



THE AMAZIGH VOICE

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**Tayect
 Tamaziyt**

**Tasyunt n Tiddukla Tadelsant
 Tamaziyt deg Marikan**

Language Oppression and its Ramifications in Tamazgha

By Louiza Sellami

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According to the World Atlas of Languages, 8,324 languages are spoken or signed worldwide, as documented by governments, public institutions, and academic communities. Still, it is reported that only around 7,000 are in use today, of which 46% are considered endangered. This includes some Tamazight vernaculars, such as Tamzabt (Algeria), Tasiwit (Egypt), Tanfusit (Libya), and Tamazight (Central Moroccan Atlas and Djerba in Tunisia), per the 2010 UNESCO classification. Although, for many decades, experts have been sounding the alarm on the rapid disappearance of some of these languages, very little has been done to protect them. The death of a language erodes the very fabric of human heritage, representing centuries of history, culture, wisdom, and knowledge that are lost forever. Sadly, such was the fate of the Tamazight Guanche language of the Canary Islands due to Spanish colonialism. However, its remnants can still be found today in the country’s toponymy and the

collective memory of its people.

Various conditions contribute to the extinction of a language. The most common is the existence of a more dominant, or favored, language presented by the governing entity as a condition for earning a living, getting a good job, accessing education, healthcare, and other resources, and as the only opportunity to climb the socio-economic ladder. Generally, such pressures force people to shift gradually to the favored language, thus contributing to losing their native tongue over the generations. A recent case in point is that of parents in Kabylia (Algeria), where Tamazight is taught in public schools only as an elective, reportedly asking school officials to allow their children to opt-out, so they could focus on other more pertinent languages and subjects that would ensure their success in school and, later, increase their competitiveness in the job market.

In remote areas that are more or less self-sufficient and where interactions with outsiders are limited, however, people are less likely to succumb

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The pictures of the neolithic rock engravings in the Tassili n'Ajjer area were taken in November 2023 at the Tin Taghert location by Rabah Seffal.

Sonnet pour Idir / Asefru i Yidir¹ / Sonnet for Idir²

Syur Lounès Amziane

Voix de nos légendes, ton chant envoûte l'âme;
Tes douces mélodies ont un charme gracieux.
En chantant le pays par un verbe précieux,
Tu as bercé l'enfant dans les bras de la femme.

Comme un chevalier preux, tu as porté la flamme
Puisée au foyer des ancêtres et des vieux.
Toi le chantre libre parti sous d'autres cieux
Conter, par des chansons, aux peuples notre drame,

Tu peignis les objets de la vieille maison
A l'heure nocturne de la froide saison
Quand le conte enseignait la sagesse ancestrale.

Authentique et moderne, alchimiste de l'art,
Ami des libertés, homme au sage regard,
Dans notre ciel tu es l'étoile magistrale.

D tayeet n tmeddurt nney, tizlat in-ik tarrant-ed rruḥ;
Icwwiqen-ik ziden yursen sser
S cna-ik yef tmurt s wawalen zeddigen
I tezzuzned igwerdan deg rebbi tyemmatin.

Am wemnay, trefdeḍ asafu
I d-tessufyed seg yexxamen n imenza.
Kečč d anazur ilelli yefferfren yer igenwan nniḍen
Akken tizlatin-ik ad ḥkunt tilufa nney,

Tesseymad tiyawsiwin n wexxam aqdim
Deg uḍan n tregrest
Asmi ḥekkunt timucuha temyarin.

D bab n tidets d usnulfu, iweznen imeslayen-is
D ameddakul n tlelli, d amyar azemni

Voice of our legends, your song bewitches the soul;
Your sweet melodies have a gracious charm.
In singing of the homeland with precious verse,
You cradled the child in a mother's arms.

Like a valiant knight, you carried the flame
Drawn from the hearth of ancestors and elders.
You, the free bard gone under other skies
Telling, through songs, our peoples' drama,

You painted the objects of the old house
In the night-time hour of the cold season
When the tale taught ancestral wisdom.

Authentic and modern, alchemist of art,
Friend of freedoms, man of wise regard,
In our sky you are the master star.

¹ Tasuqilt yer Tmaziyt syur Louiza Sellami

² English translation by Louiza Sellami and M Kamel Igoudjil



Amziane Lounès is a poet in Kabyle and French and translator of works in Kabyle. In 1995, after the introduction of Tamazight in public schools, he was among the first graduating class of Tamazight teachers. He taught Tamazight for ten years in a middle school in Attouche, Algeria. Currently, he is an educational supervisor at a high school in his native region of Makouda.

Editorial: Continued from page 1

to such pressures, albeit they pay a heavy price when disasters hit. The recent Kabylia fires, Libya floods, and the Morocco earthquake, whereby entire Amazigh villages were razed to the ground, are a testament to the human toll these regions took. It is noteworthy to mention that the aid provided by the Moroccan *Makhzen* to the Amazigh victims was too meager and too little too late compared to the plane loads of food donated to the Arab Qataris during the 2017 crisis. In this regard, Dr. Bahri's article, featured in this issue, examines on a deeper level the devastating impact of language discrimination on the affected population in the wake of the Moroccan disaster.

As clearly documented in the article "The Berber Springs: To Put an End to an Arab North Africa?" by Historian Karima Direche, the root cause of the systemic Tamazight oppression is a hostile and corrupt polity that defines itself strictly as Arab and Muslim. Its hegemonic and oligarchic nature leaves very little room for the existence of Tamazight, except within the confines of its ideology. Although, for decades now, Tamazight has been recognized as a national language in Algeria and Morocco, its teaching remains very limited, and its use in local and state governments is practically nonexistent, except for a few signs on government buildings and roads here and there. It appears these states did not intend to promote Tamazight; rather, they offered its recognition as an appeasement to buy time to regroup and double their efforts to debase and falsify cultural and linguistic realities further and with a vengeance. In fact, based on what has been happening in Algeria since the installation of the new administration in terms of its ferocious crackdown on Amazigh activists, flagrant human rights abuses, and the intensified forced assimilation in Kabylia and other regions, the state seems bent on eradicating the Amazigh dimension from the Algerian landscape. On the surface, this process may appear discursive; in reality, it is nothing short of an active, well-calculated, and productive one.

Language oppression is considered a form of domination that is consistent with other forms of oppression, much like racism. The impact of linguistic oppression is far-reaching, with ramifications ranging from physical violence to mental trauma and stress, and then ending in language extinction. In education alone, the damaging effects are lifelong. Children who are not native speakers often struggle academically, leading to higher rates of failure and illiteracy. They are also frequently subjected to bullying by other students and unfair treatment from

teachers due to their accents or difficulty learning the school's language. Mentally, this leads to feelings of social rejection, shame, guilt for speaking their home language, and feelings that their language and culture are inferior—feelings carried into adulthood. Drawing upon our collective memory, one can safely say there is not a single Amazigh who has not experienced such feelings, consciously or subconsciously.

The Amazigh people struggle daily in their dealings with government institutions, state and privately owned businesses, the healthcare system, and in the workplace, where the official language is Arabic. Perhaps the most staggering example is the justice system, where Amazigh people not only cannot represent or defend themselves in a court of law in their language but also have no right to an interpreter. Hence, they cannot protect their rights or receive a fair trial. This is a mind-boggling concept even in Algeria, where the most criminal foreigner is afforded such a right, but not the Amazigh people.

Given that in their struggles, the Amazigh populations have expressed their cultural and linguistic claims from a human rights perspective and not from the standpoint of language racism and its nefarious and destructive effects on their cultural and socioeconomic life, we hope that the ideas presented in this issue will generate and stimulate awareness and discussions in Amazigh communities as well as scholarly research in the fields of linguistics, sociology, and psychology as it pertains to the Amazigh experience, similar to the studies done on Hawaiian and Tibetan natives. In this respect, the [Journal of Amazigh Studies](#) should be a great medium for publishing and disseminating the findings of such research.



Language Barrier in the Aftermath of the High Atlas Earthquake: Linguicism Effects

By Wafa Bahri

Since the deadly earthquake of 6.8 magnitude that struck the Amazigh communities centered in the Atlas Mountains in Morocco on September 8th, killing at least 2,901 and injuring 5,530, according to the latest figures released by the Interior Ministry of the country, social media feeds have been flooded with comments and posts that varied between calls for urgent aids to outrageous criticism of the government's response. Although financial and humanitarian assistance from around the world poured into Morocco, one unforeseen issue seems to have propped up the way of the massive relief efforts. This fact concerns the native language, Tamazight, arising in the discourse as a barrier to communication for the High Atlas—nearly 600,000 Amazigh people spread over thousands of villages (Guabli 1) and severely impacted by the disaster. Numerous Tamazight speakers are found in isolated linguistic communities, lacking sufficient linguistic competence in dominant languages (Moroccan Derja and Standard Arabic) to communicate their needs, pain, and trauma to receive the appropriate aid and information in the wake of the disaster.



Figure 1: *The Moroccan Red Crescent delivering relief aid to the people of Tamaloukte village.*

Scholars and activists have long documented the intersections between natural and anthropogenic dangers, such as earthquakes, climate change, food crises, war, pandemics, and language shifts. The relationship between language and disasters engenders a challenging complication as ideologies of language, natural disasters, and social justice are intertwined in unequal and unforgiving knots (Fine et al. 87). Indigenous languages, in particular, confront unique disaster vulnerability due to linguicism, defined in the work of Skutnabb-Kangas as “ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) be-

tween groups which are defined based on language” (105). In simplified words, linguicism is a form of linguistic racism or language-based discrimination at structural and interpersonal levels (Uekusa 356). In the context of indigenous or minority languages, linguicism focuses on the disappearance of those languages, with little attention to the oppressions that created and reinforced this outcome. Numerous studies examined the role of language skills and literacy as significant contributing variables to survival and resilience during life-threatening events. During the last COVID-19 pandemic, for instance, statistics have shown that Native Americans between the ages of 40 and 64 suffered the highest mortality rate (of 1 in 240) compared to other groups as the relief information and prevention strategies were disseminated mainly in English (Fine et al. 86). Another example is when Hurricane Katrina hit, Latinos were found to suffer more than other ethnic communities, as many of them did not evacuate when almost all storm warnings were broadcast in English (Petri 1).

Many social media posts have been published since the earthquake disclosing linguistic consequences and pointing to the failure to recognize the lack of equitable investment and systemic cultural and linguistic erasure that Amazigh peoples continue to endure in the High Atlas and elsewhere. For this article, I will use the concept of linguicism to examine the online discourse of linguistic injustice around Tamazight during a disaster. I will argue that in addition to the structural inequality and long history of oppression enforced by colonialism, the state and society against Amazigh people's stereotypical and discriminatory beliefs about Tamazight contributed to the vulnerability that its speakers have experienced in the aftermath of the recent catastrophe. I will finish the article by discussing alternative approaches, emphasizing colonial responsibility and the importance of language maintenance.

Tamazight speakers of North Africa, in particular, have always had a long history of Arab-Islamic colonialism and socio-political marginalization and exclusion, pushing Tamazight varieties of many countries into a status of linguistic isolation and even endangerment. The High Atlas population represents an example of relatively isolated and under-investigated Amazigh indigenous communities. The lack of bilingual translators among the social workers and healthcare providers exacerbated the survivors' ordeal. To illustrate this article's dire reality and analysis, we use a shared testimony written in Moroccan *Derja* by a female doctor among the social workers on the hit sites. This testimony, in particular, drew so much attention on Facebook for recognizing the ongoing discrimination against the language while problematizing its con-

sequences.

[For those who wonder how Tamazight would benefit us, a Moroccan doctor wrote: I am thinking about it for the first time in my life. They did not teach us a language of the multi-languages spoken in the country.... Children are frightened or almost distressed by the after-shock. They are not able to express their agony in their Amazigh mother tongue. On the other hand, I can neither feel more nor get closer to them... especially since translation in those circumstances is inappropriate. A relationship of trust and harmony is significant between a doctor and his/her patient. This situation should be stopped...Tamazight...is a part and parcel of our identity, culture, and roots.]

ناس ديال باش غاتنفعنا الأمازيغية ..
طبيبة اطفال مغربية 🇲🇦 كتبات :
لأول مرة نحس راسي ماشي تال تما .. ببساطة .. حيث
معلموناش لغة من لغات البلاد .. اطفال قراب يحماقو من
هول الصدمة .. و ماقادرينش يعبرو على معاناتهم ليا
بلغتهم الام الأمازيغية .. و تانا ماقدرناش بدوري نحس
بهموم اكثر .. و نتقرب منهموم .. خصوصا و الترجمة في هاد
المواقف ماتصلاحش .. حيث العلاقة ديال الثقة و الانسجام
.. ضروري تكون بين الطبيب و المريض ديالو .. هادشي
ماخاصوش يبقى .. و الأمازيغية .. جزء لا يتجزأ من هويتنا و
ثقافتنا و جذورنا ..

Moroccan doctor's testimony from the hit site

Analyzing High Atlas Imazighen's experiences, particularly children through the doctor's Facebook post, confirms their vulnerability to disaster due to a lack of linguistic capital (Bourdieu). By describing their linguistic incompetence in communicating their pain, the doctor discloses the work of linguisticism not only as a form of discrimination but also as a normalized situation that social agents—state and people—including herself—who have been indoctrinated into the negative beliefs toward Tamazight, rarely recognize its existence (Uekusa 357, Lippi-Green 178). “For the first time in my life, I feel I am thinking about it [the exclusion of Tamazight from the educational curricula and public discourse],” she states. Perpetuating racist representations of Tamazight as “unprofitable,” “non-functional,” “primitive,” and “ugly” makes its exclusion from the Moroccan multilingual landscape and segregation in society, schools, and other facilities justified. Her statement, “They [in reference to the state and decision-making authority], simply, did not teach us a language of the multi-languages spoken in the country,” emphasizes the long-

held stereotypes and negative attitudes toward Tamazight.



Figure 2: Tenzirt, a village destroyed by the Morocco earthquake.

The children's disengagement with the healthcare provider is a wake-up call for this doctor to the injustices underlying the claims about intrinsic deficiency in Tamazight. Thus, she addresses her message to those with such negative perceptions to call attention to the alarming outcome of Tamazight's erasure, especially in times of disaster. Research found that emotional support is usually a primary need for disaster survivors (Uekusa 358). However, indigenous communities might need help accessing it due to language barrier. Similarly, High Atlas children survivors retreating from building a connection with the doctor or asking for help could be interpreted as a result of inferiority feelings and low confidence following longly-internalized linguistic oppression.

The children's everyday experience of linguisticism is another wake-up call for transformative linguistic justice in the doctor's message. While bilingualism is commonly proposed as an alternative solution for the issue of linguisticism, this effort usually concentrates on an additive approach to bilingualism that integrates the linguistic minority or indigenous community's mother

tongue in the curriculum besides the dominant language. In the context of the High Atlas Amazigh people, in an interview with the Amazigh scholar Ibrahim Guabli, published on September 19, 2023, on Jadaliyaa.com, he suggests a form of additive bilingualism to solve the underlying language barrier disclosed during the earthquake disaster. He argues:

Amazigh language and culture should be cornerstones of this development strategy. It is high time for the

Similarly, High Atlas children survivors retreating from building a connection with the doctor or asking for help could be interpreted as a result of inferiority feelings and low confidence following longly-internalized linguistic oppression.

Tamazight language's integration into any cultural preservation and restoration program. What could be better than boosting these inhabitants' morale by making a solid commitment to their language through, for example, road signage in Tamazight, better schools, and a curriculum that fully adopts Tamazight as a language of instruction alongside Arabic and other languages? (Guabli 3).

The doctor suggests a slightly different strategy to overcome language barriers in her testimony. She bases her approach on a reconciliation framework that should recognize Morocco's indigenous component, promote a positive sense of Amazigh identity, and acknowledge the past injustices and ongoing inequalities experienced by Amazigh people. To this end, she proposes a form of a “bi-directional” additive bilingualism that challenges the unidirectional and traditional one, implying that dominant language speakers should learn Tamazight as part of their commitment to the reconciliation process and valuation of the multilingual layers of the country. Although this idea is unlikely to be endorsed, Amazigh language and culture need to be accepted, given space, and above all, promoted to the same status as the dominant language to meaningfully bring about reconciliation. According to Zakhir's study on “The Challenges of Amazigh in Education in Morocco,” it has been a decade since Tamazight was recognized as an official language in Morocco. However, many structural barriers impede its implementation in education and ensure its robust maintenance, such as the lack of resources and unwavering adherence to using Arabic as the only medium of instruction (7).

Learning Tamazight through a bilingual approach where the dominant language remains a medium of instruction will likely lead to subtractive bilingualism. The latter often comes at the cost of the mother tongue, minority, or indigenous language, which will eventually be displaced and often replaced by the dominant language. Hence, reconnecting Moroccans with their indigenous roots requires addressing all the legacies of colonialism. The duty to prove effective remedies for disaster survivors requires accountability for the structural inequalities and a commitment to addressing the negative legacies of colonialism, particularly those that have caused language shifts and linguistic isolation. Subsequently, emphasis on the maintenance and education of Tamazight for every person interested in reconnecting with his/her roots and affirming his/her identity should become as important as any other language spoken in the country.

Linguicism might have only become very visible during the recent earthquake disaster. Still, it is nothing new for the Amazigh people of the High Atlas, as in any other Amazigh community of North Africa (Uekusa & Lee 2783). Due to a long history of discrimination and exclusion, resistance to linguicism is a daily practice for most Amazigh communities. The Atlas earthquake survivors

found it difficult to interact with the social workers and ask for the necessary support because they did not feel comfortable using Moroccan *Derja* or standard Arabic. This situation echoes the conclusion of Uekusa's study, entitled “Disaster Linguicism: Linguistic Minorities in Disasters,” on the 2010-2011 Canterbury and Tohoku earthquakes which asserts that “for vulnerable linguistic minorities, not being able to ask for specific help can mean not receiving it; not being able to narrate their own experience in their language can mean not being heard” (369). Thus, any attempt to reflect on and dismantle existing injustices against Amazigh people has to go through language and accentuate the importance of Tamazight revitalization, maintenance, and education not only for its native speakers but also for anyone who aims at reconnecting to “Amazigh culture, identity, and roots,” to borrow the doctor's words.



Figure 3: The 2023 Libyan flood claiming more than 4,000 dead and 10,000 missing.

To conclude, Amazigh indigenous communities are often situated in more vulnerable disaster-prone zones due to colonial oppressions that go back to the 7th century. Oppressions are manifested through forced displacement onto cities where they would assimilate to the dominant Arabic-influenced languages, commonly called *Derja*, or retreat to mountainous and rural areas that may not contain sufficient resources or exhibit toughness in navigating them, especially during times of disaster, resulting in linguistically isolated groups. Assimilation and linguistic isolation represent colonialism's legacy anchored in linguicism. In a time of crisis or natural disaster, linguicism detrimental effects on the indigenous language of North Africa become more evident. While this article is limited in scope to Moroccan High Atlas Imazighen, given the recent earthquake, there are certainly more catastrophic events throughout history where acts of linguistic racism were brought to the surface. Further research which uses the concept of linguicism to examine the effects of language discrimination, for instance, on Kabyle communities during the Black Decade of 1991-2002, and Libyan Imazighen during the 2011 and 2023 floods, will be needed if we are to properly

The Berber Springs: To Put an End to an Arab North Africa?

By Karima Dirèche¹

Translated from French by Rachid Dahmani

The major revolts of 2011 that shook the North African countries put the question of the ethnic and linguistic plurality of these countries at the center of their demands. From Morocco to Libya, the North African peoples (re)discover themselves as Berbers.¹ Thus, the historical Berber heritage (forgotten and mistreated by authoritarian regimes) plays its part in the concert of collective protest. Since independence, it has been the expression of a history of denial and marginalization on the part of the North African states.

Whatever form it takes, Berber activism has evolved toward increasing politicization. It was in the 1960s and 1970s that reflection on Berber identity was conceptualized in political terms and militant struggles against state Arabo-Islamism and the authoritarian syndrome (common to all North African states). This reflection gradually produced an organized resistance against the discriminatory cultural and linguistic policies pursued by these states until the beginning of the 2010 decade.

State Arabo-Islamism and a History of Marginalization since Independence²

At the time of independence, the ruling elites defended Arabness and Islam presented as the exclusive identity and national references and engraved them in their constitutional texts. Political thought, power strategies, and governance practices are deeply imbued with the Arabo-Islamic paradigm, and they go hand in hand with a nationalization of Islam and Arabic, which is supposed to be unanimously supported. We are witnessing an “ideological Arabization” (Grandguillaume, 2001) coupled with a conservative and reactionary state religious policy. While this policy was supposed to fight against Islamist opposition forces, it helped to strengthen links with fundamentalist currents.

The North African states are marked by the Jacobin [centralized] political model of France, a former colonial power, and by Arab nationalism, which in itself is greatly inspired by this same model. Hostility is increasingly pronounced toward ethnic and cultural minorities: The Arabization policies applied (for example in Morocco and Al-

geria) in the 1960s and 1970s are one of the expressions of identity exclusivity. They participate in linguistic and cultural standardization, which pushes to the margins of the public space the plurality of languages and cultures considered the catalysts of national division. Berber-speaking populations are the main targets of this policy of marginalization and folklorization of their language and culture.

“Burdensome” minorities (Chaker, 1992) anchored in territories with strong identity roots (the Rif, Kabylia, Mzab, and Djbel Nefoussa), the Berber populations are long understood through the distorting prism of irredentism and separatism, a legacy, among others, of colonial France (Aït Kaki, 2003). With each popular protest movement demanding cultural rights, democratic change, and the rule of law, the specter of Berber “nationalism” is reraised, and the accusation of civil disobedience is reactivated.

A Long History of Resistance and Protest

“Today, referring to the Amazigh cause, we would speak of resistance and resilience in the face of state apparatuses whose authoritarian culture always pretends to limit and control the plural and pluralist expression of their societies” (Desrues and Tilmatine 2017). However, this resistance and resilience do not arise in the same way, depending on the country, and do not act according to similar modalities of action, even on the scale of Berber-speaking groups.

It is in Morocco and Algeria that identity activism³ is most organized because these two countries have a strong demographic and social base of more than 25 million Berber speakers (more than 25% in Algeria, 35% to 40% in Morocco). In Algeria, the Kabyles are undoubtedly the most outspoken in their cultural and linguistic demands, compared to the Chaouis of the Aurès or the Mzab of the pre-Saharan oases. It would also be more accurate to speak of Kabyle activism rather than Berber (Roberts). This regional particularism of resistance is undoubtedly the product of political experiences (Ottoman, colonial, post-independent), which

¹ The Berber term will mainly be used in the text for reasons of convenience. Even though Amazigh neologism is increasingly being used in the field of North African studies, the term Berber (even if it is outdated) does not have any ideological connotation.

² Two events marked the history of the Berber question before independence. Already in 1930, Moroccan nationalists violently opposed the so-called Berber *dahir* (royal decree of the Sherifian kingdom) promulgated by the authorities of the protectorate because, by promoting Berber customary law, it made it possible to exempt the Berber tribes from Islamic legislation. In 1949, the Berber crisis tore apart Algeria's anti-colonial and independence consensus within the PPA-MTLD. Two radically opposed conceptions of the nation clash: one defends the Arabist and Muslim option of independent Algeria, the other advocates an “Algerian Algeria” with all its religious and cultural components. Historians see this as the first fracture which inaugurates the authoritarian character of the future Algerian state.

³ We must also recall the determining role of the Berber Academy, created in Paris in 1966, in raising political awareness of the Amazigh cause and its transnational character. Subsequently, bringing together opponents of the Moroccan and Algerian regimes, then the Libyan regime, the Academy played a major role in the modernization and dissemination of the Tifnagh alphabet as well as in the popularization of the Berber flag.

made Kabylia a region at the forefront of recurring confrontations with Algerian authorities (Mahé). An early schooling policy (from the last third of the 19th century) allowed the emergence of educated elites who had access to modern political culture; this was nourished and stimulated by the high migration to other regions of Algeria and mainly to France (Dirèche, 1997). Kabyle activism somewhat echoes that of the Rif of northern Morocco, whose political history—violence of the Rif War, violence of the dark years under Hassan II—differs from that of the Berbers of Souss or the Middle Atlas.

It was in 1980 that the Berber question, a term that carries all its problematic weight,⁴ emerged in the Algerian political arena under the name of “Berber Spring” (Tafsut Imazighen). In March 1980, the arbitrary banning of a conference by Mouloud Mammeri, a French-speaking Kabyle writer and academic, at the University of Tizi-Ouzou triggered an unprecedented strike by students. It was violently crushed by security forces, who invaded the campus premises. Still, student mobilization spread and gave rise to a general strike, which mobilized the entire Kabylia region. A state of emergency was immediately declared, and military operations multiplied; four days of violent clashes between the population and the army left 32 victims, and hundreds of arrests (Temlali, 2003).



Figure 1: 1980 Kabylia demonstrations following the banning of a conference on poetry.

These events directly raise the question of linguistic plurality and the absence of the rule of law in Algeria. The brutal confrontation between the Kabyles and the Algerian army highlights the dark realities of an authoritarian and

liberticidal state led by a military oligarchy and a single party of the *Front de Liberation National* (National Liberation Front). The cultural and linguistic demands of 1980, therefore, opens the breach to public political protest, which denounces more broadly the corruption of state power, social inequalities, and the absence of trade union freedoms. They also led to structuring the *Movement Culturel Berbère* (MCB, Berber Cultural Movement) (Chaker and Ferkal, 2012), which founded the *League Algerienne pour la Defense des Droits de l'Homme* (Algerian League for Human Rights) and the *Comite National contre la Torture* (National Committee against Torture).

The end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s were marked by an upsurge in the Berberist movements in the wake of Algeria's experiment with democracy in 1989 and the 1994 Agadir speech in Morocco.⁵ Although their protest in defense of language and culture benefited the Berber-speaking population, their political action remained minimal due to the constant confrontations with authorities and repressive legislation. It was not until the mid-1990s that Algeria finally recognized Berber as a national language.⁶

Attempts at Transnational Struggle

In their activist tradition, Berbers established for the first time in 1995 a common body across all the countries of Tamazgha.⁷ The *Congres Mondial Amazigh* (CMA, World Amazigh Congress) is an NGO whose mission is “ensuring the defense and promotion of the political, economic, social, cultural, historical and civilizational rights and interests of the Amazigh people. To achieve its objectives, the CMA relies in particular on international law and solidarity and cooperation with other people and civil society organizations on a regional and global scale (...).”⁸

The CMA presents itself as a body independent of political parties and states. It aims to be a supranational showcase that raises international awareness of the Amazigh question. Akin to a Berber North African Union, the CMA is undoubtedly much more active and proactive than the Arab Maghreb Union (hindered by Algerian-Moroccan tensions) though it is not immune to divisions and conflicts. A case in point, between 2008 and 2011, the CMA split into two organizations with the same name.

Being very active with international bodies, the CMA

⁴ The Berber dimension of North African countries suffered the vagaries of the authoritarianism of states marked by the French Jacobin model and the Arabist model.

⁵ In which Hassan II declares himself “favorable to the teaching of Berber dialects” Royal Speech of August 20, 1994, cited by Fadma Aït Mous, “Les enjeux de l'amazighité,” *Confluences Méditerranée* 2011/3 (N° 78), 124.

⁶ Haut-Commissariat à l'Amazighité, recognition of Berber as a national language.

⁷ Neologism designating the Berberophony space.

⁸ <https://www.congres-mondial-amazigh.org/cma/> (accessed June 26, 2020).

does not hesitate to expose and denounce the discrimination suffered by the Berbers. In February 2005, it produced a report intended for the United Nations titled *France: Discrimination against Amazigh-French Citizens*. After highlighting the first level of discrimination linked to skin color and foreign origins, the report emphasizes a second level of discrimination, which, according to it, targets more precisely the Amazigh socio-cultural background of North African immigrants. In the same rhetoric, the CMA submitted a report to the European Parliament in November 2009, denouncing the policy of “apartheid” experienced by the Berbers of Morocco. The CMA’s processes are the same as those of the Berber activist associations that campaign for a federal project for the North African states and a status of autonomy for the Berber regions.



Figure 2: 2016 Amazigh protests in El Hoceima, Morocco, following the killing of a fish seller.

In European countries (Spain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy), the CMA’s political argument centers around the systematic distinction between Berber-speaking immigrants and Arabic-speaking immigrants even if it means playing on ambiguities inherited from colonial representations. The CMA has, without a doubt, internationalized the Amazigh cause while modulating its repertoires of action among the local, national, and international scale (Desrués and Tilmatine, 2017).

Algeria, Morocco, two Identity Assertions

With Kabylia, Algeria remains the cradle of activism in North Africa, and the actions carried out there are spectacular. Hence, the school and university boycott in 1994 in Kabylia was decided by the national coordination of the MCB, which, thus, directly opposed the Algerian state. The stakes are considerable since it involves the

introduction of the teaching of the Berber language in public schools. This boycott was accompanied by a general strike that paralyzed Kabylia in September 1994, which remained a unique popular mobilization in the repertoires of collective action. During the long 1994-1995 academic year, K12 and college students observed a general strike: they neither attended classes nor took any exams. Let us remember that this boycott took place in the dramatic national context of the “black decade,” a euphemism for the deadly conflict which pitted the Algerian state against different Islamist armed groups.

The repercussions of this spectacular action are numerous. First, it gave rise to the creation of a state academic institution in 1995, the *Haut Commissariat à l’Amazighité* (HCA, High Commission for Amazighity), whose mission is to promote the Berber language and culture. Berber was then officially introduced into education as an elective in Berber-speaking regions. Finally, and above all, Amazighness is recognized by the 1996 Constitution as one of the three fundamental components, along with Arabness and Islam, of the Algerian identity.

Again, in Kabylia, the Black Spring of April 2001, also referred to as the *Arouch* (tribes) movement, was marked by an ambitious and original popular protest based on mobilizing community institutions. It was the death of a young 17-year-old high school student⁹ on the premises of the *gendarmérie* (local military forces) in a small town in Kabylia that set the entire region ablaze. The riots that followed resulted in around a hundred deaths and thousands of injuries (Amrouche, 2011). The violence with which the armed forces repress the protesters (Mohand, 2001) further strengthens popular mobilization¹⁰ and transforms it into a structured movement that aims for national representation. The *Arouch* movement



Figure 3: The 2001 two-million men march from Kabylia to Algiers,

⁹ Massinissa Guermah was killed in April 2001 by military officers inside the headquarters in the town of Beni Douala.

¹⁰ The 100km march of June 14, 2001, between Kabylia and Algiers brought together more than two million people.

¹¹ According to article 3bis of the law on constitutional revision.

denounces the ills of Algerian society by directly challenging the main representatives of the state. By relying on considerable support and a popular base, bypassing traditional political relays—in particular the *Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie* (RCD, Rally for Culture and Democracy,) and the *Front des Forces Socialistes* (FFS, Socialist Forces Front) with strong Berber-speaking electoral roots—and by adopting practices of political representation drawn from Berber tradition, the movement represents an unprecedented model of collective mobilization in the political history of contemporary North Africa (Dirèche, 2006). However, its regional roots and its identity discourse that were crystallized in the Berber language, as well as the strategy of *pourrissement* (decay) (Dirèche, 183) adopted by the Algerian state quickly locks the movement into an ethnicized reading of social protest. This movement, which, for nearly five years, neutralized all state representations of power in the Kabyle region (notably those of the police and the army), contributed to the 2002 constitutional recognition of Tamazight, as a national language, by the Algerian state.¹¹ However, the *Arouch* movement also participated in founding the *Mouvement pour l'Auto-détermination de la Kabylie* (MAK, Movement for the Self-determination of Kabylia), which has since has been perceived as a separatist movement.



Figure 4: The 2020 protests in Algeria calling for regime change.

In Morocco, the events of El Hoceima¹² (2016-2017) somewhat echo the actions carried out in Algeria. In the densely populated, poor Rif region, with a Berber-speaking majority having a strong migratory tradition, Berber activism is not new. This activism is based on the dramatic memory of a history punctuated by successive uprisings, each time violently repressed by Moroccan security forces. A region conceded in 1912 by France to Spain, the Rif suffered the worst practices of colonial violence. The insurrection led by Abdelkrim el Khattabi, the formidable war leader who established the short-lived Republic of the Rif (1921-1927) against the Spanish occupation, was fiercely



Figure 5: Amazigh protests in Libya, 2019.

repressed. The Rif population was undoubtedly the first civilian victims of 20th century history severely gassed by mustard gas supplied by French aviation (Rivet, 1999).

The reign of Hassan II was marked by a cycle of dramatic social and economic upheavals, namely the revolts of 1958 and 1959 and the austerity riots of 1984. The state's response was each time repressive. The Riffians, described as "separatists" and "ethnicists," are accused of endangering the stability of the kingdom. Despite the newly adopted liberal social and economic policy by King Mohamed VI, the riots in El Hoceima against a backdrop of social demands have brought back the specter of ethnicization by reviving the historical dispute between the central power and the Rif. The reappearance of the flag of the very brief Republic of the Rif in the demonstrations unleashed accusations of separatism (Zaireg, 2018), reducing the protest to its simple regionalist and ethnic expression. The social and economic issues, such as poverty, unemployment, and the rampant diseases linked to colonial gassing, do not hide the historical traumas linked to the question of identity.

The *modus operandi* of the repression is similar to that of Algeria: sentencing of protest leaders to severe prison sentences of more than 20 years, isolation of the region, and focusing on the ethnic dimension of the movement. Rumors of torture circulated in the country. Today, the Rif region remains under the vigilant control of security forces with regionalist and ethnic hyperpolarization.

Since 2011, it is in Libya that Berber movements have made the most notable appearance on the North African political scene. Representing the 10% Berber speakers in the country, they participated in the February 2011 uprising against the regime of Muammar Gaddafi. The Berbers of northwest Libya (Djebel Nefoussa and Zouara) were among the most outspoken during the insurrection (Chaker and Ferkal, 2012). The policy of denial of Berber identity and language is most radical in Libya. If Gaddafi aligned himself with the policies of cultural standardiza-

¹² Following the violent death of a fish merchant, Mohssen Fikri, crushed in a dumpster in Al Hoceima after the confiscation of his merchandise. This violent death should be compared with the self-immolation by fire of Mohamed Bouazizi in Sidi Bouzid in Tunisia in December 2011, whose death triggered the Tunisian Spring.

tion of his North African neighbors, his Arabist doctrine of the Libyan nation, as practiced in all its excesses and ferocity, has often been analyzed as fundamentally “racial if not racist” (Chaker and Ferkal, 2012, 13).

Thus, the Berber regions fully play the role of “collective political actors” (Chaker, 2008) with a view to national inclusion and historical reparations aimed at taking ownership of a common destiny.

From Local to National: The Berber Emblem

The question of linguistic plurality resurfaces once again at the heart of the Algerian *hirāk* (movement in Arabic) movement led, since February 22, 2019, by a large majority of Algerians. Following the resignation of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in April 2019, as a result of gigantic, popular protests against his fifth term, power passed into the hands of the military high commanders. This is the first time since independence in 1962, that Algerians have experienced direct face-to-face confrontation with the army, considered by public opinion as the “deep state.”¹³ If the army initially played the appeasement card by expressing its desire to support the political transition process, it very quickly resorted to old methods of repression by arresting demonstrators, activists, and journalists. The ban on waving the Berber flag was part of this *modus operandi*. It once again brought the question of Berber dissidence to the heart of *hirāk*. However, before its ban, the Berber flag¹⁴ appeared prominently in the demonstrations alongside the national flag.¹⁵ Representing the indigenous people of North Africa and a sign of recognition of the Berber people, this flag was adopted in the 1970s as a part of the Berber identity and symbolizes a homogeneous territorial, anthropological, and linguistic entity, which Ibn Khaldūn had named Berberie. With multiple convictions, some of which carry heavy sanctions (up to 18 months in prison), intimidation, and threats of civil war, the military and certain political leaders resorted back to the old alleged accusations of Kabyle separatism, and once again attempted to ethnicize the protest movement. An Algeria that has, nevertheless, agreed to recognize its ethnocultural components by recognizing Berber as not only a national but also an official language, alongside with the Arabic language, in the 2016 Constitution, and by decreeing in 2017 the Berber New Year (*Yennayer*) a public holiday, the ban of the flag is perceived by public opinion as inappropriate and out of place. Subsequent mobilizations also defy the ban: Berber flags were abundant in demonstrations in all regions of Algeria (both Arabic and

Berber-speaking). In this sense, it can be affirmed that populist and nationalist (Arabist) readings of power are being overtaken by a society tired of being patronized by a political elite that has no respect for the rights of minorities.

The idea of an exclusively Arab North Africa seems to belong to the past, and the so-called “Arab Spring,” which brutally shook the foundations of authoritarian regimes in North Africa marks an historic turning point. They re-examine nationalist and Arabist references in the light of a plural vision of North African societies. If the recognition of the Berber language is established by legislation in Morocco and Algeria, it is far from having the same privileged status of the Arabic language. However, can the Berber linguistic and cultural claim in contemporary North Africa be anchored in a legal and political conception of a nation's plurality?

The ban on waving the Berber flag was part of this *modus operandi*. It once again brought the question of Berber dissidence to the heart of *hirāk*.

This is one of the great challenges of the democratic transitions, in which the North African states have engaged in various ways.

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¹³ Until 2019, the Algerian army always operated in the shadow of civilian presidencies that it appoints and dismisses according to political configurations.

¹⁴ Made up of three horizontal bands of blue, yellow, and green, struck in the center with the letter *Yaz* of the *Tifinagh* alphabet.

¹⁵ The uprisings of 2011 contributed to the visibility of the Berber flag in public spaces. Banned and subject to heavy criminal sanctions before 2011, it is now part of the North African landscape in the same way as the flag of the Arab Maghreb Union.

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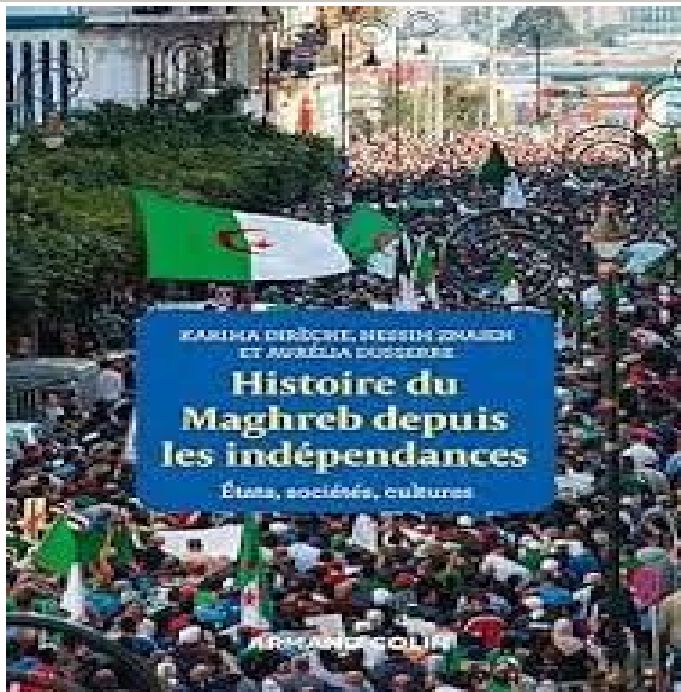


Figure 6: *History of the Maghreb Since Independence* by Karima Dirèche-Slimani, et al. published by Armand Colin, 2023.

¹ **Karima Dirèche** is a research director at the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS). After teaching in colleges and high school, she joined CNRS in 2005 as a researcher at the *Centre (Temps, Espaces et Langages, Europe Méridionale, Méditerranée* (Time, Space and Languages: Southern and Mediterranean Europe) at the *Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme* in Aix-en-Provence.



Rachid Dahmani is a physicist and served as the *Amazigh Voice* editor and translated several articles in the past.



Iguza N Wurfan

Syur Arezki Boudif

Aħric wis 24

Ass n ssebt sšbeħ ur tettafed ara abrid yer isariġen n tarda. Tilawin la ssirident tiqundiar-nsent, iselsa n leqten- nni azuran azwaway ney wid n leqten bu-ijeġġigen, u fesrent-ten i yitij u jebdent-ten s lewqam akken ur kemme- cent ara. Mi d-iwwed uzizwu, agrir akken ma yella la yettyawal di lecyal-is, imdanen ggan amzun duyen. Igur- dan ħulfan i tawla yuyen agrir dya ula d nutni ikker deg- sen uhewir. Makken izeggen uzizwu, yal agrud ittwaṭṭef, ittuqegged, u yurad, imir-n dya ad tafed teyli-d tsusmi deg tebhatin n wurar. Uqbel ad tawed temrilt yer tis semmuset (5:00), ad ilin igurdan uraden ttuħukken u berrant tyem- matin deg-sen akken ur ssamasen ara i yicettiden-nsen tikkelt nniġen; dya ha-ten-ad la ttawin ttarran, lħir ittan yef wudmawen-nsen, deg yiselsa-nni-nsen izeddganen acku la tħadaren ammer ad asen-ssimsen.

Di tqæet anida ara d-tili tmeyra n cdeħ, asqamu i yesuddusen ha-t-an la yetteqlawi. Kra n tubbit n tteqla n trisiti illan tettwajmee-d. Ula d abudu n tyiwant wden-t akken a d-nadin lexyud n trisiti, kra n tsenduqt n dduzan yellan tebzer-d amur-is n tesfift n Chatterton mm-llesqa. Tura, tubbyin-nni n yinziz n trisiti ttwaxlefent u ggant azetta yef tqæet n cdeħ, dya d imegrađ n tejlajin i sxed- men d isgelmasen.¹ Iđ-agi, d tikkelt tamezwarut ara tfeġġeġ tqæet-a n cdeħ. Mi tewwed temrilt yer tis sed- diset (6:00) irgazen uyalen-d yakan seg uxeddin—ney seg unadi n uxeddin—dya iæadda urbae nniġen yer ucucef. Yef tis šat (7:00), imdanen cčan imensi, irgazen lšan-d ayen sean ifaz deg yiselsa-nsen: D tisedduferin yuraden, tisedriyin tizeddganin d tizerwalin, tikwal mađi d ikus- timen iberkanen iberwaliyen. Tullas dayen heggant imanen-nsent deg tqendiar sut-řřqem, itulekkenen akken ad asent-kksen wukmicen, imezran ttusukrefen d tizuraz u cudden s tħucay. Tiyemmatin irfeb-iten lħir, qureeent ti- waculin-nsent makken ssirident igerwajen deffir imensi. Yef teħnayt, tarbaet n yinazuren la ttalsen ayen ara d- uraren, sin (2) n yigudar² n warrac zzin-nsen. Imdanen ha- ten-ad duyen u theyyeren.

Deg tqiđunt n Ezra Houston, d netta i d aqerruy, As- qamu Agejdan n semmus (5) n yirgazen bdan timlilit-nsen. Houston, yiwen urgaz ayezzfan aqejbabar, aglim-is issery- it yitij, allen d tuqsihin, inteq yer usaqmu-ines, yal lħara n tarda yur-s tħamen-is.

“Ccw i imi ’y-d-iwwed yisal dakken ad eardən ad sxesřen tagnit!” I d-inna.

D tħamen-nni aqelqul n lħara tis kradet (3) i d-ibdan ameslay.

“Issefk a ’sen-nefk ttriħa n yiqjan, akken ad zren.”

“Xaṭi,” i d-inna Houston. “D ayen i ttnadin. Xaṭi, a

Mass. Ma yella sekren-d amennuy, yak a d-kecmen insulta u ad inin u’ tezmirem ara ad tesuddsem tameyra. Eardən yakan—deg yimukan nniġen.” Izzi yer uqcic-nni aras ittulmen n lħara tis snat (2). “Theggađ-d tura irga- zen ara iqareeen tama n zżrubat akken ulac win ara d- ikcemen?”

Aqcic ittulmen ihuzz aqerruy-is.

“Eh! Mraw d sin (12). Nniy-assen ħadret ammer ad tewtem yiwen. A ten-id-ssuffeyen kan syin, d aya.”

“Tzemred ad truħed a d-tnadid yef Willie Eaton? Yak d netta i d aqerruy yef yimezlan?”³

“Eh.”

“Ihi, in’-as a d-yas, nebya a t-nzer.”

Iffey uqcic, dya kra n yimir kan, ha-t-a yuyal-d akked yiwen ugraz si Texas iggan am useywen. Willie Eaton yur-s kra n yiyersamren ihcicanen akked ucebub s yini n uyebbar. Iyallen-is d yisiqan-is d iyezzfanen d imicriren, yur-s dayen tittucin issery yitij n temnađt-nni iwumi semman “Afus n tetawat.”⁴ Ibedd din di tqiđunt, la yettezmumug, ifassen-is gumman ad ħesben aleywi yef texlifin-nsen. Inteq yur-s Hudson:

“Iwwed-ik-d yisal yef tmeddit-a?”

“Eh,” i d-inna s uzumeg.

“Illa kra n wayen txedmed?”

“Eh!”

“In’-ay-d ihi ac’ akka txedmed.”

Willie Eaton iđsa-tt-id seg wul.

“Ittusemma, a Mass, ussan nniġen asqamu n yimezlan deg-s semmus (5) n yiterrasen. Tikkelt-a ssawdey-t yer snat n tmerwin d semmus (25), akken ma llan d ufayanen-nni n leali. Ad rren imanen-nsen ceṭṭhen ma d allen-nsen d yimezzuyen-nsen ldin. Uread kan ara tebdut tizzift ney ačiqlel, a d-mjajin fella-s. Sfehmay- asen akken ilaq. Ahat u’ ttfiqin ara mađi wiyyađ. A d- ffyen akken d arbæ dya amcum-nni a d-iddu gar-assen.

“In’-assen tiyita ulayyer.”

Willie Eaton iđsa-tt-id u yenna:

“Kkes aybel, nniy-assen.”

“Lħaşun, in’-assen akken ad zren.”

“Zran. Rriy semmus (5) n yirgazen yer tewwurt, ad ldin allen-nsen yef wid i d-ikeččemen. Ad eardən a d- ramqen wid i d-yusan ad sxesřen, uqbel ad ħrunt.”

Houston ibedd-ed. Allen-nni-ines iggan amzun d uzzal isqan uyalent d tuqsihin.

“Ssel-iyi-d mliħ a Willie. U’ nebyi ara ad yili win ara yettewten. Acku insulta ad ilin eussen dihen zdat n tewwurt. Ma yella win ittufeddexen, d ayen ittraġun akken a d-kecmen.”

“Kkset aybel, nxemmem i kra yellan,” i d-inna Wil-

¹Asgelmas/isgelmasen: isolant(s) (*Amawal amatu n Tfizikt Tatrart*, Dahmane Mazed, Tizigin ASAFU, 2003).

²Agadir, Igudar: rampart(s)

³Amezla/imezlan: Hobbies/Leisure activities.

⁴A fus n tetawat: panhandle.

lie. Wid nettef, a ten-nessuffey si tewwurt n deffir, yer ugni. Ad weşşiy kra n warrac akken u' tixiren ara fellasen alamma dden iberdan-n sen sya.”

“Ac' ara d-iniy, iruh am wakken tgerrezem cc'yel,” i d-inna am win tecyeb teswiet. “Hader ammer ad tyeftlem, a Willie. U' tettuy ara, amasayd⁵ kečč. Hader ad tfeddexem imdanen-a. Balak ama ad tesxedmem i'akken ney imus ney kra n yimrig nniiden.”

“Kkes aybel, a Mass,” i as-d-irra Willie. “Ur sen-nettağğay ara ccama.”

Houston ikcem-it ccek.

“A wi yufan yur-i kra n ttawil swayes ara zrey dakken zemrey a 'k-amney, a Willie. Ma ilaq a sentfem kra n tyitiwin, u' ten-kkatet ara anida ara ten-id-jerhem.”

“Ih, a Mass,” i d-inna Willie.

“Meqqar ma yella lettikal yef warrac-agi i tferned?”

“Ulac fella-sen ccek, a Mass.”

“A leş lah. Aredma⁶, ma yella kra n wugur, ad iliy di tmeqrent-a tayeffust, dihen yer tqaæet n cçdeh.”

Willie ibuyec-as s tkehhani dya iffey.

“Tufid-iyi-d batey. Ssaramey kan arrac-a n Willie ur neqqen yiwen,” i d-inna Houston. “Acu n ssebba i d-ufan qessam n yimsulta armi byan a d-ummen yef ugrir-a? Ayyer u' 'y-ttağğan ara a nili akken nebya?”

Ilemzi-nni itullemen n lħara tis snat (2) inteq u yenna:

“Seadday kra n wussan deg ugrir n tmunt *Sunland Land and Cattle Company*. I yir-iw, ar yur-sen amsaltu i mraw (10) n yimdanen. Ma d ayen nniiden, yiwen uqadus n waman i wazal n snat n twinas (200) n yimdanen.”

Irta-yas-d urgaz-nni akurur.

“A Sidna Eisa, Ay Agellid Amuqran, ay Aramya.⁷ Ulayyer ara iyi-d-talseđ. Lliy din ula d nekk. D yiwen ubettaħ deg-s azal n krad n tmerwin d semmus (35) n yixnamen deg udar yef mraw d semmus (15) n wadaren. I wannect-a akk, llan mraw (10) n yidbuzen. Fiħel ma nniy-ak yef rriħa, a d-tesriħed ibutriħen azal n sin (2) ikilumetren agemmađ-in. Yiwen deg yimuzal idli-yi-d ul-is yef wayen ittxemmim. Illa yeqqim akka s lqerb dya yenna, ‘Deg yigriren n twayit isedduy udabu,’ i d-inna. ‘snummen-asen aman iħman. Sya d tasawent, anida ddan ad ssuturen aman iħman.’ Inna-k, ‘ma tefkid idbuzen i Okiten a i d-irewlen i Rebbi earyan, akka yer zdat ad byun idbuzen.’ Inna-k, ‘ma tefkid-asen i Okiten išettafen tiyawsiwin am tigi, ulac ccek ad byun a tent-sxedmen.’ Yerna yenna-d, ‘deg yigriren-inna n udabu i tnejmaeen akked izdukklanen⁸ izeggayen. Din i d-ttafen tifukal amek ara d-sukkesen tallelt syur adabu,’ i d-inna dayen.”

Dya isteqsat Houston:

“Ulac win i t-idemmeqen s kra n tyita?”

“Xati.” Maca inna-yas-d yiwen uterras akken d

awezzlan, ‘d acu iwumi tsemmađ tallelt?’

“Ayen byiy a d-iniy, nniy-t-id, d tallelt—D ayen nettexliş nekkni d tabzert u ttaken-awen-tt i kunwi ay Okiten n twayit.”

“Nekkni nettexliş tabzert yef kra n wayen yenzan, tabzert yef dduxan” i as-inna urgaz-nni awezzlan, “adabu ittarra-d kuz n yişentimen (4) i yal arđel n leqten i yimlan⁹ n taezibin—i tagi mačči d tallelt?” Yerna inna-yas, “aħal n udrim ittruhun seg udabu yer Tmuntin n Umesni d Tmacinin—I wid-nni mačči d tallelt?”

“Xeddmn yis-sen lecyal ilaqen ad ttwaxdmn,” i s-inna umsaltu-nni.

“Imi akka,” i s-inna uterras-nni awezzlan, “anwa tæuddeđ a d-imger lyellat-nni lemmer ma mačči d nekkni akk? Dya aterras-nni akurur izzi-d i umkan-nni s tmuyli.”

“Amek i s-irra umsaltu-nni?”

“Amek? Amsaltu ikuffer si reffu. Dya inna-yas-d, ‘kunwi s izeggayen-a n uxessař tezgam trewwim-d aħđun,’ i as-d-inna. “Imi akka ekker dfer-iyi-d.” Dya is-suli aterras-nni awezzlan u rrant yer lħebs seddis n tmerwin (60) n wussan, nnan-as tettneđared.

“Amek ssawđen rdan-t¹⁰ dakken ittnemđar imi isea axeddim?” i d-isteqsat Timothy Wallace.

Iđsa-tt-id urgaz-nni awezzlan.

“Iħwa-yak kan, tezrid amek,” i d-inna. “Tezrid anwa i d amentariw, d kra n yiwen ur nħemmel ara timsulta. Yef wannect-a dya i kerħen agrir-a. Ulac amsaltu ara d-ikcemen. Dagi d Iwunak Idduklen, mačči d awanek n Kalifornia.”

Houston irra-d nnehta.

“A wi yufan u' nettixir ara sya. Maca, u' netteattil ara a nekker a nelħu. Nekk ħemmeley amdıq-agi. Imdanen dagi ttemsefhamen; yerna, a ddim uxessař, ayyer ur ay-ttağğan a nkemmel amahil-nney eiwađ a' y-ttarran ddunit d tibirir u a y-ttawin yer lħebs? Welleh ara y-deggiren akken a nesker yid-sen imenyi, d ayen ara yeđrun m'ur ay-fkin ara ciħtuħ n talwit.”

Ar taggara, yuyal issers tađat-is.

“Ilaq-ay a nxeddem lecyal-nney di talwit,” i d-ismekti iman-is. “Nekkni dayen deg usqamu, ur ilaq ara a nekkat tigusa yef yicudađ-nney.”

Argaz-nni ačuran awezzlan n lħara tis krad (3) inteq u yenna:

“Tura, ma yella win iyillen nettes di tħakna deg usqamu-ya, a d-yas ad yaeređ. Ass-agi kan idra-d umennuy di lħara-nney, ger tilawin. Bdan-t la ttemeayarent, syin akin uyalent la ttmawatent s yidumman. Asqamu n lxalat igumma a tent-ifru, dya usant-d-yur-i. Byant a d-ssiwdey amennuy-nni yer usqamu-agi-nney. Nniy-aset issefk ad afent tıfat i tlufa n tilawin imanen-nsent. Nniy-aset dakken asqamu-a-nney ur issekcem ara iman-is deg umennuy yef yidumman.”

Houston ihuzz aqerruy-is.

“Tessuqmeđ,” i as-inna.

Almez¹¹ n tmeddit ha-t-an tura la iteddel agrir, dya semmal ttibrikent tillas, semmal tarbaet n yinażuren tessalay tanedwest n uzawan i tettheđgi. Tıftilin feğgejent, sin yirgazen la ssefqaden i yinzizen n trisiti, ittwaxlefen aħal d tikkelt, yeggan ażetta nnig tqaæet n cçdeh. Arrac

⁵ (t)Amasay(t): Manager.

⁶ Aredma: In any case/However.

⁷ Aramya: The prophet Jeremiah.

⁸ Azdukkan gwt. Izdukklanen: communist(s)

⁹ Imli gwt. Imlan: owner(s)

¹⁰ Rdu/irda/ur irdi/iređdu/ređdu: accuse (*Amawal n Tmazight Tatrart*, Ed. AZAR, 3e Edition, Bgayet, 1990).

¹¹ Almez: a twilight

imecṭuḥen ha-ten-ad zzin-d i yinazuren akken d taccact. Yiwen ilemzi icna-d tizlit-nni n *Down Home Blues*,¹² iser-reḥ-as d acewwiq aheddawi akken kan i yiman-is, u sya yer da ad issenteḡ kra n tergalin s ssnitra. Dya mi yewweḡ yer tsetna¹³ tis snat, rnant-d yur-s kraḡ (3) n lmuḡizat akked yimzad. Si tqidunin, imdanen la d-serrun tura metwal taqaæet, irgazen cebbḥen-d s tsedduferin tizerwalin ma d tilawin s tqendiar n leqten ireqmen. Uzen-d yer tqaæet dya qqimen din la ttraḡun, udmawen-nsen berreqen u ttbanen-d ddaw tiftilin dakken gemnen-d.

Agriḡ izzi-yas-d sselk d aelayan, u yal semmus n tmerwin (50) n yiyallen, imḡifen qqimen di tuga la ttraḡun.

Tikeḡrusin n yinebgawen ha-tent-ad tura la d-ttawḡent, d imlan n taezibin timecṭuḥin d twaculin-nsen, d iminigen seg yigriren nniden. Dya yal win ara d-izgren tawwurt, a d-inteq s yisem n umezday n ugrir i t-id-iaerden.

Tarbaet n yinazuren serrehen-as i yiwet n sḡda itt-wassnen, s tteḡq n tuyac-nsen d wallalen-nsen tikkelt-a, acku tura d tameyḡa s tidet, mačči d asluymu. Zdat n tqidunin-nsen, arbae isemman i yimanen-nsen “Iḥbiben-n-Eisa” qqimen la smuqulen, udmanwen-nsen d uqsiḥen d ubyiḡen. Ula gar-asen ur myentaqen ara, la ssadanen “ibekkaden” iderḡrun zdat n wallen-nsen, yeḡ wudmawen-nsen iban dakken zzazeren¹⁴ ayen akken iderrun tameddit-nni.

Di tqidunt n twacult n Joad, Ruthie d Winfield ḥelgen čitṭuḥ-nni n yimensi i ten-id-iḡuḥen, u bdan tikli metwal taqaæet n tmeyḡa. Tessawel-asen Mam u terra-ten-id armi d taqidunt. Tessuli-asen-d udmawen-nsen s ufus-is ddaw tamart u temmuqel yer daxel n tinzar-nsen, tetteḡ-iten deg yimezzuyen-nsen u temmuqel yer daxel, dya teeyye-iten yer lḥara n tarda akken a d-ssirden ifassen-nsen tikkelt tis snat. Zzin-d kan i lḥara n tarda u rredwin yer tqaæet u rnan yer taccact-nni i yigurdan izzin i yinazuren.

Al dayen isellek učči n yimensi-ines u yesaadda azgen n tsæet la yettṡetṡil tamart-is s lmus-nni n Tom. Iselsa-ines d yiwen ukustim udyiq n taduṡ d tsedrit mm-izerqiḡen. Icucef, issared u yemceḡ acebbub-nni-ines isellsen yer deffir. Dya makken i d-igra iman-is di texxamt n tarda, yaereḡ iḡsa i yiman-is yer lemri, syin akin izzi acemma u yaereḡ ad immuqel yer yiman-is s lqern mi yettaḡsa. Ar taggara, isaadda taḥacit-nni tazwawayṡ deg texlift n ufus-is yerna ilsa lbista-nni-ines izemḡen deg wammas. Iṡteḡ dayen aḥmil n lkayeḡ n udbuz u yesfeḡ yes-s isebbadeḡ-is. Ha-t-an yiwen uterras aneggaru ikcem-d, dya ifuḡes Al tagnit u yerredwi-d yer berra u yelḥa metwal taqaæet n tmeyḡa, allen la ttnadint anida ara walint kra n teqcict. Akka kan yer tama n rreḥba iwala yiwet n teqcict tuzyint mm-umzur d awray teqqim yer yimi n tqidunt. Yuz acemma yer tama-ines, yerna ifsi tiqfilin n lbista-s akken ad isken tasedrit-is.

“Tgemneḡ ad tceḡḡed tameddit-a?” i tt-isteḡsa.

Taqcict temmuqel akin, war ma terra-yas-d awal.

“Ulaḡ win izemren a d-inteq yur-m ney amek? Acu tenniḡ lemmer a ’s-d-necdeḡ čitṭuḥ lwaḥid? (Am win ur neclie, ikemmel inna-yas,) Yerna ssney ad *valsij*.”

Taqcict terfed-d s wallen amzun teneḥcam kra, dya tenna:

“Ulaḡ kra izaden deg-s, ula aqejjun d wemcic ssnen ad *valsin*.”

“U’ cukkey ara tewlen am nekk,” i as-inna Al.

Azawan ssulin-as tanedwest, dya ibda la iteddez aḡar-is yeḡ tmurt u yenna:

“Aha, ekker-d zaema.”

Yiwet n tmetṡut tačurant tessuffey-d aqerruy-is seg tqidunt u tberrem-it-id.

“Kemmel abrid-ik,” i as-tenna s tcekki di taḡat-is. “Taqcict tettwaxdeḡ. U’ tetteaṡṡil ara ad tegg ti-sulta-ines, d aeeggal-is i tettraḡu a d-yas a tt-yawi.”

Al iyemmez-as s ukehhen i teqcict-nni dya ikemmel abrid-is, isurifen-is ddan d uḡawan, tuyat-is la tthuzzunt, ifassen la shillifen. Dya temmuqel deg-s teqcict-nni s ueeqqer.¹⁵

Issers Pa taḡebsit-is dya ikker.

“Kker ad tedduḡ, a John,” i d-inna; Yerna issefhem-as-d i Mam. “A nruḡ a nesteḡsi kra n medden yeḡ uxeddim.”

Dya Pa akked Eammi John bdan tikli metwal axxam n unemhal.

Tom si tama-s issasen-d tiḡdert n uyrum n lkuca deg usqi-nni n leḡwaz i d-igran di tḡebsit-is dya igger-it yer yimi-s. Syin akin imudd-as taḡebsit-nni i yemma-s, tegger-itt deg ubelyun-nni n waman iḥman u tessard-itt, dya tezzel-as-tt i Rose-of-Sharone akken a tt-tesfeḡ.

“Aeni u’ tettruḡuḡ ara ad tceḡḡed?” i testeḡsa-t Mam.

“Awwah, ad ruḥey,” i as-d-irra Tom. Yak ttekkij deg yiwen usqamu. A d-nelhi akked kra n urbae.”

“Ureḡd ara tikkid deg usqamu?” i as-tenna Mam. “Ad iniy imi teseiḡ axeddim.”

Rose-of-Sharone tezzi akken ad tessers akin taḡebsit-nni, dya iwḥa yur-s Tom.

“Ay Agellid Amuqran, wali annect tessawed,” i d-inna.

Rose-of-Sharone tuyal d tazeggayṡ u testaemel teddem taḡebsit nniden seg yifassen n Mam.

“D tidet,” i d-tenna Mam.

“Yerna dayen la trennu di zzin,” i d-inna Tom.

Taqcict tkemmel tezwey-ines ugar u tesnegna aqerruy-is u temmuqel yer igenni.

“Yerna dya xas fakket awal,” i d-tenna, s taḡat tulṡict.

¹² Tujjma n Tmurt: Homeland Nostalgia.

¹³ Tasetna: a refrain (*Amawal n Tmazigh Tatrart*, Ed. AZAR, 3e Edition, Bgayet, 1990).

¹⁴ zizer/ur izazzer/iza zzar/azizer: condemn (see previous reference).

¹⁵ Eeqqer/yetteeqqir/aeegger Sens 1: spice, seasoning. Sens 2: tasteful, be interesting. (J. M. Dallet, EQR, p 996).

“Ulac ccek, tezyen,” i d-terna tenna-d Mam. “Tihdayin zgant rennuent ccbaħa m’ara ilint s tadist.”

Iħsa-tt-id Tom.

“Amaena ma tkemmel acuffu am wakka, ad tuyal ad teħwiġ taberwidt i ueabbuħ-is.”

“Hebset tura,” i d-terna Rose-of-Sharone, uqbel ad tekcem yer tqidunt, u ad teffer yef tmuyli.

Mam tekkexkex si teħsa.

“Ilaq ara a ’s-tettuqameħ lħir.”

“Yaegħeb-itt lħal,” i d-inna Tom.

“Zriy ihwa-yas lħal, maca ikcem-itt dayen lħir. Yerna ha-tt-an tennuyna yef Connie.”

“Tezriħ, aħat ad tuyal ad tessiyes deg-s maħi. Aħat akka tura, ad tafedħ la yeqqar akken ad yuyal d aselway n Yiwunak Idduklen n Marikan.”

“U’ tuqqam ara aybel,” i as-terna Mam. “U’ ttuyll ara ishel fella-s lħal.”

Willie Eaton iquerreb-d, iħsa-tt-id u yenna:

“D keħħ i Tom Joad?”

“D nekk, ih.”

“Ittusemma, d nekk i d aselway n usqamun n wurar. A ’k-neħwiġ. D yiwun uterras iyi-d-immeslayen fella-k.”

“Kkes ayilif, a d-fkey afus,” i as-inna Tom. “Tagi dya d yemma.”

“Amek tettliħ,” i as-inna Willie.

“D tamusni n lxir.”

Willie ikemmel awal:

“Gemney a ’k-errey yer tewwurt, syin akin a d-taseħ yer tqaeħ. Byiy ad teldiħ allen-ik yef medden m’ara d-ttawħen, yerna er ddehn-ik aħat a d-raqededħ kra n wid ibyan ad sekkren ccwal. Maħħi weħd-k, ad yili yiwun nniħen yid-k. Ar deqqal, byiy ad testaemeħed tceħteħed amaena eass.”

“Ih! D ayen zemrey ad xedmey, kkes aybel,” i as-inna Tom.

Mam thuba ciħtuħ tagnit, dya testeħsa-d.

“Yak meqqar ur ittili ara ubuxawec?”

“Xaħi, a Massa,” i as d-irra Willie, “Ur ittili ara ccwal.”

“Acu tebyiħ ad yili, ula d kem,” i d-inna Tom. “Yerbeħ, dya a neddukel akken. A nemzer iħi diħen di tqaeħ n ccdeħ a yemma.”

Sin-nni n yilmezzen lħan s leyseħ metwal tawwurt-nni tagejdant n ugrir. Mam telha la tetteħeid igerwajen-nni yuraden di tsenduħt-nsen.

“Yya ffey-d akka,” i tessawel, dya makken ulac tirit, “Rosasham, ffey-d akka ħra.”

Taqciħt teffey-d si tqidunt, dya tuyal yer usfaħ n yigerwajen.

“Ittnecraħ kan yid-m Tom.”

“Zriy. U’ rfiy ney d acu, u’ ħemmeley ara kan m’ara d-tħeħkiren medden ħur-i.”

“Ayen-nni, ulac tislak deg-s. Akken i ’m-iħwa xdem,

a kem-id-ħekkeren medden. Yak imdanen ferreħen m’ara walın taqciħt tewwi abrid n twacult—lyaci ittaegħab-iten lħal, irennu-asen kra n tmendi. Amek, u’ tetħruħuħ ara aeni yer ccdeħ?”

“Niħal gemney ad ruħey...tura u’ zriy ara. A w’ ufan illa dagi Connie.” Taħat-is tuli. “A yemma, a w’ ufan zaema illa dagi Connie. Wdey armi gummay ad sebrey.”

Mam temmuħel ħur-s s lewqam.

“Zriy,” i as-terna. “Maca, a Rosasham... ħader a d-tesseylid fell-aneħ lħecmat.”

“U’ tt-id-rriy ara di ddehn-iw, a Yemma.”

“Iħi dya, u’ ’y-tħeħcim ara. Maħħi d iyeħlan i ay-iħuħsen, amaena meqqar netteħ di nnif-nney.”

Icenfiren n teqciħt rgagan.

“U’...u’ tħruħuy ara yer ccdeħ. U’ zmirey ara...a yemma...u’ iyi-ggħa ’ra wul-iw!” Dya teqqim u teffer aqerruy-is gar yiħallen-is

Mam tesfedħ ifassen-is s ubeħnuq-nni swayes sskawen igerwajen dya tqummec-d zdat n yellis, u terrors ifassen-is di sin yef ucebbub n Rose-of-Sharone.

“Kem d taqciħt n leali,” i as-terna. “Ala lewqam i txeħdmeħ. Ur ttagad. Aħli yer yidis-im.” Tessahnen deg tsusrut n taħat-is. “Tezriħ ac’ ara nexdem nekk yid-m? A nruħ yer tmeyra-inna, u a neqqim diħen a nferreħ. Ma yella win i kem-yaereħen akken ad tceħdeħ, a ’s-iniy taeyid ciħtuħ. A ’s-iniy tulwaħ. Meqqar ad tesleħ i uzawan u ad tekkseħ lxih.”

Rose-of-Sharone terfed-d aqerruy-is u tenna:

“U’ iyi-tettagħad ara ad cedħey?”

“Xaħi, u’ kem-tattaħgħay ara.”

“Yerna, u tettaħgħad yiwun iyi-d-innal.”

“Ula yiwun.”

Taqciħt terra-d nneħta. S taħat iħħuren d layas i d-terna:

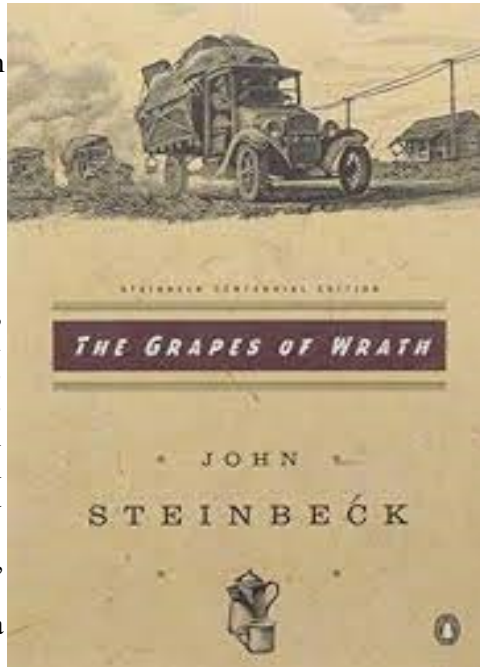
“U’ zriy ara ac’ ara xedmey, a yemma. Tidet kan, u’ zriy ara. U’ zriy ara.”

Teslef-as Mam yef tgecriħt-is.

“Muħel,” i as-terna. “Muħel-d yer da ħur-i. Ha-t-a wac’ ara m-iniy. Ar tirecki kan, kra yellan ad yuyal s amkan-is. Imir kan d amecħuħ. Akka ’m-nniy i tella. Kker tura. A nruħ a d-neccuceħ, a nernu a nceħbeħ, u a netteħ amkan diħen yer yiri n tqaeħ n ccdeħ.” (Dya tewwi Rose-of-Sharone yer lħara n tarda.)

Pa d Eammi John lħan qqimen akked urbae n yirgazen nniħen di teħnayt zdat n tewwurt n uxxam n tedbelt.

“Qrib i d-nufa axeddim, ass-a,” I d-inna Pa. “Newwed kra n ddiħat kan deħfir wid-nni iwumi fkan axeddim. Dayen fkan-asen-t i sin-nni iterrasen. Maca, a ’k-iniy, a Mass, d lewħayem. Illa din yiwun umeħllem, inna-k, ‘Tura kan dya i d-nessekcem sin irgazen s snat n tmerwin (20) n yiħentimen i ssaea. U mazal a neħwiġ ixeddamen s snat n tmerwin (20) n yiħentimen. Nezmer a nessexdem aħas n yirgazen s snat n tmerwin (20) n yiħentimen. Uħalet yer



ugrir-nwen tinem-asen ad yili atas n uxeddim s snat n tmerwin (20) n yişentimen.”

Irgazen-nni iqummecen bdan la teħdiqqiren. Yiwen urgaz bu-tuyat tiħrawanin, udem-is iffer deg umalu n kra urazal d aberkan, ifka tiyita i tgercirt-is s yidikel n ufus-is.

“Zriy akka ara tedru, a ddin uxessar!” i d-isuy. “Yerna, ad afen irgazen ara ixedmen. Ad afen irgazen illuzen. Ulac win izemren ad issečč arraw-is s snat n tmerwin (20) n yişentimen i ssaæa, maca xir n ulac. Kellx-en-ay di tikli n waggad, kellx-en-ay di tin n tuyalin. Zriy amek ara xedmen, a tt-rren d tameylawit,¹⁶ axeddim i win iqeblen drus. Ay Agellid Amuqran, a d-yawed wass, d nekkni ara yettxellişen akken a nexdem.”

“Lemmer i ’y-t-id-fkan, a t-nettef,” i d-inna Pa. “Açhal aya u’ nexdim ara. Ulac ccek, a t-neqbel, amaena zwaren-ay sin-nni iterrasen, mu dayen amek akken ggan, armi nugad a nexdem yid-sen.”

Inteq urgaz-nni bu-urazal aberkan u yenna:

“Meħsub u tt-tfehmed ara akk! Lliy xeddmey yer yiwen uterras, u’ yufi ara amek ara d-ijmee lyella-ines. Azal swayes ara d-ijmee lyella-nni yugar ayen swayes ara tt-izzenz. Ihi, iwħel ur yufi tislak.”

“Nekk ad iniy...” I d-inna Pa. (Agraw-nni n yirgazen susmen, la ttrağun acu ara d-yini). “Lħaşun...yiwet n tek-ti kan akka, lemmer ad ise u uterras azal uzgen n uhiktar n wawal. Yili, tamettut ad tezzu kra n tgezgewt u ad ternu ad trebbi tayuga n yiladayen akked dayen kra n tyuzad. Imir-n nekkni s yirgazen, a d-nnadi axeddim anida nniđen, mi d tameddit a nekcem yer twaculin-nney. Ahat igurdan ad izmiren ad ruħen yer uyerbaz. Aredma, uread u’ walay ara iyerbazen di temnađt-a.”

“Arraw-nney u’ sen-hwin ara iyerbazen-agi-nsen,” i d-inna bu-urazal aberkan.

“Acimi? Xuđi lhan iyerbazen dagi.”

“A k-iniy ayyer. Agrud ara iruħen yer uyerbaz s yijerbuben, ise bbađen ulac, ma d igurdan nniđen s ttqacir d yiserwala n leali, u a tt-qejjimen s wawal n Okie, mmi iruħ yer uyerbaz. Yal ass d imenyi. Yerna ddeqs-is. D uweir akken d amecutħ. Yal ass issefk ad innay. Ituyal-d s axxam iselsa-ines cerregen, anzaren-is duddin. Yemma-s si tama-s, trennu-yas tiyrit. Amaena ħebsey-tt. Mačči win i d-iaaddan akka a ’s-yefk tiyirit i ugrud-nni ameybun. A Sidna Eisa! Ula nniy-d akka, netta dayen atas n yigurdan-nni i d-isfunzer. An’da wen-zriy. Earqent-iyi.”

“I nekk tura, d acu n qessam tebyam ad xedmey?” I d-isteqsa Pa. “Idrimen kfan-ay. Yiwen deg warraw-iw yufa-d axeddim i kra n wussan, maca mačči d ayen ara ’y-iseččen. Ihi, ad ruħey u ad qebley axeddim-nni s snat n tmerwin (20) n yişentimen. Ulamek akken nniđen.”

Bu-urazal aberkan irfed-d aqerruy-is, dya tban-d yer tafat tamart-nni-ines iččuren d zzyeb, akked umgard-is ukris anida issa zzeyb n ućamar-is amzun d aħedduf.

“Eh,” id-inna berra n wul-is. “Xdem akka i d-tenniđ. Ma d nekk d bu-snat-n-tmerwin d semmus (25). A ’k-

fken axeddim-iw s snat n tmerwin n yişentimen. Syin akin, iyi-ddeb laz dya a d-uyaley yer uxeddim s mraw d semmus (15). Eh! U’ tt-xemmim ara akk, ruħ ad txed-med.”

“Ih, acu tebyid ad xedmey a ssimra?” i d-isteqsa Pa. “Tebyid ad mmtey si laz i wakken ad ttuxellaşed snat n tmerwin d semmus (25)?”

Bu-urazal aberkan yuçal ibra i uqerruy-is tikkelt nniđen, dya tamart-is tekcem deg umalu n urazal-is.

“Earqent-iyi,” i d-inna. “Tidet kan earqent-iyi. Am wakken drus mraw d snat (12) n tsaetin n uxeddim deg wass yerna aebbuđ-ik ixwa, ilaq-ak ad tekkilid am ’zal am yid. Mmi u’ yerwa ara tiram-is. Ttexmam ur iteffey ara allay-iw, a ddin uxessar! Qrib ad dderwecey.” (Ameqyas-nni n yirgazen eawqen anida ara gren imanen-nsen, la tteħdiqqiren kan.)

Tom ibedd yer yimi n tewwurt n unekcum, la yettħekir medden i d-yusan ad ħedren i tmeyra n cceđ. Tafat n teftilt n ufus tesfaw udmawen-nsen. Inna Willie Eaton:

“Di laeđil, ldi allen-ik. Aqli a ’k-d-ceyyeeey Jule Vitela. Azgen n tcettalt-is d a *Cherokee*.¹⁷ D aqcic n leali. Am wakken i ’k-nniy, ldi allen-ik. Wali ahat ad tizmired a d-raqded kra deg-sen.”

“Yerbeh,” i as-inna Tom. Dya iqqim la yettmuqel tiwaculin n yimlan n taezibin mi kecmment, tiħdayin s yimezran ittuskurfen d tizuraz, arrac heggan-d imanennsen i cceđ. Jule iwweđ-d dya ibedd yer tama n Tom.

“Aqli dagi yid-k,” i d-inna.

Immuqel Tom yer tinzert-nni iyunğeren akked d tawjayin tarasin yer tama ufella n wudem-is, akked dayen tamart-nni iruħen acemma s tuyzi.

“Nnan-iyi-d azgen deg tnaşlit-ik d Ahendiw Anaşli. Nekk yur-i d Ahendiw ummid.”

“Xati,” i d-inna Jule. “Azgen kan. A wi yufan lliy d Ahendiw ummid. Yili meqqar i yi-d-işah umur deg wawal i sen-ħerçan i ħendiwen. ħendiwen ummiden teqeed teswiæt fella-sen, a nini kra seg-sen.”

“Muqel tura yer yimdanen-a,” i as-inna Tom.

Inebgawen la d-keččmen si tewwurt n berra, d tiwaculin n yimlan n taezibin, ney d iminigen seg yigirren n tansiwin n leħnađ-nni. Igurdan la ttearađen ad senseren, imawlan issusamen la ttearađen ad ten-ttfen yur-sen.

Inteq Jule u yenna:

“Timeyriwin-a n cceđ xedment laeğeb. Lyaci-nney, sseaya ur sein ara, amaena timeyriwin-a rnant-asen ccan u rrent-ten deg tugnit anida zemren a d-earđen imeddukalnsen ad ceđħen, ihi ħulfan innerna-asen wazal u cerhen. Armi ula d imdanen ttqadařen-ten yef tmeyriwin-a. Lliy xeddmey yer yiwen uterras isean tamunt d tamecтуħt. Yusa-d yiwet n tikkelt icceđ dagi. D nekk dya i t-id-earđen, u ysa-d. Inna-k, di tmurt akken ma tella, ala timeyriwin-a-nney i yesean sser, aniyer izmer uterras ad yawi yessi-s akked tmettut-is ad ceđħent. Ĥa! Wali kan.”

Krad (3) n yilmezyen mmiqraben wa yer wa mi leħhun. Aeessas illan yer tewwurt isteqsa-ten, nutni rranas yef iseşiyen-is u yeğğa-ten kemmelen abrid.

“Ldi tit-ik fella-sen,” i d-inna Jule. Yuz yer ueessas u

¹⁶ Tameylawit: the auction.

¹⁷ ittwanıaq, Ćiroki: Cherokee.

yenna-as:

“Anwi i ten-id-iaerden?”

“D yiwen uq̄cic isem-is Jackson, lħara tis kuz (4).”

Jule yuḡal yer Tom.

“Cukkey d widak i-yef nettnadi.”

“Amek tezriḡ?”

“U” zmirey ara a ’k-iniy. Hulḡay-as. Ttbanen amzun akken xuylen. Dfer-iten u tiniḡ i Willie ad ildi allen-is fella-sen, u’ tettū ara dayen a ’s-tiniḡ i Willie ad isteḡsi Jackson fella-sen, lħara tis kuz (4). Sken-as-ten akken a ’y -d-yini ma ttwamanen. Nekk ad qqimey da.”

Tom ilħa deffir krad-nni n yilmezyen. Lħan metwal taqāet-nni n cc̄deḡ u t̄fen imeḡdan-nsen di tsusmi yer yiri n r̄reḡba. Tom iruḡed Willie yer tama n terbāet n yinazuren dya iwħa-yas.

“Acu tebyid?” i d-isteḡsa Willie.

“Krad (3) n yirgazen-in... twalaḡ-ten...dihen?”

“Eh.”

“Nnan-d d yiwen uterras isem-is Jackson, i ten-id-iaerden.”

Willie issayzef amgarḡ-is dya iwala Houston u yessawel-as.

“Widak-inna di krad (3) yid-sen,” i as-inna. “Siwelet-as i Jackson, si lħara tis kuz (4), akken a t-nesteḡsi ma s tidet d netta i ten-id-iaerden.”

Houston ibren yef yigurzan-is u yelħa metwal lħara tis kuz (4); imir kan d amec̄tuḡ, ha-t-a yuḡal-d akked yiwen urgaz d aqejbabaḡ si Kansas.

“Wagi d Jackson,” i d-inna Houston. “Muḡel, a Jackson, twalaḡ arbāe-in n krad (3) n iterrasen...?”

“Eh.”

“Thi, d kecc̄ iten-iaerden?”

“Xati.”

“Tessneḡ-ten?”

Iħekker-iten Jackson s lewqam u yenna:

“Ssney-ten, ih. Nexdem akken yer Georgio.”

“Thi ssnen isem-ik.”

“Akka, ih. Nella nxeddem idis yef yidis.”

“A leḡlaḡ,” i as-inna Houston. “U” ttaz ara yer wanida llan. U’ ten-nessuffuy ara ma sserkeden imanen-nsen. Tanemmirt-ik a Mass Jackson.”

“D axeddim n leali,” i as-inna i Tom. “Cukkey d wigi ’f nettnadi.”

“D Jule i ten-id-iruḡeden,” i as-irra Tom.

“Yah? armi d tura i fehmeḡ,” i d-inna Willie. “D tacettalt-nni-ines n Uhendiw i ten-israḡen. Ihi, a ten-sekney i warrac-agi-nney.”

Ha-t-a yiwen unubi bu-mraw-d-seddis (16) n yis-eggasen di lāmer-̄is la d-ittazzal gar medden. Iħbes zdat Houston akken mazal-it ilehhet.

“A Mass Houston,” i d-inna. “Xedmeḡ akken iyi-d-tennid. Yiwet n tkeḡrust deg-s seddis (6) n yirgazen tbedd dihen ukessar yer yisekla n kalitus, yiwet nniden deg-s kuz (4) n yirgazen, ha-tt-an deg ubrid-inna metwal agafa.

Qerrebeḡ yur-sen mi ’sen-sutrey zzalamid̄t. Yur-sen tika-busin. Walay-tent.”

Allen n Houston uyalent d tuḡsihin, armi ssagadent.

“A Willie, yak meḡḡar theḡḡad-d akk ayen ilaḡen?”

Willie idsa-tt-id s tmendi u yenna:

“Kkes aybel, a Mass Houston. Ur d-iderru ara ccwal.”

“Amāna, u’ ten-kkatet ara. A ’k-id-smektiy. Ma yel-la wamek, s tsusmi d wawal azidan, yerna byiy a ten-zrey. Ad iliy di tqidunt-iw.”

“Ad waliy ayen zemrey a t-xedmeḡ,” i d-inna Willie.

Cc̄deḡ uread ibda, maca Willie yuli yer tlemmast n tqāet.

“Ahaw tura, yal yiwen ad ixtir amkuḡ-ines,” i d-iberreḡ.

Azawan iħbes. Dya arrac d teḡdayin, ilmezyen d telmezyin la ttazzalen di yal tanila armi i d-ggan tam (8) n yimkuḡen di tqāet, heḡḡan la ttraḡun. Tullas zzlent iyallen-nsent yer zdat u tturarent s yidudan-nsent. Arrac iħaren melmi ara yebdu cc̄deḡ, la teddezen s ugerz yef tmurt. Ameccaḡ akin, arbāe n Yihbiben-n-Eisa bedden din, la d-ttmuḡulen s tmuyli n wid izzuzeren ‘abekkaḡ’ iderrun tameddit-a.

Mam d Rose-of-Sharone qqiment yef teḡnayt la ttferriḡent. Dya yal tikkelt m’ara d-issuter uq̄cic Rose-of-Sharone yer cc̄deḡ, ad as-terr Mam:

“Xati, u’ tezm̄ir ara.”

Dya Rose-of-Sharone ad tuḡal d tazeggayt, allen-is ad berreqent seg yimeḡḡawen tettattaf. Aberraḡ yuz tura yer tlemmast n tqāet u yerfed ifassen-is.

“Theḡḡam akk? Serreḡet-as!”

Azawan intam d uq̄siḡ d uf̄siḡ, d zzedwa n “cc̄deḡ n iyuzad,” imziden la ttijjiḡen, lmuḡizaḡ rnant-d asneyney n targalin-nsent, inzizen izuranen n ssnitrat la t̄terḡiqen amzun d ibenduyar. Aberraḡ la d-issusruy amek issefk ad muttin icet̄ḡaḡen, imkuḡen la teddun. Asurif yer zdat, wayeḡ yer deffir, afus yef wammas, sleywit tisednan-nwen. Aberraḡ ula d netta iduy, la iteddez idarren-is, la yettmettie¹⁸ s usurif yer zdat wayeḡ yer deffir, la isennes¹⁹ udmawen n cc̄deḡ makken i d-ittberriḡ yes-sen.

“Ahaw, sleywit tisednan-nwen, ahaw! Myutt̄afet deg yifassen, dewweret, serreḡet tura.”

Azawan ittali ittader, isebbaḡen ittmuttin la kkat̄en deg waguns yef tikkelt dya fkan-d anya n ubendayer.

“Asurif yer yeffus, wayeḡ akka yer zelmeḡ; ferḡet, tura, ahaw ferḡet, myuzzit s wāerur,” i as-d-isuy uberraḡ s taḡat-nni-ines tasmamyant²⁰ mm-yiwen usuru.

Imezran n tullas i-yef seaddant ayen din d akud ha-ten -ad tura xerben. Yef yinyiren n warrac neḡrent-d tmeywanin²¹ n tidi. Ieabbajen n cc̄deḡ seknen-d isurifen-nni iwaeranan iwumi tewlen. Dya yef leryaf n tqāet, imyaren kecmen deg wanya n uzawan, la kkat̄en afus s ttawil, la teddezen idarren; la ttezm̄umugen, dya m’ara d-magren tamuyli n wayeḡ, a ten-twaliḡ tthuzzun iqurraynsen.

Mam tessaz aq̄erruy-is yer win n Rose-of-Sharone u

¹⁸ Ittmettie: he struts his stuff.

¹⁹ Snes: apply

²⁰ Smami/tasmamayt/(t)asmamyant(t): vibrate/vibration/vibrant (*Amawal N Tmazight Tatrart*)

²¹ Tameywant: a pearl (*Dictionnaire Français-Touareg, Dialecte Taïtoq*, Emile Masqueray, Ed. E. Leroux, Paris, 1893)

tenna:

“Ahat u’ yi-tettamneḍ ara, amaena Baba-m d yiwen itewlen nezzeh di ccdeh gar wid akk ssney, asmi illa d ilemzi.” Dya tedsa-tt-id. “Mmektiy-d tallit iɛaddan,” i d -tenna.

Ula yef iqudam n wid-nni ittferriḡen, d azmumeg n tallit izrin i d-ibanen.

“Usawen yer tama n Muskogee, azal n snat n tmerwin (20) n yiseggasen yer deffir, illa din yiwen urgaz d aderyal itturar imzid...Zriy dayen yiwet n tikkelt yiwen uterras i yesterdiqen igerzan-is kuz (4) n tikkal yal tikkelt m’ara ineggez. Dihen usawen deg uwanek n Dakota, tezriḍ d acu xedmen tikwal iswidiyen? Zzuzuren ifelfel aberkan yef tmurt. Ittali d asawen deg tfaswin n tullas dya issalay-asant lherna...ttuyalent amzun d tagmarin di lawan uset-beɛ. Xedmen akka tikwal Iswidiyen.”

Ameccaq akin, Iḥbiben-n-Ēisa ɛussen tarwan-nen igumman ad rekden.

“Muqlet ibekkaden,” i asen-nnan. “Lyaci-ya rekben yef useffud u teddun qbala yer uɛanaɛ. Mačči d tawayit imi ittuhettem yef wid iḥemmelen Rebbi ad ttwalin di ccyel am wa.” Igurdan-nen ur d-nnin awal maca urnanen.

“Yiwet n tezwayt nniḍen imir-n a nesgunfu kra,” i d-inna uberrah. “U’ s-ttcuḥut ara i tagi, acku u’ nettɛattil ara a neḥbes.”

Tullas llexsent si tidi, la ceṭṭhent imawen-nsent ldin, udmawen-nsent d imaglayen, arrac la meccden icubay-nsen yer deffir, la teḥdiqqiren, tifednin wehhant yer zdat, igurzan la tterdiqen yef tmurt. Ha-ten-ad deg yimkuzen, ha-ten-ad ffyen, la teddun yef yizirigen i d-igellemen²² caṭerwal, la ttuyalen yer deffir, la berrnen, yef uɛawan-nni ittijjiqen.

Deqzalla, azawan iḥbes. Iceṭṭahen bedden war angugu, la lehhten si ɛayyu. Igurdan nesren-d deg yifassen n yimawlan-nsen, rreereen-d yer tqaɛet, la ttredwin, ttehnunufen, ttemyakaren tiqremsiyin, ttmijsaden acebbub. Iceṭṭahen ha-ten-ad tura qqimen, la sbuḥruyen i yimanen-nsen s yifassen-nsen. Iɛaggalen n terbaet n yinazuren bedden-d akken ad kksen wejjir yef yifadden-nsen, syin akin uyalen qqimen. Imyurar n ssnitrat lhan la sselkamen inzizen n wallalen-nsen.

Willie issawel-d dayen.

“Ahaw, fernet dayen amkuz nniḍen, ma tzemrem.”

Wid-nni illan ceṭṭhen bedden-d dayen u iceṭṭehan ijdiden rreereen-d yer tqaɛet la ttnadin tameṭṭut ukud ara cedhen. Tom, netta, ha-t-an ibedd yer tama n krad-nni (3) n yilmezyen. Iwala-ten mi tṭywalen akken ad laḥqen yer yiwen umkuz akken kan itwalay. Iwha-yas i Willie, dya Willie ineq yer winna itturaren imzad. Anazur-nni isajjeq taganza²³ yef yinzizen n yimzad-ines. Dya, snat n tmerwin (20) n yilmezyen kecmen s ttawil yer waguns n tqaɛet. Krad-nni (3) ha-ten-ad tura wden yer umkuz-nni aniyer qesden. Dya yiwen deg-sen inna

“D nekk ara icedhen akked tagi.”

Aqcic-nni acelel irfed-d aqerruy-is u ittban iwthem.

“La tceṭṭeh yid-i.”

“Hess-iyi-d, kečč a mmi-s n teqjunt afuḥan...”

Akin yer berra n tqaɛet, di tillas, teššæšæ tešfirt d tuqsiht.

Krad-nni n yilmezyen zzin-asen-d si yal tama amzun d ayrab. U yal yiwen deg-sen uḥalfu yettwaṭtef. Syin akin ayrab-nni n yirgazen imutti s ttawil yer berra n tqaɛet.

Willie isuy-d:

“Serrehet-as!”

Dya azawan yujjaq, aberrah ibda la d-ittsemmi ud-mawen n ccdeh, iḍarren la teddezen aguns n tqaɛet.

Yiwet n tkeṛrust tuḍ-d yer tewwurt n berra n ugrir. Ineq unehhar yer win iɛussen tawwurt:

“Ldi, ldi, nesla dakken ikker imerzi daxel-agi.”

Amḍaf n tewwurt ittef amkan-is.

“An’da akka twalaḍ imerzi. Ssel-as kan i uɛawan. I kečč, anwa-k?”

“Nekk d ammazul n *sheriff*.”

“Yur- k taytast?”²⁴

“U’ neḥwaḡ ara taytast ma yekker imerzi.”

“Ihi, ulac imerzi dagi yur-nney,” i as-irra umḍaf-nni n tewwurt.

Irgazen illan di tkeṛrust fkan tamezzuyt, ayen iwumi slan ala azawan d tadat n uberrah, syin akin ssazen takerrust-nsen akin dya sbedden-tt anida myegzamen iberdan u qqimen din ttraḡun.

Deg tlemmast n tesqamut-nni ittmuttuyen, krad-nni (3) n yilmezyen ttwaqeggeden, afus yuḡal-asen yef yimawen-nsen. Mi wden yer tama mm-tillas agraw iser-reḥ acemma. Ineq Tom u yenna:

“Akka i d-ccyel ney ruḥ ad teqqimed!” Illa ittef-as yer deffir ifassen di sin i umehbus-nni.

Yuzzel-d yur-sen Willie seg tqaɛet-nni.

“Akka i ’wen-nniy!” i as-inna. “Neḥwaḡ kan seddis (6) deg-wen tura. Yerna Houston ibya ad iḥer imexluqena.”

Ha-t-a kan armi d-iffey Houston s yiman-is si tama-nni mm-tillas.

“D wigi?”

“Ih, d wigi,” i d-inna Jule. “Din-din sekren-tt. Maca u’ ten-neḡḡi ara ad fken ula yiwet n tyita.”

“Seknet-iyi-ten-id kan.”

Zzin-d imeḥbas akken a t-id-qablen. Iqurray-nsen udren. Iwha yer iqudam-nsen azenzar n teftilt n ufus.

“Acu i ken-issawden armi txedmem akka?” i ten-isteqsa. Ulac win i as-d-irran. “Anwa-t qessam n wagi i ’wen-d-innan xedmet akka?”

“A ddiin n qessam, ur nexdim acemma. Nteddu kan a necdeḥ.”

“Yah? U’ texdimem ara?” I d-inna Jule. “Tgemnem ad tewtem aqcic-nni.”

Ineq-d Tom:

“Yerna a Mass Houston, makken i d-kecmen wigi, illa win i d-ifkan tamuli s tešfirt.”

“Eh, zriy! Imir-n kan dya imsulta wden-d yer tewwurt n berra n ugrir.” Yuḡal izzi-d yur-sen. “U’ ken-ittay wara,

²² Glem: describe

²³ Taganza: the archer, a bundle of wires used to vibrate the wires of a violin or cello.

²⁴ Taytast: an arrest, a warrant (*Amawal Tytast Azerfan, A. Adghimi, A. Afulay, L. Fouad, 1996, Ed. Imprial, Rabat, Maroc*).

init-d kan anw' i ken-id-iceyyeeen akken ad tsekrem ccwal deg tmeýra-nney." Irġa kra n tririt. "Lemmer terbiĥ, kunwi seg-nney," i asen-inna Houston s uezgum deg tadat-is. "Amkan-nwen yid-nney. Amek armi tqeblem ad txedmem akka? Iwwed-ay-d yisal," i d-ikemmel.

"Tidet kan, a ddin uxessar, amdan issefk ad yečč talqimt!"

"Ihi, inet-ay-d anw' i ken-id-iceyyeeen? Anw' i ken-xellešen akken a d-tasem?"

"U' 'y-d-xellešen ara."

"Ihi xas u ttraġut ara a ken-xellešen. Ulac imerzi, ulac lexlaš. Yak akka?"

Inteq yiwén deg-sen u yenna:

"Xedmet akken i wen-ihwa, ma d timenna, u' d-neqqar ara."

Houston ibra i uqerruy-is kra n yimir, ar taggara inteq -d s tadat tulict:

"A les laĥ. U' d-qqaret ara. Amaena sselet-iyi-d. Meqqar u' xeddeet ara wid-nwen. Aqla-y la nettearađ a neqqim neddukel, a nekkex lxqi di talwit. U' d-ttaset ara kunwi ad tessegrirebem ayen akka i d-nesbedd. Ilaq a 's-txemmem. La tekkatem tigusa yeť yicudad-nwen."

Ayyaw a yarrac, suffyet-ten si tewwurt-in n deffir. Haderet i 'sen-txedmem. U' zrin ara msakit d acu xedmen.

Tasqamut n yimđafen lhan s ttawil metwal tama n deffir n ugrir, dya Houston issedfer-asen tamuyli.

Inteq Jule u yenna:

"Yyaw a 'sen-mekken yiwet n tyita n leali."

"Xaťi, nenna-d xaťi," i d-isuy Willie. "Yak nenna-d tyita, xaťi."

"Yiwet n tyita kan akka d tamectuťt," i d-iħellel Jule. "Yiwet kan n tyita ara ten-isđillen aģemmađ i zzerb-agi."

"Nniy-d xaťi, xaťi," i d-yules Willie.

"Heset-iyi-d kunwi," i asen-inna, "tikkel-t-a aqla-ken tselkem. Xas siwđet awal. Win ara d-netteť sya d asawen, a 's-nefk triħa 'f ara yecfu, ur itteawad ara akk a d-yuyal; u' s-nettaġġa 'ra yiwén iyess išeħħan di tfekka-s. Inet-asen akka i yilmezyen-nwen."

Houston inna-d dakken kunwi d nekkni, di tilawt, liħala-nney yiwet... aħat. Iyađ-iyi lħal a d-rrey tikti am ta deg wallay-ıw.

Ha-ten-ad wđen yer tama n zzerb. Sin deg yimđafen-ni illan qqimen bedden-d rnan uzen-d.

"Arbae-agi ad uyalen s axxam uqbel lawan," i d-inna Willie.

Krad-nni (3) n yirgazen zegren i zzerb dya ttubelzen deg tillas n yid. Tasqamut tuyał-d s temyawla yer tqaeť n ccđeĥ. Imir-n kan dya i tebda ššda-nni, amyar n Dan Tucker, s tjiqqin d usģember n wallalen.

Akin yer tama n uzaday n tebdelt n ugrir irgazen mazal-iten qummeċen u la ttqessiren, aħiħa n uzawan it-taweđ-d yer yimezzuyen-nsen.

Inteq Pa:

"Illa kra ara ibeddlen, yerna la d-ileħħu. U' zriy ara d acu. Wi izran, aħat u 'y-d-ittaf ara m'ara d-yawed. Maca, ĥedru-t-id. Kra din la irekkem. Medden gumman ad fehmen tagnit, ihi irkeb-iten lħir."

Argaz bu-urazal aberkan irfed-d aqerruy-is tikkelt nniden, dya tafat tedhen-d tiwđufin n cclayem-is. Issa-grew-d kra n yilqafen si tmurt u yebda la yettrami yes-sen s udebuz-is, am wakken di turart n llabil.

"Wi 'zran. D tidet, illa kra i d-iteddun, am wakken i d-tennid. Ulsen-iyi-d ayen idran di Akron, deg uwanek n Ohio. Din i llant tmuntin i d-ikennin²⁵ akawaču. Wwin-d ixeddamen si tama n yidurar acu u' tťalaben ara aťas. Syin akin, imesdurar-nni kkren ikkin deg yinmula²⁶ n yixeddamen. Akka, a Mass ih, seg yimir-n ikker wahruħu. Kra yellan d imlan n tħuna, iserdasen, akked lyaci akk am wigi, la tteaggiden, d izeggayen! Ad uyalen d nutni ara isedduyen inmula dagi di Akron! Aggagen di tmezgidwin kecmen-d yer tqaeť, iymisen gumman ad fakken awal fella-s, dya timuntin n ukawaču ferqent-d ifassen n yiqubac, rnant uyent-d irrigen issruyen. A Sidna Eisa, a 's-tiniđ imesdurar-nni d ccwaťen s timmad-nsen! (Ibedd kra n yimir, itnadi ilqafen nniden ara irami.) Akka i teđra, a Mass, aggur n meýres ieaddan, dya yiwén wass n lħed, semmus n yigiman (5,000) seg-sen suddesen-d timzizzelt n urami n zuxzux²⁷ din kan berra n temdint. Semmus n yigiman (5,000) deg-sen lhan di tlemmast n temdint s tenguhlin-nsen yeť tuyat. Ruħen yer temzizzelt-nsen, mi d-uyalen, kif-kif dayen cerkten-d tamdint. D ayagi kan ixedmen. Amaena, am win icetkan i Rebbi! Si tikkelt-nni yal yiwén iqqim deg umkan-is. Igrawen iyermanen²⁸ uyalen rran ifassen-nni n yiqubac, imlan n tħuna qqimen deg tħuna-nsen, ur ittwet yiwén, yiwén ur 's-đlan gudrun akked rric n yiyuzađ, yiwén ur ittwanya."

Izri yimir n tsusmi yezzifen. Ar taggara, bu-urazal aberkan ikemmel awal:

"Dagi dayen ha-ten-ad semyin-d tacciwin. Teslam dakken sseyen agrir rnan wten medden? Lliy ttxemmimey, ula d nekkni ilaq-ay a d-nessuddes tarbaet n temzizzelt n urami n zuxzux u a nettemlil yal lħed."

Irgazen-nni muqlen-d akk yur-s d asawen, dya uyalen sersen iqurray-nsen. Iđarren-nsen gumman ad rekden, la ttarran taekemt n tfekkiwin-nsen seg uđar yer wayed.



Arezki Boudif works in biotechnology as a chemist. He is an active ACAA member and a regular contributor to *The Amazigh Voice*.

²⁵ Kenni: make (Dictionnaire Francais-Touareg (Taqoq), E. Masqueray, Ed. E. Leroux, Paris, 1893).

²⁶ Anmalu/inmula: union(s).

²⁷ Timzizzelt n urami n zuxzux: Turkey-shooting contest.

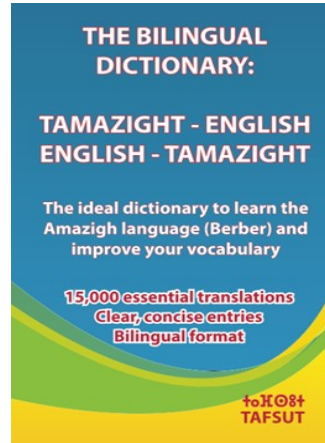
²⁸ Igrawen Iyermanen: Citizens' Committees.

Some Recently Published Books – Editor’s Pick By Louiza Sellami



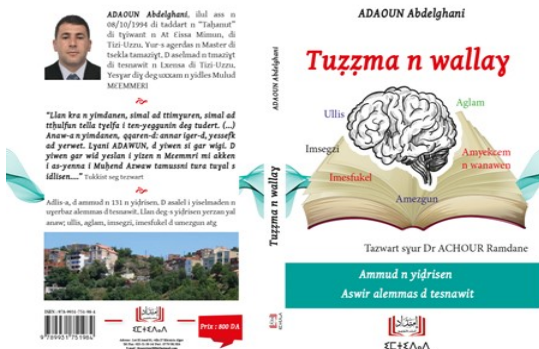
Amazigh Women: Past & Present - Chronicles of Berber Heritage, Resilience, and Empowerment in North African Culture, Paperback – October 5, 2023, by Khalid Lemouden (Author)

This book unveils the untold stories of the unsung heroines of the Amazigh people, often referred to as Berbers. From the ancient queens and warriors who defied conventions to the contemporary trailblazers shaping the political, cultural, and academic landscapes, this book celebrates the enduring strength and contributions of Amazigh women. It also emphasizes their pivotal roles in preserving their culture, struggle for gender equality, and journey toward empowerment. This book is a testament to the resilience, wisdom, and innovation of these remarkable women.



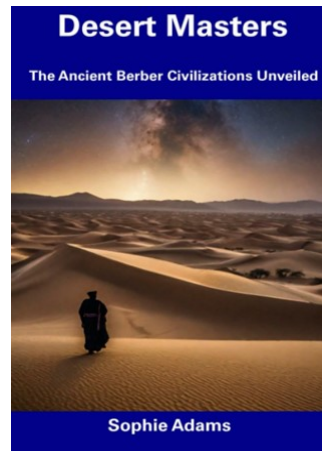
The Bilingual Dictionary: Tamazight-English/ English-Tamazight, Paperback – August 24, 2023 by Tafsut Atlas (Author)

This comprehensive dictionary features 15,000 entries with translations, making it an ideal reference book for learning Tamazight. Entries are organized in two sections: Tamazight to English and English to Tamazight. Each Amazigh word is written in the Tifinagh script followed by latin transcription to make the dictionary useful for new learners. A table of the Tifinagh alphabet is also included.



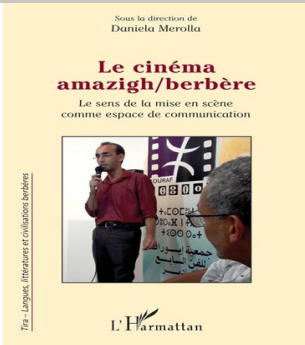
Tuzma n Wallay (Brainstorming), Imtidad Editions, Sept. 10, 2023, by Abdelghani Adaoun (Author)

This book is a collection of pedagogical texts in Tamazight for use in middle and high school curricula. It contains 131 narrative, descriptive, explanatory, and argumentative texts, as well as homework exercises and practice exams. Several literary and scientific themes from cultural and social studies, the environment, botany, astronomy, and renewable energy are incorporated along with the corresponding lexicon in French and Tamazight.



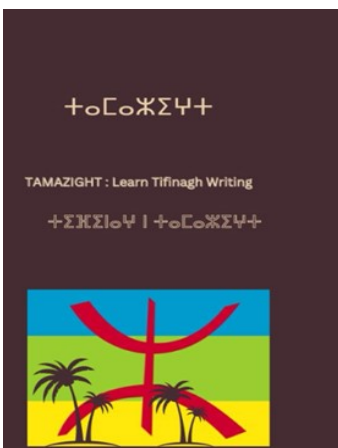
Desert Masters: The Ancient Berber Civilizations Unveiled, Paperback – August 12, 2023 by Sophie Adams (Author)

This book takes the reader on an exhilarating journey deep into the heart of the Sahara to explore the extraordinary Amazigh (Berber) civilization. Penned by the experienced traveler and historian, Sophie Adams, this flagship exploration delves into thousands of years of history, rediscovering this overlooked civilization in all its glory. The book begins with “The Birth of the Berber Civilization” chapter where the seeds of a resilient culture were sown, traverses the footprints left in the harsh dune seas in the chapter “Life in the Sahara: Survival Against all Odds,” and marvels at the Berbers’ architectural prowess in “Architectural Wonders Carved in Sands” chapter. Furthermore, the chapters “Language and Literature: The Voice of the Sahara” and “Artisan Masters: Berber Art, Clothing, and Jewelry” uncover the expression and creativity of a civilization that thrived in adversity.



Le cinéma amazigh/berbère: Le sens de la mise en scène comme espace de communication (Amazigh Cinéma: The Meaning of Staging as a Space for Communication) Paperback – July 20, 2023 by Daniela Merolla (Editor)

To understand the cinematographic language of contemporary Amazigh films and to know whether it is possible to speak of Amazigh cinema, it is essential to study their staging. This volume presents analyses of the images and colors, framing, and sound of Amazigh films, while exploring their interaction with cinematographic narration. In addition, the articles broaden the field of investigation of artistic productions in Tamazight to those in other languages of North Africa and its diaspora. Most of these works are the result of participatory research, with their authors often being jury members at Amazigh film festivals, which enriches their analyses and interpretations thanks to their experience and contact with the world of Amazigh cinema and its audiences. This volume also shows that Amazigh films tend to free themselves from the representations and discourses of the colonial period.



Tamazight: Learn Tifinagh Writing, Paperback – Large Print, May 1, 2023 by Khalid Lemouden (Author)

This book provides a step-by-step guide to learning Tifinagh writing, including the alphabet, pronunciation, and basic Tamazight grammar.



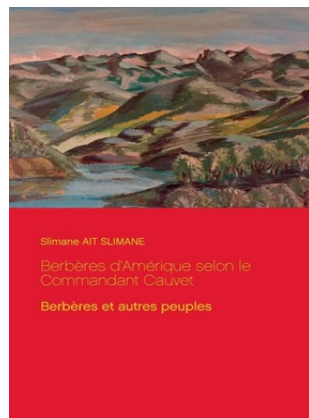
Bijoux berbères en argent de Tunisie (Amazigh Silver Jewelry of Tunisia) - Kindle Edition, Jan 25, 2023, by Helioui Moncef (Author)

After inheriting a set of Amazigh silver jewels, the idea of collecting more of them germinated in the author's mind. That idea was

developed into research which culminated in this 4th artistic notebook: a document intended to contribute to the safeguarding of Tunisia's Amazigh heritage.

For the author, the important thing at this stage is to list as many original jewels as possible, thus creating a first reference while at the same time bringing back from oblivion marvelous little-known jewels such as the silver belt buckle of hollow design. Additionally, the author emphasizes the immense artistic works of Orientalist photographers and painters who contributed to understanding and confirming the meaning of each Amazigh silver jewel and its placement on a dress.

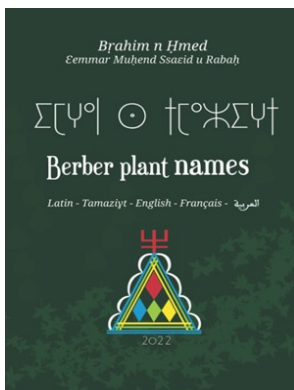
In the "Generalities" section, the author reflects on the enormous waste observed during the 2nd half of the 20th century resulting in the irretrievable loss of most of the Amazigh silver jewelry that passed through the smelting furnace of the jewelers of the markets to make more "fashionable" jewelry.



Berbères d'Amérique selon le Commandant Cauvet: Berbères et autres peuples (Imazighen of America According to Commander Cauvet: Imazighen and other Peoples), Paperback – May 31, 2020 by Slimane Ait Slimane (Author)

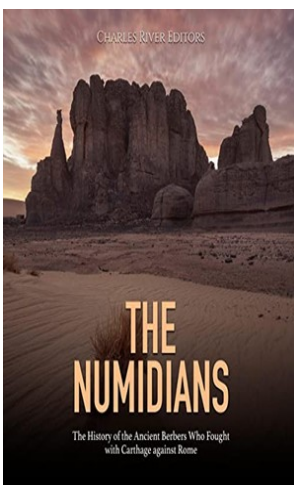
This book explains the evolution of the ethnic, geographical, and anthropological nomenclature of peoples across the different continents. It addresses, among other things, the beginning of humanity, human migrations, alternating invasions and counter-invasions, the names of tribes, beliefs, and heroes. Also, it includes a discussion of the place of Kabylia and North Africa in the movements of names and peoples in Africa, Europe, and America.





Berber Plant Names: Imyan s Tmaziyt, Paperback – October 27, 2022, by Brahim Hmed Amari (Author)

This book is a compilation of over 12,000 plant names used in most Amazigh-speaking countries with their equivalents in French, English, Arabic and Latin.



The Numidians: The History of the Ancient Berbers Who Fought with Carthage Against Rome, Audiobook – July 6, 2022, Unabridged Charles River Editors (Author, Publisher), KC Wayman (Narrator)

This book delves into the history of Numidia and its relationships with the Roman Empire and Carthage. Algeria, Tunisia, and parts of Libya and Morocco were known as Numidia in antiquity.

Numida was the complete opposite of the North African stereotype of a desolate place; it was a land of plenty and the home of a rich agriculture that provided a good share of the Roman Empire's food. Numidians ruled their land as independent kingdoms that dealt with their more powerful neighbors on a relatively equal footing.

Before the Numidians were conquered by the Romans and Numidia was officially made a part of Roman Africa, they developed a culture that was as sophisticated and unique as any in the ancient world. The Numidians were a Berber people who emerged from the edge of the desert in the late second millennium BCE, and despite the harshness of their environment, they became the most powerful people in North Africa. The Numidians found success on the backs of horses, which they rode to countless military victories, and when they could not defeat their enemies with conventional tactics, they were not afraid to resort to asymmetrical warfare.

While the Numidians fought with and against their neighbors, they developed a unique culture that was influenced by the Greeks, Romans, and Carthaginians. Numidian merchants took advantage of their rich land to develop trade routes that made the kingdoms even richer, allowing them to build cities and monuments. Ultimately, the Numidians, however, were unable to stop the advance of the Romans, despite making several valiant attempts to do so.

Continued from Page 6

understand the issues that the indigenous people of North Africa have to confront daily.

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