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## Editorial

by  
Karim Achab

Although everyone acknowledges today the intermingling of populations, which as a matter of fact is universally true, the Amazigh element in North Africa remains dominant and is seen as a genuine legacy even to those communities who have lost the Amazigh language and traditions. The question of the origin of the Amazigh has been looked into from different perspectives depending on the discipline and approach adopted. In short, three main hypotheses have prevailed so far: (i) the Near Eastern hypothesis; (ii) the Eastern African hypothesis and (iii) the local North African hypothesis.

In this issue, we are looking into this topic from the perspectives of linguistics and prehistory. Obviously, such a question as the origin of a people is so sensitive from several points of view. First, it is not difficult to guess why the current political regimes in North Africa would wish to favour the Near Eastern origin. Doing so, they think, would give the Arab-nationalist ideology more legitimacy. In other terms, both Arabs and Amazigh all originate from the same region, so the Amazigh could not claim the autochthonous status of North Africa. Second, human nature being what it is, a people will not necessarily react objectively if they are told that they originate from elsewhere

than where they think they do. This is just as true for the Amazigh people as it is for the Semites, Arabs and Jews included. Would the Semites react objectively if they are given evidence that they originate from Eastern Africa after such a long period of myth construction whereby the Near East is seen as the cradle of civilization, humanity, Adam and Eve, agriculture, etc.?

However, there will always remain some degree of innocent subjectivity in the research orientation. This innocent subjectivity underlies the search for the origin of Afroasiatic languages (also called Hamito-Semitic languages) and by the same token their originating site. Because the Amazigh were only recently immersed into these questions, most studies investigating these questions were undertaken by scholars working on Semitic languages and conclude to the Near Eastern origin hypothesis. Amazigh specialists, whose perspective was lacking in the debate for a long period of time, have now joined the debate.

In this issue, we are echoing the points of view of prominent Amazigh scholars. Salem Chaker's article "Berber origins: Prehistory Allochtony/Autochtony of the Berber Population and Language?" re-examines the three previously mentioned

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## The last Historical Leader is gone

**H**ocine Ait Ahmed, the former leader of the Algerian war for the independence, died on December 23<sup>rd</sup>, in Lausanne, Switzerland, at the age of 89, following a long illness.

He was born on August 20, 1926 at Ain El-Hammam (formerly Michelet), in the province of Tizi-Ouzou. At 15 years old, he joined the Algerian People's Party (French acronym, PPA), and quickly became one of the most prominent leaders. He was the founding member of the paramilitary organization of the PPA, known as "Organisation Spéciale or OS", which he led after the passing of Mohamed Belouizdad. It is in this capacity that he submitted to the Governing Committee of his party in session at Zeddine, near Algiers, a report of the same name, where he



**Hocine Ait Ahmed**

demonstrated the inevitability of a war and defined the best ways to achieve the liberation of the country.

As a skilled politician, he managed to avoid the pitfall of the anti-Berber crisis of 1949 which saw the exclusion of a large number of prominent activists from Kabylia. During the war of liberation, it is from Cairo that he spearheaded the Algerian diplomacy in the early years of the

struggle. In October 1956, Ait Ahmed was arrested by the French, accompanied by Mohamed Boudiaf, Mohamed Khider, Ahmed Ben Bella and Mostefa Lacheraf, when the plane in which they were (flying from Morocco to Tunis to attend a North African Peace Conference) was hijacked by the French military. They were not released until after the signing of the Evian Treaty.

Ben Bella's inauguration as President of the Republic by the army known as "Border Troops" who had taken power in Algiers with already whims of authoritarian rule, forced Hocine Ait Ahmed to resign from the Provisional Government (GPRA). However, he retained his parliamentary seat in the Assemblée Constituante (first Algerian Parliament). The crisis of the summer 1962 led to his resignation from the Parliament, followed in 1963 by the creation of the party of the Socialist Forces Front (French acronym, FFS).

Although he did not show much interest in the Amazigh Identity struggle that activists of his native region had already started, it is in this region that he chooses to raise an army with what remained of the fighters of the historical Wilaya III to oppose the coalition Ben Bella-Boumédiène who were determined

to carry out their project of a dictatorial regime under the banner of Arab-Islamism, inspired by their mentor, the Egyptian Gamal Abd-Ennasser. The uprising was crushed after about a year with a death toll of 400 on the Kabyl side. Ait Ahmed himself was arrested in 1964. His enigmatic escape from the prison of El Harrach led him to

*(Continues on page 9)*

## Passing of Abdelhafidh Yaha, known as Si Lhafidh, a founder of the Socialist Forces Front (FFS).



Abdelhafidh Yaha

It is with sadness that we learned about the passing of Mr. Abdelhafid Yaha who died in a hospital in Paris, France, on January 24, 2016 at the age of eighty-three. He was born on January 26, 1933 near Iferhounène in Kabylia. He was a former officer of the ALN (Armée de Libération Nationale) during the liberation war of Algeria (1954-1962). Si Lhafidh was among the group of men who decided to oppose the dictatorial regime of Ben Bella after the independence and was one of the founders of the political party FFS in 1963 .

During the war that opposed the Kabyl fighters to the forces that remained loyal to Ben Bella, Si Lhafidh was the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces (of FFS) between 1963 and 1965, and was also one of the architects of the treaty between Ben Bella and FFS that allowed the release of prisoners.

Like other politicians who were opposed to the one-party regime, Abdelhafidh Yaha was forced into exile and returned to the country only after the implementation of the 1989 constitution that abolished the one-party system. It was at that time that he chose to break away from his former party, the FFS, and with his leader Hocine Ait Ahmed in particular. However, Mr. Yaha remained politically active through the media. Si Lhafidh has published more than one book where he recounted his itinerary as a militant; "FFS against dictatorship" is the last book he has published.

A fervent tribute was paid to him during his funeral in his native village, Taxliġt Nait Saṭṭu. The Amazigh Voice's team joins in tribute to Mr. Abdelhafidh Yaha, he was a sincere activist, a warrior with an exceptional courage. He

was among those who believed in the advent of a democratic Algeria. May he rest in peace.

A.V.

A friend of  
Kabylia has just  
left us

Camille Lacoste-Dujardin



We learned of the passing of Camille Lacoste-Dujardin, ethnologist specialized in Kabyl society, on January 28 in Bourg-la-Reine, near Paris (Hauts-de-Seine). She was 86 years old. May she rest in peace.

Born in Rouen, France, on March 1<sup>st</sup> 1929, Camille Lacoste-Dujardin graduated from the Institute of Ethnology of Musée de l'Homme in Paris. She then left for Algeria in 1952 to accompany her husband, the geographer and geopolitician Yves Lacoste. It is during this stay that she discovered Kabylia, its society and culture. She studied the Kabyl language at the School of Oriental Languages, Paris, France. She finished her career as an emeritus Research Director at the CNRS where she headed the research unit "Oral Literature, dialectology, ethnology of the Arab-Berber domain."

Her work has focused on different aspects of the Kabyl culture. Fluent in Berber, she has collected, translated, and analyzed over seven hundred folk tales pages. She was also interested in the status of Kabyl women (mothers and daughters) in Kabylia and the Kabyl community in France. During her career, she has published more than 150 scientific articles and a dozen books. In 2005 she published an important dictionary of the Berber culture in Kabylia offering, with nearly a thousand articles, a comprehensive summary of her work.

The Amazigh Voice editorial team would like to present its sincere condolences to Lacoste and Dujardin families .

A. V.

# Berber origins: Prehistory and Linguistics. Allochtony/Autochtony of the Berber Population and Language?

By Salem Chaker \*

Translated from French by Rachid Dahmani

## INTRODUCTION

The question on the origin of Berbers, people and language, has been widely written about since the middle of the nineteenth century. As Gabriel Camps (1981) wrote, with a touch of humor, since antique times, there are very few places that have not been considered as their origin. This linguist added that there are very few languages with which we have not tried to establish a relationship or derivation, ranging from Celtic to Semitic to Basque.

A thesis of a Near East origin has prevailed for a long time since this region has been considered the birthplace of the Mediterranean world: Neolithization on the cultural level, population on the anthropologic level, and Chamito-Semitic on the linguistic level. For the past 50 years, this theory has been powerfully relayed by prehistorians through the so-called "Capsian" thesis: proto-Mediterraneans (Capsiens, from the eponymous site of Caps or Gafsa in Tunisia) would have appeared in North Africa around the 8th or 7th century B.C. bringing from the Middle East a new physical type (the Mediterranean replaced little by little the "Mechtoide" or "Ibero-Maurusian" type), a new culture (the Neopolitic), and a language (the Proto-Berber). These indices seemed to converge so strongly and even we have adhered to this thesis for a long time (Chaker, 1984).

More recently, the believers in an African origin, within the framework of the theory of the African cradle of the Chamito-Semitic (or Afro-asiatic) and the Neolithisation, which is believed to have been the engine for the expansion of people and languages, have strengthened their positions. Diakonoff, Behrens, and Ehret, among many others, have proposed localizations and dynamics of expansion from African localizations in central Sahara or, more frequently, in East Africa (Sudan, Nubie-Kordofan, Darfur, etc.). Diverse linguistic, archeological, and ethnological arguments have been used to champion these theses. However, one realizes that the data on Berber linguistics has been very marginally taken into consideration, if at all, and has never been treated on the same level

as the data on the other branches of the Chamito-Semitic, which would have nevertheless required a sound method that is free of any bias.

We would like our contribution to be a critical reexamination of the theses that are related to the placement of the Berber people and language by adopting a point of view that is internal to the Berber domain. As linguists, we will interrogate the linguistic material to search for indices that point in one direction (allochtony) or another (autochthony). We will specifically try to answer the following questions:

- Are there any positive traces that would corroborate a pre-Berber substratum in North Africa?
- Does the fundamental vocabulary of agriculture, breeding, and related techniques help reveal an external origin; does it match that of the other Chamito-Semitic languages?
- Do the grammar system and morphological material of the Berber language allow a thesis, necessarily a diffusionist one, of a creation from and external source?
- With this linguistic approach, we will consider precisely only the works and theses that have seriously taken into account Berber material; we will leave out the many "globalizing theories" that have totally ignored available data on Berber, even though they have not refrained from allotting a position to the Berber language in their reconstructions!

But before addressing the linguistic dimension of this question, it is essential that we take a detour through Prehistory.

## I. The People of North Africa - Sahara: Current Data on Prehistory

Obviously I am not a prehistorian (not of North Africa or any other domain), however, for the past 30 years, I have been acquainted with specialists on North African prehistory and with their works. My long collaboration with Gabriel Camps, my participation, since its inception, with *Encyclopédie Berbère* where the origin of peoples is widely present, my deep exchanges with my colleague Slimane Hachi (Algiers) allow me to venture into this

domain without taking too much risk, at least on the overall knowledge on acquired data. It seems to me that one can reasonably be very affirmative on localizing the Berber people in North Africa: there has never been any conclusive indication that would favor an external origin:

- Of the Berber people: there is no anthropological break-off between the Ibero-Maurusians and the Capsians, and there is no convincing argument that would justify an outside origin (Middle East or East Africa) for the Proto-Mediterraneans of North Africa. The most ancient Anthropological Capsian witnesses have been discovered in western Algeria and there is no archeological continuum with the Proto-Mediterraneans of the Middle East (Natoufians). From what we know today, the thesis of an in-situ anthropological evolution is the most plausible. As a matter of fact, it has been perfectly established that the Ibero-Maurusians and Capsians have lived concurrently on the same sites.

If we take into consideration longer periods of time, we can recall that there has been a continuity of human presence in North Africa for at least one million years (Camps, 1974); for this long period of time, and contrary to Western Europe, this region has never been an empty or lightly populated Far West that immigrants would have come to populate from the East or South-East; at least, no one has so far come up with a proof.

- Of the Neolithic culture: All recent works tend to date the beginning of the Neolithization of North Africa and the Sahara far back (at least 10,000 years) to times that would make it contemporary with the most ancient Neolithic of the Middle East.
- Of Prehistoric Art: The most recent discoveries (Hachi, 2000, 2002, 2003) question the theory according to which the Capsian Proto-Mediterraneans would have been the inventors (or even importers) of Art into North Africa. Figurines made of clay, dated between 15 to 16,000 (BC) put North African art in the Ibero-Maurisian and completely annihilate the theory of a link between the appearance of art and an exogenous Neolithic.

With the current well established data, we can objectively affirm that theses that make Berbers come from "elsewhere", African or Middle-Eastern, remain pure hypotheses: we obviously cannot exclude them as such, but no concrete data can, for now, support them.

## 2. A Linguist's Look

Are there any positive traces of a pre-Berber substratum in North Africa? Traces that would support the thesis of an external origin of the language. To this day no data, be it sociolinguistic (ancient accounts), linguistic, strictly speaking or onomastic (especially toponymical) has ever established with certainty the existence of a component that is both pre- and non-Berber in North Africa.

### 2.1. Sociolinguistic Traces?

In early contact with all the great scriptural and dominant civilizations of the Mediterranean, North Africa is well documented and has been a well-known region for a long time. However, neither Egyptian sources (See Bates, 1914/1970), Greek sources (since Herodotus), nor the abundant Latin and Arab sources mention the presence in North Africa of a people and language other than the Berber people and Berber language, even though the territory has been traveled, mapped, and administered in a systematic manner!<sup>1</sup> To the contrary, all ancient sources (from Sallust to Saint-Augustin to Ibn Khaldun) are unanimous and explicit: the original people and language of North Africa are Berber. It is highly improbable that the generals, historians, geographers, and Greek, Latin, and Arab chroniclers, who have criss-crossed North Africa in all directions and abundantly wrote about its tribes, would have missed a sign of the existence, even if residual, of a language other than Berber.

### 2.2. Linguistic (lexical) Traces?

The hypothesis of a foreign origin of the Berber language, no matter which specific configuration is settled on - from the Middle-East or East Africa; in the form of a massive arrival or a renewal of the population (notably a Capsian thesis) or a slow spreading (spreading by progressive irradiation - see O. Durand, 1993) —, presupposes a remnant of a local pre-Berber vocabulary in the Berber lexical, especially as it relates to the fundamental ecological reality. By definition, this relic vocabulary would not be Chamito-Semitic. This is without a doubt one of the most obvious weak points in all the diffusionist theses concerning the origins of the Berbers: No one has ever managed to identify this pre-Berber lexical core that would support the thesis of a "proto-Berber" arrival in a **non and pre-Berber substratum**.

Some authors have gone even farther on the idea of a heterogeneous constitution of the Berber language. In particular, Werner Vycichl (1982, 1983, ...), focusing on the marked divergence between the lexical bases of the Berber and other Chamito-Semitic languages that strongly contrasts with the heavy convergences in the grammatical

systems (see *infra*), has taken and strongly defended the idea that the Berber language is a "mixed" language that was constituted in ancient times by the association of proto-Semitic superstratum (grammar) and an autochthon proto-Semitic substratum (lexical base) that is not well identified (Mediterranean).

In this case also we would expect to find some positive confirmation of the supposedly heterogeneous character of the language in the lexical data. However, there is no doubt that the stock of elementary roots of the Berber language supports the case for Chamito-Semitic forms. As we have demonstrated in a systematic examination of the structure of the root and the phonological system, it is certain **that the specificity of the Berber language is more apparent than real**. The much accentuated worn phonetic state of ancient Berber has transformed some ancient common Chamito-Semitic roots into one- or two-unit consonants that it has in fact become difficult to make a comparison with Egyptian or Cushitic Semitic correspondents, because it is certainly true that the immediate external form of an important part of the Berber lexical (notably the fundamental vocabulary) is profoundly different from the one that dominates in the Semitic lexical. From Berber lexemes such as *ul* "heart" (root: L) or *imi* "mouth" (root: M), the establishment of a correspondence with, for example, the Semitic (in this case *LBB* and *FWM*), and therefore a proof of a relationship, is not obvious. However, Berber Studies experts are confident that through their morphology, these mono-consonantic lexemes come from ancient bi- or even trilateres.

Nothing thus can help establish, on any level, - in its global composition or more specifically in certain lexico-Semitic fields -, a non-Chamito-Semitic origin of the Berber lexic and identify a stock, even a limited one, of lexical forms that could be assigned to a non and pre-Berber substratum.

### 2.3. *Onomastic Traces?*

Without a doubt, the base of the onomastics material of North Africa is Berber, including the most deeply Arabized regions nowadays. The non-Berber elements that can be detectable are always attributable to a historically attested language (Punic, Latin, Arabic and French, even negro-African languages on the southern edge of the Berber world). As we know, it is not at all the case in Western Europe where, despite its breadth and ancientness, the Hindu-European wave, has not completely erased the existence of pre-Hindu-European languages. Under the various strata of historical or proto-historical

languages (Latin, Celtic ...), we can easily extract a non-Hindu-European onomastics (toponyms, hydronyms) material even if it is not possible to come up with a positive identification for it.

The situation is clearly different in North Africa: in the onomastics corpus at any time in history, anything that is not clearly ascribable to a historically identified non-native language can be related to Berber even if their interpretation and etymologies often remain problematic. In any case, as far as is known, no component of this material has been clearly identified as non-Berber and related to an identifiable linguistic origin. Moreover, even during periods of strong alien cultural and linguistic domination (Roman and Arab in particular), under an added foreign cover, we easily detect the Berber layer (substrate and adstratum), including in the field of anthroponomy (Chaker, 1984 and 1985).

In a word, in the onomastics field, under (and next to) Arabic, Latin, or Punic, we always and everywhere find Berber and nothing but Berber.

### 2.4. *Does the fundamental vocabulary of agriculture, breeding, and related techniques, reveal a foreign origin? Does it match that of other Chamito-Semitic languages or does it have a specific formation?*

We have been able to show (Chaker, 1995a and 1996) that the essential vocabulary for domestic animals is at the same time Berber proper and pan-Berber, which is an indication of its ancientness and local genesis. This also implies an endogenous neolithization.

As G. Camps noticed starting in 1961, the same demonstration can easily be made for the denomination of the main cereals: wheat (*irden*), barley (*timzin*), oat (*tazekkunt*), millet (*inli/ilni*). These denominations are in Berber and pan-Berber and are neither borrowed from a foreign language nor ascribable to the Chamito-Semitic. Cereals and their cultivation have thus a high probability of being indigenous.

The central parameters of neolithization (breeding and cereal cultivation) have probably not been imported as techniques, and their related vocabulary is specifically Berber and does not show any sign of a foreign origin. The same thing can be equally said about pottery, which is also a crucial parameter of neolithization. Consequently, nothing in the Berber lexicon can presuppose an expansion from outside, an expansion founded on the "Neolithic revolution" and that would have allowed Middle-Eastern and East-African populations to brutally or progressively impose their language.

We can even, in some favorable cases, put forward a local semanto-genesis from signifiers that would be necessarily pre-Neolithic. A lexico-semantic study of some fundamental Berber roots in the agriculture field (Chaker, 1997b) helps to show that the current (agricultural) signifier was probably formed internally in Berber from more ancient significations that are anterior to agriculture because these roots have had to first designate non agricultural realities that might not even be related to plants. We can cite the precise example of the *Z(W)R* root.

The fundamental Berber term for designating a fig (or fig tree) as a basic food source is remarkably stable throughout the entire domain. Obviously, there exists in regions that intensively cultivate fig trees a proliferation of names proper to each fig variety, as a function of color, size, calendar, degree of ripening, taste characteristics<sup>2</sup>... Independently of the denominations of particular varieties, we will consider as secondary other forms such as the Mozabite (Delheure, 1984:124): *amessi/tamessit* "fig" or the Chaouia (Huyghe, 1906:287): *tameccit/imeccit* "green fig". This appellation proceeds manifestly from the specialization of a term that was originally very general and derived from the root *ess/ecc* eat (what can be eaten, food). However there really exists a general denomination that is common to almost all Berber dialects, from Morocco to Kabylia, and from the Aures to the area of the Touaregs: *azar, tazart*.

— Kabyl (Dallet, 1982:954): *tazart*, "dry figs". This is an ensemble that refers to dry figs as a basic staple (similar to wheat and olive oil). Its "basic" character is underlined by the fact that it does not have any plural form: dry figs are presented as a non-enumerable and non-divisible ensemble, in a way it is a "raw material". By the way, there exist in this dialect a special verb that is used and applies exclusively to dry figs, cereals, and olive oil: *agew*, which marks well the specificity of these products in the economic and food system of the traditional Kabyl society.

— Chleuh (Destaing, 1984:128): *tazart*, "fig" (collective and unit); *adag n tazart* "fig tree (tree of figs)".

— Mzab (Delheure, 1984:254): *azar/azaren* and *tzart/tizarin*, "berry, jujubes"

— Ghadames (Lanfry, 1973:429, No 1829): uses both *azar/azaren* "flower and fruit from wild jujube tree" and *tazar/tazarin* "dry fig".

— Chaoui (Huyghe, 1906:287) *tazart* (collective) "fig tree"

— Rif (Renisio, 1932:323, 423): *tazart* "fig", *zara* "orchard" and "orchard of fig trees"

— Tamazight (Mercier, 1937:117-118; Taifi, 1991:812): *tazat/tazarin*, "fig", *aseklu n tazart*, "fig tree" (= tree of

figs)

The form *azar/tazart* belongs unquestionably to the base of the foundation of the Berber lexicon. Its meaning is a little less circumscribed, but everywhere, it represents in a generic manner "the fig". However, in two places (Mzab and Ghadames), the term also applies to the berry of the wild jujube tree. Two hypotheses can be considered as an explanation:

— either it is a local semantic evolution, a movement of the benchmark related to the scarcity of the fig tree in these two regions;

— or, and we chose this explanation as being the most plausible, we are dealing with a partial conservation of an earlier signifier that had to be: "fruit, berry (generic), from which have emerged more precise significations with a certain margin of variation due to climatic conditions: the "fruit/berry par excellence" is obviously not the same in Kabylia and the Sahara... The fact that the "berry/wild jujube" signification is attested in at least two regions is probably not fortuitous and allows one to think that the lexical base *azar/tazart* had at the beginning, even preceding the apparition of agriculture, designated every fruit or wild berry. It is widely established that jujubes have been an important element of the local food since prehistoric times, well before agriculture (See Gast, 2004).

This probable meaning "fruit/berry (wild)" helps also establish a parallel between this lexeme and various forms derived from the *ZR*, *Z(W)R*, and *Z(W)R* (with the pharyngalization of the /z/) roots that designate throughout the Berber world various fruits with round shapes: *tizurin* "grapes", and *azeggar* (<ZWR) "jujube tree" .. (See Laoust, 1920:421-422). However, this lexical base certainly has a link with other close lexical forms around the *ZR(R)* sequence, that refer to notions of "grain, gravel" and "collar (of pearls)": *tazra, azrar/tzart* ... (Kabyl, Ourgla, Tamazight, Chleuh, ...). We thus see clearly the existence of a "proto-root" \**ZR*, \*"small round object" that would have been the origin for a broad semantic field: "round grain, (round) fruit / berry" > "jujube, > fig > grape, etc." It results from all these facts that the root *ZR* that synchronously refers to the cultivated fruit par excellence, the fig:

— does not only refer to cultivated vegetables,

— does not only refer to the vegetation domain.

It is thus very likely anterior to the appearance of agriculture and its currently dominant signifier has taken form internally within the Berber language. And it is consequently very unlikely that agriculture (here arboriculture) had an external origin since Berbers have built the hard

core of their vocabulary in this domain on preexisting local linguistic material.

### 2.5. Does the grammar system and the morphologic material on Berber allow a thesis of a formation from an external source?

The extraordinary unity of the Berber grammar system over an immense geographical area makes an external origin of the language very unlikely, since this would imply a necessarily slow and random spreading over a pre-Berber substratum. Because the grammar system and morphologic material of Berber present in the Chamito-Semitic group a coherence, transparency, and simplicity that often help link today's Berber to the oldest attested or reconstructed forms of the Chamito-Semitic (notably the Acadian for the verbal system). Here we refer you to our systematic study on Chamito-Semitic traits of Berber (Chaker, 1995, Chapt. 16; see also Zaborski, 1984), that confirm not only that Berber is a Chamito-Semitic language, but in addition it often represents archaistic and very "pure" characteristics. With numerous central aspects (verbal system, verbo-nominal derivation, pronominal system notably), **Berber is really at the center and not on an evolved and recomposed periphery of the Chamito-Semitic.** Such a configuration implies great linguistic and sociolinguistic stability that is little compatible with the thesis of an external **arrival** and/or a progressive spread on a pre-Chamito-Semitic substratum.

In line with the theses of Schmidt's *Wellentheorie* and Schuchardt's *Sprachbund*, G. Garbini and his disciples (See O. Durand, 1993) have developed a diffusionist conception of this relationship. There must have been a progressive "Semitization" of the African Chamito-Semitic region. In this schema, we do not postulate a brutal and massive introduction of a proto-(Chamito)-Semitic into Africa, but rather a progressive Semitisation by irradiation of this geo-linguistics space. This thesis has the benefit of allowing a better understanding of the non-homogenous distribution of Semitic traits within the African branches of the Chamito-Semitic. This makes it unquestionably interesting and stimulating: it is a hypothesis that could help explain the oddness of the comparisons and the uncertainties of the Chamito-Semitic reconstruction. We can in effect imagine that through sociolinguistic situations that are closer to creolization take place phenomena of regrammaticalization, that are specific to each branch, starting from common morphological materials of (proto)-Semitic origin.

Here again, when confronted with known data on Berber, the central thesis becomes shaky. In fact, this linguistic branch presents a very *high structural homogeneity* over an immensely extended area of expansion: Concretely, we can't see how Semitization by "irradiation" would explain such a marked unity for such a vast group, notably at the grammatical level. Within Berber, heavy and non-systemic divergences, i.e., that are inexplicable with recent regional evolutions, starting from a common system, are extremely rare, we can cite:

- the divergence of vocalic systems between Berber of the "North" and the so-called "Oriental" , including the Tuareg;
- the specific marking of the state of annexation of the masculine singular name in Tuareg;
- greater number of verbal themes in Tuareg;
- absence of the adjective class in Tuareg.

However, besides the fact that many of these divergences can be considered secondary (i.e., explainable using a common Berber base, *See Chaker, 1995*), we see that the majority of these traits that are related to Tuareg which, contrary to widely held opinion (often implicit), could very well be a branch of Berber that is highly influenced by Negro-African substrata/adstrata (including in the region of the Sahara), whereas it is almost impossible to find an old systemic grammatical divergence between Kabyl (Central Algeria) and Tachelhit (South-West of Morocco), for example.

The Berber grammar system shows a highly marked Chamito-Semitic identity and overall does not show any trace of recomposition, creolization, or mixing of systems that would belong to different phyla. Here also, as in the case at the lexical level, it does not seem possible to detect, based on positive arguments at least, any "external arrival" or "mixing of systems".

We are definitely into unity, coherence, and continuity.

### Conclusion

From this review of prehistoric data and the examination of linguistic materials, we draw, if not demonstrate, at least the strong feeling that there exists no positive argument in favor of an external origin, Middle-Eastern or African, of Berbers and/or their language. To the contrary, all indications point towards great stability and continuity of the Berber people and language, in its current area of extension, whose borders have not shown any change for millennia.<sup>3</sup>

When all is said and done, everything, really everything, leads us to think that all the theories about external ori-



gins of the Berber people and language are always based on an implicit postulate: Berber, "the last great reserve of white Barbarians", their language, with no solid tradition of writing and no normalization, can only be a peripheral rejection of a more consistent and "serious" "center".

While if we consider objectively the facts and global balance of the Chamito-Semitic group, we can see that in the long run and on every geographic scale, the only pole of continuity and linguistic stability is really the Berber domain. This is a fact that is concrete, indisputable, and which should be capable of completely reconsider the question of the primitive cradle of the Chamito-Semitic.

The right to have a hypothesis is certainly one of the engines of research, but theories should always be confronted by facts (here related to languages, culture, and people). And, in this case, this confrontation driven by one of the supposed final outcomes of great reconstructive theories of the Chamito-Semitic, seems to really show that Berbers and their language really have old roots in North Africa, certainly from well before the Neolithic. And that there exists no concrete data that would allow one to consider them as having come from elsewhere, neither them, nor their language ■

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<sup>1</sup> We can notably think about the length of the roman presence and the detail of its organization: Military, administrative, economic, and cultural

<sup>2</sup> In the lexical field, we have a detailed study specific to the Kabyle domain: Haddadou (1985).

<sup>3</sup> the only well established movement of population is the progressive extension toward the South (Sahara and Sahel) that started in the 4th century B.C.

in North Africa, certainly from well before the Neolithic. And that there exists no concrete data that would allow one to consider them as having come from elsewhere, neither them, nor their language.

<sup>4</sup> "What if Berbers [*and their language*] have come from nowhere?" (Camps, 1981:20).

(Continued from page 2)

exile in France and later to Switzerland.

He returned to Algeria at the advent of "political reforms" that followed the bloody repression of October 1988 demonstrations. Between the two runoffs of the legislative elections in 1991, the FFS has organized a major event (January 2, 1992), with the famous statement: "Neither a Police State nor a Fundamentalist Republic." He opposed the cancelation of the electoral process in which a landslide victory of the fundamentalist islamic party (FIS) was anticipated. In the process, he refused the proposal of the Generals "Janviéristes" to preside the Haut Comité d'Etat (HCE), the joint presidential committee designed as a substitution to the resignation-dismissal of Chadli Ben Djedid.

During the bloody decade that had opposed militarily the Islamist movement to the regime, he was involved in a political initiative that had gathered in Saint Egidio, Italy, some political actors of the moment, with the aim of finding a political solution to the ongoing conflict. As a result, he was severely criticized by both the regime and the secular opposition for supposedly broad concessions to the Islamist representatives in a roadmap document that was drafted. Following the assassination of Mohamed Boudiaf, and fearing for his safety and restricted freedom of speech, he took again the road of exile. However, he agreed to take part in the 1999 presidential election, in which all candidates except one withdrew from the race before the first run off. Once more, he heads abroad but kept the leadership of his party, FFS, until 2013.

Recognized as man of principles, Hocine Aït Ahmed remained a strong opponent to the military regime. He continuously denounced the meddling of the political police (DRS) in politics and political parties. He has always claimed the election of a representative assembly (Assemblée Constituante) as a solution to the illegitimacy of the successive governments that followed the coup of June 19, 1965 by Houari Boumédiène. In recent years however, Hocine Aït Ahmed has gradually withdrawn from the front of the political stage.

His latest epic battle was undoubtedly his refusal to be buried in the official "Square of the Martyrs" as the regime had wished. The choice of his hometown as the final resting place is a very honorable choice, and the popular tribute that was paid to him by his own people was commensurate with his "historic finger". Therefore rest in peace under the protection of your ancestor Ccix Muħend U Lħusin.

A.V.

# What do we know about the early stages of the Berber language from the Berber scholars' tradition?

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Translated from French by Hsen Larbi

## I. Introduction

During almost a century of research, the Berber scholars' tradition (Basset, Galand, and their followers) shaped some kind of perception of the Berber language history and, thus, determined the evolutionary stages that shaped this language through evolutionary linguistics. However, a number of questions arose, challenging their reached conclusions, namely: what do we know about (i) the nature and the value of the historical evidence that was put forward; (ii) the vision in which they were produced, (iii) the methods used, (iv) the founding principles on which they were based, and (v) the stage of Berber diachronic or historical studies. We will focus on each of these elements and determine what is actually known, from this point of view, on the history of this language and what hinders research in this area.

## II. The Semitic-based Conception of Afro-Asiatic and Berber language Diachronies

The integration of Berber into the classic<sup>1</sup> form of the Afro-Asiatic or Hamito-Semitic family in 1924 (Cohen, M., 1924/b) is an important event, but generally we retain only the solution it has provided to the problem of classification of this language. We do not focus on the most important aspect which is, in this case, the introduction of this language in the structural and historical conception of this language family including the historical and methodological aspects it implies.

Due to several converging factors including the problems inherent to the use of ancient Egyptian data for historical purposes and the stage to which date back the ancient Semitic documents (these date back to the third millennium BC and spread over almost three millennia) as well as the stage reached by research in that language group, the Semitic group became the historical gem of this family. The predominant elements, from the stage when ancient Semitic documents were written, to the period when they became projected onto proto-Afro-Asiatic:

« What is known in Semitic language studies is also known to Hamito-Semitic language studies » (Cohen, 1947, 59, see also Diakonoff, 1965 and 1988).

The elements of other branches that are different from the Semitic group would have then come from deep reorganizations that they had undergone, which would have placed them far from the Afro-Asiatic core, and generated specific elements. The proto-Afro-Asiatic, postulated from the predominant elements in the stage of Semitic, suggests that their counterparts in non-Semitic groups are seen as either partially lost or damaged therefore altered

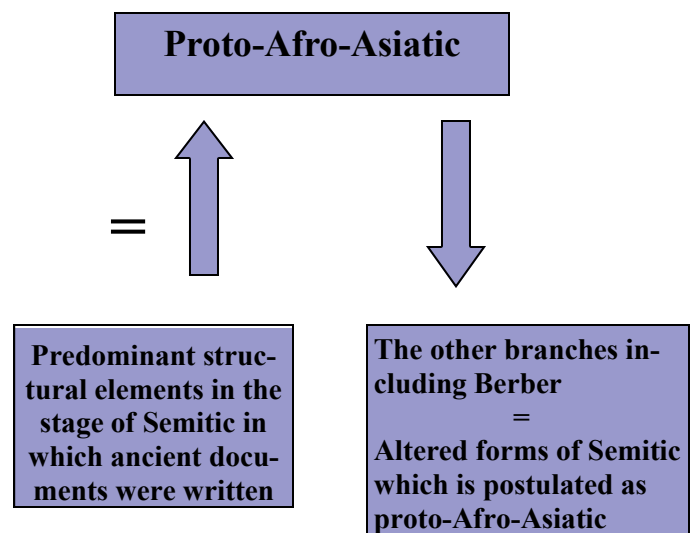


Figure 1. Semitic-based conception of Afro-Asiatic

The reconstruction of their earlier stages consists then, to reduce their structural elements to those of the Semitic group postulated as proto-Afro-Asiatic. We start with Semitic elements postulated as proto-Afro-Asiatic and reconstruct the elements that would have been lost and those that would have been altered in the different groups of the linguistic family that are considered altered forms. The evolution of this family is thus placed on a continuum scale going from proto-Semitic, supposed to be the beginning of proto-Afro-Asiatic, all the way down to the other groups of the phylum considered as altered.

The confrontation of different Afro-Asiatic groups, and more particularly of the components characterizing the

most conservative groups including Chadic and Omotic (see Diakonoff, 1965, 1988) with the residues of earlier stages, which are preserved in Egyptian, in the old stage of Semitic and its modern forms (see Diakonoff *idem*, among others) shows, however, that the predominant elements of the old stage of Semitic in which ancient documents are written and which are postulated proto-Afro-Asiatic belong to an advanced stage of this language family (predominance of triconsonantism, inflectional morphology, accusative syntax ..., see Allati 2002, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2011a/b/c, 2013, 2015a, 2016a/b). From which proto-Afro-Asiatic would then have the other groups evolved and would they have partially lost their forms? Proto-Afro-Asiatic structural elements have thus been equated with early stages of Semitic, while considering the other groups including Berber as having evolved therefrom (cf. *ibid*). This is mere distortion and waste of time from both the past and future perspectives!

Also the historical research in this area consists of extending to other groups, the structural elements of this advanced stage of Semitic to show their age, their proto-Afro-Asiatic character, and then, the adequacy of the Semitic centered conception of the Afro-Asiatic (see above). Specific elements that cannot be tied back to those of this language group are relegated to specific developments. The progress of research in this area is measured by the state reached by the extension of the elements of this stage of Semitic postulated as proto-Afro-Asiatic to the other groups of this language family.

Studies of diachrony in the Afro-Asiatic family have not yet emerged from the dead-end path in which they have been engaged when this family was placed on an evolutionary axis where “Semitic advanced stage” is the starting and the end point at the same time.

Shaped within this Semitic-centered interpretation of Afro-Asiatic (the twenties of the past century), the Berber language scholars have worked to extend it to Berber, by exploiting the affinities between this language and Semitic<sup>2</sup> (see below). As a result, the historical point of view that it molded is only one of the many facets of the Afro-Asiatic perception, in other words, transferring the reconstruction problems mentioned previously (see above and Allati, 2016b).

### **III. The historic conception of the Berber Language tradition: evolutionary stages and reconstruction methods**

Considering the Berber language as an evolved form of

proto-Afro-Asiatic whose elements correspond to those that are predominant in the early stages of Semitic that reached us, the Berber language “traditional” studies distinguishes two main stages in the evolution of this language, both of which are characterized by specific methods of reconstruction.

#### **The pre-Berber stage**

The pre-Berber stage is postulated on the basis of Semitic and/or proto-Afro-Asiatic elements. It would be the first stage in the evolution of this language, which would correspond to the stage of the Semitic language in which ancient documents are written, and which is equated with proto-Afro-Asiatic. Pre-Berber then becomes the stage upon which components of this Semitic stage are projected. Accordingly, pre-Berber and the Semitic of the ancient documents would then share the same structural features, some elements of which would be lost and others altered in Berber during supposed deep reorganizations that it has undergone. The absence, for example, of pharyngeals and laryngeals in the Berber consonant system reconstructed from the Libyan inscriptions of Thouga/Douga<sup>3</sup> is due to the fact that Berber had already lost those consonants as well as other elements of Afro-Asiatic in this stage: « In this whole area of articulation (the pharyngeals and laryngeals), the Hamito-Semitic heritage would have been lost long ago » (Galand, 1988: 210, emphasis added).

Berber would have undergone major reconstructions that have eliminated or altered several of its common Afro-Asiatic features. Being projected onto the proto-Afro-Asiatic, Semitic elements for which no Berber counterparts are found would have therefore been lost (the pharyngeal, the laryngeal ...) or altered during this stage (reduction of ancient Berber triliteral roots into mono and biliteral, decay of its stem systems, alteration of stem-based derivation as well as prefixal and suffixal conjugations, etc...).

The reconstruction method is thus based on the comparison of elements that Berber has lost and those that would have been altered to their Semitic counterparts which are postulated proto-Afro-Asiatic - and thus with their initial forms that are presumably preserved in Semitic:

« This reduction process [of triconsonantal roots] starts at a very early date: some cases of disappearance of consonants can only be demonstrated by comparison with Semitic (which therefore makes them "pre-Berber") » (Chaker, 1995 , 321).

The part of Berber that would be lost and that which would be impaired are rebuilt by comparisons with Semitic postulated proto-Afro-Asiatic where they are preserved. The Berber reconstructed forms are thus found in those to which they correspond in Semitic; Example :

Semitic	Berber
<i>lbs</i> « clothe »	<i>ls</i> « clothe » < <b>LBS</b>
<i>lbb</i> « heart »	<i>ul</i> « heart » < <b>LBB</b>
<i>fwm</i> « mouth »	<i>imi</i> « mouth » < <b>FWM</b>
<i>wqd</i> « burn »	<i>qqd</i> « grill <i>yd</i> « ash » < <b>WQD</b>

(See Cohen, 1947, 171, 183, 184, 197, which is adopted by Chaker, 1995, 221).

If the reconstructed Berber system is similar to that of Semitic, it is because the reconstruction of the former was based on the latter. This consists of restoring, via comparisons with Semitic, supposedly proto-Afro-Asiatic, Berber elements that would have been lost or altered while drifting away. In other words, this amounts to expanding the elements of the early stage of Semitic that were equated with proto-Afro-Asiatic (see above) to provide this language with matching pre-Berber (or very old) elements.

The historical evolution of Berber is thus placed on a historical axis that runs from a Semitic advanced stage that is

postulated proto-Afro-Asiatic to a partially reduced and altered form that makes this language. In doing so, we stayed outside the ancient and modern forms of Berber since we only extended the structural features of this stage of Semitic to this language. In conclusion, the Berber history that was forged had nothing to do with its real history.

### A. The Berber Stage

The Berber stage would have succeeded the previous stage when specific evolutions undergone by this language were initiated. The initial form of Berber or its proto stage/old form of Berber<sup>4</sup>, which corresponds to the common form of modern Berber varieties<sup>5</sup> or Tuareg<sup>6</sup>, would have evolved into modern forms of these varieties which are characterized by dialectal variations. In the former case, evolution of the proto-Berber stage into modern varieties results from dialectal variations characterizing the modern Berber varieties. In the latter case, the differences such evolution results from the variation between Tuareg (Tahaggart) and the rest of modern Berber.

Several methods are thus used to reconstruct proto-Berber or the older form of the language.

#### 1. Interdialectal comparisons

Basset's work was based on interdialectal comparisons to distinguish the fundamental or common elements in modern Berber varieties from those which are dialectal, variable and local (see Basset, 1952). Basset interpreted the results of these comparisons historically, leading to a form of reconstruction, extensively adopted by other Berber scholars (Galand, Chaker and others):

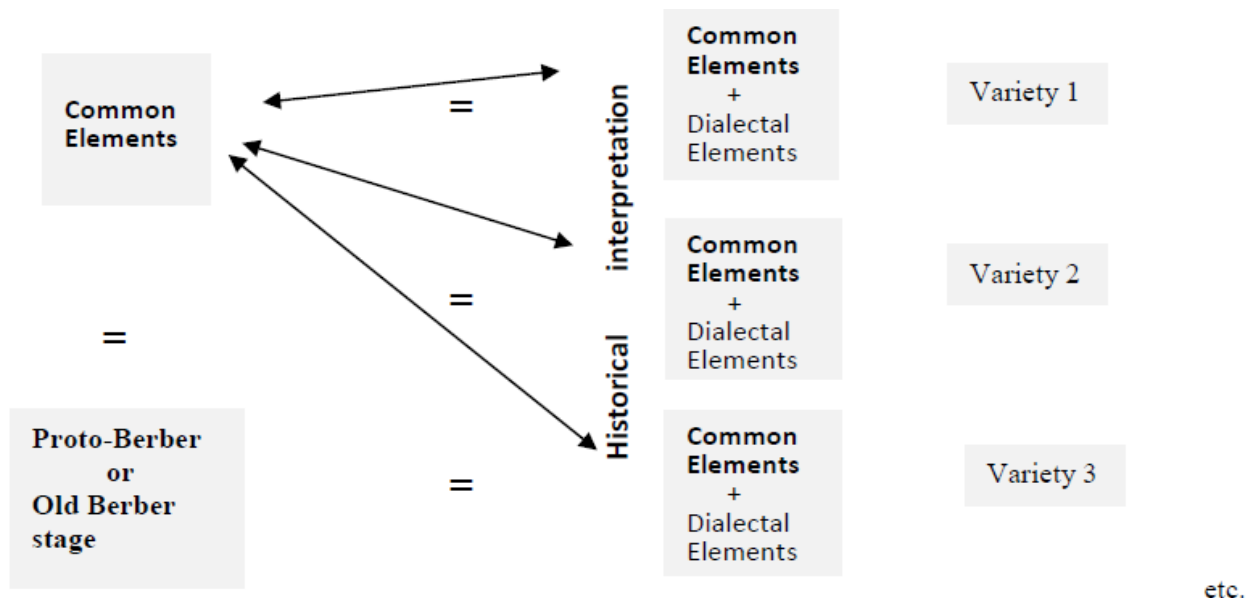


Figure 3. Reconstruction of proto-Berber or old stage Berber by interdialectal comparisons

« **It** [the negative preterit]» **too, is pan-Berber**, with the reservation however, that some dialects seem not to use it; for instance, in the south of Morocco, among the Tachelhit. In the latter, it is obvious that we're not talking about, **the maintenance of a former state, but an evolutionary trend** » (Basset, 1952, 14-15, emphasis by the author).

Elements that are common to the different modern varieties or pan-Berber are considered ancient or proto-Berber in this type of reconstruction while those that are dialectal are considered as resulting from the evolution of the varieties from where they are documented and are, therefore, viewed as modern Berber. Unlike what we're led to believe, it should be noted that this is not a reconstruction method, but the historical interpretation of the results of interdialectal comparisons. This type of reconstruction can be outlined as illustrated in figure 3.

Common or pan-Berber elements that are put forth as proto-Berber or old elements are, however, part of the current systems of modern varieties, from which they are detached by interpreting them historically, to project them onto the supposed old stage or proto-Berber. We assume that the synchronic center of modern Berber varieties<sup>7</sup> (what is common to them) is also a historical center, and the proto-system of which they have evolved. But what is common to these varieties or what is pan-Berber is what they have developed in parallel with a common format. i.e. elements of their current systems. The historical dimension was sandwiched between what is common to the Berber varieties (most of their systems) and what is dialectal, between parts of modern Berber which were considered different historical stages (old or proto-Berber and modern Berber). From this point of view, the evolution of this language from the proto-Berber stage to the current stage comes down to the formation of dialectal variations.

As it turns out, dialectal or geographical variations which are the result of historical evolution are distorted, making it appear like an evolution that only occurred within the modern varieties of Berber (between their common elements and the dialectal ones). The historical interpretation of the results of interdialectal comparisons has thus created a historical evolution of Berber without a historical dimension, an evolution that has nothing to do with the history of this language.

In addition, the results of interdialectal comparisons are determined by those considered pre-Berber and which correspond to Semitic elements postulated proto-Afro-Asiatic, and this was done to accommodate a previously common thought that says that proto-Berber must comply with Semitic elements or at least it should not infirm them. The preverb *ad/a-*, for example, is common to the Berber varieties, but it is not considered proto-Berber

« the oldest - because the more general – of these prethematic markers is certainly the preverb *ad/a* (...) despite **its presence in all Berber dialects, and the homogeneity in its function, this preverb cannot be considered primitive and be assigned to a « common Berber » stage** » (Chaker, 1997: 107, emphasis by the author). The reason is that the verbal opposition between preterit and aorist in proto-Berber, which was modeled on the Semitic opposition between stative – processive, accomplished – unaccomplished, deemed proto-Afro-Asiatic, had no preverbs. Accordingly these preverbs would have been introduced into the verbal Berber system during the Berber stage (see Allati, 2002, 2016b).

Additionally, common or proto-Berber forms are postulated on the basis of a supposed correspondence with their Semitic counterparts. For instance, vowel alternation distinguishing between the preterit and the aorist is not attested in Berber, where the distinction between and the preterit the aorist is obtained by means of (pre)verbal determination preceding the aorist<sup>8</sup>. According to the Berber language scholar tradition, this alleged aspectual opposition in the Berber verbal system and its fundamental nature does not stem from modern or pan-Berber, but from its historical status (see Basset 1952, Galand, 1977). The motivation behind such a hypothesis is simply to align Berber data to the Semitic verbal opposition which is postulated proto-Afro-Asiatic (stative- processive, accomplished-unaccomplished). The current form of this aspectual opposition in Berber is then supposed to be an alteration of the original opposition through time (cf. *ibid*).

## **2. Tuareg (Tahaggart) would have preserved/ would be proto-Berber**

Prasse (see Prasse, 1972-1974) considers Tuareg (Tahaggart) as a variety that would have preserved proto-Berber or at least a form that is very close to it. In this case, it is not the pan-Berber or common elements to modern Berber varieties that are projected onto the proto-Berber (see above), but those of a certain variety among them. Tuareg (Tahaggart) would have remained outside of time since the proto-Berber stage from which it retained the elements. It would be, in Galand's own words, a sort of « survivor dinosaur » (Galand: 2000: 199).

We can outline this type of reconstruction as follows:

Elements of Tuareg (Tahaggart) are thus placed in the proto-Berber stage from which other Berber varieties would have evolved. This is another way to make modern Berber elements evolve one from another by sandwiching the historical dimension between this variety and the others. Tahaggart (see Foucauld, 1951- 1952), and other Tuareg varieties have retained much of the vocabulary stock

because less influenced by external contacts for geographical and historical reasons. However, Tuareg varieties are not more conservative than any other modern Berber variety with respect to other linguistic aspects such as morphology. Indeed, from the morphological point of view, Tuareg varieties are just as advanced as the rest. (see Allati 2002, 2011b/c, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016a/b/c). As a matter of fact, this evolution, which brings Tuareg more than the rest of Berber varieties closer to Semitic, is what backs up Prasse's proposal. The latter results from the historical interpretation of the structural elements of Tuareg (Tahaggart) based on their counterparts in Semitic and which are postulated proto-Afro-Asiatic (see Allati, 2016c).

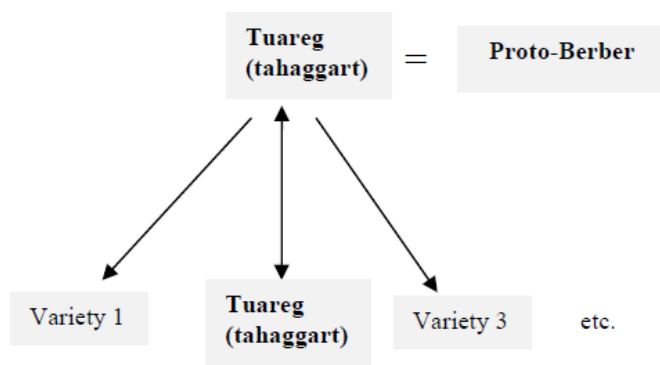


Figure 4. Reconstruction of proto-Berber preserved in Tuareg (Tahaggart)

### 3. Reconstructions based on formal similarities and semantic affinities

The Berber language tradition also follows some kind of reconstruction which is based on formal similarities and semantic affinities. The path drawn by Andre Basset who, for instance, tied the preverb *rad/ra* found in Tachelhit to *ira* « he wanted » 3rd person, masculine, singular of the preterit of the verb *iri* « to want » (cf. Basset, 1952: 37) has been borrowed by several Berber scholars. Examples of this kind of reconstruction are numerous<sup>9</sup>, we choose to illustrate two proposals for the reconstruction of Berber's negation particle (see Allati 2002: 109 -118).

- For Galand (see Galand, 1994), the negation particle *ur* or *wer* comes from *u* « the basis of the negative particle » and *r* which is a reduced form of *ara* « any thing ». This proposition is based on the formal resemblance between the *r* in *ur* or *wer* and *ara* « any thing » which was corroborated by a simple assumption: « If we see that different languages have combined with basic negative a word meaning « something » or « someone », as did Latin (...) and English (...), we can wonder whether Berber's *ur* does

not include the old name *ara* « thing » which would be attached to the negation particle » (ibid, 171).

- Picking up on and supplementing Basset's (see Basset, 1940) and Prasse's (see Prasse, 1972-1974) proposals, Chaker (1996) links the negation particle *wer* and the nominal privative *war* to the verb *ar* « be empty/be barren » that Loubignac (Loubignac 1924: 177; 1925: 487) notes in Tamazight (central Morocco) and whose « semantics **allow to consider it to be the origin of the morpheme negative/privative** » (Chaker, 1996:12, emphasis added). To support this assumption, Chaker suggests a correspondence between this verb and the forms of the Berber negative (*war* and *wer*) by postulating that it had lost the initial *w* (*WR > R*). He even justifies its occurrence in the context of negation by assuming that it originated as a state verb which was first used as an auxiliary before it was grammaticalized into a negation particle.

The two proposals are different, but they both make the forms of the negation particle evolve from modern Berber words (*u* and *ara* « any thing », and *ar*, « be empty/be barren » found in Tamazight) on the basis of formal similarities and semantic affinities.

Moreover, if we scrutinize the major occurrences of the negation particle in Berber, we find that it is also realized as *ul*, *wel*<sup>10</sup> in some varieties such as Tamzabt (Basset 1952: 37). So, these forms have simply evolved into *ur* and *wer*<sup>11</sup> in other varieties. It is therefore not the reduced form of *ara* « any thing » or the verb *ar* « to be empty/to be barren » that are attested in *ur* or *wer/war* (see Allati, ibid). It is thus clear that the Berber language tradition is not as comparative as it is purported to be.

Grammaticalization<sup>12</sup>, which usually requires a long period of time, was used to give the appearance of an evolution which is in fact sandwiched between elements of modern Berber and which the authors try to justify by means of formal similarities and superficial semantics.

These propositions also presume that Berber had no negation particle up to the stage where it has evolved, either *u* « the basis of the negative particle » and the word *ara* « any thing » or the verb *ar* « to be empty/to be barren » found in Tamazight into a negation particle and into a privative *war*. They presuppose as well that the evolution took place without any changes in the elements that have evolved into a negation particle and in the system where it occurred. Also this type of reconstruction disregards both the mechanisms that characterize the evolution of languages as well as the type of evolution undergone by Berber.

## IV. Conclusion

This quick overview of the Semitic-centered conception of Afro-Asiatic and Berber, and the reconstruction methods used by the Berber language scholar tradition and their foundations, show from this point of view, that we know nothing or little to nothing about the earlier forms of this language.<sup>13</sup> Everything happens in an evolved form of Semitic which is at the point of departure and arrival in the pre-Berber stage (see above) and then in modern Berber whose elements are assumed to evolve from each other. A pseudo-history of Berber has been built next to its true story that investigations of which require a totally different type of approach (see Allati 2002, 2011a/b/c, 2015, 2016 a/b).

The Semitic-centered conception of Berber diachrony, in particular the reconstruction methods that Berber language tradition used (comparison to Semitic, and interdialectal comparisons ...) are thus largely responsible for the great delay registered in Berber diachronic research ■

### Endnotes

1. It includes four branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Cushitic and Berber. Greenberg (cf. Greenberg, 1955, 1966) and Diakonoff (cf. Diakonoff, 1988, 1992) have respectively added Tchadic and Omotic which gave the family its current form. The proto-Afro-Asiatic, based on many convergent estimations, predates the 10th millennium B.C.
2. « his (David Cohen) conferences at the École pratique des hautes études, 4th section (...) helped me greatly in placing the Berber facts in the framework of the hamito-semitic » (Galand, 1977, 292).
3. One of the texts found on this site dates from 138 B.C. This system was obtained by drawing correspondences between the Punic graphemes and the Berber graphic signs.
4. Designations vary by researcher.
5. Cf. Basset, 1952, Galand, 1977 among others.
6. Tahaggart, see Prasse, from 1972-1974 and below.
7. They are Berber modern elements
8. The aorist is determined by a preverb or an aspectually marked verb that precedes it in the speech (cf. Basset, 1929, 1952, Galand, 1977 among other publications). Situations where the aorist is formally distinct from the preterit are attested in this context. (cf. Allati, idem).
9. This type of reconstruction is more productive because all it takes is to find a few formal resemblances (identical or similar forms) and, in the best of cases, a few semantic affinities between two modern Berber elements to make one evolve from the other.
10. We also note *ulaš* “there isn’t” kabyle (cf. Basset, idem. 38).
11. Passing from the sound *l* to *r* in Berber is very common; however, the reverse way has not been attested.
12. *u* and the word *ara*, on one hand, and the verb *ar*, on the other, which would have evolved as particle of negation.

13. The Berber scholar tradition has just touched upon the surface of Modern berber elements, which are often described on the basis of structural features of Semitic and French languages (cf. Allati, 2016c, 2016d).

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## Tamazight officialization in Algeria: one step forward, ten steps back!

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### Tamazight is official and national

The new Algerian Constitution was adopted on February 7 and promulgated on March 6, 2016. In the present article, we scrutinize the meaning and the wording of the official status granted to Tamazight. We therefore spare the reader the details regarding the non-democratic circumstances under which the Constitution was elaborated and promulgated.

For the first time in the history of independent Algeria, the Constitution recently adopted by the Algerian parliament, has recognized Tamazight as "the OTHER official language" [emphasis added]. We are well aware of the historical scope and importance of such a decision, in the sense that it has definitely broken what was once a political taboo. As far as the phrasing is concerned, however, there are some significant drawbacks, especially when we consider the legitimate expectations of Amazigh speakers in Algeria. One of the significant drawbacks is the creation of a "second zone" status for Tamazight, which is synonymous of *ghettoization*.

### Antiphrasis to mean that Tamazight is NOT the official language of the State

As it happens, Article 3 of the new Constitution stipulates that "Arabic is [THE] national and official language" [emphasis added]. This claim, which was inherited from the previous constitutions, remained unchanged despite the fresh recognition of Tamazight as one of the official languages. The definite article *the*, which was grammatically understandable when Arabic was the only official language, now raises a lot of questions. First we wondered if this was not a mistake. But the next line, within the same Article 3, makes it clear that the drafters of the Constitution were really up to something. Indeed, the next line clears out the doubt as it states "Arabic [REMAINS THE] official language of the State" [emphasis added].

This statement, which is an addition in the new Constitution, raises a lot of questions. First, what does that mean for Arabic to "[REMAIN THE] official language of the



State” [emphasis added]? The rhetoric is interesting enough! It is simply used as an antiphrastic statement to mean that Tamazight is NOT the official language of the State. The verb “remain” used for Arabic is not trivial. It means “no change” or “things will be as they have always been.” The use of the definite article [The] confirms this interpretation: “the” here means Arabic is unique in this role.

The official status of Tamazight is announced in Article 4 as follows: “Tamazight is also national and official.” The phrase “Tamazight is also a national language” is inherited from then previous Constitution, the phrase “and official” is an addition.

### **According to UNESCO, official language means official language of the State**

Thus, unlike Arabic, Tamazight is not an official language of the State. What is behind this distinction in the mind of the drafters of the Constitution? The status of “official language” is defined by the UNESCO as “a language used in administrative activities: legislature [i.e. parliament], executive [i.e. government] and judiciary [i.e. judicial or court system]. The official language [of a country] is mentioned in the country’s Constitution [...]”. If Tamazight is not an official language of the State, then the official status becomes meaningless. Therefore, according to this same Constitution that has announced its official status, Tamazight cannot be official. This is in itself unique in the history of language policy worldwide. It leaves no doubt that the Algerian regime is determined to keep the privilege of the official status to Arabic.

We then wonder why bother announce Tamazight as official in the new Constitution, while wrapping it at the same time in such a rhetoric that makes it unofficial. Here are some elements that help us understand this trickery. The first reason is because the Algerian regime is no longer in a situation where it can impose or announce a new Constitution without addressing the Amazigh rights claims or else it faces a systematic unrest from the Kabyles, if not from all Amazigh speakers, including the Chawi, Ayt Mزاب and the Touareg. Furthermore, the regime has been in such an instable and fragile posture that if such unrest happens, it is very likely that other regions follow suit, with the risk that the situation falls out of the regime’s control, especially when we know that Islamic terrorism is still a threat in that country. The second reason is the fear of the regime to see more and more Kabyles radicalize, taking the political move towards the Movement for the Self-determination of Kabylia, which has been gaining momentum as shown by their recent demonstrations organized in Kabylia. As it happens, more and more

Kabyles are getting disillusioned by the legal democratic political parties entrenched in Kabylia, notably the FFS and the RCD, as the political game has become completely locked by the regime. The third reason comes from Morocco as both regimes are in an open cold war because of the Western Sahara question. Morocco has recently been showing off its support to the Movement the Autonomy of Kabylia by receiving its leaders, including Ferhat Mhenni, who is the President of the Kabyle Provisional Government in exile. Moreover, Morocco has officially raised the Kabyle question at the United Nations. Adding to this that the Moroccan government had already granted the official status to Tamazight in the Constitution, albeit in very similar tricky paraphrase that makes it unofficial, in the way explained above for Algeria. Consequently, the Algerian regime being in a situation whereby it can no longer ignore the calls for the officialization of Tamazight without suffering serious political consequences, needs to find a tactic to give with one hand and take away with the other. The main drive behind this in-name-only official recognition is of course buying time.

### **Winking at: buying time, control and Arabicization**

We got the wink. By making Tamazight official in name, the regime hopes to buy time, control its evolution and push forward and deeper the process of Arabicization in the Kabyle space that has been so resistant. The idea of buying time is explicit in Article 4 of the Constitution, where it says “An Algerian Academy of the Amazigh Language, placed directly under the control of the President of the Republic. Based on the works of experts in the domain, the Academy is in charge of gathering the conditions for promoting Tamazight in order to materialize, over time, its official language status [emphasis added]”. Although both Arabic (in Article 3) and Tamazight (in Article 4) are announced to benefit from a creation of new institutions directly under the President of the Republic, the agenda will certainly be different. There is no doubt that the intention is prodigious as far as Arabic is concerned. Things are much less obvious with regards to Tamazight. Through all the years when the regime has prohibited Tamazight and ignored the claims from Amazigh activists, Tamazight has been successfully taken care of by Amazigh scholars, academics and activists, investing their own time, money and energy. The results and progress achieved is scientifically tremendous, gaining its share among scientific and literary publications and guaranteeing it academic space within Western universities and school boards. Now that the regime knows it has no other choice than to make Tamazight official in the Constitution, prevarication has become the key. First, the

regime wants to have control over all the language institutions to be created, including academic ones, which, in a twist of irony, are supposed to be exclusively objective and independent from the political sphere, whose lack of credibility and integrity is plain public knowledge to say the least. It is in the light of these elements that the intention of placing the “[...] Algerian Academy of the Amazigh Language [...] directly under the control of the President of the Republic”, stipulated in Article 4, is to be interpreted.

Furthermore, in the Article 178, the authors of this later gave a list of institutions and principles that could not be reversed in future amendments: The Republic, multipartism, Democracy, Islam as the religion of the state, Arabic as the official language of the state, national anthem and

flag, the two term limit presidency, Algeria is a land of Islam, integral part of the Great Maghreb, an Arab, Mediterranean and African country. Again, one can notice the absence of any reference to the Amazigh heritage of Algeria.

### **Objectivity does not grow on the regime’s trees**

Unfortunately, the nature and mechanisms of control that the regime is putting in place are ideologically oriented. For instance, while the question as to which alphabet to adopt for Tamazight had already been settled by scholars and academics within the academic sphere following an interrupted tradition of more than a century old, the regime’s spontaneous “academics” and “specialists” of

*(Continues on page 25)*

## **Tameywant Seg Yillel**

**John Steinbeck**

**Tasuqilt yer teqbaylit n “The Pearl” syur Arezki Boudif**

### **Ahric 1<sup>ru</sup>**

**D**eg temdint ssawalen tamacahut n tmeɣwant, amek i tt-id-ufan, amek i tt-sɣuhen. Ttalesen dayen yef Kino, ašeggad iselman, d tmettut-is, Juana, akked llufan-nsen, Koyotito. Deg mi tamacahut-agi ssawlen-tt ayen-din d tikkelt, tuɣal trešša deg wallay n yal amdan .Am akken di yal tadyant i yettwalsen armi tekcem deg wulawen n yemdanen, deg-s ala tiyawsiwin n diri akked tid yelhan, d tiberkanin neɣ d timellalin, tid n lewqama akked d tid n ccer, ulac tid i d-yusan di tlemmast.

Tura, ma yella tamacahut-agi deg-s kra urnamek, ahat yal yiwen ar a s-isslen ad yaf deg-s anamek i s-d-yusan yef wul, a tt-yettwali amzun d lemri n tmeddurt-is.

Akka, qqaren di temdint d akken...

Kino yuki-d zdat n tafrara, mazal tillas ddlent tamurt. Itran mazal uyen igenni, ma d ass akken kan ibda yettak-d tafat yer tama n wadda n igenni metwal asammer. Iyuzad aṭas aya segmi bdan tuddna, ma d ilfan imegraden i yettakin zik, la tettin izeyran d tfectin, ahat ad d-afen kra ufetfut n wučči yeffren ddaw-nsen. Berra n taɛcciwt, yiwet n tegrurt n yegdaḍ sekkren ahiḥa, s tafriwin-nsen akked usfirec.

Allen n Kino ldint-d, dya immuqel yer wemkuz-nni n

tafat i d-tegga tewwurt, syin akin yezzi tamuyli-s yer dduḥ anida yettes Koyotito. Ger taggara izzi-d aqerruy-is yer Juana, tamettut-is, izzlen yer tama-s deg ussu, lizarines iddel-as anzaren-is, idmaren-is akked d tama n wadda n uzagur-is. Ula d allen n Juana ldint. Seg wass m’i d-yecca, werḡin i d-yufi allen n Juana qqnent m’ar a d-yakwi. Allen-is d tiberkanin, ttuɣalen-d seg-sent inzizen n tafat amzun d itran. La tettekkir yer Kino am akken tennum tettekkir yur-s yal ass m’ar a d-takwi.

Kino yesla i wɛelbeṭ n lmujat-nni n tafrara mi d-kkatent ijdi n teftist. Yestaḥla – Dya yuɣal iqqen allen-is akken ad issel i uzawan-nni. Ahat ala netta i ytteggen akka, ney ahat medden akw deg wegdud-is teggen akka ula d nutni. At wegdud n Kino llan zik d ieabbwajen n tezlatin, armi kra n wayen walan ney ggan ney iwumi slan ad as-ggen tizlit. Amaena, aya-gi dayen yezrin. Tizlatin-a gwrant-d, Kino issen-itent, maca ulac tid i d-irnan yer teqdimin-nni. Ullamma nenna-d akka, mačči ulac tizlatin igga ney issen yiwen. Akka imir-a, deg wallay n Kino tella yiwet n tezlit, tefseḥ u d taḥlawant, lemmer i s-d-tettunnefk teswiet a d-yemmeslay fella-s, ad as-isemmi Tizlit n Twacult.

Kino issuli tafersadit nnig wanzaren-is akken ad idduri seg uzwu-nni iymelen. S tyawla, izzi tamuyli-nes yer kra uskerwec yer tama-s. Ziy d Juana i d-iqerben yur-s war ma tegga dderz. Iḍarren-is ḥafi, tekker u tuɣ yer dduḥ-nni anida ittes Koyotito, tdall-as yerna tenna-as awal d

*(Continues on page 20)(Tettkemmil deg usebter wis 21)*

## IMAL N TEZWAWT ATAN DEG IFASSEN N IZWAWEN

Syur Mastan At uAmran

**T**uget n yeqbayliyen (izwawen) ass-a, zran d acu i d -heggan izzayriyen i teqbaylit (tezwawt) seg wasmi yebda umennuy akk d umnekcama aḥḥansis, maca si Tefsut n tmanyin ar ass-a Izwawen mazal-iten ckuntḡden deg ijifar n Lezzayer tarasist d udabu i y-iqqazen azekka.

Uqbel ad tefru lḡirra d umnekcama aḥḥansis, adabu azzayri ira ad ibeddel tamurt-nney a tt-yerr d taḥḥabt-tineslemt, tebya ney ur tebyi. Izwawen zemren kan ad idiren di tmurt-nnsen ma yella qeblen ad uyalen d wiyad, mulac wa a t-nyen, wa a t-ḥbesen, wa a t-nfun alamma wwḡden s iswi nnsen anida ur d-igerru ubziz seg wayen ittusemman d amaziyy. Yas akken nukid di tefsut n tmanyin, yas akken nenjer-ed abrid, nuyal neḡḡa-t yuli-t lehḡic. Assaḡi ad as-tiniḡ Azwaw yeeya, yegguma ad idifandi yef yiman -is. Ilha-d kan d uebbud-is, axxam-is, d tkerrust-is. Cwiḡ cwit Azwaw yettuyal d Aḥḥrab ney d wayeḡ. Eeddi-d kan di Tizi, Bḡayet ney Tubirett, teldiḡ tamezzuyt bac ad tfaqqeḡ aḡal terwi.

Ihi izwawen ilaq ad zren belli, ibawen n tmagit-nnsen ttewwan. Nessaram ad lḡin allen-nnsen ad faḡen belli d nutni kan i d imawlan n tmagit tazwawt, maḡi d wiyad. Amek ?

**Tamezwarut : tameslayt tedder s wid i tt-yesseqdacen.** Tameslayt ur nettuseqdac, abrid-is yer usalay (musee). D Izwawen kan i yzemren ad utlayen s tezwawt. Ur nezmir ara a nessuter deg weyref nniḡen ad imeslay tazwawt deg umḡiḡ nney. Aḥḥaben izedyen tamurt n Imaziyyen, yellan d Imaziyyen qbel ad uyalen d wiyad, ur byin tamaziyyt. Ihi d nukni kan. Ilaq a tt-nemeslay, a tt-nettaru, a tt-nesselmad i tarwa-nney akken a d-tegri i yezwawen n uzekka.

**Tis snat : yewwi-yay tḡmeḡ, nettraḡu deg udabu a y-tt-id-isers deg uḡbsi** Dagi nefka tiyita i yiman nney. Neḡmeḡ tuzza deg uqelwac. Walit kan d acu ixeddem udabu i yezwawen akk d tezwawt:

a/ Sbedden-d HCA, d ajeylal kan, d ilem. Yiwet n tiddukla tamejtuḡt am ACAA ([www.tamazgha.org](http://www.tamazgha.org)) tessufuy-ed tikwal ugar n wayen d-yessufuy HCA n yedlisen. Tiyussar (le budget) d amezyan, rnu-yas ahat kra n usexser, sali imir tamaziyyt. Bla ma neḡseb-ed aḥḡcem i y-tḡheccimen yezwawen n sserbis yellan daxe-lis.

b/ Sbedden-d tilizri s tmaziyyt (Tilizri tis-4), maca tuyal d

tilizri swayes ara y-yeḡlen, a y-tḡheccimen. Teḡḡur d taḥḥabt d tineslemt akk d yezwawen n sserbis. Yif ulac-itt. Izwawen i tt-yessikiden fkan iqerray-nnsen i ujenwi n taḥḥabt d udebex s ddin.

c/ Tamaziyyt tettwassay deg uyerbaz, maca win ibyan kan ara tt-yeeren. Yuyal yeḡli wazal-is ger inelmaden. Yerna ssufuyen-as-d idlisen ur neudd ara yer yedles azwaw ney amaziyy. Ma d tira-nni yettwafernen aḡal aya, byan a tt-reen s taḥḥabt. Iselmaden xusḡen, wid itkelfen deg tyuri ttwazenzen akk, tuyal-asen tmaziyyt d abrid s akersi d uḡurdi.

d/ Wid iḡemeen deg udabu a sen-d-yexdem kra, byan tamaziyyt ad tuyal d tunḡibt u sfehmen-d belli ma tuyal d tunḡibt, ikfa leetab yef imeynasen. Wissen d acu ara xedmen imeynasen-agi ma ifuk leetab? Wissen ahat imir-n ad kfun imeynasen! D lmuḡal ak wayagi, ayen ur d-iḡell ara umdan s tidi-s, ayen ur yebni ara s tezmert-is, amek ara yerḡu llsas-is ney amek ara yiziḡ deg imi?

At zik, lejduḡ nney, xemmlen i yiyallen-nnsen , rran tizḡi d tibḡirt swayes ddren. Bnan ixxamen s uzru, akal, d wesyar i d-kksen seg tmurt, maḡi d adabu i sen-d-yefkan 70 imelyunen. Hemmley icifaḡ tḡlusun yemyaren n zik acku d irkasen i xedmen izwawen s ifassen-nnsen! (s weglim n yezgaren-nnsen d tidi-nnsen). Hemmley abernus i yi-tezḡa yemma acku yef ufus azwaw i d-yeffey.

Lejduḡ-nney ma ur zmiren ara i kra, ssawḡen-t-id s lkumiḡs. Bnan timḡuryin (les industries) : ssufuyen-d lehḡwal swayes xedmen tamurt d leslaḡ swayes tḡnayan. S leslaḡ i d-fabrikin nutni i sawyes nnuyen akk d Fraḡsa. Lejduḡ-nney ddren di tlelli armi ten-terza Fraḡsa di 1856 aked 1871.

Izwawen n tura sawalen i udabu ad asen-d-ixdem yal tayawsa.

Ttexmim icban wagi ittawi yer uzaglu akk d nnger. Ittawi yer tmuḡqranit akk d lmut. Ma neḡḡa kullec deg ifassen udabu, yeffey-ay rray, dayen terwi fella-ney.

**Tis tḡata: Taluf t n Tmaziyyt tunḡibt di tmurt ur nessin d acu i d azref.**

Zwaren rran-tt d tameslayt tayelnawt. D awal yersen di lkayeḡ. Tamendawt yugar deg wazal lkayeḡ yef tettwura, acku tagi d tamendawt n wid ur nettamen ara s izerfan n

wemdan. Tamendawt n Lezzayer d adlis n tmucuha ak d tkerkas. Adlis-agi n tmucuha ur d-tewwi ara a t-necrek ak d lyaci ukud ur needil ara d lyaci ur ay-nebyi ara. Anida akka llan izzayriyen d-ikkren di 80 ney di 2001 asmi nyelli am yizan ? Asmi y-ttarran yer lehbas, asmi y-kkaten ! Acu i y-icerken d wid ifernen Palestine zdat uzar? Amek ihi ara necrek tamendawt akk d wigi ?

Rran Tamaziyt d tayelnawt, maca ur s-ggin acemma. Assa rran-tt d tunšibt, illa wacu ara s-ggen? Tuyal d tunšibt deg wawal. Rran-tt deffir taerabt, tuyal d tarbibt di kullec. Dacu yezmer ad ittkel wemdan yef udabu am wagi ? S yisem n uqbayli n sserbis Hmed Uyeħya i yay-d-nnan belli tamaziyt mazal ur tewwid ara d tutlayt ara yilin d tunšibt. Ihi tlaq-as « l'académie » ara tt-id-išeggmen. « L'académie » a tt-sselħun kra n Imaziyen n sserbis ara tt-yerren ad tettwaru s taerabt...

Ihi adabu ixdem ayen ixdem akken ad ikellex mači i yiwen, mači i sin: Wid ikkaten yef taerabt-tineslemt atnan ferħen acku tamaziyt tuyal deffir n taerabt. Imaziyen ittargun tixsayin ferħen acku ters deg udlis-nni n tmucuha. Ula d imeynasen yeeyan ad staefun! Iberřaniyen-nni isneemalen belli byan izerfan d tugdut di tmurt n Lezzayer, atan la asen-qqaren belli Lezzayer tuza yer tugdut d izerfan. Nutni ad sneemlen, ad medlen allen-nnsen yef twayiwın d-yedlen yef weyref, bac akken ad glun s imelyunen. Wigi yettfen leħkem, d winna kan i ten-iceyben, ad kemmlen ad ħekmen!

Si zik asenfař n udabu azzayri d aseereb n Imaziyen. Ur ibeddel ara s tmendawt agi tis-4 ney tis-5. M'ara ymuqel wemdan, ad yaf belli s kra n wemdiq i s-fkan i tmaziyt yuwal d tıfıxett (lfiŋga) deg ara tettwařtef/tettwařreħ. Meħsub segmi tettaz yer zdat deg yedrisen izzayriyen, segmi tettuyal yer deffir deg uzerf n tidett. Mači d asenšeb n tmaziyt i byan, d asenšeb n tmuħqranit-is. Akka, ttawın-d akud yissney, nukni ur nesei akud s wařas. Eeddi-d kan di Tizi ney Bgayet, ldi tamezzuyt bac ad tfaqeđ belli ur nesei ařas n wakud.

### **D acu i d ixef-is ihi ?**

Tazwawt n yezwawen mači n waeraben ney n irumyen... Mači n icinwatan diyen ! Ihi issefk d Izwawen ara tt-yeselħayen. Issefk a d-nessker iyerbazen i yiman-nney, ara nettxelliš s yiman-nney akken ad tyer tarwa-nney tameslayt-nney, idles-nney, amezruy-nney, d wazalen-nney. Ulamek ara nettkel ayen swayes i nedder d nukni, d Izwawen, yef wiyad. Ařas ařas tagi n uselmed/usegmi n weyref-nney. Iyerfan akk wiyad bnan timura-nnsen, iyerbazen, d yedles-nnsen. Acimi ur nettili ara d ayref am wiyad, a nizmır i yiman-nney ?

Qqaren at zik « bařel ibřel ney : bedd ad twaliđ, ruħ a d-awiđ, qim ulac ». Adabu, d ttxemim n Fransa (d nettat i d-yeđđan adabu-agi d nettat i s-iteggen ifadden) xedmen degney axessař. Ssuyen-ay tanumi, ur nezmir a nexdem kra. Ayagi iskanay-ed ayref yuyen tanumi d uzaglu, ney ma tebyam ayref iřuħen tilleli ines. Nettkel kullec yef udabu, dya neđđa-yas řray. Maca, **win isemħen di řray-is, isemmeħ deg wayla-s**. Wagi mači d adabu i nefren ad iħkem fellaney. Yekka-d si nnig-nney am umnekcem, ma d nukni tedra yidney am ugdiđ di lqebz. Nettraju ad ay-d-ıfk kra n webziz a t-nečč, aħerrek ulac. Yernu, adabu illa d adabu yef wid i t-iqeblen, wid i s-yefkan laman. Assagi ilaq ad as-nekkes laman i udabu-agi, a t-nyanzu. Lexyuđ i y-icudden yures d widak n ssif d tugdi. Iwweđ-ed lawan a ten-nesseyres. D lawan ad tekfu tugdi. Ad yuwal řray yerney, yer tlawın d yergazen ara nefren am wakken nferren si zik irgazen di tjemmuyae-nney. Ihi akken a nettef řray, ilaq d nukni ara ysewwqen yef yiman-nney di yal tama. Maca, řray ur ittili bla axemmel n iyalen. Lħerma tettas-ed i win icerrwen tidi, isteqnæen s wayen i d-yewwi s iyalen-is. Izwawen ilaq ad syersen lexyuđ i ten-icudden yer lfiŋga, ad xemmlen i yyalen-nnsen, ad bnun timetti-nnsen, timetti deg ara ħerben yef tmeslayt-nnsen, laewayed-nnsen, azalen-nnsen d yiman-nnsen.

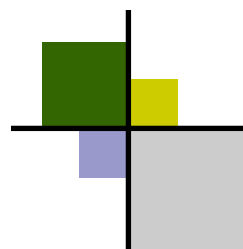
Ass-nni tazwawt ad tili d tunšibt di tmurt n yezwawen. Ma di Lezzayer a neđđ izzayriyen ad as-d-afen ixef-is!

### **Meyres 2016**

1. Aseqdec isca ařas n wudmawen: ameslay, tira, aseqdec deg uyerbaz, deg yedles, deg wahl, deg imedqan tt-id-isbanayen am tilizri, řadyu, iymisen, atg. Aseqdec n tmeslayt deg wexxam izwar-itent akk, acku dinna i tettenkar tarwa nney. Ma yfat teffey tezwawt seg uxxam, aseqdec ines anida nniđen ad iwæer.

2. Wagi d awal n třumit: meħsub a d-yers kullec weħdes kan bla ma neřteb nukni. Adabu ad ixdem kullec.

3. BRTV ak d kra imeynasen d-igren tiyri i " tamaziyt d tutlayt tuniřibt" reřden awal agi, xedmen yiwet n " la campagne" i deg nnan belli d wađi kan i d abrid. Tamaziyt ad tuyal d tunšibt, ad ikfu leřtab, dya ayref-nney, tamurt-nney, a nuwal akk " řa va" .



amectuḥ akken a d-Ihulfu i lehnana n tyemmat. Dya immuqel-d, yuḡal yunef-asent i wallen-is medlent, s ttawil, yuḡal yer yiḡes.

Syin akin, Juana tḡerreb yer ukanun, terwi-d iyed-nni armi d-tufa yiwet n tirget ur nexsi, dya tḡud-itt armi d tuyaḡ d azeggayt u terna fella-s kra n uxecbacu aquran i-deg tetḡef tmes.

Tura Kino ikker-d, ma d taduli-nni yines mazal tenned yef uqerruy-is, anzaren-is akked tuyat-is. Yessekcem idarḡen-is di tsehḡabin dya yeffey yer berḡa akken ad iferḡeḡ deg wass-nni i d-ittlalen.

Iqqim zdat n wemnaḡ u ijmeḡ-d ijufaḡ n tferḡadit-nni i-deg ittel yef tgecrar-is. Banent-as-d ccwami usigna deg yigenni, nnig Umeynuj-nni n yillel. Dya tuz-d yiwet n tayaḡ, tebda la tettcemcim deg-s, tuyaḡ tefka-as-d kra n tmuyli d tasemmaḡt s wallen-nni yines tiwrayin. Deffir-s, deg taḡciwt, times-nni tessay Juana teqqel d ajajih, la tetḡeggir ifetḡiwjen yer yal tama, terna tefka tafat yer berḡa seg yefli n tewwurt. Yiwen ufertetḡu n yiḡ la yettezzi am akken itnadi times-nni. Dya, s deffir, tekcem-d yer imezzuyen n Kino kra n tezlit. D Tizlit-nni n Twacult. Ziḡ ḡḡda n tezlit n twacult iwumi isell tekka-d seg uberray-nni tesseqdac Juana mi tberri akwbal akken a d-seww tiḡbulin i tiremt n tafrara.

Azal yewweḡ-d s tyawla, seg uzḡureq yer weḡureq, s tefsas, din tetḡerdeḡ-d temlel n tafat mi d-yuli yiḡij si tama n Umeynuj. Kino issuder tamuyli-s akken ad iḡareb yef wallen-is seg tedwast n tafat-nni. Tura yewweḡ-d yer imezzuyen-is dderz mi tmessel Juana tiḡbulin-nni n wekwbal akked rriḡa-nsent mi tewwant yef ubufraḡ. Tiwetḡufin di tmurt, nutenti ceylent. Llant kra d tiberkanin s tfeḡka iberḡḡen, llant dayen kra d timeḡḡuḡin, yuli-tent uyeḡbaḡ, ttḡawalent di tikli. Kino la yettmuqul deg twestḡufin-nni s tmuyli n urebbit, yiwet deg tidak yuli uyeḡbaḡ la tetḡeraḡad a d-sellek iman-is si tesraft n yejdi i s -yudi ubeḡeuc iwumi qqaren aweḡḡuf-izem. Yiwen uqeḡjun, akken d aḡaḡfan, d imsetḡi, yuz-d yer wanida iqqim kino. Akken kan i d-yesla i wawal-nni aḡlawan i s-inna Kino, yeskwernenni iman-is, yezzi-d tajeḡniḡ-is i ydarḡen-is, yuḡal issers taqerruyt-is s ttawil yer tmennayt-nni i d-yegga. Aqeḡjun-a d aberkan, s ccwami tiwḡrayin deg yimukan anida ilaq ad ilint tammwin-is. Ta d tafrara am tafrariwin nniḡen amaḡna tusa-d txulef.

Kino yesla i wnejqeq n wemrar mi d-tekkes Juana si dduḡ Koyotito, mi s-tessared u tettel-it di lizaḡ-nni i t-cudd akken a d-iwaei yer yiff-is. Kino iwala yakkw tiḡawsiwin-a war ma immuqel ḡur-sent. Juana tura la tcennu yiwet n tezlit taqdimt i yesḡan kan krad n tergalin maca azal n

ḡḡdawi deg-s ifad. Taḡi dya d yiwet di tezlatin n twacult. Tekka i yal amḡiq, teḡḡur yakkw tallunt i d-izzin. Tikwal tessalay di tayect alamma tuyaḡ tkerḡeḡ deg ugerḡum, akken ad tini wagi d laman, da i temlal tasa d wi turew, da d kra ma yella.

Agemmaḡ i zzeḡb-nni i d-izzin i taḡciwt, llant taḡciwin tiyyaḡ, ansi i d-itteffey dayen wabbu akked dderz n uherkel yef tiremt n tafrara. Imezdayen-nsent ḡur-sen tizlatin-nsen, ula d ilfan-nsen mxalafen, tilawin n yexxamen-nni maḡḡi am Juana. Kino mazal-it d ilemzi, mazal iḡhed ufud-is. Icubay-is iberkanen ḡlin-d yef wenyir-is i yessery yiḡij. Allen-is deg-sent tashuli xas ulamma qessḡent u berrqent, ma d cclayem-is d irqaqen, d iherḡawanen. Tura iḡubb-d tafersadit-nni seg wanzaren-is acku azwu-nni n tillas, i d-igellun s waḡḡan, dayen icrew-it yiḡij-nni i d-idhenen axxam s tafat-is. Din, rrif n zzeḡb, sin iyuzad ttayen, wa ittanez i wa, kkatn ad mseḡfalen, afriwen refden, rric n imeḡraḡ-nsen ibuḡref. Iban kan akka d amennuy ibujaden, acku maḡḡi d iyuzad n wurar. Kino iferḡeḡ deg-sen kra n yimir yuḡal izzi tamuyli-s yer wesrifeg n tegrurt iziḡuḡen irran metwal tamurt, yer tama n tyaltin. Tura ddunit akkw tuki, dya ula d netta ikker ikcem s axxam.

Kino ikka-d seg yimi n tewwurt mi d-tekker Juana seg tesga ukanun anida tella teqqim. Tessers Koyotito deg dduḡ dya tebda tmeceḡ amzur-nni yines aberkan iwumi tegga snat n tzuraz, terna tcudd ixef n tzuraz-nni s ḡacit tazegzawt. Kino iqeed iman-is yer tama ukanun, iddem-d yiwet n teḡbult n wekwbal i yessasen di kra n wessqi u yeḡḡa-tt. Yerna iswa ciḡḡuḡ di tisiḡ-nni iwumi semman “pulk”, dya d ta i d tiremt. Seg wasmi i d-yecfa, d wa i d uḡḡi n tiremt n ḡḡbeḡ anagar n wussan n tḡaska, akked yibbwas mi qrib immut seg wuḡḡi n teḡbult tazidant. Mi yekfa Kino, teqqim-d Juana yer tama ukanun u teḡḡa ula d nettat tiremt-is n tafrara. Myentaqen yiwet n tikkelt, maca ulayyer asuget n wawal imi ameslay yuḡal d tannumi kan. Kino irra-d nnehta n tawant - d win i d aḡesser-is.

Iḡij tura isseḡma taxxamt-nni, ittak-d inzizen n tafat yer waguns seg teflatin gar iḡeccaqen swiyes tettwabna taḡciwt-nni. Dya yiwen deg-sen yewwet yer dduḡ anida itḡes Koyotito, akked imurar-nni swiyes ijḡugel.

Wehhan tamuyli-nsen yer dduḡ-nni mi walan kra yenwawel. Ayen walan issegres tifeḡkiwin-nsen: Gef yiwen deg yimurar-nni yetḡfen dduḡ, d tiyirdemt, la tleḡḡu, s ttawil, d akwsar metwal Koyotito. Ulamma tisiqest-is ters, tetḡafar-d tafekka-s, tezmer a tt-id-ssali deg weḡmac n ḡiḡ.

Abuneggif-nni irekben Kino ibda ittseffir deg

wanzaren-is dya ildi imi-s akken a t-iħbes. Yuḡal iēdda-t uħulfu-nni n win ur neħtam taswiet tura ikcem-d facul tafekka-s. Dya tetterdeq-d deg umezzuḡ-is tezlit d tamaynut, d tin n yemcumen, d azawan n ucengu, n wexšim n twacult, d aweħci, d abadni, d ššda tamihawt seddaw-as, isla i tađat n tezlit-nni n twacult la tettru s unazeē.

Tiyirdemt-nni la tettmurud s ttawil d akwsar di lewhi n dduħ. Akken ur d-terri nnefs, Juana teyra-d kra n tawalt n zik ittqarriēen imcumen, yerna tsedda-as-d sufella tajmilt i Lalla Meryem, yemma-s n Šisa, akken gar tuymas-is izeyyēn. Ma d Kino, isenser-d tafekka-s s ttawil, war dderz ney askerwec, ifassen-is žlen yer zdat, idiklen ifassen-is wehhan d akwsar ma d izri-s ur t-id-ikkis yef tyirdemt-nni. Si dduħ-nni anida izzel, Koyotito iđsa-d, ifassen-is žlen yer wanida akken tella. Tiyirdemt, nettat, tħulfa d akken illa kra i d-yužen yur-s dya tbedd yerna terfed tisiqest-is taseflalayt u tebda tessewsaē yis.

Kino ur inguga. Isla i Juana mi d-tules s icenfiren-is tawalt n zik ittarran imcumen, isla dayen i uzawan-nni amcum n ucengu. Ittraġu arma telħa tyirdemt ar a yaz ula d netta. Ma d tiyirdemt tħulfa am akken illa kra ittnadin a tt-id-yadu. Kino iszazay afus-is s ttawil, s ttawil. Tiyirdemt thegga-d tisiqest nnig uqerruy-is. Dya tađsa n Koyotito thuzz dduħ, tesseyli-d tyirdemt seg wemrar-nni anida teckuntēd.

Afus n Kino yaēređ a s-d-yekk s wadda akken a tt-id-ittef, maca tensor-as gar iđudan, tetterdeq yef tayet n llufan, tessenta tisiqest-is. Din immermey fella-s Kino, ihella-tt-id gar iđudan-is, issefsex-itt armi tuḡal am urekwti. Iđegger-itt d akwsar u yebda la s-yettak iwekkimen di tmurt, ma d Koyotito ameybun la yettru, la yettizif seg usegri dinna di dduħ-is. Kino ikemmel la iyeyyez deg tyirdemt-nni s yidarren-is armi tuḡal d talexxa deg wakal. Icenfiren qelben, tuymas zeyyerent, allen-is irkeb-itent wurrif, dya tetterdeq-d deg yimezzuḡen-is ššda n Tezlit-nni Ucengu.

Tyawel Juana terfed-d llufan-nni, ha-t-an tura gar ifassen n yemmas. Tufa tezwey n teflit-nni anida tessenta tyirdemt tisiqest-is. Tħella-tt-id ger icenfiren-is u tsumm-d, tessusef ayen i d-iddan s imi-s, teawed-as tikkelt nniđen, ma Koyotito ur iħbis imettawen.

Kino, si tama-s, la yettredwi kan, ur izmir i kra n tallalt, la yesqurrue kan. Inaragen uzzlen-d mi d-slan i ymettawen n Koyotito. Mmaren-d yakw yer zdat n taēcciwinn-nni — gma-s n Kino, Juan Tomás, akked tmettut-is Apolonia, yiwet n tzurant akken, akked kuḡ (4) n warraw-nsen, ččuren-d imi n tewwurt, settefen-d liħala, ma d ineggura i

d-yewweđen la ttearađen a d-walin yer dixel n texxamt-nni, yiwen wegrud idderdeb-d gar idarren n imezwura-nni armi d-yewweđ yer zdat akken ad iwali. Dya imezwura-nni i d-yufan amekkan yer zdat la ssawađen yer deffir isal n wayen yeđran — “D tiyirdemt. Teqqes llufan.”

Juana teħbes asummu seg wemkan n tuqsa kra n yimir. Tiflit-nni tettban-d tura tehraw terna tezzi-yas-d temlel seg usummu, ma d bazug-nni azeggay innerna igga taēqqurt n idammen d taqurant. Lyaci-ya ssen tiyirdmawin, žran d akken amdan ameqran ad yađen nezzeh ma teqqes-it yiwet, ma d agrud ney llufan, izmer ad immet si ssem-is. Žran d akken deg tazwara d bazug d tawla akked wexnaq n ugerjum, syin akin d timeħkit swiyes izmer ad immet Koyotito ma atas n ssem i ykecmen tafekka-s. Acu kan, asegri si tuqsa-nni igga am akken la yettanqas. Isuyan n Koyotito uyalen tura d ajinjjer.

Ačħal d tikkelt, Kino yettweħhid taqedrit di šber n tmettut-nni yines tahciant. Nettat, i yettayan awal u d tamqadert, d tašebbart u tetteddu deg wawal n waēggal-is, tezmer ad tešber, ur teqqar “aħ” deg teswiein am tid i-deg yettway mmi-s. Tezmer i ēaggu d laž ugar n wayen iwumi izmer Kino s yiman-is. Deg teflugt, m’ar a tqeddef, amzun d argaz iğehden. Ma d tura, tegga ayen issewhamen nnig n kra ma yella:

“AmejJay”, i d-tenna. “Ruħ awi-d amejJay.”

Awal-a ibda la yettenfufud seg yimi yer tmezzuḡt gar inaragen-nni ibedden akken d agraw deg wefrag-nni amectuh deffir n zzerb. La ttalsen garasen i wawal-nni, “Juana tebya a d-yas umejjay.” Izad mađi wayagi, d ayen ur nettawtu, m’ar a d-yas umejjay. Ma yusa-d umejjay, mačči d tadyant n menwala. Wergin i d-yusa umejjay yer taddart-agi m taēcciwinn. Acu ar a t-id-yawin yer da? Uqan fella-s imerkantiyen i yzedyen deg yexxamen ibnan s weblađ akked ssiman akin di temdint!

“Ur d-ittas ara” i d-nnan lyaci-nni ibedden deg wefrag

“Ur d-ittas ara” i d-nnan widak ibedden deg tewwurt, dya tekcem tekti-ya deg wallay n Kino.

Ur d-ittas ara umejjay, i s-inna Kino i Juana.

Temmuqel-d yur-s d asawen, s kra n tmuyli d tasemmađt, tin n tsedda ur nettewxir. Koyotito d amenzu n tasa-s — Inēed d ayen i tesaē deg tmeddurt-is. Kino ifhem d akken Juana tegmen, tuḡalin yer deffir ulac, dya azawan n tezlit-nni n twacult yeččenčēn-d deg uqarray-is.

Iħi a nruħ yur-s, i d-tenna Juana.

Dya s yiwen ufus terra-d yef uqerruy-is timelħeft-nni yines tazegzawt tuħmiqt yerna tettef yiwen yixef u tegga-t amzun d dduħ akken ad tessers deg-s llufan-nni ijjinjiren, ma d ixef nniđen tesburr-as-t yef wallen-is akken a s-yerr

tafat. Imdanen-nni yellan bedden i tewwurt deggrem widak illan deffir-sen akken as-ğğen abrid i Juana. Kino idfer-itt. Tura ffyen deg tewwurt n berɣa kecmen deg webrid-nni ittufeglen, am nutni am inaragen-nni i ten-itɣafaren.

Taluft tuyaɣ d tin n taddart akken ma tella. Ha-ten-ad ggan arbae metwal talemast n temdint, Juana akked Kino d imezwura, deffir-sen Juan Tomás d Apolonia, aelliɣ-is bu tassemt la yettehlulul acku agraw yesseyseb tikli, ineggura d inaragen akked igerdan-nsen yef yidisan ittearaɣen ad laħqen wid-nni iwumi iyezziɣ usurif. Itij-nni awraɣ la yetteggir yer zdat tili n wid ileħħun armi i d-ttbanen taefisen fella-s.

Ha-ten-ad tura wwɣen yer wemdiq anida fukkent taecciwin u bɗan ixxamen ibnan s weblaɣ d ssiman. Tamdint m lešwar tettarra tiħercewt-is yer berɣa ma d tallunt tagensit i tgemma tistemmadin i-deg tturarent tfewwarin n waman akked yidurna n Bougainville izewwqen iyerban s umekzay d uzeggay d umellal. Slan dayen i ccna n yegɣad deg leqfaš-nsen i d-yekkan seg leġnan iffren akked ucerceɣ n waman isemmaɣen yef leblaɣ aħmayan. Arbae yewweɣ yer webraħ azedgan iberrqen u eaddan zdat wanida tella tmezgida. Agraw la yettnerni, yef leryaf, ineggura i d-yernan sefhemmen-asen i imezwura tadyant n llufan teqqes tyirdemt, d wamek gemmen imawlan-is a t-awin yer umejjay.

Ineggura i d-yewwɣen, laɣya wid-nni yessuturen zdat n tmezgida, i yellan d iεabbwajen n tesleɣt n tedrimt, s tyawla muqlen yer tsafa-nni tazegzawt taqdimt n Juana, tfuġ tiħ-nsen yef imettaɣen islexsen lizaɣ-is, ggan ssuma i tħacit-nni swiyes teqqen tizuraz-is, din-din ɣran-d awetay n tferšadit-nni n Kino akked iselsa-ines yuraden agim (1000) n tikkal, dya rran-ten yer taggayt n igellilen, maca dɗan akken ad zren d acu ar ad-yennulfun si tedyant am ta. Imsutar zdat n tmezgida, kuɣ yidsen, zran yakkw kra iħerɣun deg temdint. Qqaren deg tenfalit n wudmawen n telmezayin m'ar a kecmen yer tmezgida akken a d-qirrent ma yella ggant kra n diri, u ttwalin-tent m'ar a d-ffiyent u ttearaɣen a d-frun acu ubekkaɣ i ggant. Zran yakkw tiddas-nni timezyanin iħerɣun deg temdint am akken dayen wean s tqenderraħin timeqranin. A ten-tafeɣ zxuxmen kan deg yimeɣqan anida ssuturen, deg tili n tmezgida, maca ur yefflen ara yef wid-nni iwumi teɣra kra n twayit i d-ittasen akken a ten-išebber walbeaɣ. Ihi ssnen amejjay-nni. Ssnen lqella n tmussni-s, dɣyel-is, ecceħħa-yines, temyer n waεbbuɣ-is, ibekkaɣen-is. Zran d akken lecyal-is ur ferrun ur wennen, tuntiĉin i d-ittmuɣdu sya yer da d duɣuwat-nni timecħuħin. Walan lexyal-is mi yekcem yer tmezgida. Yerna, segmi amud n tafrara dayen yekfa, akken ula d ssuq, ihi deħren arbae-nni di tikli-nsen. Ittay

lħal, nutni ħemmelen ad issinen s telqey imdanen ukud i ten-cerkent tlufa n tmeddurt, dya akka ad zren d acu ar a yegg umejjay-nni ufayan amertab i llufan, mmi-s igellil, i teqqes tyirdemt.

Ha-t-an tura werbae-nni i d-ilħan s leyseb wwɣen yer zdat n tewwurt n wexxam n umejjay iwumi i d-zzin lešwar. Tura slan i wceɣceɣ n waman, i wesfirec n yegɣad di leqfuš-nsen akked dderz n tmedwast yef ubelleɣ mi t-cerrwen. Am akken dayen i d-tettaweɣ yer wanzaren-nsen rriħa n ccyad mi d-sseknafen ikwesman deg wexxam n umejjay.

Kino ixuyel kra deg tazwara. Ih, amejjay-agi mačči seg wegduɣ-is. Amejjay-agi seg yiwen wegduɣ i yesserwan tiytiwin d laɣ, d tmuħqranit akked tukksa n wayla i wegduɣ n Kino, azal n kuɣ twinas (400) iseggasen aya, armi uyalen ttagaden-ten, daymi s uxayel d uħader i d-uzen yer tewwurt. Akka, yal tikelt m'ar a iħerreb Kino yer yiwen deg yiri-a, ad iħulfu d akken yugaɣ, ifadden-is ttulwun yerna dayen ittali-t-id wurrif. Reffu d uramay haten-i dduklen-d. Icebba-yas Rebbi d akken d timenyiwt n umejjay-nni i s-ishelen walla ameslay yid-s, annect-a tisebba-s d ameslay-nni ttmeslayen at wegduɣ n umejjay i wat wegduɣ n Kino am akken d actal. M'akken Kino yerfed afus-is ayeffus yer txelxalt-nni n wuzzal swiyes sqerbuben deg tewwurt n berɣa, iħulfa i yiman-is irekkem seg wurrif, dya azaawan n tezlit n ucengu ibda ittawi aħiħa deg yimezzuyen-is, icenfiren-is nnekmacen-d yef wuglan-is — maca iwwi afus-is azelmaɣ yer uqaɣruy-is akken ad yekkes tamdelliwt-is, aya d azamul n wannuz d leqder. Taxelxalt-nni teččenčen yef tewwurt. Kino ikkes tamdelliwt-is, ibedd ittraġu. Koyotito inuzeε-d dya tekna yur-s Juana u tenna-as kra n wawal ar a s-ikkxen tugdin. Ma d lyaĉi-nni uzen-d aken ad waln ney ad slen.

Kra n yimir kan, ha-tt-a tewwurt teldi-d, amaena azal n tardast kan. Igga-leum akken ad iwali Kino tizegzewt-nni akked tfewwaɣt n waman iggan tasmuđi i tgemmi-nni m lešwar. Argaz-nni i d-ildin tawwurt d yiwen seg yiri-s. Dya iluεa-t s tutlayt tanašlit taqdimt. D llufan-agi — d wa i d amenzu-nney — teqqes-it tyirdemt, i s-inna Kino. Issefk a t-izzer umlawi.

Tawwurt-nni tettumdel-d ciħħuħ, ma d aqeddac-nni yugi ad yemmeslay s tutlayt tanašlit taqdimt. Rġu kan dagi ciħħuħ, i s-d-yenna. Ad ruħey a d-awiy lexbar.

Dya imdel-d tawwurt u isenser iman-is s axxam. Itij isufey-d tiħ-is, iħeggeɣ tili n yemdanen akken d taberkant yef weyɣab-nni iħeyyeren s umellal.

Deg texxamt-is, amejjay isyam-d iman-is deg umetreh-nni yines aelayan. Yelsa yiwet n tšedrit tayežfant n lehrir azeggay ireqmen, i d-yewwi si Paris, ulamma tura tedeçq fella-s deg yedmaren lemmer a tt-iqfel. Deg urebbi-s yiwet n ssniwa n lfeṭta i yef ters tbeqrajt n lfeṭta iččuren d ccikula akked ufengal uqellal akken d amectiṭuḥ, arma teḍsiḍ-d m'ar a t-waliḍ irfed-it s iḍudan-nni yines ifedxusen. Irfed-it-d s tqumam n udebbuz akked ccached ma d iḍudan nniḍen iclex-iten yer deffir akken ur squrruēen ara. Allen-is čuffḍent, amzun rsent yef kra n teḥnayin n tassemt, ma d imi-s immar d akwsar amzun innuyna. Ittban yufay, ma d taḍat-is tezzeezēe acku amgerḍ-is imxednaq s tassemt. Akka yer tama-s, yef ṭṭabla, yers yiwen n nnaqus i sseqdacen di tmura n wemguḍ imixfiw<sup>27</sup> akked yiwet n tqaerurt n igarṭuten. Iruka<sup>28</sup> deg texxamt-nni d izayanen, ruḥen s tebrek yerna d iseflalayen. Tugniwin<sup>29</sup> yettwaēellqen d timsyanin, akken ula d awlaf-nni ameqran, iwumi ṭruḥ ticci, n tmeṭṭut -is immuten, dya lemmer zmirent leweadi tefka seg yedrimen-is asmi tedder, yili ha-tt-an di lḡennet. Amejjay, ula d netta, tezri kra n tallit i-deg illa d amežyan gar wid-nni yeswan, ihi seg wass-nni, tudert-is tegra-d d amekti d tujjma n tmurt n Franša. “Tinna, i yeqqar, d tudert taneyrumt<sup>30</sup>” – anamek n wawal-a d akken s ciṭṭuḥ n wedrim i d-itṭhelli, išeṛṛef yef tmeṭṭut tuffirt yerna izga deg useččuyen. Ismar-d afengal wis sin n ccikula yerna isseftutes yiwet n teḥbult tazidant gar iḍudan-is. Aqeddac-nni itteassan tawwurt n beṛra ha-t-an ibedd-ed zdat n tawwurt n texxamt u yettraḡu akken ad igger tamawt yur-s umejjay.

D acu? I t-isteqsa.

D yiwen Uhendiw anašli i d-yewwin agrud. La yeqqar teqqes-it tyirdemt.

Amejjay issers afengal-is s ttawil, din isbezeq-d wurrif-is

: I tura, nekk, d ayagi i seiḡ d ccyel, ad ttdawiy  
Ihendiw qqsan ibeēac? Nekk d amejjay mačči d ṭṭbib n lmal.

Ih a Mass-inu, i s-d-irra uqeddac.

Gur-s idrimen? I t-isteqsa umejjay. Xaṭi, werḡin seān idrimen. Nekk, ala nekk i-yef ittuhettem akken ad xeddmeḡ baṭel – ihi ula d nekk aeyiy deg-s. Ruḥ wali ma yur-s idrimen!

Ha-t-an tura uqeddac-nni ildi-d ciṭṭuḥ tawwurt n beṛra u yemmuqel yer lyaci-nni ittraḡun. Tikkelt-a inṭeq-d s tutlayt n zik.

Gur-k idrimen akken a ttellseḍ adawi?

Kino issekcem afus-is yer kra n tčexniḍt ddaw n tfeṛsatid i-deg inneḍ u yessufey-d lkayeḍ iḍebbqen ačal d tikkelt. S ttawil, aneḍfis s uneḍfis, ildi-d lkayeḍ-nni dya banent-d ṭam (8) n tmeḡwanin d timecṭuḥin d tuzliḡin, d

tucmitin, ini-nsent d amiḡdan amzun d iwelsan, meslent armi qrib ur seint kra n wazal. Iṭṭef uqeddac lkayeḍ-nni u yerra-d tawwurt deffir-s, ma d tikkelt-a ur yaṭṭil ara yuḡal-d. Ildi-d tawwurt-nni azal kan deg ar a d-ieaddi lkayeḍ-nni mi t-id-yerra.

Amejjay iffeḡ, i d-yenna. Ssawlen-as-d yer yiwen umuḍin inṭeṛren.

Dya ur issetha, irra-d tawwurt.

Agraw i d-ilḡan, akken ma yella, iḡulfa i sser ittwakksen yef Kino d Juana. Dya mferzaēen yakkw. Wid-nni issuturen uḡalen yer ddruḡ-nni n tmežgida, imenṭarriwen kemmelen iberdan-nsen, ma d inaragen n Kino qecceen-d syin akken ur ttilin ara d inagan n sser ittwakksen fella-s.

Kino ibedd akken zdat n tawwurt kra n wakud, Juana yer tama-s. S ttawil, yuḡal iqen tamḍelliwt-is. Deqzalla<sup>31</sup>, ifka-as tiyita s lbunya i tawwurt-nni n berra. Am win tawwet lbaya, yuḡal la yesmuqul yer tkaēburin n iḍudan-is ifeddxen, akked idammen-nni i d-itazzalen gar-asen.

1. Amegrad, imegraden: domestiques (s) ...animaux domestiques/
2. Amkuḡ: un carré/ a square.
3. Taftist: une plage/ a beach
4. Azwu: l'air/ air
5. Ameynuj: un Golfe/ a Gulf.
6. Tadwast: une intensité/intensity
7. Targalt, tiralin: dans le sens note(s) de musique/ used with the meaning of music notes
8. Ifaḍ: infini /infinite
9. Tallunt: un espace/ a space
10. Amihaw/ tamihawt: dangereux(se)/ dangerous
11. Aseflalay/taseflalayt: brilliant(e)/shiny
12. Anarag/inaragen: voisin(s)/ neighbor(s)
13. Aḥcican/tahcicant: frêle/ fragile.
14. Tallunt tagensit: l'espace intérieur/ inside space
15. Tigemmi/Tigemma: jardin(s)/garden(s)
16. Amekzay : violet (couleur)/ purple (color).
17. Tamežgida: ici utilisé pour désigner une église/ warship place, temple, church
18. Tasleḍt n tedrimt: l'analyse financière/ financial analysis
19. Awetay: l'âge/ the age
20. Tanfalit (n wudem): l'expression (du visage)/ an expression (on a face)
21. Qirr: avouer, confesser/ to confess
22. Abekkaḍ: un péché/ a sin
23. Amud: une prière, une messe/ a prayer, a mass
24. Iri: une race/ a race
25. Aramay: une terreur/ a terror
26. Actal: animal/animaux, betail/ animals, cattle
27. Amguḍ Imixfiw: L'extrême Orient/ Far East
28. Araku/iruka: Meuble(s)/ Furniture
29. Tugna/tugniwin: Image(s)
30. Tudert Taneyrumt: Une vie civilisée/ a civilized life
31. Deqzalla: Soudain, sans crier gare/ suddenly





*(continued from page 1)*

hypotheses and argues in favour of the local origin on the basis of prehistoric data and linguistic materials.

Likewise, in his contribution on the place of Tamazight in the Afroasiatic reconstruction, Professor Allati radically puts into question the Semitic-based conception of Afroasiatic linguistics and rejects the reconstruction methods used which, are merely seeking confirmation in other languages of conclusions reached on the basis of Semitic facts. And, when such conclusions are not supported by non-Semitic facts, it is systematically concluded that non-Semitic languages, including Tamazight, either innovated or else they simply lost the original forms.

While we are happy that the voice of the Amazigh regarding their origin is reverberating, their very existence has just been recognized officially after it had been denied officially for half a century by the political regimes in North Africa. The recent recognition of Tamazight as official in Morocco (2011 Constitution) and more recently in Algeria (2016 Constitution) is of course the culmination of half a century of struggle. Finally!

The limits of the official Arabo-Islamic ideology that the North African regimes tried hard to establish across North Africa for half a century has been achieved and the fake identity they wished to shape is similarly falling apart. While the struggle for the true identity of North Africa had started before decolonization, more explicitly in Algeria within the Algerian nationalist organizations known as Etoile Nord Africaine (French, North African Star) and, later, Parti Populaire Algerien (French, Algerian Popular Party). Many Kabyl activists, elite, students and workers alike, who were engaged in the struggle for the Algerian independence, denounced the Arabo-nationalist shaping of the future Algeria. Most of these activists were either physically eliminated or denounced to the French authorities and as a consequence were assassinated or jailed. The struggle continued in the aftermath of the Algerian independence once it became clear that there was no space left for democracy and any political agenda other than Arab nationalism. Algeria was simply declared an Arab country, with Arabic as the sole official and national language and Islam as the State's religion. These three criteria were reiterated in the following successive Constitutions and remained unchanged until recently, when Tamazight was also recognized as national (2008) and as official (In the new Constitution promulgated March 6, 2016).

However, when read carefully we realize that the same regimes are still reluctant to grant Tamazight the same status. Karim Achab's article explains why the phrasing used in the Algerian Constitution is simply meant to tell us that Tamazight is not yet official! Because the phrasal strategy used in the Algerian Constitution is inspired from the Moroccan Constitution, such a view is also valid for Morocco. Both regimes find the pill difficult to swallow: the fight should continue.

Let us not forget, our victory does not reside in the officialization of Tamazight, but in the fact Tamazight has survived in this hostile political environment, thanks to the determination of generations of activists and parents who are transmitting it to their offspring. Not only is Tamazight a living and vibrant language which we speak daily in North Africa and the Diaspora, it has also become a modern literary language as demonstrated by Arezki Boudif with his Kabyl translation of John Steinbeck's *The Pearl* and Mastan At uAmran's political analysis of the future of Kabylia. Entirely written in Kabyl language, Arezki's translation is a great success! It reads like a Kabyl fairy tale. Mastan At uAmran (formerly known as Hsen Larbi) is questioning us on the program of identity assimilation practiced by the Algerian regime. That this program is paying off becomes obvious as you walk down the streets of Tizi-Ouzou, Vgayet (Bejaia) or Tuvirett (Bouira) as you hear more Arabic than Kabyl. In this issue, lovers of Kabyl poetry will also enjoy reading Musa Ġaefer's poems, written in Laval (Quebec) in 2011 and 2012 ■



*(Continued from on page 18, right column)*

Tamazight are ready to take possession of the academic

space and the public debate in order to inspire "guidance" by forcing the adoption of the Arabic script instead of the Latin or the Tifinagh script. While Tifinagh has the heritage legitimacy and the Latin script the advantage of being refined and grounded in a tradition over a period of a century, the Arabic script comes straight out of the Arabo-Islamic ideology. Even worse, trends in psycholinguistics have already shown that Arabic alphabet is far from being the finest and causes delay in the learning process amongst children. This being said, we know that the Algerian regime is blinded by its Arabo-Islamic ideology and objectivity does not grow on trees. Put otherwise, to the Amazigh speakers it means that the fight continues ■

## Tiqqad (*Tukkist*)

*Syur*  
*Musa Ġæfer*

*Musa Ġæfer ilul deg taddart n Ccerfa di Tyiwant n Tegzirt. Yeyra tudersant deg Tesdawit n M. Mammeri n Tizi-Wezzu. Syin akin yunag-d yer Quebec, Canada anida yettidir akked twacult-is. Musa D ameynas deg tdukkla "Ina-s". Tiqqad d ammud isefra amezwaru yura.*

### Targit-iw

Zriy leeca di targit,  
Ayen nesserwet nemger-it,  
Tilelli yeww<sup>e</sup>d-ed wass-is.  
Di yal tizi teceel tifersit<sup>1</sup>,  
Ittfeggiḍ ubrid n tnašlit,  
Tamurt ibeggen-ed wudem-is.

Ufiy leeca di targit,  
Tiqerracin yundin neqrit<sup>2</sup>,  
Yewwet lbaz deg wafriwen-is,  
Amzun iɛawed talalit,  
Yufa nṣib-is di ddunnit,  
Yesrafeg yezzi-d i lḥedd-is.

Wallay leeca di targit,  
Ccedda ttebe-itt talwit,  
Tutlayt temnee i nnger-is.  
Anagraw<sup>3</sup>, tagrawla tesseyli-t,  
Azaglu, agdud yekkes-it,  
Ddel, ibibb-it yifis.<sup>4</sup>

Mi d-ffeyy si targit,  
Ufiy-d yal ci *kkes-it ffer-it*,  
Icuba yer yiman-is.  
D wa i d nṣib di ddunnit,  
Ay ul yettnadin talwit,  
Taluft tennerna ur tenqis.

Taswaet s tmara neqbel-itt,  
Kkes tafrit nney tug-itt,  
Neggumma a s naf iyef-is.  
Lḥila n tissas nesneyl-itt,  
Agdud alamma yeččur-itt,  
Ara yaweḍ yer lebyi-s.

Laval (Kibek), 2011.

<sup>1</sup> Tifersit : taqejmurt yuyen (fr. bûche allumée).

<sup>2</sup> Taqerract tenqer : taqerract tefsex, tetterdeq ur tetṭif (fr. piège caduc, vain).

<sup>3</sup> Anagraw : tiktwin yesdukkel yeswi ney ay-en iden (fr. système).

<sup>4</sup> Yewwi yifis : yeyba. Yella di tmucuha (fr. disparaître, anéantir).

## Tasusmi-w

Teršel -iyi- d <sup>ve</sup>f tsusmi  
Nekk yectaqaen awal  
Dayen yeggugem yimi  
Yeezeg umezzuy i wawal  
Tedderyel tiṭ ur tettwali  
D lehna ney d ccwal  
Ayen yebyun ad-yili  
Lmentaḡ yur-i d lmuḥal

Tasusmi-w teččur d awal  
Win i t-ifehmen yesla-yas  
Ḥesset a wen d<sup>l</sup>essawal  
Asiwel-is d tiyri n layas  
Ma yeereq ixef-iw i tyawel  
Yal taluft teyza-yas  
S tsusmi ferruy timsal  
Ixef ur yeqdie layas

Allen medlent, imi izemmem  
Kecmey di lyerḍ n tsusmi  
Rriy-tt i lweed uxemmem  
Qqarey kan acimi  
Tasusmi m<sup>a</sup> ur tḥettem  
I yir lehduṛ i wumi  
Amdan kas yendem  
Dayen segran-d ccwami

Ticki a yekfu wawal  
Ttafey ššwab di tsusmi  
Yal taluft a d<sup>l</sup>essawal  
Yal tasusmi d isegmi  
Tasusmi-w teyleb awal  
Ur telli d tannumi  
Ggiy-as s ššwab azal  
S lyaṛḍ yezzem yimi

## Tayerma Inegren

Ḥess<sup>e</sup>t-ed a wen d-ḥkuy,  
Amezruy n tyerma inegren,  
Fell-as hed ur yesneynuy<sup>1</sup>.  
Tuḡal d ayen ifaten,  
Anw<sup>a</sup> i s-yennan ad yeḍru ?  
Neskaddeb ayen iṣaren,  
Am yiḡed, mi yekfa wuryu,  
Yegra-d d later n yesyaren.

Asmi tella deg <sup>w</sup>akud-is,  
Tqubel kra d-yedran,  
Ur t̄ezzeb i nnger-is,  
Tettkel yef wayen yuran.  
Ziy d win i d ccum-is,  
Yemḥat later-is ur iban,  
Xas ass-a yegra-d yisem-is,  
Yedbeɛ deg umezruy yuran.

Yedder deg-es wegdud,  
Yezran aḥal d igelliden,  
Yeyba m<sup>1</sup>ur yefki addud<sup>2</sup>,  
I wayen i t-isnegren.  
Ssew tamussni-k ma teffud,  
Yur-ek win a k-ismumedlen,  
Aḍfar n later n lejdud,  
Mačči d ayen isehlen.

Amzun d itij mi d-yeflali,  
Mi d-yewweḍ yid yeyba,  
Yuyal seg wayen ur nelli,  
I wayeḍ yeḡḡa nnuaba.  
Itij yal ass a d-yeflali,  
Ma d netta yeyli i lebda,  
Ayen yellan ur yelli,  
Ddunnit tettak nnuaba.

Win yewwḍen yer tqacuct,  
Yewweɛ a tt-yettef lebda,  
Ma tekfa talluyt,  
Init tarusi tebda.  
Nadit ad tafem t̄tbut,  
Ddunnit akka i tedda,  
A wid ur nefhim, ḥṣut !  
Yal tazwara s taggara.

Laval (Quebec), 2012.

<sup>1</sup> Sneyney : hder s imeṭṭawen ur ssefham.

<sup>2</sup> Efki addud : ur t̄zuhnun, ur stehzay (fr : donner de l'importance, considérer).

## Tiyri n Wegdud

Yeedel wass-a d yidelli,  
Amzun itij ur yeyli,  
I yid ur yeḡḡi nnuaba-s.  
Yli-d ay adrar fell-i,  
Kessbey lerzaq s tmuyli,  
Ddel yur<sup>e</sup>w-ed lmeḥna-s.  
Yella Rebbi a d-yettwali,  
Aedaw yufa-tt fell-i,  
Yerna issen lbaḍna-s.

A wid itt̄rebbin timsal,  
Tzerɛem lhemm abessal<sup>1</sup>,  
Yuy ueeqqa-s di tmurt-iw.  
Teglam s ras n lmal,  
Tefkam nnuaba i ccwal,  
Ttucewwley di tudert-iw.  
A ttraḡuy talwit a d-<sup>l</sup>dal,  
Deg <sup>l</sup>raḡu, tteebga-w tmal,  
Terna tazeyt-is i yiri-w.  
“Aqrab d nek i-gqerben,  
Lyella-m ččant Waɛraben.”  
Ayen ay-a a tamurt-iw ?  
Sensen-iyi deg <sup>i</sup>yilifen,  
S tmeslayt-nsen ifazen,  
Rran zzerb i tmussni-w.  
Nyill am wid ieeddan,  
Ziy ad gren izuran,  
Myin s zzur deg wakal-iw.

Aḥḥeq i-gessarmen ur yuyes,  
Tadyant-iw weḥd-es,  
Tessewhem deg <sup>i</sup>mussnawen.  
Si zzman fell-i tekḥes,  
Win i d-yusan a y ileḥḥes<sup>2</sup>,  
Ger zzebra d yefḍisen.<sup>3</sup>  
Suyey ḥed ur d-ihesses,  
Ass-a kkerey i ubegges,  
Lbaṭel issemyi-d iččiwen.

Suyey yef izerfan-iw,  
Zzin-d yer yixef-w,  
Nnan serked iman-ik.  
Ttekley, mmi s idis-iw,  
Ziy d netta i d axsim-iw,  
Yenna-yi beddel iswi-k.  
Rray-ik d rray-iw,  
Seg walley-ik yer yimi-w  
Ad nedhey s yisem-ik.

Ihedder ur issefham,  
Nekk rran-iyi akmam,  
Wa meedur, wa d lḥeqq-is.  
Netta ibeddel ttxmam,  
Ma d nekk d agugam,  
Tifrat ibeed umḍiq-is.  
Yekker a d-yewqem,  
Taggara yuyal yendem,  
D nekk i yečča d asfel-is.

<sup>1</sup> Abessal : amessas (fr. tannant, têteux).

<sup>2</sup> Leḥḥes : ddez, wwet s zzur.

<sup>3</sup> Zzebra : anida niḍen qqaren tawwent (fr. enclume).

## Idlisen Imaynuten/ New Publications



### Di lgerra-k ay awal

Syur Murad IRNATEN

Di tullisin-a i ay-d-yugem Murad Irnaten si tala n teqbaylit-is, nessaram ur tettyar ara, iwudam ulin isawnen, şşubben ikesran, cerhen, nnuynan, run, dşan, urgan akken llan yimdanen di tmetti taqbaylit.

Meqqrit tirga-n sen akken meqqrit tirga d lebyi n Murad Irnaten. Yal tullist d tanagit yef kra n tallit, yal tullist d timlilit akked uzar n teqbaylit, d tamsirt si temsirin n tudert, d tudert i tutlayt taqbaylit.

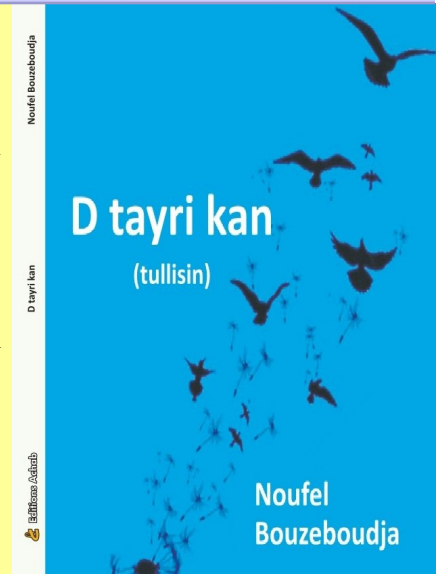
### D tayri kan

Syur Noufel BOUZBOUDJA  
Tizriyin/Editions Achab

Noufel Bouzeboudja d amaru Aqbayli. Yella d aselmad n Tenglizit di tesdawit n Mulud Mammeri n Tizi-Wezzu. Yuwal yunag yer Uruppa anida yesyer tutlayin n Taçrabt akked Tefransist.

Gar wayen yura, a d-nebder, Ahya Ssimra! (Tullisin), A Pebble in the River (Ungal), Algeria: Banquet des Nonchalances (Amud n Tmedyazt).

D Tayri Kan! D acu icerken imdanen deg umaçal? D anadi yef tayri. Am akka, Waëli d Magnus, yiwen di Tizi wayed di Copenhagen. Xas akken ur myussanen ara, tecrek-iten tayri n uzawan (music), tayri n tudert d tin n temdukal-n sen. Anna d Davis, Muhsin d Raja, imezwura di London, wiyad di

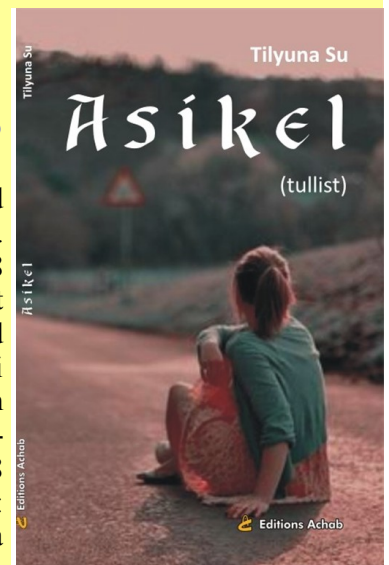


akken yal wa amek I tt-yettidir, d tayri kan I ran ad idiren. Tayriwin mgaradent akken mgaradent tirga. Targit n Alexandra yeğgan n lhif tmurt-is, Ecuador, d target Tamarikant. Ma d Sara, d targit n Tmarikant iran ad tekk d umaçal i tukksa n lxiq, ....

### Asikel

Syur TILYUNA SU  
Tizriyin/Editions Achab

Tilyuna Su d tamarut, d tamedyazt, d tanazurt. Tlul deg useggas n 1988 deg At Weylis di Temnaçt n Bgayet. Amahil-ines d tayri n Tmaziyt di Tesnawit. Ma d isurifen imezwuradeg tira tegga-ten asmi tesæa 18 iseggasen di læmer-is: Tira n tezlatin. Tullist-a



tsemma "Asikel" d adlis-ines amenzu. Yeffey-d si tezriyin Achab.

Isikelen n Yuba d Tililwa ilmend n cebaça n tezgi. Maca yal tikkelt, nutni ad gemnen yer uşesses d tukksa n lxiq, yer taggara a ten-id-magren wuguren. Tikkelt-a tadyant d akafal (kidnapping) n yiwet n tlemzit i -deg ran ad rren ttar kra n terbaet n yemcumen. Tislak n tlemzit-a ad ternu cebaça d tezdeg I tayri n Yuba d Tililwa.