

Tasdawit Σebd Reḥman Mira n Bgayet  
Tamezdayt n tsekliwin d tusniwin talsanin  
Tasga n tutlayt d yedles n tmaziyt

Tazrawt n masterII  
Tayult: tesnalest n tmazya

**Azwel:**

**Taynarrayt n taddart Iæzzunen**  
**Læerc n Yillulen n Usammer, tayiwant n Iyrem**

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*Deg tazwara ad d-nini tanmirt tameqqrant i Massa IDIR  
Zahwa i d-yellan d yidi deg tazwara ar taggara n leqdic-  
nney.*

*Tanmirt tameqqrant i yimezday taddart n yizezzunen ay-d-  
yefkan afus n tallelt ladaɣa imsulya-nney.*

*Tanmirt tameqqrant i wid i d-yellan yid-ney deg lebni n  
tezrawt-a seg tazwara-s yer taggara-s ladaɣa iselmaden d  
yinelmaden n tesga n tutlayt d yidles n Tmaziyt.*

# Abuddu

*Deg tazwara ad buddey leqdic-a i yemma d baba  
yenættaben fell-i saramey-asen teyzi n Lezmer.*

**-I wayetma (hocine, samir, elhafidh, hamza, toufiq,  
menad).**

**-I yesetma (nacera, nadira).**

**- I leɛmumi d leɛmumti d warraw-nsent yal yiwen s yisem-  
is.**

**- I xwali d xwalti d warraw-nsent yal yiwen s yisem-is.**

**- I yemdukkal-iw d temddukaliw iyi-εawnen deg lebni  
tezrawt-a (hoho, biha, fati, kaho, souad, silya, tamaazouzt,  
hakima...) akk d wiyad.**

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**Tazwert**  
**Tamatut**



### Tazwert tamatut

Tazwert-a i nga d tin i yerzan taynarrayt n taddart Iëzzunen, d yiwet gar tuddar i yettekkinn yer tyiwant n yeyrem, deg læerc n Yillulen n Usammer, ayir n Bgayet.

Leqdic-a n taggara n master d win ara i kecmen deg tayult n tussna n tmetti ayen i wumi qqaren tasnarrayt yef wawal-a Bont d Izard yesbada-t-id d akken: « *d Tawsit n tesnayreft, tettili-d deg-s tesleđt tummidt n tegruma n yemdanen n tsudut ney n tmetti yemmuzgen (...) tanabda n wakal, i læerc, agmamn temdint, tameyra n taddart(...) taynarrayt teskan-d tarrayt yemmugen n tsastant, d talya n daskanay n yigemad n tezrawt, (...) »<sup>1</sup>*

Taynarrayt d yiwen weħric i yesean azal d ameqqran deg tayult n tussna n tmetti s yes i yezmer ad nissin tudrin akk d leerac dayen s tesnarrayt i nezmer ad nissin amezruy d tuddsa tinmettit d tuddsa tadamsant akked yesekkiren i yerzan yal taddart ney yal tagruma anda tettwaxdam taynarrayt.

Anadi-ya ad yili yef usentel n taynarrayt n taddart n Iëzzunen i d-yezgan deg tyiwant n Yeyrem i yetafaren tamdint n Weqbu, tizrawin yettwaxedmen yef tmurt n leqbayel tugget seg-sent d Irumyen i ten-tyebnan uqbel anekcum -nsen yer temnaṭ-a i wakken ad issinen akken iwata timetti taqbaylit uqbel ad kecmen, sin akkin mi i d-keçmen yer tmurt n Leqbayel zerden akken ad issinen yal taluft i yesean assay d tmetti taqbaylit.

S waya ad nnaf ger wid yuran yef tmetti taqbaylit, ad naf Henri Genevois: Tagmunt Σezzuz, 1974, Lğamaz n Sahariğ, 1974, Tawrirt at Mengellat 1974<sup>2</sup>, twaxedmen mi id tekcem Fransa yer tmurt n Leqbayel, yexdem yef tuddrin n Tizi wezzu.

Ma d taggara-ya deg yiseggasen-a ineggura seg 2001ar ass-a ttilin-d tezrawin s yur yinelmaden n tesdawit eerden ad fken udem amaynut i tmetti taqbaylit dayen ad eerden ad semgirden gar zik d tura ad nnaf gar-asen:

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<sup>1</sup> « Genre ethnologique consistant en l'analyse la plus possible d'un groupement humain, d'une institution ou d'un fait sociale particulier(...), communauté rurale, tribu, quartier de ville, fête villageoise ... la monographie désigne, a la fois une méthode spécifique d'enquête et une forme d'exposition des résultats de la recherche», pierre BONTE et Michel EZARD, Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie, 1991, p186 .

<sup>2</sup> Henri GENEVOIS, lğamaε n ssariğ Tawrirt n ayt Mengellat, tom I, 1974.

- Kahina Hamidouche, taynarrayt n taddart n Felden læerc n Yillulen n Usammer tayiwant n yicellaḍen, Akbou, 2007.

- Amari samira akked Benkerrou Tamazight, taynarrayt n taddart n Uxnaq, 2005

Ma d Taynarrayt-a yef taddart n Yiëzzunen tebḍa yef (04) n yeḥricen:

Aḥric amezwaru deg-s ad d-nawi awal yef tesnarrayt dayen yef timental i d ay-yegḡan ad nefren asentel-a dayen d webrid i neḍfar akken a nexdem tasastant nney amek almi nefren taddart-a n Yiëzzunen d ayen ad nebder aseḡsi agejdan akk d ufran n yimsulya.

Deg aḥric wis sin ad d-nemmeslay yef taynarrayt deg-s ad d-nawi awal yef trakalt n læerc n Yillulen n Usammer, tarakalt n tyiwant n Yeyrem, tarakalt n taddart n Yiëzzunen akk d umezruy n taddart-a d tayessa tinmettit n taddart n Yiëzzunen ad nawi awal yef twaculin n taddart n Yiëzzunen d ayen s wansa i d-tussa yal yiwet seg-sent d wassaḡ gar twaculin (iderma) n taddart (ama d ayen yeenan zzwaḡ ney d ayen niḍḍen).

Aḥric wis kraḍ deg-s ad nebder tuddsa n tejmaet deg-s ad nefk tamuylti tinmettit yef tejmaet, tikli n tejmaet akked wamek i d-salayen lezqal n taddart. Dayen ad nemmeslay yef wayen yerzan ansayen ney isekkiren n taddart n Yiëzzunen ama d ayen yerzan timecreḍt d tbiyita.

Deg uḥric-a wis ukué awal ad yili yef azal n tmeḥtut deg taddart n d yixeddin-is, dayen ad nawi awal yef uéetṭa d wamek i t-xeddmn deg taddart-a

Ixfawen-a d wid ara nfak s teggrayt tamatut anda ara d- nemmeslay yef taynarrayt s wudem amatu.

Ter taggara newwi-d tijentaḍ ama d tugniwin ama d idiwniyen ama d irciben i d newwi seg tyiwant akk d wayen yerzan akk leqdic-a.

# **IXEF I**

# **Tasnarrayt**

**Tazwert:**

Iwaken ad neg taynarrayt i taddart n Yiëzzunen i timad-is, nsuddes leqdic-nney s kra n yilugan i neđfer ney yilugan i nesbed yesen asentel-nney, wa ad nzar tafakust ara yeddun d teynarrayt -nney, ara d-yefken tallelt s way-s ara d-nawi inefkan deg unnar imi tasnarrayt i d-iledin taggurt yer unadi usnan yeytan.

**I.1. Asissen n usentel:**

Asentel nefren i tezrawt-nney n taggara n master, d anadi deg umezruy d wansayen d yidles i yettekkin deg uħric n wannar n tussna n tmetti d tesnalest.

Asentel-a nxedm-it yef taynarrayt deg yiwet n taddart d tin iwumi qqaren Iëzzunen deg tyiwant n Iyrem deg ayir n bgayet, deg learc n Ilullen n Usammer, anda ad nemmeslay deg ayen yerzan amezruy n sin wadegen, taddart tamezwarut i yellan deg udrar n n ugemmun tin i mu qqaren taddart n ugemmun uqbel ad tery, akk d taddart n Yiëzzunen and i ttidiren tura.

Leqdic-a nefren-it, imi ur tuqtent ara tezrawin yettwaxedmen yef temnađt n Iyrem, ladya yef taddart n Iëzzunen, dayen yef læerc n Ilullen n usammer. Leqdic-a d ayen ara nernu yer leqdicat i d-yellan yef tmurt n Leqbayel s umata, d wayen i d-yellan yakan d leqdic yef wayir n Bgayet, akked tuddar I s d-yezzin i taddat n Yiëzzunen.

Deg wayen yerzan asentel-a, ad d-nawi awal yef ayen yerzan amezruy n taddart-a ad nemmeslay yef taddart tamezwarut anda ddren lejdud n taddart n Yiëzzunen, d wayen i ten-yeğġan ad şubben yer taddart-a n Yiëzzunen anda llan tura, d wayen yerzan tameict n yal ass, arnu yef waya ad nemmeslay yef trakalt n taddart n Yiëzzunen sin akin ad d-nefk akk ayen yerzan tiwaculin, ad d-nawi awal yef tejmaet d tamejtuť deg taddart-a.

## I.2. Afran n usentel:

Nefren asentel-a n taynarrayt n taddart n Yiëzzunen ilmend n waṭas n timental:

### I.2.1. Timental tunmisin:

Imi nekni nettekki yer taddart-a, nessen akken iwata yal adeg deg taddart-a, yerna nessen imezday-is akken ilaq annecta d ayen ara yiziwnen akken ad nawwi issalen yef taddart-a d umezruy-is, d umezruy n yal tawacult yellan tura deg taddart n Yiëzzunen.

Seg tama nniḍen necfa hekkunz-ay-d immawlan-nney yef taddart-a d wamek id ssuben yer wemkan-a, acku zik lan deg wadeg nniḍen i qerben yer da, d wamek i ttidiren yemdanen deg taddart-a n Yiëzzunen zik arnu yef waya ttmeslay-neyd yef tfellaht deg taddart-a n Yiëzzunen d wamek iznuzuyen zik ayen id-ksen d lyela deg wakal-nsen, ney tbeddilen-t s wayen nniḍen annecta yeslul-d deg-nney lebyi akken ad nenadi yef wayen yerzan akk taddart n Yiëzzunen.

### I.2.2. Timental timsayruyin:

Ayen i y-yiğğan ad nefren asentel-a d akken ulac tizrawin yef taddart-a n Yiëzzunen, ulac anwa ierḍen ad yexdem fell-as.

Nebya ad negzu amek ilan teicin deg taddart-a dayen d acu i d amezruy i tesa d leewayed i txeddem ar wass-a.

## I.3. Iswi n tezrawt:

Iswi n umahil-a d tikci n tikta timaynutin, d tmerniwt-nsent yer tezrawin i d- yelan yakan yef tmurt n Leqbayel deg wayen yerzan asentel-a, am wakken day nebya ad d-nesbeyyen ayen akk tesa taddart-a n Yiëzzunen, ama d ayen yerzan isekkiren i txeddem ney d ayen yerzan leqdic n tejmaet n taddart-a akked wayen yerzan lemqamat yellan deg-s.

## I.4. Afran n wennar:

Læerc n Yillulen n usammer d win yesaen atas n tuddar i yesa; seg-sent nextared taddart n Yiëzzunen yellan deg tyiwant n Iyrem deg Uqbu , afran n taddart-a ur d yeli ara akka kan, acku d taddart i deg nella nezdey, rnu d ayen i nezmer ad d-nawi isallen

fell-as, rnu hekkun-ay-d imawlan-nney yef zik d wamek i ttidiren nebya ad nennadi yef wayen yerzan amezruy n taddart-a, akked wayen icudden yer wansayen-is, ayen id yegran deg cfawat n yemyaren-a, iwakken ad qqimen-t i wid i d-teddun ad d-affen later n lejdud-nsen.

### I.5. Tamukrist:

Deg “*umezruy n Yimaziyen*” (berbere) Iben Xelddun<sup>1</sup> yemmeslay-d yef zwawa wid akk i ttidiren deg yidurar, akken i d-yenna belli beeden mlih yef wiyad win yebyan ad iruh yur-sen yer tuddar-a yezmer ad yeeraq deg ubrid-is. Tuddar n Leqbayel tilint tugget deg-sent deg yidurar ttidiren d tijumuyae yal taddart deg tmurt n Leqbayel tesaa tajmaet-is tesaa ilugan-is yal taddart s tfulmanit-is tettwaxdam ad inid d tamurt tamectuht akken i d-yenna Masqueray d akken: «*Taddart d yiwen wawal ameqqran, yezmer ad yettwasemma yef ugraw n yexxamen yemqaraben ney akken yebyu yili wawal-a yemmal-d agraw n yexxamen*».<sup>2</sup>

Ad nexdem tazrawt-a yef taddart n Yiëzzunen imi nettat gar tuddar n Leqbayel i yetfen deg leewayed-is rnu yef waya tesbar i yicenga akked d wayen yerzan anbeddel inmetti i yellan tura deg tuddar n Leqbayel deg waya ad neereḍ ad nerr yef useqsi agejdan: amek almi i tbedd taddart-a n Yiëzzunen?

Dayen ad neereḍ ad nefk udem amatu i taddart n Leqbayel sumata dayen anexdem aglam akk i wayen i yettidiren deg taddart-a ama d ayen yerzan tajmaet deg tezrawt-a ad neereḍ ad nefk d acu i d ixeddim- ines deg taddart-a amek i d tettili tuddsa n tejmaet? Imi tajmaet tesaa azal ameqqran deg tuddert n yal aqbayli imi nettat txeddem ixeddim n teydemt amek i tessawed tejmaet ad tili deg umkan n teydemt?

Deg wayen yerzan leewayed n taddart-a n Yiëzzunen ad neereḍ ad nefk aseqsi anda ad nerr fell-as deg tezrawt-a d acu i d isekkiren i mazal tetfeg deg-sen taddart n Yiëzzunen, d wamek i ten-txeddem? D-ayen ad d-nawi awal yef tamettut, deg wannecta ad d-nerr yef yiseqsiyen-a d acu i d amkan n tmettut deg tmetti taqbaylit

<sup>1</sup> Abd-Er-Rahman IBN KHALDOUN, Histoire des Berberes et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale, Paris, Edition Berti, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Emile MASQUERAY, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie : Kabylie de Djurdjura, Chaoui de l'Aurès, bni Mzab, Paris, edition sud, 1983.

aladya deg taddart n Yiëzzunen? Amek almi tbeddel teswist yef tamejtu deg taddart n Yiëzzunen? Amek i txeddem tmettu n taddart Iëzzunen azetta? Anta tilawin i t-ixedmen? D melmi I xeddment azetta?.

## I.6. Timeḍranin:

### I.6.1. Abeddel inmetti:

Akk abeddel i d-yettlin deg tyessiwin n ugraw yebyan ad isuddes yer kra n uswir (abeddel id yellan yef tmettu deg taddart n Yiëzzunen akk d ubeddel id yellan yef tejmaet n taddart iëzzunen), yas akken mezzi mlih, seg tewtilin-is, akken gemmu-yis d ubeddel-is ur rkiden ara<sup>1</sup>.

Deg tbadut-a tamenzut, abeddel anmetti, yettbaned deg ukué n tmeskanin akken i tent-yefreq Guy Rocher:

- Yeggar-d ilugan imaynuten (tamuyli tayessant);
- Nezmer ad t-neeql: Deg wakud: Ma nessemyagar-it yer tegnit n beddu, maca dayen Deg tallit tamecṭuht;
- D tin yettdumun;
- D amazday<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Josef SUMPFF et Michel HUGUES, Dictionnaire de sociologie, Paris, edition Librairie Larousse, 1975, p. 43.

Aḍris s tutlayt tafransist : «*Est l'ensemble de modifications intervenant dans les structures d'un groupe qui se veut organiser à un certain niveau, même très faiblement, et se caractérise par un état constant de déséquilibre de croissance ou de transformation*» .

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

Texte en français : «*Dans une première définition, le changement social se repère à quatre manifestations, selon la typologie de Guy Rocher :*

- *Il implique de nouvelles régulations (optique) structurelle) ;*
- *On peut l'identifier dans le temps : par rapport à une situation de départ, mais aussi en court ou Moyenne période ;*
- *Il est durable ;*
- *Il est collectif».*

## I.6.2. Tajmaet<sup>1</sup>:

Awal n tejmaet yekkad seg tazrabt amyag<sup>2</sup> « ġamaea » i yellan d anamek semlil. D tasudut tagejdant deg tmurt n Leqbayel, tella yer Yimaziyen sumata d taqburt (deg yiseggasen n 1700 ar ass-a) deg umezruy.

Tajmaet (d axxam n yergazen)<sup>3</sup> d anda ixedmen At taddart anejmue-nsen, tezmer a tili dayen d amkan anda téallan yemdanen d lgamee, tajmaet temmal-d deg tikkelt axxam anda ttnejmaeen rnu d ayen tadukli-nni.

Tajmaet n taddart ieezzunen d adeg anda yella wassay gar timerrewt d tsertit, yal taddart tesza tajmaet-is iman-is, tajmaet d nettat I d taydemt n taddart n Leqbayel.

## I.7. Afran n yimsulya:

Yal win ixedmen tazrawt yehwağ akken ad yemmeslay akked yimssulya akken ad as-fken kra n yisallen i yerzan asentel-is, deg leqdic-nney imsulya-ya inefren d imezday n taddart n Yiezzunen, acku d nutni i yesnen taddart-a ama d irgazen ney d tilawin maca s leemer yemgaraden.

Deg leqdic-nney neeređ d akken ad d-nefk kra n yiseqsiyen i yemdanen i neera ad ay-eiwnen deg wayen yerzan asentel-a, yef waya nekkni nefren imsulya-nney ilmend n kra n yehricen, ayen yerzan akk amezruy nezređ ad neskuceđ syur kra n yemdanen i nezra ad ayeiwnen s tmussni-nsen d cfawat-nsen yef umezruy n taddart-a i fi nga tezrawt, d wayen isen-d-ħkan imezwura d wayen iεacen nutni deg temeict-nsen n zik, d wayen i ttwalin ibeddel seg zik yer tura ama d ayen yelhan ney d ayen ur nelhi ara, rnu yer waya aħric yerzan ilemziyen ney wid yettidiren sumata deg taddart ad- ay- d- mmeslayen yef tuddsa n tejmaet akked taddart akk dayen nesteqsa leeqel n tejmaet.

Ma d ayen yerzan tametut neseqsa tilawin n taddart-a, arnu dayen ad nemmeslay yef wayen yerzan tametut deg taddart n Yiezzunen d waza l i tesza deg tmetti dayen

<sup>1</sup>Tajmeat dayen ara nwali s telqay deg yixef wis III.

<sup>2</sup> Adolphe HANOTEAU et Aristide LETOURNAUX, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, Paris, édition Challamel, 1893, tom II, p10.

<sup>3</sup> Camille LACOSTE –DUJARDIN, Dictionnaire de la culture berbère en kabylie, Paris, édition la découverte, 2005.



d wamek i tettidiri akk d ixeddim n uzeṭṭa akk dayen nmena-asant ay d awint kra n yisefra id ttawin deg taddart-a.

Yer taggara imsulya-a akk nbedriten-id deg yiwet n tfelwit i nexdem anda id nefka ismawen-nsen d nekwa akked uxeddim n yal amsalyu arnu dayen bedrey-d Leemer n yal yiwen seg-sen, tafelwit-a d tin ara nnef deg tjeṭṭadin.

### **I.8. Tarrayin n umahil d tfukas:**

Tarrayin i nesseqdac deg wayen yerzan tazrawt inxedem d tasleṭt s telqi n wayen akk id newwi d issallen s yur imezday n taddart-a d wayen id newwi deg yeḍrisen i nwalla akk d yedlisen i neyra gar tarrayin i nesexdem ad nebder:

#### **I.8.1. Tazersasant:**

Ilmend n omar aktouf Tazersasant d amecwar ilan iswi d aeiwen n win yettnadin, ad yesɛu agnu ara t-yawin ad yebnu turdiwin ilmend n usentel-is n unadi ara yeereḍ yer taggara ad yefk fell-asant anzaten deg wennar gar wayen isehḥan d wayen yecḍen<sup>1</sup>.

Tazersasant d tuffya yer wannar anda i neereḍ ad d-nefk iseḡsiyen i yemdanen n taddart-a n Yieezzunen yal yiwen deg -sen d acu id -yeqqar dayen neereḍ ad d-nawi ayen i nessawed d isallen yef wayen yerzan amezruy n taddart ama d ayen yerzan amezruy n twaculin ney amezruy n uselmed deg taddart-a d wayen yerzan akk taddart-a sumata.

Tazersasant d amecwar i yeṣelḥen atas deg wayen yerzan ajmaɛay n yisallen, tetteawaney akken ad d-nissin akken iwata annar anda inxedem tasasant dayen tetteawaney akken ad nissin imdanen wid ara yiziwnen deg leqdic-a dayen tettakay tagnitt akken ad nesɛu d yid-sen assayen yelhan.

Tazersasant-a d tin i yebdan deg waggur n mayres yer waggur n maggu 2015 annect-a yetteawaney akken ad nefren imsulya-nney arnu yer wannect-a ad neddem wid i

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<sup>1</sup> Omar AKTOUF, Methodologie des Sciences Sociales et Approche qualitative des organisation : Une introduction a la démarche classique a une critique, Montréal, Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1987.p.102.

yesəan atas n yisallen inuḥwağ deg tezrawt-nney, nseqsa deg tezersastant imdanen i yesəan atas n yisallen ara ay-d-innin yef wayen yerzan taddart-a n Yiëzzunen.

### **I.8.2. Tasastant deg unnar:**

Iwakken ad nexdem ixeddim-nney nennuda yef yisallen i yerzan taddart n Yiëzzunen, nekkni nexdem ayen iwumi qqaren tasastan deg unnar deg taggara n useggas deg tuber 2015 almi d yulyu 2016, imi nekni nexdem tazersastant deg useggas iëddan deg master i deg mayres 2015.

Deg wussan imezwura n tsastant-a neereḍ ad nerbaḥ imdanen-as wawal azidan dayen nezreḍ ad asen-d- nsegzi yef wacu i yef nexeddem s telqay rnu s wawalen I yezmer yal amdan ad yegzu, akken ad ay-d-fken isallen isehḥan i iwulmen asentel-nney isallen ad ay-eiwnen deg wayen yerzan taynarrayt i nexdem yef taddart n Yiëzzunen.

Deg tazwara-ya n tsastant neereḍ ad nawi ayen yerzan amezruy n læerc n Yillulen n usammer imi maççi dayen isehlen acku ur sein ara yemdanen atas n yisallen fell-as, ma dayen yerzan amezruy n taddart n Yiëzzunen nruḥ yer kra n yimeqranen n taddart akk d win yesnen amezruy n taddart.

Iwakken ad d-nawi inefkan yef tejmaε, nruḥ yer yemdanen yesnen tudssa n tejmaεzt, akked wansayen n taddart-a n Iëzzunen s umata. Ma d ayen yerzan tasastant deg unnar i nga yef tmeṭṭut deg taddart n Yiëzzunen nemmeslay yef waya akked tlawin n taddart-a, rnu dayen d kra n yirgazen a i d ay-d-yefkan tamuɣli-nsen yef tmeṭṭut deg taddart Iëzzunen.

### **I.8.3. Adiwenni:**

Deg tarrayt-a nefka kra n yiseqsiyen i kra n yemdanen nefka-asen awal ad d-inin ayen i ttxemimen d wayen i snen yef wayen yerzan taddart n Yiëzzunen mebla ma nesḥebs-iten. D yiwen ubrid agejdan s wayes i d-negmer kra n yisallen, d yiwen ubrid i d ay-iεawnen nezzah akken ad d-nḥiwec isallen yef wayen yerzan akk taddart-a.

Tikli n udiwenni i nexdem d yimsulya nney tuget deg-sen nexdem-iten d yiwen wemdan anda i nettruḥu alma d yur-sen, akken yal yiwen seg-sen d acu ara y-d-yemmeslay yef ayen yerzan akk taddart , dayan lan wid I d nettmagar kan akka deg tzenqatin n taddart am temyarin anda i nettmeslay d yid-sent yef wayen yerzan asentel ney tuget n tlawin i nemmeslay nettaf-itent deg tzenqatin n taddart anda i tṭyimint yal ass ney deg tala n taddart. Ma d ayen yerzan irgazen aladya imyaren, nettruḥu s yixxamen ney nettwali-ten sdat n wexxam-nsen ney deg ujlal- nsen anda i tilin yal ass.

#### **I.8.4.Tannayt tinekkit:**

D ttawil i nesseqdec segmi i d-nebda tazrawt-a, nerra lwelha-nney yer wayen i iderrun deg taddart n Yiëzzunen.

#### **I. 9.Allalen n unadi:**

Deg ujmae n yinefkan, nesseqdec atas n wallalen ad ten-id-nebder:

##### **I.9.1 Iseklas:**

Nefka iseqsiyen usriden i wid id ay-d-yemmeslayan, yerna neḡḡa-ten ad ay-derren i yiseqsiyen-a s lebyi-nsen arnu nefka-yasen tagnit ad ay-mmeslayan akken i byan, Nekkni neskels-d ayen id ay-d-heḍren-t s umsiwel n ufus.

##### **I.9.2.Tugniwin:**

Ttawil-a yeḡḡa-yay ad d-nawi kra n tugniwin yef taddart d kra yef lemqamat n taddart n Yiëzzunen, am wakken ara nessiwed ad d-nesken taddart n Yiëzzunen akken i tella tura.

##### **I.9.3.Tijentaḍin:**

Tijentadin-a dayan yerzan akk taddart Iëzzunen ama dayan i d-newi yef taddart ney i y-d-fkan deg taddart dayan llan kra n yimagraden id neggi deg l'A.P.C n Yiṭrem ama d tikarḍiwin ama dayan yerzan amezruy n yeṭrem akken ad ay-eiwnen deg tezrawt

#### **I.10. Uguren i d-nemmuger:**

Gar uguren i d-nemmuger d-akken nekki d tamettut aya ur yefki ara lḥeq d-akken ad kecmey ney ad ḥedrey anejmue n taddart maca sewḍey ad d-naf tifat s useqsi n yergazen ixedmen anejmue iyi d-nemeslay akk yef wacu ttnejmaeen maca ugur I d-

nemgar d ameqqran d-akken ulac idlisen yuran yef temnaḍt-a aladya ayen yerzan læerc n Yilullen n usmmer imi ulac win i yuran yef umezruy-ines.

**Taggrayt:**

Deg uḥric-a neereḍ ad d-nefk tamuyli tamatut yef tarrayin i neseqdec deg tezrawt-a, n taddart n Yizezzunen i yellan deg Læerc n Yilullen n Usammer, dayen newwi-d awal yef timental i ay-yeḡḡan ad nefren asentel-a gar akk yisental-nniḍen, nefka-d asteqsi agejdan iwakken ad nwali yef wacu i nettnadi deg taggara n tezrawt-nney.

## **IXEF II**

**Trakalt d umezruy n**

**læerc n Yillulen**

**Usammer d Iwant n**

**Iyrem d taddart n**

**læezzunen**

**Tazwert:**

Deg yixef-a ad d-nawi awal yef trakalt d umezruy n læerc n Yillulen n Usammer, d taddart n Iæzzunen, d trakalt n tyiwant n Iyrem, akked wayen yerzan tudds a n tmetti deg taddart n Iæzzunen, d tsekkiwin n twacult i yellan deg taddart-a ad d-nawi awal yef twaculin yellan deg taddart-a tiwaculin tinasliy in, d tid i d-yusan seg yimukan nniđen.

**II.1.Tarrakalt d umezruy n yillulen usammer:**

Læerc<sup>1</sup> d yiwet n tdukli tinmetit taqburt, d tadukli n tegruma ney n waṭas n tuddar tiğiratin tesdukli-tent yiwet n tekti ney yiwet n lfayda iten-ticerken ama deg tdamsa, tadeblant, lemeawna deg yal taluft id ttmagaren; Læerc seg zik yettusemma d yiwet n tdukli n tegruma i d-isubben deg yiwet n twacult, læerc yezmer ad yettef isem n yiwet n taddart tameqqrant deg temnaḍt-a, læerc tettwasnen-t tlisa-s.

Læerc n Yillulen n usammer i d-yezggan deg usammer n wedrar n Ğerğer elayen deg wasif n Summam deg umalu n temdint n Weqbu alma d asif bubhir yesea tlata tyiwanin tin Weqbu d Yeyrem, d tin n Yicelladen yesea tilisa d Tizi Wezzu seg lğiha n ugafa, ma yella seg unzul yesea tilisa d læerc n At eebbas akk d læerc n At eidel, yesea tilisa d læerc n Uzellagen seg usammer, ma yella seg umalu ad af At Mlikec.

Læerc n yillulen n umalu Ssawalen-as akka iwakken ad tsemxilfen akked d yillulen n ussamer.<sup>2</sup>

Seg ayen I d-yenna Alain Mahé<sup>3</sup>, dakken Illulen n usammer sean azal n 2300 n yimezday akked wazal n 30 n tuddar rnu yer waya tuddar n Læerc-a maççi d tid i yesean atas n yemdanen.

<sup>1</sup> «L'ensemble de deux ou plusieurs village unis par certains lien d'affinité constitué aarch», Adolphe HANOTEAU et Aristide LETOURNEUX, op.cit., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> «La tribu d illoulen-oumalou et ainsi appelée pour la distinguer d'illoul-Açammer, tribus situé sur le versant opposée au dessus de la rivière». Emile CARETTE, Etude sur La Kabylie proprement dite, 1848, T II, p.308.

<sup>3</sup> Alain MAHE, Histoire de la grande Kabylie XIX°- XX° Siècle : Anthropologie historique du lien social dans les communautés villageoises, Paris, édition Bouchene, 2001, p.78

Akken i d-temmeslay Camille Lacoste Dujardin dakken Læerc n Yillulen n d win yesæan atas uzemmur<sup>1</sup> d lexrif akked tjunan d lesla tazegzawt, d win yeççuren d arbie, Dayen snuzuyen cwiṭ seg wayen id jemeen am yirden ney timzin i d-tteksen seg wakal-nsen, Illulen n usammer tettwasen mliḥ s twacult tameqqrant anta iwumi qqaren tawacult n yemrabden Ali Cherif deg Yicelladen.

Seg ayen yerzan tama umezruy n Læerc n Yillulen n Usammer, d yiwen gar leerac n tmurt n Leqbayel i yellan seg zik semman-as akka akken ad t-semgirden gar-as akked Yillulen n umalu, ma n muqqel yer wedlis n Hanoteau akked Letourneux ad naf dakken leerac yebda-ten d şef, şef amezwaru d şef n ufella anda id yefka ismawen n leerac-a gar-asen ad naf: At Yahiya, At mengellat, At bu Yusef , At Wasif, At Ttaf, At bu Akkac, Awkdal, At ḥmed, At bu æddu , At Mendas, At Smaæel, Iflissen n umllil, At æbd Lmumen, At Jennad, Iæzzugen, At flik, Illulen n usammer, At Mlikec, Ifnayen, At Ben Mesæud, Imezzayen, Iznagen, d wezgen g At æbbas.

Ma yella s sef wis sin sef ubandda: At Yiraten, Amrawa, At Wagnun, At Frawsen, At Xellil, At Bu Cayeb, At Surar, Illilten, Illulen n umalu, At Iger, At Ziki, At yubri, Iflissen n lebhar, Asif Lhemam, At eissi, Meatqa, At Yanni, At Buyedrar, At Zemenzer, Amecras, At emar u fayed, At Temzalt, At ezidel, Uwzelagen, At 3mer, At Weylis, At Sliman , Iberbacen<sup>2</sup>»; Læarc seg zik qqaren-d d akken lejdud-nsen d yiwen.

<sup>1</sup> « *illulen n usammer :aarch du versant sud est ousammer( ensoleillé), du djurdjura, dans la vallée de la soummam, au nord du bourg d'akbou, a l'adret du versant adossé a la mêmes crête que les illoulen oumalou (a l'ombre )du massif aggawa ils ont des forêts d'olivier' des figuier,des vignes et en altitudes, des frénes hêtres et des chênes verts, dont ils travaillaient le bois ( plat assiettes). Ils vendaient une partie du céréale qu'ils cultivaient.sur leur territoires, réside la famille du grand chef religieux ben ali cherif indépendant de la confrérie rahmaniya, dans les fermes et zaouia d illoula et de chellata* », Camille Lacoste-Dujardin, op.cit.,p

<sup>2</sup> «Les tribus étaient réparties de la manière suivante entre deux çof : çof ufella : ait yahia ; ait menguellat, ait bouyoucef, ait ouassif,ait t'af, ait bou akkach, aoukdal, ait ahmed, ait bou addou, ait mendés, ait smail, iflissen oum el lill,ait abd el moummen, ait djenad, la zzouguen, ait flik, illoulen oussamer, ait mlikech, ifnaien, ait ben messaoud, imezzaen, iznaguen,et la moitié des ait abbas ; çof budda : ait iraten, amraoua, ait ouagnoun, ait fraoussen,ait khelil, ait bou cheyeb, ait surar, illilten, illulen umalu, ait Iger, ait ziki, ait ghubri, iflissen n lebhar, asif lhemam, ait aissi,maatqa, ait yanni,ait bou yedrar, at zemenzer, amecras ,ait amarou faid , ait tamzalt, ait aidel, ouzellaguen, at oighlis, ait slimane» , Adolphe HANOTEAU et Aristide LETOURNEUX , T II, p.19.

## II.2.Tarakalt d umezruy n tyiwant n Iyrem:

Tayiwant n Iyrem d yiwet gar tyiwanin n Weqbu yettekin yer wayir n Bgayet, tesæa tajuma azal n 5500 ha gar-as 3200<sup>1</sup> ha ttwaxedment i tfelaht ttwayument d azemmur akked lexrif, zedyent azal n 12194 n yimezday aya, deg useggas n 2008 (RGPH 2008)<sup>2</sup>

Ma nuyal-d yer wawal n Iyrem ad nini dakken d awal yesæan assay d tyerma, tayiwant n Iyrem yesæa tilisa akk di tazwara ad d-nini seg ugafa ad naf ayir n Tizi Wezzu (At emer Uzeggan), Si tama nniðen ad naf seg wenzul tayiwant n Weqbu, ma seg usammer ad naf tayiwant n Yicellaðen, ma seg umalu Tazmalt d At Mlikec.

Tayiwant n Yeyrem tella tettabaæ tayiwant tayemmat taggi d tayiwant n Weqbu maca deg unebdi adeblan i yellan deg useggas n 02-01-1985 tuyal d tayiwant s timmad-is, tayiwant n Weqbu tebzed yef tyiwant n Weqbu azal n 5km ma yef Bgayet azal n 75km, tebzed yef Lezzayer tamanayt s 155km.

Tayiwant n Yeyrem tesza 22<sup>3</sup> n tuddar (Iæzzunen, Tizi Meali, Alma Wegnan, At emer Uzeggan, At Kerru, At Sellam, Bukir, Iæemmuren, Igirban, Iyrem, Iyil Nasser, Ixerbucen, Irsen, Laezib Uleħdir, Lmecta, Taslent, Tazayart, Tiftisin, Tiylt Mexluf, At Zeggan, At Sellam, Imeğqunen).

Ma dayen yerzan aselmed deg tyiwant n Yeyrem d win yellan seg zik, uqbel akecum n fransa akken iy d yemmeslay mass CH.L: « *seg zik llan iyerbazen deg yeyrem anda iqaren akk yemdanen Leqran deg lğamaæat n tuddar, ma d asmi id kcem fransa imdanen qqaren yef ufus n “les pères blancs” deg tyiwant n yeyrem akk d tyiwant n weqbu i yellan imir-nni d tayiwant ixelden deg yiseggasen n 1874*». Ma d ayen yerzan iyerbazen deg tyiwant n yeyrem yellan tura, llan seg-sen sin yiswiren,

<sup>1</sup> Tijentedt 08.

<sup>2</sup> Tijentedt 05.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.france-université-numérique-mooc.fr/courses/wmfr/86001/séssion1>. nwalat deg yebrir 2016.



aswir amezwaru wayeḍ d aswir wis sin , aswir amezwaru yesæa azal n 11n yiḡerbazen imezwura seg-sen azal n 1200 yinelmaden yellan deg tuddar n Iyrem (aḡerbaz amezwaru n Iæzzunen ma d ayen yerzan aḡerbaz alemmas s3an azal n 2<sup>1</sup> n yiḡerbazen yiwen deg tyiwant n Iyrem wayeḍ deg taddart n Teslent, aḡerbaz alemmas I yellan deg yeyrem yettunaḡsab d aḡerbaz ameqran akk deg tama n tyiwant n weqbu imi d win wesizen mliḡ rnu yezmer ad yawwi agar n 1000 n yinelmaden .

Seg ayen yerzan iḡerbazen anruḡ anekcem ḡer wayen yerzan tazmart, imi tazmart deg tayiwant n Iyrem tes3a azal n 3n tesga n tezmert i yelan, yiwet deg taddart n Iyil Nasser, tayed deg tyiwant n Iyrem, dayen yiwen deg taddart n Teslent, seg tsastant inga nuffad dakken tazmart deg tyiwant n Iyrem d tin ixssen imi ulac yef tikkelt ttawilat n udawi aarn dayen mezziyit zeqqiwin-a ntuḡja imi tazeqqa n Iyrem tesæa azal n kraḍ n texxamin snat n imejayen yiwen d amejay n tuḡmas wayeḍ d amejay nniḍen arnu dayen se3an 2 n tzeywa i yimuḍan yiwet i yerggazen tayed i tlawin, rnu dayen ur sein-t ara allalen yef tikkelt arnu yef waya umejjay ur d yettæedday ara yal ass.

Ma d ayen yerzan agzum adamsan deg tyiwant n Iyrem nezmer ad naf azal n 03 n tnazzanin i yellan, yiwet deg tyiwant yef rrif n tyiwant n Iyrem, yiwet nniḍen deg taddart n Teslent tayed deg taddart n Iyil Nasser.

### II.3. Tarakkalt n taddart n Iæzzunen:

Taddart n Iæzzunen tettekki ḡer tyiwant n Iyrem, id yezgan deg udrar n Iyrem tebeed yef tyiwant n Iyrem s 12km, ma yella seg Iæzzunen (Azzouna en français ) ḡer Weqbu llant azal n 15,6 km , ma yella ger taddart Iæzzunen d Bgayet lant 93km<sup>2</sup> .

Taddart n Iæzzunen zzint-as seg usammer taddart n Tiḡilt Mexluf d At Sellam, ma yella seg umallu Tizi Mæali d Ulma Wegnan, ma seg tama n unzul ad naf taddart n imecqunen ma yella seg ugafa ad naf adrar n tala ugemmun tes3a dayen tilisa seg tama n umalu d At Mlikec.

<sup>1</sup> Seg ayen id newwi deg tsastant n wennar i nexdem.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.france-université-numérique-mooc.fr/courses/wmfr/86001/séssion1>. nwalat deg yebrir 2016.

Taddart –a tesæa azal n 115 n yixxamen ttwazedÿen seg-sen azal n 73 n yexxamen am wakken llan azal n 48 n yexxamen wiggi d wid ur nettwazday ara, acku imezdaynsen d wid i yefÿen deg taddart-a n Iæzzunen, ma dayen yerzan imezday llan azal n 696 n yemdanen wid i yella zedÿen .(RGPH 2008)<sup>1</sup>.

Llan aṭas n yiberdan yettawin yer taddart gar-asen ad naf wid n baylek wid s wansa id ttekken s yes tkerrusin: Yella win id yekkan seg Tizi Mæali tezemreḍ ad tkecmey dayen ad truḥeḍ s At Mlikec ad tawḍeḍ yer Yiyil Mesæud itteki yer Tizi Mæali ad taliḍ sin ad taliḍ yer taddart Ugemmun ad subbeḍ yer taddart Iæzzunen.

Llan dayen yiberdan uḍar neÿ akken isemen dayen abrid n leqbayel tzemreḍ ad truḥeḍ S nnig n taddart seg At Mlikec ad tefÿeḍ yer tzeḥalt ad subbeḍ yer taddart

-Abrid Imecqunen yessufuÿ yer taddart

-Abrid N at Sellam yessufuÿ-d yer taddart

-Tizi Mæali yer taddart.

Seg ayen id nezra deg tsastant i nga ad naf dakken tuget n yiberdan i yettawin yer taddart-a d iberdan n Leqbayel ur ttwaxedmen ara dayen yessawen lḥal rnu tiberdatin timectuḥin ḥaca azal n yiwen n wemdan kan akked iÿersiwen am lmal.

Ma d ayen yerzan ayen akk tesæa taddart, ad nnaf dakken tella deg-s yiwet n tḥanutt anda i d-ttayeñ yemdanen ayen i t-nixusen, rnu dayen tesæa lqahwa i yerggazen, dayen tella tejmaet n taddart.

### II.3.1. Tajmaet<sup>2</sup>:

Fur imezday n taddart-a tajmaet maççi kan d amkan anda ttnejmaeñ yieggalen n taddart maca dayen d amkan anda istaefawen dayen anda i tÿimin yergazen akken id yemmeslay S.c:« *Tajmaet n taddart d amraḥ anda i nettemlili nekkni s warraw n taddart-a dayen d amkan anda i d-nettaṭṭaf abeḥri acku yettwejah rnu semmed mliḥ daggi, deg unebdu ur tettmenniḍ ara akk ad tbezdeḍ yeÿ umkan-a axaṭar semmed*».

<sup>1</sup> Tajenteqṭ 05.

<sup>2</sup>Dayen ara nzar s relqayt yeÿ uferdis n tejmaet deg ixef wis III.

**III.3.2.Lemqamat n taddart:**

Deg lemqam-a ixedmen agraw ama deg leeyudat ney deg lmulud dayen deg tmecredt yernu yettwaḥsab d adeg uyris, lemqam-a n taddart Iæzzunen qqarn-as Ccerfa dinn-a sean taqerrabt anda tettwanṭel tmeṭṭut-a iwumi qqaren Ccerfa deg useggas n 1918 akken iy d mmeslayen imezday n taddart-a, qqaren-d d akken tesæa leenaya, akken iy d-yemmeslay yiwen gar imezday n taddart Iæzzunen L. CH :« *ḥekkun-d d akken lemqam n Ccerfa d win eszan leenaya s waṭas, yella dayen tayurfett iwumi neqqar takbucit d win id nufa nettruḥu netzurut-id deg leewacar mi ara tkecmeḍ ad tkecmeḍ sdat mi ara d teffyeḍ ad teffyeḍ s temdeffirt wa ad as-tiniḍ zziyamd s waerur, yella dayen lemqam n Sidi Mḥend ameqqran d Jeddi Wennuc<sup>1</sup> id yezgan deg At Mlikec anda nxeddem-asen tbiyita lawan i tesekfa taddart*».

Ttawin-d yiwet n tneqqist yef lemqam n Cerfa anda iy- tid-ales Z.CH tenna-d d akken: « *Akken id nuffa yer imawlan-nney qqaren-d dakken llan kra n yemdanen ddan deg teflukt teddun yer tmurt taberanit teddun kan almi i yebda lebḥar yenhewwal anda yal yiwen i daæu i ssalḥin n taddart-is akken ad t-eiwnen deg uxessar id yersen fell-asen ala yiwen seg-sen yeqqim nnan-as: Aha awa deū ula d kecc i ssalḥin-nwen dya yebda idaæu i yemma Cerfa yenna-as a yemma Cerfa ndeh i lbabur ad tali nnan-d dakken lbabur-a tuli-d yef aman , seg-sen yer ass-a yeqqim akka wawal-a anda qqaren aḥeq yemma Cerfa i nedhen i lbabur yuli*». Seg tenqisin-a ad nnaf dakken at taddart n yiæzzunen d wid yettamnen aṭas s lemqamat-a rnu dayen d taddart i yefkan azal d ameqqeran akk i yal lemqam yellan deg taddart.

**II.3.3.Timqebrin:**

Deg taddart Iæzzunen meḥsub yal taxerrubt s tmeqbert-is akken id yemmeslay mass L.CH:« *Yal tafamilt deg taddart n Iæzzunen tesæa timeqbart nutni i t-ixeddmen i tiberzen tela tmeqbert n at yeṭeac, tella tin n addudac, tin n at ccix, akk d tiyav dayen tella tin n taddart yef tikkelt win yebyan ad yenṭel dinn-a*». Anecta d ayen ur d-newi

<sup>1</sup> D lemqam n taddart n yiæzzunen id yezgan deg læerc n at mlikec.

ara isallen iwacu at taddart n Iæzzunen ttenṭalen yal yiwen deg tmeqbert n twacult-is llan wid i d-yennan dakken timeqbart n taddart teççur yef aya yal tawcult tettseḍiqed akal akken ad ttwinṭlen deg-s lmeyt-nsen yef aya yal tawacult tefyed tesæa timeqbart.

### II.3.4. Ayerbaz amezwaru:

Ayerbaz-a amecṭuḥ d win yellan deg yiseggasen n 1980 annect-a dayen iy-d-mmeslayen at taddart-a, akken dayen i y-d-nnan yemsulya-nney nnan-d d akken zik uqbel ad tefru lggira n Lezzayer tin 1954 deg lemḡam win i wumi is-qqaren Ccerfa dinn-a anda id-qqaren Leqran qqaren dinn-a leḥsab akken i d-yemmeslay mass L.CH anda i d-yenna d akken: « *Neqqar deg lemḡam n Carfa, yes yer waya si lḥaḡ Lbacir d yiwen gar imeqqrannen n taddart anda win is-d-yessawlen ad iruḥ d yiwen wergaz yelhan aṭas d netta i yferrun tilufa-ney ama amennuy yellan gar yemdanen deg taddart dayen win is-d-yessawlen deg taddart fiḡal n uxetṭeb ney kra ney kra ad yezwir sdat-s* ».

Aselmed ambaed mi tefra lgirra deg useggas n 1962 at taddart Iæzzunen qqaren deg taddart n Tizi Meali i yellan teqreb taddart-a dina iqqaren Iæzzunen almi d iseggasen 1980 anda i tebna tyiwant n Yeyrem ayerbaz amezwaru anda i qqaren yer ass-a arraw n taddart-a akken i d-temmeslay Y.B: « *Zik mi qqarey nekk ulac ayerbaz deg taddart Iæzzunen neeyu nettruḥu yef uḍar yer Tizi Meali anda i yriy akk ayerbaz amezwaru almi id wwiy aseggas-iw wis 6 ruḥey yer Weqbu dinn-a i kemley leqraya-w deg uyerbaz alemmas n Linterna iseqqaren imaren tura irres yef Malek qadum* ».

Umbaed tasastant i nga tura deg taddart Iæzzunen ayerbaz-a ires yef yiwen n ccahid qqaren-as Meḡqun Yaḥya, deg uyerbaz-a lan azal 70 n yinelmaden i yeqqaren deg-s llan-t 40 teqcicin ayen nniden d arrac ayerbaz-a n taddart-a anda nga tasastant yesæa 6 n tzeqqa n uselmed d umraḥ i westæfu n yinelmaden rnu dayen yella anda i tetten dinn-a yinelmaden, deg-s dayen azal n 7 n yiselmaden akk d unemhal d win i yettelin tawwurt<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ilmend tsastant n wennar i nga.

**II.3.5.Adeg n tmezduyt:**

Tamezduyt deg taddart-a n Iæzzunen tcuba atas n tuddar nniḍen deg tmurt n Leqbayel, ad d-naf ixxamen mḡaraben gar-asen, bḍan d igmamen, farqen gar-asen tzenqatin nay iberdan iḍeyqanen.

Tamezduyt deg taddart n Iæzzunen lant kraḍ n tsekka n yixxamen:

**II.3.5.1.Axxam aqdim:**

Tasekka-ya n yixxamen iqburen truḥ tener deg taddart n Yiæzzunen, drus i d-yeggran deg-sen ad ten-naf deg tzenqatin ur nettwazday ara tura. Meḥsub ala wid yesæan akal deg berra n taddart ur nettchemmim ara ad as-εiwden ttaḡḡan-t akken d aqdim; Ma nemmuqel yer yisufar swayes i s-ibnan yixxamen-a ad naf s wedyay d wakal, mazal deg-sen wid yettwazedyen ar ass-a, talya-ya taqburt imeslayed fella-s Basagana (R.) d Sayad (A.), nnan-d d akken: «*Axxam aqdim d amezyan, talya-s d tasekuḍit, meḥsub werḡin tella d tamrabeit. Deg At Yanni, talyiwin yezgan d ti: Teyzi azal n sebza lmitrat (7m), tehri azal n 4.5m, lezli azal n 3m*»<sup>1</sup>

Ma neereḍ ad d-neglem talya n dixel n yixxamen-a, ad naf yesæa sin n lelwaḥ imeqqranen temmug d tawwurt n berra, mi ara tkecmeḍ yer dixel ad naf axxam ameqqran deg-s maḥsub i yela kullec. Deffir n tewwurt seg tama teyeffust ad naf tikwatin, srusun deg-s tiḡḡa, ma yella yer tama tazelmaḍt, ad naf igig iælleq deg-s uyeddid n waman, ma yella d ajgu alemmas, ttzelliqen fell-as icetṭiḍen, deg tqernit n uxxam ad naf lkanun, amnar yesæa tazuliṭt tessufuy aman yer berra. Sumata ixxamen-a seqfen s uyanim d lqermud, leḥyud-is melsen s wakal umlil, deffir n uxxam tella tæecciwt n tyuzad<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> « *La maison traditionnelle est de dimension réduite, a plan rectangle, presque jamais à plan carré. Aux Ait Yanni, les dimensions moyennes sont les suivantes : longueur environ 7m ; largeur environ 4.5m ; hauteur environ 3 m* ». Raymond BASAGANA et ALI SAYAD, Habitat traditionnel et structure familiale en Kabylie, Alger, édition Crape, 1974, P.17.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre BOURDIEU, Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, Paris, edition du seuil 2000, p. 64.

Inaw n yixxamen-a bdan ttruhun acku imezday-is llan wid i ten-yerran di tterf acku bnan, nay tteawaden-asen lebni, rnu yef wayen id zriy deg tsastant-nney uffiy-d dakken imdanen ttemeanaden deg wayen yerzan lbenyan rnu yef waya byan ad eiwden ayen yeddand tura.

### II.3.5.2. Axxam aqdim yettuæawden:

Imi taddart Iæzzunen d wid i yettağan atas taddart-nsen ttinigen ar temdinin ad nnaf dakken ur hemlen ara ad sxesren atas n wedrim yef tmezduyt deg taddart akken i d- yenna CH.L:« *at taddart n yiæzzunen d wid yettsubun yer temdint s waṭas yef aya tteawaden kan i yexxamen iqdimen selyen-ten s ssiman ney renun tixxamin ma yella yehḍyaq asimi kan ad ssuben sin*».

Axxam aqdim yettwaæawden deg taddart n yiæzzunen d axxam ireqeen kan imawlan-is akken i d-nna R. CH: « *d areqaæ kan i tentteqiz akken a neddari deg-s uqbel ad ruh*»

### II.3.5.3Axxam atrar:

Seg wasmi id- tewwi Lezzayer timmument-is ar ass-a, Leqbayel beddlen udem n lebni, imi yella-d ureqqez n yixxamen yef teyzi n snat n talliyin, tallit seld azarug n Lezzayer alami d 1980 anda i d-yettili ureqqee n yexxamen imi i wanecta kan i zemren , akked tallit n 1980 ar ass-a, aya yettbin-d deg yisufar akked d wallalen n lebni i yettnernin deg useggas yer wayeḍ imi deg 20 yiseggasen-a ineggura i teba tettaawad tmurt-nney anda i yezmer wemdan ad ibnu dayen ad yexdem axxam . Annect-a yemmeslay-d fella-s mass ch.L yenna-d: « *S kud æemmal Leqbayel ttaḡḡan ixxamen iqdimen-nsen, i wakken ad d-awin talyiwin n tmezduyt timaynutin yef wayen yerzan tin yeszan yakkan*».

Amur ameqqran n yexxamen deg tuddar n Leqbayel aladya adeg anda nexdem tasastant-nney ad naf dakken ixxamen n tura d ixxamen s talya tartart meḥsub imdanen ḡḡan akk ayen yerzan axxam aqdim tura ttarran-tt kan i wayen yerzan iyersiwen ama d tiyuzad ney d lmal

**II.3.6. Iybula n waman:**

**II.3.6.1.Tala:** d adeg i yettuneḥsab d amkan i tlawin llant aṭas n tliwa deg taddart tella i yellan lḡiha n At Ueidel semman-as at taddart-a tala n At Ueidel, tella tayeḍ qqarn-as tala n taddart tezgad yef rrif n tejmaet, tella tala nnig n taddart anda illan At Bucama qqarn-as tala n tubrazt seant akk aman yelhan i tissit yernu d isemmaḍen deg unebdu.

**II.3.6.2.Læinsar:** d yiwet n temduct n waman anda id ttawint aman sut taddart iæzzunen aman ma yella çhihit waman deg tliwa n taddart ma deg yiseggasen-a ineggura yeḡli ur d yeqqim kra deg-s tura.

**II.3.6.3.Lebyur:** D wid yellan s waṭas deg taddart n Iæzzunen, aṭas n twaculin i yeḡzen lebyur deg wakal-n sen aṭas anda i t-nsexddamen deg wayen yerzan tafellaḥt ney deg tebḥirin-n sen.

**II.4.Amezruy n taddart Iæzzunen:**

Deg tazwara ad nemeslay yef taddart n Ugemmun i yellan deg tazwara d taddart tamezwarut anda zacen Iæzzunen:

Amezruy n Taddart n ugemmun:

Taddart n Ugemmun tezgad yef tiyilt ɔlayen yef leeli yugar 1200mm <sup>1</sup>seg taddart-a mi ara d nsekked metwal Aqbu akked usammer ay-d-ttbin tyurfett n Weqbu d tudrar akk d as-d-yezzin seg yal tama yetṭafaren Illulen n usammer ass-a imezday-ines inasliyen d wid izemren tudrar-a Tizi Mæali akked Yiæzzunen yetṭafaren yer tyiwant n Yeyrem.

Isem n Ugemmun deg unamek-is d Tiyyilt ney taærqubt tamectuḥt yersen yef tiyilt eḡlayen fella-s i tettwabna taddart-a Ugemmun ara yilin gar 1313 lqern wis 10 ney wis 12<sup>2</sup> imezday imezwura d wid ifernen amkan-a ilmend n lezli-s akken ad zgen iwcengu fernen-t ilmend n wass-a yer iten-icudden d wiyiḍ imi d wid ur nkennu i lbaṭel d wid iqeblen ad ḡḡen leqwaæi-n sen wala ad ilin ddaw leenaya n ucengu am tuget imezday n taddart n Leqbayel.

<sup>1</sup> Seg yiwen tnezla yerzan amezruy n taddart-a.

<sup>2</sup> Adiwenni akk d mass B. G, awtem 68 n yiseggasen, uduf.

Taddart-a n Ugemmun akken tella deg wakud-is d tin mucaæn deg umezruy di tallit-is am taddart n Yirsan i yellan deg tyiwant n Iyrem assun n Weqbu; taddart-a n Ugemmun tura trab drus id-yeqqimen deg later-is d kra n yedyayen d tedyaayacin mi ara s d tkecmeḍ s lḡiha n Tizi Mæali seg umalu seg tewwurt iwumi qaren Bab æzzun acku taddart-a akken iyi-d-yenna umsalyu nney A .C<sup>1</sup> :« *Taddart-a n Ugemmun d yiwet gar tuddar yeqwan atas deg zzman-is ,tdewwar-as-d akk leswar seg yal lḡiha (d tiyremt) tesa snat n tewwura Bab æzzun issufuyen yer Tizi Mæali tura akked tewwurt n Ugemmun issufuyen yer tala Ugemmun anda i d ttawint tlawin n taddart-a aman* » .

Seg wayen i yef d-mmeslayen yemdanen nnan-d dakken iæddad fella-s yiwen waṭan-is lehlak anda i negrent.

### **Taneqqist 01:**

Mass CH .L yennad dakken :« *Taddart n Ugemmun d timaryiwt i terya , taddart-a yezziyas-d ssur dayen wwin-d aman seg udrar almi d taddart wint-id s tyuga n yizgaren, llan wid i d-yeqqaren dakken d Iterkuyen id-tt-seryen deg teswist-nni tḡfen Lezzayer tamanayt d yiwet n taddart yeqwan mliḡ mliḡ ur zmiren ara ad tḡfen tammurt n Leqbayel acku ttqarrieen-ten Leqbayel nutni d acu ixedmen mi ara slen kan akka yef taddart teqwa meqqret tuqamen-as d taxazabit seryen-tt s ddaw ufus nekni akken i nefhem dakken d Leqbayel i d ttiseryen axaṭar taswiet-nni ur neyri ara rnu ur nezri ara nettamen kan ayen i nettwali* ».

### **Taneqqist 02:**

Yemmesla ay-d-assen mass S.S : « *Akken i d-ḥekkun d taddart yeqwan mliḡ deg udewwar-a n Yillulen llan Yirsan yella Ugemmun tudrin nniḍen umbazd id æmrent, aagemmun yettwassen s lqewan-ines tella yiwet n twacult qqarn-as At Waεga tura dayen tenger d nutni kan i yellan tteicin akken niḍden berra i leswar n Ugemmun , qqaren-d dakken mi ara ssewqen yer Lezzayer arbiε mi it ttafen akken zeqlen-tt qqarn-as n uqni qqarn-as dakken arbi3-a d ayla-nney n ugni* » .

<sup>1</sup>Adiwenni akk d mass A.C, Awtem, 34 n Yiseggasen.



Yennay-aɣ-d mass S.S: « *Dakken ttawind yiwen n yenzi daggi deg taddart Ugemmun qqaren-as ma yewwet-ik wergaz ur k-yewwit ara ma yella tuyaleɗ yur-s ur d yeqqim ara* ».

Taddart-a n Ugemmun akken id ttmeslayen imezday n taddar-a ama d iæzzunen ama d tizi mɣali d tin i herzen s lebni-s zzin-as leswar yef tewwur-as læessa teħrez iman-is yef ucengu imi ayen iy-d-isbanen annect-a d iblaɗen imeqqranen i yellan yer tura ; di taddart-a d inestimen id-yeggran d yixerban kan maca tesæa atas izamulen ara d icehden fella-s yef zzman-is i deg tella teemer s tebyest n yemdanen-is i tizedyen ayen yellan d-inig fell-as yur-s 4 n temqebrin d yiwet n tala werɣin ufin lebni-s deg temnaɗt n Leqbayel mi ara d taliɗ s tewwurt tameqqrant yer taddart-a nezmer ad neffey s tewwurt tis snat ad neffey yer tala n Ugemmun i yettfen yer ass-a isem-is akken id aɣ-d-yemmeslay fella-s w.I : « *Akken ssellay dakken tala-ya n Ugemmun d yiwwet n tala meɣrufen atas imi is-ttid ġġan lwaldin-nney, ilaq ad nħareb fella-s, ixeddem-itt eabqader ssannez yebna-as nniɣ-as s ublaɗ d tħub, akken akk ibennun at zik, asmi yesæa mmi-s yetturar akked werrac imectah, nnan-as melmi baba-k ad ifak tala-ya ur tettshelliken ara iædda zebqader ssaneɣ yedmed taɗuɗ taberkant yerna-yas tamellalt iregli-tt asmi id uwɗen lemwacel ad agmen aman ufan-d ulac nnan-s ahya eebqader ssaneɣ 99 d aqarez teġġid-ay i cyad iɗal yer mmi-s yenna-yas amek wakken iyi-d-tenniɗ dakken nutni ur yettshelliken ara at nid nutni selken-iyi, netqen-d lezqel n taddart nnan-as dayen akin tixar i wannect-a deg sya d assawen ad yefk Rebbi aman ; llant snat texxamin n tliwa yiwet i yemdanen tayed iyersiwen ».*

Akken d ayen iy-d-mmeslayen at taddart n Iæzzunen dakken Tala-ya d aruħ d aruħa smi akken tella taddart-a n ugemmun tettwazday d azamul id yegran deg umezruy di tallit-is azal n tala-aya d win yellan deg ulawen n yiæggalen yellan ass-a.

### **Taneqqist 03:**

Akken iy-d-yemmeslay mass CH.L dakken: « *Tala-a d tin yesæan ddaza qqaren-d dakken yal tislit ara d yeddun yer taddart-a tettæedday qbel yer tala n Ugemmun ad truħ ad ssew aman din rnu dayen ad ssew userdun-is dayen ad fken lwaæda, maca*

*yiwet n teslit tesbeleit tala-ya acku ur tquder ara lezwada n tala-ya», nezmer ad negzu seg ayen id yemmeslay mass ch. L dakken at taddart-a zik ttammen atas s tala-ya i yesæan azal d ameqran ar at taddart-a.*

Arnu dayen taddart-a n ugemmun tesza 4 temqebriñ tiqburin timqebriñ-a d tid teçça tezgi izekwan ttwafren acku d leqrun-aya ur d-yelli tençelt deg-sent timqbert tamezwarut d tin id-yezgan yef tama usammer i taddart n Ugemmun izekwan-a d wid id-yemyi fell-asen arbiz mazal yer ass-a qqaren-as tiyilt n wadda i tiyilt yellan nnig-sen.

Tayed tezgað yef tama n umalu llan kra n izekwan ur qeblen ara nezmer ad nini dakken uqbel lislam i tettwaçmer taddart-a.

Deg tmeqbert-a n teçça ur illaq ara ad tæddid fell-as mebla ma txedmed 7 n yebladen wa suffel n wa yerna ur ilaq ara ad tmuqled timdeffirt akka ar tura mazal imdanen myal mi ara æddin sin ad ad xedmen akka yernu yer tura qqaren-as yemma taciçça, mebla ma nettu lemçam id-yezgan deg tlemmast n taddart n Ugemmun wayi d mmi-s n Sidi Sliman akka i d asemmam, wwin-t-id wat taddart n Ugemmun aken ad ten-imnee seg lehlak i huzzan taddart-a akken id-çekkun zik tteicin deg lmal d lqæa macci am tura ; akken iy-d-yemmeslay mass Lhasen dakken : « *At zik wa yettuædda yef wayeð at taddart-a ruhen tuæddan yef yiwet n taddart nniðen yussa-d ihelliten Sidi Sliman maena ur uyen ara awal yedæaya-sen s ttarka ar taggara yeffay-d d ssaç ayen is-sen-yedæa uyalen-d helken qqaren-d dakken ttmettaten yal ass yemdanen deg taddart-a mi iwalan akka yerggazen ruhen imeqranen akked d leeqal n taddart-a ælbena-s asen-yesmaç nnan-as n yelçi-k , yennay-asen semaçay-awen ur tuminen ara nnan-as: ihi ad ay-tefkeð mmi-k ad yettcix deg taddart-nney »; akk dayen temmeslay-ayd Ğ.D yef aya tenna-d dakken:« *yenna-asen sidi sliman semaçey-awen nnan-as xaççi ilaq ay tefkeð mmi-k akken ad ieic yur-nney iwakken ançus dakken tsemmaçda-y d tidet, yenna-asen:ih macca as tefkem lmelk nnan-as: ih, wwint-id zewçen-as yiwet n taqcict dina n taddart-nni ambaed mi iruhen as fken lmelk nnan-as: xtir , acku taddart-nni d tameqran azgen d luða azgen nniðen d adrar, nnan-as: xtir anwa lmelk ara tawwid, ambae iweha sufus-is tilisa id yettef akk suðad-is akk-ines ar taggara**

*tsebhit-id akk d luḍa*»; akken id ttmeslayen deg taddart-a dakken mmi-s n sidi sliman d netta id hekmen almi d asmi i yemmut xeddemen-as lemquam ttzurunt-id medden ar ass-a.

## **II.5.Tayessa tinmettit deg taddart:**

### **II.5.1. Tisekkiwin n twaculin i yellan deg taddart n Iæzzunen:**

Mi ara d nebdar tawacult ney axxam deg tmurt n leqbayel ad nefk tabadut akken id sbadad tawacult deg usegzawal n Bont d izard dakken: « *yer Gourgh<sup>1</sup>, tawacult d argaz d tmeṭṭut yimzawaḡen ney akk imeqrannen akk yettemεawanen deg uḥric n tdamsa akked urebbi n dderya, dayen icerkiten yiwet n tmezduyt* ».

#### **II.5.1.1.Tasekka tamensayt:**

Tasekka tamezwarut d tawacult taweseant d tin anda i tteicin ababat tayemmat akked werraw-nsen arnu dayen tilawin-nsen akked werraw-nsen, deg twacult-a taweseant ad naf tlata tsuta deg yiwet n tmezduyt, tcerki-ten yiwet n tdamsa seεun yiwen i ten-i-ttcixin d amyar n twacult-a ara d yettrayen yef yal taluft rnu dayen tamyard d nettat ara yettrayen yef teslatin-is deg wayen yerzan lecyal n wexxam.

Akken i tid-yesbada ḥaddadou yenna-d: « *Tawacult taweseant<sup>2</sup> d tayessa tagejdant n tmetti tamensayt n Yimaziyen, tettdukul seddaw n yiwen sqef atas n tsuta d watas n twaculin*». Dayen yesbadat-id hanoteau akk d leternaux dakken: « *tawacult d aḥric amezwaru deg tidukla tamatut; tesdukkul ababat, tayemmat, arraw-nsen akked tlawin-nsen d dderya-nsen, lezmun d ttaεumumtitin, akked wid akk i yettak lḥal ney iqriben akken ma llan*»<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Pour K. Gough, la famille est : « Un couple marié ou tout autre groupe d'adultes apparentés qui coopèrent économiquement et dans l'élevage des enfants, et qui partagent tous ensemble une résidence commune», Pierre. BONTE- Michel .IZARD, dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie, p.273.

<sup>2</sup> La famille étendue est la cellule de base de la société berbère traditionnelle, elle réunit sous le même toit plusieurs générations et plusieurs ménages», Mohand Akli Haddadou, Guide de La culture et langue berbère, p.202.

<sup>3</sup>« *La famille est le premier élément de l'association générale, elle comprend le père, la mère, les fils leurs femmes leurs enfants, petits enfants, les oncles, les tantes, les neveux et les cousins*», Hanoteau et letourneux, la kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, p.10.

Akken i d-yemmeslay L.CH yef ayen yerzan tiwaculin deg taddart n Iæzzunen dakken: « *Tiwaculin zik zedint tteïcin deg wachal yid-sen deg yiwen wexxam yal yiwen d acu id-ccyel-is rnu zik deg lweqt n Fransa tiwaculin maḥsub akken llant seant win yellan deg lyerba ad sen-d-yettceggie idrimen sin-a ma d nekki s wid yellan deg tmurt nxeddem tafellaht ma d tamɣart d nettat id yettcixin yef teslatin-is yef wayen yerzan axxam* ». Ayen i yeğğan tasekka-ya ad tbeddel d akken tlalan-d cwalat seg daxel n twacult-a tameqqrant aya i yettağğan akk tawacult-a ad tebḍu yal yiwen iruḥ weḥdes ney akken is-neqqar tteffayen d tixxamin.

### **II.5.1.2. Tawacult tamaynut:**

Tawacult-a tamaynut d tawacult tamezyant anda inezmer ad naf tameṭṭut d wergaz akked werraw-nsen tteïcin deg yiwen wexxam temeawanen deg wayen yerzan tadamsa akked ttarbiya n ddarya-nsen, tasekka-ya d tamaynut deg taddart Iæzzunen acku zik medden akk ttzicin deg twaculin timeqqranin.

Yer wayen id-newweḍ deg tsastant-nney ad naf d akken deg taddart n Iæzzunen llant twaculin i yettidiren d tiwaculin timeqqranin anda tilin kraḍ n tsuta deg yiwen wexxam anda dayen id nettaf seg 10<sup>1</sup> yiseggassen-a ineggura dakken tawacult tamezyant tkecmed yer taddart n Iæzzunen s waṭas anda yettzic ubabat akked d tyemma-tt akked werraw-nsen kan deg yiwen wexxam.

### **II.5.2. Iderma yellan deg iæzzunen:**

- **Tabadut n txerrubt:**

Yur Hanoteau akked Letournaux: *Taxerrubt tettili akk s yemdanen kan n yiwet n twacult, Leqbayel sexdamen-t akken ad mlen yer wanta tawacult tadeblant i ttekk*in yur Sayad: « *Taxerrubt isem n txerrubt yekka-d seg taerabt qaraba, txerrubt tezdi aṭas n twaculin i yesεan yiwen n jeddit-sen alama tasut tis4 ney tis 5* »; agraw n txerrubin ttaken-ted adrum, anagraaw n yiderma yettaked taddart.

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<sup>1</sup> Seg adadden inga deg taddart n yiæzzun af umḍan n twaculin timaynutin i yellan deg taddart akk seg melmi id bda twacult-a tamaynut.

Deg addart n Iæzzunen nessexdam awal n udrum anda id-yemmal agraw n twaculin yesdukel-iten-t yiwen yisem.

- **Adrum :**

D aswir yellan nnig n twacult, d win yesæan azal deg usbded n taddart. Aswir-a yewwid fell-as awal Dallet (J.M) yesgza-t-id: «*Adrum: D anejmuε n twaculin n txerbin* n timarawt deg yiwet n taddart». <sup>1</sup>Γef waya terna-d Lacost Du jardin (C) tenna-d: « Deg taddart adrum; D agraw n yixxamen i yettwaæemren s twaculin i yejmeε yiwen n yisem, adrum yezmer ad yili d taxerrubt: tawacult tameqqrant deg-s ad d-frurint twaculin timeçtaḥ i wumi dduklen wassayen gar-asent, imi i tent-yejmeε yiwen n yisem amdya timeyriwin akked lḡanazat.

### **II.5.2.1. Iderma imezwura yer taddart n Iæzzunen:**

Deg tewsit-ayi ad nemeslay yef yiderma id-yusan d imezwura yer taddart n Iæzzunen llan kraç n yiderma d imezwura:

#### **II.5.2.1.1. Adrum n At Dudac ney Icaɣlalen (chalal):**

Isem n wedrum-a yettuḡal yer umezwaru-n sen win iwumi qqaren dudac d win id yusan d amezwaru yer taddart n Ugemmun, adrum-a gar yimezwura i yezedyen taddart n Iæzzunen akken i d-mmeslayen at taddart-a dakken adrum-a usan-d seg tseddarin leḥnif deg mayu d asawen i yettekkine tura yer wayir n Tubiret deg tazwara ruḥen yer At Mlikec sin akin nnuyen d Wat Mlikec uyalen ruḥen-d sin yer taddart n Ugemmun, tawacult-a n Yicaɣlalen gar twaculin timezwura i izemren taddart n Ugemmun sin akin mi tengar taddart-a subben-d yer Iæzzunen<sup>2</sup>, akken iy-d-yemmeslay L.CH: « *D At Dudac i izedyen taddart n Iæzzunen d imezwura, ixxamen id yezzin akk i Ccarfa n At Dudac dayen azgen n wakal n taddart yettusemma-n sen*»; akken dayen is-d yemmeslay yenna-d dakken : « *Zik mi d tafellaḥt i yemucaæen d nutni i yezeggiren d jeddi Ucaɣlal i ad iruḥ yer tejmaet ad as-dæun s lxir ad as-fken tayuga n yezgaren ad yebḍu tayerza yer tameddit ad yessufey aqedduḥ n seksu*».

<sup>1</sup> « Adrum: Groupement de familles et clans familiaux « Taxerrubt » unis par des liens d'origine et de parenté dans un même village ». Jean.Marie DALLET; Dictionnaire Kabyle-Français ; 1982. p156.

<sup>2</sup> Ilmend n imsulḡa-nney.

**II.5.2.1.2. Adrum n At Bucama :( Boufenniche)**

At Bucama d adrum ameqqran akken is-d-nnan imyaren n taddart-a d akken usan-d seg sehra lyerba id-yezgan deg unzul n Lmerruk sin ad ruhen d yer Tubirt seg Tubiret ruhen-d yer Ugemmun anda qqimen din azal n 3 leqrun subben-d yer taddart n Iæzzunen anda i lan tura, akken i d-yenna B.B<sup>1</sup>:« *At Bucama seg twaculin id- yewden yer taddart atas aya ger yimezwura ar taddart-a amezwaru nutni akk At Yelæac zedyen deg taddart-a azal n 4 leqrun*».

**II.5.2.1.3 Adrum At Yelæac d At Uqasi: (guelaache eT benouchenne)**

Adrum-a d wi sin id-yusan yer taddart-a, timezwur-n sen id-ikecmen taddart n Ugemmun win i wumi qqaren Alæuc wakka yettusemma yef umezwaru-a win iwumi qqaren jeddi Alæuc akken iy-d-mmeslay massa G.X:« *Adrum-a n At Yelæac gar yiderma i yellan seg zik deg taddart-a nutni usan-d seg mayu sin akin arran-d yer wawal n jeddi Wennuc<sup>2</sup> deg At Mlikec zawden ruhen-d yer Ugemmun deg Ugemmun subben-d yer taddart-a ad tnih yer tura da*».

Yella d ayen yiwen wedrum qqarn-as At Uqasi yefruri-d seg wedrum-a n At Yelæac d beṭṭu kan ibḍan yef sin sebba n cwalat yellan gar sin watmaten akken id-yemmeslay L.G:« *At Uqasi d At Yelæac d yiwen maca d yiwen lxila i yellan gar sin watmaten yef aya I ferqen, isem n At Uqasi yettwasemma yef yiwen umezwaru-n sen win mu qqaren Qasi win*».

**II.5.2.2. Tiwaculin id yusan yer taddart Iæzzunen:**

Gar twaculin id yusan ad æemrent taddart-a n Iæzzunen d ineggura ad naf:

<sup>1</sup> B .B, Uduf, 67 n Yiseggasen.

<sup>2</sup> D yiwen n lemquam i yellan deg læerc n at mlikec yer ass-a at taddart n iæzzunen xedmen-as tbiyita.

**II.5.2.2.1. Adrum n At Ccix: (djaafri)**

Adrum-a n At Ccix win-t-id at taddart n Iæzzunen akken ad ilin d ccix n taddart akken i d-yenna A.A:«*At ccix-a win-t-id at taddart Iæzzunen; wwin-d Muhand Tahar n At Ccix wwin-t-id ad yexdem d ccix n taddart akken fkan-as akk Iæzzunen deyentta tura anda szan Iæzzunen akal szan nutni dayen sean* ».

At Ccix ur llin ara d imrabden maca jeddi-tsen Muhand Tahar d win yesnen atas leqgran dya Iæzzunen win-t-id akken ad icix deg taddart-a<sup>1</sup>

**II.5.2.2.2. Adrum n At Buxatta akked At Uæidel: (Boukhata & aïdel)**

At Buxatta d At Uæidel gar yiderma i d-yusan yer Iæzzunen d ineggura 1700<sup>2</sup>, akken iy-d-mmeslay KH.B dakken: « *At Buxatta d At Uæidel usan-d akken seg Yigawawen yer taddart-a akken i d-qqaren zik-nni taddart mi ara texlu ur tessei ara atas n yimezday win id-yusan starhiben yes-s*», akken dayen iy-d-mmeslay:« *Sin iderma-ya deg ssah d yiwen zik mi ara ur ttemsefhamen ara At taddart ad ruhen ad bdun yiwen seg-sen ad ieiwed isem n twacult-nsen akka i tedra gar yiderma-ya*».

**II.5.2.2.3. Adrum n At æessi: (berkane)**

Usan-d deg yiseggasen n 1800 yer taddart gar yineggura I d-ikecmen yer taddart, isem n wedrum-a yettunefk-asen yef umezwaru-nsen jeddit-sen amezwaru id iruhen yer taddart-a, akken iy-d-yemmeslay B.S: « *Isem n wedrum-ney yettusemma yer yiwen jeddi ameqqran qqaren-as eisa akka id nnan imezwura dayen nekkni nussa-d seg yidurar-a n Yigawawen i yqarben seg tewrirt n wedles I as-qqaren I wemkan-nni nusa-d yer taddart Iæzzunen akken ad xedmen (bennun rnu xedmen lexla) daggi akken i d-ḥekkun zik*».

<sup>1</sup> Ilmend n umselyu-nney.

<sup>2</sup> Akken iy-d yemmeslay umslyu-nney CH.L.

**II.5.2.2.4. Adrum n Yiḥeddaden: (Ben Ali)**

Isem n wedrum-a qqaren-d dakken d isem n uxeddim ixedmen zik d aḥeddad n taddart wa yeqqar dakken d isem kan akka. Akken iy-d-yemmeslay B.A:«*Jeddi-tney amezwaru Muḥend Ali Heddad akka i d isem-is yef waya i d as-semman iḥeddaden lan wid id yeqqaren dayen ixeddem d aḥeddad*»

Ma d ayen yerzan lasel n wedrum-a usan-d seg Yigawawen akken iy-d-yenna CH.A:«*Baba-s n muhend Akli iḥeddaden akken i d-ḥekun d lhem i yennuy deg texlijt n At εettu yexdem dinn-a axessar eni yenya kra yemdanen dinna deg taddart-is irewled yer taddart n Iæzzunen akken i d-qqaren ad yexdem cyel alma ifuk ur itett ara deg uxxam-nni alma yusa s axxam-is d wacu ara yeḠḠ acku yettagad win ara as-d - yesbedden ad t-iney*».

**II.5.2.2.5. Tawacult n yemrabḍen: (Besei)**

Tawacult n yemrabḍen wwin-t-id at taddart Iæzzunen akken ad ilin d imrabḍen deg taddart-a rnu akken ad cixen deg wayen yerzan tasreḍt deg taddart-akken iy-d - yemmeslay CH.L:«*Ruḥen-d seg εemmuren newwit-nid d imrabḍen-nney caxen dagi, ccix-a qqaren-as Si lḥaḡ Lbacir zik-nni deg tefsut as-nawi akk tiyugwin n yezgaren deg elma almi d adrar d ayla-s nettmegil-as azal n20 n tyugwin ttemxalafent n xedma i wuddem a Rabbi nmegras win iwumi i nnan siwḍ-ay timzin as-tt-issiweḍ, netta ma yesla tennuyeḍ ad iæddem tebyiḍ ad tawiḍ deg zzwagḡ ad yeddu fek-as lweeda ney ala ma tgurbk tmeḥtut ak tidy err ma ihlek umeçtuḥ as yedeu i Rrebbi ney asyerqu aman lawan I tebyiḍ ad as-tiniḍ a ccix Lbacir uḥwaḡay-k ad yini yirbaḥ d win i ferun timsal zik mi ara nexdem timecreḍt nekkni ad nxelles akk tixxamin ma d netta xaṭi*».

**II.6. Assay gar yiderma:**

Ambaæd iderma i d-nemmeslay fell-asen deg leqdic i nga assay gar yiderma n taddart n Iæzzunen ad naf dakken d assay n timarawt i yellan gar twaculin ma nemmuqqel zzwagḡ gar twaculin-a ad naf d akken ttemyezwaḡen akk mgar-asen ala imrabḍen ttemyezwaḡen kan mgar-asen ara ass-a ur bedden ara akken iy-d-



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yemmeslay L.CH:« *Tiwaculin deg taddart ttemyezwağen mgar-asen qaren-d dakken gar At Dudac d At Bucama ur ttemyezwağen ara acku imezwura dzan dakken win yuyen tabucamatt ad yeqqim d amengur ur iseɛu ddarya akken i teɗra d yiwen n At Dudac qqaren-as yidir adudc yuy tabucamatt yemmut d amengur*».

### **II.7.Tiwaculin i yegguğgen:**

Taddart n Iæzzunen tura ur tseɛi ara aṭas n lyaci am zik, imi tuget n twaculin n taddart-a subben-t yer Uzayer n Weqbu akked Iyrem akked yinukan niɗden acku imdanen tura ḥemlen akk ad bnun deg temdint dinn-a llant akk wallalen n tudert akked wayen yerzan tudert n yal ass, akken iy-d-yemmeslay S.B:« *Taddart n Iæzzunen azgen ameqqran deg-s tura iguğ yer temdint acku dinn-a i yufan iman-sen dinn-a llant akk wayen ihwağent twaculin-n sen rnu dayen qqarben iyerbazen anda iqqaren warraw-n sen, d lixsas n ttawilat i yeğğan tiwaculin-a ad fyen-t deg taddart* ».

Tiwaculin n taddart n Iæzzunen d tid id yettgağan s tugget, imi ad nnaɣ tawacult n yiḥeddaden d wid i yeguğen akk seg taddart n Iæzzunen, arnu dayen yur-sen at ccix id issuben akk ar yeyrem.

Ma yella d at buxatta tteicin akk deg tag taddart n Iæzzunen llant snat twaculin ssubben-t ar weqbu macca tiggı fyen deg lufağ n taddart, imrabden yella yiwen wexxam kan ruḥen tteicin deg tyiwant n weqbu

### **Taggrayt:**

Deg yixef-a nessawed ad nefk tikti tamatut ilan issalen d yinefkan yef umezruy akked d tuddsa n tmetti deg taddart n Iæzzunen.

**IXEF III**  
**Tuddsa d tikli n**  
**Tejmaet**

**Tazwert:**

Deg umezruy n tuddsa n tmetti yer Leqbayel d Yimaziyen n Tefriqt n Ugafa, ad tt-naf tbedd yef waṭas n yiswiren. Imezday-is suddsén iman-nsen d tiqbilin id-yettilin deg tallit n trad mgal amnekcam aberrani yer tmurt-nsen.

Læerc-a asiley-ines yettili-d s tdukli n ugraw n twaculin.

Læerc-a deg tmurt n Leqbayel d tuddsa n semmus ney ugar n tuddrin i yebdan d iderma i æemrent twaculin.

S waya, Taddart-a yer Leqbayel d anejmuz n twaculin deg yiwen wemdiq tcerkiten-t leewayed akken dayen id i d-yura Mohand Khellil dakken: « *Taddart d aferdis adamsan imetti asertan, yesza tilisa banent i yesdukulen ixxamen, tibhirin d yigran...* »<sup>1</sup>. Ass-a yella-d ubeddel deg kra n tudrin tiqbayliyin i d-yettbanen deg kra n yiferdisen n tmezduyt tatrart i yesduklen ixxamen (iferdisen-a nemmeslay fell-as deg uḥric wis sin s telqay)

Deg ixef-a aneered ad nemmeslay yef ayen yerzan akk assudes n tajmaæt deg taddart n iæzzunen d wamek i tettedu dayen amek id yettili unejmuæ d ufran n lezqal n taddart d wayen yerzan lextiyat i si tettxeṭṭi win i yelṭen dayen deg ixef-a ad nemmeslay yef ayen yerzan isekkiren ixeddmén deg taddart-a n iæzzunen

**II.1. Tejmaæt sumata akk d taddart n Iæzzunen:**

Tejmaæt d awal id yekkan seg taerabt jamaæa terfed talya n tmaziyt, leqbayel sexdamen awal-a maci kan d isem n tegruma-nni maca dayen i umkan anda ttnejmazen dayen izeggalen n tejmaæt-a, Awal-a n tejmaæt i d-tenna Dahbia Abrous: « Djemæa (ḡamaæa) d areṭtal seg taerabt, yekka-d seg uẓar (G.M.Σ), sdukkel (semli), [...], deg waṭlas alemmas Marruk akked Yimucaḡ Ssawalen-as “Imezurfa” s Tmaziyt. »<sup>2</sup>.

Rnu yer waya, tura-d D. Abrous: « Awalén-a i d-yettwabedren yakan (tajmaæt, imzurfa, amni) mmalen-d yiwet n tsuddut n Yimaziyen i yesæan tawuri tagejdant

<sup>1</sup>« Le village est l'unité économique, sociale et politique d'un territoire bien déterminé comprenant les habitants, les jardins et les champs... » Mohend KHELLIL « *La Kabylie ou l'ancêtre sacrifié* », Paris, édition l'Harmattan, 1984, p.73.

<sup>2</sup> « *Djemæa (gmaæa) : mot emprunté de l'arabe (racine : G.M.Σ= Réunir, rassembler), [...]. Le Maroc central et l'air touareg ont quant à eux conservé les termes berbères : Imzurfa en tamaziyt* » Dahbia ABROUS ? Encyclopédie berbère, XVI Djalut Dougga, France, Edisud, P.2434.

deg tuɔɔsa n tmetti [...], tamawt-a i yerzan tamurt n Leqbayel deg taggara n tsuta yezrin tezmer ad terzu akk Imaziyen n ugafa: Awras, Imzabiyen (Masqueray 1983), Imaziyen n Lmerruk (Montagne 1930) »<sup>1</sup>.

Tajmaɛt d adeg anda i yella wassay gar timerrawt akk d tsertit, yal taddart deg tmurt n leqbayel tesza tajmaet-is i ixeddmn akk ayen inefeen taddart-nsen.

Seg unekcum n fransa yer tmurt n Leqbayel, iswi-ines agejdan n yiserdasen d tamussni n tsuddutin-a, d tasarut ara yerran tamurt-a ddaw n leenaya-nsen, yerna ad asen-yeshel ukeččum yer tmurt n leqbayel d ufham n tmetti-ines. Akken id yemmeslay Hanoteau d Letourneux uran yef tikti-ya: « *Tisuddutin tiqbayliyin, yas llant d tiqburin ney ur llint ara d tummidin, uklalent ad asent-nefk azal. Anekcum-nney ilaq ad ibnu yef tmussni-nsent [...], zemrent ad d-ffkent yiwen n usentel n tezrawt i win yebyan ad tent-yissin* »<sup>2</sup>.

Tajmaet deg taddart n Ieazzunen d yiwet n tdukli tasertant i yetteawanen amdan akken ad yawwi lheqqi-s, tilin n tejmaet tettwassen amaken d taydemt n taddart tesea amzerfu i yellan yef uqqerruy-is.

S waka ad nekcem yer tejmaet deg taddart n Ieazzunen d tin i yellan seg zik uqbel 1942 akken iy d-yemmeslay yiwen ueggal n taddart-a n Ieazzunen yenna-d dakken :« Tajmaet n taddart Ieazzunen tella uqbel n1942 deg-s nexdem lheq yef tuckerda nexdem lheq yef temggart akk d lextiyat niɔɔden ixeddmn deg taddart n Yizezzunen »

Akken i d-yemmeslay Hanoteau akk d Letourneux yef ayen yerzan azal n tajmaet dakken : « *Asuddes asertan akk d inmetti n tmurt n leqbayel yettwanehsab gar wid ur yessin ara tamtilt deg umaɔal..... amaɔal n imaziyen i ttakay-d yiwet n*

<sup>1</sup>« Les trois termes qui viennent d'être cités (Tajmaet, imzurfa, amni) désignent une institution pan-berbère qui occupe une position centrale dans l'organisation sociale [...]. Cette remarque qui concerne la Kabylie de la fin du siècle dernier pourrait s'étendre sans risque d'erreurs a toutes les régions berbérophones du monde : Aurès, Mzab (Masqueray 1983), aires berbérophones du Maroc (Montagne 1930) » D. Abrous, Op.cit. p.2435.

<sup>2</sup> « *Les institutions kabyles, quelque rudimentaires et imparfaites qu'elles soient, méritent donc, a plus d'un titre, de fixer l'attention. Notre domination a tout intérêt de les connaître [...], elles peuvent au moins fournir un curieux sujet d'étude à l'observateur sérieux* ». Hanoteau et Letourneau, la Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles, T I, Paris, édition Challamel, 2003, p.7.

*tmeZri n ugerrez inmetti n tiddet....d uktu n tugdut, anabađ srid am tin inettarggu d amlalad»<sup>1</sup>*

Asuddes n tedbelt tettwaxdem ney tebna yef umedyia (modèle) amsari, tejmaet deg tmurt n leqbayel ttwalint d taseqamut n baylek n taddart d nettat id tayunt tadeblant deg ayen yerzan izerfan iyarimen (civil). Tajmaet-a n taddart terfed taekemt akken ad-terr taydemt temsawa ney tezdel akk d yiluggan i yerzan taddart akken i d-yenna Hanoteau akk d Léternaux: « *Tajmaet tetthasab asyebet iyarimen ambaed leewayed n tmurt tessent akk yal tamsalt akken tebyu tili lqima-s deg tangan n iyarimen ney deg tenzzut. Txeddem akken atekkes ney akk d beṭtu n yal amsedfar gar leqbayel i yettabaean iskiren*». <sup>2</sup>

Tajmaet n taddart n Yiezzunen akken iy d mmeslayen at taddart-a d nettat akk I yeqwan deg udewar n yeyrem acku imdanen-is d wid i yetteddun yef ayen akk yerzan taddart. Deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata nettat-d imsebdidden-a wiggi d wid i yettilin deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata maca deg taddart n yiezzunen ad nnaf llan kan leeqqal :

#### **-Leeqqal:**

D ieggalen igensasen n yiderma yellan deg taddart arnu, ttemcawaren akk deg yal tamsalt yellan deg taddart. D udem-a i yellan deg taddart n Ieazzunen s umata imi d nutni i d-yettelhayen s wayen yerzan taddart. Ma yella deg tudtrin nniđen akk d zik-nni deg yiseggasen n 1940 akken iy-d-mmeslyen wat taddart zik yella ṭṭamen n taddart maci am tura. Deg tudtrin nniđen n leqbayel llan akk ieggalen n tejmaet nezmer ad nnaf akk udmawen-a.

Deg tazwara lamin Ssawalen-as yur leqbayel ameksa n taddart, dayen d aecessas ixeddmen yettharaben yef taddart-is; yegzem deg rray-is akken ad yili yeseḥbibir yef ayen yerzan lehna n taddart anda tawuri-ines ur tettwawrat ara yettwafran seg useggas yer useggas yerna ur yesei ara rray sdat n ṭṭamen. Amin el umana ilaq ad

<sup>1</sup> «L'organisation politique et sociale de Kabylie...peut surement compter entre les plus originales du monde... le monde berbères nous offres ce spectacle singulier d'un ordre social très réel..., c'est l'idéal de la démocratie, le gouvernement directe tel que l'ont rêvés nos utopiste». Hanoteau et Letourneux, la Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles, T I, XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> «La djamaa juge les contestations civiles d'après la coutume du pays, elle connait de toutes les affaires quelle que soit leur valeur en matière civile et commerciale.

Elle procède à la liquidation et au partage de toute succession entre kabyles suivant la coutume.», Idem, XXVII.

yili d mmis n taddart-nni, yal anda i yezmer ad yili d yiwen gar twaculin i yesaen tawacult i yeqwan deg taddart arnu maerufen, yal aqbayli yezmer ad yili d lamin taddart-is, ur yeszi ara yixeddin-ines akud arnu yef aya ma yella yeced ad ixeles leyrama<sup>1</sup>, akken dayen « yal taddart taqbaylit berra i yiluggan n tesređt tineslemt, angal ney issudaf imazlayen, anda adabbu yesa aqqerru i yettwaseman win ittabaen ayen yerzan tadigant, ameqran, amyar, amin. »<sup>2</sup>.

Ma yella d Ttamen d akemel deg ayen yerzan akk adbel, ttamen d amray n udrum ney n txerrubt d netta id agensas-nen deg tejmaet, d netta id ameqran n tawacult- (txerrubt-is), ney n udrum. Ttamen d netta id wis sin yef lamin d aselway n tejmaet dayen d netta ara yetteassan tikli n yieggalen n udrum-is.<sup>3</sup>

D lamin it id ifernen yal, taddart tesa lğamae ney atas n leğwamae Lukil d netta id d amrray yef ayen yerzan lextiya deg taddart.

### III.2. Adeg n tejmaet:

Adeg n tejmaet deg taddart n Iezzunen yezga-d deg tlemmast n taddart yef yirri n lemquam n ccerfa d yiwen wadeg wesien, yesza atas n tdekkannin anda ittyimin at taddart-a deg lawan ixeddmen anejmue n taddart dayen ttyimin dina at taddart mi ara yehmu lhal acku d amkan yettweğhen yer tizi yesa abehri asemmad; arnu dayen tajmaet n taddart n Iezzunen tesza yiwet n texxamt anda i tnejmazen kan leeqal n taddart wehd-nen (azal n10 lezqal), taxxamt-a tezga-d yef arif n tejmaet deg-s itillin akk ayen akk tesza taddart .

Anejmue yer yieggalen n tejmaet yettili-d mi ara tili temsalt terza imezday ney ieggalen n tejmaet s timad-nen, aya yewwi-d fell-as awal Kenzi Azeddine, yura-d « anejmue yettili-d s waas ass-a aken yebyu yili, yettili-d s lebyi n yieggalen n tejmaet. Yumna (asget n lamin), mi i walan yessefk ad nejmaen ladya mi i d-

<sup>1</sup> Hanoteau et Léternaux, La Kabylie et les Coutumes Kabyles, op.cit, p 27.

<sup>2</sup> «chaque village kabyle, en dehore de la loi musulmane ,un code ou règlement particulier, dont l'exécution est confiée a un chef appelé , suivant les localite , ameqqran , amyar , amin», Hanoteau et Léternaux , p.75 .

<sup>3</sup> Camille Lacoste Dujardin, Dictionnaire de la Culture Berbère en Kabylie, éditions la découverte, 2005.

yehder usenfar deg taddart, uguren i iceyben imezday n taddart ney ma tella-d temsalt i yuzren»<sup>1</sup>.

### III.3. Afran n lezqal n taddart:

Deg taddart n Iæzzunen yettili-d ufran n yizeggalen ney lezqal n taddart ilmen-d n tlata udmawen deg tazwara ilaq ad yili d argaz n bu nnif win ur ixedmen ara tixidas, udem wis sin dakken d argaz i ttqadaren akk at taddart, udem wis tlata d argaz n wawal ur n xeddae ara ur yettagad ara yezmer ad ttekel felas taddart akk d twacult i fi id-ibedd arnu dayen afran-a n leeqqal yettili-d s lxetyar n yimeqranen n yal adrum wid yettwasnen s lefhama-n sen d rzana d tmusni d wid dayen wid i yesnen ad d-yemmeslay taqbaylit, deg taddart n Iæzzunen yal adrum yesea yiwen ney sin n yieeggalen id yetwabdaren deg tejmaet akken ayen yebyu yeḍrun deg tejmaet ad ruhen ieggalen n yal adrum akken ad mucawaren d udrum-n sen akken ad refden yiwen n rray .

Taddart n Iæzzunen tesa azal n 09 n yieeggalen n taddart ney leeqqal n taddart gar ieggalen-a ad nnaf <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> « Cette, très fréquente aujourd'hui, quelque soit sa nature, ordinaire ou extraordinaire, est provoqué par les membres de la "tajmaet". Les yumna (pluriel. De lamine), notamment quand ils sentent la nécessité de l'organiser : quand il s'agit surtout de la réalisation d'un projet au village, des problèmes préoccupants la communauté villageoise ou d'une affaire litigieuse » Kenzi (A.) : 1998. P.333.

<sup>2</sup> Adiwenni akk d mass CH.A, Uduf, 67 n yiseggasen.

Isem	Lezmer	ixeddim
Chalal achour	67 Iseggasen	Uduf
Boukhata idir	58 Iseggasen	D axeddam deg uyerbaz amezwaru
Guellaache Mohand	49 Iseggasen	D axeddam
Bennouchen Zoubir	53 Iseggasen	D axeddam n tyiwant
Djaafri Arezki	55 Iseggasen	D win inehren akamyun
Boufenniche Idir	63 Iseggasen	Dabennay
Berkane Mouloud	72 Iseggasen	uduf
Aidel Rachid	48 Iseggasen	D axeddam deg tyiwant

**Awennet yef tfelwit :** Tafelwit-a temmalay-d ieggalen n tejmaɛt deg taddart n Yiɛzzunen i yellan deg lweqt i gi nexdem Tasasant-nney

### III.4. Aberraḥ akk d unejmuɛ deg taddart n Iɛzzunen:

#### III.4.1.aberraḥ deg taddart n Iɛzzunen :

Aberraḥ deg taddart n Iɛzzunen yettili-d d uqbel anejmuɛ anda mi ara tawweḍ tsaɛtt anda ad xeddmen at taddart anejmuɛ ad yerfed yiwen uɛggal n taddart qqarn-as aberraḥ ney win yettebariḥen ad yerfed amsiwel (win id yessufuyen ssut d ameqran ) ad yebdu ad yeqqar « *a nejmaɛew-ted attrebḥen* », deg lawan-nni at taddart akk ad ruḥen ad ḥɛḍren anejmuɛ win akk leɛmer n tejmaɛt yezmer ad yehḍar , aqcic yewḍen d argaz ney yewweḍ leɛmer n 18n yiseggasen yezmer ad yekcem deg tmeddurt tazayezt yezmer ad yili d yiwen gar iɛggalen n tejmaɛt , akken id mmeslay camille lacoste-djardin :«aberraḥ yessawal



i yerggazen akk n taddart akken ad assen akk ad ɥɛɛren anejmɛ yernu win ur yeɥɛren ara ad yettwaxetɪ ma yella ur yesɛi ara ssebba. »<sup>1</sup>.

Arnu dayen win i yettidiren berra i taddart tteggien-as amdan ney tteggizen-as aeraɥ ney tabratt akken ad ruɥen ad ɥɛɛren deg unejmɛ ttaken-asen tasaset ara xedmen anejmɛ akken ad awɛen deg lweqt, anejmuz-a yettili-d mi ara tili temsalt terza taddart ama d aqqaɛed n ubrid id yisaxen deg cetwa ney d tiririt n waman n tala n taddart akk dayen d ubraz n tmeqbart n taddart.

### III.4.2.Anejmɛ :

Anejmɛ yer yiɛggalen n tejmaɛt yettili-d mi ara tili temsalt terza imezday ney iɛggalen n tejmaɛt s timad-nsen, aya yewwi-d fell-as awal Kenzi Azeddine, yura-d « anejmɛ yettili-d s waɥas ass-a aken yebyu yili, yettili-d s lebyi n yiɛggalen n tejmaɛt. Yumna (asget n lamin), mi i walan yessefk ad nejmaɛen ladya mi i d-yeɥɛder usenfar deg taddart, uguren i iceyben imezday n taddart ney ma tella-d temsalt i yuɛren»<sup>2</sup>.

Tajmaɛt n taddart tett-nejmaɛ tikkelt kan deg ddurt deg ass n lɣemɛa akken ad izmiren ad ɥɛɛren akk at taddart ur yezmir yiwen ad yaff sebba , yal yiwen deg taddart yessefk fell-as ad yeɥɛdar anejmɛ mi ara dawɛen akk at taddart ad yerfed yiwen seg leɛqqal ad ttzuddun ad ssawalen<sup>3</sup> s yismawen wid yellan akk d wid yessefk fell-asen ad illin deg unejmɛ-nni ur nelli ara dina mebla sseba ad yettwaxeta s leyrana syur lezqqal n tejmaɛt, anejmɛ-a yettili-d deg tejmaɛt deg akal n taddart , yettili-d mi ara tili temsalt terza akk taddart ilaq ad nejmaɛen fell-as arnu dayen d tamsalt yuɛren d tameqrant tuɥwaɣ ameawen n taddart yef tikkelt.

Yettili-d dayen unejmɛ n leɛqqal mgar-asen kan ticki tamsalt ur tuɥwaɣ ara ad ssiwlen akk i at taddart maca yal leaqqel ad iruɥ ad-yemmeslay akk d udrum-is anecta yettili-d deg yiwet n texxamt i tesza taddart n Yiɛzzunen dina kan yef ɥerf

<sup>1</sup> Kamilie Lacoste-Dujardin, dictionnaire de la culture berbère en Kabylie.

<sup>2</sup> « Cette, très fréquente aujourd'hui, quelque soit sa nature, ordinaire ou extraordinaire, est provoqué par les membres de la "tajmaɛt". Les yumna (pluriel. De lamine), notamment quand ils sentent la nécessité de l'organiser : quand il s'agit surtout de la réalisation d'un projet au village, des problèmes préoccupants la communauté villageoise ou d'une affaire litigieuse » Azeddine KENZI, 1998. P.333.

<sup>3</sup> Hanoteau et Letourneux, la Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles TII, p.20.

n tejmaet, d yiwet n texxamt i tessexdam taddart Iëzzunen d amkan anda i yettnejmazen akk lezqqal arnu dayen dina i srusuyen lekwayeḍ yerzan tajmaet n taddart .

### III.5. iybula n ujma3 n yedrimen deg taddart n iëzzunen :

Idrimen n tejmaet ttruḥun-d seg twaculin n taddart n iëzzunen gar yeybula-ya ad nnaf :

#### III.5.1.Lexṭiyya:

Tettunaḥsab gar yiybula id yeggaren idrimen i tejmaet n taddart n Iëzzunen arnu dayen d yiwen n weḥric i yetteawanen tajmaet ad sekcem idrimen, yal amdan i yexulfen issudaḍ n taddart ad yettuzaaqqeb s lexlaû n lexṭiyya , tayyi am tbezzart dacu macci yef medden akk tettili kan yef win i yexulfen issudaḍ n taddart akken iy yemmeslay mass CH.A i yellan gar leeqqal n taddart anda iy d-yemmeslay yef lexṭiyya : « yal win i yexulfen iûûudaḍ n taddart ad ixeleû idrimen d lexṭiyya i tejmaet n taddart yal win ara yexalfen tajmaet ad ixeles d adrim ».

Axalef-a yettili-d mi ara amdan ur yettqaddar ara iluggan n taddart sina tajmaet n taddart ad tterfed rray dakken ad txetîn , yettili uxettiseg 200DA ar 500DA ma yella d axalef amectuḥ ma yella d axalef ameqran seg1000DA ar 2000DA, ad nnaf dakken taddart iëzzunen ttetîn win yukren ney yekkes sser yef yiman-is ney yer wiyad ney win itetten zinani remḍan neyma yella yiwen ur iḥettar ara anejmu3 akk mebla sseba ney win ur iḥedren ara tanṭelt akka id ttili lexṭiyya deg taddart n iëzzunen akk d tugget n tuddar n leqbayel.

Gar lexṭiyat i xedmen g taddart n Yiëzzunen:

- 1) - **yef win ur nettruḥu ara ar unejmuε**: taddart Iëzzunen deg tazwara win ur nruḥ ara ur s xedmen deg tikkelt tamezwarut lexṭiya macca alma d tikkelt tis snat anda i yettxeliû seg 200DA ar 500DA.
- 2) - **yef tisit**: taddart tettaelam deg tazwara i leaqqel n twacult-a sin akkin mi ur yuy ara awa yuyal ar lecyal-is ttetint s seg 1000DA.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adiwenni akk d mass CH.A, Uduf, 67n yiseggasen.

**III.5.2.Lwaɛda:**

D yiwet n tewsit n lwezda ney d tuqna ttwafkant kul ass ney yal tikkelt i lahed n ûellaḥ i yellan deg taddart-nni n iæzzunen anda i yesea iswi akken ad yerbaḥ kra deg tuqna-a, seg ancta amur ameqran n yemdanen tteqnen dakken ad aḡen izimer ney win izemren ad yaḡ aæjmi, ma yella yewweḍ iswi-ines dayen ma yella ur d yefki ara wiyyi yezmer ad ten-yefk d idrimen .

Amedya yef lweɛda : mi ara yili urgaz ur yesei ara aqcic ad yeqqen i yiwen gar ûellaḥ n taddart-nni akken ad tæiwnen ad yesɛu aqcic, ma yella yerna ḡur-s uqcic ad yerfed ad ifek azgar ney ma yella d win i yeszan ad ifek aæjmi i taddart aken ad xedmen yes ttbiyita ney timecreḍt.

Llan dayen wid i yetteqnen i sellah ma yella rrebḥen werraw-nsen leqqraya-nsen ad fken ikerri I yiwen gar ûellaḥ i yellan deg taddart-nsen am wakken i yexdem yiwen n taddart n iæzzunen mass CH.A myal ad yerbaḥ yiwen leqqraya-ines ad ifek axerfi ney ikerri.

**-Amedya yef lweɛda i ḥeḍrey:** anda yiwen werggaz d amyār anda id iseddaq sin izejmiyen i taddart xedmen-t d timecreḍt ifka-d lwezda-ya imi ur yezmir ara ad iḡuḡ meqqar deg lezmar i sedqed sin izejmiyen i taddart xedmen yes timecreḍt.

**III.5.3.ssadaqa:**

Ma dayen yerzan ssadaqa at taddart Iæzzunen tettili de leɛwacar ama d lɛid tamectuḥt ney tameqran, lmulud, tella ssadaqa dayen mi ar yesɛu yiwen idrimen yessekfāt rebbi ad iffek i taddart-is akken at n ieiwen cwit. Gef ssadaqa-ya, Masqueray (E.) yura-d « Ma d ayen yerzan ssadaqa, mačči kan tettataf-itent-id tejmaet, maca ttawin imdanen ad sedqen war lebyi-nesn yessedsayen»<sup>1</sup>

Ma d ayen yerzan ssadaqa, at taddart n Iæzzunen ttawintet ḡer yemma ccerfa d lemḡam anda at taddart mi ara ad zzuren ttakken idrimen, dayen yal taqcict n taddart mi ara tezweḡ tbeddud lḥeni deg lemḡam n Cerfa dina tettak idrimen ḡer usenduḡ n yedrimen n Cerfa.

<sup>1</sup> « Quant aux dons volontaires, ils ne sont pas seulement reçus, mais provoqué avec une audace dont on ne peut s'empêcher de sourires ». Emile MASQUERAY, 1983, p.36.

**III.5.4. Tabezzart:**

D lħeq i yettak uqerru n uxxam, yettak-itt mi ara tili taluft tesdukkel akk imezday n taddart, am lebni d ureqeε n lƵameε, lebni n uxxam deg tmeqbart d uzerreb-is tabzert-a ttaken-tt-id kra n yimezday n taddart, ttakken 100DA i yal aεeggal n uxxam.

Tabezzart-a tettil-id de useggas Ƶer aseggas anda yal axxam ad ifek ayen yesefken fell-as d adrim, tabezzart-a tetteawan akken ad xeddmen timecređt neƵ ttbiyita n taddart anda imdanen n taddart-a akk ad ttakken cwit cwit n wedrim akken ad jemeen azal n iħwaġen.

**III.6. Tiwuriwin n tejmaɛt:**

Deg uħric-a ad nawi awal Ƶef twuriwin n tejmaɛt deg taddart n Iεezzenen deg yal tayult n tuddert n yal ass n umdan:

**III.6.1. tawuri tinmettit:**

Deg taddart n Iεezzenen ass-a , tajmaɛt tefka azal i tmetti d tuddert n umdan n yal ass .

Tajmaɛt neƵ taseqamut n taddart n Iεezzenen tesselħay timsal n taddart akken teƵƵu tili temsalt-nni , gar temsal neƵ lecƵalat ixeddmen ad nnaƵ dakken at taddart n Iεezzenen ttemεawanen akken ad berzen taddart ad xeddmen amkan anda ad tt-đeggiren iduman-nsen, dayen ttemzawanen akken ad berzen timeqbart n taddart ad as eksen-t arbiε ur nesliħ ara arnu ttzariben timeqbart ma yella ur tettwazereb ara yakan, arnu dayen akken ad rzen assalu i waman n lehwa akken ad ttzeddayen melba ma kecmen s ixxamen n yimezday n taddart deg cetwa (tagrest).

Deg lecƵalat nniden it xeddem tejmaɛt n taddart d akken tejmaεen-d imdanen akken ad berzen tala n taddart mi ara ad xelħen waman n diri d wid n tala ttluƵn sebba n lħmlat n waman id yettilin deg cetwa sin-a at taddart deg unebdu Ƶer unebdu xeddmen tarbast akken ad ssirden tala as ksen akk Ƶer aman.

Ma d ayen Ƶerzan iberdan n taddart ttemεawanen akken ad llin abrid ireglen deg ussan n cetwa s udefel, d ayen mi at taddart n Iεezzenen sean abrid-nsen yettsax deg cetwa sebba n waman i yella s waħas dina ttemzawanen akken ad twenzen wa ad terren yelha i selħay n tkerrusin neƵ i yemdanen .

Deg ayen yerzan tiqcicin xedemen-asent anda ara lemden-t lexyađa ney abroddi akk d wayen yerzan akk tigni.

Ma dayen yerzan iskkiren d tajmaet n taddart akk i yettarfaden taekemt n wayen yerzan akk aheyyi i yeskkiren n taddart akken ma llan ama dayen yerzan timecredt ney ayen yerzan ttbiyita.

### III.6.2.tawuri tamzurfant:

Tajmaet taddart n Iæzzunen texdem kra n Yiûuđaf lqawanin anda ara ttxețin win akk ur nqudder ara awal n tejmaet ad yettwaxeți, iûuđaf-a ussan-d akken ad ûegmen tikli n umdan deg taddart arnu dayen akken ur d yettili ara uteeddi mgar imezday n taddart gar-asen, arnu dayen iûuđaf n taddart ttasen-d akken ad ziwnen at taddart akken ad frun uguren n medden ama dayen yerzan tilisa ney ayen nniđen, ilugan n tmurt n leqbayel sumata ur nettaran<sup>1</sup> ara maca tıyin deg cfawat n yimeqranen n taddart almi d iseggasen-a ineggura i ttaran seg 1980 d 1990<sup>2</sup> ar ass-a ttwarun akk isuđaf n taddart n Iæzzunen i yellan tura deg texxamt n tejmaet deg taddart.

Gar lextiyat i txeddem dakken tetteți imezday i yexulfen ilugan n taddart amedya am win ur nħeddar ara anejmue ney tançelt ad ixeleû lextiyya tettili gar 200DA ar 500DA, ma yella d lextiyya yef tissit tettili-d gar 500DA ar 1000DA. Ter mohand xellil lqanun<sup>3</sup> n taddart i ttased akken ad iziwen at taddart akken ad yaff tıfat i yal tukrist id yettmagar umdan deg tuddert n yal ass akken ad ttwaseggem tuddert-is.

Amedya af lextiyat i txeddem:

- **yef tançelt:** yella yiwen werggaz wergin iruħ ar tançelt tsemħas atas n tikwal tejmaet macca ur yuyal ara deg ubrid-is yef aya taddart txețat s 500DA, mi yas aken ur d yettas ara yuyal ħesben-t amaken yeffey deg lufaq n taddart.

### III.6.3.tawuri tadamsant:

Tajmaet n taddart n Iæzzunen tesæa tawuri tadamsant anda i txeddem lxedmat i yerzan taddart am uxeddim d ureqqeē n yiberdan n taddart arnu dayen tteawanen

<sup>1</sup> Mohand KHELLIL, La Kabylie ou l'ancêtre sacrifié, Paris, Edition l'Harmattan, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Adiwenni akk d mass CH.L, 75 n yiseggasen, Uduf.

<sup>3</sup> Mohand KHELLIL, la Kabylie ou l'ancêtre sacrifié, 1987, p.56.

win ixuûûen seg taddart amaken ixedmen i yiwet d tagujilt ur tesɛi ɛedd d lwali bnan-as axxam yesea 2 n texxamin iwakken ad tteddari.

Am wakken id segza Dahbia Abrous ɣef ayen yerzan lextiyat n taddart arnu dayen ɣef yerzan lextiyat n taddart arnu dayen ɣef lqima-ines deg tmetti d akken : « lextiyya-a nefɛen-t i umesruf n taddart : leɣal n twizi deg taddart d udawi, asfel d tmezliwt ». Deg ayen id tenna Abrous ad naf dakken tadamsa n taddart tettbin-id deg ayen yerzan timecreɛt ney deg ttbiyita.

### III.7.Tajmaɛt n taddart deg tedianin n 2001:

Taddart n Iɛezzenen tetteki am nettat am tudrin nniɛen n leqbayel deg tedianin n 2001, tedianin-a n tefsut taberkant id yellan deg tmurt n leqbayel kan d tin i yebdan deg 18 yebri 2001 anecta yeɛrad sebba n tmenyiwt n yiwen n yilemzi win iwumi qqaren Guermah massinissa s ɣur yiwen ujadarmi deg tyiwant n bni dwala i yellan deg tizzi wezzu, anecta dayen i yeɛgɛan ad xedmen yiwet tiduka iwumi qqaren leɛruc d nettat ad yekka-ten akken ad tselɛu amussu-a ;Taddart n Iɛezzenen deg tedianin n 2001 tekred am nettat am tudrin niɛɛen anda id kren akk warraw n taddart-a tekkin deg yal tikli ixedmen deg tmurt n leqbayel am waken i yid yemmeslayen kra yilemɛiyen deg taddart-a d akken deg useggas n 2001 atas i yeruɛɛen ddan deg tikli tammeqraɛ id yellan deg lzzayer tamanayt akken iy d-yemmeslay mass H.CH I yellan deg teswiɛt-nni d yiwen unelmad deg tsennawit deg uqbu dakken: « *cfiy-d ass-nni nruɛ ɣer lzzayer mi newweɛ ɣer dina n teddu nettɛeggid*” **imaziyen imaziyen**” cwiya kan ddula tsufyed akk wid ara iɛassen arnu tsufyed ɛezrayen anda iy d yekka-t s waman yeɛman nekni nregel maca anrey, ma d yiwen wass liy deg uqbu yiwen weqcic yetteayar ijadarmiyen (iɛeggalen n laman )almi d qqal yewtit-id wina sersas tɛedad ɣef yiri umezuy-iw lukan ur degray ara iman-iw ɣer dixel n yissenanen atah mmutay», dayen yiwen seg yerggazen imeqranen n taddart n Iɛezzenen yenna-d dakken :« yiwen wass fyey-d deg uxeddim tedduy ad aliy ɣer taddart n Iɛezzenen tedduy kan deg ubrid almi id ttazalen terbaɛt n yilmezyen tufren-d deffir-nsen Ijadarmiyen sqaqarent-nid s les bombe crimogène akk d tdebozin sin akkin ttazalay ula d nekk ugaday ad dduy deg leylaɛ ambaɛd ufiy-d yiwen n taddart-nney sufurgu yewwiyid ar taddart, anecta maci dayen ara

*nettu nekni s leqbayel atas i yeḍran daxessar deg tmurt-nney .», «tafust tabarkant n tmurt n lesqbayel d tin i yekkatn akken ad awwin azref n tutlayt Tamaziɣt akk d tmetti taqbaylit dakken lzzayer-a macci d taɣrabt kan I yellan deg-s macca tella uqbel n taɣrabt tella tutlayt tanaûlit taggi d Tamazight» anecta dayen iy d-yemmeslay mass H.ch I yellan deg teswiɣt-nni d yiwen n unelmad n tseddawit deg Bgayet.*

Deg useggas n 2001 deg unebdu tajmaɛt n leɛrac n tmurt n leqbayel ruḥend yer taddart n Iɛzzunen anda inejmaɛen deg uyerbaz amectuḥ n taddart-a( ayerbaz amectuḥ n Ben Medjkoune Yahia), dina inejmaɛen deg sbaḥ almi d tamedit deg ass n ljemza deg wagur n yebrir , imezday n taddart-a akk d wid n tyiwant n Iyrem d wid iɛussen akken ad iɛeddi unejmuɛ-a akken iwata ɛussen akk deg yidurar d yiberdan id yesekcamen yer taddart-a s leslaḥ ugaden ad yawweḍ wawal yer dula, macca yewweḍ i dula wawal dacu d akken yella unejmuɛ n Leɛruc deg tyiwant n Iyrem macca ur ɛlimen ara anwa Iyrem nwan d win n wayir n Tubirett akken iy d-yemmeslay mass I.B:« *dula tesla d akken anexdem anejmuɛ n leerc deg Yeyrem maca ur zrin ara aniwa Iyrem axaṭar yela Yeyre nniḍden deg Tubirett yef anecta iruḥen yer lwilaya n Bwira*». Fer taggara anejmuɛ n leɛruc d win iɛeddan akken iwata deg taddart n Iɛzzunen yef anecta yemmeslay-d mass CH.H yenna-d dakken: « *Asmi id ussan leɛruc yer taddart n Yiɛzzunen ur nwin ara ay-affen akken i nurganizi axaṭar ulac dacu ur nhegga ara ama d lmaḥla ama d ttaɛessast ama dayen nniḍen yef anecta yenna-yayd beleiḍ abrika dakken yefraḥ atas mi i d-yussa yer taddart-nney*».

Fer taggara nezmer ad nfek awal yef tefsut taberkant dakken d tin i yellan d taberkant d ssaḥ acku macci drus i yeḍran azal n127n wid yemmuten deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata rnu dayen imejraḥ d wid id yegran yer ass-a d imezɗar ur teddu ara.

### **III.8.Assay i yellan ger tejmaɛt n taddart n Iɛzzunen d tyiwant n Iyrem:**

Assay i yellan ger tejmaɛt n taddart n Iɛzzunen akk d tyiwant n Iyrem d assay n tdamsa akk d wassay n lmaslaḥa acku taddart n Iɛzzunen mi ara teszu kra wugur tettruḥu yer tyiwant akken ad aff tifat i yal tamsalt am temsalt n ubrid n taddart d win i yeɛewqqen taddart akken ilaq macca tayiwant yal ticki ad issax tettceyiɛ kra n yixeddamen-is akken ad txedmen, akken iy d yemmeslay B.I: « taddart n Iɛzzunen

tesea assay n tdamsa kan ger tejmaet n taddart akk d tyiwant n Iyrem mi ara tihwiğ kra taddart tettruğu yer tyiwant ».

Yella dayen wassay n lemɛawna ger taddart-nney akk d taddart n Iɛzzunen deg uħric n isenfaren am usenfar n tugra n waman n udrar s ixxamen n at taddart anda id fka tyiwant afus n lemɛawna i taddart akken ad awin seg udrar alma d taddart aman tefka-d ixeddamen akk d ttmacinin n uxeddim.

### III.9. Iskkiren i txeddem tejmaet n taddart:

#### III.9.1. timecređt:

Tajmaet d yiwet n tegruma i yesdukulen tiwaculin n taddart i yeħemlen ad illint yal tikkelt akken jmie anda id yettbin wanecta mi ara tdukulent deg yeskkiren-a akk i txeddem taddart, « *taddart n leqbayel tettwassen iman-is amkken d tijumaε n twaculin Id yekkan seg yiwen ujeddit ney ttwaqnen mgar-assent deg yegemamen ittekin i ttekin tikkelt deg useggas ar ar tmezliwt n lexrif, tiremt tucrikt Ssawalen-as timecređt*»<sup>1</sup>

Akken id yemmeslay mohand Khellil dakken: « *timecređt xedden-tt sebba n ceħħa n uksum deg tmurt n leqbayel, ma yella yiwen yezla fiğala n umxuter-ines*».

D yiwet n tmeyra id jemeen at taddart akk deg ass n lferħ ameqra, d yiwen wansay i yetteawanen akken ad seqwun assayen ger twaculin n taddart, timecređt d yiwen wansay i yellan seg zik deg taddart n Yiɛzzunen.

Timecređt d azamul n teydemt tinmettit anda id tbin wanecta mi iferqen s lezdel mgar iɛggalen n taddart ama yella d ameqran ney d amectuħ d umeqran, ney gar urggaz d tmettut ney ger uswir inmettit.

Fur Masqueray yenna-d dakken: « timecređt d yiwen n uzamul, id-yettililin s ufuggel, yal win ara d yawin amur n weksun deg tmeceđt, yettwaneħsab yekki deg tmezliwt n yezgaren».<sup>2</sup>

Timecređt d nettat id anamek n lemɛawna mger imdanen n yiwet n taddart, yal yiwen s wamek ara d ieiwen d wamek i yezmer akken ad ifek afus n lemzawna ar

<sup>1</sup> « Le village kabyle se définit essentiellement comme la réunion des familles descendant d'un ancêtre commun ou alliées entre elles, dont les membres participant une fois l'an au sacrifice d'automne, un repas communiel appelé uzi'a », Mohand Khellil, op.cit. p.52.

<sup>2</sup> « La timecređt est une cérémonie symbolique : la portion de la viande de la timecređt engageait le citoyen qui la reçus comme participation a l'égorgement du toureau », E. Masqueray, op.cit. p.36.



wazal ar wayen yelan deg tezmert-is, ama d tikci n yizamaren ney n yezgaren ara zlun deg tmeyra-a.

Timecređt d yiwet n tmeyra id yeslalayen lemɛawna mgar imecɛtaḥ n taddart akken sɛeddin ass yelhan, rnu yal tawacult ad ɕɕen-t yiwen imensi.

### III.9.1.A. Aheyyi n tmecređt:

Deg taddart n Iɛezzunen timecređt deg yiseggasen iɕih weksu deg iseggasen n 1970 almi d iseggasen n 2000 tettit-id yal aseggas ma d tura deg 10 iseggasen ineggura ur d-ttili kan tikkelt deg ɛamayen ney deg tlata iseggasen aɛla ḥssab n tezmert n lǧehd n at taddart n Iɛezzunen.

Yettili-d uheyyi n tmecređt deg taddart n Iɛezzunen s yur iɛeggalen n tejmaɛt n taddart-a anda I ttenejmaɛen akk d at taddart akken ad mmeslayen yef tmecređt d melmi i zemren ad txedmen dayen d waɕal n udrim ara d yeqqamen iwakken ad ayeɛn iɛejmiyen mi ara nejmaɛen ad ḥesben aɕal ad yekker i yal tawacult deg taddart, dayen ad ttilen yer usenduq n taddart n taddart ad zren aɕal n udrim i yellan akken ad ɛiwnen yes akken iy d-yemmeslay CH.A:« *taddart n Iɛezzunen sɛan tasenduqt anda id ttaran yedrimen n ssadaqa ney idrimen si sekrayen azemmur n taddart s yedrimen-ni id nettziwin akken ad nnay iɛejmiyen i tmecređt n taddart*».

Mi ara d jemeen at taddart idrimen d cegɛen win iḥercen i yesnen ad yay lmal akk d iɛejmiyen, ad ayeɛn seg sin ar tlata n yiɛejmiyen.

Akken iy d-yemmeslay mass I.B: taddart n Iɛezzunen d tin i yexedmen timecređt yal aseggas ger atteszu cwiṭ n udrim xedmen timecređt akken ad teddukel taddart ad ttemlil tassa d wayen turu ».

### III.9.1.B. Ass n tmezliwt: yiwen wass uqbel lmulud nenbi deg useggas n 2014

Ass n tmezliwt i đerru-d uqbel s yiwen wass yef ass n tmeyra d ass anda id ttasen akk at taddart am wid yellan deg taddart ney berra n taddart anda id ttasen akk akken ad mɛawanen tmezliwt akk d uheyyi n taddart akken a ttqabel inebggiwen-is s wudem icebḥen yebhan, anda yal yiwen dacu id ixeddim-ines, dacu id afus n lemɛawna ara d ifek iwakken ad sɛeddin ass deg lferḥ akken iy d-yemmeslay yiwen n yilemziyen n taddart n Iɛezzunen anda iy yenna M.CH dakken:« *ass-a n tmezliwt d ass i yesɛan zhu mliḥ acku nemwala akk nekni d yemddukal ur nwala ara aɕal aya arnu nettqesir*

*akken ilaq dayen ara kieğben deg leewayed-a n taddart-nney d nutenti i yettağan tagmat ger lyaci n taddart».*

Ass n tmezliwt d ass anda i tesdukul at taddart tirni yal yiwen s wansa ad yass akken yeħdar, anda ttemeawanen wid ad yessirden tejmaɛt ad ksen akk ayebbar dina arnu dayen ttheyyin tajmaɛt akken ad sersen dina aksum mi ara tferqen ad sersen dixel n tcekkarin arnu dayen win ad iheyyin lefður i yiεeggalen n taddart ad isegg deg uxxam n taddart anda i tesrusuy taddart n Iεezzenen akk leħwayeğ n taddart , llan wid i yettcebiħen i taddart s tēlamin akk d wayen nniħen am yiwen n cac anda id yura fella-s “ ansuf yeswen yer taddart n Iεezzenen “ ( dayen ad ibanen deg tijentaħ Tugniwin n tmecreħt) , anda iy d-yemmeslay yiwen n uεeggal n tejmaɛt Mass CH.A:« *nettak akk lecyal n ucebbaħ n taddart akk ubraz n tejmaɛt akken ad ttheğgin i wass-nni n tmecreħt d nutni iyessen akken ad cebħen mliħ arnu dayen d nutni id imecħuħen».*

Γnu dayen iεeggalen n taddart ttwelihen ilemēiyen akken ad qezden tikerusin – nsen d wanda akken iy d yemmeslay yiwen ger werrac n taddart-a M: « *d nekni s yilemziyen n taddart-a i nttara lwelha-nney yer yal taħağett ama dayen yerzan asizdeg n tejmaɛt ney dayen yerzan aggari n tumubilat anda myal ad yawweħ yiwen yer taddart n Iεezzenen neqqar-as anda ara isers takerrust-is acku d ussan yecban ass, ulac aħas n tkerrusin maca ulac lissaz s waħas i uggari yeħ anecta deg ass i yecban leewacar ne timecreħt taddart n Iεezzenen tettaħħar d ttikerrusin seg ansa i tebda taddart alama d ansa i tfuk yeħ aya ilaq win ara yetturganizin liħalqa laemuli yiwen ur yezmer ad yekcem taddart deg akken ara teħħar».*

Deg ass n tmezzla n yezgaren n tmecreħt akk irggazen n taddart ttruħun-d akken ad ħedren anda iy d yemmeslay G.DJ: « *anda yella Uεezzeni ad yass ad yeħdar timecreħt ad ieiwen deg tmezzla d uslax n yezgaren yeħ aya i tesaεa tmecreħt zzhu»*

Mi ara dawħen iεejmiyen yer taddart ad zwiren imecħaħ akken ad rucen akk amkan-nni akken ur yettili ara uyebar , ambazd mi ara d awin iεejmiyen-nni yer taddart ad t-nid-awwin as n yumen allen-nsen akken ur ttwalint ara lyaci-nni akk, ad rnun ad as cudden iħarnen-nsen akken iy d yemmeslay mass DJ.G: « *muqbel anezlu*

*aɛejmi ney ayen akk nniɗen d lɔali as cudden idarnen-nsen akken ur tthariken ara dayen akken ara yishil zellu-ines yernu ur yettzewiq ara amdan »,*

Mi ara zlun iɛejmiyen-nni id uyen akken s yur win i yesnen ad yezlu deg taddart ad tenrefden akken at nɛelqen akken ad ruhen wid i yettazun ad mɛawanen akk yerggazen fell-as akken ad fakken tuzin akken ad ġen imeslax-nni ad kiwen seg sbaħ ar tmeddit, ma dayen id ksen seg iɛebbaɗ-nsen ad tnawwin akken ad nsirden deg tallan tejmaet .

Mi ara d awweɗ tmeddit ad d-mmen iɛejmiyen-nni akken id yemmeslay B.I:« mi ara yekkiw ueejmi ad tniɗ nawi yer wexxam n taddart ney axxam n tejmaet akken ad negzem akk d imersumen arakken yal axxam ad as yeddu cwit cwit deg yal taħġett I yesɛa uzejmi ma dayen i yesza dixel ney dayen nniɗen», mi ara gezmen akk yerggazen azejmi-nni ad ksen yal lħaġa deg tfekka n uzgar attsesen weħdes akken iy d yemmeslay dayen B.I: « ilemɛiyen-nney mi ara ad gezmen dayen ad qedren iɛejmiyen-nni ad d refden yal taħaġett weħdes ama d aksum i yesɛan iyessan weħdes win yellan d ttaftilt kan weħdes yal taħaġett tesɛa amkan-is nesrusuy-itent deg lħilat mxalafent akken ad yeshi ufraġ-is d ttixxamin.

### **III.9.1.C. Ass n tmecreɗt:**

Timecreɗt d azamul n tmurt n leqbayel, tettwaxdam amakken d ass anda I ttemzawanen akk yemdanen, d ass anda id tefraġen tixxamin-nni n weksum yef twaculin.

Ass n tmecreɗt d ass anda yal aɛeggal deg taddart ad yawwi leħqi-s ad yesɛu texxamt anda as d-yeddu yal taħaġett deg uzger-nni, ass ameqran mi ara d-yawweɗ taddart tirni atteħɗar anda ad sersen akk aksum-nni dixel n tcekkarin srusuyen-tet akk suffel n tdekkarin n tejmaet akken iy d-yemmeslay CH.A:« mi ara d yawweɗ wass n tmecreɗt at taddart akk ad illin da, imiren ad nerfed aksum-nni ad nger akk dixel n tcekkarin kif kif akk i sazun ulac asemgired ger yemdanen yal axxam deg taddart ad yawwi leħqi-s akken ilaq , nesrusuy tcekkarin suffel n tdekkarin n tejmaet akken ad binent».

Mi ara d yawweɗ lawan anda ad ferqen aksum-nni d tixxamin, ad refden iɛeggalen n tejmaet yiwet n usebtar anda issersen akk tiwaculin n taddart ad bdun ad Ssawalen

yiwen s yiwen win kan imu d-Ssawalen ad ieeddi yer dixel n tejmaet ad yerfed lehqi-s ney texxamt-is .

Arnu dayen xedmen deg taddart Iëzzunen agraw deg lemquam n ccerfa anda id dazun s lxir i yal amdan i yettelhaqen adrim akken iy d-yemmeslay x<sup>1</sup>: « yal win ara yawden yer ugraw yeqqar-asen akken ad sedzun s lxir, akka seg zik myal at texdem taddart timecređt xedmen agraw anda ittilin yemyaren n taddart arnu dayen yettili si mohand arachid i yellan seg tawacult n yemrabden n taddart arnu ttqadaren-ten akk at taddart myal attili tmecređt Ssawalen-as akken ad yehda», ttruhun-d yer ugraw-a arggaz tamettut at taddart d tirni ttasen-d akk akken ad hedren akk agraw akk d tmecređt.

Deg tmecređt dayen xedmen kra n temzizliyin iwarrac imectah ama d ttazla ney d amezgun ma yella d ttazla ad d-refden kra n warrac d teqcicin timeéyanin ad asenfken ad azlen deg taddart n Iëzzunen alma d taddart n tizi meali win yewden d amezwaru ad as fken araz, ma yella d amezgun xedment-d tiqcicin d werrac am akken dayen id ttawin isefra d tmedyazt yef ayen yerzan taddart n Iëzzunen akk d tmurt n leqbayel, arnu dayen deg taddart n Iëzzunen xedmen yer yid tameyra anda id ttawin icenayen akk d kra n yileméiyen n taddart id yettawin kra n tezlatin , akken iy d-yemmeslay mass S.B:« nekni s at taddart Iëzzunen nzeređ yal tikkelt ad nawi amaynut deg ass n tmecređt anda tikwal n ttawi-d ifenanen dayen nesza la chourale n taddart anda id ttawint tiqcicin-nni kra n tezlatin arnu dayen ttawin-d isefra kra n werrac d teqcicin arnu dayen ttilin-tes temzizliyin i nxeddem akken ad myussanen akk werrac n taddart am wid yallan da am wid yallan berra i taddart».

Ihi yer taggara mi ara tfuk tmecređt ad ruhen leeqal n taddart akken ad hesben idrimen-nni i jemeen deg ugraw ad walin ma uwden açal iüerfen akk deg tmecređt-nni akken ad ten-erren yer texriđt n taddart.

#### **III.9.1.D. Iswi n tmecređt:**

Timecređt iswi-ines macci kan d afraq n uksum yef twaculin macca dakken d asdukkel n taddart d lferh anda imcaraken akk ieggalen n taddart n Iëzzunen, akken id yenna mohand Khellil:« timecređt ur telli ara kan d feruq n uksum macca d afraz s wudem usdid n tinmettit, agraw alsis. Tiwwin n umur n uksum anamek-is d ttekin yer

<sup>1</sup> Adiwenni akk d massa X, 74 n yiseggasen.

*tmettit-ya, ad yeqbel akk illugan akk d mgal aħric, seεeu n uzref n uħarez»<sup>1</sup>. Dayen timecređt d tin i wumi yefka isem Hanoteau d letournaux d akken d timecređt n tesređt nnan-d dakken:« Ma yella nebya ad nekkes reffu n rebbi , ad as-neđleb lemεawna, lehwa ney itij , ney tukksa n yir lehlak n ttejra ney lmal, lehlak n yisekla yettarwen lfakya, nettheyyi i tzallit s tmecređt»<sup>2</sup>*

Timecređt tettzawan akken a tteseğhed tagmat ger yemdanen, arnu dayen ad tentziwen akken ad myussanen mgar-asen arnu yef aya timecređt macci d aferuq n uksum kan macca dayen tessawal akken atezraε lemħiba ger yemdanen arnu dayen ad tent-eiwen akken ad ksen yer lxilaf ger at taddart dayen akken atezdi lemħawa ger-asen akken iy d-yemmeslay mass L.CH:«*timecređt dayen iy d-ğğan imezwuranney yessefk fell-ay akken ad nettef deg-s, arnu dayen d yiwen ger leewayed iy d-yesmektayen yef yedles-nney amazi, s tmecređt i ttağan yemdanen mgar-asen asay d nettat i yettağan assay n lemεawna akk d ttegmatt yettidir yer ass-a deg tmetti-nney*», akken i s yenna Maεtub lwenas:« *ass akk yifen ussan di ddunit mi ara ttemplil tassa d wayen turu*», seg awal-a nezmer ad nini dakken ulac ayen yelhan deg taddart am wassen ara mlilen akk at taddart akken ad mmeslayen dayen ad ttemsefhamen mgar-asen.

### III.9.2. Ttbiyita:

Ttbiyita d yiwen wansay ger wansayen n tmurt n leqbayel sumata d ass anda i ttemplilin akk yemdanen akken ad myusanen arnu yef aya aten-tecrek akk yiwet n tiremt mi ara d yawweđ lawan useççi.

Yettili-d uheyyi n ttbiyita deg taddart n Yiεezzenen uqbel ass-nni s kra n wussan ney tikwal yettaweđ alma d aguren anda at taddart akk ad nejmazen akken ad jemeen idrimen yal yiwen deg taddart ad ifek azal n wayen i yesefken fell-asen arnu dayen lan wid id yettsediqen ikkeriyen ney ayen nniđen akken iy d yemmeslay mass CH.L:

<sup>1</sup> « il ne s'agit pas seulement de partager des viandes mais bien de délimiter d'une façon précise une communauté, un groupe humain. Prendre une part de viande signifie faire partie de cette communauté, en accepter les règles et, en contrepartie, avoir droit a sa protection», Mohand KHELLIL, la Kabylie ou l'ancêtre sacrifié, p.51.

<sup>2</sup> «L'orsqu'on veut désormer la colère de Dieu c'est bon lui demander une faveur la pluie, du soleil, la assations d'une épidémie, épizootie, d'une des maladies des arbres fruitiers, on se prépare a la prière par une timechret». Adolphe HANOTEAU et Aristide LETOUEUXrnaux, la Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, p.58.

« *ttbiyita d tameyɾa tameqranɛt anda id is sen-ttheyyi muqbel s waɳas n wussan anda i njemaɛ idrimen arnu dayen nettsemmi-d tiwaculin tiqeddacin*».

Taddart-a n Iɛzzunen ger tuddar yetfen deg lezwayed-is, akken iy d-mmeslayen at taddart-a uheyyi n ttbiyita yettili-d uqbel s waɳas anda mi ara msefhamen leɛqal mgar-asen ad ɛeddin akken ad berhen akken ad nejmaɛ akk taddart akken ad msefhamen yef wazal n udrim ara d fken akk at taddart rnu yef ya ad ɛren win yebyan akken ad iseddaq kra ney kra ama d lxera ney smid ney d ziyada n udrim ma yella win isekfan yettsediq-d ikkeriyen ney win yessekfata rebbi ttediqen aɛejmi ney win i zemren i ɳaɳett att-id ifek ama d zzit ney d ifelfel azeggay n tmurt akken iy d-mmeslay massa Z.CH<sup>1</sup>: « *at taddart n Iɛzzunen mi qrib kan ad awweɳ ttebiyita ad affeɳ akk at taddart yal yiwen dacu id yettak i tejmaɛt ama d win yeszan lxeɳra deg tebhirt-is ad ifek, ney dayen lant tlawin ixeddmɛn ifelfel azeggay ttediqen-d i taddart arnu dayen lan wid i yesɛan aɳas n zzit ttediqen win yesɛan kan kra ad iɛiwnɛn deg ttbiyita-a att-id ifek seg-s ad iziwen taddart deg-s ttwab i netta tettuneɳsab d ssadaqa i laxart-is*».

Ass amezwaru n ttbiyita d ass anda i ttruɳun kan win i yerfdɛn akken ad ilin d iqedacɛn d nutni ara yezwiren( deg ttbiyita-a llan at bucamɛ d adrum –nsɛn i yellan d iqedacɛn), akken ad berzen akk lemɳam n jeddi wennuc id yezgan deg Lɛerc n at Mlikec, akken iy d mmeslay Z.CH: « *mi ara ewɳɛn iqeddacɛn n taddart Iɛzzunen yer din ad berzen akk lemaɳam-nni arnu ad sseyqe ambaɛd tulawin ad ɛeddin-t ad ceɛlen-t akk ticɛmazin sin akkin ad zeddin-t ad fetlen-t seksu ad heggin-t i uzekka ma d irggazen akk d yilmeziyen ad heyyin akk leqcac-nni ara ihwiɳen deg ttbiyita-ya arnu ad awwin ayen s waccu ara gnen deg yid-nni, tilawin –nni mi ara fetlent akken llant tid yekkatɛn urrar dina*».

Ass-nni ttalin kra n yerggazen imeqranɛn akken ad ɳɛɳren dayen ad kin deg tmezliwt n yiɛejmiyen akk d wayen id yettwasedqɛn d akrraren mi ara tnezlu dina ass-nni yef udem n ssbaɳ ad nselxen akk ma dayen yerzan aneqqi n wayen id yeylin deg-sɛn ttakent-nid i tlawin akken ad sen-wenzɛnt akken ilaq.

Mi ara d yawweɳ yid n wass amezwaru n ttbiyita ad refden yerggazen wid i ssegayɛn ad awwin tikkerciwin-nni ad nxedmen d imɛnsi, ma d irggazen –nni nniɳɛn

<sup>1</sup> Adiwenni akk d massa Z.CH ,64 n yiseggasen, d tamettut n uxxam

ad ruħen ad kemlen ixeddim-nni n sbaħ anda ad refden akk iëejmiyen-nni akken ad ngezmen akk d leħquq akken ad ishilen akk i usewwi akken iy mmeslay Massa B.B tenna-d:« *irggazen d nutni i yezelun iëejmiyen d nutni i tni-gezmen akken d imersumen akken ad asen-yeshel i useggi arnu dayen akken ar asen-yeshel ad fergen yefyemdanen mi ara d yawweđ lawan usseççi*».

Ma dayen yerzan tulawin nutenti akken iy d-mmeslayen-t kra n temsulya-nney akk d wayen nwala deg ttbiyat i neħdar yakkan dakken tilawin d nutenti i yefetlen akk seksu i ttbiyita rnu dayen azgen nniđen seg-sent sfuruyen-t seksu-nni akken ad fakken-t ad heyyin- i yerggazen akk leqlul i sexdamen akken ad n ssirden-t, arnu dayen ad ttheyyin-t i werrac imectaħ anda ara d-ťsen ma d nutenti xedmen Ƨul n yid urrar akk d çdiħ alma yuli wass.

Mi d yewweđ wass ameqran n taddart Iëezzenen anda id d-nejmae akk taddart arnu dayen inebggiwen n taddart n Iëezzenen wid akk id 3ređ tejmaet akken ad heđren akk ttbiyita anda id tťasen akk yemdanen seg myal tamnađt i yeqarben yer taddart n Iëezzenen, anda lemqam n jeddi wennuc yettaççar d lřaci anda muqbel ad yebdu usseççi tulawin akk ad ttemlili-nt yer yiwet n tqarabt anda i tťyenit arnu kkatent abendayer ceťhen-t, ma d tid yeqqimen berra i tqarabin-nni ttruhun-t tťyimin-t i tili akken ad qesren-t mger-asent arnu dayen ttaemaren-ted aman seg tazwint tamectuħt yellan dina deg lemqam akken iy d-mmeslay B.B:« *tťawinted aman tľawin seg tazwint-nni yellan deg jeddi wennuc axatar d aman lřali sřan dwa qqaren-d dakken yedea jeddi wennuc win yeswan deg aman-a ad ibarek rebbi deg rrezq-is arnu dayen daman iűemađen id yussan s ddaw lřaza* », arnu dayen arrac imectaħ tteksen-d usran tturaren yes xedmen-d yes tizuraz akken ad cebhen aqerruy-nnen s yes.

Deg agraw tťilin yemyaren n taddart akk d umrabeđ si muħand aracid anda yal agraw n taddart as d ssiwlen akken ad yili deg-s, mi ara bdun ad daeun s lxir ttruhun irggazen tulawin akken ad asen d-fken-t deawi lxir, dayen sburuyen-d I taqciť ma yella tđelbasen s yiwen n uħram akken ad yili d aħram n tusratt d sser anda yebyu tili.

Deg lawan usseççi irggazen ad zwiren ad heggin akk tirbuyin n seksu arnu ad awwin lesđul n lmerqa yal yiwen seg-sen dacu ara yetťef, ma d wid id yewwin aksum ad qqimen suđellae n uksum ad szeddayen sin sin asen ttakken leħquq-nsen akk

dayen ad tnesyama-yen akken ad ɕɕen seksu deg tirbuyin-nni sin akkin win yeɕɕan ad iruḥ s axxam-is.

Iswi n ttbiyita d win n tmecreɗt d yiwen i sin n wansayen-a ttɓawanan ad xeddmn tagmat mgal imdanen n taddart-a arnu dayen d ansayen id ɓan imezwuranney yessefk fell-ay at nid nettmektay akken ur ttruḥun ara arnu dayen ad qqimen seg tasut yer tayed akken uy ttruḥun ara ad qqimen i lebda deg taddart n Yiɛzzunen, arnu dayen deg ttbiyita imdanen ɛedlen tetten akk yiwet lmakla yiwen ur izedda wayeɗ imdanen akk msawan akken id yenna Nbbi ucbiḥ .

**Taggrayt:**

Deg ixef-a nessaweɗ newwi-d awal s telqayt yef tuddsa tejmaɛt deg taddart n Iɛzzunen anda id nebder tirmad i tessudus.



# **IXEF IV**

**Tamejtu d  
uxeddim n uzejta deg  
taddart n Iezzunen**

**Tazwert:**

Tameɛtɛt d tin yesɛan azal meqren de tmetti taqbaylit sumata, imi aɛas n termed i tessudus deg tuddert-is n yal ass aladya deg useɛbibber yef leɛwayed n zik, dayan ara nwali d amedya yer tlawin n tamnaɛt n Yiɛezzenen.

**I. Azal n Tameɛtɛt deg taddart n Iɛezzenen:****I.1. azal n tameɛtɛt deg tmurt n leqbayel s umata:**

Uqbel ad nemmeslay yef tmeɛtɛt deg taddart n Iɛezzenen ad nemmeslay yef tmettut deg tmurt n leqbayel sumata imi Tameɛtɛt taqbaylit tetɛef amɛiq d agejdan deg tmetti tazayrit, fell-as i yebna uxxam. Telha-d d leqdic n wexxam terna win n lexla d nettat i d lɛas n tmetti, fella-s i yebedd nnif n tmetti taqbaylit, Tameɛtɛt d nettat i yettaran lwelha-s yer wayen akk yerzan axxam-is, d wayen uɛwaɛen werraw-is akk d twacult-is.

Ɂas neqqar Tameɛtɛt d lasas, arggaz d ajgu alemmas, macca di tmetti n zik, “di zzman n yiyil Tameɛtɛt taqbaylit tettili ddaw teɛɛat urggaz”. Akka i tebna tmetti taqbaylit ayen id –yerra umnar yer daxel n tmettut, ayen yellan berra i umnar d ccɛel n urggaz; awal-is yekmen ur d yettefey ara yer berra, ulac-it la di tejmaet wala di ssuq.

D ayen id yessebganen belli Tameɛtɛt taqbaylit “ur sefkin ara azal di tmetti, ur nekni nezra dakken mebiyir Tameɛtɛt kra n wayen yelhan ur d yettili!”, A. Hanoteau deg udlis-is « poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Djurdjura » yenna-d belli: «*Tameɛtɛt ur teszi ara azal ameqran deg tmetti taqbaylit*»<sup>1</sup>, Tamuyli-ya tekka-d seg yiwen yellan d aberrani yef tmurt n leqbayel, acku yexdem aserwes gar tlawin n tmurt-is , anda tameɛtɛt tetɛfay txeddem am nettat am arggaz d tin n leqbayel anda amkan-is de uxxam-is, tameɛtɛt yettidiren di tmurt-nney imiren d tallit n trad, teɛfer-it-id di tmuyli-ya L.C. dujardin deg udlis « Les Mères contres Les Femmes »<sup>2</sup> anda i d-tewwi wawal s telqay yef wazal n tameɛtɛt i tesɛa deg tmetti taqbaylit tamensayt, tenna-d belli azal-is d win ur yeswin ara, imi seg tallit-is ur ferɛen ara yis « *talalit n tameɛtɛt di*

<sup>1</sup> Adolphe HANOTEAU, Poésie Populaire de la Kabylie du Djurdjura, Imprimerie impériale, Paris.1867.

<sup>2</sup> Camille lacoste-dujardin, des mères contre des femmes, édition la Découverte, Paris, 1985.

*lzzayer yettili-d s tsusmi», «Ababat yezra belli d taqciɛt i tesɛa tmejtut-is imi ur yesli ara i uslewlew n tlawin deg uxxam, acku tluɛd taqciɛt amzun d lmut i yellan deg uxxam »<sup>1</sup>, Mi tebda tettimyur tettuyal d ayilif n yerggazen n uxxam, “imi nnif d leqder n twacult icud yur-s”<sup>2</sup>.*

Si tama nniɛen ad nnaf tamuyli n inagmayen n tmurt, yef uqerru-nsen Said Boulifa id as d-yerran i Hanoteau anda id yenna belli yas ma yella tamejtu taqbaylit deg uxxam i tettyimi macca tesza azal agejdan deg tmetti, d nettat id tagejdit n uxxam, deg twacult taqbaylit. Imi tamejtut d ttayemt yelhan deg yiberdan n lmerta d yiyilifen akken ad ttrebbi arraw-is, ad sen-teselmed taqbaylit ahat lukan macci d nettat ur d tettawɛd ara taqbaylit yer tizi n wass-a, tamejtu ma yella tweuua arggaz s ayen yelhan akken ara yexdem, dayen ma yella tweuat yer wayen n diri ad yexdem akken, dayen id yessebganen belli d tamejtu id lɛas n uxxam melba yes-s ur yezmir ad yali.reɛ

Azal n tamejtu iɛedda i waya, imi nuɣal cciɛuɣ yer umezruy ad d-nnaf belli ula d nettat tjuhed tqubel irrummyen s tebyest. Ula d Tasaɛdit Yacine temeslay-d yef wazal n tamejtu deg tmetti taqbaylit tenna-d belli tesɛa amɛiq macca « amɛiq iwulmen d win ara ad d-tawi s lweqt », lmeena n wanecta, tamɣart tesɛa awal-is deg uxxam, tettecix, tettray, ula yef yerggazen, Asmi ara timyur tettebeddil fell-as teswiht deg tmejqrant ur nesɛa tilisa yer leqder d ccwar icuban yer ccyaxa<sup>3</sup>.

Tamejtu d tin ixeddmɛn aɛas n leɣal imi d nettat yettrebin arraw-is tid i yesɛan dderya, d tin id ilthawen d wexxam-is, tettehyi-asen ayen akk i ttihiwiɣin deg tudert n yal ass.

## **I.2. Azal n tmejtut deg taddart n Iezzunen:**

S wayen id nemmeslay yakkan ad neɛreɛd ad nawwi awal yef tamejtu deg taddart n Iezzunen, imi tesɛa amkan d ameqran, acku d nettat i yettaran lwelha-ines ar wexxam-is, arnu yef aya d nettat i yettili yer tama n werggaz, imi d nettat akk i yexedmen leɣal n uxxam, trennu ula d wid n berra am ulqad n uzemmur akk d uɣuccu n tugga akk dayen tettedu yer uzdam anda tettemɛawan nettat akk d werggaz.

<sup>1</sup> Camille Lacoste, Dujardin, les mères contre des femmes, Editions la Découverte, Paris, 1985, P267.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Tasaɛdit Yacine-Titouche, si tu m'aime guérie moi !, Ed de la maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris, 2006.

Tamejtu deg taddart n Iezzunen tettwabead akk yef ayen yerzan akk lecyal n taddart a ladya ayen yerzan lecyal n tejmaet i yellan kan d tajmaet n yerggazen, Arnu yef aya ad nnaf dakken tamejtu ur tessi ara azref am arggaz imi nettat tetti kan seddaw werggaz deg ayen yerzan tajmaet.

Seg tama nniġen lecyalat d wid yettwaferqen ayen yerzan lecyal n dixel i wemnar n wexxam n tamejtu ma dayen yerzan berra i wemnar yettiti n werggaz, anecta dayen i yellan deg tmetti taqbaylit tirni tettidir s taztat anda id as ttemmalen akk akken i yellaq attiti tmettu deg taddart n Iezzunen anda tettidir deg twacult-is s leqder d lherma yal yiwen deg umkan-is am arggaz am tamejtu.

### **I.2.1. Azref n tamejtu n taddart n Iezzunen deg ayen yerzan awrat:**

Ma yella d ayen yerzan azref n wawrat tamejtu deg taddart Iezzunen d azref i s-yettwaxsen,ur tettewrat ara am tudar nniġen deg tmurt n leqbayel, dayen tamejtu ur tettewrat kra seg imawlan-is yas akken imawlan-is d wid yesean mliġ, maca ur tettawi seg-sen kra ala ma yella fkan kan cwiġ macca anecta ur yettwasema ara awrat acku maci d nettat i tid-iġelben akken ad ttawi, maca tettuneġsab d tikci s yur imawlan-is.

Akken id yemmeslay Deveaux<sup>1</sup> deg udlis-is “les kebailes du Djurdjura” anda id yemmeslay yef uzref n tamejtu deg ayen yerzan awrat anda id yenna dakken: « *tamejtu ur tettewrat ara, akken yebyu tili szayya n yimmawlan-is.*», Imi deg taddart n Iezzunen d leib ney ur yecbiġ ara yef tmettu akken ad ttewret , ilmend n yimsulya-nney tamejtu mi ara teġleb yer imawlan-s ad ttewret, seg imaren imawlan-nni-ines lan wid i yettefayen seg imiren-nni yelli-tsen lan wid i yettyimin akken macca tuyal zzayet yur-sen akken iy d-mmeslay Z.CH: « *lan-t tlawin i yeqqaren i yimmawlan-nsen akken ad werten-t ama d adrim ney d cci ney d leqwazi, macca seg yimaren ttefayen-t watmaten-nse lan wid i yettaken i yessit-sen amakken i teġra lwaġid d KH anda d atmaten-ines is yefkan akal iwakken ad tebnu deg-s.*»

Awrat deg taddart n Iezzunen icuba awrat deg tmurt n leqbayel, imi ula deg tudar nniġen ur yessek ara i tamejtu akken ad ttewret, acku dayen i ttwalin yecmet. Gas akken tamurt tbeddel macca llant kra n tlawin ur nettawi ara leġq-nsent seg ayen szan

<sup>1</sup> Charles DEVEUX, Les Kebailes de Djurdjura, Marseille, Camoin Frères, Libraires Éditeurs, PARIS, 1859.

imawlan-is imi yer ass-a n wussan ttwalin awrat n tmejtut d l3ib, yas akken yeddad deg tesredt macca ur tbeddel ara uddem yur imezday n taddart anda nga tasastant-nney.

### I.3. Asyurbez n tamejtut deg taddart n Iezzunen:

#### IV.3.1. Asyurbez n tamejtut deg 1954 ar 1962:

Tamejtut deg taddart n Iezzunen deg lweqt n trad mgala acenggu afransis tilawin d tin ur yekcimen ara yer uyerbaz, acku deg akud-nni tamejtut telha kan d wexxam-is d werraw-is, ur d ggiren-t ara tayuri deg allay-nsent akken id mmeslay massa B.B: « *deg lweqt n urrumi ulac tin yeyran deg tlawin n Iezzunen ulac amek ad yren-t arnu nella nekni deg lgirra yef aya yiwen ur d yerri lwelha-s ar usyarray n teqcicin llant kra n tlawin am nekk nettruhu ar lgamae anda i neqqar leqran sehfa-den-nney ala leh3ab* »

Seg ayen iy d-mmeslayen imsul3a-nney, dakken azal n 97% n tlawin n taddart d tid ur neyri ara deg taddart n Iezzunen, ma 3% id yegran d tid i kecmen yer lgamae akken ad lemden-t leqran akk d tira s taerabt. Ma d ayen yerzan tayuri deg uyerbaz tamejtut deg taddart n Iezzunen d tin wergin tkecmi deg lweqt-nni n trad.

Dayen temeslay-ay-d B.B tenna-d dakken: « tulawin deg lawan n trad awwi-d kan d acu ara d t3cen werraw-nsen ur xedment ara azal i tyurri akk imi deg lweqt-nni macci dayen i yellan, arnu deg lweqt n trad imdanen ur sekfane ara iman-nsen akken ad ceggen tiqcicin-nsen ad yrent yas g lgamaz, imaren d leib ad ttefay wehdes melba arggaz ».

#### IV.3.2. Asyurbez deg taddart n Iezzunen deg 1962 ar 1986:

Deg taddart n Iezzunen deg ayen id newwi deg issalen dakken lihala n usyurbez deg taddart n Iezzunen seg tama n tlawin seld timument n lzzayer d tin ur ibedlen ara atas almi d iseggasen n 1970 ibdan-t tlawin kecmi akken ilaq yer uyerbaz akken iy d-yemmeslay mass L.CH d akken: « *tiqcicin n taddart n Iezzunen almi d iseggasen n 1970 ar d asawen ibdan-t kecmi yer uyerbaz anda ttru3un-t alma d taddart n tizi meali anda i qqaren-t deg uyerbaz amezwaru sin akin tkemmilen-t tayuri deg uyerbaz* ».

*wis sin deg uqbu, macca aɛas n teqcicin ur i-kcimen ara yer uyerbaz akk sebba nekni s at zik ur nessin ara lqima n uyerbaz».*<sup>1</sup>

Rnu dayen ulac tiqcicin i kemlen tayuri ɣas akken ɣran-t deg uyerbaz alemmas, deg yissalen id d-newi n uffa-d dakken tilawin d tin ur ikemlen ara akk tayuri deg tsennawit akk d tsedawit sebba tamezwarut dakken ur byin ara imawlan-nsent ad illint teqcicin berra i wexxam, sebba d akken ad ttnusunt deg tsenawit, ma d uggur wis sin d akken ur sɛin ara allalen imesniyen neɣ n tiddi, dayen i yeɣɣan tiɛdayin ur ɣrin-t ara deg yiseggasen-nni.

Akken dayen mi ara d-nuɣal yer yiseggasen imezwura seld timument n lzzayer ad nnaf at taddart n Iɛezzenen katen kan akken ad rwun ayrum akken iy d-nna massa B.B d akken: « *deg yiseggasen-nni imezwura seld timument n lzzayer at taddart-nney kkaten kan ad serwun i werraw-nsen ayrum ma d tayuri n teqcicin dayen ur gellin ara ger leɣwayeɣ timezwura i yellaqen i teqcicin acku deg lweqt-nni tiqcicin zegjen-t zik kan akken d timectaɣ ur d-lethu ara d leqqraya*». Macca ambaed timument n lzzayer s kra n yiseggasen bdan-t teɛdayin kecmen-t yer uyerbaz macca s leɣya, drus yid-sent kan acku macci tiwaculin akk sruɣuyen i teqcicin akken ad ɣren-t , imi ulac ayerbaz deg taddart n Iɛezzenen imiren, arnu seg tsastant i nga nuffa-d d akken tid yeszan deg leemer-nsent seg 36 dasawen lan-t aɛas n tid ur nekcem ara akk ayerbaz, rnu dayen lan-t tid yeɣran cwit deg uyerbaz amezwaru kan neɣ kemlen-t ar wis sin kan, sin akkin ɛbsen-t akken iy d-mmeslay F.G<sup>2</sup> dakken: « *Asmi i lliy qqara-y lliy ger imezwura deg uyerbaz ɛercay dayen kan macca ar taggara sebba n lqela staxaren-iyid imawlan-iw fkan-iyi zzewɣey deg lweqt-nni drus n teqcicin deg taddart i yeqqaren imi ur ttaken ara akk tiqcicin ad ɣren-t qlil ad affeɛ kra ubabat iserɛen i yelli-s ad tɣer*».

Seg ayen id nejmae d issalen ad nnaf dakken deg wakud-a ad nnaf drus n teqcicin i yettruɣun yer uyerbaz seg taddart n Iɛezzenen ar taddart n Tizi Mɛali i yelan teqreb, imi liɣala n lweqt-nni d lixûaû i yeɣɣan at taddart n Iɛezzenen ur ttaken ara tiqcicin ad ɣren-deg uyerbaz arnu dayen d leeqelya n at zik zerren dakken taqcict tettwaxdam kan i leqdic deg uxxam .

<sup>1</sup> Adiwenni d mass L.CH, 73 iseggasen, Uduf.

<sup>2</sup> G.F, tebbra, 43 n yiseggasen.

**IV.3.3. Asyurbez deg taddart n Iezzunen seg 1986 ar ass-a:**

Deg useggas n 1986 ar ass-a leqqraya n taqcict d win ibedlen s waṭas imi ayerbaz d win yellan deg tlemmast n taddart, anda yal yiwen ad yezmir ad yekcem ar ayerbaz, deg wakud-a tamejtu teqqar am nettat am arggaz ur yelli lxilaf ger-asen, imi deg useggas n 1986 i yelli ayerbaz deg taddart n Iezzunen anda i bdan-t teqcicin kecmen-t akk yer ayerbaz anda i nezmer ad nini dakken azal n 99% n teqcicin yewḍen mi ara awḍen 6 iseggasen ad kecmen-t yer ayerbaz, imi yuḡal usyurbez tarmudt tunsibt deg tmurt dayen, akken i d-yemmeslay L.CH dakken: « *seld mi i yelli ayerbaz deg taddart-nney tiqcicin akk kecmen-t ad yren-t acku ulac dacu ara d-affen imawlan d sebba axatar d ayerbaz id yezgan deg tlemmast n taddart, rnu dayen medden akk bdan ttisinen dacu id lqima n leqqraya ama i taqcict ama i weqcic* ».

Deg 10 iseggasen-a ineggura, nezmer ad nini asyurbez n taqcict d win iṣawden s waṭas, imi kecmen-t akk yer ayerbaz, arnu ḡran-t deg tsenawit, kemlen-t deg tse dawit, tura tḡen-t ixeddim yal yiwet dacu i txeddem imi nezmer ad nerfed amedya am massa S.B txeddem tabuḡatutt temeslay-ayḍ dakken :« *tura ulac win ur yeggaren ara yelli-s yer ayerbaz axatar isudaf n tmurt ḡetmen yef yal amdan ad igger arraw-is yer ayerbaz akken id yenna lqanun n tmurt n lzzayer seg 6 ar 16 sna tettwaḡettem fella-s ad tekcem wa ad tḡyer am nettat am werrac, tura deg taddart-nney qlil ad affeḍ taqcict ur teyri ara ala tin id yeḡaxen ur d as d-yefki ara uqerruy-ines ney ur teḡmil ara leqqraya ttruhun-t xedmen-t ayen nniḍen am lexyaḍa ney kra nniḍen* »<sup>1</sup>.

Nezmer a ad negzu seg ayen id mmeslay S.B dakken tura tiqcicin xedmen-t ttefayen-t akk tbeddel fella-sent akken ilaq seg yal tama anecta sebba n usyurbez-ines d win id yellin tiggura i tuddert tajḍit deg tmeddurt n yal taqcict deg taddart n Iezzunen arnu tura medden ur ttwalin ara taqcict d tin kan ara yilin deg uxxam macca tezmer ad ttefay yer berra ad truh ad tḡyar akken ad teiwen iman-is.

<sup>1</sup> Massa S.B, 33 sna, Tabuḡatutt.

**IV.4. Tilawin ixeddimen azejta:**

Axeddim n uzejta d win yellan uqbel Anekcum n fransa yer tmurt n lzzayer, imi d yiwen ger wansayen i tettej tmetti taqbaylit yer ass-a, anda ad nnaf dakken tilawin n taddart n Iezzunen d tid ixeddimen azejta seg zik, imi d win id yegran yer ass-a yer kra n tlawin deg taddart, imi azetta d win i tent-yetteawanen akken ad d sekren arraw-nsent dayen ad ziwnen-t arggaz yef lmaħna n tuddert akken iy d-mmeslay Z.CH: « *azejta d win i txeddem tamejtu n taddart-nney akken ad ziwen iman-is akken dayen id qqaren imezwura dakken tamejtu ur nessin i uzejta ur tesliħ i ttarbiya acku zik deg lweqt-nni n trad maħsub amur ameqran n tlawin snen-t akk i uzejta acku d wini ttafen-t d amwanen-nsent di tmeddurt* ».

Deg taddart n Iezzunen amur ameqran n tid ixeddimen azejta eddan-t deg 40sna imi tigg d tid ur nekcimen ara yer uyerbaz d tid i yettyimin deg uxxam yef aya d nutenti i yelemden azejta akken ad ren-t azal i yiman-nsent akken id ay d mmeslay N.CH: « *tiqcicin-a akk ixeddimen azejta deg taddart n Iezzunen d tid ur neyri ara ulac s wanda ara sent-id yekcem usurddi yef aya tteawanen-t iman-nsent s uzejta ttgahizen-t yes akken ur d renun-t ara tazkemt-nsen-t i uxxam-nsen* ».

Tilawin ixeddimen azejta yas ur yrin-t ara macca axeddim n uzejta-a d win yiffen akk kra nniħen imi d win i yettharaben yef tmettu arnu dayen d win i ttesren imi tamejtu tezga deg teymert txeddem-it , arnu azetta d win mechuren deg taddart n Iezzunen akk d leerc n Yillulen Usammer, imi ulac tislit ara yefyen deg uxxam-is ur tettawi ara yid-s, d yiwen ger izamulen n tmetti taqbaylit, dayen yal tayemmat txeddem azejta akken ad terr i yell-is deg ass n zzwaħ-is imi deg taddart-a ulac taqciħ i zewħen ur tewwi ara aeddil ney taħdilt yal yiwen ar waħal i yezmer ad terr i yell-is .

Llant tlawin ixeddimen azejta akk d taduħ imi d snat n lħirfat i txeddem deg taddart-a s waħas, llant tlawin i wumi yemmut werggaz-nsent s taduħ akk d uzejta i si tettawan iman-is amakken iy d-mmeslay M. CH: « *imi nekk arggaz-iw fell-as yezfu rebbi imi i yemmut yeħħa-d arraw-iw d imecħuħen uyalay i uxeddim n taduħ akk d wallum akk d izeħwan* ». Iwakken ad sekfunt tlawin tawacult-nsent uyalen-t i uxeddim



n izedwan, akken s yes ad awin-t ayrum n werraw-nsen akken ur ttilint-ara tazkemt yef imawlan-nsent.

#### **IV.5. Axeddim n tadut deg taddart n Iezzunen:**

##### **IV.5.1. Asizdeg n tadut:**

Taddart n Iezzunen d wid ger wid ixeddimen lmal mi ara lsen i wakraren-nsen tilawin-nsen sexdamen-t tadut-a deg uzejta yef-ya mi ara ddawin-t tlawin tadut-nni ad ttfernen-t deg urecaq akk d wayen n diri sin akin ad zebin-t yer umkan llan waman mlih ama deg sdat n lbir ney deg taewint akken ad ssirden-t s wumu akken iy d-mmeslay R.CH: « *mi ara neseu lmal mi ara d-yawwed lweqt n Tulsa-nsen ad n id nawi yer umkan azedgan anda ad nelles akken ilaq ad asend nekkes akk tadut-nni- ines sin akkin ad t-nawi yer wexxam ad nefren ad as nekkes akk axeclaw umbaed nekk-i ttawiy-tt yer taewin-t isey deg tebhirt n wexxam akken ad nessired akken iwata s uabun akken ad tt-tefey tweddaht*».

Mi tfuk tamejtu asired n tadut tettawit ad tt-tefsar akken ad tqitar seg aman umbaz ad ttawin-t yer ad zwin-t akken ayen yellan d axeclaw ad yeqli arnu dayen ayen akk id yegran d axeclaw amectuht tteksen-id s uffu-s. Mi ara d fakken akk Afran tadut tilawin ttawint-tett fesunt-tett ger ifanen-nsent akken ad ttishil akk aqquerdec.

##### **IV.5.2. Aqquerdec n tadut akk d wazal n tamejtu i t-ixeddimen deg taddart:**

Imi taddart Iezzunen d yiwet ger tuddar ixeddimen-t tlawin deg-s azetta anecta yeskanay-d dakken xeddimen ula tadut imi sin-a ttemsejfarem akken. Tadut d tamsarit tettessar amdan ama deg lebsa imi seg tadut id nessufuy tibernyas arnu dayen seg tadut id nxeddem izdilen d yihuyak d wid i sexdamen deg cetwa d tadduli arnu dayen d tin iten-yetteawanen s udrim d wid i ten-yettziwinen deg temeict n yal ass.

Deg lweqt-nni i yella ucenggu afransis deg tmurt n lzzayer d tadut i yellan arif n tmejtu imi s yes i tqubel taswiet sexdamen-t seg yal taswiet akken i qqaren:

Axxam i gi tella tadut

Ur yettaggad asemmid,

Wala llaé n tæbbut<sup>1</sup>.

Tamejtu ixeddimen tadut tettwacekar yer at taddart deg lweqt-nni nnan-d i yeswa mlih uxeddim n tadut d uzejta akken i yid-mmeslay massa Z . CH: « *nekni sut zik am iseggasen-nni i gi yefra trad imaren ulac tadduli nniden ala ayen ixeddimen-t tlawin ama d izejwan anda id sufuyen-t tibernyas dayen iedilen, tiedilin, abutwil , myal lxir yettefay-d seg yifassen n tlawin, imi tin ur yessinen ara ad texddem azejta tettunehsab taneggarut ger lxalat axatar s wanecta i txeddem azal i yiman-is, qqaren-as mi ad xetben taqcict ma tessent i lecyal n wexxam akk d uxeddim n uzejta d tadut ma yela ur tessent ar ur tid ttawin ara*».

Deg taddart n Iezzunen deg yiseggasen n 1965 almi d 2000 tilawin akk mahsub snen-t akken ad xedmmen-t Izejwan akk d tadut imi s yes iseeddayen lwaqt arnu deg-s kan id ssufuy ihulfan-is imi ara txeddem tettettu leybayen-is imi tettehemim kkan amek ad teserquqec akken ad yefay yebha akken id mmeslayen yemsulya-nney deg yiseggasen-nni yal axxam ad affed ima iellaq uzejta ar tesga ney xedmen-t tlawin-is azejta, seg tama nniden tamejtu jur-sen d tin iqewmen s wexxam-is d yixeddim-is ama d azejta ama d tadut imi anecta dayen ur nxejtun ara tamejtu deg taddart-a, tamejtu yesnen i uxeddim n sin-a d tina i yezemren akken ad texdem axxam d tina i yezemren ad ttrebbi dderya-ines yef uxeddim.

Tadut d tin yesen azal d ameqran yer tlawin tmurt n leqbayel sumata a ladia yer tlawin n taddart Iezzunen, imi tadut d uddem nerbah yef tamejtu imi yettharab yef nnif-is acku tettelhay kan d uxeddim n tadut deg uxxam.

Axeddim n tadut d win ietben atas imi yuhwağ mlih afus akken ad tekfu deg lweqt ladia mi ara tesu tadut d tin i yemesxen atas acku imirent ssiriden-tet alma d krađ ney uggar n tikwal deg ass, llan-t tid i yettrajun alma tikaw ad zren-t ma yela tettak-d rriha ney ma yella ur txuû ara cwit deg tezdeg ney ad tziwed dayen akken alma tettwaneqa akken iwata.

Mi ara tfak tamejtu asizdeg n tadut akk d ufran-is ad tid rrfed akken ad tqerdec akken iy d-nna massa M.CH dakken: « *Mi ara tizdig tadut tettwafren akk seg yar*

<sup>1</sup> Henri Genevois, sut-tadut la laine et le rituelle des tisseuses, fort national (réédition 1970).P5.

*axeclaw akk dayen ad ttefren seg tweddaht tamejtu ad terfed tadut akken tettwafren ad terr yer yemced akken ad tid yefsu akken ilaq iwakken ad ttishil i uqerdec».*

Tamejtu mi ara teddi yer tadut akken id negza yur imsulya-nney dakken ur tettedday ara yer tadut-a alma dayen tfuk akken ilaq ixeddim-ines n wexxam akken mi ara teddi ar uxeddim-is ur tet-tekar ara tul n wass i wakken ad tesmed tabdant, imi tadut-a dayen yueren nezah, acku d tin ihemlen iyil ama deg usired-is ama deg uzway anda i tela tadut yesan anzaden tezmer tmettut ass kamel d nettat ad zewwi waela ad tfak, dayen tadut ur telli ara d tin ihemlen ad smulusen deg-s muli maççi d tin akk ara i fakken acku tettawi afus akken ilaq tadut dtin ihemlen ahiwel ayiwel deg-s.

Aqerdec n tadut deg taddart n Iezzunen d win ixeddmen-t atas n tlawin s lijara, anamek-is ma yella yiwen yesa tadut yezmer ad tyefk s yedrimen akken ad as tid-qerdcen-t tlawin niçen i yexedmen anecta.

Mi ara txeddem tmettut tadut tuhwağ lissae akk d tbiça imi myal ara tettqerdic tmettut tet-tekse seg tadut-nni timeçimim akk d ixeclawen yas akken tira-d imi tadut-nni açal n tikwal imi d tin ittatafen mliħ ixeclawen akk d uyebbar. Mi ara tebdut tamejtu aqerdec n tadut ttawin-ted isefra akken ad zuznen-t iman-nsent yesen arnu dayen qqaren-ted dakken tadut d tin i yettağan yar ihulfan n tmettut akken ad fyen akk ur tyimin ara deg ul-is akken ad teskufren.

tadut dayen ur nyeli imi seg yal lebsa tela arnu tura llan-t tid ixeddmen tadut yas akken macci s waças macca, tura ttawin-tid akken ad tesxedmen di uemmar n tsumtiwin imi d tin ig fessusen arnu d tin yelhan i wemdan akken ur tettedduru ara akken id mmeslay R.CH: « *tadut tura ur txeddmen ara yemdanen mliħ deg uzejta acku d win ineqûen tura macca sexdamen-tt deg ayen yeznan tsumtiwin*».

Seg wawal-a ad ninni yas akken tadut d tin i yebeddun tettenqas tettruħu macca lant kra n tlawin i tixeddmen yer ass-a imi ttwalin-tet d tayawsa yelhan arnu seg-s ttafen-t lebyi-nsen-t akken id mmeslay yiwet ger tlemziyin n taddart n Iezzunen imazal ar ass-a txeddem tadut Massa F.G:« *tadut dayen ixeddmey seg zik imi d tin inumay nxeddmitt ama d azejta ama ad nsired kan ad nefsu ad nemmar tsumtiwin ye-s*».

**IV.3.3. Tulma n tadut:**

Tulma n tadut tettili-d mi ara tfak tmejtut asizdeg akk d uqerdec n tadut, anda mi ara tfak tmejtut tabanta, ad tid-teddem ad tefreq yef sin, akken ad tent-semliil s teyzi, akken ad ishilen i tulma ad terfed tmejtut izdi ad ttebren alma yewwed akken i tuhwağ ad texdem i uzejta n weedil ney i ubernus.

Tulma n tadut d win ietben atas, imi segmi ara tebdu allum d tamejttut ad zekfent iqejiren-nsen, imi deg lweqt n ubran ad tesaekaf adar-is akken ad ttebren, tul n wass d nettat ad temhulfaf yid-s akken ad ttebren takkurt, akken id mmeslay Z.CH :« *mi ara d nerfed izdi as nelemsax s yimetman akken yef tabdant akken anebdu abran n tadut akken ad nexdem adraf* » .

Allum deg taddart Iezzunen d win ixeddmen-t tlawin adraf seg zik, llan-t tid id yessufuyen lexyud-nni d izuranen cwit sexdamen-ten deg uzejta n uxellal llant tid i tixeddmen d ireqaqen i tuzda n ubernus i yerggazen.

**IV.6. Axeddim n uzejta:****IV.6.1 .Aheyyi i tguri uzejta:**

Azetta d yiwet lhifra i tesa taddart Iezzunen i xeddmen-t tlawin, imi yegran-d ger lhifat tiqdimin ur nfuk ara ar ass-a deg taddart n Iezzunen, imi ara terfed tmejtut deg rray dakken ad tgerr azetta a tid affed uqbel s kra wussan i tettheyyi akken yal tağgett ass ara d yawwed tguri n uetja ad yaff yal tağgett ad tili deg umdiq-is, imi tettheyyi akk ayen ara tihwiğ uqbel ama d ttiragliwin ama tijebadin , iyunam , ided ,iyunam, tayazilt akk d tyawsiwin niden i tihwiğin akken i uzejta arnu dayen ttayen-d akk ayen i sexdamen ama dided ama d lalwan akken id mmeslay massa Z.CH :« *nettheyyi-d akk ayen i nettehwiği ama d iyanimen tijebadin akk d lecyal niden rnu nettayed azal snat n tcekkarin n lamwan yal yiwet tettedu-d deg-s 12 ntkurin azal n uzdil n 7 n yiyalen* », *trennu tettayed tmettut lalwan i tebya ad texdem d win ireqmen arnu dayen d win yeyman nettay-d lalwan yeyman akken ad yeffey d imreqem*».

Ass i ttheyyin-t tlawin ttebrazen-t akk axxam anda id xeddmen-t amkan i uzejta, imi aheyyi n uzejta yecuba aheyyi i tmejra, imi tamettut tbedd ur teqqim, acku yettunağsab d ass ameqran deg uxxam n tmejtut n taddart Iezzunen, imi d ass anda id

ttemæawanen-t tulawin n yiwet n twacult akken ad xedmen-t lecyal-nsent muqbel ass n tuggra n uzeɛta.

Aheyyi i wass n uzeɛta d win yettawin atas n wakud, dayen atas n lǧehd, am akken id mmeslay Z.CH :« *iwakken ad theyyiɛd i uzeɛta amdan yettiḥwiǧ afus n lemæawna, arnu dayen yettiḥwiǧ atas n alallen, imi tameɛttut ilaq ad ten-teszu akk, akken ad iwenæ uzeɛta-ines, tameɛttut ilaq as tekker i uzeɛta uqbel s kra n wussan, akken ayen akk i tixusen ad ttruḥ ad tid mmuqel yer tlawin nniɛden, imi azeɛta macci dayen ara yeqqam umdan weḥdes, yeççur d waɛas n tyawsiwin akk d lecyal akken tameɛttut a ten-teqqam akk-it ilaq-as afus n lemæawna, yef aya id nettaf atas n lxalat ass n tgurri uzeɛta*».

Aheyyi i tgurri n uzeɛta d win anda id yeslalay afus n leæawna ger tulawin, imi ma yella tmeɛttut txuûit tyawsa ad as t-id-fken-t tlawin n taddart. Ger tulawin anda yal yiwet.

#### IV.6.2. Taguri n uzeɛta:

Ass i ttajunt tlawin yewweded, imi aheyyi ifuk, yegrad kan ad bdun-t tlawin ad gren-t azeɛta, Imi ass n tguri n uzeɛta yettwasema d ass ameqran yer tmeɛttut deg taddart n Iæzzunen, imi ass-nni tilawin n twacult-nni d tid akk id yerran i teɣri akken is qqaren deg taddart-a yessawel-asen-tid uzeɛta, akken ad illint d inigan i wass anda ara tegren-t tlawin timeqranin.

Deg taswiɛt-nni uqbel taguri n uzeɛta, anda ttmeslayen-t akk mgar-asant ad ttmeslayen yef ayen yerzan akk taddart, akk dayen amek i xedmen azeɛta-a deg tuddar nniɛden, d wanta i yesnen ad tgerr akken iwata azeɛta, imi llant tid leæmer isen-tyexûir, aimi nutenti d tid yefyen akken iwata deg uxeddim n uzeɛta, akken id mmeslay Z.CH:« *llant kra n tlawin deg taddart mi ara refden-t ad gren-t azeɛta s læjlan am tid-fak yerna azeɛta-nsent d win izemɛden iwenæ, tayawsa ur tettxab ara qqaren-asant dakken ttawin-t lmalaykat tiyefusin deg yifassen-nsent imi xedment ccyel yeqden ur yuḥwaǧ ara æiwed* ».

Ass n tguri n uzeɛta, mi ara d yeḥdar, tilawin akk n twacult ttilin-t, sin akkin ad qedman-t snat n tlawin akken ad grent azeɛta ma d yiwet ad terfed igig seg lǧiha tayed ad terfed wayeɛd seg lǧiha nniɛden, yal yiwet ad teḥrez tama-ines, imi ara bdunt tid

akken yeqqimen sean-t igeg yef yirri-nsent, arnu icud ar yigeg-nni cwit n yided mgar-  
asen iggaren-t lxiđ i tettawi tettara-t tmejjut-nni tis krađ, mi ara bdun-t tagurri n uzejta  
ad as tettawi tis krađ lxiđ mgar-asen-t nutenti ad bedunt ad daeun-t akken “as d yefk  
rebbi lewqqam” arnu dayen qqaren-t “ a rebbi urey deg tguri-ya n uzejta”.

Mi kemlen-t tlawin ixeddim n uzejta, yekfa arwah d ttuyalin ger tlawin-nni, ad  
refden-t tlawin-nni yeqqimen akken s leeqel, arnu dayen ad ttagaden-t akk ad iruh ad  
yexuar ad eewqen-t amek ara xedment-t , mi dayen ksented igigen-nni ad ruhen-t ar  
wemkan i yesean lissae, ad bdun-t ad tdelqen-t snat n tlawin nniđen ad bdun-t ad  
ggaren-t iyunam wa deffir n wa, alma fukken i 7 iyunam, arnu ar taggara ad gren-t  
taekkazt s leeqel akken ur yettruđu ara aruh, akken iy d mmeslay massa M.CH: « *mi  
ara ngerr azetta ad tid nesufey yer ufrag ma yella negri-t deg uxxam akken ad as  
nexddem akk iyunam akk, dayen ad as nernu taekkazt s waccu ara tfen akken ilaq  
lexyud-nni, ad as nettef aruh, macca dayen ur d yettegri kra deg uzejta-nni*».

Seld mi gren-t azetta-nni, ad refdent akken lexyud yedduklen s yigig-nni, yer  
taggara yiwet n tamejttut ad as d-senser s lezqel igeg-nni, yiwet kan ad tid senser tiyađ  
ad rren-t iyunam-nni s lezqel akken ad yettef aruh uzejta-nni.

Ar taggara mi kfan-t akk asekcem n yiyunam-nni akk d taekkazt, sin akkin ad  
refden-t azetta-nni ad ceđhen-t atas n tlawin, umbaed ad as xedmen lmaderya ad  
ceđhent akken ad zemden ad eekfen-t lmadderya-nni alma yeemeđ uzejta akken ilaq.  
Ssin akkin ad tid-awwin-t ad tzelqen-t, deg tesga akken id mmeslay M.CH: « *Mi ara  
nfak azetta, ad yettwaselaq akken ilaq deg umkan-is, ad yettwajbed akken ur iyelli ara  
akken ad yelhu, arnu dayen ad yettef aruh ad yixfif ad yishil i wakken ad tzed tamejttut  
akken ilaq melba ma terwa lmerta deg-s, arnu dayen ad ttwaferzen lexyud-is mgar-  
asen akken ilaq, anda id yekkes lxiđ ney iqersed ad refden-t ad cudden-t maqbel ad  
ikemmel seg yimukan-nniđen*».

**IV.6.3. Aheyyi n imekli n uzejta:**

Tagurri n uzejta d win id yesean zhu d leztab akken di sin, imi ttdkulen jmie imi yesea zhu acku azetta yesa zhhu imi tilawin n medden akk ttasent-d arnu dayen ttemplin-t akk tlawin n taddart ar yiwen wexxam imi yettunaħsab d ass n zhhu d lferħ i twacult-nni akken iy mmeslay M.CH tenna-d: « *ass gi ara grren-t azejta d ass anda i yettwaseman d ameqran akk yer twacult deg taddart n Iezzunen, imi deg ass uzejta ttasen-d akk tlawin n taddart akken ad ħedren-t akk tlawin n taddart akken ad ferħen i tamejttut i tyegren, ma yella ur d rruħ ara ass-nni ad ttuyal ad keccem deg ass nniċen deg ussan-nniċen akken ad tesarbaħ azejta*».

Mi ara ifak uzejta dayen yettwaæelaq, sin akkin ad rruħen-t ad feċren-t, imi bedun-t zik axeddim n uzejta, sin akkin mi ara fakken-t ad ççen-t akken imekli i yelhan i tlawin-nni, akken seg-s ad cekren-t tilawin i ten-tieawnen deg leqdic akk d tagurri n uzejta-nni, imi ixeddimen-t lmakla yesean lmerqa , imi yal tikkelt mi ara yexdem yiwen azetta, imi ass-nni d ass n lweeda tameqran anda id ttheyyin-t tafđirt, dayen xeddimen-t berkukes akken is seqqaren deg taddart-a n Iezzunen : berkukes lhem yekkes.

Akken i yid mmeslay Z. CH: « *azejta mi ara ten-gerr nxeddem yal tikkelt lħaħa yesean lmerqa akken ad yekcem s axxam s wayen yelhan akk d lxir*», di lweqt i gi ttefdaren-t akken tlawin-nni, ad tid d-affed dakken ttmeslayen-t kan yef tguri uzejta d wamek akk ieedda, arnu anta tin ur d yussin ara ad teħdar ar taggara qqaren-t dakken d ttismin i yusmen-t yalfi ur d ussin-t ara ur tefriħ ara i tin yegren azetta .

**IV.6.4. Aruħ n uzejta:**

Azetta d win i yesean sin lerwaħ, iwakken ad yemxalaf yided-is yef taduť, ur d ifessu ara akken myal lxiđ ad yettyimi deg umkan-is, arnu dayen akken ad yezmed mliħ ur d yettekes ara ad bedden lexyuđ-is ur ttulwayen ara macca ad yexuār uzejta.

Yesea yiwen n rruħ d bu sin iyunam deg lġiha ufella, ma yella d wis sin d win yerran yer tzekkazt n ggelni. Ided deg uzejta d win iferqen yef in lesfuf tilin lerwaħ ger-asen yiwen uuef icud yer tzekkazt ma yella d wis sin ur icud ara imi qqaren-as d anqabdu.

Mi ara xedmen-t azeṭṭa ad bdunt tuzḍa deg-s, mi ara ad ssuben-t iyunam ad yelli yided-nni, ad bdun-t ad ggaren-t aḍraf sin akkin ad tzigzagin s yifassen-nsent, sin akkin ad ssalin-t iyunam-nni ad nettwali ided-nni wa ikeḥḥem deg gma-s imelni yettuyal yer sdat ma yella d amqabḍu i ttezmaḍen yer deffir sin akkin ad yizmeḍ mliḥ.

S tmusni n tlawin-a i nezmer ad nini dakken dayen yuzren aṭas imi tagurri n uzeṭṭa maḥḥi dayen isehlen yuwear s waṭas, imiren mi ara ifak Tagurri ad tebdu tmeṭṭut ad texdem aybel imi ad tbeddu ad tettxemim melmi i tezmer ad tekfu, acku d win yettaṭafen mliḥ afus aladya mi ara tili tameṭṭut d tawḥidt, imi segmi ara tgerr tameṭṭut d nettat d axemem alma d ass ara tekkes, acku yaṣ akken ad teqqim ass d akemali dina macca ur d ixeddem ara deg-s azal n snat n turdas imi d win yuæren nezah, yef aya ttawin-d awal qqaren-as deg-s:

Azeṭṭa yegren yekkes,

Alal-is ur ttayes.

Llan aṭas n lesnaf n uzeṭṭa gar wid ixeddmen deg taddart n Iæzzunen, ad nnaḥ wid ixeddmen azeṭṭa n 7 iyalen win ixeddmen d aeddil ney abu ṭwil, yella senf wis sin xeddmen-t bu 4 iyalen d win ixeddmen d ttazdilt ney akken llan wid i tixeddmen d tazerbit, imi tazerbit d tin yeḥḥuren d areqem s waṭas akk d iyemmi, akken i ttxeddmen nettat d tin yeḥḥuren dayen d rsum i yettmetilen tamurt leqbayel sumata arnu dayen llan-t tid ixeddmen tibernyas imi d tid i ttalusun akk yerggazen n taddart mliḥ deg ussan n cetwa, imi seg zik ixeddmen-t taduṭ deg taddart n iæzzunen xeddmen-t ula d abernus i yerggazen akken ad ḥmun deg cetwa ad ddarin asemmiḍ, yef wawal n ubernus ad d-nnawi asefru-ya iy d-nna B.B:

ḡaniyid imezwura,

d agerruj i wid i yilsan,

yurwi-yid uzeṭṭa,

acacfal d yifegagen,

ucbiḥ n tmuyli,

icuḍaḍ-iw d afriwen,

nekk d abernus amellal,

d ayen akken i mazal,



tefkiɛ-iyi azal,  
nekk d lhiba i kerniy.

S usefruya-a ad nekfɛ awal ɣef wayen akk yellan d azetta imi azetta d ayen i tɛxeddem tameɛtɛt n Iɛezzenen ar ass-a, imi d netta i tieawnen deg lmaɛna n yal ass ɣef aya ad nini ɣas akken tameɛtɛt n taddart n Iɛezzenen temhez macca tewweɛ ɣer imukan imeqqranen deg tmeddurt macca llan kra n yixeddamen i yellan d inasliyen n taddart-a teɛtef ɣer ass-a deg-s imi d nutni id tagejdit fell-asen i tebna temɛit n udan deg taddart.

**Taggrayt:**

Ilmend n tfakust n tannayt d udiwenni i neɛfar akken ad d-nawi issallen, ɣef ayen yerzan tameɛtɛt deg taddart n Iɛezzenen, ilmend n tfukas-a sawɛaya ɣer yigemaɛ, anda id wwiɣ issallen ɣef ayen yerzan azal n tameɛtɛt deg taddart n Iɛezzenen, akk d usyurbez-is.

**Taggrayt  
Tamatut**

### Taggrayt tamattut

Tazrawt-a i nga n taggara n master tekcem deg tayult n tussna n tmetti, Taynarrayt-a d tin i yettnadin deg tuddert n umdan n yal ass akk d umezruy-is , d taynarrayt i nexdem yef taddart n Iëzzunen i yellan deg tyiwant n yeyrem ayir n Bgayet .

Deg tezrawt-a neered ad d-nessegzi s wudem usnan tuddsa timettit n temnaṭ-a yer taggara n leqdic-a nessawed yer yigmaḍ-a:

Newwi-d awal yef taynarrayt n taddart n Iëzzunen, anda id nemmeslay yef umezruy akked trakalt n Læerc n Yillulen n Usammer, d tyiwant n Iyrem akk d wayen yerzan tarakalt d umezruy n taddart n Iëzzunen

S wakka dayen tbannaḍ-d tuddsa tinmettit deg taddart n Iëzzunen akk d tisekkiwwin n twaculin-a, yal yiwet s wansa id d-ussa yer taddart-a, imi deg tuddsa-n sen d wid i kecmen akk deg lufaq n taddart.

Aferdis n tejmaet d win id ibanen deg taddart Iëzzunen s waṭas imi yal tawacult tesa aeggal d agensas deg tejmaet n taddart, tajmaet n taddart n Iëzzunen d tin yellan uqbel 1942 ar ass-a d tin i yeqedcen s waṭas.

Nemesslay-d yef yeskkiren ixeddmen deg taddart-a ama d tbbiyita ixeddmen deg lemqamat n taddart ama d timecredt i txeddem taddart myal a tejmae adrim ney ad tid isedaq yiwen xeddment anida akk taddart tetteki d tirni.

S wakka ihi inessawed ad ninni yer taggara dakken tamettut deg taddart n Yiëzzunen d tin i wumi yenerna waddad-is s waṭas imi tessawed tekcem deg yal tayult deg tmeddurt n yal ass.

Lebni n tezrawt-a yella-d s wayen i wumi nezmer lexsas i d-yellan deg-s ad t-id-kemlent tezrawin ara d-iderfren deg tayult-a n tesnalest d tesnayreft.

**Adlismuy**

**Adlismuy**

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Awalen s tmaziyt	Awalen s tefransist
Tanazzant	La poste
Azmul	Symbole
timument	indépendance
taxxazabit	complot
Tasastant	Enquête
Uyris	Sacré
Azal	L'importance
Timerrawt	parenté
Tiyilt	Sommet
Tadamsa	économie
Uduf	Retaité
Tiydemt	justice

## Tajentađt n°2 : Tafelwit n yemsuya

Isem	lezmer	ixeddim	Tawsit
A.A	47 snat	D axeddam n lewzin	Awtem
S.CH	35 snat	D axeddam n lewzin	Awtem
L.CH	73 snat	Uduf	Awtem
Z.CH	65 snat	tiyimit deg uxxam	Awtem
A.C	34 snat	D axeddam n tyiwant	Awtem
A.CH	67 snat	Uduf	Awtem
S.S	28 snat	D axeddam n ukamyun	Awtem
W.I	31 snat	Taxeddamt deg uyerbaz	Tawtemt
CH.I	33 snat	Uduf	Awtem
I.B	44 snat	D tiyimit deg uxxam	Awtem
H.CH	33 snat	D axeddam n lewzin (G E)	Awtem
B.B	83 snat	tiyimit deg uxxam	Tawtemt
G.X	76 snat	tiyimit deg uxxam	Tawtemt
L.G	69 snat	tiyimit deg uxxam	Tawtemt
B.KH	64 snat	tiyimit deg uxxam	Tawtemt
F.G	43 snat	ttaxeggađ	Tawtemt
B.S	33 snat	tavogattut	Tawtemt
B.G	68 snat	Uduf	Awtem

**Tijentedḡ 03 : Amaway n udiwenni**

**1) Ayen yerzan amezruy n taddart n Iæzzunen :**

- Hekkun-d zik d akken Iæzzunen ttsiccin deg ugemmun mmeslay-id yef ugemmun amek ittidiren dina zik ?
- Amek almi tenger taddart-a n ugemmun?
- D acu ii d taqqesit id ttawin yef talla n ugemmun?
- Anwa i d iderma imezwura i d yussan yer taddart n Iæzzunen?
  - Ansa i d ussan iderma niḍden yer taddart?
  - S wansa i d ruḥen at dudac, at yelzac, at bucam?
  - Ansa i d ruḥen at buxatta, at usidel akk dayen at ubarkan, ihedadden?
- Amek i d wwin at ccix yer taddart?
- Amek i d kecmen yemrabden taddart n Iæzzunen?
  - Amek i qqaren deg taddart Iæzzunen, zik?
  - Dacu i d assay i yellan gar iderma n taddart n Iæzzunen?
  - Anta i d ttiwaculin i yuḡḡen deg taddart n Iæzzunen yer berra taddart?

**2) - tuddsa d tikli n tejmaet:**

- D acu i tajmaet yur at taddart n Iæzzunen, d acu i d azamul-is?
- Amek i d yettili unejmu3 n taddart n Iæzzunen?
- D acu id sebba i yettaḡan at taddart ad nejmaen?
- Amek i ttexin lezqal n taddart izeggalen n taddart Iæzzunen?
- Amek i d yettili ubarah deg taddart Iæzzunen?
- Amek i d yettili ufran n leeqaln taddart n Iæzzunen?
- Amek i d ttaxtiren deg yal adrum leaqel?
- Swansa i d ttekem s ilugan-a n tejmaet?
- Anwa i d ixedmen ilugan-a n tejmaet n taddart Iæzzunen?
- Aḡal i ttexin imdanen deg tejmaet?
- Amek it jemzen idrimen deg taddart n Iæzzunen?
- I waccu iten-sexdamen yedrimen-nni n taddart?

**3)-Isekkiren i txeddem taddart n Iɛezzunen:**

- D acu id iskiren i xeddmn deg taddart n Iɛezzunen?
- Gef wacu i tebded tdamsa n taddart n Iɛezzunen?
  - D acu i d imukan yeszan azal deg taddart n Iɛezzunen?
- D acu i d taneqqist id ttawin yef lemḡam n ccerfa?
  - Amek ixedmen at taddart Iɛezzunen ttbiyita?
  - Amek i d ttaxtirin tiwaculin tiqeddacin?
- Lant twaculin i xeddmn ttbiyita weḡden-sen ayyer?
  - Amek i settheyin i ttbiyita?
- Amek is setḡḡayen deg ttbiyita?
- D acu i d timecreḡt yur Iɛezzunen?
- Melmi i xeddmn timecreḡt deg taddart n Iɛezzunen?
  - Iwacu xeddmn timecreḡt?
- Aḡal n yedrimen id jemzen akken ad xeddmn timecreḡt?
- Amek izellun deg tmecreḡt? ma yellan d irgazen kan ney ttawind agezzar?
- Anwa i yettziwinen tajmaḡt akken ad segmen timecreḡt-a?
  - Amek id yettili wegraw deg tmecreḡt?
- I waccu i xeddmn agraw?
- D acu i diswi n tmecreḡt?
- D acu id ttimeyriwin id yettḡafaren timecreḡt?
- Amek ixeddmn tameyra n yennayer?
- D acu i d tiwizi, d wamek ixeddmn tiwizi?

**4- Azal n tameḡḡut deg taddart n Iɛezzunen:**

- dacu id amkan n tmeḡḡut deg taddart n Iɛezzunen?
  - amek i txeddem tmeḡḡut azetta ?
  - iwacu txeddem tmeḡḡut azetta?
  - iwacu id ttawint tlawin icewiqqen deg lweqt ixeddmnt azetta?
  - d acuten icewiqen-a akk d isefray-a id ttawint deg taddart-a?

## Tajentet n°4: Adiwenni

### 1- Adiwenni akk d Mass CH.L:

- ✓ At taddart n Iæzzunen zik tteiccin deg taddart tamezwarut ħkuyay-d yef umezruy n taddart-a?

**T.M:** akken iy d-hekkun imawlan-nney, taddart-a n Ugemmun d yiwet gar tuddar a yeqwan atas deg zzman-is, tdewr-as-d akk leswar seg yal lġiha on dirai d lqelza am tid n rruman zik tesea snat n tiggura Bab æzzun issufuyen yer Tizi Mæali tura akked teggurt n Ugemmun i sufuyen yer tala Ugemmun anda i d ttawint tlawin n taddart-a aman arnu dayen taddart-a d tin i yeqwan s waṭas deg udewar n Yillulen.

- ✓ Dacu i yeġġan taddart n ugemmun attengger anwa i d sseba-s?

**T.M:** imi taddart n ugemmun d yiwet yeqwan mliħ musnawet s yiyl axatar at zik ur yrin ara win kan i tend yegden kan ad ekren ar umennuy direct yef anecta i tesea atas n yeedawen ma seg lġiha n lġiran-is at Mlikec ama seg lġiha nniġen n yiterkiyen, anda I ttseyin akk s yal taluft akken attsey akken ur tettzawad ara aderfed iman-is arnu akken ad tfen akk lġiha-nsen. Taddart n Ugemmun d timaryiwt i terya , taddart-a yezziyas-d ssur s myal lġiha dayen ggin-asd aman seg udrar almi d taddart wint-id s tyuga n yezgaren, llan wid i d-yeqqaren dakken d Iterkuyen id-tt-seryen deg teswiet-nni ttfen Lzzayer leašima imi d yiwet n taddart yeqwan mliħ ur zmiren ara ad ttfen tamurt n Leqbayel acku ttqarrizen-ten Leqbayel nutni d acu ixeddmen mi ara slen kan akka yef taddart teqwa meqqret tuqamen-as d taxazabit ticarkett seryen-tt s ddaw ufus nekni akken i nefhem dakken d Leqbayel i d ttiseryen axatar taswietet-nni ur neyri ara rnu ur nezri ara nettamen kan ayen i nettwali.

- ✓ Mmeslay-ayd amek itengger taddart n ugemmun?

**T.M:** Akken i yid yehder baba taddart-a n ugemmun d yiwet n tamettut i tis negren d yiwet qqaren-as zicuc tamlikect akken id hekkun yal id anwa i yeyelqen teggurt tameqrant n ugemmun ass-nni isahed nuba immi-s n eicuc tennay-as i mmi-s: « ruħ

attedged d nekk ara yerren taggurt», sin akkin mmi-s iruḥ ad iggen sin akkin nettat tzedda tuḥ atteylaq teggurt-nni zaema nettat mi tewwed ar teggurt-nni tesmendel taggurt axatar ma ad arren taderašt-nni yiwen yr yezmir ad tid yelli maena zicuc-a ur terri ara taderrašt-nni sin akin kecmen-d at Mlikec seryen taddart-a n ugemmun, win imeneen seg-sen rewen ar tuddar id yezzin win yesean lexwal deg igawawen ad iruḥ s igawawen win yesean imawlan-is deg Bgayet ad iruḥ ar din anda yesea yiwen akk win is yettak lḥal ad iruḥar yur-s.

Arnu dayen hekkun-d akken at zik wa yettuēdda yef wayed at taddart-a ruhen tuēddan yef yiwet n taddart nniden yussa-d iḥelliten Sidi Sliman maena ur uyen ara awal yedaya-sen s ttarka ar taggara yeffay-d d ssaḥ ayen is-sen-yedza uyalen-d helken qqaren-d dakken ttmettaten yal ass yemdanen deg taddart-a mi iwalan akka yerggazen ruhen imeqranen akked d leeqal n taddart-a ḍelbena-s asen-yesmaḥ nnan-as n yelti-k , yennay-asen semḥay-awen ur tuminen ara nnan-as: ihi ad ay-tefkeḍ mmi-k ad yettcix deg taddart-nney »; akk dayen temmeslay-ayd Ğ.D yef aya tenna-d dakken:« yenna-asen sidi sliman semaḥey-awen nnan-as xatti ilaq ay tefkeḍ mmi-k akken ad izic yur-nney iwakken anḥus dakken tsemmaḥḍa-γ d tidet, yenna-asen:ih macca as tefkem lmelk nnan-as: ih, wwint-id zewḡen-as yiwet n taqcict dina n taddart-nni ambaed mi iruḥen as fken lmelk nnan-as: xtir , acku taddart-nni d tameqrant azgen d luḍa azgen nniden d adrar, nnan-as: xtir anwa lmelk ara tawwid, ambaḥ iwaha sufus-is tilisa id yettef akk suḍad-is akk-ines ar taggara tsebḥit-id akk d luḍa arnu yuḡal d aqqerru fell-asen zewḡen-as fkan-as taqcict-nsen iēac deg taddart ugemmun almi d asmi i yemmut xedmen-as taqerabt ar ass-a ttzurunt-id medden.

### **2- Adiwenni akked Mass W.I:**

✓ Dacu id taneqist id ttawin yef tala n ugemmun?

**T.M:** Akken id hekkun imawlan-nney qqaren-d dakken tala-ya n Ugemmun d yiwet n tala meḥrufen atas imi iy-ttid ḡḡan lwaldin-nney ilaq ad nḥareb fella-s, yebnatt zabqader ssannee yebna-tt s ublaḍ d tṭub akken akk ibennun at zik asmi yesea mmi-s yetturar akked werrac imectah nnan-as melmi baba-k ad ifak tala-ya ur tetselliken ara izedda eebqader ssannee yedmed taḍuṭ taberkant yerna-yas tamellalt iregli-tt asmi id uwḍen lemwacel ad agmen aman ufan-d ulac nnan-s ahya eebqader ssannee 99 d aqaree

teḡḡid-ay i cyad ital yer mmi-s yenna-yas amek wakken iyi-d-tennid dakken nutni ur yettselliken ara at nid nutni selken-iyi, netqen-d lezqel n taddart nnan-as dayen akin tixar i wannect-a deg sya d assawen ad yefk Rebbi aman ; llant snat texxamin n tliwa yiwet i yemdanen tayed iyersiwen, qqaren-d dyen dakken yal tislit ara d yeddun ar taddart-a ad ress yer tala-ya ad tesew nettat akk uɛidiw-is a ternu ad degger idrimen ar tala-a

Yiwen wass tedda-d yiwet n teslit almi deqal qqaren-d terza aeni taellaqt n taddart-a almi deqaltesbelzi-tt tala n ugemmun am nettat am uɛidiw-is akk d yesli seg ass-nni ar ass-a yiwen ma iban-d.

### 3- Adiwenni akked Mass CH.A:

- ✓ Anwa akk iderma d twaculin I yellan deg Iɛezzunen?

**T.M:** Llan atas iderma d twaculin deg taddart n Iɛezzunen ferqen-t yef snat n les groupe tamezwarut d inasliyin d tiwaculin timezwura I yellan deg taddart n Iɛezzunen ad nnaf ger-asant: - At yelzac d At qassi ( guelaache et bennouchene)

- At bucame (**Boufenniche**)

-At dudac (**Chalal**)

Llant dayen twaculin id yussan stalin-t deg taddart n Iɛezzunen gar-asant:

-at buxatta

-at uzidel

-at ccix

-at ubarkan

-imrabden

- ✓ S wansa id yussa wedrum-a n at dudac?

**T.M:** at dudac amezwaru id yussan ar taddart n ugemmun qqaren-as mohand ucazlal ben dudac ruhend deg tseddarin n lehif deg Tubirett zeddand ar at



Mlikec qqimen dina cwiṭ sin akkin nuyen d at Mlikec ulin-d ar taddart n ugemmun anda izacen dina almi d asmi tenger taddart-a, ssuben-d yer taddart n yiɛzzunen anda ara d nnaf azgen ameqran n tferkiwin d tid ikesben at dudac acku myal taqernit sɛan dina taferka.

- ✓ S wansa id yussa wedrum-a n at bucamā?

**T.M:** at bucamā d tawacult tameqrant gar twaculin timezwura id yussan yer taddart n Yiɛzzunen ruḥen-d seg unéul n marruk ruḥen-d yer Tubirett sin akin ruḥen-d yer ugemmun i yellan zik d yiwet n taddart tameqrant anda izacen dina 3 leqrun sin akkin ssuben-d ar izezzunen anda isɛan dina 4 leqrun seman-asen at bucamā yer yissem n umezwaru-nsen.

- ✓ Amek id ussan at buxatta d at uzidel ar taddart n Iɛzzunen?

**T.M:** At Buxatta d At Uzidel gar yiderma id yussan yer Iɛzzunen d ineggura 1700, At Buxatta d At Uzidel usan-d akken seg Igawawen yer taddart-a akken id-qqaren zik-nni taddart mi ara texlu ur teszi ara aṭas n yimezday win id-yussan starḥiben yes-s akken dayen id qqaren sin iderma-ya deg ssaḥ d yiwen zik mi ara ur ttemsefhamen ara At taddart ad ruḥen ad bḍun yiwen seg-sen ad ieiwed isem n twacult-nsen akka i tedra gar yiderma-ya.

- ✓ Amek almi i d ruḥen imrabḍen ar Iɛzzunen?

**T.M:** imrabḍen n yiɛzzunen akken id qqaren Ruḥen-d seg ɛemmuren newwi-t-nid d imrabḍen-nney caxxen daggi, ccix-a qqaren-as Si lḥaḡ Lbacir zik-nni deg tefsut as-nawi akk tiyugwin n yezgaren deg elma almi d adrar d ayla-s nettmegil-as azal n20 n tyugwin ttemxalafent n xeddem i wudem a Rebbi nmegra-s, win iwumi i nnan siwwed-aṅ timzin as-tt-issiwed, netta ma yesla tennuyed ad izeddi, tebyid ad tawwid deg zwaḡ ad yeddu, fek-as lwezda, ney ma yella tgurba-k tmetṭut ak-tid yerr ma ihlek umecṭuḥ as yeddu i rebbi ney asyerqu aman lawan i tebyid ad as-tiniḍ a ccix Lbacir

uḥwaḡay-k ad k-yini yirbaḥ d win i ferun timsal zik mi ara nexdem timecredt nekni ad nxelles akk tixxamin ma d netta xaṭi ttqadaren-t akk at taddart arnu imranden-a d wid yeseḥjaben imi lxalat-nsen akk ur ttefayen-t ara seg uxxam yiwen ma yesniten-t arnu ttemzawaḡen kan mgar-asen.

- ✓ D acu d azal n tejmaet yur at taddart n Iæzzunen?

**T.M:** tajmaet deg taddart Iæzzunen tesza azal ameqran imi d nettat i yesteklifen s wayen akk yerzan taddart arnu dayen tajmaet d nettat i yexedmen akk ayen yerzan iberdan n taddart arnu d tajmaet i yeberzen tala n taddart akk dayen d tajmaet i yexedmen akk anda i ttawin at taddart rsaḍ-nsen akk dayen szan deg tejmaet leqwnen i ten-it εawanen akken ad segmen taddart arnu akken ur d yettili ara lxilaf ger yemdanen u yernu yas yella tajmaet tetteḍexile-d iman-is akken ad tefru akk yal æewiq yellan ger yemdanen n taddart-a.

- ✓ Amek id yettili lxetyar n lezqal n taddart n Iæzzunen?

**T.M:** yettili-d lxetyar n lezqal n taddart d akken yal tafamilt ttaxtirin win I ttqadaren mliḥ gar-asen arnu ad yili d læebd yesnen taddart yessen akken ilaq leqwanen n taddart arnu yef aya d i yezemren ad yawwi leḥqen-sen syur tajmaet s wawal zeddigen arnu mi ara awḍen yer tejmaet ad bedden mgal at taddart tirni ad d-inin ma yella byan widak-nni ney ad ziwden wiyad ara yilin ilmend n lebyi-nsen.

#### 4- Adiwenni akked Mass H.CH:

- ✓ D acu i d amkan n tejmaet akk d yilemziyen n taddart n Iæzzunen deg tedianin n 2001?

**T.M:** tedianin n 2001 gar tedianin ara d yeggrin di cfawat aladya ass-nni i gi nruḥ yer lzzayer la capitale anda indukel akk nekni akk d yelmezyen n taddart ama d atmaten-iw ama d wiyad nruḥ akk akken ineḥḍar la marche i

yettwaseman Presque la plus Grande Marche au niveaux de la capital d'alger jusqu'au aujourd'hui, anda cfiy mi newwed ar dina nteddu nettæggið “**Imaziyen, imaziyen**” cwiya kan ddula tsufyed wid ara iëassen arnu tsufye-d æzrayen anda iy d yekkat s waman yeryan nekni n-regel maca anrey, ma d yiwen wass liy deg uqbu yiwen weqcic yetteayar ijadarmiyen almi d qqal yewtiti-d yiwen ujadarmi-nni s tersest teeddad yef yirri umezuɣ-iw lukan ur degray ara iman-iw ar dixel n yisenanen atah mmutay, ma d yiwen wass truħed tejmaet n leæruc ar taddart-nney n Iæzzunen anda i qqimen dina seg sbah almi d azekka-nni anda akk ilemziyen am nekki deg taswiet-nni neuss yef yidurar akken ur d kecmen ara la police yer taddart anda dayen yegdassen lexbar dakken xedmen anejmuz n leærac deg yeyrem imi lant in imukan ttwaseman Iyrem aran ar win n Tubirett af akka izedda unejmuæ akken iwata hedren yef ayen yerzan akk tameyra.

### 5- Adiwenni akked mass B.I:

- ✓ Amek i xeddmn timecredt deg taddart n Iæzzunen?

**T.M:** timecredt d ass anda akk id ttasen at taddart kul yiwen seg ansa ad iruħ akken ad yeħdar timezliwt akk d lewziæa af tikkelt, mi ara d awden izejmiyen ad yaf lhal at taddart akk heggin kulec ttebrazen taddart arnu ttheffin-d akk ayen iħwaġen arnu dayen nettheffi temzizliyin akk n tawwid ifenanen, ass nettmezla irggazen kan anda ad awwin iæejmiyen-nni id uy taddart akken at nezlun mi ara tenezlu a nælaq imesluxen-nni akken at neslax dayen aken ad kiwen ar tamedit at nid nawwi ar texxamt n taddart akken at negzem d imersumen akken yal axxam deg taddart ad yawwi yal taħaġett deg usejmi-nni s lezdel yiwen ur yettemxalaf yef wayeð, mi ara d yawwed wass n tmecredt ay-d yaff lhal negzem akk aksum-nni sin akkin ad tnejmae yal yiwen ad yawwi texxamt-is akken ilaq.

- ✓ Amek ixeddmn ttbiyita deg taddart Iæzzunen?

**T.M:** iwakken anexdem ttbiyita deg taddart n Iæzzunen nxeddem anejmuæ akken ad nejmae idrimen iwakken ad nay ayen akk inuħwaj g ttbiyita ama d izgaren

ara nezlu ama d lxeđra arnu dayen win yebyan ad yili d aqeddac ad yini iwakken ad zwiren iqedacen deg ass n ttbiyita s yiwen wass akken ad berzen dina arnu ad fetlen-t tlawin seksu akken ad seččen-yes ass n ttbiyita, mi id jemzen idrimen i ttbiyita arnu dayen nman-d anta tawacult i yerefden akken ad illin d iqedacen ad d-inin anta la date i ara xeddmn ttbiyita ad zwiren-t twacult n yiqeddacen ad segmen kulec arnu ad fetlen-t tlawin-nsen ad fetlen-t seksu ; azekka-nni lemqaan ad yetčar d lyaci anda yela miss n taddart Iæzzunen ad yilli da akken ad yeđdar ttbiyita sbađ mi id beddun lyacci ttasen-d agraw ibeddu iemar win yeszan ney win yebyan ad yisedaq idrimen ad isedaq ar wegraw akken asend-dzun s lxir d wayen yelhan akken iqarn akken ad uyalen s waewin yelhan deg ttbiyita-ya mi d yewweđ llawan usetčči ad heyyin akk tirbuyin n seksu akk d lmerqa lyacci ad ttzeddayen s nnuba akken ad ayeñ lehquq-nsen n weksun ad eeddin ad ččen ad kemlen alma d tamedit suqessar akk uraren sin akkin kul yiwen ad iruđ s axxam-is.

### **6- Adiwenni akked Massa Z.ch:**

- ✓ Hkuyid amek ixeddmn azetđa deg Iæzzunen?

**T.M:** Deg tazwara iwakken anexdem azetđa ilaq asen-heyyi akken ilaq deg tazwara aneseu taduđ at nefren dayen at nessired akken ilaq arnu ad tnefsu sin kkin ad nefk i tmettut yesnen ad tqerdec taduđ akken ay ttetqerdec mi i tfuk a nellem taduđ-nni i qerdcen akken sin akkin ad tnellem mi tfuk Tulma, ad ngger d azetđa, imaren tilawin ad heggin-t akk ayen i sexdamen akk deg uzetđa ama ttiragliwin, tijebadin, iyanimen, akk d wayen nniđen imiren ad awin-t snat n tlawin yesnen ad gren-t azetđa sin akkin asent gger ad ceđhen-t ad taelqen-t ad ifrez d azetđa iellaq.

tijentedt 05 : RGPH 2008

REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIREWILAYA DE BEJAIA  
DAIRA D'AKBOU  
COMMUNE D'IGHRAMRGPH 2008

Dispersion		Nombre de construction	Nombre de logements			Population	Observations
Type	Toponyme		Total	Habités	Inhabités		
ACL	IGHRAM	440	2056	435	58	91	2.186
ACL	IRCENE	101		91	16	06	417
ACL	LAAZIB	172		165	12	08	722
ACL	IGHIL NACER	836		766	96	68	2.630
ACL	ALMAOUGUENANE	201		197	15	11	1.064
ACL	TIZI MAALI	191		151	43	05	744
ACL	AZOUNA	115		73	48	07	696
AS	TASLENT	379	1088	337	50	13	1.585
AS	TAZAGHART	215		128	95	05	696
AS	TIGHILT MAKHLOUF-AMOURA	280		194	92	09	1.160
AS	BENI SELLAM	108		32	78	00	83
AS	ELMECHTA	106		13	95	00	59
<b>Zone éparsé</b>		<b>81</b>		<b>81</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>04</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>3.225</b>	<b>2.619</b>	<b>749</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>12.194</b>

Le Délégué Communal

Fait à Ighram Le : \_\_\_\_\_ /  
Le Président de l'Assemblée Populaire Communale

Aybalu : APC n yeyrem

## Tijentedt n°6 : Rapport sur APC d'ighram

--o00-- REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE --o00--

WILAYA DE BEJAIA  
DAIRA D'AKBOU  
COMMUNE D'IGHRAM

--O\$( RAPPORT SUR APC D'IGHRAM )&O--

La commune d'Ighram d'une superficie de 5500 ha dont 3200 sont recouverts d'oliviers et figuiers est essentiellement d'un relief occidentale est situé à l'Ouest d'Akbou

La population est de 19 000 habitants sa reliare communal est de 17,13 par habitant la plus pauvre de la Daira .

L'<sup>arberie</sup> principale qui dessert les 60% de la population et une route très sinieuse non goudronnée sur 20 KM ce qui fait que la commune est coupée du chef lieu de Daira. La population souffre du <sup>man</sup>part le <sup>man</sup>vus transport quotidiennement . quoique l'étude de la piste est terminée depuis plus d'une année on attend toujours l'attribution du <sup>man</sup>revelment d'une <sup>man</sup>tranche de cette piste .

HYDRAULIQUE Un seul projet depuis 1981 en voie de finition 85% insuffisant 5 villages seulement <sup>man</sup>beneficies <sup>man</sup>De nombre villages souffre d'une façon permanente du manque d'eau .

Nous demandons un grand projet qui couvrira 6 villages <sup>man</sup>revitalisés à partir d'un forage de la soummam . Quelques sources <sup>man</sup>en haut montagne peuvent être encore <sup>man</sup>acceptées et renforcées l'alimentation de deux ou trois villages ( ElMachta- Tighilt-Makhlouf .)

Electrification: Sur <sup>man</sup>le plan il nous reste encore 3 villages Tazaghart , Ait-Amar-Ouzegual et Timouragh. La population est <sup>man</sup>tréte à travaillé a plus de 50% pour réaliser cette électrification si toute fois elles <sup>man</sup>attribuées .

Transport: La grande handicap vient de l'état de la route presque impraticable ce qui entraîne des pannes et l'usage très rapide des véhicules il a lieu de signaler le manque de pièces mécanique sur la marché (surtout TOYOTA )

Les Pannes de construction: 1) L'acte de propriété : depuis plus d'un ans les permis sont délivrés sur attestation de témoin âgées le plus de 60 ans et les citoyens construisaient normalement quand strictement les demandes sont refusées avec le motif (( attestation annexes non valable)) la plus grande partie des citoyens ne possède pas d'acte 90 % il serait semblable de faire valoir à nouveaux ces attestations a fin d'éviter les constructions illicites.

Le CIMENT///de nombreux citoyens se plaignent du manque de ciment pour réparation de leur demeure il est vrai qui auparavant l'édimco unité d'Akbou attribuait un quota pour chaque commune maintenant ce quota est supprimé il serait souhaitable de repenser comme auparavant.

Le Matériel du Parc / Vu l'importance de la regie de notre commune nous souhaitons l'acquisition d'un TRAX, NIVELEUSE, COMPACTEUR, GOUDRONEUSE.

Le découpage: Apres plusieurs requêtes adresser a chaque membre de conseil de coordination de la wilaya nous demandons l'intervention d'une commission ~~man~~ pour trouver une solution au problème du découpage entre la commune d'Akbou et la Commune d'Ighram

IGHRAM LE 16/Septembre/1986/  
LE PRESIDENT DE L'A. P. C/

Tijentedt n°7:

تقرير مفصل حول وضع بلدية اغرام

القديم : ان بلدية اغرام انبثقت عن التقسيم الادارى الجديد بمقتضى مرسوم قانون رقم 8409 المؤرخ فى 4 / 2 / 84 و قد شرعت فى مهامها بتاريخ فاتح جانفى 1985.

ومقرها هويلدة اغرام التى تبعد عن مقر الدائرة اقرب ب 5 كلم و عن مقر الولاية بجاية ب 75 كلم . و تتربح بلديتنا على مساحة قدرها 500، 5 هكتار، حيث 200، هكتار شيه صالحه للزراعة . و البلدية عبارة عن منطقة جبلية بحتة، ووعرة و حدودها منحصرة و متقلصة جدا، حيث ان كل السهول و الاراضى الخصبة التى تعتبر امتدادا طبيعيا لها قد منحت للبلدية الام و هذا مما سيجعل التنمية فى هذه البلدية صعبة للغاية .

و تحتوى بلدية اغرام على 17 قرية موزعة على منطقتين يفصل بينهما وادى تاسلنت المنطقة الاولى : و تشمل كلا من قرى : ايتة شري - و بيدة - و بيدة - و بيدة - ايت امر وزقان اقربان - بنى سلام - تاسلنت - تازاغارت - تيغليت مخلوف - المشته - عمورة، و اخيرا اغرام ( مقر البلدية ) .

المنطقة الثانية : و تشمل كلا من قرى : ارسان - لعزيب اولمخير - الدا اوقدان - اغيل ناصر بوقير - تيغرمين - تيزى معالى - عزونة .

ويبلغ عدد السكان البلدية حوالى 19000 نسمة ، منها 4000 عامل و 1000 مخترب و حوالى 200 عاطل . ~~انما من حيث التقسيم الادارى الجديد فان حدود بلديتنا لم تتضح رسميا لحد الان خاصة مع بلدية الام التى تشترك معها بحدود كثيرة خاصة بالجهة الجنوبية و بالتحديد عند الطريق الوطنى رقم : 26 اين لا يزال المشكل قائما و مطروحا لحد الساعة، رغم المجهودات المبذولة، و التقارير المبعوثة فى هذا الشأن و انتقال اللجنة المكلفة الى عين المكان.~~

و من اجل تنمية افضل لهذه البلدية النقصية و المحرومة يجب على السلطات المعنية ان تولى الاهتمام البالغ لوضع هذه البلدية، و تعتمد الحدود الطبيعية لكونها هى الكفيلة بضمان مستقبل التنسية بهذه البلدية و اخراجها من التاعصر.

Aýbalu: APC n yeyrem

Tijentadt 08 :

00= الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية = 00=

رئيس المجلس الشعبي البلدي  
اغرام .

ولاية بجاية

دائرة اقبو

بلدية اغرام

تقرير مفصل حول هيئات  
بلدية اغرام .

رقم : /

المرجع : رسالتكم رقم :

المورخة في : 1986/09/07 .

ان بلدية اغرام انبثقت عن التقسيم الاداري الجديد مقرها اغرام مقلقل يبعد عن مقر الدائرة ب 5 كلم وعن مقر الولاية ب 75 كلم .  
وتتربع بلدية اغرام على مساحة قدرها ب 5.500 هكتار حيث 3200 مشية صالحة للزراعة والباقي منطقة جبلية وتحتوي على 17 قرية كما يبلغ عدد سكانها 19000 نسمة منها 3000 عامل 1000 مغترب وحوالي 500 عاطل  
الجهاز الاداري: ان بلدية اغرام مقرها جديد يتوفر تقريبا على كل مصالح الادارية اما الهيئة العمالة في مختلف المصالح تنقصها الخبرة والتجربة رغم هذا فالتنظيم وسير الاعمال محكم في هذه المصالح غير ان الجهاز المحاسبية مزال يعاني نقصا، وكذلك الحالة المدنية حيث معظم السجلات والوثائق مزال تابعة للبلدية الام مما يودي لازعاج المواطنين .

الزراعة : لكون بلديتنا جبلية الموقع فانها لا تملك اراضي مألحة للزراعة الا القليل التي استعملها صاحبها الخواص ، ويستعملونها بالوسائل التقليدية التي لا تكفي احتياجات للسكن و المردودية بها قليلة على كونه موسمية تعتمد على هطول الأمطار غير ان المنطقة ممتاز باحتلاكها لاشجار الزيتون والقرنطانية منتوجا ومن النوع الجيد يسوق من طرف الخواص ، وبعض الاشجار الفواكه مثل التين والزيتون. اما فيما يخص تربية المواش فان بعض الخواص يملكون محمدا ضعيفا في المناطق الجبلية ويقدر عدد مواشي : 1000 رأس، الماعز : 500 رأس البقر 150 ، اما تربية الدواجن فانها غير كافية بالمقارنة فهي مستغلة بطريقة تقليدية حيث لا يزيد عدد الدواجن: عن 4000 . وفي تربية النحل قامت البلدية بتوزيع 70 لفاعة الخواص.

المياه : النقل المياح الصالحة للشرب استفادت بلديتنا بمشروع المياه يبلغ 390 مليون، فقد نفذ مشروع واحيل لنا المشروع المائي المبلغ وعلنا العملية بنفس الطريقة حيث قامت البلدية بمد سنوات المياه الصالحة للشرب لقرية ترغارت ومقر البلدية وبناء خزائن للمياه الصالحة للشرب وفي كل من قرية ترغارت ومقر البلدية ، وشراء محركين لاستخراج مياه بئر تسلانت ومقر البلدية . وطريقة التنوع ومساعدة البلدية قامت ببناء خزائن المياه بقرية لعزيب اولحضر وتقوم حاليا بحفر بئر بمقر البلدية  
تصريف المياه استفادت البلدية بمشروع تصريف المياه بمبلغ 200 مليون حيث انجز المشروع من طرف مقاوله خاص والباقي من طرف 70 مليون استعملتها البلدية في شراء السلع ومواد البناء وقنوات التصريف والاسمنت وتصريف المياه قرية ارسان هو في الانجاز .

السكن : نظرا لبلديتنا جديدة فانها لم تستفيد باي مشروع البناء يخص للسكان الا السكن الوظيفي المتواجد سابقا والسكن التعليمي حيث 7 سكن موجودة و12 سكن في الانجاز في هذه السنة تما استفاد مواطنين البلدية ب 16 مسكن في اطار البناء الذاتي وفي اطار الانجاز غير انها لا تكفي لبلدية 19000 نسمة كما استفادت البلدية في الصندوق التضامن للبلدية بمسكنين وهما في طور الانجاز ، اما الطلبات رخص البناء قبلت 60 رخص لحد الآن ورفض حوالي 26 رخص .

سند الملكية هو المشكل الوحيد لمواطنين البلدية حيث ان تقريبا كل مواطنين لا يملكون سندات الملكية لانها اراضي جبلية ومستصلحة فيصعب وجود عقود الملكية وهذا ما يزعج المواطنين نقتراح ان تبقى طريقة السجود سارية المفعول .

الهيئات القاعدية : ان حول الاعمال لطرق البلدية 75 كلم حيث 33 كلم منها تم دراستها فيه 13 كلم معبده لكن ميبه اما البلاقي فهو غير معبد وهو معب ، وفي طريق فك الحزلة فتحنا طريقا يربط بين ثلاثة شري بالبلدية يقدر طول 8 كلم، اما تملح الحنراش فان البلدية لم يستفيد باي مشروع لهذه الغرض والصعوب الملقاة في هذا الصدد هو ان لا تملك من الوسائل التي من شأنها تساعد في الانجاز او التملح .

الصحة : ومن بين الهيئات الصحية المتواجدة بالبلدية 3 قاعات للعلاج المتنوعة على مايلي :  
اقتناء اقميل ناصر، تاسلانت ، بكل واحدة منها عون صحي يقدم العلاج المستعجل القومي ولا ستف فمعظم القاعات لا تتوفر فيها عتاد للمون ، ولا يكفي مرور الطبيب في كل اسبوع وتترا لاهمية البلدية وانشاء المراكز الصحية المتعددة الخدمات في الاماكن المركزية .

المعمل : تتمثل بيد العاملة ب  $\frac{1}{5}$  سكان البلدية حيث تتوزع بين الفلاحة والصناعة والتجارة والوظيفة .

الفلاحة	الصناعة	التجارة	الوظيفة	المغتربون	العاطلون
2644	500	256	600	1000	500

Aybalu : APC n yeçrem





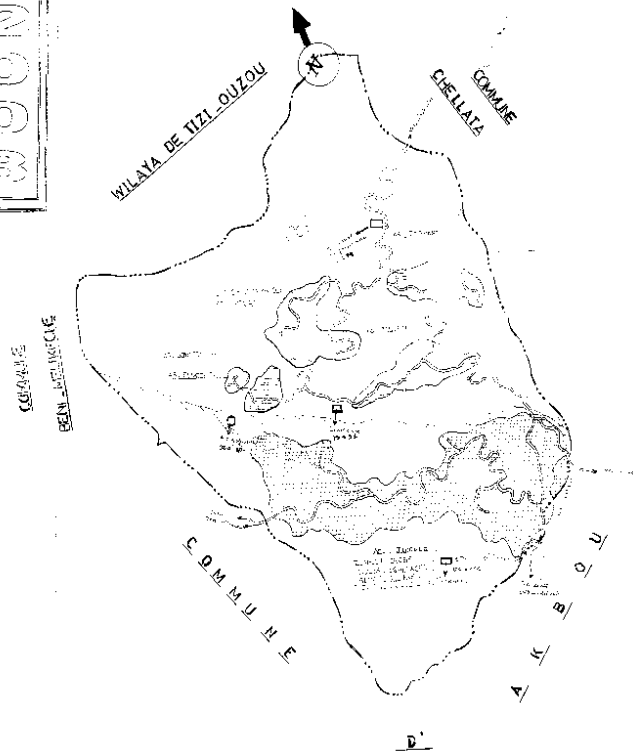
Tijentedt n°10 :

Office National  
des Statistiques  
Annexe Régionale d'Alger

Wilaya Béjaïa / 10 / 16 /  
Aïra D'Akhou  
Commune D'Ighram / 1 / 5 /

1 / 25000

**Plan récapitulatif de la  
commune d'Ighram.**



**LEGENDE**

- Frontière de wilaya
- Frontière de commune
- Rivier
- Agglomération principale
- Agglomération secondaire
- Hamlet
- Casp d'hab.
- Terrain de culture
- ==== Rivier temporaire
- Frontière de territoire

Takerđit 02 : Takerđit n tliša n tyiwant n yeyrem

Aybalu : APC n Yeyrem

Tijenteđt n°11 : Tugniwin



Tugna01 : Tajmašt n taddart akk d lğamas n ccerfa



Tugna02 : Taddart n izezzunen s ubrid n ugnu qqasi



Tugna03 : tala n taddart



Tugna04 : taddart n Yizezzunen teçcur d adefel



Tugna05 : Taddart izezzunen seg ussawen



Tugna06: ayerbaz amezwaru n taddart izezzunen



Tugna 07: Lemqam n sidi mhend ameqran



Tugna 08 : lemqam n carfa



Tugna09 : lemqam n carfa tirni



Tugna 10 : lemqam n mmis n sidi Slimane



Tugna 11: yemma takbucit (ḥekkun-d dakken zik mi ara tzeṭel ur dewwit ara lgerra ttruḥun ad seḥḥen dina seksu ad dżun akken ad ewwet lgerra qqaren-d dakken asirem aneggaru ad tebdu tyita n lgerra).





Tuggna12: aheyi n uzejmi



Tuggna13: azelaq n yimeslax



Tuggna 14: agezzum n weksun deg taddart



Tuggna15: tirac n weksun ambazd mi yettwagzem



Tugna 16 : iqarray akk d yiqejiren-nni n yezgaren



Tugna 17: aggraw n ccarfa



Tugna18: tikkerciwin akk d wayen yellan daxel n usejmi



Tuggna 19: agezzum n weksun d imersumen



Tugna 20: ferruq n weksu d tixxamin



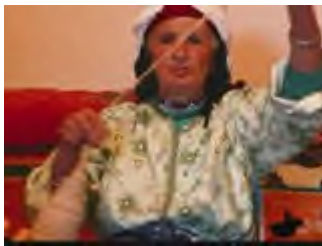
Tugna 21 : tixxamin n weksu



Tugna 22: Aseti deg tejmast n taddart



Tugna 2 » : Aqerdec n taduț



Tugna 24 : Alum n taduț



Tugna25 : tugra n uéçța



Tugna 26 : axeddim n rruț n uzețța



Tugna 27: azellaq n uzetä



Tugna 28: azetta yebda xedmen deg-s





Tugna 29: tayazilđ s yes i xeddmn