment; rather, it is a tool for producing collective harmony, as voices and movements become unified within a single pattern.

God, God, O Messenger,

Prophet Muhammad, O our intercessor.

O God, send your blessings upon you, O our Prophet.
Grant intercession for his nation, our Master Muhammad.
Our Master, O Messenger of God,
The Prophet, peace be upon him.³⁶

Twiza reflects the priority of the community over the individual, the centrality of social solidarity, and the symbolic economy based on non-material exchange. It also represents a mechanism for reproducing social relationships, as it ensures the continuity of ties among members of the community.

Second: The Distribution of Social Roles in Rituals

Folk rituals reveal a precise organization of social roles, where tasks are distributed according to specific criteria, such as gender, age, and social status.

Wedding Rituals

In Touat weddings, women perform songs and dances, while men participate in organizing the space or performing certain dances such as the Baroud³⁷ dance. Specific roles are also assigned to elders, such as supervision or granting blessings.

"O Lady Bride"

".And forgive your mother"

".Forgive your father"

".And now, you are going to your home"

And prayers and blessings upon "

".In the name of God and by God"

".the Messenger of God

".Goodness has gone with her"

".Lalla has gone, she is leaving"

".She has arrived at her home"

Blessed is the one to whom she has "

".come

This division reflects a social structure based on functional integration, where each individual performs a specific role within the system.

Third: Songs as a Tool for the Reproduction of Social Values

Folk songs play a central role in consolidating social values and norms, as they are used to convey implicit messages regarding accepted behavior within the community.

In wedding songs, such as:

"Sāmiḥī māk, wa sāmīḥī bāk"

"Forgive your mother and forgive your father,"

"And now you are going to your home."

the value of respecting parents is emphasized, even at the moment of transition into a new life. These songs also highlight the importance of chastity, obedience, and adherence to social customs.

Fourth: Folk Dances as a Representation of Collective Identity

Folk dances are among the most prominent manifestations of collective identity expression, as shared values and perceptions are embodied through them.

In the Baroud dance, dancers form a line or a circle and perform coordinated movements accompanied by gunfire, reflecting the spirit of the community and discipline. The harmony of movements also expresses the unity and cohesion of the group.³⁸

As for the Ishu dance, it provides a symbolic representation of the Other (the stranger or the frightening figure) through masks and unusual movements, reflecting the community's ability to accommodate difference within a festive framework.³⁹

Conclusion:

This study sought to deconstruct the anthropological structures underlying Algerian intangible folk heritage through an analytical approach based on a multi-level reading of cultural practices within their social and symbolic context, with the Touat region serving as an applied model. The results of the analysis demonstrated that this heritage cannot be reduced to being merely a traditional cultural expression or a remnant of the past; rather, it is an integrated anthropological system that reflects the structure of society and performs complex cognitive, social, and symbolic functions.

The study has shown that folk rituals, whether religious or transitional, represent symbolic systems that reproduce the social order by framing individual transformations within a regulated collective framework. This is manifested in what Victor Turner indicated regarding ritual as a space for reshaping social relationships and producing collective meaning. Furthermore, through their semantic analysis, folk songs revealed that they are cultural texts carrying values and norms, functioning as indirect mechanisms of socialization. This is consistent with Clifford Geertz's interpretive conception of culture, which considers culture as a web of meanings woven and interpreted by humans.

On the other hand, the analysis of the popular imagination demonstrated that representations of illness, envy, and supernatural forces do not necessarily reflect "irrational" thinking; rather, they constitute an alternative cognitive system aimed at interpreting and regulating the world within a symbolic framework that achieves psychological and social balance. Folk dances, such as Baroud and Ishu, also revealed their dimension as collective performances that reproduce identity and evoke historical memory, making the body itself a carrier of cultural meaning.

At the level of social structure, practices such as Twiza emerged as a solidarity mechanism reflecting a symbolic economy based on non-material exchange, while rituals and songs demonstrated their role in organizing social roles and regulating collective behavior. Thus, intangible folk heritage goes beyond being merely a mirror of reality to become an active agent in producing and reshaping it.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that Algerian folk heritage represents a living cultural system that interacts with social transformations without losing its deep structure. This requires reconsidering the ways of dealing with it, not only as heritage that

must be preserved, but as knowledge that must be understood and utilized in interpreting the present.

Results:

The study reached a number of results that can be summarized as follows:

- Intangible folk heritage in Algeria represents an integrated anthropological structure in which symbolic, social, and psychological dimensions intersect, making it a complex system of meanings rather than merely isolated practices.
- Folk rituals perform a central function in reproducing the social order by framing individual transformations within an organized collective system, thereby ensuring the continuity of the social structure.
- Folk songs represent an effective means of transmitting values and norms, as they function as cultural discourse that contributes to socialization and the consolidation of collective identity.
- The popular imagination constitutes a cognitive system that enables the interpretation of natural and social phenomena and plays a role in achieving psychological and social balance among individuals.
- Folk dances reflect the bodily dimension of culture, as the body becomes a tool for expressing identity and belonging, and a means of evoking collective memory.
- Folk heritage contributes to regulating social behavior through indirect symbolic mechanisms, making it a kind of "cultural law" that organizes relationships within society.

1- Footnotes:

¹ Ahmed Abu Zaid, Lectures on Cultural Anthropology, Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabia, Beirut, 1978, p. 45.

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³ Sarqama Ashour, Folk Dances and Songs in the Touat Region, Dar Al-Gharb for Publishing and Distribution, Oran, n.d., n.p., p. 68.

⁴ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 17.

⁵ Victor Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure, Cornell Paperbacks, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1969, p. 94.

⁶ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 70.

⁷ Sarqama Ashour, p. 327.

⁸ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 320.

⁹ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 31.

¹⁰ Ahmed Rushdi Saleh, The Arts of Folk Literature, Egyptian General Book Organization, Egypt, 1997, p. 25.

¹¹ Belghit Mohamed, Folk Rhythms: Customs and Folkloric Traditions in Southwestern Algeria, n.p., 2003, p. 30.

¹² Mohamed Belghit, previous reference, p. 16.

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- ¹³ Anonymous author, "Ya Al-Bniya", Manuscript.
- ¹⁴ Anonymous author, "Bayḍa Bayḍa Lillah", Manuscript.
- ¹⁵ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 327.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 326.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 327.
- ¹⁸ Abdelhamid Yoraïou, In *Algerian Popular Culture: History, Issues, and Manifestations*, Association of Popular Literature of the Union of Algerian Writers, Algeria, 2006, p. 41.
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- ²² Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 328.
- ²³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York, 1973, p. 89.
- ²⁴ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 313.
- ²⁵ Ibid., p. 327.
- ²⁶ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 327.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 320.
- ²⁸ Ibid., same page.
- ²⁹ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 320.
- ³⁰ Ibid., p. 327.
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 317.
- ³² Mohamed Belghit, previous reference, p. 72.
- ³³ Abdallah Hammoudi, "The Internal and the External in Theorizing the Tribal Phenomenon," *Imran Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 10, 2017, p. 54.
- ³⁴ Ibid., same page.
- ³⁵ See Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 36.
- ³⁶ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 47.
- ³⁷ Ibid., p. 327.
- ³⁸ Mohamed Belghit, previous reference, p. 20.
- ³⁹ Sarqama Ashour, previous reference, p. 320.

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2. Anonymous author, "Ya Mawlana", Manuscript.
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4. Anonymous author, "Ya 'Amātū Ya Khālātū", Manuscript.
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