

TAGDUDA TAZZAYRIT TAMAGDAYT D TAVERFANT

AVEREF N ULMUD IMINIG D UNADI USSNAN

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Tazdayt n tsekliwin d tussniwin talsanin

Tasga n tutlayt d yidles Amaziɣ

Tayult: Tasnalest

**Asentel**

**Ansayen n zzwaɣ deg taddart Lemsella, taɣiwant n**

**At Mlikec seg yiseggasen n 1960 d1970 ar tura**

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# Asemmmer

Deg tazwara ad d-nini tanemmirt tameqrant i massa yahiaoui Maryama i yellan yer tamaw segmi i bdiy leqdic-a alama d taggara.

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-I yimsulya-nney yal yiwen s yisem-is, ladya yemma ezizen.

-I wid i y-d-yekfan afus n lemɛawna akken ma llan.

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# **Ixef I: Tasnarrayt**

### Tazwert:

Deg yixef-a n tesnarrayt ad d-nebder timental i γ-yeğğan ad nefren asentel-a gar wiyad, rnu yer waya, ad d-nawi awal yef yiswi agejdan n tezrawt-a, syin yur-s ad d-nessisen tarrayin d tfukas i neđfer deg leqdic-nney d wallalen i nesseqdec deg lebni n tezrawt-a.

Yerna Ad d-nemmeslay day yef wuguren id-nemmuger deg ubrid-nney, yer taggara ad d-nefk kra n tmidranin i kra n wawalen i yesεan assay yer usentel-a.

## 1. Asissen n usentel:

Asentel-a yerza aglam d tesleđt n tmeýriwin n zzwađ yer Leqbayel deg læerc n At Mlikec, taddart n Lemsella, ihi ad d-nemmeslay s telqayt yef wayen i xedmen yimezday n taddart n Lemsella segmi ara tebdu tmeýra alama tfuk ,s yin ýur-s ad d-nawi awal yef wansayen i mazal ddren ar tura ,yerna mazal tñfen deg-sen yimezday-a, ýas akken yella wanda i ruđen ,s yin akkin ad d-nebder abeddel i d-yellan deg tmeýriwin n zzwađ d kra n yiferdisen i d-yernan d imaynuten ulac-iten zik.

Asentel-a n zzwađ ad naf dakken atas n tezrawin ixedmen fell-as yinelmaden n turagt akked wid n Master gar-asen:

- ✓ Tazrawt n taggara n turagt n Ouhimi fadila d Taybi oufia « zzwađ Yer At ebbas d At Mlikec » Aseggas 2011-2012
- ✓ Tazrawt n taggara n turagt « Ansayen n tmeýra n rrcil ass-a deg temnađt n ilullen umalu” Tizi wezzu, Aseggas 2011-2012.
- ✓ Tazrawt n Muđend Akli Ayt seidi « Ansayen n tmeýra n rrcil deg taddart Iýil Nacer » Aseggas2012-2013
- ✓ Tazrawt n cherikh kahina d Djatouf Monia “zzwađ yer leqbayel Ait rzin (iýil eli) tikilsa (Ifarñunen, aglam, aserwes) Aseggas 2013-2014.
- ✓ Tazrawt n Atñaf Nassima “Ansayen n zzwađ seg uqbel tñrađ n 1954 ar ass-a deg læerc n yiwaquren” Aseggas 2013-2014.
- ✓ Tazrawt n Master n Djouder Hamama « Le mariage entre 1970 a1980 et de 1980 a nos jours dans le village de Tala Khaled » Aseggas 2013-2014.
- ✓ Tazrawt n Messaoud Dihia « le mariage exogamique deg taddart n tinri Mahmud »Aseggas 2014-2015.

Am akken day llan yimnadiyen yuran yef usentel-a n zzwađ gar-asen:  
Makilam deg udlis-is “La magie des femmes kabyles et l’unité de la société traditionnelle<sup>1</sup> ad naf dayen pierre Bourdieu deg udlis-is « Le sens de l’honneur chez les

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<sup>1</sup> Makilam, La magie des femmes kabyles et l’unité de la société traditionnelle, L’Harmattan,Paris ,1996 .

kabyle<sup>2</sup> d Emile Laoust deg udlis-is « Noce berbère, la cérémonie du mariage au Maroc »  
<sup>3</sup> s yin yur-s ad naf amusnaw Mathéa Gaudry yura yef laxḍubegga yer yicawiyen<sup>4</sup> .

### 2. Timental n ufran n usentel :

Asentel-a icudd yer tesnalest s umata, nefren-it acku yas atas n tezrawin i yellan yef tmurt n leqbayel ulac tizrawin s telqayt yef læerc-a n At Mlikec, nefren-it dayen acku d win iḥuzan akk tiwsatin n zzwag i d-yettilin deg tmetti taqbaylit, am akken day yerza yal amdan yittidiren ama d amarkanti ney d azawali , imi nger tamawt i kra n wansayen i yellan kan deg temnaḍt n At Mlikec ayen i ay-yeḡḡan ad nnadi yef usentel-a akken ad nissin ansayen i ttgen deg tmeḡra n zzwag deg taddart-a n Lemsella.

### 3. Timental n ufran n wannar :

Timental i ay-yeḡḡan ad neg tazrawt-a yef læerc n At Mlikec taddart n lemsella, dakken nezmer ad naf atas n tyawsiwin ara y-d- yemmlen tikta tigejdanin timaynutin yef læerc n At Mlikec taddart n lemsella, ama wakken day nefren annar-a acku d win yesean ansayen mgaraden s waṭas yef kra n tuddar n tmurt n Leqbayel am teellaqt n sidi lmufeq i d-yeqqimen anagar deg læerc-a n at Mlikec, am wakken day d tin i mazal teṭṭef ar tura deg wansayen-is, s yin yur-s ad naf dakken ulac tizrawin s telqayt yef læerc-a, maca llant tezrawin yef yisental-nniḍen icudden yur-s am zziyarat yer sidi lmufeq, yerna tuget n tezrawin llant-d yef temnaḍin nniḍen anagar yiwet n tezrawt i d-yellan yef læerc-a n at Mlikec yef usentel-a n zzwag maca ur d-mmeslayan ara deg-s s telqayt yef wansayen d yisekkiren i xedmen deg læerc-a.

### 4. Iswi n tezrawt:

Iswi n umahil-a ad d-nefk tikta timaynutin, ad tent-id-nernu yer tezrawin i d-yellan yakan yef tmurt n Leqbayel deg wayen yerzan asentel-a, am wakken day neḃya ad d-nessebgen abeddel yellan gar 1960 d 1970 ar tura ama deg wansayen ney deg yisekkiren n tmeḡriwin n zzwag deg taddart n Lemsella.

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<sup>2</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, Esquisse d'une théorie précédée de trois études ethnologie kabyle .seuil .

<sup>3</sup> Emile Laoust, Noce berbère, la cérémonie de mariage au Maroc, Edsud 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Mathéa Gaudry.la femme Chaouia de L'Aures, CHIHAB, AWAL.

- **Tamukrist**

Zzwağ s umata d assay ney d adukkel gar urgaz d tmeṭṭut iwakken ad kemlen tudert deg sin ad d-sefrurin tawacult<sup>5</sup>, am akken day d zeddi gar urgaz d tmeṭṭut, dacu kan tikwal yettili-d s lebyi n yimawlan n uqcic d yimawlan n teqcic<sup>6</sup>.

Am akken day nezmer ad d-nini dakken zzwağ maci dayen kan yeenan lfarḥ d zzhu maca yesea iswi d ameqqran ladya deg tmetti taqbaylit, d lebni n twacult i bedden yef nnif d tirugza d lḥarma d lemḥiḥba akk d lemɛawna gar twacult i yettidiren deg tmetti taqbaylit, ad naf aṭas n yimnadiyen yuran yef zzwağ ,maca tuget deg-sen yef tmura tibaraniyin cwiṭ i yellan yef tmetti taqbaylit gar-asen:Ali sayad deg udlis-is:”Habitat traditionnelle et structure familial en kabylie” yura aḥric yef “Tallilt yerzan tisulya d timezra tizerfanin” yenna-d dakken deg 1979 leqbayel ḍefren laɛwayed d leqwanen imaynuten I yerzan tallit n tlawin,am akken day yemmeslay yef zzwağ n daxel ney zzwağ deg yiwet n taddart ney n lexḍubeyya yer icawiyen,imusnawen-a merra llan wid yuran yef zzwağ deg tmetti taqbaylit maca llan wiyad i yuran yef tmettiyen tibaraniyin am Durkheim Emile deg udlis-is:” Les formes élémentaires de la religieuse, le système totémique en Australie,am akken day ad naf aṭas n tezrawin i yellan yef usentel-a n zzwağ ,maca ulac tazrawt i d-yellan yef taddart-a n lemsella deg usentel-a n zzwağ maca tella yiwet n tezrawt n taggara n turagt yef userwes gar læerc n at ebbas d At Mlikec<sup>7</sup> maca ur d-mmeslayan ara s telqayt yef wansayen d yisekkiren n læerc-a ,am wakken day ad naf ulac aṭas n tezrawin yellan yef læerc-a yef usentel-a.

Deg tezrawt-a i nexdem yef zzwağ deg læerc n At Mlikec taddart n Lemsella nebya ad d-nesken amek i ttgen timeyriwin n zzwağ zik akked tura, d ubeddel i d-yettilin ass-a ama deg laɛwayed ney deg yisekkiren n tmeṣra am akken day nebya ad nwali ayen i d-yernan d amaynut ulac-it zik d wayen i negren tura.

Ihi iswi-nney deg tezrawt-a d asebgem n wansayen n zzwağ akked ubeddel i d-yellan gar 1960 akked tura d wayen i ruḥen yettwatu deg taddart-a.

Ihi, asteqsi agejdan i yef tbedd tezrawt-nney d Wa:

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<sup>5</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n turagt : Ansayen zzwağ deg taddart iyil nacer Muhamed Akli ayt seidi 2012-2013

<sup>6</sup>le mariage parfait c’est le père qui marie sons que ce dernier en ait manifesté ».noces bèrbères.(cérémonie du mariage au Maroc).Emile Laoust .Edsud page32.1993

<sup>7</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n turagt : Ouhimi fadila akked Taybi oufia : « zzwağ yer At ebbas d At Mlikec » 2011/2012.

Amek i d-ttilint tmeyriwin n zzwağ deg læerc n At Mlikec taddart n Lemsella?

Am wakken day ad d-nfek kra n yiseqsiyen asnayan.

- ✓ Dacu id abeddel i d-yellan deg yisekkiren n zzwağ deg taddart-a?
- ✓ Dacu id abeddel i d-yellan deg teellaqt?
- ✓ Iwacu i d-ttwaxdem teellaqt n sidi lmufeq?

### 6. Tarrayin n unadi:

Deg umahil-a, nesseqdec kra n tarrayin iy-yeğğan ad d-negmer kra n yiferdisen, i tesleđt .Deg tazwara neeređ ad neg tamawt i unnar d wayen akk i as-d-yezzin imi nettikki deg unnar n tezrawt-a atas n tyawsiwin i nessaweđ ad tent-id-nessisen, am akken day nebya ad nwali amek id-tettili deg taddart n Lemsella.

#### 6. a. Tazersastant:

Nebda tazrawt-a ass n 15 yennayer 2016, nesteqsa kra n yimsulya ama d imawlanney ama d temyarin nniđen deg Læerc –a am wakken day nesteqsa kra n tlawin ħkantay-d yef laewayed i xedment deg zzwağ-nsent. Dya, tikiwin-a i d ay-d-fkan akka yimsulya-ya ad illint a afus n lemawna n tezrawt-a i nfuk ass n 15 Mayu 2016.

#### 6.b.Tasastant:

Yiwet deg-s i nga deg tezrawt-nney d Tazersastant (pré enquête) deg-s nefren-d deg yimezday n taddart wid ara nesteqsa. Mi nefren imsulya i ay-ilaqen i tezrawt-nney, nebda tasestant ama s tesfifin ama s tuddma n tezmilin.Tasestant i nga tettef azal n ( 05) wayyuren .deg-s nruh nesteqsa akk Imsulya n læerc-a mmeslayen-ay-d yef wansayen n zzwağ kul wa ayen i yessen d wayen i yecfa.

### 7. Tifukas n tsastant:

Deg tsastant i nga akk deg unnar nesseqdec atas n tfukas iwakken ad naweđ yer wacu nebya gar-asant:

#### 7. 1. Adiwenni:

D yiwen n ubrid gar yiberdan i nesseqdec akken ad d-negmer isallen, am wakken dayen yebđa yef sin:

##### 7.1.1. Adiwenni d yiwen n umdan:

Nekkni nesseqdec Adiwenni d yiwen n umdan akk d ugraw n yemdanen, deg-s llan yisteqsiyen i nefka i yimsulya ama d usriden ney d irusriden.

##### 7.1.2. Adiwenni d ugraw n yemdanen:



Tasekka-ya d tin i nessexdem anda i d-nejmeε kra n yemyaren, hkan-ay-d yef kra n wansayen d yisekkiren i d-yettilin deg tmeYra n zzwag deg taddart-a.

Akken daʔen ad d-nawi isallen yef wayen yerzan asentel-a n zzwag neɗfer Adiwenni d yiwen n umdan akked ugraw n yemdanen Gar yisteqsiyen i d-yellan deg udiwenni-ya:

- ✓ Amek i txeddmem timeyriwin n zzwag deg taddart-a?
- ✓ Amek i d-tettili lexɗubeyya zik-nni?
- ✓ D acu i d-ɗarrun deg uεeggen?
- ✓ D acut teellaqt i yellan deg tmeYra n zzwag deg temnaɗt n At Mlikec?

### 7.1.3. Annay imekki:

Imi d tameɗtut i lliy zemrey ad kecmeY gar tlawin s sshala iwakken ad hɗrey tmeYra n zzwag deg taddart-a, acku ass n tmeYra n zzwag lliy deg uxxam n tmeYra, tasastant-a tella-d srid acku hɗrey s wallen-iw yef wayen id-iɗarrun ass-nni n tmeYra deg uxxam n teqcict segmi tebda almi i tfuk.

### 7.1.4. Annay usrid:

Anay d asurif amenzu deg tezrawt-nney, d tamuYli yef wamek i d-ttilin wansayen n tmeYra i d-yetteeddayen deg uqerruy n yal amdan mi ara tili tmeYra n zzwag deg taddart-

### 1.1.Allalen n unadi :

Deg ujmaε n yinefkan, neɗfer aɗas n wallalen ad ten-id-nebder:

#### 1.1.1. Amsiwel n ufus:

Nefka iseqsiyen usriden i wid id ay-d-yemmeslayen, yerna neɗɗa-ten ad ay-ddaren i yiseqsiyen-a s lebyi akk nefka-yasen tagnit ad d-mmeslayen akken ibyan, Nekkni nesekles-d ayen id ay-d-hɗren-t s umsiwel n ufus, maca llan kra n yisteqsiyen d ajerred id ten-jarred yef udlis fus.

Ttawil-a yeɗɗa-yay ad d-nawi kra n tugniwin yef zzwag d kra yef lemɗamat n leerc n At Mlikec, Am wakken ara nessiwed ad d-nesken zzwag deg taddart n lemsella ,Maca aɗas n wuguren i d-nemmuger deg lxedma n tugniwin-a n zzwag acku tuget n teqcicin ttgamint ad fkent tugniwin-nsent ad tent-nexdem deg tezrawt-nney.

### 9.1. Afran n yimsulya :

Yal win ixedmen tazrawt yeħwaɗ imsulya akken ad as-fken kra n yisallen i yerzan asentel-is, imsulya-ya d yimezday n taddart n Lemsella, acku d nutni i yezran amek i xedmen tamayra n zzwag deg taddart-a ama d irgazen ney d tilawin maca tuget seg-sen d tilawin s leemer yemgaraden ,acku d nutenti i yettilin deg wass n tmeYra ,nefka iseqsiyen

ama i temyarin akken ad ay-d-mmeslayen-t yef wansayen n tmeyriwin n zik, am akken day mmeslayen-t-ay-d tlawin yef wansayen n zzwağ n tura.

Imsulya-ya ad ten-id-nebder deg tfelwit n yimsulya i nga deg tjeñtađ.

### 10.1. Timiđranin tumhilin:

Ad neeređ ad d-nefk kra n wawalen i yesean assay d tezrawt-a.

Awalen-a d wid i d-yemmalen tilawt n wayen yellan deg læerc n At Mlikec, yef waya Nekkn i nefren-d kra seg-sen iwakken ad d-nefk tiririt i yesteqsiyen n tezrawt-a.

#### a. Zzwağ:

Zzwağ yettili-d s "zeddi n urgaz d tmeđtut iwakken arraw-nni id-tesea tmeđtut-nni ttunehsaben d arraw n lehlal s yur yimawlan"<sup>8</sup>

Ma yella d Emil Laoust, yenna-d "zzwağ yer yimaziyen tikwal d ababa-t id izewgen i mmi-s maca tura d mmi-s id-as-d-yeskanayen anta ara yay"<sup>9</sup>

Am akken day, zzwağ d ayen i yellan d lwajeb yef uzawali ney yef umerkanti yella deg tesređt ineslemt, yenna-d dakken Rebbi zzwağ d azgen n Ddin ney n tesređt gar urgaz d tmeđtut s-yes i beddun tudert-nsen s lehlal.

#### e.Zzwağ n dixel:

Zzwağ (tisulya) gar warraw n watmaten ulac-it, zzwağ d yelli-s n lخال ney n yelli-s n læem .asnagar n zzwağ gar warraw n watmaten qlil.

Am wakken day zzwağ-a yettili-d dixel n yiwen n ugraw ney n yiwen n taddart ney deg yiwen n læerc, ur yettili ara berra i taddart ney i læerc, ad naf dakken zzwağ-a n dixel n taddart yella s wařas zik deg useggas 1970 tura i ruř i negger .

#### F.Zzwağ n berra:

Zzwağ-a d win i d-yettilin berra i læerc ney i taddart yezmer diyen ad yili dixel n yiwen n læerc maca yettunehsaben d zzwağ n berra, ad d-nefk amedya: ad yili yiwen d amrabeđ ad yay yiwet d taqbaylit wa yettunehsaben d zzwağ n berra.

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<sup>8</sup> Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « l'union d'un homme et d'une femme telle que les enfants nés de la femme sont reconnus légitimes par les parents , Michel Izard et Marion Abélés,philippe Descola,Jean-pierre Digard , Catherine Duby, Jean- Claud Galey, Jean Jamin, Gérard Lenclud,France 1991.p131.

<sup>9</sup> Emile Laoust, Noces berbères, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc, édition établie par Claude,p93.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Le mariage chez nous Imazighen, parfois c'est le père qui marie son fils sans que ce dernier en ait manifesté ».

### **b. Taellaqt:**

D lqis i yessers yiwen seg lawliyat ssalhin “sidi lmufeq” ttafaren-t læerc-a n At Mlikec deg tmeyriwin n zzwag, yef wakken i d-nnan yessers-it akken ad yessishel zzwag yef medden merra, ama d azawali ney d amarkanti.

Γef wakken id qqaren d sidi lmufeq i yennejmaæn d tnac n læeqqal n At Mlikec i wakken ad msefhamen yef taellaqt-a n zzwag, dya fkan-d lqis n taellaqt yenteq sidi lmufeq yenna-yasen “Wufqay-ken”<sup>10</sup>

Am akken day yedra-d unejmuε-nniḍen deg taddart n tylaṭ yer kra n yemdanen n taddart-a i wakken ad frun tamsalt-a n zzwag, yenteq sidi lmufeq yenna-yasen ad asent-nettak 12 n duru, tilawin heqrent, taedda tenteq-d yiwet n tmettut tenna-yas ala a sidi lmufeq amer a Rebbi snat n tlawin s 50 n duru, seg imiren tbedd taellaqt n sidi lmufeq yef 25 n duru ar ass-a<sup>11</sup>

### **c. Taemamt:**

D idrimen azal-nsen 25 duru ttaken-ten yimawlan n yesli i lwali n teslit uqbel ad teffey seg uxxam n yimawlan-is, yas 25 n duru macci d lqima i yetteddayen deg tallit-a maca mazal-it ar ass-a ttaken-tent, yuṭal d ansay deg læerc n At Mlikec, ma ulac-itent ur d-teffey ara teslit seg uxxam n yimawlan-is.

Taemamt mačči d timrist s unamek azerfan afransis i tt-id-ssegzayen am kra n tedrimt fkan yimawlan n uqcic i teqcict izewḡen<sup>12</sup>

Ass-a d idrimen akked tfetwin id as- ttaken i teslit». <sup>13</sup>

Hanotaux yenna-d dakken Taemamt d tawtilt tagejdant d lexlax n suma n yedrimen akken id as-isemma”tuččit”

### **d. Isekkiren:**

Durkheim yenna-d dakken: “Isekkiren d ilugan n usellu i d-yemmalen i umdan amek ilaq ad yellu akked ayen yellan d uyris” <sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Tazwart n taggara n turagt : Oulebsir Fadila « Taynarrayt n lemḡam n sidi lmufeq », (2004 – 2005) p 42.

<sup>11</sup> Idem, P43

<sup>12</sup> Dictionnaire Kamil Lacoste du Djardin, p 213.

Aḡris s tutlayt tafransist : « Taemamt n'est pas cette dot au sens juridique francais qui la comprend comme «un somme donnée a la jeune femme qui se marie, par ses parents »

<sup>13</sup> Idem, p213.

Aḡris s tutlayt tafransist : « Aujourd'hui ce sont souvent des sommes d'argent et tout un trousseau pour la mariée ».

Asekkir (asfel) dagi (d awqam) azamul i yettuneḥsaben ad yefk i yemdanen tazmert n usexdem n yifadden (yeffren) akken ad d-sseḍrun kra n temsal tigmawanin am tyita n unzar, tamettant n kra n ucengu, ulac timetti i yettidiren melba isekkiren.

### 11.1. Uguren i d-nemmuger:

Deg lebni n tezrawt-a nemmuger-d aṭas n wuguren yemgaraden deg unnar, d ayen i ay-yesweeren agmar n yisallen n tesleḍt, wuguren-a ad d-nebder:

- ✓ D akud i d ugur amenzu i d ay-yeḡḡan ur nexdim ara aṭas n tsastanin.
- ✓ Ugur n yimsulya: nufa kra n wuguren yer yimsulya-ya i nesteqsa deg teyzi n leqdic-a, acku win i nesteqsa yeqqar-ay-d anect-a macci d amaynut dayen walan akk medden, am wakken day ur nufi ara timyarin i yesnen ad ay-d-sbuyrent.
- ✓ Uguren n yedlisen d turagin i yellan yef usentel-a deg læerc-a n At Mlikec, ulac akk adlis i d-yemmeslayan yef wansayen i xedmen deg tmeyra n zzwaḡ deg læerc-a.

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<sup>14</sup> Durkheim Emile, 1912, Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse : le système totémique en Australie, paris, Félix Alcan, p13.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : « Les rites sont des règles de conduite qui prescrivent comment l’homme doit se comporter avec les choses sacrées ».

### Taggrayt

Deg uḥric-a neereḍ ad nefk tamuylī tamatut yef tmeḡriwin n zzwaḡ deg taddart n Lemsella i yellan deg Læerc n At Mlikec, diyen newwi-d awal yef tmental i aḡ-yeḡḡan ad nefren asentel-a gar akk yisental-nniḍen, nefka-d asteqsi agejdan iwakken ad nwali yef wacu i netnadi deg taggara n tezrawt-nney.

# **Ixef II: Taynarrayt n læerc n At Mlikec**

**Tazwert:**

Deg yixef-a wis sin ad neereḍ ad d-nessuk tamuyli yef umezruy n læerc n At Mlikec, am akken day ara d-nawi awal yef taddart n Lemsella maca ulac atas n yisallen fell-as , maca amezruy n læerc-a d win lqayen s waṭas ad naf deg-s tarakalt d umezruy n At Mlikec.

**1. Tamuyli yef læerc n “Bni Mlikec”:**

Mgaradent turdiwin yef unamek n wawal “Mlikec”, yewwi-d fell-as awal yiwen n umyar (A.Y, 55 n yiseggasen) send asteqsi is-nefka, yenna-d: awal “Mlikec” yebḍa yef sin n wawalen → mmel-i-keč anamek-is: ini i yiman-ik.

Amyar-a (A.Y) ikemmel deg wawal-is yenna-d dakken: isem-a “Mlikec” yesεa taḥkayt. D yiwen n ufellaḥ iruḥ yer tezgi ad d-yezdem, yebḍa aqedder deg yiqermad, deg lawan-nni iwala-t-id yiwen n umsebrid amek yettef tagelzimt, yenna-yas i ufellaḥ-nni: “mačči akken i ttatṭafen tagelzimt qleb-itt s tehri, dya yerra-yas-d ufellaḥ:”mmel i keč”. Seg wass-nni tllaεin-as medden “Mlikec”, yef waya tisuta d-ilullen wwint isem-a.

Ma yella d asezwet n wawal-a “Bni” yenna-d (A.Y): anamek-is d tarwa-s (arrow-is) sduklen-t yefka-d tarwa n Mlikec=”Bni Mlikec”.

Yenna-d dayen lḥağ (R.B) 60 n yiseggasen yef unamek n wawal “Mlikec”: yebḍa yef sin n wawalen “Mlek” = ayla, keč=amqim “inek”, sdukklen gar-asen yefka-d “mmel i keč”=”ayla inek”.

Tuget n yimezday i nesteqsa yef unamek n wawal “Mlikec” fkan-aḡ-d tiririt n (M.B), d tiririt-a i d-nebder yekkan (d turdiwin) tettwasen yer yimezday n læerc-a.

**2-Tarakalt d umezruy n læerc n At Mlikec:**

Læerc-a n At Mlikec d yiwen gar læerc n tmurt n leqbayel, yesdukkel 15 n tudrin: tala n tiyilt, At fḍila, iεeggacen, Lemsella, Tabuda, Tayalaṭ, At waemar, Tineswin, Ibejjiwen, Amerεi, Agni ugerwaz, Iyil qrar, Lemğaz, Tiḥerqatin, Agentur,

Akal-is ass-a yebda yef snat n tyiwanin, tayiwant n At Mlikec d tayiwant n tezmalt, Læerc-a yebæed yef Bgayet s wazal n 90 Km.

Læerc-a yesæa kraḍ n yiberdan i kečmen yur-s:

-Abrid d-yekkan seg yigawawen, seg ein Lhemmam, tirurda Aybalu yer læerc n At Mlikec.

-Abrid ayelnaw Wis 26 i igezmen tezmalt s tama n wadda, yeqqen gar Ayir n tubiret d Bgayet.

-Abrid ayelnaw d-yekkan s tyiwant n yiyrem, i yetteffYen yer tama n usamar n tyiwant n At Mlikec, Am akken day llan sin n yiberdan gar snat n tyiwanin n læerc-a:

-Abrid n sidi lmufeq, s tama n usamar n læerc, seg wallayen yer taddart n iæeggacen.

-Abrid n At Mlikec, s tlemmast n tezmalt, seg ubrid ayelnaw Wis 26 srid yer tyiwant n At Mlikec.

Ma nemmuqel deg tudert tadamsant n læerc n At Mlikec ad t-naf dakken ur tseɛi wara allalen n usekcem n udrim , acku d tin i yesæan tafellaht drus maḍi , acku tesga-d deg tqacucin n yidurar , yerna yur-s isekla n uzemmur d tazart akked tebħirin yellan zdat n yexxamen , ma yella d tanezzut ur tseɛi ara aṭas drus mliħ , am akken day læerc-a d win musnawen s urebbi n lmal d tsita,nezmer ad naf azal n snat n tħuna d yiwet n lqahwa i yal taddart n læerc-a , s yin akkin læerc-a d win yesæan azal n sin n yiymbazen ilemmasen win i wumi qqaren :hamam hammuch bni warmer, ben maseud rabiε Tabuda seant azal n 674 n yinelmaden farqen-ten yef 31 n tneyriyin , sean 45 n yiselmaden, ma yella d yiymbazen imenza yesæa azal n 11 maca 7 d wid yeldin ma yella d wiyad qeflen acku ulac inelmaden ara yiyrem s waṭas, maca ad naf læerc-a yesæa yiwet n tesnawit win i wumi semman tesnawit lkaa(الكائة), deg taddart n umareɛi; s yin yur-s ad naf tayiwant n At Mlikec tseɛa yiwen n wannar d yiwet n tzeqqa n waddalen a yiwen n wannar d yiwet n tzeqqa n waddalen yur-s azal n 8 n tdukliwin tidelsanin<sup>1</sup>.

Læerc-a n At Mlikec deg yal taddart yesæa lgameε yesæan zdaxel-is timeqbart.

<sup>1</sup> Apc, n læerc n At Mlikec.



Ma d lemqamat, ad d-nebder: sidi lmufeq, si lħaħa emer, sidi eli ueebdellah, sidi Muħend sadeq, sidi Muħend SƳir, sidi ħmed deg taddart n iyil iæeggacen, si Muħend usliman deg taddart n At weemer, sidi lebsir deg taddart n iyil qrar, sidi Ęmed ben eli yella ddaw yiyil qrar, na melxir tacita tella deg tƳalať sidi eli werħab yemma tawwirt tella ddaw tƳalať deg taddart n iħeddaden , Ttaq Abeħri. Am wakken day deg læerc-a ad sean anagar iyallen n laman iyawanen<sup>2</sup>.

### **a.1.Tilisa n læerc-a:**

Læerc-a At Mlikec yezga-d deg unZul n umalu n AƳir n Bgayet akk deg ugafa n ubrid ayelnaw uťtun 26 , yerfed Ƴef yilel azal n 800 n lmitrat, yezzi-yas-d deg tama:

1- Usamar: tayiwant n yiƳrem akked læerc n ilullen.

2- Umalu: AƳir n tubiret d læerc n at kana.

3-Ugafa: AƳir n tizi wezzu, ilullen d yiferħunen.

4-UnZul: Tayiwant n Bujlil (At æbbas). (Muqel takerda deg tƳenťad nLæerc n At Mlikec).

Tajuma n wakar-is tewweđ yer wazal n 42, 38 n yihiktaren tesæa azal n 8497 n yimezday deg useggas 2008. Ma yella d tignwt-is d tin semden mliħ adfel iyum tiƳaltin deg tegrest deg yidurar elayen yettawden yer 400 n lmitrat deg lawan n tegrest maca deg tsemhuyin nniđen yesfa lħal.

### **B.1.Beťtu adeblan n 1984 :**

Tayiwant n At Mlikec teťtef isem n læerc, yella deg tallit arumi yesdukkel snat n tyiwanin maca asmi tewwi lezzayer timument-ines bđan-t, imi tazmalt tuƳal d taƳiwant iman-is deg useggas n 1984. Tezdi aťas n tudrin ad naf :tazmalt , d tamaneyt n tyiwant akk d ukuz n tudrin :Ruđa, ixerban, idriqen, allayen, ma yella d At Mlikec yeqqim d tayiwant iman-is , maca yal taddart deg tyiwant n At Mlikec Ƴur-s tasqamut n taddart, tella yiwet n taddart i itekkin yer tyiwant n uybalu n wayir n tubiret ta d iyil ucekrid, tesæa tasqamut n taddart i itekkin yer læerc n At Mlikec am wakken i tettebes

<sup>2</sup> Isallen Ƴef trakalt newwi-ten-id deg uxxam n tyiwant (APC).

taeellaqt n sidi lmufeq , ma yella deg uħric adeblan, nettat tettabeε tayiwant n uybalu d tin yesεan aħas n ttawilat ideblanen yettāfaren awanek :

-Iyallen n laman n ladayra (service de police).

-Axxam n tyiwant ( la mairie)<sup>3</sup>.

### 3-Amezruy n læerc n At Mlikec:

#### -Amezruy n læerc-a:

Akeččum n Yemrabđen yella-d ilmend n tasut tis 12 d tasut tis 13, maca kecmen-d tamurt n Leqbayel deg taggara n tallit talemast s wudem n tesređt n lislam, tuget deg -sen sεan zawiyat, ttfen lemqamat amedya (lemqam n Sidi lmufeq, Si Lħađ Ĕmer...) sεan tawuri n uselmed n leqran d lemsalħa deg tmetti Taqbaylit, anect-a yemmeslay-d fell-as Reni yura-d «tuget n Yemrabđen sεan zawiyat, ttfen lemqamat d tsedawiyin n tallit talemast, d iselmaden i d yezgan i lmendad selmaden leqran, azref ineslem d tjarrumt»<sup>4</sup>.

Dayen ilmend n wayen yuran, nnan-d send tasut tis 14 imezday n At Mlikec llan deg Metiġa, Lemdiya aya yenna-t –id Ibn Khalboun «ad d-nemlil timura n yisenħaġiyen yesdukkulen Lezzayer, Metiġa, Lemdiya d temnađin tiġiratin alami d Bgayet»<sup>5</sup> dayen yenna-d «aressi n læarc n Waεaben, Itaεalibeyen (...) ineggura-ya ressan deg Metiġa, ufan tamastant n Bani Mlikec læarc n yisenħaġiyen»<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Amsalyu M. Y (88 n yiseggasen).

<sup>4</sup> « Plusieurs marabouts ont des zaouïa, qui tiennent à la fois des monastères et des universités du moyen-âge ; des professeurs ; sous leur direction, y enseignent le coran, le droit musulman et la grammaire » Reni (L), *Marabouts et Khouan*, Alger, édition Jourdan, , 1884, P.18.

<sup>5</sup> « On rencontre les pays des sanħaġa, qui renforcent Alger, metiġa, Medea et les régions voisins jusqu'à Bougie » Ibn Khaldoun, *histoire des berbères*, édition Berti, paris,2003, P.135.

<sup>6</sup> « L'installation d'une tribu arabe, les Taâliba (...) que ces derniers alors installés dans le titteri se fixent dans le Mitidja « ayant obtenu la protection des Beni Melieiche, tribu sanħadjienne » » Ibn Khaldoun, '*histoire des berbères*', édition Berti, paris2003, P.123.

Dayen yura-d Ibn Khaldoun yef læarc n At Mlikec: «Igawawen bđan yef wařas n tsekkwin am Mağesta, d Mlikec,...»<sup>7</sup>

Læarc-a yebder-it-id dayen Emile Carette deg udlis-is yenna-d «deg tallit n yitürkiyen, Bni Mlikec ur ttellisen ara tabzert. Iedawen-nsen i idewmen d Illulen akked Bnu Eebbas, ur sein ara tadukla i idewmen mi ara iħwiğen tallelt, tteqsaden tikwal wi, tikwal wiyad»<sup>8</sup>

Læarc-a yemmeslay-d fell-as Alain Mahé deg tfelwiyin«deg tallit n 1880 yella læarc n At Mlikec, yewweđ uřřun n yimezday-is 3200 n yimezday, yesea azal n 19 n texliğin»<sup>9</sup>. 1830 læerc n At Mlikec fkan afus n lemawna i Day iwakken ad ĥudden lezzayer mgal unekcum afransis, ařas id ikecmen yur-s ġğan tameddurt-nsen<sup>10</sup>

Deg useggas n 1851, yebda řrađ deg At Mlikec, llan ařas n yiserdasen id-yusan yer læerc n At Mlikec, llan ddan d uguldun eebd lqader deg useggas n 1848, gar-asen Bubeyla yusa-d yer læerc-a imi yesla dakken imezday-is ugin ad ilin ddaw n laenaya n tamharsa arumi, yessuter deg-sen ad ilin yer tama-s , deg talli-a tella-d yiwet n tnekra qessiħen gar At Mlikec d fransa deg useggas n 1851 arumi d aseggas n 1954 deg tneggarut-a i yemmut Bubeyla<sup>11</sup>

### **-Tidyanin n umezruy i tyiwant:**

<sup>7</sup> « Les zwawa se partagent en plusieurs branches telles que les Madjesta, les Mlikeche,... » » Ibn Khaldoun, '*histoire des berbères*', Paris, édition Berti, 2003, P.156.

<sup>8</sup> « Du temps des turcs, les Béni-Mlikeche ne payaient pas des contributions, leurs ennemis habituels sont les Illoula et les Béni-Abbès. Ils n'ont pas d'alliances permanentes : quand ils ont besoin du secours, ils s'adressent tantôt aux uns, tantôt aux autres. » Emile Carette, *étude sur la Kabylie proprement dite*, Tome II, France, édition Bouchene, 2005, P.215.

<sup>9</sup> Alain Hahé, *Anthropologie historique de la grande Kabylie XIXeme\_XX siècle, histoire du lien social dans les communautés villageoises*, Paris, 1994, P.p. 206, 575.

<sup>10</sup> Mohand said Amlikec (1812-1877), et Arezki .D.

<sup>11</sup> Alain Mahé, *Histoire de la Grande Kabylie XIX-xx siècles*, premier édition, 2001, Editions Bouchéne, 2006 P 167.

Tayiwant n At Mlikec tettwaḥsab d tayiwant i yekfan aṭas afus n lemɛawna iwakken lezzayer ad tawi timument, ad d-nebder tanekra i yexdem ccix Bubeyla s lemɛawna n yemdanen n læerc-a, am akken dayen kkin deg tanekra isem-is: tanekra n yicariḍen<sup>12</sup>

### **-Imaynasen n læerc-a:**

Ad naf deg tyiwant n At Mlikec vlin wazal n 970 n yimaṽrasen, daymi i tetṭef amkan amezwaru gar akk tyiwanin-nniḍen deg uswir n yimayrasen gar-asen: Abed reḥman Mira win yetṭfen Ayir wis kraḍ, d Azwaw ɛamran, am wakken day ad naf Ahmed sula d win iɛawnen ccix Bubeyla deg tnekriwin-is ,llan diyen iwudam idelsanen i tesɛa tyiwant-a ad naf Ḥanafi Muhand saeid win iwumi qqaren saeid amlikec amedyaz ameqqran n tnekra deg læhd n si Muḥend umḥend d tmedyazt Masaad Ḥimi<sup>13</sup>

### **-Tadelsa d tgemmi :**

Imezday n tyiwant n At Mlikec d wid yekkin d waṭas n tnekriwin d tesreḍt akked waṭas n tdelsanin id –yekkan ney i d-yusan seg berra , am temnaḍin nniḍen n leqbayel i yettaken tudert, i waṭas n tfugliwin yerzan tasreḍt i ttgen deg lemḳam akken i yettwasen yer leqbayel « ssellaḥ » , ma yella d tifugla -ya musnawet deg læerc-a , tin n lemḳam n sidi lmufeq i yettwaxdamen yal aseggas deg taddart n lemsella , læerc-a yettwasen di tegrwla n 54 d 62 , nnig n 1000 n yimaṽrasen.<sup>14</sup>

### **-Tamuyli yef taddart n lemsella:**

Ixamen n leqbayel yerzan tamnaḍt n AT MLIKEC tuget deg-sen d wid id-yezgan deg tṼaltin n yidurar ɛlayan, ilmend n waya yenna-d R.Basagana d A.sayad “Taddart n leqbayel tesga-d s umata deg tiyilt, agni ney tawrirt meḥsub werḡin tetṭef luḍa<sup>15</sup>” sseba tagejdant n waya d amsedḍfar n yimnekcamen fell-as, maca tilin yef tyaltin tettaḡḡa-ten ad ṭṭfen deg wansayen-nsen dayen ad ḥarzen tutlayt-nsen.

<sup>12</sup> (APC).

<sup>13</sup> (APC).

<sup>14</sup> (APC).

<sup>15</sup> R.Basagana et A.sayad : Habitat traditionnel et structure familiale en kabylie, Alger, édition Crap, 1974, P, 17.

Taddart n lemsella d yiwet n taddart gar tuddar n læerc n At Mlikec, deg useggas n 1823 llan yimezday-is ttidiren deg tawriɣ umbaɛd subben-d yer taddart-a n lemsella imi d-kecmen yirumyen yer læerc-a; lemsella d taddart tamezyant mliḥ tesga-d gar taddart n ṭwila akked d taddart n yiɛeggacen, tesɛa azal n 600 n yimezdaṬ acku subben-d akk yer wanda i llan wallalen n uxeddim, ttnadin yef temeict yelhan acku taddart-a d tin ixussen s waṭas.

Dayen taddart-a d tin yesɛan tafellaḥt s waṭas: azemmur d tineqlin, ssuzun zzit d yiguma yer tuddar nniḍen, yerna tesɛa akal yelhan i tfellaḥt ama i yirden ney d timẓin, imezday n taddart-a d wid ixedmen s waṭas tafellaḥt, d wid i yettrebin s waṭas lmal d yezgaren ssuzun-ten yer berra i taddart-a.

Taddart-a n lemsella deg-s i yella lemɣam n sidi lmufeq, akken i d ay-d-ḥkan yemyaren nnan-ay-d dakken d sidi lmufeq id as-isemman lemsella acku iɛac deg-s 7 n yiseggasen deg yiwen n yifri yiwen ur tiwala ur d-yettaffey ara akk din alama ifuken-t 7 n yiseggasen-a yeffey-d din umbaɛd isemma-yas i taddart- lemsella , ma yella d sidi lebsir d win ittiḥesben d tacriḥt deg yidis-is , am akken day sidi lmufeq deg taddart-a n lemsella i yewet taɛekkazt-is fyen-d waman umbaɛd bnan-as tala semman-as tala n lḡameɛ leinsar tella ar tura deg taddart-a am wakken dayen nnan-ay-d semman-as lemsella acku yella deg-s lḡameɛ deg zik deg-s i d-yella lḡameɛ amenzu , tuget n yemdanen yettidiren deg-s d imrabḍen d inselman ttzalan yef wakka id as-semman lemsella.<sup>16</sup>

### **-Isekkiren i mazal Ddren ar tura:**

Taddart n lemsella am tuddar akk- nniḍen n leqbayel, sɛan isekkiren d wansayen ṭṭfen deg-s ar tura, yaɣ akken llan wid i ruḥen negren ad d-nebder wid I mazal ddren ar ass-a deg taddart-a:

### **-Ttebyita:**

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Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist« Le village kabyle occupe en général, une crête, un plateau ou un versant, très rarement, presque jamais il n'est implanté dans la vallée » Habitat traditionnel et structure familiale en Kabylie.

<sup>16</sup> Amsalyu (Muḥend syir 69 n yiseggasen).

D ansay yellan ar ass-a deg taddart-a, yef ,wayen i<sup>v</sup>-d-nnan wid id-nemmugger deg wannar-a ttebyita tettili-d snat n tikwal deg useggas. Deg lemqam n sidi lmufeq uqbel ttebyita yetteli-d uheggi n uksum d lxedra, tilawin ttnawalent seksu d uksum i wid-nni ara d-yasen akken yer zziyarat.

Tasebhit n wass n ttebyita lemqam n sidi lmufeq yeemer d zziyyar ttasen-d seg yal tama n tmurt n leqbayel ama d irgazen ama d tilawin, seg tama-nniiden , llan yemyaren deg ugraw-a n sidi lmufeq takken-d ddeawi n lxir i yilemziyen yellan din, ma yella d tilawin tt<sup>v</sup>amant deg tqarabt<sup>17</sup> yer uzekka n sidi lmufeq ddaunt s lxir , llant kra ttawint-d arraw-nsent ihelkan ttdawiren-d tlata n tikwal yef uzekka-nni n sidi lmufeq sefden udmawen-nsen s leshan-nni i yettilin akken yef uzekka-ines, acku d lbaraka d wayen yelhan, am wakken day deg lemqam n sidi lmufeq ayen i nedeā yettwaqbal yer rebbi ,ma yella tedea tmeṭṭut ama yef mmis i yellan deg lyerba din din ad as-d-yeqbel ddaewa-ya ad yuṭal mmi-s ṭur-s , llant kra n tlawin ccealent ticemmaein ttaken-t lwaeda, srusunt deg usenduq-nni i yellan din ayen i wumi zemren-t n lwaeda.

Deg ttebyita-ya ttasent-d atas n tlemziyin d yilmezyen ,llan yilmezyen yebyan ad izewḡen , ttasen-d yer ttebyita akken ad d-walin teqcicin id asen-ieejben akken ad tentaven , nnan-ay-d dakken sidi lmufeq yettwefiq teqcicin yer lxir d wayen yelhan, maca nwala atas n teqcicin i izewḡen dinna, s yin akkin ad naf wid id yettawin izamaren d yiṭiden yer lemqam-a ama d aseddaq ney d asfel id tettnawalen dinna iwakken ad tfak ccedda d lmeḥna yef warraw-nsen wa ad-d-ṭli cafuea d rrahma fell-asen.

### **-Tuntict:**

Ansaya d win i mazal yella ar tura deg taddart n lemsella, ansaya yetteli ama deg tmeyriwin ama deg ṭṭhara ney deg lhiḡ, win yesean yiwen umkan gar yimukan-a ad yexdem seksu d uksum ad ččen akk wid id yeered , umbaed ad iceggæ i teqcicin tunticcin akk ama i lḡiran-is akk ney i wid i tiqarben deg zuran-is.

<sup>17</sup>Taqarabt : d taxxamt yettilin deg lemqam deg-s yella uzekka-nni n lmusliḥ-nni, diyen yella deg-s usenduq srusun deg-s lwaeda.

**-Zziyara:**

Ansay-a d win i mazal yedder ar tura deg læercn At Mlikec deg taddart n lemsella. Yal ljamæa deg sidi lmufeq ,ttruḥun-d medden ama d irgazen ama d tilawin, ttruḥun-d akken ad zuren ad awin lbaraka , llan wid id-yettsediqen seksu d uksum tetten wid akk yellan din, akken i walay ansay-a d win yellan ar tura deg taddart-a n lemsella , yerna yal ljamæa xedmen akk Zziyara yer lemquam-a, tilawin tṭyamant deg tqarabt ttaken-t lwaæda iwakken ad d-awint lbaraka d cafuæa ama i uxxam-nsent ney i warraw-nsent , am wakken day yal yiwet ara d-ikecmen yer tqarabt-nni ilaq ad d-tezzi fell-as tlata n tikwal yef usenduq-nni n sidi lmufeq.

**-Timecreḍt:**

Timecreḍt d yiwet seg wansayen i tesa tmut n leqbayel, xedmen-t deg leewacer (leïd tamezyant, tameqqrant, taæacurt) Timecreḍt n leïd xedmen-tt iwakken ad allen imeyban ad sæedlen gar yemdanen (ameyban ad yečč amarkanti ad yečč) kra n wussan uqbel Timecreḍt tettnejmae merra taddart, tettak-d lwaæda, sakin ad muqlen ma qadden yedrimen-nni iwakken ad d-ayen yes-sen izgaren, Ma ufan xussen, rennun-ten-id yef lehṣab n yiæeggalen n yal tawacult . Mi kfan ad iruḥ win yellan yef uqerruy n taddart d wid i t-yitteawanen akken ad d-ayen izgaren , mi ten-id-wwin ad ten-zlun , s yin akkin ad ten-bḍun d tixamin ney d tuna. Ma farqen yef taddart yal tṭamen ad d-yefk ačḥal i yesæa n tuna i udrum-is Kan, akken alama wwin akk yimezday n taddart amur-is<sup>18</sup> ,akken id-ay-d-yemeslay A.D yenna-d: *“ma yella deg taddart n lemsella xedmen timecreḍt deg yennayer n yimaziyen iwakken ad yelhu useggas, zellun izgaren d wokraren, leeqqal n taddart ad nejmaen akken ad msefhamen ; ass n timecreḍt taddart n lemsella ad t-nejmae iwakken yal yiwen ad yexdem cayli-s , timecreḍt deg taddart-a tecba tameyra , irgazen xedmen cyel ma yella d tilawin sewwayen-t lmakla , ansay-a d wid i d- ḡḡan at zik ney d wid i d- ḡḡan lejdud-nney , d sadiqa dayen ara iḥarben yef leqbayel merra.*

*Deg timecreḍt ad naf ama d amectuḥ ama d ameqqran gren ifassen-nsen yer lemæawna , timecreḍt d tagnit i usufey n warrac imezyanen akken ad awin dḍæawi n*

<sup>18</sup> Aybalu : Nora BEL Gasmila ; L’expression écrite en tamaziyt HCA 2006-2007 p 102 -103.

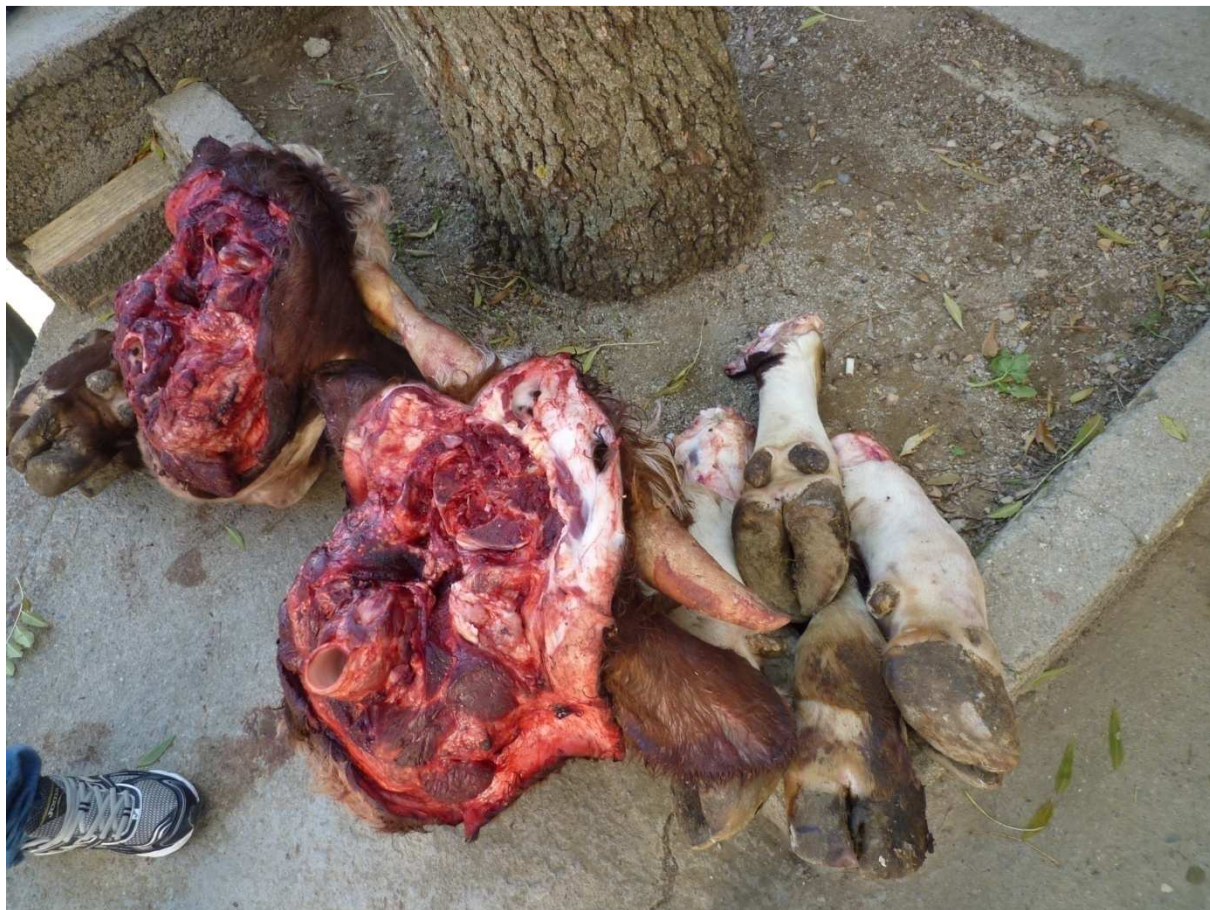
*lxir ad idiren di talwit , At taddart tdiwiren-d akk i taddart , s yin akkin irgazen ad eeddin ad farqen tixamin-nni ad deun s lxir ma yella d taddart ad tesiwel i yal tawacult iwakken yal yiwen ad yawi amur-is , uqbel taggara n tmecređt taddart ad d-ssers iqerray d iqejjiren-nni n yezgaren win ibyan ad ten-yay , iwakken idrimen-nni ad uyalen i taxriđ n taddart , s waya Imezday n taddart ttuyalen-d s unecrađ d ifassen yeččuren , iwakken yal aseggas ad ten-id-yaf s ssađa d lehna , mi ara tfak tmecređt lseqqal n taddart mazal-iten ruđen ad řesben idrimen ijemeen akken ad ten-rren i taxriđ n taddart”<sup>19</sup> .*



**Tugna 1 : Afraq n uksum d tixamin**

<sup>19</sup> Amsalyu Amara Yahia 88 n yiseggasen.





## Tugna 2 : Aqerruy d iqejjiren n yezgaren

### -Amenzu n rbie:

Ansay-a d win yellan deg taddart n lemsella ar tura ġġan-t-id imezwura mi ara yekcem umenzu n rbie ttafeyen warrac imezyanen d teqcicin timezyanin ttmagaren-t tafsut ttakren-s tasebhit zik , ttawin yid-sen lahlawat d tmellalin yal yiwen txeddem-as yemma-s tacekart n tafsut yettmagar s yes tafsut, tasebhit n wass uqbel ad icreq yitij yal yiwen ad iseqreb s yexxamen n wiyad alama fyen-d akk warrac n taddart , ad ruhen i baba-ten-nsen ad ten-idewren i taddart ad t-eggiden , anmager tafsut alwiza tacut ,nerra legez i kra yellan d isem-im , umbaed mi ara d-frari cwit n tafat ad ruhen yer wannar din ara cčen akk ticekarin-nsen syin akkin ad d-teksen iğejjigen n tafsut , yal yiwen ad yuyal s axxam-is dayen ifuk umager n tafsut<sup>20</sup>.

- **Imukan i yesan azal deg læerc n At Mlikec d taddart n lemsella:**

<sup>20</sup> Amsalyu (H. Z) 25n yiseggasen.

**- Lemqam n sidi lmufeq:**

Lemqam-a d win id yezgan deg taddart n yiæggacen ; yesæa tazeqqa selmaden deg-s leqran am wakken day yesæa taqarabt deg-s yella użekka n sidi lmufeq ttruḥun yur-s zzewar ama deg ttebyita ney deg leewacer niḍen , ama d wid n læerc-a ney d iberraniyen acku d win musnawen yesæan leqder , ttasen-d yur-s takken lwaæda ccæalayan din ticemmaein daæun s lxiṛ yef uyrib ney yef tin ur nezwiğ ara , lemqam-a yesæa lbir yef lḥiḍ n lğamee , aman-is d wid yesæan ddaw d ccfa win id yettasen yettzuru yettawin aman-a yid-s ney isett din acku qqaren-d d ccfa , am wakken day ad naf teslit tettruḥu yer lemqam-a tettzuru tettak lwaæda yerna stettet aman akken ad d-tawi lbaraka , lemqam-a yesæa dayen lğamee ttzalan deg-s medden yerna yesæa agraw daæun deg-s yemyaren s lxiṛ ama deg leewacer ney deg ljamæa i wid ihelken akken ad ḥlun.

Sidi lmufeq d netta id yeğğan taæellaqt yejmae At Mlikec deg tiyilt n teblazt almi id iyil Masæud ijeme-iten akken ad d-sarsen carṭ n tmeṭṭut aḥal taemamt-is , fyen-d dakken tameṭṭut taemamt-is 25 n duru , win id t-æeddan ad t-yay kra.Sidi lmufeq yekka sebea n yiseggasen deg taddart n lemsella ittet anagar ic n uxxarub deg lğamee n læinsar: asmi id iædda ubuqrin ifejjej , yufa-t-id yenna-as dacuk?inteḡ-d sidi lmufeq yenna-s yur-k ayi-it-kecfed ruḥ deg ccvel-ik,yekker yewweḍ yer tmeṭṭut-isnawlen-as-d tṭeam,wwis-as tabazint d lmarqa d seksu, yenna-as ruḥ a buqrin yiwen ad yettağa yiwen ma ur txelseḍ ara ad teqqimeḍ am tjahlumt n wayyul ur tenger ur txelfeḍ,yekker imiren yendah yekker yenna-s ma tebyiḍ ayen niḍen,yenna-s-d byiy aman iænna yer rebbi yenna-s byiy aman, yewet taækkazt-is deg tala n læinsar yef teblaṭ fyen-d waman umbæd yugmed yezzul,baba-s yesæa sebea yergazen,aneggaru-a isemma-yas lmufeq, yenna-s amek isemma-d yenna-s lmufeq,yezzit yezzit isebhi-t-id deg tqæet imetiten,yenna-s lmufeq ur d-ilul ur d-itlala.

Sidi lmufeq yella yeqqar leqran deg lğamee n tṭaq abeḥri,yiwen wass icegeit ccix-is akken ad d-yawi tirgin akken ad ceelen læafya,maca netta mi yewweḍ akken ad d-yawi tirgin yettu ur yewwi ara lḥila anda ara d-yejmae tirgin-a maca yewwi-ten-id deg tqendurt-is,mi id yewweḍ yer ccix-is yewhem deg-s acku ur yuy acemma la netta la

taqendurt-is,maca ur t-id- yuli wawal acku aṭas n warrac i yellan, ur yebyi ara ad t-yekcef acku yefka-s rebbi lqədra d lbaraka tameqrant»<sup>21</sup>.

### **-Taellaqt n sidi lmufeq:**

Netta akk d læerc-a id tt-id-yeḡḡan maca qqaren-as taellaqt n sidi lmufeq: deg zzwaḡ.Argaz iwakken ad yezweḡ d tamlikcit ilaq ad yeḍfer taellaqt n sidi lmufeq,ma ur tt-yeḍfiren ara qqaren-d dakken yerza taellaqt n sidi lmufeq ad t-yay kra, taellaqt-a tḥerrem yef urgaz ad yawi tiyawsiwin n wurey i tmeṭṭut-is ur yesḥi ara azref ad as-yawi cci deg leewacer ney deg tegnatin- nniḍen, am wakken day mazal-it tleḥḥu ar tura deg læerc n at Mlikec taddart n lemsella, tuget n yemdanen semrasen-tt dayen inezra imi nettikki yer wannar n at Mlikec.<sup>22</sup>

Sidi lmufeq akken id yeḡḡa taellaqt-a i tella tura teqqim akken ar ass-a yiwen ur yettæedday lqanun-is, maca yella-d tura kra n ubeddel deg-s meena tuget n yemdanen ur tt-semrasen ara qqimen deg taellaqt-nni n sidi lmufeq taqdimt, yeḡḡa-d taellaqt-a acku d aḥbib n rebbi tban-d lqədra-s seg wasmi yella d amezyan, yef waya mazal-it ar tura yesḥa azal d ameqqran deg læerc n at Mlikec<sup>23</sup>.

### **-Yemma tawrirt:**

D yiwen n lemḡam id yezgan deg tyalaṭ , tesḥa lqədra d tameqqrant , ttasen-d akk yur-s medden s yal tamnaḍt ttzurun-t takken lwaḍda , ttawin-as izamaren ney iyiden ttseddiqen win i wumi tezweḡ yelli-s ney yuḡal-d mmi-s deg lyerba , yef wayen id qqaren yemma tawrirt d tin yesḥan ddaḥa , zik-nni deg tṭraḍ kecmen-d yur-s lemḡala n læskar , akken ad tt-as-xerben maca nettat terza-ten akk yiwen ur yemniḥ ara , seg imiren tuḡal tesḥa ddaḥa , acku win yeqqnen s lwaḍda ur as-tt-yefki ara ad t-yay kra ama ad imahbel ney ad t-yay wayen nniḍen , yef wakka ur ilaq ara ad teqneḍ s lwaḍda i lemḡam-a ad tt-ḥenteḍ acku d amḡasi ilaq win yeqqnen s lwaḍda ilaq ad tt-ifek ,am wakken day xedmen deg-s ttebyita , ttnawalent deg-s , deg yixef yer yixef n useggas

<sup>21</sup> Amsalyu,(A.Y) 88 n yiseggasen.

<sup>22</sup> Tazwart n taggara n turagt, Oulebsir Fadila; Taynarrayt n lemḡam n sidi lmufeq, 2004-200, P51.

<sup>23</sup> Amsalyu, A .Y (88 n yiseggasen).

xedmen-as ttebyita ttruḥun wid ihelken ,ixuniyen jedben deg-s akken ad asen-irruḥ lahlak-nsen ,am akken day ttilin wid yettcewiqen, wid yekkatn abendir i yimuḍan-nni akken ad jedben alama ylin ,yeffey waṭan deg-sen<sup>24</sup>.

### **-Sidi lebsir:**

D yiwen n lemḡam i yellan deg iyil leqrar deg læerc n At Mlikec d mmi-s n sidi lmufeq , lemḡam-a ttzurun-t medden takken-as lwaæda , am akken day ccealayen deg-s ticemmaein , ttawin-as rrda<sup>25</sup> srusun-t yef uzekka-ines .

Lemḡam-a d amqasi s waṭas acku win i ruḥen yur-s yexdem ayen ur ilaqen ara ad t-yay kra ,amedya :” *yiwet n twacult truḥ yur-s akken ad d-zzur acku yellis d tamuḍint tewwi-t ad t nes din maca mi wḍen-t ar din qqiment ,maca teqcict-nni teddem-d tacemaet yur-s tewwit-id s axxam nettat ur tenwi ara akka , kra n wussan teqcict-nni terya akk deg ifassen-is , yef waya deg lemḡam –a ur ilaq ara ad t -xedmeḍ acemma acku d win yettqasan mliḥ*”<sup>26</sup>.

### **-Si lḡaḡa emer:**

Yezga-d deg taddart n At weemer, d yiwen n lemḡam i yesæan azal deg læerc-a , ttruḥun medden yur-s seg yal tamnaḍt (aqbu , igawawen ...) , deg leewacer ama deg læid tamezyant ney læid tameqqrant ney deg ttebyita ,ttasen-d irgazen d tlawin ttzurun takken lwaæda daæun s lxir i tarwa-nsen , am wakken day yal wa d acu id yettawin yur-s ,ama d izimer ney dayen nniḍen n wučči, d win yesæan tala yer yiri n tawwurt mi ara tkecmeḍ akken kan , tala-ya tesæa yiwen n uxemuj ttafeyen-d deg-s waman,Muqel Tugna 3.

### **-Tala læinsar n sidi lmufeq<sup>27</sup>:**

Tala-ya tezga-d deg taddart n lemsella qqaren-as tala n sidi lmufeq , acku yesæa lbarhan fell-as , yemmeslay-aḡ-d fell-as ueggal n tdukli-ya n sidi lmufeq M.S , yenna-

<sup>24</sup> Amsalyu ( M. F 58 n yiseggasen).

<sup>25</sup> Rrda d awal n taærabt ردا ,d šhen i ttawin-t tlawin srusuyent-t yef uzekka n lemḡam-nni .

<sup>26</sup> AmsalYu, Amara Yahia 88 n yiseggasen.

<sup>27</sup> Muqel tugna 01

d: « *tala-ya d tin yesεan lbarhan d ameqqran acku d sidi lmufeq i yewten tæekkazt-is yer teblat ,fyen-d waman deg-s , seg imiren qqaren-as tala n lğameε leinsar n sidi lmufeq ,acku deg-s i yessirid mi ara i ruḥ ad yezzal ,asmi i yesεedda deg lemsella ssebea n yiseggasen deg lğameε leinsar, d amrabed i yettduεun rebbi ;yeqqim deg taddart-a yiwen ur tiwala ,asmi id iban wwin-t yemrabden yer iyil qrar bnan-as din taqarabt ».*

### **Taggrayt**

Γer taggara n uḥric-a ad d-nini dakken læerc-a d win yesεan amezruy meqqren acku d win yekkin deg yal taluft n tmurt n lezzayer akked tmurt n leqbayel, maca taddart-a n lemsella d tin meziyen s waṭas ur nufi ara wid ara a<sup>v</sup>-d-yehkun s telqayt fell-as, Nessaram dakken nessawed nemmeslay-d akken yelhan yef læerc-a.

**Ixef Wis krad:**

**Zzwağ yer tmettiyin timaziyin**

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**Ixef Wis krad: Zzwağ yer tmettiyn timaziyn**

**Tazwert**

Deg yixef-a n tezri neeređ ad d- nefk tamuylı tamatut yef wamek id yettili zzwağ yer kra n tmettiyn i deg ara naf: Icawiyen, Itergiyen, Zemmura, am wakken day nemmeslay-d yef taggayin n zzwağ i yellan deg tmurt n leqbayel s umata.

**1) Zzwağ yer Ayt wawras<sup>1</sup> :**

Zzwağ yer Ayt wawras d yiwen, maca Ayt wawras d wid izewğen deg ugarasen , ineggura-ya qqaren-as i zzwağ « Rrcil » ,yur-sen tin ur nezwiğ ara tettuneħsab d tin yemmuten.

Deg udlis-ines « La femme Chaouia de l’Aures » Mathéa Gaudry<sup>2</sup> tenna-d « timrabđin ur zewğent ala d yemrabđen » Ayt wawras s umata zewğen yemdanen-nsen mi ara wwđen , ama d taqcict ama d aqcic, mi ara seun mraw d semmus ney mraw d sa n yiseggasen, zik llan wid izewğen i warraw-nsen mi ara wwđen , yur-sen win ur nemmid deg leemer ur ilaq ara ad yezweğ , macci am yemzabiyen d leqbayel lawan ibyan ad zewğen ama mmden ama ur mmiden , Ma yella tura lqanun n ddula ttagun- asen yef zzwağ n zik<sup>3</sup>, yeqqar-d dakken yezmer ad yezweğ yiwen lawan yebya, ama yewweđ ama ur yewweđ ara, maca yer Ayt wawras ma yella yiwen yebya ad yezweğ ad as-tini twacult-is ilaq ad truħeđ ad txedmeđ iwakken ad tezweğeđ, am wakken day zzwağ yur-sen yettili-d mebla lemcawra n teqcict ney n uqcic, d imawlan n uqcic i yettnadin i mmis-sen taqcict , ma tella yiwet d yelli-s eemmi-s ney deg taddart-nsen teejeb-asen ad ruħen yur-s , ma ur ufin ara ad as-nadin yef yiwet deg taddart-nniđen.

Mi ara afen taqcict ad as-tini yemma-s ney baba-s : “ Ma tebyiđ ad ak-tt-id-nawi” , ma yella yessen-itt yerna teejeb-as ad as-yini “ih” , ma yella isetħa ur d-asen-iqqar la ih la xađi ad yessusem kan.

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<sup>1</sup> Ayt wawras : Les Aures, tamurt n yicawiyen, adrar n Awras, les ares,(djabal awras s taerabt).

<sup>2</sup> Mathéa Gaudry, La femmes Chaouia de l’aures, Edition Chihab Amal, p(80).

<sup>3</sup> André Basset, Texte berbère de l’Aurés, paris, Adrien –Maisonnette,1961.p 131.

Ma yella ur tt-tissin ara ad iruħ ad tt-iżer s tuffra, ney deg tala, ney yef yiri n tawwurt-nsen, ney deg ubrid. cwit n yeslan ur yettwalin ara tislatin-nsen uqbel tikli, wid-nni dima xedmen fell-asen ddrae , ney wid yettsethin atas ; ma yeqbel uqcic taqcict-nni ad as-id-awin, ney ma yella yebya-tt s yiyl, tettruħu twacult-is yer teqcict-nni ;tettruħu yemma-s n uqcic, iman-is ney tettawi yid-s kra n tlawin seg twacult-is ; maca ma ur yesei ara yemma-s , tettruħu weltma-s ney xalti-s ney kra n tlawin timeqqranen seg twacult-is.

Ma yella qeblen baba-s d yemma-s n teqcict, ad as-tini yemma-s: “tura ad tilid tewwed i zzwağ! ad k-menfek i yat flan” maca ad naf dakken tuget n teqcicin dima tsethint, ladya ma yella d win i d zzwağ-nsent amenzu, maca llant kra ur sent-qqaren i yimawlan-nsent la « ih » la « xați ».

Mi myeqbalen imawlan n uqcic d teqcict ,tettuyal yemma-s n uqcic d kra n tlawin yer teslit-nni ; ttawin-as i twacult-is irden ney taymiwin n yizimer , ney ayen nniden, ad as-ternu i nettat tayawsa n lebsa ney kra n tyawsiwin n uzref ,seg imiren tuyal d tameṭṭut-is yiwen ur d-tt-qeddim yur-s.

**a- Lexḍubeyya :**

Γef akken id yenna A. Basset lexḍubeyya yer Icawiyen tettili akka:

Γer yicawiyen macci d ababat i d ttnadin taqcict i mmi-s, d netta ara yextiren taqcict i yebya, ney tin id as-iēejben, mi tt-yexter yilemzi dayan ad yeḍleb deg yimawlan-is ad ruħen ad as-tt-id xedben, ad awin yid-sen tlata ney rebaa n medden ilaqen seg tejmaet, rennun yid-sen ccix lgameε , maca isli yer yicawiyen ur yettili ara deg tallit n lexḍubeyya , ladya ma yella d zzwağ-is amenzu , maca ad d-naf lexḍubeyya yer yicawiyen d tin id yettilin dima deg id (deg imensi) ,anagar wid yesdukkulen gar lexḍubeyya d tthara yef tikelt , id yettilin deg ass ney yef imekli ; mi ara faken imensi ,ad yessiwel baba-s n teslit i baba-s n yesli ad as-yini : « ihi ! Nekk fkiy-ak yelli i mmi-k » ad as-yini baba-s n uqcic : « Nekkni nefka-yas leghaz i yelli-k akken xedmeen medden ! » ad as-inin wid yellan yid-sen « Rebbi ad tt-yejeel d lbaraka » imiren ad yren



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lfatiħa, ad mmsalamen yimawlan n yeslan deg ugar-asen ; azekka-nni ad ruħen babas n yesli d babas n teslit yer lqađi akken ad εeqden<sup>4</sup>.

## **2- Zzwağ yer yicelħiyen :**

Zzwağ yer yicelħiyen, d win ur yemxalafen ara s waťas yef tmettiyn timaziyn nniđen , iwakken ad d-nawi awal fell-as , neddem-d kra n leεrac i yef yexdem Emile Laouste,tazrawt, ger leεrac-a ad naf : Zemmur,suxman...

### **a) Zzwağ yer zemmura<sup>5</sup>**

Zzwağ yer yimaziyn, s wakka i yettedday. Tikwal d baba-s n uqcic i izewğen i mmi-s , mebla ma icawer-it, d baba-s ara as-d-inadin tameťťut ara as-d-ıeejben , ma yella yufa-tt, baba-s ad iceyyae yemma-s n uqcic ,ad as-tini i mmi-s: «atan ihi yufa-yak baba-k taqcict ara tayed» , ma ih ney ala. Ad d-yenteq uqcic-nni ad as-yini akken tebyam, umbaed yemma-s n uqcic ad as-terr awal i baba-s , ad as-tini mmi-tney yebya ad yezweğ kker ad as-nezweğ ; s yin akkin axxam n uqcic ad ruħen akken ad đelben deg yimawlan n teqcict akken ad as-tt-id-fken , axxam n uqcic d uxxam n teqcict ad myeqbalen deg way gar-asen , maca taqcict-nni ilaq ad twali aqcic-nni amek yemmug ad heđren akken ad myussanen, s yin akkin ad tt-teseqsi akk lğiran-is ma yella d taqcict yelhan , ad asen-d-inin d tin yelhan s waťas ur terei akk leib,yerna ur tesleđ i yar awal deg yimi-s,lawan teqđa yemma-s n uqcic ayen tebya , ad tetťef iberdan-is , mi tewweđ ad as-tini i urgaz-is d At waxxam yef yigemmad n tsastant –is : “ ur nufi wara deg-s ula d yiwen n leib n rebbi.

Azekka-nni ad iddu bab n uxxam ad yawi kra n medden n lεerc akken ad d-fken melmi ara xedmen tameyra , mi d-fkan ass ara gen tameyra , ad heggin aħuli d yizimer akken ad gen imekli ad seččen akk medden, umbaed mi ara faken tučcit yergazen ad mmeslayen yef taemamt n teqcict. Llan wid i tt-yettaken d adrim , llan wid i tt-yettaken ama d izimer ney d ayen nniđen, maca yezmer ad t-fken yef tikelt ,ney ad as-takken cwit

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<sup>4</sup> A. Basset .Texte berbère de l’Aurés (parler des Ait-frah), paris, Maisonneuve, 1961, p 144.

<sup>5</sup>Emil Laoust, Noce Bérbère,la cérémonie du mariage au Maroc , Edition établie par Claude Lefebure,Collection « Bilingues » ,Edisud /La boite a document(32-44).

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cwiṭ yin akkin ad d-sarsen melmi ara d-as-fken taemamt-a ama ayyur ney sin, imi msefhamen yef lexlas dayen ad d-eelmen melmi i tameyra.

Seld kra n wussan, baba-s n uqciç yeffer kra n yedrimen akken ad asent-yawi i teslit-is, yefka-yas nafaqa, yuy-as-d deg ssuq lebsa, akked lfakiya taqurant<sup>6</sup>, ikemmes-iten -d deg tfunart iceggaε-iten i tmeṭṭut is d yiwet ney snat seg twacult-is, akken ad asent-awint i teslit-nni , wwḍen yer uxxam-is heḍren cwiṭ ,umbaed fkan-as ayen id as-d-yuy umyar-is i teslit-is , selwelwent tlawin-nni s yin akkin uyalent-d yer uxxam-nsent ,ma yella d leğhaz n teslit d baba-s n yesli ara d- iheggin aḍellaε n leğhaz ttawin-as: “ tayuga n tarkasin , sin n lizarat, snat n tfunarin, lħenni, sswak, lħarqus,lfakiya yeqquren” anect-a akk ad tawi s axxam-is.

Azekka-nni lawan n tħthur, ad kkren at waxxam, ad teberdee yemma-s n yesli tagmert tamellalt, ad as-cebħen , umbaed ad ruħen ad awin teslit fell-as , ad as-rekben aqciç ney taqciç tamezyant , dayen ad awin yid-s ayen tesa d cci, ama d tiħuyak ney d tizzarbiyin , s yin akkin ad tewwet lħenni i yifassen-is, segmi ara bdun tiyita n lħenni almi fuken nutni d acewweq d usbuṬer , ma yella d lħenni i d-yeqqimen akken ad tewtent teqciçin tilemziyen ur nezwiğ ara akken ad zewğent ,am wakken mi ara tt-id-awin akken , ad tt-id dewren yef lğameε tlata n tikwal , umbaed ad ruħen ad tt-awin s axxam-is amaynut , isli ikeçem yer tmeṭṭut-is deg yiḍ n tmeṭṭut, azekka-nni ad tesbaħ teslit tecbaħ teṭtef deg yisey-ines d tin iweqmen ur teyḍil ara Aqerruy n yimawlan-is yer lqaea, umbaed mi ara ad tesbaħ ad d-asent yur-s tlawin i wakken ad as-rebħent imi teqwem . Azekka-nni tfuk tmeṭṭut , teslit ur tettebgas ara alami qeflen sa n wussan fell-as , akken id tenna Makilam:«teslit » maca ass-nni ara teqen akken tabagust argaz-is ad as-ifek tawsa, ad as-yernu awren d uħuli d ubuqel n wudi , ad tent-awin i baba-s . Deg tama nniḍen ad teħrez kra n wulli, ad tent-fek i wumi tebya ama d baba-s ney d eemmi-s , akken ad ten-iħrez ad tent-awi lawan i tebya.

Ass n ssuq , arrac n taddart tsaεafen isli yer ssuq , ad tesyim yef userdun , ittllus tacacit n ubernus-is , yettyumu udem-is , ttawin-d iḍebbalen deffir-nsen tṭebbilan alama yewweḍ yer ssuq ; mi d-uyalen ,isli ad asen-ifek kra n yedrimen.

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<sup>6</sup> Fruits secs.

**-Isekkiren n umager n teslit yer Ayt Buħrazen<sup>7</sup>**

Ilmend n wayen i d-yenna Emile Laoust ye akken læerc-a , ass i deg ara d-nawi teslit yer uxxam-is amaynut , yemma-s n yesli ad teknu yer tama n tserdunt, akken ad d-tessers fell-as teslit iħarren-is suffel n uerur-is tteksen -as i teslit ticifaħ-is , sirident-as iħarren-is senyalen-t aman-nni yer wammas n luħa, acku yella deg-sen lħenni, katent-as lħenni I teslit acku d lbaraka , diyen iwakken ad tesu tasa yef urgaz-is , maca mi ara d-awin teslit ula d irgazen tħafaren-d deffir-as ,maca tilawin yeqqimen deg uxxam ttheggint-d taqedduħt n uwren , ad teqqim teslit d yesli s yin akkin teslit ad tger afus-is sdaxel n tqedduħt-nni n uwren ad terwi ,ma yella d isli ad isefqed anda i yekcem ufusines , imi i tt-iwala ad t-yewwet tlata n tikwal s uyanim akken ad ternu argaz-is ,ad tesker deg umkan-is tlata n tikwal, iwakken ad terr tawacult-is tezdi , ad timyur s tisulya am akken day ad tesihrew tawacult-is, ma yella d imdanen seeddar id n zzhu d lfarħ , maca mi ara d-yefrari wass , yal yiwen ad yaenu axxam-is , ney ad yuħal s wansa id yekka.

**-Zzwağ yer Leqbayel:**

Ilmend n wayen id-nnan kra n yesnalsanen i ixedmen tizrawin yef tmurt n leqbayelam Camille Lacoste Dujardin, Pierre Bourdieu akk d wiyaħ.

ħas akken tameħħut deg tmetti taqbaylit id kullec , maca ilaq ad yili urgaz yef yidis-is , akken i d yeqqar yenzi:«tameħħut d llsas, ma yella d argaz d ajgu alemmas»

Am wakken day deg tmetti taqbaylit n zik di zzman n yiħil, imi id kecmen irumyen 1953 , ad naf tameħħut taqbaylit tedder seddaw n tecħaħt n urgaz , akka i tebna tmetti taqbaylit taqburt, syin akkin ad naf argaz iman-is ur yezmer i kra mebla tameħħut , yef waya ilaq ad gen assay deg way gar-asen , akken id- yenna Emile Laoust:«Zzwağ d assay i yellan gar urgaz d tameħħut dacu kan tikwal yettili-d s lebyi i yimawlan n uqic»<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> EMILE LAOUST, Noces Bərbere, la cérémonie du mariage au Maroc, Edition établie par Claud Lefébure Collection »Bilingues Edisud /La Boite a Documents, p121.

<sup>8</sup> Emile Laoust, Noces berbères, Les cérémonie du mariage au Maroc, Edition établie par Claud Lefébure, Edisud/La Boite a Documents p32.

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Zzwağ yer leqbayel yettuḡal deg tazwara yer twaculin, acku awal amezwaru yettuḡal yer yimawlan, maca ur yezmer yiwen ad yezweğ mebla tawacult, akken id-tenna Makilam: «Zzwağ n leqbayel werğin yettuḡal yer usdukel n sin n yemdanen, deg tazwara akk d awqam (acte) anmetti amezday yerzan akk agraw n yidammen i yettffen akk taddart<sup>9</sup>»

Maca ad naf dakken zzwağ deg tmurt n leqbayel yesea azal d ameqqran deg tudert n umdan, maca ur d-yettili ara kan iwakken imdanen ad seun dderya , yettēdday yer wayen nniḡen , i tteg assay gar twaculin i ttarra-tent myussanen-t deg way gar-asen , akken id-tenna Makilam:«Asileḡ n twaculin timaynutin timezzyanin , ttaken-t-d azrar n twaculin yezzifen ara aḡ-d-yessefrurin taddart<sup>10</sup>».S yin akkin ad d-nini dakken deg tmurt n leqbayel s umata, zzwağ d iswi n umdan, acku yettara imdanen sean assayen deg way gar-asen, diyen yettara imdanen dukken sefruruyen-d tiwaculin, akken id-tenna Makilam: «Deg tmetti taqbaylit tamensayt , iswi n tudert d tawacult d tyimit-is yer taggara, d usekkiren n yiswiren yemgaraden deg tudert<sup>11</sup>»

Am wakken dayen, ad naf atas n tyawsiwin id-nnan yimnadiyen yef zzwağ yer leqbayel ayen iwumi semman”tameḡra” s taqbaylit, acku neḡa ad d-nini ilaq ad nessehbiber yef temzi d yisekkiren n tallit, ur llin anagar d Aheggi akken ad ssiwḡen ad segmen ilemzi akken ad yexdem axxam, s yin akin ad d-nini dakken zzwağ yer leqbayel d yiwen , maca yemgarad anagar deg yisekkiren I yef d-itteḡdday acku yal tamnaḡt deg temnaḡin n tmurt n leqbayel yettili-d zzwağ-a d yiwen , maca yemgarad deg yisekkiren

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Aḡris s tutlayt tafransist : « Le mariage chez nous Imazighen, voici comment les choses se passent. Parfois c’est le père qui marie son fils sans que ce dernier en manifesté »

<sup>9</sup> Makilam, op .cit p217

Aḡris s tutlayt tafransist :«Le mariage kabyle n’étant jamais réduit a la réunion de deux individus ,i lest avant tout un acte social et collectif qui va concerner tout le group de parenté étendu a la communauté villageoise»

<sup>10</sup> Makilam, *la magie des femmes kabyle et l’unité de la société traditionnelle*, L’Harmattan. Paris. 1996, p. 215.

Aḡris s tutlayt tafransist: « *la formation d’une nouvelle cellule conjugale poursuivait le cycle d’une longue Chaîne familiale et donc villageoise*»

<sup>11</sup> Makilam, op, p 217.

Aḡris s tutlayt tafransist : «Dans la société traditionnelle kabyle, le but de la vie était la famille et sa pérennité et le rituel des différentes étapes de l’existence... »

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d wansayen id-yettlin deg-s, am wakken dayen tamurt n leqbayel d tin yefkan azal ameqqrani zzwağ, acku ur yezmer ara ad d-yili wassağ-a gar urgaz d tmeṭṭut anagar s zzwağ n lahlal d ccerε, akken id-yenna Hanoteau d Letourneux:«Zzwağ d timenziwt n tmeṭṭut , d ccart d lexlax n diya iwumi i nsemma taemamt ney tučcit<sup>12</sup>, ssuma-ya tettuyal dima yer wazal n udrim»<sup>13</sup>

Leqbayel s umata, deg tallit 1960-1970, lwaqt ara d-yehḍer wass ara zewğen ur ttcawaren ara taqcict, maca imawlan-is i ttcawaren, acku ma nemmuqel yer taddart n cerfa deg læerc n yimrabden akken id-yenna Hanoteau, taqcict mi ara d-yehḍer zzwağ-is tettcawar imawlan-is deg ufran n win ara tay, acku tewweḍ lemer anda d nettat ara d-yefkan rray-is ney awal yef win ara tay ad t-kemmel yur-s akk tudert-is.

### **-Zzwağ yer yitergiyen (ihaggaren)**

Itergiyen kra seg-sen ur zzewğen ara alma sean krad n tmarwin ney kraḍ n tmarwin d semmus, ma d kra zegğen mezziyit sean deg leemar-nzen snat n tmarwin ,maca tuget-nzen zewğen alama sean 30 yer 35 n yiseggasen , argaz ad iceggæ tabrat , maca ur yettruḥu ara netta ad inadi tameṭṭut ara yay, ad iceggæ argaz ney tameṭṭut , win iwumi iceyyæ akken tabrat ,d win ara iruḥen ad d-iwali tameṭṭut-nni ad tt-iseqsi ma tebya ney ur tebyi wara. Ma ur teqbil ara, netta ur yecqi akk iman-is maḍi, Ma yella teqbel teqcict ad iruḥ yer yimawlan-is ad asen-yini: « Nekkni nefka-ak-t wali imawlan-is -nniden », Ihi ad iruḥ ad iẓer leemum-is d xwal-is d watmaten-is ma yella qeblen , ad as-tt-id-fken akken ad ixdem tameyra, Ma yella bnan fell-as yakan ad yezweğ zik, Ma yella ur bnin ara fell-as ad as-fken lweqt ayyur ney warem n wussan iwakken ad heggin iman-nzen.Baba-s n teqcict ur t-yettak ara s tmara, ma yella ur tebyi ara argaz-nni, i tt-id-ixedben, ur t-tatey wara ,ma yenna-yas baba-s ilaq ad t-tayed s Ddree ad terwel ad truḥ yer udrar ad teqqim krad ney ukuz n wussan , deg yiḍ ad d-sub ad truḥ yer

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<sup>12</sup> Hanoteau et A. Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles, Tom 2 Edition Bouchene. Adris s tutlayt tafransist : « Le mariage, étant la vente de la femme, a pour condition essentielle le paiement d'un prix qui s'appelle thamamth ou thoutchith, ce prix consiste toujours en une somme d'argent » p110.

<sup>13</sup> Thoutschith, « le manger », nom d'action du verbe kabyle etch, « manger ».

yizawaliyen , ad tečč yur-sen ad asen-tini : « yur-wat ad tt-suffyem lexber dakken usiy-  
d yur-wen yer da ! »

Ass ara ara d-tuyal yer uxxam n yimawlan-is ad as-inin i urgaz-is : « Tamettut-ik ney  
ala ! Nekni ur nwala, tefyay taluft»

Ma msebyan gar-asen , argaz ad ifek i tmettut-is sebea n yileyman d lmahr, wigi d wid  
yesean , ma yella d lmahr n uzawali ur yeedil ara d win n umerkanti, lmahr-a d ayla n  
tmettut-nni ur tittaaf la baba-s la yemma-s , ass n tmeyra , ad izlu yiwen n ulym ad  
qqimen sdis , ma yella yezmer ad ten-ifek yef tikelt ma ur yezmer ara yal seggas ad as-  
ittak yiwen ney sin, Ass n tmeyra ad rekben yergazen akk ad ggen tazla n yileyman, deg  
tazwara n tmeddit azwara n tmeddit yer uyelluy n tafukt , ma yella d tilawin kkatent-  
abendayer , lawan akken i ttazalen yergazen –nni yef yileyman , ma yella d tamettut-  
nni mazal-it deg uxxam n baba-s , isli-nni yerkeb alyem amellal ad ixdem tacacit d  
lahruz n lfeta ad iles aqendur deg-s krađ n laxyuđ n tađuđ ad yettef asyar ayezfan deg  
ufus-is , mi yeqli yitij ad d-isub yesli-nni sufel n ulym-is ad qqiment tlawin yur-s ad  
xedment awrir(agemun) ad as-sbeden-t fell-as aqidun ad kren yergazen ad awin isli yer  
uqidun-is ad yeqqim dixel-is ad ruħent tlawin ad awint teslit ad bdunt acewweq d ccna  
ad asent yer uqidun ad as-d-zzint ad d-skecment teslit ad kecment ula d nutenti ad  
qqiment yef lqaea, isli ad iqqim yef uwrir , teslit txeleđ d tlawin nniđen ,maca ur  
tettmeslay acemma ma yella d tilawin nniđen ttmeslayent d yirgazen ar kra n lawan syin  
akkin ad krent ad ruħent ula d teslit-nni ad teddu yid-sent alama d azekka-nni sbaħ ad  
ruħent tlawin ma yella d isli ad yeffey deg uqidun-is ad iruħ ad yeqqim deg lexla , ma  
yella d aqidun-nni ad as-eiwdent amkan ad tarent yer umkan iqaedn , akken ad ikcem  
yesli d yergazen nniđen , ma yella d tilawin ad uyalent yer uqidun n yimawlan n teslit ,  
ad as-d-cebbħent ad d-dukklent ad qqiment deg uxxam n teslit ad wwten urar, deg  
uzgen n wass ad krent tlawin akked yergazen , ma yella d teslit ad teqqim yer urgaz-is  
deg uxxam ur d-ikečem yur-sen yiwen alama tecbaħ , ad qqimen deg uxxam sebea n  
wussan, teslit ur tettruħu yer yimawlan –is isli ur yettruħu la akkin la akka, mi kfan  
sebea n wussan ad fyen deg uxxam-nsen , yal yiwen ad iruħ yer yimawlan-is , ad

qqimen yur-sen kra n wussan umbaed isli ad yuçal yer tmeṭṭut-is ad uyalen yer uxxam-nen.

**Taggayin n zzwağ:**

Llant kraḍ n taggayin n zzwağ yer Leqbayel:

**-Timnefla:**

Ilmend n tsastant-nney nufa-d dakken zzwağ n Timnefla d win id yettilin deg yiwet n twacult mi ara mnasabent snat n twaculin ad yawi urgaz taqcict i mmi-s , din din yettili-d umbeddel diyen netta ad ifek yelli-s i uḍeggal-is , anect-a dayen yellan zik, maca tura maḥsub yenger anagar deg kra n tuddar , acku ufan-d aṭas n wuguren i yellan deg zzwağ-a , acku ma tella-d lemgarda gar twacult tamezwarut ilaq taqcict n twacult nniḍen ad tebru yas akken ur d-as-d-ssuksen ara lḥağa n diri i tibrat acku ttwalin dakken ma tebra-d teqcict-nen ur brin ara i tin n yiḍulan-nen ttwalin dakken tirugza-nen taḥnunef deg lqaæa , d ttiwin n lear id wwin i twacult-nen , yef wakka nezmer ad d-nini dakken zzwağ –a d win nelhi ara , ur tezmireḍ ara ad teqneḍ amdan yer wayeḍ ma yella ur msaejaben ara , yef waya zzwağ-a d win i ineggren tura ama deg taddart n lemsella ney deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata<sup>14</sup>.

• **Tirit:**

Taggayt-a n zzwağ d tin yellan s waṭas deg tmurt n leqbayel zik-nni, mazal-it yella ar tura deg kra n tudrin n leqbayel , ad naf dakken tameṭṭut ma yella yemmut urgaz-is ad tt-yerr ulewus-is, ney argaz ma yella temmut-as tmeṭṭut yezmer ad yerr ultma-s n tmeṭṭut-is .Maca zzwağ-a yettili-d iwakken tameṭṭut ad tili ddaw leenaya n urgaz , diyen iwakken ad irebbi arraw-is ma yella tesaa dderya ur ttqimin ara war

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<sup>14</sup> Amsalyu M.H, 56 N yiseggasen.

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ababat , am akken day axxam-is ur beqqun ara ad truħ ad t-ɛiwed tawacult-nniɛen , maca ad naf dakken deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata imi ara yerr yiwen tmettut ur ixeddim ara tameyra yettawin-yas leğhaz, akken id tenna Marie Virolle:«Tmettut ur tettixir ara yef twacult-is , ney mi ara d-tuyal ur d-ttilin la iqeffafen la iɛebbaleen (iferrağen) la tiyitiwin n lbarud , maca tettili-d tmeyra kan n twacult, yiwet n Tiremt n wčči tettunefk I yimawlan , d umrabeɛ id yusan yer tfugla n usihel<sup>15</sup>»

Ad naf dakken zzwağ-a d win iketren zik acku irgazen n zik d wid yesean tirugza d lħarma yef twalit-nsen, Ur zmiren ara ad teğğen s nettat s warraw-is tettway mebla argaz ara yilin d lmendad fell-as akked warraw-is.

- **Timerna:**

Taggayt-a n zzwağ d tin yellan tura s waṭas , acku zik irgazen ur barun ara s waṭas i tlawin-nsen ; ma yella tura tuget n yirgazen rennun-d tiyaɛ yef tlawin-nsen timenza , maca llan wid id asent-ittaken axxam-nni kan amezwaru wer ma yeğğan tamezwarut-nni , acku yerna-d kan tina acku ma tella ur tsei ara arrac , yas akken iħemmel-it acemma ur yelli gar-asen maca d tamara it-yerran ad yezweğ tikelt-nniɛen , maca tura ad naf dakken zzwağ-a d win yegten deg tmurt n leqbayel ,yerna mebla sebba ad naf argaz iberru i tmettu-is irenu-d fell-as acku turrugz-nni d nnif-nni n zik ur d qqimen ara yer waṭas n yemdanen.

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<sup>15</sup>Marie Virolle, Rituels algériens, Editions KARTHILA 22-24, boulevard Arago 75013, paris p29,

Aħris s tutlayt tafransist : « La femme ne quittant pas sa famille ou y revenant, il n'y a ni cortège, ni musiciens, ni coups de feu mais uniquement des réjouissances familiales. Un repas est seulement servi aux proches parents et au Marabout venu pour cérémonie intime de l'asihel.»



**Taggrayt**

Ter taggara n uħric-a nessaram nessawed nefka-d tiki tamatut yef zzwağ sumata, Ma nesserwes gar isekkiren i ixedmen leqbayel d wid n tmettiyen timaziyin ad d-naf dakken ulac lemgarda tameqqrant gar-asen, am wakken diyen nemmeslay-d yef lesnaf n zzwağ id yettilin deg tmetti taqbaylit

**Ixef wis ukuz: Zzwağ deg  
taddart n Lemsella deg  
yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970 ar  
tura d ubeddel gar snat n  
talliyin-a.**

### **Tazwert**

Tamurt n Leqbayel d tin yesəan ansayen d laəwayed deg yiseggasen n 1960-1970, ladya deg wayen yerzan ansayen n zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella, ad neereḍ ad d-nawi awal yef wansayen id-yettilin deg tmeɣriwin n zzwağ deg taddart-a, ama d wid yerzan ansayen n yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970 neɣ d wid n tura, d ubeddel id-yellan gar zik akked tura.

- **Zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970 ar tura d ubeddel gar snat n talliyin-a.**

### **1. Tameyra n zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970.**

#### **1.1Aheggi i tmeyra**

Deg tsastant-nney i nga yer M.F yef wamek id-yettili uheggi i tmeyra deg taddart n Lemsella deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1960, “ *uqbel tameyra s waggur , llal n uxxam ttawint-d kra n tlawin akken ad tent-eiwntent deg leftil n seksu i tmeyra , maca mi ara bdunt leftil ccealayen-t ticemmaein iwakken ad ceelen wussan n teslit-nni ; diyen iwakken ad tt-id-magren wussan imellalen deg tudert-is , segmi ara bdunt leftil d nutenti d asbuɣer d yicewwiqen iwakken ur gganen-t ara , ma yella d cyel n yergazen ad heggin aejmi uqbel tameyra s kra n wussan , umbaed ad uyalen yer uncad n medden , maca deg taddart n Lemsella win ara iruḥen ad inced ilaq ad yilli d argaz ameqqran n twacult mačči d aqcic amezyan , acku ttwalin dakken ur asen-fkin ara azal d leqder , seylin deg lqima-nse .*

Ilmend n Makilam tallit-a n uheggi i tmeyra tettattaf anagar sebaa n wussan ama deg uxxam n yisli neɣ deg uxxam n teslit , beddun s uheggi n yirden iwakken taddart ad fetlen seksu , syin akkin ad ḍelben deg tlawin n iwakken ad tent-eiwntent deg leftil n seksu , ladya ma yella zzwağ-a deg yiwet n twacult , maca ad naf imawlan n yisli ttruḥun yer yimawlan n teslit akken ad heggin i tmeyra .

### 1.2. Anadi n teqcict

Deg tallit-a n 1960 d 1970, d imawlan i yettnadin i warraw-nsen win ukud ara zzewğen, Hanotaux yenna-d deg wanect-a: «Ababat d netta ara i yettdëbbiren deg yelli-s, d awezyi ad ticiwer deg urgaz ara tay<sup>1</sup>»

Anadi n teqcict d win yesëan azal d ameqqran yer tyemmat n uqcic , acku d netta i tmasayt yef zzwağ n mmi-s am wakken day d nettat ara iruhen ad ttnadi taqcict immi-s akken id-tenna Makilam:« Ayen yessewhamen d tilawin i yettnadin , ttextirint , ttafent tin ara yay urgaz yesëan wid i t-iqerben ney yettidiren iman-is , ittazen ulamma taberranit i yettamen , acku i tmeṭṭut i inessutur dinna ad truḥ ad d-texḍeb taqcic<sup>2</sup>t»

Anadi n teqcict deg tallit n 1960 d 1970 yettili-d daxel n yiwet n twacult ney deg yiwet n taddart ; tenna-d M.F:”*Anect-a yettili-d s rwaḥ n tmeṭṭut yer uxxam n tin i tebya I mmi-s , maca mi ara tawed yer uxxam-nni ur d as-teqqar ara dakken nusa-d ad nxeṭṭeb , maca ad as-tini ma yella tesseam tifrax ney timellalin , mi twala taqcict-nni , ad tedleb deg-s akken ad as-danni acebbub-is akken ad twali ma telha i mmi-s ney ala*”

Mi id as-teğgeb ad truḥ yer urgaz-is ad as-tini dakken ufiy taqcict i mmi-k , Baba-s n uqcic ad as-yini ,akken ad ruhen yer yimawlan-is akken ad tt-id-xeḍben i mmis-ten.

Am wakken day ad naf dakken tametṭut deg tmetti taqbaylit tamensayt ulac yur-s azref ad tagi imuknen i d-yeḍran mi tt-gezmen di rray yimawlan , ladya ayen yerzan tissulya-ines imi amsewweq yef zzwağ d tamsalt n yirgazen id-yettili i lfiyda n udrum, Ilmend n Makilam, deg tmetti taqbaylit tamensayt macci d teqcicin i yettnadin yef urgaz ara yant , maca d imawlan-nsent i yessuturen tiqcicin yer tyemmatin-nsent i

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<sup>1</sup> Hanotaux, op.cit., Les coutumes Kabyles, Tom 02, edition, librairie Algérienne et coloniale, 1993. P 287.288.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist:« Le père dis pose a son gré de sa fille, sans lui demander son consentement, sans jamais la consulter sur le choix de mari»

<sup>2</sup> Makilam, La magie des femmes kabyles et l'unité de la société traditionnelle, Editions L'Harmattan 5-7, rue de l'école – polytechnique paris, 221.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist :« Mais chose inouïe , ce sont les femmes qui cherchent, choisissent et trouvent l'épouse, qu'un homme ait des proches ou qu'il soit seul , il envoie même une étrangère de confiance, car c'est toujours une femme a qui on s'adresse pour chercher un épouse»

warrow-nsent , mi myeqbalen dayen ad mlilen yergazen deg ssuq ney deg umkan nniḍen iwakken ad msefhamen yef lexḍubeyya.

### **1.3.Lexḍubeyya**

Mi msefhamen yimawlan n uqcic d wid n teqcict yef wass ara ruḥen ad xedben , imawlan n uqcic akked kra n tlawin id as-iqarben (xalti-s, eemti-s...), akken ad tt-id-xedben , Mi myeqbalen dayen , ad d-fken kra n ccuruṭ , d wass ara xedmen taḥbult ney tuqqna akken id as-qqaren wat Mlikec , ney akken id as-qqaren anda nniḍen “tissit n lqahwa”

Deg Lerc n At Mlikec deg taddart n Lemsella taqcict mi ara tt-xedben ur d-as-ttaken ara tizri , maca ma yella tezweğ tamlikcit yer berra ttaken-as tizri , azamul-is dakken taqcict-a tuyal d ayla-nsen ur yezmer ad t-yawi yiwen ,akken id as-qqaren “sarsen fell-as tizri”

Ma nemmuqel yer temnaḍin-nniḍen n tmurt n Leqbayel ad naf dakken deg lexḍubeyya imawlan n uqcic ttemsefhamen yef taemamt ara fken i teqcict , ama d adrim ney dayen nniḍen(llebsa) , maca deg taddart n Lemsella ad naf dakken taemamt dayen ibanen , d tin id-yeğğa sidi Lmufeq yiwen ur yettedday nnig wayen id-yeğğa ,yerna ilaq d adrim kan ur yezmer ara ad-as-tefkaḍ ayen nniḍen i baba-s n teslit , am akken day ttaken-t deg wass n tikli n teqcict.

#### **1.3.1.Ccuruṭ n zzwağ**

Zzwağ deg tmetti taqbaylit tineslemt d win isehlen, maca ilaq ad t-qadreḍ kra n ccuruṭ-is:

Yura-d deg lhadit dakken: «Ulac zzwağ deg lislam mebla lwali<sup>3</sup> n teqcict d lwali n uqcic<sup>4</sup>»

Deg zzwağ yesfek ad ilin imawlan n uqcic d wid n teqcict, maca aqcic yezmer ad imettel iman-is s yiman-is maca taqcict ur tezmir ara ad tezweğ mebla win ara tt-imetlen , iwakken ad ifek awal-is, diyen ad msefhamen yef kra n ccuruṭ ara d-fken deg way gar-asen, Gar ccuruṭ-a ad nebder:

-Leğhaz n teqcict; ad as-yini baba-s n teqcict ur ilaq ara ad tawim nnig ssebæa n tyawsiwin deg leğhaz.

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<sup>3</sup> Lwali: D win ara imetlen taqcict, ama d baba-s ney d gma-s ameqqran ney eemmi-s ma yella ur tessei wara baba-s.

<sup>4</sup> Abu Daoud,

## **Ixef wis ukuz: Zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970**

-Taɛmamt n teqcict: 25 n duru, akken id-yura deg Leqran: « fket i tlawin taɛmamt – nsent am wakken d tarzef<sup>5</sup>»

-Amɗan n yiqeffafen: deg tazwara ad msefhamen aɗhal n lyaci ara ad asen-d-awin uxxam n uqcic i uxxam n teqcict.

-Tameɛttut tesɛa azref ad truḥ s axxam n yimawlan-is lawan n lferḥ ney n lqerḥ (tameyra, ṭṭhara, lmut...)

Hanotaux yenna-d dakken tameɛttut ilaq ad tɗue argaz-is , am wakken day yessefk yef urgaz ad yessehbiber yef tmeɛttut-is ama deg uxxam ney deg berra, am wakken dayen ad naf argaz yesɛa ula d netta kra n ccuruṭ yef tmeɛttut-is ad nebder deg-sen:

- Ur ilaq ad terrez awal n urgaz-is, diyen ilaq ad t-qader imyaren-is akked twacult-is.
- Deg taddart n Lemsella, imawlan n teqcict ur carɗen ara acemma deg yimawlan n teqcict anagar ayen id-yeğğa Sidi Lmufeq, ur ilaq ara ad terzed taɛellaqt-is.

### **1.4.Taḥbult**

Deg taddart n Lemsella asurif amenzu deg zzwağ d taḥbult, deg yiseggasen n 60 yer 70, axxam n uqcic ad awin tlata alama d xemsa n medden (ɛemmi-s, xali-s...) ad rnun ad awin ccix n lğemaɛ ad ruḥen yer uxxam n uqcic. Ad awɗen ad yren lfatiḥa, mi fuken tayuri, axxam n teslit ad sewwen tiḥbulin , ad sewwen tlata yer rebea n teḥbulin , ad fken i yergazen ad ččen ad rnun i tlawin .

Ger At Mlikec deg taḥbult ur d as-ttaken acemma i teslit, maca ad naf deg temnaɗin-nniɗen n tmurt n Leqbayel ttaken-as taɛmamt i teqcict ass-nni n taḥbult, deg taddart n yiyil eli deg taḥbult ttawin i teqcict tlata n tyawsiwin:” taqendurt, ssebaɗ, laḥwayeğ n dixel”, rennun-as: juj kilu n lkawkaw, lqahwa, ssabun akked lḥenni<sup>6</sup>”

Ger At Mlikec s umata , ma yella tezweğ teqcict yer berra , d axxam n uqcic ara d-yawin akk lqeɗyan n Taḥbult ( lqahwa, sseker, tament, timellalin zzit, lfarina), ma yella tura ttawin (patisseries d lgazuz), Tislit zik deg taḥbult ur tettcebiḥ ara acku ur tterren ara at uxxam n yesli akked sin n cwahed laɛmum d lxwul n teqcict.

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<sup>5</sup> Aɗris s tutlayt tafrañsist :« Donnez aux femmes leur douaire en tant que présente», Coran 4 /4

<sup>6</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n turagt ; Zzwağ yer At ɛebbas d At Mlikec s yur, Ouhimi Fadila, Taybi Oufia (2011-2012) p46.

## **Ixef wis ukuz: Zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970**

tayuri n lfatiha tettili-d mi ara d-awden iqeffafen s axxam n teslits s yin akkin ad qqimen yimawlan n yislan akk dccuhud-nniar tabla umdaed ad as-yini ccix-nni nteq ababa-s n yisli ad as –yerr baba-s n uqcic ad ay-itefkeđ yelli-k i mmi ad as-yerr baba-s n teqcict tfkiy-awent ma yella yefka-yawent rebbi tlata n tikkal ara ad –yas-ini s yin akkin mi mnasaben yimawlan n yislan d ayen ad ikker baba-s n yisli ad issuden Aqerruy n baba-s n teqcict diyen tamɣart n teqcict ad tsuden Aqerruy n yemma-s n teqcict dya ad- ɣren lfatiha ad asen-dɛun i yislan s lxir d lahna d wussan yelhan sya yer sdat . Umbaed mi kfan tayuri n lfatiha ad ččen taħbult d lqahwa ama yer yergazen ama yer tlawin maca tilawin alama ifuk ccix tayuri n lfatiha ara slilwunt acku d laewayed n taddart-a ur ilaq ara ad slilwent uqbel tayuri n lfatiha acku qqaren-d d lfal n diri i yislan . Ihi akka id-tettili tyuri n lfatiha, s yin akkiyalen uxxam n yisli xedmen urrar maca zzik tislit ur tessei ara azref ad truħ yer wurar mačči am tura.

### **1.4.1. Urar deg uxxam n yisli:**

Zik-nni urar ur yettili ara s wallalen imaynuten , maca yettili-d s ubendayer d t̄bel , yer lxalat d tameṭṭut i yesnen ad tewwut abendayer nut I yesnen ad tewwut abendayer ney tin I yesnen ad tcewweq id –ttawin ad asen- taxdem urar am messaed Ĥimmi deg AT MLIKEC, yalmi ara tili tmaɣra deg læarc –a ttawin-tt-id acku d tin yesnen mliħ ama iyicewwiqen ama i tezlatin n zzwağ am akken daɣ tessen s waṭas ad tewwet abendayer, acku d tamesnawt n læarc-a .Ma yella d irgazen ttawin-d iḍebbalen, deg berra I xedmen urar macci am tlawin ttgen-t urar deg uxxam. Irgazen kra yekka yiḍ d nutni d ccḍaħ dardiħ. Ma yell yer tlawin d taḍebbalt Messaad Ĥimi i yekkatèn iyettyennen alama yefra wurar akken id-qqaren:”Mi ara tetṭef abendayer gar yifassen-is, yekkat iman-is, isefra deg uqerruy-is rekk<sup>7</sup> “

Ad naf d akken urar n Massaad Ĥimi ulac am netta deg læerc n At Mlikec acku urar-a d ansay n tlawin i tt-gent deg ufrag n uxxam.

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<sup>7</sup>Tazrawt n taggara n turagt, La poésie féminine en Kabylie, Le cas de Messaad Himi (1992-1979), une poétesse chanteuse de la région d’Ath Mlikeche, p28.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : «quand elle tient le tambour entre ses mains, il se met a jouer tout seul et les poèmes foisonnent dans sa tête.»

### **1.5.Aæeggen**

Seld taħbult s kra n wussan ney n wayyuren yettili-d ayen iwumi neqqar aæeggen ,ad awin uxxam n uqcic sebæa n medden ger yergazen d tlawin s axxam n teslit, deg-s jemæen isurdiyen i teslit.

Mi qrib tħhur ad d-ruħen uxxam n yesli iwakken ad jemæen tizri i teqcict ,yal win yečcan seksu d uksum ad d-ifek ayen iwumi yezmer n yisurdiyen ur cerden ara diyen ad awin yid-sen adellaæ n uæeggen deg-s azgen n lgelba n uwren , taqendurt d tmeħremt, timerniwt nnig waya ur ilaq ara acku d taæellaqt n Sidi Lmufeq, tenna-yid F.M : *Deg uæeggen tislit n ulwes-iw rzan taæellaqt uxxam n baba-s wwin-as i teslit nnig n snat n tyawsiwin , isli-nni uqbel ad tawed tikli aqcic ur iwala læqel-is iruħ yef laxlawi, yef waya ur ilaq yiwen ad yerez taæellaqt-a n sidi Lmufeq, ad ay-d-isers Rebbi s laenaya-s akken id as-qqaren at zik « Ma teččid ađemmin , tameddit ad idher »*

Ad naf dakken deg tudar-nniđen n tmurt n Leqbayel am taddart n at eebbas ur sein ara taæellaqt , ttawin-as ayen ibyan ama d llebsa ney d dheb , mačči am taddart n Lemsella werğin ad ttawid i teslit tayawsa n dheb uqbel ad tawed s axxam n urgaz-is .Deg yid n uæeggen axxam n uqcic xedmen urar, tilawin æmrent urar deg uxxam s ubendayer d usbuye n Messaad Himi , ma yella d irgazen æmren urar deg berra s yiđebbalen , ma yella d tura s wallalen imaynuten (disque jockey).

Seld aæeggen s dduurt,tettili-d tin iwumi neqqar tiremt n deffir uæeggen ,deg-s imawlan n yisli ttasen-d yer uxxam n teqcict , ttawin-d yid-sen tlata n medden, ttawin-d i teslit :taqendurt, rennun-d irden d yibawen , nnfaqi(aksum), tabağ n lhenni, taħbult n ssabun .

Asmi ara d-yehder wass ara tt-id-awin ad msefhamen yimawlan deg way gar-asen yef tqumict d nnfaqi, ayen id asen-nnan uxxam n teqcict n yineffaqen ad asen-d-awin , zik cerden alama d 25 n yineffaqen , acku zik ma yella ur teččid ara nafaqa ur tetabaæed ara taqcict-nni , maca deg Læerc n At Mlikec ma yella tezweğ teqcict yer berra cerden imawlan-is ixef n lexwul ma yella tezweğ kan din ur ttawin ara ixef n lexwul.



### **1.5.1. Ađellaε n uεeggen**

Dayen i ttawin uxxam n yesli i uxxam n teslit ass n uεeggen , ttawin-as kra n tyawsiwin deg uđellaε n wusran deg-s : Azgen n Igelba n uwren, taqendurt, taħbult n ssabun, lħenni, timeħremt.

### **1.5 .2.Tafaska**

Tislit ma yella tettwaεeyyen mi ara ad d-teħđer leid , tettayel ad as-awin uxxam-is lħađa ama d taqendurt ney iseब्bađen ney ayen nniđen, ur ilaq ara kan ad as-awin nnig yiwet n tyawsa , acku d taεellaqt n Sidi Lmufeq win yernan nnig wayen id yeğđa ad t-yay kra akken iyi-d-tenna A.T.yiwen n uqcic imi yezweğ yewwi i tmeħtut-is nnig n yiwet n tyawsa , ass-nni n tikli deg ubrid-is ad yawi teslit yexdem tawayit yemmut din din, yef waya ur ilaq ara ad terzeđ taεellaqt id-yeğđa Sidi Lmufeq.

### **1.5 .3. Tiremt n deffir uεeggen**

Mi ara εeddin sebea n wussan yef uεeggen, imawlan n yisli ttuyalen yer uxxam n teslit, ttawin ađellaε deg-s taqendurt d wučči d nafaqa (aksum) dayen i ttawin i teslit iwumi neqqar tiremt n deffir uεeggen.

### **1.5.4. Taqummict d nnfaqi**

#### **a-Taqummict :**

Tettili-d send asensi s kra n wussan ama tlata n wussan ney tmanyane, ney mi ara ifek uεeggen, axxam n yisli ttawin i uxxan n teslit azgen n deffir n yizimer ney n uħuli , ma yella uqcic yuy-d taqcict berra i Lεerc n At Mlikec ttawin-as ixef n lexwul , ttaken-t i xwali-sen.

#### **b-Nnfaqi**

D aksum i cerđen yimawlan n teslit i yimawlan n yesli azal n kilu d uzgen n uksum, iwakken ad ten-fken i wid ara i tebeen tislit ama d leemum-is ney d xwal-is , sya d asawen ma yella tesa lfarħ ney lqarħ ad ruħen ad rzun yur-s ,maca tura llan wid ur i cerđen ara nnfaqi ssmahayen-asen uxxam n teslit I uxxam n yisli , syin akkin ad rnun kra n wussan ad awin asensi.

### **➤ Ass amenzu n tmeyra**

#### **a)-Asensi**

Deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970 sbaḥ n usensi i ttawin uxxam n yesli lejmae , ttawin yid-sen ixef n lejmae (izimer ney iyid win ur yesein ara, 50 n kilu n uwren , snat n litrat n zzit uzemmur , rennun-as diyen i teslit ass-nni leğhaz-ines deg uđellae n wusran deg-s sebæa n tyawsiwin :snat n teqnedyar, snat n temraḥmin, tayuga n ssebađ, sin n lizarat, rennun-as ssabun , lḥenni, am wakken day rennun lizar i tdeggalt d wis tmanyā ,wagi ur tettaken ara i teslit maca ttaken-t i yemma-s asmi ara d-tuyal yer uxxam-is ttaran-as-t-id yid-s .

Tasebḥit n usensi, axxam n uqcic ttawin-d, izimer d 50 kilu n uwren , snat n litrat n zzit, mi ara ad awḍen ad zlun izimer-nni ,umbaed ad qqimen ad ččen imekli ,maca tameddit n wass ad uyalen kra n yergazen akken ad ččen imensi , mi yuyalen ad rren yid-sen ađellae n seksu d lmarqa .

Læerc n At Mlikec sumata sean taellaqt n sebæa n tyawsiwin , win ieeddan nnig waya ad t-yay kra , ama d azawali ney d amarkanti , akken iyi-d-tenna A.T.” *yiwen n uxxam ržan taellaqt wwin-as i teslit-nsen taxatamt n dheb ger sebæa-nni n tyawsiwin , netta deg taddart n Lemsella d awezyi ad ttawiđ i teslit dheb ney lfeṭta ma yella mazal ur teddi wara s axxam n urgaz-is , maca netta yewwi-yas i tmeṭṭut-is taxatamt , mi id teḥder tikli , deg ubrid-is tedra-yas twayit ma d netta yemmut ma yella d yemma-s terrež deg uđar , yef waya Læerc n At Mlikec sumata ur zmiren ara ad eeddin nnig wayen id yeğğa Sidi Lmufeq” .*

#### **a.1.Leğhaz n teslit**

Tettawi-d teslit yid-s asenduq n usyar d sin n yimendilen trennu-d yiwet n leksiwa, timḥremt, sebbađ, lḥenni n yiferr adilin wwin-as-t-id uxxam n yisli ass n usensi,lizar,ttawin-ten-id s daxel n uđellae n usran, ad as-d-rnun tađellaet n yirden d yibawen,Tassadit Yacin tenna:«Rnu yef yedrimen i ttaken mi msefhamen yef zzwağ, isli ilaq fell-as ad asen-yefk i twacult d tmeṭṭut-is isefkan,timḥhermin n tlawin,

izamaren,awren,zzit ney udi iwakken ad niwlen yessen imensi n tissulya ara ddmn imawlan n tmeṭṭut-is<sup>8</sup>.»

➤ **Ass wis sin n tmeɣra**

**b)-Tikli**

**b.1.Lḥenni**

Lḥenni d yiwen n usekkir i ixedmen Leqbayel deg tmeɣriwin n zzwağ, maca Asekkir-a yemgarad seg temnaḍt yer tayed, llan wid i tixeddmn uqbel timezliwt n yizimer, sdat n ugraw n tlawin d warrac imecṭaḥ, am wakken day mi ara ketent lḥenni i teslit ttawint-d yicewwiqen d tibuyarin.

Asekkir-a n lḥenni d win id-yettilin sbaḥ n tikli, d tameṭṭut tameqqrant id as-ikatten i teslit lḥenni, Asekkir-a d win id- yemmalen ayen yelhan, yettwexir ayen n diri yef yeslan, yetṭharab yef tiṭ, deg læerc n At Mlikec deg taddart n Lemsella deg yiseggasen n 60 d 70 asekkir-a n tuqna n lḥenni yettili ama i yesli ama i teslit, maca tura isli yuyal ur yekkat ara lḥenni acku yettagad yef iḥeckulen.

Deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970 isli yekkat lḥenni deg wass n usensi, yettlusu abernus , yettyama gar sin yigerdan ara yetṭfen snat n tcemmaein deg yifassen-nsen akken id-yenna pierre Bourdieu:«Aqcic izewğen ass n tmeɣra-s , ilaq ad yeqqim zdat n uzeṭṭa ney n tesga , ad iqleb ærur-is yer tafat<sup>9</sup>»

Ma yella d tuqna n lḥenni n teslit yettili-d tafejrit n sbaḥ, ad truḥ yer lemquam nettat d tin ara ad as-yewten lḥenni , ad teqqim deg tesga ad qabel tafat , tin ara ad-as-yewten lḥenni ilaq ad tili d tin yesean tadfert yelhan tettaru arrac, diyen d tin yesean zzher iwakken ad teseu zzher am nettat, s yin akkin ad heggi aḍbsi n uqellal d wayen

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<sup>8</sup>Tassadit Yacin, OP, cit, p94

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist :«En sus des douros payables a la conclusion du mariage, le futur époux se doit d'offrir certains cadeaux a la famille de sa fiancée, des foulards aux dames des moutons, de la semoule, de l'huile ou de beurre destines a la préparation du repas de la veille de nocces, que l'on prend chez les parents de l'épouse .»

<sup>9</sup> Bourdieu Pierre, esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, librairie Droz 1972, Edition le Seuil, paris, p56.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : «La jeune épouse le jour de son mariage, elle est assis devant le métier a tisser, lui tournant ledos en pleine lumière»

## **Ixef wis ukuz: Zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970**

akk id as-xelden i lħenni-nni, tlata n tmellalin akk d tlata n yijujen day tlata n yiseqqayen n ttmer d kra n yisurdiyem d taxatamt n lfeṭṭa, anect-a merra ad ttwaxelden s waman n lemqam yer lħenni-nni. Ma yella d teslit-nni tettlusu taqendurt n tgawawin tamellalt, tettyummu Aqerruy-is s tmeħremt, dya ad as-tebdu tin ara ad as-yewten lħenni (acekkel) tiyita n lħenni mxalfa, ad as-tezwir deg ufus ayeffus alama d zzenda, s yin akkin yer uqejjir azelmağ alama d tiwetẓit , tigawt-a tettwaεawad tlata n tikkal, dya deg tikelt tis kradet ad as-teslil ifassen-is d yiḍarren-is yer dixel n uḍbsi-nni n uqellal ma yella d aman-nni id as-teslal akken ad ten-tenyel yer ttejra n remman ney yer ttejra n leħlu akken ad lhun wussan-is wa ad tjujugen ad rennun, ma yella d ayen yerzan timellalin--nni d ttmer d yijuğgen d yidrimen-nni ad tent-fer alama terra-d teslit Sbaεyyam, ad tent-id-textdem d taħbult i yeslan ad teččen, ma yella d lħenni-nni ara ad yeqqimen akken ad tewwet yemma-s n teslit i uqerruy-is ad tekkes akk later -is acku xedmen deg-s iħeckulen, ma yella d aḍbsi-nni id as-tewwut akken lħenni ilaq ad yeqqim kan akken yebded alama terra-d teslit sebεyyam acku wa dl fal lēali iteslt igellu-yas-d s ddaryad deg useggas amenzu.

Asekkir-a anamek-is yemmal-d tumert ney ayen yelhan, am wakken day yessebead ayen n dirri yef yeslan, azamul-is day akken ad iħninen wulawen-nsen wa ad teddukel lħenna-nsen, ad tezdi lemħibba gar-asen am wakken day ad teħnin yef uxxam-is.

Makilam tenna-d dakken : «Lħenni yettuneħsab d yiwen n lfal yesfilliten i wid ijewjen , dderya akked tudert n rrbeħ deg lisar ma yella walbeεad yessawed yeddem yeddem yas ma tiqqit seg lħenni-nni islan-nni ur d-ttarwen ara, adqqimen mebla dderya<sup>10</sup>»

Sliman Rahmani<sup>11</sup> tenna-d dakken deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata tameddit n tmayra ney uqbel tameyra s yiwen n wass xedmen lħenni i yeslan, maca yal yiwen yekkat deg uxxam-is, iwakken ad menēen yeslan deg iħeckulen yettmagan i lħenni-nsen, ilaq ad-

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<sup>10</sup> Makilam, La magie des femmes kabyle et l'unité de la société traditionnelle, Edition L'Harmattan 5-7 .rue de L'ecole – polytechnique 75005 paris, p269.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : «Le henné en particulier représente la fécondité de l'unité de l'union des mariés et le bonheur de leur vie, si quelqu'un s'emparait même d'une goutte de Henné, les mariés ne pourraient pas avoir d'enfants.»

<sup>11</sup> Sliman Rahmani, coutumes de Kabylie : Fiançailles, Mariage, Grossesse, Naissance , Edition tafat 05 /2012,p 23.

degren ayen id-yeqqimen akken n lhenni yer lğedra n tremmant ad-as-ternuđ aman acku aman d laman.

## **b.2.Taemamt**

Taemamt d idrimen azal-n sen 25 n duru deg taddart n Lemsella, yettak-it baba-s n uqcic i baba-s n teqcict uqbel ad teffey seg uxxam n yimawlan-is, maca ma yella ur tt-yefki wara ur tezmir ara ad teffey teslit deg uxxam. Am wakken yella lhal deg tudrin n tmurt n Leqbayel s umata, taemamt maci yer ufus n ubabat i ttaken d ađeggar i tettđeggiren yer lqaea, maca ilaq ad as-d-yerr deg-s kra n durwat i baba-s n teqcict acku d l fal yelhan, ilmend n Makilam taemamt mačči kan d idrimen i ttaken maca yettedday yer wayen nniđen, akken id tenna Makilam: «Tikwal ttaken-as tabniqt, tabagust tameqqrant n lehrir, d imeqyasen n uqardas i eedda lawan-n sen<sup>12</sup>»

Ʀef wakken id-yenna Hanotaux, taemamt dayen i ttaken yimawlan n uqcic i teqcict, am akken day llant kra n tudrin deg tmurt n Leqbayel qqaren-as “tuččiť”, yenna-d dakken: « Lexlas n taemamt, d tikci n tmeťtut s yur yimawlan n urgaz-is<sup>13</sup>. »

Taemamt d yiwen n wansay i yesean azal d ameqqran deg tmurt n Leqbayel mazal-it yedder yer tura, akken id-yenna Basagama: « Taemamt d azal n yidrimen I ilaqen ad as-ten-yefk yesli I yimawlan n teslit deg tegnit n zzwağ, s yes id-yettili

aneggaru-ya<sup>14</sup>. »

Azal n taemamt yemgarad deg temnađť yer tayađ, yal tamnađť ačal i ttaken n yedrimen, maca ma yella ur msefhamen ara urgaz-nni d tmeťtut-nni yella-d gar-asen

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<sup>12</sup> Makilam, La magie des femmes kabyles et l’unité de la société traditionnelle, Éditions L’Harmattan 5-7, rue de L’école-polytechnique, paris p262.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Autrefois elle avait un bonnet, une large ceinture de soie et des bracelets de corne passés de mode.»

<sup>13</sup> Hanotaux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles TOME II, Editions Bouchene, 2003 p111. Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Le payement de la taemamt et la livraison de la femme par ses parents au mari.»

<sup>14</sup> R .Basagama et A. Sayad, Habitat traditionnelle et structure familiales en Kabylie, N d’Édition 06 /73 Alger.1974.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « C’est la somme que le future mari doit verser aux parents de la future épouse a l’occasion du mariage, et pour que celui-ci puisse avoir lieu.»

berru ilaq baba-s n teqcict ad as-d-yerr taemamt-nni id as-d-yefka akken ass-nni n tmeyra.

Deg tmetti taqbaylit tamensayt tamejtu iɛawden zzwağ ur tessei ara azref iwakken ad tagu ney ad teħqer taemamt ara d-as-fken, diyen ur ilaq ara ad tecređ win ara ad as-tt-yefken, ilmend n Hanotaux yer Ait flik mi ara tezweğ tağğalt ur d as-ttaken ara taemamt, maca deg tudrin nniđen am taddart n Lemsella mi ara tezweğ yiwet ama d tağğalt ney ala tettayel taemamt-is , acku ttafaren ayen id-tenna tesređt tineslemt imi taemamt d ccerť n zzwağ .

Ter itergiyen taemamt qqaren-as “taggalt” , Foucauld yefka-yas-d Tabadut:« Taemamt yettak-itt yesli i tmejtu ara ayen, akk irgazen ara izewğen ttaken i tmejtu ara yan taemamt, d ayla-ines macci n yimawlan-is<sup>15</sup>.»

Ma yella yer kel Ahaggar taemamt tbedd yef uqerruy n lmal (tiyeťin ney ileyman) , ma yella d ačal ara d as-fken yettuyal yer wayen ara d-tini teslit. Am wakken yella lhal deg tudrin nniđen n tmurt n Leqbayel, tučćit yef teslit tettmaga uqbel tameyra s snat ledwar, yenna-d Basagama dakken: «Tef zyada n taemamt; baba-s n teqcict icerred akken axxam n yisli ad as-d-aznen kra n yisufar n wučći am smid, zzit d uksum s ways ara niwlen tiram n wučći (imensi) n tmeyra<sup>16</sup>. »

### **b.3.Tuffya n teslit ddaw laenaya n baba-s:**

Teslit tettefey ddaw laenaya n baba-s ney ma yella ur tessei wara baba-s ad teffey ddaw laenaya n gma-s ameqqran ney ɛemmi-s, yerna mi ara teffey akken tettlusu abernus tettyumu akk udem-is syes, diyen yettak-as baba-s ad tessu aman deg ufus-is mi ara teffey akken deg uxxam, maca tuffya-ya n teslit ddaw laenaya n baba-s tesɛa azamul n lħarma n baba-s ara yillin yer yidis-is ama deg lfarħ ney deg lqarħ ,am

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<sup>15</sup> Pandolfi Paule, les touarègues de l’Ahagar, Sahara Algérien, parenté et résidence chez les Dag Galli, chapitre 9 l’alliance, Edition Karthala, p 301.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « La dot constituée par le marié a la femme qu’il épouse une dot qui est la propriété de celle-ci bien et non de ses parent.»

<sup>16</sup> Basagama et Ali sayad, Habitat traditionnel et structure familiales en kabylie, 1975, p90.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Outre la taemamt, le père de la fille stipule qu’une certaine quantité de provision en nature (smoule, huile, viande) lui envoyé le future époux pour être consommer lors des fêtes du mariage. »

wakken day iwakken ad yejjeel Rebbi lbaraka d leetab-nni n baba-s, diyen ad thareb laenaya n baba-s fell-as deg uxxam-is amaynut.

#### **b.4.Rrekba n teslit<sup>17</sup>**

Deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970, Rekba n teslit yer uxxam n urgaz-is yettili-d yef userdun iwumi cebhen, akken id ay-d-temmeslay M.F. tenna-d dakken “*slusuyen-as tabard leali, rennun-as tteelliqen-as ixelxalen sufel-is*” maca mi ara ruhen ad t-id-awin ilaq ad irkeb ulwes-is amecṭuḥ ney win id as-iqerben i yesli , ma yella d iqeffafen ad tabeen deffir<sup>18</sup>, yef wakken id ay-d-yenna A. D.” *mi ara terkeb teslit s axxam n urgaz-is ur trekeb ara yef tsardunt-nni alma tædda-d yef lemquam n Sidi Lebsir acku yiwen n urgaz n At Qasi irkeb-d yef tsardunt-is imi id yewweḍ yer sidi Lmufeq yenna-yas mačči d keč i yugaday a lmufeq d tsardunt-iw i yiyaden , yelhaq yer ccix n tegnatin tegrareb tsardunt-is yer wasif”*

#### **b.5. Aqabel n teslit**

Ilmend n tsastant i nga ḥkant-ay-d kra n temsulya yef Rekba n teslit nnant-ay-d dakken mi ara tawed teslit s axxam-is amaynut ad id-qabel temyart-is yer yiri n tawwurt ad as-d-fek ad tælli tlata n wurawen n yibawen yer deffir-s, diyen ad tessu aman ad ternu ad tečč tament iwakken ad tiziḍ am tament, syin akkin ad as-d-tawi temyart-is tarbut yeččuren d aman tesa daxel-is tagest ad tggar aḍar-is ayeffus deg-s iwakken ad tekcem s axxam , d ta i d leada n taddart n lemsella deg wayen yerzan Rekba n teslit zik.

Am wakken yella lhal deg tudrin nniḍen n tmurt n Leqbayel, Rekba n teslit temxalaf seg temnaḍt yer tayed, ad naf deg taddart n Ait Hichem macci d tislit i yettæellin aman, d yemma-s- nni i yettdëggiren aman deffir n teslit-nni tlata n tikwal, syin akkin ad tt-id-tezzi sebæa n tikwal yer lkanun , ad tesyim deg tgejdit talemast ad as-tfek yer yifassen-is sebæa n tyenjawin n seksu dayen ad as-tesres ddaw-as timzin d yibawen akken ad tefti am yibawen-a wa tesa ddarya atas.

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<sup>17</sup> Muqel tugna 01.

<sup>18</sup> Muqel tugna 01

### **b.6.Imensi n tmeyra<sup>19</sup>**

Imensi n tmeyra ixedmen uxxam n yesli d seksu d uksum, deg id n tmeyra mi ara wwden akken iqeffafen ad ten-rren akken ad ččen imensi, tilawin tettent iman-nsent ma yella d irgazen iman-nsen, tetten akk lwaħid deg yiwen u uqeduħ, yiwet n tlawin tayeđ n yergazen s nnuba win yečcan dayen yerwa ad yuđal wayeđ yer umkan-is , maca beddun asečči qbel deg yiđulan acku zik ttaken azal i yiđulan ttqadaren-ten , syin akkin ttuđalen yer yimeđdaren.Mi fuken asečči dayen ad ruħen ad bdun urar , s yiđebbalen d ubendir alama d ssbeħ .

### **b.7.Aseddar n teslit<sup>20</sup>**

Tislit zik ur tetseddir ara am tura , maca d aeellaq kan id tteelliqen tiqnadyar id tewwi yef criđa akken ad tent-zren akk yimeđdaren.Mi ,acku ma yella tsedred ad as-ibru urgaz-is ad ieiwed tayeđ fell-as , syin akkin mi ara ifak urar yal yiwen ad yuđal s wansa id-yekka , ma yella d imawlan n teslit ad qqimen alama tecbeħ yelli-tsen ksen ayilif .

### **b.8. Alħaq n tunčict**

Bab n tmeyra yettak akk tunčicin i lğiran-is, ama yusa-d yer tmeyra ney ur d-yusi wara yessawađ-as-tt alama d tawwurt n uxxam-is, acku ttilin yemyaren ney imuđan yetteasan cwiť n seksu d uksum deg lfarħ-a n zzwağ ney n tthara...,maca yal tagnit yecban tagi ama n lfarħ ney n leħzen ttaken tunčict ama i yizawaliyen ama i yimerkantiyen ; sumata asufey tunčict-a deg-s lbaraka d lxir i wat uxxam, ihi ansay-a d win yellan ar tura deg taddart n Lemsella.

#### **➤ Ass wis tlata n tmeyra**

### **c-Aggus**

#### **c.1. Aheggi n teslit i yiman-is**

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<sup>19</sup> Muqel tugna 06.

<sup>20</sup> Muqel tugna 12.



Tasebhit n waggus ad tekker teslit ad teccucef ad tles taqendurt tamellalt n leqbayel, imiren ad tkehel i wallen-is tazult,ad, ad tles imeqyasen d uzrar n ssbax, ad tesbur tafunart n lğamee n lpari yef uqaruy-is, ur d -yettban acemma deg-s, imiren n mi ččan imekli lawan tthur ad ibdu waggus.

### **c.2.Agezzum n tkuzziṭ<sup>21</sup>**

Agezzum n tkuzziṭ d win id-yettlin ass n waggus, ad iruḥ umyar-is ad as-igzem Takuzziṭ ney alwes-is amezzyan maca ilaq ad as-igzem s lilam ajdid, mačči s temqasin acku yezmer tislit-nni ad taker akken id aḡ-d-tenna M.F. Dayen ad as-iqqen tabagust n Lfeṭṭa, mi id as-ifuk dayen ad as-ifek tizri ma yella d nettat ad as-tfek tawsa ama d ssabun ney d tafanda, ad temey yer uqerruy-is ad tsuden tawenza-s , ihi ifuk waggus yal yiwen ad yuḡal s axxam-is anagar yemma-s d kra n tid id as-iqerben i teslit, iwakken ad zren-t ma yella tecbaḥ teqcict-nsen ney ala .

### **c.3.Acbaḥ n teslit**

Ilmend n Makilam, deg tmurt n Leqbayel sumata acbaḥ n teslit d win yettilin gar sin n yeslan iman-nsen, ass amenzu n tikli, am wakken yella lḥal deg læerc n At Mlikec sumata acbaḥ n teslit d win id-yettlin ass wis sin n tikli , deg iḡ n waggus .

Deg tmurt n Leqbayel deg yiseggasen n 1960-1970, lidra n teslit d tin id suffyen ttwalin-tt akk medden, iwakken ad zren dakken taqcict-a d tin yesēan isey , tessuli Aqerruy n yimawlan-is yer igenni,maca yemma-s n teslit tettyama tlata n wussan seld tameyra yer yelli-s.

Deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata mi ara tecbaḥ teslit sudunen iḡaren-is syin akkin win i tt-izran yettak-as tizri, akken id-as qqaren “tizri n uwali amenzu”, Mi tecbaḥ dayen isli ad ifey s tuffra acku yessetha at waxxam ladya baba-s ad yawi yid-s tayerbalt n lfal i yemdukalis, imir ad kecment tlawin akken ad slilwent acku taqcict-nsen tecbaḥ, syin akkin ad ferqent lfal d tmellalin ak i wid yensan deg yiḡ-nni.

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<sup>21</sup> Muqel tugna23.

#### **c.4.Tayerbalt n yeslan**

Ass n waggus deg yiḍ , imawlan n yesli ttdamen-d lfal ama d kawkaw , lahlawat, ljuj, ttmer,xedmen snat n tɣarbalin yiwet i yesli yiwet i teslit ,rennun-as timellalin mi ara tecbaḥ teslit dayen isli yessufuy-it i yemdukal-is ad teččen lwaḥid , ma yell d tislit ad tfek kra i yessetma-s kra ad teffer lawan ieedda lḥal ad teččen nettat d urgaz-is.

Tfuk tmeyra tislit ur ilaq ara ad texdem acemma alma eeddan sebɛa n wussan fell-as iwakken ad twali kan amek ixedmen uxxam n urgaz-is ad teḥfeḍ.

#### **c.5.Sbuḥ n teslit**

Deg tmetti taqbaylit tamensayt, azekka-nni mi ara d tesbaḥ teslit, tilawin slewliwent ma yella d irgazen kkatn lbarud akken id-tenna Sliman Rahmani: «Deg iḍ wis sin ney wis rebɛa, dya tameyra tfuk, isli yeffey deg taxxamt ma yella d imawlan-is kecmen yer taxxamt n tguni slewliwent dayen kkatn lbarud, am wakken day sbaḥ-nni xedmen taḥbult n tmellalin tetten yeslan i sin day ula d at waxxamt tetten akken iyi-d-tenna M.F. dakken “*xedmen taḥbult n tmellalin mi ara tecbaḥ teslit-nni yerna sbaḥ-nni siezizent amzun d timnifrit*” am wakken day tamyart n teslit-nni d nettat ara d as-iriden lidra-nni i ymesxen d yidamen , maca aman-nni i tessared akken lidra-nni ilaq ad tent-wezzee yer lğedra n useklu n lfakiya , anect-a d azamul n wayen yelhan , Sliman Rahmani tenna-d dakken :«Azekka-nni taqendurt yumsen d idammen tirad yef yiri n tremmant ney n tazemmurt ney n yinejel, aḡuḡeg n kraḍ n yimyan-a i yellan s waṭas , qqaren-d iyemmen akka aṭas n ddarya i yeslan , s taman-niḍen “tabɛa” yeeni tawayit yezgan ad teqqim d yidamen-nni yuraden<sup>22</sup>.»

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<sup>22</sup> Sliman Rahmani, coutumes kabyles. a tire a la cible et le nif en Kabylie, réédite par les éditions Belles lettres p 25.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist :« Le lendemain, la chemise maculée de sang est rincée au pied d'une grenadier, d'une olivier ou d'une ronce. La floraison de ces trois plantes étant abondante, on croit assurer ainsi aux époux une nombreuse descendance ; d'autre part, la « tabɛa », c'est-à-dire le « malheur continu » reste auprès de ce sang lavé. »

### **c.6.Sbaɣyyam n teslit**

Deg wansayen n tmetti taqbaylit, sebɛa n wussan n ddurt amenzu n tmeyra, tislit werğin ad texdem kra la deg uxxam la deg berra, ladya tlata n tyawsiwin-a:

- Ur ilaq ara ad t-qqareb yer imbuxen ney iyiyden, acku dayen n diri ad tkemmel akk tudert-is d tabarkant
- Tislit ur ilaq ara ad t-qqareb yer umalus ney yer tmejirit, ney ad teffey teslit deg id, acku d lfal n diri i teslit.

### **c.7.Imensi n ujeğğid**

Mi ara ɛeddin tlata ney setta n wussan yef tmeyra xeddmn uxxam n yesli imensi n ujeğğid, imawlan n yesli nefqen aksum, dayen xeddmn imensi i yeslan akken ur d asen-d-it-teffey ara ujeğğid i yeslan, maca imensi-ya xedment ass n lexmis lawan n ssuq, akken baba-s n yesli ad iruḥ yer ssuq iwakken ad yay aksum, ney aqerruy n ueejmi ad xedmen seksu n uksum ney buzaluf.

### **c.8.Ass n sebeiyyam**

Ass n sebeiyyam, d ass id-i rennun yef imensi n ujeğğid, Mi ara wwɛden sebɛa n wussan yef tmeyra, islan akk d yimawlan-is ad ruḥen yer uxxam n baba-s n teslit , ttawin yid-sen aɛellaɛ n sebeiyyam deg-s : nafaqa, (aksum) , rennun ibawen d yirden , tetten imekli d yimensi , yer tuyalin-nsen ttawin-d yid-sen aɛellaɛ n seksu d lmarqa i wat uxxam akken iy-d-tenna M.F.

Am wakken yella lḥal deg tudrin nniɛden am taddart n buceqqfa de At ɛebbas, isli deg wass n sebeiyyam tettara-yas-d tɛggalt-is tayawsa n lebsa ama d ssebaɛ ney dayen nniɛden maca tura tetra-yas-d yisurdiyem , akken iyi-d-tenna A.T. « *Deg ass n sebeiyyam tislit ur ilaq ara ad tnes yer yimawlan-is , acku d yar lfal yezmer ad tuyal tislit saxxam n baba-s* »

Am wakken day llant tegnatin-nniɛden anida i ixeddmn at temnaɛt-a timeyriwin-nniɛden gar-asent: sbue, tḥara, lḥiğ...

S wakka tameyra tekfa, tislit ad tceɓmar i yiɣalen-is ad tebdu leqdic am nettat am tid i tufa deg uxxam-is , ad tkemmel tudert-is s lehna d talwit deg uxxam-is.

## **2. Zzwağ deg Læerc n At Mlikec deg taddart n Lemsella tura.**

### **2.1.Aqeleb yef teqcict**

Deg tmurt n Leqbayel sumata, Zzwağ tura d win yettuɣalen yer uqcic, sseba n umyaxleɗ n yiɣerfan deg yal tamurt ama deg, uyerbaz , Tasdawit, deg umkan n yixeddim, anect-a dayen yettḥetimen amdan iwakken ad yextir taqcict I yebya iman-is, mebla ma eɛlmen imawlan-is.

Tura deg tuget n yiberdan zzwağ deg tmurt n Leqbayel ur d-yettili wara zzwağ gar sin alma myussanen; maca tikwal d imawlan id yettnadin i mmi-tsen dya ilemzi yesɛa azref akken ad yextir tin yebya, syin akkin ad t-id-yessken i yimawlan-is, tura imawlan uɣalen d ineggura alma myussanen deg way gar-asen imiren ad awɗen yer yimawlan, ɣas akken zik ur ttemyussanen ara deg way gar-asen ad naf dakken tella nniya d tdukli akken iyi-d-tenna H.M.

Am wakken yella lḥal deg tmurt n Leqbayel, zzwağ tura d win id-yettilin s lɣayda ama i uqcic ama i teqcict akken iyi-d-tenna M.Z. *“Deg taddart n Lemsella yiwet n teqcict tuy yiwɛn yesɛa azal n 78 n yiseggasen, ma yella d nettat tesɛa anagar 18 n yiseggasen, acku yesɛa isurdiyɛn s waɣas tebya ad d-ɛiwen axxam-nɛn acku d izawaliyɛn”*, ihi ad naf dakken zzwağ tura anagar kra i izewɣen s tayri .

### **2.2. Axetṭeb**

Mi yufa yilemzi taqcict ad yeɗleb deg yimawlan-is ad ruḥen iwakken ad tt-id-xeɗben, s wudem amatu ass i ttexitirin i uxetṭeb d ass n lḡemɛa acku d ass n tyimit, inexɗaben ur d-ttasen ara ifassen-nɛn d ilmawen ttawin-d kra yid-sen, mi ara d-awɗen s axxam n teqcict ad as-treḥben yes-sen akken iwata, sumata mi ara d-asen ad xeɗben ttawin-d yid-sen kra n wid i ten-iqerben ama d leemum-is ney d lejdud-

is, imiren ad bdun ameslay , ad as-yini baba-s n uqcic aqla nusa-d ad neđleb yelli-twen i mmi-tney yef ssunna n rebbi d nnbi, ad as-d-yerr mraħba yesswen, kullec d lmaktub, ma yella-yawen unaseb yur-ney ad tt-tawim nchallah, s yin akkin ad msefhamen yef wass ideg ara d-uyalen, maca ur ilaq ara ad asen-d-rren awal imiren kan acku ad as-inin dakken ur xdimen ara azal i yelli-tsen tugar fell-asen akken id-yenna Khellil:« Imawlan n tlemzıt ur, ilaq ara d-sseknen iman-nsen, fkan lwi qeblen s shala ma d win ara yawin tislit ilaq-as ad yesber lweqt i ilaqen, kra ad tthellilen ad d-ttuyalen yer wayen iten-id-yewwin akken ad d-iban meqquer wazal i fkan i unaseb id-qesden<sup>23</sup>».

Seld kra n wussan ad d-uyalen yimawlan n uqcic ad d-awin yid-sen uqcic, iwakken ad asen-rren s wawal, imiren ad yenteq baba-s n uqcic ad as-yini dacu ara d-inim ihi, ad as-d-yerr ad as-yini atan ihi fkiy-awen yelli i mmi-twen, taqcict tuyal d ayla-nwen, am wakken yella lħal deg tudrin nniđen n tmurt n leqbayel deg uxetteb n teqcict ttaken-as tizri<sup>24</sup> i teqcict-nni, maca deg taddart n Lemsella ur ttaken ara i teqcict tizri ass n lexđubeyya anagar ma yella teqcict-nni tezweğ berra i Læerc n At Mlikec, ttaken-as azal n 200 yer 300 n yidinaren, idrimen-a azamul-nsen dakken taqcict-nni tuyal nsen akken id as-qqaren ssersen fell-as tizri, am wakken day tetteg assay gar snat n twaculin-a, akken ad kemlen lwaħid tudert, mi myeqbalen dayen ad eeddin ad d-ssersen kra n ccuruť.

### **2.2.1. Ccuruť n zzwağ**

Tuget n Leqbayel izewğen d wid yettaken ccuruť i teqcict uqbel zzwağ, dayen ula d baba-s n teqcict yettak ccuruť gar-asen:

Ilmend n Hanotaux<sup>25</sup> ccuruť id-yettelin deg zzwağ, ad d- nebder kra deg-sen:

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<sup>23</sup> Mohamad Khellil, La Kabylie ou l'ancêtre sacrifié, p89.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Les parents de la jeune fille ne doivent pas donner l'impression de céder trop facilement tandis que le preneur d'épouse doit patienter le temp qu'il faudra, les uns doivent résister les autres supplier a la charge pour montrer l'importance accordée a l'alliance projetée.»

<sup>24</sup> Tizri: D ssuma n udrim ittakken i teqcict, mi ara tt-zren tikelt tamenzut.

<sup>25</sup> Hanoteau et A. Letourneux, La kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, Tome 02 Édition Bouchene p121-123.

-Tmeṭṭut ilaq ad tili tettay awal i urgaz-is, am wakken day d nettat ara yillin lmendad i uxxam-is ad teshbiber fell-as. Ma yella tebya ad terzef yer yimawlan-is ama deg lfarḥ ney deg lqarḥ ad truḥ lawan i tebya. Tameṭṭut tesɛa azref akken ad tɛeqqed am wakken day taqcict ma yella teqqar ad as-tfek I urgaz-is ccerṭ ad as-tini dakken nekk ad kemley leqraya.

- Tameṭṭut tesɛa azref yef urgaz-is, d netta ara yillin d amasay yef temḍalt n tmeṭṭut-is, yas akken temmut deg uxxam n yimawlan-is. Taqcict tesɛa azref ad texdem ur tettayama ara deg uxxam. Ma yella qeblen yef ccuruṭ-a zdat n lejmaɛ, yiwen ur yettuṭal deg wawal-is.

### **2.3. Taḥbult**

Mi tt-id-xeḍben dayen ad msefhamen melmi ara ččen taḥbult, ney yef wass ara ggen tuqqna, tura d aqcic d teqcict i yettemsefhamen yef wass ara ggen taḥbult.

Tasebḥit ad tekker tislit ad teccucef s yin akkin ad truḥ yer tnarsamt ad d-temceḍ acebbub-is<sup>26</sup>, dayen ad as-d-texdem azrir i udem-is, mi tfuk dayen ad iruḥ gma-s ad t-id-yawi s axxam, imiren ad asen iqeffafen ara yeččen taḥbult, axxam n yesli ad yawi taquft n lṯaci ad d-rnun yid-sen ccix ara yeyren lfatiḥa, maca ur d-ttawin acemma, anagar ma yella tezweğ berra i Læerc-a, d nutni akk ara as-d-yawin isufar ixedmen i taḥbult ama d zzit, lfarina, tament, timellalin, sseker, lqahwa.

Mi ara yebdu ccix tayuri n lfatiḥa ilaq ad yili win ara iweklen taqcict-nni ama d baba-s ney d gma-s ameqqran, am wakken day aqcic ad yili win ara timetlen, maca aqcic yezmer ad imettel iman-is s yiman-is mačči am teqcict werğin ad tezweğ mebla win ara tt- imetlen, imir ccix ad yebdu tayuri n lfatiḥa ad as-yini”  
*Llahumma selli elik a rasul llah*” wiyad ad inin “*sella elik wa sellama*” imir ccix ad yini, “*ass-a d lfarḥ, zzwağ d ssunna akken id –yenna ucdih sella elik wa sellama, argaz d sutra n tmeṭṭut, tameṭṭut d sutra n urgaz, zzwağ yesɛa rebea n ccuruṭ a yatmaten, ccerṭ amezwaru d imawlan n teqcict, ccerṭ wis sin d ccuhud, ccerṭ wis tlata d asuter ilaq ad as-tessutreḍ i leflani baba-s n teqcict ad as-tarreḍ tlata n tikwal, ccerṭ wis rebea d taemamt*” imir baba-s n uqcic ad as-yini i

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<sup>26</sup> Muqel tugna 21.

baba-s n teqcict “*Llahumma selli elik a rasul llah*”, a leflani nebyakun i nesba n Rebbi, ma ad ay-tefkem yelli-twen i mmi-tney leflani , ad as-yini akka tlata n yiberdan imir baba-s n teqcict ad as-yerr:”*Llahumma selli elik a rasul llah*”, taqcict nefka-awent ma yella yefka-awent Rebbi, s yin yer-s ad yekker yesli akk d baba-s ad sudnen aqerruy n baba-s n teslit, am wakken day ula d yemma-s n yesli ad tsuden aqerruy n yemma-s n teslit ,mi tfuk dayen tayuri n lfatiha tilawin ad ad sersen lqahwa d taħbult d tament ad ččen ama d irgazen ama d tilawin<sup>27</sup>, mi fuken tuččit ad kkren ad ruħen s axxam-nsen, Seld taħbult s kra n wussan ney n wayyuren ad msefhamen imawlan yef wass ara ggen aeggen, ney akken id as-qqaren deg At ebbas Agezzum.

### **2.4.Aeggen**

Deg tmurt n Leqbayel sumata aeggen d win id-yettilin anagar deg kra n temnađin n tmurt n leqbayel, maca s yisem nniđen deg taddart n yiyl eli qqaren-as Agezzum, mačči yemgarad amek i txeddmem seg tamnađt yer tayed, ad naf deg taddart n Lemsella d win iwumi qqaren aeggen, deg-s yettili-d ujmae n yisurdiyem .

Uqbel aeggen s yiwen tislit ad truħ ad heggi tanarsamt iyur ad temced acebbub-is, tasebhıt ad tekker teslit ad teccucef, ad truħ yer tnarsamt ad temced acebbub-is, ad as-d-texdem azrir i udem-is, lawan n tthur ttaşen-d iqeffafen, ttawin-d akk lyaci n taddart iwakken tislit ad tejmae atas n yisurdiyem, deg uæggen ttawin-d i teslit taqendurt d timeħremt timerniwt nnig waya ur ilaq ara ,acku d taellaqt n sidi Lmuƣef wakken id ay-d-tenna M.A. “*win yerzan taellaqt n sidi Lmuƣeq yettay-it kra, yiwen n uqcic yefka-yas-d i texdibt-is taxatamt ,mazal ur teqqin ara taxatamt-nni tedra twayit, temmut teslit-nni*”, yef wanect-a ur ilaq ara yiwen ad irez taellaqt id-yeğğa sidi Lmuƣeq, imiren ad awđen ad ččen imekli, maca baba-s d yemma-s n yesli d nutni ara ijemeen isurdiyem, akken id tenna H.Kh.”*D baba-s d yemma-s n yesli i yettyaman yer yiri n tawwurt ijemae isurdiyem yer uyerbal yesean tafunart*», yal win yečcan seksu d uksum ad ifek idrimen; akken id as-qqaren tizri, maca ur cerđen ara ačhal ara ifek yiwen, ayen iwumi

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<sup>27</sup> Muqel tugna 08.

yezmer ara ifek, syin akkin mi fyen iqeffafen axxam n teslit ad uyalen ad seččen akk lyaci-nsen, imir mi fuken dayen ad ieeddi baba-s d yemma-s n teslit ad hesben isurdiyenn-ni i tejmae akken yelli-tsen, ad as-ten-fken ad ten-id-ay dayen itt-ixussen deg leğhaz, maca deg id yettili-d urar deg uxxam n yesli, teslit akk d wid id as-yettilin ttruhun tnezihen urar deg uxxam n uqcic.

### **2.4.1. Tiremt n deffir uæggen**

Seld aæggen s ssebea n wussan imawlan n yesli; ttasen-d ttawin-d tiremt i uxxam n teslit, maca tura ksent, taqendurt i ttawin deg tiremt rren-tt ttawin-tt deg uæggen, uyalen ttawin-as snat n teqnedyar, maca tuget n yemdanen semrasen taellaqt tamezwarut acku ttagaden i ten-ittayen akken id-tenna M.Ch.

## **2.5. Tameyra**

### **2.5.1. Aheggi i tmeyra**

Tameyra deg tmurt n Leqbayel d tin itt-gen dima seld tuksa n lexrif alama d taggara n unebdu (ssif) sumata deg wayyuren n yunyu alama d tuber.

Jacques Lizot deg udlis-is iwumi isemma : « Mitidja un village Algérienne de l'ouarsiens » yenna-d dakken : « Tallit i yelhan i usfugel n tmeyriwin d tallit n tmegra, tiwaculin ferħent dya..<sup>28</sup>»

Am wakken day ad naf Sliman Rahmani temmeslay-d yef tallit i yelhan i usfugel n tmeyriwin deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata, ladya tamnađt n uwaqas, tenna-d dakken : « Timeyriwin id-iđarrun ilmend n lextana(ťthara) ney n tissulya deg uwaqas seg tlemmast n yuct alama d tuber axir, seg wass wis mraw ar wis n snat n tmarwin n wayyur, akken ssekecmen-d ammaden-nsen, igumma ara fken i yimaerađen

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<sup>28</sup> Tazwert n taggara n Master, Le mariage entre 1979a 1980 et de 1980 a nos jours dans le village de Tala Khaled(Aokas), syur Djouder Hammama (2013-2014) p 37.  
Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Le meilleur moment pour la cęlébration du mariage est celui qui suit la ręcólte, les familles jouissent alors d'une aisance toute relative. »



ugaren, yerna imdanen yur-sen kra n yidrimen ara serfen mebla ma xemmemen i uzekka<sup>29</sup>. »

Maca ad naf deg yiseggasen n 60 yer 70 ad naf imdanen ur sein ara lwaqt ad zewğen deg tallit-nni n lyella, acku ur yesei ara ula d yiwen n ubrid akken ad yezweğ, ur d-yeggar ara atas n yiseggasen ur d-yeggar ara atas n yisurdiyen, ur yezmir ara ad yexdem tameyra.

### **25.2. Ancad**

Aerađ ney ancad yettili-d uqbel tameyra s kra n wussan, ney s ddurt, syur twaculin n yeslan , d yemma-s d baba-s ara iruhen ad necden medden ama d wid id asen-yefka lhal ney d lğiran-nsen, ur ilaq ara ad ceggen aqcic amezzyan ney tamettut iman-is , acku ttwalin dakken d aħqar i ten-ħeqren ur d asen-fkin ara azal, maca ilaq ad ceggen ameqqran n uxxam iwakken yal n win id yeeređ ad d-yas yer tmeyra ur izaef ara, acku d tameyra d tameqqrant s yiđbbalen d yicennayenara yeemren urar, deg teswiet-a taddart akk ad ruħ , acku tilin n yiđbbalen yettawi-d tilin n yimezday akk n taddart akken ma tella ladya irgazen, maca ula d wid yellan berra i taddart-nni ttasen-d akken id-yenna Jacqueline Lizot : « Ticetahin i yettleywin mi tabaent azawan n yiwet n terbaet yekkatn lya d tbel dayen id-ijebden atas n lyaci id-yettasen s lbeed akken ad nezhen ad zhun deg lferħ-a<sup>30</sup>. »

Ma yella yebya llal n tmeyra ad d-yawi iđbbalen akken ad as-yennin i tmeyra ilaq ad iruħ yur-sen uqbel tameyra, iwakken ad ten-id-yekru maca ilaq ad asen-yezmir aerbun, azal n uzgen n ssuma.

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<sup>29</sup> Sliman Rahmani, Coutumes de kabylie (fiançailles, mariage, grossesse, naissance), Le tire a la cible et le nif en kabylie, réédité par les éditions Tafat p12.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Les fêtes données a l'occasion des circoncisions et mariage qui ont lieu au Cap-Aokas (petite kabylie) du mi-aout a Novembre, de préférence du dix au vingt mois lunaire pour profiter du la claire de la lune, A cette époque, les kabyle ont rentré leurs récoltes, les fruits a offrir aux convives sont abondants et les gensont quelques argent a dépenser sans penser au lendemain. »

<sup>30</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n Master, Le mariage entre 1970 a 1980 a nos jous dans la région de Tala Khaled(Aokas), P60.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Des danseuses qui se meuvent au son d'un petit orchestre composé de haut bois et de tambourins en constituent l'attraction principale, Les distractions étant rares, on se déplace de loin de loin pour assister a ce divertissement. »

➤ **Ass amenzu n tmeyra**

**a)Asensi**

Tameyra deg Læerc n At Mlikec d tin yetteeddayen yef tlata n wussan, deg-s ad naf ass amenzu n tmeyra win iwumi qqaren asensi, ma yella d ass wis sin n tmeyra d win iwumi qqaren tikli ney tiwin, ma yella d ass aneggaru n tmeyra win iwumi qqaren aggus.

Deg taddart n Lemsella uqbel asensi s yiwen n wass tameddit ttruhun-d azal n 3 yer 5 n yergazen, ttawin-d anagar yemma-s n yesli,ttawin-d yid-sen izimer, snat n litrat n zzit n uzemmur, 50 n kilo n uwren, d lqedyan n tñanut, ad qqimen ad swen qbel lqahwa, imiren ad zlun izimer-nni id-wwin akken maca imiren ur tetten ara alma d azekka-nni n usensi ara d uyalen, ad afen tislit tecbağ telsa taqendurt n leqbayel tamellalt, ad ččen imekli imiren ad kkren ad ruhen maca tameddit n wass ttuyalen-d kra n lejmae akken ad ččen imensi ,maca tuget n wid id-yettasen d irgazen, anagar yemma-s n yesli tettawi-d yid-s tabalizi n leğhaz i teslit, deg-s anagar ssebea n tyawsiwin id ttawin wat temnađt-a i teslit acku d taellaqt n sidi Lmufeq, ttawin-as-d,snat n teqnadyar,sin n lizarat, tayuga n ssebađ, lhenni d ssabun, lizar n tdeggalt, maca lizar-a ass ara d-tuyal deg uxxam n yellis ttarran-as-t-id yid-s, maca deg Læerc n At Mlikec deg taddart n Lemsella ma yella taqcict tezweğ yer berra imawlan-is cerden i baba-s n yesli akken ad asen-d-yawi izimer n lexwul, ad tefken i lexwul-nsen, akken id ay-d-tenna A.T.”deg taddart n Lemsella yiwen ur yezmir ara ad as-yawi i tmettut-is nnig n ssebea n tyawsiwin ama d amarkanti ama d azawali acku d taellaqt id-yeğğa sidi Lmufeq, am wakken day ur yezmir ara ad as-yawi acemma uqbel ad teddu s axxam-is, ama dayen yerzan lebsa ney dheb anagar ma yella yewwi-yas lhağa n mačči. Ihi yef wanect-a ur ilaq ara ad yerrez yiwen taellaqt-a, ad naf atas n tedianin i yeđran deg Læerc-a sseba n turzin n teellaqt akken id ay-d-nnant temsulya-ntey.

Mi yekfa usensi dayen, axxam n yesli ad uyalen yer uxxam-nsen, mi ara wwden akken ad afen urar yehma s cđah d tayratin d ccna, akken alama d ammas n yid.

➤ **Ass Wis sin n tmeyra**

**b. Tikl :** Tasebhit n wass n tikli axxam n yesli ad tekren ad swen qbel lqahwa syin akkin ad ččen imekli mi fuken tuččit, tilawin ad əddin-t ad heggin-t iman-nsen, dayen ad heggin tumubil ara d-awin tislit, ad as-xedmen akk ijeğğigen, ad as-cebhen akken iwata iwakken ad awin tislit deg-s<sup>31</sup>

### **b.1. Tuqna n lħenni**

Asekkir-a n lħenni d win id-yettili akk deg tmurt n Leqbayel, maca yal wa amek i t-ixeddem, ad naf dakken deg taddart n Lemsella asekkir-a d win id-yettilin sbaħ n tikli. Tasebhit n tikli ad tekker teslit ad teccucef, syin akkin ad truħ yer lemquam n sidi Lmufeq ney deg uxxam ad tewwet lħenni, maca ilaq ad as-tewwet tmețtut yesəan zzher, yesəan tadfert yelhan(tettaru arrac),iwakken ad tecbu yur-s,yenna-d Lizot dakken:« Yiwet n temyart tettheggi-d lħenni deg tđebsit n uqellal, imiren kra n yilemziyen đellun-t i yifassen-nsen tikelt kan, yiwen seg yirgazen-nni ad icelqef tađebsit-nni ad tt-irez, mi ara tt-iđegger yer lqaea, ma d isli-nni ilemzi ad d-yefser yiwen n ubehnuq n ucețtiđ yef tmurt, da wiwi yal yiwen deg-sen ad issers fell-as yiwet n terzef t n yidrimen<sup>32</sup>.» s yin akkin ad teddem tađebsit n uqellal ad tseres sufel n tfunart, iwakken ur yettweziə ara lħenni-nni acku ttagaden iħeckulen, imiren ad xelđen i lħenni-ya tlata n tmellalin, tlata n yiəeqqayen n ttmer,tlata n yijuğğen d yedrimen, imiren ad as-tebdu ad as-tewwet lħenni, akken id tenna M.H.”*Deg taddart n Lemsella d acekkel id as-tcekkilent i teslit, yerna kkatent-as mxalfa, ad as-tewwet qbel i ufus-is ayeffus alama d zzenda s yin akkin yer uđar-is azelmađ alama d tiwetzi t,mi, mi id as-tfuk tiyita ur ilaq ara ad teğğ ula d tiqqit n lħenni deg lqaea, acku ttagaden iħeckulen, deg-s teksen i yeslan ddarya,ma yella d win ara d-yeqqimen akken ad tewwet yemma-s i uqerruy-is,ma d aman-nni ilaq ad tent-nyel yer teğra n tremmant iwakken ad lhun wussan-is wa ad ijuğğeg zzher-is”*

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<sup>31</sup> Muqel tugna03.

<sup>32</sup> Tazwert n taggara n Master, Le mariage entre 1970 a 1980 a nos jours dans le village de Tala Khaled(Aoaks) s yur Djouder Hammama,(2013-2014)p,59.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Une vieille prépare du henné dans une porterie, le marie et quelques jeunes gens s'en enduisent le mains, puis l'un des hommes saisit brusquement la poterie et la bris en la projet ant au sol. »

Deg tmurt n Leqbayel sumata, asekkir-a n lḥenni xedment iwakken ad teyli lḥenna d raḥma ger yeslan wa ad myaḥnanen wulawen-nsen ,am wakken day asekkir-a n tuqna n lḥenni ur d-yettili wara kan iwakken tislit ad tejmaε idrimen, maca yesεa azamul nniden, yettwexir ayen n diri yef yeslan dayen yettharab fell- asen yef tiṭ, am wakken yella lḥal deg taddart n Lemsella taqcict mi ara tewwet lḥenni ur tejmaε ara idrimen, maca ma yella tamlikcit tezweğ berra i Lεerc-a yettili-d ujmaε n yedrimen s yur axxam n yesli, ney akken id as-qqaren “tawsa” akken id-yenna Jacques Lizot:« Yiwet n tmeyra qqaren-as tawsa anda deg-s nettara-tt i ujmaε n yidrimen, timeyriwin-a ttwasuddsent deg yiḍ, ssuturent-d tedrimt tameqqrant(azal n 1000 n yidinaren), ala wid yesεan amεic(ney tatunt) i izemren ad tt- qemren,ney ad gen ccyel-a<sup>33</sup>.»

Deg tifugla-ya n tuqqna n lḥenni, akk iεeggalen n twacult n uqcic ama d leεmum-is ney d xwal-is, ney d yinebgawen id-yusan ad fken i teslit idrimen akken id as-qqaren “idrimen n lḥenni” deg taddart n Lemsella, ma yella deg Haut kabylie qqaren-as”tawsa”.

Ilmend n wayen id-nnan yesnalsanen yef usekkir-a n tuqqna n lḥenni, ad naf dakken Pierre Bourdieu yenna-d dakken: « Akka tawsa, d terzeft i ttaken yinebgawen deg tegnatin n tmeyriwin timeqqranen i twaculin anda lεama n Rebbi akk tesla, tetteffey dima yer kra n temzzizlin n yisey d userref ixellun lejoyub<sup>34</sup>. »

Ad naf dakken asekkir-a n lḥenni yemgarad deg temnaḍt yer tayed, am wakken yella lḥal deg temnaḍt n At ziki, asekkir-a d win yemgaraden s waṭas yef temnaḍin-nniden akken id-tenna Boualam Rabia:« D ass n tyita n lḥenni deffir n

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<sup>33</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n turagt, Le mariage entre 1970 a 1980 et de 1980 a nos jours dans le village de Tala Khaled(Aokas),s yur Djouder Hammama,(2013-2014) p,58.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : « ...une fête appelée “tawsa” au cours de laquelle on procède a une collecte d’argent, ces fêtes sont organisées en soirée, Elles nécessitent une mise de fonds importante (environ 1000DA) et seuls ceux qui ont un revenu régulier peuvent en prendre le risque. »

<sup>34</sup> Bourdieu Pierre, esquisse d’une théorie de la pratique, librairie Droz 1972, Edition le seuil, paris p, 26.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : « ...Ainsi la tawsa, don fait par les invités a des occasions des grandes fêtes, familiales et publiquement proclamé, donne lieu souvent a des compétitions d’honneur et de surenchère ruineuses. »

wurar, d azenzi n lħenni, lejwahi n læcra n yið neskkaray yiwen n wansay iwumi qqaren deg At ziki Buɛfif, deg temnađt n yiɛzugen, buɛfif yettlusu yiwet n tmelsiwt yemgaraden d tid n yiɛggalen-nni n terbaet yekkin<sup>35</sup>», Tenna-d dayen «azekka-nni yiwet n termit-nni tettraju imawlan n yisli, tirit d aseɣdel s tyita s lewjeh n tmegħelt n yiwen n lƷerđ ara d-isebde baba-s n teslit, anda i as-yehwa, ma yella tiyita tezgel taqcict ass-nni ur tetteffey ara seg uxxam n baba-s, tifugla s lekmal-is ad tuyal akken mebla tislit»<sup>36</sup>

Ʀef wakken id-tenna Sliman Rahmani, tiyita n lħenni tettli-d iđ n tgmelt (fiancaille) d uzekka-nni n tmeyra, yettli-d ama i yesli ama i teslit, maca yal yiwen deg-sen yekkat deg uxxam-is, ma yella deg taddart n Lemsella tura isli ur yekkat ara lħenni, anagar tislit i mazal tekkat lħenni, ma yella d Dahbia Abrous tenna-d dakken asekkir-a n lħenni yeddem udem n cbaħa, am wakken day yettħarab yef yeslan, yettak-asen tazmert, asekkir-a yettef yer leqbayel isem n azenzi n lħenni "vent du henni", am wakken day beddu n tuqna n lħenni yettli-d mi ara bdun lemɛun n tmedyazt ama gar yergazen neɣ gar tlawin, ma yella d lemɛun-a id-ttawin akka qqaren-as"acekker", yettli-d gar snat n twaculin n yeslan mi ara ad awđen yer yiri n tawwurt ad bdun acekker d usbuƷer yef teslit.

Asekkir-a n lħenni tewwi-d fell-as awal Makilam, tenna-d yettli-d uqbel tameyra n zzwağ, d win yesɛan azamul yelhan, tenna-d dakken:«Ass-nni n tissulya yemma-s n teslit neɣ tameđtut-nniđen ad as-tessired akk s yiwet n tsabunt, deffir

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<sup>35</sup> Boualam Rabia, Les joutes poétiques féminines dans le mariage aux Ait ziki (kabylie), Awal 14, 1988, p.p.85.121.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Ainsi, le jour de l'imposition du henné, après l'ourar et l'azenzi lhenné vers les coups de dix heures du soir, procédait-on a une mascarade appelée aux Ait Ziki Amyar uceqquf et Buɛfif dans la région d'Azazga(...) Amyar uceqquf avait habituellement un accoutrement différent de celui des autres membres de la mascarade ... »

<sup>36</sup> Idem, p121.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : «Le lendemain une autre épreuve attendait les parents du marie: l'épreuve du tir elle consistait a renverser un cible que le père de la mariée plaçait ou bon lui semblait faut de quoi la fille ne quittait pas le bercail paternel, ainsi l'ensemble de la cérémonie vérifie-t-il le dicton»

tameyra n jwaj, tilemžit-nni ilaq ad teccucef nettat d urgaz-is sbağ akken ad ttehemmel urgaz-is, ad yili yelha am wudi, ziğ am tament, igerrez am tisent<sup>37</sup>.»

## **b.2. Tiwin n teslit yer uxxam-is amaynut**

Tasebhit n wass n tikli, ad tekker teslit ad teccucef, syin akkin ad truğ akken ad temceđ acebbub-is ad tles taqendurt-ines n tislaitin tamellalt(robe blanche) ,imiren ad tas tquffet n yergazen d tlawin ad awin tislit s axxam-is, akken id yenna Pierre Bourdieu:«Ass n tiwin, iqeffafen d tqeffafin i yeddān ad d-srekben tislit seg yiwet n taddart ney seg læerc anarag, ilaq mi ara awđen ad rekben snat n termiyin ta deffir n tayed, tamezwarut terza tilawin, snat yer setta yesnen lemtul,isefra, tis snat terza irgazen<sup>38</sup>.»

Am wakken day ad naf tuget n teqcicin deg zzwağ-nsent ttyamant deg tesga ttqabalent tafat, iwakken ad tent-id-qeblen wussan imellalen akken id ay-d-tenna M.H. yenna-d Pierre Bourdieu:«Tislit tilemžit assen n tissulya-ines tettyama sdat n uzeřta iwumi tezzi ærur,tqubel-itt-id tafat n wass<sup>39</sup>.»

Am wakken yella lħal akk deg tudrin n tmurt n Leqbayel,ubel tikli n teqcict s yiwen n wass, lyaçi akk n taddart tbaraken i baba-s n teslit dayen tthenin-as zzwağ n yelli-s akken id tenna Sliman Rahmani:« Azekka-nni mi akken medden tbaraken ababat, tilawin ttheggint rwağ n teslit, irgazen n tseglit n tissulya tteggan tiyita n lyaç s tmeğhelt sdat n tiğ timsehzi n wařas n lyaçi I d-yusan ad ħeđren i

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<sup>37</sup> Makilam, La magie des femmes kabyles et l'unité de la société traditionnelle, Éditions L'Harmattan 5-7 rue de L'Ecole-polytechnique, 1996, p 267.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : «Le jour du mariage se mère ou une autre femme lui fait le toilette avec cette savonnette et après son mariage la jeune femme doit sa laver avec son mari matin et soir, afin que son mari l'aime et soit pour elle bon comme le beure, comme le miel agréable, comme le sel.»

<sup>38</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique librairie Droz 1972, Edition le Seuil, paris

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Lors des mariages l'escorte composée d'hommes et de femmes qui était chargée d'aller chercher la mariée dans un village ou dans une tribu voisine devait remporter successivement deux épreuves, la première réservée aux femmes de deux à six réputées pour leur talent, la seconde destinée aux hommes.. »

<sup>39</sup> Idem, p30

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « La jeune épouse le jour de son mariage, elle est assise devant le métier à tisser, lui tournant le dos en pleine lumière.»

ulaymu-ya, ilaq-asen uqbel tuyalin day , iwakken ad yili yur-sen azref, ad ssiwden tislit yer urgaz-is ad rzen s tyitiwin kan n teldunin timellalin tijdidin yersen deg kra n yixemjan imecṭah n yikkedran ney deg lğedra n yisekla yettilin aḥric ameqqran deg kra n yimḍqan yuæren ney beeden atas<sup>40</sup>.» Deg tegnit-a n tmeyra tilawin akk d teqcict

ttlusunt lebsa yelhan, day ttlusunt isyunen-nsent ttcabiḥent i wudmawen-nsent, akken id-yenna Foucaud:« Ussan n tmeyriwin n tissulya tilawin ttlusunt isyunen-nsent yelhan<sup>41</sup>...»

Uqbel ad kkren ad ruḥen ad awin tislit axxam n yesli kkatn lbarud ,am akken day deg ubrid-nsen teddun tṭyenin sliliwen, kkatn lkef akken alama wwden yer uxxam n teslit ,mi wwden yer uxxam n teslit ad wwten i tikelt nniḍen lbarud, iwakken ad d-as-begnen dakken wwden , imiren ad subben ad tt-id-awin, mi id-leḥqen yer umnar n tawwurt ad af baba-s yessers afus-is yef yiri n tawwurt nettat ad eeddi s ddaw, akken id as-qqaren “teffey ddaw laenaya n baba-s”akken id ay-d-tenna M.Z. *“Mi ara d-teffey akken teslit ddaw laenaya n baba-s, baba-s yettak-as ad tessu tlata n tjeqqimin n waman deg ubuqel, maca ilaq ad terrež abuqal-nni i teswa akken aman acku d lfal yelhan, am akken day ur ilaq ara ad muqel yer deffir –s alma tewwed yer uxxam n urgaz-is, maca uqbel ad teffey teslit deg uxxam n baba-s ilaq ad as-d-ifek baba-s n uqcic taemamt i baba-s n teqcict ,azal-is deg taddart n Lemsella 25 n duru, deg-s ad as-d-yerr duru, imiren ad terkeb deg tumubil, ad teddun ad ttsunin ad tṭyenin, ma yella d wid-nni i yeddun akken deg teslit akken id asen-qqaren” itebaæn” ad ruḥen deffir n teslit, maca deg ubrid-*

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<sup>40</sup> Sliman Rahmani, Coutumes de kabylie (Fiançailles, Mariage, Grossesse, Naissance), Tafat éditions 05/2012, P 13.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : « Le lendemain, tandis que les gens complimentent le père et que les femmes préparent le départ de la mariée, les hommes du cortège nuptial (iqeffafen) exécutent le tir à la cible sous les regards narquois d’une foule venue assister à cet exercice. Ils doivent, avant leur retour et pour avoir le droit de conduire la fiancée chez son mari, casser, en tirant à balle seulement, des œufs frais encastrés dans de petits trous pratiqués dans le talus ou dans des troncs d’arbres installés le plus souvent en des endroits difficiles et à une assez grande distance. »

<sup>41</sup> Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : « Le jour du mariage, les femmes revêtent leurs beaux habits et mettent leurs beaux bijoux...»p, 50.

*n sen ad as-ēddin tislit yef lemqam n sidi Lmufeq akken ad tfek lwaēda ad tessu aman<sup>42</sup>.*

### **b. 3. Taemamt**

Taemamt d azal n yidrimen i yettak baba-s n yesli i baba-s n teslit ass n tikli, maca ma yella ur d as tt-yefki wara, ababat ur yessufuy ara yelli-s deg uxxam, azalines deg taddart n Lemsella, 25 n duru ad as-d-yerr duru, acku d lfal yelhan, ad naf dakken d irgazen i yettemsefhamen fell-as, iman-n sen war ma grent-d tlawin iman-n sent akken id yenna Pandolfi : « Mi d-yeyli yiḍ irgazen mera yellan din ttnejmaēn deg ufrag n uxxam, ney sdat n uēciw din ara d-tili tuqqna n tissulya, ula d yiwet n tmeṭṭut ur tettili deg ugraw-nni, d yiwet n teswiēt yesēan azal d ameqqran n usekkir n umsawab, aḏayer n wayen id-yedran gar snat n tamiwin, ccyel-a terza kan irgazen<sup>43</sup>. »

Am wakken day asekkir-a n taemamt d win yellan deg yal tamnaḍt n tmurt n Leqbayel, maca ula deg tmettiyin titramin(occident) am tyiwant n Brissac, yella usekkir-a n taemamt ur iruḥ ara deg umaḍal amagan(rural), yenna-d Khellil dakken : « Asmi ara d-yas uberrani ad yexḍeb yelli-s n taddart, tewwi-d fell-as ad ixelles azref(lḥeqq) n ukeččum yer terbaēt n yilmezyen ma ulac ad as-gen tineēḍab<sup>44</sup>. »

### **b.4. Aqabel n teslit**

Mi telḥaq teslit s axxam n urgaz-is, d tamyart-is ara tt-id-iqablen mi ara tawēḍ yer sdat n tawwurt, ad as d-tfek ayērbal n lfal ad t-ḍegger yer deffir ad t-jemēen warrac imecṭaḥ, imir ad as-d-awin lkas n uyefki ney tament ,ad as-irfed umyar-is ayummu imiren ad as-tfek temyart-is ad as-tfek ad tessu aman, imiren ad kecmen yeslan s uḍar

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<sup>42</sup> Muqel tugna 02 d 17.

<sup>43</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n turagt, Le mariage entre 1970 a 1980 et de 1980 a nos jours, dans le village du Tala Khaled (Aokas), s yur Djouder Hammama (2013-2014) p, 34.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : « La nuit tombée, tous les hommes présents se réunissent dans la cour d'une maison ou devant une hutte, c'est la qui aura lieu l'attachement du mariage, Aucune femme n'est admise dans cette assemblée, ce moment important de rituel, consécration publique mutuel des deux partie, il est strictement masculine. »

<sup>44</sup> Khellil. M, La kabylie ou l'ancêtre sacrifié, Édition 1984, L'Harmattan 5-7 rue de l'école-polytechnique, paris, p87.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : « Quand un étranger au pays, veut demander une jeune fille en mariage, il doit payes son droit d'entrée a la jeunesse sinon on lui fait des farces. »



## **Ixef wis ukuz: Zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970**

ayeffus yer uxxam, ad ten-awin yer tzeqqa n tyimit ad qqimen deg tesga ad xedmen kra n taswirat yer wid akk id asen-iqerben ,isli imir ad yeffey.

Yamina Ait Amer tenna-d dakken : « Mi ara d-tawed teslit sdat n tewwurt, tamyart-is tettaččar-as krağ n yiberdan urawen-is d aman ara tdegger deffir-s, tettak-as diyen tamellalt ara tzeħlelli yef uqnađri (amder) n tewwurt<sup>45</sup>. »

### **b.5.Urar deg uxxam n yesli**

Urar n tmayra d win id yettilin deg yiđ n tmayra deg uxxam n yesli s yicennayen d yiđebbalen ad ilin kran-ten-id uqbel tameyra s kra n ussan imir ad ceđhen alama d ssbeh irgazen deg berra ma yella d tilawin deg uxxam ttasen-d ula seg tudrin nniđen, imi ttruhun ula d nutni yur-sen mi ara seun lfarğ

### **b.6.Aseddar n teslit**

Aseddar n teslit d win id-yettilin iđ ara teddu teslit, tbedud Aseddar s taqendurt-is n tislatin tamellalt akken id ay-d-tenna L.F.mi ara d tebdu teslit aseddar d argaz-is ara tt-id yawin tikelt tamezwarut, maca mi ara d kemmel aseddar win yebyu ad t-id-yawi, imiren mi tfuk aseddar ad truh ad tnejmae yer taxxamt-is ad teseefu, ma yella d lyaci ad kemmlen urar alama ifuk imiren yal yiwen ad yuğal s axxam-is, maca deg taddart n Lemsella imawlan n teslit d wid id as-iqerben alma d azekka-nni n waggus.

#### **➤ Ass Wis tlata n tmeyra**

### **c)Aggus**

Aggus d win id yettilin ass wis krağ n tmeyra, anagar deg kra n temnađin n tmurt n Leqbayel, deg-s yettili-d ugezzum n tkuzzit<sup>46</sup>, d tuqqna n tabagust, d ucbağ n teslit.

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<sup>45</sup> Yamina Ait Amer ou said, des Ait Menguellet, Le mariage en kabylie ,second partie de fichier de document bèrberes, fort national grande kabylie, réédition 1960,p,138.

Adris s tutlayt tafransist : « Quand la mariée fut arrivée devant la port sa belle mère lui remplit trois fois les mains joints avec de l'eau donna l'œuf et la mariée le lança contre le linteau de la porte : il se casse. »p38.

### **c.1.Agezzum n tkuzzit d ubages**

Tasebhit n waggus ad tekker teslit ad teccucef, imiren ad truḥ yer tnarsamt akken ad temceḍ acebbub-is, lejwahi n tṭhur mi ččan imekli ad bdun aggus, ad ssiwlen i umyar-is ney i ulwes-is amezzyan ad as-fken lmus n ttesdila ad as -yegzem cwiṭ deg tkuzzit-is dayen ad yarnu ad as-ibges tabagust, imir ad as –yefk idrimen azal n 2000DA, nettat ad as-tfek asfek ama d tafanda ney ayen nniḍen, imir ad temey yer twanza-s ad tessuden.

Mi yekfa waggus axxam n teqcict ad kkren ad ruḥen ad teqqim anagar yemma-s d kra n teqqribin -is (εemti-s, xalti-s).

Ilmend n wayen id-nnan yimnadiyen, nufa-d dakken Llant kra n temnaḍin deg tmurt n Leqbayel tislit ur d as-ttebgasen ara tabagust alama εeddan fell-as sebea n wussan yerna ilaq d argaz-is ara ad as-ibeggsen tabagust iwakken ur ttilin ara gar-asen wuguren yer zdat.

### **c.2.Acbaḥ n teslit (nuite de noce)**

Deg Læerc n At Mlikec deg taddart n Lemsella mačči deg id n tikli i tcebbah teslit maca alama d id n waggus, Llan wid yettruḥun yer yisensuyen tṭyaman din kra n wussan , llan wid yettyaman deg uxxam ,am wakken day llan wid yesen ttawil ttruḥun yer temdinin am tunes, maca tuget n temnaḍin -nniḍen acbaḥ n teslit yettili-d deg id n tikli, ass amenzu, mi tecbaḥ teslit , ad yeffey s lemyawla akken ur t-iḥer yiwen ad yawi yid-s tayerbalt yeččuren d kawkaw,leḥlawat,ttmer, d tmellalin ad ten-yawi i yemdukul-is ,imir ad kecment tlawin yer teslit akken ad as-barkent, imir ad εeddin-t ad ferqent akk lfal d tmellalin i wid yellan akk din, azekka-nni ad tekker yemma-s n teslit ad uyal yer uxxam-is acku tekkes aybul d uyilif yef yelli-s .

### **c.3.Sbuḥ n teslit**

Ilmend n tsastant i nga nufa-d dakken Sbuḥ n teslit d win ur yemgaraden ara d win n yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970, ad naf dakken tilawin mazal-itent ar tura ttaken-t azal d ameqqran i lidra n teslit, am wakken day ad naf dakken tislit ass amenzu-ines deg

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<sup>46</sup> Takuzzit: Takuzzit d tacebubt tamecṭuḥt zdat id-yettrusun yef unyir-is.

uxxam n urgaz-is ilaq ad texdem ama taħbult ney berkukes ayen yettalin iwakken ad yali uxxam-is dayen ad rebħen fell-as, tenna-aɣ-d H.Z. lidra n teslit d yemma-s n teslit ara ad tisirden sbaħ-nni n teslit, akken id-tenna Sliman Rahmani : « Azekka-nni taqendurt yumsen d idammen, ad tirad ɣef yiri n tremmant ney n tzemmut ney n yinijel, aɣuğeg n krađ n yimyan-a i yellan s waṭas qqaren-d igemmen akken s waṭas n ddarya i yeslan tama-nniđen “tabea” yeeni tawayit yezgan ad teqqim d yidamen-nni yuraden<sup>47</sup>. »

#### **c.4.Sebaiyyam n tissulya**

Ansay n sebaa n wussan n teslit d win yellan deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970, maca taggara-ya d win iruhen acku taqcict i zewğen tura ur đefrent ara ansay-a n zik,tenna-d A.M dakken ass amenzu tkeččem teslit yer tkuzint tettnawal maci am zik , acku zik teqcicin izewğen tɣamant deg uxxam n lwacul maca tura ibeddel lwaqt, tin izewğen tettruħu yer uxxam iman-is.

#### **c.5.Sbaeyyam n teslit**

Mi ara eeddin sebaa n wussan ɣef teslit, tettruħu nettat d urgaz-is d yimawlan n urgaz-is yer uxxam n yimawlan-is akken ad ččen imekli, ad arnun imensi.Tislit ad asent-awi i yimawlan-is lqedyan ama d aksum ney dayen n tħanut, ma yella d imawlan-is ad ssewwen seksu d uksum akken ad čcen,maca mi ara d-kkren ad ruħen ad asen-darren yid-sen ađellae n seksu d lmarqa .

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<sup>47</sup> Sliman Rahmani, Coutumes de kabylie, Fiançailles, Mariage, Grossesse, Naissance, édition tafat 05/2012.p25.

Ađris s tutlayt tafransist : « Le lendemain, la chemise maculée de sang est rincée au pied d’un grenadier d’un olivier ou d’une ronce, la floraison de ces trois plantes étant abondants on croit assurer ainsi aux époux une nombreuse descendance d’autre part la tabea c’est-a-dire le malheur continu reste auprès de ce sang lavé. »

### **3. Abeddel id-yellan deg zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella.**

#### **3.1. Abeddel n tællaqt n sidi Lmufeq**

Aṭas n temlliliyin id-yellan yer igensasen n tudrin n læerc –a, ta d timllilit tagejdant id-yellan ass 3 d 17.24 yebril d 8mayu aseggas 2015, tella-d s unejmue n igensasen akk n yal taddart n Læerc n At Mlikec, deg-s xedmen-d tadukli i ysetkelfen s bennu n tællaqt tamaynut n sidi Lmufeq, am wakken day ggant d taællaqt d tunsibt ssersen-d deg-s kra n yisudaf n uselḥu n zzwağ deg læerc n At Mlikec s umata:

-Ilaq ad yili zzwağ s wayen id yuran deg tketabt n Rebbi d ssunna n nnbi.

-Ilaq ad yren lfatiḥa s tiwin n ccix, am wakken day yezmer ad as-dukklen gar lfatiḥa d uæggen deg yiwen n was, ney yezmer ad ttgen deg yiwet n teswiēt, imiren ad as-fken i yimawlan n teqcict taqendurt d tayuga n ssebaḍ, ma yella d tiremt n deffir n uæggen ksen-t , ksen dayen taqumict d yineffaḡen . Nnan-d dakken deg læerc-a n At Mlikec aqcic ur ilaq ara ad as-ifek i teqcict tiyawsiwin uqbel ad teddu s axxam-is ama d dheb ney lfetṭa, ney dayen nniden, maca yezmer ad as-ifek laḥwayeğ lawan i tedda s axxam-is.

Ma yella d ass uqbel tameyṛa win iwumi qqaren “asensi” ttasen-d uxxam n yesli yer uxxam n teslit, ttawin-d yid-sen taqquft tesa azal n seba medden, ur ilaq ara ad æddin nnig wanect-a ,ttawin-d dayen yid-sen: izimer, 50 kilu n uwren , snat n litrat n zzit, rennun-d ass-nni n usensi leğhaz n teslit deg-s seba n tyawsiwin timerniwt nnig waya ur ilaq ara, snat n teqnedyar, sin lizarat, tayuga n ssebaḍ, snat n lfuḍat, maca wid-nni id-yusan akken ad ččen imekli ur ilaq ara ad uyalen yer yimensi.

Taemamt d tin id-yettilin deg uxxam n teqcict, alama fkan-as-t baba-s ara d-teffey deg uxxam, azal-is d win i rren 250 alef, deg-s ad as-d-yerr εacra laf baba-s n teqcict , ayen yettæddayen i yiwen n ugram n dheb, fkan-d dayen kra n tamiwin iwakken læerc-a ad yeḍfer akk ayen id –nnan ur yettxalaf ara taællaqt-a tamaynut, Gar tamiwin-a ad nebder:

-Nnan-d dakken ayen ur d nebder ara deg tællaqt-a tamaynut yettunaḥsab d win yettwaksen, ur ilaq ara ad uyalen yur-s læerc-a.

-Ṭsarif id- yettilin deg uεeggen ttilin yef taεkemt n yimawlan n teqcict, am wakken day taεmamt deg ccreε tettunefk i teslit mačči i baba-s n teslit.

-Iwakken ur nettduru ara medden ilaq deg wamas n yiđ ad neħbes urar.

-Deg taellaqt-a tamaynut, ksen dayen aseddar i teslit, iwakken yiwet ur tettban ma yella d tazawalit ney d tamarkantit,ma, ma yella d leğhaz n teslit ur ibeddel ara d awezyi ad ibeddel ,yessers-it-id yef uzawali yef umerkanti, yas yiwen yesεa s waņas maca ur yezmir ara ad as-yawi i tmeṭṭut-is nnig waya, akken id-nnan yemrabden n læerc-a n At Mlikec dakken taellaqt-a dayen yettwaqbalen syur læerc-a n At Mlikec, s tdukli id-yellan akk gar igensasen ney imrabden n yal taddart n læerc-a, d tin yettuneħsaben semrasen-t seg 4 Mayu 2015 ar tura, maca yas akken bedden taellaqt-a mi llan wid ur tt-issexdamen ara sexdamen taellaqt taqdimt acku ttagaden ad ten-yay kra.

### **3.2.Kra n yiferdisen id yernan d imaynuten ulac-iten zik**

Deg yixef-a neeređ ad nexdem tasleđt i tmeyra n zik akk d tin n tura, am wakken day ad d-nesken iferdisen i yellan zik, tura ulac-iten negren ruħen deg tmeyra n zzwağ, maca llan wid id yernan d imaynuten tura deg taddart-a n Lemsella.

### **3.3.Ayen i yeqqimen ur ibeddel ara.**

Ad naf deg taddart n lemsella aņas n tyawsiwin i yellan zik tura ulac-itent negrent, maca llant kra ur ruħen-t ara qqimen-t ar tura Gar-asen:

Taεmamt d tin yellan seg zik yer tura, maca yemgarad kan wazal-is. Leğhaz n teslit d win yellan seg zik ar tura ur ibeddel ara d tufya n teslit ddaw laenaya n baba-s d asekkir i yellan seg zik deg tmurt n Leqbayel sumata werğin ad ibeddel acku taqcict ddaw n laenaya n baba-s i tettili dima. Aqabel n teslit s tyerbalt n lfal, d ubuqel n waman d asekkir yellan seg zik ar tura, maca zik ttqabalent tislit s yiniyman.

Sebeiyyam n teslit d win yellan zik mazal-it ar tura deg tmurt n Leqbayel sumata.

### **3.4. Ayen i d yernan d amaynut ulac-it zik**

Llant kra n tyawsiwin ulac-itent zik tura kan id-nulfant Gar-asant :

Zik, tislatin ttlusunt taqendurt n leqbayel deg tikli, maca tura tenulfad tqendurt n teslatin (robe blanche). Deg yiseggasen n 60d 70 tikli n teslit tettili-d yef ueudiw, maca tura deg tumubil. Deg yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970, d tilawin n taddart akk i yefetlen seksu, maca tura d lbiε id-ttayent, yezmer ad d-nini dakken iruḥ ad inger ula deg tmeyriwin deg waṭas n temnaḍin , acku llant waṭas n tiram-nniḍen i ixedmen, am wakken day tuget n teqcicin ur ssinent ara ad fetlent, timental-a akk i yeğğan tilawin ur fetlent ara seksu<sup>48</sup>,dayen tislit zik ur temceḍ ara acebbub-is yer tnarsamt, ur txeddem ara azrir i udem-is (rouge, brillions a lèvres ...) .Tasdira,d, d ansay id yernan tura d amaynut s yal zzin n teqnedyar acku zik ulac-it .

Deg yiseggasen n 60 d 70, timeyriwin xedmen-tent deg uxxam werğin ad tent-xedment anda nniḍen, maca tura nulfant-d tzeqqiwin n tmeyriwin (salle des fete).

### **Taggrayt**

Ter taggara n yixef-a, neered ad nessebgen amgired yellan gar tmeyriwin n zzwağ n 1960-1970 akked tura, deg Læerc n At Mlikec deg taddart n Lemsella, imir nufa-d dakken læerc-a d win yemgaraden deg kra n wansayen yef leerac nniḍen.

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<sup>48</sup> Muqel tugna 06.

**Taggrayt tamatut**

Deg leqdic-a, nemmeslay-d yef wansayen n zzwağ deg taddart n Lemsella, i d-yezgan deg Læerc n At Mlikec.

Nessawed nagem-d atas n yisallen yer yimezday n taddart deg wayen yerzan ansayen d laewayed i ttafaren deg temsalt n zzwağ, rnu yer waya ccfawat id-gğan yimezwura d wayen i yuran deg yedlisen, Dya s yiseqsiyen i nefka i yemsulya d unadi deg wannar . Am wakken day negmer-d atas n tyawsiwin d tlufa deg wayen yerzan asentel-a n zzwağ . Dya s wanect-a, nessawed ad d-naf dakken deg wayen yerzan tamsalt-a temgarad gar zik deg tallit i llan yimezwura akked tallit i deg nettidir deg zzman -agi.

Lemgirda-agi gar zzwağ n yiseggasen n 1960 d 1970 akked win n tura, yekka-d deg ubeddel n kra n wansayen n zzwağ , dya kksen deg-sent kra n tid izran xussent gğan-d kra nniden, am wakken dayen llant tmental nniden am ayen yecban isudaf id-ssebed tasqamut ney tadukli n sidi Lmufeq, ney tejmaet yettili-d deg-s atas n ubeddel, am wakken day tallit i deg nettidir tura tbeddel, dayen ad d-naf kra n wansayen ixeddmen zik llan tura maca s wudem d amaynut , dayen rnu gar wadeg d wayed anda ttidiren yimezday yewwi-d ad tili lemgi-agi ,acku mi ara d-nebder læerc n At Mlikec ad d-naf dakken tamnaqt-a tettwasen s tellaqt n sidi Lmufeq i yesan azal d ameqqran yer yimezday-is , ur ilaq ara ad txalfen ney ad terzed.

Ter taggara , ad d-naf dakken tamsalt n zzwağ temgarad gar tmurt d tayed, gar læerc d wayed , gar zik d tura. Llant twaculin yettffen deg wansayen n zik akken llan yakan, ney akken i ten -id-gğan yimezwura, llan dayen wid yettffen deg-sen maca s wudem d amaynut , dya ma nger tamawt ad d-naf ansayen-a am ayen yecban taqendurt n Leqbayel , lhenni abernus, d kra n tyawsiwin d laewayed nniden issexdamen leqbayel, yuyal yer ufus n tmettut taqbaylit d nettat i ten-iherzen tga-asen azal d ccan meqqren akken ur ttruhun ara, ur neggren ara deg tmetti taqbaylit, wa ad yeqqim later-nsen d ccfawat d wansayen i d-gğan lejdud, ad d-mmyin deg tmurt n leqbayel s umata. Am wakken yella lhal deg læerc n At Mlikec merra, zzwağ d yiwen acku ttafaren akk

taeellaqt n sidi Lmufeq, maca ma yella umgired, ad t-id-naf kan deg kra wansayen  
ixeddmn deg tameyra-ya.





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**Amawal**

### 3.Amawal

<b>Aḍris s tutlayt tmaziyt</b>	<b>Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist</b>
Amsegliu /taqquft	Cortège
UYris	Sacré
Annay	Observation
Tifugla	cérémonie
Takuzḏit	Mèche de cheveux
Azrir	Maquillage
Asfek	Cadeau
Amasay	Responsable
Tafanda	Parfume
Zzwağ n daxel	Endogamie
Zzwağ n berra	Exogamie
Isekkiren	Rite
Tanarsamt	Coiffeuse
Igensasen	Représentant

**Tijenad**



## 1. Tafelwit n yemsulya

Uṭun	Isem	Leεmer	Tawuri
1	B. Maxluf	68n yiseggasen	ulac
2	M. hafida	29n yiseggasen	taselmadt
3	M.Samira	32n yiseggasen	taxeyaṭ
4	M.Syir	69n yiseggasen	Aεeggal n tidukla n sidi lmufeq
5	H.Zahra	25n yiseggasen	tanelmadt
6	A. said	78n yiseggasen	Ulac
7	A. juhra	57n yiseggasen	Ulac
8	H.zahia	48n yiseggasen	Ulac
9	L.Hasina	52n yiseggasen	Ulac
10	B. Nwara	80n yiseggasen	Ulac
11	A. Yahia	88 n yiseggasen	amjahed
12	A.rezqiya	70 n yiseggasen	Ulac
13	L. taseεdit	74 n yiseggasen	Ulac
14	A. Malika	42 n yiseggasen	taxeyaṭ
15	O. Farida	55 n yiseggasen	Ulac
16	M. fatma	58 n yiseggasen	Ulac
17	S. chafia	38 n yiseggasen	Ulac
18	Z. messaεd	63 n yiseggasen	Ulac

## 2. Idiwenniyen

### Adiwenni 01 :

-tzemređ ayi d aħkuđ amek ixedmen tameyra n zzwađ zik-nni deg læerc n At Mlikec deg taddart n Lemsella ?

**A.J:** Ihi a yelli tameyra n zik mačči am tura, zik ur ttcawaren ara akk aqcic af zzwađ-is d baba-s d yemma-s id as-d-ittqaliben yef yelli-s n lasel ,apré lawan i mseqbalent snat-nni n twaculin ad iruđ baba-s d yemma-s attidxedben yer imawlan-is,imiren ad uyalen ad awin rebæa ney xemsa medden.

- anwa-ten medden-agi ?

**A .J:** Ad awin æemmi-s ameqqran d xali-s d kra n tlawin ad xedmen taħbult ney qqaren-as akken nniđen tuqqna, xedmen snat ar tlata n taħbulin ad ččen yergazen-nni d ccix-nni id wwin-akken, atan a yelli tmeýra n zik ulac akk lifri am tura.

- I teslit tettcebiđ ney ala?

**A.J:** zik a yelli tislatin ur ttcabiđent ara ama tura, nekk asni i zzewđey Isiy kan leksiwa tazedgant xedmey aqerdun i ucebbub-iw, rniy xedmey tazult, i wallen-iw daya kkan, Isiy timeđremt n lđameæ lpari.

-Ačđal n wussan i xedmen tameyra deg taddart-a n Lemsella?

**A.J:** telteyam, yella usensi ttawin-d uxxam n uqcic izimer, apré tikli apré aggus, tegezzem teslit takuzzit.

### Adewenni 02 :

-Ačđal di læmer-im ma ulac ayilif ?

**B.N :**Nanam nwara meqqrey ayelli seiý 88 n ssna.

-Mazal lbaraka a nana nwara , lah ibarek

- Byiy ak messeqsiy ma tesneđ kra yef wamek i zewđen deg taddart-a n Lemsella?

**B.N:**A yen isnay am tidiniy a yelli uk mattyuluy ara, zik-nni d tayemmat i yettẓetṭiben i mmi-s at truḥ ar taddart-nni at saqrab ad asdaldi teggurt as tini ma tesseḍ tifrax ad as dini seiḡ kecmey ihi, tenna-yas ihi ad kecmey, mi tekcem akken ar waxxam ad as-tini ihi tesseḍ tiqcicin usiyed ad xetṭbey , imiren at twali taqcict-nni amek tella, at ṭil ar igarzan at ṭil ar ucekkḥ at twali ma tesseḍ ilay lēali,lqed lēali at tdewwer akk, apré ad uyal ad as-tini mmi-s atan ufiḡ-ak taqcict lēali amackit ṭṭalay-tt akk tesseḍ ilay yelhan ,ṭṭalay acekkuḥ-is delēalit,azekka-nni imiren ad ruḥen attxetṭben nettat d umyar-is, argaz ur di teddu wara, argaz xaṭik ,at id ixetṭeb umyar-is talwest-is neḡ ḡemmi-s n uqcic neḡ ulwes-is a ttwalin ad asen-tefken , imiren ad qqedmen ad xedmen taḥbult, ma yella d argaz ur ttitwali wara alami d ass n waggus yer yiḍ ara mwalin.

-Ttawin-d lyaci deg taḥbult?

Zik ur ttawin ara aṭas n lyaci am tura, zik ttawin tlal medden ad awḍen ad swen lqahwa d taḥbult ad iyer ccix lfatiḥ ad uyalen.

**Adiwenni 03:A.S 78 n yiseggasen**

-Tzemreḍ ayi-d messlayeḍ kra yef lfatiḥa?

**A.S :**Id inna rasul sella ḡlih wa sallam qqaren-d belli taqcict ad tesseḍ un representant win ara timetlen aqcic d baba-s diyen, neḡ d ḡemmi-s,win yebyun yili lmuhim ilaq ad sēun les representant i sin, ma meqer yebya ad imettel iman-is argaz lwajeb ad imettel iman-is waḥdes ,mi tameṭṭut lazem ilaq ad tesseḍ win ara timetlen, asidi ini fken ddaewa lxir ḡren-d lfatiḥa daya i yellan deg zzwaḡ a yelli a ttiyileḍ wissen d acu yellan deg zzwaḡ a yelli,ssuna na rasul sala ḡlih was lama akka i tella, apré aqcic-nni ilaq ad iker ad imsalam deg lyaci ,tout dabord winna zemrey am diniḡ balak ahat d laḡwayed d les costumes s trumit, ilaq ad kreḍ ad temsalamed d lyaci.

**Adiwenni 04 :**

- tzemreḍ ayi-d-aḥkuḍ ayen iwumi tecfiḍ yef zzwaḡ-inem ma ulac ayilif ?

**H.Z.**ulac fell-as a yelli ayen i mucfiy am tidaḥkuḃ, Nekkni zik macci am tura am kunemti, win i tebyamt attayemt, nek mi zzewḡeḃ bessif ayi fka baba nek ugiḃ ad zzewḡeḃ, netta iruḥ yenna-yas i umḃar-agi-inu atan ihi fkiḃ-ak yelli apré yehḃer baba d umḃar-iw ḃef tmeḃra , umbaeḃ usan-d ggun-iyi-d ḃef uēudiw rekbay-d sufel-is irekbed ḃur-i yiwen uqcic amecṭuḥ, lsiḃ tafunart n tay, rniḃ sburay-d tafunart ḃumen-iyi udem-iw acemma ur d-iban deg-i, atan a yelli zzwagḥ n zik macci am tura taqcict ma yella ur teḃḃi wara tezweḡ ur tezweḡ ara alama teḃḃa nettat.

- Kkaten zik lḥenni yeslan neḃ ala?

**H.Z.:**zik islan kkaten lḥenni i sin, tislit tekkat isli yekkat ma yella tislit d acekkel is ttcekkilent ama i yifassen-is ama i yiḃaren-is, ma d isli yekkat kan I uḃaḃ-is, d lwasma kan,ma yella tura isli ur yekkat ara lḥenni ksen akk lmuēud-nni n zik ula d tislitin qlil n tid ak i mazal kkaten.

-Iwacu ur kkaten ara yeslan lḥenni tura?

**H.Z:** Axatar ttagaden fell-as iḥeckulen, lḥenni n yeslan yuear mliḥ deg-s xedmen –asen iḥeckulen i yeslan saxraben-asen tameict-nsen.

-Dacu id as-ggaren i lḥenni-nni mi ara ad as-wwten i teslit?

**H.Z:** kkaten-as deg uḃebsi n uqellal, xedmen-as akk i lḥenni-nni tlata n tmellalin, tlata n iēeqqayen n ttmer, tlata n yijuḡḡen, rennun-as isurdiyem d tipyasin, rennun-as taxatamt n lfeṭṭa, seḥluluyent s waman n lemḃam.

-Melmi i tekkat teslit lḥenni?

**H.Z;** tislit tekkat lḥenni ass n tikli sbaḥ uqbel ad icreq yitij neḃ uqbel akk ad kkren medden akken a ttwalin llant tid i yekkatem deg lemḃam llant tid i yekkatem deg uxxam, nekk cfiḃ-d wwtent-iyi lḥenni deg lemḃam n sidi Lmufeḃ.

### **Adiwenni 05:**

**L.H:** tzemreḃ ayi-d tiniḃ dacu id as-ttawin i teslit deg uēeggen?

Biensur, am diniḃ ayen is naḃ ttawin-as deg uēeggen snat n laḥwayeḡ, taqendurt d tmeḥremt, rennun-as tabaṭ n lḥenni, snat n taḥbulin n ssabun, daya i ttawin ass n uēeggen, ur ilaq ara ad ternuḃ nnig waya, win izegden nnig wanect-a ad tyay kra a yelli.

-I usensi dacu i ttawin?

**L.H:** Zik-nni sbaḥ usensi ttawin uxxam n uqcic taqumict, snat n lgelbat guwren d yineffagen ma tura ttawin 50 kilu n uwren.

-Mi ara ifak uæggen dachu id-yettilin?

**L.H:** Après aæggen tettili-d tiremt n deffir uæggen ttruhun ar waxxam n teqcict ttawin-as: taqendurt, nafaqa, ttawin-as dayen lqedyan ṭhanut, ayen imuzemren ama d lqahwa, sekker, lmaqarun, ma tura əawdan akk lbarnamaj ksen taqendurt-nni n tiremt-a n deffir uæggen sdukulent akk ar uæggen, ttawin-as snat n teqnedyar.

-Dachu id as-ttawin deg leḡhaz?

**L.H:** Deg læerc-a n At Mlikec a yelli ttawin-as-d i teslit ḡaca sebaə laḡwayeḡ, snat n teqnedyar, tayuga n ssebaḍ, snat n tfunarin, sin lizarat, rennun-as tabaṭ n lḡhenni, taḡbult n ssabun, ur ilaq ara atteediḍ nnig sebaə n tyawsiwin, yezmer ad ak yay kra.

-Aḡal yettyaman baba-s n teqcict akken ad yerr s wawal i uxxam n uqcic?

**L.H:** Llan wid yettyaman xemsatac nyum, llan wid alama d ayyur iwakken ad sseqsin ma yella d mmi-s n tfamilt ney d aqcic yelhan.

-Amek id-tt-magaren uxxam -is?

**L.H:** D tamyard-is ney talwest-is it id- ittqabalen yef yiri n tewwurt s uyerbal n lfal yeččuren d kawkaw d ttmer d ljuj lkas n waman d tament.

-Gef wacu i tettyama teslit zik-nni mi ara taweḍ s axxam n urgaz-is?

**L.H:** Zik-nni teslit mi ara taweḍ s axxam n urgaz-is tettyama yef ugertil deg lqaəa srusuyen ddaw-as irden d yibawen, akken ad tefti deg uxxam-is am yibawen-a.

-I wurar xedmen ney ala?

**L.H:** Zik xedmen urar meəna s ubendayer d yiḍebbalen, irgazen xedmen urar deg berra deg umraḡ ameqqran ma yella tilawin deg uxxam deg ufrag ttawint-d taḍebbalt Messaad Himi ṭul n yiḍ d nettat d asbuyer d cḡaḡ d rdiḡ.

**Adiwenni 06: akked O.F 55 n yiseggasen.**

-Tzemreḍ ayi-d tiniḍ ma yella tetseddir teslit zik ney ala?

**O.F:** Zik teslit a yelli ur nissin ara akk dacu id aseddar-a, ur nettawi ara ula d yiwet n tqendurt haca tinna i nelsa akken ass-nni n tikli, ma yella tura yeawed akk lwaqt, ttsedirent alama d eacra n tikal.

-Dacu id idarrun i win yerzan taellaqt?

**O.F:** Taellaqt n sidi lmufeq tuɛar mlih a yelli, win ittyarzan yettay- it kra, yezmer ad idarwec ney ad res deg urraw-is, atas n tedianin id-idran deg learc-a.

-Dacu itt-rren uxxam n teslit deg sebeiyyam i uxxam n yesli?

**O.F:** ttarran-as adellae n seksu d usupir n lmarqa ama zik ama tura, leada-yagi tella g zik ar tura.

-Dacu i tettlusu zik teslit?

**O.F:** Nekkenti a yelli zik ulac akk ayen i tettlusumt akka nettalusu leksiwa, ur nettalay ma tajdit awid kan ad tili d tazedgant.

-Ma tettruḥu teslit yer urar?

**O.F :** Zik ur nettruḥu ara yer urar ulac akk urar-a, ma yella tura tislit tettruḥu ar urar g taḥbult g eeggen yerna tettawi yid-s akk lyaci i siqarben.

-I uheggi n tmeyra yella kra i tezrid?

**O.F:** Uqbel tameyra s char ney chahrayen llal n uxxam ad fetlent seksu, après mi ara mazal xemsatac n yum ad xedment lgaṭu asen ara mazal smana ad eerḍen akk lyaci, mazal yiggus i usensi ad asent tid iyittilin ad xedment imensi ad ferḥent, azekka-nni ad -krent ad awint asensi, tamyard-is d talwest-is ad awint asensi, 50 kilu n uwren d yizimer, ad xedmen urar ad asen akk at taddart ad nezhen ,ad awin iḍebbalen ad awḍen ad wwten azal n xemsatac n dqayeq, umbaed tislit ad res s yiḍebbalen ,ad tečč ademin après attidaqen tamyard-is s tfunart nettat d yesli, ad swen lqahwa umbaed ad seččen seksu d uksum, après ad seddar ,ad kkren azekka-nni d abaggus tislit attawin ad mceḍ umbaed ad ččen imekli ,yef lwaḥda ad as- igzem umyard-is frizi ad as-iqqen tabagust, llan wigad iy xedmen taxatamt ,gezmen patisri tfuk tmeyra après at ruḥ ar luṭil llant kra ur ttruḥunt ara tṭyamant deg uxxam.

-Aniwa id as-ixedmen lqima i taemamt-a n At Mlikec?

**O.F:** D sidi lmufeq id as-ixedmen lqima-ya, yesseedel gar uḥawali d umerkanti yezmer ad yezweḡ uḥawali yezmer ad yezweḡ umerkanti, akken id-ḥekkun zik-

-nni, nejmaen nnan-as kif kif ayazawali ayamerkanti xemsa uɛecrin duru, ma yesɛa baba-s ama ur yesɛi ad tezweġ s xemsa uɛecrin duru,yedɛa imiren win yerzan taɛellaqt-a yettay-it lhaġa.

**Adewenni07: akked Z.M 63 n yiseggasen.**

**Z.M:** Dacu tebyiɗ ad am d-iniy?

-Ini-yid ayen tesneɗ .Amek ixetṭben? Anwa i yettruḥun ? Dacu i xedmen umbaed?

Zik ad ruḥ tmeṭṭut iman-is alama heɗrent tlawin, alama myaɛjaben ad tuyal iman-is umbaed ad tawi argaz-is ad heɗren yergazen akken ad awin aqcic, après ad heɗren yef tuqqna, ad awin tlata ar rebɛa n medden isli ur d i teddu ara, ad swen lqahwa ad uyalen ,ur sliliwen ara alama yeyra ccix lfatiḥa, d aqcic ara yawin ccix ara yeyren lfatiḥa, yef lwaḥda ad uyalen yer uɛeggen ,ttawin-d snat n lgelbat n uwren,taqendurt,lḥenni d ssabun , tafunart,lemri,akaryun ugeḥel,ad jemɛen tizri deg uxxam n teqcict, ad reɗden aɣerbal d uḥram win i ččan ad ixelles, lawan i ččan, fukɛn ad ruḥen ad uyalen s axxam ad afen urar yeɛmer après mi ifuk uɛeggen ad heɗren yef tikli n teslit.

**Adiwenni 08:**

D lhaġ A.Y.yesɛa 88 n yiseggasen.

Dacu i tesneɗ yef wawal At Mlikec?

**A.Y:** d awal, d isem n lɛarc qqaren-as At Mlikec dukklent aṭas n tudrin deg-s zgant-d deg udrar qqaren-asent tudrin n At Mlikec.

yerna isem-a yesɛa sin yismawen dixel-is

Melk+ kec = ayla+ inek

Melikec= ayla inek

Yerna deg tudrin-a n At Mlikec, yal yiwen yesɛa lmelk atas i yesɛan lmelk s waṭas d iḡṭaren

**Adiwenni09:**

Adiwenni yerza anamek n wawel At Mlikec

Yella-d udiwenni d A.Y.yesɛa 88 n yiseggasen.

Asteqsi: d acu i d anamek n wawal At Mlikec?

**A.Y:** awal n At Mlikec lmeɛna-s yef waken i d-qqaren wid n zik mel i yiman-ik yesɛa yisem-a sin wawalen mel i kec. lmeɛna-s mel i yiman-ik, yeɛni tella-d akken yiwet n taqsiṭ yef wanect-a ma tebyamt ad tt-id-ḥkuy.

Asteqsi: ḥku-d taqsiṭ-a d acu-tt?

**A.Y:** yirbeḥ a yelli yef wayen i d-ḥkan zik yimɣaren nan-d d yiwen n ufellaḥ iruḥ yer tezgi ad yezdem yebda aqeddar n yisɣaren deg lawan-nni iwala-t-id yiwen n umsebrid amek yetṭef tagelzimt. Yenna-yas i ufellaḥ-nni mačči akken i ttaṭafen tagelzimt qleb-itt s tehri, dya wina yerra yas-d s zɛaf melikec rapide deg wassen ṭṭefn-as awal-a tllaɛin-as medden mlikec, yef waya uyalen qqaren i wid i d-yettlalen deg tudrin-a Amlikci refden isem n At Mlikec.

Asteqsi: i wacu i yuyal d Bni Mlikec tura?

**A.Y:** awal-a n Bni s taɛrabt maɛna s Teqbaylit qqaren-as arraw mačči Bni akken kan ad yishil i ulaɛi xedment s taɛrabt. Bni yettak-d arraw ney tarwa n At Mlikec, d aya i zriy id nnan yef wawal-a wid n zik.



➤ **Asfru:** Asefru i ttawin mi ara yeqqen lhenni  
Awi-d afus-ik  
Afus ayeffus  
Ad ak-neqqen lhenni  
Albaz amekyus  
Awi-d afus-ik  
Afus azelmaṭ  
Ad neqqen lhenni  
I lbaz acmamaṭ  
Hemlay-k a lhenni  
Tablaṭ tesbezgeṭ kulci  
I lḡennet mecruæeṭ  
Irra-yi-d baba-m yur-i  
A Sidi Muḥend  
A mmi-s n Sidi Σli Lhenni n Imekka  
Tarbuyt n Ifeṭṭa  
Ad t- yeqqen Muḥend  
S sseḥa d lehna  
Lhenni n teslit  
Teerek-it d taqeyyast  
Ad t-yeqqen Muḥend

S ɥulett n leɛmer-is

Lɥenni ittedden

Ad t-iqqen Mɥend

Mmi-s n yizem

Ay axelxal n lbakur

Lɥenni n Muɥend

S ɥulett n leamur

Ewwet afus yer leqbla

Ay axalaf n ččina

Lɥenni n Muɥend

S sseɥa d lehna-

➤ *Isefra yef teslit*

Am umzur d tifrucin

Id-yulin yef taɥɥucin

A lalla-s n teqcicin

Am umzur iddel tuyat

Iɥɥdan d leqlamat

Nnan-d d sdaq n lxalat

➤ **Asefru:** Deg sbuɥ n teslit

Sbaɥ lxir a tislit

A tameɥhelt tazayrit

Ad kem-yeg Rebbi d taseedit

Sbaḥ lxir a erusa

A tamegħelt n lfeṭṭa

Ad kem-yeg Rebbi d lmerṣa

➤ **Asefru yef yeslan**

Sbaḥ lxir a tislit

A tamegħeltt n lfeṭṭa

A d-ak mig Rebbi d taseedit

S sebaḥ lexir a erusa

A tamegħeltt d lfeṭṭa

A d-ak-mig Rebbi d lmerṣa

Tislit-nney ad att-ncebbeh

S lqaṭifa d lmjenneh

Yelli-s n lqayed Urabeḥ<sup>1</sup>

➤ **Asbuyer mi ara taweḍ teslit yer uxxam-is**

Ur ttagad a tasekkurt

Imawlan-im yef teggurt

Akka ula d nikkni, iruhey ḡḡiy tamurt

Ur ttagad a tanina imawlan-im deg berra

Akka ula d nekkini

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<sup>1</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n turagt, Ansayen n zzwaḡ deg Læerc n At Mlikec d At eebbas

Iruḥey ḡḡiy yemma<sup>2</sup>

➤ **Asbuyer yef tuqna n lḥenni i yesli**

Awid afus-ik

AK neqqen lḥenni

Keččini a yisli

Rebbi ak ihenni

Lḥenni tezdem

Ṭabla iremzen

Ad neqqen lḥenni

Immi-s ggizem.<sup>3</sup>

➤ **Asbuyer n tuqqna n lḥenni i teslit**

Awid afus-im

Am neqqen lḥenni

Kemmini a tislit

Rebbi akem-ihenni

Wa d afus wa d lḥenni

Bru-d i taqendurt

D timdihrit n lekman

Kemmini a tislit

---

<sup>2</sup> Tamsalyut A.T. 74 n yiseggasen.

<sup>3</sup> Tamsalyut Z.M. 63 n yiseggasen.

M twenza n dheb

Yessawlen i rbeḥ

Axxam a tkecmeḍ

Am yitij n lxir

D daewa n lxir

Ad tawi teslit<sup>4</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyet n lḥenni akk d ubges n teslit**

Ad selliy f nmbi

Fell-as i nbeddu

Ccrif Muḥemed

Fi yerna lḥemdu

Ayagi n lferḥ

S Rebbi at nebdu

S wa-s a baba-s aman

Yelli-k ad tbeddel imawlan

Am ass-a ad terbeḥ

As Rebbi zzher-ines

Aṭas ayagi nxeṭṭeb ur nuyis

Almi kem nufa

Taryalt n beḥri iswi-s

Ulik lḥemd a Rebbi

---

<sup>4</sup> Tamsalyut Z.M. 63 n yiseggasen.

Mi yufa ljid tamtilt-is<sup>5</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyer mi ara tegzem takuzziṭ**

Aniwa ara nceggee yer leflani ad d-yas

Akersi nedheb ad yeqqim fell-as

Lmesk welɛember ad nruc talaba-s

Ad selliy f nmbi

Ccrif Muḥemed

Ayagi n lferḥ

S Rebbi at nebdu

Aṭas ayagi nxeṭṭeb war nuyis

Almi yufa ujeḡḡig tamtilt-is

Aniwa an ceggee ar εacur ad yas

Akersi n dheb at nesyim fell-as

Lmesk welɛembar an ruc talaba-s<sup>6</sup>.

➤ **Asefru n ucekker n teslit**

Id nuday g tmura

Rniy-d tiwinin

Kemmini a Baya

A tucbiḥt n tlawin

---

<sup>5</sup> Tamsalyut H.Kh. 60 n yiseggasen.

<sup>6</sup> Tamsalyut A.R.70 n yiseggasen.

S wacu ara yi-txelseḍ

Awi-d iyyiden tineqlin<sup>7</sup>.

➤ **Acewwiq yef teslit mi ara d-ruḥ s axxam-is**

Ata tusa-d teslit

Terra-d sebɛa leḥwayeḡ

Terna-d lfuḍa

Yelli-s g izem ayilas

A tucbiḥt g lḥara<sup>8</sup>.

➤ **Acekker n yesli d teslit**

Ufiy tayaqut

G lḡameɛ lekber

Xeḍben-tt akk medden

Ḥedd ur d-as-yezmir

Yewwi-tt-id sidi

A mmi-s g tber

Kkiy-d d udrar

Yeyli-yi wemrar

Ad cekkreɣ tislit

Asenduq n ryal<sup>9</sup>

➤ **Asbuyeɣ n wass n ubages**

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<sup>7</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n Magister, Le cas de Messaad Himi (1892-1979), une poétesse chanteuse de la région de At Mlikec, syur Oulebsir Fadila (2009-2010)p38.

<sup>8</sup> Tamsalyut Z.M.63 n yiseggasen.

<sup>9</sup> Tamsalyut Z.M. 63 n yiseggasen

Ad selliy f nmbi

Ad selliy f lxiir

Ad tterrey r Rebbi

D t̄taleb uleħdir

Ad tkemlem g lferħ

I leeyun n t̄tir<sup>10</sup>.

➤ **Asefru n yir zzwağ**

Ayemma amek ara s-gey

εica tebda tettxemmim

I d-sεiy deg gergazen

Rebbay ten-id akk s ifassen-iw

D yidir id aneggaru

Kemley-t-id s wanzaren-iw

Ay ul-iw ay amarkun

Tegred -iyi g t̄nun

Tenniđ-iyi jewj i Lexđer

Ur d as-εniy m ssifa

Ad taεer i lebda

Awid kan ad as-teemer

Lexđer yemmut g fransa

D ayrib a Rebbi

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.



Yemmut yentel war t-nzer.<sup>11</sup>

➤ **Asefru n tayri iruḥen sseba n lmut**

Asmi lliy g idriqen

Itbir yecurqen

Taseedit tezdey leeli

Tura tentel g zemmuren

Zzin iyumen

Keč a rabeḥ rju Rebbi<sup>12</sup>.

➤ **Asefru n tmeyra**

I ddiy g berdan

I yriy d lefhama

Mkul tamurt

Ad wtey deg-s tameyra

Ggin-iyi-d At tqerbuzt

Nwan a yi-tif zehwa At Busetta

Iddiy g uḍan d lyali

D wussan unebdu

Mi ara refden abendayer

Tidi deg-i tserru

Mi d-yusa seksu d weksum

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<sup>11</sup> Tazwert n taggara n Master, Le cas de Messaad Himi (1892-1979), une poétesse chanteuse de la région de At Mlilekac syur Oulebsir Fadila (2009-2010) P118.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem p 123.

Yečča-t Ĥmimi užebru

Amali m ara d-yali

Cuf cuf ig-xeddem Rebbi

Megduda lqedd usaru

Zzin taḥemrett

A lxux yeggan yef aman

Ma tesseid lbaraka

Deu s nniya

Aner zzwag –im s axxam

Fell-am ad tfak lmeḥna

D uwanes g gemmam

Ay ajeğgig n remman.<sup>13</sup>

➤ **Asbuyer yef teslit**

A timeḥremt tabarkant am tbaliwin

Ak mideqqen lalla tislit nnig taeyunin

Kemlet-as g lfarḥ

Ass-agi ad tezhu a ttarnu

A timeḥremt tabarkant tcellaq ziru

Asagi d lfarḥ-ines ad tezhu a ttarnu

Ḥakun-d af argaz itt- yuyen d lqedd usaru

A timeḥremt tabarkant yezdan d lfuḍa

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<sup>13</sup> Tamsalyut H.KH. 60 n yiseggasen.

Af mideqqen lalla tislit yelli-s d tsedda

Ma nenna fell-as d ssaḥ zzin leqraya<sup>14</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyer n lḥenni**

Ad selliy f nnbi

Fell-as i nbeddu

Ccrif Muḥemed

Fi yerna lḥenni

Ayagi n lfarḥ

Af Rebbi at nebdu

Nteddu nettxeṭṭib ur nuyis

Alami d adrar n at waylis

Waelik lḥemd ya Rebbi

Yufa ujeḡḡig lmetel-is

Ufiy tayaqut g lḡamee lekbir

Xeḍben-t akk medden

Yiwen ur d-as-yezmir

Yewwi-tt-id rayan

Imawlan n dkir

Ula win ceggee

Ar Musa ad yas

Akersi n dheb

---

<sup>14</sup>Tamsalyut Z.M. 63 n yiseggasen .

At nesyim fell-as

Lmesk wa læambar

An ruc talaba-s<sup>15</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyer mi ara fetlent seksu**

Ttyenniyy ttwexirey

Ttyenniyy ttwexirey

D argaz laeli i yuyay

Yewwi-yi s ddaw yiffer-is

Tamdint iyi-hwan hewsey

Uh a yimyaren

D daewa n lxir I yeyriben

Ttyenniyy ttazey yer zdat

Aqli deg waxxam n taddart

Mrehba s lahbab-nney

Am yirgazen am tlawin

Uh a yimyaren

D daewa n lxir i yeyriben<sup>16</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyer mi ara teffey tquffet**

Taquft ad truḥ

Zwaren iqeffafen

---

<sup>15</sup> Tazwert n taggara n turagt, Ansayen n zzwaḡ deg læerc n At Mlikec d At eebbas (aserwes) syurOuhimi Fadila, Taybi Oufia(2011-2012)p146.

<sup>16</sup> Tamsalyut H.Kh. 63 n yiseggasen.

Ad awin tislit

Ferħen wulawen<sup>17</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyer mi ara d-æddi ddaw leənaya n baba-s**

Swas a baba-s aman

Yelli-k ad tbeddel imawlan

Am ass-a ad terbeħ

Deg uxxam n yemyaren-is

Ad yelhu zzher-ines<sup>18</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyer mi ara tettlusu isyunen**

Tizizwit yulin azru

Ayemma-s sber ur ttru

Ass-agi ad iħder beħtu

Tizizwit tuli Lemsella

Ayemma-s sber ur ttxaq

ASS-agi ad yeħder lefraq

ħjbey-d lħara

Mkul ayrib yenfelwi

Arniy-d tisura

Ter uħeddad At yanni

Ad ħejbey tislit

---

<sup>17</sup> Tazwert n taggara n turagt,Zzwağ yer At Mlikec d At eebbas syur Ouhimi Fadila, Taybi Oufia(2011-2012)P48.

<sup>18</sup>Ibdem p48.

Uqbel ad tebdu tikli<sup>19</sup>.

➤ **Acewweq yef teslit mi ara tawed yer uxxam-is**

Læslam-as i teslit

A tughilt m laeyun

Akem-yeg Rebbi d laemara

Læslam-as i teslit

A tameghalt taqbaylit

Akem-yeg Rebbi d tanaslit

Læslam-as I teslit

Akem-yeg Rebbi d tigejdit

Læslam-as I wemyar-is

I win izwin tawrit-is

Yewwi-tt-id sddaw yiffer-is

Ufiy taqcict s usaru

Tmegger tettru

Fef asmi d –tedda tislit

Mi tuy kra n bururu

Tectaq ad tezhu

Tenza deg lexla am taklit

Asselah awid netteuzu

---

<sup>19</sup> Isefra, poems kabyles, publique le 4/08/2010 a 11:46 par la bellere belle kabylie, tags: poems kakyles.

Tedɛum ad tebru

Ad ttay argaz bu ddunit<sup>20</sup>.

➤ **Acekker n yiɖulan**

εaslama I yiɖulan n at s yadi

Açhal aya fell-awen I nettnadi

Walik lḥamd a Rebbi

Temlal tament d wudi<sup>21</sup>.

➤ **Aḥiḥa id ttawin-t tlawin deg leftil n seksu**

Ulamma tyenniɣ tiṭ-iw yer wemnar

Ulamma tyeniɣ tiṭ-iw yer wemnar

Lalla seɛdiya tuḡhilt n lecfar

Ass-a d tameɣra-s syertemt a tullas

Ayagi n lferḥ

Rebbi ad tihenni<sup>22</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyer sbuḥ n teslit**

S baḥ lxir a tislit

Aqadum n rrbeḥ

Lexbar ad yaweḍ yemma-m

Yelli-m tessefraḥ

Ḥekkun yef urgaz tuyeḍ

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<sup>20</sup> Tamsalyut N.F. 66 n yiseggasen.

<sup>21</sup> Tamsalyut R.F. 72 n yiseggasen.

<sup>22</sup> M'hammed Djellaoui:Tiwsatin n tmedyazt taqbaylit, HCA/2007 p67.

Amzun d lmesbah<sup>23</sup>.

➤ **Acekker n yemma-s n teslit**

Besm llah ad d-nebdu

Ad nebdu deg yemma-s

Trebbad taḥmamt

Yuy-itt uyilas.<sup>24</sup>

➤ **Asbuyet mi ara fetlent seksu**

A tayerbalt d dur-im d afilali

Adrum ayi d lealit

Tayurfet tuli

Qeedemt smid

D tameyra n lbaz imrebbi<sup>25</sup>.

➤ **Asbuyet yesduklen akk tmeyra**

Besmellah ad nebdu

Ad nebdu galxir

Kemini d tislit

Am laeyun n tṭir

Besmellah anebdu

Anebdu garbah

Keččini a yisli

---

<sup>23</sup> Tazrawt n taggara n turagt, Timenna n udekker d tbayurin, aḥric n tsekla s yur Rebba Saida, Rabhi Liela (2004-2005), p145.

<sup>24</sup> Idem, p149-155.

<sup>25</sup> Idem, p145.



A yitri nasbaḥ

Besmellah anebdu

A nebdu f yemma-s

At rebbad taḥmam

yuyit uyilas

Nettedu nettxeṭṭib war nuyis

Almi I dadrar n at waylis

Wlik lḥamd a Rebbi

Yufa ujeḡḡig tamtilt-is

Ur tettru a tanina

Ilewsan-im yer tawwurt

Ulama d nek i tayribt

Tayribt ḡḡiy yemma

Ur tettru a tasekkurt

Ilewsan-im yer tawwurt

Ulama d nek i tayribt

D tayribt ḡḡiy tamurt

Awi-d afus-im

Wa d afus wa d lḥenni

Bru-d i taqendurt

A timdihrit n lekman

**Tugniwin**



**Tugna01 : Lainsar n si lħağ emer**



**Tugna 02 : Taqarabt n si lħağemer**



**Tugna 03 : Amraḥ n si lḥaġa emer**



**Tugna 04 : Tikci n lwaɛda deg lemḡam n sidi lmufeq**



**Tugna06: Amkan anda i seččen deg lleswacer**



**Tugna 07: Tađwiqt i ccaalayen ticemmaein**



**Tugna 07: Lbir n sisi lmufeq**



**Tugna08:Lğameε n sisi Lmufeq**



**Tugna09:Asenduq anda srusun lwaεda**



**tugna01:Rekba n teslit zik**



**Tugna02 : Lwaæda telhaq teslit deg lemqam n sidi lmufeq**





**Tugna 03 : Lhenni n yeslan zik**



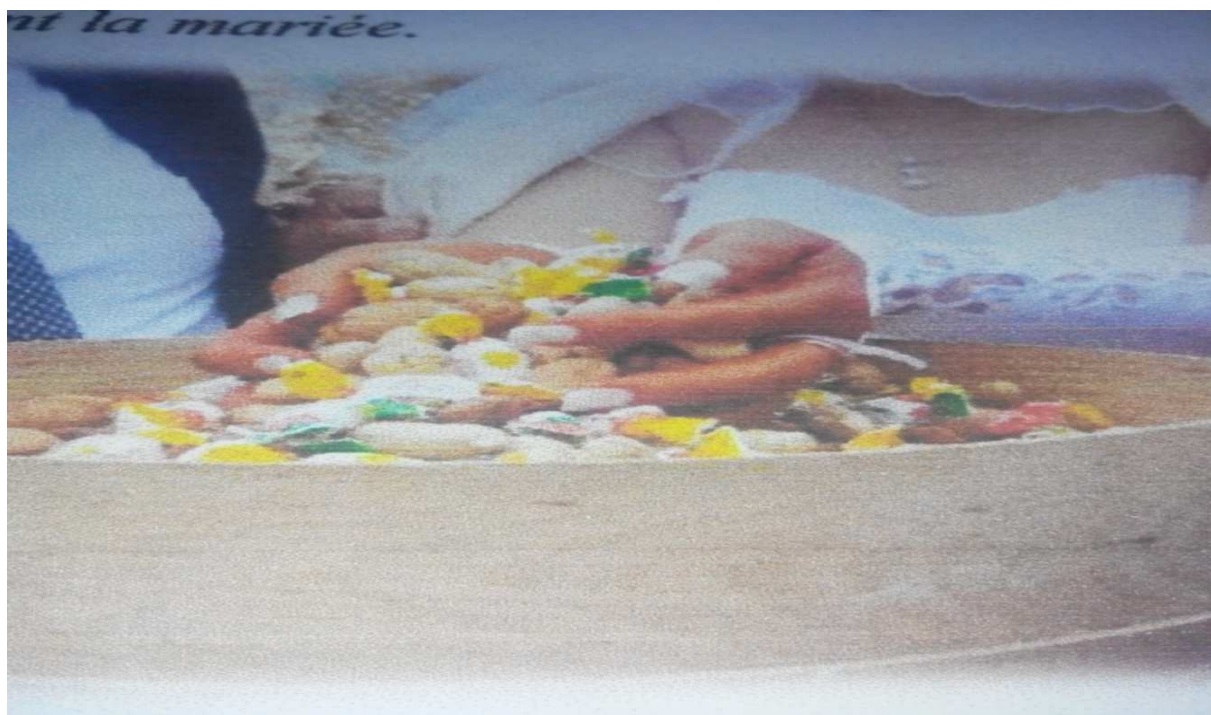
**Tugna04: Tiwin n teslit zik**



**Tugna05 : Aheggi n imensi**



**Tugna06 :Leftil n seksu**



**Tugna07: Acelli n teslit i lfal**



**Tugna08: Tissit n lqahwadeg Tahbult**



**Tugna09:Aqabel n temyart iteslit-is**



**Tugna10:Abggas n umyar I teslit-is**



**Tugna11 : Urar deg uxxam n uqcic deg id**



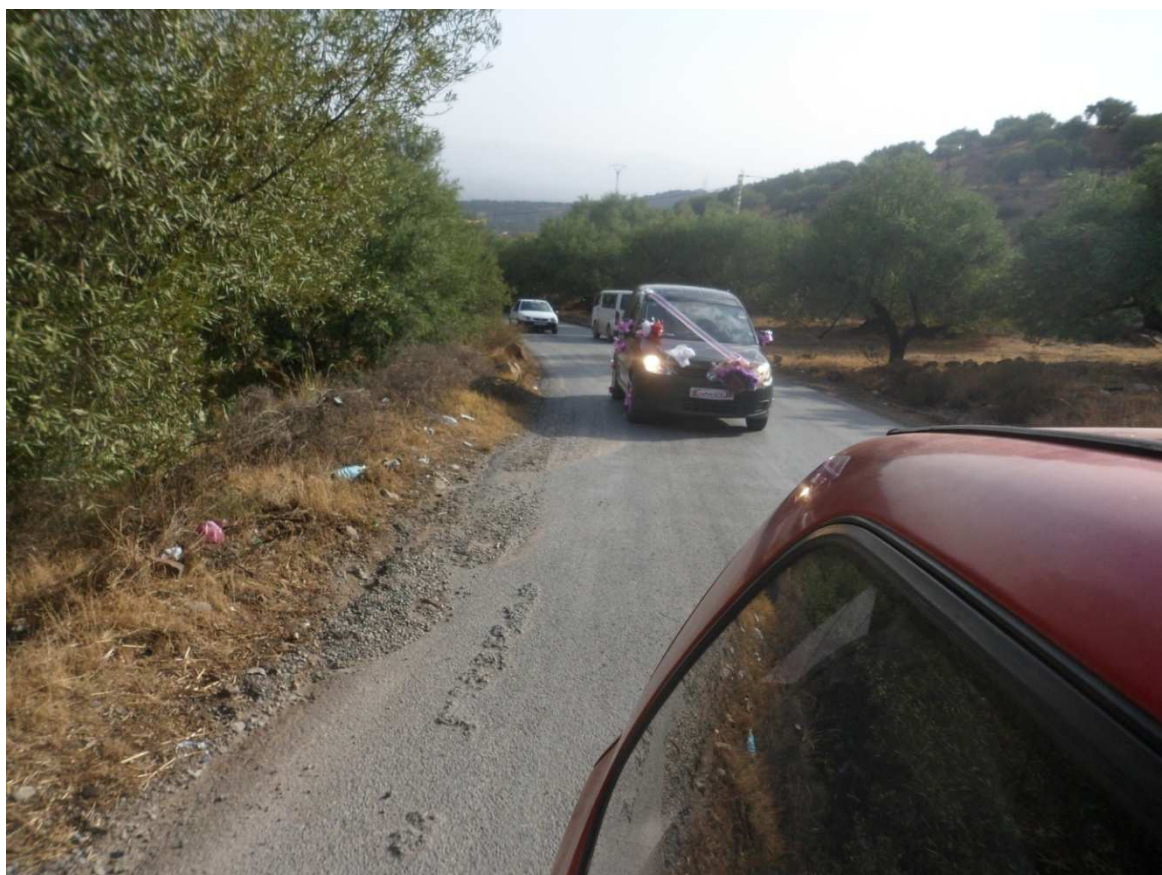
**Tugna12 : Aseddar n teslit taqendurt n twaçit**



**Tugna 13 :Taqendurt n ubages**



**Tugna 14: Tissit n teslit iwaman deg lemqam n sidi lmufeq**



**Tugna15 : Tiwin n teslityer uxxami**

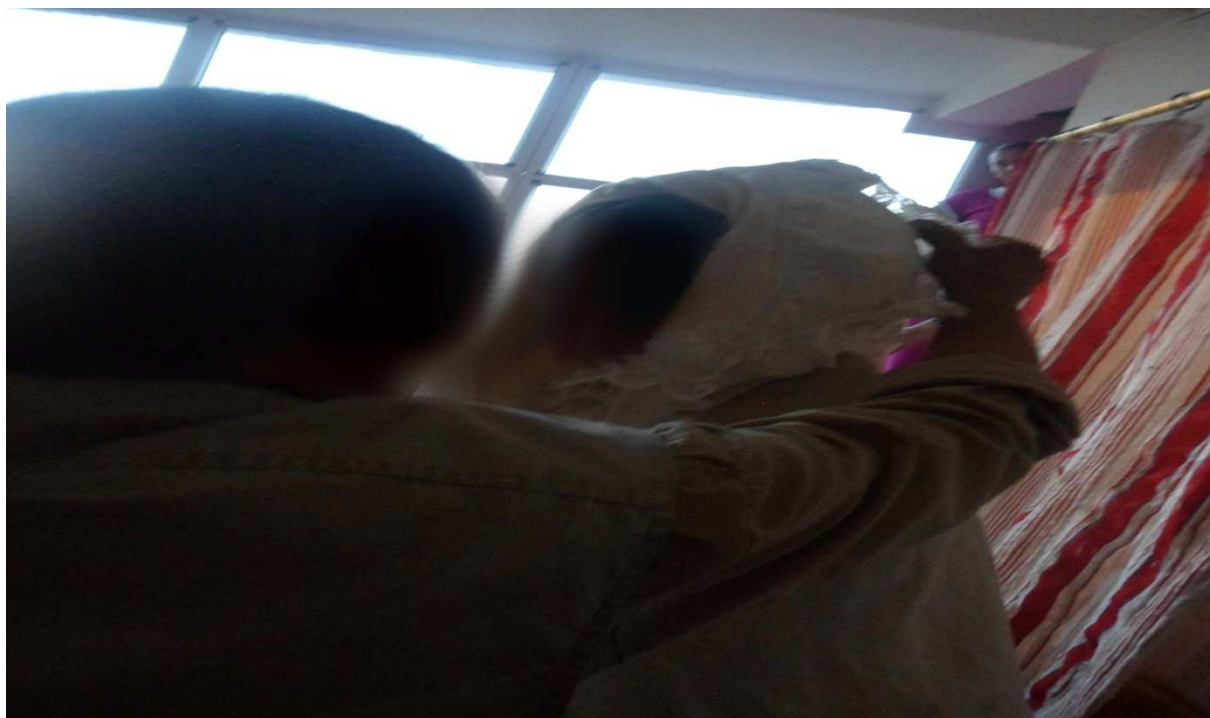


**Tugna 16 :Alhaq n teslityerLemqam**



**Tugna 18 :Amcađ n teslit**





**Tugna17 : Tuksa n uyumu n teslit**



**Tugna19 : Agezzum n tkuzžit i teslit**

# **Ittaftaren**

Attestation Pré nuptial  
(s ca crearea de Maladies. transmise)

شروط تسجيل الزواج قبل الدخول

APC

- ✓ إجباري حضور الزوجين
- ✓ العمر 19 سنة كاملة
- ✓ عقد ميلاد الزوجين على أساس السجل لا يتجاوز تاريخهما 03 أشهر
- ✓ بطاقة التعريف الوطنية لكل منهما
- ✓ شهادة طبية لكل من الزوجين تثبت خلوصهما من أي مرض (لا يتجاوز تاريخها 03 أشهر)
- ✓ بطاقة إقامة للإحدى الزوجين
- ✓ رخصة الفسوح 500 دج مصلحة المحاسبة
- ✓ الولي الشرعي
- ✓ شاهدين

المسجد الاجتماعي القابض «الحدائق» في مدينة الموقف

### علاقات نسبي الموقف

- بعد عدة لقاءات مع ممثلي القرى التابعة للعرس، أخذنا لقاءات أيام 24، 25، 26 أبريل و08 ماي عام 2015. المتعلقة بدعوة ممثلي القرى ومنها تم إنشاء اللجنة المكلفة بتحديد علاقات نسبي الموقف والمصادقة على المسودة التي تم إعدادها، وأعلن رسمياً عن «علاقات» المعدلة كما يلي:
- (1) يطبق نظام الزواج بعد استيفاء الأركان الشرعية المذكورة في كتاب الله وسنة رسوله.
  - (2) تقرأ الفاتحة بحضور إمام مع إمكانية الجمع بين الفاتحة والتعيين في يوم واحد أو في آن واحد، وفي الحالة الأخيرة يتم تقديم إلى أهل العروس فستان وحذاء، مع الغناء «شيرت» التي كانت تقدم سابقاً بعد التعيين.
  - (3) الغناء الآلية «فقوشت» ولتفاقر، مع منع اشتراط أو تقديم هدايا ذهبية أو فضية قبل دخول العروس إلى بيت زوجها.
  - (4) في اليوم ما قبل العرس «أسنسي» يتقدم أهل العرس إلى بيت العروس بموكب لا يتعدى سبعة (07) أشخاص بما يلي: كيش، 50 كم دقيق، لتران (02) من الزيت ولجهاز الذي يتكون من فساتين (02)، أزياء (02)، فوطتين (02) وحذاء، مع العلم أن أفراد الموكب يتناولون وجبة الغداء دون الرجوع للعشاء.
  - (5) يوم العرس تنقل العروس إلى بيت زوجها بعد دفع المهر (الضداق) المحدد شرعاً في أركان الزواج  $\frac{1}{4}$  دينار ما يعادل غراماً واحداً من الذهب، اتفق على مبلغ 2500 د. ج يُدفع لولي العروس قبل خروجها من بيت أهلها.

#### ملاحظات:

- ما لم يذكر في هذه الوثيقة يعتبر ملفي يرجى عدم الرجوع إليه.
- مصاريف التعيين على عاتق أهل العروس.
- المهر شرعاً يُدفع للعروس، مع إرجاع 100 د. ج كمال لولي العريس.
- لتجنب إزعاج المواطنين يوم العرس يرجى توقيف الحقل في منتصف الليل.
- يمنع تصدير العروس أثناء الحفل.

خاتمة: علاقات تمت الموافقة والمصادقة عليها بالإجماع من طرف اللجنة. وعلى هذا الأساس تعتبر سارية المفعول ابتداء من تاريخ 08 ماي 2015 م.

والله ولي التوفيق.

**Takerða**

